

GALLEY REPLACEMENTS IN THE ORDER'S SQUADRON (c.1600 - c.1650)

Joseph F. Grima

In 1584, the Venerable Council of the Order decided that, in future, the galley squadron was to maintain a fighting strength of five galleys. (1) This decision was confirmed in 1585 and this number was usually adhered to though sometimes, the squadron was, temporarily, reduced to three and even two galleys due to mishaps at sea. In 1627, the strength of the squadron was increased to six galleys (2) with a further addition in 1651. (3) The upkeep of these galleys was rather expensive, amounting to 123,000 scudi yearly between 1637 and 1645, a time when the Order had six galleys in service. An estimated 23,000 scudi was spent on the *Capitana*, and 20,000 scudi on each of the other galleys. (4) Formerly, expenditure on each galley had been higher, such that it had even amounted to as much as 29,000 scudi. In fact, the expenditure presented by the Treasury for 1631 was calculated at 27,700 scudi and it was then reckoned that expenditure had increased by about 2,000 scudi in the following six years. (5) These figures do not include the actual cost of a new galley hull but the annual recurring expenses which included the salaries, provisions, the rowers' change of clothes, sails, shrouds, canves, cordage and general repairs.(6)

It was estimated that a galley-hull lasted about six years on average before being replaced, the price of a new hull being reckoned at an average of between five and six thousand scudi (7) which was a relatively cheap price compared to maintenance costs. Sometimes such hulls were ordered abroad, on other occasions they were constructed at the Vittoriosa Arsenal. One must bear in mind, however, that hull construction in Malta was just as expensive as overseas because suitable timber had to be brought over from abroad, thus involving the expenditure of large sums of money both for buying and transporting the material to Malta. In fact, in 1627, in a report about the 1598 galley foundation of Chevalier Stefano de Claramunt, we find that

1. E. Rossi, *Storia della Marina dell'Ordine di S. Giovanni di Gerusalemme di Rodi e di Malta*, Rome 1926, p.53.
2. A[rchives of the] O[rder in] M[alta, Volume] 256, f.69r, 12 July 1627. Cf. AOM 1759, f.322r; AOM 1760, f.283r.
3. AOM 117, ff. 138v-129v, 140v-141v; AOM 222, ff.166v-167r; 2 and 7 October 1651.
4. AOM 737, f. 87r, 20 July 1637; AOM 738, f. 2r, 28 July 1644.
5. AOM 112, f. 38r-v, 25 May 1637.
6. AOM 737, ff. 87r-93v, 20 July 1637.
7. N[ational] L[ibrary of] M[alta Manuscript Volume] 162 ,f, 106v.

two galleys, the *San Stefano* and *San Lorenzo*, constructed at Barcelona and Messina, cost 5,327 and 6,383 scudi in 1604 and 1615 respectively whilst two other galleys, also named *San Stefano* and *San Lorenzo*, constructed in Malta, cost 6,362 and 6,127 scudi in 1604 and 1615 respectively. Moreover, a *Capitana* built in Malta in 1626 cost 9,742 scudi and the galley *San Giovanni* was reckoned at 6,285 scudi in 1619. (8) Yet a galley ordered at Messina shipyard in 1632 was estimated to cost only 5,500 scudi. (9) These figures show that local galley-construction was just as expensive as foreign-ordered vessels.

A break-up of the four galleys built by the Claramunt Foundation in 1613, 1615, 1617 and 1618 reveals interesting information worth comparing. For this purpose, one has to group together the galleys built in 1613 and 1619 whilst those of 1615 and 1617 have to be dealt with separately because of the similarity of their respective accounts. (10)

The *San Lorenzo* built at Vittoriosa in 1613 cost about 4,812 scudi in materials whilst approximately 1,550 scudi was paid to the workmen, including the *Capo Mastro* whose pay amounted to 150 scudi. The *San Giovanni Battista*, constructed at Messina in 1618, cost about 4,480 scudi in materials but 1,804 scudi in wages paid including the *Capo Mastro's* 150 scudi wage. The 350-odd scudi difference in material perhaps reflects the cost of transport but, again, since five years had elapsed, this difference could simply mean a decrease in prices. Both *Capi Mastri* were paid the same wage but the Messina overall wage bill was over 300 scudi higher, thus suggesting a higher overall wage for employees in the Messina shipyard than those paid in Malta. (11) Curiously enough, the galley built at Messina in 1618 was slightly cheaper than the one constructed at Malta six years previously though one might expect an article to cost more as years pass by.

