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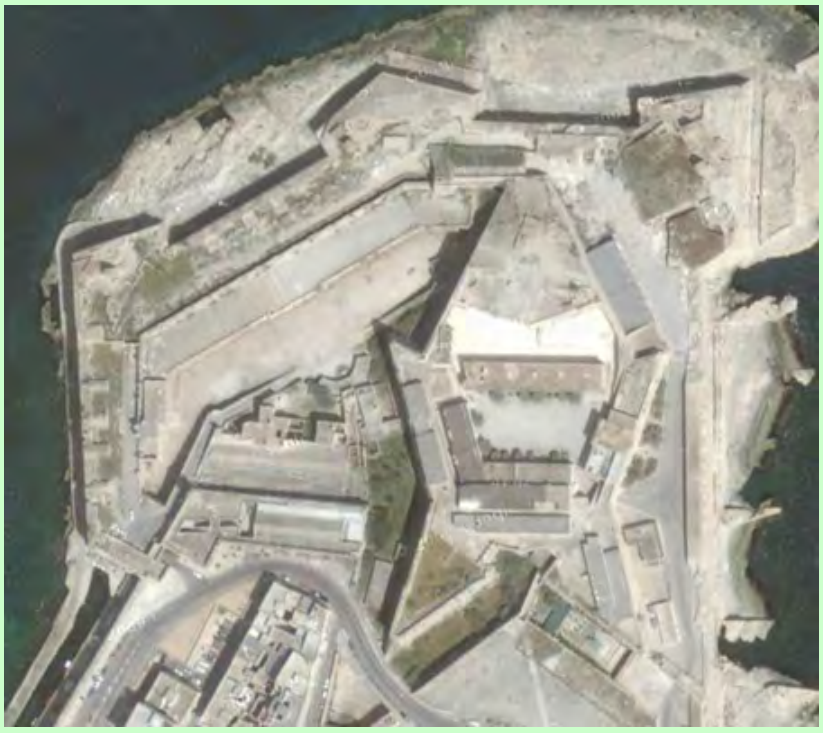
Fort Saint Elmo

Valetta, Malta



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The Knights of Saint John, an organization that had its roots in the Knights Hospitaliers who cared for the sick and wounded in the Holy Land starting in the First Crusade (1099), landed on Malta (just south of Sicily) in 1530 and immediately noted that a fluffy kitten in a tiny sailboat could easily capture the island's best port, it being completely undefended. The Knights started the pile of rocks that would be Fort Saint Elmo in 1533.

The Knights named Fort Saint Elmo after Erasmus of Formiae, a Christian saint and martyr who died circa 303AD. Eastern Roman Emperor Diocletian (244-311) disliked Erasmus' annoying preachin' ways, so had the Christian beaten and "besprinkled with foulness," then did various more inventive things to him, all of which were conveniently turned aside by angels. Western Roman Emperor Maximian (250-310) took a turn at Erasmus next, getting *extremely* inventive in his torture methods. Those angels alternately protected and/or healed Erasmus for a while, but finally got bored and allowed him to heroically perish...thank goodness, otherwise we'd never have a martyr! Erasmus became Saint Elmo, the patron saint of sailors. He was said to have kept preaching even after a near miss from a lightning bolt (which makes it seem to *me* that the guy wasn't any more popular with God than he was with Roman Emperors), which made sailors, always at risk from weather, claim him as their saint.

Ottoman Turks, led by Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent (1494-1566), had ejected the Knights from thir previous island home of Rhodes in 1522. Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1500-1558) gave the Knights Malta (technically he *sold* Malta to the Knights, for the cost of one falcon to be sent annually to the Viceroy of Sicily) so they could stop aimlessly floating around.

Barbary corsairs, such as Turgut Reis (1485-1565), caused no end of trouble for the Knights and pretty much anyone else who wasn't a Muslim through the 1540s and 1550s - and the Knights certainly did their best to mess with the Ottomans. Turgut and his allies captured the entertainingly-named island of Gozo, just to the north of Malta, in 1551. They followed this success by seizing the Knights' stronghold in Tripoli. Anyone could see that Malta was next on the Turkish agenda, so the Knights finished Fort Saint Elmo and built Fort Saint Michael in a six-month period of 1552.

When the Ottoman invasion came in 1565, Fort Saint Elmo held out for over a month against a constant bombardment from Turkish cannon on Mount Sciberras (you'd think the guys who sited these forts would *notice* nearby high ground) , but finally fell on June 23 1565. All but nine of the fort's defenders were slain. Turgut Reis was killed during the battle by shrapnel from the Knights' cannon fire.

Obviously considering their victory to be all-encompassing, the Turks cleared out of Malta after the siege. Grandmaster of the Order of Saint John, Jean Parisot de la Valette (1494-1568) laid the first stone of what would become Valetta on March 28 1566, and Fort Saint Elmo was rebuilt atop the rubble of its original incarnation.

The Knights in Malta continued their mission of fortifying their stronghold and caring for the infirm somewhat unmolested for the next 232 years, until the arrival of...guess who? Clues: He was short and there's a complex named after him. Right! Napoleon (1769-1821) and his navy, on their way to Egypt in 1798, parked at Valetta and asked for permission to resupply their ships. When the Knights granted that permission in their courtly manner, the French took over and the Knights of Malta were ejected from Malta, making them once again the Knights of Nowhere In Particular. The Knights of Saint John eventually made their way to Rome, where today they exist as a sovereign non-nation, complete with their own military arm (which exists as an auxiliary force to the Italian Army), license plates and, for a period after the Second World War (1939-1945), their own air force!

Meanwhile, back in the early 19th century, the French proved an unpopular ruling body with the Maltese, due perhaps to their disdain for Catholicism (and policy of looting everything). The French were eventually forced to take shelter in the many fortifications in and around Valetta when the Maltese rebelled, aided by the British, who were *always* happy to cause trouble for Napoleon. Upon the Treaty of Versailles in 1814, the Maltese people whipped up a Declaration of Rights and agreed to be governed by Britain.

German and Italian air raids severely damaged Valetta during the Second World War. Britain's King George VI (1895-1952) awarded the Maltese people with a George Cross, Britain's highest civilian award, in 1942. The medal is now on display in Valetta's National War Museum, which is located in Fort Saint Elmo.

After the war, Fort Saint Elmo became the home for Malta's Police Academy. Today the fort is a popular tourist attraction, and was used as the setting for a Turkish prison in the 1978 film *Midnight Express*.

Do you have a correction, addition or complaint about *Fort St. Elmo?*

Please head to my Contact Page or Guestbook and let me know. My methods for gleaning information regarding these forts is pretty haphazard, so I truly appreciate any input I can get from people who actually *know* stuff!

Info Source 1 Info Source 2 Info Source 3 Info Souce 4
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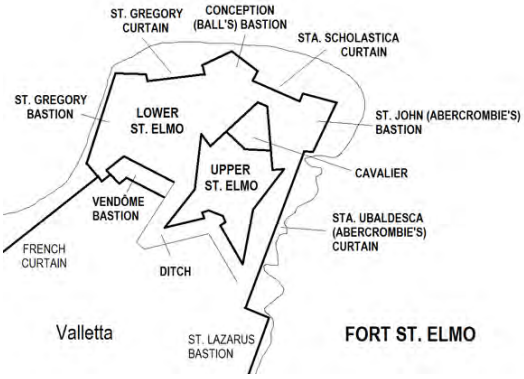
Coordinates: 35°54′07″N 14°31′08″E

Fort Saint Elmo

Fort Saint Elmo (Maltese: *Forti Sant'Iermu*) is a star fort in Valletta, Malta. It stands on the seaward shore of the Sciberras Peninsula that divides Marsamxett Harbour from Grand Harbour, and commands the entrances to both harbours along with Fort Tigné and Fort Ricasoli. It is best known for its role in the Great Siege of Malta of 1565.

Fort Saint Elmo	
Forti Sant'Iermu	
Part of the fortifications of Valletta	
Valletta, Malta	

Aerial view of Valletta, with Fort St. Elmo in the foreground



Map of Fort St. Elmo

Coordinates	35°54′07″N 14°31′08″E
Type	Star fort integrated into a city wall
Area	50,400 m^2 (543,000 sq ft)
Site information	
Owner	Government of Malta
Controlled by	Heritage Malta Police Academy
Open to the public	Yes
Condition	Intact
Site history	
Built	1552–1570s[a]
Built by	Order of Saint John
In use	1552–1972
Materials	Limestone

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History

Background and construction

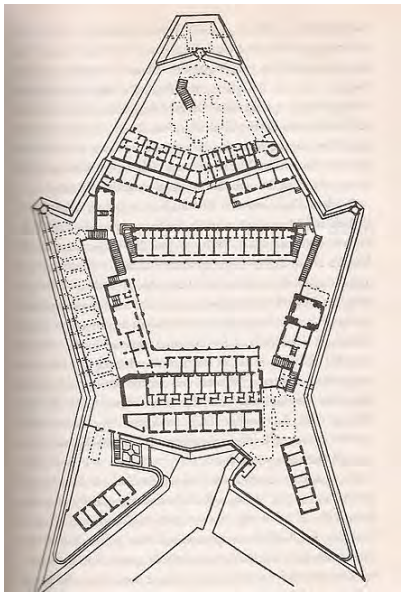
By 1417, the local militia had already established a permanent watch post on the tip of the Sciberras Peninsula.[1] In 1488, the Aragonese built a watchtower on Saint Elmo Point, and it was dedicated to Erasmus of Formia, better known as Saint Elmo. In 1533, the Order of Saint John reinforced the tower due to its strategic location.[2] In 1551, an Ottoman raid occurred in which the Turkish fleet sailed into Marsamxett Harbour unopposed. Due to this, it was decided that a major expansion was necessary, and in 1552 the tower was demolished and a new star fort began to be built. It was designed by a Spanish Engineer named Pietro Pardo.[3] It had a cavalier, a covertway and a tenaille. A ravelin was hastily constructed months before the 1565 siege.[4]

Great Siege of 1565

Battles/wars	Great Siege of Malta World War II
Events	Rising of the Priests
UNESCO World Heritage Site	
Type	Cultural
Criteria	i, vi
Designated	1980 (4th session)
Part of	City of Valletta
Reference no.	131 (https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/131)
State Party	Malta
Region	Europe and North America

In 1565, the Ottomans invaded Malta once again with much more force than in 1551, in the Great Siege of Malta. Fort Saint Elmo was the scene of some of the most intense fighting of this siege, and it withstood massive bombardment from Turkish cannon deployed on Mount Sciberras that overlooked the fort and from batteries on the north arm of Marsamextt Harbour, the present site of Fort Tigné. The initial garrison of the fort was around one hundred and fifty knights and six hundred soldiers, the majority of whom were Spanish, and sixty armed galley slaves. The garrison could be reinforced by boat from the forts across the Grand Harbour at Birgu and Senglea.[4]

During the bombardment of the fort, a cannon misfired and hit the top of its parapet, sending shards in all directions. Debris from the impact killed the gunner and mortally injured the corsair and Ottoman admiral Dragut, one of the most competent of the Ottoman commanders. The fort withstood the siege for 28 days, falling to the Turks on 23 June 1565. None of the defending knights survived, and only nine of the Maltese defenders survived by swimming across to Fort St. Angelo on the other side of the Grand Harbour after Fort St Elmo fell. The long siege bought much needed time for the preparation of the other two fortresses and the arrival of reinforcements from Spain.[4]



Plan of Fort Saint Elmo.

Reconstruction and modifications

After the siege, Grandmaster Jean Parisot de Valette decided to build a new city on the peninsula. Construction started in 1566, and Francesco Laparelli was sent by the Pope to design the fortifications. The ruined Fort Saint Elmo was rebuilt and integrated within the city walls.

The fort was modified a number of times in the 17th century. The Vendôme Bastion was built in 1614, and in 1687 the Carafa Enceinte was built on the foreshore surrounding the entire fort. In the late 17th century, the fort was directly linked to the cavalier and part of the ditch was filled in burying some of the original ramparts in the process.[5] In the 18th century, a new polverista was built in the Vendome Bastion,[1] and stores were built in the area between the main fort and the Carafa Enceinte. These are known as Pinto Stores and they and the surrounding area form what is known as Lower Saint Elmo.[6]

The Siege of Malta - Capture of Fort Saint Elmo by Matteo Perez d'Aleccio

On 8 September 1775, Fort Saint Elmo was captured by 13 rebel priests along with Saint James Cavalier in what became known as the Revolt of the Priests. The Order's flag was lowered and a banner of Saint Paul was raised instead. The Order managed to recapture St Elmo so the rebels in control of St James surrendered as well. Eventually the rebels were tried and three were executed while the others were exiled or imprisoned. The heads of the three executed men were displayed on the corners of St James Cavalier but were removed soon after Emmanuel de Rohan-Polduc was elected Grandmaster in November of the same year.[7]

British rule

The fort was once again modified in the early 19th century by the British, when a musketry parapet was built. In 1855, the polverista at Vendome Bastion was converted into an armoury, and some small arms from the Palace Armoury were transferred there. In the 1870s, more works were done on Abercrombie's Bastion. In 1917, the first heart operation to be performed on a soldier was done at St Elmo.[8] In the interwar period gun emplacements

were built to house new twin 6-pounder QF guns.[1]

The Carafa Enceinte. The towers on top of the bastions are concrete coastal defences built in World War II.

The fort was the site of the first aerial bombardment of Malta on 11 June 1940. Among the people that were in the fort during the air raid was the military doctor Ċensu Tabone, who later became President of Malta. He survived the attack, but six others were killed in the same air raid.[9]

On 26 July 1941, the Italians launched a seaborne attack on the Grand Harbour with two human torpedoes, four MAS boats and six MT boats. The force was detected early on by a British radar facility, and the coastal artillery at Saint Elmo opened fire when the Italians approached to close range. Fifteen of the attackers were killed and 18 captured, and all the human torpedoes and MT boats, along with two of the MAS boats were lost. One of the MT boats hit St. Elmo Bridge, which linked the breakwater with the tip of the peninsula near the fort, and the bridge collapsed. The bridge was never restored, and it was only in 2012 that a new one was built in its place with a similar but different design.[10]

18th century painting of the Hospitaller Governor of Fort St Elmo, with the fort itself and Valletta in the background

Parts of the fort were severely damaged during the war and some scars of the bombing can still be seen to this day.[11] The Royal Malta Artillery left the fort on 26 March 1972, ending its long military history. Parts of the fort subsequently fell in disuse.

Present day

The World Monuments Fund placed the fort on its 2008 Watch List of the 100 Most Endangered Sites in the world because of its significant deterioration due to factors such as lack of maintenance and security, natural aging, and exposure to the elements. Since 2009 major restoration works began,[12] and as of 2014 the restoration of Upper Saint Elmo and the Carafa enceinte was nearly complete.[13][14] Restoration work was completed in 2015.[15] Lower Saint Elmo has been cleaned from the waste that accumulated over the years,[16] and the Grand Harbour Regeneration Corporation is making plans to begin restoration.[17]

Interior of Fort Saint Elmo after restoration and inauguration as a museum

From 1975, part of the fort housed the National War Museum, which contained military equipment and other things related to World War I and II. A replica of the George Cross that was awarded to Malta by King George VI in April 1942, was also on display in this museum.[18] The museum closed in September 2014,[19] and reopened in May 2015 having a larger collection.[20]

In Guardia parade at St Elmo

Since the mid-20th century, Fort Saint Elmo has also housed Malta's police academy. Other parts of the fort are used for *In Guardia* and *Alarme* military reenactments.[21]

While the fort was being restored, some archaeological excavations were made and various elements of the original pre-1565 fort were uncovered. This was an important find because little of the original fort exists, mainly because Laparelli rebuilt it in 1566 and it underwent a lot of renovation between the 17th and 19th centuries.[5]

In November 2015 the fort was used as a media centre for the Valletta Summit on Migration.[22] Foreign journalists stated that it was possibly "the most stunning venue which ever hosted an EU summit".[23]

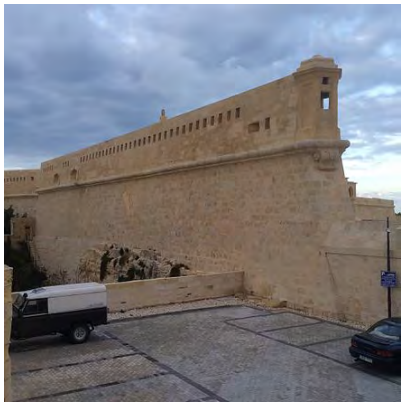
Layout

The original star fort, sometimes known as Upper St. Elmo to distinguish it from the rest of the fort, consists of two demi-bastions, two flanks and two faces, a parade ground, barracks and a large cavalier. The fort included a ravelin in 1565, but this was demolished during the fort's reconstruction after the siege.

Left Demi-Bastion of Fort St. Elmo, before restoration

A gate known as the *Porta del Soccorso* serves as the main entrance to Upper St. Elmo.[24] The 15th-century Chapel of St Anne is located within the fort's walls close to this gate,[25] and the 18th-century Church of St Anne is found within the parade ground.[26]

After the fortifications of Valletta were built, Vendôme Bastion was constructed in 1614 linking the French Curtain to Fort St. Elmo. The bastion contains an echaugette, and it was eventually converted into a magazine, and later an armoury. The bastion is now part of the National War Museum.[27]



Fort St. Elmo after restoration

The Carafa Enceinte, which was built starting from 1687, encloses the original fort as well as Vendôme Bastion. It consists of the following bastions and curtain walls:

- St. Gregory Bastion – an asymmetrical bastion with a long left face. It was altered by the British to house QF 6 pounder 10 cwt guns.[28]
- St. Gregory Curtain – a curtain wall linking St. Gregory and Conception Bastions. It contains various British gun emplacements.[29]
- Conception Bastion, also known as Ball's Bastion – a small pentagonal bastion, containing a number of gun emplacements, magazines, and gun crew accommodation. Sir Alexander Ball was buried in the salient of the bastion.[30]
- Sta. Scholastica Curtain – curtain wall linking Conception and St. John Bastions. It contains a gun emplacement for a RML 12.5 inch 38 ton gun, as well as other British modifications.[31]
- St. John Bastion, also known as Abercrombie's Bastion – a large asymmetrical bastion at St. Elmo Point, the tip of the Sciberras Peninsula. The bastion contains several British gun emplacements and magazines. Sir Ralph Abercromby was buried on the bastion.[32]
- St. Ubaldesca Curtain, also known as Abercrombie's Curtain – a long curtain wall linking St. John and St. Lazarus Bastions. It contains a number of British gun emplacements.[33]

Some barrack blocks are located in the area between Upper St. Elmo and the Carafa Enceinte.

View of Fort St. Elmo

In popular culture

- In the historical fiction novel "The Religion", author Tim Willocks gives a fictionalized account of the battle for the fort (during the 1565 Siege of Malta).
- Lower Saint Elmo was used as a film location for the Turkish jail in the 1978 film *Midnight Express*.[34]
- The fort is mentioned in the 1980 thriller novel *Man on Fire* by A. J. Quinnell. The main character Creasy trained with the AFM inside the fort.
- Fort Saint Elmo was featured on Maltese stamps in 1980 and 2003, and on a UNESCO stamp in 1981.
- Popular Maltese folk band Etnika gave three concerts on 31 July, 1 and 2 August 2003 named Bumbum, that drew thousands of revellers to listen to modern Maltese folk music.
- In the popular real time strategy game released in 2005, *Age of Empires III*, the first level's task is to defend a fort on Malta against the Ottomans, which appears to be Fort St. Elmo.
- The first part of the music video of the 2008 song *Vodka* by the Gozitan singer Morena was filmed at Lower Saint Elmo (the same part of the fort that was used for *Midnight Express*).
- The fort plays a key role in the novel *Sword and Scimitar* by Simon Scarrow.

Further reading

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Notes

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Further reading

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External links

- National Inventory of the Cultural Property of the Maltese Islands (http://www.culturalheritage.gov.mt/filebank/inventory/Knights%20Fortifications/1686.pdf)
- The World Monuments Fund's 2008 Watch listing for Fort St. Elmo (http://www.wmf.org/project/fort-st-elmo)

Retrieved from "https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Fort_Saint_Elmo&oldid=1093913192"

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WIKIPEDIA

Coordinates: 35°53′54″N 14°30′45″E

Valletta

Valletta (/vəˈlɛtə/, Maltese: *il-Belt Valletta*, Maltese pronunciation: [vɐˈlːɛtːɐ]) is the administrative unit and capital of Malta. Located on the main island, between Marsamxett Harbour to the west and the Grand Harbour to the east, its population within administrative limits in 2014 was 6,444.[3] According to the data from 2020 by Eurostat, the Functional Urban Area and metropolitan region covered the whole island and has a population of 480,134.[2][4] Valletta is the southernmost capital of Europe,[5][note 1] and at just 0.61 square kilometres (0.24 sq mi), it is the European Union's smallest capital city.[6][7]

Valletta's 16th-century buildings were constructed by the Knights Hospitaller. The city was named after Jean Parisot de Valette, who succeeded in defending the island from an Ottoman invasion during the Great Siege of Malta. The city is Baroque in character, with elements of Mannerist, Neo-Classical and Modern architecture, though the Second World War left major scars on the city, particularly the destruction of the Royal Opera House. The city was officially recognised as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 1980.[8] Today, with 320 monuments, is one of the most dense monuments areas in the world.[8] Sometimes called an "open-air museum",[9] Valletta was chosen as the European Capital of Culture in 2018. Valletta is also the sunniest city in Europe.[10][11]

The city is noted for its fortifications, consisting of bastions, curtains and cavaliers, along with the beauty of its Baroque palaces, gardens and churches.

Valletta

Il-Belt Valletta

local council

From top: Skyline, Saluting Battery, Lower Barrakka Gardens, St. John's Co-Cathedral and the city walls

Flag

Coat of arms

Nickname(s): Il-Belt

Motto(s): City Built By Gentlemen For Gentlemen

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Map of the Maltese Archipelago with Valletta

Show map of Malta
Show map of European Union
Show map of Mediterranean
Show all

Coordinates: 35°53′54″N 14°30′45″E[1]

Country	Malta
Established	28 March 1566
Capital city	18 March 1571
Founded by	Jean de Parisot Valette
Borders	Floriana
Government	
• **Mayor**	Alfred Zammit (PL)
Area	
• **local council**	0.61 km^2 (0.24 sq mi)
• **Urban**	256 km^2 (99 sq mi)
Elevation	56 m (184 ft)
Population (Jan. 2019)	
• **local council**	5,827
• **Density**	9,600/km^2 (25,000/sq mi)
• **Urban**	480,134[2]
Demonym(s)	Belti (m), Beltija (f), Beltin (pl) or Vallettan (m), Vallettana (f), Vallettani (pl)
Time zone	UTC+1 (CET)
• **Summer (DST)**	UTC+2 (CEST)
Postal code	VLT
Dialing code	356
ISO 3166 code	MT-60
Patron saints	St. Dominic Our Lady of Mount Carmel St. Paul St. Augustine
Day of festa	3 August 10 February
Website	Official website (http://www.cityofvalletta.org/)
UNESCO World Heritage Site	
Official name	City of Valletta
Criteria	Cultural: i, vi
Reference	131 (https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/131)
Inscription	1980 (4th Session)
Area	55.5 ha

History

Former mural at *Is-Suq tal-Belt* illustrating the city's construction

The peninsula was previously called *Xagħret Mewwija* (Mu' awiya – Meuia; named during the Arab period[12])[13][14] or Ħal Newwija.[15] Mewwija refers to a sheltered place.[16] Some authors state that the extreme end of the peninsula was known as Xebb ir-Ras (Sheb point), of which name origins from the lighthouse on site.[17][18] A family which surely owned land became known as *Sceberras*, now a Maltese surname as Sciberras.[19] At one point the entire peninsula became known as Sceberras.

Historical affiliations

- Order of Saint John 1566–1798
- French Republic 1798–1800
- Protectorate of Malta 1800–1813
- Crown Colony of Malta 1813–1964
- State of Malta 1964–1974
- Republic of Malta 1974–present

Recent scholarly studies have however shown that the Xeberras phrase is of Punic origin and means 'the headland' and 'the middle peninsula' as it actually is.[20]

Order of Saint John

The building of a city on the Sciberras Peninsula had been proposed by the Order of Saint John as early as 1524.[21] Back then, the only building on the peninsula was a small watchtower[22] dedicated to Erasmus of Formia (Saint Elmo), which had been built in 1488.[23]

In 1552, the Aragonite watchtower was demolished and the larger Fort Saint Elmo was built in its place.[24]

The Ottoman army bombs the Knights' Three Cities from the peninsula of Sciberras during the 1565 Great Siege.

In the Great Siege of 1565, Fort Saint Elmo fell to the Ottomans, but the Order eventually won the siege with the help of Sicilian reinforcements. The victorious Grand Master, Jean de Valette, immediately set out to build a new fortified city on the Sciberras Peninsula to fortify the Order's position in Malta and bind the Knights to the island. The city took his name and was called *La Valletta*.[25]

The Grand Master asked the European kings and princes for help, receiving a lot of assistance due to the increased fame of the Order after their victory in the Great Siege. Pope Pius V sent his military architect, Francesco Laparelli, to design the new city, while Philip II of Spain sent substantial monetary aid. The foundation stone of the city was laid by Grand Master de Valette on 28 March 1566. He placed the first stone in what later became Our Lady of Victories Church.[26]

The nave of Saint John's Co-Cathedral

In his book *Dell'Istoria della Sacra Religione et Illustrissima Militia di San Giovanni Gierosolimitano* (English: The History of the Sacred Religion and Illustrious Militia of St John of Jerusalem), written between 1594 and 1602, Giacomo Bosio writes that when the cornerstone of Valletta was placed, a group of Maltese elders said: "*Iegi zimen en fel wardia col sceber raba iesue uquie*" (Which in modern Maltese reads, "*Jiġi żmien li fil-Wardija [l-Għolja Sciberras] kull xiber raba' jiswa uqija*", and in English, "There will come a time when every piece of land on Sciberras Hill will be worth its weight in gold").[27]

Grandmaster's Palace

De Valette died from a stroke on 21 August 1568 at age 74 and never saw the completion of his city. Originally interred in the church of Our Lady of the Victories, his remains now rest in St. John's Co-Cathedral among the tombs of other Grand Masters of the Knights of Malta.[26]

Valletta and the Grand Harbour c. 1801

Francesco Laparelli was the city's principal designer and his plan departed from medieval Maltese architecture, which exhibited irregular winding streets and alleys. He designed the new city on a rectangular grid plan, and without any *collacchio* (an area restricted for important buildings). The streets were designed to be wide and straight, beginning centrally from the City Gate and ending at Fort Saint Elmo (which was rebuilt) overlooking the Mediterranean; certain bastions were built 47 metres (154 ft) high. His assistant was the Maltese architect Girolamo Cassar, who later oversaw the construction of the city himself after Laparelli's death in 1570.[26]

The *Ufficio delle Case* regulated the building of the city as a planning authority.[28]

The city of Valletta was mostly completed by the early 1570s, and it became the capital on 18 March 1571 when Grand Master Pierre de Monte moved from his seat at Fort St Angelo in Birgu to the Grandmaster's Palace in Valletta.

Seven Auberges were built for the Order's Langues, and these were complete by the 1580s.[29][30] An eighth Auberge, Auberge de Bavière, was later added in the 18th century.[31]

In Antoine de Paule's reign, it was decided to build more fortifications to protect Valletta, and these were named the Floriana Lines after the architect who designed them, Pietro Paolo Floriani of Macerata.[32] During António Manoel de Vilhena's reign, a town began to form between the walls of Valletta and the Floriana Lines, and this evolved from a suburb of Valletta to Floriana, a town in its own right.[33]

In 1634, a gunpowder factory explosion killed 22 people in Valletta.[34] In 1749, Muslim slaves plotted to kill Grandmaster Pinto and take over Valletta, but the revolt was suppressed before it even started due to their plans leaking out to the Order.[35] Later on in his reign, Pinto embellished the city with Baroque architecture, and many important buildings such as Auberge de Castille were remodeled or completely rebuilt in the new architectural style.[36]

Turner's depiction of the Grand Harbour, National Museum of Fine Arts

In 1775, during the reign of Ximenes, an unsuccessful revolt known as the Rising of the Priests occurred in which Fort Saint Elmo and Saint James Cavalier were captured by rebels, but the revolt was eventually suppressed.[37]

French occupation and British rule

In 1798, the French invaded the island and expelled the Order.[38] After the Maltese rebelled, French troops continued to occupy Valletta and the surrounding harbour area, until they capitulated to the British in September 1800. In the early 19th century, the British Civil Commissioner, Henry Pigot, agreed to demolish the majority of the city's fortifications.[39] The demolition was again proposed in the 1870s and 1880s, but it was never carried out and the fortifications have survived largely intact.[21]

Early morning in 1967 on the notorious Strait Street known to generations of British Servicemen (especially to sailors on shore leave) as "The Gut". Bars and bordellos abounded, and brawls were common, but its popularity never waned.

Eventually building projects in Valletta resumed under British rule. These projects included widening gates, demolishing and rebuilding structures, widening newer houses over the years, and installing civic projects. The Malta Railway, which linked Valletta to Mdina, was officially opened in 1883.[40] It was closed down in 1931 after buses became a popular means of transport.

In 1939, Valletta was abandoned as the headquarters of the Royal Navy Mediterranean Fleet due to its proximity to Italy and the city became a flash point during the subsequent two-year long Siege of Malta.[41] German and Italian air raids throughout the Second World War caused much destruction in Valletta and the rest of the harbor area. The Royal Opera House, constructed at the city entrance in the 19th century, was one of the buildings lost to the raids.[24]

Valletta harbour c. 1850, photo by Calvert Jones

1853 King's Gate

Royal Opera House in 1911

Bomb damage in Valletta during the Second World War

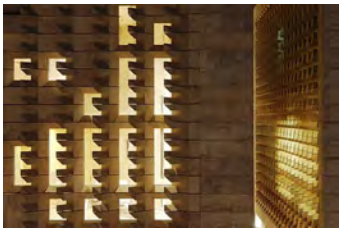
Contemporary

In 1980, the 24th Chess Olympiad took place in Valletta.[42]

The entire city of Valletta has been a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1980, along with Megalithic Temples of Malta and the Hypogeum of Ħal-Saflieni.[8][43] On 11 November 2015 Valletta hosted the Valletta Summit on Migration in which European and African leaders discussed the European migrant crisis.[44] After that, on 27 November 2015 the city also hosted part of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting 2015.[45]

Valletta was the European Capital of Culture in 2018.[46]

Renzo Piano's Valletta City Gate (2014)



Detail of the Parliament House (2015)

Mediterranean Conference Centre, former *Sacra Infermeria* (2016)

Renovated Tritons' Fountain (2018)

Auberge d'Italie, renovated in 2016 to host the new MUŻA (*Mużew Nazzjonali tal-Arti*)

Renovated covered market Is-Suq tal-Belt, 2018

Government

Local government

Auberge de Castille at night

The Valletta Local Council was established by the Local Councils Act of 1993, along with the other local councils of Malta.[47] The first election was held on 20 November 1993. Other elections were held in 1996, 1999, 2002, 2005, 2008, 2013,[48] 2017.[49] The present local council was elected in 2019.[50] The local council is housed in a building in South Street.

The following people have served as Mayors of Valletta:[51]

- Hector Bruno (1993–1999) (PN)
- Paul Borg Olivier (1999–2008) (PN)
- Alexei Dingli (2008–2019) (PN) [52]
- Christian Micallef (2019) (PN) [53]
- Alfred Zammit (2019–) (PL) [54]

Renzo Piano's Parliament House

National government

Valletta is the capital city of Malta,[55] and is the country's administrative and commercial hub.[56] The Parliament of Malta has been housed at the Parliament House near the city's entrance since 2015: it was previously housed at the Grandmaster's Palace in the city centre.[57] The latter palace still houses the Office of the President of Malta,[58] while the Auberge de Castille houses the Office of the Prime Minister of Malta. The courthouse and many government departments are also located in Valletta.[59]

Geography

The Valletta peninsula has two natural harbours, Marsamxett and the Grand Harbour.[43] The Grand Harbour is Malta's major port, with unloading quays at nearby Marsa. A cruise-liner terminal is located along the old seawall of the Valletta Waterfront that Portuguese Grandmaster Manuel Pinto da Fonseca built.[60]

Valletta between its two harbours

Climate

Valletta features a Mediterranean climate (Köppen *Csa*) with very mild, wet winters and warm to hot, slightly long, dry summers, with an average annual temperature above 23 °C (73 °F) during the day and 16 °C (61 °F). Valletta experiences a lack of precipitation during the summer months and most of the precipitation happens during the winter months. Winter temperatures are moderated by the surrounding sea, as a result, the city has very mild winters. The official climate recording station in Malta is at Luqa Airport, which is a few miles inland from Valletta. Average high temperatures range from around 16 °C (61 °F) in January to about 32 °C (90 °F) in August, while average low temperatures range from around 10 °C (50 °F) in January to 23 °C (73 °F) in August.

Climate data for Malta (Luqa Airport in the suburbs of Valletta, 1991–2020)													
Month	**Jan**	**Feb**	**Mar**	**Apr**	**May**	**Jun**	**Jul**	**Aug**	**Sep**	**Oct**	**Nov**	**Dec**	**Year**
Average high °C (°F)	15.7 (60.3)	15.7 (60.3)	17.4 (63.3)	20.0 (68.0)	24.2 (75.6)	28.7 (83.7)	31.7 (89.1)	32.0 (89.6)	28.6 (83.5)	25.0 (77.0)	20.8 (69.4)	17.2 (63.0)	23.1 (73.6)
Daily mean °C (°F)	12.9 (55.2)	12.6 (54.7)	14.1 (57.4)	16.4 (61.5)	20.1 (68.2)	24.2 (75.6)	26.9 (80.4)	27.5 (81.5)	24.9 (76.8)	21.8 (71.2)	17.9 (64.2)	14.5 (58.1)	19.5 (67.1)
Average low °C (°F)	10.1 (50.2)	9.5 (49.1)	10.9 (51.6)	12.8 (55.0)	15.8 (60.4)	19.6 (67.3)	22.1 (71.8)	23.0 (73.4)	21.2 (70.2)	18.4 (65.1)	14.9 (58.8)	11.8 (53.2)	15.9 (60.6)
Average precipitation mm (inches)	79.3 (3.12)	73.2 (2.88)	45.3 (1.78)	20.7 (0.81)	11.0 (0.43)	6.2 (0.24)	0.2 (0.01)	17.0 (0.67)	60.7 (2.39)	81.8 (3.22)	91.0 (3.58)	93.7 (3.69)	580.7 (22.86)
Average precipitation days (≥ 1.0 mm)	10.0	8.2	6.1	3.8	1.5	0.8	0.0	1.0	4.3	6.6	8.7	10.0	61
Mean monthly sunshine hours	169.3	178.1	227.2	253.8	309.7	336.9	376.7	352.2	270.0	223.8	195.0	161.2	3,054
Source: *Meteo Climate*,[61] MaltaWeather.com (sun data)[62]													

Cityscape

The architecture of Valletta's streets and piazzas ranges from mid-16th century Baroque to Modernism. The city is the island's principal cultural center and has a unique collection of churches, palaces and museums and act as one of the city's main visitor attractions. When Benjamin Disraeli, future British Prime Minister, visited the city in 1830, he described it as "a city of palaces built by gentlemen for gentlemen," and remarked that "Valletta equals in its noble architecture, if it does not excel, any capital in Europe," and in other letters called it "comparable to Venice and Cádiz" and "full of palaces worthy of Palladio."[63][64]

Lower Barrakka Gardens and its monument of remembrance

Buildings of historic importance include St John's Co-Cathedral, formerly the Conventual Church of the Knights of Malta. It has the only signed work and largest painting by Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio.[65] The Auberge de Castille et Leon, formerly the official seat of the Knights of Malta of the Langue of Castille, Léon and Portugal, is now the office of the Prime Minister of Malta.[59] The Grandmaster's Palace, built between 1571 and 1574 and formerly the seat of the Grand Master of the Knights of Malta, used to house the Maltese Parliament, now situated in a purpose-built structure at the entrance to the city, and now houses the offices of the President of Malta.[66]

The National Museum of Fine Arts is a Rococo palace dating back to the late 1570s, which served as the official residence of the Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean Fleet during the British era from the 1820s onwards. The Manoel Theatre (Maltese: *Teatru Manoel*) was constructed in just ten months in 1731, by order of Grand Master António Manoel de Vilhena, and is one of the oldest working theatres in Europe. The Mediterranean Conference Centre was formerly the Sacra Infermeria. Built in 1574, it was one of Europe's most renowned hospitals during the Renaissance. The fortifications of the port, built by the Knights as a magnificent series of bastions, demi-bastions, cavaliers and curtains, approximately 100 metres (330 ft) high, all contribute to the unique architectural quality of the city.

Neighbourhoods

Valletta contains a number of unofficial neighbourhoods, including:[67]

Valletta in the foreground and Fort Saint Elmo at the front

Exterior and interior outlines of Valletta

- Strada Rjali – the main thoroughfare, Triq ir-Repubblika
- l-Arċipierku – an area close to the Sacra Infermeria. Its name possibly derives from *archipelago* since it contains a number of lanes which break up the area into many "islands" of houses, or from *archi-borgo* since the area is located just outside Fort Saint Elmo.[68]
- il-Baviera – an area around the English Curtain, bounded by Old Bakery, Archbishop, Marsamxett and St. Sebastian Streets. It is named after Auberge de Bavière.[68]
- il-Biċċerija – an area close to il-Baviera, named after the slaughterhouse which was formerly located there.[68]
- il-Kamrata – an area close to the Sacra Infermeria. It is named after the Camerata, a spiritual retreat which was demolished in the 19th century and replaced by social housing.[68]
- Deux Balles (Maltese: *Duwi Balli*) – an area close to il-Baviera. The name probably originates from the French occupation.[68]
- il-Fossa – an area close to the Jews' Sally Port and Fort Saint Elmo. It is regarded as the worst maintained area of Valletta.[69]
- Manderaggio (Maltese: *il-Mandraġġ*) – an area behind Manderaggio Curtain, bounded by St. Mark, St. Lucia, St. Patrick and Marsamxett Streets. This was meant to be a small harbour (mandracchio) but it was never completed, and a slum area developed instead. The slums were demolished in the 1950s and were rebuilt as housing estates.[68]

Economy

Eurostat estimates the labour force in 2015 for the greater Valletta area at around 91,000 people. This corresponds to a share of just under 50 percent of Malta. As in Malta as a whole, tourism is an important economic sector. The most important tourism zone is the area surrounding the Grand Harbour. For the cruise industry, after several years of planning, work began in 2002 to build the Valletta Waterfront Project, a cruise terminal, in the Grand Harbour.[70] There is also a publishing house in Valletta, Allied Newspapers ltd, a media company. This company publishes the two market-leading newspapers, Times of Malta and The Sunday Times of Malta.

Education

The Valletta Campus of the University of Malta is situated in the Old University Building. It serves as an extension of the Msida Campus, especially offering international masters programmes.[71]

A church school, "St. Albert the Great", is also situated in Valletta. The Headmaster is Alternattiva Demokratika politician Mario Mallia.[72][73]

Culture

Valletta has been designated European Capital of Culture for 2018.[74] The year was inaugurated with an event called **Erba' Pjazez** (Four Squares), with shows focused in 4 plazas in the city – Triton Square, St. George's Square, St. John's Square, and Castille Square – along with other shows in other points.[75] This was followed by the unveiling of a public art installation, **Kif Jgħid il-Malti** (Maltese Sayings), which featured a number of Maltese language proverb figured in gypsum, in order to engage linguistic heritage.[76][77]

Renzo Piano's Pjazza Teatru Rjal on the ruins of the Royal Opera House

Saint James Cavalier

Saint James Cavalier, originally a raised gun platform, was converted into a Centre of Creativity in the year 2000 as part of Malta's Millennium Project. It now houses a small theatre, a cinema, music rooms and art galleries. Various exhibitions are regularly held there. It has welcomed over a million visitors since opening.[78]

Saint James Cavalier at night

Music

The Valletta International Baroque Festival is held every year in January. Jazz music in Malta was introduced in the Strait Street area, frequented by Allied sailors during both World Wars. Malta's Jazz Festival took place here. Strait Street is also known as *The Gut*. This area is undergoing a programme of regeneration. The city's dual band clubs are the "King's Own Band Club" (Maltese: *L-Għaqda Mużikali King's Own*) and "La Valette National Philharmonic Society" (Maltese: *Is-Soċjetà Filarmonika Nazzjonali La Valette*).

Carnival

Valletta is the scene of the Maltese Carnival, held in February leading up to Lent.[79] In 1823 the Valletta carnival was the scene of a human crush tragedy in which at least 110 boys perished.[80]

Feasts

- The feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel is celebrated on 16 July
- Saint Paul's feast is celebrated on 10 February
- Saint Dominic's feast is celebrated in Valletta on 4 August or before
- The feast of Saint Augustine is celebrated on the third Sunday after Easter
- The city's residents also conduct an annual procession in honour of St. Rita

Twin towns – sister cities

Valletta is twinned with:[81]

- Palermo, Italy

Transport

Bus station at Valletta

Malta International Airport is 8 kilometres (5.0 mi) from the city in the town of Luqa. Malta's public transport system, which uses buses, operates mostly on routes to or from Valletta, with their central terminus just outside the city gate. Traffic within the city itself is restricted, with some principal roads being completely pedestrian areas. In 2006, a park and ride system was implemented in order to increase the availability of parking spaces in the city. People can leave their vehicles in a nearby Floriana car park and transfer to a van for the rest of the trip.

In 2007, a congestion pricing scheme was implemented to reduce long-term parking and traffic while promoting business in the city.[82][83] An ANPR-based automated system takes photos of vehicles as they enter and exit the charging zone and vehicle owners are billed according to the duration of their stay.[82]

Valletta is served by a fleet of electric taxis which transport riders from 10 points in Valletta to any destination in the city.[84]

Notable people

Sports

- Valletta F.C. Association Football team and Futsal team
- Valletta Lions RFC Rugby Football Union team
- Valletta's Marsamxett Harbour a "Regatta" (Rowing) Team, which takes part in the annual traditional Regatta on Victory Day (8 September).
- Valletta United W.P.C., a Water Polo Club hailing from Marsamxett side
- Valletta V.C., a Volleyball club.
- Marsamxett Boċċi, a "Boċċi" Club from Marsamxett, Valletta.
- Valletta St. Paul's Boċċi, a "Boċċi" Club from L-Arċipierku side, Valletta.

Cultural references

- The poems "Valetta, Capital of Malta". and "Strada St. Ursola.—Malta". by Letitia Elizabeth Landon were both published in *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book*, 1837.
- Several chapters of Thomas Pynchon's postmodern novel *V.* take place in the city of Valletta.
- Much of Nicholas Rinaldi's novel *The Jukebox Queen of Malta* is set in Valletta.
- Several chapters of Patrick O'Brian's novel *Treason's Harbour*, the 9th in his Aubrey-Maturin series, are set in Valletta.
- A portion of Rick Riordan's novel *The House of Hades* is set in Valletta; here Jason Grace, Nico di Angelo, Piper McLean, Hazel Levesque and Frank Zhang reunite with their comrade Leo Valdez after Jason pilots their ship from the palace of Notus, god of the south wind, on the North African coast on a fast trip with Notus' storm spirits bound to the prow.
- Parts of Steven Spielberg's Academy Award-nominated film *Munich* (2005) were shot in Valletta.[85]
- In the popular computer strategy game *Age of Empires III*, Valletta and its surrounding areas are featured as the base of the main protagonist, Morgan Black, and are the setting for the first two levels of the game.
- Valletta is the birthplace of comic book character Corto Maltese, created by Italian artist Hugo Pratt.

- In *Civilization V* and *Civilization VI*, Valletta is an independent city-state that players compete for influence over.
- The opening level of *Splinter Cell: Conviction* is set in Valletta.
- The 1988 video game *Where in Europe Is Carmen Sandiego?* includes Valletta as a city to which the player may travel.[86]

Further reading

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Notes

1. Nicosia in Cyprus is further south than Valletta, however Cyprus is geographically part of Asia, although occasionally considered a European country in political and cultural geography. The United Nations geoscheme includes Cyprus in Western Asia.

External links

- Valletta Local Council (http://www.cityofvalletta.org)
- Valletta Living History (https://web.archive.org/web/20110207154320/http://maltaattraction.com/)
- Valletta, Malta's capital city and UNESCO World Heritage Site (https://www.welcome-center-malta.com/valletta-maltas-capital-city-and-unesco-world-heritage-site/)
- Old maps (https://merhav.nli.org.il/primo-explore/search?query=any,contains,valletta%20map&tab=default_tab&search_scope=Local&sortby=lso01&vid=NLI&mfacet=topic,include,Valletta%20(Malta),1&lang=en_US&offset=0&came_from=sort) of Valletta from the Eran Laor Cartographic Collection, The National Library of Israel

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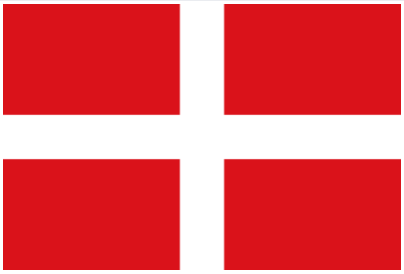
Knights Hospitaller

The **Order of Knights of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem** (Latin: *Ordo Fratrum Hospitalis Sancti Ioannis Hierosolymitani*), commonly known as the **Knights Hospitaller** (/ˈhɒspɪtələr/),[1] was a medieval and early modern Catholic military order. It was headquartered in the Kingdom of Jerusalem until 1291, on the island of Rhodes from 1310 until 1522, in Malta from 1530 until 1798 and at Saint Petersburg from 1799 until 1801. Today several organizations continue the Hospitaller tradition, specifically the mutually recognized orders of St. John, which are the Sovereign Military Order of Malta, the Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of Saint John, the Bailiwick of Brandenburg of the Chivalric Order of Saint John, the Order of Saint John in the Netherlands, and the Order of Saint John in Sweden.

The Hospitallers arose in the early 12th century, during the time of the Cluniac movement (a Benedictine Reform movement). Early in the 11th century, merchants from Amalfi founded a hospital in the Muristan district of Jerusalem, dedicated to John the Baptist, to provide care for sick, poor, or injured pilgrims to the Holy Land. Blessed Gerard became its head in 1080. After the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 during the First Crusade, a group of Crusaders formed a religious order to support the hospital. Some scholars consider that the Amalfitan order and hospital were different from Gerard's order and its hospital.

The organization became a military religious order under its own papal charter, charged with the care and defense of the Holy Land. Following the conquest of the Holy Land by Islamic forces, the knights operated from Rhodes, over which they were sovereign, and later from Malta, where they administered a vassal state under the Spanish viceroy of Sicily. The Hospitallers were one of the smallest groups to briefly colonize parts of the Americas: they acquired four Caribbean islands in the mid-17th century, which they turned over to France in the 1660s.

The knights became divided during the Protestant Reformation, when rich commanderies of the order in northern Germany and the Netherlands became Protestant and largely separated from the Roman Catholic main stem, remaining separate to this day, although ecumenical relations between the descendant chivalric orders are amicable. The order was suppressed in England, Denmark, and some other parts of northern Europe, and it was further damaged by Napoleon's capture of Malta in 1798, following which it became dispersed throughout Europe.

Knights Hospitaller of Saint John of Jerusalem *Fraternitas Hospitalaria*	
 Flag of the Order	
Active	c. 1099–present[a]
Allegiance	The Pope
Type	Catholic military order
Headquarters	Jerusalem Rhodes Birgu Valletta
Nickname(s)	The "Religion"
Patron	Our Lady of Philermos John the Baptist
Colors	Black and white Red and white
Engagements	The Crusades Siege of Ascalon (1153) Battle of Hattin (1187) Siege of Jerusalem (1187) Battle of Arsuf (1191) Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212) Fall of Krak des Chevaliers (1271)

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Commanders	
Notable commanders	Jean Parisot de Valette, Philippe Villiers de L'Isle-Adam, Garnier de Nablus

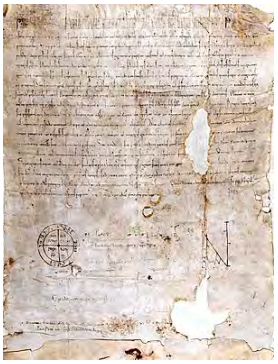
History

Foundation and early history

In 603, Pope Gregory I commissioned the Ravennate Abbot Probus, who was previously Gregory's emissary at the Lombard court, to build a hospital in Jerusalem to treat and care for Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land.[2] In 800, Emperor Charlemagne enlarged Probus' hospital and added a library to it. About 200 years later, in 1009, the Fatimid caliph al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah destroyed the hospital and three thousand other buildings in Jerusalem. In 1023, merchants from Amalfi and Salerno in Italy were given permission by Caliph Ali az-Zahir to rebuild the hospital in Jerusalem. The hospital was served by the Order of Saint Benedict, built on the site of the monastery of Saint John the Baptist, and took in Christian pilgrims traveling to visit the Christian holy sites.

The monastic hospitaller order was created following the First Crusade by Blessed Gerard de Martigues whose role as founder was confirmed by the papal bull *Pie postulatio voluntatis* issued by Pope Paschal II in 1113.[3] Gerard acquired territory and revenues for his order throughout the Kingdom of Jerusalem and beyond. Under his successor, Raymond du Puy, the original hospice was expanded to an infirmary[4] near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Initially, the group cared for pilgrims in Jerusalem, but the order soon extended to provide pilgrims with an armed escort before eventually becoming a significant military force. Thus the Order of St. John imperceptibly became militaristic without losing its charitable character.[4]

Raymond du Puy, who succeeded Gerard as master of the hospital in 1118, organized a militia from the order's members, dividing the order into three ranks: knights, men at arms, and chaplains. Raymond offered the service of his armed troops to Baldwin II of Jerusalem, and the order from this time participated in the crusades as a military order, in particular distinguishing itself in the Siege of Ascalon of 1153. In 1130, Pope Innocent II gave



Pie postulatio voluntatis. Bull issued by Pope Paschal II in 1113 in favor of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, which was to transform what was a community of pious men into an institution within the Church. By virtue of this document, the pope officially recognized the existence of the new organisation as an operative and militant part of the Roman Catholic Church, granting it papal protection and confirming its properties in Europe and Asia.

the order its coat of arms, a silver cross in a field of red (*gueulles*).[5]

Early cross of the Knights Hospitaller

The Hospitallers and the Knights Templar became the most formidable military orders in the Holy Land. Frederick Barbarossa, the Holy Roman Emperor, pledged his protection to the Knights of St. John in a charter of privileges granted in 1185.

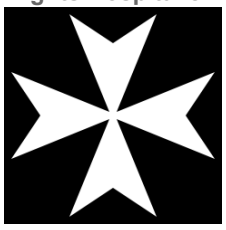
The statutes of Roger de Moulins (1187) deal only with the service of the sick; the first mention of military service is in the statutes of the ninth grand master, Fernando Afonso of Portugal (about 1200). In the latter a marked distinction is made between secular knights, externs to the order, who served only for a time, and the professed knights, attached to the order by a perpetual vow, and who alone enjoyed the same spiritual privileges as the other religious. The order numbered three distinct classes of membership: the military brothers, the brothers infirmarians, and the brothers chaplains, to whom was entrusted the divine service.[4]

The Knights Hospitaller in the 13th century

In 1248 Pope Innocent IV (1243–1254) approved a standard military dress for the Hospitallers to be worn during battle. Instead of a closed cape over their armour (which restricted their movements), they wore a red surcoat with a white cross emblazoned on it.[6]

Insignias of the Knights Hospitaller

Coat of arms (used from 1259)[b]



Maltese cross (usually worn on black surcoats)

Many of the more substantial Christian fortifications in the Holy Land were built by the Templars and the Hospitallers. At the height of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Hospitallers held seven great forts and 140 other estates in the area. The two largest of these, their bases of power in the Kingdom and in the Principality of Antioch, were the Krak des Chevaliers and Margat in Syria.[3] The property of the Order was divided into priories, subdivided into bailiwicks, which in turn were divided into commanderies.

As early as the late 12th century the order had begun to achieve recognition in the Kingdom of England and Duchy of Normandy. As a result, buildings such as St John's Jerusalem and the Knights Gate, Quenington in England were built on land donated to the order by local nobility.[7] An Irish house was established at Kilmainham, near Dublin, and the Irish Prior was usually a key figure in Irish public life.

The Knights also received the "Land of Severin" (*Terra de Zeurino*), along with the nearby mountains, from Béla IV of Hungary, as shown by a charter of grant issued on 2 June 1247. The Banate of Severin was a march, or border province, of the Kingdom of Hungary between the Lower Danube and the Olt River, today part of Romania, and back then bordered across the Danube by a powerful Bulgarian Empire. The Hospitaller hold on the Banate was only brief.[8]

Knights of Cyprus and Rhodes

After the fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1291 (the city of Jerusalem had fallen in 1187), the Knights were confined to the County of Tripoli and, when Acre was captured in 1291, the order sought refuge in the Kingdom of Cyprus. Finding themselves becoming enmeshed in Cypriot politics, their Master, Guillaume de Villaret, created a plan of acquiring their own temporal domain, selecting Rhodes to be their new home, part of the Byzantine empire. His successor, Foulques de Villaret, executed the plan, and on 15 August 1310, after more than four years of campaigning, the city of Rhodes surrendered to the knights. They also gained control of a number of

Grand Master Pierre d'Aubusson with senior knights, wearing the "Rhodian cross" on their habits. Dedicatory miniature in *Gestorum Rhodie obsidionis commentarii* (account of the Siege of Rhodes of 1480), BNF Lat 6067 fol. 3v, dated 1483/4.

neighboring islands and the Anatolian port of Halicarnassus and the island of Kastellorizo.

Pope Clement V dissolved the Hospitallers' rival order, the Knights Templar, in 1312 with a series of papal bulls, including the *Ad providam* bull that turned over much of their property to the Hospitallers.

The holdings were organised into eight "Tongues" or *Langues*, one each in Crown of Aragon, Auvergne, Crown of Castile, Kingdom of England, France, Holy Roman Empire, Italy and Provence. Each was administered by a Prior or, if there was more than one priory in the langue, by a Grand Prior.

At Rhodes, and later Malta, the resident knights of each langue were headed by a bailiff. The English Grand Prior at the time was Philip De Thame, who acquired the estates allocated to the English langue from 1330 to 1358. In 1334, the Knights of Rhodes defeated Andronicus and his Turkish auxiliaries. In the 14th century, there were several other battles in which they fought.[9]

Street of Knights in Rhodes

The Knights' castle at Rhodes

Rhodes and other possessions of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John.

In 1374, the Knights took over the defence of Smyrna, conquered by a crusade in 1344.[10] They held it until it was besieged and taken by Timur in 1402.[10]

On Rhodes the Hospitallers,[11] by then also referred to as the **Knights of Rhodes**,[4] were forced to become a more militarized force, fighting especially with the Barbary pirates. They withstood two invasions in the 15th century, one by the Sultan of Egypt in 1444 and another by the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror in 1480 who, after capturing Constantinople and defeating the Byzantine Empire in 1453, made the Knights a priority target.

In 1402 they created a stronghold on the peninsula of Halicarnassus (presently Bodrum). They used pieces of the partially destroyed Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, to strengthen their rampart, the Petronium.[12]

In 1522, an entirely new sort of force arrived: 400 ships under the command of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent delivered 100,000 men to the island[13] (200,000 in other sources[14]). Against this force the Knights, under Grand Master Philippe Villiers de L'Isle-Adam, had about 7,000 men-at-arms and their fortifications. The siege lasted six months, at the end of which the surviving defeated Hospitallers were allowed to withdraw to Sicily. Despite the defeat, both Christians and Muslims seem to have regarded the conduct of Phillipe Villiers de L'Isle-Adam as extremely valiant, and the Grand Master was proclaimed a Defender of the Faith by Pope Adrian VI.

Knights of Malta

In 1530, after seven years of moving from place to place in Europe, Pope Clement VII – himself a Knight – reached an agreement with Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, also King of Spain and Sicily, to provide the knights permanent quarters on Malta,[15][16] Gozo and the North African port of Tripoli in perpetual fiefdom in exchange for an annual fee of a single Maltese falcon (the Tribute of the Maltese Falcon), which they were to send on All Souls' Day to the King's representative, the Viceroy of Sicily.[17][c] In 1548, Charles V raised Heitersheim, the headquarters of the Hospitallers in Germany, into the Principality of Heitersheim, making the Grand Prior of Germany a prince of the Holy Roman Empire with a seat and vote in the *Reichstag*.[18]

Deed of Donation of the islands of Malta, Gozo and Tripoli to the Order of St John by Emperor Charles V in 1530.

The Order may have played a direct part in supporting the Malta native Iacob Heraclid who, in 1561, established a temporary foothold in Moldavia *(see Battle of Verbia)*.[19] The Hospitallers also continued their maritime actions against the Muslims and especially the Barbary pirates. Although they had only a few ships they quickly drew the ire of the Ottomans, who were unhappy to see the order resettled. In 1565 Suleiman sent an invasion force of about 40,000 men to besiege the 700 knights and 8,000 soldiers and expel them from Malta and gain a new base from which to possibly launch another assault on Europe.[16] This is known as the Great Siege of Malta.

Grand culverin of the Knights Hospitallers, 1500–1510, Rhodes

At first the battle went as badly for the Hospitallers as Rhodes had: most of the cities were destroyed and about half the knights killed. On 18 August the position of the besieged was becoming desperate: dwindling daily in numbers, they were becoming too feeble to hold the long line of fortifications. But when his council suggested the abandonment of Birgu and Senglea and withdrawal to Fort St. Angelo, Grand Master Jean Parisot de Valette refused.

Arms of the Knights Hospitallers, quartered with those of Pierre d'Aubusson, on a bombard

The Viceroy of Sicily had not sent help; possibly the Viceroy's orders from Philip II of Spain were so obscurely worded as to put on his own shoulders the burden of the decision whether to help the Order at the expense of his own defences. A wrong decision could mean defeat and exposing Sicily and Naples to the Ottomans. He had left his own son with La Valette, so he could hardly be indifferent to the fate of the fortress. Whatever may have been the cause of his delay, the Viceroy hesitated until the battle had almost been decided by the unaided efforts of the knights, before being forced to move by the indignation of his own officers.

Re-enactment of 16th-century military drills conducted by the Knights. Fort Saint Elmo, Valletta, Malta, 8 May 2005.

On 23 August came yet another grand assault, the last serious effort, as it proved, of the besiegers. It was thrown back with the greatest difficulty, even the wounded taking part in the defence. The plight of the Turkish forces was now desperate. With the exception of Fort Saint Elmo, the fortifications were still intact.[20] Working night and day the garrison had repaired the breaches, and the capture of Malta seemed more and more impossible. Many of the Ottoman troops in crowded quarters had fallen ill over the terrible summer months. Ammunition and food were beginning to run short, and the Ottoman troops were becoming increasingly dispirited by the failure of their attacks and their losses. The death on 23 June of skilled commander Dragut, a corsair and admiral of the Ottoman fleet, was a serious blow.[21] The Turkish commanders, Piali Pasha and Mustafa Pasha, were careless. They had a huge fleet which they used with effect on only one occasion. They neglected their communications with the African coast and made no attempt to watch and intercept Sicilian reinforcements.

On 1 September they made their last effort, but the morale of the Ottoman troops had deteriorated seriously and the attack was feeble, to the great encouragement of the besieged, who now began to see hopes of deliverance. The perplexed and indecisive Ottomans heard of the arrival of Sicilian reinforcements in Mellieħa Bay. Unaware that the force was very small, they broke off the siege and left on 8 September. The Great Siege of Malta may have been the last action in which a force of knights won a decisive victory.[22]

When the Ottomans departed, the Hospitallers had but 600 men able to bear arms. The most reliable estimate puts the number of the Ottoman army at its height at some 40,000 men, of whom 15,000 eventually returned to Constantinople. The siege is portrayed vividly in the frescoes of Matteo Pérez in the Hall of St. Michael and St. George, also known as the Throne Room, in the Grandmaster's Palace in Valletta; four of the original modellos,

painted in oils by Perez d'Aleccio between 1576 and 1581, can be found in the Cube Room of the Queen's House at Greenwich, London. After the siege a new city had to be built: the present capital city of Malta, named Valletta in memory of the Grand Master who had withstood the siege.

Ottoman attack on the post of the Castilian knights on 21 August 1565

In 1607, the Grand Master of the Hospitallers was granted the status of *Reichsfürst* (Prince of the Holy Roman Empire), even though the Order's territory was always south of the Holy Roman Empire. In 1630, he was awarded ecclesiastic equality with cardinals, and the unique hybrid style *His Most Eminent Highness*, reflecting both qualities qualifying him as a true Prince of the Church.

Knights in the 16th and 17th centuries: *Reconquista* of the sea

Following the knights' relocation to Malta, they had found themselves devoid of their initial reason for existence: assisting and joining the crusades in the Holy Land was now impossible, for reasons of military and financial strength along with geographical position. With dwindling revenues from European sponsors no longer willing to support a costly and meaningless organization, the knights turned to policing the Mediterranean from the increased threat of piracy, most notably from the threat of the Ottoman-endorsed Barbary pirates operating from the North African coastline. Boosted towards the end of the 16th century by an air of invincibility following the successful defence of their island in 1565 and compounded by the Christian victory over the Ottoman fleet in the Battle of Lepanto in 1571, the knights set about protecting Christian merchant shipping to and from the Levant and freeing the captured Christian slaves who formed the basis of the Barbary corsairs' piratical trading and navies. This became known as the "corso".[23]:107

Yet the Order soon struggled on a now reduced income. By policing the Mediterranean they augmented the assumed responsibility of the traditional protectors of the Mediterranean, the naval city states of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa. Further compounding their financial woes; over the course of this period the exchange rate of the local currencies against the 'scudo' that were established in the late 16th century gradually became outdated, meaning the knights were gradually receiving less at merchant factories.[24] Economically hindered by the barren island they now inhabited, many knights went beyond their call of duty by raiding Muslim ships.[23]:109 More and more ships were plundered, from whose profits many knights lived idly and luxuriously, taking local women to be their wives and enrolling in the navies of France and Spain in search of adventure, experience, and yet more money.[23]:97

Hospitaller galleys capturing an Ottoman vessel in the Malta Channel in 1652

The Knights' changing attitudes were coupled with the effects of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation and the lack of stability from the Roman Catholic Church. All this affected the knights strongly as the 16th and 17th centuries saw a gradual decline in the religious attitudes of many of the Christian peoples of Europe (and, concomitantly, the importance of a religious army), and thus in the Knights' regular tributes from European nations.[25] That the knights, a chiefly Roman Catholic military order, pursued the readmittance of England as one of its member states – the Order there had been suppressed under King Henry VIII of England during the dissolution of the monasteries – upon the succession of the Protestant queen Elizabeth I of England aptly demonstrates the new religious tolerance within the Order.[26]:326 For a time, the Order even possessed a German *langue* which was part Protestant or Evangelical and part Roman Catholic.

The moral decline that the knights underwent over the course of this period is best highlighted by the decision of many knights to serve in foreign navies and become "the mercenary sea-dogs of the 14th to 17th centuries", with the French Navy proving the most popular destination.[27]:432 This decision went against the knights' cardinal reason for existence, in that by serving a European power directly they faced the very real possibility that they would be fighting against another Roman Catholic force, as in the few Franco-Spanish naval skirmishes that occurred in this period.[27]:434 The biggest paradox is the fact that for many years the Kingdom of France remained on amicable terms with the Ottoman Empire, the Knights' greatest and bitterest foe and purported sole purpose for existence. Paris signed many trade agreements with the Ottomans and agreed to an informal (and

ultimately ineffective) cease-fire between the two states during this period.[26]:324 That the Knights associated themselves with the allies of their sworn enemies shows their moral ambivalence and the new commercial-minded nature of the Mediterranean in the 17th century. Serving in a foreign navy, in particular that of the French, gave the Knights the chance to serve the Church and for many, their King, to increase their chances of promotion in either their adopted navy or in Malta, to receive far better pay, to stave off their boredom with frequent cruises, to embark on the highly preferable short cruises of the French Navy over the long caravans favoured by the Maltese, and if the Knight desired, to indulge in some of the pleasures of a traditional debauched seaport.[27]:423–433 In return, the French gained and quickly assembled an experienced navy to stave off the threat of the Spanish and their Habsburg masters. The shift in attitudes of the Knights over this period is ably outlined by Paul Lacroix who states:

> Inflated with wealth, laden with privileges which gave them almost sovereign powers ... the order at last became so demoralised by luxury and idleness that it forgot the aim for which it was founded, and gave itself up for the love of gain and thirst for pleasure. Its covetousness and pride soon became boundless. The Knights pretended that they were above the reach of crowned heads: they seized and pillaged without concern of the property of both infidels and Christians."[28]

With the knights' exploits growing in fame and wealth, the European states became more complacent about the Order, and more unwilling to grant money to an institution that was perceived to be earning a healthy sum on the high seas. Thus a vicious cycle occurred, increasing the raids and reducing the grants received from the nation-states of Christendom to such an extent that the balance of payments on the island had become dependent on conquest.[23]:97 The European powers lost interest in the knights as they focused their intentions largely on one another during the Thirty Years' War. In February 1641 a letter was sent from an unknown dignitary in the Maltese capital of Valletta to the knights' most trustworthy ally and benefactor, Louis XIV of France, stating the Order's troubles:

Hospitaller galley c. 1680

> Italy provides us with nothing much; Bohemia and Germany hardly anything, and England and the Netherlands for a long time now nothing at all. We only have something to keep us going, Sire, in your own Kingdom and in Spain.[26]:338

Maltese authorities did not mention the fact that they were making a substantial profit policing the seas and seizing infidel ships and cargoes. The authorities on Malta immediately recognised the importance of corsairing to their economy and set about encouraging it, as despite their vows of poverty, the Knights were granted the ability to keep a portion of the *spoglio*, which was the prize money and cargo gained from a captured ship, along with the ability to fit out their own galleys with their new wealth.[29]:274

The great controversy that surrounded the knights' *corso* was their insistence on their policy of 'vista'. This enabled the Order to stop and board all shipping suspected of carrying Turkish goods and confiscate the cargo to be re-sold at Valletta, along with the ship's crew, who were by far the most valuable commodity on the ship. Naturally many nations claimed to be victims of the knights' over-eagerness to stop and confiscate any goods remotely connected to the Turks.[23]:109 In an effort to regulate the growing problem, the authorities in Malta established a judicial court, the Consiglio del Mer, where captains who felt wronged could plead their case, often successfully. The practice of issuing privateering licenses and thus state endorsement, which had been in existence for a number of years, was tightly regulated as the island's government attempted to haul in the unscrupulous knights and appease the European powers and limited benefactors. Yet these efforts were not altogether successful, as the Consiglio del Mer received numerous complaints around the year 1700 of Maltese piracy in the region. Ultimately, the rampant over-indulgence in privateering in the Mediterranean was to be the knights' downfall in this particular period of their existence as they transformed from serving as the military outpost of a united Christendom to becoming another nation-state in a commercially oriented continent soon to be overtaken by the trading nations of the North Sea.[30]

Life in Malta

Auberge de Castille in Valletta, an example of 18th-century Baroque architecture built by the Order.

