Introduction

On 3 April 1883, Jeanette gave birth to a son in her husband's quarters in Malta.[1] A shortage of accommodation catering specifically to married British officers meant that, aside from their private bedroom, Jeanette and her husband, Lieutenant Arthur Richard Cole-Hamilton, shared the facilities of the messhouse with other, mostly single, officers. The expectant couple had only recently arrived, having endured the twenty-two-day voyage from Egypt with the regiment. It was the couple's first tour together, which had started in Arthur's native Ireland after their marriage a year ago.[2] Now, after a little over a month, she lay in her bed in a foreign land far away from her family in Manchester with her newborn son. Motherhood was short-lived for Jeanette, as newspapers record that at the tender age of eighteen and only four days after giving birth, she died.[3] Her gravestone still stands in Ta' Braxia cemetery.

In the same building over two centuries earlier, another woman had lain in her bed in a weakened state. Together with her companion Sarah Cheevers, Quaker missionary Katherine Evans had intended Malta only to be a stopover in their voyage from England to Alexandria; when the pair arrived on 21 December 1658, neither of them expected to spend the next few years incarcerated by the Roman Inquisition.[4] Through their evangelizing and distribution of Protestant pamphlets, the women had aroused the suspicions of the Inquisitor. Uniquely for prisoners of the Inquisition in Malta, the women published a description of their ordeals through their friend, Daniel Baker.[5] In their account, mostly penned by Katherine, she describes overhearing torture, repeatedly undergoing interrogation and becoming weak from fasting. Delirious and ill, it is only with the help of her 'yoke friend' Sarah that she survives to return to England.[6]

What connects the experiences of Jeanette Cole-Hamilton and Katherine Evans? They are both women, yet this book is not specifically about women or, for that matter, men. Centuries apart, the experiences recounted above occurred in the same building: the once Inquisitor's

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Palace that contained prisons and subsequently became a British army officers' messhouse. While frequently grounded in certain locations and paying special attention to the social significance of particular types of architectural forms, this book is also not specifically about the history of buildings. The women were both English, and though this book dedicates much space to the experiences and activities of ruling British colonists in the nineteenth century, space is given equally to exploring the Maltese islanders and foreign ruling knights, as well as their North African and Ottoman slaves. Rather, the two women both experienced the ways in which everyday material culture facilitated the operation of power through institutions; the subject of which this book aims to investigate. Systems of unequal power distribution and the history of institutions are major areas of study in archaeology and history, but are rarely written with reference to each other or viewed as co-dependent. By bringing together the study of unequal power relationships and institutions, this book offers an understanding of institutional power based on material culture. Furthermore, the case studies for this exploration come from a group of Mediterranean islands with a unique history of consecutive foreign rule.

Throughout modern times, Malta's position in the Mediterranean and its harbours have made it strategically important in terms of trade and conflict. Its connections with southern Europe to the north and North Africa to the south, and its Catholic faith and Semitic language cross the divides between East and West, making the islands intrinsically important to Mediterranean and European history.[7] During the seventeenth century, Malta was the 'capital *par excellence* of Catholic piracy' and in the eighteenth century essential for the French Levantine trade.[8] In the nineteenth century, its location on the route from Britain to India made Malta a crucial coaling station and, along with Gibraltar, Port Said, Perim and Aden, it featured as one of Monier Monier-Williams' 'five gates of India'.[9] This volume joins previous ventures investigating foreign rule and colonialism in the region,[10] though its contribution comes primarily from the new perspective it provides on power and material culture in an important Mediterranean location through the prism of institutions.

The Maltese Islands

The Maltese archipelago principally comprises Malta (245 km^2), Gozo (67 km^2) and Comino (2.8 km^2), which lie in the centre of the Mediterranean Sea, approximately 88 km south of Sicily and 333 km north of Libya

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(Figure 0.1).[11] The climate is semi-arid and the islands are devoid of any permanently running waterways. Summers are dominated by high pressure conditions, resulting in temperatures that frequently exceed 35°C, whereas winter temperatures may reach lows of 10°C. Almost all of Malta's annual precipitation falls between November and February, although the islands experience high levels of humidity throughout the year that make the summer months stifling and the winters deceptively cold. Throughout the islands' history, a lack of natural resources has been a major contributing factor to the creation of a marginal landscape. Fertile soil deposits are thin, sparsely scattered and subject to erosion.

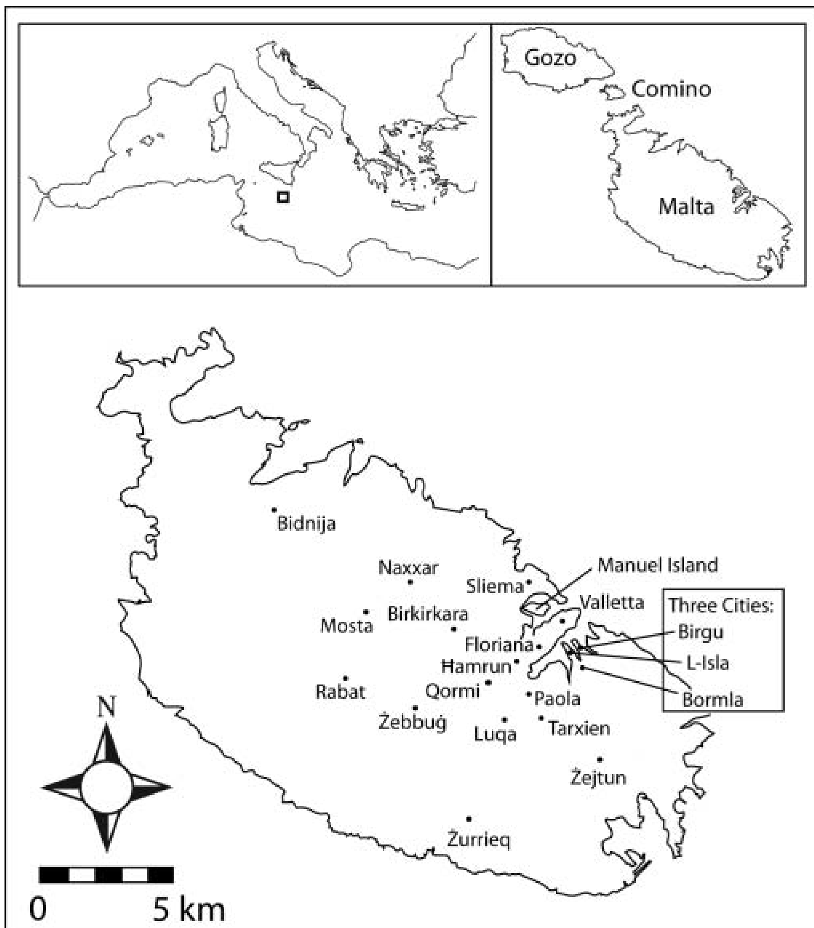

Figure 0.1. Maps of Malta in the Mediterranean (top left), the Maltese archipelago (top right) and the island of Malta. Image by the author.

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The underlying geology consists of a series of limestones – Lower Coralline, Globigerina and Upper Coralline – covered in most places with deposits of Blue Clay (marl). On top of this layer is often found a Greensand layer.[12] Masons and stone cutters have worked the softer Globigerina sandstone for millennia, building megalithic temples and Baroque cathedrals. Similarly, potters have harvested marl layers that outcrop along the coast as the islands' only native source of clay.

