

MELITA THEOLOGICA

Vol. XXV

1973

Nos. 1 & 2

TOWARDS A 'NEW DEAL' FOR THE LAITY IN THE CHURCH'S LEGISLATION

ANYBODY familiar with the active and important rôles that the laity played in the life of the Church during the first few centuries of its life must feel that, for quite some time until very recently, the laity have been getting rather a raw deal in the Church.

For many centuries it has become the accepted practice in the Catholic Church not only to insist on the distinction between the clergy and the laity as a fundamental distinction willed by Christ, but also to reduce the laity generally to the status of passive recipients of the clergy's pastoral ministry and to provide of the material needs of the clergy and the Church. With rather dry humour it has been said that the laity in the Church has been reduced to performing the functions of praying, of obeying and of paying.

There have, however, been new stirrings in the Church also on this account during these last few decades. These stirrings started on the practical level of Catholic Action. Slowly, gradually, these stirrings were felt on the level of theological reflection. They reached a high point during the Second Vatican Council, which devoted a whole chapter of its dogmatic Constitution on the Church, 'Lumen Gentium', exclusively to the rôle of the laity in the Church.

The Church is now once again aware of the more active rôle that the laity can and must perform in the Church. Our hope is that this new awareness will find practical expression not only in the attitudes both of the clergy and of the laity to this matter of the place and function of the laity in the Church, but also in the Church's legislation now in the process of revision. It is with this revision of the Church's legislation in mind that we submit our reflections on the subject in the hope that they can be of help towards obtaining a 'new deal' for the laity in the Church.



THEOLOGICAL AND JURIDICAL NOTION OF THE LAITY

Before examining the juridical status of the laity, or the complex of rights and duties proper to lay people in the Church, we have first of all to establish clearly what we understand by the term 'laity' today in the Theology and Canon Law of the Church.

It is common knowledge that the terms 'lay' and 'laity' are etymologically derived from the Greek *λαός*. In classical Greek the word *λαός* was used to indicate either the people in general or, especially in the plural form, the common people as opposed to their leaders. In ecclesiastical usage, the term was originally used to refer to the whole People of God, the *λαός τοῦ θεοῦ* and therefore to indicate the faithful in general irrespective of any difference of function, office or status they may have possessed in the Church. Subsequently, in line with the second usage of classical Greek, it became customary in the Church to use such derivatives as 'laicus' to indicate those of the faithful who are not leaders of the Christian community and have no special public office in the Church. As such they are different and distinguished from the members of the hierarchy, the clerics, the holders of public office in the Church.

It is therefore quite in harmony with this development that canon 107 of the Code of Canon Law states that: 'By divine institution there are in the Church clerics distinguished from lay people, even though not all clerics are of divine institution; both, however, can be religious'. Canon 108 §1 goes on to define clerics as 'those who have been dedicated to the divine ministries at least through the first (clerical) tonsure'. Nowhere in the Codex do we find a positive definition of 'lay people'. Since, however, according to canon 107 by divine institution clerics are distinguished from lay people, canonical doctrine was accustomed to conclude negatively that lay people are those members of the Church who have not been deputized to the divine ministries at least by means of the first tonsure, or rite of admittance in the ranks of the clergy. Moreover, although lay people as well as clerics could become religious, for practical reasons it became the general custom to exclude 'lay religious', namely Brothers and Sisters, from the technical connotation of 'Laity'. This notion of lay people as non-clerics and non-religious was for practical reasons accepted also by Vatican II's Constitution on the Church when it stated that: 'What

is meant here by laity are all the faithful except those in sacred Orders and those in a religious state approved by the Church'.¹

This concept of the laity common in canonical doctrine is evidently poor and negative. It defines lay people by what they are not, rather than by what they are. It does however reflect faithfully the predominantly hierarchic view of the Church that was at the basis of Catholic ecclesiology since before the Council of Trent and right up to very recent times, including the period of the compilation of the Codex. A Theology of the Laity worthy of the name 'Theology' is a comparatively recent phenomenon in the Church.² This lack of a solid and positive Theology of the Laity could not but have strong repercussions on the juridical and pastoral life and activity of the Church, on its laws and on its pastoral attitudes and structures. Although constituting the bulk of the Church's membership, the laity were as a general rule relegated to a passive role in the life of the Church and in its pastoral, apostolic activity.³ With the birth of the modern apostolic groups of the laity, however, and with the consequent need for the development of a serious Theology of the Laity, of the Lay Apostolate and of a specifically lay spirituality, all based on the new biblical, patristic and liturgical movements of our times, a more positive concept of the laity slowly evolved, to be given official sanction by the Church in Vatican II's documents on the Church and on the Lay Apostolate.

Yet, as we have already pointed out, when in the Constitution 'Lumen Gentium' Vatican II comes to define the laity, it does not reject the old, negative notion at least as a starting-point. It goes on, however, to give us a more positive concept of the laity when it proceeds to say that by this term it understands: 'those of the faithful who are by baptism made one body with Christ, are constituted the People of God, share in their own way in the priestly, prophetic and regal functions of Christ, and so carry out their own part in the mission of the whole Christian people in the Church and in the world. The secular quality is proper and special to the laity.... By their very vocation, the laity are in duty bound to seek the Kingdom of God by engaging in

¹ VATICAN II, Constitution 'Lumen Gentium', n. 31.

² The Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique, for example, contains no entry entitled 'laity' or 'layman'.

³ Cf. CONGAR, Yves O.P., *Lay People in the Church*, especially Introduction and Chapter I.

temporal matters and ordering them according to God's Will. They live in the world, that is, in each and all of the professions and activities of the world and in the ordinary conditions of family and social life... There they are called upon by God so that, in exercising their own profession, inspired by the spirit of the Gospel, they should like leaven contribute to the sanctification of the world from within... In a special way, therefore, it is up to them so to cast light on and organize all temporal matters, to which they are so closely bound, that they might be made and developed according to Christ and might contribute to the praise of the Creator and the Redeemer'.⁴

A modification in the juridical, technical concept of 'cleric' that was foreshadowed by Vatican II⁵ and clearly established by Pope Paul VI in the *Motu Proprio* 'Ministeria Quaedam'⁶ has by reflection indirectly modified our understanding of the role of the laity in the Church. Formerly, as we pointed out when mentioning the definition of clerics given by canon 108 §1, 'dedication to the divine ministries at least through the first tonsure' was considered characteristic and constitutive of the clerical state. The *Motu Proprio* 'Ministeria Quaedam', however, suppressed the rite of first tonsure and substituted it by a new rite of admission among candidates for Holy Orders; suppressed the old minor orders and subdiaconate and substituted them partially by ministries which can be entrusted not only to candidates for Holy Orders but also to other lay people; and established that 'entrance into the clerical state is joined to the diaconate'.⁷

Since the 1st January 1973 when the *Motu Proprio* 'Ministeria Quaedam' came into force, therefore, the Church recognizes only Bishops, presbyters and deacons as clerics. On the other hand, some sacred liturgical ministries, to which the powers of Orders are no longer tied, can be entrusted officially and permanently to lay people. The distinction between clerics and laity in the Church today can be summed up as follows. Clerics are those members of the Church who either possess the fullness of the hierarchic priesthood and apostolic ministry (Bishops), or who are constituted hierarchic collaborators of bishops through ordination and participation in the ministerial priest-

⁴ VATICAN II, Constitution 'Lumen Gentium', n. 31.

⁵ Cf. Constitution 'Lumen Gentium' n. 18.

⁶ 15th August 1972: AAS vol. 64 (1972), pp. 529-534.

⁷ *Ibid.*, n. I, p.

hood (presbyters) or in the ministry of service (deacons). The laity, on the other hand, have only a general or 'common' participation in the priesthood of Christ: this participation differs in essence and not merely as a matter of degree from the 'hierarchic' participation of the clergy.⁸

We can therefore attempt to list the essential constituents of the concept of 'laity' by integrating elements from both the negative and positive conceptions that we have considered above:

(i) The laity are persons who, through Baptism, are members of the People of God.

(ii) The laity have a special function in the total mission of this People of God. This mission has been described by the Second Vatican Council as the mission 'of spreading the Kingdom of Christ everywhere for the glory of God the Father, thus making all men sharers in the saving redemption, and through men truly ordaining the whole universe to Christ'.⁹

(iii) The laity have to exercise this function or mission both in the Church and in the world, and not exclusively in the temporal order. As the Decree 'Apostolicam Actuositatem', n. 5 puts it: 'Laymen, carrying out this mission of the Church, exercise their apostolate both in the Church and in the world, both in the spiritual and temporal order'.

(iv) The laity's function within the Church is different from that of the clergy in that they do not have as such, that is as lay people, an active role in the hierarchic apostolate and in the sacred ministries to which powers of Orders are committed by Christ's Will. The laity's function is also different from that of Religious, whether clerical or lay, in that unlike Religious, lay people are not publicly committed to the communitarian search for evangelical perfection in a stable, canonical way of life that, by separation from the 'World' or temporal order, seeks to give a public witness in the Church and to the world of the eschatological realities that the Church already contains in germ within itself (cf. 'Lumen Gentium', n. 44).

(v) It is the special vocation of lay people to sanctify themselves in the world and through their activity in the temporal order, to bring other men engaged in the activities of the temporal order to Christ, and to sanctify the temporal order by infusing it with the spirit of the Gospel.

⁸ Cf. VATICAN II, Constitution 'Lumen Gentium', n. 10.

⁹ Decree 'Apostolicam Actuositatem', n. 2.

THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF LAY PEOPLE

In a well organized juridical order, a person's rights and duties in that order or society should logically depend on his reality, rôle or function in that particular society. If this principle is ignored, the likelihood is either that too much or too little is recognized in the way of social rights and duties to members of that society or, as is very often the case, they are burdened with a load of irrelevant duties and endowed with a plethora of rights of which they can scarcely, if ever, avail themselves.

We have up to now examined the notion of lay people that the Church had up to recently accepted and the more positive notion that the Church has now re-acquired. On the basis of the rather negative and passive or receptive concept of the laity that flourished in our Theology of the last few centuries, the Code of Canon Law saw fit to devote only two canons to the laity as such, namely canons 682 and 683. Even a cursory examination of these canons reveals how well they reflect this older, impoverished concept.

Canon 682 states that: 'Lay people have the right to receive from the clergy, according to the norms of Church law, spiritual benefits and especially the aids necessary for salvation'. This is certainly an important right. Yet exclusive consideration of this right confirms that the outlook of the Code of Canon Law of 1917 is predominantly hierarchical and ministerial: it seems to project lay people merely as passive recipients of the clergy's pastoral action. Moreover, it is a right that does not belong specifically to lay people but to all the faithful Christians, clergy, laity and religious.

The second canon seeks to differentiate between laity and clerics even exteriorly when it lays down that: 'The laity are not allowed to wear clerical attire, due exception being made for seminarians and other aspirants to the priesthood and for laymen legitimately taking part in ecclesiastical services so long as they are within the church or even outside it but taking part in some church function'. This canon again confirms that for the Code of Canon Law the layman is fundamentally the non-cleric. With this rather uninspiring canon, the Code of 1917 rounds off its norms on the rights and duties of lay people in general and passes on to norms regulating 'Associations of the Faithful'.

The re-awakening in the Church about the rôle of the laity as full and active members of the Church naturally requires a different and more complex juridical formulation of the ecclesial rights and duties of the laity. We believe that the Church's legislation as regards the rights and duties of a certain category of members of the Church must reflect the reality and function recognized to that category of members of ecclesial society. Hence in briefly expounding what we feel should be kept in mind for an adequate codification of norms on the rights and duties of the laity in the Church, we shall attempt to connect these rights and duties with the various aspects of this lay reality and function that we have already tried to outline schematically.¹⁰

(i) As members of the People of God, lay people share in the fundamental rights and duties common to all the faithful irrespective of any special function they are called upon to perform in the Church. In the exercise of these fundamental rights and duties, however, lay people will logically give them a 'lay' colouring.

(ii) As persons having part in the total mission of the Church, they have:

- (a) the right and duty of sanctifying themselves as lay people, called to evangelical perfection of charity in the lay state of life and therefore of exercising themselves in a truly lay spirituality that seeks sanctity in every-day secular life;
- (b) the right and duty of exercising the lay apostolate, individually or even collectively.¹¹ With the hierarchical apostolate, from which it differs, the lay apostolate forms an essential part of the total mission of the Church;
- (c) the right and duty of ordaining the whole temporal order in Christ to God through their own activity, while enjoying a requisite and correct autonomy.

(iii) As persons called upon to exercise the apostolate both in the Church and in the world, it follows that:

- (a) in the Church, they have the right and duty to exercise in ecclesial communion their own specific share in the prophetic, priestly and pastoral or regal functions of Christ and their

¹⁰Cf. COMMUNICATIONES, vol.2 (1970), pp.89-98; and DEL PORTILLO, Alvaro, *Laiici e fedeli nella Chiesa*, ed. Ares, Milan 1969, especially chapter 5.

¹¹Cf. VATICAN II, Decree 'Apostolicam Actuositatem', n. 15.

personal charisms of nature and grace for the good of the Church in all fields of the Church's life. The laity therefore have the right and duty to help their pastors by their advice and collaboration, whether on their own initiative or after request or mandate of the hierarchy and its clerical collaborators:¹² this includes the possibility of the laity sharing in the apostolate of the hierarchy as lay collaborators in that part of the Church's apostolate which does not belong by right to the laity. The laity can be called upon to fill certain ecclesiastical offices which do not require the sacred powers given in sacred ordination, particularly in matters in which lay people are especially competent, such as financial administration of ecclesiastical property.¹³ The laity have the right and duty of contributing towards the financial and material needs of the ecclesiastical community. They also have the right and duty to acquire as good a grounding in theological and ecclesiastical knowledge as their circumstances permit in practice, and to help according to their capabilities and possibilities towards the dissemination of true knowledge.¹⁴ They have the right and duty to take their place as laymen in the liturgical life of the Church. Finally they have the right and duty to foster Charity, both through union and communion in Faith, Charity and ecclesial-social life with their pastors and with other laymen and through the exercise of the works of spiritual and material help to those in need;¹⁵

(b) in the world, they have the right and duty of witnessing to the Truth and Love of Christ, especially in the fields of family, work, leisure, youth, means of social communication, national and international life.

(iv) As lay people they have neither the right nor the duty to assume rights or duties or social functions legitimately reserved to clerics or religious. They must however maintain with these other members of the Church bonds of love and respect and have the right to expect the

¹²Cf. *ibid.*, nn. 20, 24.

¹³The M.P. 'Causas Matrimoniales', 28 March 1971, enables laymen to act as Notaries, Assessors and Judges in Church tribunals.

¹⁴Cf. VATICAN II, Constitution 'Gaudium et Spes', n. 62.

¹⁵Cf. particularly the Decree 'Apostolicam Actuositatem', nn. 8, 10.

same attitude from them, in a spirit of mutual collaboration and help. They also have the right to expect from the hierarchy a worthy exercise of the ministry of Orders and pastoral regimen, and from religious the eschatological witness to the ideal of evangelical perfection. Furthermore, lay people can be invited by the hierarchy to collaborate officially as lay helpers in the hierarchy's own apostolate as distinct from the specifically lay apostolate.

(v) As the special vocation of the laity lies in 'contributing to the sanctification of the temporal order from within',¹⁶ as their direct and immediate field of competence, they are also endowed with certain rights and duties in this field. In the canonical order, however, these rights and duties are not numerous. Because of the legitimate autonomy of the temporal order which the Second Vatican Council has explicitly recognized,¹⁷ most of the rights and duties of lay people in this field are regulated by the norms intrinsic to the temporal order or emanated by civil society. This also follows from the fact that, as Vatican II has explicitly stated, 'As regards activities and institutions in the temporal order, the rôle of the ecclesiastical hierarchy is to teach and authentically interpret the moral principles to be followed in temporal affairs; it is also within its power to judge, after due consideration from all aspects and with the help of expert opinion, whether such activities and institutions conform to the moral principles, and to decide what is required of them to protect and promote the values of the supernatural order.'¹⁸ On these matters, therefore, the hierarchy exercises directly and immediately the function of teaching authority, and only indirectly and exceptionally does it exercise its governing function as regards any of its members who reject its magisterium on these points or when the activity of Christians in these matters has important social effects in the Church. Hence it follows that:

- (a) Lay people have the right to act autonomously in the temporal order to sanctify themselves, to lead others to sanctity, and to sanctify the temporal order from within by direct and im-

¹⁶Cf. VATICAN II, Constitution 'Lumen Gentium', n.31; and Decree 'Apostolicam Actuositatem', n. 5.

¹⁷Cf. Constitution 'Gaudium et Spes', n. 41; Decree 'Apostolicam Actuositatem', n. 7.

¹⁸VATICAN II, Decree 'Apostolicam Actuositatem', n. 24.

mediate action aiming at impregnating this order with the spirit of Christ. They have, however, the duty of remaining faithful to the Church's teaching on this temporal order.

- (b) In all their actions, as lay Christians acting with legitimate autonomy, they have the duty to assume personal responsibility for their actions, without implicating the Church as such or its hierarchy. From the hierarchy they have the right to expect mainly the light of the Gospel as applied to the temporal order and any other spiritual help they might need to act always with upright conscience.¹⁹
- (c) In the temporal sphere lay people have the right to follow their own opinions that are not in conflict with the gospel teaching and the Church's pronouncements even if these opinions are not shared by other lay Christians. They therefore have the corresponding duty not to condemn such differing opinions on the part of other laymen, not to presume that they alone are correctly interpreting the Gospel, and not to expect that the Church's teaching authority or prestige be used to buttress their own points-of-view.

THE REVISION OF CANON LAW AND THE LAITY

The Second Vatican Council has cast new light on the nature of the Church. In so doing it has also placed in a clearer light and in a better perspective the rôle and mission of the laity in the Church. The theological reality of the laity and of the specific functions of lay people in the Church and in the world has been clarified, at least initially, even though one expects further clarification and developments in this field.

In the canonical field we are still lagging behind. The Code of Canon Law promulgated in 1917 is hopelessly inadequate as a means of translating this new or regained theological awareness of the place of the laity in the Church into norms of practical social conduct. Developments in the Church's legislation after the Code, and particularly since the Second Vatican Council, may have gone some way towards meeting this challenge. We believe, however, that what has been done

¹⁹ Cf. DEL PORTILLO, Alvaro, *Laici e fedeli nella Chiesa*, pp. 116-122.

in this field of canonical legislation is still far from enough. What we need is a radical development of Church Law on the laity in the context of the revision of the Code of Canon Law that is now taking place. We feel that the ideas we have expressed above and which, we hope, reflect faithfully the developments and teachings of Vatican II on the laity, could be useful, at least as a start, in bringing about such a radical development of canon law which would give a 'new deal' to the laity in the Church.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BULTOT, Robert, 'Terrestrial Reality and Lay Spirituality', *Concilium*, vol. 9 no. 2 (November 1966), pp. 23-30.
- CONGAR, Yves, O.P., *Jalons pour une théologie du laïcat* (revised edition), ed. du Cerf, Paris, 1964 (English translation by Donald Attwater: *Lay People in the Church*, Geoffrey Chapman Ltd., London, 1965).
- CONGAR, Yves M.J., O.P., 'My Path-Findings in the Theology of Laity and Ministries', *The Jurist*, vol. 32 (1972), pp. 169-188.
- DEL PORTILLO, Alvaro, *Fieles y laicos en la Iglesia*, ed. Universided de Navarra, Pamplona, 1969 (Italian translation by Gaetano Lo Castro: *Laici e fedeli nella Chiesa*, ed. ARES, Milan 1969).
- HEIMERL, Hans: *Kirche, Klerus und Laien*, ed. Verlag-Herder, Vienna (French translation: *L'église, les clercs et les laïcs*, ed. Mame, Paris, 1966).
- MC BRIEN, Richard P.: 'A Theology of the Laity', *American Ecclesiastical Review*, vol. 160 (Jan.-June 1969), pp. 73-86.
- RAHNER, Karl, S.J., 'The Consecration of the layman to the care of souls', *Theological Investigations*, vol. 3, pp. 263-276, ed. Darton, Longman and Todd, London, 1967.

TER REEGEN, Otto, S.S.S., 'The Rights of the Laity', *Concilium*, vol. 8 no. 4 (October 1968), pp. 10-15.

TURINI, Sandro: 'La Dottrina del laicato come dimensione informatrice del rapporto Chiesa - Mondo nel Concilio Vaticano II', *Ius Canonicum*, vol. XII, n. 24 (July - December 1972), pp. 57-84.

A. DEPASQUALE

Depasquale Annetto, born in Qormi, Malta on the 28th June 1938. He is a graduate of the Royal University of Malta (B.A. and Lic.D.) and of the Pontifical Lateran University (J.C.D. and Diploma in Pastoral Theology). He is at present a Lecturer in Canon Law at the Royal University of Malta.

