The year 1565 is a landmark in the history of the Maltese Islands. It was also a turning-point in the struggle of Christendom against the forces of the Ottoman Empire, on which the battle of Lepanto (1571) put the final seal. Despite these two disasters, the Turks continued to ravage the coasts of the western Mediterranean during the rest of the century, after having recovered Cyprus from the Venetians and Tunis from the Spaniards; but the decline of their empire was in sight.

The siege of Malta, which lasted from May till September 1565, was watched with trepidation not only in Naples, Rome and Venice, but even in Vienna, London and Madrid, in Paris, Antwerp and Brussels. News of the slow progress of the besiegers and of the desperate defence of the island reached Sicily through letters written by Grand Master La Valette, battle-sketches despatched by the Knights of the Order of St. John and "Relationi" written by soldiers or seamen. Thence it spread fanlike to all the centres of Christendom stretching from the Iberian peninsula in the west to Hungary in the east.

Picture-maps of the siege were produced in France, Germany, Spain and Italy to illustrate for the layman the stand being put up by Catholic Malta against the armed might of the Crescent, the main centres of production being Rome and Venice, which even turned out several editions of various broadsheets to bring up to date the latest developments in the bitter and uneven struggle.

Most of those who could afford to buy these picture-maps did not trouble to keep them once they had served their immediate purpose, in much the same way as modern daily newspapers are treated by their readers. The select few preserved and treasured them for their historical or military content, or, purely, for their cartographic interest. Francesco De Marchi, military architect and engineer, was one of the select few.

De Marchi's career

Francesco, son of Marco Marchi, was born in Bologna in the year 1504. Nothing is known of his youth, except that for many years he received no education whatsoever. Although his pet subject was always military architecture, of which he seems to have acquired some practical knowledge in his young days, he confessed in one of his letters that he remained illiterate for many, many years and only started...
learning the alphabet at the age of 32, senza maestro che gli mostrasse né libro né Sallario, né dazegia penna o coltello innanzi.Indeed, De Marchi remained a bad writer and, until the end of his days, wherever possible, he sought the help and advice of men of letters.

In 1531, at the age of 27, Francesco was in the service of Alessandro de' Medici, the Duke of Florence, nephew of Giulio de' Medici, Pope Clement VII (1522 – 1532). It appears that he was a courier in the postal service of the Medici and looked after their stable. Certainly, he was an expert horse-rider and, in his sixties, he reigned the public with balancing performances on the back of a galloping horse.

On the 6th January 1537 Alessandro was assassinated by his cousin Lorenzo.

In November 1538, his 16-year-old widow Margherita d'Austria married in Rome Ottavio Farnese, nephew of Paul III (1534 – 1549), and De Marchi now passed to his service. In a few years, De Marchi must have made great strides in the studies of military architecture and engineering. For Pope Paul appointed him on a commission he had just set up for the purpose of examining the new fortifications that were being built around Rome by the famous architect Giovanni da San Gallo. It was on this occasion that De Marchi received the citizenship of Rome which explains why he used to describe himself: Citadinino bolognese, gentiluomo romano. Between 1539 and 1545 he was engaged on the fortifications of Camerino, Castro, Nepi and Pesaro and he started working in earnest on what was to become a monumental work on military architecture, of which more anon. In 1545, Ottavio Farnese received from the Pope the Duchy of Parma and, the year after, he led the papal army against the Huguenots. Political vicissitudes forced Ottavio to break

with Charles V and in 1551 he was defending Parma against the Emperor and his papal army against the Huguenots. Political vicissitudes forced Ottavio to break

with Charles V and in 1551 he was defending Parma against the Emperor and his

ally the Pope, Julius III (1550 – 55). These wars saw De Marchi Commissioner for War and Commandant of the Artillery (B). A truce made in 1552 allowed De Marchi to write a book on Artillery and to finish his Trattato di precetti di fortificazioni di terra which was never published.

In 1554 De Marchi was sent to England for the marriage of Philip of Spain to Mary the Catholic, Queen of England. He was invited to Greenwich by the King who was anxious to have sight of and discuss the treatise on military architecture with the author himself and he was full of praise for De Marchi.

De Marchi was engaged on the completion of the magnificent palace in Piacenza, called "La Ciltadella", when Philip II of Spain appointed his sister the Duchess of Parma (Margherita d'Austria, wife of Ottavio Farnese) to govern Flanders. In 1559 he followed the Court of the Duchess to Brussels where he was to remain for nine

years, although he was destined to serve the Spanish monarch as captain and engineer for twice as many years.

The Low Countries were in the throes of the spirit of the Reformation and the edicts of the Duchess Regent against heresy, ordered by her brother Philip, were in no way successful to stem the tide. Indeed, some of the more prominent reformers were members of the Regent's Council of State, to wit, William Nassau (Prince of Orange), Lamorale (Count of Egmont) and Philip Montmorency (Count of Horn and Admiral). De Marchi was a staunch supporter of the Catholic cause and he castigated the reformers very severely in his letters. For instance, when in December 1566 the lutherans were routed between Tournai and Lille, De Marchi described the inhabitants as popolo perfido e crudele and erano e son peggio che non erano il turchi intorno a Malta l'anno 1565: dico che contro la Giesia questi son stati peggio.

It is reasonable to assume that De Marchi played a major part in the building and repair of the fortifications, new and old, of the Low Countries, particularly those of Antwerp. He took under his wing Prince Alessandro Farnese, the son of his benefactor, and he might have instructed him in the science of military mathematics.

In 1565, Alessandro was united in marriage to Maria, daughter of Odoardo, brother to Giovanni, King of Portugal. The festivities in Brussels went on for weeks between November 1565 and January 1566 with De Marchi as the organiser of the events that were planned to celebrate the occasion. He also wrote a detailed account of what took place and sent it to Bologna where it was printed in that year.

When the Duchess of Parma gave up the government of Flanders, De Marchi followed her back to Piacenza, and thence to the Abruzzi. The party left Brussels on the 30th December 1567.

It does not seem that De Marchi was well-remunerated for his long, faithful and efficient services. He complained that on occasions he even lacked the essential materials for setting to paper the result of his studies! However, his attachment to the Farnese family induced him to refuse offers of more lucrative employment elsewhere. The future of his two natural children, Marc'Antonio and Cleopatra, must also have influenced his decision. When the family re-entered Italy, the

4. Ronchini, pp.XIV, XXIV.
5. Ronchini, p.XX, n.10.
6. Lanucci, p.226, Also Ronchini, p.VI.
7. Ciasca, pp.VI – VII. See also the title of his book on military architecture and the tail piece of Chapter 150 (Appendix II infra).
8. Ronchini, p.VII.
10. Ronchini, pp.VII – IX.
daughter was placed in a convent at the expense of the Duchess who also endowed her for the religious profession. Marcantonio was prepared by his father for an ecclesiastical career, but he eventually took up law and received a small subsidy from the Farneses. Later in life, he followed his father’s footsteps and in 1619 he was engineer to the Duke of Savoy.

De Marchi’s date of death had given rise to many discussions and uncertainties, until the epitaph of his tomb placed by his son was discovered and published in 1848. He died in Aquila degli Abruzzi on the 15th February 1576 at the age of 72. Some authors maintained (even after this publication) that when De Marchi died he was in his nineties.

**Malta in his letters**

We have no evidence that the island of Malta came to De Marchi’s particular attention before the siege of 1565. But, in that year, Malta became a most vital piece on the European chessboard. For a military expert like De Marchi, what was happening in Malta had to be followed and digested with the utmost attention and diligence.

Throughout his stay in Flanders, De Marchi carried on an intensive exchange of letters with Giovan Batista Pico, Secretary to the Duke of Parma. The first reference to Malta in this correspondence appears in a letter dated 25 June 1565. There is no mention in the two previous letters of the 17th and 24th June. The Turkish armada appeared off the island on the 18th May and it took between three and four weeks for news from Malta to reach Flanders.

The last paragraph of the letter addressed to Pico on the 25th June reads thus: “Qui si dubita molto di Malta (che l’Idolo non lo permetta). Qui è nova che uno imbaschiatore del Turco è nella Corte di Francia a domandare posto e vittoria.”

It seems that the misgivings expressed by De Marchi were inspired by the news that the Turks had already landed on the island rather than by reports that Soliman was planning to invade it.

On the 23rd June, Fort St. Elmo fell to the Turks after a month’s siege. De Marchi wrote to Pico as follows on the 26th July 1565:

“Le news che qui si sono sparse hengi, che siamo alla 26, sono: che l’armata del Turco ha preso il forte di Santo (Ermo) per forza; hanno impito li fossi di lama e altre cose, e tutti hanno morti quelli che dentro erano, con la perdita di molti Turchi; e che Dragut è morto e il figliuolo di Barbarossa; che li Turchi erano tuti in terra, e grand part della cimiera, e che, tornando il Cardona con quattro galler, le guerri havevano portato socorro nel Borgo di Malta diede nuova a Don Gargia, ch’era in mare, con le navi e galler, che quasi tuti l’armata turchesca erano in terra, e cost andanno a investire in l’armata turchesca all’improvviso, e l’hanno tutta distrutta, o la

19. Ronchini, p. XX-XXI; n. LXIII, n. 75.
21. Ciasca, p. 36. Writing in 1848, he says that De Marchi died between 1566 and 1567.
22. Ronchini, p. XL.
23. Ronchini, pp. 28–27, Lett. XV. Transl. – Over here the fate of Malta is giving rise to serious doubts (may God not allow it to happen). News has reached us that a Turkish emissary is at the French Court to request a haven and vittuails.