Though poor in natural resources, its position in the Mediterranean and deep natural harbours have made Malta a desirable and strategically important maritime base. Prehistoric, Greek, Phoenician, Punic and Roman invaders all colonized the islands in antiquity. The onset of Christianity is frequently attributed to the fabled shipwrecking of St Paul in Malta, but in 870 CE the islands were taken by Arabs. As part of Muslim Sicily, Islam dominated and Christianity was only reinstated as the chief religion after the twelfth-century Norman invasion. After passing through Aragonese hands, Holy Roman Emperor Charles V offered the islands to the Order of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem (hereinafter 'the Order'), after they had surrendered their base at Rhodes to Ottoman aggressors. Malta did not immediately entice them and they thought a better offer would come. With nothing else forthcoming, they accepted the islands and took control in 1530.

After successfully defending Malta against the Great Siege of the Ottomans in 1565, the Order's place in Maltese and European history as a bastion of Christendom was sealed.[13] The Siege can be viewed as a turning point in Maltese history. The Order started to invest in the islands, defending them with miles of fortified walls that protected islanders from Ottomans and Barbary corsairs, and building the urban landscape anew. Its original base in Birgu, also known as Vittoriosa, became ever more maritime in orientation, as the knights moved to their newly built capital, Valletta. The new capital replaced the medieval capital, the inland Mdina. Consequently, the majority of the Order's activities became concentrated around the Grand and Marsamxett Harbours (Figure 0.2). During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Order's religious origins slowly gave way to the 'development of the Order as an independent sovereign state'.[14] Despite their engagement with the major Catholic powers, there was no 'clear relationship of alliance between the Maltese and any one European power, not even the Vatican',[15] and the knights were not alone in ruling over the islands and their inhabitants. The Roman Inquisition and the Church both represented powerful stakeholders, the former of which was directly supported from Rome and greatly overshadowed episcopal authority in Malta.[16] It was, however, incumbent on the Order to protect the islands,

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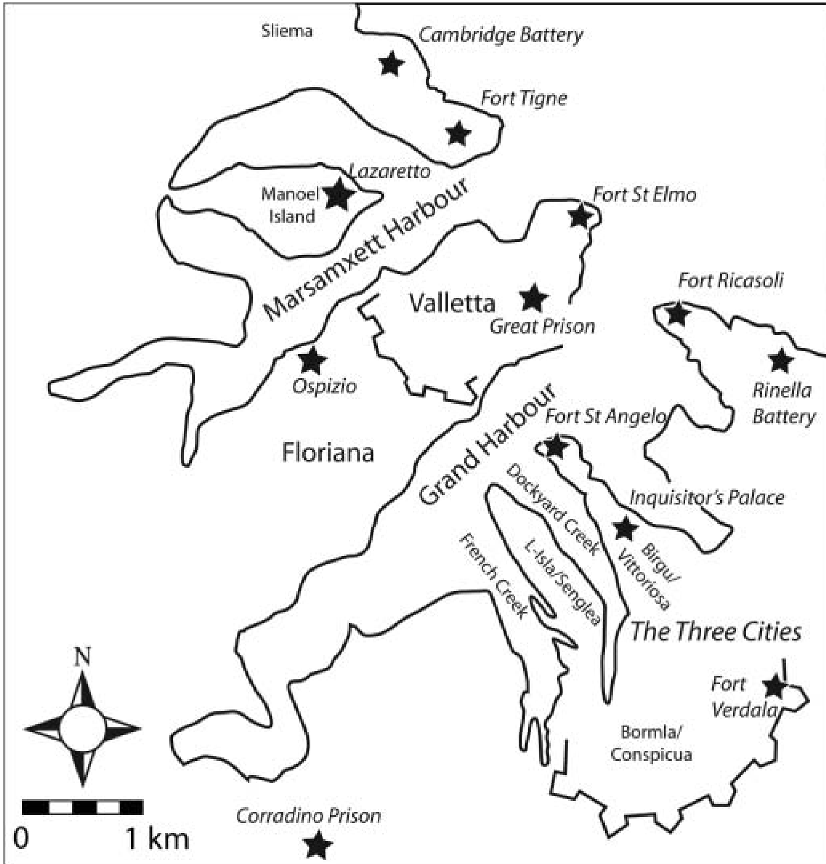

Figure 0.2. Map of harbour areas. Image by the author.

and its navy did just that for the next two hundred years, while simultaneously attacking and pillaging Ottoman and other Muslim vessels in the Mediterranean. By the end of the late eighteenth century, revolutions and reformations had cut off lines of revenue derived from the Order's estates in mainland Europe, and its navy had greatly reduced in size. When Napoleon and his forces entered the Grand Harbour in 1798, the Order capitulated.

French rule was unpopular and resulted in a Maltese–British–Portuguese alliance that forced the French garrison to leave the islands after only 18 months. In 1800, an unofficial British occupation of the islands began. Unsure initially whether or not it wanted the islands, Malta's fate was sealed when the Treaty of Paris officially bestowed them to Great Britain in 1814, independence coming only in 1964. During the nine-

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teenth century, Malta became a fortress colony that provided Britain with a military base for imperial concerns in the Mediterranean, joining Gibraltar, which had been taken in the War of Spanish Succession and ceded officially in 1713, between 1816 and 1864 the Ionian Islands, and from 1878 Cyprus. While Gibraltar remained an important colony, Malta's centrality and harbours eclipsed the usefulness of the Ionian Islands in terms of trade, although all three were important in military terms. By the time latecomer Cyprus had come under British rule, Malta's harbour and harbour-side infrastructures had already developed. The strategic significance of Malta as a permanent military base, coaling station for steam-shipping and control point for imperial trade intensified after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, which put Malta on the maritime route between Britain and India. The increase in trade and inflow of capital to the islands did not benefit all, but nevertheless, over the course of the nineteenth century, the population of Malta and Gozo swelled.

Foreign Rule

Not colonized by the Venetians, with whom the Order frequently had a long-running rivalry,[17] the islands comprised territories controlled by the Aragonese, the Byzantines, the Holy Roman Empire, the Normans, the North African Arabs and the Spanish in the time elapsing between antiquity and the arrival of the knights. During their rule of Malta, the Order held colonies in the Caribbean, albeit briefly, victualling outposts in Sicily, and contributed to Mediterranean and international wars and treaties. The 'foreign-born but Malta-based' knights constituted much more than feudal overlords.[18] Their tenure in Malta saw drastic changes in power and trade dynamics within the Mediterranean and the rise of a globalized, transatlantic world that impacted on the fortunes of all in the Western world. Furthermore, the period has been popularly romanticized, with its artistic and architectural legacy viewed and presented as Malta's 'golden age'.[19] While archaeologists and historians now criticize such idealizing and nationalistic appropriations of the past,[20] it can be detected in much of Malta's less-recent post-independence history writing. Contrasting the 'autocratically benevolent' rule of the Order with the disparities between Maltese and British military inhabitants oversimplifies both periods and glosses over of the poverty and subjugation endured by many communities under the Order's rule.[21] Such distorting generalizations have resulted in intensive historical study of the Order's period and a relative neglect of the nineteenth century that is becoming widely recognized. In the last half-decade, food historian Noel Buttigieg

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has opined that 'the culinary practices of Knights enjoy an over-rated element of sensationalism' due to a contemporary Maltese identification with the Mediterranean, and in the introduction to the first major volume of essays on British colonialism in Malta since the 1980s, John Chircop has demanded that 'whole areas of Maltese social history during the "British Colonial era" have been ignored for too long'.[22]

Building on these recent impulses, I conceive of this book as covering aspects of two distinct periods of political rule in which, despite many differences, both operated through unequal power relationships – a starting premise that each chapter will substantiate.

