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### LANGUAGE AND CONTEXT

ANY living language or dialect and the literature that it creates is an integral part of the society where the language is spoken. It has a national context from which one cannot detach it without shaking its foundation or destroying, if I may say so, its birth certificate. This is true of Literature in the country where it is born. There is also the curious case of a foreign language extensively taught outside the area where it is spoken and used for social inter-communication, such as, to mention one particular case, Italian and English in Maltese society. These two languages were the exclusive media of literary self-expression, and, much as one would like to have had Maltese more extensively used for that purpose in the past, one cannot now reject Italian or English Literature created by Maltese authors without cutting off a limb of Malta's body politic. Mr. Ġ. Cassar Pullicino, our authority on folklore and a historian in his own right (social history being his specialised line) has devoted some of his research time to the cultural and linguistic assessment of Maltese society when Italian was the exclusive language of our culture precisely because of this reason. My Professor of Italian, the late Dr. Vincenzo Laurenza, made an extensive contribution to the study of Italian Literature by Maltese authors and Italian residents in our country who wrote prose and verse when the Italian language monopolized social and cultural prestige. Signor Oreste Ferdinando Tencajoli compiled an anthology (*Poeti Maltesi D'Oggi*, 1932) containing selections from the poetic effusions of Maltese authors who expressed themselves in Italian rather than in Maltese and also of a few who expressed themselves bilingually, such as our national poet, the late Dun Karm, A. Cuschieri and C. Mifsud Bonnici. That is a record not to be despised because it is the product of our fellow countrymen who lived in a different society from ours and wrote at a time when Maltese had not yet captured the status prestige that it now enjoys.

Side by side with the Italian literary heritage, there has been developing, slowly but steadily, an English literary heritage which, if not as

voluminous as the Italian one, is certainly worth our attention at least as a contemporary document of times which seem to be slipping away but from which we have not yet emerged completely. Though Maltese and English are both Malta's official languages, in the Government departments English is used more extensively than Maltese. Though this is an indifensible practice (or is it policy?) yet it is a fact, and facts produce good or bad effects. The use of English for literary purposes has a fairly long tradition and there is still enough uncollected material for the publication of the English counterpart of Tencajoli's anthology, namely an anthology of Maltese poets and men of letters who expressed themselves in English, amongst whom we find authors with an established name in Maltese Literature, such as Dr. Ġ. Zammit, whose poetic output is trilingual, the Maltese playwright Mr. F. Ebejer, and a few others. The editor of this journal has been working on the compilation of such an anthology, but it takes time and everything is more difficult and time-consuming when there is no co-operation.

The use of English for literary purposes, not only in the U.K. but also throughout the Commonwealth including non-English speaking countries and some independent African States, has created a vast literary material which is worth studying both as literature and as a social document.

The editor of this journal gave a talk on *Malta's Current Contribution to Commonwealth Literature* at a Conference held in the University of Queensland, Australia in 1968, under the sponsorship of 'The Association for Commonwealth Literature and Language Studies' which concerns itself with Literature written in English throughout the Commonwealth.

A step in the right direction has been taken by the Department of English, which included a course of lectures on Commonwealth literature in its Honours course divided into two parts, the first of which was taken by Professor Bernard Hickey, lecturer in Australian and Commonwealth Literature in the University of Venice, and the second by living Maltese writers who have used English as one of their media of expression. There is also a wider field for collaboration in the field of comparative linguistics and especially a joint study of language interference, inevitable in countries where the native language must co-exist with, or suffer the impact of, a world language, which, though not national, is yet inevitable as a means of international communication with the outside world at large. One just wonders whether this question is of any interest to the British Council which concerns itself with the diffusion of English throughout the world. Interest in Commonwealth English is a good exercise in a two-way cultural traffic.

THE EDITOR

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## SOME EARLY ISLAMIC SERMONS

by DAVID R. MARSHALL

The purpose of this article is to look at some of the early sermons of Islam from the point of view of their ethical and historical content, and the light they throw on the various personalities who delivered them. The sermons are taken from Ibn Qutaiba's 'Uyūn al-'Akhbār ('Sources of Information'). Obviously no more than a very small fraction of the sermons delivered is represented in 'Uyūn al-'Akhbār, but the selection given affords an interesting cross-section of the differing forms of content and different historical personalities.

Abu Muḥammad 'Abdullah ibn Muslim ibn Qutaiba lived from 828 to 899, and those who have written biographies of him agree that he was one of the most erudite and cultured Arab scholars. 'Uyūn al-'Akhbār, which is his chief work, is divided into ten books, each dealing with a given subject. Each heading includes quotations from the Tradition, the sayings attributed to and about Muḥammad, and from literary and historical sources. Ibn Qutaiba allowed himself certain liberties with his material, which he at times abridged or altered to gain greater effect: this fact must be borne in mind when remarks are being made about the style of the sermons – certain of the pleasing features may be due not necessarily to the skill of the preacher, but to the editing of Ibn Qutaiba.

As we look at some of the sermons, some historical and biographical information will be given about the principal personalities quoted, as this will often help to put the content of a sermon into a more interesting personal context and perspective.

Before giving the sermons of others, Ibn Qutaiba states that he himself has studied the sermons of the Prophet, Muḥammad.

In the sixth century of the Christian era, Arabia was riddled with idolatry and paganism, although both Judaism and Christianity were known and practised to a certain extent. In the wealthy trading city of Mecca, in about 570, Muḥammad was born. Orphaned early in his life, his childhood passed uneventfully, although it may well have been marked with a certain sense of insecurity, as he tended animals around Mecca. As a young man, he was given a commission to supervise a trading caravan going to Syria, and this occupation would bring him into contact with Christians and Jews, and with the wider ideas of a more civilized society.

At about the age of forty, now secure in a happy marriage, Muḥammad spent much time thinking about God and man, and eventually felt himself called to preach about God. So Muḥammad proclaimed his message in the face of a stubborn, and indeed at times uncomfortable and dangerous, opposition. He was not at first the preacher of a new faith, but concentrated on the basic truths of monotheism, such as the Jews and Christians accepted. It was only later in his mission that a new faith developed, and Islam adopted its characteristic features.

Inspired as not many other men have been, Muḥammad preached from about 610 until his death in 632. In the early part of his ministry, while he was at Mecca, his message, as revealed by the Koran, is firm and simple, stressing the unity of God, and laying emphasis on the Last Judgment, when the dead would be raised and everyone judged by his actions in the present life, and the pious would go to Paradise and the wicked to Hell. In the later part of his mission, after the flight from Mecca to Medina in 622, Muḥammad became more of an earthly potentate and had to direct his activity also into secular channels. Consequently, much of the later revelation deals with matters of legal, social and political interest, and religious fervour is less noticeable. Muḥammad's character may have deteriorated somewhat through the acquisition of power, but there can be no doubt of his sincerity as far as his fulfilling God's purpose was concerned: this was an end to which he continually strove, even if his means of attaining it were sometimes not of the most honourable.

While not giving any of them in their entirety, Ibn Qutaiba quotes what was the standard beginning of the majority of Muḥammad's sermons. Although Muḥammad was an inspired man, and parts of the Koran are of incomparable beauty, the quotations given by Ibn Qutaiba are almost platitudinous in their content, and by no means stimulating.<sup>1</sup> 'Praise be to God. We praise Him, we ask Him for His help, we believe in Him, we put our trust in Him, we ask Him for forgiveness, we turn repentant to Him, we seek refuge in God from the evil of our souls and from the wickednesses of our deeds. He whom God guides aright cannot be led astray, but him whom God lets go astray none can guide aright. I testify that there is no god but God in His unity, who has no partner.' This is in fact an adaptation of the opening Sura, or chapter, of the Koran: while it contains many truths, and while it is the most frequently recited Sura of all, it is

<sup>1</sup>In the translations, certain words have been added in places to make more intelligible what in Arabic may be a very concise phrase. Such words will not normally be put in square brackets unless they are added by way simply of commentary or clarification.

far from being among the most impressive.

More interesting is part of one particular sermon, which runs as follows: 'Oh people, there are signposts for you, so follow your signposts, and there is a goal for you, so try to attain your goal. For the believer is between two fears: between a fixed term [part of his life] which has passed, which he does not know what God will make of it, and between a fixed term [the other part of his life] which remains, which he does not know what God has decreed in it. So let the servant of God prepare for himself from himself, and from this world for the next, and from his youth before old age, and from his life before death. He who holds fast to the spirit [of the teaching and example] of Muḥammad, for him shall what is after death be pleasing, and there is no abode after the life of this world except Paradise or Hell.' We see here the traditional stress of Islam on man's 'fixed term': God has predestined all things, and man's actions are ordained in the Heavenly Book, which decrees what is to happen.

The new faith had already started to spread to a limited extent during Muḥammad's lifetime, but it was under his successors that an Arab empire was established. The death of Muḥammad in 632 presented a temporary crisis for the theocratic state of Islam in the form of a succession problem, but this was resolved by prompt action, and Abu Bakr became the first Caliph, or 'Successor' (of Muḥammad). Abu Bakr and his three successors, 'Umar ibn al-Kharrāb, 'Uḥmān ibn 'Affān and 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib, are known as the Rāshidūn, or Orthodox Caliphs. Under the first three of these the new faith spread and an Arab empire grew rapidly. While there can be no doubt that many of the new Muslims were genuinely religious and pious, it must also be admitted that the lure of booty and the pleasures of Paradise (the automatic prize of him who fell in battle fighting for Islam, and the picture of which they understood in purely material terms) were the motivating factors which drove many others, on whose hearts and lips Islam sat but lightly.

Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq was the father-in-law of Muḥammad, and one of the first people to become a Muslim. On the death of Muḥammad, he was appointed the first Caliph. As Muḥammad had left no provision for succession after his death, Abū Bakr was virtually imposed on the community as leader by what amounted almost to a coup d'état. He was an old man when he assumed office and was renowned for his simplicity and piety. In office, however, he proved himself to be quite aggressive, and it was under him that the Muslim armies started their conquests, most of the Arabian peninsula being brought under the control of Medina in his short Caliphate.

Valuable light is thrown on the character of Abū Bakr in his short sermon when he was appointed Caliph. It is of interest to note, even before we look at the sermon, that Abū Bakr climbed the pulpit, but then came down one step from the place where the Prophet used to stand: thus started the tradition whereby, since that time, the sermon should not be delivered from the top step of the pulpit, a place which Muḥammad alone was worthy to occupy. Abū Bakr said: 'I was given charge of governing you, but I am not the best man among you. But God sent down the Koran and the laws of the Prophet. So know, oh you people, that the wisest thing of all is piety, and the most stupid thing is impiety. . . . I am an imitator, but not an initiator, so if I do well, then help me, and if I deviate somewhat, then strengthen me. This is what I have to say, and I ask almighty God for forgiveness for me and for you.'

A later sermon, containing a simple but relevant message, confirms and elucidates this initial view of Abū Bakr's character. We see the old gentleman almost begging his audience to pity and help him. He was a simple old man with a big responsibility, and this sermon, with its quiet, pleading tone, stands in marked contrast to some of those by later rulers, whose tone was forceful and almost bullying. 'Verily the most miserable of people in this world and the next are rulers. . . . What is the matter with you people? You are swift to speak ill words. The ruler, when he governs, God makes him shun what is in his own hand and makes him desire what is in another man's hand. He diminishes part of his life and infuses anxiety into his heart. He is envious of a little and vexed with a lot, he is disgusted with opulence and the pleasure of beauty is severed from him. He does not make use of example, nor does he rely on trust. He is like a defective coin and a deceptive mirage, outwardly cheerful but inwardly sad. When his breath stops and his life ebbs away and he dies, God settles his account, and God's reckoning is severe and He gives little pardon. Is it not the case that it is the poor who receive mercy? The best ruler is he who believes in God and governs in accordance with the Book of God and the law of His Prophet.'

As was stated above, Abū Bakr was a very pious, simple man, and another of his sermons contains a simple but pointed message. 'I enjoin upon you the fear of God in His unity, and that you praise Him as He deserves, and that you mix desire with fear, and importuning with requesting, for God praised Zachariah and his family, when He said [through the Koran]: 'They used to vie in good deeds and call upon Us, out of longing and fear.' Then know that God has bound your souls with His truth, and therefore has taken your oaths, and has purchased from you what is small

and transient for what is large and eternal. This is the Book of God, given to you, whose wonders do not pass away and whose light is not extinguished: so believe it, and accept the advice it gives, and draw enlightenment from it against the day of darkness. Then know that your comings and goings in the morning and evening are in a fixed term, knowledge of which has been hidden from you, and if you are able to do something that may not be accomplished unless you are doing it for God, then do it, for you will certainly not be able to do it except for God. Strive in gentleness, and [beware of being] a people who fixed their terms for others and forgot their own souls: and how many of you will be like them. So make haste, and be saved. Verily, behind you is a questioner whose course is swift, so make haste.' We have here a clear illustration of one of the dominant themes of quite a number of the sermons, the exhortation to beware and be good, and with emphasis placed on God's power.

As Abū Bakr was an old man, 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb was already the power behind the throne (although, it must be stressed, in the most upright way — there was no question of his using his power and influence for his own ends). He was nominated by Abū Bakr to be his successor, and so became Caliph on the latter's death in 634, and ruled for ten years. Stern and strict, he was the undoubted master of the empire, which expanded rapidly during his Caliphate, and was held in deserved respect by his commanders. Although he was the supreme master, his power in no way corrupted him, and he led a frugal life. Like his predecessor, 'Umar, too, was a very pious and deeply religious man.

Ibn Qutaiba gives us only one of 'Umar's sermons, but even from this one example we can discern glimpses of his piety and frugality. 'Read the Koran, that you may become acquainted with it, and act in accordance with it, so that you may be among its people. The truth of the possessor of truth was not made eloquent so that it might be used in rebelling against God. Did not I lower myself from the wealth of God with the role of defender of the orphan? If I were rich, I would refrain from unlawful pleasures, and if I were poor, I would eat in a gentle way as a young bedouin kid would: by nibbling and not be chewing.'

The third Caliph 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, was already an old man of seventy when he assumed office. A venerable figure, he was sincerely religious, modest and amicable, and affectionate in his manners when dealing with his subjects. When he assumed office the empire was largely at peace, and although further conquests did follow during his Caliphate, from 644 to 656, it was mainly a period of consolidation.

Although 'Uthmān was undoubtedly pious, he was in some ways a weak

character, dominated by his greedy relatives, and the fact that members of the 'Umayyad clan of the Quraysh tribe were appointed to most of the high positions in the empire caused considerable unrest, aggravated by the fact that the 'Umayyads had been relatively late converts to Islam, and their morals even at this time often left much to be desired. This unrest, fanned by comparative idleness on the part of the troops, and the resurgence of inter-tribal friction, led to a revolt and the eventual murder of 'Uthmān by fellow Muslims.

Only a few days after the murder of 'Uthmān, 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib was pressed to assume the Caliphate. A cousin and the son-in-law of Muḥammad, 'Alī was one of the very first people to become a Muslim, and during the early days he has distinguished himself in battle fighting for the cause of Islam. Older now, his impetuous nature had moderated somewhat, and he was at this time, 656, by far the most prominent Muslim alive.

On becoming Caliph, 'Alī unfortunately made several early mistakes. He attempted to dismiss 'Uthmān's nominees from their high positions, but although they had been the objects of complaint under 'Uthmān, they now became, following his murder, the injured party. If 'Alī had left them in office, at least temporarily, he certainly could not be accused of nepotism, as he was not an 'Umayyad, but belonged to the Hāshmite clan of the Quraysh tribe. It was also suggested that he was too slow in attempting to bring 'Uthmān's murderers to justice: in fact, he was probably undecided as to what steps to take immediately.

Most of 'Alī's Caliphate was taken up with a civil war, principally against the 'Umayyad governor of Syria, Mu'āwiyā, a civil war in which 'Alī was loath to embark, and several times he attempted to resolve matters by diplomacy before being forced to engage in battle. After an eventual uneasy and unsatisfactory division of the empire, 'Alī was murdered in 661.

The sermons we have of 'Alī show two different tones. He was a pious man, and we see in one sermon a simple but relevant message to the people, and again the theme of death and fixed terms appears. 'This world has fled and has announced its farewell, and the next world has approached and is on the point of arising. Today is the training ground and tomorrow is the race. Is it not the case that you are at the moment in days of hope, after which is death? So he who is remiss in the days of his hope before the coming of his death, his work is lost. So therefore work for God in love just as you work for Him in fear. For I can see only Paradise where he who seeks it may lie, and only Hell where he who flees it may lie. Him whom truth does not profit, falsehood injures, and him whom guidance



does not make straight, confusion leads astray. You have been ordered to be on your way, and have been directed to provisions. The greatest fear I have for you is following your own inclination and the length of the period of hope.'

By contrast with this quiet tone, we also see 'Alī using stronger language as he reprimanded the people after the murder of 'Uthmān, although there is still a strong religious element in his words. 'Oh people, you have the Book of God and the law of your Prophet. Let no accuser accuse anyone except himself.... He who was rushed upon has passed away, he was cut down and has perished. The right and the left are misleading, the centre is the main way. The well traced road is the continuing existence of the Book and the influence of Prophecy. Verily God has disciplined this nation with two disciplines: the whip and the sword, and there is no clemency with them as far as the leader is concerned. So conceal yourselves in your houses, and put right your dissensions, for repentance is behind you. Whoever refuses to associate with the truth shall perish. There have been matters in which you have leaned on me, for which, as far as I am concerned, you were neither praiseworthy nor blameworthy. By God, if I wish to say something, then I shall certainly say it. May God forgive what has passed. Look, and if you do not know, then remain in ignorance, but if you do know, then tell others. There is truth and there is falsehood, and they are applicable to everyone.'

