

The Military Orders

THE MILITARY ORDERS VOLUME VII

PIETY, PUGNACITY AND PROPERTY

Edited by
Nicholas Morton



The Military Orders Volume VII

The Military Orders essay collections arising from the quadrennial conferences held at Clerkenwell in London have come to represent an international point of reference for scholars. This present volume brings together twenty-nine papers given at the seventh iteration of this event. The studies offered here cover regions as disparate as Prussia, Iberia, and the Eastern Mediterranean, and chronologically span topics from the twelfth to the twentieth centuries. They draw attention to little used textual and non-textual sources, advance challenging new methodologies, and help to place these military-religious institutions in a broader context.

Nicholas Morton is a lecturer in history at Nottingham Trent University, UK. His research interests include the Crusades, the military orders, Christian-Islamic relations during the medieval period, and the Seljuk Turks. He has published extensively on these themes, and his recent monographs include *The Field of Blood: The Battle for Aleppo and the Remaking of the Medieval Middle East* and *Encountering Islam on the First Crusade*. He is an editor for two Routledge book series: *Rulers of the Latin East* and *The Military Religious Orders: History, Sources and Memory*.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

The Military Orders

Volume VII

Piety, Pugnacity and Property

Edited by Nicholas Morton

First published 2020
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2020 selection and editorial matter, Nicholas Morton; individual chapters, the contributors

The right of Nicholas Morton to be identified as the author of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A catalog record has been requested for this book

ISBN: 978-1-138-49683-5 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-351-02042-8 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman
by codeMantra

Contents

| | |
|---|-------|
| <i>List of figures and plates</i> | ix |
| <i>Contributors</i> | xii |
| <i>Editor's preface</i> | xviii |
| <i>Abbreviations</i> | xx |
| | |
| Introduction | 1 |
| HELEN J. NICHOLSON | |
| | |
| Property: landholdings (in Malta) | 5 |
| | |
| 1 The properties and landed possessions of the Knights of St John in Malta: an analysis of <i>Cabrei</i> 290 and 307, conserved at the National Library of Malta | 7 |
| GEORGE A. SAID-ZAMMIT | |
| | |
| 2 Representing space: surveying and drawing techniques in the Maltese <i>cabrei</i> of the Order of St John (XVII–XVIII century) | 22 |
| DANIEL BORG AND MEVRICK SPITERI | |
| | |
| 3 The economization of built property: urban houses of the Manoel Foundation in eighteenth-century Valletta | 37 |
| MEVRICK SPITERI | |
| | |
| Property: landholdings elsewhere | 49 |
| | |
| 4 The remains of Templar settlements in southern Italy: some case studies | 51 |
| CLAUDIA CUNDARI | |

| | |
|---|-----|
| 5 Collecting property for the founding of a Teutonic House in Utrecht (1218–1235) | 59 |
| JEREM VAN DUIJL | |
| 6 Power, status and property in the early years of the Teutonic Order in Acre | 75 |
| SHLOMO LOTAN | |
| 7 Piety and property in Late Medieval and Early Modern Rhodes: the case of Trianda | 85 |
| SIMON PHILLIPS | |
| Property and Piety: economic activity and material culture | 95 |
| 8 A multidisciplinary approach to the production of wine on Templar estates: the Bologna commandery | 97 |
| GIAMPIERO BAGNI | |
| 9 The commanderies of the Military Order of Santiago around Campo de Ourique (Portugal) in the Middle Ages: properties, resources and administration | 106 |
| ANA CLÁUDIA SILVEIRA | |
| 10 Treasured possessions: aspects of Hospitaller material culture, c.1680–c.1720 | 118 |
| EMANUEL BUTTIGIEG AND ADRIANA MINTOFF | |
| 11 The art collections of Hospitaller knights in Malta | 129 |
| THERESA VELLA | |
| Property and pugnacity: serfs, slaves and slave-trading | 137 |
| 12 ‘Our Moors’: military orders and unfree Muslims in the Kingdom of Castile | 139 |
| CLARA ALMAGRO VIDAL | |
| 13 The Hospitallers and their manumissions of Rhodian and Cypriot serfs (1409–1459) | 149 |
| NICHOLAS COUREAS | |

| | |
|--|-----|
| 14 The Faith Triumphant: Muslim converts to Catholicism and the Order of St John, 1530–1798 | 160 |
| WILLIAM ZAMMIT | |
| Property, piety and pugnacity: internal politics and vocations | 173 |
| 15 Networking at the papal curia as a survival strategy: the Teutonic Order and the crisis of the military orders in the early fourteenth century | 175 |
| BARBARA BOMBI | |
| 16 Hospitaller chapters in the medieval priory of <i>Alamania</i> | 195 |
| KARL BORCHARDT | |
| 17 Abandoning piety and pugnacity? New military orders in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries | 208 |
| RORY MACLELLAN | |
| 18 The Knights Hospitallers of St John in Polish lands and Rhodes in the Late Middle Ages: piety, pugnacity, property, and power on peripheries | 218 |
| MARIA STARNAWSKA | |
| 19 Property, piracy, and pugnacity: Reflections on Venice’s attitude towards the Order of the Hospital in early modern times | 227 |
| VICTOR MALLIA-MILANES | |
| 20 Variations on a theme: Harry Pirie-Gordon and the Order of Sanctissima Sophia | 237 |
| ELIZABETH SIBERRY | |
| Piety: charity and spirituality | 247 |
| 21 The charity of the Order of Santiago at the end of the Middle Ages: the case of the hospital of Alarcón | 249 |
| JAIME GARCÍA-CARPINTERO LÓPEZ DE MOTA | |
| 22 The Teutonic Knights, the bishop of Warmia and the relics of the True Cross in Prussia in the second half of the fourteenth century | 258 |
| KAROL POLEJOWSKI AND SOBIESŁAW SZYBKOWSKI | |

| | | |
|-----------|--|-----|
| 23 | The patron saints of Military Orders' churches in Castile and Portugal, 1462–1539 | 267 |
| | PAULA PINTO COSTA, RAQUEL TORRES JIMÉNEZ AND JOANA LENCART | |
| | Pugnacity and property on the frontier | 283 |
| 24 | The Military Orders and the principality of Antioch: a help or a hindrance? | 285 |
| | ANDREW D. BUCK | |
| 25 | A document about the beginning of the military orders' involvement in the <i>Reconquista</i> | 296 |
| | ALAN FOREY | |
| 26 | From pugnacity to peace-mongers: the military orders protecting property and people in the Latin East | 303 |
| | BETTY BINYSH | |
| 27 | Hospitaller pugnacity: 1306–1421 | 322 |
| | ANTHONY LUTTRELL | |
| 28 | A Florentine cleric on Rhodes: Bonsignore Bonsignori's unpublished account of his 1498 visit | 329 |
| | MICHAEL HESLOP | |
| 29 | The long siege of Candia (1648–69): the Knights of St John, a Venetian Protectorate, the Ottoman Empire and a Scottish regiment | 345 |
| | MATTHEW GLOZIER | |
| | <i>Index</i> | 357 |