However, I do not denote all power to the Order or British imperialists. Rather, when one resists conceptions of power as something to be possessed, but instead as constantly negotiated yet unequal relationships, many more actors become visible. In the period ruled by the Order, disputes over areas of jurisdiction between the Grand Master, the Bishop and the Inquisitor created an often changing and always unbalanced power triad that Carmel Cassar has described as 'close to a theocracy' in which the three authorities 'all considered the Pope as their ultimate earthly head'.[23] But while the Order owed its existence to papal privilege, the Vatican was not blind to the Order's usefulness in creating the ideal of a unified Catholic Christendom against Islam and in the face of growing Protestantism.[24] The islanders continued to engage in unequal power relationships when the British imposed colonial rule, sparking a range of complicated relationships: migrants from other colonies moved to Malta and started businesses, and British army officers became subject to the same kinds of relationships with their governmental superiors. In the whole of the period under discussion, no one is utterly powerless.

Power, Material Culture and Institutions

Attempts to understand through material culture the power relationships at stake in situations of foreign rule prevail in many disciplines. Archaeologists have long assumed the centrality of material culture, but in the last twenty years greater engagement with social anthropology and postcolonial studies has enabled them to recognize the material essence of colonialism, with some claiming that colonialism is ultimately a material process.[25] While focusing on colonial contexts, many of these studies shed light on the operation of unequal power relationships more generally. Nicholas Thomas' highly influential anthropological work has encouraged a refocusing of discussions from matters of trade

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and exchange to highlight the agency of indigenous populations involved in trade, the assimilation of specific material forms for local ends and the effects on those engaged in colonial acts.[26] Thomas' concept of 'entanglement' has spawned a series of applications and reinterpretations. Within historical archaeology, entanglement is applied as much to exchanges and relationships as it is objects,[27] although others have moved on to define entanglement very specifically in ways that focus on the interdependency of things and people, producing 'tanglegrams'.[28] My usage refers to the social interactions between cultures and individuals in which 'mutual influence is unavoidable', and in settings where power relationships are ambiguous and not predefined.[29] Alongside entanglements, the decentring and 'ground-up' perspective sought for by those working in subaltern studies has also appealed,[30] resulting in a shift towards models in which hybridization and resistance play dominant roles.[31] The latter highlights the agency not only of those in power but also of those who seemingly have very little or none, which is vital in the consideration of the Maltese situation, although some have criticized the 'seemingly unbounded and universal agency' attributed to social actors through frequent applications of practice theory.[32]

The concept of power is central to any discussion of agency and though Marxist approaches centring on domination and resistance have given way to more nuanced models, Marxism still cuts across other political standpoints.[33] Another school of scholarship, including the present research, has found greater potential in the writings of Michel Foucault, which reveal power to be manifest in all situations, not just those of domination.[34] Refusing to reduce power to 'the negative control of the will of others through prohibition',[35] he opened up further possibilities. Rather than identifying the dominator, dominated or resister, researchers now frequently discuss power also in terms of acceptance, acquiescence and indifference. Although Foucauldian approaches have received criticism for generalizing and thus obscuring individuals and difference, archaeologists have equally insisted that a focus on bodily, material and spatial experiences helps avoid such oversimplifications of society and its actors.[36] Similarly, while many studies now highlight the power of the 'weak', others have cautioned against oversimplifying situations of asymmetrical power relationships to those of straightforward resistance, heeding Michael Brown's caution of 'resisting resistance'.[37] In seeking more subtle arguments, archaeologists instead now frequently search for 'hidden transcripts' among material culture, the small-scale, everyday acts of subversion carried out by the seemingly powerless.[38]

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Understanding asymmetrical power relationships requires fluid and dynamic frameworks in which it is no longer possible to conceive of the interaction between two homogeneous groups, simply denoting either one as colonizer and the other as colonized, or one as feudal overlord and the other as vassal.[39] Anthropologist Michael Herzfeld has demonstrated that once the dichotomy is removed, hegemonies previously hidden by undue focus on colonizer–colonized interactions can be made visible.[40] With fixed notions of ruler and ruled removed, foreign rule can be envisioned in terms of ongoing power processes in which 'the sliding and contested scales of differential access and rights' are always in flux[41] and are experienced both locally and temporally.[42] The breakdown of binary conceptions and the injection of multiscalar dynamics – through time and place – are both significant for this study. This book not only investigates foreign rule over a long period of time, but also from the perspective of multiple groups, most whom lived lives governed at least partially by institutional frameworks.

Recognizing that institutions frequently constituted material practices, as much as any other kind of practice, they offer great potential to the investigation of power relationships through material culture. Those conducting individual studies of institutions have through publication and themed conference sessions come together to create a constructive dialogue termed 'the archaeology of institutions'.[43] Unlike many historians, who often track financial and legal institutions, archaeologists tend to locate institutions in specific places, sites or exchanges, defining institutions as 'places where material culture – architecture and landscape, furnishings, tool, dress, art, texts, food, all of it – is consciously as well as unconsciously planned to play a proactive role in accomplishing the institution's goals and purposes'.[44] In many ways the definition provides a solid basis for categorization, but it also presupposes that an institution correlates to a building. My broader conception includes institutions that need not necessarily be architecturally defined or contained. Not all institutions have such a standardized physical presence as asylums, hospitals or schools, and a narrow emphasis on institutions with recognizable architectural forms conceals institutions that lack specific architectural forms or unique material cultures, yet are still investigable through buildings and objects. The three broad types of institution considered in this book are social and economic institutions, such as those that influence foodways, in addition to prisons and military establishments.

The sort of economic institutions envisioned are not banks or major financial institutions of the modern world, but include socioculturally defined, smaller units of economic activity such as the kin-based house-

hold and local systems of trade control. Less typically studied under the rubric of the 'archaeology of institutions', archaeologists have nonetheless explored such institutions.[45] Conversely, the archaeology of prisons has become a broad area of research, covering a range of colonial and military prison sites, though rarely those before 1800.[46] The archaeological study of armies and navies is similarly biased towards more recent conflicts, especially the World Wars and the American Civil War, with investigations generally limited to battlefields, prisoner of war camps and colonial frontier forts.[47] However, military institutions raise important questions – not only were armies and navies at times subject to conscription and press gangs, but desertion or attempted escape frequently meant death. Therefore, they represent highly regulated institutions with limited options for returning to free civilian life, demonstrating a measure of confinement without the need for walls or fences.

The relationship between broader systems of foreign rule, unequal power distribution and institutions is in many studies not explicit, with the institution often foregrounded and the broader context taken for granted.[48] Throughout this book I present situations in which institutions played important roles in structuring daily life and gave rise to spaces of control and resistance, acceptance and purposeful assimilation. They provided arenas in which polices of Malta's rulers and daily material practices of subversion and acquiescence became entangled. The institutions considered all advanced or maintained unequal power relationships to the advantage of the foreign rulers. Therefore, institutional power provides a strong analytical window through which one can view past processes and experiences.