Having gained Malta, the knights stayed for 268 years, transforming what they called "merely a rock of soft sandstone" into a flourishing island with mighty defences and a capital city (Valletta) known as *Superbissima*, "Most Proud", amongst the great powers of Europe. However, "the indigenous islanders had not particularly enjoyed the rule of the Knights of St John". Most Knights were French and excluded the native islanders from important positions. They were especially loathed for the way they took advantage of the native women.[31]

In 1301, the Order was organized in seven *langues*; by order of precedence, Provence, Auvergne, France, Aragon, Italy, England, and Germany. In 1462, the Langue of Aragon was divided into Castile-Portugal and Aragon-Navarre. The English Langue went into abeyance after the order's properties were taken over by Henry VIII in 1540. In 1782, it was revived as the Anglo-Bavarian Langue, containing Bavarian and Polish priories. The structure of langues was replaced in the late 19th century by a system of national associations.

When the Knights first arrived on Malta, the natives were apprehensive about their presence and viewed them as arrogant intruders. The Maltese were excluded from serving in the order. The Knights were even generally dismissive of the Maltese nobility. However, the two groups coexisted peacefully, since the Knights boosted the economy, were charitable, and protected against Muslim attacks.[32]

Not surprisingly, hospitals were among the first projects to be undertaken on Malta, where French soon supplanted Italian as the official language (though the native inhabitants continued to speak Maltese among themselves).[33] The knights also constructed fortresses, watch towers, and naturally, churches. Its acquisition of Malta signalled the beginning of the Order's renewed naval activity.

View of the fortifications of Valletta

The building and fortification of Valletta, named for *Grand Master la Valette*, was begun in 1566, soon becoming the home port of one of the Mediterranean's most powerful navies. Valletta was designed by Francesco Laparelli, a military engineer, and his work was then taken up by Girolamo Cassar. The city was completed in 1571. The island's hospitals were expanded as well. The Sacra Infermeria could accommodate 500 patients and was famous as one of the finest in the world. In the vanguard of medicine, the Hospital of Malta included Schools of Anatomy, Surgery and Pharmacy. Valletta itself was renowned as a centre of art and culture. The Conventual Church of St. John, completed in 1577, contains works by Caravaggio and others.

In Europe, most of the Order's hospitals and chapels survived the Reformation, though not in Protestant or Evangelical countries. In Malta, meanwhile, the Public Library was established in 1761. The University was founded seven years later, followed, in 1786, by a School of Mathematics and Nautical Sciences. Despite these developments, some of the Maltese grew to resent the Order, which they viewed as a privileged class. This even included some of the local nobility, who were not admitted to the Order.

In Rhodes, the knights had been housed in *auberges* (inns) segregated by Langues. This structure was maintained in Birgu (1530–1571) and then Valletta (from 1571). The auberges in Birgu remain, mostly undistinguished 16th-century buildings. Valletta still has the auberges of Castille (1574; renovated 1741 by Grand Master de Vilhena, now the Prime Minister's offices), Italy (renovated 1683 by Grand Master Carafa, now an art museum), Aragon (1571, now a government ministry), Bavaria (former Palazzo Carnerio, purchased in 1784 for the newly formed Langue, now occupied by the Lands Authority) and Provence (now National Museum of Archaeology). In the Second World War, the auberge d'Auvergne was damaged (and later replaced by Law Courts) and the auberge de France was destroyed.

In 1604, each Langue was given a chapel in the conventual church of Saint John and the arms of the Langue appear in the decoration on the walls and ceiling:

- Provence: Michael the archangel, *Jerusalem*
- Auvergne: Saint Sebastian, *Azure a dolphin or*
- France: conversion of Paul the Apostle, *France*
- Castile and León: James, brother of Jesus, *Quarterly Castile and Leon*
- Aragon: Saint George [the church of the Langue is consecrated to Our Lady of the Pillar *Per pale Aragon and Navarre*]
- Italy: St Catherine, *Azure the word ITALIA in bend or*
- England: Flagellation of Christ, [*no arms visible; in Rhodes the Langue used the arms of England, quarterly France and England*]
- Germany: Epiphany, *Austria born by a double-headed eagle displayed sable*

A 1742 Tarì coin of the Knights Hospitaller, depicting the head of John the Baptist on a platter.

Turmoil in Europe

Even as it survived on Malta, the Order lost many of its European holdings during the Protestant Reformation. The property of the English branch was confiscated in 1540.[34] The German Bailiwick of Brandenburg became Lutheran in 1577, then more broadly Evangelical, but continued to pay its financial contribution to the Order until 1812, when the Protector of the Order in Prussia, King Frederick William III, turned it into an order of merit;[34] in 1852, his son and successor as Protector, King Frederick William IV of Prussia, restored the *Johanniterorden* to its continuing place as the chief non-Roman Catholic branch of the Knights Hospitaller.

The Knights of Malta had a strong presence within the Imperial Russian Navy and the pre-revolutionary French Navy. When Phillippe de Longvilliers de Poincy was appointed governor of the French colony on Saint Kitts in 1639, he was a prominent Knight of St. John and dressed his retinue with the emblems of the Order. In 1651, the knights bought from the Compagnie des Îles de l'Amérique the islands of Sainte-Christophe, Saint Martin, and Saint Barthélemy.[35] The Order's presence in the Caribbean was eclipsed with De Poincy's death in 1660. He had also bought the island of Saint Croix as his personal estate and deeded it to the Knights of St. John. In 1665, the order sold their Caribbean possessions to the French West India Company, ending the Order's presence in that region.

The decree of the French National Assembly in 1789 abolishing feudalism in France also abolished the Order in France:

> V. Tithes of every description, as well as the dues which have been substituted for them, under whatever denomination they are known or collected (even when compounded for), possessed by secular or regular congregations, by holders of benefices, members of corporations (including the Order of Malta and other religious and military orders), as well as those devoted to the maintenance of churches, those impropriated to lay persons and those substituted for the portion congrue, are abolished ...[36]

The French Revolutionary Government seized the assets and properties of the Order in France in 1792.

Loss of Malta

Their Mediterranean stronghold of Malta was captured by Napoleon in 1798 during his expedition to Egypt.[20] Napoleon demanded from Grand Master Ferdinand von Hompesch zu Bolheim that his ships be allowed to enter the port and to take on water and supplies. The Grand Master replied that only two foreign ships could be allowed to enter the port at a time. Bonaparte, aware that such a procedure would take a very long time and would leave his forces vulnerable to Admiral Nelson, immediately ordered a cannon fusillade against Malta. The French soldiers disembarked in Malta at seven points on the morning of 11 June and attacked. After several hours of fierce fighting, the Maltese in the west were forced to surrender.[37]

Napoleon opened negotiations with the fortress capital of Valletta. Faced with vastly superior French forces and the loss of western Malta, the Grand Master negotiated a surrender to the invasion.[37] Hompesch left Malta for Trieste on 18 June.[38] He resigned as Grand Master on 6 July 1799.

Emperor Paul wearing the Crown of the Grand Master of the Order of Malta (1799).

The knights were dispersed, though the order continued to exist in a diminished form and negotiated with European governments for a return to power. The Russian Emperor, Paul I, gave the largest number of knights shelter in Saint Petersburg, an action which gave rise to the Russian tradition of the Knights Hospitaller and the Order's recognition among the Russian Imperial Orders.[39] The refugee knights in Saint Petersburg proceeded to elect Tsar Paul as their Grand Master – a rival to Grand Master von Hompesch until the latter's abdication left Paul as the sole Grand Master. Grand Master Paul I created, in addition to the Roman Catholic Grand Priory, a "Russian Grand Priory" of no fewer than 118 Commanderies, dwarfing the rest of the Order and open to all Christians. Paul's election as Grand Master was never ratified under Roman Catholic canon law, and he was the *de facto* rather than *de jure* Grand Master of the Order.

By the early 19th century, the order had been severely weakened by the loss of its priories throughout Europe. Only 10% of the order's income came from traditional sources in Europe, with the remaining 90% being generated by the Russian Grand Priory until 1810. This was partly reflected in the government of the Order being under Lieutenants, rather than Grand Masters, in the period 1805 to 1879, when Pope Leo XIII restored a Grand Master to the order. This signaled the renewal of the order's fortunes as a humanitarian and religious organization.

On 19 September 1806, the Swedish government offered the sovereignty of the island of Gotland to the Order. The offer was rejected since it would have meant the Order renouncing their claim to Malta.[40]

Remnants

The 150,000 square feet (14,000 m^2) Hospital of Saint John, built between 1099 and 1291, was rediscovered in the Christian Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem. From 2000 to 2013, it was excavated by the Israel Antiquities Authority. It had been able to accommodate up to 2,000 patients, who came from all religious groups, and Jewish patients received kosher food. It also served as an orphanage, with these children often becoming Hospitallers when adult. The remaining vaulted area was discovered during excavations for a restaurant, and the preserved building will be incorporated in the project.[41]

View from Valletta, Malta, showing Fort Saint Angelo, belonging to the Sovereign Military Order of Malta.

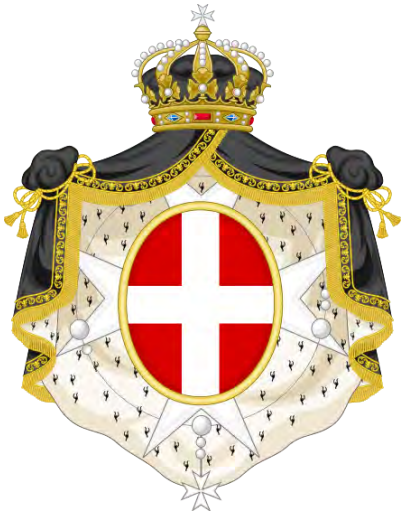
Successors of the Knights Hospitaller

The entities generally considered to maintain historical continuity with the Knights are the Sovereign Military Order of Malta, based in Rome and recognized by over 100 countries worldwide, as well as the chivalric orders in the Alliance of the Orders of Saint John of Jerusalem: the Bailiwick of Brandenburg of the Chivalric Order of Saint John of the hospital at Jerusalem, Johanniter Orde in Nederland, Order of Saint John in Sweden, and the Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.[d]

Sovereign Military Order of Malta

In 1834, the order settled in Rome.[43] Hospital work, the original work of the order, became once again its main concern. The Order's hospital and welfare activities, undertaken on a considerable scale in World War I, were greatly intensified and expanded in World War II under the Grand Master Fra' Ludovico Chigi Albani della Rovere (Grand Master 1931–1951).

The Sovereign Military Hospitaller Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, of Rhodes and of Malta, better known as the Sovereign Military Order of Malta (SMOM), is a Roman Catholic lay religious order and the world's oldest surviving order of chivalry.[44] Its sovereign status is recognised by membership in numerous international bodies and observer status at the United Nations and others.[45]



Coat of arms of the Order of Malta

The Order maintains diplomatic relations with 107 countries, official relations with 6 others and with the European Union, permanent observer missions to the United Nations and its specialised agencies, and delegations or representations to many other international organizations.[46][47] It issues its own passports, currency, stamps and even vehicle registration plates. The Sovereign Military Order of Malta has a permanent presence in 120 countries, with 12 Grand Priories and Sub-Priories and 47 national Associations, as well as numerous hospitals, medical centres, day care centres, first aid corps, and specialist foundations, which operate in 120 countries. Its 13,500 members and 80,000 volunteers and over 42,000 medical personnel – doctors, nurses and paramedics – are dedicated to the care of the poor, the sick, the elderly, the disabled, the homeless, terminal patients, lepers, and all those who suffer. The Order is especially involved in helping victims of armed conflicts and natural disasters by providing medical assistance, caring for refugees, and distributing medicines and basic equipment for survival.

The Sovereign Military Order of Malta established a mission in Malta, after signing an agreement with the Maltese Government which granted the Order the exclusive use of Fort St. Angelo for a term of 99 years.[48] Today, after restoration, the Fort hosts historical and cultural activities related to the Order of Malta.[49]

Order of Saint John

During the Reformation, German commanderies of the Bailiwick of Brandenburg (located chiefly in the Margraviate of Brandenburg) declared their continued adherence to the Order of Saint John even as their knights converted to evangelical Christianity. Continuing to the present day as the Order of Saint John of the Bailiwick of Brandenburg, this forms an order of chivalry under the protection of the Federal Republic and with its *Herrenmeister* ("Lord of the Knights") almost always a scion of the House of Hohenzollern (currently, Prince Oscar of Prussia). From Germany, this Protestant branch has spread by membership into other countries in Europe (including Belgium, Hungary, Poland, Finland, Denmark, Switzerland, France, Austria, the United Kingdom, and Italy), North America (the United States, Canada, and Mexico), South America (Colombia, Venezuela, Chile), Africa (Namibia, South Africa), Asia, and Australia.[50]

Prince Oskar of Prussia, Bailiwick of Brandenburg of the Chivalric Order of Saint John of the hospital at Jerusalem *Herrenmeister* since 1999

The commanderies of the Bailiwick of Brandenburg in the Netherlands (which originated in the Middle Ages) and Sweden became independent of the Bailiwick after the Second World War and now are independent orders under the protection of their respective monarchs; King Willem-Alexander of the Netherlands is an Honorary Commander of the Order of Saint John in the Netherlands, and the Order of St John in Sweden is protected by King Carl XVI Gustaf of Sweden.

All three Protestant orders, the German, Dutch, and Swedish, are in formalised co-operation as members of the Alliance of the Orders of Saint John of Jerusalem, founded in 1961 by the Order of Saint John of the Bailiwick of Brandenburg. (As well as originating with the mediaeval Knights Hospitaller, these three orders meet the traditional conditions for

dynastic orders of chivalry under the legitimate fount of honour of each nation, and thus enjoy recognition by the privately operated and funded International Commission on Orders of Chivalry as of 2016.) The Protestant orders remain independent of, though co-operative with, the Roman Catholic Sovereign Military Order of Malta.

Most Venerable Order of Saint John

In England, almost all the property of the Knights Hospitaller was confiscated by King Henry VIII through the dissolution of the monasteries during the Reformation. Though not formally suppressed, this effectively caused the activities of the English Langue of the order to come to an end.

In 1831, a British order was recreated by European aristocrats claiming (possibly without authority) to be acting on behalf of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta.[29]:270–85 This order in time became known as the Most Venerable Order of Saint John, receiving a royal charter from Queen Victoria in 1888, before expanding throughout the United Kingdom, the British Commonwealth, and the United States. Today, the best-known activities of this order are the St John Ambulance Brigade in Britain and the Commonwealth and the Saint John Eye Hospital in Jerusalem.[51] The Most Venerable Order of Saint John has maintained a presence in Malta since the late 19th century. In contrast with the orders originating with the medieval Knights Hospitaller, the British organisation no longer limits its membership to Christians.

Self-styled orders

Several other organizations claim with their own sources to have evolved from the Knights Hospitaller but all are subject to international dispute and lack recognition. The Russian Tradition was recognized by the Pope with Tsar Paul I becoming Grand Master. The British resented this decision as it could have given Russia access to the Mediterranean through a claim over Malta. Britain said that the decision of the Pope was not official. The Holy See later retracted its decision stating a number of conflicts with Tsar Paul I, since he did not follow the precepts binding the Grand Master: he was married and not celibate; he had never been to Malta and declined to live there; and he was not a Roman Catholic. Several other orders have made claims over the Order of St John since the 19th century. Each order, including the Russian Tradition, generally use their interpretation of sources to present and claim a particular history of events. No independent sources support any superseding order of the Knights Hospitaller, all of which use either non-primary or self-published, non-peer-reviewed sources in support of their claims of legitimacy. The Order came to an end either shortly after the 1798 expulsion of the knights from Malta, or soon after the Russian revolution in the early 20th century.[52]

Following the end of World War II, and taking advantage of the lack of State Orders in the Italian Republic, an Italian called himself a Polish Prince and did a brisk trade in Maltese crosses as the Grand Prior of the fictitious "Grand Priory of Podolia" until successfully prosecuted for fraud. Another fraud claimed to be the Grand Prior of the Holy Trinity of Villeneuve, but gave up after a police visit, although the organisation resurfaced in Malta in 1975, and then by 1978 in the US, where it still continues.[53]

The large passage fees collected by the American Association of SMOM in the early 1950s may well have tempted Charles Pichel to create his own "Sovereign Order of St John of Jerusalem, Knights Hospitaller" in 1956.[6] Pichel avoided the problems of being an imitation of SMOM by giving his organization a mythical history, claiming that the American organisation he led had been founded within the Russian tradition of the Knights Hospitaller in 1908: a spurious claim, but which nevertheless misled many including some academics. In truth, the foundation of his organisation had no connection to the Russian tradition of the Knights Hospitaller. Once created, the attraction of Russian Nobles into membership of Pichel's 'Order' lent some plausibility to his claims.

These organisations have led to scores of other self-styled orders.[6] Another self-styled Order, based in the US, gained a substantial following under leadership of the late Robert Formhals, who for some years, and with the support of historical organisations such as The Augustan Society, claimed to be a Polish prince of the House of Sanguszko.[6]

Hierarchy

The first in the hierarchy of command was the **Grand Master**, or commander-in-chief, followed by the **Grand Commander**, who after 1304 came from the Grand Priory of St Gilles and who took the place of the Grand Master in case of his absence or death.[54] The third-highest rank was that of the **Marshal** of the hospital, whose main duty was to prepare the order for war.[54] This included the procurement of armour, weapons, mounts with all the required equine equipment, and artillery with all it entails (ordnance, powder, ammunitions).[54] The Marshal could on occasion be given command by the Grand Master or the Grand Commander.[54]

Princes and Grand Masters

See also

Personalities of the Hospital

- Caterina Vitale, the first female pharmacist of the Knights Hospitaller, and the first female pharmacist and chemist in Malta
- List of the priors of Saint John of Jerusalem in England
- Pierre Jean Louis Ovide Doublet, a leadership member of the French Secretariat of the Knights

Fortifications and locales of the Hospital

- List of Knights Hospitaller sites
- Fortifications of Malta
- Fortifications of Rhodes
- Kolossi Castle
- Mailberg
- Castle of La Muela
- Palace of the Grand Master of the Knights of Rhodes
- Torphichen Preceptory

Related topics

- History of the Knights Hospitaller in the Levant
- Knights Templar
- Teutonic Order

Notes

a. The order lost all territorial influence with the French invasion of Malta in 1798. In the aftermath of 1798, several Protestant orders were split off, with the remaining Catholic order being re-established, as the Sovereign Military Order of Malta, in 1822.

b. By a decree of Pope Alexander IV, which ordered to use red clothing with white crosses in times of war and in combat.

c. This historical fact was used as the plot hook in Dashiell Hammett's famous novel *The Maltese Falcon*.

d. The Canadian historian Christopher McCreery commented in 2008: "there are only five legitimate and mutually recognized Orders of St. John that continue to carry on the historic work of the Knights Hospitaller. These are the Sovereign Military and Hospitaller Order of St. John of Jerusalem of Rhodes and of Malta (The Order of Malta), Die Balley Brandenburg des Ritterlichen Ordens Sankt Johannis vom Spital zu Jerusalem, commonly known as the Johanniter Orden (Germany), Johanniter Orde in Nederland (Netherland), Johanniterorden i Sverige (Sweden), and the Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem (Order of St. John, sometimes referred to as the Most Venerable Order). In 1961 an alliance was formed

between the Most Venerable Order, the Johanniter Orden, Johanniter Orde in Nederland, and Johanniterorden i Sverige; these four orders compromise the Alliance of the Orders of St. John".[42]

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External links

- Sovereign Military Order of Malta official website (https://www.orderofmalta.int/)
- Rare Histoire des Chevaliers de L'Ordre de S. Jean de Hierusalem (http://cdm.csbsju.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/SJRareBooks/id/13118/rec/30) Rare Book on Knights of St. John
- Houses of Knights Hospitallers, British History Online (http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=36282)
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Suleiman the Magnificent

Suleiman I (Ottoman Turkish: سلیمان اول, romanized: *Süleyman-ı Evvel*; Turkish: *I. Süleyman*; 6 November 1494 – 6 September 1566), commonly known as **Suleiman the Magnificent** in the West and **Suleiman the Lawgiver** (Ottoman Turkish: قانونی سلطان سلیمان, romanized: *Ḳānūnī Sulṭān Süleymān*) in his realm, was the tenth and longest-reigning Sultan of the Ottoman Empire from 1520 until his death in 1566.[2]:541–45 Under his administration, the Ottoman caliphate ruled over at least 25 million people.

Suleiman succeeded his father, Selim I, as sultan on 30 September 1520 and began his reign with campaigns against the Christian powers in central Europe and the Mediterranean. Belgrade fell to him in 1521 and the island of Rhodes in 1522–23. At Mohács, in August 1526, Suleiman broke the military strength of Hungary.

Suleiman became a prominent monarch of 16th-century Europe, presiding over the apex of the Ottoman Empire's economic, military and political power. Suleiman personally led Ottoman armies in conquering the Christian strongholds of Belgrade and Rhodes as well as most of Hungary before his conquests were checked at the siege of Vienna in 1529. He annexed much of the Middle East in his conflict with the Safavids and large areas of North Africa as far west as Algeria. Under his rule, the Ottoman fleet dominated the seas from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea and through the Persian Gulf.[4]:61

At the helm of an expanding empire, Suleiman personally instituted major judicial changes relating to society, education, taxation and criminal law. His reforms, carried out in conjunction with the empire's chief judicial official Ebussuud Efendi, harmonized the relationship between the two forms of Ottoman law: sultanic (Kanun) and religious (Sharia).[5] He was a distinguished poet and goldsmith; he also became a great patron of culture, overseeing the "Golden" age of the Ottoman Empire in its artistic, literary and architectural development.[6]

Breaking with Ottoman tradition, Suleiman married Hürrem Sultan, a woman from his harem, an Orthodox Christian of Ruthenian origin who converted to Islam, and who became famous in the West by the name Roxelana, due to her red hair. Their son, Selim II, succeeded Suleiman following his death in 1566 after 46 years of rule. Suleiman's other potential heirs, Mehmed and Mustafa, had died; Mehmed had died in 1543 from smallpox, and Mustafa had been strangled to death in 1553 at the sultan's order. His other son Bayezid was executed in 1561 on Suleiman's orders, along with Bayezid's four sons, after a rebellion. Although scholars prefer "crisis and adaptation" rather than decline after his death,[7][8][9] the end of Suleiman's reign was a watershed in Ottoman history. In the decades after Suleiman, the empire began to experience significant political, institutional, and economic changes, a phenomenon often referred to as the Transformation of the Ottoman Empire.[10]:11 [11]

Suleiman the Magnificent

Ottoman Caliph
Amir al-Mu'minin
Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques
Kayser-i Rûm
Khagan[1]

Portrait of Suleiman by Titian c. 1530

10th Sultan of the Ottoman Empire (Padishah)	
Reign	30 September 1520 – 6 September 1566
Sword girding	30 September 1520
Predecessor	Selim I
Successor	Selim II
Born	6 November 1494[2]:541 Trabzon, Ottoman Empire
Died	6 September 1566 (aged 71)[2]:545 Szigetvár, Kingdom of Hungary, Habsburg monarchy
Burial	Organs buried at Turbék, Szigetvár, Hungary Body buried at Süleymaniye

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	Mosque, Istanbul, Turkey
Spouse	Mahidevran Hürrem Sultan (m. 1533/1534–1558; her death)
Issue	Şehzade Mahmud Şehzade Mustafa Raziye Sultan Şehzade Murad Şehzade Mehmed Mihrimah Sultan Şehzade Abdullah Selim II Şehzade Bayezid Şehzade Cihangir
Names	
Süleyman Şah bin Selim Şah Han[3]	
Dynasty	Ottoman
Father	Selim I
Mother	Hafsa Sultan
Religion	Sunni Islam
Tughra	

Alternative names and titles

Suleiman the Magnificent (محتشم سليمان *Muḥteşem Süleymān*), as he was known in the West, was also called Suleiman the First (سلطان سليمان أول *Sulṭān Süleymān-ı Evvel*), and Suleiman the Lawgiver (قانونى سلطان سليمان *Ḳānūnī Sulṭān Süleymān*) for his reform of the Ottoman legal system.[12]

It is unclear when exactly the term *Kanunî* (the Lawgiver) first came to be used as an epithet for Suleiman. It is entirely absent from sixteenth and seventeenth-century Ottoman sources and may date from the early 18th century.[13]

There is a tradition of western origin, according to which Suleiman the Magnificent was "Suleiman II", but that tradition has been based on an erroneous assumption that Süleyman Çelebi was to be recognised as a legitimate sultan.[14]

Early life

Suleiman was born in Trabzon on the southern coast of the Black Sea to Şehzade Selim (later Selim I), probably on 6 November 1494, although this date is not known with absolute certainty or evidence.[15] His mother was Hafsa Sultan, a convert to Islam of unknown origins, who died in 1534.[16]:9 At the age of seven, Suleiman began studies of science, history, literature, theology and military tactics in the schools of the imperial Topkapı Palace in Constantinople. As a young man, he befriended Pargalı Ibrahim, a slave who later became one of his most trusted advisers (but who was later executed on Suleiman's orders).[17] At age seventeen, he was appointed as the governor of first Kaffa (Theodosia), then Manisa, with a brief tenure at Edirne.

Suleiman by Nakkaş Osman.

Accession

Upon the death of his father, Selim I (r. 1512–1520), Suleiman entered Constantinople and ascended to the throne as the tenth Ottoman Sultan. An early description of Suleiman, a few weeks following his accession, was provided by the Venetian envoy Bartolomeo Contarini:

> The sultan is only twenty-five years [actually 26] old, tall and slender but tough, with a thin and bony face. Facial hair is evident, but only barely. The sultan appears friendly and in good humor. Rumor has it that Suleiman is aptly named, enjoys reading, is knowledgeable and shows good judgment."[16]:2

Military campaigns

Conquests in Europe

Upon succeeding his father, Suleiman began a series of military conquests, eventually leading to a revolt led by the Ottoman-appointed governor of Damascus in 1521. Suleiman soon made preparations for the conquest of Belgrade from the Kingdom of Hungary—something his great-grandfather Mehmed II had failed to achieve because of John Hunyadi's strong defense in the region. Its capture was vital in removing the Hungarians and Croats who, following the defeats of the Albanians, Bosniaks, Bulgarians, Byzantines and the Serbs, remained the only formidable force who could block further Ottoman gains in Europe. Suleiman encircled Belgrade and began a series of heavy bombardments from an island in the Danube. Belgrade, with a garrison of only 700 men, and receiving no aid from Hungary, fell in August 1521.[18]:49

Suleiman during the siege of Rhodes in 1522

The road to Hungary and Austria lay open, but Suleiman turned his attention instead to the Eastern Mediterranean island of Rhodes, the home base of the Knights Hospitaller. Suleiman built a large fortification, Marmaris Castle, that served as a base for the Ottoman Navy. Following the five-month Siege of Rhodes (1522), Rhodes capitulated and Suleiman allowed the Knights of Rhodes to depart.[19] The conquest of the island cost the Ottomans 50,000[20][21] to 60,000[21] dead from battle and sickness (Christian claims went as high as 64,000 Ottoman battle deaths and 50,000 disease deaths).[21]

As relations between Hungary and the Ottoman Empire deteriorated, Suleiman resumed his campaign in Central Europe, and on 29 August 1526 he defeated Louis II of Hungary (1506–1526) at the Battle of Mohács. Upon encountering the lifeless body of King Louis, Suleiman is said to have lamented: "I came indeed in arms against

Ottoman siege of Esztergom (1543)

him; but it was not my wish that he should be thus cut off before he scarcely tasted the sweets of life and royalty."[22] While Suleiman was campaigning in Hungary, Turkmen tribes in central Anatolia (in Cilicia) revolted under the leadership of Kalender Çelebi.[23]

Some Hungarian nobles proposed that Ferdinand, who was the ruler of neighboring Austria and tied to Louis II's family by marriage, be King of Hungary, citing previous agreements that the Habsburgs would take the Hungarian throne if Louis died without heirs.[18]:52 However, other nobles turned to the nobleman John Zápolya, who was being supported by Suleiman. Under Charles V and his brother Ferdinand I, the Habsburgs reoccupied Buda and took possession of Hungary. Reacting in 1529, Suleiman marched through the valley of the Danube and regained control of Buda; in the following autumn, his forces laid siege to Vienna. This was to be the Ottoman Empire's most ambitious expedition and the apogee of its drive to the West. With a reinforced garrison of 16,000 men,[24] the Austrians inflicted the first defeat on Suleiman, sowing the seeds of a bitter Ottoman–Habsburg rivalry that lasted until the 20th century. His second attempt to conquer Vienna failed in 1532, as Ottoman forces were delayed by the siege of Güns and failed to reach Vienna. In both cases, the Ottoman army was plagued by bad weather, forcing them to leave behind essential siege equipment, and was hobbled by overstretched supply lines.[25]:444

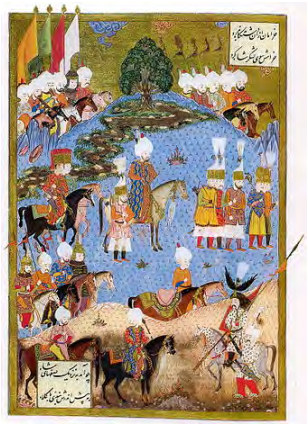
By the 1540s, a renewal of the conflict in Hungary presented Suleiman with the opportunity to avenge the defeat suffered at Vienna. In 1541, the Habsburgs attempted to lay siege to Buda but were repulsed, and more Habsburg fortresses were captured by the Ottomans in two consecutive campaigns in 1541 and 1544 as a result,[18]:53 Ferdinand and Charles were forced to conclude a humiliating five-year treaty with Suleiman. Ferdinand renounced his claim to the Kingdom of Hungary and was forced to pay a fixed yearly sum to the Sultan for the Hungarian lands he continued to control. Of more symbolic importance, the treaty referred to Charles V not as 'Emperor' but as the 'King of Spain', leading Suleiman to identify as the true 'Caesar'.[18]:54

King John Sigismund of Hungary with Suleiman in 1556

In 1552, Suleiman's forces laid siege of Eger, located in the northern part of the Kingdom of Hungary, but the defenders led by István Dobó repelled the attacks and defended the Eger Castle.[26]

Ottoman–Safavid War

Suleiman's father had made war with Persia a high priority. At first, Suleiman shifted attention to Europe and was content to contain Persia, which was preoccupied by its own enemies to its east. After Suleiman stabilized his European frontiers, he now turned his attention to Persia, the base for the rival Islamic faction of Shi'a. The Safavid dynasty became the main enemy after two episodes. First, Shah Tahmasp killed the Baghdad governor loyal to Suleiman, and put his own man in. Second, the governor of Bitlis had defected and sworn allegiance to the Safavids.[18]:51 As a result, in 1533, Suleiman ordered his Pargalı Ibrahim Pasha to lead an army into eastern Asia Minor where he retook Bitlis and occupied Tabriz without resistance. Suleiman joined Ibrahim in 1534. They made a push towards Persia, only to find the Shah sacrificing territory instead of facing a pitched battle, resorting to harassment of the Ottoman army as it proceeded along the harsh interior.[27] In 1535 Suleiman made a grand entrance into Baghdad. He enhanced his local support by restoring the tomb of Abu Hanifa, the founder of the Hanafi school of Islamic law to which the Ottomans adhered.[28]


Miniature depicting Suleiman marching with an army in Nakhchivan, summer 1554

Attempting to defeat the Shah once and for all, Suleiman embarked upon a second campaign in 1548–1549. As in the previous attempt, Tahmasp avoided confrontation with the Ottoman army and instead chose to retreat, using scorched earth tactics in the process and exposing the Ottoman army to the harsh winter of the Caucasus.[27] Suleiman abandoned the campaign with temporary Ottoman gains in Tabriz and the Urmia region, a lasting presence in the province of Van, control of the western half of Azerbaijan and some forts in Georgia.[29]

In 1553 Suleiman began his third and final campaign against the Shah. Having initially lost territories in Erzurum to the Shah's son, Suleiman retaliated by recapturing Erzurum, crossing the Upper Euphrates and laying waste to parts of Persia. The Shah's army continued its strategy of avoiding the Ottomans, leading to a stalemate from which neither army made any significant gain. In 1555, a settlement known as the Peace of Amasya was signed, which defined the borders of the two empires. By this treaty, Armenia and Georgia were divided equally between the two, with Western Armenia, western Kurdistan, and western Georgia (incl. western Samtskhe) falling in Ottoman hands while Eastern Armenia, eastern Kurdistan, and eastern Georgia (incl. eastern Samtskhe) stayed in Safavid hands.[30] The Ottoman Empire obtained most of Iraq, including Baghdad, which gave them access to the Persian Gulf, while the Persians retained their former capital Tabriz and all their other northwestern territories in the Caucasus and as they were prior to the wars, such as Dagestan and all of what is now Azerbaijan.[31][32]

Campaigns in the Indian Ocean

Ottoman ships had been sailing in the Indian Ocean since the year 1518. Ottoman admirals such as Hadim Suleiman Pasha, Seydi Ali Reis[33] and Kurtoğlu Hızır Reis are known to have voyaged to the Mughal imperial ports of Thatta, Surat and Janjira. The Mughal Emperor Akbar the Great himself is known to have exchanged six documents with Suleiman the Magnificent.[33][34][35]

Ottoman fleet in the Indian Ocean in the 16th century

Suleiman led several naval campaigns against the Portuguese in an attempt to remove them and reestablish trade with the Mughal Empire. Aden in Yemen was captured by the Ottomans in 1538, in order to provide an Ottoman base for raids against Portuguese possessions on the western coast of the Mughal Empire.[36] Sailing on, the Ottomans failed against the Portuguese at the siege of Diu in September 1538, but then returned to Aden, where they fortified the city with 100 pieces of artillery.[36][37] From this base, Sulayman Pasha managed to take control of the whole country of Yemen, also taking Sana'a.[36]

With its strong control of the Red Sea, Suleiman successfully managed to dispute control of the trade routes to the Portuguese and maintained a significant level of trade with the Mughal Empire throughout the 16th century.[38]

From 1526 till 1543, Suleiman stationed over 900 Turkish soldiers to fight alongside the Somali Adal Sultanate led by Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi during the Conquest of Abyssinia. After the first Ajuran-Portuguese war, the Ottoman Empire would in 1559 absorb the weakened Adal Sultanate into its domain. This expansion furthered Ottoman rule in Somalia and the Horn of Africa. This also increased its influence in the Indian Ocean to compete with the Portuguese Empire with its close ally, the Ajuran Empire.[39]

In 1564, Suleiman received an embassy from Aceh (a sultanate on Sumatra, in modern Indonesia), requesting Ottoman support against the Portuguese. As a result, an Ottoman expedition to Aceh was launched, which was able to provide extensive military support to the Acehnese.[40]

The discovery of new maritime trade routes by Western European states allowed them to avoid the Ottoman trade monopoly. The Portuguese discovery of the Cape of Good Hope in 1488 initiated a series of Ottoman-Portuguese naval wars in the Ocean throughout the 16th century. The Ajuran Sultanate allied with the Ottomans defied the Portuguese economic monopoly in the Indian Ocean by employing a new coinage which followed the Ottoman pattern, thus proclaiming an attitude of economic independence in regard to the Portuguese.[41]

Mediterranean and North Africa

Barbarossa Hayreddin Pasha defeats the Holy League under the command of Andrea Doria at the Battle of Preveza in 1538

Having consolidated his conquests on land, Suleiman was greeted with the news that the fortress of Koroni in Morea (the modern Peloponnese, peninsular Greece) had been lost to Charles V's admiral, Andrea Doria. The presence of the Spanish in the Eastern Mediterranean concerned Suleiman, who saw it as an early indication of Charles V's intention to rival Ottoman dominance in the region. Recognizing the need to reassert naval preeminence in the Mediterranean, Suleiman appointed an exceptional naval commander in the form of Khair ad Din, known to Europeans as Barbarossa. Once appointed admiral-in-chief, Barbarossa was charged with rebuilding the Ottoman fleet.

In 1535, Charles V led a Holy League of 26,700 soldiers (10,000 Spaniards, 8,000 Italians, 8,000 Germans, and 700 Knights of St. John)[21] to victory against the Ottomans at Tunis, which together with the war against Venice the following year, led Suleiman to accept proposals from Francis I of France to form an alliance against Charles.[18]:51 Huge Muslim territories in North Africa were annexed. The piracy carried on thereafter by the Barbary pirates of North Africa can be seen in the context of the wars against Spain.

France's King Francis I never met Suleiman, but they created a Franco-Ottoman alliance from the 1530s.

The siege of Malta in 1565: arrival of the Turkish fleet, by Matteo Perez d'Aleccio

In 1541, the Spaniards led an unsuccessful expedition to Algiers. In 1542, facing a common Habsburg enemy during the Italian Wars, Francis I sought to renew the Franco-Ottoman alliance. In early 1542, Polin successfully negotiated the details of the alliance, with the Ottoman Empire promising to send 60,000 troops against the territories of the German king Ferdinand, as well as 150 galleys against Charles, while France promised to attack Flanders, harass the coasts of Spain with a naval force, and send 40 galleys to assist the Turks for operations in the Levant.[42]

In August 1551, Ottoman naval commander Turgut Reis attacked and captured Tripoli which had been a possession of the Knights of Malta since 1530. In 1553, Turgut Reis was nominated commander of Tripoli by Suleiman, making the city an important center for piratical raids in the Mediterranean and the capital of the Ottoman province of Tripolitania.[43] In 1560, a powerful naval force was sent to recapture Tripoli, but that force was defeated in the Battle of Djerba.[44]

Elsewhere in the Mediterranean, when the Knights Hospitallers were re-established as the Knights of Malta in 1530, their actions against Muslim navies quickly drew the ire of the Ottomans, who assembled another massive army in order to dislodge the Knights from Malta. The Ottomans invaded Malta in 1565, undertaking the Great Siege of Malta, which began on 18 May and lasted until 8 September, and is portrayed vividly in the frescoes of Matteo Perez d'Aleccio in the Hall of St. Michael and St. George. At first, it seemed that this would be a repeat of the battle on Rhodes, with most of Malta's cities destroyed and half the Knights killed in battle; but a relief force from Spain entered the battle, resulting in the loss of 10,000 Ottoman troops and the victory of the local Maltese citizenry.[45]

Legal and political reforms

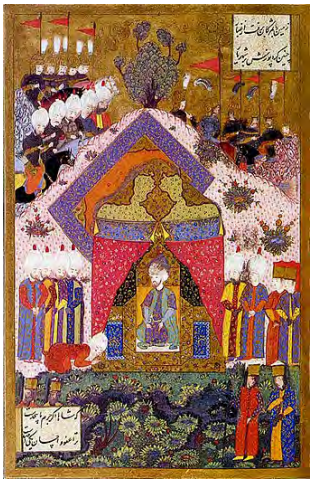
While Sultan Suleiman was known as "the Magnificent" in the West, he was always *Kanuni* Suleiman or "The Lawgiver" (قانونی) to his Ottoman subjects. The overriding law of the empire was the Shari'ah, or Sacred Law, which as the divine law of Islam was outside of the Sultan's powers to change. Yet an area of distinct law known as the *Kanuns* (قانون, canonical legislation) was dependent on Suleiman's will alone, covering areas such as criminal law, land tenure and taxation.[18]:244 He collected all the judgments that had been issued by the nine Ottoman Sultans who preceded him. After eliminating duplications and choosing between contradictory

statements, he issued a single legal code, all the while being careful not to violate the basic laws of Islam.[46]:20 It was within this framework that Suleiman, supported by his Grand Mufti Ebussuud, sought to reform the legislation to adapt to a rapidly changing empire. When the Kanun laws attained their final form, the code of laws became known as the *kanun-i Osmani* (قانون عثمانی), or the "Ottoman laws". Suleiman's legal code was to last more than three hundred years.[46]:21

Suleiman I plate at al-Masjid al-Nabawi – Medina

The Sultan also played a role in protecting the Jewish subjects of his empire for centuries to come. In late 1553 or 1554, on the suggestion of his favorite doctor and dentist, the Spanish Jew Moses Hamon, the Sultan issued a *firman* (فرمان) formally denouncing blood libels against the Jews.[4]:124 Furthermore, Suleiman enacted new criminal and police legislation, prescribing a set of fines for specific offenses, as well as reducing the instances requiring death or mutilation. In the area of taxation, taxes were levied on various goods and produce, including animals, mines, profits of trade, and import-export duties.

Higher *medreses* provided education of university status, whose graduates became *imams* (امام) or teachers. Educational centers were often one of many buildings surrounding the courtyards of mosques, others included libraries, baths, soup kitchens, residences and hospitals for the benefit of the public.[47]



Suleiman the Magnificent receives an ambassador (painting by Matrakçı Nasuh)

The arts under Suleiman

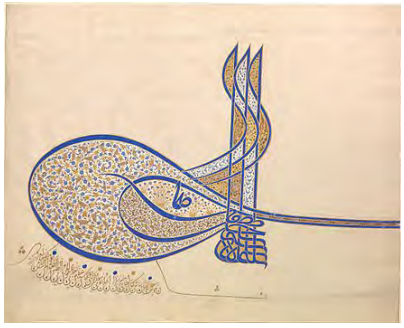
Under Suleiman's patronage, the Ottoman Empire entered the golden age of its cultural development. Hundreds of imperial artistic societies (called the اهل حرف *Ehl-i Hiref*, "Community of the Craftsmen") were administered at the Imperial seat, the Topkapı Palace. After an apprenticeship, artists and craftsmen could advance in rank within their field and were paid commensurate wages in quarterly annual installments. Payroll registers that survive testify to the breadth of Suleiman's patronage of the arts, the earliest of the documents dating from 1526 list 40 societies with over 600 members. The *Ehl-i Hiref* attracted the empire's most talented artisans to the Sultan's court, both from the Islamic world and from the recently conquered territories in Europe, resulting in a blend of Arabic, Turkish and European cultures.[6] Artisans in service of the court included painters, book binders, furriers, jewellers and goldsmiths. Whereas previous rulers had been influenced by Persian culture (Suleiman's father, Selim I, wrote poetry in Persian), Suleiman's patronage of the arts saw the Ottoman Empire assert its own artistic legacy.[4]:70

Ottoman miniature from the Süleymanname depicting the execution by elephant of defeated enemy in Belgrade

Suleiman himself was an accomplished poet, writing in Persian and Turkish under the takhallus (nom de plume) *Muhibbi* (محبی, "Lover"). Some of Suleiman's verses have become Turkish proverbs, such as the well-known *Everyone aims at the same meaning, but many are the versions of the story*. When his young son Mehmed died in 1543, he composed a moving chronogram to commemorate the year: *Peerless among princes, my Sultan Mehmed*.[48] In Turkish the chronogram reads شهزادەلر گزیدەسی سلطان محمدم (*Şehzadeler güzidesi Sultan Muhammed'üm*), in which the Arabic Abjad numerals total 955, the equivalent in the Islamic calendar of 1543 AD. In addition to Suleiman's own work, many great talents enlivened the literary world during Suleiman's rule, including Fuzûlî and Bâkî. The literary historian Elias John Wilkinson Gibb observed that "at no time, even in Turkey, was greater encouragement given to poetry than during the reign of this Sultan".[49] Suleiman's most famous verse is:

> The people think of wealth and power as the greatest fate,
> But in this world a spell of health is the best state.
> What men call sovereignty is a worldly strife and constant war;
> Worship of God is the highest throne, the happiest of all estates.[4]:84

Suleiman also became renowned for sponsoring a series of monumental architectural developments within his empire. The Sultan sought to turn Constantinople into the center of Islamic civilization by a series of projects, including bridges, mosques, palaces and various charitable and social establishments. The greatest of these were built by the Sultan's chief architect, Mimar Sinan, under whom Ottoman architecture reached its zenith. Sinan became responsible for over three hundred monuments throughout the empire, including his two masterpieces, the Süleymaniye and Selimiye mosques—the latter built in Adrianople (now Edirne) in the reign of Suleiman's son Selim II. Suleiman also restored the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and the Walls of Jerusalem (which are the current walls of the Old City of Jerusalem), renovated the Kaaba in Mecca, and constructed a complex in Damascus.[50]



Tughra of Suleiman the Magnificent

Süleymaniye Mosque in Istanbul, built by Mimar Sinan, Suleiman's chief architect.

Personal life

Wives and concubines

Suleiman had two known consorts, though in total there were 17 women in his harem.[51]

- Mahidevran Hatun, a Circassian or Albanian concubine.[52][53]
- Hurrem Sultan (also known as Roxelana) (m. 1533 or 1534), Suleiman's concubine and later legal wife and first Haseki Sultan, possibly a daughter of a Ruthenian Orthodox priest.[54]

Children

Suleiman had several children with his consorts, including:

Sons

- Şehzade Mahmud (1512, Manisa Palace, Manisa – 29 October 1521, Topkapı Palace, Istanbul, buried in Yavuz Selim Mosque);[55]
- Şehzade Mustafa (1515, Manisa Palace, Manisa – executed, by the order of his father, on 6 October 1553, Konya, buried in Muradiye Complex, Bursa), son with Mahidevran;
- Şehzade Murad (1519, Manisa Palace, Manisa – 19 October 1521, Topkapı Palace, Istanbul, buried in Yavuz Selim Mosque);[55]
- Şehzade Mehmed (1521, Topkapı Palace, Istanbul – 6 November 1543, Manisa Palace, Manisa, buried in Şehzade Mosque, Istanbul), son with Hürrem;
- Şehzade Abdullah (1523, Topkapı Palace, Istanbul – 1526, Topkapı Palace, Istanbul, buried in Yavuz Selim Mosque),[55] son with Hürrem[56]
- Sultan Selim II (30 May 1524, Topkapı Palace, Istanbul – 12/15 December 1574, Topkapı Palace, Istanbul, buried in Selim II Mausoleum, Hagia Sophia Mosque), son with Hürrem;
- Şehzade Bayezid (1525, Topkapı Palace, Istanbul – executed by agents of his father on 25 September 1561, Qazvin, Safavid Empire, buried in Melik-i Acem Türbe, Sivas), son with Hürrem;
- Şehzade Cihangir (9 December 1531, Topkapı Palace, Istanbul – 27 November 1553, Konya, buried in Şehzade Mosque, Istanbul), son with Hürrem

Daughters

- Mihrimah Sultan (1522,[56][57][58] Topkapı Palace, Istanbul – 25 January 1578, buried in Suleiman I Mausoleum, Süleymaniye Mosque), daughter with Hürrem. She married Damat Rüstem Pasha in 1539, and had one daughter and one son.
  - Ayşe Hümaşah Sultan (1542 Istanbul – died 1595, buried in Mihrimah Sultan Mosque Edirnekapı), married in 1560 to Damad Şemsi Ahmed Pasha
  - Sultanzade Osman Bey (born 1545 and died 1575, Istanbul, buried in Mihrimah Sultan Mosque Üskudar)
- Raziye Sultan (died 1521?, buried in Yahya Efendi Türbe), daughter with unknown woman

Relationship with Hurrem Sultan

16th-century oil painting of Hurrem Sultan

Suleiman was infatuated with Hurrem Sultan, a harem girl from Ruthenia, then part of Poland. Western diplomats, taking notice of the palace gossip about her, called her "Russelazie" or "Roxelana", referring to her Ruthenian origins.[59] The daughter of an Orthodox priest, she was captured by Tatars from Crimea, sold as a slave in Constantinople, and eventually rose through the ranks of the Harem to become Suleiman's favorite. Hurrem, a former concubine, became the legal wife of the Sultan, much to the astonishment of the observers in the palace and the city.[4]:86 He also allowed Hurrem Sultan to remain with him at court for the rest of her life, breaking another tradition—that when imperial heirs came of age, they would be sent along with the imperial concubine who bore them to govern remote provinces of the Empire, never to return unless their progeny succeeded to the throne.[18]:90

Under his pen name, Muhibbi, Sultan Suleiman composed this poem for Hurrem Sultan:

> Throne of my lonely niche, my wealth, my love, my moonlight.
> My most sincere friend, my confidant, my very existence, my Sultan, my one and only love.
> The most beautiful among the beautiful ...
> My springtime, my merry faced love, my daytime, my sweetheart, laughing leaf ...
> My plants, my sweet, my rose, the one only who does not distress me in this room ...
> My Istanbul, my karaman, the earth of my Anatolia
> My Badakhshan, my Baghdad and Khorasan
> My woman of the beautiful hair, my love of the slanted brow, my love of eyes full of misery ...
> I'll sing your praises always
> I, lover of the tormented heart, Muhibbi of the eyes full of tears, I am happy.[60]

Grand Vizier Pargalı Ibrahim Pasha

Pargalı Ibrahim Pasha was a friend of Suleiman from before his accession. Ibrahim was originally a Christian from Parga (in Epirus), who was captured in a raid during the 1499–1503 Ottoman–Venetian War, and was given as a slave to Suleiman most likely in 1514.[61] Ibrahim converted to Islam and Suleiman made him the royal falconer, then promoted him to first officer of the Royal Bedchamber.[4]:87 Ibrahim Pasha rose to Grand Vizier in 1523 and commander-in-chief of all the armies. Suleiman also conferred upon Ibrahim Pasha the honor of *beylerbey* of Rumelia (first-ranking military governor-general), granting Ibrahim authority over all Ottoman territories in Europe, as well as command of troops residing within them in times of war.

During his thirteen years as Grand Vizier, his rapid rise to power and vast accumulation of wealth had made Ibrahim many enemies at the Sultan's court. Suleiman's suspicion of Ibrahim was worsened by a quarrel between the latter and the finance secretary (*defterdar*) İskender Çelebi. The dispute ended in the disgrace of Çelebi on charges of intrigue, with Ibrahim convincing Suleiman to sentence the *defterdar* to death. Ibrahim also supported Şehzade Mustafa as the successor of Suleiman. This caused disputes between him and Hürrem Sultan, who wanted her sons to succeed to the throne. Ibrahim eventually fell from grace with the Sultan and his wife. Suleiman consulted his Qadi, who suggested that Ibrahim be put to death. The Sultan recruited assassins and ordered them to strangle Ibrahim in his sleep.[62]

Succession

Suleiman awaits the arrival of his Grand Vizier Pargalı Ibrahim Pasha at Buda, 1529.

Sultan Suleiman's two known consorts (Hürrem and Mahidevran) had borne him six sons, four of whom survived past the 1550s. They were Mustafa, Selim, Bayezid, and Cihangir. Of these, the eldest was not Hürrem's son, but rather Mahidevran's. Hürrem is usually held at least partly responsible for the intrigues in nominating a successor, though there is no evidence to support this.[56] Although she was Suleiman's wife, she exercised no official public role. This did not, however, prevent Hürrem from wielding powerful political influence. Since the Empire lacked, until the reign of Ahmed I, any formal means of nominating a successor, successions usually involved the death of competing princes in order to avert civil unrest and rebellions.

By 1552, when the campaign against Persia had begun with Rüstem appointed commander-in-chief of the expedition, intrigues against Mustafa began. Rüstem sent one of Suleiman's most trusted men to report that since Suleiman was not at the head of the army, the soldiers thought the time had come to put a younger prince on the throne; at the same time, he spread rumours that Mustafa had proved receptive to the idea. Angered by what he came to believe were Mustafa's plans to claim the throne, the following summer upon return from his campaign in Persia, Suleiman summoned him to his tent in the Ereğli valley.[63] When Mustafa entered his father's tent to meet with him, Suleiman's eunuchs attacked Mustafa, and after a long struggle the mutes killed him using a bow-string.

Ottoman *sultani* minted during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent

Cihangir is said to have died of grief a few months after the news of his half-brother's murder.[4]:89 The two surviving brothers, Selim and Bayezid, were given command in different parts of the empire. Within a few years, however, civil war broke out between the brothers, each supported by his loyal forces. With the aid of his father's army, Selim defeated Bayezid in Konya in 1559, leading the latter to seek refuge with the Safavids along with his four sons. Following diplomatic exchanges, the Sultan demanded from the Safavid Shah that Bayezid be either extradited or executed. In return for large amounts of gold, the Shah allowed a Turkish executioner to strangle Bayezid and his four sons in 1561,[4]:89 clearing the path for Selim's succession to the throne five years later.

Death

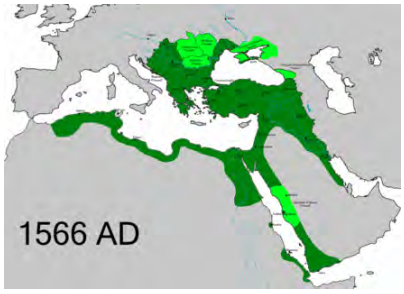
The body of Suleiman I arrives to Belgrade. (left) The funeral of Suleiman I. (right)

On 6 September 1566, Suleiman, who had set out from Constantinople to command an expedition to Hungary, died before an Ottoman victory at the Siege of Szigetvár in Hungary at the age of 71[2]:545 and his Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha kept his death secret during the retreat for the enthronement of Selim II. The sultan's body was taken back to Istanbul to be buried, while his heart, liver, and some other organs were buried in Turbék, outside Szigetvár. A mausoleum constructed above the burial site came to be regarded as a holy place and pilgrimage site. Within a decade a mosque and Sufi hospice were built near it, and the site was protected by a salaried garrison of several dozen men.[64]

Legacy

Burial place of Suleiman I at Süleymaniye Mosque

The formation of Suleiman's legacy began even before his death. Throughout his reign literary works were commissioned praising Suleiman and constructing an image of him as an ideal ruler, most significantly by Celalzade Mustafa, chancellor of the empire from 1534 to 1557.[10]:4–5,250 Later Ottoman writers applied this idealised image of Suleiman to the Near Eastern literary genre of advice literature named *naṣīḥatnāme*, urging sultans to conform to his model of rulership and to maintain the empire's institutions in their sixteenth-century form. Such writers were pushing back against the political and institutional transformation of the empire after the middle of the sixteenth century, and portrayed deviation from the norm as it had existed under Suleiman as evidence of the decline of the empire.[65]:54–55,64 Western historians, failing to recognise that these 'decline writers' were working within an established literary genre and often had deeply personal reasons for criticizing the empire, long took their claims at face value and consequently adopted the idea that the empire entered a period of decline after the death of Suleiman.[65]:73–77 Since the 1980s this view has been thoroughly reexamined, and modern scholars have come to overwhelmingly reject the idea of decline, labelling it an "untrue myth".[7]



The Ottoman Empire at the time of the death of Suleiman I

Suleiman's marble portrait in the US Capitol

Suleiman's conquests had brought under the control of the Empire major Muslim cities (such as Baghdad), many Balkan provinces (reaching present day Croatia and Hungary), and most of North Africa. His expansion into Europe had given the Ottoman Turks a powerful presence in the European balance of power. Indeed, such was the perceived threat of the Ottoman Empire under the reign of Suleiman that Austria's ambassador Busbecq warned of Europe's imminent conquest: "On [the Turks'] side are the resources of a mighty empire, strength unimpaired, habituation to victory, endurance of toil, unity, discipline, frugality and watchfulness ... Can we doubt what the result will be? ... When the Turks have settled with Persia, they will fly at our throats supported by the might of the whole East; how unprepared we are I dare not say."[66] Suleiman's legacy was not, however, merely in the military field. The French traveler Jean de Thévenot bears witness a century later to the "strong agricultural base of the country, the well being of the peasantry, the abundance of staple foods and the pre-eminence of organization in Suleiman's government".[67]

Even thirty years after his death, "Sultan Solyman" was quoted by the English playwright William Shakespeare as a military prodigy in *The Merchant of Venice*, where the Prince of Morocco boasts about his prowess by saying that he defeated Suleiman in three battles (Act 2, Scene 1).[68][69]

Through the distribution of court patronage, Suleiman also presided over a Golden Age in Ottoman arts, witnessing immense achievement in the realms of architecture, literature, art, theology and philosophy.[6][70] Today the skyline of the Bosphorus and of many cities in modern Turkey and the former Ottoman provinces, are still adorned with the architectural works of Mimar Sinan. One of these, the Süleymaniye Mosque, is the final resting place of Suleiman: he is buried in a domed mausoleum attached to the mosque.

Nevertheless, assessments of Suleiman's reign have frequently fallen into the trap of the Great Man theory of history. The administrative, cultural, and military achievements of the age were a product not of Suleiman alone, but also of the many talented figures who served him, such as grand viziers Ibrahim Pasha and Rüstem Pasha, the Grand Mufti Ebussuud Efendi, who played a major role in legal reform, and chancellor and chronicler Celalzade Mustafa, who played a major role in bureaucratic expansion and in constructing Suleiman's legacy.[2]:542

In an inscription dating from 1537 on the citadel of Bender, Moldova, Suleiman the Magnificent gave expression to his power:[71]

> I am God's slave and sultan of this world. By the grace of God I am head of Muhammad's community. God's might and Muhammad's miracles are my companions. I am Süleymân, in whose name the hutbe is read in Mecca and Medina. In Baghdad I am the shah, in Byzantine realms the caesar, and in Egypt the sultan; who sends his fleets to the seas of Europe, the Maghrib and India. I am the sultan who took the crown and throne of Hungary and granted them to a humble slave. The voivoda Petru raised his head in revolt, but my horse's hoofs ground him into the dust, and I conquered the land of Moldovia.

Suleiman is present on one of the 23 relief portraits over the gallery doors of the House Chamber of the United States Capitol that depicts historical figures noted for their work in establishing the principles that underlie American law.[72]

See also

- List of revolts during Suleiman's reign
- *Muhteşem Yüzyıl*

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Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor

Charles V[b][c] (24 February 1500 – 21 September 1558) was Holy Roman Emperor and Archduke of Austria from 1519 to 1556, King of Spain (Castile and Aragon) from 1516 to 1556, and Lord of the Netherlands as titular Duke of Burgundy from 1506 to 1555. As he was head of the rising House of Habsburg during the first half of the 16th century, his dominions in Europe included the Holy Roman Empire, extending from Germany to northern Italy with direct rule over the Austrian hereditary lands and the Burgundian Low Countries, and the Kingdom of Spain with its southern Italian possessions of Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia. Furthermore, he oversaw both the continuation of the long-lasting Spanish colonization of the Americas and the short-lived German colonization of the Americas. The personal union of the European and American territories of Charles V was the first collection of realms labelled "the empire on which the sun never sets".[9]

Charles was born in the County of Flanders to Philip of Habsburg (son of Maximilian I of Habsburg and Mary of Burgundy) and Joanna of Trastámara (daughter of Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon, the Catholic Monarchs of Spain). The ultimate heir of his four grandparents, Charles inherited all of his family dominions at a young age. After the death of Philip in 1506, he inherited the Burgundian states originally held by his paternal grandmother Mary.[10] In 1516, inheriting the dynastic union formed by his maternal grandparents Isabella I and Ferdinand II, he became king of Spain as co-monarch of the Spanish kingdoms with his mother. Spain's possessions at his accession also included the Castilian colonies of the West Indies and the Spanish Main as well as the Aragonese kingdoms of Naples, Sicily and Sardinia. At the death of his paternal grandfather Maximilian in 1519, he inherited Austria and was elected to succeed him as Holy Roman Emperor. He adopted the Imperial name of *Charles V* as his main title, and styled himself as a new Charlemagne.[11]

Charles V revitalized the medieval concept of universal monarchy and spent most of his life attempting to defend the integrity of the Holy Roman Empire from the Protestant Reformation, the expansion of the Ottoman Empire, and a series of wars with France.[12][13] With no fixed capital city, he made 40 journeys, travelling from country to country; he spent a quarter of his reign on the road.[14] The imperial wars were fought by German Landsknechte, Spanish tercios, Burgundian knights, and Italian condottieri. Charles V borrowed money from German and Italian bankers and, in order to repay such loans, he relied on the proto-capitalist economy of the Low Countries and on the flows of gold and especially silver from South America to Spain, which caused widespread inflation. He ratified the Spanish conquest of the Aztec and Inca empires by the Spanish conquistadores Hernán Cortés and Francisco Pizarro, as well as the establishment of Klein-Venedig by the German Welser family in search of the legendary El Dorado. In order to consolidate power in his early reign, Charles overcame two Spanish insurrections (the Comuneros' Revolt and Brotherhoods' Revolt) and two German rebellions (the Knights' Revolt and Great Peasants' Revolt).

Crowned King in Germany, Charles sided with Pope Leo X and declared Martin Luther an outlaw at the Diet of Worms (1521).[15] The same year, Francis I of France, surrounded by the Habsburg possessions, started a conflict in Lombardy that lasted until the Battle of Pavia (1525), which led to the French king's temporary imprisonment. The Protestant affair re-emerged in 1527 as Rome was sacked by an army of Charles's mutinous soldiers, largely of Lutheran faith. After

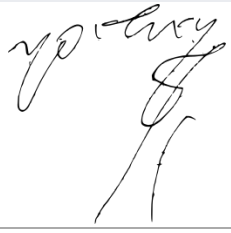
Charles V

Portrait by Titian, probably with Lambert Sustris, 1548

Holy Roman Emperor King in Germany King of Italy	
Reign	28 June 1519 – 27 August 1556[a]
Coronation	23 October 1520 (Germany) 22 February 1530 (Italy) 24 February 1530 (Empire)[8]
Predecessor	Maximilian I
Successor	Ferdinand I
King of Spain (Castile and Aragon) as Charles I	
Reign	14 March 1516 – 16 January 1556
Predecessor	Joanna
Successor	Philip II
Co-monarch	Joanna (until 1555)
Archduke of Austria as Charles I	
Reign	12 January 1519 – 21 April 1521

his forces left the Papal States, Charles V defended Vienna from the Turks and obtained a coronation as King of Italy and Holy Roman Emperor from Pope Clement VII. In 1535, he annexed the vacant Duchy of Milan and captured Tunis. Nevertheless, the loss of Buda during the struggle for Hungary and the Algiers expedition in the early 1540s frustrated his anti-Ottoman policies. Meanwhile, Charles V had come to an agreement with Pope Paul III for the organisation of the Council of Trent (1545). The refusal of the Lutheran Schmalkaldic League to recognize the council's validity led to a war, won by Charles V with the imprisonment of the Protestant princes. However, Henry II of France offered new support to the Lutheran cause and strengthened a close alliance with the sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, the ruler of the Ottoman Empire since 1520.

Ultimately, Charles V conceded the Peace of Augsburg and abandoned his multi-national project with a series of abdications in 1556 that divided his hereditary and imperial domains between the Spanish Habsburgs headed by his son Philip II of Spain and the Austrian Habsburgs headed by his brother Ferdinand, who had been archduke of Austria in Charles's name since 1521 and the designated successor as emperor since 1531.[16][17][18] The Duchy of Milan and the Habsburg Netherlands were also left in personal union to the king of Spain, although initially also belonging to the Holy Roman Empire. The two Habsburg dynasties remained allied until the extinction of the Spanish line in 1700. In 1557, Charles retired to the Monastery of Yuste in Extremadura and died there a year later.

Predecessor	Maximilian I
Successor	Ferdinand I (in the name of Charles V until 1556)
Lord of the Netherlands Duke of Burgundy as Charles II	
Reign	25 September 1506 – 25 October 1555
Predecessor	Philip I of Castile
Successor	Philip II of Spain
Born	24 February 1500 Prinsenhof of Ghent, Flanders, Burgundian Low Countries
Died	21 September 1558 (aged 58) Monastery of Yuste, Crown of Castile
Burial	22 September 1558 El Escorial, Spain
Spouse	Isabella of Portugal (m. 1526; died 1539)
Issue *among others*	Philip II, King of Spain Maria, Holy Roman Empress Joanna, Princess of Portugal *illegitimate:* Margaret, Duchess of Florence and Parma John of Austria
House	Habsburg
Father	Philip I, King of Castile
Mother	Joanna, Queen of Castile and Aragon
Religion	Roman Catholicism
Signature	

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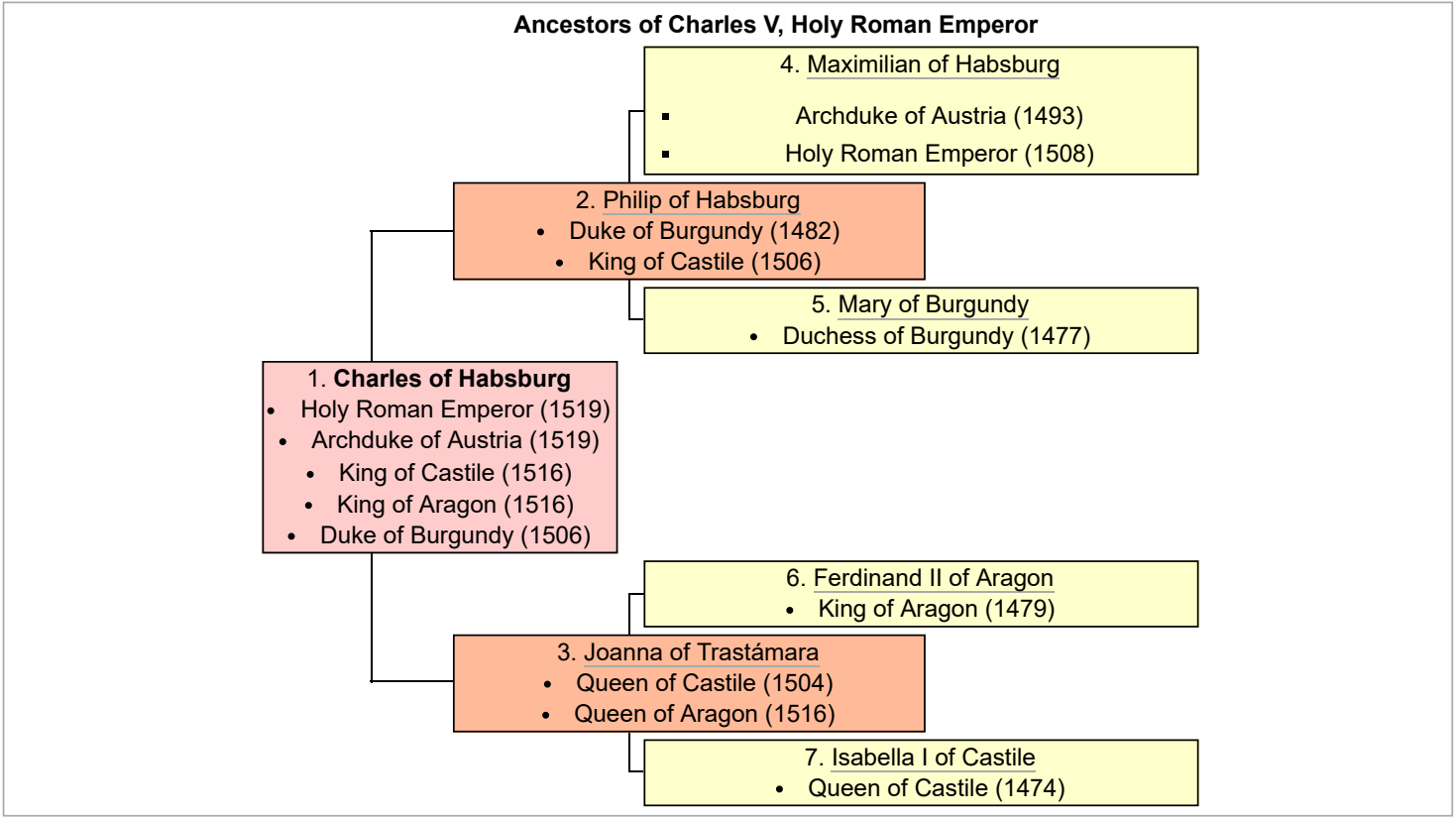


Charles of Habsburg was born on 24 February 1500 in the Prinsenhof of Ghent, a Flemish city of the Burgundian Low Countries, to Philip of Habsburg and Joanna of Trastámara.[19] His father Philip, nicknamed *Philip the Handsome*, was the firstborn son of Maximilian I of Habsburg, Archduke of Austria as well as Holy Roman Emperor, and Mary the Rich, Burgundian duchess of the Low Countries. His mother Joanna, known as *Joanna the Mad* for the mental disorders afflicting her, was a daughter of Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile, the Catholic Monarchs of Spain from the House of Trastámara. The political marriage of Philip and Joanna was first conceived in a letter sent by Maximilian to Ferdinand in order to seal an Austro-Spanish alliance, established as part of the *League of Venice* directed against the Kingdom of France during the Italian Wars.[20]

From the moment he became King of the Romans (*de facto* Crown Prince of the Holy Roman Empire) in 1486, Charles's paternal grandfather Maximilian had carried a very financially risky policy of maximum expansionism, relying mostly on the resources of the Austrian hereditary lands.[21] Even though it is often implied (among others, by Erasmus of Rotterdam[22]) that Charles V and the Habsburgs gained their vast empire through peaceful policies (exemplified by the saying *Bella gerant alii, tū fēlix Austria nūbe/ Nam quae Mars aliīs, dat tibi regna Venus* or "Let others wage war, but thou, O happy Austria, marry; for those kingdoms which Mars gives to others, Venus gives to thee.", reportedly spoken by Mathias Corvinus[23][24]), Maximilian and his descendants fought wars aplenty

(Maximilian alone fought 27 wars during his four decades of ruling).[25][26] His general strategy was to combine his intricate systems of alliance, wars, military threats and offers of marriage to realize his expansionist ambitions. Ultimately he succeeded in coercing Bohemia, Hungary and Poland into acquiescence in the Habsburgs' expansionist plan.[26][27][28]

The entrance gate to the Prinsenhof (Dutch; literally "Princes' court") in Ghent, where Charles was born.

