

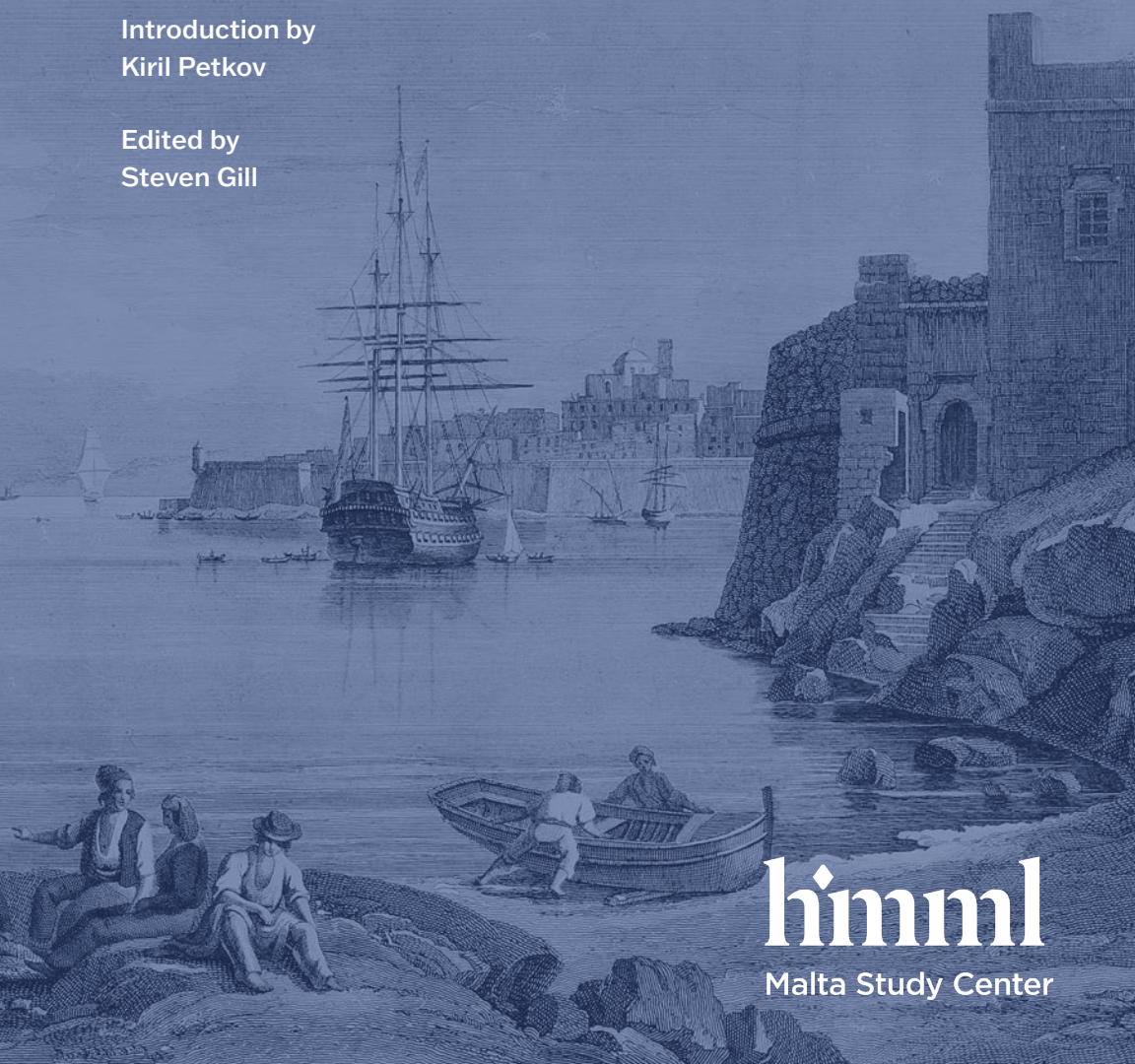
# Mediterranean Travel: Peoples, Places, Encounters

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Exhibition catalog by  
Daniel K. Gullo  
Emanuel Buttigieg  
Kathrine Blanks

Introduction by  
Kiril Petkov

Edited by  
Steven Gill



**himml**  
Malta Study Center

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Peoples, Places, Encounters**

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**hill museum & manuscript library**

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**Malta Study Center**

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Inside cover image: "Naval Actions of the Order of the Knights of Malta, 18th century." Malta Study Center Collection, Hill Museum & Manuscript Library.

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## Introduction

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For many observers, the Mediterranean is the world in a nutshell. It is a “liquid continent” —borrowing the concept from Fernand Braudel and David Abulafia— which embodies the multiple layers, constant shifts, and deep entanglements of humans, nature, and God(s). Life around the Middle Sea, notwithstanding its astonishing ecological and cultural diversity, pulses with remarkable interconnectedness through times of war and peace, dry spells and ice ages, spectacular advances and long periods of stasis. On that count, understanding the Mediterranean at any given moment helps us to grasp an essential aspect of our modern world: its trajectory of increasingly connected destinies. For “global” seems to have been, since its inception, synonymous with the term “Mediterranean.”

For millennia, that miniature global world functioned on a set of shared premises, elegantly formulated by Franco Cassano: identities vested in relationships rather than things; the consumption of goods and time without exclusion of others; the denial of fundamentalism and homogenization, functioning through a multiplicity of ideas and practices; societies fostering the co-existence of contradictions in religious, political, economic, social, and cultural forms that do not require resolution or impose hegemony; fluid and permeable frontiers between universal faiths (Christianity, Islam, Judaism) and polities (empires, nation-states, city-states); hybrid identities (merchant-corsair-state official, renegade and crypto-convert); and a multiplicity of co-existing and causally-connected times (the fast-paced and slow time, the “deep history” time, the long-term history, and the time of social and political events), and all of this along persisting intolerance, slavery, staggering differences of wealth and status, and incessant warfare.

Then, with the early modern era, came modernization, putting a series of pressures on this time-tested, small-scale global model. The Atlantic nations—the English, the Dutch, the northern French, and others—entered the Mediterranean to disrupt traditional balances of power. The Portuguese discoveries repositioned Mediterranean economies within the greater global exchange system. Imperial politics yielded to nation-state priorities and to those of a multiplicity of “free agents,” downplaying the role of ideologies. Hybrid identities came under pressure to homogenize, often with violent suppression of alterity. Economic protectionism was confronted with “open ports,” mercantilism, and the liberal market, on the one hand, and with the rise of predatory economies on the other. Novel technologies, above all in military and naval affairs, highlighted the role of social choices over natural constraints.

This momentous development generated significant tensions, within both the traditional Mediterranean establishments and their complex interaction with the wider world. Exploration of these tensions and the lessons from the scrutiny of Mediterranean cultures’ responses—struggling to adapt while trying to preserve

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their essential core—was the focus of the Summer Institute sponsored by the National Endowment of the Humanities, “Thresholds of Change: Modernity and Transformation in the Mediterranean, 1400–1700.” The Institute took place in the summer of 2018, and was hosted by the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library in the stimulating environment of this unique repository of Mediterranean lore. Guided by a selection of leading scholars in the field, twenty-four college instructors and PhD students had a month-long immersion in all things Mediterranean.

The Institute explored the early modern Mediterranean as the case study of an integrated traditional system coming under the pressures of modernization and the lessons this provides for devising methods for teaching globalization in a variety of contexts, from historical to literary and geographical to artistic. Four main themes informed the inquiry: constants of connectivity (nature, travel, networks, media), vectors of disruption and transformation (war, technology, alien intrusion), responses and new entanglements (new networks and the restructuring of economies, politics, and societies with ensuing identities), and adaptation (new visual and textual imagery and narratives of social and cultural entanglement). The ultimate linkage of this complex web is connectivity through travel and the exchange of people, goods, and ideas within the encompassing framework of the inviting Middle Sea.

The natural environment of the Mediterranean and the *longue durée* effect it had on the denizens of its shores—the “Braudelian perspective”—was, thus, the thematic starting point of the Institute’s journey. Led by James McGregor (University of Georgia), participants traced the long-term features and appropriations of Mediterranean spaces and their transformation into habitable places through a transition from the organic, natural, integrated, secure, and comforting Neolithic agrarian model to that of a Mediterranean landscape shaped and exploited by human labor and governed by cultural, social, and religious orthodoxies. It was a drawn-out process that accelerated in the late sixteenth century, but was not fully completed until the nineteenth. Vestiges from ancient and classical times are still to be witnessed in the layout of early Renaissance villas, to cite only one example. The markings of the appropriation, however, were evident in the earliest attempts to visualize the Mediterranean in mapping, and to present it as a cultured microcosmos in which geography and history overlap and fuse. Indeed, examples such as Strabo’s *Geographica*, the T-O maps, and all subsequent mapping of the region presented in the exhibit trace the acculturation of the natural environment of the Mediterranean.

Upon this long-term matrix grew the similarly Mediterranean-informed, long-term human tendency to network across seemingly unrelated—and on occasion apparently mutually-opposing—spheres. This trend, aptly illustrated in the exhibit’s

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segment on pilgrimage and travel, was the subject of a session, led by David Wacks (University of Oregon), on the Sephardic Jews diaspora; and of another session, by Carla Mallette (University of Michigan), on the spread of the Mediterranean trans-cultural language—lingua franca—and the impact of printing. Both case studies demonstrate the deep enmeshing between the Mediterranean's seemingly-incompatible—at first sight, even capsulated—cultural systems which, while at loggerheads with each other, are reconnected by long-term phenomena spanning the divide between pre-modern and modern. A similar attitude transpires in the early modern/Renaissance narratives of conflict, well-illustrated by Coriolano Cippico's account of the Venetian-Ottoman war of 1463-1479, introduced by Kiril Petkov (UW-River Falls).

Technological innovation impacting the Mediterranean was not limited to knowledge and communication. Other technologies, as illustrated in the exhibits on technology, war, diplomacy, and travel, not only gave a new lease on life to the Mediterranean habit of building new bridges over old cultural crevices but also elevated its entanglement to new levels. Innovation in military and naval technology, as explored by Clifford Rogers (US Military Academy) and Molly Greene (Princeton University), led to a substantial re-arrangement of agency and resource allocation in the Mediterranean. First, the Mediterranean was the space where the various components of the military revolution fused together to produce a punctuated equilibrium, resulting in endemic warfare between the principal agents in the region. Second, it appears that it was the domination of the Mediterranean, through the new form of armed commerce, that shored up the global ascendance of the Atlantic powers. It was only after the Northerners came to exploit the Mediterranean in their formidable gunships, a fine sample of which is featured in the exhibit, that the balance of power shifted to the New World and Far East. As a side effect, their near-suppression of the trading agency of the Catholic Mediterranean states and the full control of the Ottomans' "well-protected domain" ushered into prominence a new Mediterranean-wide trading agent, the Greek subjects of the sultan, and opened a power vacuum, which the predatory powers of the Barbary and the Maltese corsairs quickly filled. And, third, gunpowder weaponry reshaped entanglements on sea. The spread of the new, deadly, easy-to-use, and portable weaponry exacerbated the social tensions generated by the transformation of land usages and the solidification of early modern state power by giving a boost to banditry on land, a systemic phenomenon of the early modern Mediterranean that participants of the Summer Institute explored with Robert Davis (Ohio State University).

The early modernity intensified the Mediterranean fusion of cultures. As Eric Dusteler (Brigham Young University) led participants to realize, it became quite difficult to determine the identity of many Mediterranean personages. While traditional scholarship tended to emphasize a fixed and stable identity based on



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culture, nationhood, or religion, new evidence from the period reveals that for a large segment of the Mediterranean population it was the norm to exercise fluid forms of self-identification, be it through religion, “nation,” or political belonging, and to display them through food, dress, and speech. In the same vein, Nabil Matar (University of Minnesota) explored the conversion of Muslims to Christianity and of Christians to Islam as an early modern social and spiritual journey, and as a process of creating hybrid identity, a form of self-determination whose constituting strands cannot easily be disentangled.

The re-configured Mediterranean was also visually re-imagined, particularly in early modern cartography, which the Institute explored courtesy of Palmira Brummett (Brown University). Seeking to make sense of the early modern political and cultural changes in the Mediterranean where, as Braudel put it, space produces time and time generates space, early modern mapmakers claimed possession by displaying knowledge, visualizing layers of time, and highlighting connectivity—through the conflation of contemporary divisions with the imposition of ancient terminology.

Finally, accounting for the increasing presence of digitalization in both teaching and research, and while convening at HMML—the leading institution in the digital preservation of early modern Mediterranean cultural artifacts—Monique O’Connell (Wake Forest University) acquainted participants with lessons in using digital humanities in the classroom, including successes and pitfalls.

Conceived primarily as a didactic endeavor, the Institute now offers to academics and the general public a website with participants’ final projects, syllabi, bibliographies, and lesson outlines, located at <https://studyingteachingthemediterranean.wordpress.com/>. The projects, like the exhibit presented in this catalog, are just samples of the rich opportunities Mediterranean Studies offer to students of modernization and globalization and of their impact on traditional cultures. They embody the shared desire of NEH and HMML to whet the appetites of prospective explorers seeking exciting intellectual travels. To all those who might undertake them, whether through the pages of this catalog, at HMML, or at future NEH’s Institutes, we wish “Bon voyage!”

—Dr. Kiril Petkov, University of Wisconsin-River Falls

# LE THEATRE des BELLES ACTIONS des CHEVALIERS D

avec les Ports de la Mer Méditerranée et des Mers voisines par P. Duval Geographe Ordinaire du Roy

**HISTOIRE de MALTHE** On trouve en Histoire Ancienne que l'Isle de Malthe a esté sous la domination des Carthaginois qui l'an 1090 les sarrazins en furent chassés par les Normans depuis ce temps elle a reconnu les Rois de Sicille l'Empereur Charles V. en fit porter l'hommage à un Viceroy de Sicille, la Residence de ces Chevaliers avoit esté auparavant à Jerusalem, a Margat, a Acre, plus part de celle de France. Quelques uns deuse font de mie volontairement la Religion est composé de 8 langues ou Nations princip de l'Ordre, des prieures et des commanderies. les 3 langues de France ont bien 300 commanderies presque autant que les cinq autres ensemble. l'an 1113 le Pape Bafchal s'en recut en sa protection le premier qui eut le titre de Maistre de l'Ordre fut Raimon. Il fit les principaux Statuts de l'Ordre; un de ces statuts, porte que les Chevaliers doivent plustost perdre la vie que rendre les pla ces qui il y a de sur, et de said, il fit si bien en la prise d'Ascalon que luy et ses Religieux furent exemptes de la jurisdiction spirituelle des Prelats de l'Ordre

de Chypre comme aussy des Croisades qui se firent pour Terre S<sup>te</sup> en divers temps, il assista le Roy d'Armeine, il recut pour Confrere Andre Roy de Hongrie furent pour lors chassés, de toute la Terre S<sup>te</sup> 102 ans apres sa conqueste par Godofroy de Buillon. Le Grand Maistre Jean de Villiers Juspe d'Acre vint a des Turcs, mais il fut generalement secouru par Amodey IV Conte de Saucy, il obtint du Pape Clement V. une grande partie des biens des Templiers pour son Chevaliers de l'Electon ne pourroit pas s'élire. 4 ans auparavant son Election il avoit tue un puisant Dragon. Raimon Beranger eleu l'an 1365 a des fait a Nicopoli, il fit bastir le Chastel de S<sup>te</sup> Pierre en Carie. L'an 1444 Jean de lastre Dauphinou soustint honneurment le siege contre le Soudan d'Egypte et combatteur contre une nombreuse armée de Turcs il vit Zizim frere de Baiazet se refugier en son Isle. L'an 1522 Philippe de Villiers apres l'estre glorieux mille hommes. C'estoit la quatriemes fois que l'Isle avoit esté attaquée par des forces prodigieuses. Le grand Maistre vint a Messine en Sicile, il obtint luy furent pas ignorés, il assistèrent l'Empereur a la prise de la Goullette, ilperdit par apres Tripoli de Barbarie qui leur avoit esté cede avec Malthe et commença la Ville neuve qui porta son Nom de la Vallette. Cette nouvelle Ville a depuis esté la demeure de la Religion. l'an 1571 les Chevaliers assistèrent des fortifications si considerables a toutes les places de leur Isle, quelle est véritablement le plus fort Boulevard de la Christianité. Jean Paul Lusson de Castel l'Ordre, et étant de cesd' années suivante a esté élu en sa place Martin Redin Espagnol, et en suite Clermont Chates de Grosjean Francois et puis que de celui de l'Europe, et par ce que les moeurs et la langue naturelle des Maltois ont beaucoup de conformite avec ceux des Africains, son agresse est un filly a des serpens ils n'ont point de venin depuis qu'un serpent se lanca contre la main de S<sup>te</sup> Paul qui mettoit un ferment au feu. quelques uns rapportent de Bourg porte le nom de Victorieuse pour avoir glorieusement resisté a ce je Deaquet n'opinerent point pour cette entreprise qui fut resoluë par l'aduis de bons Faucons dont l'on fait present tous les ans au Roy tres Christian le a ceux dont on veut railler la bravoure.