A Material Approach

Archaeologists, anthropologists and historians have long considered the Mediterranean an important area of study. Connecting three continents, the region was home to many empires, witnessed numerous iconic battles and wars, and comprises the homeland of three major world religions. From deepest prehistory to Classical Antiquity, the region's past has provided a source of archaeological enquiry and a search for the roots of Western civilization and modernity. Yet the region's more recent past has largely remained the domain of historians using textual sources. Notably, neither of the two most influential recent surveys that draw on material culture evidence – Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell's *The Corrupting Sea* and Cyprian Broodbank's *The Making of the Middle Sea* – attempts to deal with the modern world, despite the growing archaeological literature pertaining to the

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post-1500 Mediterranean. Similarly, as archaeologists are exploring traditionally 'historical' periods, historians are discovering the potential of integrating nontextual evidence into their research agendas. While archaeologists have long regarded material culture – artefacts and buildings – as their primary evidence, many historians now explicitly utilize methodologies that focus on material culture.[49]

Historians of Mediterranean slavery have noted that while the subject of Christian slaves in Muslim lands constitutes a large body of literature both then and now, the experiences of Muslim slaves in Christian lands are much harder to reconstruct through texts alone.[50] Within Malta, historians are also starting to advocate material culture approaches. Chircop sees the potential of material culture studies in recovering the experiences of economically disadvantaged and illiterate communities that made up the majority of islanders, and Emanuel Buttigieg has argued for the importance of nonwritten sources for an age in which it became more common and desirable to possess things, noting that 'material objects complement in a crucial way the findings' of historical textual methodologies.[51] With my approach, I attempt to turn the tables on Buttigieg's reflection by including textual sources within a material culture study that draws primarily on methodologies employed in historical archaeology.[52]

One of the inherent strengths of historical archaeology as practised in the twenty-first century derives from what Charles Orser has described as the 'presence of multiple lines of evidence'.[53] Of course, the 'presence' of evidence is not on its own enough; rather, it is the combination and integration of different kinds of evidence and the application of diverse skillsets in their analysis that strengthens any study of the past. Not all evidence is appropriate to answer all questions and in some cases multiple forms of evidence may provide contrasting or conflicting pictures of the past. The use of multiple sorts of evidence can therefore increase the prospects of producing multivocal and multifaceted accounts of the past that studies of a single type of evidence, be it ceramics or court records, may not always enable. In the following chapters, I bring together multiple kinds of evidence in order to thematically explore institutions and the actors that constituted them. Primarily, they constitute archaeological assemblages of artefacts, prison graffiti, architectural plans and written sources. No pretention is made to the inclusiveness of the study with regard to the use of evidence types, nor do I consider this study to approach paradigms such as annalist 'total history'. Rather, my study started with archaeological assemblages and opportunistically expanded to include other sources to the extent that I have, within the limitations of resources and time, moved away from traditional historical archaeological studies.

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The artefact assemblages I investigate come from two excavated sites, plus a field-walking survey. In the early 2000s, archaeological excavations took place at the Inquisitor's Palace Museum, Birgu, and at the bottom of Dockyard Creek, which yielded assemblages that had hitherto remained unstudied (Figure 0.2).[54] At the Inquisitor's Palace, the finds relate to two major phases of occupation: seventeenth- and eighteenth-century incarnations of the Inquisitor's prisons and the mid-nineteenth- to early twentieth-century British officers' messhouse. The finds from Dockyard Creek originate from galleys harboured in the creek, where they were also maintained, careened and occasionally capsized by storms. The final assemblage comes from the Malta Survey Project (MSP), a field-walking survey carried out in the northwest of the island, on the outskirts of the village of Bidnija and deep in the hinterlands of rural Malta, between 2008 and 2010 by a team of archaeologists from the University of Malta, the Superintendence of Cultural Heritage and Ghent University, Belgium (Figure 0.1).[55] Through my sample of 51 tracts, I explored the absence and presence of key indicators, such as Italian maiolica and mass-produced British ceramics. Together, the assemblages represent almost all the available archaeologically recovered finds for post-1500 Malta at the time of study,[56] each of which I recorded using standard archaeological procedures.[57] In addition, the laboratory of the Department of Earth Sciences, University of Catania chemically and mineralogically analysed twenty-two pottery samples from the Inquisitor's Palace and Dockyard Creek sites.[58]

The study of graffiti made by inmates incarcerated in an array of institutions forms the subject an increasing body of work. Whether graphical or textual, graffiti have been recognized 'not only as a mode of communication, but also as a performative and dialogic undertaking'.[59] By locating the communicative practices within their social and historical contexts, archaeologists and others have brought to light the materiality of such acts in diverse environments.[60] In Malta, the majority of published graffiti-related studies have been conducted by Joseph Muscat, who has recorded graffiti on church walls and in the prison at Rabat, Gozo.[61] The graffiti investigated here survives on the walls of the former prison cells and courtyards at the Inquisitor's Palace site. It covers primarily the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and thus provides a further avenue of investigation into the lives of inmates, alongside the archaeological assemblages. To record and catalogue the graffiti, I designed a methodology based on 2D photographic images, along with additional *in situ* examinations of individual graffiti.[62] Digitally superimposing a one-metre grid onto each wall enabled me to locate and catalogue each graffito. The methodology abides by the ad-

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vice given by Historic England in its draft guidance notes on historic graffiti recording[63] and involved building up a typology or classification system that assisted in my analysis and highlighted any recurring patterns. My sample walls included two seventeenth- and two eighteenth-century cells and the prison courtyard, which also contains a carved pillar (see the numbered cells in Figure 2.2).

The significance of architecturally created space and the ways in which it materially orders movement and embodies social concepts of access, privacy and power are now well-established ideas in the historical and the social sciences,[64] with space frequently considered to be generative and constitutive of 'processes, identities and actions'.[65] The spaces explored in this book all derive from careful planning and construction that together resulted in physical structures. Local limestone blocks bound together with lime mortar provide the building materials for all but one.[66] The Maltese war galley is the only example not constructed of stone, yet its wooden structure possess an internal spatial structure externally delineated by its boundaries with the sea in much the same way as a terrestrial building may forge a separateness from without. Following Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson, I argue that the spatial ordering contained within each 'architecture' is a 'domain of knowledge' that contributed to the production and maintenance of social categories, inequalities and control.[67] While interpretations based exclusively on formal and quantitative approaches to space, including space syntax analysis, can reduce human activity to overgeneralized trends and fail to take into account cultural and contextual factors,[68] the spatial analysis presented in this chapter is but one approach among many that I employ in subsequent chapters to examine the past lives and experiences of those who lived and worked at the sites, thereby mitigating the major pitfalls associated with decontextualized examinations of space.

My analysis builds on Thomas A. Markus' seminal study of institutional space and power, focusing on access analysis alongside real relative asymmetry.[69] The first provides a method for understanding the hierarchical nature of space and power relationships related to the depth of spaces within a building from the outside.[70] Each room receives a depth value equivalent to the number of delineate spaces (or rooms) one must past through to reach it from the outside (value zero); for instance, in a hotel the lobby receives a value of one because it is directly accessible from the street, but the elevator might receive a value of two, because one must pass through the lobby in order to reach it from the street. If a space has multiple 'control points' or a room has multiple doorways, multiple routes exist between two spaces, though I am typically concerned with the shortest. In order to understand the

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spatial relationship of each space (room) in a building to every other, I employ relative asymmetry analysis (RRA), in which each space receives a value that suggests how integrated it is within the whole building, indicating potential traffic and use. Put simply, it expresses through a numeric value the accessibility of a given space.[71] After normalization, which renders the values for one building comparable with others,[72] values express the degree of integration or segregation of a given space from the rest of the complex, with lower values indicating greater degrees of segregation.

