# THE DEVELOPMENT OF DOMESTIC SPACE IN THE MALTESE ISLANDS FROM THE LATE MIDDLE AGES TO THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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# ARCHAEOPRESS PUBLISHING LTD Gordon House 276 Banbury Road

Oxford OX2 7ED

www.archaeopress.com

ISBN 978 1 78491 391 5 ISBN 978 1 78491 392 2 (e-Pdf)

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Cover: Cabreo AOM Volume 290, f. 126. Courtesy of The National Library, Valletta

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Printed in England by Holywell Press, Oxford
This book is available direct from Archaeopress or from our website www.archaeopress.com



### Contents

List of Figures	V
Acknowledgements	xvii
Chapter 1 - Introduction	1
Aims and Objectives	1
The Geographic Setting	
Chronological Parameters	5
What is a house and what can one do with it?	6
The Maltese House: The History of its Study	9
The Earliest Sources	9
Visitors to the Maltese Islands	9
Nineteenth-century studies	9
Twentieth-century sources	11
The Maltese houses in twentieth-century scholarship	12
Methodology	13
House surveys	13
Dating of vernacular houses	
Archival, library and museum research	
Comparative and contextual studies	
Travelogues	
Historical studies	
Dissertations	
Comparative studies	
Ethnographic data recording	
Space Syntax	
Research strategy	
Structure of this study	16
Chapter 2 – The Maltese Islands: Society, Class, Economy and Settlements	18
Introduction	18
The Medieval Period	18
Political development	
The social organization, class structure and the quality of life	
The Economy	27
The Settlements	
The Knights' Period	
Political development	
The social organization, class structure and the quality of life	
The Economy	
The Settlements	
The phase 1530-65	
The phase 1565-1798	
The Colonial Period	
Political development  The social organization, class structure and the quality of life	
The Economy The Settlements	
Conclusion	
Chapter 3 – Maltese Domestic Architecture	
Introduction	
Methodology	
The Malta Historic House Survey	
The Cabrei	
The Characteristics of the Maltese houses	74

	76
Cohabitation between humans and animals	
Family structure reflected in house plans	
Characteristics of construction: roofs, water catchment and collection	
Household industries, commerical activities and storage	
Climate and house architecture	84
The houses of the Medieval Period	
Specific characteristics of Medieval houses	
Giren and hovels	
Cave-dwellings	
Architectural development during the Medieval Period	
Case study: Falson Palace, Mdina (MHHS House No. 13)	
The houses of the Knights' Period	
Lower class building during the Knights' Period	
The windmill: another example of local vernacular architecture	
Cave-dwellings and hovels	
The houses as a reflection of social and economic change	
Case study: Ange's Palace, Mdina (MHHS House No. 19)	
The houses of the Colonial Period	
The elite houses and the Victorian age	
Urban lower class dwellings	
The effects of the urbanization of the Harbour region	
Peasant houses, cave-dwellings and hovels	
The street network of the major villages	
Case study: townhouse at Birgu (MHHS House No. 20)	
The houses of the post-war period	
Case study: house at Msida (MHHS House No. 30)	
Conclusion	130
Chapter 4 – The Maltese Houses: Literary Sources, Notarial Acts, Travelogues and the National Censuses	133
Introduction	
The literary sources	133
The notarial acts	135
Travelogues	138
Sixteenth- to eighteenth-century travelogues	138
Ninteenth-century travelogues	
	138
Twentieth-century travelogues	
Twentieth-century travelogues  The national censuses	140
· · ·	140 140
The national censuses	140 140 141
The national censuses  Demographic trends, population density and family size	140 140 141 142
The national censuses	140 140 141 142
The national censuses  Demographic trends, population density and family size  Vacant and inhabited dwellings	140 140 141 142 145
The national censuses  Demographic trends, population density and family size	140 141 142 145 145
The national censuses.  Demographic trends, population density and family size.  Vacant and inhabited dwellings.  Categories of dwellings.  Occupancy and the person per room index.  The impact on land use.  Conclusion.	140 141 142 145 145 147
The national censuses.  Demographic trends, population density and family size	140 141 142 145 147 148
The national censuses.  Demographic trends, population density and family size.  Vacant and inhabited dwellings.  Categories of dwellings.  Occupancy and the person per room index.  The impact on land use.  Conclusion.  Chapter 5 – Maltese Houses and Settlements Through the Artist's Eye.	140141145147149
The national censuses.  Demographic trends, population density and family size.  Vacant and inhabited dwellings.  Categories of dwellings.  Occupancy and the person per room index.  The impact on land use.  Conclusion.  Chapter 5 – Maltese Houses and Settlements Through the Artist's Eye.  Introduction.  Methodology.	140141145145147149149
The national censuses.  Demographic trends, population density and family size.  Vacant and inhabited dwellings.  Categories of dwellings.  Occupancy and the person per room index.  The impact on land use.  Conclusion.  Chapter 5 – Maltese Houses and Settlements Through the Artist's Eye.  Introduction.  Methodology.  Overhead views.	140141145147148149149
The national censuses.  Demographic trends, population density and family size	140141145145148149149
The national censuses.  Demographic trends, population density and family size	140141145145148149149149
The national censuses.  Demographic trends, population density and family size.  Vacant and inhabited dwellings.  Categories of dwellings.  Occupancy and the person per room index.  The impact on land use.  Conclusion.  Chapter 5 – Maltese Houses and Settlements Through the Artist's Eye.  Introduction.  Methodology.  Overhead views.  Landscapes, townscapes and streetscapes.  Valletta.  Mdina.	140141145145149149149151
The national censuses.  Demographic trends, population density and family size	140141145147149149149151151
The national censuses.  Demographic trends, population density and family size	140141145147149149151151159
The national censuses  Demographic trends, population density and family size  Vacant and inhabited dwellings  Categories of dwellings  Occupancy and the person per room index  The impact on land use  Conclusion  Chapter 5 – Maltese Houses and Settlements Through the Artist's Eye  Introduction  Methodology  Overhead views  Landscapes, townscapes and streetscapes  Valletta  Mdina  Birgu and Floriana  The villages  The houses	140141145145147149149151151162163
The national censuses  Demographic trends, population density and family size  Vacant and inhabited dwellings  Categories of dwellings  Occupancy and the person per room index  The impact on land use  Conclusion  Chapter 5 – Maltese Houses and Settlements Through the Artist's Eye  Introduction  Methodology  Overhead views  Landscapes, townscapes and streetscapes  Valletta  Mdina  Birgu and Floriana  The villages  The houses  Cave-dwellings	140141145145148149149151151163167
The national censuses  Demographic trends, population density and family size  Vacant and inhabited dwellings  Categories of dwellings  Occupancy and the person per room index  The impact on land use  Conclusion  Chapter 5 – Maltese Houses and Settlements Through the Artist's Eye  Introduction  Methodology  Overhead views  Landscapes, townscapes and streetscapes  Valletta  Mdina  Birgu and Floriana  The villages  The houses	140141145145148149149151151163167174

Chapter 6 – Religious Beliefs and Traditions	179
Introduction	
The Catholic Church in Malta	179
Religion as a public manifestation	181
Wayside churches	181
The parish churches	
Artistic masterpieces in churches	184
Niches and statues	
Religion and popular culture intertwined	
Religion as a private or semi-private manifestation	
Religion, death and the afterlife	
Conclusion	193
Chapter 7 – Diet, Dining Fashions, Health and Education	105
Introduction	
The local cuisine	
Dining fashions	
The kitchen and cooking utensils	
Health and education	
Conclusion	
Chapter 8 – Furniture and Costumes	
Introduction	
Furniture and furnishings	
Costumes and jewellery	
The attire as a means of value	
The attire from the artist's perspective	
Conclusion	218
Chapter 9 – Household, Class, Gender and Property	221
Introduction	
The house and the family	221
The relationship between dwelling and class	223
Gender-oriented spaces in the house	
Conclusion	225
Chapter 10 – Decoding Maltese Houses and Settlements	228
Introduction	
Space Syntax	
The Maltese houses: a Space Syntax approach	
House 1 (MHHS House No. 8)	
House 2 (MHHS House No. 16)	
House 3	
House 4	
House 5 (MHHS House No. 5)	
Houses 6 and 7	
The local settlements: a Space Syntax approach	
Mdina	
Valletta	
Santa Lucija	
Żurrieg	
Conclusion	
Chapter 11 – The Development of the Maltese Houses since the Second Half of the Twentieth Century Introduction	
The causes and effects of the building boom	
Housing for all	
Planning legislation	
The effects of urban regeneration	
Building materials	

The organization of domestic space	288
The organization of domestic space Farmhouses and houses of character	290
Conclusion	
Chapter 12 – Concluding Remarks	293
A multi-disciplinary approach	293
The development of the Maltese houses	293
Religious beliefs and traditions	295
Privacy, class and gender	295
Dining fashions, education and health	300
Settlement evolution	301
Houses and settlements through Space Syntax	302
Future studies	303
Bibliography	304
Appendix 1 – The Malta Historic House Survey	333
Appendix 2 – Glossary of Terms	366