The fact that the marriages between the Habsburgs and the Trastámaras, originally conceived as a marital alliance against France, would bring the crowns of Castille and Aragon to Maximilian's male line, however, was unexpected.[29][30]

The marriage contract between Philip and Joanna was signed in 1495, and celebrations were held in 1496. Philip was already Duke of Burgundy, given Mary's death in 1482, and also heir apparent of Austria as honorific Archduke. Joanna, in contrast, was only third in the Spanish line of succession, preceded by her older brother John of Castile and older sister Isabella of Aragon. Although both John and Isabella died in 1498, the Catholic Monarchs desired to keep the Spanish kingdoms in Iberian hands and designated their Portuguese grandson Miguel da Paz as heir presumptive of Spain by naming him Prince of the Asturias.[31]

Charles was born in a bathroom of the Prinsenhof at 3:00 AM by Joanna not long after she attended a ball despite symptoms of labor pains, and his name was chosen by Philip in honour of Charles I of Burgundy. According to a poet at the court, the people of Ghent "shouted Austria and Burgundy throughout the whole city for three hours" to celebrate his birth.[20] Given the dynastic situation, the newborn was originally heir apparent only of the Burgundian Low Countries as the honorific Duke of Luxembourg and became known in his early years simply as *Charles of Ghent*. He was baptized at the Church of Saint John by the Bishop of Tournai: Charles I de Croÿ and John III of Glymes were his godfathers; Margaret of York and Margaret of Austria his godmothers. Charles's baptism gifts were a sword and a helmet, objects of Burgundian chivalric tradition representing, respectively, the instrument of war and the symbol of peace.[32]

In 1501, Philip and Joanna left Charles to the custody of Margaret of York and went to Spain. The main goal of their Spanish mission was the recognition of Joanna as Princess of Asturias, given prince Miguel's death a year earlier. They succeeded despite facing some opposition from the Spanish *Cortes*, reluctant to create the premises for Habsburg succession. In 1504, as Isabella died, Joanna became Queen of Castile.[33] Charles only met his father again in 1503 while his mother returned in 1504 (after giving birth to Ferdinand in Spain). The Spanish Ambassador Fuensalida reported that Philip often visited and they had lots of fun. The couple's unhappy marriage and Joanna's unstable mental state however created many difficulties, making it unsafe for the children to stay with the parents.[34] Philip was recognized King in 1506. He died shortly after, an event that drove the mentally unstable Joanna into complete insanity. She retired in isolation into a tower of Tordesillas. Ferdinand took control of all the Spanish kingdoms, under the pretext of protecting Charles's rights, which in reality he wanted to elude, but his new marriage with Germaine de Foix failed to produce a surviving Trastámara heir to the throne. With his father dead and his mother confined, Charles became Duke of Burgundy and was recognized as prince of Asturias (heir presumptive of Spain) and honorific archduke (heir apparent of Austria).[35]

A painting by Bernhard Strigel representing the extended Habsburg family, with a young Charles in the middle.

Inheritances

The Burgundian inheritance included the Habsburg Netherlands, which consisted of a large number of the lordships that formed the Low Countries and covered modern-day Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg. It excluded Burgundy proper, annexed by France in 1477, with the exception of Franche-Comté. At the death of Philip in 1506, Charles was recognized Lord of the Netherlands with the title of *Charles II of Burgundy*. During his childhood and teen years, Charles lived in Mechelen together with his sisters Mary, Eleanor, and Isabella at the court of his aunt Margaret of Austria, Duchess of Savoy. William de Croÿ (later prime minister) and Adrian of Utrecht (later Pope Adrian VI) served as his tutors. The culture and courtly life of the Low Countries played an important part in the

development of Charles's beliefs. As a member of the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece in his infancy, and later its grandmaster, Charles was educated to the ideals of the medieval knights and the desire for Christian unity to fight the infidel.[36] The Low Countries were very rich during his reign, both economically and culturally. Charles was very attached to his homeland and spent much of his life in Brussels and various Flemish cities.

A portrait by Bernard van Orley, 1519. The insignia of the Order of the Golden Fleece are prominently displayed.

The Spanish inheritance, resulting from a dynastic union of the crowns of Castile and Aragon, included Spain as well as the Castilian possessions in the Americas (the Spanish West Indies and the Province of Tierra Firme) and the Aragonese kingdoms of Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia. Joanna inherited these territories in 1516 in a condition of mental illness. Charles, therefore, claimed the crowns for himself *jure matris*, thus becoming co-monarch of Joanna with the title of *Charles I of Castile and Aragon* or *Charles I of Spain*. Castile and Aragon together formed the largest of Charles's personal possessions, and they also provided a great number of generals and tercios (the formidable Spanish infantry of the time), while Joanna remained confined in Tordesillas until her death. However, at his accession to the throne, Charles was viewed as a foreign prince.[37]

Two rebellions, the revolt of the Germanies and the revolt of the comuneros, contested Charles's rule in the 1520s. Following these revolts, Charles placed Spanish counselors in a position of power and spent a considerable part of his life in Castile, including his final years in a monastery. Indeed, Charles's motto "Plus Oultre" (*Further Beyond*), rendered as *Plus Ultra* from the original French, became the national motto of Spain and his heir, later Philip II, was born and raised in Castile. Nonetheless, many Spaniards believed that their resources (largely consisting of flows of silver from the Americas) were being used to sustain Imperial-Habsburg policies that were not in the country's interest.[37]

A Portrait of Charles V with a Dog by Jakob Seisenegger, 1532

Charles inherited the Austrian hereditary lands in 1519, as *Charles I of Austria*, and obtained the election as Holy Roman Emperor against the candidacy of the French King. Since the Imperial election, he was known as *Emperor Charles V* even outside of Germany and the Habsburg motto *A.E.I.O.U.* ("Austria Est Imperare Orbi Universo"; "it is Austria's destiny to rule the world") acquired political significance. Despite the fact that he was elected as a German prince, Charles's staunch Catholicism in contrast to the growth of Lutheranism alienated him from various German princes who finally fought against him. Charles's presence in Germany was often marked by the organization of imperial diets to maintain religious and political unity.[38][39]

He was frequently in Northern Italy, often taking part in complicated negotiations with the Popes to address the rise of Protestantism. It is important to note, though, that the German Catholics supported the Emperor. Charles had a close relationship with important German families, like the House of Nassau, many of which were represented at his Imperial court. Several German princes or noblemen accompanied him in his military campaigns against France or the Ottomans, and the bulk of his army was generally composed of German troops, especially the Imperial Landsknechte.[38][39]

It is said that Charles spoke several languages. He was fluent in French and Dutch, his native languages. He later added an acceptable Castilian Spanish, which he was required to learn by the Castilian *Cortes Generales*. He could also speak some Basque, acquired by the influence of the Basque secretaries serving in the royal court.[40] He gained a decent command of German following the Imperial election, though he never spoke it as well as French.[41] By 1532, Charles was proficient in Portuguese, to the amazement of diplomats.[42] A witticism sometimes attributed to Charles is: "I speak Spanish/Latin (depending on the source) to God, Italian to women, French to men and German to my horse."[43] A variant of the quote is attributed to him by Swift in his 1726 *Gulliver's Travels*, but there are no contemporary accounts referencing the quotation (which has many other variants) and it is often attributed instead to Frederick the Great.[44][45]

Reign

Given the vast dominions of the House of Habsburg, Charles was often on the road and needed deputies to govern his realms for the times he was absent from his territories. His first Governor of the Netherlands was Margaret of Austria (succeeded by Mary of Hungary and Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy). His first Regent of Spain was Adrian of Utrecht (succeeded by Isabella of Portugal and Philip II of Spain). For the regency and governorship of the Austrian hereditary lands, Charles named his brother Ferdinand Archduke in the Austrian lands under his authority at the Diet of Worms (1521). Charles also agreed to favor the election of Ferdinand as King of the Romans in Germany, which took place in 1531. By virtue of these agreements Ferdinand became Holy Roman Emperor and obtained hereditary rights over Austria at the abdication of Charles in 1556.[16][46] Charles de Lannoy, Carafa and Antonio Folc de Cardona y Enriquez were the viceroys of the kingdoms of Naples, Sicily and Sardinia, respectively.

The Dominions of the Habsburgs at the time of the abdication of Charles V in 1556

Charles V travelled ten times to the Low Countries, nine to Germany,[47] seven to Spain,[48] seven to Italy,[49] four to France, two to England, and two to North Africa.[50] During all his travels, the Emperor left a documentary trail in almost every place he went, allowing historians to surmise that he spent 10,000 days in the Low Countries, 6,500 days in Spain, 3,000 days in Germany, and 1,000 days in Italy. He further spent 195 days in France, 99 in North Africa and 44 days in England. For only 260 days his exact location is unrecorded, all of them being days spent at sea travelling between his dominions.[51] As he put it in his last public speech: "my life has been one long journey".[52]

Burgundy and the Low Countries

In 1506, Charles inherited his father's Burgundian territories that included Franche-Comté and, most notably, the Low Countries. The latter territories lay within the Holy Roman Empire and its borders, but were formally divided between fiefs of the German kingdom and French fiefs such as Charles's birthplace of Flanders, a last remnant of what had been a powerful player in the Hundred Years' War. As he was a minor, his aunt Margaret of Austria (born as Archduchess of Austria and in both her marriages as the Dowager Princess of Asturias and Dowager Duchess of Savoy) acted as regent, as appointed by Emperor Maximilian until 1515. She soon found herself at war with France over Charles's requirement to pay homage to the French king for Flanders, as his father had done. The outcome was that France relinquished its ancient claim on Flanders in 1528.

The Palace of Coudenberg in Brussels from a 17th-century painting, before it burnt down in 1731. Brussels served as the main seat of the Imperial court of Charles V in the Low Countries.[53][54]

From 1515 to 1523, Charles's government in the Netherlands also had to contend with the rebellion of Frisian peasants (led by Pier Gerlofs Donia and Wijard Jelckama). The rebels were initially successful but after a series of defeats, the remaining leaders were captured and decapitated in 1523.

Charles extended the Burgundian territory with the annexation of Tournai, Artois, Utrecht, Groningen, and Guelders. The Seventeen Provinces had been unified by Charles's Burgundian ancestors, but nominally were fiefs of either France or the Holy Roman Empire. Charles eventually won the Guelders Wars and united all provinces under his rule, the last one being the Duchy of Guelders. In 1549, Charles issued a Pragmatic Sanction, declaring the Low Countries to be a unified entity of which his family would be the heirs.[55]

The Low Countries held an essential place in the Empire. For Charles V, they were his home, the region where he was born and spent his childhood. Because of trade and industry and the wealth of the region's cities, the Low Countries also represented a significant income for the Imperial treasury.

The Burgundian territories were generally loyal to Charles throughout his reign. The important city of Ghent rebelled in 1539 due to heavy tax payments demanded by Charles. The rebellion did not last long, however, as Charles's military response, with reinforcement from the Duke of Alba,[55] was swift and humiliating to the rebels of Ghent.[56][57]

Spanish Kingdoms

The city of Toledo served as the main seat of the Imperial court of Charles V in Castile.[58][59]

The exterior of the Palace of Charles V in Granada was built upon his wedding to Isabel of Portugal in 1526.

In the Castilian *Cortes* of Valladolid in 1506 and of Madrid in 1510, Charles was sworn as the Prince of Asturias, heir-apparent to his mother the Queen Joanna.[60] On the other hand, in 1502, the Aragonese *Corts* gathered in Saragossa and pledged an oath to Joanna as heiress-presumptive, but the Archbishop of Saragossa expressed firmly that this oath could not establish jurisprudence, that is to say, modify the right of the succession, except by virtue of a formal agreement between the *Cortes* and the King.[61][62] So, upon the death of King Ferdinand II of Aragon, on 23 January 1516, Joanna inherited the Crown of Aragon, which consisted of Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, Naples, Sicily and Sardinia, while Charles became governor general.[63] Nevertheless, the Flemings wished Charles to assume the royal title, and this was supported by Emperor Maximilian I and Pope Leo X.

Thus, after the celebration of Ferdinand II's obsequies on 14 March 1516, Charles was proclaimed king of the crowns of Castile and Aragon jointly with his mother. Finally, when the Castilian regent Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros accepted the *fait accompli*, he acceded to Charles's desire to be proclaimed king and imposed his enstatement throughout the kingdom.[64] Charles arrived in his new kingdoms in autumn of 1517. Jiménez de Cisneros came to meet him but fell ill along the way, not without a suspicion of poison, and he died before reaching the King.[65]

Due to the irregularity of Charles assuming the royal title while his mother, the legitimate queen, was alive, the negotiations with the Castilian *Cortes* in Valladolid (1518) proved difficult.[66] In the end Charles was accepted under the following conditions: he would learn to speak Castilian; he would not appoint foreigners; he was prohibited from taking precious metals from Castile beyond the Quinto Real; and he would respect the rights of his mother, Queen Joanna. The Cortes paid homage to him in Valladolid in February 1518. After this, Charles departed to the crown of Aragon.[67]

He managed to overcome the resistance of the Aragonese *Cortes* and Catalan *Corts*,[68] and he was recognized as king of Aragon and count of Barcelona jointly with his mother, while his mother was kept confined and could only rule in name.[69] The Kingdom of Navarre had been invaded by Ferdinand of Aragon jointly with Castile in 1512, but he pledged a formal oath to respect the kingdom. On Charles's accession to the Spanish thrones, the Parliament of Navarre (*Cortes*) required him to attend the coronation ceremony (to become Charles IV of Navarre). Still, this demand fell on deaf ears, and the Parliament kept piling up grievances.

Charles was accepted as sovereign, even though the Spanish felt uneasy with the Imperial style. Spanish kingdoms varied in their traditions. Castile had become an authoritarian, highly centralized kingdom, where the monarchs own will easily overrode legislative and justice institutions.[70] By contrast, in the crown of Aragon, and especially in the Pyrenean kingdom of Navarre, law prevailed, and the monarchy was seen as a contract with the people.[71] This became an inconvenience and a matter of dispute for Charles V and later kings since realm-specific traditions limited their absolute power. With Charles, the government became more absolute, even though until his mother died in 1555, Charles did not hold the full kingship of the country.

Soon resistance to the Emperor arose because of heavy taxation to support foreign wars in which Castilians had little interest and because Charles tended to select Flemings for high offices in Castile and America, ignoring Castilian candidates. The resistance culminated in the Revolt of the Comuneros, which Charles suppressed. Comuneros once released Joanna and wanted to depose Charles and support Joanna to be the sole monarch instead. While Joanna refused to depose her son, her confinement would continue after the revolt to prevent possible events alike. Immediately after crushing the Castilian revolt, Charles was confronted again with the hot issue of Navarre when King Henry II attempted to reconquer the kingdom. Main military operations lasted until 1524, when Hondarribia surrendered to Charles's forces, but frequent cross-border clashes in the western Pyrenees only stopped in 1528 (Treaties of Madrid and Cambrai).

After these events, Navarre remained a matter of domestic and international litigation still for a century (a French dynastic claim to the throne did not end until the July Revolution in 1830). Charles wanted his son and heir Philip II to marry the heiress of Navarre, Jeanne d'Albret. Jeanne was instead forced to marry William, Duke of Julich-Cleves-Berg, but that childless marriage was annulled after four years. She next married Antoine de Bourbon, and both she and their son would oppose Philip II in the French Wars of Religion.

After its integration into Charles's empire, Castile guaranteed effective military units and its American possessions provided the bulk of the empire's financial resources. However, the two conflicting strategies of Charles V, enhancing the possessions of his family and protecting Catholicism against Protestants heretics, diverted resources away from building up the Spanish economy. Elite elements in Spain called for more protection for the commercial networks, which were threatened by the Ottoman Empire. Charles instead focused on defeating Protestantism in Germany and the Netherlands, which proved to be lost causes. Each hastened the economic decline of the Spanish Empire in the next generation.[72] The enormous budget deficit accumulated during Charles's reign, along with the inflation that affected the kingdom, resulted in declaring bankruptcy during the reign of Philip II.[73]

Italian states

The Crown of Aragon inherited by Charles included the Kingdom of Naples, the Kingdom of Sicily and the Kingdom of Sardinia. As Holy Roman Emperor, Charles was sovereign in several states of northern Italy and had a claim to the Iron Crown of Lombardy (obtained in 1530). The Duchy of Milan, however, was under French control. France took Milan from the House of Sforza after victory against Switzerland at the Battle of Marignano in 1515.

Pope Clement VII and Emperor Charles V on horseback under a canopy, by Jacopo Ligozzi, c. 1580. It depicts the entry of the Pope and the Emperor into Bologna in 1530, when Charles was crowned as Holy Roman Emperor by Clement VII.

Imperial-Papal troops succeeded in re-installing the Sforza in Milan in 1521, in the context of an alliance between Charles V and Pope Leo X. A Franco-Swiss army was expelled from Lombardy at the Battle of Bicocca 1522. In 1524, Francis I of France retook the initiative, crossing into Lombardy where Milan, along with several other cities, once again fell to his attack. Pavia alone held out, and on 24 February 1525 (Charles's twenty-fifth birthday), Charles's forces led by Charles de Lannoy captured Francis and crushed his army in the Battle of Pavia.

In 1535 Francesco II Sforza died without heirs, and Charles V annexed the territory as a vacant Imperial state with the help of Massimiliano Stampa, one of the most influential courtiers of the late Duke.[74] Charles successfully held on to all of its Italian territories, though they were invaded again on multiple occasions during the Italian Wars.

In addition, Habsburg trade in the Mediterranean was consistently disrupted by the Ottoman Empire. In 1538 a Holy League consisting of all the Italian states and the Spanish kingdoms was formed to drive the Ottomans back, but it was defeated at the Battle of Preveza. Decisive naval victory eluded Charles; it would not be achieved until after his death, at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571.

The Americas

During Charles's reign, the Castilian territories in the Americas were considerably extended by conquistadores like Hernán Cortés and Francisco Pizarro. They conquered the large Aztec and Inca empires and incorporated them into the Empire as the Viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru between 1519 and 1542. Combined with the circumnavigation of the globe by the Magellan expedition in 1522, these successes convinced Charles of his divine mission to become the leader of Christendom, which still perceived a significant threat from Islam.[75]

On the left: Statue of Charles V by Leone Leoni (1553, Prado, Madrid).
On the right: The empire of Charles V at its peak after the Peace of Crépy in 1544.

The conquests also helped solidify Charles's rule by providing the state treasury with enormous amounts of bullion. As the conquistador Bernal Díaz del Castillo observed, "We came to serve God and his Majesty, to give light to those in darkness, and also to acquire that wealth which most men covet."[75] Charles used the Spanish feudal system as a model for labor relations in the new colonies. The local Spaniards strongly objected because it assumed the equality of Indians and Spaniards. The locals wanted complete control over labor and got it under Philip II in the 1570s.[76]

On 28 August 1518, Charles issued a charter authorizing the transportation of slaves direct from Africa to the Americas. Up until that point (since at least 1510), African slaves had usually been transported to Castile or Portugal and had then been transhipped to the Caribbean. Charles's decision to create a direct, more economically viable Africa to America slave trade fundamentally changed the nature and scale of the transatlantic slave trade.[77]

In 1528 Charles assigned a concession in Venezuela Province to Bartholomeus V. Welser, in compensation for his inability to repay debts owed. The concession, known as Klein-Venedig (*little Venice*), was revoked in 1546. In 1550, Charles convened a conference at Valladolid in order to consider the morality of the force used against the indigenous populations of the New World, which included figures such as Bartolomé de las Casas.[78]

Charles V is credited with the first idea of constructing an American Isthmus canal in Panama as early as 1520.[79]

Holy Roman Empire

After the death of his paternal grandfather, Maximilian, in 1519, Charles inherited the Habsburg monarchy. He was also the natural candidate of the electors to succeed his grandfather as Holy Roman Emperor. He defeated the candidacies of Frederick III of Saxony, Francis I of France, and Henry VIII of England. According to some, Charles became emperor due to the fact that by paying huge bribes to the electors, he was the highest bidder. He won the crown on 28 June 1519. On 23 October 1520, he was crowned in Germany and some ten years later, on 24 February 1530, he was crowned Holy Roman Emperor by Pope Clement VII in Bologna, the last emperor to receive a papal coronation.[8][80][81] Others point out that while the electors were paid, this was not the reason for the outcome, or at most played only a small part.[82] The important factor that swayed the final decision was that Frederick refused the offer, and made a speech in support of Charles on the ground that they needed a strong leader against the Ottomans, Charles had the resources and was a prince of German extraction.[83][84][85][86]

A panorama of Augsburg, the main German seat of the Imperial court and the location of many of the Imperial Diets presided over by Charles V. A hand-coloured woodcut from the *Nuremberg Chronicle*.

Despite his holding the imperial throne, Charles's real authority was limited by the protestant princes. They gained a strong foothold in the Empire's territories, and Charles was determined not to let this happen in the Netherlands. An inquisition was established as early as 1522. In 1550, the death penalty was introduced for all cases of unrepentant heresy. Political dissent was also firmly controlled, most notably in his place of birth, where Charles, assisted by the Duke of Alba, personally suppressed the Revolt of Ghent in mid-February 1540.[55]

Charles abdicated as emperor in 1556 in favour of his brother Ferdinand; however, due to lengthy debate and bureaucratic procedure, the Imperial Diet did not accept the abdication (and thus make it legally valid) until 24 February 1558. Up to that date, Charles continued to use the title of emperor.

Wars with France

Much of Charles's reign was taken up by conflicts with France, which found itself encircled by Charles's empire while it still maintained ambitions in Italy. In 1520, Charles visited England, where his aunt, Catherine of Aragon, urged her husband, Henry VIII, to ally himself with the emperor. In 1508 Charles was nominated by Henry VII to the Order of the Garter.[87] His Garter stall plate survives in Saint George's Chapel.

Francis I and Charles V made peace at the Truce of Nice in 1538. Francis actually refused to meet Charles in person, and the treaty was signed in separate rooms.

The first war with Charles's great nemesis Francis I of France began in 1521. Charles allied with England and Pope Leo X against the French and the Venetians, and was highly successful, driving the French out of Milan and defeating and capturing Francis at the Battle of Pavia in 1525.[88] To gain his freedom, Francis ceded Burgundy to Charles in the Treaty of Madrid, as well as renouncing his support of Henry II's claim over Navarre.

When he was released, however, Francis had the Parliament of Paris denounce the treaty because it had been signed under duress. France then joined the League of Cognac that Pope Clement VII had formed with Henry VIII of England, the Venetians, the Florentines, and the Milanese to resist imperial domination of Italy. In the ensuing war, Charles's sack of Rome (1527) and virtual imprisonment of Pope Clement VII in 1527 prevented the Pope from annulling the marriage of Henry VIII of England and Charles's aunt Catherine of Aragon, so Henry eventually broke with Rome, thus leading to the English Reformation.[89][90] In other respects, the war was inconclusive. In the Treaty of Cambrai (1529), called the "Ladies' Peace" because it was negotiated between Charles's aunt and Francis' mother, Francis renounced his claims in Italy but retained control of Burgundy.

Charles V in the 1550s, after Titian

A third war erupted in 1536. Following the death of the last Sforza Duke of Milan, Charles installed his son Philip in the duchy, despite Francis' claims on it. This war too was inconclusive. Francis failed to conquer Milan, but he succeeded in conquering most of the lands of Charles's ally, the Duke of Savoy, including his capital Turin. A truce at Nice in 1538 on the basis of *uti possidetis* ended the war but lasted only a short time. War resumed in 1542, with Francis now allied with Ottoman Sultan Suleiman I and Charles once again allied with Henry VIII. Despite the conquest of Nice by a Franco-Ottoman fleet, the French could not advance toward Milan, while a joint Anglo-Imperial invasion of northern France, led by Charles himself, won some successes but was ultimately abandoned, leading to another peace and restoration of the *status quo ante bellum* in 1544.

A final war erupted with Francis' son and successor, Henry II, in 1551. Henry won early success in Lorraine, where he captured Metz, but French offensives in Italy failed. Charles abdicated midway through this conflict, leaving further conduct of the war to his son, Philip II, and his brother, Ferdinand I, Holy Roman Emperor.

Conflicts with the Ottoman Empire

Charles fought continually with the Ottoman Empire and its sultan, Suleiman the Magnificent. The defeat of Hungary at the Battle of Mohács in 1526 "sent a wave of terror over Europe."[91][92] The Muslim advance in Central Europe was halted at the Siege of Vienna in 1529, followed by a counter-attack of Charles V across the Danube river. However, by

1541, central and southern Hungary fell under Turkish control.

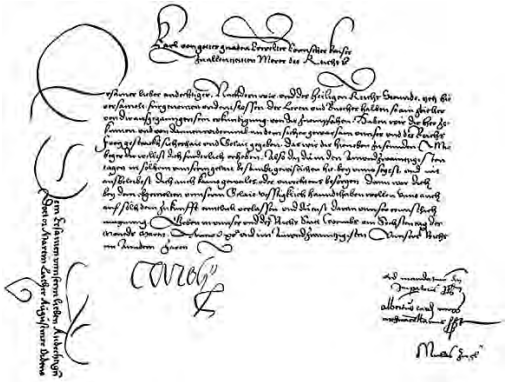
Suleiman won the contest for mastery of the Mediterranean, in spite of Christian victories such as the conquest of Tunis in 1535.[93] The regular Ottoman fleet came to dominate the Eastern Mediterranean after its victories at Preveza in 1538 and Djerba in 1560 (shortly after Charles's death), which severely decimated the Spanish marine arm. At the same time, the Muslim Barbary corsairs, acting under the general authority and supervision of the sultan, regularly devastated the Spanish and Italian coasts and crippled Spanish trade. The advance of the Ottomans in the Mediterranean and central Europe chipped at the foundations of Habsburg power and diminished Imperial prestige.

In 1536 Francis I allied France with Suleiman against Charles. While Francis was persuaded to sign a peace treaty in 1538, he again allied himself with the Ottomans in 1542 in a Franco-Ottoman alliance. In 1543 Charles allied himself with Henry VIII and forced Francis to sign the Truce of Crépy-en-Laonnois. Later, in 1547, Charles signed a humiliating[94] treaty with the Ottomans to gain himself some respite from the huge expenses of their war.[95]

Charles V made overtures to the Safavid Empire to open a second front against the Ottomans, in an attempt at creating a Habsburg-Persian alliance. Contacts were positive, but rendered difficult by enormous distances. In effect, however, the Safavids did enter in conflict with the Ottoman Empire in the Ottoman-Safavid War, forcing it to split its military resources.[96]

Protestant Reformation

The issue of the Protestant Reformation was first brought to the imperial attention under Charles V. As Holy Roman Emperor, Charles called Martin Luther to the Diet of Worms in 1521, promising him safe conduct if he would appear. After Luther defended the *Ninety-five Theses* and his writings, the Emperor commented: "that monk will never make me a heretic". Charles V relied on religious unity to govern his various realms, otherwise unified only in his person, and perceived Luther's teachings as a disruptive form of heresy. He outlawed Luther and issued the Edict of Worms, declaring:



Summons for Martin Luther to appear at the Diet of Worms, signed by Charles V. The text on the left was on the reverse side.

> You know that I am a descendant of the Most Christian Emperors of the great German people, of the Catholic Kings of Spain, of the Archdukes of Austria, and of the Dukes of Burgundy. All of these, their whole life long, were faithful sons of the Roman Church ... After their deaths they left, by natural law and heritage, these holy catholic rites, for us to live and die by, following their example. And so until now I have lived as a true follower of these our ancestors. I am therefore resolved to maintain everything which these my forebears have established to the present.

Nonetheless, Charles V kept his word and left Martin Luther free to leave the city. Frederick the Wise, elector of Saxony and protector of Luther, lamented the outcome of the Diet. On the road back from Worms, Luther was kidnapped by Frederick's men and hidden in a distant castle in Wartburg. There, he began to work on his German translation of the bible. The spread of Lutheranism led to two major revolts: that of the knights in 1522–1523 and that of the peasants led by Thomas Muntzer in 1524–1525. While the pro-Imperial Swabian League, in conjunction with Protestant princes afraid of social revolts, restored order, Charles V used the instrument of pardon to maintain peace.

Thereafter, Charles V took a tolerant approach and pursued a policy of reconciliation with the Lutherans. At the 1530 Imperial Diet of Augsburg was requested by Emperor Charles V to decide on three issues: first, the defence of the Empire against the Ottoman threat; second, issues related to policy, currency and public well-being; and, third, disagreements about Christianity, in attempt to reach some compromise and a chance to deal with the German situation.[98] The Diet was inaugurated by the emperor on 20 June. It produced numerous outcomes, most notably the 1530 declaration of the Lutheran estates known as the Augsburg Confession (*Confessio Augustana*), a central document of Lutheranism. Luther's assistant Philip Melanchthon went even further and presented it to Charles V. The emperor strongly rejected it, and in 1531 the Schmalkaldic League was formed by Protestant princes. In 1532, Charles

16th-century perception of German soldiers during Charles's reign (1525) portrayed in the manuscript "Théâtre de tous les peuples et nations de la terre avec leurs habits et ornemens divers, tant anciens que modernes, diligemment depeints au naturel". Painted by Lucas d'Heere in the second half of the 16th century. Preserved in the Ghent University Library.[97]

V recognized the League and effectively suspended the Edict of Worms with the *standstill of Nuremberg*. The *standstill* required the Protestants to continue to take part in the Imperial wars against the Turks and the French, and postponed religious affairs until an ecumenical council of the Catholic Church was called by the Pope to solve the issue.

Due to Papal delays in organizing a general council, Charles V decided to organize a German summit and presided over the *Regensburg talks* between Catholics and Lutherans in 1541, but no compromise was achieved. In 1545, the Council of Trent was finally opened and the Counter-Reformation began. The Catholic initiative was supported by a number of the princes of the Holy Roman Empire. However, the Schmalkaldic League refused to recognize the validity of the council and occupied territories of Catholic princes.[99] Therefore, Charles V outlawed the Schmalkaldic League and opened hostilities against it in 1546.[100] The next year his forces drove the League's troops out of southern Germany, and defeated John Frederick, Elector of Saxony, and Philip of Hesse at the Battle of Mühlberg, capturing both. At the Augsburg Interim in 1548, he created a solution giving certain allowances to Protestants until the Council of Trent would restore unity. However, members of both sides resented the Interim and some actively opposed it.

The council was re-opened in 1550 with the participation of Lutherans, and Charles V set up the Imperial court in Innsbruck, Austria, sufficiently close to Trent for him to follow the evolution of the debates. In 1552 Protestant princes, in alliance with Henry II of France, rebelled again and the second Schmalkaldic War began. Maurice of Saxony, instrumental for the Imperial victory in the first conflict, switched side to the Protestant cause and bypassed the Imperial army by marching directly into Innsbruck with the goal of capturing the Emperor. Charles V was forced to flee the city during an attack of gout and barely made it alive to Villach in a state of semi-consciousness carried in a litter. After failing to recapture Metz from the French, Charles V returned to the Low Countries for the last years of his emperorship. In 1555, he instructed his brother Ferdinand to sign the Peace of Augsburg in his name. The agreements led to the religious division of Germany between Catholic and Protestant princedoms.[101]

Patronage of the arts and architecture

Noted Spanish Poet Garcilaso de la Vega, was a nobleman and ambassador in the royal court of Charles. He was first appointed "contino" (imperial guard) of the King in 1520. Alfonso de Valdés, twin brother of the humanist Juan de Valdés and secretary of the emperor, was a Spanish humanist. Peter Martyr d'Anghiera was an Italian historian at the service of Spain who wrote the first accounts of explorations in Central and South America in a series of letters and reports, grouped in the original Latin publications of 1511 to 1530 into sets of ten chapters called "decades." His *Decades* are of great value in the history of geography and discovery. His *De Orbe Novo* (On the New World, 1530) describes the first contacts of Europeans and Native Americans, Native American civilizations in the Caribbean and North America, as well as Mesoamerica, and includes, for example, the first European reference to India rubber. Martyr was given the post of chronicler (*cronista*) in the newly formed Council of the Indies, commissioned by Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor to describe what was occurring in the explorations of the New World. In 1523 Charles gave him the title of Count Palatine, and in 1524 called him once more into the Council of the Indies. Martyr was invested by Pope Clement VII, as proposed by Charles V, as Abbot of Jamaica. Juan Boscán Almogáver was a poet who participated with Garcilaso de la Vega in giving naval assistance to the Isle of Rhodes during a Turkish invasion. Boscà fought against the Turks again in 1532 with Álvarez de Toledo and Charles I in Vienna. During this period, Boscán had made serious progress in his mastery of verse in the Italian style.[102]

The Palace of Charles V was commanded by Charles, who wished to establish his residence close to the Alhambra palaces. Although the Catholic Monarchs had already altered some rooms of the Alhambra after the conquest of the city in 1492, Charles V intended to construct a permanent residence befitting an emperor. The project was given to Pedro Machuca, an architect whose life and development are poorly documented. At the time, Spanish architecture was immersed in the Plateresque style, with traces of Gothic architecture still visible. Machuca built a palace

corresponding stylistically to Mannerism, a mode then in its infancy in Italy. The exterior of the building uses a typically Renaissance combination of rustication on the lower level and ashlar on the upper. The building has never been a home to a monarch and stood roofless until 1957.[103][104]

Marriage and private life

Isabella of Portugal, Charles's wife. Portrait by Titian, 1548

During his lifetime, Charles V had several mistresses, his step-grandmother, Germaine de Foix among them. These liaisons occurred during his bachelorhood and only once during his widowerhood; there are no records of his having any extramarital affairs during his marriage.

On 21 December 1507, Charles was betrothed to 11-year-old Mary, the daughter of King Henry VII of England and younger sister to the future King Henry VIII of England, who was to take the throne in two years. However, the engagement was called off in 1513, on the advice of Cardinal Wolsey, and Mary was instead married to King Louis XII of France in 1514.

After his ascension to the Spanish thrones, negotiations for Charles's marriage began shortly after his arrival in Castile, with the Castilian nobles expressing their wishes for him to marry his first cousin Isabella of Portugal, the daughter of King Manuel I of Portugal and Charles's aunt Maria of Aragon. The nobles desired Charles's marriage to a princess of Castilian blood, and a marriage to Isabella would have secured an alliance between Castile and Portugal. However, the 18-year-old King was in no hurry to marry and ignored the nobles' advice, exploring other marriage options.[105] Instead of marrying Isabella, he sent his sister Eleanor to marry Isabella's widowed father, King Manuel, in 1518.

In 1521, on the advice of his Flemish counsellors, especially William de Croÿ, Charles became engaged to his other first cousin, Mary, daughter of his aunt, Catherine of Aragon, and King Henry VIII, in order to secure an alliance with England. However, this engagement was very problematic because Mary was only 6 years old at the time, sixteen years Charles's junior, which meant that he would have to wait for her to be old enough to marry.

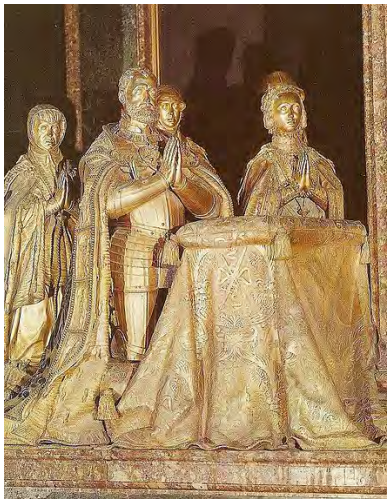
By 1525, Charles was no longer interested in an alliance with England and could not wait any longer to have legitimate children and heirs. Following his victory in the Battle of Pavia, Charles abandoned the idea of an English alliance, cancelled his engagement to Mary and decided to marry Isabella and form an alliance with Portugal. He wrote to Isabella's brother, King John III of Portugal, making a double marriage contract – Charles would marry Isabella and John would marry Charles's youngest sister, Catherine. A marriage to Isabella was more beneficial for Charles, as she was closer to him in age, was fluent in Spanish and provided him with a very handsome dowry of 900,000 Portuguese cruzados or Castilian folds that would help to solve the financial problems brought on by the Italian Wars.

On 10 March 1526, Charles and Isabella met at the Alcázar Palace in Seville. The marriage was originally a political arrangement, but on their first meeting, the couple fell deeply in love: Isabella captivated the Emperor with her beauty and charm. They were married that very same night in a quiet ceremony in the Hall of Ambassadors, just after midnight. Following their wedding, Charles and Isabella spent a long and happy honeymoon at the Alhambra in Granada. Charles began the construction of the Palace of Charles V in 1527, wishing to establish a permanent residence befitting an emperor and empress in the Alhambra palaces. However, the palace was not completed during their lifetimes and remained roofless until the late 20th century.[106]

Emperor Charles V and Empress Isabella. Peter Paul Rubens after Titian, 17th century

Despite the Emperor's long absences due to political affairs abroad, the marriage was a happy one, as both partners were always devoted and faithful to each other.[107] The Empress acted as regent of Spain during her husband's absences, and she proved herself to be a good politician and ruler, thoroughly impressing the Emperor with many of her political accomplishments and decisions.

The marriage lasted for thirteen years, until Isabella's death in 1539. The Empress contracted a fever during the third month of her seventh pregnancy, which resulted in antenatal complications that caused her to miscarry a stillborn son. Her health further deteriorated due to an infection, and she died two weeks later on 1 May 1539, aged 35. Charles was left so grief-stricken by his wife's death that for two months he shut himself up in a monastery, where he prayed and mourned for her in solitude.[108] Charles never recovered from Isabella's death, dressing in black for the rest of his life to show his eternal mourning, and, unlike most kings of the time, he never remarried. In memory of his wife, the Emperor commissioned the painter Titian to paint several posthumous portraits of Isabella; the finished portraits included Titian's *Portrait of Empress Isabel of Portugal* and *La Gloria*.[109] Charles kept these paintings with him whenever he travelled, and they were among those that he brought with him after his retirement to the Monastery of Yuste in 1557.[110]



The bronze effigies of Charles and Isabella at the Basilica in El Escorial.

In 1540, Charles paid tribute to Isabella's memory when he commissioned the Flemish composer Thomas Crecquillon to compose new music as a memorial to her. Crecquillon composed his *Missa 'Mort m'a privé* in memory of the Empress. It expresses the Emperor's grief and great wish for a heavenly reunion with his beloved wife.[111]

Titian's *La Gloria*, one of the several paintings commissioned by Charles V in memory of his wife Isabella

Siblings

Name	Birth	Death	Notes
Eleanor	15 November 1498	25 February 1558 (aged 59)	first marriage in 1518, Manuel I of Portugal and had children; second marriage in 1530, Francis I of France and had no children.
Isabella	18 July 1501	19 January 1526 (aged 24)	married in 1515, Christian II of Denmark and had children.
Ferdinand	10 March 1503	25 July 1564 (aged 61)	married in 1521, Anna of Bohemia and Hungary and had children.
Mary	15 September 1505	18 October 1558 (aged 53)	married in 1522, Louis II of Hungary and Bohemia and had no children.
Catherine	14 January 1507	12 February 1578 (aged 71)	married in 1525, John III of Portugal and had children.

The children of Phillip and Joanna

Issue

Charles and Isabella had seven legitimate children, but only three of them survived to adulthood:

Name	Portrait	Lifespan	Notes
Philip II of Spain		21 May 1527 – 13 September 1598	Only surviving son, successor of his father in the Spanish crowns.
Maria		21 June 1528 – 26 February 1603	Married her first cousin Maximilian II, Holy Roman Emperor.
Ferdinand		22 November 1529 – 13 July 1530	Died in infancy.
Son		29 June 1534	Stillborn
Joanna		26 June 1535 – 7 September 1573	Married her first cousin João Manuel, Prince of Portugal.
John		19 October 1537 – 20 March 1538	Died in infancy.
Son		21 April 1539	Stillborn.

Due to Philip II being a grandson of Manuel I of Portugal through his mother he was in the line of succession to the throne of Portugal, and claimed it after his uncle's death (Henry, the Cardinal-King, in 1580), thus establishing the personal union between Spain and Portugal.

Charles also had four illegitimate children:

- Margaret of Austria (1522–1586), daughter of Johanna Maria van der Gheynst,[112] a servant of Charles I de Lalaing, Seigneur de Montigny, daughter of Gilles Johann van der Gheynst and wife Johanna van der Caye van Cocamby. Married firstly with Alessandro de' Medici, Duke of Florence, and secondly with Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma.
- Joanna of Austria (1522–1530), daughter of Catalina de Rebolledo (or de Xériga), lady-in-waiting of Queen Joanna I of Castile and Aragon.[113]
- Tadea of Austria (1523? – ca. 1562), daughter of Orsolina della Penna. Married with Sinibaldo di Copeschi.
- John of Austria (1547–1578), son of Barbara Blomberg, victor of the Battle of Lepanto

Margaret of Parma

John of Austria

Health

Charles suffered from an enlarged lower jaw (mandibular prognathism), a congenital deformity that became considerably worse in later Habsburg generations, giving rise to the term Habsburg jaw. This deformity may have been caused by the family's long history of inbreeding, the consequence of repeated marriages between close family members, as commonly practiced in royal families of that era to maintain dynastic control of territory.[114] He suffered from epilepsy[115] and was seriously afflicted with gout, presumably caused by a diet consisting mainly of red meat.[116] As he aged, his gout progressed from painful to crippling. In his retirement, he was carried around the monastery of St. Yuste in a sedan chair. A ramp was specially constructed to allow him easy access to his rooms.[117]

Abdications and death

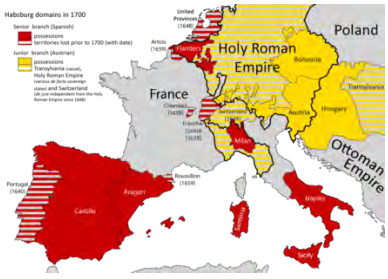
Between 1554 and 1556, Charles V gradually divided the Habsburg empire and the House of Habsburg between a Spanish line and a German-Austrian branch. His abdications all occurred at the Palace of Coudenberg in the city of Brussels. First he abdicated the thrones of Sicily and Naples, both fiefs of the Papacy, and the Imperial Duchy of Milan, in favour of his son Philip on 25 July 1554. Philip was secretly invested with Milan already in 1540 and again in 1546, but only in 1554 did the emperor make it public. Upon the abdications of Naples and Sicily, Philip was invested by Pope Julius III with the Kingdom of Naples on 2 October and with the Kingdom of Sicily on 18 November.[118]

The most famous—and only public—abdication took place a year later, on 25 October 1555, when Charles announced to the States General of the Netherlands (reunited in the great hall where he was emancipated exactly forty years before by Emperor Maximilian) his abdication in favour of his son of those territories as well as his intention to step down from all of his positions and retire to a monastery.[118] During the ceremony, the gout-afflicted Emperor Charles V leaned on the shoulder of his advisor William the Silent and, crying, pronounced his resignation speech:

> When I was nineteen ... I undertook to be a candidate for the Imperial crown, not to increase my possessions but rather to engage myself more vigorously in working for the welfare of Germany and my other realms ... and in the hopes of thereby bringing peace among the Christian peoples and uniting their fighting forces for the defense of

> the Catholic faith against the Ottomans...I had almost reached my goal, when the attack by the French king and some German princes called me once more to arms. Against my enemies I accomplished what I could, but success in war lies in the hands of God, Who gives victory or takes it away, as He pleases ... I must for my part confess that I have often misled myself, either from youthful inexperience, from the pride of mature years, or from some other weakness of human nature. I nonetheless declare to you that I never knowingly or willingly acted unjustly ... If actions of this kind are nevertheless justly laid to my account, I formally assure you now that I did them unknowingly and against my own intention. I therefore beg those present today, whom I have offended in this respect, together with those who are absent, to forgive me."[119]

In *Allegory on the abdication of Emperor Charles V in Brussels*, Frans Francken the Younger depicts Charles V in the allegorical act of dividing the entire world between Philip II of Spain and Emperor Ferdinand I.



Habsburg dominions in the centuries following their partition by Charles V.

He concluded the speech by mentioning his voyages: ten to the Low Countries, nine to Germany, seven to Spain, seven to Italy, four to France, two to England, and two to North Africa. His last public words were, "My life has been one long journey."

With no fanfare, in 1556 he finalised his abdications. On 16 January 1556, he gave Spain and the Spanish Empire in the Americas to Philip. On 27 August 1556, he abdicated as Holy Roman Emperor in favour of his brother Ferdinand, elected King of the Romans in 1531. The succession was recognized by the prince-electors assembled at Frankfurt only in 1558, and by the Pope only in 1559.[1][120][121] The Imperial abdication also marked the beginning of Ferdinand's legal and suo jure rule in the Austrian possessions, that he governed in Charles's name since 1521–1522 and were attached to Hungary and Bohemia since 1526.[16]

According to scholars, Charles decided to abdicate for a variety of reasons: the religious division of Germany sanctioned in 1555; the state of Spanish finances, bankrupted with inflation by the time his reign ended; the revival of Italian Wars with attacks from Henri II of France; the never-ending advance of the Ottomans in the Mediterranean and central Europe; and his declining health, in particular attacks of gout such as the one that forced him to postpone an attempt to recapture the city of Metz where he was later defeated.

Deathbed of the emperor at the Monastery of Yuste, Cáceres

In September 1556, Charles left the Low Countries and sailed to Spain accompanied by Mary of Hungary and Eleanor of Austria. He arrived at the Monastery of Yuste of Extremadura in 1557. He continued to correspond widely and kept an interest in the situation of the empire, while suffering from severe gout. He lived alone in a secluded monastery, surrounded by paintings by Titian and with clocks lining every wall, which some historians believe were symbols of his reign and his lack of time.[122] In August 1558, Charles was taken seriously ill with what was later revealed to be malaria.[123] He died in the early hours of the morning on 21 September 1558, at the age of 58, holding in his hand the cross that his wife Isabella had been holding when she died.[124] Later historians claimed that, shortly prior to his death, the Emperor had ordered a mock funeral to be held for himself, during which he lay in a coffin as the monks chanted Mass. The evidence for this is dubious. Neither his physician nor his secretary mention such a thing in their letters, and it would have been against the canon law of the Catholic Church.[125]

Charles was originally buried in the chapel of the Monastery of Yuste, but he left a codicil in his last will and testament asking for the establishment of a new religious foundation in which he would be reburied with Isabella.[126] Following his return to Spain in 1559, their son Philip undertook the task of fulfilling his father's wish when he founded the Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial. After the Monastery's Royal Crypt was completed in 1574, the bodies of Charles and Isabella were relocated and re-interred into a small vault in directly underneath the altar of the Royal Chapel, in accordance with Charles's wishes to be buried "half-body under the altar and half-body under the priest's

feet" side by side with Isabella. They remained in the Royal Chapel while the famous Basilica of the Monastery and the Royal tombs were still under construction. In 1654, after the Basilica and Royal tombs were finally completed during the reign of their great-grandson Philip IV, the remains of Charles and Isabella were moved into the Royal Pantheon of Kings, which lies directly under the Basilica.[127] On one side of the Basilica are bronze effigies of Charles and Isabella, with effigies of their daughter Maria of Austria and Charles's sisters Eleanor of Austria and Maria of Hungary behind them. Exactly adjacent to them on the opposite side of the Basilica are effigies of their son Philip with three of his wives and their ill-fated grandson Carlos, Prince of Asturias.

Titles

Charles V styled himself as Holy Roman Emperor after his election, according to a Papal dispensation conferred to the Habsburg family by Pope Julius II in 1508 and confirmed in 1519 to the prince-electors by the legates of Pope Leo X. Although Papal coronation was not necessary to confirm the Imperial title, Charles V was crowned in the city of Bologna by Pope Clement VII in the medieval fashion.

Charles V accumulated a large number of titles due to his vast inheritance of Burgundian, Spanish, and Austrian realms. Following the Pacts of Worms (21 April 1521) and Brussels (7 February 1522), he secretly gave the Austrian lands to his younger brother Ferdinand and elevated him to the status of Archduke. Nevertheless, according to the agreements, Charles continued to style himself as Archduke of Austria and maintained that Ferdinand acted as his vassal and vicar.[128][129] Furthermore, the pacts of 1521–1522 imposed restrictions on the governorship and regency of Ferdinand. For example, all of Ferdinand's letters to Charles V were signed "your obedient brother and servant".[130] Nonetheless, the same agreements promised Ferdinand the designation as future emperor and the transfer of hereditary rights over Austria at the imperial succession.

Following the death of Louis II, King of Hungary and Bohemia, at the Battle of Mohacs in 1526, Charles V favoured the election of Ferdinand as King of Hungary (and Croatia and Dalmatia) and Bohemia. Despite this, Charles also styled himself as King of Hungary and Bohemia and retained this titular use in official acts (such as his testament) as in the case of the Austrian lands. As a consequence, cartographers and historians have described those kingdoms both as realms of Charles V and as possessions of Ferdinand, not without confusion. Others, such as the Venetian envoys, reported that the states of Ferdinand were "all held in common with the Emperor".[131]

Therefore, although he had agreed on the future division of the dynasty between Ferdinand and Philip II of Spain, during his own reign Charles V conceived the existence of a single "House of Austria" of which he was the sole head.[132] In the abdications of 1554–1556, Charles left his personal possessions to Philip II and the Imperial title to Ferdinand. The titles of King of Hungary, of Dalmatia, Croatia, etc., were also nominally left to the Spanish line (in particular to Don Carlos, Prince of Asturias and son of Philip II). However, Charles's Imperial abdication marked the beginning of Ferdinand's *suo jure* rule in Austria and his other lands: despite the claims of Philip and his descendants, Hungary and Bohemia were left under the nominal and substantial rule of Ferdinand and his successors. Formal disputes between the two lines over Hungary and Bohemia were to be solved with the Onate treaty of 1617.

Charles's full titulature went as follows:

Charles, by the grace of God, Emperor of the Romans, forever August, King of Germany, King of Italy, King of all Spains, of Castile, Aragon, León, of Hungary, of Dalmatia, of Croatia, Navarra, Grenada, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, Majorca, Sevilla, Cordova, Murcia, Jaén, Algarves, Algeciras, Gibraltar, the Canary Islands, King of both Hither and Ultra Sicily, of Sardinia, Corsica, King of Jerusalem, King of the Indies, of the Islands and Mainland of the Ocean Sea, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Brabant, Lorraine, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Limburg, Luxembourg, Gelderland, Neopatria, Württemberg, Landgrave of Alsace, Prince of Swabia, Asturia and Catalonia, Count of Flanders, Habsburg, Tyrol, Gorizia, Barcelona, Artois, Burgundy Palatine, Hainaut, Holland, Seeland, Ferrette, Kyburg, Namur, Roussillon, Cerdagne, Drenthe, Zutphen, Margrave of the Holy Roman Empire, Burgau, Oristano and Gociano, Lord of Frisia, the Wendish March, Pordenone, Biscay, Molin, Salins, Tripoli and Mechelen.

A miniature representing Charles V enthroned over his enemies (from left): Suleiman, Pope Clement VII, Francis I, the Duke of Cleves, the Duke of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse. In reality, Charles was never able to completely defeat them.

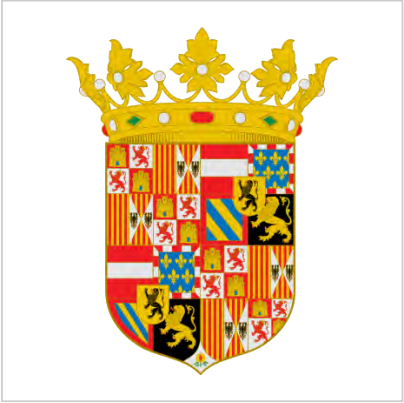
Equestrian armour of Emperor Charles V. Piece drawn from the collection of the Royal Armoury of Madrid

Title		From	To	Regnal name
	Titular Duke of Burgundy	25 September 1506	16 January 1556	Charles II
	Duke of Brabant	25 September 1506	25 October 1555	Charles II
	Duke of Limburg	25 September 1506	25 October 1555	Charles II
	Duke of Lothier	25 September 1506	25 October 1555	Charles II
	Duke of Luxemburg	25 September 1506	25 October 1555	Charles III
	Margrave of Namur	25 September 1506	25 October 1555	Charles II
	Count Palatine of Burgundy	25 September 1506	5 February 1556	Charles II
	Count of Artois	25 September 1506	25 October 1555	Charles II
	Count of Charolais	25 September 1506	21 September 1558	Charles II
	Count of Flanders	25 September 1506	25 October 1555	Charles III
	Count of Hainault	25 September 1506	25 October 1555	Charles II
	Count of Holland	25 September 1506	25 October 1555	Charles II
	Count of Zeeland	25 September 1506	25 October 1555	Charles II
	King of Castile and León	14 March 1516	16 January 1556	Charles I
	King of Aragon and Sicily	14 March 1516	16 January 1556	Charles I
	Count of Barcelona	14 March 1516	16 January 1556	Charles I
	King of Naples	14 March 1516	25 July 1554	Charles IV
	Archduke of Austria	12 January 1519	12 January 1521	Charles I
	Holy Roman Emperor	28 June 1519	27 August 1556	Charles V

Title		From	To	Regnal name
	King of the Romans	23 October 1520	24 February 1530	Charles V
	Count of Zutphen	12 September 1543	25 October 1555	Charles II
	Duke of Guelders	12 September 1543	25 October 1555	Charles III

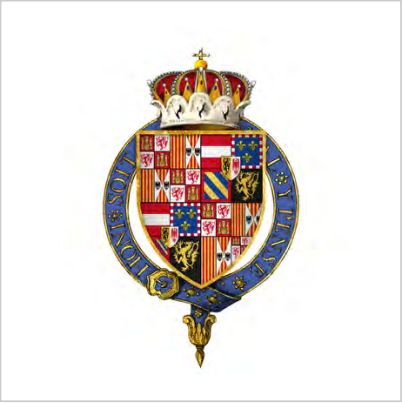
Coat of arms of Charles V

Coat of arms of Charles I of Spain and V of the Holy Roman Empire according to the description: Arms of Charles I added to those of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Two Sicilies and Granada present in the previous coat, those of Austria, ancient Burgundy, modern Burgundy, Brabant, Flanders and Tyrol. Charles I also incorporates the pillars of Hercules with the inscription "Plus Ultra", representing the overseas Spanish empire and surrounding coat with the collar of the Golden Fleece, as sovereign of the Order ringing the shield with the imperial crown and Acola double-headed eagle of the Holy Roman Empire and behind it the Cross of Burgundy. From 1520 added to the corresponding quarter to Aragon and Sicily, one in which the arms of Jerusalem, Naples and Navarre are incorporated.



Coat of arms of King Charles I of Spain before becoming emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

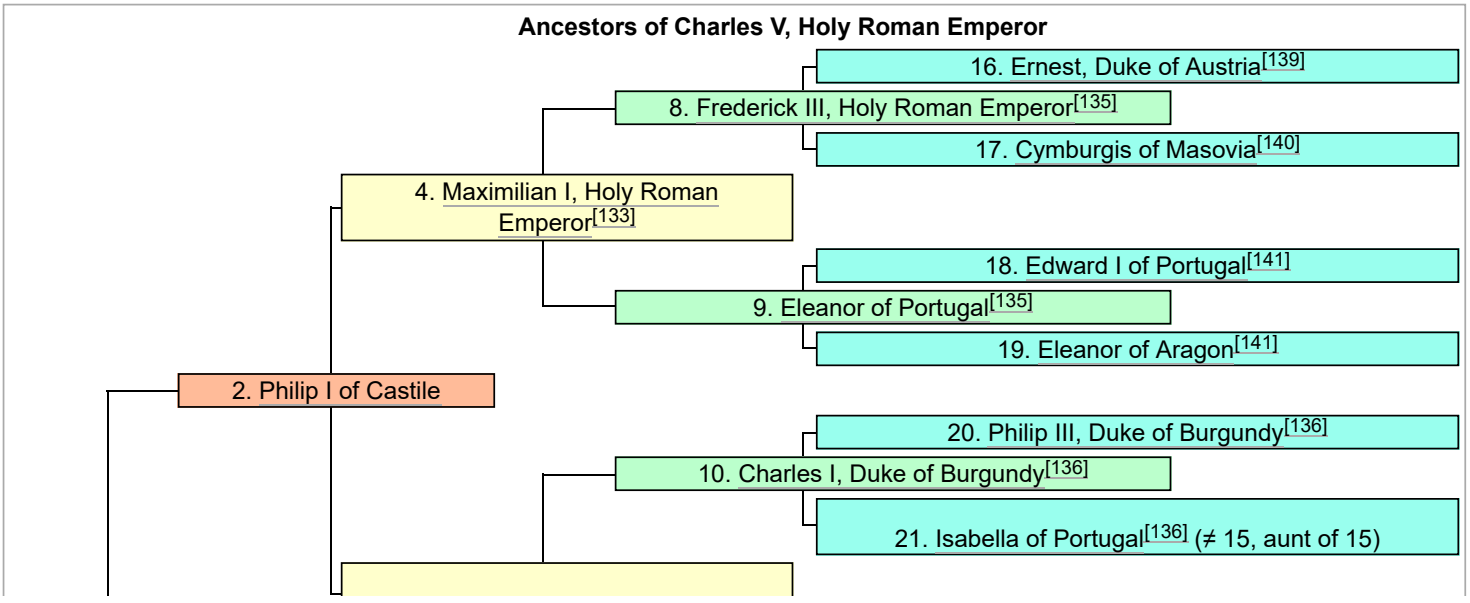
Coat of Arms of Charles I of Spain, Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor.

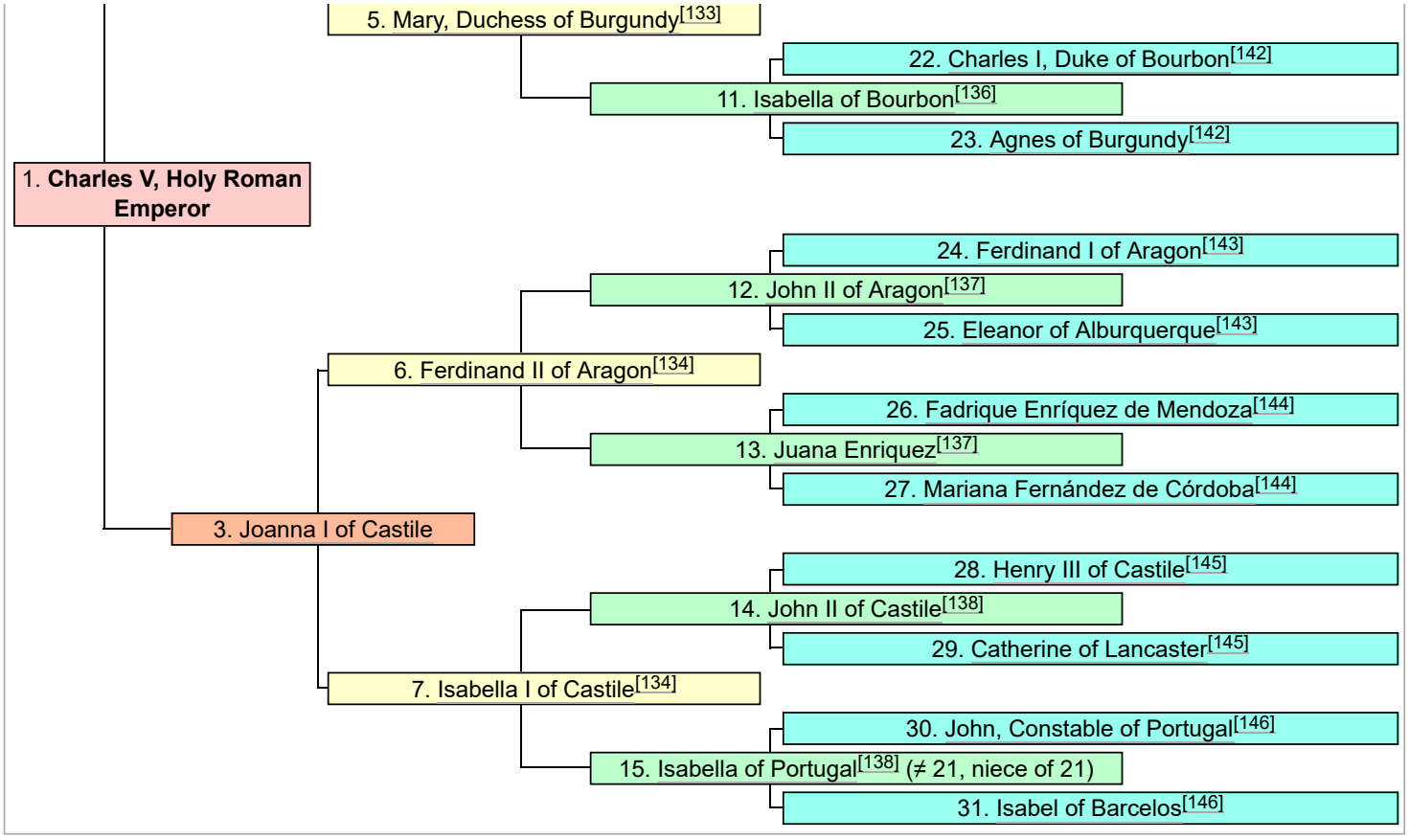


Arms of Charles, Infante of Spain, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, KG at the time of his installation as a knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter.

Variant of the Royal Bend of Castile used by Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor.

Ancestors





Historiography, commemoration and popular culture

Charles V, the first ruler of an empire where the sun never set,[147] has traditionally attracted considerable scholarly attention and also raises controversies among historians regarding his character, his rule and achievements (or failures) in the countries in his personal empire as well as various social movements and wider problems associated with his reign. Historically seen as a great ruler by some or a tragic failure of a politician by others, he is generally seen by modern historians as an overall capable politician, a brave and effective military leader, although his political vision and financial management tend to be questioned.[148][149][150][151] References to Charles in popular culture include a large number of legends and folk tales; literary renderings of historical events connected to his life and romantic adventures, his relationship to Flanders, and his abdication; and products marketed in his name.[152]

The figure of Charles V has been commemorated over time throughout Europe. An imperial resolution of Franz Joseph I of Austria, dated 28 February 1863, included Charles V in the list of the "*most famous Austrian rulers and generals worthy of everlasting emulation*", and honored him with a life-size statue, made by the Bohemian sculptor Emanuel Max Ritter von Wachstein, located at the Museum of Military History, Vienna.[153] The 400th anniversary of his death, celebrated in 1958 in Francoist Spain, brought together the local national catholic intelligentsia and a number of European (Catholic) conservative figures, underpinning an imperial nostalgia for Charles V's Europe and the *Universitas Christiana*, also propelling a peculiar brand of europeanism.[154] In 2000, celebrations for the 500th anniversary of Charles's birthday took place in Belgium.[155]

Public monuments

Unusually among major European monarchs, Charles V discouraged monumental depictions of himself during his lifetime.

- The Charles V Monument in Palermo was erected in 1631 and depicts him triumphant following the Conquest of Tunis.
- Among other posthumous depictions, there are statues of Charles on the facade of the City Hall in Ghent and the Royal Palace of Caserta.

- A statue of Charles, donated by the city of Toledo, was erected in 1966 in the Prinsenhof in Ghent where he was born.[156]
- The Plaza del Emperador Carlos V is a square in the city of Madrid that is named after Charles V.

Statue of Charles V in Granada, Spain

Literature

- In *De heerelycke ende vrolycke daeden van Keyser Carel den V*, published by Joan de Grieck in 1674, the short stories, anecdotes, citations attributed to the emperor, and legends about his encounters with famous and ordinary people, depict a noble Christian monarch with a perfect cosmopolitan personality and a strong sense of humour. Conversely, in Charles De Coster's masterpiece *Thyl Ulenspiegel* (1867), after his death Charles V is consigned to Hell as punishment for the acts of the Inquisition under his rule, his punishment being that he would feel the pain of anyone tortured by the Inquisition. De Coster's book also mentions the story on the spectacles in the coat of arms of Oudenaarde, the one about a paysant of Berchem in *Het geuzenboek* (1979) by Louis Paul Boon, while Abraham Hans (1882–1939) included both tales in *De liefdesavonturen van keizer Karel in Vlaanderen*.
- Lord Byron's *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte* refers to Charles as "The Spaniard".
- Charles V is a notable character in Simone de Beauvoir's *All Men Are Mortal*.
- In *The Maltese Falcon*, the title object is said to have been an intended gift to Charles V.

Escutcheon of Charles V, watercolour, John Singer Sargent, 1912. Metropolitan Museum of Art

Plays

- Charles V appears as a character in the play *Doctor Faustus* by the Elizabethan playwright Christopher Marlowe. In Act 4 Scene 1 of the A Text, Faustus attends Court by the Emperor's request and with the assistance of Mephistopheles conjures up spirits representing Alexander the Great and his paramour as a demonstration of his magical powers.

Opera

- Ernst Krenek's opera *Karl V* (opus 73, 1930) examines the title character's career via flashbacks.
- In the third act of Giuseppe Verdi's opera *Ernani*, the election of Charles as Holy Roman Emperor is presented. Charles (Don Carlo in the opera) prays before the tomb of Charlemagne. With the announcement that he is elected as Carlo Quinto he declares an amnesty including the eponymous bandit Ernani who had followed him there to murder him as a rival for the love of Elvira. The opera, based on the Victor Hugo play *Hernani*, portrays Charles as a callous and cynical adventurer whose character is transformed by the election into a responsible and clement ruler.
- In another Verdi opera, *Don Carlo*, the final scene implies that it is Charles V, now living the last years of his life as a hermit, who rescues his grandson, Don Carlo, from his father Philip II and the Inquisition, by taking Carlo with him to his hermitage at the monastery in Yuste.

