vol 2

A Re-edition and Translation into English of the Monumental Inscriptions found at the Main Nave of St. John's Co-Cathedral (Valletta, Malta), including introduction, full commentary and indices.

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APPENDICES I

The Re-edition:

Commentary

1: Grand Master Marc'Antonio Zondadari.

Marc' Antonio Zondadari was born in Siena, Italy, on 1st November, 1658, and entered the Order on Tuesday, 11th March, 1659, when he was just over five months old. Zondadari took up with great care the fortification and provisioning of Malta and Gozo and had a reputation for being exceedingly charitable. Grand Master Zondadari is also the author of a book on the norms and values of the Knights, with the title of *Breve istruzione dell'Ordine Militare di S. Giovanni di Gerusalemme* (Bonazzi 1897:345). He was Ambassador to Pope Blessed Innocens XI in 1680, Captain of the galleys in 1681. As a careful diplomat, he brought back serious discipline among the ranks, and forced the local clergy to live according to what they preached. Zondadari was elected Grand Master on 14th January, 1720, and died on 16th June, 1722 (De Vertot 1728: 2.13.110).

The tomb of Grand Master Zondadari is the only sepulchral monument found in the main nave of St. John's. His mausoleum breaks the unity of the St. John's main nave, where no other sepulchres or gravestones of Grand Masters are found. The usual places for the Grand Masters are the side chapels, dedicated to their own Langues, and the Crypt. The breaking of the unity of the main nave was unintentional. The tomb was planned for the Chapel of Italy, however, after its arrival in Malta from Rome, it appeared that the measurements were taken incorrectly, with the result that the monument simply did not fit (Sciberras 2000: 204).

The tomb belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, and it includes military paraphernalia. The sculpture is mainly made of bronze, while the sarcophagus itself is made of black marble. The pedestal bears a sarcophagus, on which the figure of Zondadari is lying stretched out. Two putti support the base of the sarcophagus. Two columns enclose the

sculpture, forming a concave niche around it. Above, two putti support the shield with the coat of arms, which is not set over the eight-pointed cross. The inscription, in a square frame, is placed centrally on the pedestal. A full length figure, the Grand Master, lying on a sarcophagus of *Verde Antico*, is totally relaxed and at peace with his imminent death. The beholder sees already the angels enveloping him in a black shroud. The Grand Master lies with one elbow on a pillow of contrasting yellow *Giallo di Siena* marble, a reference to his hometown. The sculpture is made by the Florentine Massimiliano Soldani Benzi (1656-1740), who was a student of Ferri in Florence and Ferrata in Rome. Tomasso del Bene (see further no. 27) cared to commission and to place this monument for Grand Master Zondadari, which monument was financed by Zondadari himself.

This inscription is built up of four parts, the first of which deals with his progeny and his relation to Pope Alexander VII. The latter died in 1667, when Zondadari was nine years old (ll. 1-2). The second part covers his achievements and character (ll. 3-8), followed by the dedication (ll. 9-10) and the demise of Zondadari (l. 11).

1.1 M[ARCO] ANTONIO ZONDADARI...MAGNO MAGISTRO is one example of homoeoteleuton, where words in the same context have similar endings, sometimes in perfect rhyme. In the Latin used in this cathedral, there is some confusion whether SENENSI means "of *Sena Julia*" or "of *Sena Gallia*". *Sena Julia* is the modern Siena (Tuscany) and *Sena Gallia* is the modern Senegallia, on the coast of Umbria. Classical authors do not agree on the adjective s*eniensis* as referring to the modern Siena, and *senensis* as referring to the modern Senegallia. S*eniensis* is referred to in CIC. *Brut.* 18. 73: *docuisse autem fabulam annis post xi C. Cornelio Q. Minucio consulibus ludis Iuventatis, quos Salinator Senensi proelio voverat*; *Sena Gallia* is referred to in LUC. 2.407: *Crustumiumque rapax et iuncto Sapis Isauro Senaque et Hadriacus qui verberat Aufidus undar.* Zondadari is listed as "Zondodari di Siena – Marco Antonio" (Bonazzi 1897:345); for the sake of consequence, *senensi* will be referred to as *seniensi.*

1.3 GEMINA...LEGATIONE: Hyperbaton, the separation of words that belong together by others in

between.

1.4 CLASSISQ[VE] TOTIVS PRÆFECTVRA. Although this title normally refers to a general of the galleys, Dal Pozzo classifies Zondadari as *"Capitano di Galere"* (1715: 486).

1.9 *Pisae* represents the modern Pisa. All property on mainland Europe was divided in provinces, named Priories. A Grand Prior stood at the head of a priory.

2: Tommaso Accariggi.

Tommaso Accariggi of Siena, born in 1642, entered the Order on 16th December, 1654, when he was twelve years of age. When a novice had satisfied all demands of proofs of his nobility, he could be enrolled at different ages. Standard age for a Knight of Justice was at the age of sixteen, and he had to start his novitiate in Malta before he reached the age of twenty. However, a page of the Grand Master could be enrolled at the age of twelve. A common practice was to enrol infants, which needed papal dispensation or approval by the Order. Seniority, very important for promotion to the most profitable Commanderies and the most honourable duties, was based on the date of enrolment. Acceptance of minors was a very lucrative affair for the Treasury, expecting a passage fee of four times that of sixteen year old (De Vertot 1728:2.13.121). Tommaso Accariggi's brother Clemente (1.13), who was made an Honorary Knight Grand Cross in 1666 and General of the galleys, entered the Order on 13th September, 1623 (Bonazzi 1897:10). As the Captain of the Order's Flagship, Tommaso captured a Turkish ship near Capo Passaro. During the scuffle, he was pierced through, from which wounds he succumbed on January 29, 1668, 26 years of age. He died apparently not long after he was appointed Captain. According to the Old and New Statutes, Title XX, paragraph 8, nobody should have been appointed captain of the Order's galleys until he had ten years of standing service. He must have had the minimum age of 25 years and must have made at least three caravans in person on board of the galleys. Exceptions were made only for the Brothers of the Venerable Langues of England and Germany (De Vertot 1728:

2.*Statutes.*7).

The lapidary art belongs to a *Mannerist decorative* typology. A light coloured plate of *Marmo Bianco* is set in a frame of *Diaspro Rosso.* The shield with the coat of arms is placed within an arched arrangement, and the cartouche with inscription is set with a hanging, open mantle, positioned directly under the shield. Two winged skulls, executed in a simple outline, with a broad smile of death, are supporting the base of the shield, while a winged cherub head surmounts the shield. The overall whiteness of the art expresses the pureness and innocence of such a young man.

After introducing Tommaso Accariggi of Siena (ll. 1-2), a *qui*-clause (ll.3-12) follows, relating the fatal occurrence of his one and only heroic deed, which lead to his death. The last part is occupied by his brother's dedication (ll. 13-15).

2.1 SENIENSI: See no. 1.1.

2.4 PRÆTORIA is an adjective, with the noun NAVI understood. TRIREMIBVS: The Order had two classes of ship: Galleys and, later on, men-of-war sailingships. There were various seizes and types of galleys. With the word *triremes* is meant a galley of which each bench had three rowers, each handling his own oar. A *quinqueremis* is a galley, of which each oar is handled by five rowers on one bench. See further no. 92.12.

2.5 DE[S]IGNATVS lacks the letter S in the inscription, which is most probably a cutter's mistake.

2.6 DVM...APPELERET: In this sense it means practically the same as *cum.* In the Latin of St. John's main nave, in contrast to Classical Latin's *dum* and the present indicative, *dum* with the imperfect subjunctive is often found. For this reason, I shall respect this usage of *dum* with the imperfect subjunctive on further occasions.

2.7 SOLLICITE...CVRANS: Alliteration of S and C. *Pachynum* is the south-eastern promontory of Sicily, looking towards Greece, now Capo Passaro. The modern Pachino was a further inland development.

2.15 MONVMENTVM: See preface.

3: François Joachim de Saix du Chervé.

François Joachim de Saix du Chervé, of Beaujelais, was born in 1686 and entered the Order on 30th June, 1703, seventeen years of age. He Although he must have been a remarkable man, judging from his *c.v.*, so much emphasis has been put on his matchless unassuming conduct, that even the iconography of this slab reflects this unassuming character. He died on 3rd January, 1770, at the age of 84.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque sepulchral classicizing*. A broad frame of *Breccia* encompasses a slab of *Marmo Bianco*. This sign is repeated on the front of the black pedestal. The front of the pedestal is occupied totally with the inscription. On top of the pedestal stands a pyramid, the shield with the coat of arms attached to the front. Both pedestal and pyramid are rendered in a linear perspective, with the converging point to the left.

This inscription has two main parts: The first part (ll. 2-11) describes in one sentence the qualities, achievements and death of François Joachim de Saix du Cherve, whose remains are buried here, while the second part, also in one sentence, describes the dedication (ll.12-15) by his dearest friend.

3.4 *Marescallus* is not found in Classical Latin. It appears in the 13th century with the meaning of "a person who tends horses", a "smith", "farrier" or "horse-leech" In the 15th century, it acquired the meaning of a high officer in the royal court or household, entrusted with military affairs, especially during travel or a military campaign, or the commander of the cavalry. The Marshall is always taken from the Langue of Auvergne (De Vertot 1728: 2.13.123). Its origins are found in two words, *mare,*

signifying horse, and (Old English) *scealc*, signifying "servant" (in German *Marschalk*, in Dutch *Maarschalk*). Also, the Classical Latin verb *calceo* comes to mind, "to furnish with shoes", like the Medieval Latin forms *marchalcia, mariscalcia, marscaucia and marchesia* also appear.

4: Joseph Charles de Tressemanes de Chasteuil.

Joseph Charles de Tressemanes de Chasteuil was born on Friday, 15th April, 1701. He entered the Order in 1704, at three years of age (De Vertot 1761:89). His extraordinary talents were put to the financial side of the Order's organization. Remarkable is the remark PATENS AMICIS (l.22), in which friends are encouraged to step on his stone and read and reflect for a moment in order to imitate the deceased's virtues. He died on 22nd December, 1766, at 65 years, eight months and seven days. Joseph-Charles-Raymond de Tressemanes de Chasteuil entered the Order in 1738 (De la Roque 1891: 242).

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental*, within an arched arrangement of *Brecciatio Rosso*. Two putti sit on the sarcophagus, flanked by two of the Order's banners. They hold between them a ribbon inscribed with the above-mentioned PATENS AMICIS and a red heart. The shield with the coat of arms leans at a slant against the sarcophagus, held between their legs. Above them hangs the cartouche with inscription, in the form of an open mantle. It is placed across an arch, held in the middle by the biting grip of a skull, which is positioned in the arch as the capstone, and with two rosettes at either side.

There are five distinguishable parts in this inscription. After the introduction of Joseph Charles de Tressemanes de Chasteuil (ll. 2-3) follows a *qui*-clause (ll.4-12) in which his achievements and character are praised. The reader is directly approached (ll. 12-15) and

urged both to hold any tears and to emulate the qualities of the deceased, whose death is mentioned in the following paragraph (ll. 16-17). The dedication is made by his nephews (ll. 18-21).

4.2 In the absence of cremation as a means of last rites in the Order, we prefer to translate CINERES not as "ashes" but as "remains", although we are aware that ashes are the product of decay, as the saying goes "from ashes to ash, from dust to dust".

4.3 *Aquae Sextiae* is today named Aix-en-Provence, the capital of Provence, France.

4.6 *Sanctus Aegidius* was also known as *Aegidiopolis* or *Anathilia*. At present, it is Saint-Gilles (les-Boucheries) du Gard, in the Camargue, France. Saint-Gilles was the most important Priory of Provence.

4.9-11 STVDIVM...INTEGRITATEM: Congeries. This stylistic figure shows an accumulation of the same class of words, in this example, of nouns.

4.15 COMPESCE...AVDE: This line forms a chiasmus, whereby the first and last words are both in the imperative mood. Furthermore, the first words COMPESCE LACRIMAS form the first half of a pentameter, while the last six words ET...AVDE form the last five feet of a hexameter.

4.21 The word order of this line is ABCBDAE, where A forms a hyperbaton introduced by the preposition IN (D), in which, two nouns in the genitive (B) are separated by a conjunction (C).

4.22 PATENS AMICIS: *Sensus pregnans*, which figure of styles allows for a greater explanation than the literal meaning. This text is written on a mantle, held by two putti.

4a-b.

These inscriptions are today no longer found at St. John's, and are replaced by yellow pavement stones with grey frames, one on each side of the entrance of St. John's. Fragments of the text are found in P.P.C. and H.S. The following, 4a, is the version taken from the black-and-white photograph in H.S. There are two facts worth noting. The first is that P.P.C. records some parts in this inscription as illegible; however, these lines are clearly visible on a photograph in H.S., while there are no traces of restoration. The second fact is that H.S.,

although having the complete text on a photograph in his own book, still copied the incomplete version of P.P.C.

4a

(used to be in the main nave, grave, row 1, no. 1.3a)

D[EO] O[PTIMO] M[AXIMO].
FR[ATER] DOMINICVS AGRICOLA DE BARONCELLI DE IAVON
HIC IACET,
[QVI]
PLVRES SEMPER NVMERAVIT
AMICOS ET ALIENOS NVMQVAM EX VARIIS
QVIBVS FVNCTVS EST MVNERIBVS;
EGIT IMITANDA NAVIVM RELIGIONIS
PRÆFECTVS, FORTITVDINE CLARVIT;
A VEN[ERANDÆ] LIN[GVÆ] PROVINCIÆ DVCE LEGENDVS,
QVANTA ENITVIT INTEGRITATE,
LONGIORE VITA DIGNVS,
OBIIT AN[NO] SAL[VTIS] MDCCLXIV,
MENSIS MAII,
ÆTATIS SVÆ LIX.
HOC TAMQVAM PRISCÆ VIRTVTIS IMAGINEM,
VIATOR, ASPICE MONVMENTVM
QVOD, GRAVI CONFVSI DOLORE
ET MEMORIA BENEFICIORVM IMPVLSI,
DICAVERE NOSTRI.

1-20 *non inveniuntur in Ins.Mon.* · 5 *H.S. ph.:* SEMPER NUMERAVIT; *P.P.C. et H.S.:* SE... · 6 *H.S. ph.:* AMICOS ET ALIENOS NUMQVAM EX VARIIS; *P.P.C. et H.S.:* AMICOS... · 7 *H.S. ph.:* EST MUNERIBUS; *P.P.C. et H.S.:* EST... · 8 *H.S. ph.:* NAVIUM RELIGIONIS; *P.P.C. et H.S.:* NAVIT · 10 *H.S. ph.:* PROVINCLÆ DUCE LEGENDUS; *P.P.C. et H.S.:* PROVINCIT DECE...· 11 *H.S. ph.:* INTEGRITATÆ; *P.P.C. et H.S.:* INTEGRITA · *H.S. ph., P.P.C. et H.S.:* LONGIORI · 13 *Ibid.:* MDCCLXIV DIE. XXXV · 14 *Ibid.:* MENSIS MAIJ · 16 *Ibid.:* TANQUAM · 18 *H.S. ph.:* GRAVI; *P.P.C.:* GRAUI; *H.S.:* GRAVI · *H.S. ph.,*

The translation is rendered as follows:

4a

To God, Supreme and Almighty.

Here lies

Brother Dominique Agricole de Baroncelli de Javon,

who

always counted evermore friends and never strangers

throughout the various duties which he managed;

was General of his Religion's ships,

whereby he was famous by his valour;

electable by the Commander-in-Chief of the Venerable Langue of Provence,

stood out by that much integrity,

(and) worthy of a much longer life,

died in the Year of Salvation 1764,

in the month of May

at the age of 59.

Traveller, behold this monument

as it is the image of pristine virtue,

which our (Knighthood),

distressed by weighty sorrow

and urged by the memory of his benefactions,

dedicated.

Dominique Agricole de Baroncelli de Javon.

Dominique Agricole de Baroncelli de Javon was born in 1695. He is registered as Agricole-Dominique, having entered the Order in 1706, at the age of eleven. A relative of Dominique Agricole was Paul de Baroncelli de Javon (having enterd the Order in 1673), who earned his honours in mid-February, 1700, when a squadron of the Order attacked two Tunisian corsair vessels near the Correnti Islands, off eastern Sicily (see Excursus). Dominique Agricole also became a General. He died in 1764, at 69 years of age.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral iconography, here a *Late Baroque Pictorial Invention.* Underneath an arched arrangement stands an opened sarcophagus, its lid placed behind it in a slant. In front of it lies a heap of military paraphernalia and the shield with the coat of arms. Death, holding both hands on the brim of the sarcophagus, is about to step into the sarcophagus with one leg. To the left of Death stands a female figure, bearing a large cross on her shoulder, who is trying to ward off Death with an outstretched hand. The cartouche with the inscription is placed across the span of the arch, being held on the sides by two shields with coats of arms and, in the middle, by a putto.

The inscription is divided in two main themes. The first theme (ll. 5-15), after the introduction (ll. 2-3) and the inserted QVI (l. 4), covers his character and career. The second theme (ll. 16-20) covers the dedication by NOSTRI (L. 20), whose indentity, however, remains undisclosed.

4a.6	Assonance.
4a. 7	Alliteration of P, R and S.
4a.11	Assonance.
4a. 16-17	Double inner hyperbata within HOC...MONVMENTVM.

4 b is taken from P.P.C., with which H.S. generally agrees. The black-and-white photograph in H.S. shows that P.P.C. was indeed faithful to the original, when he filled out the missing text with dotted lines. This means that the text was already eroded before 1838.

4b

(used to be in the main nave, grave, row 1, no. 1.4a)

D[EO] O[PTIMO] M[AXIMO].
FR[ATER] ANNA CAROLVS DE LVDERTI
COMMENDA[TO]R[IARVM]...COMMENDATARIVS,
MAGNI HOSPITALITARII MVNVS GERENS OLIM,
TRIREMIS REGIMEN, INFIRMORVM CVRAM,
...SIBI IN ORDINE COMMISSA MVNERA
TVM ZELO, TVM PIETATE, TVM SEDVLITATE
...OB ANIMI RECTITVDINEM;
MORVM COMITATEM
ET VERAM IN AMICOS BENEVOLENTIAM,
OMNIBVS APPRIME CARVS,
HOC MORIENS CINERIBVS
MONVMENTVM RELIQVIT.
OBIIT IDIBVS IVNIIS, MDCCLXIV,
ÆTAT[IS] LXX

13 *H.S. ph., P.P.C. et H.S.:* XIII JUNIJ

The translation is rendered as follows:

4b

To God, Supreme and Almighty.
Brother Anna Carlo Luderti,
Commendator of the Commanderies of...
once conducting the duty of Grand Hospitaller,
the duties entrusted to himself in the Order
...the control of galley, the care of the sick,
sometimes with zeal, sometimes with a sense of duty, sometimes with painstaking attention
...on account of the rectitude of his mind,
the courtesy of his disposition
and the true benevolence towards friends;
extremely dear to all,
he left behind this monument for his remains on his deathbed.
He died on 13th June, 1764,
at the age of 70.

Anna Carlo de Luderti.

Anna Carlo de Luderti was born in 1694. The text, which remains, suggests that he either was once the Grand Hospitaller, or that he once deputized the Grand Hospitaller. He died on 13th June, 1764, at the age of 70.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque Pictorial Invention.* In the left-hand corner stands a sarcophagus, bearing the shield with the coat of arms and an array of flags. In the right-hand corner stands a pyramid. The cartouche with the inscription is attached to the pyramid on one side with a ribbon, hanging over the shield with the coat of arms. A hovering putto holds up the other side.

The inscription has three main parts. In the first part, Anna Carlo de Luderti is introduced: In ll. 2-6 the reader finds an overview of his ranks. TVM...SEDVLITATE (l. 7) renders a character-sketch and appreciation, while the last part, ll. 12-15, covers his obituary.

4b.5 Note the parallelism of phrases and the alliteration of R.

4b.7 TVM – TVM – TVM: Anaphora and parallelism of phrases.

4b.8-9 Note the parallelism of phrases.

5: Ludovico Marescotti.

Honorary Bailiff Ludovico Marescotti entered the Order on 26 June, 1709, when he was thirteen years of age. He was made Chamberlain of the Royal Court of Naples in 1756 (Bonazzi 1907:125). The inscription is very short and modest, asking whoever is walking over his grave to pray for his soul. He died on 28th February, 1774, at the age of 68.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral iconography, here a *Late Baroque Pictorial Invention.* On the right, Death, holding a scythe, emerges from the sarcophagus, showing a morbid smile such as only fleshless skulls can do. The front of the sarcophagus displays the shield with the coat of arms. On the left, a figure in a classical dress, an allegorical figure, probably Fortitude, sits on a pedestal, decorated with a cross. He holds a ribbon, coiled like a snake around the cross. Death holds his other hand and is about to pull him into the sarcophagus. Father Time hovers above, holding the cartouche with the inscription, shaped as a mantle and held open between his outstretched arms.

The reader is urged to pray for the soul of Ludovico Marescotti while passing over this inscription and reading his name and titles (ll. 2-8); the following paragraph mentions his death (ll. 9-10).

5.5 Monte Albani, Colli Albani, Albano Laziale and Lago Albano are about 21 km southeast of Rome.

5.7 There were three kinds of Bailiffs: The number of Conventual Bailiffs was the smallest, seven in total, of which four always had to be present in the Convent, hence their name. The Capitular Bailiff was nominated by the Grand Master in council, on recommendation of the Langue of origin. Finally, the title Bailiff *ad honores* was bestowed by the Pope or the Grand Master. It was an honorary title, without any financial or material advantages.

6: Didaco Mario Gargallo.

Diego Maria Gargallo of Syracuse entered the Order on 21st August, 1709, seven years of age (Bonazzi 1897:153). This modest inscription stresses the sobriety of Gargallo's character. He died in 1774, at the age of 72.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral iconography, here a *Late Baroque Pictorial Invention.* Death, black robed, climbs upon a sepulchral slab, one knee up and black axe in hand, violently cutting off a branch of a oak tree, which grows behind and over the tomb. The text CETERIS PARCE RAPTIS is inscribed on a banner, hanging within the branches. The shield with the coat of arms is in a tilting position, while a sandglass with wings denotes the end of Gargallo's lifetime. The shape and stance of the skeleton are nearly identical to no. 127. The inscription covers the front of the pedestal.

After Diego Maria Gargallo has been introduced, his titles and character are described (ll. 1-8). This is followed by a *qui*-clause describing his functions and death (ll. 9-17).

6.3 *Syracusae* is the modern Syracuse, situated on the east coast of Sicily.

6.7 PIETATE...SOBRETATE: Asyndeton, which stylistic figure consists of the omission of conjunctions

in a sequence, for emphasis.

6.10 QVÆSTORIS: The pecuniary function is emphasized by ÆRARII. Financial *quaestores*, among other things, used to administer the *aerarium* in Rome under the senate's direction. The *tribuni aerarii* were men of a property-owning class just below the *equites*, and were most probably appointed to control the cash flow from the provinces into this treasury. In the Latin used in the inscriptions, the title *quastores aerarii*, used for the offices of the Knights, is apparently a mixture of these names going back to the financial offices in Antiquity.

6.12 IN CONVENTV: Lit.: In the convent. Historically, however, it means the place incorporating the Palace of the Grand Master or his Lieutenant, the Church, the Infirmary and the Auberges of the eight Langues (De Vertot 1728 : 2. *Statutes.* 115). There might be some confusion regarding the names given to institutions in the English and French languages. It has become fashionable in history writing to use the French names. An inn is an auberge of designated region, country or nation, named a Tongue in English and a Langue in French. A Langue is presided by a Pillar, in English, or a Pilier, in French.

6.17 *Perfectio* is the moment in which body and soul are reunited in Heaven, having gone through Purgatory. Salvation is the state of being saved from the power and effect of evil. The reason why this line on the monumental inscription is illegible is because the pedestal of a Holy Water vessel is placed upon it.

7: Joachim de Challemaison.

Joachim de Challemaison entered the Order in 1611 (De la Roque 1891: 55). He participated in the Chapter-General of 1631 as the proxy of the Capitulary Bailiff of Armenia, Jacques de Chenu de Bellai. In 1660, after the death of Grand Master De Gessan in June, new elections were organised. Each Langue was to elect three people who were to vote in the election of a Grand Master, together with a fourth person, who represented the English Langue. The Langue of France chose Joachim de Challemaison for this position. The final vote of the commission was for Raphael Cotoner. (De Vertot 1728: 2.13.86). Challemaison, who was made Grand Hospitaller, and afterward Bailiff of Morea in 1666 (Dal Pozzo 1715: 348), died on 9th November, 1667.

The lapidary art belongs to a *Mannerist decorative* typology. Two putti sit in an angle on the pedestal. The cartouche with the inscription, in the form of an open mantle, is hanging in front of the pedestal, held by its corners by those putti. The pedestal supports an elaborate shield with the coat of arms, topped by a closed crown. In between the putti and under the shield stands a sandglass in a winged frame. The text ORA PRO TE ORANDO PRO ME (1.9) is found at the bottom of the inscription, set around a skull and crossbones, which set is further flanked by two other sets of crossbones.

The reader does not come unexpected (l. 1), and is introduced to Joachim de Challemaison's titles and death in just one sentence (ll. 2-7). Again, as his neighbour on no. 5, the reader is asked to pray for his soul (l. 8), although it is added that when the reader is praying for De Challemaison, one is at the same time praying for one's self (l.9).

7.4 NEC NON, taken together, is a positive particle, while ET is not a conjunction, but an emphatic particle. *Morea* is a name for the modern Peleponessus, which originated during the 4th Crusade.

7.5 COVLOVRS is the modern Coulours, in the Yonne region, France.

7.7 The original A DIE NONA NOVEMBRIS literally means 'from the 9th day of November' in the modern reckoning. In the proper Latin reckoning, this is modified to the edited version.

7.9 ORE...ME: Note the parallelism of phrases in the word order ABCABC, and the clever change of person in ORA and ORANDO, and TE and ME.

8: Corrado Arezzo.

Corrado P. Arezzo of Modica, was born on Saturday, 19th February, 1719. He entered the Order on Sunday, 3rd May, 1732, being thirteen years of age (Bonazzi 1907:10). The inscription surrenders his date of birth through the date of his demise, which was Wednesday, 26th June, 1782. He reached the age of 63 years, four months and seven days.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental*, with a classizing element. A frame of dark red *Africano* surrounds a *Marmo Bianco* slab. A sad looking putto, eyes cast down, stands on the pedestal and leans with one arm on the shield with the coat of arms, which thus tips over in an angle. The pedestal bears the inscription in front.

The inscription of Corrado Arezzo consists of two parts in three sentences. In the first sentence (ll. 2-10), after the introduction of his name and Langue, follows a gratitude to Grand Master Ximenez, by whose grace he was made a Bailiff. Then his character is greatly praised. The next two lines refer to his death (l. 11) and his age (l. 12).

8.8 RERVM GERENDARVM: Gerundive in a genitive of description.

8.9-10 VITÆ INTEGRITATE SPECTATISSIMO is also found in no. 9.6. SPECTATISSIMO introduces a string of ablatives of cause, namely ACVMINE, SOLLERTIA and INTEGRITATE. Note also the parallelism of phrases in the order of ABAABCAB, whereby A represents the genitives and B the ablatives. C is a conjunction.

9: Marcello Cavaniglia.

Marcello Cavaniglia was born on Saturday, 18th May, 1692. He is registered as Pietro Marcello Caraniglia of Naples, who entered the Order on Sunday, 4th April, 1699, at six years of age. He appeared in the List of 1765, from which one concludes that he subsequently became Bailiff or Turin (Bonazzi 1897:70). This information agrees with the inscription (l.5). Cavaniglia led apparently an exemplary life, worthy to be emulated; for as an administrator, he had to be very strict with money, but as a person he spent time and money on the poor and the sick, and Christian captives. He died 15th February, 1772, being 79 years, eight months

and twenty-eight days old.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral iconography, here a *Late Baroque Pictorial Invention.* The whole scenery on the gravestone is reminiscent of Heaven, blue, and with one sole cloud, on which a putto is seated. The putto holds something up, which looks like a heart with a flame. A female figure in classical attire with the eight-pointed cross on her chest, an allegory of the Order, gives alms to the poor and the enchained. She sits on a large inside scallop, filled with *Nero Malquino*, in which the inscription is engraved. The text is filled up with light pigment. The shield with the coat of arms is casually tilted and placed in the lower right corner, set over crossed anchors.

Marcello Cavaniglia's inscription has three major divides. In the first part, he is introduced by mentioning his name, place of birth, the fine qualities of his character, good deeds and excellence in office (ll. 3 -11). The second part is concerned with the dedication by the Knights of the Order (ll. 12-16), while the final part is about his age and death (ll. 17-19).

9.5 *Augusta Taurinorum* is the modern Torino or Turin, the former capital of the *Taurini.*

9.6 VITÆ INTEGRITATE...SPECTATISSIMO is also found in no. 8.9-10.

9.6-12 The parallelism of phrases gives a sequence of genitives alternating with datives, with most of the datives ending in O.

9.7 PAVPERVM ET AEGRORVM: According to the Old and New Statutes (De Vertot 1728: 2.*Statutes.*7), Grand Master Raymond Dupuy declares that Knighthood is adorned when engaged in true charity, the mother and solid foundation of all virtues, hence, the frequent re-occurrence of, and emphasis on charity and generosity to the poor and the sick in these inscriptions.

9.11 The *ærarium* was the Treasury of the Order. It was managed by a Grand Commendator, two Procurators and a Conservator General. To guarantee impartiality, they had to choose eight Brothers, one of each Langue, to ensure daily and correct control (De Vertot 1728:2.*Statutes.* 42).

10: Charles de Vignes Parisot.

Charles de Vignes (de la Bastide) Parisot was born in 1668, and entered the Order in 1688 (De Vertot 1761: 92), when he was twenty years old. To emphasize his progeny, the inscription mentions that he was a great-nephew of Grand Master La Valette, who died in 1568. There were 100 years between the death of the latter and the birth of the former. Charles de Vignes Parizot died 12th April, 1731, at the age of 63. He had his grave prepared in the year prior to his death.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental*. A frame of variety of *Diaspro* surrounds a *Marmo Bianco* slab. The inscription is placed on the front of a simple, black pedestal. A skull, wearing a green laurel, rests on the platform of the pedestal, and a stool is placed over its head, being the support of the shield with the coat of arms. Next to the stool stand two oil lamps, one on each side. The shield itself is placed in an elaborate inside scallop, with two red ribbons hanging from its upper curved ornaments. The picture is in symmetry.

The name, progeny and final rank of Charles de Vignes Parisot are introduced in the first part of this inscription (ll. 2-4). The following *qui*-clause sums up his *cursus honorum* in ascending order (ll. 5-9). The last part is concerned with the anticipation of death, the preparing of his grave and, finally, his death (ll. 10-14).

10.3 PRONEPOS meant in Classical times strictly "great-grandson". However, from the 14th century onwards, PRONEPOS also meant "great-nephew".

10.4 There is a SAINT FELIX (at present Saint-Félix-Lauragais) near *Tolosa*, modern Toulouse, the capital of the Languedoc.

10.8 A *magnus commendatarius* was a Conventual Bailiff (residing permanently in the Convent), was both President of the Public Treasury and the Court of the Exchequer, and had the superintendence over the magazines, arsenal and artillery. He also chose officers of the St. John's church and the Infirmary. As the Langue of Provence was first in the Order, it enjoyed the right to this first dignity (De Vertot 1728: 2.13.126).

10.8-9 Note the chiasmus in the word order ABCBBAD, whereby A is the object, B the locative case (or possessive case), C a conjunction and D the verb.

10.9 DEIN...DIGNITATEM shows an alliteration of the letters N, D and T.

10.10 MORTIS HAVD IMMEMOR is an alliteration of M and R. MORTALITATIS MEMOR is found in no. 26.16, and MORTIS MEMOR in no. 127. 14, and

11: Garsia Xarava Castro.

Garsia Xarava Castro was born in 1710. As a Conventual Conservator (1.8), he served in the Common Treasury, and it was his duty to care for the Order's coffer (De Vertot 1728:2.13.133). He died in 1794, at the age of 84.

The lapidary art belongs to an iconography, here *Neo-Classical.* The scene takes place on a black and white lozenge shaped floor: Death, dressed in a loincloth, rolls out a sheet of parchment, which contains the inscription. A putto, with a slightly puzzled look, sits on the lower left corner of the scroll. The Angel of Fame, blowing the trumpet, is in the upper part of the gravestone. A pyramid, for the larger part hidden by the other figures, holds attached, in a slanting manner, an oval shield with the coat of arms and a white and red flag. The whole iconography gives one the impression of fastness and motion.

The inscription consists of two sentences: The first is about the life and achievements of Garsia Xarava Castro (ll. 2-15), the second is about his death (ll. 17-18). The introduction (ll. 2-5) explains that he is not just a deceased person buried here, but that he is actively waiting

for the Advent of Christ. His *cursus honorum* is strung together by the use of CVM...CVM...TVM...CVM (ll. 6-15). His death is heralded in two short lines (ll. 17-18).

11.7 CVM...COMPARANDVS forms an alliteration of C, M and P.

11.8-9 Note the parallelism of phrases in the CVM...TVM construction, expressing in each colon a particle, a nominative and a genitive noun, in this order. At the same time, these two sentences form a chiasmus, in which a nominative and genitive are followed by a genitive and a nominative. PTOCHOTROPHEVM PRÆSES is an alliteration of P, and forms a hendiadys together with CVRATOR. The same CVM...TVM ... construction is a clear proof that the partially illegible word CUI of the lapidary inscription is not a *qui*-clause. CONSERVATOR CONVENTVALIS is a partial anaphora emphasizing on CON. PTOCHOTROPHEVM is a "poorhouse"; *ptochotrophus* is an "overseer of the poor". In Latin, the PH is sometimes rendered as a P. In Greek, the noun πτώχος means a "beggar", the verb τροφώ "to look after".

11.11-12 CVM VNIVERSO...ORDINE and ORDINEM...VNIVERSVM form a chiasmus. Note also the use of the reflexive, SE and SIBI, and the pluperfect active subjunctives PROMISSET and DEVINXISSET, respectively used in each colon of this chiasmus. ORDINI ORDINEM: Polyptoton, in which figure of speech words of the same root are used consecutively with different endings. PROMISSET is a shorter form of PROMISISSET.

11.13 PRIMATVS SVO IVRE is also found in no. 18.18.

11.14 CALASPARRA is the modern Calasparra, in Spain.

11.16 Word order in this sentence is AABBA, whereby A is an ablative plural, and B an ablative singular.

12: Octave de Galèan.

Octave de Galèan of Provence entered the Order in either 1674 or 1675, as there are to entries on the same name, but, in any case, at the age of four or five years old (De Vertot 1761:39). In 1726, he is mentioned as the Grand Prior of Toulouse (De Vertot 1761:39). However, the inscription does not mention this rank. Some of his duties fulfilled are unusual: His

professions of teacher of novices and his guardianship of the Sisters of the Order are a rare occurrence on the floor of St. John. The title of Grand Commendator is one that is held exclusively in the Langue of Provence. The founder of the Order, the Blessed Gerard originated from the Provence, and therefore this Langue is the first in the Order. As a Grand Commendator, Octave de Galèan was a Conventual Bailiff, whose duties were to preside over the Treasury and the Court of the Exchequer. He had furthermore the superintendence over the arsenal, magazines and artillery (De Vertot 1728: 2.13.126). In 1741, he was chosen as one of the 24 electors in the election of a new Grand Master, in which Pinto became the winner (Testa 1989: 32). According to the inscription he died when he was over 80 years of age, on 7th April, 1750. His death came not unexpectedly, following a period of ill-health.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque pictorial.* The pedestal, with the inscription in front, bears a black funerary urn of *Nero Malquino.* A blue ribbon spans the front of the urn. On top of the urn stands the shield with the coat of arms, supported by two lions. The platform of the pedestal is executed in a linear perspective, with the converging point to the back. This makes the black funerary urn look very flat.

The style of this inscription is very dry, as it is mostly concerned with a catalogue of his offices held. There are two highlights: He luckily escaped death during a campaign against the Turks (l. 2), and his concern for posterity, should he be forgotten (ll. 14). His death, a painful and long lasting affair, closes the inscription (ll. 17-19).

12.3 The expression *vicem* or *vices gero* is commonly used from *c.* 1250 onwards.

12.4 This l. contains double chiastic hyperbata, expressed in the word order ABACB, whereby A is a prepositional phrase, B the genitive case, and C a conjunction. The final IVS of BAIVLIVIVS are entered smaller than the rest of the word. This may be a later emendation. It is unclear whether this

emendation follows the version of H.S.

12.5 VELL. 2.56.3: *Quippe cum mense Octobri in urbem revertisset, idibus Martiis, coniurationis auctoribus Bruto et Cassio, quorum alterum promittendo consulatum non obligaverat, contra differendo Cassium offenderat, adiectis etiam consiliarüs caedis familiarissimis omnium et fortuna partium eius in summum evectis fastigium, D. Bruto et C. Trebonio aliisque clari nominis viris, interemptus est. Id.* 2.30.3: *Quem virum quis non miretur per tot extraordinaria imperia in summum fastigium evectum iniquo tulisse animo, C. Caesaris absentis in altero consulatu petendo senatum populumque Romanum rationem habere.* CORONAM is an accusative of respect.

12.6-7 Note the chiasmus in these two lines, where CRESCENTIBVS (first word of first line) matches in meaning with CREVERE (last word of second line), and MERITIS (last word of first line) matches with DIGNITATIS (first word of second line). This chiasmus further makes clever use of the opposing meanings of the prepositional expressions SVPRA ANNOS...INFRA MERITA.

12.8-11 Note the parallelism of phrases, through the repetition of the genitive, accusative and ablative cases. The accusatives are MAGISTRIVM, TVTELAM, GRADVM, PRÆGRANDEM, PRIORATVM (with hyperbaton); the genitives are TYRONVM, SORORVM, MAGNI COMMENDATARII, ÆGIDII; the ablatives are PROBITATE, VIRTVTE, IVSTITIA, PROŒMIO.

12.11 S[ANCTI] ÆGIDII: See also no. 4.6.

12.14 POSTERITATI MONVMENTVM is a posterity consciousness personified. CINERI... MONVMENTVM: Note the word order through ABBAAB in this line, by which an accusative follows an accusative, and a dative follows a dative. A is a singular dative, B a singular accusative.

13. Félix de Grimaldi.

Félix de Grimaldi was born in 1640 and entered the Order in 1658 at the age of eighteen (De Vertot 1761:47). Félix de Grimaldi was a member of the Royal House of Monaco, and became Grand Prior of Saint-Gilles in 1726, in which capacity he supervised 54 Commanderies. The Bishop of Malta, Paul Alpheran de Bussan, had a mournful month in December, 1734, placing two monumental inscriptions in St. John's, one for his uncle, Melchior Alpheran de Bussan (see no. 24), who died at the age of 80, and another for his

friend Félix de Grimaldi, who died on 4th December at the age of 94. The text of the inscription pays tribute to De Grimaldi's excellence, strength of character and his old age.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque pictorial*, with military paraphernalia, and a pictorial treatment of the upper part. The whole is set within an arched arrangement. A concave black pedestal bears the inscription, which circumference is lined with feathers. Two putti in red loincloths sit on each side of the pedestal. The one on the right holds a book and a small staff, the one on the left holds a rapier and has a serpent coiled around the other arm. On the pedestal stands a black sarcophagus, with a pyramid on top. Two barbarians, traditionally dressed Batavians in animal hides, support the shield with the coat of arms. They rest a wooden club on their shoulder, ready to strike. From behind the sarcophagus, an array of banners and flags is visible, and from behind the pyramid, two trumpets and olive branches appear. The summit of the pyramid is dressed with a round emblem with the eight-pointed cross.

After the introduction of Félix de Grimaldi and his highest rank obtained (ll. 2-3) follows a *qui*-clause (l. 4) ending with SVPERAVIT (l. 18), in between which it is related how Félix de Grimaldi, as a young man, was totally absorbed by what the Order had to offer and how he imitated others; how, as an adult, he developed into a fabulous leader; how, in his older days, radiant with virtues, became himself precisely that example which he had followed in his youth; how he anticipated death and his concern about immortality. The final lines give the date of his demise and his age (ll. 19-20), and the dedication (ll. 21-23).

13.1 In the stone inscription itself, a skull is placed, functioning as an O, between the D and M, which situation creates a form of sacred wit.

13.3 S[ANCTI] ÆGIDII: See also no. 4.6.

13.10 FORTIORES EFFECIT: Alliteration in F.

13.12 ASSIDVITATE...LONGANIMITATE: Note the homoeoteleuton in these three nouns, which all belong to the third declension, ablative singular.

13.13-14 Note the last 2 words of these lines, each in the perfect active indicative, with a common prefix (*prae-*) and similarity of sound.

13.14 Assonance.

13.17–18 Lit.: Yet, deserved an elder, than by years he succeeded.

14. Fabrizio Maria Visconti.

Fabrizio Maria Visconti of Milan, born in 1654, entered the Order on 28th July, 1677, at the age of 23 (Bonazzi 1897:342). He received the honour Bailiff. The date of his demise was on 27th July 1738, at the age of 84. Klawdju Durante was commissioned to produce the monumental inscription in February 1737 by Magnnifico Michel Angelo Scianet from Valletta (Debono 1999: 392).

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental*, set within an arched arrangement, surrounded by a frame of *Diaspro Rosso* and *Bigio*, with oval ornaments and elaborated corner pieces. On top of a black pedestal stands a black sarcophagus. The pedestal bears the inscription in front. The sarcophagus has feet like lion paws, and on top are lying two skulls. Furthermore, it supports the shield with the coat of arms.

There are four themes that contribute to the distinction of Fabrizio Visconti: Milan is praised for his lineage (ll. 5-6), the Order for its duties (ll. 7-8), his piety for his morals (ll. 9-10) and, finally, death for its immortality (l. 11).

14.2 On the original gravestone, there was an attempt to Latinise the spelling of the surname Visconti as VICECOMITI. However, the spelling came out wrongly as VICECOMTII, probably due to a cutter's mistake. As surnames are indeclinable, we have opted for the proper indeclinable surname Visconti. In the *Repertorio* of *P.P.C.*, the name is rendered as "Vicemoti".

14.3 *Venusia* is the modern Venosa, in Italy.

14.5 *Mediolanum* is the modern Milan, in Italy.

14.5-11 The parallelism of phrases in these lines through the sequence of subjects (MEDIOLANVM, ORDO, PIETAS and MORS) and objects (NATALES, MVNERA, MORES and IMMORTALITATEM*)* in four sentences with a common verb (DEDIT) and a common dative (FRATRI FABRITIO MARIÆ*)*. MORES...MORS: Paronomasia. MORS...DEDIT: Alliteration of M and D, the one alternating with the other.

15: Joseph de Béon du Masse Casaus.

This Knight is registered as Joseph de Béon du Massez-Casaux, having entered the Order in 1682, when he was just a few months old. Paul Antoine de Viguier, who entered the Order in 1714 and later became a Commendator (De la Roque 1891: 339), placed this gravestone for his friend and benefactor, apparently at his own expense. De Viguier is also the author of a manuscript, finished in 1754, containing the transliteration of some inscriptions found in St. John's (see Preface and also the Introduction, chapter 27). Furthermore, De Viguier was an elector in the election of the Grand Master in 1741. The inscription of De Béon is prominently placed on its first pages. It may be assumed that the Viguier was the author of this inscription. On 15th March, 1746, Joseph de Béon du Masse Casaus died at the age of 64.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental*, surrounded by a broad frame of *Africano*, encompassing a slab of *Marmo Bianco*. The black pedestal and sarcophagus are integrated. The pedestal bears the inscription

in front. There are two shields with the coat of arms, one standing on the black sarcophagus, the other at the base of the pedestal.

This inscription is very poetic, and betrays the hand of a literary man. It consists of four parts: The first part (ll. 1-3) talks about the bones of José de Béon, the second part (ll. 5-10) about his *cursus honorum,* the third part (ll. 11-12) informs us about his death, and the fourth part (ll. 15-20) is about Paul de Viguier, who is taking care of the grave and inscription. Ll. 5-12 are presented in metre, three Elegiac couplets starting with each with a hexameter. L. 10 shows the reader some sharp wit: **PRÆCĬPĬ/TĪ, VĪ/TĀM // PĒRDĬDĬT / ĀTQVĔ GRĂ/DV̄M.** This part is inscribed on the original gravestone in the proper metrical division, whereby each verse covers a line.

15.2 **CASAVS** is taken as a foreign, indeclinable proper name, part of his progeny.

15.3 **OSSA SVB HOC GELIDO MARMORE CLAVSA**, see also the inscription of José Garzes at the Chapel of Philermos.

15.4 **QVI** has to be supplied, because **ADSCRIPTVS** in the next line, a perfect passive participle, cannot agree with **IOSEPH** in the genitive case.

15.5 **MILITIÆ...DECORVS** forms a hexameter with a hephthemimeral caesura. Generally, in Classical Latin, *ascriptus* is preferred to **ADSCRIPTVS**. However, the inscriptions bear more often the older and less common form of **ADSCRIPTVS**, which we thus respect. PL. *Mil.* 619: *Me tibi istuc aetatis homini facinora puerilia obicere, neque te decora neque tuis virtutibus.*

15.6 **DEDIT DIGNI**: Alliteration of D.

15.8 **EST...SVÆ**: Alliteration of S, which signifies a sense of hush.

15.9-10 **SED...PERCVSSVS**: Sequence of four spondees, signifying mournfulness. **SED...PRÆCIPITI**: Alliteration of D and T.

15.14-16 In these three lines, each nominative is followed by a genitive. In Classical use, a *tormentum* is a "windlass", a "war-engine for hurling missiles" or "artillery". However, already before 1535, it had obtained the meaning of "gun", "fire-arm" and "artillery". A *tormentarius* is thus a 'gunner'. CAES.

Gal. 4.25: *Quod ubi Caesar animadvertit, naves longas, quarum et species erat barbaris inusitator et motus ad usum expeditior, paulum removeri ab onerariis navibus et remis incitari et ad latus apertum hostium constitui atque inde fundis, sagittis, tormentis hostes propelli ac summoveri iussit.*

The CASTELLANIA was a court of justice in Valletta, dealing with, among other matters, the *Universita* (A.T.Luttrell 1993: 268).

16: Vincent Saveur de Gaillard.

There are two entries in the register of Provence for a Vincent Sauveur de Gaillard, one in 1668 and one in 1669. He, therefore, must have entered when he was four or five years old. Jean Auguste entered in 1670, Joseph in 1667. Jean Batiste is not mentioned in this *"Liste des Chevaliers"* (hereafter referred to as *Liste*). Corone got involved in the War of the Morea (1645-1699), and on 11th August, 1685, the city surrendered to combined Christian forces (S. Bono 1993: 369). If this is the military action mentioned in the inscription (l.13), Vincent Sauveur was hardly twenty years of age, his brother Joseph probably just a couple of years older. In this inscription, Vincent Sauveur de Gaillard, when dying at the age of more than 80 years on 9th January, 1745, pays homage to his brothers Jean Auguste, Jean Batiste and Joseph, who all died untimely in their Order's military actions.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral iconography, here a *Late Baroque pictorial*, surrounded by a frame of round and oval ornaments displaying mostly animal figures. Within stands a black sarcophagus, with the lid taken off and placed slanting behind. The inscription is engraved on the side of the sarcophagus. At its base of the pedestal stands a shield, bearing the coat of arms, leaning in an angle against the sarcophagus. To the right of the shield, there are some ferocious composite animals lying about. The winged animal, sitting on the crown of the coat of arms seems, in combat with one of the birds displayed within one of the ovals of the frame.

The first line is the dedication, followed by the introduction of the deceased and his highest obtained ranks (ll. 2-4), whose renown is established both through his progeny and his own merits (l. 5). Between the *qui*-clause and EXEMPLAR (ll. 5-16), the inscription relates of his brother's death in combat. His regret for the tragedy of being the sole survivor is felt in PIAS, ILLORVM VICES, VT EXPLERET VNVS SVPERSTES (l.14); hence, his total dedication to the Order (l. 15). The last paragraph contains information about his death, age and the place where he died.

16.3 S[ANCTI] ÆGIDII: See also no. 4.6.

16.4 With IOANNES AQVENSIS probably is meant the modern Bagnères-de-Luchon, in the Haute-Garonne, France. The village has ancient baths, and very strong traditions pertaining to St. John.

16.11 PATRONVS is translated as patron. A number of young Knights, just having made the required number of caravans, fitted out galleys at their own expense. Although the Order paid part of the armaments, they often spent considerable sums of their own money. Promotion was hastened by successful campaigns at sea against the infidel, and these young men hoped to receive a Commandery by the courtesy of the Grand Master. Furthermore, stakes were high. The General of the Galleys would pay professed Knights twenty percent of the spoils. (De Vertot 1728:2.13.123).

16.13 IN CORONENSIS: At the modern Corone, situated in the Gulf of Messina, formerly the Gulf of Corone, in the southern part of the Peloponnese (*Morea)*, Greece. Kalamata is the more famous, modern city in the same gulf.

16.20 According to the present space structure of the original inscription, the additions of P.P.C. and H.S. cannot fit; hence, they are being ignored.

17: Giovanni Battista Ansidei.

Giovanni Battista Ansidei of Perugia was probably born in 1600, and admitted to the Order on 11th August, 1616 (Bonazzi 1897:21). Remarkable is that his seemingly humble mother is

mentioned in the inscription. There existed a class distinction among the Knights: Knights of Justice and Knights of Grace. One of the most important factors, in order to qualify as the former, was that one had to prove to be the legitimate progeny of at least four quarters, that is, of parents and grandparents. Those who descended from noble fathers, but had mothers of ignoble birth, qualified only for Knights of Grace, second-class knights. These could never obtain the rank of Bailiff, Prior or Grand Master. However, a practice had arisen that Knights of Grace did indeed enter the ranks of Knights of Justice. This was not at all to the liking of De Vertot, who bitterly remarks "*they have endeavoured to throw a veil over this notorious defect by papal dispensation*" (De Vertot 1728:2.13.115). In this light, it is more understandable why emphasis is put on the fact that Ansidei received his positions deservedly rather than fortunately. Favours might not have come to this gentleman's way easily, who was always ready to enlighten the suffering of the poor. He followed up Fr. Vincenzo Rospigliosi as Bailiff of Sant' Eufemia in 1672. Fr. Virginio Valte was chosen the next Bailiff of Sant' Eufemia, in 1680 (Dal Pozzo 1715: 419, 480). The date of his death remains unclear, but it is acceptable to place this in 1680, at the age of 80 (see l. 15 below).

The lapidary art belongs to a *Mannerist decorative* typology. An elaborate frame of *Diaspro* contains a central slab of *Nero Malquino*. The shield with the coat of arms, military paraphernalia, cartouche and a winged skull are of *Marmo Bianco*. In the lower part one finds the cartouche with the inscription, placed on two crossed scimitars. On top of it lies a winged skull, which itself balances the shield with coat of arms on its head. On both sides of the coat of arms are displayed armoured suites on stakes. A grilled helmet, six bars argent, edged, and with lambrequins, surmounts the coat of arms.

The humble Giovanni Battista Ansidei is introduced (ll. 1-5) and his achievements defended

(ll. 6-8). His readiness for helping the poor is put very poetically in HILARE PAVPERIBVS COR, MANVS APERIENS, CONTRA VIM REFLANTEM REMIS PATIENTIÆ (ll. 9-10). Gratefulness for escaping an early hostile fate is expressed in ll. 11-12. The reader is directly approached by Ansidei to besprinkle his grave and to add a prayer for his soul in ll. 13-14 (pentameter). The last line, the date of his death, remains unfinished (l. 15).

17.2 *Perusia* is the modern Perugia, in Italy.

17.5 TER lit.: "thrice", but often, and certainly in this context, it means "very". IMÆ MATRI is a possessive dative.

17.7 AD, often in the context of these monumental inscriptions, does not mean "motion to" or "place at", but "into". The bailiwick of *Sancta Euphemia* is the modern Sant' Eufemia, southern Italy. Although it was physically and geographically part of the Priory of Capua, it preserved its independence as a capitulary bailiwick. Due to its seize, it did not develop any sub-commanderies. The coast and port were the main providers of income.

17.4-6, 8-9 Each line starts with an adverb: ANXIE, BIS, STRENVE and DIGNE, HILARE.

17.11 Asyndeton and congeries.

17.12 SCOPVLVS: Lit: a projecting point of a rock. It came to mean a "difficultly", "danger", "harm" or "evil".

17.13-14 This line is a pentameter, with alliteration of R. ARA can mean either an "altar" or a "tombstone". They have in common the bones of the deceased, which, on the one hand, are preserved by the tombstone and, on the other hand, are transformed by the altar after the sacrifice of the victim.

17.15 The date of his demise in the original inscription, given as MDC, is a mistake, for he joined the Order in 1616. The author or the engraver must have forgotten to fill in the last number(s), as there is no indication in the slab itself that the rest got corroded away or restored to what it looks now.

18: Joseph Marc-Antoine de Robins Barbantane.

Joseph Marc-Antoine de Robins Barbantane entered the Order in 1692, at the age of sixteen (De Vertot 1761:77). The Lingua Anglia (l. 21) suffered great losses in 1540, when Henry VIII confiscated Catholic properties. A small group of English Catholic exiles represented the Langue in Malta, but had to be represented by others too (Sire 1996:175). De Robins Barbantane, in the functions of Chamberlain of the Palace, Prefect of the city, Castellan, and Commissioner of the grain supply (ll. 12 to 16), would have been a Knight Small Cross. He died at the age of 82, on 8th June 1758, after a very full life.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, termed as *Late Baroque sepulchral classicizing*, surrounded by a broad frame of *Diaspro* and a thin black frame, encompassing a slab of *Marmo Bianco.* There is no actual pedestal, but the cartouche with inscription, in the shape of a shield with a band of *Bigio*, functions as one. In the upper brim of the band is engraved l. 1, and on the lower brim are engraved ll. 25-28. A black funerary urn surmounts the cartouche. At the foot of the funerary urn, a winged sandglass is placed. The urn bears the shield with the coat of arms on its front, keeping it in place by ribbons and garlands.

A long, but stylistically rather dry catalogue of ranks and achievements.

18.4 Latronquière is the modern name of this village, situated in the region of Lot, France.

18.5 VERG. *A.* 1. 549-550:

...sunt et Siculis regionibus urbes

arvaque, Troianoque a sanguine clarus Acestes.

18.6 CIC. *Sul.* 18: *Quae si de uno me cogitasset, qua mollitia sum animi ac lenitate.*

18.16 *Horrea* are storehouses, especially for preserving grain.

18.18 PRIMATVS SVO IVRE are also found in 11.13.

18.20 Those Knights holding a lesser post in the Order were called "Knights Small Cross", in contrast to the highest ranks, who were titled "Knights Grand Cross", such as the Grand Master, Bishop, Prior of St. John, Piliers, Grand Priors and Capitular Bailiffs (C.Testa 1989: 28).

18.26 SUET. *Cal.* 26.5: *Gladiatorio munere reductis interdum flagrantissimo sole velis emitti quemquam vetabat, remotoque ordinario apparatu tabidas feras, vilissimos senioque confectos gladiatores, proque paegniariis patres familiarum notos in bonam partem sed insignis debilitate aliqui corporis subsciebat.*

19: Franz Christoph Sebastian von Remchingen.

Von Remchingen was born on 22nd January, 1689, and was registered at the Order on 27th April, 1717, at the age of 28. He became Castellan in 1725 and Bailiff of Brandenburg in 1753. A year later he was promoted to as the Pilier of the German Langue, and in 1755 he became the Procurator of the Public Treasury. In 1775 he was elected Grand Prior of Germany, residing at Heitersheim. This Prince of the Holy Roman Empire (see l. 10 below) supervised 67 Commanderies in High and Low Germany and the Priories of Bohemia and Hungary. The name of Von Remchingen became more public after Grand Master Pinto fell suddenly ill on 15th April, 1764. Prospective candidates hurriedly arrived at Malta for the expected election. Supporters rallied the names of their candidates, among which were Von Remchingen and Sigismondo Piccolomini (no. 113). To the dismay of many, Pinto soon recovered (Testa 1989:204). Remchingen was one of the pallbearers at the funeral of Bishop Alpheran de Bussan in April, 1757.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, *Late Baroque sepulchral classicizing*, with classical military paraphernalia. A light coloured frame of *Marmo Bianco*, in the form of an arched arrangement, encompasses a round pedestal, a funerary urn and a mantle. This mantle, ermine argent with tails sable, supports the shield with the coat of arms, surrounded by a chaplet. On top of the coat of arms are placed three helmets edged, with

elaborate lambrequins. On the pedestal stands a black funerary urn, part of which body and lid are fluted as in an Ionic column. The inscription is engraved in the front of the pedestal in such a concave manner to accommodate the rounding of the pedestal. At its base emerges an array of flags. A garland hangs across the front of the pedestal. On the platform of the pedestal, at the foot of the urn, lies a classical helmet and sword. The arch shows a skull and crossbones in each corner.

The poetic introduction in four lines of metre (ll. 2-5) contrasts sharply with the compact catalogue of his titles in the following four lines (ll. 7-10), divided by his name (l. 6).

19.1-5 The first part of this inscription, introducing ll. 1-5, presented in metrical form, serves as an enigmatic warning to the reader.

19.2 Pentameter, with missing first half foot in the sixth syllable. Note the alliteration of M and C, which sounds are related to death. VIR has been supplied for the metrical omission of one foot. CVI is a possessive dative.

19.3 Hexameter, with hephthemimeral caesura.

19.3-4 VNICÆ... DOMVS: The subject of death requires the interpretation of DOMVS as a future abode in a grave covered by a single slab, VNICÆ PETRÆ.

19.4-5 Pentameter, with problematic caesura, which here occurs after the first long syllable of the fourth foot. The first syllable of DOMVS is normally short, not long. PRÆVISA (*est* understood) is the verb which goes with VNICÆ PETRÆ, a reinforcement of the final slab which would cover the future abode. This PRÆVISA (EST) is separated from VLTIMA PETRA by a final clause, which said final clause is separated from TVAM by the same VLTIMA PETRA.

19.5 Pentameter. The second syllable of TELA should have been short, being in the nominative case. The connection of TELA (arrows) with PHARETRAM TVAM (your quiver) is metaphorically explained by the connection of the dangers (like those caused by the death-bringing arrows) and the soul, which receives and covers the human personality (the quiver which receives and covers the arrows).

19.7 BARO in Classical times meant just "simpleton", "blockhead" or "dunce". Since then, it made quite a career. In Medieval times, the meaning changed to "slave" (*c.* 735), then to "citizen" (from *c.* 1185), "official to hear market pleas" (13th century) and, finally, a "magnate", "tenant-in-chief of an earl or the crown" (*c.* 1275). REMCHING is the modern Remchingen, near Karlsruhe, in Germany.

19.9 The PER in front of ALEMANIAM in Ins.Mon., P.P.C. et H.S. does not mean an indirect object.

19.10 S[ANCTI] R[OMANI] I[MPERII] PRINCEPS: This tile originates from the friendship between Emperor Charles V and the first Grand Prior of Heitersheim, Schilling von Cannstatt. The latter supported the former in granting Malta as the new home to the Order. The Emperor bestowed Von Cannstatt and his successors the title of Prince of the Holy Roman Empire. Grand Priors of Heitersheim thus had the right to this title, and as a Prince, each had the right to have his coat of arms quartered with the Order's emblem in the first and the fourth quarter, just like the Grand Masters (Testa 1989:26). Besides Von Remchingen, there are two other such princes buried in St. John's. Schauenburg is found in no. 114, and Nesselrode is buried in the German chapel. Von Remchingen does not appear in De Vertot, most probably because, when Von Remchingen was made Grand Prior, De Vertot had stopped writing.

20: Giovanni Antonio de Ildaris.