## List of Figures

Figure 1 – Map of the central Mediterranean region indicating the location of the Maltese islands	3
Figure 2 – The Maltese islands	3
Figure 3 (a) and (b) – A geological map of Malta and Gozo (after Bowen-Jones et al. 1962 with adaptations in Buhagiar 2014)	4
Figure 4 – Map of the Maltese islands showing the distribution of towns and villages	5
Figure 5 – Population density of the Maltese islands (NSO 2011)	5
Figure 6 – The Maltese islands in the early 16th century (Quintin 1536)	8
Figure 7 – The Maltese islands in the first half of the 17th century (Abela 1647)	. 10
Figure 8 – Inv. 7835-6: Peter Van der Aa, An Artist's Impression of Għar il-Kbir, engraving, 18th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – Heritage Malta. Courtesy of Heritage Malta	
Figure 9 – A cave settlement and part of a farmhouse at Binġemma, Mġarr (Houel 1784)	. 11
Figure 10 – Map of the Maltese islands showing the location of Mdina, Birgu and the Gozo Citadel	. 20
Figure 11 – A hypothetical delineation of the Roman town (known as <i>Melite polis</i> ) and its reduction to medieval Mdina (Source: Google Earth)	
Figure 12 (a) and (b) – Two typical narrow streets in Mdina	. 29
Figure 13 – A 16th century artistic impression of medieval Mdina (after De Lucca 1995a)	. 30
Figure 14 – Fort St Angelo dominated by the medieval <i>Castrum Maris</i> at the top	. 30
Figure 15 – Map of the Maltese islands showing the location of the three medieval castles and their suburbs	. 31
Figure 16 – A deserted hamlet known as Ir-Razzett tal-Qasam in the parish of Mellieħa, the earliest phase of which dates back to the late medieval period. The dwellings are connected together by a central passageway. Courtesy of <i>Koperattiva Rurali Manikata</i>	
Figure 17 – Map of the Maltese islands showing the distribution of cave settlements	. 32
Figure 18 – Map of the Maltese islands showing the likely distribution of built-up and cave settlements in the late 14th century	. 33
Figure 19 – Distribution of built-up settlements in the Maltese islands (c. 1420)	. 34
Figure 20 – Distribution of built-up settlements in the Maltese islands (c. 1530)	. 35
Figure 21 – The Inquisitor's Palace in Birgu (turned into a Baroque style building in the 17th century)	. 36
Figure 22 (a) – The bastions of Valletta (b) – A general view of Fort Ricasoli	. 37
Figure 23 – The Auberge of Castille at Valletta (16th century building but restored in the 18th century)	. 38
Figure 24 – Antoine Favray, <i>Dr Nicola Giovanni Muscat</i> , oil painting, 18th century. Private collection (In Degiorgio and Fiorentino 2004)	
Figure 25 – St John's Co-Cathedral (built between 1573 and 1578)	. 45
Figure 26 – The Mdina Cathedral (built between 1697 and 1702)	. 45
Figure 27 – A fresco by Matteo Perez d'Aleccio found in the Grand Master's Palace, Valletta, showing Birgu (extreme right) as it was in 1565 (second half of the 16th century). Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i>	
Figure 28 – Senglea which was originally sheltered by Fort St Michael and landward defences (Source: Google Earth)	. 48
Figure 29 – An aerial view of Mdina	. 48
Figure 30 – The Gozo Citadel	. 49
Figure 31 – The fortifications in the Grand Harbour: 1540-65 (Source: Google Earth)	. 49
Figure 32 (a) – Inv. 31187-88: Vincenzo Lucini, La Nuova Città e Fortezza di Malta Chiamata Valletta, 1631. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – Heritage Malta. Courtesy of Heritage Malta (detail of Valletta) (b) – Inv. 31233-34: Alexis Jaillot, Carte Particuliere des Isles de Malte du Gozo et du Cuming, engraving, 1784. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – Heritage Malta. Courtesy of Heritage Malta (A detail of the city of Valletta and the Grand Harbour)	
Figure 33 – Distribution of built-up settlements in the Maltese islands in 1800	. 51
Figure 34 – Distribution of built-up settlements in the Maltese islands in the early 20th century	. 60
Figure 35 – Distribution of built-up settlements in north Malta in the early 20th century	. 60
Figure 36 – Aerial view of Mgarr (Source: Google Earth)	. 61

Figure 37 – Aerial view of Mosta showing the late 19th and early 20th century urban development (Source: Google Earth)	61
Figure 38 – Distribution of built-up settlements in western Malta in the early 20th century	63
Figure 39 – Distribution of built-up settlements in the Harbour region in the early 20th century	63
Figure 40 – Distribution of built-up settlements in south-east Malta in the early 20th century	64
Figure 41 – Distribution of built-up settlements in Gozo and Comino in the early 20th century	64
Figure 42 – Aerial view of the Harbour region (Source: Google Earth)	66
Figure 43 – Distribution of built-up settlements in the Maltese islands in the late 20th century	66
Figure 44 – Aerial view of central Gozo (Source: Google Earth)	67
Figure 45 – Distribution of the surveyed houses by region and location	70
Figure 46 – Map of the Maltese islands showing the distribution of the surveyed houses	71
Figure 47 – Distribution of the surveyed houses by region	71
Figure 48 – Distribution of the surveyed houses according to region	71
Figure 49 – Surveyed houses according to the historical period	71
Figure 50 – Map of the Maltese islands showing the distribution of surveyed houses by the historical period of their construction.	72
Figure 51 – Distribution of the surveyed houses according to the historical period	72
Figure 52 – Periods of utilization of the surveyed houses	73
Figure 53 – Map of the Maltese islands showing the period of utilization of the surveyed houses	74
Figure 54 – Plan and elevation of a house in Valletta as recorded in <i>Cabreo</i> Vol. 309 f. 11 of the Archives of the Order of Malta (hereinafter referred to as AOM), 18th century. Courtesy of The National Library, Valletta	
Figure 55 – Number of <i>Cabrei</i> consulted per Archive	75
Figure 56 – Number of houses recorded in the <i>Cabrei</i> by collection	75
Figure 57 – Distribution of houses recorded in the <i>Cabrei</i> by region and locality	76
Figure 58 – Statistical distribution of the houses recorded in the <i>Cabrei</i> by region	76
Figure 59 - Map of the Maltese islands showing the distribution of houses recorded in the <i>Cabrei</i> by locality	77
Figure 60 – Distribution of houses recorded in the <i>Cabrei</i> and the Malta Historic House Survey by region and locality	78
Figure 61 – Statistical distribution of the houses recorded in the <i>Cabrei</i> and the Malta Historic House Survey by region	78
Figure 62 - Map of the Maltese islands showing the distribution of houses recorded in the <i>Cabrei</i> and the Malta Historic House Survey by locality	
Figure 63 – Palazzo Stagno, Qormi: two rooms separated by an arch (MHHS House No. 15). Courtesy of palazzostagno.com	79
Figure 64 – Two windows serving as a means of external communication	80
Figure 65 – An example of an open staircase in a courtyard house	81
Figure 66 – A spiral staircase. Courtesy of palazzostagno.com	81
Figure 67 – A water colour by Stephen Spiteri showing the cave-dwelling of Is-Simblija (Saliba, Magro Conti and Borg 2002) .	81
Figure 68 – A farmhouse in Gozo with the economic and domestic quarters being organized on a single floor	82
Figure 69 – A farmhouse at Mgarr, Malta (MHHS House No. 9). The animal quarters are situated at ground floor level, while the human quarters are located at first floor level	
Figure 70 – A cistern located in the courtyard of a house	83
Figure 71 – The roof of a house with a verandah.	83
Figure 72 – Cabreo AOM Vol. 290 f. 55, showing houses with a pitched roof at L-Iklin (Lija), 18th century. Courtesy of The National Library, Valletta	
Figure 73 – The <i>centimolo</i> of a late medieval house at the Gozo Citadel. The Folklore Museum, Gozo – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtes of <i>Heritage Malta</i>	
Figure 74 – A remissa of a farmhouse in Mgarr, Malta, in a dilapidated state. The chassis of the cart is still in situ	85
Figure 75 – The space under a staircase in a village house at Żejtun closed by a wooden gate. According to the house owne this space was utilized as a barn for chickens	
Figure 76 – An example of a cupboard (armarju) from a farmhouse located at L-Għammar, Gozo (MHHS House No. 4)	85
Figure 77 – A restored open cupboard at Stagno Palace, Oormi, Courtesy of palazzostagno.com	85