# L'ORDRE de S<sup>t</sup> JEAN DE JERUSALEM dit de MALTHE

Le tout Gravé et mis au jour par Etienne Vouillemont Graveur Ordinaire de sa Majesté pour les Cartes Geographiques, et autres belles douces. Avec privilège du Roy pour 20 Ans

pres les Carthaginois elle eut aux Romains et que d'ordinaires elle a suivi le bransle de la Sicile: lan 828 elle fut occupee par les Sarrazins et par les Chevaliers de l'ordre de S<sup>t</sup> Jean de Jerusalem qui n'avoient point de demeure arretee depuis la perte de Rhodus: la donation a l'insyro en Isle de Chypre. leur Chef ou Prince est appelle Grand Maître; on en conte bien 80 qui ont esté deus de diuers nations, mais la plus Prouince, Auvergne France, Italie, Arragon, Angleterre, Allemagne, Castille, il y a en chacune quelques dignitez des plus considerables: le Nom de Cheualier n'estoit point en vusage dans le commencement de l'Institution: les Religieux estoient appellez Hospitaliers de S<sup>t</sup> Iupuy Dauphinois ont la famille subsisté en celle du Marquis de Montbrun, il arma les Religieux qui presque tous estoient Gentilshommes, sont confiez il fit porter en ses Estendars la Croix d'Argent en champ de gueules; il assista les Roys de Jerusalem avec plusieurs autres, de par le Pape Anaclef IV. lan 1168 les Cheualiers prirent l'Isle de Rhodes et de plusieurs autres, et se firent appeler Cheualiers de Jerusalem et de Rhodes qui lui fit de grade d'ordre lan 1285. le Soudan luy enleua Rhodes et plusieurs Isles voisines, il fut assiege par Ottoman Roy d'Orde lan 1346 Decad de Gezon ayant este fait Cheualier de l'Electio, il le nomma luy mesme Grand Maître, cest pourquoy on ordonna depuis que les Roys de Chypre a la prise d'Alexandrie d'Egypte et de Tripoli de Sourie lan 1397 Philibert de Nadaillac combattit pour le Roy de Hongrie qui fut Roy d'Amurat Empereur des Turcs lan 1465 l'on refusa la paix aux Turcs Pierre d'Aubusson eueu lan 1476 se defendit avec autant de gloire que de vaillance et eut pour plus de cent mille de ses Ennemis fait oblige de rendre Rhodes a Soliman qui commandoit une armee de plus de 300 mille de la Pape, il fut a Corneto a Villefranche a Nice et enfin il fut de l'Empereur Charles V. lan 1530 le 26 Octobre 1530 les Cheualiers de S<sup>t</sup> Jean de la Vallette dit Parisot a este un des plus considerables grand Maîtres lan 1565 il defendit Vaillamment le Bourg de Malthe contre les Turcs a la Bataille de Lepante ils continuerent a faire la guerre au Turc depuis ce temps la ils ont plusieurs fois assiste les Chrestiens et ils ont fait de nouveau lan 1565 fut fait grand Maître lan 1636 auoy de 70 ans lan 1650 il donna le fonds pour faire et entretenir deux Ga leres c'estre les six de Raphael de Colonna Espagnol.

## Geography & Travel

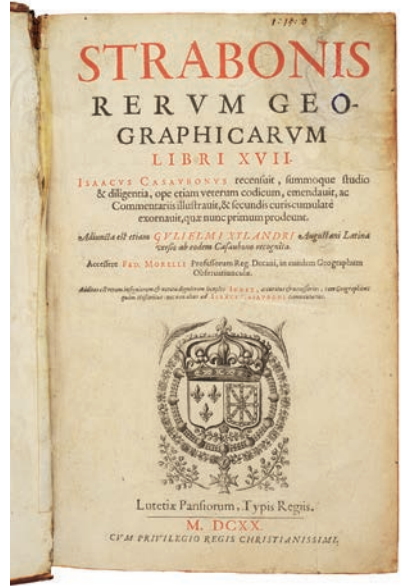
ISLE de MALTHE Malthe autrefois Melite est arriuee en Afrique parce qu'elle est plus proche de son Continent que de son bras milieu de la Mer Mediterraneuse son ancien nom vient du Mel qui est le produit de sa terre et se dit Pierre en des Versus tous singuliers, a cette Isle les particularitez du naufrage de ce saint et celle des petits Chins a celle de Melada autrefois Melida dans le Golfe de Venise, Jerusalem pour un prince qui l'appelloit Grand Maître, le Patron de l'Ordre est S<sup>t</sup> Jean Baptiste et neantmoins le nom de S<sup>t</sup> Jean luy a esté donne par le Roy de Sicile qui estoit de son temps, les Maltoises sont vaillans et leurs Femmes sont d'ordinaire fort belles, la terre y porte et radez qu'ils appellent Calce et Marza. Elle est la mieux fortifiee du monde et le rempart de la Chrestienté. Les efforts de son ennemy Elle est garnie de plus de trois Cent pieces de Canon A Cause de sa force et de La nouvelle et capitale de toute l'Isle porte le nom de son fondateur les trois autres Villes sont La Cité le Bourg et La Ville du port de Goze s'entre donnoient le signal pendant le sicge des Turcs en l'année 1683 La Ville du port de Goze est de Mahomet Bacha general de l'armee Turquesque sur terre et de la fameuse de Piali et par la passion du grand Turc Soliman L'ISLE du GOZE fournit le grand Maître se dit prince du Goze on donne le titre de prince de Fensola



A Paris en l'Isle du Palais au coin de la Rue du Havlet a la Fontaine de Louence 1663

**Strabo. *Strabonis rerum geographicarum libri XVII*. Paris: Typis Regiis, 1620.**

The Greek and Roman tradition of combining history and geography preserved knowledge of the ancient Mediterranean into the early modern era. Strabo's *Geographica* became the standard encyclopedia of geographic knowledge of the classical world and remained the foundational text through the early sixteenth century. Composed in seventeen books between 20 BCE and 23 CE, and drawing on the corpus of Greek and Roman writers, Strabo's work describes geography as a discipline comprising both political and physical geography. Strabo details the known features of the world in his day, centered on the Mediterranean and connected with regions that had been unified during the reign of the Roman Emperor Augustus (63 BCE-14 CE).



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**Isidore of Seville. "T-O Map." *Etymologies*.**

Some 600 years after Strabo's *Geographica*, Bishop Isidore of Seville (d. 636) wrote his *Etymologiae*, or "Etymologies," an encyclopedia derived from classical sources from and on the Mediterranean. Originally written in Latin, his *Etymologiae* was extensive and impressive, becoming a standard reference work in the Middle Ages. Under the entry, *De orbe*, or *The World*, scribes often included a "T-O Map," named for its composition depicting the world as an 'O' split into continents by a 'T'. Written over half a century before Columbus landed in the Americas, Isidore's map reflects the geographical layout of a world with only three continents: Asia at the top, Africa at the bottom left, and Europe at the bottom right. This composition is based on the notion that the Holy Land is situated at the top of the world, centered on Jerusalem, and the Mediterranean split the world between Africa and Asia.



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## Land Survey of the Commandery of Santa Maria in Carbonara, 1613–1618.

Land surveys provide important information for the history of geography in the early modern Mediterranean. Here we see a land survey of the Commandery of Santa Maria in Carbonara in Viterbo, which was completed between 1613–1618. The commandery was property of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem within the administration of the *Langue* of Italy.

The *Langue* of Italy was the political and diplomatic body connecting the Convent of the Order and its seven priories: Barletta, Capua, Lombardy, Messina, Pisa, Rome, and Venice. The priories, bailiwicks, and commanderies of the *Langue* of Italy were required to produce documents describing the foundation, estimation, measurement, improvement, and survey of territories, properties, and goods.



Archives of the Order of Malta  
National Library of Malta

The *Langue* of Italy managed the survey and improvement procedures. Surveys (*cabrei* or *platee*) and improvement visits (*visite di miglioramento* or *miglioramenti*) were carried out in bailiwicks and commanderies as well as in related granges (*grancia* or *grangia*) and membri. Land surveys needed to be completed every twenty-five years. Each bailiff and commander appointed a local notary to certify the procedure, in addition to a land surveyor (*agrimensore*) to take the measurements. Improvements were completed every five years to verify the conditions of the properties.

Here we see an architect depicting the ruins of the Church of San Egidio and the property pertaining to the church. Drafting compasses for identifying lengths of measurement and a rose compass to identify direction were added to the survey.



**Apollonius Rhodius. *L'Argonautica di Apollonio Rodio tradotta, ed illustrata.*  
Translated by Cardinal Lodovico Flangini. Rome: Venanzio Monaldini and Paolo  
Giunchi, 1791–1794.**

Poetic descriptions of the voyages of ancient heroes offered listeners and readers mnemonic devices to learn about the geography of the Mediterranean. Homer's *Odyssey* (ca. eighth century BCE) created the classical model for narrating epic journeys. These enabled the audience to mentally map the Mediterranean through the hero's travels while listening to the poem. Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* (third century BCE), which chronicled Jason and the Argonauts, continued Homer's tradition of mapping travels through heroic feats. The poem provided an introduction to Mediterranean places and peoples, whether fantastic or real. The translation by Cardinal Lodovico Flangini's (1733–1804) includes an engraved map of the Argonauts' journey, allowing the reader to chart the text against a physical map emblematic of the emerging discipline of early modern historical criticism.



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**Johann Ludwig Lindhammer. *Der von dem h. Evangelisten Luca beschriebenen Apostelgeschichte ausführliche Erklärung und Anwendung.*  
Halle: Waisenhaus, 1725.**

The Apostles' travels in the Mediterranean followed paths similar to those of ancient heroes since both depended on natural harbors and cities to facilitate travel over long distances. Commentaries on the Acts of the Apostles gathered greater interest in the eighteenth century. The narrative quality of the text provided opportunities for scholars to place Christianity in a historical context to counter Enlightenment attacks on the faith's historicity. Using new methods of historical criticism, scholars such as Johann Ludwig Lindhammer (1689–1771) mapped the Apostle Paul's journey just as scholars of Rome and Greece mapped the works of Homer, Virgil, and Apollonius Rhodius. As a result, early modern intellectuals began to see the Mediterranean as a place that inherently cultivated long-standing traditions rather than experiencing change.



Saint John's University Rare Books and Special Collections  
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***J. Blaeus grooten atlas, oft, Werelt-beschryving, in welcke 't aertryck, de zee, en hemel, wordt vertoont en beschreven. Amsterdam: Joan Blaeu, 1665.***

Large-scale atlases provided a means by which wealthy merchants, pilgrims, and voyagers could understand the topography, urbanization, and the political context of a land prior to travel. A hand-colored engraving entitled “Melite Insvla, vulgo Malta” contains martial scenes of the fleet of the Order of Malta with an illustrated Knight and Turk in the lower right corner. The Ottoman Turks threatened not only to depose the Order but also to convert the country to Islam. The Order of Malta was founded and run on Catholic ideation and doctrine, and members of the Order were recognized as knights whose duties were to defend their base of operations in Malta and Catholicism as a whole. The illustrations show both their political authority over the island and their role in the defense of Christianity. The Trinity in the upper left corner symbolizes the divine providence and Catholic faith associated with the defense of the island, which had resonated since the defeat of the Ottoman Turks in the Great Siege of 1565.



