

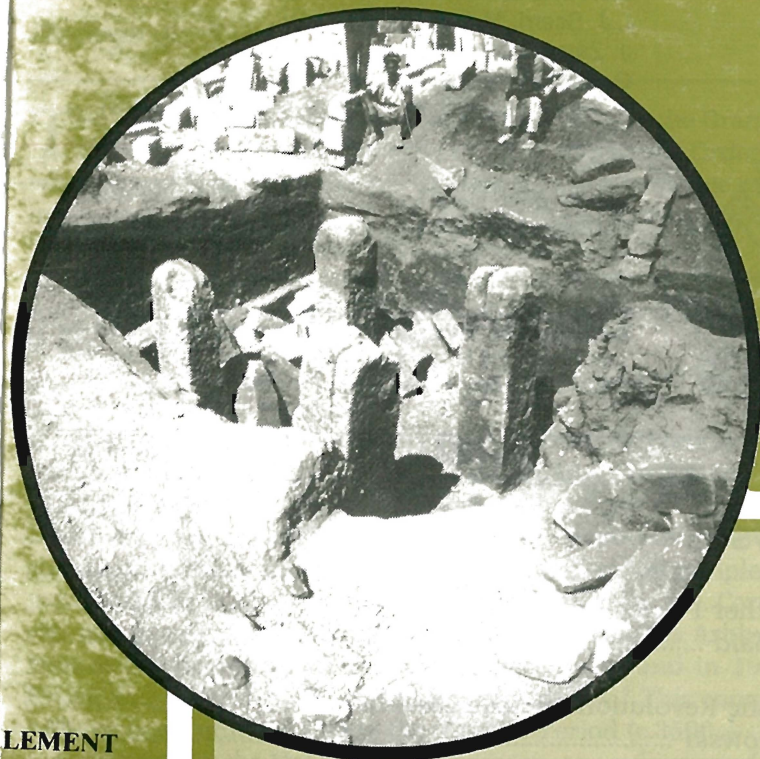
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A journal of Melitensia and the Humanities

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The Scientific Revolution and the Machine

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The Pardoner in the Canterbury Tales

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The Challenge of Sustainable Development

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A Journal of Melitensia and the Humanities

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Cover Picture: Detail of an ancient water cistern discovered in New Street, Paola. (see article by George A. Said, pp. 1-22)

PAOLA: ANOTHER PUNICO – ROMAN SETTLEMENT?

George A. Said

The town of Paola lies on the south-western side of the Grand Harbour. The area received considerable attention under the Order especially when Grand Master Antoine de Paule founded a new village so as to avoid over-population in Valletta and the Three Cities: Vittoriosa, Senglea, and Cospicua. In recent years building and industrial developments have almost made Paola and neighbouring Marsa fuse into one whole region and have destroyed a great number of archaeological sites, particularly since the 1940s.

The Prehistoric Evidence

It appears that this area was already inhabited in Prehistory, in Punic and Roman times, as well as from Late Antiquity to the Early Christian period. However, systematic excavations have not so far revealed any clear Bronze-Age deposits. One of the most important prehistoric free-standing monuments is the Kordin complex of temples, already mentioned by Leith Adams in 1870¹ and in 1896 by A.A. Caruana.² The site was excavated by Themistocles Zammit, Thomas Ashby, and T.E. Peet at the beginning of the twentieth century³ and in 1953 by J.D. Evans and in 1961 by D. H. Trump respectively.⁴ This complex seems to have been utilized during the Temple Period (c.3500 – 1200 BC).

Another site is the Ħal-Saflieni Hypogeum, an underground necropolis utilized mostly between c.3500 – 1200 BC. It was excavated early in the twentieth century by Themistocles Zammit and the Revd. E. Magri.⁵

1. Adams, A.L., *Notes on a Naturalist in the Nile Valley and Malta*, Edinburgh 1870, 248.
2. Caruana, A. A., 'Further megalithic discoveries and explorations in the Islands of Malta during 1892 and 1893', *The Antiquaries Journal*, LIII, 23-33. London 1896, 26.
3. *M(useum) A(nnual) R(eports)* 1908-1909, E3; 1909-1910, E2.
4. Evans, J.D., *The Prehistoric Antiquities of the Maltese Islands: A Survey*, London 1971, 67.
5. MAR 1909-1910, 1-2; Zammit, T., 'A Neolithic Grave in Malta', *Archeologia Melitensis*, I (1910-1912), 110-120.

Thousands of prehistoric human osseous material, pottery, terracotta statuettes, and figurines representing both fat and sleeping ladies, personal ornaments, tools, and even remains of weapons were unearthed.⁶

A prehistoric rock-cut tomb was also identified by Zammit in 1918 at Marsa during levelling operations for the construction of an airship station. The chamber measured 7.62 x 4.57 x 1.83m. and contained the remains of two human skeletons and some prehistoric potsherds. The grave had already been rifled and Punic potsherds were identified in it.⁷

Paola and Marsa in Punic and Classical times

The Paola-Marsa area has brought to light more archaeological vestiges datable to Punic and Roman times, consisting mainly of rock-cut tombs and catacombs, remains of foundation walls of buildings, remains of storehouses, and a cistern. The most intriguing problem about this area is that so far no clear traces of houses or huts have been identified there.

Storehouses

The only extant reference to ancient storehouses or warehouses is given by Barbaro in 1794.⁸ In 1768, at the foot of Kordin Hill, were unearthed the foundation structural remains of several warehouses, consisting of rows of rectangular chambers, one of which contained 260 amphorae. Twenty-four amphorae contained upon them inscriptions incised in Greek characters. Barbaro also mentions the discovery of coins, datable to between the third century BC and the ninth century AD and of vases containing cremated human bones. Two rock-cut cisterns were identified under the remains of these warehouses (see figure 1).

Archaeologically, Barbaro's information is rather unreliable because it fails to give the precise location of the site or details about its stratigraphy. Moreover, the material unearthed seems to have ended in private hands. No detailed separate report on the amphorae or on the coins has ever been published. An important problem to solve, for example, is the dating of the amphorae which could have been Punic, Roman, Late Roman, or even Early Christian, as testified by the presence of eighth and ninth centuries AD coins. Another problem concerns the

6. Evans, 65-66.

7. MAR 1917-1919, 12.

8. Barbaro, C.A., *Degli avanzi d'alcuni antichissimi edifici scoperti in Malta l'anno 1768* - *Dissertazione storico-critica*, Malta 1794, 48.

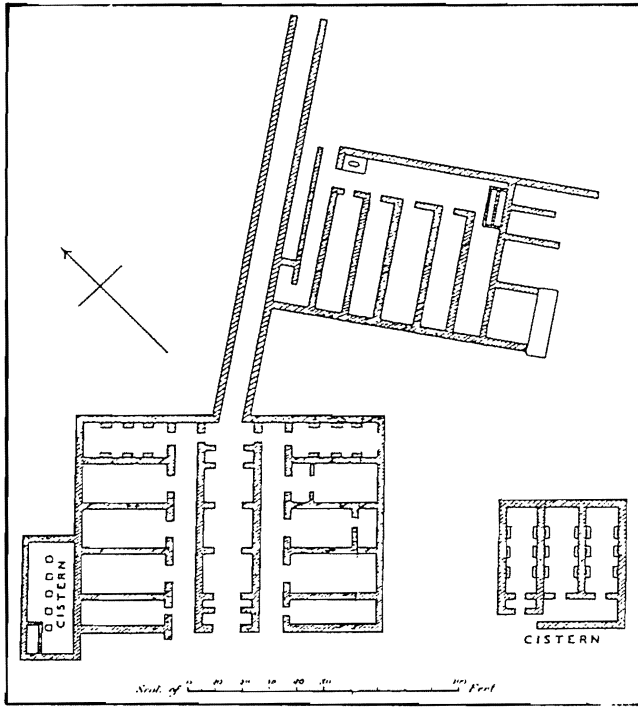


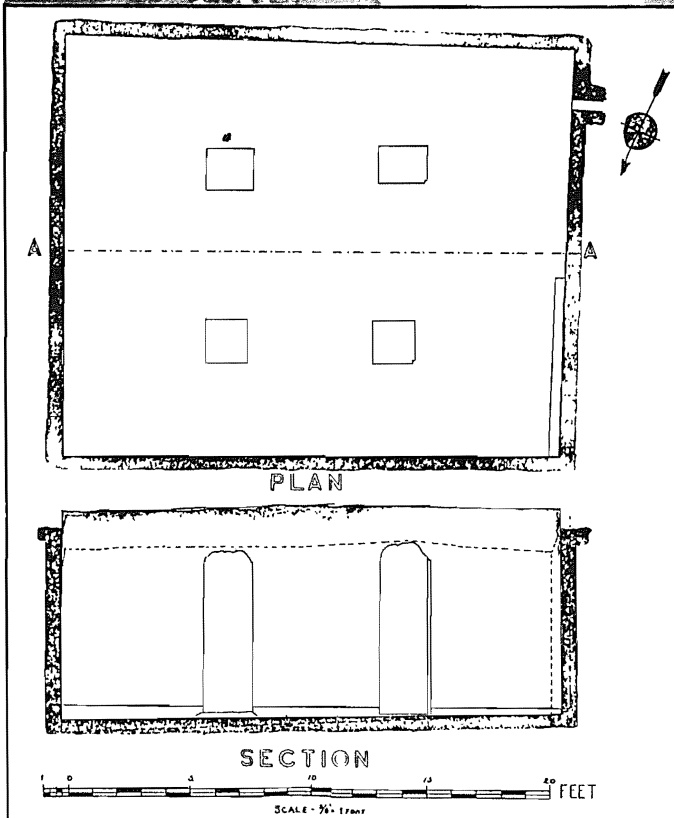
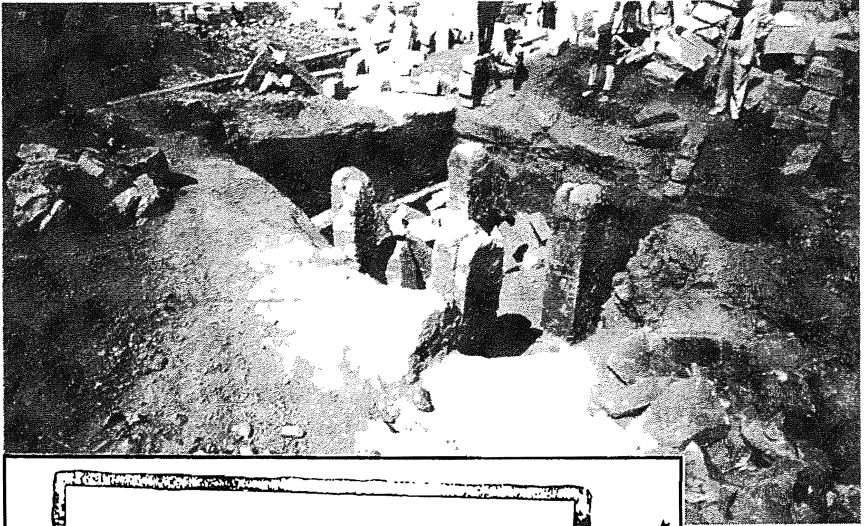
Figure 1 - Plan of the remains of storehouses found at the foot of Kordin Hill in 1768 (after C.A. Barbaro 1794)

presence of vases with cremated human bones. Barbaro's diagram does not show anything like a cemetery; so, why were the cremated human bones deposited in these store rooms?

Cistern

The only Punico-Roman water cistern to be identified in the Paola-Marsa area was discovered on 25 June 1936 by C.G. Zammit. Quadrangular in shape, it measured 6.10m in length, 5.18m in width, and 2.75m in depth. In plan and elevation it was very similar to that of Tal-Kaċċatura, Birżebbuġa (see plans and photograph). Originally, the cistern seems to have been roofed with rectangular stone slabs 'resting on horizontal beams with their extremities encased in the solid rock and supported in intermediate points by four quadrangular pillars 7ft. high with a cross section 2'6" x 1'6"'.⁹ The roof was, however, found already destroyed,

9. MAR 1936-1937, 13.



A general view
of the ancient
water cistern
discovered in
New Steet, Paola
(photograph in
private
collection)

Plan and section
of an ancient
water cistern
found by C.G.
Zammit in 1936
in New Street
(private
collection)

but the four upright stone pillars were still *in situ*. No pottery or other archaeological material was found, but from its shape and architecture it appears to have belonged to one of the Late Punic and Roman villas, very much typical of the Maltese Islands.¹⁰ A house was eventually built over it.¹¹

Remains of buildings and walls

Barbaro also states that a quay wall, consisting of large rectangular blocks of stone, was identified towards the southern side of the storehouses.¹² Ashby observes that 'roads seemed to lead from (the quay wall) and from other points on the shore to the storehouses.'¹³

Archaeologically, the information is again unhelpful because the relationship between the quay wall and the storehouses is unknown. An added problem is whether this wall is chronologically contemporary or not to the warehouses.

Remains of an ancient building were discovered in 1939 in Racecourse Street, Marsa. The exact nature of these remains is unclear. The site consisted of a 'floor coarsely paved with burnt clay tiles and some shallow rectangular pits, cut in the solid rock and lined by a thick layer of plaster.'¹⁴ The material collected consisted of Roman potsherds, fragments of plaster, and lozenge-shaped clay tiles. Pottery fragments mainly belonged to amphorae and dishes. The lozenge-shaped clay tiles ascribe this site to the Roman period with considerable certainty. The area seems to have been surveyed, but a new road was allowed to cover the remains.

The remains of another building, consisting of a series of large rectangular rooms, were unearthed in 1956 in Coronation Gardens, Marsa. Apparently, only the foundation walls have been identified. The site stretched over an area measuring 30 x 51m.

This site can be securely dated to the Late Punic and Roman period, possibly between the end of the fourth century BC and the fourth century AD. Quantities of potsherds of amphorae and storage jars seem to be datable to this particular period of time. Potsherds of plain terra sigillata

10. Bonanno, A., 'Distribution of Villas and some aspects of the Maltese economy in the Roman Period', *Contributions of Mediterranean Studies*, Malta 1977, 73-81.

11. MAR 1936-1937, 14.

12. Barbaro, 48.

13. Ashby, T., 'Roman Malta', *Journal of Roman Studies*, V, London 1915, 29.

14. MAR 1946-1947, 3.

and glass fragments were also unearthed.¹⁵

The dating of this site has been mainly based on the six coins discovered, one of which, however, is datable to the Arab period. Access to the Numismatic Collection of the National Museum of Archaeology was denied to the author who had to restrict himself to the 1955-56 report.¹⁶

The first coin, found in a poor state of preservation, is an imported silver tetradrachm of Syracuse. Appearing on the obverse is the head of Arethusa surrounded by dolphins, while on the reverse there is the symbol of Victory. It has been dated to the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the third century BC.

The second, possibly minted locally, depicts the head of the Carthaginian deity Tinit on the obverse while a galloping horse appears on the reverse. This bronze coin was also found in a poor state of preservation; it is datable to the first half of the fourth century BC.

The third coin, a dupondius or a second brass of Emperor Marcus Aurelius, was also found in a worn state. It has been dated between 161-180 AD. Nothing appears either on the obverse or on the reverse.

The fourth coin, an antoninus of Emperor Gallienus, datable to the issue of 260-268 AD, was found in a fairly good state of preservation. On the obverse appears the face of the Emperor, while on the reverse there is the image of Oriens, the sun god.

The fifth coin is ascribed to the second half of the fourth century AD, belonging to the family of Constantine the Great. The image on the obverse is very uncertain. On the reverse, there is a soldier spearing a barbarian with the legend: FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO underneath.

The last coin, a very late one, may possibly have found its way there incidentally. It is a small, thin, worn brass coin, datable to the tenth century AD.

The presence of Punic and Roman pottery and coins reasonably locates this site in a Punico-Roman context, indicating successive re-utilization over a long period of time though its proper utilization remains uncertain.

Structures of heavy ashlar masonry were brought to light in 1959 in Racecourse Street, Marsa, during building operations. Only quantities of Roman potsherds were identified during the excavation. The exact

15. *Ibid.*, 1955-1956, 7-8.