Food

- A Flemish legend about Charles being served a beer at the village of Olen, as well as the emperor's lifelong preference of beer above wine, led to the naming of several beer varieties in his honor. The *Haacht* Brewery of Boortmeerbeek produces Charles Quint, while Het Anker Brewery in Mechelen produces Gouden Carolus, including a Grand Cru of the Emperor, brewed once a year on Charles V's birthday.[157][158][159][160] Grupo Cruzcampo brews Legado De Yuste in honor of Charles and attributes the inspiration to his Flemish origin and his last days at the monastery of Yuste.
- Carlos V is the name of a popular chocolate bar in Mexico. Its tagline is "El Rey de los Chocolates" or "The King of Chocolates" and "Carlos V, El Emperador del Chocolate" or "Charles V, the Emperor of Chocolates."

Television and film

- Charles V is portrayed by Hans Lefebre and is figured prominently in the 1953 film *Martin Luther*, covering Luther's years from 1505 to 1530.
- Charles V is portrayed by Torben Liebrecht and is figured prominently in the 2003 film *Luther* covering the life of Martin Luther up until the Diet of Augsburg.
- Charles V is portrayed by Sebastian Armesto in one episode of the Showtime series *The Tudors*.
- Charles V is the main subject of the TVE series *Carlos, Rey Emperador* and is portrayed by Álvaro Cervantes.
- Charles V is played by Adrien Brody in the upcoming movie *Emperor*.[161]

See also

- Royal Armoury of Madrid
- Museum of Military History, Vienna

Notes

a. Some sources claim he abdicated on 27 August,[1][2] while others give 3 August[3] or 7 September[4][5] Moreover, his abdication was not recognized by the prince-electors until February 1558, on either the 24th[1][2] or 28th.[6][7]
b. German: *Karl V.* · Spanish: *Carlos V* · French: *Charles Quint* · Italian: *Carlo V* · Dutch: *Karel V* · Catalan: *Carles V* · Latin: *Carolus V*
c. *Charles V* as Holy Roman Emperor; *Charles I* as King of Spain and Archduke of Austria; *Charles II* as Duke of Burgundy.

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Dragut

Dragut (Turkish: *Turgut Reis*) (1485 – 23 June 1565), known as "The Drawn Sword of Islam",[1][2] was a Muslim[3] Ottoman naval commander, governor, and noble, of Turkish[4][5][6][7] or Greek[8][9] descent. Under his command, the Ottoman Empire's maritime power was extended across North Africa.[8] Recognized for his military genius,[10] and as being among "the most dangerous"[11] of corsairs, Dragut has been referred to as "the greatest pirate warrior of all time",[10] "undoubtedly the most able of all the Turkish leaders", and "the uncrowned king of the Mediterranean". He was described by a French admiral as "A living chart of the Mediterranean, skillful enough on land to be compared to the finest generals of the time. No one was more worthy than he to bear the name of king".[2]

In addition to serving as Admiral and Corsair in the Ottoman Empire's Navy under Suleiman the Magnificent, Dragut was also appointed Bey of Algiers and Djerba, Beylerbey of the Mediterranean, as well as Bey, and subsequently Pasha, of Tripoli. While serving as Pasha of Tripoli, Dragut constructed great feats in the city, making it one of the most impressive to behold along all the North African Coast.[12]

Dragut

Monument to Turgut Reis in Istanbul Depicted with Palm Resting on Globe

Native name	Turgut Reis, "Torghoud"
Nickname(s)	Dragut Rais, Darghouth Arabic: درغوث Italian: Dragura
Born	1485 Karatoprak, Ottoman Empire
Died	23 June 1565 (aged 79–80) Malta (Siege of Malta)
Buried	Sidi Darghut Mosque, Tripoli, Libya
Allegiance	**Ottoman Empire**
Service/ branch	Ottoman Navy
Years of service	c. 1500–1565
Rank	Admiral, Governor-

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	general, Pasha
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Battles/wars	Battle of Preveza (1538) Sack of Cullera (1550) Invasion of Gozo (1551) Siege of Tripoli (1551) Battle of Ponza (1552) Sack of Vieste (1554) Battle of Djerba (1560) Sack of Granada (1563) Great Siege of Malta (1565)

Origin and early career

Dragut was born in Karatoprak near Bodrum,[13] on the Aegean coast of Asia Minor, in the sub-district called Saravalos in the western tip of Bodrum peninsula (which is called Turgutreis in his honour today) or probably in the Karabağ village on the Aegean coast of Asia Minor.[14] The religion of Dragut's parents and his religion at birth had been disputed,[3][4][15] though there is consensus that he was a Muslim throughout his entire adult life.

At the age of 12 he was noticed by an Ottoman army commander for his extraordinary talent in using spears and arrows and was recruited by him. Under his support the young Turgut became a skilled sailor, an outstanding gunner, and was trained as a cannoneer and master of siege artillery, a skill which would play an important role in Turgut's future success and reputation as a superb naval tactician. The Ottoman Turkish governor eventually carried Turgut off to Egypt[16] in 1517, where he participated in the Ottoman conquest of Egypt as a cannoneer. He further improved his skills in this field during his presence in Cairo. Following the death of his master, Turgut went to Alexandria and began his career as a sailor after joining the fleet of Sinan Pasha. He immediately became one of the favourite crewmen of the famous corsair due to his success in hitting enemy vessels with cannons. Turgut soon mastered the skills of seamanship and became the captain of a brigantine, while given 1/4 of its ownership. After several successful campaigns, he became the sole owner of the brigantine. Turgut later became the captain and owner of a galiot, and arming it with the most advanced cannons of that period, he started to operate in the Eastern Mediterranean, especially targeting the shipping routes between Venice and the Aegean islands belonging to the Repubblica Serenissima.

In 1520, he joined the fleet of Hayreddin Barbarossa, who would become his protector and best friend. Turgut was soon promoted to the rank of Chief Lieutenant, by Barbarossa, and was given command of 12 galiot-class naval vessels. In 1526, Turgut Reis captured the fortress of Capo Passero in Sicily. Between 1526 and 1533 he landed several times at the ports of the Kingdom of Sicily and the Kingdom of Naples, while intercepting the ships which sailed between Spain and Italy, capturing many of them.

In May 1533, commanding four fustas and 18 barques, Turgut Reis captured two Venetian galleys near the island of Aegina. In June and July 1538 he accompanied Barbarossa on his pursuit of Andrea Doria in the Adriatic Sea, while capturing several fortresses on the coasts of Albania as well as the Gulf of Preveza and the island of Lefkada. In August 1538 Turgut Reis captured Candia in Crete as well as several other Venetian possessions in the Aegean Sea.

Battle of Preveza

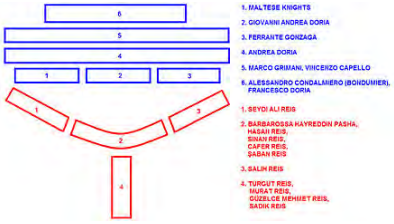
In September 1538, at the Battle of Preveza, Turgut Reis, with 20 galleys and 10 galiots, commanded the center-rear wing of the Ottoman fleet which defeated the *Holy League,* a short-lived Christian alliance consisting of the Knights of Malta, the Papal States, Venice, Spain, Naples and Sicily, who were then under the command of Andrea Doria.

Despite the Holy League's vastly superior numbers of ships, 302, and soldiers, 60,000, Dragut and the Ottoman fleet dealt the Christian alliance a decisive defeat, with only 112 ships, and 12,000 soldiers. During the battle, with two of his galiots, Dragut captured the Papal galley under the command of Giambattista Dovizi, the knight who was also the abbot of Bibbiena, taking him and his crew as prisoners.

In 1539, commanding 36 galleys and galiots, Turgut Reis recaptured Castelnuovo from the Venetians, who had taken the city back from the Ottomans. During the combat he sank two Venetian galleys and captured three others. Still in 1539, while landing on Corfu, he encountered 12 Venetian galleys under the command of Francesco

Ottoman forces, including Dragut, defeat the fleet of the Holy League of Charles V, who were commanded by Andrea Doria, at the Battle of Preveza (1538)

Pasqualigo and captured the galley of Antonio da Canal. He later landed at Crete and fought against the Venetian cavalry forces under the command of Antonio Calbo.



Turgut Reis commanded the center-rear wing of the Turkish fleet at the naval Battle of Preveza in 1538

Governor of Djerba

Later that year, when Sinan Pasha, the Governor of Djerba, was appointed by Suleiman the Magnificent as the new Commander-in-Chief of the Ottoman Red Sea Fleet based in Suez, Turgut Reis was appointed as his successor and became the Governor of Djerba.[17]

Dragut was Governor of Djerba

In early 1540 Turgut Reis captured several Genoese ships off the coast of Santa Margherita Ligure. In April 1540, commanding two galleys and 13 galiots, he landed at Gozo and sacked the island.[18] He later landed at Pantelleria and raided the coasts of Sicily and Spain with a force of 25 ships, inflicting so much damage that Andrea Doria was ordered by Charles V to chase him with a force of 81 galleys. From there, Turgut Reis sailed to the Tyrrhenian Sea and bombarded the southern ports of Corsica, most notably Palasca. He later captured and sacked the nearby island of Capraia.

Captivity and freedom

Turgut Reis later sailed back towards Corsica and docked his ships at Girolata on the western shores of the island. Taken by surprise in the Battle of Girolata while repairing his ships, Turgut Reis and his men were attacked by the combined forces of Giannettino Doria (Andrea Doria's nephew), Giorgio Doria and Gentile Virginio Orsini. Turgut Reis was captured and was forced to work as a galley slave in the ship of Giannettino Doria for nearly four years before being imprisoned in Genoa. Barbarossa offered to pay ransom for his release but it was rejected.

In 1544, when Barbarossa was returning from France with 210 ships sent by Sultan Suleiman to assist King Francis I in a Franco-Ottoman alliance against Spain, he appeared before Genoa, laying siege to the city and forcing the Genoese to negotiate for the release of Turgut Reis. Barbarossa was invited by Andrea Doria to discuss the issue in his palace at Fassolo, and the two admirals reached an agreement for the release of Turgut Reis in exchange of 3,500 gold ducats.

Barbarossa gave Turgut his spare flagship and the command of several other vessels, and in that same year Turgut Reis landed at Bonifacio in Corsica and captured the city, inflicting particular damage to Genoese interests. Still in 1544 he assaulted the island of Gozo and fought against the forces of knight Giovanni Ximenes while capturing several Maltese ships which were bringing precious cargo from Sicily. In June 1545 he raided the coasts of Sicily and bombarded several ports on the Tyrrhenian Sea. In July he ravaged the island of Capraia and landed at the coasts of Liguria and the Italian Riviera with a force of 15 galleys and fustas. He sacked Monterosso and Corniglia, and later landed at Manarola and Riomaggiore.

In the following days he landed at the Gulf of La Spezia and captured Rapallo, Pegli and Levanto. In 1546 he captured Mahdia, Sfax, Sousse and Al-Munastir in Tunisia, afterwards using Mahdia as a base to assault the Knights of St. John in Malta. In April 1546 he raided the coasts of Liguria. In May, still in Liguria, he captured Laigueglia, a province of Savona, with a force of 1000 men. He later captured Andora and took the podestà of the town as a prisoner. There he and his troops rested for a brief period, before resuming their assault on the Italian Riviera and landing at San Lorenzo al Mare. He also destroyed the village of Civezza. From there he once again sailed towards Malta and laid siege to the island of Gozo.

In June 1546 Andrea Doria was appointed by Emperor Charles V to force Turgut Reis away from Malta, and Doria based his forces at the island of Favignana. The two admirals, however, did not meet up, as Turgut Reis had sailed to Toulon in August 1546, staying there for several months and letting his men have some rest in the security of a French port.

Commander-in-chief of Ottoman naval forces in the Mediterranean

Bust of Turgut Reis in the Mersin Naval Museum.

After Barbarossa's death in July 1546, Turgut succeeded him as supreme commander of Ottoman naval forces in the Mediterranean.[19] In July 1547 he once again assaulted Malta with a force of 23 galleys and galiots, after hearing the news that the Kingdom of Naples was shaken by the revolt against Viceroy Don Pietro of Toledo, which would make a naval support from there to Malta rather unlikely. Turgut Reis landed his troops at Marsa Scirocco, the extreme southern point of the island which faces the shores of Africa. From there the Ottoman troops quickly marched towards the vicinity of the Church of Santa Caterina. The guards of the church tower escaped as soon as they saw the forces of Turgut Reis, which prevented them from igniting the tub of gunpowder—a common method used then to warn the local inhabitants of attacks.

After sacking the island, Turgut Reis headed towards Capo Passero in Sicily, where he captured the galley of Giulio Cicala, son of Duke Vincenzo Cicala. He later sailed to the Aeolian Islands, and at Salina Island he captured a Maltese trade ship with valuable cargo. From there he sailed to Apulia and towards the end of July 1547 he assaulted the city of Salve. He later sailed to Calabria, forcing the local population to flee towards the safety of the mountains. From there he went to Corsica and captured a number of ships.

Beylerbeyi of Algiers

In 1548 he was appointed *Beylerbeyi* (*Chief Governor*) of Algeria by Suleiman the Magnificent. In that same year he ordered the construction of a quadrireme galley at the naval arsenal of Djerba, which he started using in 1549. In August 1548 he landed at Castellamare di Stabia on the Bay of Naples and captured the city along with nearby Pozzuoli. From there he went to Procida. A few days later, he captured a Spanish galley loaded with troops and gold at Capo Miseno near Procida. In the same days he captured the Maltese galley, *La Caterinetta*, at the Gulf of Naples, with its cargo of 70,000 gold ducats which were collected by the Knights of St. John from the churches of France with the aim of strengthening the defenses of Tripoli, which was then under Maltese control.

In May 1549 he set sail towards Liguria with 21 galleys and in July he assaulted Rapallo, later replenishing his ships with water and other supplies at San Fruttuoso. From there he sailed to Portofino and landed at the port, before appearing at San Remo where he captured an Aragonese galley from Barcelona which was heading towards Naples. From there he first sailed towards Corsica and later towards Calabria where he assaulted the city of Palmi.

In February 1550, sailing with a force of 36 galleys, he recaptured Mahdia along with Al Munastir, Sousse and most of Tunisia. In May 1550 he assaulted the ports of Sardinia and Spain and landed on their coasts with a force of six galleys and 14 galiots. Still in May he unsuccessfully tried to capture Bonifacio in Corsica. On his way back to Tunisia, he stopped at Gozo to replenish his ships with water and to gather information on the activities of the Maltese Knights. He later sailed towards Liguria.

In June 1550, while Turgut Reis was sailing near Genoa, Andrea Doria and Bailiff Claude de la Sengle of the Maltese Knights attacked Mahdia in Tunisia. In the meantime, Turgut Reis was busy assaulting and sacking Rapallo for a third time, before raiding the coasts of Spain. He then sailed to the Tyrrhenian Sea and towards the beginning of July landed at the western shores of Sardinia, before returning to Djerba, where he learned that

Doria and Claude de la Sengle had been attacking Mahdia and Tunis. He collected a force of 4500 troops and 60 sipahis and marched on Mahdia to assist the local resistance. He did not succeed and returned to Djerba with his troops.

In September 1550 Mahdia surrendered to the joint Spanish-Sicilian-Maltese force. In the meantime, Turgut Reis was repairing his ships at the beach of Djerba. On October, Andrea Doria appeared with his fleet at Djerba and blocked the entrance of the island's lagoon with his ships, trapping the beached galleys of Turgut Reis inside the Channel of Cantera. Turgut Reis had all his ships dragged overland through hastily dug canals and on a heavily greased boardway to the other side of the island and sailed to Istanbul, capturing two galleys on the way, one Genoese and one Sicilian, which were en route to Djerba in order to assist the forces of Doria. Prince Abu Beker, son of the Sultan of Tunis, who was an ally of Spain, was on the Genoese galley.

Turgut Reis landing on Malta by Eugenio Caxes.

After arriving in Istanbul, Turgut Reis, under mandate by Sultan Suleiman, mobilized a fleet of 112 galleys and two galleasses with 12,000 Janissaries, and in 1551 set sail with the Ottoman admiral Sinan Pasha towards the Adriatic Sea and bombarded the Venetian ports, inflicting serious damage on Venetian shipping.

In May 1551 they landed on Sicily and bombarded the eastern shores of the island, most notably the city of Augusta, as revenge for the Viceroy of Sicily's role in the invasion and destruction of Mahdia, where most inhabitants had been massacred by the joint Spanish-Sicilian-Maltese force. They then attempted to capture Malta, landing with about 10,000 men at the southern port of Marsa Muscietto. They laid siege to the citadels of Birgu and Senglea, and later went north and assaulted Mdina, but lifted the siege after realizing that it was impossible to capture the island with the number of troops in hand.

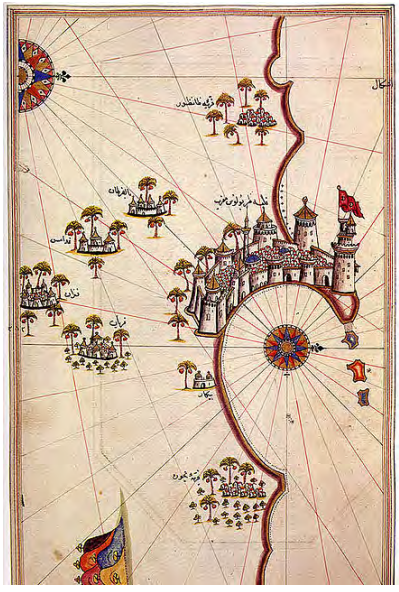
Instead, they moved to the neighboring island of Gozo, where they bombarded the citadel for several days. The Knights' governor there, Galatian de Sesse, realizing that resistance was futile, surrendered the citadel, and the corsairs sacked the town. Taking virtually the entire population of Gozo (approximately 5,000 people) into captivity, Turgut and Sinan set sail from the port of Mġarr ix-Xini in Gozo and headed towards Libya, where they shipped the captives to Tarhuna Wa Msalata. They later sailed towards Tripoli with the aim of conquering the strategic port city and its environs.

Sanjak Bey of Tripoli

In August 1551 Turgut Reis attacked and captured Tripoli (Ottoman Tripolitania, modern Libya) which had been a possession of the Knights of St. John since 1530. Gaspare de Villers, the commander of the fort, was captured, along with other prominent knights of Spanish and French origin.

However, upon the intervention of the French ambassador in Constantinople, Gabriel d'Aramon, the French knights were released. A local leader, Ağa Murat, was initially installed as governor of Tripoli, but subsequently Turgut himself took control of the area. In recognition of his services, Sultan Suleiman awarded Tripoli and the surrounding territory to Turgut, along with the title of *Sanjak Bey* (*"Lord of the Standard"*).

In September 1551, Turgut Reis sailed to Liguria and captured the city of Taggia, before capturing other ports of the Italian Riviera, after Ottoman troops landed at the beach of Riva Trigoso. Later that year, he returned to Tripoli and sought to extend his territory, capturing the entire region of Misrata all the way to Zuwara and Djerba to the west. Turning inland, he enhanced his territory until reaching Gebel.



Historic map of Tripoli by Piri Reis.

Battle of Ponza and campaigns in the western Mediterranean

In 1552 Sultan Suleiman appointed Turgut Reis commander-in-chief of the Ottoman fleet which he dispatched to Italy (on the basis of a treaty between the Sultan and King Henry II of France). Turgut Reis first landed at Augusta and Licata in Sicily, before capturing the island and castle of Pantelleria. In July 1552 he landed at Taormina and later bombarded and disabled the ports on the Gulf of Policastro. He later landed at Palmi and captured the city, before sailing to the Gulf of Naples in order to meet with the other branch of the Ottoman fleet under the command of Sinan Pasha and the French fleet under the command of Polin de la Garde.

After arriving at the meeting location, Turgut Reis anchored his ships off the beach of Scauri, near Formia, where he met with the fleet of Sinan Pasha, but their French ally did not show up in time. After waiting for several days, Sinan Pasha decided to return to Constantinople, following an order by Suleiman to do so in case of a delay or postponement of the meeting. Turgut Reis convinced Sinan Pasha to join him, and their combined fleet bombarded various ports of Sardinia and Corsica, before capturing the island of Ponza.

From there, the Turkish fleet sailed towards Lazio and bombarded the ports belonging to the Papal States and the Kingdom of Naples, even though Henry II had guaranteed the Pope that the Ottoman fleet would not damage the Vatican's possessions. Due to bad weather, however, Turgut Reis and Sinan Pasha sailed back to the Gulf of Naples and landed at Massa Lubrense and Sorrento, capturing both towns. They later captured Pozzuoli and the entire coastline up to Minturno and Nola.

In response, Andrea Doria set sail from Genoa with a force of 40 galleys and headed towards Naples. When the two fleets first encountered off Naples, Turgut Reis managed to capture seven galleys, with colonel Madruzzi and many German soldiers of the Holy Roman Empire on board. The two fleets later went southwards, where, on 5 August 1552, Turgut Reis defeated the Spanish-Italian fleet under Andrea Doria at the Battle of Ponza.

Beylerbeyi of the Mediterranean

Following this victory, Suleiman appointed Turgut *Beylerbeyi* (*Chief Regional Governor*) of the Mediterranean Sea.

In May 1553 Turgut Reis set sail from the Aegean Sea with 60 galleys, captured Crotone and Castello in Calabria, and from there marched inland. Later he landed on Sicily and sacked most of the island until stopping at Licata for replenishing his ships with water. Afterwards he assaulted Sciacca and Modica in southern Sicily. From there he went to the island of Tavolara and to Sardinia, later headed towards Porto Ercole and landed on the coast, before setting sail towards Elba, where he captured Marciana Marina, Rio and Capoliveri.

From there he sailed to Corsica and took Bonifacio and Bastia on behalf of France, then ally of the Ottoman Empire, which paid him 30,000 gold ducats for the expense of ammunition in the conquest. Leaving Corsica, Turgut Reis returned to Elba and attempted to capture Piombino and Portoferraio, but eventually gave up and captured the island of Pianosa and recaptured the island and castle of Capri (previously captured by Barbarossa back in 1535) before returning to Istanbul.

In 1554 he sailed from the Bosphorus with 60 galleys and passed the winter in Chios. From there he sailed to the Adriatic Sea and landed at Vieste near Foggia, capturing and sacking the city, killing 5000 of its inhabitants. He then sailed towards Dalmatia and bombarded the port of Ragusa (Dubrovnik), capital of the maritime Republic of Ragusa. In August 1554 he landed at Orbetello and raided the coasts of Tuscany.

The following year, in July 1555, he landed at Capo Vaticano in Calabria, and from there marched to Ceramica and San Lucido, bombarding these cities, before capturing Paola and Santo Noceto. He then sailed to Elba and captured the city of Populonia before assaulting Piombino. From there he sailed to Corsica and ransacked Bastia, taking 6000 prisoners. He later assaulted Calvi before setting sail towards Sardinia and bombarding the ports of that island. From there he turned towards Liguria and landed at Ospedaletti, capturing the city and the coastline around it. He later landed at San Remo before returning to Istanbul.

Pasha of Tripoli

In March 1556, Turgut Reis was appointed Pasha of Tripoli. There, he strengthened the walls of the citadel surrounding the city and built a gunpowder bastion (Dar el Barud). He also strengthened the defenses of the port and built the Turgut (Dragut) Fortress in place of the old Fortress of San Pietro. In July 1556 he again set sail and landed at Cape Santa Maria at the island of Lampedusa, where he captured a Venetian ship which transported ammunition and weapons for the defense of Malta. He later landed in Liguria and captured Bergeggi and San Lorenzo. In December 1556 he captured Gafsa in Tunisia and added it to his territory.

Sidi Darghut Mosque in Tripoli

In the summer of 1557 he left the Bosphorus with a fleet of 60 galleys and, arriving at the Gulf of Taranto, he landed in Calabria and assaulted Cariati, capturing the city. He later landed at the ports of Apulia.

In 1558 he added Gharyan, about 70 miles south of Tripoli, to his territory. He then defeated the Beni Oulid dynasty with a force of janissaries and added their territories to the Ottoman Empire. He later took Taorga, Misrata and Tagiora, before recapturing the island of Djerba and adding it to his province. In June 1558 he joined the fleet of Piyale Pasha at the Strait of Messina, and the two admirals captured Reggio Calabria, sacking the city.

From there, Turgut Reis went to the Aeolian Islands and captured several of them, before landing at Amalfi, in the Gulf of Salerno, and capturing Massa Lubrense, Cantone and Sorrento. He later landed at Torre del Greco, the coasts of Tuscany, and Piombino. In August he captured several ships off Malta. In September 1558 he joined Piyale Pasha, and the two admirals assaulted the coasts of Spain before capturing Ciutadella (Menorca) and inflicting particular damage on the island's ports.

In 1559 he repelled a Spanish attack on Algiers and put down a revolt in Tripoli. In that same year he captured a Maltese ship near Messina. Learning from its crew that the knights were preparing for a major attack on Tripoli, he decided to sail back there and strengthen the city's defenses.

Battle of Djerba

The aftermath of the Battle of Djerba resulted in the alleged construction of a tower of skulls from the remains of the fallen.

In the meantime, Dragut had made enemies of many of the nominally Ottoman, but practically independent rulers in Tunis and the adjoining hinterland, and several of them entered into an alliance in 1560 with Viceroy Cerda of Sicily, who had orders from King Philip II of Spain to join his forces in an effort to capture Tripoli.

Philip II's efforts ended in failure when the Ottoman fleet of 86 ships, under the command of Piyale Pasha and Turgut Reis, decisively defeated the fleet of the Christian alliance of Philip II, consisting of 200 ships, at the Battle of Djerba.

Mediterranean landings and sieges

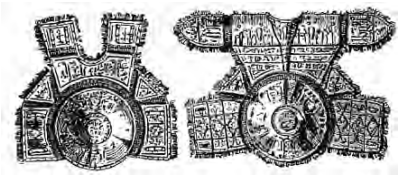
In March 1561 Turgut Reis and Uluç Ali Reis captured Vincenzo Cicala and Luigi Osorio near the island of Marettimo. In June 1561 Turgut landed on the island of Stromboli. In July 1561 he captured seven Maltese galleys under the command of knight Guimarens, whom he later freed for a ransom of 3,000 gold ducats. After stopping at Gozo to replenish his galleys with water, he sailed back to Tripoli. In August 1561 he laid siege to the city of Naples and blocked the port with 35 galleys.

In April 1562 he sent scout ships to explore all corners of the island of Malta. Still in 1562 he laid siege to Oran which was under Spanish control.

In 1563, he landed at the shores of the province of Granada and captured coastal settlements in the area like Almuñécar, along with 4,000 prisoners. He later landed at Málaga. In April 1563 he supported the fleet of Salih Reis with 20 galleys during the Ottoman siege of Oran, bombarding the Fortress of Mers-el-Kebir.

In September 1563, Dragut sailed to Naples and captured six ships near the island of Capri, which carried valuable goods and Spanish soldiers. He later landed at the Chiaia neighbourhood of Naples and captured it. From there he sailed to Liguria and Sardinia, raiding the coastal towns, particularly Oristano, Marcellino and Ercolento. He then sailed to the Adriatic Sea and landed on the coasts of Apulia and Abruzzo. He later landed twice at San Giovanni near Messina with a force of 28 galleys. In October 1563 he sailed towards Capo Passero in Sicily and later landed once more on Gozo, where he briefly fought against the knights.

Siege of Malta and death



Artist's impression of the mirrored armour worn by Dragut.

When Sultan Suleiman ordered the Great Siege of Malta in 1565, Turgut Reis joined Piyale Pasha and the Ottoman forces with 1,600 men (3,000 according to some sources) and 15 ships (13 galleys and 2 galiots; while some sources mention 17 ships) on 31 May 1565. He landed his troops at the entrance of Marsa Muscietto, a cape which was named 'Dragut Point' after Turgut Reis.

Death of Dragut by Giuseppe Calì.

It was there where Dragut met with Kızılahmedli Mustafa Pasha, commander of the Ottoman land forces, who was besieging Fort St. Elmo. He advised him to first capture the poorly defended Cittadella and Mdina as soon as possible, but this advice was not taken. He also arranged for more cannon fire to be concentrated on the recently built Fort St. Elmo which controlled the entrance of the Grand Harbour and seemed weaker than the other forts; joining the bombardment with 30 of his own cannon. In only 24 hours the Ottomans fired 6000 cannon shots. Realizing that Fort St. Elmo and Fort St. Angelo (the main headquarters of the Knights on the other side of the Grand Harbour) could still communicate with each other, Turgut Reis ordered a complete siege of Fort St. Elmo with the aim of isolating it from Fort St. Angelo.

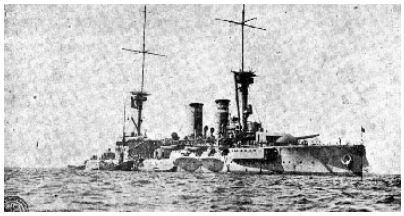
On 17 June 1565, Dragut was mortally injured when he was hit by splinters from a cannonball which hit the ground close to his position. It is not clear if the shot was fired from Fort St. Angelo, or if he was hit by friendly fire from a Turkish battery.[20] Turgut succumbed to his wounds and died on 23 June 1565. Various Spanish and Italian historians such as Francisco Balbi di Correggio record the eventual defeat of Dragut's forces, after his death, in Malta.[21] Many historians believe that, had he lived, the siege would have succeeded. His death, however, prompted squabbling between the two senior Ottoman military officers, which led, in turn, to a series of disastrous decisions that helped save the knights.[10] His body was taken to Tripoli by Uluç Ali Reis, and buried in the Sidi Darghut Mosque, situated behind the castle. The mosque is still in use today.[22]

Legacy

Dragut is depicted in many works of art, statues, and many books have been written about his life and conquests. Points of interest and buildings in multiple countries have been named after his native Turkish name of Turgut Reis. The town where he was born now bears his name, being renamed from Karatoprak in his honor, in 1972. Warships of the Turkish Navy, and passenger ships have been named after Turgut Reis. Turgut Reis continues to enjoy great fame and respect in Turkey, where the town of his birth is named Turgutreis. The end of the Tigne promontory in Malta is called Dragut Point, where Turgut established his first battery for the bombardment of Fort Saint Elmo in 1565. Dragut is considered a nemesis in Maltese history, and "il-Ponta ta' Dragut" serves as a memorial to the great battles that were fought there and the ultimate defeat of Dragut at the Great Siege of Malta.

F-241 TCG *Turgut Reis*, a Yavuz class (MEKO 200 TN Track I) frigate of the Turkish Navy, in Cartagena, Spain.

In popular culture


The Ottoman battleship *Turgut Reis*.

- Rafael Sabatini's story "The Sword of Islam" was published in *Premier* magazine, August 1914.
- Marthese Fenech's novel *Eight Pointed Cross* (BDL 2011). This novel set in 16th Century Mediterranean features details of the life of Dragut from 1542 to the Siege of Gozo, 1551.
- Marthese Fenech's second novel *Falcon's Shadow* (BDL 2020). The second book in Fenech's Siege of Malta trilogy, set in 16th Century Mediterranean, features details of the life of Dragut from 1551 to the Battle of Djerba, 1560.
- David W. Ball's novel *Ironfire* (Bantam Dell 2004, published as *The Sword and the Scimitar* in the U.K., and in two parts as *Haç ve Hilal - Savrulan Yürekler* and *Haç ve Hilal - Kavuşan Yürekler*, Istanbul, 2005). This novel of the 16th Century Mediterranean includes details of the life of Dragut from the Battle of Djerba to the Siege of Malta.
- *The Course of Fortune* by Tony Rothman (J. Boylston 2015, in three volumes). In this novel, which follows the adventures of a young Spaniard throughout the contest between the Turks and Christians to control the Mediterranean, Dragut is portrayed as a clever and ruthless adversary from his enslavement of the population of Gozo in 1551, through the Djerba campaign in 1560 and finally to the Siege of Malta in 1565.
- *The Disorderly Knights* and *Pawn in Frankincense* by Dorothy Dunnett both feature Dragut Rais as part of the 6-book series The Lymond Chronicles following fictional character Francis Crawford of Lymond.
- *Civilization V* features Turgut Reis as a Great Admiral.

See also

- List of Muslim military leaders
- Military of the Ottoman Empire
- Ottoman Navy

Citations

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3. E. Hamilton Currey (2008). *Flag of the Prophet: The Story of the Muslim Corsairs*. Fireship Press. p. 168. ISBN 9781934757550. "Brantome, that Dragut was born at a small village in Asia Minor called Charabulac, opposite to the island of Rhodes, and that his parents were Mahommedans."

4. Jamieson, Alan G. (2013). *Lords of the Sea: A History of the Barbary Corsairs*. Canada: Reaktion Books. p. 59. ISBN 978-1861899460. "Desperate to find some explanation for the sudden resurgence of Muslim sea power in the Mediterranean after centuries of Christian dominance, Christian commentators in the sixth century (and later) pointed to the supposed Christian roots of the greatest Barbary corsair commanders. It was a strange kind of comfort. The Barbarossas certainly had a Greek Christian mother, but it now seems certain their father was a Muslim Turk. Attempts were made to give Greek Christian parents to Turgut Reis, but all the indications are that he came from a Muslim Turkish peasant family."
5. *Cengiz Orhonlu (1968). Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi "Journal of Turkish History with Documents". pp. 69. "Turgut Reis is one of the well known of Turkish seaman of XVI. century Mediterranean. He is the son of a villager named Veli from the Menteşe - Serulus (Serulus or Seravulos) region. At early age he joined the seamen and became known. In short time he became a captain of levends. In some views his life as a corsair starts almost during the same time that of Barbarossa brothers. Later he began to operate on western Mediterranean seas, working together with Barbarossa brothers (Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, Künhü'l-ahbar, University books, No: 5959, pg. 300a)"*.
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7. *Svat Soucek,"Torghud Re'is",The Encyclopaedia of Islam (New Edition), Vol. 10, LeidenBrill, 2000, p. 570*.
8. Reynolds, Clark G. (1974). *Command of the sea: the history and strategy of maritime empires*. Morrow. pp. 120–121. ISBN 9780688002671. "Ottomans extended their western maritime frontier across North Africa under the naval command of another Greek Moslem, Torghoud (or Dragut), who succeeded Barbarossa upon the latter's death in 1546."
9. Naylor, Phillip Chiviges (2009). *North Africa: a history from antiquity to the present*. University of Texas Press. pp. 120–121. ISBN 9780292719224. "One of the most famous corsairs was Turghut (Dragut) (?–1565), who was of Greek ancestry and a protégé of Khayr al-Din. He participated in the successful Ottoman assault on Tripoli in 1551 against the Knights of St. John of Malta."
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12. Naylor, Phillip Chiviges (2009). *North Africa: a history from antiquity to the present*. University of Texas Press. pp. 120–121. ISBN 9780292719224. "One of the most famous corsairs was Turghut (Dragut) (?–1565), who was of Greek ancestry and a protégé of Khayr al-Din. ... While pasha, he built up Tripoli and adorned it, making it one of the most impressive cities along the North African littoral."
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External links

- Chronological list of important dates and events in the life of Turgut Reis (Italian) (https://web.archive.org/web/20070401145317/http://www.corsaridelmediterraneo.it/corsari/d/dragut.html)[1] (http://www.bnatgamesplay.com/)
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Napoleon

Napoleon Bonaparte[a] (born **Napoleone Buonaparte**; 15 August 1769 – 5 May 1821), and later known by his regnal name **Napoleon I**, was a French military and political leader who rose to prominence during the French Revolution and led several successful campaigns during the Revolutionary Wars. He was the *de facto* leader of the French Republic as First Consul from 1799 to 1804. As Napoleon I, he was Emperor of the French from 1804 until 1814 and again in 1815. Napoleon's political and cultural legacy has endured, and he has been one of the most celebrated and controversial leaders in world history.[3][4]

Napoleon was born on the island of Corsica not long after its annexation by the Kingdom of France.[5] He supported the French Revolution in 1789 while serving in the French army, and tried to spread its ideals to his native Corsica. He rose rapidly in the Army after he saved the governing French Directory by firing on royalist insurgents. In 1796, he began a military campaign against the Austrians and their Italian allies, scoring decisive victories and becoming a national hero. Two years later, he led a military expedition to Egypt that served as a springboard to political power. He engineered a coup in November 1799 and became *First Consul of the Republic*. Differences with the British meant that the French faced the War of the Third Coalition by 1805. Napoleon shattered this coalition with victories in the Ulm Campaign, and at the Battle of Austerlitz, which led to the dissolving of the Holy Roman Empire. In 1806, the Fourth Coalition took up arms against him because Prussia became worried about growing French influence on the continent. Napoleon defeated Prussia at the battles of Jena and Auerstedt, marched the Grande Armée into Eastern Europe, defeated the Russians in June 1807 at Friedland, and forcing the defeated nations of the Fourth Coalition to accept the Treaties of Tilsit. Two years later, the Austrians challenged the French again during the War of the Fifth Coalition, but Napoleon solidified his grip over Europe after triumphing at the Battle of Wagram.

Hoping to extend the Continental System, his embargo against Britain, Napoleon invaded the Iberian Peninsula and declared his brother Joseph King of Spain in 1808. The Spanish and the Portuguese revolted in the Peninsular War, culminating in defeat for Napoleon's marshals. Napoleon launched an invasion of Russia in the summer of 1812. The resulting campaign witnessed the catastrophic retreat of Napoleon's Grande Armée. In 1813, Prussia and Austria joined Russian forces in a Sixth Coalition against France. A chaotic military campaign resulted in a large coalition army defeating Napoleon at the Battle of Leipzig in October 1813. The coalition invaded France and captured Paris, forcing Napoleon to abdicate in April 1814. He was exiled to the island of Elba, between Corsica and Italy. In France, the Bourbons were restored to power. However, Napoleon escaped Elba in February 1815 and took control of France.[6][7] The Allies responded by forming a Seventh Coalition,

Napoleon

The Emperor Napoleon in His Study at the Tuileries, by Jacques-Louis David, 1812

Emperor of the French (more...)	
1st reign	18 May 1804 – 6 April 1814
Coronation	2 December 1804 Notre-Dame Cathedral
Successor	Louis XVIII (as King of France)
2nd reign	20 March 1815 – 22 June 1815
Successor	Napoleon II (disputed)
King of Italy	
Reign	17 March 1805 – 11 April 1814
Coronation	26 May 1805 Milan Cathedral
Successor	Victor Emmanuel II
First Consul of France	
In office	12 December 1799 – 18 May 1804
Co-Consuls	Jean-Jacques-Régis de Cambacérès Charles-François Lebrun
Provisional Consul of France	

which defeated Napoleon at the Battle of Waterloo in June 1815. The British exiled him to the remote island of Saint Helena in the Atlantic, where he died in 1821 at the age of 51. Napoleon had an extensive impact on the modern world, bringing liberal reforms to the many countries he conquered, especially the Low Countries, Switzerland, and parts of modern Italy and Germany. He implemented liberal policies in France and Western Europe.[b]

In office	10 November 1799 – 12 December 1799
Co-Consuls	Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès Roger Ducos
President of the Italian Republic	
In office	26 January 1802 – 17 March 1805
Vice-President	Francesco Melzi d'Eril
Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine	
In office	12 July 1806 – 4 November 1813
Prince-Primates	Karl von Dalberg, Eugène de Beauharnais
Born	Napoleone Buonaparte[1] 15 August 1769 Ajaccio, Corsica, Kingdom of France
Died	5 May 1821 (aged 51) Longwood, Saint Helena, British Empire
Burial	15 December 1840 Les Invalides, Paris, France
Spouse	Joséphine de Beauharnais (m. 1796; div. 1810) Marie Louise of Austria (m. 1810)
Issue *Detail*	Napoleon II
Names	
Napoléon Bonaparte	
Regnal name	
Napoleon I	
House	Bonaparte
Father	Carlo Buonaparte
Mother	Letizia Ramolino
Religion	Roman Catholicism *See details*
Signature	

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Early life

Napoleon's father, Carlo Buonaparte, was Corsica's representative to the court of Louis XVI.

Napoleon's family was of Italian origin. His paternal ancestors, the Buonapartes, descended from a minor Tuscan noble family who emigrated to Corsica in the 16th century and his maternal ancestors, the Ramolinos, descended from a minor Genoese noble family.[14] The Buonapartes were also the relatives, by marriage and by birth, of the Pietrasentas, Costas, Paraviccinis, and Bonellis, all Corsican families of the interior.[15] His parents Carlo Maria di Buonaparte and Maria Letizia Ramolino maintained an ancestral home called "Casa Buonaparte" in Ajaccio. It was there, at this home, that Napoleon was born, on 15 August 1769. He was the fourth child and third son of the family. He had an elder brother, Joseph, and younger siblings Lucien, Elisa, Louis, Pauline, Caroline, and Jérôme. Napoleon was baptised as a Catholic, under the name *Napoleone*.[16] In his youth, his name was also spelled as *Nabulione*, *Nabulio*, *Napolionne*, and *Napulione*.[17]

Napoleon was born in the same year that the Republic of Genoa (former Italian state) ceded the region of Corsica to France.[18] The state sold sovereign rights a year before his birth and the island was conquered by France during the year of his birth. It was formally incorporated as a province in 1770, after 500 years under Genoese rule and 14 years of independence.[c] Napoleon's parents joined the Corsican resistance and fought against the French to maintain independence, even when Maria was pregnant with him. His father was an attorney who went on to be named Corsica's representative to the court of Louis XVI in 1777.[22]

The dominant influence of Napoleon's childhood was his mother, whose firm discipline restrained a rambunctious child.[22] Later in life, Napoleon stated, "The future destiny of the child is always the work of the mother."[23] Napoleon's maternal grandmother had married into the Swiss Fesch family in her second marriage, and Napoleon's uncle, the cardinal Joseph Fesch, would fulfill a role as protector of the Bonaparte family for some years. Napoleon's noble, moderately affluent background afforded him greater opportunities to study than were available to a typical Corsican of the time.[24]

When he turned 9 years old,[25][26] he moved to the French mainland and enrolled at a religious school in Autun in January 1779. In May, he transferred with a scholarship to a military academy at Brienne-le-Château.[27] In his youth he was an outspoken Corsican nationalist and supported the state's independence from France.[25][28] Like many Corsicans, Napoleon spoke and read Corsican (as his mother tongue) and Italian (as the official language of Corsica).[29][30][31][28] He began learning French in school at around age 10.[32] Although he became fluent in French, he spoke with a distinctive Corsican accent and never learned how to spell correctly in French.[33] Consequently, Napoleon was discriminated by his schoolmates for his different physical appearance and accent.[28] He was, however, not an isolated case, as it was estimated in 1790 that fewer than 3 million people, out of France's population of 28 million, were able to speak standard French, and those who could write it were even fewer.[34]

Napoleon was routinely bullied by his peers for his accent, birthplace, short stature, mannerisms and inability to speak French quickly.[30] He became reserved and melancholy, applying himself to reading. An examiner observed that Napoleon "has always been distinguished for his application in mathematics. He is fairly well acquainted with history and geography ... This boy would make an excellent sailor".[d][36]

Statue of Napoleon as a schoolboy in Brienne, aged 15, by Louis Rochet (1853)

One story told of Napoleon at the school is that he led junior students to victory against senior students in a snowball fight, showing his leadership abilities.[37] In early adulthood, Napoleon briefly intended to become a writer; he authored a history of Corsica and a romantic novella.[25]

On completion of his studies at Brienne in 1784, Napoleon was admitted to the *École Militaire* in Paris. He trained to become an artillery officer and, when his father's death reduced his income, was forced to complete the two-year course in one year.[38] He was the first Corsican to graduate from the *École Militaire*.[38] He was examined by the famed scientist Pierre-Simon Laplace.[39]

Early career

Upon graduating in September 1785, Bonaparte was commissioned a second lieutenant in *La Fère* artillery regiment.[e][27] He served in Valence and Auxonne until after the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789. The young man still was a fervent Corsican nationalist during this period [41] and asked for leave to join his mentor Pasquale Paoli, when the latter was allowed to return to Corsica by the National Assembly. Paoli had no sympathy for Napoleon, however, as he deemed his father a traitor for having deserted his cause for Corsican independence.[42]

Napoleon Bonaparte, aged 23, as lieutenant-colonel of a battalion of Corsican Republican volunteers. Portrait by Henri Félix Emmanuel Philippoteaux

He spent the early years of the Revolution in Corsica, fighting in a complex three-way struggle among royalists, revolutionaries, and Corsican nationalists. Napoleon, however, came to embrace the ideals of the Revolution, becoming a supporter of the Jacobins and joining the pro-French Corsican Republicans who opposed Paoli's policy and his aspirations of secession.[43] He was given command over a battalion of volunteers and was promoted to captain in the regular army in July 1792, despite exceeding his leave of absence and leading a riot against French troops.[44] When Corsica declared formal secession from France and requested the protection of the British government Napoleon and his commitment to the French Revolution came into conflict with Paoli, who had decided to sabotage the Corsican contribution to the *Expédition de Sardaigne*, by preventing a French assault on the Sardinian island of La Maddalena.[45] Bonaparte and his family were compelled to flee to Toulon on the French mainland in June 1793 because of the split with Paoli.[46]

Although he was born "Napoleone Buonaparte", it was after this that Napoleon began styling himself "Napoléon Bonaparte" but his family did not drop the name Buonaparte until 1796. The first known record of him signing his name as Bonaparte was at the age of 27 (in 1796).[47][16][48]

Siege of Toulon

In July 1793, Bonaparte published a pro-republican pamphlet entitled *Le souper de Beaucaire* (Supper at Beaucaire) which gained him the support of Augustin Robespierre, younger brother of the Revolutionary leader Maximilien Robespierre. With the help of his fellow Corsican Antoine Christophe Saliceti, Bonaparte was appointed senior gunner and artillery commander of the republican forces which arrived on 8 September at Toulon.[49][50]

He adopted a plan to capture a hill where republican guns could dominate the city's harbour and force the British to evacuate. The assault on the position led to the capture of the city, but during it Bonaparte was wounded in the thigh on 16 December. Catching the attention of the Committee of Public Safety, he was put in charge of the artillery of France's Army of Italy.[51] On 22 December he was on his way to his new post in Nice, promoted from the rank of colonel to brigadier general at the age of 24. He devised plans for attacking the Kingdom of Sardinia as part of France's campaign against the First Coalition.

Bonaparte at the Siege of Toulon

The French army carried out Bonaparte's plan in the Battle of Saorgio in April 1794, and then advanced to seize Ormea in the mountains. From Ormea, they headed west to outflank the Austro-Sardinian positions around Saorge. After this campaign, Augustin Robespierre sent Bonaparte on a mission to the Republic of Genoa to determine that country's intentions towards France.[52]

13 Vendémiaire

Some contemporaries alleged that Bonaparte was put under house arrest at Nice for his association with the Robespierres following their fall in the Thermidorian Reaction in July 1794, but Napoleon's secretary Bourrienne disputed the allegation in his memoirs. According to Bourrienne, jealousy was responsible, between the Army of the Alps and the Army of Italy (with whom Napoleon was seconded at the time).[53] Bonaparte dispatched an impassioned defence in a letter to the commissar Saliceti, and he was subsequently acquitted of any wrongdoing.[54] He was released within two weeks (on 20 August) and, due to his technical skills, was asked to draw up plans to attack Italian positions in the context of France's war with Austria. He also took part in an expedition to take back Corsica from the British, but the French were repulsed by the British Royal Navy.[55]

By 1795, Bonaparte had become engaged to Désirée Clary, daughter of François Clary. Désirée's sister Julie Clary had married Bonaparte's elder brother Joseph.[56] In April 1795, he was assigned to the Army of the West, which was engaged in the War in the Vendée—a civil war and royalist counter-revolution in Vendée, a region in west-central France on the Atlantic Ocean. As an infantry command, it was a demotion from artillery general—for which the army already had a full quota—and he pleaded poor health to avoid the posting.[57]

He was moved to the Bureau of Topography of the Committee of Public Safety and sought unsuccessfully to be transferred to Constantinople in order to offer his services to the Sultan.[58] During this period, he wrote the romantic novella *Clisson et Eugénie*, about a soldier and his lover, in a clear parallel to Bonaparte's own relationship with Désirée.[59] On 15 September, Bonaparte was removed from the list of generals in regular service for his refusal to serve in the Vendée campaign. He faced a difficult financial situation and reduced career prospects.[60]

Journée du 13 Vendémiaire, artillery fire in front of the *Church of Saint-Roch, Paris*, *Rue Saint-Honoré*

On 3 October, royalists in Paris declared a rebellion against the National Convention.[61] Paul Barras, a leader of the Thermidorian Reaction, knew of Bonaparte's military exploits at Toulon and gave him command of the improvised forces in defence of the convention in the Tuileries Palace. Napoleon had seen the massacre of the King's Swiss Guard there three years earlier and realized that artillery would be the key to its defence.[27]

He ordered a young cavalry officer named Joachim Murat to seize large cannons and used them to repel the attackers on 5 October 1795—*13 Vendémiaire An IV* in the French Republican Calendar; 1,400 royalists died and the rest fled.[61] He had cleared the streets with "a whiff of grapeshot", according to 19th-century historian Thomas Carlyle in *The French Revolution: A History*.[62][63]

The defeat of the royalist insurrection extinguished the threat to the Convention and earned Bonaparte sudden fame, wealth, and the patronage of the new government, the Directory. Murat married one of Napoleon's sisters, becoming his brother-in-law; he also served under Napoleon as one of his generals. Bonaparte was promoted to

Commander of the Interior and given command of the Army of Italy.[46]

Within weeks, he was romantically involved with Joséphine de Beauharnais, the former mistress of Barras. The couple married on 9 March 1796 in a civil ceremony.[64]

First Italian campaign

Bonaparte at the Pont d'Arcole, by Baron Antoine-Jean Gros, (c. 1801), Musée du Louvre, Paris

Two days after the marriage, Bonaparte left Paris to take command of the Army of Italy. He immediately went on the offensive, hoping to defeat the forces of Piedmont before their Austrian allies could intervene. In a series of rapid victories during the Montenotte Campaign, he knocked Piedmont out of the war in two weeks. The French then focused on the Austrians for the remainder of the war, the highlight of which became the protracted struggle for Mantua. The Austrians launched a series of offensives against the French to break the siege, but Napoleon defeated every relief effort, scoring victories at the battles of Castiglione, Bassano, Arcole, and Rivoli. The decisive French triumph at Rivoli in January 1797 led to the collapse of the Austrian position in Italy. At Rivoli, the Austrians lost up to 14,000 men while the French lost about 5,000.[65]

The next phase of the campaign featured the French invasion of the Habsburg heartlands. French forces in Southern Germany had been defeated by the Archduke Charles in 1796, but the Archduke withdrew his forces to protect Vienna after learning about Napoleon's assault. In the first encounter between the two commanders, Napoleon pushed back his opponent and advanced deep into Austrian territory after winning at the Battle of Tarvis in March 1797. The Austrians were alarmed by the French thrust that reached all the way to Leoben, about 100 km from Vienna, and finally decided to sue for peace.[66] The Treaty of Leoben, followed by the more comprehensive Treaty of Campo Formio, gave France control of most of northern Italy and the Low Countries, and a secret clause promised the Republic of Venice to Austria. Bonaparte marched on Venice and forced its surrender, ending 1,100 years of Venetian independence. He also authorized the French to loot treasures such as the Horses of Saint Mark.[67] On the journey, Bonaparte conversed much about the warriors of antiquity, especially Alexander, Caesar, Scipio and Hannibal. He studied their strategy and combined it with his own. In a question from Bourrienne, asking whether he gave his preference to Alexander or Caesar, Napoleon said that he places Alexander the Great in the first rank, the main reason being his campaign on Asia.[68]

His application of conventional military ideas to real-world situations enabled his military triumphs, such as creative use of artillery as a mobile force to support his infantry. He stated later in life: "I have fought sixty battles and I have learned nothing which I did not know at the beginning. Look at Caesar; he fought the first like the last".[69]

Bonaparte during the Italian campaign in 1797

Bonaparte could win battles by concealment of troop deployments and concentration of his forces on the "hinge" of an enemy's weakened front. If he could not use his favourite envelopment strategy, he would take up the central position and attack two co-operating forces at their hinge, swing round to fight one until it fled, then turn to face the other.[70] In this Italian campaign, Bonaparte's army captured 150,000 prisoners, 540 cannons, and 170 standards.[71] The French army fought 67 actions and won 18 pitched battles through superior artillery technology and Bonaparte's tactics.[72]

During the campaign, Bonaparte became increasingly influential in French politics. He founded two newspapers: one for the troops in his army and another for circulation in France.[73] The royalists attacked Bonaparte for looting Italy and warned that he might become a dictator.[74] Napoleon's forces extracted an estimated $45 million in funds from Italy during their campaign there, another $12 million in precious metals and jewels. His forces also confiscated more than 300 priceless paintings and sculptures.[75]

Bonaparte sent General Pierre Augereau to Paris to lead a *coup d'état* and purge the royalists on 4 September—Coup of 18 Fructidor. This left Barras and his Republican allies in control again but dependent on Bonaparte, who proceeded to peace negotiations with Austria. These negotiations resulted in the Treaty of Campo Formio, and Bonaparte returned to Paris in December as a hero.[76] He met Talleyrand, France's new Foreign Minister—who served in the same capacity for Emperor Napoleon—and they began to prepare for an invasion of Britain.[46]

Egyptian expedition

Bonaparte Before the Sphinx (c. 1886) by Jean-Léon Gérôme, Hearst Castle

After two months of planning, Bonaparte decided that France's naval strength was not yet sufficient to confront the British Royal Navy. He decided on a military expedition to seize Egypt and thereby undermine Britain's access to its trade interests in India.[46] Bonaparte wished to establish a French presence in the Middle East and join forces with Tipu Sultan, the Sultan of Mysore who was an enemy of the British.[77] Napoleon assured the Directory that "as soon as he had conquered Egypt, he will establish relations with the Indian princes and, together with them, attack the English in their possessions".[78] The Directory agreed in order to secure a trade route to the Indian subcontinent.[79]

In May 1798, Bonaparte was elected a member of the French Academy of Sciences. His Egyptian expedition included a group of 167 scientists, with mathematicians, naturalists, chemists, and geodesists among them. Their discoveries included the Rosetta Stone, and their work was published in the *Description de l'Égypte* in 1809.[80]

Battle of the Pyramids on 21 July 1798 by Louis-François, Baron Lejeune, 1808

En route to Egypt, Bonaparte reached Malta on 9 June 1798, then controlled by the Knights Hospitaller. Grand Master Ferdinand von Hompesch zu Bolheim surrendered after token resistance, and Bonaparte captured an important naval base with the loss of only three men.[81]

Bonaparte and his expedition eluded pursuit by the Royal Navy and landed at Alexandria on 1 July.[46] He fought the Battle of Shubra Khit against the Mamluks, Egypt's ruling military caste. This helped the French practise their defensive tactic for the Battle of the Pyramids, fought on 21 July, about 24 km (15 mi) from the pyramids. General Bonaparte's forces of 25,000 roughly equalled those of the Mamluks' Egyptian cavalry. Twenty-nine French[82] and approximately 2,000 Egyptians were killed. The victory boosted the morale of the French army.[83]

On 1 August 1798, the British fleet under Sir Horatio Nelson captured or destroyed all but two vessels of the French fleet in the Battle of the Nile, defeating Bonaparte's goal to strengthen the French position in the Mediterranean.[84] His army had succeeded in a temporary increase of French power in Egypt, though it faced repeated uprisings.[85] In early 1799, he moved an army into the Ottoman province of Damascus (Syria and Galilee). Bonaparte led these 13,000 French soldiers in the conquest of the coastal towns of Arish, Gaza, Jaffa, and Haifa.[86] The attack on Jaffa was particularly brutal. Bonaparte discovered that many of the defenders were former prisoners of war, ostensibly on parole, so he ordered the garrison and 1,400 prisoners to be executed by bayonet or drowning to save bullets.[84] Men, women, and children were robbed and murdered for three days.[87]

Bonaparte began with an army of 13,000 men; 1,500 were reported missing, 1,200 died in combat, and thousands perished from disease—mostly bubonic plague. He failed to reduce the fortress of Acre, so he marched his army back to Egypt in May. To speed up the retreat, Bonaparte ordered plague-stricken men to be poisoned with opium; the number who died remains disputed, ranging from a low of 30 to a high of 580. He also brought out 1,000 wounded men.[88] Back in Egypt on 25 July, Bonaparte defeated an Ottoman amphibious invasion at Abukir.[89]

Ruler of France

While in Egypt, Bonaparte stayed informed of European affairs. He learned that France had suffered a series of defeats in the War of the Second Coalition.[90] On 24 August 1799, he took advantage of the temporary departure of British ships from French coastal ports and set sail for France, despite the fact that he had received no explicit orders from Paris.[84] The army was left in the charge of Jean-Baptiste Kléber.[91]

General Bonaparte surrounded by members of the Council of Five Hundred during the Coup of 18 Brumaire, by François Bouchot

Unknown to Bonaparte, the Directory had sent him orders to return to ward off possible invasions of French soil, but poor lines of communication prevented the delivery of these messages.[90] By the time that he reached Paris in October, France's situation had been improved by a series of victories. The Republic, however, was bankrupt and the ineffective Directory was unpopular with the French population.[92] The Directory discussed Bonaparte's "desertion" but was too weak to punish him.[90]

Despite the failures in Egypt, Napoleon returned to a hero's welcome. He drew together an alliance with director Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès, his brother Lucien, speaker of the Council of Five Hundred Roger Ducos, director Joseph Fouché, and Talleyrand, and they overthrew the Directory by a coup d'état on 9 November 1799 ("the 18th Brumaire" according to the revolutionary calendar), closing down the Council of Five Hundred. Napoleon became "first consul" for ten years, with two consuls appointed by him who had consultative voices only. His power was confirmed by the new "Constitution of the Year VIII", originally devised by Sieyès to give Napoleon a minor role, but rewritten by Napoleon, and accepted by direct popular vote (3,000,000 in favour, 1,567 opposed). The constitution preserved the appearance of a republic but, in reality, established a dictatorship.[93][94]

French Consulate

Napoleon established a political system that historian Martyn Lyons called "dictatorship by plebiscite".[95] Worried by the democratic forces unleashed by the Revolution, but unwilling to ignore them entirely, Napoleon resorted to regular electoral consultations with the French people on his road to imperial power.[95] He drafted the Constitution of the Year VIII and secured his own election as First Consul, taking up residence at the Tuileries. The constitution was approved in a rigged plebiscite held the following January, with 99.94 percent officially listed as voting "yes".[96]

Bonaparte, First Consul, by Ingres. Posing the hand inside the waistcoat was often used in portraits of rulers to indicate calm and stable leadership.

Napoleon's brother, Lucien, had falsified the returns to show that 3 million people had participated in the plebiscite. The real number was 1.5 million.[95] Political observers at the time assumed the eligible French voting public numbered about 5 million people, so the regime artificially doubled the participation rate to indicate popular enthusiasm for the consulate.[95] In the first few months of the consulate, with war in Europe still raging and internal instability still plaguing the country, Napoleon's grip on power remained very tenuous.[97]

In the spring of 1800, Napoleon and his troops crossed the Swiss Alps into Italy, aiming to surprise the Austrian armies that had reoccupied the peninsula when Napoleon was still in Egypt.[f] After a difficult crossing over the Alps, the French army entered the plains of Northern Italy virtually unopposed.[99] While one French army approached from the north, the Austrians were busy with another stationed in Genoa, which was besieged by a substantial force. The fierce resistance of this French army, under André Masséna, gave the northern force some time to carry out their operations with little interference.[100]

After spending several days looking for each other, the two armies collided at the Battle of Marengo on 14 June. General Melas had a numerical advantage, fielding about 30,000 Austrian soldiers while Napoleon commanded 24,000 French troops.[101] The battle began favourably for the Austrians as their initial attack surprised the French and gradually drove them back. Melas stated that he had won the battle and retired to his headquarters around 3 pm, leaving his subordinates in charge of pursuing the French.[102] The French lines never broke during their tactical retreat. Napoleon constantly rode out among the troops urging them to stand and fight.[103]

Silver coin: 5 francs_AN XI, 1802, **Bonaparte, First Consul**

Late in the afternoon, a full division under Desaix arrived on the field and reversed the tide of the battle. A series of artillery barrages and cavalry charges decimated the Austrian army, which fled over the Bormida River back to Alessandria, leaving behind 14,000 casualties.[103] The following day, the Austrian army agreed to abandon Northern Italy once more with the Convention of Alessandria, which granted them safe passage to friendly soil in exchange for their fortresses throughout the region.[103]

Silver coin: 5 francs, 1811

Although critics have blamed Napoleon for several tactical mistakes preceding the battle, they have also praised his audacity for selecting a risky campaign strategy, choosing to invade the Italian peninsula from the north when the vast majority of French invasions came from the west, near or along the coastline.[104] As David G. Chandler points out, Napoleon spent almost a year getting the Austrians out of Italy in his first campaign. In 1800, it took him only a month to achieve the same goal.[104] German strategist and field marshal Alfred von Schlieffen concluded that "Bonaparte did not annihilate his enemy but eliminated him and rendered him harmless" while "[attaining] the object of the campaign: the conquest of North Italy".[105]

The Battle of Marengo was Napoleon's first great victory as head of state.

Napoleon's triumph at Marengo secured his political authority and boosted his popularity back home, but it did not lead to an immediate peace. Bonaparte's brother, Joseph, led the complex negotiations in Lunéville and reported that Austria, emboldened by British support, would not acknowledge the new territory that France had acquired. As negotiations became increasingly fractious, Bonaparte gave orders to his general Moreau to strike Austria once more. Moreau and the French swept through Bavaria and scored an overwhelming victory at Hohenlinden in December 1800. As a result, the Austrians capitulated and signed the Treaty of Lunéville in February 1801. The treaty reaffirmed and expanded earlier French gains at Campo Formio.[106]

Temporary peace in Europe

After a decade of constant warfare, France and Britain signed the Treaty of Amiens in March 1802, bringing the Revolutionary Wars to an end. Amiens called for the withdrawal of British troops from recently conquered colonial territories as well as for assurances to curtail the expansionary goals of the French Republic.[100] With Europe at peace and the economy recovering, Napoleon's popularity soared to its highest levels under the consulate, both domestically and abroad.[107] In a new plebiscite during the spring of 1802, the French public came out in huge numbers to approve a constitution that made the Consulate permanent, essentially elevating Napoleon to dictator for life.[107]

Whereas the plebiscite two years earlier had brought out 1.5 million people to the polls, the new referendum enticed 3.6 million to go and vote (72 percent of all eligible voters).[108] There was no secret ballot in 1802 and few people wanted to openly defy the regime. The constitution gained approval with over 99% of the vote.[108] His broad powers were spelled out in the new constitution: *Article 1. The French people name, and the Senate proclaims Napoleon-Bonaparte First Consul for Life.*[109] After 1802, he was generally referred to as Napoleon rather than Bonaparte.[40]

The brief peace in Europe allowed Napoleon to focus on French colonies abroad. Saint-Domingue had managed to acquire a high level of political autonomy during the Revolutionary Wars, with Toussaint L'Ouverture installing himself as de facto dictator by 1801. Napoleon saw a chance to reestablish control over the colony when he signed the Treaty of Amiens. In the 18th century, Saint-Domingue had been France's most profitable colony, producing more sugar than all the British West Indies colonies combined. However, during the Revolution, the National Convention voted to abolish slavery in February 1794.[110] Aware of the expenses required to fund his wars in Europe, Napoleon made the decision to reinstate slavery in all French Caribbean colonies. The 1794 decree had only affected the colonies of Saint-Domingue, Guadeloupe and Guiana, and did not take effect in Mauritius, Reunion and Martinique, the last of which had been captured by the British and as such remained unaffected by French law.[111]

The 1803 Louisiana Purchase totalled 2,144,480 square kilometres (827,987 square miles), doubling the size of the United States.

In Guadeloupe slavery had been abolished (and its ban violently enforced) by Victor Hugues against opposition from slaveholders thanks to the 1794 law. However, when slavery was reinstated in 1802, a slave revolt broke out under the leadership of Louis Delgrès.[112] The resulting Law of 20 May had the express purpose of reinstating slavery in Saint-Domingue, Guadeloupe and French Guiana, and restored slavery throughout most of the French colonial empire (excluding Saint-Domingue) for another half a century, while the French transatlantic slave trade continued for another twenty years.[113][114][115][116][117]

Napoleon sent an expedition under his brother-in-law General Leclerc to reassert control over Saint-Domingue. Although the French managed to capture Toussaint Louverture, the expedition failed when high rates of disease crippled the French army, and Jean-Jacques Dessalines won a string of victories, first against Leclerc, and when he died from yellow fever, then against Donatien-Marie-Joseph de Vimeur, vicomte de Rochambeau, whom Napoleon sent to relieve Leclerc with another 20,000 men. In May 1803, Napoleon acknowledged defeat, and the last 8,000 French troops left the island and the slaves proclaimed an independent republic that they called Haiti in 1804. In the process, Dessalines became arguably the most successful military commander in the struggle against Napoleonic France.[118][119] Seeing the failure of his efforts in Haiti, Napoleon decided in 1803 to sell the Louisiana Territory to the United States, instantly doubling the size of the U.S. The selling price in the Louisiana Purchase was less than three cents per acre, a total of $15 million.[3][120]

The peace with Britain proved to be uneasy and controversial.[121] Britain did not evacuate Malta as promised and protested against Bonaparte's annexation of Piedmont and his Act of Mediation, which established a new Swiss Confederation. Neither of these territories were covered by Amiens, but they inflamed tensions significantly.[122] The dispute culminated in a declaration of war by Britain in May 1803; Napoleon responded by reassembling the invasion camp at Boulogne.[84]

French Empire

During the consulate, Napoleon faced several royalist and Jacobin assassination plots, including the *Conspiration des poignards* (Dagger plot) in October 1800 and the Plot of the Rue Saint-Nicaise (also known as the *Infernal Machine*) two months later.[123] In January 1804, his police uncovered an assassination plot against him that involved Moreau and which was ostensibly sponsored by the Bourbon family, the former rulers of France. On the advice of Talleyrand, Napoleon ordered the kidnapping of the Duke of Enghien, violating the sovereignty of Baden. The Duke was quickly executed after a secret military trial, even though he had not been involved in the plot.[124] Enghien's execution infuriated royal courts throughout Europe, becoming one of the contributing political factors for the outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars.

The Coronation of Napoleon by Jacques-Louis David (1804)

To expand his power, Napoleon used these assassination plots to justify the creation of an imperial system based on the Roman model. He believed that a Bourbon restoration would be more difficult if his family's succession was entrenched in the constitution.[125] Launching yet another referendum, Napoleon was elected as *Emperor of the French* by a tally exceeding 99%.[108] As with the Life Consulate two years earlier, this referendum produced heavy participation, bringing out almost 3.6 million voters to the polls.[108]

A keen observer of Bonaparte's rise to absolute power, Madame de Rémusat, explains that "men worn out by the turmoil of the Revolution [...] looked for the domination of an able ruler" and that "people believed quite sincerely that Bonaparte, whether as consul or emperor, would exert his authority and save [them] from the perils of anarchy.[126]"

Napoleon's coronation, at which Pope Pius VII officiated, took place at Notre Dame de Paris, on 2 December 1804. Two separate crowns were brought for the ceremony: a golden laurel wreath recalling the Roman Empire and a replica of Charlemagne's crown.[127] Napoleon entered the ceremony wearing the laurel wreath and kept it on his head throughout the proceedings.[127] For the official coronation, he raised the Charlemagne crown over his own head in a symbolic gesture, but never placed it on top because he was already wearing the golden wreath.[127] Instead he placed the crown on Josephine's head, the event commemorated in the officially sanctioned painting by Jacques-Louis David.[127] Napoleon was also crowned King of Italy, with the Iron Crown of Lombardy, at the Cathedral of Milan on 26 May 1805. He created eighteen Marshals of the Empire from among his top generals to secure the allegiance of the army on 18 May 1804, the official start of the Empire.[128]

Napoleon's throne room at Fontainebleau

War of the Third Coalition

Great Britain had broken the Peace of Amiens by declaring war on France in May 1803.[129] In December 1804, an Anglo-Swedish agreement became the first step towards the creation of the Third Coalition. By April 1805, Britain had also signed an alliance with Russia.[130] Austria had been defeated by France twice in recent memory and wanted revenge, so it joined the coalition a few months later.[131]

Napoleon and the *Grande Armée* receive the surrender of Austrian General Mack after the Battle of Ulm in October 1805. The decisive finale of the Ulm Campaign raised the tally of captured Austrian soldiers to 60,000. With the Austrian army destroyed, Vienna would fall to the French in November.