BIBLICAL METAPHORS AND THEIR TRANSLATION*

It has generally been felt that the problems related to the translation of non-literal meanings of Biblical expressions have been insufficiently dealt with. In the otherwise remarkable study of Nida and Taber on the theory and practice of translation only a few pages are devoted to the problem of figurative meanings in the context of the chapter on referential meaning and still less attention has been paid to the problems of their transfer from the source to the target language.¹ This is certainly in disproportion to the importance of the problem, for the thesis can be defended that the judgment of any translation in general will be determined to a large extent by the particular evaluation of the efficiency or lack of efficiency with which non-literal meanings have been handled. Because of this void in the existing translation theory, study of the problems involved in the translation of figurative meanings has become a top priority in more recent research.² Within the scope of one article

*This is a reworked text of part of a lecture given at the Royal University of Malta on January 10, 1973.

¹E.A.Nida and C.R.Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, Leiden, 1969, pp.87-89, 106f. The French (C.R.Taber and E.A.Nida, *La traduction: théorie et méthode*, Londres, 1971) and German (*Theorie und Praxis des Übersetzens*, 1969) adaptations of this book — sometimes enlarged and revised — show no improvement in this respect.

²The views expressed in this article are in part the results of the author's own research especially with regard to the translation of figures of speech into African languages. They reflect partly the outcome of a similar research carried out by colleagues in the UBS team. The author is particularly indebted to Dr. J.A.Loewen who worked out a series of preliminary papers on non-literal meanings and who made available in mimeographed form a workbook containing drills for translator training in which much attention is given to the identification and translation of different figures of speech. The tentative edition of this workbook — available from the author — is dated April 1972. It is, of course, not only in the field of biblical linguistics, but also in that of general linguistics that the study of figurative usage has received renewed attention. One of the most recent examples is M.B.Dagut's doctoral thesis, *A Linguistic Analysis of Some Semantic Problems of Hebrew-English Translation*, Hebrew University, December 1971 (mimeographed). See especially his chapter IV: *Figurative Usage* (pp.96-146).

it is, of course, impossible to deal with all the existing figures of speech such as metonymy, synecdoche, simile, metaphor, hyperbole, litotes, euphemism etc. Some of these received attention in earlier studies, others are still the subject of current research.³ Therefore, only one particular figure has been selected, namely metaphor, though it should be stated right away that an exhaustive treatment of metaphors – given the necessary limitations of an article – is to be excluded. It will only be possible to pay a more general attention to their identification and function, the problems they present to translators and the principles and procedures which should be applied to their translation.

METAPHORS: IDENTIFICATION AND FUNCTION

Definitions of metaphor have been given as early as the fifth or fourth century B.C. Classical Greek authors already used the Greek word *metaphora* in a rhetorical sense for the transference of a word to a new meaning.⁴ The standard English dictionary definition of a metaphor is that of a 'figure of speech in which a name or descriptive term is transferred to some object to which it is not properly applicable'.⁵ Both definitions, in spite of their imperfection, make already perfectly clear that metaphors are in no way static elements, but that they are involved in a dynamic linguistic process and further that they have to do with what might be called 'polysemy'. It is partly this dynamic character of metaphors which makes it difficult, if not impossible, to give precise definitions, even with the help of modern linguistic theory. There are simply no clear-cut boundaries between metaphor and polysemy on the one hand and metaphor and idiom on the other.⁶

³For euphemisms see the author's article, 'Do You Use 'Clean Language'? in *The Bible Translator*, 22, 1971, pp.107-115 and the literature quoted there, for other figures of speech see the unpublished articles by Dr. Loewen referred to in note 2. All the problems connected with the translation of figures of speech occurring in specific Bible texts do, of course, receive due attention in the *Translator's Handbooks* written on these texts and published by the UBS.

⁴So Isocrates *Orator* 9.9 (using the plural); Aristoteles, *Poetica* 1457b6, *Rhetorica* 1410b36; Epicurus *Philosophus*, *De rerum natura* 28.5 etc.

⁵W. Little-H.W. Fowler-J. Coulson-C.T. Onions, *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1972, s.v.

⁶Geoffrey N. Leech (*Towards a Semantic Description of English*, London, 1969, pp.89-91) seems to use the terms 'polysemy' and 'metaphor' indistinctively. D. Bickerton in his *Prolegomena to a Linguistic Theory of Metaphor*, Founda-

For translation purposes, especially in terms of possibilities of translation, it may be useful to make with Dagut⁷ a distinction between 'simplex' and 'complex' metaphors. In a simplex metaphor only one polysemic form would be involved e.g. 'to be in the soup' or, to quote a Biblical example, 'prepare the way of the Lord' (Mark 1.3) whereas a complex metaphor would contain two or more polysemic terms e.g. 'dirty swine' or, in Biblical language again, 'my beloved is to me a bag of myrrh, that lies between my breasts' (Song of Solomon 1.13). Even then it remains true that the border-line between simplex metaphor and polysemy on the one side and complex metaphor and idiom on the other is fluid, because metaphors are subject to the drift of language.⁸ At the moment in which they are created *ad hoc* by an author or quoted as particularly striking, they are fresh and alive (e.g. 'a dusty answer'). They may even be still alive when widely used, but then they will certainly not create the same impact. Then they get worn out, and finally they become dead metaphors.⁹ Through this process of metaphoric usage, simplex metaphors can be gradually turned into polysemy and complex metaphors into those simplex signs which are usually called idioms such as 'put the wind up somebody' etc. This process, however, is by no means one-directional as especially worn-out metaphors can also be restored to life. So two conclusions impose themselves: it is very often impossible to decide at which point of the continuum between 'alive' and 'dead' the metaphor presents itself and it is sometimes hard to distinguish a dead metaphor from an idiom.

The procedure of making a distinction as to the degree of complexity of metaphors is certainly translationally relevant. However, a practically more useful approach may be possible and necessary, especially

tions of Language 5, 1969, pp.34-52, speaks nowhere of polysemy, but he classifies metaphors in two groups of what he calls 'permanent' and 'temporary' assignments. When U.Weinreich in his *Explorations in Semantic Theory* (in T.A.Sebeok, Ed., *Current Trends in Linguistics*, Vol. III, The Hague, 1966, p.450) states that 'idiomaticity and polysemy are complementary', he clearly makes no distinction between polysemy and metaphor.

⁷ Op. cit., pp.96-146.

⁸ For this terminology see E.Sapir, *Language*, New York, 1949, chapter 7.

⁹ Compare also A.Malblanc, *Stylistique comparée du français et de l'allemand*, Paris, 1961, p.82: 'Plus une métaphore sert, plus elle perd de sa force et s'oriente vers le signe... A rebours, plus une métaphore est devenue signe, plus, en général, son extension a augmenté'. (quoted in Dagut, op. cit., p.127).

if one takes into consideration the specific subject of this article: Biblical metaphors (which involve specific problems) and the fact that most Bible translators are not linguistically sophisticated. Such a different approach is largely based upon two important insights provided by Nida and Taber's definition of metaphor: 'a figurative expression used instead of another to make an implicit comparison between the items referred to by the two expressions, often based upon supplementary components. An expression in every way similar except that the comparison is explicit is a simile'.¹⁰ The insight that metaphors are often based upon supplementary components, which means that they are often culture particulars, will be dealt with in the following section. The other insight that metaphors are functionally very similar to similes, except that in metaphors in any case the signal of the comparison (in English 'as', 'like') remains implicit, is retained here and – when dealing with principles and procedures of translation – it will be shown to contain certain translational possibilities.

If, by virtue of this definition, a metaphor can be considered as some form of a compressed simile, then it must be possible to analyse it in an analogous way. This means that a distinction could be made between full and abbreviated metaphors.¹¹ Full metaphors would then show explicitly all three of their constituents: (1) the object of the comparison, (2) the image of the comparison and (3) the ground of the comparison. In fact, many Biblical metaphors are of this particular type as may be seen from the following examples:¹²

Benjamin (object) is a ravenous (ground) wolf (image) (Gen. 49.27)¹³

The Lord your God (object) is a devouring (ground) fire (image) (Deut. 4.24)

go rather to the lost (ground) sheep (image) of the house of Israel

¹⁰ Op. cit., p. 205 (glossary s.v. metaphor).

¹¹ There is some analogy here with Dagur's distinction between 'complex' and 'simplex' metaphors.

¹² Unless otherwise stated the Hebrew and Greek texts are given in the translation of the Revised Standard Version which as a type of formal equivalence translation normally does fully justice to the form of the metaphor in the source text.

¹³ Literally in Hebrew: Benjamin is a wolf (which) tears. The source text uses an asyndetic relative verbal clause as is often the case in Hebrew after an indefinite noun. See P. Joüon, *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique*, Rome, 1947, par. 158a.

(object) (Matthew 10.6; comp. Jer. 50.6 = LXX 27.6)

I (object) am the bread (image) of life (ground) (John 6.48)

In abbreviated metaphors, on the other hand, one or sometimes even two of the three constituents remain implicit. Normally it is only one element which is usually the ground as the following examples show:

The mouth of a loose woman (object) is a deep pit (image).

Implicit ground: ruinous.¹⁴ (Prov. 22.14)

The Lord (object) is my rock (image) (Ps. 18.2 = 2 Sam. 22.2).

Implicit ground: security, immovable.¹⁵

Go and tell that (object) fox (image) (Luke 13.32).

Implicit ground: cunning.¹⁶

And the tongue (object) is a fire (image) (James 3.6).

Implicit ground: dangerous.

Sometimes the object of the comparison is left implicit e.g.:

Tend (ground) my sheep (image) (John 21.16).

Implicit object: my followers.¹⁷

Occasionally neither the object nor the ground are explicitly stated e.g.:

Beware of the leaven (image) of the Pharisees and Sadducees (Matthew 16.6; comp. 11, 12). Implicit ground: corrupting; implicit object teaching.¹⁸

¹⁴ For the interpretation of Hebrew *zarot* see W. Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*, Lieferung I, Leiden, 1967, s.v. *zar* and the commentaries *ad hoc*. 'Mouth' is, of course, a metaphor for seductive speech. See also C.H. Toy, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Proverbs*, Edinburgh, 1970, *ad loc*.

¹⁵ Or: refuge. Compare also Ps. 31.2 and 42.9 and the comments on the last text by A.A. Anderson, *Psalms*, Vol. I, London, 1972.

¹⁶ The fox is a figure of Herod's craftiness, not of his rapacity as sometimes has been argued. In the Talmud the fox is defined as 'the sliest of beasts'. For references see A. Plummer, *St. Luke*, Edinburgh, 1969, *ad loc*. In classical Greek *alopeks* is metaphorically used in the same sense. See H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford, 1951, s.v.

¹⁷ In the particular instance of the 'sheep' metaphor, the often occurring implicitness of the object is due to the fact that this figure was widely spread and frequently used in oriental as well as Greek culture. For literature on this subject and discussion of this metaphor see especially R. Bultmann, *Das Evangelium des Johannes*, Göttingen, 1953, p. 277ff.

¹⁸ It is interesting to note the differences between the synoptic parallels. Though the implicit ground is the same, the implicit object differs. In the Matthew text, the editor adds an explanation in verse 12 in which the object is

METAPHORS: PROBLEMS OF TRANSFER

Dagut in his interesting analysis of translations into English of a total of 23 uses of modern Hebrew metaphors, comes to the conclusion that only three times a similar metaphor has been used in the target language whereas eight times the modern Hebrew metaphor has been replaced by a different metaphor in English. On the other hand, in twelve instances the source metaphor has been translated by a non-metaphor. On closer evaluation one learns, however, that two of the three cases of similar metaphors are mistranslations and that the remaining one is not satisfactory. This means that in his list of analysed data no real case of translation by a similar metaphor can be found.¹⁹ Almost the same conclusions are drawn after the translational analysis of what Dagut calls 'primary' Hebrew metaphors (belonging to a large extent to the Biblical Hebrew stratum of the language) such as *leb*, *'ayin*, *panim*, *da'at*, *ruah*, *nephesb*.²⁰ This does not mean, of course, that English is not as rich as (modern) Hebrew with regard to metaphoric usages of – let us say – the word 'heart'. It simply means that there is almost complete incongruity between the two sets of figurative extensions in Hebrew and English. And it is not the distance between these two particular languages which is at issue here. One glance at the concise French-American dictionary of figurative and idiomatic language²¹ is sufficient to see that the picture in more related languages is not virtually different. Such a picture is not astonishing. It simply illustrates the fact that metaphors like many other figures of speech are largely based on supplementary or conventional components so that it will only rarely happen that another language will attach them to the same word. In one of the examples quoted above it was seen that the supplementary component of 'cleverness' was attached in Hebrew and Greek to the word

explicitly stated. The Lucan text (12.1) reads 'Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy' and provides thus a different explicit statement. Mark 8.15 has the reading 'beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and the leaven of Herod' and though no interpretation is given, the implicit object is very probably something as 'evil disposition'. See the discussion in V. Taylor, *The Gospel According to St. Mark*, London, 1959, *ad loc.*

¹⁹ Op. cit., p.119.

²⁰ Op. cit., p.126.

²¹ Robert A. Perreau and Margaret J. Langford, *Concise French-American Dictionary of Figurative and Idiomatic Language*, Paris, Editions Ophrys, 1972.

for 'fox'. At least here there seems to be some congruence with European languages though historically the possibility that one has to do with a so-called loan-metaphor is not to be excluded. However, in e.g. African cultural settings, this particular component is assigned to a variety of different animals such as tortoise, hare, spider etc. So the translation of metaphors as such – with the exception of loan-metaphors – appears to be very frequently impossible.

It will be clear that a literal translation of metaphors should not easily be attempted for the simple reason that one has to do with non-literal meanings. Also with it be clear that a literal translation especially of dead metaphors/idioms can give rise to a semantic distortion. For the figurative expression does sometimes admit of literalizations which give a perfect sense in the receptor language, but a wrong one. So the famous 'children of the bridechamber' (Mark 2.19 King James Version)²² still literally figure in translations and in some languages nobody thinks of 'wedding guests' (RSV) or 'bridegroom's friends' (New English Bible), but of illegitimate children of the couple or the consummation of the marriage!²³ The distortion is even greater if the literal equivalent in the target language also happens to have figurative extensions, but in a semantically quite different domain. So the expression 'Son of Man', literally translated into the Indian language Zapotec (Mexico) would suggest that the father is unknown due to the indiscretions of the mother.²⁴ Or note the following metaphorical usages of the 'sheep' in a number of different Indian languages: 'one who does not understand' (Pame); 'a drunkard who does not hit back when he is hit' (Teutla Cuicateco); 'a person who does not answer properly when he is spoken to' (Otomi); 'a young fellow who is often seen waiting for or following a girlfriend' (Zapotec of Vila Alta).

On the other hand, rendering the metaphor of the source text by a non-metaphor is also a problematic procedure. For such a demetaphorization of the source in the translation necessarily implies a considerable loss of impact as to the message. A radical application of such a

²² For this tolerable translation-Greek idiom see especially Taylor, *op. cit.*, *ad loc.*

²³ See Robert G. Bratcher and Eugene A. Nida, *A Translator's Handbook on the Gospel of Mark*, Leiden, 1961, *ad loc.*

²⁴ See J. Reiling and J.L. Swellengrebel, *A Translator's Handbook on the Gospel of Luke*, Leiden, 1971, p. 245.

procedure which would have to be judged as an 'under-translation' unless some compensation is made through the rendering of non-metaphors in the source by metaphors in the receptor.²⁵ Moreover, such a demetaphorization cannot be undertaken regardless of the type of text in which the metaphor occurs. It makes a difference whether one has to deal with prose or with poetry, in which one frequently finds many figurative expressions in a very condensed formal structure. Katharina Reiss who makes a distinction between 'inhaltsbetonte' and 'formbetonte' texts, is certainly right in saying that when the metaphor occurs in the first text type the rendering with a non-figure is adequate, whereas metaphors in the second text type need to be rendered with metaphors.²⁶ 'Metaphors' in this context means 'different' metaphors or metaphors created *ad hoc*. Malblanc²⁷ gives a good example of the first one with regard to French-German translation: 'quel bon *vent* vous amène'/'welch guter *Stern* hat Sie denn hergeführt'.

There are additional problems related to the difficulty of identifying dead metaphors as such, or of defining the degree in which a metaphor has lost its vitality. This is translationally important, since dead metaphors should not be revived and thus 'over-translated'.²⁸ In order to get the right information in this respect, Dagut would like to rely upon the intuitive semantic competence of the native speaker.²⁹ Fortunately, nearly all Bible translators nowadays are native speakers of the target language and such a subjective criterion may be helpful for the selection of dynamic equivalents from the figurative stock of the receptor language. But what about the source languages? Translators are no foreign users of OT Hebrew or NT Greek! In the best of cases they only

²⁵ Dagut pays no attention to the necessity of such a compensational procedure.

²⁶ Katherine Reiee, *Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Übersetzungskritik* (Hueber Hochschulreihe 12), München, 1971, p. 62f. 'Bei einem formbetonten Text wäre dagegen, je nachdem ob es sich um eine bereits lexikalisierte oder eine vom Autor geschaffene Metapher handelt, entweder eine in der Zielsprache sprachübliche Metapher gleichen Aussagewertes und-gewichtes oder eine vom Übersetzer ebenfalls für die Zielsprache neu zu schaffende Metapher zu fordern'. p. 62)

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 330.

²⁸ So rightly J.P. Vimey and J. Darbelnet, *Stylistique comparée du français et de l'anglais*, Paris, 1960, p. 199: 'Il importe en effet que le traducteur... ne traduise pas une métaphore usée par une métaphore vivante, ce qui serait un cas de surtraduction'.

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 137f.

have a good passive mastering of 'dead' languages. And so they depend completely on doubtful dictionary codifications and on an analysis of metaphors as far as the available data in a restricted domain (only literature) permit such an analysis. The importance of even such a doubtful dependence has to be particularly underlined, since Bible translators – especially in the case of first translations presupposing often a first acquaintance with the Biblical text – are liable to what Dagut has rightly called a 'hypnotization' with regard to metaphors.³⁰ The Biblical metaphor with which they were not acquainted before will have such vitality for them that – though it may be actually 'dead' in the source text – they cannot free themselves from its domination. So metaphors are formally transferred and forced upon the receptor language.

METAPHORS: PRINCIPLES AND PROCEDURES OF TRANSLATION

Again it has to be said that no attempt will be made to deal in an exhaustive way with all the necessities and possibilities of translation. What will be given here is a mere outline of principles and procedures with special focus on translational priorities.

A basic principle of Bible translation in general is that an effort should be made to give a linguistic and not a cultural translation of the source text.³¹ To state an extreme and also improbable case: a translation into language X should not read in such a way that the receptors of X take it to be the original source! In other words, in spite of the temporal and cultural distances the Biblical form should be respected with or without modification wherever possible. This statement has immediately to be counterbalanced by a second basic principle, in fact its opposite, that no translation into language X should read in such a way that it is different from anything a native speaker of that language would spontaneously say or write. Between the Scylla of extreme cultural adjustments and the Charybdis of translationese the translator has to go his dangerous and – alas! – often lonely way. It is, however, the present author's conviction that it is safer to steer near the six-headed monster Scylla than to approach too closely the whirlpool Charybdis!

³⁰ Op. cit., p.117. Compare p.139f.

³¹ On this see also Chaim Rabin, *Cultural Aspects of Bible Translation*, Sion, 1971, No. 7/8, pp.237-246.

These basic general principles when applied specifically to the translation of metaphors, give rise to the following procedures which are given here in an order of priority. First of all, an attempt should be made to retain the source form of the metaphor in the translation. As already stated, this is frequently impossible if one excludes the category of loan-metaphors. In fact, this is only possible if there is a certain identity in form and meaning between a metaphor in the source text and in the target language. For example, it was possible to retain the metaphor of Ps. 23.1 'The Lord is my shepherd' (poetry!) in all modern English translations (TEV, NAB, NEB). Sometimes a formal translation of full metaphors is possible because the explicitness of all three constituents, especially that of the ground, is a guarantee against semantic distortions. So the full metaphor 'I am the bread of life' (John 6.48) has frequently been retained in translations though sometimes and rightly so – the ground has been made even more explicit. So in the new German translation (Die gute Nachricht): 'Ich bin das Brot, das Leben schenkt'. However, even full metaphors are often on the border line of literal translation possibility. So it can be argued that the explicitness of the ground in the metaphor 'Issachar is a strong ass' (in the poem Gen. 49.14) – provided 'strong' translates the right component of meaning of the right Hebrew form!³² – guarantees a fairly correct understanding, but it is clear, on the other hand, that the metaphorical meaning of 'ass', at least in English, is quite different!

Secondly, if the source form of the metaphor as such cannot be retained, and if the metaphor belongs to the so-called abbreviated type, an effort should be made to make the implicit constituents explicit and to render the metaphor as a full one. So in its treatment of the metaphor in the poetry of Ps. 23 'thou anointest my head with oil' (vs. 5), TEV makes the implicit ground conveniently explicit: 'you welcome me by pouring ointment on my head'.