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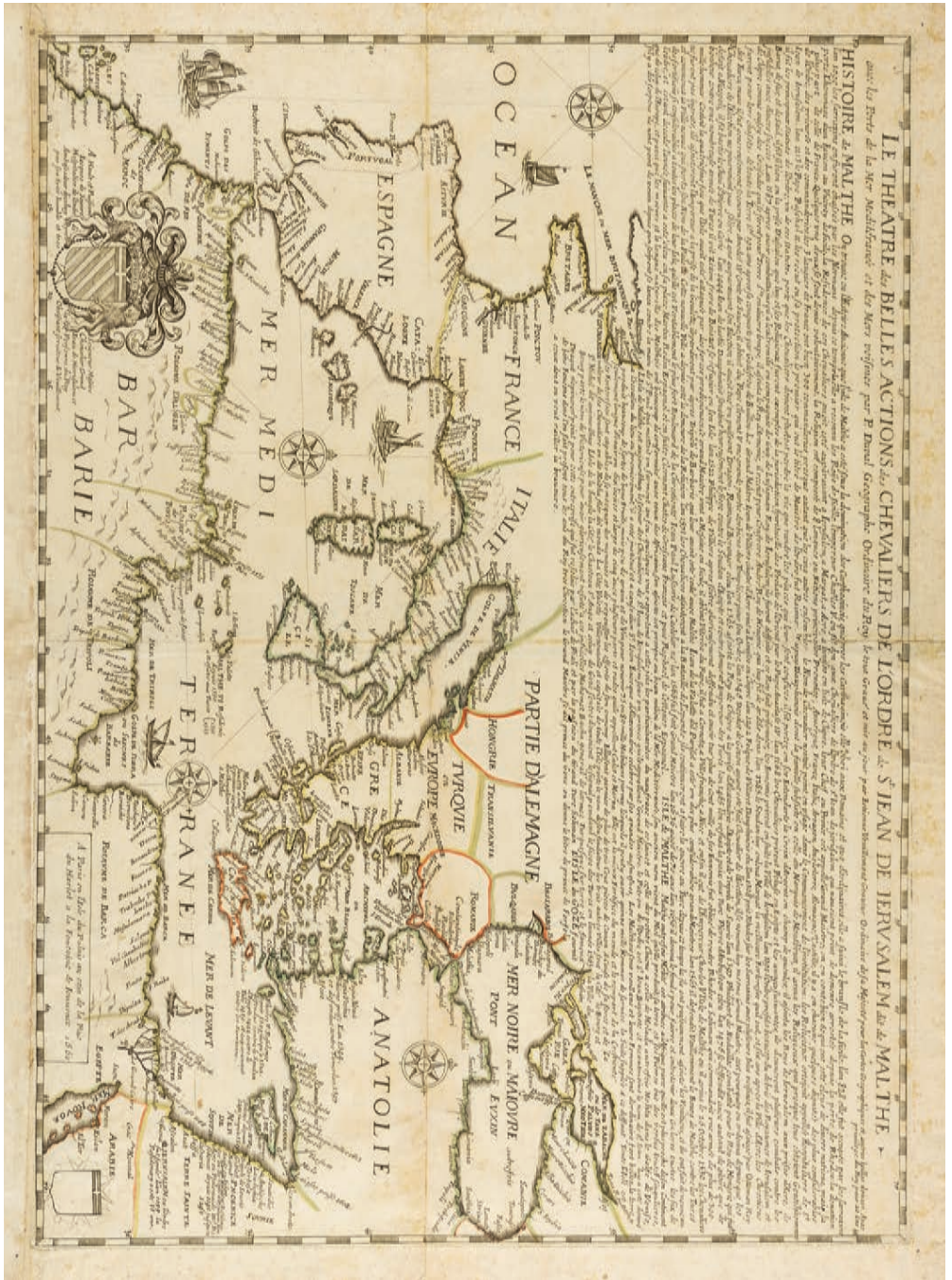


**Johannes Janssonius. “Valletta Civitas Nova Maltae olim Millitae.” In *Theatrum celebriorum urbium Italiae, aliarumque in Insulis Maris Mediterranei*. Amsterdam: Ex Officina Joannis Janssonii, 1657.**

When Johannes Janssonius (1558–1664) inherited the Dutch tradition of atlas and mapmaking from Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598), Georg Braun (1541–1622), and Frans Hogenberg (1535–1590), he not only purchased the plates of his associates but also adopted their methods of design, research, and publication. Like Braun and Hogenberg, whose *Civitates orbis terrarum* (1572) built on Ortelius’ *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (1570), Janssonius capitalized on the lucrative market of atlas publications by printing selected series devoted to individual countries. Janssonius’ 1657 *Theatrum celebriorum urbium Italiae, aliarumque in Insulis Maris Mediterranei* focuses on the cities of Italy and the islands of the Mediterranean, including Valletta, providing vivid perspective views of each urban setting with contemporary illustrations deemed fashionable in the emerging Dutch market for printed atlases.



Albert Ganado Malta Map Collection  
MUŻA-Muzeum Nazzjonali tal-Arti



Albert Ganado Malta Map Collection  
 MUŻA-Mużew Nazzjonali tal-Arti



***Le Théâtre des belles actions des Chevaliers de l'Ordre de St. Jean de Jerusalem dit de Malthe, avec les Ports de la Mer Méditerranée et des Mers voisines.***  
**Paris: Estienne Vouillemont, 1661.**

The *Theatre des belles actions* is an intricately-detailed map that condenses the vibrant history of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem from the late eleventh century (the foundation in Jerusalem) to the reign of Grand Master Fra' Rafael Cotoner i d'Olesa (1601–1663). The *Theatre des belles actions* belongs to a genre of Hospitaller sacred cartography that showed the world through the eyes of a knight. Its scope was to educate its viewer-reader on the nature and utility of this organization to Europe and Christendom as a whole. This was a relatively portable object—one that could be handled and transported with ease—to be displayed and appreciated close up as part of a conversation between readers.

The *Theatre des belles actions* uses both images and text to assist the reader. The lengthy caption at the top of the map provides a brief history of Malta (under the rule of the Carthaginians, Romans, and so on) and then focuses intently on the history of the Order of Saint John, emphasizing how most of its Grand Masters hailed from France and concluding with a list of the main cities and fortresses in Malta. Reference to the Siege of 1565 is inevitable, along with its protagonist and founder of Valletta, Grand Master Jean de la Valette (1495–1568).

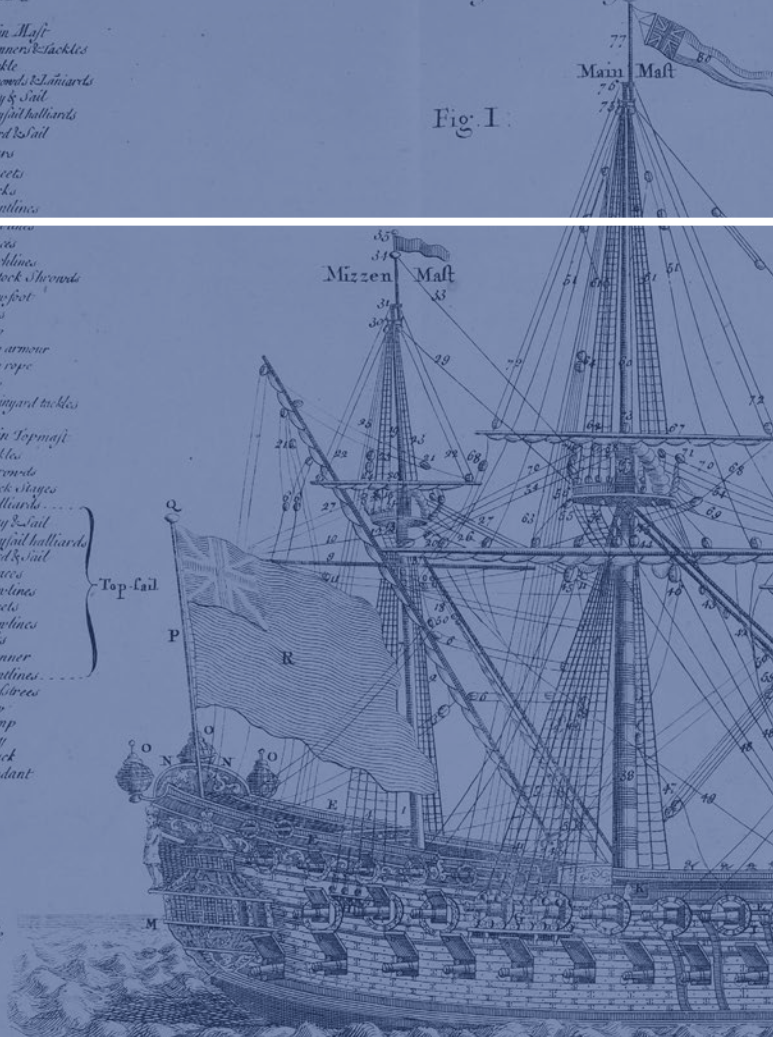
The map depicts Malta, once known as Melite, as part of Africa due to its proximity to that continent and to perceived similarities in customs and language. It also includes an imaginative element: the Balkans are marked as “Turkey in Europe”, acknowledging Ottoman power; yet, Greece, Hungary, and other countries are highlighted in different colors. Thus, there is an attempt to portray things as they ought to be, not as they are, unduly masking the fact that at the time the Ottoman border was on Vienna’s doorstep.

Parts, Members &c. of a SHIP.

- |                                    |                      |                       |
|------------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| Mast<br>and Rigging                | 1 Mizzen Mast        | 36 Main Mast          |
|                                    | 2 Fore & Sail        | 37 Runners & Tackles  |
|                                    | 3 Sheet              | 40 Tackle             |
|                                    | 4 Shrouds & Laniards | 41 Shrouds & Laniards |
|                                    | 5 Downlines          | 42 Stay & Sail        |
|                                    | 6 Brayles            | 43 Stay & Sail        |
|                                    | 7 Jibs               | 44 Lard & Sail        |
|                                    | 8 Peak Halliards     | 45 Sails              |
|                                    | 9 English Jack Sail  | 46 Sheets             |
|                                    | 10 Luffs             | 47 Tacks              |
|                                    | 11 Braces            | 48 Bundlines          |
| Mizzen<br>Mast<br>and Rigging      | 13 Mizzen top        | 49 Mizzen Mast        |
|                                    | 14 Top Armour        | 50 Braces             |
|                                    | 15 The Capp          | 51 Downlines          |
|                                    | 16 Crossfoot         | 52 Buttack Sheer      |
|                                    | 17 Stay & Sail       | 53 Crossfoot          |
|                                    | 18 Halliards         | 54 Luffs              |
|                                    |                      | 55 Top                |
|                                    |                      | 56 Top armour         |
| Main Mast<br>and Rigging           | 19 Topmast           | 57 Top rope           |
|                                    | 20 Fore & Sail       | 58 Cap                |
|                                    | 21 Braces            | 59 Mangard tackles    |
|                                    | 22 Luffs             |                       |
|                                    | 23 Shrouds           | 60 Main Topmast       |
|                                    | 24 Halliards         | 61 Tackles            |
|                                    | 25 Back stays        | 62 Shrouds            |
|                                    | 26 Downlines         | 63 Back stays         |
|                                    | 27 Sheets            | 64 Halliards          |
|                                    | 28 Downlines         | 65 Stay & Sail        |
|                                    | 29 Stay              | 66 Stay & Sail        |
| 30 Crossrees                       | 67 Lard & Sail       |                       |
| 31 Cap                             | 68 Braces            |                       |
| 32 Stump                           | 69 Downlines         |                       |
| 33 Stay                            | 70 Sheets            |                       |
| 34 Truck                           | 71 Downlines         |                       |
| 35 Spindle                         | 72 Luffs             |                       |
| 36 Tans                            | 73 Runner            |                       |
| 37 Slings of the<br>Crossjack Sail | 74 Bundlines         |                       |
|                                    | 75 Crossrees         |                       |
|                                    | 76 Cap               |                       |
|                                    | 77 Stump             |                       |
|                                    | 78 Stay              |                       |
|                                    | 79 Truck             |                       |
|                                    | 80 Pendant           |                       |

A SHIP of War, of the third

Fig. I.



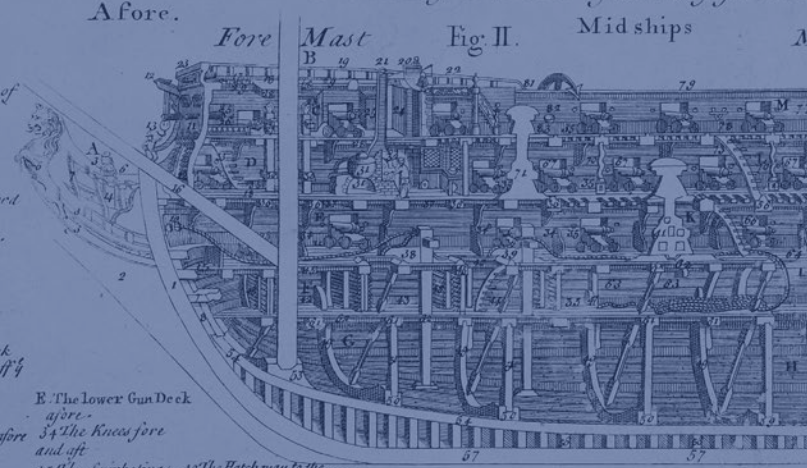
Parts, Members &c. Within side

- A. The Head, Entailing
- 1 The Main Stem
- 2 The Knee of the Head, or Calwater
- 3 The Lower and Upper Cheek
- 4 The Trail Board
- 5 The Figure
- 6 The Gratings
- 7 The Brackets
- 8 The false Stem
- 9 The Breast hooks
- 10 The Hinge hole out of which runs the Cable
- 11 The Walk head afore
- 12 The Cut Head
- 13 The Cut Block
- 14 Necessary Seat
- 15 The Hanger within Board
- 16 The Breastpost
- B. Upon the Fore - Cattle .
- 17 The Gratings
- 18 The Partners of the Foremast
- 19 The Gunwale
- 20 The Mastsy
- 21 The Funnel for Smoke
- 22 The Gangway going off of Fore-castle
- 23 The Fore Castle Guns
- C In the Fore Cattle
- 24 The door of Bulk head afore
- 25 The Officers Cabins
- 26 The Hair Cage
- 27 The Fore top-sail-Sheet Bits
- 28 The Beams

- E The Lower Gun Deck afore-  
 29 The Knives fore and aft  
 30 The Spinketings of first Streak next to each Deck if next under Gunwale being called Gunwale  
 31 The Hatch way to the Gunners & Boatwains fore-  
 32 The Eerhook Rider  
 33 The Eerhook Rider  
 34 The Standere  
 35 The Gunwale  
 36 The Orlop.

Section of a SHIP of War, of the first

Fig. II.



- 37 The Orlop A Millhins  
 38 The Orlop A Millhins  
 39 The Orlop A Millhins  
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 76 The Orlop A Millhins  
 77 The Orlop A Millhins  
 78 The Orlop A Millhins  
 79 The Orlop A Millhins  
 80 The Orlop A Millhins



Rate, With Topping &c. at Anchor.



Parts, Members &c. of a

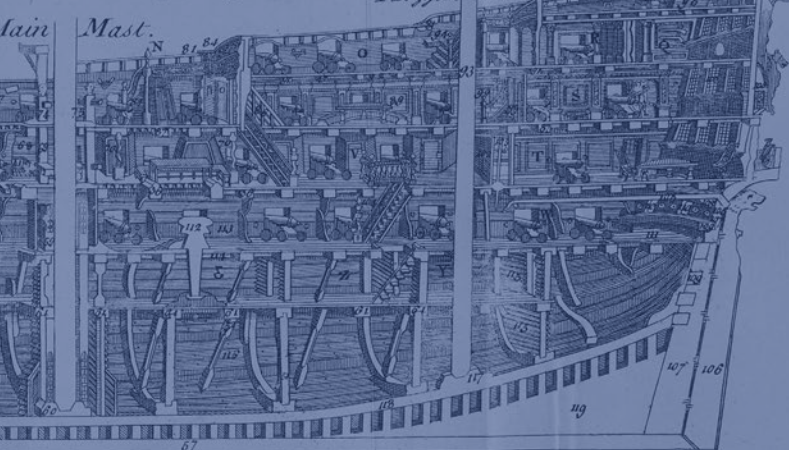
SHIP

- |                           |                     |                               |                |
|---------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|
| Fore Mast and Rigging     | 81 Foremast         | Bow Sprit & Rigging           | 127 Main Sprit |
|                           | 82 Foremast Blocks  |                               | 128 Main Mast  |
|                           | 83 Foremast         |                               | 129 Main Mast  |
|                           | 84 Foremast Tunnies |                               | 130 Main Mast  |
|                           | 85 Foremast         |                               | 131 Main Mast  |
|                           | 86 Foremast         |                               | 132 Main Mast  |
|                           | 87 Foremast         |                               | 133 Main Mast  |
|                           | 88 Foremast         |                               | 134 Main Mast  |
|                           | 89 Foremast         |                               | 135 Main Mast  |
|                           | 90 Foremast         |                               | 136 Main Mast  |
| Fore Top Mast and Rigging | 102 Fore Topmast    | Sprit-Sail Top Mast & Rigging | 137 Main Mast  |
|                           | 103 Fore Topmast    |                               | 138 Main Mast  |
|                           | 104 Fore Topmast    |                               | 139 Main Mast  |
|                           | 105 Fore Topmast    |                               | 140 Main Mast  |
|                           | 106 Fore Topmast    |                               | 141 Main Mast  |
|                           | 107 Fore Topmast    |                               | 142 Main Mast  |
|                           | 108 Fore Topmast    |                               | 143 Main Mast  |
|                           | 109 Fore Topmast    |                               | 144 Main Mast  |
|                           | 110 Fore Topmast    |                               | 145 Main Mast  |
|                           | 111 Fore Topmast    |                               | 146 Main Mast  |

# Technology & Travel

- |                 |                  |
|-----------------|------------------|
| Hull            | A The Cabin      |
|                 | B Deck           |
|                 | C Hatchways      |
|                 | D Cabotage       |
|                 | E Waterlocks     |
|                 | F Fore Channel   |
|                 | G Main Channel   |
|                 | H Mezzan Channel |
|                 | I Chaise         |
|                 | K Entering Port  |
| L Head          |                  |
| M Gallery       |                  |
| N Staircase     |                  |
| O Top Gunthorns |                  |
| P Flying Staff  |                  |
| Q Mast          |                  |
| R Ensign        |                  |

Rate, Showing y<sup>e</sup> Inside.



