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[p.69] A manuscript Siege-Map of Malta recently discovered

Albert Ganado

Map-making is certainly one of the oldest of the graphic arts, for it is common to all primitive peoples. The oldest known city-plan was made in Babylonia in about 2000 B.C., an Egyptian papyrus on which a gold mine is sketched dates to *circa* 1300 B.C., and in the British Museum a Babylonian clay tablet dating from the 6th or 5th century B.C. is preserved on which a representation of the world is drawn. Indeed, the Babylonians are also credited with having made the first known attempt at a reasoned conception of the universe dividing the circle of the sky into 360 degrees, the degree into minutes and the minutes into seconds.

Greece and Rome made their fair contribution to the science of map-making in the centuries that followed, but the landmark in the history of cartography was the work of Claudius Ptolomaeus, a Greek astronomer and geographer of the School of Alexandria who, in A.D. 150 *circa*, produced a world atlas (*Geographia*) which dominated both the Christian and Moslem worlds for about 1,400 years.

With the invention of printing and the revival of learning, Italy turned her attention to the extant Codices of Ptolemy's *Geographia* and various printed editions were brought out from the main centres of scholarship (1st edition, Bologna, 1477). The only new knowledge acquired at that period came from the manuscript portolans (charts made by seamen for seamen) and *isolari* (books of islands).¹

[p.70] The middle decades of the 16th century witnessed great activity in the production and publication of separate maps of all parts of the world, the main centres of the industry being Rome and Venice. The first maps produced were woodcuts, but copper soon became the standard medium for map printing. In the 1560s print dealers in these centres started binding in atlas form accumulations of these loose maps, following in general the Ptolemaic order of precedence. But the contents of each individual book were necessarily haphazard, depending on the stock available or the demand of a special client.²

¹ For further reading on the early history of map-making, see R.V. Tooley, *Maps and map-makers*, London 1978, 6th ed., 3-21; L. Bagrow, *History of cartography*, revised and enlarged by R.A. Skelton, London 1964, 19-95; C. Bricker, *Landmarks of mapmaking*, Amsterdam 1964, 9-23.

² About eighty of these composite atlases (known as 'Lafreri atlases') are extant. Only a few have been described in detail: see G. Caraci, *Di due sconosciute raccolte di carte cinquecentesche*, in 'Rivista Geografica Italiana' XXX(1923), 273-280. R. Almagià, *Intorno ad una raccolta di carte cinquecentesche di proprietà del Lloyd Triestino*, in "L'Universo," VIII(Marzo, 1927), 265-293. G. Caraci, *Avanzi di una preziosa raccolta di carte geografiche a stampa dei secoli XVI e XVII* in "La Bibliofilia," XXIX(Agosto-Settembre 1927), 178-192. E. Heawood, *An undescribed Lafreri atlas and contemporary Venetian collections*, in 'Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,' LXXIII(1929), 359-369. G.H. Beans, *Fragments from a Venetian collection 1556-1567*. E. Heawood, *Another Lafreri Atlas*, in 'Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,' LXXX(1932), 521-522. Francis Edwards Limited, *Description of a recently discovered "lafreri" atlas 1553-1580*. London [1933], 16. W. Shiras, *The Yale "Lafréry Atlas,"* in 'The Yale University Library Gazette,' 1935, 55-60. *Lafreri-Atlas formerly in the J. Lewelel Collection*, in 'Imago Mundi,' IX(1952), 97-99. R. Gallo, *Carte*

It was only in 1570 that Abraham Ortelius produced in Antwerp the first modern atlas as we know it, namely, a uniformly sized, systematic collection of maps of all the countries of the world [p.71] (*Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*) based only on contemporary knowledge since the days of Ptolemy.

Italian 16th century maps

In the 16th century, Italian publishers offered to their clients a comprehensive selection of maps of the then-known world, including continents, countries and islands, but they also issued plans of cities and news-maps of notable historical events such as contemporary wars in various parts of Europe, sieges, naval engagements and the battle-order of the Turkish army. Among the battles and sieges shown on picture-maps are the following: Gerbi, Tunis and Goletta in Africa; Gotha and Ingoldstadt in Germany; Mirandola, Ostia, Siena and Vicovaro in Italy; Gyula, Komom, Raab, Tokay and Szighet in Hungary; Angoulême, Boulogne, Calais, Gravelines, Guines, Nice, Perpignan, Poitiers, Rochelle, S. Quentin, Thionville in France; Sopoto in Albania; Navpaktos (Lepanto) and Navarino in Greece; and, of course, Malta.

In the 16th century, the Maltese islands were the target of two major assaults: the sacking of Gozo in 1551 and the siege of 1565. In 1551, Antonio Lafreri issued in Rome a highly-detailed and extremely accurate map of Malta, although it gave no indication of military action. But there are two other maps, which probably represent the raid of Sinam Pasha on the island of Gozo.³

With the siege of 1565 it was quite a different matter. No less than 54 or 55 maps of the siege were issued in Italy during 1565 alone and these news-maps, or illustrated reports of the siege, flooded the print market in a way that had not happened before.⁴ Very few maps

geografiche cinquecentesche a stampa della Biblioteca Marciana e della Biblioteca del Museo Correr di Venezia, Venezia 1954, 9-30 (in these pages of his book Gallo describes the Contarini "Lafreri" atlas at the Marciana). H.P. Kraus, *Monumenta Cartographica. Catalogue* 124, New York 1969, 55-68 (these pages describe the Lloyd Triestino "Lafreri" Atlas, later broken up by the same dealer when he offered for sale singly 133 maps from the atlas, described in Catalogue 132 [1972]. Parke-Bernet Galleries Inc., *Biblioteca Philippica*. New Series: Fifth part, New York 1969, sale no. 2920, 7-15 (describes the John Locke "Bertelli" Atlas). Sotheby's, *Catalogue of highly important maps and atlases*, London 1980, catalogue 8372, 28-86 (describes a Venetian collection which came from the estate of Count E.H. Czapski, formerly belonging to the Doria family). F. Borroni-Salvadori, *Carte, piante e stampe storiche delle raccolte lafreriane della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze*, Roma 1980, pp. LXXXIV + 139. A. Ganado, *Description of an early Venetian sixteenth century collection of maps at the Casanatense Library in Rome*, in 'Imago Mundi,' London, XXXIV(1982), 26-47).

³ For a description of these maps see M. Agius Vadalà and A. Ganado, *The pre-siege maps of Malta 1536-1563*, in 'Annual Reports and Accounts 30th September 1986 of the Investment Finance Bank Limited', Malta 1986, 17 unnn.pp.