---

24. The City of Augsburg was a banking centre, and it was renowned for its trade in books and prints.
25. Ronchini, pp. 28–29, Lett. XVI. Transl. – Today, the 26th, the following news are circulating: that the Turkish army has overpowered and taken Fort St. Elmo; they have filled up the ditches with woolen and other material, and all those that were inside are dead; the Turks have suffered severe casualties. Dragut and the son of Barbarossa being among the dead; that the Turks had all landed, and a large part of the crew, and that when [Jean de] Cordes went back with the four galleys that had brought reinforcements to the Borgo of Malta he met the ships of Don Garcia [de Toledo] and informed him that the Turkish army had disembarked; they therefore went to attack the Turkish army by surprise, and they defeated it, or a large part of it; and that the Turks had lost (may this be God’s will) and many other things, but the conclusion is that the Turks have lost. These are the news that have reached some gentlemen here from France and Venice and Augsburg.
26. Ronchini, pp. 36–38, Lett. XXII. Transl. – Two items of news we are piously expecting: firstly, the relief of Malta and the rout of the Turks (may God grant us this grace); secondly, the arrival of our forces with the Princess, all safe and sound. Writing the last part of Chapter 150 (p. 255) on the 25th September 1565 De Marchi expressed the same wish regarding Malta: here in Brussels we hope to have, within eighty days at the latest, good news unfavourable to the Turks, namely, that they have been defeated, or that they withdrew, or that the island of Malta has been relieved against their forces (See Appendix III).
27. Ronchini, pp. 38–39, Lett. XXIII. Transl. – Today we received the news that nine thousand five hundred soldiers have landed on the island of Malta, and that the Turks were embarking to escape. Here this news is awaited with great hope. You can see for yourself the speed with which news reaches us by way of Venice: news from Malta arrive in Brussels in twenty four days.

Indeed, the Gran Senacorso arrived in Malta on the 7th September, and, by the end of the month, De Marchi was fully approved by the situation. The Turks gave up the siege on the 14th September and sailed for Constantinople the day after.
referring to the games he was organising (prove di torneri e giostra; livrea; ecoscio di lusso all'italiana), he wrote that he intended to illustrate by fireworks the siege of St. Elmo:

"Se questa Principessa viene con felicità, ticcione speriamo, se le farà gran carezze e feste solenni e di gran valua... Pois [10] proponera che si facesse un castello in aria, e farlo combattepe per uno de' fuochi artificiali, a figure di cartoni, in quel modo che li turchi hanno combattuto il forte di Santo Ermo nell'isola di Malta." (30)

The happy event was being organised on a grand scale, De Marchi wrote, and so many titled persons had been invited that, by themselves and without any professional support, they would have been able together to defend another Malta. (31)

Malta in his works

After having seen what is to be found on the siege of Malta in De Marchi's letters, it behoves us to examine under the same aspect his monumental book on military architecture.

The preliminary work on this treatise was started between 1539–1542 and completed in 1552–53. (32) Initially, he intended to write a book on civil architecture, and a separate one on military architecture. Whilst in Flanders, he expanded and amended what he had already written and he decided to merge both branches of architecture into a single book. (33) The finished product he submitted to the three members of the Council of State already mentioned. After having examined the work and compared it with what had been written till then on the subject by Pietro Cataneo da Siena, Jacopo Lanteri da Paraico, Francesco Montemellino da Perugia, Jacopo Castriotto from Urbino and Girolamo Maggi d'Anghiaro, they decided that De Marchi's treatise was superior by far to anything that had gone before. The Regent was therefore advised to order that the book be printed. (34)

By November 1567 printing was ready to commence. (35) At the eleventh hour, the government of Philip II imposed a condition which De Marchi could not possibly accept. For fear that De Marchi's novel ideas might be of some help to the enemies of Spain, the government decided to allow the printing of only 20 copies, and to deny the author even a single copy. (36)

When De Marchi returned to Italy (early in 1568, as we have seen) he took the text with him and tried to print the book in Piacenza, but his stay in the town was too short. In Abruzzo, De Marchi started developing new drawings of fortifications, in addition to those produced in Antwerp. He had in all 460 plans by August 1574. He proposed to Alessandro Farnese to have the new drawings engraved, but nothing came of it. Meanwhile, he donated to John of Austria a copy of the plates that had been prepared in Antwerp, but he was not destined to see his album in print. (37)

Two decades after De Marchi's death, the plates fell into the hands of Gaspare Dall'Oglio, a printer from Bologna who had a press in Brescia. In 1597 he printed...
them with a dedication to Vincenzo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua.401 When he eventually found a copy of the text written by De Marchi in Flanders, he published another edition two years later which contained 161 plates with the explanatory text, divided in three books and followed by the Trattato dell’Artiglieria.402

By the time De Marchi had finished his book in November 1567, he had also had the opportunity to hear first-hand accounts of the siege and to discuss the dramatic events in the light of military science with two renowned experts on fortifications:

40. Ronchini, pp.XXI - XXII.

In the 16th century one of the copies of De Marchi’s book on military architecture, now in the British Library (BM.G.11), was in the collection of Alberto Francesco Fonzoi, Avvocato nel Parlamento, Consigliere Reale de’ Libri che fa giallo Prima Segretario e Continghiero di Sua Majestà: di Monaco e doppia Prima Segretario succettibile di M. Amelia e del Sig. Marchese d’Argagoni, Ministro degli Affari Esteri del 1719 al 1747. In a manuscript note on the flyleaf, Fonzoi wrote in 1756 that the only edition ever published was the one he had, that of 1599, and he discussed that there existed a first edition of 1577 as claimed by Fontaine, Haym and Maffei. The other copy at the British Library (C.83.1.1) happens to be the same edition as the first one. Clasca (pp. 370 – 374) wrote that there were two different editions of the book on military architecture, one published in 1597, the other in 1599. There were some plates by De Marchi published in book form before 1599 (one with 33, the other with 83), but they could not be described as editions of the treatise. Indeed, they might even have been published by plagiaries, as De Marchi himself had occasion to complain that he had been defrauded of his work by some publishers. According to Clasca, there are some slight differences between the editions of 1597 and 1599: the first one contains a few plates and chapters that were omitted in the second edition. There were two printings of the 1599 edition, in which the essay on Artillery precedes the three books on military architecture. After 1599, the book again appeared in print with a different frontispiece, the first time without date, and then another edition dated 1603 published in Bruxelles impresso Ges. Bart. e Antonio Benzi fratelli.

Apart from the copy at the British Library, the author has had occasion to examine:

(a) two copies at the National Library in Vienna one of which is the 1599 edition published by C. Preziosi (72.Q.3.17) whilst the other is undated (BE.5.F.21).

However, the second copy has an introduction dedicated to Don Vincenzo Gonzaga, Duca di Mantova e di Montereale, which is dated Brescia, 2 May 1600. If this second copy is identical to the copy at the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence, it would explain why the catalogue at the Riccardiana gives 1600 as the year of publication (Ci. Caius, p. 374, n.11).

(b) the copy at the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome (R.17.17 in C. C.) It is identical to the second copy at the Vienna Library referred to above.

The 1599 edition was used for the publication of a de base edition in five volumes in 1810 by Luigi Martin in the instance of Conte Francesco Melzi d’Ellì. It was dedicated to Napoleo Bonaparte.

41 Ronchini, e.XNII. In his introduction to the 1600 copy (now see 406, G. Dall’Oglio) explained that three years before he had dedicated the publication of De Marchi’s plates to Gonzaga because it was he who in a short time had built the Castel del Monte in the beginning of the century, a task he further stated that, now that he had come in possession of the De Marchi’s manuscript account of the siege, he would keep his word to print them together with the plates.

42 Ronchini, p.144, letter to Pico dated 21 September 1567. Marconi (p. 372) wrote that it does not appear that Serbelloni went to Flanders after 1566. Actually, he went twice in 1567 and 1577.

Gabrio Serbelloni (1579 – 1608), born in Milan, had a distinguished career lasting fifty years. Cervantes described him in Don Quixote as grande ingeniero y valentísimo soldado. He fought bravely in Italy, Hungary, France, the Low Countries and North Africa, and was captain of a galley at the battle of Lepanto (1571). He erected fortifications in Barbary, Flanders and various places in Italy, including the Borgo di Rome. When a first cousin of his was elected Pope (Pius IV) in 1559, he was appointed captain of the guard, governor of the Borgo, inspector of fortifications, general of the ecclesiastical militia and commander of the galleys. He entered the Order of St. John in 1561 and became Prior of the Order of Byzantium in 1577. He designed and built the fortress of Tunis. Still incompletely, it was conquered by the Turks (1574) and Serbelloni, governor of the fortress, was taken prisoner, but was exchanged the year after. In 1577 he joined John of Austria in Flanders and erected several fortifications. He died in Milan in Jan. 1588. A set of five manuscript drawings of fortifications by Serbelloni is extant: they are plans of Trapani and Salinae, Gela and Biserta, and Malta (Pianta della Città di Malta Vecchia, in colours, 648 x 455 mm).