The same general pattern holds true of the galley *San Lorenzo*, built at Messina in 1615 and the *San Stefano* constructed at Malta in 1617. The latter cost slightly less even though constructed after the *San Lorenzo* and, contrary to the other group, the galley built in Malta was slightly cheaper. Most materials cost the same: the oars cost 208 scudi, the sail-maker was paid 60 scudi whilst yards and masts cost 224 scudi. These identical costs may be accounted for by the fact that the stores were always bought in a finished

8. AOM 109, f. 37v, 22 September 1627.

9. AOM 110, f. 167r, 10 May 1632.

10. AOM 458, ff. 296r-v, 21 February 1613; AOM 459, ff. 263v-264v, 358r-v, 1 April 1618 and 7 January 1619 respectively.

11. AOM 458, f. 296r-v, 21 February 1613; AOM 459, ff. 263v-264r, 7 January 1619.

state, irrespective of whether the galley to be fitted out was being constructed in Malta or abroad. The cost of materials and labour combined, excluding the fees of the clerks and the *Capo Mastro*, show a difference of about 100 scudi, the larger sum, that of Messina, further indicating higher labour cost abroad. The *Capo Mastro* of Messina was paid double the fee of his Maltese counterpart, 300 scudi and 150 scudi respectively, but both clerks were paid 50 scudi each. The disparity of the wages of the *Capo Mastri* suggests that the wages paid at Messina in 1615 were relatively high and this probably accounts for this galley costing over 200 scudi more than that galley built in 1617 at Malta. (12) On both comparisons, one notes that higher wages were paid at Messina than at Malta and this seems to indicate a disparity in the standard and cost of living between these two places.

Orders for the construction of galleys abroad were undertaken in various Mediterranean shipyards as it was natural that the Order should try to obtain the best terms possible in business of this nature with regard to both cost and date of delivery. Thus in 1632, the Venerable Council decided to compare the terms offered by Genoese and Neapolitan shipyards for the construction of a new galley. (13) To quote some examples, orders for galley construction were given at Messina in 1598, 1632, 1634 and 1637, (14) at Genoa in 1602, (15) at Marseilles in 1603 and 1617, (16) at Naples in 1608, (17) at Augusta in 1626, (18) and at Tuscany in 1642. (19) Construction of galleys was also carried out in Malta, such as in 1610 and 1642. (20)

When a galley was ordered abroad the usual procedure was either to escort the new vessel on its maiden voyage to Malta, (21) or else to send the old galley which was being replaced to the shipyard where construction work on the new vessel had been carried out. In the latter case, the old galley was stripped of all its armaments and fittings which, together with its

12. AOM 459, ff. 358r-v, 1 April 1618.
13. AOM 256, f. 104v, 8 March 1632.
14. AOM 451, f. 253r, 4 August 1598; AOM 110, f. 167r, 10 May 1632; AOM 256, ff. 12r-v, 23 September 1634; AOM 256, f. 172v, 25 November 1637.
15. AOM 454, f. 260r, 4 May 1602.
16. AOM 454, ff. 285v, 330v and 331r, 14 May 1603. 20 and 24 March 1604 respectively.
17. AOM 456, f. 292r, 20 March 1608.
18. AOM 256, f. 59r, 20 April 1626. Incidentally, this galley had to undergo quarantine before sailing to Malta because contagious sickness had broken out in parts of Sicily, including Augusta.
19. AOM 257, f. 110r, 18 March 1642.
20. AOM 663, f. 159v, 9 October 1610; AOM 257, f. 109v, 25 February 1642.
21. An example is found in AOM 454, f. 330v and 331r, 20 and 24 March 1604 respectively in which the squadron was ordered to look out for help, and escort the new galley from Marseilles.

