

Pietro Paolo Troisi (1686-1750)

A Maltese Baroque Artist

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The exuberant style of the architecture, sculpture, painting and music of the baroque period was mainly the result of the directives of the Council of Trent, which promoted the need to glorify God and the church as a response to the Protestant condemnation of the pomp and ceremony of the Catholic church.



P. P. Troisi/ F. Zahra, Altar of Repose, Mdina Cathedral.

The baroque was an age of absolutism. The monarchs and princes of Europe contributed significantly to the spread of the arts through their patronage. Architecture and the arts were highly ornamental and favoured a style of exuberance. Palaces reflected the absolutism of the rulers and churches aimed for the glorification of the divine.

It was against this background that architects, painters, sculptors and other artists were creating wonderful baroque architectural and artistic works throughout Europe, such as the works of masters like Bernini, Algardi or Melchiorre Caffà, as well as those by lesser known artists such as the Maltese Pietro Paolo Troisi.

During this period Malta was ruled by the Knights of St. John, an Order with roots spread throughout Europe. Once they had

finished building the city of Valletta following a lull in warfare after the Great Siege of 1565, the Knights began to import architects and artisans to build and decorate their churches and palaces.

At the beginning of the 18th century, there was no foreign artist of high calibre working in Malta. This signified a breaking of contact with the high baroque style which until then had been represented in Malta by Mattia Preti. In the circumstances, the Order sent a number of young Maltese artists, painters and sculptors to Rome, who were mostly admitted to the *Accademia di San Luca*. This experience, combined with the influence of Preti, developed into the particular elements that constitute the Maltese baroque style.

In 1704, the first Maltese student who went to Rome to study

art was Pietro Paolo Troisi (1686-1750), who was then 18 years old. Troisi spent two years in Rome. Following a recommendation by Grand Master Perellos, he had the full support of the ambassador to the Order, Fra Marcello Sacchetti who engaged him in a *bottega* of the established sculptor Pietro Papaleo – who was later one of the three judges who awarded the *Concorso Clementino* prize of 1705 to Troisi. In 1664, Papaleo declared himself to be a pupil of Melchiorre Cafà.

Pietro Paolo Troisi was born on 29 June 1686 in Valletta, the son of Carlo Antonio Troisi and his wife Ninfa Bison. He was baptised in the church of Our Lady of Porto Salvo, Valletta on 2 July 1686.¹ The parish records show that Pietro Paolo was the second of nine children.

The Troisi family were of Italian, probably Sicilian, descent and at the time of Pietro Paolo's birth they seem to have been quite new to Malta, as only four Troisis were recorded in the census of 1687² - probably Carlo, his wife Ninfa, and their two young sons Antonio and Pietro Paolo.

Pietro Paolo married Magdalena Marcella Desira at the parish church of Senglea on 26 August 1716.³ The baptismal records of Porto Salvo in Valletta indicate that Pietro Paolo had five children, Philippus, Xaveria, Veronica, Gaetanus (later known as Gioacchino), and Paola who died six days after birth.

The exact date and locality of Pietro Paolo's death was not

identified in an exhaustive search which I carried out in the archives of the Porto Salvo and St. Paul's Shipwreck churches in Valletta, as well as the Senglea parish church. P.P. Castagna enters the date of his death as circa 1750. Mgr. John Azzopardi has concurred with this date as in the *Atti Capitolari* of the Mdina cathedral of 2 May 1751, basing himself on the fact that Canon Giovanni Maria Azzopardi presented for consideration the design for the altar of repose originally made for the Mdina cathedral by the late Pietro Paolo Troisi in 1727, and which was approved.⁴

Few biographical details of Troisi's life are known. Castagna describes him as a sculptor, engraver and metal-caster of the Order, who coined the money of Grand Master Vilhena.⁵ Giuseppe Calleja, the Maltese painter, says "Troisi, the Master of the Mint who fashioned the dies of the coins of Grand Master Manuel (de Vilhena) was a skilfull engraver, and was also at the head of a school of drawing from the naked figure, the cost of which was defrayed by the aforesaid Grand Master."⁶