16. *Ibid.*, 8.

nature of these foundation walls cannot yet be ascertained, but they seem to have belonged to a series of warehouses.¹⁷

Tombs

The most common archaeological feature in this area are Punic and Roman rock-cut tombs grouped into small necropoleis. Such cemeteries have been identified since the times of A.A. Caruana.¹⁸ The only tombs to be excavated in a fairly systematic way are those of Tal-Liedna and Ghajn Dwieli, discovered by J.G. Baldacchino between 1948 and 1949.¹⁹ Discoveries of other tombs in the Paola-Marsa area were reported in the Annual Reports of the Museums Department.

In this area, one can identify three important necropoleis: a) Tal-Ħorr; b) Tal-Liedna; and c) Ghajn Dwieli. Another small group of tombs was located at Kordin. Other Punic and Roman rock-cut tombs have been discovered in Paola itself as well as in the Marsa area, without any particular rational pattern of distribution.

SITE NAME	NUMBER OF TOMBS
Tal-Ħorr	6
Tal-Liedna	6
Ghajn Dwieli	11
Kordin	3
Paola (centre)	4
Marsa area	11
TOTAL	41

Tal-Ħorr

At Tal-Ħorr, an area now occupied by the nineteenth-century Addolorata Cemetery, six tombs have been discovered so far. It is impossible to date this cemetery precisely because the tombs discovered and reported by A.A. Caruana have been excavated in a non-systematic manner with no

17. MAR 1959-60, 5.

18. Caruana, A.A., *Ancient Pagan Tombs and Christian Cemeteries in the Islands of Malta explored and surveyed from the year 1881 to the year 1897*, Malta 1898; Id, *Ancient Pottery from the Ancient Pagan Tombs and Christian Cemeteries in the Islands of Malta*, Malta 1899; Ashby.

19. Baldacchino, J.G., 'Punic Rock Tombs near Paola, Malta', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, XIX (1951), London.

reference to their funerary material.²⁰ The same situation applies to another tomb which was discovered in 1976: no plans and photographs of this grave or, even, a decent description on the material unearthed are available.²¹ The remaining tombs, also reported in the Museum Annual Reports, have been just briefly mentioned, while the information on the pottery found in them is downright vague, unhelpful, and inconclusive.²² The only grave which has been securely dated is that discovered in 1960.

However, the following observations can be obtained:

i) *Typology of Tombs*: Five tombs had a rectangular shaft and either a rectangular or an oval chamber. The shafts of the remaining two tombs are not described.²³ While one funerary chamber was reached by means of some footholes, hewn in one of the walls of the shaft, access to the chamber of another one was by means of five rock-steps cut in one of the longer walls of the shaft.²⁴ Two tombs had two funerary chambers, while the others were all single-chambered.

ii) *Other Features*: Trenches and lampholes have not been identified in all the tombs under consideration; only one grave had a lamphole in the chamber.²⁵ Lampholes were reserved only for monolychnes or bilychnes lamps. However, lamps were not always deposited in lampholes and, when not available, they were generally placed either on cinerary urns or just on the floor of the chamber. A single-chambered tomb had a rectangular rock-cut trench in the central part of the chamber, while one of the double-chambered tombs had two central trenches, one in each chamber.²⁶ Another chamber had a rock-cut bench, probably intended as a resting place for an inhumed body.²⁷

iii) *Interments*: Most of the Tal-Horr tombs seem to have been utilized over a great number of years, as evidenced by the two double-chambered tombs and by the presence of more than one burial in each grave. One of the burial chambers, for example, besides two skeletons, also contained two cremations.²⁸ From this cemetery, only two cremations

20. Caruana (1898), 45-46, 49.

21. MAR 1976-1977, 64.

22. Ibid., 1920-1921, 2; 1923-1924, 4; 1926-1927, 7; 1960, 9.

23. Ibid., 1920-1921, 2; 1976-1977, 64.

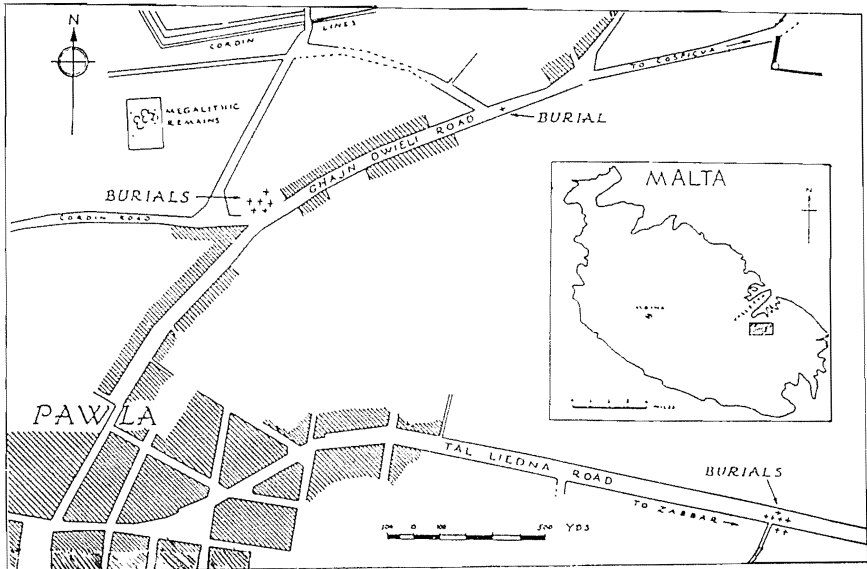
24. Ibid., 1926-1927, 7.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid., 1923-1924, 4; Ibid., 1926-1927, 7.

27. Caruana (1898), 49.

28. MAR 1926-1927, 7.



Map showing exact location of Tal Liedna and Ghajn Dwieli tombs (after J.G. Baldacchino 1951)

and five inhumations were identified. No other information could be gathered about these tombs. One of the graves, discovered by Zammit in 1921, contained one burial and it seems never to have been re-utilized.

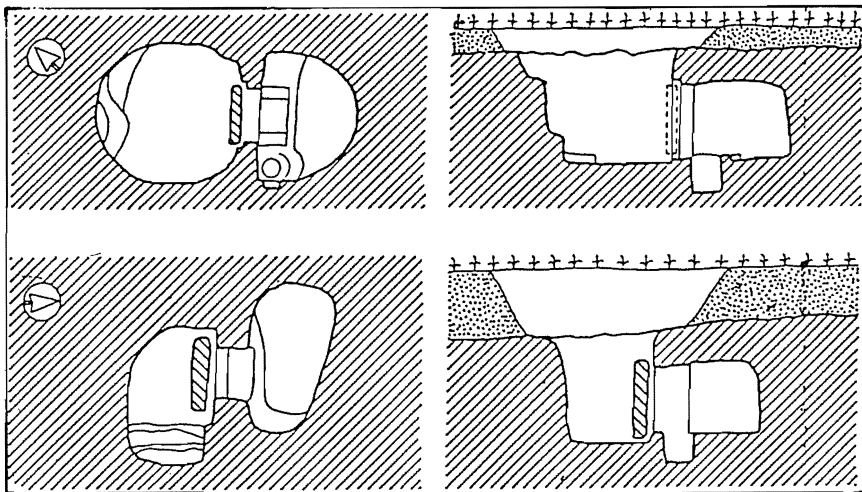
iv) *Pottery and other material unearthed*: The pottery seems to be relatively late, datable between the second half of the fifth century and the first half of the third century BC. The two cinerary urns found in one of the tombs also pertain to this same period. The pottery items still follow the local Punic ceramic typology, particularly the amphorae and the trefoil-mouthed oinochoi.²⁹ In one of the double-chambered tombs, six small bluish glass beads were also identified.³⁰

v) *General Observations*: It appears that the Punic cemetery of Tal-Ħorror was utilized from the second half of the fifth century down to the early decades of the third century BC. As far as pottery is concerned, there are no traces of Phoenician or early Punic burials and, similarly, no evidence of any Roman ones. Regarding the typology of tombs, there is also evidence of post-450 BC burials. As postulated elsewhere,³¹ tombs with

29. Said, G.A., 'Distribution of Phoenician, Punic and Roman Tombs in Malta and Gozo', unpublished BA dissertation presented at the University of Malta, 1990, 29.

30. MAR 1923-1924, 4.

31. Said, 23.



Figures 2 and 3 - Plan and section of Tombs 3 and 4 found at Tal-Liedna in 1948 (after J.G. Baldacchino 1951)

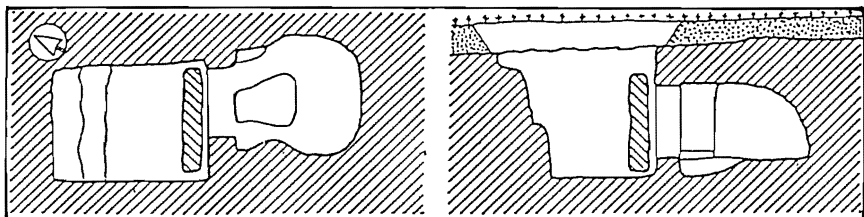


Figure 4 - Plan and section of Tomb 1 found at Tal-Liedna in 1948 (after J.G. Baldacchino 1951)

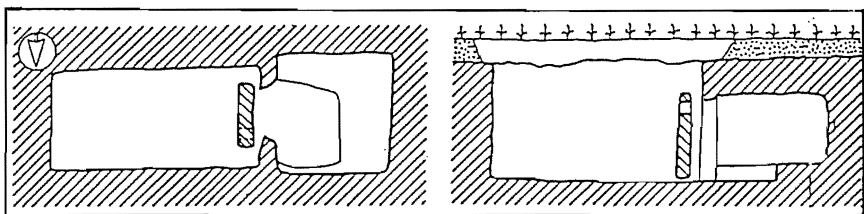
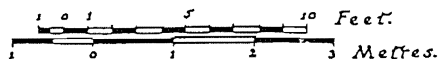


Figure 5 - Plan and section of Tomb 5 discovered at Tal-Liedna in 1948 (after J.G. Baldacchino (1951)



a rectangular shaft and either a rectangular or an oval chamber seem to have been introduced on the islands as from c.450 BC. Most of the earliest Punic rock tombs cut in this particular shape were generally, if not always, found to contain post-450 BC ceramic and other related burial material.³²

Tal-Liedna Cemetery

The six tombs at Tal-Liedna were discovered in 1948 during the widening of road leading from Paola to Zabbar (see map). They were excavated by J.G. Baldacchino who published a fairly decent initial report.³³ Some of the tombs were found already rifled.

i) *Typology of Tombs*: Only three tombs had rectangular shafts, one of which also had a rectangular chamber; the other two had roughly circular chambers. The chamber of Tomb 1 was irregularly cut. Another tomb consisted of a circular shaft and chamber, while the fifth one had an oval shaft and chamber. The sixth tomb had been blasted before it was discovered and its shape could not be determined.³⁴

ii) *Other Features*: The shaft of these tombs, being between 2 to 2.5m high, presented no particular features, for example footholes or steps. Of the chambers, two had a rock-cut central trench, parallel to the entrance (figures 2 and 3). The chamber of the first tomb to be discovered had a quadrilateral cavity in its central part (figure 4). The chamber of the fifth tomb contained a rock-cut platform, probably intended for an inhumation (figure 5).

iii) *Interments*: An analysis of the Tal-Liedna interments reveals late burials, perhaps later than those of Tal-Ħorr. Both inhumations and cremations have been identified. These tombs seem to have been re-utilized over a great number of years. In all, there were 18 inhumations and 10 cremations, an average of three inhumation burials in each grave. While inhumations have been identified in all the tombs, cremations were limited to only two.

iv) *Pottery and other material unearthed*: The ceramic material also suggests late burials, probably datable between the third and the first centuries BC. For instance, most of the cremation urns containing calcined human bones belong to the third and the second centuries BC, while others seem to pertain to the early years of the first century BC

32. Ibid., 24

33. See also Baldacchino.

34. Baldacchino, 1-10. Only a few pottery objects were collected from Tomb 6.

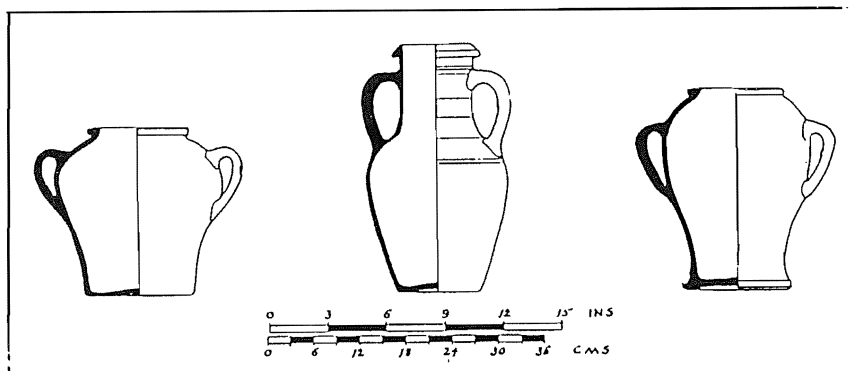


Figure 6 - Three examples of late cinerary urns discovered in the tombs of Tal-Liedna (after J.G. Baldacchino 1951)

(figure 6). The oinochoi are also datable to the third century BC onwards, except for an earlier one which possibly belongs to the early decades of the fourth century BC (figure 7). The amphorae seem to belong to this same period, roughly from 300 BC onwards. Two bronze bracelets were discovered in one of the tombs, while the fragments of a similar bracelet were unearthed in another.

v) *General Observations:* The evidence suggests that the Tal-Liedna necropolis belongs to a relatively late period. Inhumations and

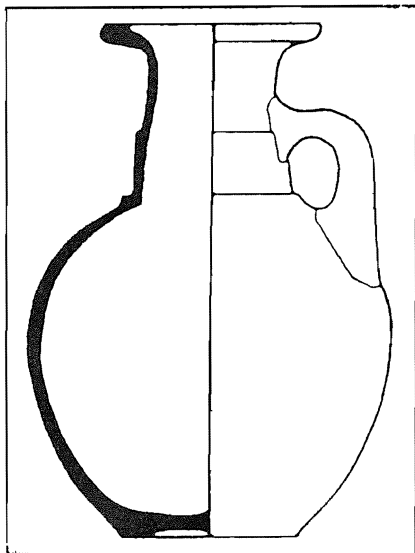
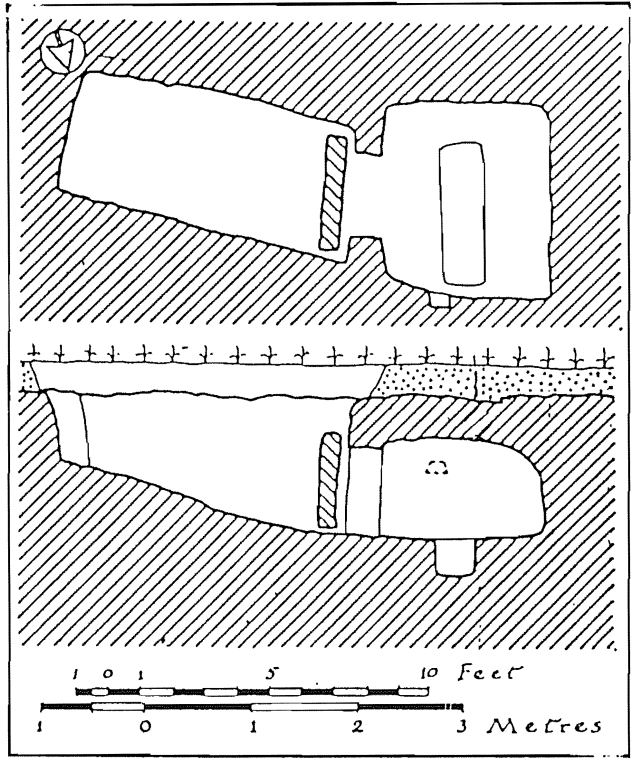


Figure 7 - An oinochoe, datable to the early years of the fourth century BC, found in Tomb 2 at Tal-Liedna in 1948 (after J.G. Baldacchino 1951)

Figure 8 - Plan and section of Tomb 7 found at Ghajn Dwieli in 1949 (after J.G. Baldacchino 1951)



cremations seem to have been simultaneously deposited. This cemetery was utilized over a period of about two-and-a-half centuries (c.300 – c.50 BC). The Tal-Liedna tombs started to be utilized when the Tal-Horr necropolis was on the verge of being completely abandoned, never to be reused.