Figures and plates

Figures

| | | |
|------|--|-----|
| 1.1 | Plan of an eighteenth-century rural house in Żejtun | 16 |
| 1.2 | A justified graph of the Valletta townhouse | 16 |
| 1.3 | A justified graph of the Żejtun rural house | 17 |
| 4.1 | Caggiano (SA), Sant'Agata (detail extracted from Geoportale Nazionale of MATTM, www.pcn.minambiente.it/viewer_old) | 54 |
| 6.1 | Map of Frankish Acre (Reproduced with kind permission of Professor Adrian Boas) | 80 |
| 7.1 | North Rhodes (Source: Adapted by author from Google Earth, Image © 2017 DigitalGlobe, Data SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO) | 85 |
| 8.1 | Archaeological stratigraphy and coring | 98 |
| 8.2 | Templar properties in the countryside | 99 |
| 8.3 | 3D reconstruction of the wine store using archival and archaeological information obtained | 100 |
| 8.4 | The pollen grain found in the archaeological excavation conducted | 103 |
| 9.1 | Location of the commanderies of the Military Order of Santiago in the South of Portugal during the fifteenth century | 108 |
| 14.1 | Slave conversions by decade (1617–1798) | 165 |
| 21.1 | Sketch of the hospital of Alarcón | 252 |
| 23.1 | Visitations to <i>Campo de Calatrava</i> (Castile, 1471–1539) | 269 |
| 23.2 | Visitations of the Military Orders of Avis and Christ (Portugal, 1462–1538) | 269 |
| 23.3 | All invocations of the Orders of Calatrava, Avis and Christ: churches, hermitages and fraternities (1462–1539) | 271 |
| 23.4 | Invocations categories in the Orders of Calatrava, Avis and Christ (1462–1539) | 273 |
| 23.5 | Hagiography devotional groups in the Orders of Calatrava, Avis and Christ (1462–1539) | 274 |
| 24.1 | Map of Northern Syria and Cilicia (Reproduced with kind permission of Boydell & Brewer) | 286 |

| | | |
|------|---|-----|
| 28.1 | Map of Bonsignore Bonsignori's journey from Italy to Rhodes | 330 |
| 28.2 | List of travellers who visited Rhodes between 1480 and 1522 | 336 |
| 28.3 | Features mentioned by Bonsignori compared to Other Travellers' Accounts | 338 |
| 28.4 | Features not mentioned by Bonsignori but noted by Other Travellers | 339 |

Plates

| | | |
|-----|--|----|
| 1.1 | An eighteenth-century two-storey farmhouse in the parish of Mġarr, Malta | 13 |
| 1.2 | <i>Cabreo</i> 307 (<i>folio</i> 30): plan of the Valletta townhouse (By courtesy of the National Library of Malta) | 15 |
| 2.1 | A field and a garden in the <i>Cabreo of Fondazione Manoel</i> showing the baselines and offsets that were used by the <i>agrimensore</i> (NLM, Treas. B 310, f. 42) (Reproduced with kind permission of the National Library of Malta) | 26 |
| 2.2 | A technical illustration of measuring a field as shown in Tavola XXXIII from <i>Geometria Pratica</i> by Giovanni Pomodoro (Roma, 1599) (Reproduced with kind permission of the National Library of Malta) | 27 |
| 2.3 | A technical illustration of measuring a field as shown in Tavola XXXV from <i>Geometria Pratica</i> by Giovanni Pomodoro (Roma, 1599) (Reproduced with kind permission of the National Library of Malta) | 28 |
| 2.4 | A large field in the <i>Cabreo</i> of the Secrezia showing the triangulation offsets that were used by the <i>agrimensore</i> (NLM, Treas. B 291, ff. 63v–64r) (Reproduced with kind permission of the National Library of Malta) | 29 |
| 2.5 | The plan of the <i>Migiarro</i> Gozo from the <i>Cabreo</i> of the <i>Secrezia</i> (NLM, Treas. B 290, f. 105) (Reproduced with kind permission of the National Library of Malta) | 31 |
| 3.1 | Eighteenth-century ground floor plan of Casa Gambalino and Casa Del Brio (<i>Cabreo Manoel</i> , NLM, Treas. B 310, f. 6v) (Reproduced with kind permission of the National Library of Malta) | 41 |
| 3.2 | Eighteenth-century ground floor plan of new houses, mezzanines and <i>botteghe</i> in front of the slaves' prison (<i>Cabreo Manoel</i> , NLM, Treas. B 310, f. 6v) (Reproduced with kind permission of the National Library of Malta) | 42 |
| 3.3 | Eighteenth-century elevation of Casa Gambalino and Casa del Brio. On the right side, the spatial configuration of the new Casa Gambalino structure (<i>Cabreo Manoel</i> , NLM, Treas. B 310, f. 6v) (Reproduced with kind permission of the National Library of Malta) | 43 |

| | | |
|------|--|-----|
| 3.4 | Plans of the <i>piano nobile</i> at Casa Gambalino and Casa del Brio (Cabreo Manoel, NLM, Treas. B 310, f. 6v) (Reproduced with kind permission of the National Library of Malta) | 45 |
| 4.1 | Caggiano (SA), Sant'Agata. View from the west | 55 |
| 4.2 | Caggiano (SA), Sant'Agata. Longitudinal eastern structure | 55 |
| 7.1 | Trianda and the Bay of Trianda from Mount Philerimos. Photo: Simon Phillips | 86 |
| 8.1 | Callules of vine grown in vitro | 104 |
| 11.1 | The back of the painting ' <i>Sophonisba receiving a message from Massinissa, c.1680s</i> ' showing a seal with the coat of arms of Bichi on a Maltese cross and a monogram (National Museum of Fine Arts, Malta) | 132 |
| 11.2 | <i>Prospetto della Citta' di Malta dalla parte del Gregale, L'Anno 1698</i> . Late 17th century, oil on canvas, 165 × 70 cm, Casino Maltese, Valletta. (Photo: Reproduced with the kind permission of Casino Maltese) | 135 |
| 14.1 | The <i>Breve compendio</i> (1714). Copyright © Archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, Vatican City | 162 |
| 14.2 | <i>Canzonette spirituali</i> (1715). Copyright © Dr Albert Ganado collection, Malta | 162 |
| 16.1 | Seal of the Provincial Chapter of the Order of St John in <i>Alamania</i> as extant in 1561 (Reproduced with permission no. 5051.7-984/1 from the Staatsarchiv Wurzburg) | 201 |
| 20.1 | Letters patent appointing Elizabeth Anstice Baker as a Lady of Honour, Order of Sanctissima Sophia. Rome, Istituto Storico Domenicano (Reproduced with the kind permission of the <i>Istituto Storico Domenicano</i> [Rome]) | 242 |
| 21.1 | Photograph of the church in its current state | 253 |
| 21.2 | Hypothetical virtual reconstruction of the hospital | 254 |
| 28.1 | Folio pages 31v and 32r of the manuscript | 330 |
| 28.2 | A photo by Giuseppe Gerola of the wall-walk and battlements near the north-east corner of the wall | 332 |
| 28.3 | A photo by Giuseppe Gerola of the Tower and Mole of the Windmills | 333 |
| 28.4 | A photo by Giuseppe Gerola of the Old Harbour or Mandraki | 334 |
| 28.5 | Conrad von Grünenberg's view of the harbour at Rhodes | 334 |
| 29.1 | 'Candia; Insula Candia olim Creta', map of Crete illustrating the Turkish siege and a naval engagement with the Knights of St John, engraved by Nicolaes Visscher (1668) (Reproduced with kind permission of The British Museum) | 346 |
| 29.2 | Lord George Douglas, First Earl of Dumbarton (1635–1692) (Reproduced with kind permission of HG The Duke of Hamilton) | 350 |

Contributors

Clara Almagro Vidal (PhD University of Granada, 2012) is a postdoctoral fellow at CIDEHUS – Universidade de Évora (Portugal). She has authored a number of papers on landscape analysis, religious minorities, and the history of the military orders, among other topics, and co-authored three books publishing medieval sources about Castilian nobility. Her first monograph was published in 2016 with the title *Paisajes Medievales en el Campo de Calatrava* (ed. La Ergástula).

Giampiero Bagni completed his master's degree in History and Archaeology *cum laude* at the University of Bologna. He taught philosophy and history in 2007–2009 publishing 2 books regarding Templars in Bologna: *Pietro da Bologna* (2008) and *Templari a Bologna* (2012). He took up a permanent position as a tutor at the University of Bologna in 2009, supporting students studying history, the human sciences, and education. In 2013/14, he began his part-time PhD entitled 'The Knights Templar in Bologna- a multidisciplinary approach' at Nottingham Trent University, UK.

Betty Binysh is a PhD candidate at Cardiff University. Her thesis, 'Living in Peace in the Latin East during the Crusades', focuses on Christian-Muslim relations using Muslim sources in Arabic. She has published on Islamic attitudes to treaties, Christian-Muslim relations and peace-making by crusaders, Franks and the military orders in the medieval Levant.

Barbara Bombi is a professor of medieval history at the University of Kent in Canterbury. Her research interests and main publications focus on the history of the medieval papacy (1200–1400), the history of the Teutonic Order and the Crusades, and the history of Anglo-papal relations in the fourteenth century.