Even stronger is the tone of another sermon of 'Alī, delivered when one of his agents was killed, in which one can almost visualise him sneering contemptuously at the people. The Arabs have always been a very proud people, boasting about their own prowess and valour, and for their pride to be hurt is a sore wound. So here we see 'Alī catching them where it hurts most by making them feel small. At the same time we see his own typically Arab pride emerging as he rubs salt into their wound by recalling his own achievements – and yet his own pride does not strike us as being at all offensive. 'How surprising is the diligence of these in their falsehood and your remissness where the truth is concerned. Shame on you and sorrow when you have become a target which is aimed at, you are attacked and do not attack in return, you are raided and do not raid back, and God is rebelled against and you are content [i.e. you do not care]. If I order you to go against them in the heat, you say: "It is such heat of summer – give us a delay until the heat has passed." And if I order you to go against them in winter, you say: "Give us a delay until the winter has passed, this is the season of bitter cold." All this is a fleeing from the heat and the cold, but how much more, by God, shall you

flee from the sword, you likenesses of men but not really men. With the minds of babies and the intellect of women, you have misrepresented my views with rebellion and desertion, until the Quraysh said: "Ibn Abī Tālib is brave, but he does not know a thing about war." Curse them! Is there a single one of them who has a greater stamina in war or longer experience than I? I started in war when I had not yet reached the age of twenty, and here I am now and I have passed sixty, but there are no views for one who is not obeyed.'

With the murder of 'Alī in 661, the period of the Rāshidūn ended and the 'Umayyad dynasty of Caliphs began. The 'Umayyads were descended from the same tribe as Muḥammad, but from a different clan, and as Muḥammad preached his message they had been his most bitter opponents. Although there were some pious and religious Caliphs among the 'Umayyads, the majority of them were worldly, and used religion only as a convenient tool at times.

The murder of 'Alī left Mu'āwīya the sole and undisputed ruler of the Arab empire. The first Caliph not chosen for his pre-eminence in the religious sphere, he was the founder of the 'Umayyad dynasty, and proved himself to have a number of excellent qualities as a statesman. When he became Caliph, the administration of the empire was decentralized, the anarchic nature of the former nomads was manifesting itself again, and there was general instability and lack of unity, since the murder of 'Uthmān and the civil war which followed had weakened the religious and moral bond which held the Muslims together. Mu'āwīya's solution to the problem was to start changing the theoretical theocracy of Islam into an Arab monarchy, in which the unifying bond would be neither religious nor purely moral, but the loyalty of the Arabs to their accepted head, regarding his authority rather as an extension of that of the former tribal *sheikh*. Following this style of authority, therefore Mu'āwīya was a good organizer, and from his time onwards the various provinces had judges, treasurers and commandants of police, in addition to governors.

Despite the high praise which Mu'āwīya justly deserves as a ruler, some of the temporal aspects of his rule and character brought adverse criticism, in particular from some of the historians, who saw him as the first king in Islam, an abhorrent title which implied a purely temporal sovereignty. Though his piety may perhaps occasionally be suspect, he was nevertheless one of the best of the 'Umayyad rulers, who left to his successors an example of clemency, energy and great statesmanship.

Ibn Qutaiba unfortunately records only one sermon of this great ruler. Quite strong in parts, it contains some quiet, rather moving sentiments

later, and has a very effective last sentence. 'Oh people, we have indeed come upon a time of deviation from the right course, a serious period, in which the doer of good is counted as being a doer of evil, a time in which the unjust man increases in pride, we do not profit by what we have come to know, nor do we ask about what we are ignorant about, and we do not fear the Day of Judgement until it comes upon us. People are of four sorts. There is the person whom nothing will prevent from causing dissension in the earth but self-indulgence, weariness of his intensity and the smallness of his resources. Then there is the person who unsheaths his sword, assembles his horses and infantry, and makes known his evil designs. He has got ready and destroyed his religion for worldly vanities, and he seizes his opportunity either through a troop of horsemen which he leads or a pulpit into which he climbs, and how bad are these two aspects which you seek as a prize for yourself, instead of what God [wants you to have]. [Third] there is the person who seeks the life of this world with the deeds of the next (but does not seek the next world with the deeds of this): he has humbled himself and slowed his steps, tucked up his garment and adorned himself for fidelity, and has adopted the fear of God only as a means for rebellion. And [fourth] there is the person whom meanness in his heart and severance from his cause hinder from doing the wish of the ruler, and whose situation falls short of his hope, and who finds the name of contentment sweet, and who is adorned with the dress of an ascetic, and still there is for him neither starting-place nor place of return. And so there remain the men whose eyes remembrance of the return has lowered and fear of a crowd has caused their tears to flow. They are among a frightened runaway, and someone afraid and concealed away, and a muzzled mute, and one who prays sincerely, and someone hurt through loss of a child, whom piety has made humble and weakness has enveloped. They are in a brackish sea, their mouths are dried and their hearts ulcerated, they have been warned until they are tired, oppressed until they are weak, and killed until they are few in number. So let this world in your eyes be smaller than a grain of acacia and the clippings of wool, and be warned by him who was before you, lest he who comes after is warned by you. Shun this world as blameworthy, for it has shunned those who were more passionately devoted to it than you.'

Mu'āwiya's successor was his son Yazīd, who ruled from 680 to 683. He was a shallow character, renowned for his frivolity and dissipated pastimes. Much of his Caliphate was taken up with fighting, not by him personally, but as a result of those who were opposed to him.

One of the most notable features of his Caliphate was the massacre of

Ḥusayn at Kerbala. 'Alī, whom we met above, was both the cousin and son-in-law of Muḥammad, and his children were therefore direct descendants of the Prophet. One group of people argued that the Caliphate should remain in the family of 'Alī and his descendants, thereby ensuring that the Caliphs would be direct descendants of Muḥammad, and these people were known as the Shī'a, or "party." The massacre of Ḥusayn, the son of 'Alī and the grandson of the Prophet, as Kerbala gave a new significance to the word Shī'a, and those who supported 'Alī and Husayn now became THE Shī'a. Still existing today as one of the sects of Islam, the Shī'a proved to be a disruptive element during the 'Umayyad Caliphate, and one of the factors which brought about its overthrow. We will see the Shī'a mentioned later.

We have already seen a sermon couched in mildly strong language, as delivered by 'Alī. In a similar vein is one by 'Utba ibn Abī Sufyān, the governor of Miṣr at the time of Mu'āwīya and Yazīd, and the firm-handed son of a famous warrior father – even if the latter's efforts were initially directed against the Muslims before his conversion. As well as stating some simple basic facts, 'Utba talks firmly to his subjects, although his tone moderates later. 'Oh people of Miṣr, our remonstrance has lasted a long time: you are at the spears' edges and the swords' points, so that we have become a bone in your uvulas which makes your throats swallow, and dust in your eyes on account of which your eyelids blink. When the nakedness of the truth was hard upon you as something binding, and the bonds of falsehood were removed from you as a freedom, you spread the news about [the death of] the Caliph and wanted to weaken the authority, you mixed the truth with falsehood, and your oldest compact with it is new! So gain your souls, since you have forfeited your religion. This is the book of the Commander of the Faithful,<sup>2</sup> with cheering news about him and a new promise from him. Know that our authority will be over your bodies as well as your hearts, so set aright for us what is apparent, and let us entrust you to God in what is hidden. Show good openly, even if you conceal evil, and you shall indeed reap what you sow. We trust in God and ask for His help.'

Another sermon of 'Utba is again in mildly strong terms, and in it, in a good simile, he stings his audience with a reproach and leaves them in no doubt as to his policy for dealing with them. 'Oh people of Miṣr, praise of the truth sits lightly on your tongues and you do not do it [i.e.

<sup>2</sup>'Utba was holding one of Mu'āwīya's books in his hand as he stood in the pulpit.

abide by the truth], but as for the blame of falsehood, you do that, like an ass which carries books whose portage weighs heavy on it, but the knowledge contained in them does not benefit it at all. By God, I will not prescribe to cure you with the sword as long as I can do it with the whip, and I will not go as far as the whip while the lash suffices me: but I will not be slow to use the former if you are not reformed by the latter. "What is done is done, and he who warns is like him who gives good news."

We have already seen examples in previous sermons of both pride and reproach. In a sermon of 'Abdullah ibn Zubair we have both in one sermon. 'Abdullah ibn Zubair was not an Umayyad, and his period of power, from 683 to 692, was mainly occupied in civil wars. He was proclaimed Caliph in the Hijaz during the official Caliphate of the frivolous Yazīd, and in 683 he was recognized by most of the provinces. In 685 'Abd al-Malik became the official Caliph, and he sent his iron-handed general Hajjāj to the Hijaz, where 'Abdullah ibn Zubair had his seat, to put an end to the anti-Caliphate. 'Abdullah ibn Zubair was killed in the siege of Mecca in 692.

His sermon, in which he praises his brother Mus'ab, who was his representative in 'Iraq, and slates and sneers at his enemies, contains some beautiful balance and expression. 'Praise be to God who exalts whom He wills and abases whom He wills. But He shall not abase him who has the truth with him, even if he is just one individual, nor shall He exalt him whose party consists of the friends of the devil, even though he may have all mankind with him. News has come to us from 'Iraq which has both grieved us and rejoiced us: Mus'ab has been killed. As for why this has grieved us, it is the fact that for the death of a relation there is a burn which his relation feels at the misfortune: then after it those who experience it are converted to patience and condolence. As for why this has rejoiced us, it is our knowledge that his death was a martyrdom, and that this is the best thing both for us and for him. Is it not so that the people of 'Iraq are a people of schism and hypocrisy, who sold him for the smallest price they could get for him? By God, we shall not die through *habaj*,<sup>3</sup> we shall only die through being killed in battle, a violent death with spears under the screen of swords, not like the Banū Marwān die. For if a man from them should be killed, it would be in Ignorance [i.e. a non-Muslim] and not in Islam. The world is deprived of the noblest ruler (memory of whom shall not perish, and whose authority shall not be abased): and if it comes to me, let me not take it lightheartedly, and if it is

<sup>3</sup>*Habaj* is the inner bark of a type of thorny bush. Sometimes camels eat this, which causes the formation of fat in their bellies and may prove fatal.

taken away from me, let not weep not for it as if I were a mentally disordered imbecile.'

Under the 'Umayyads there were a number of very firm, iron-handed governors or generals, two of whom were Ziyād and Hajjāj. Ziyād, a former supporter of 'Alī, was won over to the 'Umayyad cause, and was appointed by Mu'āwiya to be governor of Baṣra. Baṣra was a centre of the Shī'a (of whom we made mention above), and Ziyād ruled over it with an unrelenting hand. He was later appointed to be governor of Kufa, and this position made him the absolute ruler of the eastern part of the empire. With a trained bodyguard who acted also as spies and police, Ziyād ruled as a tyrant with a rod of iron, and mercilessly tracked down anyone who dared to favour the cause of 'Alī's descendants or revile the 'Umayyads.

In one sermon of Ziyād we can detect the firm attitude of this ruler, as he shows the people the pattern of what his rule will be. 'Mu'āwiya has said what you already know, and the witnesses have witnessed what you have already heard, and I am a man from whom God protected what the people destroyed, and joined what they cut. We have governed, and we have been governed by governors, we have ruled, and we have been ruled by rulers, and we have found that this matter can only be put right by firmness but without roughness, and by gentleness but without weakness. By God, there is no lie which has more witnesses than the lie of an Imām from a pulpit: so if you hear a lie from me, then blame me for it, and know that there are others like it within me. And if you see me ordering you to do something, then carry it out humbly. By God, I will have many struggles with you, so let every man among you be warned that he may be one of my struggles. By God, I will surely take the healthy with the sick, and the obedient with the rebellious, and him advancing with him retreating, so that your conduct may become straight for me, and so that the speaker may say, "Sa'ad was saved, but Su'aid was killed."<sup>4</sup>

In another sermon of Ziyād we can see even more clearly, from its content and tone, just how firm a governor he was, as he warns the people to beware. 'Food and drink are forbidden me until I make the ground level by destruction and burning. Beware of me at night, for I will not be given a hedgehog as a gift, except I shed its blood. And beware of me with longing after the Jāhiliyya,<sup>5</sup> for I will not find anyone calling after it except I cut out his tongue. You have occasioned certain events, and we have occasioned a punishment for every sin, so whoever drowns anyone, I

<sup>4</sup>This is a well-known Arabic saying.

<sup>5</sup>The age of Ignorance, before the coming of Islam.

will drown him, and whoever bums anyone, I will bum him, and whoever pierces anybody's house, I will pierce his heart, and whoever ransacks a grave, I will bury him in it alive. So restrain your hands and your tongues, that I may restrain myself with you.'

The most famous iron-handed general of all must surely be Hajjāj. A young schoolmaster who took up arms in support of the 'Umayyads, he was made governor of Arabia after the defeat of the pretender 'Abdullah ibn Zubair, of whom we made mention above, who had held the title and power of Caliph until he was killed in 692. In two years Hajjāj had subdued the Hijaz and Yemen, and in 694 he was sent by the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik to carry out a similar task of subjugation in turbulent and dissatisfied 'Iraq, whose inhabitants were described as 'people of schism and hypocrisy.' Here the Shī'a and Khārijites, another anti-'Umayyad sect, continually made trouble for the 'Umayyads. The unexpected arrival of Hajjāj, in disguise, at the mosque of Kufa, his removal of his disguise and revelation of himself from the pulpit and the fiery oration which he delivered are among the most dramatic and popular episodes told in Arabic literature. Hajjāj told the people in unequivocal terms what his policy would be, and let them know from the very beginning that his would be no kid-glove methods when it came to dealing with a troublesome and disloyal populace. He made known his policy, and he certainly adhered to it! He relentlessly tracked down the enemies of the 'Umayyads, and neither was any head too mighty for him to crush, nor any neck too high for him to reach. Whether his drastic measures were justifiable or not, they certainly succeeded, and he restored order throughout the vast territories of his viceroyalty.

The tone of some of the sermons of Hajjāj and their content leave nothing to the imagination, and the audiences who heard them would be left in no doubt about the attitude and firm policies of their governor. Hajjāj warns his audiences to beware and to be on their guard, frightening them with his threats. It must also be added that, content apart, there is some very fine language in some of Hajjāj's sermons.

The first sermon of his which we have from Ibn Qutaiba is that which he delivered when he entered Baṣra. 'The Commander of the Faithful has cast away his rods before him, and he has found me the most bitter with rods, and the most hard in afflicting people, and he has sent me to you. By God, I shall cut you like the acacia tree, and peel you off like aloes, I shall strike you as one would the sides of a camel, until your conduct is made straight for me, and until the speaker may say, 'Sa'ad was saved, but Su'aid was killed".'

At one point during his governorship, a rumour was spread around that Hajjāj had died. On hearing this rumour, Hajjāj's rejoinder in his sermon was as follows: 'A group of people of 'Iraq, a people of schism and hypocrisy, the devil has set them at variance, and they said, "Hajjāj has died, Hajjāj has died!" Take it easy! Does Hajjāj hope for goodness only after his death? By God, it does not cheer me up that I am not dead, and that I have the life of this world and what is in it. I have not seen God pleased to give immortality except to the lowliest of His creatures, with whom is the devil. The honest servant [Solomon] called God and said, "Lord, forgive me, and give me a kingdom such as no one after me may have." And He gave that, except for immortality. And anyone might be that man! You are all of you that man.'

On another occasion, when Hajjāj wanted to go on the pilgrimage, he left the people with this message: 'Oh people, I want to make the pilgrimage, and I have appointed as my deputy over you this son of mine, and I have commanded him the opposite of what the Prophet commanded the 'Anṣar.<sup>6</sup> The Prophet commanded that their good deeds should be welcomed and that their evil deeds should receive a blind eye: but I have ordered him not to welcome your good deeds, and not to turn a blind eye to your evil deeds. You will be saying after my departure things which only the fear of me stops you from expressing now. You will be saying after I have gone, "God will not give him good company." I shall be quick to give you my reply: "God will not give you a good deputyship."

Ibn Qutaiba quotes two more short sermons of Hajjāj, and they are interesting in that their tone is quite contrary to the tone of those sermons of his which we have already seen. In them there is no frightening warning to the people to beware of Hajjāj himself, but a quiet message containing some simple truths: 'Oh people, guard your private parts, and keep your desires hidden, for they are the weakest things when they are given, and the most rebellious things when they are asked for. I have seen that patience in avoiding crimes against God is easier than patience against the chastisement of God.' And the following sentiments are similar: 'May man set aright his work, may man settle accounts with himself, may man think about what he reads in his register and sees in his balance, may man be restrained in his passion, and be good in his purpose, may he take hold of the rein of his heart as he takes hold of the rein of his camel, and if it leads him to obedience to God, may he follow

<sup>6</sup>The 'Anṣār, or Helpers, were the people of Medina who helped Muḥammad after he was forced to flee from Mecca in 622.



it, but if it leads him to rebel against God, may he refrain from being led.'

