

JOSEPH A. GRIMA

## THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN'S GALLERY SQUADRON AT SEA

*In a scrupulously factual description of various aspects of life at sea on an Order's galley in the seventeenth century Mediterranean, JOSEPH F. GRIMA\* details the ship's movements in and out of harbour as well as in action, procedures relating to protocol and discipline, and also conditions of the crew on board, such as food provisions and medical services.*

The galley-squadron of the Order of St John was "the outward and visible sign of the Order's obligation to engage in constant warfare against the Infidel".<sup>1</sup> Year after year, the squadron left the shelter of the Maltese harbours to cruise and search for Turkish and Barbary shipping, and particularly for vessels belonging to the Barbary corsairs. In addition to this, the squadron also used to form part of combined Christian maritime forces sent against the Muslims.<sup>2</sup> The galley-squadron was also extensively used to convoy to Malta the island's vital supplies of grain and provisions together with other occasional mundane activities of providing escorts to princes and ambassadors.<sup>3</sup> Yet in all these naval activities, the hands of the Order's naval commanders were, so to say, tied down by the precise instructions and orders handed to them. Their routes and spheres of activity, together with the line of conduct to be undertaken were all exactly given and, where these were lacking or to make up for any inadvertent lacunae, instructions were usually ended by recommending to the officer concerned to

\* JOSEPH F. GRIMA, B.A.(Hons), M.A., a history teacher since 1961 is specially interested in the history of printing in Malta up to 1839, the organisation of the Order of St John's galley-squadron in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and in naval warfare in the seventeenth century Mediterranean.

behave according to the statutes and ordinations governing the squadron. <sup>4</sup> Naval ordinations and statutes governed everything that happened at sea including navigation, saluting, spoils of war, discipline and even the food which was to be cooked and distributed to all on board.

### Departure from Harbour

The departure of the galleys from Maltese harbours was to be carried out by day except in cases of necessity. From the **Capitana** a single cannon shot was to be fired signifying departure at midday, and within half-an-hour all shipmen and Knights on caravan duty with all their arms were to be on board. The roll was then called and skiffs and boats were taken aboard to facilitate the departure. In the meantime arms were prepared, fighting posts and sleeping quarters were allotted, and the necessary munitions were distributed. <sup>5</sup> When the skiffs and boats were taken aboard, no other boats were allowed to approach the galleys. <sup>6</sup> From the time the signal was given to the actual weighing of anchor, two hours elapsed. Halfway in between, that is, one hour after the cannon signal shot had been fired, the **Capitana** hoisted the fore yard, and then trumpets sounded, directing the squadron to weigh anchor immediately in strict order of seniority. No galley was to do anything before these signals. The **Capitana** then hoisted a yellow flag over the helm, thus ordering the galleys into line ahead, astern of the flag-ship in order of seniority. If departure took place at night, the signal to weigh anchor was given by trumpets and a lantern hung from the helm ordered the galleys to move ahead in line. <sup>7</sup> After clearing the harbour under oars, the galleys took up their cruising stations with the **Capitana** leading in the centre of a crescent formation, the **Padrona** on its right or starboard and the next senior galley to the left or port side. The other galleys took up similar positions according to the seniority of their captains, all taking care not to steal each other's wind. <sup>8</sup>

During the departure, other details had also to be taken care of by the Captain-General, the Captains and other ships' officers. The roll-call was very important. It was imperative that the lists of men aboard were properly drawn up so that punishment would be meted out to those Knights

or shipmen who had missed the cruise.<sup>9</sup> No one was allowed to take on board any trunks but just a canvas valise. Space was certainly not plentiful on a galley and so, to prevent abuses, anyone who broke this ordinance had his trunk and its contents confiscated in favour of the Common Treasury whilst the Captain of the galley concerned was fined six gold *scudi* for every case of transgression.<sup>10</sup> In fact, at the time of departure, the galleys were all checked to ensure that no 'contraband' private merchandise of any sort was on board. The same applied if galleys were coming to the island, and the only goods which could be embarked on board were those belonging to the Treasury.<sup>11</sup> Nor could anyone embark foodstuffs with him, except moderate quantities for which permission had first to be obtained from the galley Captain.<sup>12</sup> Neither was a galley Captain allowed to embark what he wanted. Captains who embarked prohibited goods were not allowed the privilege of *benservito* at the end of their tenure of office;<sup>13</sup> the testimony of two or three witnesses who were themselves above suspicion was enough to convict a Captain of such an offence.<sup>14</sup>

### Navigation

When cruising, strict formation was kept and no galley was allowed to move up to windward of the *Capitana* except in cases of necessity such as when chasing prizes. For such an offence a guilty boatswain could be deprived of his office, or be punished by at least three rope lashes; the Captain-General could also fine him by depriving him of so many months' salary in favour of the Common Treasury. If the Captain was to blame for the offence, he could even be deprived of his captaincy.<sup>15</sup> In 1640, the Captain of the galley *Santa Ubaldesca*, Fra Massimiliano d'Ampont, was deprived of his office because his galley was somehow separated from the rest of the squadron without sufficient reason. The same condemnation was passed on the *Padrone* whilst the pilot was remanded for trial at the court of the Castellanía.<sup>16</sup> The galley ordinations of the Chapters-General stressed that strict seniority, based on the seniority of the Captains, was to be maintained<sup>17</sup> including when anchoring in port and when taking up cruising position. The only exception was when the galleys were at uninhabited places.<sup>18</sup>

When at sea, the galleys had to maintain contact which was carried out by means of signals by using flags, pennants, standards and burgees, together with trumpets, drums, lanterns, smoke, cannon and musket shot, and rockets. Over eighty different signals could be given in this way<sup>19</sup> and here one must admit the difficulty involved to find enough different positions for flags and pennants in the two-masted seventeenth century galley which, being lateen-rigged, also presented limited sail movements. On most occasions galleys are depicted smothered in bunting and one might think that this was the artist's imagination at work but actually signals had to be given hoisting flags and pennants in the most eccentric-looking places mainly because of lack of space. The attention to detail is amply brought out by the signals given by the galleys, demonstrating the good seamanship which resulted in the vessels of the Religion having a favourable balance of victories. Yet, here one may point out that, with all this thoroughness, there does not seem to have been someone responsible for signalling. At least there is never any mention of a 'signals officer', unlike the Venetians, who delegated this responsibility to the **Ammiraglio** serving on flagship.<sup>20</sup>

After the galleys took up their cruising stations, a blue flag over the helm signalled the setting of mainsails. If the flag was dipped twice, thrice or four times it meant the setting-up of the fore, mizzen and the lower mizzen sails respectively. If the wind freshened, a white flag over the fighting platform — or rambades — ordered a reef in the mainsail whilst storm sails were ordered by hoisting a blue flag instead of the white one.<sup>21</sup> If a galley fell out of station a Genoese pennant was hoisted at the ensign staff of the **Capitana**. Any Captain prevented from keeping station because of shallow waters compelling him to keep to a channel had to report with a red pennant at the foremost and by brailing up any sail he was carrying.<sup>22</sup>

If a galley discovered strange sails, she signalled accordingly. If the ships were square-rigged, a red pennant was raised on the mast-head of the main mast, but a red and white pennant was hoisted to indicate lateen-rigged vessels. These flags were dipped and re-hoisted as many times as the number of ships sighted. The galleys then gave chase under oars and the **Capitana** signalled the other galleys to follow.<sup>23</sup>

For the chase to be abandoned, a Maltese pennant was hoisted on the main yard and the fore yard was dipped. If the galleys were out of sight, a single cannon shot would be fired.<sup>24</sup> When the separated galleys returned, those who constituted the majority gave recognition signals by showing white and red pennants at the main yard and by dipping their fore yards, the others answering with a red pennant in the same position and at the same time brailing up their foresails. If the galleys were solely under oars, only the pennants were used.<sup>25</sup> If a galley was separated from the remainder of the squadron for an appreciable length of time by adverse winds or storms, the Captain was duty bound to rejoin the squadron at the first opportunity and explain what had happened to the Captain-General.<sup>26</sup> Special care was to be taken regarding the oars and sails of a galley if caught in a storm.<sup>27</sup>

In a cruise, especially a longish one, stocks of firewood and supplies of water had to be replenished according to need. So a quiet convenient inlet from where such supplies were known to be obtained would be chosen and the squadron sailed thither. For replenishment of water supplies, a signal was given by hoisting a white flag over the helm whilst a green flag signalled replenishment of firewood. For both together, a signal white and green horizontal flag was raised. Other signals were given if an armed reconnaissance of the place was to be made. A hurried departure could occur if such actions took place in enemy country. Thus a reconnaissance party was recalled if the **Capitana** displayed a chequered red and white banner at the foremast, whilst if the Grand Master's banner was unfurled, everyone was to embark as quickly as possible and drop whatever they might have been doing.<sup>28</sup>

The look-out aloft on the **Padrona** gave a signal with a white and red flag if he sighted enemy sails. The flag was waved up and down as many times as the number of ships sighted. If a general chase was ordered and the anchors were holding too well to allow a quick departure, a standard hoisted over the helm signalled the cutting of cables and buoying of anchors for the future recovery.<sup>29</sup>

If a galley found itself in difficulties while cruising, a standard was unfurled on its masthead and immediately one or two cannon shots were fired; immediately the two nearest

galleys went to the stricken galley's aid. A storm could cause a galley to be separated from the squadron and find refuge near land. In such a case, when the squadron was again sighted, two smoke signals were made from the highest ground possible as a countersign prior to the galley's reunion with the squadron.<sup>31</sup> Encounters in fog were envisaged. In such cases, every galley posted a drummer forward, fired blank musket shots at intervals and kept its bell ringing. If an enemy sail was discovered, a cannot shot was fired and the enemy was chased. If no answer was forthcoming from the *Capitana*, the chase was to be abandonde and the galley was to return to its station. If a galley discovered land, two cannot shots were fired.<sup>31</sup>