Giovanni Antonio de Ildaris of the Bitonto was born in 1672 and entered the Order on 24th January, 1713, at the age of 41. If this date of entry is correct, it is at a very old age. His brothers, Antonio and Lorenzo, entered respectively on 19th June, 1700 and on 24th March, 1704. Antonio died in 1783, being older than 83, which means that he must have entered the Order when he was about one year of age or younger. Lorenzo died on 22nd June, 1772, probably older than 68 years. Cesare de Ildaris, Commendator-Exchequer at Nola, who placed the inscription, was enrolled 1st October, 1760. He, and his brother Domenico, were personally remembered in the register of the Priory of Barletta as belonging to the renowned noble family of Ilardis, progeny of the nobility of the Bitonte. Originally they had descended from Spain, and were bestowed with the title of Count of the Holy Roman Empire and

admitted to the Royal Body of Guards (Bonazzi 1897:174). Giovanni Antonio de Ildaris died in Vienna in 1749, at the age of 77.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental.* A slab of *Marmo Bianco*, with a thin black line, serving as a frame, holds a pedestal. The inscription is engraved both on the front of the pedestal, and on a cartouche shaped as an inside scallop, placed at its base On top of the pedestal, flanked by two skulls, stands a second pedestal, decorated as an inside scallop. This bears the shield with the coat of arms. The coat of arms is crowned with an open crown, on top of which is placed an edged, golden, grilled helmet with six bars, an open crown and lush lambrequins of black and grey. On the helmet sits a black eagle, wings spread to each side. From the sides of the coat of arms, two anchors stick out. Helmets displayed in this manner are, according to blazon, normally reserved for sovereigns.

The main cartouche on the pedestal shows an inscription that starts with the introduction of the deceased, his titles and place of birth (ll. 1-4). This is followed by a *qui*-clause, ending at AVSTRIÆ (ll. 5-17), which gives account of the character, achievements and death of Giovanni Antonio de Ildaris. The dedication is made by his nephews Lorenzo and Antonio (ll. 20-25), who themselves are remembered by Césare de Ildaris' dedication (ll. 26-37) through the inscription of the smaller cartouche.

20.10 The LIGVRES occupied the classical Gallia Cisalpina, an area that at present is covered by Piedmont, Genoa and Lucca. *Etruria,* or *Magno Ducato,* is, for the greater part, the modern Tuscany.

20.17 AERÆ VULGATÆ: Of Common or Christian Era.

20.25 CONDERENTOR: Archaic for *conderentur.*

21: Giovanni Domenico Mainardi.

Mainardi was born on 10th November, 1703. Although he had been the Chaplain of the Italian Langue, Vicar-General of the Bishop of Alghera (Sardinia) and Prefect of the pages of the Grand Master, these achievements were not included in his inscription. Instead, his character and morals are praised highly. It may be that his followers had ordered the word ANTISTITI (l. 4) to be included in the inscription on purpose. This they probably did to emphasize the fact that Mainardi deserved to have the title of Bishop, which was denied twice. In 1758, he was an unsuccessful candidate-bishop, succeeding the Majorcan Bartolomeo Rull as Conventual Prior on 24th April, when the latter was chosen as Bishop of Malta. As a newly elected Prior, he was bound to be promoted to Knight Grand Cross. He was surpassed a second time in April, 1770, when Pellerano was chosen Bishop (Testa 1989: 212). Mainardi had held his Priorship for 26 years, when he died on 19th February, 1785, at the age of 81 years, three months and ten days.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque pictorial*, with the upper part showing a pictorial treatment. A ruby robed Angel of Fame, trumpet in hand, hovering in the upper left corner, opens up a curtain, rendered in *Bigio*. This reveals an arched arrangement under which a pedestal, with the inscription on its front, is placed, surmounted by a black urn. On top of the urn stands a large inside scallop. A crying putto sits on the right-hand corner of the pedestal, dressed in a ruby loincloth, drying his tears with a handkerchief. The urn carries the shield with the coat of arms, and at the foot of the urn lies a white bishop's mitre.

After the introduction (ll. 2-4) follows a *qui*-clause (ll. 5-11) in which his moral fibre, thoroughness and modesty are highlighted. His death is described in the last paragraph (ll. 12-

17).

21.3 TAVRINENSIS: Originating from *Augusta Taurinorum* , the modern Turin, in Italy.

21.4 Lit.: "of the greater". St. John's was usually called the Conventual Church. *Antistites* in ecclesiastical Latin means either "bishop", "presiding officer", "archpriest" or "priest". As Mainardi is not listed as a bishop, he is understood to have been the Conventual Prior of St. John's (T. Zammit 1952: 407).

21.6-7 Note the succession of genitives and ablatives in ANIMI MAGNITVDINE, VITÆ INTEGRITATE, MORVM ELEGANTIA.

21-8 Note the alternation of genitives and accusatives in DIVINI CVLTVS MAIESTATEM... SACRORVM REVERENTIAM.

21.16 P.P.C. renders VIVVS as *viuvs*. Note that the inscription has a piece of marble replaced, on which is inscribed the present VIVVS. This suggests that it replaced a misspelled word, like *viuvs*.

21.17 DEPOSITVS: *Est* understood.

22: Gaspare Gori Mancini.

Gaspare Gori Mancini became Bishop of Malta in 1722. On his return from Rome to Malta, he fell ill and died in Agosta, Sicily, 16th July, 1727. Bishop Mancini was buried in Agosta, at public expense. However, his heart was shipped to Malta and buried in St. John's.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental*. A very elaborate *Baroque* architectural monument is rendered on a background of *Nero Malquino*, within an arched arrangement. The inscription is set on the lower part. At its foot lies an assortment of sacred objects, normally used during mass (*e.g.:* two books, one closed and one open, cups, incense burner, Holy Water vessel). The top part bears a white bishop's mitre and the shield with the coat of arms. A black ecclesiastical hat surmounts the latter, its tassels hanging down over the shield. At the very top stands a sandglass with double set of wings. The volutes of the pedestal bear a remarkable resemblance to the work of

Romano Carappechia (compare illustrations in De Lucca 1999: 193)

In the introduction, Gaspare Gori Mancini's place of birth, his highest rank and finest treats are mentioned (ll. 2-5). The following *qui*-clause relates his voyage from Malta to Rome, his goal for undertaking the voyage, his sudden illness and death on the return trip to Malta (ll. 6-12). In the dedication by a nephew is mentioned that the heart of Gaspare Gori Mancini, exhumed from his grave in Agosta, is buried under this slab (ll. 13-16).

22.3 SENENSI: See no. 1.1.

22.4 GAVLI is the genitive of *Gaulos*. Here there is no doubt that ANTISTITI refers to "bishop" (T. Zammit 1952: 407).

22.10 *Augusta* lies in between Catania and Syracuse, Sicily.

23: Jacques Seignoret.

Jacques Seignoret de la Borde was made Prior of the Conventual church in 1734. He died on 10th April, 1738.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque pictorial.* Within an arched arrangement is placed a pedestal, the cartouche with inscription attached to it. A sarcophagus, surmounting the pedestal, supports the shield with the coat of arms, topped by an open crown and a bishop's mitre. Behind the mitre, the golden, curved top-end of the bishop's staff is visible. The shield is supported, on the left, by Death, holding a scimitar, and on the right, by the Angel of Death.

Jacques Seignoret's place of birth and highest rank and disposition are related in the first part of the inscription (ll. 2-10), after which follows a *qui*-clause narrating his death through a very

posterity-conscious statement: The author of his inscription, having emphasized on Seignoret's pleasant, though unremitting, disposition, thought ll. 12-13, DECVSSO POSTERIS MERITO, SIBI NŌN MŎRĬT/VRĀM / RĒ/LĪQVĪT / MĒMŎRĬ/ĀM, as particularly well chosen. The author puts this pentameter at the end of the inscription, just before the date, as a beautiful culmination to the inscription.

23.2 ARELATENSI, of modern Arles. Other Latin names are: *Arelatensis colonia, Arleate, Arleatum, Arelas, Constantina, Arelas Arelate.* Arles is in des Bouches-du-Rhône, south France. It was one of the priories of the Provence.

23.4 Note the parallelism of phrases through the alternation of genitive (MODESTIÆ, MORVM) with ablative (HABITV, SVAVITATE).

23.4-5 Congeries, here used in the ablative.

23.8 TAC. *Ann.* 1.17: *satis per tot annos ignavia peccatum, quod tricena aut quadrigena stipendia senes et plerique truncato ex vulneribus corpore tolerant.*

23.10-12 PRÆMERITO does not exist. MERITO: A near-epiphora, This figure of speech defines the use of a same word or phrase at the end of each successive colon or sentence, in contrast to an anaphora, which uses them at the beginning. The main verb of this inscription is understood to be "is dedicated to". For this reason, all the nouns and adjectives are put into the dative. The inscription has no stated subject; therefore, QVI must be included in l. 11 in order to provide a subject for RELIQVIT in l. 13. L. 12 is a pentameter.

24: Melchior Alpheran de Bussan.

Melchior Alpheran de Bussan was born in 1654, and became a Conventual Chaplain, who was later elected Prior of the Conventual Church in 1713. He was the uncle of the later Bishop of Malta, Paul Alpheran de Bussan (C. Testa 1989: 211). He passed away on 13th December, 1734, when he was over the age of 80.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral-monumental typology, here *Late Baroque pictorial.* A niche is covered over by an arched arrangement, which curve is lined with opened black draperies. Underneath the arch, the blue sky is visible in the background through the curtains, just as if a passageway to heaven has been unlocked. A large, black pedestal has its front covered with a white slab with the inscription. A black sarcophagus, surmounting the pedestal, bears the shield with the coat of arms. A female figure is seated on top of the sarcophagus, caringly holding a bishop's mitre, robe and staff. To her left, a mourning putto sits on the sarcophagus's edge, one leg over the edge and resting his elbow casually on a skull, and his chin on the fist of the other arm.

One sentence sums up his progeny, youthful diligence, his highest rank and achievements of Melchior Alpheran de Bussan (ll. 2-12). The dedication is by his uncle, the Bishop of Malta (ll. 13-14). Finally, the details of his death and age are described in the last paragraph (ll. 15-17).

24.9 IN OPES...IMB[EC]ILLES: Asyndeton.

24.10 OPTIME MERITO is found also in nos. 53.11, 87. 15, 102.21, 131.18, and 152.10.

24.11 VITA: *Erat* understood.

24.11-12 Alternation of genitive plurals (ECCLESIASTICORVM, INDISCIPLINATORVM, PIORVM) with nominative singulars (NORMA, [CE]NSVRA, PA[LA]ESTRA). INDISCRIMINATORVM is Ecclesiastical Latin. However, the adverb *indiscriminatim* existed in Classical Latin.

25: Francesco San Martino de Ramondetto.

Francesco Ramondetta of Messina, born in 1653, entered the Order on 9th November, 1670, when he was seventeen years old (Bonazzi 1897:265). According to the inscription, Ramondetta cared his grave to be made for himself. If Francesco is also the author, then he

may be called a "Knight-poet", for the second part of the inscription (ll. 7-14) possesses a fine elegiac quality and the use of a metaphor to illustrate how much life is a perishable product. He died on 29th April, 1737, 84 years of age.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque pictorial.* Against the pitch-black background of a slab of *Nero Malquino* stands an elaborate pedestal, the cartouche with inscription attached to its front panel. The shield with the coat of arms, supported by two putti, surmounts the pedestal. From amidst the array of banners, placed behind the shield, Father Time emerges, bearing a scythe on his shoulder and gently touching the crown of the coat of arms.

The passer-by is made aware that he is about to trod over Francesco Ramondetta's respectable remains, after he has read on the subject of his aristocratic progeny and highest achieved ranks (ll. 2-6). Then, the reader is allowed to weigh the wisdom of "RERVM INCONSTANTIAM DISCITE, MORTALES, MISERAMQVE VESTRAM CONDICIONEM PERPENDITE" (ll. 7-8). The truth of these lines in confirmed when the author laments that, while alive, nothing failed Francesco Ramondetta, but that now, death having demanded its share, everything seems to have been futile and trivial, if it were not for the hope of resurrection (ll. 10-12). The last lines inform us that the deceased had anticipated his faith, and had made arrangements for his grave prior to his death. Nevertheless, the statement made in l. 11, OMNIA NVNC MORTVO TENVISSIMI VAPORIS IN MODVM EVANVERE, makes the reader aware that Francesco Ramondetta still hoped to be remembered, so as not to have lived in vain.

25.5 *Mons Sarcii* is the present Montesarchio; LAURI is the present Lauria. Both are in Italy.

25.10 Polysyndeton, a repetition of conjunctions in a successive series of words, phrase, sentences or verses.

25.10-11 Note the parallelism of these two lines, VIVO...MORTVO, GLORIA...NOMEN, OPES...OMNIA, NEC DEFICERE...EVANVERE.

25.13 Alliteration of S, C and R.

26: Luis Francisco Berarde y Zespedes.

Luis Francisco Berarde y Zespedes was born on 3rd September, 1659, and was enrolled exactly six years later. He is another example of a successful Knight in marine activities, who, as a result thereof, obtained, at first, double Trusteeship and, afterwards, the command over nine estates. He reached the rank of Grand Chancellor, reserved for the Pilier of the Langue of Castille, Léon and Portugal (De Vertot 1761: 167). The Pilier, or Conventual Bailiff, is the head of a Langue within the Convent. He died on 30th August, 1739, having reached the age of 79.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental*. Within an arched arrangement stands an elaborate pedestal, cartouche with inscription attached to its front. A large, winged mechanical clock, supporting the shield with the coat of arms, surmounts the pedestal. The time indicated on the clock is twelve. A putto lies on his belly on the clock, facing to the left, blowing his horn and carrying a scythe. For a commentary on the mechanical clock, see no. 36.

His early acceptance in the Order is prominently present (ll. 4-5); consequently, his career and contribution to the Order (ll. 6-11), the final elevation to his highest rank (ll. 12-14), and his generosity is dwelt upon (l. 15). A recurrent topic in these inscriptions is the concern about immortality. As a fine point, Luis Francisco Berarde y Zespedes is concerned about his

mortality: MORTALITATIS MEMOR, which leads to the arrangement of this inscription during his lifetime, obviously having immortality in mind.

26.1 Zespedes is a corrupted form of Ćespedes, in northern Spain, Biscay region.

26.6 Alliteration of R and T.

26.8-9 ALTERAM...ALTERAM: Anaphora. At Tosina, in Tuscany, Italy, remains at present only the monastery. This monastry was on a pilgrims route from Florence to Spain. Pazos de Arrenteiro is the modern Pazos, in Gallicia, Spain.

26.10-11 Asyndeton.

26.14 NOVVM VILLARVM: of Novillas, Castellany of Amposta, Spain.

26.15 Alliteration of M and R.

26.16 MORTALITATIS MEMOR is an alliteration of M and R. Likewise, MORTIS...IMMEMOR is found in 10.10, MORTIS MEMOR is found in no. 127. 14.

26.19 AXATI is the modern Lora del Rio, on the river Guadalquivir, between Sevilla and Cordoba, in Spain.

27: Tommaso del Bene.

Tomasso del Bene entered the Order on 24 February, 1666, and was made Prior of Pisa in 1736 (F. Bonazzi 1897: 37). Del Bene was stationed in Florence between 1722 and 1729, and he was closely involved in commissioning works of art for the Order. He and his close friend Marc' Antonio Zondadari were great art lovers (Sciberras 2000: 80). He cared to place the monument for Grand Master Zondadari. They both died in 1740.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque pictorial.* Within an arched arrangement stands an elaborately sculpted pedestal. The cartouche with inscription is placed on top of the pedestal and is supported by two putti. The shield with the coat of arms surmounts this assembly, from behind which unfolds an array of military

paraphernalia.

The first three lines give the details of the deceased's name, progeny and highest rank obtained (ll. 2-4), followed by his achievements, his esteem earned by the Emperor for his wisdom in counsel (ll. 5-9), and his fine character and munificence to the poor (ll. 10-12). A remarkable reward for his profitability: The Common Treasury paid for his inscription (ll. 13-15), although this might have been arranged in his will, with regards to the *quinta* (see also nos. 58.18 and 82.12).

27.4-5 EQVITI...HIEROSOLYMITANO: Double inner hyperbata, in the word order of ABCDCA. PISARVM PRIORI...PRIMARIIS: Alliteration of P and R.

27.6 IN...AVLA: Double inner hyperbata in the word order of ABCBAD. ETRVRIÆ: See also no. 20.10.

27.9 A: Lit.: From, *id est*, "as a result of". Charles VI (b. at Vienna in 1685, d. at Vienna in 1740) was Emperor of Germany. He also ruled over Naples and Sicily until 1738, when he definitely lost control over these territories.

27.10-12 PIETATE...CLARISSIMO: Congeries.

28: Pierre d'Albertas de Sainte Mayme.

Pierre d'Albertas-Sainte-Maime was registered as a Knight of the Langue de Provence, having entered the Order in 1682. The inscription gives the date on which he became the Grand Commendator, 26th November, 1748, but not his date of demise. Even although his age is not mentioned, he must have reached at least the age of 66, but most probably 74, as there was no mention made that he entered the Order as a minor.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque sepulchral*

classisizing. It stands out of the crowd by its light-blue shine of the main slab. A black cinerary urn surmounts a black pedestal, the latter bearing the inscription in front. The *Nero Malquino* of this arrangement offers great colour-contrast. The urn carries the shield with the coat of arms.

Starting with an urgent advice to all Knights to learn from and to emulate Pierre d'Albertas-Sainte-Maime (ll. 2-5), it continues with the altruistic and magnanimous attitude of this Knight, who only had a personal interest in his title, not the wealth it brought (ll. 6-12), hoping that this attitude would qualify him worthy for posterity (l. 14). Finally, the elevation into his highest rank was apparently more important to mention than the day he died (ll. 15-17).

28.3 DISCITE is in the imperative mood, which is a primary tense. Therefore, it should be followed by the present subjunctive for contemporaneous action. For the proper use of a primary tense, see CIC. *Orat.* 3.55.210: *nunc quid aptum sit, hoc est, quid maxime deceat in oratione videamus.*

28.5 Saint Mayme is the modern Saint-Mayme, Perigord, in France.

28.6 MANVSIVE might be a corruption of *Manuasca, Manesca* or *Manosque*. See further no. 58.5. Manusive does not exist as a name in France.

28.10-11 Through this text it becomes clear that there was fierce competition between Knights in order to obtain landed property. Those who had access to papal grants or favours of the Grand Master were obviously in advance of others. Very well aware of this situation, the inscription of this Knight states that although he had acquired a Bailiwick by pontifical decision, long and fiercely disputed by others, he was only interested in the honour of the title and not in the money. He thus offered the entire income to the Lange of Provence.

28.13-17 Judging from the mistakes of ANTEACTIS, VISUM, VIVENDUM SÆCULES, COMMENDATORII, COMITE DUCE for ANTE ACTIS, VISVS, VIVENDVM SÆCVLIS, COMMENDATORIS, COMI[TAT]E, DVCTV in just a few lines, one cannot help but to conclude that the last part of this inscription was carelessly composed. Congeries in VIRTVTE,

COMI[TA]TE, DVCTV, PRVDENTIA.

29: Charles Augustin de Robins Barbantane.

Charles Augustin de Robins Barbantane was born in 1672, and is registered in the *Liste* as having entered the Order in 1674, at two years of age. The title Grand Commendator confirms that he belonged to the Langue of Provence. The inscription was paid for by his brothers, whose monumental inscriptions are also present in the main nave. Joseph Marc-Antoine's (who entered the Order in 1692) is on no. 18, and Paul Antoine's (entered in 1671) is on no. 96. Charles Augustin died on 9th April, 1739, at the age of 67.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque sepulchral classisizing*. Within an arched arrangement stands a pedestal with a black cinerary urn. The pedestal, with an attempted three-dimensionality of its platform, bears the cartouche with inscription in front. The cartouche, underneath which hangs a garland of fruits and flowers, is supported by two putti. The shield with the coat of arms, with four flags crossed behind it, is attached to the capstone of the arch.

A rather short and dry inscription which, however, contains all the information necessary for an appreciation: introduction, progeny, place of birth, ranks, death and dedication.

29.3 *Avenio* is the modern Avignon, in France. The Papacy resided in Avignon between 1309 and 1376. Philip the Fair initiated this move. Before the Great Schism of the East ended, and the Papacy moved back to Rome, there were also two popes resident in Pisa. The Order, then still first in Cyprus with the Knights Templars and later alone in Rhodes, supplied useful servants for the popes at Avignon, serving the papal army and embassy. The influential Aragonese Knight of St. John, and later Grand Master, Juan Fernandez de Heredia, commanded the envoy that brought Pope Gregory XI back to Rome in 1376,

thereby ending the so-called "Babylonian captivity" of the papacy in Avignon. Avignon remained an important military city in the powerful Commandery of Saint-Gilles (see also no. 4.3).

29.4 With CAP FRANÇOIS is meant that part of France, which is now called Finistère, in Bretagne, France. Its proper Latin name is *Cuburia.*

29.5 CIC. *Fam.* 5.10a.2: *Si mehercules Appios haberem, in cuius locum suffectus sum, tamen hoc sustinere non possem.*

30: Gilbert Montaignac Bord.

Gilbert Montaignac Bord of Bourbon was born on 29th December, 1693. He entered the Order on 22nd December, 1706, at the age of twelve. In this inscription two people are memorized. Gilberto is honoured by Gabriel de Montaignac Chauvance of Bourbon, whose death is then mentioned as an addendum on the bottom brim of the pedestal. Gabriel was born in August, 1698, and entered the Order on 4th July, 1711, at the age of thirteen. He died on 19th April, 1779, after 81 years and nine months. Coincidentally, they are not only together on the same gravestone, but also share the same page in the *Liste* (De Vertot 1761:174). The Langue of Auvergne, in the Grand Master's election of 1741 in which Pinto became the victor, chose Gilbert Montaignac Bord as one of the electors. He remained very close to Pinto. In his rank as Grand Marshal, he deputized Pinto, who had fallen ill on 16th August, 1772, for a short while (Testa 1989: 325). He himself died on 5th December, 1772, having lived for 78 years, eleven months and eight days.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque pictorial.* The upper part is occupied by a pictorial treatment. The pedestal has three inscriptions, and from behind each military paraphernalia surges out. On the platform sits a mourning female figure, in Classical dress and holding the Order's banner. She is an allegorical representation of the Order. At her feet lies the shield with the coat of arms in a slant. On her lap sit a putto,

holding a long, burning candle upside down.

The first inscription is concerned with Gilbert Montaignac Bord, his progeny, ranks, personality and achievements (ll. 2-11): A successful and agreeable person to such an extent, that there was general mourning of members both of the Order and of the public (ll. 12-13). The second inscription is a dedication to Gilbert from his brother Gabriel, who placed the inscription, however, also for himself (ll. 16-21). The third inscription is a short, anonymous note of the date of demise of Gabriel (ll. 22-23).

30.4 DOLA is the modern Dole, in the *arrondissement* of Jura. SELLES is the modern Selles-sur-Cher, in the region Loir-et-Cher.

30.7 CAES. *Gal.* 5.37: *Tum vero suo more victoriam conclamant atque ululatum tollunt impetuque in nostros facto ordines perturbant.* This line of the inscription seems corrupt. Note the non-functional IN, and the spelling of SOLEMNIS and CELEBRANTI on the stone, already noted by P.P.C. and H.S.

30.12 PL. *Men.* 246: *ego illum scio quam cordi sit carus meo.*

30.17 SAINT POL is the modern Saint-Pol-de-Léon in the Finistère region, Bretagne. ARBOIS is the modern Arbois, in the *arrondissement* of Jura. Both are in France.

30.21 SEPVLCRVM VIVENS forms an oxymoron, by which figure of speech words are juxtaposed for antithetical effect.

31: Diego Velez de Guevara.

Diego Velez de Guevara was born on 2nd August, 1656. His office of Grand Chancellor was linked with the Pilier of the Langue of Castille, Léon and Portugal. A prerequisite for this post was that this person had to be able to read and write for the purpose of signing official documents (De Vertot 1728: 2.13.127). He died on 15th August, 1734, having reached the age of 77 years, 11 months and 13 days.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque Pictorial Invention.* On a background of *Nero Malquino* stands the pedestal, the cartouche with inscription in front. The cartouche is shaped like an open mantle. On the pedestal stands a sarcophagus, on top of which the shield with the coat of arms is placed, supported by two putti. The one on the left holds a book, and the one on the right holds a sandglass and a scythe.

Diego Velez de Guevara is introduced on two occasions in this inscription: First in ll. 4-5, and later, in order to positively confirm his greatness, in ll. 12-13. The *qui*-clause (ll. 6-11) sums up his career. The details of his demise are in ll. 14-15.

31.1 The text in the coat of arms is badly damaged, and both P.P.C. and H.S. have omitted this part of the inscription.

31.5 AXATI: See also no. 26. 19. CHIROGA is the modern Quiroga, in the Orense region, northwest Spain.

31.12-13 Note the word order of the last two lines of the *c.v.* of the aforementioned knight in this inscription: The first and the last words form a hyperbaton (EQVES...SINGVLARIS), enclosing a series of three ablatives (SPLENDORE, COPIA, ANIMO). In l. 12, the author includes a parallelism of phrases, through alternation of genitives with ablatives (GENERIS SPLENDORE, OPVM COPIA), while in l. 13 the author presents a copia of ACRI PRÆSENTIQVE.

32: Rajmundu Albino Menville.

Rajmundu Albino Menville was born on 20th February, 1715. He played a role in difficult times, in which Grand Master Pinto expelled the Jesuits from Malta (23rd April, 1768), and when the relations between Malta and Naples were very tense. Naples intended to end the monopoly of the Order's jurisdiction over Malta in religious and civil matters. Grand Master Pinto chose three Conventual Chaplains of the Langue of Italy, among whom was Rajmundu

Albino Menville, to assist the Metropolitan See of Palermo in matters of such jurisdiction. Naples had hoped to appoint a Maltese priest as their local agent of the Archbishop of Palermo, who then could make sure that their orders were being carried out (Testa 1989: 289). He died on 6th May, 1801, having lived for 86 years, two months and fourteen days. Some dear Maltese friends or family must have taken care of placing this stone, which, in view of its artistic qualities, seems to have been manufactured long before the death of Rajmundu. The fact that he was considered a Maltese Commendator certainly promoted the good cause of persuading the Church authorities to allow placing this stone three years after the removel of the Order from Malta.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque pictorial*, with a classicizing tendency. Around the pedestal, with the inscription in front, unfolds a lively scene. From the left of the pedestal, Death, in a robe of *Giallo*, charges with an axe held high onto Father Time. The latter turns his body aside, protecting a sandglass, and tries to ward off the fatal blow with an outstretched arm. On the pedestal stands, in a slant, the shield with the coat of arms. Next to it stands a female figure, holding an incense burner. A putto hides behind the shield. A black ecclesiastical hat with tassels surmounts the coat of arms.

Rajmundu Albino Menville is introduced in ll. 3-8, whereby his ranks and the best of his character are mentioned. In the following *qui*-clause, his achievements are discussed together with his election of Prior of the Conventual Church (ll. 9-17). The inscription ends with a sense of satisfaction with the statement FATO MAIOR in l. 18: He made the most of his life when he could.

32.4 Although Rajmundu Albino Menville is called a MELITENSIS COM[MENDATARII], he belonged to

the Langue of Italy. Notwithstanding the fact that there was no Langue of Malta, he apparently felt it appropriate, being Maltese, to mention his origins.

32.5 PRATO is the modern Prato in Tuscany. COMM[ENDATARII] MAG[ISTERIA]LIS: Normally a Knight-Commendator was chosen through his seniority and his abilities. Access to the Order's property was also possible by a grant of the Grand Master, who had, in each Priory, a Commandery to his disposition (see list in De Vertot 1728: 2.*Statutes.*66); this he could keep for his personal use, or bestow lifelong to a preferred Knight, by his Magisterial Grace. The chosen Knight had to pay the Grand Master the first two years' proceeds for such Magisterial Commandary; or the Grand Master could give a likewise Commandery for a five-year period to any Knight of his liking, *e.g.* as a reward to a successful naval commander. A Knight, favoured such, had to repay one year's proceed (Testa 1989: 27).

32.6 SANCTÆQ[VE] MARIÆ GRATIARVM is the sanctuary of Santa Maria delle Gratie near Pisa, Italy.

32.7 SOLLERTISSIMI: Zeugma.

32.14 AVDITOR, lit.: "Hearer"; however, we know from history that the Grand Master appointed three auditors in his household. Contrary to the modern expectations of an auditor, this office included also the task of collecting laws and regulations of the Order for publication in Latin.

33: Bertrand de Moretton Chabrillan.

Bertrand de Moretton Chabrillan entered the Order on 1st April, 1684 (De Vertot 1761:164). His exceptional vivacity (l. 8) brought him from Captain of a galley to the top position of acting Marshall and the rank of Grand Cross. He died on 11th November, 1738, at least 54 years of age. However, on 16th October, 1694, he was chosen as a galley's Commander, for which function he should have been at least 25 years old (see no. 2). His year of birth could then have been 1679, which makes his entrance into the Order at the age of five, and his death at the age of 59.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque pictorial.* Within an arched arrangement stands a sarcophagus on a pedestal, both made of *Nero Malquino.* The arch itself is of a reddish *Diaspro*, and the floor is chequered black and white.

The pedestal supports a cartouche with inscription, in the form of a black mantle. On top on the pedestal, in front of the sarcophagus, stands the shield with the coat of arms, supported by two lions combatant. A round, red shield with a white eight-pointed cross surmounts the sarcophagus. Behind the sarcophagus, an array of flags and banners emerges.

A long and dry catalogue of character and achievements stands in contrast to Bertrand de Moretton Chabrillan's exuberance and success. However, the highlights of this inscription are ll. 1-4 HIC...ÆTERNVM.

33.1-2 NOVISSIMA TVBA signifies Judgement Day, in which, on the last sound of the horn, the good people are selected on the right for admission into Heaven, and the bad people on the left, for admittance into Hell. VULG. *1 Cor.* 15.52: *in momento in ictu oculi in novissima tuba canet enim et mortui resurgent incorrupti et nos inmutabimur.*

33.12 ONNES VNO: Oxymoron.

33.19-20 COMMENDARVM...COMMENDARVM: Cyclos, in which figure of speech a sentence or a phrase starts and ends with the same word. SALES is the modern Sales, in the Haute Savoie, MONTSEGNES and SAINT PAUL LES ROMANS are the modern Montsenis and Saint-Paul-lès-Romans. BVGNETS survived only as a modern name "Bugnets". All places are situated in Drôme, all in France.

33.21-23 VICES in l. 21, and COMMISSARIVM GERENS in l. 23, together have the meaning of "while deputizing".

34: Carlo Francesco Doria.

Carlo Francesco Artamone Doria of Turin was born in 1659, progeny of the lineage of Del Maro or Del Marro. He entered the Order on 16th April, 1666, at seven years of age (Bonazzi 1897: 109, 133). He clearly regarded great and unreasonable pride as worthless, and ordered

only his name to be inscribed on his gravestone. There are a few more who share his views (see nos. 36, 37), in contrast to the rest of his Brethren, who indeed were concerned with posterity. He died on 23rd December, 1727, at the age of 68.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque sepulchral classisizing.* A slab a varying tones of *Bigio* is framed by a series of interlocking medallions of *Giallo.* In striking colour contrast, the pedestal and supported sarcophagus of *Nero Malquino* grab the attention of the beholder. Both sarcophagus and the pedestal, with inscription, have fine yellow contour lines. The shield with the coat of arms surmounts the sarcophagus, which shield is partly rendered in outline, creating a high degree of transparency over the background. The shield shows a crowned, black eagle, with both wings spread. The eight-pointed cross is just a single fine grey outline.

After the reader's curiosity is satisfied with revealing the name and rank of the deceased, the reader is urged to make no further inquiries about Carlo Francesco Artamone Doria (ll. 2-5). The reader is informed about his feelings regarding vainglory (l. 6) and his explicit last will: His name only should be mentioned on this inscription (ll. 7-9). The author, however, found it necessary to inform us about his motivation to be brief. The modern reader can be grateful for this decision, as it provides both a good insight into his character and a fine contrast to other Knights, who are concerned with the opposite.

34.2 AVRIA was also known as *Orenses, Originis, Aurigenses* or *Aurienses aquae*, which is the modern Orense in Galicia, in northern Spain.

34.3 *Avgusta Taurinorum*, see also no. 9.5.

34.4 *Cremona* is the modern Cremona, in Italy.

34.5 QVÆRAS: Classical Latin would have preferred the perfect subjunctive NE QUASIVERIS. In the

Latin of St. John's main nave, in contrast to Classical Latin's *ne* with the perfect subjunctive, *ne* with the present subjunctive is found. For this reason, I shall respect this usage on further occasions.

34.6 LIV. 22.39.18: *Resistes autem, si adversus famam rumoresque hominum satis firmus steteris, si te neque collegae vana gloria neque tua falsa infamia moverit.* GLORIÆ CONTEMPTOR: See also no. 45.8.

34.8-9 Alliteration of S, C and R. Note the repetition of S, which is connotative for requiring silence, chosen for emphasis.

35: Ottavio Tancredi.

Ottavio Tancredi of Siena was born in 1635, and entered the Order on 26th September, 1647, at the age of twelve. According to this age, he could have qualified as a page for Grand Master Lascaris. He was made Captain of the *"Capitana"*, the squadron flagship of the Order, in 1667, and afterwards ambassador to the King of France (1673) and the Prior of Messina (Bonazzi 1897: 320). In 1709, the dying Grand Master Perellos made Ottavio Tancredi, now himself the Prior of Messina, Lieutenant to the Grand Mastership (De Vertot 1728: 2.13.105). Tancredi died on 14th March, 1722, at the age of 87.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral iconography, here a *Late Baroque Pictorial Invention*, and termed as "classicizing". It offers a frontal view of a large pyramid, which three-dimensionality is rendered by pieces of *Diaspro* and *Rosso*. The pyramid, supporting a crown and sphere, has a monumental entrance, on which a crowned black eagle sits, holding the shield with the coat of arms. The inscription is placed underneath four cypresses, and cut into the slab without any form of embellishment.

The inscription of Ottavio Tancredi starts with praise for his hometown, lineage and his most prominent qualities, which allowed him to perform excellently for twenty years (ll. 2-7).

During the same period, he achieved a good reputation as an ambassador for the Order (ll. 8-15). The Order's Treasury placed the last line in gratitude for the considerable amount of gold pieces he left behind (l. 18).

35.3 SENENSIS: See no. 1.1.

35.6 SVPRA VIGINTI, with annos understood.

35.10 GEMINIS...LEGATIONIBVS, with IN ADMINISTRANDIS understood from l. 6.

35.11-14 Parallelism of phrases whereby ALTERA...IN QVA are repeated in the following lines. In ll. 11 and 13 there is a repetition of APVD with accusative, CHRISTIANISSIMAM MAIESTATEM – CATHOLICAM (with MAIESTATEM understood), while in ll. 12 and 14, there are two parallel present participles, RECONCILIANS – ÆQVANS, and objects REGIVM ANIMVM, AMOREM, PRIVILEGIA, EXSPECTATIONEM.

35.11 With the CHRISTIANISSIMAM MAIESTATEM is meant the Holy Roman Emperor, at that time Charles VI of Vienna (d.1740). Lit.: "the most Christian majesty".

35.12 CIC. *Att.* 6.71: *quintus filius pie sane, me quidem certe multum hortante, sed currentem animum patris sui sorori tuae reconciliavit.*

35.13 Lit.: "At the court of the Catholic Majesty", by which is meant the Papal States. ETRVRIÆ: See also no. 20.10.

35.14 PAREM...COMPARAVIT: COMPARAVIT is the verb, which belongs to the two relative clauses in ll. 12 and 14, starting with IN QVA. It also forms an alliteration of P and R. CIC. *Phil.* 14.11.31: *Hanc se prima latrocinio abrupit Antoni, haec tenuit Albam, haec se ad Caesarem contulit, hanc imitata quarta legio parem virtutis gloriam consecuta est.*

35.16 N.T. *Act.* 7.60: *Positis autem genibus clamavit voce magna: "Domine, ne statuas illis hoc peccatum"; et cum hoc dixisset, obdormivit.*

35.18 Assonance in ÆRARIO...AVREORVM. The word SPOLIO may create some confusion. It means both "spoils" and "inheritance". The property of a deceased Knight was regularly amassed by means of income from the Order's estates, family capital, corsairing or any other way, except by sweat of labour. The vow of poverty allowed the Knight to enjoy their wealth, but not possess it. At a Knight's death, all property returned to the Order, in an organised manner. Any religious objects

went to the Conventual church, books to the Prior's library, horses and carriages to the Grand Master. Moveable and valuable goods were kept in the *Conservatoria* and later sold by auction. All the deceased's arms and armoury were returned to the Armoury, except swords and daggers: These were sold by action. For the purpose of auctioning the spoils, the Exchequer, accompanied by two "honest" men, a notary public and two or three witnesses, inspected the spoils and made up the inventory of the deceased's *spolium,* after which his house was sealed. Creditors were allowed to be present at this exercise. Proceeds of these auctions landed in the coffer of the Common treasury. (De Vertot 1728: 2.*Statutes.*17-45).

36: Gaspar de Figuera.

Gaspar de Figuera was born in 1653, and reached the title of Castellan of Amposta. He died on 24th October, 1729, at the age of 76.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental.* A slab of *Nero Malquino*, enclosed by a frame of *Breccia*, contains a very elaborate monumental pedestal with inscription. It has a lower part on which the sarcophagus is placed, and a higher part on which the most striking feature of this design stands: a winged mechanical clock, which face is encircling a map of the countries bordering the West Mediterranean region. Death, holding a scythe, sits on top of the clock, while blowing a trumpet, to which is attached the Order's banner. Attached to the front of the monument's upper part, the shield, with the coat of arms, is surrounded by a chaplet. A grilled helmet with six bars argent, edged, and lambrequins is placed below the coat of arms. There are four monumental inscriptions rendering a mechanical clock. Two of those are of the hand of Romano Carapecchia, the present no. 36 executed in 1729, and no. 69, executed in 1737. The two other clocks, in no. 26 (1739) and no. 127 (1768), are of unknown artists. Carapecchia is certainly the first to render a mechanical clock on the pavement of St. John's, and others

followed his idea. No. 26 and no. 127 are most probably not by his hand, as the artist died suddenly on 21st January, 1738. Another design of Carapecchia is no. 37. (De Lucca 1999: 215-217).

The text in the cartouche of the winged mechanical clock greets the curious reader with a mixture of sarcasm and deadly truth in VENIT HORA EIVS, VENIET ET TVA (ll. 1-2). The reader is then trapped in a question-and-answer game, with unexpected wry answers. Most striking are the bold statements in ll. 6-7: HONORIS QVÆRIS TITVLOS: NVLLOS HABET; FVIT AMPOSTÆ CASTELLANVS: NON EST. The inscription is remarkably going against the custom of emphasizing the deceased's achievements and titles of honour. Instead, immortality is sought by the qualities of Gaspar de Figuera's virtues, which were judged to be of such a quality that the reader is encouraged to try to emulate them. However, it remains doubtful if one would ever be successful, especially when even death is not able to erase them (ll. 8-10). The inscription ends with some friction between the last will of the deceased to remain unassuming, and the urge of his cousin for the heralding of his uncle's immortality (ll. 16-18). One may have expected just a sepulchral slab to confirm humility, but the art of the monumental inscription reflects the absolute grandeur of a renowned artist.

36.1-2 Note the sharpness of these two lines, especially in their brevity.

36.6 PL. *Trin.* 644: *atque honori posterorum tuorum ut vindex fieres, tibi paterque avosque facilem fecit et planam viam ad quaerundum honorem.*

36.7 AMPOSTA lies on the coast, about 200 km under Barcelona. The Langue of Aragon is made up of Knights of Catalonia and Navarre. If the Great Conservator is an Aragonese or Valencian, he is entitled to the honour of the Castellany of Amposta, the traditional name for the Prior of Aragon (De Vertot 1728:2.13.134). NON EST: *Nunc* understood.

36.9-10 HAS...HAS: Anaphora.

36.17 NEGARAT: Syncopated for *negaverat.*

36.18 AD MÆRENS: *ad* is sometimes joined to a verb to denote an element of intensity. However, *admaereor* does not exist as a whole word. Other whole words exist, as in *adamo, adimpleo* and *aduro.*

37: Melchor Alvaro Pereira Pinto Coutineo.

Melchor was born in 1649 and was nominated Captain of a galley in 1674, at the minimum required age of 25 years (Bonazzi 1897: 253). He died on 11th May, 1736, at an age of 87 years.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral iconography, here a *Late Baroque Pictorial Invention.* A frame of *Bigio* contains a continuous chain, in which links are set stars and Ottoman crescents. An arched arrangement of *Bigio* leads the attention to a sarcophagus, which stands in the middle of a room. This room has a yellow brick wall and a round window, true Maltese style. Father Time stands at the back of the opened sarcophagus, and holds its lid, decorated with the coat of arms, in an angle behind it. The cartouche with inscription is placed below, in a second frame of the same rendering. The design is of Romano Carapecchia (De Lucca 1999: 217).

IN HOC SARCOPHAGO QVIESCVNT OSSA (l. 3) refers to pictorial arrangement in the lapidary art. This Knight shares his humility with some of his neighbours. Although the inscription shows his high ranks, the deceased wishes to receive his glory not through his earthly deeds, but through prayers with praises, addressed to him (ll. 7-9). Finally, the passer-by is requested to offer some prayers for him who exchanged earthly glory for heavenly glory (ll. 10-11). Once again, the wish for humility in the inscription is not quite honoured by those who outlived Melchor Alvaro Pereira Pinto Coutineo.

37.1 PETR. 71.12: *requiescit in pace domini.*

37.3 Alliteration of C and Q.

37.5-6 LESA is the modern Leça, on the Atlantic coast of North Portugal, near the border with Spain. PAIARES is the modern Pajares de Algozo in the region of Lena, Spain.

37.7 NE EXSPECTES is the wrong use of the more proper construction *ne exspectaveris* for a prohibition (see alson no. 34.5). The meaning of this sentence excludes the possibility of interpreting it as a final clause.

37.8-10 LAVDABILIS...LAVDARI...LAVDIBVS: Polyptoton.

38: José Pereyra Pinto.

José Pereyra Pinto was born in 1666. He was promoted from Commendator to Grand Chancellor. He was nominated by Castille as an elector in the Grand Master's election of 1741. He died on 11th June, 1751, 85 years of age.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental.* It offers a three-dimensional view into a dome, supported by four columns, covering the pedestal and sarcophagus. The inscription is placed centrally on the pedestal. The sarcophagus, supported by two putti, surmounts the pedestal. The shield with the coat of arms is placed on top of the sarcophagus.

After the introduction of José Pereyra Pinto and his ranks (ll. 2-5), the accidental passer-by is urged to admire his esteemed but undisclosed single virtue (l. 7). Indeed, the emphasis of the inscription lies not on his achievements, although the Order was grateful to him for his last noble deed. He left behind many thousands of gold pieces to the Public Treasury (ll. 12-13).

38.4-5 LVSITANIA comprises of the modern Portugal and the western Spanish provinces of Extremadura

and Toledo. **BARRO** is the modern A de Barros, in Portugal.

38.7 Alliteration of H and C.

38.8 Alliteration of N and T.

38.9 Alliteration of V.

38.11 One *lustrum* is a period of 5 years.

39: Francesco Maria Ferretti.

Francesco Maria Ferretti was born in 1653, and he entered the Order on 9th October, 1667, at fourteen years of age. He was Governor of the Pontifical galleys and ruled the Commanderies of Cremona and San Giovanni. Furthermore, he was Prior for England and Bailiff of Cremona and Sant' Eufemia. The inscription adds the functions of Governor-General of Valletta and Commander Emeritus of the fleet. Francesco Maria's brother, Benedetto (who entered the Order on 10th July, 1694), also Captain of a galley, succeeded him on the Bailiwick of Cremona (F. Bonazzi 1897: 142). Francesco Maria Ferretti, in his 60 years of service, spanned the life times of seven Popes: Blessed Innocens XI (1676-89), Alexander VII (1689-91), Innocens XII (1691-1700), Clemens XI (1700-21), Innocens XIII (1721-24), Benedict XIII (1724-30) and Clemens XII (1730-40). As a professional soldier he survived seven armed confrontations with his enemy. He died in 1738, being older than 85 years. Klawdju Durante was commissioned in August 1738 to produce the monumental inscription for Francesco Maria Ferretti, by order of the executors Bartholomeo Rull and Vittorio Rocchi (Debono 1999: 392).

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque sepulchral classisizing*. A frame, consisting of a series of flowery ornaments in oval medallions, surrounds a slab of *Marmo Bianco*, which renders a predominantly black urn on a pedestal. Military paraphernalia are partly visible from behind the urn. The pedestal bears the cartouche

with inscription, shaped like an inside scallop. The shield with the coat of arms, surrounded by a chaplet, rests at the foot of the pedestal.

In the introduction, Francesco Maria Ferretti is introduced to the traveller as the summary of all virtues and honours (ll. 2-6). In the following *qui*-clause (ll. 7-20), his youthful entry into the Order is mentioned (l. 8) together with his further achievements and charitable engagements. L. 23 recounts him being returned uncorrupted to his maker.

39.3 CIC. *Mur.* 62: *Non re ductus es sed opinione; "sapiens nihil opinatur".* VEL GLORIA VEL GLORIÆ: From glory is the belief that is formed as a result of an experience of glory, to glory is the belief that is formed as the result of one's spiritual formation, aimed at the achievement of eternal glory.

39.4 Note the double inner hyperbata in HVICCE...COMPENDIO in the word order ABBCBA, whereby A is the dative, B is the genitive plural, and C is the conjunction.

39.8 Both A TENERIS and *in teneris* are commonly used. CIC. *Fam.* 1.6.2: *Sed praesta te eum, qui mihi a teneris, ut Graeci dicunt, unguiculis es cognitus.* VERG. *G.* 2.272: *adeo in teneris consuescere multum est.* LIV. 2.24: *alius alium confirmare ne nomina darent.*

39.10 SANCTÆ EVPHEMIÆ: See also no. 17.7.

39.11 TAC. *Ann.* 1.17: *satis per tot annos ignavia peccatum, quod tricena aut quadrigena stipendia senes et plerique truncato ex vulneribus corpore tolerant.* STIPENDIA (*egit* understood).

39.14 CIC. *Pis.* 21.49: *In Aegyptum venit, signa contulit cum Alexandrinis.*

39.12 CIC. *Ver.* 2.5.34.89: *Sed tum inopes relicti ad duce praefectoque classis eundem necessario cursum tenere coeperunt.* This tallies with the description *"Governatore della Galere Pontificie"* (F. Bonazzi 1897: 142).

39.14 In this inscription both the U and the V are represented by their respective symbols, however CONSERVIT should have been written *conseruit.*

39.21 ANCONITANVS: A person from Ancona, Italy.

39.23 Pentameter.

40: Francesco Carvalho Pinto.

Francesco Carvalho Pinto was born in 1747. His career was successful in the beginning and he became the Grand Prior of Aragon. He died on 8th September, 1818, at the age of 72. His Knightly career must have stopped in 1798, although he continued living the last twenty years of his life in Malta, however without the presence of his Order. Although it was his wish, he is not buried in St. John's. Karlu Durante (son of Filippu) was commissioned to produce the monumental inscription in September 1819, by notary Allessandru Spiteri (Debono 1999: 392). This inscription is the latest in date of St. John's main nave.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral iconography, here a *Late Baroque Pictorial Invention.* A slab of *Bigio* with a frame of *Rosso* stands a black pedestal, surmounted by the shield with the coat of arms. Two putti are amidst military paraphernalia surrounding the shield. The Angel of Fame, hovering over this scene, blows a long trumpet, from which hangs a banner with the text of the inscription.

After the introduction, including name and ranks (ll. 2-6), the *qui*-clause (ll. 7-13) resounds the great regret of not being allowed to be buried in St. John's. Francesco Carvalho Pinto spent the greater part of his life in devotion to the Order and the Conventual Church. In the last part of his life, after the French occupiers had ousted his Order, he must have felt quite uprooted, disillusioned and lonely, if not for the support of his Maltese friend.

40.5 ALENGONIS PORTVS survives as the present Langon, in the Gironde, France. It belonged to the Langue of Provence.

40.6 The author probably meant to write *Hiberia Terra*, the Classical name for the Iberian peninsula in general, instead of *Hibernia,* which is the Classical name for Ireland. However, from the context it is understood that the author had meant to express "Aragon".

40.10 HOR. *S.* 2.6.1: *Hoc erat in votes: modus agri non ita magnus.* (see also no. 83.3).

40.16 ALEXANDER PATRICIVS SPITERI, a Maltese nobleman and notary, was present during a meeting between notables of Valletta on Sunday, 10th june, 1798, to discuss their future. That very same day the French invaders had occupied most of Malta's rural areas. On Sunday, 2nd September, 1798, Allesandru Spiteri was involved as a notary, in the auction of gold and silver articles of the convent and churches of Rabat and Mdina. The auction was under the charge of a former donat of the Order, Gużeppi Farrugia. The angry crowd pelted the notary with stones, and he had to run for his safety. After this incident, the good notary seemed to have chosen the side of his countrymen, as in 1799 he was involved in making an investigation in the amount of money the Maltese rebels had received from the King of Naples (Testa 1997: 61, 260, 648).

40.17 Note the contrast between DEFVNCTO and DIV in the same line, the former associated with death, the latter with life. Also note the pun in DIV IVNCTVS, considering that *diiunctus* means to be "severed", separated from life, thus a dead person.

41: François Dupui Trigona.

François Dupui Trigona (or De Trigoinan) entered the Order in 1604 (De la Roque 1891: 197). In a relatively short career of 26 years, he reached the status of Commander of a small galley, superintendent and galley Inspector. He probably died during his last office, being the Administrator of the Gozitan Prefecture. He died on 17th November, 1630.

The lapidary stone is a sepulchral slab, consisting of a slab of *Marmo Bianco*, with inscription framed by a fine black line.

The text of this inscription gives a dry summary of his achievements.

41.4 *Petrocorae*, also known as *Petricorium, Petricordium, Petragoricum, Petrogorica urbs, Vesunna*, is the modern Périgueux, in the Dordogne, France. *Petricorius pagus* is the modern region of de Perigord, in the Dordogne.

41.6-8 *Hemioparonis* is a coined word, which is not found in any dictionary. A *paro* is a "small, light ship", from *παρών*. The nearest proper word would be *ἡ ἡμιολά*, "a light ship with one and a half bank of oars". For this reason, the present SEMIPARONIS is also coined. Note the parallelism of phrases, formed in the alternation of genitives and datives. Note that in l. 6 all genitives belong to the third declension singular (*-is*), and that all datives in ll. 6 and 7 belong to the third declension singular (*-i*). Each last word of ll. 6,7 and 8 also form an homoeoteleuton (*-tori, -tori,-tori).*

41.11 Alliteration of C, M and N, denoting sadness.

42: Louis de la Salle.

Louis de la Salle was born in 1630, and entered the Order in 1664, at the age of 34 (De Vertot 1761: 135). This was certainly too late to make a successful career in the Order, where seniority started at the cradle. His brothers Guillaume and Henri had entered the Order earlier in their life, and were high ranking (see nos. 83 and 129). He died in 1680, at the age of 50, after sixteen years in the Order.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Baroque*. A slab of *Nero Malquino* renders a symmetrical frame of white lines, filled with skulls and crossbones at each corner and in between the four spaces. This frame was seemingly popular, as it is also used in nos. 109, 111, 121 and 130. The design, within the frame, shows a pedestal, nearly all covered by the cartouche with inscription. The shield with the coat of arms surmounts this pedestal. Over the crown of the coat of arms hangs a banner with the text DANT ANIMOS (l. 1).

The inscription mentions no rank, but emphasizes the passionate care for the sick, good works and a too early death. The statement in l. 1 thus refers to a very dedicated serving brother (see De Vertot 1728: 2.13.115).

42.3 CÆLO: Understood IN.

42.5-6 CIC. *Phil.* 2.2.3: *An ego non venirem contra alienum pro familiari et necessario, non venirem contra gratiam non virtutis spe, sed aetatis flore conlectam. Id. Sest.* 31.68: *Piso ille, gener meus, cui fructum pietatis suae neque ex me neque a populo Romano ferre licuit, a propinquo suo socerum suum flagitabat.* Note the parallelism of phrases of adjective, genitive, noun repeated, with a hyperbaton in each line. Note also the intentional choice of words in ACERBO opposed to MATVRO, and FLORE to FRVCTV. By this the author means to say that notwithstanding the relative young age of the deceased, his achievements and pious works were full.

42.8 Alliteration of P. Assonance in IMPATIENS ALIENÆ. PATIENS...IMPATIENS: Homoeoteleuton. Note the parallelism of phrases in PATIENS PROPRIÆ, IMPATIENS ALIENÆ, where each word becomes the opposite of its counterpart.

42.9 LABORANTES...LABORA[NS]: Polyptoton. Please note also the pun in the use of the verb *laboro*, which can mean both to "work" and to "suffer".

42.14 Alliteration of D. The choice of CREATORI emphasizes that Louis de la Salle is returned to his maker.

42.17 Alliteration of R, N, M.

43: Nicolaus von Enzberg.

Nicolaus Antonius Frederic Baron von Enzberg (or Entzberg) was born in 1685, and entered the Order in 1689, when he was four years of age. Before he reached the highest rank of Grand Bailiff, he was Commendator of Schwabishall and Asseltrach, and Exchequer-General of Upper Germany (De Vertot 1761: 414). He was an elector in the election of Grand Master Pinto in 1741 (Testa 1989: 34). The inscription adds that he was Commendator of Villingen. He died on 12th February, 1752, at the age of 67.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental.* An arched arrangement encapsulates a laboriously sculpted pedestal, which has

the cartouche with inscription attached to its front. The cartouche has the shape of an open mantle. The pedestal extends in length, in the form of a voluted column, which is supported by two putti. The putto on the right-hand holds a sandglass. From each column of the arched arrangement, two flags stick out.

In the introduction, it becomes clear that Nicolaus Antonius Frederic Baron von Enzberg followed in the footsteps of his father at a very young age (ll. 2-6). His ranks are mentioned in ll. 7-9, followed by his integrity of character, the emulation of his ancestors and his untimely death, causing a regretted absence. The dedication is found in ll. 15-19.

43.4 In Classical Latin, the MOSCHI were a people, living between the Black and Caspian Seas.

43.7 SVPERIORIS GERMANIÆ was the upper part of the German Priory, which was divided in an upper and lower part in 1249 (H.J.A. Sire 1994:193).

43.9 The name of VILLINGEN remains unchanged today. Names of towns in Classical Latin do not take a preposition. However, indeclinable place names, at least as used in the Vulgate, are accompanied by a preposition. N.T. *Mc.* 1.9: *Et factum est in diebus illis venit Iesus a Nazareth Galilaeae et baptizatus est in Iordane ab Ioanne.* N.T. *Io.* 1.46: *Et dixit ei Nathanael: "A Nazareth potest aliquid boni esse?"*

43.10 OV. *Tr.* 3.6.7: *quique est in caris animi tibi candor amicis.* Note the parallelism of phrases through genitives and ablatives repeated in ANIMI CANDORE...MORVM COMITATE, as well as alliteration of C and M.

43.12 TAC. *Ann.* 15.59: *miles potius deesset et plebes desereret, dum ipse maioribus, dum posteris, si vita praeriperetur, mortem adprobaret.*

44: Francesco Pappalettere.

Francesco Pappalettere was born in 1669, and entered the Order on 19th April, 1689, when he was twenty (F. Bonazzi 1897: 239-240). Although he had led a life fully worth of praises and achievements, the author wishes only to reveal his two highest titles, those of Bailiff and

Prior. He died on 14th May, 1761, at the age of 92.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque pictorial*, which upper part is occupied by a pictorial treatment. A pedestal is placed on a background of *Nero Malquino*. On its front, it has the cartouche with inscription. The frontal brim of the pedestal is rendered in *Breccia*. On the platform of the pedestal sits, amidst military paraphernalia, a female figure in classical military clad. She, an allegory of the Order, holds a sword in the left hand, the point sticking upwards. Her right hand rests on the shield of the coat of arms, which displays a bird with a banner in its mouth, reading PAPPALETTERE (l. 1). Her left foot rests on something that seems a white turban, and above her hovers a putto, holding an open crown over her helmet.

The alternation of questions and answers divide this inscription into five parts: The first question asks the traveller if he is looking for Francesco Pappalettere, and answers with a list of his ranks (ll. 3-6). After this, a statement is made about his assured immortality (ll. 7-8). The second and third questions answer the one who praises him (ll. 9-15) and suggest how to confirm his achievements (ll. 16-17). The fifth, and final question, answers where to look for his soul (ll. 18-22).

44.1-22 This inscription takes the style of a catechism, by which a number of questions are posed, introduced by QVÆRIS, namely ll. 3, 9, 16 and 18, the last of which forms a cycle with the first one, in the sense that the soul of Francesco Pappalettere is carried to Heaven, his place of immortality (AD ASTRA). In between, questions are placed, addressed to both the praises and achievements (LAVDES...GESTA). All this is thus dramatically presented to the reader (VIATOR).

44.3 Alliteration of C and Q.

44.4 DON originates from *dominus*, and came first in use as a title of respect for Spanish men of high rank.

44.5 SANCTÆ EVPHEMIÆ: See also no. 17.7.

44.8 IMMORTALITATE IMMORTALES: Polyptoton.

44.11 OMNES VNO: Oxymoron.

44.12-13 Note the parallelism of phrases in VITÆ...GRAVITATE and RELIGIONE... PAVPERES, both of which are outflanked by the hyperbaton VIR...CONSPICVVS.

44.14-15 Note the parallelism of phrases in these two lines, which is repeated twice in the word order ABCDE: A is the preposition, B the gerundive, C the nominative, D the genitive and E the conjunction. Furthermore, IN forms an anaphora.

45: Romeo Fardella.

Romeo Fardella (or Fardelli) was born in Trapani in the year 1638, and had entered the Order when he was thirteen, on 3rd April, 1651 (Bonazzi 1897: 138). Although he had spent 77 years in the Order, he only wanted his name to be remembered, nothing else. He died on 6th July, 1728, 90 years of age.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental*. Two putti open a set of curtains and expose a pedestal surmounted by the shield with the coat of arms. The front of the pedestal shows the cartouche with inscription, in the shape of an opened mantle. Two other putti support the base of the shield. The one on the right holds a book, the other a sandglass.

Romeo Fardella wished only his name to be known to those reading his inscription. His name and rank are given, and the traveller is kindly asked to stay discreet; further asking would be in vain, NOLI ALIVD DE EO QVÆRERE, VIATOR: NIHIL ENIM POST MORTEM DE SE SCIRI VOLVIT (ll. 6-7).

45.4 S[ANCTI] STEPHANI is the present Santo Stefano di Monopoli, in southern Italy. It was an important possession, due to its harbour and hospital. There is some discrepancy between the inscription and Bonazzi about his highest title. The former quotes him as Prior, the latter as Bailiff of Santo Stefano (see Bonazzi 1897: 138).

45.5 Alliteration of C and Q in HOC…QVIESCIT, which sound is suggestive of peace.

45.8 Alliteration of G. GLORIÆ CONTEMPTOR: See also no. 34.6.

45.11-16 Note the alternation of the dative of destination with the ablative of year ANNO. The author of this inscription, quite unwilling to give a full *c.v.* of Romeo Fardella, very succinctly gives three important dates of his life: Birth, entrance into the Order and death. DREPANO is the modern Trapani, in Sicily.

46: Traiano Geronda.

Traiano Geronda (or Gerondi, Girondi, Gerundi) of Bari, was born in 1648, and entered the Order on 15th March, 1665, seventeen years of age. In this inscription, the author puts importance on the contrasts and compliments of being a soldier and a religious, on war and hospitality, achievements and prayer. He died as a Knight Grand Cross on 2nd August, 1719, at the age of 71.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental*. Within an arched arrangement stands a pedestal, with the cartouche with inscription in front. Two putti support the inscription. A sarcophagus, made of *Diaspro Rosso*, surmounts the pedestal. The shield with the coat of arm, surrounded by a chaplet, stands on top of the sarcophagus.

This inscription is built up of short phrases, forming one sentence from ll. 3-22, leaving the reader breathless. It reflects well the pace of Traiano Geronda's life, summed up in QVAM

PLVRIMA of l. 10. To prove the point of his hardworking and selfless personality, given everything and demanding nothing, the author wrote QVOD MERITVM NON QVÆRENDO POSCERETVR (l. 17) to emphasize the voluntary nature of his promotion to Honorary Grand Cross.

