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Review: Ernle Bradford's *The Great Siege: Malta 1565, 1961, its New Subtitle of 2010-2019, Clash of Cultures: Christian Knights Defend Western Civilization Against the Moslem Tide*, and the Deliberate Omission of 16th c. Burmola (Burmula-Bormola-Bormla-Cospicua) - A Best-Selling Falsification of History in the 21st century.

T. M. P. Duggan



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21. Yüzyılın Çok Satanlar Listesinde Bir Yanıltmaca: Ernle Bradford'un "The Siege Of Malta"sına:2010-2019'a Uygun Yeni Alt Başlık : *Clash of Cultures: Christian Knights Defend Western Civilization Against the Moslem Tide (Kültürler Çatışması:Müslüman Akınına Karşı Batı Uygarlığı'nı Savunan Hristiyan Şövalyeler)*; ve 16th Yüzyıl Burmola (Burmula-Bormola-Bormla-Cospicua) Kasabasının Bilinçli Yok Sayılması

T. M. P. Duggan *

Abstract: This review addresses the questionable practice of adding a subtitle to an author's work after his death, and questions the terms employed in this newly added subtitle. It then enquires into the omission of mention a place from the author's 1961 published account of the 1565 siege. The omission of a settlement that at the time of the siege was known as, Burmola, the location of the "Campo di Turchi", the Ottoman-Muslim camp after the taking of Fort St. Elmo on the 23rd of June 1565. It suggests the reason for the omission of this toponym from this book was due to the author's relationship with the politics in Malta at the time the book was being written in the late 1950's, it being the birthplace and power base of Dom Mintoff. The consequences of the omission of this toponym from this historical bestseller have had consequences over the past 60 years in peoples' perception of the city and of the history of Burmola/Bormla/Cospicua, and have had consequences in terms of the preservation of heritage in this city.

Keywords: Great Siege Malta 1565, Burmola, Bormola, Bormla, Ernle Bradford, Francesco Balbi di Correggio, Dom Mintoff

Öz: Bu kitap eleştirisi bir yazarın tercih ettiği başlığa ölümünden sonra tekrarlanan baskılarda yapılan ekler konusunu ele almak ve bu eklerde kullanılan sözcük seçimlerini tartışmak amaçlıdır. Eleştiride ele alınacak ikinci konu da yazarın 1961 tarihli ilk baskıda Osmanlı ordusunun St. Elmo kalesini 23 Haziran 1565'de ele geçirdikten sonra kamp kurduğu (Campo di Turchi) Burmola kasabası anlatısında tamamen yok saymış olmasıdır. Bunun nedeni kasabanın, kitabın yazıldığı 1950'lerde Malta politikasında etkin olan Dom Mintoff'un doğum yeri olması ve yazarın politik bağlarının bu konuda etken olmasıdır. Kasabanın isminin (Burmola/Bormla/Cospicua) bu çok satan tarihi yayında zikredilmemesi geçtiğimiz 60 yıl içinde kentin algısı ve tarihi üzerinde buna bağlı olarak da tarihi mirasının korunması konusunda olumsuz etkileri olmuştur.

Anahtar sözcükler: Büyük Malta Kuşatması 1565, Burmola, Bormola, Bormla, Ernle Bradford, Francesco Balbi di Correggio, Dom Mintoff

* Lecturer, Art Historian, Akdeniz University, Mediterranean Civilisations Research Institute (MCRI), 07058 Campus, Antalya. tmpduggan@yahoo.com | 0000-0003-3042-7489

The altering of texts through their translation is almost inevitable, as a sentence or a phrase in one language, except with the most basic use of language in the source, rarely carries the exact same implications and connotations when it is translated into another language. However, it seems reasonable for the historian to record the toponym(s) that were employed at the time in the source(s), not simply and only the modern toponym(s) for a place. This, not only to prevent the reader from thinking a place had always the current modern name, nor simply because it indicates to the reader a different time from the present, and consequently a different historical-cultural context, but because important indications can be gathered, when such renaming has been the case, through the changes in the particular toponym employed for a place over the course of the centuries. For example, the area today called New York, was called Lenapehoking, meaning the Place where the Lenape live, and from 1524 for Europeans it was mapped as part of Nouvelle Angoulême (Terre d'Angoulême) by the Florentine explorer Giovanni da Verrazzano, named after a title of his patron Francis I. (r. 1515-1547), and it was at Lenapehoking - Nouvelle Angoulême¹, that the Dutch city of Nieuw Amsterdam was founded in 1624, which became the British colony of New York in 1664, and briefly in 1673 the Dutch city of New Orange, and which became the American city of New York in 1776, the capital until 1790; while St. Petersburg was founded on the 27th of May 1703 by Tsar Peter the Great (1682-1725), renamed Petrograd in 1914 for the capital of Russia to sound less German, renamed Leningrad in 1924 after the death of Lenin, and was then returned to its former name, St. Petersburg in 1991 after the collapse of the Soviet Union, with each change in the toponym for these cities serving, when reading it, as a historical marker. This review article concerns what can only be described as the deliberate omission of a particular group of toponym(s) and the associated references to this place from a bestselling historical work by Ernle Dugate Selby Bradford (1922-1986) which was first published in English in 1961, latest e-book reprint in 2019, which was composed in large part from the translations of historical sources that of course repeatedly record the omitted 16th c. toponyms and provide accounts relating to it and to its inhabitants during the 1565 siege; and, by the same author, the translation into English of a primary source text dating from 1568 published in Spanish, which was published in English in 1965, which employs a modern toponym for this place, not the toponym recorded in the work he "translated," and it suggests a possible reason for the omission-excision of this particular toponym and the texts relating to it and to its inhabitants from his 1961 publication. Further, the matter of the remarkable addition made to the 1961 title and subtitle given by the author to his book, an additional subtitle which was added in 2010 to the book and e-book, and which has since been republished with this additional subtitle in 2014 and 2019, and the terms it employs and their early published use are addressed.

Birmula-Burmola-Bormola, The town of Angels, (Bormla-Cospicua-Kospikwa)

Cospicua-Bormla-Bormola-Burmolā-Burmola-Burmula² was recorded in 1596 as, "*Burmolā*, the

¹ Within the context of this article, there is coincidentally a connection in proximity between La Valette or Villebois-la-valette in Charente, France, which has the name of the Grandmaster of the Order of the Hospitaller Knights of St. John of Jerusalem on Malta during the siege of 1565, Jean Parisot de la Valette, (although the Grand Master was born in Parisot) which is 24 km south-east of the town of Angoulême. Angoulême was given to the Duke d'Épernon from 1622, and was the first European name, Nouvelle Angoulême, given to the area where New York stands today.

² Franceso Balbi di Correggio in the 1568 publication of his account in Spanish of the Ottoman siege of 1565 employs the toponym *Burmola*, see, Balbi 1568, 30, 31, 60, 61, 68, 69, 78, 99, 116, as also in its first edition Balbi 1567, 17, 51, 63, 65, 102. But rather than *Burmola*, it was the later toponym *Bormla* that was employed by both of his translators into English. Firstly, by Major Henry Alexander Paul Emanuel Dominic Balbi, 1867-1938, a translation which was completed in the 1930's and published posthumously by Captain O.

town of Angels"³. It is one of the "Three Cities,"⁴ facing across the width of Grand Harbour the modern capital city of Malta, Valletta, capital from 1574, which was constructed from the 28th of March 1566 onwards, after the Ottoman Siege of 1565, and was named after the Grand Master of the Order of the Hospitaller Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, Jean Parisot de la Valette (1494-1568, Grand Master from 1557) who led the defence of the Hospitaller ruled island. Cospicua-Bormla stands at the head of a creek leading into Grand Harbour and was at the time of the siege called Burmola-Bormola-Burmula. The two other members of what have been called since the 18th c. the "Three Cities," Birgu-Borgo-Burgh, which became the knights' capital

F. Gollcher and Dr. H. C. Ole Rostock, Copenhagen, 1961, 46, 94, 107 etc. with a foreword by Sir Harry Luke, which was characterised in 1983, "*There is a somewhat free and rather awkward translation by Henry A. Balbi, The Siege of Malta (1565), Copenhagen, 1961; it was published posthumously, and abounds in typographical errors, but is on the whole reliable.*" (Setton 1984, 853, fn. 89). He was also the author of, "Some Biographical Notes on the First Book printed on the Siege of Malta, 1565," *Archivum Melitense*, Vol. IX, No. 1, Empire Press, 1932, with some of his Mss. and other items are today in the Olof Frederick Gollcher Archives in the library of the Palazzo Falson, Mdina, Malta. Secondly, translated by Ernle Dugate Selby Bradford, *Francisco Balbi di Correggio: The Siege of Malta 1565*, The Folio Press, London 1965, Progress Press, Malta, 1965, reprinted: Penguin Books Australia 2003, Boydell & Brewer, Woodbridge, 2005, 2011, 2017, 2019, for the use of the later toponym Bormla in this "translation," see some examples below.

The toponym *Burmola* had been employed earlier by Pietro Gentile in 1566, both in his, *Trattato del successo della potentissima Armata del gran Turco venuta sopra l'isola di Malta l'anno MDLXV*, and in his, *Della historia di Malta*, Gentile 1566, 108; as later by Pedro de Salazar in 1570, Salazar 1570, 151; by Francesco Sansovino in 1582, Sansovino 1582, 437. On the series of engravings published in 1582 in Rome of his Great Siege paintings, Matteo Perez D'Aleccio employs on different engravings three toponyms, *Burmula* and *Burmola*, as well as, *la Burmola*. Curione 1596 describes *Burmolā, qui in Angeli oppido sunt*, the town of the Angels, Curione 1596, Index, npn. In addition to *Burmula*, *Burmola*, *Birmula* and *Bormla*, the variant toponyms, often with the article *La*, include: *La Burmola-Bormolo-Barmola-Bur Mola*, *Bormola*, *Buratora*, *Brummula*, *Brumola*, *Burbula*, *Barmo*, *Bemola*, *Murmola*, *città di Birmula* and, *Civitatibus Burmulæ*, found in the written sources predating its 1721 renaming as *Cospicua*, (It is recorded with the toponyms *Burmula* and *Cospicua*, Arcangiolo 1761, 376), *Città Cospicua*, and later, simply *Cospicua* or *Bormla*. There is also the 'n' variant, *Citta Cospicua*, Kayser 1800, 64, together with, *Burmula*, idem 65, 66, 70; *Citta Cospicua/Cospicua*, recorded with *Burmola*, for example in Adolphus 1818, 501; only as, *Citta Cospicua*, Markham 1836, 10. The toponyms *Bormla* and *Cospicua* remain in use today. *Bormla* preserves the ancient form of Ghana termed *La Bormliza*, of four lines, with a final rhyming couplet, also termed *ghana fil-gholi* (singing in high register) or as *ghana bil-ksur* (singing with inflexions). The toponym for Vecula/Burmola in Aragon (Spain) occurs in the translation of Ptolemy's *La Geografia* from Greek into Italian by Girolamo Ruscelli, published in Venice in 1561, p. 101, and although there was Aragonese rule over Sicily and Malta from 1282, part of the Crown of Aragon, both settlements were probably given this toponym by Muslims, *birmula* as in, *bir* meaning well (of water), and *mula* derived < Ar. *mawla* (mullāh) meaning 'lord', 'master', 'ruler', not in the sense of the Almighty, but in the temporal sense of leader-ruler, as in, *mulej*, the lord, meaning, well of the lord, *Birmula* (as employed in the 17th c. by Giovanni Francesco Abela (1582-1655), Abela 1647, 105, 361, *città di Birmula*, 377; as also employing the toponym *Burmula*, idem, 19). Consequently, for example: "1874 : -The Soldiers and Sailors' Institute, Strada Cospicua, Burmola, Malta."

³ Curione 1596, 169-40, "*Burmola*"; Index, *ad Burmolā, qui in Angeli oppido sunt, procurrit 169-40*. Amico 1757, 41, "*Burmulam*".

⁴ The name for the cities of Birgu, Bormla, Senglea, *The Three Cities* was coined by the French in the 18th c. employed by General Claude-Henri Belgrand de Vaubois in 1798, *Les Trois Cité*, (de Mayer 1799, 11; *The Malta Yearbook 1969*, St. Michael's College Publications, Malta, 415; Cachia 2004, 192, "*Napoleon divided the towns around the Grand Harbour into two Cantons. Valletta and Floriana formed one of them. The other was formed by those 'on the other side', the three cities that are still referred to in Maltese as Tan-naħħa l-oħra* (the ones of the other side.)", although the French did not use the toponym *Tripoli*, the "country of the three cities," to describe the region. It can be noted that *Burmola* itself by the 17th c. contained Three Cities, as is clearly marked on 17th and 18th c. maps, descending from the hilltop to the creek: 1. *Città' Cottonera-Civitas Cottonera-Citta Nuovo Cottonera-Città Nuova*, Cottonera, 2. *Città' Margarita, Margherita-Margaretha*, and, 3. *Città' Bormla*, See for example, Ganado-Schiro 2011, No. 10, dating from 1694 by G. Bodenehr; Ganado 2009, No. 50, dating from 1775 by J. J. Muller.

on their arrival in June 1530, and L'Isola-L'Isle-Sanglea/La Sangle, Senglea, Senglea⁵, the "isle of St. Michael," extend over much of the two peninsular on either side, with the sheltered creek between them⁶. At the time of the 1565 siege both peninsular were fortified, L'Isle by 1552 with additions by Grand Master Claude de la Sengle (1553-1557) (following the Ottoman removal of the population of the adjacent island of Gozo into slavery in 1551, about 5,000 people⁷, by Turgut Reis-Dragut), but Burmola-Bormola-Burmula was not fortified. This was due to its location and the surrounding topography, it would have required too much expenditure of time and treasure, and, during the course of the 1565 siege the settlement of Burmola was in Ottoman hands from the 29th of June to the 9th of September.

There is a commonly held and false perception, that all of the houses standing in Burmola (Bormla) in May-June 1565 were demolished by order of Grand Master Jean Parisot de la Valette, to deny cover to Ottoman forces before they began in June 1565 the siege of the Knights' fort of St. Elmo at the tip of the peninsular on which Valletta stands today, and then of the fortified peninsular of Birgu and of L'Isle / Senglea. In large part, this perception has been a consequence of a passage in Ernle Bradford's bestselling 1961 book, entitled, *The Great Siege - Malta 1565*, but which, since 2010 has been entitled, *The Great Siege, Malta 1565: Clash of Cultures: Christian Knights Defend Western Civilization Against the Moslem Tide*.

Ernle Bradford's *The Great Siege - Malta 1565*, was first published by Hodder and Stoughton on March 12th 1961, with the first American edition, also entitled *The Great Siege - Malta 1565*, published by Harcourt, Brace & World, in New York in 1962, which differently has a quotation on the cover which reads: "*In one of the most savage battles in all history 9, 000 ill-equipped men on the island of Malta fought off 40,000 invaders for four months and barred the gate of Christendom to Turkish conquest*"⁸. This 1961 book has been frequently reprinted⁹, from 2010 in CD audiobook form narrated by Simon Vance, republished in 2015¹⁰, and it is noteworthy that the eAudio republished on the 21st of June, 2015, by Blackstone Audio, Inc., Ashland, Oregon,

⁵ As also the repeatedly published toponyms: *Senleya, Senylea, Sengles, Genglea and Singlea*.

⁶ At times termed: *Porto della Galera, Porto della Galere, La Marina (La Marina, che scorre dalla Porta Bormola fino al fosso del Castello Sant'Angelo*, Giustinian 1692, 524), *Galley Creek*, the 19th – 20th c. *Dockyard Creek*, the inner part termed: *La Mandra/la Mandra, Mandraki, Mandrachium, Mandraggio*, etc.

⁷ Baldacchino 2017, 55, however, possibly a typo, gives 6,000, "*In 1551, Turgut Reis enslaved the entire population of the Maltese island of Gozo, about 6,000 persons, sending them to Ottoman Tripolitania*." Following the loss of Tripoli to the Knights of St. John in 1550, Turgut Reis went to Istanbul obtained command of a fleet from the sultan and with Sinan Pasha, exacted his revenge on the population of the Knights' territory of Gozo and then retook Tripoli the same year, and in 1556 was installed as the Ottoman ruler, the Bey of Tripoli. It seems the people enslaved from Gozo in 1551 were probably taken to Jerba. After 1565, with the death of Turgut Reis, Ottoman Beylerbey of Tripoli (Trablusgarp) in the Great Siege, Tripoli became, in administrative terms, an Ottoman Pashalik, the term "Ottoman Tripolitania" was unknown in the 16th c.

⁸ The expression employed, "*barred the gate of Christendom to Turkish conquest*," finds 16th c. parallels, as for example in the *Treatise against Image Worship* by the Lord Bishop of London (1550-1553) Nicholas Ridley, "*not only the Eastern Church was divided, and the gate opened to the Saracens and Turks to enter and overcome a great part of Christendom*." Ridley 1841, 94.

⁹ Hodder and Stoughton 1962 (Second impression), 1974; Reprint Society 1962; Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., New York 1962; Penguin reprinted 1964, 1966, 1968, 1970, 1978, 1981, Picador 1966, Wordsworth Military Library 1999, e-reads.com 2010, Open Road Media 2014, 2019; and translated: Hartmut Georgi, *Der Kampf der Ritter vom hl. Johannes gegen die Türken, Malta 1565*, Reiner Wunderlich Verlag, Tübingen 1961, 1965; DTV Deutscher Taschenbuch, 1979, Universitas-Verlag, 1982, Ullstein, 1992; Turkish, Turgut Reis (Son Sefer) Çev. Osman Öndeş, Milliyet Yayınları, İstanbul, 1973; Swedish, *Riddarna på Malta*. av Ernle Bradford, Askild & Kärnekull, 1961, 1975; Spanish, *El Gran Asedio: Malta 1565*, 1992; Serbian, *Velika opsada Malte 1565*, Tatjana Bižić, Algoritam, 2012, etc.

¹⁰ Blackstone Audio, Inc. 2012, 2013, 2015. *The Great Siege* (audiotape) was published December 30th 1986 by Books on Tape, Inc.

U.S.A., retained the author's own title, *The Great Siege: Malta 1565*, but which, in e-book form was in 2010 reprinted by eReads.com of New York¹¹, who gave it an additional subtitle, *The Great Siege, Malta 1565: Clash of Cultures: Christian Knights Defend Western Civilization Against the Moslem Tide*¹²; an addition to the original title, which has since been repeated in the paperback and e-book editions of 2014 and 2019 published by Open Road Media of New York¹³, who acquired the company e-reads.com in 2014.

Yet, it is the case that within the text of this book there is not one single mention of the term "*clash of cultures*," the word *cultures* is itself not to be found in Ernle Bradford's 1961 text, while the word *clash* unsurprisingly is, *The armourers' shops rang with the clash of hammers repairing and refurbishing the suits of mail...* and, *"there resounded the whicker and clash of steel and the crack of musketry..."*, and the title of Chapter 8 is *"The First Clash" Acting under La Valette's instructions, detachments of men were busy poisoning the wells in the low-lying land of the Marsa.* Likewise in Ernle Bradford's 1961 text the term *Western civilisation* is not to be found, it exists only in this newly added subtitle¹⁴. The related term *Christian Western Civilisa-*

¹¹ Founded in New York in 1999 by the publisher Richard Curtis.

¹² Recorded in the bibliography of Massimo Viglione's, *"Deus vult?": Cambiamento e persistenza dell'idea di Crociata nella Chiesa*, Edizioni Nuova Cultura, Roma, 2014, 111, as, *"Crash (sic.) of Cultures: Christian Knights Defend Western Civilization Against the Moslem Tide"*. The othering and dehumanising expression "The Moslem Tide" perverting Ernle Bradford's title, is of course an expected part of "getting on message" since the events of 2001, for normalising violence and justifying American led conflict against Muslims and Muslim states, reinforcing the widening corruption of historical memory and undermining attempts at any more objective understanding of the Crusades. In terms of citation in bibliographies, *"The Great Siege: Malta 1565 Christian Knights defend Western Civilisation against the Moslem Tide, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1961"* is clearly inaccurate. It is either, *The Great Siege: Malta 1565, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1961*, or, *The Great Siege: Malta 1565 Christian Knights defend Western Civilisation against the Moslem Tide, New York: eReads.com, 2010*, or, *The Great Siege: Malta 1565 Christian Knights defend Western Civilisation against the Moslem Tide, New York: Open Road Media, 2014*, or, *idem. 2019*.

¹³ Open Road Integrated Media or ORIM, a digital publisher and multimedia content company in New York City founded by Jane Friedman and Jeffrey Sharp in 2009.