It is possible that an unknown map made by Hieronymus Cock in 1551 was issued on the occasion of this raid. It is listed in the map inventory of Viglius de Zuichen drawn up in August 1575 (*Old inventories of maps*, in 'Imago Mundi,' V, 18).

⁴ A. Ganado, *Italy's Sixteenth Century Contribution to the Cartography of Malta*, in 'Imago et Mensura Mundi—Atti del IX Congresso Internazionale di Storia della Cartografia,' Roma 1985, I, 226.

appeared in Rome and Venice describing graphically other [p.72] battles and sieges; Malta, therefore, holds an absolute record in this field.

The depiction of military events on these maps obviously depended on original sketches or detailed reports being made available to the cartographer, the engraver or the publisher. In the case of the Malta siege maps, we know for certain that at least some of them were modelled on drawings prepared in Malta contemporaneously with the events they represented and sent over to Italy for publication.

This is attested to by the publishers themselves, who had every interest to stress for the benefit of their clients, actual or potential, the authenticity and faithfulness of their productions. Three siege maps published by Lafreri in Rome, one published by Battista Pittoni and another one by Giovanni Francesco Camocio in Venice in 1565 contain respectively the following legend:

(a) *Ritratto dallo istesso disegno mandato da Malta*

(b) *Disegno dell Isola di Malta con li porti et forti, come / al presente si vede, cauato dalli disegni mandati da Malta*

(c) *Vltimo disegno delli forti di Malta uenuto nuouamente* / *et se il tutto non è cosi limato, come si douria Imputase / alli torbolenti tempi, che non lassano fare à quelli che / sonno in malta (quali hanno mandato il disegno) le cose con / quella Comodità che se ricerca.* (this map is dated August 1565 and it was made to show the assault on Senglea by the boats transported overland to Marsa).

(d) *..... ho uoluto da-lrre ala stampa il uero disegno qual il giorno doppo / lasalto fu portato in cicilia*

(e) *Disegno del Porto di Malta, come al pre-/sente si troua assediato da turchi, cauato / da altri disegni mandati da Malta / fidelisimi,*⁵

.....

The question now arises: have any of these sketches survived the passage of over four centuries? The author had posed the same question when he was writing a paper in November 1985 on the siege maps of Malta. Reference was then made to two manuscript [p.73] sketches of the siege which were almost certainly contemporary and it was pointed out that, since the history of cartography acquired a new dimension some decades ago, new material was being discovered all the time.⁶ The more so that many maps lying in public libraries, especially in Europe, were still uncatalogued.

An unrecorded composite atlas

Whilst that article was in print, the author was in Rome and, during one of his rounds in public libraries, stimulated in his research by what he had just written, he came to know at the Biblioteca Angelica of an unrecorded collection of maps which had been given a vague, generic title in the subject catalogue *Tabula universalis juxta Ptolomaeum, sine loci et anni nota, cum iconographiis urbium calamo exaratis*.⁷

On examining the collection, he found that it consists of a mixture of printed and manuscript maps. The printed maps are 40 in number, some of which came out of an early modern atlas; the others are maps printed in loose sheets, the earliest dated one being a *Nova*

⁵ For further details on these maps see A. Ganado, *op. cit.*, 221-232; also A. Ganado, *The siege map of Malta by Francesco De Marchi*, in 'Proceedings of History Week 1984.' Malta 1986, 101 -140.

⁶ A. Ganado, *On "Siege maps of Malta,"* in 'The Philatelic Society of Malta Magazine,' Malta, XIV (Dec. 1985), 17-23.

⁷ Old shelf mark *BB.22.11*, now *Bancone Stampe 56*.

Germaniae descriptio published by Michele Tramezzino in 1553⁸ and the latest dated one a plan of Tivoli by Antonio Del Re and Giacomo Lauro (1607).⁹ One of the printed loose sheets is a [p.74] plan of the harbour area of Malta published by Antonio Lafreri in 1566 entitled *Disegno de porti e forti del'Isola de Malta / con la Pianta de la nuoua Citta Valetta edificatta dal' / Ill.^{mo} et R.^{mo} Sig.^r Gran m[aest]ro Fra Giouan de Valetta*.¹⁰

The manuscript maps (about 45) in the collection are plans of Italian cities, including Siena, Todi, Anagni, Ortona, Vicenza, Cesena, but with a preponderance of sites in Puglia (thirteen), Sicily (ten), and Campania (eight).¹¹

The provenance of this collection is not known, and it has not yet been analysed and studied as a corpus. Writing in 1987, two Italian authors, whilst emphasizing the importance of the manuscript maps it contained relating to the south of Italy, advanced the view that the volume had formed part of a larger collection of maps that belonged to the Augustinian friar Angelo Rocca who, in 1604, founded the Biblioteca Angelica.¹² The main interest of the

⁸ This map has the same title as that listed by Tooley in *Maps in Italian Atlases of the Sixteenth Century*, in 'Imago Mundi,' III(1939), 30, no. 252, but the letters G L A referred to by Tooley are wanting. According to Fabia Borroni-Salvadori (op. cit., xx), the monogram NB appearing on the map stands for Nicolaus Beatricius, and not Natale Bonifacio as attributed by Tooley. Actually, G. Caraci and R. Almagià had held the same view which may be further corroborated by the fact that in 1553 Beatrizet was working for Michele Tramezzino (engraving no. 23 in Arch.1.27 at the Stadt and Universität Bibliothèque, Bern).

Nicolaus Beatricius, or Nicolas Beatrizet, like Antoine Lafréry, was a native of Lorraine and they both settled permanently in Rome. In 1540 he was working as an engraver for Antonio Salamanca and in 1548 for Lafreri. He later became a publisher in his own right, and he made it a point to emphasize on his engravings that he was the owner of the plates. His imprint on a map of Malta *MELITA. NVNC. MALTA* reads: *Nicolaus beatricius Lotharingus incidit et formis suis exc[udit]*.

⁹ Giacomo Lauro was a Roman writer, publisher and engraver, active between 1583 and 1645. In 1636 he published *Pianta, e breve historia della nobilissima Isola di Malta, et della Inespugnabil Città Valletta, col disegno della Gran Caracca* (2nd ed. 1639). The first volume of *Heroico splendore delle città del mondo* was published by him with an engraved title-page dated 1639. It contains the said two maps of Malta and an engraving of the *Gran Caracca*.