The Captain-General was bound to call Councils at sea when the occasion demanded. Such a summons to his Captains was made by flying a blue pennant on the *Capitana's* ensign staff; if he also wanted the pilots or masters the *Capitana* would fly the blue and red pennant. Moreover the masters alone could be summoned but by hoisting a red and white pennant. The feluca was to be put to sea and sent to the *Capitana* if a Genoese pennant was flown at the fore mast-head.<sup>32</sup>

No provision for night action was envisaged but night recognition signals were passed among the galleys. Signals for setting sails were given by hoisting and dipping lanterns, each for a specific reason. Moreover, the flagship showed double stern lights whilst the other galleys showed only one. To bring the squadron to anchor, the *Capitana* hoisted and repeatedly dipped a lantern on her main halyards repeating this signal as she anchored. If an anchor dragged, rockets were fired. If a hurried departure was necessary at night, cables were cut and anchors buoyed after a signal from the *Capitana* comprising the firing of a rocket and the hoisting of a banner over the fighting platform.<sup>33</sup>

A galley in difficulties fired a cannon burnt a long smoke signal in the prow and hoisted two lanterns in the main shrouds, one on either side. Then the nearest two galleys went to her assistance. Weather sometimes separated the squadron at night; so, on rejoining, the galleys to windward fired two rockets, while the leeward galleys answered with one rocket. Then followed the agreed password or code name.<sup>34</sup> The night the Captain-General could ascertain if a

galley was missing because of a storm or fog by making a great smoke signal to which the galleys replied in a similar manner together with the firing of rockets; the **Padrona** fired one rocket, the second senior galley fired two, and so on. The smoke signal was replaced by two cannon shots by the **Capitana**, to which the galleys replied with one shot, if visibility was not good enough.<sup>35</sup> Signals could also be given by lanterns hoisted and dipped to call officers to the **Capitana** and to order the feluca or caiques to be launched.<sup>36</sup>

The sighting of strange vessels at night was signalled by a masked lantern from the galley stern, the number of flashes corresponding to the number of vessels seen. Chase could only be undertaken after first obtaining permission from the **Capitana**. Her course was then indicated by firing a cannon shot and a series of blank musketry.<sup>37</sup>

### **In Action**

When vessels were sighted far away, a galley or galleys were detached from the squadron and went to identify the strangers. If these vessels were found to be enemy ships, two cannon shots were fired. The **Capitana** would then either fire one single cannon shot to signal these galleys to attack the enemy, or fire two shots signifying an instruction for the galleys to await further orders.<sup>38</sup> For no reason whatsoever were Captains allowed to go after prizes or to attack without prior orders from the Captain-General.<sup>39</sup>

The galley squadron was not always allowed to attack a superior enemy naval force. The naval ordinations evolved in the Chapters-General vaguely stated that if a superior enemy force was encountered, the Captain-General was to take the advice of the Captains and decide what was to be done, always bearing in mind that the honour of the Order was to be upheld and that the squadron was not to be destroyed needlessly.<sup>40</sup> These orders were clarified by the Council of State in 1642. Bearing in mind that the squadron consisted of only six galleys, the vessels of the Order were not to engage the enemy if the latter's force consisted of eight vessels or more. If the enemy force consisted of seven ships, the Order's squadron was to take evasive action, failing which, they were to uphold the honour of the Order by fighting. If, in an enemy force of seven ships, one was a

privately-owned galley, the Order's squadron was obliged to look for and fight such a force.<sup>41</sup> This reluctance to engage superior enemy forces was not peculiar to the Order's squadron only for "Venetian commanders almost invariably restrained... from joining battle unless they were certain of their superiority to the enemy".<sup>42</sup>

Once the decision to attack enemy ships had been taken, strict formation in attack was to be upheld. A line was formed, the **Capitana** and the **Padrona** taking over the two extremities with the other galleys in between according to their seniority. The pilots and boatswains of the galleys were charged, under penalty of the loss of their lives, to hold on to their allotted position and refrain from getting in each other's way, thus causing confusion.<sup>43</sup> Signals to prepare for battle were given. The galley's artillery was alerted by hoisting a flag of St. Barbara on the lateen yard of the foremast whilst if the same flag was raised on the fore masthead, ammunition was handed out. A blue flag over the goaler's quarters signalled the chaining of the rowers but if trusted **buonavoglie** were to be left unshackled, a red flag was run up instead. Buckets of water were distributed around the deck and bales of wet canvas placed to protect the gunners and the rowers. A number of seamen were detailed to remain aboard if and when the enemy vessels were boarded, whilst the boats were put over the side and towed astern with supplies of oakum and timber to carry out necessary repairs. Moreover, men falling overboard could also be picked up.<sup>44</sup>

If the enemy fought back, care was to be taken to prevent the Order's galleys themselves from being boarded and the slaves from rebelling. If boarding was carried out, the Captain-General and the Captains chose the men, Knights or otherwise, who would board the enemy vessel. The rest were to remain on their own ship. Because of bonuses given to whoever first boarded an enemy ship, there was a tendency for seamen to jump into the sea in order to arrive first. However, punishment was to be meted out on such offenders and on those who left swords, daggers, firearms or gunpowder lying around or slow-matches alight as these could be used by the galley slaves to cause disorders.<sup>45</sup> Offenders were liable to four rope lashes and condemnation to row on the galleys for three years without pay.<sup>46</sup>

The galleys advanced simultaneously. Pennant signals on



the forestays deployed the squadron to port or to starboard, with the signal to prepare for boarding being given by the hoisting of a Genoese pennant which joined the battle standard of the Order at the main top of the **Capitana**. The raising of the Grand Master's flag to starboard of the fighting platform ordered the rambades to be raised, whilst the subsequent hoisting of a Maltese pennant on the foreyard gave the order to board the enemy.<sup>47</sup>

If an enemy vessel surrendered without offering resistance, no one was to board or attack it. Disobedience on the part of a Captain made him liable to pay two years' income from his commandery or, failing this, a fine of five hundred scudi in favour of the Treasury was imposed. If anyone swam over to such a vessel heavy penalties were inflicted; he loss of his habit for a Knight and a condemnation to row for ten years on the galleys if the offender was a secular person. The Captain-General was to send his Captain, or another reliable Knight to deputize for him, together with the **Riveditore** of the galleys to make out an inventory of all the goods on board the captured prize. They were to be accompanied by the purser of the **Capitana** and the **Riveditore's** clerk.<sup>48</sup> In 1638, the Venerable Council of the Order decided that, in addition to the above penalties, an offender would have to pay interests on the accruing losses of the Treasury resulting from his action.<sup>49</sup> The naval ordinations stressed that the only Knights allowed on board a prize taken without fighting were those ordered thither to help the **Riveditore**. Transgressors were liable to lose four years' income from commanderies or pensions of the Order, or to the loss of four years' seniority depending on the decision of the Venerable Council which acted on the reports given by the Captain-General.<sup>50</sup>

After a prize had been taken, the seamen had the right to keep the arms and personal things which they personally had taken over from the enemy. They had no right over money and cargo and no one was allowed to break or open boxes or chests nor to enter the holds. Transgressors incurred a penalty of four rope lashes and a year rowing on the galleys without pay, together with the loss of their loot, which was awarded to the informants concerned.<sup>51</sup> The men were encouraged to inform the authorities on gold, silver, money, pearls and other jewels found in a prize. If the informant

was a Knight, he was allowed twenty per cent of the goods recovered, whilst a layman was given fifteen per cent. Bonuses were also paid to those who were first on the prize and, to avoid confusion in the ensuing claims, boarding parties were only as large as deemed necessary, depending on the size and strength of the opposing vessel.<sup>52</sup> The bonuses paid out when a prize was taken were as follows: fifty scudi for the first man to climb sword in hand on the enemy vessel, thirty scudi for the second, twenty scudi for the third and fifteen scudi was allowed to the fourth man to perform this deed. Furthermore, ten scudi were given to whoever lowered the enemy colours whilst whoever sighted the enemy was given five scudi, the latter bonus being doubled if the sighting took place at night. If one of the above deeds was accomplished by a Knight or a gentleman, the relevant bonus was doubled. Bonuses were only paid if the encounter ended with a victory for the Order.<sup>53</sup> An example of confusion arising when taking a prize occurred in 1620 when the galleys captured a small galleon and everyone seems to have taken his share of the pie. All were ordered to give up their gains within a day or pay the penalty if caught. Knights would be treated as disobedient whilst seculars would be sentenced to four years in the galleys.<sup>54</sup> In 1617, in fact, it had been found necessary to appoint a commission to inquire into similar disorders, chief among which were bad seamanship, the mishandling and mislaying of cargo transferred from the prizes to the galleys and especially the damage done to a captured galleot of 24 oars.<sup>55</sup>

Rich cargoes were to be transferred on to the galleys. If a prize happened to be a ship of quality, the galleys were to escort it to home waters but if the prize was of an inferior kind, a trustworthy prize crew was to be put aboard and ordered to sail to Malta without touching land.<sup>56</sup>