It is also recorded that Troisi together with the Knight Marc Antonio Zondadari, who later was to become Grand Master, founded a school of design and painting at the Mint in Valletta.⁷ In the documents of the Mdina *Universitas*, Pietro Paolo Troisi is described as the "*Maestro Architetto dell' Illustrissimo Magistrato della Citta Notabile*."⁸

Troisi was an architect, scenographer, designer, silversmith



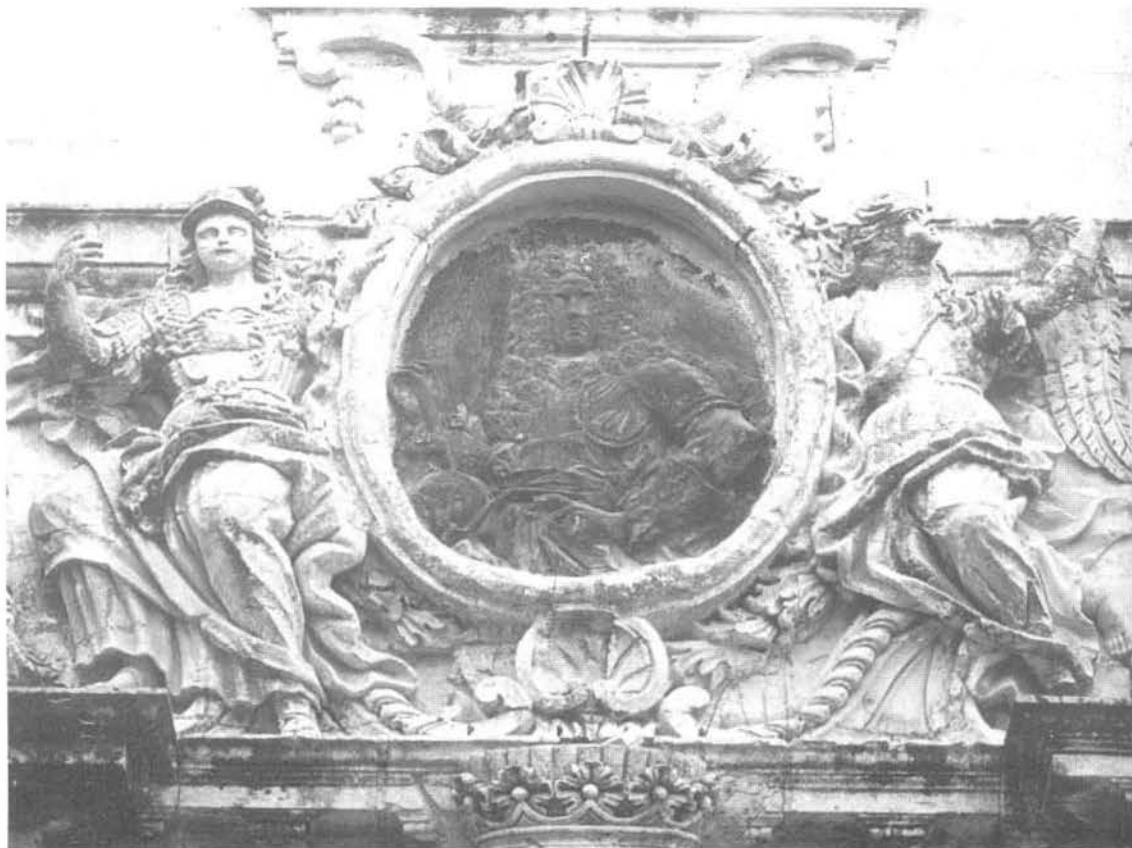
P. P. Troisi/ F. Zahra, *Altar of Repose, Mdina Cathedral.*



Pietro Paolo Troisi. *sui laboris primos fructus* – his first engraving
Portrait of G.M. Zondadari - 1720



Pietro Paolo Troisi. *Bronze Bust of Grand Master Manoel de Vilhena for the
Magisterial Palace, Mdina
Manoel Theatre Museum, Valletta*



Pietro Paolo Troisi. *Bronze tondo portrait of Grand Master de Vilhena on the entrance to the Magisterial Palace, Mdina. Stone figures by the Fabri sculptors*

and Master of the Mint, bronze sculptor and medallist. He was a very able baroque artist, although somewhat eclipsed by the innumerable baroque artists, both foreign and Maltese, who flourished during the period. The fact that he was sent to study design for two years in Rome in 1704-05 is an indication of his skill. Troisi declared that he had studied in Rome when submitting his *Stato Libero* to the authorities on 21 July 1716 before his marriage.