In 717 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz became Caliph. Like the previous 'Umar, he was a deeply pious man, who was also a wise and conscientious ruler, even if somewhat financially inept. Under his quiet justice, the various internal feuds that were tearing the empire were calmed. Although the lot of the subject peoples was not unduly harsh, one class of them did have cause for deep resentment, and these were the *Mawālī*, the non-Arab converts to Islam. Islam stated that theoretically all Muslims were equal, but the Arabs, who set themselves up as an élite ruling aristocracy, had no intention of admitting non-Arabs, even if they were Muslims, to equality. Thus there was by this time considerable discontent in the empire among the *Mawālī*, not only on account of the high-handed attitude which the Arabs had adopted, but also because the *Mawālī* were having to pay heavier taxes than they should have been paying, as they were classed as non-Muslims for the purpose of taxation. The pious 'Umar regarded this as wrong, and he decreed that the *Mawālī* should be taxed as Muslims, and thus pay the lower rate. It was this factor which largely led to the settled atmosphere. (Unfortunately, however, 'Umar's successors were to reverse his policy and reverted to taxing the *Mawālī* as non-Muslims, with the result that what had previously been smouldering resentment among the *Mawālī* in the provinces was to burst into flame, and it was to be largely the cause of the eventual overthrow of the 'Umayyad dynasty in 750).

It had also been the practice in the mosques in Syria not infrequently to call down curses upon the head of 'Alī and his descendants. Under 'Umar alone it is said that this practice was discontinued. He forbade it probably not only because he felt it was wrong, but also possibly in an attempt further to heal the feuds which had so often plunged the empire into civil war.

In the one sermon of 'Umar's which Ibn Qutaiba gives us, we see a quiet message of hope and encouragement, but not without its warning to be good. 'You have not been created in vain, and you shall not be left forsaken. There is for you a place of return in which God will come to judge you and separate you. He who is outside the mercy of God is an unbeliever and is lost, and he is deprived of Paradise, whose breadth is the heavens and the earth. Do you not know that a man is not in safety tomorrow unless he exercises caution today and is afraid, and trades the transitory for the lasting, and little for much, and fear for safety? Do you not see that you are in the spoils of the destroyers, and they will also be there for those remaining after you until they are returned to the

best of the inheritors? Then every day you will be seeing someone who has died depart morning and evening to God, so that you conceal him in a cleft of the earth in the belly of a cleft without a pillow and unarranged: he has abandoned his loved ones and entered into the earth and faced the reckoning. He is bound by his deeds, rich in what he has left and poor in what he has brought forward. So fear God before His protection comes upon you. And I am saying this while I know that not one of you has more faults than I have, so I ask for God's forgiveness and I turn repentant to Him.'

The last 'Umayyad Caliph of whom we have a sermon is Yazīd ibn al-Walīd, the Caliph in 744. Yazīd's predecessor, his cousin Walīd (743-744), was a drunken libertine, and Yazīd led the revolt against him. Yazīd appears to have been of a serious disposition, and although he claimed to be religious, his opinions were unorthodox, as he was a Qadarite. (The Qadarites held the doctrine of man's free-will, whereas orthodox Islam laid stress on predestination, a corollary of the almighty power of God, so strongly emphasized in the Koran).

One of Yazīd's first actions on becoming Caliph was to ban musicians and singers, who were thought of as having an anti-religious influence, and who had been well patronised by Walīd. Indeed, Walīd had been generally reckless in spending public money, and had tried to win support by increasing the pay of the army. Yazīd, careful and conscientious, felt that this rise had been too great and more than the treasury could afford, and so he ordered it to be reduced. This immediately won him the nickname of 'Reduction Yazīd,' by which name he is known in history.

On the whole, the conscientious Yazīd might well have made a successful Caliph and have restored, even if only temporarily, the crumbling fortunes and prestige of the 'Umayyads. Unfortunately, he did not live long enough to be able to do so.

The sermon of Yazīd which Ibn Qutaiba gives us is his initial one on becoming Caliph. It resembles rather a 'party political broadcast,' in which Yazīd attempts to justify his actions in leading the revolt against Walīd, and in which he shows his plans for the future. 'Oh people, by God I did not attack [Walīd] joyfully or with recklessness, or coveting the world nor covetous of the sovereignty, nor is there any self-praise in me. I was a misuser of it, if God does not have mercy on me, but I attacked [him because he was] angry with God and His religion, calling upon God and the law of His Prophet, when the signposts of guidance were thrown down, and the light [of truth] of the people of piety was extinguished, and the obstinate oppressor appeared, deeming lawful every forbidden thing,

and embarking on every new doctrine, disbelieving in the day of reckoning. He is the son of my uncle by relationship and my equal in merit. When I saw that, I consulted God in the matter of him and asked Him not to entrust me with myself. I called in this matter concerning him among the people of my province, who answered me, until God gave the servants a rest from him and purified the country of him by His power and His strength, not by my power and strength.

'Oh people, it is for you that I should not put one stone on top of another, or one brick on top of another, and I will not dig a river, or bury wealth, and I will not give it to a partner or child, nor transfer it from one country to another until I have stopped the poverty of that country and the destitution of its people, and if some remainder should be left over, I will transfer it to the country which controls it. I will not confine you in your armies in enemy country, so as to stir you and your families up to rebellion: nor will I lock my door against you while the strong among you are eating up the weak, nor will I constrain other people to bear your tax so as to cause them to emigrate on account of it and to cut off their descendants. It is my duty to provide pay for you every year and an allowance for you every month, so that the condition of all you may be made equal and the best among you may be like the worst among you. If I fulfil my promise to you, then it is up to you to hear and obey and give help and assistance: and if I do not fulfil my promise to you, then you may disown me. Unless you force me to do evil, I will repent for what you have received from me, and if you know anyone who (may stand in my place who) is acquainted with righteousness, let him give himself to you like him whom I gave you, and if you want to acknowledge him as ruler, then I will be the first to acknowledge him as ruler and enter into obedience to him.

'Oh people, there is no obedience to any created thing in disobedience to the Creator. I am saying these my words, and I ask almighty God for forgiveness for me and for you.'

Mention was made above, in connection with Yazīd, of the Qadarite sect of Islam. It might therefore be appropriate to mention here finally a sermon by a member of another Islamic sect, Abū Hamza, who was a Khārijite. Whereas the Qadarite school was the earliest philosophical school of thought in Islam, the Khārijites were the first religio-political sect. During the struggle between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyā, some Kufans, former supporters of 'Alī, who fervently wanted to see the rule of God prevailing, were disgusted by the struggle for worldly power which was being waged, and withdrew their support from 'Alī, thus getting the name of

Khārijites, or 'Seceders.' They then became 'Alī's deadly foes, and in later years frequently rose up in armed opposition to the prerogative which the Quraysh tribe had claimed for themselves that the Caliph should be one of their number. In their efforts to maintain the primitive, democratic principles of Islam, the puritanical Khārijites were responsible for the flowing of much blood in the first three centuries of Islam.

The sermon of Abū Hamza, which starts with a brief historical account of some of the Caliphs, clearly shows what was the attitude of the Khārijites to some of them. Abū Hamza first mentioned the Prophet, Abū Bakr and 'Umar, and then went to say: "'Uthmān ruled, and for six years he acted in the way of life of his two companions, though he was inferior to them. Then he acted in the later six [years of his reign in a way] which defeated [the achievements of] the former six, then he died. Then 'Alī ruled, and he did not arrive at any firm resolution concerning the truth, nor did he set up any signpost for it, then he died. Then Mu'āwiya ruled, the curser of the Prophet of God and the son of his curser, who adopted the servants of God as his own property, and the wealth of God as [property of] the state, and His religion as corruption. Then he died, and they cursed him as he had cursed God. Then Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiya ruled, Yazīd the drunkard, and Yazīd with the ticks, and Yazīd the sluggard, the sinful in his belly and the effeminate in his private parts.' Ibn Qutaiba tells us that Abū Hamza then continued to relate the Caliphs one by one. When he reached 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz he avoided mentioning him, and then came to Yazīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik (this is *not* the same as the Yazīd quoted above, but a previous Caliph). Of him, Abū Hamza said: 'He eats what is unlawful, and wears vestments of a thousand dinars, in which the material has been fretted and the veils torn, friendship on his right and security on his left make him wealthy, until if drink were fully to get hold of him he would cut his clothes, then turn to one of them and say, "Can I not fly?" Yes! Fly to Hell!'

So much for what a Khārijite thought of some of the Caliphs. However, when he comes to mention some of his own Khārijite companions, Abū Hamza's tone is altogether different, although still quite in character. The picture which he gives us is rather touching, even if it is at the same time rather gruesome. 'Young men reaching a mature age in their youth, their eyes tender from [seeing] evil, their feet heavy from [suffering] falsehood, emaciated through worship, jaded through sleeplessness, God looks at them in the middle of the night, their spines bent on account of parts of the Koran [i.e. performing the movements accompanying their prayers], the earth has eaten away their knees and hands and foreheads.

They made light of that in seeking God, so that when they saw the arrows which were aimed, and the lances which were pointed, and the swords which were drawn, and the squadron was assailed by thunder with the shrieks of death, the youth from among them walked straight on, until his legs parted from the neck of his horse, and the beauty of his face was dyed with blood. And the creatures of prey of the earth hastened to him, and the birds of the sky came down on him, and how many an eye was there in the beak of a bird, while its partner wept in the middle of the night from fear of God! And how many a hand separated from its wrist while its partner relied upon it in the middle of the night in bowing down to God!

Having seen various individual sermons, let us now see what general features can be applied to most of them. Most noticeable is the fact that they are short and to the point, although it must again be stressed that abridgement and alteration may well have been effected by Ibn Qutaiba in his editing. Often the first sentence has some force in it, containing a message or idea, which is then expanded and illustrated. The clauses are generally short, and thus the reader's (or perhaps one should more accurately say originally the hearer's) attention is held. By means of these short clauses one gets the impression that the preacher is trying to instil his message into his audience and get it across with some force. To the short clauses must be added the effects of simile, metaphor and, to a less extent, imagery. There are numerous occasions when good balance of words or phrases in the sentence is prominent, and repetition, a device considered good in Arabic, is noticeable. Examples of these devices can be seen in the previous study of individual sermons, but they are often difficult or impossible to represent with justice in translation. To the Arabs these features commended themselves, since the Arabs have infinite pride in their language and in its ability to move and stimulate those who hear it.

Turning to the content of the sermons, we find that this is varied and by no means exclusively of a religious nature. Indeed, there is very little ethical teaching in them, and that teaching which is of a religious nature is mainly general and superficial. But Islamic sermons at that time played a much wider role than one would expect, or indeed tolerate, a church sermon to do now. Not only was the sermon used for spreading religious information, but it served also as a propaganda machine and as a way of providing what might nowadays be classed as 'party political broadcasts.' To view the latter uses as purely secular and therefore unacceptable

would be to impose too strict a limit on the sermons. Islam being a theocracy, church and state were closely linked and perhaps even, theoretically at least, indivisible, and therefore politics might have had a place in sermons. At times, however, the bounds were exceeded – by no stretch of the imagination could some of the fiery sermons of Hajjāj be regarded as being to the greater glory of God.

Turning our attention, however, to those sermons which are of a religious character, let us see what common features emerge from their content and tone. By and large, the same basic facts are reiterated again and again, and the predominant theme may be summarised as 'Beware (of the Judgement) and be good.' Islam as a religion lays much more stress on the power and might of God than on His love, and it is generally true to say that, certainly in the early decades of Islam, a Muslim's feeling towards God was much more one of fear than love. So in the sermons one notices the emphasis placed on God's power, inscrutability and awfulness, and man's virtual ineffectualness without Him. There is, however, a lack of deep theological philosophy in the sermons, although this omission is excusable in two respects, and perhaps even justifiable in the first of the two. First, a sermon in the mosque was not the place for deep philosophy: what was needed was a message that could be understood, and the significance of which could be appreciated – for the preacher to have attempted anything more would have been for him to lose the attention of his hearers, and his message would consequently have been wasted. Second, the preacher could probably not have included any deep philosophy in his sermon even if he had wished. During the first Islamic century the Muslims had been quite content to accept Islam simply, without any wish to argue over points of theology. It was not until the later part of the second Islamic century that they learned how to argue over theological questions.

As a result of the differing purposes and messages of the sermons, so likewise considerable difference in their tone can be noticed. The tone ranges from a plaintive call for help through pleading and admonishing to frightening and threatening. The tone and the content together often throw valuable light on the character of the preacher, and it is in this respect that an otherwise dull content may hold some historical interest.

## L'ERE DES RELATIONS PUBLIQUES A L'UNIVERSITE

By L.P. LAPREVOTE

DES Relations Publiques pour l'Université?

P.S. NOTHOMB posait déjà la question dans la 'Revue de l'A.U.P.E.L.F.' en 1967 et lui donnait une réponse générale.<sup>1</sup>

La crise de Mai 1968, la promulgation de la Loi d'orientation de l'Enseignement Supérieur en France, la mise en place des nouvelles Universités nous incitent à reprendre une telle question en fondant plus particulièrement nos considérations sur la situation française actuelle.

L'expression 'Relations Publiques' traduction littérale du 'Public Relations' anglais souffre beaucoup d'acceptions en raison même de la nouveauté et de la diversité de ce mode de communication sociale. L'imprécision de vocabulaire a parfois même conduit à donner des définitions ambiguës ou péjoratives des Relations Publiques.

Carl BYOIR écrit ainsi que 'les Public Relations sont ce que l'homme qui les pratique croit qu'elles sont'.<sup>2</sup>

M. BARBA, dans son ouvrage 'les P.D.G.', fait dire à l'un de ses personnages 'Apprenez que la seule fonction connue des Relations Publiques est d'établir publiquement des Relations avec le monde des Relations Publiques'.<sup>3</sup>

Un hebdomadaire français posait quant à lui récemment que les Relations Publiques étaient la 'forme moderne de l'Insolence de l'argent'.<sup>4</sup>

Mais si les Relations Publiques sont aussi dénigrées, c'est sans doute parce que l'on n'a pas hésité à couvrir ce vocable des sous opérations qui relèvent de la publicité commerciale ou de la simple propagande politique. Elles n'en ont pas moins démontré leur efficacité et acquis leurs lettres de noblesse d'abord au sein des entreprises privées puis de plus en plus aujourd'hui dans les services publics.

Sans nous attacher à la recherche d'une définition, nous dirons ici que les Relations Publiques désignent la mise en oeuvre d'un ensemble de techniques destinées à faire comprendre et admettre dans tout ou partie

<sup>1</sup> NOTHOMB R.S. - Des Relations Publiques pour l'Université. - La Revue de l'A.U.P.E.L.F. - Vol. 2, Automne 1967, pp. 83-88.

<sup>2</sup> Cité par FOULQUIE P. - La Pensée et l'Action. - Paris, Editions l'Ecole, 1965.

<sup>3</sup> BARBA M. - Les P.D.G. - Paris, Julliard, 1968. - p. 170.

<sup>4</sup> ROUANET P. - La Grande lessive, Le Nouvel Observateur, 26 Juillet 1971. - p. 11.

de l'opinion publique, une personne ou une institution présentée avec le plus d'objectivité possible.

Sur la base de cette définition nous essayerons d'abord de démontrer pourquoi il semble souhaitable que l'Université ait recours aux techniques des Relations Publiques. Nous présenterons ensuite un échantillon des moyens et des conditions qui donneraient une pleine efficacité à la politique de Relations Publiques de l'Université.

Par sa dimension comme par sa complexité l'Université moderne apparaît souvent comme un groupe social très fractionné aux ramifications si nombreuses que l'on a pu y voir une modification de sa substance même et la désigner sous le néologisme de 'multiversité.'<sup>5</sup>

L'Université risque de passer pour un simple cadre administratif dans lequel s'évoquent et se règlent des problèmes matériels communs à des personnes qui restent affectivement et intellectuellement étrangères, voire hostiles les unes aux autres. Or l'Université ne peut remplir ses différentes missions si elle ne se fonde pas sur l'idée d'une corporation unitaire dont les membres ont un intérêt spirituel identique: la recherche, la conversation et la diffusion de la Vérité.

Des dispositions légales ou réglementaires tendent certes à limiter la croissance de l'Université. Les nouvelles Universités n'en regroupent pas moins plusieurs milliers d'étudiants et plusieurs centaines d'enseignants. Elles sont par ailleurs constituées par les héritières d'Institutions naguère plus indépendantes – comme les Facultés – ou de tailles et de finalités très diversifiées – comme les Instituts spécialisés. Les cellules constitutives de l'Université ont en outre une ancienneté, une histoire et des traditions qui les caractérisent et accusent leur originalité. Mais toutes ces qualités peuvent jouer le rôle de barrières qui empêcheront de dégager les intérêts communs d'une Université, de révéler sa spécificité et son originalité.