Ghajn Dwieli Cemetery

In January 1949 Baldacchino excavated another group of graves, sited about one kilometre away from Tal-Liedna.³⁵ This cemetery consisted of seven shaft tombs which were all single-chambered except for a double-chambered one. These graves were unearthed when the Ghajn Dwieli Road, leading from Paola to Cospicua, was being widened. Four other graves pertaining to this same cemetery were discovered in 1960, in 1964, and in 1968.³⁶ Like those of Tal-Liedna, the Ghajn Dwieli tombs were ultimately allowed to be destroyed.

35. Ibid., 11-22.

36. MAR 1960, 7; Ibid., 1964, 6; Ibid., 1968, 4.

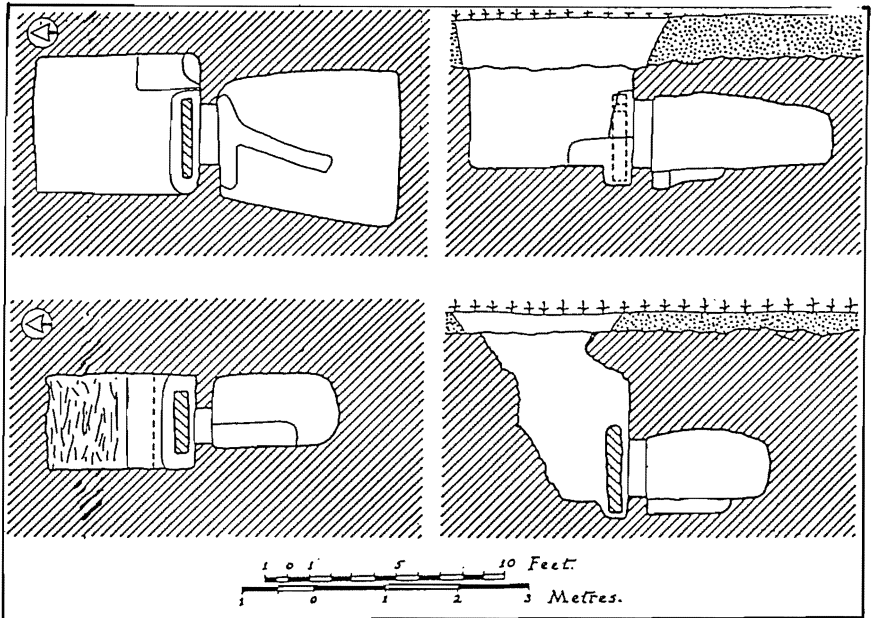


Figure 9 - Plan and section of Tombs 1 and 2 found at Ghajj Dwieli in 1949 (after J.G. Baldacchino 1951)

i) *Typology of Tombs*: Nine tombs had rectangular shafts, four of which are reported of having had either a rectangular or a quadrilateral or even an oval chamber. Another tomb consisted of a roughly circular shaft and two oval chambers. The last tomb had an irregularly-cut chamber, but its shaft was unexplored.

ii) *Other Features*: The shafts of the Ghajj Dwieli tombs, between 2.5 - 3m deep, revealed no particular features except for one, which was provided with two roughly-cut unequal steps in its south-western corner.³⁷ Regarding the funerary chambers, only one was provided with a lamphole (figure 8). Four others were furnished with rock-cut trenches, which probably served as depository areas for the remains of previous burials (figure 9). The chamber of the sixth tomb was provided with a rock-cut platform, intended for a single inhumation burial.

iii) *Interments*: At Ghajj Dwieli 16 inhumations and a single cremation³⁸ were identified, an average of one or two inhumations in

37. Baldacchino, 11.

38. MAR 1964, 6.

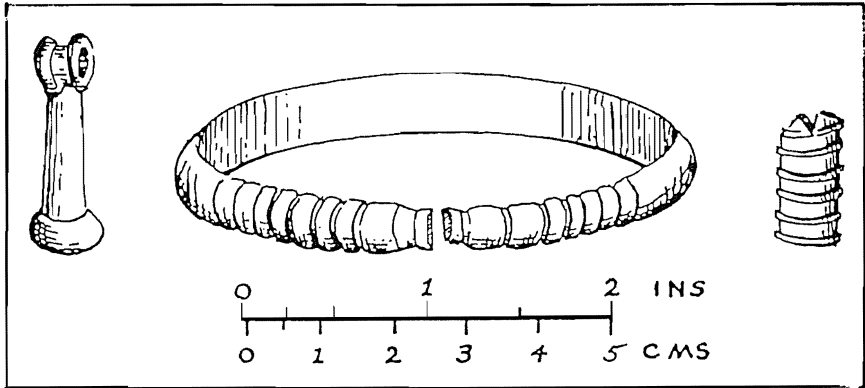


Figure 10 - Bronze bracelet from Tomb 1 and silver pendant and fragment of a silver tube from Tomb 6 at Ghajn Dwieli (after J.G. Baldacchino 1951)

each tomb.

iv) *Pottery and other material unearthed:* This cemetery seems to have been utilized contemporarily with that of Tal-Liedna. Most of the oinochoi, unguentaria, small amphorae, bilychnes lamps, plates, and aryballoi seem to be datable to c.300-100 BC, although two tombs are datable to c.370-330BC. A copper needle was unearthed in Tomb 5, while a silver pendant, 4.8 cm high, together with a fragment of a decorated silver tube (figure 10), were found in Tomb 6.³⁹

v) *General Observations:* This Late Punic cemetery seems to have been mainly intended for inhumations. It also seems to have been contemporarily in use with that of Tal-Liedna and with the latest burial deposits at Tal-Ħorr. One further observation on the Tal-Liedna and Ghajn Dwieli cemeteries concerns the typology of the graves: in Late Punic times the rectangular shaft and chamber type of tomb survived in the Maltese Islands yet, in the third century BC, other types started to become common, for example the oval-shaft and chamber and the circular-shaft and chamber type of graves.⁴⁰

Kordin Cemetery

In the Kordin area only three tombs have been discovered. Two graves were unearthed at the end of the nineteenth century by A. A. Caruana,⁴¹

39. Baldacchino, 17.

40. Said, 23-24.

41. Caruana (1898), 49, 51.

while the third one was excavated by Themistocles Zammit in 1909.⁴²

The two tombs discovered by Caruana had a rectangular shaft and a quadrangular chamber; both of them were single-chambered. One of these tombs, however, seems to be datable to the Roman period as in the chamber there was the presence of rock-cut headrests, a feature which normally appears in Roman, Late Roman, and in Early Christian graves and are hardly ever present in Phoenician and in Punic tombs. These tombs cannot be dated in the absence of material evidence.

The third consisted of a trench-like tomb without any chambers. The report is, however, confusing and one gets the impression that it might have served as a dumping pit in ancient times. In fact, human bones were not identified, but there was the presence of some cinerary urns, plates, fragments of amphorae, scent bottles, and aryballoi. The urns contained no burnt human osseous material. However, there were the skeletal remains of a horse and of other domestic animals, possibly a later intrusion. It is possible that originally this served as a grave for cremations and later on, perhaps at the end of the nineteenth century, it was disturbed by somebody who deposited these animal remains without even noticing that this had been an ancient burial place.

Tombs discovered at Paola

Four other Punic rock-cut graves have been discovered inside the town of Paola. Three were identified by Themistocles Zammit in 1925 in an area known as Tal-Borġ.⁴³ The fourth was discovered in 1929 also by Zammit, but it was found already rifled.⁴⁴

According to Zammit, the Tal-Borġ tombs were of 'the late Punic type', possibly having a rectangular shaft and chamber. The tombs were found already rifled and only some potsherds and fragments of human bones were recovered. There was no evidence of any cremations. The report ends with one of the commonest formulaic descriptions in the Museum Annual Reports: 'It was not thought worthwhile to preserve these tombs. They were, therefore, filled up with stones and earth and the building of the house was allowed to go on.'⁴⁵

The fourth tomb had a square shaft and a circular chamber. In the chamber were identified a central trench, a lamp-hole, and a circular

42. MAR 1909-1910, 3.

43. Ibid., 1925-26, 2.

44. Ibid., 1929-1930, 5-6.

45. Ibid., 1925-1926, 2.

cavity, the latter being very close to the trench. Among the debris were unearthened some undatable potsherds and fragments of human bones.

Tombs discovered in the Marsa area

Punic and Roman tombs have also been discovered in the Marsa area since the seventeenth century.⁴⁶ Most of them, however, have been found in this century, when the Marsa area was being developed into an industrial estate.⁴⁷ Others were unearthened when the Power Station was either still under construction or when it was being extended.⁴⁸ Only 11 independent graves have been identified.

The typology of the tombs indicates late burials. Three had rectangular shafts and chambers, while another five consisted just of a rectangular rock-cut trench. Another grave was originally a prehistoric burial pit and was eventually re-utilized in the fifth century BC. In fact, this particular grave included both prehistoric and fifth century BC Punic potsherds.⁴⁹

From the five trench-like tombs some human bone fragments and a few late Punic and Roman potsherds were gathered up. A flat headrest, 30cm wide and 8cm high, was observed in each grave. There was no evidence of any cremations.⁵⁰ Although trench-like tombs are not very common locally, yet they appear collectively and commonly in some of the Punic cemeteries in Sicily, for example those of Palermo and Lilybaeum.⁵¹

Late Roman and Early Christian Tombs and Catacombs

Late Roman and Early Christian hypogea have been identified both in Marsa and in Paola, such as those on Jesuits' Hill, at Wied il-Ġonna, and, at Paola, in Sammat Street. They have been extensively examined and described by Mario Buhagiar.⁵²

46. Caruana (1898), 10.

47. MAR 1973-1974, 51; *Ibid.*, 1983, 60.

48. *Ibid.*, 1985, 67.

49. *Ibid.*, 1917-1919, 12.

50. *Ibid.*, 1947-1948, 3.

51. Bisi, A.M., 'Una necropoli punica recentemente scoperta a Erice', *Sicilia Archeologica*, III (1970) Palermo; Tamburello, I., 'Palermo - Necropoli: l'esplorazione 1953-54', *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 1967, XXI (1968), Rome; Id., 'Palermo - Necropoli (Parte II): loculi e sarcofagi', *Ibid.*, XXII (1969); Id., 'Palermo - Necropoli: rinvenimenti del dicembre 1966', *Ibid.*, XXIII (1970); Id., 'Palermo: osservazioni sulla necropoli punica', *Kokalos*, XX (1974) Rome.

52. Buhagiar, M., *Late Roman and Byzantine Catacombs and Other Related Burial Places in the Maltese Islands*, Oxford 1986, 260-267, 324-326.

The Jesuits' Hill catacomb-complex, excavated between the seventeenth and the twentieth centuries, consisted of five hypogea, all probably intended for Early Christian burials. No cremations were reported in this catacomb.

In Hypogaeum I, a Greek inscription recorded the act of land purchase of the burial place from a certain Zosinetis and Anicetos.⁵³ A Latin inscription was also noted in the nineteenth century in Hypogaeum III, commemorating the death of a certain Elvius Titus, aged fifty-five years.⁵⁴

Presumably the Jesuits' Hill catacomb had been found already rifled. Parts of it were destroyed in 1968 when the Power Station was extended. Only a few pottery objects were collected, mainly consisting of red-ware lamps, probably of a Late Roman date. Headrests were noted in a considerable number of tombs. Two simple crosses, scratched on the walls of Hypogaeum IV, were reported.⁵⁵

The Wied il-Ġonna hypogaeum, discovered in 1765, is apparently of Roman date and bears no sign of Christianity. According to Ciantar's report,⁵⁶ it seems to have been cut in the hillside and probably consisted just of a single chamber with an open court.⁵⁷

In the Wied il-Ġonna hypogaeum, the remains of 19 inhumations and an unspecified number of cinerary urns containing cremated human bones were identified. Its re-utilization is confirmed by the presence of several lamps, ceramic vases, and lachrymatories. Buhagiar carefully ascribes this tomb to the Roman period on the evidence of a ceramic vase which presented close affinities with the terra sigillata ware.⁵⁸

The Sammat Street hypogaeum is a small Late Roman catacomb, consisting of a short gallery sided by two window tombs. It was discovered by Zammit in 1910.⁵⁹ Both tombs were clearly intended for double inhumation burials; there seems to have been no intention for any cremations. The second tomb was also decorated and can be regarded as one of the most beautiful and highly ornamented Late Roman or Early Christian graves ever found locally.

53. *Ibid.*, 261.

54. *Ibid.*, 265.

55. *Ibid.*, 266.

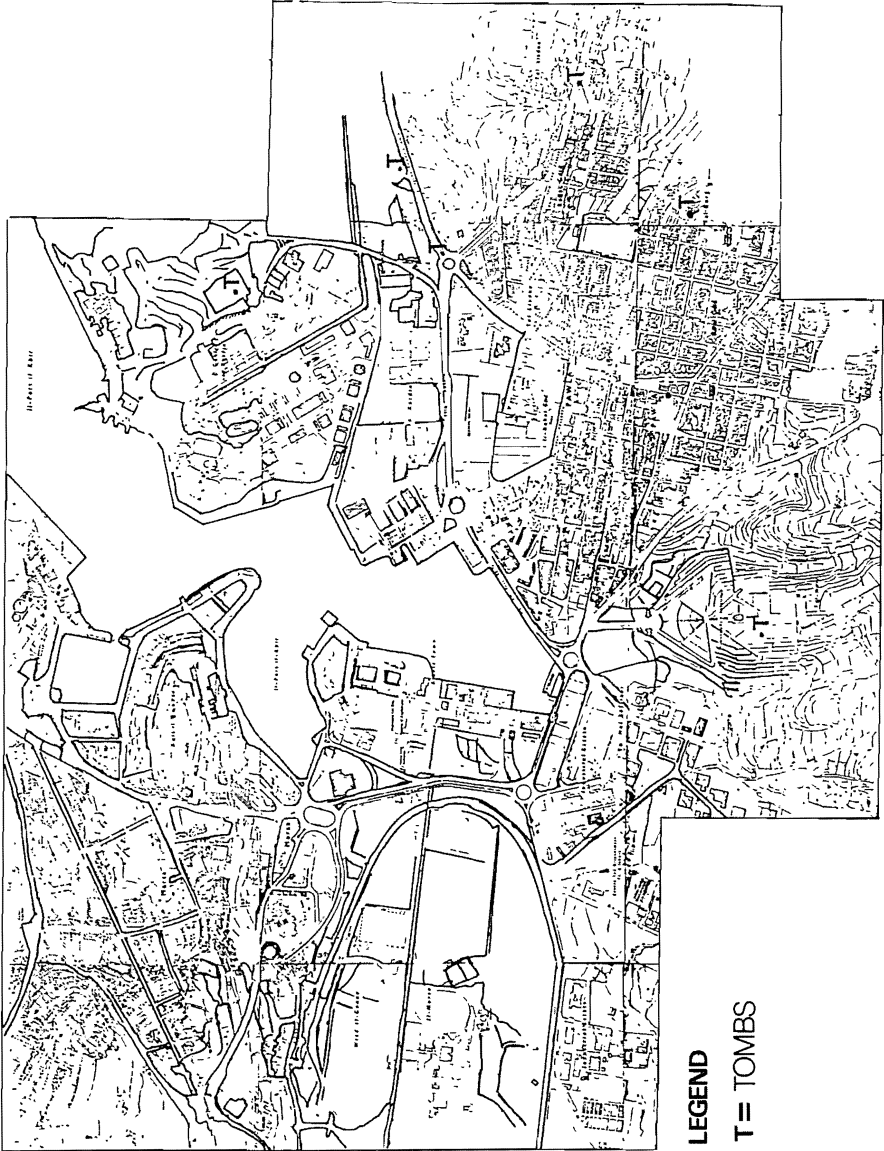
56. Ciantar, G.A., *Malta Illustrata ovvero descrizione di Malta*, Malta, 1772, 199.