43 Chiappini Vitelli, a soldier of fame and fortune interested in military engineering, was a close associate of Gabrio Serbelloni. In July 1555, when 4000 Turks landed near Piombino, Vitelli requested the help of Serbelloni who was in charge of a German regiment nearby, and together they routed the enemy. Two years later, they kept the bases of Barin San Sepolcro under constant review. In 1564, Vitelli distinguished himself in the conquest of Pelon de Velet de la Coroner in Barbary (Morocco) and he came to Malta in 1567 with the Grand Coccus as the head of a small band of Italian avventurieri. He declined to accept any official post of standing, but his strong personality earned him the respect and affection of the whole Italian and Spanish infantry. In 1567, he returned with the army of the Duke of Alva to speld the rebellion in the provinces. He was appointed Marchese di Campo Grande, whilst Serbelloni was the Generale Supremo dell’Artiglierie.

According to De Marchi’s manuscript account of the siege, Vitelli came as the generale delle artiglierie, but Borel wrote that he held no particular post.

44. Bosio, III, 740.
of this idea. His views had been disputed, but now (he wrote) the siege of St. Elmo had shown how right he was.

In Chapter 146, De Marchi proposed a fortification on a promontory with a natural harbour on each side, quite reminiscent of Malta. Having fixed the counter-scarp of the fortress on the brow of the promontory, De Marchi designed a ditch of considerable depth (circa i passi quindici) with the same width at its narrowest point. The purpose of such depth was (wrote): to make it less accessible to the enemy, and, what was even more important, to make it more difficult for the attackers to fill it up, or cross it by artificial bridges. The Turks had resorted to both these means of attack in their assault on St. Elmo, and De Marchi thought that, had the ditch surrounding the fort been deep enough, they would have been unable to conquer it byrenching the batteries and overwhelming the defenders. He recognised, on the other hand, that there were not enough defenders to hold the fort: the fort was too small, he wrote, and the continuous pounding of the Turkish batteries killed too many Christians who had nowhere to take shelter.

This chapter was written between the 7th August and the 10th September; therefore, De Marchi could also comment on the events that followed the fall of St. Elmo. He recorded that the Turks had started attacking the Borgo, Fort St. Angelo and Fort St. Michael on the 6th May, they had erected forts around them,46 they had been using against them 60 cannon and more47 for weeks, and the Christians were outnumbered twelve to one. Yet they were unable to overcome the valorous resistance of the defenders. Meanwhile, the Turkish forces had been depleted as the siege was now in its third month and they were not in a position to overwhelm these defences by sheer weight of numbers as they had done at Fort St. Elmo.

All this went to prove how important it was to have the promontories on the flanks of the harbours fortified as well. Had St. Elmo been the only fort in the area, the fate of Malta would have been sealed.

Chapter 130 discussed the project of a fortification on a site similar to the one proposed in Chapter 146, but the plan was more elaborate. Here De Marchi envisaged a fortress so strong that it could be manned by relatively few defenders. Without fear of contradiction, he felt he could say that St. Elmo would not have fallen had it been constructed in this fashion.

The fortress proposed in this drawing was even stronger because it would not permit the enemy to make use of the harbours on its flanks. The experience of Malta taught that, as the Turks could make use of Marsamuscetto harbour after the fall of St. Elmo because it was not defended, the Turkish fleet became secure. He realised that this project could only be carried out at considerable expense; but it was also true that armies were very costly to support. The Spanish monarch was holding in Sicily a large army in readiness to go to the relief of Malta when the time was ripe.

46. V. infra, p. 117.

In his manuscript account of the siege (Codex Magliabechianus) De Marchi records the erection of other Turkish forts at a later stage:

6 July — feciendo tre bastioni sopra Corradina che bastava detta Fiorezza (S. Michele)
8 July — fecendo un altro bastione alla Mandracchia che bastava par S. Michele;
9 July — fecendo , altro . . . . . . . . . . s. s. Maria che bastava il Borgo e S. Michele;
10 July — . . . . . altro bastione a Santa Maria che bastava il Borgo e S. Angelo.

47. De Marchi recorded in his manuscript account that on June 26 (after the fall of St. Elmo) the Turks positioned 14 batteries with 70 cannon and 3 basiliisks.

He had available at least 105 galleys and 70 other armed vessels. The money required to erect such a fortress was being spent in one month for the upkeep of these forces. De Marchi also pointed out that a strong fortified place was in itself a powerful deterrent to the enemy. Had the Turks foreseen that they would have been engaged for so many months to reduce the fortress of Malta, they would have opted to try and conquer some other place with less effort and greater advantage.

De Marchi then analysed the reasons why Malta was still effectively resisting the Turkish assault:

1. the mettle of the Knights and soldiers defending it who were prepared to die for the Christian religion and their own freedom;
2. the presence of four different fortified places in close proximity, to wit, St. Elmo, Borgo, St. Angelo and St. Michael;
3. the constant threat of relief from Sicily which prevented the Turks from dispersing their forces at any given moment, both on sea and land;
4. the scarcity of food, coupled with logistic difficulties of fresh supplies.

This chapter is dated the 27th September. De Marchi ended by expressing the earnest hope that in eight days’ time news would have reached Brussels of the final defeat of the Turks.48

The other two chapters mentioning the siege are Chapters 155 and 159. The latter merely makes a passing reference to the heavy artillery used against St. Elmo, whilst the former is mainly based on another lesson that came out of the Malta experience. In the drawing accompanying this chapter, De Marchi creates a fort surrounded by a wide and deep ditch hewn out of solid rock. As an example of the value attached to a similar fort, he refers to the Borgo and to Fort S. Angelo and St. Michael which the Turks were not able to subdue as they did to Fort St. Elmo. They succeeded in entering the ditches around the Borgo more than once, but they were forced to withdraw. As the ditches were enclosed by solid-rock walls, there was no way they could dismantle them to weaken the defences.49

The last chapter (no. 161) published in De Marchi's book corresponds to Chapter LX of Book VI of the manuscript copy. The latter, besides, contains other unpublished chapters in which a reference to Malta is to be found. They are:

Chapter LXI (Cf. Drawing no. 167 — Marini edition). . . One should not erect fortifications not worthy of the name, but such as could offer resistance to very powerful enemies; as was seen last year in Malta, and this year (1566) in Italy at the Fortress of Pescara and at the Isola di Tremiti . . . .

Chapter LXII (Cf. Drawing no. 164 — Marini edition). . . If in Malta in the year 1565 there were a trench covering the walls of Fort St. Elmo, the Turks would not have overcome and conquered St. Elmo as they did. Now, in September 1566, they are trying to take Zeghet in Hungary . . .

Chapter LXIII (Cf. Drawing no. 165 — Marini edition). In this drawing there is no harbour in which the enemy ships could take shelter, as the Turks did in Malta in 1565. . . .50

48. On September 11, the Turks were completely routed by the relief force, the order to embark was given and the siege was abandoned. According to one estimate they had lost 15000 men.

49. See Appendix II which reproduces the Italian text of the Chapters herein quoted taken from the 1599 Brussels edition.

50. These extracts are from Venturi, pp. 41–44.
De Marchi's siege map

Apart from the drawings of De Marchi's ideal fortifications, the book contains a map of the siege of Malta. It is the only plate of its kind, in that it depicts a contemporary historical event. Although it impinges on a number of chapters in the volume, as has been amply demonstrated, its presence in the book strikes a slightly discordant note. Why did De Marchi draw a map of the siege? Why did he have it engraved to include it in the book? Why was it inserted by Dall'Oglio between pages 127 and 128 of his publication ostensibly to illustrate an Esposizione that has no connection with Malta or its fortifications?