Parts, Members &c. Within the

- |  |
|--|
| 103 The Whipstaff commanding the Tiller  |
| 104 The After Star Case down to y <sup>e</sup> lower Gun Deck  |
| V Several Officers Cabins  |
| 105 y <sup>e</sup> Main Mast in which Place commonly the Soldiers Make their Guns from the Entering Port |
| W The Gun Room   |
| 106 The Tiller commanding the Rudder   |
| 107 The Rudder   |
| 108 The Stern Post   |
| 109 The Tiller Traysom   |
| 110 The several Traysoms viz. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5  |
| 111 The Gun Room Port or Stern Chase   |
| 112 Bread Room Scuttle down out of the Gun Room  |
| 113 The main Capstan   |
| 114 The Ball of the Capstan or Stopper of Iron   |
| 115 The Partners   |
| X The Bread Room   |
| 116 The Bulk Head of the Bread Room  |
| Y The Steward Room Where all Provisions are weighed and served out                                       |
| Z The Cock Pit, where are Subdivisions for the Purser and Surgeons & others                              |
| 117 The Platform or Orlop where Provision is made in time of Service for the wounded                     |
| 118 The Hold abast the Main Mast   |
| 119 Step of y <sup>e</sup> Mezzan  |

112 The Gallows, on which Spare Top Masts are laid  
 113 The Fore Mast Blocks  
 114 The Kennels  
 115 The Stair Case down to the Middle Gun Deck  
 116 The Beams of y<sup>e</sup> Upper Deck  
 117 The Drawings Abast  
 118 The Gunns Way up to the Poop  
 119 The Bulk head of y<sup>e</sup> Cuddy  
 120 The Poop  
 121 The Officers Cabins  
 122 The Entrance into y<sup>e</sup> Gallery  
 123 The Bulk head of the Great Cabin  
 124 The Mast and air

**Johannes Scheffer. Joannis Schefferi Argentoratensis, De militia navali veterum libri quatuor: ad historiam graecam latinamque vtiles. Uppsala: Jan Jansson, 1654.**

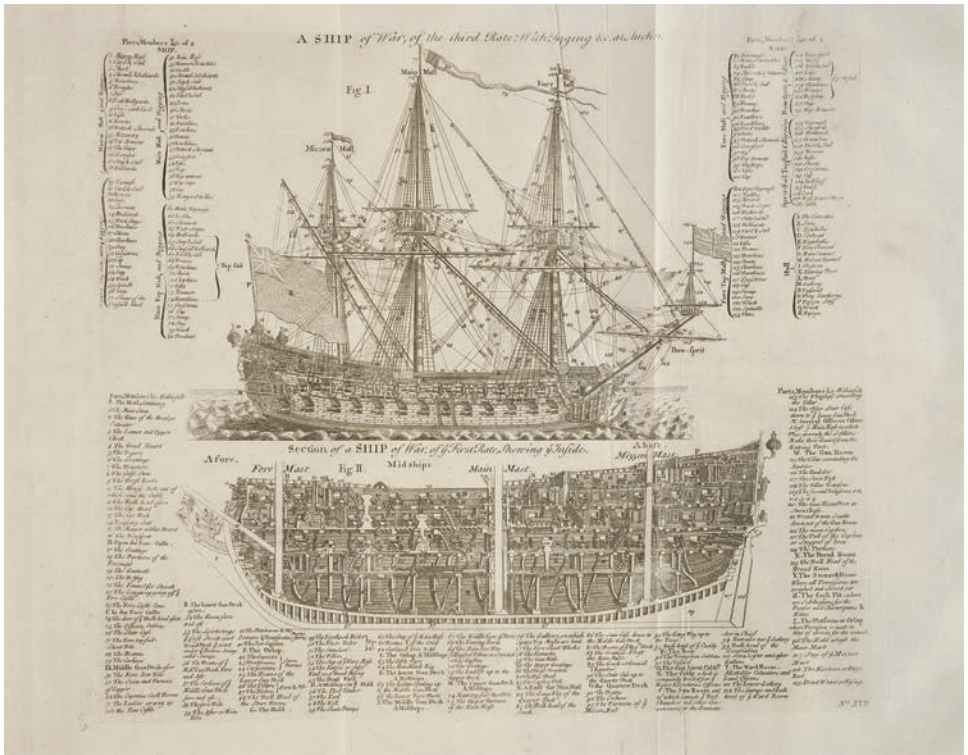
The Mediterranean galley saw nearly 3000 years of trading and military history, until it was supplanted by the frigate and by ships of the line in the eighteenth century. The ancient galley had survived for so long as a trade and military vessel due to its ability to move without wind and to maneuver quickly using manned oars. With later refinements such as the lateen sail, castles, and cannon, the galley retained a privileged place among pirates and pirate hunters, as slower caravels, cogs, brigantines, and even galleons and carracks could be overtaken by avaricious and skilled captains. This particular galley was created by Swedish artist and humanist Joannis Schefferi (1621–1679), and included in his *De militia navali veterum libri quatuor: ad historiam graecam latinamque vtiles* (1664). Schefferi's work focuses on naval technology, design, and history. His artistic talents, humanist desire to understand the world around him, and discerning interest in naval and maritime matters culminated in his impressive and valuable visualizations of the history of naval warfare.



Malta Study Center Collection  
Hill Museum & Manuscript Library

**Ephraim Chambers. *Cyclopaedia, or, An universal dictionary of arts and sciences: containing an explication of the terms, and an account of the things signified thereby, in the several arts, both liberal and mechanical, and the several sciences, human and divine.* 2 volumes. London: Printed for D. Midwinter, A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch ... [and 14 others], 1738.**

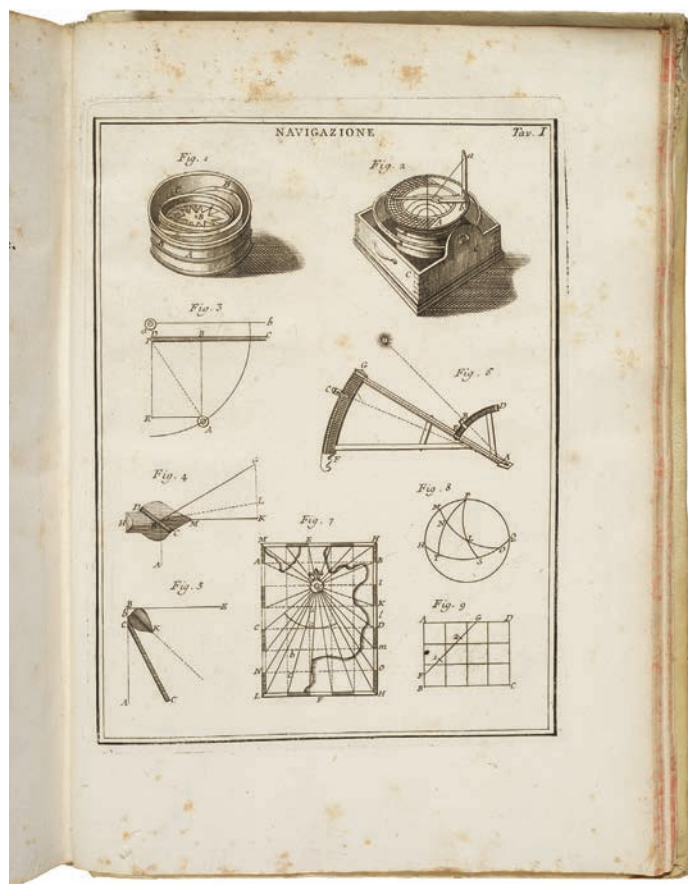
The mariners' technical vocabulary provided a lexicon privy to those who shared the unique world of the sea as a way of life. The increasing complexity of ship design in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries coincided with early modern interest in universal knowledge as the key to unfolding the mysteries of the world through rational study. In his *Cyclopaedia* entry for "Ship," Ephraim Chambers (1680–1740) includes a detailed engraving of a 74-gun ship of the line third rate, the backbone of the French—and later British—navy in the Mediterranean. While demonstrating the technical prowess of British ship builders, the technical drawing of the ship breaks down the complex terminology that had long been the preserve of sailors, making the knowledge accessible to all readers interested in the sea and seafaring in general.





**Ephraim Chambers. *Dizionario universale delle arti e delle scienze, che contiene la spiegazione de' termini, e la descrizione delle cose significate per essi, nelle arti liberali e meccaniche, e nelle scienze umane e divine. 9 volumes. Venice: Giambattista Pasquali, 1748–1749.***

Determining course and speed, and measuring depth, increased the Mediterranean captain's ability to outmaneuver danger and arrive safely at port. The science and tools of navigation improved dramatically in the early modern Mediterranean. Coupled with advances in astronomy, tools such as the sixteenth century backstaff (fig. 6) to measure the sun's altitude, when combined with the medieval mariner's astrolabe, allowed for more accurate charting of latitude.

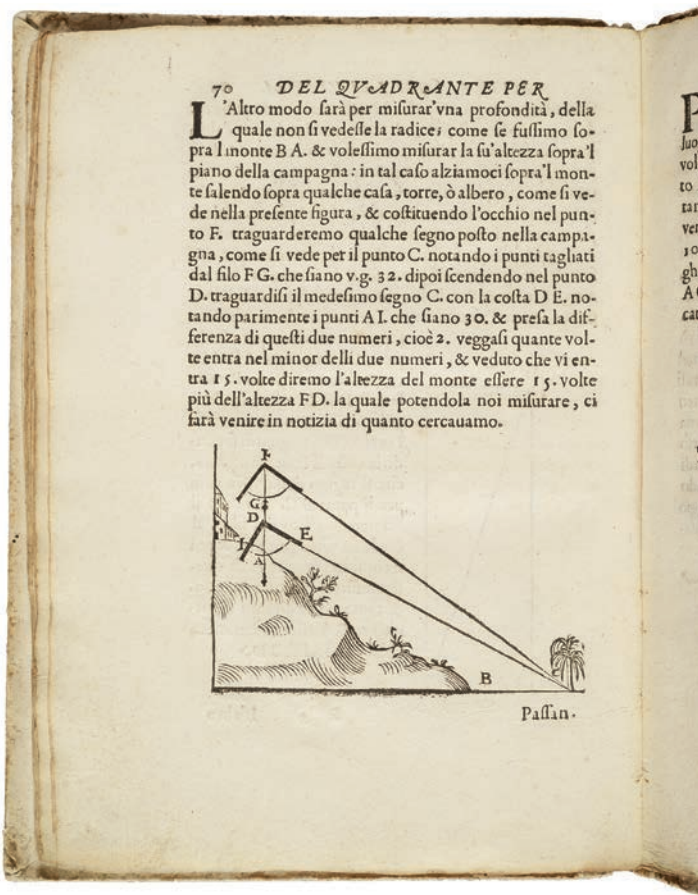


Likewise, in the eighteenth century the ancient Chinese and improved medieval Mediterranean magnetic compass (fig. 1) was mounted and used with quadrants and sextants to accurately determine the bearing of ships (hence bearing compass) when travelling across open seas (fig. 2).

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**Galileo Galilei. *Le operazione del compasso geometrico, et militare.*  
Padua: Paolo Frambotto, 1649.**

Navigating a vessel involved complex geometrical calculations, from elevating cannons on warships to measuring distances and calculating the weight and volume of objects in cargo. Renaissance scientists recognized the need to develop an instrument suitable for performing such calculations in light of advances in artillery and navigation. Galileo's (1564–1642) compass used proportional lines on metallic legs, combined with scales on the quadrant to facilitate calculations that involved square roots and volumes for surveying territory.



Calculations were needed to compute the trajectory of cannons when attacking vessels of varying size at sea as well as fortifications on land. Properly calculating the weight and volume of cargo could save lives by avoiding the risk of capsizing; it also could maximize profit through the accurate measurement of goods in the hold.

Du Dimanche 13<sup>e</sup> Septembre

H <sup>o</sup>	Vents	Routes	Nauds	D. <sup>o</sup>	Voilure du Vaisseau	Vue de Terre et Des Voiles
1	NO	SE $\frac{1}{4}$ S	6	00	Grand 5 <sup>e</sup> a misain	
2	NO	SE $\frac{1}{4}$ S	6	00	Moins la misain	
3	NO	SE $\frac{1}{4}$ S	5 $\frac{3}{4}$			
4	NO	SE $\frac{1}{4}$ S	5 $\frac{1}{2}$			
5	NO	SE $\frac{1}{4}$ S	5 $\frac{1}{2}$			
6	NO	SE $\frac{1}{4}$ S	5			
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3	NO	OSO	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{4}$		
4	NO	OSO	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{4}$		
5	NO	OSO $\frac{1}{2}$ S	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{4}$		5 Vu le gose de matthe
6	NO	SO $\frac{1}{4}$ S	3	00	hunia et misain	Restant au S $\frac{1}{4}$ Sud
7	NO	SO $\frac{1}{4}$ SO	5 $\frac{3}{4}$	00	Toutes les voiles	6. Relève le millieu du gose au SO S $\frac{1}{4}$ S
8	NO	SO $\frac{1}{2}$ S	5 $\frac{3}{4}$	00		8. Laville de matthe
9	NO	SO $\frac{1}{2}$ S	5 $\frac{3}{4}$	00		Restoit au S $\frac{1}{4}$ S $\frac{1}{2}$
10	NO	S $\frac{1}{4}$ SE	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	00		
11	NO	S $\frac{1}{4}$ SE	5	00		
12	NO					

*Partida de Matthe*  
 Relevement du Mouillage de Matthe  
 L'ap.<sup>o</sup> de l'étoile a droite en allant Rette au N.E.S. Nord  
 Belle de la gauche a l'N.N.E. ....  
 Le port de l'auge au S $\frac{1}{4}$ SO ..