Karl Borchardt works as a senior researcher at the Monumenta Germaniae Historica, München, and teaches medieval history at the University of Würzburg. His fields of interest include the Staufer period and German regional history. He has also published articles and edited volumes on the Knights Hospitaller and Knights Templar including *The Templars and their Sources* (2017, with K. D. Döring, Ph. Josserand and H. Nicholson),

Comptes de la commanderie de l'Hôpital de Manosque pour les années 1283 à 1290 (2015 with D. Carraz and A. Venturini), *Documents concerning Cyprus from the Hospital's Rhodian Archives: 1409–1459* (2011 with A. Luttrell and E. Schöffler), and *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe* (2007 with H. Nicholson and N. Jaspert).

Daniel Borg graduated in archaeology from the University of Malta and holds an MA degree in the geography of cities. He specialises in landscape archaeology with special interest in land management and development during the Order of St John and the British periods. He has written and co-authored several papers concerning the study of historical landscapes and on the formation of land surveying practices in Malta.

Andrew D. Buck is associate lecturer at Queen Mary University of London, from where he received his PhD. He has published widely on the history of the principality of Antioch, including *The Principality of Antioch and its Frontiers in the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge, 2017) and several articles and book chapters.

Emanuel Buttigieg holds a PhD from the University of Cambridge and is a senior lecturer in early modern history at the University of Malta. His first book was *Nobility, Faith and Masculinity: The Hospitaller Knights of Malta, c.1580–c.1700* (Continuum, 2011). He has also co-edited, with Simon Phillips, *Islands and Military Orders c.1291–c.1798* (Ashgate, 2013).

Nicholas Coureas works as a senior researcher at the Cyprus Research Centre in Nicosia on the history of Lusignan Cyprus (1191–1473). He has published various articles and books on this subject, including the monograph *The Latin Church in Cyprus 1195–1312* (Ashgate, 1997), its sequel *The Latin Church of Cyprus 1313–1378* (Nicosia, 2010), and with Michael Walsh and Peter Edbury the conference proceedings *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta* (Ashgate, 2012). In 2015, he and Professor Peter Edbury published *The Chronicle of Amadi translated from the Italian* for the Cyprus Research Centre.

Claudia Cundari obtained her PhD in humanities in 2015 with a thesis on the Templar Order and its settlements. She has been an honorary fellow in medieval history at the University of Calabria since 2015. She is also an instructor in the medieval history of Calabria and history of Medieval Mediterranean at the University of Calabria.

Jerem van Duijl is a PhD candidate at Leiden University. He researches the possessions of the Teutonic House in Utrecht from the thirteenth until the sixteenth century. In 2014, he completed his MA thesis concerning Baltic maritime trade during the sixteenth century.

Alan Forey, who has been long retired, taught in the universities of Oxford, St Andrews, and Durham. He has published a number of books and articles on the military orders, including *The Military Orders from the*

Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries (1992), and has also written on several other aspects of Christian/Muslim relations.

Jaime García-Carpintero López de Mota graduated in history from the University of Castilla-La Mancha (Spain). He has a master of investigation in arts and humanities, and now he is working on his PhD. His investigation focusses on the Order of Santiago, drawing upon a broad range of sources including the institution's material culture, its textual sources, archaeological research, and the application of new technologies such as the use of virtual digital reconstructions in 3D.

Matthew Glozier teaches history at Sydney Grammar School. He is an honorary associate at the University of Sydney (Medieval and Early Modern Centre), national historian of the Australian Air Force Cadets, President of the Sydney Society for Scottish History, and hon. librarian and archivist for St John Ambulance Australia (NSW).

Michael Heslop graduated in medieval history from Cambridge University. He is an Honorary Fellow in Byzantine Studies at Royal Holloway and served for fourteen years on the Executive Committee of the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies. His publications include various articles on Byzantine and Hospitaller defence systems in the Dodecanese. He also co-edited *Byzantium and Venice, 1204–1453: Collected Studies* by Julian Chrysostomides.

Joana Lencart is a researcher at the Centre of Studies of Population, Economy and Society (CEPESE). She received her PhD in history in 2018 (Faculty of Arts and Humanities of University of Porto, FLUP), with the thesis 'Pedro Álvares Seco: a retroprojeção da memória da Ordem de Cristo no séc. XVI'. Her main research areas are medieval history; the Military Orders, especially Order of Christ and the Templars; and palaeography.

Shlomo Lotan is a lecturer at the Department of Geography and Environment at Bar-Ilan University in Ramat-Gan, Israel. His major publications cover the history and traditions of the Military Orders and their activities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. He is one of the editors, along with Jochen Burgtorf and Enric Mallorquí-Ruscalleda, of the new essay collection: *The Templars: Essays on Their History, Fall, and Legacy*.

Anthony Luttrell studied at Oxford, Madrid, Pisa, Rome, and elsewhere; he taught at Swarthmore College and at the Universities of Edinburgh, Malta, and Padua; he has published widely, especially, on medieval Malta and on the Hospitallers on Rhodes and in the west.

Rory MacLellan recently completed his PhD in medieval history at the University of St Andrews. His research concerns donations to the Hospitallers' English *Langue* from 1291 to 1400, exploring whether their patrons were motivated by the same factors as those of non-military orders. A monograph on this topic is under contract with Routledge.

Victor Mallia-Milanes is a professor of early modern history at the University of Malta. His books include *Venice and Hospitaller Malta 1530–1798: Aspects of a Relationship* (1992); *Hospitaller Malta 1530–1798* (1993); *In the Service of the Venetian Republic* (2008); and *Lo Stato dell'Ordine di Malta, 1630* (2017).

Adriana Mintoff read for a degree in history at the University of Malta and graduated in 2016. Her main area of research interest is early modern European and Maltese history. Between 2015 and 2016, she was the President of the Malta University Historical Society (MUHS). She is a Library Assistant at the University of Malta.

Nicholas Morton is a lecturer in history at Nottingham Trent University (UK). His research interests include the Crusades, the military orders, Christian-Islamic relations during the medieval period, and the Seljuk Turks. He has published extensively on these themes, and his recent monographs include *The Field of Blood: The Battle for Aleppo and the Remaking of the Medieval Middle East* and *Encountering Islam on the First Crusade*.

Helen J. Nicholson is a professor of medieval history at Cardiff University, Wales (UK), and has published on the military-religious orders, Crusades, medieval warfare, women's roles in these contexts, and medieval 'fictional' literature as an historical source. She is currently researching into the Templars' and Hospitallers' properties in England and Wales, and is writing a study of Queen Sybil of Jerusalem (d. 1190) for Routledge's *Rulers of the Latin East* series.

Simon Phillips is a research fellow in late medieval and early modern history at the University of Cyprus and a fellow of the Royal Historical Society. His main research interests are on the Hospitallers, ecclesiastical history, and the history of islands. His publications include *The Prior of the Knights Hospitaller in Late Medieval England* and, with Emanuel Buttigieg, *Islands and Military Orders, c.1291–c.1798*.

Paula Pinto Costa is an associate professor of medieval history in the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Porto (FLUP). She is also a researcher at the Centre of Studies of Population, Economy and Society (CEPESE). She completed her PhD in history in 1999, with the thesis 'A Ordem do Hospital em Portugal: da Idade Média à Modernidade' (*Militarium Ordinum Analecta*, n° 3 / 4. Porto: Fundação Eng° António de Almeida, 2000). Her main research areas are medieval history and Military Orders, especially Hospitallers and Templars.

Karol Polejowski is a professor in medieval history at the Ateneum – University of Gdańsk (Poland), and he also works as a historian in military history at Malbork Castle Museum (Poland). His research interests include the history of the Teutonic Order in the Middle Ages, Church

history during the Crusades and the crusading activity of the French aristocracy between twelfth and fourteen centuries.

George A. Said-Zammit studied archaeology and classics at the University of Malta. He pursued his studies at the University of Durham and subsequently at the University of Leiden. He is the author of various scholarly works and is also a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.

Elizabeth Siberry studied under Jonathan Riley-Smith at Cambridge, and her doctorate was published as *Criticism of Crusading, 1095–1274* in 1985. Since then, she has focussed on later perceptions of crusading with *The New Crusaders. Images of the Crusades in the 19th and early 20th centuries* published by Ashgate in 2000, followed by a series of articles on crusade imagery in, for example, the First World War.