L'information apparaît alors comme un moyen d'abattre des cloisons qui s'opposent à l'affirmation de la personnalité d'une Université. Le second motif qui justifie l'intervention des techniques des Relations Publiques dans l'Université est l'apparition d'un nouveau mode de gouvernement des institutions universitaires. Celui-ci a considérablement évolué au cours des dix dernières années. Aux organes de direction composés essentiellement de professeurs de rang magistral se sont substitués des pyramides de conseils associant enseignants de toutes catégories, étudiants, personnes extérieures à l'Université, membres de l'administration universitaire. Or ce système s'il a pour avantage de consacrer la participation, présente plusieurs inconvénients. On notera en

<sup>5</sup>KERR C. – Métamorphose de l'Université. – Paris, Les Editions ouvrières, 1967 – 134 p.



premier lieu qu'il est souvent difficile de déterminer la délimitation des compétences entre les différents conseils: les uns décident, d'autres donnent leur avis sur les mêmes sujets. Les arcanes de la procédure pourraient apparaître comme le moyen de fausser voire d'éluider toute participation. Une présentation systématique du rôle et des pouvoirs des différents conseils semble donc être le remède au désintérêt que certains partenaires ne manquent pas de manifester pour les nouvelles institutions. On remarque par ailleurs – au moins dans certaines Universités françaises – que telle ou telle catégorie de mandants au Conseil d'Université se plaint d'être coupée de ses mandataires. Certes les organisations syndicales d'enseignants et d'étudiants peuvent diffuser les comptes rendus des réunions des Conseils. Mais d'une part juridiquement ce sont des personnes et non des syndicats qui sont membres des Conseils et d'autre part le compte rendu syndical s'insère une dans analyse globale: le résultat peut être alors parfois différent des simples procès-verbaux d'une réunion approuvés néanmoins par la majorité des membres du Conseil de l'Université. On peut enfin se demander s'il est techniquement et financièrement possible aux membres des Conseils et des commissions d'Université de rendre compte en permanence de leurs travaux à leurs électeurs: le temps consacré à de telles opérations, leur coût même témoigneraient dans beaucoup de cas d'un véritable gaspillage. Il faut bien admettre aussi que les électeurs au Conseil de l'Université ne sont pas les seuls concernés par les délibérations de celui-ci; même lorsque l'élection a lieu au suffrage indirect, c'est toute la population universitaire qui est intéressée. D'une façon générale on peut en outre penser que d'autres personnes sont susceptibles d'être demandeurs d'informations: ainsi les Universités de province auraient-elles tort de négliger la presse locale qui peut leur servir de lien avec l'ensemble de la population d'une région. Ceci nous paraît d'autant plus important que la clientèle même de l'Université clientèle réelle ou virtuelle a changé.

\* \* \*

La démocratisation des conditions d'accès à l'enseignement supérieur ouvre en effet les portes de l'Université aux enfants de familles qui n'ont jamais bénéficié de prestations de cette Institution et ont une opinion parfois très déformée des milieux universitaires.

Il serait intéressant à cet égard de savoir comment est perçue l'Université au sein de certaines classes sociales qui sont sous-représentées dans le recrutement des étudiants. Est-il absurde d'avancer que cette image est sans doute trop accusée en bien comme en mal? L'Université n'apparaissait-elle pas encore récemment à beaucoup comme le seul

vrai moyen de promotion sociale alors que d'autres y voyaient un lieu privilégié consacré au gaspillage systématique et organisé d'énergies et de richesses. Si l'on raillait l'étudiant peu pressé de faire carrière et de suivre les traces de ses parents dans une profession donnée, on n'en admirait pas moins ceux qui conquéraient des titres considérés à tort ou à raison comme prestigieux. L'accès d'un plus grand nombre à l'Université s'accompagne d'un renouvellement de sa clientèle traditionnelle et ce phénomène est amplifié par la mise en place de filières de formation permanente et de formation d'adultes. Ici l'on ne rencontre plus seulement les enfants de ceux qui n'ont jamais fréquenté l'Université mais aussi ceux qui, étant entré assez jeunes dans la vie professionnelle, pensaient ne jamais connaître le monde universitaire. Si l'on veut alors éviter à la fois les déceptions qui naîtraient d'une image trop idéalisée de l'Université comme les réticences provoquées par une mauvaise opinion sur celle-ci ou les refus d'aborder une société mal connue, il faudra s'attacher à présenter l'Université au grand public telle qu'elle est avec ses qualités et ses défauts, ses forces et ses faiblesses, sa grandeur et parfois son prosaïsme. Il faudra savoir montrer ce qu'offre l'Université, décrire et expliquer les cadres et les limites de son action.

L'existence de nouvelles clientèles n'est cependant pas le seul symbole du changement des rapports entre l'Université et la Société. La situation de l'Institution dans l'ensemble social s'est aussi modifiée. L'Université d'antan bénéficiait d'un statut garanti par l'Eglise ou par l'Etat qui lui assurait privilèges et ressources. Or les odes contemporaines à l'Autonomie ne sauraient dissimuler l'état de dépendance – au moins financière – dans lequel se trouve désormais l'Université. La plus grande partie de ses ressources provient de subventions publiques accordées par l'Etat ou les collectivités locales. Quelques ressources complémentaires sont certes le fait d'entreprises privées mais elles sont alors le plus souvent allouées dans le cadre d'une réglementation étatique sur la formation professionnelle ou la formation permanente. Le financement de l'Université est donc devenu une affaire de politique nationale et l'on comprend facilement que – au moins dans les démocraties – le bénéficiaire de subventions publiques soit amené à justifier l'utilisation de ces ressources devant l'opinion et d'une façon générale devant ceux qui directement ou indirectement lui servent de bailleurs de fonds.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> C'est sans doute la raison qui guidait les universitaires allemands lorsque ils réclamaient déjà en 1952, la création de service de presse et de Relations Publiques dans les Universités. Cf.: die Empfehlung der Hinterzarten Arbeitstagungen, in Dokumente zur Hochschulreform 1945-1959, bearbeitet von Rolf NEUHAUS, 1961, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner, Verlag, (Veröffentlichung der Westdeutschen Rektorenkonferenz), pp. 405 sqq.

La multiplication du nombre des étudiants et des diplômés a par ailleurs pour conséquence que l'on demande désormais plus souvent à l'Université non seulement d'adapter la formation qu'elle dispense aux exigences du marché de travail mais aussi de rester en contact permanent avec les entreprises susceptibles d'offrir des emplois: ce rôle nouveau dévolu à l'Université justifierait sans doute à lui seul la mise en œuvre d'une politique de Relations Publiques destinée à l'extérieur et constitue une des pierres d'achoppement de tout système de collaboration entre l'Université et l'Entreprise.

En France, un organisme comme l'Office d'Information National sur les Enseignements et les Professions (O.N.I.S.E.P.) est déjà un lien entre les entreprises et l'Université, mais on peut se demander dans quelle mesure — la spécialisation et la concurrence conduisant les Universités à acquérir (ou à reconquérir) leurs caractères propres — il n'appartiendra pas aussi à chaque établissement de faire valoir la qualité de ses travaux et de ses diplômés.

Enfin il faut noter que c'est sans doute dans ses rapports avec le monde du travail et de l'emploi que l'Université aura la possibilité de mettre en œuvre une politique de Relations Publiques au sens le plus large de cette expression: ici moins qu'ailleurs on ne saurait se contenter d'une information diffusée vers l'extérieur sans essayer de glaner à l'extérieur le maximum d'informations.

Les dimensions et la complexité des Universités comme le changement dans leur mode de gouvernement, l'accueil de nouvelles clientèles comme la nécessité de se concilier l'opinion publique et d'appréhender les besoins du marché du travail semblent donc bien justifier le recours aux techniques des Relations Publiques. Collecter l'information au profit des centres de décisions, la répercuter en direction de toutes les parties concernées: telles sont les caractéristiques d'une politique de Relations Publiques qui s'expliquerait tant à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur de l'Université. Il reste à déterminer les conditions de sa mise en œuvre.

## II

A préconiser la création de postes nouveaux, on risque toujours de se voir opposer la constatation de TOCQUEVILLE:... 'Un sieur Lemberville publie un mémoire pour prouver qu'il est tout à fait conforme à l'intérêt public de créer des inspecteurs pour une certaine industrie, et il termine en s'offrant lui-même pour l'emploi. Qui de nous n'a connu ce Lemberville?'

<sup>7</sup> TOCQUEVILLE A. de. — L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution. — Paris, Gallimard, 1964. — p. 171 (Collection Idées No 55).

Nous pensons cependant avoir suffisamment montré l'utilité des Relations Publiques dans l'Université pour écrire que leur mise en œuvre passe par la définition d'une fonction précise confiée à une personne spécialisée placée éventuellement à la tête d'un service *ad hoc*.

On pourrait s'étonner du recours préconisé à des spécialistes de Relations Publiques. Rien ne s'oppose certes à ce qu'un universitaire ait la charge des Relations Publiques de son Université – et sans doute est-ce la solution optimale – mais à la condition qu'il s'initie à la collecte, au traitement, à l'élaboration et à la diffusion de l'information surtout lorsque celle-ci est destinée à tout ou partie de l'opinion publique.

Dans un article consacré à *L'information et l'éducation de l'utilisateur* des services d'enseignement, Monsieur M. DECAEN, Directeur du Centre Régional de Documentation pédagogique de Rennes, note... 'qu'il existe une certaine différence entre informer et enseigner et que, si les deux fonctions requièrent certaines aptitudes communes, elles n'en coïncident pas pour autant'.<sup>8</sup>

En effet... 'l'acte d'informer n'est pas l'acte d'enseigner. Leurs domaines ne sont pas absolument les mêmes. La façon dont ils s'exercent n'est pas identique dans l'un et l'autre cas. Il y a une certaine 'superficialité' et une certaine provocation de l'information qui la différencient de l'enseignement et de la culture. Leurs fins ne sont pas non plus totalement semblables. D'un côté, on apporte ou annonce des connaissances qui peuvent être utilisées pour des buts bien déterminés, de l'autre on invite l'élève à comprendre, à repenser, à intégrer à son être un savoir, pour l'épanouissement de sa personnalité et l'élargissement de sa culture. Il y a aussi dans l'information une intention pragmatique, que ne contient pas nécessairement l'instruction dont on a pu, aux siècles passés, louer le désintéressement. Enfin, l'information s'adresse presque uniquement ou du moins beaucoup plus fréquemment à des adultes qu'à des enfants. Ces derniers, et pour bien des raisons, on les instruit plus qu'on ne les informe.<sup>9</sup> Il suffirait peut-être de dire que l'information a ses difficultés particulières et l'informateur ses qualités spécifiques, qui ne coïncident pas totalement avec celles exigées dans l'enseignement...'<sup>10</sup>

Il faut donc souhaiter que les Universités fassent appel à des spécialistes pour mener à bien leur politique de Relations Publiques. On

<sup>8</sup> DECAEN Marcel. – L'information et l'éducation de l'Usager. – Mai 1969, Les Cahiers de l'A.U.P.E.L.F., no 3. – p. 162.

<sup>9</sup> Cette affirmation peu applicable à l'enseignement supérieur, n'enlève rien à la valeur du raisonnement de l'auteur.

<sup>10</sup> DECAEN Marcel, op. cit. p. 162.

pourrait à cet égard leur appliquer presque mot pour mot le texte d'une Résolution de l'Assemblée Consultative du Conseil de l'Europe: 'Toujours dans le même souci de voir le Conseil de Coopération Culturelle éviter l'écueil du travail en 'vase clos', l'Assemblée se demande si, pour amorcer un rayonnement de son action en profondeur, il n'y aurait pas intérêt à faire appel à des experts de 'Relations Publiques' qui sauraient, dans des cas précis, atteindre le public voulu'.<sup>11</sup>

Du fait même de sa fonction, le spécialiste de Relations Publiques devrait être placé au niveau où l'information est la plus nombreuse et la plus large, c'est-à-dire auprès du Président de l'Université. L'ampleur de la tâche comme de simples considérations techniques incitent, en outre, à faire assister par quelques personnes le chargé de Relations Publiques de l'Université.

Dans ce domaine, l'exemple donné par l'Administration de l'Education Nationale mérite d'être retenu. Celle-ci a, en effet, créé des Services de Relations Publiques, d'abord au niveau du Ministère, puis plus récemment auprès de certains Recteurs.<sup>12</sup> On peut se demander s'il est normal que dans ses relations avec l'opinion publique le Président d'une Université Autonome reste en état d'infériorité technique par rapport au représentant de l'Etat.

Un service de Relations Publiques de l'Université n'aurait d'ailleurs pas pour unique mission d'être à la disposition de la seule Université mais aussi de ses unités constitutives. Bon an, mal an toute institution membre d'une Université fait appel à l'opinion publique ou essaie de lui présenter ses réalisations: il serait bon alors qu'elle puisse bénéficier des Conseils et du savoir-faire technique du Service de Relations Publiques.

\* \* \*

Mais le recours aux spécialistes, la création de services de Relations Publiques resteront inefficaces s'ils ne s'accompagnent pas d'un changement de mentalité de la part des différents membres de la Communauté Universitaire.

Sans doute est-ce ceux qui vivent en permanence au sein de l'Université – enseignants et membres du personnel administratif – qui devront faire le plus grand effort d'adaptation. Ressentir le besoin de diffuser l'information est une première étape. La seconde consiste, non seulement à reconnaître la nécessité de recourir aux techniques des Relations

<sup>11</sup>Assemblée Consultative du Conseil de l'Europe. – Résolution No 214 (1961) du 27 septembre 1961.

<sup>12</sup>L'information et les Relations Publiques à l'Education Nationale, Education et Gestion No 1, 1971.

Publiques, mais à les admettre. Or, les universitaires habitués à la rigueur des articles scientifiques ont parfois du mal à comprendre les exigences de la presse d'information, alors même que concision et simplification portent parfois mieux auprès du grand public que précisions et nuances.

D'une façon générale, la volonté d'informer ne se traduira que dans la soumission aux techniques modernes de l'information.

A l'intérieur de l'Université, elle symbolisera la substitution de la participation à un pouvoir traditionnellement assis sur le secret.

Vis à vis de l'extérieur, l'effort d'adaptation sera plus important encore. Jusqu'à une époque récente, en effet, l'Université se contentait de vivre repliée sur elle-même méprisant ce qu'elle considérait comme une sorte d'exhibitionnisme de la part des entreprises ou d'autres groupes privés. Seules quelques manifestations de prestige – comme les cérémonies solennelles de rentrée ou d'ouverture de cours – lui donnait l'occasion de se présenter à un public choïci. Désormais c'est en permanence et pour l'ensemble de l'opinion que l'Université aura la qualité d'une 'Maison de Verre'. Ceci suppose une très grande disponibilité d'esprit qui permette la collaboration avec des milieux trop souvent ignorés. Parlant des relations qui devraient s'établir entre l'Université et l'Industrie, le Président-directeur général de la 'Société française des Pétroles B.P.', Monsieur Jean CHENEVIER écrivait récemment: 'Tout d'abord, et à la base, il y a une ignorance réciproque de chaque milieu envers l'autre... Cette ignorance va très loin et on pourrait en citer de nombreux exemples. Elle est d'ailleurs (et ce n'est pas faire preuve de 'triumphalisme' que de le noter) plus grande chez les universitaires que chez les industriels, car ces derniers, eux, sont passés par l'Université; mais cette différence ne va pas au fond des choses. Combien d'Universitaires n'ont jamais, physiquement, mis les pieds dans une usine? Une question aussi élémentaire prête à sourire, elle est néanmoins capitale, car elle est le symbole et le point de départ de tout'.<sup>13</sup> Et le même auteur regrette que certains s'accommodent d'une telle ignorance alors que d'autres s'en délectent ou n'ont pu que la constater sans avoir envie de faire quelque chose pour y mettre fin.

Mais ce n'est pas seulement avec l'Industrie que l'Université doit entretenir des relations privilégiées: d'autres secteurs de l'opinion publique sont susceptibles de s'intéresser à ses activités et tout citoyen a, en fait, le droit de savoir comment sont utilisés les moyens qu'il met à la disposition de son Université.

A une époque où l'enseignement réclame de plus en plus de crédits à

<sup>13</sup> CHENEVIER Jean, La collaboration Université-Industrie, Centre de Recherches et d'études des chefs d'entreprise, Cahier No 16, 1970, p. 10.

la Nation, les Universitaires devraient réfléchir sur l'exemple de la N.A.S.A. Le luxe de détails et d'informations qui accompagne chaque mission spatiale contribue incontestablement à faire de ces opérations les plus grandes manifestations de Relations Publiques organisées par les Etats-Unis à leur profit, mais cela aussi justifie aux yeux du peuple américain les sacrifices qu'on lui a fait consentir.

On aurait tort de croire cependant qu'un changement de mentalité de la part des universitaires et du personnel administratif suffirait à assurer le succès de la politique de Relations Publiques de l'Université. Il ne faut pas ignorer en effet que celle-ci semble souvent concurrencer directement les systèmes d'information mis en place par divers groupes dont les syndicats.

Or, enseignants, étudiants, membres du personnel administratif appartiennent pour la plupart à un syndicat.

Les bases du recrutement de ces syndicats et l'existence de plusieurs syndicats constituent cependant un élément du fractionnement de l'Université dans sa totalité et dans son unité. S'ils ont aussi une mission d'information, il paraît difficile de leur confier la fonction générale d'information dans et sur l'Université. Certes, on ne conçoit guère une politique de Relations Publiques mise en œuvre sans l'accord au moins tacite des syndicats, mais en revanche ceux-ci doivent reconnaître qu'une telle politique est possible sans être nécessairement contraire à leurs intérêts.

Ici encore le changement de mentalité est un préalable à toute action continue et cohérente de Relations Publiques.

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En dernière analyse, il apparaît que la mise en œuvre d'une politique de Relations Publiques dans l'Université est non seulement une condition de son bon fonctionnement mais encore une conséquence de son ouverture sur la société.