¹⁴ For use of the term western civilisation in English see for example: Nautical 1859, 568, "The travelled Japanese is sure to be a reformer; he will be foremost in conforming to western civilisation. There is already a disposition in the country to adopt the costume and manners of Europeans. To some extent this has become a necessary consequence of other improvements. Shoes must be substituted for sandals in the army and navy, where it will be found necessary to make many innovations in dress."; Gaussen 1859, 258, in reference to the Bible, "It is a book...; and afterwards at the centre of western civilisation, amid the Jews with their manifold ignorance, amid polytheism and its ideas, as well as in the bosom of pantheism and its silly philosophy; - it is a book the first writer of which had been for the space of forty years a pupil of the magicians of Egypt, who looked upon the sun, and the stars, and the elements as endowed with intelligence,..."; Duff 1858, 40, Letter V., Calcutta, 24th June 1857, "This was a fair indication of the spirit and determination of Mohammedanism generally; and clearly proves how little Christianity, but even western civilisation, has to expect from its intolerance, were it once to acquire the ascendancy in this land."; Evangelical 1856, p. 117, "Religious Liberty in Turkey" "As secondary causes much is no doubt due to the influence of Western civilisation and English Christianity (sic.), and much to the diplomacy of Europe, and especially to the persevering and earnest advocacy of these views by the representative of England at the Ottoman Court (Lord Stratford de Redcliffe)."; Chambers 1856, 111, "In short, in every possible way, he (Peter the Great) strove to spread over the surface of Russian Society a lacker (today, lacquer) of Western civilisation. It is true, the change did not penetrate deep: it was chiefly the upper classes, in Moscow and other large cities, that were affected; and the mass of the Russian people still remained with all their native habits and instincts untouched,..."; Gazetteer 1856, 364, "They are inveterately adverse to the introduction of the forms of western civilisation under which the national costume and manners of the genuine Russians are obliterated in the Neva capital, at the court, and in the army. This goes so far, that the true Muscovite or national Russian unwillingly recognises the man in the uniform of German cut to be the true sovereign, and talks of "the white czar," ..."; Smith 1854, 660, "And in later times, after the severance of Constantinople from the Latin Communion, the rest of Europe had no sympathy for what was considered an alien creed. Standing in this isolated position on the very outposts of Western civilisation,

tion is not a particularly common term¹⁵ the finds no examples in English in the 16th c., there are examples in the 20th c., but which has recently been given widespread circulation in Samuel P. Huntington's 1993 thesis of the Clash of Civilisations, as being the civilisation of "*the Christian West*," and E. Van de Poll in 2013 wrote, "*This perception of a 'Christian' Western civilisation is fostered by the dominant position of Christianity in the United States, the political and military leader of 'the West.'* So the old idea of Europe as Christendom seems to be reappearing"¹⁶. while Gerard Delanty in 2017 writes, "*The external context, which was seen as a new threat in which the foundations of what had now become seen as a European civilisation were at stake, provoked a context for the reinterpretation of European identity, this time as part of an American-led West. Thus was born the notion of Western Civilisation*¹⁷ and the relatively new notion of a Judeo-Christian civilisation¹⁸ that was supposed to affirm the existence of a European civilisation

and cut off from that by differences of language, manners, and religion, Constantinople, unable to comprehend but rather despising that vigorous Teuton stock upon which the elder races were engrafted, did not incorporate any of those elements which have gone to make up the aggregate of Modern Europe; while on the other hand, it is difficult to trace the slight reaction that the Greek empire has had upon the west until its fall, when it contributed so mainly to the revival of letters and the modern spirit by the dispersion of ancient literature and culture."; SmithJ 1854, 252, "These are the four rivers of Eden that water the garden of Western civilisation; whilst in the East the absolute one, like the solitary thumb, embraces all ideas of government, and all institutions, in the supreme and unassociated Law of the Prophet. Had Popery alone domineered in the West, as Mahometanism..."; Humboldt 1849, 474, "We will select for this purpose that sea basin, around which have dwelt those nations, whose knowledge has formed the basis of our western civilisation, which alone has made an almost uninterrupted progress. We may indicate the main streams from which Western Europe has received the elements of the cultivation and extended views of nature; but amid the diversity of these streams we, are unable to trace one primitive source."; Martineau 1846, 700, "Signs of approaching struggle multiplied to watchful eyes; and while Eastern despotism and the claims of Western civilisation were falling into a position of antagonism more distinct every day, the free nations of Western Europe, who must form the main strength on one side when the war of opinion should at length break out, were grievously disposed to quarrel among themselves." The term la civilisation occidentale occurs somewhat earlier: "Ils sont encore incomplets sous ce rapport, que nous y avons assigné à L'Orient un rôle trop passif vis-à-vis de la civilisation occidentale, et c'est pour ce motif que nous leur donnons aujourd'hui le titre restreint de Politique Européenne." Chevalier 1831, 1; "Cet équilibre a été rompu moins par L'invasion de L'islamisme que par les progrès de la civilisation européenne; car je suis persuadé que les croisés et leurs ennemis se comprenaient parfaitement. Mais ensuite, lorsque la nouvelle civilisation occidentale remettait tout en question, et faisait des pas de géant dans la carrière des innovations, le moyen-âge se continuait ici d'eue manière de plus en plus mesquine; et, malgré les efforts des modernes sultans pour régénérer leurs sujets, L'Orient et L'Occident en sont venus au point de ne plus pouvoir s'entendre." Fresnel 1836, 36; "L'isthme de Suez a autant de chances que L'isthme de Panama pour devenir le passage de la civilisation occidentale dans ses expéditions vers le Grand Orient. Notre civilisation européenne procède d'une double origine, des Romains et des peuplades germaniques." Chevalier 1837, x.

¹⁵ Examples include: Miguel de Unamuno's 26th July 1936 speech, the idea of saving "a Christian Western Civilisation" from the nationalist paganism of military discipline. Santoni 2016, 100, "*So if a doctrine or theory from a dominant, if not pervasive, religious tradition of our heritage appears to accommodate this kind of complicity, and also to inform the thinking at rationales offered to justify participation in a kind of complicity, and also to inform the thinking and rationales offered to justify participation in wars in a nominally Christian Western civilisation, then it has presumably influenced that civilisation's repeated decisions to engage in warfare.*"

¹⁶ Poll 2013, 81.

¹⁷ The birth of the term/notion predates the end of the Second World War by more than a century. For some examples of the earlier use of the concept-term Western Civilisation in English and French publications, op. cit. fn. 13.

¹⁸ For the 19th c. term Judeo-Christian - Judeo-Christian morality, see Sebban 2012. The first use of the political term Judeo-Christian civilisation dates from after 1945, but seems to stem in large part from the influential translated Yiddish works of the much travelled Polish born, naturalised 1920 American citizen, Sholem Asch (1880-1957), who lived for a time from 1943 at Stamford Connecticut and used the Yale University library, where his papers are held today. (For a review, see John Cournos, *The New York Times*, April 26, 1942, Mr. Asch's Stories; Children of Abraham By Sholem Asch. Translated by Maurice Samuel. 433 pp. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.50.) On his 50th birthday in 1930 he received congratulatory cables from Einstein and Chaim Weizmann, then president of the World Zionist Organization. He attempted to unite Judaism and Christianity

that in declaring the mutual links between the Christian and the Judaic legacies was different from the Islamic heritage and different too from the atheistic communist world. This new construction of a Judaic and Christian western civilisation was entirely new and served the purpose of giving the capitalistic West a mooring in an ancient cultural heritage. This invocation of a common Western European civilisation based on Christianity, democracy, and capitalism was of course a construction that had political purposes"¹⁹. While, although the at times "othering" expression employed in this new subtitle, *The Moslem Tide*, has been employed in publications in English since the mid-19th c., if not before (at times employed for the othering and dehumanising of the Muslim "other," like the late 19th c. expressions, *The Yellow Peril - Yellow Tide*, the "othering" of the Chinese etc.²⁰), and it continues in use²¹, the expression, *The Moslem Tide*,

through emphasising their historical and theological-ethical connections, not least in, *Der man fun natseres - The Nazarene*, of 1939, which in English translation in the United States in 1943 was a best-seller, reviewed in *The New Republic*, by Alfred Kazin. Importantly, he told a reporter of the New York Herald Tribune in 1951, "Since that time (1906) I have never thought of Judaism or Christianity separately, for me it is one culture and one civilization, on which all our peace, our security and our freedom are dependent." (*New York Herald Tribune Book Review*, October 7th 1951, 24; also quoted in Kunitz-Haycraft 1955, 30; and, J. K. Hutchens: Mr. Asch at 75, *New York Herald Tribune Book Review*, 6. November 1959, p. 2. This quote appears earlier than 1951, as it is published in Kunitz-Haycraft 1942, 31, where it was noted, "This recognition of the interdependence of the two faiths was the basis of Asch's very popular contemporary novel, *East River*"). Although at the time there was considerable organised Jewish published opposition to the thesis that the life of Christ was expressive of essential Judaism; see for example: Sholem Asch's Statement on Jesus Stirrs Jewish Press ... <https://www.jta.org/.../sholem-aschs-statement-on...>; also: *Jewish Affairs*, South African Jewish Board of Deputies, Vol. 1, 1946, 46, "Mr. Asch propounds the thesis that Judaism and Christianity are in reality necessary complements of each other, together constituting the indissoluble complex of a 'Judeo-Christian civilisation.'"; the same in, *Commentary*, Vol. I., American Jewish Committee, 1946, 91, and he was accused of becoming a Catholic, in political terms this association became an integral part of American policy, with this association of Western Civilisation and Judeo-Christian revelation drawn by Sholem Asch of "one culture and one civilization, on which all our peace, our security and our freedom are dependent.", and influential with the start of the Cold War, and NATO. In paraphrase it appears for example in, NATO Letter, 7, NATO Information Service, 1959, 7, "Concretely, this order of values corresponds, for Western civilisation, to Judeo-Christian revelation. Certain objections could be made at this point."

¹⁹ Delanty 2017, 101.

²⁰ Of this linking of national-cultural and personal fears, to generate over time an automatic response, inculcated via children's stories and films etc., see for example: Marchetti 1994, Wang 2010, Tchen-Yeats 2014.

²¹ It is of course the case that the term Moslem-Muslim-Islamic tide, can be used in a neutral, or, in a pejorative dehumanising sense, and when, Christian knights defending Western Civilisation are juxtaposed with an amorphous, Moslem tide, then its use clearly has a pejorative sense. It was employed in *The Continental Monthly, Devoted to literature and national policy*, New York, Vol. 6, October, 1864, No. IV., 363-364, in "Some Uses of a Civil War," "On the plain of Tours, when the Moslem tide, that swept on to overwhelm in ruin Christian Europe, was met, and stemmed, and turned by Charles Martel, and, breaking into foam against the iron breasts of his stalwart Franks, was whirled away into the darkness like spray before the tempest, the Hammer-man did a work that day that, till the end of time, a world will thank heaven for, as he thanked it in the hour of victory."; William Stigand's poem, *Athenäis, Or, The First Crusade*, Stigand 1866, 127, "From the farther side Then Tancred hew'd with his small band a way Unto his chief, athwart the Moslem tide, And safe retreat was made, but in the fray. Two hundred slaughter'd knights won martyr-crown that day."; Church 1866, 6, "It had taken nearly eight hundred years for the flow and ebb of the Moslem tide, and in that time the whole nation had received an intensely concentrated religious education in a single given direction. Spain was the great battle-ground."; Walsh 1872, 155, "The Moslem tide ebbed as rapidly as it had risen ; and it is not without a feeling of surprise that we recall to memory, that, for several hundred years afterwards, the Moorish Caliphs retained possession of the fairest Provinces of Spain, and that even to the present day, with the single exception of the recent French conquest of Algiers, the Mussulman continues to rule in the whole extent of Northern Africa, from Morocco to Cairo."; Simonds-McEnnis 1886, 145, "Onward rolled the Moslem tide, the crescent in the van, until its waves surged at the base of the Pyrenees and dashed against the gates of Vienna. Like a resistless sea, Islamism threatened to engulf the Christian world."; Casartelli 1906, 144, "He longed to unite them in a common league of defence, as in the old Crusading days, and to turn back by their united arms the Moslem tide of

conquest. But his efforts were all in vain. Fair words and promises were all he could obtain.”; Dulles 1907, 25, “Its missionaries penetrated into China and went as far south as Ceylon. But it was finally overwhelmed in the Moslem tide which spread over the East. Its destruction was hastened by bitter feuds and contentions. Its clergy was often corrupt.”; Encyclopaedia Britannica s.v. Spain, Vol. XXV., 1911, 545, “The Almohades took the field against Alphonso in force, and his fellow Christian sovereigns failed him in the hour of need, he was defeated at Alarcos. But this wave of the ebbing Moslem tide had less force than the Almoravide, and fell back both sooner and farther than its predecessor.” (Repeated at, <https://sentence.yourdictionary.com/ebbing> together with “But the tide of Ottoman dominion was ebbing fast.”); “The future of missions in turkey,” The American Board Press, Boston, 1913, “That Christian missionaries be sent to stem the Moslem tide in Africa. Soon it will be too late. Here is a great opportunity for the American Board, perhaps its greatest.” onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1478-1913.../pdf; Barton 1918, 97, “The forces of Charles Martel were able to turn back the Moslem tide from permanently holding territory north of the Pyrenees.”; History 1920 1920, 61, “The Balkan States Finally Emerge From The Turkish Wave. The Moslem tide swept up to the very gates of Vienna before it was turned, but finally it was turned and pushed back by the Moscovite Slavs and the Teutons, the former attacking from the east, the latter from the north.”; Stoddard 1922, 50, “These gains are being made at the expense of African Christianity as well. The European missions lose many of their converts to Islam, while across the continent, the ancient Abyssinian Church, so long an outpost against Islam, seems in danger of submersion by the rising Moslem tide. Not by warlike incursions, but by peaceful penetration, the Abyssinians are being Islamized.” (quoted in Scribner’s Magazine, Vol. 70, 1921, 19, quoted, G. Horton, *The Blight of Asia: An Account of the Systematic Extermination of Christian Populations by Mohammedans and the Culpability of Certain Great Powers*;..., The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, 1926, 242); James-Martin 1923, 9, “The growth of town or city life in Castile followed closely on the heels of the reconquest. As the Moslem tide receded inducements were held out to the Christians to settle in the towns wrested from the Moors.”; Piggott 1930, 126, “They continued the struggle until they were utterly broken. The decisive battle came in 641 a.d., and the Moslem tide submerged Persia proper.”; Carlock 1929, 48, “They met and defeated the powerful and unspeakable Saxons, they overcame the Bavarians, annexed the Aquitainians, out-fought the Frisians, stripped all Gaul and Roman France of their power, and lastly turned back the Moslem tide to the saving of the Western world.”; Clark (1932) 1972, 234, “After the victories of Suleiman the Magnificent in 1526 Hungary was overrun and the Moslem tide reached the very gates of Vienna.”; Latourette 1938, 311, “It was from Latin Christendom that the most energetic and fruitful efforts were made to roll back the Moslem tide. Why this should have been is undetermined. It is closely akin to the question of why the Christianity which had its stronghold among Western European peoples spread more widely and exercised more influence upon mankind than has any other branch of the faith.”; Dobbie 1944, 21 “After the Knights were driven from Palestine by the oncoming Moslem tide they retreated to Rhodes, which they held gallantly as a Christian bulwark against the Turks until 1522, when they were driven out.”; MacKinney 1947, 619, “About three centuries later, the Moslem tide swept northward from Africa to dominate the region until the eleventh century. These three centuries of Moslem occupation left an impress that has never been entirely removed.”; Maugham 1949, 12, “I gazed at the dark waters of the fountain. Perhaps the Moslem tide was rising once again. Last-time in the seventh century, it rose at a period when all over the world culture was being crushed by barbarism.”; R. Niebuhr, “A Protest Against a Dilemma’s Two Horns,” 1950, “The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw the gradual recession of the Moslem tide from Europe.” <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2008908>; Brodrick 1950, 139, “But the Moslem tide soon began to turn from the never thoroughly conquered north of Spain. Barcelona was Moslem for eighty-eight years only and this short subjection, the expulsion of the Catalonia Moors by Frankish help from north of the Pyrenees, and the consequent introduction into this north-eastern corner of a foreign tongue, south western French that we now call Catalan...”; Congress 1957, 3004, “SENATOR REPEATS 1949 ANALYSIS OF COLONIALISM But this is what the Senior Senator from Nevada Stated On July 12, 1949: As time goes on the aggressive Communist tide will tend to recede, just as the onrushing Moslem tide receded during the Middle Ages.”; Chesney 1959, 198, “He overran Hungary. In 1683 his warrior host was at the gates of Vienna. The kings of the west did not move. But in that campaign the Moslem tide was turned for good;...”; Durrell 1961, 179, “We, the foreign communities, with all we have built up, are being gradually engulfed by the Arab tide, the Moslem tide. Some of us are trying to work against it; Armenians, Copts, Jews and Greeks here in Egypt, while others elsewhere are...”; Watkin 1961, 75, “In 730 the invaders crossed the Pyrenees and for some years ruled south western France. It was the victory at Poitiers in 732 of the Frankish ruler Charles Martel which turned back the Moslem tide.”; Lipsky 1962, 114, “The Moslem tide was turned, temporarily, in the third decade of the fourteenth century when Amba S’ion (1314- 1344) took advantage of the disunity of the Moslem states and one by one brought them under Ethiopian authority.”;

Cooley 1967, 6, "However, these seem to be disappearing islands, rear posts of Christianity in a great Moslem tide which is sweeping over most of the African continent and which shows no signs of ebbing."; Franzius 1967, 129, "Yet Nubia remained Christian until the fourteenth century. At Ethiopia the Moslem tide receded. This ancient state, judaized according to tradition by the son of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, had been christianized about 300. It now remained an isolated Christian island in a swelling Moslem sea"; Leckie 1970, xiv, "Meanwhile, the Moslem Turks had conquered Constantinople and there had laid the cornerstone for the Ottoman Empire, which lasted until World War I; and it was not until 1683 that the Moslem tide was turned to the ebb at the gates of Vienna."; Ergang 1971, 116, "Tarik's army met with no great resistance and collected considerable plunder, reinforcements were brought in from North Africa, and the Moslem tide rolled over the Iberian Peninsula."; Têng 1971, 381, "On the pretext of stemming the Moslem tide toward them, Russia occupied Hi in Sinkiang in 1871, and all three of the largest khanates of Central Asia — Khokand, Bukhara, and Khiva — came under the Tzar's control in 1873."; Petoria 1973, 370, "With this tremendous militant Black African/Arab Moslem tide sweeping through the corridors of power in the OAU, the firm moorings that Israel had established in Africa were broken."; McNeill 1974, 34, "The specter of an advancing Moslem tide roused intense fear and religious horror in nearly all Christian minds; and the fact that Moslem victories were explicable as God's chosen means for punishing the all-too-evident sins of Christendom did nothing to relieve the terror that Ottoman victories provoked."; Larson 1977, 593, "As we have already noted, the hotbed of heresy had always been the Greek and Oriental Eastern churches, and, to a lesser degree, the Latin African; but all these were shortly to be inundated by the Moslem tide."; Markus 1983, 23, "we must add the submergence of North African christianity beneath the Moslem tide in the seventh century as one of the greatest tragedies of the church's history."; Thibalt 1986, 37, "Of the three military Orders, only one, the Hospitallers, remained in the East to continue, as best they could, their mission of rolling back the Moslem tide."; Mtwā 1990, 456, "The Moslem tide would substantially enhance the military prowess of the Afghani Mujahidin and probably convince the Soviets of the futility of the idea of annexing Afghanistan as the 16th Soviet republic."; Ascher 1992, 46, "The Hapsburgs, therefore, became the heirs of the Roman Empire and among their accomplishments was reversal of the Moslem tide which nearly reached the gates of Vienna."; Dupuy-Dupuy 1993, 430, "The Moslem tide was reversed by the rise of the new Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar, continually at war during the latter part of the 14th century with the new Moslem Sultanate of Bahmani."; Delamaide 1994, 92, "Europe launched its ultimately unsuccessful Crusades against the 'infidel' over a period of two centuries, and resisted the Moslem tide mounting the Danube basin as the Ottoman Turks extended their empire to the very gates of Vienna."; Strange 2002, 177, "The Moslem tide was turned back at the Spanish / French border at Battle of Toors in 732 CE."; Eggenberger 2012, 102, "Constantinople had proved itself to be the sturdy bastion of eastern Europe against the hitherto all engulfing Moslem tide."; Bower 2013, 141, concerning a quote imagined by the novelist Lawrence Durrell in the Alexandria Quartet, (Durrell 1958, 552) that, "We, the foreign communities...are gradually being engulfed by the Arab tide, the Moslem tide."

For use of the Muslim tide, see: Sadullah 1983, 469, "On the basis of the notional division, in notional East Punjab, there is a Muslim percentage of 33.4% and in the notional West Punjab there is a non-Muslim percentage of 26.8%. This shows that the Muslim tide has penetrated more strongly into the east, than the non-Muslim tide into the west..."; Smith 1974, "In three quarters century of settler opinion on the Muslim, one finds no metaphor so often expressed as the fear of being 'drowned' by the Muslim 'tide'."; Jamieson 2006, 29, "Whatever the success of Charles Martel at the battle of Tours, it was primarily the Byzantines who held back the Muslim tide, and were to continue to do so for centuries."; Kaegi 2010, 145, "There may even have been a hope on the part of some North Africans that the Muslim tide would somehow abate and recede and permit the old North African Romanitas to recover,..."; Bailey 2011, 13, "The Muslim tide that had flooded Spain for seven centuries had now been at full ebb for 350 years, leaving a visible legacy of intricate architecture, fluent design, and a partly Moorish populace. It also left a Spanish language in which some 300,000 words came from Islamic terms, including "flamenco" and "Ole!"; Parker 2014, "Even then, just as Byzantine enclaves had long held back the Muslim tide when all else around them was lost, so isolated stretches in the southeast of Sicily resisted the Normans until 1091." See also on the matter of the modern Myth of the Muslim Tide in respect to immigration, Saunders, 2012. For use of the Islamic tide, see for example: Bernander 1957, 6, "In a very real sense, therefore, the front line against Mohammedanism in Africa is now coextensive with the continent. And yet areas in Africa differ in the degree of Islamic impact and conquest. East Africa was reached early by the Islamic tide."; Congress 1985, 278, "So when one surveys the Arab Islamic Middle Eastern situation now, one gets the impression that in fact the Islamic tide may very well be on the way down, and if that is the case, if failure after failure after failure confronts the Islamic tide,..."; Sivers 1997, 72, "ninth and tenth centuries, ending in the check of the Slavic and Magyar advances in the east and the stemming of the Islamic tide in the south." And, as a subtitle, D. Nicolle, Poitiers AD 732:

was itself employed as a chapter heading in Ernle Bradford's *The Sword and the Scimitar: The Saga Of The Crusades*²², first published in 1974 by Victor Gollancz Ltd., London, and by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, heading a chapter concerning the rise of Nur-ed-din Zangi (r. 1146-1174) in 12th c. Syria, but the term, *the Moslem tide* does not occur at all in Ernle Bradford's 1961 text of *The Great Siege: Malta 1565*, yet it today carries this expression employed in this newly applied subtitle from 2010 onwards.