¹⁰ For the publication of this map (Tooley 361), use was made of the copper plate of the anonymous plan published in Rome in 1563 *MELITA NVNC MALTA* (see Agius-Vadalà and Ganado, map no. 12). Whereas the 1563 plan shows the perimeter walls of the new city as designed by Bartolomeo Genga in 1558, this plan outlines the new design of Francesco Laparelli which was adopted in 1566 when the Knights started building the new city on Mount Sceberras. It gives the measurements of the new city (later named Valletta), has a key to place-names marked A to L and is signed and dated: *Ant. Lafrerij Formis Romae. 1566*. Some erasures made on the original plate have come out clearly in the printing of this second state of the map.

¹¹ Three maps are missing from the original collection: Perugia, Palermo and Rome.

One of the manuscript maps is a *Prospettiva di Maruggio della Religio' de Malta* (numbered 72 in pencil). Maruggio was an important Commandery of the Order within the Priory of Barletta. It lies south-east of Taranto, only one mile from the Gulf. The Commandery had a lovely palace, known as *Il Castello* consisting of twenty-eight spacious rooms, adjoining a church dedicated to St John.

¹² A. Castellano, *Città di Puglia — vedute prospettiche del Sec. XVI*, Molfetta, 1987. E. De Cillis, *Due disegni inedite dell'antica città di Giovinazzo*, in 'Il nuovo tocco del Born Baun' Giovinazzo, n. 4(1987).

owner lay obviously in maps of Italian cities and, in [p.75] particular, those of the southern half of Italy, Sicily and Malta. Apart from the Lafreri printed map, two manuscript maps of Malta are included in the collection.

A manuscript plan of Valletta

One of the Malta maps is a pen-drawing of Francesco Laparelli's plan of the new city of Valletta (241 x 210 mm.). This drawing was transferred to copper by a Roman engraver for the publication of Lafreri's *DISEGNO VERO DELLA NUOVA CITTA DI MALTA* (1566) in its first state.¹³ It shows Laparelli's perimeter walls, including St. Elmo on the seaward side, and the ditch stretching along the land front. Even the scale of 50 Canne and the signs of the wind directions are identical: T, +, O, P. The engraving was then filled in with the title and legend, the placenames *Castello S.¹⁰ Ermo* and *Porto Musetto*, Lafreri's imprint and date, the wind direction *Libecchio*, the land contours, shipping and the stippling of the sea area.

The only detail that was left out by Lafreri's engraver was the letter *F* (meaning *fonte*) which was, however, added on to the plate [p.76] later, for the publication of the second state of the print, together with the names of the bastions, and the place-names *Fosso*, *Porta S. Giorgio*, *Santa Maria della vittoria*, *Alloggiamento del Gran Maestro*, *Reuelino* (of St. Elmo), and *Darsena per X galee*. The road leading from *Porta S. Giorgio* to St. Elmo is shown on the plan in its second state by two parallel dotted lines, whilst the spring is indicated within a tiny rectangle (as on the ms. drawing) and explained *Qui si e trouato vna / fonte di aqua dolce*.

There is no way to discover whether this pen-sketch was sent to Lafreri's workshop from Malta, or whether he got it from some other source in Italy. Laparelli came to Malta to submit plans for the new city on 28 December 1565 and he remained until 27 April 1568. In March 1566, the military engineer Gabrio Serbelloni arrived in Malta as the emissary of Philip II of Spain. He left shortly after the foundation stone of the new city was laid in the same month, and it is likely that Serbelloni took with him to Rome a copy of Laparelli's plan.¹⁴

The author expresses his thanks to the Director (Dottressa Silvana Verdini) and staff at the Biblioteca Angelica for their help. He is grateful in particular to Signorina Paola Munafò for informing him of Professor Antonio Castellano's interest in the collection. Thanks are also due to Prof. Castellano for replying to the author's queries and for a photocopy of the article by De Cillis. Dr Ing. Arch. Gioacchino Massarelli, President of the Lions Club of Bitonto-Palo del Colle, was very kind to donate to the author Prof. Castellano's booklet.

In one of his letters, Prof. Castellano furnished the author with biographical data on Fr Angelo Rocca, born at Rocca Contrada (now Arcevia) in 1545, died at Rome in 1620. He graduated in letters at the University of Padua. Pope Sixtus V placed him in charge of the Vatican Printing Press. He published the Bible and the works of Egidio Colonna, St Bonaventure, St Gregory and others. He was the founder of the first Library in Rome, which was named after him: Biblioteca Angelica.

The renowned geographer Lucas Holstenius (1596-1661) bequeathed a part of his collection to the Angelica. He was born in Hamburg and died at Rome. On 31 May 1637 Holstenius came to Malta in the company of the Landgrave of Hesse. The celebrated author of *Mundus Subterraneus*, Fr Athanasius Kircher, spiritual counsellor of the Landgrave, was a member of the party.

¹³ The author has come across four states of this plan (Ganado's article in *Imago Mundi* (1982), 39, mentioned in ref. 2 *supra*).

¹⁴ Very soon after it was approved by the Grand Master (La Valette) and the Council of the Order, Laparelli's plan of the new city reached not only Rome but also Venice, where it was

[p.77: for illustration see end of the article]

[p.78] The siege map

The manuscript map of the siege is without doubt a more exciting discovery. It is a fish-shaped map of Malta, orientated south to the top, where Filfla is also shown, but both islands are unnamed. There is no title or legend; the author of the map gives a graphic description of various stages of the siege from the landing of the Turkish hordes to the arrival of the Christian relief force, with appropriate captions. Although the villages are sited with a great degree of accuracy, the names inscribed on the body of the map are limited to the most important places: forts *S. to termo*, *s to angelo*, *S^{to} michelj*; *li forchj*; *il saluator*; *l isula*; *la marsa*, *il giardino d[e]l gra[n] maestro*; *la catena del porto*; *la bocca del porto* /.... *d[e]l bor* /; *il porto di mar* / *sa moxet*; (il?) *porto (detto la?) cala di s^{to} paulo*; *la cita uecha d[i] malta*; *il borgo*, indicating Rabato, and *s^{to} dominico*, *s^{to} aug.^{no}*, *s.^{ta} maria d*; and *il G.o go*.¹⁵

Technical details

engraved by Paolo Forlani: *DISEGNO VERO / DELLA NVOVA CITTA / DI / MALTA / Questa Citta principiata dal R.^{mo} Mons.^r / frà Giouannj di Valetta ... /... In Venetia per Paulo Forlani Veronese, intagliata accomodo d'ogni uno. all'jnsegna della Colon[n]a. l'Anno .i566.*

There is a second state of this plan with the addition of *Taglio Fatto di Nuouo* showing the ditch of the land front and a third state with hatching introduced to highlight the ditch. This third state was later reissued with the additional imprint: *Ferando Bertelli exc[udit]*.