I have digitally redrawn each architectural plan used in my analysis. The plans and other documentary evidence have come from a range of archives, online repositories and published sources. Historical archaeologists have traditionally made a division between documentary evidence – taken to mean anything printed, written or drawn on paper – and archaeologically recorded 'material' evidence. Mary Beaudry once noted that the questions asked of documentary evidence by historical archaeologists differ greatly from those asked by historians, and therefore archaeologists needed to find 'an approach towards documentary analysis that is uniquely their own'.[73] However, many now acknowledge that it is the spaces between textual and material evidence that should be investigated, exploring people and processes that have hitherto been made invisible in interpretations of the past.[74] While my coverage of documentary evidence has been limited by time, resources and linguistic ability, I have endeavoured to integrate the available documentary evidence at each stage of analysis and interpretation. In particular, I draw on the Inquisition records reproduced in Frans Ciappara's *Society and the Inquisition in Early Modern Malta*, British Parliamentary Papers and the colonial *Blue Books* for Malta that ran from 1821 to 1938, all of which were themselves part of what Peter Burroughs describes as foreign powers' attempts at 'effective intelligence-gathering'.[75] In addition, a range of newspaper reports, articles and advertisements further elucidate events and have proved invaluable in the identification of many objects.

The Aims and Structure of the Book

The focus of this book on institutions permits the investigation of power and material culture across two discrete historical contexts: the Order's regime in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; and nineteenth-century British rule. The two regimes offer contrasting perspectives and a diachronic study of particular aspects of Maltese social and eco-

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nomic life, including craft production and foodways.[76] Furthermore, the research on which it is based forms the first serious investigation of Maltese material culture derived from post-medieval archaeological contexts.[77] By crossing the traditional division that frequently separates the study of early modern Malta from the nineteenth century, it elucidates patterns of continuity in addition to those of change and adaptation. It also contributes to our knowledge of nineteenth-century Malta, especially the history of the specific sites investigated, remedying a curator's lament that 'very little is yet known of what actually went on in the Inquisitor's Palace during the 19th century'.[78] The availability of archaeological evidence largely dictated the institutions examined, as is often the case in archaeology, and they include penal and military establishments, and slavery, alongside those affecting the daily lives of inhabitants on the islands, such as those that impact foodways or work. Rather than discussing each institution in turn, the following chapters take a thematic focus and cut across the primary groups of people and institutions explored, with each chapter divided approximated equally in terms of temporal cover.

Chapter 1 introduces institutional agents. Through acquiescence or subversion, each person on the islands is considered an agent because they were, willingly or unwillingly, partaking in power relationships often enacted through the rulers' institutions. The principal groups are the non-elite Maltese that comprised the bulk of the population, alongside foreigners who came to trade or migrated. Two other important groups are the Order's knights and officials, and British army officers, both of whom are often portrayed in traditional scholarship as purveyors of authority rather than themselves bound up in institutional power relationships. The final group comprises 'captives', those imprisoned for wrongdoing or enslaved at sea.

From people to places, Chapter 2 examines the use of space in institutions. By applying space syntax analysis, each of the main 'sites' investigated throughout the subsequent chapters receives a consideration of how actors occupied and demarcated internal space in ways that not only facilitated the successful running of an institution, but also afforded inhabitants differing places in power relationships. Divided into two sections, the first deals with the prisons of the Inquisition before moving on to civilian and military prisons. The second section follows on with investigations of military environments, in particular a galley and an army officers' messhouse. The former is the only nonterrestrial environment examined and, given the restrictions of space, discussion focuses on the unique human make-up of the environment. The latter provides an example in which 'institutions may

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appropriate and then re-order physical space in order to meet their institutional needs as pursued through ritual practices',[79] as the later chapters show. In our case, it involves converting the Inquisitor's palace and prison into an officers' messhouse.

Chapters 3 and 4 examine the impact of foreign rule, colonialism and institutions on labour and foodways. Agriculture forms both a major employment industry and a source of food for the islanders. Conversely, the production of pottery vessels by local earthenware manufacturers provided work for few, yet underpinned Maltese food culture for generations. Agriculture also provided cash-crops that each ruling regime impacted and steered. Once the harbours had developed sufficiently, wage labour set in and Malta became part of the burgeoning industrial world with the arrival of factories. The era also witnessed an increase in productive labour as part of the prison system, with convicts encouraged to participate in trades that put them in direct competition with their free counterparts. Picking up on the previous chapter's discussion of galley slaves, Chapter 3 closes by considering the Order's use of slaves in other types of work. Diets have long been recognized as important for understanding issues of identity and I extend such notions to examine local foodways under the Order and the British.[80] While slaves and convicts have particularly circumscribed (though not uniform) diets, at the other end of the social and economic scale, those eating at the galley captain's table and in the British army messhouse engaged ever more widely with goods emanating from outside the Mediterranean and European spheres. The final section in Chapter 4 considers the place of beverages, which together with the previous examples demonstrate the ways in which foodways play a crucial role in the negotiation of power.

The everyday and mundane are central themes in the evidence examined throughout this book, a point that Chapter 5 explicates more fully. By focusing on routines and material culture, it examines how everyday materials engendered mechanisms for coping, classification, compliance and distraction within institutional contexts. Commencing with graffiti-carving inmates in the Inquisitor's prisons, the chapter explores some of the visual and sensory aspects of institutional history, answering Victor Morgan's complaint that 'sentiment, emotion and even bodily sensation lie at one end of the spectrum, and that the history of institutions lies at the other'.[81] My analyses show how in the modern prison routines materialized policies of classification with varying degrees of success and how on board galleys slaves escaped their awful lives through smoking and dice play. Finally, the ritual of an officers' messhouse reveals not only how officers made anywhere home, but that they were also subject to the unequal power relationships of British colonialism.

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The penultimate chapter broadens the scope of analysis by considering in which ways institutions intersected with wider developments, colonialism and the onset of globalization. First focusing on the flows of things through trade and production, it hones in on glass as an archetypical container of many nineteenth-century products and on the global business relationships that developed in Malta. From things to people, mobility and communication not only 'contributed to, but were also a product of, the colonisation of the Mediterranean',[82] and as a waypoint and coaling station, Malta played a significant role in nineteenth-century global travel. The final section of the chapter considers power and attempts at subversion that highlight the cross-currents of religious and national loyalties. The book closes with a brief concluding chapter that draws together the major issues and themes addressed throughout.

