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FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Music

Instrument Building and Musical Culture in Seventeenth-Century Malta:

the luthier Matteo Morales

by

Anna Borg Cardona

Thesis for the degree of PhD Music

Submitted November 2017

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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Music

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

INSTRUMENT BUILDING AND MUSICAL CULTURE IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY MALTA: THE LUTHIER MATTHEO MORALES

Anna Borg Cardona

By the seventeenth century, Malta had become a nucleus of cultural activity. It provides us with totally new perspectives on the production and consumption of music within a Mediterranean context. Though in some ways comparable to other European centres, its society differed in that there was a large presence of multi-national Knights of the Order of St John coming from the aristocracy of Italy, France, Auvergne, Provence, Aragon, Castille, Léon, Portugal and Germany. Numerous Arab and Turkish slaves added to the cultural mix living in a concentrated area. This thesis uses the example of the Maltese instrument builder Matteo Morales (1637-1698) as a lens through which to investigate musical culture in seventeenth-century Malta, addressing its connections to wider Mediterranean and European trends and its unique social and cultural circumstances. An affluent society and flourishing cultural atmosphere served as catalyst to foreign singers, instrumentalists, teachers of music and dance, and also to theatrical troupes. Morales was perfectly located in the city of Valletta, managing to carve for himself a very comfortable living, not only through his instrument building, but also by supplementing his earnings with regular investments in traders. Malta's position in the central Mediterranean placed it at the crossroads of global trade and Morales' transactions expose the vast web of trade routes with which he was personally connected. A meticulously detailed inventory of his goods drawn up after his death provides us with a very rare description of this craftsman's home, with details of his furniture, furnishings, paintings, clothing, jewellery and silver items. In his workshop we find a number of different sizes of guitars, violins, *sordini* violins, *bassi di viola*, an arch guitar, a lute, a *tromba marina*, a spinet and also an instrument in the style of a Turkish *tambura*. Through his inventory and its ramifications, a broader picture of the musical life in Malta and the connectivity of the Island are made apparent. This thesis shapes our understanding of the significant cultural and musical activity taking place within a Mediterranean context.

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, **Anna Borg Cardona** declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

**Instrument Building and Musical Culture in Seventeenth-Century Malta: the luthier
Mattheo Morales**

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission.

Signed:

Date: 26th November 2017.....

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Definitions and Abbreviations

General Abbreviations

bc	basso continuo
CATB	Canto, Alto, Tenor, Bass
Fr.	Frate (friar, monk)
Mgr	Monsignor
Ms.	Manuscript
Mus. Ms.	Music manuscript
Not.	Notary
Op.	Opus
org.	organ
Pr	Printed music
Qdm.	<i>Quondam</i> (the late)
R.	Registered Index of Notary [followed by a number]
SATB	Soprano, Alto, Tenor Bass
SP	San Paolo (Church of St Paul's Shipwreck)
sv	<i>sub voce</i>

Libraries, Archives, Fonds

AAF	Archbishop's Archives, Floriana
AAM	Archivum Archiepiscopale, Melitae
ACM	Archivum Cathedralis, Meltitae
ACC	Archives of the Confraternity of Charity, Valletta
AdeP	Archivum de Piro
AD	Adami Collection
AIM	Archivum Inquisitionis Melitensis
AO	Acta Originalia
AOM	Archivum Ordinis Sancti Johannis, Maltae

Arch.	Archivum
CEM	Curia Episcopalis Melitensis
Dep.	Depositeria
FG	Fondo Gesuiti
Giornale	Giornale della Santa Chiesa Cattedrale
Giorn. Mag.	Giornale e Maggiore
Inv. Haeredit.	Inventaria Haereditarum
LCA	Legati Cappella (Archives of the Confraternity of Charity)
M	Mandati
MCC	Magna Curia Castellaniae
MCM	Museum of the Cathedral, Mdina
Misc.	Miscellanea
NAM	National Archives of Malta (Mdina)
NAV	Notarial Archives, Valletta
NLM	National Library of Malta
NMM	National Music museum
Proc.	Processi criminali
PV	Pastoral Visit
Reg. Bapt.	Registrum Baptizatorum
Reg. Del. Cap.	Registrum Deliberationum Capitularium
Reg. Dep. Pers.	Registrum Deputationum Personarum
Reg. Matri.	Registrum Matrimoniorum
Reg. Mort.	Registrum Mortuorum
Reg. Pat.	Registrum Patentarum
Reg. Sub.	Registrum Subastarum
Reg. Suo. Tax.	Registrum Supplicationum et Taxationum
Status Anim.	Registrum Status Animarum
Sup.	Suppliche e Botteghe

Journals and Publishers

EMc	<i>Early Music</i>
FPM	Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti
GSJ	<i>The Galpin Society Journal</i>
JAMIS	<i>Journal of The American Musical Instrument Society</i>
JM	<i>The Journal of Musicology</i>
JRMA	<i>Journal of the Royal Musical Association</i>
Viola da Gamba S.J.	<i>The Viola da Gamba Society Journal</i>
MH	<i>Melita Historica</i>
TM	<i>Treasures of Malta</i>

Weights and Measures

1 Palma	a man's hand span from thumb to little finger
1 Canna (cloth)	8 palme
1 Cantaro	100 rotoli
1 Rotolo	2.5 libbre (30 once)
1 Libbra	12 oncie

Monetary units, Malta

1 uncza/uncia	30 tarì (2 scudi 6 tarì)
1 zecchino (gold)	1 scudo 8 tarì (20 tarì)
1 scudo (silver)	12 tarì
1 taro (copper)	20 grani
1 grano	6 dinar or piccioli

Comparative currency

Sicilian coinage was current in Malta from the earliest times. From 1609 coins struck in Malta conformed in weight and fineness to those of Sicily. Very often Sicilian coins circulated with Maltese coinage. [Joseph C. Sammut *Currency in Malta* (Central Bank Of Malta, 2001)]

1 Maltese taro [D. Magri <i>Vocabolario Ecclesiastico</i> sv 'tarenus']	8 Roman baiocchi
1 Roman scudo	100 Roman baiocchi
1 Maltese scudo (12 tari)	96 Roman baiocchi
1 Maltese zecchino	20 Maltese tari (1 scudo 8 tari)
1 Neapolitan zecchino [Rate of exchange used in 1695, G.F. Gemelli Careri, <i>Giro del Mondo</i> , p.25]	24 Maltese tari (2 scudi)
1 Roman zecchino (200 baiocchi)	25 Maltese tari (2 scudi 1 taro)
1 Venetian zecchino [Rate of exchange used in Morales' inventory, f. 259r –v]	29 Maltese tari (2 scudi 5 tari)
101 Maltese scudi	29 zecchini veneti]
Doppia di Spagna di Quattro [Rate of exchange used in Mattheo Morales' inventory, f. 259r –v]	3 Venetian zecchini

Introduction

The instrument building trade has fascinated historians and musicians over the centuries. However, the down-to-earth reality of the instrument builders' lives is rarely delved into. Though there has been some excellent research on instrument builders elsewhere in Europe, nothing has so far been known about Malta. This thesis takes the reader on a journey that examines the inventory of a Maltese seventeenth-century instrument builder, Matteo Morales. This document reveals an extraordinary amount of detail on Morales, his home, his life style, and his workshop in Valletta, which was signposted as a *bottega di chitarraro*. This was the workshop of a stringed-instrument maker, focusing mainly on guitars. The strikingly wide range of instruments suggests the presence of a rich musical culture on the Island, and opens up a plethora of questions on the instrument maker himself, on the instrument building trade in seventeenth-century Malta, and on whether this trade connected Malta to the wider musical culture.

The study is divided into four chapters, the first of which sets the soundscape within which Matteo Morales lived. Malta, a mere 27 km by 14.5 km, has often been thought of as a small isolated rock in the Mediterranean, at the far edge of Europe. However, its position in the Mediterranean is what made it a desirable acquisition throughout history, occupied by Phoenicians, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs, Normans, Angevins and Aragonese. These peoples had already built up successive layers of culture of the Maltese people when, in 1530, Malta was ceded by Charles V of Spain to the Order of St John. There arrived on the Island a large number of aristocratic knights from all over Europe – Italy, France, Auvergne, Provençe, Aragon, Castille and León, Portugal, England and Bavaria. This conglomeration of 'languages' in such a concentrated area immediately transformed the small Island into a cosmopolitan centre. Apart from the Christian multi-national society, there was a large number of Muslim Turkish and Arab slaves, as well as a Jewish community. Owing to its position at the outer edge of Europe and to the strong presence of this mixed society, Malta was in many ways unique. I explore the effect that this multi-cultural and multi-racial atmosphere had on the local population and on the resulting cultural output.

With the building of the new fortified city of Valletta in the latter years of the sixteenth century, from a poorly defended frontier it soon became one of the ramparts of Christendom. Malta reached a period of relative security that allowed culture to flourish. The first chapter demonstrates how by the seventeenth century, the city had become a nucleus of very busy cultural activity. From the surviving and visible artistic output we know that some of the foremost Italian artists, such as Perez d'Aleccio, Caravaggio and Mattia Preti were in Malta, and were

commissioned to provide works for the palaces and churches. Was the same happening in the musical culture? This chapter investigates the soundscape of the Maltese Islands during the seventeenth century to see whether this society was participating in the same musical and cultural networks that are evident in better-studied European cities. I examine the interactions taking place between the surrounding societies and cultures, and whether Malta could be providing us with some new perspectives.

Chapter 2 explores the long inventory of Mattheo Morales, a detailed source of documentary information that provides us with a vivid picture of the way Morales lived and the way he achieved his comfortable life style and social status. It opens a window that provides an insight on the life of this instrument maker, his home, family, and the general environment he lived in. Apart from this, the inventory also creates wider questions relating to connectivity with the outside world.

With the growing population of the Island, Valletta became the ideal place to sell goods, to open workshops, to find employment, and the perfect place for business to thrive. It attracted artisans and craftsmen, merchants and tradesmen. We find cobblers, tailors, metal workers, jewellers, silversmiths and goldsmiths, butchers, bakers, rope makers, carpenters, furniture makers, all gathering around this area, which was bound to provide them with sufficient work. The different market demands came from the Grand Master himself, the hundreds of wealthy aristocratic knights and the Maltese noble families who had acquired property in Valletta. Apart from this upper stratum, there were all the merchants, traders, craftsmen, artisans and foreign visitors and also the local population of lesser means. There among the craftsmen was Mattheo Morales, who was born in Valletta, and was throughout his life perfectly located and very much a part of the daily hub of activity taking place in this modern, vibrant city. This is the first attempt to understand how the craft of instrument building functioned on the Island and to discover its relevance to Malta's seventeenth-century music making.

Chapter 3 looks closely at Morales' *bottega* and the instruments he provided. The market demand would have dictated the type of instrument made by the luthier, the type of wood used, and whether the more expensive marquetry, mother of pearl, ivory or silver were included. Since Malta had no natural raw materials, this study looks into how the luthier, who advertised himself as a *chitarraro*, was obtaining his necessary materials, particularly timber and strings. I consider whether there was an available commercial network that provided him with his raw materials and other musical goods. How isolated from, or connected with, the broader musical world was this luthier in Malta? Morales left an amazing amount of tracks leading me to the world of trade and maritime networks of the period, to which he was closely linked.

The fourth chapter considers the available modes of learning both music and luthiering in Malta during the seventeenth century. It traces and follows the Morales family before and beyond Matteo himself, looking particularly at his nephews and their methods of acquiring the different facets of musical knowledge including teaching, performing and luthiering.

My study is based on a wide range of archival sources, most of which were never studied before, or never studied from a musical standpoint. From the information gathered through the long inventory, which is presented in an Appendix to the thesis, I move on to other primary sources outside it. These are located in different archives situated in Valletta, Floriana and in Mdina. Among the records of prime importance to this study were those of the Grand Court covering the period of the Order of St John (1530-1798) held in a section of the National Archives of Malta in Mdina. Here, among several large volumes of inventories, we find that of Matteo Morales drawn up after his death in 1698. In these same Archives are all the petitions made to the Grand Court, including the requests and granting of permits of every kind, encompassing the opening of shops, the sale of goods, the permit to teach or to establish schools. We also find records of the stamping of exit permits of anyone leaving the Island.

The Archives of the Mdina Cathedral, on the other hand, provide very specific well-documented records regarding the running of the cathedral, including the employment of musicians and the celebrations of feasts and processions. These archives furthermore hold a valuable collection of Italian and Sicilian printed music, as well as foreign and Maltese manuscript music, some of which has uniquely survived in this Archive.

Similarly crucial to this thesis were the Notarial Archives (Valletta). Every minor detail of seventeenth-century daily life was recorded before a notary, largely because of the rampant illiteracy of the time. These records include wills, the sale of houses, the sale of ships, slaves, and other goods, and also any commercial transactions and investments. Matteo Morales was a frequent visitor to the notarial offices, allowing us to trace a large number of his commercial dealings. Owing to the greater freedom of research allowed in the notarial branch of St Christopher Street, all documents quoted in this thesis were viewed in this repository, unless otherwise stated.

On an Island that was tightly controlled by the Roman Catholic Church, the Bishop's Archives and the Parish Archives offer much crucial information. These hold records of birth, marriage, death, a yearly census of each family within every parish, pastoral visits and church promulgations. They also hold records of foreigners requesting permission to marry Maltese spouses, for which witnesses vouched for the applicant's good name and unmarried status. Apart from these, other relevant documents were traced in the National Library, and in the previously unstudied Archives

of the Confraternity of Charity in Valletta, and of the private Archives of one of the foremost aristocratic families in Malta (Archivum de Piro). I also make use of contemporary travelogues and diaries which give us an outsider's view of the Island and its social and economic norms. This thesis draws on valuable data from all these primary sources in order to answer the many questions arising from Morales' inventory and to help construct the soundscape within this geographical location.

Primary sources all offer their own challenges. Documents expected to provide a required answer sometimes do not. Others examined for one reason may provide totally different and unexpected results. Apart from calligraphic hurdles, different levels of preservation and ink quality, these documents also shift linguistically from Latin to Italian, Sicilian and old Maltese, which have to be dealt with, frequently within the same document. Nevertheless, in spite of the several frustratingly unproductive hours spent in Archives, the amount and quality of information collated and the insight that emerges through these sources by far overshadow the painfully unsuccessful hours, and eventually prove highly rewarding.

Shining a light on the day-to-day living of the instrument maker Matteo Morales allows us a wealth of insight into the broader musical culture of the seventeenth century and Malta's place within it. Through it, there emerges the reality of Malta's social and economic life and we enter the urban soundscape within this very particular geographical location in the Mediterranean.

Principles for the transcription of documents

1. Capital letters are very inconsistently used in the original documents. These have been regularised for clarification of meaning.
2. Punctuation in most documents is very erratic or totally absent. This has been added.
3. Grammatical errors have been retained and pointed out with the bracketed sign (*sic*).
4. Abbreviations in the documents have been expanded with the added part enclosed within rounded brackets: (). In Tables, where space is limited, abbreviations are retained.

Chapter 1: The Soundscape of an Island: Music and musical instruments in seventeenth-century Malta

The instrument builder, Mattheo Morales, was in the right place at the opportune time.¹ Different factors lured artists and musicians to seventeenth-century Malta, turning it into an area of great cultural activity. The social, economic and political situation created a fertile ground for the flourishing of sacred and secular music, thus providing numerous opportunities for musicians. Though Malta has often been thought of as a small and insignificant island at the outer edge of Europe, a detailed investigation reveals that the highly cosmopolitan society was enjoying a rich and varied musical life.



Figure 1. Section of a map of Europe taken from *Atlas portative universel et Militaire* by Giles Robert de Vaugondy, Paris 1749. The Maltese Islands are just south of Sicily (indicated with an arrow). Courtesy Joseph Schirò.

Mattheo Morales lived in a period of cultural growth, during which Malta fostered a unique environment with an exceptionally high concentration of potential patrons within a very small area. The result was that not only local, but also foreign musicians and instrumentalists became aware of the Island's possibilities. There was a growing demand for different instruments in

¹ The second chapter will be dealing with Mattheo Morales the man, his home, family, status and his commercial circles.

Chapter 1

association with Christian worship, in processions, in pageantry, and also in the more intimate forms of music-making in aristocratic palaces and homes. In this chapter, I explore the general soundscape of the Island, focussing on the main religious and secular/civic centres which functioned as catalysts for the production, performance and consumption of music during the seventeenth century. I begin with the background to the two main religious cores that provided sacred music, and then turn to the important civic and secular music that was taking place.

The medieval, fortified city of Mdina, also known as *Città Notabile*, was previously the Island's capital, and was the seat of the Bishop. It was also the residential area of the Maltese nobility. Some of Malta's oldest aristocracy, apart from being land-owners, were also established merchants.² These families had long been living within the walls of the medieval city of Mdina and from there controlled the political and administrative affairs of the Islands through a council of jurats known as the *Università*. The arrival of the Order of St John, in 1530, created ripples within Mdina.³ The jurats soon realised that they had to bow to the new rulers. Officials of the *Università* were henceforth to be appointed by the Grand Master of the Order. Even though the first Grand Master, l'Isle Adam, and successive Grand Masters, all swore to uphold the ancient rights and privileges of the Maltese people, the Order was very soon taking over administrative matters from their hands. Previous rights of the local nobility were slowly eroded. Some prestigious families left the island whilst others stayed and tried to make the best they could of the inevitable situation.⁴

Though Malta already had its deep-rooted native folk practices and its well-established sacred music in the Mdina Cathedral, the arrival of the Order brought with it a constant injection of the latest musical developments coming from the main European centres. The multi-national aristocracy of the Knights of St John brought an influx of wealth, which created the perfect environment for musical activity. This led to competition for excellence between the Mdina Cathedral *cappella* and that of the Order's conventual church in Valletta, and between the indigenous aristocracy and the Knights of St John.

The new harbour city of Valletta, Morales' hometown, was built by the Order following the Great Siege against the Turkish invaders in 1565.⁵ It soon became the centre of much religious, political, administrative and social activity, stealing the limelight from the older areas. A certain amount of

² Henri Bresc, "The 'Secrezia' and the Royal Patrimony in Malta: 1240-1450," in *Medieval Malta: Studies on Malta before the Knights*, ed. Anthony Luttrell (London: The British School at Rome, 1975), 144-162. Bresc discusses Finance and Power in Malta and the management of medieval fiefdoms.

³ Mario Buhagiar and Stanley Fiorini, *Mdina, the Cathedral City of Malta*, vol. 2 (Malta: Central Bank of Valletta, 1996), 499-500.

⁴ Buhagiar and Fiorini, 502.

⁵ For more details on the Great Siege of 1565 and the building of Valletta see Section 1.1.2.

rivalry between Mdina and Valletta was inevitable. The three older harbour cities of Birgu (also known as Vittoriosa), Senglea and Bormla were and remained central to mercantile activity. Birgu was the city previously inhabited by the Order before the building of Valletta, and was the seat of the Inquisition in Malta.

Each of these areas produced musical activity stemming from its own particular religious, social or political requirements. Mdina had its sacred music inside the Cathedral and in processions, outdoor ceremonial music on very special occasions, the nobility's musical entertainment, as well as folk amusement. The Order had its own sacred music inside the conventual church, but also thrived on much ceremonial pomp and pageantry. The Grand Master and the knights enjoyed private entertainment, instrumental music during dinners, and theatrical performances. The Maltese nobility and the Maltese people living in the new city went on with their own musical entertainments and were at the same time brought into contact with the newcomers' modes of music making. Other churches in Valletta, and then also those in the villages, began to take more of an interest in musical activity. The instrument builder, Mattheo Morales, could not have been living in a more opportune place and time. Born in Valletta in 1637, his lifetime spanned most of the seventeenth century. The *chitarraro* lived and worked within this very special cultural, social and religious backdrop.

1.1 Music and Worship: two cities and their sacred music

1.1.1 Mdina, the old capital

Musical resources in the Cathedral of St Paul in the medieval city of Mdina grew significantly in the seventeenth century, and by Morales' time provided many contexts for instrumental participation in sacred music. The cathedral was one of the earliest centres in which sacred music was cultivated. In the fifteenth century, long before the existence of Valletta, an organ was in use in the cathedral.⁶ During this period, chant was being taught and used as part of religious ceremonies. In 1527 we find that both 'cantu planu' and 'cantu figuratu' were taught in a music school in Mdina by Don Dominicu Dimech.⁷ However, it is only in 1573 that there is clear order for payment by the cathedral for the teaching of *canto figurato*. Apart from the salaried organist, Fr(ate) Giovanni Vella, and a *maestro di canto*, Fr. Leonardo de Cachi, a Sicilian maestro, Giulio

⁶ Stanley Fiorini, "Church Music and Musicians in Late Medieval Malta," *Melita Historica* X, no. 1 (1988): 2.

⁷ Godfrey Wettinger, "Priests in Court: A Harassed Schoolmaster," in *Aspects of Daily Life in late Medieval Malta and Gozo*, ed. Mark Camilleri (Malta: Malta University Press, 2015), 98, 108. Don Dominicu Dimech is not registered in the Cathedral Depositerie.

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Scala, was engaged to teach 'canto figurato'.⁸ This means that though there must have been some form of a choir, probably made up of young choirboys and clerics, there were still no salaried singers or musicians apart from the organist and *maestri*.

In 1575, after the Council of Trent, an Apostolic delegate, Monsignor Pietro Dusina, was sent to take stock of Malta's religious situation. He expressed the wish to see a proper *cappella di musica*, which would sing God's praise in the Cathedral.⁹ In 1608 we find the Sicilian organ maker Gabriele da Messina committing himself to restore the cathedral organ.¹⁰ However, it was not before the Bishopric of Baldassare Cagliares in 1615 that this *cappella* really began to take shape. By 1619 the Cathedral had a new choir made up of clerics, and in 1621, apart from the Maltese organist, Michele Zahra, there was also a proper *maestro di cappella*, the Sicilian Don Francesco Fontana. Word of the Cathedral's interest in forming this *cappella* rapidly travelled beyond the Island's shores, as not only native Maltese but also foreign musicians were soon being employed with a fixed salary.¹¹ From 1622, we start seeing the first salaried instrumentalists. Musicians must have kept an eye on this important nucleus of sacred music.

In the early seventeenth century there was an influx of musicians coming mostly from Sicily and Italy.¹² A few are also recorded as French, even though their names suggest otherwise, possibly because they had been Italianised. The payment register shows the extent of mobility of musicians through a number of foreign names, among which Francesco Fontana (1616-23, Sicilian, *maestro di canto fermo e figurato*), Francesco di Gregori (1622-24, Sieneese, *trombone* player), Pietro Fortuni (1626-7, Roman, *soprano/trombone*), Geronimo Campochiaro (1626-7, 1635-38, Roman, voice), Serafino Oddo (Messinese, *soprano*), Aloisio Russo (1631-39, French, *rebecchino* player), Giovanni Gardana (French, 1629-30, 1633-41, *contralto/cornetto/tuba/trombone*), Giulio Taliana (*soprano*), Baldassarre and Giovanni Terracina (*musici*).¹³ Though not in his home town, there is little doubt that Matteo Morales would have closely followed the cathedral's activities and may have known the Maltese and foreign musicians in the cathedral's employ.

Throughout the seventeenth century, the Cathedral Chapter was intent on expanding its resources, possibly because there was by that time another religious centre in Valletta to provide

⁸ Stanley Fiorini, "Church Music," 2.

⁹ Stanley Fiorini, ed. *Documentary Sources of Maltese History IV (I)* (Malta: Malta University Press, 2001), 38.

¹⁰ Luciano Buono "L'Organaria nelle Isole Maltesi dei Secoli XVII-XIX," 247. In *Old Organs in Malta*.

¹¹ Franco Bruni, *Musica e Musicisti alla Cattedrale di Malta nei secoli XVI-XVII* (Malta: Malta University Press, 2001), 14-17, 61-62, 260-73.

¹² Bruni, *Musica e Musicisti*, 260-273; Bruni, *Stampe Musicali Italiane alla Cattedrale di Malta* (Malta: PEG, 1999), 10-18.

¹³ Bruni, *Musica e Musicisti*, 62-63.

competition.¹⁴ The cathedral began to diversify its instrumentation and was clearly expanding its musical repertoire. The latest printed music from various centres of Europe was procured for the *cappella*. The large sum of 37 *scudi 9 tari* was spent on printed music imported from Venice in 1622.¹⁵ Venice was at the time one of the most productive music centres, attracting composers, instrumentalists, instrument makers, and music publishers.¹⁶ However, the printed music that reached the Mdina Cathedral was not produced exclusively in Venice. Musical works of the seventeenth century that are still extant in the cathedral archives were published in Rome, Venice, Bologna, Milan, Paris, Palermo, Messina, and Naples, and some of these works are unique survivors.¹⁷ Foreign *maestri di cappella* and musicians sometimes aided the Cathedral in purchasing printed music, as in the case of Francesco Fontana, the Sicilian *maestro di canto*, who obtained the music from Venice in 1622. Franco Bruni observes that more than 40 per cent of the music in the Archives consists of sacred music printed in Rome and that the general preference was for works for few voices and continuo.¹⁸ Only 16 out of 46 prints include obbligato string instruments. Both prints and manuscripts focus on two to eight voices and continuo, adding the cathedral's typical ensemble of two violins for Sunday service and common feasts.¹⁹

In 1623 a full string contingent was established. Stringed instruments, bows and strings were purchased from Venice and included a *contrabasso grande*, three tenor violins, and two violins.²⁰ During this period of overlap, it is difficult to say whether this large *contrabasso* was the largest member of the violin or of the viol family.²¹ Both are possible. Monteverdi in Venice last wrote a sacred work that required bass 'viole da gamba' in 1610, in his *Vespro della Beata Vergine*, but continued to score for bass viols in his secular music until 1638 (see Table 1, ACM, Pr. 109). In the meantime the four-string bass violin was also in use. It was a knight, Don Pietro Maria Turamini, who acquired these stringed instruments from Venice on behalf of the cathedral. This was one of a number of instances in which knights facilitated the purchase of instruments from abroad,

¹⁴ The conventual church of St John was consecrated in 1578.

¹⁵ MCM, ACM, Dep. 1, f.222r. Francesco Fontana was paid 'per tanti libri di musica che ha portato in Venezia.'

¹⁶ William S. Newman, *The Sonata in the Baroque Era*, (New York, London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1983), 97.

¹⁷ Among the unique survivors we find Giulio Oristanio *Responsoria nativitat* (Palermo, 1602); Gesualdo da Venosa's *Madrigali Libro V* (Naples, 1617); and Francesco Colombini's *Missa et Motecta* op. III (Venice, 1620). See John Azzopardi and Matteo Sansone, *Italian and Maltese Music in the Archives at the Cathedral Museum of Malta* (Malta: Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, 2001), 93-110; and Bruni *Stampe Musicali Italiane alla Cattedrale di Malta*. (Malta: PEG Ltd, 1999), 29.

¹⁸ Franco Bruni, "17th-century Music Prints at Mdina Cathedral, Malta," *Early Music* 27, no. 3 (1999): 470.

¹⁹ Bruni, "17th-century Music Prints," 474.

²⁰ MCM, ACM, Dep. 1, f.243. 'Contrabasso grande, tre tenori di braccio' ['da braccio' – on the arm as opposed to 'da gamba'], doi violini.'

²¹ Bettina Hoffmann, "Il Repertorio Italiano della Viola da Gamba dopo il 1640," *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* XLVII (2012): 83-123.

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showing that there was not only a competitive element, but also co-operation between members of these two institutions. In 1631 another string player, Aloisio Russo, joined the cathedral's forces with the *rebechino*, retaining this position until 1639.²² What was this 'rebechino'? The *rebec*, one of the forerunners of the violin, originated in the Middle East, and was adopted in Europe in the middle ages.²³ However, terminology of instruments varied from place to place and also varied in time. We notably find that the same nomenclature was used in Sicily when a *ribbichina* player was employed with the cappella of Caltagirone in 1623-24.²⁴ In 1638-39 another musician, Francesco Romano, was employed there as *rebechina* player, but in 1641 he appears as 'violin' player. It is very likely, therefore, that in both Malta and Sicily, the same old nomenclature (rebechino) was still being used for the violin until around 1640. This lingering similarity in terminology further emphasises the cultural proximity of the southern Mediterranean region.

Instrumentalists were often able to play several different instruments. Antonio Miscia in Naples in 1601, for example, was playing 'viola d'arco, chitarra a sette corde and lira da gamba,' that is both bowed and plucked instruments.²⁵ Francesco Romano in Caltagirone, apart from the 'rebechina,' played the 'viola,' which was the bass violin or viol, and also wind instruments.²⁶ In Malta, a few months after the departure of the 'rebechino' player, Aloisio Russo, the Mdina cathedral organist, Gio Maria Zahra, was required to play the *basso violino*.²⁷ Zahra could therefore play the organ as well as a bass string instrument, and it also seems likely that prior to this, Russo was playing both the 'rebechino' and the *basso violino*. This versatility of instrumentalists generally shows up only incidentally and does not necessarily appear in their contract of employment.

The string contingent was not the only one to be expanded at this time. A brass instrumentalist, Francesco de Gregori, had just joined the *cappella* in 1622 to play the *trombone*;²⁸ whilst in 1629 the 'maggior cantore,' Giovanni Gardana 'di nazione gallo,' was also playing the *cornetta et tuba*

²² MCM, ACM, Misc. 275, Compendio Mandati B, 72r. This volume includes payments made by the cathedral between 1557 and 1645.

²³ The *rebec* was an elongated, wooden pear-shaped instrument, bowed, with three strings. Rebecs came in different sizes and tunings – Treble, Alto-tenor and Bass. The instrument was discussed by Johannes Tinctoris (Naples c.1487), Sebastian Virdung (1511) and Martin Agricola (1528).

²⁴ Don Luca di Mandato, was employed with the cappella of Caltagirone, Sicily, in 1623-24. See Luciano Buono, "La Cappella musicale del Senato di Caltagirone dal 1620-1650," in *Musica Sacra in Sicilia tra Rinascimento e Barocco*, ed. Daniele Ficola (Palermo: S.F. Flaccovio, 1988), 122.

²⁵ Luigi Sisto, *I Liutai tedeschi a Napoli tra Cinque e Seicento. Storia di una migrazione in senso contrario* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per la storia della musica, 2010), 115.

²⁶ Buono, "La Cappella musicale," 132.

²⁷ MCM, ACM, Misc. 275, f.83r. 6 March 1640, 'Mandato di pagamento a G. Mari Zahra per sonar il basso violino e servire nella musica.'

²⁸ *Ibid.*, f.61v. 22 April 1623, 'Mandato di pagamento a Francesco de `Gregori onçe 13 e tarì 10 per il suo principio al 1 Gennaio a rag. d'once 40 l'anno per sonar il trombone nella musica.'

(cornett and trumpet) and stayed with the *cappella* until 1641.²⁹ We find a Giacomo Morales (soprano/trombone) employed by the Cathedral between 1628 and 1630. He was one of several musicians, together with Pietro Fortuni, Andrea Rinaldo and Antonio Campochiaro, who held positions in Malta and in Caltagirone, Sicily.³⁰ At present, it is not known whether Giacomo Morales was related to the Valletta instrument maker Mattheo Morales. However, there is a strong possibility that he was related in some way, since as we will see, other members of the Morales family who were demonstrably related to Mattheo made careers as performers. Whether or not this was the case, these musicians reveal the ease of mobility and the fluidity of contact there was at the time, particularly between Malta and Sicily.

The fact that these instrumentalists joined the *cappella* is reflected in the printed music as well as in several manuscripts. Table 1 shows a selection of seventeenth-century music now in the cathedral archives, which includes the use of strings and brass. Venice and Bologna show up as predominant places of publication of this instrumental music. Strings and brass were sometimes interchangeable. Thus we have the use of *trombone* or *viola da braccio*, and *viola* or *tiorba* or *trombone*. The *viola da braccio* were different sizes of members of the violin family.³¹ Since in the case of the printed music with shelfmark ACM, Pr. 111 (Monteverdi's *Selva Morale e Spirituale*) the *viola da braccio* could be replaced by the bass *tiorba* or trombone, this would therefore have been a bass violin. This, of course, does not exclude the possibility of the use of purely vocal music to which available instruments doubled vocal parts, or even substituted them.

In addition to the music that was purchased, music was also copied or composed specifically for the available contingent at the cathedral, giving us a more precise picture of their performance practices, though the composer of the manuscript music is rarely stated. Among these are compositions by one of the *maestri di cappella* Antonio Campochiaro, 'Omnis Pulchritude' (Ms. 9) which is a 'Concerto a 4 (SATB) con le Sinfonie' including violin, *viola* and basso continuo.³² Another manuscript copy (Ms. 60), which is a *Salve Regina* by the Venetian Giovanni Rovetta (c.1595-1668), shows parts for alto voice, violin, *viola*, *violetta* and organ. Applying the Venetian usage of the time, the *viola* would have been a larger bass violin, whilst the *violetta* would have

²⁹ Ibid., f.68v. dated 25 May 1629.

³⁰ Buono, "La Cappella musicale," 128-29, 139-144. Between 1634 and 1650, Giacomo Morales is recorded intermittently in Caltagirone.

³¹ Stephen Bonta, "The Use of Instruments in Sacred Music in Italy 1560-1700," *Early Music* 18, no. 4 (1990): 524.

³² Antonio Campochiaro was chapel master between 1627-28, and 1635-38.

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been a smaller bass violin.³³ This is confirmed by Rovetta's *viola* part being written in bass clef with a range of F2 to C4, whereas the *violetta* part is written in alto clef with a range of G3 to A4.

Table 1: Selection of seventeenth-century printed music in the archives of the Mdina Cathedral, using Strings, Wind and Brass.

Composer	Date	Music	Strings	Wind /Brass	Doc. ACM Printed
Tarditi, Paolo	1620 Rome	Psalmi, Antifone, Liber Secundus	8 voci, violini, liuto, tiorba, org.	cornetto	Pr. 144
Turini, Francesco	1629 Venice	Madrigali. Libro Terzo.	5 voci, 2 violini, Bc duplicato 'Chitarrone o simil istromento'		Pr. 152
Sabbatini, Galeazzo	1630 Venice	Canto Madrigali concertati, Op.V	CATB, 2 violini, viola/chitarrone, bc		Pr. 137
Monteverdi, Claudio	1638 Venice	Madrigali. Libro Ottavo	SATB, 2 violini, viola gamba, bc		Pr. 109
Monteverdi, Claudio	1641 Venice	Selva Morale et Spirituale	SATB, 2 violini e 4 viole da braccio, bc	4 tromboni [o viole da braccio]	Pr. 111
Rovetta, Giovanni	1642 Venice	Salmi, Op VII	SATB, 2 violini 'o altri istromenti', bc		Pr. 126
Tarditi, Orazio	1650 Venice	Concerto. Motetti, salmi e Hinni. Op XXX	C, 2 violini e tiorba, org.	Viola/ tiorba/ trombone	Pr. 148

³³ Howard Mayer Brown and Stephen Bonta, "Violetta." *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed June 24, 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/29459>.

Cazzati, Maurizio	1661 Bologna	Madrigali e Canzonette. Op XXVI	CATB, 2 violini, bc		Pr. 22
Vitali, GB	1669 Bologna	Sonate, Op V	ATB, 2 violini, Alto viola, violone, bc		Pr. 154
Grossi, Carlo	1676 Bologna	Moderne melodie a voce sola. Op VIII	S/T, 2 violini, Alto e Tenore e viola, org		Pr. 72
Albergati Capacelli, Pirro	1687 Bologna	Messe e Salmi	SATB, 2 violini, violoncello		Pr. 1
Bassani, GB	1690 Bologna	Armonici Entusiasmi di Davide. Op IX	SATB, 2 violini, violone/ viola /tiorba, org.		Pr. 5

Source: Bruni *Stampe Musicali*; Azzopardi and Sansone *Italian and Maltese Music*.

The *basso continuo* during this period could have been played by bass strings or brass as well as organ. Some printed music calls for bass plucked lutes, namely the *tiorba* or *chitarrone*, which James Tyler attests were used synonymously in Italy.³⁴ These large lutes having a separate set of bass strings on an extended neck with a separate pegbox, first appeared in the late sixteenth century. Among the cathedral's Italian printed works that include this type of lute, we find ACM, Pr. 5, 137, 144, 148, 152. Lutes in different sizes were being made in Malta in the early years of the century and were therefore available, though there is no mention of instrumentalists employed specifically to play them in the cathedral.³⁵ When Zahra later became organist, he was also playing *basso violino*.³⁶ In 1702, the organist Don Domenico Bonnici was given the added duty of playing the *viola* (bass violin) 'in the usual functions.'³⁷ Practical knowledge of a bass stringed instrument, therefore, seems to have been expected of organists.

The *cappella* was made up of an average of ten to twelve musicians who were being paid regularly in four-monthly instalments. In one year, 1627, there was the largest group of nineteen

³⁴ James Tyler. "Chitarrone." *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed June 24, 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05633>

³⁵ NAV, Not. Gio. Simon Delucia R.229/15, ff.84r-85r. This luthier is discussed in Chapter 3.

³⁶ MCM, ACM, Misc. Ms. 275, f.83r dated 6 March 1640: 'pagamento...per sonar il basso violin e servire nella musica.'

³⁷ MCM ACM, Reg. Deputationum Personarum ad dicta Servitia Sanctae Cathedralis Ecclesiae Meliten. Ab Anno Domini 1698-1851, vol.1, f.5v. Dated 18 October 1702.

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musicians, in 1634 there were eighteen, and throughout the 1630s until 1646 there were fourteen or fifteen. After this the number settled to ten to twelve salaried musicians. Whereas the *maestro di cappella* and the organist had comfortably high wages, whether they were Maltese or foreign, this was not the case with all other musicians in the cathedral's employ. I have listed a few of these payments to musicians (Table 2) extracted from the cathedral's Depositeria 2 (1648-1697) and Depositeria 4 (1699-1728). The years chosen are intended to give an idea of a musician's earnings during Mattheo Morales' lifetime, the sort of musicians being employed by the cathedral, and where possible, the instruments played.

Throughout the seventeenth-century salary records kept by the cathedral, there is never any specification of the instrument played by the musicians, except for the organ. This information can only be gathered from rare references in other documents, in which case I have inserted this in square brackets. Some singers, because of their wide-ranging programme of studies, could often easily double as instrumentalists.³⁸ This would have been convenient for the cathedral, which would therefore have employed (and paid) only one person who would cover the two tasks.

The *maestro di cappella* always received the highest wage. The exact function of a *maestro di cappella* and all that was expected of him is clearly set out by the Augustinian Fra Lodovico Zacconi in his *Prattica di Musica* (1596).³⁹ Few, in his opinion, were capable of being *maestri di cappella*. A person had to be honourable, modest, able to guide and to keep a regular, faultless *tactus*. He was expected to have a good voice, and above all a good ear in order to be fully aware of singers' dissonances and to be able to correct any deficiency.⁴⁰ After the chapel master, next in line in wages was the organist, whose services were needed on a daily basis. The organ always required someone to work the bellows. In 1618 we find Johanni Maria Zahra being paid a salary of 2 *scudi* per annum to work the bellows of the cathedral organ.⁴¹

Foreign musicians in the employ of the cathedral were receiving a high wage equivalent to the organist's, whereas Maltese musicians were all receiving far lower wages. It has been suggested that the frequent movement of these foreign musicians meant that the Bishop and the Cathedral

³⁸ 'La versatilità del musicista durante il Seicento riflette l'ampiezza dei programme di studi musicali che venivano intrapresi.' Bruni, *Musica e Musicisti*, 71.

³⁹ Lodovico Zacconi, *Prattica di Musica*, (Venice: Bartolomeo Carampello, 1596. Facsimile, Arnaldo Bologna: Forni Editore, 1983), 76-77.

⁴⁰ 'Le parte principali della Musica sono la voce e udito, e chi manca particolarmente questa seconda, puo lasciar ad altri questo tal officio fare.'

⁴¹ 'Per menar li mantici del organo nella Cattedrale' MCM, ACM, Dep. 2, 230. By 1639 Gio Maria Zahra had worked his way up to organist of the Cathedral.

Chapter, in spite of their efforts, were not always successful in offering a rewarding post.⁴²

However, several of these musicians did spend a number of years in Malta, which indicates that there was a degree of success in their efforts.

Table 2: Mdina Cathedral, salaried musicians and their payments in *scudi* and *tari*.

Musicians.	1648	1666	1673	1682	1686	1699
Years of employment	Jan-May	Sep-Dec	May-Aug	May-Aug	Jan-Apr	May-Aug
Don Gius. Ferrari <i>Mro di cappella</i> [1639-1652]	33					
Don Ortensio Benini <i>Mro di cappella</i> [1666-69]		53: 4				
Don Giul. Marturano Campochiaro <i>Mro di cappella</i> [1626-27; 1636-38; 1673-74]			40: 10			
Don Giuseppe Balzano <i>Mro di cappella</i> [1660-65; 1670-72; 1675-98]				53: 4	53: 4	
Don Domenico Balzano <i>Mro di Cappella</i> (1698-1707)						53: 4
Ch. Gio Maria Zahara Organ, <i>Basso violino</i> [1639-1662]	20					
Ch. Diego Habdilla Organ [1665-1701]		21	21: 8	25: 8	25: 8 [Ch.Don]	25: 8

⁴² Azzopardi and Sansone, *Italian and Maltese Music in the Archives at the Cathedral Museum of Malta*, 98.

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Musicians	1648	1666	1673	1682	1686	1699
Don Simone Zahara [1623-58]	6					
Ch. Gio Pietro Tabone [1681-1731]				13: 4 [e <i>soprano</i>]	13: 4	20 [Don since 1693]
Don Ferdinando Pace [1634-82]	13	10	10	8.4		
Don Gio Pietro Pace [1655-76?]		10				
Ludovico Gazzatti [<i>musico</i>] [1625-54]	20					
Ch. Vincentio Burlò [1634-62]	13					
Don Filippo Farrugia [1646-51]	3					
Melchiore Caravaschino [<i>musico</i>] [1645-52]	20					
Giacomo Montalto [<i>musico</i>] [1645-48]	20					
Don Francesco Vella [<i>Violino, Violone</i>] [July 1663-86]		1	3. 4	3.4	5	
Don Paolo Bonello [1665-77]		10	18			
Ch. Balthassar Mamo [<i>soprano</i>] [1669-83]			13. 4	13. 4		
Ch. Publio Bartoli [1670-80]			4			

Musicians	1648	1666	1673	1682	1686	1699
Ch. Ambrogio Taliana [<i>musico</i>] [1672-1720]			4. 4	20	6. 8	6: 8 [<i>Don</i> since 1689]
Don Giacomo Murmuri [<i>musico</i>] [1661-71, 1675-1702]		16		20	20	20
Don Horatio Ciantar [1680-89]				6. 8	10	
Ch. Arcangelo Farrugia [1677-1724]					10	13: 4 [<i>Don</i> since 1692]
Ch. Diego Grima <i>Soprano</i> [1683-93]					13. 4 [1683- 1693]	
Don Dom. Bonnici [<i>viola</i>] 1702 organist. [1687-1705]						3. 4
Ch. Giuseppe Bugeja [1687-1701]						5
Thomaso Galea [1694-1701]						1. 8
Andrea Xuereb [1697-1706]						3. 4
Giuseppe Aquilina [1698-1706]						4

Source: MCM, ACM, Depositeria 2 (1648-1697), Depositeria 4 (1699-1728).

Malta was certainly not isolated and did offer musicians several opportunities within a concentrated area. In Italy it was not unusual for musicians to move to other positions in churches or courts. Evidence shows that adult musicians in the Gonzaga Court of Mantua, for example, generally stayed no more than six years, and in some cases less than a year, whereas the majority

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of singers engaged as youths remained longer, several for most of their lives.⁴³ The situation in Malta was, therefore, not very different.

Apart from the foreign musicians, all other musicians in the cathedral were being paid far less than a master craftsman. Unfortunately we are not given any information on their individual functions or capabilities within the *cappella* in order to be able to calculate the reason for this discrepancy. The fact that most were priests, who generally had other paid functions within the cathedral, is a point for consideration.⁴⁴ For wage comparison, I have looked at the payments made to two of the cathedral's master carpenters. Mro Gio Maria Spiteri was being paid 2 *scudi* per six-day week in 1635, approximately 100 *scudi* per annum. Another master carpenter, Mro Conzales Camenzuli, was being paid only slightly less, 1 *scudo* 9 *tari* per six days.⁴⁵ These master craftsmen were being paid as much as a *maestro di cappella* who was earning 30-40 *scudi* per four months.

The cathedral's *maestro di cappella* was paid a substantial wage, which by 1666 had risen to over 53 *scudi*, whilst the organist received less than half that sum. Particularly remarkable is the low wage given to the violin and *violone* instrumentalist, Don Francesco Vella, who for several years was paid a pittance of just over 3 *scudi* every four months, receiving a very small rise in 1686. The reason may possibly be that the choir was singing on a daily basis whereas instrumentalists only played on Sundays and feast days. It is also likely that he was paid less because of other functions he filled and was paid for within the cathedral.

The clerics (*chierici*) included on the cathedral's payroll list were generally choir singers and were frequently young boys or adolescents, who were not normally given a high wage. Some of the singers, however, did receive a higher wage. The word *soprano* together with a substantially higher payment has sometimes been considered to suggest the possibility of a *castrato* singer, even though the specific term may not appear. However, soprano singers were also highly paid, so that this conclusion cannot be safely drawn. The word *castrato* is rarely used in the Mdina cathedral records during the seventeenth century.⁴⁶ One rare reference, which will be discussed below, was found in a document of 1667.⁴⁷

⁴³ Susan Parisi, "Acquiring Musicians and Instruments in the Early Baroque: Observations from Mantua," *JM*, 14 (1996): 121.

⁴⁴ Don Simone Zahara, for example, had additional duties of 'puntatore del coro' together with Gio Pietro Pace, with a payment of 2 *scudi* 10 *tari* in 1648. See Dep. 2, f.2v. Ambrogio Taliana also had the wage of *cappellano*, which in 1699 amounted to 13 *scudi* 4 *tari* every four months. See Dep. 4, f.8v.

⁴⁵ MCM, ACM, C2, Spesa della fabbrica letta in Sacristia 1634-1635, f.19.

⁴⁶ Bruni, *Musica e Musicisti*, 29. Bruni claims it was first used by the Cathedral in 1714.

⁴⁷ MCM, ACM, Misc. 169, Giornale IV, f.451. These *castrati* were not in the Cathedral's regular employ.

In 1675, we find the Maltese Don Giuseppe Balzano as *maestro di cappella*, receiving a very high wage of over 53 *scudi*. Balzano composed music for the different functions within the cathedral, much of which is still extant in manuscript form.⁴⁸ Among his compositions is the motet *Det Tuba Clangorem* (ACM, Ms 161), a motet for two choirs, two violins, *basso di viola* (bass violin) and organ for the feast of one of the founders of the Jesuit Society, Francis Xavier.⁴⁹ The Balzano brothers, Giuseppe and Domenico, both priests, served in Mattheo Morales' parish of San Paolo in Valletta. Living at such close quarters, they are very likely to have been well acquainted. One of the works by Domenico Balzano is a motet *Venite, venite* for Soprano, Alto and Viola.⁵⁰ Violins and *bassi di viola* were both instruments that were being used in Mdina and in the different churches in Valletta. The cathedral also houses several anonymous manuscript compositions from the seventeenth century, which include the use of these stringed instruments.⁵¹

In 1693 there was a strong earthquake, which damaged part of the cathedral. However, a *cappella* continued to function nevertheless. Giuseppe Balzano's wage remained stable, recording no change over twenty-three years and in the previous intermittent years of employment. He kept this wage until his retirement in 1699. Don Diego Habdilla, organist from 1665-1701, retained his position over thirty-five years, receiving a rise of 3 *scudi* in 1682 and then kept the same salary until 1700. Since the standard of living remained unchanged, it is clear that there was no concept of increment. The same can be said of other churches and chapels elsewhere. Musicians at the basilica of San Marco in Venice, for example, were serving for the same salary that was established in the beginning, even though some had been there for seventeen years.⁵² Musicians and instrumentalists were generally employed with a salary that was left unchanged throughout their years of employment.

There were times when musicians who did not form part of the cathedral's regular *cappella* were brought in for special functions or occasions. This happened when greater or different forces were required. They may have been recruited from the salaried musicians of the conventual church of St John or from other churches, such as that of the Jesuits, or from St Paul's Shipwreck (San Paolo), which was the parish Mattheo Morales belonged to (See chapter 2). This latter church proves to be of particular importance because it was purposely built so that the Mdina cathedral could have its foothold within the new city. This church, like the cathedral, was dedicated to St

⁴⁸ Azzopardi, "Maltese Manuscript Compositions" in *Italian and Maltese Music*, 27-8, 255.

⁴⁹ MCM, ACM, Mus. Ms.161. See also Anna Borg Cardona, "The Jesuits in Seventeenth-Century Valletta: Their Music and Musicians." In *Humillima Civitas Vallettae: from Mount Xebb-er-Ras to European Capital of Culture*. Forthcoming publication.

⁵⁰ MCM, ACM, Mus. Ms. 242.

⁵¹ Such as *Magnificat* for 5 voices, 2 violins and organ, MCM, ACM, Mus. Ms.132.

⁵² Jonathan Glixon, "A Musicians' Union in Sixteenth-Century Venice," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 36, no. 3 (1983): 405.

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Paul and it depended directly on the Mdina cathedral.⁵³ When, on 10 December 1663, Bishop Balaguer met sudden death while he was at the Palace in Valletta, funereal prayers ('esequie') were first said and sung in the church of San Paolo, in Valletta.⁵⁴ It was the cathedral bursar who paid the musicians for this occasion. The *maestro di cappella* was given 3 *scudi* 'for the Valletta musicians' who had taken part in the funeral functions.⁵⁵ Matteo Morales could easily have been present for this grand occasion. It is also possible that 'the Valletta musicians' were using some of his instruments. The Bishop was on the following day transported to the cathedral in Mdina where a grand ceremonial funeral took place.

Borrowing musicians for particular occasions was common. In a different episode, on 20 June 1667 the cathedral was again paying outside musicians. It paid 'due Castrati, Fra Francesco Colageli e Fra Giacchino' for having sung in a funeral Mass in Valletta for the 'Signor Vicario Cagnano.'⁵⁶ The two *castrati* were not on the regular payroll of the cathedral but were called in for this special occasion and were paid the substantial sum of 8 *scudi* for their contribution.⁵⁷ Fra Francesco Colageli (Colangeli?) was a prized musician with St John's whom the Grand Master would not part with, even when requested by Cardinal Hassia.⁵⁸ This document throws an interesting light on the situation, showing that the cathedral considered the *castrati* to be the most appropriate for the solemnity and grandiosity of Cagnano's funeral, and were therefore willing to pay the equivalent of an average four-months' wage for this one occasion. The two *castrati* were both described as 'Fra' meaning that they could have been monks or friars. Though knights were also called 'Fra' it is less likely that they would have gone through castration. John Rosselli claims that in Italy, there existed several castrato monks who sang in or directed church choirs.⁵⁹

⁵³ Can. John Ciarlò, *The Hidden Gem: St Paul's Shipwreck Collegiate Church, Valletta, Malta* (Malta: The Collegiate Chapter, St Paul's Shipwreck, 1994), 3.

⁵⁴ MCM, ACM, Misc. Ms 169, Giornale IV, f.333: 'furono fatti solenni esequie nella chiesa di San Paolo della Valletta.'

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 'al Mro di cappella per pagare li Musici della Valletta che hanno servito nell'esequie.'

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 451. Domenico Cagnano was Archdeacon of the Cathedral. See V. Borg, *The Maltese Diocese during the Seventeenth Century*, Melita Sacra III (Malta: the author, 2015), 669.

⁵⁷ This is the only time 'castrati' are specifically mentioned in the cathedral documents during this period.

⁵⁸ In 1688, the German Cardinal Hassia, a convert from Protestantism, made a request for him. The Grand Master refused to lend him as 'the cappella could not do without him.' NLM, AOM 1443, f.133v. See Vella Bondin, "The Music of the Knights," 380. Re Cardinal Hassia see [G. Leti] *Il Cardinalismo di Santa Chiesa, or the history of the Cardinals of the Roman Church*, Part 2 (London: 1670), 162, accessed August 7, 2017, https://books.google.com.mt/books?id=c1JpAAAACAAJ&pg=PA162&lpg=PA162&dq=cardinal+Hassia&source=bl&ots=W5_XwUZmqe&sig=smb2gQLIUDDI022xQOIN06bRebc&hl=en&sa=X&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=cardinal%20Hassia&f=false.

⁵⁹ John Rosselli, "The Castrati as a Professional Group and a Social Phenomenon, 1550-1850," *Acta Musicologica* 60, no. 2 (1988): 150.

Throughout the seventeenth century, the Maltese diocese therefore had its main seat in the cathedral of Mdina, but also extended its authority into the new city through one of the most important churches in Valletta, that of St Paul's Shipwreck.

1.1.2 The Order of St John and the new city, Valletta

While the cathedral of Mdina invested in musical resources to preserve its ancient position, a newer and increasingly important context for sacred music was created in the new city of Valletta under the auspices of the Sovereign Order of the Knights of St John. In 1530, Malta had become the seat of the Order, also referred to as Knights of Jerusalem, of Rhodes, and later of Malta. They were made up of different nationalities, all coming from the aristocratic families of Europe. They formed part of a lay-religious, Hospitaller Order who took vows of obedience, chastity and tending to the poor and the sick. The Order originated around 1048 as an organization caring for pilgrims in Jerusalem. After the Christian conquest of Jerusalem, during the first Crusade of 1099, the Order became defender of the Holy Land and therefore also developed a military aspect. When Jerusalem was once again conquered by the Muslims, the Order moved to Cyprus, and then in 1310 to Rhodes, where it remained until 1523 when Suleiman the Magnificent forced its surrender. The Order was left without any territory to call its own. In 1530 the Order accepted Malta from the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V. With their arrival, Malta rapidly stepped into an epoch of cultural birth in which architecture, art and music flourished.

The fortified city of Valletta emerged in the sixteenth century in response to threats from the Ottoman Empire. On their arrival, the Knights first established themselves in the old harbour city of Birgu. Following a massive encounter with the Turks in 1565, the decision was taken to strongly fortify the Island in order to provide an impenetrable defence against any further attacks and against the encroachment of Islam. Work commenced in earnest on a new city strategically situated on a hill at the mouth of the harbour. The fortifications were built, and a city plan of regular grid form was designed. This city was named Valletta after the Grand Master Jean de Valette (1557-1568) who laid its foundations. Plots of land were rapidly purchased.⁶⁰ It was stipulated that between the permission to build any edifice and its full construction, no more than one year was to elapse.⁶¹ This meant that the city did not look unfinished for long (Figure 2).

⁶⁰ Stanley Fiorini, "Fel Uardiae Col Sceber Raba Iesue Uquiae: Sale of Plots of Land in Valletta, 1569," in *A Timeless Gentleman - Festschrift in Honour of Maurice De Giorgio*, ed. Giovanni Bonello (Malta: Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti, 2014).

⁶¹ Stephen Borg Cardona, "The Officio Delle Case and the Housing Laws of the Earlier Grand Masters 1531-1569," *The Law Journal (Malta)* 3 (1951): 56.

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By the time Mattheo Morales was born, the most important edifices had been constructed, among which the Grand Master's residence, which from humble beginnings was very gradually expanding and developing into the Palace we know today.⁶² Several churches, private residences, the Auberges belonging to the different Langues,⁶³ and the Order's hospital, known as the *Sacra Infermeria*, were all constructed and in use. A large conventual church dedicated to St John became the Order's principal religious and ceremonial centre. Several other churches as well as monasteries and convents were built, among which the convent dedicated to St Ursula, situated opposite Mattheo Morales' home and workshop. The Cathedral Chapter of Mdina, as has already been mentioned, also built the church dedicated to the Shipwreck of St Paul, which was to be one of the two parishes in Valletta. Mattheo Morales' parents had settled in this parish before their children were born. Much architectural and artistic activity continued to take place during Morales' lifetime. Valletta had by this time become the centre of administrative, commercial, cultural, social and political activity and was attracting an influx of people of different walks of life, not only from the villages but also from overseas.

The head of the Order of St John was the Grand Master, addressed as 'Prince,' who was elected for life by the assembly of knights. Morales saw the governance of a total of seven Grand Masters of different nationalities: Grand Masters Lascaris (French, 1636-1657), de Redin (Aragonese, 1657-1660), the Cotoner brothers Raphael (Mallorcan, 1660-1663) and Nicolas (1663-1680), Carafa (Italian, 1680-1690), Wignacourt (French, 1690-1697) and Perellos (Aragonese, 1697-1720).

⁶² Giovanni Bonello, "The Grand Masters' Palace in the making," in *Palace of the Grand Masters in Valletta*, ed. Albert Ganado (Malta: FPM, 2001), 9-23.

⁶³ There were originally eight 'Langues' or languages – Castille and León, Aragon, France, Auvergne and Provence, Italy, Bavaria, Germany and England. The English Langue, following the Reformation, had severed itself from the Catholic Order. Each Langue had its own Auberge or Inn, which was the meeting place for each group of knights.

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have some time or other visited his *bottega* in Strada San Pietro, which may have been the only such lutherie at the time.⁶⁵

Once the Order's conventual church of St John in Valletta was completed and consecrated in 1578, and an organ installed in 1597, the *cappella* started creating some healthy rivalry with the music taking place in the cathedral of Mdina. This is probably what pushed the Mdina cathedral to organize itself better. The ground was therefore set for improvement and excellence in instrumentation, instrumentalists and music within these two entities. The two *cappelle* created a growing demand for different musical instruments in association with Christian worship. Following these main centres, the other churches in Valletta also began to increase their musical interest and compete for excellence.

In 1574, even before the conventual church was consecrated, it was already decreed in the Order's Chapter General that there was to be 'a good figured music for the main feasts in the hands of a good *maestro di cappella*.'⁶⁶ The conventual church soon had an organist and started employing both *cantores* and *musicos*.⁶⁷ The difference between the two is explained by Luigi Zenobi (c.1600), who writes to his 'Prince' saying that unlike the *cantore* who could only sing, a musician could be called a *musico* if he could not only sing well, but if he was also an excellent master of counterpoint, and able to direct as well as compose.⁶⁸ On top of this, *musici* were generally also able instrumentalists. John Dowland in his Preface 'To the Reader' in *A Pilgrimes Solace* (1612) claims that *Cantores* are purely 'vocal singers' who are 'ignorant even of the first elements of Musicke,' whereas *Musicos* are those who are trained in music practice and theory, are 'learned and skilfull,' and therefore far superior.⁶⁹ These views are based on the medieval beliefs voiced by Guido d'Arezzo (c.992AD-1050AD), who had claimed that 'Musicorum et cantorum, magna est distantia' – there is a huge gulf between *musicos* and *cantores*.⁷⁰ The *cantore* was despised for his ignorance of the theory of music, one of the scientific disciplines of the *quadrivium*, which together with music, included geometry, arithmetic and astronomy.

⁶⁵ Strada San Pietro later became Strada Sant' Ursola.

⁶⁶ 'Una buona musica figurata per le feste principali governata da un valente maestro di cappella.' Vella Bondin, "The music of the Knights," 373-385.

⁶⁷ Joseph Vella Bondin argues for 'musicos' in Malta being instrumentalists and 'cantores' being singers. See *Il- Muzika ta' Malta sal-aħħar tas-Seklu Tmintax*, Kullana Kulturali (Malta: PIN, 2000), 42-44.

⁶⁸ Bonnie J. Blackburn and Edward E. Lowinsky "Luigi Zenobi and his letter on the perfect musician," *Studi Musicali* 22, (1993): 82.

⁶⁹ John Dowland, *A Pilgrimes Solace*. 'To the Reader.'

⁷⁰ See Théodore Gérold, *La Musique au Moyen Age* (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, éditeur, 1983), 23. Quoting from Guido D'Arezzo, *Regulae rythmicae*, lines 1-3.

Zenobi's and Dowland's comments show that the same attitude still prevailed throughout seventeenth-century Europe.⁷¹

Searches in the seventeenth-century Archives of the Order have yielded no lists of salaried musicians attached to St John's, meaning that it is only through scattered data that we can construct some idea of the *cappella* and its music (Table 3). Fra Michelangelo Cesis is the first documented chapel master in 1605.⁷² Several organists are recorded: Fra Prospero Coppini (1608-1629),⁷³ the Bolognese Don Carlo Tassoni (1619),⁷⁴ Giovanni Battista Santa Maura (before 1629, when Fra Prospero was not available),⁷⁵ Orlando Corogna (before 1664),⁷⁶ the Gozitan Don Petro Zarb (1664-1686),⁷⁷ Mattheo d'Arena (1686-1722).⁷⁸ A few known 'musici' were Don Giovanni Castiglione who was also chaplain with the Langue of Provence (1606),⁷⁹ and Jacques le Long from Normandy who was recommended to the Grand Master by Cardinal Verello (1610).⁸⁰ A whole family of Scarpello brothers Mario, Stefano, Giovanni and Rocco were all employed as 'musici' as from 1 May 1614.⁸¹ One of them is also an instrumentalist performing in San Paolo in 1639.⁸²

In 1631, the Messinese violinist, Tomaso Ponso, had formed part of the *cappella* for some time.⁸³ Among the singers there was Giovanni Battista Santa Maura who was originally a soprano before turning organist when his voice failed him, and Francesco Bazzati 'eunuco' (before 1682).⁸⁴ It becomes apparent that in Valletta, among the well-trained 'musici,' there were several 'castrati' singers. Though they were not found among the salaried musicians in Mdina, several of them were singing in Valletta, not only in St John's but also in San Paolo and in the Jesuits' church.⁸⁵

⁷¹ This explains why a *musicico* in Malta was paid higher wages.

⁷² Azzopardi and Sansone, *Italian and Maltese Music*, 107. AIM, Processi Crim. 24B, item 79, 671-2.

⁷³ NLM, AOM 663, f.125 (16 May 1609), f.277v (19 Dec 1615), AOM 664, f.3v (10 June 1619).

⁷⁴ Azzopardi and Sansone, 107-8. NLM, AOM 109, ff.207v-208r.

⁷⁵ Azzopardi and Sansone, 108-9. MCM, ACM, Misc. 296, f.390, dated 5 July 1629.

⁷⁶ Borg, *The Maltese Diocese during the Seventeenth Century*, 653.

⁷⁷ AAM, PV 25, f.402r.

⁷⁸ NLM, AOM, Arch. 1187, ff.54r-v. Re Mattheo and Giuseppe Arena see Joseph Vella Bondin, *The Great Maltese Composers* (Malta: APS Bank Ltd., Midsea Books Ltd., 2016), 87.

⁷⁹ Azzopardi and Sansone, 107. NLM, AOM 1385, f.67v.

⁸⁰ NLM, AOM 663, f.163v. Also Azzopardi and Sansone, 107-8. NLM, AOM 1389, 115r.

⁸¹ NLM, AOM 663, f.230v: 22 February 1614, Mario, Stefano, Giovanni and Rocco Scarpello were to receive '5 scudi il mese per ciascuno, cominciando al primo di Marzo 1614.' f.250r: 23 December 1614, 'Pietro Angelo Scarpello domanda che 5 scudi il mese che haveva il quondam Mario, suo figlio, sia data a due altri suoi figli minori che pur sono buoni musici.' The term 'musici' here must have meant simply 'musicians.'

⁸² Archives of the Confraternity of Charity (Valletta, Church of St Paul's Shipwreck), Legati Cappella, Conti della Cappella 1635-1667, f.17. This is included in a list of expenses for December without an exact date. December 1639: 'Dati a Scarpello che sonò nella Novena: 3 scudi.'

⁸³ He was requesting to join the Order as a 'donat' in return for which he offered to play with the *cappella* for six years without pay. His request was accepted. See Vella Bondin, *Muzika ta' Malta sal-aħħar tas-Seklu Tmintax*, 43. NLM, AOM 5255, ff.70-79.

⁸⁴ Giovanni Bonello, "Castrati Singers for St John's," *Treasures of Malta* 43 (2008): 12-13. AOM 646, 230.

⁸⁵ Borg Cardona, "The Jesuits in Seventeenth-Century Valletta."

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Table 3: Known musicians in St John's Conventual Church, Valletta

Musicians	Date	Position	Salary/payment /comments	Document
Fra Michelangelo Cesis	22 Dec 1605	<i>Mro di cappella</i> & teacher of music		AIM, Processi Crim. 24B, item 79, f.671-2.
Fra Humbert de Pinson	1605	'Expert in the arts of music'.	He is ordered to Malta by GM Wignacourt to put his talents at the disposal of St John's	AOM 101, f.183
[Don]Giovanni Castiglione	23 Jan 1606	'musico.' Became Chaplain of Langue of Provençe.		AOM 1385, f.67v.
Cavalier Fra Prospero Coppini	16 May 1609 19 Dec 1615 10 June 1619. 1629 Still organist	Organist. [and Conventual chaplain]	Asking for increase from 5 sc to 8 sc monthly. Increase from 8 to 10 sc monthly Increase from 10 to 15 sc monthly	AOM 663, f.125 AOM 663, f.277v AOM 664, f.3r
Jacques Le Long di Normandia (Jacommo Longo)	24 Apr 1610	'musico'	Recommended to Grand Master by Cardinal Verallo	AOM 1389, f.115r
Giacques le Long	30 Dec 1610	'musico'	Increase from 4 sc to 6 sc per month.	AOM 663, f.163v.
Mario Scarpello	Starting 1 May 1614	'musico'	5 sc monthly	AOM 663, f.230v. Dated 22 Feb 1614
Stefano Scarpello	Starting 1 May 1614	'musico'	5 sc monthly	
Giovanni Scarpello	Starting 1 May 1614	'musico'	5 sc monthly	
Rocco Scarpello	Starting 1 May 1614	'musico'	5 sc monthly	

Musicians	Date	Position	Salary/payment /comments	Document
2 younger Scarpello brothers	23 Dec 1614	Mario has died. Pietro Angelo Scarpello(father) petitions for 2 younger brothers to take his place.		AOM 663, f.250r
Don Carlo Tassoni [Bolognese]	March 1629	Organist (& composer)		AOM 109, Liber Conc. f.207v-208r.
Giovanni Battista Santa Maura	5 July 1629	Soprano & supplementary organist. Has served many years. Now lost his voice. Organist when fra Prospero is unavailable		ACM Misc. 296, f.390
Tomaso Ponso (Messinese)	7 June 1631	Violinist ('musicus sonando violino'), 'cantore'	Performed with the cappella for several years. Wishes to join the Order. In exchange he will play for no pay for 6 years	Vella Bondin, <i>Muzika...Seklu Tmintax</i> , 43. AOM 5255, ff.70-79
Fra Elia Astuto	7 Dec 1634	'Fra Cappellano della Lingua d'Italia'		NAV, Not Michele Vella R.475/7, f.51
Fra Salvatore Imbroli	1647 (aged 22)	Fra Cappellano. Later Grand Prior		MCC, Reg. Pat. 8 26 April 1647
Giuseppe Balzano	1654	'Musicus Stipendiatus'		AAM, PV 25, f.401r
Orlando Corogna	Pre 1664	Organist before Don Petrus Zarb		V. Borg, <i>The Maltese Diocese</i> , 653
Don Petrus Zarb / Zarò	1664-1699 (possibly later. Died 1711)	Gozitan. 'Musicus stipendiatus maioris Ecclesiae Conventualis.' Organist from 1664 - 1686	As organist he was paid 24 <i>scudi</i> annually	AAM, PV 25, f.402r See also V. Borg, <i>The Maltese Diocese</i> , 652-3

Musicians	Date	Position	Salary/payment /comments	Document
Fra Francesco Cola[n]geli	20 June 1667	'Castrato' Singing in St Paul's Shipwreck.	'Valletta musician'	ACM, FG, Gior. Mag. 1646-1661, f.279.
Fra Francesco Colangeli'	8 June 1668	The GM will not lend him to Cardinal Hassia 'because the <i>cappella</i> cannot do without him'	He was salaried musician with St John's	AOM, 1443, f. 133r
Francesco Bazzati	16 Dec 1682	Eunuco/soprano Castrato.	Petitions Grand Master for a rent-free room in the Camerata. Granted	AOM 646, f.230
Mattheo d'Arena	1686-1722	Organist Served in St John's for 36 years	Tenor in Duomo Messina, 1670s-80s. Organist in Christmas 1686 for Confraternity of Charity, Valletta.	G. La Corte Cailler, 38. NLM, AOM, Arch. 1187, f.54r-v (or f.98-99). ACC, Conti 1686, f.147v
Serafino Oddo	1690-93	'eunuco'	Sicilian	F. Bruni, <i>Musica e Musicisti</i> , 29.
Don Faustinus Farrugia	Feb. 1694	'Musicus stipendiatus Ecclesiae Conventualis'	He was brother of Morales' second wife, Anna Maria	AAM, PV 25, f.400v
Don Domenico Balzano	Feb. 1694	'Musicus stipendiatus Ecclesiae Conventualis'		AAM, PV 25, 401r
Don Hortentius Benini	Feb. 1694	'Musicus stipendiatus Ecclesiae Conventualis'		AAM, PV 25, 401r

In the Carmelite Church, during the feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel of July 1693, which was attended by the Grand Master, there were also 'buoni Eunuchi' singing Vespers.⁸⁶

⁸⁶ Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri *Giro del Mondo* vol. 1 (Napoli: Giuseppe Roselli, 1699), 20-21. 'Andai ...al vespro nel Carmine, dove sentij cantare buoni Eunuchi, che solennizavano la festa di Nostra Signora del Carmine.'

Records show the constant mobility of the foremost musicians between the main churches of Mdina, St John's, the Jesuits' church and San Paolo. Most musicians would have accepted extra work in spite of their regular salaries with one particular *cappella*. One of the important musicians who was attached to St John's was Don Ortentio Benini, who turns up in all the main churches. In the Pastoral Visit of 1694, he was described as 'a *musicus* in the service of the Order of St John.'⁸⁷ However, he held a number of different chapel master posts: in the Jesuits' Church in 1661-1695,⁸⁸ in the Mdina cathedral when he replaced Giuseppe Balzano 1665-1669,⁸⁹ and in San Paolo in 1684-1693.⁹⁰ The Balzano brothers, Giuseppe and Domenico, were both salaried musicians with St John's before taking up their posts with the Mdina cathedral. Giuseppe is recorded among the salaried musicians with the conventual church in the 1640s, whereas Domenico was listed in 1694.⁹¹ Giuseppe was among the musicians in the Jesuits' church in Valletta, certainly in 1660 but probably earlier, and was also composing for them.⁹² Domenico was likewise giving his services there in 1661. Although a complete list of the salaried 'musici' of St John's has not surfaced and thus we cannot compare all their wages to those of the cathedral, we do know that in 1610 the organist was being paid ten *scudi* a month, that is approximately 120 *scudi* annually. The salary meted to Don Petrus Zarb, organist between 1664 and 1686, seems to be an error, since it is most unlikely that he was receiving such a very poor annual salary of twenty-four *scudi*. As we have already seen, the Mdina cathedral was at this time paying its organist sixty-four *scudi*. In February 1688, because of an increase in the functions of the 'cappella del canto figurato,' the Grand Master, Gregorio Carafa, felt that the *musici* deserved an increase in wages.⁹³ Though we are not given details of this increase, considering the wages of the earlier organists, it seems likely that, at least the organists' wages, were generally equivalent or even higher than those of the cathedral. The Grand Master was directly responsible for the musicians' payments and it was decreed that their salaries should not exceed 60 *scudi*.⁹⁴ If this was adhered to, then their payment was equivalent to that of an Mdina *musicus* (See Table 2).