57. Buhagiar, 267.

58. *Ibid.*

59. MAR 1910-1911, 9.

Map illustrating the distribution of Punic and Roman tombs in the Paola-Marsa area



LEGEND

T = TOMBS

The hypogeum was found completely rifled and no material was collected.⁶⁰

Remains of Ancient Baths

Since no archaeological remains have survived, the only extant information about ancient baths in the Paola-Marsa area lies in literary sources. The remains of an ancient thermal complex have been briefly mentioned and described in the nineteenth century by Baron Bali de Stadl in an unpublished manuscript.⁶¹ According to de Stadl and to Ashby, this complex was identified 'on the slope of the Jesuits' Hill to the north.'⁶² The exact nature and location of the site have still to be determined.

Other Archaeological Remains

In 1865, when the Marsa Creek area was being developed, two fragments of white marble columns and the torso of a statue of the goddess Artemis were discovered. The columns had a maximum diameter of about 52cm.⁶³ In 1877, from the same area, parts of another column and the fragments of a head of a female statue were brought to light.⁶⁴ Whether these remains belonged to a sumptuous building, to a thermal complex, or to a temple remains unclear until further archaeological evidence is considered. It appears that this site was covered over in the nineteenth century.

Observations and General Conclusions

From the evidence brought forward, especially the re-utilization of the burial sites, it appears quite likely that the Paola-Marsa area was inhabited in Punic, Roman, and Early Christian times.

Cemeteries suggest that this settlement area was probably first occupied in Punic times, from about the second half of the fifth century BC; there is no archaeological evidence of any Phoenician and Early Punic burials. Its increasing and continuous occupation can be further verified especially in the last centuries BC and in the first century AD by the presence of Late Punic burial material, Roman and Late Roman coins,

60. Buhagiar, 325-326.

61. National Library of Malta, Library MS 155.

62. Ashby, 29.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

Map illustrating the location of most of the archaeological sites discovered in Paola and Marsa.



late inscriptions, as well as Late Punic and Roman ceramic ware. This area continued to be inhabited at least up to the sixth century AD, as the Late Roman and Early Christian tombs and catacombs indicate.

The location of all these necropoleis is indeed interesting.⁶⁵ The following map illustrates the distribution of Punic and Roman rock-cut tombs and hypogea in the Paola-Marsa area. Since a number of tombs could not be pinpointed, owing to the lack of accuracy in the initial reports, these have had to be omitted.

From this map it appears that most of the Punico-Roman necropoleis roughly encircle a definite settlement area. This pattern is pretty simple and all the archaeological sites mentioned above are located within this circular pattern, as illustrated in the following map. Because of several inaccuracies in the reports, some sites have had to be omitted.

Considering that the Paola-Marsa area is one of the most naturally protected areas near the Grand Harbour, such a community was probably concerned with trade, mostly of a maritime nature. The maritime connection of this area is further testified by the presence of storehouses discovered in the eighteenth century at the foot of Kordin Hill as well as in 1959 in the Marsa area. Probably, it was a harbour unfortified settlement of considerable importance, but more archaeological evidence is needed to substantiate this hypothesis.

It is hoped that further systematic explorations may bring to light more archaeological evidence, and that the mistakes of nineteenth and twentieth century explorers will not be repeated. It is the duty of the curators of the National Museum of Archaeology of Malta to report decently to the public any new discoveries and to plan, survey, photograph, and examine properly archaeological sites for future investigations. Likewise, in the interest of research academics, all archaeological material stored in this Museum should be well documented and properly catalogued.

65. Said, 35.

THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION AND THE MACHINE*

Jacob Bronowski

There are three creative ideas which, each in its turn, have been central to science. They are the idea of order, the idea of causes, and the idea of chance. I begin at what is perhaps the most fugitive of the three, the idea of order.

None of these ideas is peculiar to science, and the idea of order least of all. They have applications to science; but all three are of course older than these applications. All are wider and deeper than the techniques in which science expresses them. They are common sense ideas; by which I mean that they are generalizations which we all make from our daily lives, and which we go on using to help us run our lives.

Unhappily, common sense has no recorded history. We often suppose indeed that it has no development, and that what we call common sense today has always been common sense to everybody – which certainly is not true.

Science records all this more conveniently. Science has a history in which the growth of these ideas can be traced plainly. More than this, we can in that history detect the moments of surpassing interest, when the common sense ideas were being formed afresh. Such a moment is now plain in the history of the seventeenth century. That age, which made Newton and which Newton made, was a climax and a fresh beginning in English science. And I go directly to Newton himself because nothing so reveals that age as the remarkable character of its greatest man.

No man of science, no man of thought has ever equalled the reputation of Isaac Newton. No other man has made so deep a mark on his time and on our world unless he has been a man of action, a Cromwell or a Napoleon. Like Cromwell's and like Napoleon's, Newton's achievement was made possible by the coincidence, or better by the interplay of

* 'The Scientific Revolution and the Machine' from *The Common Sense of Science* (Vintage Books, New York)

personality and opportunity. Each of these men, the man of thought as well as the men of action, entered history at a moment of social instability. Newton was born during Cromwell's revolution in the troubled 1640's; he was eighteen at the Restoration in 1660; and he published the *Principia* during the intrigues which ended by bringing William of Orange to England in the revolution of 1688. These are the moments when the powerful mind or the forceful character feels the ferment of the times, when his thoughts quicken, and when he can inject into the uncertainties of others the creative ideas which will strengthen them with purpose. At such a moment the man who can direct others, in thought or in action, can remake the world.

Newton was such a personality. That complicated and nevertheless direct mind, that imperturbable engine of thought has stamped its mark on everything he did. The stamp is Newton's style, and the style and the content are one; both are projections of the same single-minded personality.

Science is not an impersonal construction. It is no less, and no more, personal than any other form of communicated thought. This paper is not less scientific because my manner is personal, and I make no apology for it. Science searches the common experience of people; and it is made by people, and it has their style. The style of a great man marks not only his own work, but through it the work of others for generations. The style of Newton's work as much as the content dominated science for two centuries, and in that time shaped its manner and its matter. But style is not the monopoly of the great, nor is its appreciation a vintage reserved for experts. The schoolboy who can tell a neat proof from a dull one knows the style, and takes pleasure in it. Indeed, he finds it easier to appreciate the style of science than the style of Shakespeare.

I cannot hope to transmit that style, its feeling and its detail, at this remove. It cannot be bought, canned and dehydrated, on pages ten and eleven of somebody's history of world knowledge, either in the chapters on science or on Shakespeare. We all understand that Shakespeare, the whole Shakespeare, cannot be got out of any book but his own collected works. So if we want the whole Newton, the man and the manner, the large nose and the strong thumb-print of his style, then we must read the *Principia* and the *Opticks*. Only in this way will we get the personality and the movement of the work, the massive ease and the fluent assurance which the *Opticks* shares strikingly with *Antony and Cleopatra*.

But we need not therefore come to a dead stop on aesthetics. After all few of us value the style so highly that we cannot bear to read Balzac

and Stendahl in translation, and even Flaubert and Proust. Few of us certainly would learn French only in order to preserve this aesthetic Puritanism. And in the same way we must be content with science in translation. The science of an age, like its art or its music, has a style, yes. But it has a content and a structure too, larger than the work of any one man, within which the work of its men takes shape and meaning. Shakespeare was one of a group of playwrights, and he and they shared the expanding world of the Elizabethan voyagers and the patriotic adventures. Newton was one of the young discoveries of the Royal Society in its early days, in the restless setting which I have been describing. To know this does not of itself make us appreciate their achievement; and still less can such knowledge take the place of appreciation, in art or in science. But it does give us a context in which we can look beyond the single furrow of our own interest, into the whole fertile field of knowledge.

There never has been another moment in English history to equal the promise of that moment in the 1660s when the Royal Society was formally founded. And though it was less dramatic elsewhere, it was a high moment throughout Europe. The long tradition of astronomy in the seafaring nations was about to reach its climax, here with Newton, and in Holland with Huygens.

What was extraordinary about that moment at the Restoration? We all have a regard for Restoration times and that in itself is something of a puzzle. What exactly commands the affection in which good King Charles II's day is held? Surely not the political and literary achievements which the history books quote. The most romantic Tory could not call Charles II a great king. Dryden was great poet; nevertheless as a poet he does not rank with his predecessor Milton. As for the Restoration playwrights, by all means let us make the most of their hearty fun; but it hardly earns them a major place in English drama.

No, at bottom our regard for the period is sound because it rests on wider and less familiar achievements than these. They are scientific rather than literary achievements, but they are not specifically one or the other, any more than is Dryden's superb prose. They are the pioneer achievements of a liberal culture, and are part of a spontaneous widening of sympathy and interests throughout Europe. We can trace this even in the strange political conditions which made possible the recall of Charles II without bloodshed and with little vindictiveness after a long dictatorship born and perpetuated in blood and violence. And consider the circumstances in which, on Charles's return, the Royal Society was founded. Most of its leaders were professors of Puritan sympathies and

some of them held chairs from which Cromwell had evicted the royalist holders for them. Indeed, the mathematician John Wallis owed his eminence to his skill in applying science to Cromwell's military needs: he was a pioneer in breaking enemy cyphers, and this has remained the traditional wartime service of mathematicians. Charles II cannot have relished these men, and he had no overpowering interest in science. Yet Evelyn persuaded him to give his name to their new-fangled society; and the literary men competed with them for places in it.

There is a parallel in the position of Huygens in the Académie Royale des Sciences in Paris. Christian Huygens was born in Holland in 1629. His father and his grandfather were diplomats in the service of the House of Orange. The family was friendly with Descartes, who during Huygen's youth was an exile in Holland. In the 1660s Louis XIV was already putting pressure on the House of Orange and a little later he invaded Holland. Yet Huygens, a Dutchman, a Protestant, and a Cartesian, was called to France to help found the Académie Royale in 1666, and he remained its senior official into the 1680s, when anti-Protestant policy at last became too strong for him.

Huygens' distinction and leadership were as important to the Académie as were those of Newton, who was thirteen years younger, to the Royal Society soon after. He was not the equal of Newton as a scientist; he had not quite Newton's penetration and range in mathematics or in the principles of experiment. His temper was more that of the inventor and mechanic, and the English scientist most like him was Robert Hooke, curator of experiments and secretary to the Royal Society—a slightly fantastic character, whose dislike of Newton (and Newton's dislike of him) gave an air of extravagance to the scientific arguments of the times. Like Hooke, Huygens made fundamental improvements to the clock as an aid to astronomy. Huygens in effect invented the pendulum as a time-keeping mechanism; and Hooke invented the first passable escapement for the same purpose. The work of each of them, like Newton's and like every scientist's in that uprush of invention, covered an enormous field. Huygens discovered the rings of Saturn, and the formula for centrifugal force. He did important work in mechanics and optics, and one of his merits was that he made the young Leibnitz enthusiastic for these subjects.

I have remarked that these men were not scientists alone, nor was there a barrier between their interests and those of men of other skills. Artists, writers, and scientists shared their interests and their passions. In England the fellows of the Royal Society included Robert Boyle with the

poet Denham, and Samuel Pepys with the mathematician Wallis; and Sir William Petty, and Edmund Waller, and John Aubrey. The Society was interested in mathematics and fossils, in mechanics and botany, and in practical subjects from metallurgy to the statistics of population. It has a single and a universal thirst, 'to improve natural knowledge by experiment.'

What was true of England was true of the Continent of Europe. Let us take the world of Huygens as an example again, to show how all its culture was held together by the same interests. Huygens is remembered in the textbooks because he believed that light is a wave motion, and worked out the idea with success. Newton held the opposite view, that light is a stream of tiny pellets; and here Newton was wrong, although the matter is not quite a straightforward right or wrong. But the real interest of this is in recalling how wide was the influence of optics throughout the culture of the time, and widest in Holland. Huygens was a contemporary of Rembrandt, Spinoza, and the great naturalist Leeuwenhoek. Leeuwenhoek was an amateur maker of simple microscopes and was outstanding in his studies of minute nature by this mechanical and observational skill. Spinoza was a skilled lens grinder. He was a by-product of his profession (like the cobbler-poets of German tradition) but the profession gave life to Dutch discovery; Galileo himself had made his telescope in 1609, only after hearing that Dutch lens grinders could look into the distance by putting lenses together. It is not fanciful to link the daily work of these men to the attention to light which Huygens gave in his thought, and Rembrandt in his painting. Nor was this attention absent in England; the beautiful experiments with colours which Newton describes in his *Opticks* made as great an impression on painters and poets here. The landscape of the poets of the eighteenth century is far more brightly coloured than that of earlier poets. We do not always notice the sensuous flow of colours in Pope, perhaps because it springs from this forgotten interest in the spectrum. Yet Pope uses three or four times as many colour words as Shakespeare, and uses them about ten times as often.

About 1660, therefore, Europe was in the course of a great revolution in thought. This was the Scientific Revolution, and it reached into all forms of culture. We sometimes speak as if science has step by step squeezed other interests out of our culture, and is slowly strangling the traditional ways of thinking. Nothing of the kind. The Scientific Revolution in the seventeenth century was a universal revolution. Indeed it could not have begun unless there had already been a deep change

in the attitude to everything natural and super-natural among thoughtful men. Puritanism in England and Protestant martyrdom on the Continent are the religious traces of that change; Marvell and Molière mark it in the arts, and Cromwell's revolution and the wars of Louis XIV are its political traces. Nor, of course, were these changes in the climate of mind without practical antecedents. At bottom, all derive from the explosion of the rigid hierarchy of land and craft which was the medieval world, by the growth of trade and industry for profit. But this regress to first causes takes us too far from the Scientific Revolution itself.

What is important here is, that the change of which the Royal Society and the Académie Royale were the visible symbols was wider and deeper than science, and had to be before such symbols could become real. Charles II and Louis XIV were not encouraging science; they merely acquiesced in a universal change of outlook. There was indeed a reaction in the next century, and one so interesting that we shall need to look at it closely. And this reaction is what makes us think of the more recent progress of science as a wholly adverse conquest. But these are the minor eddies in the flow of history. The great flood was the seventeenth century. That was the time of change, the hanging moment of instability in which men like Cromwell and Newton could remake the world. They struck the world like the Severn bore, and overthrew it instantly; but the change in outlook, the untapped head of water, had long been gathering. To see what happened about 1660, we must look at the landscape of science and thought before that time, and see what it looked like before the change quickened it.

The whole structure of thought in the Middle Ages is one which we find hard to grasp today. It was an orderly structure, but the principles by which it was ordered seem to us now outlandish and meaningless. Take such a simple question as that which is said to have turned Newton's mind to the problem of gravitation: Why does an apple when it leaves the tree fall down to the ground? The question had been asked often since the fourteenth century, when the active and enquiring men of the Italian Renaissance began to take an interest in the mechanical world. For answer, they went back to one of the great re-discoveries of the Arabs and the Renaissance, the works of the Greek philosophers. To us, this answer smacks of the most pompous tradition of philosophy, and does less to explain the world than to shuffle it in a set of tautologies. For the Middle Ages answered the question about the apple in the tradition of Aristotle: The apple falls down and not up because it is its nature to fall down.

UNIVERSITY OF MALTA

Matriculation Examination

DECEMBER 1991 SESSION INTERMEDIATE LEVEL

SYSTEMS OF KNOWLEDGE

Paper I

Answer *one* question from each section.

Answers may be given in *Maltese* or in *English*.

Section 1: Man and Symbols

1. My mind to me a kingdom is,
Such present joys therein I find,
That it excels all other bliss
That earth affords or grows by kind.