Ana Cláudia Silveira is currently preparing a PhD thesis at Universidade Nova de Lisboa on the Portuguese commanderies of the Order of Santiago. She is a research member of IEM (Instituto de História Medieval), and her research interests focus on the administration of the Order of Santiago and its relationships with local institutions.

Mevrick Spiteri holds a BA in history and archaeology from the University of Malta and an MA from the International Institute of Baroque Studies, University of Malta. His research interest lies in landscape studies through an economic and social history, including transformations of space, land use, property, and development.

Maria Starnawska is a professor of medieval history at the Siedlce University of Natural Sciences and Humanities in Siedlce in Poland. She is the author of several works on the history of the military orders and the cult of saints and their relics in medieval Poland.

Sobiesław Szybkowski (dr hab.) is an associate professor at the Department of Medieval History of Poland and Auxiliary Sciences of History at the Institute of History of the University of Gdańsk. He specialises in the political history of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the Late Middle Ages, genealogy and prosopography of late-medieval Polish nobility, social history, and the editing of written historical sources.

Raquel Torres Jiménez is an associate professor of medieval history in the Faculty of Humanities at University of Castilla-La Mancha (Ciudad Real) in Spain. She completed her PhD in medieval history at Complutense University of Madrid and received the PhD Extraordinary Award. Her principal research areas are the history of the Church and religiosity in the Late Middle Ages, as well as the Military Orders, especially the Order of Calatrava, in the same period.

Theresa Vella is an art historian with a research interest in collections, patronage, and landscape painting. She holds a PhD from the University of Bristol, and lectures on Baroque art at the University of Malta. She has presented papers at conferences organised by the RSA (2014, 2015), IMC (2016), and the Military Orders, LCSC (2013, 2017).

William Zammit is the Head of Department of Library and Archive Sciences, University of Malta. His academic interests include early communication, censorship, and the bibliographic control of Melitensia. His publications include *Printing in Malta, 1642–1839* (2008), *Knights, Buccaneers and Sugar Cane: The Caribbean Colonies of the Order of Malta* (2015: with Thomas Freller), and *Kissing the Gallows: A Cultural History of Crime, Torture and Punishment in Malta, 1600–1798* (Malta, 2016).

Editor's preface

This volume draws together papers given originally at the seventh iteration of the Military Orders conference held at Clerkenwell in London between 7 and 10 September 2017 and arranged by the London Centre of the Study of the Crusades, the Military Orders and the Latin East. This event brought together 107 scholars from 18 countries and covered a wide range of topics connected to both the crusading movement in general and the military orders in particular. In total, 81 papers were given, and 29 of these are presented in this volume. I, on behalf of the editorial committee and the organisers, would like to take this opportunity to thank all those involved in making this a highly productive and enjoyable event.

In coverage, this volume contains articles spanning a broad geographical region and a wide selection of topics. Articles included here discuss the military orders' involvement in matters as disparate as their diplomacy in the Crusader States and also their dealings with the secular and ecclesiastical authorities in Utrecht; they discuss their churches and institutions in Iberia and also their collections of relics in Prussia. There are some particularly fascinating clusters of work on the Hospitallers' property and surveying practices on Malta as well as their involvement in the slave trade. In chronological range, these articles span from the orders' origins in the twelfth century through to the attempts to draw upon their memory in the twentieth.

As the editor of this present volume, I would particularly like to thank the editorial committee, comprising Helen J. Nicholson (who also wrote the introduction to this volume), Mike Carr, and Greg O'Malley. Their assistance has been absolutely invaluable throughout, offering their feedback on the articles submitted for consideration and providing a sounding board for ideas and key decisions.

I would also very much like to thank Michael Greenwood and the team at Routledge for their ongoing support and patience with this project. Of course, this book would not have been possible without the hard work and dedication of those involved in planning and organising the original conference. This team, consisting of Justin Bailey, Alan Borg, Mike Carr, Abigail Cornick, Tom Foakes, Paul Gwilliam, Brian McLaughlin, Helen Nicholson, Greg O'Malley, Nicholas Morton, Jonathan Phillips, Keith Schnaar, and

Pamela Willis (Conference Administrator), led by Michael Heslop, helped to produce another fabulous event, which included a stunning performance by the medieval music group, Joglearesa.

The Organizing Committee would like to thank in particular the Priory of England and the Islands of the Order of St John and the Museum of the Order of St John for the use of St John's Gate and the Priory Church. The conference itself was made possible through the generosity of our sponsors, who provided considerable financial support. They include the Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, the Grand Priory of England, The Sovereign Military Order of Malta, The Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East ("SSCLE"), the history department at Royal Holloway (University of London), the St John Historical Society, Cambridge University Press, Taylor & Francis, Adrian Harrington, Brill, Brepols, Tauris, Boydell, and Four Courts Press. We are also grateful to three anonymous donors and the SSCLE for enabling the conference committee to give bursaries to 12 students. Finally, we would like to thank volunteers and staff at St John's Gate, including the members of the St John Historical Society and the St John Fellowship, staff of the Museum, as well as the Reverend Robin Griffith-Jones, Master of the Temple, for facilitating our outing to the Temple Church.

In addition, I am pleased to announce that the eighth conference of the Military Orders will be held at Nottingham Trent University in September 2021. Further information will follow in due course.

Nicholas Morton
Nottingham Trent University

Abbreviations

| | |
|-------------|---|
| AARa | Archiepiscopal Archive of Ravenna |
| ACA | Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón |
| ACM | Cathedral Archives of Malta, Mdina, Malta |
| AAECP | Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Quay d'Orsay, Paris |
| AHN | Archivo Histórico Nacional |
| AHN, OO.MM. | Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Órdenes Militares |
| AIM | Archive of the Roman Inquisition in Malta |
| ANTT | Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo |
| AOL | <i>Archives de l'Orient Latin</i> |
| AOM | Archive of the Order of Malta |
| AP | Wrocław The State Archive in Wrocław |
| ARDOBU | <i>Archieven der Ridderlijke Duitse Orde Balie van Utrecht</i> , ed. J.J. de Geer tot Oudegein, 2 vols. (Utrecht, 1871). |
| ASPF SC | Archivio Storico della Congregazione di Propaganda Fide, Scrittura Congressi |
| ASV | Archivio Segreto Vaticano |
| ASVen | Archivio di Stato, Venice |
| BL | British Library |
| BN | Bibliothèque Nationale de France |
| BSMOM | Biblioteca Sovrano Militare Ordine di Malta, Rome |
| CCCM | <i>Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis</i> (Turnhout, 1945–) |
| CDP | <i>Codex diplomaticus Prussicus. Urkunden-Sammlung zur älteren Geschichte Preussens aus dem Königlich Geheimes Archiv zu Königsberg nebst Regesten</i> , ed. Johannes Voigt, 6 vols (Königsberg, 1836–1861) |
| CH | <i>Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jerusalem, 1100–1310</i> , ed. J. Delaville le Roulx, 4 vols (Paris, 1894–1906) |
| CT | <i>Cartulaire général de l'Ordre du Temple 1119?–1150. Recueil des chartes et des bulles relatives à l'ordre du Temple</i> , ed. Marquis d'Albon (Paris, 1913) |