In respect to the 2010 addition of this further subtitle: *Clash of Cultures: Christian Knights Defend Western Civilization Against the Moslem Tide*, to the original 1961 title and subtitle, and since repeated in the New York e-book and reprints of 2014 and 2019, this 2010 addition is a manipulative nonsense, both misleading the modern reader as to the author's intention in writing the book, and seems to be an attempt to indoctrinate 21st century readers through this anachronistic subtitle, employing the latest forms of the political language of Orwellian new-speak, in brief, hocus pocus. The false juxtaposition in this new subtitle of *Christian Western Civilisation* with *Moslem Tide*, is characteristic of "othering" discourse, dehumanising the opponent

Charles Martel turns the Islamic tide, Osprey Publishing, Oxford, 2008; Bloomsbury, USA, 2008.

By implication the use of the expression *The Muslim Tide* can suggest Christian retreat and a metahistorical Moslem-Muslim-Islamic threat to Christianity. For use of the term "Christian tide", see for example: in a different sense, Swinnock 1868, 91, "*The Christian's tide of comfort hath not seldom been at the highest, when the waters of affliction have been at the deepest.*" And in this sense, Allies 1887, 246, "*All through this century the Christian tide was rising, the heathen tide was falling. Again, the legislation of Constantine, of his sons, and their successors...*"; Barton 1908, 117, "*Soon the number of Christians was numerous enough in Damascus to warrant Saul, the persecutor of the church, in making the journey from Jerusalem for the purpose of stemming the Christian tide.*"; Robinson 1918, 217, "*The real key which unlocked the gates of the early Christian tide of evangelism was Paul's powerful and practical universalism.*"; Carver 1932, 213, "*A series of meetings and incidents in 1900 indicated and promoted a turn in the Christian tide.*" Slocombe 1937, 27, "*Successive sultans (of Morocco), thinking to halt the advancing Christian tide at the very gate of their dominions, designated Tangier as the residence of Europe's ambassadors to their court.*"; Belloc 1937, 24, "*St. Gregory VII, the greatest of the Popes, he who had in the midst of the century reorganised and restored the Church, had in the midst of his mortal anxieties and strains dreamed of a universal Christian tide, swelling out through the Levant,*"; 1950, "*Discredited by its failure to stem the Christian tide, the Wattasi were driven from power in 1550.*"; *The Christian Centuries: A New History of the Catholic Church*, Vol. I, 1964 McGraw-Hill, 1963, 293, "*The Christian (sic.) tide came in to the very frontiers of the Empire. The birthplace of St Patrick, the future apostle of Ireland, seems to have been what is now Cumberland, a little south of Hadrian's Wall. The date of his birth was about 389.*"; Williams 1979, 64, "*In the face of the rising Christian tide, most northern Muslims retreated to the south of this line and the archipelago was divided. From then on, the Christian north waged an almost continuous war against the Muslims of Mindanao and the islands further south; wars in which considerations of politics, power, territory and trade became incorporated into a single cause – religion – a continuation of the long conflict between Christianity and Islam.*"; Rouse-Neill-Fey 1986, 383, "*In 1932 the Council inaugurated a Five Year Movement to advance the Christian forces afresh after the destructive anti-foreign and anti-Christian tide of the 1920's.*"; Gerber 1992, 92, "*The Berber forces who came from North Africa to stem the Christian tide of reconquest affirmed and strengthened this trend.*" G. E. Perry, 1997, 84, "*THE MONGOL INVASION As the Christian tide receded in Syria and Anatolia, a more serious threat rose in the northeast.*"; Graham 2001, 194, "*Most Christians today (in Ethiopia) still minimize the Jewish influence here, no doubt a legacy of the bitter struggle which occurred, particularly in the Ninth Century, when the Jewish faithful apparently tried almost successfully to reverse the Christian tide.*"; Green-Groff 2003, 160, "*Two main schools developed, one in Athens and one in Alexandria, and attempted to deal with the rising Christian tide in quite different ways.*"; Lowney 2012, 6, "*But neither Almoravid nor Almohad could hold back the steadily encroaching Christian tide.*"; Harries - Clark 2014, 315. "*Julian, however, used legislation to reverse the Christian tide, reopening temples, banning daylight 'funerals', which could include processions in honour of martyrs, and ordering councils not to allow the appointment of Christians as official teachers of the pagan classics*".

²² Republished by Pen & Sword, Barnsley, UK in 2004 without the subtitle. The word *tide* is also found associated with Moslems and war in this volume, "*As the tide of the war in Spain against the Moslems gradually ebbed in favour of the Christians, it became a forerunner of the Crusades...*" p. 24; "*Once again superior tactics and the weight of the Crusader cavalry charge turned the tide, Ridwan and his forces being routed.*" p. 62.

for slaughter. With this title it is, perhaps unsurprisingly, number 14 of the 21 titles listed on Enclosure 3 of the Military Advisor Training Academy: Combat Advisor Training Course Recommended Reading List, Fort Benning, U.S.A.²³; and, although the assertion that the Great Siege of Malta was fought because of a “clash of cultures”²⁴, between the cultures of Christianity and Islam, fits well with Samuel P. Huntington’s usefully misleading 1993 propaganda thesis, in its book form from 1996, of the so-called “clash of civilisations”²⁵, and doubtless this publishers’

²³ <https://www.benning.army.mil/Armor/316thCav/MATA/Content/pdf/CATC%20Recommended%20Reading%20List.pdf>.

²⁴ The term “clash of cultures” was used long before G. Z. Kapenzi, *The Clash of Cultures: Christian Missionaries and the Shona of Rhodesia*, Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, Inc., 1979. This term was employed for example in: Toynbee 1953, 66–7, identified a “clash of cultures” as an historical phenomena rooted in the world’s experiences with the expanding West; Arquillière 1934 “*Les circonstances d’abord s’y prêtaient peu. Pour qu’une intelligence de cette nature s’épanouisse, il y faut le stimulant des grandes controverses dogmatiques, le choc des cultures différentes.*”; Survey 1932, 314, “While it is easy to over-emphasise the clash of cultures in the course of their development, it is nevertheless clear that the Christian Associations have not been left untouched by the sensitive spirit of Japanese nationalism.” L. Massignon, *La psychologie musulmane* (1931), in idem, *Ecrits mémorables*, t. I, Paris, Robert Laffont, 2009, p. 629: “Après la venue de Bonaparte au Caire, le clash of cultures entre l’ancienne Chrétienté et l’Islam prit un nouvel aspect, par invasion (sans échange) de l’échelle de valeurs occidentales dans la mentalité collective musulmane.” Legion 1930, 305, Reports to the convention, “The main problems of the Pacific are the struggle for raw materials; whether the yellow man will ever be successful in gaining access to the wide, sparsely settled territories now under white domination; whether the free and cheap interchange of news amongst all the Pacific countries is possible; whether there is a basic clash of cultures; whether there may be a synthesis of cultures in something richer than anything which the world has yet known. All of these questions will come under discussion again at the Third Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations in Kyoto, Japan, October 28 to November 9. 1929.”; Fleming 1928, xi, “All should have a general knowledge, at least, of the kinds of problems that are raised by the clash of cultures.” Man, God and immortality; thoughts on human progress, passages chosen from the writings of Sir James George Frazer ... revised and edited by the author, Macmillan and Co. London, 1927, 34, chapter title, *The Clash of Cultures*, title of chapter XVIII; Levine 1922, 273 “THE CLASH OF CULTURES! Progress is the history of the rise and fall of civilizations from the nadir of savagery to the zenith of world dominance. Babylon, Egypt, Assyria and Persia ran their course to succumb to a more virile host and the subjection involved the modification or destruction of political and well as cultural values.”; Kelly 1921, 322 “WE do not want to develop only the selfish, greedy side of the immigrant, but we do want a real mingling of peoples and a real clash of cultures.”; McCabe 1917, 235, “This and the clash of cultures and stimulating atmosphere may explain the effervescence of ideas. To me, as an historian, the fundamental law of progress is clash of cultures. Out of this great cauldron, where twenty nations commingle, new things are bound to rise.”; Ford 1915, 8, 54, “These events (of the reign of James I) serve also to illustrate the clash of cultures that was the underlying cause of Irish anarchy.”; Sir James George Frazer, *The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead*, Macmillan, London, 1913, vol. 1, 88-89; Church 1900, 94, “A real “clash of cultures” not infrequently arises from the intermixture of European with native pharmacy, as when a patient swallows a hot poultice whole, or the isolation of contagious disorders is carried to the extent of driving out the sick to perish unattended.”; Church 1900, 98, “But we must utter our emphatic protest against her assertion, in the chapter on the Clash of Cultures, that the one thing needful for West Africa is to try Science, and the quiet assumption on the next page that the grand Scriptural assertion that God’ has made of one blood all nations that dwell on the face of the earth is a mistake, and the origin of the whole human race from a single pair a misleading delusion.”; Younghusband 1899, Chapter XVI is entitled, *The Clash of Cultures*; and it was likewise the term employed by Mary H. Kingsley, *West African studies*, Macmillan London, 1899, for the title of chapter XVI, *The Clash of Cultures*, 363-390 (Reviewed in Church 1900 above); Robertson 1895, 331 “We must state the causal conditions in which the sceptical spirit rises. It may be the result of comparison and clash of cultures, of knowledges, of philosophies: it may be as a result of wearying and disillusioning and ruinous wars of sects. And such reactions may have very various tendencies”.

²⁵ In the Barnes and Noble Overview, given this new subtitle, one unsurprisingly reads, “Ernle Bradford’s compelling and thoroughly researched account of the Great Siege of Malta recalls not just an epic battle, but a clash of civilizations unlike anything since the time of Alexander the Great. It is “a superior, readable treatment of an important but little-discussed epic from the Renaissance past . . . An astonishing tale” (Kirkus Reviews)”. <https://www.barnesandnoble.com/w/the-great-siege-ernle-bradford/1112547589> The same unsurprisingly at Amazon.com <https://www.amazon.com/Great-Siege-Malta-1565.../149763...> For the full 1961 Kirkus Review, which says nothing whatsoever about any so-called “Clash of Civilisations,” nor yet “Clash of Cultures” see,

addition rings all the right buzzers in the brain for well indoctrinated minds of the early 21st c., and with this book's new title serving to propagate and circulate the idea that Huntington's currently useful thesis dates from half millennia earlier, implying a powerful historical precedent for this new-fangled notion, and which may have resulted in increased sales since 2010, this was not the title that was given to this book by its author Ernle Bradford in 1961. The idea that a publisher can, after the death of the author, manipulate a text, add to, or alter the title that was given to a book by its author, thereby misrepresenting the aims and intentions that had been expressed by the deceased, is undoubtedly deceit, uncivilised, disgraceful and irresponsible, if not illegal.

The hocus-pocus of the so-called "clash of cultures," as recorded in this new subtitle, and a term quite unmentioned in the text of this book, was certainly not the reason for the Ottoman invasion of Hospitaller Malta in 1565, notwithstanding modern Western propaganda and Post 9/11 publishers' hype. The reason for the Ottoman invasion was to destroy the base of the Hospitaller Knights of St. John of Jerusalem on Malta, and, when Ottoman forces left Malta in September 1565, the Knights' fortifications were mounds of indefensible rubble²⁶.

The Ottoman invasion of 1565 was not undertaken because the noble Hospitaller knights of St. John of Jerusalem were of Christian culture. Nor was it undertaken because the knights were Western, and are now said in this new subtitle to be defenders of "Western Civilisation," although the Catholic order of knights of St. John were Crusaders by oath, and if they could be said to defend anything, it was their Order and the Catholic Church, not "Western Civilisation", and neither the Hospitaller Order, nor the Catholic Church are themselves synonyms for "Western Civilization," as for example the lives and deaths of figures such as William Tyndale, Giordano Bruno, "the heretic" Galileo Galilei, etc. indicate. Nor yet was it to obtain a strategic stepping stone for an Ottoman invasion of Sicily and Italy²⁷, as stated by Pope Pius IV., by Francesco Balbi,

<https://www.kirkusreviews.com/book-reviews/ernle-bradford/the-great-siege/>.

For some examples of the related term, "clash of civilisations," from a century ago: W. H. Hudson wrote concerning Kipling's writing on Anglo-Indian life, "...some times the *"clash of civilisations"* was the underlying motive,...", Hudson 1918, 299; Sir N. Angell wrote, Angell 1915, 184, "*At this moment of writing nobody knows on which side of the fence certain of the Balkan states will descend, and in their case the high falutin' about "conflict of morals and ideals," "inevitable clash of civilisations," is a little too much even for our political leader writers."*"; Le Gallienne 1910, 198, "*Besides, sheerly as story-telling, some of Grant Allen's stories qualify him as an inventor. The Reverend John Creedy, Mr. Chung, and many other such stories, justify his timid enough claim to be one of the earliest writers of "the romance of the clash of civilisations."*" It was a term used prior to Samuel P. Huntington by Bernard Lewis in 1990 in his article entitled, "The Roots of Muslim Rage," reprinted in 2004 in, *From Babel to Dragomans*, 397-413.

²⁶ Francesco Balbi writes that by the 27th of July, "...both St. Michael and the Post of Castille had been practically levelled to the ground."; "*the leaders of the relief force went to Birgu, as much to see the Grand Master La Valette as to see the enormous damage to our battlements. These were so ruined that even the oldest veterans were astounded.*" Balbi 2003, 187. The destruction was enormous, "*In the year 1566 they began to build the Bourg(Valetta), or principal city, after Solymán the Magnificent, had in the year 1565 reduced the greatest part of the old Town into Dust...*" Bohun 1688, npn. s.v. Malta/Melita.

²⁷ As was firmly stated, but without any recorded Ottoman evidence of this "statement" or even intention, by Ernle Bradford in 1961, "*It was the Sultan himself who pointed out that Malta was the stepping stone to Sicily, and beyond that, to Italy and southern Europe.*" This is a thesis which has repeatedly been stated, "*Had Malta fallen, Sicily and Italy would soon have been attacked.*" Woodhouse 1879, 181; subsequently stated, or implied: U.S.I. Journal, Vol. 93, United Service Institution of India, 1963, 286, "*Malta would also prove a stepping stone to Sicily and Italy. So the word went round that preparations should be made to add Malta to the Ottoman empire next year.*"; Hughes 1969, 42, "*Malta was the keystone of the Mediterranean and could, with its capture, become the springboard for an invasion of Sicily and Italy.*"; Browne 1977, 199, "*they never succeeded in upsetting Spain's hold on the Mediterranean; they failed to capture Malta and they were unable to invade Italy* (sic. Northern Italy was repeatedly raided by Ottoman forces and southern Italy invaded in 1480).": Video Librarian, 2001, 4, "*the grand emperor Suleiman the Magnificent, mounted*

Hipólito Sans, and, perhaps implied by Queen Elizabeth Ist of England, "*If the Turks should prevail against the Isle of Malta it is uncertain what further peril might follow to the rest of Christendom*"²⁸. etc., which seem rather to provide recorded evidence of Christian fear and panic at Ottoman advance, not based upon actual knowledge of Ottoman intentions, as Pekka Masonen wrote, "*A Turkish invasion of Sicily and southern Italy was feared*"²⁹. There is no surviving record of any Ottoman intention of holding Malta and from there invading Sicily and Italy, not least because of the lengths of the respective lines of maritime resupply (the width of the Adriatic from Dıraç-Durazzo-Durres to Brindisi is 155 km., while the maritime resupply of Malta from Tripoli is over a distance of more than 350 km in a straight line, from Tunis is more than 400 km in a straight line, and from Istanbul is more than 1800 km., that is, winds and enemy naval forces permitting), the lack of resources on the island to support the assembling of an Ottoman invasion force for Sicily and/or Italy, sufficient food, fodder, water, and clearly, if there was to be a maritime Ottoman invasion of Italy it would have been launched, (like that of Sultan Mehmet the conqueror, on August 6, 1480, that held Otranto into 1481), from Ottoman territory across the width of the Adriatic. Nor yet was the invasion of Hospitaller Malta launched because the knights were doubtless, in their own eyes at least, "civilised," with many quarters of nobility, and, one may well wonder, who on their own terms and in their own eyes is not "civilised" - although poisoning wells, and, led by the French Knight of St. John, de Lugny, killing in cold blood several thousand of the Ottoman sick and wounded, doctors and medical staff, in the Ottoman field hospital in the Marsa on the 7th of August 1565, does itself cast a somewhat surprising light at this time on these Christian Hospitaller knights, defenders of "Western civilisation," who, "*When not engaged in smiting Turks and pirates, they founded hospitals and tended to the sick of any race or religion*"³⁰.

So why the Siege?

The siege was undertaken because the Hospitaller Knights of St. John of Jerusalem on Malta since 1530 (as they had done from Rhodes from 1310, as the Florentine Francesco Guicciardini (1483-1540) had noted, the Knights of St. John on Rhodes, "*spending all their days in piracy against the ships of the infidels, they also at times pillaged Christian vessels*",³¹ a dual role, Cru-

an attack on Malta in an effort to acquire a base to invade Italy, a failed campaign."; Paoletti 2008, 17, "*Malta was saved, and Suleiman's plans for the invasion of the western Mediterranean failed.*" Thomas-Chesworth 2014, 395, "*The invasion of Malta in 1565 by combined land and naval forces of Ottoman and North African corsairs was considered a crucial assault that could imperil the coastlines of the Italian peninsula and Sicily, as well as the east coast of Spain.*" No doubt for Ernle Bradford R.N. and architect Quinten Hughes it was the recent Allied forces invasion of Sicily, 9 July–17 August, 1943, Operation Husky, involving 2,600 Allied ships and sustained air support, followed by the Allied invasion of Italy that influenced their statements concerning Ottoman intentions in 1565. For some of the latest reiteration of this hypothesis that in fact, supplies evidence of Christian fear and panic at the Ottoman danger, rather than any reflecting knowledge of Ottoman intentions, published in a context of ongoing Muslim immigration via Malta to Europe see: G. Bonello, *Histories of Malta*, I, Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti, 2000, 100, "*Its (Malta's) conquest would be both easy and of extreme consequence to the Turks, Malta being 'the frontier of Italy and the important gateway to Sicily'*"; A. Cassola, "*Süleyman 1565: Malta as a stepping stone for Sicily, Italy and Europe?*" in *The Times of Malta*, 8th July, 2018, <https://timesofmalta.com/articles/view/suleyman-1565-malta-as-a-stepping-stone-for-sicily-italy-and-europe.683769>. Given Malta's proximity to Sicily and Italy, its lack of resources, and its distance from Ottoman territory, there was simply no possibility that the Sultan or his officers viewed the taking of Malta as providing any strategic base for the invasion of Italy, Sicily or of anywhere else, the 1565 campaign was a punitive expedition, as the Sultan himself had stated, Cassola 1998, 19, and there was no intention to exercise Ottoman control over the island and its people.

²⁸ Pryor 2003, 39.

²⁹ Masonen 2000, 171.

³⁰ International Living, Vol. 22, International Living Inc., Hoboken, NJ, 2002, 54.

³¹ Guicciardini 1984, 334. There was Genovese retaliation when the Hospitaller Knights stopped a Genovese

saders in the Holy War against Islam, which is here described by Francesco Guicciardini as piracy, and at times pirates-corsairs in respect to some Christian shipping. Piracy by the Knights of St. John was the reason for the last Ottoman siege of Rhodes from the 28th of July to the 21st December 1522 and for their expulsion from that island by the forces of the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman³²), were conducting an aggressive maritime war on Ottoman shipping in the Eastern Mediterranean, capturing and enslaving Muslims and seriously threatening and interfering with Ottoman maritime communications, maritime trade and pilgrimage, a matter from the Ottoman perspective, of Hospitaller state run piracy. A year after their arrival on Malta, in September 1531, Ottoman Modon was sacked by the Order and numbers of Muslim women taken into slavery, and in 1532 Coron sacked. In June 1555 from Malta, Jean de Valette, captain-general of galleys from 1554, captured 3 Muslim vessels, two off Cape Misurata, enslaving 250, taking weapons and other booty and, *"In the first 5 years of his Grandmastership, in capturing 50 great galleys from the Turks, and an immense number of smaller vessels of war: a success which so stirred the indignation of the sultan, that he resolved on the capture of Malta,"*³³. For example, the Knights' Mathurin d'Aux de Lescout (Romegas)³⁴, after he had captured 2 large cargo vessels and other prizes in the Levant in 1557, had in 1561 captured 300 Muslims and rich cargoes off the Nile, in 1563 his squadron took 500 Muslims captive and eight Ottoman ships by Ottoman Alexandria and in 1564 he took three Ottoman *corchapins* loaded with oars, tow and munitions that were bound for the garrison of Ottoman Tripoli, and, the final straw, his squadron captured the *Sultana* a large round-ship sailing from Ottoman Tripoli with 113 negro slaves and 80,000 ducats in goods belonging to the Ottoman Chief Kizlar Aga (responsible for the Sultan's harem) of the Topkapi Palace, Istanbul, the ship was moored in Galley Creek during the course of the 1565 siege and the taking of the *Sultana* was the most immediate cause and pressing reason for the launch of the 1565 Ottoman campaign³⁵. Ernle Bradford notes Hospitaller Malta had, *"the command of the east-west trade routes. Everything passing through the channel between Sicily, Malta, and North Africa was at the mercy of the (Knights) Maltese galleys. They let few opportunities slip through their fingers"*³⁶. As John Bohnstedt had remarked in 1968, *"The Knights of St. John at Rhodes had long committed acts of piracy against Moslem commerce, plundered vessels bearing pilgrims towards Mecca, slain and enslaved the subjects of the Ottoman sultan,"* and, *"threatened the communications between the Porte and its new provinces of Syria and Egypt"*³⁷. The Sultan had stated, *"I intend to conquer the island of Malta and I have appointed Mustafa Pasha as commander in this campaign. The island of Malta is a headquarters for infidels* (that is, of the Hospitaller Knights of St. John, who are described as *infidels* because they had given their word in 1522 to this Sultan³⁸, and so were allowed after

galley returning from Alexandria during the Papal trade embargo, Edbury 2000, 133. For the taking of two Venetian great galleys in 1465, see Williams 2010, 143-144. For remarks respecting piracy by the Knights of St. John, see also, Abulafia 2012, 414.