## **Journal dela Compagne dela fregatte *L'Iris*. Mediterranean Sea, July 13, 1789, to May 12, 1790.**

Sea captains required substantial scientific and technical knowledge to navigate their vessels, as seen here in the daily and hourly log of time, wind, and bearings. The frigate *L'Iris* was commanded by Hercule de Ligondès-Rochefort, a Knight of Malta serving in the French navy. The voyage began on 13 July 1789, when King Louis XVI (1754–1793) ordered *L'Iris* to sail to Algeria in order to settle disputes between France and the Bey of Algiers over corsair activity. Chevalier Ligondès' lieutenant, Thomas de la Bastide de Beauregard, recorded the ship's log, which includes bearing, wind, fathoms, and ship sightings. Distance here is expressed in nautical miles, made by taking the square root of the observer's height in feet above sea level and multiplying this figure by 1.17. Where the observer stood on the ship—whether on the quarterdeck or forecastle—determined the calculation of the bearing based on the elevation of the deck.

Malta Study Center Collection  
Hill Museum & Manuscript Library

## **Giovanni Schranz, “Veduta del gran Porto di Malta presa da Coradino,” engraved by Antonio Testa, Rome, 1846.**

Centrally located in the Mediterranean Sea, the small island country of Malta was a constant target for empires looking to exploit their trade routes. In 1818, Spanish-born artist Giovanni Schranz (1794–1882) moved to Malta, settling there after his many travels. Between 1840 and 1846, Schranz drew the Port of Valletta, the main trading port in Malta. Schranz's drawing, later engraved in 1846 by Italian etcher Antonio Testa (b. 1785), captures the stark dichotomy between the local Maltese and the British rulers. The left side of the engraving depicts the struggling Maltese economy: a tattered *speronara* (a small Maltese trade boat), a *dghajjes* (a local Maltese boat), and a dejected Maltese fishermen. The right side of the engraving contrasts this disparity, showing a ship of the line (a large British ship) complete with naval ensign. More than mere commentary on nautical imbalances, Schranz's work is a metaphor for the inequities within the empire: while the British ships were strong and well-maintained, the Maltese were old and dilapidated; while the British economy thrived, the Maltese became completely dependent on the overseas empire; while the British began to thrive due to advancements in public health, the Maltese were increasingly prone to illnesses brought by international trade. Schranz's drawing and Testa's subsequent engraving unmistakably showed the damaging effects of imperial trade on local Mediterranean economies and people.

MUŻA-Mużew Nazzjonali ta'Arti





*G. Scheranz disegno in Malta.*

*Veduta del gran Porto di  
All' Illmo Cav. Ignazio Gavino Bonavita,  
San Michele e San Giorgio, Presidente della Regia Corte*







*Malta presa da Coratino*

*A. Festa incisore in Roma nel 1688*

*Commendatore del Distintissimo Ordine di  
di Appello per l'Isola di Malta e sue Dipendenze. S. S. S.*

*A. Festa D. D. D.*







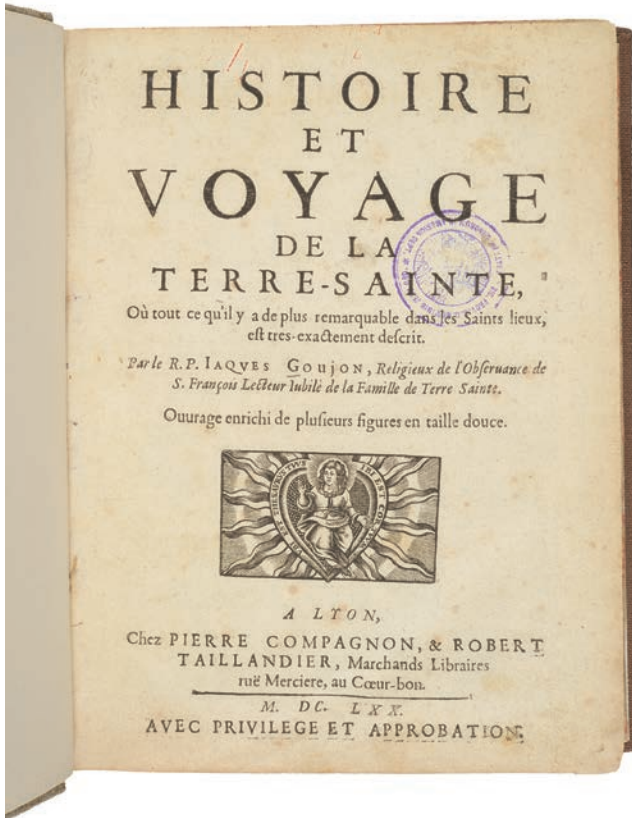
# Pilgrimage & Travel





**Jacques Florent Goujon. *Histoire et voyage de la Terre-Sainte: où tout ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable dans les Saints lieux, est tres-exactement décrit.* Lyon: Pierre Compagnon and Robert Taillandier, 1670.**

Early modern guidebooks became increasingly articulate in both text and image, as readers' expectations grew and writers spent more time in the Holy Land. The Franciscan Jacques Florent Goujon (1621–1693) spent two years in Palestine and another year and a half in Egypt and Syria, working in the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land. Goujon argued that his long stays in the Holy Land gave his guidebook an authority lacking in others of this genre. The guidebook is organized into thirty-three different visits that a pilgrim might take, mirroring the thirty-three years of Jesus' earthly life. Each visit is broken down into a day excursion, and includes history, advice, devotional guides, maps, and architectural diagrams, allowing pilgrims to engage in pious peregrinations as well as historical investigation.



Arca Artium Rare Book Collection  
Saint John's University, Colledgeville

**Viaggio da Venetia al S. Sepolcro, et al Monte Sinai: co'l disegno delle città, castelli, ville, chiese, monasterij, isole, porti, & fiumi, che sin la si ritrouano : et vna breue regola di quanto si deue osseruare nel detto viaggio e quello, che si pagha da luoco à luoco si di datij, come d'altre cose. Venice: Domenico Louisa, 1690.**

Medieval writers provided early modern pilgrims with accessible texts that mixed practical advice with legendary tales and local lore that created highly imagined encounters in the Holy Land. The anonymous fifteenth-century *Viaggio da Venetia al S. Sepolcro*, first published in 1518 by Niccolò detto Zopino, was the most popular guidebook to the Holy Land in Italian, seeing over sixty editions by 1800.



Medieval vernacular guidebooks broke with earlier traditional Latin travel accounts that emphasized text over image by providing a more personalized read with illustrated text. This trend reflected growing interest in visual images to support text, even imaginary stories, so that readers and pilgrims could prepare for their journey. The emergence of the printing press and the increasing use of woodcut allowed pilgrims to carry a figurative personal guide in a small book format.

Saint John's University Rare Books and Special Collections  
 Saint John's University, Collegeville

**Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Jazūlī. *Dalā'il al-khayrāt*. Kashmir, 18th century**

Islamic books of prayers for the prophet Muhammad sometimes included illustrations of Mecca and Mdina, offering a “virtual” pilgrimage for those who had yet to make the Hajj. This manuscript copy of *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* (“Tokens of blessings”) by Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Jazūlī (1404–1465) was produced in northern India, an area that saw an increase in highly-decorative manuscript production during the Mughal Empire. The illuminated illustration depicts Islam's most sacred cities: Mecca (right) and Medina (left). The black square with gold band shown in the center of Mecca represents the Ka'bah, the ultimate destination of the Muslim Hajj.



Arca Artium Rare Book Collection  
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**Fioravante Martinelli. *Roma ricercata nel suo sito, con tutte le curiosità, che in esso si ritrovano tanto antiche, come moderne.* Rome: Michelangelo Barbiellini, 1769.**

Fioravante Martinelli's (1599–1667) *Roma ricercata nel suo sito*, first published in 1650, provided early modern pilgrims to Rome with a day-to-day guide. It foreshadowed modern guidebooks designed to help those who could only afford to stay for a few days to choose among numerous sites to visit in Rome. Though structured around major churches and religious houses, Martinelli's book offered insights into the details one should notice, such as particular relics in monastic communities. The success of Martinelli's guidebook led to its adoption by foreign emissaries traveling to Rome, who purchased the book alongside Girolamo Lunadoro's (1630–1701) *Relatione della corte di Roma* (1635), the standard guide to understanding the bureaucracy of the papal curia.



Arca Artium Rare Book Collection  
Saint John's University, Collegeville

**Ignjat Đurđević. *D. Paulus Apostolus in Mari, Quod Nunc Venetus Sinus Dicitur, Naufragus, et Melitae Dalmatensis insulae post Naufragium Hospes sive, de genuino significato duorum locorum in Actibus Apostolicis. Cap. XXVII. 27. Navigantibus nobis in Adria Cap. XXVIII. 1. Tunc cognovimus, quia Melita insula vocabatur. Inspectiones Anticriticae. Venice: Cristophorum Zane, 1730.***

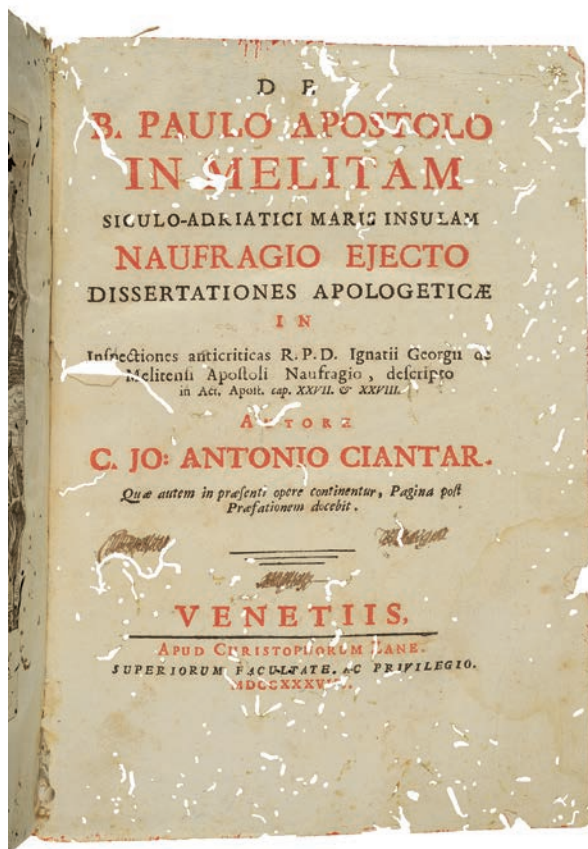
The Benedictine scholar Ignjat Đurđević (1675–1737) from Ragusa (Dubrovnik) argued that Saint Paul landed on the island Mljet in the Adriatic Sea, rather than the traditional location on the island of Malta. Both islands went by the Latin name “Melita.” The engraving here shows Saint Luke pointing to the island “Melita” off the coast of Croatia in the Adriatic Sea, an argument based on Đurđević’s interpretation of Acts 27.27 (*navigantibus nobis in Adria*), where Paul sailed before being shipwrecked on the island of “Melita” in Acts 28.1. Contesting the location of Paul’s shipwreck threatened Malta as a pilgrimage center, and also endangered the spiritual rewards of those who had previously traveled to the island to obtain remission of their sins.



Malta Study Center Collection  
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**Giovanni Antonio Ciantar. *De B. Paulo Apostolo in Melitam siculo-adriatici maris insulam naufragio ejecto dissertationes apologeticae in inspectiones anticriticas r.p.d. Ignatii Georgii de Melitensi Apostoli naufragio, descripto in Act. Apost. cap. XXVII. & XXVIII.* Venice: Christophorum Zane, 1738.**

Giovanni Antonio Ciantar (1696–1778) defended Malta as the location of Paul's shipwreck, as described in Acts 28.1, countering Ignjat Đurđević (1675–1737), who argued that Paul landed on the island Mljet in the Adriatic Sea instead. In his 1738 work, Ciantar offers a point-by-point rebuttal in support of Malta as the place of Paul's landing and reaffirms evidence of miracles performed there by the saint. Ciantar also remarks how Maltese jewelers sold sharks' teeth as relics to pilgrims, claiming that they were the tongues of serpents turned to stone by the apostle. These *glossopetrae* (tongue stones) were thought to have magical qualities, and as a result became a lucrative jewelry item sold to pilgrims and sailors visiting the island.

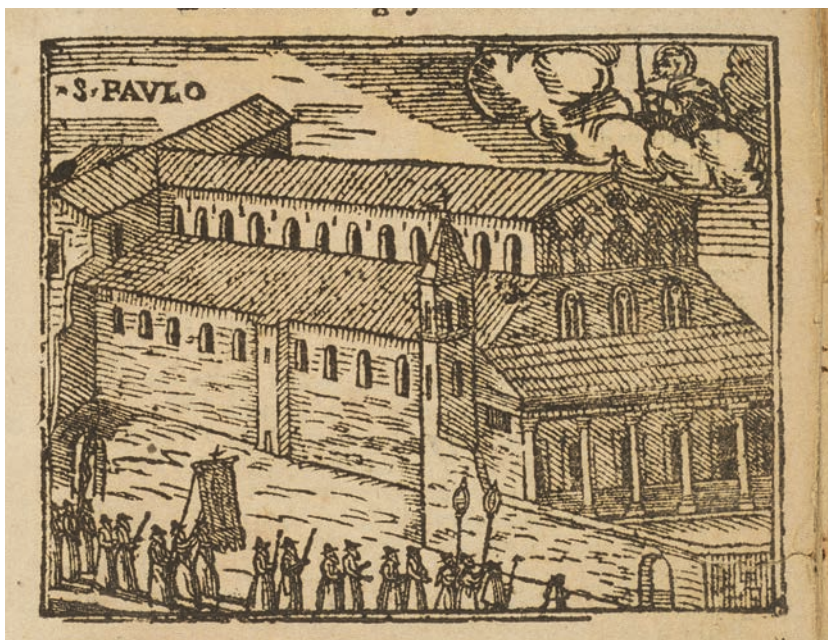


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**Girolamo Francini and Andrea Palladio. *Les merveilles de la ville de Rome: où il est traicté des eglises, stations, & reliques des corps saints qui y sont: avec la guide, qui enseigne aux estrangers à aysement trouver les choses plus remarquables de Rome: avec les noms des papes, empereurs, & autres princes Chrestiens. Rome: Francesco Alberto Tani, 1661.***

The twelfth-century *Mirabilia urbis Romae* or *Wonders of the City of Rome* described the seven major churches of Rome, remarking on notable relics as well as on the Roman ruins that dominated the city. What began as a medieval guide to the city developed into a genre of pilgrimage guidebook. Early modern writers built on the medieval tradition of illustrated manuscripts of the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* by incorporating woodcuts to illustrate the text, as seen in the edition by Girolamo Francini (1537–1596) and Andrea Palladio (1508–1580). Translated into French, their edition also used recent studies of Rome to augment the original text in order to differentiate their publication from other guidebooks printed in the city.