The Order's choir in the conventual church consisted of two groups – the 'canto fermo' choir and the 'canto figurato' choir. Each Langue had its representative 'cappellani' in the choir, all trained

⁸⁷ Borg, *The Maltese Diocese during the Seventeenth Century*, 164. AAM, PV 25, 401v.

⁸⁸ Borg Cardona, "The Jesuits in Seventeenth-Century Valletta."

⁸⁹ Bruni, *Musica e Musicisti*, 42-43.

⁹⁰ ACC (Valletta), LCA, Conti della Cappella 1684-93, f.87. Benini was also *maestro di cappella* for the Confraternity of Charity within the church of St Paul's Shipwreck.

⁹¹ Borg, *The Maltese Diocese during the Seventeenth Century*, 145. AAM, PV 25, 401r.

⁹² MCM, ACM, FG, Giorn. Mag. 1646-1661, f.463. 2 January 1660: 'Scudo 1 a D. Giuseppe Balzano et ad altri quattro scudi doi, e sono per doi servitij, cioè la mattina e la sera dell'istesso giorno, e per l mantici grani 16.'

⁹³ NLM, AOM, Arch. 263, Liber Conciliorum Status 1687-92, f.47v. Dated 19 February 1688.

⁹⁴ NLM, Ms. Libr. 271, Fra Ottavio Garcin, Culto Divino, f.217. Though this manuscript dates to 1760, it alludes to standard practices in the conventual church of St John's.

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musicians who 'sang the Divine Office every day in the choir.'⁹⁵ A few of these 'cappellani' were Don Giovanni Castiglione, Chaplain of Provence (1606), Fra Elia Astuto of the Italian Langue (1634),⁹⁶ Comm. Fra Domingo Vella (1634),⁹⁷ Fra Salvatore Imbroli of the Italian Langue (1647),⁹⁸ and Fra Antonio de Lucia of the Italian Langue (1667).⁹⁹ All the choristers were taught canto fermo every evening by a conventual chaplain (fra cappellano).¹⁰⁰ They were also schooled in grammar, which included instruction in Latin. Since 'professori di stromenti musicali' were on the payroll, instrumental music was also being taught.¹⁰¹ Some of these choristers went on to further studies abroad and then either became chaplains or were employed as instrumentalists or singers within the conventual choir.

The musicians of the *cappella* would have been available for all liturgical celebrations and for feast days, which called for special music within the conventual church. The main titular feasts were those of St John the Baptist (24 June) and St John the Evangelist (27 December). The Grand Master, on such occasions, distributed bonuses that must have been a most-welcome addition to the musicians' salaries. On 27 January 1673, we find Grand Master Nicolas Cotoner donating 7 *scudi* to his *musici* for the music performed 'nella festività di S. Gio[vanni] Evangelista.'¹⁰² This sum was intended to show his gratitude for their services on one of the most important feasts of the Order. There was never any such additional sum in the records of the Mdina cathedral. This was a privilege enjoyed only by those employed with the Order. During the feast of St John, it also became customary for the Grand Master to donate 25 *scudi* 'to the musicians who came from the old city'.¹⁰³ Though it is not clear whether this was payment or a bonus donation, it provides evidence that it had become habitual for the musicians of Mdina and those of St John's to work side by side on such special feast days when a stronger contingent was required.

By this time, the new city's sacred music resources were certainly equal to those of Mdina and perhaps superior. Joseph Vella Bondin claims that in 1690 there was a total of thirteen salaried musicians, which included the *maestro di cappella*, an organist, 2 soprani, 2 contralti, 1 tenor,

⁹⁵ Gemelli Careri, *Giro del Mondo*, 23: 'Quanto al culto, è la chiesa ben servita da Cappellani di tutte nazioni, che divotamente recitano I Divini Ufficj nel coro ogni giorno.'

⁹⁶ Not. Michele Vella, R.475/7, 51, 7 December 1634, when he was aged 40.

⁹⁷ NAM, MCC, Reg. Pat. 8, 23 March 1646, travelling to Barcelona.

⁹⁸ NAM, MCC, Reg. Pat. 8, 26 April 1647, travelling to Livorno, aged 22.

⁹⁹ NLM, AOM 931(28) No. 13, Spogli, 17 July 1667. All Knights were obliged to keep an updated inventory of their goods, known as the 'spoglio,' including their debtors and creditors. This was then presented to the Order on their death or when they were about to leave the island. I thank Theresa Vella for this information. De Lucia left his music to the bass singer Baldassare Arnaudet.

¹⁰⁰ NLM, Ms. Libr. 271, Fra Ottavio Garcin, Culto Divino, f.216.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., f.217.

¹⁰² AdeP. Ms. 129, f.23. This donation occurred a month after the feast day.

¹⁰³ NLM, AOM. Ms. Libr. 79, f.469. 'Le jour de St Jean le Gr. M. donne 25 écus au maître de chapelle pour les pa(r)tager aux musiciens qui viennent de la cité vieille.'

2 bass singers, 2 violins, a violoncello and a double bass, but fails to give his sources.¹⁰⁴ By the end of the century, the cathedral of Mdina employed ten musicians.¹⁰⁵ The Jesuits' church in Valletta had eight to thirteen musicians on special feasts, which would include two violins and *basso di viola*.¹⁰⁶ San Paolo must have been employing a similar number of musicians since accounts show equivalent amounts meted out as payment. The picture that emerges is that of the great importance given to sacred music and the constant presence of stringed instruments, particularly members of the violin family, in the different churches. There was clearly a demand for stringed instruments, and therefore also a strong potential market for Morales, both in the sale of instruments, as well as in their maintenance and repairs.

1.2 Music and outdoor spectacle: processions and celebrations

While worship in the cathedral and churches of Mdina and Valletta supplied the liturgical framework, personnel and material for sacred music, festivities and ceremonies provided another regular source of music making. Some of these occasions were of a sacred nature, whereas others were of a more civil or secular type, or even a combination of the two. Folk musicians would also have been seen on the streets where they are recorded playing instruments and singing 'cantilene,' 'madrigali' and 'canzuni.'¹⁰⁷ Mdina and Valletta were centres of large-scale outdoor pomp and ceremony, which were not generally encountered in the smaller villages. However, there were ceremonies and processions that started in Mdina or Valletta and crossed the whole island, thereby including several villages in the process. My discussion will also occasionally refer to other parishes, particularly Birgu (Vittoriosa), which was the Order's first abode, before the building of Valletta.

When discussing the festivities, ceremonies and devotions that were celebrated by the cathedral of Mdina, Franco Bruni divides them into two types: the purely religious feasts and the religio-civic ceremonies.¹⁰⁸ All were spectacular and all demonstrated the power of the Church. The Order organised its own similar functions, which in turn demonstrated the power of the Grand Master and of the Order. The religio-civil ceremonies included elections of Bishops and Grand

¹⁰⁴ Joseph Vella Bondin "The cappella di musica of the Order of St John," *The Sunday Times* (Malta), January 24, 1993, 28.

¹⁰⁵ MCM, ACM, Dep. 4, f.4r (1699).

¹⁰⁶ MCM, ACM, FG, Giorn. Mag. 1646-1661, f.510. Such as the Feast of St Ignatius, 1661.

¹⁰⁷ 'Canzuni' in Mdina, see Godfrey Wettinger, "Looking back on the Cantilena of Peter Caxaro," *Journal of Maltese Studies* 12 (1978): 97-98. 'Cantilene' in Mdina, see Wettinger, "Looking back," 98. 'Madrigali' in Gozo sung by a cleric in the company of other youths, see Stanley Fiorini, "The Gozitan Milieu During the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Times," in *Gozo and its Culture* ed. Lino Briguglio and Joseph Bezzina (Malta: Formatek Ltd, 1995), 56.

¹⁰⁸ Bruni, *Musica e Musicisti*, 178-79: 'religioso-civili.'

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Masters, investitures or *possessi* of Bishops, Grand Masters and knights, birth or death of Royalties, Bishops, Popes and Grand Masters, and official visits. Anniversaries of investitures were also celebrated by the Order. All of these occasions created spectacle, awe and reverence and were a constant reminder of the power of both Church and State, demonstrating their centrality in people's lives. Above all, they always included some form of music. I will start by discussing the religious aspect and then proceed to the religio-civil and secular.

1.2.1 Processions and devotions

Looking through Mdina's *Giornale della Santa Chiesa Cattedrale* IV (1651-1700),¹⁰⁹ one is struck by the large number of processions that were taking place in, or from, Mdina throughout the year. The cathedral's titular feasts included the Feast of the Conversion of St Paul (27 January), the Shipwreck of St Paul (10 February), and the feast of SS Peter and Paul (29 June). The feast of St Paul created a strong link between Mdina and the newly-built church in Valletta which was dedicated to the Shipwreck of St Paul.

Regular processions were organised in and from Mdina, including those of St Gregory, Corpus Domini, the Ascension, SS Peter and Paul and the Nativity of the Virgin Mary (Figure 3). Other devotional practices included the *Quarant'ore* (the 40 hour exposition of the Blessed Sacrament), Masses in prayer for rain and Masses as protection from earthquakes, as well as thanksgiving for deliverance from earthquakes (see Figure 4), drought, illness or Turkish attacks. All of these devotional practices created the requirement for music and musicians. We often find mention of particular keyboard instruments being used for these processions. These were carried by someone outside the cathedral's regular payroll and were, for this reason, the only instruments listed with the cathedral's expenses.

The salaried instrumentalists would have been taking part in these processions, but were not recorded in this *Giornale* since they did not entail any extra expense outside their regular salary. A caricature of an eighteenth-century procession includes musicians playing stringed instruments, a small keyboard instrument strapped round the neck, and wind and brass instruments (Figure 5). Though this caricature pertains to a later time, it gives an idea of what may have already been taking place.¹¹⁰ We have seen that the *spinetta* or *regaletto*, *doi violini*, *viola*, *contrbasso* and a trumpet were all in use in the seventeenth-century Mdina cathedral.

¹⁰⁹ MCM, ACM, Misc. 169.

¹¹⁰ The procession of St Laurence was also headed by a wind and brass band of fourteen musicians, which was definitely a later, eighteenth-century addition.



Figure 3. Map of the Maltese Islands in Sir Temi Zammit *Il-Gzejjer ta' Malta u l-ġrajja tagħhom*, Malta, 1934. Processional points of departure or arrival are highlighted in blue.

The feast of SS Peter and Paul, celebrated on 29 June, was Mdina's main annual event. It had long been an occasion to embellish with the lighting of many candles, which gave the occasion its name *Luminaria*.¹¹¹ By the seventeenth century the feast consisted of a church ceremony with music, ringing of bells, a procession to St Paul's Grotto in Rabat, horse races and foot races, and a *fiaccolata* (a festivity of lights). Fireworks were introduced and began to increase yearly, so that by 1663 they had to be controlled.¹¹² The Grand Master sometimes attended some of the cathedral's functions, as did Grand Master Nicolas Cotoner and Grand Master Perellos.¹¹³

The feast of St Gregory was celebrated annually with a long procession on 12 March, in which litanies of the saints and hymns were sung.¹¹⁴ It took the form of a pilgrimage that may have

¹¹¹ Buhagiar and Fiorini, *Mdina, the Cathedral City of Malta*, vol.2, 552-53.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, vol.2, 555. The popular celebrations with singing and dancing on the eve in the Boschetto had not yet become part of the festival.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, vol.2, 555.

¹¹⁴ M. Fsadni, *Id-Dumnikani fir-Rabat u fil-Birgu sa l-1620* (The Dominicans in Rabat and Birgu until 1620) (Malta: the author, 1974), 258.

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originated as far back as the fourteenth century.¹¹⁵ It commenced in Mdina with the participation of all the dignitaries, clergy and confraternities and slowly made its way across the island towards Żejtun in the south, with other clergy, confraternities and faithful joining in along the way (see Figure 3).



Figure 4. One of the many processions taking place around the Islands following the strong, destructive earthquake of 1693. In this votive painting, the Gozo citadel is seen protected by the Blessed Virgin and child Jesus. Courtesy Franciscan Friary, Gozo.

This occasion is registered every year in the cathedral *Giornale* with the comment ‘this year the usual procession of Pope St Gregory to Żejtun took place’ or simply ‘the usual votive procession.’¹¹⁶ The cathedral records suggest that a *spinetta* or *regaletto* may have been carried and played through at least a part of the procession. Surviving anonymous St Gregory processional music from 1719 (Ms 151A, Ms 579) includes motets for SAT voices accompanied by

¹¹⁵ Stanley Fiorini, “The South East of Malta and its Defence up to 1614” in *The Turkish Raid of 1614*, ed. Ruben Abela (Malta: Wirt iż-Żejtun no. 68, 2014), 86.

¹¹⁶ MCM, ACM, Misc. 169, *Giornale* IV, 12 March 1657, f.159.

2 violins and organ.¹¹⁷ These same instruments may, therefore, have already been in use in earlier processions of St Gregory, with a *regaletto* or *spinetta* taking the part of the organ.



Figure 5. Detail from a caricature of musicians in an eighteenth-century procession of St Laurence in Birgu. Private collection, copy of which is at the Birgu Parish Museum.

The feast of the Ascension of Our Lord, known as *Lapsi*, took place in May, and included Mass and a long procession in which Antiphons were sung. Details of what generally took place are given in 1676, where on 24 May it is recorded that this feast could not be celebrated ‘in the usual way’ because there was, at the time, a raging *male contagioso*. This was the plague, which had spread like wildfire across the Island, but had spared Mdina.¹¹⁸ A procession did, nevertheless, take place ‘with the usual singing of Antiphons,’ but this had to be shortened and restricted to within the city walls, with nobody being allowed in or out for fear of spreading the contagion into Mdina.¹¹⁹ There are several surviving seventeenth-century antiphons in the cathedral archives, some

¹¹⁷ Azzopardi and Sansone, *Italian and Maltese Music*, 273. These include: *O populi fideles*, *Ad cantus ad plausus*, *Veni sponsa Christi*, *Jubilemus omnes*, *O doctor optime*. The Archives also hold several other anonymous motets dating to 1700 (MCM, ACM, Ms. 164, Ms. 172).

¹¹⁸ Buhagiar and Fiorini, *Mdina the Cathedral City*, vol.2, 537. This epidemic of 1676 claimed 11,300 lives. See Joseph Galea, "The Quarantine Services and the Lazzaretto of Malta," *Melita Historica* 4, no. 3 (1966): 188.

¹¹⁹ MCM, ACM, Misc. 169, Giornale IV, f.657: ‘Si fece del meglio si è potuto la Processione nel giorno dell’Ascensione con il solito canto di musica delle Antifone ed Orazioni nelle due porte della città.’

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possibly related to these processions. Occasionally, apart from voices and organ, they also included instrumentation of two violins.¹²⁰

Celebrations of Feasts of the Blessed Virgin under different nomenclatures were given great importance and often record use of instruments. Foremost among these were the feasts of the Annunciation and that of Our Lady of Virtues. In May 1655 a *bastaso* (porter) was paid 15 *grani* for having carried a *spinetta* from the cathedral to the Carmelite church *nel giorno dell'Annunciata*.¹²¹ On 15 March 1656 a boy was paid 15 *grani* for carrying a *spinetta* 'in the usual procession' to the church of the Annunciation and back.¹²² In 1657, a *regaletto* was made for the cathedral by a Messinese organ builder, Lucio Pizzuto.¹²³ First specific mention of its use outdoors appears on 13 March 1665.¹²⁴ Singing in these processions and inside the small churches was therefore being accompanied first by the *spinetta* until 1657 and later by the *regaletto*, though, as has already been pointed out, this does not exclude the probability of other instruments being played, particularly stringed instruments. The *spinetta* must have been small as it was carried by only one boy.

Marin Mersenne, in his *Harmonie Universelle* (1636), depicts a very small *épinette* (Figure 6) saying that the instrument could be made as large as one wished.¹²⁵ This small, portable rectangular instrument is likely to have been the sort used in the Mdina processions.

¹²⁰ Such as MCM, ACM, Ms. 223 (Anonymous, *Salve Regina*, SATB, 2 violins).

¹²¹ MCM, ACM, Misc. 169, *Giornale IV*, f.113. 'ad un figliolo che portò la spinetta nel Carmine quando fù fatta la processione nel giorno della Annunciata - grani 15.'

¹²² *Ibid.*, f.135.

¹²³ NAM, Not Mario Saliba, R421/6 f.252v.

¹²⁴ MCM, ACM, Misc. 169, *Giornale IV*, f.367. 'tarì uno dato a Lorenzo Grima e ad un giovane per aver alzato il regaletto per la processione che fecimo per la pioggia.'

¹²⁵ Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle Contenant La Théorie Et La Pratique De La Musique* (Paris: Sebastien Cramoisy, 1636), *Livre Troisième*, 108.

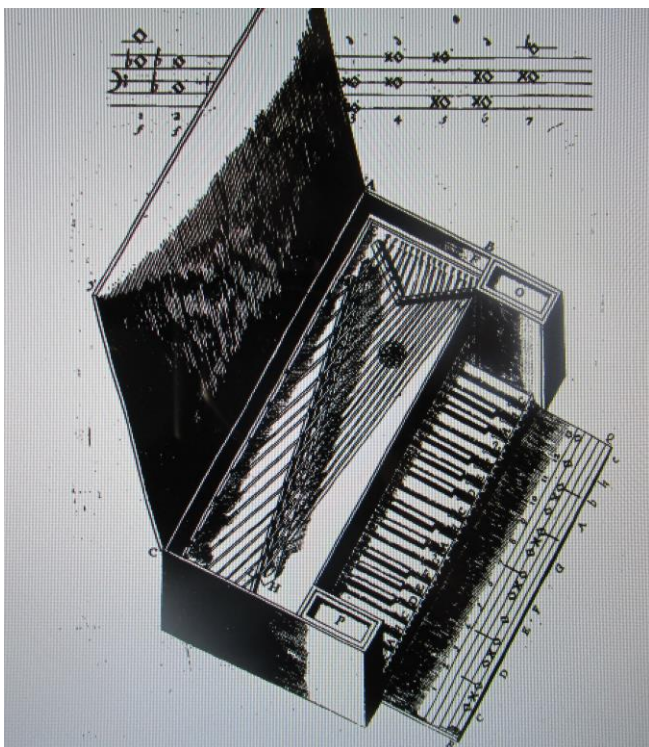


Figure 6. *Épinette* depicted in Marin Mersenne's *Harmonie Universelle* (1636).

The regal (Figure 7), or its diminutive *regaletto*, was a small bellow organ. Records show that generally two men were involved in carrying this. This instrument required someone to constantly raise the bellows, which may also explain the payment to two rather than one person.¹²⁶ Looking closely at the eighteenth-century caricature (Figure 3), we can see a little figure beside the keyboard instrument, who may have had the duty of lifting the bellows of a *regaletto*.

On 8 April 1669, in an Easter procession, the instrument used was recorded as an *organetto*.¹²⁷ Though the cathedral did have an *organetto* made in 1635,¹²⁸ this may have been too large to carry in processions. The *organetto* mentioned in this context may therefore have been one and the same *regaletto*. Other processions in April 1673 and 1675 again reverted to a *regaletto*.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ On 13 March 1665, Lorenzo Grima and another young man were paid 'per aver alzato il Regaletto per la processione che fecimo per la pioggia.' The verb 'alzare' is vague since it may mean 'to carry' (the instrument) or 'to raise' (the bellows) which were repeatedly raised and allowed to drop.

¹²⁷ MCM, ACM, Misc. 169, Giornale IV, f.473. '...per aver portato il organetto nella chiesa della Madonna della Virtù, nella processione di Pasqua.'

¹²⁸ Bruni, *Musica e Musicisti*, 83.

¹²⁹ MCM, ACM, Misc. 169, Giornale IV, ff.577, 629. 'A doi che alzavano il regaletto nella Processione...'

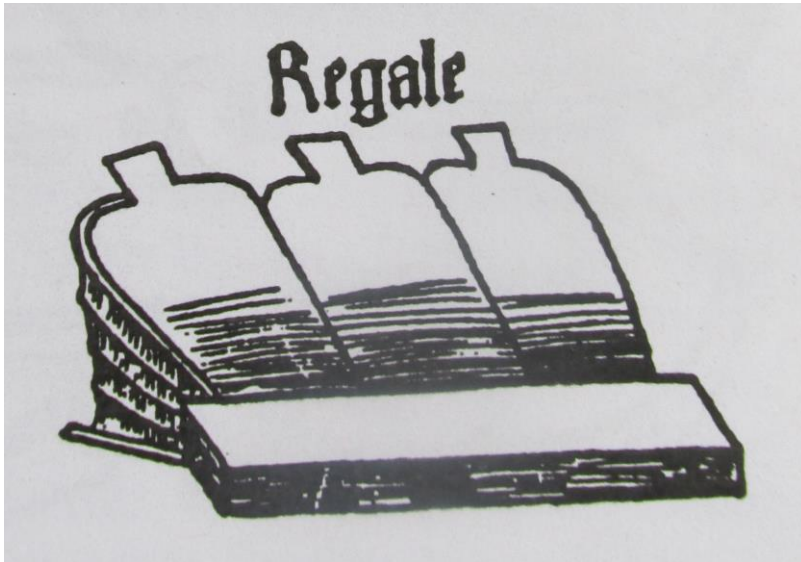


Figure 7. A regal having three bellows shown in Sebastian Virdung's treatise *Musica Getutscht* (1511).

Particularly striking are the many processions taking place during dry winters with long months of drought. Such a situation on an island with so little resources meant poverty for the farming communities and meant that the farmers would not be able to pay their dues to their landlords. When the crops had not been watered by March, April or even May, there was a communal, desperate cry for rain. This petition for rain in *pro pluvia* processions was prevalent in April and May of 1655,¹³⁰ in April of 1660,¹³¹ in March 1661,¹³² in March and April 1665,¹³³ April of 1671,¹³⁴ April 1674,¹³⁵ and March 1677.¹³⁶ A large number of the population would in such cases have solemnly participated in genuine desperation. In 1671 one hundred and six virgin girls (*zitelle*) were invited to attend the procession to Żebbuġ and the Mass, and were each given 1 *tari* for their participation.¹³⁷ The purity of the girls was presumably considered to be pleasing to the Almighty and, together with the heartfelt prayers, would more forcefully petition the Lord's mercy. This was repeated on 1 April 1674 in the procession of the Blessed Virgin, and this time 84 *zitelle* took part. If after all these petitions their prayers were heard and it did rain, they were in turn followed by a thanksgiving procession. Instruments used during these rogations were specified as *regaletto* or *organetto*.

¹³⁰ Ibid., ff.111, 113.

¹³¹ Ibid., f.239.

¹³² Ibid., f.263.

¹³³ Ibid., f.367, 369.

¹³⁴ Ibid., f.525.

¹³⁵ Ibid., f.603.

¹³⁶ Ibid., f.681.

¹³⁷ Ibid., f.525.

Victory over the Turks was another occasion for thanksgiving. On 1 November 1683, there was a procession in which a statue of the Blessed Virgin was carried on *trispì* (a trestle) all the way to the Chapel of the *Madonna della Virtù* in Rabat. The *regaletto* once again was among the instruments providing the music accompaniment. This procession was intended to give thanks to the Blessed Virgin for 'the Imperial victory over the Turks,' referring to the defeat of the Ottoman army at the gates of Vienna.¹³⁸ The Mdina procession was not the only procession of thanksgiving. When news of the victory reached Valletta there was spontaneous public joy, which spread throughout the whole Island. For three consecutive days all over the Maltese islands, there were numerous processions, which were 'accompanied by musicians.'¹³⁹

The Order was equally preoccupied with its own feasts and processions, particularly with its titular feasts of St John the Baptist and St John the Evangelist, which were celebrated with great pomp and spectacle. On the eve of the feast of St John the Baptist, the Grand Master, accompanied by the Bishop, and a retinue of knights left the Magistral Palace in procession 'amidst the flourish of trumpets, beating of drums and the pealing of church bells.'¹⁴⁰ Musicians clearly played a vital major role within the internal and external functions in both Mdina as well as in Valletta.

1.2.2 Consecrations, investitures and *possessi*

Other celebrations were characterised by a mixture of sacred and civil manifestations. The Episcopal Consecration of Inquisitor Fabio Chigi, who was later to become Pope, took place in Malta in 1635. For this important solemn occasion it was the Cathedral's *maestro di cappella* who was commissioned to conduct the music.¹⁴¹ By far the most dramatic of spectacles were the *Possessi*, or stagings of symbolic possessions and grand entries of sovereigns, bishops, cardinals, or other special dignitaries. All were calculated to visually dazzle and to reflect magnificence and power. Though investitures and coronations did take place in other European countries, the whole pageantry of the religio-civil *possessi* of Mdina was following the contemporary trends taking place in Italian cities, particularly in Rome and Florence.

In Malta, new Bishops made their grand solemn entry into the old city of Mdina. This was an occasion of great pomp, though not of the same level of grandeur as the *possesso* of a new Grand

¹³⁸ Ibid., f.851, 'per la Vittoria ottenuta dal Imperiale contro il Turco.'

¹³⁹ Carmel Cassar, "Malta and the Celebration of Victory over the Turks in 1683," in *A Timeless Gentleman*, 344.

¹⁴⁰ Arthur Bonnici, *History of the Church in Malta* vol. 2 (Malta: Empire Press, 1967), 108-9.

¹⁴¹ John Azzopardi, "The Organs of the Cathedral Church at Mdina and St John's Conventual Church in Valletta" in *Old Organs in Malta and Gozo* eds. H. Agius Muscat and Luciano Buono (Malta: Media Centre Publications, 1999), 191.

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Master. The Bishop was met outside the city by the officials, ecclesiastics and all the dignitaries of Mdina. He was escorted to the Dominican Priory in Rabat, where he would spend the night. The next morning all the dignitaries of the city escorted the Bishop, this time from the Dominican Priory to Mdina. On his way to the cathedral the Bishop passed through the decorated streets and through a triumphal arch set up for the occasion. Once inside the cathedral, there was the ceremony of installation, followed by Mass and the singing of the *Te Deum*. In the seventeenth century, the only reference to music during this ceremony is that taking place inside the Church. The description of the 1713 *possesso* of Bishop Giacomo Cannaves, however, is a fair indication of what would have been taking place only a few decades earlier. On this occasion, a hefty sum of 77 *scudi* was spent on seven musicians – four violins, a viola and two trumpets.¹⁴² If musicians were salaried with the cathedral they would not have been included in this expense, so that there were also the regular violins and bass violin, and possibly other brass instruments forming the full instrumental contingent.

Morales would have witnessed all the pomp, ceremony and celebrations taking place on each investiture. A very special and dramatic part of this was the Grand Master's entry into Mdina and the symbolic possession of the old city, known as the *Possesso*. Equally grand affairs were the profession of knights, ceremonious processions and funerals taking place. Musicians were of utmost importance to the Grand Masters in the general scenario of the staging of events. After being elected Grand Master, there is little doubt that 'taking possession' of the old city of Mdina was one of the most elaborate and magnificent ceremonies of all.¹⁴³ This was first enacted by Grand Master L'Isle Adam on the Order's arrival in Malta in 1530 and was perpetuated, always more elaborately, by following Grand Masters. A contemporary historian, Fra Bartolomeo Dal Pozzo, describes the sumptuous *possesso* of Grand Master de Paule in 1623:¹⁴⁴ 'The Grand Master, following in the style of his predecessors, solemnly took possession of Città Notabile on 23 April on the octave after Easter. With the Island's Cavalry marching ahead of him, he exited Valletta, followed by the Inquisitor Torelli, the Conventual Prior Camarasa, and two other Grand Crosses, and a number of other carriages full of Grand Crosses, and knights. Together they made their way to Casal Cormi (see Figure 3) where they attended Holy Mass, and where, that very morning, the feast of St George was being celebrated.' From there they left for [the Palace of] Verdala, where the Grand Master was given refreshments 'in the name of the jurats of Città

¹⁴² MCM, ACM, Dep. 4, ff.181v-182r (doc. 32). See Bruni, *Musica e Musicisti*, 193.

¹⁴³ Vicki Ann Cremona, "Spectacle and 'Civil Liturgies' in Malta During the Time of the Knights of St John," in *The Renaissance Theatre: Texts, Performance, Design* ed. Christopher Cairns (Aldershot, Hants, England and Brookfield USA: Ashgate Press, 1999), 43.

¹⁴⁴ Fr. Bartolomeo Dal Pozzo, *Historia Della Sacra Religione Di S. Giovanni Gerosolimitano Detta Di Malta*, vol. 11 (Verona: Giovanni Berno, 1703), 713-14. Dal Pozzo mistakenly writes 'De Redin' instead of 'De Paule.'

Notabile.' A meal was prepared on different tables for about 800 people. From Verdala, the procession proceeded to Notabile. On approaching, the Bishop Cagliares, dressed in pontifical vestments, and holding a cross, walked out to meet the Grand Master beneath a canopy (*baldacchino*) carried by the four main dignitaries of Mdina and followed by all the Chapter and Clergy of the Diocese.

Reaching the closed doors of the city, the Grand Master was asked to pronounce the usual vows made by his predecessors. He swore 'to observe and assure observance of the privileges and special concessions bestowed upon the city, and the island of Malta by the kings of Aragon, and of Sicily and by preceding Grand Masters, and to respect all its good and praiseworthy customs.' Having pronounced his vows, he was presented with the symbolic silver keys of the city with which he ceremoniously opened the doors and entered, accompanied by 'musketry, fireworks and artillery.'

Iain Fenlon, commenting on Florentine *possessi*, notes that the music performed at the city gate of Florence was sometimes instrumental, but more often it was written for a large ensemble of voices and instruments, where the accent would have been on sonority rather than textual clarity.¹⁴⁵ He talks of 'reverberating walls of sound' reinforced by wind and brass instruments. As has already been mentioned earlier, the cathedral by this time had its own stringed instruments and was also employing a trombone player, all of which would surely have been taking part. We are told that the singing of the *Te Deum con una buonissima musica* by the Mdina *musicisti* commenced at the gates and accompanied the procession all the way to the cathedral.¹⁴⁶ On the way, the Grand Master proceeded to walk through the 'beautiful triumphal arches' erected for the occasion, on which could be seen various emblems and inscriptions. The cathedral archives fill in the fact that there were two different arches and that the second 'extremely sumptuous triumphal arch' was, owing to its fantasy (*inventione*), riches and expense, estimated to be 'worthy of one of the most noble Italian cities.'¹⁴⁷ This comment demonstrates the conscious comparison with Italian cities that was taking place. The whole procession finally reached the cathedral where Grand Master de Paule was blessed by the Bishop. He was then seated on his throne and solemn Vespers were intoned. Again, details of the music performed emerge, not from Dal Pozzo, but from the cathedral archives where it is recorded that 'vespers were solemnly

¹⁴⁵ Iain Fenlon, "Theories of Decorum: Music and the Italian Renaissance Entry," in *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe: The Iconography of Power*, eds. Maria Ines Aliverti, J.R. Mulryne, Anna Maria Testaverde (Farnham, Surrey, England, UJ; Burlington, VT: Routledge, 2015), 143.

¹⁴⁶ Bruni, *Musica e Musicisti*, 189.

¹⁴⁷ '...degno d'una delle più nobili città d'Italia.' MCM, CEM, Misc. 252, Tratto Onorifico, 355.

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sung with music for three choirs.¹⁴⁸ Three choirs were not a common occurrence in the cathedral and must have entailed the addition of outside musicians. This sacred function concluded, de Paule exited the cathedral, once again to the sound of artillery, making his way back to Verdala [Palace], where he spent the night. The next day, together with the island's cavalry and retinue he went towards San Antonio [Palace and gardens] where a sumptuous meal was prepared for 600 people. As already noted above, Dal Pozzo does not seem to have been observant of musical detail. He did not record any music taking place during the meals, but there is little doubt that musicians would have been present for such an august occasion, with string players most likely among them. Towards evening the Grand Master majestically re-entered Valletta preceded by the Island's Cavalry.

The sheer size and grandeur of this whole occasion can hardly be imagined. The huge procession of hundreds of people headed by the cavalry was nothing other than a dramatic and spectacular show of force. All this was seen and heard across the island. The cavalry and carriages from Valletta to Qormi and then to Mdina and back to Valletta by a different route through San Anton meant that the large part of the population would have been witness to this grand pageantry (see map, Figure 3). The cavalry preceding the Grand Master would doubtless have announced his arrival with drums and trumpets, even though there is no specific mention of this.

Grand Master de Paule did not stop with Città Notabile. Some six weeks later, on 9 June 1623, he chose to honour the harbour city of Vittoriosa (Birgu) in the same way, something that had never occurred previously.¹⁴⁹ Vittoriosa held a special place because it was the city in which the knights had resided upon their arrival on the island. This time the Grand Master chose to cross the harbour with a retinue of barges. Vicki Ann Cremona finds that ceremonial barges had already been specially designed for dignitaries as early as 1559.¹⁵⁰ This suggests that de Paule's barges would also have been sumptuously designed and decorated for this occasion. Reaching the shore of Vittoriosa, the Island's cavalry was awaiting him. The Grand Master, Grand Crosses and knights all mounted on horseback and rode up to the city gates, where de Paule alighted from his horse and was immediately greeted with the sound of artillery. The procession then moved towards the central square. The chronicler continues to recount that in the middle of the Piazza 'a triumphal arch of beautiful architecture with three arches (*porte*) and a musicians' gallery was erected.'¹⁵¹ This musicians' gallery, described as full of *musici* 'and a variety of musical instruments' was

¹⁴⁸ MCM, ACM, Misc. 252, f.342. 'Fu cantata solennemente il vespro con una musica a tre cori.' By then, Francesco Fontana had been teaching *canto fermo e figurato* for seven years.

¹⁴⁹ Dal Pozzo, *Historia*, 715.

¹⁵⁰ Cremona "Spectacle," 47.

¹⁵¹ 'La piazza nel mezzo della quale stave eretto un Arco triumphale di bell' Architettura, con tre ordini di Porte, & una Galeria, che girava sopra di esse, ripiena di musici, e varietà di strumenti musicali.'

circling above the arches. This whole concept was surely a feat of imagination and engineering, and a reflection of renaissance and baroque fantasy. There is no further information on the musicians, or the type of musical instruments they played. This, however, emphasizes the great importance of music during such ceremonies. Similar ceremonial buildings for *possessi* in European cities were carefully planned and constructed.¹⁵² It is not as yet known who designed this notable ephemeral edifice in Vittoriosa.

However, we do know details of the music performed on this occasion. Once in the Vittoriosa Piazza, Grand Master de Paule sat down to enjoy 'a *sinfonia* and other compositions sung in his praise,' all of which had been prepared for his enjoyment.¹⁵³ These were presumably played by the musicians in the circling gallery. The *possesso* was the occasion for which *sonetti* were composed in praise of the new Grand Master. The poetic text of these, written in Italian, was usually printed and some have survived, however no accompanying music has so far surfaced. Following this musical interlude the Grand Master finally passed through the main triumphal arch and made his way to the parish church of St Laurence, where they sang the *Te Deum*. He then descended to the harbour, where he was met by bowing jurats. Applauded by the crowds, he and the retinue boarded the barges and made their dramatic crossing back to Valletta.

A few more relevant details emerge from other *possessi*. During Grand Master Martin de Redin's *possesso* in 1657, we are informed that music during the Mass in the cathedral was not only vocal but also instrumental.¹⁵⁴ During Fra Gregorio Carafa's royal entry in 1680, the Bishop invited the Grand Master to dinner in Mdina, where 'un opera musicale *L'Italia trionfante* was staged. This may have been the opera by Francesco Maria Bazzani *L'inganno trionfante*, first performed in 1673. During Grand Master Adrien de Wignacourt's *possesso* in 1690, apart from a 'Te Deum Laudamus a due cori,' two 'motetti' were also sung, one of which was in praise of the Grand Master.¹⁵⁵

The contribution of musicians in all these stagings was crucial. There is no doubt that Grand Masters were fully aware of this, as was made evident by Grand Master Perellos in 1699 when, on the second anniversary of his investiture, he showed his appreciation by donating an extra 25

¹⁵² For example, Lorenzo de Pietrasanta, the architect of the papal courts, is known to have been responsible for the constructions made for the *possesso* of Pope Alessandro VI (1492). Lucia Nuti, "Remoulding the City: The Roman Possessi in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century," in *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe: The Iconography of Power*, ed. Maria Ines Aliverti, J.R. Mulryne, Anna Maria Testaverde (England: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2015), 123.

¹⁵³ 'Sinfonia & alcune compositioni cantate in sua lode.' Dal Pozzo, *Historia*, 715.

¹⁵⁴ MCM, ACM, Misc. 252, ff.263-4.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, ff.369-370: '...due motetti uno de quali in lode de S. Eminenza.'

scudi to the 'Assemblea di S Giovanni' for the music played during his anniversary celebration.¹⁵⁶ In the outdoor arena, the pomp and ceremony of the Grand Masters required the use of musicians of a different kind to those used inside the conventual church. Musical instruments that could provide a psychological impact of grandeur were of crucial importance. Drums and trumpets were foremost candidates in such displays and were adopted by the Order, just as they were in all the courts of Europe. Iconographic imagery of the Order portrays military power and might with canons, swords, armour and helmets, but also with drums and trumpets. Particularly striking are carvings over the entrance of the Auberge de Castille (Figure 8), and over that of the Auberge D'Italie. Both include drums and trumpets. Much marble military imagery is also to be found in the conventual church of St John. Though musical instrument motifs may have a separate history of significance that does not necessarily tie up to actual music making, in this case they do reflect the reality of the Order's music.

The sixteenth century theorist, Sebastian Virdung, described drums as 'devilish' because they caused 'a smothering and a drowning of all sweet melodies and of the whole of Music.'¹⁵⁷ The drowning of all sound was indeed one of the purposes of drums. During the Great Siege of 1565, Grand Master de Valette ordered the beating of all the Order's drums in order to shut out the disheartening sound of the innumerable Turkish musical instruments that sounded to them 'like the end of the world.'¹⁵⁸ For this same reason, drums together with trumpets were the instruments chosen not only for military use but also for the creation of pageantry, where their 'drowning' sound instilled awe in the spectators.

In most Renaissance European cities, trumpets together with kettledrums, enjoyed a privileged position in which sovereigns saw in them a symbol of importance.¹⁵⁹ This was certainly the case in Malta during the seventeenth century. Brass trumpets were ideal for outdoor ceremonial and played a very important part in the staging of grand pageantry. They heralded the Grand Master, they were used in making announcements or proclamations, in welcoming special visitors and on board the Order's principal galleys.¹⁶⁰ One of their functions was as a call when galleys were about

¹⁵⁶ AdeP, Ms.122, f.27. The 'Assemblea' was the Conventual Prior and the assembly of Conventual Chaplains. As head of the Chaplains, the Conventual Prior would have been responsible for passing on the donation to the musicians. Thanks to Dr Emanuel Buttigieg for this clarification.

¹⁵⁷ Beth Bullard, ed. *Musica Getutscht – A Treatise on Musical Instruments by Sebastian Virdung*, trans. Beth Bullard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 115.

¹⁵⁸ Francisco Balbi di Correggio, ed. *The Great Siege of Malta 1565* (Malta: Progress Press, 1965), 49.

¹⁵⁹ Bruce P. Gleason, "Cavalry and Court Trumpeters and Kettledrummers from the Renaissance to the Nineteenth Century," *The Galpin Society Journal* LXII (2009): 31.

¹⁶⁰ Thomas Freller, *The Cavaliers Tour and Malta in 1663* (Malta: Publikazzjoni Indipendenza, 1998), 220.

to depart from the island.¹⁶¹ They were also connected with prayer, a function harking back to biblical times when ‘trumpeters and musicians joined in unison to give praise and thanks to the Lord.’¹⁶² On the Order’s flagship, known as the *Capitana*, and on the *Patrona* (the admiral’s galley), every morning and evening at sunrise and sunset, trumpets were sounded as a reminder to pray to God.¹⁶³ The trumpet was not used on lesser galleys, but a bell was used instead. In this case it becomes evident that trumpets had a superior status, which was reserved only for the highest dignitaries.



Figure 8. Carvings above the entrance of Auberge de Castille showing kettledrums, snare drum, side drum and trumpets among the military heraldry.

Several records have surfaced, which show the Order’s appreciation of the galley musicians. We find them being rewarded for their efforts on particular occasions and on feast days. An instance that appears repeatedly in the records is ‘la Strena,’ the extra payment made to them as a New

¹⁶¹ Thomas Freller and A. Scalpello, *Malta Island of Christian Heroes - Life in the Early 17th Century* (Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti, 2001), 121.

¹⁶² New Revised Standard Version, 2 *Chron.* 5:13.

¹⁶³ Freller, *The Cavaliers Tour*, 182.

Table 4: Comparative annual salaries of musicians.

Musicians	Annual Salary	Source
Slave galley trumpeter (1663)	6 scudi	G. Wettinger, <i>Slavery</i> , 367-8
Lowest-paid musicians (Mdina cathedral)	9-10 scudi	MCM, ACM, Dep.2
Violino/violone (Mdina, 1663-1678)	10 scudi	MCM, ACM, Dep.2
Average musician's pay (Mdina)	15 – 20 scudi	MCM, ACM, Dep.2
<i>Fifra di galera</i> (1707)	18 scudi	AdeP, Ms 104, Rollo 1707, f.28v
<i>Tamborlino di galera</i> (1707)	24 -26 scudi	AdeP, Ms 104, Rollo 1707, f.28v
Voice, trombone, tuba, <i>cornetto</i> (Mdina, 1629-1641)	50-60 scudi	Bruni, <i>Musica e Musicisti</i> , 262-5
<i>Musico</i> (Mdina, 1650-96)	60 scudi	MCM, ACM, Dep.2
<i>Musico</i> (St John's, 1610)	60 scudi	MCM, AOM 663, f.163v
<i>Rebechino</i> (Mdina, 1631-1639)	60 scudi	Bruni, 263-4
Organist (Mdina, 1629-1678)	20-76 scudi	MCM, ACM, Dep.2
Organist (St John's 1620s)	60-80 scudi	NLM, AOM 663, f.125, 230v.
<i>Maestro di cappella</i> (Mdina, 1626)	160 scudi	Bruni, 261
<i>Maestro di canto</i> (Mdina, 1619)	72 scudi	Bruni, 260
<i>Maestro di canto</i> (St John's) (a conventual chaplain)	36 scudi	NLM, Ms 271, f.216

Public celebrations: Carnival Year's gift.¹⁶⁴ In 1673, we find Grand Master Cotoner donating 4 *scudi* to his *trombette e tamburri di Galera* 'per la Strena.'¹⁶⁵ Twenty-six years later, in 1699, the Grand Master, this time Perellos, was still keeping up this *Strena* tradition, and was likewise donating 4 *scudi* to his *trombette e tamburri*.¹⁶⁶

Drums were, on occasion, combined with fifes.¹⁶⁷ In the Grandmaster's list of salaries of 1707 we find Maltese musicians recorded by name: Paolo Balzan, *tamborlino*, had a salary of 2 *scudi* per month,¹⁶⁸ whereas in the following year Gio Batta Saliba, also *tamborlino*, had a slightly higher monthly salary of 2 *scudi* 6 *tari*.¹⁶⁹ The fife player Barbaro Vella (*fifra*) had a salary of 1 *scudo* 6 *tari*.¹⁷⁰ To understand the significance of these figures, Table 4 provides a comparison of the salaries of musicians employed in Churches and in the secular sector. The drummers' salary amounted to 24 – 36 *scudi* per annum. Some of the lesser-paid musicians in the Mdina cathedral received as little as 10 *scudi* per annum, far less than these drummers, whereas the organist in Mdina and St John's was paid around three times as much as a drummer.

1.2.3 Public celebrations: Carnival

There were regular appointments during the year, which provided festivity for all sectors of society. The public fête par excellence was carnival, which was highly anticipated by all. This consisted of a few days of annual extravagant feasting and music-making that took place before the rigid fasting and abstinence of the forty days of Lent. Outside such annual celebrations there were others created as and when the Grand Master thought fit. These flaunted the Grand Master's achievements and were often charged with political relevance.

Carnival was one of the foremost occasions for public entertainment, during which other more private occasions also took place. The Order's sixteenth-century chronicler, alludes to the knights joining masked revellers in Vittoriosa as early as 1535.¹⁷¹ The Grand Master, in order to avoid too

¹⁶⁴ In Maltese this is known as 'l-Istrina' and is traditionally the time to donate monetary gifts.

¹⁶⁵ AdeP, Ms.129, f.27v.

¹⁶⁶ AdeP, Ms.122, f.32.

¹⁶⁷ Small transverse flutes with six fingerholes, a narrower bore and hence a shriller sound. Howard Mayer Brown, et al. "Fife," *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed June 24, 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09610>

¹⁶⁸ AdeP, Ms 104, Rollo 1707-1708, f.17v.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, f.18v.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, f.5v, f.28v.

¹⁷¹ Giacomo Bosio, *Dell'istoria Della Sacra Religione Et Illma. Militia Di San Giovanni Gierosolimitano* 111 (Naples: 1684), 140.

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much unseemly folly ('pazzie e leggierezze') encouraged tournaments and jousting ('il torneare & il giostrare'). This therefore became wonderful pageantry for the whole Maltese population.

A seventeenth-century account of carnival was recorded in the diary of Mgr Fabio Chigi who was sent to Malta as Apostolic Delegate and Inquisitor between the years 1634 and 1639. He resided in Vittoriosa and experienced his first Valletta carnival in 1635.¹⁷² From Chigi's description we know that the carnival of that year, apart from having sacred rituals in the Churches, was typified by street revelry, masqueraders, a ball, and presentations of comedies. Music would have been a large part of most of these entertainments whether during balls, dramatic presentations, or out in the street. Chigi seems to have found it all too frivolous for his taste and decorum. In the following years, he was careful not to offend the Grand Master, but made sure that he restricted his carnivals solely to the religious and literary aspects.

A manuscript diary of the eighteenth century describes the grand spectacle that Grand Masters were prepared to provide for the public.¹⁷³ The diarist was particularly impressed by a magnificently decorated float pulled by several mules, and preceded by two trumpeters and a drummer ('deux trompettes et un timbalier') on horseback. This dramatic float carried the Grand Master's pages, all beautifully attired and 'having with them several musical instruments.' This spectacle was considered one of the highlights of carnival, providing a *divertissement*, which was 'very pleasing to the people.'¹⁷⁴ It is most likely that the pages were playing the instruments they carried.¹⁷⁵ Similar scenarios are recorded in Naples in the seventeenth century when the children of the different Conservatori performed on carnival floats sponsored by various guilds.¹⁷⁶

Whereas the upper stratum rode through the streets of Valletta in carriages, the common folk had their own outdoor celebrations with dances, masked merriment and their own singing. Stanley Fiorini finds *Carnivali* already being given as a first name in the fifteenth century and maintains that in medieval times this feast was an important date both in the civil as well as the ecclesiastical calendars.¹⁷⁷ In an illiterate society it was being used as a time reference point just like Christmas, Easter and other religious festivals. Our best chronicler of the folk carnival was the

¹⁷² Vincent Borg, *A 1636 Description of Malta by a Future Pope* (Malta: Malta University Press, 1990), 17-18.

¹⁷³ NLM, Ms. Libr. 291. *Usages et éthiquettes observées à Malte, à la Cour de Gr Maitre, au Conseil, à l'Eglise* (1762), f.121.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, f.121. 'Un spectacle très beau et très agréable au Peuple.'

¹⁷⁵ In an account dated 1760 we find 'professori di istromenti musicali' on the Grand Master's payroll. They would have been available for the pages and choristers.

¹⁷⁶ See Dinko Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples. Francesco Provenzale*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 12-13.

¹⁷⁷ Stanley Fiorini, "Carnj Per Lu Carnivalj," *Melita Historica* 9, no. 4 (1987): 313.

Count of Saint-Priest, a French Knight of the eighteenth century.¹⁷⁸ His observations on a carnival peasant sword dance presented in Valletta, on Maltese folk songs and on the musical instruments in use at the time, are all an indication of a strong folk element, which had been long established. The Maltese lexicographers of the mid-eighteenth century also describe musical instruments, which were entrenched in the people's psyche of carnival.¹⁷⁹ Though no earlier descriptions have emerged, it is evident that the Maltese folk were celebrating carnival with their own music and musical instruments, with the friction drum, known as *rabbaba* or *żafżafa*, being the most representative of this period.¹⁸⁰ The bagpipe ('iż-żaqq') and tambourine duo, though they are most likely to have been long established, are also first recorded in the eighteenth century.¹⁸¹ Even though printed accounts of the seventeenth century tended to focus on the elite elements of carnival, this period was at the same time also providing an outlet for the use of traditional musical instruments, thereby creating a constant blend of foreign and Maltese cultures.

1.2.4 Folk singing and stringed instruments

The Maltese people would have listened to the sacred music taking place in churches and would have attended processions. This constituted their exposure to art music, to a written type of composed music. They would also have watched all the pomp and ceremony taking place in the streets, and listened to the instruments accompanying them. However, they were more attuned to an orally transmitted form of music, especially that of singing, known as *għana* – a type of music, which was generally frowned upon by the Church. This singing often took place outdoors, even more so on summer nights. Travellers and diarists of the seventeenth century generally omitted any reference to Maltese folk and concentrated wholly on the knights and on the two cities, so that we know far more about them than about the ordinary people.

Folk singing was in the Maltese language, which is Arab-based. For this reason, we often come across references to its 'Moorish' nature. A Dominican friar, Pasquale Vassallo, is recorded to have written songs or *cantilene* in Maltese, referred to as *canzone moresche*.¹⁸² Though there were several earlier prohibitions, Bishop Cocco Palmieri in 1703 spoke out more specifically

¹⁷⁸ François-Emanuel [Guignard] Saint-Priest, comte de, *Malte Par Un Voyageur Français* (Malta: 1791), 59-60.

¹⁷⁹ One of the best providers of musical detail is the manuscript dictionary of Can Giovanni Pietro Francesco Agius de Soldanis, c.1750. NLM, Ms. Libr. 143. Regarding the carnival sword dance, see Anna Borg Cardona, "The Carnival *Battitu* or *Parata* in the eighteenth century," *Treasures of Malta* 62 (2015): 20-26.

¹⁸⁰ Anna Borg Cardona, *Musical Instruments of the Maltese Islands - History, Folkways and Traditions* (Malta: Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti, 2014), 101-13; "The Maltese Friction Drum," *JAMIS* XXVII (2002): 174-210.

¹⁸¹ Borg Cardona, *Musical Instruments*, 192-224.

¹⁸² Fsadni, *Id-Dumnikani Fir-Rabat*, 219.

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against singing in the vernacular.¹⁸³ The Church preferred to forget the long historical episode of Arab rule (870-1090). The official languages of the time were European languages - Latin and Italian, but not Maltese. Singing in Maltese was usually accompanied by stringed instruments. Different types of stringed instruments – lutes, violins, guitars – are well documented in prohibitions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁸⁴ Mattheo Morales may very well have been providing instruments for this sector of society.

Another occasion during which stringed instruments were used was during wedding processions. It was customary for the Maltese to accompany the bride and groom all the way from their home to the Church door in a form of procession, known as the *ġilwa*. The couple usually walked beneath a canopy (*baldakkin*), followed by parents, relatives and guests. Along the way, musicians sang improvised praises of the bride and groom to the accompaniment of musical instruments.¹⁸⁵ Records show that stringed instruments have generally been chosen to accompany these songs that continued right up to the church door. Wedding cortege quatrains dating from the seventeenth century have unfortunately not surfaced. In a predominantly illiterate society, it is most unlikely that they would have been written down. However, a few quatrains on the subject of love and weddings were recorded by Bertha Ilg between 1909 and 1912. Similar quatrains could possibly have been used within the context of the *ġilwa* procession:

L-ġharusa sejra ttejjeġ,
Ifthulha l-bieb il-kbir,
Qalbha ttaqtaq sitta sitta
Sakemm tgħidlu s-‘Sinjor si’.¹⁸⁶

The bride is off to be wed,
Open the main door for her,
Her heart will be beating fast,
Till the moment she says ‘I do’

It was this type of instrumentally accompanied song, which began to attract the ire of the Church. From the Bishops’ frequent warnings, it is evident that the people ignored the Tridentine recommendations of avoiding lascivious elements in music. This suggests that there could at times have been quatrains that turned vulgar or contained sexual innuendos and double entendre. Bishop Thomas Gargallo (1591) warned that ‘when the bridal couple meets in the church to contract marriage or to receive the blessing, do not let them bring to the church door the poet singers and plucked string players (‘fidicines et citharistas’), and if they do not heed this prohibition we order that the celebration or the blessing be postponed by the parish priest, until

¹⁸³ Bishop Cocco Palmieri, *Synod. Dioc.* (Rome: 1703), 71.

¹⁸⁴ Borg Cardona, *Musical Instruments*, 127-171.

¹⁸⁵ G.B. Falson, *Dizionario Maltese-Italiano-Inglese* (Malta: 1882), sv “Gilua.” ‘Cerimonia che anticamente i nostri maggiori facevano agli sposi, accompagnandoli fino la chiesa con persone atte a cantare lodi ed inni allusivi, unitamente ad altre, con strumenti musicali.’ Arnold Cassola, *Il Mezzo Vocabolario Maltese-Italiano del '700* (Malta: Said International, 1996), 65.

¹⁸⁶ J. Cassar Pullicino, ed. "200 Maltese Folk-Songs Collected by Bertha Koessler-Ilg in 1909-1912," *The Folklore Review* 1 no.1 (1962): no.125. See also A.E. Caruana, *Inez Farrug*, ed. G. Aquilina (Malta: Lux Press, 1962), 64-65.

they are sent away.¹⁸⁷ In 1629 Bishop Cagliares (1615-1633) forbade singing, musical instruments and dancing at marriage ceremonies. He went even further and ordered that 'neither in private houses, nor in public places' should there be any musical instruments that induced scandalous dancing.¹⁸⁸

The Bishops were very concerned that musical instruments would lead the faithful away from God. When in 1646, Bishop Balaguer Cammarasa (1635-1663) issued his edict concerning feast days, he claimed that people were scandalously gathering in large numbers to listen to songs of the 'cytharedos' and to watch dances, thus neglecting God.¹⁸⁹ His ire went to the extreme. In order to eradicate this custom, string players and all those who took part in this 'noise and song' were to be punished by excommunication. This included any private or public music making, dancing and singing.¹⁹⁰ These repeated prohibitions are clear evidence of the popularity of plucked strings among the Maltese people in the 1640s, and it also proves that music-making, singing and dancing went on taking place all the same. Musicians did not seem too concerned over the matter, though perhaps some may have tried to keep out of the Church's view.

Why the Church should have been so set against stringed instruments used by Maltese folk, whereas they were at the same time being cultivated within local churches, seems entirely inconsistent. However, the only plausible explanation for this lies in the fact that among Maltese folk, stringed instruments were so firmly connected with singing in the Maltese language and also with dance, both of which were thought to lead people away from God, and were therefore unacceptable.

1.3 Music and elite entertainment: chamber music, dance and theatre

In addition to outdoor festivities, which always made use of musical instruments, there were other occasions, which included music-making in more restricted areas. The Church and the aristocratic families were the two main sources of patronage offered to artists and musicians of the period. Whereas sacred music was being fostered within the churches, there was an

¹⁸⁷ NLM, Libr. 6, *Constitutiones Synodales Sanctae Ecclesiae Melivetanae* 1591, 40r. See G. Cassar Pullicino, *Oral Poetry*, 3. The term 'Citharistas' is in no way specific but a generic name for plucked string instruments. See also Celestino Durando, *Vocabolario* (Torino: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1933) 'Fidicen' – 1. Suonatori di strumenti a corda 2. Poeta lirico

¹⁸⁸ NLM, *Stromatum Melitens(ium)* Libr 6, *collectus ab Ignazio Xaverio Mifsud*, 1765. Bishop Cagliares, *Decreta* 26 December 1629, 190v.

¹⁸⁹ Though 'Cytharedos' has been translated by Cassar Pullicino as 'guitarists,' (*Maltese Oral Poetry*, 2-4) it is a non-specific term for players of plucked strings. At this point in time it could have been referring to lutes, citterns or guitars.

¹⁹⁰ NLM, Libr. 6, *Stromatum*. Bishop Balaguer, *Decreta melivetanae synodi* (Roma: Manelphi Manelphis), 1647, 10-11.

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exceptionally large representation of the aristocracy on the Island, providing musicians with another possibility of earning a living through the performance of secular music in their homes, auberges and palaces. Maltese nobility and the Grand Master and hundreds of knights of the Order made up this elite sector.

By the seventeenth century, we find established local families occupying key offices in the civil administration of the islands. An amicable relationship with the Order was being built up by at least some members of the upper echelons of Malta's society. Furthermore, Grand Masters also began to grant titles of nobility on deserving individuals. Giacomo Testaferrata was made *Segreto* of Grand Master Cotoner, Alessandro Monpalao was 'Ambasciatore dell' Università di Malta in Sicilia.'¹⁹¹ Gio[vanni] Pio de Piro, whose family originally reached Malta with the Order in 1530, was appointed Ambassador representing the Grand Master and the Università as procurator of wheat, and was given the post of *Segreto*.¹⁹² This sector of society provided a need for the services of musicians in more private forms of entertainment in restricted environments. When in 1613, a Venetian, Antonio di Giorgio, arrived in Malta to give recitals on the *spinetta*, he would have been performing for this sector. He must have found sufficient work as he was still in Malta four years later.¹⁹³

In order to obtain some idea of the musical activity of the upper crust of society in Malta, I have searched through a number of inventories and documents of the major families. In a 1687 inventory of belongings of the late Baron Pietro Cassia, we find 'a very old *spinetta*', which was not in good shape, and also another smaller one 'with two legs in the old style.'¹⁹⁴ Baron Cassia's *spinettes* show a taste for music-making within his own private environment. *Spinettes* were frequently encountered in aristocratic homes during this period. Arnaldo Morelli finds that in Rome, from the mid-seventeenth century onwards, the only instruments to be found in inventories of aristocratic families were harpsichords and spinets.¹⁹⁵ He argues that these were easier to move from room to room and easier to tune as opposed to heavy organs and claviorgans which were previously more popular. These latter instruments have so far not been encountered in inventories of Maltese homes.

¹⁹¹ AdeP, M9 (1678-1680).

¹⁹² As *Segreto*, he administered the Grand Master's property, collecting dues deriving from immovable property.

¹⁹³ Giovanni Bonello, "Dancing, Fireworks, Allegrezze, Music," 98. He quotes from a document that I have not been able to trace: AIM, Reg. Revel Mancip. 164.

¹⁹⁴ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 3, f.749r.

¹⁹⁵ Arnaldo Morelli, "Spaces for Musical Performance in Seventeenth-Century Roman Residences," in *The Music Room in Early Modern France and Italy: Sound, Space, and Object*, ed. Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti (Oxford: Oxford University Press, British Academy, 2012), 318.

The *Archivum de Piro* at Casa Rocca Piccola in Valletta proved particularly valuable, having the advantage of never previously being explored for musical content. In 1739, a member of the de Piro family, probably Gio Pio himself, was involved in topping up collections from the prospective audience in order to cover expenses for the production of a theatrical performance in Mdina. The harpsichord ('cimbalo') was one of the instruments transported from Valletta to Mdina for this performance.¹⁹⁶ Gio Pio's son, Barone Antonio Felicissimo de Piro, who died prematurely in 1739, also had a taste for music and musical instruments. In his inventory we find a stringed instrument recorded as 'bascio di viola d'amore' (a bass viola d'amore).¹⁹⁷

The Order of St John was made up of aristocratic families coming from all over Europe. They were brought up in a cultural environment of music, theatre and dance. They kept their contact with their families abroad and with the courts in their own countries. It is, therefore, only natural to expect at least some of them to have continued to enjoy such pleasures even after they had joined the knighthood. The chronicler Dal Pozzo tells us that Grand Master Aloff de Wignacourt (1601-1622) used to enjoy his meals to the accompaniment of music and singing: 'He entertained himself during the lunch hour with the playing and singing of excellent musicians and singers, saying that this reminded him of Paradise; and he recommenced the trumpet and flute concerts, which had already been enjoyed by Grand Master Verdala.'¹⁹⁸ Dal Pozzo, in order to justify Wignacourt's music entertainment during meals, used common rhetoric, informing us that Grand Master Verdala before him (1582-1595) had also been entertaining himself in the same way 'with trumpets and flute concerts.' Since trumpets and flutes are unlikely companions, the 'trumpets' may have been *cornetti*. Alternatively they could have played separately. The adjective *eccellenti* describing the musicians suggests that Wignacourt would not settle for anything less than the best of musicians of his time to give him the feeling of being transported to Paradise. This reference to Paradise is frequently met with in descriptions of performances by *castrati* whose voices were considered celestial. By this period *castrati* in Europe were being employed not only in Royal Chapels but also for more intimate 'musica da camera.'¹⁹⁹ Very often they accompanied themselves on the lute or the guitar.²⁰⁰ Lutes of different sizes and 'chitarre,' as we shall see, were being built in Malta as early as the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century

¹⁹⁶ AdeP, Box file 'Single items of interest – music and silver.'

¹⁹⁷ AdeP, A19, Bundle 2, f.42.

¹⁹⁸ Dal Pozzo, *Historia Della Sacra Religione*, 11, 694. 'Rallegravasi nell'ora del pranzo del suono, e canto di sonatori, e musici eccellenti, dicendo che questo gli destava la memoria del Paradiso; e rimesse I concerti delle trombe, e de flauti gia usati dal G. Maestro Verdala.'

¹⁹⁹ Sherr, "Guglielmo Gonzaga and the Castrati," 46.

²⁰⁰ Ibid. 38. The Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga of Mantua required his castrati to have good voices, 'to know contrapunto and to know how to accompany themselves on the lute.' See also John Griffiths, "The Music of Castrato Lutenists at the time pf Caravaggio," in *La Musica al tempo di Caravaggio*, ed. Stefania Macioce and Enrico De Pascale (Rome: Gangemi, 2012), 87-103.

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by another lute builder named Hieronimo Aurifici.²⁰¹ These plucked instruments were, therefore, readily available on the Island even before Matteo Morales. Castrati were certainly singing in churches and would have been available for secular performances. One case in point is that of the castrato Raffaello Mellini who was protégé of the knight Lanfreducci. He would surely have been providing secular entertainment for Lanfreducci.²⁰²

The passage in Dal Pozzo is an indication that private, presumably secular, musical entertainment had long been taking place among the Grand Masters of the Order. Indeed, as early as 1496, a woodcut shows lute players singing and entertaining the Grand Master in Rhodes during a meal with the Ottoman Prince, Zizim.²⁰³ A Grand Master's taste would have been reflected in much of the music taking place during his period of governance. Just as the Grand Master appreciated good music and musicians, so also did most of the knights. The previously-mentioned Venetian *spinetta* player would have been much appreciated in these circles.²⁰⁴ In some instances, we encounter musical instruments brought into the country by members of the Order for their own personal use, which were later sold locally. In 1607, a Genoese knight who was leaving Malta, sold his 'sordino' (clavichord) to the organist Paolo Bianchino, who received an advance payment from the Cathedral in order to be able to purchase it.²⁰⁵ This demonstrates the interchange that was taking place locally, often unrecorded, in which the collaboration of the knights would have been highly beneficial to Malta's music culture.

Dance was another form of entertainment that required musical instruments. Dancing was a requisite of the aristocratic society in which the knights were brought up and would, therefore, have formed part of their general education. Most of them would have joined the knighthood already having learnt to dance. Thoinot Arbeau's *L'Orchésographie* (1588) provides some information about prevailing attitudes towards dance that may have been shared by the knights.²⁰⁶ Arbeau's purpose in writing the manual was to instruct people 'to learn easily and to practice the honest exercise of dance.'²⁰⁷ Apart from believing the art of dance to be a means of winning a lady's favour, he considered it to be 'as manly as the art of fencing.' Furthermore, he points out that dance 'has become essential for the well-being of Society.' By this he meant that it

²⁰¹ The lute and guitar builder, Hieronimo Aurifici, is recorded in Valletta in 1601, but was in Malta earlier. Not. Giovanni Simone de Lucia, R.229/26, ff.771v-772v. Aurifici is discussed in detail in chapter 3.

²⁰² Franco Paliaga, *Pittori, incisori e architetti pisani nel secolo di Galileo* (Ghizzano, Pisa: Felici, 2009) 145.

²⁰³ Guilielmus Caoursin, *Rhodium Historiae* (1496).

²⁰⁴ Bonello, "Dancing," 83.

²⁰⁵ MCM, ACM, Mandati 12, f.101r. For 'sordino' see Edwin M. Ripin, et al "Clavichord." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed April 1, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05909> August 8, 2017.

²⁰⁶ Thoinot Arbeau, *L'Orchésographie Et Traicté En Forme De Dialogue* (Langres: 1588).

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, On title page '...Par lequel toutes personnes peuvent facilement apprendre & pratiquer l'honneste exercice des dances.'

showed whether a person was 'in good health and sound of limbs.' What is most crucial to point out is the fact that Arbeau, who was writing this manual, was himself a cleric, later Canon and Vicar General. Keeping this in mind, it is no longer surprising that members of the chivalrous Order of St John, did also dance. Arbeau includes in his dance manual one set of dances, the *Branles de Malte*, which he claims were created by a group of knights of Malta for a court masquerade.²⁰⁸ This set of dances was for an equal number of ladies and gentlemen dressed in Turkish fashion. Here we have full proof that the knights, not only created dances and danced, but also clearly had no scruples about dancing with ladies.

In 1588, the same year as the publication of Arbeau's manual, we find the Neapolitan Tholomeo dello Vecchio arriving in Malta to open a *scola di ballare*.²⁰⁹ In 1617 (during the reign of Grand Master Wignacourt), there was another request to open a *scola di ballo*. This time it was Paolo Pitara, a dance master from Messina.²¹⁰ In June 1699 (during the reign of Grand Master Perellos), Giovanni di Marsino was requesting permission 'to open a school to teach violin and other instruments and to give dancing classes everywhere,' both in his 'scola di sono' as well as in people's homes.²¹¹ His request was granted.²¹²

The upper echelons would certainly have had the dance tutor teaching them in their own homes. Di Marsino was therefore catering for the upper stratum, but he was also considering a broader spectrum of society willing to go to his 'scola da ballo.' Since di Marsino taught the violin he would also have been proficient on the instrument, and by implication, was probably using the violin in the teaching of dance. Matteo Morales was selling not only violins but also dance master's violins, known as *sordini*. His inventory shows that he had in his workshop 'tre violini detti sordini.'²¹³ He was therefore supplying the more specialised type of instrument generally used by dance masters.

Though most of the knights would already have learnt to dance before arriving in Malta, there would always have been something new to learn, particularly for the carnival season. However, the young pages in Malta would have been in need of all the initial instruction in the art. For this

²⁰⁸ Arbeau, *Orchésographie*, 82-83. Anna Borg Cardona, *A Musical Legacy: Malta-Related Music Found in Foreign Libraries* (Malta: author, 2002), 31-53.

²⁰⁹ Bonello, "Dancing," 83.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 83.

²¹¹ MCC, Sup. 1, 11 June 1699, f.8v. 'Gioanni di Marsino ... per suo mantenimento desidera tenere scola di sono di violino, et altri instrumenti, et anche d'insegnar a ballare da per tutto. ...supplica concederli detta licenza.'

²¹² 'Il supp(lican)te desidera tener scuola di suono e ballo et insegnare anche per le case, et essendo egli giovine ...che non diede mai occasione di lamento della sua persona, stimerei poterseli concedere la grat(ia) che dimanda.'

²¹³ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.253r.

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they would surely have had a dance master giving them regular dancing lessons. The Grand Master's pages were young boys of aristocratic families, aged nine to thirteen, who got their education on the Island. An *Almanach* of 1769 states that they were instructed in 'dancing, drawing and riding.'²¹⁴ No such evidence has as yet emerged regarding the seventeenth century, but considering the fact that pages were given all their instruction in Malta, and that there is record of several dance masters, the same is likely to have been occurring earlier.

Apart from the knights, the upper stratum of Maltese society would also have been interested in being accomplished in the art of dance. The dance masters present on the island may have been visiting their homes to teach both younger and older members of the family. The carnival balls would have been an incentive for them to learn court dances. Documents dating to the mid-eighteenth century prove this to have been the case. Baron Vincenzo de Piro, as a young man of fourteen, was being given regular dance lessons at home and doubling the lessons during the carnival period.²¹⁵ He purchased embroidered shoes for acting, and dancing shoes for 1 *scudo* 6 *tari*. The following year he bought another 'paio di scarpini per ballare for 6 *tari*.' The young Barone was being groomed in the social graces. He was learning acting (*recitar*) as well as dancing. He had a *maestro di ballo* who was being paid 3 *scudi* every three months. This dance master, who is not mentioned by name, was probably likewise visiting other homes. In January, the Barone started having double lessons in preparation for carnival and continued so until August. During this period, his *maestro di ballo* received double payment. His surviving bills cover five years of dance lessons.

Another document involving a dance master surfaces in 1706, when Girolamo di Masi made a request to renew his permit to keep a dancing and music school in Senglea where he also wanted to sell tobacco and aquavit.²¹⁶ Renewal generally took place every three years, so that this particular school must have already existed at least in 1703, if not earlier. The application suggests a very different type of environment, presumably not that inhabited by the upper rungs of society. This may have been catering for Senglea's traders and seafaring community. One wonders what type of dance he would have been teaching. Folk music and singing commonly took place in such environs, as they do to this very day. At the time it was not unusual to combine trades as a better means of survival, particularly in the area of the three cities. Barbers in Birgu, for example, were supplementing their income by selling tobacco and aquavit.²¹⁷ Tailors in

²¹⁴ Carmen Depasquale, *La Vie Intellectuelle Et Culturelle Des Chevaliers Français à Malte Au Xviii Siècle* (Malta: Malta University Press, 2010), 54.

²¹⁵ AdeP, L1, Bundle 5, Bills and Expenses 1752-65.

²¹⁶ NAM, MCC, Sup. (1699-1700), f.70v.

²¹⁷ NAM, MCC, Sup. (1710-11), f.25r.

Senglea were doing the same.²¹⁸ This dance master chose to augment his income with the sale of tobacco and aquavit, which would have been conveniently made available on the same premises after a tiring dancing session.