### Arrival in Base

When the galleys returned to base, they entered harbour under oars. If they were returning from a cruise in the **Levant or the Barbary coast, irrespective of whether they brought back prizes or not**, the galleys were required to enter Marsamuscetto Harbour at the Quarantine anchorage of Manoel Island without as much as putting a skiff to sea or

allowing a boat to come alongside. There the squadron was to await further orders from the Grand Master and the Venerable Council.<sup>57</sup> Quarantine regulations then had to be observed by all on board to prevent any contagion from being brought to Malta through the galleys' contact with possible carriers.<sup>58</sup> Such rules were observed after a commission first boarded the galleys for the purpose of inspecting and then deciding whether permission to land could be given. This permission, known as the **Pratica**, could be withheld for a number of days until the Commissioners were satisfied that the galleys were free of disease.<sup>59</sup> Great importance was attached to quarantine and when it was not carried out according to the orders given by the Commission of Public Health a commission was set up to inquire and report on such omissions.<sup>60</sup> Sometimes, exceptions were made. In 1639, the galleys returned to port carrying a very sick Captain-General, Fra Giacomo Puliege Charrault who, in fact, died three days later. **Pratica** was given immediately to the sick Captain-General and to the squadron's physician who attended him.<sup>61</sup>

On entering harbour triumphantly, musket salutes were fired by the galley musketers, who loaded, aimed and fired together according to signals given by one, two and three drumbeats respectively. The galleys then came to anchor in strict order of seniority.<sup>62</sup> A commission then boarded the galleys to inspect and register the prizes taken and to see that everything was in order. Moreover, these commissioners were also charged with searching for any booty which might have been stolen by the seamen.<sup>63</sup> Only after this general search was over and after obtaining the **Pratica** were the men on board the galleys allowed to land. First the Captain-General's caique was lowered into the water followed by the boats of the other galleys. Then the Maltese pennant was hoisted on the forestay to signal permission for the Knights to land. Afterwards shore leave for those Maltese officers who were entitled to it was signalled by raising a blue pennant, also on the forestay.<sup>64</sup>

### Saluting

At sea, in the seventeenth century, as now, when ships sailing under different flags encountered one another, recog-

niton was given by saluting. Such compliments could be paid by firing guns, or by manipulating colours and sails. The number of equal or unequal rounds fired by each side depended on the measure of respect, submission or honour which was deemed suitable. Distinctions in salutes were made between sovereigns, princes and republics. Saluting was, however, not only complimentary but, more usually, a clear-cut question of precedence particularly among the smaller, weaker Mediterranean princes. In the Order's squadron, gun salutes could only be fired on the express orders of the Captain-General and a disobedient galley Captain was liable to be fined one hundred *scudi* for each offence.<sup>65</sup>

The naval ordinations of the Chapters-General held by the Order point out the salutes to be accorded by the galley squadron. When entering harbours or cities which were fortified, the *Capitana* was to fire a four gun salvo, but in places where there was a viceroy or prince present, all the galleys were to fire a similar four gun salute. If the galleys were saluted by a ship, the *Capitana* was to answer with a single shot by way of reply.<sup>66</sup> When entering Maltese harbours, only the *Capitana* was to salute, by firing three shots.<sup>67</sup>

Of course, sometimes disputes developed which resulted in suspending the saluting of the cities or squadrons involved. Such an occurrence happened in 1634 when the galleys of the Order were forbidden to salute the city of Messina.<sup>68</sup> This dispute endured till 1638 when, after the differences in question were settled, the Order revoked its earlier decision.<sup>69</sup>

In Malta itself, or in foreign ports, Grand Crosses were not to be saluted by artillery.<sup>70</sup> After 1625, this prohibition applied also to the Admiral when he was conferring the possession of the squadron or a galley. However, it was left to the prudence of the Captain-General or Captains regarding saluting when aboard.<sup>41</sup> However if Grand Crosses chosen as ambassadors to Rome or Spain and were ferried thither by the galleys, they were to be saluted by artillery in Messina and Naples only twice in each city, that is, when they left the ship for the first time and at the time of their last embarkation. This was intended as an economy measure to curb unnecessary wastage of powder.<sup>72</sup>

Salutes were sometimes accorded in other ways. In 1570, Captain-General Fra Pietro Giustiniani was instructed that

if the Order's galleys met those of the Pope, the standard of the Church was to be saluted by dipping the Order's standard three times and then hoisting it to its former place.<sup>73</sup>

It seems that, for saluting, the same amount of powder was used as when firing regular shots in action because in 1652, the Venerable-Council decreed that this practice was to be discontinued and that hitherto only one half of the powder formerly expended was to be used for saluting purposes.<sup>74</sup>

## Discipline

The basis of all fighting arms was, and will always remain, discipline: without which no control can be exercised over the different components of military echelons. Naturally, the Order also sought to maintain discipline among its galley crews, including the members of the Order itself. All the men knew what was expected of them and all knew what was prohibited or not. It follows that all knew the penalties for disobedience, penalties which were harsh in order to force recalcitrant men to toe the line. Of course, punishments sometimes differed depending on whether the offender was a secular or not.

No member of the Order, whether Knight or Novice, could verbally injure or prejudice the honour of any other Religious. Such an offender could be deprived of his habit, or be declared unsuitable for profession in the case of a Novice; if the accused had resorted to arms he could be handed over to the secular courts for punishment even if no blood had been drawn in the ensuing fight. Punishment could even be death. On the other hand, if the insulted parties took advantage of the situation and made capital of such opportunities (i.e. by resorting to arms needlessly) they could incur the same penalties.<sup>75</sup>

If a secular seaman, or galley soldier, committed such offences he could be sentenced to row for two years on the galley, chained, and with his head shaved. If he had struck blows, the sentence was of three years' duration whilst a life sentence was passed if the offender has resorted to arms.<sup>76</sup>

The Captains of the galleys had to inform the Captain-General of such offences in writing. Failure to do so meant that the Captain concerned incurred the loss of three years'

seniority and a fine of three hundred ducats. Until the fine was paid, the Captain was not considered for further promotions. If the offender had been a member of the Order, the Captain-General had to order his imprisonment and carry out an inquiry, the result of which was sent, sealed, to the Grand Master and the Venerable Council for their deliberation. Failure to comply with this procedure implied a fine of five hundred ducats for the Captain-General. Secular offenders were tried immediately.<sup>77</sup>

In the Chapter-General of 1598, it was enacted that a suitable secular person assisted by a clerk was to be chosen to judge criminal cases brought against secular maldoeers on the galleys.<sup>78</sup> Ration allowances and fixed salaries were at first given to these officials in 1598,<sup>79</sup> but these were abrogated the following year and they were paid through the fines imposed.<sup>80</sup> This office was abolished by the Chapter-General of 1604, a decision confirmed by the Chapter-General of 1631.<sup>81</sup> Henceforth, the powers of this official, known as the **Auditore**, were passed on to the Captain-General or his deputy, to the senior galley Captain, or to a particular galley's Captain if the galley was cruising alone. If the case was of a grave nature and a quick decisive trial was deemed necessary and essential, a literate secular was chosen to act as **Auditore**. This temporary **Auditore** was paid out of the delinquent's pay if it was confiscated. If this could not be done, expenses were included in the accounts of whoever had delegated him.<sup>82</sup> This office was then re-introduced in 1663.<sup>83</sup>

The Statutes also contemplated other misdemeanours. Thus whoever caused even slight trouble on his galley or whoever blasphemed against the name of God, the Blessed Virgin or the Saints lost all the benefits of the current caravan without prejudice to the penalties stated above. Moreover, members of the Order were forbidden to play prohibited games and it was up to the Captain-General and the Captains not to tolerate their doings and to make out the relevant reports to the Venerable Council.<sup>84</sup> Prohibited games included those depending on luck, such as cards and dice, because it was considered indecent for religious to stake money on luck and also because the Knights had the vow of poverty. Playing for moderate sums of money was, however, allowed as were also games to while away the time.<sup>85</sup> Nor were Captains allowed to do what they liked but were sub-

ject to the will and command of the Captain-General,<sup>86</sup> who was himself bound to account for his own actions.<sup>87</sup>

Duelling was strictly forbidden and harsh penalties were invoked against transgressors. The Statutes expressly forbade any challenges to duels, either by word of mouth or by written notes or through a middleman; on his part the challenged man had to refuse such an invitation to fight. The penalty was deprivation of their habits for both litigants, without hopes of a reprieve. If the duel actually took place, even if no blood was shed, the litigants were handed over to the secular arm whilst whoever was party to the duel also lost his habit. These orders applied to members of the Order wherever they happened to be.<sup>88</sup> In fact, in 1602, the Chevalier Fra Aloysio Bonin dit Rognosa was deprived of his habit for wounding a soldier, Vincentio Barbara, under the poop of the galley **San Giorgio** at Syracuse even though his sentence was then commuted to four years' imprisonment.<sup>89</sup> In 1609, the Italian Knight Fra Pompeo Rospiglioso and the Novice Antonio Mignanello were both sentenced to two years in the tower for fighting on the poop of the galley **San Stefano**.<sup>90</sup> The penalty of the deprivation of their habit was also inflicted in 1602 on six members of the Order who, at Naples, had left the galleys to which they had been assigned while on caravan.<sup>91</sup> In 1634, the Riveditore Fra Gio Batta Calderario was reported for showing disrespect to the Captain-General whilst in 1642, another Riveditore, Chevalier Montsavasse, was deprived of the habit after being found guilty of defrauding the Treasury from prizes taken from the enemy.<sup>92</sup> In May 1602, Chevalier Fra Don Cristophoro de Albarca was sentenced to forty days detention for disobedience and showing disrespect to the Captain-General.<sup>93</sup>

If a seaman was arrested on a criminal charge and brought to trial, his pay was withheld from the day of his arrest. If he was found innocent, his pay and allowances were all restored to him but if he was convicted, he lost all payments due to him for all the period starting from his arrest to his last day of imprisonment. The same applied to seamen who were imprisoned for debts.<sup>94</sup>

Everyone was expected to know what was prohibited and the penalties for disobedience. Ignorance was no excuse and to ensure that no one could plead ignorance, it was enacted that, whenever the galleys left harbour, after a flourish of

trumpets, the naval ordinations were to be publicly read so that they would be observed. <sup>95</sup>

### Provisions

The problem of outbreaks of scurvy in the Order's galley-squadron was conspicuous by its absence. This was due to the fact that the two main conditions responsible for its occurrence, namely, long voyages and the lack of fresh provisions on board the galleys, were not forthcoming. The voyages pursued in the Mediterranean were either usually short or else various stoppages were made in case of long journeys. Moreover, fresh provisions had to be embarked on each galley and great attention was paid to the wholesomeness of the food distributed to Knights, seamen and rowers.