After receiving his first training in his father's *bottega* in Malta, Troisi left for Rome to specialise in a silversmith's *bottega*. In Rome he was admitted to study at the prestigious *Accademia di San Luca*. Troisi was the second Maltese to be admitted to this academy after Melchiorre Cafà in 1662. In view of his promising talent he was at once promoted to the advanced class.

In 1705 Troisi participated in the *Concorso Clementino Prima Classe*. Five candidates took part, with a religious subject chosen by Giuseppe Ghezzi. Troisi won first prize in this competition *ex aequo* with the famous Roman sculptor Antonio Arrighi. The prize-winning ceremony was held on 7 May 1705. It began with a thanksgiving Mass said by the Vice-Regent of Rome at the Church of *San Luca e Martina*, followed by a *Te Deum* sung to the accompaniment of various instruments.

The prize-winning exhibit was a relief measuring 62 x 76 cm, in a theatrical setting with the subject contained by a column on the left and an altar with the statue of Ercole in a niche above the altar, on the right. In between, a figure kneels in a diagonal position. The event is crowded with figures expressing motion through their postures and their crossing looks. In the centre stands the sacrificial altar around which the priests are gathered while holding a bull to be sacrificed. On the right stands Romolo, in full relief with his gaze fixed on Ercole.

Back in Malta, Troisi created a large corpus of artistic works. He worked as a silversmith and medallist, cast coins, designed the famous altar of repose for the Mdina cathedral and the triumphal arches for the *possesto* of Grand Masters Zondadari and Vilhena. He also executed the statue in the grand baroque style as well as the bronze busts of Grand Master Manoel de Vilhena. He designed and created several artistic works for local churches executed in wood, metal, stone and marble.

'Maestro Architetto dell'Illustrissimo Magistrato della Città Notabile'

Pietro Paolo Troisi earned this title through his work in Mdina, which was being reconstructed under Vilhena and the architect Charles de Mondion. The Order of St. John and the Maltese church in the 18th century made great use of architectural scenography in their ceremonial events. Ever since the Knights had come to Malta, it had become customary to hold a *possesto* ceremony where the governor and jurats of the Mdina *Universitas* symbolically handed over the keys of Mdina to the Grand Master. The grand public spectacles that were held in Mdina, particularly during the reign of Grand Master Manoel de Vilhena (1722-36), included ephemeral triumphal arches, festoons, damasks, street decorations and movable altars for stately and church events.

The highlight of the procession in the *possesto* ceremony was a triumphal arch which was set up near the corner of the present day *Banca Giuratale* and the house of the Navarri family, which then occupied a considerable part of what is now St. Paul's

Square, and which separated the smaller square from Strada Reale, now Villegaignon Street. Through these ephemeral structures the Order sought to imitate the grand triumphal arches used on ceremonial occasions of the Popes and the French Royal Court.

As these arches were temporary constructions, the only two designs that have been preserved in the Mdina Cathedral Archives are those created for the formal entries of Grand Master Zondadari (1720-22) on 30 June 1720 and that of Grand Master Vilhena on 20 September 1722.⁹

Four designers were invited to submit drawings for the triumphal arch to be erected for the *possesto* of Grand Master Zondadari. Of these, two were by P.P. Troisi and Abbate Don Aloisio Buhagiar. The Grand Master himself selected Troisi's design and another by an unspecified artist. However Zondadari left it in the hands of the *Universitas* to choose the least expensive design. This was Troisi's at an estimated cost of 299 *scudi*.¹⁰ Three days before the entry of the Grand Master, the *maestro architetto*, and the Fabri family of sculptors were called to set up the arch in the agreed place.