If these two procedures give no positive result – and this will often be the case – the translator should nevertheless try to keep the elements of the metaphor by expressing them in the form of a simile. Very frequently a simile is a very effective way of rendering a metaphor. Linguistic signals such as 'like' and 'as' in English warn the reader

³² Hebrew *qerem* may mean 'bony' in the sense of 'strong-limbed', 'strong'. The Samaritan Pentateuch reads *qarim* 'ass of sojourners' or more probably 'castrated ass'. NEB opts for this meaning: 'Issachar, a gelded ass'.

immediately that the semantically exocentric expression is not to be interpreted as endocentric but to be understood in a very special sense.³³ So it is not to be wondered at that this procedure has very often been applied in modern dynamic equivalence translations. In TEV the metaphor James 3.6 'And the tongue is a fire' has been rendered as a simile: 'And the tongue is like a fire' (compare Gute Nachricht: 'Mit der Zunge ist es wie mit dem Feuer'); likewise 'your eye is the lamp of your body' (Luke 11.34) becomes 'your eyes are like a lamp for the body' and 'the moon (shall be turned into) blood' (Acts 2.20) becomes 'the moon (will become) red as blood' (with explicit statement of the ground). In the same way in the Bamiléké language of Cameroun the metaphor in Zech. 7.12 'they made their hearts adamant' has been turned into a simile, the ground being made explicit: 'they made their hearts hard as an adamant'.

If the metaphor cannot be retained, either with or without modifications such as those cited above, one should try to replace it with a different metaphor from the figurative stock of the target language, especially if the source metaphor is found in a poetic text. But it can be said in general that this procedure always has priority over the next one of replacing the figure by a non-figure. Care should, of course, be taken that with the new metaphor no semantic distortion in the form of negative or unwanted components is introduced. In earlier articles, the present author has given several examples of new metaphors.³⁴ So in Bamiléké 'the gates of death' (Ps. 9.13b) is rendered as 'the mouth of death', 'he puffs at all his foes' (Ps. 10.5) as 'he spits on all his adversaries', 'the cords of Sheol' (Ps. 18.5) – though the lack of identical figurative extensions of hunting vocabulary – as 'the odour of death', 'thou hast loosed my sack cloth' (Ps. 30.11) as 'you have taken the bag of mourning from my hand', 'I will throw filth at you' (Nahum 3.6) as 'I will throw ashes at your back'. The enigmatic figure (upon Edom I cast my shoe' (Ps. 60.8 = Ps. 108.10) has been rendered in the Bamoun language of Cameroun as 'I plant my war spear in the land of Edom'. In Xapotec 'you will be speaking into the air' (1 Cor. 14.9) has been rendered as 'you will be speaking only in your mouth'. Numerous other examples could be added.

³³ On this see especially E.A. Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating*, Leiden, 1964, p. 219ff.

Sometimes, however, it will prove inevitable to apply the next procedure and to replace the figure by a non-figure. So 'the cup in the Lord's right hand' (Hab. 2.16) has been reduced to a non-metaphor in Bamiléké: 'the anger of the Lord'. In the same language 'and her daughters on the mainland shall be slain with the sword' (Ez. 26.6) has been rendered as 'and the towns on the mainland allied to her shall be destroyed'. In the same way TEV reduces the metaphor Prov. 20.27: 'The spirit of man is the lamp of the Lord' to a non-metaphor: 'The Lord gave us mind and conscience' (after restructuring). Such a reduction becomes especially necessary in the case of metaphors based on verbs. However, as already stated, a compensational procedure of occasionally replacing non-metaphors in the source by metaphors in the receptor will be needed. So the non-figure 'justice never goes forth' (Hab. 1.4) has been rendered in Bamiléké as a metaphor: 'justice never lifts up its head'.

Dead metaphors, in so far as they can be identified, should not be resurrected in translation, but rendered with equivalent dead metaphors of the receptor or with non-figures. In spite of all the problems involved in the evaluation, it seems that e.g. many of Dagut's primary metaphors were already near the dead end of the continuum in Biblical Hebrew, at least in its later stage. Though the border line between dead metaphor and idiom is fluid, and the translational treatment of idiom sometimes becomes virtually indistinguishable from that of dead metaphor, it seems nevertheless to be wise to treat the translation of idioms separately.³⁵

In spite of everything that has been said in this article, one should remember Aristotle's word: 'The greatest thing by far is to be a master of metaphor. It is the one thing that cannot be learned from others. It is the mark of genius'.³⁶ The only way in which this article may be of a

³⁴ 'The Translation of Some Figures of Speech from Psalms in Bamiléké and Bamoun', TBT 20, 1969, pp.143-150; 'Selected Translation Problems from the Prophets with Particular Reference to Bamiléké', TBT 22, 1971, pp.146-154.

³⁵ Dagut is probably right in his criticism of all those studies on translation theory which lump together idiom and metaphor. Indeed, for the translation of idioms, the translator needs to have, in addition to polysemic competence, a separate idiomatic competence which comprises the faculty of distinguishing between idioms with and without 'literal' counterparts in both languages. (see p.130f.)

³⁶ *Poetica*, 1459.

little help is to prevent one from becoming a victim of metaphor in the sense of being used by it.³⁷

JAN DE WAARD

Ian de Waard, born in Holland, April 1931. A graduate of the University of Leiden (Ph.D.). He is Translations consultant of the United Bible Societies for Europe.

³⁷ For this see Colin Murray Turbayne, *The Myth of Metaphor*, New Haven and London, 1963.

In addition to the works quoted in the notes, the following selected bibliography of the most important and more recent studies on the subject of metaphor can be given:

Hedwig Konrad, *Etude sur la métaphore*, Paris, Vrin, 1958

Christine Brooke-Rose, *A Grammar of Metaphor*, London, Secker and Warburg, 1958

Albert Henry, *Métonymie et métaphore*, Paris, Klincksieck, 1971

B. Leondar, *The Structure and Function of Metaphor*, Ed. D. Thesis, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.)

Michel Le Guern, *Sémantique de la métaphore et de la métonymie*, Paris, Larousse, 1973.

L-EDUKAZZJONI NISRANIJA

1. L-EDUKAZZJONI hija għajnuna li tinghata minn min jaf aktar lil min jaf inqas biex dak li jirċeviha jiżviluppa kemm jista' jkun is-setgħat kollha tal-personalità tiegħu, u b'hekk jagħti is-sehem sħiħ tiegħu lil ħajja tal-bnedmin flimkien. Għalhekk *l-edukazzjoni kollha kemm hi, fiha nfisha, hija ħidma li għandha valur religjuż, għax tghin biex isehħ il-pjan ta' Alla għall-ħolqien, il-pjan li bih Alla ried li l-bnedmin kollha jilħqu l-milja tal-ħajja* – "jikbru fid-daqs, fil-għerf u fil-grazzja" bħal Ġesù.

2. L-edukazzjoni għandha tissokta tul il-ħajja kollha. Dan hu aktar u aktar meħtieġ fi żmienna meta l-għerf jikber b'għaġla kbira. Dan il-bżonn ta' edukazzjoni li tibqa' sejra tul il-ħajja jisthoqqlu aktar attenzjoni; iżda minn ewl id-dinja meta naħsbu fl-edukazzjoni, l-ewwel jiġuna f'moħħna ż-żgħar; u hekk jixraq, għax Kristu wriena li lilhom għandna nagħru l-akbar importanza (Gospel Ref.).

3. L-ewwel u l-aqwa dmir li jedukaw iż-żgħar huwa dak tal-*ġenituri*. Min iġib l-ulied fid-dinja, qed jidhol għad-dmir li jrabbihom tajjeb. Kemm il-Missier, kemm l-Omm għandhom jagħtu sehemhom; il-Missier għandu r-responsabilità kbira li huwa x-xbiha li se tinfluwenza ħafna l-idea li t-tifel se jfassal ta' Alla nnifsu u ta' kull awtorità, u m'għandux jitfa' l-piz kollu tal-edukazzjoni fuq l-omm. Huma *l-ġenituri flimkien* li jridu jmexxu 'l uliedhom fl-ewwel passi diffiċli tal-iżvilupp tal-personalità tagħhom b'mod li 'l quddiem it-tfal isiru rġiel ħielsa u responsabbli.

Il-Konċilju Vatikan II qal li s-sehem tal-*ġenituri* fl-edukazzjoni huwa hekk kbir li "jekk jonqsu huma l-ħsara bil-kemm tista' tissewwa!." Imqar meta t-tfal ikunu jmorru l-iskola, ħafna jiddependi mill-ewwel sisien tal-edukazzjoni li jkun qegħdu fid-dar u mill-isfond tal-ħajja familjari li jkollhom waqt li qegħdin jikbru; ir-responsabilità tal-*ġenituri* tibqa' dejjem kbira.

4. Il-*ġenituri* ma jistgħux waħidhom jagħru l-edukazzjoni sħiħa li jeħtieġu l-ulied. Il-Knisja dejjem ippruvat tghinhom. Iżda llum l-Istat biss għandu l-mezzi meħtieġa biex kulhadd jirċievi t-tagħlim kollu li jeħtieġ. Iżda l-Istat jidhol biss biex jgħin il-*ġenituri* u mhux biex johdilhom posthom. L-Istat għandu d-dritt lejn uliedhom, iżda l-edukazzjoni li

tingħaralhom għandha dejjem tirrispetta l-valuri li skondhom il-ġenituri jridu 'l uliedhom jitilgħu. Għalhekk il-ġenituri għandhom dejjem jis-sieħbu bl-akbar mod viċin possibbli fit-tagħlim li jingħata fl-iskejjel. Mezz biex dan isir huma l-Parent-Teacher Associations li ġew imsem-mija u mfaħħra b'mod speċjali mill-Konċilju Vatikan. Il-ġenituri għandhom ifittxu kull mezz ieħor biex l-iskola tkun tabilhaqq servizz ta' għajjnuna mogħtija lilhom u ma jaċċettaw qatt li huma jitwarbu fil-ġenb fl-edukazzjoni ta' wliedhom.

5. Il-ġenituri għandhom dritt jinsistu li l-edukazzjoni li tingħata fl-iskejjel tkun edukazzjoni reliġjuża. Biex bl-edukazzjoni jiġu żviluppanti s-setgħat kollha tal-bniedem, jeħtieġ li l-bniedem jitgħallem jaħseb fuq l-iskop tal-ħajja u jisma' bis-sejha għolja li jisboq lulu nnifsu u jgħix bl-imħabba ta' Alla nnifsu. Imqar jekk aktar 'il quddiem, jasal biex jiċ-ħad il-fidi, dejjem jibqa' tal-aktar siwi għalih li jkun ingħata hjiel tat-twemmin reliġjuż tal-bniedem; hekk iċ-ċaħda ma tkunx il-frott tal-injo-ranza, iżda ta' għażla ħielsa. U din il-għażla tista' issir biss minn bniedem matur. M'huwix possibbli li tingħata edukazzjoni newtrali; ma jistax ikun hemm edukazzjoni mingħajr ma jkollok skala ta' valuri. Ebda skala ta' valuri ma tista' tkun newtrali dwar l-iskop tal-ħajja, li aħna nemmnu li mhux haġ'oħra ħlief li nissieħbu fil-ħajja ta' Alla nnifsu.

6. L-edukazzjoni reliġjuża, f'pajjiżna, għandha tkun nisranija. L-Arċisqof Anglikan ta' Canterbury (Fit-"Times Educational Supplement, October 4, 1968") kiteb dwar l-Ingilterra:

'It is the case that Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam and their various refinements – as well, of course, as Judaism – do have adherents in this country, and certainly any well-educated young person should expect to have some understanding, however superficial, of these faiths.

To deny the primacy of the Christian religion in our culture is, however, perverse. The fact is that most of the population continues to call itself Christian, in however nominal a sense, and the fact is that the Christian religion continues to be lived and practised, however stumbingly, by a great number of people. Consequently, at any rate up to the sixth form, it is the Christian religion that needs to be taught; to do otherwise would be as perverse as to insist that children learnt Arabic or Urdu before they had begun to master their own language.'

Kemm u kemm aktar f'pajjiż bħal Malta għandna ngħidu li l-edukazzjoni għandha tkun nisranija!



7. M'hemmx dubju lil-Istat jaqbillu li tinghata edukazzjoni nisranija, għax din trawwem ċittadini kuxjenzjużi. Iżda ta' min ninsistu li l-edukazzjoni tabilhaqq nisranija ma tgħinx il-bniedem isir ċittadin tajjeb billi tibdlu f'nagħga, iżda billi turih kif jgħarbel u jkejjejl il-għrajja tal-hajja ta' kuljum fid-dawl tal-pjan ta' Alla għall-bniedem. Iċ-ċittadin li rċieva edukazzjoni tassew reliġjuża ma jkunx konformista, iżda kritiku ta' kull soċjetà li sakemm inkunu f'din id-dinja qatt ma tkun laħqet il-milja tas-saltna tal-gustizzja li xandar Kristu. L-edukazzjoni reliġjuża tnissel fiċ-ċittadini l-herqa li jimxu dejjem aktar 'il quddiem lejn it-twerttiq tal-ideali evanġeliċi mhux billi jimponuhom bil-forza jew bil-vjolenza, iżda billi jxerrduhom bħal Kristu bid-djalogu li jirrispetta mqar l-egħdewwa filwaqt li jħabrek u jekk hemm bżonn ibati, sal-mewt, biex il-bnedmin dejjem aktar jintrabtu f'xirka waħda tal-imħabba.

8. Huwa ċar li edukazzjoni reliġjuża ma tistax tfisser biss li jkun hemm lezzjonijiet tar-reliġjon f'kull skola. Ir-reliġjon hija dawl għall-hajja kollha kemm hi. L-edukazzjoni reliġjuża għandha tinghata matul il-jum kollu fl-iskola, u mhux biss matul ftit siegħat fil-gimgha. Dan ifisser, l-ewwelnett, li għandu jkun hemm atti ta' qima 'l Alla, bħal talb u tishib fil-liturgija, li jsiru mill-iskola kollha flimkien jew fi gruppi, u li jkun hemm mezzi oħra biex iġhinu fl-iżvilupp reliġjuż tat-tfal. Ifisser ukoll li fit-tagħlim ta' kull suġġett għandu jkun hemm orjentament Prattiku lejn is-servizz komunitarju, biex tikber l-imħabba tal-proxmu (li twassal għand Alla). Dana l-orjentament qed jitolbuh l-edukaturi mqar mhux insara, li tħassbu sewwa mill-konsegwenzi ħżiena ta' nuqqas ta' rabta bejn it-tagħlim skolastiku u l-impenn soċjali. Għalhekk qed jinsistu fuq il-ko-ordinament bejn it-tagħlim tas-suġġetti differenti, u fuq il-bżonn li dana jisbokka f'xi għamla ta' servizz komunitarju. Dan il-ko-ordinament huwa tajjeb u l-iskop ta' min ifaħħru, iżda qatt m'għandu jfisser li r-Reliġjon ma tibqgħax ukoll imgħallma għaliha nfisha billi tinbela' fit-tagħlim ta' suġġetti oħra.

9. Minn dana jidher kemm hi tassew vokazzjoni l-professjoni ta' għalliem, kemm huwa importanti t-taħriġ tagħhom mhux biss fis-suġġetti li jrid jgħallmu u l-aħjar għat-tagħlim, metodi iżda wkoll f'dawk li huma valuri tal-hajja; dawn huma l-qofol ta' edukazzjoni tajba u mingħajrhom m'hemmx edukazzjoni vera.

L-għalliem tar-reliġjon, imbagħad, saċerdot jew lajk, ma jistax ikollu biss konoxxenza tajba tad-duttrina nisranija, iżda jrid ikun ukoll xhud ta' fidi hajja, biex jaqdi l-missjoni tiegħu. U billi s-setgħa tat-tagħlim

hija responsabilità li ngħatat b'mod speċjali lill-Isqfijiet, huwa dmir u dritt ta' kull Isqof li jara kemm li d-duttrina tkun dik tabilhaqq nisranija u li tkun tiġi mgħallma b'metodi xierqa, kif ukoll minn nies li huwa jista' jqis bħala d-delegati tiegħu.

10. In-nisrani għandu rispettt u mħabba għal kulhadd, u għalhekk bl-ebda mod ma jrid jimponi t-twemmin tiegħu bilfors fuq kulhadd. Il-fidi hija vera biss jekk inhi hielsa. Għalhekk in-nisrani bl-ebda mod ma jippretendi li l-Istat jippratika d-diskriminazzjoni jew jagħmel imposizzjonijiet fuq min ma jemminx jew jemmen mod iehor mill-kotra l-kbira taċ-ċittadini ta' pajjiżu. Iżda, minn naħa l-oħra, lanqas ma jkun sewwa li tiġi ssagrifikata l-kotra minħabba l-ftit. Kemm l-għalliema, kemm itfal li l-ġenituri tagħhom ma jemmnux, m'għandhomx ikunu imġieghla jagħmlu dak li ma jistgħux jagħmlu bis-sinċerità. Iżda, minn naħa l-oħra, jehtieg li l-għalliema kollha jirrispettaw il-valuri tal-kotra taċ-ċittadini (kif ukoll ta' kull ċittadin) u min jonqoslu xi obbligu, jerfa' iehor; jehtieg ukoll, għaladarba ma jista' jkun hemm ebda edukazzjoni mingħajr riferenza għal skala ta' valuri, li min ma jaċċettax it-twemmin tal-kotra, jaċċetta għallanqas piz ugwali ta' taħriġ fil-valuri morali, mingħajr ma jippretendi li l-Istat jista' jipprovdi l-istess servizz għal każijiet eċċezzjonali li jista' jipprovdi għal każijiet komuni.

P. SERRACINO INGLOTT

Peter Serracino Inglott, born in Valletta, Malta, April 1936. He is a graduate of the Royal University of Malta (B.A.), Oxford (M.A.) Institut Catholique de Paris (B.D.) and of the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano (Ph.D.). He is at present the professor of Philosophy at the Royal University of Malta.

MARX ON 'THE OPIUM OF THE PEOPLE'*

MARX'S experience of religion was very limited. He seems to have had little interest in the religious question, and only turned his mind to it when polemical situations demanded some kind of response. And what he has to say is neither very original nor very profound. In fact, I think it is not unfair to say that we would not need to concern ourselves with Marx's views on religion at all, were it not for the fact that the Communist Party claims to act in his name and find in Marx the legitimisation of its own attitudes towards religion. In this way, the ideas of Marx have had massive and often devastating consequences for believers.

Marx's views on religion are best approached indirectly. Marx was not a philosopher, despite the efforts of the Marxists to transform him into one. By this I mean that he distinguished his own enterprise with that of the philosophers: 'The philosophers have interpreted the world: the task is to change it'. That is an anti-philosophical sentiment, and Marx was perfectly consistent on this point.

His rejection of philosophy meant, specifically, the rejection of Hegel. Faced with Hegel's proud system which purported to embrace and embody the whole history of the adventures of the Spirit, Marx's tactic was to say simply that it was nothing more than a mask, a disguise for something else. In Hegel, Spirit objectivises itself, thus lapses into alienation, but recovers by an act of knowledge, of recognition.

Now Marx treats Hegel rather in the manner of a psycho-analyst listening to a patient. He is aware of what the patient is saying, indeed he listens to him with the utmost attention, but all the time he is looking out for the 'words behind the words' which reveal the real nature of the malady. It is not the overt statements which matter so much as the hidden, coded statements, of which the speaker himself is unaware. After listening carefully, Marx comes up with his reading of Hegel. Hegel's metaphysics is not what he thought it was: it is a description, in transposed and veiled language, of the social processes of production. His metaphysics is really economics; the hero of history is not

*This is the text of an informal talk given by Fr. P. Hebblethwaite to students of The Royal University of Malta as part of the academic celebrations in honour of St. Thomas Aquinas.

Spirit but the labour of men; and Hegel has done no more than produce an allegory of the historical process.

Marx possesses the key to the process of history. He makes this quite clear: 'We recognise only one single science, the science of history' and 'the history of all societies hitherto is the history of class conflict'.

I may appear to be straying from my subject, but in fact I am at the heart of it. The unmasking and interpretation of Hegel provide the model for the unmasking and interpretation of Christianity (or indeed of anything else, one must add). Any 'system' can be read with the key provided by Marx. Except that Christianity is in an even more parlous condition than the metaphysics of Hegel. Hegel can be read as allegory. It contains unintentional truth. But Christianity provides not an allegory but an *illusion*. In his *Contribution to a Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*, the word 'fantastic' keeps recurring. Man 'looked for a superman in the fantastic reality of heaven'; 'religion is the fantastic realisation of the human essence'. It follows that the task is to liberate man from the illusion of religion:

'The criticism of religion disillusions man to make him think and act and shape his reality like a man who has been disillusioned and has come to his senses, so that he will revolve around himself and therefore round his true sun. Religion is the illusory sun which revolves around man as long as he does not revolve around himself'.

In Marx, then, the denial of God and the assertion of man are correlative statements. He must deny the illusion in order to assert the reality, proclaim atheism in order to found humanism.

This is why Marx is the most systematic and radical of atheists. His atheism quickly becomes combative, becomes an anti-theism. Not for him the liberal secular view which, with Marx, believes religion to be an illusion, but allows it to continue in the 'private sphere'. Marx does not allow a private sphere, independent of society. So he declares war: 'The abolition of religion as the illusory happiness of the people is required for their real happiness'.