Forlani re-engraved the plan in a much smaller format a year later for publication in his extremely rare town atlas *Il primo libro delle citta, et fortezze principals del mondo*, Venice, 1567. The plate was later used many times over by the Bertellis and by Camocio for their books on towns and islands. The last impressions have the number '74' at the bottom right corner. A proof *avant lettre* of Forlani's plan is in the authors collection.

Forlani's book, of which only a handful of copies have survived, has passed unnoticed even in recent authoritative publications, as T. Colletta, *"Atlanti di città" del Cinquecento*, Naples, 1984, and J. Elliot, *The City in Maps: urban mapping to 1900*, London, 1987.

For further details on the plans published in 1566 by Lafreri and Forlani, see the author's paper in *Imago et Mensura Mundi* quoted in ref. 4, *supra*. The four states of Forlani's plan of Valletta mentioned above have also been described by David Woodward in *The Maps and Prints of Paolo Forlani. A Descriptive Bibliography*. Chicago, the Newberry Library, 1990, nos. 59.01 to 59.04. However, only the fourth state has Bertelli's imprint.

The existence of Forlani's book was dealt with by the author in his paper in *Imago Mundi* (op. cit. in ref. 2 *supra*). A detailed description of the town book by Forlani and of the second book by Domenico Zenoi has been prepared by the author and awaits publication.

When G. Serbelloni (1509-1580) was in Malta in 1566 or, perhaps, in 1573, he designed a plan of Mdina, the ancient city of Malta (See the author's article on the siege map by De Marchi, op. cit., p. 109, fn. 42).

¹⁵ Dots indicate either that the text is missing or that it could not be deciphered. The last two place-names are shown to the south-west of Mdina; they are probably meant to indicate the church of *Santa Maria dell'Annunziata* built circa 1400, with the convent built by the Carmelite Friars in 1517, and *Il Giardino gomerino* still extant today and which goes back at least to the early fourteenth century.

The paper is in the form of an irregular rectangle, the sides of which have these measurements: 494 x 735 x 743 x 500 mm. It has creases of irregular folding which form in all twelve rectangles, the largest being 240 x 271 mm and the smallest 90 x 90 mm.

The watermark has the form of a horseshoe, measuring 55 mm. at its widest part, enclosing what looks like a human figure, with an indistinct design at the head.

The map is drawn to the scale of about 1: 42000. Hills are shaded on their west side. The coast is coloured in outline with black [p.79] wash. Green is used for trees, and red for troops, batteries and ships.

News of the siege

The salient events of the siege are represented and described *in situ*. They are being set out hereunder in chronological order.

At dawn on Friday 18 May 1565, the watch at St. Angelo and also at St. Elmo discovered the Turkish fleet about thirty miles distant towards the south-east. On the 20th, it entered Marsa Scirocco. The map shows the Turkish fleet inside and around the harbour: *il porto d[i] marsa / siloco doue / (sbarcava?) / l armata d inimici(?) / che hebbero / preso sa[n] termo*.¹⁶

On the same day, the greater part of the enemy camp moved to the Marsa, the innermost part of the Grand Harbour. A chronicler wrote:

*“Near this is a spring which is so plentiful that it supplies drinking water to the Birgu, the galleys, and other places. In its neighbourhood is a small village where the Grand Master has a good house with a garden in which there were some large poplars. This place is three miles distant from the Birgu and the Turks chose it because of the water.”*¹⁷

The map indicates the spring: *l aqua / li turchj la guar / dauano*.¹⁸

22 May. Mustapha Pasha, commander-in-chief of the army, laid before the Council his blitzkrieg plan to bombard [p.80] simultaneously and conquer the Old City (Mdina) on the one hand, and the Borgo and St. Michael on the other. He invited Piali Pasha, the admiral, to go to the Old City with 10,000 men and ten guns. Piali refused to leave the fleet until it was safely ensconced in the harbour of Marsamuscetto. Thus it was decided to attack St. Elmo first and foremost. The heavy artillery was transferred thither and, on May 26, the Turks uncovered two gun-platforms on Mount Sceberras. Even as late as 20 June, new gun-

¹⁶ Trans.—The harbour of Marsa Scirocco the landing-place of the enemy forces which had taken St Elmo.

¹⁷ F. Balbi di Correggio, *The Siege of Malta 1565* (Translated from the Spanish edition of 1567), Copenhagen 1961, 52.

The spring at Marsa, referred to by historians as *Għajn Filep* (Filippo's Spring), finds a prominent place in practically all the siege maps. Although its waters were somewhat brackish, the people of the Borgo and the neighbouring farms and villages used it also for drinking purposes. Water from it was drawn continuously to fill the cisterns of the Borgo, Saint Michael and Saint Angelo, as well as to supply the galleys (*ibid.*, 27, 44, 52). By 1647, however, the spring water must have improved considerably; it was of such excellent quality that it could be stored for long periods on board the galleys and other vessels without deteriorating (G. F. Abela, *Della Descrittione di Malta*, Malta 1647, 93).

¹⁸ Trans.—The Turks keeping guard over the (spring) water.

platforms were still being built.¹⁹ The map highlights the *bastionj di turchj / co[n]tra / S^{to} ter / mo*.²⁰

30 May. Dragut Rais, the famous corsair, joined the fleet with 45 vessels (including 13 galleys and 2 galliots) and 2500 men, and set up his headquarters at St. George's Bay.

3 June (Sunday). Dragut erected a gun-platform on the height known as *Romitaggio di Santa Maria*, the Sliema of today, and immediately started bombarding St. Elmo and its ravelin. The latter was taken on that day. The map depicts on Sliema point: *il bastion / di dragod / co[n]tra Sa[n] termo*.

Fort St. Elmo fell on 23 June and the map therefore demonstrates that Piali had attained his aim: *galerj dei torchj / che i[n]trorno dopo / la presa si sa[n] termo*. The Turkish fleet which, during the investment of St. Elmo, had been stationed near Gallows Point, covering the mouth of Grand Harbour, entered Marsamuscetto all dressed with flags, with much shouting and demonstrations of joy.²¹

29 June. Eventually, before daybreak, the relief party which had been sighted on 24 June landed at *Hahra s-sewda* (the black rock).