Vilhena succeeded Zondadari and on 20 September 1722 made his entry into Mdina. On this occasion the *Universitas* directly commissioned Troisi to prepare a design for a grand triumphal arch. It was specified that Vilhena's arch was to be constructed from the same material as Zondadari's arch, which after being dismantled had been donated to the monastery of St. Peter where it remained for two years in memory of the late Grand Master. The woodworks were remodelled by master carpenter Andrea Camilleri, and the painter Aloisio Buhagiar (1696-1769) renewed the polychromy.¹¹ Buhagiar was paid 80 *scudi* for *haver dipinto l'Arco trionfale*, while P.P. Troisi received the small amount of 20 *scudi* for the design and supervision of the arch construction.¹²

Both arches were designed and constructed in three tiers with Troisi making the best use of the architectural orders. Both have a central coffered doorway and sculptured panels with symbolic figures representing the bravery and kindness of the Grand Masters. Military trophies, banners and other paraphernalia show the courage and victories of the Knights over their enemies. Both have the emblem of the *Universitas*, the coat of arms of the respective Grand Masters and inscriptions in their praise.

The arch for Vilhena is surmounted by his bust and its apex consists of the janus imperial double-headed eagle, insignia of the Kingdom of Sicily from which the Order held Malta in fiefdom. The overall ensemble of these arches, with their architectural motifs and rich symbolic iconography, highlights Troisi's qualities as a designer and scenographer. The reporter of the Order describes these designs minutely as preserved in the Mdina Archives where they are marked as Drawings 476 and 477.

The altar of repose for the Mdina cathedral

The most significant artefact designed by Troisi is the movable chapel for the altar of repose, a temporary ephemeral structure for the exposition of the Holy Eucharist on Maundy Thursday. This structure is still extant and erected yearly during Holy Week in the Mdina cathedral.

Troisi was commissioned with the design of this altar by Canon Gourgion on behalf of the Metropolitan Chapter in 1727, for which he charged 5 *scudi*. Unfortunately at the time the



*Silver Antependium by Pietro Paolo Troisi
in Sta Maria di Gesu church, Valletta*

project was discarded as other well-known architects were also invited to submit alternative designs. However in 1751 both the Bishop and the Chapter authorised Canon Alberto Portugues and Giovanni Castelletti to choose a design for this altar and Troisi's design was submitted for consideration. Having been conjectured that Troisi had died in 1750, the well-known Maltese artist Francesco Zahra (1710-73) was commissioned to execute Troisi's design *in toto* and without variations while assuming full responsibility for the whole structure. The work was to be completed in nine months and was inaugurated during Passion Week in 1752.

The entrance to this chapel is through a dominant ornate portico in the form of a triumphal arch with a flight of steps leading to a circular space. All around this space, the walls are decorated and painted, creating optical illusions and perspectives. The ceiling of the chapel has the shape of a richly painted partial dome supported by arches and quadri-pairs of salomonic columns. Above, the famous 'Glory' is painted with clouds and with a number of backdrops depicting angels and the figures of God the Father and the Holy Spirit. These devices are made of segmental panels creating a three-dimensional depiction of heaven.

This circular arrangement reaches its climax with the superb silver capsule over the altar, centrally placed at the back. The capsule was executed by the master silversmiths Gio. Andrea Troisi, Pietro Paolo's brother, and Annetto Pullicino. Giovanni Bessiere, who was the consul for silversmiths at the time, gilded its double rays at the edge of which embossed cherubs alternate in single or twin couplings.