Before the formation of the Third Coalition, Napoleon had assembled an invasion force, the *Armée d'Angleterre*, around six camps at Boulogne in Northern France. He intended to use this invasion force to strike at England. They never invaded, but Napoleon's troops received careful and invaluable training for future military operations.[132] The men at Boulogne formed the core for what Napoleon later called *La Grande Armée*. At the start, this French army had about 200,000 men organized into seven corps, which were large field units that contained 36–40 cannons each and were capable of independent action until other corps could come to the rescue.[133]

A single corps properly situated in a strong defensive position could survive at least a day without support, giving the *Grande Armée* countless strategic and tactical options on every campaign. On top of these forces, Napoleon created a cavalry reserve of 22,000 organized into two cuirassier divisions, four mounted dragoon divisions, one division of dismounted dragoons, and one of light cavalry, all supported by 24 artillery pieces.[134] By 1805, the *Grande Armée* had grown to a force of 350,000 men,[134] who were well equipped, well trained, and led by competent officers.[135]

Napoleon knew that the French fleet could not defeat the Royal Navy in a head-to-head battle, so he planned to lure it away from the English Channel through diversionary tactics.[136] The main strategic idea involved the French Navy escaping from the British blockades of Toulon and Brest and threatening to attack the West Indies. In the face of this attack, it was hoped, the British would weaken their defence of the Western Approaches by sending ships to the Caribbean, allowing a combined Franco-Spanish fleet to take control of the channel long

enough for French armies to cross and invade.[136] However, the plan unravelled after the British victory at the Battle of Cape Finisterre in July 1805. French Admiral Villeneuve then retreated to Cádiz instead of linking up with French naval forces at Brest for an attack on the English Channel.[137]

By August 1805, Napoleon had realized that the strategic situation had changed fundamentally. Facing a potential invasion from his continental enemies, he decided to strike first and turned his army's sights from the English Channel to the Rhine. His basic objective was to destroy the isolated Austrian armies in Southern Germany before their Russian allies could arrive. On 25 September, after great secrecy and feverish marching, 200,000 French troops began to cross the Rhine on a front of 260 km (160 mi).[138][139]

Napoléon in his coronation robes by François Gérard, c. 1805

Austrian commander Karl Mack had gathered the greater part of the Austrian army at the fortress of Ulm in Swabia. Napoleon swung his forces to the southeast and the *Grande Armée* performed an elaborate wheeling movement that outflanked the Austrian positions. The Ulm Maneuver completely surprised General Mack, who belatedly understood that his army had been cut off. After some minor engagements that culminated in the Battle of Ulm, Mack finally surrendered after realizing that there was no way to break out of the French encirclement. For just 2,000 French casualties, Napoleon had managed to capture a total of 60,000 Austrian soldiers through his army's rapid marching.[140] Napoleon wrote after the conflict:

> "I have accomplished my object, I have destroyed the Austrian army by simply marching."[141]

The Ulm Campaign is generally regarded as a strategic masterpiece and was influential in the development of the Schlieffen Plan in the late 19th century.[142] For the French, this spectacular victory on land was soured by the decisive victory that the Royal Navy attained at the Battle of Trafalgar on 21 October. After Trafalgar, the Royal Navy was never again seriously challenged by a French fleet in a large-scale engagement for the duration of the Napoleonic Wars.[143]

Following the Ulm Campaign, French forces managed to capture Vienna in November. The fall of Vienna provided the French a huge bounty as they captured 100,000 muskets, 500 cannons, and the intact bridges across the Danube.[144] At this critical juncture, both Tsar Alexander I and Holy Roman Emperor Francis II decided to engage Napoleon in battle, despite reservations from some of their subordinates. Napoleon sent his army north in pursuit of the Allies but then ordered his forces to retreat so that he could feign a grave weakness.[145]

Napoleon at the Battle of Austerlitz, by François Gérard 1805. The Battle of Austerlitz, also known as the Battle of the Three Emperors, was one of Napoleon's many victories, where the French Empire defeated the Third Coalition.

Desperate to lure the Allies into battle, Napoleon gave every indication in the days preceding the engagement that the French army was in a pitiful state, even abandoning the dominant Pratzen Heights near the village of Austerlitz. At the Battle of Austerlitz, in Moravia on 2 December, he deployed the French army below the Pratzen Heights and deliberately weakened his right flank, enticing the Allies to launch a major assault there in the hopes of rolling up the whole French line. A forced march from Vienna by Marshal Davout and his III Corps plugged the gap left by Napoleon just in time.[145]

Meanwhile, the heavy Allied deployment against the French right flank weakened their center on the Pratzen Heights, which was viciously attacked by the IV Corps of Marshal Soult. With the Allied center demolished, the French swept through both enemy flanks and sent the Allies fleeing chaotically, capturing thousands of prisoners

in the process. The battle is often seen as a tactical masterpiece because of the near-perfect execution of a calibrated but dangerous plan—of the same stature as Cannae, the celebrated triumph by Hannibal some 2,000 years before.[145]

The Allied disaster at Austerlitz significantly shook the faith of Emperor Francis in the British-led war effort. France and Austria agreed to an armistice immediately and the Treaty of Pressburg followed shortly after on 26 December. Pressburg took Austria out of both the war and the Coalition while reinforcing the earlier treaties of Campo Formio and of Lunéville between the two powers. The treaty confirmed the Austrian loss of lands to France in Italy and Bavaria, and lands in Germany to Napoleon's German allies. It also imposed an indemnity of 40 million francs on the defeated Habsburgs and allowed the fleeing Russian troops free passage through hostile territories and back to their home soil. Napoleon went on to say, "The battle of Austerlitz is the finest of all I have fought".[146] Frank McLynn suggests that Napoleon was so successful at Austerlitz that he lost touch with reality, and what used to be French foreign policy became a "personal Napoleonic one".[147] Vincent Cronin disagrees, stating that Napoleon was not overly ambitious for himself, "he embodied the ambitions of thirty million Frenchmen".[148]

Middle-Eastern alliances

Napoleon continued to entertain a grand scheme to establish a French presence in the Middle East in order to put pressure on Britain and Russia, and perhaps form an alliance with the Ottoman Empire.[77] In February 1806, Ottoman Emperor Selim III recognised Napoleon as *Emperor*. He also opted for an alliance with France, calling France "our sincere and natural ally".[149] That decision brought the Ottoman Empire into a losing war against Russia and Britain. A Franco-Persian alliance was also formed between Napoleon and the Persian Empire of Fat'h-Ali Shah Qajar. It collapsed in 1807 when France and Russia themselves formed an unexpected alliance.[77] In the end, Napoleon had made no effective alliances in the Middle East.[150]

The Iranian envoy Mirza Mohammed Reza-Qazvini meeting with Napoleon I at the Finckenstein Palace in West Prussia, 27 April 1807, to sign the Treaty of Finckenstein

War of the Fourth Coalition and Tilsit

After Austerlitz, Napoleon established the Confederation of the Rhine in 1806. A collection of German states intended to serve as a buffer zone between France and Central Europe, the creation of the Confederation spelled the end of the Holy Roman Empire and significantly alarmed the Prussians. The brazen reorganization of German territory by the French risked threatening Prussian influence in the region, if not eliminating it outright. War fever in Berlin rose steadily throughout the summer of 1806. At the insistence of his court, especially his wife Queen Louise, Frederick William III decided to challenge the French domination of Central Europe by going to war.[151]

The initial military manoeuvres began in September 1806. In a letter to Marshal Soult detailing the plan for the campaign, Napoleon described the essential features of Napoleonic warfare and introduced the phrase *le bataillon-carré* ("square battalion").[152] In the *bataillon-carré* system, the various corps of the *Grande Armée* would march uniformly together in close supporting distance.[152] If any single corps was attacked, the others could quickly spring into action and arrive to help.[153]

Napoleon reviewing the Imperial Guard before the Battle of Jena

Napoleon invaded Prussia with 180,000 troops, rapidly marching on the right bank of the River Saale. As in previous campaigns, his fundamental objective was to destroy one opponent before reinforcements from another could tip the balance of the war. Upon learning the whereabouts of the Prussian army, the French swung westwards and crossed the Saale with overwhelming force. At the twin battles of Jena and Auerstedt, fought on 14 October, the French

convincingly defeated the Prussians and inflicted heavy casualties. With several major commanders dead or incapacitated, the Prussian king proved incapable of effectively commanding the army, which began to quickly disintegrate.[153]

In a vaunted pursuit that epitomized the "peak of Napoleonic warfare", according to historian Richard Brooks,[153] the French managed to capture 140,000 soldiers, over 2,000 cannons and hundreds of ammunition wagons, all in a single month. Historian David Chandler wrote of the Prussian forces: "Never has the morale of any army been more completely shattered".[152] Despite their overwhelming defeat, the Prussians refused to negotiate with the French until the Russians had an opportunity to enter the fight.

Following his triumph, Napoleon imposed the first elements of the Continental System through the Berlin Decree issued in November 1806. The Continental System, which prohibited European nations from trading with Britain, was widely violated throughout his reign.[154][155] In the next few months, Napoleon marched against the advancing Russian armies through Poland and was involved in the bloody stalemate at the Battle of Eylau in February 1807.[156] After a period of rest and consolidation on both sides, the war restarted in June with an initial struggle at Heilsberg that proved indecisive.[157]

The Treaties of Tilsit: Napoleon meeting with Alexander I of Russia on a raft in the middle of the Neman River

On 14 June Napoleon obtained an overwhelming victory over the Russians at the Battle of Friedland, wiping out the majority of the Russian army in a very bloody struggle. The scale of their defeat convinced the Russians to make peace with the French. On 19 June, Tsar Alexander sent an envoy to seek an armistice with Napoleon. The latter assured the envoy that the Vistula River represented the natural borders between French and Russian influence in Europe. On that basis, the two emperors began peace negotiations at the town of Tilsit after meeting on an iconic raft on the River Niemen. The very first thing Alexander said to Napoleon was probably well-calibrated: "I hate the English as much as you do".[157] Their meeting lasted two hours. Despite waging wars against each other the two Emperors were very much impressed and fascinated by one another. “Never,” said Alexander afterward, “did I love any man as I loved that man.”[158]

Alexander faced pressure from his brother, Duke Constantine, to make peace with Napoleon. Given the victory he had just achieved, the French emperor offered the Russians relatively lenient terms—demanding that Russia join the Continental System, withdraw its forces from Wallachia and Moldavia, and hand over the Ionian Islands to France.[159] By contrast, Napoleon dictated very harsh peace terms for Prussia, despite the ceaseless exhortations of Queen Louise. Wiping out half of Prussian territories from the map, Napoleon created a new kingdom of 2,800 square kilometres (1,100 sq mi) called Westphalia and appointed his young brother Jérôme as its monarch. Prussia's humiliating treatment at Tilsit caused a deep and bitter antagonism that festered as the Napoleonic era progressed. Moreover, Alexander's pretensions at friendship with Napoleon led the latter to seriously misjudge the true intentions of his Russian counterpart, who would violate numerous provisions of the treaty in the next few years. Despite these problems, the Treaties of Tilsit at last gave Napoleon a respite from war and allowed him to return to France, which he had not seen in over 300 days.[160]

Peninsular War and Erfurt

The settlements at Tilsit gave Napoleon time to organize his empire. One of his major objectives became enforcing the Continental System against the British forces. He decided to focus his attention on the Kingdom of Portugal, which consistently violated his trade prohibitions. After defeat in the War of the Oranges in 1801, Portugal adopted a double-sided policy.

Unhappy with this change of policy by the Portuguese government, Napoleon negotiated a secret treaty with Charles IV of Spain and sent an army to invade Portugal.[161] On 17 October 1807, 24,000 French troops under General Junot crossed the Pyrenees with Spanish cooperation and headed towards Portugal to enforce Napoleon's orders.[162] This attack was the first step in what would eventually become the Peninsular War, a six-year struggle that significantly sapped French strength. Throughout the winter of 1808, French agents became

increasingly involved in Spanish internal affairs, attempting to incite discord between members of the Spanish royal family. On 16 February 1808, secret French machinations finally materialized when Napoleon announced that he would intervene to mediate between the rival political factions in the country.[163]

Joseph Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, as King of Spain

Marshal Murat led 120,000 troops into Spain. The French arrived in Madrid on 24 March,[164] where wild riots against the occupation erupted just a few weeks later. Napoleon appointed his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, as the new King of Spain in the summer of 1808. The appointment enraged a heavily religious and conservative Spanish population. Resistance to French aggression soon spread throughout Spain. The shocking French defeats at the Battle of Bailén and the Battle of Vimiero gave hope to Napoleon's enemies and partly persuaded the French emperor to intervene in person.[165]

Before going to Iberia, Napoleon decided to address several lingering issues with the Russians. At the Congress of Erfurt in October 1808, Napoleon hoped to keep Russia on his side during the upcoming struggle in Spain and during any potential conflict against Austria. The two sides reached an agreement, the Erfurt Convention, that called upon Britain to cease its war against France, that recognized the Russian conquest of Finland from Sweden and made it an autonomous Grand Duchy,[166] and that affirmed Russian support for France in a possible war against Austria "to the best of its ability".[167]

Napoleon then returned to France and prepared for war. The *Grande Armée*, under the Emperor's personal command, rapidly crossed the Ebro River in November 1808 and inflicted a series of crushing defeats against the Spanish forces. After clearing the last Spanish force guarding the capital at Somosierra, Napoleon entered Madrid on 4 December with 80,000 troops.[168] He then unleashed his soldiers against Moore and the British forces. The British were swiftly driven to the coast, and they withdrew from Spain entirely after a last stand at the Battle of Corunna in January 1809 and the death of Moore.[169]

Napoleon would end up leaving Iberia in order to deal with the Austrians in Central Europe, but the Peninsular War continued on long after his absence. He never returned to Spain after the 1808 campaign. Several months after Corunna, the British sent another army to the peninsula under Arthur Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington. The war then settled into a complex and asymmetric strategic deadlock where all sides struggled to gain the upper hand. The highlight of the conflict became the brutal *guerrilla warfare* that engulfed much of the Spanish countryside. Both sides committed the worst atrocities of the Napoleonic Wars during this phase of the conflict.[170]

Napoleon accepting the surrender of Madrid, 4 December 1808

The vicious guerrilla fighting in Spain, largely absent from the French campaigns in Central Europe, severely disrupted the French lines of supply and communication. Although France maintained roughly 300,000 troops in Iberia during the Peninsular War, the vast majority were tied down to garrison duty and to intelligence operations.[170] The French were never able to concentrate all of their forces effectively, prolonging the war until events elsewhere in Europe finally turned the tide in favour of the Allies. After the invasion of Russia in 1812, the number of French troops in Spain vastly declined as Napoleon needed reinforcements to conserve his strategic position in Europe. By 1814, after scores of battles and sieges throughout Iberia, the Allies had managed to push the French out of the peninsula.

The impact of the Napoleonic invasion of Spain and ousting of the Spanish Bourbon monarchy in favour of his brother Joseph had an enormous impact on the Spanish empire. In Spanish America many local elites formed juntas and set up mechanisms to rule in the name of Ferdinand VII of Spain, whom they considered the legitimate Spanish monarch. The outbreak of the Spanish American wars of independence in most of the empire was a result of Napoleon's destabilizing actions in Spain and led to the rise of strongmen in the wake of these wars.[171]

War of the Fifth Coalition and Marie Louise

Napoleon at the Battle of Wagram, painted by Horace Vernet

After four years on the sidelines, Austria sought another war with France to avenge its recent defeats. Austria could not count on Russian support because the latter was at war with Britain, Sweden, and the Ottoman Empire in 1809. Frederick William of Prussia initially promised to help the Austrians but reneged before conflict began.[172] A report from the Austrian finance minister suggested that the treasury would run out of money by the middle of 1809 if the large army that the Austrians had formed since the Third Coalition remained mobilized.[172] Although Archduke Charles warned that the Austrians were not ready for another showdown with Napoleon, a stance that landed him in the so-called "peace party", he did not want to see the army demobilized either.[172] On 8 February 1809, the advocates for war finally succeeded when the Imperial Government secretly decided on another confrontation against the French.[173]

In the early morning of 10 April, leading elements of the Austrian army crossed the Inn River and invaded Bavaria. The early Austrian attack surprised the French; Napoleon himself was still in Paris when he heard about the invasion. He arrived at Donauwörth on the 17th to find the *Grande Armée* in a dangerous position, with its two wings separated by 120 km (75 mi) and joined by a thin cordon of Bavarian troops. Charles pressed the left wing of the French army and hurled his men towards the III Corps of Marshal Davout. In response, Napoleon came up with a plan to cut off the Austrians in the celebrated *Landshut Maneuver*.[174] He realigned the axis of his army and marched his soldiers towards the town of Eckmühl. The French scored a convincing win in the resulting Battle of Eckmühl, forcing Charles to withdraw his forces over the Danube and into Bohemia. On 13 May, Vienna fell for the second time in four years, although the war continued since most of the Austrian army had survived the initial engagements in Southern Germany.

The entry of Napoleon in Schönbrunn, Vienna

On 21 May, the French made their first major effort to cross the Danube, precipitating the Battle of Aspern-Essling. The battle was characterized by a vicious back-and-forth struggle for the two villages of Aspern and Essling, the focal points of the French bridgehead. A sustained Austrian artillery bombardment eventually convinced Napoleon to withdraw his forces back onto Lobau Island. Both sides inflicted about 23,000 casualties on each other.[175] It was the first defeat Napoleon suffered in a major set-piece battle, and it caused excitement throughout many parts of Europe because it proved that he could be beaten on the battlefield.[176]

After the setback at Aspern-Essling, Napoleon took more than six weeks in planning and preparing for contingencies before he made another attempt at crossing the Danube.[177] From 30 June to the early days of July, the French recrossed the Danube in strength, with more than 180,000 troops marching across the Marchfeld towards the Austrians.[177] Charles received the French with 150,000 of his own men.[178] In the ensuing Battle of Wagram, which also lasted two days, Napoleon commanded his forces in what was the largest battle of his career up until then. Napoleon finished off the battle with a concentrated central thrust that punctured a hole in the Austrian army and forced Charles to retreat. Austrian losses were very heavy, reaching well over 40,000 casualties.[179] The French were too exhausted to pursue the Austrians immediately, but Napoleon eventually caught up with Charles at Znaim and the latter signed an armistice on 12 July.

In the Kingdom of Holland, the British launched the Walcheren Campaign to open up a second front in the war and to relieve the pressure on the Austrians. The British army only landed at Walcheren on 30 July, by which point the Austrians had already been defeated. The Walcheren Campaign was characterized by little fighting but heavy casualties thanks to the popularly dubbed "Walcheren Fever". Over 4,000 British troops were lost in a bungled campaign, and the rest withdrew in December 1809.[180] The main strategic result from the campaign became the delayed political settlement between the French and the Austrians. Emperor Francis wanted to wait and see how the British performed in their theatre before entering into negotiations with Napoleon. Once it became apparent that the British were going nowhere, the Austrians agreed to peace talks.

The resulting Treaty of Schönbrunn in October 1809 was the harshest that France had imposed on Austria in recent memory. Metternich and Archduke Charles had the preservation of the Habsburg Empire as their fundamental goal, and to this end, they succeeded by making Napoleon seek more modest goals in return for promises of friendship between the two powers.[181] Nevertheless, while most of the hereditary lands remained a part of the Habsburg realm, France received Carinthia, Carniola, and the Adriatic ports, while Galicia was given to the Poles and the Salzburg area of the Tyrol went to the Bavarians.[181] Austria lost over three million subjects, about one-fifth of her total population, as a result of these territorial changes.[182] Although fighting in Iberia continued, the War of the Fifth Coalition would be the last major conflict on the European continent for the next three years.

The French Empire at its greatest extent in 1812:
French Empire
French satellite states

Napoleon turned his focus to domestic affairs after the war. Empress Joséphine had still not given birth to a child from Napoleon, who became worried about the future of his empire following his death. Desperate for a legitimate heir, Napoleon divorced Joséphine on 10 January 1810 and started looking for a new wife. Hoping to cement the recent alliance with Austria through a family connection, Napoleon married the Marie Louise, Duchess of Parma, daughter of Francis II, who was 18 years old at the time. On 20 March 1811, Marie Louise gave birth to a baby boy, whom Napoleon made heir apparent and bestowed the title of *King of Rome*. His son never actually ruled the empire, but given his brief titular rule and cousin Louis-Napoléon's subsequent naming himself Napoléon III, historians often refer to him as *Napoleon II*.[183]

Invasion of Russia

In 1808, Napoleon and Tsar Alexander met at the Congress of Erfurt to preserve the Russo-French alliance. The leaders had a friendly personal relationship after their first meeting at Tilsit in 1807.[184] By 1811, however, tensions had increased and Alexander was under pressure from the Russian nobility to break off the alliance. A major strain on the relationship between the two nations became the regular violations of the Continental System by the Russians as their economy was failing, which led Napoleon to threaten Alexander with serious consequences if he formed an alliance with Britain.[185]

By 1812, advisers to Alexander suggested the possibility of an invasion of the French Empire and the recapture of Poland. On receipt of intelligence reports on Russia's war preparations, Napoleon expanded his *Grande Armée* to more than 450,000 men.[186] He ignored repeated advice against an invasion of the Russian heartland and prepared for an offensive campaign; on 24 June 1812 the invasion commenced.[187]

Napoleon watching the fire of Moscow in September 1812, by Adam Albrecht (1841)

In an attempt to gain increased support from Polish nationalists and patriots, Napoleon termed the war the *Second Polish War*—the *First Polish War* had been the Bar Confederation uprising by Polish nobles against Russia in 1768. Polish patriots wanted the Russian part of Poland to be joined with the Duchy of Warsaw and an independent Poland created. This was rejected by Napoleon, who stated he had promised his ally Austria this would not happen. Napoleon refused to manumit the Russian serfs because of concerns this might provoke a reaction in his army's rear. The serfs later committed atrocities against French soldiers during France's retreat.[188]

The Russians avoided Napoleon's objective of a decisive engagement and instead retreated deeper into Russia. A brief attempt at resistance was made at Smolensk in August; the Russians were defeated in a series of battles, and Napoleon resumed his advance. The Russians again avoided battle, although in a few cases this was only achieved because Napoleon uncharacteristically hesitated to attack when the opportunity arose. Owing to the Russian army's scorched earth tactics, the French found it increasingly difficult to forage food for themselves and their horses.[189]

The Russians eventually offered battle outside Moscow on 7 September: the Battle of Borodino resulted in approximately 44,000 Russian and 35,000 French dead, wounded or captured, and may have been the bloodiest day of battle in history up to that point in time.[190] Although the French had won, the Russian army had accepted, and withstood, the major battle Napoleon had hoped would be decisive. Napoleon's own account was: "The most terrible of all my battles was the one before Moscow. The French showed themselves to be worthy of victory, but the Russians showed themselves worthy of being invincible".[191]

Napoleon's withdrawal from Russia, painting by Adolph Northen

The Russian army withdrew and retreated past Moscow. Napoleon entered the city, assuming its fall would end the war and Alexander would negotiate peace. However, on orders of the city's governor Feodor Rostopchin, rather than capitulation, Moscow was burned. After five weeks, Napoleon and his army left. In early November Napoleon became concerned about the loss of control back in France after the Malet coup of 1812. His army walked through snow up to their knees, and nearly 10,000 men and horses froze to death on the night of 8/9 November alone. After the Battle of Berezina Napoleon managed to escape but had to abandon much of the remaining artillery and baggage train. On 5 December, shortly before arriving in Vilnius, Napoleon left the army in a sledge.[192]

The French suffered in the course of a ruinous retreat, including from the harshness of the Russian Winter. The Armée had begun as over 400,000 frontline troops, with fewer than 40,000 crossing the Berezina River in November 1812.[193] The Russians had lost 150,000 soldiers in battle and hundreds of thousands of civilians.[194]

War of the Sixth Coalition

There was a lull in fighting over the winter of 1812–13 while both the Russians and the French rebuilt their forces; Napoleon was able to field 350,000 troops.[195] Heartened by France's loss in Russia, Prussia joined with Austria, Sweden, Russia, Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal in a new coalition. Napoleon assumed command in Germany and inflicted a series of defeats on the Coalition culminating in the Battle of Dresden in August 1813.[196]

Napoleon's farewell to his Imperial Guard, 20 April 1814, by Antoine-Alphonse Montfort

Despite these successes, the numbers continued to mount against Napoleon, and the French army was pinned down by a force twice its size and lost at the Battle of Leipzig. This was by far the largest battle of the Napoleonic Wars and cost more than 90,000 casualties in total.[197]

The Allies offered peace terms in the Frankfurt proposals in November 1813. Napoleon would remain as Emperor of the French, but it would be reduced to its "natural frontiers". That meant that France could retain control of Belgium, Savoy and the Rhineland (the west bank of the Rhine River), while giving up control of all the rest, including all of Spain and the Netherlands, and most of Italy and Germany. Metternich told Napoleon these were the best terms the Allies were likely to offer; after further victories, the terms would be harsher and harsher. Metternich's motivation was to maintain France as a balance against Russian threats while ending the highly destabilizing series of wars.[198]

Napoleon, expecting to win the war, delayed too long and lost this opportunity; by December the Allies had withdrawn the offer. When his back was to the wall in 1814 he tried to reopen peace negotiations on the basis of accepting the Frankfurt proposals. The Allies now had new, harsher terms that included the retreat of France to its 1791 boundaries, which meant the loss of Belgium. Napoleon would remain Emperor, however, he rejected the term. The British wanted Napoleon permanently removed, and they prevailed, but Napoleon adamantly refused.[198][199]

Napoleon withdrew into France, his army reduced to 70,000 soldiers and little cavalry; he faced more than three times as many Allied troops.[200] Joseph Bonaparte, Napoleon's older brother, abdicated as king of Spain on 13 December 1813 and assumed the title of lieutenant general to save the collapsing empire. The French were

surrounded: British armies pressed from the south, and other Coalition forces positioned to attack from the German states. By the middle of January 1814, the Coalition had already entered France's borders and launched a two-pronged attack on Paris, with Prussia entering from the north, and Austria from the East, marching out of the capitulated Swiss confederation. The French Empire, however, would not go down so easily. Napoleon launched a series of victories in the Six Days' Campaign. While they repulsed the coalition forces and delayed the capture of Paris by at least a full month, these were not significant enough to turn the tide. The coalitionaries camped on the outskirts of the capital on 29 March. A day later, they advanced onto the demoralised soldiers protecting the city. Joseph Bonaparte led a final battle at the gates of Paris. They were greatly outnumbered, as 30,000 French soldiers were pitted against a combined coalition force that was 5 times greater than theirs. They were defeated, and Joseph retreated out of the city. The leaders of Paris surrendered to the Coalition on the last day of March 1814.[201] On 1 April, Alexander addressed the Sénat conservateur. Long docile to Napoleon, under Talleyrand's prodding it had turned against him. Alexander told the Sénat that the Allies were fighting against Napoleon, not France, and they were prepared to offer honourable peace terms if Napoleon were removed from power. The next day, the Sénat passed the Acte de déchéance de l'Empereur ("Emperor's Demise Act"), which declared Napoleon deposed.

Napoleon after his abdication in Fontainebleau, 4 April 1814, by Paul Delaroche

Napoleon had advanced as far as Fontainebleau when he learned that Paris had fallen. When Napoleon proposed the army march on the capital, his senior officers and marshals mutinied.[202] On 4 April, led by Ney, the senior officers confronted Napoleon. When Napoleon asserted the army would follow him, Ney replied the army would follow its generals. While the ordinary soldiers and regimental officers wanted to fight on, the senior commanders were unwilling to continue. Without any senior officers or marshals, any prospective invasion of Paris would have been impossible. Bowing to the inevitable, on 4 April Napoleon abdicated in favour of his son, with Marie Louise as regent. However, the Allies refused to accept this under prodding from Alexander, who feared that Napoleon might find an excuse to retake the throne.[203] Napoleon was then forced to announce his unconditional abdication only two days later.

In his farewell address to the soldiers of Old Guard in 20 April, Napoleon said:

> "Soldiers of my Old Guard, I have come to bid you farewell. For twenty years you have accompanied me faithfully on the paths of honor and glory. . . .With men like you, our cause was lost, but the war would have dragged on interminably, and it would have been a civil war. . . . So I am sacrificing our interests to those of our country. . . .Do not lament my fate; if I have agreed to live on, it is to serve our glory. I wish to write the history of the great deeds we have done together. Farewell, my children!"[204]

Exile to Elba

> The Allied Powers having declared that Emperor Napoleon was the sole obstacle to the restoration of peace in Europe, Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he renounces, for himself and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy, and that there is no personal sacrifice, even that of his life, which he is not ready to make in the interests of France.
> Done in the palace of Fontainebleau, 11 April 1814.
>
> — Act of abdication of Napoleon[205]

Napoleon leaving Elba on 26 February 1815, by Joseph Beaume (1836)

In the Treaty of Fontainebleau, the Allies exiled Napoleon to Elba, an island of 12,000 inhabitants in the Mediterranean, 10 km (6 mi) off the Tuscan coast. They gave him sovereignty over the island and allowed him to retain the title of *Emperor*. Napoleon attempted suicide with a pill he had carried after nearly being captured by the Russians during the retreat from Moscow. Its potency had weakened with age, however, and he survived to be exiled, while his wife and son took refuge in Austria.[206]

He was conveyed to the island on HMS *Undaunted* by Captain Thomas Ussher, and he arrived at Portoferraio on 30 May 1814. In the first few months on Elba he created a small navy and army, developed the iron mines, oversaw the construction of new roads, issued decrees on modern agricultural methods, and overhauled the island's legal and educational system.[207][208]

A few months into his exile, Napoleon learned that his ex-wife Josephine had died in France. He was devastated by the news, locking himself in his room and refusing to leave for two days.[209]

Hundred Days

Napoleon's Return from Elba, by Charles de Steuben, 1818

Separated from his wife and son, who had returned to Austria, cut off from the allowance guaranteed to him by the Treaty of Fontainebleau, and aware of rumours he was about to be banished to a remote island in the Atlantic Ocean,[210] Napoleon escaped from Elba in the brig *Inconstant* on 26 February 1815 with 700 men.[210] Two days later, he landed on the French mainland at Golfe-Juan and started heading north.[210]

The 5th Regiment was sent to intercept him and made contact just south of Grenoble on 7 March 1815. Napoleon approached the regiment alone, dismounted his horse and, when he was within gunshot range, shouted to the soldiers, "Here I am. Kill your Emperor, if you wish."[211] The soldiers quickly responded with, "Vive L'Empereur!" Ney, who had boasted to the restored Bourbon king, Louis XVIII, that he would bring Napoleon to Paris in an iron cage, affectionately kissed his former emperor and forgot his oath of allegiance to the Bourbon monarch. The two then marched together toward Paris with a growing army. The unpopular Louis XVIII fled to Belgium after realizing that he had little political support. On 13 March, the powers at the Congress of Vienna declared Napoleon an outlaw. Four days later, Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia each pledged to put 150,000 men into the field to end his rule.[212]

Napoleon arrived in Paris on 20 March and governed for a period now called the Hundred Days. By the start of June, the armed forces available to him had reached 200,000, and he decided to go on the offensive to attempt to drive a wedge between the oncoming British and Prussian armies. The French Army of the North crossed the frontier into the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, in modern-day Belgium.[213]

Napoleon's forces fought two Coalition armies, commanded by the British Duke of Wellington and the Prussian Prince Blücher, at the Battle of Waterloo on 18 June 1815. Wellington's army withstood repeated attacks by the French and drove them from the field while the Prussians arrived in force and broke through Napoleon's right flank.

Napoleon returned to Paris and found that both the legislature and the people had turned against him. Realizing that his position was untenable, he abdicated on 22 June in favour of his son. He left Paris three days later and settled at Josephine's former palace in Malmaison (on the western bank of the Seine about 17 kilometres (11 mi) west of Paris). Even as Napoleon travelled to Paris, the Coalition forces swept through France (arriving in the vicinity of Paris on 29 June), with the stated intent of restoring Louis XVIII to the French throne.

When Napoleon heard that Prussian troops had orders to capture him dead or alive, he fled to Rochefort, considering an escape to the United States. British ships were blocking every port. Napoleon surrendered to Captain Frederick Maitland on HMS *Bellerophon* on 15 July 1815.[214]

Exile on Saint Helena

The British kept Napoleon on the island of Saint Helena in the Atlantic Ocean, 1,870 km (1,162 mi) from the west coast of Africa. They also took the precaution of sending a small garrison of soldiers to both Saint Helena and the uninhabited Ascension Island, which lay between St. Helena and Europe, to prevent any escape from the island.[215]

Napoleon on Saint Helena, watercolor by Franz Josef Sandmann, c. 1820

Napoleon was moved to Longwood House on Saint Helena in December 1815; it had fallen into disrepair, and the location was damp, windswept and unhealthy.[216][217] *The Times* published articles insinuating the British government was trying to hasten his death. Napoleon often complained of the living conditions of Longwood House in letters to the island's governor and his custodian, Hudson Lowe,[218] while his attendants complained of "colds, catarrhs, damp floors and poor provisions."[219] Modern scientists have speculated that his later illness may have arisen from arsenic poisoning caused by copper arsenite in the wallpaper at Longwood House.[220]

Longwood House, Saint Helena, site of Napoleon's captivity

With a small cadre of followers, Napoleon dictated his memoirs and grumbled about the living conditions. Lowe cut Napoleon's expenditure, ruled that no gifts were allowed if they mentioned his imperial status, and made his supporters sign a guarantee they would stay with the prisoner indefinitely.[221] When he held a dinner party, men were expected to wear military dress and "women [appeared] in evening gowns and gems. It was an explicit denial of the circumstances of his captivity".[222]

While in exile, Napoleon wrote a book about Julius Caesar, one of his great heroes.[223] He also studied English under the tutelage of Count Emmanuel de Las Cases with the main aim of being able to read English newspapers and books, as access to French newspapers and books was heavily restricted to him on Saint Helena.[224] Napoleon also devoted himself to compiling a book "*Mémorial de Ste-Hélène*", an account which reflected his self-depiction as a liberal, visionary ruler for European unification, deposed by reactionary elements of the *Ancien Régime*.[225]

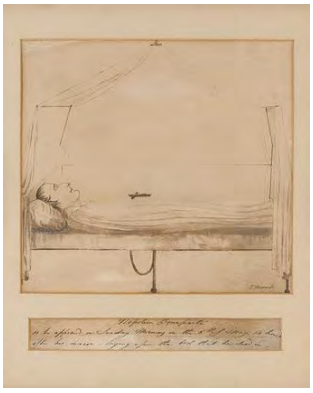
Another pastime of Napoleon's while in exile was playing card games.[226][227] The number of patiences named in his honour seems to suggest that he was an avid player of the solitary game. Napoleon at St Helena is described as being a favourite of his,[228] while Napoleon's Favourite (or St. Helena) is clearly a contender. Other games with a Napoleonic theme include Napoleon's Flank, Napoleon's Shoulder, Napoleon's Square and Little Napoleon Patience. However, Arnold argues that, while Napoleon played cards in exile, the notion that he played numerous patience games is "based on a misunderstanding".[226]

There were rumours of plots and even of his escape from Saint Helena, but in reality, no serious attempts were ever made.[229] For English poet Lord Byron, Napoleon was the epitome of the Romantic hero, the persecuted, lonely, and flawed genius.[230]

Death

Napoleon's personal physician, Barry O'Meara, warned London that his declining state of health was mainly caused by the harsh treatment. During the last few years of his life, Napoleon confined himself for months on end in his damp, mold-infested and wretched habitation of Longwood. Years of isolation and loneliness started taking its toll and Napoleon began displaying serious symptoms of depression.[231][232]

In February 1821, Napoleon's health began to deteriorate rapidly, and he reconciled with the Catholic Church. By March, he had become confined to bed. Napoleon died on 5 May 1821 at Longwood House at age 51, after making his last confession, Extreme Unction and Viaticum in the presence of Father Ange Vignali from his deathbed. His last words were, *France, l'armée, tête d'armée, Joséphine* ("France, the army, head of the army, Joséphine").[233][234][235]



Frederick Marryat's sketch of Napoleon's body on his deathbed

Shortly after his death, an autopsy was conducted and Francesco Antommarchi, the doctor conducting the autopsy, cut off Napoleon's penis.[29][236] Napoleon's original death mask was created around 6 May, although it is not clear which doctor created it.[g][238] Napoleon's heart and intestines were removed and contained separately in two sealed vessels, which were placed inside his coffin at his feet. In his will, he had asked to be buried on the banks of the Seine, but the British governor said he should be buried on Saint Helena, in the Valley of the Willows.[233]

In 1840, Louis Philippe I obtained permission from the British government to return Napoleon's remains to France. His casket was opened to confirm that it still contained the former emperor. Despite being dead for nearly two decades, Napoleon had been very well preserved and not decomposed at all. On 15 December 1840, a state funeral was held. The horse-drawn hearse proceeded from the Arc de Triomphe down the Champs-Élysées, across the Place de la Concorde to the Esplanade des Invalides and then to the cupola in St Jérôme's Chapel, where it remained until the tomb designed by Louis Visconti was completed.

Death mask of Napoleon

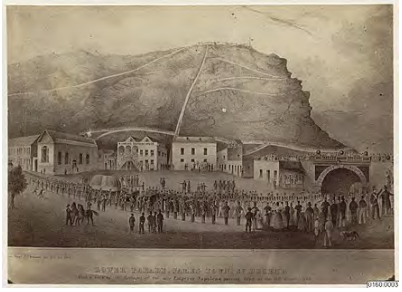
In 1861, Napoleon's remains were entombed in a sarcophagus of red quartzite from Russia (often mistaken for porphyry) in the crypt under the dome at Les Invalides.[239]

Napoleon's tomb at Les Invalides in Paris

Cause of death

The cause of Napoleon's death has been debated. His physician, François Carlo Antommarchi, led the autopsy, which found the cause of death to be stomach cancer. Antommarchi did not sign the official report.[240] Napoleon's father had died of stomach cancer, although this was apparently unknown at the time of the autopsy.[241] Antommarchi found evidence of a stomach ulcer; this was the most convenient explanation for the British, who wanted to avoid criticism over their care of Napoleon.[233]

Napoleon on His Death Bed, by Horace Vernet, 1826



Napoleon's remains passing through Jamestown, St Helena on 13 October 1840

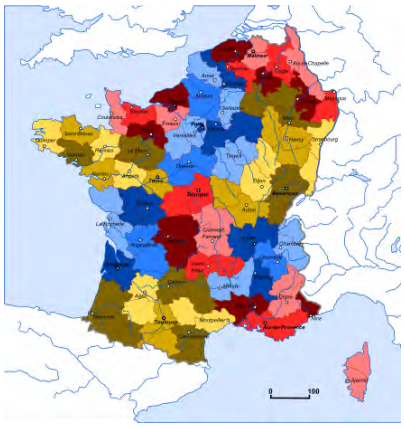
In 1955, the diaries of Napoleon's valet, Louis Marchand, were published. His description of Napoleon in the months before his death led Sten Forshufvud in a 1961 paper in *Nature* to put forward other causes for his death, including deliberate arsenic poisoning.[242] Arsenic was used as a poison during the era because it was undetectable when administered over a long period. Furthermore, in a 1978 book with Ben Weider, Forshufvud noted that Napoleon's body was found to be well preserved when moved in 1840. Arsenic is a strong preservative, and therefore this supported the poisoning hypothesis. Forshufvud and Weider observed that Napoleon had attempted to quench abnormal thirst by drinking large amounts of orgeat syrup that contained cyanide compounds in the almonds used for flavouring.[242] They maintained that the potassium tartrate used in his treatment prevented his stomach from expelling these compounds and that his thirst was a symptom of the poison. Their hypothesis was that the calomel given to Napoleon became an overdose, which killed him and left extensive tissue damage behind.[242] According to a 2007 article, the type of arsenic found in Napoleon's hair shafts was mineral, the most toxic, and according to toxicologist Patrick Kintz, this supported the conclusion that he was murdered.[243]

Situation of Napoleon's body when his coffin was reopened on St Helena, by Jules Rigo, 1840

There have been modern studies that have supported the original autopsy finding.[243] In a 2008 study, researchers analysed samples of Napoleon's hair from throughout his life, as well as samples from his family and other contemporaries. All samples had high levels of arsenic, approximately 100 times higher than the current average. According to these researchers, Napoleon's body was already heavily contaminated with arsenic as a boy, and the high arsenic concentration in his hair was not caused by intentional poisoning; people were constantly exposed to arsenic from glues and dyes throughout their lives.[h] Studies published in 2007 and 2008 dismissed evidence of arsenic poisoning, suggesting peptic ulcer and gastric cancer as the cause of death.[245]

Religion

Napoleon was baptised in Ajaccio on 21 July 1771. He was raised as a Catholic but never developed much faith,[246] though he recalled the day of his First Communion in the Catholic Church to be the happiest day of his life.[247][248] As an adult, Napoleon was a deist, believing in an absent and distant God. However, he had a keen appreciation of the power of organized religion in social and political affairs, and he paid a great deal of attention to bending it to his purposes. He noted the influence of Catholicism's rituals and splendors.[246]



Reorganisation of the religious geography: France is divided into 59 dioceses and 10 ecclesiastical provinces.

Napoleon had a civil marriage with Joséphine de Beauharnais, without religious ceremony. Napoleon was crowned Emperor on 2 December 1804 at Notre-Dame de Paris in a ceremony presided over by Pope Pius VII. On the eve of the coronation ceremony, and at the insistence of Pope Pius VII, a private religious wedding ceremony of Napoleon and Joséphine was celebrated. Cardinal Fesch performed the wedding.[249] This marriage was annulled by tribunals under Napoleon's control in January 1810. On 1 April 1810, Napoleon married the Austrian princess Marie Louise in a Catholic ceremony. Napoleon was excommunicated by the Pope through the bull *Quum memoranda* in 1809, but later reconciled with the Catholic Church before his death in 1821.[250] While in exile in Saint Helena he is recorded to have said "I know men; and I tell you that Jesus Christ is not a man."[251][252][253] He also defended Muhammad ("a great man") against Voltaire's *Mahomet*.[254]

Concordat

Seeking national reconciliation between revolutionaries and Catholics, Napoleon and Pope Pius VII signed the Concordat of 1801 on 15 July 1801. It solidified the Roman Catholic Church as the majority church of France and brought back most of its civil status. The hostility of devout Catholics against the state had now largely been resolved. The Concordat did not restore the vast church lands and endowments that had been seized during the revolution and sold off. As a part of the Concordat, Napoleon presented another set of laws called the Organic Articles.[255][256]

Leaders of the Catholic Church taking the civil oath required by the Concordat

While the Concordat restored much power to the papacy, the balance of church–state relations had tilted firmly in Napoleon's favour. He selected the bishops and supervised church finances. Napoleon and the Pope both found the Concordat useful. Similar arrangements were made with the Church in territories controlled by Napoleon, especially Italy and Germany.[257] Now,

Napoleon could win favour with the Catholics while also controlling Rome in a political sense. Napoleon said in April 1801, "Skillful conquerors have not got entangled with priests. They can both contain them and use them". French children were issued a catechism that taught them to love and respect Napoleon.[258]

Arrest of Pope Pius VII

In 1809, under Napoleon's orders, Pope Pius VII was placed under arrest in Italy, and in 1812 the prisoner Pontiff was transferred to France, being held in the Palace of Fontainebleau.[259] Because the arrest was made in a clandestine manner, some sources[260][259] describe it as a kidnapping. In January 1813, Napoleon personally forced the Pope to sign a humiliating "Concordat of Fontainebleau"[261] which was later repudiated by the Pontiff.[262] The Pope was not released until 1814, when the Coalition invaded France.

Religious emancipation

Napoleon emancipated Jews, as well as Protestants in Catholic countries and Catholics in Protestant countries, from laws which restricted them to ghettos, and he expanded their rights to property, worship, and careers. Despite the antisemitic reaction to Napoleon's policies from foreign governments and within France, he believed emancipation would benefit France by attracting Jews to the country given the restrictions they faced elsewhere.[263]

In 1806 an assembly of Jewish notables was gathered by Napoleon to discuss 12 questions broadly dealing with the relations between Jews and Christians, as well as other issues dealing with the Jewish ability to integrate into French society. Later, after the questions were answered in a satisfactory way according to the Emperor, a "great Sanhedrin" was brought together to transform the answers into decisions that would form the basis of the future status of the Jews in France and the rest of the empire Napoleon was building.[264]

He stated, "I will never accept any proposals that will obligate the Jewish people to leave France, because to me the Jews are the same as any other citizen in our country. It takes weakness to chase them out of the country, but it takes strength to assimilate them".[265] He was seen as so favourable to the Jews that the Russian Orthodox Church formally condemned him as "Antichrist and the Enemy of God".[266]

One year after the final meeting of the Sanhedrin, on 17 March 1808, Napoleon placed the Jews on probation. Several new laws restricting the citizenship the Jews had been offered 17 years previously were instituted at that time. However, despite pressure from leaders of a number of Christian communities to refrain from granting Jews emancipation, within one year of the issue of the new restrictions, they were once again lifted in response to the appeal of Jews from all over France.[264]

Freemasonry

It is not known for certain if Napoleon was initiated into Freemasonry. As Emperor, he appointed his brothers to Masonic offices under his jurisdiction: Louis was given the title of Deputy Grand Master in 1805; Jerome the title of Grand Master of the Grand Orient of Westphalia; Joseph was appointed Grand Master of the Grand Orient de France; and finally Lucien was a member of the Grand Orient of France.[267]

Personality

Historians emphasize the strength of the ambition that took Napoleon from an obscure village to rule over most of Europe.[268] In-depth academic studies about his early life conclude that up until age 2, he had a "gentle disposition".[30] His older brother, Joseph, frequently received their mother's attention which made Napoleon more assertive and approval-driven. During his early schooling years, he would be harshly bullied by classmates for his Corsican identity and limited command of the French language. To withstand the stress he became domineering, eventually developing an inferiority complex.[30]

George F. E. Rudé stresses his "rare combination of will, intellect and physical vigour".[269] In one-on-one situations he typically had a hypnotic effect on people, seemingly bending the strongest leaders to his will.[270] He understood military technology, but was not an innovator in that regard.[271] He was an innovator in using the financial, bureaucratic, and diplomatic resources of France. He could rapidly dictate a series of complex commands to his subordinates, keeping in mind where major units were expected to be at each future point, and like a chess master, "seeing" the best plays moves ahead.[272] This intellectual vigour was accompanied by a mixture of "remarkable charisma and willpower" and "a furious temper" exhibited during failure of his plans; which commanded respect as well as dread from his adjutants.[273]

Napoleon visiting the Palais Royal for the opening of the 8th session of the Tribunat in 1807, by Merry-Joseph Blondel

Napoleon maintained strict, efficient work habits, prioritizing what needed to be done. He cheated at cards, but repaid the losses; he had to win at everything he attempted.[274] He kept relays of staff and secretaries at work. Unlike many generals, Napoleon did not examine history to ask what Hannibal or Alexander or anyone else did in a similar situation. Critics said he won many battles simply because of luck; Napoleon responded, "Give me lucky generals", arguing that "luck" comes to leaders who recognize opportunity, and seize it.[275] Dwyer states that Napoleon's victories at Austerlitz and Jena in 1805–06 heightened his sense of self-grandiosity, leaving him even more certain of his destiny and invincibility.[276] "I am of the race that founds empires" he once boasted, deeming himself an heir to the Ancient Romans.[277]

In terms of influence on events, it was more than Napoleon's personality that took effect. He reorganized France itself to supply the men and money needed for wars.[278] He inspired his men—the Duke of Wellington said his presence on the battlefield was worth 40,000 soldiers, for he inspired confidence from privates to field marshals.[279] The force of his personality neutralized material difficulties as his soldiers fought with the confidence that with Napoleon in charge they would surely win.[280]

Image

The military historian Martin van Creveld has described him as "the most competent human being who ever lived".[281] Since his death, many towns, streets, ships, and even cartoon characters have been named after him. He has been portrayed in hundreds of films and discussed in hundreds of thousands of books and articles.[282][283][284] The German legal scholar Carl Theoder Welcker described Napoleon as "the greatest master of Machiavellism".[285]

When his contemporaries met him in person, many were surprised by his apparently unremarkable physical appearance in contrast to his significant deeds and reputation, especially in his youth, when he was consistently described as small and thin. English painter Joseph Farington, who observed Napoleon personally in 1802, commented that "Samuel Rogers stood a little way from me and... seemed to be disappointed in the look of [Napoleon's] countenance ["face"] and said it was that of a little Italian." Farington said Napoleon's eyes were "lighter, and more of a grey, than I should have expected from his complexion", that "his person is below middle size", and that "his general aspect was milder than I had before thought it."[286]

A personal friend of Napoleon's said that when he first met him in Brienne-le-Château as a young man, Napoleon was only notable "for the dark color of his complexion, for his piercing and scrutinising glance, and for the style of his conversation"; he also said that Napoleon was personally a serious and somber man: "his conversation bore the appearance of ill-humor, and he was certainly not very amiable."[287] Johann Ludwig Wurstemberger, who accompanied Napoleon from Camp Fornio in 1797 and on the Swiss campaign of 1798, noted that "Bonaparte was rather slight and emaciated-looking; his face, too, was very thin, with a dark complexion... his black, unpowdered hair hung down evenly over both shoulders", but that, despite his slight and unkempt appearance, "[h]is looks and expression were earnest and powerful."[288]

Napoleon is often represented in his green colonel uniform of the Chasseur à Cheval of the Imperial Guard, the regiment that often served as his personal escort, with a large bicorne and a hand-in-waistcoat gesture.

Denis Davydov met him personally and considered him remarkably average in appearance:

> His face was slightly swarthy, with regular features. His nose was not very large, but straight, with a slight, hardly noticeable bend. The hair on his head was dark reddish-blond; his eyebrows and eyelashes were much darker than the colour of his hair, and his blue eyes, set off by the almost black lashes, gave him a most pleasing expression ... The man I saw was of short stature, just over five feet tall, rather heavy although he was only 37 years old.[289]

During the Napoleonic Wars, he was taken seriously by the British press as a dangerous tyrant, poised to invade. Despite or due to his average size, Napoleon was mocked in British newspapers as a short tempered small man and he was nicknamed "Little Boney in a strong fit".[290] A nursery rhyme warned children that Bonaparte ravenously ate naughty people; the "bogeyman".[291] The British propaganda about his supposedly small size was so successful that many people today "know" very little besides this untruth about him.[292] At 1.57 metres (5 ft 2 in), he had the height of an average French male but was short for an aristocrat or officer (partly why he was assigned to the artillery, since at the time the infantry and cavalry required more commanding figures).[293] Some historians believe his size at death was incorrectly recorded due to use of an obsolete old French yardstick (a French foot equals 33 cm, while an English foot equals 30.47 cm).[293][294] But Napoleon was a champion of the metric system and had no use for the old yardsticks that had been out of use since 1793 in France. It is likely that he was 1.57 m (5 ft 2 in), the height measured on St. Helena (a British island), since he would have most likely been measured with an English yardstick rather than a yardstick of the French Old Regime.[293] Napoleon surrounded himself with tall bodyguards and was affectionately nicknamed *le petit caporal* (the little corporal), reflecting his reported camaraderie with his soldiers rather than his height.

When he became First Consul and later Emperor, Napoleon eschewed his general's uniform and habitually wore the green colonel uniform (non-Hussar) of a colonel of the Chasseur à Cheval of the Imperial Guard, the regiment that served as his personal escort many times, with a large bicorne. He also habitually wore (usually on Sundays) the blue uniform of a colonel of the Imperial Guard Foot Grenadiers (blue with white facings and red cuffs). He also wore his Légion d'honneur star, medal and ribbon, and the Order of the Iron Crown decorations, white French-style culottes and white stockings. This was in contrast to the complex uniforms with many decorations of his marshals and those around him.

In his later years he gained quite a bit of weight and had a complexion considered pale or sallow, something contemporaries took note of. Novelist Paul de Kock, who saw him in 1811 on the balcony of the Tuileries, called Napoleon "yellow, obese, and bloated".[295] A British captain who met him in 1815 stated "I felt very much disappointed, as I believe everyone else did, in his appearance ... He is fat, rather what we call pot-bellied, and although his leg is well shaped, it is rather clumsy ... He is very sallow, with light grey eyes, and rather thin, greasy-looking brown hair, and altogether a very nasty, priestlike-looking fellow."[296]

The stock character of Napoleon is a comically short "petty tyrant" and this has become a cliché in popular culture. He is often portrayed wearing a large bicorne hat—sideways—with a hand-in-waistcoat gesture—a reference to the painting produced in 1812 by Jacques-Louis David.[297] In 1908 Alfred Adler, a psychologist, cited Napoleon to describe an inferiority complex in which short people adopt an over-aggressive behaviour to compensate for lack of height; this inspired the term *Napoleon complex*.[298]

Reforms

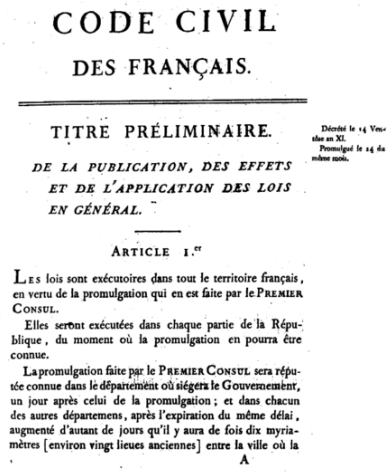
Napoleon instituted various reforms, such as higher education, a tax code, road and sewer systems, and established the Banque de France, the first central bank in French history. He negotiated the Concordat of 1801 with the Catholic Church, which sought to reconcile the mostly Catholic population to his regime. It was presented alongside the Organic Articles, which regulated public worship in France. He dissolved the Holy Roman Empire prior to German Unification later in the 19th century. The sale of the Louisiana Territory to the United States doubled the size of the United States.[299]

First remittance of the Légion d'Honneur, 15 July 1804, at Saint-Louis des Invalides, by Jean-Baptiste Debret (1812)

In May 1802, he instituted the Legion of Honour, a substitute for the old royalist decorations and orders of chivalry, to encourage civilian and military achievements; the order is still the highest decoration in France.[300]

Napoleonic Code

Napoleon's set of civil laws, the *Code Civil*—now often known as the Napoleonic Code—was prepared by committees of legal experts under the supervision of Jean Jacques Régis de Cambacérès, the *Second Consul*. Napoleon participated actively in the sessions of the Council of State that revised the drafts. The development of the code was a fundamental change in the nature of the civil law legal system with its stress on clearly written and accessible law. Other codes ("Les cinq codes") were commissioned by Napoleon to codify criminal and commerce law; a Code of Criminal Instruction was published, which enacted rules of due process.[301]



CODE CIVIL
DES FRANÇAIS.

TITRE PRÉLIMINAIRE.

Décrété le 14 Ventôse an XI. Promulgué le 24 du même mois.

DE LA PUBLICATION, DES EFFETS ET DE L'APPLICATION DES LOIS EN GÉNÉRAL.

ARTICLE I.er

LES lois sont exécutoires dans tout le territoire français, en vertu de la promulgation qui en est faite par le PREMIER CONSUL.

Elles seront exécutées dans chaque partie de la République, du moment où la promulgation en pourra être connue.

La promulgation faite par le PREMIER CONSUL sera réputée connue dans le département où siégera le Gouvernement, un jour après celui de la promulgation; et dans chacun des autres départemens, après l'expiration du même délai, augmenté d'autant de jours qu'il y aura de fois dix myriamètres [environ vingt lieues anciennes] entre la ville où la

A

First page of the 1804 original edition of the Code Civil

The Napoleonic code was adopted throughout much of Continental Europe, though only in the lands he conquered, and remained in force after Napoleon's defeat. Napoleon said: "My true glory is not to have won forty battles ... Waterloo will erase the memory of so many victories. ... But ... what will live forever, is my Civil Code".[302] The Code influences a quarter of the world's jurisdictions such as those in Continental Europe, the Americas, and Africa.[303]

Dieter Langewiesche described the code as a "revolutionary project" that spurred the development of bourgeois society in Germany by the extension of the right to own property and an acceleration towards the end of feudalism. Napoleon reorganized what had been the Holy Roman Empire, made up of about three hundred *Kleinstaaterei*, into a more streamlined forty-state Confederation of the Rhine; this helped promote the German Confederation and the unification of Germany in 1871.[304]

The movement toward Italian unification was similarly precipitated by Napoleonic rule.[305] These changes contributed to the development of nationalism and the nation state.[306]

Napoleon implemented a wide array of liberal reforms in France and across Continental Europe, especially in Italy and Germany, as summarized by British historian Andrew Roberts:

> The ideas that underpin our modern world—meritocracy, equality before the law, property rights, religious toleration, modern secular education, sound finances, and so on—were championed, consolidated, codified and geographically extended by Napoleon. To them he added a rational and efficient local administration, an end to rural banditry, the encouragement of science and the arts, the abolition of feudalism and the greatest codification of laws since the fall of the Roman Empire.[307]

Napoleon directly overthrew remnants of feudalism in much of western Continental Europe. He liberalized property laws, ended seigneurial dues, abolished the guild of merchants and craftsmen to facilitate entrepreneurship, legalized divorce, closed the Jewish ghettos and made Jews equal to everyone else. The

Inquisition ended as did the Holy Roman Empire. The power of church courts and religious authority was sharply reduced and equality under the law was proclaimed for all men.[308]

Warfare

Statue in Cherbourg-Octeville unveiled by Napoleon III in 1858. Napoleon I strengthened the town's defences to prevent British naval incursions.

In the field of military organization, Napoleon borrowed from previous theorists such as Jacques Antoine Hippolyte, Comte de Guibert, and from the reforms of preceding French governments, and then developed much of what was already in place. He continued the policy, which emerged from the Revolution, of promotion based primarily on merit.[309]

Corps replaced divisions as the largest army units, mobile artillery was integrated into reserve batteries, the staff system became more fluid and cavalry returned as an important formation in French military doctrine. These methods are now referred to as essential features of Napoleonic warfare.[309] Though he consolidated the practice of modern conscription introduced by the Directory, one of the restored monarchy's first acts was to end it.[310]

His opponents learned from Napoleon's innovations. The increased importance of artillery after 1807 stemmed from his creation of a highly mobile artillery force, the growth in artillery numbers, and changes in artillery practices. As a result of these factors, Napoleon, rather than relying on infantry to wear away the enemy's defences, now could use massed artillery as a spearhead to pound a break in the enemy's line that was then exploited by supporting infantry and cavalry. McConachy rejects the alternative theory that growing reliance on artillery by the French army beginning in 1807 was an outgrowth of the declining quality of the French infantry and, later, France's inferiority in cavalry numbers.[311] Weapons and other kinds of military technology remained static through the Revolutionary and Napoleonic eras, but 18th-century operational mobility underwent change.[312]

Napoleon's biggest influence was in the conduct of warfare. Antoine-Henri Jomini explained Napoleon's methods in a widely used textbook that influenced all European and American armies.[313] Napoleon was regarded by the influential military theorist Carl von Clausewitz as a genius in the operational art of war, and historians rank him as a great military commander.[314] Wellington, when asked who was the greatest general of the day, answered: "In this age, in past ages, in any age, Napoleon".[315]

Under Napoleon, a new emphasis towards the destruction, not just outmaneuvering, of enemy armies emerged. Invasions of enemy territory occurred over broader fronts which made wars costlier and more decisive. The political effect of war increased; defeat for a European power meant more than the loss of isolated enclaves. Near-Carthaginian peaces intertwined whole national efforts, intensifying the Revolutionary phenomenon of total war.[316]

Metric system

The official introduction of the metric system in September 1799 was unpopular in large sections of French society. Napoleon's rule greatly aided adoption of the new standard not only across France but also across the French sphere of influence. Napoleon took a retrograde step in 1812 when he passed legislation to introduce the *mesures usuelles* (traditional units of measurement) for retail trade,[317] a system of measure that resembled the pre-revolutionary units but were based on the kilogram and the metre; for example, the *livre metrique* (metric pound) was 500 g,[318] in contrast to the value of the *livre du roi* (the king's pound), 489.5 g.[319] Other units of measure were rounded in a similar manner prior to the definitive introduction of the metric system across parts of Europe in the middle of the 19th century.[320]

Education

Napoleon's educational reforms laid the foundation of a modern system of education in France and throughout much of Europe.[321] Napoleon synthesized the best academic elements from the *Ancien Régime*, The Enlightenment, and the Revolution, with the aim of establishing a stable, well-educated and prosperous society. He made French the only official language. He left some primary education in the hands of religious orders, but he offered public support to secondary education. Napoleon founded a number of state secondary schools (*lycées*) designed to produce a standardized education that was uniform across France.[322]

Depicted as First Consul on the 1803 20 gold Napoléon gold coin

All students were taught the sciences along with modern and classical languages. Unlike the system during the *Ancien Régime*, religious topics did not dominate the curriculum, although they were present with the teachers from the clergy. Napoleon hoped to use religion to produce social stability.[322] He gave special attention to the advanced centers, such as the École Polytechnique, that provided both military expertise and state-of-the-art research in science.[323] Napoleon made some of the first efforts at establishing a system of secular and public education. The system featured scholarships and strict discipline, with the result being a French educational system that outperformed its European counterparts, many of which borrowed from the French system.[324]

Memory and evaluation

Criticism

In the political realm, historians debate whether Napoleon was "an enlightened despot who laid the foundations of modern Europe" or "a megalomaniac who wrought greater misery than any man before the coming of Hitler".[325] Many historians have concluded that he had grandiose foreign policy ambitions. The Continental powers as late as 1808 were willing to give him nearly all of his gains and titles, but some scholars maintain he was overly aggressive and pushed for too much, until his empire collapsed.[326][327]

The Third of May 1808 by Francisco Goya, showing Spanish resisters being executed by French troops

He was considered a tyrant and usurper by his opponents at the time and ever since. His critics charge that he was not troubled when faced with the prospect of war and death for thousands, turned his search for undisputed rule into a series of conflicts throughout Europe and ignored treaties and conventions alike.[328] His role in the Haitian Revolution and decision to reinstate slavery in France's overseas colonies are controversial and affect his reputation.[329] French liberal intellectual Benjamin Constant (1767–1830) was a staunch critique of political homogenisation and personality cult that dominated Napoleonic France and wrote several books condemning Napoleon such as "*The Spirit of Conquest and Usurpation (https://fr.m.wikisource.org/wiki/De_l%E2%80%99esprit_de_conqu%C3%AAte_et_de_l%E2%80%99usurpation_dans_leur_rapports_avec_la_civilisation_europ%C3%A9enne)*" (1814) and "*Principles of Politics Applicable to All Representative Governments*" (1815). According to Constant, Bonapartism was even more tyrannical than the Bourbon monarchy, since it forced the masses to support its grand universalist narrative through imperialism and jingoism.[330]

A mass grave of soldiers killed at the Battle of Waterloo

Napoleon institutionalized plunder of conquered territories: French museums contain art stolen by Napoleon's forces from across Europe. Artefacts were brought to the Musée du Louvre for a grand central museum; an example which would later be followed by others.[331] He was compared to Adolf Hitler by the historian Pieter Geyl in 1947,[332] and Claude Ribbe in 2005.[333] David G. Chandler, a historian of Napoleonic warfare, wrote in 1973 that, "Nothing could be more degrading to the former [Napoleon] and more flattering to the latter [Hitler]. The comparison is odious. On the whole Napoleon was inspired by a noble dream, wholly dissimilar from Hitler's... Napoleon left great and lasting testimonies to his genius—in codes of law and national identities which survive to the present day. Adolf Hitler left nothing but destruction."[334]

Critics argue Napoleon's true legacy must reflect the loss of status for France and needless deaths brought by his rule: historian Victor Davis Hanson writes, "After all, the military record is unquestioned—17 years of wars, perhaps six million Europeans dead, France bankrupt, her overseas colonies lost."[335] McLynn states that, "He can be viewed as the man who set back European economic life for a generation by the dislocating impact of his wars."[328] Vincent Cronin replies that such criticism relies on the flawed premise that Napoleon was responsible for the wars which bear his name, when in fact France was the victim of a series of coalitions that aimed to destroy the ideals of the Revolution.[336]

British military historian Correlli Barnett calls him "a social misfit" who exploited France for his personal megalomaniac goals. He says Napoleon's reputation is exaggerated.[337] French scholar Jean Tulard provided an influential account of his image as a saviour.[338] Louis Bergeron has praised the numerous changes he made to French society, especially regarding the law as well as education.[339] His greatest failure was the Russian invasion. Many historians have blamed Napoleon's poor planning, but Russian scholars instead emphasize the Russian response, noting the notorious winter weather was just as hard on the defenders.[340]

The large and growing historiography in French, English, Russian, Spanish and other languages has been summarized and evaluated by numerous scholars.[341][342][343]

Propaganda and memory

Napoleon's use of propaganda contributed to his rise to power, legitimated his régime, and established his image for posterity. Strict censorship, controlling various key constituents of the press, books, theatre, and art were part of his propaganda scheme, aimed at portraying him as bringing desperately wanted peace and stability to France. The propagandistic rhetoric changed in relation to events and to the atmosphere of Napoleon's reign, focusing first on his role as a general in the army and identification as a soldier, and moving to his role as emperor and a civil leader. Specifically targeting his civilian audience, Napoleon fostered a relationship with the contemporary art community, taking an active role in commissioning and controlling different forms of art production to suit his propaganda goals.[344]

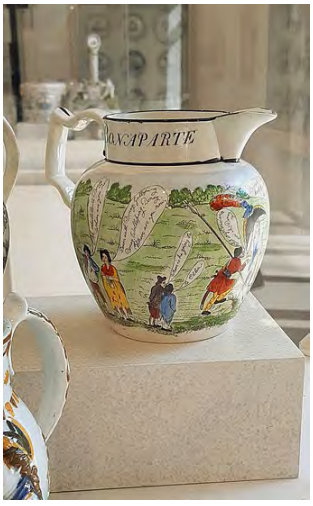
1814 caricature of Napoleon being exiled to Elba: the ex-emperor is riding a donkey backwards while holding a broken sword.