Figure 78 – A window of a late medieval house in the Gozo Citadel. The glass window (indicated by an arrow) is a late addition. The Folklore Museum, Gozo – Heritage Malta. Courtesy of Heritage Malta	
Figure 79 – A room with a high ceiling in a house at Birgu	86
Figure 80 – One of the ground floor rooms of a farmhouse at Is-Santi, Mgarr. The ceiling of this room rests on a set of transverse arches (MHHS House No. 8)	
Figure 81 – A ceiling supported by a series of transverse wooden beams in a house at Birgu (MHHS House No. 14)	87
Figure 82 – A farmhouse at Qala, Gozo. The windows on the façade are small	88
Figure 83 – An example of a window with wooden louvered shutters from a house at Mdina	88
Figure 84 – A muxrabija window in a rural house in Malta (Buhagiar 1991)	88
Figure 85 – A farmhouse in Gozo. Apart from the lack of apertures on the façade, one can also note the presence of high perimeter walls	
Figure 86 – An iron latch fastening part of the main door of a farmhouse at L-Għammar, Gozo (MHHS House No. 4)	88
Figure 87 – A communal trough from a farmhouse in Qormi (MHHS House No. 6)	89
Figure 88 – Detail of a stone bench ( <i>dukkien</i> ) at Falson Palace, Mdina (MHHS House No. 13). Courtesy of Palazzo Falson Histori House Musuem	
Figure 89 – The <i>siqifa</i> of Santa Sofia Palace, Mdina	89
Figure 90 – The façade of a Baroque building at Mdina	89
Figure 91 – Stagno Palace, Qormi (MHHS House No. 15)	91
Figure 92 – The ground floor plan of a late medieval house at Birgu (MHHS House No. 14) (Scale 1:100)	92
Figure 93 – Stagno Palace, Qormi (MHHS House No. 15). Two different construction techniques: wet-rubble and ashla masonry. Courtesy of palazzostagno.com	
Figure 94 – A native <i>girna</i> at In-Nadur, Rabat	93
Figure 95 – The interior of a girna	93
Figure 96 (a) – An example of a <i>giren</i> complex in the limits of Baħrija, Malta (b) – The rear side of another <i>giren</i> complex in the limits of Mellieħa, Malta (c) – A rectangular <i>girna</i> enclosed by a precinct. Courtesy of <i>Koperattiva Rurali Manikata</i>	
Figure 97 (a) – A late medieval hovel in Baħrija, Malta. Its exterior walls are masonry built, while the interior is rock-cut (b). The same late medieval dwelling in Baħrija: the entrance and a flight of rock-cut steps	
Figure 98 (a) – The masonry façade of a late medieval hybrid hovel forming part of a hamlet in the parish of Mellieħa, Malta Courtesy of Koperattiva Rurali Manikata (b) – The rock-hewn interior of the same hybrid hovel which forms part of hamlet in Mellieħa. Courtesy of Koperattiva Rurali Manikata	a
Figure 99 — A farmhouse at Baħrija, Malta, the earliest section of which (marked by two arrows) possibly dates back to the late medieval period. These rooms could originally have been an autonomous dwelling, but through time this farmhouse was extended with the addition of more structures	e
Figure 100 – Plan of San Niklaw cave-dwelling in the parish of Mellieħa (MHHS House No. 26) (Buhagiar 2007)	96
Figure 101 – The chapel of the cave-dwelling of Is-Simblija, Dingli (MHHS House No. 27)	97
Figure 102 – Types of rural and urban dwellings in medieval Malta	98
Figure 103 – The hamlet of Ir-Razzett tal-Qasam (Mellieħa). The cave-dwellings, which possibly formed part of the earlies phase of this settlement, are on the right, while the early modern masonry farmhouses, which constitute the last phase of development of this hamlet, appear on the left. When the caves were no longer used for human habitation, they were apparently converted into animal pens. The hovels do not appear in this picture. Courtesy of <i>Koperattiva Rurali Manikata</i>	e e
Figure 104 – An example of a deserted hamlet: Ir-Razzett tal-Qasam in the parish of Mellieha. Courtesy of Koperattiva Rura.  Manikata	
Figure 105 – Falson Palace in Villegaignon Street, Mdina (MHHS House No. 13)	. 100
Figure 106 – Falson Palace: the ground floor room traditionally known as <i>The Refectory</i> . The low arched doorway on the left indicates the original floor level of the house. Courtesy of Palazzo Falson Historic House Museum	
Figure 107 (a) – Plan of the ground floor of Falson Palace. Courtesy of Palazzo Falson Historic House Museum (Scale 1:500) (b) – Plan of the piano nobile of Falson Palace. Courtesy of Palazzo Falson Historic House Museum (Scale 1:500)	
Figure 108 – The stately rooms of the <i>piano nobile</i> of Falson Palace. Courtesy of Palazzo Falson Historic House Museum	. 101
Figure 109 – The courtyard of Falson Palace. Courtesy of Palazzo Falson Historic House Museum	. 101
Figure 110 – The bedroom of Falson Palace. Courtesy of Palazzo Falson Historic House Museum	. 101
Figure 111 – The main door of Falson Palace	. 102

Figure 112 – A hypothetical plan of Falson Palace, indicating the possible 15th century setup of the central courtyard (shade in green) and the open terrace (shaded in yellow) which gave access to the <i>piano nobile</i>	
Figure 113 – Two 18th century houses in Rabat with a Baroque façade. Contiguous with these houses is a 17th century palazzo	103
Figure 114 – Parisio Palace, Valletta (18th century)	104
Figure 115 – Selmun Palace in the parish of Mellieħa (18th century)	104
Figure 116 – A farmhouse in Sannat, Gozo, built in ashlar masonry	104
Figure 117 – One of the rooms of an ashlar masonry farmhouse in Gozo	105
Figure 118 – The façade of a house in St Paul's Street, Valletta, dominated by a closed timber balcony on the upper flo (18th century)	
Figure 119 – Plan of the ground floor level of Casa Viani, Valletta, as it appears in <i>Cabreo</i> AOM Vol 311 (f. 4), 17th centur Courtesy of The National Library, Valletta	
Figure 120 – An example of a terraced house in Valletta (18th century)	106
Figure 121 – Plan of the ground floor of Casa Correa, Valletta, as it appears in <i>Cabreo</i> AOM Vol. 310 (f. 20), 17th centur Courtesy of The National Library, Valletta	ʹy. 106
Figure 122 (a) – Plan of the ground floor level of Casa Leone, St Venera, as it appears in <i>Cabreo</i> AOM Vol. 310 (f. 38), 18 century. Courtesy of The National Library, Valletta (b) – Plan of the <i>piano nobile</i> of Casa Leone, St Venera	
Figure 123 – Plan of the ground floor level of Casa Marion, Valletta, as it appears in <i>Cabreo</i> AOM Vol. 310 (f. 12v), 18th centure Courtesy of The National Library, Valletta	
Figure 124 – Plan of the ground floor level of one of the surveyed houses in the Gozo Citadel (Scale 1:100) (late 17 or 18th century) (MHHS House No. 21)	
Figure 125 – Plan of a single-room dwelling in Valletta as it appears in <i>Cabreo</i> AOM Vol. 307 (f. 39v). This house also includ a cellar, which possibly served as a separate dwelling. Courtesy of The National Library, Valletta	
Figure 126 – The façade of a courtyard house in Żejtun. This narrow façade is characterized by a simple wooden door and window shutter above it (probably late 17th or early 18th century) (MHHS House No. 16)	
Figure 127 – Three peasant houses at L-Għammar, Gozo. The one in the middle is characterized by an embellished door fram which contrasts with the more simple and austere door frames of the contiguous dwellings	
Figure 128 – Plan of a courtyard village house at Żejtun (groundfloor) (MHHS House No. 16) (Scale 1:150)	110
Figure 129 – A farmhouse in Qala, Gozo, showing different phases of construction and reconstruction	110
Figure 130 – Ta' Kola windmill in Xagħra, Gozo (18th century)	111
Figure 131 – House types in Malta in the Knights' period	113
Figure 132 – Ange's Palace, Mdina (18th century) (MHHS House No. 19)	114
Figure 133 (a) – Plan of the ground floor of Ange's Palace (Scale 1:250) (b) – Plan of the <i>piano nobile</i> of Ange's Palace (Scale 1:250)	
Figure 134 – The reception hall of Ange's Palace. Courtesy of the Cathedral Archives, Mdina	115
Figure 135 – The L-shaped backyard of Ange's Palace. Courtesy of the Cathedral Archives, Mdina	115
Figure 136 – Ange's Palace: a blocked doorway located in the grand staircase, which originally gave access to the mezzanin Courtesy of the Cathedral Archives, Mdina	
Figure 137 – Part of the <i>piano nobile</i> of Ange's Palace, Mdina. Courtesy of the Cathedral Archives, Mdina	117
Figure 138 – Ange's Palace: the ceiling of Room 8 is characterized by wooden beams and elegant side corbels underneat Courtesy of the Cathedral Archives, Mdina	
Figure 139 – A 19th century house in the main square of Nadur, Gozo	118
Figure 140 – A late 19th/early 20th century house in Victoria, Gozo	118
Figure 141 – A Neo-Gothic house in Cathedral Square, Mdina	119
Figure 142 – A British style villa at Ta' Xbiex	119
Figure 143 – Local house types in the Colonial period	122
Figure 144 – The evolution of the Maltese village between the mid-19th and the early 20th century	123
Figure 145 (a) – Plan of the ground floor of a townhouse in Birgu (Scale 1:150) (19th century) (MHHS House No. 20) (b) – Plan of the first floor of the same townhouse in Birgu (Scale 1:150)	
Figure 146 – The façade of the townhouse in Birgu (MHHS House No. 20) (marked by an arrow)	124