(Edward Dyer, 1540 -1607)

or

What is Matter? - Never mind.
What is Mind? - No matter.

(Punch, 1855)

Discuss *one* of the above quotations.

2. The absence of the spoken language in mime makes it potentially inferior to other dramatic forms. Give reasons why you agree or disagree with such a statement.

3. In this age of super-computers and inter-planetary space exploration, the importance of logic as an academic subject in universities is constantly on the decrease. Discuss this statement.

4. You have been asked to organize a 'Keep Malta Tidy' campaign on the local mass media. Describe your strategy.

5. Explain why language is important in the study of other academic subjects.

6. Give reasons for the validity or otherwise of *four* of the following statements:

- (a) If either George enrolls or Harry enrolls, then Ira does not enrol. Either Ira enrolls or Harry enrolls. If either Harry enrolls or George does not enrol, then Jim enrolls. George enrolls. Therefore, either Jim enrolls or Harry does not enrol.

(b) Either Argentina does not join the alliance or Brazil boycotts it, but if Argentina joins the alliance, then Chile boycotts it. If Brazil boycotts the alliance, then if Chile boycotts it, then Ecuador will boycott it. Therefore, if Argentina joins the alliance, then Ecuador will boycott it.

(c) Steve took either the bus or the train. If he took the bus or drove his own car, then he arrived late and missed the first session. He did not arrive late. Therefore he took the train.

(d) If the Senator votes against this bill, then he is opposed to more severe penalties against tax evaders. If the Senator is a tax evader himself, then he is opposed to more severe penalties against tax evaders. Therefore, if the Senator votes against this bill, he is a tax evader himself.

(e) All tenors are either overweight or effeminate. No overweight tenor is effeminate. Some tenors are effeminate. Therefore, some tenors are overweight.

Section 2: Man and Environment

7. Discuss the likely effect of motor cars on the quality of the environment.
8. Many plants and animals are threatened with extinction as a result of human activity. Give an account of at least two types of such activity.
9. Places of scenic beauty should be enjoyed by all and therefore it is important to have good access roads to these localities. Evaluate this statement.
10. Discuss whether it is right to give preference to candidates from hitherto unfairly-treated groups in the matter of jobs, contracts, college places, scholarships, and the like.
11. 'In a democracy it is the people who are sovereign.' What do you think this ought to mean in theory and practice?
12. Freedom is an ideal which nearly everybody refers to with approval, so long as it is not abused. Discuss how, in fact, it can be abused socially and politically.

Section 3: Man and History

13. Discuss how the invention of agriculture around 6000 BC changed man's way of life.
14. What does the modern world owe to ancient Greece?
15. It was only with the Roman Empire that the Mediterranean became a single political, as well as cultural, entity. Comment.
16. How did the Islamic invasion influence the history of the Mediterranean?

17. What effect did the discovery of America by Columbus in 1492 have on life and trade in the Mediterranean?

18. What historical events have forged and consolidated the Maltese national identity?

Paper II

Answer *one* question from each section.

Answers may be given in *Maltese or English*.

Section 1: Set Texts - Man and Power

1. Against the background of Napoleon's struggle for power, which traits in the Russian national character are made to stand out in Tolstoy's *War and Peace*?

2. Compare the ways in which the world of the supernatural is conceived in any two of the set texts and show how it affects people's lives.

3. In the texts you have read what role do women play?

4. The theme of power which lies at the heart of the four set texts has been dealt with also under **Man and Environment**. Which of the two approaches do you find more stimulating? Why?

5. Giving any details or reasons you may deem appropriate, comment on one of the following:

(i) Virgil's idea of the special mission of Rome in the world.

(ii) Dante's remedy for the political ills affecting the Europe of his time.

(iii) Faust's compact with Mephistopheles.

(iv) The part played by Pierre Bezuhov in his relations with the Rostovs and Bolkonskys.

6. With reference to any of the set texts react to one of the following quotations:

(i) Government even in its best state is but a necessary evil; in its worst state, an intolerable one.

(Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*, Ch.1.)

(ii) Most women have no characters at all.

(Alexander Pope's *Moral Essays*, Epistle II. 2)

(iii) The evil that men do lives after them,
The good is oft interred with their bones.

(Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, III.ii)

Section 2: Scientific Methods and History of Science

7. Explain how rocks can be used to reconstruct the history of the earth.
8. Discuss how Einstein's Theory of Relativity has revolutionized our concept of time.
9. With reference to ONE specific example, show what is meant by the *scientific method*.
10. 'Man will soon be able to mould his own image.' Discuss with reference to genetic engineering. Briefly indicate some likely moral problems which may arise as a result of new developments in genetic engineering.
11. Discuss the following statement: 'Life may be considered as a complex system which perpetuates itself by efficient use of energy.'

Section 3: Artistic Aims and Achievements

12. Myron's *Discobolus* (Plate A) dates back to 450 BC, while Auguste Rodin's *The Age of Bronze* (Plate B) was sculpted in 1876 AD. What do the two works have in common? Bearing in mind that they are separated by over two thousand years, how do you explain this?
13. Comment on the painting in Plate C. What, do you think, did the artist mean to express or convey and how does he accomplish this?
14. Comment on the two paintings in Plates D and E, taking them separately **and** together. Plate D is Jackson Pollock's *Convergence* (1952), Plate E is William Turner's *Burning of the Houses of Parliament* (1835).
15. 'The function of art is to clarify, intensify, or otherwise enlarge our experience.' Discuss this statement illustrating your discussion with any reference to work or works of art you consider appropriate.
16. Choose any **well-known** Maltese artist, living or dead, whose work is either on permanent exhibition in a museum, or who has had prominent, one-man exhibitions, and discuss his or her work.
17. What do you think, were the events and issues, historical, social, technical, etc., that inspired the advent of :
Either (a) Gothic art,
or (b) Renaissance art,
or (c) Modern Art.

PLATE A

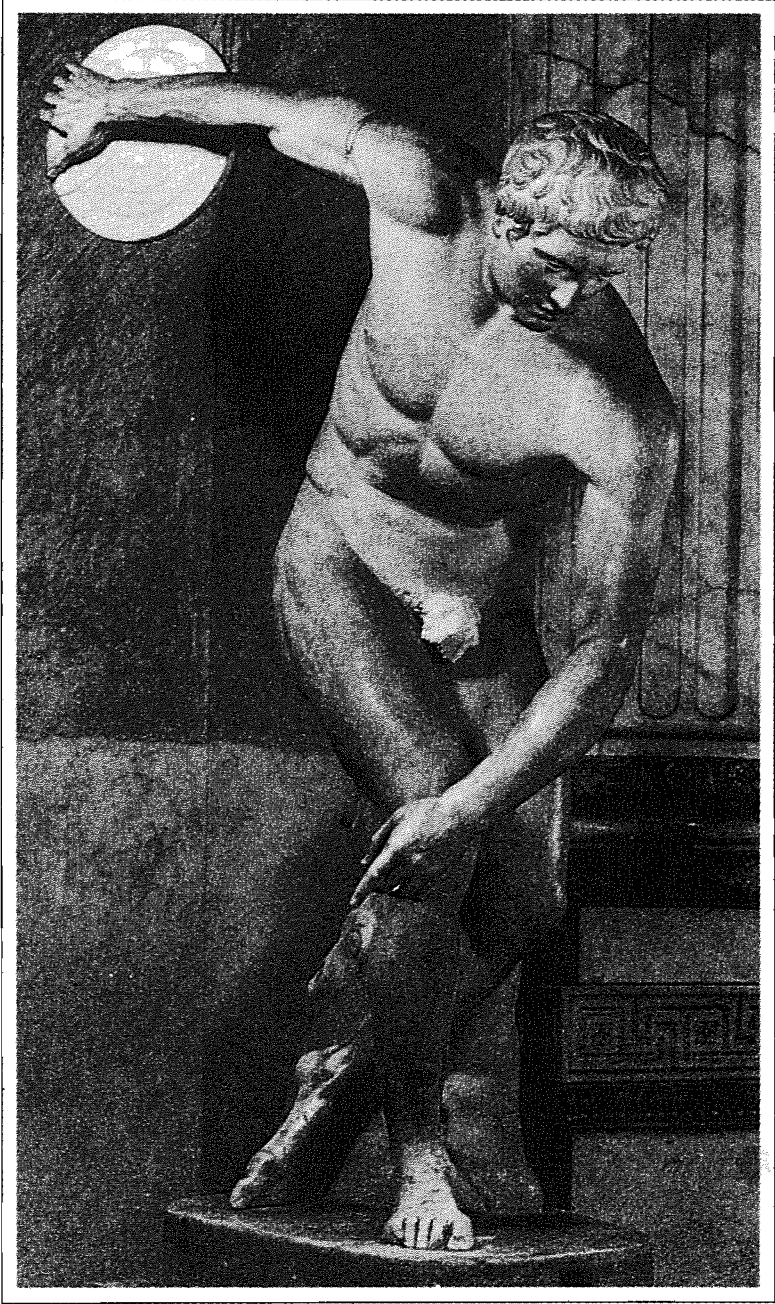


PLATE B

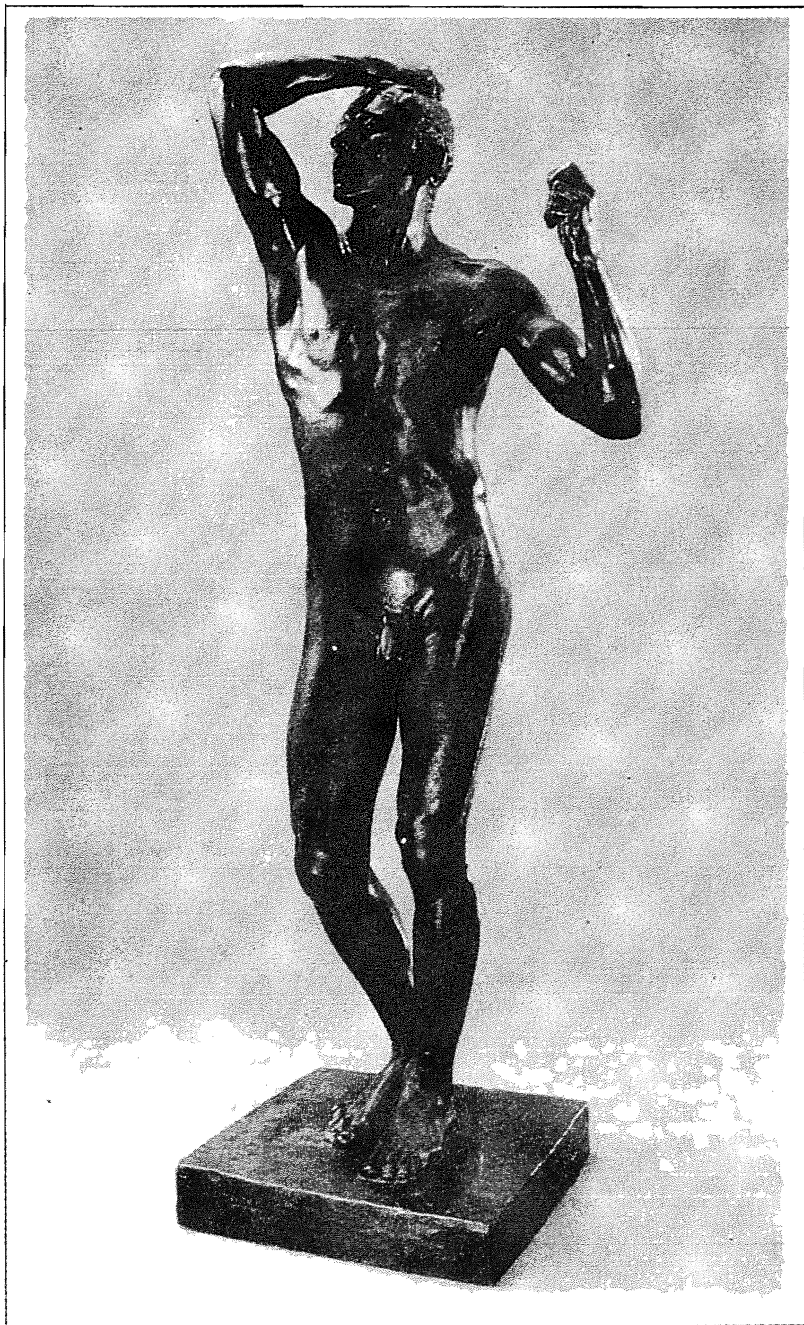


PLATE C

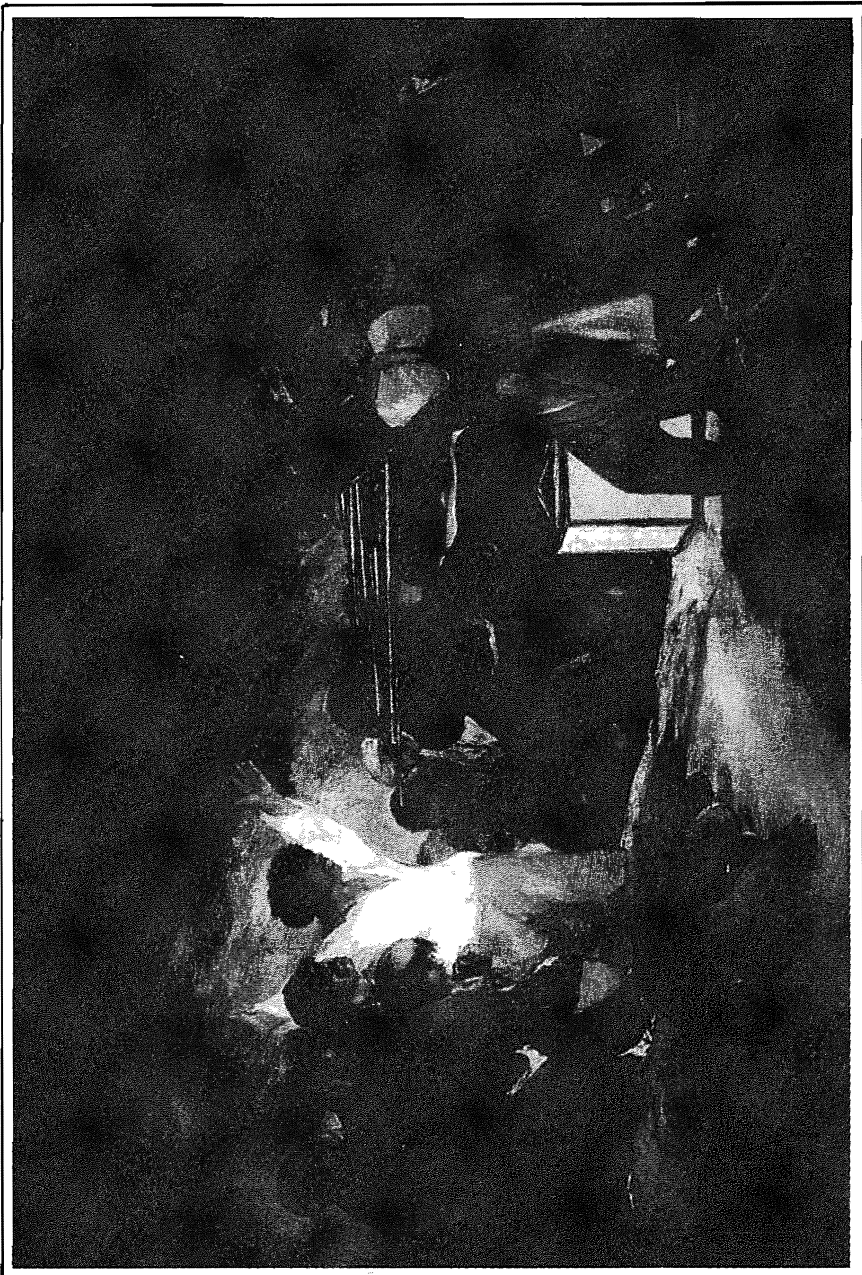




PLATE D

PLATE E



In putting it in this way, I have of course made a caricature of the answer. I have done so not to make fun of it but, on the contrary, in order to show that even in this extravagantly naïve form, the answer is not really childish. It should be childish only if it read 'This apple falls down and not up because it is the nature of this apple at this instant to fall down.' But this is not what Aristotle said. He said that the particular apple falls down now because it is the nature of all apples to fall down at all times. Simple as this notion may seem to us, it is in itself a bold and remarkable extension of the mind. The mere creation of a permanent class of apples, the mere generalization of the concept of apples, is an act of the first importance. Of course it is simple enough to make a class of identical objects such as pennies or the capital A's in this book. But nature does not provide identical objects; on the contrary, these are always human creations. What nature provides is a tree full of apples which are all recognizable alike and yet are not identical, small apples and large ones, red ones and pale ones, apples with maggots and apples without. To make a statement about these apples together, and about crab-apples, Orange Pippins, and Beauties of Bath, is the whole basis of reasoning.

