**Religious Colonialism in Early Modern Malta: Inquisitorial Imprisonment and Inmate Graffiti.**

**Abstract**

Early modern Malta was governed by three institutions—the Order of St. John, the Bishopric, and the Roman Inquisition—which all ultimately answered to the Holy See. By focusing on the institution under the most direct Papal control, the inquisition, this paper seeks to explore the role of imprisonment in furthering the Vatican’s cultural and political control on the island. Through analyses of the prison cells and the inmate’s graffiti, I argue that the inquisition’s ability to imprison and negate the spectacle of public suffering was crucial to the Vatican’s colonial position in Malta.

**Key words**

Colonialism, Inquisition, Malta, prison, graffiti

**Introduction**

The Knights of St John ruled Malta from 1530 to 1798, sharing power and land ownership with the Bishop until the introduction of the Roman Inquisition in 1571. The insertion of a third party created a situation not dissimilar to the Papal states, for which Carocci notes “systems of power and institutions … were often unusual and at times totally unique” (2012, p. 69). Power and land were shared between the three institutions that were ultimately answerable to the Pope, but of whom only one was able to act with papal authority: the inquisition. Intended to rid Malta of heretics, the inquisition regulated moral and religious behavior through its ability to punish. It distinguished itself from civic institutions of societal control through a belief in redemption and a “de-publicization” of suffering (Spierenburg 1984), epitomized in the use of imprisonment as form of punishment.

Since the opening of the Inquisition archives in Malta in 1968, much has been written on the institution of the Roman Inquisition and its internal workings. Departing from these works I will explore how the institution expressed its power over the population and constituted part of a cultural and political imperialism emanating from the Vatican. Building on recent archaeological studies of prisons and inmate graffiti (Casella 2007, 2009), the Inquisitor’s prison cells and the surviving inmate graffiti will be analyzed in order to shed light on prison life and the role of imprisonment as a form of punishment that was influential in maintaining and advancing the Vatican’s cultural and political position in Malta, contra to the endeavors of the Order.

**Historical Background: a struggle for power**

Since classical invasions, Malta has had a long and complicated colonial history. More recently, the islands have been ruled successively by the Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem (1530–1798) (hereafter “the Order”), Napoleon (1798–1800), and the British Empire (1800–1964), before gaining independence. While each of the more recent episodes in Maltese history could be considered as colonial, only the British period is routinely referred to as the “colonial period.”

After successfully defending Malta against the Great Siege of the Ottomans in 1565, the Order’s place in European history as a defender of Christendom was sealed. Admission to individuals was granted after producing evidence of family nobility. Exceptionally, a Knight of Grace could be awarded on recommendation of the Chapter-General or Grand Master. Rather than this route allowing for corruption within the Order, it offered a way for the Vatican and European rulers to “force their favorites on the Convent” (Williams 1993, p. 291). Strict entrance-routes ensured that the Order never became “Maltese,” but was constantly replenished with nobles from Catholic European states. The former practice of living apart, within a walled section of city (*callachium*) as in Rhodes, was impractical and never maintained in Malta (Luttrell 1993, p. 268). However, in a bid to limit Papal control, the courts of the Bishop and later the Inquisitor were not permitted to be held in Valletta but were instead based at Mdina and Birgu, respectively.

Financial security came from the Order’s inherited European priories and estates, Maltese cotton exports (Luttrell 1993, p. 270, 272), and the navy. Local land management was based around renewable 99-year leases and so tied a substantial proportion of the population to the land (Busuttil 1993, p. 18). The Bishopric and Inquisition also owned land and both institutions operated oligarchies of supply and production in which even the poorest had to partake (Cassar 2000, p. 64). The Order’s navy served to protect its interests and supply bounty from captured ships in the form of goods and human cargo. Ottoman, Levantine, and Christian Slaves were sold or ransomed, and slavery supplied the galleys with rowers (Cassar 2000, p. 107). But the navy was not only necessary for patrolling the seas and taking bounty; it was essential for the Order’s prominent role in shielding Christendom from Islam, thereby justifying its European possessions and revenues (Luttrell 1993, p. 270). With the income from their European estates diminishing due to reformation and European revolutions, and increasing reports of licentious behavior among the Knights in the eighteenth century (Ciappara 2001, p. 175), the power struggle between Vatican institutions and the Order became acute (Ciappara 1994, p. 120). Constant disputes over areas of jurisdiction between the Grand Master, Bishop, and Inquisitor created an often changing and always unbalanced power triad. Maltese historian Carmel Cassar has suggested that “Malta was close to a theocracy as the three separate jurisdictions of the island—the Grand Master’s, the Bishop’s, and the Inquisitor’s—all considered the Pope as their ultimate earthly head” (1993, p. 436). The Order owed their very existence to papal privilege (Luttrell 1993, p. 274).