Figure 147– The vestibule of the Birgu townhouse (MHHS House No. 20)	124
Figure 148 – The grand staircase of the Birgu townhouse (MHHS House No. 20)	124
Figure 149 – The spiral staircase of the Birgu townhouse (MHHS House No. 20)	125
Figure 150 – A corridor which gives access to the rooms of the <i>piano nobile</i> (MHHS House No. 20)	125
Figure 151 – An open passage or internal balcony which leads to an open terrace at the back (MHHS House No. 20)	125
Figure 152 – An example of a Maltese villa in Guardamangia built in the sixties	127
Figure 153 – A row of maisonettes at Tal-Qroqq, Msida, built in the sixties	127
Figure 154 – A government housing estate in San Ġwann	127
Figure 155 (a) – Plan of the ground floor of a duplex maisonette at Msida (Scale 1:200) (MHHS House No. 30) (b) – Plan of the first floor of the duplex maisonette at Msida (Scale 1:200)	
Figure 156 – The dining room of the duplex maisonette (MHHS House No. 30)	129
Figure 157 – The sitting and dining room of the duplex maisonette (MHHS House No. 30)	129
Figure 158 – The kitchen of the duplex maisonette (MHHS House No. 30)	130
Figure 159 – The façade of the duplex maisonette (MHHS House No. 30)	130
Figure 160 – A għorfa of a Maltese razzett	135
Figure 161 – Sample of notaries	135
Figure 162 – An engraving published in 1848 by Lacroix depicting St Ursula Street, Valletta	139
Figure 163 – Map of the Maltese islands showing the census regions (NSO 2012)	141
Figure 164 – Population of the Maltese islands between 1240 and 1967 based on historical records and the national censuses	142
Figure 165 – Population density of the Maltese islands per sq km between 1240 and 1967	142
Figure 166 – Families in the Maltese islands between 1851 and 1967	143
Figure 167 – Average family size in the Maltese islands between 1851 and 1967	143
Figure 168 – Vacant dwellings in the Maltese islands between 1861 and 1967	144
Figure 169 – Inhabited dwellings in the Maltese islands between 1861 and 1967	144
Figure 170 – Dwellings in the Maltese islands between 1891 and 1931 by category	146
Figure 171 – Dwellings in the Maltese islands between 1948 and 1967 by category	146
Figure 172 – Persons living in dwellings with a specific number of rooms between 1891 and 1967	147
Figure 173 – Person per room index in the Maltese islands between 1891 and 1967	
Figure 174 – Percentage of dwellings in the Maltese islands between 1911 and 1967 by region	148
Figure 175 (a) – Inv. 30201-2: Antonio Lafreri, <i>Ultimo Disegno Venuto Nuovamente</i> , 16th century (detail depicting the Gran Harbour area during the Great Siege of 1565). National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i> . (b) – Inv. 31357-58: Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg, <i>Malta</i> , engraving, 16th century (detail depicting the Grand Harbour area in 1565). National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i> . (c) – Inv. 31083-83: Nicolò Nelli, <i>Il Porto di Malta</i> , engraving, 16th century (detail showing the Grand Harbour area during the Great Siege 1565). National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i>	nd of ng a. ng
Figure 176 (a) — Inv. 31191-92: Vincenzo Lucini, L'Assedio di Malta e Batteria dell'Isola di S. Michele a di XXVIII di Giugno engraving, 17th century (detail of Birgu with the Castrum Maris in the background). National Museum of Fine Art Valletta — Heritage Malta. Courtesy of Heritage Malta. (b) — Inv. 31191-92: Vincenzo Lucini, L'Assedio di Malta e Batteri dell'Isola di S. Michele a di XXVIII di Giugno, engraving, 17th century (detail depicting Fort St Angelo and Birgu). Nation Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta — Heritage Malta. Courtesy of Heritage Malta	is, ia al
Figure 177 (a) – Inv. 31885-86: Francesco Villamena, Valletta Città Nova di Malta, engraving, early 17th century (deta depicting Valletta). National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – Heritage Malta. Courtesy of Heritage Malta (b) – A deta from Villamena's map showing the centre of Valletta in the early 17th century (1600). National Museum of Fine Art Valletta – Heritage Malta. Courtesy of Heritage Malta	ail :s,
Figure 178 (a) – Inv. 31233-34: Alexis Hubert Jaillot, 18th century, detail of a map showing the existing local road network of Malta. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – Heritage Malta. Courtesy of Heritage Malta. (b) – Inv. 31233-34: Alex Hubert Jaillot, 18th century, detail of a map showing the existing local road network of Gozo. National Museum of Fir Arts, Valletta – Heritage Malta. Courtesy of Heritage Malta	is ne
Figure 179 – Inv. 31303-4: Charles Brockdorff, Valletta and its Environs, lithograph, 19th century (detail depicting the Harbot region). National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – Heritage Malta. Courtesy of Heritage Malta	

Figure 180 – Inv. 4763-64: Charles Brockdorff, Valletta and its Environs, water-colour, 19th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – Heritage Malta. Courtesy of Heritage Malta	
Figure 181 – Inv. 495-6: Giorgio Pullicino, <i>View of Manoel Island</i> , oil on canvas, 19th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i>	
Figure 182 – Inv. 16109-10: Charles Brockdorff, View of Auberge of Provence in the City of Valletta, Island of Malta, water-colour, 19th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – Heritage Malta. Courtesy of Heritage Malta	
Figure 183 – Inv. 1033-34: Michele Bellanti, <i>Strada Vescovo, Valletta</i> , lithograph, 19th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i>	
Figure 184 – Inv. 1149-50: Attributed to Charles Brockdorff, Strada San Cristoforo, Valletta, lithograph, 19th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – Heritage Malta. Courtesy of Heritage Malta	
Figure 185 – Inv. 1019-20: Michele Bellanti, <i>Valletta - Porta Reale Fountain</i> , lithograph, 19th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i>	
Figure 186 – Inv. 1183-84: Michele Bellanti, <i>Notabile from tal-Virtù</i> , lithograph, 19th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i>	
Figure 187 – Inv. 1185-86: Michele Bellanti, <i>Sakkaia, Notabile,</i> lithograph, 19th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i>	
Figure 188 – Inv. 1007-8: Unknown Artist, Fountain at Città Vecchia, water-colour, early 20th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – Heritage Malta. Courtesy of Heritage Malta	
Figure 189 – Inv. 1741-42: Michele Bellanti, <i>Notabile, Strada Reale 1849</i> , pen and ink, 19th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i>	
Figure 190 – Inv. 1009-10: Unknown Artist, <i>Porta dei Greci, Mdina,</i> water-colour, early 20th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i>	
Figure 191 – Inv. 16393-94: Michele Bellanti, <i>Remains of a Norman Building, Città Vecchia</i> , lithograph, 19th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i>	
Figure 192 – Inv. 31007-8, Jean Duplessi-Berteaux, <i>Vue d'une parte de a Cité Victorieuse à Malte</i> , engraving, 18th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i>	
Figure 193 (a) – Inv. 1027-28: Schranz Brothers, <i>Piazza Sant'Anna, Floriana</i> , lithograph, 19th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i> . (b) – The main street of Floriana today. The original <i>pjazza</i> in the foreground now forms part of the main artery of this town	
Figure 194 – A house in Floriana fronted by a communal arched passageway (or <i>loġġa</i> ) as illustrated in <i>Cabreo</i> AOM Vol. 307 (f. 49v). Courtesy of The National Library, Valletta	
Figure 195 (a) – Inv. 16021-22: Filippo Benucci, Casal Bircarcara on the Island of Malta, lithograph, 19th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – Heritage Malta. Courtesy of Heritage Malta (b) – A detail from the same lithograph by Benucci	
Figure 196 – Inv. 985-86: Charles Brockdorff, St. Antoine, lithograph, 19th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – Heritage Malta. Courtesy of Heritage Malta	
Figure 197 – An aerial view of Attard, Lija and Balzan (Source: Google Earth)	165
Figure 198 – Unknown Artist, A Maltese Wedding, 18th century. Palazzo Falson Historic House Museum Collection. Courtesy of Palazzo Falson Historic House Museum, Mdina	
Figure 199 – Inv. 5861-62: Gianni Vella, Wedding Procession, oil on canvas, 20th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – Heritage Malta. Courtesy of Heritage Malta	
Figure 200 – The main square of L-Għammar hamlet in Gozo	167
Figure 201 – An open stone balcony from a house in Sannat, Gozo	167
Figure 202 – Inv. 341-42: Antoine Favray, Maltese Lady Visiting her Lady Friend, oil on canvas, 18th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – Heritage Malta. Courtesy of Heritage Malta	
Figure 203 – Antoine Favray, <i>Dames de Malte se Faisant Visite</i> , oil on canvas, 18th century. Courtesy of the Musée du Louvre, Paris	
Figure 204 – Inv. 29793-94: Michele Bellanti, <i>Maltese Ladies,</i> lithograph, 19th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i>	
Figure 205 – An elaborate corner timber balcony in Valletta	170
Figure 206 – Inv. 16113-14: Salvatore Micallef, <i>Palazzo Falson, Mdina</i> , water-colour, pencil and ink, 19th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i>	
Figure 207 – Inv. 1719-20: Michele Bellanti, Side Street Mdina, water-colour, 19th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – Heritage Malta. Courtesy of Heritage Malta.	