These queries can be answered satisfactorily, but from sources extraneous to what was printed by Dall'Oglio. The solution lies in a manuscript copy of De Marchi's treatise, extant in Florence at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, known as the Codice Magliabechiano.\(^{52}\) It consists of three volumes of text Trattato d'architettura militare and two volumes of plates. Chapter LXV of Book VI is entitled ESPOSIZIONE SOPRA AL DISEGNO DELLA FORTIFICAZIONE DELL'ISOLA DI MALTA, and it starts as follows:

Discorso sopra la promessa che feci nel Libro sesto a Cap.o XLVI di voler parlare alcuno della honoratissima difesa della Fortificazione dell'Isola di Malta.\(^{53}\)

It gives an account of the salient events of the siege towards the end of which De Marchi refers to the siege map in the following terms:

Hora in questo disegno riatrito dal naturale potrete considerare la batasta, tempestosa, e flagellata Isola di Malta dalle gran forze del Gran Turco che con il suo orgoglio la volle soggiogare per impararnore di detta Isola; . . . hora non dirò altro se non che la grazia del S.r Dio s'interna per la difesa, et custodia di quella Isola et liberazione di quei inincubi Causali, e soldati si come il Gran mio fece vedere grande opere dell'animo, ingegno, et forza sua, e il simile di quelli che si trovano in quella guerra, e che occorrano in quella guerra, per farne una prova di piu che lo Sa. Dio non uolse per sua divina bontà e misericordia.\(^{54}\)

De Marchi's intended chapter and the accompanying map were published by Dall'Oglio and therefore one is entitled to assume that the text used by Dall'Oglio was a matter of conjecture. The most likely explanation is that the text available to Dall'Oglio was different from the copy at the Library in Florence, and that it did not contain Chapter 45 of Book VI. Indeed, the text of the Codice Magliabechiano has corrections which do not figure in the book published by Dall'Oglio and therefore one is entitled to assume that the text used by Dall'Oglio was a draft of the treatise.\(^{55}\)

Dall'Oglio, on the other hand, published the siege map because it formed part of the De Marchi plates he acquired. But plate 78 happened to be missing and the Malta siege map came in handy to fill the gap. That is why the text on pages 127 and 128 of the publication has no relation to the siege map sandwiched between them.\(^{56}\)

When Marini issued the 1810 edition of De Marchi's book, he noted that the Malta siege map "rimane ha che fare colla dichiarazione." He decided to leave it out and substitute it by a drawing of his own based on the text of Chapter 78. By the time the engraving was ready, he came across the original drawing of plate 78 and he printed it in miniature alongside his own.\(^{57}\)

---

51. Ms. II.1.277-281. The author thanks the Director of the Florence Library for the contents of his letter dated 15 November 1983.

52. Ibid., p.140v.-141v.

53. Ms. I.I.279, ff.130r-140s.


55. Transl. Now in this drawing made after nature you will be able to see the Island of Malta battered, scorned and ravaged by the great forces of the Grand Turk who determined to make himself master of the Island; . . . now I wish to say only that it was the grace of God that intervened for the defense and protection of the said Island and for the liberation of those insinicate Kauzali, and the Grand Master as well did great things as a result of his spirit, ability and strength, which can also be said of all the defenders from the lowest to the highest, children, women, old men, priests and brothers (I) of all sorts one can think of: faced as they were with such a large army, and at times with so slender a hope of relief, for the reasons I have given, and others which may be adduced: which I shall have to others to bring forward, and in those that were there, because I was at the time of the siege very far away from the said Island of Malta being at the other end of Europe, namely, in Flanders towards the West on the Ocean sea, and the said Island is at the other end of Europe towards the East, the remotest island of Italy, although I was being kept informed by friends of mine in Naples, Rome, Venice and Bologna who were sending me written accounts of some of the events of that war, as well as drawings of that Island, its fortifications, harbours, and batteries, and of the assaults and skirmishes that were taking place. I chose from those I thought best and I made a drawing of my own, and I wanted to write on some of the efforts made by the Turk and other monarchs who went to his help to capture St.Elimo, il Borgo, St. Michael, and St. Angelo, and the open country of Malta, in short, the island and its harbours, something which, through his divine goodness and mercy, God did not allow.

56. This is also the opinion of Venturi (op.cit., II.137v-138v), who writes: "E questa una prova di pila, che in stampato è preso da un Codice anteriore alle Corregzioni del Magliabechiano e che queste sono opera dello stesso Marchi risorto in Italia. Riconosci (p.XI, fin.S4) che tali del testo del Magliabechiano è a tre revisioni.

57. Understandably, Kraft (IV. infra 118) could not figure out why De Marchi's Malta map in the 1599 edition had no connection with the text in Chap. 78 and he attributed the anomaly to the personal whim of Dall'Oglio.

We have seen that, apart from the accounts that were regularly reaching Brussels, De Marchi was also well-supplied with news-maps of the siege. We gather from Chapter 142 that, by the 7th July, De Marchi had received three picture-maps of the siege. A month later, the number had gone up to seven according to a letter addressed to G. B. Pico on the 8th August 1565:

*V.S. mi mandi un disegno di Malta, ma che sia fatto da '15 di luglio addietro, perchè penso avere tutti gli altri, son sette, che ne tengo, differenti l'uno dall'altro. Questi signori, cioè il conte d'Agamone, il conte di Horno, il principe di Oranaj, tutti me li danno, oltre ch'è da Venezia me ne sono stati mandati. Io sono il suo erario disegni delle fortificazioni.*

By the time he made some corrections to the first draft of his treatise, he had received in all ten siege maps, because the word *tre* of the first draft is found corrected to read *dici* in the *Codice Magliahecchiano*. From some of those ten broadsheets, he produced his own siege map for the book (see Plate 6).

The map is a double-page copper engraving (413 x 545 mm) beautifully executed. A decorative cartouche at the top right corner carries the title:

**Ritratto delli stesso disegno mandato da Malta dono / sono annotato per abbraccio le cose piu notabili**

followed by heights of important places and a key to place-names as hereunder:

- A Castello S. Angelo alto dal piano del acqua, Cannone
- B Borgo la fronte alta C.
- C S. Michele alto dal piano C.
- D S. Helmo alto dal piano C.
- E Monte del salvatore alto C.
- F Monte delle forche alto C.
- G Colle del S. Margarita alto C.
- H Terreni lavorati cinti de muri secchi
- I Porto cominciato dagli Turchi

61. This seems to be the first printed siege map which gives the height from sea or ground level of the places marked. The heights are given in *canna* for those which are water level (Canone) and *bruccia* for those above sea level.

62. *See Appendix II, Chap. 142. 59. Ronchini, pp. 30-31, Let. XVIII. 60. Compare with a sketch of Malta by De Marchi, published by Antonio Lafferi in 1565, the only other siege map to be published. This has been reprinted by Orlandi in 1567 with a key to place-names A to Q in a cartouche at top left corner, and it has an empty panel at the bottom right corner (see Plate 7); the second one must have been printed towards the end of the month because it mentions in the said panel the death in situ of Emmanuel d'Inguillo, the commander of the French forces in Malta.

63. It is one of three Lafferi maps of Malta that are known to have been reprinted by Orlandi.

64. *See Appendix II, Chap. 142. 59. Ronchini, pp. 30-31, Let. XVIII. 60. Compare with a sketch of Malta by De Marchi, published by Antonio Lafferi in 1565, the only other siege map to be published. This has been reprinted by Orlandi in 1567 with a key to place-names A to Q in a cartouche at top left corner, and it has an empty panel at the bottom right corner (see Plate 7); the second one must have been printed towards the end of the month because it mentions in the said panel the death in situ of Emmanuel d'Inguillo, the commander of the French forces in Malta.

65. *See Appendix II, Chap. 142. 59. Ronchini, pp. 30-31, Let. XVIII. 60. Compare with a sketch of Malta by De Marchi, published by Antonio Lafferi in 1565, the only other siege map to be published. This has been reprinted by Orlandi in 1567 with a key to place-names A to Q in a cartouche at top left corner, and it has an empty panel at the bottom right corner (see Plate 7); the second one must have been printed towards the end of the month because it mentions in the said panel the death in situ of Emmanuel d'Inguillo, the commander of the French forces in Malta.

66. *See Appendix II, Chap. 142. 59. Ronchini, pp. 30-31, Let. XVIII. 60. Compare with a sketch of Malta by De Marchi, published by Antonio Lafferi in 1565, the only other siege map to be published. This has been reprinted by Orlandi in 1567 with a key to place-names A to Q in a cartouche at top left corner, and it has an empty panel at the bottom right corner (see Plate 7); the second one must have been printed towards the end of the month because it mentions in the said panel the death in situ of Emmanuel d'Inguillo, the commander of the French forces in Malta.

67. *See Appendix II, Chap. 142. 59. Ronchini, pp. 30-31, Let. XVIII. 60. Compare with a sketch of Malta by De Marchi, published by Antonio Lafferi in 1565, the only other siege map to be published. This has been reprinted by Orlandi in 1567 with a key to place-names A to Q in a cartouche at top left corner, and it has an empty panel at the bottom right corner (see Plate 7); the second one must have been printed towards the end of the month because it mentions in the said panel the death in situ of Emmanuel d'Inguillo, the commander of the French forces in Malta.

68. *See Appendix II, Chap. 142. 59. Ronchini, pp. 30-31, Let. XVIII. 60. Compare with a sketch of Malta by De Marchi, published by Antonio Lafferi in 1565, the only other siege map to be published. This has been reprinted by Orlandi in 1567 with a key to place-names A to Q in a cartouche at top left corner, and it has an empty panel at the bottom right corner (see Plate 7); the second one must have been printed towards the end of the month because it mentions in the said panel the death in situ of Emmanuel d'Inguillo, the commander of the French forces in Malta.

69. *See Appendix II, Chap. 142. 59. Ronchini, pp. 30-31, Let. XVIII. 60. Compare with a sketch of Malta by De Marchi, published by Antonio Lafferi in 1565, the only other siege map to be published. This has been reprinted by Orlandi in 1567 with a key to place-names A to Q in a cartouche at top left corner, and it has an empty panel at the bottom right corner (see Plate 7); the second one must have been printed towards the end of the month because it mentions in the said panel the death in situ of Emmanuel d'Inguillo, the commander of the French forces in Malta.