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Dusburg | <i>Petri de Dusburg Chronicon terrae Prussiae</i> , SRP 1 (Leipzig, 1861) |
| HR | <i>Die Recesse und andere Akten der Hansetage</i> , ed. Karl Koppmann, Goswin Frhr. von der Ropp, Dietrich Schäfer, Friedrich Techen, 4 vols (Leipzig, 1870–1970) |
| MÄB | <i>Das Marienburger Ämterbuch. Mit Unterstützung des Vereins für die Herstellung und Aussmückung der Marienburg</i> , ed. Watlther Ziesemer (Danzig, 1916) |
| Malta, Cod. | Archives of the Order of St John, National Library of Malta, Valletta |
| MGH | <i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i> |
| MGH | <i>SS Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores</i> |
| MO1 | <i>The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick</i> , ed. M. Barber (Aldershot, 1994) |
| MO2 | <i>The Military Orders, vol. 2: Welfare and Warfare</i> , ed. H. Nicholson (Aldershot, 1998) |
| MO3 | <i>The Military Orders, vol. 3: History and Heritage</i> , ed. Victor Mallia-Milanes (Aldershot, 2008) |
| MO4 | <i>The Military Orders, vol. 4: On Land and By Sea</i> , ed. Judi Upton-Ward (Aldershot, 2008) |
| MO5 | <i>The Military Orders, vol. 5: Politics and Power</i> , ed. Peter W. Edbury (Aldershot, 2012) |
| MO6.1 | <i>The Military Orders, vol. 6.1: Culture and Conflict in the Mediterranean World</i> , ed. J. Schenk and M. Carr (Abingdon, 2017) |
| MO6.2 | <i>The Military Orders, vol. 6.2: Culture and Conflict in Western and Northern Europe</i> , ed. J. Schenk and M. Carr (Abingdon, 2017) |
| MOA | <i>Militarium Ordinum Analecta</i> |
| MVB | <i>Monumenta Vaticana res gestas Bohemicas illustrantia</i> |
| NA SP | National Archives (Kew), State Papers |
| NAV | Notarial Archives Valletta |
| NLM | National Library of Malta, Valletta |
| OSU | <i>Oorkondenboek van het Sticht Utrecht tot 1301</i> , ed. S. Muller, 5 vols. (Utrecht and The Hague, 1920–1959) |
| P&C | <i>Prier et combattre: dictionnaire européen des ordres militaires au Moyen Âge</i> , ed. N. Bériou and P. Josserand (Paris, 2009) |
| PL | <i>Patrologia Latina</i> |
| Posilge | <i>Johann's von Posilge, Officials von Pomesanien, Chronik des Landes Preussen</i> , SRP 3 (Leipzig, 1866) |
| PUB | <i>Preußisches Urkundenbuch. Politische Abteilung</i> , ed. by Historische Kommission für ost- und westpreußische Landesforschung, 6 vols (Königsberg; Marburg, 1882–1986) |

- PUTJ* *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter*, ed. R. Hiestand, 2 vols (Gottingen, 1972–84)
- QuStDO* Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens
- RHC* *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*
- Arm* Documents arméniens
- Occ* Historiens occidentaux
- Or* Historiens orientaux
- RHGF* *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*
- RML* Prague: The National Archives, Řád Maltézky – Listiny. Also available at www.monasterium.net
- RMS* Prague The National Archives, Řád Maltézky – Spisy
- ROL* Revue de l'Orient Latin
- RPCS* *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, ed. J. H. Burton (s. 1, vols.1–2), D. Masson (s. 1, vols 3–14), D. Masson (s. 2, vol. 1), P. H. Brown (s. 2, vols 2–8; s. 3, vols 1–8), Henry Paton (s. 3, vols 9–14) and Evan Whyte Melville Balfour-Melville (s. 3, vol. 15), 37 vols (Edinburgh: General Register House, 1877–1908)
- RRH* *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani and Additamentum (Ad)*, ed. R. Röhricht (Innsbruck, 1893–1904)
- RS* Rolls Series
- RSJ* *The Rule of the Spanish Military Order of St James, 1170–1493*, ed. E. Gallego Blanco (Leiden, 1971)
- RT* *La Règle du Temple*, ed. H. de Curzon (Paris, 1886)
- SDO* *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach den ältesten Handschriften*, ed. M. Perlbach (Halle, 1980)
- SPV* *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, relating to English affairs existing in the archives and collection of Venice, and in other libraries of northern Italy*, ed. Rawdon Brown (vols 1–6), Rawdon Brown & G. Cavendish Bentinck (vol. 7), Horatio F Brown (vols 8–12), Allen B. Hinds (vols 13–38), 38 vols (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1864–1947)
- SRP* *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preußischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft*, ed. Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen, Ernst Strehlke, Walther Hubatsch, 6 vols (Leipzig, 1861–1968)
- WT* Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, 63, 63A (Turnhout, 1986)

Introduction

Helen J. Nicholson

It is with pleasure and sadness that I begin this introduction. It is a pleasure to be introducing the seventh volume in the series of proceedings of ‘The Military Orders’ conferences, which have been held roughly every four years since 1992. The continuing success of these conferences in attracting excellent scholars from around the world is testimony to the vitality and ongoing expansion of Military Order studies. It is a sad occasion because this is the first volume without a contribution from the founder of these conferences, Professor Jonathan Riley-Smith. Since the first volume, published in 1994, his writing has appeared in every instalment of the series: either in an erudite research paper, underpinned by meticulous research and delivered with clarity and authority, or in an introduction which succinctly summarised the research presented in the volume and set out possible routes for future research. His introductions became a commentary on the continuing development of research into the Military Orders: on the breadth and variety of topics covered, the chronological spread of research – from the eleventh century to the modern day – and the international range of scholars working on this subject.

Jonathan Riley-Smith’s death in 2016 was marked at the seventh conference in September 2017 by a commemorative tribute presented by Jonathan Phillips. JRS’s erudition and energy will be sorely missed in Military Order studies. The papers in this volume are testament to the impact that he and other scholars of his generation have had on the study of the Military Orders, which – as he commented in his introduction to the fifth volume – has grown phenomenally since he began research in 1960. Eighty papers were listed in the programme of the seventh conference. Twenty-nine of these appear in this volume, all of which broadly fit into the conference theme of ‘piety, pugnacity, and property’. In his introduction to the sixth ‘Military Orders’ volume, Jonathan Riley-Smith wrote: ‘I cannot find words to express how gratifying it is to see their history in such a flourishing and healthy state’, and the seventh conference certainly demonstrated that research into the Military Orders continues to flourish.

As in previous volumes in this series, the majority of the papers consider the international military orders. Nearly half of the papers focus on one

order, the Hospitallers or Order of St John, reflecting the Hospitallers' long history, the geographical breadth and variety of their operations, and the extensive surviving documentation that allows detailed research. In contrast, there are only four papers on the Teutonic Order, perhaps reflecting the more limited geography of its operations. Only two papers consider the Templars, concentrating on their property in Italy, and two papers look at the Order of Santiago, in the Iberian Peninsula. Five papers consider the Military Orders together, while one considers the revived interest in Military Orders in the early twentieth century.

Evidence for the material culture and built environment of the Military Orders was a recurring theme of the conference, with particular interest in the *cabrei*, a type of legal document that developed from the late sixteenth century, recording the location, extent, and use of property. The Hospitallers' *cabrei* that survive from Italy and Malta have attracted increasing interest from archaeologists and historians in recent years. Three of the papers in this volume study the *cabrei* preserved in the National Library of Malta, revealing how the Hospitallers represented the space that they owned, and examining the built environment that they record. Two papers consider the art collected by individual Hospitaller brothers in the Early Modern period, drawing on the inventories that brothers drew up of the art works that they held. Most of these works of art would pass to the Order on their death, although brothers could bequeath one fifth of their possessions as gifts to others. These records offer an insight into the Hospitallers' material piety, although regrettably very few of the actual objects can now be traced. In the same way as the inventories of Templar property from 1307 to 1308 have revealed for the Templars, these records show that the Hospitallers were committed to maintaining the liturgy and that their material culture was focussed on piety. Other papers consider further aspects of the Military Orders' piety: the maintenance of hospitals, and the veneration of saints and of relics of the True Cross.

Eight papers consider the Military Orders' property on the frontiers of Christendom and in Europe as a whole. They cover a range of aspects: how estates were built up, how they were administered, their produce, how records were kept, and connections between the provinces and the Orders' headquarters in the eastern Mediterranean. One focusses on how the Military Orders protected their property and wider interests through diplomacy at the papal court. The legal battles through which these orders maintained their rights and property could be as bitter as any war fought on the frontiers. Five papers consider the Military Orders' involvement in warfare and its corollary, peace-making, in the Middle East and the Iberian Peninsula, ranging from the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries. The Military Orders were respected by Catholic Christians and Muslims alike for their military expertise, and Catholic rulers were anxious to obtain their assistance, but – as these discussions demonstrate – even the Military Orders could not always win victories, either on the battlefield or at the negotiating table.

Contact between the Templars and Hospitallers and Muslims was not limited to the battlefield or high-level diplomacy. Two papers here consider relations between the military orders and Muslims at a lower social level: Muslims as slaves, and the Hospitallers' efforts to convert their Muslim slaves to Christianity. A further paper looks at the Hospitallers' relations with their ethnically Greek serfs on Rhodes and Cyprus.