In England, Russia and across Europe—though not in France—Napoleon was a popular topic of caricature.[345][346][347]

Hazareesingh (2004) explores how Napoleon's image and memory are best understood. They played a key role in collective political defiance of the Bourbon restoration monarchy in 1815–1830. People from different walks of life and areas of France, particularly Napoleonic veterans, drew on the Napoleonic legacy and its connections with the ideals of the 1789 Revolution.[348]

Widespread rumours of Napoleon's return from St. Helena and Napoleon as an inspiration for patriotism, individual and collective liberties, and political mobilization manifested themselves in seditious materials, displaying the tricolor and rosettes. There were also subversive activities celebrating anniversaries of Napoleon's life and reign and disrupting royal celebrations—they demonstrated the prevailing and successful goal of the varied supporters of Napoleon to constantly destabilize the Bourbon regime.[348]

Datta (2005) shows that, following the collapse of militaristic Boulangism in the late 1880s, the Napoleonic legend was divorced from party politics and revived in popular culture. Concentrating on two plays and two novels from the period—Victorien Sardou's *Madame Sans-Gêne* (1893), Maurice Barrès's *Les Déracinés* (1897), Edmond Rostand's *L'Aiglon* (1900), and André de Lorde and Gyp's *Napoléonette* (1913)—Datta examines how writers and critics of the *Belle Époque* exploited the Napoleonic legend for diverse political and cultural ends.[349]



Ceramic pitcher of Bonaparte: *Where is he going to. To Elba.* (Musée de la Révolution française).

Reduced to a minor character, the new fictional Napoleon became not a world historical figure but an intimate one, fashioned by individuals' needs and consumed as popular entertainment. In their attempts to represent the emperor as a figure of national unity, proponents and detractors of the Third Republic used the legend as a vehicle for exploring anxieties about gender and fears about the processes of democratization that accompanied this new era of mass politics and culture.[349]

International Napoleonic Congresses take place regularly, with participation by members of the French and American military, French politicians and scholars from different countries.[350] In January 2012, the mayor of Montereau-Fault-Yonne, near Paris—the site of a late victory of Napoleon—proposed development of Napoleon's Bivouac, a commemorative theme park at a projected cost of 200 million euros.[351]

Napoleon Crossing the Alps, romantic version by Jacques-Louis David in 1805

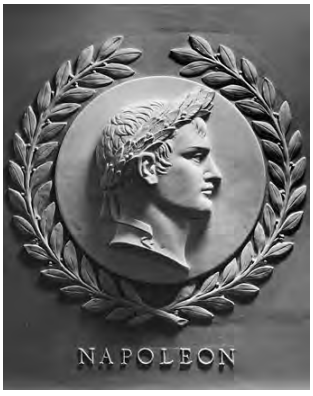
Bonaparte Crossing the Alps, realist version by Paul Delaroche in 1848

Long-term influence outside France

Napoleon was responsible for spreading the values of the French Revolution to other countries, especially in legal reform.[352] After the fall of Napoleon, not only was it was retained by conquered countries including the Netherlands, Belgium, parts of Italy and Germany, but it has been used as the basis of certain parts of law outside Europe including the Dominican Republic, the US state of Louisiana and the Canadian province of Quebec.[353] The code was also used as a model in many parts of Latin America.[354] The reputation of Napoleon in Poland has been favourable, especially for his support of independence, opposition to Russia, his legal code, the abolition of serfdom, and the introduction of modern middle class administration.[355]

Napoleon had an influence on the establishment of modern Germany. He caused the end of the Holy Roman Empire and helped create middle sized states such as Bavaria and Württemberg along the great powers Prussia and Austria. Although he also directly or indirectly helped to reduce the number of German states (from about 300 to fewer than 50), the middle sized states tried to prevent the unification of Germany as a federalist state. A byproduct of the French occupation was a strong development in German nationalism which eventually turned the German Confederation into the German Empire after a series of conflicts and other political developments.

Napoleon indirectly began the process of Latin American independence when he invaded Spain in 1808. The abdication of King Charles IV and renunciation of his son, Ferdinand VII created a power vacuum that was filled by native born political leaders such as Simón Bolívar and José de San Martín. Such leaders embraced nationalistic sentiments influenced by French nationalism and led successful independence movements in Latin America.[356]



Bas-relief of Napoleon in the chamber of the United States House of Representatives

Napoleon also significantly aided the United States when he agreed to sell the territory of Louisiana for 15 million dollars during the presidency of Thomas Jefferson. That territory almost doubled the size of the United States, adding the equivalent of 13 states to the Union.[299]

From 1796 to 2020, at least 95 major ships were named for him. In the 21st century, at least 18 Napoleon ships are operated under the flag of France, as well as Indonesia, Germany, Italy, Australia, Argentina, India, Netherlands, and the United Kingdom.[357]

Wives, mistresses, and children

Napoleon married Joséphine (*née* Marie Josèphe Rose Tascher de La Pagerie) in 1796, when he was 26; she was a 32-year-old widow whose first husband, Alexandre de Beauharnais, had been executed during the Reign of Terror. Five days after Alexandre de Beauharnais' death, the Reign of Terror initiator Maximilien de Robespierre was overthrown and executed, and, with the help of high-placed friends, Joséphine was freed.[358] Until she met Bonaparte, she had been known as "Rose", a name which he disliked. He called her "Joséphine" instead, and she went by this name henceforth. Bonaparte often sent her love letters while on his campaigns.[359] He formally adopted her son Eugène and second cousin (via marriage) Stéphanie and arranged dynastic marriages for them. Joséphine had her daughter Hortense marry Napoleon's brother Louis.[360]

Joséphine, first wife of Napoleon, obtained the civil dissolution of her marriage under the Napoleonic Code, painting by Henri Frédéric Schopin, 1843

Joséphine had lovers, such as Lieutenant Hippolyte Charles, during Napoleon's Italian campaign.[361] Napoleon learnt of that affair and a letter he wrote about it was intercepted by the British and published widely, to embarrass Napoleon. Napoleon had his own affairs too: during the Egyptian campaign he took Pauline Bellisle Fourès, the wife of a junior officer, as his mistress. She became known as "Cleopatra".[i][363]

Marriage of Napoleon and Marie-Louise by Georges Rouget, 1843

While Napoleon's mistresses had children by him, Joséphine did not produce an heir, possibly because of either the stresses of her imprisonment during the Reign of Terror or an abortion she may have had in her twenties.[364] Napoleon chose divorce so he could remarry in search of an heir. Despite his divorce from Josephine, Napoleon showed his dedication to her for the rest of his life. When he heard the news of her death while in exile in Elba, he locked himself in his room and would not come out for two full days.[209] Her name would also be his final word on his deathbed in 1821.

On 11 March 1810 by proxy, he married the 19-year-old Marie Louise, Archduchess of Austria, and a great-niece of Marie Antoinette. Thus he had married into a German royal and imperial family.[365] Louise was less than happy with the arrangement, at least at first, stating: "Just to see the man would be the worst form of torture". Her great-aunt had been executed in France, while Napoleon had fought numerous campaigns against Austria all throughout his military career. However, she seemed to warm up to him over time. After her wedding, she wrote to her father: "He loves me very much. I respond to his love sincerely. There is something very fetching and very eager about him that is impossible to resist".[209]

Napoleon and Marie Louise remained married until his death, though she did not join him in exile on Elba and thereafter never saw her husband again. The couple had one child, Napoleon Francis Joseph Charles (1811–1832), known from birth as the King of Rome. He became Napoleon II in 1814 and reigned for only two weeks. He was awarded the title of the Duke of Reichstadt in 1818 and died of tuberculosis aged 21, with no children.[365]

Napoleon acknowledged one illegitimate son: Charles Léon (1806–1881) by Eléonore Denuelle de La Plaigne.[366] Alexandre Colonna-Walewski (1810–1868), the son of his mistress Maria Walewska, although acknowledged by Walewska's husband, was also widely known to be his child, and the DNA of his direct male descendant has been used to help confirm Napoleon's Y-chromosome haplotype.[367] He may have had further unacknowledged illegitimate offspring as well, such as Eugen Megerle von Mühlfeld by Emilie Victoria Kraus von Wolfsberg[368] and Hélène Napoleone Bonaparte (1816–1907) by Albine de Montholon.

Notes

a. English: /nəˈpoʊliən ˈboʊnəpɑːrt/,[2] French: *Napoléon Bonaparte* [napɔleɔ̃ bɔnapaʁt]; Corsican: *Napulione Buonaparte*.

b. He established a system of public education,[8] abolished the vestiges of feudalism,[9] emancipated Jews and other religious minorities,[10] abolished the Spanish Inquisition,[11] enacted legal protections for an emerging middle class,[12] and centralized state power at the expense of religious authorities.[13]

c. Although the 1768 Treaty of Versailles formally ceded Corsica's rights, it remained un-incorporated during 1769[18] until it became a province of France in 1770.[19] Corsica would be legally integrated as a département in 1789.[20][21]

d. Aside from his name, there does not appear to be a connection between him and Napoleon's theorem.[35]

e. He was mainly referred to as Bonaparte until he became First Consul for life.[40]

f. This is depicted in *Bonaparte Crossing the Alps* by Hippolyte Delaroche and in Jacques-Louis David's imperial *Napoleon Crossing the Alps*. He is less realistically portrayed on a charger in the latter work.[98]

g. It was customary to cast a death mask of a leader. At least four genuine death masks of Napoleon are known to exist: one in The Cabildo in New Orleans, one in a Liverpool museum, another in Havana and one in the library of the University of North Carolina.[237]

h. The body can tolerate large doses of arsenic if ingested regularly, and arsenic was a fashionable cure-all.[244]

i. One night, during an illicit liaison with the actress Marguerite George, Napoleon had a major fit. This and other more minor attacks have led historians to debate whether he had epilepsy and, if so, to what extent.[362]

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External links

- The Napoleonic Guide (http://www.napoleonguide.com/index.htm)
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- Works by Napoleon (https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/author/4267) at Project Gutenberg
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George VI

George VI (Albert Frederick Arthur George; 14 December 1895 – 6 February 1952) was King of the United Kingdom and the Dominions of the British Commonwealth from 11 December 1936 until his death in 1952. He was concurrently the last Emperor of India until August 1947, when the British Raj was dissolved.

The future George VI was born in the reign of his great-grandmother Queen Victoria; he was named Albert at birth after his great-grandfather Albert, Prince Consort, and was known as "Bertie" to his family and close friends. His father ascended the throne as King George V in 1910. As the second son of the king, Albert was not expected to inherit the throne. He spent his early life in the shadow of his elder brother, Prince Edward, the heir apparent. Albert attended naval college as a teenager and served in the Royal Navy and Royal Air Force during the First World War. In 1920, he was made Duke of York. He married Lady Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon in 1923, and they had two daughters, Elizabeth and Margaret. In the mid-1920s, he engaged speech therapist Lionel Logue to treat his stammer, which he learned to manage to some degree. His elder brother ascended the throne as Edward VIII after their father died in 1936, but Edward abdicated later that year to marry the twice-divorced American socialite Wallis Simpson; Albert thereby became the third monarch of the House of Windsor, taking the regnal name George VI.

In September 1939, the British Empire and most Commonwealth countries—but not Ireland—declared war on Nazi Germany. War with the Kingdom of Italy and the Empire of Japan followed in 1940 and 1941, respectively. George VI was seen as sharing the hardships of the common people and his popularity soared. Buckingham Palace was bombed during the Blitz while the King and Queen were there, and his younger brother the Duke of Kent was killed on active service. George became known as a symbol of British determination to win the war. Britain and its allies were victorious in 1945, but the British Empire declined. Ireland had largely broken away, followed by the independence of India and Pakistan in 1947. George relinquished the title of Emperor of India in June 1948 and instead adopted the new title of Head of the Commonwealth. He was beset by smoking-related health problems in the later years of his reign and died of a coronary thrombosis in 1952. He was succeeded by his elder daughter, Elizabeth II.

George VI

Head of the Commonwealth[a]

Formal photograph, c. 1940–1946

King of the United Kingdom and the British Dominions (more...)	
Reign	11 December 1936 – 6 February 1952
Coronation	12 May 1937
Predecessor	Edward VIII
Successor	Elizabeth II
Emperor of India	
Reign	11 December 1936 – 15 August 1947
Predecessor	Edward VIII
Successor	*Position abolished*[b]
Born	Prince Albert of York 14 December 1895 York Cottage, Sandringham, Norfolk, England
Died	6 February 1952 (aged 56) Sandringham House, Norfolk
Burial	15 February 1952 Royal Vault, St George's Chapel; 26 March 1969 King George VI

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	Memorial Chapel, St George's Chapel
Spouse	Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon (m. 1923)
Issue *Detail*	Elizabeth II Princess Margaret, Countess of Snowdon
Names	
Albert Frederick Arthur George	
House	Windsor (from 1917) Saxe-Coburg and Gotha (until 1917)
Father	George V
Mother	Mary of Teck
Signature	
Military career	
Service/ branch	Royal Navy Royal Air Force
Years of active service	1913–1919
Battles/wars	World War I └ Battle of Jutland

Early life

Four kings: Edward VII (far right); his son George, Prince of Wales, later George V (far left); and grandsons Edward, later Edward VIII (rear); and Albert, later George VI (foreground), c. 1908

The future George VI was born at York Cottage, on the Sandringham Estate in Norfolk, during the reign of his great-grandmother Queen Victoria.[1] His father was Prince George, Duke of York (later King George V), the second and eldest surviving son of the Prince and Princess of Wales (later King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra). His mother, the Duchess of York (later Queen Mary), was the eldest child and only daughter of Francis, Duke of Teck, and Mary Adelaide, Duchess of Teck.[2] His birthday, 14 December 1895, was the 34th anniversary of the death of his great-grandfather Albert, Prince Consort.[3] Uncertain of how the Prince Consort's widow, Queen Victoria, would take the news of the birth, the Prince of Wales wrote to the Duke of York that the Queen had been "rather distressed". Two days later, he wrote again: "I really think it would gratify her if you yourself proposed the name *Albert* to her."[4]

The Queen was mollified by the proposal to name the new baby Albert, and wrote to the Duchess of York: "I am all impatience to see the *new* one, born on such a sad day but rather more dear to me, especially as he will be called by that dear name which is a byword for all that is great and good."[5] Consequently, he was baptised "Albert Frederick Arthur George" at St Mary Magdalene Church, Sandringham on 17 February 1896.[c] Formally he was His Highness Prince Albert of York; within the family he was known informally as "Bertie".[7] The Duchess of Teck did not like the first name her grandson had been given, and she wrote prophetically that she hoped the last name "may supplant the less favoured one".[8] Albert was fourth in line to the throne at birth, after his grandfather, father and elder brother, Edward.

Albert was ill often and was described as "easily frightened and somewhat prone to tears".[9] His parents were generally removed from their children's day-to-day upbringing, as was the norm in aristocratic families of that era. He had a stammer that lasted for many years. Although naturally left-handed, he was forced to write with his right hand, as was common practice at the time.[10] He had chronic stomach problems as well as knock knees, for which he was forced to wear painful corrective splints.[11]

Queen Victoria died on 22 January 1901, and the Prince of Wales succeeded her as King Edward VII. Prince Albert moved up to third in line to the throne, after his father and elder brother.

Military career and education

Beginning in 1909, Albert attended the Royal Naval College, Osborne, as a naval cadet. In 1911 he came bottom of the class in the final examination, but despite this he progressed to the Royal Naval College, Dartmouth.[12] When his grandfather, Edward VII, died in 1910, his father became King George V. Edward became Prince of Wales, with Albert second in line to the throne.[13]

Albert at an RAF dinner in 1919

Albert spent the first six months of 1913 on the training ship HMS *Cumberland* in the West Indies and on the east coast of Canada.[14] He was rated as a midshipman aboard HMS *Collingwood* on 15 September 1913. He spent three months in the Mediterranean, but never overcame his seasickness.[15] Three weeks after the outbreak of World War I he was medically evacuated from the ship to Aberdeen, where his appendix was removed by Sir John Marnoch.[16] He was mentioned in despatches for his actions as a turret officer aboard *Collingwood* in the Battle of Jutland (31 May – 1 June 1916), the great naval battle of the war. He did not see further combat, largely because of ill health caused by a duodenal ulcer, for which he had an operation in November 1917.[17]

In February 1918 Albert was appointed Officer in Charge of Boys at the Royal Naval Air Service's training establishment at Cranwell. With the establishment of the Royal Air Force Albert transferred from the Royal Navy to the Royal Air Force.[18] He served as Officer Commanding Number 4 Squadron of the Boys' Wing at Cranwell until August 1918,[19] before reporting to the RAF's Cadet School at St Leonards-on-Sea. He completed a fortnight's training and took command of a squadron on the Cadet Wing.[20] He was the first member of the British royal family to be certified as a fully qualified pilot.[21]

Albert wanted to serve on the Continent while the war was still in progress and welcomed a posting to General Trenchard's staff in France. On 23 October, he flew across the Channel to Autigny.[22] For the closing weeks of the war, he served on the staff of the RAF's Independent Air Force at its headquarters in Nancy, France.[23] Following the disbanding of the Independent Air Force in November 1918, he remained on the Continent for two months as an RAF staff officer until posted back to Britain.[24] He accompanied Belgian King Albert I on his triumphal re-entry into Brussels on 22 November. Prince Albert qualified as an RAF pilot on 31 July 1919 and was promoted to squadron leader the following day.[25]

In October 1919, Albert went up to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he studied history, economics and civics for a year,[26] with the historian R. V. Laurence as his "official mentor".[27] On 4 June 1920 his father created him Duke of York, Earl of Inverness and Baron Killarney.[28] He began to take on more royal duties. He represented his father, and toured coal mines, factories, and railyards. Through such visits he acquired the nickname of the "Industrial Prince".[29] His stammer, and his embarrassment over it, together with a tendency to shyness, caused him to appear less confident in public than his older brother, Edward. However, he was physically active and enjoyed playing tennis. He played at Wimbledon in the Men's Doubles with Louis Greig in 1926, losing in the first round.[30] He developed an interest in working conditions, and was president of the Industrial Welfare Society. His series of annual summer camps for boys between 1921 and 1939 brought together boys from different social backgrounds.[31]

Marriage

In a time when royalty were expected to marry fellow royalty, it was unusual that Albert had a great deal of freedom in choosing a prospective wife. An infatuation with the already-married Australian socialite Lady Loughborough came to an end in April 1920 when the King, with the promise of the dukedom of York, persuaded Albert to stop seeing her.[32][33] That year, he met for the first time since childhood Lady Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon, the youngest daughter of Claude Bowes-Lyon, 14th Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorne. He became determined to marry her.[34] Elizabeth rejected his proposal twice, in 1921 and 1922, reportedly because she was reluctant to make the sacrifices necessary to become a member of the royal family.[35] In the words of her mother Cecilia Bowes-Lyon, Countess of Strathmore and Kinghorne, Albert would be "made or marred" by his choice of wife. After a protracted courtship, Elizabeth agreed to marry him.[36]

The Duke and Duchess of York (centre, reading programmes) at Eagle Farm Racecourse, Brisbane, 1927

Albert and Elizabeth were married on 26 April 1923 in Westminster Abbey. Albert's marriage to someone not of royal birth was considered a modernising gesture.[37] The newly formed British Broadcasting Company wished to record and broadcast the event on radio, but the Abbey Chapter vetoed the idea (although the Dean, Herbert Edward Ryle, was in favour).[38]

On the cover of *Time*, January 1925

From December 1924 to April 1925, the Duke and Duchess toured Kenya, Uganda, and the Sudan, travelling via the Suez Canal and Aden. During the trip, they both went big-game hunting.[39]

Because of his stammer, Albert dreaded public speaking.[40] After his closing speech at the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley on 31 October 1925, one which was an ordeal for both him and his listeners,[41] he began to see Lionel Logue, an Australian-born speech therapist. The Duke and Logue practised breathing exercises, and the Duchess rehearsed with him patiently.[42] Subsequently, he was able to speak with less hesitation.[43] With his delivery improved, the Duke opened the new Parliament House in Canberra, Australia, during a tour of the empire with the Duchess in 1927.[44] Their journey by sea to Australia, New Zealand and Fiji took them via Jamaica, where Albert played doubles tennis partnered with a black man, Bertrand Clark, which was unusual at the time and taken locally as a display of equality between races.[45]

The Duke and Duchess had two children: Elizabeth (called "Lilibet" by the family) who was born in 1926, and Margaret who was born in 1930. The close and loving family lived at 145 Piccadilly, rather than one of the royal palaces.[46] In 1931, the Canadian prime minister, R. B. Bennett, considered the Duke for Governor General of Canada—a proposal that King George V rejected on the advice of the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, J. H. Thomas.[47]

Reluctant king

King George V had severe reservations about Prince Edward, saying "After I am dead, the boy will ruin himself in twelve months" and "I pray God that my eldest son will never marry and that nothing will come between Bertie and Lilibet and the throne."[48] On 20 January 1936, George V died and Edward ascended the throne as King Edward VIII. In the Vigil of the Princes, Prince Albert and his three brothers (the new king, Prince Henry, Duke of Gloucester, and Prince George, Duke of Kent) took a shift standing guard over their father's body as it lay in state, in a closed casket, in Westminster Hall.

As Edward was unmarried and had no children, Albert was the heir presumptive to the throne. Less than a year later, on 11 December 1936, Edward abdicated in order to marry Wallis Simpson, who was divorced from her first husband and divorcing her second. Edward had been advised by British prime minister Stanley Baldwin that he could not remain king and marry a divorced woman with two living ex-husbands. He abdicated and Albert, though he had been reluctant to accept the throne, became king.[49] The day before the abdication, Albert went to London to see his mother, Queen Mary. He wrote in his diary, "When I told her what had happened, I broke down and sobbed like a child."[50]

On the day of Edward's abdication, the Oireachtas, the parliament of the Irish Free State, removed all direct mention of the monarch from the Irish constitution. The next day, it passed the External Relations Act, which gave the monarch limited authority (strictly on the advice of the government) to appoint diplomatic representatives for Ireland and to be involved in the making of foreign treaties. The two acts made the Irish Free State a republic in essence without removing its links to the Commonwealth.[51]

Across Britain, gossip spread that Albert was physically and psychologically incapable of being king. No evidence has been found to support the contemporaneous rumour that the government considered bypassing him, his children and his brother Henry, in favour of their younger brother George, Duke of Kent.[52] This seems to have been suggested on the grounds that George was at that time the only brother with a son.[53]

Early reign

Albert assumed the regnal name "George VI" to emphasise continuity with his father and restore confidence in the monarchy.[54] The beginning of George VI's reign was taken up by questions surrounding his predecessor and brother, whose titles, style and position were uncertain. He had been introduced as "His Royal Highness Prince Edward" for the abdication broadcast,[55] but George VI felt that by abdicating and renouncing the succession, Edward had lost the right to bear royal titles, including "Royal Highness".[56] In settling the issue, George's first act as king was to confer upon his brother the title "Duke of Windsor" with the style "Royal Highness", but the letters patent creating the dukedom prevented any wife or children from bearing royal styles. George VI was forced to buy from Edward the royal residences of Balmoral Castle and Sandringham House, as these were private properties and did not pass to him automatically.[57] Three days after his accession, on his 41st birthday, he invested his wife, the new queen consort, with the Order of the Garter.[58]

Darlington Town Hall decorated for the coronation, 1937

Crown coin with George in profile, 1937

George VI's coronation at Westminster Abbey took place on 12 May 1937, the date previously intended for Edward's coronation. In a break with tradition, his mother Queen Mary attended the ceremony in a show of support for her son.[59] There was no Durbar held in Delhi for George VI, as had occurred for his father, as the cost would have been a burden to the Government of India.[60] Rising Indian nationalism made the welcome that the royal party would have received likely to be muted at best,[61] and a prolonged absence from Britain would have been undesirable in the tense period before the Second World War. Two overseas tours were undertaken, to France and to North America, both of which promised greater strategic advantages in the event of war.[62]

Cover of the 7 May 1937 edition of *Radio Times*, drawn by Christopher R. W. Nevinson, marking the first coronation to be broadcast, and partially televised, live

The growing likelihood of war in Europe dominated the early reign of George VI. The King was constitutionally bound to support Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's appeasement of Hitler.[11][63] When the King and Queen greeted Chamberlain on his return from negotiating the Munich Agreement in 1938, they invited him to appear on the balcony of Buckingham Palace with them. This public association of the monarchy with a politician was exceptional, as balcony appearances were traditionally restricted to the royal family.[11] While broadly popular among the general public, Chamberlain's policy towards Hitler was the subject of some opposition in the House of Commons, which led historian John Grigg to describe the King's behaviour in associating himself so prominently with a politician as "the most unconstitutional act by a British sovereign in the present century".[64]

In May and June 1939, the King and Queen toured Canada and the United States; it was the first visit of a reigning British monarch to North America, although he had been to Canada prior to his accession. From Ottawa, they were accompanied by the Canadian prime minister, William Lyon Mackenzie King,[65] to present themselves in North America as King and Queen of Canada.[66][67] Both Governor General of Canada Lord Tweedsmuir and Mackenzie King hoped that the King's presence in Canada would demonstrate the principles of the Statute of Westminster 1931, which gave full sovereignty to the British Dominions. On 19 May, George VI personally accepted and approved the Letter of Credence of the new U.S. Ambassador to Canada, Daniel Calhoun Roper; gave Royal Assent to nine parliamentary bills; and ratified two international treaties with the Great Seal of Canada. The official royal tour historian, Gustave Lanctot, wrote "the Statute of Westminster had assumed full reality" and George gave a speech emphasising "the free and equal association of the nations of the Commonwealth".[68]

Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt with King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, on the USS *Potomac*, 9 June 1939

The trip was intended to soften the strong isolationist tendencies among the North American public with regard to the developing tensions in Europe. Although the aim of the tour was mainly political, to shore up Atlantic support for the United Kingdom in any future war, the King and Queen were enthusiastically received by the public.[69] The fear that George would be compared unfavourably to his predecessor was dispelled.[70] They visited the 1939 New York World's Fair and stayed with President Franklin D. Roosevelt at the White House and

at his private estate at Hyde Park, New York.[71] A strong bond of friendship was forged between the King and Queen and the President during the tour, which had major significance in the relations between the United States and the United Kingdom through the ensuing war years.[72][73]

Second World War

Following the German invasion of Poland in September 1939, the United Kingdom and the self-governing Dominions other than Ireland declared war on Nazi Germany.[74] George VI and his wife resolved to stay in London, despite German bombing raids. They officially stayed in Buckingham Palace throughout the war, although they usually spent nights at Windsor Castle.[75] The first night of the Blitz on London, on 7 September 1940, killed about one thousand civilians, mostly in the East End.[76] On 13 September, the King and Queen narrowly avoided death when two German bombs exploded in a courtyard at Buckingham Palace while they were there.[77] In defiance, the Queen declared: "I am glad we have been bombed. It makes me feel we can look the East End in the face."[78] The royal family were portrayed as sharing the same dangers and deprivations as the rest of the country. They were subject to British rationing restrictions, and U.S. First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt remarked on the rationed food served and the limited bathwater that was permitted during a stay at the unheated and boarded-up Palace.[79] In August 1942, the King's brother, the Duke of Kent, was killed on active service.[80]

George VI (left) with Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery (right), near the front lines in the Netherlands, October 1944

In 1940, Winston Churchill replaced Neville Chamberlain as prime minister, though personally George would have preferred to appoint Lord Halifax.[81] After the King's initial dismay over Churchill's appointment of Lord Beaverbrook to the Cabinet, he and Churchill developed "the closest personal relationship in modern British history between a monarch and a Prime Minister".[82] Every Tuesday for four and a half years from September 1940, the two men met privately for lunch to discuss the war in secret and with frankness.[83] The King related much of what the two discussed in his diary, which is the only extant first-hand account of these conversations.[84]

Throughout the war, the King and Queen provided morale-boosting visits throughout the United Kingdom, visiting bomb sites, munitions factories, and troops. The King visited military forces abroad in France in December 1939, North Africa and Malta in June 1943, Normandy in June 1944, southern Italy in July 1944, and the Low Countries in October 1944.[85] Their high public profile and apparently indefatigable determination secured their place as symbols of national resistance.[86] At a social function in 1944, the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, Field Marshal Alan Brooke, revealed that every time he met Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery, he thought Montgomery was after his job. The King replied: "You should worry, when I meet him, I always think he's after mine!"[87]

In 1945, crowds shouted "We want the King!" in front of Buckingham Palace during the Victory in Europe Day celebrations. In an echo of Chamberlain's appearance, the King invited Churchill to appear with the royal family on the balcony to public acclaim.[88] In January 1946, George addressed the United Nations at its first assembly, which was held in London, and reaffirmed "our faith in the equal rights of men and women and of nations great and small".[89]

Empire to Commonwealth

George VI's reign saw the acceleration of the dissolution of the British Empire. The Statute of Westminster 1931 had already acknowledged the evolution of the Dominions into separate sovereign states. The process of transformation from an empire to a voluntary association of independent states, known as the Commonwealth, gathered pace after the Second World War.[90] During the ministry of Clement Attlee, British India became the two independent Dominions of India and Pakistan in August 1947.[91] George relinquished the title of Emperor of India,[92] and became King of India and King of Pakistan instead. In late April 1949, the Commonwealth leaders issued the London Declaration, which laid the foundation of the modern Commonwealth and recognised the King as Head of the Commonwealth.[93][94][95] In January 1950, he ceased to be King of India when it became a republic, and remained

King of Pakistan until his death. Other countries left the Commonwealth, such as Burma in January 1948, Palestine (divided between Israel and the Arab states) in May 1948 and the Republic of Ireland in 1949.[96]

King George VI and British prime minister Clement Attlee (left) at Buckingham Palace, July 1945

In 1947, the King and his family toured southern Africa.[97] The prime minister of the Union of South Africa, Jan Smuts, was facing an election and hoped to make political capital out of the visit.[98] George was appalled, however, when instructed by the South African government to shake hands only with whites,[99] and referred to his South African bodyguards as "the Gestapo".[100] Despite the tour, Smuts lost the election the following year, and the new government instituted a strict policy of racial segregation.

Illness and death

The stress of the war had taken its toll on the King's health,[101][102] made worse by his heavy smoking[103] and subsequent development of lung cancer among other ailments, including arteriosclerosis and Buerger's disease. A planned tour of Australia and New Zealand was postponed after the King suffered an arterial blockage in his right leg, which threatened the loss of the leg and was treated with a right lumbar sympathectomy in March 1949.[104] His elder daughter Elizabeth, the heir presumptive, took on more royal duties as her father's health deteriorated. The delayed tour was re-organised, with Elizabeth and her husband, Philip, Duke of Edinburgh, taking the place of the King and Queen.

The King was well enough to open the Festival of Britain in May 1951, but on 4 June it was announced that he would need immediate and complete rest for the next four weeks, despite the arrival of Haakon VII of Norway the following afternoon for an official visit.[105] On 23 September 1951, he underwent a surgical operation where his entire left lung was removed by Clement Price Thomas after a malignant tumour was found.[106] In October 1951, Elizabeth and Philip went on a month-long tour of Canada; the trip had been delayed for a week due to the King's illness. At the State Opening of Parliament in November, the King's speech from the throne was read for him by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Simonds.[107] His Christmas broadcast of 1951 was recorded in sections, and then edited together.[108]

On 31 January 1952, despite advice from those close to him, the King went to London Airport[d] to see Elizabeth and Philip off on their tour to Australia via Kenya. It was his last public appearance. Six days later, at 07:30 GMT on the morning of 6 February, he was found dead in bed at Sandringham House in Norfolk.[110] He had died in the night from a coronary thrombosis at the age of 56.[111] His daughter flew back to Britain from Kenya as Queen Elizabeth II.[112]

From 9 February for two days George VI's coffin rested in St Mary Magdalene Church, Sandringham, before lying in state at Westminster Hall from 11 February.[113] His funeral took place at St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, on the 15th.[114] He was interred initially in the Royal Vault until he was transferred to the King George VI Memorial Chapel inside St George's on 26 March 1969.[115] In 2002, fifty years after his death, the remains of his widow, Queen Elizabeth The Queen Mother, and the ashes of his younger daughter Princess Margaret, who both died that year, were interred in the chapel alongside him.[116]

Legacy

In the words of Labour Member of Parliament (MP) George Hardie, the abdication crisis of 1936 did "more for republicanism than fifty years of propaganda".[117] George VI wrote to his brother Edward that in the aftermath of the abdication he had reluctantly assumed "a rocking throne" and tried "to make it steady again".[118] He became king at a point when public faith in the monarchy was at a low ebb. During his reign, his people endured the hardships of war, and imperial power was eroded. However, as a dutiful family man and by showing personal courage, he succeeded in restoring the popularity of the monarchy.[119][120]

The George Cross and the George Medal were founded at the King's suggestion during the Second World War to recognise acts of exceptional civilian bravery.[121] He bestowed the George Cross on the entire "island fortress of Malta" in 1943.[122] He was posthumously awarded the Ordre de la Libération by the French government in 1960, one

Statue of George VI at the King George VI and Queen Elizabeth Memorial in Carlton Gardens, London

of only two people (the other being Churchill in 1958) to be awarded the medal after 1946.[123]

Colin Firth won an Academy Award for Best Actor for his performance as George VI in *The King's Speech*, a 2010 film that won the Academy Award for Best Picture.

Titles, styles, honours and arms

Titles and styles

Royal cypher (monogram), 1949

George held a number of titles throughout his life, as successively great-grandson, grandson and son of the monarch.

- 14 December 1895 – 28 May 1898: *His Highness* Prince Albert of York
- 28 May 1898 – 22 January 1901: *His Royal Highness* Prince Albert of York
- 22 January 1901 – 9 November 1901: *His Royal Highness* Prince Albert of Cornwall and York
- 9 November 1901 – 6 May 1910: *His Royal Highness* Prince Albert of Wales
- 6 May 1910 – 4 June 1920: *His Royal Highness* The Prince Albert
- 4 June 1920 – 11 December 1936: *His Royal Highness* The Duke of York
- 11 December 1936 – 6 February 1952: *His Majesty* The King

Arms

As Duke of York, Albert bore the royal arms of the United Kingdom differenced with a label of three points argent, the centre point bearing an anchor azure—a difference earlier awarded to his father, George V, when he was Duke of York, and then later awarded to his grandson Prince Andrew, Duke of York. As king, he bore the royal arms undifferenced.[124]

Coat of arms as Duke of York

Coat of arms as King of the United Kingdom

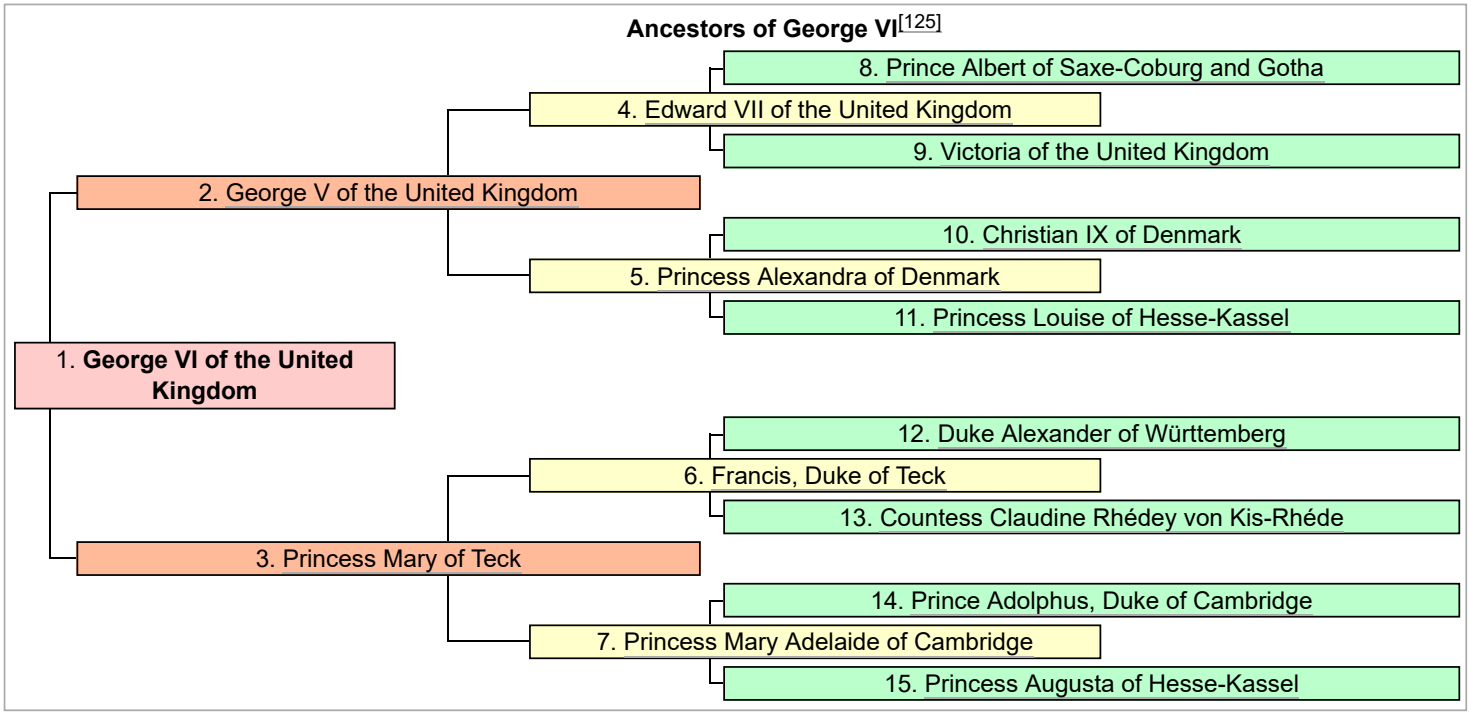
Coat of arms in Scotland

Coat of arms in Canada

Issue

Name	Birth	Death	Marriage		Children
			Date	Spouse	
Elizabeth II	21 April 1926	N/A	20 November 1947	Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh	Charles, Prince of Wales Anne, Princess Royal Prince Andrew, Duke of York Prince Edward, Earl of Wessex
Princess Margaret	21 August 1930	9 February 2002	6 May 1960 Divorced 11 July 1978	Antony Armstrong-Jones, 1st Earl of Snowdon	David Armstrong-Jones, 2nd Earl of Snowdon Lady Sarah Chatto

Ancestry



Explanatory notes

a. From April 1949 until his death in 1952.

b. George VI continued as titular Emperor of India until 22 June 1948.

c. His godparents were: Queen Victoria (his great-grandmother, for whom his grandmother the Princess of Wales stood proxy); the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg (his maternal great-aunt and great-uncle, for whom his grandfather the Duke of Teck and his paternal aunt Princess Maud of Wales stood proxy); Empress Frederick (his paternal great-aunt, for whom his paternal aunt Princess Victoria of Wales stood proxy); the Crown Prince of Denmark (his great-uncle, for whom his grandfather the Prince of Wales stood proxy); the Duke of Connaught (his great-uncle); the Duchess of Fife (his paternal aunt); and Prince Adolphus of Teck (his maternal uncle).[6]

d. Renamed Heathrow Airport in 1966.[109]

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External links

- Footage of King George VI stammering in a 1938 speech (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p1TubkzxPFY) on YouTube
- Soundtrack of King George VI Coronation speech in 1937 (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m-vlrXBqGw8) on YouTube
- Portraits of King George VI (https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person.php?LinkID=mp01753) at the National Portrait Gallery, London
- Newspaper clippings about George VI (http://purl.org/pressemappe20/folder/pe/005986) in the 20th Century Press Archives of the ZBW

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WIKIPEDIA

Coordinates: 35°54′N 14°31′E

Malta

Malta (/ˈmɒltə/ (listen) *MOL-tə*, UK also /ˈmɔːltə/ *MAWL-tə*,[13] Maltese: [ˈmɐltɐ]), officially known as the **Republic of Malta** (Maltese: *Repubblika ta' Malta* [rɛˈpʊbːlɪkɐ tɐ ˈmɐltɐ]), is an island country in the European Union consisting of an archipelago in the Mediterranean Sea, and considered part of Southern Europe.[14] It lies 80 km (50 mi) south of Sicily (Italy), 284 km (176 mi) east of Tunisia,[15] and 333 km (207 mi) north of Libya.[16] The official languages are Maltese and English, and 66% of the current Maltese population is at least conversational in the Italian language.

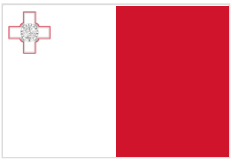
Malta has been inhabited since approximately 5900 BC.[17] Its location in the centre of the Mediterranean[18] has historically given it great strategic importance as a naval base, with a succession of powers having contested and ruled the islands, including the Phoenicians and Carthaginians, Romans, Greeks, Arabs, Normans, Aragonese, Knights of St. John, French, and British, amongst others.[19] Most of these foreign influences have left some sort of mark on the country's ancient culture.

With a population of about 516,000[6] over an area of 316 km² (122 sq mi),[5] Malta is the world's tenth-smallest country in area[20][21] and fourth most densely populated sovereign country. Its capital is Valletta, which is the smallest national capital in the European Union by area and population. According to the data from 2020 by Eurostat, the Functional Urban Area and metropolitan region covered the whole island and has a population of 480,134,[22][23] and according to the United Nations, ESPON and EU Commission, "*the whole territory of Malta constitutes a single urban region*".[24][25] Malta increasingly is referred to as a city-state,[26][27][28] and also listed in rankings concerning cities[29] or metropolitan areas.[30] Malta is one of the two island countries in the Mediterranean, along with Cyprus.

Malta became a British colony in 1813, serving as a way station for ships and the headquarters for the British Mediterranean Fleet. It was besieged by the Axis powers during World War II and was an important Allied base for operations in North Africa and the Mediterranean.[31][32] The British parliament passed the Malta Independence Act in 1964, giving Malta independence from the United Kingdom as the State of Malta, with Elizabeth II as its queen.[33] The country became a republic in 1974. It has been a member state of the Commonwealth of Nations and the United Nations since independence, and joined the European Union in 2004; it became part of the eurozone monetary union in 2008.

Malta has had Christians since the time of Early Christianity, though was predominantly Muslim while under Arab rule, at which time Christians were tolerated. Muslim rule ended with the Norman invasion of Malta by Roger I in 1091. Today, Catholicism is the state religion, but the Constitution of Malta guarantees freedom of conscience and religious worship.[34][35] The economy of Malta is heavily reliant on

Republic of Malta
Repubblika ta' Malta (Maltese)

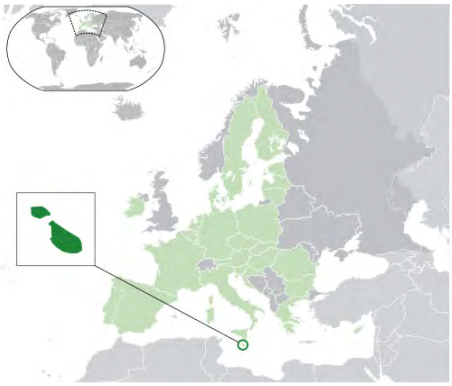

Flag

Coat of arms

Motto: *Virtute et constantia* (Latin)
"With strength and consistency"

Anthem: *L-Innu Malti* (Maltese)
"The Maltese Hymn"

0:49


Location of Malta (green circle) – in Europe (light green & dark grey) – in the European Union (light green) – [Legend]

Capital	Valletta 35°54′N 14°31′E
Largest Town	St. Paul's Bay[1]
Official languages	Maltese[d] · English
Other language	Italian (66% conversational)[2]
Ethnic groups (2021[3])	80.0% Maltese 20.0% Non-Maltese[b]
Religion (2019)[4]	90% Christianity —83% Roman Catholic (Official)

tourism, and the country promotes itself as a Mediterranean tourist destination with its warmer climate compared to the rest of Europe, numerous recreational areas, and architectural and historical monuments, including three UNESCO World Heritage Sites: Ħal Saflieni Hypogeum,[36] Valletta,[37] and seven megalithic temples which are some of the oldest free-standing structures in the world.[38][39][40]

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	—7% Other Christian 5% No religion 2% Islam 3% Others
Demonym(s)	Maltese
Government	Unitary parliamentary republic
• President • Prime Minister	George Vella Robert Abela
Legislature	Parliament of Malta
Independence from the United Kingdom	
• State of Malta	21 September 1964
• Republic	13 December 1974
Area	
• Total	316[5] km^2 (122 sq mi) (186th)
• Water (%)	0.001
Population	
• 2021 estimate	516,100[6] (173rd)
• 2011 census	417,432[7]
• Density	1,633/km^2 (4,229.5/sq mi) (4th)
GDP (PPP)	2019 estimate
• Total	$22.802 billion[8]
• Per capita	$48,246[8]
GDP (nominal)	2019 estimate
• Total	$15.134 billion[8]
• Per capita	$32,021[8]
Gini (2019)	▼ 28.0[9] low · 15th
HDI (2019)	▲ 0.895[10] very high · 28th
Currency	Euro (€) (EUR)
Time zone	UTC+1 (Central European Time)
• Summer (DST)	UTC+2 (Central European Summer Time)
Date format	dd/mm/yyyy (AD)
Driving side	left
Calling code	+356
ISO 3166 code	MT
Internet TLD	.mt[c]

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a. ^ Languages other than the mother tongue of Maltese[2]
b. ^ Maltese nationals as referred to in the 2011 census[7]
c. ^ Also .eu, shared with other European Union member states
d. ^ Also Maltese Sign Language[11]

Etymology

The origin of the name *Malta* is uncertain, and the modern-day variation is derived from the Maltese language. The most common etymology is that the word *Malta* is derived from the Greek word μέλι, *meli*, "honey".[41] The ancient Greeks called the island Μελίτη (*Melitē*) meaning "honey-sweet", possibly for Malta's unique production of honey; an endemic subspecies of bees live on the island.[42] The Romans called the island *Melita*,[43] which can be considered either a Latinisation of the Greek Μελίτη or the adaptation of the Doric Greek pronunciation of the same word Μελίτα.[44] In 1525 William Tyndale used the transliteration "Melite" in Acts 28:1 for Καὶ διασωθέντες τότε ἐπέγνωμεν ὅτι Μελίτη ἡ νῆσος καλεῖται ("After we were brought safely through, we then learned that the island was called Melita")[45] as found in his translation of The New Testament that relied on Greek texts instead of Latin. "Melita" is the spelling used in the Authorized (King James) Version of 1611 and the American Standard Version of 1901. "Malta" is widely used in more recent versions, such as The Revised Standard Version of 1946 and The New International Version of 1973.

Another conjecture suggests that the word *Malta* comes from the Phoenician word *Maleth*, "a haven",[46] or 'port'[47] in reference to Malta's many bays and coves. Few other etymological mentions appear in classical literature, with the term *Malta* appearing in its present form in the *Antonine Itinerary* (Itin. Marit. p. 518; Sil. Ital. xiv. 251).[48]

History

Malta has been inhabited from around 5900 BC,[49] since the arrival of settlers from the island of Sicily.[50] A significant prehistoric Neolithic culture marked by Megalithic structures, which date back to c. 3600 BC, existed on the islands, as evidenced by the temples of Bugibba, Mnajdra, Ggantija and others. The Phoenicians colonised Malta between 800 and 700 BC, bringing their Semitic language and culture.[51] They used the islands as an outpost from which they expanded sea explorations and trade in the Mediterranean until their successors, the Carthaginians, were ousted by the Romans in 216 BC with the help of the Maltese inhabitants, under whom Malta became a municipium.[52]

After a probable sack by the Vandals,[53] Malta fell under Byzantine rule (4th to 9th century) and the islands were then invaded by the Aghlabids in AD 870. The fate of the population after the Arab invasion is unclear but it seems the islands may have been repopulated at the beginning of the second millennium by settlers from Arab-ruled Sicily who spoke Siculo-Arabic.[54]

The Muslim rule was ended by the Normans who conquered the island in 1091. The islands were completely re-Christianised by 1249.[55] The islands were part of the Kingdom of Sicily until 1530 and were briefly controlled by the Capetian House of Anjou. In 1530 Charles V of Spain gave the Maltese islands to the Order of Knights of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in perpetual lease.

The 1565 Siege of Malta: The bombardment of the bastion of Castille.

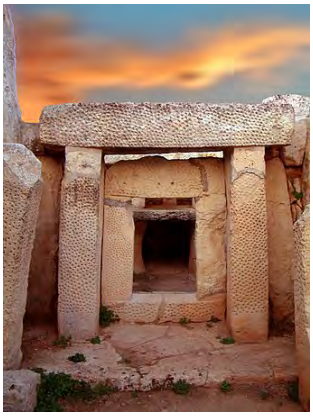
The French under Napoleon took hold of the Maltese islands in 1798, although with the aid of the British the Maltese were able to oust French control two years later. The inhabitants subsequently asked Britain to assume sovereignty over the islands under the conditions laid out in a Declaration of Rights,[56] stating that "his Majesty has no right to cede these Islands to any power...if he chooses to withdraw his protection, and abandon his sovereignty, the right of electing another sovereign, or of the governing of these Islands, belongs to us, the inhabitants and aborigines alone, and without control." As part of the Treaty of Paris in 1814, Malta became a British colony. It ultimately rejected an attempted integration with the United Kingdom in 1956 after the British proved reluctant to integrate.

Malta became independent on 21 September 1964 (Independence Day). Under its 1964 constitution, Malta initially retained Elizabeth II as queen, with a governor-general exercising authority on her behalf. On 13 December 1974 (Republic Day) it became a republic within the Commonwealth, with the President as head of state. On 31 March 1979, Malta saw the withdrawal of the last British troops and the Royal Navy from Malta. This day is known as Freedom Day and Malta declared itself as a neutral and non-aligned state. Malta joined the European Union on 1 May 2004 and joined the Eurozone on 1 January 2008.[57]

Prehistory

Pottery found by archaeologists at the Skorba Temples resembles that found in Italy, and suggests that the Maltese islands were first settled in 5200 BC mainly by Stone Age hunters or farmers who had arrived from the Italian island of Sicily, possibly the Sicani. The extinction of the dwarf hippos , giant swans and dwarf elephants has been linked to the earliest arrival of humans on Malta.[58] Prehistoric farming settlements dating to the Early Neolithic period were discovered in open areas and also in caves, such as Għar Dalam.[59]

The Sicani were the only tribe known to have inhabited the island at this time[50][60] and are generally regarded as being closely related to the Iberians.[61] The population on Malta grew cereals, raised livestock and, in common with other ancient Mediterranean cultures, worshiped a fertility figure represented in Maltese prehistoric artifacts exhibiting the proportions seen in similar statuettes, including the Venus of Willendorf.[62]



The temple complex of Mnajdra

Pottery from the Għar Dalam phase is similar to pottery found in Agrigento, Sicily. A culture of megalithic temple builders then either supplanted or arose from this early period. Around the time of 3500 BC, these people built some of the oldest existing free-standing structures in the world in the form of the megalithic Ġgantija temples on Gozo;[63] other early temples include those at Ħaġar Qim and Mnajdra.[40][64][65]

Ġgantija megalithic temple complex

The temples have distinctive architecture, typically a complex trefoil design, and were used from 4000 to 2500 BC. Animal bones and a knife found behind a removable altar stone suggest that temple rituals included animal sacrifice. Tentative information suggests that the sacrifices were made to the goddess of fertility, whose statue is now in the National Museum of Archaeology in Valletta.[66] The culture apparently disappeared from the Maltese Islands around 2500 BC. Archaeologists speculate that the temple builders fell victim to famine or disease, but this is not certain.

Another archaeological feature of the Maltese Islands often attributed to these ancient builders is equidistant uniform grooves dubbed "cart tracks" or "cart ruts" which can be found in several locations throughout the islands, with the most prominent being those found in Misraħ Għar il-Kbir, which is informally known as "Clapham Junction". These may have been caused by wooden-wheeled carts eroding soft limestone.[67][68]

After 2500 BC, the Maltese Islands were depopulated for several decades until the arrival of a new influx of Bronze Age immigrants, a culture that cremated its dead and introduced smaller megalithic structures called dolmens to Malta.[69] In most cases, there are small chambers here, with the cover made of a large slab placed on upright stones. They are claimed to belong to a population certainly different from that which built the previous megalithic temples. It is presumed the population arrived from Sicily because of the similarity of Maltese dolmens to some small constructions found on the largest island of the Mediterranean sea.[70]

Phoenicians, Carthaginians and Romans

Phoenician traders[71] colonised the islands sometime after 1000 BC[15] as a stop on their trade routes from the eastern Mediterranean to Cornwall, joining the natives on the island.[72] The Phoenicians inhabited the area now known as Mdina, and its surrounding town of Rabat, which they called *Maleth*.[73][74] The Romans, who also much later inhabited Mdina, referred to it (and the island) as *Melita*.[42]

The lands which comprise modern-day Malta, were a part of the Byzantine Empire (The empire in 555 under Justinian the Great, at its greatest extent since the fall of the Western Roman Empire (its vassals in pink))

After the fall of Phoenicia in 332 BC, the area came under the control of Carthage, a former Phoenician colony.[15][75] During this time the people on Malta mainly cultivated olives and carob and produced textiles.[75]

During the First Punic War, the island was conquered after harsh fighting by Marcus Atilius Regulus.[76] After the failure of his expedition, the island fell back in the hands of Carthage, only to be conquered again in 218 BC, during the Second Punic War, by Roman Consul Tiberius Sempronius Longus.[76] After that, Malta became *Foederata Civitas*, a designation that meant it was exempt from paying tribute or the rule of Roman law, and fell within the jurisdiction of the province of Sicily.[42] Punic influence, however, remained vibrant on the islands with the famous Cippi of Melqart, pivotal in deciphering the Punic language, dedicated in the 2nd century BC.[77][78] Also the local Roman coinage, which ceased in the 1st century BC,[79] indicates the slow pace of the island's Romanization, since the last locally minted coins still bear inscriptions in Ancient Greek on the obverse (like "ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΩ", meaning "of the Maltese") and Punic motifs, showing the resistance of the Greek and Punic cultures.[80]

Roman mosaic from the Domvs Romana

In the 1st century BC, Roman Senator and orator Cicero commented on the importance of the Temple of Juno, and on the extravagant behaviour of the Roman governor of Sicily, Verres.[81] During the 1st century BC the island was mentioned by Pliny the Elder and Diodorus Siculus: the latter praised its harbours, the wealth of its inhabitants, its lavishly decorated houses and the quality of its textile products. In the 2nd century, Emperor Hadrian (r. 117–38) upgraded the status of Malta to *municipium* or free town: the island local affairs were administered by four *quattuorviri iuri dicundo* and a municipal senate, while a Roman procurator, living in Mdina, represented the proconsul of Sicily.[76] In 58 AD, Paul the Apostle was washed up on the islands together with Luke the Evangelist after their ship was wrecked on the islands.[76] Paul the Apostle remained on the islands for three months, preaching the Christian faith.[76] The island is mentioned at the Acts of the Apostles as Melitene (Greek: Μελιτήνη).[82]

In 395, when the Roman Empire was divided for the last time at the death of Theodosius I, Malta, following Sicily, fell under the control of the Western Roman Empire.[83] During the Migration Period as the Western Roman Empire declined, Malta came under attack and was conquered or occupied a number of times.[79] From 454 to 464 the islands were subdued by the Vandals, and after 464 by the Ostrogoths.[76] In 533 Belisarius, on his

way to conquer the Vandal Kingdom in North Africa, reunited the islands under Imperial (Eastern) rule.[76] Little is known about the Byzantine rule in Malta: the island depended on the theme of Sicily and had Greek Governors and a small Greek garrison.[76] While the bulk of population continued to be constituted by the old, Latinized dwellers, during this period its religious allegiance oscillated between the Pope and the Patriarch of Constantinople.[76] The Byzantine rule introduced Greek families to the Maltese collective.[84] Malta remained under the Byzantine Empire until 870, when it fell to the Arabs.[76][85]

Arab period and the Middle Ages

Malta became involved in the Arab–Byzantine wars, and the conquest of Malta is closely linked with that of Sicily that began in 827 after Admiral Euphemius' betrayal of his fellow Byzantines, requesting that the Aghlabids invade the island.[86] The Muslim chronicler and geographer al-Himyari recounts that in 870, following a violent struggle against the defending Byzantines, the Arab invaders, first led by Halaf al-Hadim, and later by Sawada ibn Muhammad,[87] looted and pillaged the island, destroying the most important buildings, and leaving it practically uninhabited until it was recolonised by the Arabs from Sicily in 1048–1049.[87] It is uncertain whether this new settlement took place as a consequence of demographic expansion in Sicily, as a result of a higher standard of living in Sicily (in which case the recolonisation may have taken place a few decades earlier), or as a result of civil war which broke out among the Arab rulers of Sicily in 1038.[88] The Arab Agricultural Revolution introduced new irrigation, some fruits and cotton, and the Siculo-Arabic language was adopted on the island from Sicily; it would eventually evolve into the Maltese language.[89]

The Maymūnah Stone, a Roman period marble stone, was reused as a 12th-century tombstone believed to have been found in Gozo.

Norman conquest

Roger I of Sicily returned Malta to Christian rule

The Normans attacked Malta in 1091, as part of their conquest of Sicily.[90] The Norman leader, Roger I of Sicily, was welcomed by Christian captives.[42] The notion that Count Roger I reportedly tore off a portion of his checkered red-and-white banner and presented it to the Maltese in gratitude for having fought on his behalf, forming the basis of the modern flag of Malta, is founded in myth.[42][91]

Malta became part of the newly formed Kingdom of Sicily, which also covered the island of Sicily and the southern half of the Italian Peninsula.[42] The Catholic Church was reinstated as the state religion, with Malta under the See of Palermo, and some Norman architecture sprang up around Malta, especially in its ancient capital Mdina.[42] King Tancred made Malta a fief of the kingdom and installed a count of Malta in 1192. As the islands were much desired due to their strategic importance, it was during this time that the men of Malta were militarised to fend off attempted conquest; early Counts were skilled Genoese privateers.[42]

The kingdom passed on to the Hohenstaufen dynasty from 1194 until 1266. During this period, when Emperor Frederick II began to reorganise his Sicilian kingdom, Western culture and religion began to exert their influence more intensely.[92] Malta was declared a county and a marquisate, but its trade was totally ruined. For a long time it remained solely a fortified garrison.[93]

A mass expulsion of Arabs occurred in 1224, and the entire Christian male population of Celano in Abruzzo was deported to Malta in the same year.[42] In 1249 Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor, decreed that all remaining Muslims be expelled from Malta[94] or compelled to convert.[95][96]

For a brief period, the kingdom passed to the Capetian House of Anjou,[97] but high taxes made the dynasty unpopular in Malta, due in part to Charles of Anjou's war against the Republic of Genoa, and the island of Gozo was sacked in 1275.[42]

Crown of Aragon rule and the Knights of Malta

Flag of the Aragonese Kingdom of Sicily

Malta was ruled by the House of Barcelona, the ruling dynasty of the Crown of Aragon, from 1282 to 1409,[98] with the Aragonese aiding the Maltese insurgents in the Sicilian Vespers in the naval battle in Grand Harbour in 1283.[99]

Relatives of the Kings of Aragon ruled the island until 1409 when it formally passed to the Crown of Aragon. Early on in the Aragonese ascendancy, the sons of the monarchs received the title Count of Malta. During this time much of the local nobility was created. By 1397, however, the bearing of the comital title reverted to a feudal basis, with two families fighting over the distinction, which caused some conflict. This led King Martin I of Sicily to abolish the title. The dispute over the title returned when the title was reinstated a few years later and the Maltese, led by the local nobility, rose up against Count Gonsalvo Monroy.[42] Although they opposed the Count, the Maltese voiced their loyalty to the Sicilian Crown, which so impressed King Alfonso that he did not punish the people for their rebellion. Instead, he promised never to grant the title to a third party and incorporated it back into the crown. The city of Mdina was given the title of *Città Notabile* as a result of this sequence of events.[42]

St. Paul's Cathedral, Mdina built in the Baroque style

On 23 March 1530,[100] Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, gave the islands to the Knights Hospitaller under the leadership of Frenchman Philippe Villiers de L'Isle-Adam, Grand Master of the Order,[101][102] in perpetual lease for which they had to pay an annual tribute of a single Maltese Falcon.[103][104][105][106][107][108][109] These knights, a military religious order also known as the Order of St John and later as the Knights of Malta, had been driven out of Rhodes by the Ottoman Empire in 1522.[110]

The Knights Hospitaller were the rulers of Malta and Gozo between 1530 and 1798.[111] During this period, the strategic and military importance of the island grew greatly as the small yet efficient fleet of the Order of Saint John launched their attacks from this new base targeting the shipping lanes of the Ottoman territories around the Mediterranean Sea.[111][112]

In 1551, the population of the island of Gozo (around 5,000 people) were enslaved by Barbary pirates and taken to the Barbary Coast in North Africa.[113]

The Beheading of Saint John, by Caravaggio. Oil on canvas, 361 cm × 520 cm (142.13 in × 204.72 in). Oratory of the Co-Cathedral.

The knights, led by Frenchman Jean Parisot de Valette, Grand Master of the Order, withstood the Great Siege of Malta by the Ottomans in 1565.[102] The knights, with the help of Spanish and Maltese forces, were victorious and repelled the attack. Speaking of the battle Voltaire said, "Nothing is better known than the siege of Malta."[114][115] After the siege they decided to increase Malta's fortifications, particularly in the inner-harbour area, where the new city of Valletta, named in honour of Valette, was built. They also established watchtowers along the coasts – the Wignacourt, Lascaris and De Redin towers – named after the Grand Masters who ordered the work. The Knights' presence on the island saw the completion of many architectural and cultural projects, including the embellishment of Città Vittoriosa (modern Birgu), the construction of new cities including Città Rohan (modern Ħaż-Żebbuġ) . Ħaż-Żebbuġ is one of the oldest cities of Malta, it also has one of the largest squares of Malta.

French period and British conquest

The Knights' reign ended when Napoleon captured Malta on his way to Egypt during the French Revolutionary Wars in 1798. Over the years preceding Napoleon's capture of the islands, the power of the Knights had declined and the Order had become unpopular. Napoleon's fleet arrived in 1798, en route to his expedition of Egypt. As a ruse towards the Knights, Napoleon asked for a safe harbour to resupply his ships, and then turned his guns against his hosts once safely inside Valletta. Grand Master Hompesch capitulated, and Napoleon entered Malta.[116]

During 12–18 June 1798, Napoleon resided at the Palazzo Parisio in Valletta.[117][118][119] He reformed national administration with the creation of a Government Commission, twelve municipalities, a public finance administration, the abolition of all feudal rights and privileges, the abolition of slavery and the granting of freedom to all Turkish and Jewish slaves.[120][121] On the judicial level, a family code was framed and twelve judges were nominated. Public education was organised along principles laid down by Bonaparte himself, providing for primary and secondary education.[121][122] He then sailed for Egypt leaving a substantial garrison in Malta.[123]

Bust of Bonaparte at Palazzo Parisio in Valletta

The French forces left behind became unpopular with the Maltese, due particularly to the French forces' hostility towards Catholicism and pillaging of local churches to fund Napoleon's war efforts. French financial and religious policies so angered the Maltese that they rebelled, forcing the French to depart. Great Britain, along with the Kingdom of Naples and the Kingdom of Sicily, sent ammunition and aid to the Maltese, and Britain also sent its navy, which blockaded the islands.[121]

On 28 October 1798, Captain Sir Alexander Ball successfully completed negotiations with the French garrison on Gozo, the 217 French soldiers there agreeing to surrender without a fight and transferring the island to the British. The British transferred the island to the locals that day, and it was administered by Archpriest Saverio Cassar on behalf of Ferdinand III of Sicily. Gozo remained independent until Cassar was removed from power by the British in 1801.[124]

General Claude-Henri Belgrand de Vaubois surrendered his French forces in 1800.[121] Maltese leaders presented the main island to Sir Alexander Ball, asking that the island become a British Dominion. The Maltese people created a Declaration of Rights in which they agreed to come "under the protection and sovereignty of the King of the free people, His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland". The Declaration also stated that "his Majesty has no right to cede these Islands to any power...if he chooses to withdraw his protection, and abandon his sovereignty, the right of electing another sovereign, or of the governing of these Islands, belongs to us, the inhabitants and aborigines alone, and without control."[121][56]

British Empire and the Second World War

In 1814, as part of the Treaty of Paris,[121][125] Malta officially became a part of the British Empire and was used as a shipping way-station and fleet headquarters. After the Suez Canal opened in 1869, Malta's position halfway between the Strait of Gibraltar and Egypt proved to be its main asset, and it was considered an important stop on the way to India, a central trade route for the British.

The heavily bomb-damaged Kingsway (now Republic Street) in Valletta during the Siege of Malta, 1942

A Turkish Military Cemetery was commissioned by Sultan Abdul Aziz and built between 1873 and 1874 for the fallen Ottoman soldiers of the Great Siege of Malta.

Between 1915 and 1918, during the First World War, Malta became known as *the Nurse of the Mediterranean* due to the large number of wounded soldiers who were accommodated in Malta.[126] In 1919 British troops fired into a

crowd protesting against new taxes, killing four. The event, known as Sette Giugno (Italian for *7 June*), is commemorated every year and is one of five National Days.[127][128]

Before the Second World War, Valletta was the location of the Royal Navy's Mediterranean Fleet's headquarters; however, despite Winston Churchill's objections,[129] the command was moved to Alexandria, Egypt, in April 1937 out of fear that it was too susceptible to air attacks from Europe.[129][130][131]

During the Second World War, Malta played an important role for the Allies; being a British colony, situated close to Sicily and the Axis shipping lanes, Malta was bombarded by the Italian and German air forces. Malta was used by the British to launch attacks on the Italian navy and had a submarine base. It was also used as a listening post, intercepting German radio messages including Enigma traffic.[132] The bravery of the Maltese people during the second Siege of Malta moved King George VI to award the George Cross to Malta on a collective basis on 15 April 1942 "to bear witness to a heroism and devotion that will long be famous in history". Some historians argue that the award caused Britain to incur disproportionate losses in defending Malta, as British credibility would have suffered if Malta had surrendered, as British forces in Singapore had done.[133] A depiction of the George Cross now appears in the upper hoist corner of the Flag of Malta and on the country's arms. The collective award remained unique until April 1999, when the Royal Ulster Constabulary became the second recipient of a collective George Cross.[134]

Independence and Republic

Monument to the independence of Malta in Floriana

Malta achieved its independence as the State of Malta on 21 September 1964 (Independence Day) after intense negotiations with the United Kingdom, led by Maltese Prime Minister George Borġ Olivier. Under its 1964 constitution, Malta initially retained Queen Elizabeth II as Queen of Malta and thus head of state, with a governor-general exercising executive authority on her behalf. In 1971, the Malta Labour Party led by Dom Mintoff won the general elections, resulting in Malta declaring itself a republic on 13 December 1974 (Republic Day) within the Commonwealth, with a president as head of state. A defence agreement was signed soon after independence, and after being re-negotiated in 1972, expired on 31 March 1979 (Freedom Day).[135] Upon its expiry, the British base closed down and all lands formerly controlled by the British on the island were given up to the Maltese government.[136]

Malta joined the European Union in 2004 and signed the Lisbon Treaty in 2007.

Malta adopted a policy of neutrality in 1980.[137] In 1989, Malta was the venue of a summit between US President George H.W. Bush and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, their first face-to-face encounter, which signalled the end of the Cold War.[138]

On 16 July 1990, Malta, through its foreign minister, Guido de Marco, applied to join the European Union.[139] After tough negotiations, a referendum was held on 8 March 2003, which resulted in a favourable vote.[140] General Elections held on 12 April 2003, gave a clear mandate to the Prime Minister, Eddie Fenech Adami, to sign the treaty of accession to the European Union on 16 April 2003 in Athens, Greece.[141]

Malta joined the European Union on 1 May 2004.[142] Following the European Council of 21–22 June 2007, Malta joined the eurozone on 1 January 2008.[143]

Politics

National

Malta is a republic[34] whose parliamentary system and public administration are closely modelled on the Westminster system.