This is so important that I must underline it. The action of putting things which are not identical into a group or class is so familiar that we forget how sweeping it is. The action depends on recognizing a set of things to be alike when they are not identical. We order them by what it is that we think they have in common, which means by something that we feel to be a likeness between them. Habit makes us think the likeness obvious; it seems to us obvious that all apples are somehow alike, or all trees, or all matter. Yet there are languages in the Pacific Islands in which every tree on the island has a name, but which have no word for tree. To these islanders, trees are not all alike; on the contrary, what is important to them is that the trees are different. In the same islands men identify themselves with the totem of their clan, say with the parrot, and it seems to them plain that they are like parrots when to us the notion seems a mere artifice, and an outrageous one.

This ability to order things into likes and unlikes is, I think, the foundation of human thought. And it is a human ability; we trace and to some extent inject the likeness, which is by no means planted there by nature for all to see. Our very example of Newton's apple shows this vividly. For Newton's instant insight, as he himself told it, was precisely to see the likeness which no one else had seen, between the fall of the apple and the swing of the moon in its orbit round the earth. The theory of gravitation rests upon this; and familiar as the likeness now is to us,

and obvious, it would have seemed merely fanciful to the Aristoteleans of the Middle Ages.

But, of course, the generalizations concealed within their answer did not stop at apples. What the Aristoteleans said was that the apple falls down and not up because it is the nature of earthy things always to fall down. They saw a likeness between all masses, and they used it to order the world around them into different categories of things, earthy, watery, airy, and fiery. It was a far-reaching theory, and it was applied to the body and the mind as well as to dead matter. But what interests us now is the kind of structure which it gave to the universe. In that structure, earthy things belonged to the earth; their natural resting place was the centre of the earth; and they fell to earth in their longing for that. What buoyed the universe and kept it from finding the state of dead rest in its natural centres was the tug of war between the elements, earthy matter carried off by the action of fire, water swept up in a rush of air. The universe lived the tension between the elements, all at cross purposes because all in search of their different centres. It is a lively idea, and it is an order of nature based upon recognizable likes and unlikes. Yet to us it is now only a near fancy; the likeness on which it is built seems to us to lie in inessentials; and very bluntly it seems to us not to understand at all how the world works.

The system of the Middle Ages which had been taken from Aristotle, differs in two outstanding ways from anything that we expect of a physical system. First, it has quite different notions about matter: notions which are different in kind from ours. There are within that picture springs of action of a kind we would not dream of projecting into matter: springs of human action, where we see only the impersonal turning of a machine. Earth, water, air, and fire have natures which are at bottom human nature, and were recognized by those who made this picture as parts of human nature. What drives them is a kind of will, a mindless will perhaps, but still an obstinate animal will. Masses as it were wanted to find rest at the centre of the earth; air wanted to stream up. Abstractly Aristotle might hold that, given these natures of the elements, everything else goes on of itself. But in fact it was not meant as a mechanism or worked out as one. It grew from a view of nature as essentially animal, wilful, and alive.

Secondly, there was in the whole conception a kind of order which was really a hierarchy. Under it all runs the thought of nature as it ought to be: the order to which the great design strives, and in achieving which it would be transfigured and would come to rest. Everything reaches

towards its centre, earthy things down and airy things up, because that is their stable and rightful place; yet reaching this they would come to rest, and the world would stop upon that stroke of midnight. We see how this chimes with the Greek picture of a world at rest from instant to instant; and also with the religious picture of the Middle Ages, that all worldly life is imperfection. The world is disorderly, and it seeks its order in the great ideal hierarchy of how it ought to be. And it ought to be a still perfection.

The whole picture is almost inconceivable to us. It is not inconceivable as a fable; on the contrary, as a fable it remains familiar and powerful, as we can see by looking it up for instance in the later poems of Yeats. What is inconceivable to us is that it should have been regarded in any way as doing what is asked of a scientific theory. It does not explain, we say, it does not hold together, it does not keep going, it does not make sense. We mean that his world in no way resembles the inhuman, mindless, and automatic machine which we think the world: a machine in which whatever happens does so only because something else happened before.

There in a sentence we have the difference between the outlook of, let us say (to make the example pointed), Leonardo da Vinci and Isaac Newton. Da Vinci was as great a mechanic and inventor as were Newton and his friends. Yet a glance at his notebooks shows us that what fascinated him about nature was its variety, its infinite adaptability, the fitness and the individuality of all its parts. By contrast what made astronomy a pleasure to Newton was its unity, its singleness, its model of a nature in which the diversified parts were mere disguises for the same blank atoms. And when da Vinci wanted an effect, he willed, he planned the means to make it happen: that was the purpose of his machines. But the machines of Newton (and he was a gifted experimenter) are means not for doing but for observing. He saw an effect, and he looked for its cause.

I have come thus upon the idea of causes, and made it plain that it is one face of the great division between the Middle Ages and the Scientific Age. It would be possible to make this in itself the essential division; the plan is natural and convenient. We could say that the Middle Ages saw nature as striving towards its own inner order; and that the Scientific Revolution overthrew this order and put in its place the mechanism of causes. But this does not go to the heart of the matter. On the one hand, all science, and indeed all thinking starts from and rests upon notions of order; what marks the Middle Ages is that their order was always a

hierarchy. And on the other hand what marks the scientific view is not that it turned to the mechanism of causes, but that it saw the world as a mechanism at all – a machine of events. In looking at the events of high tide at Greenwich or an eclipse at the Hague, it looked not at the nature of water or fire, but looked to other events, forward and backward. The Scientific Revolution was a change from a world of things, ordered according to their ideal natures, to a world of events running in a steady mechanism of before and after.

THE PARDONER IN THE GENERAL CONTEXT OF THE CANTERBURY PILGRIMAGE*

Anthony M. Schembri

When we meet the Pardoner and the Summoner in the *General Prologue*, we are immediately struck by their physical and moral deformity. The song they sing, their greed, and their intimacy have made critics refer to them as the villains of the *Canterbury Tales*. However, it must be noted that the churchmen who meet at the Tabard, with one shining exception – the Parson – do not live up to their ideals, but display, instead, their worldliness in the same way, if not exactly to the same degree, as our iniquitous couple.

The clergy are not the only ones to be shown up by Chaucer. It is not only Madame Eglentyne with her dubious 'Amor vincit omnia', or the Monk with his jingling bells, or the Friar who was 'an esy man to yeve penaunce, ther as he wiste to have a good pitaunce', or the Summoner who 'in daunger hadde he at his owne gise / the younge girles of the diocese'. The clergy were neither better nor worse than their lay companions – the Merchant who 'estatly was he of his governance / With his bargaynes and his chevysaunce', the Sergeant of Law who 'of fees and robes had he / many oon', the Frankeleyn 'withoute bake mete was never his hous', the Shipman who 'of nyce conscience took he no keep', the Doctor in collusion with the apothecary 'for ech of hem made oother for to wynne', the Wife of Bath with her five husbands 'withouten oother compaignye in youthe', and the Miller who 'koude he stelen corn and tollen thries'. All the company on the way to Canterbury, with the exception of the Parson and his brother the Ploughman, and possibly the Knight, the Squire, and the Clerk, are in the grip of one ruling passion for wealth and good living. They all suffer from *cupiditas* in its several manifestations.

Perhaps, it did strike Chaucer that a pilgrimage was not exactly the time or the place to be over-critical. People on a medieval pilgrimage were

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carefree. They made friends easily. Pilgrimages were mostly fun. Pilgrimages started in the spring, when the rigours of winter were over and people wished to stretch themselves after being pent up throughout the long winter. The Church, on the whole, stood in favour of the general festive spirit, as Archbishop Arundel would say about singers and players who accompanied the pilgrims 'for with such solace the travail and weariness of pilgrims is lightly and merrily borne out'.

One has therefore to judge the Pardoner's *Confessio* against the background of a typical pilgrimage – good company, songs, tales, dancing, wine. All are merry, all become friends; and the coy are drawn out, let alone an extrovert like the Pardoner who finds such a fertile situation for his ribaldry and chicanery.

The enmity between the Host and the Pardoner has somewhat distracted many critics from looking too closely at the Host. As the Pardoner is a self-confessed unsavoury character, mine Hu has benefited and few ever enquire closely into his character and motives. I am not so sure that Chaucer would have been as enthusiastic about Harry Bailey as some critics believe.

Chaucer the Pilgrim's first impression of the Host is most favourable. The food in his tavern is of the best, the wine pure and unadulterated. Chaucer is also struck by the personality of the Host:

Boold of his speche, and wys and wel ytaught,
And of manhod him lakkede right naught. (GP, 755-756)

All this goes counter to the image of the Taverner as expressed by Gower and the literature of the time.

But, in the Link before the Pardoner's Tale, 'oure Hoost gan to swear as he were wood'. And again at the end of the Tale when the Host is openly provoked, his language is vulgar in the extreme. This is the same person who with sugared tongue talks the pilgrims into his game. This 'seemly man' able to be a 'marshal in a halle' and who 'of manhood him lakkede right naught' confesses, when nearing 'Rouchester', that one day his wife would drive him mad and that he would kill someone. If a neighbour as much as slights her and the Host does not beat him up, she calls him false coward and a milksop. He also confesses that he is 'perilous with knyf in honde'. This gentle Host is not only a hen-pecked husband but he is also a dangerous man. The Wife of Bath would not dare tell him to his face that 'dropping houses, and eek smoke, / and chidyng wyves maken men to flee, / Out of hir owene hous; a "benedicite"!'!

It is evident that the Host must have been on pilgrimages before and

acted the master of ceremonies many times before we meet him. One can see with what deftness and smoothness he can impress his clients:

Greet chiere made oure hoste us everichon,
 And to the soper sette he us anon;
 And served us with vitaille at the beste.

Strong was the wyn, and wel to drynke us leste(GP, 747-750)

Our Host spins and files his tongue to increase his business:

'Lordynges', quod he, 'now herkneth for the beste;
 But taak it not, I prey yow, in desdeyn...
 And which of yow that bereth hym beste of alle,
 That is to seyn, that in this caas
 Tales of best sentence and moost solaas,
 Shal han a soper at our aller cost
 Heere in this place, sittynge by this post,

Whan that we come agayn fro Caunterbury.' (GP, 788-801)

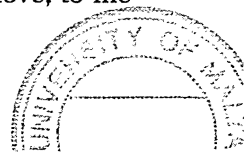
The Host's bonhomie is a means to an end; and once he has made the company swear submission to his judgement and made certain that they would all go back to his inn, his courtesy progressively deteriorates.

We come to know the Pardoner through Chaucer's description and comments, through the back-biting between him and the Host, through the Wife of Bath's repartee, through the general reaction of the Pilgrims themselves, and, above all, by the way he looks, what he tells us about himself, and through a comparison with the other pilgrims, especially the Parson.

Chaucer starts off his portrait in *The General Prologue* by calling him a 'gentil' Pardoner. 'Gentil' was a word extensively used and, whatever it meant exactly, it was the opposite of 'villainous, low, and rustic'. Chaucer describes the Knight as a 'verray parfit gentil knight'. But he also describes the Summoner as a 'gentil harlot and a kynde'. Whereas Chaucer in the case of the Summoner links 'gentil' with 'harlot', he does no such thing in the case of the Pardoner, thereby showing respect for the Pardoner's position.

Chaucer also says that the Pardoner was coming from the Court of Rome. Wycliffe complains about priests 'who can faste renne to Rome and bere gold out of the lond and paie it for dees leed (bulls) and a litil wrytings (indulgencies)'. Rome, coming right at the very beginning, seems to qualify the Pardoner's actions. Right after this we have a comment about the singing of the Pardoner and the Summoner:

Ful loude he (the Pardoner) soong, 'Come hider, love, to me'
 This Sumonour bar to him a stif burdoun,



Was never trompe of half so greet a soun. (GP 672 - 674)

We are surprised by their lack of decorum, but, on rethinking, was it not Archbishop Arundel himself who advocated singing and playing of bagpipes on pilgrimages for 'how otherwise would the pilgrims forget the inconveniences of the road?' Their singing might have jarred on the sensitive ears of Madame Eglentine, who sang 'ful seemely through the nose' but would have been quite welcome to the rest of the pilgrims.

On Chaucer's pilgrimage the fun element is emphasized time and time again. The Host, proposing the game, talks of best sentence and solace. The Canon, catching up with the company, says:

'God save', quod he 'this joly compaignye!

Faste have I priked', quod he, 'for youre sake,

By cause that I wolde yow atake,

To riden in this myrie compaigne.'

His yeman eek was ful of curteisye,

And seyde, 'Sires, now in the morwe-tyde

Out of youre hostelrie I saugh yow ryde,

And warned heer my lord and my soverayn,

Which that to ryden with yow is ful fayn

For his desport; he loveth daliaunce.' (CYT, 583 - 593)

Most of the Host's interventions emphasize the fun element. The Host tells the Clerk not to preach like friars do in Lent, dragging out all our sins to make us weep. One should also remember the Host's reaction to the Monk's series of tragedies and, also, that he himself, specifically, asks the Pardoner to tell a 'myrie' tale.

In their own grotesque sort of way the Pardoner and the Summoner do make a jolly couple. 'Bourdoun' might carry a sexual implication, more so when Chaucer dedicates five full lines to describe the Pardoner's lanky hair falling in rats' tails over his shoulders. Suddenly Chaucer stops in the middle of his description, as if haunted by the eyes of the Pardoner:

Swiche glaringe eyen hadde he as an hare. (GP, 684)

And three lines further down he muses again on the Pardoner's strange features:

A voys he hadde as smal as hath a goot,

No berd hadde he, ne nevere sholde have,

As smothe it was as it were late shave. (GP, 688-691)

It all starts to add up. The unhappy truth dawns on the poet. Chaucer voices his suspicions:

I trowe he were a geldyng or a mare. (GP, 691)

Curry interpreted these lines to mean that our Pardoner was an *eunuchus*

ex nativitate.

However, we should also remember that in Chaucer's time animals were ascribed traits which had long been established by tradition, and I think that the similes 'glaringe eyen ... hadde he as an hare' and 'voice as hath a goot' do not stop at the surface physical resemblance. If Chaucer gives the Pardoner the characteristics of the hare and the goat, we must rest assured that Chaucer's audience would have been inevitably conscious of the associations. It is true that the eyes of the hare, placed as they are on the sides of the face, give the Pardoner a gargoyle look.

It is also true that the goat's voice might deflate the Pardoner's pretensions as a singer. As Rowland says:

'But these two animals have qualities in common. One of the persistent beliefs about the hare is that it is a hermaphrodite or bi-sexual - a superstition which survived up to the eighteenth century.

'Hermaphroditism may also be found in the goat. Some goats, says Aristotle in *De Animalum Generatione*, have both male and female organs of generation.'

Although the possibility that the Pardoner was an eunuch cannot and should not be excluded, I think that Chaucer is simply telling us that the Pardoner is neither fish nor fowl. In the Link before the *Pardoner's Tale*, the Host calls the physician 'Thou art a proper man.' This being so close to the Pardoner's *Confessio*, only helps to underline the Pardoner's lack of purely male characteristics. However, Chaucer is never explicit about the matter and does not tell us more. He deliberately creates doubts. So we can never be absolutely sure about the relationship between the Pardoner and the Summoner, or whether the wench in every town is unallayed wishful thinking, or whether the Host's blunt reference to the Pardoner's virility, or rather, lack of it, was justified, or whether the Wife had really and truly read him.