Theatrical performances provided another important outlet for musicians. Music accompanied performances of different kinds, whether they were drama or opera. Since its first appearance in Italy, opera was serving as entertainment of the aristocratic classes and was proof of their intellectual refinement.²¹⁹ Just as in the larger cities of Europe there was a network of patrons, in Malta both the Knights of the Order and the Maltese nobility supported drama and opera, often also putting up their own performances and personally taking part. The knights certainly did not want to miss out on that which was happening back in their hometowns and among their families outside Malta. They made an effort to keep abreast of cultural entertainment. Apart from these, the Jesuits, who had been in Malta since 1592, also put up their own theatrical performances.²²⁰ The rich alter displays with lights and ornaments ('apparecchi') put up in the Jesuits' Church during the carnival 'Quarant'hore' and for other feast days, were in themselves an important element of the baroque theatricality.²²¹ Soon after the opening of their *Collegium* in Valletta, the Jesuits were already presenting a drama commemorating the 1565 victory over the Turks.²²² 'Trattenimenti' are recorded as having taken place on particular feast days, such as for the feast of St Ignatius [Loyola] on 12 August 1659, for the feast of the Circumcision of Christ on 1 January 1659, and again on 9 January 1661. It is not known what exactly took place during these 'trattenimenti.' In one instance we know that the musicians, amongst whom some castrati, were paid for three hours of music played before Holy Mass.²²³ 'Trattenimenti' were in vogue in Europe

²¹⁸ Ibid., 42v.

²¹⁹ Valeria De Lucca, "L'Alcasta and the Emergence of Collective Patronage in Mid-Seventeenth-Century Rome," *The Journal of Musicology* 28, no. 2 (2011): 202.

²²⁰ Anton Azzopardi SJ, *Jesuit Schools in Malta 1592-1907* (Malta: Veritas Press, 2002), 32. Fr Azzopardi only makes passing reference: 'At the Collegium, the Jesuits introduced theatrical plays, as they had done in their College in Messina and elsewhere.'

²²¹ MCM, ACM, FG, Libro del Esito et Introito 1632-36, f. 83: 'Per Apparecchio della festa delle quarant'hore, musici e confetioni, scudi 6 tari 10.' Also, MCM, ACM, FG, Giorn. Mag. 1646-1661, f.510: 'Per l'apparato per la festa di Santo Xaverio, cioè a Mro Giuseppe e suo assistente per giorni 5, scudi doi tari 8 e grani 10.' 1661). For these occasions the musician contingent was augmented with two violins and a basso di viola. For 'apparati' in Naples see Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth century Naples*, 3-4, 131.

²²² Emanuel Buttigieg, "Knights, Jesuits, Carnival and the Inquisition in Seventeenth-Century Malta," *The Historical Journal*, 55, 3 (2012): 589.

²²³ MCM, ACM, FG, Giorn. Mag. 1646-1661, f.449. Feast of St Ignatius, 12 August 1659: 'Per la musica della festa consistente in tredici persone tra cantanti e sonatori, cioè primo e secondo Vespro e Messa scudi 13 e tari 3, e tari 10 per 5 di essi che cantarano e suonavano nel trattenimento prima della Messa per tre ore, in tutto 14 scudi 1 taro.'

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and were generally instrumental sets, often associated with theatre.²²⁴ These may, therefore, have been sacred dramatic performances for which the Jesuits outside Malta were so well known.²²⁵ Further research may yet shed more light on this aspect of music and theatre on the island, evidence of which is only just emerging.²²⁶

The earliest-known reference to theatre is to be found within the context of carnival when in 1605 a troupe of seventeen male and female actors crossed over to Malta.²²⁷ In 1614 another smaller group arrived.²²⁸ In 1631, a group of Italian knights got together and brought over artists, singers and musicians from Italy in order to put up 'drammi per musica.' Performances were put up in the Auberge d'Italie in Strada San Giacomo (now Merchant Street), with expenses being paid for by the knights.²²⁹ We have no information regarding the names of these 'drammi per musica' or those of the professional performers and musicians. The presence of these visiting professional theatrical troupes and accompanying professional musicians would have been injecting the Island with new cultural ideas coming from European centres.

Only three years later, in 1634, Mgr Fabio Chigi, who came from one of the most influential Italian families of the time, arrived in Malta. The patronage of music and theatre of different members of the Chigi family is well documented.²³⁰ Coming from this cultured background, Fabio Chigi's observations are therefore of considerable value to the present study. He kept a diary recording several letters he sent to Cardinal Francesco Barberini in Rome and to members of his family. Fabio Chigi noted in his diary that he was invited by Grand Master de Paule to the Palace in Valletta during the carnival of 1635.²³¹ After lunch on Thursday 15 February, he attended the presentation of a comedy. This is not named but probably took place in the Palace and must surely have been of high quality. On Saturday 17 February in the afternoon, the clerics of the Order staged a comedy which lasted late into the night. From Chigi's diary, we therefore know that at least two different comedies were put up that year and that the knights themselves were already actively participating. This record proves that not only professional, but also amateur performances were taking place locally. These all required musicians and musical instruments.

²²⁴ Antonio Draghi (1634-1700) wrote several *Trattenimenti per musica* for performance during carnival theatrical works (Vienna 1670s-90s). Francisco Jose de Castro (1670-1730) wrote *Trattenimenti armonici da camera* (Bologna 1695).

²²⁵ See Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-century Naples*, 131.

²²⁶ Borg Cardona, "The Jesuits in Seventeenth-Century Valletta."

²²⁷ Giovanni Bonello, "Theatre in Malta before the Manoel." In *Histories of Malta VII: Closures and Disclosures* (Malta: FPM, 2006), 68.

²²⁸ Bonello, "Theatre in Malta," 68.

²²⁹ Alfred G. Miceli, *L-Istorja Ta' L-Opra F'Malta (1631-1866)*, Kullana Kulturali (Malta: Pin, 1999), 5.

²³⁰ See, for example, De Lucca, "Collective Patronage" which looks at the Archives of the Chigi and Colonna families, examining the intricacies of patronage of theatrical works.

²³¹ Borg, *A 1636 Description of Malta*, 17-18.

In the following year, on carnival Saturday 1636, Chigi records that he attended the performance of *Solimano*. Though he gives no more details, this play is by the dramatist Prospero Bonarelli della Rovere (1582-1689), whose works were performed in various Italian cities and also in Vienna.²³² Such plays generally included musical interludes known as *intermedi*.²³³ For the Viennese court Bonarelli is known to have provided opera-ballettos, pastorales and *intermedi*. Iain Fenlon describes the Florentine *intermedi* as 'a kind of spectacular *tableau vivant* accompanied by instrumental and vocal music.'²³⁴ Among the Medicis such musico-theatrical activity continued to co-exist alongside court interest in the new operatic form.

On carnival Monday of that same year Chigi attended a second performance, this time of *Il Pastor Fido*.²³⁵ This was a very famous tragi-comedy by Battista Guarini (1585), later set to music by Handel. It has been claimed that music was used not only in the *intermedi*, but also at least in the third scene of the play itself in the *Giuoco della cieca*.²³⁶ With this play, Guarini not only established a court vogue for pastoral subjects, but above all, his use of a combination of dance, music and dramatic action were an important influence on seventeenth-century court entertainment.²³⁷ We are not told where this work was performed in Malta, by whom, or how often it was presented. However, in an account written in 1660, Servilio, a servant of the late Alfonso Conte San Pietro, claimed that he knew by heart all the *Pastor Fido*. Since his master had died and he had always felt predisposed to acting, he wished to join an Italian theatre troupe which was then on the Island.²³⁸ In order to be able to learn the whole play by heart, the servant Servilio was either present several times for its performance, or possibly even present for its rehearsals. Theatre troupes coming to Malta for presentation of their work appears to have become common practice.

²³² Marco Salvarani, "Bonarelli della Rovere, Prospero." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed June 24, 2016,

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/43200>.

²³³ David Nutter, "Intermedio." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed June 24, 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/13831>.

²³⁴ Fenlon, "Theories of Decorum," 139.

²³⁵ Borg, *A 1636 Description of Malta*, 18.

²³⁶ One music setting was by Luzzasco Luzzaschi, another by the Franco Flemish composer Giaches de Wert and Francisco Rovigo. Yet another version from 1598 by G.G. Gastoldi survives. See Barbara Russano Hanning, "Guarini, Battista." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed June 24, 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/11899>.

²³⁷ *Grove Music Online*, *Ibid*.

²³⁸ Bonello, "Theatre in Malta," 71. Bonello quotes I.S. Mifsud (ed) *Le Disavventure Marinaresche del Comm. Fr. Fabritio Cagliola (1604-1665)*, NLM, Ms 654 (Malta: *Malta Letteraia*, 1929), 91-92.

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On carnival Tuesday of 1636, Chigi records yet another play 'Pastorale di Filarmino' by Ridolfo Campeggi.²³⁹ Chigi therefore records a total of three different performances taking place during the carnival of 1636, all of which included music. Professional troupes would have had their own musicians with them, but amateur performances would have required musicians and musical instruments available locally.

In carnival 1639, we find Grand Master Lascaris forbidding ladies from wearing masks during carnival and from taking part in comedies, which during those days were held in the Palace.²⁴⁰ This prohibition establishes the fact that comedies continued taking place, and that women had been taking part in such comedies in Malta up to this date.²⁴¹

Theatrical performances also filtered into local student life and reflect knowledge of the dramatic and operatic subjects of the time. The National Library holds a neatly written bound manuscript entitled 'La Dafne overo La Verginita Trionfante' dating to 1649, having text in five Acts with music interludes. Musical extracts include notated music of several Sarabandes, Correntes, Aria di Corte and Canzone, all with text, as well as parts for chorus. The work is signed 'Henrico Magi, Maltese, Studente di Philosophia' and is dedicated to Fra Salvatore Imbroli, who was the Grand Prior of the Langue of Italy.²⁴² This is very significantly the work of a Maltese student who must have also had musical training. We are not told where he was studying philosophy, but it is very likely to have been the Jesuit *Collegium* where both philosophy and music were taught.²⁴³ The first acknowledged opera, premiered in Florence in 1597 and published in 1600 with a libretto by Ottavio Rinuccini and music by Jacopo Peri, was none other than the well-known mythological theme of 'La Dafne.' Magi's work, therefore, employs this same pastoral theme that acquired particular prominence in the new operatic genre and remained popular with future composers.²⁴⁴ Among the musical interludes in Magi's work was the Sarabande, which in Christopher Page's

²³⁹ One of the possible *intermedii* between the acts of this *Pastorale* was *L'Aurora ingannata*, composed in 1608 by the Bolognese Girolamo Giacobbi. See Peter Smith and Marc Vanscheeuwijck. "Giacobbi, Girolamo." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed June 24, 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/11056>.

²⁴⁰ Vincent Borg, *Fabio Chigi, Apostolic Delegate in Malta (1634-1639). An Edition of His Official Correspondence*, vol. 249 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1967), 99.

²⁴¹ This prohibition by Lascaris, on the advice of his Jesuit confessor, had very serious repercussions. The young Italian knights who were preparing a comedy in the Palace were enraged, an episode that led to the temporary expulsion of the Jesuits.

²⁴² NLM, Libr. 775.

²⁴³ Magi is later documented as a medical doctor: NAM, MCC, Pat. 8, 'Dr Henrico Maggi' travelling to Modica on 13 September 1653; He came from a family of 'Fisici,' See NLM, AOM 1187, ff.5r-v; and ff.32, 58 'Dr Fisico Enrico Magi ...medico delle Galere.'

²⁴⁴ Some key figures who set 'Dafne' to music after Peri were Marco Gagliano (premiered in Mantua in 1608), Heinrich Schutz (Dresden in 1627), Francesco Cavalli (Venice c.1640). See Pierre Brunel ed., *Companion to Literary Myths, Heroes and Archetypes* (UK: Routledge, 2015), 282.

words was, among Spaniards, 'the guitar and castanet genre *par excellence*'.²⁴⁵ There is, therefore, a strong possibility that this was one of the instances in which the guitar would have featured in theatrical works.

The next reference to a theatrical work appears in 1664 when a 'dramma lirica' was staged in Malta. This is so far the first clear reference to opera on the island. It was *Annibale in Capua* with music by Pietro Antonio Ziani (1630-1684) and libretto by Nicolò Bergani (1627-1713).²⁴⁶ This work was first staged in Venice in 1661 and later in Naples in the Teatro San Bartolomeo, in 1671.²⁴⁷ The Malta performance, therefore, preceded that of Naples and was only three years after its first performance in Venice. Malta was certainly keeping abreast of the cultural scene of the time.

As from 1699 there is clear evidence of the upper rungs of society being involved in both theatre and opera. We find that Maltese gentlemen had by then also taken to mounting comedies. They requested use of the theatre of the Italian Langue in order to perform a comedy. They were allowed use of the stage and were also given all the illuminations for the scenery and refreshments for the actors.²⁴⁸ Inquisitor Messerano, reporting in 1703, says that 'even Maltese gentlemen have started successfully acting their own comedy'.²⁴⁹ By the mid-eighteenth century acting had certainly become an important requisite for the education of the young nobility.²⁵⁰

Since there was as yet no established theatre on the island, performances were staged wherever space permitted – generally either in the Palace or in one of the Auberges. There is also record of performances in the *Casa della Falconeria*, at the Palace of the General of the Galleys in Valletta,²⁵¹ and in the Banca Giuratale in Mdina.²⁵² Though we are told little of the actors, of the scenography or of the accompanying music, the knights in Malta and the Maltese nobility were clearly closely following that which was taking place in European cities. All of these *drammi* were established works of high quality, which were staged in some of the best theatres of Europe. The

²⁴⁵ Christopher Page, *The Guitar in Stuart England: A Social and Musical History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 24.

²⁴⁶ Miceli, *L-Istorja Ta' L-Opra f'Malta*, 6, quoting Ulderico Rolandi, vol. 1, 7.

²⁴⁷ Francesco Florimo, *La Scuola Musicale di Napoli e I suoi Conservatorii*, vol. IV (Napoli: 1881), 4-5.

²⁴⁸ Bonello, "Theatre in Malta," 72.

²⁴⁹ 'I signori Maltesi hanno dato principio alla recita di una loro comedia, che riesce assai bene.' See William Zammit, "The Communicative Role of Visual Media in Malta 1700-98," in *Melitensium Amor, Festschrift in Honour of Dun Gwann Azzopardi*, ed. Freller Cortis, Bugeja (Malta: 2002).

²⁵⁰ AdeP, L1, Bill dated 1750. This document shows a teen-aged baron purchasing 'scarpe da recitar.'

²⁵¹ Bonello, "Theatre in Malta," 75.

²⁵² AdeP, Box file 'Single items of interest – music and silver.' Bill 1739. 'Conto dell'introito ed esito per l'Opera del Ciro rappresentata nella Sala dell Off(ici)o Giuratale nel Carnovale del 1739. E perché detto introito è stato inferiore all'esito hanno supplito alla spesa collo sborzo di tari 13. 8 (grani) ciascheduno il S. frà Giuseppe Grimaldi, Il S. Not. Salv(ator)e Chetcuti ed il Can[?] de Piro.' There follows a list of donors and their donation and a detailed list of expenses.

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Italian knights were from the start the most active in the field of theatre and opera. The Auberge d'Italie, therefore, soon came to be well equipped with all the necessary furnishings needed for these presentations. Giovanni Bonello finds evidence of reuse and recycling of the Auberge's scenery, props and lighting by different drama companies for use there or elsewhere, so that by the early eighteenth century this borrowing is recorded as common practice.²⁵³ In 1722 the jurats of Mdina petitioned to borrow the scenery of the Langue d'Italie for an opera, which they intended 'to produce in music.'²⁵⁴ Mdina had apparently already put on grand opera in the previous year in the theatre of that city.

It was in 1732 that Malta had its first Teatro Pubblico built in Valletta by Grand Master Manoel de Vilhena, now known as Teatru Manoel. However, theatrical productions went on being privately staged in other venues, possibly to preserve audience selectivity. In 1739 'l'opera del Ciro,' was mounted at the Banca Giuratale in Mdina.²⁵⁵ This may have been the location of the theatre in Mdina spoken of earlier. This very important document provides us with knowledge of the way these operas were financed. A list of names shows that several people, many from the aristocracy, contributed towards this opera and strongly suggests a select audience. Since the Teatro Pubblico was the creation of the Grand Master for the public, the nobility may at first have preferred not to participate in it. For this particular Mdina performance of 1739, a stage framework ('proscenio') was transported from Valletta. Carton and paper were bought, artists were hired, scenography was transported to Mdina, material, silk, ribbons, masks and berets were purchased for costumes, and a musician played the *cembalo*, which was also transported from Valletta. It is very likely that the 'proscenio' and the scenography were borrowed from the Auberge d'Italie. These exceptional details are a strong indication of what may already have been taking place earlier. The 'Opera del Ciro' may have been Alessandro Scarlatti's *Ciro* with text by Ottobani (1712), or more likely the Pietro Metastasio 'dramma per musica' set to music by Antonio Caldara. The latter was first performed in Vienna in 1736 to celebrate the birthday of Empress Elisabeth and was being staged in the same carnival season of 1739 in Turin.²⁵⁶ Both works were popular, but if the one put up in Malta was that of Caldara, this would place Malta very much in the centre of a network for the circulation of the most fashionable operatic works in Italy.

²⁵³ Bonello, "Theatre in Malta," 75.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 76.

²⁵⁵ AdeP, Box file 'Single items of interest – music and silver.' Bill 1739. The Banca Giuratale is now one of the repositories of the National Archives of Malta.

²⁵⁶ *Ciro roconosciuto* drama per musica da rappresentarsi nel Regio Teatro di Torino nel Carnovale del 1739 alla presenza delle Maestà Loro. https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=OYqXuOYZuAC&dq=ciro%201739&source=gbs_book_other_versions. For a chronological list of Metastasio's works see <http://publish.uwo.ca/~metastas/metwks.html>. Both accessed 14 October 2017.

1.4 Conclusion

This attempt at reconstructing Malta's soundscape shows that in the seventeenth century the Island was clearly a cultural hub. Foreign musicians, theatrical actors, artists and craftsmen all converged on the Island because it provided them with employment in the various arts. There is ample evidence indicating that the Island was extremely active musically in all sectors of society. There was a need for musicians and for musical instruments to fill the requirements in all the sacred, secular and civic activities taking place. Churches, the court of the Grand Master and the knights of the Order as well as other individual Maltese patrons provided numerous opportunities, which acted as a catalyst for musicians not only from Malta, but also from overseas. Musicians came from different parts of Sicily (Siracusa, Palermo, Messina, Catania, Caltagirone), but also from other cities in the Italian peninsula (Rome, Siena, Bologna, Venice), and from France, Normandy and Flanders. Instrument builders crossed over to Malta to give their services, as did the organ maker Gabriele da Messina in the early part of the century, and Lucio Pizzuto in 1657.²⁵⁷ In the latter years, the Messinese organ builder Gaetano Turiglio chose to settle permanently, providing several organs for the churches in Malta.²⁵⁸

We also find an increasingly popular culture of musical drama that was filtering down into the Maltese student sector. In some cases, theatrical and operatic performances were taking place in Malta before they were mounted in some of the established main European centres. Malta, therefore, was during this period a very significant player in the cultural scene.

The concentration in Valletta of a body of noblemen of different nationalities belonging to the same Order lent the Island a unique aspect. The knights retained contacts with their families abroad, and the Grand Master was constantly corresponding on various matters with all the main bodies and uppermost aristocracy of Europe.²⁵⁹ At the same time Malta's proximity to North Africa and the coexistence of a large percentage of Arab and Turkish slaves made it very different to any other European society. We have seen how these slaves were a part of every aspect of life on the island. They were seen on the streets, they were in family homes, caring for children, singing their lullabies and songs, and they were also a part of the life of artisans and craftsmen, frequently working side by side in their workshops.

The luthier Mattheo Morales, whose family, household, commercial circles and workshop will be discussed in the following chapters, was in the centre of this flourishing cultural and musical

²⁵⁷ Luciano Buono "L'Organaria nelle Isole Maltesi dei Secoli XVII-XIX," 247. In *Old Organs in Malta*.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 247.

²⁵⁹ The NLM holds several volumes of the Grand Masters' correspondence. AOM 1200-1648.

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activity. As we can see, the instruments in his *bottega* had a wide potential market and must have played a part in the development of musical activity on the Island.

Chapter 2: The *chitarraro* Mattheo Morales: his Inventory

After the Valletta *chitarraro*, Mattheo Morales, passed away on 3 December 1698, an inventory of his goods was immediately drawn up (see Appendix).²⁶⁰ This inventory proves to be of great importance for several reasons. Firstly, it sheds new light on a previously unknown stringed-instrument trade on the island, which is relevant not only to Malta but also to the European history of instrument making. Secondly, the inventory provides a very rare detailed description of the interior of a craftsman's home. Such details are available for the upper echelons of society but are far more scarce for those lower down the ladder. Thirdly and equally importantly, it reveals much about the *chitarraro* himself, the way in which he lived, and the means by which he managed to carve for himself a comfortable living in seventeenth-century Malta, in spite of the difficulties of the time. Through this we learn the *chitarraro's* social standing within the hierarchy of Maltese society and his importance to the music-making which was occurring in Malta.

In this chapter I look closely at the inventory of Mattheo Morales, seeking to get to know the man himself, looking at his way of life, his family, his home and surroundings, and his working environment, thus serving to contextualise the detailed investigation of his *bottega* in chapter 3. Looking beyond the inventory, I examine the notarial deeds entered into by Morales that reveal much information on his web of contacts and the extensiveness of Malta's seventeenth-century maritime trade routes. This proves crucial to our understanding of Malta's position within the cultural activity that was taking place in southern Europe.

2.1 The man and his home

The initial drawing up of Morales' inventory was carried out on the day following his death by a representative of the Grand Court of the *Castellania* 'by order of the Lord Judge.' It was witnessed by Rev Don Faustino Farrugia and by Master Carlo Ghiun.²⁶¹ Don Faustino was brother to Anna Maria, Morales' second wife, and was probably there to protect his sister's interests.²⁶² Looking through Mattheo Morales' meticulously detailed inventory, it is possible to construct a very vivid picture of the man himself. All indications are that he had been living quite comfortably, owning a

²⁶⁰ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, ff.247-263v.

²⁶¹ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.253r.

²⁶² Information in the marriage contract of Mattheo Morales and Anna Maria Farrugia, 3 November 1695. NAV, Not. M. Giov. Bonavita R.66/19, f.323r. Don Faustino was at the time a salaried priest with St John's conventual church. See Borg *The Maltese Diocese during the Seventeenth Century*, 350-1.

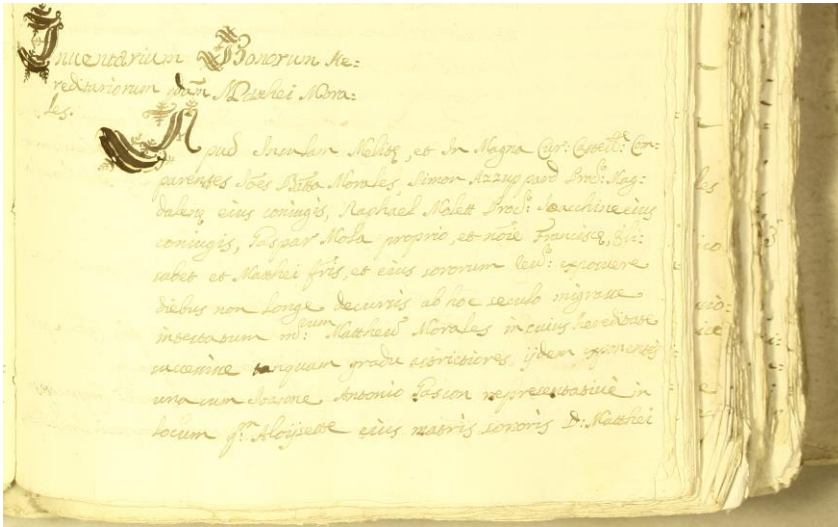


Figure 9. Inventory of Mattheo Morales found in the Magna Curia Castellaniae records held in the National Archives of Malta, Legal Document Section (Banca Giuratale, Mdina). Register of Inventories of Hereditary Goods, vol. 4 (1691-1733), ff.247r-263v.

number of foreign items of clothing, jewellery, furniture, paintings and other furnishings, and also a modest amount of silver.

Turning the pages of the inventory, it becomes evident that Mattheo Morales was a man who liked tidiness in his affairs. He kept an accounts book in which he carefully recorded his business transactions. From the very short list of debts that he had at death, he clearly did not like to linger over paying his bills. His unpaid bills were mostly related to his final illness, for medicaments purchased from two different herbalists, and for the services of the two doctors who attended him. He consulted one surgeon, Maruzzo Casha, and also sought the help of Giuseppe Zammit, who was the leading physician of the day.²⁶³ There is no indication of his cause of death.

A coral hand ('braccio di corallo')²⁶⁴ found among rosary beads, holy medals and crucifixes reveal a man who was at the same time both religious and superstitious, and who preferred to have all forces on his side. The coral hand was considered to be protective and to avert evil, a belief that was very strong in Sicily, the homeland of Mattheo's father.²⁶⁵ A musket, cartridges and a gun rack in his house find him well-equipped and prepared to do his watch duty when called for.

²⁶³ I am indebted to Prof. Roger Ellul Micallef for this information. Zammit was also a Chaplain of the Order.

²⁶⁴ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.251v.

²⁶⁵ Francesca Balzan, *Jewellery in Malta - Treasures from the Island of the Knights (1530-1798)* (Malta: Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti, 2009), 186.

The list of Morales' wardrobe helps us to understand how his dress reflected his social position. Whilst working in his *bottega* Morales would probably have worn his old linen shirt and trousers and cotton socks, but, on other days, he would have walked out of his house in linen trousers, stockings, shirt and white collar, cotton jacket, wig, hat, and holding a bamboo stick with a silver pommel.²⁶⁶ On more special occasions Morales' socks would have been made of satin-weave,²⁶⁷ his shirt-sleeves with lace edging,²⁶⁸ his shoes would have had silver buckles.²⁶⁹ He would have sported an elaborate white collar, a waistcoat with silver buttons, a white linen sash, and a silk cape.²⁷⁰ Finally he would have brought out his silk handkerchiefs and his new, boxed wig, all of which were carefully stowed away in the walnut chest of drawers in the *sala*.²⁷¹ For the colder winter days he had already prepared a pair of black trousers of Cadiz, and he had purchased a new, warm, grey cape with woollen lining.²⁷² His bamboo stick with its silver pommel was an enviable item at a time when bamboo was still a rare and expensive commodity imported from Asia. This stick was a clear statement that he could afford to make little extravagant purchases. During this period rich merchants who commissioned their portraits to be painted were often portrayed holding a bamboo stick as a sign of their importance or affluence.²⁷³ Morales' walking stick was originally valued at 3 *scudi*,²⁷⁴ equivalent to the value of two walnut tables, but was sold to Carlo Mederico Ghiun for the advantageous price of only 1 *scudo* 8 *tari*.²⁷⁵ Ghiun was witness to the inventory and then also witness to the return of a guitar to its rightful owner, after it had been left with Morales for repairs.

In order to place Morales' inventory items within a broader value context, it is important to first give an idea of the cost of daily living in the local currency of *scudi*, *tari*, *grani* and *piccioli*. The cost of bread is a good indicator of a very basic daily expenditure. Bread was generally kept at a constant 2 *grani* for a small loaf of 8½ oz, and 4 *grani* for a large loaf of 16½oz.²⁷⁶ Fluctuations of

²⁶⁶ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.250v. All the items of clothing are included in his inventory 254v-256r.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, f.255r.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, f.251r.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, f.252v.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, f.254v.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, f.254r.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, f.250r.

²⁷³ See the portrait of the successful Dutch merchant Jacob Trip painted in 1655 by Bartholomeus van der Helst, where the bamboo stick catches the light and is given great prominence (Amsterdam Museum, AM SB 5783). The Captain of the Militia, standing in the front in Rembrandt's 'Night Watch' (1642), also significantly holds a bamboo stick (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam). Another portrait of a Dutch merchant of the East India Company, c.1660, shows him pointing to the Company ships with his bamboo stick (Rijksmuseum AAnkoop, 1908, SK.A.2350).

²⁷⁴ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.254v.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, f.257r.

²⁷⁶ 20 *grani* constituted one *tari*, and 12 *tari* one *scudo*.

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the price of wheat was reflected in a reduction of the weight of each loaf, rather than a price increase. It was only in difficult years when wheat was scarce that prices shot up and could reach double this price, as had occurred in 1591.²⁷⁷ Apart from daily commodities there were other expenses that went into living in seventeenth-century Valletta. A list of costs of clothing during the period gives an indication of what amounts were spent on apparel, and at the same time show what the different tradesmen in the city were earning (Table 5).

Prices of several items have been extracted from the Grand Master's accounts. They involve payments for different goods, among which the purchase of shoes from the cobbler Francesco Sanchez for the Palace slaves at 10 *tari* a pair,²⁷⁸ and shoes for the riding school, which were at 3 *tari* 10 *grani* a pair. Apart from indicating the cost of a pair of shoes and the amount that the cobbler was earning for his labour, they also show that during this period there was abundant work for craftsmen and tradesmen, some of whom were getting orders in large numbers at regular intervals. Similarly, tailors were constantly providing items of clothing for winter and summer livery, which were ordered in substantial numbers. A tailor was paid 10 *tari* for each of twenty-four *gravatte* made for winter livery, whilst a hat maker was paid 18 *tari* for each of twenty-four hats he made. These are all indications of affluence within the Valletta society that was in turn being provided for by the many different tradesmen.

The articles of clothing included in this table give some idea of what it would have cost Morales to purchase his own wardrobe. Whereas Gallo's new cravats were selling at 10 *tari* each, Morales' two used cravats were valued at 8 *tari*.²⁷⁹ They would most likely have originally cost him 8-10 *tari* each to purchase. A black goatswool (cashmere?) and silk waistcoat was valued at a substantial amount of 4 *scudi* (48 *tari*).²⁸⁰ His new Moorish-grey cape, certainly a very extravagant buy, was valued at 12 *scudi* 6 *tari*. This was probably the same cape, which was eventually sold for 14 *scudi* 6 *tari*.²⁸¹ Comparing these items to the well-to-do Baldassare Belfiore's goods, we find that this gentleman did not possess such expensive capes as Morales.

²⁷⁷ A.M. Vassallo, "Prices of Commodities in Malta and Gozo 1530-1630" (BA Hons. History, University of Malta, 1976) 116.

²⁷⁸ As from 9 November 1648, the shoes of slaves had to have a chequered pattern of black and white in order to prevent their sale. Several proclamations expressly prohibited the sale of government shoes or clothing under very heavy penalties for both the buyer and the seller. See Wettinger, *Slavery*, 118-119.

²⁷⁹ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.255r.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, f.254v.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, f.257v.

Table 5: Cost of items of clothing produced by Valletta tradesmen.

Date	Merchant/ Trader	Items	Cost	Sources
14 Nov 1698	Francesco Gallo	24 <i>gravatte</i> for winter livery	10 tari each	AdeP Ms 122 f.21
6 Feb 1699	Francesco Sanchez	14 pairs of shoes for Palace slaves	10 tari a pair	f.21
Last day [28] of Feb 1699	Andrea Guillot	12 collars and 12 sleeves (<i>manicotti</i>) of fine <i>Viletta</i> for the Grand Master	27 scudi	f.21
5 April 1699	Francesco Sanchez	72 pairs of shoes for riding school	3 tari 10 gr per pair	f.20
13 April 1699	Antonio La Rosa	24 hats (<i>capelli</i>) for winter livery	18 tari each	f.20

Source: AdeP Ms 122.

Belfiore had been married to Madalena Gallo but, after her death, we find him professing as Chaplain of Obedience in the Order of St John.²⁸² The *chitarraro's* old black felt cape was valued at 3 *scudi*, whereas two similarly described capes belonging to Belfiore were valued together at only 2 *scudi*.²⁸³ Morales' used wig was valued at 6 *tari*, his boxed wig, probably only used for special occasions, cost double that amount (1 *scudo*).²⁸⁴ Morales' possessions point to a man who, though he was a member of the trading community, could afford to purchase clothing of very

²⁸² The marriage took place in Porto Salvo on 5 June 1689, NLM, AD Libr. 23, 614. For Belfiore's inventory dated 19 February 1712, see Not. Joseph Callus R.126/25, f.504v.

²⁸³ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.255r.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, f.255r.

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good quality, akin to that used in the Palace and of better quality than that used by a chaplain of the Order. These were at a price that was certainly not afforded by all. His appearance was clearly of great consequence to him and suggests that he may have had to deal with persons of some importance and made an effort to present himself dressed accordingly.

Apart from Morales' clothing, we find that a number of items of jewellery and a few of silver were inventoried. All these were taken to the *Castellania* to be weighed and valued by the Consul of the goldsmiths and jewellers, Antonio Famuncelli. Morales owned a silver snuff box, had several silver trouser buttons, some plain and others with white stones, and a number of silver holy medals.²⁸⁵ There was also an amount of jewellery, much of which appears to be feminine – a gold ring with six turquoises and a jacinth in the centre,²⁸⁶ two bracelets with gold and coral 'buttons',²⁸⁷ a matching gold and coral necklace, an exquisite jewel 'with pearls and a teardrop stone,' strings of pearls, a bright gold necklace, pendants with pearls, and gold bracelets. These may all have originally belonged to his first wife Lucretia, who left all her belongings to him. Lucretia seems to have been a woman of means. She may have brought with her some of the articles listed in the inventory as part of her dowry. In her will she left her husband as her universal heir, leaving also the large house they lived in and his workshop. Lucretia would therefore have contributed to Morales' rise in social status.

There were several gold and silver artefacts in Morales' house, which we are informed 'belonged to the nephews.'²⁸⁸ A box of *zecchini Veneziani* found in an old chest in the *sala*,²⁸⁹ and weighing scales for *zecchini* found in the workshop,²⁹⁰ offer the first indication of Morales' interest in currency. The extent to which he was involved in this is clarified through other documents and will be further discussed below in the section on trading.

Morales' home, with adjoining workshop, was situated in Strada San Pietro (now known as St Ursula Street),²⁹¹ directly opposite the parlour entrance of the Ursuline convent.²⁹² This was not the main street of Valletta, but a busy area all the same. Knights were sometimes professed in the Church of St Ursula.²⁹³ This grand event would start with a procession from St John's conventual

²⁸⁵ Ibid., f.250r. The snuff box was not valued separately but with all the other silver items. See 260r.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., f.250r.

²⁸⁷ Ibid., f.251v.

²⁸⁸ Ibid., f.251v. 'ori et argenti che dissero essere delli nepoti del detto fù Matteo.'

²⁸⁹ Ibid., f.251v

²⁹⁰ Ibid., f.253r.

²⁹¹ Victor F. Denaro, "Still More Houses in Valletta," *Melita Historica* 3, no. 3 (1962): 53.

²⁹² This information comes from the will of Lucretia, Mattheo's first wife. Not. Michele Giovanni Bonavita R.66/18, f.744r.

²⁹³ George Aquilina, *Is-Sorijiet Gerosolimitani: Il-Knisja u l-Monasteru ta' Sant Ursula, Valletta* (Malta: PEG, 2004), 74.

church, working its way to the convent. Mattheo's house was therefore in a unique position to witness these exalted occasions. This also means that all those attending the procession, including the Grand Master himself, would have certainly seen his *bottega* and the shop sign saying *Bottega di Chitarraro*.²⁹⁴

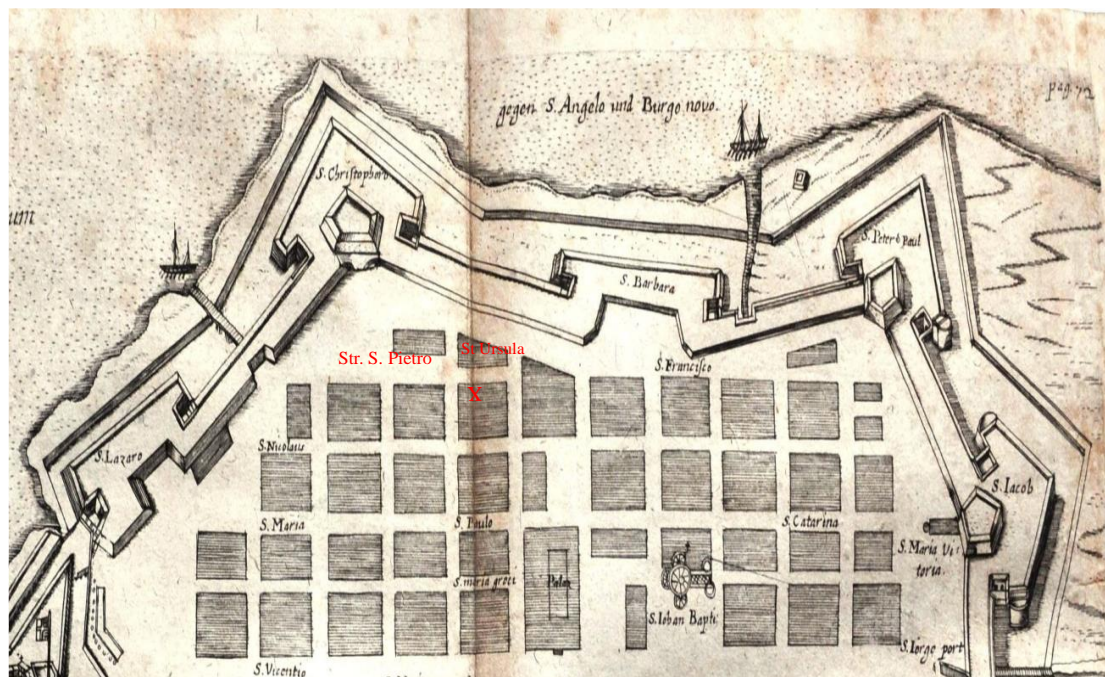


Figure 10. Section of Map of Valletta published in Frankfurt, 1632, by Johann Friederich Breithaupt, showing parish of S Paolo, Strada S Pietro, Convent of St Ursula, and Mattheo Morales' house across the road (marked with a cross). Courtesy Joseph Schirò.

Most houses on Morales' street belonged to Maltese people, though a few belonged to the Langue of Italy and others to the Langue of Provence.²⁹⁵ His neighbour on one side was Don Joh(anni) Baptista Cassar, who was a doctor of Both Laws, and who was appointed parish priest of Vittoriosa in 1676.²⁹⁶ This therefore was not the poorer end of the town, but a reasonably good area to live in. Another building in the same road was the *Monte della Redenzione de Schiavi*, the place where slaves could be redeemed by their family or friends, and also the slaves' prison known as the *Bagno*. Looking across from his house, Morales could see Archbishop Street, which

²⁹⁴ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.253r.

²⁹⁵ Members of the Order were divided into different 'Langues' or nationalities, each having its own duties and Auberges. Denaro, "Still More Houses in Valletta."

²⁹⁶ Borg, *The Maltese Diocese*, 259-50.

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ran by the side of the convent, sloping down towards the grand harbour. Looking down this road he could see ships arriving and leaving harbour, and traders and merchants bringing in their merchandise.

Morales' house was, unfortunately, bombed during World War II. However, there still exists a house of the same period on Archbishop Street that externally looks very similar to the description we are given of Morales' house in the inventory (Figure 11). Just like many other houses in Valletta, it was built of Maltese limestone, and was made up of a cellar ('cantina'), ground floor, and first floor with a mezzanine room in between.

A Benedictine monk, Anselmus Pajolus (1630-1711), travelling to Malta in the seventeenth century observed that:

'Most of the houses in Malta are built with stone blocks cut from the same place which is quarried before starting the building itself, [thus providing] a cistern underneath the house. The very rock itself serves as a surface for any foundations beneath the house'.²⁹⁷

Through the inventory, and with even more detail in the will of Morales' first wife, we know that the house was large, consisting of 'a shop and cellar with doors on the road, [main] entrance, courtyard, and an *orreo* [store room for grain or animal fodder], and kitchen downstairs, with a stone staircase, leading to a *sala* and two rooms upstairs, and having a small room ('gabinetto') in the middle of the stairs. [The property] was bounded to the east by the public road, flanked to the south by the property of the Hon Rev Don Joannis Baptist Cassar, parish priest of Vittoriosa, and to the west by the property of Don Perici, beneficed to Don Gasparis Azzupard.....'²⁹⁸

Morales' residence was the home of a middleclass craftsman, which is not frequently given any attention in musicological studies of interiors. Many studies have examined aristocratic families and their homes but rarely have they discussed those of ordinary tradesmen, craftsmen and artisans. Flora Dennis tackles the theme of 'non-courtly Italian interiors' pointing out that it is so much easier to find documentation regarding those higher up the social scale, rather than those lower down.²⁹⁹ In Malta we know a great deal about the palaces and the churches, but little else. The interior of this luthier's home, as described in the inventory and in his wife's will, therefore gains significant importance.

²⁹⁷ Joe Zammit Ciantar, *A Benedictine's Notes on Seventeenth-Century Malta* (Malta: 1998), 149.

²⁹⁸ Details found in the will of Lucretia Morales, dated 6 February 1695, NAV, Not. M. Giov. Bonavita, R.66/18, f.744r.

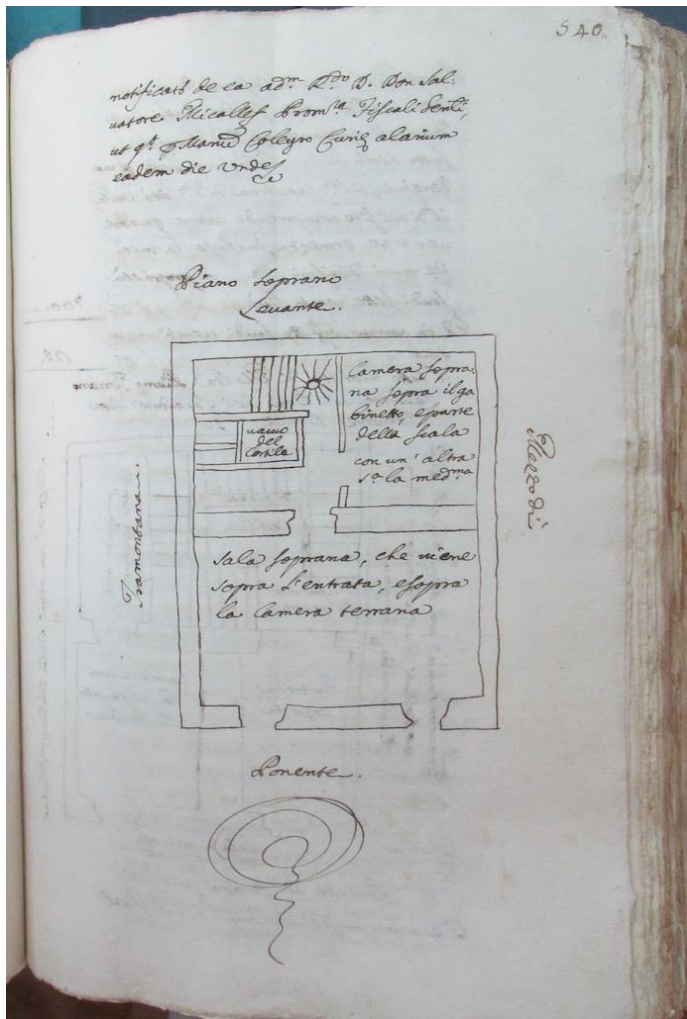
²⁹⁹ Dennis, "When Is a Room a Music Room?" 38.



Figure 11. A house on Archbishop Street, whose seventeenth-century ground floor is externally similar to that of Matteo Morales. It shows an entrance to the cellar, main entrance and workshop.

A very rare house plan drawn by a Valletta notary in 1730 provides us with some tangible evidence of the construction and layout of houses in Valletta at this time (Figure 12).³⁰⁰ Rooms were built around an inner courtyard, where there was generally a well. In this plan, the staircase is seen in the courtyard and would therefore have been outdoors. Rooms at the time would have had very high ceilings, so that it was not unusual to have a low-ceilinged ‘mezzanine’ room, here called a *gabinetto*, half way up the stairs. Morales’ house also had this *gabinetto* situated half way up the stairs. The plan shows that the very large *sala* took up the best part of the upstairs area and had windows on to the street. Morales’ house would probably have had a very similar layout but would have been slightly larger because of the added *bottega* downstairs.

³⁰⁰ NAV, Not. Tommaso Vella R.478/29 (1730-32), f.540r.



Room upstairs, above the gabinetto and part of the stairs, with another same-sized room.

Sala upstairs, which is above the entrata, and above the room downstairs.

Figure 12. Plan of a seventeenth-eighteenth century house in Valletta, drawn by Notary Tommaso Vella. NAV, R.478/29, f.540r.

Morales' house was well furnished and his living quarters contained some items that would be classed as being of superior quality. The inventory list commences in the *sala* upstairs, where the best pieces of furniture and paintings were to be found. These included ten walnut chairs with cow-hide and with golden pommels 'made in Livorno,'³⁰¹ two walnut cupboards, a walnut table, a walnut chest of drawers,³⁰² a walnut *prie-dieu*,³⁰³ and several chests. Walnut was clearly his favourite wood, which was also very fashionable at the time. A walnut wardrobe, a chest of drawers, tables, library and chests are, for example, likewise encountered in the inventory of

³⁰¹ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.253v.

³⁰² Ibid., f.255r.

³⁰³ Ibid., f.257r.

'Dominus Baldassare Belfior.'³⁰⁴ Though walnut furniture was being imported from France, it was also being made in Malta by cabinet makers of the time.³⁰⁵

The fact that the inventory proudly states very specifically that Morales' chairs with gold pommels came from Livorno (Leghorn) in Italy, indicates that these were of a certain quality. Imported furniture always cost more than that locally-made. These chairs were valued at 3 *scudi* and 6 *tari* each.³⁰⁶ This constituted one or even two weeks' wages for some master craftsmen, as we saw in chapter 1, where a master carpenter was being paid 2 *scudi* for a six-day week. For Don Francesco Vella, playing the violin and *violone* in the Cathedral of Mdina, this was four months' pay. For the well-paid soprano Balthassare Mamo in 1673, each of these chairs would have used up a month's wage. In the *sala*, Morales had six of these large chairs and another four smaller ones. Though he was a craftsman, his life style and some of his belongings show that he had risen a rung or two in the social ladder, above that of an average craftsman. His income clearly allowed for some extravagance and points to a man who was of a higher status than the broader musical community.

The *sala* is the domestic space in which Morales would have entertained his guests. The ten chairs and the amount of furniture – a chest of drawers, three cupboards, two tables, eight more chairs, two chests and a *prie-dieu* - suggests it must have been a very large room suitable for a large number of guests attending feasts and festivities, or for the dignified reception of distinguished individuals.³⁰⁷ This is also where the family lived. When Morales' sister Bernardina died in 1695, he had taken in three of her children and another twelve-year-old boy, who all resided in this same house with him and his wife. The *sala* would have been where they all met together, dined, and shared their daily experiences. However, in this instrument maker's house, there is no sign of a musical space or of musical instruments. This is because in the seventeenth century there was generally no such defined space for musical instruments. Flora Dennis, discussing musical spaces in Italy, stresses the importance of keeping in mind the mobility of even large-scale musical instruments within an interior, and also between houses.³⁰⁸ Arnaldo Morelli attests that 'in Roman residences music was performed in variable surroundings.'³⁰⁹ It was similar in France, where 'the music room, as a clearly defined room, only became widespread in the second part of

³⁰⁴ NAV, Not. Joseph Callus R.126/25 (1712), f.502r-v.

³⁰⁵ Joseph Galea-Naudi and Denise Micallef, *Antique Maltese Furniture* (Malta: Said International Ltd., 1989), 23-67. The inventory of Baldassare Brfiorio includes some walnut furniture 'fattura di Francia,' NAV, R.126/25, f.502r.

³⁰⁶ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.253v.

³⁰⁷ Sophie Pickford, "Music in the French Domestic Interior," in *The Music Room*, 84-85.

³⁰⁸ Dennis, "When Is a Room a Music Room?" in *The Music Room*, 45.

³⁰⁹ Arnaldo Morelli, "Spaces for Musical Performance in Seventeenth-Century Roman Residences," in *The Music Room*, 320.

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the eighteenth century.³¹⁰ It is therefore not surprising that there are no instruments listed in Morales' *sala*, since they were all concentrated in a single space, in the *bottega* below. In this case, music could have taken place in the *bottega*, or even in the courtyard when weather permitted. When a larger indoor space was required, instruments such as the *spinetta*, lutes, guitars, and violins could easily have been transported from the *bottega* up into the *sala*. The large number of eighteen chairs in the *sala* (and more down in the workshop) suggests there may on occasions have been a large number of seated people, possibly enjoying music, in this space. Clearing the room of most furniture was, on the other hand, a way of providing an area in which dance could also take place.

The question of whether Morales himself played any of the instruments he made, unfortunately finds no answers in the inventory. Could other family members – his brother and sisters - have played his instruments? Were any of the nephews and nieces musically inclined? This question will be explored in the last chapter. Any indoor musical space would have required no more than a table on which to place musical scores, and some chairs. Several seventeenth-century paintings show music taking place in such an intimate setting.³¹¹ Morales had the tables and a large space in which music could have taken place, but he leaves no other concrete trace of music inside his home.

Conspicuously absent from the inventory is the presence of music books. There are several possible reasons for this. It may be that there were none. Morales may, of course, have engaged in music that did not use written notation but was principally improvised or memorised, just as occurs locally among folk instrumentalists. Another possibility is that books were not considered of value and were therefore not worth listing. This absence of music books, also common around Europe, has been encountered in several other inventories that list musical instruments but no music books (See Table 16). In several of the inventories examined, the owners of instruments, just like Morales, did not seem to own libraries of any kind. In one inventory, that of Dominus Baldassare Belfiore, several musical instruments were carefully listed and valued, whereas 'diversi libri di musica' were listed but not given an estimated value.³¹² In the 'spoglio' of the conventual chaplain Antonio de Lucia, however, all music works (possibly his own compositions) were left to a particular person, another musician.³¹³ This would indicate a totally different scenario suggesting very much the opposite. The music books in this case were so highly valued by the owner himself that they were ensured a successor. Morales' books, if there were any, may likewise have been

³¹⁰ Berrada, "Spaces for Music," in *The Music Room*, 307.

³¹¹ Among these are paintings by Mattia Preti, Theodor Rombouts, Francois Puget, André Bouys.

³¹² NAV, Not. Joseph Callus R.126/25, f.505r.

³¹³ NLM, AOM 931 (28), No.13. They were left to the bass singer, deacon Arnaudet.

passed on to another family member. The question of whether Morales was literate, or only musically literate, remains uncertain. Since his father before him could certainly sign his name, Matteo Morales is very likely to have been literate, however no proof of this has been found.³¹⁴

Hanging on the walls of the *sala* were several paintings of different sizes, some of which were sacred representations, such as two of the Madonna, one of St Magdalene, and another of the wedding of Cana. When the average cost of a painting was 1 *scudo*, one of the Madonna was valued at 2 *scudi* and the painting of St Magdalene, with a remarkable gilt and turquoise frame, cost 3 *scudi* 6 *tari*, suggesting a painting of superior quality.³¹⁵ The walnut *prie-dieu* may have been in front of one of the religious paintings, probably one of the Madonna. There is in the room an atmosphere of devotion and of religious belief. It is clear from the will of Matteo's first wife, Lucretia, that she was a very devout woman. She was a member of a Confraternity of the Holy Crucifix in the Franciscan Church of Our Lady of Jesus, known as *Ta' Ġiežu*, and she specifically requested to be buried in that church.³¹⁶ A confraternity cowl and red rope found in the third drawer of the walnut chest of drawers may have been hers and not Matteo's, since red cordons tied around the waist were used by members of the confraternity of the Holy Crucifix.³¹⁷ Morales also owned a 'Greek-style painting,' probably a Byzantine icon, which was valued at the costly sum of 6 *scudi*.³¹⁸ A 'Madonna alla Grega,' (with no mention of its frame) in the inventory of the Baldassare Belfiore was valued at a mere 1 *scudo*, which gives some idea of the high merits of this particular painting belonging to Morales.³¹⁹

Apart from the religious paintings, there were landscapes and representations of animals. A more discerning art collector would also have had historical battle scenes and allegorical or mythological paintings.³²⁰ These Morales did not own. Some of the picture frames were plain black, but several were ornate or gilt, and a few were also coloured in turquoise, or red and green. There was an impressive number of paintings, small, medium and large, a total of some twenty-four of them hanging on the walls, twelve of which were landscape paintings. This again gives an idea of the large size of the *sala*, though a few, such as the evidently cheaper 'small paintings on paper,' may have been scattered elsewhere.³²¹

³¹⁴ Giuseppe Morales, when called to prove that he was free to marry in Malta, puts his own signature to his declaration. AAM, Stati Liberi 1635, f.67.

³¹⁵ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.253v.

³¹⁶ Lucretia's will NAV, Not. Mich. Giov. Bonavita, R.66/18, f.741v, dated 7 Feb 1695.

³¹⁷ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.251r.

³¹⁸ *ibid.*, f.257v. I thank Dr Theresa Vella for this interpretation.

³¹⁹ Not. Joseph Callus, R.126/25, f.503r.

³²⁰ I thank Dr Theresa Vella for this observation.

³²¹ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.258v.

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Having pride of place in the room was a very special portrait in a gilt frame showing Mattheo with his little daughter, Rosa.³²² Rosa was his only child, born of Lucretia. She had unfortunately died at the age of six.³²³ Mattheo would have commissioned an artist to paint this portrait of them together. There were at the time several artists in Valletta who could have painted it, but he would surely have commissioned one of the better artists to do this.³²⁴ He must have been heartbroken at the loss of his only little child. There are known instances of portraits of children being painted posthumously.³²⁵ This may have been one such portrait.

The room adjoining the *sala* would have been a slightly more private area, though the inventory runs on with the bedroom furniture under the same heading of 'sala.' During this period, sleeping quarters were often reception areas and could be a part of the sitting and dining spaces.³²⁶ It is therefore quite possible that the bed was also in the *sala*. Morales had what must have been quite a majestic-looking poster bed with metal columns having 'red, fringed bed hangings of Cadiz' and a headboard with six small pictures and a cross.³²⁷ Such a bed may have been there to be seen. To complete the area there were two red and green silk carpets, and a mirror with a gilt frame. Carpets were at this time often hung on the walls rather than placed on the floor and would have affected acoustics within the room. The paintings framed in red and green probably also adorned this area, where everything may have been colour matched. Whereas wooden beds were of lesser quality, metal beds with columns were to be found in the homes of the more affluent. This bed was valued at an exorbitant 31 *scudi*, probably the most expensive item among all his possessions.³²⁸ The bed drapes 'of Cadiz' were also of particularly fine quality and were valued at 18 *scudi*.³²⁹ Other such iron beds have been encountered in the inventories of well-known notaries, who would normally be considered higher up the social scale than artisans and craftsmen.³³⁰ Morales was therefore living in comforts similar to those of notaries (see Table 11).

When Mattheo Morales entertained guests to dinner, his walnut table would have been decked with a few special items of luxury such as a particularly beautiful silver, flower-shaped salt-

³²² *Ibid.*, f.251v.

³²³ SP, Reg. Mort. 1, 6. On 21 December 1686 Rosa was buried in the parish of San Paolo.

³²⁴ Dr Theresa Vella suggests that possible portrait painters of the time were Stefano Erardi, Mattia Preti and Pedro Nunez de Villavicencio.

³²⁵ An oil painting in Casa Rocca Piccola, attributed to Michele Bellanti (1807-1883), depicts a posthumous portrait of a baby from the Azzopardi family, holding a rattle whistle.

³²⁶ Berrada, "Spaces for Music," 296.

³²⁷ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.252r.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, f.257r.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, f.257v.

³³⁰ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 3, f.849, Inventory of Not. Petri Attard (1688); Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.442r, Inventory of Not. Stephano Fogliamorte (1718).

cellar.³³¹ Salt was then still a very expensive item. Presenting a small amount of it in a sculptured flower would certainly have impressed his middle class guests as much as Benvenuto Cellini's wonderful gold sculpture salt-cellar had impressed the king of France in the previous century. Salt was now more available but still very precious. Would there have been any musical entertainment during these evenings? Though there is absolutely no trace of music, it is most likely to have taken place in this area.

2.2 His family and household

Several individuals are mentioned in Morales' inventory, all connected with him in some way or another. Some were to inherit his goods, or were entitled to the inheritance but were abroad, some owed him money, others were owed money, another had left his guitar for repairs and was claiming it back, other people were interested in buying some of his goods. It suggests a great hub of activity around this Mattheo Morales. During this period, kinship was considered of paramount importance and would have been crucial in aiding Morales in his luthiering trade. It was initially hard to make out the intricacies involved in this inventory, but it did trigger off a string of questions. Who were all these people? How had they been a part of Morales' life? What was their importance to him or to his trade? Were there any other luthiers or musicians in Morales' family line?

To identify all the individuals in Morales' inventory, it was necessary to consult a wide range of other archival documents. A search for the name Morales shows that it is recorded in Malta as early as 1499.³³² In the sixteenth century there was a Morales family, which had settled in the harbour town of Vittoriosa.³³³ Members of this family moved to Valletta when the city was still very much in its infancy. Among them was Constantino Morales. In 1575, when the Apostolic Delegate, Pietro Dusina, visited Valletta, he noted that a Confraternity of Corpus Christi had been set up in the parish of Santa Maria of Porto Salvo with the aim of tending to the sick and seeing to the burial of the dead. Among the members ('fratelli') of this confraternity was a 'Magister

³³¹ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, ff.252r, 260r: 'un fiore d'argento per saliera.'

³³² NAV, Notary Jacopus Sabbaram, R.494, f.2f. Aloysius Trincher of Syracuse sold a female Ethiopian slave to Andrea Morales for 12 *uncie*.

³³³ NLM, AD. Libr. 24, ff.58, 62. In 1588, we find Gio Morales marrying Giacoma Calabrò daughter of Damiano, and in 1590, Costantino Morales married Margarita, widow of Teodoro Faccioli.

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Morales.³³⁴ His first name was unfortunately not recorded. Also in Valletta, in 1601 there was a Giulia Morales, daughter of Giuseppe,³³⁵ and a Lucio Morales in 1613.³³⁶

There is no information regarding trades of these people, except for that of one person, Costantino Morales. He was a respected bombardier with the Order, whose job it would have been to fire artillery on board galleys and also on land. In 1631 he had been giving his services for thirty-five years.³³⁷ Costantino carved a good life for himself in Malta, leaving a substantial marriage legacy attached to the Confraternity of Charity in Valletta.³³⁸ One of the applicants who laid claim to this marriage legacy was the niece of Matteo Morales, Generosa, who attests to being entitled to it since she was a blood relative.³³⁹ This provides us with proof that Costantino and Matteo Morales were of the same lineage. From the marriage legacy document we also find that Costantino had a brother in Licata and another in Siracusa, whereas his sister Vittoria was married and living in Malta.³⁴⁰ This situation is repeatedly evident in several generations of the Morales family, where we find some members of a family unit moving to Malta, whereas others stayed back in Sicily and vice versa. Matteo's father had also left his family in Siracusa and moved to Malta at the age of seventeen, where his relatives Costantino, Vittoria and their respective families, were already established.

Knowing the way the families seem to have dispersed and travelled between Malta and various parts of Sicily, the discovery of a Placido Morales working in Messina as 'costruttore di liuti' in the early seventeenth century, opens up the possibility of new ramifications that require further investigation.³⁴¹ It is possible that this Placido was also of the same lineage. If so, Matteo Morales would not have been the first builder of instruments in the family, but would have been following a family trade.

I have already referred to one particularly interesting Morales with musical genes who was a musician in the Mdina Cathedral. Between 1628 and 1630, D(on) Giacomo Morales was employed

³³⁴ George Aquilina and Stanley Fiorini eds. *Documentary Sources of Maltese History Part IV No.1* (Malta: Malta University Press, 2001). Dusina's Apostolic visit, 1575, 138v, p.162.

³³⁵ NLM, AD. Libr. 16, f.17. She is recorded marrying Pietro Cogiado from Valenzia in the parish of San Paolo in 1601.

³³⁶ NLM, AD. Libr. 16, f.44. Lucio Morales married Flavia Beccoli, daughter of Bernardo in 1613. He died the following year and Flavia remarried to Gio Paolo Xara.

³³⁷ NLM, AOM 1184, Sup. 3 (1630-1649), ff.36r-v.

³³⁸ NAM, Not. Michele Vella R475/7, ff.40-44v.

³³⁹ On 12 February 1719, aged 22, she applied for the marriage legacy. Archives of the Confraternity of Charity, Libro Legato Morales. No folio numbers.

³⁴⁰ NAV, Not. Michele Vella R.475/7, ff.40-44v.

³⁴¹ Gaetano La Corte Cailler, *Musica e Musicisti in Messina*, ed. Alba Crea and Giovanni Molonia (Messina: Quaderni dell'Accademia, 1982), 127. I am grateful to Dr Giovanni Paolo Di Stefano for indicating this reference to me.

with the Cathedral as soprano and trombone player with a good salary of 60 *scudi* annually.³⁴² Luciano Buono's research in Sicily finds Giacomo Morales later employed with the *cappella di musica* of the Senato di Caltagirone.³⁴³ This musician is proof of how, in order to make a living, musicians travelled between centres to wherever they felt there was need for them. His versatility is evident and must have been a great asset to his employment. Between February and August of 1635 we find him in Caltagirone as trombone player with a payment of 30 *uncie*; he was *soprano* between June and July of 1637 for 24 *uncie*, *tenore* from May to August of 1640 for 18 *uncie*, and once again trombone player from 1641 to 1650 for 17 *uncie*.

It is, so far, not known whether Placido the luthier or Don Giacomo the musician were related to the *chitarraro*, Mattheo Morales, though it does seem very likely. The first definite close family connection surfaces in 1635, when 'Mro Giuseppe Morales, *Siracusano*,' aged twenty-nine and who had been living in Malta for ten to twelve years, appeared before the Church Court to prove his *Stato Libero*, or his freedom of any encumbrance to marry.³⁴⁴ All foreigners had to prove their being unmarried and free before being allowed to enter into marriage in Malta. Two witnesses who had known him since childhood, both Siracusan, attested to his good name and to his being unmarried in Malta or abroad.³⁴⁵ Giuseppe Morales, 'son of Mastro Mattheo and the late Antonina,' signed his name to his statement. Giuseppe was granted his *stato libero* and then married the Maltese Vicenza Chircop, daughter of Nicola and Mattea.³⁴⁶ The marriage was registered in the Valletta parish of San Paolo. These were Mattheo's parents. The fact that Giuseppe, aged twenty-nine, was documented as *Mro*, short for *Maestro*, a term used for an established craftsman or artisan, shows that he was in this category, but it has so far not been possible to discover the type of work he did. His father before him, also Mattheo, was likewise a master tradesman. Their trade is unfortunately not specified.

Further information about Morales' immediate family appears in baptism, marriage and death registers from the parish of San Paolo, where the marriage of Morales' parents was registered. Giuseppe and Vicenza had eleven children and Mattheo was their second child. He had only one younger brother, Giovanni Battista (henceforth referred to as Gio Batta), whilst the other siblings were all female. Not all survived to adulthood (see Table 6).

³⁴² Bruni, *Musica E Musicisti*, 262-3.

³⁴³ Luciano Buono, "La Cappella Musicale Del Senato Di Caltagirone Dal 1620-1650," in *Musica Sacra in Sicilia Tra Rinascimento E Barocco, Atti Del Convegno Di Caltagirone 10-12 Dicembre 1985*, ed. Daniele Ficola (Palermo: S.F. Flaccovio, 1988), 111-145.

³⁴⁴ AAM, Stati Liberi, 1635, 676, dated 17 August 1635.

³⁴⁵ The two witnesses were Siracusans Magister Martinus Mangiapane and Joes. Baptista Salvaloco. Both signed their own name.

³⁴⁶ NLM, AD. Libr. 16, f.99.

Table 6: Baptism records of the Morales family

Baptism Records		
Children of Giuseppe Morales & Vicenza Chircop		
vol. 2, Jan 1619 – Jan 1637		
Paula	27 July 1636	f.427
vol. 3, Jan 1637 – Dec 1648		
Mattheo	6 September 1637	f.19
Aloysia	10 August 1639	f.64
Jacoba [Giacobina]	6 October 1640	f.81
Joannes Battista [Gio Batta]	20 July 1642	f.114
Laurea	8 December 1643	f.134
Caterina	30 August 1647	f.199
vol. 4, Jan 1649 – Oct 1663		
Matheola	20 February 1650	f.9
Bernardina	22 August 1652	f.32
Magdalena	18 July 1656	f.72v
Francesca		

Source: Baptismal Registers, Parish of San Paolo, Valletta.

Table 7: Marriage records of the Morales family

Marriage Records			
San Paolo, Valletta vol. 3, Feb 1649 – Sep 1674			
Paula	Placido Scolaro (Messina)	30 January 1667	f.75
Mattheus	1. Lucretia Bonet	?	
	2. Anna Maria Farrugia (Zurricco)	1695	Marriage contract Not. G.M. Bonavita R.66/19, f.321v- f.325.
Aloysia	1. Vitalle Gimeste (<i>estero</i>)	15 April 1670	f.107
	2. Francesco Cascon	?	
Jacoba	1. Antonio Grangier (French)	15 Oct 1662	f.50
San Paolo, Valletta vol. 4, Sep 1674 – Dec 1690			
	2. Raphael Mulet (Porto Salvo)	23 Nov 1683	f.105v
Gio Batta	Anna Maria Attard (Zejtun)	27 April 1681	AD Libr. 27, p.112
Bernardina	1. Diego Attard (widower Bormla)	20 March 1677	f.31v
	2. Diego Mola	?	
Francesca	1. Francesco Munizze (Bormla)	20 April 1677	f.32v
Marriage Records – Other Sources			
	2. Giuseppe Schembri (Zabbar)	10 May 1683	AD Libr. 5, p.309
Magdalena	Simone Azzupard (San Paolo)	30 Nov 1680	AD Libr. 16, p.303

Source: Marriage Registers: Parish of San Paolo, Valletta unless otherwise stated.

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Two of the daughters, Laurea and Caterina, aged fifteen and eleven respectively, died in the same year, 1658. There was no known serious contagious illness during that year, though illness as cause of death can never be excluded.³⁴⁷ Of Mattheola, who was born in 1650, there is no further record. This was a time when child mortality was exceedingly high.

With the family unit firmly established, a search through the marriage registers was necessary to understand the relationships of all the characters included in Mattheo Morales' inventory. These records prove to be of great importance when establishing intricacies regarding their children and the inheritance of musical goods. In most cases women married in their own parishes, while men married in the parishes of their brides.

The marriage records of Mattheo Morales and his brother Gio Batta thus proved far more difficult to trace, while most records of his sisters' marriages are well preserved in the parish of San Paolo. Mattheo's first marriage to Lucretia née Bonet has so far not been discovered.³⁴⁸ The marriage of Gio Batta to Anna Maria took place in Zejtun in 1681, where we find him referred to as 'Mastro Batta.'³⁴⁹ Aged thirty-nine, he was by then master of his trade.

Several of the sisters married twice, thus complicating the understanding of the situation (see Table 7). One significant aspect is the mixture of marriages within the Morales family. These included spouses from outside Valletta (Zurrieq, Bormla, Zabbar, Zejtun), but also further afield, from Messina in Sicily and from France. Another spouse is simply registered as *estero* (foreign), with exact place of origin not recorded. Mattheo's father, Giuseppe, also had his own family in his birth place, Siracusa. This meant that Mattheo Morales, at a time when family connections were of such paramount importance, had a useful web of close contacts outside Valletta, and more importantly, outside Malta. This would surely have been helpful on several occasions throughout his career.

Mattheo's own marriages produced no heirs. He was first married to Lucretia née Bonet, daughter of Petri Bonet and Madalena.³⁵⁰ The Bonet family, parents and four children: Petronilla, Mariettina, Lucretia, and Matthei, are recorded leaving for Marseilles in 1651.³⁵¹ The date of their return has not been traced, but in 1657, Lucretia was in Malta marrying a Neapolitan soldier,

³⁴⁷ MCM, ACM, Misc. 275, f.8v. There was a strong earthquake in May 1658 in which houses in Valletta 'opened up.' This may have contributed to their death in July.

³⁴⁸ Searches in San Paolo and Porto Salvo in Valletta, and in Bormla have not produced results.

³⁴⁹ NLM, AD Libr. 27 (Zejtun), f.112. The marriage took place in Zejtun on 27 April 1681. Anna Attard was daughter of Mro Gio Paolo and Domenica.

³⁵⁰ Lucretia's will. NAV, Not. Michele Giov. Bonavita R.66/18, ff.741v-746v, dated 7 Feb 1695. The surname appears variously as Bonet, Bonett, Bunet.

³⁵¹ NAM, MCC, Reg. Pat. 8, 19 April 1651.

Francesco de Petrucci, aged twenty-seven.³⁵² This marriage must have been without issue. Some time after 1677, Lucretia entered a second marriage to Mattheo Morales. They had one daughter, Rosa, who, as we have seen, died at only six years old. Lucretia is very likely to have added to Morales' trade web with her own and her family's contacts in Marseilles and Naples. She died in Valletta in 1695, registered as aged 47, but was surely older since her first marriage took place forty years earlier.³⁵³

After the death of Lucretia on 12 February 1695, the parish census of Easter of that year, shows that Morales was left entirely alone in the house.³⁵⁴ This did not last long as nine months after Lucretia's death, he was signing a contract of marriage to Anna Maria Farrugia aged 35, from Zurrieq.³⁵⁵ By this time he had already purchased a *schiaiva*, whom he himself must have named Anna Maria. She was mentioned in the marriage contract as one of Morales' assets being offered to his proposed bride. Anna Maria's brother was Don Faustino who was a salaried *musicus* with the conventual church of St John.³⁵⁶ This means that Morales chose a family that already had important musical connections with St John's. Anna Maria herself may have been musically trained, and would certainly have been an asset to his family business. Don Faustino also provided for Morales a very useful direct contact with the musicians of St John's conventual church.

By Easter of 1696, Morales had a full house of people. He was married to Anna Maria, and he had also taken in his deceased sister Bernardina Attard's children: Francischita aged 16, Elisabetta aged 12, Gasparo aged 20. With them was also one Giuseppe Camilleri, aged 12, whose relationship to the Attard family or to Morales is not known. This had suddenly turned into a very busy household. Before their mother's death, the Attard siblings lived down the same road in Valletta. They would probably have been able to regularly visit their uncle Mattheo. Gasparo had an interest in Morales' trade, may have learnt from him and may also have been of some assistance, especially during the time that he was residing under the same roof. One year later, both Gasparo and Giuseppe were no longer living in the house, whilst the girls remained, probably till their uncle passed away in 1698.

Though Mattheo Morales had married again to Anna Farrugia in 1696, he passed away two years later without issue. Mattheo, therefore, left no direct heirs of his own. Consequently, who was to inherit his goods, and his *bottega*? Through the inventory we know that Morales died intestate,

³⁵² AAM, Stato Libero 1657, f.49. De Petrucci, who had been in Malta for two months following his participation in the Genoese war in the Levant, was granted his freedom to marry on 9 November 1657. The marriage took place in Porto Salvo, Valletta, on 25 November 1657. NLM, AD 23, f.597.

³⁵³ SP, Reg. Mort. Her death is registered on 12 Feb 1695, f.93.

³⁵⁴ SP, Status Anim. 1695, 12r.

³⁵⁵ NAV, Not. M. Giov. Bonavita, R.66/19, f.321v. Marriage contract 13 November 1695.

³⁵⁶ AAM, PV 25, f.400v: 'Musicus stimpendiatus Ecclesiae Conventualis.'