46.1 N.T. *Apc.* 14.13: *et audivi vocem de caelo dicentem: "Scribe: Beati mortui, qui in Domino moriuntur amodo. Iam, dicit Spiritus, ut reqiescant a laboribus suis; opera enim illorum sequuntur illos".*

46.3 VITA, MORS: Oxymoron. The effect of the oxymoron is enhanced by the absence of other words.

46.5 This sentence has two figures of speech: *Sensus pregnans* and a transferred epithet (or hypallage). It is not the renown that is Jerusalemite, but that of the Order of Jerusalem, to which he belonged.

46.6 Asyndeton. DIGNA EST is singular because of VITA, MORS in l. 3. Separated by a comma, each stands in its own capacity as the subject of the verb.

46.7 RELIGIOSVM has here the English meaning, now rare, of the noun 'religious', which is a person who belongs to a religious order.

46.7-9 Repetition of a copia in MILITEM – ET RELIGIOSVM, BELLI ET HOSPITALITATIS, NEGOTIIS – ET ORATIONI. Note also the similarity in the word order of ll. 7 and 9, where it forms a hyperbaton by the inclusion of the verb and conjugation in VIDISSES ET - DEDITVM ET. This parallelism of phrases includes the variety of accusatives in l. 7, and datives in l. 9.

46.8 Alliteration of S.

46.20 By way of a *qui*-clause, the author of this inscription starts and finishes with the asyndeton of l. 3, with the difference that here they are put in the ablative case.

46.21 TAC. *Ann.* 1.9: *Multus hinc ipso de Augusto sermo, plerisque vana mirantibus quod idem dies accepti quondam imperii princeps et vitae supremus, quod Nolae in domo et cubiculo in quo pater eius Octavius vitam finivisset.*

47: Carlos Carafa.

Carlos Carafa (or Caraffa) of Naples, was born in 1642, and entered the Order on 25th May, 1663, at the age of 21. He was chosen as the Captain of the Galleys, Honorary Grand Cross

and, finally, Prior of Roccella in 1681 (Bonazzi 1897: 68). Carlos' cousin, Grand Master Gregorio Carafa (see no. 111), appointed him first as his Steward and, later on, in 1690, on his deathbed, as his Lieutenant. Besides this, the inscription mentions that he was a legal advisor in the court of Philip V, a leader in war, the President of the Curia and Praetor. He died on 5th March, 1717, at the age of 75.

The lapidary art is rendered in an expression of *Baroque*, called *"macchina"*. The scene is mainly made up of *Giallo*, and fitted onto a background of *Nero Malquino*. It shows the cartouche with inscription, on which are seated two robed female figures. The one on the left holds a book in her arms, the one on the right a child in her fold: Allegories for Wisdom and Charity. Two putti hover overhead, of which the larger one, in the upper left corner, blows a trumpet and holds up a golden laurel. From the trumpet hangs a banner with the coat of arms. The smaller putto, on the right-hand side, holds a sword, which seems to support the trumpet on the far end.

The inscription begins and ends with VIATOR (ll. 2, 23). The reader is greeted in l. 2 and informed who lies here EXANIMIS (l. 3), after which the introduction follows of a *qui*-clause, in l. 6, expressing the love he had for Malta in two *dum*-clauses (ll. 7-8). His progeny is defended in ll. 9-12, followed by his *cursus honorum* and a summary of his human qualities (ll. 13-19). The inscription bids the reader farewell, who is urged to emulate Carlos Carafa. This message is written in an hexameter.

47.2, 22 This inscription begins and ends with a hyperbaton SISTE – LVGE in l. 2, FATVM – EXTREMVM in l. 22.

47.7-8 Note the chiasmus ABCDBDA[C], whereby A is the *dum*-clause DVM VIVERET, DVM AGERET, B the verb in the perfect active indicative, C the object (hence the correction)

MELITAM, ANIMAM, D are ablatival expressions, noun-adjective in AMORE EXIMIO, and adjective-noun in PARI GEMITV.

47.8 CAT. 63.31: *furibunda simul anhelans vaga vadit animam agens.* Note the assonance and polyptoton in AMAVIT…AMORE EXIMIO.

47.9 Alliteration of S, N and G, with G and N repeated in the reverse order.

47.13 A chain of chiasmi, through the repetition of prepositional phrases and the subject twice, in ABC, CAB, ABC.

47.15 Polyptoton.

47.16 Asyndeton throughout.

47.17 DEBITO – SVPERAVIT: Note the mixture of parallelism of phrases, with a chiasmus ABAAB throughout.

47.19 SENESCALLVS appears first in medieval context in *c.* 1066, 1167 and 1270. The word is also found as *seniscalus, sinescallus, senscallus or sinicallus.* It contains two elements: One Latin, from *senex* ("old"), one Old English *scealc* ("servant"). The medieval meaning was "the official responsible for the management of a great house or estate", a "steward", "major-domo", "cathedral official", "governor", "administrative or judicial officer". The Grand Master may appoint directly, and without anyone's consent or approval, a Lieutenant and a Seneschal of his household. These persons were the highest in rank of his household (De Vertot, 1728: 2.13.135). Preferably, *senescallus* is translated as "steward". The office of a seneschal is called seneschalsy. The word *schalk* occurs regularly in history, and its meaning, in it own context, is found throughout many languages. To give just one example of this word: In German, *Gottschalk* means "servant of God", where the Latin would use *dominicus*, and Arab *abdillah.*

47.23-24 Structurally, but in different wordings, SISTE…LVGE is repeated in ABI…VIRTVTEM. Note also the antithesis, in which emphasis is laid on the fact that he still survives and lives, notwithstanding his death. Furthermore, note the chiasmus in the word order of ABCDEDCB, whereby A is a preposition (IN), B a pronoun (QVA) parallel to SVPERSTES (noun), C adjective (VNA – ILLE), D particle (ET – ADHVC), E verb (VIVIT). These two lines are written in a perfect hexameter, if the missing ET is supplied before VIVIT. In fact, ET…ADHVC emphasizes the existence of Carafa beyond his death. It forms also a diaeresis, which in metre means the absence of elision.

48: Joseph de Félix de la Reynarde.

Joseph de Félix de la Reynarde was born in 1634, and entered the Order in 1648 (De la Roque 1891: 85). The author goes to some trouble to explain that his brother Pierre (having entered the Order in 1666) was successful not because he was his brother, but because his brother had proven his worth to the Order. Joseph reached the rank of Grand Commendator. He died on 17th April, 1721, at the age of 87.

The lapidary art is rendered in an expression of *Baroque*, called *"macchina"*. The scene is mainly made up of *Giallo*, and fitted onto a background of *Nero Malquino*. It shows the cartouche with inscription, on which are seated two putti. The putto on the left holds a sandglass and a golden laurel. The one on the left holds a rod. Overhead hover a figure in classical clad and a putto, holding the shield with the coat of arms and a banner with the text FELICES FVERVNT FIDELES in between them. The putto blows a small, curved, trumpet.

The introduction (ll. 2-4) is followed by a *qui*-clause (ll. 5-20), in which each colon ends in either a verb or a perfect participle in the third person singular. This creates a hurried pace throughout the inscription. The following part (ll. 17-20) contains cola, each ending with a present participle, which slows down the pace again, till OBDORMIVIT is met in l. 21. There is some sentiment in PINGVEM MATRI SVÆ SPOLIVM RELINQVENS (l. 20).

48.1 Alliteration of F.

48.5-22 Note the general structure, in which the main verbs alternate with perfect participles from ll. 6 to 12, followed by two main verbs in ll. 14 and 16, and present participles in ll. 17, 18 and 20, and by the last relative clause verb in l. 21 (OBDORMIVIT).

48.6 ESPOLIONS is the modern Espalion, Vally of the river Lot, between Clermont Ferrand and

Narbonne, France.

48.8-9 Note the chiasmi in TRIBVNVS MILITVM, and in the reversed order in TRIREMIVM...DVX.

48.11 CIC. *Fin.* 3.7.24: *quae autem nos aut recte aut recte facta dicamus, si placet, illi autem appellant κατορθώματα, omnes numeros virtutis continent.*

48.12 S[ANCTI] ÆGIDII See also no. 4.6.

48.13 COMMENDAM PRIORALEM: There existed designated properties, which a prior could bestow, by his Prioral Grace, to a preferred Knight.

48.17-18 Note the repetition of litotes MERITA...NON SANGVINEM and RECTOREM, NON DOMINVM. RECTOREM and DOMINVM are compliments after *esse* understood, within an indirect statement, introduced by SCIENS.

48.18-20 Note the chiasmus in these lines through the use of participles SCIENS – RELINQVENS, RECTOREM – DOMINIVM – SPOLIVM. MATRI SVÆ (l. 20), lit.: "To his mother". It is justified to interpret this word as an allegory of the Order. Joseph de Félix de la Reynarde died at the age of 87 years, and it is doubtful if his real mother was still alive. The art of the inscription often renders the Order as a female. See also no. 188.15.

48.21 See also no. 35.16.

49: Gaspar de Ponteves Bargème.

Gaspar de Ponteves Bargème was born in 1627 and entered the Order in 1642, at sixteen years of age (De la Roque 1891: 191). Although he was 93 years old, he is not the only nonagenarian in the main nave. He is in the company of Félix de Grimaldi, 94 years old (see no. 13), and Paul de Félines de la Reneaudie, (at least) 95 years old (see no. 62). Gaspar de Ponteves Bargème holds, however, the longest recorded office as a Commendator, namely 42 years, besides holding a Priory for twenty years. He died on 28th April, 1720, at the age of 93.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental*. On a background of *Giallo* stands a pedestal of *Bigio*, surmounted by a sarcophagus of *Nero Malquino*. The pedestal bears the inscription in front, framed by a band

of *Giallo*. On the platform of the sarcophagus stands the shield with the coat of arms. On top of the sarcophagus sit two putti, supporting both, with one hand, an urn, and with the other hand holding a long candle.

One cannot help but notice the terse style of this inscription, expressed through short sentences, with verbs understood, revealing the bitterness of the mourning heart. Furthermore, short notions are built around a few verbs (FVIT in ll. 4, 13, EST in l.15), a question (QVID PLVRA? in L. 8), and an imperative (DISCE in l. 10). The reader is almost discouraged to ask questions and is practically urged to hurry on. Indeed, the only long sentence is the philosophical truth, which is taught towards the end, whereby eternity is preferred to the long age he lived. One notices also the repetition of FVIT towards the beginning and the end of the inscription: The author seems to emphasize it, especially through its last occurrence, when it is a whole sentence by itself, indicating that he is no longer.

49.1-2 For the first time DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO is extended to a participial phrase with IVSTITIAS IVDICANTI, which forms an assonance.

49.8 CIC. *Leg.* 2.1.3: ***Quid plura?***

49.11 Note the contrast of HVMANÆ GLORIÆ with CÆLESTIS…GLORIA in l. 14. The point made is that no matter how long a person lives on earth, the glory received in Heaven is always greater.

50: Jean Charles de Romieu.

Jean Charles de Romieu was born in 1673, and entered the Order at the age of eighteen, in 1691 (De Vertot 1761: 78). His inscription mentions that he was a religious for 59 years, which means that his religious career must have started in 1686, when he was thirteen. He died on 19th March, 1745.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental*. The frame consists of connected medallions. On a *Bigio* background stands a black pedestal, supporting a black sarcophagus. The cartouche with inscription, in the form of an inside scallop, covers nearly the whole front of the pedestal. On top of the sarcophagus, two identical figures, in a traditional kind of long military clad, support the coat of arms. These two figures may well be pilgrim, as they were badges of shells. They also could represent the early brothers of hospitality.

After the introduction and ranks (ll.2-4) follows a *qui*-clause, containing a summary of his achievements (ll. 5- 10), a character sketch (ll. 11-12) and, finally, the announcement of his death (ll. 13-14).

50.3 SANCTO FELIX and BVRGAVD are respectively the modern Saint-Félix and Le Burgaud in the Haute-Garonne, both in France.

50.7-9 Alliteration of M and P.

50.11-12 CAES. *Gal.* 8.28: *Cuius praeceptis ut res gereretur, Quintus Atius Varus, praefectus equitum, singularis et animi et prudentiae vir.* Note the word order, which is set in such a way, that the hyperbaton (VIR – COMMENDABILIS) starts and ends this colon, and encloses three ablatives (DOTIBVS, MVNIFICENTIA, CVLTVRA), the first two of which form a chiasmus (ANIMI - IN EGENOS), and a parallelism of phrases with genitives (ANIMI – AMICORVM). Note also the assonance and the alliteration of C.

50.13 ANTE DIEM XIX KALENDAS APRILES does not exist. A reasonable guess is that the author meant to express 19th March, which then should be rendered as ANTE DIEM XIV KALENDAS APRILES.

51: Isnardo de San Martino.

Isnardo de San Martino (of the Counts) of Piedmont, entered the Order on 23rd December, 1549 (Bonazzi 1897: 291). He became Grand Prior of Pisa in 1585 and Lombardy in 1591 (Dal Pozzo 1703: 332). Other members of this family, Giovanni Francesco and Nicolò, died while fighting in the Great Siege of Malta. Carlo Amadeo Battista placed this memorial in 1737.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental*. The frame is of *Africano*, while the main slab is of *Marmo Bianco*. A black pedestal, which supports the shield with the coat of arms, forms a colour-contrast. It has the cartouche with inscription in front. Two composite animals, whose lower part is of a lion, and top part of a bird of prey, support the shield. The family motto, a design of a fan of five arrows, bound together with a banner that reads SANS DES PARTIR, appears five times on the slab.

By CETERISQVE QVAM PLVRIMIS SVÆ STIRPE EQVITIBVS RHODIIS AC MELITENSIBVS (ll. 7-9), Carlo Amadeo Battista, who placed this inscription, had his ancestors in mind when he made this compliment, because this inscription contains a dedication, not only to Isnardo, but to all the members of the family. The dedication takes up six lines, while the dedicator spent five lines on himself.

52.2 BONONIENSIS: Originating from *Bononia*, the modern Bologna, in Italy.

51.5-6 Double inner hyperbata in the wordorder of ABCDCA.

51.7-8 Alliteration of C, Q and S.

51.12 CORSICA belonged from 1559 to 1768 to Genoa.

52: Giovanni Caccialupi.

Giovanni Caccialupi of Bologna entered the Order on 20th January, 1579. He reached the rank of Commendator of Udine. He died in 1623.

Sepulchral slab of *Marmo Bianco* with a thin black frame and inscription only.

The physical size of the slab is mentioned in the inscription by LOCVLO (l. 2). The text pivots around OSSA (l. 5), having three lines above (introduction), and three lines below. This lower part shows some wishful thinking IN NOVISSIMO DIE VIVIFICANDA (l. 6).

52.4 VEDINVI: Of the modern Udine, in Italy.

53: Francesco Bernardino Barba.

Francesco Bernardino Barba of Novarra entered the Order on 30th October, 1563. He was apparently so well known in his days, that it was not deemed necessary to mention his surname in the inscription. His name, however, is mentioned as a pun in the coined word BARBAPOTENS (1.2, see below). He was made Captain of the Galleys in 1596 and Admiral in 1617 (Dal Pozzo 1703: 388, 632), and chosen Prior of Messina. He died on 6th September, 1621. His age is not mentioned, but the inscription suggests that Francesco Bernardino Barba was present while the Turkish fleet besieged Malta. It can be accepted that he was between twelve and sixteen years of age when he entered the Order. At his death, he probably reached an age between 70 and 74 years. Giuseppe Valente of Novarra, who dedicated the memorial, entered the Order on 14th April, 1580 (F. Bonazzi 1897: 331).

The lapidary stone belongs to a *Mannerist decorative* typology. The main slab consists of a

very compartmentalized slab of *Nero Malquino*. The upper and lower parts contain inscriptions, while the middle part shows the shield with the coat of arms. The text in the upper part contains an elegiac couplet. Half the inscription on the left part of the inscription is rubbed off, caused by intense traffic of footsteps.

An elegiac couplet takes up the first part of this inscription (ll. 1-8), which contains the introduction and heroic summary of the deceased. The second part (ll. 9-12) contains the obituary notion and dedication. This monumental inscription together with no. 76 are the gravestones in the main nave which have the largest part of their text in meter.

53.1 Strictly speaking, MELITAM consist of three syllables, of which the first two are short.

53.2 The adjective *Turcicus, a, um* is found since *c.* 1523. BARBAPOTENS is a coined word, with double meaning. In this text it is a present active participle, first person singular. Although it belongs to CLASSIS, it refers also to Bernardino's surname. The word has also a *sensus pregnans* because *barba* can mean "beard": The Ottomans, seen through the eyes of the Order as barbarians, would have almost certainly sported beards too, as shaving was not everyone's priority, especially not on board of overcrowded galleys. Furthermore, *barba*, in contemporaneous nautical vocabulary, meant "chief-pilot".

53.2-7 The verbs OBSIDET, DEDIT, DECORANT are indicative by poetic licence; clauses within or dependent on a verb introducing an indirect question should be in the subjunctive mood.

53.3 Alliteration of M.

53.4 Alliteration of C, D, T and S.

53.7 Double inner hyperbata in the word order of ABCBAC, with alliteration of M.

53.8 Triple chained hyperbata in the word order of ABC, ABC, ABC.

53.10 With NOVARBUCCINÆ is probably meant Novarra on Sicily, which, however, is close to *Bucinna (or Phorbantia)*, the modern Levanzo, one of the nearby Lipary Islands. *Forum Cornelium* is the modern Imola, between Bologna and Ravenna, Italy.

53.11 OPTIME MERITO is found also in nos. 24.10, 87. 15, 102..21, 131.18, and 152.10.

54: Alphonse Loppin.

Alphonse Loppin was born in 1662. He served three Grand Masters, Zondadari, De Vilhena and Despuig. He appeared to be a committed person and an able administrator. He died 26th October, 1751, at the age of nearly 90, during the reign of Pinto. Ġwanni Antonju Durante was commissioned in November 1752 to produce the gravestone (Debono 1999: 400-401).

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental*. A slab of *Marmo Bianco*, with a frame of *Bigio*, contains a black pedestal, bearing the cartouche with inscription in front. The cartouche has the shape of an open mantle. A skull with crossbones, wearing a black ecclesiastical cap, holds up the mantle in the middle. The shield with the coat of arms stands upon the pedestal.

This inscription can be divided into three basic parts: The first part reads till VRNA TEGIT (l. 6), and concerns a philosophical thought about his remains and spirit. The second part, which deals with his commitment to teaching the Grand Master's pages and administering money and relief to the poor, reads till PRÆCONIIS (l. 21). The third part covers the information concerning his death (ll. 21-22).

54.1-6 The author gives a very conscientious attention to the first two parts, as follows: One can compare l. 3 with l. 5, and l. 4 with l. 6, through a parallelism of phrases, as well as through a chiasmus (AVRAS VITALES - SACROS CINERES, SVSTVLIT MORS - VRNA TEGIT.

54.7-21 There are four subdivisions, each introduced by ERGA and accusative (EPHEBOS, INFIRMOS, EGENOS, DEVM). In the first two subdivisions, the accusatives are accompanied by a gerundive (IMBVENDOS, LEVANDOS), each outflanked by a hyperbaton (VIRTVTE...AC LITTERIS, SVPERNIS...AVXILIIS). In the other two subdivisions, in place of the gerundive, one finds, in the third one, two sets of genitives, forming double inner hyperbata TRIVM SERENISSIMORVM

PRINCIPVM within ALIENI...ÆRIS. The fourth subdivision contains a set of singulars, all belonging to the third declension. Furthermore, each of these four subdivisions carries its verb in the third person singular, present active indicative (LAVDAT, CELEBRAT, COMMENDAT, ORNAT). All these verbs are outflanked by an adjective and noun, forming *a hyperbaton* (CVRAM SINGVLAREM, SOLLICITAM - VIGILANTIAM, INDEFESSAM – ADMINISTRATIONEM, IMMORTALIBVS – PRÆCONIIS.

55: Rutilio and Orazio Sansedoni.

Rutilio Sansedoni of Siena entered the Order on 18th March, 1669, and first was an Inspector of the galleys: Orazio entered the Order on 11th November, 1692 (Bonazzi 1897: 202). Both reached the rank of Bailiff. The date of their deaths is not mentioned. The dedicator, Giulio Sansedoni of Siena, was registered at the Priory of Pisa on 4th March, 1714 (Bonazzi 1907: 259).

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral iconography, here a *Late Baroque Pictorial Invention.* The frame alternates bands of *Bigio* with *Africano.* The main colour is *Bigio* with a blue overtone. The shield with the coat of arms and the cartouche with inscription are attached to a pedestal with a pyramidal construction. The cartouche is in the form of a mantle, hanging in front of the pedestal. A very lively and dynamic picture develops when two putti, supporting the shield, are about to fly away with it. The putto on the right grabs the mantle at a corner and lifts it up into the air, stretching it, and exposing partly the pedestal, which appears to be made of *Nero Malquino.*

The dedicator spends as many lines (ll. 6-9) on himself as on his relatives (ll. 2-5).

55.2 Assonance on final O.

55.7 S[ANCTI] IVSTINI is the modern San Giustino, in Italy.

56: Fabrizio Franzone.

Fabrizio Franzone of Naples was born in 1691, and entered the Order on 16th January, 1691. From his date of death, it is presumed that he was about two weeks old when he entered. In the past, according to cannon law set by the Council of Trent, babies were baptized on the same day of their birth. If they were born in the night, they would be baptized the day after, because churches would be closed during the night. He became Bailiff of Santo Stefano (Bonazzi 1897:147), and died on 9th May, 1768, at the age of 77.

The lapidary art belongs to the typology of *Late Baroque pictorial.* Within an arched arrangement stands a pedestal with a pyramidal extension, on top of which rests a part of a classical cuirass. The cartouche with inscription, in the form of an inside scallop, is attached to the front of the pedestal. From behind of the pyramidal extension, an array of military paraphernalia is fanning out. In front of it, two banners are shown: The one on the right is the Order's, the one on the left has two lying crescents.

In l. 2 it is stressed that Fabrizio Franzone's maturity was, first and foremost, in his spirituality, rather than in his years. Only after this is established is he formally introduced by name, progeny, character and merits (ll. 3-5). The following *qui*-clause gives an overview of his achievements and heroic deeds (ll. 6-13). His obituary takes place in the last two lines.

56.2 Double inner hyperbata, formed by the first and last word in the nominative, the second and the fourth in the ablative, and with the particle SED in between. Note also the quasi cyclos MATVRVS – MATVRIOR. CÆLO lit.: "Heaven".

56.5 GENERE...NOMINE: Asyndeton. These words all belong to the third declension, of which the

first and the last are neuter in gender.

56.12 S[ANCTI] STEPHANI: See also no. 45.5. ANTISTES here has the ecclesiastical meaning of presiding officer.

56.6-13 Note the parallelism of phrases in the relative clause, starting with QVI in l. 6, where a participle alternates with a verb in the indicative (SVBACTA - TRIVMPHAVIT, ASSEQVVTVS – DECORAVIT, GERENS – AVCTVS EST). The first two participles are in the perfect tense, the third in the present; the first two verbs in the indicative mood are in the active, the third in the passive voice.

57: Felice de Lando.

Felice de Lando of Plaisance was born in 1641, and was enrolled into the Order on 13th August, 1659, at the age of eighteen. Felice was promoted to the rank of Grand Prior, and died on 3rd March, 1726, 85 years old. Melchiorre Rossermini of Pisa had entered the Order on 4th June, 1712 (Bonazzi 1897: 178, 278). Ġwanni Marija Giliberti was commissioned in August 1726 to produce a gravestone for Felice de Lando (Debono 1999: 392).

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque pictorial.* In front of an elaborate sculptured window, with prison bars, sits Death, veiled in a blue robe.

This inscription has five segments of text, one of which is in Italian (l. 2): L. 1 contains two lines of the Litany, l. 2 is an adage, and l. 3 is an indirect encouragement to imitate his most outstanding characteristics, however harsh they may seem. A formal introduction takes place in ll. 6-8, including his name, progeny and rank. It is followed by a notion of *constantia* in l. 9: HVMANÆ VITÆ FLVCTIBVS CONSTANTER VICTIS. In ll. 10-13, the author demonstrates that the deceased, notwithstanding the burden of old age and the toil of harsdships during his Christian soldier's life, has no regrets whatsoever. The decication is

made in the last part, covering ll. 14-19.

57.1 These are consecutive quotations from the Litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary. In the Catholic faith, traditionally the believer makes three small crosses (on the forehead, lips and heart) when this part of the Litany is reached. It might well be that this was done on purpose, to test if the reader was religiously well conditioned in his reflexes, and to say a prayer for the soul of the deceased. The author purposely changed *sedes sapientiæ* into SOL SAPIENTIÆ, for two reasons: In the first place, the Sun, in Antiquity, had a connotation of wisdom. Helios, the sun, was the eye of the world, able to see everything, thus to know everything; in the second place, the engraver produced the symbol of a mirror under the first one (SPECVLVM IVSTITIÆ), through a circle of whiteness, but could not produce a similar symbol for *sedes*; hence, he produced a symbol for its equivalent, namely SOL.

57.6 *Placentia* is at present the town of Piacenza on the Po river, in Italy.

57.8 *Barulum (or Barolum)* is the modern Barletta, in southern Italy, which place should not be confused with *Barulum, Barolum, Bormium, Barmi or Thermae Bormianae*, the modern Bormio, in Northern Italy, near the Swiss border. Barletta is close to Santo Stefano.

57.9 FLVCTIBVS CONSTANTER: Oxymoron.

57.13 N.T. *Apc.* 14.13: *et audivi vocem de caelo dicentem: "Scribe: Beati mortui, qui in Domino moriuntur amodo. Iam, dicit Spiritus, ut reqiescant a laboribus suis; opera enim illorum sequuntur illos".*

58: Charles Félix d'Oraison.

Charles Félix d'Oraison, from Bourbon-l'Archembault, was born in 1627 and registered in the Order in 1642, at the age of fifteen. His achievements are so many, that it would exhaust the reader too much when they would all be catalogued together in the inscription: ...RELIGIONIS OFFICIA SINGILLATIM NON PERSEQVAR, QVIA PLVRIMA (ll. 9-10). He passed away on 17th January, 1714, at the age of 86 years and 10 months.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral iconography, here a *Late Baroque pictorial*. The image is rendered mostly in *Giallo*, over a background of *Nero Malquino*. Within an arched

arrangement of hanging draperies stands the pedestal, the cartouche with inscription in front, in the form of an open scroll. The shield with the coat of arms is just being lifted from the pedestal by two putti, of whom the one on the left holds a long trumpet. Near the empty pedestal, three figures remain: On the left, Father Time, holding a sandglass, on the right, Death, brandishing a scythe, both holding open the scroll, while looking and pointing to the putto in their midst, who also holds open another scroll, with the text of l. 1.

An adage, in pentameter, opens the inscription (l. 1), which consists mainly of three sets of contrasting statements: The first set, HIC IN PVLVERE IACENT OSSA (l. 3) contrasts nicely with QVIA PLVRIMA (l. 10), which concludes that the bones, once carrying a man who lived in a fast pace of life and had touched upon nearly every virtue, are now finally being covered by dust. The second set contrasts NON PRESSA LEVITER (l. 11) with SED FIXA AD MEMORIAM HOMINVM SEMPITERNAM (l. 12). The final set compares his prosperity, which is more durable than the marble which covers his brittle bones .

58.1 SORS – SORTEM: Near-polyptoton. Also note the enigmatic quality, often occurring in these isolated lines in the inscriptions. OMNIBVS VNI: Oxymoron. Note also the alliteration of S and N. This line is written in a pentameter.

58.4 DE AQVA is a short form for *Borbonicae aquae, Borboniae, Borboniense castrum, Burbonium, Archembaldi* or *Arcimbaldi Burbo* are all names for the present Bourbon-l'Archembault, in Provence. Besides having ancient baths, it is the place from which the first line of the Bourbon family originated.

58.5 *Manuasca* (or *Manesca*) is the modern Manosque, just above Marseilles, Haute-Provence, in France.

58.6 DVM VIXIT, for *dum vivit* of the Classical Latin.

58.7 Alliteration of T, D and V.

58.8 SVA –SVÆ: Polyptoton. Note the repetition of the words RELIGIONI SVÆ in l. 9 and SVÆ

RELIGIONIS in l. 14.

58.9 DEMANDATA FVERINT, for the *demandata erint* of the Classical Latin.

58.11-12 CIC. *Sest.* 5.13: *cuius ego nuper in Macedonia vidi vestigia non pressa leviter, ad exigui praedicationem temporis, sed fixa ad memoriam illius provinciae sempiternam.*

58.15-17 Although his friends covered his tomb with a marble slab, their satisfaction was achieved by making his memory longer lasting than the actual slab itself. Horace already coined this idea in *C.* 3.13.1-2, when the poet considered his own poetry to be more durable than the bronze with which a monument was made:

Exegi monumentum aere perennius

regalique situ pyramidum altius.

Ovid follows suit with *F.* 2.265: *dixit, et, antiqui monumenta perennia facti.*

58.18 PROCVRATORES: The Knights could only spent one fifth of their legacy, the *"quinta"*, as they pleased (see no. 82.12). In their last will, many would have made provisions for the commissioning of a monumental inscription and the rendering of its artistic execution. If the work was not completed during their life time, the executors testamentary would then supervise the progress of the work (Sciberras 2000: 62).

59: Joseph de Langon.

Joseph de Langon was born in 1669 and entered in the order on 8th June, 1683, being fourteen years of age (Bonazzi 1897: 164). He was a talented naval commander, who took part in three renowned naval actions. On 7th September, 1707, De Langon managed to get a convoy of ammunition through to the besieged Spanish possession of Oran (l. 6), breaking the blockade with a single ship. He outmanoeuvred the enemy, who were fighting in the presence of their king. For this deed, he was promoted to Lieutenant-General of the Order's squadron. On 25th June, 1709, off Capo Santo di Leuce, Calabria, De Langon, then Captain of the *Santa Caterina* (while his brother Adrian was the captain of the *San Giovanni*), entered battle with the flagship of the Admiral of Tripoli, on which occasion both ships caught fire (l. 11). De Langon fought his last battle on 18th April, 1710 (l. 15), off Malaga, in a long engagement

with the Admiral of Algiers, in which he died at the age of 41. His remains are buried under the High Altar of the Cathedral at Carthagena (De Vertot 1728: 2.13.106). Grand Master Perellos commissioned this monumental inscription, and placed in prominently in the middle aisle of the main nave (Boisgelin 1804: 226).

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental*, with a classicizing element. On a slab of *Nero Malquino* stands a pedestal with a pyramidal extension. In front of the pedestal is placed the cartouche with inscription, its frame made of a rope. The pedestal bears the shield with the coat of arms, which is supported by two figures: The one on the right is a crying woman in a classical dress, holding a lamb; the one on the left is a man, wearing only an undone loincloth, with a snake coiled around one arm. He looks over his shoulder to the pyramidal extensions, which has three scenes of naval battle engraved.

Obviously there was no need of introducing Joseph de Langon more formally (l. 1), as he was both sufficiently reputable and disreputable to his contemporaries on either line of the divide GALLICÆ... THRACES... MELITENSES (ll. 3-4). The *qui*-clause in l. 5 narrates those naval exploits which made his career, a result the reader was already exspecting after CVIVS VIRTVTEM IN IPSO TIROCINII FLORE MATVRAM (l. 2). Having died a hero in combat, Grand Master Perellos took it upon him to place this cenotaph.

59.2 Double inner hyperbata in the word order of ABCDEDB.

59.3-4 Note the parallelism of phrases with the subject involving three adjectives, preceding each time a verb in the third person plural, perfect active indicative, in the alternative ending "*ere*".

59.6 ORANVM was a Spanish possession, now the modern Oran, on the western part of the Algerian coast.

59.21 CENOTAPHIVM: "Empty, commemorative tomb".

60: Gilbert de Fougières Ducluseau.

Gilbert de Fougières Ducluseau entered the Order on 26th January, 1650, at the age of six years (De la Roque 1891: 91). He is noted to have been fond of pious simplicity, and he despised luxury and arrogance (ll. 10-11). Readers were encouraged not only to follow his footsteps during their lives, but even to imitate his behaviour during their own deaths. The inscription unfortunately does not tell us how he died when he did on 16th September, 1716, at the estimated age of 72 years.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental*. On a slab of *Giallo* stands a pedestal and sarcophagus under an arched arrangement of hanging drapery, held open by two putti. The pedestal, sarcophagus and drapery are of *Nero Malquino*. The pedestal bears the cartouche with inscription in front, the sarcophagus the shield with the coat of arms. The *cartone* of this monumental inscription is also used in nos. 72 and 82, with slight change of some details. The remarkable difference is that nos. 72 and 82 are reversed in colour. One may say that no. 60 is the colour negative of those two. Where no. 60 has *Giallo*, nos. 72 and 82 have *Nero Malquino*, and where no. 60 has *Nero Malquino*, nos. 72 and 82 have *Giallo*.

Gilbert de Fougières Ducluseau's introduction is brief (ll.2-3), after which follows the apologetic MORTVO DEBENTVR MAIORES LAVDES (l. 4), relating the contrast of his Christian frugality and pious simplicity to both his personal hostility to luxury and arrogance, and to his success in furnishing rich proceeds for his Order and the poor SIMPLICITATIS AMANTISSIMVS (l. 10), LVXVS FASTVSQVE INFENSISSIMVS FVIT (l. 11),

LAVDABILIS PARSIMONIÆ (l. 12) and FÆNVS ORDINI EGENISQVE VECTIGALE FECIT (l. 13). His consistency and kind but powerful constitution led him through all perils of life and death (ll. 16-17). Hence, he was worthy of DIGNVM HIEROSOLYMITANIS EXEMPLVM, DVM VIVVNT, DVM MORIVNTVR (ll. 18-19).

60.3 LVGDVNENSI: Of the modern Lyons, in France.

60.4-5 Note the contrast in MORTVO – VIVENS.

60.6-7 Alliteration of S and T. The significance of CVLTOREM is that Gilbert de Fougières Ducluseau donated funds at his own expense.

60.8 Alliteration of G, S and Q. *Utraque* does not exist as an adverb; as an adjective it can only agree with OMNIBVS; hence the amendment into VTRISQVE.

60.10-12 Alliteration of S. Note the reverse presentation of a genitive of noun with the nominative of adjective in l. 10, and the nominative of adjective with the genitive of noun in l. 12.

60.16-17 Asyndeton. Alliteration of M and R (l.17).

60.16-19 The verb PROBARVNT carries one set of objects in l. 16, accompanied by DVM VIVVNT in l. 19, and another object in l. 18, accompanied by DVM MORIVNTVR in l. 19, in such away, that the juxtaposition DVM...DVM becomes the respective temporal clause to the two sets of objects.

61: Jean de Philip St. Viance.

Jean de Philip St. Viance was born in 1638 and was enrolled in the Order on 8th May, 1651, when he was thirteen (De Vertot 1761: 143). He reached three very high posts in the Order, Marshal, Prior and Prefect-General, allegedly without ever compromising his integrity. The author of this inscription seemed to be a person with a wry wit. After he has given a very detailed and rather long overview of Jean de Philip St. Viance's career and character, he informs us that, on presumed request of the reader, he is going to keep it short: VIS BREVI DICAM in l. 19. Indeed, then, in three very powerful lines, he summarizes his character. Jean de Philip St. Viance died on 3rd February, 1718, at the age of 80.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental.* On a slab of *Giallo* stands a voluted pedestal and sarcophagus, both made of *Nero Malquino.* The shield with the coat of arms surmounts the sarcophagus, supported by two putti, against a background of two of the Order's banners. The cartouche with inscription is placed on the front of the pedestal. The voluted pedestal is rendered successfully in three dimensions.

Note the general structure of this inscription, in which, from ll. 5-11, nominative singular and accusative or genitive singular or plural, forming a homoeoteleuton, begin and end each colon respectively (MAGNANIMITAS - DVCEM, VIRTVS - DVCTORVM, FIDELITAS - CONSERVATORVM, MERITVM – MARESCALLVM, IVSTITIA – PRIOREM, ZELVS – PRÆFECTVM). In addition, note also the prepositional phrases repeated therein (IN CONVENTV, IN ORDINE, IN ARVERNIA, IN BARBAROS). Further, note the cycle of CINERVM, starting the inscription in l. 2, and ending the hero's *c.v.* in l. 12. Finally, the summary of this hero, when the author describes him as surrounded with the glory of all virtues and praises, comes to a supreme end.

61.2 Assonance, especially considering that the H was not pronounced in the 18th century.

61.3 Alliteration of H.

61.7 Alliteration of C, N, V and T.

61.9 Assonance.

61.12-13 SVMMA: Anadiplosis. This figure of speech shows the repetition of one or more words, for rhetorical emphasis, especially the recurrence of the same word that ends a clause and begins the following. Note the word order in l.13: ABCABCA for ABCA, ABCA, since SVMMA is understood before IN PAVPERES, hence we have a repetition of the order adjective with in and

accusative noun.

61.15-17 Alliteration of C, R, S and T. VIDEOR takes the present infinitive, even if in English the "past element" is transferred to the infinitive: *e.g. vivus sum monere*, "I seem to have warned". *Libitina* was the Roman goddess in charge of burials and rites of the dead. She is also mistakenly identified with Venus. Libentina or Lubentina became her more common name.

HOR. *Car.* 3.30.6-7:

non omnis moriar multaque pars mei

vitabit Libitinam...

62: Paul de Félines de la Reneaudie

According to the inscription, Paul de Félines de la Reneaudie was born *c.* 1620. He entered the Order on 24th December, 1638, probably at the age of eighteen (De Vertot 1761: 143). He became Marshal in 1682 (Dal Pozzo 1715: 492) and, later on, Grand Prior of Auvergne. He died on 27th December, 1715, nearly a century old. The latter statement is not further specified; thus, there are two ways of reckoning: One is to count in years, so that "nearly a century" would mean 98 or 99 years old; the other way of reckoning, which was common, was in lustra. This would make him 95 years of age. If one would adopt the first method, then five years should be subtracted from the dates and ages above mentioned. However way one reckons, Paul de Félines de la Reneaudie remains the oldest Knight commemorated in the main nave, with also the longest service in the Order: At least 77, but possibly 82 years. The dedicator, his nephew Jean de Félines de la Reneaudie, entered the Order in 1695 (De la Roque 1891: 84). Klawdju Durante was commissioned to produce Paul de Félines de la Reneaudie's gravestone in July 1743, by Jean de Félines de la Reneaudie, through the procurator of the Common Treasury, Brother Gilbert Dousset (Debono 1999: 392).

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque*

monumental. Within an arched arrangement of *Verde Antico* and *Giallo* stands a pedestal, supporting a sarcophagus, over a background of *Marmo Bianco*. The latter two are both of *Nero Malquino*. The shield with the coat of arms surmounts the sarcophagus, from behind which an array of military paraphernalia appears. The platform of the pedestal has an attempted three-dimensionality and the cartouche with inscription is placed on the front of the pedestal.

Paul de Félines de la Reneaudie's inscription discusses five items: The first part (ll. 2-8) introduces this Knight, his rank and the virtues that made him renowned. The following part concerns the feelings of Gran Master Perellos towards him (ll. 9-12), introduced by QVEM. The third part relates about his age and state, by contrasting VOLVNTARIA CORPORIS MACERATIONE (l. 13) with PROPE CENTENARIO CONFECTVS (l. 14). Part four tells the reader about the coincidental recurrence of the feast of St. John the Apostle and his death; the feast had had a special meaning for him during his life-time, and now, on his deathbed, he could enjoy it for the last time, surrounded by his brothers (ll. 15-18). The last part is the dedication (ll. 19-20).

62.2 Alliteration of C and Q. Hypallage, as it is not the remains that are pious, but the Knight.

62.5-8 Note here both a parallelism of phrases and assonance in l. 6 (ABCABC), as well as a congeries of ablative of quality (SANCTIMONIA, CARITATE, MVNIFICENTIA, HVMILITATE, VIRTVTIBVS). Note also the copia in INSIGNIS and DIGNI for emphasis in l. 8).

62.12 SEQVE CŒTVMQVE: Polysyndeton and alliteration of S.

62.14 Alliteration of C, N and T.

62.17-18 The pentameter in l. 17 is an inverse elegiac distich. Note the contrast in the use of these two present particles VIVENS and MORIENS. In the hexameter of l. 18, EIVS is taken as one syllable, which is common only in Roman comedy. Alliteration of C and Q.

63: Marcel de Galéan.

Marcel de Galéan (or Lazare-Marzel), of Châteauneuf, was born in 1606, and was enrolled in the Order in 1616 (De Vertot 1761: 38), at ten years of age. When he was 32, in his capacity of a Lieutenant of a galley, he took part in a sea battle in 1638, off Roccella, between Christian galleys and North-African corsairs, whereby 312 Muslims were captured as slaves (Bono 1993: 364). He died on 2nd February, 1678, at the age of 72. The dedicator, Jean-Batiste de Galéan, of Châteauneuf, had entered the Order in 1665 (De la Roque 1891: 96).

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental*. Within an arched arrangement stands an elongated monument, consisting of a pedestal supporting the shield with coat of arms, over a background of *Nero Malquino*. The cartouche with inscription, shaped as an inner scallop, is placed in front of the pedestal. Around the coat of arms hangs a chaplet.

A sense of disappointment comes forth throughout the inscription. Although Marcel de Galéan obtained very respectable ranks, the author stresses that the deceased, notwithstanding MAIOR HONORE, HONORVM DECESSIT IN CVRSO (l. 12), felt that he had deserved more for his commitments CREVIT MERITIS SVPRA ANNOS, DIGNITATIBVS INFRA MERITA (l. 8).

63.2 CASTELLONOVI: Of the modern Châteauneuf, in France.

63.3 Polysyndeton and alliteration of V and R.

63.4 Note the chiasmus (ablative – nominative, nominative – ablative), hyperbaton (HIC...VIRTVTIBVS) and polyptoton (NOTVS, NOTIOR) in this line.

63.5 Alliteration of T and R.

63.6 ROCCELLAM is the modern Roccella, in Calabria.

63.7-8 DEDIT – CREVIT: Near-homoeoteleuton, starting the sentence in the same way with a third person singular perfect active indicative as it has ended the previous sentence. Note the parallelism of phrases ABCDBCD, where C (SVPRA) is contrasted to INFRA. Also note the near-polyptoton MERITIS – MERITA.

63.10 Alliteration of P.

63.11 Alliteration of C.

63.12 HONORE, HONORVM: Polyptoton and alliteration of C and S.

64: Giuseppe de Majo.

Besides that he was a Knight of the Langue of Italy, little is known of Giuseppe de Majo. He died on 27th May, 1747.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral iconography, here a *Late Baroque Pictorial Invention.* Within a partial arched arrangement, Death, bearing a smile as only a skeleton has, leans at ease on block of *Verde Antico*, resting with one elbow rather casually on a skull. Next to the skull stands a sandglass. Death holds with one arm a scythe in an upright position and, with the other, the shield with the coat of arms.

This inscription stands out by its poetic and philosophical qualities. It contains a number of short sentences, mostly adages, giving good advice to the reader. It starts with a catching line to grab the attention of the wandering eye of the guileless passer-by, VIXI VT VIVIS (l. 2), and ends with a wish of courage, nearly apologizing, should the reading of the inscription have caused any delay or inconvenience VALEAS VITALEM (l. 11). It also has a happy ending, contrary to most other inscriptions. Giuseppe de Majo casually remarks that he just left his bones here as a proof of his existence on earth, but that he has departed now to a new abode to start a fresh and happier life HIC OSSA RELIQVI, NOVAM VITAM INCOHAVI

(ll. 15-16).

64.2-3 Chiasmus of first person - second person, second person - first person, with the difference that the first time the second person appears (VIVIS), it is in the present tense, while in the second appearance it is obviously in the future tense. As such, note the complete polyptata.

64.2-10 This inscription, from ll. 2 to 10, forms a chiasmus of syntax: Ll. 2 and 3 balance ll. 9 and 10 with the *ut*-clause, l. 4 balances l. 8 with SIC and present indicative of DEVORAT, and in the middle appears the chiasmus of ll. 5 to 7.

64.5-7 Another case of chiasmus, where we have a repetition of *absumo* and *pario*, with the difference that the first *pario* is in the perfect tense, the others are present. In addition, the first *pario* and the second *absumo* are in a relative clause. As such, these words form a polyptoton (PEPERIT, PARIT), outflanked by double cyclos (ABSVMIT QVÆ – QVÆ ABSVMIT).

64.11 Alliteration of V and L: Note the cognate accusative in VALEAS VITALEM.

64.15-16 The author speaks about his remains in the first person singular, as if he is alive; in fact, death for him is the beginning of a new life.

65: Jean-Baptiste de Durand Sartoux.

Jean-Baptiste de Durand Sartoux was born on Saturday, 21st January, 1679, and entered the Order in 1691, years of age twelve (De Vertot 1761: 31). Ranks obtained were Captain of the Royal Fleet, Commendator and Grand Commendator. Finally, he was promoted to deputy Prefect of the Langue of Provence. He died on Monday, 24th March, 1760 at the age of 81 years, two months and three days. His dedicators entered the Order on the following dates: Joseph, 1728; Jean-Baptiste, 1733; Jacques, 1761 (entered after the death of his uncle).

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque pictorial*. A thin frame of *Nero Malquino* surrounds a slab of *Marmo Bianco*, which, because it is severely cracked, creates a very restless background for a pedestal and cinerary urn. The pedestal, with

the cartouche with inscription centrally placed in front, is made of squares of *Marmo Bianco* and bands of *Bigio*. This colour scheme contributes also to the overall unease for the viewer. The black cinerary urn, bearing the shield with the coat of arms in front, is surrounded by an array of banners. Two trumpets stick up from behind the urn, and next to it are an anchor and a vase. The most creative part of this decoration is the cartouche, in the form of a skin of a black feline creature, most probably the same as is referred to in the coat of arms. It is rendered in such a way that it is, at first glance, nothing else than an average mantle. However, the person who dwells long enough over the stone, will discover that beneath the skin its black tail curls.

Although the author summarized his achievements in a rather dry way, the text reveals that the esteem Jean-Baptiste de Durand Sartoux had enjoyed for his achievements was only surpassed by his fine character. He left an emotional vacuum on his death VNIVERSO EQVITVM CŒTVI DESIDERIVM SVI RELIQVIT (l. 15).

65.5 *Massilia* refers to the modern Marseilles.

65.6 *Sancta Lucia* corresponds to the modern Sainte-Lucie, Isere, in France.

65.13 Note the parallelism of phrases in ABCABDE.

66: Jean François Veran.

Jean François Veran was born in 1661 and died on 16th February, 1721, at the age of 60. Originally, Charles Veran dedicated this inscription just to Jean-François in 1734. Later on, another member of the family, Baltażar, a Maltese, was added. The Grand Master was free to choose his household personnel. Among these officers were four secretaries, one each for the Latin, French, Italian and Spanish languages. This makes SECVNDVS (l. 25) more

understandable, because the secretary highest in rank was the one who was in charge of Latin (De Vertot 1728: 2.13.135). His epitaph was added to the lower part of the pedestal, partly destroying the original artwork. Baltażar died on 27th April, 1772, at the age of 72.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque sepulchral classisizing*. A frame of *Diaspro* contains, within an arched arrangement, a pedestal supporting a sarcophagus. The latter stands on golden, curly supports, and the shield with the coat of arms, surrounded by a chaplet, stands in front of it. On top a skull, crowned with a laurel, rests on a pillow of *Giallo*. The arch, pedestal and sarcophagus are of *Nero Malquino*, on a background of *Marmo Bianco*. The cartouche with inscription is placed in front of the pedestal, which pedestal is rendered in a three-dimensional perspective.

Three people are commemorated in this inscription, according to HIC CVM PATRVIS DVOBVS IN PACE REQVIESCIT ET IN HONORE (l. 28). Although he is not further mentioned, one may presume that Charles Veran is buried here too. The inscription has two main divisions: Ll. 2-21 are dedicated to Jean-François, ll. 22-30 to Baltażar.

66.2 ARELATENSI: Of Arles. See also no. 23.2.

66.5-6 *Postquam* does not use the subjunctive, unless it is part of indirect speech.

66.10 Double inner hyperbata.

66.27 SCVTIFER has, since *c.*1412, the meaning of "esquire". The stem of the word is *scutum*, "shield". The word *scutifer* is coined in medieval ages in the analogy of *scutum gero* and *scutum fero*, giving us *scutiger* (*c.* 1123, 1213) or *scutifer*, "shield-bearer" or "squire". The latter is formed from *scutarius* (*c.* 1160), meaning "shield-wright", leading to *squierius* in *c.* 1301, and to *esquirius* (Norman, *c.* 1200).

67: Antonio Scudero.

Antonio Scudero was born in 1690. He reached the rank of Grand Prior of Navarre, and was best friend with the later Grand Master De Rohan, and with Victor Belmont, who dedicated an inscription for his brother Jacques Armand Belmont too, also in the St. John's. Antonio Scudero died on 3rd February, 1771, at the age of 81.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental*. A brick wall of *Bigio* forms the background of a pedestal with a pyramidal extension. The cartouche with inscription is placed in front of the pedestal, shaped as an inside scallop. Two putti support the pyramidal extension, which is surmounted by a black cinerary urn. The putto on the left holds up a burning heart in his hand.

This short inscription contains nothing else than great praises for Antonio Scudero, INVICTI ANIMI NAVARCHO (l. 6). The two dedicators assume a central position in the inscription, with six lines above and six lines below them.

67.4 NAVARRÆ: Of the modern Navarre, Spain.

67.4-6 Chiasmus. The two datives and a genitive in l. 4 are reversed in order by two genitives and one dative in l. 6; both lines outflank two other datives, both of which are in the superlative degree.

67.10 Assonance.

67.12 Duration of time is expressed in Latin by the accusative.

68: Charles de la Marche de Parnac.

Charles de la Marche de Parnac was born in 1648, and entered the Order on 13th February, 1665, at the age of sixteen (De Vertot 1761: 155). He reached the rank of Commendator and Comander-in-Chief. He chaired the election-committee in the election of Grand Master De

Vilhena. Jean-Alexis de Boislinars de Margou, who dedicated this inscription, had entered the Order in 1701 (De la Roque 1891: 32). Charles de la Marche de Parnac died in 1726, 78 years of age.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque pictorial.* The upper part is occupied by a pictorial treatment. The art, on a background of *Nero Malquino* is rendered mainly in *Giallo* and *Bigio.* The front of the pedestal is nearly all taken up by the cartouche with inscription. The cartouche is shaped as an inside scallop and is resting on the vulture's claws. A laurel-wreathed skull surmounts the cartouche. The pedestal bears a sarcophagus of *Bigio.* A helmeted putto, sitting on a low bench on top of the sarcophagus, holds open a curtain, in order to disclose the scene for the onlooker, just before it will close for good. The curtain holds the shield with the coat of arms. The same putto holds the Order's banner in the other hand. On either side of him, but just lower, two putti are sitting on the lid of the sarcophagus, the one on the left holding a sword, the one on the right the sheath.

Charles de la Marche de Parnac's inscription is neatly divided is four parts, each containing different information about his life. Part one is the introduction to his name, rank and splendour of character. Part two relates his role in the election of a Grand Master, part three his further life-long devotion to the elected Grand Master de Vilhena. The dedication covers the last part.

68.4 Alliteration of C and N. MAISSONNISE is no longer an independent village; however, the name survived as Maissonnise in modern France.

68.5 Alliteration of M. POLEMARCHI is not a Latin word, but comes from Greek, which was used to elevate the person more, and to add further colour to his *c.v.*

69: Roberto Solario.

Roberto Solario is registered as being born as Roberto Solaro, in 1652, who entered the Order on 30th June, 1657, at the age of six. His ranks, before he became the grand Prior of Lombardy, were Captain of the Flagship (1683) and Exchequer at Turin (Bonazzi 1891: 308). He died on 11th January, 1737, at the age of 85.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental*. On a voluted pedestal stands the voluted cabinet of a mechanical clock. The upper part of the cabinet shows two wings on the outer sides, with an armless hour plate and a small cartouche with an inscription in the middle. In front of the cabinet hangs a curtain, on which the coat of arms is applied. Death is seen peaking from behind the curtain, holding a roll of parchment with the text. The pedestal bears a cartouche with inscription in front. A strip of *Marmo Bianco* is placed at the bottom of the slab, bearing some text. The design is of Romano Carappechia (De Lucca 1999: 216-7).

That Roberto Solario's monumental inscription's text refers to eternity and the art to an instrument to measure time comes as no surprise: *Solarium* means "sundial". The inscription consists physically of four parts: The first part is the cartouche on top of the clock (ll. 1-3); the second part is on the scroll in Death's hands (ll. 4-5); the third part is found in the cartouche in front of the pedestal (ll. 6-15). The seemingly improvised strip at the bottom of the slab carries the fourth part (ll. 16-18). The first contains a statement of the cycle of life; the second part contains a wish for his soul to be sent to heaven; the third part is concerned with Robert Solario himself and his ideal of striving for eternity. It also urges the reader to dwell not too

long over this gravestone, but to go away and learn about the fickleness of life.

69.1-3 The soul is eternal, and man comes from eternity into life and time, and is brought back again. Wind is a means of transportation for the soul, when it parts from the body. These enigmatic three lines elaborate on the swiftness of it all, RAPIENS, VENTO, CAVSI and RAPVIT. People journey with the latter from eternal to temporal life (VITÆ... TEMPORI), and back again to eternity. One cannot help but note the author's optimism in the face of death, when he regards eternity as FELIX.

69.3,10, 14 Note the repetition of the word ÆTERNITAS, ÆTERNITATI, ÆTERNITAS, for emphasis. The author makes it a point to note the effort for this Knight to work for eternity.

69.4-5 Note the parallelism of phrases. ADIVVET, l. 5, expresses a wish for the future; however, it is not placed in front of the colon for the reason to match l. 4 perfectly in word order: Subject, verb, object, gerundive, dative. These two lines also speak about body and soul, and are a combination of philosophy and theology. Both body and soul shall survive into eternity.

69.9 Repetition of l. 2.

69.12 Note that this line begins and ends with the imperative mood. The use of ABI is abrupt as much as the line is terse, for the reason that the deceased, bent on eternity, wants to warn against people's obsession for earthly goods (in the following three lines).

69.13 Alliteration of V. The homoeoteleuton ET TEMPVS VENTVS repeats the VITÆ...TEMPORI in line 2.

69.14-15 Alliteration of S and T and anaphora.

70: Pierre Viany.

Pierre Viany was born in 1632 and became the Chaplain of the Langue of Provence. Chaplains belonged to the Conventual church. Pierre Viany was very active in the patronage of art (Sciberras 2000: 58). He followed up Bueno as Prior General of the Conventual Church. The date for this is given by Dal Pozzo as 1667 (Dal Pozzo 1715: 347), which is certainly almost wrong, as Bueno died in 1668 (see no. 137). The inscription indicates that he held his

Priorship for 34 years, which is also problematic, as Viany died in 1700. Therefore, he either held his Priorship for 32 years, or he died later than 1700. The former seems to be more acceptable, and thus the date of his demise, as mentioned in the inscription, is retained: 18th November, 1700, at the age of 68.

The lapidary art is rendered in an expression of *Baroque*, called *"macchina"*. It shows a great, sweeping diagonal movement from the upper left corner to the lower right corner, while the contrast between the dynamic upper half and static lower half is equally impressive. The lower part consists of a cartouche with inscription, in the shape of a gonfanon. In the left lower corner, a Phoenix stands on a winged sandglass. When the onlooker lets the eye wander to the upper part of the stone, it is not very clear where to look first, as there are so many details. The main feature is Death loosening a rope of a folded canvas, pouring its content out over the reader. The shield with the coat of arms is both surmounted by a putto holding a bishop's mitre and surrounded by religious paraphernalia. Death peeks around a fold, triumphantly holding up a winged sandglass.

Two titles are mentioned of Pierre Viany, each of which introduces another part of the inscription: PRIOR ECCLESIÆ (l. 2) introduces a number of committed activities, while CLERO (l. 8) introduces a number of qualities. Contempories included among his pious deeds not only SIBI PARCVS, IN PAVPERES PRODIGVS (l. 10), but also ERGA ALTARIA MAGNIFICVS (l. 11) and CONSANGVINEORVM PRORSVS IMMEMOR (l. 12). The title of the dedicators, PVBLICI ÆRARII PROCERES (l. 16), introduces the obituary.

70.6 Note the parallelism of phrases in PIETATE – TEMPLO (ablative, prepositional phrases), as well as the beginning and ending of this line in the ablative case.

70.9 Despite the space existing between NON and TAM in the original, the sense does not warrant any additional word. Assonance and near-polyptoton in OMNIVM...OMNIBVS.

70.10 Alliteration of P and R. Note also the similarity in sound, but the dissimilarity in meaning of PARCVS and PRODIGVS.

71: Juan Manoel de Vilhena.

Juan Manoel de Vilhena was born in 1658. His *cursus honorum* included the title of Captain of a galley, Commendator Chancellor and Bailiff. Grand Master Manoel De Vilhena busied himself with terminal care of his brother, who died on 15th November, 1728, at the age of 70.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque sepulchral classisizing*. Over a background of *Bigio*, stands a small neo-classical monument. Its four smooth columns with Ionic-like capitals, standing on a pedestal of *Verde Antico,* support an architrave. Underneath the architrave hangs the cartouche with inscription, in the shape of a rounded mantle of *Rosso* and *Giallo*. On the monument stands a large sarcophagus of *Nero Malquino*, on which two putti stand, one carrying a palm branch, the other an olive branch. These two branches are held in such a way that they form an arch over the shield with the coat, which is displayed in front of the sarcophagus.

The first part of Juan Manoel de Vilhena's inscription starts with his explicit will to be buried here, HIC HVMANAS DEPOSVIT EXVVIAS (l. 2), and with the introduction of his name, and progeny. A *qui*-clause (l. 5) sets off the *cursus honorum* (ll. 6-11). His personal qualities are highlighted in ll. 12-13, ending with QVID PLVRA? (l. 14). The answer, the dedication by his brother, Grand Master De Vilhena, covers ll. 15-21.

71.2 Lit.: "in this place".

71.8 ROSAS is the modern Rosas, in northern Spain.

71.9 SAXONICÆ AQVÆ is the modern Aachen, in Germany.

71.20 Alliteration of M and N.

72: Thomas de la Bastie.

Thomas de Fougasse la Bastie was born in 1647, and entered the Order in 1663, when he was sixteen years of age (De la Roque 1891: 91). He became Treasurer of the Common Treasury, and was a financial success, both for the Order and the poor. He died on 15th March, 1733, 86 years of age.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque pictorial*, of which the upper part is occupied by a pictorial treatment. On a slab of *Nero Malquino* stands a pedestal and sarcophagus under an arched arrangement of hanging drapery, held open by two putti. Another putto is engaged in the crown of the drapery, and only his legs are visible. The pedestal, sarcophagus and drapery are of made of *Giallo*. The pedestal bears the cartouche with inscription in front, the sarcophagus the shield with the coat of arms. On both sides of sarcophagus stand two incense burners, producing thick clouds of smoke (see also nos. 60 and 82).

EN TIBI, VIATOR (l. 2) cries for the reader's attention to acknowledge Thomas de Fougasse la Bastie and his pious deeds towards the poor EXIMIA IN PAVPERES (l. 6), and the finances, which he poured into he Treasury PECVNIARVM…EFFVDERIT (l. 8). The Procurators of the Treasury made sure that his efforts would be recorded for posterity, NE TANTÆ BENEFICENTIÆ MEMORIA VNQVAM INTERIRET (l. 12).

72.2 TIBI, lit.: "to you".

72.3 Assonance, including the silent H of the 18th century.

72.7 CVM RATIONIBVS: CVM has been omitted as it is followed neither by an accompaniment, nor by an adverbial expression of manner.

73: Rodriguez Miraval y Spinola.