Each galley, when cruising down the Barbary coast or voyaging to the Levant, had to leave port carrying a maximum of two head of cattle, twenty mutton and fifty hens; the hens were to be kept in a coop taken on board for the purpose. At the beginning of the journey the meat of a dead bull had to be taken aboard to suffice for the first week at sea. The other two head of cattle were expected to tide the galley over for the following fortnight, excluding the mutton and the hens. No meat or other animals such as cocks, calves or other hens in excess of those already mentioned were to be allowed aboard and, whenever possible, it was the Captain's duty to provide other fresh provisions by the time this fresh food ran out. <sup>96</sup>

The Captain's table was placed within the poop, together with a supplementary one if one table did not suffice. Officers, technical officers, and councillors alone could eat at table; the others ate in groups of fours or sixes. <sup>97</sup> The provisions needed were either taken on board from Maltese harbours or else the galleys were sent to re-victual in Sicily. <sup>98</sup>

Apparently the type of food being served on the Captains' tables by 1625 was too rich and costly when relating it to a Christian military Order and so the Venerable Council pleaded for moderation in this respect. <sup>99</sup> In the same year it was decided that a day's food included helpings of roasted and boiled meat, thick soup and dessert of herbs and fruit according to the season. Food was to be served in the morning and evening but Knights were exhorted to be moderate



at breakfast. Fowl was forbidden except at Eastertide.<sup>100</sup> Abuses continued, however, and in 1627 the Venerable Council authorised the drawing up of ordinations to cut down needless expenses.<sup>101</sup>

In 1632 details about distribution of food were emanated for the future, details which the Captain-General and the Captains were to uphold or else they would not be reimbursed the money expended on the 'tavola' of members of the Order on board their particular galley. At the end of the voyage the Captain-General and the Riveditore had to report to the Commission of the Galleys how food matters had progressed and also any transgressors for eventual punishment. Menus differed according to whether it was a fast day or not. On fast days, Knights were twice served with thick soup and a dish of salted food or fish; supper consisted of salad, thick soup, salted food and dessert. On the other days, Knights were served with either roast and boiled meat or stew or meat balls or else something similar together with thick soup and helpings of ham or similarly-cured meat, rounded off by dessert of cheese, olives and herbs. Only three of the above items were to be served for the morning meal. In the evening there were servings of salad, salami, fresh meat, thick soup, and the same dessert as the mornings. Under no circumstances were there to be servings of fresh or pickled chicken or game, pastry, pies or any alimentary paste. In fact, the Captain-General and the Captains were forbidden to take on board either ovens or pie-dishes.<sup>102</sup>

Rations for the 'Gente di Capo' were not so rich. On fast days the seamen's food consisted of pickled tunny or sardines or a thick soup. On the other days they were allowed salted meat, thick soup and cheese. When it was possible, cooking was carried out in the morning and the distribution of rations for the whole day was carried out once daily.<sup>103</sup> These rations were calculated to cost the Order one **carlino** daily for each person making up a total of over fifteen **scudi** yearly expended on each man's cooked rations, excluding ship's biscuit and bread.<sup>104</sup>

The Order recognised the fact that the **ciurma** (or rowing element of the galley) was important for the fighting efficiency of the galleys and so wholesome food had to be given to the rowers, especially when the galleys were out on voyages pertaining to the **Corso**. Their rations included oil,

vinegar, refreshments of wine, cheese and a thick soup, called 'Caccavo' made up of ground grain.<sup>105</sup> These rations were reckoned at one *grano* daily for each rower, including the cost of fresh vegetables which amounted to almost 12½ *scudi* monthly, but excluding the cost of bread and ship's biscuit.<sup>106</sup>

Knights, seamen and rowers were also given their rations of bread when in port, or ship's biscuit when at sea. Each crew-member was allowed half a *rotolo* of ship's biscuit twice daily, at midday and in the evening. In 1604, these orders about ship's biscuit became applicable also to fresh bread distributed on the galleys. When in foreign harbours, any consignment of fresh bread for the galleys had to be signed by the Order's Receiver in that particular place. Each shipman was allowed four loaves, each weighing eight ounces.<sup>107</sup> In 1629 it was decided that fresh bread was to be distributed as follows: six loaves each for Knights and officers, five loaves each for artificers, technical officers, trumpeters and muskettiers, four loaves each for the remainder of the crew, including servants, soldiers and marines. Moreover, each galley Captain was allowed fifty loaves daily to be distributed to deserving soldiers and sailors.<sup>108</sup> Each loaf was to weight ten ounces.<sup>109</sup> The rowers were each allowed three loaves having a total weight of forty ounces.<sup>110</sup> In 1639, a new arrangement in bread distribution was made by which the galleys' complements were given an additional loaf on average.<sup>111</sup>

Moreover, no good seaman neglects his machinery and so, when the opportune moment came, to put heart into the men, the Captain General would order the hoisting of a red pennant on the ensign staff, thus signalling an extra issue of wine to crew and rowers alike.<sup>112</sup>

The Riveditore (or, in his absence, the most senior among the Knights on Caravan,) was charged with seeing that the rowers' rations were actually given out. If they were withheld, a note of the days and the amounts in question was taken by the purser who had to present them to the Accounts Office on the return of the galleys to port. The amounts were then debited on the guilty Captain in favour of the rowers themselves.<sup>113</sup>

## Religious Welfare

Like all other Christian navies, including the French, Spanish, Venetian and Papal vessels,<sup>114</sup> each galley had its own chaplain, oddly enough called Prior, whose duty it was to look after and attend to the religious ministrations of the particular galley to which he was assigned, his term of duty also being termed a "caravan", as was the case with his brother Knights.<sup>115</sup> He was to be regarded, in fact, as the Parish Priest of all on board, including the Christian element of the *ciurma*, wherever the galley happened to be, at sea or in harbour.<sup>116</sup> Various ordinances in the Chapters-General of the Order testify to the importance attached to the religious welfare of the galley-crews. All the galleys had to observe the usual devotions of the so-called *messa seccha*, that is, a mass in which no consecration took place, salutations to the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. John the Baptist and all the other Saints, whilst Knights had to recite their obligatory prayers. Especially important was the observance of the ordinance imposing the obligation of confession and communion for Knights at the beginning of a caravan or a voyage.<sup>117</sup>

On all Sundays and principal feast days, when the galleys were at Malta or in a Christian harbour, the Chaplains celebrated mass on land between the poop of the *Capitana* and the other galleys in conformity with a Brief of Pope Sixtus V of 1588.<sup>118</sup> These feast days amounted to 29, of which only one did not have a fixed date in the religious calendar.<sup>119</sup> The Captain-General had to decorate the altar which was to be covered by a canopy and made secure against bad weather. Moreover, the Blessed Sacrament had to be saluted either by acclamation or by sounding trumpets, whichever seemed better.<sup>120</sup> This ordinance was amended in 1631 in a way that when the galleys were in a foreign port, mass was to be said every day by one Prior, according to seniority and by turn. When the galleys were at Malta, mass was to be celebrated only on Sundays and the principal feast days.<sup>121</sup>

In the exercise of their duties, the Chaplains were charged with the confession of all the crew, including the seculars, the sick and the wounded. They had to communicate to the crew the principal feast days and prepare them

for the reception of Holy Communion and, in particular, they were to see that the Knights carried out their religious obligations. If their duties were not properly carried out, they had to answer to the Conventual Prior<sup>122</sup> who was responsible for delegating to them the faculty of administering the sacraments and the power to hear confessions.<sup>123</sup> Knights and novices were duty bound to confess and receive Holy Communion at least seven times a year, including Easter Sunday, Pentecost, Christmas Day and the Nativity of St. John the Baptist.<sup>124</sup>

According to the Brief of Pope Sixtus V of 1588, the Chaplains of the galleys were allowed to celebrate mass up to two hours before the day began if early sailing was deemed necessary. Every Chaplain could absolve all those who sailed on his galley, which had to carry a portable altar for the celebration of mass under shelter on the seashore and which was to be heard from the galleys. Moreover, on fast days, those on board were allowed to have their main meal in the evening and breakfast in the morning.<sup>125</sup>

Throughout the day, the Prior was expected to carry out his religious duties. He was to start the day by the recitation of lauds, followed by the *Messa Seccha*. At daybreak, midday and evening he was to recite the *Ave Maria* and had to impart benediction at table. An important part of his duties was to take care of the sick, especially those who were very ill and in danger of death and to whom he had to impart the last rites and the viaticum. Moreover, the Chaplain was also enjoined to help dying men to draw up their last wills.<sup>126</sup> This care of the sick was also one of the duties of Chaplains on board Venetian galleys, where they were expected to give food and medicines to sick persons and to report to their Captains any irregularities and the deaths which occurred. Of course, this was in addition to their pastoral work.<sup>127</sup> When a sick or wounded man died, the Prior had to give him a Christian burial. If the galleys were in port, burial was to be effected in a consecrated place, or in a grave dug for the purpose if the squadron was in an uninhabited place. When at sea, burial was effected in the sea but the Prior had to recite the prayers and perform the rites prescribed by the Roman Ritual at all burials, irrespective of where these were taking place. Another important duty was the instruction in the Catholic faith of all Muslims aboard who wanted to

apostasize, and the comforting and assisting of all dying infidels.<sup>128</sup>