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that is without having made a will.³⁵⁷ According to Maltese law, when a person died without leaving a will, the heirs next legally in line would be the siblings. This meant that Mattheo's second wife was totally excluded from the inheritance. Of his siblings, Mattheo's first-born sister, Paula, must have passed away without issue as there is no mention of her in the inventory. Aloysia had passed away leaving one son, Giovanni Antonio, known as Gio Antonio Cascon. Of Aloysia's death there is no record in San Paolo, meaning that she had been living outside the parish. Bernardina had died at the age of 42, very soon after Mattheo's first wife, leaving two sons and two daughters, Gasparo, Matheolo, Francischita and Elisabetta.³⁵⁸ The youngest of Morales' sisters, Francesca, must also have passed away without issue.

Table 8: Division of Morales' Inheritance

Mattheo's Sibling heirs	Issue of deceased sisters
[Aloysia Cascon d.]	Gio. Antonio
Jacoba Mulet	
Gio Batta Morales	
[Bernardina Mola d.]	Gaspar
	Matheolo
	Francischita
	Elisabetta
Magdalena Azzupard	

Source: NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, Morales' Inventory.

³⁵⁷ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.247r.

³⁵⁸ Bernardina had been married to a *Sotto Argosino* of the Slave Prisons in Valletta and lived with her family in living quarters within the prisons.

Jacopa, Gio Batta and Madalena were the only siblings still living at the time of Mattheo's death. They would, therefore, be his heirs, together with any living issue of the other sisters who would also get a share of the inheritance. Those eligible were consequently Jacopa, Gio Batta, and Madalena, with one share each; Aloysia's issue with one share; and Bernardina's issue with one share between them.³⁵⁹ The inheritance was thus divided into five equal portions (Table 8). The division of goods will be further delved into later.

Going back to the inventory, we find that Morales' second wife Anna Maria was not given any part of the inheritance. This poses the question of the position of the widow in such circumstances in seventeenth-century Malta. What rights, if any, did a woman have after the death of her husband? Was she not entitled to inherit any of his goods? Was Anna Maria left destitute? What became of the house? There is no mention of that either in the inventory.

However, Maltese law was very clear when dealing with those who died intestate. A widow would not be one of the heirs. She would only be entitled to anything she brought with her as dowry and anything acquired after marriage in what was called 'community of acquests.'³⁶⁰ Surely Mattheo Morales would have known this, and surely he had many opportunities to draw up a will, if he wanted to. He visited the notaries to draw up bills of exchange several times each year.

Since Morales' marriage to Anna Maria was a second marriage, it seemed very likely that the house they lived in had been acquired prior to their marriage, which would automatically mean that Anna Maria had no share of it. This would therefore explain why looking through the parish *Status Animarum* registers after Morales' passing away, I found no sign of Anna Maria continuing to live in the house. However, it was through another document, the will of Mattheo's first wife, Lucretia, that the question of the house was clarified. The property had actually belonged to Lucretia, and it was left to Morales only in usufruct - that is, only for use during his lifetime. Lucretia had made very precise arrangements for this house in her will and had decreed what was to become of it after Mattheo's death, as we will see.

All seems to indicate that Mattheo had no intention of leaving anything to his second wife, though we have to bear in mind that his illness seems to have been very sudden and short. The fact that Morales' siblings called in the *Castellania* to take note of each item in the house so soon after his death, certainly did not give his widow a chance to get away with any goods. Of all the furniture, furnishings, gold, silver and jewellery, not one single item was left to his widow. There is no talk of charitable donations to her by the brother and sisters. She is given 101 *scudi*, which the inventory

³⁵⁹ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.258v.

³⁶⁰ I am grateful to Judge Giovanni Bonello for our discussion on this.

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says 'she is owed'. It turns out that this amount was the *dodarium* promised to her by Morales in their marriage contract.³⁶¹ Apart from benefiting from Morales' home and goods during his lifetime, Anna Maria would have received back her dowry that included plots of land, tenements in Zurrieq, and her own belongings and clothing. However, there does not seem to have been any love lost between her and Morales' family.

Some more light on the running of Matteo Morales' household emerges through the inventory when we discover that the luthier owned a *schiaiva*, a slave named Anna Maria, and also 'half a slave called Ali.' Slavery was a reality on the Maltese islands and Morales owned his own slaves. Johann Friedrich Breithaupt in his travel account of 1632 describes the situation in Malta as follows:

In front of the Grand Master's Palace and on a particular square, one can also see, how, almost everyday, captured Turks and serfs are publicly sold, some for thirty, forty, fifty, some even for one, two or three hundred crowns according to whether the serf or captive is young, hard-working, healthy, good-looking and strong. The captives and serfs are driven together like animals. In Valletta there is a Turkish serf in almost every household whose job is to carry out all heavy duties for the owner of the house and its inhabitants.³⁶²

Clearly, there was a large trade in slavery and there was money to be made from the sale of slaves. It is recorded that in 1694, the Order made the huge sum of 9034 *scudi* from the sale and ransom of slaves alone.³⁶³ Godfrey *Wettinger's* research on slavery shows that between 1659 and 1663 there were 294 'Turks' (Turkish-speaking slaves), 195 'Moors' (Arab-speaking slaves from Tunis, Algiers, Morocco, Alexandria) and 115 of unknown origin.³⁶⁴ There were also a few black African slaves. The slaves on the islands in 1664 numbered some 2,000 belonging to the Order, and another 200 in private homes.³⁶⁵ Who owned these slaves? Du Mont in 1699 claims almost every Maltese person had a slave and so did the Knights.³⁶⁶

In the *Registrum Status Animarum*, the yearly census, slaves living with families always appear at the bottom of the list after all the children in the family who are mentioned in descending order of age. Stanley Fiorini examined the *Status Animarum* of 1687, which is one of the earliest available for the whole of Malta.³⁶⁷ He found that in the villages it was not common to have a

³⁶¹ NAV, Not. M. Giov. Bonavita R.66/19, ff.321v-325v. The sum of 101 *scudi* was left to her as dower, in the case that he died before her.

³⁶² Thomas Freller, *Malta Island of Christian Heroes - Life in the Early 17th Century* (Malta: FPM, 2001), 85.

³⁶³ *Wettinger, Slavery*, 27.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 37.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 33. *Wettinger* here quotes Philip Skippon, an English traveller who left an account of slave conditions during his visit.

³⁶⁶ Du Mont, *Voyages de M. Du Mont, en France, en Italie, en Allemagne, a Malthe, et en Turquie* vol. 2 (La Haye: Etienne Foulque et François L'Honore, Marchands Libraires, 1699), 37. NLM, BF 1.

³⁶⁷ Stanley Fiorini, "Status Animarum li: A Census of 1687," *Proceedings of History Week 1984* (1986).

slave or servant but was far more common in the cities: 'In Notabile, for example, there were 15 *schiaivi* and 24 *servi*; in Vittoriosa, 8 *schiaivi* or *servi negri* and 47 *servi*; and in Valletta, *Porto Salvo* alone, 107 *schiaivi* and several *servi*.' He concludes that there were some 600 slaves in private ownership in the year 1687.³⁶⁸ He also notes that: 'Usually not more than one slave or servant was to be found in a given household, but instances of 4 or 5 are also encountered, a sure indication of affluence.' This is indeed the case in Valletta, as seen in the San Paolo *Status Animarum* of 1695. Whereas Mattheo Morales had just one female slave residing in his house, not very far off in the same parish, we find Paolo and Beatrice Testaferrata, one of the most affluent families, owning a total of four female slaves, one male slave and a female servant (*serva*), all of whom are listed by first name only after their five children.³⁶⁹ The Christian name they were given denotes the fact that they had all been baptized. Morales' slave, Anna Maria, was also baptized and is recorded in each *Communione Pasquale* (Easter Communion census) as having received the Blessed Sacrament. She was purchased by Morales some time between April and November 1695, just before his marriage to Anna Maria Farrugia. It was not unusual for a slave to be given the Christian name of the master or mistress, as was done in this case, where the slave was given the name of his betrothed, shortly before she became his second wife.

Slaves in private ownership do not carry any surname. In some cases they adopted the surname of their previous owner in the form of 'de' and the surname. After Morales' death, Anna Maria was referred to in the inventory as Anna Maria 'de Morales'.³⁷⁰ Slaves living within the household had to be fed, clothed and needed sleeping quarters. Anna Maria resided with Morales' family. The room in the yard which contained a bed, two tables, two chairs and a cupboard would probably have been chosen as her sleeping quarters. Morales seems to have shown some intention of leaving her a few basic items. In the inventory we are told that the heirs, through their own kindness and 'for the repose of the soul of Matthia Morales' charitably donated 'a woollen mattress, an old blanket, two old straw chairs, an old round wooden table and some small paintings on paper'.³⁷¹ These were probably part of her furnishings in the room in the yard. Apart from this, she was also given 50 *scudi* 'this having been the intention of the late Mattheo'.³⁷² One cannot help noticing that whereas Morales' slave, who was not legally entitled to anything, is awarded some household items, 50 *scudi*, and there is reference to the 'intention' of Mattheo, there is absolutely no reference to such intent on the part of Morales towards his second wife. *Schiava* Anna Maria's fate after Morales' death is not immediately clear through the

³⁶⁸ Fiorini, "Status Animarum," 46.

³⁶⁹ SP, Status Anim. 1695, f.12r.

³⁷⁰ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.258v. 'Goods given charitably to Anna Maria de Morales by the heirs.'

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*, f.258v.

³⁷² *Ibid.*, f.262v. Reference is made to a Court Act, Solutionem, 29 January 1698.

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inventory. However, in another document she is referred to as 'Anna, schiava manumissa del fu Mattheo,' that is, 'Anna, the freed slave of the late Mattheo.'³⁷³ Anna Maria was therefore given her freedom. This must also have been Mattheo's wish.

Following the valuation of all of Morales' possessions there is a very solitary brief mention of 'half of a slave named Ali.'³⁷⁴ Morales therefore had another slave whom he shared with another owner or owners. He would thus originally have split the costs of purchasing this slave. It transpires that Ali was a Turk, aged 20, his full name being Ali Ibn Ibrahim.³⁷⁵ He did not reside with the Morales family as Anna Maria did, and, since he did not have a Christian name, he was clearly not baptised. Slaves who were baptised were generally given better treatment. Ali would have slept in the slaves' prison in Valletta, known as 'il Bagno,' where all slaves who did not reside with families were expected to enter before dark.³⁷⁶ There is only one known painting of the Bagno after dark. This is by the eighteenth-century artist Antoine Favray (1706-1798) and is now in the Cathedral Museum, Mdina. It shows one turbaned male dancer and a number of seated male slaves who are seen drinking, smoking and playing a guitar-like stringed instrument and a tambourine. This painting reveals that these slaves also made their own music and had musical instruments. It is worth mentioning that the second husband of Morales' sister, Bernardina, held the important administrative post of *sotto argosino* in the prison. It was his responsibility to ensure that all slaves were inside the 'Bagno' each day by the stipulated time.

Records of sale of slaves during the period between 1659-1664 show the average cost of a slave to have amounted to something between 100 and 150 *scudi*, and much higher if the slave was of high status in his homeland.³⁷⁷ Morales would therefore have shared the initial cost of Ali with another buyer, and would also have had to share Ali's services. This was not an unusual arrangement.³⁷⁸ One can only surmise what Ali's duties would have entailed. There are records of slaves in private ownership being given various jobs, among which were keeping watch, hanging out the washing, fetching water from the well, purchasing foodstuffs, working in the kitchen, cooking, or carrying their master to his destination on a sedan chair.³⁷⁹

³⁷³ NAM, MCC, Reg. Dep. 68 (1697-98), Item 101, Bilancio dell'heredità del fù Matthwo Morales (no folio number). Anna Maria was given her freedom in a Court document of 29 January [1698].

³⁷⁴ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit.. 4, f.261r.

³⁷⁵ NAM, MCC, Reg. Sub. 4, f.217r, no. 124.

³⁷⁶ Wettinger, *Slavery*, 93.

³⁷⁷ Wettinger, *Slavery*, 244.

³⁷⁸ In 1688, for example, Giuseppe Lantoro owned two thirds of one slave and half of another. NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 3, f.840v.

³⁷⁹ Wettinger, *Slavery*, 402-404.

It was not only the higher orders of society who owned slaves, but also artisans and craftsmen: carpenters,³⁸⁰ clockmakers,³⁸¹ shoemakers,³⁸² artists, among whom Stefano Erardi,³⁸³ and Mattia Preti,³⁸⁴ tailors,³⁸⁵ and other craftsmen.³⁸⁶ The owning of slaves sets Malta's artisans apart from comparable workshops in the rest of Europe, creating a curious and unique situation. What happened was that a *bottega* in Malta was very likely to have slaves assisting an artisan or craftsman, much like apprentices.

Ali remained as part of the inheritance and on 1 March 1698, very soon after Morales' death, we find the family selling off their half portion of Ali, which amounted to 50 *scudi*.³⁸⁷ Their portion was purchased by Domenico Formosa and Francisco Saguna, who previously owned the other half.³⁸⁸ Unlike Anna Maria, Ali was not released from slavery. He now belonged entirely to the merchant Domenico Formosa and his business partner.

2.3 His commercial circle

Mattheo Morales' inventory ends with a list of creditors and the notarial deeds in which each was registered. All this information was extracted from a book of accounts, which was kept by Morales. Such a book would have contained much crucial information on the running of the *bottega*, but so far it has unfortunately not been traced. Looking outside the inventory at these notarial documents helps to provide an interpretation of the listed names and their connection with Morales. It becomes clear that the creditors were all seafaring people and traders to whom Morales had lent money. This opens up a completely new aspect of Morales' life, revealing a very important direct contact he had with traders of his time. The implications of this to Morales' life-style and to his luthiering trade are immense.

We have seen how Mattheo Morales was living comfortably and possessed a number of luxury commodities. His iron bed covered with red, fringed draping of Cadiz, his chairs with gold pommels imported from Leghorn, his bamboo stick from Asia, his silver snuffbox, reveal not only Morales' wellbeing but also shows Malta as a convergence of many of the important trade routes of the time. The question is how did Morales make his money to purchase these items? Was it

³⁸⁰ Wettinger, *Slavery*, 389.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 402-04.

³⁸² SP, Status Anim. 1699, f.109v, Pasquale *calzolaro*, owned 2 slaves.

³⁸³ SP, Status Anim. 1696, f.31v. Erardi, aged 67 had a seventeen-year-old 'schiavo' named Giuseppe residing with him.

³⁸⁴ Sciberras, *Mattia Preti*, 90. There is record of a long list of slaves he bought and freed.

³⁸⁵ SP, Status Anim. 1698, f.943. Giosepe Veneziano had a *schiava* named Anna Maria aged 21.

³⁸⁶ Wettinger, *Slavery*, 376.

³⁸⁷ NAM, MCC, Reg. Dep. 68 (1697-98), item no 101.

³⁸⁸ NAM, MCC, Reg. Sub. 4 (1689-1700), f.217r, no. 124.

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through his luthiering? Could the crafting of instruments alone have provided him with such a good living in the seventeenth century? Considering the thriving city of Valletta and the high concentration of knights, nobility, and also the middle and lower class Maltese people and musicians living there, there is no doubt that there was a ready market for every type of instrument made by Morales, both for secular as well as for sacred use. It is therefore possible that Morales did make significant profits from his instrument building and repairs. However, it turns out that he was also an astute investor of his earnings. Of his transactions he has left much evidence in a number of notarial deeds, with which he kept notaries very busy. It was not always the same notary, as one would expect, but several different ones who recorded all his commercial transactions.

During Morales' lifetime, the harbour cities were very busy with a large number of seafaring people sailing to Sicily, Italy, and further afield to France, Spain and Portugal in schooners, frigates, brigantines and *speronare*. Their commercial operations required liquid cash which many of these traders did not have readily available. Their requirements were being fulfilled by various individuals who had some cash to spare. They each loaned small amounts of money to the traders for their overseas ventures. We find people lending out their small amount at a low interest to be paid on the trader's return, thus providing the lender with means of multiplying earnings. Borrowers must have felt there was some economic advantage to this. This type of investment taking place is well described by Louis de Boisgelain de Kerdu:

...many [Maltese] left the island possessed of considerable sums, and went to Genoa, where people of great fortune entrusted them with double the money they bought from Malta. With this they proceeded to Italy, where they bought quantities of merchandise, particularly silk for clothes, which they carried to Spain, Malaga, Alicanta, Carthagena and Cadiz; and there they sold, and purchased merchandise of another kind.³⁸⁹

Frans Ciappara, who recently studied the village of Qrendi in the eighteenth century, comments thus on the credit situation in the village:

Several inhabitants [of Qrendi] invested their money with the merchants going to Italy, France, Spain and Portugal.

Bondholders in this commercial operation or sea exchange invested small amounts, ranging from 50-100 scudi, which justifies the use of the term 'micro-investor.' They also spread their money over many traders to minimise risk. The rate of interest varied according to the destination: 5½ percent to Naples and Salerno, 8 percent to Genoa and 9 percent to Nice; 11 percent as far as Cartagena and 14 percent to 'the coast of Spain'..... These good dividends which were to be paid within eight days of the return of the

³⁸⁹ Louis de Boisgelain de Kerdu, *Ancient and Modern Malta*, vol. 1 (1805), 115.

merchants, could be four times as much as prevailing deposit rates (3 percent) and double the rates for marine insurance (5.08 percent) between Malta and Cadiz in 1754-1755.³⁹⁰

Though both Ciappara's study and the comments of Boisgelin are based on the situation in the eighteenth century, the same was happening more than a century earlier, and Matteo Morales was one of the links in the chain of this commercial network. Though the first indication of his involvement is given in the inventory, the extent to which Morales was involved is revealed from the many more notarial deeds found in the notarial Index registers. His investments were already taking place in 1677, possibly earlier.³⁹¹ Though he seems to have invested larger amounts earlier, by the 1690s we find him investing small amounts of 50 – 100 *scudi*, only very rarely more, to a number of different traders. This minimised his risks, since there was always the chance that the brigantine he was investing in, or the trader himself, would be lost and that he, as lender, would lose all. Like Antonio in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*, Morales followed the same principle: 'My ventures are not in one bottom trusted, nor to one place.'³⁹² Investments were split between different traders who often had different destinations. The risk was entirely the investor's and each of them knew that it could go very wrong. Braudel points out the extent to which this lending was practised all over the Mediterranean, and also in the Ottoman Empire.³⁹³

The question of interest, which is so central to Shakespeare's play, was certainly an issue with the Catholic Church. The Council of Trent had made it quite clear that nothing was to be received above the capital lent.³⁹⁴ Christians were therefore theoretically not supposed to lend money at an interest. However, a large number of Maltese people were doing just that and seem to have had no qualms about it. They kept interest low, but interest it was all the same. Curiously, Frans Ciappara also finds that churchwardens and confraternities were the chief providers of cash.³⁹⁵ It may be argued that conscience would have been appeased because interest was not high, and after all, the profits made would then be used for the good of the Church.

There were some money-lenders on the island whose interests were far higher. As far back as 1598, an establishment, known as the *Monte di Pietà*, had been set up in Valletta with the

³⁹⁰ Frans Ciappara, *The Social and Religious History of a Maltese Parish: St Mary's Qrendi in the Eighteenth Century* (Malta: Malta University Press, 2014), 46.

³⁹¹ NAM, MCC, AO 595, f.419. Court case of 5 December 1697 referring to money lent to Joseph Catalano in 1677. Catalano died and Morales was still owed 251 *scudi*, which he expected to receive from the testamentary executor.

³⁹² Act 1, scene 1, lines 42-43.

³⁹³ Braudel, *The Mediterranean* Part 2, 693-703.

³⁹⁴ 'Whatever is received above the principle, be it money or anything else that may be purchased by money, is usury.' Pope Pius V, *The Catechism of the Council of Trent*, translated into English by Rev. J. Donovan (Dublin: W. Folds and Son, 1829), 421.

³⁹⁵ Frans Ciappara, *The Social and Religious History*, 53.

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purpose of creating a fund in order 'to suppress the infamous usury daily practised by slaves and Jews who charged a *tarì* per month for every *scudo* lent on pledges.'³⁹⁶ Slaves and Jews were, therefore, the ones raising their interests, proving that slaves on the Island could potentially also be making money. Their rate of interest was equal in a year to the sum originally advanced.³⁹⁷ As a result of this, the *Monte di Pietà* had created an official place from which to borrow money and pawn jewellery, gold and silver. However, borrowers still chose to go to individuals like Morales. They paid the interest stipulated because they must have felt that the transaction was economically advantageous to them. Morales' rates were, comparatively, reasonably low.

Trade went on at a steady pace. Trade and merchant ships came in and out of the Grand Harbour and Morales would have constantly had his eye on their comings and goings, as would many other people who invested in them. By the end of his life Morales still had a number of investments that had not as yet been paid back. These were the ones collated from his own book of accounts and listed in the end of the inventory with Morales' credit. It is particularly interesting that he kept such a book in order to keep track of his transactions. If he actually wrote in the account book himself, such a capability in itself would have raised Morales' standing within what was a largely illiterate society. It was generally only notaries and priests who were capable of writing. Morales' signature has, however, not been encountered in any documents.

The several amounts still owed to Mattheo Morales are to be found as Bills of Exchange in the Acts of eight different notaries.³⁹⁸ The reason for this large number of notaries can be explained by the law promulgated in order to avoid possible fraud through falsification of name.³⁹⁹ This law decreed that both contracting parties had to be personally known to the notary. The notary therefore was obliged to know not only Morales but, even more importantly, the person borrowing the money. It was in Morales' interest to ensure that the borrowing party was known personally to the notary and could therefore, to a certain extent, be trusted to pay the money back.

Table 9 shows Morales' investments in the year 1696 alone, in which can be seen a substantial amount of regular lending of small amounts. The borrowers were not only from Valletta, but also came to Morales from other harbour cities of Senglea and Bormla, showing that he was known among traders beyond his hometown. In the months preceding their voyage, traders would be

³⁹⁶ Slaves in Malta were allowed to engage in trade. See Wettinger, *Slavery*, 411-438.

³⁹⁷ Victor F. Denaro, "Houses in Merchant Street, Valletta," *Journal of the Malta Historical Society* 2, no. 3 (1958): 161.

³⁹⁸ NAV, Not. Silvestre Hagius, Not. Paulo Fenech, Not. Giuseppe Callus, Not. Michele Gio. Bonavita, Not. Gio Andrea Madiona, Not. Del Brazzo, Not. Debertis, Not. Tammaso Vella.

³⁹⁹ Joan Abela, *The Impact of the Arrival of the Knights of the Order on the Commercial Economy of Malta 1530-1565*, (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Exeter, 2012), 81.

Table 9: Morales' *Cambii* – Bills of Exchange for the year 1696

Date 1696	Sum In <i>scudi</i>	Lent by	To	From	Travelling to	%	Notary & Doc.
19 Jan. Oblig. to lend	50 each	M. Morales, Eug.Schembri, Al. Dimech, Car. Bourdon, J. Borg	Joseph Cassar	Valletta	Alicanta, Lisbona	16	Gio Paolo Fenech R.262/7 ff.630r-v
2 Feb.	50	M. Morales	Raphael Giordan et soc.	Senglea	Palermo <i>Nostra D. del Rosario</i>	6	Mich. Giov. Bonavita R.66/19 f.732
8 Feb.	100 each	M. Morales, Petro Burlò, Galerio Desira	Eug. Schembri et al	Bormla	Valentia SS <i>Crocifisso e S. Caterina</i>	15	Gio Paolo Fenech R.262/7 ff.745v- 746v
17 Feb.	50	M. Morales	D. Psaila et soc.	Senglea	Valentia <i>S.M. e S. Paolo</i>	15	Gio Paolo Fenech R.262/7 ff.816v- 817v
23 Feb. Oblig. to lend	50	M. Morales	A. Spataro et al	Valletta	Quamvis mundi <i>S. Anna</i>	14	Gio Paolo Fenech R.262/7 ff.870- 871

1696	Sum	Lent by	To	From	Travelling	%	Doc
29 Feb	50	M. Morales	Natale Mangano	Valletta	Palermo	6	Gio Paolo Fenech R.262/7 ff.920r-v
5 Mar.	50	M.Morales	Carolum Magro	Valletta	Civite Calicis <i>S. Maria e S. Gius.</i>	16	Gio Paolo Fenech R.262/7 ff.981-2
6 Mar.	50	M. Morales	Demetr. Micalicci et al	Senglea	Augusta, Quamvis Mundi <i>La Mad.a SS. del Carm. et il SS.mo Crocifisso</i>	12	Gio Paolo Fenech R.262/7 ff.996v- 997
8 Mar.	50	M. Morales	Barthol. Ruggio et al	Valletta	Valentia	15	Gio Paolo Fenech R.262/7 ff.1021r-v
	200	Franco Farrugia			Cartagena	16	
14 Mar.	50 each	M. Morales, Fran. Reynaud, Paschal ...	Georgico Camilleri et al	Valletta	Pozzallo, Quamvis mundi <i>Immac.t Conc. e S. Antoni di Padova</i>	18	Gio Paolo Fenech R262/7 ff.1108v- 1109

1696	Sum	Lent by	To	From	Travelling	%	Doc
18 Mar.	50	M. Morales	Balthass. Gimbert	Valletta	Quamvis mundi <i>S. Croce</i>	18	Gio Paolo Fenech R.262/7 ff.1145v- 1146v
	100	Didaco Balzan					
2 May	50	M. Morales	Eugenio Schembri et al	Bormla	Quamvis mundi SS <i>Crucifisso e anime del Purg.</i>	15	Del Brazzo R.199/5 f.603r
8 May	100	M. Morales	Rev. D. Abbas Francisc. Revest ⁴⁰⁰	Valletta	Quamvis mundi <i>Madonna del Carmine</i>	10	Gio Paolo Fenech R.262/8 ff.1496r-v
1 June	50	M. Morales	Tomaso Magro	Valletta	Mazzara <i>Madonna del Carmine</i>	5	Del Brazzo R.199/5 f.673v
? June [faded]	50	M. Morales	J. Fenech, Cl. Fenech & sons		Palermo <i>Madonna del Rosario</i>	?	Del Brazzo R.199/8 f.?

⁴⁰⁰ His father was British Consul in Malta. He was Doctor of Both Laws and resided in the San Paolo parish. See Borg, *The Maltese Diocese During the Seventeenth Century*, 540-41, 1101. The family Revest is also encountered throughout most of the seventeenth century in connection with the ransom of slaves. See Wettinger, *Slavery*, 226-227.

1696	Sum	Lent by	To	From	Travelling	%	Doc
25 June		Morales purchases half a Quarter of a frigate <i>Madonna SS del Rosario e San Filippi Neri</i>					Tomaso Vella R.478/2 ff.403r-v
1 Nov.	50 each	M. Morales, Ant. Magro	Jos Schifo Dom. Psaila	Valletta Senglea	Palermo	6	Gio Paolo Fenech R.262/10 ff.526v-527r
25 Nov.	50 100	M. Morales Steph. Herardi	Ignazio Muxi	Valletta	Neapolis	12	Gio Paolo Fenech R.262/11 ff.714v-715r
3 Dec.	100	M. Morales	Rev. D. Abbas Francis Revest	Valletta	Quamvis mundi <i>La Madonna SS. della Consolazione</i>	18	Gio Paolo Fenech R.262/11 ff.782v-783r

Sources: Documents in Notarial Archives, St Christopher Street, Valletta.

slowly collecting money from different lenders in order to depart with a substantial amount. Sometimes the arrangement entered into was just an initial promise or 'obligation' to lend a stipulated amount at a future date. Such is the case on 19 January 1696, where Joseph Cassar, a trader from Valletta, was in the process of gathering enough investors for his coming overseas

ventures. In this contract he has five people, one of whom is Morales, each promising to lend him 50 *scudi*.

The way the question of interest is handled in the notarial acts is noteworthy. The borrowers 'offered' an additional percentage because of the many risks they would be undertaking with the lenders' money. On 2 February 1696, for the trip to Palermo in which they would be 'negotiating and trafficking' and taking many risks, the borrowers Raphael Giordan and Jacopo Bursetta from Senglea offered Morales an additional 6% over the 50 *scudi* lent. It was not demanded by Morales but 'offered' by the borrowers.⁴⁰¹ Percentages varied according to destination and the increased risk concerned. If traders were going only to nearby Sicily, then the percentage received by Morales was 5 or 6%. If they went as far as Spain it was 15%, and taking an even longer journey to Portugal took rates up to 16%.

As can be seen from the list of Morales' pending dues, it sometimes took a long time for him to see dividends. Some traders were away for months or even years. Furthermore, not all borrowers paid up by the stipulated time, which was usually set at within eight days of their return. This entailed Morales' going back to the notary to impose some pressure on the borrowers. On his death there were 1273 *scudi* 3 *tari* still owing to him. There were also times when Morales lent money without any interest, such as in the case of 50 *scudi* lent 'amicably' to his brother-in-law, Simone Azzupard, his sister Madalenas's husband, who repaid him within six months.⁴⁰²

Morales' transactions alone expose a vast web of trade routes with which he was personally connected. In his inventory we already notice goods coming from Cadiz in Spain, Livorno in northern Italy, and from Asia. Over the years we find him entering transactions with traders who were travelling all around the Mediterranean. There were constant trips to Sicily – Pozzallo, Licata, Augusta, Mazzara, Catania and Palermo - but there were also trips further afield, to Naples, Livorno, and Venice in Italy; to France; to Alicante, Cartagena, and Valencia in Spain; and to Lisbon in Portugal (see Table 9). One traveller in 1682 thus describes the merchandise in the port of Lisbon:

Its Custom-house is considerably employed with entries of Pearl, Incense, and Ebony from Arabia; of Rubies and Emeralds from Bengala; of Cassia and Ambergreace from Ethiopia; of Cloves, Cinnamon and Nutmegs from the Moluccoes; of Slaves, Ivory and Civet from Congo and Angola; of great varieties of Silk and Linen from India; of Sugars, Tobacco, and several sorts of Wood from Brazil; and of Divers Commodities from other places....⁴⁰³

⁴⁰¹ NAV, Not. Mich. Giov. Bonavita, R.66/19, ff.732r-733r. 'Offerunt dicto de Morales stipulanti ad rationem de sex pro centinarium.'

⁴⁰² NAV, Not. J. Callus, R.126/8, f.920. 27 May 1695.

⁴⁰³ Fr. Jerom Merolla da Sorrento, a Capucin and Apostolick Missioner, in the Year 1682, *A Voyage to Congo, and several other Countries chiefly in Southern Africa* In *A Collection of Voyages* (London: Awnsham and

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Apart from these we find traders going to *quamvis mundi*, which meant they were travelling out at sea to unspecified destinations, in which case the voyage was longer, risks were higher, and the percentage interest was therefore highest, going up to as much as 18%. This commercial interaction between port cities also often included the Barbary Coast.⁴⁰⁴ In one instance Morales lent an unusually high amount of 150 *scudi* to a knight.⁴⁰⁵ This transaction may not have taken place before a notary since no specifications of it are recorded in the inventory. In this case Morales was contributing to the arming of the vessel of 'il Signor Cavaliere Capitano Lombardiera.' This vessel was one of the Order's galleys that was scouting and looting along the Barbary coast. Lombardiera was therefore corsairing, which was a legalised form of piracy. On 10 November 1690 he is recorded entering port with 44 slaves.⁴⁰⁶ On 8 August 1691, he is again recorded arriving from the Barbary Coast.⁴⁰⁷ Morales was therefore also one of the participating links in the chain of corsairing, thereby contributing to the slave trade. The knight had still not paid one of his debts on Morales' passing away in 1698.

Other documents of this period help to contextualise Morales' activities and provide further insight into the trading world in which he participated. In the *Suppliche* (requests) made to the *Magna Curia Castellania*, we find traders and merchants requesting to sell lace, soap, oils, wig powder, and wax from Spain.⁴⁰⁸ There are also corsairs requesting to sell Turkish goods from a captured vessel.⁴⁰⁹ In other inventories contemporary to Morales' we find pottery storage jars from *Barbaria* (the North African coast),⁴¹⁰ wax from Spain,⁴¹¹ fine china and fans from France,⁴¹² apothecary goods from Venice, silk buttons, fine crockery⁴¹³ and thread from Naples,⁴¹⁴ hemp from Ragusa, Naples and Siracusa,⁴¹⁵ firewood from Pantelleria. Joan Abela finds that in the second half of the sixteenth century, wood was already being regularly purchased from Augusta,

John Churchill, 1704), 657.

https://books.google.com.mt/books?id=7rabk_wcv4IC&printsec=frontcover&dq=A+collection+of+Voyages+and+Travels&hl=en&sa=X&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Skippon&f=false.

⁴⁰⁴ See David Abulafia, *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean* (UK: Allen Lane, 2011).

Abulafia claims that the Mediterranean Sea became a rich trading space and meeting place, providing interaction between different societies and religions.

⁴⁰⁵ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.261r.

⁴⁰⁶ NLM, AOM 6526 Arrivi di bastimenti posti in quarantina (1654-1694), f.67v.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid. f.80r.

⁴⁰⁸ NAM, MCC, Sup. 1, 109-110 (1701).

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid. ff.45r-v (1700). Captain Gaspare Napolon petitions to sell his Turkish goods, among which draperies, waistcoats and other materials.

⁴¹⁰ NAM, MCC, Inv. Bon. Haeredit. 1, f.396 (1651).

⁴¹¹ Ibid. 3, f.768v (1687).

⁴¹² Ibid. 1, f.255 (1644).

⁴¹³ Ibid. 3, f.167 (1676).

⁴¹⁴ Ibid. 1, f.256r (1644).

⁴¹⁵ Ibid. 3, f.697v (1686).

Vendicari and Syracuse.⁴¹⁶ The Maltese people were clearly travelling and trading extensively. The register of *Patentarium* 1694-1699, equivalent to modern day passport stamping and duty, shows persons whose points of destination were Rome, Licata, Avola, Modica, Augusta, Milo, Trapani, Messina, Naples, Venice, Genoa, Cyprus, Candia, Marseille, the Belgian port of Ostend, Tunisia, Tripoli, Constantinople and Alexandria.

One merchant, Alfonso Desclaus, who passed away in 1688, left debts with traders from Milan, London, Venice, Syracuse, Livorno, Milazzo and Naples.⁴¹⁷ This single document reveals an extensive melange of trade reaching Malta from these points of departure through one merchant. Here we find, for example, a very rare reference to trade with London, in which Gio Trotter of London is owed the substantial sum of 444 *scudi*. Signor Alfonso Descalus was more than just a merchant. He was at some point 'Consul for the English and Dutch nations,' certainly in 1664.⁴¹⁸ He was thus personally responsible for protecting commercial interests and connections with England and the Netherlands. All this further proves that the highly organised web of trade in the seventeenth century was very vast, intricate and constant.

Traders would have been eager to respond to any demands on the Islands, since their objective was to make money. They were not generally specialised in the importation of particular goods but bought supplies of anything they thought might be sold on the Island. It follows that the raw materials for instrument making and any musical goods would also have easily been imported from all these centres if Morales pronounced an interest in them.

Though Morales had such direct contact with all these traders, he may have felt the need to import more regularly his own choice of specific goods for his own personal trade from a centre like Catania. On 25 June of 1696, he therefore went a step further and entered into another type of investment - he proceeded to buy a portion of a frigate. Details of the transaction prove significant since these ship investments often corresponded to specified cargo space.⁴¹⁹ Together with Domenico Formosa of Valletta, he purchased from Thomas Cuscinello of Burmula a quarter of a *fregata* (frigate), named *La Madonna del SS Rosario e San Filippi Neri*.⁴²⁰ The hazards of ship ownership were very commonly diluted in this way through joint ownership.⁴²¹

⁴¹⁶ Abela, "Port Activities in Mid-Sixteenth Century Malta," 122.

⁴¹⁷ NAM, MCC, Inv. Bon. Haeredit. 3, f.810v (1688).

⁴¹⁸ Philip Skippon *A Journey thro' Part of the Low Countries, Germany, Italy and France* [1664-1680] in Awnsham and John Churchill eds. *A Collection of Voyages and Travels* (London: 1732), 622. See also Reg. Pat. 9, where Skippon is recorded being given the licence to depart Malta for Messina on 16 May 1664.

⁴¹⁹ Abela, "Port Activities," 81-86.

⁴²⁰ NAV, Tommaso Vella R.478/2 ff.403r-v. The devotion to San Filippo Neri spread in Malta when in 1658 an Oratory dedicated to him was built in the Church of Porto Salvo in Senglea.

⁴²¹ Abela, "Port Activities," 86.



Figure 13. A map showing Malta's maritime trade routes in the seventeenth century. All the destinations encountered are entered in red.

This quarter frigate cost Domenico and Mattheo 325 *scudi* of 12 *tari* per *scudo* in gold between them. Domenico expected to be given first preference in cargo space. Since Morales had an equal share of the frigate as Domenico, he is very likely also to have had his own equal cargo space, though this is not specified. In either case, it appears in the inventory that Morales was making a percentage profit from the sale of cargo per voyage.⁴²²

Domenico Formosa was well known to Morales. It is this same Domenico who had purchased and had been sharing the Turkish slave, Ali, with him. It is also the same Domenico who later, together with Francisco Saguna, purchased Morales' half portion of Ali. The two were trusted business partners on at least two occasions – in the purchase of a slave and in the purchase of a frigate, possibly also in other transactions. Domenico had a shop in Valletta where he sold wood, metal, ropes, linen, carob and other goods.⁴²³ Since Domenico was importing goods, then by a simple

⁴²² NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.261v. The heirs of the late Morales were owed the rate of the voyages made from 23 October 1697.

⁴²³ NAM, MCC, Sup., 1711, f.41r: 'un magazzino che tiene in questa città Valletta di mercadante vendendo in questo....cannabusa, lino, cordi, carrube, ferro, azzarro, legname.'

arrangement with him, Morales would have had easy access to the importation of any musical goods and raw materials he may have required, even before the purchase of the frigate.

Looking through Malta's register of exit stamping (Reg. Patentarum) for the years 1695-98, we find that sailing vessels of the *fregata* type, usually manned by 10 – 16 sailors, were travelling to Siracusa, Scoglitti, Modica, Catania, Messina, or Palermo. The frigate *La Madonna del Rosario e S Filippi Neri* was leaving port every fifteen days or at least once a month with different captains, going mostly to Catania, but also to other Sicilian ports (Table 10).

Since different investors were involved in each trip, the same ship had different captains on different voyages and would have been carrying different merchandise. On 20 April 1697, the frigate, managed/captained ('padronata') by Gio Batta Bonavia, sailed with 15 sailors for Catania. On 26 June 1697, it was again sailing to Catania: and similarly on 17 August, and on 18 September 1697.

The court's town crier who had publicised the announcement of sale (*Bando*) of Morales' portion of the frigate, had specified that his share was that 'padronata' by Gio Batta Bonavia, nicknamed *della Neve*.⁴²⁴ This meant that the trips directly connected with Morales were those taken to Catania under Gio Batta Bonavia, showing without a doubt that Morales had regular contact with Catania. He had every opportunity to bring musical materials for his workshop from Catania, whether made there or produced elsewhere (such as Messina, Palermo, or from further afield).⁴²⁵

It becomes increasingly evident that Malta was a part of this complex web of commerce taking place globally. The coasts of Sicily and Italy were supplying Italian goods from further inland and also goods coming from the north – Venice, Genoa, England, Belgium. The coast of Spain and Portugal was supplying not only Spanish and Portuguese goods but also exotic goods, which were coming in from the Americas. The system of constant buying and selling along the route gave Maltese traders the opportunity to increase their profits and to return home with still more goods.

⁴²⁴ NAM, MCC Reg. Sub. 4, (1689-1700) f.222r, no 126.

⁴²⁵ Though Catania had been badly destroyed by the 1693 earthquake, which also hit Malta, it was rapidly rebuilt and back into commerce very soon after. See Stefano Condorelli, "The Reconstruction of Catania after the Earthquake of 1693" *Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Construction History* (Queen's College Cambridge, 2006).

Table 10: Voyages taken by Morales' Frigate *La Madonna del Rosario e S Filippi Neri*

25 June 1696	Morales purchases a portion of the frigate	
Date	Manager/Captain	Destination
27 July 1696	Geloramo Cremona	Licata
16 August 1696	Paolo Calamatta	Siracusa
17 August ?1696	Tomaso Cuscinello	Masala
20 September 1696	Gioseppe Fenech	Palermo
18 October 1696	Pietro Mugliet	Paripuli?
8 February 1697	Tomaso Cuscinello	Modica
10 April 1697	Gio Batta Bonavia	Catania
20 April 1697	Gio Batta Bonavia	Catania
30 April 1697	Gio Maria Gatt	Catania
22 May 1697	Gio Maria Gatt	Catania
20 June 1697	Salvo Gafa	Palermo
26 June 1697	Gio Batta Bonavia	Catania
18 July 1697	Gio Batta Bonavia	Catania
17 August 1697	Gio Batta Bonavia	Catania
26 September 1697	Gio Maria Gatt	Catania
29 November 1697	Gio Maria Gatt	Catania
7 January 1698	Gio Maria Gatt	Catania
10 February 1698	Gio Maria Gatt	Catania
22 April 1698	Morales' portion of the frigate sold by his heirs	

Source: NAM, MCC, Reg. Patentarum 14 (1694-1700), no folio numbers.

Morales not only had routes for importing raw materials, including exotic woods and other rare items, but could obtain finished instruments from elsewhere and could potentially export his own instruments. Furthermore, the trading network did not transport only goods but was also the route via which foreign cultures and practices were transmitted. From his trading contacts Morales would have received oral or written news of relatives and contacts abroad. It is most likely that he would have also heard about other instrument makers and their instruments and received information about musical practices and the market of instruments elsewhere.

2.4 His social status

Having looked at Morales' regular investments in traders, and at his life style as seen through his belongings in the inventory, it becomes evident that he had done well for himself. He was living very comfortably. His own family also turned to him when in need, as did Simone, his sister Maddalena's husband, when he required some financial aid.⁴²⁶ At this point it is important to examine the hierarchal structure of society in Malta during this period and to see where Morales fits in this hierarchy. Musicians and luthiers would normally be expected to form part of a larger strata that included artisans and craftsmen of different kinds (Table 11).

The upper strata was made up of the highest authorities of the land, and certainly the most powerful, in both church and state. These included the Bishop, Grand Master and the Inquisitor, closely followed by the Aristocracy. This, in Malta, included the local nobility as well as the knights of the Order, who came from the European aristocracy. The Maltese nobility owned property locally, which the knights sometimes also owned. Untitled individuals who managed to accumulate riches, purchased property and would thereby have been gaining ground in this social hierarchy. It was, however, hard to get beyond this point without earning titles.

Beneath the landed people there was a wider stratum, which included professionals who were normally literate. Being able to read and write was a way of gaining some superiority above those who were unable to, despite the fact that very often the aristocracy higher up the ladder did not care to be literate. Just as they had servants to carry out their manual work, so also they preferred to have a scribe to write for them. Among the literate class there were the respected judges, doctors, surgeons, notaries and a good section of the clergy, though not all.

⁴²⁶ NLM, Not. Joseph Callus R.126/8, f.920. Simone was lent 50 *scudi* 'amicably' at no interest. He repaid them within 6 months.

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One could also include the *musicco* with these literate professions. He would be trained for several years and would be skilled in both the theoretical and the practical areas of music, generally being able to sing, perform instrumental music and often also to compose. Several receipts and signatures of these *musicci* have come to light.⁴²⁷ Some of these are in the Italian language, albeit the language of the educated, it was also foreign and another accomplishment to the Maltese native speaker. Merchants could also shift ground when they accumulated wealth through their trade and thus gradually rose to roughly the same level as that of professionals, even though they were very often illiterate.

The next level below professionals included people who were capable of earning a living through their skilled trade, but who were often illiterate. Artisans and craftsmen would have formed part of this social stratum. This is the area expected to be occupied by instrumentalists, singers (*cantores*) and instrument builders, such as Morales. As we will see, Morales managed to move out of this category into a higher level.

Below the artisans one would find farmers who worked the fields and tilled the land, builders and street vendors who usually sold their own produce. At the bottom of the hierarchy were those who did not have a skilled craft or trade and for whom it was difficult to make a living. A slave in private ownership would have had his daily meals, clothing and could also, in some cases, carry out a trade. These slaves, though they did not have full freedom, sometimes lived more comfortably than beggars and vagrants who begged for their daily bread and usually had no skills, or because of old age or illness were no longer able to make use of them to help them through life.

What emerges from this is that there were possible means of gaining ground in the hierarchy. Literacy was a strong tool that could help people on the lower rungs of society to climb a notch up the social ladder. The acquisition of wealth could also create an upward shift. Successful merchants who went on to acquire land could eventually even end up in the nobility level. The Dorell family was in the early seventeenth century a very successful merchant family importing and selling goods, particularly drapery and haberdashery materials from France. Wealth and good marriages led to their eventual establishment in the nobility level. Marrying into a family that was already wealthy, landed or noble could lead to very successful social climbing. The Grand Master could, on rare occasions, also bestow titles. Though not easily achieved, there was the possibility of mobility from lower to middle, and possibly even to the upper rungs within the social hierarchy.

⁴²⁷ Among these are the several receipts of the Maltese Maestro di cappella Ortentio Benini, in a very neat hand stating that he was writing 'la presente di mia mano propria,' and also those of the Sicilian organist Matteo d'Arena.' ACC, LCA, Conti della Cappella 1694-1702.

What of Morales? He was an instrument builder who would have started off in the level of craftsmen and other artisans. The possibility of mobility of the social classes becomes highly apparent in Morales' case. He married Lucretia Bonet, who was a wealthy woman, though her father's trade has not been established and her first husband was merely a soldier. The large house in Valletta that Morales lived in, together with the *bottega*, were his wife's property. She brought him higher status through that alone.

He lived in a house situated in a good area of the new city of Valletta. In this way he was free to carry on with his instrument building, whilst at the same time, he started investing money in traders. This led him to his own personal wealth with which he could purchase items of furniture and clothing of a high calibre, purchase works of art, commission paintings and his own portrait which a normal craftsman usually could not afford. He was, therefore, using his wealth to climb further up the social ladder. Walking into the street he could present the appearance of a man of quality.

Because of his clothing, he could more easily mix with those higher up the social ladder. They may have come to his shop to purchase his instruments and he would have met them as an equal in attire, if nothing else. He owned a slave, Anna Maria, who lived in the house, and he had another shared slave, Ali. Furthermore, since he kept an accounts book, he probably had also acquired literacy, another key that opened up social possibilities. Morales had obtained an amount of wealth, property, servants, as well as literacy, all of which gave him respectability. The furniture he owned placed him comfortably into the professional class area. He owned an iron bed with pillars and drapes similar to that owned by notaries, whereas other craftsmen would have owned an ordinary wooden bed. He owned chairs with gold pommels which came from Leghorn, and which would have been owned by the more affluent in society, and not by craftsmen. He walked out of his house holding a cane walking stick with a silver pommel and a silver snuff box. Here, therefore, was a man who had succeeded in breaking through the barriers into a more superior class, thus in some areas attaining levels of professionals. It is notable that in Naples *chitarrari* like Matteo Morales were automatically placed in a privileged position among the so-called 'artigiani di rispetto' (the respected artisans) together with printers, doctors and chemists, whereas musicians ('sonatori') occupied a lower level in society.⁴²⁸

⁴²⁸ See Luigi Sisto, "German lute-makers and society in Naples during the Spanish vice-reign (1586-1656)," *Studi musicali*, Nuova serie, VII no. 2, (2016): 390. For more detail see Sisto, *I Liutai tedeschi*.

Table 11: Social Hierarchy in Seventeenth-century Malta

Bishop	Grand Master
	Inquisitor
Grand Crosses	
Maltese Nobility	Aristocratic Knights
Property owners	
[Literate & Professionals] Judges	[Accumulated riches] Merchants
Cantor, Monsignor, Canon, Chaplain, Archpriest, Abbot, Parish Priest,	
Surgeons, Doctors, Notaries <i>Maestro di cappella</i>	
<i>Musici</i> (theorists, eminent musicians) Priests Monks, Friars	
[mostly Illiterate] Musicians, Singers Artisans, Craftsmen, Luthiers, Traders, illiterate clergy, clerics	
Farmers, Street vendors, Servants Unskilled labourers	
Slaves in private ownership Beggars, Vagrants, Slaves imprisoned	

It was not only Mattheo Morales who improved his status. The money and goods that were inherited by Morales' siblings and nephews also helped the whole family to have a better quality of life. Through Mattheo's marriage to Lucretia, members of his family were also profiting. His brother Gio Batta's eldest son, Domenico, was first to take advantage of the *animagium* or benefice left by Lucretia. This *animagium* was tied to the house Mattheo had lived in and the *bottega*. The person benefiting from this *animagium*, was to be a cleric, and was to ensure that masses were said daily to the glory of God and for the repose of Lucretia's and Mattheo's souls. This *animagium* was to commence on Mattheo's death and was to continue in perpetuity. The house could be rented out and was expected to derive twenty *scudi* annually. In 1712 and 1713 we find that Domenico aged 28 was a Cleric and was receiving 3 *scudi* 6 *tari* for six months rent from Dominus Ignazio Reveu who was renting one room in Morales' house.⁴²⁹ In 1714, Domenico must have been ordained priest as he appears as Don Domenico and was still receiving the same rent from Reveu. Domenico may have been renting out other rooms in the house and possibly the *bottega*. This would have been a sure income and security for him throughout his life. The fact that Domenico was ordained priest also automatically raised him in society.

2.5 Conclusion

The inventory of Mattheo Morales opens a window that throws light on significant, rare details of the Maltese craftsman and the interior of his home, details seldom encountered in musicological studies. Through the investigation of Morales the person, his family, his household, and his domestic interior, the status of this instrument builder in society becomes more apparent. The *chitarraro* lived well, developed a taste for art and even exercised choices in his range of painting subjects. His 'Greek-style painting with a gilt frame,' for example, valued at the very costly sum of six *scudi*, must have been quite exceptional.⁴³⁰ Morales also commissioned a portrait of himself and his daughter, an extravagance that only those affluent enough could afford to do. Just like other portraits, it made a statement about the sitter's relevance in society. It is most unusual for a luthier to do such a thing.⁴³¹ This instrument builder was clearly financially comfortable, he dressed well, and he had succeeded in moving up the social ladder.

⁴²⁹ NAV, Not. D.G. Bonavita, R.62/1, f.47 dated 10 March 1712. Another receipt R.62/1, ff.219r-v dated 14 March 1713.

⁴³⁰ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.257v.

⁴³¹ Renato Meucci points out that there are no known portraits of luthiers of the sixteenth or first half of the seventeenth century. However there are some extraordinary paintings by the artist Pietro Paolini (1603-1681) portraying the same luthier from Lucca. He conjectures that the luthier might have been Giovanni Battista Giusti (1623/33-1693). See Meucci, *Strumentaio*, 174-176.

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Malta, situated in the central Mediterranean, was in a most expedient position for global trade. We find Arab and Turkish slaves, Jews, as well as several members of the Maltese community all in some way actively participating in this trade. It emerges that the luthier Matteo Morales was one of the links in this vast trade chain. His regular investments in those who faced all the dangers and difficulties of sea travel to purchase their goods, and his investment in a frigate, place him in the very heart of this thriving importation and trade.

The Morales family also reflects a period in which there was a facility of movement of individuals in spite of the perils and discomforts of travel. This investigation finds that over several generations, some members of the Morales families were dispersing over Sicily whilst others were crossing over and settling in Malta. This created a very strong web of family ties both in Sicily and in Malta. There are indications that Matteo Morales may have had other luthiers as well as musicians in his family line, both of whom were in Sicily. Family marriages with foreigners stretched the web of kinship over an even wider range to include also Naples and France. Having established the family, the next chapter moves on to focus on the *bottega* of Matteo Morales, investigating his instrument building and his potential customers.

Chapter 3: **Mattheo Morales' *Bottega di chitarraro***

The section of Morales' inventory that describes his Valletta *bottega* provides rare and precious evidence that helps us reconstruct the activities of instrument building and trade in seventeenth-century Malta. Through this document we can gain some insights on what Morales' workshop looked like, both on the outside and indoors, the furnishings he had inside, the instruments he was selling, the wood and strings he stored for making and repairing his instruments. We learn about Morales' methods regarding payment for repairs, and deduce crucial information that gives us a sense of the trading and the importation that were taking place. All these details enable us not only to build a clearer picture of the life and activities of the luthier working in Malta, but also to understand how Morales compares to other contemporary instrument builders in Europe.

Morales' life encompasses a period during which some of the foremost European luthiers of all times were active (see Table 12). The Italian peninsula, with which Malta had constant contact, had become a renowned centre for the production of music and music printing, and therefore attracted people working in every aspect of the music trade. In Cremona, the Amati and Guarneri families were well established. Several generations of the Amati family had already been active for a century by the time Morales was born.⁴³² It is very likely that he would have heard of this family in Cremona, a city that was becoming the most important centre for the production of instruments, and particularly stringed instruments. The name of Antonio Stradivari, who was around seven years younger than him, was also becoming a household name. At this time we also find several luthiers and string makers, who had chosen to migrate to Italy, and had opened their businesses there.⁴³³ One example was the German Sellas family in Venice, of whom Domenico was only five years older than Morales. In Paris, members of the Voboam dynasty, who specialised in plucked instruments, were also active contemporaneously with the Maltese luthier.⁴³⁴

As has already been seen in the previous chapters, at this time the contacts and exchanges between Malta and the Italian peninsula, France and Spain were regular and steady. Considering the trade routes, communication and the presence of European knights on the

⁴³² Charles Beare, et al. "Amati" *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed June 24, 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/00737>.

⁴³³ Patrizio Barbieri finds that almost half the luthiers working in Rome came from Bavaria. "Cembalaro, Organaro, Chitarraro e Fabbricatore di Corde," *Recercare* 1 (1989): 166, 182-205.

⁴³⁴ Florence Gétreau, "Recent Research about the Vobaum Family and Their Guitars," *JAMIS* 31 (2005): 5-66.

island, it is very likely that Mattheo Morales had at least some knowledge of instrument building in the wider Mediterranean region, and even further afield. The instruments of these renowned European makers could easily have made their way to his workshop for repairs.

Table 12: Some European stringed-instrument makers active during Morales' lifetime

Luthier	Born	Died	Worked
Mattheo Morales	1637	1698	Valletta
Giorgio Sellas	c. 1585	1649	Venice
Matteo Sellas	c.1599	1654	Venice
Andrea Guarneri	1626	1698	Cremona
Domenico Sellas	c.1632	c.1690	Venice
[Nicolas]-Alexandre Voboam	c1634/1646	c1693/1704	Paris
Antonio Stradivari	1644	1737	Cremona
Girolamo Amati II	1649	1740	Cremona

We have seen that, when expanding its *cappella musicale* in 1623, the cathedral of Mdina had ordered a family of bowed string instruments from Venice. Though there is no record of their makers, the island was clearly reaching out towards one of the biggest centres of instrument making of the time. These instruments, now no longer extant, may conceivably have come out of the Sellas workshops, though this cannot be confirmed. The purchase shows that foreign-made instruments were being used prominently on the island suggesting that either there was no bowed instrument-building taking place locally or that the cathedral preferred instruments of international repute. Previously unknown evidence has emerged of one maker of instruments who was active in Malta in the very early part of the seventeenth century. However, this

instrument builder, Hieronimo Aurifici, was building mostly 'liguti' (lutes) and a few 'chitarri,' but no bowed instruments.⁴³⁵

The presence of Aurifici exposes a stringed instrument trade already established in Valletta, probably from the latter decades of the sixteenth century.⁴³⁶ Aurifici was a professional luthier concentrating mainly on the production of lutes (Table 13). Through a notarial document we learn that he departed from Malta in 1601, leaving his *bottega* goods in the hands of Mastro Thoma de Micasro, who then passed them on to Magister Petrus de Angelo, known as 'scarpello.' Two months later, on 29 November 1601, the luthier, who was back on the Island, declared that his goods had been returned to him by Petrus de Angelo.⁴³⁷

The contents of Aurifici's *bottega* serve as a very useful comparison with that of Morales at the other extreme end of the century, emphasising the sharp contrast in taste for lutes and guitars between the beginning and the latter half of the seventeenth century. Each of them is a reflection of his own period in time, and of the organological outcome of the social and historical situation.

Aurifici's document confirms that, though luthiering seems to have been rare or inconspicuous on the island, it did exist. Several other documents reveal the presence of lutes in the sixteenth century. Though it cannot be proved that these were locally made, they do however show the people who owned them and the value put on the instruments. In each of these cases the lutes were confiscated because of illegalities. One 'old and worn lute' owned by Simon Vassallo Garza was valued in 1513 at 3 *tari* 1 *grano*.⁴³⁸ Another lute owned by Petrus Mallia in 1515 was valued at 14 *tari* 10 *grani*.⁴³⁹ Before Morales, professional instrument building was already taking place in Malta and people could purchase different-sized lutes and also locally-made 'chitarri' in the early part of the century. In Aurifici's *bottega*, we find a total of thirteen lutes described as 'rutti e sani,' that is, some broken and others in good shape, and six 'chitarri,' of which four were old and two were new.⁴⁴⁰ There were also three boxes of old lutes. Apart from the instruments, we find pieces of lutes used for repairs, and six lute moulds consisting of 'three small and three large,' which may

⁴³⁵ NAV, Not. Giov. Simone De Lucia R.229/15, ff.84-85. I am grateful to the Senior Clerk, Paul Camilleri, at the Notarial Archives for indicating this document.

⁴³⁶ Aurifici is recorded 'giving his consent' to Clarissa Cassaro in Porto Salvo, Valletta, on 8 October 1596. This suggests that by 1596 he was already building instruments in Malta. NLM, AD Libr. 23, f.577.

⁴³⁷ De Lucia, R.229/15, f.85r.

⁴³⁸ NLM, Università 12, Doc. 34, f.30. This instrument was confiscated and sold because Vassallo Garza did not follow bartering rules. I thank Stanley Fiorini for this reference.

⁴³⁹ NLM, Università 12, Doc. 268, f.129. In this case the instrument was confiscated and sold because Mallia sold wine illegally and evaded tax.

⁴⁴⁰ Since at this stage an ambiguity of terminology arises, I have left the word 'chitarri' untranslated and will discuss it below.

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all have been in varying sizes. Together with these, there were fifteen pieces of luthiering tools, a copper flask/basin, two tables, three chairs, a bench, framed pictures, a stool, a saw and about a 'cantaro' of timber.⁴⁴¹

Table 13: Contents of Hieronimo Aurifici's *Bottega*, 1601

Hieronimo Aurifici's <i>Bottega</i>	
liguti rutti e sani tredici	13 lutes - some in good shape, some not
<i>Item</i> quattro chitarri vechi	<i>also</i> 4 old <i>chitarri</i>
<i>Item</i> altri doi chitarri novi	<i>also</i> another 2 new <i>chitarri</i>
<i>Item</i> quindici pezzi di ferramenti di arti di ligutaro	<i>also</i> 15 metal tools used in the art of luthiering
<i>Item</i> un fiasco di ramo	<i>also</i> a copper flask
<i>Item</i> sei furmi di liguti cioe tre piccolo e tre grandi	<i>also</i> 6 lute moulds, that is 3 small and 3 big
<i>Item</i> un cantaro in circa di legnami di chiuppo, o acana di far chitarri consistenti in piu pezzi	<i>also</i> about a <i>cantaro</i> of poplar wood, or <i>acana</i> with which to make <i>chitarri</i> consisting of different pieces
<i>Item</i> certi pezzi di liguti per ripezzari altri liguti	<i>also</i> some parts of lutes used in repairing other lutes
<i>Item</i> una ciera ⁴⁴² di saragusa	<i>also</i> a chair from Syracuse
<i>Item</i> un scabello ⁴⁴³ vecchio	<i>also</i> an old stool
<i>Item</i> tre quatretti	<i>also</i> 3 picture frames

⁴⁴¹ 'Cantaro' was the measure used at the time for weighing timber, cotton and cumin. See Joan Abela, "Port Activities in Mid-Sixteenth Century Malta" (Masters thesis, University of Malta, 2007).

⁴⁴² 'Ciera' – chair. G. Piccitto, "Vocabolario Siciliano," in *Vocabolario Siciliano* (Catania-Palermo: Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani, 1977 - 2002).

⁴⁴³ J. Florio, *Queen Anne's New World of Words or Dictionarie of the Italian and English tongues*. (London: 1611), 468. 'Scabello' - a stool.

<i>Item tre caxi di liguti vechi</i>	<i>also 3 boxes/chests of old lutes</i>
<i>Item un banco grandi con sua viti⁴⁴⁴</i>	<i>also a large bench with its screw-vice</i>
una tavula veneciana	a plank/table from Venice
<i>Item doi tavuli calavrisi</i>	<i>also 2 tables/planks from Calabria</i>
<i>Item tre mezzi siraticzi</i>	<i>also 3 half joists</i>
<i>Item una serra</i>	<i>also a saw</i>
<i>Item una caxia a un caratello senza fondo ad effectum infrascriptum et non aliter.</i>	<i>also a bottomless chestas it has here been written and in no other way.</i>

Source: NAV, Not. Giovanni Simone De Lucia R.229/15, 84-85.

Lutes in different sizes were clearly the main focus of Aurifici's activity. Several other documents confirm the popularity of the lute. In one instance, on Christmas Eve of 1603, four musicians in Birgu spent the night performing out in the streets and in people's houses. Their instruments were a *liguto* (lute), *cithera* ('cetra,' a cittern), *tamburetto* and *flauta* (tambourine and flute).⁴⁴⁵

Plucked string instruments during this period were very objectionable to the Bishops who, as we have already seen, pronounced several edicts regarding them. However, by 1650 documents show little sign of the presence of lutes on the island. By Morales' death in 1698, lutes had faded out of popularity and were by then replaced by Spanish guitars. It is notable that no lutes were found among the goods in seventeenth-century inventories consulted for this thesis.

Aurifici's inventory is particularly significant because it gives us a detailed image of what was taking place in Malta in the early part of the century when there was evidently a healthy demand for lutes. The immense popularity of the lute in the sixteenth and very early seventeenth centuries all over Europe can be seen through several non-Maltese inventories. One of these is that of the collection of Raymund Fugger, a German patron of the arts in the second half of the sixteenth century. He had a huge collection of 141 lutes in seven different sizes.⁴⁴⁶ This also

⁴⁴⁴ Florio, 604. 'vita' – any kind of screw or vice. In modern Italian and Maltese the word 'morsa' would probably be used.

⁴⁴⁵ AIM, Verallo, 22A, ff.429-430. Mikiel Fsadni O.P., "Ġrajja ta' Erba' Daqqaqqa fil-Milied tas-Sena 1603," ["The story of four musicians in Christmas 1603"], *Riflessi* (January 1972): 179-80.

⁴⁴⁶ Douglas Alton Smith, "The Musical Instrument Inventory of Raymund Fugger," *GSI*, 33 (Mar. 1980): 39-40.

confirms the wide range of sizes produced by contemporary makers. It became common to use 'families of instruments' in different sizes, whether string or wind.⁴⁴⁷ Between the second half of the sixteenth century to the early part of the seventeenth century, lutes were usually used in sets of three, four or five, sometimes more.

The early popularity of the lute is also reflected in the name that stringed-instrument builders used when referring to their trade. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, in Italy it was more common to find makers putting up the sign *lutaro* or *liutaio*, whereas later in the century, when the Spanish guitar gained popularity, there was a preference for the term *chitarraro*. These instrument builders would have been making similar types of instruments though in the former case the emphasis would have been on lutes, whilst in the latter it would have been on guitars. Patrizio Barbieri finds that the term *chitarraro* first began to appear in Roman parish records between 1620 and 1630, when the lute started gradually going into decline.⁴⁴⁸ However, in the Italian peninsula, there was a period of overlap between an older instrument called 'chitarra,' and the introduction of the very different 'chitarra spagnola.' Renato Meucci postulates that any references to 'chitarra a la taliana,' 'chitarra napoletana,' 'chitarrina' or very simply 'chitarra,' was in actual fact not a figure-of-eight guitar, but was a very small, four-course, lute-shaped instrument which had existed much earlier and remained extremely popular in the sixteenth and first decades of the seventeenth century in the Kingdom of Naples.⁴⁴⁹ In the early seventeenth century the Spanish guitar that was only recently introduced, was generally qualified as 'chitarra spagnola.' An inventory of a Neapolitan instrument builder in 1578 that lists 'chitarre a sette corde' would probably, therefore, have been lute-shaped instruments.⁴⁵⁰ In the inventory of an instrument maker from Asti and his German associate who opened a *bottega* together in Rome in 1602, there is a clear distinction. Apart from 'leuti' and 'tiorbe,' there was a very large number of instruments described as 'chitarre ordinarie' or 'chitarre alla leutina,' whilst a smaller number was specified as 'chitarre alla spagnola.'⁴⁵¹ This inventory is a clear example of that which was happening on the Italian peninsula, and was at the precise time as Aurifici's inventory. It therefore raises the question as to whether Malta was following this same nomenclature, and whether Aurifici's 'chitarri' that are not specified as 'alla spagnola' could also have been the older lute-shaped instruments. However, this issue proves very hard to determine. Christopher Page's

⁴⁴⁷ François Lesure, "La Façure Instrumentale à Paris Au Seizième Siècle," *GSI* 7 (1954): 17.

⁴⁴⁸ Barbieri, "Cembalaro," 170.

⁴⁴⁹ Renato Meucci, "Da 'Chitarra Italiana' a 'Chitarrone': una nuova interpretazione," in *Enrico Radesca da Foggia*, ed. Francesca Seller (Lucca: LIM, 2001), 37-57. The *chitarra* ('quintern') is very clearly shown as a small lute-shaped instrument in *Virdung* (1511). See Bullard, ed. *Musica getutscht*, 103.

⁴⁵⁰ Francesco Nocerino, "La bottega dei 'violari' napoletani Albanese e Matino in un inventario inedito del 1578," in *Liuteria Musica e Cultura 1999-2000*, ed. Renato Meucci (Lucca: LIM, 2001), 4.

⁴⁵¹ Maurizio Tarrini, "L'inventario di una bottega liutaria romana redatto nel 1602," *Liuteria* IV (1984): 43-49.

research on the guitar in England shows that figure-of-eight instruments, which they called ‘gitterns,’ were introduced around 1550 and were imported from France and Spain.⁴⁵² This shows a much earlier infiltration of the guitar through the French and Spanish route. Malta by 1530 was under the Order of St John, having a predominance of French and Spanish Grand Masters on the Islands throughout the sixteenth century, suggesting that they could have exercised a strong cultural influence, bringing in Spanish guitars at a similarly early stage.

By the 1650s we see the fading away of the production of lute strings and the increased production of guitar strings.⁴⁵³ Gabriele Rossi Rognoni’s research shows that Florence saw the same decrease in lutes, as well as a change of name to ‘chitarraro.’⁴⁵⁴ This decline of the lute’s popularity is likewise found among the Parisian makers.⁴⁵⁵ In the beginning of the century Aurifici concentrated on lutes and is most likely to have been making or selling lute-shaped ‘chitarri vecchi e nuovi.’ By the latter part of the century the demand in Malta had evidently changed dramatically. Just as by the 1680s the term *chitarraro* in Rome had completely taken over from the previous *lutaro*, similarly in Malta, the inventory of Morales tells us that his public sign indicated the workshop of a *chitarraro*.⁴⁵⁶ Here too, the lutes had been replaced by different sizes of guitars, which by then would have been of the Spanish type and no longer needed to be specified as such. This is a strong indication that the Island was moving at par with Italian trends of the time.

3.1 Description of the *Bottega*

Mattheo Morales’ workshop on Strada San Pietro was well signposted for all to see. A banner or streamer (‘banderola’), painted on cloth or wood advertised Morales as a *chitarraro*, a stringed-instrument maker, primarily of guitars.⁴⁵⁷ Walking into his *bottega*, one would have seen several guitars and a varied array of other stringed instruments, many of which would have been hung or positioned around the room. On one side, Morales may have been busily working on a guitar, the parts of which were spread out on his old work table, or he may have been seated in his large

⁴⁵² Christopher Page, *The Guitar in Tudor England: A Social and Musical History* (UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

⁴⁵³ Patrizio Barbieri, “The Roman Gut String Makers 1550-2005,” *Studi Musicali* Anno XXXV no. 1 (2006): Appendix 2, 71-104.

⁴⁵⁴ Gabriele Rossi Rognoni, “Liutai, chitarrari e violinai nella Firenze del Cinque-Seicento,” *Per Archi* IV, 3/4 (Nov 2009): 36.

⁴⁵⁵ Catherine Massip, “Facteurs d’instruments et maîtres à danser parisiens au XVIIIe siècle,” in *Instrumentistes et luthiers parisiens XVIIIe-XIXe siècle*, ed. Florence Gétreau, (Paris: Délégation à l’Action Artistique de la Ville de Paris, 1988), 17-33.

⁴⁵⁶ ‘Una banderola segno di bottega di chitarraro’ – NAV, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.253r.

⁴⁵⁷ In 1677 in Rome, we find a gut string maker having two shop signs painted on wood – ‘due insegne di bottega in tavole dipinte.’ Barbieri, “Roman Gut String Makers,” 100.

chair, wearing a monocle and carrying out finishing touches on some guitar repairs.⁴⁵⁸ The inventory tells us that there were four other large chairs in the room, as well as some small straw ones. In his worktable drawer were some strings and iron tools.⁴⁵⁹ Within reach he had two chests full of various *chitarraro* objects.⁴⁶⁰ He had a box full of instrument pegs,⁴⁶¹ and another containing pieces of strings and four bass viol bridges.⁴⁶²

A more special walnut table in his *bottega* is likely to have been at the other end of the room, away from the dusty workbench. He would probably have been sitting at this table when dealing with customers. Inside the drawer, the inventory tells us that he kept some of his more personal belongings, as well as his copper compass, another monocle made of bone, and his book of accounts, which he kept constantly updated. In a cupboard in the wall he kept his two shaving jars, a pebble and an animal skin, all probably forming part of his shaving apparatus.⁴⁶³ On another shelf in this cupboard were some scales for weighing *zecchini* coins. In 1690 the Grand Master had withdrawn all *zecchini* circulating in Malta because of a large quantity of underweight counterfeits, which were then melted down.⁴⁶⁴ Through this, one concludes that Morales would not allow anyone the chance of giving him fraudulent currency.

Close to the walnut table was a reed curtain, behind which he kept a violin in a red cloth cover and a guitar in a black cover.⁴⁶⁵ By placing these instruments in a cover and behind the curtain, he shows that he preferred to protect them from any dust in the workshop. These instruments are likely to have been of a higher quality and would probably have been aimed at the more discerning and affluent customer.

It is notable that tools and other items, which would normally have been mostly similar to a carpenter's, but some of which would have been very specialised for the trade, are grouped together under the general terms 'ferramenti' or 'stigli' and not described individually.

'Ferramenti' were tools and other goods that were made of iron (Italian 'ferro' meaning iron). Gio Pietro Pinaroli in his *Polyanthea* (1718-1732) uses the word 'stili' when referring to tools and

⁴⁵⁸ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, ff.252r, 259r. All these objects are listed in his workshop.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid., f.252v.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid., f.257v, 'due cassette con diversi imbrogli di chitarraro.'