Rodriguez Miraval y Spinola shows that he truly was a Knight of Justice, with four proofs of four quarters of nobility (ll. 1 and 29). He was born in 1660. José de Auñón y Herrera, who ordered this monument at his own expense, stresses that Rodriguez Miraval was worthier a man than the ranks he obtained. His physical and mental powers were so enormous that people feared them. The Order was renowned for its formal manners, but Rodriguez Miraval seemed to have been a very straightforward person: NVLLIVS FVIT ASSENTATOR (l. 17). Although a strenuous soldier, and having fought remorselessly for his cause, he died on 23rd June, 1747, in the ripe old age of 87.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque pictorial*. A frame of *Diaspro Rosso* has the coats of arms of this Knight's predecessors in each corner. The pedestal and sarcophagus, both made of *Nero Malquino* and *Verde Antico*, are sober compared to the upper part of the design, which is rendered in *Giallo*. On top of the sarcophagus stands the shield with the coat of arms, supported by two putti, against an orderly background of an array of military paraphernalia.

The author of Rodriguez Miraval y Spinola forces the reader to acknowledge the rich progeny of this Knight (ll. 4-5), lest one failed to read ll. 1 and 30. This is in accordance with the strong and powerful character of the deceased, ANIMI ROBORE TIMENDVS IPSE (l. 16). A *qui*-clause (l. 6) starts the *c.v.*, character and achievements (l. 7-22), which shows three

very strongly diverging capacities: STRENVISSIMVS BELLATOR (l. 12), CONSILIO ÆSTIMANDVS (l. 16), and CVM LÆTOS VIDERET EGENOS, FELICISSIMVM CVM ALIQVEM FECISSET (l. 22). The obituary and dedication are covered in ll. 23-29.

73.1, 29 MIRAVAL, PAVON, ESPINOLA, MORALES are the names of his ancestors. MIRAVAL may be linked to the modern Miravalles (near Bilbao), PAVON to the modern Pavones, near Madrid. ESPINOLA is linked to the Latin *spina* in the meaning of "thorn" and *spinus* in the meaning of "blackthorn", giving way to, among others, the name *Espinola* in Spanish, *Spinola* in Portuguese, *Spinella, Spinelli* or *Spinello* in Italian (see also no. 77.13). MORALES has its roots in the Latin *moralis*, with the meaning of "belonging to manners or morals", and the Spanish word *morales*, meaning "mulberry tree". There are various place names with the modern name Morales in Spain.

73.3 VILLAFVERTE is the modern Villafuerte, in Spain.

73.4 Alliteration of Q, C and S.

73.5 Assonance.

73.9 NOVEM VILLAS: See also no. 26. 14. *Sancto Sepulcro* remains as a name.

73.10 AXATI: See also no. 26.19.

73.11 Polyptoton in DIGNIOR...DIGNITATIBVS.

73.15 NVSQVAM...NVMQVAM, chiasmus (ABCBA).

73.16 Note the parallelism of phrases in ROBORE...ÆSTIMANDVS (ABCDAB), with a homoeoteleuton.

73.17 Near polyptoton of GRATIAM...GRATIÆ.

73.18 Assonance and alliteration of M and S.

73.19-20 FORTVNAM...FORTVNAS: Polyptoton and near-anadiplosis.

73.20 Assonance.

73.22 Chiasmus in a parallelism of phrases (ABCB, BAC). The sense of this clause is incomplete without the insertion of ALIQVEM.

73.24 DIVES...DITIOR: Near-polyptoton with parallelism of phrases.

73.26 EXTINCTVS...EXTINGVERET: Near-polyptoton.

73.27 AVNON is the modern Auñón, in the region of Guadalajara, in Spain, and HERRERA remains

today as a name.

73.28 VILLELA remains as the name Vilela, but is no longer an independent village.

73.29 Alliteration of C.

74: Giovanni Filippo Marucelli.

Giovanni Filippo Marucelli of Firenze entered the Order on 13th July, 1722. He was an Honorary Bailiff and Commander of a galley (Bonazzi 1907: 128). A cautious man, he prepared his grave in 1755, only to occupy it after 28th February, 1772.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque pictorial.* Over a background of *Nero Malquino* stand a voluted pedestal with sarcophagus. Both are rendered in *Verde Antico.* The inscription is placed in front of the pedestal. The shield with the coat of arms surmounts the sarcophagus and is embraced by an array of military paraphernalia.

Giovanni Filippo Marucelli's inscription is more straightforward than the artwork would presume. The *c.v.* occupies ll. 5-11. GLORIAM IN EXIGVO MARMORE NON QVÆRENS (l. 12) is an understatement, as the size of the stone is not any different from most of the others in the main nave; however, the reader understands that the deceased was a modest man, who, nevertheless, did not want to be forgotten.

74.3 Alliteration of P, B and L.

74.6 MAGISTRATVI...REGEMINI: Chiasmus and alliteration of R.

74.10-11 Alliteration of PR.

75: José Ballesterio la Torre.

José Ballesterio la Torre was born on Tuesday, 23rd June, 1699. He was of an exemplary character: PIETATE IN SVPEROS, COMITATE IN HOMINES, MVNIFICENTIA IN PAVPERES (ll. 10-11). He died on Sunday, 27th October, 1764, at the age of 65 years, four months and four days.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral iconography, here a *Late Baroque Pictorial Invention.* The design is divided into three major items. In the lower part, a pedestal with sarcophagus and pyramidal extension is only half visible. On the platform of the pyramidal extension platform lies a skull, while the shield with the coat of arms is placed on the edge of the sarcophagus. The shield is in a tilting position, surrounded by an array of military paraphernalia. In the upper part, two putti hold up a cartouche with inscription, in the shape of a mantle.

The inscription of José Ballesterio la Torre rushes in one sentence (ll. 1-16), perhaps in accordance with his temperament, through his *cursus honorum* and character, leaving the reader first breathless, and then releaved, after finding the full stop.

75.10-11 Note the parallelism of phrases, formed of ablatives with IN and accusative.

75.12 Assonance.

76: Jacques de Loyach de la Bachellerie.

Jacques de Loyach was born in 1739. His promising career was abruptly ended, when a contagious disease killed him, in the line of duty of dressing wounds. He had lived only 26 years when he died on 16th November, 1765.

The lapidary stone is a sepulchral slab. A frame of *Nero Malquino* surrounds a slab of *Marmo Bianco*, containing the inscription and the shield with the coat of arms.

This is one of the very few inscriptions that are nearly completely taken up by prosody. It is characterized by very short sentences, which bear a terse outlook on the person's life. Of all the monumental inscriptions in the main nave, this inscription, together with no. 53, has the largest number of lines of their text in metre. A game of question and answer develops, in which the answers are both highly poetic and apologetic: He is praised for his deeds and progeny, but the author feels that he must mention that he cannot write about every achievement of Jacques de Loyach, because there might not have been enough material to compare him well with the other Knights. This respectful brevity is reflected in the absence of art on the monumental inscription.

76.2	Surnames are indeclinable; however, in this case, because of the requirements of the hexameter, we retained the I. Alliteration of V, M, T and R.
76.3	Note the parallelism of phrases in the word order ABCABC. Also note the assonance.
76.5	Alliteration of S and R.
76.7,9,11	Note the similarity in which these three verses are presented, each possessing a conjunction, and a third person singular perfect active indicative verb; yet, the first is in contrast to the other two.
76.8	The genitive of the present participle of LANGVENS ends in *ium*; however, the *um* has been contained to accommodate it to the rules of scansion.
76.10	Note the chiasmus in the word order ABCDEFCBA, where A is the contrasting subject (MORS, VITA), B the common subject-adjective, C the other object-adjective.

77: Carlo Gattola.

Carlo Gattola was born in 1614 and entered the Order on 14th June, 1628, fourteen years of age (Bonazzi 1897: 155). At the Battle of Dardanelles, on 26th June, 1656, Carlo Gattola was

the Captain of the flagship the *"Capitana"*. He captured four enemy ships and freed over 7000 Christian slaves. Then he became the aide of General Gregorio Carafa, Bailiff of Roccella (see no. 111). He himslf became Bailiff of Armenia in 1669 and Prior of Capua in 1681 (Dal Pozzo 1715: 386, 486). Carlo Gattola was also known for his poetic qualities and his experience as a soldier. He left behind a number of compositions (Bonazzi 1897: 155). His death occured on 5th December, 1684, at the age of 70. Carlo Spinelli (having entered the Order on 17th February, 1668), who was one of the executors of Gattola's will, was made Bailiff of Armenia, and became General of the galleys in 1688 (Bonazzi 1897: 312).

The lapidary art is rendered in an expression of *Baroque*, called *"macchina"*. On a slab of *Nero Malquino* is set the shield with the coat of arms, surrounded by a very full array of military paraphernalia. The cartouche with inscription is placed underneath. It is shaped as a piece of drapery, knotted at the upper corners to some of the military paraphernalia.

Carlo Gattola's inscription is divided in four parts: The first part contains numbers: Instead of the common DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO, this inscription starts with INCLITO PRIORI CAPVÆ, which is the first of four lines of ascending adverbial numbers; the second part starts with QVEM (l. 5), and relates a naval battle; the third part (ll. 9-13) his later career; the fourth part (ll. 14-19) is introduced by METRVM SCVLPSERVNT (l. 14), which is the first reference of any inscription, found in the main nave, to the engraving of the marble slab in metre.

77. 2-4 Note the ascending order of the use of the adverbial number BIS, TER and QVATOR. BIS relates to his birth and consecration, TER relates to his birth, his title Don and by being a member of the Order. QVATER refers to the four ships he conquered and the slaves he freed.

77.6 Alliteration of C, R, G and M. GOLETTAS are Turkish boats, such as gullets or schooners. It

should not be confused with La Goletta, a former Spanish stronghold near the cape of Carthage, and 25 km from Tunis.

77.7 CLASSIS...INCENDIO: Assonance.

77.8 The use in Classical Latin of PRINCIPIVM has the meaning of "staff-officer" or "member of the council of war".

77.13 Spinelli survives as a Maltese surname (see also no. 73.1, 29).

77.15-16 PHŒBVS lit.: "the radiant". Other names are *Apollo, Sol, Helios, Cynthius* and *Pytheus*. He was the Roman god of, among other qualifications, the sun, light and war. The two verses, linked by the same separation of the first and second name of Carlo Gattola, thus form a hyperbaton. They also are the climax of the inscription, through scansion and rich poetic devices. Furthermore, they form a witty contrast between the illustrious man (l.1, first word of this inscription), who continues to shine after death, with the sun, which stops shining after it sets. To enhance this contrast, the author plies on the different uses of OCCIDIT and OCCVBAT (paronomasia), and the variable use of *umbra*, to mean both "shadow" (darkness) and "shadowy soul", which emits light.

78: Jacques François Picot de Combreux.

Jacques François Picot de Combreux was born in February, 1696, and he entered the Order on 19th March, 1709, when he was ten years of age (De Vertot 1761: 315). His highest ranks are mentioned: Bailiff of the Priory of France and naval commander, although more words are spent on his character. He died on 3rd September, 1771, at the age of 75 (years), 7 months.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral iconography, here a *Late Baroque Pictorial Invention*. Against a background of *Nero Malquino* stands a pedestal supporting a column, both in attempted three-dimensionality. The cartouche with inscription, shaped as a parchment with the lower edged curling up is clipped against the front of the pedestal. On the column lies a helmet, 6 bars or, ¾ face to the left, with lambrequins. In front of the column are placed, in

different angles, the top part of a ship's mast with the Order's banner, a large banner of the Order and a banner displaying the shield with the coat of arms. From behind the pedestal, some military paraphernalia are partly visible.

Although Jacques François Picot de Combreux obtained higher ranks than a General, the whole inscription is balanced around three words: QVI (l. 6), PRÆFECTVS, (l. 9), PERFVNCTVS (l. 11), reflecting his own balanced disposition, PARI VIRTVTE (l. 10).

78.10 CONSPICVO MVNERE, lit.: "Duty" (singular), "conspicuous".

79: Annibale Vicomercati.

Annibale Vicomercati was born in 1650, and reached his highest rank of Grand Prior of Messina. Just before his death on 17th December, 1736, at the age of 80, he had finished the preparations for this grave, in anticipation.

The lapidary stone is a sepulchral slab, with a pictorial treatment of the cartouche. A frame of *Diaspro* surrounds a slab of *Nero Malquino*. The cartouche with inscription is placed over both frame and slab, rendered as an unfolding parchment, attached to its bearer with rosettes. It displays the shield with the coat of arms surrounded by military paraphernalia.

Two words serve as introductions to the two parts of this inscription: HIC (l. 2) is followed by the introduction of Annibale Vicomercati (ll. 3-6); QVI (l. 7) is followed by a discourse of his pre-occupation with posterity (ll. 8-10).

79.8-9 MORTIS MONVMENTVM: Alliteration of M. MORIENS VIVAT...VIVENS...MORTIS:

Chiasmus, with anadiplosis and polyptoton.

80: Julio Bovio.

Julio Bovio had a solid career in the military, politics and administration. He finally became the Secretary of the Treasury in 1681 (Dal Pozzo 1715: 486). He died in 1706.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral iconography, here a *Late Baroque Pictorial Invention.* Against a background of *Nero Malquino* is set an iconographical design, mainly made of *Giallo.* The pedestal, merely a bearer of the cartouche with inscription, stands on a pair of very elaborate legs. Two figures sit on the pedestal, on the right-hand side Father Time, holding a winged sandglass, and on the left-hand side the Angel of Fame. Remarkable is her quasi see-through skirt, which reminds one of earlier examples of rendering thin fabric, such as the "Idolino" statue, *c.* 420 B.C. at Florence (see Richter 1994; 127). Above this scene, there are two putti, holding aside the draperies of a canopy, offering a view to heaven. In the grey sky one sees Death, charging with his scythe and snatching away the shield with coat of arms.

This inscription contains short sentences, therefore leaving out the possibility of many style figures.

80.2 BONONIENSIS: See also no. 52.2.

80.3 See no. 29.5.

80.4 Asyndeton.

80.7 AVENIONENSI: See also no. 29.3.

80.10 ORATOR means "preacher", "beseecher", "envoy" and "ambassador".

80.11-12 Note the parallelism of phrases in the word order ABCD, ABCD.

81: Charles de Glandeves Cuges.

Charles de Glandeves Cuges was born in 1627, and entered the Order in 1635, at the age of seven (De la Roque 1891: 102). He was a man gifted with a sharp sword and a sharp mind, which he both put to use successfully for his Order. He was made Captain of a galley in 1660 (Dal Pozzo 1715: 275) and later Grand Commendator. Giovanni Battista Spinola is found in no. 128. Charles de Glandeves Cuges died of arthritis on 9th September, 1706, at the age of 79.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral iconography, here a *Late Baroque Pictorial Invention.* Against a background of *Nero Malquino* is set an iconographical design, mainly made of *Giallo.* On the pedestal, which bears the cartouche with inscription in front, are seated two allegorical figures, which are two representations of Pallas: On the left, Pallas, as the female warrior in classical attire, on the right, Pallas as Wisdom, a lady in classical dress, holding a book. The latter figure has a foot with six toes. Above the allegorical figures a canopy spans overhead, underneath which hover a putto and the Angel of Fame, blowing a long trumpet, who are seemingly taking away the shield with the coat of arms to heaven.

Not very often, the art and text are related, but here they are. Two persons are introduced, Charles de Glandeves Cuges and Pallas (ll. 2-4). Then, the gap in the reader's knowledge is quickly filled after ET ITA VT ARMIS NE MELIVS AN STVDIIS PRÆSIDENTEM IGNORES (ll. 5-6) with his *c.v.* and achievements (ll. 7-15). Finally, the reader is informed about the circumstances of his death (ll. 16-18). The dedication follows in lines 19-22, in which it is stated that before the fates erase the memory Charles de Glandeves Cuges, it is made eternal in stone.

81.3 PALLAS is a Greek goddess, also known as *Athena* and *Minerva*. Her characteristics were war and wisdom, cultivation of the olive and working in wool. Her attributes contained, among other things, a helmet, shield and snakes. VTRAMQVE PALLADEM refers to war and wisdom. To show that this Knight was illustrious in both these two qualities of this Greek goddess, the author of this inscription imagines her shedding tears over his loss. This bold reference to Classical mythology in a Cathedral setting is pardonable in the circumstances that the Knights of St. John were normally both warriors and virtuous people, while a reference to Greek mythology in the Renaissance and *Baroque* times was a sign of possessing culture. VTRAMQVE is repeated in l. 4, for emphasis, but it appears with Pallas' person in l. 3 and with her quality in ll. 5 and 6.

81.5 Assonance.

81.7 The original *prolusit* exists. However, our suspicion of the author's intention of having PROLVXIT engraved instead is justified by the context of these lines, which put emphasis on the experience rather than the apprenticeship of the hero. In the case of PRÆFECT^{VS}, the superscript "VS" is added later, as the line space to an illustration had probably been miscalculated.

81.9 ROMÆ: At the modern Rome; LVTETIÆ: At the modern Paris.

81.7-10 IN HIS FERIATVS (*est* understood), lit.: "He was at leisure in these". Note the parallelism of phrases in the repetition of two main verbs PROLVXIT and FERIATVS (EST), followed by CVM and the perfect indicative SVBEGIT, EXCITAVIT, the latter incorporating an apposition IVVENIS, PRÆFECTVS and CARVS. CAES. *Civ.* 1.45: *Tamen virtute et patientia nitebantur atque omnia vulnera sustinebant.* LETHALE, lit.: "Lethal". ADMIRATIONEM...DESIDERIVM is a chiasmus with an oxymoron in PRÆSENS, ABSENS.

81.12 Alliteration of C, O, MM and S,

81.15 MERITIS GRAVIS E VIVIS: Homoeoteleuton.

82: Charles Sevin de Bandeville.

Charles Sevin de Bandeville was born in 1640 in Paris, and was enrolled into the Order on 9th May, 1647, seven years of age (De Vertot 1761: 268). His highest rank was Prior of

Champagne. The officials of the Common Treasury placed this inscription for this generous patron, who took care that everything he acquired went to the benefit of his Order, leaving nothing behind for his relatives, household or slaves. He died on 24th November in 1718, 78 years of age.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental*. The upper part is occupied by a pictorial treatment. On a slab of *Nero Malquino* stands a pedestal and sarcophagus under an arched arrangement of hanging drapery, held open by two putti. The pedestal, sarcophagus and drapery are made of *Giallo*. The pedestal bears the cartouche with inscription in front, the sarcophagus the shield with the coat of arms. On both sides of sarcophagus stand two incense burners, producing thick clouds of smoke. See also nos. 60 and 82. Also, the iconography on this gravestone is similar to its neighbours no. 72 and 81, although much more rigid in execution.

This inscription is interesting, both in construction and content. Between RECOLENDÆ (l. 2) and RELIQVIT (l. 10) is set the introduction of Charles Sevin de Bandeville and his ranks, with a *qui*-clause in the middle, and the exact amount that he bequeathed. Ll. 11-15 continue with the noble waving of his rights on the fifth part and a legacy. There is also a relation between RELIGIONEM MATREM (l. 14) and RELIGIOSISSIMI VIRI (l. 23), of a man who leaves nothing to his real family, but everything to his Order, which he sees as a benevolent mother. The reader may trust that the dedicators had only the noblest motives in mind when they urged other Knights to follow this example (ll. 22-25).

82.4 CAMPANIÆ: Of the modern region of Champagne, France.

82.5 BONONIS CVRIA is the modern Boncourt, a village on the Swiss-French border, in the Jura

region, Switzerland.

82.7-10 Triple inner hyperbata: POST...RELIQVIT encloses ELARGITAS...LIBRAS, which encloses EXPENSARVM...EROGATARVM.

82.11 The denial of the opportunity comes by, not through a negation of rights, but through his own free will.

82.12 DE QVINTA PARTE refers to the laws of inheritance of the Order. The Old and New Statutes of the Order contain Prohibitions and Penalties. Paragraph 1 states that the Brothers are not allowed to make wills, appoint heirs or give away any legacies. In paragraph 10, Brother Odon de Pins rules that they could make use of the Order's riches, but must bequeath them to the Order after death. Later on, Title XVIII does allow wills, constituting heirs and bequeathing legacies. Brother Hugh Revell allows some freedom by making it possible to leave behind salaries and money due to servants or debtors. With the Grand Master's permission, one may dispose of a modest portion of one's effects to third persons. Grand Master Claude de la Sengle stipulates that only one fifth of those riches could be disposed of through the will (De Vertot 1728: 2. *Statutes.* 98-103).

82.13 Alliteration of C and Q.

82.17 Note the parallelism of phrases.

83: Guillaume de la Salle.

Guillaume de la Salle was born in 1656 or 1654 and enrolled into the Order on 1st August, 1674, at a relatively late age of at least twenty years (De Vertot 1761: 289). Little is said about his achievements, only that he was a Bailiff; much more is said about his desire to die. His death occurred in 1739, at the age of, at least, 83 years.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental.* Within an arched arrangement of *Giallo* stand the pedestal and the sarcophagus, both rendered in *Nero Malquino* and *Verde Antico.* The pedestal bears the cartouche with inscription in front, which is shaped as a mantle. It is fixed to the pedestal with rosettes. The arch gives view to a cloudy, blue sky, made out of *Bigio.* On top of the arch, on either side, sit

two putti, holding a garland and the shield with the coat of arms between them. On top of the sarcophagus lies a skull, on which another putto is placing a laurel. On the pedestal, two incense burners are putting forth their essence. The text is fixed on the pedestal, rendered on a mantle.

Guillaume de la Salle had four wishes when he lived: IN DOMINO MORI (l. 3), IN PACE CVM DEFVNCTIS (l. 5), IN HONORE CVM FRATRIBVS (l. 6), and IN SPE RESVRRECTIONIS CVM ELECTIS (l. 7). The author had only one wish for him, ANIMAM RESPICE, O IESV (l. 9).

83.3 HOR. *S.* 2.6.1: *Hoc erat in votes: modus agri non ita magnus.* N.T. *Apc.* 14.13: *et audivi vocem de caelo dicentem: "Scribe: Beati mortui, qui in Domino moriuntur amodo. Iam, dicit Spiritus, ut reqiescant a laboribus suis; opera enim illorum sequuntur illos".*

83.4 SEPVLCRALEM, lit.: "A sepulchral shrine".

83.5-7 Note the parallelism of phrases, rendering IN with ablative four times, CVM with ablative three times.

83.10 *Lectio dubia.* There is confusion in the reading of his age, whether it is 83 or 85, as the letter-cutter has managed to fuse a 3 with a 5.

84: Jacques François de Chambray.

The inscription of Jacques François de Chambray gives the precise date of birth and of demise (ll. 23-24): Born on the 15th March, 1677, he entered the Order in 1701, at he age of 24 (De la Roque 1891: 55). With regards to his achievements, one can say that the author comments honestly that De Chambray's first two Commanderies were a present of the Grand Master, the third one he really acquired on behalf of his own merits. In 1724 he commanded a ship and, after a hostile engagement with a Tunisian man-of-war, he brought to port 33 freed Christian

slaves (De Vertot 1728: 2. 13. 113). He brought back to port a much greater booty in 1732, when on 18th September he seized off Damietta (Egypt) the Ottoman rear-admiral (Bono 1993: 372). Besides being an experienced sailor, he also had great intellectual capacities as a man of letters and as a researcher. Being modest, these literary achievements he did not want to be written on his grave, although his readers are politely asked to pray for his soul. He died on 8th April, 1756, at the age of 79.

The art of this monumental inscription is identical to nos. 102 and 108. For a description, see no. 102.

It is owed to Jacques François de Chambray to have a long and exhaustive *c.v.*, covering his progeny, ranks and achievements, which is nevertheless saved from being too monotonous by ll. 17-21. Here, the reader can finally get a glimpse of the other side of his character, which is intellectual and modest: FASTOS, GRAMMATOPHYLACIA, MONVMENTA CONSVLAT... RECENSERI IPSE NOLVIT.

84.9 *Dividunum* (or *Divodurum, Mediomatricum, Mediomatriceus, Mediomatrica, Messins, Mettis, Metis, Meties, Mettae, Metti, Meti, Mettensis civitas, Metae, Metium)* are the Latin names for modern Metz. VIRCOVRT is the modern Vircourt, and SAINT-VAVBVRG the modern Saint-Vaubourg. All places are in France.

84.20 NOLVIT is in the indicative for the proper subjunctive within *oratio obliqua.*

85: Dominico Pajo de Abreu y Lima.

Domingo Pajo de Abreu y Lima was born on 6th August, 1669. He was the Prefect of the Cotonera fortifications. It becomes quite clear that one of the strongest motivations to build and maintain fortifications walls was the fear of being overrun by the Ottomans, who were

still seen as a threat of the Knight's existence ARCI COTONERÆ AD AVERTENDAS TVRCAMRVM MINAS (l. 5). He died on 8th June, 1742, having reached the age of 73 years.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral iconography, here a *Late Baroque Pictorial Invention.* Against a background of *Nero Malquino* hangs a canopy of *Bigio* over the centrally placed shield with the coat of arms. Above the shield hovers the Angel of Fame, and below it, on the left, stands Father Time. On the right stands Death, scythe in hand. Both Father Time and Death hold up the cartouche with inscription, shaped as an open parchment. Below the cartouche there are some military paraphernalia. Finally, in the lower right corner, a putto helps keeping the parchment opened.

A short, informative and to-the-point inscription, with little space for style.

85.5 The ARCI COTONERÆ are still to be enjoyed at present day, situated in that part of the Grand harbour, which is called "The Three Cities" or the "Cottonera", in Malta.

85.7 Hyperbaton, encompassing a parallelism of phrases, involving genitive and ablative in alternation.

86: Pietro Rosselmini.

Pietro Maria Rosselmini (or Rossermini) was born on 27th September, 1705, and entered the Order on 22nd June, 1708, at two years of age. As an active soldier, he survived a battle near the Danube, after which he chose for warfare at sea. Although he had spent 60 years actively and successfully in office, he still found it difficult to obtain a Priory: TITVLVMQVE LOMBARDIÆ PRIORATVS VIX NACTVS (l. 11). His relative Ferrante was the Captain of a galley and the Commander of the fortress of Gozo in the 17th century. Pietro Rosselmini died on 3rd March, 1779, at the age of 73.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental.* A comparatively small slab of *Marmo Bianco* is set in a broad frame of *Nero Malquino.* A pedestal of *Breccia* and *Giallo*, bearing the cartouche with inscription in front, supports the shield with the coat of arms. Behind it is placed a set of two crossed anchors, on which bars two lions, rampant and combatant, support the shield. A lion's torso is sticking out of the shield's crown.

Another informative and to-the-point inscription, with little space for style.

86.6 AD DANVBIVM. This war refers to the "Hungarian disaster", from which few Maltese and Knights returned, in which Emperor Charles VI of Austria was defending against the Ottomans in 1736-39.

87: Jean Joseph Simon de Blacas D'Aups.

Jean Joseph Simon de Blacas D'Aups (or D'Aulps) was born in 1701 and entered the Order in 1724, at the age of 23. Antoine, entered one year earlier, in 1723 (De la Roque 1891: 30). After a fulfilment of his life's ideals, Jean Joseph Simon had only one wish: IN PIO FRATRVM COMPLEXV VITAM DARE AVENS (l. 10). He died 21st June, 1772.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque sepulchral classisizing.* Over a background of *Marmo Bianco* hangs a canopy, under which stands the pedestal. This pedestal has a frame of *Breccia* that surrounds the cartouche with inscription. An ornament of *Nero Malquino* is placed on the surface of the pedestal. It functions as a console for the shield with the coat of arms.

This inscription uses five steps to navigate through the *c.v.* of Jean Joseph Simon de Blacas D'Aups. The first step is his introduction and ranks (ll. 2-4), after which follows QVI and his achievements (ll. 5-8); the third step (ll. 9-11) starts after TANDEM, bringing forth the wish to die in the embrace of his brethren with SE RECEPIT (l. 11); the fourth step (ll. 12-14), in which DECESSIT makes the reader hope that the wish of Jean Joseph Simon de Blacas D'Aups is fulfilled. The fifth and final step is the dedication (ll. 13-16).

87.6-8 CAES. *Gal.* 8.28: CAES. *Gal.* 8.28: *Cuius praeceptis ut res gereretur, Quintus Atius Varus, praefectus equitum, singularis et animi et prudentiae vir.* Alliteration of S and Q.

87.16 OPTIME MERITO is found also in nos. 24.10, 53.11, 102..21, 131.18, and 152.10.

88: Pietro Varavalle de Gaeta.

PietroVarravalle de Gaeta of Bisignano entered the Order on 13th April, 1584 (Bonazzi 1897: 149). His integrity was coupled to a non self-assuming attitude, which makes him worthy of remembrance in stone. He died in 1623, and a memorial tablet, was placed in the west wall of the Crypt of Bartholot. Later on, a monumental inscription, with the same text, was placed in the main nave of St; John's. PietroVarravalle de Gaeta is de only Knight whom has befallen the honour to be commemorated twice with the same text.

The lapidary stone is a sepulchral slab, made of *Marmo Bianco.* The inscription contains only a few lines of text, and is identical in concept with its counterpart no. 99, at the end of this row.

As short as non-self assuming.

88.3 *Bisinianum* (or *Besidiae, Besidianum, Besignanum, Besinianum*) is the modern Bisignano, in Italy.

89: Massimiljan Balzan.

Massimiljan Balzan, born in 1637, is the only person commemorated in the main nave, who is known to have been married before he became a professed religious: CONIVGE ADEMPTA (l. 11). He served the Grand Masters Nicola Cotoner, Carafa, Wignacourt and Perellos. Both father Massimiljan and son Ġwanni Battista were Deans of the Conventual Church. Massimiljan died in 1711, at the age of 74.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental*, with the upper part occupied by a pictorial treatment. Over a background of *Nero Malquino,* within an arched arrangement of *Giallo*, stands a pedestal with the shield with the coat of arms, both of *Giallo* too. Two putti, who are whipping their tears with a handkerchief, support the shield. The putto on the left holds a book, the putto on the right holds a black religious hat. The cartouche with inscription, shaped as a mantle, covers the front of the pedestal. The coat of arms shows a staggering horse, which picture is repeated, having been set within the crown of the shield.

CONIVGE ADEMPTA (l. 11) serves literally as a pivot in both the life and the inscription of Massimiljan Balzan. There are nine lines before her death is announced, in which lines his juridical career is described, and nine lines after her demise, in which his change to a spiritual career is narrated. His son, Ġwanni Battista, placed the dedication.

89.12-13 Alliteration of C, P and D. The set of alliterations at the end of l. 12 ECCLESIÆ... COOPTATVS has the same amount of syllables as ECCLESIÆ...DECORATVS and the end of l. 13. COOPTATVS and DECORATVS: Homoeoteleuton.

89.20 Alliteration of C.

90: Giuseppe D'Andrea.

Giuseppe D'Andrea of Caltagirone was born in 1694. He enrolled into the Order at a relatively old age of 26, on 23rd January, 1722 (Bonazzi 1907: 58), but through his efforts and character arrived at the rank of Grand Cross. He received one Magisterial Commandery, earned another by his merits and purchased and regained a third (ll. 10-13). He died on 8th February, 1770, at the age of 76.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque pictorial*, with the upper part occupied by a pictorial treatment. On a background of *Nero Malquino* stands a pedestal, which front is nearly all covered by the cartouche with inscription, shaped as an inside scallop. The Order's banner is placed on either side of the pedestal. On top of the pedestal there are three figures: On the left, a putto, holding a closed crown, and on the right, Pallas, holding an open crown. It may seem that they are exchanging crowns. In their midst, winged Death sits on a globe, as on horseback, which shows the text TERRÆ MARIQVE. Death holds a scythe in one hand and the shield with the coat of arms in the other.

The introduction covers ll. 2-7, which is connected by QVI to ll. 9-13, revealing the manner in which he obtained his three commanderies. Ll. 13-15, describing his frugality and diligence, leads to a climax, expressed by an understatement in NON EXIGVAS OPES EIDEM CVMVLAVIT (l. 16) and appreciation through PIAS OPERAS (l. 17). The announcement of his death closes the inscription (ll. 18-20).

90.1 TERRÆ MARIQVE can exist in the dative; however, the idiomatic Latin expression of TERRA MARIQVE in the ablative fits better the context, revealed by this Knight's travel by land and sea to manage his estates. VNO TRINO: Oxymoron.

90.3 CALATA HIERONENSI is the modern Caltagirone, in Sicily.

90.5 Alliteration of P, R, N and T.

90.9 *Panoramitanum* is the present Palermo, in Sicily.

90.10 *Saxoferratum* is the present Sassoferrato, near Ancona, in Italy. Another example of a Magisterial Commandery.

91: René du Pré.

René du Pré was born on Wednesday, 11th March, 1643, and entered the Order in 1660, at the age of seventeen. He became Grand Commander in 1726 (De Vertot 1761: 71), and later Grand Prior of Provence. His death was registered on Monday, 1st June, 1733, at the age of 90.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque pictorial*, with the upper part occupied by a pictorial treatment. On a background of *Nero Malquino* stands a pedestal of *Giallo*, bearing the cartouche with inscription on the front, and a shield with the coat of arms on both sides. From its surface rises an extension, its lower half covered by military paraphernalia, canon, classical cuirass and helmet. On top of the extension lie two skulls, supporting the shield with the coat of arms at its base, while two hovering putti support the shield at its crown. The right-hand putto, an Angel of Fame, blows its long trumpet. The pedestal and extension are shown in a frontal view with a converging three-dimensionality on both sides. This suggest that they are either hexagonal of shape, or that the artist had a different opinion of rendering rectangular objects in three dimensions.

The introduction of René du Pré and an overview of rank, progeny and character are presented in ll. 2-7. The appreciation of the great-nephews to their generous uncle covers ll. 8-15). This paragraph reveals what they received in gratitude (ll. 11-12), balanced by HAVD

IMMEMORES (l. 13), and is followed by what they gave in gratitude (ll. 14-15).

91.5-7 VIRO...PRÆDITO: Hyperbaton, encompassing double chiasmi with the word order ABCCBBCA.

91.11 GARIDECH is the modern name. It lies northeast of Toulouse, in the direction Saint-Sulpice, in France.

91.13 A variation MORTIS HAVD IMMEMOR is found in no. 10.10.

92: Louis Roger de Blécourt Tincourt.

Louis Roger de Blécourt Tincourt was born in 1642, and was admitted into the Order at the age of nineteen (De la Roque 1891: 31). His career was apparently very successful, and the author praises him to the extreme. He died at Marseilles, on 3rd November, 1716, at the age of 74.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque pictorial*, with the upper part occupied by a pictorial treatment. On a background of *Nero Malquino* stands a pedestal of *Giallo* and *Rosso*. The front of the pedestal is covered by the cartouche with inscription, in the form of an open mantle. On the platform of the pedestal, three figures are posing: Death, greeting the reader with his hand, is on the left; Father Time, holding a tableau of a naval battle war scene, is on the right, and Pallas stands in their midst. Over their heads hover, on the left, the Angel of Fame blowing its trumpet and, on the right, a putto. Both hold and opened parchment, showing the shield with the coat of arms.

This long inscription gives a great variety of information about Louis Roger de Blécourt Tincourt. Besides the linguistic style, the author adopted a journalistic approach, by presenting in nearly every line a different topic. The frequent use of full stops gives the reader the necessary time to breathe, offering full appreciation of the deceased's achievements.

92.5-6 Note the parallelism of phrases: accusative – verb, accusative – verb. QVEM...AMANT: Chiasmus, involving a mirror construction of accusative, nominative, verb – verb, nominative, accusative.

92.7 *Roma*: See also no. 81.9.

92.8 Note the parallelism of phrases in NEC with dative, genitive and verb, NEC with accusative, genitive and verb.

92.10-11 A parallelism of phrases of DIXERE (perfect), nominative, CVM with ablative, DICENT (future) (polyptoton with DIXERE), nominative, CVM with ablative.

92.12 A *quinqueremis* is a galley, of which each oar is handled by five rowers on one bench. See also no. 2.4.

92.17 QVEM...LVGEAS LVGEBVNT...PAVPERES: Polyptoton and parallelism of phrases with chiasmus in QVEM (accusative), nominative, verb, QVOS (accusative, polyptoton with QVEM), verb, noun.

92.19 Double chiasmi ABCCABABC (for a similar construction see 91.5-7). AB is a prepositional phrase; C is an participle (masculine, accusative case).

92.21 MASSILIÆ: See also no. 65.5.

93: Jean du Hamel.

Jean du Hamel was born in 1624, and entered the Order at the age of ten, in 1634 (De la Roque 1891: 117). His person could be characterized as one of faith, hope and charity (ll. 10-12), which are three very important Christian virtues. He died on 12th November, 1703, at the age of 79.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque pictorial*, with the upper part occupied by a pictorial treatment. Death lies in a sarcophagus of *Rosso*, lined on the inside with *Marmo Bianco*, holding a closed book onto his knees. A putto sits at his feet, holding a winged sandglass and a chaplet. In front of the sarcophagus hangs the shield with the coat of arms, surrounded by a chaplet. To its right lie a classical armoury and a sword. Father Time bends over Death, holding the cartouche with inscription. In the left corner, a hovering putto holds a heart, pierced by a Latin cross and bursting out flames. In the extreme of the left upper corner, a cherub head sends forth three sets of rays: Faith, Hope and Charity, as mentioned in the text (ll. 10-12).

The contrast between the simplicity of the text and the complexity of the artwork is, indeed, enormous.

93.5 Alliteration of P, R, and F.

93.10-13 See also no. 35.16. Note the succession of four perfect participles and the succession of three lines, each having an ablative ending in E and a perfect participle.

94: Louis de Fleurigny.

Louis de Fleurigny le Clerc was born in 1641, and was enrolled at the age of seventeen, on 20th August, 1658 (De Vertot 1761: 274). To give shape to his Christian zeal (l. 7), he mustered in a corsairship in order to wage war against the Muslims. Being successful to his time's standard, he obtained the command of an Order's galley. After this period, he settled temporarily for a land position at the Paris Exchequer. Although doing well, he took to the sea once more. The outcome of an engagement with the enemy in 1709 (see no. 59) was reason to promote him to Governor-General of the galleys. He died in the year 1716, 75 years old.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque pictorial*, with the upper part occupied by a pictorial treatment. This representation is divided in three equally sized parts. The lower part shows a pedestal with a square tableau in front, showing a naval battle scene of a burning ship, a reference to the arsoning of the Tripolitanian flagship in the text. This tableau is supported by two kneeling Ottoman captives, which remind us of the monument of Nicola Cotoner (d. 1680). In the middle part, staged at the platform of the pedestal, hover a putto and the Angel of Death (blowing a long, curved trumpet). Both are supporting the shield with the coat of arms. The upper part consists of two putti holding the cartouche with inscription, its form suggesting a ship's sail bulging in the wind.

Louis de Fleurigny le Clerc's inscription is divided in three parts, of which the first (ll. 2-6) contains analogies on his flowery name, the second (ll. 7-18) his achievements, and the third his obituary (ll. 19-20).

94.2-6 FLOS: Paronomasia on the Knight's surname FLEVRIGNY. FLOS appears four times through polyptoton: FLORIBVS (l. 2), FLOS (l. 3), DEFLORVIT (l. 5), and FLORET (l. 6).

94.10 BELLVM MOHAMETO is a synecdoche, a figure of speech that makes one understand the concept by referring to a part of it. Furthermore, it refers to a longstanding conflict, originating from the First Crusade. The Statutes of the Order, in the second paragraph of "Customs", heralds that the fight against Islam is an official duty of the Knights. The Knights were expected to attach themselves sincerely to hospitality and to their faith; they were only to distinguish themselves by their virtue, designed only to fight for Christ's glory, to maintain his worship, and the Catholic faith; they had to love, revere and preserve justice, and favour, support and defend the poor and oppressed, without neglecting the duties of holy hospitality. Thus the Knights Hospitallers wore on their clothes a cross with eight points, which represented the eight virtues. After generous distribution of alms, they had to take the sword in hand and attack and demolish the Mahometans, and those who deviated from the faith. They were to fulfil these exercises, to the example of the

Macabees, soldiers and martyrs, who often, with very small forces, defeated formidable armies, by God's assistance. There was no greater charity than coming to the defence of justice, widows and orphans, and sacrificing one's life for other Catholics.

94.12 LVTETIENSIS: Of the modern Paris, in France.

94.13 Alliteration of M.

94.17 Alliteration of C.

94.20 VIXIT…DEVIXIT: Homoeoteleuton.

95: Césare de Villaneuve Thourenc.

Césare de Villaneuve Thourenc entered the Order in 1639 (De Vertot 1761: 96). He acquired Trusteeships from the Order and had Trusteeships founded with his savings (ll. 8-10). He died on 14th October, 1716, older than 90 years.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque pictorial.* A pedestal, bearing the cartouche with inscription with text, is shown in an attempted linear perspective, converging to the lower right. To its right, the Angel of Fame holds a long trumpet, from behind whom emerges an array of military paraphernalia. In front of the pedestal a Phoenix, wings widespread, is rendered sitting in its nest, the licking flames spreading about. Above the pedestal, two hovering figures are supporting the shield with the coat of arms: On the left a putto, on the right Pallas.

Césare de Villaneuve Thourenc's introduction (ll. 2-5), is followed by MIRARIS (l. 6), through which the author, as a prompter, whispers instructions to the reader, feigning anticipation of the reader's amazement for the achievements, mentioned in ll. 7-11. MIRARI DESINE (l. 12) again prompts the reader, but now to stop amazement about the ease with which Césare reached his old age, and to acknowledge that only death had been able to stop

him achieving more pious deeds.

95.3 S[ANCTI] ÆGIDII: See also no. 4.6.

95.4 *Capella* is the modern La Chapelle, in France.

95.5 *Pessulanus* (or *Pessulus mons, Puellarum mons*) is at present Montpellier, in France.

95.6 COMPARASSE: *Eum* understood.

95.7-8 QVÆ...PRÆSTITERIT: Indirect question, introduced by REDDIDERE, while PRÆSTITERIT is amended from PRÆSTITIT.

95.6-13 Note the cyclos MIRARIS in l. 6, and MIRARI DESINE in l. 13. The author expects the reader to be surprised by the achievements of this Knight, but not that he lived for so long.

95.16-17 Paronomasia, with which the author seems to say that despite the fact that this Knight lived for over 90 years, his achievements surpass that age. Our admiration (MIRARI) must be aimed at his achievements, not at his age (MIRARI DESINE).

96: Paul Antoine de Robins Barbantane.

Paul Antoine de Robins Barbantane was born in 1669. He was registered in the Order in 1671, at the age of two (De Vertot 1761: 77), and became Grand Prior and Grand Commendator. Ignorance about his renown is quickly erased: The reader is informed, from the positive to the superlative degree (ll. 8-12), about his name and fame. He died on 3rd March, 1746, at the age of 77.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental.* A frame of *Rosso*, with, at each corner, an inside scallop, surrounds a slab of *Nero Malquino.* A pedestal, with the cartouche with inscription in front, supports a sarcophagus of *Verde Antico*, which in its turn is surmounted by the shield with the coat of arms. Two supporting putti are behind the shield. The putto on the right is stepping from behind the shield, carefully putting one foot on the lid of the sarcophagus, careful not to

disturb the helmet of a Classical cuirass, also present on the lid. From behind the shield, an array of military paraphernalia appears.

SISTE, VIATOR (l. 2), orders to stop the passer-by and to devote tears to the sorrow of Paul Antoine de Robins Barbantane (ll. 5-7). SISTE, VIATOR is also the beginning of a string of keywords, giving the inscription the force it has: HIC JACET (l. 4), CLARVS, (l. 8), CLARIOR, (l.9), ACCEPTISSIMVS (l. 12), all leading to the climax of MAXIME GRATVS (l. 18), followed by a sudden end in CLAVSIT (l. 20). Finally, a very emotional dedication MÆRORES SVOS DISSIMVLARE TAM NOLENS QVAM NESCIENS (ll. 23-26).

96.2-3 Chiasmus. This colon starts and ends with the second person single, active imperative, ending in E.

96.8-9 CLARVS, CLARIOR: Polyptoton, in which both are placed at the end of each line. Note also the parallelism of phrases formed by the use of the ablatives SPLENDORE before CLARVS, and BONITATE, GENEROSITATE before CLARIOR. All these three adjectives belong to the third declension, ending in E.

96. 10-15 Parallelism of phrases, formed through the alternation of dative with a noun in SVA RELIGIONI...ACCEPTISSIMVS, SVIS FRATRIBVS...COMMENDATOR, ZELOTES ...AMATOR. The second round of this parallelism of phrases is further enhanced by l. 15 itself, consisting of the perfect symmetrical structure of ABCABC, (conjunction, genitive, noun repeated). COMMENDATOR, AMATOR: Homoeoteleuton.

96.15 Assonance and alliteration of C and Q.

96.16 *Mensalibus* means "belonging to the table". In this context, the word "table" is to mean "accounting tables". *Mensalibus* is an adjective, here in agreement with some noun like *aerariis*. The coining of the word COMMENSALIBVS points to the treasury of this Knight's Order's Langue. Note also the alliteration of S in this line.

96.17 Alliteration of T, R and B. Note also the similarity of sounds in the two adverbs of RESTITVIT (LIBENTER, LIBERALITER)

97: Baldażar D'Amico.

Baldażar D'Amico was born in 1617. The *cursus honorum* of this Maltese Commendator, a Doctor in both canon and civil law, contains, in ascending order, the following: Papal envoy, Chaplain of the Langue of Germany, Curator of legal matters at the Common Treasury and First Secretary of four Grand Masters. IN OMNI FORTVNA SEMPER EIDEM SVIQVE SIMILI (l. 12) provides a quick sketch of his balanced character. He died on 2nd March, 1689, at the age of 72.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental*. A triple lined frame (*Marmo Bianco* - *Nero Malquino* - *Marmo Bianco*) surrounds a slab of *Nero Malquino*. Within an arrangement of opened draperies stands a pedestal, mainly consisting of the cartouche with inscription, here rendered as an inside scallop. It supports the shield with the coat of arms, which stands on a low stool and is supported by two putti sitting at its base. Both hold a long candle, while the one on the left hand has a book in his lap, and the one on the right hand a skull. The coat of arms is adorned with a black ecclesiastical hat with tassels. On top of the hat is rendered a white dove, both wings spread to full extension.

This inscription consists of a dedication to DE AMICO, which name is followed by dative appositions, all placed at the end of the lines, together with the author of the dedication, that is, his nephew in the nominative.

97. 6 MVLTOS ANNOS is not exaggerated, as he thus served nearly 30 years, from Grand Master Gessan (1660) to Carafa (1680-1690). Further note the alliteration of C in COMMVNIS...CVRATORI.

97.8 AVDITOR: See also no. 32.14.

97.10 Asyndeton.

97.11 Lit.: "In every circumstance being always similar to the same and to himself".

98: Manuelo Pereyra.

Manuelo Pereyra was born in 1710. His only achievement mentioned is that he became Bailiff of Leça. However, the other achievements seem to be more than can be mentioned on this stone: CÆTERA FRATRES, CIVES, PAVPERES IN ÆVVM NARRABVNT (ll. 12-13). He died on 25th March, 1792, at the age of 82.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral iconography, here a *Late Baroque Pictorial Invention.* On a background of *Nero Malquino* stands a pedestal, mostly hidden by the cartouche with inscription, which is shaped as an open mantle. From underneath and above, military paraphernalia emerge, among which is a classical cuirass. Above the pedestal, suspended in mid-air, the shield with the coat of arms is supported both by the Angel of Fame, blowing its long trumpet, and a putto, holding a sandglass which is broken in two pieces. The Angel of Fame also holds a banner with the text VIXIT SI SATIS SIBI NON SVIS.

A short but powerful inscription, which shows that Manuelo Pereyra was very much appreciated OMNIBVS...OMNIVM (ll. 5-6). The author keeps the reader's attention and curiosity alive, by omission of facts. Just one example of a pious deed is revealed (ll. 9-11), because the rest shall be told from memory by others CÆTERA...IN ÆVVM NARRABVNT (ll. 12-13).

98.5-6 OMNIBVS, OMNIVM: Polyptoton.

98.12 Asyndeton.

99: Giovanni Otto Bosio.

Giovanni Otto Bosio, a Knight of Grace, entered the Order on 22nd November, 1560 (Bonazzi 1897: 49). The inscription does not yield much information about his person. Giovanni Otto was the brother of the historian Giacomo Bosio, and was employed, in Rome, by Grand Master Huegues Loubenx de Verdalle in 1587. He was made Vice-Chancellor in 1593, and Chancellor in 1608. His promotion to Bailiff of Pavia followed in 1617 (Dal Pozzo 1703: 632). Giovanni Otto snatched away his personal victory from the nose of death, by placing this inscription just before he died on 10th February, 1622.

The lapidary stone is a sepulchral slab, made of *Marmo Bianco*. The inscription contains only a few lines of text, and is identical in concept with its counterpart no. 88, at the beginning of this row.

The inscription is a short dedication to himself.

99.3 *Ticinum* is the modern Pavia, in Italy.

100: Augusto Mauritio Benzo de Santena.

Augusto Maurition Benzo, of the Seignory of Santena di Chieri, born in 1668, was enrolled on 11th September, 1680, at the age of twelve. In fifteen years of service he had accomplished impressive achievements, and he was destined for greater things. He did not distinguish between being dead or alive, as long as the Order's goals were reached. He died in action, on 22nd July, 1695, at the age of 27.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental*. A broad frame of Breccia contains a slab of *Nero Malquino*, in which is rendered a pedestal supporting the shield with the coat of arms. The pedestal shows the cartouche with inscription, which is given the shape of an inside scallop. Behind the coat of arms, a colourful array of military paraphernalia appears.

The reader may be misled by what seems to be a well deserved, but rather dry presentation of Augusto Maurition Benzo's *cursum honorum*. Perseverence is a virtue, and the reader is awarded when AD MAIORA PROPERASSET (l. 11) is reached: Here, pace and tone change rapidly, and the reader is being made witness of Augusto's last moments alive, and the contemporaneous view on his death, expressed by the author. The dedication (ll. 19-22) is made by Augusto's superior, Sigmund von Thun (buried in the German Chapel of this Cathedral), who placed this inscription with the regrets known to a survivor.

100.2 *Cherium* (or *Carea, Carium, Chierium*) is the modern Chieri, near Turin, in Italy.

100.4 PEDEMONTIO is the modern Piedmont, a region in Northern Italy.

100.8-9 With CHIENSI is probably meant Chienes, which lies near Bressanone, in northern Italy. IGNARIÆ and IGNEVS: Paronomasia. IGNARIÆ COHORTIS relates to 17th-century firearms warfare; IGNEVS refers metaphorically to his inflammable character. VTROBIQVE, *id est*, "by land and by sea".

100.13 *Mauritania*, in Classical times, was situated in the area between Fez and Marrakech, including both the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts.

100.22 Assonance.

101: Henri de Martins Champoléon Dauphins.

Henri de Martins Champoléon Dauphins was born in 1721, and entered the Order in 1741, at the age of twenty (De la Roque 1891: 158). NOBILISSIMA AVORVM SERIE

SPECTABILIS (l. 7) refers to ll. 1-3, should anyone doubt his splendid progeny. He had prepared this monumental inscription for someone else QVOD ALIIS PARAVERAT (l. 17), who, however, outlived him. This gives a recorded insight in the production of these gravestones, since the artwork preceded the inscription: Hence, both art and text were created quite independently. The latter was often inserted at the moment of need. Henri de Martins Champoléon Dauphins died on 3rd September, 1761, at the age of 40.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque pictorial*, with the upper part occupied by a pictorial treatment. A slab of *Nero Malquino* is framed by a band of *Rosso*, which band contains, on each corner and halfway, shields with the coats of arms and the names of de Martins' ancestors, to demonstrate his noble lineage. Within the frame stands a column, supported by Death and Father Time, and surmounted by the shield with the coat of arms, which is supported by a putto and the Angel of Fame. The cartouche with inscription, an inside scallop, stands in front of the column, covering both Death and Father Time from the waist down. From underneath the cartouche, some military paraphernalia emerge. An array of military paraphernalia wavers out from behind the shield, and the supporting putto, on the left, holds a spear and a snake biting his own tail; the Angel of Fame, on the right, blows a long trumpet.

The progeny of Henri de Martins Champoléon Dauphins is meted out in ll. 1-3, and after the dedication to God, follows his name (l. 5). The *qui*-clause in l. 6 continues with his famous background. Then, his title and function are mentioned (l. 8), from which one can conclude that Henri himself had little to add to his own fame because of, among other things, a premature death. QVOD...QVOD...STRENVE SOLVIT (ll. 9-10) shows his financial correctness and MVLTOS SIBI...AMICOS (l. 11) his amicable disposition, together with

LONGIORE VITA, MORTE LENIORE DIGNVS (l. 12). Ll. 13-18 complete this inscription, which is not dedicated by anyone in particular.

101.7 Alliteration of S.

101.8 Assonance and polyptoton in EQVES... EQVITATV. Note in this parallelism of phrases the alliteration of Q, R and G. *Quid* has been corrected into QVOD as it does not introduce here an indirect question.

101.10 Alliteration of S.

101.12 Note in this chiasmus the oxymoron in between LONGIORE...LENIORE and VITA, MORTE.

102: François Antoine de Castel St. Pierre.

François Antoine de Castel St. Pierre had entered the Order in June, 1681 (De Vertot 1761: 294). In 1699, he was selected by a commission, set up by Grand Master Perellos and Bailiff Zondadari, to re-introduce men-of-war. They had searched throughout the Order for a person who had experience in both building and commanding such type of vessels. François Antoine de Castel St. Pierre had been Captain in the French King's fleet and was a forerunner in the building of men-of-war in France: VBI PRIMVM INSTITVTA FVIT BELLICARVM NAVIVM CLASSIS (l. 8). His qualities as a commander were shown, once again, in a conflict in 1706, in which the Admiral's ship of Tunis was captured and was added to the Christian fleet. He participated in the battle of Oran in 1707, together with Langon (see no. 59), who later took over from him as Lieutenant-General (De Vertot 1728: 2. 13. 104). Castel St. Pierre died at Versailles on 19th May, 1709, and his inscription was placed 27 years later, in 1736.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental*. Within a subtle arched arrangement, achieved by placing a rim of an inside

scallop in both upper corners, stands a pedestal with sarcophagus, the latter supporting the shield with the coat of arms. Behind the coat of arms are placed two crossed anchors. The main slab is of *Marmo Bianco*. The pedestal and sarcophagus, both of *Nero Malquino*, are shown in a frontal view with a converging three-dimensionality on both sides. This suggests that they are either hexagonal of shape, or that the artist had a different opinion of rendering rectangular objects in three dimensions. The pedestal bears the cartouche with inscription in front. The original *cartone* of this monumental inscription (created in or before 1709) is re-used in no. 84 (made *c.* 1756) and 108 (made *c.* 1721). The general transition phase from *Baroque* to *Late Baroque* is around the year 1710. Although nos. 84 and 108 are far beyond that date, and one would suspect the art to confirm to the notions of *Late Baroque*, they are, however, still rendered in an early *Baroque* style.

It suffices to say that this is an impressive *c.v.* which, however, is written without embellishments, probably reflecting François Antoine de Castel St. Pierre's character and disposition.

102.4 PIETON: The Magisterial Commandery of Hainaut Cambrésys, which is the modern Piéton, in Hainaut, Belgium.

102.8 PRIMVM refers to l. 21: PRIMO EARVM MODERATORI.

102.19 *Versalliæ or Versalium Palatium* is the modern Versailles, in France.

102.21 OPTIME MERITO is found also in nos. 24.10, 53.11, 87.15, 131.18, and 152.10.

103: Cristoforo Balbani.

Cristforo Balbani was born in 1635 and enrolled at the age of eighteen, on 22nd August, 1653. Prior of Venice in 1711 (Bonazzi 1897: 29), his achievements and character were good and

plenty, but unfortunately put forward here in a rather dry way, and rather belated (in 1728). He died on 21st March, 1725, at the age of 90.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque sepulchral classisizing*, with a pictorial treatment. There is a fresh and unusually creative approach to the theme of Death. The main slab is of *Nero Malquino*, with no other frame than a narrow rim of *Marmo Bianco*. A hovering putto and the Angel of Fame, blowing the trumpet, hold open a drapery, which surrounds the cartouche with inscription. Beneath the cartouche, Death, sitting at ease, is writing the last full stop of the text of the inscription. A small pedestal, bearing the shield with the coat of arms, functions as a lectern for Father Time, demonstrating a sandglass. Interesting is the attempt of the *marmisti* to imitate Mattia Preti's rendering of casting shadows, as is executed around the oval windows along the main nave. Death's skull, Father Time's torso and the Angel of Fame's leg cast shadows over the text of the inscription.

Cristforo Balbani also has an impressive *c.v.*, however, written with few embellishments. Notwithstanding, there are some lines that shine light on his character and disposition: QVAM PLVRIMIS (l. 6), QVEM ARDENTI ZELO (l. 7) and EFFVSA IN PAVPERES (l. 9).

103.5 CLARÆ AC LIBERÆ PATRIÆ, LVCÆ: Homoeoteleuton. LVCÆ: Of the modern Lucca, Italy.

103.9-10 Chiasmus consisting of ablative (CARITATE), dative (CONSPICVO), ablative (PRVDENTIA), dative (EXIMIO) and ablatives (PIETATE, MVNIFICENTIA, ALLISQVE VIRTVTIBVS).

103.11 CIC. *Orat.* 1.45.199: *Equidem mihi hoc subsidium iam ab adolescentia comparavi, non solum ad causarum usum forensium, sed etiam ad decus atque ornamentum senectutis.*

103.13 Note the parallelism of phrases in ABCDCBCDC, where B is the particle *tam – quam*, C a genitive, D a conjunction and A the negative particle.

104: Giacomo Cavaretta.

Giacomo Cavaretta of Trapani entered the Order on 18th September, 1634. His brother Nicolo Cavaretta was a Prior of Venice (entered 27th January, 1571) who, in 1636, made the foundation of timber for the galley *San Nicola*. (Bonazzi 1897:80). Giacomo Cavaretta was first Admiral and, later, in 1687, Bailiff of Santo Stefano. He died on 17th June, 1702, at the age of 81 years.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque pictorial*. On a slab of *Nero Malquino* stands a voluted pedestal, cartouche with inscription in front, surmounted by the shield with the coat of arms. Two putti, sitting on the edge of the pedestal, support the shield at its base. They both have a very sad face, leaning with an elbow on one of the ornamental supports of the shield's base, holding a long, burning candle. The cartouche rests on a winged skull, adorned with a laurel wreath. From behind the shield, an array of military paraphernalia springs forth.

The inscription starts with two rich lines ÆTERNITATI... SVPERIS (ll. 2-3), after which follows the introduction of Giacomo Cavaretta and his ranks (ll. 4-6). The following paragraph, containing a sketch of his character and description of his age (ll. 7-12), has in each line at least one word ending in *–us*. The return of his soul is discussed in ll. 13-14.

104.2 Chiasmus ABCA, where A is dative, B is a third person singular perfect active indicative verb and C a relative pronoun. Further, one observes in this chiasmus that A and B are made up of opposite notions, ÆTERNITATI...TEMPORI and VIXIT...CESSIT, thus forming a near-oxymoron.

104.3 A chiasmus ABBA, where A is a dative and B a particle. In this chiasmus, also a pair of opposite notions exists in HVMANIS...SVPERIS, while SATIS, SATIVS form a polyptoton.

104.5 S[ANCTI] STEPHANI: See also no. 45.5.

104.6 MORELLO is the modern Morello, near San Marino, GRASSANO is the modern Grassina, near Prato, in Italy.

104.7-11 A parallelism of phrases, alternation of datives and nominatives. The last couple of datives and nominatives is further embellished by an extension of another dative (INTIMIS).

105: Jaques de Fouille d'Escrainville.

Jaques de Fouille d'Escrainville, born in 1621, entered the Order at the relative late age of 33, on 24th December, 1654 (De Vertot 1761: 270). He was serving as a corsair in 1665, and was made Captain of a galley in 1667. Promotion to Commander of the "*Capitano*" (the flagship) followed in 1671. Rome suffered from a serious shortage of corn in 1672, and the Pope requested a naval escort for his grainships, which were sent all over Italy. The Grand Master sent Jaques de Fouille d'Escrainville forthwith (De Vertot 1728: 2.13.93). He died on 17th January, 1703, nearly 82 years of age. The dedicator, Jean-Anné de Fouillie d'Escrainville, entered the Order in 1669 (De la Roque 1891: 91).