Malta had the second-highest voter turnout in the world (and the highest for nations without mandatory voting), based on election turnout in national lower house elections from 1960 to 1995.[144]

The unicameral Parliament is made up of the President of Malta and the House of Representatives (Maltese: *Kamra tad-Deputati*). The President of Malta, a largely ceremonial position, is appointed for a five-year term by a resolution of the House of Representatives carried by a simple majority.

The House of Representatives has 65 members, elected for a five-year term in 13 five-seat electoral divisions, called *distretti elettorali*, with constitutional amendments that allow for mechanisms to establish strict proportionality amongst seats and votes of political parliamentary groups.[145]

The Parliament House in Valletta

Members of the House of Representatives are elected by direct universal suffrage through single transferable vote every five years, unless the House is dissolved earlier by the president either on the advice of the prime minister or through the adoption of a motion of no confidence carried within the House of Representatives and not overturned within three days. In either of these cases, the president may alternatively choose to invite another Member of Parliament who invariably should command the majority of the House of Representatives to form an alternative government for the remainder of the legislature.

The House of Representatives is nominally made up of 65 members of parliament whereby 5 members of parliament are elected from each of the thirteen electoral districts. However, where a party wins an absolute majority of votes but does not have a majority of seats, that party is given additional seats to ensure a parliamentary majority. The 80th article of the Constitution of Malta provides that the president appoint as prime minister "... the member of the House of Representatives who, in his judgment, is best able to command the support of a majority of the members of that House".[34]

Auberge de Castille houses the Office of the Prime Minister of Malta

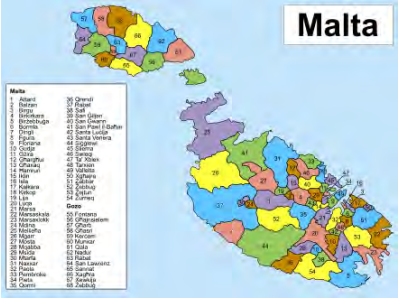
Maltese politics is a two-party system dominated by the Labour Party (Maltese: *Partit Laburista*), a centre-left social democratic party, and the Nationalist Party (Maltese: *Partit Nazzjonalista*), a centre-right Christian democratic party. The Labour Party has been the governing party since 2013 and is currently led by Prime Minister Robert Abela, who has been in office since 13 January 2020. The Nationalist Party, with Bernard Grech as its leader, is currently in opposition. Two parliamentary seats are held by independent politicians who were formerly with the Democratic Party (Maltese: *Partit Demokratiku*), a centre-left social liberal party which had contested under the Nationalist-led Forza Nazzjonali electoral alliance in 2017. There are a number of small political parties in Malta which have no parliamentary representation.

Until the Second World War, Maltese politics was dominated by the Language Question fought out by Italophone and Anglophone parties.[146] Post-war politics dealt with constitutional questions on the relations with Britain (first with integration then independence) and, eventually, relations with the European Union.

Since Malta is a republic, the head of state in Malta is the President of the Republic. The current President of the Republic is George Vella, who was appointed in 2019 after being nominated both by the Labour Party and the Nationalist Party as opposition.[147] He is the tenth president to be appointed.[148]

Administrative divisions

Malta has had a system of local government since 1993,[149] based on the European Charter of Local Self-Government. The country is divided into five regions (one of them being Gozo), with each region having its own Regional Committee, serving as the intermediate level between local government and national government.[150] The regions are divided into local councils, of which there are currently 68 (54 in Malta and 14 in Gozo). The six districts (five on Malta and the sixth being Gozo) serve primarily statistical purposes.[151]



Administrative divisions of Malta

Each council is made up of a number of councillors (from 5 to 13, depending on and relative to the population they represent). A mayor and a deputy mayor are elected by and from the councillors. The executive secretary, who is appointed by the council, is the executive, administrative and financial head of the council. Councillors are elected every four years through the single transferable vote. People who are eligible to vote in the election of the Maltese House of Representatives as well as a resident citizens of the EU are eligible to vote. Due to system reforms, no elections were held before 2012. Since then, elections have been held every two years for an alternating half of the councils.

Local councils are responsible for the general upkeep and embellishment of the locality (including repairs to non-arterial roads), allocation of local wardens, and refuse collection; they also carry out general administrative duties for the central government such as the collection of government rents and funds and answer government-related public inquiries. Additionally, a number of individual towns and villages in the Republic of Malta have sister cities.

Military

The objectives of the Armed Forces of Malta (AFM) are to maintain a military organisation with the primary aim of defending the islands' integrity according to the defence roles as set by the government in an efficient and cost-effective manner. This is achieved by emphasising the maintenance of Malta's territorial waters and airspace integrity.[152]

Protector-class patrol boats of the Maritime Squadron of the AFM

The AFM also engages in combating terrorism, fighting against illicit drug trafficking, conducting anti-illegal immigrant operations and patrols, and anti-illegal fishing operations, operating search and rescue (SAR) services, and physical or electronic security and surveillance of sensitive locations. Malta's search-and-rescue area extends from east of Tunisia to west of Crete, covering an area of around 250,000 km² (97,000 sq mi).[153]

As a military organisation, the AFM provides backup support to the Malta Police Force (MPF) and other government departments/agencies in situations as required in an organised, disciplined manner in the event of national emergencies (such as natural disasters) or internal security and bomb disposal.[154]

In 2020, Malta signed and ratified the UN treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons.[155][156]

Geography

Malta is an archipelago in the central Mediterranean (in its eastern basin), some 80 km (50 mi) from southern Italy across the Malta Channel. Only the three largest islands—Malta (Malta), Gozo (Għawdex), and Comino (Kemmuna)—are inhabited. The islands of the archipelago lie on the Malta plateau, a shallow shelf formed from the high points of a land bridge between Sicily and North Africa that became isolated as sea levels rose after the last ice age.[157] The archipelago is located on the African tectonic plate.[158][159] Malta was considered an island of North Africa for centuries.[160]

Topographic map of Malta

Numerous bays along the indented coastline of the islands provide good harbours. The landscape consists of low hills with terraced fields. The highest point in Malta is Ta' Dmejrek, at 253 m (830 ft), near Dingli. Although there are some small rivers at times of high rainfall, there are no permanent rivers or lakes on Malta. However, some watercourses have fresh water running all year round at Baħrija near Ras ir-Raħeb, at l-Imtaħleb and San Martin, and at Lunzjata Valley in Gozo.

Phytogeographically, Malta belongs to the Liguro-Tyrrhenian province of the Mediterranean Region within the Boreal Kingdom. According to the WWF, the territory of Malta belongs to the terrestrial ecoregion of Tyrrhenian-Adriatic sclerophyllous and mixed forests.[161]

The following uninhabited minor islands are part of the archipelago:

Maltese landscape, Mġarr.

- Barbaġanni Rock (Gozo)
- Cominotto (*Kemmunett*)
- Dellimara Island (Marsaxlokk)
- Filfla (Żurrieq)/(Siġġiewi)
- Fessej Rock
- Fungus Rock (*Il-Ġebla tal-Ġeneral*), (Gozo)
- Għallis Rock (Naxxar)
- Ħalfa Rock (Gozo)
- Large Blue Lagoon Rocks (Comino)
- Islands of St. Paul/Selmunett Island (Mellieħa)
- Manoel Island, which connects to the town of Gżira, on the mainland via a bridge
- Mistra Rocks (San Pawl il-Baħar)
- Taċ-Ċawl Rock (Gozo)
- Qawra Point/Ta' Fraben Island (San Pawl il-Baħar)
- Small Blue Lagoon Rocks (Comino)
- Sala Rock (Żabbar)
- Xrobb l-Għaġin Rock (Marsaxlokk)
- Ta' taħt il-Mazz Rock

Climate

Malta has a Mediterranean climate (Köppen climate classification *Csa*),[35][162] with mild winters and hot summers, hotter in the inland areas. Rain occurs mainly in autumn and winter, with summer being generally dry.

The average yearly temperature is around 23 °C (73 °F) during the day and 15.5 °C (59.9 °F) at night. In the coldest month – January – the typical maximum temperature ranges from 12 to 18 °C (54 to 64 °F) during the day and minimum 6 to 12 °C (43 to 54 °F) at night. In the warmest month – August – the typical maximum temperature ranges from 28 to 34 °C (82 to 93 °F) during the day and minimum 20 to 24 °C (68 to 75 °F) at night. Amongst all capitals in the continent of Europe, Valletta – the capital of Malta has the warmest winters, with average temperatures of around 15 to 16 °C (59 to 61 °F) during the day and 9 to 10 °C (48 to 50 °F) at night in the period January–February. In March and December average temperatures are around 17 °C (63 °F) during the day and 11 °C (52 °F) at night.[163] Large fluctuations in temperature are rare. Snow is very rare on the island, although various snowfalls have been recorded in the last century, the last one reported in various locations across Malta in 2014.[164]

The average annual sea temperature is 20 °C (68 °F), from 15–16 °C (59–61 °F) in February to 26 °C (79 °F) in August. In the 6 months – from June to November – the average sea temperature exceeds 20 °C (68 °F).[165][166][167]

The annual average relative humidity is high, averaging 75%, ranging from 65% in July (morning: 78% evening: 53%) to 80% in December (morning: 83% evening: 73%).[168]

Sunshine duration hours total around 3,000 per year, from an average 5.2 hours of sunshine duration per day in December to an average above 12 hours in July.[166][169] This is about double that of cities in the northern half of Europe, for comparison: London – 1,461;[170] however, in winter it has up to four times more sunshine; for comparison: in December, London has 37 hours of sunshine[170] whereas Malta has above 160.

Climate data for Malta (Luqa in the south-east part of main island, 1991–2020)													
Month	**Jan**	**Feb**	**Mar**	**Apr**	**May**	**Jun**	**Jul**	**Aug**	**Sep**	**Oct**	**Nov**	**Dec**	**Year**
Average high °C (°F)	15.7 (60.3)	15.7 (60.3)	17.4 (63.3)	20.0 (68.0)	24.2 (75.6)	28.7 (83.7)	31.7 (89.1)	32.0 (89.6)	28.6 (83.5)	25.0 (77.0)	20.8 (69.4)	17.2 (63.0)	23.1 (73.6)
Daily mean °C (°F)	12.9 (55.2)	12.6 (54.7)	14.1 (57.4)	16.4 (61.5)	20.1 (68.2)	24.2 (75.6)	26.9 (80.4)	27.5 (81.5)	24.9 (76.8)	21.8 (71.2)	17.9 (64.2)	14.5 (58.1)	19.5 (67.1)
Average low °C (°F)	10.1 (50.2)	9.5 (49.1)	10.9 (51.6)	12.8 (55.0)	15.8 (60.4)	19.6 (67.3)	22.1 (71.8)	23.0 (73.4)	21.2 (70.2)	18.4 (65.1)	14.9 (58.8)	11.8 (53.2)	15.9 (60.6)
Average precipitation mm (inches)	79.3 (3.12)	73.2 (2.88)	45.3 (1.78)	20.7 (0.81)	11.0 (0.43)	6.2 (0.24)	0.2 (0.01)	17.0 (0.67)	60.7 (2.39)	81.8 (3.22)	91.0 (3.58)	93.7 (3.69)	580.7 (22.86)
Average precipitation days (≥ 1.0 mm)	10.0	8.2	6.1	3.8	1.5	0.8	0.0	1.0	4.3	6.6	8.7	10.0	61
Mean monthly sunshine hours	169.3	178.1	227.2	253.8	309.7	336.9	376.7	352.2	270.0	223.8	195.0	161.2	3,054
Source: *Meteo Climate* (1991–2020 Data),[171] MaltaWeather.com (Sun data)[172]													

Urbanisation

The main urban area of Malta. Valletta is the central peninsula.

According to Eurostat, Malta is composed of two larger urban zones nominally referred to as "Valletta" (the main island of Malta) and "Gozo". The main urban area covers the entire main island, with a population of around 400,000.[173][174] The core of the urban area, the *greater city* of Valletta, has a population of 205,768.[175] According to the data from 2020 by Eurostat, the Functional Urban Area and metropolitan region covered whole island and has a population of 480 134.[22][23] According to the United Nations, about 95 per cent of the area of Malta is urban and the number grows every year.[24] Also, according to the results of ESPON and EU Commission studies, "*the whole territory of Malta constitutes a single urban region*".[25]

Occasionally in books,[26] government publications and documents,[27][28][176] and in some international institutions,[177] Malta is referred to as a city-state. Sometimes Malta is listed in rankings concerning cities[29] or metropolitan areas.[30] Also, the Maltese coat-of-arms bears a mural crown described as "representing the fortifications of Malta and denoting a City State".[178] Malta, with area of 316 km² (122 sq mi) and population of over 0.5 million, is one of the most densely populated countries worldwide.

WHO reassigned Islands and Small States Institute in Malta on April 29, 2022 as collaborating centre that included heavy work on topics like the development of policy recommendations on building health-system resilience in small states, the interrelationship between tourism, health systems and sustainability, with a focus on islands and small countries, through a planetary health and equity approach and the development of a toolkit on health information, digital health and evidence generation in small states.[179]

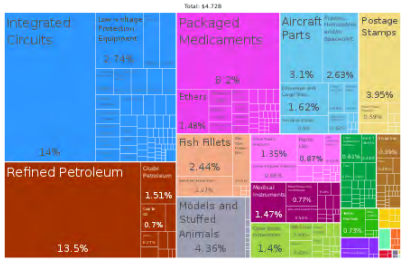
Flora

National plant: Maltese centaury (*Widnet il-Baħar*, since 1971)

The Maltese islands are home to a wide diversity of indigenous, sub-endemic and endemic plants.[180] They feature many traits typical of a Mediterranean climate, such as drought resistance. The most common indigenous trees on the islands are olive (*Olea europaea*), carob (*Ceratonia siliqua*), fig (*ficus carica*), holm oak (*Quericus ilex*) and Aleppo pine (*Pinus halepensis*), while the most common non-native trees are eucalyptus, acacia and opuntia. Endemic plants include the national flower *widnet il-baħar* (*Cheirolophus crassifolius), sempreviva ta' Malta (Helichrysum melitense), żigland t' Għawdex (Hyoseris frutescens*) and *ġiżi ta' Malta* (*Matthiola incana subsp. melitensis*) while sub-endemics include *kromb il-baħar* (*Jacobaea maritima subsp. sicula*) and *xkattapietra* (*Micromeria microphylla*).[181] The flora and biodiversity of Malta is severely endangered by habitat loss, invasive species and human intervention.[182]

Economy

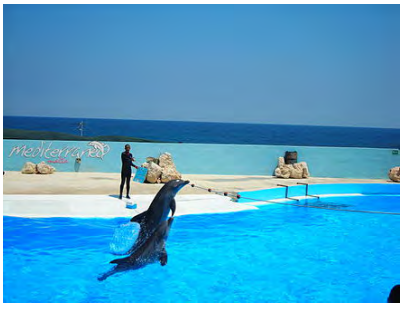
General



A proportional representation of Malta exports, 2019

Malta is classified as an advanced economy together with 32 other countries according to the International Monetary Fund (IMF).[183] Until 1800, Malta depended on cotton, tobacco and its shipyards for exports. Once under British control, they came to depend on Malta Dockyard for support of the Royal Navy, especially during the Crimean War of 1854. The military base benefited craftsmen and all those who served the military.[184]

In 1869, the opening of the Suez Canal gave Malta's economy a great boost, as there was a massive increase in the shipping which entered the port. Ships stopping at Malta's docks for refuelling helped the Entrepôt trade, which brought additional benefits to the island. However, towards the end of the 19th century, the economy began declining, and by the 1940s Malta's economy was in serious crisis. One factor was the longer range of newer merchant ships that required fewer refuelling stops.[185]



The dolphin show at Mediterraneo Marine Park. Tourism generates a significant part of the GDP of Malta.

Currently, Malta's major resources are limestone, a favourable geographic location and a productive labour force. Malta produces only about 20 percent of its food needs, has limited fresh water supplies because of the drought in the summer, and has no domestic energy sources, aside from the potential for solar energy from its plentiful sunlight. The economy is dependent on foreign trade (serving as a freight trans-shipment point), manufacturing (especially electronics and textiles), and tourism.[186]

Access to biocapacity in Malta is below the world average. In 2016, Malta had 0.6 global hectares of biocapacity per person within its territory, contrasted with a global average of 1.6 hectares per person.[187][188] Additionally, residents of Malta exhibited an ecological footprint of consumption of 5.8 global hectares of biocapacity per person, resulting in a sizable biocapacity deficit.[187]

Film production has contributed to the Maltese economy.[189] The film *Sons of the Sea* was the first shot in Malta, in 1925;[190] by 2016, over 100 feature films had been entirely or partially filmed in the country since. Malta has served as a "double" for a wide variety of locations and historic periods including Ancient Greece, Ancient and modern Rome, Iraq, the Middle East and many more.[191] The Maltese government introduced financial incentives for filmmakers in 2005.[192] The current financial incentives to foreign productions as of 2015 stand at 25 per cent with an additional 2 per cent if Malta stands in as Malta; meaning a production can get up to 27 per cent back on their eligible spending incurred in Malta.[193]

In preparation for Malta's membership in the European Union, which it joined on 1 May 2004, it privatised some state-controlled firms and liberalised markets. For example, the government announced on 8 January 2007 that it was selling its 40 per cent stake in MaltaPost, to complete a privatisation process which had been ongoing for the previous five years.[194] From 2000 to 2010, Malta privatised telecommunications,[195] postal services, shipyards[196] and Malta International Airport.[197]

Malta is part of a monetary union, the eurozone (dark blue)

Malta has a financial regulator, the Malta Financial Services Authority (MFSA), with a strong business development mindset, and the country has been successful in attracting gaming businesses, aircraft and ship registration, credit-card issuing banking licences and also fund administration. Service providers to these industries, including fiduciary and trustee business, are a core part of the growth strategy of the island. Malta has made strong headway in implementing EU Financial Services Directives including UCITs IV and soon AIFMD. As a base for alternative asset managers who must comply with new directives, Malta has attracted a number of key players including IDS, Iconic Funds, Apex Fund Services and TMF/Customs House.[198]

Malta and Tunisia in 2006 discussed the commercial exploitation of the continental shelf between their countries, particularly for petroleum exploration.[199] These discussions are also undergoing between Malta and Libya for similar arrangements.[200]

As of 2015, Malta did not have a property tax. Its property market, especially around the harbour area, was booming, with the prices of apartments in some towns like St Julian's, Sliema and Gzira skyrocketing.[201]

According to Eurostat data, Maltese GDP per capita stood at 88 per cent of the EU average in 2015 with €21,000.[202]

The National Development and Social Fund from the Individual Investor Programme, a citizenship by investment programme also known as the "citizenship scheme", has become a significant income sources for the government of Malta, adding 432,000,000 euro to the budget in 2018. This 'scheme' has a very low due-diligence and many doubtful Russian, Middle-eastern and Chinese have obtained a Maltese passport, which is also a European Union passport. In July 2020, the Labour government admitted this and has opted to stop it as from September 2020.[203]

Banking and finance

The two largest commercial banks are Bank of Valletta and HSBC Bank Malta, both of which can trace their origins back to the 19th century. As of recently, digital banks such as Revolut have also increased in popularity.[204]

The Central Bank of Malta (Bank Ċentrali ta' Malta) has two key areas of responsibility: the formulation and implementation of monetary policy and the promotion of a sound and efficient financial system. It was established by the Central Bank of Malta Act on 17 April 1968. The Maltese government entered ERM II on 4 May 2005, and adopted the euro as the country's currency on 1 January 2008.[205]

FinanceMalta is the quasi-governmental organisation tasked with marketing and educating business leaders in coming to Malta and runs seminars and events around the world highlighting the emerging strength of Malta as a jurisdiction for banking and finance and insurance.[206]

Portomaso Business Tower, the tallest building in Malta

Transport

Being an ex-British Colony, traffic in Malta drives on the left. Car ownership in Malta is exceedingly high, considering the very small size of the islands; it is the fourth-highest in the European Union. The number of registered cars in 1990 amounted to 182,254, giving an automobile density of 577/km^2 (1,494/sq mi).[207]

Principal internal transportation

Malta has 2,254 kilometres (1,401 miles) of road, 1,972 km (1,225 mi) (87.5 per cent) of which are paved and 282 km (175 mi) were unpaved (as of December 2003).[208] The main roads of Malta from the southernmost point to the northernmost point are these: Triq Birżebbuġa in Birżebbuġa, Għar Dalam Road and Tal-Barrani Road in Żejtun, Santa Luċija Avenue in Paola, Aldo Moro Street (Trunk Road), 13 December Street and Ħamrun-Marsa Bypass in Marsa, Regional Road in Santa Venera/Msida/Gżira/San Ġwann, St Andrew's Road in Swieqi/Pembroke, Malta, Coast Road in Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq, Salina Road, Kennedy Drive, St. Paul's Bypass and Xemxija Hill in San Pawl il-Baħar, Mistra Hill, Wettinger Street (Mellieħa Bypass) and Marfa Road in Mellieħa.

Buses (*xarabank* or *karozza tal-linja*) are the primary method of public transport, established in 1905. Malta's vintage buses operated in the Maltese islands up to 2011 and became popular tourist attractions in their own right.[209] To this day they are depicted on many Maltese advertisements to promote tourism as well as on gifts and merchandise for tourists.

Maltese *Otokar* and *King Long* buses

The bus service underwent an extensive reform in July 2011. The management structure changed from having self-employed drivers driving their own vehicles to a service being offered by a single company through a public tender (in Gozo, being considered as a small network, the service was given through direct order).[210] The public tender was won by Arriva Malta, a member of the Arriva group, which introduced a fleet of brand new buses, built by King Long especially for service by Arriva Malta and including a smaller fleet of articulated buses brought in from Arriva London. It also operated two smaller buses for an intra-Valletta route only and 61 nine-metre buses, which were used to ease congestion on high-density routes. Overall Arriva Malta operated 264 buses. On 1 January 2014 Arriva ceased operations in Malta due to financial difficulties, having been nationalised as *Malta Public Transport* by the Maltese government, with a new bus operator planned to take over their operations in the near future.[211][212] The government chose Autobuses Urbanos de León (ALSA subsidiary) as its preferred bus operator for the country in October 2014.[213] The company took over the bus service on 8 January 2015, while retaining the name *Malta Public Transport*.[214] It introduced the pre-pay 'tallinja card'. With lower fares than the walk-on rate, it can be topped up online. The card was initially not well received, as reported by several local news sites.[215] During the first week of August 2015, another 40 buses of the Turkish make *Otokar* arrived and were put into service.[216]

From October 2022 the bus system will be free of charge for residents of Malta.[217]

From 1883 to 1931 Malta had a railway line that connected Valletta to the army barracks at Mtarfa via Mdina and a number of towns and villages. The railway fell into disuse and eventually closed altogether, following the introduction of electric trams and buses.[218] At the height of the bombing of Malta during the Second World

War, Mussolini announced that his forces had destroyed the railway system, but by the time war broke out, the railway had been mothballed for more than nine years.

Malta has three large natural harbours on its main island:

Grand Harbour

- The Grand Harbour (or Port il-Kbir), located at the eastern side of the capital city of Valletta, has been a harbour since Roman times. It has several extensive docks and wharves, as well as a cruise liner terminal. A terminal at the Grand Harbour serves ferries that connect Malta to Pozzallo & Catania in Sicily.
- Marsamxett Harbour, located on the western side of Valletta, accommodates a number of yacht marinas.
- Marsaxlokk Harbour (Malta Freeport), at Birżebbuġa on the south-eastern side of Malta, is the islands' main cargo terminal. Malta Freeport is the 11th busiest container ports in continent of Europe and 46th in the World with a trade volume of 2.3 million TEU's in 2008.[219]

Malta Freeport, one of the largest European ports

There are also two man-made harbours that serve a passenger and car ferry service that connects Ċirkewwa Harbour on Malta and Mġarr Harbour on Gozo. The ferry makes numerous runs each day.

Malta International Airport (Ajruport Internazzjonali ta' Malta) is the only airport serving the Maltese islands. It is built on the land formerly occupied by the RAF Luqa air base. A heliport is also located there, but the scheduled service to Gozo ceased in 2006. The heliport in Gozo is at Xewkija.

Two further airfields at Ta' Qali and Ħal Far operated during the Second World War and into the 1960s but are now closed. Today, Ta' Qali houses a national park, stadium, the Crafts Village visitor attraction and the Malta Aviation Museum. This museum preserves several aircraft, including Hurricane and Spitfire fighters that defended the island in the Second World War.

An Air Malta Airbus A320.

The national airline is Air Malta, which is based at Malta International Airport and operates services to 36 destinations in Europe and North Africa. The owners of Air Malta are the Government of Malta (98 percent) and private investors (2 percent). Air Malta employs 1,547 staff along with having a 25 percent share in Medavia.

Air Malta has concluded over 191 interline ticketing agreements with other IATA airlines. It also has a codeshare agreement with Qantas covering three routes. In September 2007, Air Malta made two agreements with Abu Dhabi-based Etihad Airways by which Air Malta wet-leased two Airbus aircraft to Etihad Airways for the winter period starting 1 September 2007, and provided operational support on another Airbus A320 aircraft which it leased to Etihad Airways.

In June 2019, Ryanair has invested into a fully-fledged airline subsidiary, called Malta Air, operating a low-cost model. The Government of Malta holds one share in the airline whereby it holds rights to the brand name.[220]

Communications

The mobile penetration rate in Malta exceeded 100% by the end of 2009.[221] Malta uses the GSM900, UMTS(3G) and LTE(4G) mobile phone systems, which are compatible with the rest of the European countries, Australia and New Zealand.

Telephone and cellular subscriber numbers have eight digits. There are no area codes in Malta, but after inception, the original first two numbers, and currently the 3rd and 4th digit, were assigned according to the locality. Fixed line telephone numbers have the prefix 21 and 27, although businesses may have numbers starting

22 or 23. An example would be 2*80**** if from Żabbar, and 2*23**** if from Marsa. Gozitan landline numbers generally are assigned 2*56****. Mobile telephone numbers have the prefix 77, 79, 98 or 99. Malta's international calling code is +356.[222]

The number of pay-TV subscribers fell as customers switched to Internet Protocol television (IPTV): the number of IPTV subscribers doubled in the six months to June 2012.

In early 2012, the government called for a national Fibre to the Home (FttH) network to be built, with a minimum broadband service being upgraded from 4Mbit/s to 100Mbit/s.[223]

Currency

Maltese euro coins feature the Maltese cross on €2 and €1 coins, the coat of arms of Malta on the €0.50, €0.20 and €0.10 coins, and the Mnajdra Temples on the €0.05, €0.02 and €0.01 coins.[224]

Malta has produced collectors' coins with face value ranging from 10 to 50 euros. These coins continue an existing national practice of minting of silver and gold commemorative coins. Unlike normal issues, these coins are not accepted in all the eurozone. For instance, a €10 Maltese commemorative coin cannot be used in any other country.

From its introduction in 1972 until the introduction of the Euro in 2008, the currency was the Maltese lira, which had replaced the Maltese pound. The pound replaced the Maltese scudo in 1825.

Tourism

Mellieħa Bay beach

Malta is a popular tourist destination, with 1.6 million tourists per year.[225] Three times more tourists visit than there are residents. Tourism infrastructure has increased dramatically over the years and a number of hotels are present on the island, although overdevelopment and the destruction of traditional housing is of growing concern. An increasing number of Maltese now travel abroad on holiday.[226] In 2019, Malta had a record year in tourism, recording over 2.1 million tourists in one single year.[227]

In recent years, Malta has advertised itself as a medical tourism destination,[228] and a number of health tourism providers are developing the industry. However, no Maltese hospital has undergone independent international healthcare accreditation. Malta is popular with British medical tourists,[229] pointing Maltese hospitals towards seeking UK-sourced accreditation, such as with the Trent Accreditation Scheme.

Additionally, Malta attracts a number of English Language Students from around the world.

Tourism in Malta contributes to around 11.6 per cent of the country's Gross Domestic Product.[230]

Science and technology

Malta signed a co-operation agreement with the European Space Agency (ESA) for more-intensive co-operation in ESA projects.[231] The Malta Council for Science and Technology (MCST) is the civil body responsible for the development of science and technology on an educational and social level. Most science students in Malta graduate from the University of Malta and are represented by S-Cubed (Science Student's Society), UESA (University Engineering Students Association) and ICTSA (University of Malta ICT Students' Association).[232][233] Malta was ranked 27th in the Global Innovation Index in 2019, 2020 and 2021.[234][235][236]

Demographics

Valletta, Malta's capital city

Malta conducts a census of population and housing every ten years. The census held in November 2005 counted an estimated 96 percent of the population.[237] A preliminary report was issued in April 2006 and the results were weighted to estimate for 100 percent of the population.

Native Maltese people make up the majority of the island. However, there are minorities, the largest of which are Britons, many of whom are retirees. The population of Malta as of July 2011 was estimated at 408,000.[35] As of 2005, 17 percent were aged 14 and under, 68 percent were within the 15–64 age bracket whilst the remaining 13 percent were 65 years and over. Malta's population density of 1,282 per square km (3,322/sq mi) is by far the highest in the EU and one of the highest in the world. By comparison, the average population density for the World (land only, excluding Antarctica) was 54/km^2 (140/sq mi) as of July 2014.

The only census year showing a fall in population was that of 1967, with a 1.7 per cent total decrease, attributable to a substantial number of Maltese residents who emigrated.[238] The Maltese-resident population for 2004 was estimated to make up 97.0 per cent of the total resident population.[239]

All censuses since 1842 have shown a slight excess of females over males. The 1901 and 1911 censuses came closest to recording a balance. The highest female-to-male ratio was reached in 1957 (1088:1000) but since then the ratio has dropped continuously. The 2005 census showed a 1013:1000 female-to-male ratio. Population growth has slowed down, from +9.5 per cent between the 1985 and 1995 censuses, to +6.9 per cent between the 1995 and 2005 censuses (a yearly average of +0.7 per cent). The birth rate stood at 3860 (a decrease of 21.8 per cent from the 1995 census) and the death rate stood at 3025. Thus, there was a natural population increase of 835 (compared to +888 for 2004, of which over a hundred were foreign residents).[240]

The population's age composition is similar to the age structure prevalent in the EU. Since 1967 there was observed a trend indicating an ageing population, and is expected to continue in the foreseeable future. Malta's old-age-dependency-ratio rose from 17.2 percent in 1995 to 19.8 percent in 2005, reasonably lower than the EU's 24.9 percent average; 31.5 percent of the Maltese population is aged under 25 (compared to the EU's 29.1 percent); but the 50–64 age group constitutes 20.3 percent of the population, significantly higher than the EU's 17.9 percent. Malta's old-age-dependency-ratio is expected to continue rising steadily in the coming years.

Maltese legislation recognises both civil and canonical (ecclesiastical) marriages. Annulments by the ecclesiastical and civil courts are unrelated and are not necessarily mutually endorsed. Malta voted in favour of divorce legislation in a referendum held on 28 May 2011.[241] Abortion in Malta is illegal. A person must be 16 to marry.[242] The number of brides aged under 25 decreased from 1471 in 1997 to 766 in 2005; while the number of grooms under 25 decreased from 823 to 311. There is a constant trend that females are more likely than males to marry young. In 2005 there were 51 brides aged between 16 and 19, compared to 8 grooms.[240]

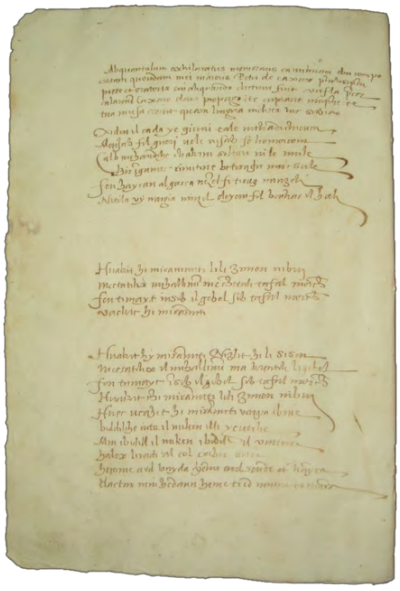
In 2021, the population of the Maltese Islands stood at 516,100.[6]

The total fertility rate (TFR) as of 2016 was estimated at 1.45 children born/woman, which is below the replacement rate of 2.1.[243] In 2012, 25.8 per cent of births were to unmarried women.[244] The life expectancy in 2018 was estimated at 83.[245]

Languages

The Maltese language (Maltese: *Malti*) is one of the two constitutional languages of Malta, having become official, however, only in 1934, and being considered as the national language. Previously, Sicilian was the official and cultural language of Malta from the 12th century, and the Tuscan dialect of Italian from the 16th century. Alongside Maltese, English is also an official language of the country and hence the laws of the land are enacted

both in Maltese and English. However, article 74 of the Constitution states that "... if there is any conflict between the Maltese and the English texts of any law, the Maltese text shall prevail."[34]



Il-Kantilena by Pietru Caxaro, the oldest text in Maltese language, 15th century

Maltese is a Semitic language descended from the now extinct Sicilian-Arabic (Siculo-Arabic) dialect (from southern Italy) that developed during the Emirate of Sicily.[246] The Maltese alphabet consists of 30 letters based on the Latin alphabet, including the diacritically altered letters *ż*, *ċ* and *ġ*, as well as the letters *għ*, *ħ*, and *ie*.

Maltese is the only Semitic language with official status in the European Union. Maltese has a Semitic base with substantial borrowing from Sicilian, Italian, a little French, and more recently and increasingly, English.[247] The hybrid character of Maltese was established by a long period of Maltese-Sicilian urban bilingualism gradually transforming rural speech and which ended in the early 19th century with Maltese emerging as the vernacular of the entire native population. The language includes different dialects that can vary greatly from one town to another or from one island to another.

In 2012, the Eurobarometer states that 97 percent of the Maltese population consider Maltese as mother tongue. Also, 89 percent of the population speak English, 66 percent speak Italian, and 17 percent speak French.[2] This widespread knowledge of second languages makes Malta one of the most multilingual countries in the European Union. A study collecting public opinion on what language was "preferred" discovered that 86 percent of the population express a preference for Maltese, 12 percent for English, and 2 percent for Italian.[248] Still, Italian television channels from Italy-based broadcasters, such as Mediaset and RAI, reach Malta and remain popular.[248][249][250]

Maltese Sign Language is used by signers in Malta.[251]

Religion

The predominant religion in Malta is Catholicism. The second article of the Constitution of Malta establishes Catholicism as the state religion and it is also reflected in various elements of Maltese culture, although entrenched provisions for the freedom of religion are made.[34]

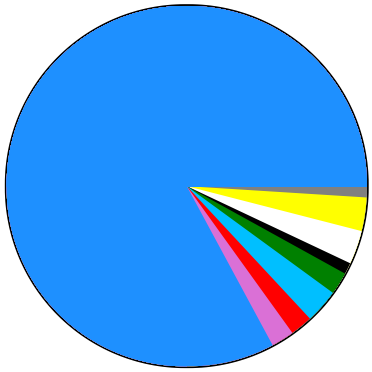
There are more than 360 churches in Malta, Gozo, and Comino, or one church for every 1,000 residents. The parish church (Maltese: *"il-parroċċa"*, or *"il-knisja parrokkjali"*) is the architectural and geographic focal point of every Maltese town and village, and its main source of civic pride. This civic pride manifests itself in spectacular fashion during the local village *festas*, which mark the day of the patron saint of each parish with marching bands, religious processions, special Masses, fireworks (especially petards) and other festivities.

Malta is an Apostolic See; the Acts of the Apostles tells of how St. Paul, on his way from Jerusalem to Rome to face trial, was shipwrecked on the island of "Melite", which many Bible scholars identify with Malta, an episode dated around AD 60.[254] As recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, St. Paul spent three months on the island on his way to Rome, curing the sick including the father of Publius, the "chief man of the island". Various traditions are associated with this account. The shipwreck is said to have occurred in the place today known as St Paul's Bay. The Maltese saint, Saint Publius is said to have been made Malta's first bishop and a grotto in Rabat, now known as "St Paul's Grotto" (and in the vicinity of which evidence of Christian burials and rituals from the 3rd century AD has been found), is among the earliest known places of Christian worship on the island.

Further evidence of Christian practices and beliefs during the period of Roman persecution appears in catacombs that lie beneath various sites around Malta, including St. Paul's Catacombs and St. Agatha's Catacombs in Rabat, just outside the walls of Mdina. The latter, in particular, were frescoed between 1200 and 1480, although invading Turks defaced many of them in the 1550s. There are also a number of cave churches, including the

grotto at Mellieħa, which is a Shrine of the Nativity of Our Lady where, according to legend, St. Luke painted a picture of the Madonna. It has been a place of pilgrimage since the medieval period.

The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon record that in 451 AD a certain Acacius was Bishop of Malta (*Melitenus Episcopus*). It is also known that in 501 AD, a certain Constantinus, *Episcopus Melitenensis*, was present at the Fifth Ecumenical Council. In 588 AD, Pope Gregory I deposed Tucillus, *Miletinae civitatis episcopus* and the clergy and people of Malta elected his successor Trajan in 599 AD. The last recorded Bishop of Malta before the invasion of the islands was a Greek named Manas, who was subsequently incarcerated at Palermo.[255]



Religion in Malta (2019)[4]

- Catholic Church (83%)
- Eastern Orthodox (2%)
- Protestantism (2%)
- Other Christians (3%)
- Islam (2%)
- Atheism (1%)
- Irreligion (3%)
- Other religions (3%)
- Undeclared (1%)

Maltese historian Giovanni Francesco Abela states that following their conversion to Christianity at the hand of St. Paul, the Maltese retained their Christian religion, despite the Fatimid invasion.[256] Abela's writings describe Malta as a divinely ordained "bulwark of Christian, European civilization against the spread of Mediterranean Islam".[257] The native Christian community that welcomed Roger I of Sicily[42] was further bolstered by immigration to Malta from Italy, in the 12th and 13th centuries.

For centuries, the Church in Malta was subordinate to the Diocese of Palermo, except when it was under Charles of Anjou, who appointed bishops for Malta, as did – on rare occasions – the Spanish and later, the Knights. Since 1808 all bishops of Malta have been Maltese. As a result of the Norman and Spanish periods, and the rule of the Knights, Malta became the devout Catholic nation that it is today. It is worth noting that the Office of the Inquisitor of Malta had a very long tenure on the island following its establishment in 1530: the last Inquisitor departed from the Islands in 1798 after the Knights capitulated to the forces of Napoleon Bonaparte. During the period of the Republic of Venice, several Maltese families emigrated to Corfu. Their descendants account for about two-thirds of the community of some 4,000 Catholics that now live on that island.

Żejtun city centre Parish church

The patron saints of Malta are Saint Paul, Saint Publius, and Saint Agatha. Although not a patron saint, St George Preca (San Ġorġ Preca) is greatly revered as the second canonised Maltese saint after St. Publius. Pope Benedict XVI canonised Preca on 3 June 2007. A number of Maltese individuals are recognised as Blessed, including Maria Adeodata Pisani and Nazju Falzon, with Pope John Paul II having beatified them in 2001.

The *St. Paul Polyptych* dates to the early 15th century and is associated with the medieval Università and the Mdina cathedral. Featuring the style of the Catalan Gothic, it was probably made in the workshop of Lluis Borassa and is a testament to the strong Pauline tradition present on the islands since the Middle Ages.[252][253]

Various Catholic religious orders are present in Malta, including the Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites and Little Sisters of the Poor.

Most congregants of the local Protestant churches are not Maltese; their congregations draw on the many British retirees living in the country and vacationers from many other nations. There include St. Andrew's Scots Church in Valletta (a joint Presbyterian and Methodist congregation) and St Paul's Anglican Cathedral. There are several

Charismatic, Pentecostal, and Baptist churches, including the Bible Baptist Church, Knisja Evanġelika Battista, and Trinity Evangelical Church (http://www.tecmalta.org/) – a Reformed Baptist Church. The members of these churches are mainly Maltese.

The Greek Orthodox church of St. George in Valletta

There are also a Seventh-day Adventist church in Birkirkara, and a New Apostolic Church congregation founded in 1983 in Gwardamangia.[258] There are approximately 600 Jehovah's Witnesses.[259] The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS Church) is also represented.

The Jewish population of Malta reached its peak in the Middle Ages under Norman rule. In 1479, Malta and Sicily came under Aragonese rule and the Alhambra Decree of 1492 forced all Jews to leave the country, permitting them to take with them only a few of their belongings. Several dozen Maltese Jews may have converted to Christianity at the time to remain in the country. Today, there is one Jewish congregation.[258]

There is one Muslim mosque, the Mariam Al-Batool Mosque. A Muslim primary school recently opened. Of the estimated 3,000 Muslims in Malta, approximately 2,250 are foreigners, approximately 600 are naturalised citizens, and approximately 150 are native-born Maltese.[260] Zen Buddhism and the Bahá'í Faith claim some 40 members.[258]

In a survey held by the Malta Today, the overwhelming majority of the Maltese population adheres to Christianity (95.2%) with Catholicism as the main denomination (93.9%). According to the same report, 4.5% of the population declared themselves as either atheist or agnostic, one of the lowest figures in Europe.[261] According to a Eurobarometer survey conducted in 2019, 83% of the population identified as Catholic.[4] The number of atheists has doubled from 2014 to 2018. Non-religious people have a higher risk of suffering from discrimination, such as lack of trust by society and unequal treatment by institutions. In the 2015 edition of the annual Freedom of Thought Report from the International Humanist and Ethical Union, Malta was in the category of "severe discrimination". In 2016, following the abolishment of blasphemy law, Malta was shifted to the category of "systematic discrimination" (which is the same category as most EU countries).[262]

Migration

Inbound migration

Historically a land of emigration, since the early 21st century Malta has seen a significant increase in net migration; the foreign-born population has grown nearly eightfold between 2005 and 2020. Most of the foreign community in Malta consists of active or retired British nationals and their dependents, centred on Sliema and surrounding suburbs. Other smaller foreign groups include Italians, Libyans, and Serbians, many of whom have assimilated into the Maltese nation over the decades.[263]

Foreign population in Malta

Year	Population	% total
2005	12,112	3.0%
2011	20,289	4.9%
2019	98,918	21.0%
2020	119,261	23.17%

Malta is also home to a large number of foreign workers who migrated to the island for economic opportunity. This migration was driven predominantly in the early 21st century, when the Maltese economy was steadily booming yet the cost and quality of living on the island remained relatively stable.

In recent years however the local Maltese housing index has doubled[264] pushing property and rental prices to very high and almost unaffordable levels throughout the country, with the slight exception of Gozo. Salaries in Malta have risen very slowly and very marginally over the years, making life on the island much harder than it was a few years ago. Consequently, some expats in Malta have seen their relative financial fortunes decline, with others relocating to other European countries altogether.

Since the late 20th century, Malta has become a transit country for migration routes from Africa towards Europe.[265] As a member of the European Union and the Schengen Agreement, Malta is bound by the Dublin Regulation to process all claims for asylum by those asylum seekers that enter EU territory for the first time in Malta.[266] However, irregular migrants who land in Malta are subject to a compulsory detention policy, being held in several camps organised by the Armed Forces of Malta (AFM), including those near Ħal Far and Ħal Safi. The compulsory detention policy has been denounced by several NGOs, and in July 2010, the European Court of Human Rights found that Malta's detention of migrants was arbitrary, lacking in adequate procedures to challenge detention, and in breach of its obligations under the European Convention on Human Rights.[267][268] On 8 September 2020, Amnesty International criticized Malta for "illegal tactics" in the Mediterranean, against immigrants who were attempting to cross from North Africa. The reports claimed that the government's approach might have led to avoidable deaths.[269]

In January 2014, Malta started granting citizenship for a €650,000 contribution plus investments, contingent on residence and criminal background checks.[270] This "golden passport" citizenship scheme has been criticized as a fraudulent act by the Maltese Government, since it has come under scrutiny for selling citizenship to several dubious and/or criminal individuals from non-European countries.[271] Concerns as to whether the Maltese citizenship scheme is allowing an influx of such individuals into the greater European Union have been raised by both the public as well as the European Council on multiple occasions.[272]

Outbound migration

Child Migrants' Memorial at the Valletta Waterfront, commemorating the 310 child migrants who travelled to Australia between 1950 and 1965

In the 19th century, most emigration from Malta was to North Africa and the Middle East, although rates of return migration to Malta were high.[273] Nonetheless, Maltese communities formed in these regions. By 1900, for example, British consular estimates suggest that there were 15,326 Maltese in Tunisia, and in 1903 it was claimed that 15,000 people of Maltese origin were living in Algeria.[274]

Malta experienced significant emigration as a result of the collapse of a construction boom in 1907 and immediately after the Second World War, when the birth rate increased significantly. In the 20th century, most emigrants went to destinations in the New World, particularly to Australia, Canada, and the United States. Post Second World War, Malta's Emigration Department would assist emigrants with the cost of their travel. Between 1948 and 1967, 30 percent of the population emigrated.[273] Between 1946 and the late-1970s, over 140,000 people left Malta on the assisted passage scheme, with 57.6% migrating to Australia, 22% to the UK, 13% to Canada and 7% to the United States.[275]

Emigration dropped dramatically after the mid-1970s and has since ceased to be a social phenomenon of significance. However, since Malta joined the EU in 2004 expatriate communities emerged in a number of European countries, particularly in Belgium and Luxembourg.

Education

University of Malta

Primary schooling has been compulsory since 1946; secondary education up to the age of sixteen was made compulsory in 1971. The state and the Church provide education free of charge, both running a number of schools in Malta and Gozo, including De La Salle College in Cospicua, St. Aloysius' College in Birkirkara, St. Paul's Missionary College in Rabat, Malta, St. Joseph's School in Blata l-Bajda and Saint Monica Girls' School in Mosta and Saint Augustine College, with its primary sector in Marsa and its secondary in Pieta. As of 2006, state schools are organised into networks known as Colleges and incorporate kindergarten schools, primary and secondary schools. A number of private schools are run in Malta, including San Andrea School and San Anton School in the valley of L-Imselliet (l/o Mġarr), St. Martin's College in

Swatar and St. Michael's School in Santa Venera. St. Catherine's High School, Pembroke offers an International Foundation Course for students wishing to learn English before entering mainstream education. As of 2008, there are two international schools, Verdala International School and QSI Malta. The state pays a portion of the teachers' salary in Church schools.[276]

National Library in Valletta

Education in Malta is based on the British model. Primary school lasts six years. Pupils sit for SEC O-level examinations at the age of 16, with passes obligatory in certain subjects such as Mathematics, a minimum of one science subject (Physics, Biology or Chemistry), English and Maltese. Upon obtaining these subjects, Pupils may opt to continue studying at a sixth form college such as Gan Frangisk Abela Junior College, St. Aloysius' College, Giovanni Curmi Higher Secondary, De La Salle College, St Edward's College, or else at another post-secondary institution such as MCAST. The sixth form course lasts for two years, at the end of which students sit for the matriculation examination. Subject to their performance, students may then apply for an undergraduate degree or diploma.

The adult literacy rate is 99.5 per cent.[277]

Maltese and English are both used to teach pupils at the primary and secondary school level, and both languages are also compulsory subjects. Public schools tend to use both Maltese and English in a balanced manner. Private schools prefer to use English for teaching, as is also the case with most departments of the University of Malta; this has a limiting effect on the capacity and development of the Maltese language.[248] Most university courses are in English.[278][246]

Of the total number of pupils studying a first foreign language at secondary level, 51 per cent take Italian whilst 38 per cent take French. Other choices include German, Russian, Spanish, Latin, Chinese and Arabic.[248][279]

Malta is also a popular destination to study the English language, attracting over 83,000 students in 2019.[280]

Healthcare

Malta has a long history of providing publicly funded health care. The first hospital recorded in the country was already functioning by 1372.[281] The first hospital exclusively for women was opened in 1625 by Caterina Scappi, known as "La Senese".[282]

The Sacra Infermeria was used as a hospital from the 16th to 20th centuries. It is now the Mediterranean Conference Centre.

Today, Malta has both a public healthcare system, known as the government healthcare service, where healthcare is free at the point of delivery, and a private healthcare system.[283][284] Malta has a strong general practitioner-delivered primary care base and the public hospitals provide secondary and tertiary care. The Maltese Ministry of Health advises foreign residents to take out private medical insurance.[285]

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Mater Dei Hospital

Malta also boasts voluntary organisations such as Alpha Medical (Advanced Care), the Emergency Fire & Rescue Unit (E.F.R.U.), St John Ambulance and Red Cross Malta who provide first aid/nursing services during events involving crowds, Malta's primary hospital, opened in 2007. It has one of the largest medical buildings in Europe

The University of Malta has a medical school and a Faculty of Health Sciences, the latter offering diploma, degree (BSc) and postgraduate degree courses in a number of health care disciplines.

The Medical Association of Malta represents practitioners of the medical profession. The Malta Medical Students' Association (MMSA) is a separate body representing Maltese medical students, and is a member of EMSA and IFMSA. MIME, the Maltese Institute for Medical Education, is an institute set up recently to provide CME to physicians in Malta as well as medical students. The Foundation Program followed in the UK has been introduced in Malta to stem the 'brain drain' of newly graduated physicians to the British Isles. The Malta Association of Dental Students (MADS) is a student association set up to promote the rights of Dental Surgery Students studying within the faculty of Dental Surgery of the University of Malta. It is affiliated with IADS, the International Association of Dental Students.

Culture

The culture of Malta reflects the various cultures, from the Phoenicians to the British, that have come into contact with the Maltese Islands throughout the centuries, including neighbouring Mediterranean cultures, and the cultures of the nations that ruled Malta for long periods of time prior to its independence in 1964.[286]

Music

While Maltese music today is largely Western, traditional Maltese music includes what is known as *għana*. This consists of background folk guitar music, while a few people, generally men, take it in turns to argue a point in a sing-song voice. The aim of the lyrics, which are improvised, is to create a friendly yet challenging atmosphere, and it takes a number of years of practice to be able to combine the required artistic qualities with the ability to debate effectively.

Manoel Theatre, Europe's third-oldest working theatre. Now Malta's National Theatre and home to the Malta Philharmonic Orchestra.

Literature

Documented Maltese literature is over 200 years old. However, a recently unearthed love ballad testifies to literary activity in the local tongue from the Medieval period. Malta followed a Romantic literary tradition, culminating in the works of Dun Karm Psaila, Malta's national poet. Subsequent writers like Ruzar Briffa and Karmenu Vassallo tried to estrange themselves from the rigidity of formal themes and versification.[287]

The next generation of writers, including Karl Schembri and Immanuel Mifsud, widened the tracks further, especially in prose and poetry.[288]

Architecture

Lower Barrakka Gardens

Maltese architecture has been influenced by many different Mediterranean cultures and British architecture over its history.[289] The first settlers on the island constructed Ġgantija, one of the oldest manmade freestanding structures in the world. The Neolithic temple builders (3800–2500 BC) endowed the numerous temples of Malta and Gozo with intricate bas-relief designs, including spirals evocative of the tree of life and animal portraits, designs painted in red ochre, ceramics, and a vast collection of human form sculptures, particularly the Venus of Malta. These can be viewed at the temples themselves (most notably, the Hypogeum and Tarxien Temples), and at the National Museum of Archaeology in Valletta. Malta's temples such as Imnajdra are full of history and have a story behind them. Malta is currently undergoing several large-scale building projects, while areas such as the Valletta Waterfront and Tigné Point have been or are being renovated.[290]

The Roman period introduced highly decorative mosaic floors, marble colonnades, and classical statuary, remnants of which are beautifully preserved and presented in the Roman Domus, a country villa just outside the walls of Mdina. The early Christian frescoes that decorate the catacombs beneath Malta reveal a propensity for eastern, Byzantine tastes. These tastes continued to inform the endeavours of medieval Maltese artists, but they were increasingly influenced by the Romanesque and Southern Gothic movements.

Art

Towards the end of the 15th century, Maltese artists, like their counterparts in neighbouring Sicily, came under the influence of the School of Antonello da Messina, which introduced Renaissance ideals and concepts to the decorative arts in Malta.[291]

The artistic heritage of Malta blossomed under the Knights of St. John, who brought Italian and Flemish Mannerist painters to decorate their palaces and the churches of these islands, most notably, Matteo Perez d'Aleccio, whose works appear in the Magisterial Palace and in the Conventual Church of St. John in Valletta, and Filippo Paladini, who was active in Malta from 1590 to 1595. For many years, Mannerism continued to inform the tastes and ideals of local Maltese artists.[291]

The Siege of Malta – Flight of the Turks, by Matteo Perez d'Aleccio

Saint Jerome Writing, by Caravaggio, 1607. Held in St John's Co-Cathedral, Valletta.

The arrival in Malta of Caravaggio, who painted at least seven works during his 15-month stay on these islands, further revolutionised local art. Two of Caravaggio's most notable works, *The Beheading of Saint John the Baptist* and *Saint Jerome Writing*, are on display in the Oratory of the Conventual Church of St. John. His legacy is evident in the works of local artists Giulio Cassarino (1582–1637) and Stefano Erardi (1630–1716). However, the Baroque movement that followed was destined to have the most enduring impact on Maltese art and architecture. The glorious vault paintings of the celebrated Calabrese artist, Mattia Preti transformed the severe, Mannerist interior of the Conventual Church St. John into a Baroque masterpiece. Preti spent the last 40 years of his life in Malta, where he created many of his finest works, now on display in the Museum of Fine Arts in Valletta. During this period, local sculptor Melchior Gafà (1639–1667) emerged as one of the top Baroque sculptors of the Roman School.

During the 17th and 18th century, Neapolitan and Rococo influences emerged in the works of the Italian painters Luca Giordano (1632–1705) and Francesco Solimena (1657–1747), and these developments can be seen in the work of their Maltese contemporaries such as Gio Nicola Buhagiar (1698–1752) and Francesco Zahra (1710–1773). The Rococo movement was greatly enhanced by the relocation to Malta of Antoine de Favray (1706–1798), who assumed the position of court painter to Grand Master Pinto in 1744.[292]

Francesco Noletti's *Still Life of Pomegranates, Peaches and other Fruits*

Neo-classicism made some inroads among local Maltese artists in the late-18th century, but this trend was reversed in the early 19th century, as the local Church authorities – perhaps in an effort to strengthen Catholic resolve against the perceived threat of Protestantism during the early days of British rule in Malta – favoured and avidly promoted the religious themes embraced by the Nazarene movement of artists. Romanticism, tempered by the naturalism introduced to Malta by Giuseppe Calì, informed the "salon" artists of the early 20th century, including Edward and Robert Caruana Dingli.[293]

Parliament established the National School of Art in the 1920s. During the reconstruction period that followed the Second World War, the emergence of the "Modern Art Group", whose members included Josef Kalleya (1898–1998), George Preca (1909–1984), Anton Inglott (1915–1945), Emvin Cremona (1919–1987), Frank

Portelli (1922–2004), Antoine Camilleri (1922–2005), Gabriel Caruana (1929–2018) and Esprit Barthet (1919–1999) greatly enhanced the local art scene. This group of forward-looking artists came together forming an influential pressure group known as the Modern Art Group. Together they forced the Maltese public to take seriously modern aesthetics and succeeded in playing a leading role in the renewal of Maltese art. Most of Malta's modern artists have in fact studied in Art institutions in England, or on the continent, leading to the explosive development of a wide spectrum of views and to a diversity of artistic expression that has remained characteristic of contemporary Maltese art. In Valletta, the National Museum of Fine Arts featured work from artists such as H. Craig Hanna.[294] In 2018 the national collection of fine arts was moved and put on display in the new National Museum of Art, MUŻA, located at Auberge d'Italie in Valletta.[295]

Cuisine

Pastizzi, a typical Maltese snack

Maltese cuisine shows strong Sicilian and Italian influences as well as influences of English, Spanish, Maghrebin and Provençal cuisines. A number of regional variations, particularly with regards to Gozo, can be noted as well as seasonal variations associated with the seasonal availability of produce and Christian feasts (such as Lent, Easter and Christmas). Food has been important historically in the development of a national identity in particular the traditional *fenkata* (i.e., the eating of stewed or fried rabbit). Potatoes are a staple of the Maltese diet as well.[296]

A number of grapes are endemic to Malta, including Girgentina and Ġellewża. There is a strong wine industry in Malta, with significant production of wines using these native grapes, as well as locally grown grapes of other more common varietals, such as Chardonnay and Syrah. A number of wines have achieved Protected Designation of Origin, with wines produced from grapes cultivated in Malta and Gozo designated as "DOK" wines, that is *Denominazzjoni ta' l-Oriġini Kontrollata*.[297]

Customs

A 2010 Charities Aid Foundation study found that the Maltese were the most generous people in the world, with 83% contributing to charity.[298]

Maltese folktales include various stories about mysterious creatures and supernatural events. These were most comprehensively compiled by the scholar (and pioneer in Maltese archaeology) Manwel Magri[299] in his core criticism "*Ħrejjef Missirijietna*" ("Fables from our Forefathers"). This collection of material inspired subsequent researchers and academics to gather traditional tales, fables and legends from all over the Archipelago.[290]

Magri's work also inspired a series of comic books (released by Klabb Kotba Maltin in 1984): the titles included *Bin is-Sultan Jiżżewweġ x-Xebba tat-Tronġiet Mewwija* and *Ir-Rjieħ*. Many of these stories have been popularly re-written as Children's literature by authors writing in Maltese, such as Trevor Żahra. While giants, witches, and dragons feature in many of the stories, some contain entirely Maltese creatures like the Kaw kaw, Il-Belliegħa and L-Imħalla among others. The traditional Maltese obsession with maintaining spiritual (or ritual) purity[300] means that many of these creatures have the role of guarding forbidden or restricted areas and attacking individuals who broke the strict codes of conduct that characterised the island's pre-industrial society.

Traditions

Traditional Maltese proverbs reveal cultural importance of childbearing and fertility: "*iż-żwieġ mingħajr tarbija ma fihx tgawdija*" (a childless marriage cannot be a happy one). This is a belief that Malta shares with many other Mediterranean cultures. In Maltese folktales the local variant of the classic closing formula, "and they all lived happily ever after" is "*u għammru u tgħammru, u spiċċat*" (and they lived together, and they had children together, and the tale is finished).[301]

Rural Malta shares in common with the Mediterranean society a number of superstitions regarding fertility, menstruation, and pregnancy, including the avoidance of cemeteries during the months leading up to childbirth, and avoiding the preparation of certain foods during menses. Pregnant women are encouraged to satisfy their cravings for specific foods, out of fear that their unborn child will bear a representational birth mark (Maltese: *xewqa*, literally "desire" or "craving"). Maltese and Sicilian women also share certain traditions that are believed to predict the sex of an unborn child, such as the cycle of the moon on the anticipated date of birth, whether the baby is carried "high" or "low" during pregnancy, and the movement of a wedding ring, dangled on a string above the abdomen (sideways denoting a girl, back and forth denoting a boy).

Traditionally, Maltese newborns were baptised as promptly as possible, should the child die in infancy without receiving this vital Sacrament; and partly because according to Maltese (and Sicilian) folklore an unbaptised child is not yet a Christian, but "still a Turk". Traditional Maltese delicacies served at a baptismal feast include *biskuttini tal-magħmudija* (almond macaroons covered in white or pink icing), *it-torta tal-marmorata* (a spicy, heart-shaped tart of chocolate-flavoured almond paste), and a liqueur known as *rożolin*, made with rose petals, violets, and almonds.

On a child's first birthday, in a tradition that still survives today, Maltese parents would organise a game known as *il-quċċija*, where a variety of symbolic objects would be randomly placed around the seated child. These may include a hard-boiled egg, a Bible, crucifix or rosary beads, a book, and so on. Whichever object the child shows the most interest in is said to reveal the child's path and fortunes in adulthood.[302]

Money refers to a rich future while a book expresses intelligence and a possible career as a teacher. Infants who select a pencil or pen will be writers. Choosing Bibles or rosary beads refers to a clerical or monastic life. If the child chooses a hard-boiled egg, it will have a long life and many children. More recent additions include calculators (refers to accounting), thread (fashion) and wooden spoons (cooking and a great appetite).

Traditional Maltese weddings featured the bridal party walking in procession beneath an ornate canopy, from the home of the bride's family to the parish church, with singers trailing behind serenading the bride and groom. The Maltese word for this custom is *il-ġilwa*. This custom along with many others has long since disappeared from the islands, in the face of modern practices.

Re-enactment of a traditional Maltese 18th-century wedding

New wives would wear the għonnella, a traditional item of Maltese clothing. However, it is no longer worn in modern Malta. Today's couples are married in churches or chapels in the village or town of their choice. The nuptials are usually followed by a lavish and joyous wedding reception, often including several hundred guests. Occasionally, couples will try to incorporate elements of the traditional Maltese wedding in their celebration. A resurgent interest in the traditional wedding was evident in May 2007, when thousands of Maltese and tourists attended a traditional Maltese wedding in the style of the 16th century, in the village of Żurrieq. This included *il-ġilwa*, which led the bride and groom to a wedding ceremony that took place on the parvis of St. Andrew's Chapel. The reception that followed featured folklore music (*għana*) and dancing.

Festivals and events

Local festivals, similar to those in Southern Italy, are commonplace in Malta and Gozo, celebrating weddings, christenings and, most prominently, saints' days, honouring the patron saint of the local parish. On saints' days, in the morning, the *festa* reaches its apex with a High Mass featuring a sermon on the life and achievements of the patron saint. In the evening, then, a statue of the religious patron is taken around the local streets in solemn procession, with the faithful following in respectful prayer. The atmosphere of religious devotion is preceded by several days of celebration and revelry: band marches, fireworks, and late-night parties.

Carnival (Maltese: *il-karnival ta' Malta*) has had an important place on the cultural calendar after Grand Master Piero de Ponte introduced it to the islands in 1535. It is held during the week leading up to Ash Wednesday, and typically includes masked balls, fancy dress and grotesque mask competitions, lavish late-night parties, a

colourful, ticker-tape parade of allegorical floats presided over by King Carnival (Maltese: *ir-Re tal-Karnival*), marching bands and costumed revellers.[303]

The statue of St. George at the *festa* of Victoria, Gozo

Holy Week (Maltese: *il-Ġimgħa Mqaddsa*) starts on Palm Sunday (*Ħadd il-Palm*) and ends on Easter Sunday (*Ħadd il-Għid*). Numerous religious traditions, most of them inherited from one generation to the next, are part of the Easter celebrations in the Maltese Islands, honouring the death and resurrection of Jesus.

Mnarja, or l-Imnarja (pronounced *lim-nar-ya*) is one of the most important dates on the Maltese cultural calendar. Officially, it is a national festival dedicated to the feast of Saints Peter and Paul. Its roots can be traced back to the pagan Roman feast of *Luminaria* (literally, "the illumination"), when torches and bonfires lit up the early summer night of 29 June.[304]

A national feast since the rule of the Knights, Mnarja is a traditional Maltese festival of food, religion and music. The festivities still commence today with the reading of the *"bandu"*, an official governmental announcement, which has been read on this day in Malta since the 16th century. Originally, Mnarja was celebrated outside St. Paul's Grotto, in the north of Malta. However, by 1613 the focus of the festivities had shifted to St Paul's Cathedral in Mdina and featured torchlight processions, the firing of 100 petards, horseraces, and races for men, boys, and slaves. Modern Mnarja festivals take place in and around the woodlands of Buskett, just outside the town of Rabat.

Holy Week procession in Żebbuġ

It is said that under the Knights, this was the one day in the year when the Maltese were allowed to hunt and eat wild rabbit, which was otherwise reserved for the hunting pleasures of the Knights. The close connection between Mnarja and rabbit stew (Maltese: *"fenkata"*) remains strong today.[305]

In 1854 British governor William Reid launched an agricultural show at Buskett which is still being held today. The farmers' exhibition is still a seminal part of the Mnarja festivities today.[306]

Mnarja today is one of the few occasions when participants may hear traditional Maltese *għana*. Traditionally, grooms would promise to take their brides to Mnarja during the first year of marriage. For luck, many of the brides would attend in their wedding gown and veil, although this custom has long since disappeared from the islands.[307]

Isle of MTV is a one-day music festival produced and broadcast on an annual basis by MTV. The festival has been arranged annually in Malta since 2007, with major pop artists performing each year. 2012 saw the performances of worldwide acclaimed artists Flo Rida, Nelly Furtado and Will.i.am at Fosos Square in Floriana. Over 50,000 people attended, which marked the biggest attendance so far.[308]

In 2009 the first New Year's Eve street party was organised in Malta, parallel to what major countries in the world organise. Although the event was not highly advertised, and was controversial due to the closing of an arterial street on the day, it is deemed to have been successful and will most likely be organised every year.

The Malta International Fireworks Festival is an annual festival that has been arranged in the Grand Harbour of Valletta since 2003. The festival offers fireworks displays of a number of Maltese as well as foreign fireworks factories. The festival is usually held in the last week of April every year.[309]

Media

The most widely read and financially the strongest newspapers are published by Allied Newspapers Ltd., mainly *The Times of Malta* (27 percent) and its Sunday edition *The Sunday Times of Malta* (51.6 percent). Due to bilingualism half of the newspapers are published in English and the other half in Maltese. The Sunday newspaper *It-Torċa* ("The Torch") published by the Union Press, a subsidiary of the General Workers' Union, is the widest Maltese language paper. Its sister paper, *L-Orizzont* ("The Horizon"), is the Maltese daily with the biggest circulation. There is a high number of daily or weekly newspapers; there is one paper for every 28,000 people. Advertising, sales, and subsidies are the three main methods of financing newspapers and magazines. However, most of the papers and magazines tied to institutions are subsidised by the same institutions, they depend on advertising or subsidies from their owners.[310]

There are eight terrestrial television channels in Malta: TVM, TVMNews+, Parliament TV, One, NET Television, Smash Television, F Living and Xejk. These channels are transmitted by digital terrestrial, free-to-air signals on UHF channel 66.[311] The state and political parties subsidise most of the funding of these television stations. TVM, TVMNews+, and Parliament TV are operated by Public Broadcasting Services, the national broadcaster, and members of the EBU. Media.link Communications Ltd., the owner of NET Television, and One Productions Ltd., the owner of One, are affiliated with the Nationalist and Labour parties, respectively. The rest are privately owned. The Malta Broadcasting Authority supervises all local broadcasting stations and ensures their compliance with legal and licence obligations as well as the preservation of due impartiality; in respect of matters of political or industrial controversy or relating to current public policy; while fairly apportioning broadcasting facilities and time between persons belong to different political parties. The Broadcasting Authority ensures that local broadcasting services consist of public, private and community broadcasts that offer varied and comprehensive programming to cater for all interests and tastes.

The Malta Communications Authority reported that there were 147,896 pay TV subscriptions active at the end of 2012, which includes analogue and digital cable, pay digital terrestrial TV and IPTV.[312] For reference the latest census counts 139,583 households in Malta.[313] Satellite reception is available to receive other European television networks such as the BBC from Great Britain and RAI and Mediaset from Italy.

Sport

In 2018 Malta hosted its first Esports tournament, 'Supernova CS:GO Malta',[314] a Counter-Strike: Global Offensive tournament with a $150,000 prize pool.[315]

See also

- Outline of Malta
- Index of Malta-related articles

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Notes

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Midnight Express (film)

Midnight Express is a 1978 prison drama film directed by Alan Parker, produced by David Puttnam and written by Oliver Stone, based on Billy Hayes's 1977 non-fiction book of the same name. It stars Brad Davis, Irene Miracle, Bo Hopkins, Paolo Bonacelli, Paul L. Smith, Randy Quaid, Norbert Weisser, Peter Jeffrey and John Hurt.