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., f.253r, 'una cassetta con caviglie.'

⁴⁶² Ibid., 'quattro scannelli di basso di viola.'

⁴⁶³ Ibid., f.253r. The pebble was used up to the early twentieth century in order to stretch the cheek while shaving.

⁴⁶⁴ Joseph C. Sammut, *Currency in Malta* (Malta: Central Bank of Malta, 2001), 35.

⁴⁶⁵ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.253r. 'Stuora' or 'stola' was a reed curtain. This is confirmed in another document where it clearly states 'una stola sive hasira.' Hasira is the Maltese name used for a reed curtain. See Archives of the Confraternity of Charity, (Valletta, Church of Shipwreck of St Paul), Legati Cappella, Conti della Cappella 1 (1635-1667), f.34v.

other objects pertaining to the art of the *chitarraro* (Figure 14).⁴⁶⁶ Among these ‘stili’ he lists various specific tools such as pliers, files, rasps, compass, ruler, hammer, knives, drill, saw, and also adds a cauldron in which to melt glue, and a little stove.

A small chest in the *bottega* is described as containing several ‘imbarazzi,’ a very vague term for bulky or cumbersome objects.⁴⁶⁷ This term, which is used several times, is clear evidence that the person carrying out the inventory was not knowledgeable enough to give a precise name to the items. Behind the reed curtain there were also ‘diversi altri imbarazzi di bottega’ – several other bulky objects normally found in a workshop.⁴⁶⁸ This again leaves the objects vague and unqualified. It is immediately apparent that the instrument moulds, which one would expect to find in such a workshop, are never mentioned by name and may very well have been among these ‘imbarazzi di bottega.’ Gio Pietro Pinaroli in his *Polyanthea* depicts different instrument moulds necessary for the art of a *chitarraro* (Figure 14).⁴⁶⁹ He names these individually: ‘forma di Colascione, forma di Chitarra, forma di Mandola, forma di Violino.’ However, in the case of the inventory of goods in Morales’ *bottega*, the compiler gives no such detailed information.

The initial drawing up of the inventory was carried out by a representative of the Grand Court of the *Castellania*. The fact that items in the *bottega* are described in such a vague manner implies a lack of knowledge of the luthiering trade on the part of the compiler. However, we are informed that ‘specialists’ were called in to value the goods in the inventory. Among these was Antonio Famuncelli, who was the consul for Goldsmiths at the time. He valued the items of gold and silver, as well as the jewellery, since there was, as yet, no separate confraternity or guild for jewellery.⁴⁷⁰ The valuation of the other items in the inventory was carried out by ‘Michele Grech and Demetrio Frangulli, experts elected by the consent of the heirs.’⁴⁷¹ These two gentlemen are referred to as ‘experts’ but it is not clear exactly what the expertise of each of them was. They valued furniture, paintings, furnishings, bed linen and clothing, but the *bottega* items were not listed in their valuation. We know that timber was valued under oath by Mastro Salvu Hellul.⁴⁷² But what of the instruments? The valuation and distribution of some of them seems to have taken place between family members. The few instruments given a value appear in this amicable division ‘by common

⁴⁶⁶ ‘Stili appartenenti al’Arte del’ Chitarraro.’ Re Pinaroli see Barbieri, “Cembalaro” and also Renato Meucci, *Strumentaio. Il costruttore di strumenti musicali nella tradizione occidentale* (Venice: Marsilio, 2008).

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, f.253r. Florio, 234: ‘imbarazzo – an entangling, an incumbrance, ...luggage.’ I also thank Prof Joseph Brincat for our discussion on this.

⁴⁶⁸ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.253r.

⁴⁶⁹ Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, Ms 3006. Giovanni Pietro Pinaroli, *Polyanthea technica* (1718-1732).

⁴⁷⁰ Information provided by Alaine Apap Bologna, 11 September 2014.

⁴⁷¹ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.253r.

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*, f.256r.

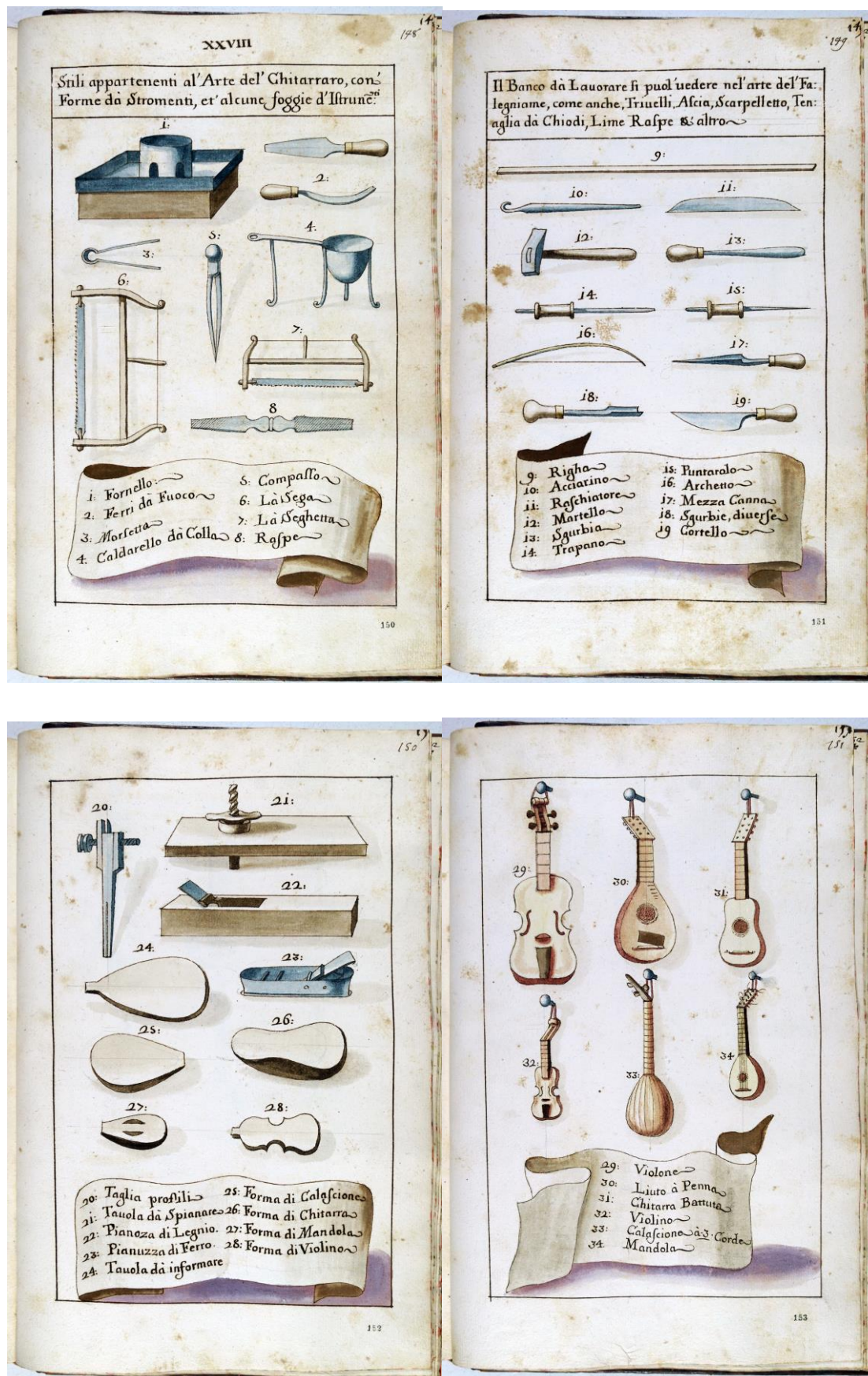


Figure 14. Gio. Pietro Pinaroli: *Polyanthea Technica* (1718-32) showing items pertaining to the art of the *chitarraro*. Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, Ms 3006, 150-3. By kind permission.

consent of the heirs.⁴⁷³ In the inventory, nowhere is there a valuation for all the remaining instruments, and it is not clear what became of them. A search for the possibility of a separate valuation of the instruments proved futile.⁴⁷⁴

During the sale of Morales' goods, one of the experts elect, Michele Grech, purchased for 3 *scudi*, a table in which there were guitar strings, and also some iron tools and objects pertaining to the *chitarraro* trade.⁴⁷⁵ Somebody must have put a value to these for him and it also shows that there must have been some interest in guitar making on the part of Michele Grech. In any case, it seems to have been important to the heirs to have all the instruments listed, and yet there is no valuation of them. This leaves us with a few possible scenarios: one being that there may have been another separate valuation of the *bottega* goods that has not surfaced; another possibility being that the instruments in the shop already had a price fixed on them and did not require further valuation; or alternatively that the valuation was done by family members. In this case one would conclude that at least one of Matteo's siblings was knowledgeable enough of the trade to provide such a valuation. As we will see, there are several indications that Matteo's only brother, Gio Batta, was a very likely candidate.

3.2 Instruments in the *Bottega*

On entering Morales' workshop, what was most striking at first glance was the large proportion of guitars, as opposed to the single lute (Table 14). The growing popularity of the guitar all over Europe in the latter part of the seventeenth century is clearly reflected in the Maltese luthier's *bottega*. Morales had, however, also diversified his activity to a great number of instruments. It is understandable that small cities, and similarly small islands, had a lesser demand than the larger centres, and were therefore obliged to explore ways of maximising their sales or finding other ways of supplementing their trades in order to make a comfortable living.

In Malta it was common for craftsmen and artisans to diversify according to their capabilities, some even carrying out two completely different trades. We find barbers requesting to double as tailors,⁴⁷⁶ others wanting to sell aquavit, tobacco and cotton.⁴⁷⁷ We even find music teachers

⁴⁷³ Ibid., f.256r.

⁴⁷⁴ This was carried out in the documents of the same notary and of some other contemporary notaries. For the years 1698-99, Notaries Stefano Fogliamorte; G.A. Madiona; Pietro Fiore; Aloysio dello Re; Giuseppe Callus; Salvatore Vella; Pietro Paolo Natale; M.A. Giov. Bonavita; Benedetto Vassallo; Giuseppe Simon.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., f.258v, 'Alcuni ferramenti di chitarraro.'

⁴⁷⁶ NAM, MCC, Sup. (1711), f.36r.

⁴⁷⁷ NAM, MCC, Sup. (1711), f.34v.

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requesting to sell tobacco and aquavit in order to supplement their earnings.⁴⁷⁸ Morales chose to provide several different stringed instruments, both bowed and plucked, and we also find a spinet in his workshop. He was trying his utmost to have a varied business that was more likely to succeed. However, he also handsomely supplemented his earnings by investing in traders, as has been discussed earlier.

Table 14: Instruments in Mattheo Morales' *Bottega*, 1698

Mattheo Morales' <i>Bottega</i>	
<i>Tre bassi di viola</i>	3 bass violins
<i>una tromba marina</i>	a trumpet marine
<i>un liuto con una fedora</i>	a lute with its cloth cover
<i>un arc[[h]]i chitarra</i>	a theorboed guitar
<i>un instromento alla turchesca detto tambura</i>	a Turkish-style instrument known as <i>tambura</i>
<i>dieci nove chitarre grandi, piccoli, e bastardini, vecchi, e nuovi</i>	19 guitars, large, small and <i>bastardini</i> , old and new
<i>quattro violini</i>	4 violins
<i>tre violini detti sordini</i>	3 violins known as <i>sordini</i>
<i>un violino con la investa rossa</i>	a violin with its red cloth cover
<i>una chitarra con investa nera</i>	a guitar in a black cloth cover
<i>una spinetta</i>	a spinet

Source: NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit 4, 247-263v.

In workshops around Europe, we find that even in the larger centres, instrument builders rarely specialised in one type of instrument. Bass viols, violins, guitars and lutes were likely to be found at the time in most luthiers' workshops.⁴⁷⁹ Instrument builders in Florence were producing both

⁴⁷⁸ NAM, MCC, Sup. (1714), f.34r.

⁴⁷⁹ Florence G treau, "Recent Research About the Voboam Family," *JAMIS XXXI*, (2005): 7-11.

bowed and plucked stringed instruments.⁴⁸⁰ Antonio Stradivari in Cremona was himself making a varied number of stringed bowed and plucked instruments, including violins, violas, cellos, guitars, lutes, mandolinos and even harps.⁴⁸¹

I have compiled a list of inventories of some European luthiers in order to examine the instruments being sold by each, and to compare them to Morales' stock (Table 15). Some of these *botteghe* are of similar size, though others are clearly much larger than Morales'. Though several European luthiers built both plucked and bowed instruments, they were generally leaning more towards one or the other. Morales also had a spinet in his workshop. Whether he made it himself or not is impossible to verify. However, it was not rare to find some European luthiers making the smaller keyboard instruments.

Fred Jacobs, investigating inventories of Parisian lute builders concludes that among them there were also dealers.⁴⁸² This means that apart from instruments made by the luthiers themselves, they were also making available some instruments that were made by other makers. In the workshop of Jean Desmoulins, for example, there were 140 'new' lutes listed after his death, but also a large number of 'old' lutes originally by other makers from Padua, Venice, Florence and Bologna.⁴⁸³ Taking this into consideration, the distinction made in inventories between 'new' and 'old' may, therefore, indicate a similar situation of instruments by older makers.

The inventories of both Aurifici and Morales refer to 'new' and 'old' instruments. One, therefore, cannot exclude the possible scenario of old second-hand instruments by other makers being sold in Malta's workshops. Among these may have been the works of some of the renowned European luthiers. Collectors of musical instruments are not only a modern phenomenon. There were individuals who were interested in amassing both new and old instruments. In Italy, we find the Mantova family priding itself on the ownership and collection of a variety of good musical instruments by different makers.

⁴⁸⁰ Rossi Rognoni, "Liutai, chitarrai e violinai," 36-37.

⁴⁸¹ Charles Beare et al., "Stradivari," *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed June 24, 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/26889pg1>.

⁴⁸² Fred Jacobs "Un Bon Nombre d'Illustres: Constantijn Huygens and the World of the French Lute." in *The lute in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century: Proceedings of the International Lute Symposium Utrecht, 30 August 2013*, ed. Jan W.J. Burgers, Tim Crawford, Matthew Spring (UK, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016), 148.

⁴⁸³ Jacobs "Un bon nombre," 148

Table 15: Instruments in some European *Botteghe*

Date	Instr. builder	Inventory	Value	Sources
c.1587	M. Lemaire <i>'facteur d'instruments'</i> PARIS	1 <i>épinette</i> [spinet] 1 <i>manicordion</i> [clavichord] 3 <i>violons</i> 1 <i>sistre</i> [cetra, cittern] 3 <i>guiternes</i> 8 <i>mandores</i> [mandora, mandola]		Francois Lesure "La Facture instrumentale à Paris au Seizième Siècle" 14.
1587	Claude Denis <i>'facteur d'instruments'</i> PARIS	4 <i>épinettes</i> 65 <i>violons</i> 2 <i>poches</i> 30 <i>guiternes</i> 13 <i>cistres</i> 58 <i>mandores</i> 67 <i>lutz</i> 1 <i>manicordion</i> 1 <i>double basse contre viole</i> 1 <i>double basse contre violon</i> 1 <i>harpe</i> 4 <i>flutes</i> 1 <i>cornet</i>		Lesure "La Facture..." 36-38.
1608	Pierre Aubry <i>'facteur d'instruments', 'maitre d'instruments de musique et lutz'</i> MELUN, PARIS	169 <i>mandores</i> 77 <i>violons</i> 78 <i>luths</i> 6 <i>sistres</i> 1 <i>basse violle</i>		Lesure "La Facture...." 42-44.
1638	Fiacre Préponnier	112 <i>lutes</i> 108 <i>mandores</i> 63 <i>guitars</i>		Cath. Massip "Facteurs d'instruments ... au XVIIe siècle," 17-33.

Date	Instr. builder	Inventory	Value	Sources
1657	Lorenzo Filzer <i>chitarraro</i> ROME		Scudi/ Giuli ⁴⁸⁴	
		<i>1 chitarra lav. di madre perla</i>	9. 0	Patrizio Barbieri, "Cembalano, organaro, chitarraro..." 170-172, 189.
		<i>3 chitarre, 2 con giri d'ebano</i>	9. 0	
		<i>3 chitarre cuperte di osso</i>	3. 60	
		<i>5 chitarre di legno di fiume</i>	10. 0	
		<i>9 chitarre, tastiera di osso</i>	9. 90	
		<i>31 chitarra ordinaria</i>	24. 0	
		<i>4 chitarre coperte di noce coriste</i>	4. 40	
		<i>11 chitarre a la quarta e piu piccole</i>	6. 05	
		<i>9 chitarre a la quarta</i>	4. 50	
		<i>12 chitarre con corde di cetra</i>	6. 0	
		<i>10 chitarini a la taliana manico d'osso</i>	4. 0	
		<i>20 chitarini a la taliana</i>	3. 0	
		<i>30 chitarini a la taliana</i>	6. 0	
		<i>8 chitarre spagnole non fornite</i>	2. 40	
		<i>55 calascioni</i>	17. 55	
		<i>7 calascioni tiorbati</i>	2. 80	
<i>22 mandolini</i>	4. 40			
<i>43 cetre</i>	43. 0			
<i>4 violini ordinari</i>	2. 0			
<i>4 violini</i>	0. 40			

In 1696 Andrea Mantova (1632-1711) drew up an inventory of the instruments in the family collection, among which were violins, viols, lutes, theorbos, guitars, as well as other wind, brass

⁴⁸⁴ 1 Roman scudo = 100 baiocchi. 1 Roman giulio = 10 baiocchi. 9.6 giuli = 1 Maltese scudo.

and percussion instruments.⁴⁸⁵ These are reported to have been 'made by good and great makers of the past century' and included Paduan, Roman, Brescian and Venetian makers.⁴⁸⁶ The makers of these instruments are very rarely specified by name. To these collectors, the instruments were acquisitions that symbolised the refined taste of the owners and provided proof of their patronage of the arts. The instrument maker in this scenario was secondary.

Knowing exactly what was in Morales' bottega gives us a clear idea of which instruments were easily procurable on the Island. However, an exploration of local inventories of the seventeenth century will help us further to construct the potential buyers of each of these instruments and to place them within their social context. For this end, I will be investigating each of the instruments in the *bottega* while also comparing with the instruments found in contemporary wills and inventories (Table 16).

3.2.1 Plucked Instruments: citterns, lutes, guitars

Anyone seeing the shop sign outside Morales' *bottega* would have expected a large array of guitars, which was indeed the case. By this time the Spanish guitar was extremely popular. The twenty-one guitars were significantly made in different sizes. We find 'grandi, piccoli' and 'bastardini' (large, small and smaller still). Together with these there was also an 'arci chitarra.' This, therefore, shows that Morales was providing guitars in several different tonal ranges, and also indicates that there must have been a local demand for each of these.

In 1628 Vincenzo Giustiniani in his *Discorso sopra la musica de suoi tempi* was already claiming that 'the *chitarra alla spagnola* had come into favour throughout Italy, especially in Naples.'⁴⁸⁷ We can see from the 1657 inventory of the Roman *chitarraro*, Lorenzo Filzer (Table 15), that towards mid century, luthiers in Italy were still selling the old type of 'chitarre.' At this time a distinction was still being made between the term 'chitarra' which referred to the older lute-shaped instrument, and the 'chitarra spagnola' that was a large guitar that had five double courses.⁴⁸⁸ On this Spanish type of 'chitarra,' full chordal strumming with the fingers was the stylistic feature. In the early seventeenth century, a new easier method of reading music was created by the Italian,

⁴⁸⁵ Gerhard Stradner, "Musical Instruments in an Inventory by Andrea Mantova Benevides, Padua 1696," *GSJ* 55 (2002).

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 65.

⁴⁸⁷ Nigel Fortune, "Giustiniani on Instruments," *GSJ* 5 (1952): 50

⁴⁸⁸ Tyler and Sparks, *The Guitar and its Music from the Renaissance to the Classical Era* (Oxford, OUP, 2002): 32.

Girolamo Montesardo (1606). This method, aimed at dilettantes, and known as the ‘alfabeto,’ further popularised the Spanish guitar.

It has been noted that the definition ‘spagnola’ found on the Italian peninsula is not encountered at all in seventeenth-century Malta, either in wills and inventories or in the workshops of Aurifici and Morales. There seems to have been no doubt regarding the type of ‘chitarra’ in question at the time. By the end of the century, ‘chitarri’ everywhere were guitars of the Spanish type. Morales’ ‘chitarri grandi’ would therefore have been the larger five-course Spanish guitars. In his workshop there were also ‘piccoli’ and ‘pastardini.’ Malta’s guitarists within the folk singing (‘għana’) context, to this day, still talk of the large ‘kitarri/kiterri,’ the smaller ‘kitarrini’ and ‘terzini’ and the smallest of all, the narrow-waisted ‘pastardini.’⁴⁸⁹ In addition to this, one occasionally also hears of a ‘bagħal ta’ pastardin’ which is a hybrid ‘pastardin’ with an even narrower waist. All are now six-stringed Spanish-type guitars. Up to the first half of the twentieth century small ‘pastardini’ were by far the most popular among lead guitarists (‘prim kitarristi’) for their performance of improvisations known as ‘prejjem,’ for which a brighter, higher pitch was favoured. Accompanying guitarists always used larger guitars, which were lower pitched.⁴⁹⁰ It is only in recent decades that the popularity of the ‘pastardin’ has somewhat declined. It is not known when the preference for different-sized guitars entered folk use in the accompaniment of ‘għana.’ However, Morales’ inventory proves the existence and availability of different sizes of guitars on the islands certainly as early as the latter part of the seventeenth century.

One of the guitars in Morales’ workshop is singled out and described as ‘con investa nera.’ This instrument, which was kept aside and covered in a black cloth bag, must have been of finer quality than the others, possibly made of finer wood or having inlay. Exotic woods, such as dark ebony, were highly desirable on guitars at the time and fine workmanship featuring inlay with bone and mother of pearl may be seen on several surviving European guitars of this period. Those by Domenico Sellas inlaid with ivory, mother of pearl and ebony, and by Alexandre Voboam inlaid with ivory and ebony, show the hours of workmanship which went into some of these more ornate instruments.⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁹ Anna Borg Cardona, *Musical Instruments of the Maltese Islands: History, Folkways and Traditions* (Malta: FPM 2014), 151-156.

⁴⁹⁰ Andrew Pace provides a table of key measurements for Maltese guitar models used today in *Participating in the musical tradition of prejjem: Transmitting the guitar culture of għana within and between insular musical communities of islanders in Malta and the Maltese-Australian diaspora*, (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 2015), 47.

⁴⁹¹ For an exceptional Domenico Sellas guitar (NMM, University of South Dakota) inlaid with ivory, mother of pearl and ebony, see <https://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/beta/asset/image-1/XQFL8KVkp1vnEA?childAssetId=dAGQNJev-PpLAA>.

Factors such as an expensive, exotic wood and inlay, which was so time consuming, raised the price of the instruments. Inlay could be made with different coloured woods, bone, mother of pearl, ivory or even silver. Morales' guitar covered in black cloth, one of the few for which we have a price, was valued at 7 *scudi*, which was a high price to pay. This guitar must have had superior features not found in the plainer and therefore cheaper guitars. Lorenzo Filzer's instruments, which are meticulously valued, prove very useful for comparison with Morales' instruments. The most costly of all Lorenzo Filzer's guitars was one which was inlaid with mother of pearl, and was valued at 9 Roman *scudi*.⁴⁹² This, translated into Maltese currency, was equivalent to 7 *scudi* 4 *tari*. Morales' guitar in a black cloth cover was consequently selling at roughly the same price as these Roman guitars that were ornately-decorated with expensive mother of pearl. It is therefore likely that Morales' was also one having such costly inlay. Filzer was also selling three plainer guitars, two of which were enhanced with ebony purfling. These together cost as much as the one guitar with mother of pearl inlay. Three other guitars covered in bone inlay each cost the equivalent of 2 Maltese *scudi* 5 *tari*. Since bone was easily obtained, it was relatively inexpensive when compared to mother of pearl, even though it would have been equally time consuming. Lowest of Filzer's range were thirty 'ordinary guitars' priced together at 24 Roman *scudi*, equivalent to 2 Maltese *scudi* 1 *tari* each. We find that Filzer was providing a full range of quality of guitars, only a very small percentage of which was extravagantly costly. The predominant part was made up of the cheaper 'ordinary guitars' for which there must have been a larger market. Similarly, out of 20 guitars in Morales' workshop, only one costly guitar covered in a black cloth is singled out and valued at 7 *scudi*. Here we seem to have the same proportional range of quality as was occurring in Rome. This, I believe, points to a wider market for guitars in the middle to lower stratum of society.

Another rare and notable type of guitar, the 'arci chitarra,' was also available in Morales' *bottega*, indicating the extent to which Malta was a part of the experimentation taking place in European cities.⁴⁹³ Unlike the 'arch lute,' which was a commonly available large-sized bass lute, the 'arci chitarra' is not so frequently encountered. It was known in Italy as 'chitarra tiorbata' and in France as 'guitarre theorbée.'⁴⁹⁴ This instrument was tuned like the five-course guitar but had an

⁴⁹² The Roman *scudo* had slightly more value. Whereas a Maltese *scudo* was worth 96 *baiocchi*, the Roman *scudo* was worth 100 *baiocchi*. See Domenico Magri, *Notitia de vocaboli ecclesiastici e de riti sacri* (Venice: 1732), sv. 'Tarenus.'

⁴⁹³ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.253r.

⁴⁹⁴ Richard T. Pinnell, "The Theorboed Guitar: Its Repertoire in the Guitar Books of Granata and Gallot" *Early Music* 7 no.3, (1979), 323-329. Dinko Fabris, "Danze intavolate per Chitarra Tiorbata in uno sconosciuto manoscritto Napoletano (Na, Cons. Ms. 1321)" *Nuova Rivista Musicale Italiana* 3, (Luglio/Settembre 1981), 405-426. Monica Hall, "The chitarra atiorbata and the guitarrre theorbée: a reappraisal" *Early Music*, 39 no.1 (February 2011), 25-34.

extended neck with a separate pegbox that held bass strings. Antonio Stradivari also had some sketches of the instrument, now in the Museo Stradivariano del Violino in Cremona.⁴⁹⁵ This was, however, a time of variants and experiment with different methods of stringing and tuning of plucked stringed instruments.⁴⁹⁶ A rare portrayal of the instrument is found in the Louvre Museum in Daniel Rabel's manuscript watercolour album *Ballet de la Douairière de Billebahaut, Chantres Grenadins*, 1626 (Figure 15).⁴⁹⁷ This album containing extravagant watercolour ballet sketches highlighted in gold represent different parts of the world. It was danced by Louis XIII in February of 1626 in the Louvre. The caricature group 'Chantres Grenadins' is made up of three singers, two of whom play guitars. The one in the back holds a treble guitar shaped in the figure of eight, whilst the other in the forefront is holding a theorboed guitar having a slightly larger and less curved body with an extended neck to which bass strings are attached. No more details are decipherable. Another image of a theorboed guitar can be seen in an engraving in Giovanni Battista Granata's Op. 3 (1651) that contains parts written specifically for the instrument.⁴⁹⁸ This instrument is still very little known and requires further investigation.

All over seventeenth-century Europe, the guitar's popularity was increasing in different levels of society. In Naples we find that there were several 'signori' who were excellent string players, with the guitar being a favourite.⁴⁹⁹ In Rome, Filzer's inventory (Table 15) provides evidence that there was a market for the dearer, ornately-decorated guitar, but an even larger market for the cheaper guitars for those less affluent. In France members of high society, especially women, are often portrayed playing guitars.⁵⁰⁰ In Dutch iconography of this period, there are numerous portraits by Jan Vermeer, Caspar Netscher, Gerrit van Honthorst and others, which include ladies and courtesans playing guitars. This all denotes the widespread infiltration of the guitar into every level of society.

What was happening in Malta? Who was likely to be purchasing Morales' guitars? We have seen that he had not only different sizes, but also different quality of guitars.

⁴⁹⁵ Patrizia Frisoli, "The Museo Stradivariano in Cremona," *GSI* 24 (July 1971), 40-41. See also *Archivio della Liuteria Cremonese*

http://www.archiviodellaliuteriacremonese.it/cimeli/modello_tastiera_chitarra_tiorbata_xvii_xviii.aspx.

⁴⁹⁶ Monica Hall, "The chitarra atiorbata," 25-34.

⁴⁹⁷ I am indebted to Jelma van Amersfoort for indicating this.

⁴⁹⁸ Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine Archives et Musées, Carpentras, France.

⁴⁹⁹ Dinko Fabris, "Strumenti di Corde, Musici e Congregazioni a Napoli alla metà del Seicento" *Note d'Archivio* 1 (1983): 64-5.

⁵⁰⁰ Gétreau, "Recent Research About the Vobaum Family," 6-7.



Figure 15. Daniel Rabel, watercolour album *Ballet de la Douairière de Billebahaut, Chantres grenadins* (1626), f.42r, showing the figure in the forefront holding a theorboed guitar. Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, Inv. 32643r. By kind permission.

Morales was, consequently, catering for a variety of possible buyers. Knowing what Morales was supplying and what people owned provides us with a clearer picture of what was taking place in seventeenth-century Malta. Searching through inventories, wills, church documents and petitions (*Supplique*) presented in the Courts we find that all sectors of society, from the aristocracy down to the man in the street, all had an interest in the guitar. In contemporary inventories the maker of the instruments is rarely mentioned, just as we are very rarely told who painted the many works of art listed in such inventories. Individuals who owned instruments of the type that Morales had in his workshop may be regarded as possible buyers. Though we have no proof that any of the instruments belonging to these individuals were necessarily made by Morales, they do nevertheless give us a strong indication of the sort of market there was and who was likely to have bought and played them.

The guitar in Malta was disseminated in a variety of social contexts. Leafing through inventories, we find nobility, merchants, and clergy all owning guitars, however, there is rarely any mention of the lower stratum of society. It is only from the previously-mentioned Bishops' admonitions that we know of ordinary Maltese folk who were gathering to listen to songs of the 'cytharedos,'

playing plucked stringed instruments to accompany their singing of *ghana*.⁵⁰¹ These references to ordinary folk are consequently extremely important in helping to complete a more balanced overall picture.

Looking first through documents of the upper stratum of society reveals among them owners of guitars. Christopher Page finds that at this time the aristocracy in England was also acquiring guitars, mostly from abroad.⁵⁰² In Malta, among those who possessed guitars, there was the late Baron Gio Antonio Cassia, whose 1658 inventory of goods shows that he had owned 'una chitarra con la sua investa,' a guitar with its cloth cover (See Table 16).⁵⁰³ One cannot help noting that this echoes the description of Morales' more expensive guitar 'una chitarra con investa nera.' The chaplain of the Italian Langue of the Order, Fra Antonio de Lucia lists an unstrung guitar among his possessions in his 1667 inventory.⁵⁰⁴ Balthassare Belfiore, who was about to profess as Chaplain of the Order in 1712, owned two guitars, music books and several other instruments. There was a Signor Gio Domenico Cassini (1696) who owned 'una chitarra vecchia' together with several paintings, much faience, and also books.⁵⁰⁵ These individuals formed part of the upper bracket of society.

We also find guitar owners among wealthy tradesmen and merchants, such as the late Michele Azzupardo (1680), who apart from the guitar had among his belongings an ebony writing desk, pieces of silver and a carriage;⁵⁰⁶ the Valletta drape merchant Josephi Vigliotti (1684), who also owned a guitar;⁵⁰⁷ as did the Valletta merchant and Consul for England and Holland, Alfonso Desclaus (1688), who was owner of several paintings, among which three by Stefano Erardi, navigational and fiction books, and silver buckles.⁵⁰⁸ These were people who had acquired affluence and were now trying to build an appearance of cultural taste. They were investing in works of art and showing their appreciation of music, both of which served to enhance their position in society, demonstrating to all that they had also acquired the finesse of culture.

Another sector of society owning guitars was the clergy. The brothers Reverend Don Leonardo and Don Joannis Scerri owned two such instruments in 1676, a large one and a small one.⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰¹ Such as Bishop Balaguer's edict, 1646 and again in 1647. The term 'cytharedos' was used in this instance, and is probably referring to use of the plucked *cetra* (cittern).

⁵⁰² There is no evidence of guitar making in England before 1683. Page, *The Guitar in Stuart England*, 47-49.

⁵⁰³ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 2, f.743v.

⁵⁰⁴ NLM, AOM, 931(28) No. 13. Spoglio.

⁵⁰⁵ NAV (M.A.Vassalli) Not. Tomaso Vella 1112/1. Dated 30 June 1696, no foglio numbers. Was he related to the great mathematician and astronomer of the same name who died in 1712?

⁵⁰⁶ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 3, f.304v.

⁵⁰⁷ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 3, f.591v.

⁵⁰⁸ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 3, f.808r.

⁵⁰⁹ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 3, ff.140v-141r.

Table 16: Musical instruments in Wills and Inventories

Date	Inventory of	Comments	Instruments	Doc. Vol/folio
17 Sept 1644	Qdm Vincentis Calleja	Valletta draper merchant/trader. Died while on his frigate in Messina.	'Una citara vecchia' Valued at uno scudo	NAM, MCC Inv. Haeredit. 1, 255
9 March 1646	Don Michele Zahra	Music Library and instruments of organist, Mdina. His last will.	' Manicordium ' ' Spinetta '	NAV Not. Gio Luca Mamo R.335, 619/81 320v-321r
17 Sept 1655	Qdm Euphemia di Petalità	Lived in Valletta, parish S Paolo. Son Fanciscus, born 1623, studied in Jesuit college in Sicily, ordained 1650.	'Una spinetta vecchia'	NAM, MCC Inv. Haeredit. 2, 562r
9 Aug 1658	Qdm. D. Baroni Antoni Cassia	Gio Antonio Cassia, 7th Baron of Castel Cicciano	'Una chitarra con la sua investa'	NAM, MCC Inv. Haeredit. 2, 663
22 April 1660	Qdm Not. Thomaso Cauchi	Notary. Active in Valletta between 1610 and 1659	'Una spinetta '	NAM, MCC Inv. Haeredit. 2, 707v

Date	Inventory of	Comments	Instruments	Doc.
27 July 1660	Qdm Vincenzo Habela	Landowner, law books, jewellery.	'Un manicordio vecchio' [clavichord]	NAM, MCC Inv. Heredit. 2, 743v
6 Oct 1660	Laurice Cassia	Baronessa	'Un cimbalo '	NAM, MCC Inv. Haeredit. 2, 718v
17 July 1667	Fra Antonio de Lucia	<i>Spoglio.</i> Knight. 'cappellano della Ven. Lingua d'Italia.' Composed music?	'Un cembalo , Un basso di viola senza arco, una chitarra disarmata dentro una cassa vecchia,' 'opere mie di musica '	NLM, AOM 931, <i>Spoglio</i> (28)
20 may 1669	Qdm M. Filippo Vivier	Lived in Valletta. Silver, pearls, ebony 'scrittorio,' slave	'Una spinetta '	NAM, MCC Inv. Haeredit. 2, 1037r
29 Aug 1676	Qdm Gioanelia Lussano	Senglea. No luxuries. Confraternity robe.	'Una citra '	NAM, MCC Inv Heredit. 3, 103.
7 Nov 1676	Qdm Rev Don Leonardi e Don Joannis Scerri	Valletta ? Brothers. Both priests	'Una spinetta con due trispi. Due chitarre – grande e piccola'	MCC Inv. Haeredit. 3, 140v- 141r

Date	Inventory	Comments	Instruments	Doc.
20 Dec 1677	Qdm Mag Joannes Philippum Scalpello	Well to do. Died intestate. Gilt chairs, silver cutlery, silver lace, diamonds, slave.	'Un cembalo '	NAM, MCC Inv. Haeredit. 3, 304v
6 Aug 1680	Michele Azzupardo	Well to do. Ebony 'scrittoio,' silver, calesse.	'Una chitarra '	NAM, MCC Inv. Haeredit. 3, 365v
11 March 1684	Qdm Rev Don Dominicum Zingheier	Baptised Valletta, son of rope maker. Lived in Ghaxaq. His sisters requested inventory	'Un violino , Una chitarra vecchia'	MCC Inv. Haeredit. 3, 579v
14 Sept 1684	Qdm Josephi Vigliotti	Drape merchant. Valletta. Bottega.	'Una chitarra '	NAM, MCC Inv. Haeredit. 3, 591v
? 1687	Qdm Baronem Pietro Cassia	8th Baron of Castel Cicciano – portraits, paintings, ebony furniture, a felucca, jewellery, gold	'Una spinetta molto sfatta e vecchia e una piccolo con arcebuti all antica vecchi'	NAM, MCC Inv. Haeredit. 3, 749r
1 Jun 1688	Qdm Alfonso Desclaus	Rich Valletta merchant, Consul for England and Holland, 3 Stefano Erardi paintings, books, romanzi, desk, silver buckles, slave.	'Un cimbalo , Una chitarra et un violino '	NAM, MCC Inv. Haeredit. 3, 808r
8 Nov 1688	Qdm Joanna Pontremoli	Widow, comfortably off. Owned 'scrittoio'.	'In primis Un cimbalo '	NAM, MCC Inv. Haeredit 3, 821v

Date	Inventory	Comments	Instruments	Doc.
17 Dec 1689	Qdm Giuseppe Lantoro	Well off. Owns slaves, part tartane	'Una spinetta rotta'	Inv. Heredit 3, 842v
3 Mar 1689	Qdm Cecilia Debono	Widow. Property owner. Belongings left to Arsenio Debono	'Una spinetta vecchia'	NAM, MCC Inv. Heredit. 3, 854r
30 June 1696	Qdm Signor Gio Domenico Cassini	Well to do, lots of paintings, books, faience,	'Una chitarra vecchia'	NAV (Vassalli) Not. Tomaso Vella 1112/1. No foglio numbers.
1712	Balthassare Belfiore	Belfiore, widowed, was about to profess as Chaplain of Obedience of the Order.	'Due violini di qualita con suoi archi di serpentine, un violino vecchio, un violino piccolo, due chitarre , diversi libri di musica '	NAV, Inv. Bon. Not. Gius. Callus R.126/25, 505r

This is an interesting detail that suggests that the two brothers could have performed together on different sizes of instruments, possibly a smaller lead guitar and larger one for accompaniment. In 1684, the late Rev. Don Dominicum Zingheier, who was son of a rope-maker, born in Valletta and who lived in the village of Ghaxaq, owned 'una chitarra vecchia.'⁵¹⁰

There is no record of guitars being played in churches during this period, though there is just one reference to the use of another popular plucked instrument, the 'cedra,' in the Jesuits' Church in Valletta in 1660.⁵¹¹ Guitars were at this time increasingly used in Italy as continuo instruments in

⁵¹⁰ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 3, f.579v.

⁵¹¹ Payment of 6 tari was made to the 'cedra' player performing on the Feast of St Ignatius. MCM, FG, Giornale Maggiore 1646-1661, f.480.

ensembles and for vocal accompaniment.⁵¹² The guitar accompanied the voice with a chordal texture in what was known as ‘*rasgueado*,’ which was the strumming of basic continuo harmonies.⁵¹³ The same is very likely to have been occurring in Malta.

The guitars owned by ecclesiastics are likely to have been similarly used in a more secular context. Since several of these priests originally came from humble and modest backgrounds, their music, when not sacred, would have reflected their background. The singing of folk *ghana* within this background is very likely. In the case of the Scerri brothers, they also owned a spinet, whereas Zingheier also owned a violin, thus showing that they had a wider interest in music. Both the spinet and the violin could have been used within a sacred as well as a secular context and may have been used for the teaching of instrumental playing.

Finally, it is also likely that guitars were being used in a theatrical milieu, for which no details have as yet come to light. As for the Jesuit ‘*trattenimenti*’ that were taking place with musical accompaniment on particular important feast days, as we have seen in Chapter 1, further research is required to clarify that which took place and what instruments were being used.

We also find a few references to the cittern. This plucked instrument, usually having a shallow pear-shaped body, was in common use in Italy and was similarly to be found in Malta. Apart from the previously-mentioned use in the Jesuits’ Church in 1660, we find ‘*una citara vecchia*’ valued at one *scudo* in the 1644 inventory of the late drape merchant Vincenzo Calleja, and ‘*una citra*’ among the belongings of Gioanelia Lussano, a woman who had modest belongings with no luxuries.

Turning our attention to lutes, it has already been pointed out that there was only one such instrument in Morales’ *bottega*: ‘*un liuto con una fedora*.’ This single instrument ‘in its cloth cover’ reflects the dying popularity of lutes, not only in Europe but also in Malta. It is curious that not a single lute was encountered in the wills and inventories consulted for this thesis. However, there was one other lute in the *bottega* that deserves separate mention.

3.2.2 Turkish-style instrument - *Tambura*

Mattheo Morales had in his workshop what seems to be a most unusual ‘Turkish-style instrument known as *tambura*.’ The name ‘*tambura*’ is certainly never encountered among instruments

⁵¹² Thomas Christensen, “The Spanish Baroque Guitar and Seventeenth-Century Triadic Theory,” *Journal of Music Theory*, 36 no.1 (Spring 1992), 20.

⁵¹³ This was far simpler than the *punteado* contrapuntal elaborations that were previously used on lutes. This technique was considered more refined, whilst *rasqueado* was often deprecated. See Thomas Christensen, “The Spanish Baroque Guitar,” 3.

inventoried in European workshops. This is where Malta's particular environment was different to other European cities.

The *tambura* was a long-necked, gut-fretted lute with a small rounded body. This type of lute was already known in Mesopotamia in the 3rd millennium BC.⁵¹⁴ The name 'tanbur' is applied to various long-necked, fretted, plucked lutes of the Middle East and Central Asia. A later development, the long-necked, fretted Neapolitan *colascione*, was gaining popularity in seventeenth-century Europe, and is thought by some scholars to have its roots in the Middle Eastern or Turkish *tambura*.⁵¹⁵ Marin Mersenne, in his *Harmonie Universelle* of 1636 listed a group of instruments from Turkey, one of which he says was similar to the 'colascion,' this meaning that the *colascione* was by then also well known in France. Mersenne provides a drawing of the Turkish instrument that he says was to be found in the cabinet of curiosities of Claude Menetrier (Figure 16). This had one string, a body of 'noix d'Inde' (probably coconut), and a long neck made of ebony and ivory with silver purfling. Though he likened it to the *colascion* and failed to give it a name, he was describing the Turkish *tambura*. By 1716 we find the Jesuit Filippo Bonanni, confusing the two and referring to the *tambura* as the *Colascione Turchesco*, by which name it was not known in Turkey. This description accompanied by a drawing appeared in his *Gabinetto Armonico* (reprinted and expanded 1722, 1723 and 1726) that was based on instruments in the *Museo Kirkeriano*.⁵¹⁶ Mersenne and Bonanni never used the name 'Tambura.'



Figure 16. Turkish instrument [*Tambura*] in Marin Mersenne's *Harmonie Universelle*, Livre Quatrième, (Paris: 1636), p.228.

The instrument in Morales' workshop was not called a 'colascione' in spite of the widespread European knowledge of it that would also have been known in Malta. It seems likely that this instrument therefore had a greater resemblance to the Turkish *tambura* than to the *colascione*. In

⁵¹⁴ Scheherazade Qassim Hassan, et al. "Tanbūr." *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed September 11, 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/52071>.

⁵¹⁵ Dieter Kirsch, "Colascione." *Grove Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed August 11, 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06064>

⁵¹⁶ Filippo Bonanni's *Gabinetto Armonico* was printed and engraved by Giorgio Placho in Rome in 1722. This is the edition that was consulted in the British Library (cat. no. IV.1476). See page 100 and Plate LV.

spite of the general fear aroused by the Turks, there grew in Europe a fascination with everything Turkish. There was a perceived exoticism already present in the sixteenth century, which did not die out but increased and persisted in the following centuries. Travellers brought back with them illustrations of exotic Turkish clothing and manners, among whom the Frenchman Nicolas de Nicolay, whose illustrated publication (1576) was widely circulated and enjoyed several reissues and translations into other languages.⁵¹⁷ Instruments such as this ‘Turkish style tambura’ may have been called for in theatrical performances, masquerades or dances with a Turkish theme, all of which were very popular entertainment with the knights, as has already been noted in Chapter one. An example is that of the sixteenth-century *Branles de Malthe* created by some French knights of Malta, which became well known among European courtly dances.⁵¹⁸ These *branles* were danced in Turkish attire, and their performance is most likely to have been enhanced with Turkish sound effects. Morales seems to have been prepared for such an eventuality, providing the perfect instrument for Turkish themes. He may even have rented out such instruments for specific occasions.

The Mersenne instrument formed part of a ‘cabinet of curiosities’ belonging to Claude Menetrié, of whom nothing is known, and Bonanni’s instrument originally belonged to the *Museum Kircherianum*, one of the most celebrated of seventeenth-century museums of antiquities and curiosities put together by the erudite Athanasius Kircher, but much of which was brought back by missionary Jesuits. Whereas in Mersenne’s and Bonanni’s case, the Turkish instruments were merely an exotic curiosity, in Malta this Turkish aspect was a living presence in daily life. Morales himself had a Turkish slave named Ali and there were Turkish slaves living and mixing with several local families, with tradesmen and craftsmen, and with members of the Order. Godfrey Wettinger finds slaves variously working as barbers, blacksmiths, cooks, rope-makers, trumpeters, weavers, cobblers and several other occupations. Some slaves were even allowed to have their own trades in Valletta. They were trading in cloth, leather goods, ironware, second-hand objects, food products and anything that would eventually earn them their ransom.⁵¹⁹ Knowing the seventeenth-century environment on the island, the presence of this ‘Turkish-style tambura’ in Morales’ workshop, therefore, finds its place very naturally and does not come as much of a surprise. The actual Turkish *tambura* may have easily been seen on the Island. It may have been sold by slaves or come as booty on one of the captive Turkish galleys. Morales may, therefore,

⁵¹⁷ NLM, Nicolas de Nicolay, *Les navigations, pérégrinations et voyages faits en la Turquie* (Antwerp, Guiglielmo Silvio, 1576).

⁵¹⁸ One of these dances features among the courtly dances published in France in Thoinot Arbeau’s dance manual *Orchésographie* (Langres, 1589). See Borg Cardona, *A Musical Legacy*, 31-53.

⁵¹⁹ See Godfrey Wettinger, *Slavery in the Islands of Malta and Gozo ca. 1000-1812* (Malta: PEG Ltd., 2002), 412-425.

have seen and handled an actual Turkish *tambura*. However, since the instrument in his workshop is in 'Turkish-style' rather than a 'Turkish' instrument, it is more likely that he constructed it himself in close imitation of the Turkish instrument, and that it was not the better-known European *colascione*.

An instrument referred to as *galascione* was recorded in Malta in 1707 when a slave was reported disturbing the peace while playing the instrument in the street.⁵²⁰ It is, of course, possible that this slave was actually playing a *tambura*, since the two were being commonly confused. However, most importantly, this document once again points not only to the general presence of slaves in Malta's daily life, but also to the constant local intermingling of cultures.

3.2.3 Bowed Instruments: Violins, Sordini, Basso di Viola, Tromba Marina

In workshops around Europe it was usual for stringed instrument builders to produce not only plucked instruments, but also those of the bowed kind (Table 15). This was the case with Pierre Aubry in Paris, with the guitar maker Lorenzo Filzer in Rome, and with the renowned violin maker, Antonio Stradivari in Cremona. Similarly, the *chitarraro* Mattheo Morales was providing several bowed instruments.

Among these we find five violins. We have already seen that violins were in general use for sacred music; two violins were often required in the cathedral and in churches for Sundays and feast days, and sometimes in processional music. There were violinists employed in the Mdina cathedral, in St John's conventual church, in the Jesuit church and we also find violinists performing on feast days in the church of San Paolo, which was Morales' parish. The same may have been taking place in other churches.

Apart from its use in sacred functions, the violin was also associated with secular music. It was customary for it to be used in the teaching of dance or in connection with dance. We find several references to this, one of which is the request made in 1699 by Gioanni di Marsino who wished to open a school in which he could teach violin and give dancing classes both in his school as well as in people's homes.⁵²¹ A dance master usually used a slim type of violin called a 'sordino,' 'pochette,' or kit violin. The inventory makes it very clear that Morales had three 'violini detti sordini' (violins known as *sordini*) in his workshop.⁵²² This is an indication that the teaching of

⁵²⁰ MCM, AIM Correspondence 94, f.124v. I thank Dr Frans Ciappara for this reference.

⁵²¹ NAM, MCC, Suppliche (1699-1700), 11 June 1699, f.8v.

⁵²² Ibid., f.253r.

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dance was taking place on the island. The instrument would have been used by dance masters for teaching, particularly in the upper echelons of society. This would have included the Grand Master's pages, the knights, and Maltese aristocracy. Rich merchants and traders would probably also have aspired to acquire such social graces. There is no specific evidence of the *sordino* being used for dance among ordinary Maltese folk, though they were certainly using some form of fiddle.⁵²³ Morales must have felt that there was a market for these *sordini* for him to have kept a supply of three such instruments.



Figure 17. A dance master's violin made in Paris by Dimanche Drouyn c.1670. Ivory and sycamore body, inlaid with silver wire. Victoria and Albert Museum, Museum number 519 to B-1872.

It is evident through Morales' inventory that some members of his family were keen to obtain the violins crafted by him. Among the goods sold by common consent, were two violins sold to Mattheo's brother Gio Batta, for 5 *scudi* 1 *tari*.⁵²⁴ Comparing this to Roman prices (Table 15), we find Lorenzo Filzer selling 8 violins in 1650 for 2 Roman *scudi* and 40 *giuli*. Since Roman *scudi* were

⁵²³ See the watercolours by Louis Ducros, now in the Rijksmuseum, one showing dancers and a fiddler in Gozo, and another portraying sailors dancing to the music of a fiddler. Anna Borg Cardona, *Musical Instruments of the Maltese Islands*, 146-147.

⁵²⁴ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.256v.

of slightly more value than the Maltese *scudo*, this translated into Maltese currency would add up to just over 9 tari each. Morales' violins were, therefore, fetching a far higher price and must have had superior qualities. Gio Batta had first choice of the instruments available and the ones he picked were clearly violins of quality. It is very likely that Gio Batta was himself a violinist. One of Morales' nephews, Gio Antonio Cascon, during the same sale, was allotted a violin and a *sordino*, among other instruments. That leaves two violins and another two *sordini* unaccounted for. It is not known whether there was another sale of instruments or whether all the instruments were simply divided among family members. It is curious that no bows are mentioned in the inventory, but as has already been pointed out, this inventory was not drawn up by a specialist, so that bows may have been simply included with the violin.

On examination of a number of contemporary wills and inventories, it becomes evident that there was a demand for violins in different levels of Malta's society (Table 16). We find, for example, Dominus Balthassare Belfiore owning several violins, among which were two that he specifies as 'of good quality,' an 'old' violin, and also a 'small violin.' The wealthy Valletta merchant, Alfonso Desclaus, owned a violin among other instruments; and so did Rev. don Dominicum Zingheier.

In the *bottega*, apart from the violins and *sordini*, there were three 'bassi di viola,' as well as four 'scannelli di baso di viola.'⁵²⁵ In a period of lack of standardized terminology, the 'basso di viola' was a vague term for an instrument that may have been a member either of the violin family or of the viol. Athanasius Kircher in his *Musurgia Universalis* (1650) illustrates the four-string violin-type instrument tuned in fifths contrasted with the six-stringed fretted viol.⁵²⁶ Both were largish bass instruments. Nomenclature for each of these instruments, however, is often uncertain. The 'scannelli' found in the workshop are the bridges and bridge nuts, known in Maltese as 'skarnelli,' a derivative of the Italian name. Bridges that are very delicate and prone to breakages, would have been readily available for repairs.

Looking at who the potential buyers of these instruments would have been, we first of all find a Morales family member who was interested in his *bassi di viola* – his nephew, Gio Antonio Cascon, was allotted a *basso di viola*, among other instruments.⁵²⁷ Several musicologists have been discussing these problematic names with multiple meanings in different places at different times. There is clear evidence of use of the *basso di viola* in sacred music. Examining archival documents in Bergamo and Italian printed music, Stephen Bonta establishes that the type of

⁵²⁵ *Ibid.*, f.253r.

⁵²⁶ Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis I*, (Rom: Grignani, 1650), 487.

⁵²⁷ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.258v.

instrument used in Italian churches was the violin type.⁵²⁸ Bettina Hoffmann also concludes that the 'bassi di viola' in the second half of the seventeenth century in Italy were principally instruments of the violin family.⁵²⁹ Viols were already gradually going out of fashion early in the century.⁵³⁰ The same is likely to have been happening in Malta. In the Mdina archives we find works by Giuseppe Balzano, such as his *Det Tuba*, which was written for two choirs, calling for two violins, *basso di viola* and organ. Balzano would have been writing for instruments that he knew were readily available. He would have known the individual performers of these instruments and Morales' workshop would also have been known to him. By this time these would surely have been bass violins. In the cathedral of Mdina, don Domenico Bonnici, who as from 1690 had been a salaried musician, was in 1702 requested to play the organ as well as the *viola* 'in the usual functions.'⁵³¹ It is most likely that he had been playing the *basso di viola* during all those years as musician, before becoming organist.

Another very significant document shows that the *basso di viola* was in use in St John's conventual church. The lack of detailed documents regarding musicians and instrumentalists employed with St John's makes every such document of great importance. An inventory (*spoglio*) of the Chaplain of the Order's Italian Langue, Fra Antonio de Lucia, shows that in 1667 he possessed a *basso di viola*.⁵³² In the same inventory, he also declared having gone through some expense to restore the *piccolo basso di viola*, which was to be found at St John's. De Lucia had therefore shouldered the bill for the restoration of an instrument, which did not belong to him personally, but which belonged to his conventual Church. This document, apart from revealing use of the *piccolo basso di viola* in St John's, furthermore leads us to conclude that whether instruments were purchased from abroad or locally, there must have been one or more restorers who were being kept busy on the Maltese islands. Morales may very well have been this restorer.

The artist Mattia Preti, who painted the frescos of St John's conventual church in late 1666, depicted on the right-hand side of the apse above the main altar a violin-type instrument with four strings, but which also has visible gut frets normally found on the viol. This painting, representing the Holy Trinity receiving St John the Baptist in Glory, may or may not be reflecting reality of instrumentation in St John's. It is considered by some art historians to be imitating the

⁵²⁸ Stephen Bonta, "Terminology for the Bass Violin in Seventeenth-Century Italy" *JAMIS IV* (1979): 5-42.

⁵²⁹ Bettina Hoffmann, "The Nomenclature of the Viol in Italy," translated by Richard Carter and John Steedman, *Viola da Gamba S. J.* no. 2 (2008): 3-7.

⁵³⁰ Hoffmann, "Il Repertorio Italiano della Viola da Gamba," 83-123.

⁵³¹ MCM, ACM, Reg. Dep. Pers. (1698-1851), f.5v, dated 23 October 1702.

⁵³² NLM, AOM, 931 (28) No. 13. Spoglio drawn up in July 1667. 'Un cembalo, un basso di viola senza arco, una chitarra disarmata dentro una cassa vecchia...' and 'dichiaro che il piccolo basso di viola che si trova in S. Gio[vanni]...e stato recuperato da me con qualche spesa e pero appartiene a S. Gio[vanni]...'

manner and musical angels of Giovanni Lanfranco (1582-1647).⁵³³ However Lanfranco does not portray the same *basso di viola*. A group of musical angels can also be seen in another apse painted earlier by Preti himself in the church of San Biagio in Modena (1651), where the trombonist and cornetto player on the left are almost identical. However, this also does not feature the same *basso di viola* player on the right, but instead includes a lute. This apse painting suggests the possibility that Preti may actually have seen this hybrid type of *basso di viola* in Malta.

Though most instruments in Morales' *bottega* are well recorded on the island, there are some that have not been encountered previously in the Maltese context. These are therefore of great relevance in mapping out Malta's organological history. The most intriguing among these is the *tromba marina*. This was a bowed monochord with a triangular body and long neck, and one very thick gut string which passed over a bridge that was attached on one side and free on the other, thus producing a trembling effect. The instrument sometimes had a second shorter string that reached approximately half way down the sound box. The *tromba marina* is discussed in various treatises. Sebastian Virdung in his *Musica getutscht* (1511) groups it and the rebec with his 'stringed instruments that have no frets and have only one or two courses – or three at the most.'⁵³⁴ He continues to say that these instruments are not suited to the formulation of rules and the writing out of intabulations (such as the lute) and are learnt through practice and 'through the understanding of song'.

The *tromba marina* enjoyed a period of popularity in Europe between the fifteenth and the mid-eighteenth century. This instrument's name causes a great deal of misunderstanding because it is neither a trumpet nor 'marine.' However, the sound produced in part of its register does resemble that of a trumpet.⁵³⁵ There were two types of instrument, one which was slender and held on the shoulder, the other which was large and rested on the ground. The former is probably visually best known in the 15th century triptych of *Angel Musicians* by Hans Memling (1430-1494), where it is played by the second angel from the left. The base of the slender, elongated wooden instrument is pointing upwards, with the narrower pegbox gently resting against the angel's chest. It is fingered with the left hand and bowed with the right with a conspicuously straight bow. One long string tied to the base of the instrument passes over one side of a bridge.

⁵³³ Keith Sciberras, *Mattia Preti*, 155.

⁵³⁴ Beth Bullard, ed. *Musica Getutscht – a Treatise on Musical Instruments by Sebastian Virdung*, (1511) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2007).

⁵³⁵ Cecil Adkins, "Trumpet Marine." *Grove Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed July 16, 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/28494>. See also C. Adkins and A. Dickinson, *A Trumpet by any Other Name: a History of the Trumpet Marine* (Buren, 1991).

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Cecil Atkins provides a drawing from 1600 by Giovanni Battista Bracelli, showing the larger instrument held with the base on the ground. By this time improvements had been made to the instrument, making it musically more satisfying. Between 1650 and 1725 it thereby became far more popular, several examples from this period surviving in Museums. Music was also written specifically for the instrument. It was during this period of popularity, between 1650 and 1698, that Morales would have been producing his instruments. Atkins, looking at surviving European exemplars, claims that the belly was usually made of pine. Among the German specimens extant in the Musikinstrumenten-Museum in Berlin, catalogue no. 3824 dates to the seventeenth or eighteenth century (Figure 18 Left). Its body is made of fir tree wood and the neck is made from beechwood. Another exemplar, catalogue no. 534 (Figure 18 Right), uses spruce for the body and maple for the neck.



Figure 18. a) Two German *trombe marine*. Left – eighteenth century (cat. no 3824), Right – seventeenth-eighteenth century (cat. no. 534). b) detail of no. 534 showing the thick gut string passing over a bridge which is fixed only on one side and free on the other. Musikinstrumenten Museum, Berlin.

The instrument was also popular in Naples. Dinko Fabris established that in 1685 the *congregazione* or guild of string makers of Naples, while specifying the number of strings that should be sold in a *mazzo* or ‘bunch’ for each instrument and their cost, decreed that a *tromba marina* string was to cost ‘un grano.’⁵³⁶ Looking at the string production for the *tromba marina*,

⁵³⁶ Fabris, "Strumenti di Corde," 90.

Fabris comments that the instrument must have been more widespread than is commonly believed, as is also confirmed by the Cremona Stradivarius inventories.⁵³⁷

Where was this *tromba marina* being used in Malta? In the records seen so far, there is no mention of the instrument in the Mdina cathedral, in the conventual church of St John, in the church of St Paul's Shipwreck, or in the Jesuit church in Valletta. If it was not used in churches, then where would it have been used? Nor are there records of it in other contexts. It might be argued that Morales may have made just this one as a sample. However, the *tromba marina* seems to have kept a low profile elsewhere too, so that it is possible that record of it may yet emerge. It is interesting that Virdung associates the *tromba marina* with song. In northern countries such as Denmark and Germany it was used in this context mostly in nuns' convents. Could that have been the case in Malta too? In view of this, the Ursuline nuns in the monastery across the road from Morales are a very strong possibility, but it has so far not been possible to obtain permission to see documents relating to any of Malta's monasteries.

3.2.4 Spinetta

Another instrument in the *chitarraro's* workshop was the *spinetta*, also referred to in the diminutive as *spinettina*.⁵³⁸ A spinet would generally have been built by a specialist in keyboard instruments, known as a *cembalario*, however, there is as yet no evidence of keyboard instrument makers on the island during Mattheo Morales' time or later. It is possible that this small spinet was purchased elsewhere and was in Morales' shop for sale or hire, or even to aid in the tuning of other instruments. However, European instrument makers crafting both stringed and keyboard instruments were not unknown. Outside Malta, we find that the late-sixteenth century French instrument makers Le Maire and Claude Denis were both providing spinets and 'manicordions' (clavichords) together with their stringed instruments (Table 15).⁵³⁹ Though the smaller keyboard instruments were within the capabilities of stringed-instrument makers, this situation may have occurred only when there was no specialisation in that field in the area. Indeed, by the seventeenth century, in several European centres specialised guilds began to ensure that makers were forbidden to trespass over one another's field. Such was the situation in Rome with stringed and keyboard instruments, string makers, and also with musicians who attempted to enter one

⁵³⁷ Fabris, "Strumenti di Corde," note 73: 'evidentemente più diffuso di quanto si pensa comunemente, com'è confermato dagli inventari stradivariani di Cremona.'

⁵³⁸ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.252v.

⁵³⁹ The clavichord is known in French as *clavicorde*, *manicorde*, *manocordion*; Italian *clavicordio*, *manicordio*, *sordino*; Spanish *clavicordio*, *manicordio*. Edwin M. Ripin et al., "Clavichord," *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed September 14, 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05909>. Florio, 299 translates *Manicordo* as 'a rigoll or clavichords.'

another's field.⁵⁴⁰ In Malta, since there were few known instrument makers of any kind, there were no such specialised guilds. This possibility of building keyboard instruments together with stringed instruments would therefore have been completely open to Morales and would have provided him with another market.

Spinets were made in varying sizes. Mersenne provides the drawing of a very small instrument (Figure 6) that would have been more appropriately named *spinettina*.⁵⁴¹ He speaks fondly of the 'epinette' saying 'it is held first or second among the harmonious instruments, being able to play several notes at once and sing several parts.' Its only competitor, in Mersenne's view, was the lute.⁵⁴² The Kunsthistorische Museum in Vienna holds a four-octave Italian *Spinettino*, originally belonging to the Innsbruck Court, which is a mere 65 cm long. Such small instruments, which were very easily transported, were clearly in demand in different areas of Europe. Since Morales' instrument is referred to as a *spinettina*, it was probably of similar dimensions. Given that Malta is a small island with its own difficulties of obtaining imported goods, it would not be surprising to find Morales attempting to make this small and least complex of keyboard instruments.

There are several references to the use of spinets in Malta (Table 16). Within the sacred context, the Mdina Cathedral was using a small *spinetta* in processions, as we see through the payments made to the carrier of the instrument. It was used in the procession of the Annunciation, and in the *pro pluvia* processions of 1655.⁵⁴³ On 15 March 1656, it was being used in the procession of St Gregory when it was carried part of the way to the Church of the Annunciation.⁵⁴⁴

Wills and inventories help us to establish who else apart from the cathedral would have been using spinets. We find that priests owned their own *spinette*, as was the case with the brothers Rev. Don Leonardi and Don Joannis Scerri, who owned a spinet that had two supports or trestles ('due trispi').⁵⁴⁵ These supports would have been useful in transportation for processions, but the instruments may also have been used in their private teaching of music and singing, whether or not connected with the liturgy.

⁵⁴⁰ In 1687-88 the Roman string-makers' guild accused musician Paolo Calvani, who had married a string maker's daughter and started managing her family's workshop, of exercising two trades. Barbieri, "Roman Gut String Makers," 17-18.

⁵⁴¹ Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, Livre Quatrième, 177.

⁵⁴² Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, Livre Troisième, 101.

⁵⁴³ MCM, ACM, Misc. 169, Giornale, f.113 (Maggio 1665).

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid., f.135. 'Si fece oggi la Processione Santa di San Gregorio al solito. Nella lista di spese di questo mese, fatte dal Can. Prov. Paulo Antonio Borg approve in ... ad un figliolo quale portò la spinetta all'Annunciata quando fu fatta la processione solita, e per averla riportata gr 15.'

⁵⁴⁵ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 3, f.140v. Inventory dated 7 November 1676.

A noticeable element in the middle to upper rungs of society is that both men and women owned spinets. Among these were Baron Pietro Cassia, who owned two spinets, one old one and another small one in the old style (1687),⁵⁴⁶ the Valletta Notary Tommaso Cauchi (1660),⁵⁴⁷ the merchant Giuseppe Lantaro (1689),⁵⁴⁸ and Donna Euphemia di Petralità (1655), who was from the same parish as Morales.⁵⁴⁹ Another woman who owned 'una spinetta vecchia' was the widow and property owner Cecilia Debono (1689).⁵⁵⁰

These primary sources provide us with an idea of the substantial market Morales would have had for spinets across Malta's different strata of society. Possible purchasers of this instrument were further expanded by including not only male but also female performers. The one spinet in Mattheo Morales' bottega together with its paraphernalia was purchased by his own brother, Gio Batta, for 2 *scudi* and 4 *tari*. Having also ensured that he acquired two violins, this further indicates that Gio Batta must surely have been musically trained.

3.3 Goods and services: Repairs, Strings, Timber

As a luthier Morales would, of course, not only have been building his own instruments but would also have accepted instruments that were brought to him for repairs. The inventory provides a fragment of information that opens a little window on to the *modus operandi* of Morales. A 'bando' or proclamation by the town crier called members of the public to come forward if they needed to lay any claims on Morales' goods before they were divided among his heirs.⁵⁵¹ A young man, Gabriele de la Sala, officially laid claim to 'una mezza chitarra' that he had left with Morales for repairs and which, on the luthier's death, had not as yet been collected. Gabriele de la Sala under oath discloses that he had made an advance payment of 3 *tari* for the repairs to be carried out, and still owed Morales 1 *tari*.

On 22nd January 1698: a half-size guitar was given to Gabriele de La Sala, who says it belongs to him, as he confirmed under oath, and he gives one *tari* for the remaining repairs, since he claims to have already paid another three *tari* to the late Mattheo Morales.... Testified by Carlo Ghiun and Gio Francesco Camenzuli.⁵⁵²

⁵⁴⁶ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit, 3, f.749. 'Una spinetta molto sfatta e vecchia e una piccolo con due arcebuti all antica vecchi.'

⁵⁴⁷ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 2, f.707v.

⁵⁴⁸ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 3, f.842v. He was well off, owned slaves and part of a vessel.

⁵⁴⁹ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 2, f.562r. See also V. Borg, "The Maltese Diocese during the Seventeenth Century," 521-2. Euphemia's son Francesco was a Jesuit priest, ordained in 1650.

⁵⁵⁰ NAM, MCC, Inv Haeredit. 3, f.854r.

⁵⁵¹ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.248v.

⁵⁵² NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.259r.

This reveals that Morales operated with a substantial advance deposit method, in this case three quarters of the cost, with the remainder to be paid on completion of the repairs. The cost of repairs was therefore 4 *tari*. Since we do not know what repairs were being carried out it is not possible to gauge whether this was a high price to pay. However, in 1696, we find an old guitar belonging to Signor Domenico Cassini that was valued at a mere 2 *tari*.⁵⁵³ The price of 2-4 *tari* could therefore purchase a second hand or lower quality guitar, which suggests that the repaired guitar is likely to have been of a higher quality. Gabriele de la Sala is the only name that emerges from among Morales' customers. Another document discloses that he was a young man aged twenty, living in Valletta, who in November 1698 (ten months after Morales' death), was travelling to Livorno.⁵⁵⁴ The social background of Gabriele is difficult to assess. Members of the family Sala or La Sala are encountered in Valletta, among whom we find a Jacobus Sala, who in 1575 was doctor of medicine,⁵⁵⁵ in 1602 there was a Philippo La Sala 'aromatario',⁵⁵⁶ and a scribe Ludovico La Sala in 1651.⁵⁵⁷ There was even a Knight Commander La Sala.⁵⁵⁸ The fact that Gabriele is 'de la Sala,' could also suggest a freed slave or servant of the La Sala family.

Another reference to repairs mentioned earlier in this chapter was that of the Chaplain of the Italian Langue, Antonio de Lucia, who in 1667 claimed to have gone to great expense to repair the 'piccolo basso di viola' which belonged to the conventual church of St John.⁵⁵⁹ He does not mention who repaired it, but in the absence of other known luthiers, this could very well have been Mattheo Morales.

Since Mattheo was building instruments and carrying out repairs, he must have had a regular incoming supply of the basic raw materials. The presence of strings in the workshop, for example, raises the question of where Morales was obtaining such essential items. In the seventeenth century guitar strings would have been made of gut. It was not before 1700 that gut guitar strings declined in favour of steel.⁵⁶⁰ Though there is an old Maltese rhyme that suggests that gut strings were being made locally, so far no evidence of large-scale string production has emerged.⁵⁶¹ It was only on very rare occasions that luthiers resorted to making their own strings. Patrizio

⁵⁵³ NAV, Not. Tomaso Vella 1112/1 (M.A. Vassalli Str. repository), dated 30 June 1696.

⁵⁵⁴ NAM, MCC, Pat. 14, 22 Nov. 1698: 'Gabriele la Sala d'anni 20 della Valletta per Ligorni.'

⁵⁵⁵ George Aquilina, Stanley Fiorini eds. *Documentary Sources IV* (1), 162. 'Dominus Jacobus Sala artium et medicinae doctores.'

⁵⁵⁶ NAV, Not. Giov. Simone de Lucia, R.229/15, f.821.

⁵⁵⁷ ACC (Valletta, SP), LCA, Conti della Cappella (1635-1667), f.45v.

⁵⁵⁸ Wettinger, *Slavery*, 400.

⁵⁵⁹ NLM, AOM 931 (28) No. 13, dated 17 July 1667.

⁵⁶⁰ Barbieri, "Cembalano," 172.

⁵⁶¹ 'Inti taf li Hnejsa mietet?/ u msarinha xgħamlu bihom?/ Għamluhom kordi tal-kitarra/Biex kull filgħodu jdoqqu bihom.' Do you know that Hnejsa died?/and what was done with her intestines?/ They made them into guitar strings/ so that every morning they could play them.

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Barbieri cites two such examples in Rome: A German luthier Pietro Alberti, around 1578, and the luthier Cristoforo del Forno between 1610-1623.⁵⁶² String making was generally considered to be a very specialized field. Where, therefore, would a luthier in Malta have obtained his strings?

It will be recalled that the Mdina cathedral had purchased strings from Venice in 1623.⁵⁶³ With the constant trade with Italy, there is no doubt that strings could easily have been coming in from the main centres of string making of the time – particularly from Abruzzo, Rome and Naples.⁵⁶⁴

Patrizio Barbieri's research shows that gut strings made by the *cordari* in Rome during this period were being sold all over Italy and exported as far as Madrid. Roman gut strings are, therefore, very likely to have been reaching Malta. However, other string makers had set up shop all over Italy as well as in Majorca, and in different areas of France (Paris, Toulouse, Toulon, Lyon, Marseille).⁵⁶⁵ This meant there was a vast range of places around Malta supplying gut strings. By 1685, Dinko Fabris finds that strings were being sold in Naples in bundles or 'mazzi' of specific size. It was established by the Neapolitan *cordai* that a *mazzo* of guitar strings was to be sold in a bundle of 60 strings, whilst those for violin were to be sold in bundles of 30.⁵⁶⁶

Looking back at the detailed list of the goods of Hieronimo Aurifici in 1601 (Table 13), strings are noticeably absent. Aurifici may have been obliged to travel in order to choose good quality lute and guitar strings for his workshop. He is recorded leaving Malta on 6 July 1601 aboard a *barca* called *Santo Antonio* sailing to Pozzallo and all along the Sicilian coast.⁵⁶⁷ His exact destination is not recorded. Travel by sea in the early part of the century was not easy and was very perilous. It would never be undertaken without good cause. He may, of course, have been selling his own instruments, but it was not unusual for instrument makers to want to choose their own strings, especially if there was no local outlet from which to purchase them. Gut strings were being produced on a large scale in Rome between Easter and June, and in Naples between Easter and October.⁵⁶⁸ Aurifici, who was travelling in July, may have gone to Sicilian centres such as Catania or Messina, and would therefore have been in good time to choose from a supply of new strings coming from Naples, and probably also from any other centre of string making.

Mattheo Morales' inventory was taken in December, near the end of the supply of gut strings, so that though we do find an unspecified amount of strings, they do not seem to be in large

⁵⁶² Barbieri, "The Roman Gut String Makers," 21-22.

⁵⁶³ MCM, ACM, Dep. 1, f.243.

⁵⁶⁴ Barbieri, "The Roman Gut String Makers," 5.

⁵⁶⁵ Barbieri, *ibid.*, 11-17.

⁵⁶⁶ Fabris, "Strumenti di Corde," 90.

⁵⁶⁷ NAM, MCC, Pat. 4, (1599-1610) 6 July 1601. No folio numbers.

⁵⁶⁸ Barbieri, "The Roman Gut String Makers," 5.

quantities: ‘a *cassetta* (chest) containing strings....and old strings.’⁵⁶⁹ The ‘*cassetta*’ was in general use for the storage of strings. In the inventory of the Roman *cordaro* Francesco Valente (1643), we find ‘an ordinary *cassetta* with lock and key, in which there is a basket, and a box to hold strings.’⁵⁷⁰ Such chests belonging to string makers sometimes contained large numbers of strings. Interestingly, strings were considered so precious as to be placed under lock and key, and in Francesco Valente’s case, were not kept in the *bottega*, but out of reach in a room upstairs. Morales had another *cassetta* in his workshop containing merely five pieces of string.”⁵⁷¹ Later in the document we are told there was also a ‘*tavola*’ (plank/table) on which there were, very specifically, ‘guitar’ strings.⁵⁷² The Roman string maker Tiburzio Tuzi in 1654, had twenty ‘*tavole*’ on which he stored the fine (*chanterelle*) strings.⁵⁷³ These strings found in a string-maker’s shop were understandably in far larger quantities than those in a luthier’s workshop.

There is no record as to where Morales was obtaining his strings, whether he was importing them directly or whether they were being sold at another local outlet to which he may have had easy access. Later in the eighteenth-century, documents show that strings were being sold by general merchants, repeatedly by those also importing or selling paper.⁵⁷⁴ Paper was being produced in Venice, Genoa, but also further south in areas like Fabriano (Le Marche) and Amalfi. Needing to be close to water sources, both paper manufacturers and gut string makers, not surprisingly, would probably have been working in the same areas, and hence their goods would have been exported from the same point. Apart from those administering to Morales’ final illness, there was one other person who was owed money by Morales. This was Gio Pietro Corasier who was still owed almost 4 scudi for goods that had been purchased. We are not told what the goods were, but Corasier was a general merchant who is found importing varied goods from France and Genova, including food provisions such as wine, grain, oil, almonds, figs, beans, as well as pipes, cannons, ribbons, and cotton socks.⁵⁷⁵ Musical goods may easily have been among his importations, as we are aware was happening at a later date when merchants imported musical goods, not only from Europe, but also from the southern Mediterranean.⁵⁷⁶ Commercial activity

⁵⁶⁹ MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.252v, ‘Una cassetta con corde...e corde vecchie.’

⁵⁷⁰ Barbieri, “The Roman Gut String Makers,” 94, ‘una cassetta ordinaria con una serratura e chiave, dentro vi è una canestra, et una scatola da tener corde.’

⁵⁷¹ MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, 253r, ‘una cassetta con cinque pezzetti di corde.’

⁵⁷² Ibid., 258v, ‘Una tavola con corde di chitarra.’

⁵⁷³ Barbieri, “The Roman Gut String Makers,” 96, ‘venti tavole da tener le ca[n]tine sopra.’

⁵⁷⁴ AdeP, Box File “Single items of interest – Music and Silver,” Bill 1739, Purchase of ‘corde di cimbalo e carta bastarda’ for 3 *tari*. Another outlet in 1797 was selling mandolin strings as well as paper from Venice, timber and vases from Naples, tobacco, wine casks, soaps etc. See Not. Antonio Delicata, R.226/1, f.423r.

⁵⁷⁵ NAM, Consolato del Mare, AO, 1 (1697-1703), document dated 28 March 1697, again 20 November 1697. Also NAM, Not. S. Fogliamorta R.270/3, f. 47, f.107v-108.

⁵⁷⁶ Anna Borg Cardona, “Malta’s Importation and Sale of Musical Instruments and Musical Goods, 1800-1900” in *A Timeless Gentleman*, 398, 400.

involving strings was also taking place with the North African coast. Whether this was occurring earlier needs further investigation.

The other essential item for a luthier's workshop was timber. Since Malta had no forestation, all wood had to be imported. With the arrival of the Order and the building of Valletta, Malta had become a safer and more protected port, factors which encouraged the ease and expansion of trade. Through the inventory we know that a door draped in a red curtain led from Morales' *bottega* into the room in which he stored his timber. We thereby have an indication of at least some of the wood he was importing and utilising for his instruments.

At this point, before examining the wood in Morales' workshop, it is worth looking back again at the luthier Hieronimo Aurifici in the early part of the century for comparison. Through Aurifici's inventory of 1601 we catch the first glimpse of the timber trade of the time. Aurifici had in his *bottega* about a 'cantaro' of timber, roughly equivalent to 100 lb.⁵⁷⁷ It was not a huge amount, however, the timber consisted of some exotic woods, namely 'chiuppo' and 'acana' (Table 13).⁵⁷⁸ Besides these, there were three timber half-joists ('tre mezzi siraticzi'), which would have been used for making instrument necks. The 'chiuppo' was poplar wood, a hard wood, which is known to have been used for inlay,⁵⁷⁹ and also for instrument cases.⁵⁸⁰ The 'acana used for making guitars,' was a valuable West Indian timber. This proves that trade in wood coming from as far as the Caribbean was reaching Malta already in the beginning of the century and leads us to the conclusion that a superior, expensive quality of guitars was being made by this luthier. Douglas Alton Smith points out that trade in exotic woods and ivory between Europe and India, Africa, South and Central America was already well developed by the latter half of the sixteenth century.⁵⁸¹ In 1596, the French instrument maker, Pierre Aubry, already had in his workshop wood from Brasil.⁵⁸²

Aurifici's stock of timber, therefore, indicates that already at the dawn of the century exotic woods for instrument making were reaching Malta, just as they were reaching the rest of Europe. Apart from the 'acana' wood, we can see from Aurifici's 'tavula veneciana' (a Venetian plank/table) Malta's trade contacts with Venice, one of the biggest trading ports. Closer to home

⁵⁷⁷ 'Cantaro' was the measure used at the time for weighing timber, cotton, biscuit bread and cumin. See Joan Abela, *The impact of the arrival of the Knights of the Order of St John on the commercial economy of Malta 1530-1565*, (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Exeter, 2012), 18, 178, 180, 215.

⁵⁷⁸ NAV, Not. Giov. Simone de Lucia, R.229/15, f.84v.

⁵⁷⁹ Stradner, "Musical Instruments in an Inventory by Andrea Mantova Benevides," 70.

⁵⁸⁰ Beatrix Darmstadter, Luders, Wiebke, "The Restoration of a Historically Significant Recorder Carrying Case," *Tibia: Magazin für Holzblasler* 33, no. 2 (2008).

⁵⁸¹ Alton Smith, "The Musical Instrument Inventory of Raymund Fugger," 37.

⁵⁸² Lesure, "La Factice Instrumental," 42.

is the port of Syracuse, from which he procured ‘a chair from Syracuse.’ From Southern Italy we find ‘doi tavuli calavrisi’ (two planks/tables from Calabria). At the beginning of the century there was clearly no barrier to the assortment of wood being imported via Malta’s trade routes.

Returning to Matteo Morales’ stock of timber (Table 17), just like Aurifici’s, we find that it was not very plentiful. However, with Morales it was mostly cypress, with a smaller supply of beechwood and pinewood, all woods that were available around the Mediterranean. Cypress was being used among European instrument makers for lutes and guitars, as well as for keyboard instruments and for organ pipes. Cypress could have been imported from Italy, Libya or Greece. Since it is a hardwood with resistance to humidity and heat, it has the perfect properties for an instrument used on the Maltese islands, properties that Morales must have been aware of.

Table 17: Timber listed in Morales’ inventory

Timber in Morales’ store and in the room in the yard		
<i>2 pezze di tavole di fago</i>	2 planks of beechwood	All together valued by Mro Salvo Hellul at <i>4 scudi</i>
<i>7 cannoli di cipresso</i>	7 logs of cypress wood	
<i>2 tavole lunghe</i>	2 long planks	
<i>Un mezzo serratizzo</i>	A half joist	
<i>2 pezzi di serratizzo</i>	2 pieces of joist	
<i>Un cannolo di pino</i>	A log of pinewood	

Source: NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit 4, ff.247r-263v.

Looking at some European inventories, we find cypress being used by several instrument makers. The 1566 inventory of the German Raymond Fugger reveals a tenor lute (no. 14), a set of three lutes (no. 29), another set of four lutes (no. 36), a bass lute (no. 78) made of cypress, as well as a harpsichord that was made of ‘cypress wood in Venice’ (no. 2).⁵⁸³ Among the instruments in the Royal Palace, Madrid, an inventory of 1602 shows cypress wood being used for the back of a lute,

⁵⁸³ Alton Smith, “The Musical Instrument Inventory of Raymond Fugger,” 39-40.

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for a harpsichord and for a clavichord lid.⁵⁸⁴ Instrument maker Robert Denis, in France had fourteen mandores made of cypress and cedar.⁵⁸⁵ A Roman *cembalaro*, Valerio Piccini, had 'a few planks of cypress for *cimbali*' in his workshop (1664).⁵⁸⁶ Also in Rome, among the goods of the string maker Giustino Pantaloni (1671), there was a 'chitarra di cipresso.'⁵⁸⁷ In 1696, in the inventory of Andrea Mantova Benavides, the internal pipes of an organ were made of cypress specified to have originated in Crete.⁵⁸⁸

Among the wood in his store, Morales also had a pine log. This was easily available from nearby Sicily. The Etna region was well known for its forestation which included oak, chestnut, birch, maple and pinewood.⁵⁸⁹ Wood had been imported from Sicily from medieval times, if not earlier.⁵⁹⁰ Pinewood would therefore have been in constant supply and would most likely have regularly reached Malta via Catania.

Pine was used by instrument makers in building lutes, guitars, trombe marine, and instrument cases. It was considered to have good resonance and was for this reason often used for soundboards. Several pine lute 'bellies' (or soundboards), as well as a clavichord lid were to be found among the instruments in the Royal Palace of Madrid.⁵⁹¹ The Victoria and Albert Museum holds a number of seventeenth-century instruments with pine soundboards, including an anonymous Italian lute (Catalogue number 7/1), a chitarrone by Matteo Buechenberg, Rome 1614 (7/11), a theorbo by Christopher Choco, Venice (7/5), a mandore by P.A. Gavelli, Perugia 1690 (8/2), a guitar by Matteo Sellas, Venice 1623 (12/2), and an anonymous guitar (12/3).⁵⁹² French instrument makers were likewise using pine. In 1663 Jacques Dumesnil had in his workshop 'twenty-eight soundboards for guitars in pine-wood.'⁵⁹³ These soundboards may have been prepared in advance for his own workshop, could have been made to be sold to other instrument makers, or conversely, may have been purchased ready-made by Dumesnil from another maker. It is now known that in the 1640s Giorgio Sellas in Venice was mass-producing and supplying guitar

⁵⁸⁴ Martin McLeish, "An Inventory of the Musical Instruments at the Royal Palace, Madrid, in 1602," *GSI* (21 March 1968): 109, 116, 122.

⁵⁸⁵ Lesure, "La Factice Instrumentale," 40.

⁵⁸⁶ Barbieri, "Cembalaro," 140.

⁵⁸⁷ Barbieri, "The Roman Gut String Makers," 97.

⁵⁸⁸ Stradner "Musical Instruments in an Inventory by Andrea Mantova Benavides," 69.

⁵⁸⁹ Vera D'Urso and Adalgisia Guglielmino, "Cicadellidae of the forests of Etna," *Scopolia* Suppl.1 (1990): 77-87.

⁵⁹⁰ Joan Abela, "Port Activities in mid-sixteenth century Malta." MA History dissertation, University of Malta, 2007.

⁵⁹¹ McLeish "An Inventory of Musical Instruments," 121-2.

⁵⁹² See Howard Schott, Anthony Baines, James Yorke, *Catalogue of Musical Instruments in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: V & A Publications, 1998).

⁵⁹³ G treau, "Recent Research about the Voboam Family," 9.

soundboards which were sold to some of the luthiers working in Rome.⁵⁹⁴ The concept of mass-producing was therefore already taking shape. How far these mass-produced soundboards travelled is still to be discovered.

In Morales' store there were also beechwood planks. Beech trees grow in most areas of Europe, making this timber easily available from nearby Sicily and Italy. In the Musikinstrumenten-Museum in Berlin one of the *trombe marine* (catalogue no. 3824), dating to the seventeenth or eighteenth century, has a body made of fir tree wood and the neck made from beechwood. This type of wood is also used in present-day folk guitar sides, peg boxes and necks. One maker informed me that beechwood (Maltese 'fagu') was very good wood for guitar sides because it bent easily.⁵⁹⁵ For this same reason, it has also been recommended in the local building of tambourines.

3.4 Running the family business

Morales could not have operated his *bottega* entirely single-handed. It is very likely that he would have been aided in the daily running of his workshop. The role of women is rarely evident in such small businesses, but was generally a part of the whole structure. Through the petitions made to the Grand Master to open workshops, we begin to see the underlying framework of these family businesses and to catch a glimpse of the reality of the participation of women in trades. Andrea Granger, together with his wife, asked permission to open a shop selling wigs, lace, soaps, combs, paper and wax.⁵⁹⁶ Salvo Zarb requested to open a shop with his wife to sell draperies.⁵⁹⁷ Michele and Flora Mifsud made the same petition.⁵⁹⁸ In several instances, women also petitioned to continue their husband's trade after he passed away.⁵⁹⁹ One example of the involvement of women in a carpenter's workshop in Valletta in 1701 portrays a situation which may have been very similar to Morales': Michele Azzopardi requested permission to open a carpentry shop in Valletta together with his mother and sister.⁶⁰⁰ The mother and sister had definite roles to play in the running of this family business.

It is very likely that Morales' wives would have participated in his trade in a similar way. They could have helped him with the crafting of parts of instruments, they could have been assigned

⁵⁹⁴ Barbieri, "The Roman Gut String Makers," 23.

⁵⁹⁵ Personal communication, Krispin Attard, carpenter and guitar maker from Zabbar, Malta, 8 June 2012.

⁵⁹⁶ NAM, MCC, Sup. 1 (1699-1701), ff.109-110.

⁵⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, f.26r.

⁵⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, f.57r.

⁵⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, ff.76v-77, 80,

⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, f.124r.

duties of preparing strings, purchasing items, melting glue, sewing the instrument cloth covers, or of helping with sales in the shop. Lucretia's brother, Spirito, was a tailor and drape merchant.⁶⁰¹ If this was the family business then Lucretia would probably also have known how to sew the cloth covers for the instruments. Morales' second wife, Anna Maria, on the other hand, had a brother, Don Faustino, who was a *musicco* in St John's conventual church. Her knowledge of music would have been a great asset for Morales' trade and through this relationship, Don Faustino would also have conveniently placed Morales within the orbit of other musicians in St John's.

Since this was a small home-based business it would have required family participation. However, the inventory remains silent on all such matters. Jenny Nex, exploring the role of women in musical instrument businesses in England, finds that some women were active as makers, while others worked in supporting roles within the domestic economy, such as managing accounts and running the household.⁶⁰² In Malta, it is only through the petitions that the participation of women within the structure of family workshops, businesses and trades becomes evident.

In the absence of a wife, the slave Anna Maria would probably have been assigned the daily household duties such as cleaning and preparing meals, but may also have been of some assistance in Matteo Morales' home-based enterprise. The luthier also part-owned the young male slave, Ali, who would certainly have had some function within the business. The fair sharing of this slave may have translated into some such arrangement as spending the morning in Morales' workshop and the afternoon with the other half-owner, or vice versa. In the case of the renowned artist, Mattia Preti, it is known that his slave Gioseppe, better known as Cianferli, was very useful in the *bottega*, and that slave assistants in his workshop were sometimes even entrusted with paintings and replicas.⁶⁰³ Timber needed to be carried to Morales' shop, stacked in the workshop and chopped. Ali would probably have been assigned these jobs. Like Cianferli, Ali may also have been more deeply involved in the preparation of Morales' instruments. The Turkish-style instrument in his workshop may very well have been created through the influence of Ali.

3.5 Conclusion

Morales ran an organised, professional business which may have been the only one of its kind in Malta during the period. He clearly had a good market for his instruments on the Island, so that

⁶⁰¹ Spirito Bunet made a request to open a drapery shop for his trade of 'sartore.' NAM, MCC, Sup. 1, f.36v.

⁶⁰² Jennifer Susan Nex, *The Business of Musical-Instrument Making in Early Industrial London*, (Unpublished PhD thesis, Goldsmith College, University of London, 2013).

⁶⁰³ Sciberras, *Mattia Preti*, 78, 90.

his small family business is likely to have been a lucrative one. Though no instruments by him have come to light, it should also be noted that survival of other seventeenth-century instruments in Malta is very rare.

Morales' *bottega* demonstrates exchange and unity with the larger centres of Europe, but at the same time shows its own diversity. Morales was mostly building guitars, but provided a wide assortment of instruments. His inventory shows us that he was also participating in the European experimentation taking place, such as in the building of the theorboed guitars. On top of that, we find him providing a 'Turkish-style' instrument which indicates the cultural exchanges taking place. Morales' *bottega* was situated within a unique multi-cultural setting that had a strong intermingling of European, Arab ('Moorish') and Ottoman cultures that resulted in its distinctiveness.

The presence of the *tromba marina* on the Island is a revelation in itself, since there was no prior knowledge of this instrument in Malta. However, at present we are left with insufficient evidence of the instrument's context of use. There is so far not the least suggestion of it in the main churches or in secular use. This, however, cannot be taken as conclusive, since documents in the monasteries could not be consulted. The possibility of its use within this context will therefore have to remain open.

Malta emerges as a busy centre of activity, well connected and profiting from all the main trade routes of the time. Since Morales himself was so closely associated with the traders conducting this trade, he was a small but essential link in this vast chain of trade. On a personal level, all commodities associated with the artisan's work were easily available to him. Because of this trade, Valletta during the seventeenth century was clearly an important centre of cultural activity and, consequently, Morales' *bottega* would have been not only a musical focus within the city, but also a means of connecting with musical cultures outside the Island.

Chapter 4: Learning and teaching music and luthiering

To be able to call himself a *chitarraro*, Mattheo Morales must have gone through some years of professional formation in the art of instrument building. As it has proved difficult to trace his training as a luthier, or to discover whether he had any education as a musician, I here provide an overview of the educational possibilities available on the Maltese Islands in order to identify some potential routes to his career. This also gives us a greater understanding of the networks of potential clients such as music teachers, music students and the broader music culture in which Morales worked. At the time, the learning of a trade or craft was traditionally either through the family or through apprenticeship in Malta or abroad. There is no indication as to the trade of Mattheo Morales' father and, therefore, we have no knowledge of any direct family luthiering trade. However, a Placido Morales working as luthier in Messina in the beginning of the century may prove to be in the same family line.⁶⁰⁴ Placido would have been around the same age as Mattheo Morales' grandfather.

Whereas little information on Morales' training has come to light, several documents have provided a fuller picture for Morales' heirs than for Morales himself. This chapter looks at the transmission of the luthiering trade and the broader music trade after Mattheo Morales through his heirs and other individuals outside the family. This supplies further evidence on how knowledge was transmitted and furnishes some support for conjecture on how Morales himself may have learnt his trade.

The general mobility of people, with particular focus on musicians, has already been discussed in chapter one, where we find that foreign musicians mainly from Sicily, Italy, and France, but also from as far as Flanders, were coming to Malta to occupy posts in the cathedral of Mdina, in St John's conventual church, or in other churches. In this chapter, this aspect of mobility is viewed from the perspective of Maltese musicians who, following initial music studies in Malta, travelled abroad for further education. Studying music, instrumental playing or instrument building abroad would have opened up more contacts, and hence a wider market for a trade like that of Morales.

⁶⁰⁴ La Corte Cailler, *Musica e Musicisti in Messina*, 127.

4.1 Music education and instrumental playing

In seventeenth-century Malta, there were no specialised music conservatories such as those that developed in the charitable institutions of Venice and Naples.⁶⁰⁵ Various methods of learning music were, nevertheless, available. This process of learning could take place within the several religious institutions on the Island, in small schools, or in a more private ambience where students received individual tuition.

Foremost among the educational domains were the religious organisations, in which teaching was centred around sacred music. Plainchant was an essential part of the liturgy and, therefore, necessary for anyone intending to take religious orders.⁶⁰⁶ However, young choirboys, whether or not intended for the priesthood, also received this tuition in the various choir schools. The learning of plainchant in itself required substantial basic musical knowledge that included memorising the different melodic formulas for different occasions, singing scales, singing intervals above and below a fixed melody, getting accustomed to the function of the organ and how to keep in step and in tune with it, and later on learning the staff, notes and accidentals. These formed a disciplined grounding preparation for those wishing to pursue later music studies.

Several music treatises and teaching manuals would have been available to those imparting their knowledge of plainchant to potential singers. Initial teaching would generally have been oral and would have included the 'Guidonian hand' which was a practical device used to assist singers in sight singing. Students learnt to use the palm of the hand and every joint and tip of the fingers as an aid towards memorising specific notes in the six-note (hexatonic) scales and in finding intervals (Figure 19).⁶⁰⁷ They also learnt some of the fundamental musical rules of notation, scales and intervals. The 'Guidonian hand' obtained its name from the eleventh-century music theorist, Guido d'Arezzo (c.995-c.1033), who laid the ground for this method of teaching. In the seventeenth century it was still in general use all over Europe, as is witnessed from the numerous treatises published throughout the century. In 1698, F. Gioseppe Frezza dalle Grotte published in Padova a *Cantore Ecclesiastico* intended for the instruction of Minor Conventuals. A 1713 edition of this, which continued to employ the Guidonian hand, was also in use in Malta, as the presence of the volume in St Agatha's Museum in Rabat shows (Figure 19).

⁶⁰⁵ Denis Arnold, "Music at the Ospedali," *JRMA* 113, no. 2 (1988): 156-167. Marta Columbo, Eloisia Intini, "Congregazioni e Corporazioni di Musica a Napoli tra Sei e Settecento," *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 33 (1998): 41-88. Fabris, "Strumenti di Corde," 63-110.

⁶⁰⁶ Fsadni, *Id-Dumnikani fir-Rabat*, 155. Music was being taught in the Seminary of Mdina in 1616, the year of its foundation.

⁶⁰⁷ See Stefano Mengozzi, "Virtual Segments: The Hexachordal System in the Late Middle Ages," *JM* 23, no.3 (Summer 2006), 429.

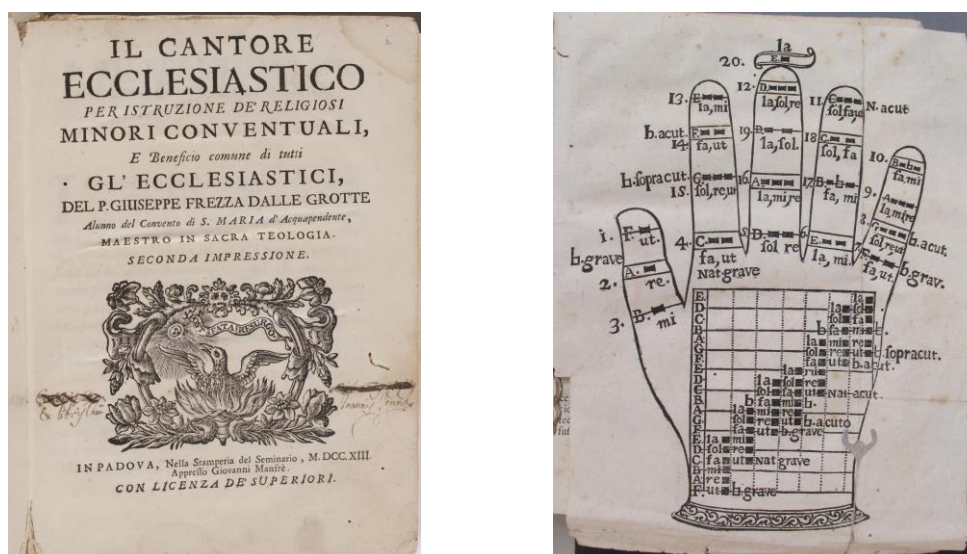


Figure 19. Giuseppe Frezza dalle Grotte *Il Cantore Ecclesiastico* for the instruction of Minor Conventuals, Padova 1713. Frontispiece and unnumbered page showing the Guidonian hand. The Missionary Society of St Paul (MSSP), St Agatha's Museum, Rabat, Malta.

There were different choir schools on the Island that offered music tuition, of which the most sought after would have been those of the cathedral of Mdina and of St John's conventual church. The Mdina records show that plainchant was taught in the cathedral choir by teachers from Malta or Sicily. In the seventeenth century, 'canto fermo' and 'canto figurato' were both being taught.⁶⁰⁸ Prior to the earthquake of 1693, a small room adjacent to the cathedral sacristy was normally used for teaching plainchant to clerics.⁶⁰⁹ The Mdina cathedral always provided excellent choirmasters and chapel masters as well as organists who were either foreign or had trained abroad. We find that Don Michele Zahra, cathedral organist for 44 years, and for some time also choirmaster, had trained in Palermo.⁶¹⁰ Among the many books the cathedral possessed in 1692, there were 'seventeen canto fermo books hand-written on parchment,' 'sixteen very used psalteries for the choir,' 'two large Breviaries for the choir,' as well as 'another Breviary divided into two for the requirements of the choir.'⁶¹¹ This document demonstrates the cathedral's investment in its books and the importance that was being given to its singing.

⁶⁰⁸ 'Cantu planu' and 'cantu figuratu' are both recorded in Mdina in 1527, but clear payment for the teaching of 'canto figurato' by a Sicilian choir master in the cathedral first appears in 1575. Fiorini, "Church Music," 2.

⁶⁰⁹ Borg, *The Maltese Diocese during the Seventeenth Century* (Malta: the author, 2015), 76.

⁶¹⁰ John Azzopardi and Matteo Sansone, *Italian and Maltese Music in the Archives at the Cathedral Museum of Malta* (Malta: Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, 2001), 104. Michele Zahra was organist from 1592 till 1636, and intermittently also 'maestro di canto.'

⁶¹¹ AAM, PV, 25 ff.38v-39r (1692).

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Being admitted into the Order's choir in the conventual church was not an easy matter and was limited to twenty-one boys.⁶¹² This was a large number of choirboys when compared to, for example, the cathedral of Notre Dame de Paris where they had no more than twelve boys.⁶¹³ In St John's the choir was made up of 'diaconi conventuali,' aged ten to fifteen years, who were studying for the priesthood. These were immediately enrolled into one of the 'Langues' and could eventually become conventual chaplains. However, when not enough boys were available as conventual deacons, a few boys from Maltese families who showed promise were appointed into another group known as 'diaconi di mezza tavola.' They were taught by a conventual chaplain every afternoon and were to be available at all times and smartly dressed in clerical clothing for all the church rites and ceremonies. The 'diaconi' were given an annual salary of 30 *scudi*.⁶¹⁴ This was, therefore, a highly desirable position of early education and music training, which had the added possibility of later employment with the conventual church, or even with members of the Order.

Apart from these church choirs, small schools were created, which were often hard to separate from the church, since they were mostly run by ecclesiastics. They were small groups scattered around the Island in which grammar and the humanities were taught. Instruction generally included Latin and also the basic rules for singing 'canto Gregoriano.' All teachers were expected to request permission to teach from the Bishop or the State.⁶¹⁵ Ecclesiastics had to apply for a licence from the Bishop and were furthermore required to make a profession of faith.⁶¹⁶ Owing to these formal requests for a license, we can draw information on the music teaching taking place in these schools, which began to spread from the harbour cities to the central and rural areas. By 1686, we find a Don Giuglio Bezzina teaching plainchant ('canto Gregoriano') in Naxxar,⁶¹⁷ Don Giovanni Paolo Axisa teaching grammar and plainchant in Qormi in 1693,⁶¹⁸ and Don Giovanni Calleja, teaching in his school in Qormi in that same year.⁶¹⁹ The latter was authorised to teach grammar, plainchant and Christian Faith. Some of these priests may not have been particularly brilliant scholars. Giuglio Bezzina, for example, was categorically only licensed to teach 'canto

⁶¹² NLM, Ms. Libr. 271, f.132.

⁶¹³ Catherine Massip, *La Vie des Musiciens de Paris au temps de Mazarin (1643-1661)* (Paris: Editions A. & J. Picard 1976), 58.

⁶¹⁴ They were paid 2 *scudi* 6 *tari* a month. NLM, Ms. Libr. 271, f.220.

⁶¹⁵ Among the 'Suppliche' documents found in the National Archives, Mdina, are several petitions to teach made to the Castellania by lay individuals.

⁶¹⁶ This aspect of general education is explored by Mgr. Vincent Borg in "Developments in Education outside the Jesuit Collegium Melitense" *Melita Historica* IV, no. 3 (1974): 215-254.

⁶¹⁷ Borg, *The Maltese Diocese*, 167.

⁶¹⁸ Borg, *Ibid.*, 123.

⁶¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 208.

Gregoriano' and not allowed to teach reading and writing.⁶²⁰ This calls to mind the previously-mentioned distinction, prevalent from medieval times, between the knowledgeable musicians who learnt the science of music ('musicos'), and the merely vocal practitioners ('cantores'). Giuglio Bezzina may have been one of these 'cantores.' The 'musici,' who were well educated not only in both theory and practice of music, but also in the broader humanist curriculum, were generally to be found in the more important churches such as Mdina, St John's, the Jesuits' church, St Paul's Shipwreck, and only occasionally in a few other select churches.

Besides music as part of a curriculum within an institution, qualified musicians who were mostly priests or monks, often provided a private teaching service, whether for singing or for instrumental music. Just as had been commonly occurring in European monasteries since medieval times, monks in Malta were also taking in students whom they taught privately in their convent. Such was the case of the sixteenth-century Augustinian monk, Petro Callus, who was teaching *cantus firmus* to Don Antonio Vitali twice a day at his convent, and who similarly was contracted to teach several other students.⁶²¹ This fits with the general teaching customs occurring in European monasteries. Similarly sought after for private tuition were chapel masters who were always highly trained musicians. One of these was Fra Michelangelo Cesis, chapel master at St John's conventual church, who in 1605 had for some time been privately teaching music to two young pupils then aged nine and eleven.⁶²²

Just as we have seen that there was private tuition in singing, it is highly probable that instrumental tuition was also taking place in the same way. An instrumental performer was, of course, always a potential teacher of the instrument he played. Matteo d'Arena, for example, who took up the post of organist at St John's in 1686, was teaching students, among whom were his own son Giuseppe, and Gerolamo Abos who studied theory and organ with him.⁶²³ This same scenario is very likely to have been taking place among other instrumental performers such as Don Michele Zahra, chapel master at Mdina. His last will shows that he owned his own 'manicordium' (clavichord) and 'spinetta,' which he would probably have also been using as practice and teaching instruments in his own home.⁶²⁴ As has already been noted in Table 16, there were ecclesiastics who owned stringed and keyboard instruments that were inventoried

⁶²⁰ AAM, PV 24, f.446 (November 1686).

⁶²¹ Fiorini, *Mandati* (1992), li. This took place in November 1535.

⁶²² Azzopardi and Sansone, 107.

⁶²³ NLM, AOM 1187, ff.54r-v. Giuseppe had 'always applied himself to learning the organ.' When his father died he left Malta 'to further perfect his studies' in the Collegio de Poveri di Christo in Naples. Regarding Abos, see Vella Bondin, *The Great Composers*, 127.

⁶²⁴ NAV, Not. Gio Luca Mamo R.335, 619/81, ff.320v-321r. Last will dated 9 March 1646.

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among their belongings in their wills or after their death.⁶²⁵ There is, therefore, the strong possibility that these priests were using their instruments for private teaching. In spite of licenses theoretically being required, this requisite may sometimes have been overlooked or may have been covered by another licence, thereby leaving us no concrete evidence.

Documentation of private instrumental teaching outside religious organisations is, on the other hand, more explicit. In one instance an agreement was signed whereby Antonio Marmara was to be taught how to play the lute by the Greek Aloysius Canard, with lessons to be held twice daily for a fee of five *scudi*.⁶²⁶ This document, though taking place in the sixteenth century, provides us with very rare details and opens a window on to the mode of teaching of secular music in Malta. One wonders what type of music this was and whether folk knowledge of instrumental playing was also in some cases transmitted in this way. Today, acquisition of knowledge is through love for the genre, frequent attendance of folk events, viewing, listening, absorbing, and then imitating. There is generally no formal teaching that occurs in the mastery of folk music. Whether this was also the case in the seventeenth century is difficult to verify. Poorer folk would certainly not have been financially capable of paying for lessons. In art music, though oral transmission would also have been taking place, the process of learning often required a more direct exchange between teacher and student, in which the student went through a process of receiving theoretical information and practical skills over a number of years. This type of teaching would generally have included written music. Learning music of a more popular kind may have entailed less theoretical knowledge but would certainly have had to include learning the reading and interpretation of tablatures for lutes and guitars.

During this period, we know that instrumental teaching within a secular context (as opposed to ecclesiastical) was taking place in small schools opened specifically for the purpose of teaching music. Morales' nephew, as we shall see, had such a school in which he was teaching the practice of stringed instruments. In addition to this, among the elite there was a preference for teaching to take place privately within the home. The teacher would in this case go to the pupil rather than the pupil going to the school. One such teacher who applied specifically for a permit to do this was the violinist Gioanni di Marsino, who in June 1699 requested to teach 'the violin and other instruments' and dance, not only in his school but also privately in people's homes:

⁶²⁵ NAV, Not. Gio Luca Mamo, R.335, 619/81; NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 3, ff.140v-141r; NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit 3, f.579v.

⁶²⁶ Stanley Fiorini, "The Rhodiote Community of Birgu, 1530-1550" *Library of Mediterranean History* 1 (1995): 219.

Gioanni di Marsino wishes to open a school of performance of the violin and other instruments, and of dance, and also wishes to teach dance everywhere... He wishesto teach also in people's houses.⁶²⁷

The request was granted on 11 June 1699. Gioanni di Marsino, therefore, not only had his own school in which to teach those wanting to attend, but also catered for the wealthier individuals who were happy to pay for exclusive tuition in their own homes. This situation went on taking place in later years among the aristocracy, as for example in the case of Baroncino Vincenzo de Piro who got regular tuition in performance of the psaltery and the harpsichord in his own home by two different teachers, a 'Maestro di Salterio' and a 'Maestro di Cimbalo.'⁶²⁸

More advanced musical studies

Pursuing more advanced musical studies in Malta was an available option. The Jesuit *Collegium*, the Dominican *Studium* (Porto Salvo) in Valletta, and that in Vittoriosa, as well as the Franciscan minor Conventual Friary in Valletta, all provided a higher education that included some form of music.

One of the most prominent Jesuits with a profound interest in music, who had arrived in Malta in 1637 as tutor and confessor to Prince Friedrich von Hessen, was the learned Athanasius Kircher. His phenomenal range of interests, so typical of a Renaissance mind, included theology, philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, history, Egyptology, geology, medicine, as well as music. He was at that time professor of mathematics, physics and eastern studies in the Jesuit Collegio Romano.⁶²⁹ During his eight-month stay in Malta he was employed by the Grand Master to teach mathematics to his pages.⁶³⁰ He must also have imparted his extraordinary knowledge and enthusiasm for learning to students he met in Malta's *Collegium*. Back in Rome he was later to create and catalogue the *Museum Kircherianum*, a museum of antiquities and musical curiosities, much of which was published by the later librarian and curator of the collection, Filippo Bonanni, in his *Gabinetto Armonico*.⁶³¹ Kircher remains best remembered for his publication in the field of

⁶²⁷ NAM, MCC, Sup. (1699-1700) f.8v, dated 11 June 1699. 'Gioani di Marsino desidera tener scuola di suono di violino, et altri instrumenti e ballo et anche d'insegnar a ballare da per tutto... anche per le case.'

⁶²⁸ AdeP, L1, Bills and Expenses (1752-65).

⁶²⁹ George J. Buelow, "Kircher, Athanasius" *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 24 September 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/15044>.

⁶³⁰ Stanley Fiorini, "The *Collegium Melitense* and the *Universitas Studiorum* to 1798," in *Yesterday's Schools*, ed. Ronald G. Sultana (Malta: Xirocco Publications, 2017), 40.

⁶³¹ The *Gabinetto Armonico* was printed with engravings by Giorgio Placho in Rome in 1722. This edition was consulted in the British Library (IV.1476). Frank Harrison and Joan Rimmer in the Introduction to *Filippo Bonanni: The Showcase of Musical Instruments* refer to an earlier version of 1716, but do not mention the 1722 edition. They reproduce engravings from the 1723 reprint.

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music theory, *Musurgia Universalis* (1650), which was drawn upon by generations of later music theorists.

The Jesuits in Malta provided a very important centre of learning. Among those known to have studied in the *Collegium* in the 1640s was Ortentio Benini (1622-1697), who later became a highly sought-after musician and *maestro di cappella* of several churches.⁶³² Another celebrated musician, the bass singer, Balthassare Arnaudet, was teaching plainchant at the same *Collegium* in 1688.⁶³³ He must have been one of the most accomplished bass singers on the island, as in 1661 we already find him commanding very high wages, equal to those of chapel masters and castrati.⁶³⁴ He was singing in the Jesuits' Church, in St Paul's Shipwreck, and was also attached to St John's.⁶³⁵ It is most likely that he would have been providing a very high level of music teaching (theoretical and vocal, and possibly also instrumental) wherever he taught.

The Dominican *Studium* was another significant centre of learning. Patri Mikiel Fsadni who researched much of the early history of the Dominicans in Malta, cites several inventories of the various Dominican libraries, but makes no reference to music teaching.⁶³⁶ Though attempts have been made, it has so far not been possible to consult these inventories that would divulge the type of music teaching taking place.

More advanced music education also took place in the Minor Conventual Franciscan Friary in their University in Valletta.⁶³⁷ Since medieval times, the Franciscan convents in Europe had been in the forefront of music teaching, not only of Gregorian chant but also of different genres of vocal music.⁶³⁸ In the Valletta Friary there were several potential accomplished teachers of vocal and also of instrumental music. Fra Giovanni Battista Balzano, for example, who spent fourteen years as *maestro di cappella* in the Catania Cathedral, was awarded the honour of 'Magister Musicae' before returning permanently to the Valletta conventual Friary in 1661.⁶³⁹ He would have been able to teach the organ as well as singing and the theory of music, and is very likely to have been able to play stringed instruments. Another exceptional conventual Franciscan musician was Padre

⁶³² Borg, *The Maltese Diocese*, 164.

⁶³³ *Ibid.*, 476.

⁶³⁴ MCM, ACM, FG, *Giorn. Mag.* (1646-1661), f.503.

⁶³⁵ AOM 931 (28) No. 13, *Spoglio*, 1667. There is reference to the Chaplain of the Italian Langue leaving all his music to Deacon Arnaudet. St John's conventual church was free to make use of it, but it was to be kept by Arnaudet.

⁶³⁶ Fsadni, *L-Ewwel Dumnikani f' Malta 1450-1512* (Malta: 1965); *Id-Dumnikani fir-Rabat*.

⁶³⁷ In 1620, through the intervention of the Grand Master, they were granted the papal right to confer doctoral degrees in their University in Valletta. See Bonaventura Fiorini, "I Frati Minori Conventuali e l'Ordine Gerosolimitano." *Miscellanea francescana* 65 (1965) 305-348.

⁶³⁸ Gérold, *La Musique au Moyen Age*, 357-8.

⁶³⁹ Azzopardi and Sansone, *Italian and Maltese Music* Malta, 109. He died in 1695. On 5 November 1659 he was travelling from Malta to Catania: NAM, MCC, Reg. Pat. 9, no folio numbers.

Maestro Michel Angelo Falusi (1645-1733), who had been *maestro di cappella* in the Chiesa dei SS Apostoli in Rome, and who had settled in Malta in the Valletta Friary in 1686, where he stayed for twenty years.⁶⁴⁰ Padre Falusi, composer, and also Doctor of Sacred Theology, may have been the one teaching Carolus Tonna plainchant in 1696.⁶⁴¹ In Falusi we have a very prominent figure who had been in one of the most central churches in Rome, and who would have transported with him to Malta all teaching, composition and performing techniques and styles that were current in Rome. Bonifazio Graziani dedicated to Maestro Falusi his fifth book of Motets for solo voice, published in Rome in 1684. Through such highly qualified and respected musician teachers, it was possible for Maltese students to obtain an excellent grounding in theoretical music, in composition, in organ playing and probably also in the performance of stringed instruments. As we have already seen in Chapter 3, organists were sometimes also expected to play the *basso di viola* in certain functions, though there was no specific mention in their original employment agreement.⁶⁴² At least some of them would therefore have been equally competent in the playing of stringed instruments

When further specialisation was required, students with financial means ventured out of the Island to refine their studies abroad. During the seventeenth century Syracuse, Messina, Catania and Palermo were the main destinations for most studies, including music. As we will see, this was the case with one of Matteo Morales' nephews. Substantial information more readily available on musicians from Malta later in the eighteenth century is worth utilising for comparison. Since by that time Neapolitan music conservatories had gained international repute, we find that Maltese musicians often travelled to Naples. There is a clear pattern of primary musical learning taking place in Malta, followed by several years in one of the Conservatories in Naples. Most musicians, though not all, then returned to Malta where they acquired good posts as *maestri di cappella* or salaried musicians.⁶⁴³ For example, Filippo Pizzuto (1704-c.1747) after being choir boy in St John's, left at age 16 for Sant'Onofrio in Naples, where he spent eight years. On his return he became a member of the *cappella di musica* at St John's. In another case, Giuseppe d'Arena (1707-1784) started his studies with his father Matteo, the organist at St John's, and then left at age 17 for Naples, where he remained.⁶⁴⁴

⁶⁴⁰ Azzopardi and Sansone, *Italian and Maltese Music*, 109.

⁶⁴¹ Vincent Borg, *The Maltese Diocese*, 593.

⁶⁴² Mdina organist Don Domenico Bonnici was expected to play the *viola* 'in the usual functions.' MCM, ACM, Reg. Dep. Pers. (1698-1851), f.5v, dated 23 October 1702.

⁶⁴³ See Vella Bondin, *The Great Maltese Composers*, 43-238.

⁶⁴⁴ Other musicians who studied abroad were Girolamo Abos who left for Naples at age 13, Benigno Zerafa who left for Naples at the age of 12, and Francesco Azopardi who left for Naples at the age of 15.

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It is very likely that a similar pattern would already have applied in the seventeenth century, though the place of musical studies, which is rarely recorded specifically, may have been elsewhere. Basic music learning would have taken place in Malta, with more profound and specialised studies later undertaken abroad by those wishing to make music their profession. This, as we will see, can be confirmed by one of Morales' nephews, Gio Antonio Cascon.

Studies abroad could commence at any age, as is also evident from eighteenth-century musicians, whose age at the time they left Malta varied from twelve to twenty years and possibly even older. Studies abroad depended largely on the availability of financial support from relatives or patrons and the level of tuition available in Malta in the particular chosen field. The Mdina cathedral and St John's sometimes offered a grant to promising students. For example, the Mdina Cathedral Chapter sent Michele Zahra to Palermo to learn the organ between 1589 and 1591. When he returned, he held the cathedral organist post for forty years, until 1636. Another talented choirboy, Benigno Zerafa, was also given a grant from the Cathedral Chapter for his studies in Naples. He perfected his studies there for six years before returning to Malta.⁶⁴⁵

Most musicians were priests and they occasionally studied for the priesthood abroad. This may in some cases have offered an opportunity for musical studies in or near the place of studies for the priesthood. At a time when travel was not undertaken capriciously, we find that they were travelling either solely for their ordination and returning immediately after, or for more prolonged studies. Don Simone Borg, organist, was ordained in Syracuse in 1629, and is also known to have later been in Rome.⁶⁴⁶ It is, therefore, probable that some of his musical studies would also have been undertaken in Syracuse or in Rome. Don Giuseppe Balzano, composer and *maestro di cappella* in the cathedral, was ordained priest abroad in 1640.⁶⁴⁷ According to Joseph Vella Bondin, this took place in Catania.⁶⁴⁸ He may also have made good use of this time abroad. Francesco Petralità, owner of a guitar and a violin, was residing at the Jesuit College at Stabia (near Pompei) where he was ordained in 1650, and is therefore very likely to have received some musical training there.⁶⁴⁹ Don Carlo Cassia, who was ordained in 1651, was travelling to Syracuse on 26 January 1658. There is no record of him on the Island till two years later, in 1660, when he was one of the musicians in the Jesuits' church.⁶⁵⁰ These all provide us with a possibility of where their musical studies could have taken place. Though none of these locations can as yet be fully

⁶⁴⁵ For a full study on Zerafa see Frederick Aquilina, *Benigno Zerafa (1726-1804) and the Neapolitan Galant Style* (UK: the Boydell Press, 2016).

⁶⁴⁶ Borg, *The Maltese Diocese during the Seventeenth Century*, 199.

⁶⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 147.

⁶⁴⁸ Vella Bondin, *The Great Maltese Composers*, 31.

⁶⁴⁹ He is again found travelling in 1661, though no destination is given. NAM, MCC, Reg. Pat. 9 (1656-1665), 13 June 1661.

⁶⁵⁰ MCM, ACM, FG, Giorn. Mag. (1646-1661), f.480, Feast of St Ignatius, date of payment 31 July 1660.

confirmed, some conclusions can be drawn from the available data on musician priests. They travelled for the most part to Sicily (Syracuse, Messina, Catania or Palermo), but also further North to Calabria, Naples and even Rome.

4.2 Learning instrument building

Whereas we can formulate some idea on the teaching and learning of music and instrumental playing in Malta in the seventeenth century, we have far less knowledge of the trade of instrument building. Trades in Malta were generally passed down the generations, with sons acquiring skills primarily from their fathers. The initial steps of learning would, in most cases, have taken place within the immediate family. The Maltese saying: 'The son of a craftsman has already picked up half the skill' stresses the fact that without much effort the skill of a trade is already acquired through constant encounter. This link could extend to other family members outside the immediate family unit. That is, a child could also learn a trade from an uncle, thus perpetuating an established paternal or maternal family trade. Such a system ensured continuation of skills acquired over a number of generations.

Another established method of learning a trade was that of apprenticeship. Despite the lack of formal records, this may also have been the method followed by some instrument builders and, as we will see later, may have been the route taken by one of Morales' nephews. Stanley Fiorini finds that in the sixteenth century silversmiths, barbers, barber surgeons, cobblers, tailors were all working within an apprentice system.⁶⁵¹ Such a system was in place, not only for tradesmen, but also for professionals. There is evidence that in the 1540s, sixteen-year old Franciscus Rochion alias *Torrentsi* offered his services as a scribe for three years with Notary Vincentio Bonaventura de Bonetiis in order to learn from him the profession of notary.⁶⁵² No mention of musicians or instrument makers has been found in sixteenth century records. However, by the seventeenth century several trade guilds had been created which regulated the exercise of each trade, art or craft, including apprenticeship. Again, there is no apparent evidence of musicians and instrument makers belonging to any of these guilds.

These societies or confraternities, mostly made up of lay people, were dedicated to Christ, the Blessed Sacrament, the Rosary, the Holy Cross, a patron saint, the Blessed Virgin, or some other religious devotion. They usually had their own chapel, very often within or beside the parish church, and though independent, were under the wing of the Church. In Morales' parish of St

⁶⁵¹ Fiorini, "Rhodiote Community in Birgu," 219.

⁶⁵² *Ibid.*, 218.

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Paul's Shipwreck, there were several of these confraternities that had a chapel within the church, most of which, though not all, were attached to particular guilds. Each member paid a yearly tariff with new members having first to be approved by the guild consuls. Among these, there was that of goldsmiths and silversmiths dedicated to St Helen; the cobblers and harness makers belonging to the confraternity of St Crispin and Crispinian; merchants belonging to that of St Martin; drapers, tailors and weavers belonging to St Homobono; blacksmiths belonging to St Eligio, and so on.⁶⁵³

At a time when no trade unions or social welfare were in place, these guild groups provided safety and assurance, protecting members and their trade. There were other confraternities in several of the churches in Valletta, the harbour areas, and in the villages. Because of the frequent association of the visual arts with music, a very pertinent guild formed in Valletta was that of artists. The 'association' of artists, sculptors and gilders, dedicated to St Luke, was formed in 1672, and was attached to the church of St Francis in Valletta.⁶⁵⁴ One would expect musicians to have followed this step. There is, however, no evidence of such an association or guild of musicians, and it is certainly not likely that there existed one for luthiers, since there were very few of them on the Island.

The question of how instrument builders learnt the trade, therefore, remains difficult to pin down. Would aspiring luthiers have been apprenticed locally, or would they have considered going away to learn or to perfect their trade abroad? In the case of Mattheo Morales, we do not know where he learnt his trade or what his father's trade was. What we do know is that his father, Giuseppe, was originally from Syracuse and had moved to Malta at the age of seventeen.⁶⁵⁵ At the age of 29 he was being addressed as 'Mastro Giuseppe' meaning he had become a skilled tradesman.⁶⁵⁶ It is likely that he had arrived in Malta already partly trained after an apprenticeship, but he became master of his skill on the Island.

Opting to go to a place where there were already family members or friends was the most natural choice. Giuseppe had paternal relatives who had been living in Malta from the late sixteenth century and who would therefore have facilitated his initial stages in Malta. One relative, Costantino Morales, a bombardier with the Order, very well established and highly respected, lived in Valletta, and was owner of land and vineyards. No luthiering connections on the island have so far emerged, however, so that the professional formation of Mattheo as a *chitarraro*

⁶⁵³ Ciarlò, *The Hidden Gem*, 44-45.

⁶⁵⁴ AOM 1185, Sup. 4 (1650-1689) f.341, 'Accademia di pittori, scultori et indoratori.' See Giovanni Bonello, "The first Guild of Artists in Malta, 1671" *Histories of Malta*, VII, (Malta: FPM) 155-163.

⁶⁵⁵ AAM, Stati Liberi 1635, f.67.

⁶⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, f.67

remains elusive. There was one known professional luthier in Malta early in the century but no others have so far been found to show some kind of continuation of the trade locally. The possibility of a family relationship with a Placido Morales working as a ‘costruttore di liuti’ in Messina is very likely, but still requires further investigation.⁶⁵⁷ Nevertheless, we will see later how Mattheo Morales himself is likely to have passed on his trade to one of his nephews, and possibly to others.

In Europe, the length of apprenticeship for luthiers, just like that of musicians, could vary and could start at a young age, or in some cases, much later. In 1603, fourteen-year-old Jacques le Breton was apprenticed to a Parisian spinet maker, Medric Lorillart, for 6 years.⁶⁵⁸ In 1579, Erasmus Clerc from London, was aged around 18 when he was apprenticed to Anthoine Besse, a Paris instrument maker. His apprenticeship was for a shorter period of four years, during which time he was to be given drink, food, clothing, shoes, linen, and lodging.⁶⁵⁹ Apprenticeship in Naples, with food lodging and clothing being provided, started around the age of ten and also varied, depending on the agreement entered into with the Master craftsman.⁶⁶⁰ In Cremona, Andrea Guarneri was apprenticed with Nicolo Amati at the age of 18 for five years and again later for another four years. However, information on the education and professional formation of one of the most renowned of luthiers, Antonio Stradivari, remains largely hypothetical in spite of years of research by several scholars. His father’s trade is likewise not known. It is thought that Antonio may have been apprenticed to a wood carver before turning to instrument building.⁶⁶¹ The close relationship between the two trades is indubitable. It was not unusual for instrument makers to come from a woodworking background, such as is known to have occurred in Paris.⁶⁶²

Morales’ formation is equally vague. No documents have emerged to clarify the way he learnt the trade. A search through the departures from the Island between 1646 and 1666 does not show Morales leaving Malta. How, then did he learn his trade? There were several excellent carpenters and cabinet makers on the Island, from whom he could easily have learnt general woodworking skills. The possibility of Morales turning to instrument building after instruction or apprenticeship

⁶⁵⁷ La Corte Cailler, *Musica e Musicisti in Messina*, 127. Parish of S. Luca, Messina, Reg. Mort. (1606-1651), f.58, no.750.

⁶⁵⁸ Lesure, “La Factice instrumentale à Paris au Seizième Siècle” *GSI* 7 (1954): p.46, Appendix XXVII.

⁶⁵⁹ Lesure, “La Factice Instrumentale,” 33, Appendix XVII.

⁶⁶⁰ Sisto, *I Liutai tedeschi*, 43-50.

⁶⁶¹ Charles Beare, et al. “Stradivari.” *Grove Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed January 28, 2017. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/26889>.

⁶⁶² Catherine Massip, *La Vie des Musiciens de Paris*, 131.

in woodworking skills, just as Stradivari may have done, cannot be totally discarded. This same situation has also been noted in more recent instrument makers in Malta.⁶⁶³

4.3 After Morales: his musical goods

Whereas Morales' own luthiering formation does not come to light, an investigation of his heirs and members of his family, and those who purchased his goods can provide some more concrete information on several facets of the music trade, including the paths chosen for learning. From the distribution of musical items in the inventory of Matteo Morales, it is immediately evident that several members of the family had an interest in music and in instrument building: so much so that the business did not stop with Matteo Morales. Through the inventory we can begin to construct the family's perpetuation of the music trade and also to discover some of their modes of learning. Though we cannot be certain that the conclusions we can draw from this definitely apply to Morales as well, they do provide further clues to how he may have gained his professional training.

Though Matteo had no surviving children of his own, several comments in the inventory of his goods suggest that he had transferred his hopes onto his siblings' male offspring, particularly on his sisters' children. Matteo's younger brother, Gio Batta, had several children of his own, who would have been well taken care of by their own father. His sisters' children, in contrast, were orphaned. There were three surviving male offspring. One was Aloysia's son, Gio Antonio Cascon: the others were Bernardina's children Gasparo and Matteo Attard or Mola. When Morales died in 1698, Gio Antonio was aged 25, Gasparo was 17, and Matteo was around 16, all at an age where their trade or profession would already have been decided.

Throughout the inventory there are references to 'the nephews.' When the contents of the *sala* were drawn up, there was an old chest containing a substantial amount of gold and silver items, which was immediately declared to belong to 'the nephews.'⁶⁶⁴ There did not seem to be any dispute among family members about this. One concludes that Matteo had probably already demonstrated his wishes, and had possibly already donated or promised items to his nephews, even though no will had officially been drawn up. Though his wishes would not have been legally binding, the family seemed to be following his intentions. Why did Matteo show this preference for the nephews? Was it simply because they were orphaned? Or were there, perhaps, deeper

⁶⁶³ Krispin Attard, was originally a carpenter who in the 1970s turned to guitar making and produced guitars till he stopped working around 2010. See Anna Borg Cardona, *Musical Instruments of the Maltese Islands*, 160-161.

⁶⁶⁴ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.260v.

ties associated with that which was closest to his heart - music and musical instruments? A close look at each of the nephews in turn will provide some answers to these questions.

4.3.1 Gio Antonio Cascon (1673? – 1732)

Archival documents on Gio Antonio Cascon confirm that he exercised a musical trade and that he followed the pattern of early education in Malta and further study abroad, as we will see in the following pages. The musical instruments of his uncle probably figured in Gio Antonio's early training in guitar and violin playing and later aided him in his career. Gio Antonio was the son of Aloysia Morales who was almost two years younger than Mattheo. She first married Vitale Gimeste in 1670,⁶⁶⁵ and later entered a second marriage to Francesco Cascon, whose surname also appears as Gascon or Cascun. Gio Antonio is registered in his marriage certificate as son of the late first husband, Vitale, whilst in other documents he repeatedly appears as son of Francesco Cascon. This phenomenon is often encountered whenever there are two marriages, making it difficult to conclude unless the parish of the couple is known and birth registers are consulted. In 1699, the year following his uncle Mattheo's death, Gio Antonio was said to be aged twenty-six.⁶⁶⁶ Presuming this age to be correct, though his birth registration has so far not been traced, his date of birth can therefore be estimated as 1673.

Throughout the inventory it is several times repeated that Gio Antonio was away from the Island, but there is no mention of where he was or what he was doing abroad. In the meantime, the family made it clear that they wanted to ensure that justice was done and that Gio Antonio received his fair share of the inheritance, to avoid the possibility of any later disagreements. Since he was the only heir who was not present or represented, they therefore requested the appointment of a curator who would see that the division was done fairly and would take care of Gio Antonio's portion until his return. The Court of the Castellania appointed Master Michele Hagius to appear on Gio Antonio's behalf.⁶⁶⁷

Michele Hagius would surely have been a person well known to Gio Antonio and would have been well aware of the trade the young man was taking up. He would also have had to be a person trusted by the entire family. Michele Hagius, whose trade remains unknown, lived in the same parish as Morales. In 1656, when he was documented travelling to Syracuse, he was aged twenty, and would therefore have been roughly the same age as Mattheo Morales.⁶⁶⁸ In 1695 he was

⁶⁶⁵ SP, Reg. Matrim. 3, f.107. They were married 15 April 1670.

⁶⁶⁶ NAM, MCC, Sup., 1699, f.23.

⁶⁶⁷ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.248r -248v.

⁶⁶⁸ NAM, MCC, Reg. Pat. 9, 1 November 1656. No folio numbers.

again recorded leaving Malta for Palermo.⁶⁶⁹ The census of 1704 shows that Michele had passed away leaving a wife and a son, Tommaso, aged 19.⁶⁷⁰ Hagius was entrusted with Gio Antonio's goods till his return. One of his uncle's chests was first and foremost sold to the nephew, at a cost of eight *tari*, in which he could 'store the goods that were allotted to him in his portion.'⁶⁷¹ Following the sale of some goods to immediate family and a few persons involved with the inventory, the remaining goods were divided into five portions. We are then given a list of the items that 'fell to Gio Antonio.'⁶⁷² They included several musical instruments as well as six landscape paintings, various items of used clothing (jacket, trousers and waistcoat) belonging to his uncle, a sheet and a blanket, some lace and two old straw chairs.

Table 18: Gio Antonio Cascon's inheritance

Gio Antonio Cascon	
un basso di viola	a bass viol/bass violin
una chitarra vecchia	an old guitar
due mezze chitarre vecchie	two old half-size guitars
un bastardino	<i>a bastardino</i>
un violino	a violin
et una sordina	<i>a sordino</i> violin
Also: Monetary portion, a chest, jewellery, gold and silver items, 6 landscape paintings, sleeveless jacket, shirt, trousers, sheet, towels, blanket, lace, cravats, collar.	

Source: NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, ff.258v, 251v.

The assortment of instruments allotted to Gio Antonio immediately indicates a wide interest in the stringed family – both plucked and bowed. Since all the other four heirs were present for the inventory and the division of goods, and since they all purchased things that they were interested in, it seems logical that they or Michele Hagius would have allotted for Gio Antonio items they knew would be useful to him.

⁶⁶⁹ NAM, MCC, Reg. Pat. 14, 6 August 1695.

⁶⁷⁰ SP, Reg. Status Anim. 1700, f.226r. His wife, Maria, is registered as 'widow.'

⁶⁷¹ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.258r.

⁶⁷² *Ibid.*, f.258v, 'robba che toccò a Gio Antonio Cascon.'

Prior to the final division of goods, members of the family were given the option of purchasing items, subject to common consent. Maddalena and Simone Attard seemed to have had no interest in obtaining musical instruments, and nor did Gioacchina and Raphaele Mulet. This left Mattheo's younger brother Gio Batta, and the nephews Gio Antonio Cascon and Gaspare Mola, all of whom did receive some music-related items. Among Gio Antonio's lot there were three different sizes of guitars as well as a bass violin, a violin and a *sordino* violin. Notably, there is no timber and there are no tools allotted to him. His interest was clearly in the performance level rather than in the actual fabrication of instruments.

Though Gio Antonio was not on the Island when his uncle died, nine months later (on 25 October 1699), he is documented in Malta (Cospicua), getting married to Elisabetta Caruana, 'legitimate and natural daughter of the late Vincenzo Caruana and Margherita, both living and married.'⁶⁷³ Just over two weeks after his marriage, he presented a petition before the Court of the Castellania to open a music school and to perform:

Gio Antonio Cascon from the city of Valletta.... shows the wish to exercise his profession of instrumentalist, and to this effect to open a *bottega* in which to teach the performance of guitar, violin and other instruments.' 14 November 1699.⁶⁷⁴

A few days later, the Court gave its reply to his request, adding very relevant information:

The applicant is native of this Dominion and is aged 26, and after having spent some years away from this Dominion in order to learn to play the guitar and the violin, he has been four months in this Dominion, and in order to earn his living together with his wife, he wishes to open a school of performance of the said instruments. Since he is a good man, and since there are no complaints against him, I believe that this above request can be conceded. 23 November 1699.⁶⁷⁵

This very significant document not only throws light on why Gio Antonio had been away from the Island when his uncle Mattheo died, but also confirms that as an aspiring instrumentalist of the seventeenth century he did indeed leave Malta to specialise abroad in the guitar and violin. It will be recalled that Gioanni di Marsino, already referred to earlier in this chapter, had just arrived in Malta to open his own school of violin teaching and dance. This petition, made only a few months earlier than Gio Antonio's, differed in that the latter was not focussing on dance but more

⁶⁷³ NLM, AD 5 (Burmula), f.393.

⁶⁷⁴ NAM, MCC, Sup., 1699, f.23. 'Gio Antonio Cascon della citta Valletta...espone haver desiderio esercitare la professione di sonatore ed a quest'effetto aprire una bottega et in quella insegnar a sonare di chitarra, violino, et altri instrumenti.'

⁶⁷⁵ NAM, MCC, Sup. ff.16, 17, 23 November 1699, f.23 'Il suppl.te è native in questo Dominio et è dell'età d'anni 26, e dopo essersi trattenuto alcuni anni fuori di questo Dominio, a farsi insegnare suono di chitarra e violino finalmente quattro mesi sono capitò e per procacciarsi da vivere assieme con sua moglie, desidera tener scuola di suono di dette instrumenti. Che però essendo egli buon giovane e non sentendosi querele di fatti suoi, sarei di sentimento concedere la facoltà su detta, contenuta nel questo suo memoriale.' 23 Novembre 1699.

specifically on the teaching of guitar and violin.⁶⁷⁶ Gio Antonio would have initiated his studies in Malta, but then he left the Island and had been perfecting his instrumental music for several years abroad. A search through the register of departures from the Island ('Registrum Patentarum') reveals an Antonio Cascon aged 21 leaving Malta on 1 December 1694, together with Francesco Perrinod aged 28, Gennaro Monte aged 19, Giovanni Infantes aged 18, and Angelo Marino aged 32.⁶⁷⁷ These people (musicians?) seem to have been travelling with him in a group. Gio Antonio's name is here shortened to Antonio but his age tallies with that given in the request to open a school, where in 1699 he is said to be 26. Though the destination of the group on this occasion is not recorded, on 18 September 1699 'Antonio Cascon of Valletta, aged 25' is again recorded leaving the Island, this time clearly stating that the destination was Messina.⁶⁷⁸ It appears very likely that Gio Antonio carried out his guitar and violin studies in Messina from December 1694 to July 1699, that is, over a period of four and a half years. This second fleeting visit to Messina in September 1699 would probably have been to complete some unfinished business, since he may have rushed home as soon as he could after his uncle's death to see to his inheritance.

Why would Messina have been chosen as the destination for instrumental studies? Catania would not have been considered at that point in time because of the very recent earthquake that had destroyed the city only months earlier. Family connections surely carried some weight in such decisions. Gio Antonio's aunt Paula, eldest sister of Matteo, was married to a Messinese. There may also have been other Morales family connections in the city, which have not as yet been confirmed.⁶⁷⁹ Any of these would have been exploited in order to facilitate Gio Antonio's arrival in Messina and to ease his lodging arrangements during his stay. Messina was at the time one of the important centres of music making. Apart from sacred music there was also the aristocratic Casa Ruffo that attracted artists, intellectuals and musicians of the time.⁶⁸⁰ There were several musicians in the city, enough to feel that they should form themselves into an organisation which in the 1670s eventually became the 'Congregazione di Santa Cecilia' attached to the church of San Gioacchino.⁶⁸¹ Gio Antonio would have been aware of this Congregazione and may even have been a part of it during his stay.

⁶⁷⁶ MCC, Sup., 11 June 1699, f.8v. 'Gioanni di Marsino ... per suo mantenimento desidera tenere scola di sono di violino, et altri instrumenti, et anche d'insegnar a ballare da per tutto.'

⁶⁷⁷ NAM, MCC, Reg. Pat. 14, 1 Dec 1694, no folio number.

⁶⁷⁸ NAM, MCC, Reg. Pat. 18 September 1699, no folio number.

⁶⁷⁹ The luthier Placido Morales may have been of the same lineage. This is still to be explored.

⁶⁸⁰ D. Costantini and A. Magauda, "Musica a Messina in Casa Ruffo" *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* XX no. 2 (1985): 277-295.

⁶⁸¹ Giuseppe Donato, "Per la Storia della 'Congregazione di Santa Cecilia' di Messina nel Seicento" *Nuovi Annali della Facoltà di Magistero dell'Università di Messina* (1983): 251-264.

Messina and Malta had long had musical connections since several Messinese musicians and instrumentalists took up positions in Malta. I have previously referred to the instrumentalist and dance master Paolo Pitara, who had moved to Malta to open a dance school in 1617,⁶⁸² the organ maker, Gabriele da Messina,⁶⁸³ and another organ builder Lucio Pizzuto, who made a 'regaletto' for the cathedral in 1657 and also restored the cathedral organ,⁶⁸⁴ the organist Matteo d'Arena who arrived in Malta in 1686 for a post with St John's,⁶⁸⁵ and the Messinese soprano Serafino Oddo, who was employed with the cathedral of Mdina between 1690 and 1693.⁶⁸⁶ Another organ builder Gaetano Turiglio, saw enough potential work to permanently settle in Malta.⁶⁸⁷ Messina during the seventeenth century, therefore, provided a crucial supply of string players, organists, and organ makers, as well as singers and dance masters for the Maltese Islands.

Since Gio Antonio left Malta for his studies at the age of 19 or 20, he would have carried out his early musical and instrumental training in Malta in one of the previously mentioned choirs or schools described above, or even privately with another performer. His uncle Matheo Morales would surely have offered his own expertise and also made use of his contacts with instrumentalists to assist him in his studies. Morales is very likely to have provided the instruments for him to learn on and also those he must have taken with him on his studies abroad.

The instruments that were allotted to Gio Antonio Cascon in the inventory, were very specifically suited for his needs. He would surely have already had his own guitar and violin for his studies abroad. His return to Malta found him immediately equipped with three 'old' guitars of different sizes and two violins, as well as some of his uncle's belongings and a portion of the monetary inheritance. It was normal to obtain 'used' instruments for teaching, as we can also see in the purchase of instruments in the Naples Conservatories.⁶⁸⁸ However, the three guitars described as 'vecchi' (old) may, to the contrary, have been valued old guitars made by Morales himself, or by renowned masters. To this day musicians still prefer to play old instruments whose wood has matured, thus producing a finer tone. The instruments left to Gio Antonio had clearly set him up for his mission of teaching students the guitar and the violin, as well as for his own performances.

⁶⁸² Bonello, "Theatre in Malta," 83.

⁶⁸³ Luciano Buono, "L'Organaria nelle Isole Maltesi dei Secoli XVII-XIX," 247. In *Old Organs in Malta*.

⁶⁸⁴ MCM, ACM, M. Dep. 13, f.20r. Here he is recorded as 'Messinese.' In another document he is said to be Siracusan.

⁶⁸⁵ Matteo Arena is recorded in 1679 in the Duomo of Messina where he was tenor singer with a yearly salary of 21 onze, and in 1680 with an increase to 23 onze. La Corte Cailler, *Musica e Musicisti in Messina*, 38.

⁶⁸⁶ MCM, ACM, Dep.2 (1610-1695)

⁶⁸⁷ Buono, "L'Organaria," 247.

⁶⁸⁸ Francesco Nocerino, "Liutai del sedicesimo e diciassettesimo secolo a Napoli contributi documentari," *Recercare* XIII (2001): 243, 246.

As part of his monetary portion, Gio Antonio received over 240 *scudi* in October 1698.⁶⁸⁹ He was in a stable position with good enough prospects for him to contemplate marriage the following year and to consider opening his school of music in Valletta.

After receiving his inheritance, Gio Antonio may have moved for a short while to Bormla, which was his wife's hometown. On 17 January 1701, we find him leaving the Island, with his place of abode this time registered as Bormla. His destination is not recorded, but travelling on the same day are several travellers going to Messina, including the Messinese Giovanni Carrozza, aged 65. Gio Antonio's destination once again points towards Messina. The Giovanni Carrozza travelling with him may have been related to the Messinese family of musicians, which included Don Pasquale Carrozza, who was known to have stayed in Malta in the late sixteenth century, and whose manuscript and printed compositions are to be found in the Mdina cathedral archives.⁶⁹⁰

By 1707, Cascon was investing money in a *tartana* that was sailing to various ports.⁶⁹¹ He invested 50 *scudi*, just like his uncle used to do. However he was not after monetary gain as Morales had been, but was to receive some unspecified merchandise in return. This merchandise is very likely to have pertained to his music teaching and performing. In 1709 Cascon was still teaching guitar and violin and had his permit renewed, that is ten years after his initial permit.⁶⁹² In the meantime he must have done well since he had mustered enough money to be able to buy a house in Valletta in the area of the Archipelago with an annual ground rent of 8 *scudi*.⁶⁹³ He seems to have learnt something about investing from his uncle Mattheo, as in 1716 he was also selling a male Turkish slave named Veli for the substantial amount of 240 *scudi*.⁶⁹⁴ Cascon died on 25 February 1732, and was buried in the church of St Nicholas, known as the Church of All Souls, a Greek Catholic church in Valletta at the lower end of Merchant Street.⁶⁹⁵ His age was registered as 53. This age seems incorrect and can only be proved through consultation of his birth certificate, which in spite of several attempts has not been located.⁶⁹⁶

4.3.2 Gaspar(o) and Mattheo 'Mola et Attard'

Gasparo and Mattheo were another two of Mattheo Morales' nephews. Gasparo's pattern of professional activity intersects with that of his uncle Mattheo. He is the one who, before the

⁶⁸⁹ NAM, MCC. Reg. Dep. 68 (1697-1698), Item no 101, 'Divisione,' no pagination.

⁶⁹⁰ MCM, ACM, Ms 17, Pr 120. Azzopardi & Sansone, *Italian and Maltese music*, 289.

⁶⁹¹ NAV, Not. Tommaso Vella, R.478/9, f.539.

⁶⁹² NAM, MCC, Sup. 1 (1699-1716), f.8v.

⁶⁹³ NAV, Not. Tommaso Vella, R. 478/12, f.81v-83r. 1 October 1709.

⁶⁹⁴ NAV, Not D.G. Bonavita, R.62/4, f.284r-v. 27 February 1716.

⁶⁹⁵ SP, Reg. Mort., f.37r. 25 Feb 1732.

⁶⁹⁶ Searches through the NLM Adami Collection looking for the Cascon family in San Paolo, Porto Salvo, Bormla and Birgu did not produce any results.

division of goods, chose to purchase some *chitarraro* goods. In contrast with Gio Antonio, Gaspar is the most likely to have acquired the art of luthiering from his uncle. His mother, Bernardina, was one of Matteo Morales' younger sisters, and was fifteen years his junior. She was married twice, first to Diego Attard in 1677,⁶⁹⁷ and then to Diego Mola, a widower from Bormla, who was *sotto argosino* (assistant slave driver) in the Valletta prisons.⁶⁹⁸ The Mola family moved to lodgings within the prison walls, and this is where Bernardina eventually died aged forty-two.⁶⁹⁹ In two instances in the inventory Gasparo is referred to as 'Gaspar Mola et Attard'⁷⁰⁰ and in several other documents we also find 'Gaspar Mola Attard',⁷⁰¹ but everywhere else he is referred to by the surname Mola and continues thus through life. He signed his own name as 'Gasparo Mola.'⁷⁰²

By 1696 Diego Mola had also died, and the Attard Mola children were orphaned. Whereas the *Reg. Status Animarum* of 1695 finds Morales all alone, just after his wife Lucretia had died, the following year, after his sister Bernardina had also passed away, Morales took her children in under his roof.⁷⁰³ The parish records of 1696 show a house full of people. Morales had married again, and Bernardina's children Gasparo, aged 20, Francischita, aged 16, and Elisabetta, aged 12, were all residing with him. The other sibling who was given the uncle's and great grandfather's name, Matteo, was absent. In the Inventory of 1698, we are informed that the young nephew Matteo was 'away from the Realm,' but as in the case of his cousin Gio Antonio, there is no reference made to his whereabouts or to what he was doing abroad.

In October 1697 Gasparo Mola and Laurentio Borg applied for a permit to open a shop in Valletta in order to support their families.⁷⁰⁴ Since Gasparo was living in his uncles' house at the time, Morales would have known of his nephew's business venture. Soon after this, Laurentio must have married Francesca Mola, Gasparo's younger sister.⁷⁰⁵ This, therefore, turned out to be a family venture. The intention of Gaspar and Laurenzio was 'to buy and sell aquavit, tobacco, wine

⁶⁹⁷ SP, Reg. Matrim., f.31v. 20 March 1677.

⁶⁹⁸ SP, Reg. Mort. 4, f.94. 'Morse dentro la Prigione delle schiavi...moglie di Diego Mola, sotto argosino de detta Prigione.' The *sotto argosino* was a prison clerk who assisted the *argosino* in his work and took his place when he was absent. See Wettinger, *Slavery*, 116. The *argosino* and *sotto argosino* kept a note of all the slaves entering and leaving the prison, opening all the heavy doors every morning and barring them at night. They were also personally responsible and heavily fined for any slaves that escaped.

⁶⁹⁹ SP, Reg. Mort. 4 f.94. 22 March 1694.

⁷⁰⁰ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.247v, 258v.

⁷⁰¹ NAM, MCC, Reg. Dep.68. Among items 101, unpaginated.

⁷⁰² NAM, MCC, Reg. Dep. 68. Among items 101, unpaginated.

⁷⁰³ SP, Status Anim. 1695, f.12r; 1696, f.37r.

⁷⁰⁴ NAM, MCC, Reg. Sup. Tax. 21 (1697-1699), f.9v.

⁷⁰⁵ The date of this marriage is not known but is evidenced by a 1714 document in which Lorenzo and his wife Francesca agreed before a notary to donate all property and all rights to one another after death ('donatio inter vivos'). NAV, Not. D.G. Bonavita R.62/2, ff.401v-403.

and other merchandise.’ There is no specific reference to musical instruments, but these would have been part of the ‘other merchandise.’

Just over a year after the signing of this business contract, Morales died and Gasparo bought some of his uncle’s most important *chitarraro* goods. He opted for a guitar, two chests containing a box of instrument pegs, guitar iron tools, all the timber available in the workshop, as well as other unidentifiable *chitarraro* ‘imbrogli.’ Apart from these, he inherited jewellery, gold and silver items, a warm cape, a silk blanket, a Greek-style painting with gilt frame, a mirror, and he also received a portion of the monetary inheritance that was divided between the heirs.

Gasparo, when given the option to buy goods from the inheritance, did not go for a number of instruments, but chose just one large guitar costing seven *scudi* and one *tari*.⁷⁰⁶ This, as we have already seen in Chapter 3, was a significant amount of money for a single instrument. Considering its price, it was probably not an ordinary guitar but one with some special features, such as intricate inlay or an expensive wood. From his preference for *chitarraro* tools and pegs and all the timber, it is evident that Gasparo must have had some intention to continue in Mattheo Morales’ footsteps as an instrument builder. After his mother’s death, Gasparo was residing with his uncle for a considerable time, probably from around March 1695 until some time in 1697. By Easter of that year both he and the young Giuseppe Camilleri were no longer residing with Morales. During his residence in his uncle’s house, and possibly even earlier since they lived within minutes away from each other, Gasparo had enough time to learn much from Morales and may have been serving some form of apprenticeship, as the young Giuseppe could also have been doing.⁷⁰⁷

If Gasparo intended to continue in the *chitarraro* trade, this would have been in combination with the tobacco and wine business, which he had already begun. There is also a hint of Gasparo’s fondness for his uncle, or perhaps even a touch of pride in the family line, in that he chose to purchase the portrait of Morales with his young daughter Rosa.⁷⁰⁸ Gasparo may have seen himself as the follower of his uncle Mattheo in the musical instrument trade.

Having obtained his uncle’s inheritance, Gasparo, just like his cousin Gio Antonio, felt he was in a stable enough position to marry. He had jewellery and gold and silver items that could have been sold or given to his bride. On 22 July 1698, only six months after Morales’ death, the register of the parish of San Paolo records his marriage to Anna Maria Borg.⁷⁰⁹ She was the daughter of the

⁷⁰⁶ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.258r.

⁷⁰⁷ A Giuseppe Camilleri, probably one and the same, was witness to Mattheo Morales’ inventory, *Ibid.*, f. 263v.

⁷⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, f.257v.

⁷⁰⁹ SP, Reg. Matrim. 5, f.66.

late Alessio and Paola Borg. Gasparo is described as ‘the legitimate and natural son of the late Diego and Bernarda Mola.’⁷¹⁰ Gasparo and his young wife set up home in Valletta with the bride’s widowed mother, Paola, and her younger son Giuseppe, aged 15.⁷¹¹

Both Gasparo and his brother Mattheo are documented travelling to Sicily. On 23 February 1699. Gasparo sent a letter from Milo in Sicily to the Court of the Castellania regarding 25 *scudi* of his inheritance owed to him by his brother Mattheo, who was still a minor in the eyes of the law. Mattheo was also in Milo, where he may already have been during the reading of the inventory. Though Mattheo admitted to legally being a minor, he was old enough to be earning his living in Milo. In the same correspondence, we find reference to Gasparo’s ‘bottega’ in Malta indicating that the business venture with Laurentio was still in place.⁷¹²

In these documents we also discover that Gaspar was literate, or at least capable of signing his own name, unlike his younger brother Mattheo. In his letter from Milo, Gasparo signs his name and surname at the end of the letter, whereas his brother signs with a cross. Gasparo must have had some kind of education, whereas his younger brother Mattheo plunged straight into the work field.

The Status Animarum records show that Gasparo was always absent at the time of the church census that took place in Easter time (March or April). He remained absent for this census between 1701 and 1708. On 20 January 1710, when his wife Anna Mola passed away, she was registered as ‘wife (*uxor*) of Gaspar.’⁷¹³ Though Gaspar never made an appearance in the census throughout these years, this shows that, though absent from home, he was still alive. Since the license of Gasparo and Laurentio was ‘to buy and sell,’ it is most likely that he was the one who travelled to obtain merchandise for the shop. Easter time would have been a good moment to travel safely. Milo, which is not far from Catania was renowned for two commodities: wine and timber. Transport of goods from Milo to Catania, and then to Malta would have been relatively easy and regular, as has already been noted in the first chapter. There was still much construction work going on in the city of Catania following the 1693 earthquake.⁷¹⁴ Workers would have been needed for all types of work in order to rebuild the whole city and the surroundings. Craftsmen

⁷¹⁰ Witnessing the marriage were Pietro Paolo Buttigieg of the late Damiano, and Michele [...] son of the late Salvo.

⁷¹¹ SP, Status Anim. 1699, f.110v.

⁷¹² NAM, MCC, Reg. Dep., 68, item 101, no pagination. Maestro Thomas Cassia, son of Maestro Lutio Cassia, confirms having seen Gaspar’s writing several times while he was in his ‘bottega,’ thereby proving authorship of his signature.

⁷¹³ SP, Reg. Mort. 1709-1730, f.7v. Anna Mola aged 30 was buried in the parish of Porto Salvo.

⁷¹⁴ See Stefano Condorelli, “The Reconstruction of Catania after the Earthquake of 1693”, *Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Construction History* (Queens’ College Cambridge 2006), Exeter, Short Run Press, (2006): 799-815.

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and construction workers were in great demand and Gasparo's brother, Mattheo, would easily have found work in the area. There is also the possibility that Mattheo was stationed there as a link with Gasparo's business.

The purchase of *chitarraro* goods and timber from his uncle's estate suggests that Gaspar was, like many other people on the island, carrying out a second trade. His was not likely to have been a tavern-type shop, because the word 'taverna' or 'tavernaro' would have been used in the original request or in the permit. It was therefore not a place where people sat and drank wine and smoked tobacco, but it was more of a merchant's outlet.

Table 19: Gasparo Mola's inheritance

Gasparo Mola
Purchased:
Two chests with a box of pegs and various <i>chitarraro</i> goods for three <i>scudi</i>
Two tables/planks
Six cypress logs
Two pieces of beech wood
A pine log
Two pieces of timber joists, all for four <i>scudi</i>
Various woodwork iron tools and workshop tools for eight <i>scudi</i>
A guitar for seven <i>scudi</i> and one <i>tari</i>
Portrait of Mattheo Morales with his daughter Rosa
Also: Cape, mirror, blanket, painting
Inherited:
Jewellery,
Gold and silver items
Monetary portion of the inheritance

Source: NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.257v.

This *bottega* would have been a shop selling various goods, including also musical goods. Shops at the time did not specialise, but provided an assortment of objects that we would now consider unrelated. Some of the merchants who were selling wine, tobacco and aquavit were also selling any of the following items: pipes, wax, paper, nails, drapes, socks, shirts, trousers, wood, bread and coffee. During a later period instrument strings have also been documented among the goods sold in such a *bottega*.⁷¹⁵

Thus, Gasparo could plausibly have chosen to have instruments available in his *bottega* together with other different goods, using the skills he had learnt from his uncle to build items for sale along with other materials he traded. If Gasparo was travelling to Milo to buy wines, then wood for his guitars could also have been purchased from there. Gut strings would likewise have been readily available in centres like Catania. Gasparo's *bottega* was not a specialised lutherie like that of Morales but would have had its market niche all the same. His guitars, which he would have worked on when not travelling, would have been an added profit providing a better living for himself, his wife and her family, whom it is likely he was also supporting.

4.3.3 Gio Batta Morales

Considering the case of Gio Batta Morales enriches the picture by showing that music and musical instruments were an important aspect of the Morales family. Mattheo's only brother, Gio Batta, was born in 1642, and was five years his junior. He married Anna Maria Attard of Zejtun and they also set up home in the parish of St Paul 's Shipwreck. Every year Gio Batta and his family were entered in the census register only a few families before Mattheo Morales showing that the two brothers were living very close to one another. Gio Batta had many children, but only four - Domenico, Giuseppe, Gio Aloisio, and Generosa - survived to adulthood.⁷¹⁶

Gio Batta purchased some very good items of furniture from his brother's goods, suggesting that he was also reasonably comfortably off. These items included the ten walnut chairs with gold pommels made in Livorno, which cost a huge sum of over 32 *scudi*. He also opted for two violins for which he paid five *scudi* and one *taro*, and the only spinet in the *bottega*, together with its 'rafoli,' for two *scudi* and four *tari*. The violins, as we have already seen in the previous chapter, were costly and must have been of good quality. This makes it seem very likely that Gio Batta was himself also a musician.

⁷¹⁵ NAV, Not Antonio Delicata R.226/1, f.424r dated 21 March 1798.

⁷¹⁶ The SP Baptism registers show eleven children born to Gio Batta between 1683 and 1703.

Unlike his brother Matteo, Gio Batta does not leave any traces of himself in notarial acts. I only encountered one document in which he and Joseph Bonnici are giving Domenico Vella ten days in which to pay for services rendered. There is no indication what these services were.⁷¹⁷ He is referred to in the inventory and in this document as ‘maestro Gio Batto,’ which shows he was also master of a skilled art or craft, but his trade is never specified. Whereas some tradesmen are registered in the yearly parish census with a specification of their trade, neither Matteo’s nor Gio Batta’s trade is ever defined. It was not as yet standard practice to state everybody’s trade in the census.

Table 20: Gio Batta Morales’ inheritance

Gio Batta Morales
Two violins for five <i>scudi</i> and one <i>tari</i>
A spinetta , and two little boxes in which there are its ‘rafoli’ for two <i>scudi</i> and four <i>tari</i>
Also: 10 walnut chairs from Livorno, gilt mirror, 12 copper pieces, quilt, cushions, 4 plaster figures, 3 cupboards, 4 tables, old box, knife box and 5 knives, and a monetary portion of the inheritance.

Source: NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, ff.256r-v.

On the whole, it is at first the manual labourers such as porters and carriers (‘bastaso’), handymen (‘facchino’), rope makers (‘cordaro’), who are recorded. By 1700 we find millers, bakers, butchers, cobblers, street vendors, tailors, taverners and even a scribes and artists (Giorgio Anselmo and Antonio Madiona), but still no musicians and no luthiers. Though we cannot be certain that there were any other instrument makers, there were certainly several musicians living in the parish who were not registered as such in the census. Since Gio Batta was probably principally a player of stringed instruments and his brother Matteo was principally an instrument builder, this maps the professions of performer/luthier as already split in this generation. We have a pattern that, as we have already seen, repeats itself with the nephews in the following generation, and is likely to have been happening even earlier.

⁷¹⁷ NAM, MCC, AO 604, ff.82v-83r.

4.3.4 Michele Grech

There is one other person, not a member of the family, who should here be mentioned as he also acquired items from Morales' *bottega*. In the sale of goods, Michele Grech, who was one of 'the experts elected to compile the inventory' of Morales' goods, bought a tray or drawer of strings and some *chitarraro* iron tools ('ferramenti di chitarraro').⁷¹⁸ Michele was here showing that he also had some interest in the *chitarraro* trade. He was known to the heirs, and trusted by them, but little else is known. We find a Michele Grech living in the same parish, who in 1698 was aged 51, married to Margarita aged 40 and who had five children, the eldest being Gioanne who was then 19.⁷¹⁹ The trade of Michele Grech is not clear. Since he was elected 'expert,' and since he, together with Demetrio Frangulli, valued furniture among other things, one could conclude that he had at least some knowledge of woodworking or cabinet making. The purchase of *chitarraro* tools suggests that he, or possibly one of his sons, had some intention to carry out instrument building.

4.4 Conclusion

By the seventeenth century, Malta was a flourishing part of a pan-Mediterranean and pan-European network of musical performance and transmission of musical knowledge through education. This investigation confirms that Malta was far from isolated musically but formed an integral part of a wider cultural community. There was a constant exchange of musical excellence between the Island, its neighbouring Mediterranean communities, and also with European centres. Foreign musician teachers moved to Malta and Maltese professional musicians gained experience abroad and returned to pass on their knowledge to others in Malta. This provided a fruitful ground for musicians who wished to make music their profession. Theoretical basics of music as well as the practical knowledge of singing and instrumental playing were available in choirs, schools and through private tuition. Musicians could also continue their studies locally with the Jesuit *Collegium*, with the friaries, or privately. Nevertheless, those who wished to make music their profession usually preferred to gain that extra edge over the rest, and chose to further their studies abroad. This generally took place in Siracusa, Catania, Messina, or further north to the region of Naples or even Rome. We find that studies abroad were taken up at any age and lasted anything between two and five years. This maps Malta into the centre of Mediterranean music-making, teaching and exchange of cultural ideas.

⁷¹⁸ NAM, MCC, Inv. Haeredit. 4, f.258v.

⁷¹⁹ SP, Status Anim, 1698, f.84v.

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The family in Mattheo Morales' generation, and also in the following generation, was split between luthiering and the performance and teaching of music. Mattheo Morales was the luthier who had a *bottega* where he sold his stringed instruments. His brother Gio Batta, who chose to purchase two violins and a spinet, was not interested in the art of luthiering, but in the performance of music. Morales' nephew Gio Antonio Cascon was similarly not drawn to luthiering, but to the performance and teaching of stringed instruments. The career of Gio Antonio maps onto the established pattern of education of the time. Following initial studies in Malta, he spent several years abroad studying guitar and violin and then returned to pass on his acquired knowledge.

The modes of learning instrument building in the seventeenth century are far less evident. The earlier known luthier Hieronimo Aurifici, from the beginning of the century, may have instructed others in the field, though so far no other professional luthiers have emerged between Aurifici and Mattheo Morales. A search through the list of departures from the Island does not show Morales leaving Malta, suggesting that his training in the luthiering field could indeed have taken place locally. There were certainly several excellent carpenters and cabinet makers with whom Mattheo could have learnt carpentry and inlay. We can only conjecture that his father's trade, of which there is no evidence, may possibly have been that of luthier, or that there was at least one other luthier with whom he would have been apprenticed to learn the art of instrument building.

Since Morales had no children to continue his trade, we find that it was another of his nephews, Gasparo Mola, who followed in his footsteps. He, however, did not make instrument building his full time profession, but combined it with the running of a *bottega* in which he sold his own instruments alongside various other unrelated goods.

Through archival documents, this chapter has constructed a picture of the whole Morales family engaged professionally in the different branches of the art of music. There emerges a relatively unusual trait of instrument building and performance of music within the same family, over several generations. There is a strong possibility of a family relationship with a Placido Morales working as a 'costruttore di liuti' in Messina in the early seventeenth century.⁷²⁰ It is also likely that Giacomo Morales, trombone player and singer in the Mdina Cathedral in the 1620s was likewise a member of this same family. This shows the two-sided trait of builder/performer occurring in earlier generations. Although Gasparo Mola may not have pursued the trade to the same degree as his uncle, it is evident that all did not end with Mattheo Morales.

⁷²⁰ La Corte Cailler, *Musica e Musicisti in Messina*, 127. Parish of S. Luca, Messina, Reg. Mort. 1606-1651, f.58, no.750.

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This has been a journey through seventeenth-century Malta's many facets of musical life, building up an awareness of the whole soundscape the Island had to offer. The wide range of musical instruments in Matteo Morales' workshop provide us with a reflection of the rich musical environment of the time. This soundscape becomes even more significant because it shapes our understanding of that which was taking place within a southern European context. Malta provides us with new perspectives on the production and consumption of music in the Mediterranean region.

The contact that existed between the Maltese Islands and the broader world to the north and to the south of them, emerges strongly throughout this thesis. This constant integration between different societies and different religions that came together is exactly what underpins David Abulafia's view of the Mediterranean area.⁷²¹ Malta was in no way insular in its outlook and was a part of this region. The sea around it was a strong connecting agent to the areas around the Mediterranean and beyond. Geographically, Malta was positioned at the mercantile crossroads and was linked to all the main contemporary trade routes. We have seen that one merchant (1688), Alfonso Desclaus, 'consul to the English and Dutch nations,' shows the expanse of his own trade links to have encompassed Syracuse, Milazzo, Naples, Milan, Leghorn, Venice, London and certainly Holland.⁷²² There were several other traders going towards France, Spain and Portugal thereby extending their web to the Americas, the West Indies and Asia.⁷²³ This kind of global trade and encounter culturally meant contact with all the main trends occurring at the time. One instance which betrays Malta's conscious comparison with contemporary modes outside the Island occurs in the entry of the Grand Master of the Order of St John into Mdina in 1623, where it was said that the magnificence of the triumphal arches and the sumptuousness of the whole occasion was 'worthy of any of the most noble Italian cities.'

The arrival of the Order of St John in 1530 established firm links with cultural Europe. The aristocratic knights kept their contact with their families abroad and with the courts in their own countries, and they tried to replicate their culture on the Island. As we saw in Chapter 1, the Grand Master was in touch with the leading aristocratic figures elsewhere, and we have seen that music and musicians formed part of the flow of information, goods and people that travelled along the networks thus created. The Grand Masters of Malta were themselves a part of this web

⁷²¹ Abulafia, *The Great Sea*.

⁷²² NAM, MCC, Inv. Bon. Haeredit. 3, f.810v (1688).

⁷²³ See Table 9.

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of cultural exchanges that took place between the highest-ranking society of Europe. The benefits of this filtered down to the knights and the Maltese population.

The multi-national, aristocratic nature of the Order created a very unusual mix of the upper stratum of society consisting of representatives having varied European norms and cultures. The Island, however, also had a unique quality in its proximity to North Africa, and its large percentage of Arab and Turkish slaves coexisting in this community. Slaves lived and worked with Maltese families, participating in their daily lives, bringing their own customs with them, singing their own songs, playing their own instruments, caring for Maltese children, and even nursing them. The Arab-based language of the Maltese people also provided a link not available through European languages. This thesis contends that all these factors provided the Island with a uniquely different aspect that is visible in its culture and even in the instruments Morales himself was selling. The presence of an instrument 'in the style of the Turkish *tambura*,' that was not referred to as a *colascione*, shifts the emphasis on to a non-European style instrument, thereby suggesting this strong cultural exchange.

Malta shows up as a significant player in the cultural landscape of the Mediterranean. We find that foreign musicians were attracted to the Maltese Islands with a magnetic pull that was primarily caused by the affluent multi-cultural and aristocratic society concentrated in the city of Valletta, but also by the large number of musical possibilities within the different contexts of sacred, secular, ceremonial and theatrical music. We have seen how musicians arrived from France, Sicily, the Italian peninsula, Normandy and the Netherlands. Some of them occupied short-term posts, whilst others opted to settle on the Island. This exchange brought about an influx of musical knowledge and modern practices. The Franciscan Michel Angelo Falusi, for example, came to Malta in 1686 after being *maestro di cappella* in the Chiesa dei SS Apostoli in Rome.⁷²⁴ He would have transported with him the musical customs that he was used to in Rome, one of the foremost centres of music of the time. Similarly with the organ makers, dance masters and the theatrical troupes that were putting up popular music dramas in Malta. The latter chose presentations that were highly valued at the same time in other centres of Europe. We therefore find such works as Battista Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*, Ridolfo Campeggi's *Pastorale di Filarmino*, and Pietro Antonio Ziani's *Annibale in Capua*. Very significantly, 'drammi per musica' were also written by Maltese students, such as Enrico Magi's *La Dafne* in 1649, showing that this dramatic art had spread to the Maltese population.⁷²⁵

⁷²⁴ Azzopardi and Sansone, *Italian and Maltese Music*, 109.

⁷²⁵ NLM, Libr. 775.

Living within this flourishing environment was the Maltese instrument builder, Mattheo Morales. Looking into the previously unknown art of luthiering in Malta this thesis focuses on the domestic space this craftsman lived in. Though musicological studies have delved into the interiors of palaces and stately homes, those of craftsmen lower down in the ladder of society have never been examined in such great detail to extract from them the realities of day-to-day living of an instrument maker. Contrary to the general belief we have of craftsmen and musicians living a hand to mouth existence, Morales was far from inhabiting such a precarious life-style. His furniture, furnishings and belongings confirm that he was very comfortably off, had developed a taste for art, had his own portrait commissioned, and also owned some exquisite luxuries. It is rare for musicians or luthiers to be also collectors of art, as Morales was. He owned an extraordinary number of paintings of different genres, showing an interest in landscape paintings of different sizes, religious icons, including the Madonna and Saints, sacred narrative, animals, as well as his own portrait. His clothing reveals a man who possessed his daily working clothes, but who also could also afford to dress in the current fashion. He purchased materials, capes, shirts, silver buttons and lace that reflected a man of pride and taste. This totally dispels our preconceived idea of the poor craftsman living in misery. Mattheo Morales lived comfortably and was a respected man in society.

Like the traders and merchants on the Island, Morales also looked far beyond his shores. Born and raised in Malta, he would have spoken the Maltese language, but because of his paternal Sicilian ancestry, as well as his connections with traders he would have also spoken Sicilian and Italian. Italian was the *lingua franca* of the time, the language necessary for all traders. Morales was endowed with a business acumen that led him to invest in these traders who ploughed the seas, and in this way, he became a link in the chain that led to the intermingling and exchange that took place between Malta, the Mediterranean and European cultures. He was certainly obtaining some of his earnings through luthiering and making repairs, but these were then multiplied through his investments. Archival documents of Morales' commercial transactions give us a rare inside view of the web of trade in Malta and also reveal all the commodities they made available. These in turn demonstrate that the luthier in this small island had every possibility of receiving raw materials of his own choice for his instrument building from anywhere along Malta's trade routes.

Since the crafting of instruments in Malta has not previously been explored, this thesis meticulously examines Hieronimo Aurifici's and Mattheo Morales' workshop and the materials and instruments within them. They reveal the change from the vast popularity of lutes in the beginning of the century to the supercedence of the Spanish guitar as the century progressed. Morales' *bottega* was very well situated in the thriving city of Valletta. Though his main focus was on guitars, as his *chitarraro* shop sign stated, he supplied a great variety of plucked as well as

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bowed instruments. Both luthiers may have been dealing in 'old' and valuable instruments by established masters, thus making their business even more viable. It was the nephew, Gio Antoio Cascon, who inherited some of Morales' possibly more precious 'old' guitars.

Having explored the music and instruments being used on the Islands at the time, and looked at contemporary wills and inventories, this thesis shows that Morales' instruments had a wide market. There were a few valuable instruments with covers that would have reached the more wealthy, and some guitars which seem to have been less valuable, inspite of no valuations upon them. The latter would probably have found a wider market in the accompaniment of Maltese *għana* and other secular singing, or for theatrical use. Though there was a substantial demand on the Island, Morales also had a large web of personal contacts abroad, consisting of family members who lived in Sicily, and others who were temporarily away. These contacts would have been useful in the obtaining of raw materials and also in helping with the possible sale of his finished products.

Though substantial work has been carried out on the eighteenth century, the question of how the trade of luthier was acquired and the methods of learning music, singing and instrumental playing in seventeenth-century Malta are aspects that have never been tackled before. This thesis constructs a picture of the routes of learning that would have been available to Morales, and also the ways chosen by his young nephews who continued in the music trade after him. There emerges a repeated pattern of primary studies in Malta and continued studies abroad. The Morales family was unusually involved in the music trade in its various facets over several generations, so that we find individuals taking up luthiering, some teaching music, and others performing.

This thesis has established a wider view of the Island's soundscape, showing the constant influx and cultural exchanges occurring between Malta and the broader world of the Mediterranean and European countries. It looks at the trade and economic nature of its society, and its intersections with the surrounding cultures, thus providing a wealth of insight into the realities of life in the seventeenth century. Musicologically it places Malta as a very important nucleus within the Mediterranean landscape.

Appendix

The Inventory - Physical Description and Transcription method

MCC Inventaria Haereditarum Vol. 4 (1691-1733) ff.247r-263v

The Maltese *chitarraro* Mattheo Morales died intestate on the 3rd January 1698, following a short illness. Very soon after he passed away, an inventory of the hereditary goods in his home and workshop was drawn up by the Grand Court of the knights of St John, known as the *Magna Curia Castellaniae*. The document is extant within a volume entitled *Inventaria Haereditarum* volume 4 (1691- 1733), ff.246v-262v. This document is now housed in the National Archives of Malta at the Banca Giuratale legal documents section in Mdina.

Another copy of this same inventory, with very minor differences, is to be found in the records of the *Magna Curia Castellaniae* in a different volume located in the same Archive, entitled *Acta Originalia* volume 597, ff.292r-307v. I have transcribed and translated the document in the *Inventaria Haereditarum* and used the document in the *Acta Originalia* for comparative purposes.

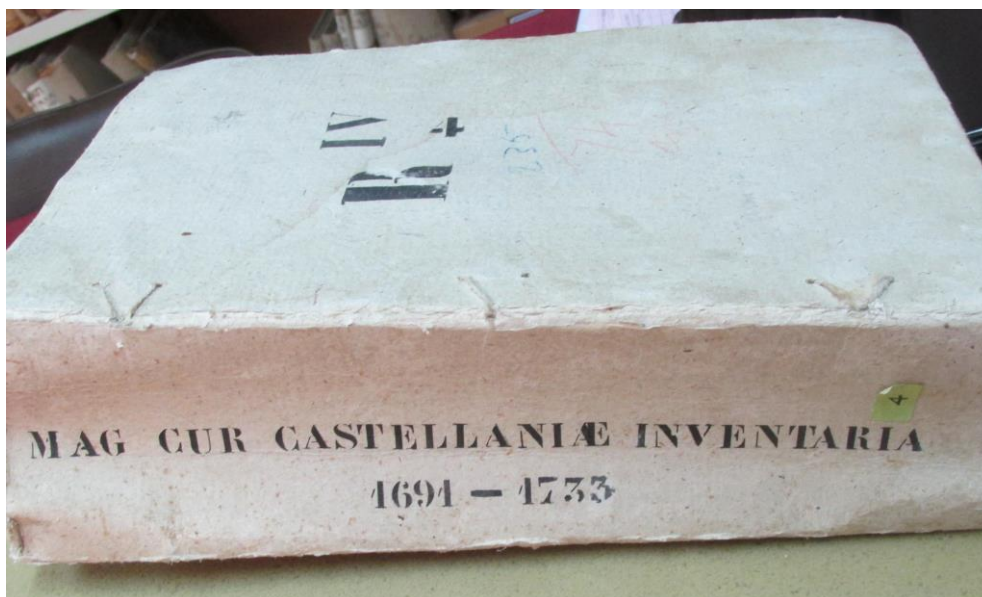


Figure 20. *Inventaria Haereditarum* volume 4, which contains the Inventory of the *chitarraro* Mattheo Morales. NAM, MCC ff.247r-263v.

Physical description

The 'Inventaria Haereditarum,' volume 4, is in a very good state of preservation. It is a large volume 330mm long x 230.50mm wide x 90mm thick, having a later rebinding carried out in the early British period (early-mid 1800s). It uses three double board attachments that extend from the textblock.⁷²⁶

The paper pages have folio numbers written in ink on each *recto* side. These were probably included when the volume was originally bound. It carries a front index that is searchable by first name and not by surname. Every letter of the alphabet occupies one page that is half the width of the folios in the volume. We therefore search through the page of first names commencing with 'M' and there locate his full name 'Mattheo Morales' on f.247.'

The Morales inventory is written in a reasonably legible hand with a good-quality ink that did not penetrate the paper. It occupies 17 folios (247r-263v) of the volume, which in total covers thirty-two years of inventories, from 1691 to 1733.

Transcription

The prose sections of the document in question are written in Latin, with the listing of the hereditary items written in Italian, as was common practice of the time. A few Sicilian words that were adopted into the Maltese language are also encountered. The document contains an absence of, or an erratic form of, punctuation, together with an abundance of abbreviations.

Though my first preference would have been for a diplomatic transcription, the large number of abbreviations, the shift between languages, and the lack of punctuation have led me to a more legible method of edited transcript rather than a fully diplomatic rendition.

It will be noted that I have, for the most part, used the Leiden editorial transcription system,⁷²⁷ but I have also adopted a few of the diplomatic transcription rules. I thought this would better suit this particular purpose, since it provided more clarity.

For the sections of prose, I have used the following basic rules of transcription:

1. Text flows in continuous lines.
2. Vertical lines in the transcription denote line breaks in the original document.
3. Folio numbers are shown in bold script within square brackets **[f.247v]**.

⁷²⁶ For all this information regarding binding, I am indebted to conservator Dr Theresa Zammit Lupi.

⁷²⁷ The Leiden Convention (1931) set out the basic rules, symbols and brackets used in transcription and translation in order to provide some uniformity, which was then entirely absent.

4. In the prose sections, every five lines of each folio are denoted by a superscript number in multiples of five. This is followed throughout the prose text, but not in the list of inventoried items.
5. Abbreviations in the manuscript text have been expanded with the added part enclosed within rounded brackets: ().
6. Any missing or illegible text is shown with dots in square brackets: [...].
7. Any visible text which has been crossed out is shown in double square brackets [[]]
8. Marginal text has been put between curly brackets: { }
9. Capital letters are very inconsistently used in the original document. These have been regularised for clarification of meaning.
10. Punctuation has been added.
11. The use of ij has been changed to ii.
12. The use of *æ* is inconsistent. The archaic *e* for the genitive case is also inconsistent. These inconsistencies have been retained.
13. Latin text sometimes turns to Italian and occasionally to Sicilian, as was customary at the time. This inconsistency has been retained.
14. Grammatical errors have been retained and pointed out with the bracketed sign (*sic*).

In the listing of the items in the inventory I refrain from using vertical lines to show line breaks, and also do not use line numberings. This is because I believe numbering would cause confusion with the values of items and would detract from the clarity of the general layout. For easier retrieval of listed items, I have inserted a space between each item.

The names of people involved in the inventory, dates of each document, folio numbers, and musical instruments are all printed in bold text for quicker retrieval of information.

Acknowledgement

I here wish to acknowledge the kind help I have received throughout this transcription and translation from Prof. Stanley Fiorini and Dr Victor Bonnici. Any remaining errors are my own.

Transcription

Registrum Inventariorum

Magna Curia Castellaniae Ab anno 1691 usque ad annum 1733

Mag. Cur. Castellaniae

Inventaria Haereditarum

Vol. 4 (1691-1733)

ff.247r - 263v

Inventarium Bonorum He-¹⁵-reditariorum q(uon)dam Matthei Mora-| -les |

Apud Insulam Melitae, et in Magna Cur(ia) Castell(aniae), com-| -parentes Jo(ann)es Batt(ist)a Morales, Simon Azzupard Pro(curator) Mag-| -dalenae eius coniugis, Raphael Molett Pro(curator) Joacchine eius ²⁰coniugis, Gaspar Mola proprio, et no(min)e Franciscæ, Eli-| -sabet et Matthei f(rat)ris, et eius sororum rev(erenter) exposuere, | diebus non longe decursis, ab hoc seculo migrasse | intestatum M(agist)rum Mattheus (*sic*) Morales in cuius hereditate | successisse tanquam gradu astrictiores iidem exponentes |²⁵ una cum Joanne Antonio Gascon representative in | locum q(uon)dam Aloijsette eius matris sororis D(omini) Matthei | **[f.247v]** quam hereditatem, non inconsulto sed cum beneficio legis et | inventarii, adire intendunt; Verum quia volunt [*sic*] exponentes se | onerari de quota hereditatis, quam adhire volunt tangente | p(redi)cto de Gascon, nè molestiam aliquam ullo futuro tempore |⁵ pati queant; Adiverunt id circo eandem Mag(nam) Cur(iam) et petierunt | deputari curatorem p(redi)cto de Gascon absenti ab hoc Dominio ad | effectum ut, servatis servandis, deliberet an velit p(redi)ctam he| reditatis quotam, cum beneficio leg(is) et inventarii, adhire | pro ut et ijdem exponentes facere intendunt vel potius |¹⁰ eam repudiare. Quae Mag(na) Cur(ia) annuens etc, constituto sibi prius de | emissionem proclamatis [*sic*] ad exp(onent)ium instantiam ut si quis sit procurator | p(redi)cti de Gascon, vel curator ad premissum eff(ect)um | nemineque | in termino comparente, in vim p(rese)nt(i)s

Translation

Inventories Register,

Grand Court of the *Castellania* from the year 1691 to the year 1733

Magna Curia Castellaniae

Inventories of Hereditary Goods

Vol. 4 (1691-1733)

ff.247r - 263v

An inventory of the hereditary goods of the late Mattheo Morales

On the Island of Malta, and in the Grand Court of the *Castellania*, the appearers Gio[vanni] Batt[ist]a Morales, Simone Azzuppard procurator of Madalena, his wife; Raphael Molett procurator of Gioacchina, his wife; Gaspar Mola, in his own name, and on behalf of his brother Mattheo, and of his sisters Francesca, Elisabetta; have respectfully set forth that Master Mattheo Morales, only a few days ago, had departed from this world, passing away intestate, and to whose inheritance the same exponents had succeeded, by virtue of their being closest relatives together with Giovanni Antonio Gascon, here representing his late mother, Aloisetta, sister of Mr Mattheo; [f.247v] which inheritance they intend to enter into, not imprudently, but with the benefit of the law and of an inventory; Indeed, because the exponents are willing to be burdened with a share of the inheritance, which share belongs to the aforesaid de Gascon, lest they may be liable to suffer some vexation in future time; They have, consequently, come to the same Grand Court and sought that a curator be appointed for the aforesaid de Gascon, who is absent from this Realm, to the effect that, *servatis servandis*,⁷²⁸ he might consider whether he wishes to enter upon this aforesaid share of the inheritance with the benefit of the law and of an inventory, just as even the same exponents intend to do, rather than to reject it. The Grand Court, approving this request, having first on the request of the exponents, made sure to issue a proclamation, to see whether anyone was acting as procurator for the aforesaid de Gascon, or curator to the aforesaid effect, and since no one appeared within the stipulated time limit,

⁷²⁸ *Servatis servandis* - having preserved what has to be preserved.

Transcription of Mattheo Morales' Inventory

cedulae, omnique alio meliori | modo, deputavit, et deputat in curatoremp(redicti) Joannis Antonii | Gascon absentis ab hoc dominio Magistrum Michaellem Hagius; ad effectum | ut possit et libere valeat cum predictis exp(onentibus) | quatenus velit p(redictam) | hereditatem adire, vel eam repudiare facultates necessarias | et opportunas similibus curatoribus dari, et impartiri so-|-litas tribuendo nondum hoc sed, et omni &c. Super quibus om-|²⁰nibus p(redicta) Ma(gna) Cur(ia) suam interposuit [judi]ciariam | auct(orbita)tem mandatum pariter et decretum &c. **J. Farrugia** | Ad(voca)tus &c. |

In cuius rei causa &c. | Constito &c. ac, adimpletis ad implendis, recipiat(ur) pro ut in ea, si |²⁵et q(uate)nus &c. **Franciscus Vivieri** Judex.

Die 14 Februarii 1698: pr(esen)tata fuit, et est pr(esen)s caedula per |⁵ Jo(annem) Batt(ist)am Morales et litis cons(ultorem) et recepta &c. | apud Insulam Melitam, et in Mag(na) Curia Castell(aniae) comparentes, M(agiste)r | Jo(ann)es Batt(ist)a Morales, M(agister) Simon Azzuppard tamquam Proc(urator) Magda- [**f.248r**] -lene eius coniugis, Raphael Mulet Procurator Joachinae eius | coniugis, Gaspar Mola, et Attard, proprio, et no(min)e Franciscae, Elisa-|-beth, et Matthei eius fratris, et sororum, filiorum, et here-|-dum q(uon)dam Bernardae earum matris, et Magister Michael Hagius, |⁵ tanquam curator Johannis Antonii Gascon absentis deputatus per | eandem Mag(nam) Cur(iam) absque tamen preiudicio jurium forsitan | quomodolibet competentium dicto de Gascon contra dictam he-|-reditatem et non al(ite)r &c. reverenter exposuere, diebus non | longe effluxis, ab hoc seculo migrasse Mattheum Morales d(ominorum) |¹⁰Comp(aren)tium resp(ecti)ve fratrem, socerum et avunculum, nullo per eum | condito testamento, cuius hereditas fuit ad d(ominos) exponentes tan-|-quam proximiores, et astrictiores in gradu delata quamve | adire deliberarunt, cum beneficio legis, et inventarii, ne | ultra vires hereditarias teneantur neve proprie actiones |¹⁵cum hereditariis confundant(ur). Ideo infra tempora conficiendi | inventarium petierunt ad eiusdem confectorem admitti; |

Quae Mag(na) Cur(ia) annuens petitioni p(redicta)e tanquam iuste, et ra-|-tioni consonne, cumque iusta petenti non sit denegandus | judicialis assensus, et autoritas, tenore presentis, omnique |²⁰alio meliori modo, admisit, et admittit eosdem comp(aren)tes ad | inventarii hu(iusmodi) confectorem, ut valeant uti frui, et | gaudere beneficiis a iure introductis,

by virtue of the present note, and by any other better method, the Grand Court appointed, and does appoint Master Michele Hagus to appear in trusteeship of the aforesaid Giovanni Antonio de Gascon, absent from this Realm; so that he may be able to freely determine with the aforesaid exponents how far he wishes to enter the aforesaid inheritance, or to reject it, and by attributing to him the usual necessary powers and opportunities given and bestowed to similar curators, not yet granting this, but &c. Over all these matters, the aforesaid Grand Court has pledged its own judicial authority, likewise its order and its decree &c. **J. Farrugia**, Counsel.

In the cause of which matter &c. it decides &c. and for fulfilling that which is to be fulfilled, it should be received just as herein, if and how far &c. **Francesco Vivieri**, Judge.

On the 14th day of February 1698: The present note was presented, and is presented, by Giovanni Battista Morales and his advocate and has been received &c. on the Island of Malta, in the Grand Court of the *Castellania*. Appearing are: Master Giovanni Battista Morales, Master Simone Azzupard as Procurator of his wife [f.248r] Madalena, Raphael Mulet, procurator of his wife Giacobina; Gaspar Mola, and Attard for himself and in the name of Matteo, his brother, and of Francesca, Elisabetta, his sisters, offspring and heirs of the late Bernardina their mother; and Master Michele Hagus appearing as curator for the absent Giovanni Antonio Gascon, appointed by the same Grand Court, albeit, without prejudice to the rights that may perchance otherwise pertain to the aforesaid de Gascon in the said inheritance, and not otherwise. They respectfully declare that only a few days ago, Matteo Morales, brother, brother-in-law and uncle respectively of the gentlemen appearing, departed from this world, without leaving any will and testament – whose inheritance has been carried down to the gentlemen exponents as the nearer and closer by degree of relationship, or perhaps, that inheritance, which they were thinking of entering into with the benefit of the law and of an inventory, lest they might be held liable beyond the hereditary powers, or perhaps their own actions might be confused with the inheritance. They have consequently requested within the time limits set for the completion of inventories, to be allowed to go ahead with its completion.

The Grand Court, approving the aforesaid petition as being just and consonant with reason, and since the judicial assent and authority must not be denied to a person seeking a just thing, by the present reasoning and for the better, has allowed, and allows the same appearers to complete this inventory in order that they may be able to make use of, to benefit from, and to enjoy

Transcription of Mattheo Morales' Inventory

in cuius executione | mandavit publicum emitti proclama in locis solitis, et | consuetis huius civitatis Va(llett)ae quo ad incertos cred(itor)es quo |²⁵ vero ad certos per citationem personalem ut si qui sint, vel | reperirent(ur); cred(ito)res aut quomodolibet interesse labentes | vel pretendentes comparere debeant confectio[ni] p(redic)ti in-|ventarii conficiendi in Aula Civili d(ictae) Mag(nae) Cur(iae) die lunae | quae erit 17 labentis mens(is) Februarii 1698 hora secunda | **[f.248v]** post meridiem, alias &c. Quam quidem caedulam dicta Mag(na) Cur(ia) ap-|-probavit, et confirmavit superque o(mni)bus premissis suam in-|-terposuit auc(torita)tem mandatum pariter, et decretum &c. **F. Farrugia**

In Cuius Rei Causa &c |⁵ Constito &c ac, ser(vatis) ser(vandis), recipiat(ur) prout in ea si et q(uatenu)s &c. **Fran(cis)cus Vivie-|-ri**, Judex |

Die xv Februarii 1698 |

Banditore |

D'ordine nostro ad in(stant)ia (sic) del Maestro Michaelae Hagius, curatorio |¹⁰ nomine Jo(ann)is Antonii Cascon, Gio Batta Morales, Madalena Azzuppard, | Giacobina Mulet, e di Gaspare Mola proprio et à nome di Frances-|-ca, Elisabetta, e Mattheo suoi fratello, e sorelle, bandirete ne-|-i luoghi soliti, e consueti di questa nostra Gran Corte, qual-|-mente Lunedì primo venturo, che sarranno li 17 dell'inst(ant)e me-|¹⁵-se di Febraro ad hore, due doppo pranzo nella sala della solita | audientia si fara, e celebrera il solenne inventario de beni hereditarii del fu Mattheo Morales morto ab intestato, che percio | se qualche d'uno ha interesse, e vuol ritrovarsi p(rese)nte nella | confe(ttion)e di d(ett)o inventario comparisca nel luogo e hora sudetti, |²⁰ al(ias) &c. il che eseg(ui)to riferirete. **Fran(cis)cus Vivieri** Judex. |

Die XV Febrarii 1698: Retulit Joseph Bonnici p:s: se de m(anda)to &c [[ad | instantiam]] | exequutum fuisse et esse sup(ra) (dic)tum proclama in locis | publicis solitis, et consuetis huius Civi(ta)tis Vallettae nec non et con- | -similem eiusd(em) affixisse in Malcantone &c. |²⁵

the fruits given at law; in the execution of which it has ordered that a public proclamation be issued in the usual and customary places of this city of Valletta for the benefit of any uncertain creditors; As to the certain creditors, if any exist or are found, these are to be informed by formal notice. Creditors, or those having or expecting for any reason to have an interest, ought to appear for the completion of the said inventory that is to be drawn up in the Civil Hall of the Grand Court on the 17th day of the month of February 1698 about to expire, in the second hour [f.248v] after midday. This note, the Grand Court has approved and confirmed, and over all that has been said, it has interposed its authority, order and likewise, its decree. **F. Farrugia**

In the cause of which &c. having ascertained and preserved what is to be preserved, let it be received as it is and how far &c. **Francesco Vivieri**, Judge

On the 15th day of February 1698

Town Crier

By our order at the instance of Michele Hagius, curator in the name of Giovanni Antonio Cascon, Gio Batta Morales, Madalena Azzuppard, Giacchina Mulet, and of Gaspare Mola in his own name and that of Francesca, Elisabetta and Mattheo his brother and sisters, you will proclaim in the usual and customary places of this our Grand Court this [first] coming Monday, the 17th of this month of February at 2.00 after lunch in the hall of the usual audience, and you will announce the solemn inventory of inheritable goods of the late Mattheo Morales who died intestate, and therefore if anyone has an interest, and would like to be present at the drawing up of the said inventory, he should appear in the place and time here mentioned, otherwise &c. when you have executed this order, refer back. **Francesco Vivieri**, Judge.

15 February 1698. Joseph Bonnici p.s.⁷²⁹ referred back that he, by order of &c., had executed the order concerning the proclamation in the usual and customary public places of this city of Valletta and further has affixed a copy of the same in the *Malcantone*.⁷³⁰

⁷²⁹ The letters p.s. following Joseph Bonnici's name probably stand for *preconis* (town crier). The meaning of the letters V.S. appearing later is unknown.

⁷³⁰ *Malcantone* - this may have been the market place, known as piazza del malcantone, or an area in St John's Street corner with Merchant Street, reserved for bills and announcements. Both were places where criminals were publicly disgraced. Another *malcantone* was to be found in Birgu.

Transcription of Mattheo Morales' Inventory

In Dei Nomine Amen. Anno a Nato Christo⁷³¹ millesimo | sexcentesimo nonagesimo octavo ind(ictio)ne sexta, mense Februa-|-rii die vero decima septima eiusdem men(sis) hora secunda post | **[f.249r]** meridiem in Aula Causarum Civilium Mag(nae) Cur(iae) Castel(laniae) Me|litens(is). Cum his mensibus non longe defluxis, sicut Altissimo | D(omi)no placuit, mortuus et defunctus fuerit Mattheus, sive Mat-|-thias Morales ab intestato, et absque ulla dispositione, cuius |⁵ hereditas ad Magistrum Jo(ann)um Bapt(ist)am Morales, Magdalenam coniugem Simeonis Azzuppard, Joacchinam uxorem Rapha-|-elis Mulet, Gasparem, Franciscam, Elisabet, et Mattheum fr(atre)s | et sorores de Mola, et Joannem Antonium Gascon fratrem sorores, et nepotes resp(ectiv)e dicti q(uo)ndam Matthei, pertinet, et spec-|¹⁰-tat tamquam proximiores et astrictiores in gradu et propter | absentiam eiusdem Antonii ab hoc dominio fuit per infrascript-|-tum Multum Sp(ectabilem) D(omi)num Iudicem, in ipsius curatorem (*sic*) deputatus Magister Michael Hagius, prout in cedula deputationis curatoris | presentatur de die 14 mens(is) currentis Februarii: et rebus sic |¹⁵ stantibus[,] volentes dicti Jo(ann)es Bap(tis)ta, Magdalena, Joacchina, | Gaspar proprio, et no(min)e Dominorum Francisce, Elisabet, et Mathei eius | fratris et sororum, et Michael curatorio no(min)e pre(dic)to eorum | facta resp(ecti)ve peragere hereditatem pre(dic)ti q(uo)ndam Matthei, cum be-|-neficio leg(is) et inventarii, non inconsulto, sed consulto ad-|²⁰-hire decreverunt ne ultra vires hereditarias creditoribus | dicti q(uo)ndam Matthei, si qui forent, deducto aere alieno de prop-|-rio tenerentur[,] et ut ius falcidie, aliaque beneficia a legibus | introducta illesa serventur. Ideo hodie, p(resen)ti pretitulato die, | praefati Jo(ann)es Bap(tis)ta Morales, Simeon Azzuppard pro(curator)io no-|²⁵-mine dictae Magdalenae eius coniugis vigore procurationis | rogato per acta Magnifici Not(ar)ii Stephani Fogliamorta sub die &c. | Raphael Mulet uti Procu(rator) dictae Joacchinae eius uxoris vir-|-tute mandati procure celebrati per acta Praefati Notarii Stephani Fogliamorta sub die &c | Gaspar Mola prop(ri)o et no(min)e Franc(is)cae | **[f.249v]** Elisabet, et Matthei eius fratris et sororum et Mag(ister) Michael Ha-|-gius curatorio nom(in)e quo supra, sc(ilic)et D(ominus) Simeon de Civitate Victo-|-riosa, reliqui vero cives huius Civitatis Val(letta)e, mihi Not(ar)io infr(ascripto) | cogniti, p(rese)ntes coram nobis, sponte [[quam]] mox quam potue-|⁵-runt infra leg(iti)ma tempora a legibus statuta pre(sens) inven-|-tarium bono(rum) om(nium) hereditari(o)rum

⁷³¹ Written in Greek Characters.

In the name of God, Amen. In the year from the birth of Christ, one thousand six hundred and ninety eight, in the sixth indiction, the month of February, the seventeenth day, in the second hour in the afternoon **[f.249r]** in the hall of the Civil Court of the *Magna Curia Castellaniae*, Malta. As these last few months, as it has pleased the almighty Lord, Mattheo, known as Matthias Morales, died intestate, and without any disposition [of his goods], whose inheritance pertains to Master [craftsman] Giovanni Battista Morales, Madalena wife of Simone Azzuppard, Gioacchina wife of Raphael Mulet, Gaspare, Francesca, Elisabetta, and Mattheo brothers and sisters Mola, and Giovanni Antonio Gascon, brother, sisters and nephews respectively of the said late Mattheo, his closest relatives and in view of the absence of Antonio from this domain the Honourable Lord Judge has nominated Master Michael Hagus as his curator, as appears in a note of this appointment presented on the 14th of the month of February. And matters standing in this state, the said Giovanni Battista, Madalena, Gioacchina, Gaspare for himself and Francesca, Elisabetta, and Matteo his brother and sisters, and Michael, curator as heirs to the said late Mattheo, wishing their affairs to be fair, with the benefit of the law and of an inventory, not without mature consideration, but deliberately, declared to adhere, lest they should be acting beyond their powers with the other heirs or creditors of the said late Mattheo, if such exist, having deducted all debts, they are personally responsible so that the *jus falcidie*⁷³² and all other benefits legally introduced remain preserved. And therefore, today, on this predetermined day, namely Giovanni Battista Morales, Simone Azzuppard, procurator in the name of the said Magdalena, his wife, by virtue of the power of attorney recorded in the deeds of the Notary Stefano Fogliamorta, on the date &c., Raphael Mulet as procurator in the name of Gioacchina, his wife, by virtue of his power of attorney recorded recorded in the deed of the notary Stefano Fogliamorta, in the name of Gaspar Mola for himself and in the name of Francesca, **[f.249v]** Elisabetta and Mattheo his brother and sisters and Master Hagus, curator in the name of the above, that is Mr Simeon of the town of Vittoriosa, the rest, however, being citizens of this city of Valletta, known to me the undersigned Notary, all those before us, of their own free will, as soon as was possible in legitimate time, as prescribed by law, drew up the present inventory of inheritable goods

⁷³² Stanley Fiorini ed., *Documentary Sources of Maltese History* 1(2) (1999): 428. Glossary of Legal Terms sv *Lex Falcidia*. This provided for an heir to be able to retain a fourth of the inheritance against all legatees. This right was extended to cover all donations made in contemplation of death.

post mortem dicti q(uon)dam | Matthei remansorum et repertorum facere, et expedire |
procuraverunt in p(rese)ntia Illust(rissi)mi Domini Commendatarii Fr(atr)is D(omi)ni | **Ignatii de**
Lores equitis Ordinis Sancti Joannis Hijer(osolimita)ni |¹⁰Venerandae Linguae Aragoniae Castellae
amposte Presidis predictae Curiae | et Mul(tum) Sp(ectabili)i[s] D(omi)ni V(triusque) J(uris)
D(octoris) **Francisci Vivieri** Iudicis In civilibus | eiusdem in Aula Civili prefatae Mag(nae) Cur(iae)
Cast(ellaniae) Melitensis, pro | tribunali sedentium, et eorum dicteque Mag(nae) Cur(iae)
Iudicari-|-am auctoritatem mandatum pariter, et decretum prestan-|¹⁵-tium, et tribuentium,
p(rese)nti inventario, omnibusque, et | singulis, in eo contentis vocatis t(ame)n prius et
notificatis, cre-|-ditoribus omnibusque aliis interesse habentibus, si qui forent, | compareant, et
comparere debeant in confectione p(rese)ntis | inventarii per bannum, et publicum proclama,
voce preconia |²⁰ emiss(um) in locis publicis solitis, et consuetis, ac etiam per | affixionem
consimilis eiusdem banni in Malcantone eius(dem) | Magnae | Cur(iae) Cas(tellaniae) sub die XV
currentis mens(is), ut enunciatum fuit | ex relat(io)ne Josephi Bonnici V:C : et publices
(sic)Preconis (sic) eiusdem Curiae et, nemine comparente, fuerunt adhibiti, loco creditorum |²⁵ et
interessatorum vocatorum, et non comparentium Pe-|-trus Pizzuti q(uon)dam Hieronimi de Insula
Cretae hab(itatore) in hac Civit(at)e | Vall(ett)ae et Magister Laurentius Zarb, filius Leonardi de
Vall(ett)a, prae|positis prius per d(ict)os Jo(ann)em Bapt(ist)am, Simeonem, quo supra | nomine
Raphaellem, no(min)e predicto Gasparem proprio, et no(min)e [f.250r] quibus supra, et
Michaellem, curatorio no(min)e, predicto propriis | manibus +++++ Signis Sanctae Crucis super
qua, | medio eorum juramento, dixerunt et affirmaverunt | in dicta hereditate predicti
q(uon)dam Matthei se invenisse |⁵ o(mn)ia bona infra(scripta) quae posuerunt et ponunt, ac
describe-|-runt et describi procuraverunt in p(rese)nti inventario, prev-|-ia tamen et precedenti
(sic) solita protestatione, sc(ilice)t, quod | in p(rese)nti inventario describerentur aliqua bona
quae de | jure opponi et describi non debuissent, nec deberent |¹⁰ quod pro non oppositis et
descriptis habentur, et e con-|-tra, si forte in hereditate p(re)dic)ta essent vel in futurum |
invenirentur aliqua alia bona, que in p(resen)ti inventario | opposita et descripta non sint, quod
habeantur pro oppo-|-sitis et descriptis, illaque, cum ad eorum notitiam perve-|¹⁵-nerint in
p(rese)nti inventario, quandocumque adnotare et des-|-cribere possint, et valeant quae
protestatio intelligatur, et sit repetita in omni partita, clau(sul)a, dictione, et parti-|-cula
p(res)entis inventarii hoc, et omni alio mel(iori) modo, et | non aliter, alias &c. |²⁰

after the death of the late Matteo, in the presence of the Illustrious **Lord Commander Fra Ignatio de Lores**, Knight of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, of the Venerable Language of Aragon, Castille and Amposta, of the said Court and the Very Honourable Lord Doctor of Law, **Francesco Vivieri**, Judge in Civil law, that is in the Civil Court of the Grand Court of the *Catellania* in Malta, sitting in tribunal, imparting and giving to the present inventory and everything and anything contained therein, their authority and their order and also their decree and that of the same Grand Judicial Court, having first announced and notified all creditors and anyone with an interest in it, if such exist, that they are to appear and should appear in the drawing up of this inventory. This was broadcast by public proclamation, announced by the town crier in the usual and customary public places, and by the affixation of a copy of the same proclamation in the *Malcantone* of the same Grand Court of the *Castellania* on the 15th day of this present month, as appears from the report by Joseph Bonnici V.C., official town crier of the same Court. And as no one appeared in place of the called creditors and interested parties, and since Petro Pizzuti of the late Geronimo of the Island of Crete living in the city of Valletta did not appear and Master Lorenzo Zarb son of Leonardo of Valletta firstly placing for the said Giovanni Battista, Simone, Raphael in the name of the said Gaspare for himself and for the aforementioned **[f.250r]**, and Michele curator for the aforementioned by their own hand sign a cross +++++ swearing, declaring and affirming that in the said inheritance of the late Matteo they found all the goods written below, which they registered, placed and proceeded to describe and described in the present inventory having previously, however, presented the usual protest, namely that should in the present inventory, be listed any goods which by law should not have been described and are opposed, then they are to be taken as opposed and not described, and on the other hand, if in the aforementioned inheritance there are, or shall in future appear, any goods which in the present inventory are opposed or are not described, then they should be held as [not] appeared or described. These goods, as they come to their attention, must be noted and described in the present inventory and demonstrated; which protest is to be understood and to be repeated in each section, clause and declaration and particle of the present inventory, be it done in the best way, and not otherwise &c.

Die quarta mensis Januarii 1698

Inventario della robba del fu Matteo Morales fatto d'ordine del Sig(no)r Giudice.

In primis due cocchiere, ed una forchetta d'argento | consignati dalla Sig.ra Anna, vedova del d(ett)o fu Matteo |²⁵una tabacchera d'argento, due bottoni d'argento per cal-|-zoni, un anello d'oro, con sei torchine et un giacento | in mezzo, un circhetto d'oro, una S. Elena con cerchio | d'argento, un piccolo Agnus Dei di rame giallo, et una me-|-daglia d'argento della Madonna del Carmine consignati [f.250v] da Gio Batta Morales, fratello del d(ett)o defonto

Item una piccola virghetta, osia filo d'oro consignato da Ra-|-fele Mulet. |

Item due para di bottoni d'argento con pietre bianche, e due al-|⁵-tre para di bottoni d'argento lisci consignati dalle nepoti | del d(ett)o fù Matteo. Tutte le sudette argenterie portate in Cas-|-tellania;

Robba ritrovata nella sala

In primis una credenza di noce con cinque cascioni drenti (*sic*) del |¹⁰ quali si trovano l'infr(ascritt)e robbe, cioe |

Nel primo cascione di sopra.

In primis un bastone con manico d'argento, tre piccoli quadretti | di parchemino con cornice color bronsino, un specchio con | cornice lavorato di stagno, cinque aquile dorate, dieci pomi | di letto dorate, et altre bagatelle di poco momento, e di nessun | valore.

Nel cascione secondo.

In primis un feriole novo color cris di moro con fedra di | friso color di muschio, un giustocore nero vecchio di camel-|¹⁵-lotto, un giustacore nero di camellotto di tela nuova, un fe-|-riolo di seta menato, tre para di calzoni menati et un pezzo | di monta di seta vecchia. |

Nel cascione terzo.

In primis quatro beriole vecchie, una di quale con pizzilla, |²⁰ sei para di pedoni di tela vecchi, due collari vecchi, una | investa di coscino di tela, quatro grovate vecchie dentro | in cannizzo,

On the fourth day of the month of January 1698

Inventory of the goods of the late Matteo Morales made by order of the Lord Judge.

First of all, two spoons and a fork made of silver, brought in by Signora Anna, widow of the said Mattheo, a silver snuff /tobacco box, two silver trouser buttons, a gold ring with six turquoises and a jacinth in the centre, a gold ring, a St Elena medal⁷³³ encircled in silver, a little *Agnus Dei* medal of yellow brass, and a silver medal of the Carmelite Madonna given in [f.250v] by Gio Batta Morales, brother of the said deceased,

Also, a little rod, or gold wire given in by Raphael Mulet.

Also, two pairs of silver buttons with white stones, and two other pairs of plain silver buttons given in by the nephew of the deceased Mattheo. All the said silver was taken to the *Castellania*.

Goods found in the sala

First of all, a walnut chest of drawers having five drawers, inside which were found the following:

In the first top drawer

First of all, a walking stick with a silver handle, three little paintings on parchment with bronze-coloured frames, a mirror with an elaborate tin frame, five golden eagles, ten gilt bed knobs, and several other little things of no value.

In the second drawer

First of all, a new cape of a moorish-grey colour with woollen lining the colour of musk, an old black waistcoat made of goatswool and silk,⁷³⁴ a black goatswool and silk waistcoat with new linen/lining, a cape of used silk, three pairs of used old trousers and an old piece of silk.

In the third drawer

First of all, four old night caps, one of which with lace, six pairs of old linen⁷³⁵ socks, two old collars, a linen pillowcase, four old cravats in a cane basket,

⁷³³ I would like to thank Francesca Balzan for helping me to decipher jewellery terminology in the inventory. See F. Balzan, *Jewellery in Malta - Treasures from the Island of the Knights 1530-1798*, (Malta: Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti, 2009), 60.

⁷³⁴ G. Piccitto, *Vocabolario Siciliano* vol.1, (Catania-Palermo: Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani, 1977), 696. *Ciamillotu, ciammillottu* - 'panno di pelo di capra.'

Transcription of Matteo Morales' Inventory

un piccolo cannestretto con pizzille vecchie, | un altro collaro vecchio, altre sette beriole vecchie, una | berretta di lana bianca vecchia, un'altra di seta verde |[f.251r] vecchia, una investa di tela bianca di coscino, un lenzuolo | di tela menato, due calzoni di tela vecchi, un paio di mani-|-che con pizzilla, un cappuccio di tela per confratia, due | gilecchi di fostaino vecchi, senza maniche, due para di |⁵ manicotti con pizzilla menati, una fascia di tela bianca | un paio di calzette di cotone, tre para di calzette di filato | menati, un cordone di confratia rosso, un cappello vecchio | due investe di dimito rasato rosso con pizzilla nera, e | galani di coscini, et un crocifisso di legno. |¹⁰

Nel cascione quarto.

In primis un feriole vecchio di panno nero, un calzone di | Cadis nero vecchio, un calzone di cadis nero vecchio, un cal-|-zone vecchio color di muschio, un calzone di tela di Fran-|-cia vecchio, un altro di sangallo vecchio, un paio di cal-|¹⁵-zette di lana, et un altro di capicciola neri, et un altro | di filo bianco menati. |

Nel cascione quinto.

In primis quattro figure di gisso, due pezzi di moschettiera | di filo indente vecchi, un tornaletto di calambrai con piz-|²⁰-zilla vecchio, un piccolo bagulletto, un paio di calzette di | cotone vecchi, un altro di filato vecchi, et una cassetta | con una perucca vecchia. |

Item dieci sedie di noce fattura di Livorno di vacchetta con | pomi dorati, un ginocchiatore di noce, sei quadri mez-|²⁵-zani di paesaggi con cornice lavorata, sei piccoli quadri | di paesaggi con la med(esima) cornice, due quadri grandi | di paesaggi con la med(esima) cornice, un quadro con l'effi-|-gie della Maddalena con cornice dorato, e turchina | un quadro con la Madonna con cornice nera dorata | [f.251v] un quadro con le nozzi di Cana Galilea con la me(desima) corni-|-ce due quadri con figure di simie/lumie[?] con cornice nera,

⁷³⁵ The word *tela* may be 'cotton' or 'linen.' Since cotton appears as 'cottonne,' this is probably linen.

a little basket filled with old lace, another old collar, another seven old night caps, an old white woollen cap, another old one in green silk, **[f.251r]** a white linen cushion cover, a used linen sheet, two pairs of old linen trousers, a pair of sleeves with lace, a linen confraternity cowl,⁷³⁶ two old sleeveless cotton jackets, two used pairs of sleeves with lace, a sash of white linen, a pair of cotton socks, three pairs of used woven socks, a red confraternity rope, an old hat, two red silk and satin⁷³⁷ pillow cases with blacklace, and cushion ribbons, and a wooden crucifix.

In the fourth drawer

First of all, an old cape of black felt, an old pair of Cadiz black trousers, an[other] old pair of Cadiz black trousers, old trousers the colour of musk, a pair of old trousers of fine woven French cotton,⁷³⁸ another old pair made of needle lace, a pair of woolen socks and another black pair made of silk weave,⁷³⁹ and another used pair made of white thread.

In the fifth drawer

First of all, four plaster figures, two old pieces of thread mosquito netting, a valance⁷⁴⁰ of fine linen⁷⁴¹ with old lace, a small chest, a pair of old cotton stockings, another old woven pair, and a box containing an old wig.

Also, ten walnut chairs made in Livorno with cow-hide and with gilt pommels, a walnut *prie-dieu*, six middle-sized landscape paintings with ornate frame, six small landscape paintings with the same frame, two large landscape paintings with the same frame, a painting with the effigy of the Magdalen, with a frame of gilt and turquoise, a picture of the Madonna with black and gilt frame, **[f.251v]** a picture showing the wedding of Cana in Galilee with the same frame, two paintings of monkeys/lemons[?] with a black frame

⁷³⁶ J. Florio, *Queen Anne's New World of Words or Dictionarie of the Italian and English tongues*. (London: 1611), 83. *Capuccio* – 'a hood, a cowle, a bonnet.'

⁷³⁷ See Nicholas de Piro, Vicky Ann Cremona ed., *Costume in Malta - an History of Fabric, Form & Fashion* (Malta: Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti, 1998), 170, 174. *Dimito* - silk fabric, *raso* - satin.

⁷³⁸ De Piro and Cremona, *Costume in Malta*, 175. *Tela di Francia* - 'fine woven cotton.'

⁷³⁹ Piccitto, G., vol.1, 565. *Capicciola* – 'filato di seta stracciata, filaticcio.'

⁷⁴⁰ S. Fiorini, "Faldetta, circelli, tornialetto et altre robba femina." *Melita Historica* XIV(3) (2006): 261-282. Florio, 569. *Tornaletto* – 'the valances of a bed, but namely such ornaments as in Italy are found round about the lower part of bedsteads.'

⁷⁴¹ Piccitto, vol.1, 522. *Calambrai* – 'sorta di tela finissima.'

Transcription of Mattheo Morales' Inventory

e | fili dorati, due quadri, con figure di cagnoli con la med(esi)ma | cornice, un quadro della Madonna con cornice rossa, e |⁵verde, **un quadro col ritratto del fù Mattheo Morales e | sua figlia con cornice dorata**, due boffette di noce, una | tavola di noce vecchia, un'altra di tavola bianca vecchia | un tre piedi di legno, sei sedie piccole di paglia una sedia | piccola di noce di vacchetta vecchia, una sedia di noce di |¹⁰paglia vecchia un armario a cassa vecchio. |

{Argenti}

Un bagulletto vecchio dentro il quale vi sono l'infr(ascritt)e robbe. |

Una forchetta d'argento, una sotto coppa d'argento, due | tazze d'argento.

{Nepoti del fu Matteo Morales – Ori, et Argenti}

Più ritrovati in detto bagulletto l'infr(ascritt)i ori, et argenti, che |¹⁵dissero essere delli nepoti del detto fu Matteo, una cassetina | con un paro di ambre, due bracciali con bottoni d'oro, e | corallo con una San Elena, una gulera con bottoni d'oro | et un gioiello con perle, et una pietra lagrima, un al-|-tra cassetina, con una piccola Croce d'argento, un'altra |²⁰cassetina con un'altra crocetta rotta d'argento, una | medaglia di rame circondata d'argento, et un braccio | di corallo, una borsa piccola di lana, con due pezzetti | di fili de perle sottili, et una corona di vetro, con due | piccole medagliette, et una crocetta d'argento; item |²⁵una cassetina con due piccoli pendenti d'oro lucen-|-ti, con perle | una gargantiglia d'oro lucente con perle e due braccioletti d'oro, e dentro alcune polize.

{Seguita la robba del fù Matteo.

Danari}

Piu ritrovati in detto bagulletto, una cassetina con settanta zecchini veneziani. |

[f.252r] Tutti li sudetti ori, argenti, danaro tanto del detto fù Mattheo | che delli suoi nepoti furono portati in Castell(an)ia. |

Item ritrovati in detto ba(g)ulletto nove camiscie menate, un | cielo di moschettiera di tela, sei palmi di tela nuova, cinq(ue) |⁵calzoni di tela menati, cinque serviette menate, cin-|-que gilecchi di fostano menati,

and gilt design, two paintings of dogs with the same frame, a depiction of the Madonna with red and green frame, a **portrait painting of the late Mattheo Morales and his daughter in a gilt frame**, two walnut cupboards⁷⁴² an old walnut table, another white old table, a wooden tripod, six small chairs with straw seats, a small walnut chair of old cowhide, an old walnut chair with straw seat, an old cupboard with drawers.