The lapidary art is rendered in an expression of *Baroque*, called *"macchina"*. This is a very vivid picture of a galley, seemingly on high sees or in trouble, judging to the bow rising high above the water. The main sail contains the shield with the coat of arms, which is surrounded by a chaplet. Death holds firmly on to the yard-arm, while a winged sandglass lies flat on the said yard-arm. A putto clings on to the mast, while another putto grasps the side of the sail. On the background, a large variety of military paraphernalia emerges. The cartouche with inscription is placed in front of the galley' bow, displaying the text in an opening parchment.

The text of this inscription reflects the fact that Jaques de Fouille d'Escrainville was a late-starter in his metier. He had to commit himself with the utmost effort and ready cash in order

to outclass the competiton. And so he did indeed: ANTIQVAS... VICTORIAS... RENOVAVIT (ll. 7,8), his naval career taking shape with first NAVEM INSTRVXIT (l. 9), then TRIREMIS PRÆFECTVRAM (l. 10), and afterwards PRÆTORIAM IPSAM REXIT (l. 11), resulting in QVAM PLVRIMAS HOSTIVM NAVES FVGAVIT, SPOLIAVIT, CEPIT (ll. 15-16). Although he had an important administrative role to play, he remained a sailor untill a very old age FERME DECREPITVS TRIREMIVM OMNIVM REGIMEN SIBI ASSVMPSIT (ll. 22-23).

105.9-10 Chiasmus with a parallelism of phrases in NAVEM...GESSIT, forming ABCCDAB, whereby A is a noun, B a third person singular perfect active indicative verb, C an adverb and D a genitive. *CIC. Fam.* 12.15.2: *interim cum per insulas in Asiam naviganti mihi nuntiatum esset classem Dolabellae in Lycia esse Rhodiosque navis compluris instructas et paratas in aqua habere.*

105.13 HARCOVRT is the modern Harcourt, Eure, France.

105.16 Asyndeton.

105.17-20 Chiasmus in ADNVMERATVS...WIGNACOVRT and LVDOVICO...EST. LVDOVICO MAGNO is, of course, Louis XIV le Grand, le Roi-Soleil, famous King of France between 1648 and 1715. He was born at Saint-Germain-en-Laye in 1638, and died at Versailles in 1715.

105.24-25 Chiasmus, consisting of a third person singular imperfect active indicative verb, a coupling of genitives by means of ET, a coupling of datives by means of ET, a third person singular imperfect active subjunctive verb. This chiasmus bears a parallel structure, but with variety.

105.28 The difference between AVVNCVLO and *patruos* is that the former means a brother of the mother, and the latter a brother of the father. This nephew bears the same name as his uncle, and one presumes that he had adopted the surname of his mother, obviously because of the noble distinction.

106: Miguel Torrellas y Sentmanat.

Miguel Torrellas y Sentmanat was born in 1599. He shared the title of Grand Conservator

with some of his ancestors, and held the title of Prior of Catalonia for 32 years. He died in Malta on 12th January, 1680, at the age of 81 years. His inscription was placed 27 years later, in 1707, by his nephew, in compliance with l. 25: NE TANTI VIRI AC PATRVI CLARITAS ABSVMERETVR.

The lapidary art is rendered in an expression of *Late Baroque pictorial*, rendered on a slab of *Nero Malquino*. The pedestal is nearly totally covered by the cartouche with inscription, shaped in the form of an inside scallop. A small shield with the coat of arms is found in the lower part of the cartouche, while a vulture, sitting on a bed of flames, is found in the upper part. The shield with the coat of arms surmounting the pedestal is supported at its base by two classical cuirasses, one with an eight-pointed cross, the other one with the Latin cross on the breastplate. Behind the coat of arms, an array of military paraphernalia sprouts up.

Miguel Torrellas y Sentmanat's long inscription can be divided in two main thoughts. The first part, reporting his name, progeny, career and pious works, is moving towards recognition and acknowledgement of his life (ll. 2-16). The second part, sets off after OBLIVIONI NON DATVR LOCVS (l. 16) has reached the mind of the reader, relaxing the tension, with resignation to PLENVS TANDEM DIERVM (l. 17) and MAXIMIS... SIGNIS (l. 18), MELITÆ... CESSIT FATO (l. 19).

106.12 There are a number of ways in which Catalonia was written in the past. For the sake of consistency, CATALAVNIA is preferred. Other forms are *Catalonia, Catalonnia, Cathalannia* and *Gothalannia*. The latter reminds us of the immigration into this region of the Visigoths in the early 5th century.

106.14-15 Note the parallelism of phrases in ABBCD-BEBCD, whereby A is a relative pronoun, B a genitive, C a preposition taking an accusative D, E is the conjunction AC.

106.16 LIV. 1.31: *Visi etiam audire vocem ingentem ex summi cacuminis luco, ut patrio ritu sacra Albani facerent, quae velut dis quoque simul cum patria relictis oblivioni dederant.*

106.19 Alliteration of C.

107: Octave de Galléan.

Octave de Galléan (Galéan, Galléans and Galien are also found) was born on Thursday, 30th January, 1642. Enrolment into the Order occurred in 1654, when he was twelve years of age. He became Commendator, Abbot, Grand Prior, Castillian and Governor of Gozo. ANIMA VERO, VT IN PRINCIPIO SVO, QVIESCAT (l. 11) is a wish for pureness of his soul after his demise. He died on Tuesday, 17th October, in the year 1730, 88 years, nine months and eighteen days of age.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque pictorial.* A slab of *Nero Malquino* contains a pedestal of *Breccia*, bearing the cartouche with inscription in front. Its supports a sarcophagus, set on feet shaped as vine-leafs, and made of *Giallo, Verde Antico* and *Bigio.* The shield with the coat of arms, surrounded by military paraphernalia, surmounts the sarcophagus. The whole structure is set within an opened arrangement of drapery.

There is a long way between OCTAVII DE GALLEAN (l. 2) and HEIC CINERES QVIESCVNT (l. 10). In the enclosed lines, his name, progeny and achievements are discussed. Centrally stands the confirmation that he is illustrious not less by ANIMI CANDORE (l. 6) than by GENERIS SPLENDORE (l. 7). A fine example of Christian philosophical thought is expressed in ANIMA VERO, VT IN PRINCIPIO SVO, QVIESCAT (l. 11). The reader is directly approached ORA, QVISQVIS HÆC LEGIS (l. 12).

107.4 *Valentia ad Rhodanum* is the modern Valence, in France.

107.6-7 Parallelism of phrases through the alternation of genitive with ablative. Note also the emphasis the author makes on the element of splendour through his richness in variety of terms, by using CANDORE, SPLENDORE ILLVSTRIS.

107.8-9 Parallelism of phrases through CVM with ablative and verb in third person singular perfect active indicative. Within this parallelism of phrases, there is also the double function of this Knight, one in Malta, the other in Gozo.

107.10 Alliteration of C, Q and N.

107.10-11 QVIESCVNT – QVIESCAT: Near-epiphora.

108: Jean François Chevestre de Cintray.

On 21st August, 1685, Jean François Chevestre de Cintray was entered into the Order's registry In the 36 years of his service, he ascended gradually to the highest ranks: PER SINGVLOS HVIVSMODI MILITIÆ GRADVS ASCENDIT (l. 13) (De Vertot 1761: 297). He died on 22nd September, 1721. Fourteen years later, in 1735, Jacques François Chambray (see no. 84) placed this monumental inscription.

This gravestone is identical to no. 84 and 102. For description, see no. 102.

A full *c.v.* of Jean François Chevestre de Cintray.

108.4 PVILAUBRAN: This remains as a French name, but it might be a corrupted form for Puy-la-Brune, Puyloubard, Puyloubier or Puilboreau.

108.11 Alliteration of F, C, T and R.

108.12 Double inner hyperbata in AD...CVLMEN.

108.19 IN OMNI HORA: Lit.: "In every hour".

109: Thomas de Villages.

Nicolas Thomas de Villages was born in 1603, and was enrolled in 1620, seventeen years of age (De Vertot 1761: 93). His career started at a young age, PRIMIS AB ANNIS IN TVRCAS ARMAVIT (l. 3), and died during his last office as Bailiff at Manosque on 29th January, 1689, at the age of 86. He had taken up this post in 1685 (Dal Pozzo 1715: 585). His nephew, Gaspar, who made the dedication, had entered the Order in 1685.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Baroque*. In the lower part, within the frame, a cartouche with inscription, shaped as an open mantle, is placed. Above the cartouche, there are a classical helmet and cuirass, on which stand two lions combatant support the shield with the coat of arms. The coat of arms shows the Hebrew six-pointed star, encompassing a human heart. The frame is identical to nos. 42, 111, 121 and 130.

The *c.v.* of this Knight is presented in a series of short sentences, which culminate at his achievements or experiences at Manosque. This admiration is expressed by means of an amassing (congeries) of a number of sentences (four in two lines), involving a parallelism of phrases in REDDIDIT...BONVM (l. 10) and a paronomasia on the variable meanings of *cedo, cedere, cessi, cessum* itself, as well as the verb *cesso, cessare, cessavi, cessatum*.

109.7 S[ANCTI] ÆGIDII: See also no. 4.6.

109.9 MANVASCA: See nos 58.5, 138.3.

109.11 CIC. *Tusc.* 1.15.35: *Quod si omnium consensus naturae vox est omnesque, qui ubique sunt, consentiunt esse aliquid quod ad eos pertineat, qui vita cesserint.*

HOR. *S.* 1. 117-119:

inde fit ut raro, qui se vixisse beatum
dicat et exacto contentus tempore vita
cedat uti conviva satur, reperire queamus.

110: Francesco Ganucci.

Giovanni Francesco Ganucci, of Firenze, was born assumedly on Thursday, 31st May, 1736, and entered the Order on 16th June, 1759, at the age of twenty-three. He had a short but vibrant naval career of less than four years. He died on Sunday, 12th February, 1764, 27 years, seven months and about twelve days of age. His parents placed this memorial.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental.* A broad frame of *Breccia* contains a pedestal, sarcophagus and a shield with the coat of arms. The pedestal bears the cartouche with inscription, which is rendered as an opened scroll with curled-up ends. On the platform of the pedestal lies a classical helmet, in front of the sarcophagus. The latter is made of *Nero Malquino* and *Breccia.* From behind the shield appears a fan of military paraphernalia, including trumpets, anchors and the Order's banners.

A touching inscription of a young man, starting with his introduction and rank (l. 2-3), followed by a *qui*-clause (ll. 5-11), in which his short career and untimely death are recorded. He had hardly fulfilled his caravans LEGITIMVM TEMPVS (l. 6), when IMMATVRA MORTE PRÆREPTVS (l. 9) occurred.

110.4 See also no. 35.16.

110.8 ORDINI ET PATRIÆ: Dative of advantage.

110.9 See also no. 43.12.

111: Gregorio Spinola.

Gregorio Spinola of Genova was born in 1652, of a remarkable family line, including the Marquis of Roccaforte and the Holy Roman Emperor. He was enrolled into the Order on 18th August, 1653,

at the age of one (Bonazzi 1897: 314). He was made Commander of a galley in 1674, Honorary Grand Cross in 1680 and Bailiff of Roccella (Dal Pozzo 1715: 438, 481). He died in the year 1682, on 13th January, 30 years of age.

The lapidary stone is a sepulchral slab, with an overall pictorial treatment. On a slab of *Marmo Bianco*, a double-headed eagle, made of *Nero Malquino*, is placed over a cartouche with inscription. The cartouche is shaped as a mantle, attached to the main slab with two pins. The shield with the coat of arms is set across the chest of the eagle, its double heads sticking out of the open crown. On top of both heads rests an open crown. For description of the frame, see nos. 42, 109, 121 and 130.

Gregorio Spinola's inscription creates the impression of brevity and speed, giving shape to the feeling that he was indeed snatched away before he could blossom fully in his capacities: MORVM...ROBVR, ALLISA...IMPIGRVM...PRÆMATVRA MORS IN CÆLO TRIVMPHATVRVM ERIPVIT (ll. 6-9). AMPLIORE LAPIDE (l. 16) is a strange remark, as the slab is actually smaller than average.

111.4 *Rocca Fortis* is the modern day Roccaforte, in the Piedmont, Italy.

111.6 Note the parallelism of phrases in MORVM...COPIAS, consisting of an alternation of genitive plural with the accusative. In addition, this line forms a congeries of three accusatives (INTEGRITATEM, COPIAS, ROBVR).

111.8 Note the word order ABAB*que*AA, whereby A is accusative and B genitive.

111.9 Alliteration of R and M.

111.13 INSVBRIÆ was the name of the area near modern Milan, in Italy.

111.17 Alliteration of D and V. The combination of INVIDA and MORS is found also in nos. 145.17 and 152.16.

111.18 Alliteration of C, G and N.

112: Paolo Togores y Valenzuela.

Paolo Togores y Valenzuela was born in 1674. A full catalogue of his achievements follows, reproduced in detail, which makes it an impressive but long-stretched affair (ll. 6-18). To have achieved such a career, one must be able to look forward. The last paragraph confirms that Paolo Togores y Valenzuela was a careful planner, but also a generous person: SPLENDORIS PLVS IMPERTIVIT QVAM SVMPSIT ...SIBI CONSVLVIT MORITVRO (ll. 19-21). He died on 20th July, 1755, at the age of 81.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque sepulchral classisizing.* Within a slab of *Africano* is placed a pedestal, including the cartouche with inscription, which supports a sarcophagus. The pedestal stands on a black and white lozenge-shaped floor. Its lower base is also made of *Africano*, while the higher part is voluted. There is an attempt to render both the lozenge-shaped floor and the platform in three dimensions. However, each has different converging points. The sarcophagus is made of *Nero Malquino* and bears the shield with the coat of arms.

This inscription is made up of six parts. The first four parts form a chiasmus: ABCBA. Ll. 2-4 (A) are about the funerary urn (present in the art of this inscription), and these balance with ll. 20-21 (A), where this Knight plans for his oncoming death. Both sets of lines also refer to the good qualities of the Knight (NOMINIS CLARITATEM AC DIGNITATVM SPLENDOREM... (VIRTVTE ONVSTVS). L. 5 (B) is made up of one sentence in one line, including an element of comparison (VLTRA...QVAM) and a reference to the root of *splend* of *splendor.* This line has its counterpart in l. 19 (B), also including a comparison (PLVS...QVAM) and the root of *splendor*, cognate to the verb in l. 5. The central part, ll. 12-18 (C), is dedicated to Paolo Togores y

Valenzuela, and refers to his double appointment, expressed through ll. 13-18 (EST DELECTVS...ADMISSVS). Finally, this inscription finishes with ll. 22-23 (D) with an obituary note.

112.2-4 Paronomasia of NIGRA...DENIGRARE, involving the use of the root of *niger-nigra-nigrum* and *denigro-denigrare* at the beginning and end of the sentence.

112.3 Note the word order in ABCAB, whereby A is the genitive, B an accusative and C a conjunction.

112.5 Alliteration of S and T.

112.7 *Oriola* (or *Oriolensis, Orcelis)* is the modern Orihuela, near Valencia, in Spain.

112.9 Chiasmus of ABCBA, whereby A is genitive, B a nominative and C a conjunction. The Langues of Aragon and Castille commonly used the titular Bailiwick of Negroponte, which is the name the Knights used for the Classical *Euboea* (the modern Eveia in Greece, an island in the Aegean Sea). ALMVNIA is the modern La Almunia de Doña Godina, while MALLEN remains unchanged in the modern version. Both are in the same region of Zaragoza, in northeast Spain.

112.12 Note the word order of ABCB*que*CB, whereby A is a preposition, B an accusative, C a genitive. In addition, note also the anaphora of MAIOREM, repeated in the beginning of each colon. See also no. 87.6-8.

112.15-16 Chiasmus, expressed through the string genitive-ablative-conjunction-ablative-genitive of MAGNI...HORTÆ. HORTÆ (or *Orthesium, Horthe(ium)*) is the modern Orthez, in the lower Pyrenees, near Pau, in France.

112.17 HOSCÆ, or *Oscha,* is the modern Huesca, in Aragon, Spain. Orthez (l. 16) and Huesca are divided by the Pyrenees.

112.18 *est* understood.

113: Sigismondo Piccolomini.

Sigismondo Piccolomini was born in 1678 and was enrolled on 15th September, 1681, at the age of three. His career shows the different aspects of the Order. Devoted, he fought as a soldier (l. 5-6), managed a commandery (l. 7), furthered his career (l. 8) and was rewarded with the position of

Prior of Barletta (l. 9) and of Barletta (Bonazzi 1897: 249). He was a diligent worker, whose efforts to improve the financial performance of his estate and the restoration to its former glory did not go unnoticed (ll. 10-11). The Order was a man's world, but here his successful management and enrichment of the women's infirmary is proudly mentioned (12-13). Last, but not least, another confirmation of his devotion to his Order is mentioned (l. 14), placed just before the line in which his death, on 8th March, 1765, at the age of 87.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology of *Late Baroque pictorial.* A broad frame of *Diaspro* surrounds a slab of *Nero Malquino.* It contains a pedestal, the cartouche with inscription placed within a *Breccia* frame. The shield with the coat of arms stands, in an angle, on the platform of the pedestal, military paraphernalia emerging from behind. To the left, the Angel of Fame, holding a sword, blows his trumpet.

The author of this inscription gives much importance to sounds. Furthermore, he gives much information about the life of Sigismondo Piccolomini, but uses, besides alliteration and assonance, no figures of style.

113.1 SIGISMVNDVS, which name has combined origins, comes from the Indo-Germanic languages, such as found in the Gothic *sigis*, meaning "victory' and the Latin *mundus*, meaning "the world", "universe", "heaven". Other sources can be the Greek ἔχω in the meaning of "to have", "hold", "take possession of', "claim", and the Old-Saxon word *mund*, meaning "power", "protection", which can be connected through the more modern word *hand* to the Latin *manus*. The transfer in meaning from hand to protection can be explained by the symbolism and role of the hand in siege, protection and submission. *Per manus* can mean "forcibly", *inter manus* "in one's hands", *in tua manu est*, with the sense of power, "it rests with you". Words like *sigis, sieg,* often forms a part of Germanic names, such as Siegfried, Siegmund. TAC. *Ann.* 157: Addiderat Segestes legatis filium, nomine Segimundum.

SENIENSIS: See no. 1.1.

113.2 Alliteration of P, R, C and S.

113.4 Assonance.

113.7 Alliteration of PT, BT. LA MOTTA is the modern La Motta-Servolex, Savoie, in France.

113.8 Alliteration of P L, R and B, L, R.

113.9 BARVLI: See no. 57.8.

113.10-12 Repetition of PRÆ in PRÆCEPTORIA, PRÆCETERIS, PRÆFVIT. The whole of l. 10 is an alternation of contraction of sounds. PRÆCEPTORIA, *id est*, "Institution".

113.11 Alliteration of P R, T and M. CIC. *Dom.* 4.9: *Quorum etiam delicta propter eorum egregiam in me conservando voluntatem non modo me sed omnis bonos ferre oporteret, eorum optimum consilium ego potissimum per eos in meam pristinam dignitatem restitutus meo consilio repudiarem, ad quam sententiam dixi?*

113.13 Alliteration of L, D, C, Q and T.

114: Johann Baptist von Schauenburg.

Johann Baptist von Schauenburg was born on 9th August, 1703 at Herrlisheim, and was registered with the Order on 2nd November, 1704, just one year of age (De Vertot 1761: 415). Although he started where all Knights start, his career leaped with great bounds in short periods, probably due to both his impressive and influential background and his personal capacities. Pre-occupied with his unavoidable death, he prepared this monumental inscription in 1773. He died on 6th March, 1775, at the age of 72.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology of *Late Baroque monumental.* A broad frame of *Diaspro* surrounds a slab of *Nero Malquino.* Within an arched arrangement of *Breccia* stands a sarcophagus, which has a frame of *Breccia* too. The cartouche with inscription is set within this frame. The shape of the sarcophagus is very much like a cross-section of a funerary urn. Embedded in the upper part of its frame rests a skull, wearing a classical helmet over his

laurel-wrath. Above, the shield with the coat of arms is placed in a mantle ermine (argent with tails sable), supported by two lions combatant. A closed crown surmounts the mantle. Between the pedestal and mantle, four banners are shown, of which two are the Order's.

As a rule, DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO (l. 1) and MEMORIÆ ÆTERNÆ (l. 2) are set in separate lines. Here, however, the conjunction ET combines the dedication, which gives it an air of grandeur, and places Johann Baptist von Schauenburg nearly at the same level as God, as both sentences are pronounced in one and the same breath.

114.2 See also inscription no. 115.1: OSSIBVS ET MEMORIÆ.

114.3 SCHAVENBVRG is the modern Schauenburg, in Germany.

114.4 HERLESHEIM is the modern Herrlisheim-près-Colmar in France, both close to Strassbourg and to the German border, where Schauenburg is situated.

114.10 S[ANCTI] R[OMANI] I[MPERII] PRINCEPS: See also no. 19.10.

114.11 HEITERSHEIM is the residence of the Grand Prior of the 67 Commanderies of Higher and Lower Germany. The German Grand Prior is also a Prince of the Holy Empire (see no. 19.10 and De Vertot 1728: 2.14. 124). The modern names of HEITERSHEIM, HAMBACHII and NEVENBVRG are respectively Heitersheim, Hambach and Neuenburg, all in Germany. BVBIGHEIM is the modern Bubikon, near Zürich in Switzerland.

114.13 The position of TRIREMIVM within the prepositional phrase INTER...VIROS is out of place, when ideally it should go with CLASSIS in l. 14. ANNOS...XVIII: A person was not chosen for eighteen years; hence the addition of "maintained" in the translation.

114.14 Alliteration of PR.

114.16 VILLINGEN is the modern Villingen, in Germany.

114.17 AC ÆRARII...ADSCRIPTVS: Alliteration of C and R.

115: Jean Hector de Fay de la Tour Maubourg.

Jean Hector de Fay de la Tour Maubourg was born in 1637. He was enrolled into the Order in

1639, when he was two years old (De la Roque 1891: 83). The accounts about his background, personality, courage, *cursus honorum* and achievements are told in a sweeping manner. He was made Commander of 400 Maltese troops at Candia. There is difference of opinion among historians: Dal Pozzo placed this event in 1668, De Vertot in 1669. In 1685, Jean Hector de Fay de la Tour Maubourg was appointed commander in a new expedition to Corone. On his way to Corone, the Venetian fleet and the Pope's galleys joined him at Messina. He died in combat at the age of 48 (Dal Pozzo 1715: 563). Giovanni Maria Giliberti was commissioned to produce the gravestone of Jean Hector de Fay de la Tour Maubourg in August 1686 (Debono 1999: 400-401).

The lapidary art is rendered in an expression of *Baroque*, called *"macchina"*. The cartouche with inscription is centrally placed on a slab of *Nero Malquino*. It is rendered as large, open mantle, and military paraphernalia surround its lower part. Father Time surmounts the mantle, leaning with one arm on its brim and holding a scythe while looking down. Death appears on the left, clinging on to the mantle. Here, Death is not a skeleton, but a figure seemingly dressed in a tight, transparent bodysuit. Finally, the cartouche rests on the shield with the coat of arms, which is surrounded by a chaplet.

This inscription gives the impression that one is reading about a classical hero. After the introduction in l. 3, an overview is given of his naval experiences and exploits (ll. 5-9). Then, not only his courage, but mostly the impressive performance of the Maltese troops are highlighted (ll. 10-15). The next paragraph justifies that a sacrifice must be allowed for capturing the city (ll. 16-21). The other member of the family, mentioned in ll. 21-23, could be either Claude-Marie, who entered in 1647, or Marie Fay de la Tour Mauborg, who entered in 1654 (De la Roque 1891: 84), which passage concludes the comparison made in ll. 25-27. The last part expresses gratitude to Grand Master Carafa's mentorship and what De Fay's achievement had brought to his family,

Christianity and the Order (ll. 28-37).

115.6-7 Alliteration of N, S and C. NON VNVM: Litotes.

115.8 GIGERIM or *Ilgilgilis* are the Latin versions for the modern Jijeli (name variations are Jijel, Djidjelli, Jijeli, Igilgili, Djidjel, Jîjîlî, Ighilgili), which can be found on the Algerian coast, on an equal distance from Béjaïa and Skikda. According to De Vertot, the French King, Louis XIV, tried to establish a settlement in Gigerim in 1664 (De Vertot 1728: 2. 14. 89). The position of the place was, according to both De Vertot, 15 miles distant from both Algiers and Bugia (the modern Béjaïa). This mistaken position is repeated by Boisgelin (1804: 3.199).

115.9 PALÆSTRA has a Greek origin. It is fittingly chosen to suit the Greek context of warfare in the name HECTORE (l. 11). There is also an intentional connection between the blows which the Maltese poured out over the enemy, with the blows ushered in the boxing ring (the literal meaning of PALÆSTRA) and the waters gulfing out in the sea after rainfall at Jijeli (*Ilgilgilis* or *Gigeri*). The Semitic Jijeli and the Latin *Ilgilgilis* are shaped on the same root as in modern Semitic languages, including *gelgel* (lit.: "it poured down") in Maltese.

115.10 MELITENSES COHORTES...EFFVDERINT: Homoeoteleuton.

115.11 Metaphora, a figure of speech which transfers a word from its proper meaning to another. It is here appropriately chosen to meet the Greek context of warfare. In addition, NOSTRO DVCE will be repeated in l. 19 (NOSTER DVX).

115.12-13 Note the parallelism of phrases of ABCD, with the repetition of ADHVC (B) with the use of a masculine plural noun (A), an adjective of the second declension masculine, nominative, plural (C) and the alternative form of a verb of the third person plural perfect active indicative (D). Both lines have an alliteration of S, R and P.

115.14 CORONE: See also no.16.13.

115.20 Alliteration of V, N and D. VIVENDI ET VINCENDI: Homoeoteleuton. Alliteration of F. CIC. *Rep.* 6.25.27: *quod autem motum adfert alicui, quodque ipsum agitatur aliunde, quando finem habet motus, vivendi finem habeat necesse est. Id. Q. Rosc.* 5.14: *hic ego si finem faciam dicendi, satis fidei et diligentiae meae, satis causae et controversiae, satis formulae et sponsioni, satis etiam iudici fecisse videar cur secundum Roscium iudicari debeat.*

115.29 CLAVVM ORDINIS MODERANTE: Lit.: "Moderating the key of the Order".

115.31 EXCERPSERAT reminds us of OCCVBERAT in l. 24, and goes back to the past, where his ancestor died in the Peloponnese. EXCERPSERAT refers to the more recent De Fay, subject of this stone, when Carafa was not yet Grand Master (he was chosen in 1680). By the ablative absolute in l. 29, with the present participle MODERANTE, the author is hinting that the young De Fay got his apprenticeship under Carafa, who was then not yet a Grand Master, and died during the reign of Carafa, when he was indeed a Grand Master. VELL. 2.129.2: *Quibus praeceptis instructum Germanicum suum imbuiumque rudimentis militiae secum actae domitorem recepit Germaniae!*

115.32-34 Parallelism of phrases in a triple alternation of genitives with datives, in which the first and last are using a noun, adjective and a dative (SPLENDORI, DECORI). This sequence is formed in a perfectly identical way, using a noun and adjective of the first declension, and a genitive singular, while each instance is followed by a dative of the third declension. These two instances incorporate CHRISTIANITATIS BONO, also formed of a genitive and dative.

116: Gerolamo Antonio Bagnano.

Gerolamo Antonio Bagnano was born in 1643. Besides the regular career achievements, also two other capacities are highlighted. He became the instructor of applicant-Knights, moulding the youth of Europe's aristocracy to his model and character (ll. 8-10) and, in line with his function and character, he gave abundant support to the poor (ll. 11-12). Although his life came to a sudden end EX IMPROVISO ADORTVS IN GRAVE MORBVM INCIDIT (ll. 13-14), the inscription assures us that he died happily in the Lord on 4th December, 1722, at the age of 79. Klawdju Durante was commissioned to produce the gravestone for Gerolamo Antonio Bagnano in October 1730 (Debono 1999: 400-401).

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology of *Late Baroque monumental.* A frame of *Africano* surrounds a slab of *Nero Malquino.* A voluted pedestal bears a sarcophagus and the shield with the coat of arms. The cartouche with inscription is displayed frontally on the pedestal. On both sides of the sarcophagus' base stands an incence burner, bellowing out thick

smoke. The sarcophagus has a wing on each corner. The shield is draped with a garland.

After the introduction of Gerolamo Antonio Bagnano, including progeny and ranks (ll. 2-5), follows a list of achievements MILES IN VTRAQVE…MILITIA (l. 6), TYRONVM MAGISTER (l. 7-8), and PIVS PATER… ELEEMOSYNIS… PAVPERES (ll. 11-12). EX IMPROVISO (l. 13) leads to his sudden death FELICITER OBDORMIVIT IN DOMINO (ll. 16-17).

116.2-5 E BAGNANO, lit.: From Bagnano. *Novara* and *Cremona* are the modern place names of these Italian cities.

116.9 Parallelism of phrases expressed through an alternation of adjectives and nouns.

116.11 Apart from the alliteration of P, PIVS PATER recalls a leader of war, such as "*Aeneas*" in Virgil's *Aeneid.*

116.13-14 CIC. *S. Rosc.* 52.151: *Solent hoc boni imperatores facere, cum proelium committunt, ut in eo loco, quo fugam hostium fore arbitrentur, milites collocent, in quos, si qui ex acie fugerint, de improviso incidant.*

116.15 This line recalls the Latin that is repetitively used verbatim in the Catholic Church's death registers. By inserting these words, used by church authorities as a testimony for deserving to be buried in the church, the author is hereby indicating that the deceased has thus received approval to be indeed buried in the church.

116.17 See also no. 48.21.

117: Domenico Antonio Chyurlia.

Domenico Antonio Chyurlia was born on Sunday, 15th October, 1701. His career was both naval and administrative successfully. Finally, after a long and painful disease, he died on Sunday, 4th February, 1770, at the age of 68 years, 4 months, and 21 days.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology of *Late Baroque monumental.* A frame of *Diaspro* contains a slab of *Bigio*, which is rendered as a brick wall, very Maltese in

outlook. The pedestal has two extensions: The shield with the coat of arms is attached to the lower part, while a funerary urn surmounts the higher part, which is rendered as a conical, fluted column. The cartouche with inscription, in the shape of an inside scallop, takes up the front of the actual pedestal. From behind the shield, an array of military paraphernalia protrude sideways. The column is dressed with a garland.

The inscription starts with DEO VNO TRINO, and is divided in five parts. The first part summarises the goodness of his character (ll. 2-5); parts two and three give the highlights of his naval (6-10) and administrative career (l. 11); The fourth part narrates his death (ll. 12-17), and the last part contains the dedication (ll. 18-24).

117.3-4 Note the two hyperbata in succession (EXIMIA...LIBERALITATE, SVMMO...CANDORE), together with the choice of third declension nouns, ending in ablative E.

117.5 Assonance.

117.11 S[ANCTI] STEPHANI: See also no. 45.5.

117.13 CIC. *Rep.* 6.9.9: *Grates, inquit, tibi ago, summe Sol, vobisque, reliqui caelites, quod, ante quam ex hac vita migro.*

118: Antonio Lores.

Antonio Lores was born approximately in 1720. He exploited his talents for the legal professions extremely well, without loosing his honesty and integrity. He died on 30th April, 1795, at the age of about 75 years.

The lapidary art is here *Neo-Classical.* Against a slab of *Nero Malquino* stands a pedestal, which is rendered as a simple, unadorned rectangular block of *Marmo Bianco* with the inscription in front. A small shield with the coat of arms leans slanting against the lower part of the inscription. On a

small platform, with dark borders, sits the allegory of the Order, a lady in classical dress. She leans, in mourning, over a vase. The vase shows a decoration, which refers to the black figure style. The shape of the vase is, however, of non-classical origin. To the left of the vase lies a burning torch, upside down, and to the right lies a shield with the coat of arms. The Order's banner stands in the background.

In one long sentence (ll. 1-20), the life of Antonio Lores, from his early career to his highest rank and character, unfolds. This sentence also includes a passage in which a summary is given of what the Order is missing by his sudden death (ll. 12-15).

118.4 TAC. *Ann.* 1.4: *Hunc et prima ab infantia eductum in domo regnatrice.*

118.9 III, *id est tertium.*

118.10 Parallelism of phrases involving adjectives and nouns.

118.14 OLLI is the archaic form of *illi*, to suite the style of the inscription. *Ille*, literally, refers to men in general.

118.15 PARENS, lit.: "Mother". It is justified to interpret this word as an allegory of the Order. Antonio Lores died at the age of about 75 years, and it is doubtful if his real mother was still alive. The art of the inscription often renders the Order as a female. See also no. 48.10.

119: Bernardo Gort.

Bernardo Gort was born in 1621. Although he spent his life amidst arms from a tender age onwards, he appeared to be a better administrator OMNIBVS BENEFICVS (l. 12) than soldier NEMINI VNQVAM INFENSVS (l. 11), IVCVNDISSIME VT VIXIT (l. 13). He died on 1st February, 1699, at the age of 78.

The lapidary art is rendered in an expression of *Late Baroque pictorial.* Within a frame of *Diaspro*

stands a pedestal, supporting the coat of arms. The front space of the frame is nearly all taken up by the cartouche with inscription, an inside scallop. Above, the shield with the coat of arms is surrounded by an array of military paraphernalia. Remarkable is the coat of arms: the field is murrey (mulberry red), and the charge is an elephant facing dexter (*id est* to the left for the viewer), bearing on its back a tower with three turrets.

This inscription has an enigmatic beginning (l. 2), after which it develops in a standard way of introduction: A *qui*-clause and description of achievements and character. The ending DIEM EXTREMVM CLAVSIT (l. 14) leads to AD PERENNEM IVCVNDITATEM IN DOMINO MIGRATVRVS (l. 15).

119.2 DEDISCAT...DIDICIT...MORTI: Alliteration of D, C and T. DEDISCAT...DIDICIT: Near-paronomasia. PL. *Am.* 686*: Haud aequom facit qui quod didicit id dediscit.* PLIN. *Ep.* 3.16.12: *Focilata "Dixeram" inquit "vobis inventuram me quam libet duram ad mortem viam, si vos facilem negassetis".*

119.7 Alliteration of P, R and ST.

119.7-8 PLVRA – PLVRES: Near-polyptoton.

119.8-9 Parallelism of phrases involving a comparative adjective (PLVRES – MELIORES) and nouns of the first declension plural.

119.10 MAIORICENSIS: From *Mariorica (or Balearis maior)*, the modern Majorca, Spain.

119.11 Assonance.

119.11-12 NEMINI – OMNIBVS: Near-oxymoron.

120: Henri de la Salle.

Henri de la Salle was born in Paris in 1612, and was entered into the Order on 1st October, 1629, at the age of seventeen. This short inscription relates De la Salle's Langue, ranks and functions. He served three Grand Masters: De Gessan and both Grand Masters Cotoner, of whom Nicolas was the dedicator of his gravestone. He was chosen as one of the twelve electors in the election in

which Rapael Cotoner became Grand Master (De Vertot 1728: 2. 13. 84). His life was totally dedicated to the Order, and he did not distinguish between the Order's and private matters: VNA ET MVNERE ET VITA FVNCTVS EST (l. 9). He died on 28th January, 1673, at the age of 61 years.

The lapidary stone is a sepulchral slab. A small slab of *Marmo Bianco* shows the shield with the coat of arms, which is centrally placed within the inscription. This slab is identical in concept to its counterpart no. 129 at the end of this row.

The text is built up of short lines, which hurries the reader through the life and achievements of Henri de la Salle.

120.3 ESTRAPIGNII is no longer an independent village; however, the name survived as Estrepigny, in France. MOISII is the modern Moisy, between Chartres and Tours, in France. LOVVIERE is the modern La Louvière in Hainaut, in Belgium.

120.8-9 Assonance.

120.9 VULG. *II Mcc.* 9.28: *igitur homicida et blasphemus pessime percussus et ut ipse alios tractaverat peregre in montibus miserabili obitu vita functus est.*

121: Louis François de Pontac Beautiran Burdig.

Louis François de Pontac Beautiran Burdig entered the Order in 1673 (De la Roque 1891: 190). The absence of high ranks makes it acceptable to think that he was rather young when he died during the fulfilling of his duties, on 25th March, 1694. The executors of his will are Jean-Gabriel de Pollastron La Hillière Ledain, who is found on no. 130, and Arnaud de Cardaillac Lomné, who entered the Order in 1653.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral iconography, here a *Baroque*. On a slab of *Nero Malquino*, the artist has created a design of mainly *Giallo* with a touch of *Rosso* and *Bigio*. A cartouche with inscription, shaped as an inside scallop, supports the shield with the coat of arms. The outline of the scallop of the cartouche is continued in the shield. For description of the frame, see nos. 42, 109, 111 and 130.

Louis François de Pontac Beautiran Burdig successfully served his Order, DE RELIGIONE CVIVS MVNIA OBIVIT (l. 3), and tragically died in action EX VVLNERE HIC CECIDIT (l. 7).

121.3-5 Anaphora of DE. L. 3 and 4 form a parallelism of phrases, through DE with ablative and CVIVS. In l. 5 there is also an assonance and alliteration of P and T in OMNIBVS – OPTIME.

121.6 Note the parallelism of phrases through genitive, genitive and noun, with SANCTI repeated.

121.7 Alliteration of C.

122: François de Mores Ventavon.

François de Mores (or Morges) Ventavon was born in 1610, and was enrolled into the Order in 1625, at the age of fifteen. After the introduction of his name and a brief sketch of his character, the inscription continues with his military career (ll. 4-9), which provided the right track to further promotions (ll. 11-14). Remarkable is the mentioning of the transfer of the Trusteeship of Monte Pessulo to Césare de Villeneuve Tourenc, his friend (ll. 15-19), who had entered the Order either in 1633, 1638 or 1639. The dedicator, Jean-Baptiste de Boffin la Saonne d'Argenson, entered the Order in 1668 (De la Roque 1891: 32) The dedication finishes the inscription (ll. 20-24). François de Mores Ventavon died on 2nd February, 1699, 89 years of age.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral iconography, here a *Late Baroque Pictorial Invention.* Within a frame of *Diaspro* lies a slab of *Nero Malquino.* A cartouche with inscription, shaped as an inside scallop, bears the shield with the coat of arms. Two lions combatant support the shield. Beneath the actual slab, outside the frame, another, but smaller, slab is placed. It contains the base of a vessel, functioning as a pedestal, in front of which stands a shield with a coat of arms in front, supported by two lions combatant. This coat of arms is blazoned per fess bleu-celeste three Latin crosses or, or a bovine dexter murrey. On top of the base lies a skull with crossbones.

The relative pronoun QVI had to be inserted (l. 10) to make the sentence structure intelligible.

122.6 ILGILGILITANÆ: See nos. 115. 8, 9 (Jijeli).

122.11 MASSILIENSI: Of Marseilles, in France.

122.13 S[ANCTI] ÆGIDII: See also no. 4.6.

122.9-14 Alliteration of C, G, M, P, R and T.

122.15 MONTIS PESSVLI: Of *Mons* Pessuli, the modern Monte Pessulo, in Italy.

122.22 Assonance.

122.23 Alliteration of P and R.

123: Francisco de Souza y Menezes.

Francisco de Souza y Menezes was born in 1682. His inscription contains three main themes. In the first part, the reader is introduced to both Francisco de Souza y Menezes and his progeny, and to the fact that he dug this grave in anticipation of his death (ll. 3-9). Then follows his *cursus honorum* and achievements (ll. 11-18). The last part contains the outcome of his will, the adoration of St. Francis and the institution of religious rituals on his behalf (ll.19-29). He died on 9th August, in the year 1756, 74 years of age.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral iconography, here a *Late Baroque Pictorial Invention.* A broad frame of *Rosso* surrounds a slab of *Bigio.* In the lower part stands a defence tower, the cartouche with inscription, in the shape of an open mantle, spanned across its front. The tower is rendered in three dimensions. Classical armoury and arms are hung on the turrets. The shield with the coat of arms is suspended, in an incline, over the turrets. A putto and the Angel of Fame, blowing the trumpet and holding a golden laurel, support the shield. From behind the shield, the Order's banner is visible.

The inscription begins and ends with reference to Francisco de Souza y Menezes to shine eternally: IN CŒLIS ILLVSTRIOR (l. 1), and ET VT ÆTERNVM SPLENDEAT DEPRECARE (l. 30). The VIATOR (l. 3) is taken for a voyage through the deceased's progeny, achievements and pious deeds, which are presented in between.

123.4 MORITVRVS VIVENS: Oxymoron.

123.13 Alliteration of M and R.

123.15 Alliteration of C, M, D and T. BARRO: See also no. 38.4-5. VILLACOVA A COALHEIRA is the modern Vila Cova à Coelheira, in Portugal.

123.17 Note the parallelism of phrases in the alternation of genitive and accusative.

123.21 Asyndeton and alliteration of D, V and T.

123.23 Alliteration of P, T and M.

123.30 Assonance.

124: Manuel de Almeida y Vasconcellos.

Manuel de Almeida y Vasconcellos was born in 1668. This inscription does not show his achievements as such, but a general feeling of how much the world had lost with his demise. He died in 1725, at the age of 57.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral iconography, here a *Late Baroque Pictorial Invention.* A broad frame of *Breccia* contains a slab of *Verde Antico.* On a knee-high, voluted pedestal, including the cartouche with inscription, stands a funerary urn of *Bigio.* From behind the pedestal, an array of military paraphernalia fans out. On the surface of the pedestal, at the base of the funerary urn, are placed a classical helmet, sword and cuirass. To the right of the pedestal, Death stands, and stands at ease indeed: one leg is crossed over the other and its free hand rests on top of the funerary urn, holding the shield with the coat of arms over the other arm, as if prepared for combat. Death's bony skull bears a deadly grin. A wingless sandglass is frozen in mid-air, just above the lid of the urn. From above, Father Time, carrying a scythe, comes surging down, and is just about to cover the whole scene with a veil of *Giallo.*

The inscription starts with an introduction of the deceased, after which follows a set of three cola, respectively ending with the positive (ll. 3,4), the comparative (ll. 5,6) and the superlative form of CLARIOR (7,8), consecutively mentioning his progeny, highest obtained rank and character. After these cola follows another set, now ruled by three verbs, PARENTANT, DESIT and POSVERE, each respectively concluding a sentence with his character, the considerations for placing this inscriptions and the names of the dedicators.

124.4-8	Climax formed by the expression of the three degrees of comparison, using CLARIO – CLARIOR - CLARISSIMVS.
124.5	Note the parallelism of phrases where a genitive alternates with an ablative.
124.9-10	Alliteration of P, R and T.
124.11	Note the parallelism of phrases, in which an adjective alternates with a noun.

125: Giovanni Battista Brancaccio.

Giovanni Battista Brancaccio stemmed from a Neapolitan family, which had bred many warriors who enrolled into the Order. He had entered the Order on 15th October, 1632, and became Bailiff of Santo Stefano in 1682, General of the galleys in 1683 (Dal Pozzo 1715: 493, 507). The *cursus honorum* of the inscription places the function of Bailiff at a later stage than General of the galleys (see ll. 5-6). In 1684 (during the war of the Morea 1684 - 1699), he commanded a squadron of the Order's ships. Having been joined by the Venetians at Corfu, they conquered Levkás on 7th August, 1684, Préveza on 21st September, 1684, and Corone on 11th August, 1685 (Bono 1993: 369). This family monument was laid in 1686, in apparent anticipation of his death, which occurred on 3rd July, 1687. Other members of his family were Lelio, Marco Antonio, Giovanni Battista, Giuseppe (ll. 14), and according to the inscription, they were priors and generals (ll. 15, 16). Lelio was enrolled on 29th October, 1584, and reached the rank of Grand Cross. He was a renowned *"Mastro di Campo"* in wars fought in Flanders and Spain, and as Captain-General of the Genovese army in a conflict against the Duke of Savoie. He was Councillor of War of Flanders and Councillor of State of Spain, and died in 1637 at the age of 72. Marco Antonio, having entered the Order on 12th March, 1577, became Bailiff of his hometown Naples. A second Giovanni Battista was made Bailiff of Sant' Eufemia in 1667 and Admiral in 1681. Giuseppe, son of Adriano, entered on 9th April, 1631, and was made Honorary Grand Cross.

The lapidary art is rendered in an expression of *Baroque*, called *"macchina"*. This is the largest monumental inscription in the main nave of this Cathedral. Between the pedestal and closing draperies of *Marmo Bianco* stands the shield with the coat of arms. It is surrounded by a large amount of military paraphernalia. The shield is supported by two lions, both rampant and combatant, clinging on to the sides of the shield. Death, in a *Bigio* veil, runs across the scene, holding a saw-toothed scythe and a long, burning candle. The crouched position while running reminds one distantly of the central Gorgon from the pediment of the Artemis Temple at Corcyra,

c. 600-580 B.C. (see Richter 1994: 63). The pedestal bears the cartouche with inscription in front. The latter is shaped as an opened scroll, with its sides curled up.

The introduction exhaustively sums up his military achievements (ll. 2-9), and then follows with a *Baroque* narration of sieges and joint family efforts under his leadership (ll. 11-16). This passage is most probably meant to dramatize the events for the sake of the reader's captivation, not as a reflection of historical truth. VICTRIX FAMA (l. 18) is given the honour of dedicating this inscription.

125.4-9 Parallelism of phrases involving genitives and datives.

125.6 SANCTI STEPHANI: See also no. 45.5.

125.10 Asyndeton. LEVCAS, NICOPOLIS, CORONE are referring respectively the modern Levkás (also referred to as Santa Maura), Préveza (close to the ancient battlefield of Nicopolis), Corone (see also no. 16.13).

125.12 Assonance.

125.19 *Id est*, "Redemption".

126: Antonio Correa.

Antonio Correa of Sousa was born in 1608. The inscription contains some bold remarks, such as HIC HVMANÆ GLORIAM CELSITVDINIS IPSE GLORIOSIOR SISTIT (l. 3) and poetic notions, such as INTEGERRIMÆ ZELO IVSTITIÆ FRETVM (l. 17). His *cursus honorum* is presented in a passive way, in which he does not obtain honours, but where he is received in honours, by death and in Heaven. He only acquired the Kindom of Heaven, according to the author, when he died on 27th March, 1696, at the age of 78.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque pictorial*. A

broad frame of *Diaspro* surrounds a slab of *Nero Malquino*. The pedestal is virtual: Only the base and the platform seem to exist. The vacuum in between is covered by the cartouche with inscription, shaped as an open mantle, and spanned across. This construction supports the shield with the coat of arms, supported by two putti, sitting next to its base. They wipe their tears from their eyes with one hand, and hold a burning torch upside down with the other. The putti are rendered in an outline, reminiscent of the previous Mannerist phase of art.

This very well planned inscription is divided into four parts: The first two parts cover ll. 2 to 14, with l. 9 HAVD...HONORES as turning point. While it is true that Antonio Correa after his death could not retain the honours he had of his responsibilities, yet the honours of renown, as those of Bailiff and Ambassador, remained after his death. In this respect, the author has elaborated on the pun of CESSIT (to yield) in l. 8 and CEDVNT (to cease) in l. 9. The last two parts cover ll. 15 to 21, in which the third part is introduced by MORS EXCIPIT, and the fourth part by CÆLVM SVSCEPIT (l. 19). While MORS is in contrast with CÆLVM...CORONANDVM, death and heaven, the author has even played on his choice of EXCIPIT and SVSCIPIT, both third person singular active indicative, and thus finishing as a homoeoteleuton.

126.3 Alliteration of S and I in IPSE...SISTIT, having a connotation of hushing the sense of glory by means of death.

126.4-5 Alliteration of C, M, N and D in COMMENDAS...COMMENDAT, which is also a polyptoton, however with a poignant departure in meaning, that is, no longer trusting Trusteeships to people, but to earth, meaning death. PAIARES DE ALGOZO: See also no. 37.5-6. VERÆ CRVCIS is the modern Veracruz. The former is in Spain, the latter in Mexico.

126.7 Chiasmus in the order of a genitive plural and singular, singular and plural.

126.8-9 CESSIT - CEDVNT and HONORIBVS - HONORES: Polyptoton. L. 9 reverts the meaning of l. 2-8, namely, that the honours do not pass on to him as much as he passed them on to others by his death.

126.11-13 Anaphora by means of QVEM.

126.12 PETRVM is poetic for 'the Pope'.

126.18 Alliteration of M and R and assonance.

127: Bartolomeo Tommasi.

Bartolomeo Tommasi (or Tomasi) of Cortona was born on Saturday, 3rd October, 1688. He entered the Order on13th April, 1707 (Bonazzi 1897: 324); however, the inscription mentions the year 1708 as the commencement of his service. No ranks or titles are mentioned in the inscription, except that he was completely dedicated to Knighthood. Allowing himself to think about his posterity, he placed this memorial for himself, when he was still alive. He passed away on Thursday, 21st April, 1768, 79 years, 6 months, and 18 days of age.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral iconography, here a *Late Baroque Pictorial Invention.* Within an arched arrangement of *Breccia* stands a pedestal, bearing the cartouche with inscription. The artist has rendered most of the picture three-dimensionally and from a rather high point of view, so that the viewer can oversee the flat top of the pedestal, instead of just a flat view of the front. On the platform are present Death, the shield with the coat of arms, and a table with a mechanical clock. Death, on the left, knocks over the shield with its knee, while pushing it with one arm. With the other arm, Death reaches over the shield and gets hold of the clock, snapping it in two. Death also holds a scythe. Near its rounded blade hangs, on a hook, a golden snake with its tail in its mouths, thus forming a nought. The shield is balancing on two anchors, half visible behind it. The table with the clock and the shield with the coat of arms are rendered two-dimensionally, and thus look very flat in comparison of the rest of the picture. The shape and stance of Death's skeleton are nearly identical to the one in no. 6. For a commentary on the mechanical clock, see no. 36.

After the introduction of Bartolomeo Tommasi and his progeny (ll. 4-5), follows the assurance that HEIC SITVS EST (l. 6), who lived SVMMA FIDE (l. 10) and who died IN PACE CHRISTI (l. 12). In between are listed his achievements and age. Mindful of death, he placed this stone for himself (ll. 14-15).

127.1-2 VULG. *Rm.* 6.9: *scientes quod Christus surgens ex mortuis iam non moritur, mors illi ultra non dominabitur.* N.T.. *Rm.* 6.9: *scientes quod Christus suscitatus ex mortuis iam non moritur, mors illi ultra non dominatur.*

127.10 Alliteration of S and M.

127.11 In Latin, duration of time is expressed in the accusative.

127.12 INSCR. ORELL. 5014, 4874: DEPOSITVS IN PACE.

127.14 MORTIS MEMOR: Alliteration of M and R. Likewise, MORTIS...IMMEMOR is found in 10.10, and MORTALITATIS MEMOR is found in no. 26. 16.

128: Giovanni Battista Spinola.

Both Giovanni Battista Spinola and Domenico Maria entered the Order on 18th August, 1682 (Bonazzi 1897: 314). For the naval battle in this inscription, see Excursus. After the inscription's introducton (ll. 2-7), in which the reader is made clear that nothing else than the memory of death can be found on this slab, the dramatic narration starts where Domenica Maria died in action on 16th February, 1700 (ll. 8-18). The next passage is about Giovanni Battista himself, his ranks and achievements (ll. 19-25). He became first Commander and then General of the galleys, followed by his promotion to Grand Cross and resident Ambassador in Madrid. Giovanni Battista Spinola also was an extra-ordinary ambassador for the Order in Rome. During this period he contributed greatly to the commissioning of art for the Order (Sciberras 2000: 80). He died on 19th January, 1737.

The lapidary art is rendered in an expression of *Late Baroque pictorial.* The pedestal has two extensions. The base bears a cartouche with inscription, in the form of an inside scallop, which is wider than the base itself. The middle part has volutes, in the shape of fish. The shield with the coat of arms is attached to it, pasted onto a double-headed black eagle, surmounted by a closed crown. On the upper part of the pedestal stands a grand, black eagle, identically crowned as its double-headed companion. This eagle spans a cartouche with inscription across its chest. The cartouche is in the shape of an open drapery, clasped between the eagle's beak and wings. An array of military paraphernalia fans out from behind the middle and upper part of the pedestal.

This inscription consists of two different inscriptions, which, however, continue in meaning. The opening lines of this inscription are a warning to the reader not to seek what is not there (ll. 2-3). The introduction informs the reader about Giovanni Battista, where a temporal phrase (ll. 5-9) is followed by the relative pronoun QVEM, starting of the dramatic narration of how he lost his brother (ll. 10-18). The second part starts with the relative pronoun QVI (ll. 19-25), leading through his achievements and reaching his death in one sentence.

128.2	Alliteration of C and Q.
128.3	Alliteration of M and R.
128.5-6	Note the parallelism of phrases within a hyperbaton POST…PRÆFECTVRAM.
128.9	Assonance in ANCEPS…VNDA.
128.10	Alliteration of T.
128.13-14	The chiasmus in l. 13 expressed through the word order ABCDDCB, whereby A is a particle, B a present participle, C an adverb and D a noun. In l. 14, it is expressed through a repetition of adverb, participle and noun. This line consists of three words, which word order continues to add on to the variety of those in the preceding line.
128.16	Asyndeton and alliteration of S.
128.17-18	Chiasmus expressed through the alternation of verb – noun, noun – verb.

128.19-20 Asyndeton and parallelism of phrases.

128.20 *Vittorio Amadeo*, a prince of Savoie.

128.22 CLARVS...CLARIOR: Asyndeton, parallelism of phrases and near-polyptoton. OV. *F.* 3.570: *hospes opum dives rex ibi Battus erat.* Incidentally, Battus was allegedly king of Malta.

129: Juan Ximenez de Vedoja.

Juan Ximenez de Vedoja was born in 1606. His achievements were respectable, but one wonders what kind of man he was and whether this dedicator was also the author. The author conveys the alleged opinion of Juan Ximenez about friends EN AMICORVM LÆTITIÆ, HORROR DETESTANDVS (l. 10). The dedicator is portrayed as his most beloved first cousin, who placed, in tears, this inscription, but who, at the same time, seizes the opportunity to tell the world that his uncle is SPECTACVLVM VERMIVM (l. 11) and that he PVTET (l. 12). Indeed, one wonders, MIRARIS! (l. 13), what one has learned when walking away. Furthermore, there is also a notion of too much concern for futility and vanity in this life, and not enough care for the afterlife. Juan Ximenez de Vedoja died on 13th January, 1663, at the age of 57.

The lapidary stone is a sepulchral slab. A small slab of *Marmo Bianco* shows the shield with the coat of arms, surrounded by a chaplet, which is centrally placed within the inscription. This slab is identical in concept to its counterpart no. 120 at the beginning of this row.

The text is not in line with the general notion of tension in *Baroque* art, as in, for instance, *The Beheading of St. John* of Caravaggio, who is not concerned with the graphical iconography and details of the horrible deed itself, but with the shock instantly after the horrible situation had occurred. The author of this inscription has used rather explicit language on a slab without any illustrations, besides the coat of arms, to create a graphic spectacle in our minds. In this respect, we can compare the intention of this slab with, for instance, a painting in the Museum of Fine Arts in

Valletta of Matthias Stomer, *Death of Cato*, where indeed literally the intestines of the deceased are hanging out of his belly, and his hand is sticking into the wound.

129.3 ALCOLEÆ is the modern Alcolea del Rio, in region of Sevilla, in Spain. The town has a strong tradition regarding St. John. TVSINÆ: See also no. 26.8-9.

129.5-6 Alliteration of C, Q and T.

129.6 The author has played on the notion of ashes with CINIS, ARSIT, as ashes are the product of decay, which is formed in the grave, and the metaphysical use of burning with zeal in life.

129.5-8 Note the repetition for emphasis of IACET (IN TVMVLO...CINIS...PVTREDO), all three words reminding the reader of the grave.

129.7-8 There is an antithesis between those two lines, emphasized by the first word of each line. (INCORRVPTVS, PVTREDO), which is further elaborated in l. 12, through the expression BONI NOMINIS SPIRAVIT ODOREM.

129.9 This line starts and finishes with a second person singular in the imperative mood (SISTE, INTVERE), and this structure is repeated in l. 13 (DISCE, ORA).

129.10-12 The pair AMICORVM LÆTITIÆ stands as a chiasmus with THEATRVM VIRTVTVM and SPECTACVLVM VERMIVM, in the sense that the first pair is genitive-nominative, the second and third nominative-genitive and, at the same time, the second and third pair in l. 11 form a parallelism of phrases. Note also the anaphora of EN, and the further elaboration of the concept of antithesis, found in ll. 7-8, expressed by PVTET- SPIRAVIT ODOREM.

130: Jean Gabriel de Pollastron La Hillière Ledain.

Jean Gabriel de Pollastron La Hillière Ledain was born in 1634, and entered the Order in 1646, twelve years of age (De la Roque 1891: 89). He was not satisfied with just complying to the Order's configuration IN OBSEQVIVM (l. 6), but he had a drive to improve matters FRVCTVS... MVLTIPLICATOS (l. 9) and DITISSIMO SPOLIO (l. 10). He is mentioned as one of the electors of Grand Master Rapael Cotoner in 1660 (De Vertot 1728: 2. 13. 84). Although terrible pains of death tormented him, he was still regarded as an example of Christian courage VEL MORIENS

CHRISTIANI FORTITVDINE EXEMPLAR POSTERIS RELINQVENS (ll. 14-15). He died on 30th January, 1698, at the age of 64.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Baroque*. For description of the frame, see nos. 42, 109, 111 and 121. The concept is identical to no. 121, but not a mere copy thereof.

This inscription is built around elements of knightly valour and contemporaneous morals. Jean Gabriel de Pollastron La Hillière Ledain is seen as a great example, both while living and dying. The key-words are: DVM VIVERET (l. 4), RELIGIONIS ZELO COMMENDABILIS (l. 5), IN OBSEQVVM (l. 6), COMPROBAVIT (l. 7), MVLTIPLICATOS (l. 9), DITISSIMO SPOLIO (l. 10), PATIENTISSIME TOLERANS (l. 13), MORIENS CHRISTIANI FORTITVDINE EXEMPLAR POSTERIS (l. 14-15).

130.4-5 Parallelism of phrases expressed by the repetition of genitive with ablative and with hyperbaton (VIR...COMMENDABILIS).

130.8 MIGLIAVD survives as a name, but Migliaud is no longer a place name in France. It may be a corruption of Millau, Milliau or Milieu.

131: Luigi Mazzingo.

Luigi Mazzingo (or Mazzinghi) was born in 1548, and entered the Order in 1571, at the age of twenty-three, and in the same year already fought at Lepanto (F. Bonazzi 1897: 207). As a Sergeant-Major he impressed at the battles at Navarinno and Corinth, in 1611. He was made Prior of Capua and later, in 1623, Bailiff of Santo Stefano. A nephew succeeded him in these functions in 1625, six years before his death (Dal Pozzo 1703: 743). Luigi Mazzingo had a checkered career of both military and representative functions. After his introduction, rank

and best qualities (ll.1-3), the mind of the reader is instantly drawn into a battle scene (ll. 5-7), and the military disposition and further career of Luigi Mazzingo. He died in 1631, at the age of 83 years, 2 months, 27 days.

The lapidary stone belongs to a *Mannerist decorative* typology. There is an impressive amount of variation and degrees of the colour orange in the *Breccia* frame and the *Diaspro* slab of this monumental inscription. The pictorial arrangement consists of *Marmo Bianco*, the art rendered in outline. The shield with the coat of arms is centrally placed, showing a touch of *Bigio*. The cartouche with inscription is designed as an open mantle. Between the mantle and the shield stands a longhaired male with wings of *Giallo*. His arms are wide spread, and in each hand he holds a corner of the mantle, which is spanned over two hooks attached to the shield, and two hooks attached to the frame. Beneath the mantle, two scaled tails coil away to both sides, each tail ending in a trefoil. A helmet surmounts the shield, its crest showing an abundant lambrequin. The helmet itself is placed profile dexter, closed visor with three golden bars. The torso of a lion surmounts the helmet, brandishing a battle-club of the same kind, of which three are rendered in the coat of arms.