crew, were transferred on to the new vessel, which was then sailed to Malta. The old vessel would be left in the yard, (22) either to be repaired, to be sold, or to be broken up, (23) the money thus obtained helping towards the cost of the new vessel. Sometimes the old galley was brought back to Malta where it was kept seaworthy in case of an emergency in the future. (24) On other occasions, the other galleys took the crew earmarked for a new galley to the relevant shipyard from where the new galley would be launched, armed and sailed to Malta. (25) Alternatively, the hulls could be towed to Malta and then these would be fitted out at the Vittoriosa Arsenal. (26)

Galley-construction or fitting-out in Malta still involved the importation of commodities not found in the island, especially timber. Moreover, masts, lateen-yards and oars were also imported as were sometimes shrouds, yards and sails or, at any rate, material for their manufacture. Thus, in 1610, we find the Commander and the *Proud' homme* of the Arsenal inspecting the quality and quantity of timber brought to Malta for the construction of a new galley (27) whilst in 1642, two galleys were sent to Messina to escort a large galleon bringing stores to Malta, including a consignment of timber. (28) In 1596, masts and lateen-yards were ordered from Calabria and the Captain-General was ordered to obtain information about available timber for ship-building, (29) whilst in 1600 the Captain-General was ordered to get three masts ordered at Trapani for the Order. (30) Yet, in 1610, the Order found it more expedient to order the squadron to fit out with masts and lateen-yards overseas either at Messina or at Naples, depending on which shipyard was prepared to accept the order. (31) In 1605, the squadron was

22. AOM 451, f. 253r, 4 August 1598, wherein is an example of a new galley replacing an old one, *San Placito*, which was to be left in the shipyard at Messina.
23. AOM 101, f. 91v, 5 November 1604, in which the Venerable Council decided that *la galera San Martin vecchia si disfaccia qui nel Arsenale restando in utilità del Comun Tesoro il legname et chivasone che di quel buco procederà.*
24. AOM 256, f. 121r, 23 September 1634, in which there was a changeover to a new galley but the old one was to be brought back to Malta laden with timber. In 1643, the *Capitana* was also kept seaworthy, on land, for future emergencies. Cf. NLM 676, f. 173r, 28 May 1643.
25. AOM 456, f. 292r, 20 March 1608, wherein the crew of the *San Giovanni* was transferred on board the other four galleys to sail a new galley from Naples to Malta. The old galley *San Giovanni* was left in Malta.
26. AOM 454, f. 260r, 4 May 1602, in which the squadron was to 'conduct' to Malta two *buchi* of galleys constructed at Genoa.
27. AOM 663, f. 159v, 9 October 1610.
28. AOM 257, f. 102v, 11 January 1642.
29. AOM 449, f. 269v, 28 March 1596.
30. AOM 453, f. 205v and 257v, 27 April 1600 and 10 August 1600 respectively.
31. AOM 453, f. 308v, 5 September 1601.

ordered to winter at Messina where they were to obtain all the shrouds needed (32) whilst in 1608, materials for sails were obtained from Messina. (33) In 1641, Don Angelo Arabito of Sicily was contracted to supply the Order with all the shrouds needed for the next four years at the rate of nine scudi per one qantar Maltese weight, payment being made on delivery. (34) In 1598, the Religion ordered 400 oars from Calabria, (35) and in 1642, the Captain of the *Padrona*, Chev. Fra Antonio Carafa, was sent to Naples to obtain an export permit for 300 oars which the Order had bought in Calabria but which had been withheld. (36)

The ornate stern or poop of a galley was constructed apart from the hull and was used again and again on new hulls when the old ones went out of service. In 1641, Antonio Garzia was contracted to construct the poop of a galley hull constructed by the Lussan Foundation. (37) The next year, the same Garzia was to construct a poop costing 120 scudi for the galley *Vittoria* but this agreement was later changed to one involving a poop for the *Capitana*, including an extra payment of 10 scudi. (39) In 1631, a certain Diego Perciati was contracted to decorate the stern of the *Capitana*. (40)

A sunken galley was not worth salvaging, except for its poop (41) and so commissions were set up — when the need arose — to inspect galleys to see if they were seaworthy or not. In 1618, the *Santa Rosalia* was declared unsuitable for navigation because she was making too much water (42) but an inspection in Syracuse of two galleys which had escaped the unfavourable battle of Murro di Porco in 1625 showed them to be fit for navigation. (43) An inspection of the *San Nicola* in 1641 declared the galley seaworthy for a voyage to Palermo in conjunction with the *Capitana* (44) whilst in 1644, three galleys had to be inspected and all were found to be navigable. (45) In