Notes

1. Jeanette 'Jeannie' (nee Moore) Cole-Hamilton in 'Births', *Leamington Spa Courier* (7 April 1883), 5.
2. 'Station of Regiments', TNA WO/379/11, 273. Arthur Richard Cole Hamilton served in during this time with the 53rd (Shropshire Light Infantry) Regiment and hailed from Beltrim in Country Tyrone (*London Gazette* (22 June 1880), 3589).
3. 'Deaths', *Morning Post* (7 April 1883), 1. No reason is given for Jeanette's death, although complications arising from childbirth seem likely.
4. Stefano Villani, *A True Account of the Great Tryals and Cruel Sufferings Undergone By Those Two Faithful Servants of God Katherine Evens and Sarah Cheevers: Le vicenda di due quacchere prigioniere dell'inquisizione di Malta*. Pisa: Sucola Normale Superiore, 2003, 23–26. For an account of the women's time in the prison and their material surroundings, see Russell Palmer, 'Contextualizing the *Cruel Sufferings (For the Truths Sake) of Katharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers*: A Historical Materialist Perspective', *ANQ: A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes and Reviews* 31(1) (2017), 11–17.
5. Their account edited by Baker was first published when they were still imprisoned as Katherine Evans and Sarah Cheevers, *This is a Short Relation of Some of the Cruel Sufferings (For the Truths Sake) of Katharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers, in the Inquisition in the Isle of Malta*. London: Printed for Robert Wilson, 1662.
6. Evans and Cheevers, *Short Relation*, 38.
7. Bernard Clarke Weber, 'The History of Malta, 1500–1798: Some Opportunities for Research and Writing', *Melita Historica* 2(3) (1958), 145.
8. Molly Greene, *Catholic Pirates and Greek Merchants: A Maritime History of the Mediterranean*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010, 3; Alison Hoppen, *The Fortification of Malta by the Order of St. John, 1530–1798*. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1979, 157.
9. Monier Monier-Williams, *Modern India and the Indians; being a series of impressions, notes, and essays*. London: Trübner and Co., 1879, 1.

10. See, for example, Molly Greene, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000; Thomas A. Gallant, *Experiencing Dominion: Culture, Identity, and Power in the British Mediterranean*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002; and Andrekos Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878–1915: The Inconsequential Possession*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009.
11. Malta is frequently used interchangeably to refer to the whole archipelago, the modern nation state and the principal island. Unless otherwise stated, I refer to Malta the island.
12. Claudia Sagona, *The Archaeology of Malta: From the Neolithic through the Roman Period*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, 3.
13. Brian W. Blouet, *The Story of Malta*. London: Faber & Faber, 1967, 68.
14. Hoppen, *Fortification of Malta*, 8.
15. Greene, *Catholic Pirates and Greek Merchants*, 6.
16. Anne Brogini, *Malte, frontière de chrétienté (1530–1670)*. Rome: Publications de l'École française de Rome, 2005, 399–481.
17. For a detailed examination of the exchanges between the Order and the Venetian Republic, see Victor Mallia-Milanes, *Venice and Hospitaller Malta, 1530–1798: Aspects of a Relationship*. Malta: Publishers Enterprises Group Ltd, 1992.
18. Stefan Goodwin, 'National Identity, and Selected Issues of Race in Malta', in John Chircop (ed.), *Colonial Encounters: Maltese Experiences of British Rule, 1800–1970s* (Malta: Horizons, 2015), 67.
19. Jon P. Mitchell, *Ambivalent Europeans: Ritual, Memory and the Public Sphere in Malta*. London: Routledge, 2002, 8.
20. See Reuben Grima's investigation of popular inventions of a nationalistic Maltese heritage in 'Archaeology, Nationhood and Identity', *Melita Historica* 16(3) (2014), 101–20.
21. For examples, see the comparisons made by Godfrey Wettinger in 'The Nature of Maltese Politics, c. 870–1964', in Victor Mallia-Millanes (ed.), *The British Colonial Experience 1800–1964: The Impact on Maltese Society* (Malta: Mireva Publications, 1988), 20–22.
22. Noel Buttigieg, 'Towards a Maltese Culinary Identity: Some Considerations', *Melita Historica* 16(3) (2014), 78–79; John Chircop, 'Introduction. Colonial Encounters in Multiple Dimensions: Collaboration, Defiance, Resistance and Hybridity in the Making of Maltese History', in John Chircop (ed.), *Colonial Encounters: Maltese Experiences of British Rule, 1800–1970s* (Malta: Horizons, 2015), 49.
23. Carmel Cassar, 'Popular Perceptions and Values in Hospitaller Malta', in Victor Mallia-Milanes (ed.), *Hospitaller Malta 1530–1798: Studies on Early Modern Malta and the Order of St John of Jerusalem* (Malta: Mireva Publications, 1993), 436.
24. Emanuel Buttigieg, *Nobility, Faith and Masculinity: The Hospitaller Knights of Malta, c.1580–c.1700*. London: Continuum, 2011, 100.
25. Chris Gosden, *Archaeology and Colonialism: Cultural Contact from 5000 BC to the Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, 153.
26. Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991, 184.
27. Kenneth Kelly, 'Indigenous Responses to Colonial Encounters on the West African Coast: Hueda and Dahomey from the Seventeenth through Nineteenth Century', in Claire L. Lyons and John K. Papadopoulos (eds), *The Archaeology of Colonialism* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2002), 97.

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28. Ian Hodder and Angus J. Mol, 'Network Analysis and Entanglement', *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 23 (2016), 1067.
29. Kurt A. Jordan, 'Colonies, Colonialism, and Cultural Entanglement: The Archaeology of Postcolumbian Intercultural Relations', in Teresita Majewski and David Gaimster (eds), *International Handbook of Historical Archaeology* (New York: Springer, 2009), 32.
30. Especially Dipesh Chakrabarty's *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000. For an archaeological argument drawing on subaltern studies, see Sarah K. Croucher and Lindsay Weiss, 'The Archaeology of Capitalism in Colonial Contexts, an Introduction: Provincializing Historical Archaeology', in Sarah K. Croucher and Lindsay Weiss (eds), *The Archaeology of Capitalism in Colonial Contexts: Postcolonial Historical Archaeologies* (New York: Springer, 2011), 1–37.
31. Jeff Oliver, 'Reflections on Resistance: Agency, Identity and Being Indigenous in Colonial British Columbia', in James Symonds, Anna Badcock and Jeff Oliver (eds), *Archaeologies of Cognition: Explorations into Faith, Hope, and Charity* (Sheffield: Equinox Publishing Ltd, 2013), 98–114.
32. James Symonds, 'Colonial Encounters of the Nordic Kind', in Magdalena Naum and Jonas M. Nordin (eds), *Scandinavian Colonialism and the Rise of Modernity: Small Time Agents in a Global Arena* (New York: Springer, 2013), 311.
33. For a classic Marxist-informed approach, see Daniel Miller, Michael Rowlands and Christopher Tilley, 'Introduction', in Daniel Miller, Michael Rowlands and Christopher Tilley (eds), *Domination and Resistance* (London: Routledge, 1995), 1–27. For more recent takes on Marxist power, see James A. Delle, *The Colonial Caribbean: Landscapes of Power in the Plantation System*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014, 3–7; and Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood, 'Feminist Theorizing of Patriarchal Colonialism, Power Dynamics, and Social Agency Materialized in Colonial Institutions', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 20(3) (2016), 481.
34. Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–7*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1980, 187–88; Wendy Brown, 'Power after Foucault', in John S. Dryzek, Bonnie Hoing and Anne Phillips (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 68.
35. John Gledhill, *Power and Its Disguises: Anthropological Perspectives on Politics*. London: Pluto Press, 1994, 129.
36. Lu Ann De Cunzo and Julie H. Ernstein, 'Landscapes, Ideology and Experience in Historical Archaeology', in Dan Hicks and Mary C. Beaudry (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Historical Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 268.
37. Michael Given, *The Archaeology of the Colonized*. London: Routledge, 2004, 11; Michael F. Brown, 'On Resisting Resistance', *American Anthropologist* 98(4) (1996), 729.
38. These works draw on James C. Scott's *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990. Examples include Martin Hall's *Archaeology and the Modern World: Colonial Transcripts in South Africa and the Chesapeake*. London: Routledge, 2000; and Given, *The Archaeology of the Colonized*.
39. Peter van Dommelen, 'Colonial Constructs: Colonialism and Archaeology in the Mediterranean', *World Archaeology* 28(3) (1997), 308.
40. Michael Herzfeld, 'The Absent Presence: Discourses of Crypto-colonialism', *South Atlantic Quarterly* 101(4) (2002), 292.