When the galleys encountered the enemy, it was the Prior's duty to encourage the men who were now facing death. If there was no time to confess everyone in need, the Prior would walk the whole length of the galley from stern to prow with his cross in hand and exhort everyone to have faith in Divine help, enjoin all to make the act of contrition and then impart a general absolution. At the beginning of the conflict, he gave a blessing and then retired below to give the necessary spiritual and temporal help to the wounded.<sup>129</sup>

Perhaps, the part religion played on board the Order's galleys is best reflected in the votive offerings to various Maltese Churches, particularly to the Sanctuary of Our Lady of Graces at Zabbar. Quite a number of these offerings have now disappeared but they are described in inventories still preserved in the Zabbar Parish Archives. Moreover, enough offerings still exist to amply show the religious fervour of the time. These offerings were made by seamen and Knights to show gratitude to Providence for victories obtained or, as in the case of the 1606 Cimbalo incident, for safely extricating themselves from what could easily have been a disaster of the first magnitude.<sup>130</sup>

### **Medical Services**

The galleys carried on board a great mass of men,<sup>131</sup> making it imperative that medical orderlies should be present to look after their health. Yet the construction of the galleys did not provide good sanitary conditions. Accommodation was cramped and although elementary hygienic measures were carried out, there still remained the grave problem of adequate living and sleeping space, a problem which was aggravated when the galleys took on board booty and prisoners.<sup>132</sup>

Great attention was paid to the food distributed on board the galleys as has already been explained. This care about the wholesomeness of food is seen in a court case brought by Aloysio Farrugia of Qormi in 1643 who claimed that his family was still owed 13 scudi on the price of salted beef supplied to the Order's galleys in 1630. It was proved in court

however, that the meat in question was rotten, not fit for eating and had to be disposed of. Farrugia lost his case as the practice was not to pay anything if it was proved that supplies were uneatable. If anything, this case indicates the care taken with regard to the food bought and served in the squadron. <sup>133</sup>

Other naval powers, such as Venice and Spain, used hospital ships. <sup>134</sup> The Order did not conform to this practice but had medical officers in all the galleys, which were all furnished with a sick bay. Naturally, this was the medical officers' posting during action, to tend the wounded. <sup>135</sup>

The Order engaged one physician for the whole galley squadron, though the number was increased to two in 1686. <sup>136</sup> The physician's work started when the galleys were still in harbour. He had to report and visit all sick men, including those in the Holy Infirmary and in their own private homes. He naturally weeded out the malingerers and then, for the genuinely sick men, he issued certificates countersigned by the Captain concerned and the **Riveditore**. This was important or else these men were not paid their due allowances. Moreover, sick personnel in their homes had to be transferred to the Infirmary or else they also lost their allowances, even though they had already been certified unfit for duty. <sup>137</sup>

At sea, the physician had to be transferred from the flagship to the other galleys to carry out his duties. His orders were carried out by the **barbiere**, <sup>138</sup> who was a medical orderly found on board each galley and who, therefore, had charge of the sick bay and was responsible for his galley's medicine chest. Incidentally, each orderly was also the barber of his own particular galley. Expenses connected with illnesses and wounds were usually borne by the Order. The procedure was that the **Re** of the galley countersigned all medical expenses so that these would be refunded to the Captain by the Treasury. <sup>139</sup>

The extent of the responsibilities of the **Barbiere** is shown by a case in 1616 when Francesco Giannello, the **barbiere** of the galley **San Lorenzo**, was found guilty of having caused the death of two slaves because he had accepted them on board his galley when they were not fit for work; he was ordered to pay the Treasury the price of the two slaves but was allowed to take the **Barbiere** of the slave prison to court

for redress, if he so wished.<sup>140</sup> This case seems to indicate that these so-called 'barber-surgeons' had, at least, some rudimentary medical knowledge and were superior in this respect to their counterparts on Venetian galleys who are reported to have had "no other ability except how to cut hair and beards".<sup>141</sup> Perhaps it was to attract more suitable persons that such medical orderlies on Spanish galleys started to be termed **Cirjuano** after 1587 in preference to the former appellation of **barbero**.<sup>142</sup> The Order's barber-surgeons were obliged to hand over weekly reports concerning the names and numbers of the sick together with an account of goods and medicinals expended.<sup>143</sup> Barber-surgeons were not available on ships only but also 'practised' medicine ashore. It seems that "it was customary in Malta to call in the village barber to cure certain ailments, set broken bones and carry out dentistry services".<sup>144</sup>

At the request of the Captain-General the physician had to furnish reports on the health conditions of the squadron; these reports were then submitted to the Venerable Council. One such example was the 1646 report on the sanitary conditions of the galley squadron of the Order on its voyage to Candia made out by the physician, **Giuseppe del Cosso**.<sup>145</sup>

### **Naval Precedence**

Perhaps as the result of the influx of Spanish customs especially in Italy, the fifteenth and the following centuries witnessed an excessive desire of pomp and pageantry, with various states and courts all trying to out-do each other. This rivalry was also reflected in the way naval squadrons of different states claimed pre-eminence and precedence over the others sparing no arguments (however trivial these may appear by our 20th century standards) to substantiate their claims. The Order of St. John was no exception to this line of thought: great attention was always paid to the way the Order's representatives were treated. In naval matters, this attention was usually confined to the position the Order's **Capitana** was assigned when the galley-squadron joined galleys of other states on joint campaigns against the Islamic States.

The Order of St. John always maintained that it was superior to Genoa, Tuscany, and Savoy, including also the

ships of the Order of Saint Stephen. The reasons for the Order's stand were many and included the fact that the squadron represented a Religious Republic — '**Religiosa Republica**' — which existed for the exaltation of the name of Christ and to defend the Faith and not for mundane interests. Moreover, it was contended that the members of the Order represented not simply one city, or kingdom, or republic but "the noblest and most illustrious families of the world".<sup>146</sup> Other reasons given included the fact that the Order had been instituted for hundreds of years and enjoyed ecclesiastical privileges. Moreover, the position of Grand Master was considered equal to the Cardinalate, which was second to the Pope. In their eyes, therefore, this fact placed the Grand Master in a more exalted position than a Duke, who was regarded as only fifth in precedence.<sup>147</sup>

To substantiate these theoretical claims, the Order then looked for concrete precedents of which, it seems, there was a great number. Giacomo Bosio continually lists and emphasises the honourable position given to the Order's **Capitana** at Coron in 1532, at Tunis in 1535, and at Algiers in 1541<sup>148</sup> in which the flagship was always placed on the exact left of the Commander-in-chief's vessel, the right being reserved for the **Capitana** of the Papal squadron. At Prevesa in 1538, at the '**Citta d'Africa**' in 1550, and at the attack on the **Penon** in 1563, the Order's **Capitana** was accorded the right flank of the commander's **Reale**.<sup>149</sup> In 1563, the squadrons of Malta, Savoy and Genoa combined to cruise in the Levant, and it was decided to give overall command to the Captain-General of the Order in his **Capitana**.<sup>150</sup> In a further attack on the **Penon**, the Order's galley was placed on the left, ceding the more honorific right to the **Capitana** of the king of Portugal.<sup>151</sup> At Lepanto in 1571, the Order's galley was accorded the extreme right but the Commander-in-chief, Don John of Austria, declared that this was not to be taken as a precedent, a declaration echoed by a Papal Brief of Pius V.<sup>152</sup> In 1574, when the Order's squadron went to Palermo to join forces with other squadrons under Don John of Austria, the **Capitana** of Genoa was berthed on the right of Don John's **Reale**. The Genoese were obliged to relinquish their berth in favour of the Religion's **Capitana**.<sup>153</sup>

If one even ignores the claims on which precedence was based, the fact that the number of precedents favouring the



Order in the 16th century are many stands out clearly. There was never any question of claiming precedence over kings, the Pope and even Venice but the Knights seem to have been successful in the main in being declared pre-eminent to the Italian dukedoms. In 1538, they were accorded a better placing than the Viceroy of Sicily in his *Capitana* <sup>154</sup> and in 1563, it was the Savoyards and Genoese themselves who placed the command of the combined three Squadrons under the Religion's Captain-General. <sup>155</sup> The not too exalted placing accepted at Lepanto may be interpreted as one of need in order to preserve the unity of the Christian fleet which, on other occasions, was actually rent asunder because of squabbles on precedence. No wonder that, basing on the previous century, the Order continued on the same lines in the seventeenth century. Such a mentality may be regarded as the fruit of "ridiculous ambitions" <sup>156</sup> but the fact remains that such ambitions were considered important enough to justify the breaking-up of various naval coalitions. In 1606, a concentration of galleys at Messina achieved nothing because the Order's galleys returned to Malta after being denied precedence over the Genoese who, in their turn, stayed away because they wanted precedence over the Papal squadron which was only commanded by its Lieutenant Commander. <sup>157</sup> These disputes, especially between Malta and Genoa, continued and in 1620, Prince Filiberto of Savoy, in order to carry out an attack on Susa, was obliged to get rid of the Genoese from Messina because their leader, Gian Francesco Imperiali, had declared that they would not fight unless Genoa was granted precedence over the galleys of Malta. <sup>158</sup> This dispute was finally decided in 1622 when the King of Spain decided in favour of the Order, <sup>159</sup> a step perhaps influenced by the part played by the Order's galleon in the attack on Huguenot La Rochelle. <sup>160</sup> Pope Gregory XV agreed with and endorsed this line of action. <sup>161</sup>

In 1634, the *Capitana* of the Order was given the right flank in preference to the Sicilian and Genoese flagships by the Marquis of Santa Cruz, an action which the Order transformed into a public record and registered in the Chancery records. <sup>162</sup> One can here end by noting that, on the outbreak of the War of Candia (Crete) in 1645, in the first campaign, the Papal flagship was assigned the middle placing, flanked on the right and left by the Venetian *Reale* and

Order's Capitana respectively, while the Tuscans were assigned the extreme right wing of the battle plan.<sup>163</sup>

What has been written above is concerned primarily about the way a normal cruise was undertaken including aspects of life aboard the galleys. The period under consideration was 1596-1645, a time devoid of large-scale campaigns. So such a cruise is supposedly taken by the Order's squadron on its own, though the Order's seniority in Christian ranks is also placed on record.