On pourrait objecter cependant que l'efficacité d'une telle politique reste aléatoire par rapport à son coût réel ou supposé. Nous nous heurtons ici au problème fondamental que les spécialistes de Relations Publiques n'ont, semble-t-il, pas encore résolu: quelle est la productivité des opérations de Relations Publiques? Celle-ci est difficilement mesurable avec précision. Il est en effet toujours délicat de déterminer avec certitude tous les secteurs de l'opinion atteints par une opération de Relations Publiques. Le résultat même de telles opérations est par ailleurs souvent différé dans le temps.

Faut-il pour autant rejeter des techniques qui ont été employées le plus souvent avec succès, par les entreprises privées ou par certains

services publics comme l'Armée, les Postes et Télécommunications ou les Services Fiscaux? Nous pensons, quant à nous, que l'expérience mérite d'être tentée. Le manque d'informations en provenance directe de l'Université favorise en effet une peinture trop déformée de la vie universitaire. Le moindre incident peut alors prêter à une généralisation hâtive et servir les intérêts de tous ceux qui avec ou sans raison se réjouissent de voir l'Université dénigrée.

Pour en référer au vocabulaire politique, nous dirons que faute de Relations Publiques, l'Université alimentera facilement toutes les formes de poujadisme anti-universitaire. De telles réactions se confondant avec ce que d'aucuns nomment 'le racisme anti-jeunes' pourraient alors très vite conduire à mettre l'Université au ban de la Nation. L'Histoire nous donne d'autres exemples du même phénomène. Elle nous apprend aussi que ni les hommes ni les peuples n'y ont gagné.



## THE ARTS AND THE THEORY OF LEVELS OF LANGUAGE

By R.K. SPRAGUE

*(A paper read at the meeting of the Southern Society for Philosophy and Psychology in Athens, Georgia on April 9, 1971.)*

THE theory of levels of language was designed for the solution of the so-called 'semantical paradoxes' in logic, and it is to this function that its uses have for the most part been confined. It is the purpose of this essay to show that the theory need not remain the exclusive property of logicians and mathematicians; on the contrary, by an analogy with the arts (and particularly the literary arts) it can be made to yield an aesthetic principle of a good deal of power and subtlety.

The chief distinction introduced by the theory of levels of language is that between object languages and metalanguages. The term 'object language' refers to any language which is an object of discussion, while the term 'metalanguage' refers to any language in which such a discussion takes place. In a German grammar written for English-speaking students, for instance, German is the object language and English is the metalanguage. If it should become necessary to talk about the metalanguage, a new metalanguage appears and the former metalanguage becomes an object language. In this way a hierarchy of language levels is constructed. The reason for the construction of the hierarchy is that paradoxes have been found to result if language be permitted to talk about itself in an unrestricted way. (An example of such a paradox is given in the notes.)<sup>1</sup> The basic principle exhibited by the theory may therefore be roughly formulated as 'No language may include itself in its own scope.'

Since language, in one form or another, is the medium of art, it is not

<sup>1</sup>The following paradox is due to J. Lukasiewicz. Take the statement:

The sentence printed on page 121, line 25 of this article is false. Since this statement asserts its own falsehood, it will be true if false, and conversely, false if true, which is a manifest contradiction. The theory of levels of language eliminates such contradictions by preventing any statement from talking about itself. (The article by A. Tarski, 'The Semantic Conception of Truth' in *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, IV, (1944), should be consulted for a full discussion of the theory.)

surprising that it should be possible to construct a hierarchy of artistic languages analogous to the hierarchy indicated above. Any work of art may be regarded as constituting an object language, while any language which talks about a work of art may be said to function as a metalanguage. When, however, an art employs its own medium or object language to call attention to itself *as art*, a mixture of languages results which is parallel to the situation in logic which gives rise to the semantical paradoxes. It is this possibility of *self-reference* in art which makes it amenable to an analysis in the light of the theory of levels of language.

Two preliminary points should be made before proceeding to illustrate the self-reference of language in the various arts. First of all it should be made clear that although self-reference is fallacious from the point of view of logic, this does not mean that its occurrence in art is always aesthetically displeasing. If the parallel situation occurs in logic, the proper procedure is simply to detect its existence and to take whatever steps may be necessary to avoid it. When self-reference occurs in art, however, the question is not so much how to avoid it as whether the aesthetic value of the work of art is sufficiently damaged by its presence so that it *ought* to be avoided. In other words, the application of a theory drawn from logic to a field in which value judgments appear puts us in the position of having to decide whether it is artistically desirable to resolve a situation which would ordinarily be resolved mechanically and as a matter of course. Second, it should be borne in mind that the application of the theory becomes more and more metaphorical as art becomes less and less representative. In the case of the preface to a novel, the preface is clearly in the metalanguage since it talks about the novel; the novel itself is equally clearly in the object language. The sense in which a picture-frame may be said to talk about a picture is obviously much less exact, although two distinct levels are certainly present here as well.

If we turn to consideration of the various arts, the theatre comes naturally first to mind, since the physical presence of the audience constitutes a special temptation to pass from one linguistic level to another. I begin with an example which, although it seems to me to be in regrettable taste, has at least the advantage of being striking. At the close of a Lynn Riggs comedy, *Laughter from a Cloud*, the hero and heroine are at last united in a fond embrace. The heroine, however, disentangles herself to remonstrate with her lover. 'But, darling,' she exclaims with a wave at the audience, 'there are people present!' Here is certainly a clear-cut case in which the language of the play (the object language) has suddenly been used to call our attention to the fact that the play is a play, this being rightly the function of the metalanguage. (I, for one,

felt a certain embarrassment at finding myself an unexpected intruder in someone else's drawing-room.)

The mixture of language levels in the theatre may of course come about in other ways than through an actor's reference to the presence of the audience. It happens if he comments on the structure of the play, or if he, perhaps inadvertently, calls attention to the artificiality of the scenery, or if he simply steps beyond the accepted limits of the stage. The mixture may also be initiated by a member of the audience who has so lost himself in the action of the play as to shout advice to the unwary heroine or dash upon the stage with the intention of murdering the villain. And, if there is more than one level present in the play itself, say a prologue which is metalinguistic to the main action, a mixture of levels may occur without the audience being involved, at all, by the passage of the actor between these levels. In all of these cases, a certain pattern of dramatic convention is assumed. When the picture-frame stage is used, the actors are in general supposed to remain behind the proscenium arch and to behave as if unaware of the presence of the audience. The audience, on the other hand, is supposed to enter into the spirit of the play, but not so completely as to mistake stage happenings for reality; it remains in the auditorium and keeps quiet. When other conventions are introduced (and many have met with considerable artistic success), we need to alter our conception of what constitutes the scope of the play, and hence of what constitutes self-reference of language in the theatre.

Two or three dramatic devices which might at first seem to be instances of self-reference can now be seen not to be so at all. The first of these is the prologue, epilogue, or chorus. In Shakespeare's *Henry V*, for instance, we have a chorus who not only comments on the inadequacy of the stage to represent such things as battles, changes of scene, and so forth, but actually complains of them:

Can this cockpit hold  
The vasty fields of France? Or may we cram  
Within this wooden O the very casques  
That did affright the air at Agincourt? (*Prol.* 11 14)

Here it seems that the machinery of the play is being made overt by a character addressing himself directly to the audience. But, it must be remembered, this character remains strictly outside the framework of the play; he is entirely extra-dramatic. If, after having delivered his speeches, he were to become a character in the play he had just been describing, the rule about language levels would clearly have been violated. As it is, the metalanguage and the object language are perfectly distinct; the play in question simply takes place at one further remove than would a play

which is performed without this kind of chorus character.

Again, a play within the play probably seems like a case of self-reference, but is it? After all, a play is usually meant to be a depiction of likely behaviour on the part of likely people, and one of the things people sometimes do is to act plays. Of course, the infinite regress effect may contribute to the piquancy of the situation, but self-reference cannot really be said to occur so long as there is no confusion between the levels to which each character naturally belongs. By the same token, plays about actors and playwrights, and observations about the theatre (e.g., 'All the world's a stage') do not necessarily involve self-reference, unless they are played to do so.

The soliloquy presents a much more difficult problem. The audience is apparently being addressed, yet, as far as the actors are concerned, the audience is not really supposed to exist. From the point of view of art, I would certainly defend the legitimacy of the soliloquy, for, although the audience must not be supposed to exist in the sense in which the actors exhibit an overt awareness of its physical presence, yet there is a more subtle sense in which the audience must be assumed to be present if there is to be any point in having a play at all. The entire dramatic illusion is constructed with a view to carrying the spectators into the spirit of that illusion: thus the soliloquy is merely a conventional device to make an individual's thoughts audible in the same way that the novelist has the privilege of telling us what one of his characters is thinking. Furthermore, as long as the actor remains strictly within the character he is supposed to portray, the illusion has not been broken. Sometimes, in fact, it is even heightened. This was certainly the case when Sir John Gielgud as Leontes in *The Winter's Tale* spoke these lines directly to the audience:

There have been  
 (Or I am much deceiv'd) cuckolds ere now  
 And many a man there is (even at this present,  
 Now, while I speak this) holds his wife by th'arm  
 That little thinks she has been sluic'd in 's absence  
 And his pond fish'd by next neighbour – by  
 Sir Smile, his neighbour. (I, ii, 190 ff.)

Of course, by speaking the lines in this fashion, the actor did make clear that he was conscious of the presence of the audience, so that this could be called a mixture of language levels. On the other hand, by the direct appeal to the audience to share the feelings of Leontes, the dramatic intensity was increased. Therefore, when self-reference does occur, although it is always wrong from the point of view of logic, it may at the

same time be artistically right.

It is beginning to become evident that self-reference in the theatre is usually accompanied by confusion as to the level of language to which a character or group of characters belongs. (This confusion may include the level occupied by the audience as well.) When Groucho Marx says 'This is the best joke in the play,' just whom is he meant to represent at that moment? He cannot be the character he has up to now been playing since this character does not know either that he is in a play or what jokes are likely to be perpetrated as the play goes on. Is he Groucho Marx then? If so, what is he doing in the company of all these make-believe people? Perhaps he is just a member of the audience who happened to read the script first. Then why doesn't he sit down in the auditorium with the rest of us? Again, when the cowboy in the upper gallery levels his six-shooter at the actor playing Iago, there is a like degree of confusion in his mind. Does he believe himself to be a sixteenth-century Venetian? Or are all these people twentieth century Texans in strange clothes? He may even, in a dim way, retain the idea that a play is being performed, but fancy himself as one of the actors.

It is interesting to note that self-reference, in its extreme form, is likeliest to occur at either a very naïve or a very sophisticated stage. In the cases in which a member of the audience becomes so engrossed in the action of the play as to lose track of his own or the actors' identity, the stage is obviously that of naïveté. When self-reference is employed by the playwright, the situation is somewhat more complicated. Take, for instance, the pre-Shakespearean comedy, *Fulgens and Lucrece*, in which two characters anonymously named A and B enter into the play (probably from the audience) to act as servants to persons in the story being presented. Neither pretends to be anything but a member of the audience (B is indignant when A mistakes him for a player), and the real audience comes in for a good deal of amusing by-play. Here it seems that the phenomenon of drama as such has not really solidified (no doubt this is partly due to the lack of a strict physical barrier between actor and audience) and consequently a certain looseness of linguistic structure results.<sup>2</sup> Then there is a stage at which self-reference is employed knowingly and with calculated effect; this seems generally to be the case with Shakespeare. S.L. Bethell, in his book *Shakespeare and the Popular Dramatic Tradition*, has called attention to what he calls the 'distancing effect' sometimes achieved by Shakespeare by overt reference to the

<sup>2</sup> For further examples of this sort, see Doris Fenton, *The Extra-Dramatic Moment in Elizabethan Plays Before 1600*, Philadelphia, 1930.

play as play.<sup>3</sup> In *Twelfth Night*, for instance, Fabian's 'If this were played upon a stage now, I could condemn it as an improbable fiction' (III, iv, 130) is introduced at just the moment when a too lively sympathy with the misfortunes of Malvolio would upset the balance of the play. Elsewhere Bethell points out a large number of such instances in *The Winter's Tale*; the play is 'distanced' by a deliberately antiquated stage technique, with the result that its strange happenings are made more credible. 'It is a play almost mockingly represented as a play, with the stage machinery innocently visible.'<sup>4</sup> Finally there comes the over-consciousness of art; a play is embarrassed at being a play. In the last act of Anouilh's *Ring Around the Moon*, the actor playing the dual roles of Frederic and Hugo is made to comment, in the character of Frederic, on Hugo's absence. Paul Scofield, playing these parts towards the end of a long London run, made this technical difficulty quite obvious by his manner of speaking the line. At this stage there are also experiments in dramatic technique which employ self-reference so extensively that the whole structure of the play is affected. In Thornton Wilder's *Our Town*, for instance, the play is so consciously presented as a play that we are almost persuaded to forget the fact.

The occurrence of self-reference in the theatre has been dwelt upon at some length in hopes that its extended analysis in one of the arts might make its presence in others more easily detected. It should now be clear, for instance, that levels of language are being confused if characters in a novel display awareness of the fact that they are being written about, or if the author intrudes himself into the story in his own person. In comparison with the drama, the novel is at some points less complicated, at others more so. Since there is no actor engaged in portraying a fictional character, we escape the possible confusions resulting from conflict between the person the actor represents and the person he really is. Nor are the characters in a novel confronted with the physical presence of their readers, as actors are with that of their audience.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, since the burden of exposition in a play falls almost wholly upon the actors, there is no opportunity, as in a novel, for the playwright to cut in with what might be called 'characterless exposition'. Consequently there is a more likelihood that the novelist may break through the artis-

<sup>3</sup> Westminster, 1944, p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> *The Winter's Tale: A Study*, London, n.d., p. 55.

<sup>5</sup> On one extraordinary occasion a book talks back to a character in a play. This happens in the last act of Mary Chase's *Harvey*, when the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* inquires of the already bewildered sanatorium employee who consults it, 'And how are you, Mr. Wilson?' This is really so wild as quite to defy classification.

tic framework in his own person than that the playwright should.

With some authors the habit of self-intrusion is much more ingrained than with others. Percy Lubbock, in *The Craft of Fiction*, has commented upon Thackeray's compulsion to act as a continual showman in *Vanity Fair*: '... so far from trying to conceal himself, [he] comes forward and attracts attention, and nudges the reader a great deal more than he need; he likes the personal relation with the reader and insists on it.'<sup>6</sup> Whether we like it or not will probably depend on what E.M. Forster has called 'the power of the writer to bounce [us] into accepting what he says.'<sup>7</sup> In *Bleak House*, Forster thinks, Dickens bounces us so successfully that we are willing to accept the continuous shifts in point of view,<sup>8</sup> but in *The Counterfeiters*, Gide 'expatiates too much about the jolts.'<sup>9</sup> Forster is also of the opinion that the novelist is well advised to refrain from taking the reader into his confidence about his characters: 'It is dangerous, it generally leads to a drop in the temperature, to intellectual and emotional laxity, and worse still to facetiousness, and to a friendly invitation to see how the figures hook up behind... Intimacy is gained but at the expense of illusion and nobility.'<sup>10</sup>

As in the theatre, convention has a certain part to play in regulating the amount of self-reference we will put up with. The Victorians probably became so accustomed to the 'Gentle Reader' formula that they ceased to notice it; it was simply an impersonal request for an increase in im-

<sup>6</sup> New York, 1945, p.114. For a representative example of Thackeray's self-intrusive style, see *The Newcomes*, Ch. XLV, where he writes, '... I don't think, for my part, at the present stage of the tale, that Miss Ethel Newcome occupies a very dignified position... and I declare if I had another [heroine] ready to my hand (unless there were extenuating circumstances) Ethel should be deposed at this very sentence. But a novelist must go on with his heroine, as a man with his wife, for better or worse, and to the end.' Trollope is another confirmed addict to this sort of thing. Towards the end of *Barchester Towers*, he writes, 'These leavetakings in novels are as disagreeable as they are in real life... What novelist can impart an interest to the last chapter of his fictitious history? Do I not myself know that I am at this moment in want of a dozen pages, and that I am sick with cudgelling my brains to find them?' (Ch. XXIV). And a modern Victorian writer, Angela Thirkell, has a tendency to discuss the problems of authorship in the midst of a story. (See *The Duke's Daughter*, passim).

<sup>7</sup> *Aspects of the Novel*, New York, 1927, p. 119.

<sup>8</sup> Shifts in the point of view from which the story is told are of course self-intrusive in a much less obvious way than those instances in which the novelist speaks to the reader in his own person. However too many shifts, if not well managed, may give an impression of the novelist's presence simply because the joints begin to creak.

<sup>9</sup> Forster, p. 122.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 123-24.

aginative effort. Whether the novelist should necessarily choose a point of view and stick to it is as much a question of taste as whether the playwright should keep his characters firmly within the proscenium arch. The novelist should, however, be aware that talking about a story is on a different *level* (in the technical sense) from simply telling it.