It had been brought over by Don Juan de Cardona (Captain General of the galleys of Sicily) in two galleys of Sicily and two of the Order. It consisted of about 700 men, among whom were 40 knights of the Order and 20 gunners. Under cover of a thick mist, they covered a distance of over six miles without being detected by [p.81] the Turks and they reached Mdina safely. On 2 July, the greater part of the relief force left Mdina and joined the defenders at Birgu.

The map illustrates the four galleys and the 'piccolo soccorso' in marching order: *la petra negra doue / sbarcorno li seice[n]to / soldati che uenjro co[n] li quattro / galerj*.²²

At the suggestion of Fra Giovanni Otto Bosio (the historian's brother), a floating bridge made of barrels, planks and spars was placed in position between the Borgo and San Michele so that, in case of need, help could be sent quickly to the latter place.²³ Two days later, it was resited nearer to St. Angelo. The map shows *il pon[te] p[er] pas / sare a la / isula*.²⁴

This step was taken as part of the overall general improvement of the defences, motivated by the preparations that were being made by the Turks for a deadly assault. For this purpose, between 6 and 13 July, they had carried overland to Marsa between fifty and eighty boats, some of which were very large, for a seaward attack on Senglea, in support of a heavy land attack.

15 July. When the sun appeared on the horizon on Sunday, 15 July, the boats were lined up for the assault. For a fleeting moment, the staunch defenders, oblivious of the impending danger, were lost in admiration of the "magnificent spectacle" the boats presented.

"Three thousand of the best Turkish troops came in these boats, together with the flower of the men of Dragut and of the King of Algiers. There was not a man who did not wear a scarlet tunic; many wore cloth of gold, silver and crimson damask. They were armed

¹⁹ Ibid., 59, 83.

²⁰ Trans.—Turkish bastions against St Elmo.

²¹ Ibid., 64, 87. Trans.—The Hermitage of St Mary—The Dragut bastion against St Elmo—The Turkish Galleys which entered (the harbour) after the capture of St Elmo—Gallows Point.

²² Trans.—The black rock where the landing took place of the six hundred soldiers who came on the four galleys. Balbi (p. 96) wrote that 700 men had landed. Figures vary according to the source.

²³ Ibid., 109.

²⁴ Trans.—The bridge for crossing over to Isola (Senglea peninsula).

with good muskets of Fez, scimitars of Alexandria and Damascus, fine bows, and they wore rich turbans.”²⁵

[p.82] The map describes them as: *li barchi torches / chi et li qual detti / ro il asalto p[er] ma/re al d[el] isola*.²⁶

Meanwhile, more than eight thousand Turks started attacking Fort St. Michael. The boat assault lasted five hours, but the Turks failed to establish a bridgehead at Senglea. Their losses were estimated at 4,000 dead, including those drowned.

7 September. Come Friday, 7 September, and the watchmen at St. Angelo espy a Turkish galliot coming from the direction of Gozo and entering Marsamuscetto harbour at full speed. A Turk is landed from a small boat and he goes post-haste to the tent of Mustapha Pasha with the alarming news that the fleet of the King of Spain had arrived.²⁷

To the south-west of Malta, the map pictures two Turkish galliots keeping a watch-out, sheltered beneath the cliffs of Ta' Ċenċ in Gozo.

*li galioti che stauano in guardia /
q[ua]n[do] uenj il n[ost]ro soccorso (?)
subito dessiro nova / al armata torchesca
subito li turchj si mossero / in gra[n] disturbo
commincia[n]do pia[n] piano il gra[n]*²⁸

It has been recorded that, even as far back as mid-June, the Turks had two galliots patrolling the *Freo* (Fliegu) and another galliot at Ġhajj Tuffieħa Bay.²⁹ On September 1, the Turkish [p.83] galliots keeping watch in the Fliegu intervened to save from capture a galley which had landed some men to draw water, probably at Ġhadira.³⁰

As soon as the Turk made his report, the Turks came out of their trenches, others abandoned the batteries, and they all started withdrawing the tents and baggage to their ships

²⁵ Ibid., 110-111. Before the massive assault of 15 July, the Turks had attempted a surprise attack against the tip of Senglea on or before 12 July. Ten boats were used, carrying a great number of men, none of whom survived the assault. (Letter written from Messina on 17 July by Fra Raffaele Salvago, to Commendatore Giuseppe Cambiano, the Order's Ambassador to the Holy See.—Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Medirco filza 4178NF, f. 33v.). This first sea assault seems to have been ignored by writers on the siege, but it appears that the following three siege maps depicted the first, rather than the second assault: (a) Domenico Zenoi—Luca Bertelli. *PORTO DI MALTA. Il Vero Disegno del Porto di Malta con le sue / Fortezze, Misure, confini et assedio d'infideli ...* (b) T B. *VERISIMO DISEGNO DEL PORTO TI (sic) MALTA ...* (c) Anonymous. *l isle de Malte ...* The full-scale assault is shown on these other maps: (a) D. Zenoi—Donato Bertelli. *Verissimo disegno del Porto di Malta con le sue forttezze, / misure et assedio d'infideli, ...* (b) D. Zenoi. *Il porto di Malta di nuouo da molti errori / emendato, et con ogni diligenza ristampato ...* (c) [Giovanni Francesco Camocio]. *Disegno del Porto di Malta, come al pre-/sente si trota assediato da turchi, ...* (d) Matthias Zündt. *Gewisse verzaychnis der insel vnd Porto Malta ...*

²⁶ Trans.—The Turkish boats which attacked the Isola from the sea.

²⁷ Ibid., 161.

²⁸ Trans.—When our relief force arrived, the galleys that were keeping watch instantly gave the news to the Turkish forces and the Turks immediately started moving in great disorder and started little by little ...

²⁹ A.F. Cirni, *Comentarii ne qvali si describe la guerra ultima di Francia ... e l'Historia dell'assedio di Malta ...* Roma 1567, 64.