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41. Ann Laura Stoler, 'Introduction. "The Rot Remains": From Ruins to Ruination', in Ann Laura Stoler (ed.), *Imperial Debris: On Ruins and Ruination* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013), 8.
42. Michael Dietler, *Archaeologies of Colonialism: Consumption, Entanglement, and Violence in Ancient Mediterranean France*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010, 55; Stephan A. Mrozowski, D. Rae Gould and Heather Law Pezzarossi, 'Rethinking Colonialism: Indigenous Innovation and Colonial Inevitability', in Craig N. Cipolla and Katherine Howlett Hayes (eds), *Rethinking Colonialism: Comparative Archaeological Approaches* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2015), 121.
43. The 'archaeology of institutions' started to emerge after the publication of Lu Ann De Cunzo's seminal study of the Magdalen Society of Philadelphia, 'Reform, Respite, Ritual: An Archaeology of Institutions. The Magdalen Society of Philadelphia, 1800–1850', *Historical Archaeology* 29(3) (1995), i–168; and continued with, among many other publications, a double special issue of the *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* in 2001, 'Almshouses and Asylums'; and a 2009 collection of essays edited by April M. Beisaw James G. Gibb, *The Archaeology of Institutional Life*; followed more recently in 2016 by another special issue of the *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 'Colonial Institutions: Uses, Subversions, and Material Afterlives', edited by Laura McAtackney and Russell Palmer.
44. Lu Ann De Cunzo, 'The Future of the Archaeology of Institutions', in April M. Beisaw and James G. Gibb (eds), *The Archaeology of Institutional Life* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2009), 208. Gadi Algazi has noted that 'Institutions have no generally accepted definition across disciplines and theoretical orientations', while not denying the vast literature written by historians on institutions of various kinds, I therefore confine myself to archaeological definitions ('Comparing Medieval Institutions: A Few Introductory Remarks', in John Hudson and Ana Rodríguez (eds), *Diverging Paths? The Shapes of Power and Institutions in Medieval Christendom and Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 5–6).
45. Michael Given unravels the materiality of taxation and tax evasion in Scotland and the Mediterranean in *The Archaeology of the Colonized* and 'Mining Landscapes and Colonial Rule in Early-Twentieth-Century Cyprus', *Historical Archaeology* 39(3) (2005), 49–60. Many plantation studies involve, or revolve around, the economics made manifest in the landscape and through material culture, for example, Delle, *The Colonial Caribbean*; and Sarah K. Croucher, *Capitalism and Cloves: An Archaeology of Plantation Life on Nineteenth-Century Zanzibar*. New York: Springer, 2015.
46. Research ranges from investigations of the 'modern prison', colonial prisons and military prisons. Significant works include Eleanor Conlin Casella, 'To Watch or Restrain: Female Convict Prison in 19th-Century Tasmania', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 5(1) (2001), 45–72 and *The Archaeology of Institutional Confinement*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2007; Wazi Apoh, 'The Archaeology of German and British Colonial Entanglements in Kpando-Ghana', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 17 (2013), 351–75; David R. Bush, 'Johnson's Island US Civil War Military Prison', in Harold Mytum and Gilly Carr (eds), *Prisoners of War: Archaeology, Memory, and Heritage of Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Mass Internment* (New York: Springer, 2013), 59–74.
47. On battlefields, see Tony Pollard and Iain Banks, *Scorched Earth: Studies in the Archaeology of Conflict*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2008; on POW camps, see Mytum and Carr (eds), *Prisoners of War*; and on colonial frontier forts, see Michael Nassaney and José Antonió Brandão, 'The Materiality of Individuality at Fort St. Joseph: An Eighteenth-Century Mission-Garrison-Trading Post Complex on the

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Edge of Empire', in Carolyn L. White (ed.), *The Materiality of Individuality: Archaeological Studies of Individual Lives* (New York: Springer, 2009), 19–36.

48. See the contributions to McAtackney and Palmer (eds), 'Colonial Institutions: Colonial Institutions: Uses, Subversions, and Material Afterlives' for recent exceptions.
49. Annette C. Cremer, 'Zum Stand der Materiellen Kulturforschung in Deutschland', in Annette C. Cremer and Martin Mulsow (eds), *Objekte als Quellen der historischen Kulturwissenschaften: Stand und Perspectiven der Forschung* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2017), 12. See also the interdisciplinary contributions to Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello (eds), *Writing Material Culture History.* London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014; and Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello (eds), *The Global Lives of Things: The Material Culture of Connections in the Early Modern World*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2016.
50. Wolfgang Kaiser, 'Sprechende Ware. Gefangenenfreikauf und Sklavenhandel im frühneuzeitlichen Mittelmeerraum', *Zeitschrift für Ideengeschichte* 3(2) (2009), 29.
51. Chircop, 'Introduction', 13, 49; Emanuel Buttigieg, 'Growing up in Hospitaller Malta (1530–1798): Sources and Methodologies for the History of Childhood and Adolescence', in Joaquim Carvalho (ed.), *Bridging the Gaps: Sources, Methodology and Approaches to Religion in History* (Pisa: Plus-Pisa University Press, 2008), 139.
52. Following commonly used definitions in transatlantic scholarship, I define historical archaeology as the archaeological study of the modern or post-1500 world.
53. Charles E. Orser, Jr. 'Twenty-First-Century Historical Archaeology', *Journal of Archaeological Research* 18 (2010), 116.
54. The Inquisitor's Palace excavations were overseen by Kenneth Gambin and Nathaniel Catajar, and Timmy Gambin led the excavations at Dockyard Creek. Full reports of assemblages are ongoing and will be published in due course.
55. Roald F. Docter, Nicholas C. Vella, Nathaniel Cutajar, Anthony Bonanno and Anthony Pace, 'Rural Malta: First Results of the Joint Belgo-Maltese Survey Project', *BABESCH* 87 (2012), 109.
56. My study took place between 2012 and 2016, during which time the stores of the Superintendence of Cultural Heritage were inaccessible to external researchers.
57. For a description of the recording methodology, see Palmer, 'An Archaeology of Comparative Colonialism', 24–34.
58. For a report of the archaeometrical analysis, see Russell Palmer, Simona Raneri, Paolo Mazzoleni, Nicholas C. Vella, Germana Barone and Wim De Clercq, 'Neighbourly Ties: Characterizing Local and Sicilian Pottery in Post-medieval Malta', *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 19 (2018), 575–87.
59. Ursula K. Frederick and Anne Clarke, 'Signs of the Times: Archaeological Approaches to Historical and Contemporary Graffiti', *Australian Archaeology* 78 (2014), 54.
60. For a cross-section of the environments investigated, see Hector A. Orengo and David W. Robinson, 'Contemporary Engagements within Corridors of the Past: Temporal Elasticity, Graffiti and the Materiality of St. Rock Street, Barcelona', *Journal of Material Culture* 13 (2008), 267–286; Kate Giles and Melanie Giles, 'The Writing on the Wall: The Concealed Communities of the East Yorkshire Horselads', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 11 (2007), 336–57; Eleanor Conlin Casella, 'Enmeshed Inscriptions: Reading the Graffiti of Australia's Convict Past', *Australian Archaeology* 78 (2014), 108–12; Laura McAtackney, 'Graffiti Revelations and the Changing Meanings of Kilmainham Gaol in (Post)Colonial Ireland', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 20(3) (2016), 492–505; Anne Clarke and Ursula K. Frederick, '"Born to Be a Stoway": Inscriptions, Graffiti, and the Rupture

of Space at the North Head Quarantine Station, Sydney', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 20(3) (2016), 521–35.