Figure 208 – Inv. 30871-72: Pietro Paolo Caruana, An Artist's Studio, water-colour, 19th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – Heritage Malta. Courtesy of Heritage Malta	172
Figure 209 (a) – Inv. 1711-12: Charles Brockdorff, <i>Maltese Household in Strada della Città</i> , water-colour, 19th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i> . (b) – A cantilevered stone shelf (ħarrieġa) on	
the façade of a traditional farmhouse	۱73
Figure 210 – Inv. 585-86: Edward Caruana Dingli, <i>A Street Corner in Gozo</i> , oil on cardboard, 20th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i> .	174
Figure 211 – Inv. 30827-28: Michele Bellanti, <i>Maltese Countrymen</i> , lithograph, 19th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i>	174
Figure 212 – Inv. 31303-4: Unknown Artist, <i>A rural couple</i> (extracted from a 19th century map of the Maltese islands). National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i>	175
Figure 213 – Inv. 3163-64: Harold Frederick Hawkins, <i>A Maltese Farm</i> , water-colour, 20th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i>	175
Figure 214 – A hamlet in the limits of Siġġiewi as illustrated in <i>Cabreo</i> AOM Vol. 290 (f. 68). Courtesy of The National Library, Valletta	176
Figure 215 – Another hamlet in the limits of Siggiewi as illustrated in the same <i>Cabreo</i> (f. 70). Courtesy of The National Library, Valletta	176
Figure 216 – The Gozo Castello and its suburb Rabat as illustrated in the same <i>Cabreo</i> (f. 126). Courtesy of The National Library, Valletta	177
Figure 217 – One of the narrow winding streets that still characterizes the centre of Rabat, Gozo	178
Figure 218 – The earliest monastery of the Carmelite friars established in the outskirts of Rabat	
Figure 219 – The Mosta parish church	
Figure 220 – St Dimitri chapel in the parish of Għarb, Gozo	
Figure 221 – The chapel of the Annunciation at Hal Millieri. Courtesy of <i>Din I-Art Helwa</i> , National Trust of Malta	182
Figure 222 – The façade of the chapel of the Annunciation at Hal Millieri	
Figure 223 – The parish church of Nadur, Gozo, and the main square of the village	184
Figure 224 – The cupola of the Xaghra parish church, Gozo, characterized by its typical red colour	
Figure 225 – The parish church of Rabat, Malta	185
Figure 226 – The parish church of Msida	185
Figure 227 – The interior of the parish church of Balzan	186
Figure 228 – A late medieval fresco of St Paul at the church of the Annunciation, Ħal Millieri. Courtesy of <i>Din l-Art Ħelwa</i> , National Trust of Malta	186
Figure 229 – A niche adorning the corner of a house in Victoria, Gozo	187
Figure 230 – A corner religious statue in Valletta	187
Figure 231 – A typical traditional village <i>festa</i> in Malta	188
Figure 232 – Fireworks during a local village festa	189
Figure 233 – A village street decorated with flags and banners on the occasion of the saint's <i>festa</i>	189
Figure 234 – One of the statues of the Nadur (Gozo) Good Friday procession depicting Christ's crucifixion	190
Figure 235 – The village priests also participate in the Good Friday procession	
Figure 236 – The Easter day procession in Victoria, Gozo	
Figure 237 – A small family Christmas crib	
Figure 238 – The private chapel of Palazzo Stagno, Qormi. Courtesy palazzostagno.com	193
Figure 239 – A portable altar exhibited at the Inquisitor's Palace, Birgu. The Inquisitor's Palace Museum, Birgu – Heritage Malta. Courtesy of Heritage Malta	193
Figure 240 – A small family shrine in a private house	
Figure 241 – Inv. 1081-82: Michele Bellanti, <i>Pollajuolo - Poulterer</i> , lithograph, 19th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i>	
Figure 242 – Inv. 1069-70: Michele Bellanti, <i>Venditore di Frutta di Mare – Shell Fish Vender</i> , lithograph, 19th century. National	196

Figure 243 – Inv. 1449-50: Unknown Artist, <i>Selling Milk, Malta</i> , lithograph, 19th century. National Museum of Fine Arts Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i>	
Figure 244 – Antoine Favray, <i>Souper à Malte</i> , inv. 7915, 18th century. Courtesy of Evreux, Musée d'Art, Histoire et Archéologie France (Jean-Pierre Godais)	
Figure 245 – An early 20th century formal dining room. Courtesy of Palazzo Falson Historic House Museum, Mdina	. 199
Figure 246 – The kitchen of the Inquistor's Palace. The Inquisitor's Palace Museum, Birgu – Heritage Malta. Courtesy o Heritage Malta.	
Figure 247 – Examples of ceramic cooking pans which were still in use in certain houses even during the second half of the 20th century. Courtesy of Palazzo Falson Historic House Museum, Mdina	
Figure 248 – An earthenware container known as <i>il-baqra</i> . Palazzo Falson Historic House Museum Collection. Courtesy o Palazzo Falson Historic House Museum, Mdina	
Figure 249 – Inv. 337-38: Antoine Favray, <i>The Lesson</i> , oil on canvas, 18th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta - Heritage Malta. Courtesy of Heritage Malta	
Figure 250 – Antoine Favray, <i>Dr Salvatore Bernard and his Wife and Son</i> , oil on canvas, 18th century. Private collection. (In Degiorgio and Fiorentino 2004)	
Figure 251 – Inv. 7651-52: Antonaci Grech, Artist's Wife Teaching her Son, water-colour, 19th century. National Museum o Fine Arts, Valletta – Heritage Malta. Courtesy of Heritage Malta	
Figure 252 – Inv. 1071-72: Michele Bellanti, <i>Acquaiuolo – Water Seller</i> , lithograph, 19th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i>	
Figure 253 – Inv. 335-36: Antoine Favray, <i>A Musician</i> , oil on canvas, 18th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta - Heritage Malta. Courtesy of Heritage Malta	
Figure 254 – A Maltese walnut and marquetry inlaid serpentine commode, second half of 17th century. Private collection	. 209
Figure 255 – An 18th century bureau bookcase. Private collection	. 209
Figure 256 – Inv. 1709-10: Charles Brockdorff, <i>Maltese Woman in Black Faldetta</i> , water-colour, 19th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i>	
Figure 257 – Inv. 1079-80: Michele Bellanti, <i>Venditrice di Uova – Eggs Vender</i> , lithograph, 19th century. National Museum o Fine Arts, Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i>	
Figure 258 (a) – Antoine Favray, <i>The Three Generations</i> , oil on canvas, 18th century. Private collection. (In Degiorgio and Fiorentino 2004). (b) – Inv. 1553-54: Charles Brockdorff, <i>Ladies in Walking Dress</i> , lithograph, 19th century. Nationa Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i>	ıl
Figure 259 – Inv. 011-12: Edward Caruana Dingli, <i>A Lady Sitting on an Armchair</i> , oil on textured cardboard, early 20th century National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i>	
Figure 260 – Inv. 027-28: Edward Caruana Dingli, <i>Portrait of a Lady,</i> oil on canvas, first half of the 20th century. Nationa Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i>	
Figure 261 – Inv. 009-10: Edward Caruana Dingli, <i>Portrait of a Lady,</i> oil on canvas, first half of the 20th century. Nationa Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i>	
Figure 262 – Inv. 683-84: Giuseppe Calì, <i>Portrait of a Gentleman</i> , oil on canvas, late 19th century. National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i>	
Figure 263 – Inv. 007-8: Edward Caruana Dingli, <i>Portrait of a Man,</i> oil on cardboard, first half of the 20th century. Nationa Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i>	
Figure 264 – Inv. 1075-76: Attributed to Michele Bellanti, <i>Contadina – Country Woman</i> , lithograph, 19th century Nationa Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i>	
Figure 265 – Inv. 4495-96: Edward Caruana Dingli, <i>La Venditrice di Polli</i> , oil on wood, first half of the 20th century (courtesy o the Ministry for Home Affairs and National Security, Valletta)	
Figure 266 – Inv. 1069-70: Michele Bellanti, <i>Contadino – Countryman</i> , lithograph, 19th century. National Museum of Fine Arts Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i>	
Figure 267 – Inv. 1089-90: Michele Bellanti, <i>Pasticciere – Pie Man</i> , lithograph, 19th century. National Museum of Fine Arts Valletta – <i>Heritage Malta</i> . Courtesy of <i>Heritage Malta</i>	
Figure 268 – Village women wearing the faldetta in the early 20th century. Private collection	. 218
Figure 269 – An early 20th century photograph showing a young peasant woman wearing a faldetta (Shepherd 1926)	. 218
Figure 270 – An early 20th century photograph showing a town lady with her two children one on each side. Private collection	. 219
Figure 271 – A group of women washing their clothes in the immediate post-war years. Private collection	. 219
Figure 272 – Gathering of crowd watching television in public for the first time in the 1950s. Private collection	. 219