As we move away from the arts which make use of language in the cognitive sense and approach those whose language is colors, shapes, or sounds, self-reference occurs less frequently, or, at least, is more difficult to detect when it does occur. One of the chief characteristics of the mixture of language levels, it was stated earlier, is the self-consciousness of art, or art using its own medium to call attention to itself as art. A picture cannot arise and shout out 'I am a picture', since the language of painting is color, not words. Therefore it is only by the use of color that it can show itself conscious of being a picture. Any picture in which the artist has painted a frame around the edge of the canvas would be a case in point, or one in which some part of the picture escapes onto the real frame. (Mantegna's *St. James Martyred* is an excellent example of the mixture of levels, since the railing in the foreground, against which one of the figures is leaning, extends right across the picture plane and around the frame.) On the other hand, pictures of people painting pictures are not fallacious in this sense, any more than the play within the play is an example of the fallacy in drama, unless of course the artist appears in his own picture, as in Velasquez' *Las Meninas*. In a more subtle and metaphorical sense, it might be argued that the whole principle of the *trompe-l'oeil* school of painting is grounded in self-reference, since the purpose of this style of art seems to be to exhibit the adroitness of technique rather than to produce an object which is aesthetically pleasing. The same might be said of the whole phenomenon of spatial illusionism, as, for instance, in the Pozzo ceiling of S. Ignazio in Rome, where perspective has been employed to give a far greater impression of height than the building actually possesses.

In sculpture the pedestal is roughly analogous to the frame in painting, so that the question arises whether it is permissible for the pedestal to be of the same material as the work of art which it supports. Strictly speaking, no, since this would be a situation similar to the painted frame. On the other hand, we are perfectly accustomed to pedestals of this sort. (Thus convention is again a factor influencing our aesthetic, if not our logical judgment.) A really satisfying example of self-reference in sculpture would be one in which there is a mixture of languages clearly present in the work of art itself. Degas' bronze dancing girls with the cloth skirts are a good case since the bronze, which is intended to be descriptive of reality, has at this one point refused to describe; the skirt



itself is substituted.<sup>11</sup> This seems to me to be a clear example of the self-consciousness of art, since it appears a tacit admission on the part of the sculptor that his material was inadequate for this particular purpose.

Almost any analysis which attempts to run through several of the arts breaks down to some extent in the case of music. This happens because music is the least representative of the arts. It is, however, possible to detect a mixture of languages in a few instances in which music is frankly imitative of natural sounds. In Tschaikowsky's *1812 Overture*, for example, if a real cannon is used instead of a kettle drum, a mixture of languages undoubtedly results, since the cannon is on a different level from the instruments of the orchestra. The same kind of mixture would result if real sheep could be induced to take part in a performance of Strauss' *Don Quixote*. A more complicated situation occurs if the tolling of bells in music is represented by the actual tolling of real bells, since a case could be made for the bell as a musical instrument and thus it could be said to have its rightful place in the orchestra. As to the question of whether abstract music can, through its own medium, call attention to the fact that it is music, it is difficult to do more than entertain a few conjectures. Various compositions come to mind in which the music appears to be laughing at itself and thus self-conscious: Alec Templeton's musical satires or Prokofieff's *Classical Symphony*, for example. But would we have this feeling without Templeton's verbal explanations or without the knowledge that Prokofieff wrote the *Classical Symphony* as something of a stunt? A more serious possibility is Mozart's *Ein Musikalischer Spass* (K. 522), but here again we need program notes to explain that the mistakes in the piece are intended as a satire of country musicians on a village green, and are perhaps also a thrust at some current style of contrapuntal writing. In the trio which Sir Joseph Porter

<sup>11</sup>Scale is of course a factor here since the skirts are appropriate in size to the figures who wear them. However, that this mixture of materials is analogous to a mixture of languages may be seen by reference to an illustration of Tarski's (*Introduction to Logic*, New York, 1946, pp. 58-59.): 'Let us imagine... that we have a small blue stone in front of us, and that we state the following sentence: 'this stone is blue'. To none, presumably, would it occur... to replace in this sentence the words 'this stone' which together constitute the designation of the thing by the thing itself, that is to say, to blot or cut these words out and to place in their stead the stone. For, in doing so, we would arrive at a whole consisting in part of a stone and in part of words, and thus at something which would not be a linguistic expression, and far less a true sentence.' An example, from painting, which involves both a mixture of materials and an escape from the picture plane is Max Ernst's *Two Children Menaced by a Nightingale*, in which a small wooden gate is latched back over the outside frame.

presented to the crew of *H.M.S. Pinafore*, the counterpoint is due to the fact that Ralph and the Boatswain are not very good sight-readers and thus lag behind the Boatswain's Mate, but I doubt if this fact could be detected from the score alone.<sup>12</sup> The only clear cases seem to be those in which the orchestra is part instrument and part noise maker, as in the Tchaikowsky example first given.

Enough has now been said to indicate the type of problem which an analogy between the arts and the theory of levels of language might be expected to clarify. Although I feel confident that if the analogy were further developed the results would be interesting and fruitful, it seemed unwise at this stage to do more than try to point the way in which the analysis might proceed.

In the meantime, there seem to me to be three groups of people connected with the arts who might profit from an acquaintance with the theory. First, the artist himself: he might well find it of value to understand what properly belongs to the object language of his art and what is properly descriptive of it. The genuine artist is no doubt instinctively aware of this difference and will not confuse the two classes of expression, except deliberately. Therefore he may reasonably regard this suggestion as officious. Next, the critic: he should, of course, be able to detect self-reference when it occurs, but more than this: he must be able to exercise judgment as to when its employment is justified. Here his task is infinitely more difficult than that of the logician. When a mixture of languages occurs in logic, the resulting paradox is simply to be noticed and steps taken to avoid it; there is no question as to whether the paradox might or might not be aesthetically pleasing. Examples have been given above, for instance, in which the weakening of the barrier between actor and audience served to heighten rather than dispel the artistic illusion. The occasional cases of self-reference in Gilbert and Sullivan (e.g. in *Ruddigore*, 'this particularly rapid unintelligible patter isn't generally heard and if it is it doesn't matter', or *Pinafore*, 'I know the value of a kindly chorus') seem to me only to intensify the general mood of mild insanity and I would not have them otherwise. On the other hand, I do not like to have television comedians refer to their gagmen, nor novelists to the waiting publisher. But these are personal judgments, and the critic must employ all of his taste and sensitivity in passing such judgments. Finally, the aesthetician, who of all philosophers fails most beneath the censure of declining to accept the gifts which the logician has to offer: it will be his task to make the analogy more precise, so that it will be possible to determine with greater certainty just

<sup>12</sup>See Thomas F. Dunhill, *Sullivan's Comic Operas*, New York, 1929, p. 68.

when self-reference occurs and when it does not. (The critic cannot really use the theory until this basic analysis has been done.) In the process he may learn something about the structure of the beautiful or about aesthetic perception. However, I am inclined to think that it may prove easier to interest logicians in art than aestheticians in logic, so that perhaps any real study of the analogy will have to come from the side of logic. In any case, the source of study will be less important than the fact that discoveries in one field have been found to have significance in another which perhaps at first appeared alien and unrelated.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup>I am indebted to Professor Hugues Leblanc, who has read this essay in detail, and to many friends who have suggested illustrations from the various arts.

## NOTA SU UN MODELLINO DI CELLA TEMPLARE SENZA COPERTURA

By R. VIRZÍ

DALL'ipogeo di Hal Saflieni proviene il modellino in pietra, frammentario, di una cella templare senza copertura (fig.1). Esso è stato rinvenuto recentemente in mezzo ad un cumulo di frammenti ceramici dello stile di Tarxien, raccolti in un ambiente annesso all'ipogeo.

Il frammento, in calcare a globigerine, misura cm.10, 8 di lunghezza ed ha una larghezza massima di cm.5, 8. Esso conserva poco meno della metà di una cella templare, a pianta quasi circolare, delimitata da un basso muro continuo che, in corrispondenza dell'ingresso, si appoggia contro un monolito ed una lastra posti ortogonalmente. L'altezza del monolito (cm.4, 1) è nettamente superiore a quella del muro della cella (cm.3, 5). Il pezzo è modellato in maniera piuttosto sommaria e conserva vistose tracce della lavorazione, eseguita con uno strumento a punta larga. L'effetto d'insieme era completato in origine mediante il colore (ocra rossa) di cui si conservano qua e là piccole tracce.

Il modello di Hal Saflieni trova uno stretto confronto nei due modellini fittili di celle templari provenienti da Hagar Qim (fig.2-3).<sup>1</sup> L'importanza di questi due pezzi è notevolissima perchè essi formano insieme la prima coppia di celle di un modello di tempio interamente privo di copertura<sup>2</sup> (fig.4).

Sia gli esemplari di Hagar Qim che quello di Hal Saflieni sono basati sullo stesso principio costruttivo che è alla base di tutta l'architettura megalitica maltese: il muro della cella, ad andamento più o meno semi-

<sup>1</sup>T. Ashby, R.N. Bradley, T.N. Peet and N. Tagliaferro, *Excavations in 1908-11 in various megalithic Buildings in Malta and Gozo*, in P.B.S.R., vi (1913), tav. XVI, fig. 1, 2.

J. Evans, *Malta*, London 1959, tav. 3

C. Ceschi, *Architettura megalitica di Malta*, in *Atti del XV Congresso di Storia dell'Architettura*, Roma 1970, fig. 4

J. Evans, *The Prehistoric Antiquities of the Maltese Islands: a Survey*, London 1971, tav. 39, 15 e 16.

<sup>2</sup>La qualità e il colore dell'argilla provano senza alcun dubbio che i due pezzi appartengono allo stesso modello. La loro posizione, come indicata nel plastico ricostruttivo, è basata sulla rispondenza simmetrica delle parti.

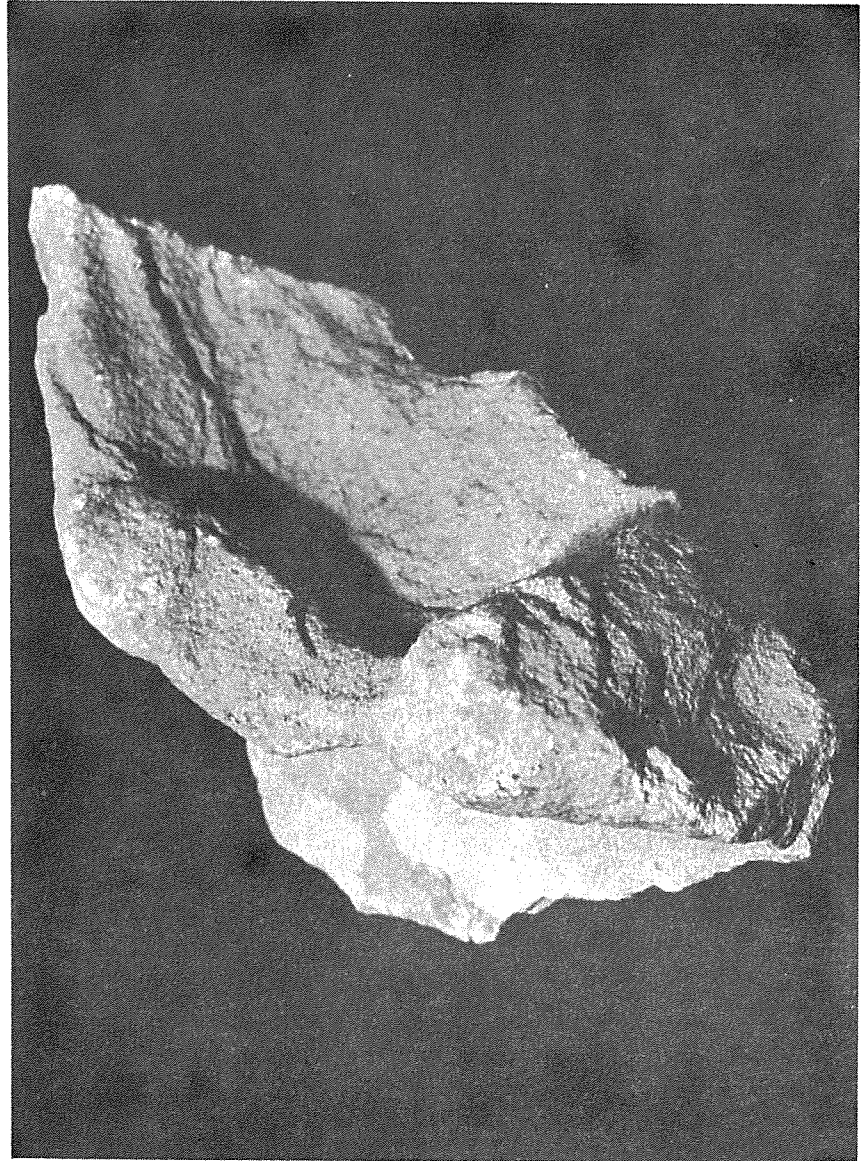


FIG. 1. VALLETTA, MUSEO NAZIONALE. MODELLINO DI CELLA TEMPLARE PROVENIENTE DALL'IPOGEO DI HAL SAFLIENI.

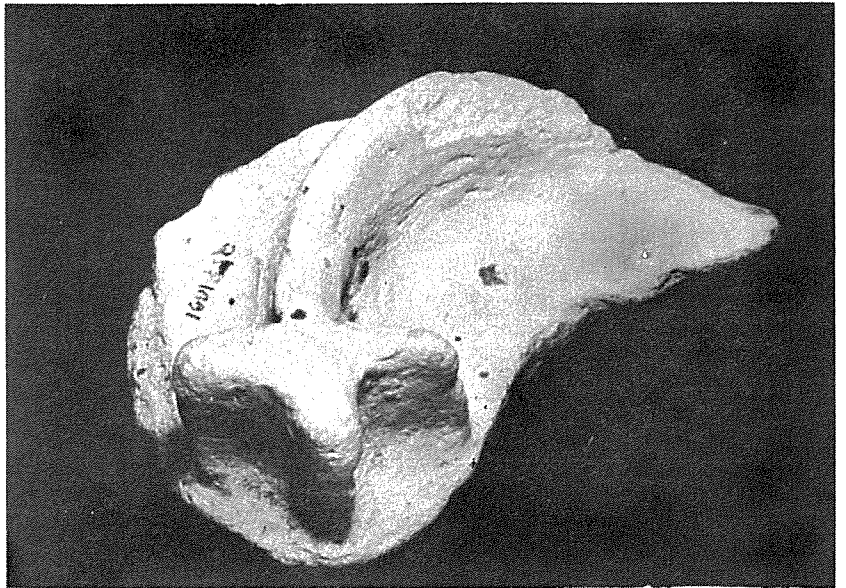
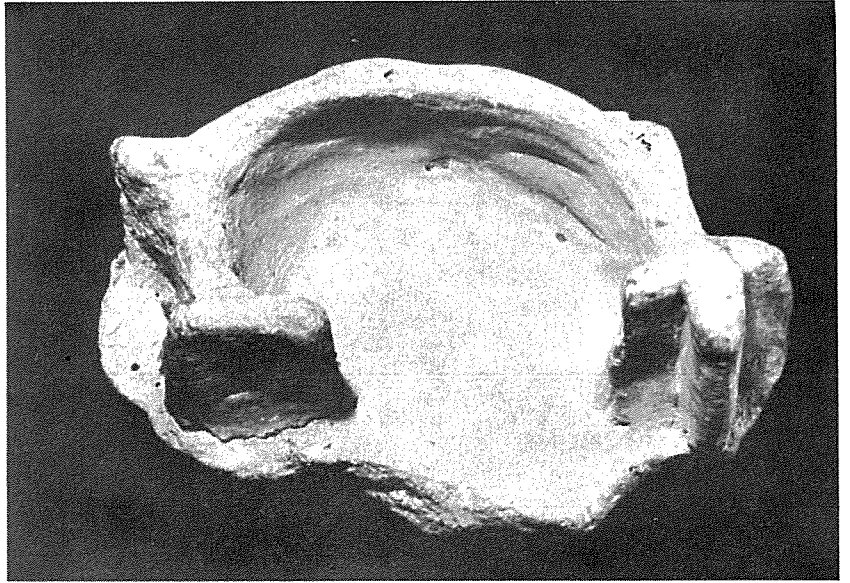


FIG. 2-3. VALLETTA, MUSEO NAZIONALE. MODELLINI DI CELLE TEMPLARI PROVENIENTI DAL TEMPIO DI HAGAR QIM.

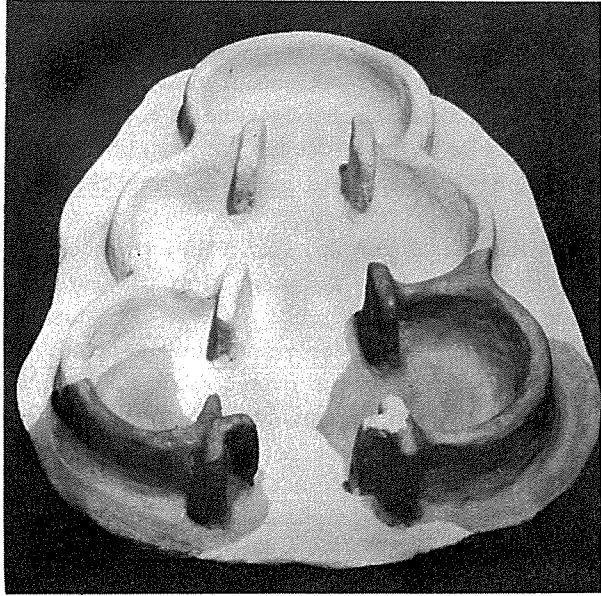


FIG. 4. VALLETTA, MUSEO NAZIONALE. PLASTICO RICOSTRUTTIVO DEL MODELLO DI TEMPIO DA HAGAR QIM.