Thus we reach the conclusion of this section of Marx's *Contribution*...: 'Religion is the opium of the people'. It dulls, blunts and eventually destroys the perception of injustice in the world by offering the fallacious hope of happiness and consolation elsewhere, in another world. It alienates, it drugs, it diverts from urgent tasks. This is the essence of Marx's position on religion. It has known little serious dev-

elopment. Engels embellished it with dubious historical inaccuracies, but until the Marxist revisionists or heretics of the late twentieth century, it has remained in its pristine, dogmatic form.

One is forced to ask a number of questions about this interpretation of religion, and in particular Christianity. First, what is the evidence for Marx's assertions? Marx does not provide any, and indeed does not need to. In this he is typical of the ideological thinker: if you disagree with him, this is either because you are a fool or are fooled. Still the question about evidence must be asked. And though it is clear that religion has been used as a form of social control – a way of keeping the oppressed content with their lot – and that God has been exploited as the prop of unjust social orders, it is also true that religion has challenged tyrants in the name of a higher order or a more perfect vision of justice and fraternity. The Church in 19th century Poland and Ireland was oppressed, not oppressing. Bonhoeffer resisted Hitler, Solzhenitsyn resists in Russia today, and Helder Camara is at loggerheads with the government of Brazil. At least Marx might have recognised the *ambivalence* of religion before systematising his mono-theory. Indeed, in another passage, he says that religion is 'the sigh of the oppressed creature' and some later Marxists have used this passage to suggest that the sigh can lead to protest and effective action (Garaudy).

My second question is very simple. Marx's humanism is based on the assumption that God and man are in radical opposition to each other, that what you attribute to the one you must take away from the other, that what you claim for one must be denied to the other. But this supposition is by no means self-evident. The situation changes – and our analysis of it – if one posits that God and man are not in competition, but rather in a state of collaboration. Then one can speak of man as co-creator.

Thirdly, there is a grave danger in Marx's humanism. To say as he does that 'Man is the supreme being for man' is deeply ambiguous. Does this mean man in the concrete, individual men? In which case it is the equivalent of Christianity's inalienable dignity, but without the grounding which Christianity provides. Or does it mean 'man in general'? A whole line of Marxist development has given this second answer and been prepared to sacrifice present generations for the sake of the future, a future, incidentally, which never finally arrives. There is not the slightest sign of the classless society emerging, still less of the withering away of the state. Unspeakable horrors have been perpet-

rated and justified in the name of this principle. It seems that to make 'man the supreme being for man' opens to the door to his abuse and exploitation. The dimension of the more-than-human is needed if man is to be defended.

Finally, and most tragically, Marxism in practice becomes an ideology in precisely the sense reproved and denounced by Marx. The irony is blatant. In communist countries, Marxism is the official ideology, commended by all the media, all embracing, total, totalising and totalitarian, and it is imposed on people and used as the justification for what happens. 'We must not relax our ideological vigilance' says Mr Gierak in Poland. Translate: 'We must not relax our propaganda efforts'. Stalin used ideology to justify the slaughter of the kulaks and the disappearance of millions. They were declared 'enemies of the state' and if they protested, that only proved their guilt the more. Today, they are not shot, but put in mental hospitals. Now all this was only possible because the sceptical, unmasking Marx, the Marx who tore the mask off ideologies, has been conveniently forgotten. This is the point to recall Marx's only recorded joke: 'I am not a Marxist'.

PETER HEBBLETHWAITE S.J.

Peter Hebblethwaite S.J. studied philosophy at Chantilly (France), Medieval and Modern Languages at the University of Oxford, and Theology at Heythrop College. Since 1965 he has been on the staff of *The Month* and editor since 1967. He is the author of *The Council Fathers and Atheism*, *Georges Bernanos, A Theology of the Church*, and many other works.

ARRIVAL AND FIRST DAYS IN MALTA OF
ANTHONY PIGNATELLI
INQUISITOR AND APOSTOLIC DELEGATE

THE NOMINATION AND JOURNEY TO MALTA

It was a period when it was extremely difficult to govern. The Grand Master of the Knights of St. John could hardly think of a way in which he could gain the respect of the members of the Order themselves. The Diocese of Malta was groaning for her Bishop's insufficient care. The natives of the island had lost their confidence in the Apostolic Ministers. In that precarious situation, the Roman Pontiff *Innocent X* (1644-1655) chose for Malta a new Inquisitor and Apostolic Delegate in the person of Anthony Pignatelli.

Anthony Pignatelli, a Neapolitan of noble origin,¹ the future Vicar of Christ, that bore the name of *Innocent XII* (1691-1700),² accepted to come to Malta to fill the vacancy left by the departure of Mgr. John

¹ Cf. G.A. Vallone, *Le oscuratissime satire di Perseo... con la vera origine di due case illustrissime: Colonna e Pignatelli*, Napoli, Cacchio, 1576.

C. De Lellis, *Discorsi delle Famiglie Nobili di Napoli*, Napoli, Savio, II (1663), pp. 88s.

F. Aragona Pignatelli Cortes, *Innocenzo XII, Papa Pignatelli e la sua famiglia*, Napoli, Forense, 1946, 20p.

² Cf. P. Gauchat, OFMConv., *Hierarchia Catholica*, Münster, 1935, v. 4, p. 216.

O. Panvinio, *Storia delle vite di Pontefici*, (v. II nell'opera di B. Platina), Venezia, Savioni, 1730, pp. 837-853.

L. Pastor, *Storia dei Papi dalla fine del Medio Evo*, v. 14 (1644-1700), t. 2, Roma, Desclée, 1962, pp. 420-422.

Many years later, in 1691, when Anthony Pignatelli was chosen as a Roman Pontiff, in Malta great celebrations commemorated the event. They were held, not only in Valletta and Mdina, as it was usual on the election of a new Pope, but also in Vittoriosa, which Anthony Pignatelli had previously honoured with his presence as an Inquisitor. In a letter of the Pro-Inquisitor Louis Famucelli, we read as follows: 'Per tre sere continue si sonò fatti i fuochi d'allegranza, con il sparo di gran numero di mortaletti, non solo nella città Valletta, ma anche nella Vittoriosa, per esser stata la Santità Sua Inquisitore in quest' Isola per duoi anni e quattro mesi': A.S.V., S.S. *Malta*, 42, f. 32r-v.

Baptist Gori Pannellini (1639-1646).³

Pignatelli was nominated as Inquisitor in the month of September 1646,⁴ but he did not leave immediately for Malta. Shortly after Gori's departure from the Island, the Roman Chancery prepared the usual three Briefs for a Maltese Inquisitor: the first one is dated 24th October 1646, and the other two carry the date of the 26th October 1646.⁵ Simultaneously, Cardinal Pamphili, the Pontifical Secretary of State, on October 24th, wrote a letter to recommend the newly appointed Inquisitor to the Grand Master Jean Paul Lascaris Castellar (1636-1657). In that letter, the Cardinal explicitly proclaimed his high esteem of Pignatelli.⁶

The Briefs, at the end of October, were handed to Pignatelli.⁷ But, then, he left Rome without carrying with him the instructions which the Holy See used to give to each Inquisitor.⁸ At the time of his appointment to that new office, Pignatelli was a Vice-Legate for the city and state of Urbino.⁹ After few years of practice in diplomacy, though still a very young Prelate, the Pope, seeing him fit for a diplomatic career,

³ Alex. Bonnici, OFMConv., *A bad reputation for the Maltese Inquisition under Mgr. John Baptist Gori Pannellini (1639-1646)* in *M.H.*, v.6, n.1 (1972), pp. 50-59.

P. Piccolomini, *Corrispondenza tra la Corte di Roma e l'Inquisitore di Malta durante la guerra di Candia* in *A.S.I.*, t.41 (1908), pp. 55.

⁴ In a letter of the Secretary of State destined to Mgr. Gori, and dated 8th September, 1646, we read: 'Havendo la Santità di Nostro Signore destinato successore a Vostra Signoria in cotesta carica Monsignor Pignatelli, io ne do a Lei quest'avviso': *A.S.V., S.S. Malta*, 82, f. 20v.

⁵ *Ib.*, *Secr. Brev.*, 1015, ff. 701r-707r.

⁶ 'Da Monsignor Pignatelli... mi fu resa... l'humanissima lettera di Vostra Eminenza delli 24 d'Ottobre... della stima che l'Eminenza Vostra dichiara di tenere la sua persona': *R.M.L., Arch.*, 1424, Letter to Cardinal Pamphili, 29th Dec. 1646.

⁷ In a letter of Grand Master Lascaris, we find that the Brief of Pignatelli was dated October 29th; but, undoubtedly, it is an error on the Grand Master's part. Lascaris had just given a look at the Brief and handed it back to the Inquisitor; so, the error is possible: 'Monsignor Pignatelli... fu, in arrivando quà la settimana passata, ad esibirmi il suo benignissimo Breve delli 29 d'Ottobre': *R.M.L., Arch.*, 1424, Letter of Lascaris to Pope Innocent X, 29th Dec. 1646.

⁸ 'Non essendosi consegnata a Vostra Signoria nella sua partenza di quà l'istruzione solita darsi a chi esercita la carica d'Inquisitore in Malta...': *A.S.V., S.S. Malta*, 82, ff. 20v-21r.

⁹ Panvinio, *o.c.*, *ib.*, p. 837.

decided to nominate him for the first time as his Legate. Then, he was only thirty years old.

According to the Canon Law of that time, no one could be elected as an Inquisitor without being at least forty years of age. In Malta, however, it was not rare to see a Prelate at the head of the Holy Office without reaching that age; but it was not an exception because the Inquisitors of Malta were elected by the Pope himself. Infact, in the age-norm, we find added: '*unless nominated by the Pope*'.¹⁰ For the young Prelates, the Inquisition in Malta served as an experiment of ability in diplomacy. Most of them, after few years, passed on to higher offices in the service of the Holy See.

Ordinarily, the new Inquisitor embarked in Civitavecchia. When he crossed the sea on the galleys of the Pope, he did not pay any expenses neither for himself nor for his retinue. Usually, however, he gave a donation to the captains and officials of the boat.¹¹ At that time, normally, the trip from Civitavecchia to Malta took from ten to fifteen days. Nevertheless, the Inquisitor's steward used to provide for about one month because various reasons could delay the arrival. Not rarely, the Inquisitors had to endure the hardships of a long trip for a month or even more. On account of contrary winds or rough seas, at times, the Inquisitors had to suspend the voyage, and tarry even on a desert coast.¹² We came across records of Journeys which were incredibly long; for instance, the Inquisitor Frederick Borromeo (1653-1654) got

¹⁰H. Plettenberg, SJ, *Notitiae Congregationum et Tribunalium Curiae Romanae*, pp. 601-602.

¹¹'Havendo congiuntura di navigare su le Pontificie, non soggiace a spesa veruna, né per sé, né per la sua fameglia, ben che poi, secondo la propria generosità, soglia regalare li capi e li ufficiali; ma quella delle galere per avventura mancandoli, e convenendoli andare sopra feluche, ogni spesa e provizione a lui tocca, potendo però questa venirli in certo modo contracambiata dal più sollecito arrivo': *Bibl. Vat., Ottob. Lat.*, 2206, parte 2, f. 308r.

¹²'Nelle medesime feluche ... può portarsi ... per un viaggio di un mese almeno, poichè, se bene il viaggio da Roma in Malta può farsi in dieci o quindici giorni, ad ogni modo ciò dipende dalla qualità della stagione e de tempi che regnano, occorrendo molte volte, per la contrarietà di venti, fermarsi per necessità molti giorni in una nuda spiaggia': *Bibl. Naz. Roma, Vitt. Eman.*, 838, *Istruzioni per il Maestro di Camera del Prelato*, (ff. 2v-3r). [These Instructions are not numbered; but, to render this consultation possible, we give our own numeration].

to Malta fifty days after the day of his departure from Rome.¹³

Some Inquisitors, on their way to Malta, out of curiosity or necessity, stopped in Naples. Pignatelli surely did. He was of a noble Neapolitan origin. His lineage, though divided into many branches, still dwells in that city. Pignatelli knew that he could not leave his Island before the end of his term of office. So, he could not miss that occasion of a few days of rest. In Naples, as an Inquisitor, he was obliged to visit the Viceroy and the Cardinal Archbishop, who usually offered him free lodging.¹⁴

Towards the end of November, Pignatelli embarked for Messina. Undoubtedly, he reached Messina by 2nd December 1646, where the galleys of the Knights waited in the harbour and were preparing to head for Malta.¹⁵ Whenever an Inquisitor stopped in that sicilian city, he was normally the guest of the Archbishop.¹⁶ Since Pignatelli had not taken with him the instructions, Cardinal Pamphili, on November 17th, arranged to have them sent over to him.¹⁷ The Inquisitor received them before embarking from Messina to Malta.¹⁸

¹³The Inquisitor Frederick Borromeo, on the 28th February 1653, in a letter to the Secretary of State, complained about the length of his voyage: 'Alla sollecita sodisfattione di questo debito, mi è stata contraria la qualità del viaggio, che, prolungato da gli accidenti del tempo e dell'affari che in ciaschedun porto havendo li comandanti delle galere, me n'ha differito il termine sin al cinquantesimo giorno da che partii di costi': A.S.V., S.S. *Malta*, 9, f. 6r.

¹⁴'Quando la curiosità o l'urgenza di qualche negotio l'induchi a fermarsi per qualche giorno in Napoli, passando da quella parte, può vedere che, penetrandolo il Nuntio, sarà da lui alloggiato': Bibl. Vat., *Ottob. Lat.*, 2206, p. 2, f. 308r.

As a confirmation of this custom, in reference to Inquisitor Julius Degli Oddi, confer: Aless. Bonnici, OFMConv., *Giulio Degli Oddi contro Martino de Redin in Annales de l'O.S.M. de Malte*, v. 28 (1970), p. 94.

¹⁵'In Messina, dove sto di prossimo attendendo l'imbarco sopra le galere di Malta, che già si trovano in questo porto, per condurmi speditamente in quell'Isola': A.S.V., S.S. *Malta*, 7, f. 129r.

¹⁶'Il medesimo prelato... fu da quel Vescovo (di Siracusa) visitato, che l'haverebbe anco alloggiato, quando vi si fusse fermato, come a punto fece l'Arcivescovo di Messina': Bibl. Vat., *Ottob. Lat.*, 2206, p. 2, f. 308r-v.

Cf. Aless. Bonnici, *Giulio Degli Oddi contro Martino De Redin*, *ib.*

¹⁷The Secretary of State wrote to Pignatelli: 'Io gliela mando qui aggiunta': A.S.V., S.S. *Malta*, 82, f. 21r.

¹⁸'La sua benignissima lettera delli 17 del caduto mi sovraggiunge qui in Messina': *ib.*, 7, f. 129r.

Because of rough seas and contrary winds, Pignatelli could not enjoy his trip. But then, after another two weeks, on the 17th December, he joyfully and healthily entered the Maltese harbour on the galleys of the Order.¹⁹

THE ARRIVAL AND THE OFFICIAL VISIT TO THE GRAND MASTER

Usually, before reaching his palace, the new Inquisitor met the officials of the Holy Tribunal. His palace at Vittoriosa had to be appropriately prepared for him and for all his retinue. In the meantime, the Pro-Inquisitor, who had taken charge of the inquisitorial duties up to the arrival of the new Inquisitor, used to invite the Apostolic Minister to visit some important places on the Island.²⁰

As soon as he got to his palace at Vittoriosa, the Inquisitor had the strict obligation to take possession of all the documents left by his predecessor: especially those that concerned the pending trials. It was his duty to keep the inventory of the correspondence with the Roman Congregations, and anything that referred to the Inquisitor's palace, prisons, and possessions safe under lock and key.²¹ He was also bound

¹⁹ 'Dopo un lungo trattenimento di viaggio accagionato della contrarietà de tempi scorsi, mi trovo giunto finalmente con salute in Malta': *Ib.*, f. 130r.

'Non passarono molti giorni che 'l Mar. de los Velez Vice Re di Sicilia richiese la comodità di queste galere per fare la visita delle fortezze d'Augusta, di Siracusa, e d'altre di quel Regno, per il che fattene allestire 4, partirono nel seguente Novembre sotto il nuovo Generale San Iey per Messina, dove arrivarono inutilmente, per non essersi trovato il Vice Re pronto a fare quella visita: onde sé ne tornarono di Decembre a Malta, portandovi il numero (!) Inquisitore Monsignor Antonio Pignatelli che successe a Monsignor Gori': B. Dal Pozzo, *Historia della Sacra Religione Militare di S. Giovanni Gerosolimitano detta di Malta*, v. 2, Venezia, Albrizzi, 1715, p. 140.

About the date of arrival: 'Monsignor Inquisitore Pignatelli, che giunse qua alli 17, con buona salute': R.M.L., *Arch.* 1424, Grand Master Lascaris to the Ambassador Altieri, 29th Dec. 1646.

²⁰ 'È solito che prima di arrivare (nel proprio Palazzo) venga incontrato dalli ufficiali di quel Tribunale, e che giunto al suo Palazzo, ch'egli trova provisto delle cose necessarie per sé stesso e sua fameglia, sintanto che giungano dallo sbarco le sue proprie, venga invitato di più posti dal Pro-Inquisitore, che ordinariamente si lascia soprintendente alla carica dall'Inquisitore che parte': *Bibl. Vat., Ottob. Lat.*, 2206, p. 2, f. 308v.

²¹ Cardinal Millino instructs the Inquisitor Evangelista Carbonese, through a letter dated 26th March 1614, how to introduce his successor to the new office: 'Però Vostra Signoria l'ammetta al libero essercitio di esso con darli

to inform the Grand Master of his arrival without any delay.²²

When Pignatelli landed in Malta, Grand Master Lascaris happened to be in his Palace at Buskett. The Inquisitor, on his own part, was determined to go and pay him a visit even there; but, on the same day, the Grand Master's Chamberlain came to welcome the new Inquisitor in the name of his Lord. He reverently assured him that the Grand Master would be pleased if the Inquisitor would not take the trouble to go so far to visit him, because he was about to be back as soon as possible.²³ Usually, the Grand Master's squire had the honour to welcome the Inquisitor and agree upon the official visit; but, on that occasion, he was out of the Convent, on a galley of which he was the captain.²⁴

According to the Ritual of the Holy Office, the Inquisitor, as a sign of reverence, never publicly received any person before visiting the Grand Master officially. If he had to wait for some days to accomplish that duty, as it happened in the case of Pignatelli, the Inquisitor, while furnishing his Palace with anything that might be necessary, used to

piena instruzione delle cause et negotii pendenti, del modo di trattare, e delle prerogative delle cause dell'ufficio e di tutto quello che giudicherà espediente': A.I.M., *Corrispondenza*, 3 (1613-1618), f. 83r.

Through the instructions that in 1654 were to be handed to Inquisitor Stephen Brancacci, we read: 'Per la buona direttione poi del Tribunale, di sui subito che sarà giunta a Malta vi farà consegnare da chi Monsignor Borromeo avrà al suo partire sostituito in suo luogo, per inventario la nota dei processi, delle scritture, dei mobili, e delle suppellettili della casa e delle prigioni, che si dovrà da Lei a suo tempo riconsegnare al suo successore': Bibl. Linc. Roma, Ms. 35, C. 3, f. 103r.

²² Manda un suo gentiluomo in abito da città, il suo Assessore o altro suo Ministro Particolare, a dar [Nel Ms. 'dal'] parte del suo arrivo al Gran Maestro, riserbandogli a farlo poi in persona subito che gli sarà permesso': R.M.L., *Library*, 8, *Dell'Inquisitore di Malta*, f. 327r. (A transcription from *Dell'Inquisitore di Malta* by Agostino Paradisi, printed in Venice, in 1713).

²³ 'Havendo arrivato sotto le decissette del medesimo mese con le galere che venevano da Sicilia, et ritrovandosi Sua Eminenza nel Boschetto, volse detto Monsignor andar subito colà per visitarla; però, venendo il medesimo giorno da parte di detta Eminenza il Mastro di Casa a dargli la ben venuta... disse al sopradetto Monsignore che detta Eminenza haverebbe a caro che non pigliasse quella incommodità, stante che quanto prima sarebbe di ritorno': R.M.L., *Arch*, 258, f. 72v.

²⁴ '... per ritrovarsi il cavallerizzo solito far questa funtione fuori di Convento con la galera di cui era capitano': *ib.*

take secret informations about the reigning Grand Master.²⁵

Four days elapsed from the arrival of Pignatelli in Malta until the Grand Master was back at Valletta. For that reason, the Inquisitor decided to fulfill his duty towards him. Since the Apostolic Minister usually dwelled in Vittoriosa, he had to cross the Grand Harbour that separated him from Valletta. Considering, however, that he did not go to the city very frequently, each Inquisitor preferred not to have his own boat. One of the many boat-men, that daily earned their living by carrying passengers between the two cities, used to be also for his service.²⁶

As a sign of esteem towards the Inquisitor, the Grand Master used to send one of his own carriages to carry him from the harbour to the Magisterial Palace.²⁷ On the 21st December 1646,²⁸ Anthony Pignatelli was introduced before the Grand Master, wearing a rochet and a cape (mantelletta) longer than the ordinary one, accompanied by the Lieutenant, Grand-Cross Knights, and many others.²⁹ Pignatelli was welcomed according to the ceremonies in vigour since the arrival of his predecessor Mgr. Lewis Serristori on the 12th October 1630.³⁰

²⁵ 'L'Inquisitore non riceve visite pubbliche, se prima non è stato in persona a riverire il Gran Maestro. Intanto, prendendo riposo, fa allestire ed addobbare la casa, prende informazione si della natura e genio del Gran Maestro regnante che delle persone sue confidenti e Ministri principali': *Ib.*, *Libr.*, 8, f. 327v.