³⁰ Balbi, 159.

in great haste and panic. When 35 galleys went out of Marsamuscetto and took up position in front of the mouth of the harbour, the besieged realised that help was at hand. It was not long before those at St. Angelo and on the bastions of Auvergne and Provence discovered the fleet, and the arrival of the *Gran Soccorso*.³¹

At dawn on that day, Don Garcia's ships arrived at Mellieħa and, in less than ninety minutes, the whole relief force, *il gran soccorso*, consisting of 9,000, or as others said 12,000, men had been put ashore. When the landing was completed, Don Garcia ordered the galleys to return to Sicily under cover of Gozo.³²

The map stresses the concentration of Christian vessels stretching from Mellieħa to Marfa and indicates the latter as the place:

*doue sbarcorno li / noue milia soldati
che / ueniro ed sesata galerj / Dopo
che foro sbarcati / tutti in alto
mare partorno i galerj.*³³

The troops that had disembarked lost no time in marching to the Old City, and the map shows the route they followed, in three main groups. When they had marched three miles, they were met by two Knights who were coming from the City with some horses and they were told that some Maltese were following with beasts of burden to help carry the munitions.³⁴

[p.84] The legend of the map mentions the soldiers and the City, but the writing is difficult to decipher: *li soldati d[e]l eneuano (?) in (?) cita u[e] cha (?)*

Another feature recorded by the map is the burning of various settlements. This is confirmed by the diarist Balbi da Correggio who wrote that on 8 September the Turks set fire to the houses of Bormla, and on 10 September:

“The men, women and children of the Birgu went out to the platforms of the Turks and brought in such wood as they could find, and asked to be allowed to use it for the repair of their houses which had been ruined or burnt by the enemy.

During the night, a Genoese Christian escaped from the Turkish fleet he said that they (the Turks) had burnt all that was superfluous, such as old ropes, sails, sacks of wool, and other material for making trenches, so that they might not fall into our hands.”³⁵

He wrote on the 11th:

“At dawn the sentries of the relief force saw the enemy advancing and burning the places they passed through.”

³¹ Ibid., 161-2.

³² Ibid., 172.

³³ Trans.—Where the 9,000 soldiers landed who had arrived on the sixty galleys. After they had disembarked, the galleys left for the open sea.

A letter sent from Naples to Rome on 12 September stated that Don Garcia had arrived in Malta with 64 galleys and that he had landed 9,600 soldiers (*Novi avisi venuti da Napoli*, s.l.n.d., 6).

³⁴ Ibid., 170.

³⁵ Ibid., 171, 173.

And further down he states:

“A council of war was held, but opinions differed. Some advised going to meet the enemy, others not.

By this time the Turks could be seen advancing on the City, burning everything on their way.”³⁶

Date and origin of the map

The map does not show the final encounter between the Turks and the relief force which took place on September 11, or the departure of the Turkish fleet soon after. It can therefore be dated to 8-10 September.

We now come to the crux of the problem: what is the origin of this map? Was it done in Italy for the publisher's workshop on the basis of reports reaching Italy, or was it executed in Malta for onward transmission to Italy?

[p.85] Unfortunately, no straightforward definite answer can be given. But, on the basis of internal evidence of the map itself and surrounding circumstances, it seems proper to suggest that the map was drawn in Malta for the purpose of being reproduced abroad in printed form.

Considerations in favour of this suggestion are the following:

1. The accurate geographical features indicate a direct source, the more so that the map is not a copy of any printed map of Malta that was available as at 8-10 September 1565. Although it is reminiscent of the Lafreri map of 1551, it is different in many respects and more precise.

2. Every single detail of the siege registered on the map is borne out by eye-witnesses and by subsequent reliable accounts of the siege.

3. It depicts certain places which were not to be found at the time on any known printed map: for example, Sant'Agostino at Rabat and, one could also say, San Domenico. Indeed, there are printed siege maps which indicate Sta. Maria della Grotta (and, incidentally, also St. Francis Church) but San Domenico is never mentioned.³⁷

4. The state of the paper might also be taken into account. It has folds which suggest that it was carried in a pocket, a pouch or something similar and the staining in a particular rectangular section may have something to do with the journey of the map.

An important piece of evidence would be the watermark of the paper, if it could be established that paper with a similar watermark was in use in Malta at that time.

³⁶ Ibid., 175.

³⁷ Matteo Perez D'Aleccio was the first to show the church of St Dominic of Rabat on a printed map of Malta published in Rome in 1582 (A. Ganado, *Matteo Perez D'Aleccio's engravings of the siege of Malta of 1565*, in 'Proceedings of History Week 1983,' Malta 1984, 125-161).

The Grotto of Our Lady that existed on the site was already a place of great devotion in the 15th century. Around 1457-58 Matteo Curmi Slampa erected a chapel above the Grotto, a few years after the Dominicans arrived in Malta from Sicily. They soon started building a convent near the chapel, and about 1466 work was started on a large church which replaced Slampa's chapel. It was completed around 1505 and, together with the convent, it was dedicated to Our Lady of the Grotto. In 1551, during the raid on the Maltese islands, the choir and organ of the church were burnt down (M. Fsadni, *Il-miġja u l-hidma ta' l-ewwel Dumnikani f' Malta* (1450-1512), Malta 1965 and *Id-Dumnikani fir-Rabat u fil-Birgu sa l-1620*, Malta 1974.

[p.86] The cartographer

A possible avenue for establishing the identity of the maker of the map is the calligraphy. If it was done in Malta, where is one to look around to try and establish its authorship?

The most likely candidates are the military engineers who were in Malta throughout the siege, foremost among whom the senior engineer Mastro Evangelista Menga³⁸ and Girolamo Cassar, his pupil and eventually his successor.³⁹ Another engineer who assisted them was Cassar's brother.⁴⁰

Several other military engineers arrived at Malta whilst the siege was in progress, but they became engaged in fighting, rather than draughtsmanship. Besides, sketches of the siege were being sent to Sicily long before their arrival. Pietro Boninsegna, *Commendatore di Palermo*, and Capitano Juan de Funes came on 29 June with the small relief force (*il piccolo soccorso*). They were both in the front line during the defence of Borgo and St. Michael and they distinguished themselves on several occasions.⁴¹ De Funes was killed by artillery fire at the Post of Castile on August 13.⁴²

Apart from the resident engineers, there seems to have been a visiting engineer who remained here throughout the siege and whose name is not mentioned in Hoppen's list.⁴³ On May 8, in anticipation of the Turkish assault, the Viceroy of the King of Spain sent to Malta a company of 200 Spanish soldiers whose commander was Capitano Juan de Miranda. They arrived on two galleys under Don Juan de Cardona and Don Pedro de Toledo and they were [p.87] accompanied by an engineer Juan de Fayos from Valencia who rendered good service on the island although he was not of the very best in the world (*che se ben non era de' più eccellenti del Mondo, fece nondimeno quivi buon servizio*).⁴⁴ Don Juan went round the whole island, took measurements and depths of all the bays and inlets and noted down all the beaches and landing places where a relief force could eventually disembark. He immediately returned to Sicily, taking with him the *disegno* that had been prepared together with the accompanying report.⁴⁵

³⁸ Evangelista di Menga had been the Orders resident engineer since at least 1560. In 1565 he was an old man, but still very active. His contemporaries Balbi and Cirni wrote that he was a Neapolitan; Bosio, that he was from Brindisi (Balbi, 124; Cirni, 85v.; I. Bosio, *Dell'Istoria della Sacra Religione et Ill.^{ma} Militia di San Giovanni Gierosolimitano*, Napoli 1602, parte 3, 494E).