61. Joseph Muscat, 'Graffiti on the Exterior Walls of St. Paul's Shipwreck Church, Wied il-Qliegha, Mosta', *Melita Historica* 12(2) (1997), 179–94; Joseph Muscat and Joanne Cassar, 'The Gozo Prisons Graffiti', *Melita Historica* 11(3) (1994), 241–74.
62. The majority of images were taken by Jeroen De Reu in October 2013 as part of a collaborative digitalization project that has been postponed due to funding considerations.
63. Historic England. 'Recording Historic Graffiti: Advice and Guidance'. Draft document available at: https://content.historicengland.org.uk/content/docs/guidance/draft-historic-graffiti-guidelines.pdf (accessed 15 January 2015).
64. Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?* Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008, 71.
65. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Blackwell, 2001 [1974], 94; Emma Blake, 'Space, Spatiality and Archaeology', in Lynn Meskell and Robert W. Preucel (eds), *A Companion to Social Archaeology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 234.
66. Hoppen, *Fortification of Malta*, 139.
67. Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson, *The Social Logic of Space*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, 146.
68. Blake, 'Space, Spatiality and Archaeology', 232; Hanna Stöger, 'Roman Neighbourhoods by the Numbers: A Space Syntax View on Ancient City Quarters and Their Social Life', *Journal of Space Syntax* 6(1) (2015), 64.
69. Thomas A. Markus, *Buildings & Power: Freedom and Control in the Origin of Modern Building Types*. London: Routledge, 1993.
70. The starting point, or 'carrier', can in fact be any space. I have chosen the outside because I concern myself with relative access to interior spaces from without the building. A more technical and detailed presentation of the results of my space syntax analysis is available in Palmer, An Archaeology of Comparative Colonialism', chapters 4–5.
71. Kevin D. Fisher, 'Placing Social Interaction: An Integrative Approach to Analysing Past Built Environments', *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 28(4) (2009), 441.
72. Calculating relative asymmetry involves several stages (i) calculating the mean depth (MD) for each space, by selecting a space and assigning it the value of zero, then counting the number of spaces between it and every other space, producing a sequence of values for that space. Repeat the process for each space in the building. Total each sequence (Σvalues) and divide it by the number of spaces (k), minus the space acting as the starting point (value zero): $MD=\Sigma values k-1$. Relative asymmetry is then calculated by the following formula, which gives a value between zero and one for each space. $RA=2(MD-1)-2$. Each value is normalized by dividing it by the D-value for the number of spaces within the building (see Hillier and Hanson, *The Social Logic of Space*, Table 3).
73. Mary C. Beaudry, 'Introduction', in Mary C. Beaudry (ed.), *Documentary Archaeology in the New World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1988), 1.
74. Patricia Galloway, 'Material Culture and Text: Exploring the Spaces within and between', in Martin Hall and Stephen W. Silliman (eds), *Historical Archaeology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 42.
75. Peter Burroughs, 'Imperial Institutions and the Government of Empire', in Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire. Volume III: The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 184.

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76. Compared to archaeological studies, historical studies of colonialism in Europe proliferate. Archaeological studies of post-1500 colonialism primarily focus on the 'New World'. Rare exceptions include: Given, 'Mining Landscapes and Colonial Rule'; Magdalena Naum and Jonas M. Nordin (eds), *Scandinavian Colonialism and the Rise of Modernity: Small Time Agents in a Global Arena*. New York: Springer, 2013; Audrey Horning, 'Comparative Colonialism: Scales of Analysis and Contemporary Resonances', in Craig N. Cipolla and Katherine Howlett Hayes (eds), *Rethinking Colonialism: Comparative Archaeological Approaches* (Gainsville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2015), 234–46; McAtackney, 'Graffiti Revelations'; Dimitri C. Papadopoulos, 'Ecologies of Ruin: (Re)Bordering, Ruination, and Internal Colonialism in Greek Macedonia, 1913–2013', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 20(3) (2016), 627–40.
77. Historical archaeology in Malta is in its extreme infancy, although some relevant published studies exist besides my own, including: John Wood, 'Pipes from Malta: A Short Account of the Tobacco Pipes Found in Dockyard Creek, Birgu', *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 27(4) (1998), 313–30; John Wood, 'A Study of Clay Tobacco Pipes in Tunis: Were They Traded to Gozo?', *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 33(1) (1999), 233–41; Ayse D. Atauz, 'Survey of the Valletta Harbors in Malta 1999', *INA Quarterly* 27(1) (2000), 6–10; Ayse D. Atauz and John H. McManamon. 'Underwater Survey of Malta: The Reconnaissance Season of 2000', *INA Quarterly* 28(2) (2001), 22–28; Timmy Gambin, 'A Window on History from the Seabed', *Treasures of Malta* 10(1) (2003), 71–76; Chris Hunt and Nicholas C. Vella, 'A View from the Countryside: Pollen from a Field at Mistra Valley, Malta', *Malta Archaeological Review* 7 (2008), 61–69; Nicholas C. Vella and Mevrick Spiteri, 'Documentary Sources for the Study of the Maltese Landscape', *Storja* 30 (2008), 16–29; John Wood, 'Tobacco Pipes from Dockyard Creek, Birgu, Malta', *Clay Pipe Research* 3 (2008), 7–18; Docter et al., 'Rural Malta'; Paul C. Saliba, Joseph M. Conti and Claude Borg, *A Study of Landscape and Irrigation Systems at Is-Simblija limits of Dingli, Malta and Conservation Project*. Rome: Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche, 2002; Keith Buhagiar, *Malta and Water (AD 900 to 1900): Irrigating a Semi-arid Landscape*. Oxford: Bar Publishing, 2016; Ernest Vella, 'A Stratigraphic Study of the *Giren* at Ix-Xagħra l-Ħamra, Limits of Mellieħa, Malta', *Malta Archaeological Review* 11 (2016), 68–78.
78. Kenneth Gambin, 'The Inquisitor in Parliament: An Insight into British Colonial Policy', in Maroma Camilleri and Theresa Vella (eds), *Celebratio Amicitiae: Essays in Honour of Giovanni Bonello* (Malta: Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti, 2006), 160.
79. Victor Morgan, 'A Ceremonious Society: An Aspect of Institutional Power in Early Modern Norwich', in Anne Godgar and Robert I. Frost (eds), *Institutional Culture in Early Modern Society* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 134.
80. Michael Dietler, 'Culinary Encounters: Food, Identity and Colonialism', in Kathryn Twiss (ed.), *The Archaeology of Food and Identity* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2007), 218–42.
81. Morgan, 'A Ceremonious Society', 135.
82. Sakis Gekis, 'Colonial Migrants and the Making of a British Mediterranean', *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire* 19(1) (2012), 75.

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