²⁶ 'Convieni però per andare alla città tanto il Padrone quanto li servitori di servirsi delle barche comuni del passo': *Bibl. Naz. Roma, Vitt. Eman.*, 838, *Instrutt. al Mastro di Camera* (f. 4v).

²⁷ 'Se arriva di sera, manda la matina seguente a dar del parte suo arrivo al Gran Mastro et a chiedere l'udienza, che se gli suole senza dilatione concedere da quello, il quale ad ogni richiesta dell'Inquisitore, e massime per occasione di udienze o di visite, fa essere all'ordine una delle sue carrozze (non usandola ivi l'Inquisitore), che si trova pronta allo sbarcatore della città della Valletta': *Bibl. Vat., Ottob. Lat.*, 2206, p. 2, f. 308v.

²⁸ 'Die vigesima prima mensis Decembris 1646. Nota come hoggi doppo vespro è stato Monsignor Illustrissimo Don Antonio Pignatelli nuovo Inquisitore a visitare l'Eminentissimo e Reverendissimo Signor Gran Maestro': *R.M.L., Arch.*, *Lib. Conc. Stat.*, 258, f. 72v.

²⁹ 'Viene dunque introdotto dal Gran Mastro in suo habito prelatitio di rocchetto, mantelletta': *Bibl. Vat., Ottob. Lat.*, 2206, p. 2, f. 308v. Cf. *R.M.L., Library*, 8, f. 329v.

³⁰ 'Fu ricevuto con le cerimonie et accoglienze solite et osservate sotto li 12 d'ottobre 1630 con Monsignor Seristori': *R.M.L., Arch.*, 258, f. 72v.

On his admission in the Grand Master's hall, Mgr. Pignatelli immediately handed him the Papal Brief and a letter of recommendation from the Cardinal Secretary of State. All the ceremony was accompanied with words that the Inquisitor deemed convenient and suitable for the occasion.³¹ Few days later, in one of his many letters, the Inquisitor referred to the affection and honour bestowed on him by the Grand Master during the official visit.³²

It is a well known fact that normally Grand Masters and Inquisitors were not on good terms. The Grand Master, however, knew perfectly well that he had to endure patiently the presence of an Apostolic Minister. On the arrival of Pignatelli, Grand Master Lascaris, in his external signs of affection, was more or less sincere because, after the unpleasant experience of Mgr. Gori's inquisitorship,³³ he was hopefully waiting for a change. At least, the Grand Master was glad that a new Prelate was invested with that dignity.

Lascaris was sincere because he made known his satisfaction even to others. We can put aside the letter that he wrote to the Pope where necessarily he had to express his pleasure.³⁴ The letter, however, sent to Altieri, the Ambassador of the Order in Rome, is worthy of consideration. He informed Altieri of Pignatelli's official visit; besides, the Grand Master added that he had noticed from the very beginning that the new Inquisitor was highly worthy of the dignity conferred upon

³¹ 'All'humilissima parte che n'invio a Vostra Eminenza aggiungo anche l'altra d'esser stato già da questo Eminentissimo Gran Maestro, e di haver al medesimo presentato il Breve di Nostro Signore e la lettera dell'Eminenza Vostra, et accompagnato l'una e l'altra con le parole che ho stimato più adeguate all'attione': A.S.V., S.S. *Malta*, 7, f. 130r.

'Monsignor Pignatelli, mandato da Vostra Santità ad esercitar in quest'isola il carico d'Inquisitore, fu, in arrivando qua la settimana passata, ad esibirmi il suo benignissimo Breve delli 29 d'ottobre': R.M.L., *Arch.* 1424, Lascaris to the Pope, 29th Dec. 1646.

³² '... con haver riportato da Sua Eminenza una divota espressione di sensi ossequiosissimi verso la Sua Santità e di vera osservanza verso l'Eminenza Vostra et in me stesso trattamenti di molto affetto et honore': A.S.V., S.S. *Malta*, 7, f. 130r.

³³ Cf. Alex. Bonnici, *A bad reputation for the Maltese Inquisition under Mgr. John Baptist Gori Pannellini (1639-1646)* in *M.H.*, v. 6, n. 1 (1972), pp. 50-59.

³⁴ 'Non senza mio grandissimo contento': R.M.L., *Arch.* 1424, Lascaris to the Pope, 29th Dec. 1646.

him.³⁵ Lascaris seemed sorry that, on account of his ill health, for the next few days, he could not see Mgr. Pignatelli. He hoped to see him as soon as possible to discuss with him some problems of jurisdiction about which a solution was expected by the Holy See.³⁶

AN INQUISITOR THAT INSPIRED TRUST

As soon as Pignatelli began his work in Malta, the Grand Master did not cease to nourish a glowing hope to find in him assistance against the inconveniences that were causing trouble in the Order. Lascaris was getting very old and, consequently, he was feeling a sense of weariness. For that reason, he was expecting plenty of help from the Inquisitor. One of the problems that caused a certain uneasiness in Malta and restricted within narrow limits the sovereignty of the Order was the ample immunity which recently had been granted to the churches in Malta.³⁷ The Grand Master's hope was to have everything re-examined by Pignatelli, and to ask for his help that he might sum up all scattered informative elements as he had been urged to do by the Pope himself. The Knights had a feeling of trust that Pignatelli would be able to administer the suitable treatment by restricting the privilege of immunity just to the parish churches.³⁸ For the Grand Master, it would be less complicated to have his craving desire satisfied through the Inquisitor because he had learned from experience that the Sacred Congregation of Immunity was too rigid in favouring the Order in anything which had to do with its competence.³⁹

On the same occasion, Lascaris wrote also to the Pope himself and

³⁵ 'Molto degno del carico impostogli da Nostro Signore': *Ib.*, Lascaris to Ambassador Altieri, 29th Dec. 1646.

³⁶ 'Piacque al Signor Iddio di visitarci con un puoco di indispositione che ci ha impediti di poterlo più vedere ... Procureremo di rivederlo quanto prima ... in difesa della nostra giurisdizione, alla quale non siamo per consentire in modo alcuno che sia pregiudicato': *Ib.*

³⁷ 'Lasciando libera la nostra Religione da cose che tanto la perturbano come fa pure la si larga immunità delle chiese, introdotta da pochi anni in questa parte': *Ib.*, Lascaris to Agent Rosa, 29th Dec. 1646.

³⁸ 'Desideriamo infinitamente che, venendo da Monsignore Inquisitore Pignatelli le informazioni, che se gli sono incaricate di prenderne, la somma benignità et autorità di Nostro Signore si degnasse di dare l'opportuno rimedio col restringerla alle parochiali': *Ib.*

³⁹ 'Senza rimetterci a cotesta Sagra Congregatione, troppa rigorosa sempre in affari di questa sorte': *Ib.*

to Cardinal Pamphili. There again, the Grand Master referred to the honourable reception of the new Delegate of the Holy See.⁴⁰ Once more, while exalting the dignity and merits of his person, he promised to increase his deep respect towards him, and to bestow on him his favours also for the time yet to come.⁴¹ Here, however, there is no need to explain that Lascaris, in that letter, had always a mental reservation clear in his mind: the Inquisitor would be revered by the Knights only if he would be on good terms with them. Notwithstanding, this, during the time of Pignatelli, those promises were more or less maintained. The Grand Master and Pignatelli usually cooperated with each other in the execution of their duties.⁴² Although all those promises were the ordinary polite expressions of courtesy of any subject towards his superior, the concluding words of Grand Master Lascaris' letter are truly noteworthy. He knew that the Pope did not give any credit just to plain words, but only to concrete facts. Hence, he closed his letter by affirming that Pignatelli himself, during his stay in Malta, would be the eye-witness of the Grand Master's behaviour.⁴³

FIRST STEPS OF INQUISITORIAL ACTIVITY

The main duty of the Maltese Inquisitor, in the mind of the Supreme Congregation of the Holy Office, ought to be the preservation of the Christian Faith on the Island and the consolidation of the inhabitants in their obedience to the Holy See.⁴⁴ For that reason, the Inquisitor was

⁴⁰'Egli ricevè da me tutti gl'honori dovuti ad un Ministro della Santità Vostra': *Ib.*, Lascaris to the Pope, 29th Dec. 1646.

'Egli fu ricevuto da me come Ministro Apostolico': *Ib.*, Lascaris to Card. Pamphili, 29th Dec. 1646.

⁴¹'Corresponderanno pur anche tutti gl'altri che sarò per fargli in avvenire': *Ib.*, Lascaris to Card. Pamphili, 29th Dec. 1646.

'Non lascerò di continuarglieli pure in ogn'altra occasione': *Ib.*, Lascaris to the Pope, 29th Dec. 1646.

⁴²'In quello che riguarda il suo officio acciò possa ben amministrarlo, io sarò prontissimo ancor sempre a prestargli tutto l'aiuto, che può uscire dall'autorità mia': *Ib.*

⁴³'Vorò nondimeno che lo stesso Monsignore sia buon testimonio del proceder mio in questa parte': *Ib.*

⁴⁴'L'oggetto principale del suo ministero ha di essere il mantenere cotesta Religione e Isola nella purità della Fede Catholica et nell'obbedienza dovuta a questa S. Sede': *Bibl. Vat., Borg. Lat.*, 558, *Instrutt. a Gori*, f. 84v. Cf. V. Borg, *Fabio Chigi, Apostolic Delegate in Malta*, C.V. 1967, p. 4.

bound to exercise his full authority. Most of the facts that we have mentioned refer to official ceremonies; but their only reason was to keep him always highly esteemed in Malta. In his Inquisitorial functions, all the inhabitants of Malta depended on him.

We do not possess any records about Pignatelli's application of what was customary in the Holy Office. But other documents confirm that he faithfully fulfilled his duty as a Minister of the Holy See. Undoubtedly, he never failed to be dutiful especially in what was essentially inherent to his office. Each Maltese Inquisitor, soon after his arrival, published the Bull of Julius III *Licet ex adversis*, that of Pius V *Si de protegendis*, and another one of Gregory XV against those who proved to be guilty of solicitation in the Sacrament of Penance.⁴⁵ The aim of those publications, on the arrival of each new Inquisitor, was to put a remedy against all evil-doers, at least through the dread of ecclesiastical penalties and censures.⁴⁶

Pignatelli sternly and mildly at the same time proceeded against those who were guilty of anything mentioned in those Bulls.⁴⁷ Here, however, it is interesting to mention an edict of this Inquisitor against some abuses which had been introduced in Malta. Some wealthy persons used to be attended by a retinue of Moslem or Hebrew slaves even in the church during the liturgical functions.⁴⁸ The fact was becoming a

⁴⁵ 'E per dar principio a gli atti del Tribunale con decoro e terrore dei miscredenti, farà subito pubblicare il solito editto della Santa Inquisitione, la Bolla della santa memoria di Giulio 3^o che comincia '*Licet ex adversis*', quelle di Pio V che comincia '*Si de protegendis*', e di Gregorio XV contra i sollecitanti': Bibl. Linc. Roma, ms. 35, C. 3, f. 103r.

⁴⁶ 'Rinovata d'esse la memoria gl'uni s'astengano almeno per terrore delle pene dai delitti, e gli altri s'inducano per sottrarsi alle censure et adempire il loro obbligo alle denuntie, le quali dovranno essere ricevute da Vostra Signoria': *ib.*

⁴⁷ Pignatelli's activity as an Inquisitor of Malta needs a whole treatise by itself. It is our intention to publish articles about every aspect of this Apostolic Minister's activity in future studies. Just as an example of the Inquisition proceedings during the period of Pignatelli, see: Alex. Bonnici, OFMConv., *Superstitions in Malta towards the middle of the seventeenth century in the light of the Inquisition trials in M.H.*, v. 4, n. 3 (1966), pp. 145-183.

⁴⁸ 'Con publico scandalo s'intende che tanto le persone onorate, quanto di mala vita tengono nelle Chiese al tempo di divini officii le loro schiave infedeli vestite e coperte con manti come loro stesse': A.I.M., *Processi*, 61, n. 154, f. 813r.

widespread scandal because it was commonly held that those infidels, not only did not believe in or understand our Holy Mysteries, but also made fun of them.⁴⁹ On account of that, Pignatelli, in the fullness of his authority as an Inquisitor, published an Edict against those who were abusing in that respect. He forbade all persons of any dignity from taking the Moslem and Hebrew slaves with them into the church during the Divine Services.⁵⁰ The penalty was extended to the slaves themselves because they were threatened to be publicly whipped if they failed to obey the edict.⁵¹

CONCLUSION

This is the promising beginning of Mgr. Pignatelli's activity in Malta. He was not a great Inquisitor. He often tried to devise impediments and difficulties to release himself from that office in Malta.⁵² He earnestly desired higher positions and dignities far away from Malta.⁵³ But, in carrying out his duties, Pignatelli was more than satisfactory.

After Gori's unhappy term of office, the Pope feared that the new Inquisitor would not be welcomed in Malta. When, instead, it was referred to His Holiness that the Inquisitor had been received with great joy,

⁴⁹ '... gl'hebrei et infedeli che non credino né intendono così grandi misterii, anzi tal volta se ne burlano': *Ib.*

⁵⁰ '... comandando ad ogni e qualunque persona ecclesiastica e secolare di qualsiasi stato, grado, sesso, e conditione, e della Sacra Religione Gerosolimitana che non debbano lasciar dimorare nelle chiese durante il tempo del Sacrificio della Santa Messa e Divini Officii i loro schiavi infedeli o Hebrei, homini e donne': *Ib.*

⁵¹ 'Dechiariamo che si procederà ancora contro gl'infedeli medesimi alla pena della frusta in caso della sudetta contraventione': *Ib.*

⁵² 'Esperimento così aria contraria alla mia salute, la qualità di quest'aria in tempo d'estate che non potrei assicurarmi di passarvene un'altra senza evidente pericolo di perderla affatto': A.S.V., S.S. *Malta*, 7, f. 186r.

'Questa aria riusciva alla mia complessione notabilmente molesta': *Ib.*, f. 217r.

'Nulla di meno, vedendo accrescersi tuttavia con la dimora in quest'aere maggiori l'evidenze degl'accennati pericoli, sono costretto di palesarmi di nuovo molesto all'Eminenza Vostra': *Ib.*, f. 198r.

⁵³ 'Per gl'inditii che ne porgono le instanti congiunture, si va probabilmente argumentando che Nostro Signore sia per risolversi di mandar Nunzio in Fian-dra. Io considero molto bene che potrà sembrare forse intempestiva la mia pre-tensione di far passaggio da questa alla sudetta carica, ma però non dubito d'esserne tacciato in riguardo alla scarsezza notissima d'impieghi': *Ib.*, f. 166r.

not only by the Grand Master, but also by the Knights, Pope Innocent X expressed his deep pleasure and satisfaction.⁵⁴ On that occasion, the Pope could not hide any longer his worries for the Holy Tribunal in Malta. When the choice fell on Anthony Pignatelli, it had not happened by chance.

After Gori's departure from Malta, the Pope, remembering especially that the Knights themselves had threatened to murder the Inquisitor,⁵⁵ pondered for a long time before choosing a suitable person. He was glad that Pignatelli corresponded to his expectations. His only fear was that the premature praise from the Knights might in the time turn into bitter hatred.⁵⁶

From the very beginning, Pignatelli tried to soften, through gentle manners the hatred engendered in Malta against his predecessor.⁵⁷ He

⁵⁴ 'Rappresentai insieme gl'honori che Vostra Eminenza haveva fatto al Medesimo Monsignore in riguardo della Santità Sua e la gran sodisfattione che assieme con Vostra Eminenza haveva ricevuto tutto il Convento nel suo primo ingresso': R.M.L., *Arch.* 1273, Ambassador G. Altieri to Lascaris, 9th Febr. 1647.

⁵⁵ 'Sono in obbligo dar conto a Vostra Eminenza d'esser stato segretamente avisato che diversi Cavalieri habbin resolutto di levarmi la vita per haver fatto carcerare delle loro meretrici': A.S.V., *S.S. Malta*, 7, f. 127r.

Cf. Alex. Bonnici, *A bad reputation for the Maltese Inquisition, l.c.*, p. 53.

⁵⁶ 'Godeva molto che dopo d'haver pensato per longo tempo per sciegliere soggetto a proposito per cotesta carica, tale fosse riuscito e stimato da Vostra Eminenza, quale egli tal'era figurato, e che sperava che ogni giorno maggiormente Vostra Eminenza dovesse restarne sodisfatta': R.M.L., *Arch.* 1273, Altieri to Lascaris, 9th Febr. 1647.

⁵⁷ 'Monsignor Antonio Pignatelli, Napolitano dell'una e l'altra signatura, fu da Papa Innocenzo X inviato Inquisitore in Malta nel 1646, essendo Gran Maestro Fr. Gio. Paolo Lascaris Castellar, ed arrivò li 17 Ottobre 1646 (?) con quattro galere di questa Gerosolimitana Religione, e dal principio che gionse fece raddolcire l'odiosità del predecessore. con le soavi sue maniere; rimase poco più del biennio in questa carica e parti li 23 aprile 1649': *Ib.*, *Libr.* 8, ff. 215v-216r.

⁵⁸ 'Havro caro oltremodo... ad esibirle insieme attestati sempre nuovi della stima particolare che conservo del merito suo': *Ib.*, *Arch.* 1427, Lascaris to Pignatelli (after his departure from the Island), 12th July 1649.

⁵⁹ 'Dal principio che gionse fece raddolcire l'odiosità del predecessore'. *Ib.*, *Libr.*, 8, f. 216r.

⁶⁰ The Secretary of State, on 27th Febr. 1649, wrote to Pignatelli: 'Io, nel darne a Vostra Signoria questo avviso l'accompagno ancora con l'attestatione che le faccio della molta sodisfattione che Sua Santità ha ricevuta da Lei nel essercitio di cotesta carica': A.S.V., *S.S. Malta*, 82, f. 29r.

learned to face his difficulties with courage, to exercise justice with prudence and moderation, and to judge without any passion. Besides, though suffering from a delicate physical constitution, up to the time of his departure from Malta, in 1649, he continued to be admired by the Knights,⁵⁸ by the people of Malta,⁵⁹ and by the Holy See itself.⁶⁰

ALEXANDER BONNICI OFMConv.

Alexander Bonnici, O.F.M.Conv., was born in Floriana, Malta, 28th January 1936. He is a graduate of the Pontifical Gregorian University (H.E.D. and Ph.B.) and of the St. Bonaventure Theological Faculty of Rome (S.Th.L.). He is a Lecturer in Church History and Patrology at the I.N.S.E.R.M. (Malta).

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Arch.</i>	: Archivum
<i>A.I.M.</i>	: Archivum Inquisitionis Melitensis
<i>A.S.I.</i>	: Archivio Storico Italiano
<i>A.S.V.</i>	: Archivum Secretum Vaticanum
<i>Bibl. Linc.</i>	: Biblioteca dei Lincei
<i>Bibl. Naz.</i>	: Biblioteca Nazionale
<i>Bibl. Vat.</i>	: Biblioteca Vaticana
<i>Borg. Lat.</i>	: Borgia Latino
<i>C.V.</i>	: Città del Vaticano
<i>f.</i>	: Folium
<i>Libr.</i>	: Library
<i>M.H.</i>	: Melita Historica
<i>Ottob. Lat.</i>	: Ottoboniani Latino
<i>r.</i>	: Rectum
<i>R.M.L.</i>	: Royal Malta Library
<i>S.S.</i>	: Secretaria Status
<i>v.</i>	: Versum
<i>Vitt. Eman.</i>	: Vittorio Emanuele

THE PASCHAL MYSTERY AND THE 'ORDO BAPTISMI PARVULORUM'

(Second Part)

Man's response to the divine call to salvation

On reading the rite of baptism one cannot help observing that the very opening words of the same ('What name do you wish to give...?' 'What do you desire from the Church of God?') do not adequately bring out God's initiative in man's salvation. However, in all justice one will at the same time also realize that the OBP must be taken in its entire context, and on p. 12 of this study we have referred to the several passages where the OBP speaks about the initiative of God in offering salvation to man in baptism. Now, such a divine invitation to salvation calls for a fitting response which the children's parents make, asking for 'faith', 'the grace of Christ', 'eternal life', 'salvation'.⁷⁵ This initial acceptance of the divine call to salvation (which will a little later on be confirmed through the profession of faith and baptism itself) is ratified by a pact. The infant is signed with the sign of the Cross, '*the sphragis*', which from very early times has been used in the baptismal rite of the Church to signify the seal of the new alliance and of incorporation into the new Israel, the sign that the infant now belongs to Christ and shares (by anticipation) in Christ's victory over the forces of evil through his death on the cross.⁷⁶

Man's response to the divine invitation will be summed up in a *conversion* concretely expressed through a renunciation of evil,⁷⁷ a profession of faith⁷⁸ and baptism,⁷⁹ all of which will be for the infant the actualization of the paschal mystery of Christ. However, before this takes place, the Church humbly acknowledges that salvation comes

⁷⁵ cfr. OBP., p. 23, n. 37.