32. AOM 455, f. 277v, 7 November 1605.

33. AOM 663, f. 112v, 20 December 1608.

34. AOM 737, f. 106v, 12 June 1641.

35. AOM 451, f. 257v, 12 October 1598.

36. AOM 257, f. 103r, 16 January 1642.

37. AOM 737, f. 105v, 22 April 1641.

38. AOM 737, f. 112v, 12 February 1642.

39. AOM 737, f. 123v, 14 October 1642.

40. AOM 737, f. 53v, 22 December 1641.

41. *Ibid.*

42. AOM 106, f. 95r, 23 April 1618.

43. AOM 256, f. 32r, 27 June 1625. The inspection was carried out by Chevalier Fra Gaspare de Aldrete

44. AOM 257, ff. 74r-v, 25 and 26 March 1641.

45. AOM 257, f. 161v, 28 and 30 March 1644. The three galleys in question were the *Capitana*, *Santa Maria* and *San Giovanni de Paula*.

February, 1642, the *Capitana* was shipwrecked at Cala Rossa of Cape Passaro in Sicily, though all hands on board were saved. (46) In May, permission was granted to Paolo Bonavita to try and salvage parts of the *Capitana* with the proviso that he would be accorded one-third of the value of the salvaged goods. (47) Salvage work was carried out and the list of recovered goods was presented to the *Camera d'Audienza* for estimation in June. If anything, this list shows how little could be salvaged from a wrecked galley. (48) Such losses were great in the eyes of the Order's administrators because, whereas an occasional wreck was counted as unimportant by countries having large fleets, the loss of just one galley in such a small squadron could be calamitous in the eyes of the Religion, whose means were limited.

It is true, however, that whenever the Order suffered heavy losses, help was always forthcoming both from overseas and from private sources within the Order itself. A disaster was usually followed by the usual letters of regret and sort of condolences from foreign potentates (49) but such wishes, genuine as they might have been, could not replace the damage suffered. So it was material help which the Religion looked forward to and really appreciated; even this was not usually lacking.

In April 1606, the five galleys of the Order, under the command of the Captain-General Fra Bernardo de Speletta, were lying in wait for Muslim vessels in a small bay in the island of Cimbalo (Zembra) in the Gulf of Tunis off Cape Bon, when the squadron was surprised by a violent storm. Three of the galleys — the *Capitana*, the *San Michele*, and the *San Giorgio* — were wrecked but their crews and *ciurma* managed to get ashore on the island. The other two galleys — the *Padrona* named *San Giacomo* and the *San Luigi* — managed to ride the storm safely to Trapani and Malta respectively. The shipwrecked crews then had to endure fifteen days of continual Moorish attacks before the weather was fine enough to permit rescue attempts to be made. However, during this time, forty men were killed or taken prisoners and all the slaves escaped. (50)

46. AOM 257, f. 108r, 18 February 1642. The *Capitana* had foundered two days previously, that is, on 16 February.
47. AOM 664, ff. 139r-v, 5 May 1642.
48. AOM 664, ff. 144v-145r, 12 June 1642
49. AOM 1759, f. 344v; AOM 1760, f. 300v: both are dated 1 March 1606 and contain a letter by the King of Spain expressing his regrets regarding the shipwreck of three galleys of the Order off the island of Cimbalo, North Africa, in 1606.
50. B. Dal Pozzo, *Historia della Sacra Religione Militare di San Giovanni*, Volume I, Verona 1703, pp. 507-515; E. Rossi, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-1; U. Mori Ubaldini, *La Marina del Sovrano Militare Ordine di San Giovanni di Gerusalemme di Rodi e di Malta*, Rome 1970, pp. 326-330.