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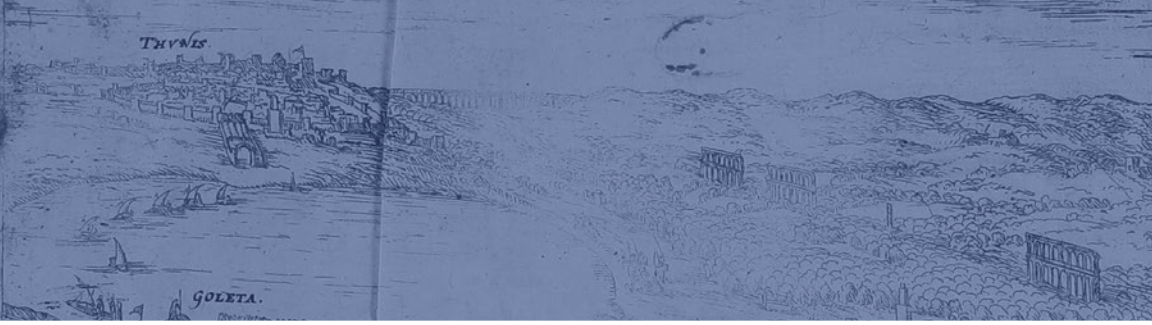
**Giacomo Lauro. *Roma vetus et noua: aedificia eius praecipua suisquaque locis.* Rome: Andrea Frei, 1625.**

In his *Roma vetus et noua*, also entitled *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*, Giacomo Lauro (fl. 1583–1645) presents images crafted during his prolific career as an engraver. He combined views of ancient Rome with sites of the most prominent churches. Most notably, the book features an image of the Basilica of Saint Paul Outside the Walls, commissioned by Pope Sylvester I (d. 335) in the fourth century. The book saw several different editions, with the choice of whether or not to bind the engravings according to theme as a factor in determining its price. The 1625 edition stands out for its trilingual translation of the Latin text into German, Italian, and French on the verso of each page. The edition coincided with a large influx of pilgrims into the city during the Jubilee year and demonstrates how printers and booksellers tailored their publications to the market conditions they encountered.



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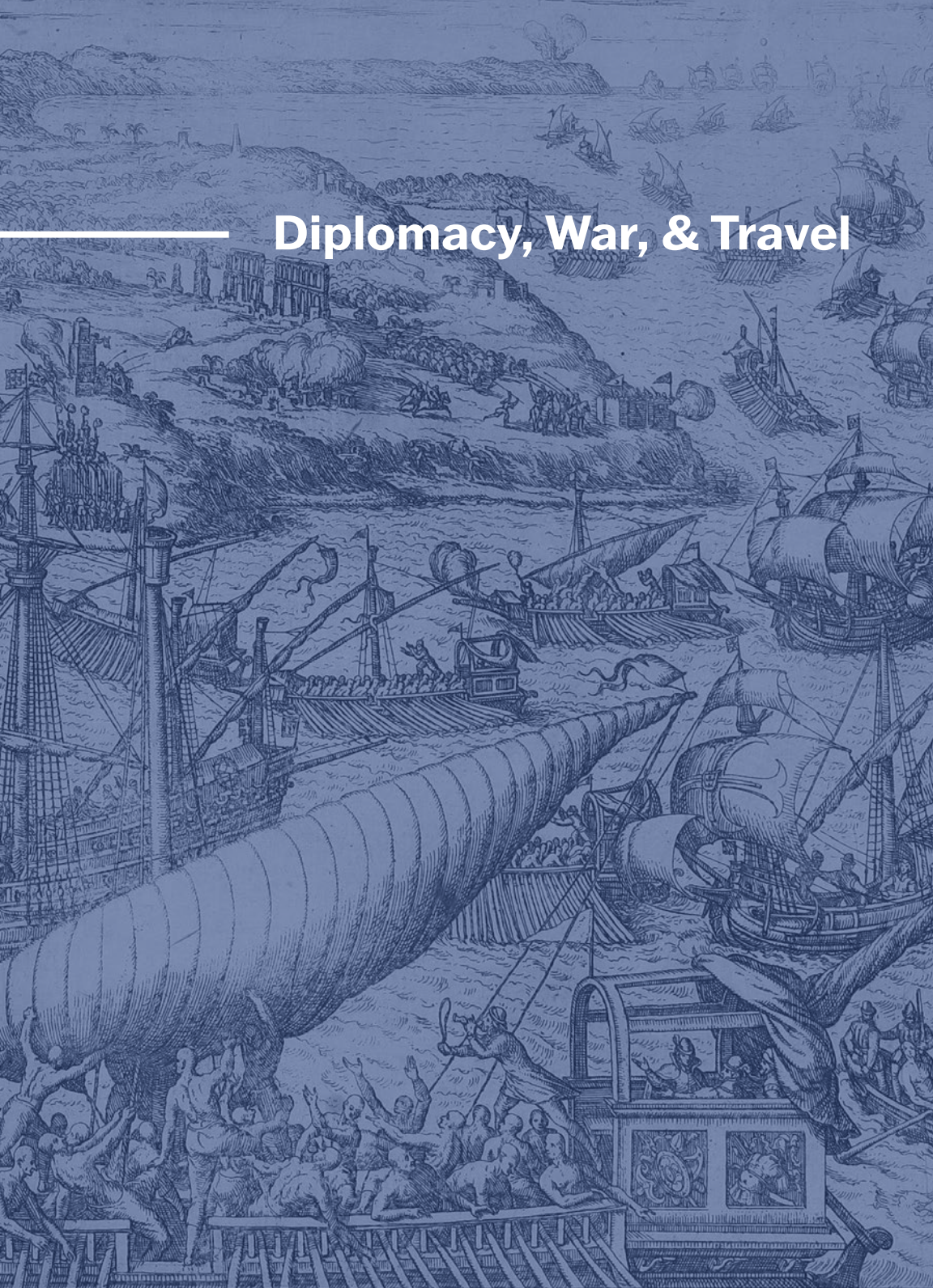
Hie habt ihr, wie der Keyser Carolus der V. mit Stattlicher Kriegsrüstug, de

2



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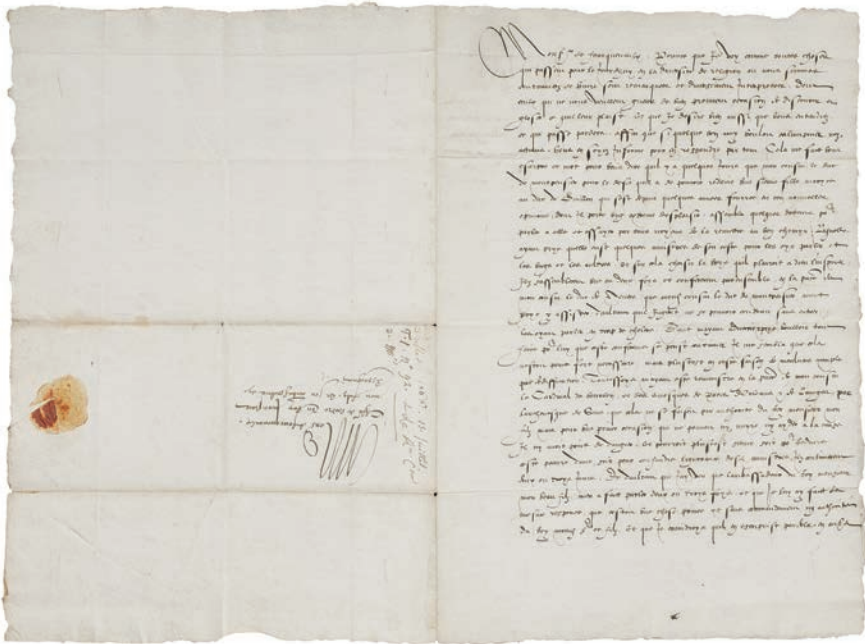
# Diplomacy, War, & Travel



im König von Thunis zur hülffe; in Africa, nit weit von die Goleta, glücklich

**Letter from Catherine de Medici to Raymond de Rouer, Baron de Fourquevaux, Ambassador to the Spanish Court. Paris, July 15, 1566.**

Ambassadors enabled kingdoms to maintain contact with allies and rivals alike, creating an extension of the kingdom into foreign realms and avoiding the inherent risks of travel by the rulers themselves. Permanent embassies thus shortened the distance between nations, allowing negotiations to take place in a more consistent manner. They also served as conduits of information to and from the court. In this letter dated July 15, 1566, Catherine de Medici (1519–1589), mother and former regent to King Charles IX of France (1550–1574), sought intelligence from Raymond de Rouer (1508–1574), Baron de Fourquevaux and Ambassador to the Spanish Court, concerning those at the foreign court who were critical of the French king's attitude towards Huguenots amid the French Wars of Religion (1562–1598), while also discussing the need to frustrate the prospective marriage between the daughter of the Duke of Montpensier (a Catholic) to the Duke of Bouillon (a Huguenot).

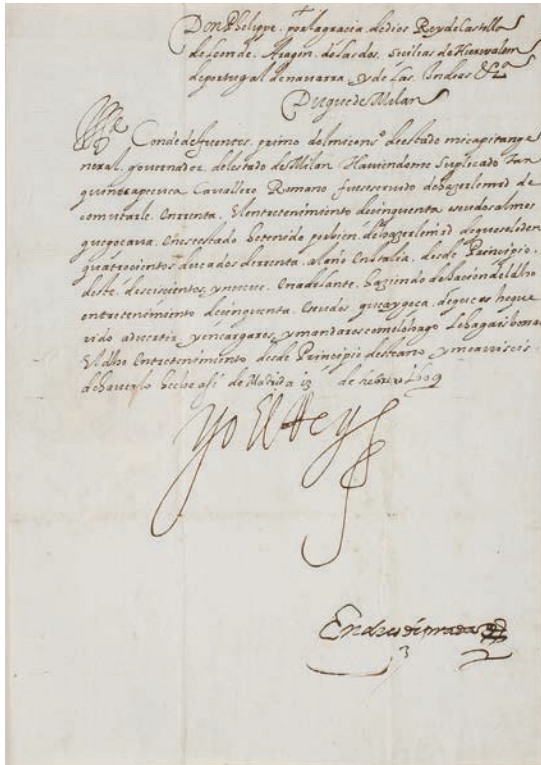


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**Letter of Phillip III, King of Spain, to Juan Gaspar Fernández Pacheco, Duque de Escalona and Ambassador to Rome. Valladolid, September 16, 1605.**

Securing alliances during times of war often involved the creation and fostering of political networks tied, and often beholden, to the monarchy. In a letter from King Philip III of Spain (1578–1621) to Juan Gaspar Fernández Pacheco (1563–1615), Duque de Escalona and Ambassador to Rome, dated September 16, 1605, the monarch granted Spanish nationality and a pension of one thousand escudos to the future Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio d’Aragona (1577–1644), member of the secret chamber of Pope Clement VIII (1536–1605). Philip III awarded Bentivoglio the merced for his service on behalf of Guido’s brother Ippolito Bentivoglio d’Aragona, Marchese di Gualteri (d. 1619) who, upon the death of Duke Alfonso II d’Este in 1597, supported the Spanish favorite Duke Cesare d’Este of Modena (1552–1628) against the papacy over the rights of the Duchy of Ferrera.

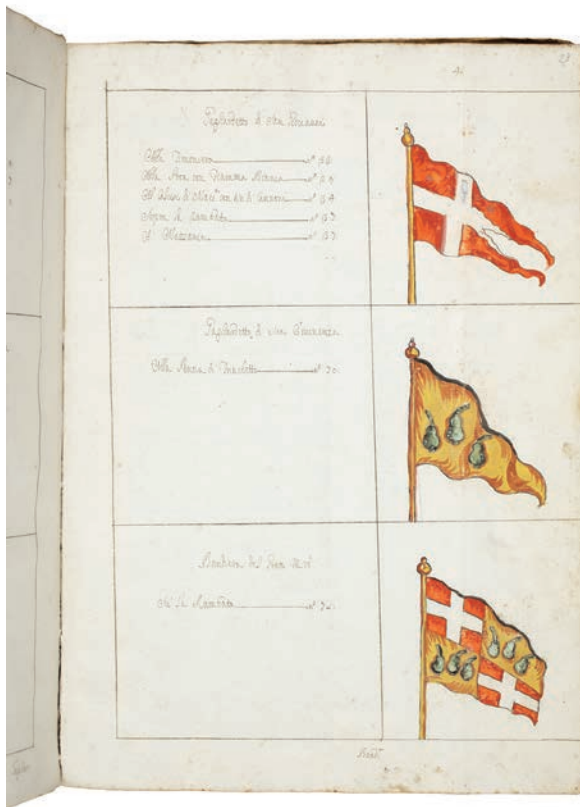


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**Flag signal book and naval regulations excerpted from the statutes of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, 1700–1720.**

In the eighteenth century, naval signal books were the standard for instructing sailors on the correct use of flags. Different flags were required depending on time, weather conditions, and specific instructions; in contrast, different navies had different signals. Naval signals represented an early form of code, meant to be secret and understood only by men who were familiar with the signal books. Occasionally, officers created their own signal books, known as manuscript signal books. These books were banned, however, as their small size made them easy to lose, and therefore a threat to naval security. This manuscript shows flag signals for the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem created in the early eighteenth century. Three flag signals are illustrated here: a two-point pennant of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, the personal pennant of Ramon Rabasa de Perellós y Rocafull (1637–1720), and, lastly, the combined arms of Ramon Rabasa de Perellós y Rocafull as Grand Master of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem (r. 1697–1720).



Catholic University of America.  
Rare Books and Special Collections

**Letter of Emmanuel Armand de Vignerot du Plessis, Duke d'Aiguillon,  
Fontainebleau, October 10, 1771.**

Patronage in the courts of Europe constituted a complex network of relationships through which aspirants sought the assistance of patrons to advance their careers and enhance their reputations. Using one's influence to place people (or clients) in positions of wealth or power could, in turn, increase their own potential within the patronage system. We can see such a complex network at work in this letter from Emmanuel Armand de Vignerot du Plessis (1720–1788), Duke d'Aiguillon and Minister of Foreign Affairs under King Louis XV of France (1710–1774), to a certain “Madame”, likely Madame du Barry (1743–1793), dated October 10, 1771. In this correspondence, we learn that the aspiring client had asked Vignerot du Plessis to exert influence on Fra Toussaint de Vento des Pennes (b. 1721), Chargé d'affaires of France in Malta from 1762 to 1778. He asked if he might, in turn, entreat the Grand Master of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem to provide Fra François Joseph de Gratet du Bouchage (1749–1821), whom the unnamed “Madame” served as patron, with a commandery in Provence.