The inscription is built up of short sentences, which create a very dynamic and military atmosphere, reflecting best his character. One can compare his inscription with the pace of a military march. It seems that the moment he climbed upon the enemy' ship, CVM TRANSCENDISSET (l. 6), was a decisive moment in his life, which was used as mount for his future career.

131.2 S[ANCTI] STEPHANI: See also no. 45.5.

131.5 NAVPACTVM is the Latin name for the historical Lepanto, famous for its naval battle in 1571,

between Christian states and the Ottoman Empire. The outcome of the battle broke the seapower of the Ottomans, but certainly not its supremacy on land. Former Lepanto is situated on the *Naupactinus sinus*, close to a narrow point, where the Gulf of Corinth and the Gulf of Patras meet. The modern name of NAVPACTVM is Náupaktos, in Greece.

131.7 Litotes.

131.12 Alliteration of Q and C.

131.18 OPTIME MERITO is found also in nos. 24.10, 53.11, 87.15, 102. 21 and 152.10.

132: Martino Alvaro Pinto.

Martino Alvaro Pinto was born on Monday, 11th December, 1684. After the introduction and highest ranks (ll.2-4), follows his career, achievements and amicable character (ll. 3-10). His exemplary courage during his long and painful deathbed is sketched in ll. 12-14. In the dedication, his brother Grand Master Emanuel Pinto confesses that PAVPERVM LACRIMIS IMMISCENS SVAS (l. 20). Martino Alvaro Pinto died on Thursday, 24th February, 1757, at the age of 72 years, 2 months and 13 days.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral iconography, here a *Late Baroque Pictorial Invention*. This monumental inscription stands out through its horizontal elongated shape, instead of its vertical importance. A large sarcophagus of *Nero Malquino*, resting on two lions, is placed centrally. A laurel runs from the middle of the lid over the length of the sarcophagus to the ground. On the opposite side, Death lies against the sarcophagus, embracing it, holding a scythe in the hollow of one arm and the shield with the coat of arms with the hand of the same arm. With the other hand, Death holds the cartouche with inscription, which is rendered as a large roll of parchment, rolled out in front of the sarcophagus. The cartone of no. 132 is used in mirror image in no. 140. The only differences are the content coat of arms and the figure holding the scythe and cartouche, which in no. 140 has changed to Father Time. No. 132 is

designed in or before 1751, no. 140 in or before 1757.

The introduction (ll. 2-4) is followed by a *qui*-clause (ll. 5-15), while the dedication fills the last paragraph (ll. 16-22).

132.7 Alliteration of C and Q.

132.10 Alliteration of Q, C, P and R. Assonance is emphasized by the repetition of the suffixed *per* of the adjectives.

132.12 Alliteration of P, D and R within a hyperbaton.

132.14-15 Alliteration of L, T, P and R and a parallelism of phrases forming the following order of words: ABABA, whereby A is ablative and B is nominative. Also, the first two As are hyperbata and B is a near-polyptoton of PROBATVS - PROBATIOR.

132.21 A polyptoton in OPTIMVS OPTIMO and a near-polyptoton in FRATER – FRATRI form a chiasmus.

133: Nicolas de Navinau la Durandière.

Nicolas de Navinau la Durandière entered the Order on 5th March, 1646 (De Vertot 1761: 268). He was best characterized as someone who carried the care for justice at heart. His last deed was AD ÆTERNÆ IVSTITIÆ TRIBVNAL CONVOLAVIT (ll. 7-8). He died in 1666.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Baroque*. On a background of *Nero Malquino* stands a voluted pedestal, surmounted by the shield with the coat of arms. The pedestal's front is taken up by the cartouche with inscription, which is rendered as drapery, nailed to its bearer with two golden pins. The pedestal does not stand solidly on its base, but balances delicately on a sculpted leaf, giving the impression that the whole design just budded freshly out of a flower. Two putti support the shield, one pointing to

the shield, the other to the text of the inscription. A full faced, grilled helmet with a closed visor of six silver bars and lambrequins on its crest, surmounts the shield. The pedestal, cartouche, helmet and putti are rendered in outline, reminiscent of the Mannerist period, while the shield and lambrequins are truly *Baroque* in outlook.

The inscription follows a general pattern of introduction (ll. 2-4); the conjunction ET is the connective to his ranks (ll. 6-8), while the dedication concludes the inscription (ll. 9-12).

133.4-8 The author, in IVSTITIAM COLVIT – IVSTITIÆ – CONVOLAVIT, seems to be pointing out that just as this Knight fostered justice on earth, he rushed to his reward in heaven, which was the justice bestowed upon him. For this reason, he has repeated CONVOLAVIT with COLVIT.

134: **Paule Antoine de Robin de Gravezon.**

Paule Antoine de Robin de Gravezon was born in 1587 and was enrolled into the Order in 1604, at seventeen years of age (De Vertot 1761: 77). He became Grand Commendator and Grand Prior of Toulouse in 1666, in which capacity he built a new prioral residence and home for the Brother Chaplains in Toulouse in 1674 (Dal Pozzo 1715: 337, 438). Throughout the inscription, he is portrayed as a person with a very high moral; his death caused loss of virtues, which should be lamented after his death. He died on 10th March, 1674, at the age of 87.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral iconography, here a *Baroque*. The shield with the coat of arms is placed over a cartouche with inscription, rendered as an inside scallop, with an array of the Order's banners in between. Both the shield and cartouche are supported by two putti each. A frontal helmet, showing a closed visor of six golden bars and a lambrequin on its

crest, surmounts the shield. The four putti are managing together a continuous string of feather, which forms a flexible frame, following roughly the contours of the cartouche, shield and helmet. The individual feathers bear two different alternating symbols: A bird and a shell. Although the design belongs to the *Baroque* period, the cartouche, frame, lambrequins and putti are rendered in outline, reminiscent of the previous Mannerist period.

The reader is addressed in a straightforward manner, in order to balance any hiatus in one's knowledge about Paule Antoine de Robin de Gravezon. After the introduction and ranks (ll. 1-5), follows praise on his virtues and achievements (ll. 6-14). With great confidence the statements are made, such as CVIVS VENERABERE CINERES, SI MORES AGNOVERIS ET VIRTVTES (l. 6), followed by OMNES REGNARVNT IN VIVO; OMNES LAMENTENTVR IN MORTVO (l. 7) and TANTI VIRI VIRTVTEM REVERITA IPSA PROPE MORS EST (l. 11). The last lines are concerning his death (ll. 15-18).

134.5 SANCTI AVLARII is the modern Saint-Aulaye in the Dordogne, France.

134.7 Rhyme in CINERES – MORES – VIRTVTES.

134.8 Note the anaphora of OMNES and the parallelism of phrases, whereby we meet with the repetition of OMNES (just mentioned), verb, IN and ablative. In the case of the ablative, VIVO is contrasted to MORTVO.

134.9 Note the parallelism of phrases, in which the adjective, preposition and noun are repeated.

134.12 In Classical Latin, *dum* is normally followed by the present indicative. In the Latin found in most of these inscriptions, one becomes acquainted with *dum* and the imperfect subjunctive, but not with the perfect indicative, because *dum* presupposes a continuous action.

134.13-14 Chiasmus within MAGNIFICVM – AMPLISSIMAM, involving the word order ABCDECDBA, whereby A is an accusative adjective, B an accusative noun, C a dative noun, D a dative adjective, E a conjunction. Furthermore, A has a superlative element.

135: Ludivico Bacci.

Ludovico Bacci was born in 1679. In this very short inscription, his ranks, generosity towards the poor and his personal frugality are mentioned. He died on 29th July, 1751, at the age of 72.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology of *Late Baroque monumental.* Within a frame of *Diaspro* lies a slab of *Nero Malquino.* The pedestal, its upper part covered by the cartouche with inscription, in the shape of an inside scallop, supports the shield with the coat of arms. The cartouche supports a winged sandglass.

135.2-4 An ARETINO is a person from Aretium, the modern Arezzo. ROVIGHI is the modern Rovigo, which lies between Padova and Bologna, while BARBARANI is of *Barbaranum*, the modern Barbarano at Lago di Garda. SANCTI CASSIANI is the modern San Cassiano. All places are in Italy.

135.5-6 PIO IN DEVM, IN PAVPERES PROFVSO: Chiasmus and alliteration of P and R.

135.7 Note the parallelism of phrases.

136: Giovanni Francesco de Ricasoli.

A short inscription with a simple summary of his ranks, and a short notice that he placed his grave during his lifetime. He should not be confused with a more famous namesake. This Giovanni Francesco Ricasoli died in 1664, while the other was promoted to Honorary Grand Cross in 1670 (Dal Pozzo 1715: 393).

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral iconography, here a *Late Baroque Pictorial Invention.* Within a broad frame of *Africano* is placed the brim of a grave, made of *Marmo Bianco.* The shield with the coat of arms is set within the upper part of the brim. It supports a helmet, rendered frontally with an enclosed visor of five golden bars. Its crest has an abundance of

lambrequins. Just below the shield, out of the deep of the grave, three skeletons appear. The two outer ones roll open a parchment with the inscription. The middle and the right-hand side one shine light on the text with their torches.

136.1 VULG. *Idc.* 4.6: *quae misit et vocavit Barac filium Abinoem de Cedes Nepthalim dixitque ad eum praecepit tibi Dominus Deus Israhel vade et duc exercitum in montem Thabor tollesque tecum decem milia pugnatorum de filiis Nepthalim et de filiis Zabulon.* VULG. *1 Sm.* 17.36: *nam et leonem et ursum interfeci ego servus tuus erit igitur et Philistheus hic incircumcisus quasi unus ex eis quia ausus est maledicere exercitum Dei viventis.*

136.2 RICASOLIS is declined like NEAPOLIS, a Greek declension whose ablative singular ends in I.

136.3-6 An anaphora is formed by the repetition of SANCTI in the beginning of each colon.

136.4-6 SANCTI MAGNI DE GRADVLO is the modern San Maggiore near Gradulo, SANCTI IOANNIS DE BETTONA is San Giovanni, near Bettona, and SANCTI SEPVLCRI DE FLORENTIA belongs to the modern diocese of Arezzo. Cortona and Sansepolcro, near Florence in Tuscany. All places are in Italy.

136.7 TVMVLVM is masculine, hence HVNC instead of HOC.

137: Lucas Bueno.

Lucas Bueno was made Prior of the Conventual church in 1650, envoy in 1651. He was readily willing to give his life for the care of the terminally ill. He requested to be transferred to the Lazaretto, the harbour's quarantine hospital at Fort Manoel, during a crucial time in 1655, when serious contamination of the plague was suspected. The Grand Master refused, telling him that his services were more urgently needed in the city of Valletta, both as a councillor and in the Conventual Church (Dal Pozzo 1715: 231). He was chosen Bishop of Malta in 1663. The Mdina Cathedral's *Liber Defunctorum, sub die* 9th September, 1668, has registered that Fra. Luke Bono, Archbishop of Thessaloniki and Bishop of Malta, died on 7th September, 1668, at 11:00hrs, and that he was exposed in the Palace at Valletta, and later

buried in the Conventual Church.

The lapidary stone belongs to a *Mannerist decorative* typology. The frame of this stone is a broad band of *Rosso*, filled with interlocking plumes of *Marmo Bianco* and *Bigio*. The voluted pedestal bears a cartouche on its front, shaped as a open mantle. The shield with the coat of arms is supported by two putti, both resting their head in the palm of a hand and the elbow on a sandglass. The other hand holds a burning torch upside down. A black ecclesiastical hat with tassels, resting on a golden cross, surmounts the shield. To either side of it are two bishop's mitres, placed in a 45-degree angle, with the point sticking into the corner of the frame. From each mitre hangs an incence burner. The coat of arms shows three illustrations: a cotton plant, double-headed black eagle with both heads surmounted by an open crown, and a tower surmounted with two turrets. Note the rare occasion of the absence of self-censoring in the explicit nudity of the putti.

The author of this inscription considered Lucas Bueno such a great man, that he permited himself to honour him as SACRÆ RELIGIONIS HIEROSOLYMITANÆ HOC DECOR, HIC DOLOR (ll. 2-3). His *cursus honorum* covers ll. 4-11, which concludes with the proud statement HOS NON QVÆSIVIT HONORES, SED MERVIT (l. 12). The extent of his religiosity is reflected in RELIGIOSVS ADEO, VT VEL CINERES SVOS IVSSERIT ESSE RELIGIOSOS (ll. 14-15).

137.2 Note the parallelism of phrases with a near-polyptoton HIC – HOC, and a homoeoteleuton DECOR – DOLOR.

137.5 Note the parallelism of phrases.

137.10 *Rosarum* is the modern Rosas, on the Mediterranean coast of Spain, not too far from the French border.

137.14-15 Rhyme in **SVOS – OSOS** and near-polyptoton in **RELIGIOSVS – RELIGIOSOS**, each placed at the beginning and end of the sentence.

138: François de Tressemanes Chastuel Brunet.

François de Tressemanes Chastuel Brunet, having entered the Order in 1612, was made Bailiff of Manosque in 1678 (Dal Pozzo 1715: 458). This rank is only mentioned briefly (l. 3), while the rest of the inscription is dedicated to his exemplary virtues and courage (ll. 4-14). The procurators of the Treasury made the dedication (ll. 15-18). He died in 1683.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral iconography, here a *Late Baroque Pictorial Invention.* A broad frame of *Bigio* surrounds a slab of *Nero Malquino.* Two skeletons are standing on a heap of military paraphernalia, among which lies a turban. They hold open a drapery with the inscription. The skeleton on the left points with the index finger to the name of the deceased, while the skeleton on the right holds a burning torch and is looking up to the shield with the coat of arms above him. The shield, surrounded by a chaplet, is supported by, on the left, a female figure looking in a hand-mirror and, on the right, by Father Time, holding a sandglass. A wreath of roses surmounts the shield, referring to the roses on the coat of arms. A cherub heads is set within the wreath.

The force of expression in this inscription lies in three comparisons and contrasts, which are bold and witty at the same time. On his deathbed, it is not he who was challenged by death, but he who provokes death for a wrestling match (ll. 8-9); even after his demise he was able to be generous towards the Order (l. 11) and thus, being dead, he would still be able to help the Order against it enemies, not by the metal of the sword, but by the metal of gold (ll. 12-13).

138.3 MANVASCÆ: See no. 58.5.

138.5 Note the parallelism of phrases.

138.8-9 ILLVM MORS – ILLE MORTEM: Note the chiastic parallelism of each of these words in accusative – nominative, nominative – accusative.

138.10 Alliteration of FR.

138.12-13 Note the paronomasia of FERRO and FERRET, at the beginning and end of this clause. AMM 16.4.3: *Et (quod indignitati rerum est assignandum) periclitanti Caesar distulit suppetias ferre Marcellus.*

139: Francesco Saverio Azzoni.

Francesco Saverio Azzoni, of Siena, was born in 1676, and entered the Order on 14th July, 1692, at the age of sixteen (Bonazzi 1897:28). He set forth his career in a managerial and political manner, achieving financial success and maintaining his gallantry. He died on 21st March, 1743, at the age of 67.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology of *Late Baroque monumental.* The frame consists of chain, alternating small round links with larger oval links. The former are filled with *Marmo Bianco*, the latter with *Rosso.* Within this frame stands a pedestal, made of *Nero Malquino*, supporting a sarcophagus of the same material, which rests on four lion's paws. The front space of the frame is nearly all taken up by the cartouche with inscription, an inside scallop. The shield with the coat of arms, surrounded by an array of military paraphernalia, surmounts the sarcophagus.

The structure of this rather detailed inscription is traditional: Introduction (ll. 2-6), *qui*-clause , description of achievements and character (ll. 7-19), obituary (ll. 20-22). However, it contains some fine details. The *qui*-clause contains mostly verbs, placed at the end of a complete

sentence, ending in *-it*: PRÆFVIT (l. 9), SVSTINVIT (l. 11), ENITVIT (l. 13), POTVERIT (l. 14), EFFVDERIT (l. 15), RELIQVIT (l. 17) and CONSVLVIT (l. 19), summing up his career and disposition.

139.4 See no. 1.1.

139.5 LONGARA is also the modern name; the town lies between Padua and Vincenza, in Italy.

139.8 *Nosocomium*, lit.: "Hospital".

139.8-9 PRÆFVIT, like all other compound verbs of *sum*, are followed by the dative, and not the genitive (VTRIQVE, NAVALI).

139.12 IN HAC INSVLA MINISTER is also used verbatim in no. 140.12. ETRVRIÆ: See also no. 20.10.

139.17 Adjectives like *communis* and *tristis* end in *–i*, and not *-e* in the ablative singular. Nevertheless, the sense requires COMMVNI ÆRARIO to be interpreted as a dative, and not an ablative.

139.18 SVO SVORVMQVE: Polyptoton.

139.18-19 CONSVLVIT takes the dative, not the genitive (CVI). Together with the other grammar mistakes in lines 8,9 and 17, it confirms the inexperience of the author.

139.19 TVM VIVENS, CVM MORIENS: Antithesis.

140: Rosalbo Cavalcanti.

Rosalbo Cavalcanti of Cosena entered the Order on 5th July, 1714 (Bonazzi 1907: 45). The inscription contains only the *cursus honorum* of this Knight; the author does not mention anything about his character. He died on 18th July, in the year 1757.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral iconography, here a *Late Baroque Pictorial Invention.* This monumental inscription stands out through its horizontal, elongated shape, instead of its vertical importance. The *cartone* of no. 140 is used in mirror image in no. 132: The only differences are the content of the coat of arms and the figure holding the scythe and cartouche, which in no. 132 has changed to Death. No. 132 is designed in or before 1751, no. 140 in or

before 1757.

The structure of this rather detailed inscription is traditional: Introduction (ll. 2-3), *qui*-clause , description of achievements and character (ll. 4-13), whereby he performed his representatative duties for foreign powers NON OBSCVRE GESTIS (l. 13). Rosalbo Cavalcanti, a mindful person, placed this inscription himself for posterity HOC POSTERITATI MONVMENTVM ET CINERIBVS SEPVLCRVM VIVENS POSVIT (ll. 14-15).

140.3 **MORELLO:** See also no. 104.6. **FAVENTIA** is the modern Faenza, near Ravenna, in Italy.

140.8 **EST HONORE CONDECORATVS:** Tmesis, which figure of speech separates words into its compounds for emphasis or embellishment.

140.13 **QVIBVS OMNIBVS:** Litotes.

140.15 **SEPVLCRVM VIVENS:** Antithesis in a strong juxtaposition.

141: Miguel Juan Cotoner.

Miguel Juan Cotoner had a short, but violent career. He died in action, when he was twenty years of age, on 20th April, 1630. Only 43 years after his demise, his brother, Grand Master Nicola Cotoner, dedicated this grave of his relative.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Baroque* in concept, but Mannerist in outlook, through the rendering of the art in outlines. A fine frame of *Marmo Bianco* contains a slab of *Nero Malquino*. The artwork is mainly black and white, enhanced with some touches of *Giallo*, *Bigio* and *Rosso*. The disproportional use *Marmo Bianco* emphasizes the relative innocence of such a young man. Within an arched arrangement stands the main cartouche with inscription, rendered as an inside scallop, supported on winged

sandglasses, winged skulls and a smaller cartouche with inscription, also shaped as an inside scallop. The shield with the coat of arms, supported by two putti, is set over the main cartouche, with military paraphernalia and a winged cherub head in between them.

A short but rather powerful inscription, divided in two parts. The first part is about Miguel Juan Cotoner, and is very rich in poetic language. MARTIS SIGNA IN BARBARO PRO FIDE SECVTVS (l. 5) describes his raison d'etre, his untimely death MORTIS ILLICO CONCESSIT IMPERIO (l. 6), and his main events in life MARTIS ET MORTIS (l. 7). This parts ends with an enigmatic notion and a sharp contrast in CINERES...SERVAT (l. 9) and CENOTAPHIVM (l. 12). The names of the Knights, whose ashes are buried under this commemorative tomb are buried, are not revealed.

141.5 MARTIS SIGNA, lit.: "Standards of war".

141.5-7 Paronomasia through the homoeoteleuton of MARTIS and MORTIS.

141.12 CENOTAPHIVM, lit.: "Empty, commemorative tomb" (see also no. 59.21).

141.15-16 Alliteration C, T, N and R. COTONERÆ CONDI[T]OR VRB[IS]: See also no. 85.5.

142: Jeronimo de Ribas Boxados.

PRECE SODALIVM NE VACET ANIMVS (l. 2) is a clear motive for a new Knight to try to preserve his family honour for posterity. Jeronimo de Ribas Boxados died 28th February, 1722, while the inscription was placed in 1772, 50 years after his death, by his great-nephew Antonio de Ribas Castellbell.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral iconography, here a *Late Baroque pictorial.* On a slab of *Bigio* stands a curved, voluted pedestal, rendered in three dimensions. It has the cartouche with inscription in front, shaped as a drapery. The cartouche is attached to the pedestal with a

golden nail on the right corner; the left corner, as a subtle detail, is fixed by jamming its knotted ear behind the volute. The platform of the pedestal supports the shield with the coat of arms. Three putti surround the shield, from behind which three banners stick out.

The pace of this inscription is fast, one sentence spanning fourteen lines. The dedicator, Antonio de Ribas Castellbell, spends seven lines on his uncle (ll. 2-8), and seven on himself (ll. 9-15).

142.3-4 Both lines have a hyperbaton covering the whole line. CATALAVNIA: See also no. 106.12.

142.7 *Ministerium* in medieval Latin came to mean "Bailiwick". It is known that Bailiffs were promoted to Priors.

143: Guillaume François Bernart d'Avernes.

Guillaume François Bernart d'Avernes was enrolled into the Order on 16th April, 1671. He was promoted to Castillian in 1706, Hospitaller in 1710 and Commendator of Laon in 1716 (De Vertot 1761: 288). This *cursus honorum* differs with the inscription, which states that he was a Hospitaller since 1725. The inscription does not mention the important office of Castillian; perhaps De Vertot mistakenly interpreted the name of the commandery "Laon et Chatillon" (De la Roque 1891: 238), as the office of Castillian. The three other Brothers, mentioned in this inscription are: Eustache de Bernart d' Avernes de la Chatellenie (l. 9) entered on 2nd June, 1669, who became Commendator of Saint-Vaubourg in 1698, and of Maupas and Picardie in 1716; Eustache de Bernart d'Avernes (l. 10), having entered the Order on 18th August, 1667, who became Commandator of Chano in 1701, of Abbeville in 1713 and Exchequer, Procurator-General and Grand Prior of Champagne (CAMPANIÆ GALLICÆ) in Malta during 1720 (De Vertot 1761: 283); Gabriel-Charles Bernart d'Avernes de Chaumont (l. 11) was enrolled on 12th December, 1680, and was nominated Captain of a

galley in 1710, and Commendator of Ville-Dieu and Dreugesin in 1716 (De Vertot 1761: 286); Guillaume François Bernart d'Averne (l. 1), the survivor of this illustrious quartet. According to the inscription, he prepared this inscription in 1745, at the age of 78, and he died on 5th March, 1756, at the age of 85 years, 10 months. The author has made an oversight, as the years and ages do not match.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque sepulchral classisizing*. Within a frame of *Diaspro* lies a slab of *Marmo Bianco*. The pedestal and supported funerary urn are of *Nero Malquino*. The pedestal bears a winged sandglass and the cartouche with inscription in front. The latter is set within a frame of *Bigio*. Two blue snakes function as the handles of the funerary urn, allowing a garland to coil from the base of the urn around their necks. From here it stretches across the front of the urn, holding the shield with the coat of arms as a pendant around the neck of the urn.

A well-balanced inscription, in four parts, relates the demise of four members of the same family, Bernart d'Avernes. The subject in the first eight lines Guillaume François (ll. 1-8), which is followed by a remembrance to the three other members (ll. 9-12), after which it returns to its original subject for another eight lines (ll. 13-20). The fourth part contains his obituary (ll. 21-22).

143.3 *Leodium* (or *Leodicum, Leodicus, Leudicum, Leuticus, Luticha, Legia, Leggia*) are the classical names of modern Liège, in Belgium. VILLERS is the present Villers-Semeuse in the Ardennes, close to Liège, in Belgium.

143.5 PVBLICÆ HOSPITALIS DOMVS, lit.: "Public Guest House". This is considered a reference to the *Sacra Infirmeria*, the public hospital of the Knights, rather than to a public guesthouse, such as an *Auberge* or an inn.

143.10 CAMPANIÆ GALLICÆ is modern Champagne, in France.

143.12 Understood is IN SEPVLCRO. CIC. *Tusc.* 1.44.107: *Illud vero perquam inane: Neque sepulcrum, quo recipiat, habeat portum corporis, ubi remisca humana vita corpus requiescat malis.*

143.16 APPARVIT, to "acquire", comes from APPARIO, and not from APPAREO.

144: Averardo Medici.

Averardo Medici entered the Order on 13th August, 1638, (Bonazzi 1897:133) and became Admiral in 1687 (Dal Pozzo 1715: 674). After amazement is expressed that such a great man could fit in such a small space, follows his progeny, place of birth, character, life span, declaration of piety, death and ranks. According to the inscription, Averardo Medici died on 5th November, 1614. This is obviously a mistake. In the inscription, there are spaces left in between the letters of the date: M DC XIV; the date should read *MDCXCV* instead. This thought is confirmed by the date of commissioning of the gravestone November 1695, when Ġwanni Marija Giliberti was asked to produce Averardo Medici's gravestone.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque monumental.* Within an arched arrangement of *Rosso*, on a background of *Nero Malquino*, stands a pedestal. It has the cartouche with inscription in front and is supported by two putti, each holding a long, burning candle. On the platform of the pedestal lies a lonely skull, and over it hovers a putto, holding the shield with the coat of arms. The pedestal and arched arrangement are rendered in three dimensions, and in such a way, that the top of the skull is the focal point of the converging lines of both the lintels of the arch and the base of the pedestal.

This inscription includes five questions and answers, expressed succinctly, as is appropriate to the tone of sarcasm and bitterness. This point is emphasized in the bitter and sarcastic brevity

of ITA...MORIARE. The compactness of the text is so great, that, as a reader, one feels that one has hardly space to breath, confirming the expressed amazement in EN VT BREVI CONDVNTVR SPATIO (l. 2). This is an inscription that resembles a few others, intended to warn the passer-by that he should be no different from the deceased, and if he is, he might learn from him.

144.5 ETRVRIÆ: See also no. 20.10.

144.10-13 VITAM...MORTEM: Near-oxymoron.

144.14 Note the parallelism of phrases, including a near-oxymoron in ACERBA...SANCTA.

144.17 S[ANCTÆ] MARIÆ DE TEMPLO is at present the sanctuary Santa Maria Del Tempio, in Italy.

144.20 Note the parallelism of phrases, with the repetition of ITA, and the rhyming of VIVE...MORIARE. Furthermore, there is alliteration of T, and assonance in this colon.

145: François de Seijtres Caumons.

François de Seytres Caumons was born in 1624, and entered the Order in 1634, at the age of ten (De Vertot 1761: 84). He was made Captain of a galley in 1660, Ambassador at Rome in 1663 and Grand Commendator in in 1688 (Dal Pozzo 1715: 706). During his period in Rome he was involved in the commissioning of art, and was in contact with Melciorre Cafà, the famous Maltese sculptor (Sciberras 2000: 124). If death had not intervened on 28th July, 1691, his career would have been, undoubtedly, much longer. He reached the age of 67.

The lapidary art is rendered in an expression of *Baroque*, called *"macchina"*. The pedestal, nearly totally covered by the cartouche with inscription, which is in the shape of an inside scallop, supports the shield with the coat of arms. In between the pedestal and the shield, a winged skull is set, crowned with a laurel. An array of military paraphernalia covers the whole background behind both pedestal and shield.

The author addresses the reader directly, confirming that the reader also deplores the loss of François de Seytres Caumons and his virtues (ll. 2-3), which are described in ll. 4-5. The relative pronoun QVI (l. 6) had to be added in order to make sense of the following paragraph, since there occurs a sudden change from dative to nominative. This paragraph (ll. 7-19) shows the mutual affection between the Order and François, and covers further his career. MAIORA PARABAT (l. 15) suggests that he had planned still a long future ahead, but when MORS INVIDA DIRIMIT (l. 17) is reached, the reader is brought back to reality.

145.2 AVENIONENSI: See also no. 29.3.

145.3 Alliteration of C and M.

145.5 Asyndeton. The phrase *dotes animi* is also used in no. 149.7.

145.7 Assonance. PETR. 137.8: ***Amoris est hoc argumentum, non malignitatis.***

145.7-8 Anaphora.

145.9-10 Chiasmus involving the word order ABCDCBA, whereby A is a noun, B an expression of time, C a prepositional phrase, D a conjunction.

145.11 Parallelism of phrases.

145.12 Asyndeton in SANCTÆ LVCIÆ, SANCTÆ EVLALIÆ, TRINQVETALLIÆ. These three places, in the Provence, France, are respectively the modern Sainte-Luce, Sainte-Eulalie-de-Cernon and Trinquetaille, with the reservation, however, that the latter remains only as a name (De la Roque 1891: 230).

145.15 ILLA, like HAEC, is in apposition to MAIORA, hence neuter plural, and not masculine singular (*ille*). In the parallelism of phrases PARABAT – PATRARA, there is a play on similarity of sounds, vowels, consonants and number of syllables.

145.16 DIGNAM...INDIGNE: Near-polyptoton, near-oxymoron and assonance.

145.17 The combination of INVIDA and MORS is found also in nos. 111.17 and 152.16.

146: Francesco Carafa.

Francesco Carafa *d'Aragon*, of Naples, was born in 1599, and was enlisted in the Order on 7th May, 1626, at the late age of 27. However, he reached the ranks of General of the galleys and Prior of Roccella (Bonazzi 1897: 68). He died on 22nd August, 1632, at the age of 33. His body was transferred from Catalonia to Malta for burial by his nephew the Grand Master Gregorio Carafa.

Both graves nos. 146 and 150 are identical in execution and dedicated to a Francesco Carafa, who are, however, different persons. The lapidary art is rendered in an expression of *Baroque*, called *"macchina"*, however not overtly sepulchral. It shows abundant use of polychromatic marble. An extreme broad frame is colourfully filled with military paraphernalia, such as arms, armoury and musical instruments, grouped in twenty different sets. Within this frame stands another frame, with ornamented corners. In the lower part, two putti unfold a mantle with inscription. Above the mantle, the shield with the coat of arms is placed, surrounded by an intricate pattern of garlands and white lilies.

The author has brought great tension into this inscription. After the introduction (ll. 1-2), HIC SITVS EST (l. 3) is followed by FATI VELVT CONSCIVS, which sets off a short list of great achievements and high ranks (ll. 5-11), in conformity to the suggestive placing of BREVE (l. 5) and AVXIT (l. 10). Ll. 11-20 are concerned with his age, the transfer of his body to Malta and the dedication by his brother, the Grand Master.

146.2 Alliteration of PR and hyperbaton. See also for this kind of hyperbaton ll. 8, 17 and 20. ROCCELLÆ is the modern Roccella, in Calabria, Italy.

146.4 Alliteration of F, V and T.

146.6 CANATELLI is the modern Cannitello, north of Reggio di Calabria, Italy.

146.7 SANCTAM MAVRAM is the modern the modern Levkás, in Greece.

146.11 CATALAVNIA: See also no. 106.12.

146.12 Asyndeton in FAMÆ FAMILIÆ, and alliteration and assonance in the first syllable.

147: Nicola la Marra.

Nicola la Marra (or della Marra) was enrolled on 24th October, 1569. His *cursus honorum* contains the following achievements, in accordance to TOGA...PRÆCELLENS (l. 4): Ambasssdor to the Emperor, Resident-Ambassador in Rome, Ambassador to the Pope, Admiral, Prior of Messina, General of the galleys, Ambassador to the Most Christian King in France, Lieutenant to Grand Master de Paule (Dal Pozzo 1703: 803). He was present during the Chapter-General of 1631 as a Grand Prior of Messina (De Vertot 1728: 2, 13, 65). He died in the same year, 1631.

The lapidary stone belongs to a *Mannerist decorative* typology, with outlined artwork rendered predominantly in *Marmo Bianco*, over a background of *Rosso*. The voluted pedestal has the cartouche with inscription attached to its front. In the recessions of the pedestal, two putti are seated, blowing a trumpet each, and on the elevations of the pedestal, three incense burners are placed. Above the pedestal is set the shield with the coat of arms. Two putti are blowing a trumpet on both sides of the shield.

Nicola la Marra is presented as someone who has two excellent qualities, TOGA NON MINVS QVAM SAGO PRÆCELLENS (l. 4), after which follows his *cursus honorum*, achievements and pious death (ll. 5-16).

147.2 Congeries with asyndeton, within a hyperbaton.

147.8-9 These lines consist of a *cum*-clause with two perfect subjunctive verbs. For a similar construction, see also no. 148. 7-10.

147.16 Alliteration of M and S.

148: Pedro Urrea Camarasa.

Pedro Urrea Camarasa distinguished himself by his religious career. He was a Bishop (of Alpartir), and was made Prior of the Conventual church in 1601, which office he held till his death on 18th July, 1624.

The lapidary stone belongs to a *Mannerist decorative* typology. The shield with the coat of arms is placed in between two horizontal decorative compartments with inscriptions, and between two identical vertical compartments, embossed with crossbones, square and oval decorative figures. The inscription above is flanked by two identical incence burners, while the inscription below is flanked by two skulls, each bearing an amphora on their head. The amphorae are of a non-classical model. The shield bears a bishop's mitre and a bishop's staff. The mitre is rendered on a piece of thicker marble, thus sticking out about one cm above the rest of the main nave, literally a stepping-stone to the steps of the main altar.

Although the inscription is set in two different frames, the sense, however, continues.

148.2 ALPARTIR is the modern Alpartir, in the region of Zaragosa, Spain.

148.3,4,5 Homoeoteleuton in –IMO and –ISSIMO (twice), with superlative notion.

148.7 Asyndeton.

148.7-10 These lines consist of a *cum*-clause with two perfect subjunctive verbs. For a similar construction, see also no. 147, ll. 8 and 9.

148.11 Assonance.

148.16 Alliteration of M.

149: Salvu Imbroll.

Salvu Imbroll was born in 1590. He was made Conventual Prior of the St. John's church in 1624, at the tender age of 34 years, a decision that met with some opposition in Rome. He successfully fulfilled an embassy to Pope Urban VIII in 1626, while he returned to Rome in 1629, in defence of the Order's dignity (Dal Pozzo 1703: 750). On 11th May, 1631, Grand Master De Paule started the Chapter-General, which was summoned by a papal bull. The reasons were the Muslim threat, the Order's reforms and financial problems (Williams 1993: 293). After the assembly was chosen, constituting of sixteen commissaries, the members retreated to a secluded place, to draw up the Statutes, in which general and particular regulations were set. Imbroll, as the Grand Master's proxy, Abela, the vice-chancellor, and Peter Turamini, secretary of the Treasury, shared in the decision-making in this assembly. Imbroll was sent to Pope Urban VIII, who approved the Statutes only in 1640 (Dal Pozzo 1715: 46). In the same year, 1631, he was made both proxy of the Inquisitor and Episcopal Vicar. Had Salvu Imbroll not fallen out of grace with Grand Master De Paule in 1633, he would have enriched our knowledge with a history of the Order, which history he himself had offered to write. Salvu Imbroll died on 26th January, 1650, at the age of 60.

The lapidary stone belongs to a *Mannerist decorative* typology. A frame of *Rosso*, filled in with circular, interlocking flowery motifs in outline, surrounds a slab of *Nero*. In each corner of the frame, a compartment is set, containing a skull, while each horizontal and vertical stretch of the frame has a set of crossbones in the middle. The cartouche with inscription, an inside scallop of *Marmo Bianco*, supports the shield with the coat of arms which, in its turn, supports a bishop's mitre and staff.

The author stresses first and foremost the intellectual faculties of Salvu Imbroll

MELITENSIVM INGENIORVM PHŒNIX (l. 2). After the introduction, he author stresses again on his intellect ANIMI DOTIBVS (l. 7), OMNIQVE SCIENTIARVM PERITIA (l. 8) with VIATOR, LVGE (l. 9). Then, with the very casual remark CETERVM (l. 10), his achievements are presented (ll. 10-13). His obituary and dedication covers ll. 14-20.

149.7 *Dotes animi* is also used in no 145.5.

149.7-8 Note the following word order in ABCBAB*que*CBA, whereby two hyperbata (VIRVM...CVMVLATVM, VIRVM...VERSATISSIMVM) are present, each enclosing another hyperbaton (EXIMIIS...DOTIBVS, OMNI...PERITIA), and where A is an accusative, B an ablative and C a genitive.

149.10 Assonance with hyperbaton (LEGATIONE...FVNCTA).

149.12 Note the word order in ABCACB, which is a mixture of parallelism of phrases TALEM SE...QVALEM...LAVDATVM, and chiasmus (TALEM SE PRÆBVIT QVALEM VIDES LAVDATVM), thus using correlative, object, verb with correlative, verb, object.

149.13 Alliteration of P and R.

149.15 The *Capitolium* was one of the seven hills of Rome and the most important one for the protection and salvation of the inhabitants. Here *Capitolium* is used metaphorically for the Sion of Biblical times, commonly referred to as the "New Jerusalem", that is, Heaven.

149.18 Karlu Micallef and Salvu Imbroll are mentioned as Maltese Hospitallers and historians who produced studies of the Order's history after 1530 (Luttrell 1993: 256). The Maltese surname Theuma is also written as Teuma. Theuma has a Greek origin in the verb θεωρέω, "to look at", "view", "behold", "consider", "contemplate", and thus becomes "a concept". Teuma has its origins in the Semitic agricultural vocabulary, meaning "garlic".

149.20 Homoeoteleuton in MÆRENTES MERENTI.

150: Francesco Carafa.

Francesco Carafa *d'Aragon*, of Naples, entered the Order on 3rd September, 1641. He was the brother of Grand Master Gregorio Carafa. Francesco started his naval career under his brother

Gregorio's command (ll. 7-8). His further *cursus honorum*, in descending order, entails Ambassador to the Pope in 1660, General of the galleys in 1666, Honorary Grand Cross in 1670 (Bonazzi 1897: 70). He died at Roccella on 19th September, in the year 1679, at the age of 48.

For a description, see no. 146.

This inscription is divided in the traditional way of introduction and *qui*-clause, the latter containing a long and detailed *c.v.*, set in a historical perspective. Francesco's brother, the Grand Master, placed the appreciation.

150. 2 Assonance.

150.3 This line is a mixture of asyndeton with the conjugation AC, in such a way that a chiasmus is formed.

150.5 REATIS is the modern Rieti, which lies northeast of Rome. *Firmum* (or *Firmana, Firmum Picenum, Fermo*), is the modern Firmo, north of Cosenza. *Mazaria* is Mazara del Vallo, south of Palermo, *Panoramum* is Palermo (Sicily). Note also the asyndeton.

150.6 Double inner hyperbata (SVO...ORDINE) within (COLLATOS...TITVLOS).

150.7 Two adjacent hyperbata (NAVALI...TIROCINIO, GEMINÆ...PVGNÆ). *Sestos* and *Abydus* were two historical places (respectively the modern Eceabat and Çanakkale Boğazı in Turkey), situated opposite each other on the narrowest part of the Hellespont. *Abydus* is siuated near, or over, ancient Troy. *OV. Ep. 18.1-2:*

Mittit Abydenus, quam mallet ferre, salutem,

si cadet unda maris, Sesti puella, tibi.

150.9 Alliteration of P, R and T.

150.10 The author has opened and closed this line with a possessive (FRATRIS...SVA).

150.11-12 Assonance in OBEDIENTIAM...ORDINIS ORATOR.

150.15-17 Triple inner hyperbata (VNA...CAPTA), incorporating (GENEROSE...AVCTV...IMPETV),

still incorporating (SVÆ TRIREMIS).

150.10, 22 The author plays with the words SPOLIA – SPOLIVM. The booty that Francesco Carafa acquired during his lifetime has now been reduced to himself, as being the booty and remains of his immortality.

151: Henri August de Béon de Luxembourg.

Henri August de Béon de Luxembourg was born 1634, and was enrolled into the Order on 14th April, 1639, at the age of five. The author ensured that there remained no doubt that the deceased was to the manner born: SI GENERIS SPLENDOREM QVÆRAS HABES IN NOMINE (l. 4-5). Likewise, the information in this inscription is rich and detailed, giving an excellent overview of his life and achievements. At least one of his many achievements is recorded: Captain of the galleys in 1674 (Dal Pozzo 1715: 480). He died, on 15th January, 1699, at the age of 65.

The lapidary art is rendered in an expression of *Baroque*, called *"macchina"*. The cartouche with inscription, in the form of an open mantle, hangs in front of the voluted pedestal. The sides of the mantle are clasped in the volutes, just as a modern paperclip would do, while a rosette pins it, through the upper rim, to the pedestal. The shield with the coat of arms is supported by two winged composite creatures, combatant. The background is filled with a vast array of military paraphernalia.

After the introduction of Henri August de Béon de Luxembourg, the inscription commences with two sets of questions SI GENERIS QVÆRAS (l. 4) and SI QVÆRAS (l.6), which are both answered to satisfaction. However, the answer to the first question is short, HABES IN NOMINE (l. 5), the answer to the second question covers ll. 6-14. Ll. 15-19 describe the concerns of a dying man, while ll. 20-24 cover his death and dedication by the Curators.

151.7-8 Alliteration of PR and C.

151.10 AD PRIMAM FRANCIÆ LINGVÆ DIGNITATEM: The Pilier, the chief of the Langue of France, was also the Great Hospitaller. He was also the third of the Conventual Bailiffs, and had the right to nominate both the hospital's overseer and prior, such as the CVRAT[OR] ET PTOCHOTROPHEI PRÆSES, mentioned in no. 11.9 (De Vertot 1728: 2.13.127).

151.12-13 Note the parallelism of phrases with anaphora (erga), constituted of ERGA with accusative and adjective.

151.19 See alo no. 83.3.

152: René Robert de Marbeuf.

René Robert de Marbeuf was born on Wednesday, 1st February, 1673, and he entered the Order on Sunday, April 3, 1677, as a minor (De Vertot 1761: 369-370). He was regularly promoted on grounds of his merits, and once by CRVRE GLORIOSE AMISSO... MAGNI HOSPITALARII DIGNITATEM EVECTVS (ll. 12-15). He died on Wednesday, 17th July, 1743, at the age of 70. The dedicator, Bernard-Hyppolite de Marbeuf, had entered the Order in 1712.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral monumental typology, here *Late Baroque sepulchral classicizing*. Within a frame of *Diaspro* is placed a pedestal, including the cartouche with inscription, which supports a sarcophagus. The pedestal, made of *Verde Antico*, stands on a lozenge-shaped floor. Its lower base is made of *Marmo Bianco*, on which a skull with crossbones is placed. The sarcophagus is made of *Nero Malquino* and bears the shield with the coat of arms.

René Robert de Marbeuf's inscription starts with a long introduction and a list of

achievements in the dative case with perfect passive participles also in the dative case, which gives it a notion of staccato (ll. 2-12). L. 13 releaves the reader with QVI, after which follows the mentioning of his highest rank and lamentation regarding INVIDA MORS... RAPVISSET (l. 16-17).

152.6 MAVLEON is the modern Mauléon, capital of the province Soule, Basque territory, France

152.9 LA FEVILLEE is the modern La Feuilée, Bretagne, France

152.10-11 Alliteration of M and N. OPTIME MERITO is found also in nos. 24.10, 53.11, 87.15, 102.21 and 131.18.

152.14-15 HOSPITALARII – HOSPITALITATIS: Near polyptoton.

152.16 The combination of INVIDA and MORS is found also in nos. 111.17 and 145.17.

152.19 MERITISSIMO – MÆRENS: Similarity of sounds.

153: Romualdo Doz.

Romualdo Doz was born in 1738. He had a varied and rich career, notwithstanding his relative young age of 50, when he died on 21st November, 1778.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral iconography, here a *Late Baroque Pictorial Invention.* This monumental inscription is rendered vertically. Within a colonnade, two putti hold up the cartouche with inscription, shaped as a hide. To the right, another putto holds a cinerary urn at the neck. The shield with the coat of arms is attached to the front of this urn.

This is the only inscription in the main nave that has one whole line in Greek. It is found near the feet if the putto holding the urn.

153.3 TVRIASSENSI: Of *Turias(s)o*, the modern Tarazona, Aragon, in Spain.

153.6-7 Two chained chiasmi in MORVM-CONSILIIS and SAPIENTIA IN CONSILIIS...IN REBVS AGVNDIS PRVDENTIA. Hyperbaton with alliteration of R in RARA...REBVS.

153.12 VILLALBA and ARCON represent the modern Collado Villalba and Arcones. They are in the region of Segovia and Madrid.

153.17 Asyndeton.

153.18 Alliteration of C.

154: Martino Plata.

Martino Plata's inscription is short and seemingly modest. However, OSSA HEIC RESVRRECTIONEM EXPECTANT (l. 6) and ÆRE PERENNIVS MANEBIT (l. 9) give it the customary touch of religiosity and posterity consciousness. He died on 22nd February, 1794.

The lapidary art belongs to a sepulchral iconography, here a *Late Baroque Pictorial Invention.* This monumental inscription is rendered vertically. On a slab of *Nero Malquino*, a sarcophagus is centrally placed, which is surmounted by the shield with the coat of arms. The cartouche with inscription, in the form of an open mantle, spans across the front of the sarcophagus, held on the sides by rosettes and in the middle by the shield. Two women in classical attire sit next to the sarcophagus, one on each side. The one on the left is an allegorical figure of Justice, holding a pair of scales in one hand and a snake by the neck in the other; the one on the right, Wisdom, holds one arm around a column and rests the other on the sarcophagus. Next to her elbow lies an opened book.

154.2 NOVEM VILLARVM: See also no. 26.14.

154.3 TVSINÆ: See also no. 26.8-9.

154.4 Asyndeton and congeries.

154.8 Double inner hyperbata in the word order ABCBA, whereby A is a preposition with ablative

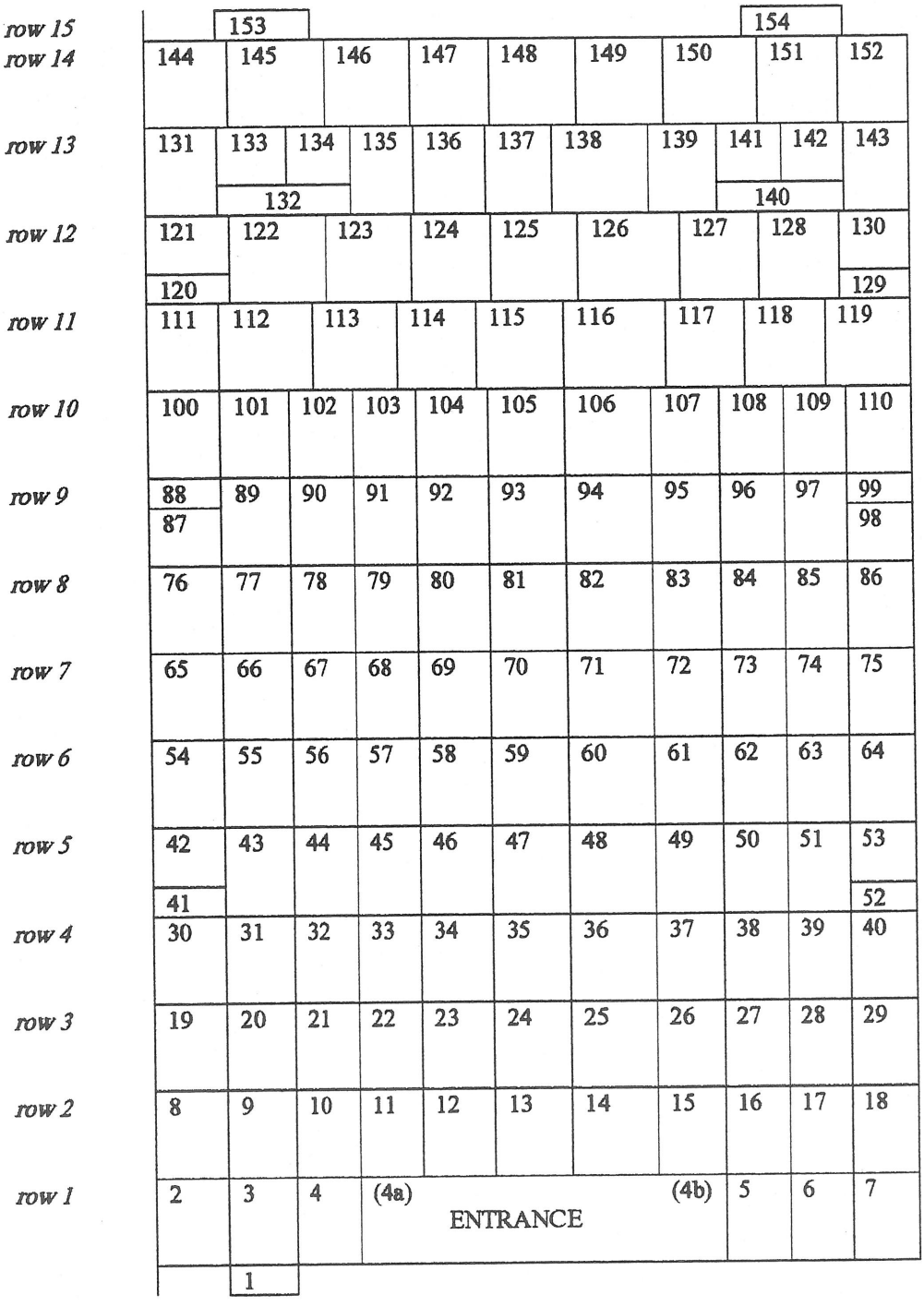
noun, B adjective with noun in genitive plural, and C adverb.

154.9 ÆRE PERENNIVS: See also no. 58.15-17.

APPENDICES II

Appendix no. 1: Floor plan of the main nave of St. John's Co-Cathedral

(not to scale)



Appendix no. 2: Comparative numbering of monumental inscriptions

No.	*Row*	*Name*	*Langue*	*Munro 2002*	*Scicluna 1955*	*Caruana 1838-1840*
1	0.1	Zondadari, Marc Antonio	Italy	1	XVI	XVI
2	1.1	Accariggi, Tommaso	Italy	2	367	192
3	1.2	Saix du Chervé, François Joachim	Auvergne	3	368	254
4	1.3	Tressemanes de Chasteuil, Joseph Charles	Provence	4	369	342
4a	1.3a	Baroncelli de Javon, Dominic Agricola de	Provence	4a	370	332
4b	1.4a	Luderti, Anna Carlo de	Italy	4b	371	347
5	1.4	Marescotti, Ludovico	Italy	5	372	n.a.
6	1.5	Gargallo, Didaco Mario	Italy	6	373	n.a.
7	1.6	Challemaison, Joachim de	France	7	374	136
8	2.1	Arezzo, Corrado	Italy	8	356	82
9	2.2	Cavaniglia, (Pietro) Marcello	Italy	9	357	255
10	2.3	Vignes Parizot, de, Charles	Provence	10	358	260
11	2.4	Xarava Castro, Garsia	Aragon	11	359	253
12	2.5	Galèan, Octavè de	Provence	12	360	261
13	2.6	Grimaldi, Felix de	Provence	13	361	263
14	2.7	Visconti, Fabrizio Maria	Italy	14	362	269
15	2.8	Béon du Masse Casaus, Joseph	Provence	15	363	272
16	2.9	Gaillard, Vincent Sauveur de	France	16	364	259
17	2.10	Ansidei, Giovanni Battista	Italy	17	365	130
18	2.11	Robins Barbante, Joseph Marc Antoine de	Provence	18	366	216

No.	*Row*	*Name*	*Langue*	*Munro*	*Scicluna*	*Caruana*
19	3.1	Remching, Franz Christoph von	Germany	19	343	194
20	3.2	Ildaris, Giovanni Antonio de	Italy	20	344	268
21	3.3	Mainardi, Giovanni Domenico	Italy	21	345	257
22	3.4	Gori Mancini, Gaspare	Italy	22	346	274
23	3.5	Seignoret, Jacques	Provence	23	347	273
24	3.6	Alpharan de Bussan, Melchior	France	24	348	270
25	3.7	Ramondetto, Francesco Martinus de	Italy	25	349	267
26	3.8	Bearde y Zespedes, Luis Francisco	Castille	26	350	266
27	3.9	Bene, Tomasso del	Italy	27	351	275
28	3.10	Albertas Saint Mayme d', Pierre	Provence	28	352	345
29	3.11	Robins Barbantane, Charles Auguste	Provence	29	353	262
30	4.1	Montaignac Bord, Gilberto de	Auvergne	30	330	265
31	4.2	Velez de Guevara, Diego	Castille	31	331	205
32	4.3	Menville, Rajmundu Albino	Italy	32	331	346
33	4.4	Moretton Chabrillan, Bertrand de	Provence	33	333	339
34	4.5	Doria, Carlo Francesco	Italy	34	334	124
35	4.6	Tancredi, Ottavio	Italy	35	335	193
36	4.7	Figuera, Gaspar de	Aragon	36	336	283
37	4.8	Pereira Pinto Coutineo, Melchor Alvaro	Castille	37	337	115
38	4.9	Pereyra Pinto, Joseph	Castille	38	338	271
39	4.10	Ferretti, Franciscus Maria	Italy	39	339	215
40	4.11	Carvalho Pinto, Francesco	Aragon	40	340	157
41	5.1	Dupui Trigonan, François	Provence	41	328	n.a.
42	5.2	Salle, Louis de la	France	42	317	n.a.