³⁹ The Maltese Girolamo Cassar (c.1520-c.1590) was *capomastro* in 1560 and the resident engineer of the Order from 1567 to 1590. He was the architect of practically all the main buildings in the new city of Valletta. (A. Hoppen, *Military engineers in Malta, 1530-1798*. In 'Annals of Science,' Basingstoke (Hampshire), 38(1981), 421). See also G. Mangion, *Girolamo Cassar architetto maltese del cinquecento*. Malta 1974, and by the same writer the name Cassar, *Girolamo* in 'Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani,' XXI (1978), 441-442.

⁴⁰ Balbi, 124.

⁴¹ Balbi, 100-1, 116, 119, 144, 150-1.

⁴² Balbi, 150. Bosio, 682E-683A, says that he was killed on 2 September

⁴³ Hoppen, 422.

⁴⁴ Bosio, 510B. He is also mentioned by Cirni (loc. cit.).

⁴⁵ Earlier in 1565, two military engineers, a Slavonian and a Greek, disguised as mariners and fishermen, had returned to Constantinople with plans and drawings of the fortifications, models in relief of St Elmo, St Angelo and St Michael, the Borgo, Mdina and the Castello in

Presumably, the map and report had been designed and drawn up by de Fayos. Balbi recorded in his diary (24 July) that, like Menga, the two Cassars and De Funes, de Fayos also worked at the repairs with great energy. Whilst so engaged, de Fayos was wounded many times but never abandoned his task although his head was continually being bandaged on account of the stones which frequently hit him.⁴⁶ He must therefore have remained in Malta after his arrival; he belonged 'to Miranda's company' which was actually left behind by Don Juan de Cardona. Indeed, his name is not included in the list of the *piccolo soccorso* given by Balbi.

It would have been a fruitful exercise to try and compare the calligraphy of this map to that of the various engineers mentioned above, if their handwriting were available.

Publication of the map by Lafreri

If the map was sketched in Malta and sent to Italy, one would expect to find a printed map for which it served as a source. And once the map is extant in a collection of maps among which is a manuscript plan of Valletta used by Lafreri, it would be reasonable to think that such a printed map might have come out of Lafreri's workshop.

[p.88] Soon after the arrival of the *Gran Soccorso*, a map was published in Rome with the title:

Nuouo disegno dell' Isola di Malta. / Con la mostra del soccorso dato da / Nostri, la Rotta de Turchi, et loro / partita dall' Isola.

In chronological order, the map gives news of the following events:

1. *Sant. Elmo / rouinato.*
2. *Galere de Christiani che uanno a dare soccorso.*
3. *Luogo doue smontorono / nel' Isola.*
4. *Li tre squadroni del soccorso.*
5. *Soldati della citta che uan[n]o inco[n]tro all[i] nostri.*
6. *Vn Turcho che porto l' auiso al / Bassà che li nostri erano In terra.*
7. *Turchi Rotti dalli Christiani.*
8. *Turchi che si partono dallo / Assedio di Malta.*
9. *Galere de Turchi.*
10. *Armata del Turcho che si fugge da Malta.*

The shape of the island on the printed version bears a striking resemblance to that of the manuscript map. The printed map, however, besides Malta and Filfla, shows also the extremities of Gozo, Sicily and Libya. As to the contents of the printed map, it was clearly intended to represent the final stage of the siege and therefore it incorporates all the details given in the manuscript map in connection with the arrival of the great relief force (*Gran Soccorso*). Probably, whilst the map was still being engraved, news reached Rome of the rout and departure of the Turks on 11 September, and these incidents are therefore depicted on the printed map, although they are not to be found on the manuscript one.

The name of the engraver or publisher of the printed map (*Nuovo disegno ...*) is wanting, but the second state of this map was published with the imprint of Lafreri, without

Gozo, as well as notes on the bays and harbours, distances and places where batteries could be installed. (Bosio, 490C).

⁴⁶ Balbi, 124.

any changes to the plate, except for the title and the addition of his imprint. The new title read:

[p.89] *MELITA Insula Diui Pauli Apostoli / quondam ... / ... / ... obsidione liberatur Tertio / Idus Septembris, Anno Salutis .M.D.LXV. / Sedente et opitulante Pio Quarto. Pont. Opt. Max. / Anno VI. Ant. Lafrerij Formis Romae cum Priuilegio.*

It is therefore quite possible that even the map in the first state was produced at Lafreri's workshop. If not, he must have acquired the plate soon after the map was disseminated.

Paintings and manuscript maps of the siege

To round off the subject of this paper, it might be useful to list the contemporary paintings and manuscript maps of the siege that have been recorded so far.

1. *Maps of the Island*

- (a) The map which is the subject of this paper.
- (b) A manuscript map in the collection of the Marquess of Salisbury, attributed to the 16th century.⁴⁷
- (c) The first of Matteo Perez d'Aleccio's set of twelve frescoes at the Palace, Valletta, painted between 1576-1581, with the title: *LA VENUTA DELL'ARMATA TURCHESCA. A DÌ 18 MAGGIO 1565*.⁴⁸
- (d) A fresco at the Palazzo Farnese in Caprarola (between Rome and Viterbo) attributed to Federico Zuccari (c. 1542-1609), which is today in a rather bad condition.⁴⁹

[p.90]

2. *Plans of the harbour area*

- (a) *Disegno de i porti del Isola di Malta co[n] le fortezze che in / essi si trouano, e co[n] la maniera delle batterie et trincere che / ui [h]an[no] fatte i Turchi ... (?1565)*, with a key to place-names marked A to K. Orientated south-west to the top. A manuscript plan on which the sea is coloured blue, the Turkish batteries and trenches yellow, the Christian defences red. It has a compass rose, but no scale. The size of the sheet is 435 x 587 mm; when

⁴⁷ The author expresses his thanks to the Marquess of Salisbury who in 1966 had allowed him to have a photo made of this Elizabethan map. It is listed in *The Historical Mss. Commission's Reports*, XIV, 305.