Two papers analyse outsiders' views on the Hospitallers' activities. In one, a traveller in the eastern Mediterranean in the late fifteenth century remembered his journey twenty-seven years later as he wrote his memoirs, combining accurate detail with what are now puzzling errors. The other considers the Venetians' hostility towards the Hospitallers within the Venetian state, with confiscation of land and seizure of Hospitaller assets. This hostility was in response to interference by the Hospitallers of Malta with Venetian trade, itself a response to Venetian negotiations with the Ottomans.

Such conflicts might suggest that the Hospitallers were out of step with the ideology of the Early Modern Period, yet the concept of the Military Order remained attractive. Two papers consider proposals to found or revive Military Orders in the early modern and modern period, ranging from Orders intended to fight for a secular monarch against other Christians, through Orders to help enforce law and order, to an Order based on a desire simply to 'aspire to wisdom'.

Altogether, these papers reveal that scholarly research into the military orders continues to be vibrant, original, and challenging. Over a quarter of a century since the first of these conferences took place at St John's Gate in Clerkenwell, London, it is clear that research on the Military Religious Orders is developing into many exciting fields. In his introduction to the second volume in this series, Jonathan Riley-Smith noted that architecture and archaeology 'are topics which are among the most exciting in military order studies', and 'early modern Malta is becoming a major field of research', while hoping for future research on the Military Orders in the twentieth century. This, the seventh volume, substantiates his comments, with papers on art, architecture and archaeology, and early modern Malta, and a paper on the twentieth century. In later volumes, JRS noted the growing interest in the Military Orders' liturgy and piety, and studies of the Orders in relation to each other, developments which continue to be reflected in this volume.

Research since 1992 has vastly increased our knowledge of the Military Orders' organisation and operation in the provinces, although the studies published here hint at how much remains to be done. Inventories and property surveys have much to reveal about the Order's piety and cultural life. The art and architecture of the Military Orders offer insights into the Orders' self-image and how they portrayed themselves to their contemporaries. In addition to these, works written by members of the Military Orders can give us an insight into their culture – not only histories such as that written for the Teutonic Order by Peter of Dusburg but also devotional works such as Hospitaller brother Johannes von Frankenstein's *Kreuziger*.

The history of the Order of St John on Malta and in the courts of Early Modern Catholic Europe still offers enormous scope for further research, while the history of the Teutonic Order after the loss of Prussia remains virtually unknown to English-speaking students of the Order. In his introduction to the sixth volume in this series, JRS appealed for scholars to explore how the Military Orders became involved in the growth of empires from the fifteenth century onwards, and how they changed or revived in the nineteenth century. By the nineteenth century, the Military Orders had lost the political influence that they had held in earlier centuries, but the growth of the 'new Templar' temperance movement and the establishment of modern Hospitaller institutions were important social and cultural developments which had wide-reaching effects.

Interest in the Military Religious Orders still tends to be linked to research on the Crusades, but with increasing interest in material culture and art history, the history of slavery, and the study of memory and memorialisation, Military Order studies are engaging with topics at the heart of current historical research. It is to be hoped that the current volume will prove of interest to scholars in the wider historical community as well as those focussing on the Military Orders and the Crusades.

Property: landholdings (in Malta)



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

1 The properties and landed possessions of the Knights of St John in Malta

An analysis of *Cabrei* 290 and 307, conserved at the National Library of Malta

George A. Said-Zammit

This paper is concerned with the *Cabrei* of the Knights of the Order of St John (Treasury Series B: 289–311), which are conserved at the National Library of Malta, Valletta. The study is divided into three main sections. The first part provides some general considerations about the *Cabrei* and how they are organized in the national collection. The second part focusses on two particular volumes: *Cabrei* 290 and 307. After describing the general characteristics of these two *Cabrei*, this section concentrates on the typical property that the Order possessed in the Maltese islands during the eighteenth century, which included rural and urban houses, *palazzi*, landed estates and windmills. It analyses the architectural style of these dwellings and uses two case studies to examine their spatial dynamics, with particular reference to communication and class. Through this analysis it is also possible to estimate the area of these houses, thus forming a general idea of the level of comfort that their occupants enjoyed. The last section delves into certain other features that appear in some of the illustrations of the two volumes, particular reference being made to costumes, farming practices and landscape.

A historical note

The Knights of St John occupied the Maltese islands in 1530, eight years after their forced withdrawal from Rhodes. Through the Act of Donation, signed in March of that year between the Grand Master of the Order and Emperor Charles V of Spain, the Knights assumed full sovereign rights over the Maltese archipelago and its population. Here, this chivalric organization became the major landowner since all the landed estates that previously belonged to the Spanish crown now became its permanent possession. Apart from the incomes that accrued from these local estates, the Knights possessed various other holdings in different parts of Europe.¹

Initially, the Knights established their *Convento* in Birgu, which also became the islands' centre of administration instead of the earlier capital, Mdina. Until 1565 the Order considered the Maltese islands as a temporary base since it still had in mind the re-conquest of Rhodes.² However, in 1571, six years after the defeat of the Turkish attack upon Malta (1565), the Order transferred permanently its *Convento* to the new city of Valletta, which became the centre of Malta's political, economic and sociocultural life. During this period, Valletta, Birgu and the other harbour settlements that developed from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards became the maritime hub of the Maltese islands. The Knights were expelled from Malta in 1798 by the French.

The national collection: Treasury Series B – *Cabrei* 289–311

By the early seventeenth century, the Knights felt the need to reorganize their local landed possessions into several *Fondazioni*, in a similar way as they did for their various *Commende* spread in Europe. These Foundations were crucial for the Order to finance large-scale projects, such as the building of fortifications and hospitals. Their agricultural estates were important not only for economic purposes but also to generate the necessary revenues to pay salaries, cover their day-to-day expenses, maintain the fortifications and run the Order's various departments, offices and hospitals.

Each *Fondazione* sought to keep an official record of its material possessions: landed estates, public gardens, private *orti*, commercial buildings, *palazzi* and houses. To ensure the good administration of their properties, the Knights compiled and recorded these assets in specific registers or *cabrei*. Thus, these inventories became legal documents and an effective means through which the *Fondazioni* managed their own possessions. In addition, the leasing or acquisition of a property was usually recorded in notarial deeds and account registers.

Each *Fondazione* hired their own notaries and *periti agrimensori* (land surveyors), who were specifically required to describe, draw (sometimes to scale), measure and document each house or land in their possession. The *periti agrimensori* were particularly active from the early seventeenth century onwards, when the local landscape in various areas underwent dramatic changes as a result of massive settlement development. The earliest surveys known to date were carried out for the magisterial possessions. Such surveys led to the compilation of a series of *cabrei* (*descrittivi* or *figurati*), the first one being produced in approximately 1653.

The houses, landed estates and other properties that the Knights possessed locally in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are recorded in twenty-five volumes of *Cabrei* (Treasury Series B: 289–311) as shown in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 List of *Cabrei* (Treasury Series B: 289–311)

| <i>Volume number (Treasury Series B)</i> | <i>Title</i> | <i>No. of volumes</i> |
|--|---|---------------------------|
| 289–290 | <i>Cabreo del Magistero</i> | 2 |
| 291 | <i>Cabreo della Secrezia</i> | 1 |
| 292–296 | <i>Cabreo dell'Assemblea</i> | 5 |
| 297–300 | <i>Cabreo Assemblea Fiernalda</i> | 4 |
| 301, 301a & 302 | <i>Cabreo Fondazione Lascaris</i> | 3 |
| 303 | <i>Cabreo Università Notabile</i> | 1 |
| 304 | <i>Cabreo Collegio del Gesù e Università</i> | 1 |
| 305 | <i>Cabreo Ven.da Grotta di S. Paolo</i> | 1 |
| 306 | <i>Cabreo della Ven.da Cappella della B.V. di Filermo</i> | 1 |
| 307 | <i>Cabreo Ospedale delle Donne</i> | 2 |
| 308 | <i>Aggiunta del Cabreo per beni della Grotta del Gozo</i> | 1 |
| 309 | <i>Cabreo Originale del Ven.do Monte della Redenzione degli Schiavi</i> | 1 |
| 310–311 | <i>Cabreo Fondazione Manoel</i> | 2 |

***Cabrei* 290 and 307**

These two volumes, datable to a period between the second half of the seventeenth and the second half of the eighteenth century, belong to two different sections of the Order. Both *cabrei* fall under the category of *figurati*; *Cabreo* 290 contains a set of 125 full-page coloured illustrations, while *Cabreo* 307, consisting of two parts, includes fifteen coloured illustrations. The descriptions in the former are limited to short phrases at the top of each illustration since more detailed descriptions of the inventoried properties are given in its sequel, *Cabreo* 291. *Cabreo* 307, though containing fewer illustrations, is much richer in descriptive detail. Apart from the fact that the listed properties are drawn to scale and the surveyors provide a plan and elevation of each building, they also give a description of the house or building, including the function of particular rooms and spaces, as well as the floor area of the property concerned. It is also to be noted that this *Cabreo* makes reference to people or other organizations, because for each listed property, the surveyors also refer to the owners of adjoining properties, for example the Church, a religious order, a *fondazione* or other third parties. Sometimes they provide a brief description on the quality of the land; for instance, in *folio* 22 of *Cabreo* 307, the land is described as being of ‘bona qualità’ (good quality).