Las du dec d'AIGUILLON  
concernant le charge d'affaire du Roi à MALTE

Madame,

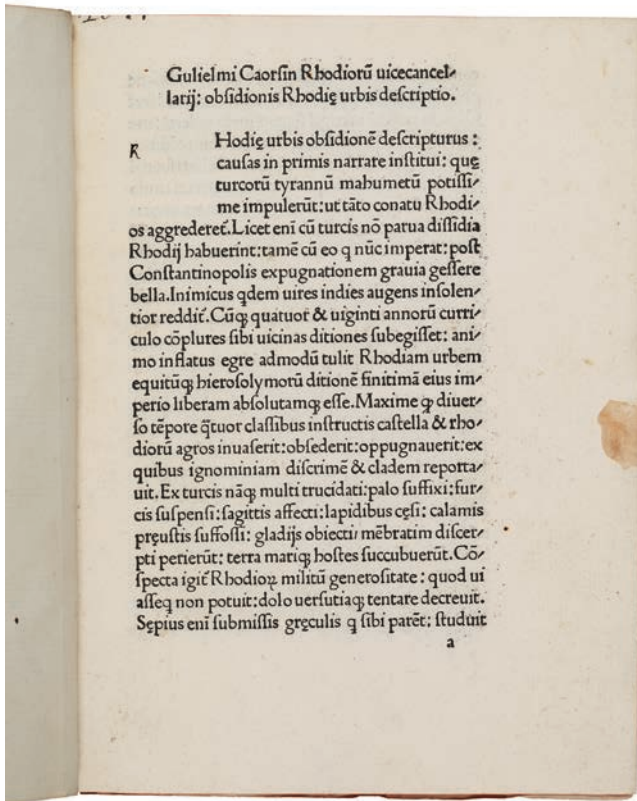
Je vous prie de m'excuser de ne vous avoir pas écrit plus tôt, mais j'ai été si occupé de vos affaires, que je n'ai pu vous en parler. Je suis cependant très sensible à votre bonté, et je suis persuadé que je serai très utile à votre service, et que je pourrai vous rendre de bons offices, et de ceux de M. de Sully, et de vos autres de province de respect avec lequel je suis, Madame, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

Emmanuel Armand de Vignerot du Plessis  
Fontainebleau ce 10 Oct 1771

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**Guillaume Caoursin. *Obsidionis Rhodiae urbis descriptio*. Venice: Erhard Ratdolt?, after August 19, 1480.**

Struggles over the Mediterranean brought diverse peoples into conflict, often resulting in the borrowing and exchange of knowledge in science, technology, and military tactics. One such example occurred when Mehmed II (1432–1481) besieged Rhodes in 1480 to remove the military outpost controlled by the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem (later also known as the Order of Malta), which threatened sea trade and communication routes between Ottoman territories in Turkey and Egypt. As one of the last remaining Christian military outposts in the Eastern Mediterranean, Rhodes inhibited Ottoman expansion to the West. Though adversaries, the Ottomans and the Knights of the Order of Saint John employed similar technologies and tactics appropriated from shared contacts and trading partners within the Mediterranean, showing that the encounters centered on conflict facilitated exchange of ideas.



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***Kurtze Erzeichniss wie Keyser Carolus der V. in Africa dem Konig von Thunis, so von dem Barbarossen vertrieben, mit Kriegsrustung zur Hulffe komt, vnd was sich zgedragn, kont ihr in diese folgende Figurn fein ordentlich nach ein ander sehen ... geschach im Jar nach Christi Gebuertt M.D.XXXV. Cologne (?): Frans Hogenberg, 1570s–1580s (?).***

Large scale invasions in the 16th century brought tens of thousands of Europeans into contact with North African peoples. Africans captured in war were often sold into slavery and transported to Europe or the Americas. The 1535 invasion of Tunisia by Emperor Charles V (1500–1558) was in response to the increasing threat of Ottoman pirates in the central Mediterranean, who raided Christian littoral communities and threatened European trading networks. The invasion pitted a combination of Spanish, Italian, Maltese, and Austrian troops against Turkish and North African naval and land forces. The internationalization of war for the control of the Mediterranean thereby increased the movement of people, whether through military deployment, slave trade, or the displacement of peoples that accompanied such conflicts.



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**Noticias adquiridas de 4. Embarcaciones los dias 27, y 28. de Abril de 1733. Mediterranean Sea, April 27-28, 1733.**

Seizing ports and strategic locations in the Mediterranean, like Oran in Algeria, provided both Western Europeans and the Ottomans with bases to control trade and to extend and exert influence. This dispatch describes the naval actions of the Spanish royal squadron commanded by Blas de Lezo y Olavarrieta (1689-1741), alongside ships from the Order of the Knights of Malta, off the coast of Tunisia in April 1733. The joint operation was undertaken to protect the Spanish-controlled presidio of Oran from a rumored attack by an Ottoman fleet. Coordinating with the Knights of Malta, Lezo y Olavarrieta records how the squadron was stopping several trading vessels between Tunisia and Malta to enquire about the status of the Ottoman fleet before taking safe harbor in Valletta.

Noticias adquiridas de 4. Embarcaciones los dias 27, y 28. de  
Abril de 1733. por esta Escuadra de Navios del Rey, y de los Relig.  
Maltaenses a corta distancia de la Península de  
Día 27.  
A las 11. horas de la mañana se ablo a un Navio Francés, que venia  
de Escalabrta, en Capitanía de donde dize faltava a esta 12.  
dias, y que 2. Navios de los Argelinos se avian perdido dando al traves  
dentro del Golfo de Morocco.  
A las 2. de la tarde se ablo con una Flota Francesa nombrada  
de la Flota de la Escala de Capitanía de donde dize faltava a esta  
12. dias faltava y dize que 2. Navios Argelinos avian partido de Co  
a principios de la semana de 17. y que el otro de los Argelinos se avian  
dado al traves en el Golfo de Morocco, a saber, el Navio grande de  
Aquel d. era Com. de una de las Caravelas, y el otro de la Flota de la Escala, y  
otro Navio de la Escalabrta, que el Com. de los otros dos pidos, y que no  
destruía; se ablo, el dho. Caron asegura, que absolutamente quedan en  
perdido sin esperanza de poderlos sacar, y que más de el Com. de los  
Argelinos pasó a Mallor. a comprar un Navio Nuevo de 50. Cañones,  
y que lo avia aporreado a 60. Curvas, desarmado con  
los bastijos de los 2. perdidos; y que estos dos Navios Notorios del  
una parte tenia noticia de su pérdida, y los otros se avian retirado  
a Valletta, pero que despues de este accidente las Noticias de haber  
hecho las desastaban todos los dias, y que todas estas noticias las  
entendió el algunos Paises de. escribieron sobre los Navios perdidos,  
como tambien de ayer escríbe sobre la Flota del Seno de Malta,  
un Navio Francés de. de. de Constantinopla lo confirmó las  
mismas Noticias, y que se persuade, que los Navios, que han queda  
do no podrán aporreados de. de. de. en mucho tiempo.  
A las 2. de la tarde se ablo a una Flota Francesa, que  
venia de Escalabrta de donde avia faltado 20. dias, el Caron dize  
que 2. de los Navios Argelinos avian dado al traves en el Golfo de  
Morocco, y que faltava uno de los demás, de que no se  
tenia noticia alguna, y de estas las entendió de los mismos Argelinos,  
que se retiraron a Comienzo de los sucesos del accidente.

**Relação do encontrado havido no dia 6 de Novembro de 1736, entre a esquadra de tres navios de Malta mandada pelo illustrissimo senhor cavalheiro commendador Fr. Bartholomeo Tomazi. Lisbon: Teotónio Antunes Lima, 1737.**

This is an account of the naval battle that had recently taken place off Marbella on November 6–8, 1736. The protagonists were three Algerian corsairs and three frigates of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem: the *Sant' Antonio*, *San Giovanni*, and *San Vincenzo Ferreri*. The Order of Saint John's squadron was led by Lieutenant General Bartolomeo Tomassi (1668–1768), in command of the *Sant' Antonio*. The Order's victory resulted in the capture of the 36-gun Algerian frigate *Demi Lune* and the 34-gun Algerian frigate *l'Arangy*. António Caetano Luís de Sousa (1690–1757?), 4th Mârques de Minas and 6th Conde de Prado, provided funds to print the pamphlet as seen in his coat of arms on the title page. He likely commissioned the publication, since a member of his family, Fra' Sousa, served as *secondo capitano* on the *San Giovanni*.



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## Naval Exploits of the Order of Malta. Malta or France, 18th century.

Threats to trade and the danger of raids led to the creation of international alliances to patrol the Mediterranean, as dominance of shipping lanes ensured spheres of influence and wealth. Based in Malta, the navy of the Knights of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem patrolled the Mediterranean to stop piracy and to carry out military actions against the Ottoman Turks. Meanwhile, the Knights' port of Valletta served as a neutral harbor for European Christian powers that supported the Order's defense of Christendom against the Turks. The Order promoted such military endeavors through public and private works of art, often in large-scale paintings or murals. It was common for the Knights and their supporters to commission watercolors of these works, so that the memory of the Order's naval actions could be showcased and preserved. These watercolors were often collected in portfolios, as seen here in a French collection of drawings.



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The SERRAGLIO  
CONSTANTINOPLE

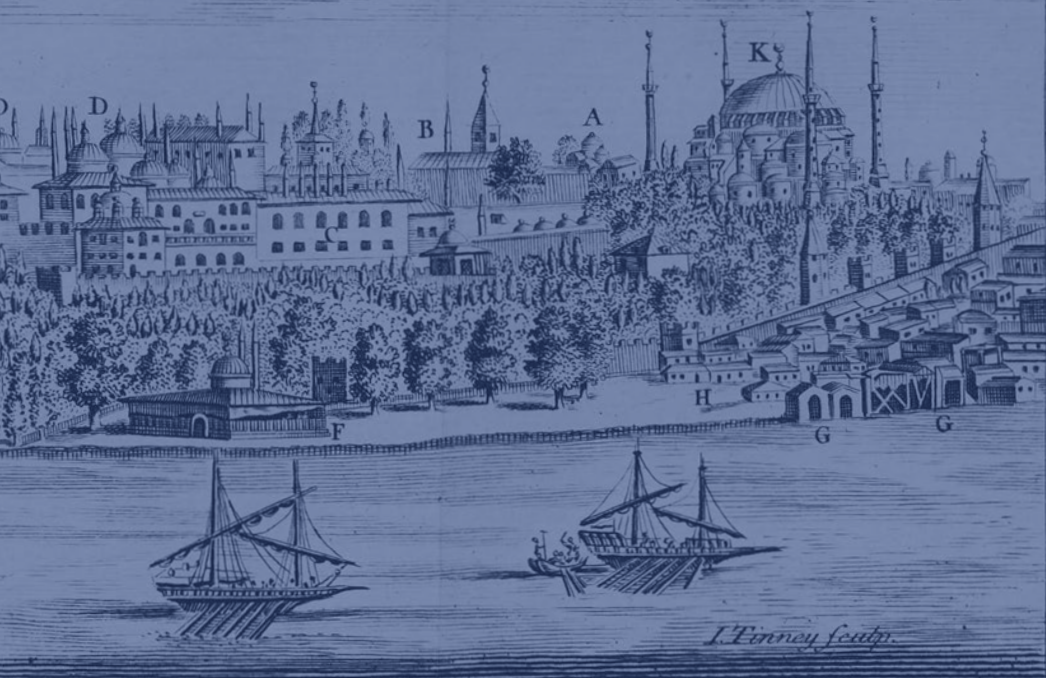


- A The Entrance into y<sup>e</sup>. Serraglio from y<sup>e</sup>. City.  
 B Lodgings for the Guards.  
 C The great Hall for publick Audience.  
 D The Grand Signors Lodgings.  
 E The Womens Lodgings.  
 F Pleasure Houses.



27  
NORTH POINT of  
CONSTANTINOPLE.

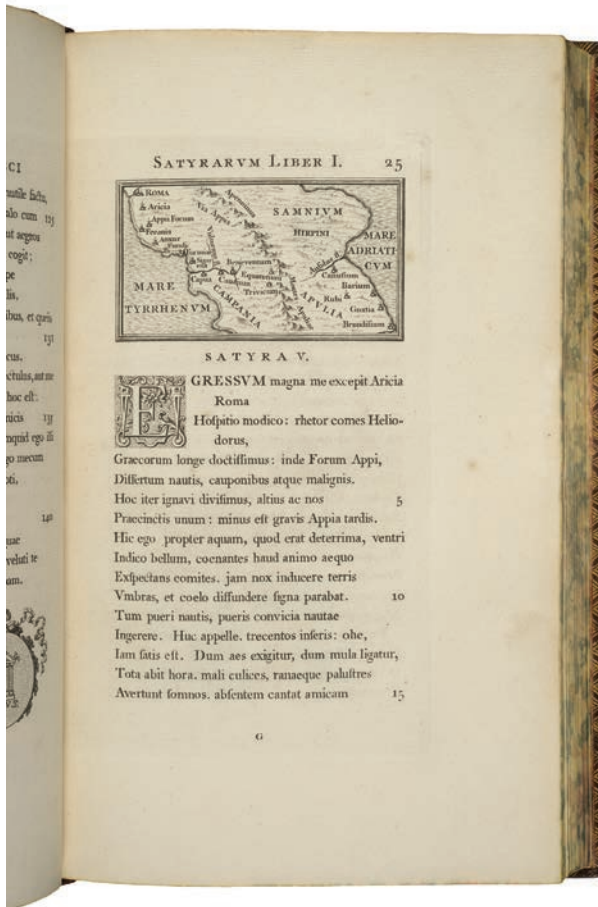
## Memory & Travel



- G *The Grand Signors Barge-houses.*  
H *Part of Constantinople called Balat.*  
I *The Entrance into the Serraglio from Sea.*  
K *Sancta Sophia now y<sup>e</sup> Grand Signors Mosque.*  
L *Part of the Asia Shoar.*  
M *The Bosporus w<sup>ch</sup> divides Europe from Asia.*
- Randolph.

**Horace. *Qvinti Horatii Flacci opera*. 2 vols. London: John Pine, 1733–1737.**

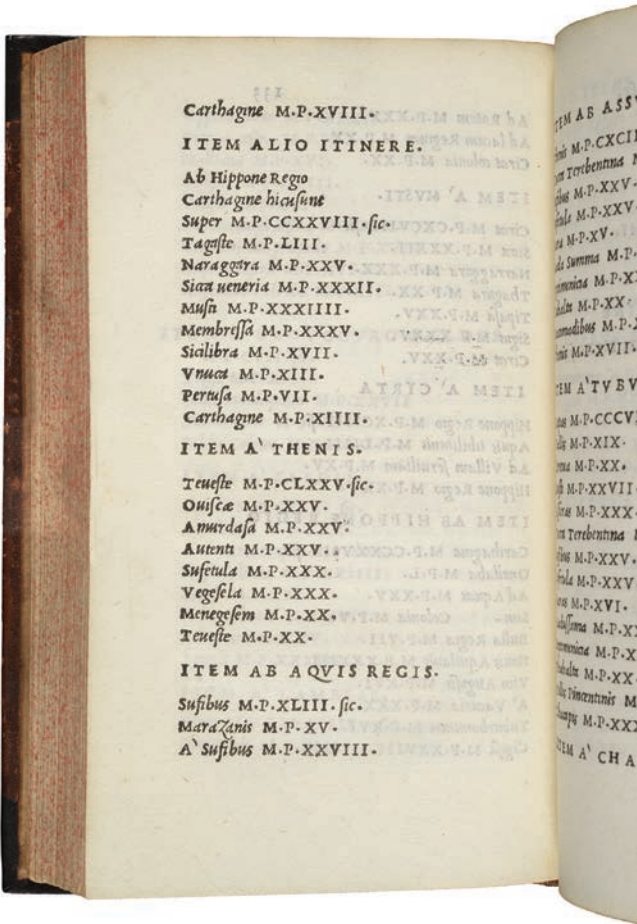
The complicated geography of the Mediterranean and its various towns and provinces inspired travelers to discuss timeless subjects, during favorable and difficult times alike. Horace's (65–8 BCE) *Iter Brundisium or Journey to Brindisi* (Book I, Satire 5), though grounded in contemporary poetics, influenced a new style of travel literature by combining timeless philosophical discussions on friendship with comedic encounters while travelling. Horace's discussion of country inns, recitation of ribald humor, and use of humorous banter among friends was set against the backdrop of his journey to mediate the conflict between Octavian (63 BCE–14 CE) and Mark Anthony (83–30 BCE) over the control of the Roman Republic. The use of satire to offset tragedy set the stage for modern poets, including Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375), whose *Decameron* brought humor and philosophical musing amidst the terrible plague of Florence in 1348.