No.	*Row*	*Name*	*Langue*	*Munro*	*Scicluna*	*Caruana*
43	5.3	Enzberg, Nicolas L.B. von	Germany	43	318	277
44	5.4	Pappalettere, Francesco	Italy	44	319	211
45	5.5	Fardella, Romeo	Italy	45	320	210
46	5.6	Geronda, Trajano	Italy	46	321	209
47	5.7	Carafa, Carlos	Italy	47	322	208
48	5.8	Reinarde, Joseph Felix de la	France	48	323	207
49	5.9	Ponteves Bargeme, Gaspar de	Provence	49	324	206
50	5.10	Romieu, Jean Charles de	Provence	50	325	203
51	5.11	San Martino, Isnardo de	Italy	51	326	212
52	5.12	Caccialupi, Giovanni	Italy	52	329	n.a.
53	5.13	Barba, Francesco Bernardino,	Italy	53	327	264
54	6.1	Loppin, Alphonse	Italy	54	306	138
55	6.2	Sansedoni, Rutilio and Orazio	Italy	55	307	198
56	6.3	Franzone, Fabrizio	Italy	56	308	190
57	6.4	Lando, Felix de	Italy	57	309	200
58	6.5	D'Oraison D'Aqua, Charles Felix	Provence	58	310	201
59	6.6	Langon, Joseph de	Auvergne	59	311	197
60	6.7	Fougières Ducluzeau, Gilbert de	Auvergne	60	312	204
61	6.8	St. Viance, Jean de Philip	Auvergne	61	313	168
62	6.9	Felines de la Reneaudie, Paul de	Auvergne	62	314	188
63	6.10	Galéan Châteauneuf, Marcel	Provence	63	315	74
64	6.11	Majo, Giuseppe de	Italy	64	316	n.a.
65	7.1	Durand-Sartoux, Jean-Batiste de	Provence	65	295	187
66	7.2	Veran, Jean François	Provence	66	296	n.a.
67	7.3	Scudero, Antonio	Italy	67	297	52

No.	*Row*	*Name*	*Langue*	*Munro*	*Scicluna*	*Caruana*
68	7.4	Marche de Parnac, Charles de la	Auvergne	68	298	93
69	7.5	Solario, Roberto	Italy	69	299	184
70	7.6	Viany, Pierre	France	70	300	180
71	7.7	Vilhena, Juan Manoel de	Castille	71	301	119
72	7.8	Fougasse la Bastie, Thomas de	Auvergne	72	302	185
73	7.9	Miraval e Spinola, Rodriguez	Castille	73	303	186
74	7.10	Marucelli, Giovanni Filippo	Italy	74	304	242
75	7.11	Ballesterio la Torre, José	Aragon	75	305	159
76	8.1	Loyach de la Bachellerie, Jacques de	France	76	284	127
77	8.2	Gattola, Carlo	Italy	77	285	141
78	8.3	Picot de Combreaux, Jacques François	France	78	286	123
79	8.4	Vicomercati, Annibale	Italy	79	287	51
80	8.5	Bovio, Julio	Italy	80	288	146
81	8.6	Glandeves Cuges, Charles de	Provence	81	289	181
82	8.7	Sevin de Bandeville, Charles	France	82	290	129
83	8.8	Salle, Guillaume de la	France	83	291	54
84	8.9	Chambray, Jacques François de	France	84	292	175
85	8.10	Pajo Abreu y Lima, Domingo de	Castille	85	293	333
86	8.11	Rosselmini, Pietro	Italy	86	294	341
87	9.1	Blacas D'Aups, Antoine de	Provence	87	273	116
88	9.2	Varavalle de Gaeta, Pietro	Italy	88	271	n.a.
89	9.3	Balzan, Massimiljan	Italt	89	274	n.a.
90	9.4	Andrea, Giuseppe de	Italy	90	275	176
91	9.5	Dupré, René	Provence	91	276	177

No.	*Row*	*Name*	*Langue*	*Munro*	*Scicluna*	*Caruana*
92	9.6	Blécourt Tincourt, Louis Roger de	France	92	277	179
93	9.7	Hamel, Jean du	Provence	93	278	178
94	9.8	Fleurigny, Louis de	France	94	279	111
95	9.9	Villaneuve Thourenc, Césare de	Provence	95	280	182
96	9.10	Robins Barbantane, Paul Antoine de	Provence	96	281	183
97	9.11	Amico, Balthassar de	Italy	97	282	348
98	9.12	Pereyra, Manuelo	Castille	98	283	n.a.
99	9.13	Bosio, Giovanni Otto	Italy	99	284	n.a.
100	10.1	Benzo de Santena, Augusto Mauritio	Italy	100	260	215
101	10.2	Martin de Champoleon Delphinas, Henri de	Provence	101	261	139
102	10.3	Castel St. Pierre, François Antoine de	France	102	262	168
103	10.4	Balbani, Cristoforo	Italy	103	263	164
104	10.5	Cavaretta, Giacomo	Italy	104	264	165
105	10.6	Fouille d'Escrainville, Jaques de	France	105	265	167
106	10.7	Torrellas y Sentmanat, Miguel	Aragon	106	266	149
107	10.8	Galléan, Octave de	Provence	107	267	161
108	10.9	Chevestre de Cintray, Jean François	France	108	268	150
109	10.10	Villages, Thomas de	Provence	109	269	108
110	10.11	Ganucci, Francesco	Italy	110	270	115
111	11.1	Spinola, Gregor	Italy	111	251	57
112	11.2	Togores y Valenzuela, Paolo	Aragon	112	252	118
113	11.3	Piccolomini, Sigismondo	Italy	113	253	174
114	11.4	Schauenburg, Johann Baptist von	Germany	114	254	217
115	11.5	Fay de la Tour Maubourg, Hector de	Auvergne	115	255	97

No.	*Row*	*Name*	*Langue*	*Munro*	*Scicluna*	*Caruana*
116	11.6	Bagnano, Gerolamo Antonio	Italy	116	256	64
117	11.7	Chyurlia, Domenico Antonio	Italy	117	257	84
118	11.8	Lores, Antonio	Italy	118	258	47
119	11.9	Gort, Bernardo	Aragon	119	259	121
120	12.1	Salle, Henri de la	France	120	250	n.a.
121	12.2	Pontac Beautiran Burdig, Louis François de	Provence	121	240	n.a.
122	12.3	Mores Ventavon, François de	Provence	122	241	117
123	12.4	Souza y Menezes, Francisco de	Aragon	123	242	86
124	12.5	Almeida y Vasconcellos, Manuel de	Aragon	124	243	327
125	12.6	Brancaccio, Giovanni Battista	Italy	125	244	113
126	12.7	Correa, Antonio	Italy	126	245	n.a.
127	12.8	Tommasi, Bartholomeo	Italy	127	246	40
128	12.9	Spinola, Giovanni Battista	Italy	128	247	132
129	12.10	Ximenez de Vedoja, Juan	Castille	129	249	n.a.
130	12.11	Pollastron La Hillière Ledain, Jean Gabriel de	Provence	130	248	337
131	13.1	Mazzingo, Luigi	Italy	131	227	n.a.
132	13.2	Pinto, Martino Alvaro	Castille	132	238	152
133	13.3	Navinau la Durandière, Nicolas de	France	133	228	338
134	13.4	Robin de Gravezon, Paule Antoine de	Provence	134	229	11
135	13.5	Bacci, Ludovico	Italy	135	230	89
136	13.6	Ricasoli, Giovanni Francesco de	Italy	136	231	53
137	13.7	Bueno, Lucas	Aragon	137	232	140
138	13.8	Tressemanes Chastuel Brunet, François de	Provence	138	233	48

No.	*Row*	*Name*	*Langue*	*Munro*	*Scicluna*	*Caruana*
139	13.9	Azzoni, Francesco Saverio	Italy	139	234	104
140	13.10	Cavalcanti, Rosalbo	Italy	140	239	151
141	13.11	Cotoner, Miguel Juan	Aragon	141	235	129
142	13.12	Ribas Boxados, Jeronimo de	Aragon	142	236	196
143	13.13	D'Averne, Guillaume François Bernart	France	143	237	75
144	14.1	Medici, Averardo	Italy	144	218	112
145	14.2	Seijtres Caumons, François de	Provence	145	219	142
146	14.3	Carafa, Francisco	Aragon	146	220	15
147	14.4	Marra, Nicola La	Italy	147	221	107
148	14.5	Urrea Camarasa, Pedro	Castille	148	222	106
149	14.6	Imbroll, Salvu	Italy	149	223	105
150	14.7	Carafa, Francesco	Aragon	150	224	5
151	14.8	Béon de Luxembourg, Henri Auguste de	France	151	225	120
152	14.9	Marbeuf, René Robert de	France	152	226	62
153	15.1	Doz, Romualdo	Aragon	153	216	326
154	15.2	Plata, Martino	Castille	154	217	91

Appendix no. 3: Classification and frequency of categories of artistic styles, found in the art of the monumental inscriptions at St. John

No.	Row	Perceived date of placing	1: *Mannerist decorative typology*	2.a: *Baroque*	2.b.i: *Late Baroque Pictorial Invention*	2.b.ii: *Late Baroque monumental*	2.b.iii: *Late Baroque pictorial*	2.b.iv: *Late Baroque sepulchral classicising*	2.c: *Late Baroque "macchina"*	3: *Neo-Classical*	4: *Sepulchral slab*	5: *Sepulchral monument*
1	0.1	1722										1
2	1.1	1668	1									
3	1.2	1770						1				
4	1.3	1766				1						
4a	1.3a	1764			1							
5a	1.4a	1764			1							
5	1.4	1774			1							
6	1.5	1774			1							
7	1.6	1667	1									
8	2.1	1782				1						
9	2.2	1772			1							
10	2.3	1730				1						
11	2.4	1794								1		
12	2.5	1750					1					
13	2.6	1734					1					
14	2.7	1738				1						
15	2.8	1746				1						
16	2.9	1745					1					
17	2.10	1680	1									
18	2.11	1758						1				
19	3.1	1777						1				
20	3.2	1749				1						
21	3.3	1785					1					
22	3.4	1727				1						
23	3.5	1738					1					
24	3.6	1734					1					
25	3.7	1785					1					
26	3.8	1736				1						
27	3.9	1740					1					
28	3.10	1748						1				
29	3.11	1739						1				
30	4.1	1772					1					
31	4.2	1734				1						

No.	Row	Perceived date of placing	1: *Mannerist decorative typology*	2.a: *Baroque*	2.b.i: *Late Baroque Pictorial Invention*	2.b.ii: *Late Baroque monumental*	2.b.iii: *Late Baroque pictorial*	2.b.iv: *Late Baroque sepulchral classicising*	2.c: *Late Baroque "macchina"*	3: *Neo-Classical*	4: *Sepulchral slab*	5: *Sepulchral monument*
32	4.3	1801					1					
33	4.4	1738					1					
34	4.5	1727						1				
35	4.6	1722			1							
36	4.7	1729				1						
37	4.8	1736			1							
38	4.9	1751				1						
39	4.10	1738						1				
40	4.11	1819			1							
41	5.1	1630									1	
42	5.2	1680		1								
43	5.3	1752				1						
44	5.4	1761					1					
45	5.5	1728				1						
46	5.6	1719				1						
47	5.7	1717							1			
48	5.8	1721							1			
49	5.9	1720				1						
50	5.10	1745				1						
51	5.11	1737				1						
52	5.12	1621									1	
53	5.13	1621	1									
54	6.1	1752				1						
55	6.2	1752			1							
56	6.3	1768					1					
57	6.4	1727					1					
58	6.5	1714			1							
59	6.6	1710				1						
60	6.7	1716				1						
61	6.8	1718				1						
62	6.9	1743				1						
63	6.10	1678				1						
64	6.11	1747			1							
65	7.1	1760					1					
66	7.2	1772						1				
67	7.3	1771				1						
68	7.4	1726					1					
69	7.5	1737				1						
70	7.6	1700							1			
71	7.7	1728				1						
72	7.8	1733					1					

No.	Row	Perceived date of placing	1: *Mannerist decorative typology*	2.a: *Baroque*	2.b.i: *Late Baroque Pictorial Invention*	2.b.ii: *Late Baroque monumental*	2.b.iii: *Late Baroque pictorial*	2.b.iv: *Late Baroque sepulchral classicizing*	2.c: *Late Baroque "macchina"*	3: *Neo-Classical*	4: *Sepulchral slab*	5: *Sepulchral monument*
73	7.9	1747					1					
74	7.10	1755					1					
75	7.11	1764			1							
76	8.1	1765									1	
77	8.2	1684							1			
78	8.3	1771			1							
79	8.4	1736									1	
80	8.5	1706			1							
81	8.6	1706			1							
82	8.7	1719				1						
83	8.8	1739				1						
84	8.9	1756				1						
85	8.10	1742			1							
86	8.11	1779				1						
87	9.1	1772						1				
88	9.2	1623									1	
89	9.3	1711				1						
90	9.4	1770					1					
91	9.5	1733					1					
92	9.6	1716					1					
93	9.7	1703					1					
94	9.8	1716					1					
95	9.9	1716					1					
96	9.10	1746				1						
97	9.11	1689				1						
98	9.12	1792			1							
99	9.13	1622									1	
100	10.1	1695				1						
101	10.2	1761					1					
102	10.3	1736				1						
103	10.4	1728			1							
104	10.5	1702					1					
105	10.6	1703							1			
106	10.7	1707					1					
107	10.8	1730					1					
108	10.9	1735				1						
109	10.10	1689		1								
110	10.11	1764				1						
111	11.1	1682									1	
112	11.2	1755						1				

No.	Row	Perceived date of placing	1: *Mannerist decorative typology*	2.a: *Baroque*	2.b.i: *Late Baroque Pictorial Invention*	2.b.ii: *Late Baroque monumental*	2.b.iii: *Late Baroque pictorial*	2.b.iv: *Late Baroque sepulchral classicizing*	2.c: *Late Baroque "macchina"*	3: *Neo-Classical*	4: *Sepulchral slab*	5: *Sepulchral monument*
113	11.3	1765					1					
114	11.4	1773				1						
115	11.5	1686							1			
116	11.6	1730				1						
117	11.7	1770				1						
118	11.8	1795								1		
119	11.9	1699					1					
120	12.1	1673									1	
121	12.2	1694		1								
122	12.3	1699			1							
123	12.4	1756			1							
124	12.5	1725			1							
125	12.6	1687							1			
126	12.7	1696					1					
127	12.8	1768			1							
128	12.9	1737					1					
129	12.10	1663									1	
130	12.11	1698		1								
131	13.1	1631	1									
132	13.2	1757			1							
133	13.3	1666		1								
134	13.4	1674		1								
135	13.5	1751				1						
136	13.6	1664			1							
137	13.7	1668	1									
138	13.8	1683			1							
139	13.9	1743				1						
140	13.10	1757			1							
141	13.11	1673		1								
142	13.12	1722					1					
143	13.13	1745						1				
144	14.1	1714				1						
145	14.2	1691							1			
146	14.3	1632							1			
147	14.4	1631	1									
148	14.5	1624	1									
149	14.6	1650	1									
150	14.7	1679							1			
151	14.8	1699							1			
152	14.9	1743						1				
153	15.1	1778			1							
154	15.2	1794			1							

		1: *Mannerist decorative typology*	2.a: *Baroque*	2.b.i: *Late Baroque Pictorial Invention*	2.b.ii: *Late Baroque monumental*	2.b.iii: *Late Baroque pictorial*	2.b.iv: *Late Baroque sepulchral classicizing*	2.c: *Late Baroque "macchina"*	3: *Neo-Classical*	4: *Sepulchral slab*	5: *Sepulchral monument*
Total number	(156)	9	7	28	43	34	12	11	2	9	1
Percentage	(100%)	5.77	4.49	17.95	27.56	21.79	7.69	7.05	1.28	5.77	0.64

Appendix no. 4: Monumental inscription in St. John's main nave: Dedication

Inscription No.	*Name*	*Dedicated by*
1	Grand Master Marc'Antonio Zondadari	Tomasso del Bene, friend
2	Tommaso Accariggi	Clemente Accariggi, Bailiff and Captain General at the same galleys
3	François Joachim de Saix du Chervé	Enrico Anna de Altopullo, friend
4	Joseph Charles de Tressemanes de Chasteuil	Joseph Charles Raymond and Émile de Tressemanes Chasteuil, nephews
4a	Dominique Agricole de Baroncelli de Javon	Himself
4b	Anna Carlo de Luderti	Himself
5	Ludovico Marescotti	Himself
6	Didaco Mario Gargallo	Himself
7	Joachim de Challemaison	Himself
8	Corrado Arezzo	Himself
9	Marcello Cavaniglia	The Knights of St. John of Jerusalem
10	Charles de Vignes Parisot	Himself
11	Garsia Xarava Castro	Himself
12	Octave de Galèan	Brother Chaplain of Obedience
13	Félix de Grimaldi	Paul Alpheran De Bussan, Bishop
14	Fabrizio Maria Visconti	Magnifico Michel Angelo Sciaret
15	Joseph de Béon du Masse Casaus	Paul Antoine de Viguier, friend
16	Vincent Saveur de Gaillard	Himself

17	Giovanni Battista Ansidei	Himself
18	Joseph Marc-Antoine de Robins Barbantane	The Knights
19	Franz Christoph Sebastian von Remchingen	Himself
20	Giovanni Antonio de Ildaris	Lorenzo, Antonio, Cesare de Ildaris, nephews
21	Giovanni Domenico Mainardi	Himself
22	Gaspare Gori Mancini	Giovanni Francesco Gori, nephew
23	Jacques Seignoret	Himself
24	Melchior Alpheran de Bussan	Paul Alpheran de Bussan, Bishop
25	Francesco San Martino de Ramondetto	Himself
26	Luigi Francisco Belarde y Zespedes	Himself
27	Tommaso del Bene	Venerable Procurators of the Common Treasury
28	Pierre d'Albertas de Sainte Mayme	Himself
29	Charles Augustin de Robins Barbantane	Paul Antoine and Joseph de Barbantane, brothers
30	Gilbert Montaignac Bord	Gabriel de Montaignac Chauvance, who joined him on this slab, and dedicated it to himself too
31	Diego Velez de Guevara	Himself
32	Raimondo Albino Menville	Himself
33	Bertrand de Moretton Chabrillan	Unknown
34	Carlo Francesco Doria	Himself
35	Ottavio Tancredi	Himself

36	Gaspare de Figuera	Vincenzo de Figuera, nephew
37	Melchiorre Alvaro Pereira Pinto Coutineo	Himself
38	José Pereyra Pinto	Himself
39	Francesco Maria Ferretti	Bartholomeo Rull and Vittorio Rocchi
40	Francesco Carvalho Pinto	Alexander Spiteri, a Maltese nobleman
41	François Dupui Trigona	Francesco della Grotta della Minardia, friend
42	Louis de la Salle	Guillaume de la Salle, brother
43	Nicolaus von Enzberg	Johann Baptist von Schauenburg, friend
44	Francesco Pappalettere	Himself
45	Romeo Fardella	Himself
46	Traiano Geronda	Himself
47	Carlos Carafa	Himself
48	Joseph de Félix de la Reynarde	Pierre de Félix de la Reynarde, relation
49	Gaspar de Ponteves Bargème	Himself
50	Jean Charles de Romieu	Himself
51	Isnardo de San Martino	Carlo Amadeo Battista de San Martino, relative
52	Giovanni Caccialupi	Himself
53	Francesco Bernardino Barba	Giuseppe Valente, friend
54	Alphonse Loppin	Himself
55	Rutilio and Orazio Sansedoni	Giulio Sansedoni, relative
56	Fabrizio Franzone	Himself
57	Felice de Lando	Ferdinando Rossermini and Michelangelo Pagnini
58	Charles Félix d'Oraison	Himself

59	Joseph de Langon	Grand Master Brother Lord Ramon Perellos y Roccafull
60	Gilbert de Fougières Ducluseau	Himself
61	Jean de Philip St. Viance	Himself
62	Paul de Félines de la Reneaudie	Jean de Félines de la Reneaudie, great-nephew
63	Marcel de Galéan	Jean-Batiste de Galéan, nephew
64	Giuseppe de Majo	Himself
65	Jean-Baptiste de Durand Sartoux	Joseph, Jean-Baptiste and Jacques de Durand Sartoux, nephews
66	Jean François Veran and Baltażar Veran	Charles Veran, brother, for Jean François, an anonymous friend for Baltażar
67	Antonio Scuderro	Emanuel de Rohan and Victor Belmont, friends
68	Charles de la Marche de Parnac	Jean-Alexis de Boislinard de Margou, a relative
69	Roberto Solario	Himself
70	Pierre Viany	Confreres of the Divine John, the Beheaded
71	Juan Manoel de Vilhena	Grand Master Manoel de Vilhena
72	Thomas de Fougasse la Bastie	The Procurators of the Public Treasury
73	Rodriguez Miraval y Spinola	José de Auñón y Herrera
74	Giovanni Filippo Marucelli	Himself
75	José Ballesterio la Torre	Himself
76	Jacques de Loyach de la Bachellerie	Himself
77	Carlo Gattola	Bailiffs Spinello, Carafa and Caravita,

		the faithful executors (of his will)
78	Jacques François Picot de Combreux	Himself
79	Annibale Vicomercati	Himself
80	Julio Bovio	Abbot Guido Bovio, brother
81	Charles de Glandeves Cuges	Giovanni Battista Spinola, Bailiff Executor, and Charles de Glandeves Cuges, nephew
82	Charles Sevin de Bandeville	Venerable Nobles of the Common Treasury
83	Guillaume de la Salle	Himself
84	Jacques François de Chambray	Himself
85	Dominico Pajo de Abreu y Lima	Gonsalvo and Antonio de Abreu, nephews
86	Pietro Rosselmini	Francesco Mazzei, relative
87	Jean Joseph Simon de Blacas D'Aups	Antoine de Blacas D'Aups, brother
88	Pietro Varavalle de Gaeta	Himself
89	Massimiljan Balzan	Ġwanni Battista Balzan, son
90	Giuseppe D'Andrea	Himself
91	René du Pré	Balthazar and René de Gras Preville, great-nephews
92	Louis Roger de Blécourt Tincourt	Himself
93	Jean du Hamel	François du Hamel, nephew
94	Louis de Fleurigny	Himself
95	Césare de Villaneuve Thourenc	Himself
96	Paul Antoine de Robins Barbantane	Joseph de Robins Barbantane, brother
97	Baldażar D'Amico	Klawdju Baldassar D'Amico Inguanez, great-nephew

98	Manuelo Pereyra	Himself
99	Giovanni Otto Bosio	Himself
100	Augusto Mauritio Benzo de Santena	Sigmund, Count of Thun, his general
101	Henri de Martins Champoléon Dauphins	Himself
102	François Antoine de Castel St. Pierre	Generals of the warships
103	Cristoforo Balbani	Francesco Balbani, relative
104	Giacomo Cavaretta	Himself
105	Jaques de Fouille d'Escrainville	Jean-Anné de Fouillie d'Escrainville, nephew
106	Miguel Torrellas y Sentmanat	Ramon de Sentmanat, nephew
107	Octave de Galléan	Himself
108	Jean François Chevestre de Cintray	Jacques François Chambray, friend
109	Thomas de Villages	Gaspar de Villages, nephew
110	Francesco Ganucci	Giacinto Ganucci and Maria Maddalena Cancellieri, his parents
111	Gregorio Spinola	Raphael Spinola, uncle
112	Paolo Togores y Valenzuela	Himself
113	Sigismondo Piccolomini	Himself
114	Johann Baptist von Schauenburg	Himself
115	Jean Hector de Fay de la Tour Maubourg	Himself
116	Gerolamo Antonio Bagnano	Francesco Protopsalti
117	Domenico Antonio Chyurlia	Pasquale and Lorenzo Chyurlia, brothers; Nicola and Vincenzo Chyurlia, nephews
118	Antonio Lores	Mattia Ventura, relative

119	Bernardo Gort	Himself
120	Henri de la Salle	Grand Master Nicola Cotoner
121	Louis François de Pontac Beautiran Burdig	Jean-Gabriel de Pollastron La Hillière Ledain and Brother Arnaud de Cardaillac Lomné, executors
122	François de Mores Ventavon	Jean Baptiste de Boffin la Saonne, great-nephew
123	Francisco de Souza y Menezes	Himself
124	Manuel de Almeida y Vasconcellos	Himself
125	Giovanni Battista Brancaccio	This family monument was laid in 1686
126	Antonio Correa	Himself
127	Bartolomeo Tommasi	Himself
128	Giovanni Battista Spinola/ Domenico Maria	Giovanni Battista Spinola, for his brother Domenico Maria and himself
129	Juan Ximenez de Vedoja	Giovanni Galdiano, cousin
130	Jean Gabriel de Pollastron La Hillière Ledain	Himself
131	Luigi Mazzingo	Himself
132	Martino Alvaro Pinto	Grand Master Emanuel Pinto, brother
133	Nicolas de Navinau la Durandière	Eustache D'Averne, friend
134	Paule Antoine de Robin de Gravezon	Himself
135	Ludivico Bacci	Pietro Rovero de Guarena, friend
136	Giovanni Francesco de Ricasoli	Himself
137	Lucas Bueno	Himself
138	François de Tressemanes Chastuel Brunet	Procurators of the Common Treasury

139	Francesco Saverio Azzoni	Curators of the Treasury
140	Rosalbo Cavalcanti	Himself
141	Miguel Juan Cotoner	Grand Master Nicola Cotoner, brother
142	Jeronimo de Ribas Boxados	Antonio de Ribas Castellbell, great-nephew
143	Guillaume François Bernart d'Avernes	Himself
144	Averardo Medici	Himself
145	François de Seijtres Caumons	Himself
146	Francesco Carafa	Grand Master Gregorio Carafa, nephew
147	Nicola la Marra	Himself
148	Pedro Urrea Camarasa	Genesio Ruyz, friend
149	Salvu Imbroll	Karlu Micallef, Salvu Imbroll and Publiju Theuma, nephews
150	Francesco Carafa	Grand Master Gregorio Carafa, brother
151	Henri August de Béon de Luxembourg	Curators
152	René Robert de Marbeuf	Bernard de Marbeuf, nephew
153	Romualdo Doz	Himself
154	Martino Plata	Himself

Indices

Index no. 1: Alphabetical list of Knights, commemorated at the St. John's main nave

Inscription No.	*Row*	*Name*
2	1.1	Accariggi, Tommaso
28	3.10	Albertas Saint Mayme, Pierre d'
124	12.5	Almeida y Vasconcellos, Manuel de
24	3.6	Alpharan de Bussan, Melchior
97	9.11	Amico, Balthassar de
90	9.4	Andrea, Giuseppe de
17	2.10	Ansidei, Giovanni Battista
8	2.1	Arezzo, Corrado
143	13.13	Averne, Guillaume François Bernart d'
139	13.9	Azzoni, Francesco Saverio
135	13.5	Bacci, Ludovico
116	11.6	Bagnano, Antonio Gerolamo
103	10.4	Balbani, Cristoforo
75	7.11	Ballesterio la Torre, José
89	9.3	Balzan, Massimiljan
53	5.13	Barba, Francesco Bernardino,
4a	1.3a	Baroncelli de Javon, Dominic Agricola de In commentary only.
26	3.8	Bearde y Zespedes, Luis Francisco
27	3.9	Bene, Tomasso del
100	10.1	Benzo de Santena, Augusto Mauritio
151	14.8	Béon de Luxembourg, Henri Auguste de
15	2.8	Béon du Masse Casaus, Joseph
87	9.1	Blacas D'Aups, Antoine de
92	9.6	Blécourt Tincourt, Louis Roger de
99	9.13	Bosio, Giovanni Otto
80	8.5	Bovio, Julio

125	12.6	Brancaccio, Giovanni Battista
137	13.7	Bueno, Lucas
52	5.12	Caccialupi, Giovanni
47	5.7	Carafa, Carlos
150	14.7	Carafa, Francesco
146	14.3	Carafa, Francisco
40	4.11	Carvalho Pinto, Francesco
102	10.3	Castel St. Pierre, François Antoine de
140	13.10	Cavalcanti, Rosalbo
9	2.2	Cavaniglia, (Pietro) Marcello
104	10.5	Cavaretta, Giacomo
7	1.6	Challemaison, Joachim de
84	8.9	Chambray, Jacques François de
108	10.9	Chevestre de Cintray, Jean François
117	11.7	Chyurlia, Domenico Antonio
126	12.7	Correa, Antonio
141	13.11	Cotoner, Miguel Juan
34	4.5	Doria, Carlo Francesco
153	15.1	Doz, Romualdo
91	9.5	Dupré, René
41	5.1	Dupui Trigonan, François
65	7.1	Durand-Sartoux, Jean-Batiste de
43	5.3	Enzberg, Nicolas L.B. von
45	5.5	Fardella, Romeo
115	11.5	Fay de la Tour Maubourg, Jean Hector de
62	6.9	Felines de la Reneaudie, Paul de
39	4.10	Ferretti, Franciscus Maria
36	4.7	Figuera, Gaspar de
94	9.8	Fleurigny, Louis de
72	7.8	Fougasse la Bastie, Thomas de
60	6.7	Fougières Ducluzeau, Gilbert de
105	10.6	Fouille d'Escrainville, Jaques de
56	6.3	Franzone, Fabrizio

16	2.9	Gaillard, Vincent Sauveur de
63	6.10	Galéan Châteauneuf, Marcel
12	2.5	Galèan, Octavè de
107	10.8	Galléan, Octave de
110	10.11	Ganucci, Francesco
6	1.5	Gargallo, Didaco Mario
77	8.2	Gattola, Carlo
46	5.6	Geronda, Trajano
81	8.6	Glandeves Cuges, Charles de
22	3.4	Gori Mancini, Gaspare
119	11.9	Gort, Bernardo
13	2.6	Grimaldi, Felix de
93	9.7	Hamel, Jean du
20	3.2	Ildaris, Giovanni Antonio de
149	14.6	Imbroll, Salvu
129	12.10	Ximenez de Vedoja, Juan
57	6.4	Lando, Felix de
59	6.6	Langon, Joseph de
54	6.1	Loppin, Alphonse
118	11.8	Lores, Antonio
76	8.1	Loyach de la Bachellerie, Jacques de
4b	1.4a	Luderti, Anna Carlo de In commentary only.
21	3.3	Mainardi, Giovanni Domenico
64	6.11	Majo, Giuseppe de
152	14.9	Marbeuf, René Robert de
68	7.4	Marche de Parnac, Charles de la
5	1.4	Marescotti, Ludovico
147	14.4	Marra, Nicola La
101	10.2	Martin de Champoleon Delphinas, Henri de
74	7.10	Marucelli, Giovanni Filippo
131	13.1	Mazzingo, Luigi
144	14.1	Medici, Averardo

32	4.3	Menville, Rajmundu Albino
73	7.9	Miraval e Spinola, Rodriguez
30	4.1	Montaignac Bord, Gilberto de
122	12.3	Mores Ventavon, François de
33	4.4	Moretton Chabrillan, Bertrand de
133	13.3	Navinau la Durandière, Nicolas de
58	6.5	Oraison D'Aqua, Charles Felix d'
85	8.10	Pajo Abreu y Lima, Domingo de
44	5.4	Pappalettere, Francesco
37	4.8	Pereira Pinto Coutineo, Melchor Alvaro
38	4.9	Pereyra Pinto, Joseph
98	9.12	Pereyra, Manuelo
113	11.3	Piccolomini, Sigismondo
78	8.3	Picot de Combreaux, Jacques François
132	13.2	Pinto, Martino Alvaro
154	15.2	Plata, Martino
130	12.11	Pollastron La Hillière Ledain, Jean Gabriel de
121	12.2	Pontac Beautiran Burdig, Louis François de
49	5.9	Ponteves Bargeme, Gaspar de
25	3.7	Ramondetto, Francesco S. Martinus de
48	5.8	Reinarde, Joseph Felix de la
19	3.1	Remching, Franz Christoph von
142	13.12	Ribas Boxados, Jeronimo de
136	13.6	Ricasoli, Giovanni Francesco de
134	13.4	Robin de Gravezon, Paule Antoine de
29	3.11	Robins Barbantane, Charles Auguste
96	9.10	Robins Barbantane, Paul Antoine de
18	2.11	Robins Barbante, Joseph Marc Antoine de
50	5.10	Romieu, Jean Charles de
86	8.11	Rosselmini, Pietro
3	1.2	Saix du Chervé, François Joachim
83	8.8	Salle, Guillaume de la
120	12.1	Salle, Henri de la

42	5.2	Salle, Louis de la
51	5.11	San Martino, Isnardo de
55	6.2	Sansedoni, Rutilio and Orazio
114	11.4	Schauenburg, Johann Baptist von
67	7.3	Scudero, Antonio
23	3.5	Seignoret, Jacques
145	14.2	Seijtres Caumons, François de
82	8.7	Sevin de Bandeville, Charles
69	7.5	Solario, Roberto
123	12.4	Souza y Menezes, Francisco de
128	12.9	Spinola, Giovanni Battista
111	11.1	Spinola, Gregor
61	6.8	St. Viance, Jean de Philip
35	4.6	Tancredi, Ottavio
112	11.2	Togores y Valenzuela, Paolo
127	12.8	Tommasi, Bartholomeo
106	10.7	Torrellas y Sentmanat, Miguel
138	13.8	Tressemanes Chastuel Brunet, François de
4	1.3	Tressemanes de Chasteuil, Joseph Charles
148	14.5	Urrea Camarasa, Pedro
88	9.2	Varavalle de Gaeta, Pietro
31	4.2	Velez de Guevara, Diego
66	7.2	Veran, Jean François
70	7.6	Viany, Pierre
79	8.4	Vicomercati, Annibale
10	2.3	Vignes Parizot, de, Charles
71	7.7	Vilhena, Juan Manoel de
109	10.10	Villages, Thomas de
95	9.9	Villaneuve Thourenc, Césare de
14	2.7	Visconti, Fabrizio Maria
11	2.4	Xarava Castro, Garsia
1	0.1	Zondadari, Marc' Antonio

Index no. 2: Knights of St. John: Date of birth, entry and death; average age

No.	Name	Date of birth	Date of entry	Age entered	In Order	Date of demise	Age
2	Accariggi, Tommaso	1642	Dec 16, 1654	12	14	Jan 29, 1668	26
28	Albertas Saint Mayme, Pierre d',		1682				
124	Almeida y Vasconcellos, Manuel de	1668				1725	57
24	Alpharan de Bussan, Melchior	1654				Dec 13, 1734	80
97	Amico, Balthassar de	1617				Mar 2, 1689	72
90	Andrea, Giuseppe de	1694	Jan 23, 1722	26	50	Feb 8, 1770	76
17	Ansidei, Giovanni Battista	1600	Aug 11, 1616	16	64	1680	80
8	Arezzo, Corrado	Feb 19, 1719	May 3, 1732	13	50	Jun 26, 1782	63
143	Averne, Guillaume François Bernart d'		Apr 16, 1671			Mar 5, 1756	85
139	Azzoni, Francesco Saverio	1676	Jul 14, 1692	16	51	Mar 21, 1743	67
135	Bacci, Ludovico	1679				Jul 29, 1751	72
116	Bagnano, Gerolamo Antonio	1643				Dec 4, 1722	
103	Balbani, Cristoforo	1635	Aug 22, 1653	18	72	Mar 21, 1725	90
75	Ballesterio la Torre, José	Jun 23, 1699				Oct 27, 1764	65

No.	Name	Date of birth	Date of entry	Age entered	In Order	Date of demise	Age
89	Balzan, Massimiljan	1637				1711	74
53	Barba, Francesco Bernardino,		Oct 30, 1563			Sept 6, 1621	
4a	Baroncelli de Javon, Dominic Agricola de	1695	1706	11			
26	Belarde y Zespedes, Luis Francisco	Sep 3, 1659				Aug 30, 1739	
27	Bene, Tomasso del		Feb 24, 1666				
100	Benzo de Santena, Augusto Mauritio	1668	Sept 11, 1680	12	15	Jul 22, 1695	27
151	Béon de Luxembourg, Henri Auguste de	1634	Apr 14, 1639	5	60	Jan 15, 1699	65
15	Béon du Masse Casaus, Joseph	1682	1682	4 months	64	Mar 15, 1746	64
87	Blacas D'Aups, Antoine de	1701	1724	23	48	Jun 21, 1772	71
92	Blécourt Tincourt, Louis Roger de	1642	Jul 23, 1661	19	55	Nov 3, 1716	74
99	Bosio, Giovanni Otto		Nov 22, 1560			Feb 10, 1622	
80	Bovio, Julio					1706	
125	Brancaccio, Giovanni Battista		Oct 15, 1632			Jul 3, 1687	
137	Bueno, Lucas					Sept 7, 1668	
52	Caccialupi, Giovanni		Jan 20, 1579			1623	
47	Carafa, Carlos	1642	May 25, 1663	21	54	Mar 5, 1717	75
150	Carafa, Francesco		Sep 3, 1641			Sept 19, 1679	48

No.	Name	Date of birth	Date of entry	Age entered	In Order	Date of demise	Age
146	Carafa, Francisco	1599	May 7, 1626	27	6	Aug 22, 1632	33
40	Carvalho Pinto, Francesco	1747				Sept 8, 1818	72
102	Castel St. Pierre, François Antoine de		Jun, 1681			May 19, 1709	
140	Cavalcanti, Rosalbo		Jul 5, 1714			Jul 18, 1757	
9	Cavaniglia, (Pietro) Marcello	Apr 18, 1692	Apr 4, 1699	6	73	Feb 15, 1772	79
104	Cavaretta, Giacomo		Sep 18, 1634			Jun 17, 1702	81
7	Challemaison, Joachim de		1611	3		Nov 9, 1667	
84	Chambray, Jacques François de	Mar 15, 1677	1701	24	55	Apr 8, 1756	79
108	Chevestre de Cintray, Jean François		Aug 21, 1685			Sept 22, 1721	
117	Chyurlia, Domenico Antonio	Oct 15, 1701				Feb 4, 1770	68
126	Correa, Antonio	1608				Mar 27, 1696	78
141	Cotoner, Miguel Juan					Apr 20, 1630	20
34	Doria, Carlo Francesco	1659	Apr 16, 1666	7	61	Dec 23, 1727	68
153	Doz, Romualdo	1738				Nov 21, 1778	

No.	Name	Date of birth	Date of entry	Age entered	In Order	Date of demise	Age
91	Dupré, René	Mar 11, 1643	1660	17	73	Jun 1, 1733	90
41	Dupui Trigonan, François		1604	16		Nov 17, 1630	
65	Durand-Sartoux, Jean-Batiste de	Jan 21, 1679	1691	12	69	Mar 24, 1760	81
43	Enzberg, Nicolas L.B. von	1685	1689	4	63	Feb 12, 1752	67
45	Fardella, Romeo	1638	April 3, 1651	13	77	Jul 6, 1728	90
115	Fay de la Tour Maubourg, Jean Hector de	1637	1639	2	46	1685	48
62	Felines de la Reneaudie, Paul de	1620	Dec 24, 1638	18	81	Dec 27, 1715	95
39	Ferretti, Franciscus Maria	1653	Oct 9, 1667	14	71	1738	85
36	Figuera, Gaspar de	1653				Oct 24, 1729	76
94	Fleurigny, Louis de	1641	Aug 20, 1658	17	58	1716	75
72	Fougasse la Bastie, Thomas de	1647	1663	16	70	Mar 15, 1733	86
60	Fougières Ducluzeau, Gilbert de		Jan 26, 1650	6		Sept 16, 1716	
105	Fouille d'Escrainville, Jaques de	1621	Dec 24, 1654	33	48	Jan 17, 1703	81
56	Franzone, Fabrizio	1691	Jan 16, 1691	2 weeks	77	May 9, 1768	77
30	Gabriel de Montaignac Chauvance	Aug, 1698	Jul 4, 1711	13	68	Apr 19, 1779	81
16	Gaillard, Vincent Sauveur de		1668	5	75	Jan 09, 1745	80

No.	Name	Date of birth	Date of entry	Age entered	In Order	Date of demise	Age
63	Galéan Châteauneuf, Marcel	1606	1616	10	62	Feb 2, 1678	72
12	Galèan, Octavè de	1670	1674	4	76	Apr 7, 1750	80
107	Galléan, Octave de	Jan 30, 1642	1654	12	76	Oct 17, 1730	88
110	Ganucci, Francesco	May 31, 1736	Jun 16, 1759	23	4	Feb 12, 1764	27
6	Gargallo, Didaco Mario		Aug 21, 1709	7	65	1774	72
77	Gattola, Carlo	1614	Jun 14, 1628	14	56	Dec 5, 1684	70
46	Geronda, Trajano	1648	Mar 15, 1665	17	54	Aug 2, 1719	71
81	Glandeves Cuges, Charles de	1627	1635	7	72	Sept 9, 1706	79
22	Gori Mancini, Gaspare					Jul 16, 1727	
119	Gort, Bernardo	1621				Feb 1, 1699	78
13	Grimaldi, Felix de	1640	1658	18	76	Dec 04, 1734	94
93	Hamel, Jean du	1624	1634	10	69	Nov 12, 1703	79
20	Ildaris, Antonio de	1699	Jun 19, 1700	1	82	Aug 9, 1783	83
20	Ildaris, Giovanni Antonio de	1672	Jan 24, 1713	41	36	1749	77
20	Ildaris, Lorenzo de		Mar 24, 1704	16	52	Jun 22, 1772	68
149	Imbroll, Salvu	1590				Jan 26, 1650	60

No.	Name	Date of birth	Date of entry	Age entered	In Order	Date of demise	Age
129	Ximenez de Vedoja, Juan	1612	Oct 1, 1629	17	40	Jan 13, 1663	57
57	Lando, Felix de	1641	Aug 13, 1659	18	67	Mar 3, 1726	85
59	Langon, Joseph de	1669	Jun 8, 1683	14	27	Apr 18, 1710	41
54	Loppin, Alphonse	1662				Oct 26, 1751	
118	Lores, Antonio	1720				Apr 30, 1795	75
76	Loyach de la Bachellerie, Jacques de	1739				Nov 16, 1765	26
4b	Luderti, Anna Carlo de	1694				Jun 13, 1764	70
21	Mainardi, Giovanni Domenico	Nov 10, 1703				Feb 19, 1785	81
64	Majo, Giuseppe de					May 27, 1747	
152	Marbeuf, René Robert de	Feb 1, 1673	Apr 3, 1677			Jul 17, 1743	
68	Marche de Parnac, Charles de la	1648	Feb 13, 1665	16	62	Nov 11, 1726	78
5	Marescotti, Ludovico		Jun 26, 1709	13	55	Feb 28, 1774	68
147	Marra, Nicola La		Oct 24, 1569			1631	
101	Martin de Champoleon Delphinas, Henri de	1721	1741	20	20	Sept 3, 1761	40
74	Marucelli, Giovanni Filippo		July 13, 1722			Feb 28, 1772	
131	Mazzingo, Luigi	1548	1571	23	60	1631	83

No.	Name	Date of birth	Date of entry	Age entered	In Order	Date of demise	Age
144	Medici, Averardo		Aug 13, 1638			Nov 5, 1695	
32	Menville, Rajmundu Albino	Feb 20, 1715				May 6, 1801	86
73	Miraval e Spinola, Rodriguez	1660				Jun 23, 1747	
30	Montaignac Bord, Gilberto de	Dec 29, 1693	Dec 22, 1706	12	66	Dec 5, 1772	78
122	Mores Ventavon, François de	1610	1625	15	74	Feb 2, 1699	89
33	Moretton Chabrillan, Bertrand de	1679	Apr 1, 1684	5	54	Nov 11, 1738	59
133	Navinau la Durandière, Nicolas de		Mar 5, 1646			1666	
58	Oraison D'Aqua, Charles Felix, d'	1627	1642	15	71	Jan 17, 1714	86
85	Pajo Abreu y Lima, Domingo de	Aug 6, 1669				Jun 8, 1742	73
44	Pappalettere, Francesco	1669	April 19, 1689	20	72	May 14, 1761	92
37	Pereira Pinto Coutineo, Melchor Alvaro	1649				May 11, 1736	87
38	Pereyra Pinto, Joseph	1666				Jun 11, 1751	85
98	Pereyra, Manuelo	1710				Mar 25, 1792	82
113	Piccolomini, Sigismondo	1678	Sep 15, 1681	3	84	Mar 8, 1765	87
78	Picot de Combreaux, Jacques François	Feb, 1696	Mar 19, 1709	10	65	Sept 3, 1771	75
132	Pinto, Martino Alvaro	Dec 11, 1684				Feb 24, 1757	72

No.	Name	Date of birth	Date of entry	Age entered	In Order	Date of demise	Age
154	Plata, Martino					Feb 22, 1794	
130	Pollastron La Hillière Ledain, Jean Gabriel de	1634	1646	12	52	Jan 30, 1698	64
121	Pontac Beautiran Burdig, Louis François de		1673			Mar 25, 1694	
49	Ponteves Bargeme, Gaspar de	1627	1642			Apr 28, 1720	93
25	Ramondetto, Francesco S. Martinus de	1653	Nov 9, 1670	1	83	Apr 29, 1737	84
48	Reinarde, Joseph Felix de la	1634	1648			Apr 17, 1721	87
19	Remching, Franz Christoph	Jan 22, 1689	Apr 27, 1717	28	60	Aug 18, 1777	88
142	Ribas Boxados, Jeronimo de					Feb 28, 1722	50
136	Ricasoli, Giovanni Francesco de					1664	
134	Robin de Gravezon, Paule Antoine de	1587	1604	17	70	Mar 10, 1674	87
29	Robins Barbantane, Charles Auguste	1672	1674	2	65	Apr 09, 1739	67
96	Robins Barbantane, Paul Antoine de	1669	1671	2	75	Mar 3, 1746	77
18	Robins Barbante, Joseph Marc Antoine de		1692			Jun 08, 1758	82
50	Romieu, Jean Charles de	1673	1691	18	54	Mar 19, 1745	72
86	Rosselmini, Pietro	Sep 27, 5	Jun 22, 1708	2	71	Mar 3, 1779	73
3	Saix du Chervé, François Joachim	1686	Jun 30, 1703	17	67	Jan 3, 1770	84

No.	Name	Date of birth	Date of entry	Age entered	Time in Order	Date of demise	Age
83	Salle, Guillaume de la	1656 or 1654	Aug 1, 1674	20	65	1739	85
120	Salle, Henri de la	1606				Jan 13, 1663	61
42	Salle, Louis de la	1630	Feb 23, 1664	34	16	1680	50
51	San Martino, Isnardo de		Dec 23, 1549			1737	
55	Sansedoni, Rutilio and Orazio					Jan 0, 1752	
114	Schauenburg, Johann Baptist von	Aug 9, 1703	Nov 2, 1704	1	71	Mar 6, 1775	72
67	Scudero, Antonio	1690				Feb 3, 1771	81
23	Seignoret, Jacques					Apr 10, 1738	
145	Seijtres Caumons, François de	1624	1634	10	57	Jul, 28, 1691	67
82	Sevin de Bandeville, Charles	1640	May 9, 1647	7	71	Nov 24, 1718	78
69	Solario, Roberto	1652	Jun 30, 1657	6	79	Jan 11, 1737	85
123	Souza y Menezes, Francisco de	1682				Aug 9, 1756	74
128	Spinola, Giovanni Battista		Aug 18, 1682			Jan 19, 1737	
111	Spinola, Gregor	1652	Aug 18, 1653	1	29	Jan 13, 1682	30
61	St. Viance, Jean de Philip	1638	May 8, 1651	13	67	Feb 3, 1718	80

No.	Name	Date of birth	Date of entry	Age entered	In Order	Date of demise	Age
35	Tancredi, Ottavio	1635	Sept 26, 1647	12	75	Mar 14, 1722	87
112	Togores y Valenzuela, Paolo	1674				Jul 20, 1755	81
127	Tommasi, Bartholomeo	Oct 3, 1688	Apr 13, 1707		79	Apr 21, 1768	79
106	Torrellas y Sentmanat, Miguel	1599		11	70	Jan 12, 1680	81
138	Tressemanes Chastuel Brunet, François de		1612			1683	
4	Tressemanes de Chasteuil, Joseph Charles	Apr 15, 1701	1704	3	62	Dec 22, 1766	65
148	Urrea Camarasa, Pedro					Jul 18, 1624	
88	Varavalle de Gaeta, Pietro		Apr 13, 1584			1623	
31	Velez de Guevara, Diego	Aug 2, 1656		16	61	Jul 15, 1734	77
66	Verano, Jean François	1661				Feb 16, 1721	72
70	Viany, Pierre	1632				Nov 18, 1700	68
79	Vicomercati, Annibale	1650				Dec 17, 1736	80
10	Vignes Parizot, de, Charles	1668	1688	20	43	Apr 12, 1731	63
71	Vilhena, Juan Manoel de	1658				Nov 15, 1728	70
109	Villages, Thomas de	1603	1620			Jan 29, 1689	86
95	Villaneuve Thourenc, Césare de		1639			Oct 14, 1716	

No.	Name	Date of birth	Date of entry	Age entered	Time in Order	Date of demise	Age
14	Visconti, Fabrizio Maria	1654	Jul 28, 1677	23	61	Jul, 27, 1738	84
11	Xarava Castro, Garsia	1710				1794	84
1	Zondadari, Marc Antonio	Nov 1, 1658	Mar 11, 1659	4 months	63	Jun 16, 1722	63

Dates of demise, of Knight commemorated in the main nave:

1621, 1622, 1623 (x 2), 1624, 1630 (x 2), 1631 (x 2), 1632, 1650, 1663, 1664, 1666, 1667, 1668 (x 2), 1673, 1674, 1678, 1679, 1680 (x 3), 1682, 1683, 1684, 1685, 1687, 1689 (x 2), 1691, 1694, 1695 (x 2), 1696, 1698, 1699 (x 3), 1700, 1702, 1703 (x 2), 1706 (x 2), 1709, 1710, 1711, 1714 (x 2), 1716, (x 4), 1717, 1718 (x 2), 1719, 1720, 1721 (x 3), 1722 (x 4), 1725 (x 2), 1726 (x 2), 1727 (x 2), 1728 (x 2), 1729, 1730, 1731, 1733 (x 2), 1734 (x 3), 1736 (x 2), 1737 (x 4), 1738 (x 4), 1739 (x 3), 1740, 1742, 1743 (x 2), 1745 (x 2), 1746 (x 2), 1747 (x 2), 1749, 1750, 1751 (x 3), 1752 (x 2), 1755, 1756 (x 3), 1757 (x 2), 1758, 1760, 1761 (x 2), 1764 (x 3), 1765 (x 2), 1766, 1768 (x 2), 1770 (x 3), 1771 (x 2), 1772 (x 5), 1774 (x 2), 1775, 1777, 1778, 1779 (x 2), 1782, 1783, 1785, 1792, 1794 (x 2), 1795, 1801,1818.

Average age on entry in the Order was 12. 5 years;

Youngest age on entry: Two weeks;

Oldest age of entry was 41 years;

Average age of 72.5 years;

The youngest age of demise: 20 years;

Oldest age of demise: 95 years;

Average time spent in the Order: 60 years;

Shortest time spent in the Order: 4 years;

Longest time spent in the Order: 85 years.

Index no. 3: Names and designation of other persons mentioned in the inscriptions and commentary

Name	*Profession / Relation*	*Inscription no.*
Abela	Vice-chancellor	149
Abreu, Antonio de	Nephew	85
Abreu, Gonsalvo de	Nephew	85
Accariggi, Clemente	Uncle	2
Alexander VII	Pope	1, 39,145, 150
Almeida y Vasconcellos, Antonio de	Nephew	124
Almeida y Vasconcellos, José de	Nephew	124
Altopullo, Enrico Anna de	Friend	3
Amadeo, Vittorio	Prince	128
Amico Inguanez, Klawdju Baldassar, D'	Great-Nephew	97
Auñón y Herrera, José de	Cousin	73
Averne, Eustache D'	Friend	133
Balbani, Francesco	Relative	103
Balzan, Ġwanni Battista	Son	89
Belmont, Jacques Armand	Knight	67
Belmont, Victor	Friends	67
Bene, Tomasso del	Friend	1
Benedict XIII	Pope	39
Bernart d' Avernes de la Chatellenie, Eustache de	Brother	143

Bernart d'Avernes de Chaumont, Gabriel-Charles	Brother	143
Bernart d'Avernes, Eustache de	Brother	143
Blacas D'Aups, Antoine de	Brother	87
Blessed Innocent XI	Pope	1, 39
Boffin la Saonne d'Argenson, Jean-Baptiste de	Nephew	122
Boislinars de Margou, Jean-Alexis de	Relative	68
Bosio, Giacomo	Brother	99
Brancaccio, Giovanni Battista	Relative	125
Brancaccio, Giuseppe	Relative	125
Brancaccio, Lelio	Relative	125
Brancaccio, Marco Antonio	Relative	125
Bueno, Lucas	Bishop	70
Bussan, Honoré Alpheran de	Uncle	24
Bussan, Melchior Alpheran de	Prior of Conventual Church	13
Bussan, Paul Alpheran de	Bishop	13, 19, 24
Caccurio	Dukes	140
Cancellieri, Maria Maddalena	Mother	110
Carafa, Gregorio	Bailiff	77
Carafa, Gregorio	General	77
Carafa, Gregorio	Grand Master	47, 89, 97, 115, 146,150
Carappechia, Romano	Artist	22, 69
Caravaggio	Artist	129

Caravita	Bailiff	77
Cardaillac Lomné, Arnaud de	Executor of his will	121
Chambray, Jacques François	Friend	108
Charles V	Emperor	19
Charles VI	Emperor	20, 27, 86
Chenu de Bellai, Jacques de	Capitulary Bailiff	7
Chyurlia, Lorenzo	Brother	117
Chyurlia, Nicola	Nephew	117
Chyurlia, Pasquale	Brother	117
Chyurlia, Vincenzo	Nephew	117
Clemens IX	Pope	145
Clemens XI	Pope	80, 94, 108
Clemens XI	Pope	39
Clemens XII	Pope	39
Cotoner, Nicola	Grand Master	63, 89, 94, 97, 120, 141
Cotoner, Raphael	Grand Master	7, 97, 120, 130
De Gessan	Grand Master	7, 97, 120
De Rohan	Grand Master	32, 67, 153
Despuig, Raimondo	Grand Master	54, 112
Dousset, Gilbert	Procurator	62
Dupuy, Raymond	Grand Master	9

Durand Sartoux, Jacques de	Nephew	65
Durand Sartoux, Jean-Baptiste de	Nephew	65
Durand Sartoux, Joseph de	Nephew	65
Durante, Karlu	Marble artisan	40
Durante, Klawdju	Marble artisan	14, 39, 62, 116
Durante, Ġwanni Antonju	Marble artisan	54
Fay de la Tour Mauborg, Marie	Relative	115
Fay de la Tour Maubourg, Claude-Marie de	Relative	115
Ferretti, Benedetto	Brother	39
Figuera, Vincenzo de	Nephew	36
Fouillie d'Escrainville, Jean-Anné de	Nephew	105
Gaillard, Jean Auguste de	Relation	16
Gaillard, Jean Batiste de	Relation	16
Gaillard, Joseph de	Relation	16
Galdiano, Giovanni	Cousin	129
Galéan, Jean-Batiste de	Nephew	63
Ganucci, Giacinto	Father	110
Giliberti, Ġwanni Marija	Marble artisan	57, 115, 144
Glandeves Cuges, Charles de	Nephew	81
Gori, Giovanni Francesco	Nephew	22
Gras Preville, Balthazar de	Great-nephew	91
Gras Preville, René de	Great-nephew	91
Gregory XI	Pope	80
Grimaldi, Félix de	Knight	49
Grotta della Minardia, Francesco della	Friend	41

Hamel, François du	Nephew	93
Henry VIII	King	18
Heredia, Juan Fernandez de	Knight	80
Ildaris, Antonio de	Nephew	20
Ildaris, Cesare de	Nephew	20
Ildaris, Domenico de	Nephew	20
Ildaris, Lorenzo de	Nephew	20
Imbroll, Salvu	Nephew	149
Innocens XII	Pope	39
Innocens XIII	Pope	39, 128
Lascaris	Grand Master	35
Leopold I	Emperor	89
Libitina	Mythological figure	61
Loubenx de Verdalle, Huegues	Grand Master	99
Louis XIV	King	105, 115
Marbeuf, Bernard-Hyppolite de	The dedicator	152
Mazzei, Francesco	Relative	86
Mazzingo, Giacomo	Nephew	131
Mazzingo, Philippo	Brother	131
Mazzingo, Ugolino	Nephew	131
Mendes de Vasconcellos, Luis	Grand Master	131
Micallef, Karlu	Nephew	149
Mohammed	Prophet	94
Montaignac Chauvance, Gabriel de	Brother	30
Nesselrode, Philip Wilhelm	Knight	19
Pagnini, Michelangelo	Friends	57

Pallas	Mythological figure	81
Paul V	Pope	131
Paule, Antoine de	Grand Master	41, 147, 149
Perellos	Grand Master	35, 50, 59, 62, 89, 102
Philip the Fair	King	80
Philip V	King	47, 73, 128
Phoebus	Mythological figure	77
Phoenix	Mythological figure	149
Piccolomini, Sigismondo	Knight	19
Pins, Odon de	Brother	82
Pinto, Emanuel	Grand Master	19, 30, 32, 43, 75, 114, 132, 140, 152
Pollastron La Hillière Ledain, Jean-Gabriel de	Brother	121
Pré, Du	Cardinal	91
Preti, Mattia	Artist	103
Protopsalti, Francesco	Dedicator	116
Reneaudie, Jean de Félines de la	Great-nephew	62
Reneaudie, Paul de Félines de la	Brother	49
Revell, Hugh	Grand Master	82
Reynarde, Pierre de Félix de la	Brother	48

Ribas Castellbell, Antonio de	Great-nephew	142
Robins Barbantane, Joseph de	Brother	96
Robins Barbantane, Joseph Marc-Antoine de	Brother	29
Robins Barbantane, Paul Antoine de	Brother	29
Rocchi, Vittorio	Executor	39
Rospigliosi, Vincenzo	Bailiff	17
Rosselmini, Ferrante	Relative	86
Rossermini, Melchiorre	Friends	57
Rovero de Guarena, Pietro	Friend	135
Rull, Bartholomeo	Executor	39
Rull, Bartolomeo	Bishop	21
Ruyz, Genesio	Friend	148
Salle, Guillaume de la	Brother	42
Salle, Henri de la	Brother	42
San Martino, Carlo Amadeo Battista	Marquis	51
San Martino, Giovanni Francesco de	Relative	51
San Martino, Nicolò	Relative	51
Sansedoni, Giulio	Relative	55
Scattino, Stefano	Comrade-in-arms	147
Schauenburg, Johann Baptist von	Friend	19, 43
Schilling von Cannstatt, George	Grand Prior	19
Sciaret, Magnifico Michel Angelo	Dedicator	14
Sengle, Claude de la	Grand Master	82
Sentmanat, Ramon de	Nephew	106
Soldani, Massimiliano	Artist	1
Spinelli, Carlo	Bailiff	77
Spinola, Domenico Maria	Brother	128

Spinola, Giovanni Battista	Bailiff Executor	81
Spinola, Raphael	Uncle	111
Spiteri, Alexander	Nobleman	40
Stomer, Matthias	Artist	129
Theuma, Publiju	Nephew	149
Thun, Sigmund von	Count	100
Togores y Valenzuela, Jacques	Brother	112
Togores y Valenzuela, Juan	Brother	112
Tommasi, Nicolao	Father	127
Torrellas, Juan Otto	Relative	106
Torrellas, Miguel	Relative	106
Tressemanes Chasteuil, Émile de	Nephew	4
Tressemanes Chasteuil, Joseph Charles Raymond de	Nephew	4
Turamini, Peter	Secretary of the Treasury	149
Urban VIII	Pope	149
Valente, Giuseppe	Friend	53
Valette	Grand Master	10
Valte, Virginio	Bailiff	17
Ventura, Mattia	Relative	118
Veran, Baltażar	Nephew	66
Veran, Charles	Brother	66
Viguier, Paul Antoine de	Friend	15
Vilhena, Antonio Manoel de	Grand Master	18, 33, 50, 54, 66, 68, 71, 140

Villages, Gaspar de	Nephew	109
Villeneuve Tourenc, Césare de	Friend	122
Wignacourt	Grand Master	89, 105
Ximenes	Grand Master	8, 32
Zondadari	Bailiff	102
Zondadari	Grand Master	27, 54, 66, 139

Index no. 4: Compilation of professions and offices

This index provides a list of professions and offices, found in the inscriptions of St. John's.