{Silver}

An old chest in which are the following items:

A silver fork, a raised silver bowl, two silver mugs,

{Nephews of the late Matteo Morales – Gold and Silver}

Also, found in this chest are the following gold and silver items said to belong to the nephews of the late Matteo, a little box containing a pair of ambers, two bracelets with gold and coral buttons with a S. Elena medal, a necklace with gold buttons and a jewel with pearls and a teardrop stone, another small box in which is a small silver Cross, another small box in which is a small broken silver Cross, a copper medallion with silver surround, and a coral hand, a small woollen bag having two strings of small pearls, and a glass rosary beads with two little medals and a silver cross; also a small box with two small bright gold pendants with pearls, a bright gold necklace with pearls, two gold bracelets, and inside, some papers.⁷⁴³

{Here follow the belongings of Matteo.

Money}

Also, found in the same chest, a small box with seventy zecchini Veneziani.

[f. 252r] All the said gold, silver, money, both of the late Matteo as well as of the nephews were taken to the *Castellania*.

Also found in the said chest, nine used shirts, a linen mosquito netting canopy, six *palmi* of new linen, five used linen trousers, five used handkerchiefs, five used cotton jackets two of which are

⁷⁴² Florio, 63.

⁷⁴³ The word 'polize' may also refer to bills, bills of lading, or even pawn-tickets.

Transcription of Matteo Morales' Inventory

due de quali senza maniche | due investe di coscini di tela bianca, due para di calzette | di filo menati, e due sciugamani con pizzilla menati. |

Item un bagullo grande con infrascritte robbe, cioè una |¹⁰ cassetina con due cocchiere, due forchette et un | fiore d'argento per saliera, una saliera quali furo-|-no portati in Castell(ani)a.

Item in detto bagullo una coltelliera con cinque cor-|-telli con manico bianco, una cassetta rossa con galani |¹⁵ vecchi, un lenzuola di tela menata, una colane bianca | menata un'altra bianca con fiocchi un gilecco stampato | menato, una pezza di serviette, un lenzuolo con ran-|-de menato, un altro di tela bianca, due investe | di coscini, un lenzuolo con rande menato, sei |²⁰ serviette menate, et una tovaglia di seta menata. |

Item una scopetta, una bandolera con scartocci di | canne, una ristelliera, una forcina tre liste di | ferro di portiere, un cortinaggio di Cadis rosso con | frangie, un specchi con cornice dorato, un quadro |²⁵ alla greca con cornice dorata, un letto con colonne | trispe, testiera e liste di ferro, un quadro senza cor-|-nice, un candiliere di stagno, un capezzale con sei | piccoli quadretti, et una croce, tre matarazzi con | la lana vecchi, una moschettiera di filo indette **[f.252v]** menato, due caldare di rame, una secchia, una caldaret-|-ta, una corchetta di rame, una cuscinera con penne, due | coscini con lana menati, quattro aquile di legno dorate, | una graticola di ferro, una tortera di rame senza |⁵ coverchio, un fiasco di stagno, una secchietta di rame, | due mezzi parracani, una coverta di lana vecchia, due | tapiti vecchi, una colore di seta rossa, e verde, una | colore indiana menata, un cippone di friso color di | musco con bottoni di stagno, una robba di cammera |¹⁰ vecchia, un cielo di bellavila, un lenzuolo vecchio, un candiliere | di bronso, et una stuova.

sleeveless, two white linen cushion covers, two pairs of old woven stockings, and two old towels with lace.

Also, A big chest/coffer containing the following items: a small box containing two spoons, two forks and a silver flower-shaped salt-cellar, a salt-cellar, all of which were taken to the *Castellania*.

Also, in the same bag a knife box containing five knives with white handles, a red box of old ribbons, a used linen sheet, an old white collar, another elaborate white collar, a used printed jacket, a length of handkerchief material, a used sheet with edging,⁷⁴⁴ another of white linen, two cushion covers, a used sheet with edging, six used handkerchiefs, and a used silk tablecloth.

Also, a musket, a bandoleer with barrel cartridges, a gun rack, a forked gun support,⁷⁴⁵ three iron door rods, red bed hangings of Cadiz with fringes, a mirror with gilt frame, a painting in Greek style with gilt frame, a poster bed with metal columns, supports, base and iron rods, a painting without a frame, a tin candlestick, a headboard⁷⁴⁶ with six small pictures, and a cross, three old wool-stuffed mattresses, a used thread mosquito net, **[f.252v]** two copper kettles/cauldrons, a bucket, a small kettle, a copper clothes hook,⁷⁴⁷ a feather cushion, two used wool-stuffed cushions, four eagles of gilt wood, an iron grater, a copper baking dish without lid, a tin basin, a small copper bucket, two half blankets,⁷⁴⁸ an old woolen bed cover, two old carpets – one the colour of red and green silk, one worn one of coloured print, a loose woollen jacket the colour of musk with tin buttons, an old bedroom robe, a bed canopy of *bellavila*⁷⁴⁹ an old sheet, a copper candlestick and a reed curtain (or mat).⁷⁵⁰

⁷⁴⁴ *Randa* in Italian means 'an edge.' *Randula* in Sicilian is a fixed strap. 'Fornimento di filo con laccio, che appiccasi ad una estremita della fasce per bambini, e serve a fermar la fascia, perche non si svolga.' See Piccitto, vol. 3, 7.

⁷⁴⁵ Thanks to Mr Natalino Fenech and Dr George Zammit Maempel for explanations of gun terminology.

⁷⁴⁶ Piccitto, vol.1, 568. *Capizzu* - 'il capo del letto.' *Capizzali* - 'immagine sacra appesa a capo del letto.'

⁷⁴⁷ Piccitto, vol.1, 788. *Corcu, croccu* - 'gancio, rapino, gruccia per appendere gli abiti.'

⁷⁴⁸ I am grateful to Prof Stanley Fiorini for the meaning of *parracani*.

⁷⁴⁹ Since this term is always used with reference to bed canopies, it probably means 'beautiful veil.'

⁷⁵⁰ Florio, 542. *Stuoia / stuora* - 'mat.'

Nella Bottega

{Argenti}

Item una tavola vecchia con un tiratore, dentro il qua-|-le si trovò una cassetina con due circhetti d'argento |¹⁵ portati in Castellania.

Item In detto tiratore una cassetta con **corde**, diversi **fer-|-ramenti**, e corde vecchie et un occhialone. |

Item una **spinettina**.

{Argenti} *Item* una tavola di noce con cascione dentro il quale sivi |²⁰ trovano un nett' orecchio et un cava peli d'argento, et | una medaglia d'argento portati in Castellania.

Item un toccalapes con **compasso di rame**, et un occhie-|-lino d'osso bianco, et un **libretto de conti** portato in Castel-|-lania.

Item una cascia vecchia con dentro due fibbie d'argento, un | fonte d'argento, due piance per specchio d'argento, et | una spada con manico d'argento portati in Castel(lan)ia. |

Item un pezzo d'indiana nuova, un pezzo di fostaino, un | fazzoletto di seta verde, e bianca, un paro di scarpe | **[f.253r]** un fazzoletto di tela, un Cappello vecchio, un cinto-|-rino di pelle, una cassetta con **caviglie**, una **cas-|-setta con cinque pezzi di corde**, quatro **scannelli** di | **basso di viola**, una cassetina con diversi imbarazzi. |⁵

Dentro un armarietto nella muraglia di d(et)ta bottega | una bilancia di Zecchini, una cassetta con due raso-|-li da barba, con una pietra, et una pelle, e diversi | altri imbarazzi di nessun valore. |

Cinque sedie grandi vecchie, quattro sedie di paglia pic-|-¹⁰-cole, tre bassi di viola, una tromba marina, un liu-|-to con una fodra, un arc[[h]]i chitarra, un instrumento | alla turchesca detto tambura, dieci nove chitarre | grandi, piccoli, e bastardini, vecchi, e nuovi, quatro vio-|-lini, tre violini detti sordini, un incirata, una portie-|-¹⁵-ra con suo ferro et una banderola segno di bottega | di chitarraro, et un' altra portiera rossa con suo | ferro |

Dietro la stuora di d(ett)a bottega **un violino** con la inves-|-ta rossa, una **chitarra** con investa nera, un **fias** |²⁰-**co di stagno**; **diversi stigli di bottega tanto di legname** | **che di ferro**, due sedie di paglia vecchie; e diversi altri imbarazzi di bottega. |

In the Workshop

{Silver}

Also An old table with a drawer, inside which is a little box with two silver rings taken to the *Castellania*.

Also In the said drawer is a box of **strings**, several **iron tools** and old strings, and an eye-glass/monocle.

Also a **little spinet**.

{Silver} *Also*, a walnut table with a drawer inside which are a silver ear cleaner and silver tweezers, and a silver medal, all taken to the *Castellania*.

Also, a pencil holder with a **copper compass**, and an eye-glass/ monocle made of white bone, and a small **book of accounts** taken to the *Castellania*.

Also, an old box having two silver buckles, a silver font, two plaques for silver mirrors, and a sword⁷⁵¹ with a silver handle taken to the *Castellania*.

Also, a piece of new printed cotton, a piece of fostain, a handkerchief of green and white silk, a pair of shoes, **[f.253r]** a linen handkerchief, an old hat, a leather belt, a box of **instrument pegs**, a box having five pieces of **strings**, **four bass viol bridges**, a chest of bulky objects.⁷⁵²

Inside a little cupboard in the wall of the shop are weighing scales for Zecchini, a box in which are two blades for shaving, a stone/pebble, and an animal skin, and several other bulky objects of no value.

Five big old chairs, four small straw chairs, three bass viols, a *tromba marina*, a lute inside a cover, an arch guitar, an instrument in the Turkish style known as a *tambura*, nineteen guitars, large, small, and *bastardini*, old and new; four violins, three violins known as 'sordini', an oil skin, a door curtain with its iron and a shop sign of a *bottega di chitarraro*, and another red door curtain with its iron rod. Behind the reed curtain⁷⁵³ of the said shop a violin inside a red cloth cover, a guitar in a black cover, a tin flask; several workshop tools made of wood as well as iron, two old straw-seat chairs; and several other workshop bulky objects.

⁷⁵¹ Florio, 519. *Spata* – 'sword or spade.'

⁷⁵² The word *imbarazzi* is used repeatedly. These were unspecified encumbering objects.

⁷⁵³ Archives of the Confraternity of Charity, (Valletta, Church of St Paul's Shipwreck), Legati Cappella, Conti della Cappella 1635-1667, f.34v, *Stuora* - 'una stola sive hasira.' In Maltese 'hasira' is a reed curtain.

Nel Magazzino, e nella Camera del Cortiglio.

Dette pezze di tavole di fago un armario vecchio |²⁵ un letto di vento, due tavole vecchie, due sedie vecchie, et una cantina con cinque fiaschi, | sette pezzi, o siano cannoli di cipresso, due tavole | lunghe, et un mezzo seratizzo. |

Testes Rev(eren)dus D(omi)nus Don Faustinus Farrugia, et M(agister) Carolus |³⁰ Ghiun.

[f. 253v]

Die xiiii men(sis) Januarii 1698

Estimatio facta [d?]a **Michele Grech, et Demetrio Fran-|-gulli** expertis electis de consensu heredum q(uon)dam Mattei Mo-|-rales animo tamen conficiendi inventarium facta |⁵ medio corum juramento tactis et vigore cuius extima-|verunt et extimant infras raubas.. ... |

Item Sei sedie di noce fattura di Livorno con pomi d'orati à ragione di scudi tre, e t(arì) sei l'uno scudi venti uno ... 21: - -

Item Altri quatro dell'istessa fattura piu piccoli à scudi due e t(arì) sei l'uno, in tutto 10: - -

Item Sei paesaggi piccoli con cornice dorata à scudo uno l'uno in tutto 6: -

Item Altri sei quadri di paesaggi più grandi con l'istessa cornice à scudo uno , et t(arì) sei l'uno in tutto 9: - -

Item Altri due piu grandi con l'istessa cornice à scudo uno et t(arì) sei l'uno 3: - -

Item Due quadri con figure di simie/limie [?] con cornice dorata à scudo uno l'uno 2: - -

In the Store, and in the Room in the Yard

The said pieces of beechwood planks, an old cupboard, a draught-proof bed, two old tables/planks, two old chairs, and a canteen inside which are five flasks, six pieces or logs of cypress wood, two long planks, and a half timber joist.

Witnessed by Reverend Don Faustino Farrugia⁷⁵⁴ and Master Carolus Ghiun.

[f. 253v]

On the 14th day of January 1698

Estimate compiled by **Michele Grech** and **Demetrio Frangulli**, experts elected by the consent of the heirs of the late Matteo Morales, with their intention, however, of compiling an inventory under oath.

Also, six walnut chairs made in Livorno with gilt pommels at the price of three *scudi* and six *tari* each. Twenty-one *scudi*

21: - -

Also, another four of the same make but smaller at two *scudi* and six *tari* each, in all

10: - -

Also, six small landscape paintings with gilt frames at one *scudo* each, in all

6: - -

Also, another six larger landscape paintings with the same frame at one *scudo* and six *tari* each, in all

9: - -

Also, another two larger with the same frame at one *scudo* and six *tari* each

3: - -

Also, two paintings showing monkeys/lemons[?] with gilt frames at one *scudo* each

2: - -

⁷⁵⁴ Don Faustino was Matteo Morales' brother-in-law, Anna Maria's brother.

Transcription of Matteo Morales' Inventory

<i>Item</i> Due altri con figuri di cani con l'istessa cornice à tarì nove l'uno	1: 6 -
<i>Item</i> Un quadro con figura della Madonna con cornice nera per scudi due	2: - -
<i>Item</i> Un altro della Madonna con cornice rossa, e verde per scudo uno e t(arì) sei	1: 6 -
<i>Item</i> Un quadro della Maddalena con cornice turchina, e dorata per scudi tre, e t(arì) sei	3: 6 -
<i>Item</i> Un specchio dorato per scudi sei	6: - -

Scudi 65: - -

[f.254r]

<i>Item</i> Un specchio piccolo con cornice lavorato di stagno per scudo uno	1: - -
<i>Item</i> Un capozzale con sei piccoli quadretti et una croce per t(arì) otto	- 8: -
<i>Item</i> Un genocchiatore di noce per scudi due	2: - -
<i>Item</i> Due tapeti vecchi per scudo uno e t(arì) otto	1: 8: -
<i>Item</i> Due mezza paracani per t(arì) sei l'uno	1: - -
<i>Item</i> Una moschettiera di filo indente menata per scudi cinque	5: - -
<i>Item</i> Un sopra Cielo (bed canopy) di bellavila per t(arì) sei	- 6: -
<i>Item</i> Una cutra indiana vecchia per scudi due e t(arì) sei	2: 6: -

<i>Also, two others showing dogs, with the same frame, at nine tari each</i>	1: 6 -
<i>Also, a painting showing the figure of the Madonna, with black frame for two scudi</i>	2: - -
<i>Also, another of the Madonna having a red and green frame for one scudo and six tari</i>	1: 6 -
<i>Also, a painting of Magdalen with turquoise and gilt frame for three scudi and six tari</i>	3: 6 -
<i>Also, a gilt mirror for six scudi</i>	6: - -
	<hr/>
	Scudi 65: - -

[f.254r]

<i>Also, a small mirror with a tin ornate frame for one scudo</i>	1: - -
<i>Also, a headboard with six small pictures and a cross for eight tari</i>	- 8: -
<i>Also, a walnut prie-dieu for two scudi</i>	2: - -
<i>Also, two old carpets for one scudo and eight tari</i>	1: 8: -
<i>Also, two half blankets for six tari each</i>	1: - -
<i>Also, a used string mosquito-netting for five scudi</i>	5: - -
<i>Also, a bed canopy of bellavila for six tari</i>	- 6: -
<i>Also, an old printed-cotton blanket for two scudi and six tari</i>	2: 6: -

Transcription of Matteo Morales' Inventory

<i>Item</i> Una giacchetta senza maniche per t(ari) sei	- 6: -
<i>Item</i> Un matarazzo con fodra di fostaino bianco con lana per scudi cinque	5: - -
<i>Item</i> Un altro matarazzo di lana con fodra torchina per scudi sei	6: - -
<i>Item</i> Un trapontino con lana, e cinque coscini et una cuscinera per scudi tre	3: - -
<i>Item</i> Una cutra rossa, e verde di seta per scudi otto	8: - -
<i>Item</i> Una robba di camera vecchia per scudo uno	1: - -
<i>Item</i> un tavolino vecchio per t(ari) tre	- 3: -

Scudi 103: 3 -

[f.254v]

<i>Item</i> Un cortinaggio di Cadis rosso intreperse con frangie per scudi quindici	15: - -
<i>Item</i> Una scopetta bandolera con scartocci di canne forcina, e ristellera per scudi due	2: - -
<i>Item</i> Due tavole di noce per scudi tre	3: - -
<i>Item</i> Una tavola vecchia per t(ari) sei	- 6: -
<i>Item</i> Un quadro senza cornice per t(ari) due	- 2: -
<i>Item</i> Un tre piedi per t(ari) tre	- 3: -

<i>Also, a sleeveless jacket for six tari</i>	- 6: -
<i>Also, a mattress covered in white fustain with wool stuffing for five scudi</i>	5: - -
<i>Another woollen mattress with a bluish cover for six scudi</i>	6: - -
<i>Also, a woollen quilt and five pillows and a pillow case for three scudi</i>	3: - -
<i>Also, a silk red and green blanket for eight scudi</i>	8: - -
<i>Also, an old bed robe for one scudo</i>	1: - -
<i>Also, a small old table for three tari</i>	- 3: -

Scudi 103: 3 -

[f.254v]

<i>Also, a red bed-hanging/valance of Cadiz interspersed with fringes for fifteen scudi</i>	15: - -
<i>Also, a musket, gun strap, musket cartridges, gun support and gun rack for two scudi</i>	2: - -
<i>Also, two walnut tables for three scudi</i>	3: - -
<i>Also an old table for six tari</i>	- 6: -
<i>Also, a frameless picture for two tari</i>	- 2: -
<i>Also, a tripod for three tari</i>	- 3: -

Transcription of Matteo Morales' Inventory

<i>Item</i> Un letto di ferro con suoi trispi liste, testiera, e colonne a gr(ani) trenta cinque il rotolo	31: - -
{Di cotisto letto di ferro fu venduto come appresso si vede per scudi 31: a Si mone Azzupard nella vendita fatta de commune consensu per non essersi potuto fare di quello discussione}	
<i>Item</i> Quattro figure di gisso per t(ari) dieci	- 10: -
<i>Item</i> Una canna d'india con pometto d'argento per scudi tre	3: - -
<i>Item</i> Tre quadretti di parchemino, e diversi imbarazzi di nessun momento per t(ari) otto	- 8: -
<i>Item</i> Un feriole nuovo color gris di moro per scudi dodici e t(ari) sei	12: 6: -
<i>Item</i> Un vestito, e calzone di camellotto nero per scudi due	2: - -
<i>Item</i> Un altro giustacore di camellotto nero per scudi quttro	4: - -
<i>Item</i> Due calzoni vecchi neri per tarì otto	- 8: -
<i>Item</i> Un feriole de seta vecchio per scudi due e tarì sei	2: 6: -
<i>Item</i> Due fodre di coscini de seta rossa con bizzilla nera per scudi tre	3: - -

Scudi 184: - -

<i>Also</i> , an iron bed with its supporting rods, base, and columns for thirty-five <i>grani</i> per rotolo.	31: - -
{Regarding this bed, it had been sold, as can be seen, at the price of 31 <i>scudi</i> to Simone Azzupard in the sale by common consent, so it cannot be discussed}	
<i>Also</i> , four plaster figures for ten <i>tari</i>	- 10: -
<i>Also</i> , a bamboo stick with silver handle for three <i>scudi</i>	3: - -
<i>Also</i> Three parchment pictures and other bulky objects of no value for eight <i>tari</i>	- 8: -
<i>Also</i> , a new Moorish-grey cape/mantle for twelve <i>scudi</i> and six <i>tari</i>	12: 6: -
<i>Also</i> , a suit and trousers made of black goatswool and silk for two <i>scudi</i>	2: - -
<i>Also</i> , another black goatswool and silk waistcoat for four <i>scudi</i>	4: - -
<i>Also</i> , two pairs of old black trousers for eight <i>tari</i>	- 8: -
<i>Also</i> an old silk cape for two <i>scudi</i> and six <i>tari</i>	2: 6: -
<i>Also</i> , two red silk cushion covers with black lace for three <i>scudi</i>	3: - -
	<hr/>
	Scudi 184: - -

Transcription of Matteo Morales' Inventory

[f.255r]

<i>Item</i> Una parrucca vecchia per tarì sei	- 6 -
<i>Item</i> Un cappello vecchio per scudo uno	1: - -
<i>Item</i> Una camiscia per scudo uno	1: - -
<i>Item</i> Un paro di calzoni per tarì sei	- 6 -
<i>Item</i> Un lenzuolo per scudo uno	1: - -
<i>Item</i> Quattro para di calzette per tarì sei	- 6 -
<i>Item</i> Un paro di mezze maniche per tarì quatro	- 4: -
<i>Item</i> Due para di manicotte menate per tarì sei	- 6: -
<i>Item</i> Due gravate per tarì otto	- 8: -
<i>Item</i> Dieci beriole di tela per tarì sei	- 6: -
<i>Item</i> Un paro d'investe di coscini di tela per tarì due	- 2: -
<i>Item</i> Diverse robbe vecchie dentro un cannizzo per scudo uno	1: - -
<i>Item</i> Un Feriolo di panno nero vecchio per scudi tre	3: - -
<i>Item</i> Cinque calzoni diversi colori per scudo uno	1: - -
<i>Item</i> Un paro di calzette di capicciola per tarì dieci	- 10: -
<i>Item</i> Un tornaletto con pizilla e due pezze di tela menati per scudo uno e tarì sei	1: 6: -

[f.255r]

<i>Also, one old wig for six tari</i>	- 6: -
<i>Also, an old hat for one scudo</i>	1: - -
<i>Also, a shirt for one scudo</i>	1: - -
<i>Also, a pair of trousers for six tari</i>	- 6: -
<i>Also, a sheet for one scudo</i>	1: - -
<i>Also four pairs of socks for six tari</i>	- 6: -
<i>Also, a pair of half sleeves for four tari</i>	- 4: -
<i>Also, two pairs of used over-sleeves⁷⁵⁵ for six tari</i>	- 6: -
<i>Also two cravats for eight tari</i>	- 8: -
<i>Also ten linen night caps for six tari</i>	- 6: -
<i>Also, a pair of linen cushion covers for two tari</i>	- 2: -
<i>Also, various old clothes inside a basket for</i>	1: - -
<i>Also, an old black felt cape for three scudi</i>	3: - -
<i>Also, five pairs of trousers of different colours for one scudo</i>	1: - -
<i>Also, a pair of silk weave socks for ten tari</i>	- 10: -
<i>Also, a valance with lace and two pieces of used linen for one scudo and six tari</i>	1: 6:

⁷⁵⁵ Piccitto, vol.2, 624. *Manicotta* - 'soprammanica di tela di lino increspata, insaldata che si attacca al gomito della camicia, spesso in quella femminile.'

Transcription of Matteo Morales' Inventory

Item Una perrucca con cassetta per un scudo 1: - -

Item Un piccolo baulletto - 4: -

Scudi 199: 6: -

Item Una credenza di noce con cinque

[f.255v] cascioni grandi per sette scudi 7: - -

Item Un armario a casso per scudi due 2: - -

Item Due lenzuoli con pizzilla e rande

per scudi cinque 5: - -

Item Cinque sarviette, et una tovaglia per tarì venti 1: 8: -

Item Quattro canne meno due palmi sarviette

a tarì 7 la canna in tutto 2: 2:15:

Item Una cutra bianca per scudi due e t(ari) sei 2: 6: -

Item Una tovaglia di tavola per t(ari) otto - 8: -

Item Due lenzuola per scudi due e t(ari) sei 2: 6: -

Item Un paro di fodre di coscini per t(ari) quattro - 4: -

Item Una coltelliera con cinque coltelli per t(ari) sei - 6: -

Item Una giubbetta d'Indiana per t(ari) otto - 8: -

Item Un baullo per tarì otto - 8: -

Item Un sciugamano di calambrai con pizzilla di seta cruda

per scudi due 2: - -

Also, a boxed wig for a scudo 1: - -

*Also, a small chest*⁷⁵⁶ - 4: -

Scudi 199: 6: -

Also, a walnut chest of drawers with five

[f.255v] big drawers for seven *scudi* 7: - -

Also, a cupboard with a drawer for two scudi 2: - -

Also, two sheets with lace and edging for five scudi 5: - -

*Also, five napkins and a tablecloth for twenty tari*¹ : 8: -

*Also, four canne less two palmi of napkins [material]
at seven tari per canna* 2: 2: 15

Also, a white blanket for two scudi and six tari 2: 6: -

Also, a table cloth for eight tari - 8: -

Also, two sheets for two scudi and six tari 2: 6: -

Also, a pair of cushion linings for four tari - 4: -

Also, a knife box with five knives for six tari - 6: -

*Also, a long thin robe*⁷⁵⁷ of printed cotton for eight tari - 8: -

Also, a chest for eight tari - 8: -

*Also, a fine linen towel with lace of raw silk for
two scudi* 2: - -

⁷⁵⁶ Piccitto, vol.1, 401. *Bbaullu* - 'cassa di forma special su due corti cavalletti, a coperchio bombato, che contiene la biancheria e la dota di una ragazza da marito.'

⁷⁵⁷ Florio, 212. *Giubba* - 'long thin robe.' Piccitto, vol.2, 252. *Giubba* - 'giacca da uomo, in particolare tunica a lunghe maniche.'

Transcription of Matteo Morales' Inventory

<i>Item</i> Un altro con pizzilla di filo per t(ari) otto	- 8: -
<i>Item</i> Tre gilecchi, e due corpi di fostaino per scudi due	2: - -
<i>Item</i> Due investi di coscini vecchi per t(ari) cinque	- 5: -
<i>Item</i> Una canna di tela per t(ari) sei	- 6: -
<i>Item</i> Due para di calzette di filo menati per tari otto	- 8: -
<i>Item</i> Un piccolo lenzuolo vecchio per tari sei	- 6: -

Scudi 231: 11: 15:

[f.256r]

<i>Item</i> Due camiscie vecchie per tari dieci	- 10: -
<i>Item</i> Altri due menate per scudo uno	1: - -
<i>Item</i> Altre quattro camiscie menate per scudi cinque	5: - -
<i>Item</i> Cinque calzoni di tela menati per scudi due	2: - -
<i>Item</i> Cinque serviette vecchie per tari sei	- 6: -
<i>Item</i> Un barillo per un scudo	1:
<i>Item</i> Otto sedie, uno di quali di noce vecchio di cordicella, un altro di vacchetta vecchio, e d'altri piccoli di paglia per scudo uno e t(ari) quattro	1: 4: -

<i>Also, Another with thread lace for eight tari</i>	- 8: -
<i>Also, three jackets and two waistcoats of fostain⁷⁵⁸ for two scudi</i>	2: - -
<i>Also, two old cushion covers for five tari</i>	- 5: -
<i>Also, a canna of linen for six tari</i>	- 6: -
<i>Also, two pairs of used cotton thread socks for eight tari</i>	- 8: -
<i>Also, a small old sheet for six tari</i>	- 6: -

Scudi 231: 11: 15:

[f.256r]

<i>Also, two old shirts for ten tari</i>	- 10: -
<i>Also, another two used ones for one scudo</i>	1: - -
<i>Also, another four used shirts for five scudi</i>	5: - -
<i>Also, five pairs of used linen trousers for two scudi</i>	2: - -
<i>Also, five old napkins for six tari</i>	- 6: -
<i>Also, a barrel for one scudo</i>	1: - -
<i>Also, eight chairs, one of which is an old one made of chestnut and rope, another old one of cow hide, and other small straw ones for one scudo and four tari</i>	1: 4: -

⁷⁵⁸ J. Aquilina, *Maltese – English Dictionary* 1987 vol. 1. In Italian *fustagno* – ‘fustian cloth,’ Maltese *fustan* – ‘corduroy, fustian.’ Local fabric woven on a loom with both the warp and the weft made of brownish cotton. See also France Ciappara, *The Social and Religious History of a Maltese Parish* (Malta: MUP, 2014), 40. ‘[Maltese]Fustian manufacture was particularly important for jackets, waistcoats, trousers, shirts and napkins.’

Di piu furono stimati da **M.ro Salvo Hellul** con suo giuramento, due tavole, sette cannoli di cipresso, due pezzi di fago, un pezzo di pino, due pezzi di serratizzo per scudi quatro

4: - -

Scudi 247: 7: 15:

Eodem

Robbe vendute di commun consenso dall'heredi del detto fu Matteo Morales tra di loro con animo di far l'inventario per non esser stati d'accordo nella divisione.

{Gio Batta Morales}

Dieci sedie di noce fattura di Livorno furono liberate e vendute a Gio Batta Morales per scudi trenta due e tari tre

32: 3: -

Item un specchio dorato al med(esim)o per scudi otto e tari [...]

8: 6: -

Scudi 40: 8: -

[f.256v]

Item Dodeci pezzi di rame, cioè una caldara grande, una mezzana, una piccola, un secchio grande, un altro piccolo, una tortiera, un candeliere di stagno, un altro di bronso, un fiasco di stagno, una graticola, una tapsina, et un secchio piccolo[,] liberati al med. de Morales per scudi otto e tari nove

8: 9: -

Furthermore, **M.ro Salvo Hellul** under oath gave a valuation of two planks/tables, seven cypress logs, two pieces of beech wood, a piece of pine, two pieces

of timber joist for four *scudi*

4: - -

Scudi 247: 7: 15:

The same

Goods sold by common consent of the heirs of the late Matteo Morales with the intention of having an inventory drawn up because they were not in agreement regarding the division.

{Gio Batta Morales}

Ten walnut chairs made in Livorno were released and sold to Gio Batta Morales for thirty two *scudi* and three *tari*

32: 3: -

Also, a gilt mirror to the same for eight *scudi* and six *tari*

8: 6: -

Scudi 40: 8: -

[f.256v]

Also, twelve pieces of copper, that is a big cauldron, a medium one, a small one, a large bucket, a smaller one, a baking tray, a tin candle stick, another of bronze, a tin flask, a grill, a chamber pot, and a small bucket, released to the same Morales for eight *scudi* and nine *tari*

8: 9: -

Transcription of Matteo Morales' Inventory

<i>Item</i> Un altro pontino con due cuscini liberati al med(esi)mo Gio Batta Morales per scudi due e tarì uno	2: 1: -
<i>Item</i> Quattro figure di gesso al med(esi)mo per t(ari) nove	- 9:
<i>Item</i> Due boffette al med(esi)mo per scudi sei e tarì uno	6: 1: -
<i>Item</i> Un armario a cassa al med(esi)mo per scudi due e tarì uno	2: 1: -
<i>Item</i> Quattro tavole, et un tilaro al med(esi)mo per scudo uno e tarì uno	1: 1: -
<i>Item</i> Una cassa vecchia bianca e diversi imbrogli al med(esi)mo per scudi due	2: - -
<i>Item</i> Diverse robbe usuali al med(esi)mo per scudi sedici e tarì uno	16: 1: -
<i>Item</i> Una coltelliera con cinque cortelli al med(esi)mo per tarì otto	- 8: -
<i>Item</i> Due violini al med(esi)mo per scudi cinque et tarì uno	5: 1: -
<i>Item</i> Una spinetta , e due cassetine in una de quali vi sono i rafoli al med(esi)mo per scudi due e tarì quattro	2: 4: -

Scudi 87: 8: -

<i>Also, another quilt with two cushions released to the same Gio Batta Morales for two scudi and one tari</i>	2: 1: -
<i>Also, four plaster figures to the same for nove tari</i>	- 9: -
<i>Also, two cupboards to the same for six scudi and one tari</i>	6: 1: -
<i>Also a cupboard with a drawer to the same for two scudi and one tari⁷⁵⁹</i>	2: 1: -
<i>Also four tables/planks and a large tray⁷⁶⁰ to the same for one scudo and one tari</i>	1: 1: -
<i>Also an old white box and various objects⁷⁶¹ to the same for two scudi</i>	2: - -
<i>Also, daily-used objects to the same for sixteen scudi and one tari</i>	16: 1: -
<i>Also, a knife box with five knives to the same for eight tari</i>	- 8: -
<i>Also, two violins to the same for five scudi and one tari</i>	5: 1: -
<i>Also, a spinetta, and two little boxes in which there are hooks and crooks⁷⁶² to the same for two scudi and four tari</i>	2: 4: -

Scudi 87: 8: -

⁷⁵⁹ Florio, 63. *Boffetto* 'any cupboard.'

⁷⁶⁰ *Telari* were also used by gut-string makers. See Barbieri 'Roman Gut String Makers,' 87, 98.

⁷⁶¹ *Imbrogli* - The meaning of this word remains unclear. Gasparo Mola (f.257v) is also allotted 'diverse imbrogli di chitarraro per scudi tre.' Though this may have absolutely no connection, in nautical terms *imbrogli* is used for particular sail ropes.

⁷⁶² 'Rafoli' should read 'raffióli.' Florio, 418. *Raffióli* - 'little hooks or crooks.' Probably referring to jacks and quills.

[f.257r]

{Simone Azzupard, marito di Madalena, sorella del defonto Matteo Morales}

<i>In primis</i> Una credenza di noce con cinque cascioni liberata e venduta a Simone Azzupard per scudi otto e tari otto	8: 8: -
<i>Item</i> Un feriole di panno nero vecchio al med(esi)mo per scudi cinque e tari nove	5: 9: -
<i>Item</i> Un cortinaggio di Cadis rosso con frangia al med(esi)mo per scudi dieciotto	18: - -
<i>Item</i> Il letto di ferro con tutti i soui fornimenti pure di ferro per scudi trent'uno	31: - -
<i>Item</i> Un tapito vecchio, un altro rotto, una robba di cammera vecchia, et una giacchetta con bottoni di stagno per scudi quatro e tari quatro	4: 4: -
<i>Item</i> Un sopra cielo di bella vila al med(esi)mo per tari quatro	- 4: -
<i>Item</i> Un capezzale con sei quadretti, et una croce al med(esi)mo per scudo uno e tari due	1: 2: -
<i>Item</i> Un ginocchiatore di noce liberato al med(esi)mo Simone Azzupard per scudo uno e tari nove	1: 9: -
<i>Item</i> Un matarazzo di lana con due coscini al med(esimo) per scudi cinque e tari due	5: 2: -
<i>Item</i> Due portiere con loro ferri al med(esi)mo per scudo uno e tari tre	1: 3: -

[f.257r]

{Simone Azzupard, husband of Madalena, sister of the late Matteo Morales}

First of all, a walnut chest of drawers with five drawers released and sold to Simone Azzupard for eight *scudi* and eight *tari* 8: 8: -

Also, an old black felt cape to the same for five *scudi* and nine *tari* 5: 9: -

Also, a Cadiz red bed-hanging with fringe to the same for eighteen *scudi* 18: - -

Also, the iron bed with all its parts, also made of iron, for thirty one *scudi* 31: - -

Also, an old carpet, another torn one, an old bedroom gown, and a jacket with tin buttons for four *scudi* and four *tari* 4: 4: -

Also, a bed canopy of *bella vila* to the same for four *tari* - 4: -

Also, a headboard with four pictures, and a cross to the same for one *scudo* and two *tari* 1: 2: -

Also, a walnut *prie-dieu* released to the same Simone Azzupard for one *scudo* and nine *tari* 1: 9: -

Also, a woollen mattress with two pillows to the same for five *scudi* and two *tari* 5: 2: -

Also, two curtains with their metal rods to the same for one *scudo* and three *tari* 1: 3: -

Transcription of Matteo Morales' Inventory

Item Una scopetta, forcina, ristelliera, e bandolera
al med(esi)mo per scudo uno e tarì tre

1: 3: -

Item Un quadretto, un fiasco di stagno et una bozza
piccola, et altre bagatelli

Scudi 78: 8: -

[f.257v]

al med(esi)mo per scudo uno e tarì due

1: 2: -

Item Sette sedie tra piccoli e grandi per scudi due
e tarì tre

2: 3: -

Item Un baullo, per tarì undici

- 11: -

Item Un armario, una tavola, una sedia, una cascetta,
una cantina senza fiaschi, et una sedia piccola,
vecchi, al medesimo per scudo uno et tarì sei

1: 6: -

Scudi 84: 6: -

{Gaspare Mola Nipote del defonto Morales}

In primis Un feriole di ciamellotto venduto, e liberato
a Gaspare Mola per scudi quattordici et t(ari) sei

14: 6: -

Item Un **ritratto del fu Matteo**, e sua figlia
al med(esi)mo per scudi due e tari quatro

2: 4: -

Also, a musket, gun support, gun rack, and bandolier
to the same for one *scudo* and three *tari* 1: 3: -

Also, a small picture, a tin/pewter flask, a small cup⁷⁶³
and other trifles

Scudi 78: 8: -

[f.257v]

to the same for one *scudo* and two *tari* 1: 2: -

Also, Six chairs, small and big, for two *scudi*
and three *tari* 2: 3: -

Also, a chest, for eleven *tari* - 11: -

Also, a cupboard, a table, a chair, a chest,
a canteen without flasks, and an old small
chair to the same for one *scudo* and six *tari* 1: 6: -

Scudi 84: 6: -

{Gaspare Mola, nephew of the late Morales}

First of all, a cape of goatswool and silk⁷⁶⁴ sold and
released to Gaspare Mola for fourteen *scudi* and six *tari* 14: 6: -

Also, a **portrait of the late Matteo**, and his daughter
to the same for two *scudi* and four *tari* 2: 4: -

⁷⁶³ Florio, 66. *Bozza* - 'a cup, or a round viole glass.'

⁷⁶⁴ Here *ciamellotto*. *Camillotto* in De Piro and Cremona, *Costume in Malta*, 169.

Transcription of Matteo Morales' Inventory

Item Un specchio piccolo con cornice
lavorata di stagno al med(esi)mo per
scudi due

2: - -

Item Una coltre di seta verde e rossa al
med(esi)mo per scudi dieci e tarì uno

10: 1: -

Item Un quadro alla greca con cornice dorata al
medesimo per scudi sei

6: - -

Item Due casette con diverse imbrogli di chitarraro
liberati al med(esi)mo Gaspare per scudi tre

3: - -

Item Due tavole, sette cannoli di cipresso
due pezze di fago, un cannolo di pino e
due pezzi di serratizzo al med.o per
scudi quatro in conformità della stima
de communi consenso

4: -

Item Diversi ferramenti, legnami
e stigli di

Scudi 41: 11: -

[f.258r]

bottega per scudi otto al med(esi)mo

8: - -

Item Una **chitarra** al med(esi)mo per scudi
sette e tarì uno

7: 1: -

Scudi 57: - -

<i>Also</i> , a small mirror with an elaborate tin/pewter frame to the same for two <i>scudi</i>	2: - -
<i>Also</i> , a green and red silk blanket for ten <i>scudi</i> and one <i>tari</i>	10: 1: -
<i>Also</i> , a Greek-style painting with gilt frame to the same for six <i>scudi</i>	6: - -
<i>Also</i> , two chests with various <i>chitarraro</i> objects ⁷⁶⁵ released to the same Gaspare for three <i>scudi</i>	3: - -
<i>Also</i> , two tables/planks, six cypress logs, two pieces of beech wood, a pine log and two pieces of timber joist to the same for four <i>scudi</i> according to the estimate agreed upon	4: - -
<i>Also</i> , various woodwork iron tools, wood and workshop tools	
	<hr/>
	Scudi 41: 11: -
[f.258r]	
for eight <i>scudi</i> to the same	8: - -
<i>Also</i> , a guitar to the same for seven <i>scudi</i> and one <i>tari</i>	7: 1: -
	<hr/>
	Scudi 57: - -

⁷⁶⁵ *Imbrogli* – Gio Batta Morales (f.256v) also receives 'diversi imbrogli per scudi due.'

{Raphael Mulet marito di Giacchina sorella del defonto Morales}

In primis Due mezzi paracani, et una
cutra indiana vecchi venduti e liberati
a Raphael Mulet per scudi tre e tarì quatro 3: 4: -

Item Un tavolino vecchio, una perrucca, una testa
di legno per perruche al medesimo per scudi due 2: - -

Item Un paro di calzette di capicciola nera al med(esi)mo
per scudo uno e tarì otto 1: 8: -

Item Un letto di vento al med(esi)mo per
scudi due 2: - -

Scudi 9: - -

[f.258r]

{Per Gio Antonio Cascun nipote del defonto}

In primis Un bagullo per conservare la robba toccatagli
in sua portione per tari otto - 8: -

Robba venduta a Forestieri.

In primis Una canna d'India[[na]] con pomo
piccolo d'argento a **Carlo Mederico Ghiun** per
scudo uno e tari otto 1: 8: -

Item Una moschettiera a **Demetrio Frangulli**
per scudi cinque e tarì uno 5: 1: -

{Raphael Mulet husband of Gioacchina, sister of the late Morales}

<i>First of all</i> , two half blankets, and printed cotton blanket, all old and released to Raphael Mulet for three <i>scudi</i> and four <i>tari</i>	3: 4: -
<i>Also</i> , A small old table, a wig, a wooden head for wigs to the same for two <i>scudi</i>	2: - -
<i>Also</i> , a pair of socks of black silk weave to the same for one <i>scudo</i> and eight <i>tari</i>	1: 8: -
<i>Also</i> , a draught-proof bed for the same for two <i>scudi</i>	2: - -
	<hr/>
	Scudi 9: - -

[f.258r]**{For Gio Antonio Cascun, nephew of the deceased}**

<i>First of all</i> , a chest to hold the goods that fell to him in his portion, for eight <i>tari</i>	- 8: -
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Goods sold to outsiders

<i>First of all</i> , a bamboo stick with a small silver handle to Carlo Mederico Ghiun for one <i>scudo</i> and eight <i>tari</i>	1: 8: -
<i>Also</i> , a mosquito net to Dimitri Frangulli for five <i>scudi</i> and one <i>tari</i> ⁷⁶⁶	5: 1: -

⁷⁶⁶ Demetrio Frangulli was one of the experts elected to compile Morales' inventory (f.253v).

Item Un matarazzo con lana, una cuscinetta

Scudi 6: 9: -

[f.258v] con penne, e due cuscini a **Lorenzo**

Sammut per scudi sei, e tari cinque

6: 5: -

Item Una tavola con **corde di chitarra**,

et alcuni ferramenti di chitarraro a

Michele Grech per scudi tre

3: - -

Scudi 16: 2:

{In tutto la robba venduta Scudi 255}

[Divisione del rimanente]

In oltre, si fece divisione del rimanente con animo in | cinque portioni, cioè fra Gio Batta Morales in capita | mro Simone Azzupard come di Madalena sua consorte | in capita, Raphaele Mulet proc(urator)e di Gioacchina sua moglie | in capita, Gaspare Mola et Attard, proprio et a nome | di Francesca, Elisabetta, e di Matteo ab(se)nte da questo Domi-|-nio per una portione, e di Gio. Antonio Cascon altro | nipote absente da questo Dominio in un altra portio-|-ne in Capita, et al detto de Cascon tocono l'infr(ascritt)e rob-|-be

{Robba che toccò | a Gio. Antonio Cas-|-con}

- Cioè sei quadri di paesaggi piccoli, un gilecco | di fostaino menato senza maniche, una camiscia me|nata, un calzone di tela menato, un lenzuolo menato | due sarviète menate, una cutra di tela bianca | fioccata menata, una canna di pizzilla di filo | grosso menata, due grovate vecchie, un collaro vec-|-chio, **un basso di Viola, una Chitarra vecchia, due mezze | chitarre vecchie, un bastardino, un violino, et una | sordina, due sedie di paglia vecchi;**

Also, a woolen mattress, a pillow

Scudi 6: 9: -

[f.258v] stuffed with feathers, and two cushions
to **Lorenzo Sammut**

6: 5: -

Also, a table with **guitar strings**, and some
Chitarraro tools to Michele Grech for
three *scudi*

3: - -

Scudi 16: 2: -

{Total of goods sold – Scudi 255}

[Division of the remaining goods]

Furthermore, the remaining goods were divided into five portions, that is between Gio Batta Morales on his own behalf, one portion, Master Simone Azzupard on behalf of his wife Madalena, one portion, Raphael Mulet on behalf of Giaocchina his wife, one portion, Gaspare Mola and Attard, for himself and in the name of Francesca, Elisabetta and Matteo who is absent from this Realm, one portion, and Gio Antonio Cascon, another nephew who is away from this Realm, another portion, and the following goods fall to the said Cascon.

{Goods that have fallen to Gio Antonio Cascon}

That is, six landscape paintings, a used sleeveless fostain jacket, a used shirt, a pair of used linen trousers, a used sheet, two used towels/napkins, a white elaborate used linen blanket, a *canna* of used thick thread lace, two old cravats, an old collar, a **bass viol, an old guitar, two half-size guitars, a *bastardino*, a violin, and a *sordina*, two old straw chairs.**

{Robbe date d'elemosina ad Anna Maria de Morales dalli heredi}

Furono dati d'elemosina per l'anima del fu Mattheo Morales dalli detti heredi ad Anna Maria de Morales **schiaiva** | del fu Mattheo Morales; Un matarazzo di lana, una coper-|ta vecchia, due sedie di paglia vecchi, una tavola di | legno tonda vecchia et alcuni quadretti di carta.

Testes magister Jo(hann)es Batt(ist)a Morello, et Carolus Ghiun.

[f.259r]

Il di 22 Gennaio 1698: fu data **una mezza chitarra** | a **Gabriele de la Sala** quale disse esser sua, si come con suo giuramento ha firmato, e diede un tarì per | complemento della concia stante che disse d'haver dato |⁵ altri tarì tre al fù Mattheo Morales, il sudetto tarì fu pagato per correggiare la detta robba;

Testii Carlo Ghiun e Gio Francesco Camenzuli.

Jesus

Mandamus supradictas raubas perventas in parte, et |¹⁰ portione Jo. Antonii Cascon ab(se)ntis ab hoc Dominio alte-|-rius ex heredibus q(uond)dam Matthei Morales ex divisione bon-|-orum mobilium hereditariorum eusdem nè deteriore-|-tur, vendi, et subhastari in publico incantu, et eorum pretium poni in arca Curiae, usque ad aliud n(ostru)m |¹⁵ mandatum &c

Franciscus Vivieri Judex.

Furono recuperati dal potere di Gio: Batta Morales | una doppia di Spagna di quatro, e venti nove Zicchini | Venetiani portati da Cap(itano) Mattheo Muscat in Corte d'Ordine | del Sig. Giudice, e ciò oltre un Zecchino Veneto che |²⁰ d'ordine del Sig.re Giudice d.(ett)o Cap. Mattheo disse haver | dato in casa del fù Mattheo Morales per l'alimenti della | famiglia, come appare di ciò nel **libro della Cassa di 29: Xmbre 1697.**

{Goods given charitably to Anna Maria de Morales by the heirs}

For the repose of the soul of Mattia Morales, the following were given by the heirs in charity to Anna Maria de Morales, slave of Matteo Morales: a woollen mattress, an old blanket, two old straw chairs, an old round wooden table and some small paintings on paper.

Witnessed by Gio[vanni] Bat[tis]ta Morello and Carlo Ghiun

[f.259r]

On the 22nd day of January 1698: a half-sized guitar was given to **Gabriele de la Sala** who says it belongs to him, as he has signed under oath, and he gave one *tari* for the rest of the repair, saying that he had already paid another three *tari* to the late Matteo Morales for repair of the said goods.

Witnessed by Carlo Ghiun and Gio Francesco Camenzuli.

Jesus

We order that the aforementioned goods which arrived in part and as share of Antonio Cascon, who is absent from this realm, from the heirs of the late Matteo Morales from the division of the same mobile hereditary goods, be placed in this court's safe custody until further notice lest they deteriorate or are sold or are auctioned &c.

Franciscus Vivieri Judge

The following were recuperated from the possession of Gio Batta Morales: a *doppia di Spagna di Quattro* and twenty nine Venetian *zecchini* brought in to Court by Captain Matteo Muscat by Order of the Honourable Judge, and another Venetian *zecchino* by order of the Honourable Judge which the said Captain Matteo says he had given to the house of Matteo Morales for the family food, as can be seen in the **accounts book of the 29th December 1697.**

Il di 9 Gennaro 1698: furono pagati all'heredi del fu [f.259v] Mattheo Morales scudi cento uno et tari sei in Zecchini veneti | num.ro 29 per pagar li funerali, et altro come appare | per Ricevuta in Atti della Corte.

Il di 10 Gennaro 1698: furono pagati scudi cento, et uno, alla |⁵ Sig. Anna Maria Farrugia, et Morales che fù moglie del fù | Mattheo Morales come si vede in atti della Corte. |

Il di 22 Gennaro 1698: di consenso di Gio:Batta Morales, Mro | Simone Azzupard, proc(urato)re di Madalena sua moglie, Ra-|-faele Mulet, proc(urato)re di Gioacchina sua moglie, ed Gaspa-|¹⁰-re Mola proprio, et à nome di Francesca Elisabetta | e Mattheo heredi con animo di fare l'inventario del fù | Mattheo Morales, fù consignata al detto Gio Batta Mora-|-les una doppia di Spagna di quatro per restituirla à | Gio[[.....]] altre volte della famiglia di Monsign.r |¹⁵ Inquisitore Ruffo al p(resen)te commensale del Illus(trissi)mo Sig(no)re Bal-|-lio Carnera, stante che dissero detta doppia esser stata | impegnata dal detto Gio[[.....]] appresso il fù detto Mat-|-teo per tre Zecchini venetiani, quali furono portati dal | detto Gio: Batta Morales, quale disse esser denari dal d(ett)o |²⁰ Gio[.....] per il che detti tre Zecchini veneti furono riposti in Cassa in luogo di detta Doppia. |

Testimonii Rev(eren)do Sacerdote **Don Alessio Zahra, e Pietro | Montemagni.** |

Notarius B. Demodica mag(ister) Notarius |²⁵

Notarius Stephanus Fogliamorta magister Notarius |

//Vide tres solutiones consequivas in Actis Cur: sub die 29: Ja-|-nuarii 1698. |

//Vide in Actis Curie sub die 17 Februarii duas alias solutio-|-nes consequivas.

On the 9th day of January 1698: A hundred and one *scudi* 6 *tari* in Venetian *zecchini*, numbering 29, were paid to the heirs of the late [f.259v] Matteo Morales to pay for the funerals and other payments as appear in the receipts in the Court Acts.

On the 10th day of January 1698: A hundred and one *scudi* were paid to Anna Maria Farrugia and Morales, who was wife of the late Matteo Morales as can be seen in the Court Acts.

On the 22nd day of January 1698: By consent of Gio Batta Morales, Master Simone Azzupard, procurator of his wife Madalena, Raphael Mulet, procurator of his wife Gioacchina, and Gaspare Mola for himself and in the name of Francesca, Elisabetta and Matteo, heirs, with the intent of drawing up an inventory of the late Matteo Morales's goods, Gio Batta Morales was given a *doppia di Spagna di quattro* to return to Gio[.....] formerly of the family of the Master Inquisitor Ruffo, presently of the companion[?] of the Illustrious Signor Bali Carnera, although they say that the said *doppia* was already promised to the said Gio[.....] by the said Matteo for three Venetian *zecchini*, which were put into the cash box instead of the said *doppia*.

Witnessed by Reverend priest **Don Alessio Zahra**, and **Pietro Montemagni**.

Notary B. Demodica, Notary

Notary Stephano Fogliamorta, Master Notary

// See the consecutive rulings in the Court Documents dated 29th day of January 1698.⁷⁶⁷

// See two consecutive rulings in the Court Documents dated 17th day of February.

⁷⁶⁷ The Notary has inserted emphatic double strokes before some of the mentioned documents. These have been replicated.

[f.260r]

Il di 23 Gennaro 1698

Io sotto scritto console dell'orefici ho stimato, e stimo l'|-infr(scri)tti ori, et argenti del fù
Matteo Morales come se|gue cioè |⁵

Una sotto coppa d'argento, una Salera con suo fiore,
un | fonte, due piance, una tabacchera; quattro cocchiare |
e quattro forchette, due fibbie, un nett'orecchie, una | cava
peli, una medaglia, della Madonna del Carmine, | due
bottoni di calzone, due para di bottoni lisci, et |¹⁰ una
medaglia piccola, tutti d'argento di peso libre | quattro,
oncie sei, e tre quarti d'oncia a tari dieci otto | l'oncia, delli
quali si levano li tre quarti stante che | alcuni pezzi di detto
argento non sono di bulla | importano scudi ottant'uno

81: - -

Due gotti o siano tazze d'argento di
cattivissima qualità di peso oncie
quat-|-ro, et una quarta a tarì sei l'oncia
im-|-portano scudi due e tarì uno e
g(rani) dieci |

2: 1: 10

[f.260r]

On the 23rd day of January 1698

I the undersigned Consul of the Goldsmiths and Jewellers have estimated and estimate the following gold and silver of the late Matteo Morales as follows:

A silver platter/bowl on a base, a salt cellar with its flower, a font, two plaques, a snuff/tobacco box, four spoons, and four forks, two buckles, an ear cleaner, a hair picker/tweezers, a **medal of the Madonna of Carmel**, two trouser buttons, two pairs of flat buttons, and a small medal, all of silver having a weight of four pounds and six ounces, and three quarters of an ounce at eighteen *tari* per ounce, from which the three quarter ounce can be taken away because some of the pieces of silver are not stamped, in all eighty one *scudi*.

81: - -

Two silver pots⁷⁶⁸ or drinking glasses of very poor quality of four ounces in weight at six *tari* per ounce, valued at two *scudi* and one *tari* and ten *grani*

2: 1: 10

⁷⁶⁸ Florio, 216. *Gotto* - 'any pot or drinking glass.'

Transcription of Matteo Morales' Inventory

Item Due circhetti d'argento per g(rani) venti quatro - 1: 4

Item Una spada di peso quatro oncie in circa a tarì 18
l'oncia importa scudi sei 6: - -

Item Due para di bottoni d'argento con pietre bianche
per tarì quatro - 4: -

Item una S: Elena di rame con cornice d'argento
per tarì quatro - 4: -

Item un anello d'oro con sei torchine et un giacinto
in mezzo per scudi quatro, e t(ari) otto 4: 8: -

Scudi 94: 6: 14

[f.260v]

Item un circhetto d'oro per scudi due e tarì sei 2: 6: -

Item una piccola virghetta d'oro per tarì quatro - 4: -

Scudi 97: 4: 4:

Antonio Famuncelli

Consolo

Also, two silver rings for twenty-four grani - 1: 4

*Also, a sword weighing around four ounces at 18 per ounce,
adds up to 6 scudi* 6: - -

*Also, two pairs of silver buttons with white
stones for four tari* - 4: -

*Also, a copper S. Elena [medal] with a silver frame
for four tari* - 4: -

*Also, a gold ring with six turquoise stones and a
Jacinth in the centre for four scudi and eight tari* 4: 8: -

Scudi 94: 6: 14

[f.260v]

Also, a gold ring for two scudi and six tari 2: 6: -

Also, a small gold rod? for four tari - 4: -

Scudi 97: 4: 4:

Antonio Famuncelli

Consul

Il di 23 Gennaro 1698

Parimente hò stimato e stimo l'inf(rascritt)e **gioie delli nepoti del fù Matteo Morales** nel modo seguente.

In primis un paro d'ambre per scudo uno, e sei tarì
in circa 1: 6: -

Item due bracciali con bottoni [[d'argento]] d'oro, et una
S. Elena in essi per scudi quatro in circa 4: - -

Item una gulera con bottoni d'oro, et un gioiello
d'oro con alcune perle, e pietra lagrima per scudi
due in circa 2: - -

Item una croce d'argento rotta per scudo uno 1: - -

Item un'altra croce rotta per tarì dieci - 10: -

Item due pezze di filo con perle sottili per scudo uno
e tarì sei in circa 1: 6: -

Item due piccoli pendenti, et una gargantiglia
d'oro lucente per scudi dieci nove e tarì quatro 19: 4: -

Item per miglioranza di perle de detti pendenti,
e gurgantiglia scudo uno 1: - -

Item due brazzolette d'oro per scudi dieci otto,
e tarì sei 18: 6: -

Scudi 49: 8: -

Antonio Famuncelli Consule

On the 23rd day of January 1698

Similarly, I have valued the said **jewellery of the nephews** of Matteo Morales in the following way:

<i>First of all, a pair of amber stones for one scudo and about six tari</i>	1: 6: -
<i>Also, two bracelets with buttons of [[silver]] gold, and a St Elena medal in them for about four scudi</i>	4: - -
<i>Also, a necklace with gold buttons, and a gold jewel with some pearls, and a teardrop stone for about two scudi</i>	2: - -
<i>Also, a broken silver cross for one scudo</i>	1: - -
<i>Also, another broken cross for ten tari</i>	- 10: -
<i>Also, two strings of small pearls for one scudo and about six tari</i>	1: 6: -
<i>Also two small pendants and a bright gold necklace for nineteen scudi and four tari</i>	19: 4: -
<i>Also, for the additional value of the pearls of the said pendants and necklace, one scudo</i>	1: - -
<i>Also, two gold bracelets for eighteen scudi and six tari</i>	18: 6 -
	<hr/>
	Scudi 49: 8:

Antonio Famuncelli Consul

Transcription of Mattheo Morales' Inventory

[f.261r]

//Vide vend(itio)nem per Acta Curiae sub die xxviii Januarii 1698

//Vide depositum scutorum centum, et trium depositat(orum) | per Jo(hann)em Bapt(ist)am Morales sub die 28 Januarii 1698: per acta Curiae.

Vide consignationem localium auri, et argenti in actis Curiae sub die xxviii Januarii 1698

Meta d'un Schiavo nom(ina)to Ali

CREDITI cavati dal libro de Conti, o sia memoria del fù Mattheo Morales

In primis Scudi cento e cinquanta, che partecipa
sopra l'armamento del Sig. Cavaliere Capitan Lobandiera 150: - -

Item Scudi cinquanta dovuti da Fabritio Musci, e
Gioanne Cassar li undici Xmbre 1690 per atti
publici à cambii marittimi 50: - -

Item Scudi cinquanta da Fabritio Musci à cambii
per li atti fù N(ota)ro Silvestre Hagius li 7 Febraro 1691 50: - -

Item Scudi dieci, e t(ari) novi pagati per la spesa del
Vassallo sudetto capitaneggiato da detto Capitan Lobandiera 10: 9: -

Item Scudi cinquanta dovuti da P(at)ron Tomaso Magro, quale
l'ha girato sopra la fragata di P(at)ron Cuscinello del borgo
à cambii 50: - -

[f.261r]

// See Court Acts dated 28 January 1698

// See deposit of 103 *scudi* deposited by Giovanni Battista Morales dated 28 January 1698: by Court Documents.

See consignment of gold and silver in Court Documents dated 28 January 1698

Half of a slave named Ali

CREDIT taken from the book of Accounts, or memorandum of the late Matteo Morales

First of all, a hundred and fifty *scudi*, for participating in the arming of Sig. Knight Captain Lobandiera 150: - -

Also, fifty *scudi* owed by Fabritio Musci, and Giovanni Cassar on 11 December 1690 for Public Acts and maritime Bills of Exchange 50: - -

Also, fifty *scudi* owed by Fabritio Musci for Bills of Exchange in the Acts of the Notary Silvestre Hagus of 7 February 1691 50: - -

Also, ten *scudi* and nine *tari* paid for the expense of the vessel captured by the said Captain Lobandiera 10: 9: -

Also, fifty *scudi* owed by Patron Tomaso Magro, who sailed around on the frigate of Patron Cuscinello of Birgu, for Bills of Exchange 50: - -

Transcription of Mattheo Morales' Inventory

Item Scudi cinquanta dovuti da Mario Fedele per

l'atti del Not.o Paulo Fenech à cambii

50: - -

Scudi 360: 9: -

{Appare per li atti del Gio. Dom(enic)o Debertis o dal Not(aio) **Paulo Fenech** sotto li 31 Gennaro
1696: che Mario Fedele ha pagato scudi trenta setti et tari sei con una citatione}

[f.261v] per 19: 10: -}

Item Scudi cinquanta dovuti da Gio Pietro Barbara e

Gioseppe Cammilleri insolidum per li atti del No(tar)o

Gioseppe Callus li 19 Agosto 1695: à Cambii

50: - -

Item Scudi cinquanta dovuti da Giacomo Bisotto, e

Raphael Giordano per li atti del Not Michele Gio.e

Bonavita li 2 Febraro 1696 à cambii

50: - -

{Appare che Giacomo bisotto habbi pagato qualche denaro a conto del suo debito}

Item Scudi cento dovuti da P(at)ron Eugenio Scembri per

li atti del Not.o Paulo Fenech li 7 Febraro 1696 à cambii

100: - -

Item Scudi cinquanta dovuti dal detto P(at)ron Eugenio

Scembri per li atti del Not.o Gio Andrea Madiona, o pure

del Not.o: del Brazzo li 2 Maggio 1696: à cambii

50: - -

Also, fifty scudi owed by Mario Fedele in the Acts of

Notary Paolo Fenech, for Bills of Exchange 50: - -

Scudi 360: 9 -

{It appears through the Acts of Gio. Dom. Debertis or in the Acts of **Paolo Fenech** on the date 31 January 1696: that Mario Fedele has paid thirty-seven scudi and six tarì on citation

[f.261v] for 19: 10: -}

Also, fifty scudi owed by Gio Pietro Barbara and Giuseppe

Cammilleri *insolidum*⁷⁶⁹ by the Acts of Notary Giuseppe

Callus dated 19 August 1695 for Bills of Exchange 50: - -

Also, fifty scudi owed by Giacomo Bisotto and Raphael

Giordano by the Acts of Notary Michele Gioe Bonavita

dated 2 February 1696 for Bills of Exchange 50: - -

{It seems that Giacomo Bisotto had paid on account some of the money owed}

Also, a hundred scudi owed by Patron Eugenio Scembri by the Acts

of Notary Paolo Fenech of 7 February 1696 for Bills of Exchange 100: - -

Also, fifty scudi owed by the afore-said Eugenio Scembri

by the Acts of Notary Gio Andrea Madiona or also of the

Notary del Brazzo of 2 May 1696 for Bills of Exchange 50: - -

⁷⁶⁹ *Insolidum* – Each responsible for the whole.

Transcription of Matteo Morales' Inventory

Item Scudi cinquanta dovuti da P(at)ron Tomaso Magri
per li atti del Not.o del Brazzo il primo Giugno 1696: à cambii 50: - -

Item Scudi cinquanta dovuti dal Signor Gio Batta Olivier
per li atti del Not. Debertis li 10 Agosto 1696: à cambii 50: - -

Item Scudi cento sessanta due, e tari sei, cio è scudi
cento, e cinquanta prezzo d'un mezzo quarto di
fragata comprata da P(at)ron Gratio Cuscinello,
e suo figlio, e scudi dodeci e tari sei per la spesa
per tutti i viaggi che fara per li atti del Not.ro
Tomaso Vella li 25 Giugno 1696 162: 6: -

Più l'eredità del detto fù Matteo Morales deve havere la
rata delli viaggi fatti dalli 23: 8bre 1697: in qua.

Scudi 873: 3: -

[f.262r]

Item Scudi cento dal Sign. Abbate Don Francesco Revest per
li atti del Not: Paulo Fenech primo Luglio 1697: à cambii 100: - -

Item Scudi cinquanta dovuti dal Sig. Abbate Revest per
poliza di sua propria mano à cambii 50: - -

Item Scudi cento dovuti da P(at)ron Gioseppe Grungo, e suo
fratello insolidum à cambii delli quali, e assicuratore il
Sig.e Francesco Gallo. per li atti del Notaro Paulo Fenech
li 17: Settembre 1697 100: - -

Also, fifty *scudi* owed by Patron Tomaso Magri by the Acts
of Notary del Brazzo of 1 June 1696 for Bills of Exchange 50: - -

Also, fifty *scudi* owed by Signor Gio Batta Olivier by the Acts
of Notary Debertis of 10 August 1696, for Bills of Exchange 50: - -

Also, a hundred and sixty two *scudi* and six *tari*, that is a
hundred and fifty *scudi* being the price of half a quarter of a
frigate bought from Patron Gratio Cuscinello and his son, and
twelve *scudi* and six *tari* for the expense of all the voyages he
will undertake by the Acts of Notary Tomaso Vella of 25 June 1696 162: 6: -

Furthermore, the heirs of the late Matteo Morales are owed the
rate of the voyages made from 23 October 1697 to this day

Scudi 873: 3: -

[f.262r]

Also, a hundred *scudi* owed by Sign Abbate Francesco Revest by
the Acts of Not. Paolo Fenech of 1 July 1697: for Bills of Exchange 100: - -

Also, fifty *scudi* owed by Sig. Abbate Revest for papers in his own
hand for Bills of Exchange 50: - -

Also, a hundred *scudi* owed by Patron Giuseppe Grungo and his
brother *insolidum* for exchange and for which Sig. Francesco
Gallo stands as assurer by the Acts of Notary Paulo Fenech of
17 September 1697 100: - -

Transcription of Matteo Morales' Inventory

Item Scudi cinquanta dovuti da P(at)ron Grimuldo Borg per
li atti del Not.o Paulo Fenech li 21 9mbre 1697: à cambii 50: - -

Item Scudi cinquanta dovuti da P(at)ron Gioanne Giansole per
li atti del Nor.o Paulo Fenech li 29 Xmbre 1697: à cambii 50: - -

Item Scudi cinquanta dovuti da P(at)ron Gioanne e Claudio
Fenech insolidum per li atti del Not. Del Brazzo di
10 9mbre 1697: à cambii 50: - -

Scudi 1273: 3: -

DEBITI

In primis Scudi cento et uno dovuti ad Anna Maria
vedova del d(etto) fù Matteo Morales 101: - -

[f.262v]

Item Scudi due a Mro Maruzzo Casha chirurgo in
servitio della sua infermità 2: - -

Item Scudo uno e tarì sette, e grani dieci dovuti a
Nicolò Mallia aromatario per diversi medicamenti
presi del d(ett)o fù Matteo Morales 1: 7: 10

Item Scudi novi, e g(rani) dieci al Sigr. Leonardo Murmurì
Aromatario per diversi medicamenti dalla di lui bottega
in servitio del d(ett)o fù Matteo 9: - 10:

Also, fifty scudi owed by Patron Grimuldo Borg by the Acts of Notary Paolo Fenech of 21 November 1697: for Bills of Exchange 50: - -

Also, fifty scudi owed by Patron Giovanni Giansole by the Acts of Notary Paolo Fenech of 29 December 1697: for Bills of Exchange 50: - -

Also, fifty scudi owed by Patroni Giovanni e Claudio Fenech in solidum by the Acts of Notary Del Brazzo of 10 November 1697: for Bills of Exchange 50: - -

Scudi 1273: 3: -

DEBITS

First of all, a hundred and one scudi owed to Anna Maria, widow of the said late Matteo Morales 101: - -

[f.262v]

Also, two scudi owed to Master Maruzzo Casha, surgeon, for services in his infirmity 2: - -

Also, one scudo, seven tari and ten grani owed to Nicolò Mallia, herbalist, for various medicaments taken by the said late Matteo Morales 1:7:10:

Also, nine scudi and ten grani owed to Sign. Leonardo Murmuri, herbalist, for various medicaments from his shop for the said late Matteo 9: - 10:

Transcription of Mattheo Morales' Inventory

Item Scudi tre tarì undici, e g(rani) cinque dovuti a

Gio Pietro Corasier complimento di robba comprata

dal detto fù Mattheo

3: 11: 5

Item Cinquanta dovuti ad Anna Maria de Morales sciava del

d(ett)o fù Mattheo, essendo stata tale l'intentione del detto

fù Mattheo

50: - -

{Vide solutionem per acta Cur: sub die 29 Januarii 1698}

Item Scudi due dovuti al Sig.e D(ottor) Fisico fra Gioseppe

Zammit per consulta e cura fatta nell' ultima infermità

del fù Mattheo Morales

2: - -

Scudi 167: 7: 5:

[f.263r]

Actum, lectum, perfectum, et publicatum fuit, et est su-|-prad(ictu)m invent(ariu)m per me
Not(ariu)m **Stephanum | Fogliamorta** Magnae Cur(iae) Cast(ellaniae) Melitens(is) Magistrum
Not(ariu)m, | die, hora, et loco premissis cora(m) Iudice, et testibus in-|-frascriptis |⁵

Fr(ater) Don Ignatius de Lores Castell(an)o |

[f.263v]

Ego **Franciscus Vivieri** J(uris) V(triusque) D(ocor) ac Magnae Cur(iae) Cast(ellaniae) in civi-|-libus
Iudex ordinarius confectioni p(rese)ntis inventarii, in-|-terfui ac meam seri dictae Magnae Cur(iae)
auctoritatem prestiti | ac presso.

Ego **Laurentius Zarbi** ad hibitus loco creditorum, citatorum, |⁵ et non comparentium confectioni
p(rese)ntis inventarii in-|-terfu et testor; |

Also, three *scudi* eleven *tari*, five *grani* owed to

Gio Pietro Corasier, remaining dues of goods bought

by the late Mattheo

3: 11: 5:

Also, fifty [*scudi*] owed to Anna Maria de Morales, slave

of the said late Mattheo, this having been the intention

of the said late Matteo

50: - -

{See *solutionem* in the Court Document dated 29 January 1698}

Also, two *scudi* owed to Sig. Dottor Physician Fra Giuseppe Zammit

for a consultation and for care given in the last infirmity of the late

Mattheo Morales

2: - -

Scudi 167: 7: 5:

[f.263r]

The inventory has been, and is, done, read, executed and published by myself, Notary **Stefano Fogliamorta**, Chief Notary in the Grand Court of the Maltese *Castellania*, on the day, hour and in the place afore stated in the presence of the Lord Judge and of the witnesses written hereunder:

Brother Don Ignatio de Lores, Castellan,

[f.263v]

I, **Francesco Vivieri**, Doctor of both Laws in the Grand Court of the *Castellania*, Judge in the ordinary Civil Court, was present for the completion of the present inventory, and I have interposed the authority of the Grand Court.

I, **Lorenzo Zarb** on behalf of the creditors, both of those summoned, and of those not appearing, was present for the completion of the present inventory, and as witness;

Transcription of Matteo Morales' Inventory

Ego **Petrus Pazzuti** ad hibitus loco creditorum | citatorum et non comparentium confectioni
pre(se)ntis inventarii | interfui et testor; |¹⁰

Ego **Martinus Hagijs** conf(ectio)ni p(rese)ntis inventarii interfui, et testor; |

Ego **Marius Russo** confectioni p(rese)ntis inventarii interfui, | et testor; |

Ego **Joseph Cammilleri** confectioni p(rese)ntis inventarii in- |¹⁵-terfui et testor. |

I, **Pietro Pazzuti**, on behalf of the creditors, both of those summoned, and of those not appearing, was present for the completion of the present inventory, and as witness;

I, **Martino Hagus**, was present for the completion of the present inventory, and as witness;

I, **Mario Russo**, was present for the completion of the present inventory, and as witness;

I, **Giuseppe Cammilleri**, was present for the completion of the present inventory, and as witness.

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