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***Itinerarium provinciarum Antonii Avgsti. Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1518.***

Guidebooks describing territories between cities offered travelers practical information absent in common travel narratives. Traditionally attributed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius (121–180), the *Itinerarium provinciarum*—or *Journey of the Provinces*—is a register of the roads in the Roman Empire dated to the early third century. Unlike most travel books, the *Itinerarium provinciarum* provided nothing more than a survey of Roman roads and the distances between cities within the various Roman provinces. Though sparse in detail, the work contains some unique information on the location of Roman roads and the importance of measuring distances between towns before transporting goods or undertaking a journey. Though seemingly out of date when published in 1518, many of the Roman roads remained in use during the middle ages and early modern period.



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**Romance of Alexander the Great, 18th century.**

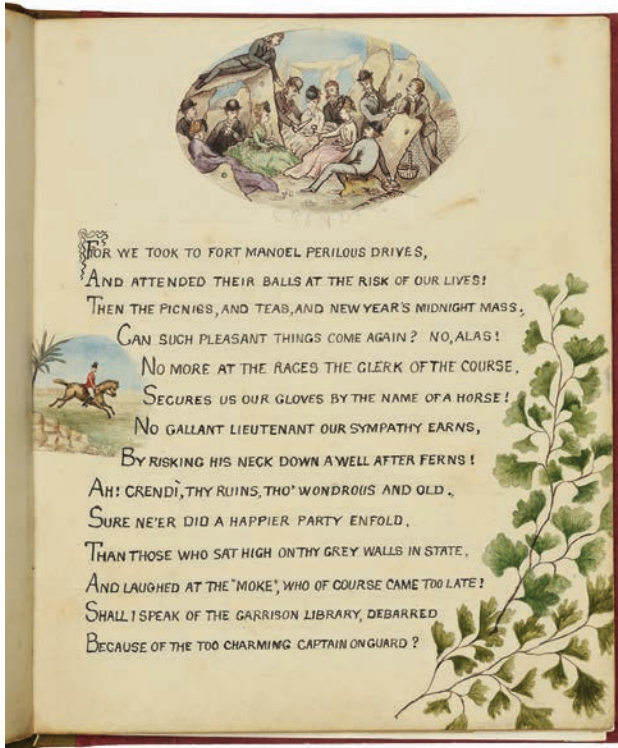
Centered around the life of Alexander the Great (356 BCE–323 BCE), the Alexander Romance refers to a set of fictional stories written in late Antiquity. Later translated from the original Greek, the novel plots the life of Alexander, preceding his birth and following him through his death. The story describes how Egypt’s last pharaoh, Nectanebo II (r. 360–343 BCE), escaped Persian attack by journeying to Macedon, where he fell in love with Olympias (d. 316 BCE), the future Queen and mother of Alexander the Great. Having grown to manhood, Alexander killed Nectanebo and set off on military campaigns. Upon his arrival in Egypt, Amun, the Egyptian God of air, appeared to him through an oracle; Alexander was given a location and instructed to erect a city that would one day be known as ‘Alexandria.’ The story then documents his conquests and the construction of the famous city. This Ethiopian Manuscript, dated around the eighteenth century, shows Alexander the Great watching sailors from Alexandria. This manuscript demonstrates the importance of—and sustained interest in—Alexander the Great and the Alexander Romance across various languages and cultures.



Qarānyo Madhānē Ālam Church,  
Gōgḡām, Ethiopia

**Louisa Harriet Constance Cometina Bunbury. *Three Months in Malta* [1872].  
Illustrated by Frances Susanna Bunbury.**

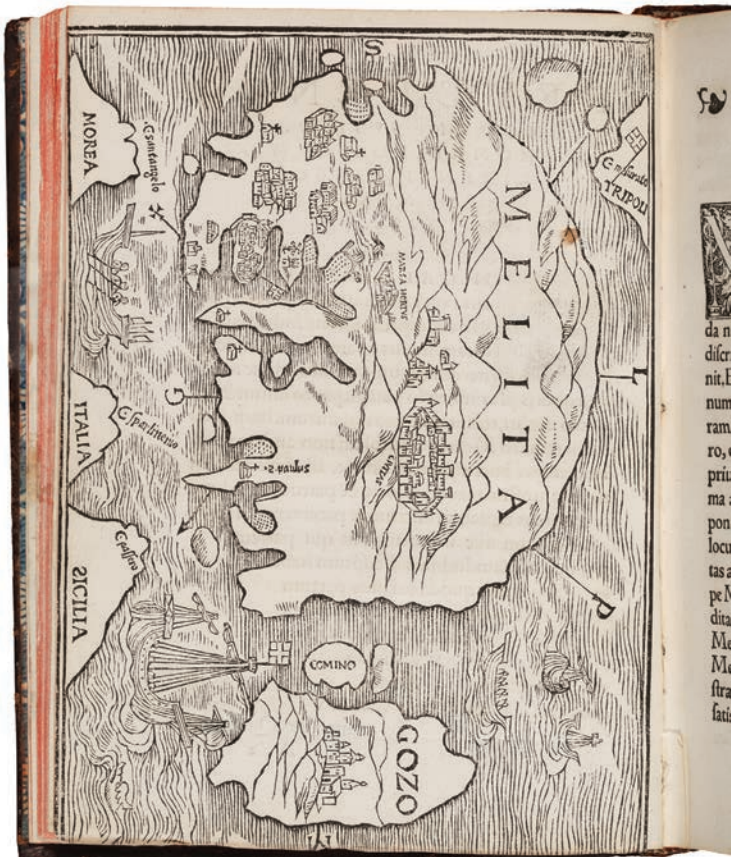
With the establishment of Malta as a British crown colony and the opening of the Suez canal, the Mediterranean became the transit point for British citizens between the Far East and Australia and Great Britain. Alexandria, Malta, and Gibraltar were the standard waypoints along this route. Travelers often wrote journals or poems to remember their journeys, or to simply entertain themselves during the long weeks at sea. Travel presented the opportunity for chance meetings and the recreation of social customs in new lands. Here we see the illustrated poetic description of Frances Susanna Bunbury's and Louisa Harriet Constance Cometina Bunbury's visit to Malta in the winter of 1871–1872. The lively poem inspires images of Malta including picnics on the ancient Neolithic temples on the island as well as horseback riding through the countryside, offering a glimpse of the social life of young women traveling to Malta on their return to London.



Malta Maritime Museum

**Jean Quintin, *Insulae Melitae descriptio: ex commentarijs rerum quotidianorum F. Ioan. Quintini Hedui ad Sophum*. Lyon: Sebastian Gryphius, 1536.**

Mediterranean travel narratives circulated widely since their content was copied into works by authors who could not travel to remote islands. Jean Quintin (1500–1561), a chaplain and knight of the Order of the Knights of Malta, wrote his account of his visit to the Maltese archipelago after the Order took control of the islands in 1530. His detailed discussion of the towns, landscapes, and sites of Malta became the standard description of the island used by later writers when composing atlases or other geographic works. Quintin’s *Insulae Melitae descriptio*, which includes the first printed map of the island, also became the principal source for historians, particularly those who had never traveled to the archipelago, to recount the 1565 Great Siege of Malta, thus giving the text and its contents a much wider circulation than the original publication.



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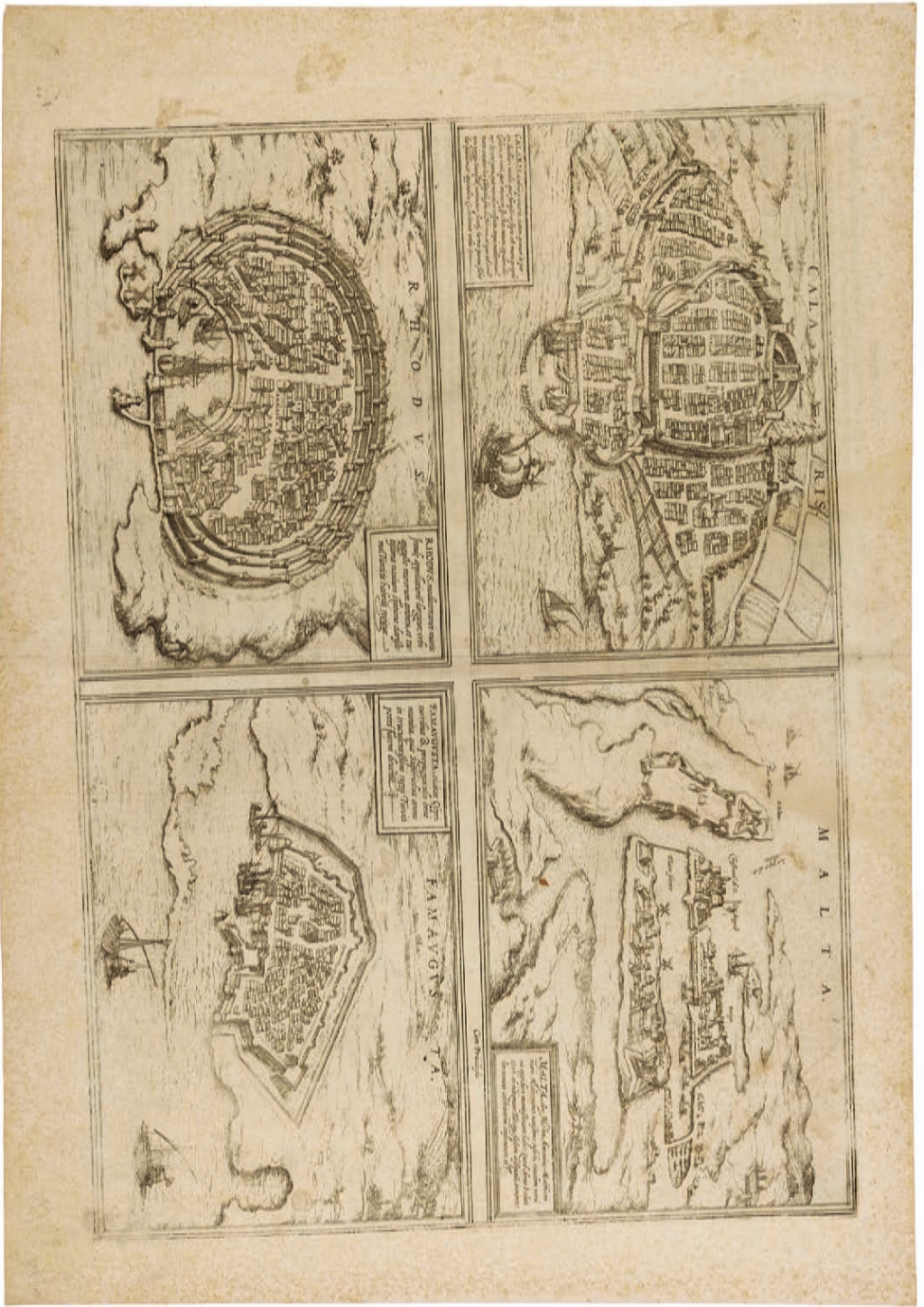


**Pierre Gilles. *The antiquities of Constantinople. With a description of its situation, the conveniencies of its port, its publick buildings, the statuary, sculpture, architecture, and other curiosities of that city.* London: Printed for the benefit of the translator, 1729.**

John Balls' translation of the sixteenth-century *De Topographia Constantinopoleos et de illius antiquitatibus libri IV* by Pierre Gilles (1490–1555) from Latin to English highlights the continuing importance of older travel narratives as sources for historical information and as reference tools for travelers. Gilles, who was sent to Constantinople in 1544 by King Frances I of France (1494–1547), composed lengthy descriptions of Constantinople and surrounding areas, often copying material from Greek authors such as Dionysius of Byzantium. In the eighteenth century, Gilles' detailed architectural descriptions proved invaluable to young English gentlemen preparing for their grand tour, which commonly included the Mediterranean, where they would undertake classical studies meant to cultivate their minds and exorcise the vigor of adolescence.



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Albert Ganado Malta Map Collection  
MUŻA-Mużew Nazzjonali tal-Arti

**Beschreibung und Contrafactur der vornembster Stätt der Welt [*Civitates orbis terrarum*]. Cologne?: Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg, 1574–1600.**

The atlas by Abraham Ortelius' (1527–1598), *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, or *Theatre of the World*, revolutionized early modern cartography by abandoning the imagined landscapes, maps, and urban settings found in medieval and Renaissance books. The novelty and success of Ortelius' *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Amsterdam, 1570) prompted two associates, Georg Braun (1541–1622) and Frans Hogenberg (1535–1590), to propose a companion atlas to Ortelius' work, the *Civitates orbis terrarum*, or *Cities of the World*, which would focus on the description and depiction of urban centers rather than on kingdoms, countries, islands, or other geographic areas found in Ortelius' atlas. Braun, the primary writer, and Hogenberg, the primary artist, emulated Ortelius' method of gathering information from scholars, merchants, soldiers, and travelers throughout Europe in order to provide accurate depictions of cities.

Volume 1 has an engraved map of four fortified port-cities of the Mediterranean printed on a single sheet with accompanying explanatory text on the verso. Each city is presented in bird's-eye view and is framed by two-lines within a second two-line frame that extends around the city and the four cities as a whole to unite the composite map. For the German edition, presented here, Braun and Hogenberg reused the plates from the first Latin edition, as each city retains its Latin name, "*Calaris, Malta, Rhodvs, Famagvsta*", denoting the modern cities of Cagliari (Sardinia), Valletta, Senglea, and Vittoriosa (Malta), Rhodes (island of Rhodes), and Famagusta (Cyprus). The appearance of Valletta and Malta with the three other Mediterranean cities demonstrates their importance to European history, expansion, trade, and empire, even when lost. Two of the cities, for example, were captured by the Ottomans, Rhodes in 1522 and Famagusta in 1571. Braun and Hogenberg noted such addenda in the rectangular panels that accompany each map. However, both cities were depicted as if they remained under Christian—rather than Muslim—rule. Rhodes, formerly governed by the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, retained its crosses on wall towers and church. Famagusta, recently lost to the Turks, still shows Venetian galleys in the harbor. Malta's panel celebrates the 1565 victory over the Turks, while Cagliari's panel emphasizes the protection afforded by its numerous walls and harbor. In all four cases, the cities reside squarely within the European world, even if two remained under the control of the Ottomans.



## List of Images

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Isidore of Seville. "Etymologies, Books 11-14 [13th century]." Manuscript on paper. Saint John's University Rare Books and Special Collections. *Inventory number* Steiner Ms. 54.

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*Kurtze Erzeichniss wie Keyser Carolus der V. in Africa dem Konig von Thunis, so von dem Barbarossen vertrieben, mit Kriegsrustung zur Hulffe komt, vnd was sich zugedragn, kont ihr in*

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faitte dans le Canal de Malte  
neral des Galeres, Saintigeai  
de l'annee. 1643.