Latin name	*English name*	*Inscription number*
additus consilii completi patribus	Assistant to the Senators of General Council	135
administrator	Administrator	9, 35, 41, 44, 54,120, 148
administrator communis aerarii	Administrator Common Treasury	46
administrator negotia Melitae	Administrator of Maltese affairs	105
admiratus	Admiral	125, 144
advocatus communis aerarii	Attorney of the Common Treasury	32
antistitis	Conventual Prior	21
antistitis	Bishop	22
archiepiscopus	Archbishop	137
auctor	Creator	37
auditor	Auditor	32
auditor	First Secretary	97
baiulivus	Bailiff	2, 7, 8 (x2), 9, 12, 17, 26 (x2), 28, 33, 34, 39, 40, 42, 44, 55, 58, 60, 67, 71, 73, 74, 77 (x2), 78, 83, 85, 87, 98, 100, 105, 108, 108, 109, 111, 112, 116, 119, 123, 126, 127, 128(x2), 129, 131, 132, 135, 138, 142, 143, 154
baiulivus ad honores	Honorary Bailiff	5, 6, 105
baiulivus exsecutor	Bailiff Executor	82
bellator	Warrior	73
caesar	Emperor	147

camerarium in maiorem	Lord Great Chamberlain	112
capitaneus	Captain	77
capitaneus generalis	Captain General	2, 125
capitaneus praetoriae (navis)	Captain of the Flagship	2, 133
cappellanus	Chaplain	97
cappellanus oboedentia	Chaplain of Obedience	12
cardinalis	Cardinal	91
castellanus	Castellan	36
castellaus magnae curiae	Castellan of the High Court	18
cleri	Clergy	24
cœnobiarcha	Abbot	107
comes	Count	20 (x2), 100
comes	Comrade-in-arms	20, 29, 41, 80, 117
comiti Sacri Romani Imperii	Counts of the Holy Roman Empire	20 (x2)
commendatarius cancellarius	Commendator Chancellor	71
commendatarius Melitensis	Maltese Commendator	32
commendator	Commendator	7, 9, 10, 17,18, 22, 25, 26, 28, 30 (x2), 31, 32, 37, 38, 43 (x2), 47, 48, 49, 50, 52, 55, 58, 65 66, 68, 71, 73, 82, 84, 87, 89, 91 (x2), 93, 95 (x2), 96, 97, 102, 104, 106, 107, 108, 112 (x3), 114, 116, 119, 120, 121, 122 (x2), 123, 126, 129, 130, 132, 133, 135, 139, 140, 144, 145, 146, 150, 152 (x2), 153
commendator eques	Knight Commendator	20 (x2), 31, 63, 86
commendator tormentorum bellicorum	Artillery Commander	15
commendatores fratri	Commendator-Brothers	141
commentariensis	Private aide	66

conditor urbis	Founder of a city	141
conservator conventualis	Conventual's Conservator	11
consultor bellicae ac munitionum	Advisor on matters of war and fortifications	33
curator aerarii	Curator of the Treasury	114, 139
curator armamentarii	Superintendent of the arsenal	123
curator ephebos	Instructor of the honorary youths	54
curator et advocatus communis aerarii	Curator of lawsuits and Attorney of the Common Treasury	97
curator horreorum et militarium instrumentorum	Superintendent of logistics of granaries and military supplies	18
curator navalis	Naval Superintendent	41
curator nosocomio triremium	Superintendent of the galleys' dockyard	139
curator œconomicae navali rei	Superintendent of naval economic affairs	139
curator testamenti	Curator of a will	151
decanus cathedralis ecclesiae	Dean of the Cathedral church	89, 89
doctor iuris utriusque	Doctor of both Civil and Canon Laws	57, 89, 97
domini hierosolymitanorum	Jerusalemite Lords	120
dominus magnae crucis	Lord of the Grand Cross	33
dominus communis aerarii	Lord of the Common Treasury	77
ductor ignariae cohortis	Commander of a fuelling cohort	100
ductor nautici	Leader of the naval troops	61
dux	Leader	33, 53, 100, 115
dux	Duke	140, 144
dux cursoriae navis	Captain of a corsair ship	94
dux in bello	Leader in war	47
dux magnus	Grand Duke	20, 27, 35, 139
dux supremus triremium	Highest Commander of the galleys	105
dux tercentum peditum	Commander of three hundred foot-soldiers	81
dux terrestrium copiarum	Commander of the ground troops	146

dux triremis	Commander of a galley	31, 48, 56, 61, 74, 80, 81, 105, 108, 111, 117, 128
dux triremis regiae	Commander of the Royal Galley	65
episcopus	Bishop	13, 24, 137
eques	Knight	3 (x 2), 4, 8, 9 (x 2), 11, 18, 26, 27, 31, 36 (x 2), 42, 51, 57, 64, 65, 68, 76 x2), 79, 84, 85, 101, 102, 110, 116, 117 (x 2), 118, 121, 123, 127, 152,
eques anglicae linguae locum tenens	Knight-substitute of the English Langue	29
eques beneficiarius	Knight-Beneficiary	143
eques christiani	Christian Knight	139
eques hierosolymitanus	Knight of Jerusalem	1
eques in castellani officio	Castellan	133
equitatis magister	Master on behalf of jurisdiction	146
equites tornearios	Contesting Knights	89
equitum magister	Chief of the Cavalry	126
equitum praefectus	Major-General of the Cavalry	12
exsecutor testamentarii	Executor	121
frater capellanus	Brother Chaplains	134
generalis	General	43, 125
generalis classium locum tenens	Lieutenant-General of the fleet	59
generalis praefectus campestris militiae	Prefect-General of the field militia	140
generalis receptoris	Exchequer-General	128
generalis sanctae ecclesiae locum tenens	Lieutenant-General of the Sacred Church	108
gerens...commendarum	Deputy Commendator	33 (x2)
gubernator generalis arcis urbanae	Governor-General of the city's citadel	39

gubernator generalis triremium	Governor-General of the galleys	94
heros	Hero	47 (x2)
imperator	Emperor	89
imperator excubiarum cohortis	Commander-in-Chief of the vigilant corps	50
imperator auxiliaribus	Commander-in-Chief of auxiliary troops	102, 108
imperator excubiarum cohortis	Commander-in-Chief of the vigilant corps	50
inserviens communi aerario	Servant Common Treasury	46, 48
inspector triremium	Inspector of the galleys	41
institutor primus bellicarum navium classis	Founder of fleet of warships	102
instructor navem	One who fits out a ship	105
intimus imperii consilium	Member of the inner council of the Emperor	20
legatus	Envoy	1, 20, 35, 47, 108, 126, 131, 137, 147, 149
liber baro	Independent Baron	19, 43, 114
locum tenens magni cancellarii	Deputy to the Great Chancellor	11
locum tenens magni conservatoris	Deputy to the Grand Conservator	112 (x2), 118
locum tenens magni magistri	Lieutenant of Grand Master	35
locum tenens praefecti	Deputy-Prefect	65
locum tenens totius navalis militiae generalis	Lieutenant-General of the whole naval militia	102
magister	Master	16 (x 2)
magister equitatis	Master of jurisdiction	146
magister equitum	Chief of the Cavalry	126
magister navium bellicarum	President of the command of the warships	74
magister supremus	Supreme Master	114
magister supremus	Highest Commander	126
magister tyronium	Teacher of Novices	12, 116

magna cruces	Grand Cross	20,33, 84, 90, 92, 94, 124, 140, 153
magna cruce ad honores	Honorary Grand Cross	46, 145
magnus Ampostae castellanus	Grand Castellan of Amposta	118
magnus baiulivius	Grand Bailiff	37, 43, 114
magnus cancellarius	Great Chancellor	11, 26, 38, 126, 129
magnus commendatarius	Grand Commendator	18, 28, 30, 48, 63, 65, 82, 91, 134, 145
magnus commendator	Grand Commendator	10 (x 2), 12, 96, 109
magnus conservator	Grand Conservator	106
magnus dux	Grand Duke	20, 27, 35, 139
magnus hospitalarius	Grand Hospitaller	143, 152
magnus magister	Grand Master	1, 8, 10, 18, 31, 33, 41, 47, 50, 59, 62, 66 (x 2), 68, 71, 75, 90, 97, 114, 120 (x2), 123, 132, 137, 139, 140, 141(x2), 145, 150, 152, 153
magnus preafectus palatii excubiarum	Grand Prefect of the watchtowers	15
magnus prior	Grand Prior	13, 19, 20, 27, 31, 35, 39, 40, 48, 51, 57, 62, 67, 69, 79, 96, 103, 111, 114, 134,142, 143, 152
maiestas sacrae catholicae	Holy Catholic King	125
marchio	Marquis	51, 111, 117
marescallus	Marshal	31, 61
miles	Soldier	11, 41(x2), 57, 88, 113, 121,
miles religiosus	Religious Knight	117
minister	Minister or representative	23, 139, 140, 142
minister a consiliis	Consultant	137

minister a secretis	Secretary	120, 137, 153
minister a secretis	Private secretary	66
minister religioni	Minister of Religion	134
ministerium libellorum	Petition's department	89
moderator	Governor	102
moderator campestris militiae	Commander of the field militia	123
moderator primo	First Governor	102
moderator supremus bellicarum navium	Supreme Commander of the warships	108
munia iurisprudentiae	Offices of jurisprudence	89
munitor Gauli litus propugnaculis	Superintendent of building new bulwarks of Gozo	46
navarchus classis	Captain of the Fleet	143
orator	Envoy	128, 145, 146, 150
orator extraordinarius	Extraordinary Ambassador	80
ordinarius in equitatu	Officer in the Cavalry	101
palatium magisterium	Office of the Grand Master's Palace	151
parva crux	Small Cross	18
patricius	Nobleman	5, 6, 9, 17, 22, 27, 30, 35, 40, 55
patronus	Patron	16 (x2), 60, 123, 147
perceptor	Exchequer	136
pincernis	Lord Chamberlain	123
polemarchus	Commander-in-Chief	68
pontifex (maximus)	Pope	1, 39, 92, 147, 150
potestas summa triremium	Highest rule of the galleys	126
praeceptor	Exchequer	53, 92, 111 (x2), 154
praedicator	Preacher	22
praefectus	Prefect	4, 65,
praefectus aerarii	Treasurer	72
praefectus arci Cotonerae	Prefect at the Cottonera stronghold	85
praefectus armatae nobilium turmae	Prefect of an armed troop of nobles	92
praefectus bellicae navis	General of a ship of war	78, 86, 102

praefectus classis	Captain	111, 124, 146,150
praefectus classis emeritus	Captain Emeritus of the fleet	39
praefectus classis locum tenens generalis	Lieutenant-General of the whole fleet	84
praefectus classisque totius	Captain of the entire fleet	1
praefectus designatus praetoriae triremis	Commander-designate of the Flagship	100
praefectus equitatus peditatusque	General of foot and horse	87
praefectus equitum	General of the Cavalry	112
praefectus excubiarum	Prefect of the guards	139
praefectus fundationis	Prefect of (a building's) foundation	123
praefectus generalis campestris militiae	Prefect-General of the field militia	140
praefectus generalis classis	General of the whole Fleet	61, 128
praefectus magni magistri palatii	Prefect of the Palace	50
praefectus magnus palatii excubiarum	Grand Prefect of the watchtowers	15
praefectus navium congregatione	Commander-in-Chief over the Congregation of Ships	108
praefectus ordinis xenodochii	Superintendent of the Order's Hospital	93
praefectus palatii	Lord Chamberlain of the Palace	50, 63
praefectus praetoriae	Captain of the Flagship	105
praefectus primus classis	First General of the fleet of galleys	104
praefectus publicae hospitalis domus	Prefect of Public Hospital	143
praefectus regio militum	Royal Prefect of the foot soldiers	125
praefectus senescalciae	Prefect-general of the Stewardship	140
praefectus supremus maris	Supreme command of the seas	56
praefectus tormentis bellicis ac navali	Prefect of the military and naval artillery	50
praefectus totius classis generalis	General of the entire fleet	100
praefectus triremi regiae	Captain of the Royal Galley	109
praefectus triremis	Captain of a galley	48, 82, 94, 95, 105, 115, 128, 132, 140, 145, 147, 150, 151

praefectus urbi Vallettae muniendae	Prefect of the city of Valletta's defence	131
praefectus urbis	Prefect of the city	12
praefectus utrique classis	Commander of both fleets	74
praefectus xenodochii	Superintendent of the strangers' hospital	151
praeses	Procurator	4, 68, 125
praeses bellici consilii	President of Council of War	85
praeses curator ptochotrophei	Chief overseer of the poorhouse	11
praeses curia castellaniae	President of the Castillian Court	15
praeses foro	President of the Court of Justice	107
praeses in curia	President of the Curia	47
praeses rei monetariae	President of Council of Monetary Affairs	85
praeses triremium regimini	Chief Commander of galleys	74
praesul	Deacon	70
praesul	Bishop	148
praesulatus	Priorship	21
praetor	Chief Praetor	47
praetor quinqueremium	Commander of a galley	92
praetor semiparonis	Commander of a small galley	41
presbyter	Priest	11
primates	Nobles	47
princeps Sacri Romani Imperii	Prince of the Holy Roman Empire	19, 114
principatu	Principality	122
principes	Principal men	1, 89
principes christiani	Christian Princes	149
principium	Commander-in-Chief	77
princeps	Prince	27, 33, 35, 47, 54, 68, 71, 75 (x2), 81, 89, 92, 112, 137, 140,

prior	Prior	1, 12 (x2), 14, 20, 25, 44, 45, 49, 53 (x2), 61, 77, 80, 86, 95,104, 113 (x2), 117, 122, 125 (x2), 134, 135, 146, 147, 149 (x2), 150,
prior ecclesiae	Prior of the Conventional church	70, 148
prior generali ecclesiarum	Prior General of the Conventual Church	24
prior maioris ecclesiae	Prior of the Conventual Church	32, 137
pro rex	Viceroy	51, 77
pro-admirati munere	Office of Vice-Admiral	108
procer	Noble	117
procer publici aerarii	Noble of the Common Treasury	70
proceres	Principal men	31
procurator aedium	Administrator of churches	18
procurator regius	Royal Procurator	92
procurator, unus ex quattuor viris, rei bellicae universae	Procurator, one of four men, for the entire affairs of war	74
procuratores	Procurators	9
procuratores communis aerarii	Procurators of the Common Treasury	27, 58, 138
procuratores publici aerarii	Procurators of the Public Treasury	72
pro-praefectus generalis	Lieutenant-General	123
propraefectus palatii	Chamberlain of the Palace	18
protonotarius apostolico	Papal envoy	97
protrierarchus triremis	Lieutenant of a galley	63, 100
pro-vice-cancellarius	Pro-Vice-Chancellor	137
quaestor aerarii	Executor of the Treasury	6, 90
quaestor supremus aerarii	Supreme Executor of the Treasury	93
receptor	Exchequer	10, 12, 43, 63, 75, 94, 106, 109
rector insula gaulo	Governor in the island of Gozo	17
regens cancellariae	Manager the office of the Chancellery	32
regina	Queen	146

regnator fortalitii Manoel	Master of Fort Manoel	123
restitutor commensalibus	Restorer of Common Treasury	96
retor triremium omnium	Commander of all the galleys	105
rex	King	11, 13, 71, 73, 92, 101, 123, 140, 143
rex christianissimus	Most Christian King	48, 87, 122
rex praetoriam	Commander of the Flagship	105
sacerdos	Priest	5
sancti romani imperator	Holy Roman Emperor	111
scriptor secundus in gallicis	Scribe, second in rank, of writing	66
epistulis	French letters	
scutifer	Esquire	67
secretarius communis aerarii	Secretary of the Common Treasury	81
senator	Senator	20
senescallus	Steward	47
succurator	Sub-curator	72
thalassiarcha supremus	Supreme naval Commander	117
tirocinia	Apprenticeship	122
tribunus classis	Officer of the fleet	85
tribunus legionibus	Commander of Legions	16
tribunus militum	Military Commander	48, 122
trierarchus	Captain of a galley	71, 92
trivirum communi aerario procurando iurique	One of the three men for the governing of the Common Treasury	118
tutela sororum	Guardianship of Sisters	12
vicarius magni magistri	Deputy of Grand Master	131
vice cancellarius	Vice-Chancellor	40
vice linguae angliae optimatis	Deputy to the Aristocrats of the Langue of England	18
vice magisterii	Deputy- Grand Master	148
vice magni cancellarii	Vice-Great Chancellor	26
vice magni magistri	Vice-Grand Master	147
vice magni marescalli	Vice-Grand Marshall	3
vice marescalli	Acting Marshal	33
vice trierarchi	Lieutenant-Captain of a galley	100

vindicus	Defender	1
vir electionis octoviratum	Member of the election committee of eight	148
vir in comitiis generalibus XVI	One of a ballot-committee of sixteen in the general elections	153
XVI viros rei publicae instaurandae legisbus	Committee of sixteen men for restoring the Republic and the proposing of laws	118

Index no. 5: Place names found in the inscriptions

Latin (nominative)	*English reference*	*Region*	*Country*	*Inscription number*
Abydus	Çanakkale Boğazı	Hellespont	Turkey	150
Alcolea	Alcolea del Río	Sevilla	Spain	129
Alengonis Portus	Langon	Provence	France	40
Almunia	La Almunia (de Doña Godina).	Zaragoza	Spain	112
Alpartir	Alpartir	Zaragoza	Spain	148
Amposta	Amposta		Spain	36, 75, 112, 118
Ancona	Ancona		Italy	39
Anglia			England	18, 29, 39, 80
Aqua	Bourbon-l'Archembault		France	58
Aqua Sextia	Aix-en-Provence	Provence	France	4, 24
Aquitania	Aquitane		France	152
Aragonia	Aragon		Spain	40, 47, 75, 112, 137, 146, 150
Arbois	Arbois	Auvergne	France	30
Arci Cotoneræ	Cottonera strongholds	Cottonera	Malta	85
Arcon	Arcones	Segovia	Spain	153
Arelas	Arles	Bouches-du-Rhône	France	23, 66
Aretium	Arezzo		Italy	8, 135
Armenia			Armenia	77, 129
Arvernia	Auvergne		France	3, 31, 34, 61, 62, 68, 115
Augusta	Agosta	Sicily	Italy	22
Augusta Taurinorum	Turin		Italy	9, 21, 34
Aunon	Auñón	Guadalajara	Spain	73
Auria	Orense	Gallicia	Spain	34
Austria			Austria	20, 137
Avenio	Avignon		France	29, 80, 145

Axati	Lora del Rio	Sevilla	Spain	26, 31, 73
Bagnano	Bagnana		Italy	116
Barbaranum			Italy	135
Barcino	Barcelona		Spain	119
Barro	A de Barros		Portugal	38, 123
Barulum	Barletta		Italy	57, 113
Bettona	Bettona		Ubria	136
Bisinianum	Bisignano	Calabria	Italy	88
Bononia	Bologna		Italy	52, 80
Bononis Curia	Boncourt		Switzerland	82
Bubigheim	Bubikon		Switzerland	114
Bugnets	Bugnets		France	33
Burgaud	Le Burgaud	Haute-Garonne	France	50
Calabria	Calabria		Italy	63, 146
Calasparra	Calasparra	Murcia	Spain	11
Calata Hieronensi	Calatagirone	Sicily	Italy	90
Campania	Champagne		France	82
Campania Gallica	Champagne		France	143
Cannatelli	Cannitello	Reggio Calabria	Italy	146
Capella	La Chapelle		France	95
Capua	Capua		Italy	21, 77
Castellonovum	Châteauneuf		France	63
Castilla	Castille		Spain	11,
Catalaunia	Catalonia		Spain	106, 142, 146
Cherium	Chieri		Italy	100
Chiensis	Chienes	Bressanone	Italy	100
Chiroga	Quiroga	Orense	Spain	31
Corinthus	Corinth		Greece	131
Corone	Corone		Greece	16, 115, 125
Corsica		Corsica	Italy	51
Cotonera	Cottonera	Malta	Malta	85, 141
Coulours	Coulours	Yonne	France	7
Cremona	Cremona		Italy	34, 116
Creta	Crete		Greece	16, 150

Cuburia	Finistère	Bretagne	France	29
Danubium	Danube			86
Dividunum	Metz		France	84
Dola	Dole	Jura	France	30
Drepano	Trapani	Sicily	Italy	45
Espolions	Espalion	Vallée du Lot	France	48
Estrapignium	Estrepigny		France	120
Etruria	Tuscany		Italy	27, 139, 144
Eubœa	Negroponte		Greece	112, 126
Europa			Europe	1
Faventia	Faenza		Italy	140
Saxoferratum	Sassoferrato	Ancona	Italy	90
Firmi	Firmo	Cosenza	Italy	150
Florentia	Florence		Italy	136,144
Vedinum	Udine		Italy	52
Francia			France	66, 78, 84, 92, 102, 108, 109, 120, 121, 151, 152
Gallia	Gaul		France	66, 92, 109
Garidech	Garidech	Haute-Garonne	France	91
Gaulos	Gozo		Malta	41, 46, 108
Germania			Germany	20, 43, 97, 114
Gigeri	Jijeli		Algeria	115, 122
Gradulum	San Maggiore at Gradulo		Italy	136
Grassano	Grassano		Italy	104
Hambachium	Hambach		Germany	114
Harcourt	Harcourt	Eure	France	105
Heitersheim	Heitersheim		Germany	19, 114
Hellespontus	Hellespont		Turkey	77, 115
Herlesheim	Herrlisheim		France	114
Hiberia Terra	Iberia		Spain	40
Calata Hieronis	Caltagirone	Sicily	Italy	90
Hispania			Spain	73, 98, 123, 153
Horta	Orthez	Pau	France	112

Hosca	Huesca	Aragon	Spain	112
Hungaria			Hungary	146
Igilgilitana / Igilgilis	See Gigeri		Algeria	115, 122
Forum Cornelium	Imola		Italy	53
Insubria	Insubria		Italy	111
Italia			Italy	8, 57, 64, 125
La Feuillee	La Feuilée	Bretagne	France	152
La Motta	La Motta-Servolex	Savoie	France	113
Lauri	Lauria		Italy	25
Leodium	Liege		Belgium	143
Lesa	Leça		Portugal	37, 40, 98, 126 132
Levcas	Levkás		Greece	125, 146
Lombardia	Lombardy		Italy	51, 69, 86
Louviere	La Louvierè	Belgium		120
Luca	Lucca		Italy	103
Lugdunum	Lyons		France	60
Lusitania	partly Portugal/Spain		Portugal	38, 85, 126, 132
Lutetia	Paris	France	France	81, 94
Maiorica	Majorca	Catalonia	Spain	141
Maissonnise	Maissonnise		France	68
Mallen	Mallen	Zaragoza	Spain	112
Manuasca	Manosque	Haute-Provence	France	58, 109, 138
Manusive	Manusive	maybe Manosque	France	28
Massilia	Marseilles	France	France	65, 92, 122
Mauleon	Mauléon	Basque territory	France	152
Mauritana	Mauritania		Morocco	100
Mazaria	Mazara del Valle	Sicily	Italy	150
Mediolanum	Milan		Italy	14
Melita			Malta	22, 25, 32, 41, 47, 51, 53, 59, 66, 85, 86, 92, 97 (x 2), 101, 105, 106, 108,

				116 (x 2), 125, 134, 138 (x 2), 149
Messana	Messina	Sicily	Italy	6, 35, 53, 79, 147
Migliaud	Migliaud		France	130
Miraval	Miravalles	Galicia	Spain	73
Moisi	Moisy	Chartres	France	120
Mons Albani	Monte Albani		Italy	5
Mons Pessuli	Monte Pessulo		Italy	122
Mons Sarcii	Montesarchio	Naples	Italy	25
Montsegnes	Montsenis	Drôme	France	33
Morea	Peloponnese		Greece	7, 125
Morello	Morello	Monte Morello	Italy	104, 140
Moschi	Moschi	Caucasus	Asia	43
Naupactum	Lepanto (Náupaktos)		Greece	131
Navarra	Navarre		Spain	67
Neapolis	Naples	Italy	Italy	47, 77, 125, 128
Neuenburg	Neuenburg		Germany	114
Nicia	Nice		France	12, 15, 87, 107
Nicopolis	Préveza		Greece	125
Novara	Novarra	Sicily	Italy	53
Novarbuccina	Novarra	Sicily	Italy	53
Novem Villarum	Novillas	Zaragoza	Spain	26, 53, 73, 154
Oran	Oran	Algeria		59, 102
Oriolana	Orihuela	Valencia	Spain	112
Pachynum	Pachino	Sicily	Italy	2
Pajares De Algozo	Pajares de Algozo	Lena region	Spain	37, 126
Panormum	Palermo	Sicily	Italy	91, 129, 150
Pavon	Pavones	Madrid	Spain	73
Pazos de Arrenteiro	Pazos	Gallicia	Spain	26
Pedemons	Piedmont		Italy	100
Peloponnensus	Peloponnese		Greece	8, 115 (x 2)
Perusia	Perugia		Italy	17
Pessulanus	Montpellier		France	95
Petracoriensi Provincia	Périgueux	Perigord	France	41

Pieton	Pieton	Hainaut	Belgium	102
Pisa	Pisa		Italy	1, 27, 32, 52, 87
Placentia	Piacenza		Italy	57
Provincia	Provence		France	4, 12, 16, 24, 28, 65 (x 2), 87, 122
Puilaubran	Puilaubran		France	108
Reatis	Rieti		Italy	150
Rhodanus	Rhone		France	107
Rhodos	Rhodes		Greece	29
Roccella	Roccella		Italy	63, 146
Roma	Rome		Italy	81, 92, 126, 135
Rosarum	Rosas	Catalonia	Spain	71, 137
Rovighi	Rovigo	Padova	Italy	135
Saint Pol	Saint-Pol-de-Léon	Finistère, Bretagne	France	30
Saint Vauburg	Saint-Vaubourg		France	84
Sales	Sales	Haute-Savoie	France	33
Sancta Eulalia	Sainte-Eulalie-de-Cernon		France	145
Sancta Euphemia	Sant' Eufemia		Italy	17, 39, 44
Sancta Lucia	Sainte-Luce	Isere	France	145
Sancta Maria de Templo	Santa Maria Del Tempio		Italy	144
Sancta Maria gratiarum	Santa Maria delle Gratie	Pisa	Italy	32
Sancta Maura	see Levkás		Greece	
Sanctus Cassianus	San Cassiano	Italy	Italy	135
Sanctus Ioannis Aquensis	Bagnères-de-Luchon	Haute-Garonne	France	16
Sanctus Ægidius	Saint-Gilles	Provence	France	48, 95, 109, 122
Sanctus Aularius	Saint-Aulaye	Dordogne	France	134
Sanctus Felix	Saint-Félix		France	50
Sanctus Ioannis de Bettona	San Giovanni of Bettona		Italy	136
Sanctus Ioannis de Longara	San Giovanni of Longara	Longara	Italy	139

Sanctus Ioannis de Prato	St. John of Prato	Prato	Italy	32
Sanctus Ioannis Hoscæ	San Juan of Huesca		Spain	112
Sanctus Iustinus	San Giustino		Italy	55
Sanctus Magnus de Gradulo	San Maggiore of Gradulo	Gradulo	Italy	136
Sanctus Paulus de Romans	Saint-Paul-lès-Romans	Drôme	France	33
Sanctus Sepulcrum de Florentia	Sansepolcro	Diocese near Florence.	Italy	136
Sanctus Stephanus	Santo Stefano		Italy	45, 56, 104, 117, 125, 131
Sardinia	Sardinia		Italy	51
Saxonica Aqua	Aachen		Germany	39
Schauenburg	Schauenburg		Germany	114
Selles	Selles-sur-Cher	Loir-et-Cher.	France	
Seniensis	Siena		Italy	1, 2, 35, 55, 113, 139
Sestos	Eceabat	Hellespont	Turkey	150
Sicilia	Sicily		Italy	22, 137
Syracusa	Syracuse		Italy	90
Thessalonica	Thessaloniki		Greece	137
Ticinum	Pavia		Italy	99
Tolosa	Toulouse		France	42, 108
Trinquetallia	Trinquetaille	Ardeche	France	145
Tripolis	Tripoli		Libya	59, 94, 95
Truncinium	Tronchiennes		Belgium	18
Tunes	Tunis		Tunesia	102
Turias(s)o	Tarazona	Aragon	Spain	153
Tosina	Tosina	Tuscany	Italy.	26, 129, 154
Valentia Ad Rhodanum	Valence		France	107
Valleta	Valletta		Malta	6, 18, 61, 77
Venetia	Venice		Italy	103, 108, 115, 135
Venusia	Venosa		Italy	53, 135

Vera Crux	Veracruz		Mexico	126, 132
Versalliae	Versailles		France	102
Vienna	Vienna		Austria	20
Villacova A Coalheira	Vila Cova à Coelheira		Portugal	123
Villafuerte	Villafuerte	Valladolid	Spain	73
Villalba	Collado Villalba	Madrid	Spain	153
Villela	Vilela	Minho	Portugal	73
Villers Ad Leodium	Villers-Semeuse		Belgium	143
Villingen	Villingen		Germany	114
Vircourt	Vircourt		France	84
Zespedes	Ćespedes	Biscay	Spain	26

Index no. 6: Place names, also found in the commentary

Place name	*Inscription number*
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Aegean Sea	112
Alghera	21
Algiers	58
Asseltrach	43
Atlantic	100
Bilbao	73
Black Sea	43
Bohemia	19
Bormio	57
Bucinna	53
Candia	115
Cannstatt	19
Capo Passaro	2
Capo Santo di Leuce	58
Carthage	77
Carthagena	58
Caspian See	43
Castillon	143
Catania	22
Chano	143
Clermont Ferrand	48
Cordoba	26
Corfu	125
Correnti Islands	4a
Cyprus	29
Damietta	84
Dardanelles	77
Dreugesin	143
Fez	100
Flanders	125
Genoa	20

Genova 125
Guadalajara 73
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Ireland 40
Kalamata 16
Karlsruhe 19
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Laon et Chatillon 143
Lazaretto, Fort Manoel 137
Léon 26
Levanzo 53
Lipary islands 53
Malaga 58
Marrakech 100
Maupas 143
Monaco 13
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Narbonne 48
Navarinno 131
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Picardie 143
Provence 4a
Ravenna 53
Remchingen 19
Santena di Chieri 100
Savoie 125
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Index no.7: Figures of Style

In this index, all appearances of figures of style are listed by inscription number and frequency of appearance. Stylistic figures include prosody and figures of speech. All figures of style appear once, unless indicated otherwise. A total of 563 stylistic figures appear in 156 inscriptions.

Alliteration: 156 appearances (27.71%) in the following nos.:
2,4a, 4b, 10 (x 2), 11 (x 2), 13, 14, 15 (x 3), 17, 19, 25, 26, 27, 34, 35, 37, 38 (x 3), 41, 42 (x 3), 43, 44, 45 (x 2), 46, 47, 48, 50 (x 2), 51, 53 (x 3), 58 (x 2), 60 (x 4), 61 (x 3), 62 (x 4), 63 (x 5), 64, 68 (x 3), 69 (x2), 70, 71, 73 (x 3), 74 (x 3), 76 (x 2), 77, 79, 81, 82, 87, 89 (x 3), 90, 93, 94 (x 2), 96 (x 3), 97,101 (x 3), 106, 107, 108, 111 (x 3), 112, 113 (x 5), 114 (x 2), 115 (x 4), 116, 119 (x 2), 121 (x 2), 122 (x2), 123 (x 4), 124, 126 (x 3), 127 (x 2), 128 (x 4), 129, 131, 132 (x 4), 135, 138, 141, 144, 145, 146 (x 3), 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153 (x 2)

Anaphora: 15 appearances (2.66%) in the following nos.:
4b, 11, 23, 26, 36, 44, 69, 112, 121, 126, 129, 134, 136, 145, 151

Apiphora: 2 appearances (0.36%) in the following nos.:
23,107

Assonance: 47 appearances (8.35%) in the following nos.:
2, 4a (x 2), 13, 35, 42, 47, 49 (x 2), 50, 55, 61 (x 2), 62, 67, 68, 70, 72, 73 (x 3), 75, 76, 77, 81, 96, 100, 101, 113, 117, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 125, 126, 128, 132, 144, 145 (x 2), 146, 148, 149, 150 (x 2)

Asyndeton: 27 appearances (4.80%) in the following nos.:
6, 17, 24, 26, 46 (x2), 47, 56, 60, 80, 97, 98, 105, 123, 125, 128 (x 3), 145 (x 2), 146, 147, 148, 150 (x 2), 153, 154

Chiasmus: 45 appearances (7.99%) in the following nos.:
4, 10, 11 (x 2), 12, 47 (x 3), 48, 50, 54, 63, 64 (x 4), 67, 73 (x 2), 74, 76, 79, 81, 92 (x 2), 96, 101, 103, 104 (x 2), 105 (x 3), 112 (x 2), 126, 128 (x 2), 129, 132, 134, 135, 145, 149,150

Congeries: 9 appearances (1.60%) in the following nos.:
4, 17, 23, 27, 28, 62, 111, 147, 154

Copia: 3 appearances (0.53%) in the following nos.:
31, 46, 62

Cyclos: 4 appearances (0.71%) in the following nos.:
33, 56, 64, 95

Hendiadys: 1 appearance (1.18 %) in the following no.:
11

Homoeoteleuton: 18 appearances (3.20 %) in the following nos.:
1, 13, 41, 42, 63, 69, 73, 81, 89, 94, 96, 103, 115 (x 2), 137, 141, 148, 149

Hyperbaton: 71 appearances (12.61 %) in the following nos.:
1, 4, 4a(x 2), 12 (x 3), 27 (x 4), 31, 39 (x 2), 42, 44, 46, 47, 50, 51 (x 2), 53 (x 5), 54 (x 4), 56 (x 2), 59 (x 2), 63, 66 (x 2), 77, 82 (x 3), 85, 91, 108 (x 2), 117 (x 2), 128, 130, 132 (x 3), 142, 146 (x 4), 147, 149 (x 3), 150 (x 7), 153, 154 (x 2)

Hypallage: 2 appearances (0.36 %) in the following nos.:
46, 62

Litotes: 4 appearances (0.71%) in the following nos.:
48, 115, 131, 140

Oxymoron: 15 appearances (2.66 %) in the following nos.:
30, 33, 44, 46, 57, 58, 81, 90, 101, 104, 119, 123, 144 (x 2), 145

Parallelism of phrases: 85 appearances (15.10 %) in the following nos.:
4b (x 3), 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 23, 25, 31, 35, 41, 42 (x 2), 43, 44 (x 2), 46, 47, 50, 54, 56, 59, 62, 63, 65, 69, 70, 73 (x 3), 75, 76, 80, 81, 82, 83, 85, 92 (x 4), 96 (x 3), 101, 103, 104, 105, 106,

107 (x 2), 111, 115 (x 2), 116, 118, 119, 121 (x 2), 123, 124 (x2), 125, 128 (x3), 129, 130, 132, 134 (x 2), 135, 137 (x 2), 138 (x 2), 144 (x 2), 145 (x 2), 149, 151

Paronomasia: 10 appearances (1.78 %) in the following nos.:
14, 40, 77, 94, 95, 100, 112, 119, 138, 141

Polyptoton: 39 appearances (6.93%) in the following nos.:
11, 37, 42, 44, 47 (x 2), 58 (x 2), 63 (x 3), 64, 70, 73 (x 5), 79, 92 (x 3), 94, 96, 98, 101, 104, 119, 126 (x 2), 128, 132 (x 3), 137 (x 2), 139, 145, 152

Polysyndeton: 3 appearances (0.53 %) in the following nos.:
25, 62, 63

Sensus Pregnans: 3 appearances (0.53 %) in the following nos.:
4, 46, 53

Zeugma: 1 appearance (0.18 %) in the following no.:
32

Index no. 8: Latin abbreviations found in the monumental inscriptions

A.	*amicus*
A.	*annos*
A. P. V.	*a partu Virginis*
A.D.	*anno domini*
A.D.	*ante diem*
A.R.S.	*anno reparatae salutis*
ADVERS.	*adversus*
ADVOC.	*advocatus*
AER. VVLG.	*aera vulgata*
ÆT.	*aetatis*
AET.S.	*aetatis suae*
ÆTAT.	*aetatis*
AMANTIS.	*amantissimus*
AMANTISS.	*amantissimus*
AN.	*anni*
AN.	*anno*
AN.	*annum*
AN. SAL.	*anno salutis*
ANNALIB.	*annalibus*
ANT.	*antonius*
ANTIQVA.	*antiquitas*
APOST.	*apostolus*
APR.	*apriles*
ARCHIEP.	*archiepiscopus*
AVG.	*augustinus*
AVG.	*Augustus*
B. M.	*bona memoria*
BAIVL.	*baiulivus*
BAL.	*baiulivatus*
BAPT	*baptista*
BAPTI.	*baptista*
BELLICAR.	*bellicarus*
BENEFICENT.	*beneficentissimus*
BISINIANEN.	*bisinianensis*
C.	*corsica*
C. V.	*clarissimus vir*
CANCEL.	*cancellarius*
CAP DE OBOED.	*capellanus de oboedientia*
CAP.	*capitaneus*
CAP.	*capitularis*
CARD.	*cardinalis*
CMD.	*commendator*
CMD.	*commendatoria*
COIS.	*communis*
COM.	*communis*
COMDA.	*commenda*
COMDARIT.	*commendarit*
COMITE	*comitate*
COMM.	*commendataria*
COMMAND.	*commendatoria*
COMMEND.	*commendator*
COMMENDS.	*commendatarius*
COMMONI.	*commilitoni*
COMNIS	*communist*
COMVS.	*commendatarius*
CONFRES.	*confratres*
CONS.	*consilium*
CONSER.	*conservator*
COPIAR.	*copiarum*
CVBICVL.	*cubitulatus*
CVRAT.	*curator*
D.	*dies*
D.	*divus*
D.	*doctor*
D.	*domincus*
D.	*dominus*
D.	*don*

D.O.M	*deo optimo maximo*
D.V.T.	*deo uno trino*
DE.	*Deus*
DECEM.	*December*
DNI.	*domini*
DNOS.	*dominos*
DOM.	*dominus*
E.M.M.H.H.D.D.F	*eminentissimus magnus magister hospitalis hierosolymitanæ dominus don frater*
ECCLESIASTIS. SACRAMEN.	*ecclesiasticum sacramentum*
ELECT.	*electus*
EM.	*eminentissimus*
EMAN	*Emanuel*
EPATVM.	*episcopatum*
EPISC.	*episcopus*
EPIST.	*epistula*
EPVS.	*episcopus*
EQ.	*eques*
ET	*eternus*
EXCELL.	*excelentissimus*
EXEC.	*executores*
EXRES.	*exsecutores*
F.	*filius*
F.	*frater*
F.F.	*filius fecit*
F.F.	*frater fratris*
FEB.	*Februarias*
FEBR.	*Februarius*
FIDELISS.	*fidelissimus*
FLORENTIN.	*florentinus*
FR.	*frater*
FRAN.	*franciscus*
FREQVENTIB.	*frequentibus*
GEN.	*generalis*
GVBERNATE	*gubernatione*
H. D.	*Hierosolymitanae domini*
HIER.	*Hierosolymitanus*
HIERO.	*Hierosolymitanus*
I.V.	*iuris utriusque*
I.V.D.	*iuris utriusque doctor*
IAN.	*Ianuarius*
IANVAR	*Ianuarius*
ID.	*Idus*
IER.	*Ierusalem*
ILL.	*illustrissimus*
ILLVSMI	*illustrissimi*
INS.	*insula*
INSTRVMENTOR.	*instrumentorum*
IO.	*Ioannis*
IOAN.	*Ioannis*
IOS	*Ioseph*
IVL.	*Iulius*
KAL.	*Kalendae*
LACR.	*lacrima*
LB.	*liber baro*
LEGATE.	*legatione*
LEGIB.	*legibus*
M.	*magnus*
M.	*maria*
M.	*menses*
M.	*merenti*
M. ECC	*magna ecclesia*
M. H. P. C.	*monvmentvm hoc ponendum curavervnt*
M.M.	*magnus magister*
M.P.	*monumentum posuit*

M.P.C.	*monumentum ponendum curavit*
MA.	*maria*
MÆSTISS.	*maestissimus*
MAG.	*magister*
MAGIST.	*magistralis*
MAGLIS.	*magistralis*
MAI.	*Maius*
MAIORICEN.	*Maioricensis*
MELIT.	*melitensis*
MELITEN.	*Melitensis*
MEM.	*memoria*
MEM. ÆTERN.	*memoria aeterna*
MENS.	*mens*
MON.	*monumentum*
MONVM.	*monumentum*
MOSCOR.	*moschori*
MRI	*magistri*
N. D. D. F.	*noster dominus don frater*
NEAP.	*neapolitanus*
NICOL	*Nicolaus*
NOB.	*nobilis*
NOB.	*nobilitas*
NON.	*Nonae*
NOV.	*November*
NOVEM.	*November*
NRÆ.	*nostrae*
O.	*ordo*
O.H.	*Ordo Hiersolymitanorum*
OB.	*obiit*
OCTOB.	*Octobres*
OCTOGENS	*octogensimum*
OES.	*omnes*
OIBVS	*omnibus*
OP.	*optimus*
ORD.	*ordo*
ORD.	*ordo-ordinis*
P.	*pater*
P.	*posuerunt*
P.	*presbyter*
P.C.	*ponendum curavit*
P.M.	*plus minus*
P.M.	*pontifex maximus*
P.P.	*papa*
P.P.	*pecunia publica*
P.P.	*pontifex*
P.P.	*pontificum*
P.P.	*posuerunt*
P.P.	*pecunia posuit*
P.P.P.	*propria pecunia posuit*
PATRIC.	*patricius*
PAVL.	*Paulus*
PNVM.	*principium*
PONT. MAX.	*pontifex maximus*
PONTIF.	*pontifex*
POS.	*posuit*
PRÆCEP.	*praeceptor*
PRÆS.	*praeses*
PRID.	*Pridie*
PRIN.	*princeps*
PRIOR.	*prioratus*
PROC.	*procurator*
PROCC.	*procuratores*
PROCVRES.	*procuratores*
PROQ.	*proque*
PROT. APLICO.	*protonotarius apostolicus*
PRPIS.	*principis*
Q.	*que*
QVOR.	*quorum*
R.	*religio*
REB.	*rebus*

R.P.INSTAVRAN	*res publica instauranda*
REL.	*religio*
RELIG.	*religio*
RENVNTVS.	*renuntiatus*
REP.	*reparatae*
REPAR.	*reparatus*
REQ IN DOM.	*requiescat in domino*
REV.	*reverendissimus*
ROM.	*Roma*
S.	*sacer*
S.	*saint*
S.	*salutis*
S.	*sanctus*
S.	*suus*
S.I.	*sanctus ioannes*
S.IO.H.	*sanctus ioannis Hierosolymitanus*
S.M.	*sancta maria*
S.R.I.	*Sanctum Romanum Imperium*
S.R.I	*Sanctus Romanus Imperator*
SAC.	*sacer*
SAC.	*sacerdos*
SÆ.	*sanctae*
SAL.	*salutis*
SAL. HVM.	*salutis humanae*
SALV.	*salvator*
SAN	*sanctus*
SCRIB.	*scribendus*
SENIEN.	*Seniensis*
SEPCRI.	*sepulcri*
SER.	*serenissimus*
SERENIS.	*serenissimus*
SICIL.	*Sicilia*
SRI.	*sacri*
SS.	*sanctissimum*
SVCRE.	*succuratore*
SVPR.	*supremus*
TRIB.	*tribus*
TRIPOLINAM.	*Tripolitanam*
TRIREM.	*triremes*
V.L.	*venerandae linguae*
V.M.	*vir magnificus*
VEN.	*venerabilis*
VEN.	*venerandus*
VEND.	*venerandus*
VENN.	*venerandi*
VENN. COMM.	*venerandi commendatores*
VENN. PROCC.	*venerandi procuratori*
VIX.	*vixit*
VRB.	*urbs*
VRB. VIII	*Urbanus VIII*
VVLG.	*Vulgata*
XBRIS.	*December*

Index no. 9: Greek abbreviations found in the monumental inscriptions

A	Alpha
A ☧ Ω	A XP[ΙΣΤΟΣ] Ω
☧	Christos
Ω	Omega

Index no. 10: Most common appearances of symbolism on the monumental inscription, found at St. John's main nave

Alpha and Omega

A XP[ΙΣΤΟΣ] Ω is here a frequently used heading of inscriptions. Alpha and Omega are the first and last letters of the Greek Alphabet, while the XP represents the first two letters of the name Christ in the Greek alphabet (see XP). In Christianity, they represent both the Eternity of God and the eternal nature of Christ. N.T. *Apc.* 1.8: *Ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ ἄλφα και τὸ ὦ, λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός, ὁ ὢν και ὁ ἦ και ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ὁ παντοκράτωρ. Ego sum Alpha et Omega, dicit Dominus Deus, qui est et qui erat et qui venturus est, Omnipotens.* N.T. *Hbr.* 13.8: *" Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐχθὲς και σήμερος ὁαὐτὸσ και εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Iesus Christus heri et hodie idem, et insaecula!*

Anchor

In Antiquity, it was a symbol of safety for seafarers. Here, in St. John's, it is commonly used to show the seafaring element of the Knights. In Christianity, it represents a firm attachment to the Christian faith and hope. VULG. *Hbr.* 6.19: *quam sicut anchoram habemus animae tutam ac firmam et incendentem usque in interiora velaminis.*

Angel

Angels, *ἄγγελοι*, are messengers, who both appear in Classical mythology and Christianity. They mostly appear in the context of a message from the gods in the past and God at present. Two very well known examples are Hermes and Gabriel. The human perception of the appearance of angels changed much during time. The angel Hermes was present on many vase-paintings. When one compares a picture of Hermes, painted on an oinochos from *c.* 350 B.C. with, for instance, a woodcut of St. Michael fighting the dragon, of 1498, by Albrecht Dürer, the appearance has shifted from a winged, naked and athletic young man to a winged old man with long curly hair, dressed in a long garment (Richter 1994: 354; Gombrich 1995: 345). In Christianity, the role that angels play in the Annunciation to Mary and the

announcement of the Resurrection are prime examples. Angels may also represent the watchfulness or presence of God. At St. John's main nave, angels are often represented hovering in the upper part of the gravestones, holding the shield with the coat of arms in mid-air. VULG. *Apc.* 12.7: *et factum est proelium in caelo Michahel et angeli eius proeliabantur cum dracone.*

Angel of Fame

The Angel of Fame is also a very frequent iconographical figure. This Angel heralds its message on a long trumpet when transferring the soul of the deceased to the Lord (*e.g.* no 11). However, they should not be confused with other frequent appearances of skeletons blowing a trumpet, in which Death is the final victor (*e.g.* no. 36).

Arched arrangement

Any arched arrangement, here represented either as a stone arch or an opened set of draperies, symbolizes the heavens or Heaven. It also can mean the transition of the soul from earth to Heaven, that is eternity, especially when cherubs hold open the folds of the draperies (*e.g.* no. 59).

Array of military paraphernalia

An array of military paraphernalia consist here of one or more of the following elements, generally fanned out symmetrically, or near symmetrically, behind the shield with the coat of arms: anchors, armoury, arrows, axes, banners, cannon, cannon shot, classical armoury and helmets, crescent, drums, flags, helmets, laurels, spears, trumpets, Turkish cuirass, helmets, scimitar and shield, turban (no. 44), weaponry in general. Such an array, in general, belongs to military victory.

Arrow

The dart belonged to the Classical gods, especially Eros. In the military terms of St. John's, bundles of arrows show concordance and unity (see no. 51).

Banner

The banner here shows a saying dear to the deceased, or it symbolizes victory. The latter idea is founded on VULG. *Is.* 11.12: *Et levabit signum in nationes et congregabit profugos Israel et dispersos Iuda colliget a quattuor plagis terrae.*

Book

A book commonly represents the Bible, or contains the selection of names of those who will be called to the Lord on the Last Judgement. VULG. *Apc.* 20.12: *Et vidi mortuos, magnos et pusillos, stantes in conspectu throni; et libri aperti sunt. Et alius liber apertus est, qui est vitae; et iudicati sunt mortui ex his, quae scripta errant in libris secundum opera ipsorum.* Books also symbolize learning, and the acquiring of wisdom and truth through knowledge. In the context of those deceased Knights who wished to be portrayed as pious, but did not wish to make it too obvious through text, open books symbolically mean to say: God records everything we did, and He will remember, and even if forgive, if we repent. Those who do not repent are lost souls, *id.* 20.15: *qui non est inventus in libro vitae scriptus, missus est in stagnum ignis.*

Candle

In Christianity, candles signify the divine light of Christ. In the rites of Catholic funeral, they signify the light of heaven and the souls of the departed. Two candles placed on an altar may represent Jesus' human and divine natures. The light of a candle, flickering in the slightest breeze and easy to quench, stands for the fragility of life; thus, a candle turned upside down represent death. Candles also represent the words of Jezus Christ, captured in VULG. *Io.* 8.12: *iterum ergo locutus est eis Iesus dicens: "Ego sum lux mundi; qui sequitur me, non ambulabit in tenebris, sed habebit lucem vitae".*

Cartouche

The cartouche is a scroll-shaped ornament, corbel, mutule or modillion. Also, a tablet representing a scroll with rolled-up ends or edges, with or without an inscription. Further it can be an ornate frame in the shape of such a scroll, or it may take the shape

of a drapery with folded sides. Often, it appears as an inside scallop, and has the meaning of a shell (see scallop).

Chalice

The chalice symbolizes Holy Communion and the forgiveness of sin, important elements in dying well (see no. 70). It comes from VULG. *Mt.* 26.26-27: *et accipiens calicem gratias egit et dedit illis dicens:" Bibite ex hoc omnes: Hic est enim sanguis meus novi testamenti, qui pro multis effunditur in remissionem peccatorum. Dico autem vobis: Non bibam amodo de hoc genimine vitis usque in diem illum, cum illud bibam vobiscum novum in regno Patris mei".*

Cherub

See: Putto.

Cinerary urn

The cinerary urn stands for death and mourning. It also is connected to resurrection, as the deceased, one day, will rise from his ashes, just as the Phoenix.

Classical cuirass

See also: Array with military paraphernalia; Pallas.

Clock

A mechanical clock symbolizes the ticking away of life, mortality. However, the clock can also be explained as a symbol of eternity, as day follows night, the arms continue to turn.

Column

A column stands for strength and perseverance. A broken column represents destruction, that is, premature death.

Crucifix

The ultimate Christian symbol for death and resurrection is used rarely in the monumental inscriptions of St. John's.

Cypress

The cypress is a tree with great symbolic meaning in the Mediterranean. Its height stands for beauty and majesty. This long-lived evergreen is also connected with eternal life. Hence, its presence in cemeteries and art (see no. 35). This in sharp contrast to the northern European countries, where cemeteries are often dramatized by the presence of weeping willows.

Death

Death is represented by both a skeleton, which figure was re-popularised in Rome during the Baroque period, and as Father Time, a grey-bearded winged figure. Death as a skeleton often brandishes a scythe, a symbol for cutting grass, or a person, from its earthly roots. Death as Father Times frequently shows a sandglass, with or without wings, representing time-up. Death as a skeleton appears 19 times, as Father Time 14 times. In numbers, this may be not absolutely frequent, but as a strong symbol, they surely influence the macabre of the atmosphere of the main nave.

Dolphins

Dolphins are known from Antiquity, where they were attributed to the water gods. For seafarers and fishermen the dolphin stood for a friendly animal that was known to have saved lives of those having fallen overboard. In Christianity it became a symbol of faith and hope. Inscription no. 128 shows two volutes in the shape of crowned dolphins.

Dove

The dove was present in Calssical mythology. In Christianity it is a symbol of the Holy Spririt, and is present in the batism of Christ. VULG. *Mk.* 1.10-11: *Et statim ascendens de aqua vidit apertos caelos et Spiritum tamquam columbam descendentem in ipsum. Et vox facta de caelis:"Tu est Filius meum dilectus; in te complacui".* The

nimbus with three rays around the Dove's head shows that the Holy Spirit is part of the Trinity. When the dove is shown without the rays of the nimbus, it ois generally a symbol of peace.

Dragons

Dragons and mythical beasts were not positively looked upon in Classical mythology, often fought and killed. The dragon, in Jewish and Christian tradition, was charged with the identity of the devil and thus had to be fought (see no. 16). VULG. *Apoc.* 12.3: *Et visum est aliud signum in caelo; et ecce draco rufus magnus, habens capita septem et cornua decem, et super capita sua septem diademata. id* 12.9: *Et proiectus est draco ille magnus, serpens antiquus, qui vocatur Diabolus et Satanas qui seducit universum orbem; proiectus est in terram, et angeli eius cum illo proiecti sunt.*

Drum

A military drum stands for the military march and battle. See array.

Eagle

The eagle is considered to be the king of birds. Its speed and high flight gave inspiration to many cultures and religions as a symbol for power, victory and royalty. On the banner of Some Roman legions carried the eagle on their banners and insignia, where it represented the victorious Roman Empire. Nations, such as Germany and Austria, the eagle is the symbol of sovereignty and nationhood. In the context of Christianity and the chivalry of the Knights of St. John, the following quotation will suffice: VULG. *Isa.* 40.31: *Qui autem sperant in Domino, mutabunt fortitudinem adsument pinnas sicut aquilae current et non laborabunt ambulant et non deficient.* Monumental inscription no. 111 shows it all.

Ecclesiastical clothes and headgear

The English word mitre, a headgear used by, among others, Bishops, Priors, Conventual Chaplains and abbots, comes from the Greek word *μίτρα*, meaning a "headband" or "snood". VULG. *Ex.* 39:25: *fecerunt et tunicas byssinas opere textili Aaron et filiis eius et mitras cum coronulis suis ex bysso.* Other attributes are the staff

and the stole. The staff is the symbol of the sheperd, *id. Io.* 10.14-15: *Ego sum pastor bonus. Et cognosco meas, et cognoscunt me meae, sicut cognoscit me Pater, et ego cognosco Patrem; et animam meam pono pro ovibus.* See no. 148,149. The stole comes from the Greek word στολνή, meaning "a garment", "robe". *id. Apc.* 6.11: *Et datae sunt illis singulae stolae albae, et dictum est illis, ut requiescant tempus adhuc modicum, donec impleantur conservi eorum et fratres eorum, qui interficiendi sunt sicut et illi.* Other ecclesiastical hats are the black hats with tassels (see no. 137).

Eight-pointed cross

The eight-pointed cross is well known, and stands out as the foremost symbol of the Knights of St. John. Allegedly, the eight points represent the eight Beatitudes, found in VULG. *Mt.* 5.3-10: VULG. *Sec. Matt.* 5.3-10: *Beati pauperes spiritu, quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum; beati, qui lugent, quoniam ipsi consolabuntur; beati mites, quoniam ipsi possidebunt terram; beati, qui esuriunt et sitiunt iustitiam, quoniam ipsi saturabuntur; beati misericordes, quia ipsi misericordiam consequentur; beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt; beati pacifici, quoniam filii Dei vocabuntur; beati, qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam, quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum.*

Fasces

Fasces were comprised of a bundle of rods, approximately 1.5 m long, made of elmwood or birchwood, with a single-headed axe in the middle. They were a symbolism of magisterial authority.

Father Time

See Death.

Female allegorical figures

A female figure in classical dress (possibly bearing the eight-pointed cross of the Order on her chest) is an allegorical figure for the Order (see nos. 44, 118). Without the cross, when she is holding scales, she represents Justice. She is also seen

breastfeeding a baby (see no. 47) and giving alms to the poor (no 9). In these cases she represents Charity, while in other representations she qualifies as Hope.

Flames

Fire is represents spiritual zeal and also the torments of hell.

Globe

The globe in no. 90, with the text TERRA MARIQVE, symbolizes the military victory and power the Order enjoyed both at land and sea.

Heart

A burning heart stands for religious zeal (no. 9). Sometimes, for emphasis, a cross is pierced through the heart (no. 93).

Incense burner

The smoke from an incense burner here represents the prayers for the souls of the deceased, which, like the smoke produced by incense, slowly ascends to Heaven, carrying the prayers to God, wrapped in a pleasant scent (see no. 116). VULG. *Ex.* 40.25: *et adolevit super eo incensum aromatum sicut iusserat Dominus*; *id. Ps.* 140.2: *dirigatur oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo elevatio manuum mearum sacrificium vespertinum.*

Lamb

The Lamb of God (Agnus Dei) is a symbol of the Resurrection and the triumph of Christ over sin and death. Also, in Jewish tradition, a lamb is a sacrifice animal. VULG. *Ex.*12. 5-6: *erit autem agnus absque macula masculus anniculus iuxta quem ritum tolletis et hedum et servabitis eum usque ad quartamdecimam diem mensis huius immolabitque eum universa multitudo filiorum Israel ad vesperam.* In Christian art, a lamb is often a representation of a martyr. Here, in no. 59, it is a representation of someone who died on behalf of his religion.

Laurel/Wreath

Laurels stand for Victory. The Roman generals, during their victorious entry into Rome, wore a laurel wreath. The Greeks offered the winner of the Pythian Games the laurel wreath as an emblem of victory. The evergreen laurel is also associated with eternity.

Lily

In Classical mythology the lily was sacred to Hera and Artemis. The latter was a virgin and a huntress, who presided over crucial aspects of life. The Christian associations are usually related to the Virgin Mary, signifying chastity. The pointed leaves of the lily resemble a dagger, and have been associated to the sorrow of the Virgin Mary. A lily and a sword also stand for guilt and innocence, Light and Hope. In the Byzantine Empire and France, it was a royal emblem. In the latter is became known as fleur-de-lys (see trefoil). The fleur-de-lis is a artistic form of the lily, symbolizing purity, and thus reference to the Virgin Mary.

Mirror

The mirror has many connotations, and its reflections are related to Adonis and wisdom, truth and vanity (see no. 138). In no. 57 SPECVLVM IVSTITIÆ means "mirror of justice". VULG. *Sap.* 7.24-26: *omnibus enim mobilibus mobilior est sapientia adtingit autem ubique et capit propter suam munditiam; vapor est enim virtutis Dei et emanatio quaedam est claritatis omnipotentis Dei sincera et ideo nihil inquinatum in illa incurrit; candor est enim lucis aeternae et speculum sine macula Dei maiestatis et imago bonitatis illius.*

Olive branch

The olive branch is widely recognized as a symbol of peace.

Order's flag

The Order's flag is red, with a white cross, reminiscent of their Crusading period.

Ottoman

Chained and conquered Ottomans stand for a victory over both the enemy in general and Islam in particular (no. 94).

Pallas

Pallas Athena, the Greek goddess of War and Wisdom, is here, in no. 81, represented both by a female warrior in classical attire in her role as War, and by a lady in a classical dress, holding a book, in her role as Wisdom. A female figure dressed in a classical cuirass, spear and helmet, the usual outfit of Pallas, reminds one of warfare.

Palm branch

The Romans used palm branches as a symbol of victory. In Christianity, they refer to Jesus' entry into Jerusalem, and remind of the Passion and Crucifixion. They first represented Jesus Christ's ultimate victory over sin. Also martyrs and saints are, at times, depicted with a palm branch. VULG. *Io.* 12:12: *In crastinum turba multa, quae venerat ad diem festum, cum audissent quia venit Iesus Hierosolymam, acceperunt ramos palmarum et processerunt obviam ei et clamabant: "Hosanna! Benedictus, qui venit in nomine Domini, et rex Israel".*

Phoenix

The Phoenix was a mythical bird from northern Africa. It is often depicted as an oversized eagle, but with a plumage more splendid than any peacock. The Phoenix reproduced in a particular way. In one version, the Phoenix, about to die, collected aromatic herbs and incense in its nest, and caused ignition. The new Phoenix would arise from these ashes. The Phoenix stands for eternity and rebirth. In no. 70, a Phoenix stands on a winged sandglass, thus defying time. In no. 95 and 116, a Phoenix is depicted sitting in its burning nest, waiting for its resurrection.

Putto

A putto, or cherub, is described as a winged creature, mostly with child-like features. In the iconography of the grave art in St. John, is it a recurrent and conventional figure, representing cherubic qualities which are found especially in children, such as

innocence, purity, beauty, angelic, golden locks, freshness, sweet and lovable. A putto rendered in white marble and a simple black outline may symbolize the innocence of youth of the deceased. In the context of the inscriptions at St. John's, putti often support a shield with the coat of arms, a cinerary urn or are seen sitting on the sarcophagus. Putti are frequently holding the shield with the coat of arms in their midst, while flying off to Heaven.

Pyramid

Elaborate tomb from Egyptian origin.

Red (marble)

This colour stands here for martyrdom, blood (see no. 2).

Rose

The stylized rose is a Christian symbol since the medieval ages. It may represent the nativity of Christ or the virginity of Mary. A white rose stands for purity, a red rose for martyrs.

Sandglass

The sandglass stands for mortality and passing time. It also represents the cycle of life and death, and heaven and earth, because it needs to be turned around to function. More often then not, the sandglass has a pair of wings, to show that time really flies.

Sarcophagus

Resting place of the dead. Here, often seen with an opened lid, to show that the soul of the deceased had made its safe transition to the Lord (see no. 37).

Scales

In Greek mythology, Themis was the goddess of Law and Justice, and her statues often featured a pair of scales, weighing the claims of contesting parties. Scales stand for justice and balance, guilt and punishment. They also symbolize careful judgment, and are here often used to represent the Final Judgment at the Last Day. Note that

Justice in no. 154 does not have a blindfold. This is a later expression, belonging to worldly justice. See also allegorical figures.

Scallop/shell

In the Classical period, the scallop was connected with birth (Aphrodite), life and resurrection. In medieval Christianity the scallop was a widely used symbol by pilgrims, and the emblem of St. James, the patron of pilgrims. The scallop was worn as a pilgrim badge. Moreover, this shell marked pilgrim-friendly resting places along pilgrim routes. In later Christianity the scallop symbolized the Virgin Mary, resurrection and baptism. Besides the symbolic charge, the scallop is simply a pleasant form to look at, and a popular subject for artists. It is widely used in Christian art to decorate cartouches and niches. The scallop serves as a symbol in many religions, including Islam.

Scythe

Mowing instrument of the Grim Reaper, who cuts one loose from one's roots. Instrument frequently used by Death.

Shield with the coat of arms

The shield with the coat of arms is often displayed in an angle, with symbolizes the death of the holder of the shield.

Ship

Symbol of the Order's navy.

Skeleton

See Death.

Skull

A skull represents mortality. In the context of St. John's, skulls come in different forms. Some wear laurels: The laurel-wreathed skull presents Death as the final

victor, or it emphasizes extra-ordinary achievements. Others grin a deadly smile, or have wings attached to them.

Snake

The snake, a very widely used symbol in Classical times and before, has, in Christianity, acquired the extended meaning of eternity. For this reason, a snake is often shown biting it own tail, thus forming a circle of eternity (see no.94). VULG. *Io.* 3. 14-15: *et sicut Moses exaltavit serpentem in deserto ita exaltari oportet Filium hominis, ut omnis qui credit in ipso non pereat sed habeat vitam aeternam.*

Six-pointed star

The six-pointed star is of ancient origin and used in many cultures. See no. 109.

Sun

A symbol of wisdom that originated from the all-seeing god Helios of the Greek world. SOL SAPIENTIÆ is found in no. 57.

Sword

The brightness of the naked steel stood for Faith, its sharp point for Hope, and its guard for Charity.

Torch

In Greek mythology, Hephaestus, the god of fire and metallurgy, used the burning torch as his trademark. The burning flame of the torch represents life when depicted in an upright position. When it is upside down, the flame quenched, death is represented. In the context of Eros and Aphrodite the torch symbolizes the flame of love. In Christianity, the torch symbolizes the soul's purification, because God is shining his light on the soul. It also can have the same meaning as a candle, Christ, the Light of the World.

Tree

In no. 6, Death is seen attacking the tree of life with his axe.

Trefoil

The trefoil represents the Trinity, here symbolized by the clover, shamrock of fleur-de-lys.

Trumpet

In the Classical world, troops went into battle on the call of the trumpet. In Christianity, the sound of the trumpet stands for the symbolic last call on Judgement Day. It is therefore connected to the Last Judgment and resurrection. VULG. *Mt.* 24.31: *et mittet angelos suos cum tuba et voca magna, et congregabunt electos eius a quattuor ventis, a summis caelorum usque ad terminos eorum*; *id. 1 Cor.* 15:52-53: *in momento, in ictu oculi, in novissima tuba; canet enim et mortui resurgent incorrupti, et nos immutabimur; oportet enim corruptibile hoc induere incorruptelam, et mortale hoc induere immortalitatem.*

White (marble)

This colour stands here for purity, innocence (see no. 2)

Wind

A single head with puffed cheeks symbolizes the wind. The wind can by advantageous or adversary

Winged effigies

Commonly used to signify the soul in transition.

Wisdom

See: Book; Pallas.

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EXCURSUS

EXCURSUS

Inscription 4.a:

The general of the squadron, Bailiff Giovanni Battista Spinola, was the commanding officer. Despite a sudden storm, Spinola's and the Admiral's galleys set off in full pursuit of the corsairs. A sudden gust of wind broke off the mast of the Admiral's galley, and General Spinola decided to board this ship, where his brother, Commendator Domenico Maria Spinola, was on board (see also no. 128). By hard rowing, one of the corsair ships was reached, and a bloody engagement followed, in which Commendator Domenico Maria Spinola, fighting side-by-side with the Prior of Messina, was wounded mortally. The Prior, so old that he could not stand unsupported, continued fighting, though leaning upon his valet de chambre. The latter killed, the Prior even then continued fighting, holding on to the compass' frame. With the victory in sight, the enemy's ship crushed with full force into the Admiral's galley, and split it in two. The wind had then developed into a storm, dispersing the squadron. Baroncelli de Javon, Captain of the galley St. Paul, came to rescue and saved fifty men from the Admiral's galley, including General Spinola. Warned by his pilot not to stay any longer near the wreckage, De Javon is on record to have replied: "I shall be happy enough if I lose my life in saving but a single man of them". Unfortunately, the wind proved to be too strong and his ships drifted away, and he was not able to save more men. This incident had cost the lives of 22 Knights and 500 sailors (De Vertot 1728: 2.13.103).