The Wife of Bath in her long *Preamble* speaks about the power of the wife over her husband's body. In his attempt to reassure the Pilgrims, the Pardoner pushes his luck a bit too far:

'Now, dame' quod he...

I was aboute to wedde a wyf; allas!

What sholde I bye it on my flessch so deere?

Yet hadde I levere wedde no wyf to-yeere!

'Abyde!' quod she, 'my tale is nat bigonne,

Nay, thou shalt drynken of another tonne,

Er that I go, shal savoure wors than ale!' (WBT, 164-171)

If the Pardoner was, as we suspect and as the Wife might have

concluded, impotent, then surely he would have been in for a rough time.

It is true that Canon Law held that consent, not coitus, made a marriage valid. But this was not altogether borne out by medieval practice. It was quite possible for a wife to secure an annulment on the grounds of her husband's impotence. Such instances are recorded in Canterbury in 1293 and York in 1370. Marriage was a very serious business by this time, and annulment on this count, particularly, would not have even been considered without adequate and inconfutable proof. Besides declarations under oath and the accepted three statutory years of cohabitation, the man was inspected by 'expert and honest men'. 'The test was intimate and thorough. But sometimes it went even further, as is seen in the records of Canterbury and York where we find a group of 'honest women' deputized by the court to inspect not the woman but the man. Once the 'honest women', with appropriate provocation, established beyond shadow of doubt that the man could neither show any virility or potency, the 'seven honest' women would curse the unfortunate man and walk out in disgust.

I am sure that the Wife felt that she was certainly not lacking in experience. She still considered herself attractive enough. She was sufficiently exposed to religious literature. She did not lack religious fervour by the way she jostled her way to Holy Communion. I am sure that she felt that she was the right candidate for any such assignment, and she would have obliged with pleasure.

But it is the Host who really attacks the Pardoner directly. When we come to the final test and he asks the company to kiss his relics, it is the Host who objects in the most vulgar language manifestly referring to the Pardoner's deformity. Why, of all the Pilgrims, it should be the Host to make such a fuss and not the Ploughman or the Parson or the Clerk or the Knight has still to be established. Is it simply a matter of antipathy? Or is it the case of Greek meets Greek? The medieval Christian seems all too prone to accept relics of any sort without question as a kind of ballast in a sea of conflicting beliefs and superstition. For example, Knighton writes in *Chronicon II* in 1364:

'Likewise the head of St Hugh of Lincoln was stolen, and, after taking the silver and gold and precious stones, they threw the head in a certain field. And as is wonderful to relate, a certain raven, as the story went, guarded this until it was known through these same robbers and carried to Lincoln.'

Chaucer's contemporary, Richard Poynings, Knight, bequeathed a large piece of Christ's Cross to be divided equally between his wife and two

sons. And among relics owned by Edward III, we find a bone of the arm of St Amphibiates, part of the column to which Christ was bound, relics of St Stephen, a tooth of St Adrian, and the blood of St George.

If the upper classes were so uncritical, do we expect the common folk to be less so? My guess is that in spite of the very fact that the Pardoner himself had told the company of the worthlessness of his relics, they would still have reverently kissed them. If Chaucer is being ironical, and I think he is, the irony is not addressed solely at the Pardoner but also at the general naivety and gullibility of the people.

Chaucer assures us in the *General Prologue*:

But trewely to tellen, atte laste,
 He was in chirche a noble ecclesiaste.
 Wel koude he rede a lessoun or a storie,
 But alderbest he song an offertorie. (GP,707–710)

All this nobility amounts to nothing more than a craft - a craft which the Pardoner had made quite lucrative. On the other hand, when one remembers the general state of ignorance of the majority of the clergy, the Pardoner would have been more than welcome to his audience regardless of his motives. It is true that the Pardoner measures his success in terms of cash rather than in terms of souls. Still, as a practitioner, he is good at his job. There seems to have been quite a distinction in Chaucer's day between the man and his office. Although the Pardoner is despicable as a person, he could still perform his office well, which for the people was really what counted. This could not be said of all the good clergy, not even perhaps, of the very exemplary Parson himself who, for his Tale, simply recited the basic and traditional teaching of the Church.

The Pardoner's Tale is a masterpiece. The Pardoner ably weaves together elements of folklore, Roman elegy, and traditional escatology. He is a sly preacher, pleasant in delivery, graphic in his descriptions, able to create curiosity and suspense. The home-spun Parson only presents the most traditional, even if the most essential, Christian doctrine in sack-cloth. The Pardoner knows that people do more easily respond to stories about the Pardoner's depravity itself, which he flaunts in his *Confessio*, and which brings him closer to his audience, in contrast to the Parson's saintliness which somehow separates him from the rest of the pilgrims. The Pardoner does not argue, he simply talks about sins which his hearers accept as sins and which they all understand. The background to the story is sordid yet familiar. In this way he has a far greater catchment. Through his rhetoric, he produced an atmosphere

heavy with sin, fear, and uncertainty. His sinners are real living persons, and he ably creates sympathy between the revellers in the tale and his audience. The pilgrims are mesmerized to the very end.

We treat the Pardoner himself as a real living person. We never really care whether the Parson delivers his sermon in the shadow of a church-tower or against one of the very many crosses that punctuated the medieval country-side. Not so with our Pardoner - does he tell the tale in a tavern? Or to the accompaniment of hoofs and clatter? None of the other pilgrims, with the exception, perhaps, of the Wife of Bath, has excited so much controversy about the most peripheral of details. The Parson will remain for ever an abstraction. But the Pardoner with his colourful, if discordant, personality has instigated our reaction as if he were a real breathing person. When we censure him, we hate him as a person. We probe into his personality; we mentally call his bluff. The Wife of Bath, the Host - they score on our behalf. And we wonder why on earth the Knight of all people should show the Pardoner any sympathy.

With the Pardoner the catalyst is vice. Vice is the prime mover of his every deed and action. We feel this even in his most innocuous remark:

but I most thynke

Upon som honest thyng while that I drynke. (Pd'sT,327-8)

The spheres of morality and of vice somewhat lose their lines of demarcation. Religion becomes a business concern and not a commitment. Religion is presented to the people as awesome, fearsome, inscrutable. Man is the son of the fallen Adam - the product of original sin. Man can be caught unawares. The Pardoner proposes a formula for a jolly time and a guaranteed salvation. It is a practical solution within the reach of the great majority. The Pardoner's mentioning of Christ's pardon, laudable as it might seem, is also a tacit reminder of the alternative - the Parson's solution. The Parson with his unconcealed thoroughness, his lack of real security, his unswerving dedication, and sobriety, is a wet blanket to the festive spirit of this typical Christian pilgrimage. On the other hand the Pardoner's Bulls offer instant security at very little cost and without spoiling the fun.

It must also be remarked that the Parson, the point of reference of every saintly virtue, is assaulted just as churlishly by mine Host as the Pardoner himself:

'Sir Parrish Prest!' quod he (Host) 'for Goddes bones,
Telle us a tale, as was thi forward yore
I se wel that ye lerned men in lore

Can moche good, by Goddes dignitee!
 The Parson hem answered, 'Benedicite!
 What eyleth the man so synfully to swere?'
 Our Host answerde, 'O Jankin, be ye there?
 I smelle a Lollere in the wynd', quod he.
 'Now!, goode men,' Quod oure Hoste, ' herkeneth me;
 Abydeth, for Godds digne Passioun,
 For we schal han a predicacioun;
 This Lollere here wil prechen us somewhat!

(Epilogue of M of L's T, 1164-1176)

Harry Bailey accuses the saintly Parson of Lollardy - a heresy not only condemned by the Church but suppressed by the heavy arm of the State. The Shipman heartily seconds the Host and warns the other Pilgrims that the Parson should not be trusted to interpret the Gospels. No reaction to these accusations is reported.

The extent to which the Pardoner acted beyond his brief is not easy to decide. That he exploited the people and Christ's pardon for money is manifestly clear. But in this he was more the rule than the exception on Chaucer's Pilgrimage. The Summoner does not hesitate to tell us 'Purs is the arcedekens Helle!' But the faithful are not necessarily the losers. The passage of Grace does not depend on the spiritual state or the motives of the minister. It depends on the faith and disposition of the recipient. The real loser is the Pardoner himself. And what is worse is the fact that he does not act in ignorance. He knows and shows us that he knows:

And Jhesu Crist that is oure soules leche
 So graunte yow his pardoun to receyve,
 For that is best; I wol yow nat deceive. (Pd'sT, 916-918)

The Pardoner might have been caught unawares; but it is in moments like these that the real *moi-même* asserts itself. Our Pardoner with all his '*spezatura*' might be violently suppressing the voice of his own conscience. But Christ's pardon is free, and if he were to dispense this he would soon reduce himself to the position of the Parson - a saint, perhaps, but socially of very little consequence. The Pardoner's call to Christ's pardon is sincere. Between the two pardons lies a gulf - a gulf created by greed, by *cupiditas*, our Pardoner is a living sin of simony. He dispenses grace for money. But the sin touches only him; it does not touch his congregation. In some mysterious way this degenerate minister is still the vehicle of Grace. Christ's true pardon is the one preached by the Parson and by Chaucer's contemporary, Langland. While Piers in Langland accepted what the theologians teach that pardons from the

Pope save souls, yet he held that salvation was outside the scope of quaestors and their indulgences. When Piers receives the pardon - the true pardon - he decides that:

I shal cessen of my sowyng, ' quod pieres' and swynk
 nou3t so harde,
 Ne about my bely-ioye so bisi be namore!
 Of prayers and of penaunce my plow shal ben
 her-after,

And wepen whan I shulde slepe 3ough whete-bred me
 faille. (passus VII. 119-122)

Not so our Pardoner and shaking himself from his weakness he is soon back to his old self, peddling his 'reliques' and his pardons. With extreme impudence he tells the pilgrims the real reason for his concern:

Or elles taketh pardoun as ye wende,
 Al newe and fressh at every miles ende,
 So that ye offren, alwey newe and newe,
 Nobles or pens, whiche that be goode and trewe.

(Pd's T, 927 - 930)

His presence in the company is a distinct honour for them, because accidents may happen to anyone, but he

May assoile yow, bothe moore and lasse,
 Whan that the soule shal fro the body passe.

(Pd's T, 939 - 941)

Absolution he can give even if for the wrong reason; but the rest is all tongue in cheek. Then he turns to the Host and half jestingly advises him to be the first to avail himself of his services since surely he is the most immersed in sin. But for the tetchy Host this is going too far, as Roger the Cook said on another occasion:

But 'sooth pley, quaad pley' as the Flemyng seith.
 And therefore, Harry Bailly, by thy feith,
 Be thou nat wrooth, er we departen heer,
 Though that my tale be of an hostilier.

(Ck's T, 4357-4360)

'True jest, bad jest' is what the Flemings say according to Roger. And what is truer than the fact that the Host is an inveterate sinner? He had been swearing all along the road with a growing crescendo of obscenities. He preferred stories 'that sownen into synne' to tales of sentence. He had indulged far too much in 'moyste and corny ale'. The sensitive Host must have seethed with anger as the Pardoner caught his eye and pointedly said:

A lecherous thyng is wyn, and dronkenesse
 Is ful of stryving and of wrecchednesse.
 O dronke man, disfigured is thy face,
 Sour is thy breeth, foul artow to embrace...
 Thou fallest as it were a styked swyn;
 Thy tonge is lost, and all thyn honeste cure;
 For dronkenesse is verray sepulture
 Of mannes wit and his discrecioun. (Pd's T, 549 – 556)

The Pardoner had done it deliberately to tease the Host. The Pardoner had listed all those who had seriously come to grief because of wine. He speaks about wines as if he were the connoisseur. The Host soon finds his tongue and his wit. He speaks in anger and pays back the Pardoner in his own coin. The Pardoner cannot simply shrug it off, as the Host had asked the Monk to do when he had tackled the Monk rather robustly:

But be nat wrooth, my Lord, though that I pleye
 Ful ofte in game a sooth I have herd seye!

(Mk's T. 3153–4)

It is the Pardoner who now invites the Host 'in pleye' and who speaks 'sooth'. The Pardoner has made a *faux pas*. He has grossly miscalculated.

The Pardoner who had just felt the bliss of success with the thirty–two faces turned up to him, moved by his own eloquence, feeling his power, and oblivious of his problems, is suddenly jolted back to his own deformed self. He who had unstintedly tried to impress those around him, now finds himself the laughing stock of all the company. He feels exposed, isolated, threatened and our 'Bel Ami' loses his bonhomie. He becomes angry. As our Parson later reminds us in his sermon:

'This synne of Ire, after the discryving of Seint Augustine, is wikked wil to ben avenged by word or by dede. Ire after the philosophre, is the fervent blood of man yquyked in his herte, thurgh which he wole harm to hym that he hateth ... (and) is out of alle juggement of resoun.' (Pars. T 535-539)

And the Host quite rightly:

'Now', quod oure Host, 'i wol no lenger pleye
 With thee, ne with noon oother angry man '

(Pd'sT, 958-959)

The Pardoner knew that the Host was in a position to exploit his mistake. One must remember that when the Host had first proposed the game in the *General Prologue*, he had asked and obtained *carte blanche* from all the Pilgrims:

'And whoso wole my juggement withseye

Shal paye al that we spenden by the weye.
 And if ye vouche sauf that it be so,
 Tel me anon, withouten wordes mo,
 And i wol erly shape me therefore'.
 This thyng was graunted, and oure othes swore
 With ful glad herte, and preyden hym also
 That he wolde vouche sauf for to do so
 And that he wolde been oure governour,
 And of oure tales juge and reportour,
 And sette a soper at a certeyn pris;
 And we wol reuled been at his devys,
 In heigh and lough; and thus, by oon assent,
 We been acorded to his juggement. (GP,805-818)

One might argue that this was all done in jest; but the language is legal and binding. From the high hopes of being awarded 'a soper at their allercost', the Pardoner is now faced with the possibility of having to pay all that was spent on the way which, with the Host's drinking, must have been quite considerable. This was adding insult to injury. The prospect alone must have bewildered the Pardoner.

And now the Knight, the very antithesis of all that was villainous, steps in to rescue the company from the moment of awkwardness, and the Pardoner out of his misery. The Knight might even have been motivated by the fact that the Pardoner, for all his turpitude, is still the representative of the Church, and as such he, as a Knight, was in duty bound to defend him.

Whether Chaucer wished us to recognize in the Pardoner the general malady of the Church at the time is and will remain a debatable point. What is certain, however, is that our 'noble ecclesiaste' fits in nicely into the general picture of the company that left the Tabard for Canterbury. However, it is significant that it is the Parson, whom Chaucer recognizes in *The General Prologue* as that 'better preest i trowe that nowhere noon ys', who brings the Canterbury Pilgrimage to a close and opens the way to the true pilgrimage to the Celestial Jerusalem with his prose sermon. The fun is over and forgotten and instead we have contrition and penance:

In knokkyng of thy brest, in scourgyng with yerdes,...
 in suffryng patiently wronges that been doon to thee, and
 eek
 in pacient suffraunce of maladies, or lesyng of worldly
 catel, or of wyf, or of child, or othere frendes. (Ps T, 1055f.)

Chaucer who had been carried away by the general festive spirit and had gone along with the wordliness and venality of his friends, soberly takes stock of his own situation in the light of eternity. He meditates on the vanity of the world and his own iniquity, embraces the 'preest over alle preestes, that boghte us with the precious blood of his herte', abjures those same 'tales of Caunterbery that sownen into synne', and beseches grace of 'verray penitence, confesioun and satisfaccioun'. By opting for the Parson's way, uncompromising and cathartic, Chaucer turns his back on the merry company and rejects the easy panaceas peddled by our 'noble ecclesiaste' and his compeers.