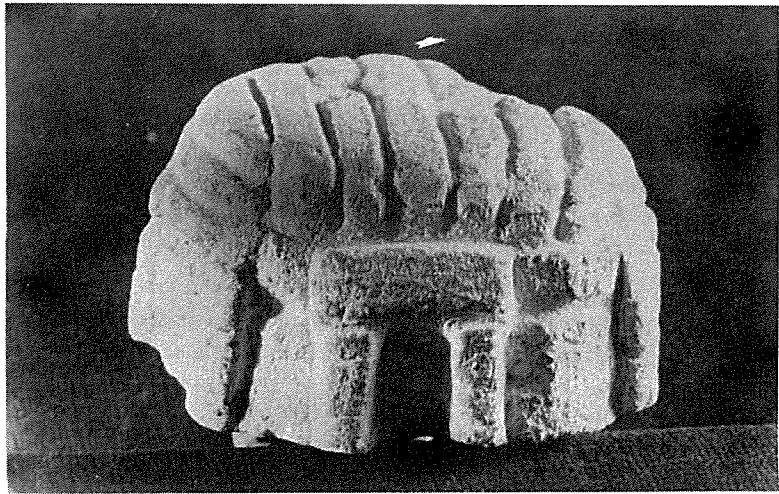


FIG. 5. VALLETTA, MUSEO NAZIONALE. MODELLINO DI EDIFICIO MONOCELLULARE PROVENIENTE DA MGARR.

circolare, batte alle due estremità contro lastroni megalitici che hanno la funzione di controbilanciare la spinta derivante dal muro stesso. La leggera inclinazione della parete della cella verso l'interno, ha la funzione di impedire una possibile rotazione di questa verso l'esterno e di favorire la coesione dei materiali impiegati nella costruzione.

La struttura delle celle si basa, dunque, su semplici rapporti di spinte orizzontali ed esclude il complicato gioco di forze che deriverebbe da una copertura.

Tenuto conto della fedeltà con cui i modellini votivi riproducono elementi dell'architettura reale, possiamo senz'altro affermare l'esistenza di edifici templari a cielo scoperto.

Il modellino di un edificio con copertura, proveniente da Mgarr, la cui importanza è stata più volte messa in rilievo dagli studiosi,<sup>3</sup> sembrerebbe a prima vista contraddire le testimonianze indicate ma in realtà le conferma. Il modellino (fig. 5) riproduce un edificio megalitico a pianta ellittica, elevato a lastroni posti alternativamente per dritto e per taglio, copertura a lastre giustapposte in piano. L'ingresso trilitico, posto su uno dei lati lunghi della cella, è rimpicciolito da un portello con apertura di forma ellittica, del tipo presente nei templi di Hagar Qim e Mnajdra.

Il modello, tuttavia, non riproduce una cella templare; il tipo di struttura dell'elevato, a lastroni megalitici rinforzati da contrafforti, è tipica della recinzione esterna di un edificio megalitico, come è possibile osservare ad esempio nei templi di Hagar Qim e Tarxien. Il modello riproduce dunque un edificio completo, isolato nello spazio, che nell'architettura reale può essere confrontato soltanto con costruzioni minori, quale il piccolo edificio trilobato di Mnajdra a cui lo avvicinano numerosi elementi: la pianta ellittica, l'ingresso trilitico e l'assenza della facciata concava, tipica dei templi maggiori.

I modellini presi in esame ci testimoniano dunque l'esistenza di impianti templari privi di copertura e di piccoli ambienti sacri con copertura a lastre poste in piano.

Nell'architettura reale, lo stato di relativa rovina in cui sono stati trovati i templi, senza prove incontrovertibili circa la presenza o meno di copertura, ha dato origine ad un lungo dibattito tra gli studiosi. Per primo Fergusson<sup>4</sup> avanzò l'ipotesi di una copertura delle celle templari a falsa

<sup>3</sup>L.M. Ugolini, *Malta. Origini della civiltà mediterranea*, Roma 1934, pp. 165-166 e fig. 76

J. Evans, *op.cit.* (1959), tav. 77

C. Ceschi, *op.cit.* figg. 5 e 6

<sup>4</sup>J. Fergusson, *Rude Stone Monuments in all Countries*, London 1872, pp. 421-424.



cupola, ottenuta con filari di blocchi ad aggetto sempre maggiore, secondo la tecnica impiegata nelle tholoi micenee. Questa teoria venne respinta da Caruana<sup>5</sup> e poi da Mayr,<sup>6</sup> sulla base di osservazioni di carattere tecnico (stato di conservazione degli arredi delle celle, assenza di pilastri o di pareti di sostegno, ecc.). Mayr ritenne esser le celle templari semplici recinti a cielo aperto che, in qualche caso, potevano anche essere forniti di una copertura mobile del tipo a tenda o a velario. Ceschi, nel suo lavoro sull'architettura megalitica a Malta,<sup>7</sup> condotto in connessione con gli studi contemporanei di L.M. Ugolini (si veda la nota n. 3), ripropose la copertura delle celle templari a falsa cupola, ottenuta mediante il graduale aggetto di filari di blocchi sovrapposti al di sopra degli ortostati di base. La falsa cupola non si chiuderebbe però alla sommità e la luce restante sarebbe stata coperta mediante lastre di pietra poste in piano. Visti nel loro complesso, i templi avrebbero avuto una copertura totale basata sull'originale fusione del sistema a falsa volta per le celle semicircolari con il potente sistema trilitico dei passaggi e degli accessi.

J. Evans<sup>8</sup> pur rifiutando formalmente le ricostruzioni grafiche di Ceschi, ne accetta sostanzialmente l'idea e la ripropone anche se in chiave più modesta: le celle templari avrebbero avuto una copertura a parziale falsa cupola, chiusa alla sommità non con lastre di pietra ma con materiale più leggero, forse tavole di legno.

L'ipotesi di Ceschi e di Evans si basa sulla giustapposizione di elementi architettonici presenti in differenti edifici templari: per la falsa cupola, alcuni filari di blocchi dell'elevato, ad aggetto progressivo, visibili in due absidi di Hagar Qim e Mnajdra; per gli elementi di sostegno, i potenti piedritti dei templi di Tarxien.

È necessario rilevare che ad Hagar Qim e a Mnajdra le due celle con accenno di copertura a falsa cupola appaiono isolate in un contesto di ambienti che sicuramente erano a cielo scoperto.<sup>9</sup> A Tarxien, anche là dove i muri delle celle, a lastroni monolitici, si conservano per notevole altezza e in buono stato, non vi è alcun accenno ad una possibile coper-

<sup>5</sup> A.A. Caruana, *Recent further excavations of the Megalithic Antiquities of Hagar Qim, Malta, executed in the year 1885, Malta 1886*, p.6

<sup>6</sup> A. Mayr, *The Prehistoric Remains of Malta*, 1908, pp. 51-52.

<sup>7</sup> C. Ceschi, *Architettura dei Templi Megalitici di Malta*, Roma 1939, p.45 e ss.

<sup>8</sup> J. Evans, *op. cit.* (1959), pp. 126-128.

<sup>9</sup> Si veda ad esempio la cella I di Hagar Qim (A. Mayr, *op. cit.*, tav. III) o il tempio orientale di Mnajdra dove l'esiguo spessore delle pareti e le loro modeste dimensioni in rapporto allo spazio che delimitano, escludono la possibilità di una copertura.

tura; fatto analogo è riscontrabile a Gigantija dove l'altezza delle pareti delle celle raggiunge i cinque metri.

In concordanza con i modellini di templi da Haġar Qim e Hal Saflieni, si deve dunque ammettere che gli edifici templari erano concepiti come aggregati di spazi a cielo scoperto e che solo eccezionalmente, forse in relazione a particolari esigenze, qualche ambiente poteva essere fornito di copertura.

Gli architetti che costruirono templi di tali dimensioni e perfezione tecnica erano sicuramente in grado di risolvere qualsiasi problema di copertura; se questa manca, le ragioni devono essere legate all'origine stessa del tempio, alla sua primitiva tipologia ed al conseguente conservatorismo religioso.

Un tipo di costruzione, formata da piccoli recinti a pianta ellittica raccolti intorno ad un cortile centrale, sembrerebbe essere tra i più antichi luoghi di culto, se non il più antico in senso assoluto. L'esempio migliore è quello di Borġ ta l'Mramma<sup>10</sup> ma non mancano altri casi come ad esempio Kordin. Che la pianta di Borġ ta l'Mramma abbia una profonda vitalità è attestato dal persistere dello stesso schema nel tempio di Haġar Qim (parte occidentale) dove esso coesiste con il tipo già classico della coppia di celle simmetriche.

La risposta definitiva a questi problemi può venire solo da nuovi scavi condotti nei siti megalitici minori che, seppure modesti, possono in realtà apportare un notevole contributo alle nostre conoscenze sulla grande civiltà preistorica di Malta.

<sup>10</sup> A. Mayr, *op.cit.*, p. 48-50

T. Ashby, *op.cit.*, p. 4

T. Zammit, *The Prehistoric Remains of the Maltese Islands*, in *Antiquity* IV (1930), p. 63.

J. Evans, *op.cit.* (1971), pp. 171-172.

La fotografia n. 1 è stata eseguita dal Sg. J. Theuma.

Le fotografie di cui alle figure n. 2-5 sono dovute alla cortesia del Direttore del Museo Nazionale, Valletta.

## WAR AND POWER

By JOHN MICALLEF

### 1. THE NATURE OF POWER

Relations between man and man are determined by the fact that all men are equal before the law, that is, they have all the rights which the constitution grants to all adult human beings, such as the right to bear arms, the right to worship and so on. Such rights and the application of the law on every occasion on which these rights are questioned or denied give rise to the administration of justice as the basis for human relations.

Such a basis of human relations can be expressed in the formula: *what is mine is mine, and what is yours is yours* – in relation to property; or in the formula: *I do what I like and you do what you like* – in relation to freedom; or more directly in relation to human relations: *Don't bug me and I won't bug you.*

Rarely, however, are human relations based on such a strict notion of justice; even more rarely are they based on a sharing in love which might be expressed in the formula: *What is mine is yours and what is yours is mine* – in relation to property, or in the formula: *I do what you like, and you'll do what you like* – in relation to freedom, or directly in relation to human relations: *I won't bug you, but you may bug me.*

More often than not human relations between man and man are based on interest rather than justice, for men are not satisfied with the rights that the law grants; they try to usurp for themselves such rights as they can get hold of at the expense of others without giving up any of their own rights. Thus, they end up with a distorted view of justice which might be expressed in the formula: *What is mine is mine, and what is yours is mine* – in relation to property, or in the formula: *I do what I like, but you do what I like* – in relation to freedom; or more directly in relation to all human relations: *Don't bug me, but I may bug you.*

Similarly, relations between nations are based occasionally on justice, rarely on love, but more often than not on interest, which gives rise to power. Power is exercised by one man or a group of men over another man or a group of men through the control of the mind and their actions.

On the other hand, political power should be distinguished from force or violence, which is usually military or pseudo-military action. The threat of the use of such force, however, is political. Thus, to threaten to attack a nation is a political action, but to attack it is a military operation.

The threat works on the threatened nation and establishes a psychological rapport with the minds of the opponents; if and when the threat gives way to attack, then the opponents cease to relate to each other. Instead of trying to establish a reconciliation, they try, or become interested in trying, to destroy each other.

Thus, the objective of political power in whatever way it is manifested or exercised, even if it is simply limited to the knowledge of military preparations and the extent of its weapons and armaments, rather than the threat of their use, is to control another nation or group of nations into submission. The stronger nation, even without actually acting aggressively, may attempt to scare away the other nations from the use of military force by making them realize that their attack, or even their defense, would be both futile and dangerous, since it would easily risk incurring more punishment than they could ever expect to inflict. Thus, the 'exhibition' of military armaments and/or the threat of their use is a manifestation of political power and is intended to make the actual use of such force or military power by the enemy both useless and unnecessary.

All political action, therefore, rules out any action which does not refer to power; so political power is limited to 'the mutual relations of control among the holders of public authority and between the latter and the people at large.' Morgenthau p. 26.

In its more rigid application to international politics, however, political power should refer to the control of one nation by another. 'On the international scene I should define power as the capacity of a political unit to impose its will upon other units.' Aron. p. 47.

Political power is, therefore, a rapport between those in control and those under control, or between the aggressor and those opponents that he wishes or wants to bring under control through the influence exerted over their minds. Political power is, in short, a relation between the dominating and the dominated.

Such a relation establishes an influence based either on the expectation of advantages, or the fear of disadvantages, and it may be exercised through orders, threats, diplomacy, persuasion, authority, prestige, or even charismatic personality.

This exercise of power may be directed to the achievement of secondary goals, such as freedom, security, or prosperity; but any secondary goal is bound to lead to an increase and a strengthening of the primary goal, namely power itself. 'Whatever the material objective of a foreign policy, such as the acquisition of sources of raw materials, the controls of sea lanes, or territorial changes, they always entail control of the ac-

tions of others through influence over their minds.' Morgenthau p.28.

If, therefore, international politics is a struggle for power, any action which does not tend to increase or decrease such power should not be considered a political action, but rather legal, economic, humanitarian or cultural activity. For example, an extradition treaty or a project for the promotion of a national culture in another country would entail legal or cultural involvement, but would not amount to a political action.

On the other hand, any action undertaken by a state in its relation with another state becomes political when it is used or directed as an instrument of a political policy, even if the action as such is economic, legal or cultural in itself, provided its political implication is greater than its significance in any other field of reference. For example, the imposition of economic sanctions on Italy when Mussolini attacked Ethiopia in 1935 was not an economic action, for it was meant to exercise political power over Italy's foreign policy, not over her commerce.

Such actions, therefore, should be examined and evaluated insofar as they contribute to the exercise and growth of the power of one state over another. For example, a loan given to an under-developed country may be a financial risk, but still worthwhile as a political maneuver to clinch an alliance; or again, a loan backed by financial security may turn out to be a political risk. In both cases, the political overtones of the transaction are more significant than the economic undertones.

Thus, to conclude this section, nations relate to each other almost always on the basis of interest, for all states are only interested in keeping and increasing their power. They may, in fact, tend to respect each other's territorial rights and privileges, but often they try to grab a slice of a neighbor's territory to open up a passage to the sea, or to protect a minority group or to weaken the power of a dangerous neighbor. Indeed, rarely, very very rarely or almost never, do nations give donations in goods or money, as the U.S. did with its Marshall plan, and even when they do, they rarely do it out of a spirit of love.

Thus, for the purpose of this analysis of power, we may ignore both love and justice as the basis of human relations, and consider interest as the paramount and pervasive basis. So, as relations between man and man justify killing for self-defense, so nations have assumed the right to destroy those nations that are trying to destroy them.

The life of governments is like that of man. The latter has a right to kill in case of natural defense; the former have a right to wage war for their own preservation. In the case of natural defense I have a right to kill, because my life in respect to me, what the life of my antagonist is

to him; in the same manner a state wages war, because its preservation is like that of any other being. With individuals the right of natural defense does not imply a necessity of attacking... But with states the right of natural defense carries along with it sometimes the necessity of attacking. ... The right therefore of war is derived from necessity and strict justice.' Montesquieu.

## 2. MANIFESTATION OF POWER

The interest of the nation comprises three positive and three negative factors:

### (a) positive factors:

- (i) the people or citizens as members of the nation.
- (ii) the institutions for the administration of justice, the legislative bodies, executive government, police, education and so on.
- (iii) the nation itself, not merely insofar as it comprises the individual members and its institutions, but insofar as it constitutes a sovereign unit.

### (b) negative factors:

the same three factors as outlined above in relation to other nations, usually rivals or opponents in power politics.

In ensuring the interest in these three factors relating to itself as a nation, the nation is directly enhancing its own interest; while in non-ensuring the interest of the three factors relating to other nations, the nation is indirectly enhancing its own interest.

Again, in safeguarding these three factors, the nation is asserting its identity as a nation, while in asserting its identity at the expense of that of other nations, it is asserting its power both over that other nation whose identity it is weakening or disrupting, and in itself as a sovereign unit.

Thus, power establishes and maintains the control of one nation or a group of nations. Such power is exercised through the control of the above three factors:

- (i) by imprisonment, enslavement or execution of its citizens.
- (ii) by abolishing or limiting the power of its institutions.
- (iii) by taking away the sovereignty of the nation either by incorporating it as a province or a 'department' of the conquering nation, like Northern Ireland, or by making it into a colony, as India was until 1948.

When one nation tries to dominate another nation, two possible courses of action are possible:

- (i) the stronger nation dominates the weaker one.
- (ii) if neither nation is willing to admit that it is the weaker one, both the attacking and the attacked nation try to prove that each of them is the stronger. Such an attempt brings about a state of war between the two nations.

War then is a relation, not between man and man, but between State and State, and individuals are enemies only accidentally, not as men, not even as citizens, but as soldiers; not as members of their country, but as its defenders. Finally, each State can have as enemies only other States.' Rousseau.

More simply, therefore war is 'armed conflict between political units' (Aron p. 326), not simply 'an act of violence intended to compel our opponent to fulfill our will' (Clausewitz I, 1 p. 2), because war takes place between sovereign states, or at least a sovereign state and a faction that is attempting to acquire or seize sovereignty, as in a civil war.

A state of war between two nations involves several implications both for the attacking and for the attacked nation; in fact both nations:

- (i) put the lives of their citizens in jeopardy.
- (ii) risk the breakdown of their institutions through the disorder brought about by the state of war and the resultant peace treaty.
- (iii) one nation disrupts the sovereignty of the other.