Figure 273 – People walking in one of the local towns in the 1950s. Private collection	220
Figure 274 (a) – Plan of House 1, Mġarr (Malta): the ground floor (MHHS House No. 8) (Scale 1:200) (b) – Plan of House 1: the għorfa (Scale 1:150)	
Figure 275 – Justified accessibility graph of House 1	231
Figure 276 – Access Analysis values of House 1	231
Figure 277 (a) – Plan of House 2, Żejtun: the ground floor (MHHS House No. 16) (Scale 1: 300) (b) – Plan of House 2: the fir floor (Scale 1: 300)	
Figure 278 – Justified accessibility graph of House 2	233
Figure 279 – Access Analysis values of House 2	233
Figure 280 – Plan of House 3, Valletta (in <i>Cabreo</i> AOM Vol. 307, f. 6). Courtesy of The National Library, Valletta	234
Figure 281 – Justified accessibility graph of House 3	235
Figure 282 – Access Analysis values of House 3	235
Figure 283 – Plan of House 4, Valletta (in Valentino 2006: 151)	236
Figure 284 – Justified accessibility graph of House 4	237
Figure 285 – Access Analysis values of House 4	237
Figure 286 (a) – Plan of House 5, Qormi: the ground floor (MHHS House No. 5) (Scale 1:150) (b) – Plan of House 5: the fir floor (Scale 1:150)	
Figure 287 – Justified accessibility graph of House 5	239
Figure 288 – Access Analysis values of House 5	239
Figure 289 – Plan of House 6, Attard (after Buttigieg 1990)	241
Figure 290 – Plan of House 7, Attard (after Buttigieg 1990)	241
Figure 291 – Justified accessibility graph of House 6	242
Figure 292 – Justified accessibility graph of House 7	242
Figure 293 – Access Analysis values of House 6	243
Figure 294 – Access Analysis values of House 7	243
Figure 295 – A detail from Mondion's map of Mdina (early 18th century). Courtesy of The National Library, Valletta	248
Figure 296 – Visibility graph of Mdina showing the distribution of visual integration	249
Figure 297 – Visibility graph of Mdina showing the distribution of connectivity	249
Figure 298 – Mdina: Visibility Graph Analysis Values	250
Figure 299 – Visibility graph of Mdina showing the distribution of through vision	250
Figure 300 – Visibility graph of Mdina showing the distribution of visual control	251
Figure 301 – Axial line graph showing the distribution of integration in Mdina	252
Figure 302 – Axial line graph showing the distribution of connectivity in Mdina	
Figure 303 – Mdina: Axial Line Analysis Values	253
Figure 304 – Axial line graph showing the distribution of entropy in Mdina	253
Figure 305 – Axial line graph showing the distribution of control in Mdina	253
Figure 306 – Axial line graph showing the distribution of choice in Mdina	254
Figure 307 – A detail from Lucini's map showing the city of Valletta (1631). National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta – Heritag Malta. Courtesy of Heritage Malta	ge
Figure 308 – Valletta: Visibility Graph Analysis Values	255
Figure 309 – Visibility graph of Valletta showing the distribution of visual integration	256
Figure 310 – Visibility graph of Valletta showing the distribution of visual connectivity	
Figure 311 – Visibility graph of Valletta showing the distribution of visual mean depth	
Figure 312 – Visibility graph of Valletta showing the distribution of through vision	
Figure 313 – Axial line graph showing the distribution of integration in Valletta	
Figure 314 – Valletta: Axial Line Analysis Values	258

Figure 315 – Axial line graph showing the distribution of connectivity in Valletta	. 258
Figure 316 – Axial line graph showing the distribution of choice in Valletta	. 259
Figure 317 – Axial line graph showing the distribution of control in Valletta	. 259
Figure 318 – Axial line graph showing the distribution of entropy in Valletta	. 259
Figure 319 – A map of Santa Luċija. Courtesy of pa.org.mt	. 261
Figure 320 – Santa Luċija: Visibility Graph Analysis Values	. 262
Figure 321 – Visibility graph of Santa Luċija showing the distribution of visual integration	. 262
Figure 322 – Visibility graph of Santa Luċija showing the distribution of visual control	. 263
Figure 323 – Visibility graph of Santa Luċija showing the distribution of visual connectivity	. 263
Figure 324 – Visibility graph of Santa Luċija showing the distribution of through vision	. 263
Figure 325 – Axial line graph showing the distribution of integration in Santa Luċija	. 264
Figure 326 – Santa Luċija: Axial Line Analysis Values	. 264
Figure 327 – Axial line graph showing the distribution of connectivity in Santa Luċija	. 265
Figure 328 – Axial line graph showing the distribution of control in Santa Luċija	. 265
Figure 329 – Axial line graph showing the distribution of entropy in Santa Luċija	. 266
Figure 330 – Axial line graph showing the distribution of choice in Santa Luċija	. 266
Figure 331 – Map of Żurrieq (early 20th century)	. 267
Figure 332 – Map of Żurrieq (second half of the 20th century)	. 268
Figure 333 – Visibility graph of Żurrieq (early 20th century) showing the distribution of visual integration	. 269
Figure 334 – Visibility graph of Żurrieq (late 20th century) showing the distribution of visual integration	. 269
Figure 335 – Żurrieq (early 20th century): Visibility Graph Analysis Values	. 270
Figure 336 – Visibility graph of Żurrieq (early 20th century) showing the distribution of visual connectivity	. 270
Figure 337 – Visibility graph of Żurrieq (late 20th century) showing the distribution of visual connectivity	. 271
Figure 338 – Żurrieq (late 20th century): Visibility Graph Analysis Values	. 271
Figure 339 – Visibility graph of Żurrieq (early 20th century) showing the distribution of through vision	. 272
Figure 340 – Visibility graph of Żurrieq (late 20th century) showing the distribution of through vision	. 272
Figure 341 – Axial line graph showing the distribution of integration in Żurrieq (early 20th century)	. 273
Figure 342 – Axial line graph showing the distribution of integration in Żurrieq (late 20th century)	. 273
Figure 343 – Żurrieq (early 20th century): Axial Line Analysis Value	. 274
Figure 344 – Axial line graph showing the distribution of control in Żurrieq (early 20th century)	. 275
Figure 345 – Axial line graph showing the distribution of connectivity in Żurrieq (early 20th century)	275
Figure 346 – Axial line graph showing the distribution of connectivity in Żurrieq (late 20th century)	. 276
Figure 347 – Axial line graph showing the distribution of control in Żurrieq (late 20th century)	276
Figure 348 – Żurrieq (late 20th century): Axial Line Analysis Values	. 277
Figure 349 – Axial line graph showing the distribution of entropy in Żurrieq (early 20th century)	. 277
Figure 350 – Axial line graph showing the distribution of entropy in Żurrieq (late 20th century)	278
Figure 351 – Axial line graph showing the distribution of choice in Żurrieq (early 20th century)	278
Figure 352 – Axial line graph showing the distribution of choice in Żurrieq (late 20th century)	279
Figure 353 (a) – An aerial view of Santa Luċija, which developed in the post-war period (Source: Google Earth) (b) – An aerial view of Buġibba, an important tourist centre in Malta (Source: Google Earth)	
Figure 354 – Building development which occurred which occurred along the Birkirkara By-pass. Lack of proper town plannin legislation encouraged further urban sprawl in areas not earmarked for development	
Figure 355 – An aerial view of the Harbour district illustrating how new residential areas merged settlements into each othe (Source: Google Earth)	
Figure 356 – A row of terraced houses which developed under the Home Ownership Scheme	. 283

Figure 357 (a) – The old and the new: a few of the last remaining villas at Tal-Qroqq (Msida), with recent building developmen in the background. (b) – The same villas and semi-detached houses (left) and apartments (right) from another location	
Figure 358 – An apartment block at Tal-Qroqq, Msida, previously occupied by a fully detached villa	. 286
Figure 359 – A new apartment block with flats at semi-basement level	. 286
Figure 360 – Two houses built in the early eighties of the 20th century, with the façade completely in stone	. 287
Figure 361 – Plan of an apartment consisting of a living area at the front and two separate bedrooms at the rear (MHHS House No. 2) (Scale 1:100)	
Figure 362 – Part of the living area of the same apartment (MHHS House No. 2)	. 289
Figure 363 – The same apartment (MHHS House No. 2): a narrow corridor leading to the bathroom and the bedrooms at the rear	. 289
Figure 364 – A converted house of character in the village of Għarb, Gozo	. 290
Figure 365 – Summary of the main phases of development of the Maltese houses	. 295



### **Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank Prof John L. Bintliff (University of Leiden), who has always been a source of inspiration throughout the entire research project. His encouragement and moral support have been unfailing. My work on various aspects of this study, particularly on Space Syntax, would not have been possible without the professional support and guidance of Dr Hanna Stöger (University of Leiden). The various sessions I spent with Dr Stöger in Malta and Leiden on this aspect were crucial for understanding the value and importance of Space Syntax for the study of local houses and settlements.

I am also indebted to Dr Paul Gauci, Prof Dennis De Lucca and Prof Mario Buhagiar, all from the University of Malta, for their advice and support in dating the Maltese houses. The various sessions I had with the three experts were indispensable for the development of this project. The discussions I had with Prof Paul Sant-Cassia, Prof Carmel Cassar and Prof Godfrey Baldacchino (all from the University of Malta), regarding various aspects of Maltese society, have also been extremely fruitful. I would like to acknowledge the support of Dr Keith Buhagiar for the material he kindly provided me regarding late medieval settlements in Malta and Gozo, including unpublished works. I would like to thank as well Dr Athanasios Vionis (University of Cyprus) for his professional advice regarding vernacular architecture in Greece. Particular credit is also due to Prof Martin R. Zammit (University of Malta) for his advice on Maltese toponomy, Dr Olvin Vella (University of Malta) for his support on Maltese literature, Dr John A. Schembri (University of Malta) for his guidance on local settlements, Mr Charles Dalli (University of Malta) for his information on medieval Malta, and Ms Claire Bonavia (Heritage Malta) for her guidance on local costumes.

I would like to thank as well Dr Faris Ali Mustafa (University of Salhaddin, Iraq) and Mr Nicholas Spiteri (GEOSYS, Malta) for their guidance on the use of AGraph and ArcGIS software, respectively. Particular credit is also due to Eng. Patrick Camilleri for his input on contemporary architecture in the Maltese islands.