³² E.g. Jennings 1992, 371, *"the knights acted as pirates against Muslim shipping in the Levant-something they did with great success because of Rhode's excellent harbor and even more because of its position astride major sea-lanes."*; *"The Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1517, however, and the consequent increase in trade between Alexandria and Istanbul, made the knights corsairing an increasing irritation to the new Sultan Suleyman, who marked the second year of his reign in 1522 with a determined attack on Rhodes"* Williams 2010, 147.

³³ Library 1880, 681.

³⁴ Later captain-general of the Hospitaller fleet from 1575-1577.

³⁵ Duggan 2014, 557-558.

³⁶ Bradford 1961, 18.

³⁷ Bohnstedt 1968, 6.

³⁸ *"The Turks were reluctant to make treaties with "dogs"; thirty years earlier the Knights of St. John had promised Suleiman in solemn treaty not to engage again in corsair activity against the Ottoman commerce in return*

for the right to evacuate their fortress at Rhodes with the honors of war. The knights did not keep this article, but they rightfully pointed out that Suleiman really gave them this right to leave with honor because he could not take their fortifications without further great losses." Wolf 1979, 36. It was rather the case, from the sultan's perspective, that he had obtained what he wanted through the solemn treaty, he had secured the object of his campaign, this was the promise made by the Hospitaller knights "*not to engage again in corsair activity against Ottoman commerce*," and so there could be an honourable surrender of Hospitaller Rhodes on the 20th December 1522 and generous treatment for the defeated. The surrender saved the exhausted knights and civilians who were in desperate circumstances, not least in terms of supplies, they had expended their gunpowder, and it was the loss of the Spanish bastion on the 18th of December that led the Grand Master to re-open surrender talks and they departed, together with their Rhodiote supporters, on provisioned Ottoman ships for Crete. If the knights had not agreed to the surrender terms, they and the Rhodiote population would have been killed or enslaved, the city could not have been defended for long without gunpowder and with the loss of the Spanish bastion, the city would have fallen within days, which is why the negotiations were reopened by the knights, and so there would not have been "*further great losses*," - except to the knights and Rhodiote Christian population. Ottoman losses were of course magnified by the knights, it is recorded in a letter from Andrea Doria of 1527, that at the 1522 siege of Rhodes the Ottomans had "*very small losses of troops*," see Setton 1984, 212, fn. 52. It is unsurprising that the knights, 'economised with the truth' in the attempt to make their surrender acceptable, not only by charging that the sultan was forced to this to prevent "*further great losses*," when he wasn't, but also to be 'economical with the truth' in respect to the terms of surrender that they accepted. It was the case that the sultan did not intend to give up the siege, at whatever the cost, - on the 10th of December, 10 days before the surrender, he said to the envoys, he intended to remain on Rhodes until the town and fortresses were taken, even if "*all Turkey should die in the process*." Setton 1984, 212. On Malta from 1530 the Knights of St. John led by Grand Master Philippe Villiers de L'Isle-Adam resumed their practice of piracy, of corsairing activity, breaking the treaty that they had signed in 1522, and, consequently, they are recorded by the same sultan in 1564 as *infidels* - that is, infidels to their own word given in the treaty of 1522, oath-breakers, of infidelity to their own given pledge "*not to engage again in corsair activity against the Ottoman commerce*." It seems probable that the surrender agreement of 1522 carried the usual Christian equivalent of the standard clause, "*But if I do not abide by this my oath, which I swear, but break and destroy it, then God should also destroy me, my house, my children, my leadership, my cities, my army and my people so that I renounce the great religion of the Muslims, and I destroy with my own hands Mekke, the great house of God... and that I am separated from the great prophet rasoul and apostle of God, Moamed, and his law and teaching*." (Preiser-Kapeller 2015, 131, and for further examples, from the late 13th c. see Kedar 2008, 419-421). Doubtless while in Rome in 1523, the Pope absolved Grand Master Philippe Villiers de L'Isle-Adam from his pledge "*not to engage again in corsair activity against the Ottoman commerce*," it was after all a pledge given by a Catholic, under the immediate authority of the pope, a "son" of the Pope, to a Muslim who was regarded under Catholic religious law as a "blasphemer", under the terms of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, and, as a "blasphemer" they could not be given the slightest power over a Christian (on the matter of "blasphemers" and the Inquisition in 16th c. Spain, see Qamber 2006). After Pope Adrian was Pope Clement VII, 1523-34, Giulio Medici who was himself a former Knight of St. John. Peter the Venerable (1092-1156) who ordered the first Latin translation of the Qur'an, had explicitly stated Islam was a heretical sect, for whom Third Canon of the Fourth Lateran Council states the Catholic remedial action to be the following: "*By whom, if they shall be found to deviate, only in a single article, from the Catholic faith;*" the penalty of such deviation, if not repented of, is death by burning, a similar test we find recommended by the Council of Sens." Evans 1843, 63; and the conception of the Muslim as the heretic-devil was current in the 16th c. (On this, see for example Geary 2000) and would seem to have made absolution certain for pledge breaking with a Muslim at that time. Kathryn A. Miller relates that the late 13th c. jurist Ibn Rabi', referencing the 12th and 13th c. *Reconquest treaties between Christians and Muslims, which had been quickly broken by the infidel, as well as other historical examples of Christian breaches of trust - such as the ill-omened tenth-century settlement in Crete after the Byzantine reconquest of the island...*" (Miller 2008, 45). As likewise the promise made by the Spanish Catholic Kings, who had assured the Muslims of Andalusia of freedom of worship, another broken pledge. This is not to suggest that all Christian-Muslim agreements, treaties and pacts were broken by their Christian signatories, such as the treaty of Al-Malik al-Kamil of Egypt and Frederick II in February 1229, but that Grand Master Philippe Villiers de L'Isle-Adam was in the position of having to agree to the Sultan's terms of surrender, or, for there to be no quarter when the city fell within the next few days, and he and his council (that included the future Grand Masters, Claude de la Sengle, Jean de Valette and Pietro del Monte) agreed to the sultan's terms of surrender, and then, systematically misrepresented them as being other than they were. The very reason for the sultan's campaign against Hospitaller Rhodes was to destroy them or to ensure they

their surrender to leave with their weapons from Rhodes as honourable men, leaving Rhodes in Ottoman shipping with Ottoman provisions, on the first of January 1523 for Candia-Crete, and then they broke the pledge that they had given). *The Maltese* (that is the Hospitaller Knights of St. John on Malta) *have already blocked the route utilised by Muslim pilgrims and merchants in the eastern part of the White Sea (Mediterranean), on their way to Egypt*³⁹.

It is in fact the case that the Ottomans in 1564-1565 had much the same reasons for taking action against the Hospitaller Knights of St. John of Jerusalem on Malta, as the reasons for the Republic of the United States going to war 250 years later, when it fought in 1801-1805 and 1815 the Barbary Wars in the Mediterranean against Tripoli, Algiers, Tunis and briefly in 1803 Morocco. The Pasha of Tripoli declared war on the United States on the 14th of May 1801. John Quincy Adams wrote, "*My indignation is roused beyond all patience, to see the people in all the United States in a torpor, and see them a prey, to every robber, pirate, and cheat in Europe*"⁴⁰. It was the same matter of concern - what both John Quincy Adams and the Ottoman Sultan-Caliph Suleiman the Law-giver, the Magnificent, understood to be piracy - state-sponsored privateering. This was the reality, in the 16th as in the 19th c., not the hocus-pocus⁴¹ of "*a clash of civilisations*". This was the case even though these Barbary wars have today been freshly characterised, given a contemporary, rather than their actual historical motivation as had been usual in the 20th c.⁴², as for example by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation (US) today, as: "*Jefferson's orders sent the United States into a war that was its first abroad, its first against terrorism*⁴³ *and its first with a Moslem nation.*"⁴⁴ The punitive actions undertaken by the Ottoman

would "*not to engage again in corsair activity against the Ottoman commerce,*" which is passed over unmentioned, and which, if implemented under his sworn oath by the Grand Master, would have meant an end to the Hospitaller Order, or to his leaving it, as "*The system had to be perpetuated, otherwise the benefices and privileges granted at home in Western Europe, would be suppressed and the estates confiscated. There was a need for and a persistent endeavour of the Order to justify its relevance to Christian Europe*". Hoegen Dijkhof 2006, 133, as happened under Henry VIII in 1540, etc.

³⁹ Cassola 1998, 19. For further on this see Demir-Duggan 2015, 58, "*At this time vessels from Malta were endangering Ottoman Vessels travelling to (and from) Egypt. (Ottoman) maritime travellers were without security and the enemy sailors were based there (on Malta)*".

⁴⁰ Lambert 2007, 64. In 1802 Congress passed an Act for the Protection of American Commerce and Seamen, February 6th authorizing Thomas Jefferson to instruct naval commanders to seize Tripolitan goods and vessels, and to commission privateers to aid in the effort.

⁴¹ In English an early 16th c. term describing the technique of distraction, to busy-distract the senses, and so the minds of the audience through the conjurers' patter, ad absurdum of: clash of cultures, clash of civilisations, etc., etc.

⁴² It is worth noting for example the *New York Times* article entitled "*Barbary Pirates, Gardner W. Allen's Story of the Pests of the Mediterranean and American Dealings with Them,*" of April 1, 1905, page 197, ninety years after the ending of the "Barbary Wars," (which was reprinted in the *New York Times Book Review and Magazine* 1968), begins: "*PIRACY has existed in all times, and particularly in the Mediterranean, where for centuries it was carried on not by Mohammedans alone, but by Christians.*" Words such as: pests, pirates and piracy, and, "*the Algerine in particular were engaged in the destruction of American commerce.*" are employed, not, of course, the 21st c. post-modern newspeak hocus pocus for piracy, as employed by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation (US), "terrorism".

⁴³ The first use of the word "terrorism" in English was in 1795, in the specific sense of "*government intimidation during the Reign of Terror in France*" (March 1793-July 1794), from the French *terrorisme*, noted in English by 1795 as a coinage of the French Revolution. No connection of *terrorism* with "non-state actors," quite the reverse. In the general sense of "the systematic use of terror as a policy" it is first recorded in English in 1798 (in reference to the Irish Rebellion of that year). <https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=terrorism>. There are however no contemporary references I can find from the early 19th c. that record the "Barbary wars" as "*a war on terror.*" It was a war fought against the piracy and extortion – or tolls and treasury tax raising measures, taken by the "Barbary" states, imposed on Christian maritime traffic.

⁴⁴ <https://www.history.org/foundation/journal/Winter15/barbary.cfm> The implicit linkage between the words,

"abroad," "terrorism," and, "Moslem nation," was no doubt most carefully considered. On this matter see Fern 2017, p. 5, "*The Barbary Terror thesis has led to the appropriation and distortion of historical memory to explain and justify contemporary American foreign relations. In more extreme circles this interpretation has helped to perpetuate racist metanarratives which cast the United States and Muslim World in a perpetual clash of civilisations. This has meant that the Barbary War has become a useful touchstone for groups which advocate violence against people of Islamic faith... This predominance of the Barbary Terror interpretation results from the deliberate weaponization of historical memory by rhetoricians who are actively seeking justification for contemporary American foreign policy agendas and, in some cases, systemic prejudice against people of Islamic faith and Muslim majority states.*" See also idem, 33-40. https://www.academia.edu/37897016/The_Barbary_War_as_a_site_of_contested_collective_memory_discourse_narrative_and_representation

On the 6th July 2017 in Warsaw, U.S.A. President Donald Trump in his speech urged the defence of Western civilization against unnamed forces—"from inside or out, from the south or the east"—that threaten its values." Presuming to speak for that civilization, Trump said, "*For Americans, Poland has been a symbol of hope since the beginning of our nation. Polish heroes and American patriots fought side by side in our War of Independence and in many wars that followed... Our soldiers still serve together today in Afghanistan and Iraq, combating the enemies of all civilization.... The world has never known anything like our community of nations. We write symphonies. We pursue innovation. We celebrate our ancient heroes, embrace our timeless traditions and customs, and always seek to explore and discover brand-new frontiers.*" at, Read President Trump's Remarks on 'Defending ... - Time Magazine, <https://time.com> › Politics › Donald Trump.

The expression, "*les ennemis de toute civilisation - the enemies of all civilisation - die Feinde aller Zivilisation*," seems in origin, like the word terrorism, to relate to the French Revolution, and was a description given to the French revolutionaries, and which has been applied over the past 200 years to describe: the Ottoman Janissaries, the Muslims, the Native Americans, the Jews, the English, the anti-Catholic telegraphic cable agencies and the Freemasons, the Bolsheviks, the Anarchists, and, has also been given to the mentally impaired. The term, *the enemies of all civilisation*, not the plural form, civilisations, was, is, and intentionally serves, as a clear marker of "othering" discourse, marking the exclusive civilisation, amongst all other civilisations, as that claimed by the speaker, to whom no other civilisations are either visible or conceivable.

It was used in the pamphlet, *Plain thoughts of a Plain Man, addressed to the Common Sense of the People of Great Britain: with a few words, en passant, to the uncommon Sense of Mr. Erskine*, Bell, London 1797, Critical 1797, 219, "*It was a war of protection, not merely of one nation, but of almost all civilised Europe, against a people who had declared themselves the enemies of all civilization. It was a war of order against confusion; of civil government against anarchy; of freedom against despotism; of religion against infidelity; of civilized and rational beings, against a savage, a cannibal and insensate people.*"; by Charles Pertusier, A.D.C. to the French Ambassador at the Ottoman Porte, in the 1820 publication entitled, *Picturesque Promenades in and Near Constantinople, and on the Waters of Bosphorus*, "*the corps of the ulema, or the Mahometan doctors, are by no means averse to the diffusion of knowledge, and that the Sultan Mahmoud means to encourage it, after reducing the enemies of all civilization, that is, the Janissaries.*" p. 49 (reprinted in, *New voyages and travels: consisting of originals, translations, and abridgements*, Vol. IV., London, 1823, 49, translated from the 1815 Paris edition). The term applied to both Muslims and republicans, e.g. Narcisse-Achille Salvandy, *Don Alonso, ou, L'Espagne: histoire contemporaine*, Vol. V., Twenty-fifth Book, Ch. 1, 387-403, Frères Franckh, Stuttgart, 1826, 400, "*Les Musulmans, afin de se venger de leur expulsion, devaient abattre le croix, mettre à la place le drapeau de Mahomet et le vautour français, puis nous engorger tous, vous savez que l'Empereur s'est fait Turc dans le temps de la république, et tous les républicains en veulent faire autant. C'est ainsi que les ennemis de toute civilisation cherchaient à ameuter contre nous l'ignorance et la crédulité.*" It was a term employed to describe the Native American Indian, "... it is evident that the Mexican force had reasonable grounds to believe that it was in pursuit of hostile Indians, enemies of all civilization, and violators of life and property,..." "Foreign Relations, Mexico," Executive 1887, 593; to describe anarchists, "*Emma Goldman and her kind*," "*They are the enemies of all civilisation and should, by the concerted action of the civilised world, be passed on to the wilds of primitive savagery and learn by bitter experience the tender mercies of the barbarians they represent.*" Fallows 1901, 419. Quote from Independence Belge (Brussels) "*The English people should not be treated as the enemies of all civilization, for they have done great things and will accomplish still greater in the future. Moreover, boycotting is a mode of warfare unworthy of an epoch such as ours.*" Digest 1901, 578. And frequently a term employed about the Jews, see for examples, *Mitteilungen aus dem Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus* (Berlin 1892-1933), 1915, 133, "*und Senator Ruffini auf dem italienischen Lehrertag in Turin den 80 000 italienischen Lehrern eingeschärft, doch ja die Schuljugend im Hasse gegen die zwar gelehrten, aber ungesitteten und unloyalen Gegner, die Feinde aller Zivilisation...*" Krause 1918, 40; "One Solution of an Important Question," Letters, America 1914, 92, "*France and England, on the contrary, have been cursed by these enemies of all civi-*

state against Hospitaller Malta in 1565 (it is noteworthy that the old capital M'dina was not attacked, and Ottoman advances were made in the attempt to secure the support of the Maltese population), and those undertaken by the young American Republic in the early 19th century Barbary Wars, cannot reasonably be characterised as any *Clash of Cultures*, nor of any *Clash of Civilisations*, nor yet, in post-modern rhetoric, as, "*a war against terrorism*," although it would be right to read, on the principle of what's good for the goose is good for the gander, in the absence of hypocrisy, institutions such as the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation (US) also describe the reason for the Ottoman Muslim attack on Hospitaller ruled Malta in 1565, as being a war waged against the practitioners in the name of religion and profit, of piracy, with this 1565 campaign likewise therefore also to be characterised in the current, if inaccurate, post-modern terminology as "*a war against terrorism*," a war *against terrorism* waged by the Ottoman state in 1565. As to those words with the suffix -ism, that largely delineate "modernspeak," somewhat inappropriately inserted into a 16th c. context, it is worth noting and reflecting upon the fact that those words coined with this suffix, (largely from the French Revolution onwards) have been defined: "*-ism definition: 1. a set of beliefs, especially ones that you disapprove of: 2. used to form nouns that refer to social, political, or religious beliefs, studies, or ways of behaving*"⁴⁵. The associations drawn through this new 2010 subtitle - of Western Civilisation being defended by the practitioners of Mediterranean piracy, that is, in post-modern terminology, practitioners of *terrorism* - can, in the absence of hypocrisy of course, and unintentionally no doubt, unfortunately also be understood as lending support, justification through precedent, to the practices of the modern pirates operating from the East African coast⁴⁶.

The Great Siege: Malta 1565

Leaving to one side the recent addition of a misleading second subtitle to Ernle Bradford's 1961 title and subtitle; *The Great Siege: Malta 1565*, is a book that has influenced public perceptions and opinion and other subsequent popular works on the 1565 siege from its first publication fifty eight years ago. The particular problematic passage in his bestselling and somewhat problematic work of history⁴⁷ that forms the main subject of this article reads:

"Meanwhile Grand Master La Valette completed his preparations. All the buildings which lay outside the walls of Birgu and Senglea were

lization for many years."; "*And the poor German barbarian even goes and lays down his life for his real enemies, who are also the enemies of all civilization and culture.*" In *The Nation*, "*Besides, the paper (Kokumin) contends, the Bolsheviki aim to spread their ideas among other nations, which renders them the deadly enemies of all civilization and all humanity.*" *Nation* 1919, 837. Later it found employment in articles published in the monthly magazine, "*The World's Work*," as in advocating Theodore Lothrop Stoddard's, "negative eugenics," "*Not merely certain races, as the Bushmen of Africa, but a heavy percentage of the most advance white races, as the English and the Americans, are doomed by an unchangeable heredity to a sub-civilised mentality. And these unfortunates, unequal to the economic competition of civilization, unable intellectually to enjoy its pleasures even if they could afford to buy them, are not what we usually think them to be, namely, the passive victims of modern society, but are active and viciously determined enemies of all civilization*", published by Doubleday, Page and Co., Garden City, New York, Vol. 44, July 1922, No. 3, 241.

⁴⁵ <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/ism>.

⁴⁶ <https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/news/ea/Piracy-thrives-in-East-Africa-as-incidents-triple/4552908-4581402-cc3a0b/index.html>.

⁴⁷ In the review by Tony Rothman of Bruce Ware Allen's, *The Great Siege of Malta: The Epic Battle Between the Ottoman Empire and the Knights of St. John*, the reviewer writes, "*Ernle Bradford's enduring Great Siege: Malta 1565, published in 1961, whose stylistic verve is matched only by the number of its inaccuracies and inventions.*" Spring 2016 issue (Vol. 29, No. 1) of *MHQ: The Quarterly Journal of Military History*, with the headline: Reviews: The Great Siege of Malta, reprinted at, <https://www.historynet.com/the-great-siege-of-malta-by-bruce-ware-allen.htm>

razed to the ground so they could provide no cover for sharpshooters"⁴⁸.

This sentence indicating to the reader that the settlement of Burmola, Bormola, Burmula (Bormla) was demolished, and there is no mention of these 16th c. toponyms, nor of any other toponym for this place or its inhabitants to be found within Ernle Bradford's text in this entire book. The toponym and settlement of Burmola (Bormla) is not named in his text, "*All the buildings which lay outside the walls*", meaning all the buildings of the un-named settlement of Burmola were brought down to prevent Ottoman sharpshooters using these houses for cover-shelter. However, this is not in fact what is recorded in the source that he used. What was recorded by his primary source is explicit, and it clearly defined the area of demolition, a source which Ernle Bradford himself translated. In Ernle Bradford's own translation it reads: "*Many of the houses of the district outside Birgu, which is known as Bormla(sic.), were demolished; these stood near the Post of Aragon (at the end of the western curtain of Birgu facing L'Isla)*"⁴⁹ and *near St. Michael (L'Isla)*"⁵⁰. The omission of the second half of the sentence from his 1961 work has resulted in this modern misconception of the state of Burmola's buildings during the siege. Likewise the name of the Post and of the Curtain of Burmola (on Isola, L'Isla), which was defended by some of the *bormlizi*, by the inhabitants of Burmola, including some of the 300 members of the Burmola Militia⁵¹, captained by the Spanish knight Fray Martin de Sesè during the siege⁵², and both of which, the Post and the Curtain of Burmola are named as such, and are repeatedly mentioned by the siege participant Francesco di Balbi in his 1568 account, are entirely unmentioned, ignored in Ernle Bradford's 1961 publication. So the question is, why in Ernle Bradford's 1961 book was there the complete exclusion of the toponym Burmola-Burmula (Bormla) and any mention of its inhabitants, the *bormlizi*, when they are in fact recorded in the 16th c. historical sources concerning the siege, the toponyms documented in written, cartographic and pictorial form as is indicated below, and most of which were certainly known to the author at the time this book was written?

Housing in Burmola 1536-1565

Jean Quintin d'Autun (Quintinus) in his *Description of Malta*, of 1536, written less than six years after the arrival of the Knights of St John on Malta, provides a description of the houses in the city of Birgu and its suburbs of Burmola-Bormla and Isola-L'Isla, which reads,

*"Here functions the Convent of the Knights of Jerusalem, with considerable inconvenience: for the place is exposed to all the winds, like the island itself. The houses are breached and falling into ruins, with walls crumbling and unfinished, on weak foundations; they are buildings without attics; the roofs, roughly made, are covered with either tiles or reeds; frightening indeed. What shall I say? Apart from the city (Birgu) and some houses in the suburbs, one would take all the rest for African huts"*⁵³.

⁴⁸ Bradford 1962, 55.

⁴⁹ The construction of housing in the area of the Gate of Aragon extending into Bormla may be implied in 1518, prior to the Knights arrival, "*all who had building sites on the street from St. Laurence Church to Bormla (sic.) were to leave a passage wide enough for two loaded donkeys to pass.*" quoted in, Wettinger 1993, 61. The present Gate of Aragon or Advanced Gate dates from 1722 on, Triq Cuvre Porte, Bormla (Cospicua), on the Birgu side of the fosse-ditch, reached after passing through the Cuvre Porte constructed in 1723 on the Burmola-Bormla side of the Birgu ditch.

⁵⁰ Bradford Trans. 2003, 39.

⁵¹ Bugeja, Buhagiar – Fiorini 1993, 240.

⁵² Bradford Trans. 2003, 50; Balbi 1961, 47.

⁵³ d'Autun 1980, 30-31.

It is therefore certain, when Quintinus records that, “*Apart from the city (Birgu) and some houses in the suburbs* (that is in Bormla and L’Isola, my emphasis), *one would take all the rest for African huts*”, that during the early 1530’s there were some substantial stone houses standing in Bormla, that is, within “*the suburbs*” of Birgu, as Bormla/Bormla was recorded at that time, although the poor majority of the inhabitants, including the numerous fishermen and their families, unsurprisingly dwelt in somewhat less substantial structures. The group of 10 stone buildings outside Birgu that are indicated at the top of the slope rising from Galley Creek depicted on the 1536 map in Quintinus’s volume, Fig. 1, most probably represents Zabbar, but the group of 5 stone buildings outside the peninsular of Isola with its windmill, may well represent the houses of Bormla, indicating the stone buildings in the suburbs of Birgu mentioned by Quintinus, while in addition to the chapel depicted on the map, there was only the windmill on Isola, standing prior to the Knights’ arrival in 1530.

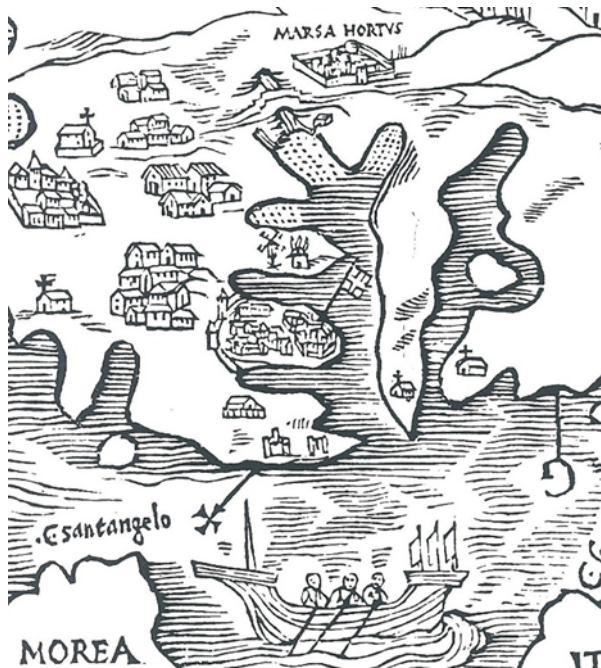


Fig. 1 Detail from the 1536 map of Melita (Malta) in Quintinus’s volume, that seems to record the stone houses of Bormla.



Fig 2. Depiction of Birgu, Bormla and L’Isola in 1530 drawn for Pietro Paolo Castagna’s *Lis Storia ta Malta bil Gzejer tahha* (It-tieni darba) of 1888. The numbered key indicates, No. 3. S. Liena (S. Elena⁵⁴-St Helen, Bormla), No. 4. S. Margarita (Bormla), No. 5 Bormla (Bormla).

⁵⁴ The rock-cut church below St. Helen’s Gate, is the earliest surviving church founded in Birmula-Burmola. In origin, a Sicilian East Roman (Greek Orthodox) rite foundation dedicated to the Nativity of Jesus through the Virgin Mother, probably dating from the 8th-9th centuries, to the period before 870, when the island was taken and the Greek Orthodox in faith islanders were enslaved and deported by Muslim forces. See Vella 2016, for the deportation, Brincat 1995. “*Count Ciantar, book. II, not. IV. § XXXIII, published a Greek Christian inscription, once existing on the pediment of the small Church of St. Helen at Cospicua, now profaned and forming part of a garden near St. Elena Gate. Count Ciantar did not give a reading of it, but states it contained “an invocation to the Supreme Being, True Good, and Sovereign Power on all created things, in order to obtain fertility, piety, and help under the present calamitous circumstances, and resurrection to glory and immortal life.”* Caruana 1882, No. 190, 156, citing, G. A. Ciantar, *Malta Illustrata*, T. II., Giovanni Mallia, In Malta, 1772.



Fig. 3. Detail of A. Lafreri's map printed in Rome of 1551, recording the toponym Bormola, and indicating its housing on both sides of the creek and the Grand Master's Garden and tower above the head of the creek. The lesser harbour for the smaller vessels, largely fishing boats, at the head of the creek, known as the La Mandra, Mandraki, Mandrachium, was divided off by the walkway bridge in Bormola, from the larger galley port (as also indicated in Figs. 4, 6, 7, 8.



Fig. 4. B. Genga's map (Mss. A. Ganado Col.) of 1558 showing the housing on both sides of the creek in Bormola-Bormla and the line of the landward fortifications of the peninsular of Birgu and L'Isola.

In 1530 there were only 150 houses in Birgu⁵⁵. In the 19th c., the map, Fig. 2, probably drawn by Giuseppe Brocktorff, depicting Birgu, Bormla and L'Isola in 1530 for Pietro Paolo Castagna's *Lis Storia ta Malta bil Gzejer tahha (It-tieni darba)* of 1888, depicts 12 house blocks/walled areas, standing in the area around the head of the creek in Bormola Bormla (upper right) at the time of the Knights' arrival, suggesting that there were slightly more than twice as much housing in Birgu, 27 blocks to the 12 standing in Bormla in 1530, and only 2 on L'Isola⁵⁶. In 1533 it has been suggested there were some 500 houses standing outside the walls of Birgu, that is, in Bormola-Bormla⁵⁷. It is clear that the vast majority of these suggested 500 houses were of the house-type mentioned by Quintinus as resembling "African huts," presumably of reeds, some parts or entirely covered in clay. The bulk of the Maltese population in Bormola, as elsewhere, did not inhabit stone houses in the 16th c., as was of course likewise the case, for the suggested 10th century population of the island of 16,767 inhabitants. Likewise it is unreasonable to expect that

⁵⁵ Ganado 1993.

⁵⁶ Ganado-Schiro-Attard 2012, No. 85, 230-1.

⁵⁷ Ganado 1993. There were between 6 and 700 stone houses standing in Bormola/Cospicua in the 18th c.

the 31 substantial buildings, including chapels, indicated by B. Genga in 1558 in Bormla on both sides and at the head of the creek, Fig. 4, were inhabited by about 1,000 Bormlizi, roughly 30 people per building. Rather, the poor majority of Maltese including the Bormlizi fishermen and labourers continued to live in less substantial structures that were unmarked by mapmakers. In the interval between 1536 when Quintinus left the island for France, and the siege of 1565, the passage of 29 years, with the increasing impact of the Knights' Convent on the local economy and the work and services associated with it, including a greater quantity of shipbuilding, with the construction of new galleys, such as the Santa Caterina constructed in 1535 and the Santa Petronilla in 1536⁵⁸, an improving urban economy drawing people into the area, there can be little doubt that both the quantity and the quality of housing that was constructed in Bormla, as in Birgu, rapidly increased, in addition to those buildings which were constructed for the Order itself, largely in Birgu⁵⁹, but also the houses constructed to absorb the overspill of the local population from Birgu that was caused by the Knights' arrival⁶⁰, as also possibly, if it did not predate in some form the Knights' arrival, the establishment of the walled Garden of the Grand Master/Garden of the Fountain/Garden of the Prior of France, with its enclosure wall, tower and adjoining reservoir (Fig. 3), and the Grand Master's stables in Burmola. The stone houses in Bormla were constructed at the head and on both sides of the Creek, but it seems more on the Eastern and less on the western side, and also in front of the fortifications of both Birgu and L'Isla.

⁵⁸ Muscat 2001, 4. Five galleys, two galleons, the Grand Master's galliot and other minor craft left Malta in 1559 for the conquest of Djerba in 1560, Bono 1993, 355, with some of these craft constructed in Galley Creek. For further record of the Birgu ship-sheds and arsenal, see S. Mercieca, "La Navigation du Savoir Project and the search of Malta's Late Medieval Ship-shed, 3-40, in Ed. S. Mercieca, *Mediterranean Seascapes*, Malta University Publishers, 2006. Although currently the location of the 1540 arsenal is understood to be where the British Naval Bakery-Maritime Museum stands today, see Mercieca 2006, 35-6, there remains, I think, the strong possibility that the waterfront building with a frontage of a series of five arches recorded by the foot of the Birgu-Vittoriosa ditch on Galley Creek on the Ottoman siege map of July 1565, and also recorded by Matteo Perez D'Aleccio in his painting entitled, *Dimostrazione di tutte le batterie*, as having a series of arches and including an arched inlet from the creek, may have been the Knights' arsenal constructed in 1540, given the number of between 3 and 7 galleys in the Knights' fleet in this period (Vertot records 6 or 7 gallies, high built ships and brigantines in the 1530's-1540's), and the need for scraping, re-caulking and re-oiling/greasing of the hulls, often twice or more in a sailing season, to speed the vessel through the water, given the rapid growth of algae on the hull in the warm water of the Mediterranean, which otherwise would slow the vessels' speed through the water. The pre-Knights ship-shed was for a single ship. This new building has some resemblance to the 1229 Rum Seljuk galley-sheds at Alanya, Turkey. It seems perhaps possible that the cited reference in 1543 by the notary Caxaro to the houses situated, "in the Maltese Suburb by the Sea," situated by this new arsenal, may refer at this time, not to Borgo-Birgu itself, as has been understood, but to Bormla, "the Maltese suburb of the capital Birgu," and, if this was the case, as for example, Quintinus refers to Bormla as the suburb of Birgu, d'Autun 1980, 30-31; as does Francesco Balbi, Bradford Trans. 2003, 39, it would tend to support the 1540's arsenal's location to the border between Birgu and Bormla, where the ship repairers lived, rather than to beside St. Laurence Church, the location of the later arsenal, including the early 17th c. triple arched Knights' arsenal-galley sheds. There was considerable housing in 1565 in Bormla by the Post of Aragon, which were demolished, and these houses probably housed amongst others some of the employees of the arsenal, see the references from Francisco Balbi quoted here, Bradford Trans. 2003, 39, 96. In 1720 the Knights' victualing stores were built within the Vittoriosa ditch, Quintano 2006, 51, possibly indicating an earlier maritime association with this particular area, and by here was the munitions magazine that exploded in 1806, killing and injuring about 1,000 people, see below fn. 154, fn. 155.

⁵⁹ For this construction work, see for example, Hughes 1993, 484-487; V. Mallia Milanes 1993 b, *passim*.

⁶⁰ See for example, de Giorgio 1998, 33, 37, including the compulsory purchase of unfinished buildings between 1531 and 1548. However, the Knights, Rhodiote and Greeks' arrival led the "others, in the majority, Maltese, to seek accommodation on the adjoining peninsular of St. Michael.", *idem* 37, that is L'Isla. However, from the indications concerning the presence of the few buildings on L'Isla at this time, in comparison to those in Burmola, one can think with some certainty that many of those who were displaced by the Knights' arrival in 1530 moved, not to at the time empty L'Isla, but to Burmola, Bormla.

Some recorded indications as to the quantity and types of houses in Burmola that were standing in 1565, are presented in the following contemporary published records: the 1536 woodcut map (Fig. 1); a detail of A. Lafreri's map printed in Rome of 1551 (Fig. 3)⁶¹; B. Genga's map (Mss. A. Ganado Col.) of 1558 recording 26 substantial stone buildings⁶² on the east side of Galley Creek and 5 on the western side (Fig. 4)⁶³; the siege participant Francesco Balbi di Correggio's account of the siege;⁶⁴ combined with the visual record of buildings including *solerata*, two storey houses, provided by the July 1565 Ottoman siege map (Fig. 5)⁶⁵; A. Lafreri's August 1565 engraving, *Ultimo design delli forti di Malta uenuto nuouamente...*, which depicts 15 substantial buildings in Burmola, in addition to the towered enclosure and the hermitage of St. Margarita (Fig. 6)⁶⁶; the topographical view *Disegno del Porto di Malta*, of Fort St. Angelo and Birgu, printed in Venice in 1565⁶⁷; the 1565 topographic view of the port of Malta by N. Nelli, printed in Venice, *Il Porto di Malta* (Fig 7)⁶⁸; the plan of the defences of Fort St. Angelo and Birgu of 1565 (?) (A. Ganado Col.)⁶⁹.

Lafreri's map of 1551 indicates building in Burmola opposite the Post of Castile, a group of 10 buildings on two levels on the eastern side, the buildings of the Grand Master's gardens, and four houses on the western side of the creek, Fig. 3; while B. Genga's 1558 map indicates 26 buildings on the east side of Galley Creek and 5 on the western side of the creek, two of these facing French Creek, Fig. 4; suggesting the almost doubling of the substantial stone housing in Burmola-Bormla in the brief period of 7 years between 1551 and 1558. The records produced during and after the siege indicate a considerable number of these substantial buildings remained standing in Bormla, both during and after the siege of 1565 had ended, as indicated on A. Lafreri's Map published in Rome in 1565, Fig. 6, where at least 25 buildings in Burmola are depicted. These cartographic documents provide us with indications as to areas and relative densities of settlement, rather than an exact numbers of stone buildings.

⁶¹ See this map published in Ganado 1993 b., Plate 16.2.

⁶² I use the term substantial buildings to describe stone buildings. The bulk of the Maltese population in Bormla, as elsewhere, did not live in stone houses in the 16th c. It seems there were significant numbers of cave dwellings in Bormla, as existed in some other parts of Malta where the stone and terrain were suitable. The wealthy lived in the stone buildings, the poor majority in huts, seemingly temporary structures and caves, and so are unrecorded in paintings, maps and plans. Given the high humidity, it was possibly healthier to live in a hut than a stone house.

⁶³ See this map published in, Ganado 2003, Plate 105, 477; a slightly cut image of it in, Ganado 1993 b., Plate 16.3, 552.

⁶⁴ Francesco Balbi di Correggio's emended 1568 version, Bradford Trans. 2003.

⁶⁵ Topkapi Saray Museum Kütüphanesi Nr. YY 1188/696. Detailed publication of this map is forthcoming by Harita. Müh. Tümg. (E) Cevat Ülkekel. It was made for the Sultan-Caliph Süleyman Kanuni as a record of the siege, painted on skin and records both the bombardment of St. Elmo and the subsequent bombardment of Birgu-L'Isla, dating its production to July-August 1565. There are marked similarities between this map and that painted nearly two decades later by Matteo Perez D'Aleccio in his painting entitled, *Dimostrazione di tutte le batterie*, in the Grand Master's Palace, where the bombardment of both St. Elmo and Birgu-L'Isla are likewise depicted within the same painting. Both depict a bird's eye view looking north east from above Paola but there are significant differences between them. Differences include: the Great Galleon depicted in different positions in Galley Creek, the Hermitage of Santa Margarita and the grid iron pattern of streets and the maritime assault on L'Isla are depicted by Matteo Perez D'Aleccio, while the Ottoman map shows an enclosure wall and no grid iron pattern of streets on L'Isla in 1565, nor does it show the maritime assault on L'Isla, nor the walls of the Hermitage of Santa Margarita, and it records a gallows standing on Gallows' Point. For further on the Ottoman 1565 siege map, see also Duggan 2014.

⁶⁶ See this view published in Ganado 1993 b., Plate 16.4.

⁶⁷ See this view published in Ganado 1993 b., Plate 16.5, *Disegno del Porto di Malta come a; presente si troua a ssediato da turchi, cauato da altri disegni mandate da Malta fidelissima*

⁶⁸ See this view published in, Ganado 2003, Plate 46, 126; Ganado 1993 b., Plate 16.9.

⁶⁹ See this plan published in Ganado 1993 b., 561.



Fig. 5 Detail of houses including *solerata*, two storey houses, standing in Burmola recorded on the July 1565 Ottoman siege map



Fig. 6 Detail of A. Lafreri's 1565 map of the siege of St. Elmo in June, indicating numbers of houses standing in Burmola. The letter L. marks the walled Garden of the Grand Master

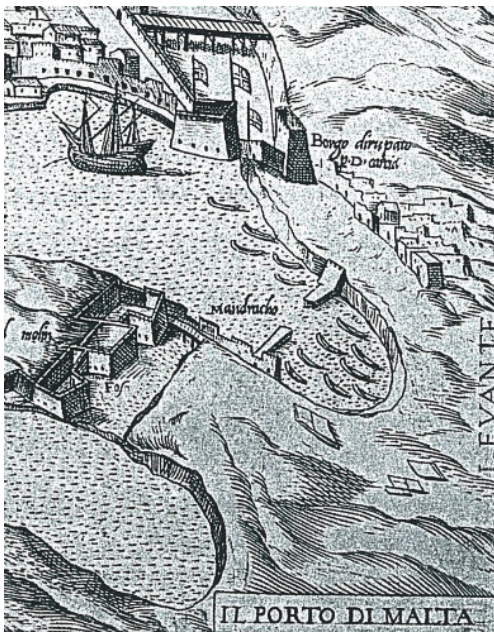


Fig. 7 Detail of N. Nelli's 1565 topographical view of the port of Malta, showing the housing in Burmola.



Fig. 8 Detail of D'Aleccio's late 1570's siege painting recording the events of the 27th May 1565, including the depiction of at least 35 buildings in Burmola, the Church of Del Soccorso - Of Perpetual Help, and the walled Grand Master's garden.

There are also the painted representations, recently cleaned⁷⁰, showing substantial buildings standing in Burmola, at least 35 stone buildings and structures are depicted as standing in Burmola (Bormla) in the painting recording the events of the 27th of May, in addition to St. Margarita, including the large Church of Del Soccorso (Of Perpetual Help) and the free-standing ex-

⁷⁰ <https://artsandculture.google.com/exhibit/6QLSIlkgkviiLg>.

tension to the rock-cut church of the Nativity⁷¹, Fig. 8; and a considerable number standing on both sides of the Galley Creek in September, Fig 10; including the church of Del Soccorso, at the time of the siege, depicted in the late 1570's series of Great Siege paintings by Matteo Perez D'Aleccio in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio (Grand Council Chamber) of the Grand Master's Palace in Valletta, painted in oils on the stone wall, less than two decades after the end of the siege, when memories were still fresh in the minds of the participants in the Great Siege (Figs. 8, 10). There has been damage, paint losses and repainting over time to these paintings, which is why the engravings made by Matteo Perez D'Aleccio in 1582 (Fig. 11) and that some decades later by Antonio Francesco Lucini (Fig. 9) are included as they differ in some aspects today from the surviving painted versions of these scenes.