⁷⁶ On the significance and symbolism of the '*sphragis*' cfr. J. DANIELOU, *The Bible and the Liturgy*, Darton, Longman & Todd, London, 1964., pp. 54ff., L. BOUYER, *Christian Initiation*, Burns & Oates, London, 1960, pp. 53ff.

⁷⁷ cfr. OBP., p. 30, nn. 56-57.

⁷⁸ cfr. Ibid., p. 31, nn. 58-59.

⁷⁹ cfr. Ibid., pp. 31-32, n. 60.

from God⁸⁰ and therefore in the prayers of the faithful it implores the divine mercy so that through the actualization of the death and resurrection of Christ the infants to be baptized might effectively die to sin and rise to a new life, be aggregated to the Church, the Mystical Body of his Son, and receive the help necessary to grow in the divine life soon to be had until the end of time.⁸¹ For, the paschal mystery in baptism does not only look to *the past* and to *the present*, as we have already pointed out above, but *also to the future*. Everyone immersed into Christ in baptism must continue to live out the paschal mystery constantly in his own life, must continue to die constantly to sin in order to live to God. That is why the Church prays God 'so that through the splendour of the divine mystery of your death and resurrection you may design to regenerate these children through baptism, aggregate them to the holy Church' and 'lead them through holiness of life to the joys of the heavenly kingdom'.⁸²

The death that the infants must undergo is a death to sin, a liberation from sin in virtue of Christ's paschal mystery. This is expressed in *the prayer of the exorcism*: God, who had sent his Son into the world to vanquish Satan, the spirit of evil, and to liberate mankind from the powers of darkness, is humbly petitioned to make Christ's victory over sin once again actual in the case of the infants present so that they may *pass over from the slavery of sin to the sonship of God*, from the realm of darkness to that of light, from being abodes of evil to being temples of the Holy Spirit.⁸³ The presence of an exorcism in the OBP far from appearing as something incomprehensible or anachronistic to the modern mind boldly serves to underline the fact that part of the answer to the problem of evil that keeps tormenting him lies in the existence in the world of a host of spiritual forces far superior to himself and inimical to God, and that he just cannot overcome these forces of evil except in union with him who has vanquished them once and for all and to whom 'every knee should bend of those in heaven, on earth and under the earth'.⁸⁴ The exorcism reminds those to be baptized that 'our wrestling is not against flesh and blood but against the Prin-

⁸⁰ cfr. I Cor. 1, 21; 3, 6; Rom. 7, 25; 8, 28-30; Eph. 2, 8; Tit. 3, 5.

⁸¹ cfr. OBP., pp. 25-26, nn. 47-48.

⁸² OBP., p. 26, n. 47.

⁸³ cfr. OBP., p. 27, n. 49., cfr. R. BERAUDY, op. cit., pp. 546ff.

⁸⁴ Phil. 2, 10., Apoc. 12, 11.

cialties and the Powers, against the world-rulers of this darkness, against the spiritual forces of wickedness on high'⁸⁵ and that if one is to die continually to evil and live to God one has constant need of divine assistance.⁸⁶ Immediately following the liberation of the infants from the power of Satan, they are *anointed with oil* to signify that they are now 'strengthened with the power of Christ the Saviour'.⁸⁷ Ever since very early times the anointing with oil during the baptismal rite had a double significance: the healing of every trace of sin and iniquity in the souls of the candidates after the expulsion of Satan, and the strengthening of their souls to triumph over the attacks of hostile powers.⁸⁸ 'So it is', says the Pseudo-Dionysius, 'that having overcome all the stratagems and all the powers that oppose his deification, in dying to sin by baptism, we can say that he (the postulant) partakes of the very death of Christ'.⁸⁹

We now come to the central part of the baptismal rite which comprises: the blessing of the water and the invocation of God upon the same, the renunciation of Satan, the profession of faith, and the baptism itself. The early Church had always held *the blessing of the baptismal water* in high esteem. The epicletic prayer that was recited during this rite strongly underlined the fact that baptism was no magic rite since it was God himself who effected the insertion of man into the paschal mystery of Christ utilizing water as the sacrament of faith to save man in virtue of the passion, death and resurrection of Christ.⁹⁰ Theodore of Mopsuestia, for instance, writes: 'First of all the bishop, according to the law of the pontifical service, should use the prescribed words and ask of God that the grace of the Holy Spirit should come on the water and make it capable of this awe-inspiring birth'.⁹¹ And St. Ambrose says more explicitly: 'You have seen the water, but all water does not

⁸⁵ Eph. 6, 12.

⁸⁶ cfr. L. BOUYER, *Le Mystère Pascal*, Les Editions du Cerf, Paris, 1967, pp. 150ff., L. BOUYER, *Christian Initiation*, op. cit., pp. 53ff.

⁸⁷ OBP., p. 27, n. 51.

⁸⁸ cfr. A. HAMMAN, op. cit., pp. 82ff., On the symbolism of oil in baptism cfr. J. DANIELOU, op. cit., pp. 40ff., and L. BOUYER, *Le Mystère Pascal*, op. cit., pp. 162ff.

⁸⁹ Pseudo-Dionysius, Hier. Eccl., 401D-404A.

⁹⁰ cfr. B. NEUNHEUSER, *De Benedictione Aquae baptismatis*, in Eph. Lit., Roma, 44 (1930) 194-207; 258-281; 369-412; 455-492.

⁹¹ XIV, 9.

heal; that water heals which has the grace of Christ. The water is the instrument but it is the Holy Spirit who acts. The water does not heal, if the Spirit does not descend to consecrate it'.⁹² The OBP too insists upon the important truth that the salvation that comes to the postulants comes from God through the sacrament of baptism which is the re-presentation of the greatest of the 'mirabilia Dei', the passion, death and resurrection of his only-begotten Son, and that it is the sacrament of regeneration and insertion into the paschal mystery of Christ.⁹³

Following New Testament⁹⁴ and Patristic⁹⁵ catecheses, the OBP pictures baptism as being in the line of the great works of creation and redemption accomplished by God in the Old Testament, and shows how the baptismal waters are at one and the same time the principle of destruction and a new creation, the instrument of judgment whereby the sinful world is destroyed and those who adhere to God by faith are brought forth to a new life in Christ. Starting with the eschatological typology provides us in the primitive waters of Genesis in which the first creation is presented as the type of the new creation which is to be accomplished at the end of time and gradually working through the history of salvation to the antitype of baptism the OBP shows how God in a wonderful manner made use of water in the symbolization of the passage from death to life which was to be brought out in a unique manner in the rite of baptism in its relation to the paschal mystery of Christ. Thus, the waters of Genesis which manifested the victory of God over evil and the birth of creation, the waters of the deluge which spelt 'the end of vice and the beginning of virtue', the waters of the Red Sea which were used to assure the passover of God's chosen people from slavery to freedom, the waters of the Jordan at Christ's baptism over which the Holy Spirit hovered just as he did at the dawn of creation and the water that flowed from the side of the crucified and

⁹² *De Sacramentis*, I, 15; ed. B. BOTTE, Ed. du Cerf, Paris, 1961, p.68.

⁹³ cfr. OBP., pp. 28-29, nn. 53-54.

⁹⁴ cfr. for example, I Cor. 10, 1-5; Jude, 5; Rom. 4, 23-25; I Pet. 3, 19-21; II Pet. 2, 5; Jn. 7, 38; I Cor. 10, 4-5.

⁹⁵ Cfr. Didymus Alex., 39, 693; St. Cyril Jerus., *de Bapt.*, 33, 433; St. Ambrose, *de Sacra.*, I, 11-24; (ed. B. BOTTE, op. cit., 57-61); Idem, *de Myst.*, 8, 27; (ed. B. BOTTE, op. cit., 110-116); St. Augustine, *Serm.*, 258, 2; 226. PL 38, 1195; 1099; Idem, *de Cat. Rudibus*, 20, 34. PL 40, 335; St. Hilary *de Myst.*, I, 1; PLS I, 247; St. Gregory Nyssa, *de Bapt.*, PG 46, 420; etc.,

dead Christ, all become subjects of excellent catecheses to show how God made use of water to effect the insertion of mankind into his mystery of salvation.⁹⁶ Finally, the minister begs God at the epiclesis, *the invocation of God upon the baptismal waters*, 'that the power of the Holy Spirit may descend into this richness of the fount. . . . so that all who are buried with Christ through baptism in death may rise again with him to life'.⁹⁷ Thus, once again three important truths are affirmed: (i) the salvation of man is effected by God; (ii) in virtue of the paschal mystery of Christ; (iii) through a sacramental re-presentation of Christ's death and resurrection in baptism.

As we had pointed out earlier on p. 19, man's response to the divine invitation to salvation, is concretely expressed through the renunciation of evil and the profession of faith.⁹⁸ The Word of God is not something dead. It is neither exclusively relegated to events of the past nor fossilized in biblical books and manuscripts. Surmounting the barriers of time and space that once formed its setting, the Word of God continues to live in the Church as something eminently dynamic and effective through which salvation is at every moment being offered to mankind in the community of God's people. And it is to this invitation of God to salvation that man responds imitating in himself the paschal mystery of Christ through a renunciation of evil (death) and an adhesion to Christ in faith (life). In its very opening words the OBP had stated that 'Through the sacraments of christian initiation men freed from the powers of darkness, dead, buried and resurrected together with Christ, receive the Spirit of the adoption of sons and along with the rest of the people of God celebrate the memorial of the death and resurrection of Christ';⁹⁹ and the prayer of the exorcism had begged God to make his divine power present so that Satan might be vanquished and the postulants to baptism might pass over from the slavery of sin to the freedom of the children of God,¹⁰⁰ and now the postulants are called upon to make the victory of God actual in themselves through renouncing evil

⁹⁶ cfr. OBP., pp. 28-29, n. 54. For an exposition of biblical typology in its relation to baptism, cfr. A. HAMMAN, op. cit., pp. 72 and 88-94., and J. DANIELOU, op. cit., pp. 70-114.

⁹⁷ OBP., p. 29, n. 54.

⁹⁸ cfr. OBP., pp. 30-31, nn. 56-59.

⁹⁹ OBP., p. 7, n. 1.

¹⁰⁰ cfr. OBP., p. 27, n. 49.

and adhering to him. Since we are dealing with the baptism of infants here, the personal actualization of the paschal mystery of Christ in their own lives will commence from the moment they begin to differentiate between good and evil. But right now, since salvation is offered to them in and through the people of God, it is the entire community of believers who professes its faith in God, in virtue of which salvation is offered to the infants and in virtue of which they are baptized.

The Ecclesial dimension of Baptism in its relation to the Paschal Mystery of Christ

The ecclesial dimension of the sacrament of baptism in its relation to the paschal mystery of Christ is an important one and the OBP draws our attention to it in various places.¹⁰¹ By baptism one is incorporated into the Mystical Body of Christ, one 'puts on Christ' as we saw in the Word of God. From the side of Christ from which flowed forth the waters that brought salvation to candidates to baptism,¹⁰² 'came forth also the wondrous sacrament which is the whole Church'.¹⁰³ Baptism thus becomes 'the sacrament whereby men are incorporated into the Church' and 'the bond of sacramental unity existing between all those who are signed with it'.¹⁰⁴ From a liturgico-pastoral point of view therefore 'the people of God, that is the Church, represented in the local community, has an important role to play both in the baptism of infants as in that of adults'¹⁰⁵ serving as it does to give expression to the theology of the Mystical Body of Christ and to the doctrine of salvation in community.

'This incorporation as adherence in faith to the sacred community of the Lord, in which the "protestatio fidei" is from the first not the enunciation of an individual and private view of the world, but the proclamation of acceptance of the Church's belief, adherence to a belief already there and manifestly exercised in the Church, is not only one effect in fact of baptism, but is itself a sacrament, a sign of the other effects of the grace of baptism. To be incorporated into the Church is,

¹⁰¹ cfr. OBP., p. 9, nn. 7 and 9; p. 15, n. 4; p. 16, n. 5; p. 17, nn. 9-10; p. 23, n. 32; p. 25, n. 47; p. 30, nn. 56-59.

¹⁰² cfr. OBP., p. 29, n. 54.

¹⁰³ cfr. *Const. on the Sacred Liturgy*, (W. ABBOTT, op. cit.) n. 5.

¹⁰⁴ OBP., p. 8, n. 4.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 15, n. 4.

therefore "sacramentum et res" in this sacrament of Christian initiation'.¹⁰⁶ The OBP provides us with two formulae for the renunciation of evil. The first one contains terms (e.g. 'his works', 'all his pomps',¹⁰⁷ whose meaning does not seem to be too clear to modern minds. The second formula is to be preferred as it neatly expresses the truth that in order to be reborn in Christ the candidate must be prepared to renounce not only sin itself but also all that leads to it, namely, the occasions of sin and the very author of sin, Satan. There is no shadow of a condemnation in this second formula (as seemingly in the first one) because the positive counterpart (adhesion to God, rebirth in Christ) to renouncing something is at once mentioned: 'Do you renounce sin, order to live according to the liberty of the children of God?' To this query the Christian community represented by the infants' parents answer renouncing all evil. Afterwards at the very fount of salvation in which the infants will mystically die and be buried with Christ to rise again to life with him, the parents profess their faith in the Father who saves and adopts us in his Son, in the Son who died for us so that we might live, and in the Holy Spirit who raises us to the adopted sonship of God. The minister then asks the parents and god-parents yet once more as to whether they wish their progeny to be baptized in order to impress upon the minds of all present the nature of the august mystery about to be re-presented.

And now comes the moment of *the baptism* itself when the infants will be immersed (or will have water poured over their heads) in the baptismal font to signify their death to sin and life to God.¹⁰⁸ At least since the 3rd century¹⁰⁹ baptism was solemnly administered in the Church during the Easter vigil services to bring out the close relation that existed between these two salvific events. The OBP earnestly re-

¹⁰⁶ K. RAHNER, *The Church and the Sacraments*, Burns & Oates, London, 1967, pp. 87-88.

¹⁰⁷ The meaning of these terms (especially that of the second one) has its background the pagan customs in vogue during Christian antiquity — cfr. L. BOUYER, *Christian Initiation*, op. cit., p. 65., A. NOCENT, op. cit., pp. 201f., J. DANIELOU, op. cit., pp. 28ff., VIGILIAE CHRISTIANAE, 1 (1947) 13ff.

¹⁰⁸ cfr. OBP., pp. 31-31, n. 60.

¹⁰⁹ Tertullian (cir. 160-220) mentions the Easter eve celebration and Pentecost as the solemn times for baptism; However, he also adds that 'every Lord's day, every hour, every time' is really 'suitable for baptism' — *De baptismo*, 19.

commends the same practice saying: 'In order to show the paschal character of baptism, it is recommended that the sacrament be celebrated during the Paschal vigil or on Sunday' (the weekly commemoration of the day of the Lord).¹¹⁰ In former times candidates to baptism used to leave aside all their garments before descending into the baptismal waters thus giving vivid expression to the rich symbolism contained in this gesture. St. Paul, as we have already seen, was very fond of this figure of speech as it served to bring out the important theological content of the metaphor. For, in baptism one renounced sin and adhered to Christ, one 'put off the old man with his deeds and put on the new, one that is being renewed unto perfect knowledge according to the image of his Creator'.¹¹¹ Discerning the sophisticated mentality of the times in which we live however the OBP has wisely kept silent on this particular point with regard to the laying off of garments. Immersion very aptly brings out the paschal nature of the sacrament of baptism, for the one who is immersed in the waters to rise again has the mystery enacted in him clearly focussed: he dies with Christ, is buried with him and also rises with him to a new life of divine sonship. The triple immersion or infusion is not demanded by the New Testament. We come across it perhaps for the first time in the *Didaché*¹¹² and from then on it became a customary practice in the Church apparently as a ritual confession in the salvific intervention of the Blessed Trinity at the moment of baptism. Certain Fathers of the Church like St. Cyril of Jerusalem and the Pseudo-Denys see in this rite a symbol of the three days passed by Christ in the tomb.¹¹³

In order to understand the mystery re-enacted in the sacrament of baptism we ought to distinguish two things here: the essential sign and the secondary symbol, that is, the insertion into the paschal mystery of Christ through baptism, and the purification from sin and the grace of adoption that the immersion and emersion symbolize. The Fathers of the Church had time and again strongly insisted upon the fact that although baptism is a symbolical re-presentation of the death and resurrection of Christ, the salvation granted by God to the baptized is an

¹¹⁰ OBP., p. 17, n. 9. cfr. *Ibid.*, p. 12, n. 28; p. 23, n. 32.

¹¹¹ Col. 3, 10-11; cfr. also Rom. 13, 14; Eph. 4, 23; Gal. 3, 27.

¹¹² *Didaché*, 7, 1.

¹¹³ cfr. A. HAMMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

absolutely indubitable fact. In words that have now become well-known St. Cyril of Jerusalem said: 'Baptism is the antitype (the re-presentation, the image, the replica) of the passion of Christ. That was why St. Paul said... we have been baptized in his death. We have been buried with him in baptism... There has taken place in us the imitation of his passion and death, but in as far as salvation is concerned it is not the image but the reality that has been produced in us'.¹¹⁴ The baptismal font is considered as 'the maternal womb of the Church' in which children of God are conceived and brought forth to a new life through the power of the Holy Spirit. 'The water is a womb for him who is born but it is the grace of the Spirit in it that forms the baptized in view of a new birth, a total transformation . . . He (the baptized) becomes quite another being. From a mortal, corrupt and changeable being, he becomes an immortal, incorruptible and unchangeable one. He is completely transformed into another being by the power of Him who has fashioned him'.¹¹⁵

The exalted dignity to which the newly-baptized have been raised by God 'who freed (them) from sin and regenerated (them) through water and the Holy Spirit'¹¹⁶ is indicated by *the anointing with holy chrism, the white garments they are clothed in, and the paschal candle*. The anointing with holy chrism had a functional and a spiritual value. Practically considered when rubbed vigorously it had served to warm the bodies that had been somewhat chilled through contact with water;¹¹⁷ whereas its spiritual value lay in the fact that following biblical tradition it served to bring out the fact that the newly baptized now participated in the priesthood and kingship of Christ.¹¹⁸ It is important that this anointing not be mistaken for the single anointing performed after baptism through which the sacrament of confirmation was administered in the East.¹¹⁹ The white garments with which the newly-baptized infants are clothed and the paschal candle that is given them signify the pure state of their souls filled as they are with the presence of the Holy Trinity and clothed as they are with Christ, the new man.

¹¹⁴ St. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat.*, 20, 7; Pg 33, 1084.

¹¹⁵ Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Hom.*, 14, 9.

¹¹⁶ OBP., p. 32, n. 62.

¹¹⁷ cfr. A. HAMMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 71, and 85.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, cfr. also OBP., p. 32, n. 62.

¹¹⁹ cfr. A. NOCENT, *op. cit.*, pp. 238ff., and 244ff.

The Eschatological dimension of Baptism in its relation to the Paschal Mystery of Christ

Furthermore, there is yet another dimension of the actualization of the paschal mystery in the lives of the infants that is strongly insisted upon here, and this is the eschatological dimension of baptism. The passover from death to life which the infants have participated in along with Christ is not a 'fait accompli' in the sense that there is nothing more to be looked forward to. The re-presentation of the paschal mystery in them has given them a new life, and life is dynamic. The new status of divine sonship therefore imposes upon them the duty of living according to that exalted calling. It imposes upon them the duty of re-living the paschal mystery of Christ at every moment of their lives, of dying to sin and living to God constantly 'until Christ be fully formed' in their souls.¹²⁰ 'Therefore, if you have risen with Christ, seek the things that are above, where Christ is seated at the right hand of God. Mind the things that are above, not the things that are on earth. For you have died and your life is hidden with Christ in God. When Christ, your life, shall appear, then you too will appear with him in glory'.¹²¹

The prayers accompanying these complementary rites insist upon the eschatological dimension of the paschal mystery of Christ, praying that the newly baptized 'may remain unto eternal life members of Christ the priest, prophet and king',¹²² that 'assisted by the word and example of their neighbour, (they may) preserve the white garment which has been a sign of their dignity spotless unto life eternal',¹²³ and that guided by their elders and co-members of the Mystical Body of Christ they 'may constantly walk as children of the light, and persevering in the faith may go forth to meet the Lord coming with all his saints in heavenly glory'.¹²⁴ Through baptism the infants have 'put on Christ' and have received the Holy Spirit it is true. However, there is yet another participation in the presence of God, yet a deeper sharing in the paschal mystery of Christ to which they are both invited and entitled to. This will

¹²⁰ cfr. Gal. 4, 20.