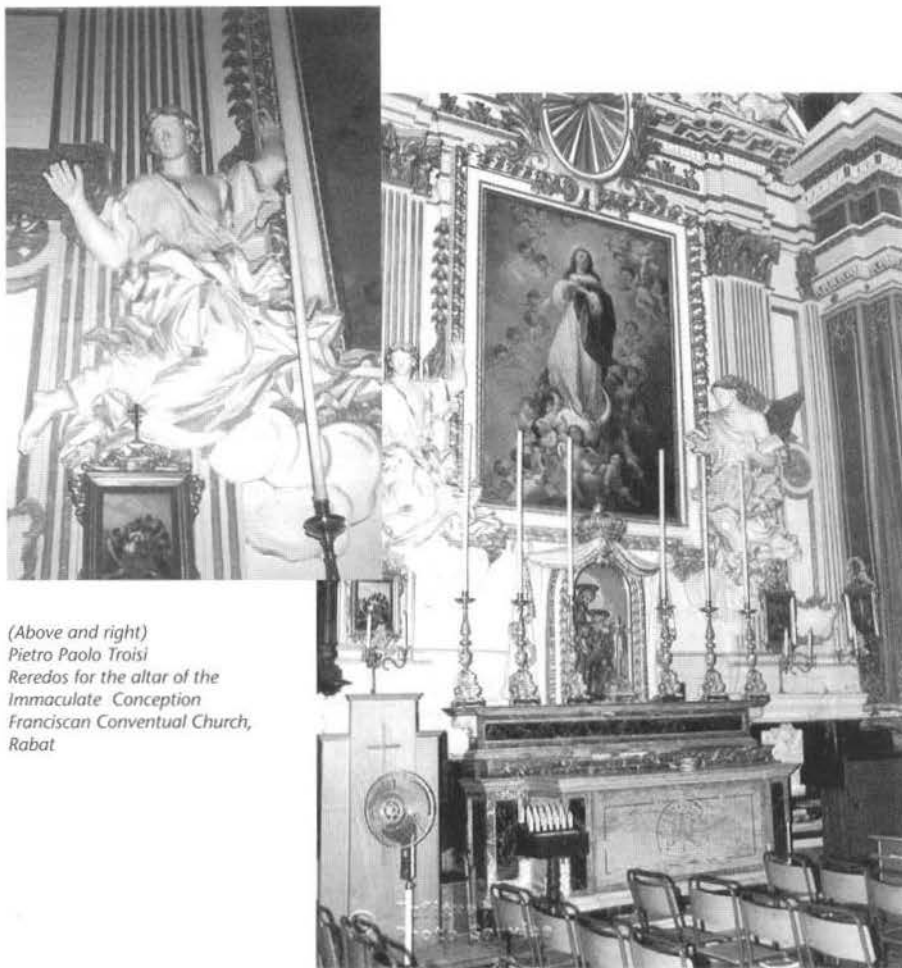
Engravings

Three autographed engravings by Troisi merit special attention. First, the portrait of Grand Master Zondadari, set in a round frame and measuring 38 x 40 cms, dated 17 April 1720 with an inscription by Troisi.

Another engraved portrait by Troisi is the frontispiece of the Vilhena Code of Laws *Leggi e Costituzioni* (1724), which bears the inscription, 'Petrus Paulus Troisi Invenit'. This engraving is linked to one of the silver medals which Pietro Paolo had just struck in 1724 for Grand Master Vilhena to commemorate his magnificent project for the fortification of Manoel Island. The reverse of the medal is almost an identical replica of Fort Manoel as represented on the oval of the pedestal under the bust of the Grand Master in the drawing.¹³

Another fine engraving in silver by Troisi is a dish identified by Giovanni Bonello.¹⁴ This oval charger is 53.2 cm long, 41 cm high and weighs 1,200 g. The oval plaque has a laurel-and-tie border while the fluted broad rim has a *repousse* gadrooned border. The dish is signed 'P.P. Troisi In. et Delit'. The engraving which occupies the whole of the bottom of the silver dish depicts an allegory of Victory over Land and Sea. To the left is Mars in full armour holding a sword, with a shield and dagger. Crowned Neptune holding a trident is depicted on the right suppressing prostrate Turks while the background features the fleet of the Order.

The coat of arms of the Pallavicini and Spinola families are shown on banners held by *putti*. The display of the joint coat of arms is attributable to the fact that this dish was intended as a



(Above and right)
Pietro Paolo Troisi
Reredos for the altar of the
Immaculate Conception
Franciscan Conventual Church,
Rabat

(Below)
Pietro Paolo Troisi
Reredos for the altar of St.
Anthony of Padova
Franciscan Conventual
Church, Rabat



gift for a marriage between these two families, both of which had contacts with Malta and the Order. The choice of Troisi to carry out such a work highlights his fame, as these families could choose among many other gifted artists in Europe.¹⁵

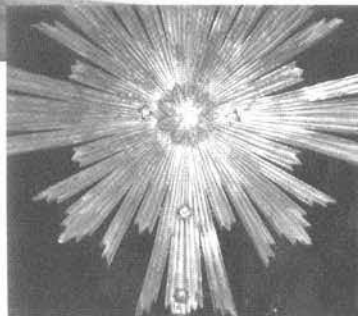
The monumental statue and busts of Vilhena

In 1734 the French Knight Commendatore Fra Felician de Savasse, to ingratiate himself with Grandmaster Vilhena commissioned Monsieur Louis Bouchut, a French bronze founder



Pl. 5.4 Pietro Paolo Troisi
Naxxar Parish Church
Silver gilded Monstrance
for the Reliquary of the
Vere Lignum.