70. *See Appendix II, Chap. 142. 59. Ronchini, pp. 30-31, Let. XVIII. 60. Compare with a sketch of Malta by De Marchi, published by Antonio Lafferi in 1565, the only other siege map to be published. This has been reprinted by Orlandi in 1567 with a key to place-names A to Q in a cartouche at top left corner, and it has an empty panel at the bottom right corner (see Plate 7); the second one must have been printed towards the end of the month because it mentions in the said panel the death in situ of Emmanuel d'Inguillo, the commander of the French forces in Malta.

71. *See Appendix II, Chap. 142. 59. Ronchini, pp. 30-31, Let. XVIII. 60. Compare with a sketch of Malta by De Marchi, published by Antonio Lafferi in 1565, the only other siege map to be published. This has been reprinted by Orlandi in 1567 with a key to place-names A to Q in a cartouche at top left corner, and it has an empty panel at the bottom right corner (see Plate 7); the second one must have been printed towards the end of the month because it mentions in the said panel the death in situ of Emmanuel d'Inguillo, the commander of the French forces in Malta.

72. *See Appendix II, Chap. 142. 59. Ronchini, pp. 30-31, Let. XVIII. 60. Compare with a sketch of Malta by De Marchi, published by Antonio Lafferi in 1565, the only other siege map to be published. This has been reprinted by Orlandi in 1567 with a key to place-names A to Q in a cartouche at top left corner, and it has an empty panel at the bottom right corner (see Plate 7); the second one must have been printed towards the end of the month because it mentions in the said panel the death in situ of Emmanuel d'Inguillo, the commander of the French forces in Malta.

73. *See Appendix II, Chap. 142. 59. Ronchini, pp. 30-31, Let. XVIII. 60. Compare with a sketch of Malta by De Marchi, published by Antonio Lafferi in 1565, the only other siege map to be published. This has been reprinted by Orlandi in 1567 with a key to place-names A to Q in a cartouche at top left corner, and it has an empty panel at the bottom right corner (see Plate 7); the second one must have been printed towards the end of the month because it mentions in the said panel the death in situ of Emmanuel d'Inguillo, the commander of the French forces in Malta.

74. *See Appendix II, Chap. 142. 59. Ronchini, pp. 30-31, Let. XVIII. 60. Compare with a sketch of Malta by De Marchi, published by Antonio Lafferi in 1565, the only other siege map to be published. This has been reprinted by Orlandi in 1567 with a key to place-names A to Q in a cartouche at top left corner, and it has an empty panel at the bottom right corner (see Plate 7); the second one must have been printed towards the end of the month because it mentions in the said panel the death in situ of Emmanuel d'Inguillo, the commander of the French forces in Malta.
describing, and, therefore, particular care was taken to isolate and render faithfully the stage the battle had reached. It was meant to convey to the public viewing it the message that:

a) St. Elmo’s resistance was at an end;

b) the Turkish fleet had entered Marsamuscetto harbour;

c) the Turkish artillery was incessantly pounding from all sides Senglea, Fort St. Angelo and Il Borgo;

d) Senglea was also being assaulted from the sea on the Marsa side by boats carried across the neck of Sciberras peninsula (as explained in the legend of the map).

De Marchi’s map, on the other hand, is a composite illustration of different stages of the siege. It shows:

a) the Turkish fleet advancing from both the east and west side of the harbour entrance engaging the ships of the Order at the mouth of Grand Harbour;

b) the assault on St. Elmo and the scaling of the walls on the side of Marsamuscetto;

c) the artillery action against the other three defensive sites afore-mentioned;

d) the boats carried overland attacking Senglea from Marsa.66

De Marchi’s map depicts in the Porto delle Galeere (Dockyard Creek) the big chain stretching from Castello Sant’Angelo a Ponte de’ Molani (Senglea Point), the bridge linking Senglea to Borgo hastily erected in the second week of July, and the small chain deeper inside the creek protecting the Order’s vessels lying at anchor. These features were copied from Lafreri’s August map in its second state. Also in keeping with this map is the outline of fortifications at Senglea, Il Borgo and St. Angelo, but those drawn by De Marchi are more elaborate and sophisticated, though not necessarily more precise. For instance, he erects four towers joined by a long curtain skirting the south and west coast of Borgo.

Other details in De Marchi’s map must have been taken from the other Lafreri map. An interesting feature is the Turkish “fort” erected on Mount Sciberras towards the end of May. This seems to have been a strong parapet on a level with the crest of the walls of St. Elmo, constructed with sacks of wool, earth and heavy timber. The top of the parapet was crenellated, and a pennon by each of the fourteen crenelles betokened the number of guns to be placed there.67 Lafreri’s map shows nine guns operating from this fort.

In De Marchi’s account of the siege, there are two entries referring to its construction. First, he says that on the 25th May the Turks started erecting a bastione d’arranze a S. Elmo which was destroyed by the guns of the defenders. Then he writes that on the 27th the Turks erected a forte verso la bunda del porto di Marsamuscetto on which they installed three pieces of heavy artillery which opened fire on the porto generale delle galeere e l’habitatione del Gran Maestro, e l’isola della Sengłe. Meanwhile, their trenches were getting nearer to St. Elmo.

66. In his manuscript account De Marchi wrote that the King of Algiers arrived on the 12th July with 2200 soldiers. He requested the Turkish commander to allow him to assault St. Michael and for this purpose he ordered 90 boats to be transported overland by his men from Marsamuscetto to Marsa (conta il Re d’Algerie face trapanare per terra da novanta barchere, e barcone per forza d’uomini del porto di Marsa masotto in su alla Marsa).

what are apparently two ravelins, one on the north, the other on the north east side of the fort, instead of one. What was De Marchi to do?

Dating of the map

Writers on the history of Malta's fortifications have included in their works only passing references to De Marchi's book. Quite recently, however, a German writer, Hanno Walter Kruft, discussed De Marchi's siege map in an article Reflexe auf die Turkensiegung Malta 1565 in der Festungs-Literatur des 16. Jahrhunderts.

Instead of comparing De Marchi's map to the contemporary European siege maps and, in particular, to the Lefebre maps, Kruft related it to a Turkish siege map on parchment preserved at the Topkapi Museum, remarking that the artillery positions of the Turks were more or less the same on both maps. He added that De Marchi's map is not exactly dateable, that it has very precise topographical details of Malta, which De Marchi himself could hardly have known, and that it was independent of d'Aleccio's frescoes at the Magisterial Palace in Valletta and his subsequent engravings of 1582.

Contrary to what Kruft maintains, we are in a position to date the map from De Marchi's own statements. Writing to Pico from Brussels on the 9th November 1567, De Marchi informed him that the Malta map was ready, waiting to be engraved:

Ora si ha da intagliare una Malta che io ho fatto, tolta da diversi e la impressa, e la effigie mia e una forza gne in prospettiva. Il mastro che la intagliare, è Sigurzio, perché dicono che l'ha rabuto uno libro, cioè uno disegno per ogni stamper, e me ha stampati due. E, vi è pero 400 testi, e piu quello vorrà Sua Altezza. Quello e Sigurzio, però, non essendo finito l'opera d'intagliare, ho trovato due altri mastri che la faranno.

Therefore we know exactly that the Malta siege map was drawn by De Marchi some time between the end of September 1565 and early November of 1567. This dating makes it quite obvious that the map is "independent of d'Aleccio's frescoes" (painted between 1576 and 1581) or his engravings (published in 1582), but, on the other hand, it also rules out any connection with the Turkish map. It is unrealistic to think that De Marchi could have had sight of the Turkish map so soon after the siege, even if, as Kruft says, this map was made during the siege itself.

According to the evidence, the Malta map was engraved towards the end of 1567. The artist to whom the work had been entrusted had to finish off four plates, including the map, when he fled the country. By November 9, De Marchi had engaged two engravers, instead of one, to complete the job. Completion was now a matter of urgency and, in any case, the engravers had ample time to finish their work by the end of December, when De Marchi departed for Italy. The name of the artist who transferred to copper the Malta map has still to be established.

73. In Archivio (Murcia) I. 1982, pp. 34 - 40. My thanks are due to Mr. Anton Scicluna of Marsalforn, Gozo, for providing the translation of the article.

74. This map was loaned for the Thirteenth Council of Europe Art Exhibition held in Malta in 1970.

75. On D'Aleccio's siege maps: See Gnanino.

76. Ronchini, p. 151.

77. On D'Aleccio's siege maps: See Gnanino.

78. Ronchini, p. 151.

79. Kruft, I. 1982, pp. 34 - 40. My thanks are due to Mr. Anton Scicluna of Marsalforn, Gozo, for providing the translation of the article.

76. This map was loaned for the Thirteenth Council of Europe Art Exhibition held in Malta in 1970.

75. In Archivio (Murcia) I. 1982, pp. 34 - 40. My thanks are due to Mr. Anton Scicluna of Marsalforn, Gozo, for providing the translation of the article.

74. Hughes (1969) referred to drawings by De Marchi (1573), P. P. Palomini (1563) and Paolo Floriano (1566) — or even Fortuny — showing a Turkish fort on Mount Sciberras (p. 322). Hughes (1970) said that De Marchi's treatise on military architecture was written about 1560 and published in 1566, but did not quote anything regarding Malta (p. 307).

Hoppes (pp. 34, 181) wrongly said that De Marchi's book was written about 1540 and published in 1566.