¹²¹ Col. 3, 1-4; cfr. also Eph. 2, 5-6.

¹²² OBP., p. 32, n. 62.

¹²³ Ibid., p. 32, n. 63.

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 33, n. 64.

occur when they receive the fullness of the Holy Spirit through the sacrament of confirmation and signify in a more profound manner their union with Christ in his Mystical Body through the reception of his Sacred Body in the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist.¹²⁵ This day has been a joyful one not only for the newly-baptized who have been snatched away from the hands of Satan and aggregated to the holy people of God through their passover but also for the entire christian community which rejoices at the growth of the Kingdom of God. The happiness experienced at this renewed triumph of the paschal mystery of Christ is given full expression to in a joyous hymn of praise and thanksgiving to God who has once again remembered his people and has done such wonderful things ('mirabilia Dei') for them.¹²⁶

CONCLUSION

Seen in this light the sacrament of baptism becomes the ritual setting in which God once more intervenes in the history of his people to bring them salvation. The same benevolent God who in times past worked so many wonders on behalf of his beloved ones comes to the aid of his people once again to help them through the sacrament of baptism to pass over from the slavery of Satan to the expansive liberty of his children. Not only baptism but each one of the sacraments thus continues in the new dispensation the salvific action of the 'mirabilia Dei' formerly manifested in the history of the old dispensation. 'Throughout the course of time Christ begets the Church, washes it, sanctifies, calls, chooses and redeems it, through genuine and authentic prefigurations: the sleep of Adam, the deluge of Noe, the benediction of Melchisedech and the justification of Abraham. Thus after the creation of the world had been prefigured that which was to have been accomplished in Christ'.¹²⁷ In this way with the coming of Christ and the dawn of the messianic era we see how the wonderful plan conceived by God for the salvation of mankind has been realized. Christ is the new Adam who has opened the gates of paradise once again to mankind through his paschal mystery. While sleeping the sleep of death on the cross

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 34, n. 68.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 34, n. 67; p. 35, n. 71.

¹²⁷ St. Hilary, *de Myst.*, I, 1. PLS I, 247.

came forth from his open side the new Eve through the sacrament of blood and water,¹²⁸ the sacrament of baptism which is the efficacious sign of a new creation and of a gloriously triumphant return to the paradise of the New Jerusalem.

THEODORE PEREIRA, OFM, CAP.

¹²⁸ cfr. St. Augustine, *Cont. Faust. man.* 12, 16. PL 42, 263; *Enn. in Ps.* 126, 7. PL 37, 1672; *In Joan.* 15, 8. PL 35, 1513; *De Civ. Dei*, 22, 17; PL 41, 778-779.

REVELATION IN ST. PAUL

PART II

THE MYSTERY OF THE REDEMPTION (continued)

The mystery is the divine plan of salvation through which God establishes Christ as the centre of salvation. By his death and resurrection he became the unique principle of salvation for pagans and Jews, angels and men. It is the divine plan – incarnation, redemption, election to glory – which ultimately goes back to Christ with all his riches and treasures of wisdom and knowledge (cf. Eph. iii, 8; Col. ii, 3). Concretely, the mystery is Christ (1 Tim. iii, 16). The world, created in harmony, returns to harmony in Christ, the Saviour and head. At the beginning Saint Paul gives importance to the vocation of the pagans, then the mystery becomes mainly Christ and participation in him.

DEVELOPMENT IN THE REVELATION OF THE MYSTERY

The mystery has different levels. There is the level of intention: the mystery of God; the level of realisation in and through Christ: the mystery of Christ; the level of a personal encounter: the mystery of the Gospel, of the word and of faith; and finally the level of its extension among men: the mystery of the Church. The mystery is revealed in its accomplishment in successive stages corresponding to these levels describing the history of salvation.

In its first stage the mystery is hidden in God. It is a secret full of wisdom (1 Cor. ii, 7), kept in silence from eternity (Rom. xvi, 25), hidden to the people of past generations (Eph. iii, 5; Col. i, 26), hidden even to the angelic choirs (Eph. iii, 9-10). It is inaccessible wisdom, reserved knowledge.

By the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ the mystery passed to its level of realisation. In Jesus God's plan of salvation is accomplished and unveiled (Eph. i, 7-9); the mystery becomes a historical event (1 Tim. iii, 16). The Apostles and prophets in the Spirit are the privileged witnesses to whom the mystery is communicated first. They are the mediators and messengers of the mystery: 'The mystery that the now been revealed through the Spirit to his holy apostles and prophets was unknown to any men in past generations' (Eph. iii, 5; cf. Col. i, 26). By their preaching they became the foundation of the Church, whose cornerstone is Christ.

Paul belongs to this group of privileged witnesses: he is 'the servant of the Church' (Col. i, 25); he has, moreover, been given a special charge in the revelation of the mystery. What concerns the pagans in the mystery has been particularly revealed to him: 'I, who am less than the least of all the saints, have been entrusted with this special grace, not only of proclaiming to the pagans the infinite treasure of Christ, but also of explaining how the mystery is to be dispensed. Through all the ages, this has been kept hidden in God, the creator of everything' (Eph. iii, 8-9). As we saw in the first section, Paul 'has been called to be an apostle, and specially chosen to preach the Good News' (Rom. i, 1). To Timothy he confides how 'I have been named a herald and apostle . . . a teacher of the faith and the truth to the pagans' (1 Tim. ii, 7). He has been appointed by God to be 'a priest of Jesus Christ, and I am to carry out my priestly duty by bringing the Good News from God to the pagans, and so make them acceptable as an offering, made holy by the Holy Spirit' (Rom. xv, 16). Because of this vocation, Paul was given an intimate revelation of the mystery: 'it was by a revelation that I was given the knowledge of the mystery, as I have just described it very shortly. If you read my words, you will have some idea of the depths that I see in the mystery of Christ' (Eph. iii, 3-4).

From its revelation to chosen witnesses, the mystery passes to its third phase. It is made known to all those who are called to the Church. The mission of the Apostles is to proclaim the mystery, the Gospel, the Good News. Saint Paul identifies the one with the other: 'the Good News I preach, and in which I proclaim Jesus Christ, the revelation of a mystery kept secret for endless ages' (Rom. xvi, 25; cf. Eph. i, 13; iii, 5-6). It is a secret revealed, manifested and communicated; it is a message proclaimed and announced. The mystery is made known if the Gospel is made known. We share in the mystery if we share in the Gospel. The Gospel and the mystery have the same content and object: they are the divine plan originally hidden but now revealed and proclaimed. Its object is soteriological; that is the divine history of salvation through Christ. It is also eschatological; the promise of glory with all the blessings as a result of the passion and death of Christ (Eph. i, 1-10; 1 Cor. ii, 7).

With the preaching of the Gospel, the mystery reaches the final stage in its development — personal event. In the section on language we saw how Saint Paul uses Gospel, or Good News, word or message synonymously. For him the Gospel of God is the same as the Gospel of the

glory of Christ. By means of the word on the mouth of the apostle, God invites man to faith. It is not a human word, but divine, active, salvific and reconciliatory.

This mystery is the re-union of Jew and pagan in Christ in one living organism of salvation. The Church is this organism in which is realised the divine economy of which it is a visible expression. The Church achieves salvation as the revelation and proclamation of the Gospel. The establishment of the Church is the manifestation of the mystery. It reveals the infinite wisdom in God's plan (Eph. iii, 10) and proclaims that the time has come for the universal submission to Christ. The Church is the mystery of Christ made visible, just as Christ is the revelation of the mystery of God.

MAN'S REPLY

Reception of the mystery, of the Gospel, is possible only through faith. By means of faith man perceives the history of salvation achieved by God in the death and resurrection of Christ, and though it baffles human wisdom, yet through faith he clings to it perseveringly. Faith is man's special answer to the word of the apostle. Preaching leads 'to the obedience of faith' (Rom. xvi, 26). Only through faith can Christians have access to salvation.

Faith is possible only to those who want to hear the word of truth and are prepared to obey it (Rom. x, 16-8). Faith, for saint Paul, is hearing the word and obeying the Gospel (Gal. iii, 5; Rom. i, 5). Nevertheless, this cannot be achieved merely by natural means. There must be given the gift of grace. As in the case of Paul on the road to Damascus, there must be an 'illumination' from God, an 'anointing' (2 Cor. i, 21-2), which stirs up faith in the heart of him who hears the word of God.

This word is not only what concerns truth; it is chiefly about the life and person of Christ as Lord and Saviour, with what he implies to all men. Hence, the preaching of the Gospel is the occasion of a choice for or against Christ. For some, the Gospel is a scandal or an obstacle, for others it is folly: 'here are we preaching a crucified Christ; to the Jews an obstacle that they cannot get over, to the pagans madness' (1 Cor. i, 23). Those who do not believe in and accept the word will be condemned (2 Thess. ii, 11). The Gospel is a vivific and salvific power only for those who believe (Rom. i, 16-7; 1 Cor. i, 18; 2 Tim. i, 10).

THE MYSTERY IN HISTORY AND AFTER THE PAROUSIA

Full knowledge of the mystery can never be attained. It is dynamic and continues ever to be perfected. The Christian grows in the knowledge of the mystery in accordance with his growth in religious maturity. The imperfect and unspiritual, like the Corinthians, cannot understand the mysterious wisdom of God (1 Cor. iii, 1-3). Knowledge of the mystery is given only to those who strive after perfection (Phil. iii, 15; iv, 12-3). Those who are docile to the Spirit live their faith. The Spirit steepens them in charity (1 Cor. xiii, 1), and makes them understand some of the dimensions of the mystery and of its manifestation of Christ's love: 'to bind you together in love and to stir your minds, so that your understanding may come to full development, until you really know God's secret in which all the jewels of wisdom and knowledge are hidden' (Col. ii, 2-3; cf. 1 Cor. ii, 6-7, 10, 15; Eph. iii, 14-9).

Though this knowledge is of a mystical nature, yet all Christians are called to such a knowledge. St. Paul reveals to the Ephesians that he prays the Omniscient to 'give you a spirit of wisdom and perception of what is revealed, to bring you to full knowledge of him. May he enlighten the eyes of your mind so that you can see what hope this call holds for you, what rich glories he has promised the saints will inherit' (Eph. i, 17-8). He similarly begins his letter to the Philipians telling them that he prays that their charity will increase and that their knowledge and discernment of the economy of salvation will improve accordingly (Phil. i, 9-10).

This will of necessity lead them on the road to perfection, thus preparing them for 'the Day of Christ when you will reach the perfect goodness which Jesus Christ produces in us for the glory and praise of God' (*ibid.* 11). In history the mystery is dimly perceived by faith, hope and charity, but with the Parousia, or the return of Christ, charity will take the place of the other two: 'then we shall be seeing face to face. The knowledge that I have now is imperfect; but then I shall know as fully as I am known' (1 Cor. xiii, 12). No doubt St. Paul strongly yearns for this final apocalypse or revelation. For him, perhaps more than for the ordinary Christian, it will be his second revelation.

As we saw in the introductory section, the first revelation on the road to Damascus was to him as a dawn in which he was captured by Christ Jesus (Phil. iii, 12). It was a decisive experience. He understood that Jesus of Nazareth, who was crucified, is now in heaven glorified on the right hand of the Father. The vision of the risen and glorified Christ converted him once and for all.

This revelation on the road to Damascus was a veiled foreshadowing of the glorious revelation which begins with the Parousia. St. Paul often drew the contrast between these two revelations: the historical and the eschatological. The mystery is now revealed in history, and it was first revealed by Christ in history. The manifestation of God's justice now becomes apparent. The preaching of the Gospel is accomplished in history too. The revelation, the object of our faith, does not altogether depend on the future, it is accomplished now in and through Christ.

As we saw, with the revelation, Paul of Tarsus was given the mission to preach the contents of the revelation. Yet St. Paul was not fully satisfied with that revelation: he was constantly yearning for the second revelation, in which he will be irrevocably assumed by God's glory. In this eschatological revelation will be realised in its entirety the glory of Christ when he 'appears from heaven with the angels of his power' (2 Thess. i, 7).

FAITH AND HOPE

The immediate end of the revelation of the mystery and the preaching of the Gospel is to believe. 'Every act of faith is a "submission", an "obedience", as St. Paul repeats three times in the epistle to the Romans': i, 5; x, 16; xvi, 26.⁵ St. Thomas Aquinas sees this as the consent that we give to the work God does in us: 'in believing God who justifies, man submits himself to this justifying activity and thus receives the effect' (Commentary on Rom. iv, 5).

In the same letter (iv, 18-21) Paul recalls how it was Abraham's merit to believe — in whatever circumstances he was — in God's fidelity to his pact. Abraham never doubted that God will be true to his word. Earlier in the same letter (iii, 2-7) Paul shows the importance he gives to God's fidelity.

However, there is a paradox. How can God forget the judgment due to man's sin in order to show fidelity to the promises He made? The reconciliatory means is Christ's passion and death. For this reason in this letter Paul gives us one of the lengthiest treatments of the significance of Christ's death. By His death Christians have been freed from bondage to Sin, Death and Law. 'God dealt with sin by sending his own Son in a body as physical as any sinful body, and in that body God condemned sin' (viii, 3).

⁵Stanislas Lyonnet, S.J., *Initiation à la Doctrine Spirituelle de Saint Paul*, p. 45.

It is in Christ's action, not man's, that Christians are justified. God took the initiative. But on our side it is necessary that we accept. Our acceptance is faith. Throughout the letter to the Romans Paul emphasises the contrast between the futile attempt of man to save himself by his own works and the right way of salvation as shown by Abraham. Abraham was justified not for his achievement but for his faith: his acceptance of God's promises (iv, 2). Faith is certainly not self-reliance. "To believe in him" is equivalent to acknowledging one's own insufficiency by asking God for help.⁶

The participation in Christ's life by faith is best seen in baptism. By baptism Christians become 'sons of God through faith in Christ Jesus' (Gal. iii, 26). They have 'put on Christ', perhaps alluding to the robes worn during the baptismal ceremony.

CONCLUSION

The immediate end of the revelation of the mystery and the announcing of the Gospel is to invite men to believe and to obey. St. Paul states this at the end of his letter to the Romans: 'the revelation of a mystery kept secret for endless ages, but now so clear that it must be broadcast to pagans everywhere to bring them to the obedience of faith.' (Rom. xvi, 25-6) This will 'make them all perfect in Christ' (Col. i, 28), 'all grow into one holy temple in the Lord... a house where God lives, in the Spirit' (Eph. ii, 21-2). This is the formation of Christ's mystical body, the Church (cf. Eph. i, 23; v, 23, 30). But the final end of the revelation of the mystery is the glory of God, as the letter to the Ephesians repeatedly indicates (cf. Eph. i, 6; Phil. ii, 11).

The riches of the mystery are election, filiation and redemption. St. Paul is dazzled by the magnificence of this plan of salvation, and the revelation of the infinite wisdom of God. It reveals God's boundless charity towards man. The mystery manifests infinite wisdom and love:

God loved us with so much love that he was generous with his mercy: when we were dead through our sins, he brought us to life with Christ — it is through grace that you have been saved — and raised us up with him and gave us a place with him in heaven, in Christ Jesus.

This was to show for all ages to come, through his goodness towards us in Christ Jesus, how infinitely rich he is in grace.

(Eph. ii, 4-7; cf. i, 1-14)

⁶ Henry Wansbrough, O.S.B., *Theology in St. Paul*, p. 50.

Man's response to this great wisdom and love will be in adhering by love to this plan, and, in thinking God perpetually by praise. Revelation for St. Paul is the free and generous activity by which God, through Christ, reveals to the world His plan of salvation. The eternal plan or economy intends the re-unification of everything in Christ, Head of the new creation. This plan is communicated by the Gospel and its heralds are the apostles and the prophets of the New Testament. Obedience and faith are man's response to this proclamation, through the activity of the Holy Ghost. Faith commences a process of knowledge of this mystery of God's wisdom and charity. This is a process of constant growing which will never be complete until the revelation of the beatific vision.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BRUNOT, S.C.J., Amédée, (trans. Ronald Matthews) *St. Paul and His Message*, Faith and Fact Books 70, London: Burns & Oates, 1969, pp. 25-37: 'The Revelation of Christ'.
- CERFAUX, L., *Christ in the Theology of St. Paul*, New York: Herder & Herder, 1958, pp. 402-18: 'The Revelation of the Mystery of Christ'.
- CERFAUX, L., *The Christian in the Theology of St. Paul*, New York: Herder & Herder, 1967.
- CHOPIN, P.S.S., Cl., *Le Verbe Incarné et Rédempteur*, Le Mystère Chrétien: Théologie Dogmatique, Tournai: Desclée, 1963, pp. 22-30: Révélation du mystère du Christ dans les épîtres pauliniennes'.
- DODD, C.H., *The Meaning of Paul for Today*, Fontana Books 1359R, London: Collins, (1920) 1966.
- FITZMAYER, S.J., Joseph A., 'Pauline Theology' in *The Jerome Biblical Commentary*, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1968, Vol. II: *The New Testament and Topical Articles*, pp. 800-27.
- LATOURELLE, S.J., René, *Theology of Revelation*, Cork: Mercier Press, 1968, pp. 59-67: 'Saint Paul'.
- LEON-DUFOUR, Xavier (ed.), (trans. P. Joseph Cahill) *Dictionary of Biblical Theology*, London: Geoffrey Chapman, (1967) 1970, p. 445.

LYONNET, S.J., Stanislas, *Initiation à la Doctrine Spirituelle de Saint Paul*, Collection Vie Chretienne, Toulouse: Editions Prière et Vie, 1963.

RAHNER, Karl, ERNST, Cornelius & SMYTH, Kevin (eds.), *Sacramentum Mundi: An Encyclopedia of Theology*, Vol. V, New York & London: Herder & Herder, Burns & Oates, 1970, pp. 344-5.

WANSBROUGH, O.S.B., Henry, *Theology in St. Paul*, Theology Today 16, Cork: The Mercier Press, 1968.

JOHN AZZOPARDI, S.J.

John Azzopardi was born at Xaghra, Gozo, on the 25th June 1939. He entered the Society of Jesus in 1957 and read for a Master's degree at the Royal University of Malta. He is at present following the course of Theology at the same University.

ABORTION AND THE DOUBLE EFFECT PRINCIPLE

ABORTION may occur either spontaneously or deliberately. By definition, the former occurs accidentally or pathologically – in either case, involuntarily, and as such poses no serious moral problems. The latter, also by definition, is voluntarily brought about and, since this induced type of abortion may further be direct or indirect, the moral implications and consequences are enormous.

To some members of the medical and legal professions, among others, the distinction between direct and indirect abortion is not considered to be valid or of any real worth. To them such a distinction is a question of semantics, a distinction without a difference – possibly an all too easy assessment of moral acts exclusively by their effects or results. To the moral philosopher, however, these distinctions divide right down the line, first the involuntary (spontaneous) from the voluntary (induced); secondly, the indirectly voluntary (unintentional or voluntary in cause) from the directly voluntary (deliberate, intentional or voluntary in itself).

In this essay, I am concerned with indirect abortion which, besides being an application of the double effect principle, actually shows what abortion is not.

I shall first discuss the principle and then apply it.

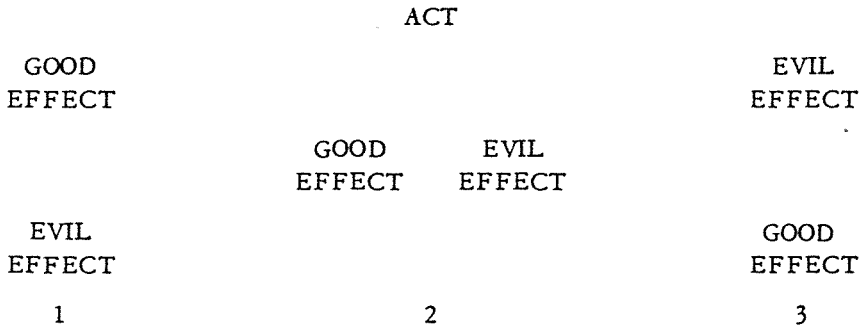
I – THE PRINCIPLE

The double effect principle received its classical formulation in the writings of Thomas Aquinas who discussed it in relation to self-defence.¹ It may be stated as follows:

¹II-II, q.64, a.7: 'Nothing hinders one act from having two effects, only one of which is intended, while the other is beside the intention. Now moral acts take their species according to what is intended, and not according to what is beside the intention, since this is accidental...'. See also Joseph T. Mangan, 'An Historical Analysis of the Principle of the Double Effect', *Theological Studies*, 1949, 10:41-61; C.J. Van der Poel, 'The Principle of the Double Effect', in Charles E. Curran (Ed.), *Absolutes in Moral Theology* (Washington, D.C.: Corpus Books, 1968).

- (1) Where an action, lawful in itself,
- (2) produces two (or more) effects, one of which is good and the other (or others) evil,
- (3) the evil effect may be permitted but not intended,
- (4) provided that:
 - (a) the good effect is not achieved by means of the evil effect,
 - (b) there is a proportionately serious reason for permitting the unintended evil effect, and
 - (c) other morally unquestionable means are ordinarily unavailable.