At sea, the Order's galley squadron carried out its functions like any other Mediterranean Christian squadron. Galley warefare was formal and everyone knew what to expect, though the squabbles about seniority in Christian ranks helped no one except, perhaps, the Muslims against whom such joint expeditions were organised.

Since the Order was military, religious, and hospitaller, care was taken to ensure that 'efficiency' in these three branches of duty was maintained. Military efficiency at sea was secured through officials whose work was supervision of stores, war material and the like. Councils-at-sea helped to check imprudent Captains whilst naval ordinations made sure that all knew what was expected of them. The religious aspect was never neglected either at sea or on land. Each galley was provided with a Chaplain who was expected to help and encourage the living, comfort the dying, bury the dead, and help convert the infidel. Medical treatment also had its share: care was taken to ensure against contagious diseases, not least by ensuring that the food rations provided militated against such outbreaks. Treatment was provided for the wounded and the sick, and for this purpose medical orderlies were present on all galleys. When the galleys returned to base, precautions were taken to ensure that quarantine regulations were properly carried out.

One fact stands out clearly, namely, that the organisation of the Order's galley squadron reflected current practice and organisation in the Western Mediterranean. Points of similarity are many whilst differences are negligible, and these occur mainly when the Knights' vessels are compared with the Venetian navy rather than with Spanish or Papal squad-

rons. It was the organisation of their squadron which enabled the Knights to fit out their vessels year after year to engage in the 'Holy War' against the Crescent. With their limited resources, the Knights were hard pressed even to defend their base properly and to ensure regular food supplies for the Maltese islands, and it is to the credit of their squadron and its land-based organisation that a certain amount of limited law and order could be imposed in the narrows between the Eastern and Western basins of the Mediterranean.

#### NOTES:

- 1 Earle P., *Corsars of Malta and Barbary*, (London, 1970), p. 104.
- 2 A[rchives of the] O[rder in] M[alta] 449-465, *Libri Bullarum*, passim, wherein are contained the orders issued to the Captains-General under the section entitled *Salveconductus et altres scripturas*. See also Anderson R. C., *Naval Wars in the Levant 1559-1853* (Liverpool, 1952), which contains a useful account of these wars.
- 3 AOM 449-465 *Libri Bullarum*, passim.
- 4 An example of instructions given to Captain-General Fra Ferdinando Ruyz de Corral for a scouting cruise to Barbary waters is found in AOM 452, f.235 r, dated 5th June 1599.
- 5 AOM 293, Ch(apter) G(eneral) 1598, f.104 r, Ord(inatione) 11 Galere; AOM 294, Ch.G. 1604, f.118 r, Ord. 22 Galere; AOM 296, Ch.G. 1631, f.141 r, Ord. 33 Galere; AOM 108, f.112 r, dated 2nd August, 1625.
- 6 AOM 293, Ch.G. 1598, f.104 r, Ord. 12 Galere; AOM 294, Ch.G. 1604, f.118 r, Ord. 23 Galere; AOM 296, Ch.G. 1631, f.141 r, Ord. 34 Galere.
- 7 N[ational] L[ibrary of] M[alta] 110, ff.3 r-v and 11 r. This manuscript is a signals book entitled *Ordini e Segni Navali delle Galere* copied in 1719 by Chev. Carlo Maria Olgiati from an earlier document by his kinsman Camillo Antonio Olgiati who had been received in the Order in 1691. cf. AOM 2166, p. 264. An English translation by Captain Eric Broskman CBE, RN, is now available and has been published in *Annales de l'Ordre S(ouverain Militaire de) M(alte)*, July-December 1973, Nos. 3/4, pp. 66-79, entitled "The Signal Code of the Galleys of Malta". The main lines of the preamble preceding the translation had first appeared entitled "Two Signal Books of the Order", *S(unday) T(imes) O(f) M(alta)*, dated 1st April 1973. That signals were also used by other nations is shown by Nani Mocenigo M., *Storia della Marina Veneziana da Lepanto alla Caduta della Repubblica*, (Rome, 1935), pp. 56-7, who says that flags, burgees, smoke signals etc were used both as day and night signals. Bamford P. W., *Fighting Ships and Prisons*, (Minnesota, 1973), p. 106, states that by the early 1690's, in the French galley corps, "special maneuvers were prescribed for combat situations, others for bad weather, and so on." In fact, Guilmartin Jnr. J. F., *Gunpowder and Galleys*, (Cambridge, 1974), pp. 202-3, asserts that as early as "the beginning of the sixteenth century Mediterranean naval commanders could exercise a considerable degree of control over galley fleets through a comprehensive set of standing operating instruction supplemented by a system of sail, flag, cannon, trumpet and lantern signals." Guilmartin also mentions two sets of sailing instructions which are dated 1430 and 1564.

- 8 AOM 293, Ch.G. 1598, f.106 v, Ord. 35, 36 Galere; AOM 294, Ch.G. 1604, f.120r, Ord. 47, 48 Galere; AOM 296, Ch.G. 1631, f.143 v-r, Ord. 57, 58 Galere. Similarly, in the French galley corps, "the position of each galley was determined by the seniority of its commanding officer." Cf. Bamford P.W., *op.cit.*, p. 106.
- 9 AOM 293, Ch.G. 1598, f.106 v, Ord 35, 36 Galere; AOM 294, Ch.G. 1604, f.120 r, Ord. 47, 48 Galere, AOM 296, Ch.G. 1631, ff.143 r-v, Ord. 57, 58 Galere.
- 10 AOM 293, Ch.G. 1598, f.105 r, Ord. 20 Galere; AOM 294, Ch.G. 1604, f.118 v, Ord. 30 Galere; AOM 296, Ch.G. 1631, 142 r, Ord. 41 Galere.
- 11 AOM 293, Ch.G. 1598, f.108 v, Ord. 65, 66, 67, Galere; AOM 294 Ch.G. 1604, f. 122 v, Ord. 80, 81, 82 Galere; AOM 296, Ch.G. 1631, ff. 145 v-146 r. Ord. 90, 91, 92 Galere
- 12 AOM 293, Ch.G. 1598, f.105 r, Ord. 21 Galere; AOM 294, Ch.G. 1604, f.118 v, Ord. 30 Galere; AOM 296, Ch.G. f.142 r, Ord. 41 Galere.
- 13 AOM 296, Ch.G. 1631. f.138 v, Ord. 10 Galere.
- 14 AOM 1759, f.370v; AOM 1760. f.319 v; dated 30th November, 1631. f.120 r, Ord. 47 Galere; AOM 296, Ch.G. 1631, f.143 r-v, Ord. 57
- 15 AOM 293, Ch.G. 1598, f.106 v, Ord. 36 Galere; AOM 294, Ch.G. 1604 Galere.
- 16 AOM 257, f.48v, dated 9th April 1640; AOM 221, f.38 r. dated 10th April 1640.
- 17 AOM 293, Ch.G. 1598, f.106 v, Ord. 37 Galere; AOM 294, Ch.G. 1604, f.120r, Ord. 48 Galere; AOM 296, Ch.G. 1631, f.143 v, Ord. 58 Galere.
- 18 *Ibid.*, Ord. 38, 49, 59 Galere respectively.
- 19 NLM 110, *passim*.
- 20 Nani Mocenigo M., *op. cit.*, p. 56.
- 21 NLM 110, ff.3 v- 4 r. By helm one means, od course, the tiller since "the wheel did not become general after the first decade of the 18th century". Cf. Brockman E., *The Signal Code etc. . . .*, *op cit.*, p. 73.
- 22 *Ibid.*, f.6 r. A Genoese pennant consisted of a red cross on a white field.
- 23 *Ibid.*, f.4 r- 5r. A blue pennant on the fore masthead detached the *Padrona* and the next in line, a red and white pennant ordered the next senior galley and her next in line whilst a white pennant on the main yard signalled the third senior galley and her next in line.
- 24 *Ibid.*, f. r-v. A Maltese pennant consisted of a white cross on a red field.
- 25 *Ibid.*, f.5 v.
- 26 AOM 293, Ch.G. 1598, f.106 v, Ord. 39 Galere; AOM 294, Ch.G. 1604, f.120 v, Ord. 51 Galere; AOM 296, Ch.G. 1631, f.143 v, Ord. 61 Galere.
- 27 *Ibid.* Ord. 40, 52, and 62 Galere respectively
- 28 NLM 110, ff.6 r-7 v. The standard of the Grand Master was yellow superimposed with the emblems of the arms of the Grand Master then reigning.
- 29 *Ibid.*, ff.8 v-9 r.
- 30 *Ibid.*, f.9 v.
- 31 *Ibid.*, ff.9 v-10 r.
- 32 *Ibid.*, ff. 7 v-8 r.
- 33 *Ibid.*, ff.11 r, 12 v and 13 v.
- 34 *Ibid.*, ff.12 v-13 r.
- 35 *Ibid.*, f.15 r.
- 36 *Ibid.*, ff.14 r-v.
- 37 *Ibid.*, ff.12 r-v.
- 38 *Ibid.*, f.15 v.
- 39 AOM 112, ff.131 r-v; AOM 1759, f.220r; AOM 1760. f.206 r; all dated 17th June, 1638.