Marcou (p. 358) said that De Marchi was one of those who wrote about Valletta, in the book published in 1599. Valletta was planned and built after De Marchi had finished writing his book, which is why, he said, the drawings produced in the 1540s were engraved by him. In fact, however, that his work was not of a high standard (Vasari, p. 18; Ronchini, p. 336, n. 11).
Kruft pointed out that, already in September 1565, keeping in mind St. Elmo, De Marchi was working on plans for a fortified city which he thought would have withstood with a small garrison the Turkish attack. Kruft was referring to Chapter 150 of the 1599 Brescia edition of De Marchi’s treatise, and he reproduced in his article plate 150 of the book. One could add that the results of De Marchi’s study on the fortifications of Malta are scattered in more chapters than one, and the plates, at least, accompanying Chapters 142, 146 and 159 should be taken into account to appreciate De Marchi’s work in its proper perspective.

Manuscript plan

Finally, mention has to be made of a manuscript coloured plan of the harbour area which has no connection with De Marchi’s book but which forms part of the collection of plans in the Codice Magliabechiano (See Plate 10). It shows in outline the perimeter walls of the fortifications of Borgo, Senglea and the new city on Mount Sciberras with St. Elmo incorporated in the enceinte. The fortifications on the eastern side of the Grand Harbour are rather sketchy, but the drawing of the new city illustrates the integral plan by Laparelli. It looks more like Drawing No. 4 in the Codex Laparelli in which the Mandraccio is elliptical, rather than No. 3 where it has a rectangular shape. The plan in the Codice Magliabechiano makes it circular and it leaves out the town plan which appears on three (out of four) of the Laparelli drawings.

It is not known whether the plan was drawn by De Marchi, as the plans in the Codice Magliabechiano are without any accompanying text or description. The only pointer comes from the fact that, on his return to Italy, De Marchi continued producing new drawings of fortifications. Even if he never had the opportunity to examine Laparelli’s Codex, it is highly probable that the engravings of Laparelli’s plan made by Lafreri in Rome came to his knowledge.

79. Murazzi, p. 337.

80. The author has in mind the second state of the following plan:

DISEGNO VERO DELLA NOVA CITTA DI MALTA / Quarta Città principale del III. MON. / tra Giouannj di Valeria dello parisolto Gran / Maestro detla religione Gierosol., si chiamam / Farete.,..., Ant. Laparj Formis Romae 1566. (542 x 392 mm). (T.362).

The first state shows only the perimeter walls of the new city and the Mandraccio is absent. It was, however, added on to the plate in its second state, together with other new features. The shape is elliptical and it is indicated as Darnena per x galee. (T.363). In a subsequent reissue, the imprint G.R.F.O replaced that of Nobili.

The following other plans of the new city of Valletta were published between 1566 and 1569, but they do not include the Mandraccio:

a) DISEGNO VERO / DELLA NOVA CITTA / DE MALTA / Quanta Città principale del R. Moro, / fra Giouannj di Valletta detto paesini Gioro Magistro della religione Giornaz, si chiamam Vallet.,.../.... In Venezia per Paolo Forlanie Veronencie, integrata acconciato d’ogni uno all’ingressa della Colonna. L’Anno / 1566. (419 x 272 mm).

b) VALLETTA / NOVA CITTA / DE MALTA / Al segno della colonne. (17 x 131 mm). Published in Il primo libro della città et fortezze principali del mondo, by Paolo Forlani, (Venice, 1567). This plate was used repeatedly by the Bertaini and Camocio for their books on towns and islands. At one stage, the no. “74” was engraved on the plate.

The importance of these news-maps should in no way be underestimated. The astonishing number that was produced in so short a period shows how much they were in demand all over Europe. De Marchi himself could not refrain from keeping count of how many had reached him and he was always yearning for more. Apart from those sent to him by various friends in Italy, and other places, he also had the opportunity of viewing those that had been received by members of the council of state in Brussels.

Note 80 contd.

81. Orfègia, p. 18.

Conclusion

Undoubtedly, De Marchi was one of the great figures of the sixteenth century in the field of military architecture, and the quality and excellence of his inventions of fortifications are a shrine to his immortality. The military experts of all nations benefited immensely from his writings, especially those that dominated the scene in the seventeenth century, among whom, Pietro Paolo Floriani, Antonio Maurizio Valperga, Alain Manssoon Mallet, Francois Blondel, Sebastien Le Prêtre de Vauban. It has even been alleged that some of the French architects appropriated De Marchi’s inventions and made them their own.

We are more concerned, however, with De Marchi in relation to Malta. It transpires from his work that the siege of Malta and its losses were uppermost in his mind for quite some time. Devotedly, he followed the alternating fortunes of the besiegers and the defenders; almost apologetically, he wrote that he was at the other end of Europe when the siege was taking place. A profound hope for the intervention of divine providence was a recurrent theme permeating his writings on the fate of the island at the southern extremity of Europe. He must have realised, perhaps more than others, the strategic value of Malta and how the whole future of Christian Europe for four long months hung in the balance. He will not be blamed if he experienced a moment of mad euphoria when news of the liberation of the island reached Brussels on the eve of the wedding festivities he was so keen on organising.

Perhaps, it was his wish to celebrate the occasion by leaving to posterity a graphic memento made by his own hand. However that may be, his siege map served a twofold purpose: it was an object lesson of his inventions of military architecture and it also conveyed a palpable illustration of his account of the siege. Being the product of a scholar, it was meant to educate, in contrast to the picture-maps of the siege issued by the dozen from the printing presses for the dissemination of news and, possibly, for their propaganda content to induce the Christian princes to rally to the help of the island’s desperate defenders.

It is not known how many copies of each siege map were printed, but it is fair to think that all the Courts of Christian Europe used to look forward to receiving their share of what the Roman, Venetian and other publishers were placing on the market.
It took more than seventy years after the siege to dry up. In the seventeenth century, John Orlandi and, later, Hendrik van Schoel were still printing reissues of some of Laffreri's siege maps, while in 1631 Antonio Francesco Lucini re-engraved the siege maps made by Matteo Perez d'Aleccio in 1582. Over a few years there were three editions of Lucini's album.

It is not easy for us today, in the era of mass media communication, to appreciate fully the value people living centuries ago used to attach to graphic illustrations of exciting events that were happening away from hearth and home.

NOTE ADDED IN PROOF

In reference number 60, the author wrote that the map in the Floncel copy at the British Library (61.g.11) appeared to be in manuscript. Mr. Tony Campbell (Research Assistant, Map Room, British Library) kindly consented to examine the map solenone and Mr. Peter Barber. They agreed that the map was definitely in manuscript. It was drawn on a separate sheet of browned paper which was stuck down to the appropriate leaves in the book. This confirmation reached the author when the article was already at the printer's. Grateful thanks are due to Mr. Campbell and Mr. Barber.
INDEX OF AUTHORS, ENGRAVERS OR PUBLISHERS OF THE MAPS LISTED

Alberi, Gaspare - 23
Bertelli, Domenico - 47-49
Bertelli, Luca - 28
Camocio, Giovanni Francesco - 1-3
Cardano, Marco - 13
Codex, Hieronymus - 15
Duchetti, Claudio - 37
Franck, Matthies - 53
Gäser, Hans Wolff - 54
Lafreri, Antonio - 10-11, 16, 39-43
Maier A. P. - V. Paoloni, Asciano
Maier B. B. - V. Bertelli, Donato
Maier T. B. - 45
Nelli, Niccolò - 26-25, 32-37, 51
Nobili, Pietro de - 13
Orlandi, Giovanni - 43
Palombi, Piero Paolo - 12-23
Pilatti, Giovanni Battista - 12
Thoret, André - 52
Weydt, Jean Barzey, Pierre - 9
Zenoni, Domenico - 26-31, 38, 44, -49
Zuliani, Mariano - 4
(Maps nos. 5-8, 17-21 and 50 are anonymous).

Notes
1. The number given in brackets at the end of some maps, e.g. (T. 369) at the end of map no. 50, is a bibliographical reference to R. V. Tooley’s list, namely, “Maps in Italian almanacs of the sixteenth century”, Image Mundii, Vol. X, 1936, pp. 12-47. Some of the variants listed in this Appendix do not have a separate number in Tooley’s list. The author has applied Tooley’s number to the state which is the more common. For instance, under no. 383 Tooley records eight copies extant in various libraries. Almost all the copies he mentions belong to the second state of the map; therefore, Tooley’s number has been applied in the Appendix to map no. 40 rather than to no. 39 which is the first state.
2. Although in the text of the title these have been throughout referred to as ‘maps’, all the siege maps listed herein are either maps of the island or plans of the harbour area. There are 22 maps and 32 plans in hereunder:

(a) maps - nos. 4-11, 14-16, 23, 38, 44, 50-52;
(b) plans - nos. 1-3, 12-13, 15, 24-37, 39-43, 45-49, 53-54.
3. All the maps listed herein were printed on white paper, except Lafreri’s Ritratto dello stesso disegno, ... (plate 7), both in the first and second state (nos. 19 and 40), for which grey-blue paper was used. A late impression of another Lafreri map (no. 10) was printed on green-blue paper.