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THE CHALLENGE OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Godfrey Baldacchino

This paper seeks to put into a proper policy perspective the current discussion on the attraction of 'sustainable development'. This is attempted by forcing an application of the often rhetorical nature of the argument and thus exposing the difficulties, particularly those of a political and socio-cultural nature, which impinge on the theme. These may inhibit what looks like a universally desirable policy option from coming into action. Reference is made to the peculiar circumstance of Malta, suggesting that implications of the concept are of even greater relevance to our own country. Yet, such a local realization is socially still far from visible in this present day and age.

Defining the Jargon Phrase

For a decade green has definitely been the world's political colour.¹ In this context a new jargon phrase is being tossed about in the mass media and various policy documents: Sustainable Development. It stems from a concern that many activities undertaken in the name of development have actually squandered the (often finite) resources upon which development is based. In the industrialized countries, the rapid consumption of natural minerals, such as fossil fuels and metals, is a major concern, while in the least developed countries over-exploitation of natural biological assets is usually the major threat to sustainability.

Definitions of 'sustainable development' usually talk of improving people's material well-being through the utilization of the Earth's resources but at a rate that can be sustained, at least over many decades, but preferably indefinitely. A definition which has achieved wide currency speaks of a 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs'.² Sustainable development is a situation in

1. *The Economist*, 15 October 1980.

2. World Commission on Environment and Development, *Energy 2000: A Global Strategy for Sustainable Development* (The Brundtland Report), London, 1987.

which the development vector (which may include such elements as real income per capita, health and nutritional status, educational achievement, access to resources, basic freedoms,...) does not decrease over time.³

The basic idea could not be simpler: to live off nature's interest rather than depleting its capital.

Documenting the Ills

The problems associated with irresponsible resource consumption have been documented *ad nauseam* by various concerned organizations and individuals, so much so that some of the key arguments appear to have successfully filtered down to the mindframe of the public at large: in the advanced industrialized economies of the North, chemical pollutants and high levels of combustion lead to acid deposition, air and water pollution, lead poisoning. Military expenditures are major culprits of resource misallocation. In the still developing South, the main environmental costs are usually associated with degradation of the natural resource base - deforestation, soil erosion and the dumping of toxic wastes are occurring at alarming rates. And when rural livelihoods are undermined, people migrate to the cities, where inadequate water and sewage services, and the degraded sites on which the poor are forced to live, pose other environmental problems. Not to mention the sinister consequences of global warming and ozone depletion, which do not discriminate between first-world and third-world candidates.

Identifying the Debate

The adherents of sustainable development challenge the very foundation of the mainstream interpretation of the development problem. They question the fundamental assumptions of both neo-classical 'modernization' approaches to development,⁴ as well as the more radical neo-Marxist structuralist critiques of

3. Pearce, D. et.al., *Sustainable Development: Economics and Environment in the Third World*, London, 1990.
4. See, for example, Lewis, W.A., *The Theory of Economic Growth*, London, 1955; Rostow, W.W., 'The Take-Off into Self-Sustaining Growth', *Economic Journal*, Vol. 66 (1956), No. 1, pp. 25-48; Galbraith, J.K., *The Affluent Society*, London, 1958; Friedman, M. & R. Friedman, *Free to Choose: A Personal Statement*, Harmondsworth, 1980.

underdevelopment.⁵ In spite of their glaring differences, both of these perspectives take for granted the production of more and more consumer products as synonymous with development. This approach is claimed to be not only wasteful but also worsens the long-term prospects, and the very life-chances, of future generations, especially among the poor.

The policy implications are crude and shattering: consume/produce less and differently and move from a *consumer* to a *conserver* economy, where production, growth, and conservation are not mutually exclusive.⁶ Critics nevertheless argue that this kind of approach is unacceptable because it constitutes in effect a pre-industrial 'back-to-nature' condition which is equivalent to a rescinding, not a reformulation, of development.

Between Rhetoric and Practice: the Great Divide

Few would contend that sustainable development is now a pervasive buzzword, even in the circuits of policy rhetoric. The term, however, is not so readily operationalized and enshrined into real-life projects. A significant issue here is the question of interest promotion and preservation. The process of rapid industrial development which has triggered the reactive outcry for sustainability has also served to consolidate the economic significance and (in consequence?) the political power of a number of interest groups in society. Indeed, the rationale behind rapid industrialization is often couched in terms of the vastly improved benefits which accrue to large sections of the community: lucrative and steady profits to investors, taxes to the state, mass jobs to the workers, cheap and plentiful products to consumers,.... The beneficiaries of industrialization will not be easily

5. Amin, S., *Accumulation on a World Scale*, Volumes 1 & 2, London, 1974; Baran, P.A., *The Political Economy of Growth*, London, 1957; Wallerstein, I, *The Capitalist World Economy*, Cambridge, 1979.
6. There is today a modest corpus of literature which proposes a green perspective to development. These include Ekins, P. (Ed.), *The Living Economy: A New Economics in the Making*, London, 1986; Galtung, J. *Development, Environment and Technology: Towards a Technology for Self-Reliance*, New York, 1979; WorldWatch Institute, *State of the World*, New York, WWI (annual); Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, *Another Development: Approaches and Strategies*, Uppsala, 1977; Daly, H.E. (Ed.), *Towards a Steady-State Economy*, San Francisco, 1973; Reid, W.V.C., 'Sustainable Development: Lessons from Success', *Environment*, Vol.31 (1989) No. 4, pp. 6-9; World Resources Institute, *The Global Possible*, Washington DC, 1984.

dislodged from the privilege of enjoying what has now become more than simply a way of life, but, in many respects, the only feasible one.

In the North, many are unwilling, or perhaps even unable, to envisage a life without so many presumed necessities: concern for sustainable development is tantamount, in their eyes, to a radical and therefore unacceptable reduction in one's standard of living. In the South, there is mounting suspicion that sustainable development is nothing but a respectable facade for the thwarting of third-world development. The First World has had its industrial field day. Now, with signs that its competitive edge is being eroded, the sustainable development argument being put forward may yet help to preserve Western ascendancy. The South appears just as determined as the North to reap the benefits of industrial development, regardless of the associated environmental costs. It seems that the environmentally harmful side-effects of industrialization pale into insignificance in contrast to the resulting growth and prosperity. The prophets of doom and gloom would no doubt be silenced once again as industry itself matures and conjures up new techniques and technologies with which to postpone the fateful appointment with ecocatastrophe.⁷ Far better, therefore, to taunt the distant spectre of maldevelopment than to stem the clamour by growing proportions of populations for the consumer goods produced by the technology of the industrial society.

Certain Third-World radicals actually denounce the tenor of the current eco-debate, accusing it as being mainly ethnocentrist and elitist by virtue of having depoliticized the character of the conflict in the world between the haves and the have-nots by magnifying the contest between man and nature.⁸ The remedy for the growing international conflict and tensions, they claim, lies in tackling its root cause, namely, the global inequality and oppressive and exploitative institutions which impose and perpetuate the malaise.

A Local Perspective

It appears only a question of time before Malta finds itself locked in the throes of this debate. Some of the reasons behind this personal

7. Bahro, R., *Socialism and Survival*, London, 1982 Books; Meadows, D. et.al., *The Limits to Growth*, Washington DC, 1972; Mesarovic, M. & E. Pestel, *Mankind at Turning Point*, London, 1975.
8. Lal, S., *Third World Attitudes and Atmospheric Environment*, Oxford, 1973.

prognostication are obvious, others not so. Malta is first of all a developing country with a still young history of political sovereignty. It therefore faces the tempting option of adopting a rampant industrialization strategy as a development option. This Malta has done over the last thirty-odd years with a certain commendable momentum, achieved and maintained thanks to a repertoire of adequate incentive provisions to foreign investment accompanied by a convenient and attractive geographical position, close to the largest market in the world. Its traditional role as a strategic fortress economy in the Mediterranean, with the inculcation of various industrial skills which that implied, provided the country with a flexible workforce trained in basic technical expertise and routines, a useful advantage in trying to entice foreigners to set up shop locally.

The second reason behind Malta's imminent engulfment in the sustainable development debate is related to its social-economic status as a developing post-colonial microstate. The country is one of around three dozen sovereign states in the world today which have a relatively small territorial size. In spite of having low population levels in absolute terms, the territorial limitations of these very small – hence micro – developing states create an even stronger pressure on already scarce resources. The population densities are thus typically higher than would be expected, and these can be exacerbated by the relatively high proportion of unexploitable land area due, for example, to desert, dumping of waste, flooding, or high tide.

Malta shares with these countries an intensification of the problem of the management of space which is a most precious resource. Such microstates can be considered as laboratory test-cases which allow one to examine the effects of rampant industrialization and of the policy decision and outcomes of the powers-that-be in trying to come to terms with the tensions of development and environmental preservation. These countries could serve as advance warnings of undesirable scenarios. Already, the archipelagic reef microstate of Tuvalu in the Pacific Ocean is an unwilling prime candidate for the catastrophic effects of global warming; it will disappear quietly beneath the waves owing to sea level rise unless the causes behind global warming are halted and preferably reversed.⁹

9. Lewis, J., 'Sea-level Rise: Some Implications for Tuvalu', Paper presented at the Conference on Small Island Development, Valletta, Malta, Foundation for International Studies, 24–28 March 1990.

A Necessary Sacrifice?

Is this the shape of things to come? Will the errors of microstates serve to illuminate and educate wiser, larger neighbours whose size and scale can afford them to experiment without experiencing shattering, devastating side-effects? Will the microstates suffer the consequences of non-sustainability and will their noble sacrifice be a necessary demonstration effect to stave off similar disasters elsewhere? One may dread to think in these terms, but the questions are not altogether fictitious and fanciful ones. The Tuvaluan case may seem far-fetched and remote; but consider our own unfolding story of 'development' and its costs. The dedication of so much land area to industrial sites; the burgeoning volume of traffic; the debate on the building of the new power station at Delimara; the problem of waste disposal and sewage treatment; the contraction of fertile agricultural land; and so on.

The problem is not simply one of finite and scarce resources available for exploitation; it is compounded by the wide distribution of near-continental consumption values. Our cultural identification with the Western world leads so many of us to strive for luxury goods and behaviour patterns the country can ill afford. Policy makers, locked in the democratic framework, appear powerless and cannot but ventilate and provide still wider opportunities for conspicuous consumption to try and ensure their own political survival. Apart from attempts at environmental education, there are few viable and not politically suicidal devices at hand to restrain such a rampant cultural phenomenon. As the Premier of another micro-territory aptly put it: 'We are a bicycle society with Cadillac tastes.'¹⁰

The Hidden Salvation of Tourism?

Perhaps we have all too readily embraced the advantages of industrial development without assessing its negative side-effects. In a way, our option for tourism – an option which most microstates have taken up successfully but initially on a 'second-best' basis – may be a blessing in disguise, since this tertiary sector activity, unlike mass manufacture, has a stake and a much more active interest in preserving the environment. Tourism, for all its limitations, may be

10. The statement was made in the 1960s by the Premier of Montserrat, a Caribbean island with a population of about 14,000 and still a British Colony.

more attuned to the principles of sustainability.¹¹ It is also mercifully exempt from the iron logic of economies of scale.

Malta has taken commendable initiatives on the world stage in favour of environmental preservation.¹² It would be bitterly ironic, apart from tragic, were it to end up as an exponent of how *not* to develop...

11. For example, Connell, J., 'Sovereignty and Survival: Island Microstates in the Third World', *Research Monograph* No. 3, (1988) Sydney, Department of Geography Australian National University.
12. These include the Concept of the Climate as Common Heritage of Mankind and the United Nations Law of the Sea (UNCLOS).

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Bradford's easy yet deep style is what makes *Mediterranean* so eminently readable. While the layman will find it a fascinating interpretation of the saga of the Middle Sea, the historian will appreciate Bradford's sound research, his clear exposition of facts and his wise conclusions – a combination of qualities in which Bradford's personal experiences sailing the seas has certainly had a great bearing.

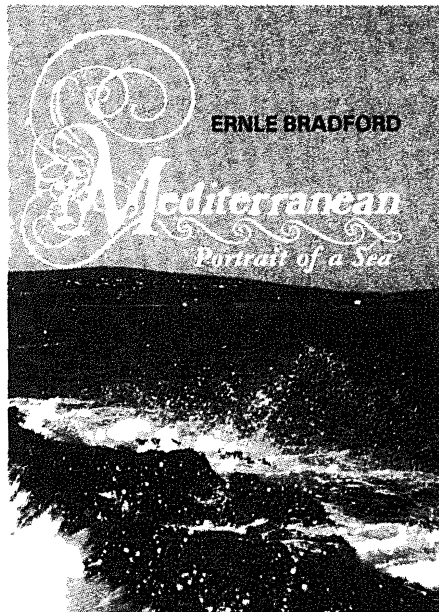
Bradford guides the reader around the sea that gave birth to Western culture and civilization – introducing the traders, the sailors, and the fighters who have all left their mark on its history and our civilization, itself the

result of the continual interplay between East and West.

The author skilfully presents the history of the Mediterranean with one eye on its geography and another on the succession of historical events. Indeed the story of this sea is impossible to understand if one ignores the geographical environment of the various regions that form part of it. The Mediterranean

emerges as one whole, almost as a distinct personality whose portrait Bradford will so lovingly and so convincingly present to us.

For the variety of peoples and races that have been so inexorably attracted to its shores, the Mediterranean has been a link rather than a barrier, giving rise to, but finally overcoming, a diversity of cultures and beliefs.



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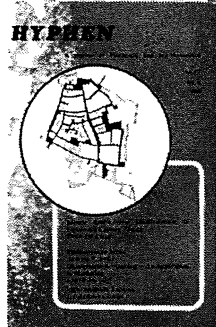
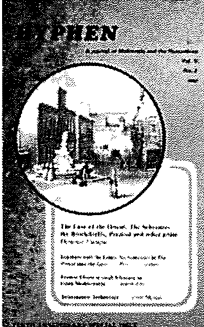
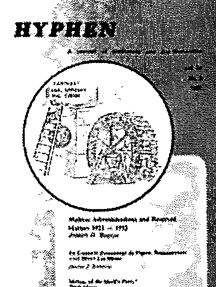
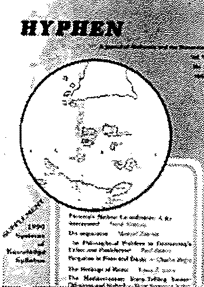
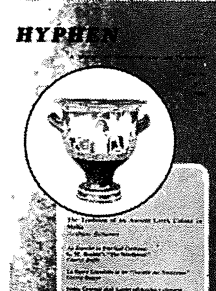
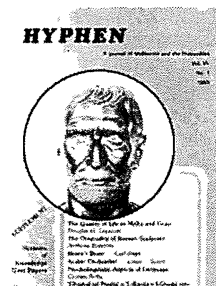
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HYPHEN

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Minn meta häreġ l-ewwel darba fl-1977, *Hyphen* gie stabbilit bħala perġodiku akkademiku ta' interess kemm għall-istudjuż u kemm għall-istudent. L-artikli dwar kull aspett ta' melitensia huma miktuba minn awturi Maltin u barranin bħal A. Luttrell, A. Hoppen, D. G. Lochart, J. Boissevain, G. Wettinger, A. Bonanno, V. Mallia Milanese, A. Bonnici, O. Friggieri, u ħafna oħrajn. *Hyphen* huwa wkoll ta' għajjnuna indispensabbli għall-istudent li qiegħed ihejji ruħu f'suġġetti ta' livell avanzat, speċjalment għal min se jagħmel l-eżami ta' l-Oqsma ta' l-Għerf (*Systems of Knowledge*). *Hyphen* jista' jinkiseb mil-Liceo l-Ġdid Ġ.F. Abela, l-Imsida, kull numru 60ċ, jew Volum (b'sitt numri) Lm3.25ċ (posta mħallsa). Jistgħu jinkisbu wkoll ħarġiet ta' l-imgħoddi (60ċ kull kopja).

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