- 40 AOM 293, Ch.G. 1598, ff.103 r-v, Ord. 8 Galere; AOM 294, Ch.G. 1604, f.117 v, Ord. 19 Galere; AOM 296, Ch.G. 1631, f.140 v, Ord. 30 Galere.
- 41 AOM 257, f.119 r; AOM 1759, f.233 v; AOM 1760, f.209 v; all dated 12th July, 1642.
- 42 Tenenti A., **Piracy and the Decline of Venice**, (London, 1967), English Translation by J. and B. Pullan, p. 128.
- 43 AOM 221, f.154 r; AOM 223, f.14 r; AOM 224, f.311 v; AOM 226, f.155 r; AOM 257, f.78v; AOM 1759, f.233 r; AOM 1760, f.209 r; all dated 14th May, 1641.
- 44 NLM 110, ff.15 v-16 v.
- 45 AOM 293, Ch.G. 1598, ff.103 r-v, Ord. 7 Galere AOM 294, Ch.G. 1604, f.117 v, Ord. 19 Galere; AOM 296, Ch.G. 1631, f. 140v, Ord. 30 Galere.
- 46 AOM 1759, f.406 r; AOM 1760, f.350 r; section entitled **Bandi e Pragmatiche**.
- 47 NLM 110, ff.17 r-18 r.
- 48 AOM 293, Ch.G. 1598, ff.103 r-v, Ord. 7 Galere; AOM 294, Ch.G. 1604, f.117 v, Ord. 19 Galere; AOM 296, Ch.G. 1631, f.140 v, Ord. 30 Galere.
- 49 AOM 112, f.130 v; AOM 224, f.311 r; both dated 16th June, 1634. AOM 223, f.14 r; AOM 226, f.5 r; both dated 16th June 1638.
- 50 AOM 293, Ch.G. 1598, f.104 r, Ord. 9 Galere; AOM 294, Ch.G. 1604, f.117 v, Ord. 20 Galere; AOM 296, Ch.G. 1631, ff.140 r-141 v, Ord. 31 Galere.
- 51 AOM 1759, f.405 v; AOM 1760, f.349 v; section entitled **Bandi e Pragmatiche**.
- 52 AOM 293, Ch.G. 1598, f.104 r, Ord. 7, Galere; AOM 294, Ch.G. 1604, f.117v, Ord. 19 Galere; AOM 296, Ch.G. 1631, f.140 v, Ord. 30 Galere.
- 53 AOM 1759, f.406 v; AOM 1760, f.349 v; sections entitled **Bandi e Pragmatiche**.
- 54 AOM 106, ff.217 r-v, dated 11th June, 1620.
- 55 AOM 106, f. 56 v, dated 13th October, 1617.
- 56 AOM 293, Ch.G. 1598, f.104 r, Ord. 10 Galere; AOM 294, Ch.C. 1604, f.117 v, Ord. 20 Galere; AOM 296, Ch.G. 1631, f.141 r, Ord. 32 Galere.
- 57 AOM 112, f.131 r; dated 16th June 1638. AOM 224, f.311 r; AOM 226, f.47 r; both dated 16th June 1634.
- 58 AOM 257, f.138 r, dated 27th May 1643, On the galleys' return from the Levant, there were fears that they might be possible carriers of disease. These fears were unfounded.
- 59 AOM 256, f.107 r, dated 1st October 1632, wherein is an example of such a commission.
- 60 AOM 116, f.27 r, dated 16th June 1647.
- 61 AOM 257, f.37 v, dated 23rd October 1639.
- 62 NLM 110, ff.17 v and 20 r.
- 63 AOM 103, f.82 r, dated 25th June 1609.
- 64 NLM 110, f.19 r.
- 65 AOM 294, Ch.G. 1604, f.120 r, Ord. 50 Galere; AOM 296, Ch.G. 1631, f.143 v, Ord. 60 Galere.
- 66 AOM 293, Ch.G. 1598, f.107 r, Ord. 45 Galere; AOM 294, Ch.G. 1604, ff. 120 v-121 r, Ord. 57 Galere; AOM 296, Ch.G. 1631, f. 144 r, Ord. 67 Galere; AOM 226, f.23 r and AOM 434, f.271 v, both dated 23rd March 1574, AOM 444, f.277 v, **Liber Bullarum 1588-9**, section entitled **Sopra il buon governo delle Galere**.
- 67 AOM 93, f.164 v, dated 8th October 1573.
- 68 AOM 256, f.114 v, dated 9th January 1634; AOM 226, f.26 r and AOM 256, f.115, r, both dated 1st February 1634.
- 69 AOM 256, f.179 r, dated 19th July 1638.
- 70 AOM 97, f.26 v; AOM 1759, f.137 r-v; AOM 1760, f.113 r; all dated

- 9th May 1586. AOM 96, f.48 v; AOM 1759, f.143 v; both dated 18th May 1582.
- 71 AOM 108, f.112 v; AOM 223, f.12 r; AOM 224, f. 311 r; AOM 226, f.26 r; all dated 2nd August 1625.
- 72 AOM 226, f.26 r; AOM 257, f.49 r; both dated 12th April 1640. AOM 257, f.193 v, dated 7th January 1645.
- 73 AOM 226, f.23 r; AOM 433, f.251 r; both dated 6th September 1570.
- 74 AOM 117, f.165 r; AOM 220, f.199 r; both dated 30th January 1652.
- 75 AOM 293, Ch.G. 1598, f.88 v, Ord. 7 and 8 Galere; AOM 294, Ch.G. 1604, ff.116 r-v, Ord. 9 and 10 Galere; AOM 296, Ch.G. 1631, f.139 v, Ord. 19 and 20 Galere.
- 76 *Ibid.*, Ord. 9, 11 and 11 respectively.
- 77 *Ibid.*, Ord. 10, 12 and 12 respectively.
- 78 AOM 293, Ch.G. 1598, f.89 r. Ord. 11 Galere.
- 79 AOM 1759, f.381 r; AOM 1760, f.329 r; both dated 17th April 1598.
- 80 *Ibid.*, AOM 100, f. 111 v; all dated 29th March 1599.
- 81 AOM 294, Ch.G. 1604 f. 121 v, Ord. 67 Galere; AOM 296, Ch.G. 1631, f.144 v, Ord. 71 Galere.
- 82 *Ibid.*
- 83 AOM 1759, f.381 v; AOM 1760, f.392 v; both dated 8th November 1663.
- 84 AOM 293, Ch.G. 1598, f. 109 r, Ord. 71 and 72 Galere; AOM 294, Ch.G. 1604, f.123 r, Ord. 86 and 87 Galere; AOM 296, Ch.G. 1631, f.146 r, Ord. 96 and 97 Galere.
- 85 NLM 1463, Vol. 1, ff.17. v-18 v.
- 86 AOM 293, Ch.G. 1598, f.106 r, Ord. 33, 34 Galere; AOM 294, Ch.G. 1604, ff.119 v-120 r, Ord. 43, 44 Galere AOM 296, Ch.G. 1631, ff.42 v-143 r, Ord. 53, 54 Galere.
- 87 AOM 96, f.153 v; AOM 256, f32 r sqq.; AOM 1760, f.181 v; Dal Pozzo B., *Historia della Sacra Religione Militare di San Giovanni Gerosolimitano*, (Verona, 1703), Vol. I, pp 248 and 739; Rossi E., *Storia della Marina dell'Ordine di S. Giovanni di Gerusalemme di Rodi e di Malta*, (Rome, 1926), pp 52-3 and 65; Ubaldini U.M., *La Marina del Sovrano Militare Ordine di San Giovanni di Gerusalemme di Rodi e di Malta*, (Rome, 1971), pp. 294-5 and 359-363; in which two cases are described which occurred in 1582 and 1625.
- 88 Stat(uti) S(acra) R(eligione) G(erosolimitano) (Borgo Novo, 1676), p. 226, Stat(uto) 38 Delle Proibitione e delle Pene, entitled "Delle Pene che sono proposte a coloro che provocano e accettano i Duelli", passed under Grand Master La Cassiere (1572-81). The same penalties were confirmed in subsequent Chapters-General. Cf. AOM 296, Ch.G. 1631, f.132 r, Ord. 5 De Prohibitionibus et Paenis. Periodically, further confirmation emanated from the Venerable Council. Cf. AOM 109, f.232 v dated 31st October 1629; AOM 222, f.163 r; AOM 224, f. 63 r; AOM 110, f. 262 r-v; all dated 9th August 1633.
- 89 AOM 100, f.225 r-226 r; AOM 1759, f.188 v; AOM 1760, f.183 r-v; dated 2nd and 7th May 1602.
- 90 AOM 103, f.84 v, dated 7th July 1609.
- 91 AOM 100, f.225 r-226 r; AOM 1759, f.188 v; AOM 1760, f. 183 r-v; the men in question were three Knights and three servants-at-arms:— Maiolinus Georginus, Bernardus Vechetti, Alphonus de Dura, Joannes de Paola, Paulus Raimus, and Alexander de Jacovone. This penalty was imposed by Ordinances passed by the Chapter-General. Cf. AOM 293, Ch.G. 1598, f.84 v, Ord. 1; AOM 294, Ch.G. 1604, f.111 v, Ord. 11; AOM 296, Ch.G. 1631 f.133 v, Ord. 13; all under: "De Prohibitionibus et Paenis."