Fig. 9. Detail of the engraving by Antonio Francesco Lucini (1610-1661) of D'Aleccio's late 1570's siege painting of the 6th of July assault on the Post of Castille, note the building in Burmola standing by the Aragonese curtain of Birgu in July, and the numbers of them standing by the creek outside the fortifications of L'Isla.



Fig. 10 Detail of D'Aleccio's late 1570's siege painting "*Dimostrazione di tutte le Batterie*" recording the two cannon Ottoman battery in Burmola on the 6th of September with, as was indicated on the Ottoman map, many of Burmola's buildings still standing, including the Church of Del Soccorso.

⁷¹ My thanks to John Vella for notice of this dedication to the Nativity.



Fig. 11. Detail from the engraving by Matteo Perez D'Aleccio published in Rome in 1582 entitled, *L'assalto per mare e per terra al'Isola di S. M. ADì. XV. Di Luglio, The Assault by sea and by land on St. Michael in Isola on the 15th July*, which indicates from the position of the settlement, Burmula-Bormola in the mid-ground, outside the fortifications of Birgu (upper left), and above the forces attacking St. Michael-L'Isola, below the Ottoman battery of cannon on Santa Margarita hill (Right hand side). There are represented at least 16 houses standing in Burmula-Bormola on the 15th of July. The Letter K on the Birgu fortifications to the right of the gate, in the key to this engraving records, "*K Porta del Borgo che siuà alla Burmula,*" K The Birgu Gate where Burmula begins.

Written record of the housing in Burmula (Bormla) in 1565

In 1565 concerning Burmula-Bormula (Bormla), an eyewitness, Franceso Balbi di Correggio relates that under the clear threat of Ottoman invasion in 1565 before the 7th of May, that,

"Many of the houses of the district outside Birgu, which is known as Bormla(sic.), were demolished; these stood near the Post of Aragon (at the end of the western curtain of Birgu facing L'Isola)⁷². and near St. Michael (L'Isola)"⁷³.

⁷² The construction of housing in the area of the Gate of Aragon extending into Bormla may be implied in 1518 prior to the Knights arrival, "*all who had building sites on the street from St. Laurence Church to Bormla were to leave a passage wide enough for two loaded donkeys to pass.*" quoted in, Wettinger 1993, 61. The present Gate of Aragon or Advanced Gate dates from 1722 on, Triq Cuvre Porte, Bormla (Cospicua), on the Birgu side of the fosse-ditch, reached after passing through the Cuvre Porte constructed in 1723 on the Bormla side of the Birgu ditch.

⁷³ Bradford Trans. 2003, 39.

Friday, 18th of May, *The pre-arranged signal (by smoke) was given for the inhabitants (of Malta) to take shelter inside the fortifications, and two guns were fired to warn Mdina and Gozo. Immediately the islanders rushed to Birgu, bringing with them their children, their cattle, and their possessions. Not wishing all these refugees to enter Birgu, the Grand Master sent Commander Gabriel Gort to the Gate of Aragon to divert some of them over to St. Michael (L'Isla)*⁷⁴.

Sunday, 20th of May. *During the day the Grand Master gave orders for the houses which stood near the Post of Castille (the Kalkara flank of Birgu) to be demolished, in order to clear the ground before the fighting began. He also ordered the demolition of his stables which stood outside the walls (the Grand Master's stables stood in Burmola), and had some pine trees cut down which were in the way*⁷⁵. *Soldiers, women, children, and animals were engaged in carrying earth from outside the walls into Birgu. This was piled in heaps, to serve for repairing the fortifications where and when required*⁷⁶.

Following the capture after the prolonged siege of Fort St. Elmo on the 23rd of June, and the slow transport of weighty bronze cannon and munitions including cannon balls of stone and cast iron overland towards the next Ottoman objective, Birgu-L'Isla, Francesco Balbi records that on, Thursday, 28th of June. *A large Turkish (meaning Ottoman Muslim*⁷⁷*) force moved up from the Marsa and made some attacks in the direction of Santaren (St. Helen) and the Bormla, where the houses are very close to the Posts of Aragon and St. Michael (L'Isla). This engagement lasted for three hours and we lost two dead, but no wounded. La Valette saw quite clearly that these houses constituted a grave danger to the two posts*⁷⁸.

⁷⁴ Bradford Trans. 2003, 45.

⁷⁵ Given the reportedly deforested nature of the Maltese landscape by the 15th c., Fiorini 1993 c., 176, one can wonder where this stand of pine trees was located, perhaps they are those indicated on A. Lafreri's map of 1551, although these appear to be depictions of deciduous trees rather than conifers, and if perchance these pine trees were perhaps planted to provide some local timber and pine resin for the local shipbuilding industry.

⁷⁶ Bradford Trans. 2003, 49.

⁷⁷ The Ottoman invasion forces included: ethnic Turks, Bosnians, Albanians, Egyptians, Greek and other Orthodox converts to Islam, as also 2,500 Algerian and Janissary troops under Hassem Bey and 1,500 Libyans, Tunisians, Berbers (Moors), Spanish Muslims, Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic converts to Islam, who came with Turgut/Torghut/Dragnet's fleet from Tripoli. Turgut Reis was a Muslim and an ethnic Turk from Anatolia, but he was educated in Cairo and spoke Osmanlija, Arabic, Turkish and the Mediterranean Lingua Franca.

The use of the word *Turco* as employed by Francisco Balbi was used to designate any Muslim - if he was Arab, Turk, Albanian, Greek, Persian, Berber, Bosnian, Bulgarian etc. - is neither said nor implied by the word - as in, "to turn Turk", meaning to convert to Islam, to become a Muslim. The word Turk was usually not employed at this time to describe a person's ethnicity, nor mother tongue, nor country of origin, but rather to describe any member of the religion, Islam, although in the case of Turgut Reis it was applicable in all senses of the word. As likewise the earlier use of the terms: Ismaelite, from Ismael, Hagareen, from Hagar, Saracen, from the east, and Moor, Moro, which were terms typically employed to mean Muslim. As conversely the word Frank was used by Muslims to describe any Latin Christian, not just French, while the Greek Orthodox were called Rum, from Romans = the modern term Byzantines. Thus for example when it is recorded Saracen fought Frank, it may mean in terms of ethnicity-nationality, that Arab fought German, or Kurd fought Italian - neither term, Saracen or Frank necessarily relating to ethnicity or nationality, but meaning Muslim fought Latin Christian. It was of course the Arabic speaking Ottoman troops, including for example a Maltese convert, rather than the Turkish speaking Ottoman Anatolian troops, who communicated with the Maltese on the other side of the fortifications, see, Bradford Trans. 2003, 109-10. The "Turk" who crossed to L'Isla on the 30th of June was in fact an Ottoman speaking Muslim officer of Greek descent who wanted to convert to the faith of his ancestors, subsequently baptised Phillip de Lascaris, of the family of the former Emperors of Constantinople, not an ethnic Turk, but who was described as a Turk because he was at that time a Muslim, see, Bradford Trans. 2003, 99-101. Likewise some Venetian maps of the siege record the "Campo di Turchi", the camp of the Turks, meaning thereby *the camp of the Muslims*, located in Bormla.

⁷⁸ Bradford Trans. 2003, 96.

Friday, 29th of June. *Having noted during the previous day's engagement how great a danger the houses of Bormla were to the defence, the Grand Master now sent out some cavalry on reconnaissance, while he had a number of arquebusiers occupy the outermost houses. These they proceeded to fortify. Meantime he dispatched another strong force through the gate of Provence. These various actions were swiftly and silently carried out, and as soon as he was ready, he had one thousand Maltese sent out at the double, equipped with picks and bars of iron. They at once began to demolish the houses standing nearest the Post of Aragon. Seeing what they were up to, the Turks (Ottoman forces) on Corradino dashed down towards St. Michael (L'Isla) and the Santaren (St. Helen), without waiting for any orders. They met with a fierce resistance, for our men had not only occupied the houses (of Bormla) but had also established themselves behind the walls (garden-enclosure walls, possibly including the important tower and walled Garden of the Grand Master-Garden of the Fountain-Garden of the Grand Prior of France⁷⁹, as well as the towered enclosure by Sqaq It-Torri), from which they opened fire on the Turks (meaning Muslims), killing many of them without exposing themselves to any danger. The battle went on for three hours, our men, their powder exhausted, then withdrawing into the houses for a rest. The men who had been posted in the houses (of Bormla) gave them covering fire, as did our gunners who manned all the cannon during this action and inflicted heavy casualties on the Turks (sic). The Maltese who were engaged in knocking down houses made good use of their time. A great many were totally demolished, and all the wood in them was taken into Birgu. As soon as La Valette saw the whole Turkish (meaning Ottoman Muslim) force was coming into action he gave orders for our troops to retire, reckoning that enough had been achieved. We lost only one Knight, but the Turks (Muslims) must have had many dead as far as we could judge⁸⁰.*

Friday, 29th of June. *The (old Spanish) slave (who had conveyed the Ottoman terms of surrender to the Grand Master) was again blindfolded, led out by the Gate of Provence and taken between the two bastions of Provence and Auvergne (Birgu). At this point they un-bandaged his eyes and let him see the depth of the ditch, and the height of the walls. They asked him what his reactions were and dumbfounded, he answered them, 'The Turks (meaning the Muslims) will never take Birgu'. They blindfolded him again and led him out to the houses of Bormla, where he was released and sent back to the envoy.*

During the evening the bulk of the enemy troops moved from the Marsa to the houses of Bormla (from where our men had now withdrawn), and to the heights of the Hermitage of Santa Margarita, where they pitched camp (the Hermitage of Santa Margarita in Burmula is clearly depicted by Matteo Perez D'Aleccio in his paintings entitled, Dimostrazione di tutte le batterie, and in that recording the events of the 27th of May). But before this happened, we sallied out from St. Michael and Birgu to hinder them, and a brisk action took place.

The Turks (meaning Ottoman Muslims), having established themselves in the houses (of Bormla), now began to build a stone breastwork in front of St. Michael (L'Isla), which extended from one side to the other. They did the same from the houses of Bormla to Santa Margerita, and from there in the direction of the Posts of Aragon, Provence, and Auvergne (Birgu). They

⁷⁹ If, as seems most probable, the spring-water source of Birmula-Burmula, was located up the St. Elena Valley, on today the Figura side of the Bieb Il-Polverista, the Polverista Gate through the 17th c. Cottonera Lines, then it seems most probable that this extensive walled garden enclosure with fountain and tower and probable adjacent reservoir, the enclosure with tower which is already indicated on A. Lafreri's Map of 1551, was perhaps unsurprisingly located on the eastern side of Triq L-Immakulata, where there are extensive public gardens today. It would of course be wonderful if some attempt will be made to reconstruct these important gardens, or at least to remember their presence through some informative signs.

⁸⁰ Bradford Trans. 2003, 96-7.

*made so great a noise in building these trenches and fortifications that it sounded as if all hell had broken loose*⁸¹.

Saturday, 30th of June. *While the third (gun platform) was near the vineyard of Pablo Miche (on the hill to the west of St. Helens Gate, where the Ottoman July siege map records three cannons in this position). The fourth (gun platform was) on (Santa) Margarita Hill. This was clearly designed to bombard the bastion of Provence*⁸². The Ottoman July siege map, as also Matteo Perez D'Aleccio, in his painting entitled, *Dimostrazione di tutte le batterie*, records there were eight cannon in the battery on the heights of Santa Margarita in front of the Hermitage.

Tuesday, 3rd of July. *Six (more probably eight cannon) on the heights of Santa Margarita bombarded the bastion of Provence (Birgu)*⁸³.

(Probably the 22nd of July) *St. Michael (L'Isla) was under fire from six guns (more probably eight cannon) on Santa Margarita hill*⁸⁴.

Thursday, 6th of September. *The Turks (Muslims) dragged two heavy guns into the Bormla area, (presumably from the Marsa) and with them they began to bombard the Post of Martello (L'Isla), the houses and the large merchant ship (the Grand Galleon recorded as moored by the site of the Medieval ship-shed*⁸⁵ in Birgu by Matteo Perez D'Aleccio, in his painting entitled, *Dimostrazione di tutte le batterie*; but not in this location on the Ottoman July Great Siege map). *Up to now they had never fired upon this ship, because they hoped to capture it intact*⁸⁶. (This two cannon battery is clearly depicted by Matteo Perez D'Aleccio in his painting entitled, *Dimostrazione di tutte le batterie*, about halfway along the creek from Birgu (See Fig. 10) in the area above today's Bormla St. Georges Band club, in an area depicted as containing houses-towers⁸⁷, together with depicting the Ottoman battery long established in front of the Santa Margarita Hermitage).

Friday, 7th of September. *In great haste and confusion they started withdrawing their siege guns and their tents. They worked so hard that, by the next day, there were only the two big guns left in Bormla, and all their gun platforms had been set on fire*⁸⁸.

Saturday, 8th of September. *Throughout the whole day not a single Turk (Muslim) was to be seen in their trenches, although there were over two thousand in the houses of Bormla, keeping a watch over one of their large guns. This was one which had been taken off its carriage, but because it was so heavy they were neither able to get it back on its wheels, nor withdraw it as it stood; it was nine palms in circumference at the breech, fifteen palms long, and one palm in calibre*⁸⁹.

Sunday, 9th of September. *The two thousand Turks (Muslims) who, as I have said, were guarding the large cannon in the house in Bormla, had set fire to the houses on the previous night. This was a trick of theirs, for they thought that when the Grand Master saw the flames, he would think the houses had been abandoned, and would let the people sally out confidently from*

⁸¹ Bradford 2003, 98.

⁸² Bradford. 2003, 99.

⁸³ Bradford 2003, 102.

⁸⁴ Bradford 2003, 125.

⁸⁵ Mercieca 2006, 23-4.

⁸⁶ Bradford 2003, 166.

⁸⁷ Also recorded in the post-siege Palombi maps, a group of four towers, published in, Ganado 2003, Plate 142-144, 514-6.

⁸⁸ Bradford Trans. 2003, 167-8. It would seem the gun platforms at Sta. Margarita were set on fire twice, on the 7th and then on the 9th of September, although more certainly on the 9th.

⁸⁹ Bradford 2003, 168-9.

Birgu. Had this happened they would certainly have been no match for the Turks (Muslims)- who hoped to massacre them, or at any rate get some kind of victory. Their scheme failed, however, because the Grand Master would not allow anyone to go out, even though they begged him for permission. It was as if he knew exactly what the Turks (Muslims) had in mind.

The same day, seeing their trick had not worked a Turkish (Ottoman) horseman came down from Rinella and ordered them to leave the houses. He led them to the gun platform on Santa Margarita, which they set on fire-but not before our guns from the bastions of Provence and Auvergne had caused some casualties amongst them. They were in such haste that they did not wait to collect their dead, but immediately made their way to the Marsa.

During the night we all rushed out from our posts into the trenches that had formerly been the enemy's. Not a Turk (Muslim) was to be seen. We placed guards upon them, as well as to the entrances of the ditches of St. Michael (L'Isla) and of Castille (Birgu). At the same time we tried to bring in the cannon which was in Bormla, but we could not move it because of its weight⁹⁰.

Monday, 10th of September. Meanwhile the men, women and children rushed out from Birgu to the Turkish (Ottoman) gun platforms. They brought back whatever wood they could find, so as to restore the houses which the enemy had either burned or destroyed⁹¹.

In consequence, from the references to Bormla (Bormla) recorded in Francesco Balbi di Correggio's 1568 account, we learn that the suburb of Bormla stretched inland in an arc extending from outside of the ditch in front of the Post of Castile facing Kalkara Creek to the French Creek end of the ditch in front of St. Michael, L'Isla, and it appears unsurprisingly that the housing in Bormla which presented the greatest threat to the defence - from a sudden surprise assault, through concealing mining activity and from sharpshooters - those buildings which were demolished on the orders of Grand Master Jean Parisot de la Valette, were in those areas immediately beyond the fortification ditch of Birgu, those in front of Castile, 'a great many', but therefore, not all, that were standing by the post of Aragon and those immediately in front of the L'Isla ditch, that is, in front of the Posts of Castile, of Aragon and of St. Michael, with these houses of Bormla demolished to establish a clear field of observation and fire for the defenders of Birgu and L'Isla. (For indication of those remaining, see Fig. 9) This was standard practice. Those buildings outside the walls which were constructed next to and often built directly onto fortifications sprouted up because of space limitations and/or the costs of land and taxes within a walled city and they often included warehouses and accommodation. Exactly this same activity had occurred 14 years earlier at Mdina, the old inland capital of Malta, prior to the 1551 attack by Turgut-Dragut Reis, when; "*as a precautionary measure, the Università ordered all the Rabat buildings that could be used by the enemy against the city to be destroyed; these buildings were mainly those houses and warehouses on present-day Howard Gardens, overlooking the city's main gates, extending as far back as the Augustinian Priory*"⁹².

Clearly, as was the case at Bormla (Bormla), it was only those houses that posed a direct threat to Mdina that were ordered demolished in Rabat. Nobody today says that all the buildings of Rabat were demolished in 1551, yet in the same circumstances, it is commonly said today that Bormla was demolished in 1565, which while being untrue, is also somewhat odd, to say the least (for some published examples, see below).

Although the demolition of housing in Bormla, of those buildings presenting the most direct threat to the defences, began in early May, before Ottoman forces landed on the night of the

⁹⁰ Bradford 2003, 179.

⁹¹ Bradford 2003, 181.

⁹² Fiorini 1993 b., 301-2.

18th-19th of May, and continued on the 29th of June during three hours of intensive demolition work in front of the Post of Aragon, employing 1000 Maltese sent out from Birgu, with the timbers from this demolition work removed to Birgu, suggesting the presence of beams supporting two storey buildings, or of wide wooden beam supported roofs over larger single storey houses; it is evident that after Bormla was evacuated by its inhabitants on Friday the 18th of May, and after Bormla was abandoned by the Knights of St. John to Ottoman forces on the 29th of June, a most considerable number of houses, including both one and two storey stone houses and including two tower-like buildings, the Santa Margarita Hermitage, the Belvedere on the heights of Santa Margarita and Bormla's churches and chapels still remained standing, roofs intact, together with the walled garden enclosures. These stone houses, buildings and chapels of Bormla were occupied by considerable numbers of Ottomans forces from the 29th of June to the 9th of September, a period of 73 days, in addition to the Ottoman occupation of the Hermitage of Santa Margarita and the camp and battery facing Birgu established within its surroundings, and the Belvedere where Mustafa Pasha after the capture of Fort St. Elmo established his new headquarters, together with the house in Burmola where Francesco Balbi records the Ottoman two cannon battery was established.

It seems reasonable to think that the stone breastwork constructed by the Ottomans, with construction beginning on the 29th of June, that extended across the L'Isla peninsular facing the ditch, and that stone breastwork which extended from the houses of Bormla to the Santa Margarita Hill and from there to face the Post of Castile, similarly enclosing Birgu, were constructed in part at least from the rubble of stone blocks from the demolished houses of Bormla and from the demolition of some of the stone walls of the gardens and orchards of Bormla, with some of this rubble from houses demolished by the besieged, together with earth and stone dug out and prised from the rock, in the construction of these Ottoman breastworks. However, numerous and substantial houses remained intact in Bormla, it is both clearly and repeatedly stated by Francisco Balbi, most notably in relation to the period from the 7th to 9th of September at the end of the siege, and these houses and associated enclosure walls were of sufficient quantity and size to provide accommodation for, and to entirely conceal from view from both Birgu/St. Angelo and L'Isla - two thousand Ottoman troops -, while other houses of Bormla, in addition to and excluding those concealing these 2,000 Ottoman troops, were set on fire in the night of the 8th-9th of September to give the impression that the Ottoman forces had already retreated from Burmola. The houses occupied by these Ottoman troops were in the area of the two cannon that bombarded the Post of Martello, L'Isla, and the Great Galleon moored in Galley Creek, that is, a battery located on a somewhat elevated position on the east side of Galley Creek, above today's St. Georges Band Club, probably in the area where today stands Bormla's Parish Church on Trig Il-Pellegrinagg, near to the twin towered enclosure (Figs. 11, 12, 13) by Sqaq It-Torri, which itself was probably filled with Ottoman troops.

The strange and complete disappearance of Burmola (Bormla) and its houses from the text of Ernle Dugate Selby Bradford's bestselling book, *The Great Siege - Malta 1565*

Although Michael Whitcraft, a reviewer of the Wordsworth Editions, June 1999 reprint of *The Great Siege-Malta 1565*, wrote in 2007, "*Follow each movement of this magnificent battle, as Ernle Bradford masterfully, yet objectively takes you to the Malta of the sixteenth century*"⁹³; unfortunately, and it seems deliberately, Ernle Bradford (1922-1986), a long-time resident of Kalkara, Malta⁹⁴, misrepresented the historical facts of the case when he wrote his book, *The Great*

⁹³ <https://www.tfp.org/the-great-siege-malta-1565/>.

⁹⁴ He has a street in Malta in his name, but not in Kalkara where he spent 10 years on the waterfront, but,

Siege - Malta 1565, excising all reference to the settlement and inhabitants of Burmola (Bormla) (renamed Città Cospicua in 1772, Cospicua) and of reference to the Post of Burmola and to the Curtain of Burmola recorded in his sources;

*"Meanwhile Grand Master La Valette completed his preparations. All the buildings which lay outside the walls of Birgu and Senglea were razed to the ground so they could provide no cover for sharpshooters"*⁹⁵.