Silver gilded Monstrance.
Detail of the back.



who worked for the Order in Malta, to make a life statue of the Grandmaster. The statue cost 2,150 *scudi* 5 *tari* 14 *grani* (£180), however Savasse was soon in financial difficulty and left the island only paying Bouchut 100 *scudi*. His widow received a further 300 *scudi* as compensation from Grand Master Pinto much later and after a long struggle in court. It is conjectured that this statue was cast in Malta by Bouchut, in Fort St. Paul where de Savasse was Commander.¹⁶ It is improbable that Soldani Benzi, who was initially believed to have modelled this statue, would have sent the fragile clay model for casting in Malta when Benzi himself was a renowned bronze founder in Italy.

The frontispiece of the Vilhena Code of Laws has led Giovanni Bonello to attribute the statue of this Grandmaster, originally erected on Manoel Island and now in Floriana, to Pietro Paolo Troisi. E.V. Borg had previously attributed this statue to the famous Florentine sculptor Soldani Benzi. The plinth in the engraving, if narrowed at the centre, is highly similar to the pedestal of the monument. This statue was transferred from Piazza Tesoreria in 1858, where it stood for a time after being removed from Manoel Island. During this transfer, two beautiful medals fell off its base. These were attributed recently by Klaus Lankheit as medals presented to Vilhena by Soldani Benzi. On

the reverse side of one of them there is a relief of the monument with variations in the figure of the Grand Master, leading to the conclusion that Benzi did not see the finished statue. The medals thus could have been modelled from a sketch of the monument sent to him.

Unless proven otherwise, this monument is therefore attributed to Pietro Paolo Troisi also considering that Vilhena seems to have held Troisi's skills in high esteem. Troisi had already executed Vilhena's bust for the Magisterial Palace of Mdina. This monument was unveiled in 1736, the year when Troisi was appointed Master of the Mint, an honour which might have been granted by Vilhena in appreciation of this work.

Two further portrait busts of Vilhena confirm Troisi's talent. One is the portrait bust in the round commissioned by the jurats of the *Mdina Universitas* in December 1726. Various documents exist showing a warrant for its final settlement as authorised by Mondion as well as instalment payments received and endorsed by Troisi himself.¹⁷ This bust was ordered for the Casa Giuratale, later the Magisterial Palace built for Vilhena in Mdina, where it was kept until 1970. It is now exhibited at the Manoel Theatre Museum in Valletta. This is a highly professional and polished work, with masterly detail in the face, armour, scarf and wig.

The other is a high relief bronze *tondo* portrait of Grand Master Vilhena that crowns the imposing portal on the main façade in the forecourt to the Magisterial Palace built by Mondion in Mdina. Although no documentary evidence has yet been found to attribute this work to Troisi, stylistically the attribution seems correct. The Grand Master here poses frontally and is shown in half-length, clad in armour and wearing a wig. To the right of the figure is the stock and pilier bestowed upon him by Pope Benedict XIII (1724-30).

Other busts of Vilhena which could be attributed to Troisi, both in the round as well as in relief, are at the entrance of the Convent of the Franciscan Conventuals in Valletta; at the old *Conservatorio* in Floriana - the present Police Headquarters - and in the atrium of the old Chancery in Valletta. All of these buildings are linked to the rule of Vilhena.

Troisi becomes Master of the Mint

The Order of St. John began minting its own money in 1310, and Grand Master L'Isle Adam even threatened to leave Malta when this privilege was suppressed by Charles V. It was through the intercession of the Pope that this privilege was reacquired. The Order exercised strict surveillance over the craft of goldsmiths, jewellers and silversmiths. It was the Grand Master's prerogative to appoint the Master of the Mint, which was a highly prestigious post. The Master of the Mint had jurisdiction over all goldsmiths and silversmiths operating in Malta.