This work would not have been possible without the gentle permission of various institutions, organizations and private collectors to study historical records and manuscripts and to photograph artistic works and historic buildings. For this reason I would like to acknowledge the support and help of: Dr George Azzopardi (Heritage Malta, Gozo Museums), Ms Francesca Balzan (Palazzo Falzon Historic House Museum, Mdina), Mr Reuben Fenech and Mr Shawn Borg (National Statistics Office, Malta), Mr Oliver Mamo and Ms Maroma Camilleri (National Library, Malta), Mr Kenneth Cassar (Heritage Malta, The Inquisitor's Palace, Birgu), Mr Paul J. Cassar, Ms Vanessa Ciantar and Ms Sharon Sultana (Heritage Malta, National Museum of Archaeology, Valletta), Mr Silvio Cortis, Mr Max Zammit and Ms Mary Samut-Tagliaferro (University of Malta Library), Dr Alexander Debono and Ms Bernadine Scicluna (Heritage Malta, National Museum of Fine Arts, Valletta), Ms Romina Ferry and Mr Noel Zammit (Heritage Malta), Madame Caroline Damay (Paris, Musée du Louvre), Madame Florence Calame-Leverte (Evreux, Musée d'Art, Histoire et Archéologie), Dr Charles Farrugia (National Archives, Malta), Mr Stephen Degiorgio, Mgr Lawrence Gatt (The Archbishop's Curia, Floriana), Mgr John Azzopardi and Mr Mario Gauci (Cathedral Archives, Mdina), Mr Paul Saliba, Mr Joseph Magro Conti, Mr Claude Borg, Dr Stephen C. Spiteri, Dr Joe A. Doublet, Ms Maria Grazia Cassar (Din l-Art Helwa, National Trust of Malta), Dr Daniel Gilfoyle (The National Archives, Kew), and the staff of the Notarial Archives, Valletta.

I would like to acknowledge the support of the following persons for their gentle permission to survey their private residence or for having made the necessary arrangements on my behalf to study private houses in connection with the Malta Historic House Survey: Mr David Azzopardi, Mr Matthew Agius, Mr Colbert Balzan, Mr John Boxall, Mr Karl Briffa, Mr Joe M. Camilleri, Dr Mario Cardona (*Koperattiva Rurali Manikata*), Rev David Cilia, Ms Joann Cordina, Mr Anton Farrugia, Mr Conrad Fenech, Mr Joseph and Ms Alexandra Haber, Mr Jo Meli, Dr Max M. Mifsud, Mr Adrian Mifsud, Mr Eman Vella, Mr Geoffrey White, and Mr Paul and Ms Rose Zammit.

Last, but not least, I would like to thank my wife Alexandra and my daughter Clara Alessandra, for their patience, understanding and continuous encouragement, without which this dream would never have come true.



### **Chapter 1 - Introduction**

'An ideal home acts as a territory that mediates, reflects, and shapes social identity'
(Amorim and Lourerio 2003: 1).

### **Aims and Objectives**

The main source of inspiration that has contributed to the development of this study has been Malta's most precious natural resource: the local limestone. For many centuries, this has played a vital role in the life of the settlers to build their abodes and settlements as well as to defend themselves against their enemies. The Neolithic settlement of Skorba and the native megalithic temples, for example those of Mnajdra and Haġar Qim, are an excellent example of this principle (Evans 1971; Trump 2004). The utilization of the local stone and the human exploitation of the natural environment through the ages were two major factors that influenced how and where people live.

The archaeological evidence confirms that there was further development in the use and dressing of the local stone in the Punic Period (Said-Zammit 1997a; 2008) and in the Roman Period (Bonanno 2005; Gouder 1979b). In the Middle Ages it was used for the building of churches, palaces, houses and defensive systems, spread in different parts of the Maltese islands (Dalli 2006). It was employed also for the building of various vernacular structures outside the urban centres (Fsadni 1992; Jaccarini 2002).

In the Knights' Period (1530–1798) the local stone was exploited for the development of the most ambitious defensive system these islands have ever seen, particularly in the Grand Harbour area (Spiteri 1994; 2008). A fortified city (Valletta) was built, while new settlements were developed in other parts of the country (Blouet 1993). It was also used for the building of palaces, hospitals and churches (Sire 1994).

During the Colonial Period (1800–1964) the British made extensive use of this natural resource to build additional defensive systems as well as houses and churches that were inspired by nineteenth-century architectural styles (Mahoney 1996). During this period new urban and suburban settlements developed at a fast pace. The use of concrete after the Second World War, together with the development of new construction techniques, materials and equipment meant that buildings could be built in a relatively shorter time.

The opening of the local economy after the acquisition of Independence in 1964 led to the development of the earliest industrial estates in different localities, which contributed to the establishment of new suburban areas and settlements (Busuttil 1988). New houses, apartments, housing estates

and hotels started to be built in various parts of the country, gradually threatening the existence of some rural areas. Although the local stone is still used in contemporary houses, the use of prefabricated materials since the second half of the 20th century has led to a different domestic environment and climate. As will be demonstrated throughout this study, the local limestone, being the principal building material of the Maltese islands is, therefore, the essential physical and material element of the houses.

This work has also been inspired by the unpublished genealogical research which the author had carried out for a long time in the local archives to trace the origins of his family. The vast collection of parish records and notarial acts provide a plethora of information through which one can decode various aspects of Maltese society through the ages. The archival records on demographics and the notarial acts on property deeds provide the societal framework created by and for the houses and their inhabitants.

Therefore, these two sources have served as a means of inspiration through which the author thoroughly engages with different types of Maltese dwellings, including the *palazzi*, terraced houses, farmhouses, the urban poor houses, hovels and cave-dwellings.

This study traces and analyses the evolution of domestic space in Maltese vernacular and polite houses through time. The houses under study range from humble buildings of modest size, materials and design, like farmhouses or those for the less affluent town-dwellers to buildings of grand design, like townhouses and private palaces. Covering the periods from the medieval to contemporary times, this work considers various aspects of Maltese lifestyle, culture and economic activities to assess the local houses both from an architectural point of view and from an economic and anthropological perspective. The specific aim is to examine Maltese houses not as a static relic of the past, but as a vibrant place of human activity and social interaction, in which people act and react in different ways, according to different circumstances. In this sense, houses are also studied in terms of their spatial properties and how these generate privacy, interaction and communication, accessibility and security, and, equally important, how domestic space relates to gender roles, status and class.

The main objective of this study is to reach a deep and nuanced understanding of domestic space and how it relates to the islands' history and the development of its society. The complex nature of the Maltese houses can only be addressed through applying a multidisciplinary approach. Therefore, this research promotes a multifaceted enquiry into the houses of the Maltese islands, reaching from the physical buildings and their material culture, via the perception of houses in art and literature, to the socioeconomic significance of buildings in terms of property relations and economic activities. More specifically, in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of domestic space in Malta, this study pursues the following lines of investigation:

- a. systematic house surveys and rigorous data recording to establish categories of different types of dwellings;
- detailed field surveys, cartographic analysis and geographic research to relate the evolution of settlements to the development of domestic space;
- c. the study and appreciation of literary sources and *oeuvres d'art* to evaluate how Maltese houses have been perceived by travellers, visitors and artists;
- d. the documentation and evaluation of house furniture and contents through comparative studies of permanent museum exhibitions and notarial records:
- e. the analysis of a wide range of historical sources (including notarial records and travelogues) to explore Maltese houses as a place of human habitation and socio-economic activity;
- f. a systematic analysis of a small but coherent sample set of house and settlement plans using formal techniques for spatial analysis (Space Syntax) to study the evolution of the Maltese houses and settlements through their intrinsic spatial properties;
- g. the analysis of demographic data (for example, population records and the national censuses) to study the socio-anthropological dimension of the Maltese houses;
- the analysis of recent local domestic architecture to evaluate the perceptions of Maltese contemporary society.

These individual strands of enquiry have their own merits, however, when combined they complement and amplify each other and allow new and deeper insights into the evolution of the Maltese houses.

### **The Geographic Setting**

To comprehend the importance and value of the local building stone as well as the socio-cultural and economic context of the Maltese houses, one needs first to make reference to the geographical context of the Maltese islands, their geological setup and climate. Houses and settlements cannot be studied out of their physical or natural context, otherwise one is likely to obtain a partial or deceptive picture. Moreover, in a Braudelian sense, it is when the Maltese islands are considered within a Mediterranean context that

one can comprehend better the islands' landscape and their particular history (Horden and Purcell 2000).

The Maltese islands, located in the central part of the Mediterranean Sea, are situated about 93km to the south of Sicily, 354km to the north of Tripoli, and 288km to the east of Tunisia (Figure 1). The archipelago, having a northwest to southeast orientation and a total surface area of approximately 316 sq km, consists of three main islands: Malta, Gozo and Comino (Figure 2). The smallest other islands of the archipelago are uninhabited. Malta, the main island, has a maximum length of approximately 27.4km and a maximum width of about 14.5km, thus having a surface area of about 247 sq km. Gozo, the second largest island, has a surface area of approximately 66 sq km. Comino is the least inhabited and has a surface area of about 3 sq km. The Maltese islands have a number of naturally sheltered harbours. The highest point in Malta, at 253m above sea level, is Ta' Dmejrek in the parish of Dingli.

The Maltese islands have a sedimentary type of rock, consisting of five superimposed layers (Figure 3 (a) and (b)). The lowest layer is the Lower Coralline Limestone. This is the earliest rock layer to have been formed in these islands about 30 to 25 million years ago. Above this there lies the porous Globigerina Limestone which is the most important for the local building industry. On the latter sits the Blue Clay which occurs mostly in western Malta and in various parts of Gozo. Being an impermeable layer, Blue Clay gives rise to the formation of the perched aquifers, ideal for field irrigation and domestic use. Upon this lies the porous Greensands layer, which occurs only in small pockets of land. The most recent rock layer to have been formed is the Upper Coralline Limestone, which is particularly important for the production of grit and concrete. This occurs mostly in western Malta and in eastern Gozo.