Objectivity is not to be found in Ernle Bradford's 1961 account of the Great Siege concerning one of the "Three Cities," Burmola (Bormla). This passage clearly states that all the buildings outside the walls of Birgu and Senglea-L'Isla, were demolished by order of Grand Master La Valette. This was indeed a most odd statement for Ernle Bradford to have made. Odd, because he both cited and employed Francisco Balbi's 1568 account in writing his own book⁹⁶; and he translated Francisco Balbi's eyewitness account of the siege into English, a translation which was first published in 1965⁹⁷. This is the same 1965 translated account that has been cited from above, which both repeatedly and explicitly records the later toponym Bormla and records the numerous buildings that were in fact standing in Bormla during the entire course of the siege: the houses of Bormla occupied by Ottoman forces on the 29th of June, as well as the hermitage of Santa Margarita; those standing where the Ottoman envoy was released after meeting the Grand Master and seeing the scale of the fortifications of Birgu; the house that concealed an Ottoman cannon and the other houses which concealed 2,000 Ottoman troops on the 8th – 9th of September, and yet more houses of Bormla that were set on fire at this time, these in addition to the Belvedere, itself occupied by the Ottoman Pasha Mustapha in command of land forces. However this housing in Burmola-Burmula (Bormla) mentioned in Francisco Balbi's 1568 account is unmentioned by Ernle Bradford in his account of The Great Siege published in 1961. It seems evident therefore, that although Ernle Bradford at the time he wrote his version of the 1565 siege, certainly knew that Grand Master La Valette never ordered the razing of all the buildings of Bormla, he wrote in his book The Great Siege that La Valette ordered the destruction of all the houses of the un-named Bormla and, in consequence, Ernle Bradford's famous bestselling account of the 1565 siege, surely has led writers such as Charles Fioth to write in 1994 of the Bormlizi during the siege,

*"and their houses were torn down to deny cover to the enemy. Bormla thus served as a glacis – a passive, yet positive, role in that important battle."*⁹⁸

Likewise, J. Rix:

*"in each of the sieges, Bormla/Cospicua was more or less destroyed."*⁹⁹

*"It is amazing how much of Birgu has survived, whilst, in each of the sieges, Bormla/Cospicua was more or less destroyed."*¹⁰⁰

"Bormla suffered terribly in both Malta's sieges. Just before the start of the Great Siege, Grand Master de Valette ordered that the few homes in the area (then outside any fortifications) be

Triq E. Bradford, San Pawl tat-Targa, Naxxar.

⁹⁵ Bradford 1962, 55.

⁹⁶ E.g. Bradford 1962, 18, 46, for another 30 references to Francisco Balbi and his account see the index.

⁹⁷ Described in comparison to Major Henry Balbi's translation of Francisco Balbi's eyewitness account published in Copenhagen, 1961, as being, *"a freer translation with numerous omissions"*, Setton 1984, 853, fn. 89.

⁹⁸ Fioth 1994, 97.

⁹⁹ Rix 2019, 144.

¹⁰⁰ Rix 2013, 151.

razed to the ground so they could not be used by the invading Turks.”¹⁰¹

“Bormla suffered terribly in both Malta’s sieges. Just before the start of the Great Siege Grand Master de Valette ordered that the few houses in the area (then outside the fortifications) be razed to the ground so they would not be used by any invading Turks.”¹⁰²

Likewise www.cospicuaparish.org.mt/thecity.asp reads: *The old community developed around the inner part of the Port of Galleys during the last decades of the sixteenth century (sic). During the Great Siege of 1565, by which time the small fishing community had already been developed into a suburban village, the villagers saw their houses being torn down by the Knights of St. John, who had come to Malta in 1530, to deny cover to the Turkish invaders in their assault on neighbouring Birgu. Bormla thus served as a glacis - a passive, yet positive role in the important battle.*

While www.discovermalta.org/.../p7cospicua.asp?m... reads: *“During the Great Siege of 1565, the inhabitants of Bormla destroyed their dwellings, abandoned their land, and sought refuge behind the fortified walls of Citta Nuova and Senglea.”*

And www.citrinettravel.co.uk/.../the-three-cities.htm

Bormla suffered the same fate in both the Great Siege and in World War 2: it was flattened. In the earlier siege, deliberately by the defenders to give the garrisons of Birgu and Senglea a better field of fire;

*Bormla’s alternate name, Cospicua, is a derivative of “conspicuous,” so-called because the town lay outside Birgu’s fortifications during the Great Siege and was razed to the ground.*¹⁰³

While EarlyCord: Cospicua.earlycord.blogspot.com/2005/01/cospicua.html reads:

It developed as a suburb of Vittoriosa in the mid-16th century and was a thriving settlement (known as Bormla sic.) before it was severely damaged by the Turks in the Great Siege of Malta in 1565. It was rebuilt and refortified.

And the Encyclopædia Britannica entry on “Bormla” accessed April 2013, unchanged June 2019, reads: *It (Burmola) developed as a suburb of Vittoriosa in the mid-16th century and was a thriving settlement before it was crippled by the Turks in the Great Siege of Malta in 1565*¹⁰⁴.

Yet earlier, scholars such as Themistocles Zammit make no reference whatsoever to the deliberate total demolition of Bormla before the siege of Birgu and L’Isola began¹⁰⁵. Nor of course to the very strange idea of there being only a few houses in Bormla¹⁰⁶, when the settlement at Bormla, with its fresh water, its port and its fishing community predates that of Birgu, Birgu being the Nuovo Borgo, built after the construction of the Castrum Maris in the 13th c. century, long after the founding of the settlement of Bormla, the earlier borgo. The evidence for which is clearly indicated by the toponyms, with Birgu coming from the Latin/Italian Borgo and Burmola-Birmula from the Arabic and dating therefore from the time of Muslim rule over Malta. It is certainly not the case that Bormla was built, as stated extraordinarily in 2013 on Bormla’s own Parish website, in the late 16th c., after the siege¹⁰⁷, houses were re-built after the 1565 siege. Nor yet, as it reads today, *“The old community developed around the inner part of the Port of the*

¹⁰¹ Rix 2010, 156.

¹⁰² Rix 2010, 156.

¹⁰³ Pocket Rough Guide Malta and Gozo (Travel Guide eBook) Apa Publications (UK) Ltd. 2018.

¹⁰⁴ <https://www.britannica.com/place/Cospicua>.

¹⁰⁵ For example in T. Zammit, *Malta - The Maltese Islands and their History*, third edition of 1952, likewise Zammit 1971.

¹⁰⁶ Rix 2010, 156

¹⁰⁷ www.cospicuaparish.org.mt/thecity.asp accessed April 2013.

Galleys during the last decades of the sixteenth century"; nor yet that, "the villagers saw their houses being torn down by the Knights of St. John, who had come to Malta in 1530, to deny cover to the Turkish invaders in their assault on neighbouring Birgu. Bormla thus served as a glacis – a passive, yet positive role in the important battle"¹⁰⁸. Although the Parish was only established in 1586 after the siege, the settlement, which was called by its inhabitants Burmola-Burmula/Bormla around the sheltered head of the creek and down both sides of the creek, and with a supply of fresh water, it seems reasonable to suggest, had stood long before the 11th c. It seems probable that the Latin Medieval castrum-castle where Fort St. Angelo stands today, constructed in the 13th c. upon the remains of the earlier, probably Fatimid, Muslim castle¹⁰⁹, was built to protect the entrance to the creek and to protect the wharf-harbour and settlement of Bormla, with it being the Maltese "*harbour (set up) for ships*" mentioned by Al-Bakrī by 1068¹¹⁰, and by Al-Idrisi in 1154¹¹¹; while Al-Himyarī writing in the early 14th c., two and a half centuries after Al-Bakrī, records, harbours in the plural, "*harbours set up for ships*", presumably recording in addition to the harbour facilities at Bormla, the establishment of the later harbour facilities including the ship-shed at Borgo-Birgu by the Medieval *castrum maris* where Fort St. Angelo stands today, which is otherwise documented from 1387 onwards¹¹², rather than places for temporary mooring, as at Salinas, Marsaxlokk etc., while the logic of a Roman and probably earlier port-settlement, established at the end of this sheltered creek seems reasonable¹¹³, both local Pauline tradition and sense supports the idea that St. Paul took ship from Melita-Malta, from the end of this sheltered creek, by where the 1590 Roman Catholic Church of St. Paul and

¹⁰⁸ www.cospicuaparish.org.mt/thecity.asp accessed June 2019.

¹⁰⁹ Zabarella 1902, 169, says it was constructed by the Muslims and gives the date August 820. However it is recorded 13 Aghlabid ships were wiped out that attacked the island of Lampedusa in 812, followed by an Aghlabid ten-year truce with Gregorios, the East Roman governor of Sicily, indicating Aghlabid expansion into this area at this time and possibly, if the un-cited source for this 820 date was not corrupted, perhaps this lost inscription was misread, it is possible that Malta was taken and the harbour employed as an Aghlabid forward base prior to the invasion of Sicily in 827, although this earlier conquest is otherwise unrecorded. Wilkes 1816, 220, gives the date of Muslim conquest as 828, with presumably the island subsequently retaken and strongly garrisoned by the East Romans prior to its recorded capture and depopulation in 870.

¹¹⁰ Brincat 1995, 31-2; "*Castello da Saraceni per testimonianza di Luis del Marmol nell'anno 828. In tempo, chesu Malta da loro occupata,...*" Abela 1647, 18.

¹¹¹ "*a large island with a safe harbour which opens to the east.*", Luttrell 1975, 32, the opening to the east being Marsa-Grand Harbour, and the safe harbour being Bormla's sheltered harbour, protected by the terrain and the *castrum maris*, the castle guarding the point of entry into the creek.

¹¹² Mercieca 2006, 20-23.

¹¹³ The frequently encountered error, that Bormla was the last, rather than the first of the Three Cities to be established, may stem in part from works such as H. Braun, *Works of Art in Malta: Losses and Survivals in the War*, HMSO, London, 1946, 2, where one reads "*COSPICUA (BORMLA) This, the latest to be founded of the 'Three Cities,' has been terribly battered during the attacks on the Dockyard.*", Blouet 1967, 115, "*It seems probable that Bormla, or Cospicua as it is also known, grew up in the early years of the Order's rule, after the outward growth of Birgu had been curtailed by the construction of a landward line of fortifications.*"; as today Rix 2019, 144, "*the relative newcomer, Cospicua, or Bormla.*" Rather it was the latest of the three to be recognised as a city. City status was granted to Bormla in 1722 by Grand Master Marc'Antonio Zondadari, it was the status of Birgu from 1530 as the Knights' capital, renamed by la Valette after the 1565 siege as Città Vittoriosa, and a status given to l'Isola in 1565, named Città Invicta by la Valette after the siege had ended. This lack of recognition for the earliest settlement of the three, was doubtless due in part to the fact that unlike the other two cities, it was not a Latin Catholic founded settlement, but was long established, and, being unfortified was not defended during the siege, although the Bormlizi fought with noted valour from the Post of Burmola and the Burmola curtain in the defence of L'Isola during the siege. See also, Goodwin 2002, 61, but who unfortunately writes, "*Bormla was the last of these three towns that the Knights began fortifying, not long, in fact (sic.), before Turkey's Great Siege of Malta in 1565.*" idem 61, yet the knights did not begin to fortify Bormla before the siege, and, also, incorrectly that Bormla was re-named Cospicua by La Valette after the ending of the great siege, idem 62, when this occurred 157 years later.

its replacement of 1741 stands today. Burmola-Birmula-Bormla-Cospicua was therefore undoubtedly the earliest of the Three Cities to be established as a harbour settlement.

It seems from the record that it was Ernle Bradford, through his 1961 international bestseller, that initiated the entirely false allegation that the settlement of Bormla was flattened by the Knights of St. John before the siege began, an allegation which has been repeated over the course of the last half century, with subsequent equally misleading variants introduced, including that the Ottomans levelled Bormla during the siege, or it was destroyed by the Bormlizi in the siege, which, from the evidence provided by the record of the eye witness Francesco Balbi, as from the contemporary and near contemporary pictorial and cartographic record of the siege, is incorrect.

The reason(s) for Ernle Bradford's apparently quite deliberate and ongoing influential misrepresentation of the state of, and of the use of the buildings in Burmola (Bormla), as of the Bormlizi, during the course of the Great Siege of 1565 is unclear, although he seems to have been somewhat dismissive of the people of the area as a whole in 1941¹¹⁴. It is difficult to understand how Ernle Bradford could have so misread Francisco Balbi's text. It repeatedly mentions, not only the Bormla curtain and *La posta burmola* (Post of Bormla) in l'Isla/Isola/Senglea, this because, under Spanish officers, this long and exposed fortification was manned by the Bormlizi, but also, it mentions repeatedly Burmola (Bormla) and *las casas dela Burmola*¹¹⁵, the houses of Bormla, that were standing during the siege and which were used by Ottoman troops who camped in them and their walled enclosures. How could Ernle Bradford have so ineptly summarised Francisco Balbi's repeated references to the houses of Burmola (Bormla), transforming the historical record to indicate in his text the deliberate razing of the house of the nameless Burmola before the siege had even begun, when Francisco Balbi's text is otherwise accurately paraphrased, if it is not quoted verbatim by Ernle Bradford in his 1961 bestselling account of the Great Siege? This seems extraordinary. It is the case that neither Burmola, nor Burmula, nor Bormola, or the later toponym Bormla, nor the Post of Burmola and the Burmola curtain (nor yet Conspicua, the name given to Bormla in 1721 by Grand Master Zondadari, on account of its massive fortifications and also it seems due to the importance to the Order of its successful sailing squadron based in Bormla,¹¹⁶), are mentioned by name in the text of *The Great Siege: Malta 1565*, but both Burmola (Bormla) and the Post of Burmola and the Burmola curtain in l'Isla are repeatedly mentioned, more than twenty times in one of his primary sources, Francisco Balbi, examples of which are recorded in the above quoted passages from Balbi's work and which were themselves translated by Ernle Bradford for writing this book, and

¹¹⁴ He is recorded as describing the population of the three cities in 1941, concerning the mass exodus from the harbour area prior to the bombing of HMS *Illustrious* on January 16th, as, "*a return to peasant roots of a semi-sophisticated people, and the encounter for men and women who lived entirely within a circumscribed village, with their cousins from the early 20th century*". Cited by L. Bugeja, 16/01/2011, Times of Malta. 'Semi-sophisticated' and 'peasant roots', was hardly an accurate description of either the level of sophistication, nor a fair description of the origins of many of the members of the cosmopolitan population inhabiting Bormla prior to 1941, and which at that time, as L. Bugeja writes, was the commercial, academic, cultural and industrial centre of Malta.

¹¹⁵ Houses, Balbi 1568, 61v, 103r, 105r, 116v, Homes, Balbi 1568, 30r.

¹¹⁶ The name Conspicua was not given to Bormla on account of the Great Siege of a century and a half earlier, as has been stated for example by: H. Rose, *Your Guide to Malta*, 1963, 137, "*Cospicua, literally 'the Conspicuous', received its name for the part it played in the Great Siege of 1565.*"; The Malta Yearbook 1969, 415, "*Its name-'the Conspicuous One'- was given to it in recognition of the part it played during the Great Siege of 1565.*"; Moritz 1985, 283, "*Cospicua was so named by the Knights of Malta to signify the part that the town played in the defense against Turkish invaders in the sixteenth century.*"; The Mariner's Mirror, 1995, Vol. 81, 228, "*Bormla became 'Cospicua' (for the conspicuous bravery its people had shown)*".

which he omitted, but which were then, in part at least, published in English in his translation of Francesco di Balbi's account in 1965.

It seems somehow hard to believe this passage, stating the demolition before the siege began, of the entirely unmentioned by name settlement of Burmola-Bormla¹¹⁷, by order of Grand Master La Vallette, was related to the then current politics of the most famous son of Bormla in the 20th century, Dominic Mintoff, il-Perit (the architect) (1916-2012). But it is the case that during the period Ernle Bradford was completing the writing of *The Great Siege: Malta 1565*, there came the referendum on and the collapse of the planned full integration of Malta with Britain, followed by Dom Mintoff's public dispute with the Archbishop and clergy of Malta, followed by his demand for Maltese independence from Britain, the resignation of Prime Minister Dom Mintoff and his Cabinet on April 24th, 1958, with the GWU strike and rioting in Valletta, further disturbances and then the suspension of the constitution by the Governor of Malta, Major-General Sir Robert Laycock in April 1958 and from 1958 onwards Dom Mintoff led the Maltese Liberation Movement, which spearheaded the drive for full Maltese independence from Britain; and, perhaps there was the wish by Ernle Bradford at that time to erase all mention of the name of Dom Mintoff's birthplace, Burmola-Bormla-Cospicua and of its inhabitants, the Bormlizi from the book he was writing. Perhaps odder still, for the reader with an interest in visual images and their use, is the fact that the unmentioned houses that were standing in Burmola during the siege are in fact, clearly shown in the engraving by Matteo Perez D'Aleccio, entitled *Assedio, E Batteria Di S. Elmo. Adi 27. Maggio 1565*, a copy he made of his Great Siege painting, which is in fact published inside the front hardcover of the Hodder and Stoughton 1961 edition, and in its reprint by the Reprint Society, London 1962, which not only clearly shows the buildings standing in Bormla on both sides of Galley Creek during the siege, but also records on this engraving the name *La Burmola*, in the key lettered C, and Ernle Bradford notes in his own caption to this very engraving at the foot of the right hand page, "*The general configuration of Marsamuscetto and Grand Harbour is shown quite accurately. Small details are faithfully recorded*" (my emphasis). Small details, such as the buildings depicted standing in La Burmola during the siege which are faithfully recorded in the painting, and are also drawn and named in this engraving, although most regrettably they are recorded as demolished in Ernle Bradford's 1961 text.

Interestingly the 17th c. engraving of Matteo Perez D'Aleccio's depiction of the Siege of St. Michael, used by Ernle Bradford in his translation of Francesco Balbi's text¹¹⁸, clearly depicts a large domed stone structure and an adjacent building standing in Bormla towards the end of the creek, adjacent to the letter T and, to its right, beneath the Ottoman battery identified as standing on Sta. Margarita.

It was rather the case, clearly recorded in contemporary literary sources concerning the siege and in contemporary and near contemporary pictorial and cartographic works, that the numerous substantial stone buildings of La Burmola provided sheltered accommodation and cover for thousands of Ottoman troops, Burmola was identified on some siege maps, not by its name Burmola/La Burmola, but as, "Campo di Turchi", the Ottoman-Muslim camp¹¹⁹, and

¹¹⁷ Neither *Bormla*, nor the *Bormla curtain*, Balbi 1568, 29 v. (nor yet Cospicua, the name given to Bormla in 1721 on account of its fortifications), are mentioned in the text, nor in the index of *The Great Siege: Malta 1565*, of 1961, but both Burmola (Bormla) and the Burmola (Bormla) post and curtain are repeatedly mentioned by his primary source Francisco Balbi, as is noted above. And, the name *La Burmola* in the key lettered C, Plate V; *la burmola* lettered E in the key to plate VI; *burmola*, lettered C, Plate XI; are clearly marked on Matteo Perez D'Aleccio's series of engravings based on his paintings of the siege.

¹¹⁸ For this engraving see: Bradford Trans. 2003, between pages 120 and 121.

¹¹⁹ See for example the Venetian 1567 and later Great Siege maps, published in, Ganado 2003, Plates 155, 156, 157.

where a battery of two bronze cannon were set amongst the housing, in addition to the major 6 or 8 cannon battery established in front of the Hermitage of Santa Margarita, where another Ottoman camp was established, with the Ottoman observation-command and headquarters at the Belvedere in Burmola¹²⁰. Many, the majority of the substantial 16th c. buildings in Burmola remained standing during the course of the siege, although some were doubtless roofless, struck by cannon fire from l'Isola and Birgu, fire damaged or otherwise had been damaged by the time the Great Siege ended. The fact is, only most of those houses which were immediately adjacent to the Posts of Castile, Aragon and St. Michael in Burmola were demolished during the siege. The housing in the centre of Burmola, the tiers of houses along much of the eastern side, the towered enclosure, those houses around the head of the creek by the Mandra, and towards the fortifications of l'Isola were entirely untouched by the demolition work of May to June 1565, and some of these buildings and enclosures were temporarily fortified and were employed in the initial defensive operations on June the 29th. Others, walled enclosures such as the Garden of the Fountain-Grand Master's Garden, as also the Belvedere, which became for a time, from the fall of St. Elmo until the 6th of August Serdar Kızıl Ahmedli Mustapha Pasha's headquarters overlooking both Birgu and Isola-l'Isola-Senglea, stood.

The houses of the settlement of Bormla largely stood during the siege of 1565 as is recorded by the eye witness Francesco Balbi di Correggio, but in Ernle Bradford's 1961 bestselling historical work the name Burmola-Burmula (Bormla), regardless of its proximity, context and importance in the course of the 1565 siege is not named. The exclusion of the toponym Burmola-Burmula, for Bormla's exclusion from this work, gives one pause and cause to wonder. This omission has been a great disservice to the recent understanding of Bormla's history and heritage, including its surviving remains of pre-siege structures as, influenced by Ernle Bradford's bestselling book, it has been understood by many, both in Malta and in the rest of the world over much of the past half century, that the settlement was razed to the ground before the siege began, when in fact the considerable settlement of Burmola (Bormla) although battered by both besiegers and besieged, largely stood.