Cabreo 290 records 149 different properties that belonged to the *Magistero* or central government. The other, entitled *Cabreo Bonorum Hospitalis Mulierum Invalidarum Civitatis Vallettae*, comprises twenty-two properties. In total, therefore, there are 171 properties, which range from small parcels of land to

more extensive farming estates and from small rural and urban dwellings to more elaborate townhouses and *palazzini*.

The inventoried properties are found in thirty-six different localities which, in a way, demonstrate that the agricultural estates, in particular, were spread almost in every region of the country. One of the estates consisted of an entire island (Comino). The exact location of five properties could not be determined; three are found in Malta, two in Gozo. Statistically, they are distributed as shown in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2 Number of properties per location recorded in the *Cabrei*

| <i>Location</i> | <i>Number of properties</i> |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| Valetta | 14 |
| Floriana | 10 |
| Senglea | 1 |
| Santa Venera | 2 |
| Birkirkara | 1 |
| Lija | 1 |
| Qormi | 12 |
| Paola | 3 |
| Marsa | 8 |
| Msida | 1 |
| St Julians | 1 |
| Gharghur | 7 |
| Burmarrad | 9 |
| Mellicha | 2 |
| Selmun | 1 |
| Mġarr | 11 |
| Siggiewi | 9 |
| Dingli | 8 |
| Rabat | 18 |
| Marsaxlokk | 1 |
| Gudja | 3 |
| Żejtun | 9 |
| Marsascula | 1 |
| Comino | 1 |
| Rabat (Gozo) | 2 |
| Għarb | 2 |
| Qala | 1 |
| Mġarr (Gozo) | 1 |
| Xagħra | 3 |
| Xewkija | 7 |
| Xlendi | 4 |
| Dwejra | 5 |
| Żebbuġ (Gozo) | 2 |
| Marsalforn | 1 |
| Nadur | 3 |
| Santa Luċija (Gozo) | 1 |
| Unknown (Malta) | 3 |
| Unknown (Gozo) | 2 |

The distribution of these properties provides some interesting observations. For instance, it is notable that most of them are located

- i in the Grand Harbour region (Valletta, Floriana, Paola, Marsa, Senglea, Msida), hence in the most densely populated settlements of seventeenth and eighteenth century Malta. These were also settlements which provided a wide range of employment opportunities to many natives and foreigners living in this part of the island³
- ii in agriculturally productive areas, particularly where there was availability of water for irrigation, for instance Rabat, Mgarr and Burmarrad.

On the other hand, the same distribution also demonstrates that certain other areas or localities were represented by only a small number of properties either because

- i the land there was not sufficiently fortified or protected against any possible enemy incursions (for example, Mellieħa and Marsaxlokk)
- ii the land was not agriculturally productive
- iii there was no (or not enough) water available for irrigation or human consumption, or else because
- iv certain parts of the Maltese islands did not have a high population density (for example, Lija and most of the Gozo hamlets).

It is important to mention that the distribution of properties represents only a tiny fraction of what the Order actually possessed locally during this period. Considering the twenty-five volumes of *Cabrei* that constitute part of the national collection, this implies that the above listed houses and lands amount to less than 10% of all the properties that the Knights had in their possession locally. Table 1.3 demonstrates the distribution of the same properties according to type.

Table 1.3 Number of properties per type

| <i>Type</i> | <i>Number of properties</i> |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Palazzi</i> or townhouses | 11 |
| Mezzanini | 6 |
| Single-room houses | 1 |
| Rural or farmhouses | 15 |
| Windmills | 3 |
| Public or private gardens | 10 |
| Small parcels of agricultural land | 56 |
| Extensive farming estates | 63 |
| Hospitals | 1 |
| Churches | 5 |

According to Table 1.3, most of the properties (approximately 70%) consisted of agricultural lands (small parcels of land or more extensive estates). Another 10% comprised urban dwellings (ranging from *palazzi* to small houses), while another 10% included rural buildings (windmills or farmhouses). Public or private gardens constitute 6% of all the properties that feature in both *cabrei*. In fourteen particular cases, the leased estate also included a farmhouse. In a way, this suggests not only the Order's commitment to provide employment opportunities to many tenant farmers so that they could earn their daily living (the Knights needed them to work their agricultural estates) but also its commitment to accommodate these farmers in dwellings that offered sufficient living space and perhaps also a healthy environment, similar to what was commonly available in other parts of Europe during the same period.⁴ In five other instances, the estate also included a small church. An interesting illustration appears in *folio* 126 of *Cabreo* 290, which provides a general view of the Gozo Castello, the neighbouring Rabat and their environs. This is also an important source through which, especially when compared to modern-day maps, one can analyse settlement evolution in Gozo in the last 400 years.

Urban and rural architecture

The houses listed in *Cabrei* 290 and 307, built from local limestone, fall under two main categories:

- a **Vernacular** (farmhouses, windmills and rural churches), and
- b **Baroque urban dwellings** (*palazzini* and townhouses).

Farmhouses are usually characterized by a simple, asymmetrical and austere façade. Apertures are usually small and kept to the barest minimum, simply to allow light and ventilation into the house interior. Some of these introverted dwellings are single-storey buildings, while many others consist of two floors: the ground floor, which often consisted of the household's economic quarters (where animals were kept, vegetables and other foodstuffs stored and various economic activities carried out), and the *ghorfa* upstairs which usually served as the family's living quarters. In a way, this shows that by the second half of the seventeenth century most of the rural families were living in dwellings which provided a considerable level of comfort for the household members, contrary to what occurred in the late medieval single-storey rural dwellings, where humans and animals often shared the same spaces.⁵ Plate 1.1, which is an example of a typical local eighteenth century farmhouse, illustrates this concept in more detail. This introverted dwelling consists of two floors, the ground level being used for the household's everyday chores and where visitors were usually welcomed, while the upper floor (or the *ghorfa*) served as the family's private quarters, where strangers had little or no access.

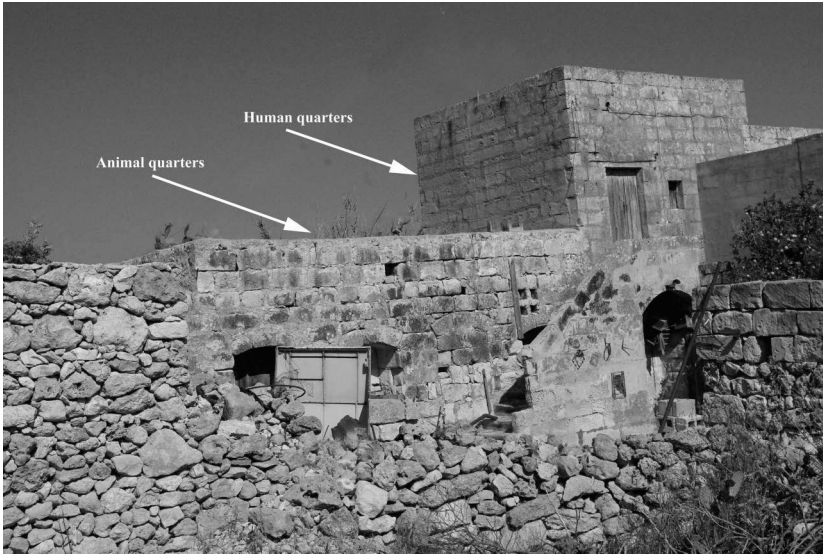


Plate 1.1 An eighteenth century two-storey farmhouse in the parish of Mġarr, Malta.