Hayes was a young American student sent to a Turkish prison for trying to smuggle hashish out of the country. The film's title is prison slang for his escape attempt.

Upon release, *Midnight Express* received generally positive reviews from critics. Many praised Davis's performance as well as the cast, the writing, the direction, and the musical score by Giorgio Moroder. Hayes and others criticized the film for portraying the Turkish prison men as violent and villainous and for deviating too much from the source material.[3][4] It was later nominated for Best Picture and Best Director for Parker at the 51st Academy Awards in 1979, and won Best Adapted Screenplay and Best Original Score for Stone and Moroder respectively.

Midnight Express

Theatrical release poster

Directed by	Alan Parker
Screenplay by	Oliver Stone
Based on	*Midnight Express* by Billy Hayes William Hoffer
Produced by	Alan Marshall David Puttnam
Starring	Brad Davis Irene Miracle Bo Hopkins Randy Quaid John Hurt Paul L. Smith
Cinematography	Michael Seresin
Edited by	Gerry Hambling
Music by	Giorgio Moroder
Production company	Casablanca FilmWorks
Distributed by	Columbia Pictures
Release dates	May 18, 1978 (Cannes Film

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Plot

On vacation in Istanbul, Turkey in 1970, American college student Billy Hayes straps 2 kg of hashish bricks to his chest. As he and his girlfriend are about to board a plane back to the United States, Billy is detained by Turkish

police, who are on high alert for terrorist attacks. Billy is strip-searched and arrested.

A shadowy American – whom Billy nicknames "Tex" for his thick Texan accent – arrives and accompanies Billy to a police station and translates for him. Billy claims he bought the hashish from a taxicab driver and offers to help police locate him in exchange for being released. At a nearby market, Billy points out the cab driver to police, who arrest him, but they have no intention of releasing Billy. He attempts to escape, only to be recaptured at gunpoint by Tex.

During his first night in a local jail, a freezing-cold Billy sneaks out of his cell and steals a blanket. He is later rousted from his cell, brutally beaten and raped by chief guard Hamidou for the theft. A few days later, Billy awakens in Sağmalcılar Prison, surrounded by fellow Western prisoners Jimmy (an American who stole two candlesticks from a mosque), Max (an English heroin addict), and Erich (a Swedish drug smuggler). Jimmy warns Billy that the prison is dangerous for foreigners and says no one can be trusted, not even young children.

	Festival) August 10, 1978 (UK) October 6, 1978 (US)
Running time	121 minutes
Countries	United Kingdom[1] United States Turkey
Languages	English Turkish Maltese
Budget	$2.3 million[2]
Box office	$35 million[2]

Billy meets with his father, a U.S. representative, and a Turkish lawyer, to discuss his situation. During Billy's trial, the prosecutor makes a case against him for drug smuggling. The lead judge is sympathetic to Billy and gives him a four-year sentence for drug possession. Billy and his father are devastated, but their Turkish lawyer insists it is a good result because the prosecutor wanted a life sentence.

Jimmy wants Billy to join an escape attempt through the prison's subterranean tunnels. Billy, due to be released soon, declines. Jimmy goes alone and is caught, then brutally beaten. Fifty-three days before his release, Billy learns the Turkish High Court in Ankara has overturned his sentence after an appeal by the prosecution. The prosecutor who originally wanted Billy convicted of smuggling rather than the lesser charge of possession finally had his way. Billy has been resentenced to serve 30 years.

In desperation, Billy accompanies Jimmy and Max to try to escape through the catacombs below the prison. They give up after running into endless dead-ends. A particularly sycophantic prisoner named Rifki, who routinely acts as an informant in exchange for favors, tips off the guards about the escape attempt. Billy's imprisonment becomes harsh and brutal: terrifying scenes of physical and mental torture follow one another, and Billy has a breakdown. He brutally beats Rifki, killing him. He is sent to the prison's ward for the insane, where he wanders about in a daze among the other disturbed and catatonic prisoners.

In 1975, Billy's girlfriend, Susan, visits him. Devastated by Billy's condition, she tells him he must get out or else die. She leaves him a scrapbook with money hidden inside to help Billy escape. Her visit strongly helps Billy regains his senses. He tries to bribe Hamidou to take him to the prison hospital, but instead Hamidou forces Billy to a room, then tries to rape him. They struggle until Hamidou is killed after being pushed into the wall, his head impaled upon a coat hook. Billy dons a guard's uniform and walks out the front door to freedom.

The epilogue shows that in October 1975, Billy crossed the border to Greece and arrived home three weeks later.

Cast

- Brad Davis as Billy Hayes
- Irene Miracle as Susan
- Bo Hopkins as CIA Agent "Tex"
- Paolo Bonacelli as Rifki
- Paul L. Smith as Hamidou
- Randy Quaid as Jimmy Booth
- Norbert Weisser as Erich
- John Hurt as Max

- Kevork Malikyan as The Prosecutor
- Yashaw Adem as The Airport Police Chief
- Mike Kellin as Mr. Hayes
- Franco Diogene as Yesil
- Michael Ensign as Stanley Daniels
- Gigi Ballista as The Judge
- Peter Jeffrey as Ahmet
- Michael Giannatos as Court Translator

Production

Although the story is set largely in Turkey, the movie was filmed almost entirely at Fort Saint Elmo in Valletta, Malta, after permission to film in Istanbul was denied.[5][6] Ending credits of the movie state: 'Made entirely on location in Malta and recorded at EMI Studios, Borehamwood by Columbia Pictures Corporation Limited 19/23 Wells Street, London, W1 England.'

The film was mostly shot in the lower parts of Fort Saint Elmo in Valletta.

A made-for-television documentary about the film, *I'm Healthy, I'm Alive, and I'm Free* (alternative title: *The Making of Midnight Express*), was released on January 1, 1977. It is seven minutes long, and features commentary from the cast and crew on how they worked together during production, and the effort it took from beginning to completion. It also includes footage from the creation of the film, and Hayes's emotional first visit to the prison set.[7]

Differences from the book

Various aspects of Billy Hayes's story were fictionalized or added for the movie:

- In the movie, Hayes is in Turkey with his girlfriend when he is arrested; in real life, he was travelling alone.
- Although Billy spent 17 days in the prison's psychiatric hospital in 1972 in the book, he never bites out anyone's tongue, which, in the film, leads to him being committed to the section for the criminally insane.
- The book ends with Hayes being moved to another prison on an island from which he eventually escapes by stealing a dinghy, rowing 17 miles (27 km) in a raging storm across the Sea of Marmara, traveling by foot and by bus to Istanbul, and then crossing the border into Greece.[8] In the film, that passage is replaced by a violent scene in which he unwittingly kills the head guard who is preparing to rape him. (In the book, Hamidou, the chief guard, was killed in 1973 by a recently paroled prisoner, who spotted him drinking tea at a café outside the prison, and shot him eight times.) The attempted rape scene itself was fictionalized; Billy never claimed in the book to have suffered any sexual violence at the hands of either his Turkish guards, wardens, or fellow inmates, but engaged in consensual homosexual activity while he was in prison. The film depicts Hayes gently rejecting the advances of a fellow prisoner (Erich the Swede).
- There is a fleeting reference to the popular restaurant The Pudding Shop, in the bazaar. It is actually on Divan Yolu, the main avenue through historic Old Istanbul.

Release

The film screened at the 1978 Cannes Film Festival. It opened at the Odeon Haymarket in London on Thursday, 10 August 1978 grossing $3,472 in its opening day, a Columbia Pictures record in the UK.[9] It opened in New York on 6 October 1978 before opening nationwide in the United States on 27 October.[10]

Home media

The film was first released on VHS and Betamax by Columbia Pictures Home Entertainment in 1979. It made its DVD debut in 1998. A 30th Anniversary DVD of the film was released in 2008, and a Blu-ray was released in 2009.

Reception

According to the film review aggregator Rotten Tomatoes, 93% of critics gave the film positive reviews, based on 27 reviews with an average rating of 7.7/10. The website's critics consensus reads: "Raw and unrelenting, *Midnight Express* is riveting in its realistic depiction of incarceration -- mining pathos from the simple act of enduring hardship."[11] On Metacritic, the film has a weighted average score of 59 out of 100, based on 11 critics, indicating "mixed or average reviews".[12]

Roger Ebert gave *Midnight Express* three stars out of four in a review that concluded, "The movie creates spellbinding terror, all right; my only objection is that it's so eager to have us sympathize with Billy Hayes."[13] Gene Siskel gave the film two and a half stars out of four and called it "a powerful film, but we leave the theater thinking it should have been more so. It was for that reason that I was persuaded to read the book, which is where I found the story I had been expecting to see on the screen." He also thought that Brad Davis "is simply not up to the lead role. He appears unsure of himself and, like the film itself, he overacts."[14] Arthur D. Murphy of *Variety* wrote, "Acceptance of the film depends a lot on forgetting several things," namely that Hayes was smuggling drugs. Nevertheless, he thought Davis gave "a strong performance" and that "Alan Parker's direction and other credits are also admirable, once you swallow the specious and hypocritical story."[15] Charles Champlin, of the *Los Angeles Times*, was positive, writing that the film "has a kind of wailing, arid authenticity and enormous power. It is strong and uncompromising stuff, made bearable by its artistry and the saving awareness that Hayes, at least, slipped free and lived to tell the tale."[16] Gary Arnold, of *The Washington Post*, described the film as "outrageously sensationalistic" and "loaded with show-stopping fabrications," and wrote of the protagonist that "there's never a compelling reason for sympathizing with the callow boy he appears to be from start to finish."[17]

Allegations of Turkophobia

Midnight Express was also criticized for its unfavorable portrayal of Turkish people. In her 1991 book *Turkish Reflections: A Biography of Place*, Mary Lee Settle wrote: "The Turks I saw in *Lawrence of Arabia* and *Midnight Express* were like cartoon caricatures, compared to the people I had known and lived among for three of the happiest years of my life."[18] Pauline Kael, in reviewing the film for *The New Yorker*, commented, "This story could have happened in almost any country, but if Billy Hayes had planned to be arrested to get the maximum commercial benefit from it, where else could he get the advantages of a Turkish jail? Who wants to defend Turks? (They don't even constitute enough of a movie market for Columbia Pictures to be concerned about how they are represented.)"[19] One reviewer, writing for *World Film Directors*, wrote: "*Midnight Express* is 'more violent, as a national hate-film than anything I can remember', 'a cultural form that narrows horizons, confirming the audience's meanest fears and prejudices and resentments'."[20]

David Denby of *New York* criticized *Midnight Express* as "merely anti-Turkish, and hardly a defense of prisoners' rights or a protest against prison conditions."[21] Denby said also that all Turks in the film – guardian or prisoner – were portrayed as "losers" and "swine", and that "without exception [all the Turks] are presented as degenerate, stupid slobs".[21]

The well-known Spanish film magazine Fotogramas had this to say: "One of the most sibylline exercises in racism ever produced, and one peddled under a progressive label to boot. The true story of an American arrested in Turkey for drug trafficking becomes a nightmare resolved with a sensationalism that is impactful yet worthy of a better cause, as is always the case in its director's career".[22]

Box office

The film was made for $2.3 million and grossed over $35 million worldwide.

In 1978, the Turkish government unsuccessfully attempted to prevent the film from being screened in Israel.[23]

Awards and nominations

Award	Category	Recipient	Result
Academy Awards[24]	Best Picture	Alan Marshall and David Puttnam	Nominated
	Best Director	Alan Parker	Nominated
	Best Supporting Actor	John Hurt	Nominated
	Best Screenplay – Based on Material from Another Medium	Oliver Stone	Won
	Best Film Editing	Gerry Hambling	Nominated
	Best Original Score	Giorgio Moroder	Won
British Academy Film Awards[25]	Best Film	Alan Parker	Nominated
	Best Direction		Won
	Best Actor in a Leading Role	Brad Davis	Nominated
	Best Actor in a Supporting Role	John Hurt	Won
	Best Film Editing	Gerry Hambling	Won
	Most Promising Newcomer to Leading Film Roles	Brad Davis	Nominated
Cannes Film Festival[26]	Palme d'Or	Alan Parker	Nominated
Directors Guild of America Awards[27]	Outstanding Directorial Achievement in Motion Pictures		Nominated
Golden Globe Awards[28]	Best Motion Picture – Drama		Won
	Best Actor in a Motion Picture – Drama	Brad Davis	Nominated
	Best Supporting Actor – Motion Picture	John Hurt	Won
	Best Director – Motion Picture	Alan Parker	Nominated
	Best Screenplay – Motion Picture	Oliver Stone	Won
	Best Original Score – Motion Picture	Giorgio Moroder	Won
	Best Motion Picture Acting Debut – Male	Brad Davis	Won
	Best Motion Picture Acting Debut – Female	Irene Miracle	Won
Grammy Awards	Best Album of Original Score Written for a Motion Picture or Television Special	Giorgio Moroder, Billy Hayes and Oliver Stone	Nominated
Kansas City Film Critics Circle Awards[29]	Best Actor	Brad Davis	Won
Los Angeles Film Critics Association Awards[30]	Best Film		Nominated
	Best Director	Alan Parker	Runner-up
	Best Music Score	Giorgio Moroder	Won
National Board of Review Awards[31]	Top Ten Films		6th Place
Political Film Society Awards	Special Award		Won
Writers Guild of America Awards[32]	Best Drama Adapted from Another Medium	Oliver Stone	Won

Soundtrack

Released on October 6, 1978, by Casablanca Records, the soundtrack to *Midnight Express* was composed by Italian synth-pioneer Giorgio Moroder. The score won the Academy Award for Best Original Score in 1979.

1. "Chase" – Giorgio Moroder (8:24)
2. "Love's Theme" – Giorgio Moroder (5:33)
3. "(Theme from) Midnight Express" (Instrumental) – Giorgio Moroder (4:39)
4. "Istanbul Blues" (Vocal) – David Castle (3:17)
5. "The Wheel" – Giorgio Moroder (2:24)
6. "Istanbul Opening" – Giorgio Moroder (4:43)
7. "Cacaphoney" – Giorgio Moroder (2:58)
8. "(Theme from) Midnight Express" (Vocal) – Chris Bennett (4:47)

Midnight Express: Music from the Original Motion Picture Soundtrack	
Soundtrack album by Giorgio Moroder	
Released	October 6, 1978
Genre	Disco
Length	37:00
Label	Casablanca Records
Producer	Giorgio Moroder
Giorgio Moroder chronology	
From Here to Eternity (1977)	***Midnight Express: Music from the Original Motion Picture Soundtrack*** (1978)	*Music from "Battlestar Galactica" and Other Original Compositions* (1978)
Singles from *Midnight Express: Music from the Original Motion Picture Soundtrack*	
1. "Chase" Released: 1978	

Charts

Chart (1979)	Peak position
Australia (Kent Music Report)[33]	26

Legacy

The quote 'Have you ever been in a Turkish prison?', in the American comedy film *Airplane!* (1980), is a reference to *Midnight Express*.[34]

Susan's prison visit was spoofed in the 1996 film *The Cable Guy*, where Jim Carrey opens his shirt, presses his naked breast against the glass, and cries, 'Oh, Billy!'

An amateur interview with Billy Hayes appeared on YouTube,[35] recorded during the 1999 Cannes Film Festival. He describes his experiences and expresses his disappointment with the film adaptation.[36] In an article for the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Hayes is reported as saying that the film 'depicts all Turks as monsters'.[37]

Giorgio Moroder's work "The Chase" is often used as bumper music on the American late-night radio talk show radio program *Coast to Coast AM*.

In pro wrestling, several tag teams were called The Midnight Express. Original member Dennis Condrey said the name reflected how they dressed in black, drove black cars and partied past midnight. The most popular iteration, Bobby Eaton and Stan Lane, used the film's theme, "Chase", as their entrance music.

When he visited Turkey in 2004, screenwriter Oliver Stone - who won an Academy Award for writing the screenplay for *Midnight Express* - apologized for the portrayal of the Turkish people in the film.[3] He "eventually apologized for tampering with the truth".[38]

"Theme from Midnight Express" is sampled on J Dilla's "Phantom of the Synths", which is prominently used on "Gazzillion Ear", produced by J Dilla and performed by MF Doom, released in 2005 and 2009 respectively.[39][40]

Hayes, Stone, and Alan Parker were invited to attend a special screening of *Midnight Express*, with prisoners in the garden of an L-type prison in Döşemealtı, Turkey, as part of the 47th Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival in October 2010.[41]

Dialogue from *Midnight Express* was sampled in the song "Sanctified" on the original version of *Pretty Hate Machine*, the debut album from Nine Inch Nails; the sample was removed from the 2010 remaster, for copyright reasons.

In 2016, Parker returned to Malta as a special guest during the second edition of the Valletta Film Festival to attend a screening of the film on 4 June at Fort St Elmo, where many of the prison scenes were filmed.[6]

According to a memoir from Trump aide Stephanie Grisham, during the 2019 G20 Summit, United States President Donald Trump asked the Turkish president whether he'd seen the film *Midnight Express*.

See also

- Brokedown Palace

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Erasmus of Formia

Erasmus of Formia, also known as **Saint Elmo** (died c. 303), was a Christian saint and martyr. He is venerated as the patron saint of sailors and abdominal pain. Erasmus or Elmo is also one of the Fourteen Holy Helpers, saintly figures of Christian tradition who are venerated especially as intercessors.

Saint
Elmo of Formia

St. Elmo by the Master of Meßkirch, c. 1530

Born	3rd century
Died	c. 303 Illyricum (modern day Croatia)
Venerated in	Eastern Orthodox Church Roman Catholic Church
Feast	2 June[1]
Attributes	represented with his entrails wound on a windlass or as a vested bishop holding a winch or windlass[2][3]
Patronage	sailors, Gaeta, Formia, colic in children, intestinal ailments and diseases, cramps and the pain of women in labor,

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Documentation of his life

The *Acts of Saint Elmo* were partly compiled from legends that confuse him with a Syrian bishop Erasmus of Antioch. Jacobus de Voragine in the *Golden Legend* credited him as a bishop at Formia over all the Italian Campania, as a hermit on Mount Lebanon, and a martyr in the Diocletianic Persecution. There appears to be no historical basis for his *passio*.[4]

Account of life and martyrdom

Erasmus was Bishop of Formia, Italy. During the persecution against Christians under the emperors Diocletian (284-305) and Maximian Hercules (286-305), he left his diocese and went to Mount Libanus, where he hid for seven years. However, an angel is said to have appeared to him, and counseled him to return to his city.[5]

On the way, he encountered some soldiers who questioned him. Erasmus admitted that he was a Christian and they brought him to trial at Antioch before the emperor Diocletian. After suffering terrible tortures, he was bound with chains and thrown into prison, but an angel appeared and helped him escape.[5]

He passed through Lycia, where he raised up the son of an illustrious citizen. This resulted in a number of baptisms, which drew the attention of the Western Roman Emperor Maximian who, according to Voragine, was "much worse than was Diocletian." Maximian ordered his arrest and Erasmus continued to confess his faith. They forced him to go to a temple of the idol, but along Erasmus's route all the idols fell and were destroyed, and from the temple there came fire which fell upon many of the pagans.[5]

These actions angered the emperor, who had Erasmus enclosed in a barrel full of protruding spikes and rolled down a hill. An angel healed him from these wounds.

When he was recaptured, he was brought before the emperor and beaten and whipped, then coated with pitch and set alight (as Christians had been in Nero's games), and still he survived. Thrown into prison with the intention of letting him die of starvation, Erasmus managed to escape.

He was recaptured and tortured in the Roman province of Illyricum, after boldly preaching and converting numerous pagans to Christianity. Finally, according to this version of his death, his abdomen was slit open and his intestines wound around a windlass. This version may have developed from interpreting an icon that showed him with a windlass, signifying his patronage of sailors.[6]

A 15th-century fresco painting held to be the torturing of Erasmus, in the Maria Church in Båstad, Sweden

Veneration and patronage

Erasmus may have become the patron of sailors because he is said to have continued preaching even after a thunderbolt struck the ground beside him. This prompted sailors, who were in danger from sudden storms and lightning, to claim his prayers. The electrical discharges at the mastheads of ships were read as a sign of his protection and came to be called "Saint Elmo's Fire".[7][8]

Pope Gregory the Great recorded in the 6th century that the relics of Erasmus were preserved in the cathedral of Formia. When the old *Formiae* was razed by the Saracens in 842, the cult of Erasmus was moved to Gaeta. He is currently the patron of Gaeta, Santeramo in Colle and Formia.

There is an altar to Erasmus in the north transept of St. Peter's Basilica.[9] A copy of Nicolas Poussin's *Martyrdom of St Erasmus* serves as the altarpiece.[6]

Besides his patronage of mariners, Erasmus is invoked against colic in children, abdominal pain, intestinal ailments and diseases, cramps and the pain of women in labour, as well as cattle pests.

Martyrdom of St Erasmus, Poussin

Gallery

"Meeting of Saint Erasmus and Saint Maurice" by Matthias Grünewald (1517–23), Alte Pinakothek. Grünewald used Albert of Mainz, who commissioned the painting, as the model for St. Erasmus.

The belfry of the Cathedral of St. Erasmus in Gaeta

The martyrdom of Saint Elmo, by an unknown painter from the Netherlands, 1474

Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus

See also

- St. Elmo Hall, a name for some chapter houses of Delta Phi fraternity
- St. Elmo's fire, a meteorological phenomenon named after the saint
- List of early Christian saints
- Saint Erasmus of Formia, patron saint archive
- Blessed Peter González, patron of Spanish and Portuguese mariners is also invoked as "San Telmo" or "San Elmo".

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External links

- *The Golden Legend (Saint Erasmus)* (https://web.archive.org/web/20040803111201/http://www.catholic-forum.com/saints/golden350.htm) – e-text adapted from Wynken de Worde's edition of 1527.
- Saint of the Day, June 2: *Erasmus of Formia* (http://www.saintpatrickdc.org/ss/0602.shtml) at *SaintPatrickDC.org*

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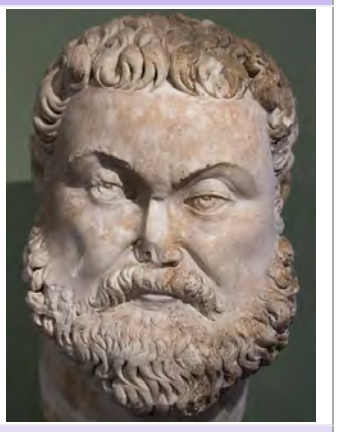
Maximian

Maximian (Latin: *Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus*; c. 250 – c. July 310), nicknamed ***Herculius***,[8] was Roman emperor from 286 to 305. He was *Caesar*[3][4] from 285 to 286, then *Augustus* from 286[1] to 305.[2] He shared the latter title with his co-emperor and superior, Diocletian, whose political brain complemented Maximian's military brawn. Maximian established his residence at Trier but spent most of his time on campaign. In late 285, he suppressed rebels in Gaul known as the Bagaudae. From 285 to 288, he fought against Germanic tribes along the Rhine frontier. Together with Diocletian, he launched a scorched earth campaign deep into Alamannic territory in 288, refortifying the frontier.

The man he appointed to police the Channel shores, Carausius, rebelled in 286, causing the secession of Britain and northwestern Gaul. Maximian failed to oust Carausius, and his invasion fleet was destroyed by storms in 289 or 290. Maximian's subordinate, Constantius, campaigned against Carausius' successor, Allectus, while Maximian held the Rhine frontier. The rebel leader was ousted in 296, and Maximian moved south to combat piracy near Hispania and Berber incursions in Mauretania. When these campaigns concluded in 298, he departed for Italy, where he lived in comfort until 305. At Diocletian's behest, Maximian abdicated on 1 May 305, gave the Augustan office to Constantius, and retired to southern Italy.

In late 306, Maximian took the title of Augustus again and aided his son, Maxentius, and his rebellion in Italy. In April 307, he attempted to depose his son, but failed and fled to the court of Constantius' successor, Constantine (Maximian's step-grandson and son-in-law), in Trier. At the Council of Carnuntum in November 308, Diocletian and his successor, Galerius, forced Maximian to renounce his imperial claim again. In early 310, Maximian attempted to seize Constantine's title while the emperor was on campaign on the Rhine. Few supported him, and he was captured by Constantine in Marseille. Maximian killed himself in mid-310 on Constantine's orders. During Constantine's war with Maxentius, Maximian's image was purged from all public places. However, after Constantine ousted and killed Maxentius, Maximian's image was rehabilitated, and he was deified.

Maximian	
	
Roman emperor	
Augustus	1 April 286[1] – 1 May 305 (in the West, with Diocletian in the East)[2]
Predecessor	Diocletian (alone)
Successor	Constantius and Galerius
Caesar	21[3] or 25 July[4] 285 – 286 (under Diocletian)
***Augustus* (again)**	Late 306 – 11 November 308 (self-declared)[5] 310 (self-declared)[6]
Born	Maximianus c. 250 Sirmium (present-day Sremska Mitrovica, Serbia)
Died	c. July 310 (aged around 60) Massilia (Marseille, France)
Spouse	Eutropia
Issue *Detail*	Flavia Maximiana Theodora Maxentius Fausta
Names	
Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus[7]	

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Early life

Maximian was born around 250[9] near Sirmium (modern Sremska Mitrovica, Serbia) in the province of Pannonia, into a family of shopkeepers.[10][11] Beyond that, the ancient sources contain vague allusions to Illyricum as his homeland,[12] to his Pannonian virtues,[13] and to his harsh upbringing along the war-torn Danube frontier.[14] Maximian joined the army, serving with Diocletian under the emperors Aurelian (r. 270–275) and Probus (r. 276–282). He probably participated in the Mesopotamian campaign of Carus in 283 and attended Diocletian's election as emperor on November 20, 284 at Nicomedia.[15] Maximian's swift appointment by Diocletian as Caesar is taken by the writer Stephen Williams and historian Timothy Barnes to mean that the two men were longterm allies, that their respective roles were pre-agreed and that Maximian had probably supported Diocletian during his campaign against Carinus (r. 283–285) but there is no direct evidence for this.[16]

Antoninianus of Maximian. Legend: IMPerator MAXIMIANVS AVGustus.

With his great energy, firm aggressive character and disinclination to rebel, Maximian was an appealing candidate for imperial office. The fourth-century historian Aurelius Victor described Maximian as "a colleague trustworthy in friendship, if somewhat boorish, and of great military talents".[17] Despite his other qualities, Maximian was uneducated and preferred action to thought. The panegyric of 289, after comparing his actions to Scipio Africanus' victories over Hannibal during the Second Punic War, suggested that Maximian had never heard of them.[18] His ambitions were purely military; he left politics to Diocletian.[19] The Christian rhetor Lactantius suggested that Maximian shared Diocletian's basic attitudes but was less puritanical in his tastes, and took advantage of the sensual opportunities his position as emperor offered.[20] Lactantius charged that Maximian defiled senators' daughters and traveled with young virgins to satisfy his unending lust, though Lactantius' credibility is undermined by his general hostility towards pagans.[21]

Maximian had two children with his Syrian wife, Eutropia: Maxentius and Fausta. There is no direct evidence in the ancient sources for their birthdates. Modern estimates of Maxentius' birth year have varied from c. 276 to 283,[22] and most date Fausta's birth to c. 289 or 290.[23] Theodora, the wife of Constantius Chlorus, is often called Maximian's stepdaughter by ancient sources, leading to claims by Otto Seeck and Ernest Stein that she was born from an earlier marriage between Eutropia and Afranius Hannibalianus.[24] Barnes challenges this view, saying that all "stepdaughter" sources derive their information from the partially unreliable work of history *Kaisergeschichte*, while other, more reliable, sources refer to her as Maximian's natural daughter.[25] Barnes concludes that Theodora was born no later than c. 275 to an unnamed earlier wife of Maximian, possibly one of Hannibalianus' daughters.[26]

An Argenteus of Maximian. Legend: MAXIMIANVS AVGustus.

Appointment as Caesar

At Mediolanum (Milan, Italy) in July 285,[27] Diocletian proclaimed Maximian as his co-ruler, or Caesar.[28] The reasons for this decision are complex. With conflict in every province of the Empire, from Gaul to Syria, from Egypt to the lower Danube, Diocletian needed a lieutenant to manage his heavy workload.[29] Historian Stephen Williams suggests that Diocletian considered himself a mediocre general and needed a man like Maximian to do most of his fighting.[30]

Aureus of Maximian. Legend: MAXIMIANVS AVGVSTVS / CONSVL IIII Pater Patriae PROCOnSul – SMAZ (Antioch mint).

Next, Diocletian was vulnerable in that he had no sons, just a daughter, Valeria, who could never succeed him. He was forced therefore to seek a co-ruler from outside his family and that co-ruler had to be someone he trusted.[31] The historian William Seston has argued that Diocletian, like heirless emperors before him, adopted Maximian as his *filius Augusti* ("Augustan son") upon his appointment to the office. Some agree, but the historian Frank Kolb has stated that arguments for the adoption are based on misreadings of the papyrological evidence.[32] Maximian did take Diocletian's *nomen* (family name) Valerius, however.[33]

Finally, Diocletian knew that single rule was dangerous and that precedent existed for dual rulership. Despite their military prowess, both sole-emperors Aurelian and Probus had been easily removed from power.[34] In contrast, just a few years earlier, the emperor Carus and his sons had ruled jointly, albeit not for long. Even the first emperor, Augustus, (r. 27 BC–AD 14), had shared power with his colleagues and more formal offices of co-emperor had existed from Marcus Aurelius (r. 161–180) on.[35]

Diocletian, Maximian's senior colleague and Augustus in the east. Legend: IMP. CARAVSIVS P. F. AVG. / LEGion IIII FL – ML (Londinium mint)

The dual system evidently worked well. About 287, the two rulers' relationship was re-defined in religious terms, with Diocletian assuming the title *Iovius* and Maximian *Herculius*.[36] The titles were pregnant with symbolism: Diocletian-Jove had the dominant role of planning and commanding; Maximian-Hercules the heroic role of completing assigned tasks.[37] Yet despite the symbolism, the emperors were not "gods" in the Imperial cult (although they may have been hailed as such in Imperial panegyrics). Instead, they were the gods' instruments, imposing the gods' will on earth.[38] Once the rituals were over, Maximian assumed control of the government of the West and was dispatched to Gaul to fight the rebels known as Bagaudae while Diocletian returned to the East.[39]

Early campaigns in Gaul and Germany

The Bagaudae of Gaul are obscure figures, appearing fleetingly in the ancient sources, with their 285 uprising being their first appearance.[40] The fourth-century historian Eutropius described them as rural people under the leadership of Amandus and Aelianus, while Aurelius Victor called them bandits.[41] The historian David S. Potter suggests that they were more than peasants, seeking either Gallic political autonomy or reinstatement of the recently deposed Carus (a native of Gallia Narbonensis, in what would become southern France): in this case, they would be defecting imperial troops, not brigands.[42] Although poorly equipped, led and trained – and therefore a poor match for Roman legions – Diocletian certainly considered the Bagaudae sufficient threat to merit an emperor to counter them.[43] Maximian has been implicated in a massacre of Coptic Christian troops from the headquarters unit of a legion raised in Thebes at Aucanus in modern Switzerland in early 285, during the preparations for the campaign against the Bagaudae.[44]

Maximian traveled to Gaul, engaging the Bagaudae late in mid-285.[45] Details of the campaign are sparse and provide no tactical detail: the historical sources dwell only on Maximian's virtues and victories. The panegyric to Maximian in 289 records that the rebels were defeated with a blend of harshness and leniency.[46] As the campaign was against the Empire's own citizens, and therefore distasteful, it went unrecorded in titles and official triumphs. Indeed, Maximian's panegyrist declares: "I pass quickly over this episode, for I see in your magnanimity you would rather forget this victory than celebrate it."[47] By the end of the year, the revolt had significantly abated, and Maximian moved the bulk of his forces to the Rhine frontier, heralding a period of stability.[48]

Maximian did not put down the Bagaudae swiftly enough to avoid a Germanic reaction. In late 285, two barbarian armies – one of Burgundians and Alamanni, the other of Chaibones and Heruli – forded the Rhine and entered Gaul.[49] The first army was left to die of disease and hunger, while Maximian intercepted and defeated the second.[50] He then established a Rhine headquarters in preparation for future campaigns,[51] either at

Moguntiacum (Mainz, Germany), Augusta Treverorum (Trier, Germany), or Colonia Agrippina (Cologne, Germany).[52]

Carausius

A Roman antefix roof tile showing the badge and standard of Legio XX Valeria Victrix, one of the legions that joined Carausius' rebellion

Although most of Gaul was pacified, regions bordering the English Channel still suffered from Frankish and Saxon piracy. The emperors Probus and Carinus had begun to fortify the Saxon Shore, but much remained to be done.[53] For example, there is no archaeological evidence of naval bases at Dover and Boulogne during 270–285.[54] In response to the pirate problem, Maximian appointed Mausaeus Carausius, a Menapian from Germania Inferior (southern and western Netherlands) to command the Channel and to clear it of raiders.[55] Carausius fared well,[56] and by the end of 285 he was capturing pirate ships in great numbers.[57]

Maximian soon heard that Carausius was waiting until the pirates had finished plundering before attacking and keeping their booty himself instead of returning it to the population at large or into the imperial treasury.[58] Maximian ordered Carausius' arrest and execution, prompting him to flee to Britain. Carausius' support among the British was strong, and at least two British legions (II Augusta and XX Valeria Victrix) defected to him, as did some or all of a legion near Boulogne (probably XXX Ulpia Victrix).[59] Carausius quickly eliminated the few remaining loyalists in his army and declared himself Augustus.[60]

Maximian could do little about the revolt. He had no fleet – he had given it to Carausius – and was busy quelling the Heruli and the Franks. Meanwhile, Carausius strengthened his position by enlarging his fleet, enlisting Frankish mercenaries, and paying his troops well.[60] By late 286, Britain, much of northwestern Gaul, and the entire Channel coast, was under his control.[61] Carausius declared himself head of an independent British state, an *Imperium Britanniarum* and issued coin of a markedly higher purity than that of Maximian and Diocletian, earning the support of British and Gallic merchants.[62] Even Maximian's troops were vulnerable to Carausius' influence and wealth.[63]

Maximian appointed Augustus

Spurred by the crisis with Carausius, on April 1, 286,[1] Maximian took the title of Augustus.[64] This gave him the same status as Carausius – so the clash was between two Augusti, rather than between an Augustus and a Caesar – and, in Imperial propaganda, Maximian was proclaimed Diocletian's brother, his equal in authority and prestige.[65] Diocletian could not have been present at Maximian's appointment,[66] causing Seeck to suggest that Maximian usurped the title and was only later recognized by Diocletian in hopes of avoiding civil war. This suggestion has not won much support, and the historian William Leadbetter has recently refuted it.[67] Despite the physical distance between the emperors, Diocletian trusted Maximian enough to invest him with imperial powers, and Maximian still respected Diocletian enough to act in accordance with his will.[68]

In theory, the Roman Empire was not divided by the dual imperium. Though divisions did take place – each emperor had his own court, army, and official residences – these were matters of practicality, not substance. Imperial propaganda from 287 on insists on a singular and indivisible Rome, a *patrimonium indivisum*.[69] As the panegyrist of 289 declares to Maximian: "So it is that this great empire is a communal possession for both of you, without any discord, nor would we endure there to be any dispute between you, but plainly you hold the state in equal measure as once those two Heracleidae, the Spartan Kings, had done."[70] Legal rulings were given and imperial celebrations took place in both emperors' names, and the same coins were issued in both parts of the empire.[71] Diocletian sometimes issued commands to Maximian's province of Africa; Maximian could presumably have done the same for Diocletian's territory.[72]

Campaigns against Rhenish tribes

Campaigns in 286 and 287

Maximian realized that he could not immediately suppress Carausius and campaigned instead against Rhenish tribes.[73] These tribes were probably greater threats to Gallic peace anyway and included many supporters of Carausius.[74] Although Maximian had many enemies along the river, they were more often in dispute with each other than in combat with the Empire.[75] Few clear dates survive for Maximian's campaigns on the Rhine beyond a general range of 285 to 288.[76] While receiving the consular *fasces* on January 1, 287, Maximian was interrupted by news of a barbarian raid. Doffing his toga and donning his armor, he marched against the barbarians and, although they were not entirely dispersed, he celebrated a victory in Gaul later that year.[77]

Maximian believed the Burgundian and Alemanni tribes of the Moselle-Vosges region to be the greatest threat, so he targeted them first. He campaigned using scorched earth tactics, laying waste to their land and reducing their numbers through famine and disease. After the Burgundians and Alemanni, Maximian moved against the weaker Heruli and Chaibones. He cornered and defeated them in a single battle. He fought in person, riding along the battle line until the Germanic forces broke. Roman forces pursued the fleeing tribal armies and routed them. With his enemies weakened from starvation,[75] Maximian launched a great invasion across the Rhine.[78] He moved deep into Germanic territory, bringing destruction to his enemies' homelands[75] and demonstrating the superiority of Roman arms.[79] By the end of 287, he had the advantage and the Rhenish lands were free of Germanic tribesmen.[75] Maximian's panegyrist declared: "All that I see beyond the Rhine is Roman."[80]

Joint campaign against the Alamanni

Early the next year, as Maximian made preparations for dealing with Carausius, Diocletian returned from the East.[81] The emperors met that year, but neither date nor place is known with certainty.[82] They probably agreed on a joint campaign against the Alamanni and a naval expedition against Carausius.[83]

Later in the year, Maximian led a surprise invasion of the Agri Decumates – a region between the upper Rhine and upper Danube deep within Alamanni territory – while Diocletian invaded Germany via Raetia. Both emperors burned crops and food supplies as they went, destroying the Germans' means of sustenance.[84] They added large swathes of territory to the Empire and allowed Maximian's build-up to proceed without further disturbance.[85] In the aftermath of the war, towns along the Rhine were rebuilt, bridgeheads created on the eastern banks at such places as Mainz and Cologne, and a military frontier was established, comprising forts, roads, and fortified towns. A military highway through Tornacum (Tournai, Belgium), Bavacum (Bavay, France), Atuatuca Tungrorum (Tongeren, Belgium), Mosae Trajectum (Maastricht, Netherlands), and Cologne connected points along the frontier.[86]

Flavius Constantius, Maximian's praetorian prefect and husband to his daughter Theodora

Constantius, Gennobaudes, and resettlement

In early 288, Maximian appointed his praetorian prefect Constantius Chlorus, husband of Maximian's daughter Theodora, to lead a campaign against Carausius' Frankish allies. These Franks controlled the Rhine estuaries, thwarting sea-attacks against Carausius. Constantius moved north through their territory, wreaking havoc, and reaching the North Sea. The Franks sued for peace and in the subsequent settlement Maximian reinstated the deposed Frankish king Gennobaudes.[77] Gennobaudes became Maximian's vassal and, with lesser Frankish chiefs in turn swearing loyalty to Gennobaudes, Roman regional dominance was assured.[87]

Maximian allowed a settlement of Frisii, Salian Franks, Chamavi and other tribes along a strip of Roman territory, either between the Rhine and Waal rivers from Noviomagus (Nijmegen, Netherlands) to Traiectum, (Utrecht, Netherlands)[86] or near Trier.[79] These tribes were allowed to settle on the condition that they acknowledged Roman dominance. Their presence provided a ready pool of manpower and prevented the settlement of other Frankish tribes, giving Maximian a buffer along the northern Rhine and reducing his need to garrison the region.[86]

Later campaigns in Britain and Gaul

Failed expedition against Carausius

By 289, Maximian was prepared to invade Carausius' Britain, but for some reason the plan failed. Maximian's panegyrist of 289 was optimistic about the campaign's prospects, but the panegyrist of 291 made no mention of it.[88] Constantius' panegyrist suggested that his fleet was lost to a storm,[89] but this might simply have been to diminish the embarrassment of defeat.[90] Diocletian curtailed his Eastern province tour soon after, perhaps on learning of Maximian's failure.[91] Diocletian returned in haste to the West, reaching Emesa by May 10, 290,[92] and Sirmium on the Danube by July 1, 290.[93]

Carausius, rebel emperor of Roman Britain. Legend: IMP. CARAVSIVS P. F. AVG. / LEGion IIII FL – ML (Londinium mint)

Diocletian met Maximian in Milan either in late December 290 or January 291.[94] Crowds gathered to witness the event, and the emperors devoted much time to public pageantry.[95] Potter, among others, has surmised that the ceremonies were arranged to demonstrate Diocletian's continuing support for his faltering colleague. The rulers discussed matters of politics and war in secret,[96] and they may have considered the idea of expanding the imperial college to include four emperors (the Tetrarchy).[97] Meanwhile, a deputation from the Roman Senate met with the rulers and renewed its infrequent contact with the imperial office.[98] The emperors would not meet again until 303.[99]

Following Maximian's failure to invade in 289, an uneasy truce with Carausius began. Maximian tolerated Carausius' rule in Britain and on the continent but refused to grant the secessionist state formal legitimacy. For his part, Carausius was content with his territories beyond the Continental coast of Gaul.[100] Diocletian, however, would not tolerate this affront to his rule. Faced with Carausius' secession and further challenges on the Egyptian, Syrian, and Danubian borders, he realized that two emperors were insufficient to manage the Empire.[101] On March 1, 293 at Milan, Maximian appointed Constantius to the office of Caesar.[102] On either the same day or a month later, Diocletian did the same for Galerius, thus establishing the "Tetrarchy", or "rule of four".[103] Constantius was made to understand that he must succeed where Maximian had failed and defeat Carausius.[104]

Campaign against Allectus

Constantius met expectations quickly and efficiently and by 293 had expelled Carausian forces from northern Gaul. In the same year, Carausius was assassinated and replaced by his treasurer, Allectus.[105] Constantius marched up the coast to the Rhine and Scheldt estuaries where he was victorious over Carausius' Frankish allies, taking the title *Germanicus maximus*.[106] His sights now set on Britain, Constantius spent the following years building an invasion fleet.[107] Maximian, still in Italy after the appointment of Constantius, was apprised of the invasion plans and, in mid-296, returned to Gaul.[108] There, he held the Rhenish frontiers against Carausius' Frankish allies while Constantius launched his invasion of Britain.[109] Allectus was killed on the North Downs in battle with Constantius' praetorian prefect, Asclepiodotus. Constantius himself had landed near Dubris (Dover) and marched on Londinium (London), whose citizens greeted him as a liberator.[110]

Allectus, Carausius' successor. Legend: IMP. C. ALLECTVS P. F. AVG. / VIRTVS AVGusti – Senatus Consulto

Campaigns in North Africa

With Constantius' victorious return, Maximian was able to focus on the conflict in Mauretania (Northwest Africa).[111] As Roman authority weakened during the third century, nomadic Berber tribes harassed settlements in the region with increasingly severe consequences. In 289, the governor of Mauretania Caesariensis (roughly modern Algeria) gained a temporary respite by pitting a small army against the Bavares and Quinquegentiani, but

the raiders soon returned. In 296, Maximian raised an army, from Praetorian cohorts, Aquileian, Egyptian, and Danubian legionaries, Gallic and German auxiliaries, and Thracian recruits, advancing through Spain later that year.[112] He may have defended the region against raiding Moors[113] before crossing the Strait of Gibraltar into Mauretania Tingitana (roughly modern Morocco) to protect the area from Frankish pirates.[114]

By March 297, Maximian had begun a bloody offensive against the Berbers. The campaign was lengthy, and Maximian spent the winter of 297–298 resting in Carthage before returning to the field.[115] Not content to drive them back into their homelands in the Atlas Mountains – from which they could continue to wage war – Maximian ventured deep into Berber territory. The terrain was unfavorable, and the Berbers were skilled at guerrilla warfare, but Maximian pressed on. Apparently wishing to inflict as much punishment as possible on the tribes, he devastated previously secure land, killed as many as he could, and drove the remainder back into the Sahara.[116] His campaign was concluded by early 298 and, on March 10, he made a triumphal entry into Carthage.[117] Inscriptions there record the people's gratitude to Maximian, hailing him – as Constantius had been on his entry to London – as *redditor lucis aeternae* ("restorer of the eternal light").[116] Maximian returned to Italy in early 299 to celebrate another triumph in Rome.[118]

After his Mauretanian campaign in 299, Maximian returned to the north of Italy, living a life of leisure in palaces in Milan and Aquilea, and leaving warfare to his subordinate Constantius.[119] Maximian was more aggressive in his relationship with the Senate than Constantius, and Lactantius contends that he terrorized senators, to the point of falsely charging and subsequently executing several, including the prefect of Rome in 301/2.[120] In contrast, Constantius kept up good relations with the senatorial aristocracy and spent his time in active defense of the empire. He took up arms against the Franks in 300 or 301 and in 302 – while Maximian was resting in Italy – continued to campaign against Germanic tribes on the Upper Rhine.[113]

According to Aurelius Victor, he also built a palace near his home town of Sirmium.[121] In addition to the imperial palace in Sirmium another palace has been found at Glac which may be that of Maximian.[122]

Retirement

Diocletian's *vicennalia*, the 20-year anniversary of his reign, was celebrated in Rome in 303. Some evidence suggests that it was then that Diocletian exacted a promise from Maximian to retire together, passing their titles as Augusti to the Caesars Constantius and Galerius.[123] Presumably Maximian's son Maxentius and Constantius's son Constantine – children raised in Nicomedia together – would then become the new Caesars. While Maximian might not have wished to retire, Diocletian was still in control and there was little resistance. Before retirement, Maximian would receive one final moment of glory by officiating at the Secular Games in 304.[124]

On May 1, 305, in separate ceremonies in Milan and Nicomedia, Diocletian and Maximian retired simultaneously. The succession did not go entirely to Maximian's liking: perhaps because of Galerius' influence, Galerius' former army comrade Severus and Galerius' nephew Maximinus (both of whom had long military careers) were appointed Caesar, thus excluding Constantine and Maxentius.[125] Maximian quickly soured to the new tetrarchy, which saw Galerius assume the dominant position Diocletian once held. Although Maximian led the ceremony that proclaimed Severus as Caesar, within two years he was sufficiently dissatisfied to support his son's rebellion against the new regime.[126] Diocletian retired to the expansive palace he had built in his homeland, Dalmatia near Salona on the Adriatic. Maximian retired to villas in Campania, Lucania or Sirmium, where he lived a life of ease and luxury.[127] Although far from the political centers of the Empire, Diocletian and Maximian remained close enough to stay in regular contact.[128]

Silvered follis struck in Aquileia 305–306 AD commemorating Maximian's abdication. Legend: DN MAXIMIANVS BAEATISSIMO SEN. AVG. / PROVIDENTIA DEORVM QVIES AVGG. S F – AQS (Aquileia mint)

Maxentius' rebellion

After the death of Constantius on July 25, 306, Constantine assumed the title of Augustus. This displeased Galerius, who instead offered Constantine the title of Caesar, which Constantine accepted. The title of Augustus then went to Severus.[129] Maxentius was jealous of Constantine's power, and on October 28, 306, he persuaded a cohort of imperial guardsmen to declare him Augustus. Uncomfortable with sole leadership, Maxentius sent a set of imperial robes to Maximian and saluted him as "Augustus for the second time", offering him theoretic equal rule but less actual power and a lower rank.[130]

Galerius refused to recognize Maxentius and sent Severus with an army to Rome to depose him. As many of Severus' soldiers had served under Maximian, and had taken Maxentius' bribes, most of the army defected to Maxentius. Severus fled to Ravenna, which Maximian besieged. The city was strongly fortified so Maximian offered terms, which Severus accepted. Maximian then seized Severus and took him under guard to a public villa in southern Rome, where he was kept as a hostage. In late 307, Galerius led a second force against Maxentius but he again failed to take Rome, and retreated north with his army mostly intact.[131]

Dresden bust of Maxentius

While Maxentius built up Rome's defenses, Maximian made his way to Gaul to negotiate with Constantine. A deal was struck in which Constantine would marry Maximian's younger daughter Fausta and be elevated to Augustan rank in Maxentius' secessionist regime. In return, Constantine would reaffirm the old family alliance between Maximian and Constantius, and support Maxentius' cause in Italy but would remain neutral in the war with Galerius. The deal was sealed with a double ceremony in Trier in late 307, at which Constantine married Fausta and was declared Augustus by Maximian.[132]

Maximian returned to Rome in the winter of 307–8 but soon fell out with his son and in early 308 challenged his right to rule before an assembly of Roman soldiers. He spoke of Rome's sickly government, disparaged Maxentius for having weakened it, and ripped the imperial toga from Maxentius' shoulders. He expected the soldiers to recognize him but they sided with Maxentius, and Maximian was forced to leave Italy in disgrace.[133]

On November 11, 308, to resolve the political instability, Galerius called Diocletian (out of retirement) and Maximian to a general council meeting at the military city of Carnuntum on the upper Danube. There, Maximian was forced to abdicate again and Constantine was again demoted to Caesar, with Maximinus the Caesar in the east. Licinius, a loyal military

companion to Galerius, was appointed Augustus of the West.[134] In early 309 Maximian returned to the court of Constantine in Gaul, the only court that would still accept him.[135] After Constantine and Maximinus refused to be placated with the titles of *Sons of the Augusti*, they were promoted in early 310, with the result that there were now four Augusti.[136]

Rebellion against Constantine

Marble head of Constantine

In 310, Maximian rebelled against Constantine while the Emperor was on campaign against the Franks. Maximian had been sent south to Arles with part of Constantine's army to defend against attacks by Maxentius in southern Gaul. In Arles, Maximian announced that Constantine was dead and took up the imperial purple. Although Maximian offered bribes to all who would support him, most of Constantine's army remained loyal, and Maximian was compelled to leave the city. Constantine soon heard of the rebellion, abandoned his campaign against the Franks, and moved quickly to southern Gaul, where he confronted the fleeing Maximian at Massilia (Marseille). The town was better able to withstand a long siege than Arles, but it made little difference as loyal citizens opened the rear gates to Constantine. Maximian was captured, reproved for his crimes, and stripped of his title for the third and last time. Constantine granted Maximian some clemency but strongly encouraged his suicide. In July 310, Maximian hanged himself.[137]

Despite the earlier rupture in relations, after Maximian's suicide Maxentius presented himself as his father's devoted son.[138] He minted coins bearing his father's deified image and proclaimed his desire to avenge his death.[139]

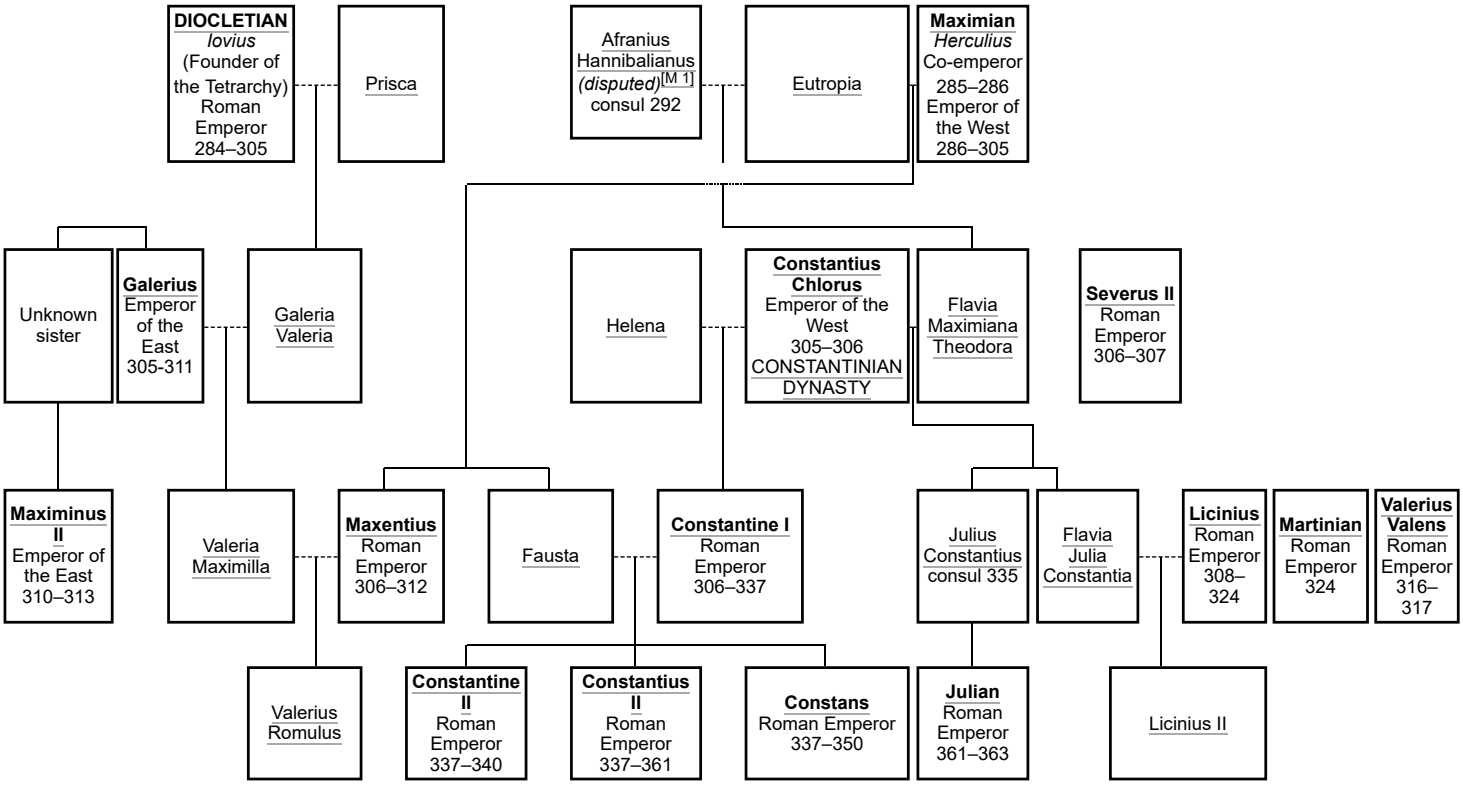
Constantine initially presented the suicide as an unfortunate family tragedy. By 311, however, he was spreading another version. According to this, after Constantine had pardoned him, Maximian planned to murder Constantine in his sleep. Fausta learned of the plot and warned Constantine, who put a eunuch in his own place in bed. Maximian was apprehended when he killed the eunuch and was offered suicide, which he accepted.[140] In addition to the propaganda, Constantine instituted a *damnatio memoriae* on Maximian, destroying all inscriptions referring to him and eliminating any public work bearing his image.[141]

Constantine defeated Maxentius at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge on October 28, 312. Maxentius died, and Italy came under Constantine's rule.[142] Eutropia swore on oath that Maxentius was not Maximian's son, and Maximian's memory was rehabilitated. His apotheosis under Maxentius was declared null and void, and he was re-consecrated as a god, probably in 317. He began appearing on Constantine's coinage as *divus*, or divine, by 318, together with the deified Constantius and Claudius Gothicus.[143] The three were hailed as Constantine's forebears. They were called "the best of emperors".[144] Through his daughters Fausta and Theodora, Maximian was grandfather or great-grandfather to every reigning emperor from 337 to 363.[145]

Family tree

SIMPLIFIED FAMILY TREE OF *TETRARCHS*

(*See also:* ***Chronological scheme of the Tetrarchy, 285–324***)



Notes:

1. Timothy Barnes (*New Empire*, 33–34) questions the parentage of Theodora shown here. He proposes that Maximian is her natural father (and that her mother is possibly a daughter of Afranius Hannibalianus). Substituting Afranicus Hannibalianus and switching the positions of Maximian and Eutropia would produce a diagram that matches the alternative lineage.

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See also

- 20,000 Martyrs of Nicomedia, executed partially during Maximian's reign
- Saints Sergius and Bacchus, officers of Maximian's army who were executed for being Christians
- Saints Demetrius and Nestor were executed by Maximian in Thessaloniki in 306
- Order of Saint Maurice (United States), a series of awards given by the National Infantry Association, named in honor of Roman legionnaires allegedly killed by Maximian rather than worship pagan gods.[146]

Notes

1. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 6–7; Potter, 282; Southern, 141–42. The chronology of Maximian's appointment to Augustus is somewhat uncertain (Corcoran, "Before Constantine", 40; Southern, 142). It is sometimes suggested that Maximian was appointed Augustus from July 285, and never appointed Caesar. This suggestion has not received much support (Potter, 281; Southern, 142; following *De Casearibus* 39.17).
2. Barnes, *New Empire*, 4.
3. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 6; Barnes, *New Empire*, 4.
4. Potter, 280–81.
5. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 32–34; Barnes, *New Empire*, 13; Elliott, 42–43; Lenski, 65; Odahl, 90–91; Pohlsander, *Emperor Constantine*, 17; Potter, 349–50; Treadgold, 29.
6. Barnes, *New Empire*, 13.
7. For full titulature, see: Barnes, *New Empire*, 17–29.
8. DiMaio "Maximianus Herculius"
9. Barnes, *New Empire*, 32.
10. *Epitome de Caesaribus* 40.10, quoted in Barnes, *New Empire*, 32; Barnes, *New Empire*, 32; Rees, *Layers of Loyalty*, 30; Williams, 43–44.
11. Pohlsander, Hans A. (1996). *The Emperor Constantine* (https://books.google.com/books?id=HXq0vaxe7mQC&pg=PA7). Psychology Press. p. 7. ISBN 978-0-415-13178-0. Retrieved 12 October 2010.
12. Victor, *Liber de Caesaribus* 39.26, quoted in Barnes, *New Empire*, 32.
13. *Panegrici Latini* 10(2).2.2ff, quoted in Barnes, *New Empire*, 32.
14. *Panegrici Latini* 10(2).2.4, quoted in Rees, *Layers of Loyalty*, 44–45.
15. Barnes, *New Empire*, 32–33; Rees, *Layers of Loyalty*, 30.
16. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 6; Williams, 43–44.
17. Victor, *Liber de Caesaribus* 39, quoted in Williams, 44.
18. *Panegyrici Latini* 10(2), quoted in Williams, 44.
19. Williams, 44.
20. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 13.
21. Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum* 8, quoted in Williams, 44.
22. *Tyranny and Transformation*: " Born sometime between a.d. 276 and 283, Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maxentius was the son of the tetrarchic emperor Maximian and Eutropia.".
23. Barnes, *New Empire*, 34. Barnes dates Maxentius' birth to circa 283, when Maximian was in Syria, and Fausta's birth to 289 or 290 (Barnes, *New Empire*, 34).
24. Aurelius Victor, *de Caesaribus* 39.25; Eutropius, *Breviaria* 9.22; Jerome, *Chronicle* 225[g]; *Epitome de Caesaribus* 39.2, 40.12, quoted in Barnes, *New Empire*, 33; Barnes, *New Empire*, 33.
25. *Origo Constantini* 2; Philostorgius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.16[a], quoted in Barnes, *New Empire*, 33. See also *Panegyrici Latini* 10(2)11.4.
26. Barnes, *New Empire*, 33–34.
27. The event has been dated to both July 21 (Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 6; Barnes, *New Empire*, 4; Bowman, 69) and July 25 (Potter, 280–81).
28. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 6; Barnes, *New Empire*, 4; Bowman, 69; Corcoran, "Before Constantine", 40; Potter, 280–81.
29. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 6; Rees, *Layers of Loyalty*, 30; Southern, 136.
30. Williams, 45.
31. Potter, 280; Southern, 136; Williams, 43.
32. Bowman, 69; Odahl, 42–43; Southern, 136, 331; Williams, 45.
33. Bowman, 69.
34. Potter, 280.
35. Corcoran, "Before Constantine", 40.
36. Corcoran, "Before Constantine", 40; Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change*, 235–52, 240–43; Odahl, 43–44; Rees, *Layers of Loyalty*, 32–33.
37. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 11–12; Corcoran, "Before Constantine", 40; Odahl, 43; Rees, *Layers of Loyalty*, 32–33, 39, 42–52; Southern, 136–37; Williams, 58–59.
38. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 11.
39. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 6; Southern, 137; Williams, 45–46.
40. Rees, *Layers of Loyalty*, 29.
41. Eutropius, *Brev*. 9.20; Aurelius Victor, *de Caesaribus*, 39.17, quoted in Rees, *Layers of Loyalty*, 29–30.
42. Potter, 281–82.
43. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 6; Barnes, *New Empire*, 10; Rees, *Layers of Loyalty*, 30; Southern, 137; Williams, 45–46.
44. O'Reilly, *Lost Legion Rediscovered: The Mystery of the Theban Legion*, 117-122.
45. Barnes, *New Empire*, 57; Bowman, 70–71.
46. Southern, 137.
47. *Panegyrici Latini* 10(2), quoted in Williams, 46; Southern, 137.
48. Southern, 139–138; Williams, 46.
49. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 6; Barnes, *New Empire*, 57; Bowman, 71; Rees, *Layers of Loyalty*, 31.
50. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 6.
51. Williams, 46.
52. Potter, 282–83. Potter and Barnes (*New Empire*, 56) favor Trier; Williams (*Diocletian*, 46) favors Mainz.
53. Southern, 138; Williams, 46.
54. Potter, 284.
55. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 6; Barnes, *New Empire*, 57.
56. Bowman, 71; Southern, 138; Williams, 46–47.
57. Southern, 138; Williams, 46–47.
58. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 6–7; Bowman, 71; Potter, 283–84; Southern, 137–41; Williams, 47.

59. Potter, 284; Southern, 139–40; Williams, 47. Most of the information for the legions under Carausius' control comes from his coinage. Strangely, Legio VI Victrix from Eboracum (York, United Kingdom), which, for geographical regions, should have been included in the legions Carausius had control over, generally is not (Southern, 332). The *Panegyrici Latini* 8(4)12.1 admits one continental legion joined him, probably the XXX Ulpia Victrix (Potter, 650).
60. Williams, 47.
61. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 7; Bowman, 71; Southern, 140.
62. Williams, 47–48.
63. Potter, 284; Williams, 61–62.
64. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 7; Bleckmann; Corcoran, "Before Constantine", 40; Potter, 282; Southern, 141–42; Williams, 48.
65. Williams, 48.
66. Potter, 282, 649. Diocletian would have been somewhere between Byzantium (Istanbul, Turkey), where he is attested for March 22, 286 and Tiberias, where he is attested from May 31, 286 through August 31 (Barnes, *New Empire*, 50–51; Potter, 282, 649).
67. Potter, 282, 649.
68. Potter, 282; Williams, 49.
69. Bowman, 70; Potter, 283; Williams, 49, 65.
70. *Panegyrici Latini* 10(2)9.4, quoted in Potter, 283.
71. Potter, 283; Williams, 49, 65.
72. Potter, 283.
73. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 7; Bowman, 71; Corcoran, "Before Constantine", 40.
74. Southern, 141; Williams, 50.
75. Williams, 50.
76. Southern, 142. Barnes' *New Empire* records five dates for the period: the first, February 10, 286 at Milan (*Codex Justinianus* 8.53(54).6; *Fragmenta Vaticana* 282); June 21, 286 at Mainz (*Fragmenta Vaticana* 271); January 1, 287 Trier or Cologne or Mainz (date of consular assumption, *Panegyrici Latini* 10(2).6.2 ff.); and 287, his "expedition across the Rhine" (*Panegyrici Latini* 10(2).7.1ff.) (Barnes, *New Empire*, 57).
77. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 7; Bowman, 72.
78. Barnes, *New Empire*, 57; Williams, 50.
79. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 7.
80. *Panegyrici Latini* 10(2).7.7, translated by Nixon in Nixon and Rodgers, quoted in Bowman, 72.
81. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 7; Southern, 142–43; Williams, 50.
82. Barnes, *New Empire*, 57; Rees, *Layers of Loyalty*, 31.
83. Rees, *Layers of Loyalty*, 31; Southern, 142–43; Williams, 50. Barnes (*Constantine and Eusebius*, 7) dates the meeting to after the campaign against the Alamanni.
84. Southern, 142–43; Williams, 50.
85. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 7; Corcoran, "Before Constantine", 40; Southern, 143; Williams, 50.
86. Williams, 50–51.
87. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 7; Bowman, 72; Williams, 51.
88. Southern, 143.
89. *Panegyrici Latini* 8(5)12.2; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 7, 288; Bowman, 72–73; Potter, 284–85, 650; Southern, 143; Williams, 55.
90. Southern, 143; Williams, 55.
91. Potter, 285; Southern, 144.
92. *Codex Justinianus* 9.41.9; Barnes, *New Empire*, 51; Potter, 285, 650.
93. *Codex Justinianus* 6.30.6; Barnes, *New Empire*, 52; Potter, 285, 650.
94. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 8; Potter, 285.
95. *Panegyrici Latini* 11(3)10, quoted in Williams, 57.
96. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 8; Potter, 285, 288; Rees, *Layers of Loyalty*, 69.
97. Potter, 285; Rees, *Layers of Loyalty*, 69.
98. *Panegyrici Latini* 11(3)2.4, 8.1, 11.3–4, 12.2; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 8, 288; Potter, 285, 650.
99. Potter, 285.
100. Williams, 55–56, 62.
101. Williams, 62–64.
102. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 8–9; Barnes, *New Empire*, 4, 36–37; Potter, 288; Southern, 146; Williams, 64–65.
103. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 8–9; Barnes, *New Empire*, 4, 38; Potter, 288; Southern, 146; Williams, 64–65.
104. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 8, 15; Williams, 71.
105. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 15; Potter, 288; Rees, *Layers of Loyalty*, 99; Southern, 149–50; Williams, 71–72.
106. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 15–16; Barnes, *New Empire*, 255.
107. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 15–16; Southern, 150.
108. Barnes, *New Empire*, 58–59.
109. Barnes, *New Empire*, 59; Southern, 150; Williams, 73.
110. Southern, 150; Williams, 73–74; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 16.
111. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 16; Southern, 150; Williams, 75.
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114. Williams, 75.
115. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 16; Barnes, *New Empire*, 59.
116. Odahl, 58; Williams, 75.
117. Barnes, *New Empire*, 59; Odahl, 58; Williams, 75.
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120. Lactantius, *DMP* 8.4; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 16.
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124. Potter, 340.
125. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 25–27; Williams, 191.
126. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 25–27; Potter, 341–42.
127. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 27; Southern, 152.
128. Southern, 152.
129. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 27–28; Barnes, *New Empire*, 5; Lenski, 61–62; Odahl, 78–79.
130. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 30–32.
131. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 30–31; Elliott, 41–42; Lenski, 62–63; Odahl, 86–87; Potter, 348–49.
132. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 31; Lenski, 64; Odahl, 87–88; Pohlsander, *Emperor Constantine*, 15–16.
133. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 32; Lenski, 64; Odahl, 89, 93.
134. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 32–34; Elliott, 42–43; Lenski, 65; Odahl, 90–91; Pohlsander, *Emperor Constantine*, 17; Potter, 349–50; Treadgold, 29.
135. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 32.
136. Cary and Scullard, *A History of Rome*, p522
137. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 34–35; Elliott, 43; Lenski, 65–66; Odahl, 93; Pohlsander, *Emperor Constantine*, 17; Potter, 352.
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140. Lactantius, *DMP* 30.1; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 40–41, 305.
141. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 41; Lenski, 68.
142. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 42–44.
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External links

- A Detailed Chronology of the Tetrarchy until 324 AD (https://web.archive.org/web/20071007231505/http://faculty.wlc.edu/thompson/fourth-century/persecution/evolutiontetrarchy.htm)
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