There are three possible situations in which an act may be said to produce a morally admissible effect and a morally objectionable one. These situations may graphically be expressed as follows:



Are all three situations covered or envisaged by the double effect principle? To paraphrase, if I may, the conditions outlined above:

- (1) The original act must be good or at least indifferent, otherwise the possibility of applying the principle would be ruled out from the start, no matter how good the effects might be.
- (2) The succession of effects or the relationship between them is not chronological but causal: in situation 1, the evil effect flows from the good effect directly, and only indirectly from the original act; in situation 2, the effects are simultaneous only chronologically; in 3, however, the good effect is produced as a result of the evil effect.
- (3) This is another way of saying that the evil effect is not an actual determining factor in the achievement of the good effect but is rather foreseen as an unavoidable by-product of a good act. Gerald Kelly clarifies this point by adding: '... In many, if not most, surgical pro-

cedures and their equivalents, it is not possible to judge the morality of the action independently of its effects. When this is the case, it may be taken as a practical rule that the principle of the double effect is applicable if the conditions are verified'.²

(4a) Again, this condition is not primarily concerned with the time factor in the sequence of effects. It is essentially concerned with their causal relationship, i.e., under no consideration may the evil effect cause the good effect. Hence, the achievement of the good effect through the medium of the evil effect, as in situation 3, is not covered by the double effect principle. On the contrary, it is the situation which involves the principle: the end justifies the means.³

(4b) Some proportion between the good to be achieved and the evil permitted is required and if it is lacking, the act is vitiated by reason of its circumstances. What, in practice, that proportion might be is all too often difficult to establish. In theory, one might suggest that the good intended and the evil permitted should at least be equivalent or nearly so, not so much quantitatively as qualitatively.

(4c) This condition is a specification of the above conditions. It is obvious that if it can be helped and the evil to follow is avoidable, then it should be avoided. But since no one can always prevent the existence of evil, so also may he – in instances where he has no control over evil – tolerate evil consequences even from his own actions.

In all cases involving this principle, the morality of the act does not depend so much upon what actually happens, nor when it happens – chronologically – as on what is intended, or what directly causes the good effect. The principle takes one back to the very essence of the moral act: the direct object of the will-act and the means to achieve it.

II – ITS APPLICATION

Let me now illustrate the principle by taking a typical case which, in my opinion, captures the essence of what the principle involves. The case is told by a gynaecologist and reported by Bernard Häring:

²Gerald Kelly, *Medico-Moral Problems* (St. Louis: The Catholic Hospital Association, 1966), p. 13; – 'Direct and Indirect Abortion', *Hospital Progress*, 1948, 12:67-71.

³Cf. J.F. Leibell, *Readings in Ethics* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1926), pp. 193-207.

I was once called upon to perform an operation on a woman in the fourth month of pregnancy, to remove a malign uterine tumor. On the womb there were numerous very thin and fragile varicose veins which bled profusely, and attempts to suture them only aggravated the bleeding. Therefore, in order to save the woman from bleeding to death, I opened the womb and removed the fetus. Thereupon the uterus contracted, the bleeding ceased, and the woman's life was saved. I was proud of what I had achieved, since the uterus of this woman, who was still childless, was undamaged and she could bear other children. But I had to find out later from a noted moralist that although I had indeed acted in good faith, what I had done was, in his eyes, *objectively* wrong. I would have been allowed to remove the bleeding uterus with the fetus itself, he said, but was not permitted to interrupt the pregnancy while leaving the womb intact. This latter, he said, constituted an immoral termination of pregnancy, though done for the purposes of saving the mother, while the other way would have been a lawful direct intention and action to save life. For him preservation of the woman's fertility and thereby, under some circumstances, preservation of the marriage itself, played no decisive role.⁴

Häring notes that the solution proposed by the noted moralist, based as it is on the distinction between direct and indirect abortion, results 'in too literal or mechanical applications' and proposes one of his own which, he says, follows a different and less artificial line of reasoning: on the 'great moral certainty' that without direct intervention there is no chance of survival for both the mother and the child, the doctor 'accepts the only chance to protect and serve life which Divine Providence has left to him. He saves the life of the mother while he does not truly deprive the fetus of its right to live, since it would not survive in any event if he failed to save the mother's life. Moreover, the preservation of the mother's fertility is an additional service to life'.⁵

⁴Bernard Häring, 'A Theological Evaluation', in John T. Noonan, Jr., *The Morality of Abortion* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970), pp. 136-137; also in — *The Law of Christ* (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1966), p. 212. Emphasis is author's.

⁵*Ibid.*

Häring's solution may be commendable in that he attempts to strike a balance between maternal and fetal rights but it does not apply the conditions of the double effect principle as does the noted moralist's. The principle can be invoked only if the fetus is not the direct target of attack or if the mother is not saved by the direct removal of the fetus.⁶ In this particular case, the noted moralist's application of the double effect principle is valid; Häring's is not.

Of course, outside the framework of the double effect principle, the question remains whether removing the fetus is less commendable than preserving the mother's life and fertility.

In any case, beyond what Häring calls the 'too literal or mechanical applications' of the principle and what in fact any explanation of the principle gives the impression of being, there is a very important matter which is all too often overlooked. The distinctions and the principle that arises from them are commonly thought to provide the basis for an exception to the absolute or near-absolute moral condemnation of abortion. In this context, abortion is thought to be permissible provided it comes within the terms and conditions of the double effect principle. In other words, it may appear that there is an area of therapeutic abortion which is morally admissible (i.e., when the directly intended action is a licit medical intervention), and another area which is not (i.e., when fetal life is directly involved as an end in itself or a

⁶For a listing and discussion of a number of morally admissible instances, where treatment which may prove detrimental to the fetus may be carried out and to which the double effect principle applies, see Charles J. McFadden, *Medical Ethics* (Philadelphia: F.A. Davis, 1966), pp. 168-190; T. Lincoln Bouscaren, *Ethics of Ectopic Operations* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1944), pp. 37-38; 165-167. Nonetheless, the principle — particularly in its applications — is not exempt from sharp disagreement even among brilliant moralists who would otherwise accept it. Following the publication of *Casti Connubii*, Agostino Gemelli, O.F.M., questioned the morality of removing a pregnant cancerous uterus; Arthur Vermeersch, S.J., argued that such removal is a standard case of double effect. For the full account of the debate (without either moralist convincing the other), see: Gemelli, 'De l'avortement indirect', *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, 1933, 60:509; Vermeersch, 'Avortement direct ou indirect', *ibid.*, 60:600; Gemelli, 'Encore l'avortement indirect', *ibid.*, 60:693; Vermeersch, 'Une courte conclusion', *ibid.*, 60:695. (In his 1928 edition of *Theologia Moralis*, para. 628, Vermeersch applied the principle as well to ectopic pregnancies).

means to an end). There is, in fact, more to the principle than appearing to justify an area of therapeutic abortion. The full import of the principle is not that it points up an exception nor that it lays down conditions as to when abortion is right and when it is wrong, nor that it is an attempt to achieve a moral balance between maternal and fetal rights. The thrust of the principle lies precisely in its attempt to establish that there are actions which, conducive to the destruction of fetal life though they be, are *not* in fact abortion in the moral sense — and some doctors would even say that they are not abortion in the medical sense either. In fact, both spontaneous abortion and indirect abortion are instances of what abortion is not, even though for practical purposes retention of the terminology concerning direct and indirect actions is unavoidable. Hence it is not correct to say that moral philosophy recognizes abortion as justified or justifiable when it comes within the double effect principle; but rather that one is not morally liable for the destruction of fetal life unavoidably resulting from an act which is otherwise good, provided the good effect is at least of proportionate value to the evil effect which so follows, or which one can foresee that it would follow.

At the *Symposium on Aspects of Female Sexuality*, held in New York in 1958, Dr. S.A. Cosgrove stated to this effect that he would not do a therapeutic abortion since he did not consider it 'good medicine', but that he would treat a definite life-threatening disease even if fetal death might result from the treatment. Dr. Cosgrove attributed his objection to therapeutic abortion to his greater medical knowledge resulting from long medical experience and denied being motivated by other than medical considerations.⁷ Dr. Mary S. Calderone also tells of a group of eminent doctors who implicitly affirmed the validity of this principle when in their abortion statistics they refused to classify hysterectomy for uterine fibroids as a therapeutic abortion, even though therapy had led to the destruction of fetal life.⁸

⁷Ruth R. Doorbar and Esther U. Coke, 'Summary of Some Issues Raised During the Discussion Period', *Quarterly Review of Surgery, Obstetrics and Gynaecology*, 1959, 16:240.

⁸Cited in Richard A. McCormick, 'Abortion', *America*, 1965, 113:877-881; see also R.J. Bureson and J.C. Bragg, 'Full Term Abdominal Pregnancy', *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1951, 143:1349-1350.

Since the principle was originally formulated and is used to justify self-defence, individual and collective, can it apply to abortion and particularly when the mother's life is in danger?

John T. Noonan, Jr., who does not otherwise consider abortion as morally justifiable, sees some justification for it on the basis of St. Thomas Aquinas' considerations on self-defence.⁹ Speaking of homicide, St. Thomas makes a distinction between killing 'sinners',¹⁰ and killing 'innocents',¹¹ declaring that it is lawful, sometimes mandatory, to kill the former but 'in no way lawful' to kill the latter. Speaking of self-defence as such, however, and without making any distinctions at all between 'sinners' and 'innocents', Aquinas declares that under the conditions of the double effect principle it is lawful for 'someone' to kill 'someone'.¹² On the basis of these distinctions, Noonan argues that, for an argument to be made to justify abortion to save the mother's life, 'much would depend on how absolutely Thomas meant his declaration... that "in no way is it lawful to kill the innocent". If the statement held literally, it would seem to preclude capital punishment for a repentant thief, who has become innocent, as most men become innocent, by repentance; yet Thomas justified capital punishment'.¹³

In my opinion, the texts cited by Noonan appear to leave no doubt that, from the moral standpoint, St. Thomas meant his declaration to be taken categorically. As for inflicting punishment on a repentant thief, Noonan appears to overlook the fact that the repentant thief is not innocent absolutely.¹⁴ At any rate, he goes on to say that 'it cannot be said definitely how Thomas would have answered... in the case of therapeutic abortion to save the mother's life', but later on in his discussion Noonan concludes that 'once the humanity of the fetus is perceived, abortion is never right except in self-defence'.¹⁵

The moral acceptance of abortion to save the mother's life is en-

⁹ John T. Noonan, Jr., 'An Almost Absolute Value in History', in Noonan, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

¹⁰ II-II, q. 64, a. 2.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, a. 6; also *De Malo*, q. 13, a. 4 ad 11: 'To kill the innocent imports a determination of evil, and this can never be well done'.

¹² II-II, q. 64, a. 7.

¹³ Noonan, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

¹⁴ I-II, q. 105, a. 2, ad 9.

¹⁵ Noonan, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26, 58.

dorsed in similar terms by other contemporary moralists but, other than stating that the burden of proof lies with him who would take life, none offer any criteria as to how self-defence or danger to the mother's life may be interpreted and applied in concrete situations.¹⁶ In abortion decisions, self-defence may be so construed as to cover just about any situation: once the principle of self-defence in abortion is established and accepted, one immediately becomes involved in the same sort of situation that the medical and legal professions had put themselves in when they first acknowledged the necessity of abortion 'in good faith for the purpose only of preserving the life of the mother'. One immediately becomes involved in questions of interpretation, rendering the moralist incapable of defending his position unless he also accepts to interpret this exception 'reasonably and prudently' – in effect, any difficult personal and social situation. Glanville Williams points out to this effect that 'once abortion is permitted to save the mother's life and preserve her health and working capacity, there can be no convincing reason for stopping short at this point and refusing to take account of wider social grounds'.¹⁷

Much of the controversy (and misunderstandings) surrounding the double effect principle and its applications is largely due to the kind of language used to describe the resulting evil effect. The evil effect is invariably described as a foreseen but unintended by-product of a directly-willed action. It is contended that as long as the evil effect is in some way 'voluntary', it makes no difference whether it is directly or indirectly willed – which is basically why this dichotomy is considered to be a distinction without a difference or one that implies

¹⁶ Cf. Francis Simons, 'The Catholic Church and the New Morality', *Cross Currents*, 1966, 16:437-439; Charles E. Curran, *A New Look at Christian Morality* (Indiana: Fides Publishers, 1968), pp. 242-243; Church Assembly Board of Social Responsibility of the Church of England, *Abortion: An Ethical Discussion* (London: Church Information Offices, 1965), pp. 31-32, 66; Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1961), III:4, pp. 415-427; William H. Van der Marck, *Toward A Christian Ethic*, trans. D.J. Barrett (Westminster, Md: Newman Press, 1967), pp. 56-57; Daniel Callahan, *Abortion: Law, Choice and Morality* (New York: MacMillan, 1970), Chaps. XI-XII; Germain Grisez, *Abortion: The Myths, the Realities and the Arguments* (Washington, DC: Corpus Books, 1971), Chaps. VI-VII.

¹⁷ Glanville Williams, *The Sanctity of Life and the Criminal Law* (London: Faber & Faber, 1958), p. 215.

a choice between two evils and of justifying an otherwise immoral action, conveniently labelled as a foreseen but unintended and unavoidable evil consequence, simply by providing what may well appear to be a mere 'verbal escape mechanism'.¹⁸ I, for one, find the term 'voluntary' in this context and in general the terminology used misleading. What is willed is the direct act and whatever effect is directly intended and sought. The evil effect is neither intended nor willed in any way. Granted that it is foreseen, and foreseen to be unavoidable (independently of the strict concept of abortion), it is in no way voluntary, for which reason 'voluntary' should not, in my opinion, be part of the definition of the foreseen evil effect.

Though he is unsympathetic towards the principle, Williams makes a valid point when he says: 'To the eye of common sense, a result that is foreseen as certain, as a consequence of what is done, is in exactly the same position as a result that is intended'. But he is wrong in thinking that the principle can be applied by 'merely keeping your mind off one of the consequences'. 'Two surgeons', he writes, 'both remove a tubal fetus, but the one desires to save the mother and laments the destruction of the foetus, while the other decides to destroy the foetus in order to save the mother. Apparently the second surgeon sins, while the first is without sin'.¹⁹ I have yet to see a more distorted application of the principle.

No one is probably more interested in defending the most fundamental of human rights — wherever this is found: in man, woman or child, born or unborn — than the moralist. But the moralist is also very much concerned about how human life, maternal or fetal, is safe-guarded. The moralist does not make a simple equation: save the mother = destroy the fetus (nor vice versa). He is as quick to condemn maternal death as he is fetal death. There is no preference of one over the other. His concern is restricted to the means as to how one life is being saved. Is it being saved at the expense of the other? Is one life being destroyed as a direct means to save the other?

Actually, the moralist's course of action within the framework of

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 187.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 186, 286. For various misconceptions concerning the principle and its applications, see H.L.A. Hart, 'Intention and Punishment', *Oxford Review*, 1967, 4:5; Philippa Foot, 'The Problem of Abortion and the Doctrine of the Double Effect', *Ibid.*, 1967, 5:5.

the double effect principle is a negative one: nothing may be done to directly procure the death or destruction of either one or the other. As Josef Fuchs puts it: 'There is in fact no commandment to save the mother at all costs. There is only an obligation to save her in a morally permissible way... Consequently only one obligation remains: to save the mother without attempting to kill the child'.²⁰

In the last analysis, the double effect principle is much more demanding, requiring that we ask first not quite 'what am I preventing or solving?', which has the utilitarian ring about it, but rather 'what am I doing?': 'The question... is all the more urgent', writes Richard A. McCormick, 'because it is precisely the question our society nearly always neglects. Direct abortion... describes a lethal action performed with the intention that death should follow for the fetus. Indirect abortion refers to an action designed and solely intended to achieve some other purpose, even though death is foreseen as an unavoidable concomitant. The distinction, it must be noted, does not immediately assert that direct killing is right or wrong. Nor does it claim to be able to classify clearly all lethal interventions. It simply identifies direct intervention as something recognizably distinct from indirect taking of life. It only highlights the meaning of the action'.²¹

P.J. MICALLEF, PH.D.,

Dr. P. J. Micallef, Professor of Philosophy at Notre Dame University, at Nelson B.C. Canada. Obtained his doctorate in Philosophy at the University of Laval, Quebec, Canada. His doctorate dissertation was on abortion.

²⁰ Josef Fuchs, *Natural Law, A Theological Investigation* trans., H. Reckter and J.A. Dowling (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1965), p. 131.

²¹ Richard A. McCormick, 'Aspects of the Moral Question', *America*, 1967, 117:717-718; P. Knauer, 'La Détermination du bien et du mal moral par le principe du double effet', *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, 1965, 87:356.

BOOK REVIEWS

M. EMINYAN, S.J. *The Mystery of Salvation*, Valletta (Malta): Malta University Press, 1973. Pp. xii, 215. £M1.25.

FR. EMINYAN'S intention in writing this book was to provide his readers with a complete and updated theological treatise on the subject of salvation. A book on salvation today, he says, should prove to be a most suitable means to convey the true message of Christ; Christianity is in fact a Soteriology, and the Christian message is a message of salvation.

In the A.'s view, salvation is a multi-dimensional reality that is both revealed and realised by stages in different ways. Basically it consists in God's self-communication to man, and in man's union with God. The A. distinguishes four main 'dimensions' of salvation, and devotes an extensive chapter to each.

Chapter I is concerned with the Biblical notion of salvation. It takes up the theme of God's universal salvific will and then elaborates on the nature of salvation, linking it with sin and redemption, and ends by considering man's free acceptance of God's gift.

The next chapter is dedicated to the revelation of salvation in history. It recounts the progressive realisation of God's salvific plan in the history of mankind. Without entering into the problematic of Pannenberg, the A. underscores the link between creation, revelation and history with special reference to OT and NT history, and the history of the Church until the Day of the Lord.

The social dimension of salvation, by which the A. means the Church as sacrament of salvation, is the subject of the third and possibly the most rewarding chapter. Here the A. best reveals his updated, ecumenically-oriented mentality, and the optimism, which he justifiably claims is the key-note of his book.

Finally, under the heading of Individual Salvation, a number of topics are considered that have to do with the personal response of the individual to God's action, and the various ways in which salvation can be realised on earth as a prelude to the beatific vision. The topics discussed include faith, anonymous Christians, the fundamental option, unbaptized infants, and eschatological salvation.

While reading the book one cannot fail to be impressed by the vast range of the material dealt with and the ease with which the A. handles it. Professor Eminyan is a specialist on salvation theology. Here he

presents the fruits of many years of study and research on his favourite subject. One of his most remarkable achievements is his unified vision of a central theme which is usually broken up in several different treatises of theology. Another is his freshness of outlook, his serene optimism, and the confidence he inspires in his reader, not least by his fluent, almost conversational style.

I believe that this is the kind of book that does credit to Theology, and that meets the needs of the Church.

C. CASSAR

AUSTIN P. MILNER, *Theology of Confirmation*. The Mercier Press, 1972. 60p.

There has been continuous controversy about the rite of confirmation for the last thirty years. Traditional theology has been challenged from two sides. For some it is a meaningless reduplication of an aspect of baptism; while for others it is nothing less than the baptism in the Spirit promised by Christ for which water baptism is only the preparation. Although writings on this controversy are wide, we are still without a satisfying theology of the sacrament. Historians are now in general agreement about the development of the rites, but they still dispute their interpretation. Theologians, on the other hand have not yet managed to assimilate the historical researches and still remain incidentally attached to the limited medieval view of the sacrament which rests on very dubious foundations. In fact half of the booklet deals with the historical aspect of the question.

This helps us to picture rather better the theological and pastoral aspect in the second half. Especially interesting is the opinion of the age at which confirmation must be given. We distinguish confirmation as a 'sacrament of commitment' and 'as a sacrament of the mystery of the Pentecost in the life of the christian'.

Dealing a lot with the problem of baptism, the author concludes that 'we must surely question the expediency of infant baptism rather try to must the sacrament of confirmation as a second sacrament of commitment.

As an appendix, it has the rite of confirmation within Mass.

D.F.

AYLWARD SHORTER, W.F., *Theology of Mission*. Cork, The Mercier Press, 1972, 96pp. 50p.

This booklet, number thirty seven in the new Theology Today Series is a good attempt to show the need for a theology of Mission today. Nowadays, missionary work has rather lost its former pace, and concern for material aid is winning the day over evangelization. However, despite all this, the Church even after the Second Vatican Council, still affirms her missionary character. Although it is absolutely granted that salvation is possible outside the visible Church, baptism confers a vocation on the individual to give an explicit witness to Christ, and to ensure that this witness is universal. The Church's mission is to proclaim Christ to all nations of every culture, eastern or western, so that Christianity can be authentically embodied in terms of every culture.

The author, Fr. Aylward Shorter is a White Father lecturing on Social Anthropology at the Pastoral Institute of Eastern Africa. Perhaps this explains the fact that too many references are made to Africa throughout the booklet.

A.G.