Such a loss was calamitous. But the King of Spain donated a new galley built at Naples and an old disarmed one from Palermo whilst a galley which the Order was constructing at Marseilles was soon brought into service. (51) A further donation was made by Captain-General de Speletta himself, who gave 6,000 scudi to help defray the expenses for constructing a new *Capitana*. (52) There were other smaller donations, including one of 300 scudi by Chev. Fra Nicolo' Sciortino. (53)

In June 1625, the undermanned five galleys of the Order came off second-best in an encounter with six Bizertan galleys off Murro di Porco. The Order's galleys had fought in a disorganised manner, each galley on its own when it was more prudent, to say the least, to act in a compact body when bearing in mind that the Bizertans had an extra galley and the Religion's galleys had not yet replaced the men who had died or had been wounded in the successful attack on Santa Maura earlier on during the same month. The result was that two galleys, *San Francesco* and *San Giovanni*, were captured by the enemy and about 350 men were killed. (54) This setback prompted the Venerable Council to pass new ordinations concerning the number of men on board each galley and the qualifications of the Captains. (55) Moreover, it was also observed that, in the battle, the *Capitana* could be singled out for concentrated attack probably because she was conspicuously painted scarlet after the Spanish custom, whilst the other galleys were black in colour. This practice was now discontinued and all the galleys were painted alike. (56)

Yet, once more, the Order was helped to tide over these difficulties. The Bishop of Malta, Mgr. Baldassare Cagliares, immediately donated 3,000 scudi, (57) the Castellain of Amposta presented twelve slaves for service in the galleys (58) whilst Grand Master Antoine de Paule presented a further 30 slaves. (59) The President of Sicily, Cardinal Giannettino Doria, presented

51. B. Dal Pozzo, *op. cit.*, I, p. 516; E. Rossi, *op. cit.*, p. 61; U. Mori Ubaldini, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-7.

52. AOM 1759, f. 344r; AOM 1760, ff. 300r-v; both 12 May 1606.

53. *Ibid.*

54. B. Dal Pozzo, *op. cit.*, I, p. 739; E. Rossi, *op. cit.*, p. 65; U. Mori Ubaldini, *op. cit.*, pp. 359-362.

55. AOM 108, f. 106v seq. and 113r, 16 July and 22 August 1625.

56. B. Dal Pozzo, *op. cit.*, I, p. 744; E. Rossi, *op. cit.*, p. 66; U. Mori Ubaldini, *op. cit.*, p. 363.

57. AOM 256, f. 32r, 27 June 1625. The Bishop's donation was *la rendita di Lentini che importa circa tre mila scudi...*

58. AOM 256, f. 32v, 29 June 1625.

59. *Ibid.*, 30 June 1625.

the Order with a new galley hull, (60) the Order's Receiver in Palermo, Chev. Fra Don Carlo Valdina — himself a future Captain-General of the Order's squadron — donated the sum of 2,000 scudi to be used for engaging *buonavoglie* to serve on the new galley, (61) whilst the Prior of Aquitaine, Chev. Fra Giacomo de Gaillarbois, donated the sum of 4,600 scudi. (62) The Order also played its part and imposed a levy of six months' income on all its goods (63) whilst a galley hull, kept for such an emergency at the Vittoriosa Arsenal, was hurriedly fitted out. (64)

In 1632, the galley *San Giovanni* was wrecked in the Straits of Messina off the coasts of Calabria. However, the galley was not a total loss and a spare galley kept for such an eventuality in Malta could be fitted out. (65) This loss was counterbalanced by the donation of a galley hull, in 1634, by Chev. Fra Nicolo' Cavarretta, Prior of Venice, (66) and a simi'ar gift by Chev. Fra Antonio Perdicomati in 1636. (67) However, the Order suffered still further losses when the *Capitana* sank off Cape Passaro in 1642 (68) and the galley *Vittoria* was shipwrecked off the island of Capri in 1646. (69) On every occasion, when such accidents befell the squadron, commissions were set up to report on the incident with a view to stopping their occurrences in future.