APPENDIX II

DELLA ARCHITETTURA MILITARE, DI CAPITANO FRANCESCO DE’ MARCHI BOLOGNESE.

p. 236 Esposizione sopra il Disegno della piana CXXXVI. Capitolo Ceneresnero variente secondo.
Questa è la Cartina con dei Belluomini, con le Case amante ritratto all’ordine, & ha Casali posta al mezo della città, & ha dei Pontoni, & se Resiello distanza delle mura, & va strada coperta all’interno di foro: si come mostra l’illusione, ...

377. Addia in questi Plani, & Resiello fono bonissimi, & introvibili, come diceo bauer scrito nel disegno della Piana vintiva, & perche alle volte ha hauuto da dispuere, & da piangere vn poco alte d’alcri, che all’valenza, che deti Plani, & Resiello fannosi bassi, per che era cosa succo a loro, & al nome, & figure de Plani, & Resiello, farit in questa figura per essere lo stato primo all’introverno, li pareva cosa strana; hora fimo me ha fatto gratia, che almeno se non hauo veduto l’occhio corporale, ha visto con la vista della mente: come hauo sento dire che l’effetto, che fanno li Resiello fari in questa figura: dico che hauutno stano alli 28. di Giugno, & alli 4 & 7 di Luglio 1565. Ho veduto nel disegno disegni dell’isola di Malta con la fortificazione fatta da questi valorosissimi Casaliari di S. Giovani: nella quale fortificazione è una forterezza detta S. Ermo, situata alla bocca dell’is pori, si come mostra il tit disegno fari da diverse persone, ma tanti torrano quasi a uno, almeno a sìuir la fortificazione fatta da Casaliari, & massime la forterezza di S. Ermo, perché ella è la prima salita dalla gran murara Turchesca, dove passa vintiva fari Turchi da combattere, & passano d’alcre se le; la qual armara è vna delle grandi che li Turchi habbiano mandata ma fuori di Constantiopolis, & altri parsi pessi. Hora questa fortificazione di S. Ermo, ha un Pontone, a resiello distante staccato dal circolo delle mura, come la ragione voleo, del che non lo so di certo, se mi sento dicere che scritto che vino: hora Turchi hauuto battito sette giorni con quanti ordine Casaliari da ciocella liber di palla, & con vn Basilico che perra a cm libre di palla, & hanno battito vn Casaliari, Beluomardi, & altre difese al solito secondo la relazione: poi hauuto battito il Resiello, & facolti battito: in modo che all’hora hauo fosse messa al posto: per poter piaglie detto Resiello: e così gli ammiri, & altre forte di Turchi andato all’assalto, la dose ne metrano de molti di loro del primo suo ciocella, & dei Stipachci, del che per la gran multitudine del Turchi visse li Casaliari & altri diffensori, che erano nel Resiello: li quali erano pocochini rispetto ad Turchi, ma facevano gran difese, & bello prese del valore loro, dove ne restorno morti da radio degli Christiani: li Turchi presso il Resiello, ma fuanto rebattuto adietro da quelli della forterezza; perché arrivo gli stanza, & altri Turchi sopra la Piazza del Resiello, 07 hauutno riparato nessuno di loro, dose de’ Archebevare, & l’Artiglieria, & altri simil instrumeni: gli valorosi Casaliari, & altri diffensori li rigiorno fuor del Resiello, 01 perdita de molti loro Turchi, & de molti terri che restano nellis foro: li quali Turchi domiliuvano in grazia la morte, & altri de bere: che il non che quale li fosse cesso, perciò abbeva l’aspetto, & altri la morte: Adeguo li Pontoni, & Resiello, & Alcoi son utilissimo, si come s’vedo in effetto nell’isola de Malta l’anno 1565. il Mese di Maggio, & di Giugno, tene morte dominaver, & per tante 8. del Mese di Luglio, ma el successore aspettare altre cause di disgrazia, & li Turchi, S. Ermo: hora tornarono alli Resiello, se la batta che fatto fuo li Turchi nel Resiello o Pontone hauetano fatto nelle mura la medesima batta, & fare piu haazzato fatto nella Cortina, & li medesimi, o più assai, à con maggiore numero d’huomini hauutano dato all’assalto alla forterezza di S. Ermo: la quale era stata in pericolo la di essere presa da Turchi, & per l’attico, & difesa del Resiello non la presa, & così voglia lido, che sev piu hauo ne la mai piaglie cosa de Christiani:...
DE MARCHE SIEGE MAP

DE MARCHE SIEGE MAP

Della forza, e se propone, che dalle due bande si sia porti con 4 quarte in esse; e che dito sia in ripido; e alto almeno fuori d’ogni gran scala, che s’essa in guerra, che sarà di quarto che in quindici traccia. Dico, che la forza si deve fare in 10 fili del Mlle. ... Anche disponendo ... che l’armata non possa intrare nelle due pin, ne prestar tanto il monte di sicuro, sarà necessario a caiure un lungo fosso, e farlo profondamente la metà della larghezza si sarà possibile, a tal 445 si così facile a 4inaro, se a vedere di essi, ma quello più importante, è che non si ponta rimpianti, di giallino posti su superficie, si come è stato giunto ad alcuna forza da med’anni intir. ...<br />

210 Hora il Turchi alla presa del forte di S. Ermo, nell’isola di Malta per pugnato il forte hanno fatto simili ponti, ma il primo è fìtto, e 4rabbisss, così dice gli autori, e lettere stampate, il secondo che fecero il coperchio di terra, e di pietra; perché non lo potevano bruciare; e perché non se rompesse l’apporronno con l’attacco delle Galeere, e con esso arrivo; per se il fono fuo sceso largo, e profondo, non sarea stato così facile a giletto deno posto, e se li fossi esseri stati profondi, non sarebbero stati così facili a ritirare, come fecero, ancora che li stanno così cari; ho battuto via lettera dal M. Giorgio Bornando gentiluomo Veneto con un disegno di Malta, con il forte di S. Ermo: il quale se ne, quattro mila Turchi son morti in più volte, per pugnare il forte di S. Ermo, e cinquecento Cristiani; il fono fuo rimproiettò de fucile, e de palle di luna, e de Turchi, e Mori, che questi morirono. Adunque se li fossi stati più leggi, e più profondi, non sarea perso il deno forte di S. Ermo, e quello che più importa era che non hauessi hauessi da stare alle defese, oche il buco era piccolo, e l’Artigliaria fuorie le mura (di li pessi della pietra amarissa molti de Cristiani; per non si mette così 4n sedere posti per rispetto, per salutare 243 da quelli frangenti di pietra. Perb 4h aha grosi C’auallicri. c piu ancora altri luochi da Illustrissimo Don Garcia de Toledo, con molti altri Signori e Cavallieri de grand’ingegno, A prima: perche ho detto in alcuni luochi che le forize, che non se li pub dar soccorso facilmeme, che le forize che haueranno piu’una forza da eombattere nondissi male; perche se vn solo luoco Turchi contra 4 vn Christiano 4 proportione del gran numero delli Turchi. Adunque se io ho detto loro combattendo, c cflscruano detic forize, contra la forza del Turco: dove sono piu de dodeci settimane detti luochi, c per ancora son fuori, e spero che resteranno con perdita. e vergogna tutti Turchi preso la Fonezza di S. Michele. ne T Borgo, ne T Castello S. Angelo, mahano ben fatto de 1565.

Tornando al proposito di Malta hoggi che siamo all’dieci di Settembre molti forti all’intorno, e con sessanta, c piu Cannoni hanno battuti, con gran prestezza molte ancora potuto pigliare il tutto. Tale nuoua hauemo hoggidi che siamo alii d’Agosto 1565. Michele; non hanno Angelo: e quella di tale se li nemici pigliassero vna fonezza, non per quelle fossero Naue, A altri Legni, irb grandi. e piccoli, doue passano vemicinque milla huomini. e perche vi e senza le potuto andare 4 fare vn’altra impresa; perche l’* vn’armaia de ducenlo Galere, c patroni del luoco. ma che hausssero da eombattere piu’luochi, si come hanno hora li Turchi siarui al copcrto da tali pericoli. e conscTuare li diffensori per il tempo della diffesa da g,i amazzaua molti de Christians per non vi essere cosa doue stare potesscro al ridosso, per saluarsi gentirhuomo Venetiano con vn dissegno di Malta, con il forte dc S. Ermo: il quale me scriuc. ehe forte di importaua era ehe non haueuano huomini da stare alle S. morsero. Adunque se li fossi fossero stali piu larghi, e piu profondi, non saria forsi perso il dello quattro mila Turchi son morli in piu volte, per pigliare il detto forte de S.
30255 .. .Si me potrebbe dire che questa fosse vna gran fabrica, e spesa, io non nego che non sin cost, ma che fanno il Rb, e gli imperatori, per diffendere alle volte un luogo, b per darli soccorso: vedasi il Carlo V. vi andò con vna grosissima, c fiorita armata 1'anno 1523 e per non aver portato dove se Francesco de Franza, che essercito fece per dar soccorso a Landri si nel Paese d'Anusi. & de voiere assaltare vna fortificazione non sarebbe minore spesa? considerando gli esserciti grandissimi che potessero impattire, che sarebbero piu forte, e piu potria venire grade d'imperio, e di ricchezza.. ..