Carlo Troisi (1650-1730), Pietro Paolo's father, was Master of the Mint directly appointed by the Grand Master as his Minister and that of the Order. Pietro Paolo showed great ambition to acquire this post. In April 1714 he made his first request to replace his father as Master of the Mint.¹⁸ According to Valentino Lupi Scerri, Pietro Paolo was appointed in 1736.¹⁹ From April 1714 to 1730, Pietro Paolo only qualified as his father's assistant. In his later petition, Pietro Paolo argues that his father, then 80 years old, should be relieved from his work. He mentions that he had often travelled to Genoa and other places to bring machinery and tools to upgrade the art of coinage

at the Mint, *per raffinare l'oro con maggior facilità*.²⁰

With the Troisis at the helm, a change for the better in the quality of coins took place under Perellos and Zondadari. However the highest artistic standard of coinage in both gold and silver was reached under Grand Master Vilhena. The artistic merit of the gold 12 and 10 *zecchini* coins of this Grand Master was never surpassed throughout the Order's reign in Malta. Joseph Sammut believes that these two coins, because of their rarity and high value, were not used for general circulation but reserved to be given as royal gifts and distributed on special occasions.²¹

The Troisi family of silversmiths

Both Carlo and Pietro Paolo Troisi were silversmiths, as were Pietro Paolo's brothers Massimiliano and Gio. Andrea, Francesco the son of Massimiliano, and Aloisio the son of Francesco. The silver mace 'il mazza', which was a symbol of rank and authority, was introduced to Malta by the Knights. Grand Master Zondadari conferred the privilege of wearing a toga and carrying the mace of office, formerly a privilege of the nobility, to those who were elevated as representatives of the people. In the archives of the *Universitas* at the National Library of Malta, I discovered a document dated August 1721, in which Pietro Paolo Troisi is offered the sum of 132 *scudi*, 11 *tari* and 7 *grani* for 7 lb 45/8 oz of silver to be used for the manufacture of the silver mace, which I believe to be the one carried by the jurats of the *Universitas* of Mdina as representatives of the people.²²

In 1718 Pietro Paolo Troisi manufactured an altar antependium in silver for the Archconfraternity of the Holy Cross at *Santa Maria di Gesu* church, Valletta, which cost 1,303 *scudi*.²³ Although originally intended for the altar of the Holy Cross, in the middle of the 19th Century it was adapted for the high altar of the church and is displayed on the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross on 14 September. It is made of good *repousse* work with a central silver medallion in high relief showing the cross being lifted by a number of angels. The medallion is surrounded by various detached silver floral ornamentations. All the silver components are laid on a background of red silk and the whole ensemble is encased within a silver moulded frame.

Pietro Paolo Troisi manufactured a fine reliquary for the *Vere Lignum* for the Sodalitas of the Agonia of Naxxar. The archives at the Curia record that he was paid 36 *scudi* and 6 *tari* for one third of the reliquary on 7 October 1732, and on page 117 of the same records there is the following note: '*Un reliquario d'argento di peso tre libre nov'onze e mezza, a ragion di scudi venti la libra in parte scudi settanta sei e grani cinque (scudi 76, 0 tari 5 grani). La sua manifattura scudi 35. Ho pagato due cristalli per l'assetatura delle reliquie tari Quattro, scudi 0*'.²⁴

This silver reliquary at the Naxxar parish church measures 42 cm in height and 27cm in width, and consists of a central filigree cross over the relic preserved in a glass phial. From this cross radiate eight clusters of silver gilded rays, giving the whole reliquary the form of a halo. The whole stands on a knopped stem finishing in an inverted domed trumpet base, 11 cm in diameter.