Another important characteristic of these farmhouses is their ceiling, which is either flat or pitched. The latter was made of timber and was generally covered with *deffun* (a mixture of ground terracotta, lime and globigerina limestone sand) or *chiramidi* roof tiles. The local notarial records and the *Cabrei* suggest that the practice of building houses with pitched roofs was commonly practised, from approximately the late Middle Ages to the eighteenth century.⁶ Apart from allowing rainwater collection, pitched roofs also provided storage space, especially when the house included an attic.

Knowledge about the urban houses of this period comes mainly through the illustrations in *Cabreo* 307. Most of the dwellings listed here are of the *palazzino* type, often consisting of two floors. The ground floor, usually characterized by a central courtyard or backyard, comprised the household's economic quarters, for example, a kitchen, a bakery and a storeroom. Here, one could also find a toilet (*gabinetto*) and some other rooms, which probably had a multifunctional purpose. The upper floor, or *piano nobile*, served as the family's living quarters where guests were welcomed and entertained in the *sala nobile*. Some of these houses were extensive enough to include another *gabinetto* on the *piano nobile*. Access to the upper floor rooms was usually through a grand staircase, which generally dominated the central part of the ground floor. Some of these *palazzini*, apart from their grand staircase, also had a *scala lumaca* (spiral staircase), often located at the rear part of the house plan which provided access to all the levels of the building, including the flat roof. A detailed study of these houses has demonstrated that the

spiral staircase, usually located near the kitchen and/or the storerooms, was probably associated with the domestic servants, while the grand staircase was presumably reserved only for the house owners.⁷ This was a common practice among the seventeenth and eighteenth century local nobility, where house owners and servants had separate quarters and access points.

Several extensive houses also included a small mezzanine, consisting of one to three rooms, which was generally sandwiched between the dwelling's ground floor and the *piano nobile*. The mezzanini served as a living quarters for the household's domestic servants or else were rented to third parties. Some of these townhouses were spacious enough to include rooms or spaces with a separate entrance to the public street; these spaces were generally rented out for accommodation purposes or commercial use.

Apart from the storerooms mentioned above, many of these *palazzi* also had a cellar, which was yet another ideal storage place. The importance of potable water is testified by the fact that several houses had a cistern for rainwater storage.

The architectural style of these townhouses is typical of the Baroque era, usually characterized by an ornate, symmetrical and extrovert façade with elaborate door and window frames. Sometimes, the central panel of the façade of these dwellings was dominated by a closed timber or an open stone balcony. Certain façades were further embellished by coat of arms, columns or balustrades.

The domestic space organization of these townhouses and *palazzini* is also typical of the same period, with the rooms usually being organized in an *enfilade* arrangement to give access to each other forming a straight line.⁸ The *enfilade* configuration of the *piano nobile* was common in eighteenth century elite houses, which emulated French and Italian mansions and *palazzi*. The objective of this arrangement was also to ensure a straight line of vision and direction.

Access analysis, which forms part of space syntax, allows us to explore the relationship between the architectural arrangements of houses and their spatial configuration, hence to study the relationship between humans and their inhabited spaces.⁹ Access analysis has been extensively used by various scholars worldwide to study different genres of buildings, from simple dwellings to more complex structures, such as airports and hospitals.¹⁰ House plans are first translated into topological graphs, which are subsequently analysed to calculate spatial values. These graphs provide a useful visualization tool to better understand the spatial layout of these houses and its implications for movement and encounter. These graphs are justified so that a specific space within the spatial network is placed at the bottom, called the root space, which in this analysis always represents the main entrance of the building. All spaces one syntactic step away from the root space are placed on the first level above, while all spaces which are two steps away are placed on the second level, and so on. Justified graphs provide a visual picture of the overall depth of a layout seen from one of its points.¹¹

This paper includes two case studies: a townhouse listed in *Cabreo* 307 and a typical rural house, both pertaining to the eighteenth century. The latter does not feature in the two *Cabrei* under study but is being used here to compare and contrast, through access analysis, domestic space organization in these two different scenarios.

The first case study consists of a two-storey dwelling in Valletta (Plate 1.2), while the second one is a two-storey rural house in Żejtun, one of the villages in south-east Malta (Figure 1.1). The use of access analysis to transpose these two house plans into justified graphs (Figures 1.2 and 1.3) allows us to make some notable observations regarding communication, movement and permeability. Figure 1.2 presents a *tree-like* structure with various levels of depth, while Figure 1.3 is a *bush-like* j-graph since most of the rooms or spaces, referred to technically as *nodes*, are near the bottom or root space. Hence, while the former allows more depth and permeability, the latter is shallower permitting less segregation.

A closer study to the townhouse reveals that, at ground floor level, the most segregated rooms were the kitchen and room 9, both of which were seemingly related to domestic work and servitude. At the *piano nobile* level, the most permeable spaces were the *sala nobile* (14) and rooms 17 and 18,

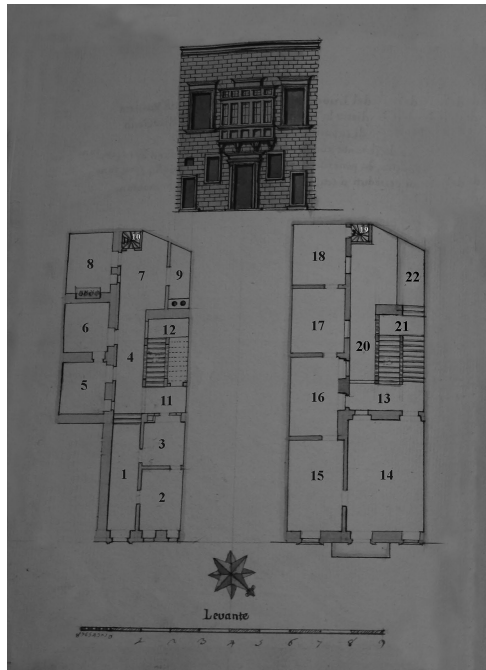


Plate 1.2 *Cabreo* 307 (folio 30): plan of the Valletta townhouse.



Figure 1.1 Plan of an eighteenth century rural house in Żejtun.

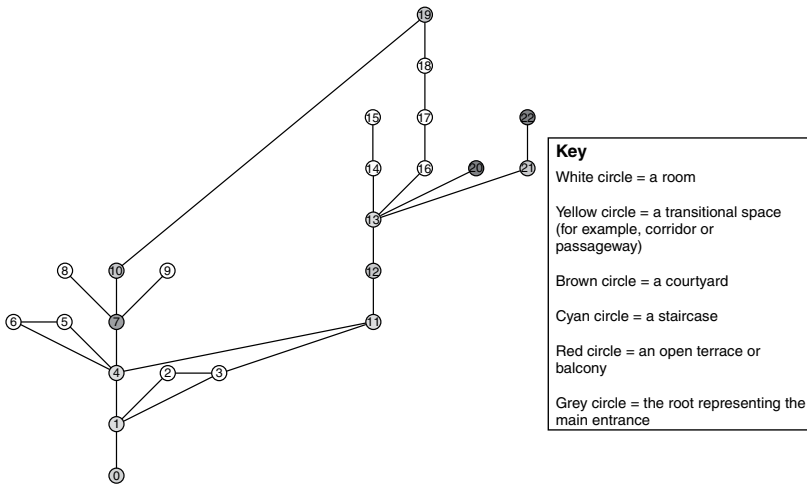


Figure 1.2 A justified graph of the Valletta townhouse.

which are the farthest from the root space. Therefore, while certain rooms were specifically intended to be visible (for instance, 2, 3, 5 and 6), others were intentionally secluded and concealed from the visitor's eye. This was a common phenomenon in Baroque houses of this kind, in Malta and in Europe, where the owners sought to ensure maximum privacy and minimum interaction with servants. Table 1.4 shows the access analysis values of Figure 1.2