The Maltese islands consist of three basic geological regions, namely:

- a. the Coralline Region: roughly extending from Marfa harbour to Dingli cliffs, it is the region in which Upper Coralline mostly prevails in Malta. It consists of two subregions: the dry coralline, where perennial water is hardly available, and the wet coralline characterized by several perennial water springs;
- b. **the Globigerina Region**: this comprises the rest of Malta and extends from roughly St Paul's Bay down to Marsaxlokk harbour. It consists of a series of sheltered harbours which gave rise to several settlements. This region comprises two subregions: the predominant globigerina, where the best ports of the island are located, and the less common globigerina, a smaller area where all geological deposits occur;

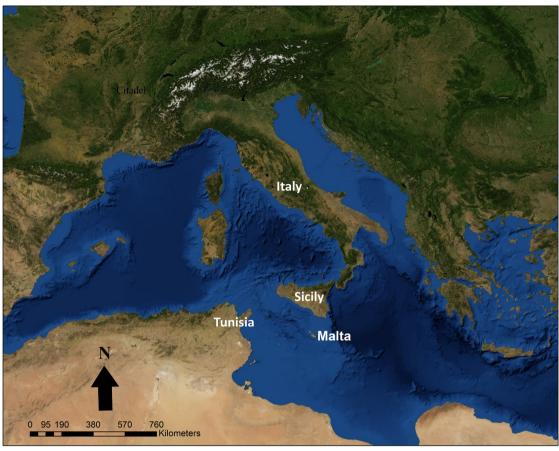


FIGURE 1 – MAP OF THE CENTRAL MEDITERRANEAN REGION INDICATING THE LOCATION OF THE MALTESE ISLANDS

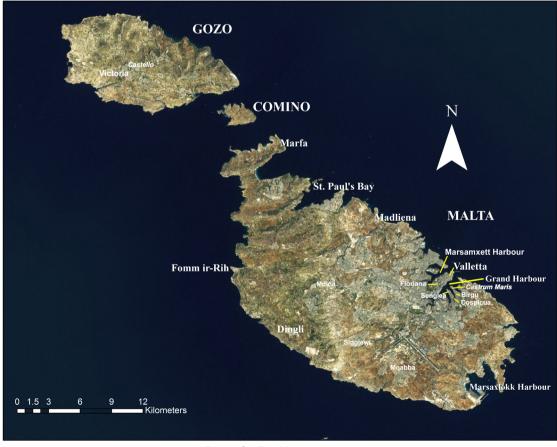
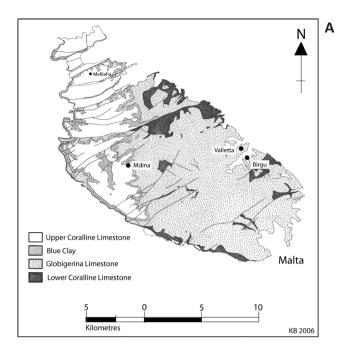


FIGURE 2 – THE MALTESE ISLANDS



c. Gozo: this is characterized by a series of open harbours, particularly in its southern and northern parts. All geological layers feature on this island.

Geologically, the western and northern parts of Malta consist of a chain of parallel hills and valleys. They are separated from the rest of the island by an extensive natural fault, known as the Great Fault, which runs from Madliena to Fomm ir-Riħ. In northern Malta the escarpment is sometimes abrupt and broken by deep embayments, while western Malta is characterized by deeply incised valleys and undercliff areas. Soil erosion on the hill-tops of western and northern Malta does not allow proper agriculture, however across the hill slopes the land is utilized for crop cultivation and animal grazing (Buhagiar 2014: 42-54). The valleys of this part of the island, sheltered as they are between these hills, are extremely fertile because these are irrigated by the springs that originate from the Upper Coralline uplands (Bowen-Jones, Dewdney and Fisher 1962: 235-88).

In contrast, in the eastern part of Malta several valley systems descend to the central plains. A tongue of high ground known as Sciberras peninsula, on which Valletta was built, separates Marsamxett Harbour from the Grand Harbour. The most prevalent type of rock that occurs in this area is the Globigerina Limestone. It is, in fact, in eastern Malta where one finds the most extensive surface quarries (Buhagiar 2014: 49-50).

Gozo and Comino have similar characteristics to northern Malta. Gozo consists of a chain of flat-topped hills, across which one finds many terraced fields and a series of valleys. The most common rock types are the Globigerina and the Upper Coralline.

Recent statistics issued by the National Statistics Office (NSO) show that today 34% of the total land is still used

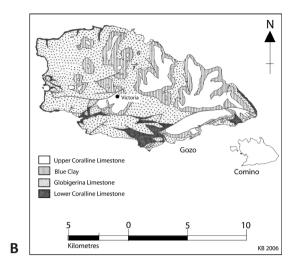


FIGURE 3 (A) AND (B) — A GEOLOGICAL MAP OF MALTA AND GOZO (AFTER BOWEN-JONES ET AL. 1962 WITH ADAPTATIONS IN BUHAGIAR 2014)

for agriculture. This contrasts well with the situation that occurred half a century ago, when agriculture still occupied approximately 56% of the total land area (Busuttil 1993: 11; Vella and Camilleri 2003: 1569-71). The rise of new towns and the development of new industrial areas in different parts of the islands were certainly some of the main reasons which led to this decline in agricultural land. In fact, in 2010 the total urban fabric amounted to about 25% of the total land area of the Maltese islands. There was also an increase in the land devoted for industry, which increased from about 3% to approximately 7% of the land, while forested areas and wetland in Malta and Gozo constitute about 1% of the total land area. Urban areas have spread in most parts of the islands, with a major concentration in the Grand Harbour area, being the most densely populated district in Malta. While several settlements are located in different coastal or harbour areas, a considerable number of others are situated more inland (Figure 4).

Historically, the former capital city of Malta was Mdina, a medieval town in the centre of island, while the main town of Gozo was also situated in the centre and was known as the Castello. Until the mid-16th century the Grand Harbour area was dominated by a medieval castle, known as the Castrum Maris, which sheltered the nearby maritime settlement of Birgu. However, when Valletta became the new capital in the second half of the 16th century, the Grand Harbour area developed into one of the most conurbated regions of these islands. Here developed several new important maritime towns: Floriana (the suburb of Valletta), Senglea (or Isla) and Cospicua (or Bormla). Together, Senglea, Cospicua and Birgu are also known as the Three Cities. While Valletta is Malta's capital city, Gozo's main town is Victoria (or Rabat), the island's most inhabited settlement, located close to the medieval Castello or Citadel (Figure 2).

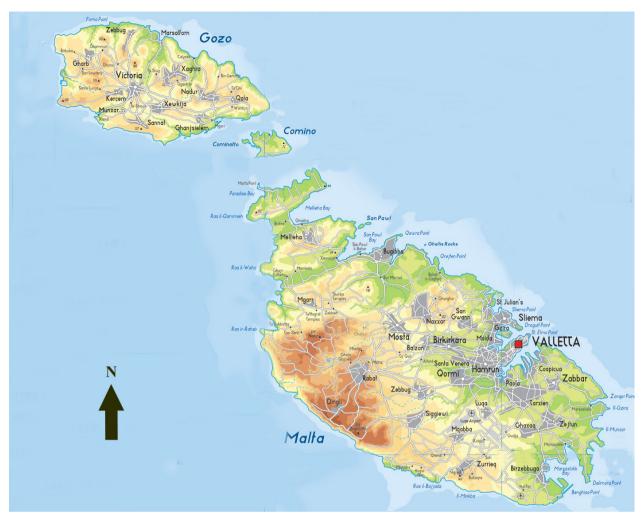


FIGURE 4 – MAP OF THE MALTESE ISLANDS SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF TOWNS AND VILLAGES

The climate of the Maltese Islands is of the Mediterranean type and consists of cold and rainy winters and of hot dry summers. The local average temperature during the coldest months of the year (January and February) is approximately 13°C, while the local average temperature reached during the hottest months (July and August) is approximately 28°C. Normally, rain falls in winter, particularly between November and February, with an average annual precipitation of about 525mm.

The Maltese islands have one of the highest population densities in Europe, with about 1410 people per sq km. According to recent statistical records the local population has been estimated to be around 435,000 inhabitants. In Gozo alone there are approximately 37,300 people, with a density of about 557 people per sq km (Figure 5). For census purposes, these islands are divided into six districts: Southern Harbour, Northern Harbour, South East Malta, West Malta, North Malta, and Gozo and Comino.

### **Chronological Parameters**

To acquire a holistic picture of domestic space development in the Maltese islands, it was essential to analyse in this study

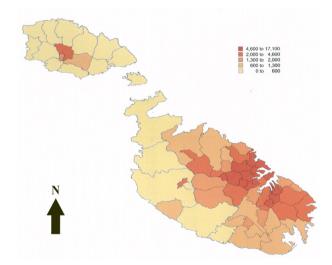


FIGURE 5 – POPULATION DENSITY OF THE MALTESE ISLANDS (NSO 2011)

different types of local houses across a wide geographical area and also over a long period of time, starting from the Middle Ages and ending with the industrialization of the Maltese islands (late sixties/early seventies of the 20th century). The period under study is divided as follows: