From the disposition of Bishop Cagliari drawn up in the year 1681 we learn that the Bishop, in erecting the palace, had spent about Sc. 12,000 out of the diocesan funds and for this reason he bequeathed the premises to the Cathedral Church to be let, lent, sold or mortgaged, but, ever to be used as the residence of the Bishop, his successors or Capitular Visitors and, should they not wish to reside there, the palace was to be used as an ecclesiastical tribunal.

An oratory dedicated to St. Joseph was built in the palace by Bishop Cagliari who directed that during mass in the oratory the celebrant was to offer prayers for the repose of his soul.

Cagliari also ordered that, in case of siege, the Bishop or the Vicar of the Vicarate was to hand over, free of any charge, half of the whole palace to the Canons and Clergy of the Cathedral for them to live in and here celebrate the divine offices and also to preserve the jewels and ecclesiastical vestments of the Cathedral Church. (30)

In 1730 Bishop Fra Paul Alfonse de Busan, at his own expense, added a loggia and many amenities to the palace, however, it was left to His Grace Monsignor Michael Gouzi, K.B.E., Metropolitan Archbishop of Malta, to build part of the first storey which had been left unfinished owing to the litigations between Bishop Cagliari and the Order.

Opposite the Archdiocesan Palace is the "Casa del Brio" (No. 56 Archiepiscopal Street). This was bequeathed to the Jesuit College by Don Baldassare del Brio (39) who stipulated in his will that should Baron Vincento Viani desire to acquire the property the Jesuit Fathers were obliged to sell it to him. Availing himself of this disposition in the will, Baron Vincenzo Viani purchased the house and later sold it to the Manoel Foundation for Sc. 1,440. (41) Great improvements and modifications were made to the property by the Foundation. (43)

Comm. Fra Domenico Cioria of the League of Italy, who died on the 11th April 1905, was the owner of the house, in this street, which today bears number 88. In his will Comm. Cioria left his house to the Assembly of Conventual Chaplains subject to the celebration of a certain number of masses for the repose of his soul. On his death it was found that a debt of Sc. 950 existed in favour of the Holy Office and from the accounts of the Assembly we learn that the premises were let at Sc. 65 per annum part of which were utilized to pay for the celebration of masses and the remainder for the gradual extinction of the debt. (40)

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE COURT AT ST. PETERSBURG AND THE COURT OF THE GRAND MASTERS AT MALTA

By Professor Harrison Smith, Ph.D., D.D., LL.D., O.S.J.

Relations between Russia and Malta were just a century old when the knights fled to St. Petersburg with the occupation of the islands by the forces of the French Directory; they had begun somewhat casually, but they had also grown closer and closer across the span of a century. In the earlier years they were clouded with suspicions and uncertainties, but as time unfolded the Magistracy grew to conceive of its ties to Russia as its principal hope to escape the growing power of other countries that coveted the islands. In the period just prior to the fall of the islands to the French, the treaty ties to Russia became the final hope of the last two reigning Prince-Grand Masters, to save the Sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem from perishing. An examination of this century of diplomacy reveals the evolving course which drew these powers into a harmonious compact.

The earliest known tie was the mission, taken on the initiative of the Czar Peter the Great, of Field Marshal Boyard Boris Petrovitich Sheremetoff, who as the ambassador of the Czar, his cousin, arrived in Malta in 1698 in princely magnificence. (1) Grand Master Raymond Perellos de Roccafluei heard in advance from his ambassador at Rome, Sacchetti, that the Russian dignitary had asked Pope Innocent XII (Antonio Pignatelli) if he might act as the Church Militant in Malta; and when his distinguished visitor arrived both worlds, the east and the west, examined each other with mutual awe and in the spirit of the novelty attached to the unknown. Sheremetoff bore a letter of introduction from Holy Roman Emperor Leopold at Vienna. (2) During the stately celebrations the Russian sat on the Bishop's seat in St. John's, gave flowery speeches in Latin, slept in Catharina Palace, and sailed away on the eight day with the diamond studded cross of devotion of the Order. More significantly Perellos had listened attentively to the Russian thesis of their unrelenting warfare against the Turks, further confirmed by the Czar's letter, and so Perellos promised the Czar's ambassador would forever be remembered in the prayers of the knights. Did the

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(32) Justicidal Inquisitione Honorumspectante of Manoeus Episcopalian fo. 89.
(30) Records of Not. Giuseppe Callus of the 20th June 1713.
(35) Repertorio di varie notizie comprese storielle Fondazione Manoel Trea, A. 35 fo. 69.
(36) Catalogus Assemblea Formulis Vol. II Trea, B. 108 fo. 29.
Russians want to conquer the islands? (8) One can only suppose, and the general conclusion is that this incursion into the Mediterranean was merely part of the large scheme of the progressive Peter the Great to open the window of isolated Muscovy and enter into good terms with Poland, Germany, Venice and other powers in the general periphery of Russian interests, so long overdue at the time.

Matters appear to have drifted along through the reigns of three successive Grand Masters until Catherine II, the Great, consolidated Candia to such an extent that it could once more turn its eyes toward the south. Catherine displaced her husband as the Autocrat and reigned in her own right as Czarina from 1762-1796. A vigorous foreign policy, a bristling army at the throat of the Turks, and an active role in world affairs marked a brilliant reign. From 1768 to 1772 and again from 1787 to 1792 she was at war with the Sultan of Turkey; one of her tactics was to send agents into Greece and the Imperial Army into the Danubian Principalities. It may be presumed that it was during her first war with the Sultanate that she chose to revive Russian ties to Malta, the method being the dispatch of Admiral Sergius Bakinboff (or Bobinoff) to wait upon Grand Master Emmanuel Pinto de Fonseca. (4) Pinto was "nearing ninety", but he appeared eager to welcome Catherine’s diplomatic agent and arranged for Chevalier the Marquis Sagramoso and Chevalier Count Giulio Renato de Litta to go to Russia to aid and organize the Russian Baltic Fleet, as well as for Russians to train with the Maltese Fleet. Whatever the suspicions there seems little evidence to support the notion that the Russians had been in any way involved with the uprisings against Pinto in 1741.

The Marquis Sagramoso was a globe-trotting adventurer’s diplomat and royalist circles who had been in St. Petersburg as early as 1748 and was known to Empress Elizabeth, as well as Catherine’s sister. His third visit to the Court in 1773 was of great significance since after 1774 Pope Clement XIV (Lorenzo Ganganelli) endeavored to use Pinto’s successor, Grand Master Francis de Tavares, to further his schemes for putting a Roman Catholic agent into St. Petersburg for grandiose religious projects involving the revival of the Uniate Church, the restoration of the Polish-Ukrainian Churches, the expansion of the

(8) Boeslin, 1840, a keen historian of the Order thinks conquest was not the motive, but states one French historian believed to the contrary (p. 218). Alexander Sutherland, Achievements of the Knights of Malta, II, Philadelphia, 1846 believed the Czar wanted a friendly alliance with knights who had five centuries of constant warfare with the Turks, but that “blended with the admiration of their renown, which he could not fail to entertain, was a deep and mighty scheme of redemp-tion.” Canon Moniqueux A. Mifrod. Knights Hospitalers of the Venerable Tongue of Malta. (8) If this is the case, it would explain why in 1778, when the Maltese were at war with the Ottoman, the French were their allies and not the English, as was the case in 1775-1797, when the Order was allied with Great Britain.

(4) Elizabeth W. Scherchorhoven, Malta of the Knights, London, 1896, is not very precise on the date of this visit, Russian admirals “came from the Baltic to the Mediterranean to fight Turkey in July, 1770. The Czarina’s Minister at Vanni, Prince Gattiere, in 1784 made enquiries as to the use of Maltese officers to train the Russian Navy and one Russian naval officer was trained at Malta 1796-1798.”