Yet, notwithstanding all these and other similar mishaps, the Order had one of its galley problems solved, partially at least, by 1636. Irrespective of the donations already mentioned, no less than six galley foundations were set up by six different benefactors between 1598 and 1636. (70) The aim of each foundation was to have enough income from invested capital to finance the construction of a new galley hull every so many numbers of years. Since the Order had a squadron of six galleys corresponding to the same number

60. AOM 256, f. 33r. 4 July 1625.

61. *Ibid.*

62. AOM 256, ff. 34v-35r, 27 July 1625.

63. AOM 108, f. 108v, 17 July 1625.

64. U. Mori Ubaldini, *op. cit.*, p. 362.

65. AOM 1759, f. 346r; AOM 1760, f. 302r; both 8 March 1632. U. Mori Ubaldini, *op. cit.*, pp. 68 and 371; E. Rossi, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

66. AOM 1759, f. 346v; AOM 1760, f. 302v; both 13 March 1634.

67. *Ibid.*; AOM 111, f. 179v, 6 January 1636; B. Dal Pozzo, *op. cit.*, Volume II, Verona 1715, p. 12; U. Mori Ubaldini, *op. cit.* p. 68.

68. AOM 1759, ff. 346v-347r; AOM 1760, ff. 302v-303r; both 17 February 1642.

69. *Ibid.*, 5 February 1646.

70. Actually, a seventh galley foundation functioned between 1651 and 1659. It will be very briefly considered further on.

of foundations, the problem of providing the capital needed for building galley hulls was, therefore, solved.

The first foundation was set up in 1598 by one of the sixteen capitular bailiffs of the Chapter-General meeting in that year, the Aragonese Fra Stefano de Claramunt, Bali' of Caspe and a former Captain-General of the galley squadron (1593-5). The capital sum of 12,000 scudi was placed at the disposition of the Order on the proviso that the interest derived from its application would be used to construct a new galley hull every eight years. Under no condition was the capital provided to be used but solely the interests which, it was hoped, would amount to ten per cent annually. If possible, the newly-constructed hull would be of a flagship and was to be named *San Stefano*. On its stern, together with the arms of the Order and of the then reigning Grand Master, the arms of the donor was also to be displayed. (71) This donation was followed by another by the same Claramunt in 1602 when he started the *San Lorenzo* foundation. (72) These two foundations were then merged onto one. (73)

Galleys from this foundation were built fairly regularly. The first galley was ordered at Barcelona in 1600 and was completed by 1604. (74) By January 1625, five galleys had already been built. (75) In 1626, a sixth, to be commissioned as *Capitana*, was ordered at the Vittoriosa Arsenal (76) whilst a seventh was ordered at Messina in 1630. (77) This last order was, however, rescinded and the new galley was ordered in Malta itself in 1631. (78) Seven galleys built in the space of thirty-four years is much more, on average, than the one every eight years originally catered for and this dispels any

71. B. Dal Pozzo, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 395-6; E. Rossi, *op. cit.*, p. 57; U. Mori Ubaldini, *op. cit.*, p. 65; AOM 102, ff. 97r and 120v-121r, 15 March and 15 July 1608; AOM 222, f. 166r, 13 January 1598; AOM 293, ff. 11v.16v and 98r; AOM, Treas[ury Series] A, Vol[ume] 96, f. 1v.

72. AOM, Treas. A, Vol. 96 f. 2v; B. Dal Pozzo, *op. cit.*, I, p. 486; E. Rossi, *op. cit.*, p. 57; U. Mori Ubaldini, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

73. AOM 109, f. 37v, 22 September 1627. A commission was examining the affairs of the Claramunt foundation and references to galleys constructed by this foundation and bearing the names of *Santo Stefano*, *San Lorenzo*, *San Giovanni* and *Capitana* are mentioned as being part of the same foundation. No doubt is expressed in AOM, Treas. A, Vol. 96, f. 1v where there is an express statement to the effect that both foundations were merged into one: *Questa fund.e è incorporata con la seguente 2.da Fund.e.*

74. AOM 100, f. 168r, 14 December 1600; AOM 101, f. 34r, 5 April 1604.

75. AOM 108, ff. 62r-v, 16 January 1625.

76. AOM 737, f. 34v, 16 September 1626.

77. AOM 110, ff. 39r-v, 8 October 1630.

78. AOM 110, f. 106r, 7 August 1631.

doubts as to whether the two foundations of Claramunt had actually been merged into one. The first six galleys cost 40,466 scudi between them, quite a large sum for those times, in the relatively short period of less than thirty years and the records show a balance of 11,523 scudi, not counting the capital. (79)