In the bills for the Lija parish church preserved at the Archbishopal Curia, I have found a note stating that the Procurator of the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary obtained approval for the manufacture of a *krucetta*, a silver cross spearhead, to be placed on top of the mast of the banner of the Confraternity. Its manufacture was assigned to Pietro Paolo Troisi and on 27 May 1726 he presented a receipt of the expenses and services rendered by him, which states that the silver spearhead weighed 3 lb and 25/8 oz, and for its manufacture Troisi charged 20 *scudi*, while its total cost amounted to 82 *scudi*, 9 *tari* and 15 *grani*.²⁵

Other works

Several other works by Troisi further highlight his versatility in various aspects of design and artistry. He designed the altar reredos of the Immaculate Conception and St. Anthony of Padova besides another four in the church of the Franciscan Conventuals in Rabat between 1710-21; the reredos of the main altar of the Carmelite church in Mdina and the reredos and choir altar of the old collegiate church of St. Mary in Birkirkara.

Troisi executed the highly praised articulate designs for the choir stalls of the parish churches of Lija and Zebbug, endowed with all the details expected in the art of woodwork. Crowning the choir altar of Zebbug, which he also designed, he created



A Collegiate Church in Malta. Silver antependium for the altar of St. Joseph. Tower Mint Mark, probably by Pietro Paolo Troisi
Maker's Mark: Gerolamo Cassar and Assay Mark: 18th century Rome, known as the *Argento dell'Ombrellone*



Attributed to Pietro Paolo Troisi. South transept apse of the altar dedicated to the Holy Souls in Purgatory. Sculptor Pietro Paolo Zahra. Zebbug parish church.

the gilded reliquary monstrance throne to hold the ostensory of the arm of St. Philip. This monstrance of perfect proportions and innovative design is a typical example of the high baroque. The ostensory was the gift of Grand Master Vilhena and was transported to Zebbug amid the cheers of people through the decorated streets during a feast organised for the occasion, in which Grand Master Vilhena himself participated. Like many

European princes who patronised great artists, Vilhena did the same in the case of Pietro Paolo Troisi.

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Notes

- ¹ Porto Salvo, Valletta. Register of Baptisms, p. 469
- ² S. Fiorini. "Status Animarum II", Proceedings of History Week 1984. (Malta Historical Society), p. 99
- ³ Marriage Archives. Senglea parish church.
- ⁴ J. Azzopardi. 'Is-Sepulkru tal-Kattidral' in *Lehen is-Sewwa* (21 March 1970), p. 8
- ⁵ P.P. Castagna. *Lis Storia ta Malta: It-Tieni Darba*. (1888), p. 249
- ⁶ G. Calleja. *Works of Art in the Churches of Malta and the Governor's Palace, Valletta*. (L'Immacolata Press: 1881), p. 183
- ⁷ K. Sciberras. *L-Arti Barokka f'Malta*. (Malta: 2003), p. 87
- ⁸ NLM MS 1397 fol 1
- ⁹ NLM AOM Ms 1397; NLM Ms 27 Univ. ff 19-28
- ¹⁰ NLM Ms 26 f.51
- ¹¹ D. De Lucca. *Mdina* (Malta: 1995), p. 89
- ¹² NLM Ms 89 Univ. un. fols.
- ¹³ H. Calleja Schembri. *Coins and Medals of the Knights of Malta* (1908, 1966), Part 3 Pl.12 Fig.3
- ¹⁴ G. Bonello. *Discoveries and Recoveries*. (Malta: 1999), p. 117
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 118
- ¹⁶ NLM Ms 412, published by G. Bonello
- ¹⁷ NLM Ms Univ. 96ff. 338, 358, 435, 505 flaps 1 & 2, 615
- ¹⁸ NLM AOM 1187. Tomo VI fol. 226-247
- ¹⁹ *Monte di Pietà. Maltese Hallmarks 1521-1873*, p. 19. Referred to by J. Sammut
- ²⁰ NLM AOM 1187 p. 226 rv
- ²¹ J. Sammut. *Currency in Malta* (Malta: 2001), p. 38
- ²² NLM Univ. Vol. 89 un.
- ²³ G. Scerri OFM. *Monografia del Arciconfraternita del S.S. Crocifisso*. (Malta: 1932), p. 47
- ²⁴ AAM Bills Naxxar Parish Church, pp.103 & 117. Indicated by Keith Sciberras.
- ²⁵ AAM Conti Vol. 43 Lia (1720-1729) fol. 4 (Conf. S.Rosario 1724-27), p. 46