Legge in piu storico. Se delta fortezza fusse in una Isola, e la non avesse pono buono, c sicuro coueria, dico che si deve scarparc se sara possibile, ouero serrare con grossi, a alti muri, che li convenga. Filippo Catolico de Spagna. e la Maestà del Re Francesco di Franza. e del Re Henrico, e li sarebbe fortissimo, c tamo piu saria forte; perche non haueria porto per li nemici: la Penisola, b Alessandro quando combatt il Castello de Tiro, ehe fece come vn Castello in cima dell'albero, della vn'albero dc Naue, b de Galera, a tale che gli arbori, e gaggie, non servissero, come fecero ad Alcante quando combatt la Città de Tiro, che deço come vn Castello in cima dell'albero, della

non haueria porto sicuro per li nemici: la Penisola, e Promontorio fuor porto per la comodita per la traversa de alcuni vetri: questo non hauer poro sicuro doce li nemici non posso porto è doverci, nove ancora fortezza, si come ancora si può vedere per esperienza nell'Isola di Malta, che per la comodita de porti non difenditi, il Turchi non stai sani, e per il contrario si vide nel Giro quello l'imperatore Carlo V. va in modo con gran spese, e fiera armarono li poderi dove se potesse sbarrare, vna stradiera furiosa il giù vna parte deli suoi vaselli a trasporre, che si legge in piu storico. Se deriva fortezza fusse in una Isola, e la non hauesse porto buono, e sicuro ma la minima fortezza fuor qualsiasi fortezza fuor porto potesse vna braccia, per la comodita de se non hauersi aspetti, che se li nemici non potessero salir si per il sea, che la lasciaro trascorrere, a che de l'essercito si diletta: ma vna fortezza che sia in Terraferma, non gli andare dico il porto, che si come considerare: vero e che quando si fosse, e posto in modo che li nemici, non se potesse impattire, che sia piu forte, e piu potria venire grate d'imperio, e di ricchezza.

254 Adunque si deve pensare che questo sea una delle grandezze del Re Filippo di Spagna, e per non haueria mandata in tale luogo, ma in altri, che con minore fatica haueria foste preso, e fatto maggior profitto: la cosa che non hauersi presa delta Maestà: la prima dallo buoni Cauallieri, e Signori, che non hauersi risoluto per la religione Cristiana, e per la liberta loro: poi che per la forza del muro fuor appresso l'in all'altro, in modo che se potessero soccorrendo l'in all'altro, cioè il Porto cipo di tutto, per avere il maggiore, e dove sara l'illusorio gran Maestro; per il Castello S. Angelo, e per il Castello di San Michele, e per il Porto di S. Ermo. Adunque per più lasciati da combatter, e per li bassi difendenti, e per il suo coronato grandissimo che il Maestà del Re Filippo di Spagna ordina, che il Turchi non se attintano a stare in terra, in mare se non in Grecia, masime dove se sono stati battuti, e vrit in piu luochi: ancora il Turchi precipitano del maggiore esistenza: perche non haueria di leggi a poter venire volere; ma che qui in Brussel se speca di sapere le tempe di nostro giorno di piu hauro buono nuovo contra il Turchi, cioè che vano tanti, o fuggi, che la contra la forza loro sara soccorso dell'Isola di Malta con le fortezze. Adunque Senecissima Madonna Margherita d'Austria gran Gouernairice di Flandria, e del Paesi Bassi, che possede la Maestà del Re Filippo, in compagnia de' Illustrissimi Signori del 256 gran Consiglio de Stati di Flandria, e de tuoto lo Stato per diiqui, che l'Eccellente dell'Illustriss. Conte Amorales, b d'Aghamone, l'Eccellenza dell'Illustriss. Princeps d'Oranghieti Giovanni de' Di Brussel adi 27. di Settembre 1565. Francesco de Marchi da Bologna Ciuadino Romano: Questa e vna fortificazione de sette Bellouardi. A vna Piazza, e noire Cauallieri. con vn largo, e profondo fossato, che non haueria potuto operare, li Turchi hauersiano presa no solo con i zappi, ma con il grattare delle mani tante. Li muri, che non hauersiano vna larghezza e profondità che diremo piu. vedasi nell'Isola di Malta, come hanno fortificato il forte di S. Ermo, che non era cosi ben fortificata, e si detta fortezza fosse situata in luogo dove la piana, e rappio, e guarriamo piu favorito; il Turchi l'hauersiano presso in piana, e sopra, ma d'il grattare della mani tanta. Le fortificazioni di Malta haueriano fatto di S. Ermo, e giusto porto; che per il sile di S. Ermos, che non era cosi bene fortificato, e se detta fortezza fosse situata in luogo dove la piana, e rappio, e guarriamo piu favorito; il Turchi l'hauersiano presso in piana, e sopra, ma d'il grattare della mani tanta. Li muri, che non hauersiano vna larghezza e profondità che diremo piu. vedasi nell'Isola di Malta, come hanno fortificato il forte di S. Ermo, che non era cosi ben fortificato, e se detta fortezza fosse situata in luogo dove la piana, e rappio, e guarriamo piu favorito; il Turchi l'hauersiano presso in piana, e sopra, ma d'il grattare della mani tanta. Le fortificazioni di Malta haueriano fatto di S. Ermo, e giusto porto; che per il sile di S. Ermos, che non era cosi
3. In this context, De Marchi mentioned the Castello at Bologna and 267 vergogne, and donzo con gran perdita deSoldati, and ciurma de legni nauigabili....

274 Exposition sopra il Deggno della Pianta CLIX. Capitolo Centesimoqvinqvagesimono.

Questo è vi disegno d'una fortificazione di noto Belladossi senza Casamatta, ma le Canoneire delle fianchi non rientra all'indietro.... danno d'huare un largo, e profondo fossu all'uncorno senza acqua.... Adunque questa sarà una fortezza d'un grandezza, che vi poria capire septe, o otto miliuti contenenti in essa, dose si poria sperare Castelliera per la sua capacità, e starà di poca spesa, cioè a quella che s'è sta in questi tempi, ma chi volesse fare detta fortificazione de minore spesa, facciatela di terreno di una canonicia di lotta erbosa, e senza legumi in essa, la quale serà fortissima essendo in questa figura, e di questa grandezza, e che la volose fare in più breve tempo, se nel deno fossa sarà commoda di cappu, o fascia, o fosse, opprasci i repardi di questi legumi sussopra che in breue si altara il repari, e questo lo dico per quelli che dicendo che serva una grandissima spesa a fare d'alcune di queste fortificazioni, che sono disegnate, e scrive in questa sua opera, ma voria sope da questi tali che fortifichino in questo modo di fasce grassa, e terra per quanto tempo le fanno, e per difendersi da chi, e da che forza d'instrumenti, massime il sito sarà in loco dove si possa bizzare, e dare assalti generali, dico che quelli che fortificano in quest modo, e per poco tempo, perché se se restituisco, e butata da nemici con Canonà di cinquanta, e da sessanta, e da Basilischi da cento libbre di palla, come vuo il Turch, & hora lha fatto vedere nel foro di N. Erno nell'Isola di Malta, si come egli face ancora al Castell munio di Barbaria, dico che tali reparti non raggiano niente, che nell'ora 30, e grandi che billo fortificato il sta spesa gittata vita, oltre la spesa l'incon' peraggio, che per tale occasione perdino gli esserciti i Stati, e Requi....

Note – The treatise on military architecture ends on page 279 of the volume. It is followed by “Libro Quarto” on the mode of fabricate l’Arteeglia & la prattica d’adoperarta (pp. 1 -22). Ciasca wrote (p.374) that, in one of the reprints of the 1599 edition, the essay on Artillery preceded the treatise on military architecture.

REFERENCES

1. See ref. 55 (supra) and the text to which it relates.
2. In his ms. diary of the siege, De Marchi wrote that on the 20th May 20,000 Turks landed in Malta. According to Balbi da Correggio, the military force which sailed from the East to attack Malta consisted of 28,500 fighting men. Later, with the Moors of Dragip, Paola di Tropilli and Hassan of Algiers, and including saracens and volunteers, the total went up to 40,000, not counting the sailors and camp followers. The islan was defended by 6,000 men fit for service (Balbi 1865), pp. 39, 64.
3. In this context, De Marchi mentioned the Castello at Bologna and un foco di. Lauvino Pizetto del Re. Pugh in Barbanlia.

APPENDIX III

Bibliography and abbreviations used in the references


Cass-Ramelli (1960): Cass-Ramelli, A. Delle arseve...
Plate 5

FRANCESCO DE MARCHI

Da una pittura

Portrait of Francesco De Marchi. Engraving by Magonio.
Plate 7

Antonio Lafreri's Ritratto dallo stesso disegno mandato da Malta (first state, map no.39, Appendix 1).

Plate 8

Antonio Lafreri's Ultimo disegno dell'isola di Malta senza la nuovamente (first state, map no.41, Appendix 1).
Domenico's Zonca's Il Porto di Malta di nuovo da molti errori emendato (first state, map n. 30, Appendix 1).

Manuscript coloured plan of the harbour area, showing Francesco Laparelli's new city of Malta.