It is from this uneasy power (im)balance that I wish to consider Malta as a colony of the Holy See, and the Order, Bishopric, and Inquisition all institutions, to greater or lesser extents, of the Vatican’s cultural and political control. As in Venice, the pervasive influence of the church and bishop was disseminated through the parish pulpits and confessors, which reinforced the moral and religious regulation of society enacted by the Inquisition (Martin 2003, p. 66). Civil authority was enforced through the Order’s *Castellania* (Court of Justice), which sentenced offenders to a range of financial, corporal, and capital punishments, but mostly to serve on the galleys. Imprisonment was only used for custody, although slaves were kept overnight in *bagnos* (slave prisons). Maltese institutions, such as the *Università* (local councils), lost significance (Cassar 2000, pp. 31–33), and the Order imposed further taxes and duties, regulating the importation grain and centralizing the exportation of cotton (Luttrell 1993, p. 277). All three institutions profited from the appropriation of land (Cassar 2000, p. 32), which, along with taxation and the control of food supplies, bare the hallmarks of many colonial enterprises (Given 2004, p. 37).

Like the knights—and unlike the parish clergy— the bishop was not local, but was chosen by and a member of the Order (Luttrell 1993, p. 273). In 1561, Pope Pious IV founded the *Sacra Congregazione del Sant’Officio* (Holy Office or Roman Inquisition) in Rome, with the first Maltese representative being Bishop Cubelles (1571). Amid requests from the civil administration for inquisitorial powers, Pious V sent Mgr. Pietro Dusina to investigate. The result was that in 1574 Dusina became the Inquisitor of Malta, forever separating the roles of Bishop and Inquisitor, and ensuring that future Inquisitors would be chosen by the Vatican (Ciappara 2001, p. 326). Furthermore, the dual role of the Inquisitor as the Apostolic Delegate (the Pope’s direct representative in Malta) ensured that episcopal power was greatly overshadowed (Brogini 2005, pp. 399–481).

**The Roman inquisition in Malta**

Not to be confused with the medieval or Spanish inquisitions, the Roman Inquisition, or Holy Office, was established in sixteenth-century Italy in order to combat the perceived threat from Protestantism. The new institution served to “reshape a previously existing governmental function as part of a programme to centralize authority” (Tedeschi 1990, pp. 86–87) and inherently threatened the sovereignty of any state in which it operated (Martin 2003, p. 51). The authority of the tribunal held precedence over all others (Tedeschi 1990, p. 87), and the Inquisitor had the right to arrest any of the Order (Ciappara 2001, p. 351). The inquisitors and their staff took vows of secrecy (Tedeschi 1990, p. 90), and though they had no organized police force, their *famigliari* might assist in the hunting of heretics (Ciappara 2001, p. 330). Heretical crimes investigated by the Maltese tribunal included apostasy, blasphemy, freemasonry, “heretical propositions,” immoral life, polygamy, possessing or reading prohibited books, and witchcraft or sorcery. From 1744 to 1798, 1,030 (33.8%) out of 3,049 denunciations related to blasphemy, and another 883 (29%) to witchcraft (figures calculated from table 2.2 in Ciappara 2001, p. 90).

A trial ordinarily occurred after a defendant had been denounced and evidence had been gathered, although not all investigations resulted in trials. Evidence gathering was taken seriously and in some cases it took up to two and a half years to assemble enough evidence to bring a case before the tribunal (Ciappara 2001, p. 385). Encouraged by placards posted calling for denunciations (Brogini 2005, pp. 399–481), those suspecting they were, or would be, under investigation frequently denounced themselves (67% of denunciations in the eighteenth century), usually resulting in lighter punishment (Tedeschi 1990, p. 91). Others were not so fortunate. Trials could last months, sometimes longer, and many found themselves waiting in one of the Inquisitor’s prison cells. While inquisition trials have a lurid reputation, trial by torture (*rigorso esamine*) was highly regulated and always performed in secrecy. The aim was to elicit a confession, revealing “truth” and the operation of power (Foucault 1991, p. 55); in this case, the power and redemption of the Holy See. Torture was usually limited to 30-minute episodes. While only the *corda* was used in most Roman Inquisitions (Seitz 2011, 41; Tedeschi 1990, 102), in Malta the *corda*, *stanghetta*, and other form of torture were employed. The *corda* involved hoisting the accused from a rope attached to the victim’s hands, which were tied behind their back, while the *stanghetta* applied pressure to the ankles and was often used in cases where the accused could not physically cope with the *corda* (Gambin 2004a, pp. 13–15). Torture was relatively rare and between 1743 and 1798 only twelve instances of the *corda* and eight of the *stanghetta* are recorded (Ciappara 2001, p. 439).

 An offender found guilty could face a variety of sentences, which were relative not only to the severity of the infringement but also to the nature of their confession and apparent repentance. Capital punishment was rarely used throughout the Roman Inquisition and its tribunals were restrained compared to their civic counterparts (Seitz 2011, p. 39; Tedeschi 1990, p. 110). Frequent punishments included public shaming, whipping in Valletta, and exiling (foreigners were often sent back to their homeland). However, a great deal were released with only salutary penances or no further punishment, their time in custody being considered penance enough (Ciappara 2001, p. 468). Gravity of crimes was determined by the manner or willingness of the confession and apparent repentance as much as the deed itself. For those considered the worst offenders a spell on the Order’s—or occasionally the Vatican’s—galleys could be prescribed, one of the few sentences that employed labor as one of the “essential mechanisms for cultivating improvement of the mortal soul” (Casella 2007, p. 61).

Inquisitions were among the first judicial intuitions in Europe to make use of imprisonment as punishment (*ad poenam*), as opposed to custody during a trial (*ad custodiam*). As a favorite punishment of inquisitions around Europe (Given 1989, p. 343), it was the most common sentence applied by the Maltese tribunal in the late-eighteenth century. The expense of accommodating prisoners was borne by the Holy Office. Inmates were frequently released due to ill health or due to the sufferings of the inmate’s family (Ciappara 2001, pp. 475–8). In the later eighteenth century, those sentenced to imprisonment served typically only one to six months, while custody could last between 1 day and 13 months, with an average of 4.4 months (figures based on sentences transcribed in Ciappara 2001, pp. 518–538).

**The Inquisitor’s Palace**

Provincial inquisitors were generally members of Dominican or Franciscan orders and were more often than not based in Dominican convents (Tedeschi 1990, pp. 87–88). However, in Malta the Holy Office was accommodated in a building that had formally housed the Order’s *Castellania*, meaning that the building had previously been a site of judicial authority and was equipped with a tribunal and some prison cells (Fig. 1). Between 1574 and 1798, the Holy Office expanded the site by purchasing adjoining houses, adding palatial living quarters, and a new prison block (Vella 2013). By the late-seventeenth century, the limestone building comprised of three main levels of which the upper two were given over mostly to suites of apartments in which the Inquisitor worked, received visitors, and lived. Through its baroque grandeur the palace served to underline the social position of the Inquisitor and the political power of the Vatican (Gambin 2013, p. 23).

 The need for secure prison cells was acknowledged almost immediately and in around 1600 there appears to have been eight communal cells (seven male, one female) located round the *Castillania* courtyard and the north side of the complex (Fig 2.). These early cells were neither secure nor particularly conducive to the inmates’ health, increasing the cost of medical care borne by the Holy Office (Balzan 2013, pp. 51–2), and were replaced. Over the next 200 years piecemeal developments took place, which were always at the financial mercy of Rome. Significantly, the two most important interventions in the evolution of a prison block coincided with former-Inquisitors of Malta reigning as Pope. In the 1640s Mgr. Giovanni Battista Gori Pannellini built seven prison cells (three large and four smaller) along a central corridor (Gambin 2013, p. 27). The three larger cells survive and are located along the SE wall of the complex (Fig 2). High lancet windows face onto the street below and provided air and light. The height was sufficient to prevent obvious face-to-face contact with the outside world, although auditory communication was possible (Evans 1715, pp. 37–38). The ground level of the remaining Pannellini cells is at its deepest approximately half a meter below the outcropping limestone bedrock, on to which limestone-mortared stone block walls rise to vaulted ceilings around four meters high. The last adjoining house was purchased in the 1660s, which made the complex integral (Balzan 2013, p. 55). Due to financial delays, the pre-existing rooms were not fully reformed into prison cells until the inquisitorship of Mgr. Giacinto Filiberto di Messerano (1698–1703). Several of these cells appear to have been destroyed during renovations in the 1730s. What survives of the ground-floor prison complex constitutes three larger Pannellini cells, four smaller (probably Messerano) cells, and a room believed to have contained the torture chamber (Fig. 2).

While conditions were not salubrious, water was provided from a cistern accessed from the prison courtyard and each cell had some kind of toilet facility. The lack of air-flow around the building generally, and the prison complex especially, causes the cells to be hot and humid in the summer months, and cold and damp in the winter (see McAtackney this volume for comparison). Katherine Evans, imprisoned in the 1670s, recalls having to “lie down at a chink of the Door for Air to fetch Breath” (1715, p. 27) and conditions over 200 years later caused the *Portsmouth Evening News* to describe the palace as “a most unpleasant place to live” (1904, p. 3). The inmates were supplied with a bed, a straw mattress, and basic bedding, as well as some candlelight (Gambin 2004b, pp. 31–32), though writing materials were often withdrawn (Evans 1715, p. iv). Food was provided in the form of bread, cheese and onions, although those with funds could purchase supplementary food items and tobacco via the gaoler, who visited twice daily at 6am and 2pm (Ciappara 2001, pp. 489–92). Time of day was kept by the tolling of bells and the beginning of the week was marked by a mass.

**Inmate Graffiti**

The inmate graffiti can be divided into painted and stone carved. Some cells exhibit lime plastered walls onto which stylized figures or calligraphy are painted, although the majority of graffiti are carved into the soft limestone with a make-shift tool, such as the piece of iron used by one inmate in an attempted suicide (Ciappara 2001, pp. 483–4). The level of erosion does not allow for any detailed analysis of tool marks. Many cut marks are overlaid by or cut through the remnants of white lime or local black plaster layers. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century reuses of the cells have resulted in many graffiti. Fortunately, the later carvings tend to be textual and in English, so are easily discernable. Early twentieth-century interventions and attempts at building restoration have also left their mark, with several cell walls chipped clean of plaster and graffiti. Nevertheless, the prison cell markings constitute a complex and valuable resource, which is now being cared for by Heritage Malta. The majority of the graffiti are situated between one and two meters in height from the floor, although window recesses and door lintels are marked in the smaller cells. Due to limitations of space, I shall concentrate on the pictorial graffiti from three cells only (Fig 2): a larger Messerano cell (cell 3) and two smaller Pannellini cells (cells 4 and 5). The small number of textual graffiti is omitted as they are still being transliterated, although it appears to be mostly Arabic, Greek or Maltese.

 Each of the cells exhibits remnants of decorated plaster. The SE wall of cell 3 contains what is left of a written verse. The regularity, precision, and length of the inscription suggest that it is a psalm or Bible passage. If so, it is may have been crafted by an incarcerated cleric or friar possessing the requisite knowledge and literacy, or more likely a Protestant inmate. The paintings in cell 4 are altogether different. Pious Christian figures painted in black and red litter the NE wall and ceiling of cell 4, which have led Balzan (2013, p. 56) and others to suggest that the room was used as a chapel. While other inquisition prisons contain painted Christian figures (e.g. Steri, Palermo), the figures in cell 4 are more stylized, simple, and less naturalistic. Due to twentieth-century interventions very little plaster in cell 5 remains, although partial painted lines are still visible on the SW wall.

 Ship and anchor graffiti are very common in the Mediterranean and when associated with churches and chapels, the traditional explanation has been that they are *ex voto*, offerings either in thanks for a safe journey, or asking for one (Muscat 1999). Carved ship graffiti appear in cells 3 (four on NE wall, two on NW wall) and 4 (five on NE wall, one on SW wall). While most are clearly recognizable as galleys or galleons, some just appear as two or three lines representing the hull (Fig. 3a & 3b). Two stylized anchors are located on the SE wall of cell 5 (Fig. 3c).

Numerous examples of count marks appear in each cell, some clearly demarcated by a surrounding box, others merely a closely associated collection of scratch marks. All cells contain crosses of one sort or another: two clearly visible instances of the Maltese cross can be found on the NE wall of cell 3 (fig 3d), the then predominantly Catholic altar cross is found on the NW wall of cell 4 (Fig. 3e), and an example of the double-barred Patriarchal cross is found on the NW wall of cell 4. Simple Christian crosses are found in all the cells.