In 1614, the Prior of St. Gilles, Fra Pietro de Sparnez Lussan, provided the capital means for a second foundation which provided enough funds for the construction of a flagship every five years at Marseilles, and which was to have the name LUSSAN sculptured on its dragante. (80) It seems that the Order sometimes manipulated set conditions to its own particular needs for, in 1626, the Venerable Council decided to construct a new private galley at Malta from the Lussan funds, even though the conditions in the foundation deed laid down that the new galleys were to be flagships constructed at Marseilles. The reason advanced by the Council was that there was an immediate need for a new galley and that a *Capitana* had only just recently been fabricated by the Claramunt foundation. This change was, however, not to serve as a precedent for galleys to be constructed in the future. (81) This galley was ready by the next year and its first Captain was Fra Joannes de Toges Noillan. It was known as the *Lussana*, (82) but was also called the *San Pietro*. (83) The immediate benefit accruing to the Order by this foundation was, however, temporarily offset by the decision to increase the galley-squadron to a fighting strength of six. (84)

The third foundation, in 1631, was the donation of another Frenchman, Fra Giacomo de Gaillarbois, Prior of Aquitaine, who provided the capital of 15,000 scudi for the construction of a galley hull completed of all its wooden components including its rambate, yards and masts. The first galley was not to be built before ten years had elapsed, presumably to allow more capital

79. AOM 109, ff. 37v-39r, 22 September 1627. The galleys had cost 5,327.7, 6362.3.12, 6383.2.18, 6127.6.19, 6285.2, 9742.8.2 respectively which, added to expenses totalling 116.1.10, give a total of 40,466.2.1. The foundation had a total credit from interests amounting to 52,021.4.10, thus leaving a balance of 11,523.3.9. Figures are given in scudi, tari, and grani respectively.

80. AOM, Treas. A, Vol. 96, F. 12v; AOM 105, ff. 76v-77v, 14 August 1614; AOM 105, ff. 97v-98v; AOM 222, f. 166, both 5 December 1614. B. Dal Pozzo, *op. cit.*, I, p. 601; E. Rossi, *op. cit.*, p. 57; U. Mori Ubaldini, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

81. AOM 256, ff. 62v-63r, 27 October 1626.

82. AOM 109, f. 46r, 22 September 1627.

83. *Ibid.*, the galley is designated the *Lussana*. In AOM 6430, f. 136r, no name is given but U. Mori Ubaldini, *op. cit.*, p. 573, lists the galley as *San Pietro*, which tallies with the Christian name of the foundations' donor. E. Rossi, *op. cit.*, p. 143, does not name the galley.

84. AOM 256, f. 69r, 12 July 1627.

to be accumulated, but, after 1641, hulls were to be constructed as deemed necessary. The size of the hulls and the place where they were to be constructed were measures for the consideration of the Grand Master and the Venerable Council but it was stipulated that the galley would be named *San Luigi*, after the King of France, and that the donor's coat-of-arms would be placed alongside those of the reigning Grand Master and the Order. Lastly, it was agreed that if the value of the foundation increased, either more galleys were to be built or else fresh investments would be made. (85)

Grand Master Antoine de Paule (1623-36) donated the fourth foundation in 1635. Every five years, according to the state of the galley previously constructed, a new galley hull was to be fabricated and named '*San Giovanni de Paula o Paulina*'. On the poop, there was to be a relief figure of St. John the Baptist together with the arms of the donor, the reigning Grand Master and the Order. On its dragante, the galley was to have the name *De Paula* inscribed. The Grand Master also donated an artillery piece for the galley's *corsia* and promised the rest of the artillery in the future. A further condition stipulated that the old galley to be taken out of service was to be publicly sold and proceeds from its sale would go towards the expenses incurred in constructing the new galley (86) However, the Order did not benefit immediately from this foundation because it could only come into operation after the death of all legatees and usufructaries, of which quite a number were involved. (87) Yet this foundation became the richest one of them all.