(3) P. Pierling, La Russe et le Saint-Siège, V. Paris, 1912, pp. 68-72. According to Zeininger de Berja, op. cit., pp. 357-359, Marquis Cavaledo of Cremona was sent ahead from Admiral Alexei Orlov (a brother of Catherine’s favourite Count Gregory Orlov), whose fleet of eight war vessels and some frigates was in Minorca (1796); at least two Maltese knights were onboard with him.

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Jenius, and to name a bishop-in-ordinary of Mobliev, Sagramoso ostensibly was there to liquidate the financial claims arising from the first Polish Partition in 1772, a dispute with regard to whether Russia or Malta had inherited the properties and revenues of the Prince of Ostrog in Volhynia. Sagramoso was unable to do more than convince Empress Catherine to talk to her ministers, and Pope Clement died in September of 1774. (5) Sagramoso must have been in St. Petersburg in 1774, presumably on his second visit, since he wrote to Grand Master Pinto unfriendly as a knight to warn him against Empress Catherine’s ambassador, the Marquis Cavaledo, who arrived in Valletta that year. He asked for the harbour in operations against Turkey, but aged Pinto confined him to four ships at a time. As Cottrer had once done with the English, and then made long speeches on the historic neutrality of Malta, Russia was to continue to keep a minister resident at the Court of the Grand Master from thenceforth, and in the plot to overthrow Ximenes de Taxada, Cavaledo hastened to deny he had any complicity or in any way sought to seize the islands during this brief reign from 1773 to 1775.

The illustrious and autocratic Emmanuel de Rohan of France succeeded to the Magisterial throne in 1775, only to find Russian Admiral Sprigov on his doorstep; a regular "Russian Party" had grown up in Valletta circles. (7) Catherine made the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji in 1774 which pushed the Christian cause deeper into Turkey, and six years later she launched her ‘Greek Scheme’ to create an Hebraic throne for her grandson Constantine II.

In 1778 a French knight named Dolomieu let out rumours in Naples that Catherine was negotiating with King Ferdinand I (through Queen Consort Caroline of Hesse-Darmstadt) for Malta. A year later Chevalier Pasco, a Russian agent, received cool treatment when he asked for Fleet stores, and de Rohan was plainly concerned lest Russia grab Malta, so he let the Russian fleet go on to the Black Sea without the Maltese Pinto’s consent. After it had been there, de Rohan was keen on ties to Russia, but cautious. Various Russian officers became involved in the island intrigues from 1779 onward, and much uncertainty arose as to their objectives and aspirations in Malta. After the French Revolution they appeared pro-British and anti-French. Somewhere around 1780 they opened a Russian naval hospital and flew the flag of St. John over it. (8) Grand Master de Rohan was the last, great reigning prince of Maltese history and during his long reign from 1775 to 1797 he pursued a vigorous domestic and foreign policy. He joined the Maltese with the Order’s army, he
took a stand on the restitution of the properties of the Order in dying Poland, he expanded the Order into Russia, and he acquired the properties of the Order of St. Anthony in France. The Order acquired some of the properties of the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre in Poland and even dreamed of merging with the Order of Teutonic Knights. De Rohan became convinced that the religion (the Order) could not survive the gathering storm around Malta unless it turned to Russia as its grand ally. This point becomes somewhat obscure, even though it was fundamental, due to the fact that the Order's relations with Russia were overshadowed by the larger and growing relationship between the Papacy and the Autocrat of all the Russias. A unique harmony between the Courts of Rome and St. Petersburg was growing rapidly into a brief, but brilliant pageant of Orthodoxy and Romanism. Pope Pius VI (Angélique Brachel) wrote directly to Catherine in 1780, Czarévski Paul visited him in 1782, Nuncio Andrea Arcetti arrived in St. Petersburg in 1785, and Prince Ioussoupov arrived in Rome in 1784. While the knights were the bridge over which these grander relations must cross, and while they provided the background for West to meet East once again, they fell into the background somewhat unseen by the mighty emperors now seeking an understanding between the two great centres of Christendom.

The growing alliance between Russia and Malta was not without its temptations: for the Queen-Consort Caroline of Naples, whose aggressive correspondence with the Russian Ambassador to Naples, Count Romnowich, in 1768 suggested the Sarracen Power might be willing to sell its right to Malta to the Czar. (9)

Bailiff Count de Litta arrived in St. Petersburg in 1789 as a young adventurer and knight of twenty-six and took up Sagrasso's work, but with a keener zeal for his military and diplomatic career. Soon distinguished in battles against Sweden (1788-90 War), decorated with the cross of St. George and clothed in the uniform of an Imperial Rear-Admiral he entered the inner circle of Empress Catherine; de Rohan in 1789 appointed him as Minister of the Order at the court, but the great lady regarded him casually until she died, quite suddenly, in November, 1796. (10) The accession to the throne of the son Paul inaugurated a brilliant era of diplomacy between Valtetta and St. Petersburg. De Litta was soon joined by his brother, Nuncio Lorenzo de Litta, both of whom became the court favourites in a charmed circle rendered splendid by Paul's love of ceremony. In an unanticipated burst of harmony Paul cultivated both the Vatican and Malta, and both returned the compliments with zeal. Pius VI, Pius VII (a little less so), de Rohan, and Hempsch all welcomed rapport with Paul. The latter's fascination with the lore of chivalry became the sole hope of the Order for its survival as the storm gathered around Malta in which some major European power seemed certain to seize it. Urged on by the De Litta brothers, de Rohan, and Hempsch (his successor) ratified the Treaty of 1797 between Malta and Russia; Paul then became the temporal "Protecteur de l'Ordre".

The French Revolutionary forces moved too quickly for Paul to save Rome or Malta, both thrones fell and the latter one to Napoleon himself in 1798. Paul accepted the 79th Grandmaestry from the hands of the knights gathered in exile around his Court, while the deposed Pontif exiled in a Tuscan monastery first urged Paul on, then hesitated, and finally ended by abstaining from the complex issues raised by the Cas being the Grand Master. (11)

With the assassination of Paul in 1801 Czar Alexander I was for awhile regarded by the warring powers in Europe as the overlord of Malta, but other considerations entered into continental strategy so that he simply let Malta slip through his fingers, thus closing an epoch of Russo-Maltese relations.

(9) The relation of the Kingdom of Naples as the Sarracen to Russo-Maltese diplomatic relations was cool, cf. best: Zeisinger de Bonis, op. cit., cites: Pietro Calletta, Storia del reame di Napoli, Capodarie, 1836, 1, Chapter 4; Alberto Serina, II duca di Cuzzolaro e Carlo III, Review of the S. M. O., 1899, No. 6; Louis de Rouvray, Rue du St. Simon, Memoires (ed. F.A. Chabart), Paris, 1863. p. 321.

(10) F. Cocteau de Litta see: Comte Fédor Golovkine, La Cour et La Régence de Paul 1 er, Paris, 1900; N. K. Schlichter, Imperator Piotr Periy I, St. Petersburg, 1901; Comte de Malesouarme, Annales de l'Ordre Souverain de St. Jean de Jerusalem etc., St. Petersburg, 1796; Giuseppe Greggi, Un Gentiluomo maltese ... G. Litta Exenti: Avre, Milano, 1886; Estrinluposskian, Skovar, Vol. XVII A, St. Petersburg, 1906: but the most valuable of all is Stenm Imparatorevutsia Rosskeykogo Iskljuchitelnogo Oktchetsa, II, 1886, St. Petersburg, which has (pp. 164-182) a summary in Russian of Russian relations with Malta and (pp. 185-214) a full account of relations with de Rohan in French from November, 1796, to February, 1797. Golovkine so disliked the De Litta brothers that he was not trusted on the subject; he made a special visit to Pius VI to endeavour to block their mission to Russia; Prince Platononzhov as a favourite of Catherine's out of jealousy also tried to block the younger and handsome de Litta. De Rohan, nevertheless, sent Catherine the cross as a token in 1790.