This Elizabethan map is identical in many respects to the anonymous Roman production *Nuouo disegno dell'Isola di Malta. Con la mostra del soccorso dato da Nostri* and Lafreri's *MELITA Insula Diui Pauli Apostoli* mentioned in the text, especially in regard to the shape of the island, the coast line of Barbary and the depiction of the walled city of Mdina. It differs, however, in certain essential details and it shows an earlier stage of the siege. There is no sign of the arrival of the *Gran Soccorso*.

It should be emphasized in regard to the said two maps that the Lafreri map is state 2 of the anonymous *Nuouo disegno*.

⁴⁸ The map is described and illustrated in colour in *The Siege of Malta 1565* by Ian C. Lochhead and T.F.R. Barling, [London 1970].

⁴⁹ O.F. Tencajoli, *L'assedio di Malta ricordato in un affresco del Palazzo Farnese di Caprarola*, in 'Malta Letteraria,' IX, 9(Sett. 1934), 257-260.

it was still a loose sheet it was folded at some stage to c. 75 x 100 mm. Later, it was mounted with marginal strips to bring it to the size of the composite atlas into which it was bound.⁵⁰

(b) Plan without title drawn in brown ink showing the Turkish trenches and the batteries placed against Fort St. Elmo, Fort St. Angelo, Borgo and Fort St. Michael (?1565). Orientated south-east to the top. Scale and compass rose. Size of sheet: 392 x 552 mm; folds: c. 70 x 100 mm. Brought to size with added margins for a factice atlas. Like the preceding plan, the watermark of the paper on which the map is drawn is a star in diamond in a circle, (cf. Beans 45) whilst that on the margins could be described as a turtle.⁵¹

(c) *Ritratto dallo istesso disegno mandato da Malta doue / sonno annotate per alphabeto le cose piu notabile*, drawn by an Italian military engineer, Francesco de Marchi. It was based on the printed siege maps he used to receive regularly from Rome and Venice, but modelled in particular on two Lafreri maps published in [p.91] Rome in 1565. The design was ready to be engraved by 9 November 1567, but the engraving was published only thirty years later.⁵²

(d) A Turkish map on parchment at the Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul, which was on display at the Council of Europe Exhibition held in 1970 at St John's Co-Cathedral in Valletta. It is attributed to the 16th century. Size: 540 x 670 mm.

(e) A miniature painting⁵³ by the Cretan painter and miniaturist George Klontzas in an illustrated Codex preserved in Venice at the Marciana Library. It is a universal chronography which begins with Adam and Eve and ends in the period when it was written (1590-92). The miniatures on plates 192-309 of the Codex depict the clashes on European soil between the Turks and the Christian powers and the internal life of Venice-held Crete. The lifting of the Malta siege is painted on plate 273, folio 128r of the Codex. It measures 164 x 132 mm.

(f) The other eleven of the twelve D'Aleccio's frescoes (1576-1581) at the Palace, Valletta, showing the following incidents of the siege:

- (i) the Turkish armada disembarks at Marsascirocco, 20 May 1565;
- (ii) investment of St. Elmo, 27 May 1565;
- (iii) capture of St. Elmo, 23 June 1565;
- (iv) investment of the Isola and Fort St. Michael, 27 June 1565;
- (v) the *piccolo soccorso* arrives at the Borgo, 5 July 1565;
- (vi) bombardment of the post of Castile, 9 July 1565;
- (vii) Isola and Fort St. Michael assaulted by sea and land, 15 July 1565;

⁵⁰ Author's collection, formerly in the collection of Count E. H. Czapski. See illustration in A. Ganado, *On "Siege Maps of Malta,"* op. cit., 18.

⁵¹ Author's collection, formerly in the collection of Count E. H. Czapski. See illustration in A. Ganado, *Italy's Sixteenth Century Contribution to the Cartography of Malta*, op. cit., fig. 4, 228.

Professor David Woodward, of the University of Wisconsin, has come across the same watermark on marginal strips and the front flyleaf of an Italian composite atlas in the Archivio di Stato di Torino (J.B.I.3, vol. 1). He has also seen it on the marginal strips of at least two maps at the Newberry Library (Novacco collection), one of which is a manuscript of the movement of the Christian and Turkish fleets in the Aegean, August-October 1572. He suggests the watermark could be a woolpack (Correspondence with the author).

⁵² For a detailed study of De Marchi's map see A. Ganado, *The Siege Map of Malta by Francesco De Marchi*, op. cit., 101-140.

⁵³ Published in A.D. Paliouras, *The painter George Klontzas (ca. 1540-1608) and the miniatures of his Codex*. Athens 1977, pl. 273. The author expresses his thanks to Andrew Nicholas for drawing his attention to this painting.

- (viii) assault on the Post of Castile, 29 July 1565;
- (ix) depiction of the various events of the siege;
- (x) the arrival of the *gran soccorso*, 7 September 1565;

[p.92]

- (xi) flight and departure of the Turkish armada, 13 September 1565.⁵⁴
- (g) Seven modellos for D'Aleccio's frescoes, at one time in the collection of Charles I of England, now preserved at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich. Oil on canvas.⁵⁵
- (h) An anonymous large plan of the harbour area (890 x 745 mm.), orientated south to the top, without title, drawn in brown ink, showing in detail the Turkish camp and gun emplacements. Watermark: five-pointed crown under star, the centre point ending in a cross. Circa 1570-75(?).⁵⁶
- (i) Painting at the Vatican in the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche* or *del Belvedere* executed by Egnazio Danti, a Dominican cosmographer and geographer, in 1580-1. It measures 1.35 x 1.39 metres and is orientated with north-east to the top.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Lochhead-Barling, op. cit.

The frescoes of D'Aleccio were copied by an anonymous artist on the walls of a large hall at the chateau de la Cassagne, in the *département* of Gers. They were commissioned by Marquis Jean Bertrande de Luppé (1586-1664), Grand Prior of St Gilles (See *L'Ordre de Malte et la France de 1530 à nos jours*. Exposition 22 Décembre 1988 -19 Mars 1989. Paris, 1988, p. 28, no. 21).

⁵⁵ The modellos are illustrated in *The Maritime Siege of Malta 1565*, published by the National Maritime Museum, London 1970.

⁵⁶ In an atlas containing over 40 ms. plans of fortresses and towns, mainly Dutch, some of which are dated between 1570 and 1575. (Sold at a public auction in Dec. 1991).

⁵⁷ The plan was described and illustrated in R. Almagià, *Monvmenta Cartographica Vaticana*, Città del Vaticano 1952, p. 58 and Tav. XXXIV. A coloured illustration was published in F. Balbi da Correggio's *Diario dell'Assedio di Malta*. 18 Maggio-8 Settembre 1565. Roma (1965).