The other two foundations were both donations by former Admirals of the Order (88) and both were instituted in 1636. The first was set up by the Prior of Capua, Fra Pietro de Ventimiglia, who stipulated that the new galley, to be called *San Pietro*, would be constructed every five years or when deemed necessary at Messina. There were the usual stipulations about arms — three red lions set on a golden field — and name on poop and dragante and the proceeds from the sale of the old galley (89) which were also re-

85. AOM; Treas. A, Vol. 96, ff. 22v-23r; AOM 110, ff. 67r-71v; AOM 222, f. 116r; AOM 1924, ff. 14-27; AOM 737, f. 51r; B. Dal Pozzo, *op. cit.*, I, p. 802; E. Rossi, *op. cit.*, p. 57; U. Mori Ubaldini, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
86. AOM, Treas. A, Vol. 96, ff. 106v-107r; AOM 111, ff. 156v-161r; AOM 222, f. 166v; all 20 September 1635. See also B. Dal Pozzo, *op. cit.*, I, p. 837; E. Rossi, *op. cit.*, p. 57; U. Mori Ubaldini, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
87. AOM 111, f. 159v, 20 September 1635.
88. Fra Nicolò Cavaretta was Admiral between 1624 and 1626 whilst Fra Pietro de Ventimiglia's term of office was 1626-1629. Cf. AOM 226, f. 15r.
89. AOM, Treas. A, Vol. 96, f. 42v; AOM 111, ff. 196v-202v; AOM 222, f. 166v; all 9 May 1636. Cf. also B. Dal Pozzo, *op. cit.*, II, p. 12; E. Rossi, *op. cit.*, p. 57; U. Mori Ubaldini, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

peated in the next foundation instituted by the Prior of Venice, Fra Nicolo' Cavarretta who, however, wanted his name to be inscribed in full and in capital letters, that is, 'Fra Nicolo' Cavarretta, Priore di Venetia.' The capital sum involved was 12,000 scudi and the new galley was to be called *San Nicola*. If one of the galleys in service happened to bear this same name, the new galley was to be called *Santissima Vergine di Trapani*. (90)

A seventh foundation, set up by Grand Master Jean Paul Lascaris Castella in 1651, was different from the others by the fact that not only was a galley hull to be constructed over so many years, but its maintenance costs were also to be paid for by this foundation. However, this foundation had a short span of life since it had to be absorbed by the Order's Treasury in 1659 owing to financial difficulties. (91) Thus, by 1659, the Order's galley foundations were again reduced to six.

In the second half of the seventeenth century these foundations were rendering an annual income of about 6598 scudi, thus making it almost possible to replace one of the galley hulls without extra cost to the Order's Treasury. The richest of the foundations was De Paule which left an annual income of 2,358 scudi, followed by the foundations of Lussan — 1,363 scudi, Cavarretta — 935 scudi, Ventimiglia — 804 scudi, Claramunt — 787 scudi, and Gaillarbois — 350 scudi. In 1667, a galley built from the Gaillarbois foundation cost 6,848 scudi after allowing for 670 scudi obtained from the sale of the old galley, whilst a *Capitana* built in 1663 cost 10,804 scudi after 1,296 scudi were recovered from the sale of the flagship taken out of service. (92) It, therefore, follows that, when the Order kept a squadron of six galleys, there were enough funds available to replace each galley hull every seven years without extra cost for the Order.

Four of the galleys from these foundations could be constructed at Malta itself. The other two, the Lussan and Ventimiglia galleys, were to be fabricated at Marseilles and Messina respectively though they could be constructed locally if so decided by the Grand Master and the Venerable Council. When such constructions were being carried out in Malta, a Knight

90. AOM, Treas. A, Vol. 96, f. 32v; AOM 111, ff. 235v-238v; AOM 222, f. 166v; all 16 July 1636. AOM 1924, ff. 1-9. AOM 1934 deals solely with the setting-up of this foundation Cf. B. Dal Pozzo, *op. cit.*, II, p. 12; E. Rossi, *op. cit.*, p. 57; U. Mori Ubaldini, *op. cit.*, p.68.
91. AOM 1759, ff. 322v-335r; AOM 1760, ff. 283v-296r; dates ranging from 2 October 1651 to 6 June 1659. Cf. E. Rossi, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
92. AOM 1680, *Trattato del Tesoro*, p.40.

was placed in charge of the works to avoid any fraud. According to the terms of the Cavarretta foundation, this knight had to be a member of the founder's family when such a galley was being constructed. (93)

93. *Ibid.*, pp. 584-5.