Carved circles are a common feature in cell 5, with at least 7 single circles, one interlocked set of four forming a triangle, two interlocking linear series, and one rosette. The regular size of the circles within their groups (3 and 7 cm diameter) suggests a make-shift compass was used (Fig. 3f). Carved representations of human forms are rare, although cell 3 contains what may be a relief bust and another carved relief that looks to represent either a hanging, or torture by *corda* (Fig. 3g).

**Discussion**

In a religious prison it is unsurprising that we find religious graffiti. Yet the choice of religious symbols and paraphernalia suggest more than imitation of or adherence to prescribed ritual. The altar and patriarchal crosses found in cell 4 both suggest a level of resistance against Catholicism. Altar crosses—those frequently used in Mass—may initially appear innocuous, but they are not items over which the laity normally held any control. The positioning and small size of these crosses does not suggest that Mass or any other ceremony was being recreated within the cells; rather they are appropriations of a symbol associated with those in power by the disempowered. Within the context of early modern Malta, the patriarchal cross almost certainly refers to Greek Orthodoxy. The marker of Orthodox identity stands counter to the Inquisition’s role in fighting heresy (or non-Catholic forms of Christianity) and can only be read as an act of defiance.

 While the crosses are easily recognised, other religious imagery is more opaque. The series of interlocking circles resemble graffiti in the Great Mosque at Divriği and are thought to represent the geometric symmetry in Islam (Bakirer 1999). The geometric rosette may have a similar Islamic claim, but are also similar to the ornamental rosettes found on Muslim ships (Agius 2007, p. 106), adding a maritime perspective. Found in one of the smaller cells, the inmate(s) may have been an Ottoman slave imprisoned for apostasy, or even sorcery. The triangle of four interlocked circles is similar to those found in magic books of the time (Ciappara 2001, p. 314). Given the frequency with which enslaved Ottomans were arrested and imprisoned for sorcery, it is perhaps understandable that the symbolism is overlapping. Either way, as magic symbols or Islamic imagery, they represent a continuance of the practices for which they are likely to have been imprisoned and a disregard for the Catholic Church. The number of carved graffiti suggests that the Inquisitor’s did not actively discourage it through extra surveillance or punishment, although periodic replastering suggests an effort to erase it from time to time.

The numerous ship graffiti are problematic to interpret. Although it is unlikely that many, if any, of the inmates will have captained a galley, the detail on some graffiti suggests familiarity with these vessels. Those captured by the Order’s navy may associate the ships with home and freedom, but it is also possible that they represent fear of the galleys: remembered or anticipated. Fear or dread is also present in the representation of the *corda*. Given the physical consequences, the graffito is less likely to be a personal testimony of torture by *corda* than an expression of anticipation.

 On the assumption that those sentenced were as active graffiti-carvers as inmates held in custody, imprisonment can be regarded as punishment without total religious indoctrination. More important was instilling a general sense of moral rehabilitation, in an attempt to produce governable inhabitants (Ciappara 2001, p. 498; Foucault 1991). The routine of the prison, though undeveloped compared to later carceral institutions, encouraged a habitual routine centered round the Catholic faith; from not eating meat on Fridays to attending Mass. Routinized days would not have been possible without the development of a segregated prison block. Despite the possibility of auditory contact in the Messerano cells, eighteenth-century prisoners were separated from the outside world. The increased tendency to build smaller cells, possibly for solitary confinement, demonstrates a move towards closer architectural regulation of the prisoners’ activities, with the high walls of the prison yard restricting outside views to the sky.

Architecturally separating the prisons from public areas—within and without the palace—was instrumental in not only upholding the secrecy valued by the Inquisition but also in the move away from public displays of suffering (Spierenburg 1984). In the last 54 years of the Maltese Inquisition, only 13 (8.8%) inmates were sentenced to corporal punishment (whipping) and galley service had all but ceased to be employed as punishment (2%). Fifty-four (37.5%) were publically shamed, given suspended sentences, or just warned, and a quarter imprisoned (Ciappara 2001, p. 468). While the public was not involved in the trial, they were involvement in the punishment: shaming, whipping, and imprisonment humiliated offenders and stigmatized their crime (Scott 1990, p. 55). In the late-eighteenth century, two-thirds of Inquisitional arrests were for blasphemy and sorcery (Ciappara 2001, pp. 518–538); widespread crimes best tackled in an acceptable manner that accommodated European-wide moves away from spectacles of public spectacles (Spierenburg 1984, p. 184). Imprisonment contributed to fostering a culture of stigmatized shame (Casella 2007, p. 63), but it also enabled the Inquisition to display its compassion and offer redemption. Prisoners, as others sentenced, were marginalised in society by their crimes and the resulting stigma, but they also defined the border between acceptable and deviant behaviour (Geltner 2008, p. 153). As such, they formed an important section of society on which the Vatican could shower its benevolence. Twice yearly, inmates could apply to the Supreme Court in Rome to have their sentences commuted (Ciappara 2001, p. 476), and many were successful. Prisoners were also released on the grounds that a family may be left destitute without them or their poor health. To paraphrase Scott, these gifts enhance the claim of the Vatican to a reputation for pious generosity (1990, p.54), so furthering their position on the island. Not only were the Order’s civic punishments still based around public suffering, they were unable to offer the absolution and redemption that only the Vatican could; a consequential factor that should not be dismissed as propaganda (Carocci 2012, p. 78).

The system of punishment and absolution offered by the Inquisition, like any other, did not deter absolutely and there were cases of recidivism. Yet it created a framework through which the Vatican could implement its political and cultural domination. That the Vatican officials saw themselves as ruling elites is indisputable. The grandeur of the baroque palace is in itself a portrayal of their domination (despite not being in Valletta) and “flattering self-portrait” (Scott 1990, p. 54). Unlike states that were ruled by a monarch (e.g. Venice), the Inquisition’s powers were not diminished by political and commercial manoeuvring, and even the Knights had to submit to the Pope.

**Inquisition Remembered**

Since the late Middle Ages, the Inquisitor’s Palace has been occupied by Malta’s ruling and government institutions. Today the building is home to the National Museum of Ethnography, housing “displays on Malta’s religious traditions as consolidated by the Inquisition” (http://heritagemalta.org/museums-sites/the-inquisitors-palace). Despite its history as the *Castallania* of the Order and nineteenth-century British Army officers’ mess, the inquisition dominates its interpretation and its very name. During the twentieth century, concerted efforts were made by curators to “undo” the modifications of the British period and restore, and in some cases rebuild, the baroque palace (Gambin 2006, p. 164). Not only was there an effort to materially erasure a more recent colonization, but also the celebration of a pre-British, more “Maltese” period. Although there are now concerted efforts to reflect and display all of the buildings past, it is the lure of the inquisition, and its uniqueness as a site of inquisition open to the public, that attracted most of its 35,153 (mostly tourist) paying visitors in 2013. But not only tourists visit; the museum is actively involved in local education and the same year saw 5,128 complimentary admissions, most of whom were in organized educational visits (Cassar 2014a). Newly renovated conference facilities were used to host an international conference on the Roman Inquisition in September 2014, and two recent popular evening events drew on popular perceptions of the Inquisition, the prisons in particular (Fig. 4): “Dark Tales of Birgu” (November 8) saw a ghost hunt at the palace and on October 10, 26 individuals paid to spend a night in the cells as part of *L-Għid tal-Erwieħ* (Cassar 2014b). The cells and graffiti offer visitors a tangible link to past human experiences and it is unsurprising that they are a popular and well-advertised feature of the museum’s ongoing history, with the occasional visitor adding their own contribution (Fig. 3h). At a time when history writing is focusing on the “Maltese” rather than colonizers (Mitchell 2003, p. 390), the museum staff is challenged with presenting the multiple colonial institutions that have occupied the building.

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**Figure Captions**

Figure 1. Location of Inquisitor’s Palace, Malta.

Figure 2.Reconstructed plan of prison cells in the Inquisitor’s Palace, Malta.

Figure 3. Inmate Graffiti at the Inquisitor’s Palace: (a) rigged ship, NW wall cell 3; (b) galley, NW wall cell 3; (c) anchor, SE wall cell 5; (d) Maltese cross, NW wall cell 3; (e) altar cross, window alcove, SW wall cell 5; (f) triangular, interlocked, and rosette circles, NW wall cell 5; (g) gallows or *corda*, SE wall cell 3; (h) recent graffito “Arnold ‘heart’ Josephine.”

Figure 4. Heritage Malta posters advertising (a) Dark Tales of Birgu and (b) *L-Għid tal-Erwieħ* (Reproduced with permission of Heritage Malta).­­