The Post of Bormla and the Bormla Curtain of l'Isola-Senglea

Further, there is also the related matter of the Post of Burmola and of the Burmola Curtain facing Corradino, that is, within l'Isola/Senglea, but which are also unrecorded by name in Ernle Bradford's 1961 book. These toponyms, the Post of Burmola and the Burmola Curtain are recorded in the majority of all siege accounts from 1566 to the present, Mons. L'Abée Vertot included, the quarter of the Bormola Gate¹²¹, the knights of Aragon, of Navarre and of Catalonia were stationed there, an area of most considerable action in 1565. These toponyms, the Post of Burmola and the Burmola Curtain are recorded by Francesco Balbi, but these toponyms were "updated" from Burmola to Bormla in both Henry Balbi's 1961, and in Ernle Bradford's 1965 "translations" of Francesco Balbi's account. Francesco Balbi related important events concerning the Post of Buromla and the Burmola Curtain facing Corradino, manned by the Bormlizi and it was due to the militia from Burmola (Bormla) that both the Post and the associated Curtain obtained this name, as Francesco Balbi relates: "...y sue capitan della relacion fray Martin de Sese cauallero Español, capitan de milicia, dela gente del casal llamado la Burmola, y por esto la posta se llamo della"¹²².

¹²⁰ The context and location of the Belvedere forms the subject of a forthcoming paper.

¹²¹ Vertot 1818, 117, "the Knights of Aragon, Navarre and Catalonia took up all the quarter of the gate of Bormola, with the platform of earth adjoining to it".

¹²² Balbi 1568, 30-31.

Yet this is not only missing, like all other expected mentions of the toponym Burmola-Bormola from Ernle Bradford's *Great Siege, Malta 1565*, but this is also missing from Ernle Bradford's "translation" of Francesco Balbi's 1568 account published in 1965, but which is recorded in the 1961 publication of Major Henry Alexander Paul Emanuel Dominic Balbi's translation of this work:

*"It (the Post of Burmola-Bormla) was commanded by the Spanish knight Martin de Sesè who was the captain, of the militia of Bormla, which gave the post its name. Between this Post and a small tower was another Post manned by a Sicilian gentleman, Cola di Naro, who was a judge in Malta, with more than one hundred Sicilians who were resident in the Island. It was known as the Post of the Sicilians."*¹²³ The post of Burmola is described by Francesco Balbi: *"The post of Bormla was a gun platform with four traverses of which two supported the Post of Don Carlo Ruffo, and the other two covered the whole of the works of the "Island" of Saint Michael as far as the water point"*¹²⁴.

Unmentioned by name in *The Great Siege: Malta 1565*, in Ernle Bradford's 1965 translation of Francesco Balbi's 1568 account there are the following passages, relating by name to the Post of Burmola and the Burmola Curtain:

Monday, 21st of May, *"Sese had been in charge of the Post of Bormla, and the Grand Master now gave this command to Simon Melo, a knight of Portugal"*¹²⁵.

Tuesday, 25th June, *"They were clearly making preparations for establishing new gun platforms here, so as to bombard Fort St. Michael and all the curtain-wall from Bormla to the Post of Don Francisco de Sanoguera."*¹²⁶ The Post of Don Francisco de Sanoguera was towards the end of the Isola/Senglea peninsular. Francesco Balbi is here referring to the Post of Burmola, the Burmola Curtain and the houses behind it, not to the settlement of Bormla, which was already in Ottoman hands.

Tuesday, 3rd July, *"...from Corradino, where they had three cannon and one enormous basilisk, they bombarded **Bormla** and the surrounding houses"*¹²⁷, Francesco Balbi is here referring to the Post of Bormla and its Curtain and the houses behind it, not to the settlement of Bormla already in Ottoman hands.

Saturday, 7th July, *"...and we felt sure that we might expect an attack from the sea. To guard against this, we set a watch at the Post of Don Francesco on the foreshore, and also at Bormla"*¹²⁸. (the Post of Bormla, not the settlement of Bormla).

Wednesday, 11th July, *"At dawn four Turks went down from Corradino and swum underwater to the Post of Bormla"*¹²⁹.

*"In the midst of all this, four Maltese from the Post of Bormla (near the point where the chain was being attacked) leapt down from the battlements with swords, bucklers and helmets"*¹³⁰.

Friday, 13th July, *"It (the bombardment) was mainly concentrated on the Posts of Don Francisco,*

¹²³ Balbi 1961, 47.

¹²⁴ Balbi 1961, 47.

¹²⁵ Bradford 2003, 50.

¹²⁶ Bradford 2003, 94.

¹²⁷ Bradford 2003, 102.

¹²⁸ Bradford 2003, 106.

¹²⁹ Bradford 2003, 108.

¹³⁰ Bradford 2003, 108; named: Pietru Bola, Martin, Gianni tal Pont, and Frangiscu, Blouet 1967, 77; Cassola 1999, 138.

Bormla, and St. Michael"¹³¹.

Saturday, 14th of July, "*The places likely to be attacked were the Posts of Don Francisco, the Bormla (Post), and the Post of Marshal Robles, these were the weakest points*"¹³².

Sunday 15 July, 1565, "*When they had finished, their boats retired, while the rest of the troops came on to the attack at full speed along the whole shoreline between (the Post of) Bormla and the Post of Don Francisco*"¹³³. (that is along the length of the Bormla curtain)

"*While all this was going on, Marshal Melchior de Robles and all his knights and soldiers in St. Michael were in the thick of battle, for over eight thousand Turks attacked this post and that of Bormla*"¹³⁴.

"*The Posts of the Spur and Bormla were now without captains, so La Valette put Claramonte in charge of one, and Don Bernardo de Cabrera in charge of the other.*"¹³⁵

Monday, 16th July, "*A violent frontal bombardment of St. Michael began, while the fortifications from Corradino to Bormla also came under fire*"¹³⁶.

Wednesday, 18th July, "*Work was never ending in St. Michael and the Post of Bormla, to ensure that the two traverses (each side of the Post of Don Bernardo de Cabrera) were made secure*"¹³⁷.

Thursday, 19th July, "*But all the same, within a few days, they had extended it (the trench) beyond the Post of Marshal Robles, and were very close to Bormla*"¹³⁸.

Between 19th and 23rd July, "*Also at the far end of Corradino, there were two guns bombarding the Post of Bormla, (which was) commanded by Don Bernardo de Cabrera*"¹³⁹.

Friday, 27th July, "*The Turks, moving from trench to trench, got right up to the Post of Bormla, at which point they came under a heavy fire of incendiaries*"¹⁴⁰.

Tuesday, 7th August, "*The main attack fell, just as we had expected it would, on the Post of Marshal Robles, and on Bormla where Bernardo de Cabrera was in command.*"¹⁴¹.

Thursday, 16th August, "*When Mustapha Pasha came into the section where the fire from our traverses was falling, a shot from Bormla knocked his turban from his head and stunned him*"¹⁴².

Friday, 24th August, "*During the second watch of the night, our troops sallied out from the Posts of Robles and Bormla into the enemies trenches*"¹⁴³.

Just as in Ernle Bradford's 1961 *Great Siege: Malta 1565*, visible public record of this historical toponym at the time of the Great Siege on the signage in Isola-L'Isla-Senglea, today is lacking.

¹³¹ Bradford 2003, 109.

¹³² Bradford 2003, 111.

¹³³ Bradford 2003, 112.

¹³⁴ Bradford 2003, 116.

¹³⁵ Bradford 2003, 117.

¹³⁶ Bradford 2003, 119.

¹³⁷ Bradford 2003, 120.

¹³⁸ Bradford 2003, 121.

¹³⁹ Bradford 2003, 125.

¹⁴⁰ Bradford 2003, 131.

¹⁴¹ Bradford 2003, 143.

¹⁴² Bradford 2003, 157.

¹⁴³ Bradford 2003, 159.

The Inhabitants

It seems reasonable to suggest that of the population in excess of 20,000 inhabiting Malta before the siege,¹⁴⁴ together with the rapid change in the proportion of the urban to the rural population that occurred during the course of the 16th c. due to the Knights' arrival in 1530, from approximately 5 per 100 before 1530, to 32 per 100 by 1590¹⁴⁵, when the Maltese population is estimated to have increased in these 60 years by perhaps 50% to perhaps c. 30,000, excluding the members and retainers of the Order¹⁴⁶; that the Maltese population inhabiting Burmola in 1565, the bormlizi, immediately prior to the siege was in all probability approaching the number inhabiting Birgu¹⁴⁷, probably including numbers of families that moved from the cramped confines of Birgu to Burmola, following the arrival of the Knights and of about 500 Rhodioties who took up residence in Birgu in 1530¹⁴⁸, with the construction of the Knights' Hospital causing the demolition of houses in Birgu, and the establishment of the Knights' *collacchio* after 1533¹⁴⁹, further limiting accommodation in Birgu for the Maltese. Bormla's population was certainly far greater in this pre-siege period than the population inhabiting Isola-L'Isola¹⁵⁰, where the initial protective fortification of St. Michael was only completed in May 1552. After 1571 Birgu had a population of about 2,000 before the plague outbreak of 1575, compared to Bormla's population in 1575 of 1,200¹⁵¹. The majority of Bormla's inhabitants, those who were not evacuated to Sicily, moved to within the protection of the fortifications of adjacent Birgu and L'Isola-Senglea, including the 300 strong Burmola Militia, following the arrival of the Ottoman forces in 1565. Some of the later arrivals on Friday, the 18th of May, refugees from more distant locations, rural evacuees who lived closer to Birgu than Mdina, were directed to shelter in St. Michael (L'Isola), and it seems probable that numbers of Burmola's civilian population also took shelter in Birgu, as it was these Bormlizi who pressed to return to their homes on the night of the 8th of September, when the Ottomans set fire to some houses in Burmola, but who were prevented from leaving the protection of the fortifications of Birgu by the Grand Master, who correctly suspected an Ottoman trap.

The importance of Burmola (Bormla)

The vital importance of La Burmola, of Bormla and of its inhabitants to the Hospitaller Order of the Knights of St. John was finally and clearly articulated 73 years after the siege, following upon the construction of the new capital city of Valletta, with the recognition by the Order that the maritime-naval centre of the Order would remain in Galley Creek, and that the new capital city of Valletta was threatened with bombardment from the still unfortified heights of Santa Margarita-Margherita, with a threatened Ottoman invasion in the 1630's¹⁵² leading to the start in 1638 of construction of the Santa Margarita lines, the line of fortifications designed to enclose the urban

¹⁴⁴ d'Autun 1980, 29, gives a population of Malta in excess of 20,000; 22,00 in 1535, see Fiorini 1993 b, 298; 32,310 in the 1590 census, Fontenay 1993, 61.

¹⁴⁵ Mallia-Milanes a, 1993, 15.

¹⁴⁶ Blouet 1967, 91.

¹⁴⁷ For the overcrowding in Birgu, see Mallia Milanese 1993 b, 82.

¹⁴⁸ Fiorini 1993 a, 230.

¹⁴⁹ Mallia Milanese 1993 b, 78-80.

¹⁵⁰ The expansion of L'Isola-Senglea to become the major population centre of the three cities was a post-siege phenomenon, see Fiorini 1993 b, Table II.

¹⁵¹ For these figures see, Fiorini 1993 a., respectively, 244, 242; Cassar 2000, 124, "According to Dusina's report (1575), the town (Burmola) had a population of 1200: NLM Libr. 643, p. 278; In 1590 the town had a population of 1288: *ibid*, Univ. 1, fols. 187-188," Birmula is recorded as having 642 Houses, and 2,788 souls in 1711, roughly 4 persons per house.

¹⁵² Hoppen 1999, 71. The Ottoman fleet that left the Dardanelles on the 30th April 1645 sailed with the expressed intent of taking Malta, but this was deception, the fleet sailed to the conquest of Venetian Crete, completed on the 6th September 1669.

area of Bormla at that time, and to secure the heights of Santa Margarita upon which the Dominican Father Vincenzo Maculano Fiorenzuola established the central bastions which were completed by 1645, the massive bastions of Santa Margarita and St. Helen with their ramps for cannons, which finally provided some protection from any advance towards Grand harbour and Valetta from an enemy landing at Marsascalea or Marsaxlokk, and from any attempt to establish a battery on the heights of Corradino, as was later noted by Pierre Marie Louis de Boisgelin de Kerdu *"The only eminence which can endanger La Valetta is the Coradin; this is however overlooked by the upper part of Burmola, at the distance of about twelve hundred fathoms."*¹⁵³ Its importance to the Order of St. John was further publicly recognised through it being awarded the name *Città Conspicua*, given to Bormla in 1721 by Grand Master Zondadari, on account of its massive fortifications and also it seems due to the importance to the Order of its successful sailing squadron based in Bormla, maintained through the local craftsmen and tradesmen and the 1000 man crew of this sailing squadron, largely sourced from, and many of the sailors and soldiers inhabiting the cities of Bormla and Senglea, who needed to return immediately to their ships when the signal flag was raised or the signal cannon fired.

Protecting the remains

It is to be hoped that the urge for further redevelopment in Bormla, whatever its stated motivation, will not be at the cost of the destruction of the remaining heritage buildings and physical evidence of sub-surface and surface structures and parts thereof, including those that may well predate the 1565 siege. For example: along Trig Il-Pellegrinagg¹⁵⁴, there are the two towers, by Sqaaq It-Torri, recorded as being parts of a towered walled enclosure on maps dating from the time of the siege (Fig. 12), by an area strangely defined as a 'slum area' marked for demolition for the construction of social housing, (Figs. 13, 14). It seems most probable that some of the two thousand Ottoman troops which were placed in ambush by the two cannon battery were concealed in the towers and within the enclosure wall that formerly joined these two towers in September 1565. Clearly alterations have been made over the centuries to these towers, with one almost entirely rebuilt, but this was the location of the recorded towered enclosure standing before the siege began and doubtless foundations remain of these pre-siege structures. Bir Mula heritage house on Santa Margarita Street, within the area of the Ottoman camp by the Santa Margarita battery, has Ottoman graffiti on sub-surface walls that may well date to the 73 day Ottoman occupation of Bormla in 1565 (Fig. 15).



Fig. 12. Detail of Lafreri's 1565 siege map that shows the buildings standing in Burmola during the siege, including the towered enclosure (upper left) by the Ottoman tents.

¹⁵³ Kerdu 1805, 64.

¹⁵⁴ Kindly brought to my attention by J. Vella of Bir Mula Heritage, these are the probable remains of a two tower houses, originally of pre-siege and possibly pre-Knights of St. John in Malta date, seemingly recorded on B. Genga's map of 1558, on the Ottoman 1565 siege map, on A. Lafreri's August 1565 engraving, published in Ganado 1993 b.; as also by Matteo Perez D'Aleccio, and probably two of the group of four towers recorded in this location in the Palombi maps of 1566-1570's, published in, Ganado 2003, Plates 142-144, pages 514-6.



Figs. 13, 14. Probable location and remains of the two towers of the walled enclosure marked on Lafreri's 1565 siege map, standing on Trig Il-Pellegrinagg (Photos M. Carbone)



Fig. 15. Possible Ottoman figural graffiti in the basement of Bir Mula Heritage, St. Margerita St. (Photo J. Vella)



Fig. 16. Resurfacing work briefly exposed in 2011 on Triq Santa Tereza, north of the junction with Sqaq Santa Tereza, arches which seem to have been constructed in the 17th c. for the St. Tereza wharf extending along the east side of the then harbour.

Bormla was not demolished during the Great Siege of 1565. Some buildings were demolished by order of La Valette, close to the fortifications of Birgu and by L'Isla, and others were damaged during the siege. Further damage occurred to buildings in Bormla in 1806 when the magazine exploded, containing 370 barrels of gunpowder and 1,600 shells and grenades, when many houses were destroyed (more than 50, with others damaged) and nearly 1,000 people were killed or became casualties¹⁵⁵, "A whole town I may say is destroyed"¹⁵⁶. Over time earthquakes

¹⁵⁵ Burford 1839, 8; Scots 1806, 876, "Historical Affairs," 18th July. "14 gunners, 26 soldiers. (13 of which were Maltese, were either killed on the spot, or buried in the ruins of the adjoining fortifications and military buildings, about fifty private houses were thrown down or so much shaken that they require to be rebuilt. The shock was so

have damaged a few buildings in Bormla, including those constructed on the low lying area at the head of the creek, as in the major Sicilian earthquake of 1693 that damaged a small house by the manderacchio, presumably constructed on alluvium, when the friary of St. Theresa also suffered some seismic damage¹⁵⁷. Further damage to Bormla's heritage buildings was caused by the intense bombing campaigns, Italian and German during World War Two from June 1940 to November 1942, that destroyed or seriously damaged almost half of all the buildings that had been standing in Bormla-Cospicua in May 1940¹⁵⁸, and also through the demolitions and building works after the war's end. However, important heritage buildings and subsurface structures remain in Bormla today, buildings that were constructed for the Maltese and later in numbers for the Knights of St. John following the prohibition of new private houses in Bigu and Senglea due to overcrowding in 1634. For example Knights of St. John, wealthy merchants and owners of successful 17th c. Maltese privateering ships lived in Bormla, e.g. 36 Triq San Pawl, together with, in the 17th and 18th centuries, the Orders' Master Shipwrights of the Scolaro family, including Michele Scolaro who was also appointed to the Consolato di Mare, the prize court that settled maritime claims, set up in Valletta in 1697. This need to be restated, as it would appear that the relatively recent construction of blocks of social housing beside St. Helens Gate with permits from MEPA destroyed some surviving evidence of pre-siege structures¹⁵⁹; while the excavation trench for cables in front of the facade of the Knights' 18th c. Maritime Stores in Dock No. 1 in April 2011 managed to briefly expose, and then to bury in concrete, evidence of the Knights' angled slipways leading to these stores, those slipways which are recorded for example in Fredrick von Brockdorff's 1838 watercolour of the Maritime stores; the accidental smashing by a mechanical excavator of part of the curved stonework enclosing the end of the dock in February 2011, and, on the eastern side of the harbour, a series of large linked limestone arches that were briefly exposed in February-March 2011 beneath the former pavement and road surface, during the course of repaving and cable-pipe laying in front of two of the houses lining Triq Santa Tereza, north of the junction with Sqaq Santa Tereza, arches which seem to have been constructed in the 17th c. for the St. Tereza wharf extending along the east side of the then harbour, but which were not conserved and exhibited as important historical remains of the maritime history of Bormla, of the Knights of St. John, and of Malta, but were buried instead in gravel, earth and concrete, without any full investigation or scientific excavation, during the course of so-called upgrading, the repaving with reinforced concrete of the Bormla waterfront in 2011 (Fig. 16).

great as to agitate the sea like an earthquake for several miles around." See also, *Staats-und gelehrte zeitung des hamburgischen unpartheyischen Correspondenten*, T.1., 1806, Num. 104, pt.3. npn. Malta 18 July 1806.

¹⁵⁶ Register 1808, 427-428, relates of the explosion, "*The houses adjacent in every direction were thrown immediately into ruins; - and how shocking it was to the inhabitants you may easily conceive, as there was no chance of escaping. The buildings are all of stone, of immense thickness. It is calculated that one thousand persons have either perished, or are dreadfully maimed. The principal sufferers are the Maltese, who chiefly lived near the place. One man has lost his wife and six children; others nearly the same; and whole families are buried together. Those who escaped momentary death, perhaps, are shockingly disfigured and maimed, and crawling about in a miserable condition...The magazine was situated on the side of the water opposite to the city of Valletta; it is called Barmola. Stones were thrown over to us, some to the distance of two miles. It (the magazine) was situated close to the water-side, and the bed of the sea was so shook by it, that it rose up and overflowed the banks. Two vessels (small ones) were sunk. Immense stones were thrown up, which fell into the water; others on the ships and rigging; one I saw, which fell on a vessel just arrived weighed a hundred-weight....*"

¹⁵⁷ E.g. in 1693; on 25th (sic. 12th) October, 1856, "*at Sengles, Cospicua, and Vittorioso, many of the buildings are injured.*" *Western Literary Messenger*, Buffalo, January, 1857, Vol. XXVII, No. V., 198; February 1861, etc.

¹⁵⁸ file:///C:/Users/user/Downloads/E5%20Bormla%20WAR%20DAMAGE%2013.pdf

¹⁵⁹ ICOM News, Issue 4, 18th May, 2001, 10, "International Museum Day"

Finally, there is unfortunately still today the lack of visual and historically informative signage at historical sites in Bormla, and there is still no referenced published cultural inventory of the city; an inventory that should include those areas that were formerly an integral part of Bormla at the time of the Great Siege and into the recent past, but which have since become separated from Bormla through administrative-political boundary changes. Former areas of Bormla have been lost to the expansionist Local Council of Birgu which has recently spread far beyond its defining ditch, imagine if it were possible for the walled city of Valletta to likewise suddenly expand over its defining ditch into areas of Floriana; while areas were lost to Casal Nuovo-Paola established in 1623¹⁶⁰, including the important area of Għajn Dwieli (Aayn duyeli); and to the Local Council of the Parish of Fgura, established in 1965 and to Zabbar. However, any thorough cultural inventory of historical Bormla should include these lost areas of Burmola-Bormla, Bormla, Cospicua, to enable its history, culture and heritage to be properly understood as a whole, as the cultural inventory of Bormla is a matter of historical record, not simply of modern local and national party politics, social-political engineering and the past and the recent shifting of boundaries for electioneering, speculative and other reasons.

¹⁶⁰ *"The suburb of Paola was conceived by Grand Master de Paule (1623-36) to attract the surplus population of the Three Cities, encouraging people to settle there by offering a complete remission of all debts to all who moved there."* Fiorini 1999, 423.

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