- 92 AOM 1759, ff.192 r-v; AOM 1760, ff. 186 r-187 r; dated 23rd October 1634, 23rd October 1641 and 21st February 1642. It is significant to note that on 25th October 1634, Calerario was replaced as Riveditore by Fra Don Nicolo Ximenes. Cf. AOM 6430, f145 r.
- 93 AOM 100, f.225 r, dated 2nd May 1602.
- 94 AOM 101, f.73 r; AOM 224, f.312 r; dated 2nd September 1604.
- 95 AOM 293, Ch.G. 1598, ff.88 v-89 r, Ord. 12 Galere; AOM 294, Ch.G. 1604, f.118 r, Ord. 23 Galere; AOM 296, Ch.G. 1631, f. 139 v, Ord. 23 Galere.
- 96 AOM 110, ff.150 r-151 r, dated 11th March 1632. French galleys usually embarked a two-month supply of victuals, weighing about fifty tons in all. Cf. Bamford P. W., *op. cit.*, p. 35.
- 97 AOM 110, f.150 r, dated 11th March 1632.
- 98 AOM 255-258, 449-465, 467, 469, 470, *passim*.
- 99 AOM 108, f.107 r, dated 16th July 1625.
- 100 AOM 108, f.111 v, dated 2nd August 1625.
- 101 AOM 256, ff.70v-71 r, dated 30th July 1627.
- 102 AOM 110, ff.150 v-151 r, dated 11th March 1632.
- 103 *Ibid.*
- 104 AOM 737, f.88 r, dated 20th July 1637; AOM 738, f.2 v, dated 27th July 1644.
- 105 AOM 110, ff.150 r-v, dated 11th March 1632. On French galleys, the rowers' "official allowance consisted of two pounds of bread or sea biscuit a day with bean soup, oil (or lard), salt, and sometimes a little wine. Cf. Bamford P. W., *op. cit.*, p. 203.
- 106 AOM 737, f.87 r, dated 20th July 1637; AOM 738, f.3 r, dated 27th July 1644.
- 107 AOM 101, ff.72 r-75 r, dated 2nd September 1604. AOM 108, ff. 111 v-113 r, dated 2nd August 1625.
- 108 AOM 664, ff.161 r-162 r, dated 21st April 1629. AOM 109, ff. 188 r-189 r, dated 30th April 1629.
- 109 AOM 1759, f.173 v; AOM 1760, ff.168 v-169 r; both dated 30th November 1631.
- 110 AOM 110, ff.182 r-v; AOM 222, ff.188 r; AOM 225, f.20 v; all dated 28th June 1632.
- 111 AOM 257, ff.37 r-37 v, dated 14th September 1639.
- 112 NLM 110, f.8 v.
- 113 AOM 296, Ch.G. 1631, f.145 r, Ord. 84 Galere.
- 114 Bamford P. W., *op. cit.*, p. 116 sqq.; Guilmartin J. F., *op. cit.*, p. 293; Nani Mocenigo M., *op. cit.*, p. 31; Guglielmotti A., *op. cit.*, Vol 7, pp. 252-3.
- 115 AOM 293, Ch.G. 1598, f.103 r. Ord. 3 & 4 Galere; AOM 294, Ch.G. 1604, f.117 r, Ord. 15 & 16 Galere; AOM 296, Ch.G. 1631, ff.140 r-v, Ord. 26 & 27 Galere.
- 116 NLM 211, pp. 1-3.
- 117 AOM 293, Ch. G. 1598, ff.102 v-103 r, Ord. 1 Galere; AOM 294, Ch.G. 1604, f.116 v, Ord. 3 Galere; AOM 296, Ch.G. 1631, ff.139 v-140 r, Ord. 24 Galere.
- 118 *Ibid.*, Ord. 2, 4, and 25 respectively.
- 119 NLM 211, pp. 282-3.
- 120 *Ibid.*
- 121 AOM 296, Ch.G. 1631, f.139 r. Ord. 12 Galere.
- 122 NLM 211, p 350.
- 123 NLM 271, Cap. XX, p. 238, No. C. NLM 211, p. 48.
- 124 NLM 211, pp. 252-3. The other feast days were First Sunday of Quaresima, the Assumption of the B. Virgin, All Saints' Day and, after 1676, the Conception of the B. Virgin.

- 125 AOM 97, ff.155 v-156 r; AOM 220, f.211 r; AOM 225, f. 195 v; AOM 1759, ff.86 r-v; AOM 1760, f.74 r; all dated 17th December 1588. NLM 211, pp. 407-8. The Papal Brief is dated 15th October 1588.
- 126 NLM 211, pp. 225, 237, 262-3, 355, 357-365.
- 127 Nani Mocenigo M., *op. cit.* p. 31.
- 128 NLM 211, pp. 357, 367-374.
- 129 *Ibid.*, pp. 393-5.
- 130 Zarb J., **Zabbar Sanctuary and the Knights of St. John**, (Malta, 1969), *passim*, especially pp. 37-57. The votive paintings and other offerings still in existence can still be viewed at the Zabbar Sanctuary Museum.
- 131 Refer to **Libro dei Contratti del Tesoro**, AOM 737, f.87 r, dated 20th July 1637. The **Capitana** and each private galley carried 564 and 443 men respectively, these figures comprising solely the 'huomini di capo' and the rowers. The numbers increase greatly if one were to add the Knights, officers, servants, etc.
- 132 Cassar P., **Medical History of Malta**, (London, 1964), p. 120.
- 133 A(rchives of the) S(uperior) C(ourts of Justice, M(agna) C(uria) C(astellaniae), O(fficium) V(enerandae) S(eniscalliae), Vol. 2, case dated 10th July 1643/6th October 1643, Don Aloysio Farrugia vs. Thomaso Scattaretici, designated as 'Mastro Sala in Galera'.
- 134 Nani Mocenigo M., *op. cit.*, p. 16; Cassar P., *op. cit.*, p. 124; Mattingly g., **The Defeat of the Spanish Armada**, (London, 1970) p. 244.
- 135 Cassar P., *op. cit.*, p. 128.
- 136 AOM 1759, f.386 r; AOM 1760, f.341 r; dated 9th January 1686; Cassar P., *op. cit.*, pp. 125-6.
- 137 AOM 664, ff.161 r-162 r, dated 21st April 1629; AOM 109, ff.188 r-189 r; both dated 30th April 1629. Cassar P., *op. cit.*, pp. 125-6.
- 138 AOM 101, fff.72-75 r, dated 2nd September 1604; AOM 109, ff.95 v-96 v, dated 10th March 1628. In the lists of offices of men serving on board the galleys, the only medical officers mentioned are the 'barbieri' and the 'barberotti' who helped the former. Cf. Cassar P., *op. cit.*, p. 126.
- 139 AOM 293, Ch.G. 1598, f.107 v, Ord. 53 Galere; AOM 294, Ch.G. 1604, f.121 v, Ord. 66 Galere; AOM 296, Ch.G. 1631, f.144 v, Ord. 76 Galere; AOM 737, f.93 v, dated 20th July 1637. The **Re** was the senior caravanist on board.
- 140 AOM 663, f.282 v, dated 10th June 1616.
- 141 Nani Mocenigo M., *op. cit.*, p. 31, footnote no. 3: "non havevano altra abilità che quella di saper radere i capelli e la barba."
- 142 Guilmartin J. F., *op. cit.*, p. 293.
- 143 NLM 676, ff.31 r-32 r.
- 144 Micallef Rev. G., **Hal Luqa; Niesha u Grajjietha**, (Malta, 1975), p. 77.
- 145 AOM 1769, ff.186 r-187 r, dated 13th October 1646.
- 146 Bosio G., **Dell'istoria della Sacra Religione et Ill.ma Militia di San Giovanni Gerosolimitano**, Napoli, 1684), Vol. III, p. 152.
- 147 NLM 118, **Miscellanea Gerosolimitana**, p. 179 sqq.
- 148 Bosio G., *op. cit.* III pp. 115, 152, 203 respectively.
- 149 *Ibid.*, pp. 177-8, 267, 464 respectively.
- 150 *Ibid.*, p. 467.
- 151 *Ibid.*, p. 482.
- 152 Dal Pozzo B., *op. cit.*, I, pp. 15-17. Don John of Austria's declaration is dated 17th September 1571 and the Papal Brief bears the date of 22nd September 1571, that is, before the actual battle took place.
- 153 Dal Pozzo B., *op. cit.*, I, p. 79.
- 154 Bosio G., *op. cit.*, III, pp. 177-8.
- 155 *Ibid.*, p. 467.



- 156 Nani Mocenigo M., *op. cit.*, p. 79.  
 157 *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81. Anderson R.C., *op. cit.*, p. 72.  
 158 Nani Mocenigo M., *op. cit.*, p. 81.  
 159 Anderson R. C., *op. cit.*, p. 80.  
 160 NLM 1463, Vol. II, f.476 v.  
 161 *Ibid.*, ff477 v-478 r.  
 162 AOM 465, ff.281 v-284 r.  
 163 Dal Pozzo B., *op. cit.*, p. 110.

#### LANGUAGE BARRIER

In his memoirs on the war in Burma, Lord Mountbatten recalled the trick used by Major-General Frank Messervy to exchange radio-telephone messages without having them intercepted by the enemy.

Messervy chose two British officers who had learnt French by the methods which are traditional in British schools. They understood each other reasonably well in French, but, declares Mountbatten, "they really spoke it so badly that they could not have been understood by the French let alone the Japanese! They were entirely successful."

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