Obviously, the aggressive nation is acting against justice in attacking another nation, and is putting in jeopardy its very existence; so the issues to be raised are:

- (i) whether the attacking nation has the right to increase or at least safeguard its power by attacking another nation; and
- (ii) whether the attacked nation has the right to safeguard its own power by destroying the attacking nation.

Such an attack on either side entails the destruction of the citizens, the institutions and the sovereignty of the nation; on the other hand, a refusal to attack may equally entail the destruction of the citizens, the institutions and the sovereignty of the threatened nation through the attack or simply the hegemony of its rival opponent.

A State which is not prepared to defend itself by force of arms might just as well hand itself over to a more virile State, which, as a conqueror, does not hesitate to use these violent methods. To deny, on

ethical grounds, this elementary right of the state to defend itself by war simply means to deny the existence of the State itself. Brunner. p. 469.

These issues are further complicated because usually a nation does not safeguard the lives of its citizens, its institutions and its sovereignty in that order; but on the contrary in the reverse order. Ironically, quite often it can only safeguard its sovereignty and its institutions at the expense of the life of its citizens.

This analysis should therefore present three sets of questions to be clarified:

- (i) whether the attacking nation has the right to increase its power at the expense of another nation, and in that process destroy the life of the citizens and disrupt the institutions and sovereignty of the attacked nation.
- (ii) whether the attacked nation has the right to withstand an attack to save the lives of its citizens, and keep its institutions and its sovereignty.
- (iii) whether both the attacking and the attacked nation can increase or safeguard their institutions and their sovereignty at the expense of the life of their citizens.

The first issue is one of fact rather than of right, and will be examined in the later analysis of the restriction of power. Spinoza, however, seems to think that any nation has the right to attack another nation: 'If, therefore, one commonwealth wishes to attack another and to use extreme measures in order to make it subject, it has the right to attempt this, since *all it needs to wage war by right is the will to wage war.*' *Tractatus Politicus III, 3.* (italics mine)

The second issue is one of right rather than fact and is based on the principle of self-defense, which cancels all previous rights to loyalty and protection; for, as Locke points out, 'to resist force with force, being the state of war that levels all parties, cancels all former relation of reverence, respect, and superiority.' *Treatise of Civil Government, paragraph 235.*

Though this second issue is based on the right of each nation to safeguard its identity as a nation, since war demands fighting and fighting entails killing, then it merges or overlaps with the issue under point three, namely, whether any nation should safeguard its identity and its sovereignty at the expense of the lives of its citizens, or to put it more directly, whether the state is for the individual or the individual is for the state.



Though it is practically taken for granted that man is, at least in principle, more significant or important than property, and by extension man is more important than the land, it does not follow that man as man should be given a chance to survive, when the nation as a nation is in danger of perishing, because while man is expendable, the nation is not. However, this principle is not as obvious as it may seem, for in considering whether man is expendable, we have to clarify whether we are referring to the total population of the nation or to a minority; and further whether we are referring to a partial territory or the legal and political identity of the nation.

If we refer to a minority of the population of the nation, we may admit that such a minority like any individual is expendable because one minority, like any group of individuals does not make nor break the political identity, much less the sovereignty, of the nation. In fact, while one man can be replaced by another man, the nation cannot be replaced by another nation.

This judgment seems harsh when we put it against the basic fact that man is the most significant single creature in existence, but when man as an individual joins with other men and forms a state, he becomes a political human being. He can persist as a political man only by continuing to form part of the state, and he can only form part of the state, as long as the state persists in existence.

Moreover, any group of men who are thus willing or forced to sacrifice their life for the safeguarding of the lives of the majority of the citizens, for the institutions and the sovereignty of the state are thus sacrificing their life not only to fulfill their identity as political human beings, but to ensure that the majority of the citizens of the nations go on existing as political human beings by safeguarding the existence of the state itself.

If, however, the total population of a nation is putting its life in jeopardy by resisting an aggressive nation, such resistance would be futile, and it would prove wiser to offer a limited resistance, or even a token opposition, to preserve one's honor and integrity, as in fact Belgium and Holland did when they were attacked by Hitler's army, even though such limited resistance entailed much loss of life and damage to property.

Again, if only a partial territory of the nation is at stake, it may be wiser to give it up rather than destroy human lives, as in fact France and England advised Czechoslovakia to do, when Hitler demanded the Sudeten lands; yet, the Great Powers learned to their detriment that such an apparently limited demand for territory was only a pretext for further and

larger demands. In fact, Hitler followed up with the demand for the whole nation, and disrupted both the institutions and the sovereignty of Czechoslovakia when he annexed still larger territories to the Third Reich, in 1938.

If, however, the sovereignty of the nation is at stake, then that nation must fight even if it is forced to put the lives of its citizens in jeopardy, as Poland was forced to do when it was attacked by Hitler in 1939.

Otherwise, any nation facing a stronger attacker is faced with the issue whether it should fight to the death following the slogan: *either free or dead*, or, assuming that it is better to be a slave than not to be at all, we prefer the slogan: *rather slaves than dead*. This principle seems simple enough to cope with; but in the contemporary situation of a possible war with a communist aggressor, we often hear the high falutin slogan: *better dead than red*. This slogan assumes that life — any life, lived on any terms and in any conditions — is not better than no life at all.

Yet this principle — rather slaves than dead — is practical, and should be followed as far as the individual is concerned; but once again, while the individual is expendable, the nation as a nation is not. This principle is, therefore, valid only as far as the individual, not as far as the nation, is concerned. That is to say, it is better for an individual to be red than to be dead, but it is not better for the U.S. to be red than to be dead, for if the U.S. becomes red, then the U.S. as the U.S. — that is as a free democratic nation of free people — ceases to exist. Consequently, while the individual can choose to be dead or red, the U.S. cannot, for it can only be the U.S. or not be at all.

The nation, therefore, confronted by an aggressor, is concerned not with safeguarding the lives of its citizens, but with preserving its own existence and identity. Consequently, the nation is forced to safeguard its sovereignty when it is threatened, even by putting in jeopardy the lives of its citizens by attacking an aggressive nation and declaring a state of war.

As long as one nation attempts to assert its sovereignty at the expense of another nation, any nation, and even the community of nations itself, is in danger of being plunged in war at the whim of the aggressor. It would be beautiful if no nation ever attacked another nation, but the fact is that nations like men are greedy and they attack one another in the hope that they can increase their power at the expense of their neighbor.

This state of affairs, therefore, contrasts the condition of man as he is with the condition of man as he should be; and the way he should live in peace and love with the way he does live in hate and greed. Only when

the sovereign nations give up their sovereignty by accepting the world government of a federation of world states or a federation of continental federations will the danger of war and aggression be averted, because any nation would know that the moment it attacks another nation, its power will be restrained, and if it persists in its attack, it will eventually destroy itself.

### 3. LIMITATIONS OF POWER

As long as one nation believes itself to be powerful enough to withstand the attack of another nation, then it might become arrogant enough to bait a rival nation into aggressive action. No nation, however, not even Russia, China or the U.S. would find it profitable to engage in direct confrontation through war, not only because such a direct confrontation would wear them out, but also because no nation knows the extent of its rival's power. Instead, all the major nations are engaged in a cold war which generates a state of tension and anxiety for most of the Western democracies, while at the same time they test both their endurance and their most recent armaments in partial conflicts limited both in territory and in duration.

This control of power was referred to among the European governments as the balance of power, as no nation in Europe would ever let any other nation become too strong, for it would then constitute a danger to all the other nations. So the major powers would manipulate alliances in such a way that they would curb any nation that becomes too arrogant or too greedy for power.

This type of sound policy is well illustrated by the series of alliances undertaken by England since the Renaissance up to recent times:

1512: Alliance of Henry VIII with the Hapsburgs against France.

1515: Alliance of Henry VIII with France against the Hapsburgs.

1522+1542: Alliance of Henry VII with the Hapsburgs against France.

1756: Alliance of Great Britain with Prussia against the Hapsburgs and France.

1793: Alliance of Great Britain with Prussia and the Hapsburgs against Napoleon.

1914: Alliance of Great Britain with France and Russia against Austria and Germany.

1939: Alliance of Great Britain with France and Poland against Germany.

So, it is obvious that the three series of alliances since 1793 are at-

tempts to offset the ambition of Napoleon, Kaiser William II, and Hitler to conquer Europe, and upset the balance of power. Loyalty among nations is a matter of expediency, practically subordinate to the requirements of the balance of power. Thus, the balance of power brings about a 'power configuration among nations' that gives rise to 'a multiple equilibrium.' 'This multiple equilibrium provided a flexible framework in which a number of nations sought to maximize their power and, at the same time, frequently switched sides so as to prevent any one from attaining preponderance.' Stoessinger p. 159-160.

However, while the balance of power in the past was maintained through the 'interplay' of the nations of Europe, now it is shared by a bipolar structure of two superstates – the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. – both outside Europe. This situation tends to make both statesmen and generals anxious, as General Lauris Norstad, Supreme Commander of NATO, said in 1957: 'No military man is pleased with the present *status quo* – two armed camps sitting opposite each other. That would be a hell of a state of affairs to perpetuate.' (quoted by Stoessinger p. 161 from the New York Times, July 17, 1957).

Further, the nations of Europe which determined the destiny of the world shared a moral and legal structure based on the value and dignity of the person. Now, the two superstates are split into two incompatible ethical and legal systems, and from time to time they are faced with a block, and often with a breakdown, in communications, especially in relation to the Bomb.

The Western bloc's view of 'The Communist menace' and the Soviet bloc's conception of 'the imperialist camp of the West' tended to heighten expectations of irrational behaviour. Hence, policies might be based on what one side believed the other side believed, with the danger of an outcome desired by neither.

Stoessinger p. 163.

Moreover, modern technology has made total war equivalent to mass genocide; as a result, while the danger of annihilation for the human race has increased, the preservation of world peace has become more precarious. In fact, the switching of alliances will not offset the danger or the threat of an arrogant or a reckless aggressor, for as long as the great nations have and are willing to use the hydrogen bomb, and perhaps even bacteriological and chemical weapons, it makes no difference which side attacks first. Indeed, as Einstein remarked, if we fight the next war with H-bombs, the survivors may have to go back to bows and arrows.

Today's power is determined and limited by the atomic and hydrogen

stockpile, not by the number of alliances or the size of the army; therefore the balance of power is more correctly labelled *the balance of terror*, for, as Churchill suggested: 'It may well be that we shall, by a process of sublime irony, have reached the stage in this story where safety will be the sturdy child of terror, and survival the twin brother of annihilation.' (quoted by Stoessinger, p. 162, from the New York Times, march 2, 1955).

Consequently, today the most important single objective of foreign policy is not the promotion of the national interest of any one single nation as a power among powers, even if that power happens to be a world power. The main concern of all nations today is to use their power to ensure and preserve world peace, rather than wage total war with nuclear bombs and nuclear-propelled transportation with the probable result of mass extermination.

Such a use of power would turn might into a right, with the result that power, precisely because it is power, would enforce itself even against the demands of right; yet, power as power is not constituted by right, but by the means available at its disposal to enforce itself.

Yet nations, like people, often do or try to do what is of most advantage to them, even if it is to the disadvantage of other nations, then the nation or group of nations who have enough power to police the rest of the world would have to take it upon themselves to keep order in the world against and in spite of those nations who are out to destroy or enslave the other nations.

Consequently, the politician in using his power as the head of the nation may not be directly interested in applying moral principles for such an application of moral principles may ultimately endanger the very nation or nations he is trying to protect with his intervention. For instance, the attempt to safeguard life and property in S. Vietnam may ultimately prevent the victory of S. Vietnam over N. Vietnam, and thus indirectly ensure the spread of communism, first in S. Vietnam, then in S.E. Asia, and finally in all of Asia and the rest of the world.

Thus, power has to be used in such a way that with all the due safeguards of moral principles, the lesser evil, rather than the greater good, should follow; that is to say, the statesman in making use of power tries to ensure that the situation doesn't become worse than it is. Thus, he would rather do a little evil, and even hurt a comparatively great number of people than safeguard moral principles at the risk of destroying the sovereignty of the nation.

However, while the individual may renounce his life and choose to die

rather than kill, the nation should rather choose to destroy and kill than be destroyed and extinguished. For, while we do honor the man who accepts his own self-destruction as a martyr, if he destroys himself for a worthy cause, we would condemn the people, if they let the nation embark on a policy of self-destruction through a distorted sense of the value of human life.

Both individual and state must judge political action by universal moral principles, such as that of liberty. Yet while the individual has a moral right to sacrifice himself in defense of such a moral principle, the state has no right to let its moral disapprobation of the infringement of liberty get in the way of successful political action, itself inspired by the moral principle of national survival. Morgenthau p. 10.

This analysis of the impact of morality on political action may sound harsh and even non-human, but while morality is judged good or bad against the intention of the man and the conformity of his action with the principles of moral law, political action is judged to be efficient or inefficient against the political achievement in that sphere of activity which it was planning to influence, modify or control.

Hegel would even demand the sacrifice of the individual for the ultimate glory or glorification of the state, for man finds his identity as a member of the state; consequently, 'sacrifice for the sake of the individuality of the state is the substantive relation of all the citizens, and is, thus, a universal duty.' *Philosophy of Right*. p. 333.

However, though moral principles do not constitute a criterion to measure the efficiency of political action, moral principles cannot be ignored with impunity, for the end never justifies the means. If the politician were to follow that slogan, under the pretext of efficiency he would rule the state either with barbarian or with totalitarian terror. For even if he insists he is working for the aggrandizement of the state, he is undermining those very values the state is supposed to stand for. Consequently, the state which is supposed to bind men together into a responsible way of life enslaves them to the arbitrary will and whim of a tyrant.

Thus, since moral principles cannot be the ultimate guideline of political action without running the risk of making such action inefficient, and since political action cannot ignore the restraint of moral principles without running the risk of plunging into barbarism, then the politician must acknowledge the tension rather than the polarity of morality and politics, for though they are often in conflict, they are not incompatible.

The statesman, therefore, will try to resolve such tension by compromise as he tries to ensure that his political action is as moral as it can

be, provided that such loyalty to moral principles does not weaken his action to such an extent that it would ultimately bring about the breakdown and the disruption of the state.

Without force a state can neither come into being nor continue. Force is required within, as well as without; where force has produced firm and enduring results, it seeks and commonly attains a connection with right.... United with right, it becomes worthy of the moral nature of man. Bluntschli. p. 293.

Thus, if he ignores the principle of justice, the politician will plunge the nation into a state of terror, as he follows his policy of live burial in concentration camps and mass executions.

When a man has unlimited power over the flesh and blood of his fellow men, when a man is in a position to degrade another human being to the limit of degradation, he is unable to resist the temptation to do wrong. Tyranny is a habit. In the end it becomes a disease. The best man in the world becomes so brutalized as to be undistinguishable from a wild beast. Blood intoxicates, the spirit becomes susceptible to the extreme abnormalities and these can turn to be enjoyable as the real joys. The possibility of such license sometimes becomes contagious in a whole people; and yet society which despises the official hangman, does not despise the hangman who is all powerful. Dostoevski. *House of the Dead*.

The statesman should therefore be aware of the limitations that moral principles impose on his power. If he ignores these limitations, and reduces the nation to total submission and the people to political enslavement, as Hitler did during the Nazi regime, he would run the risk that his people will defy all moral restraints and resort to assassination, as the only weapon left to them to regain control of the state, as in fact a group of military and civilian personnel decided to do when they conspired to kill Hitler on July 20, 1944.

Thus, in the very interest of preserving his own power, the statesman must safeguard the power of the other states with whom he has to deal; otherwise he would be practically inviting them to plot against him to regain the power he had seized from them, and once more regain the power they had lost. They may even go further and try to deprive him of the power that he legitimately holds, as in fact the nations of Europe did when they rebelled against Napoleon and tried to get rid of the yoke he had imposed on them.

## CONCLUSION: 1. THE RIGHT TO WAR

The nation through the head of the state can engage in war to safeguard the lives of its citizens its institutions and its sovereignty, either against a foreign aggressor, as France did against Germany in 1939-40, or against a revolutionary group which tries to split the nation and change its identity, as the Confederate states did when they split away from the Union.

War may, however, preserve the institutions and the sovereignty of the citizens of the nation itself; but the ultimate purpose of war is to check the enemy, keep him within the frontiers determined by the territory of the land which belongs to him, and restrain his action so that he may not be in a position to destroy or even attempt to destroy the lives, the institutions and the sovereignty of the other nations.

## 2. THE RIGHT TO REVOLUTION

The power within the nation does not reside in the government, but in the people. The government may exercise such power as the constitution established by the people would grant them, but the ultimate source of power is in the people, for the nation is the people insofar as they accept to be ruled by a government of their choice.

This principle is affirmed in the preamble to the constitution of the U.S.

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

It is always confirmed in the Declaration of Independence:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, . . . That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government. . .

Consequently, the people as a people have the right to take away the power they have conferred on their government, and establish another or a different form of government, and confer on it such power as they deem it should receive, as the events leading to the American Revolution in 1776 shows, and as the Declaration of Independence states.



When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

This principle of the right to revolution once again shows that the people constituting the nation have the right and the duty to withstand the enemy who is trying to disrupt the nation, even if such resistance entails war and destruction, as once again, the Declaration of Independence affirms:

Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; ... But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

This country, born in revolution, is still fomenting revolution, as the recent movements among the SDS and the Black Panthers point out; but above all this country is born in freedom, and is always ready to safeguard its freedom with the life of its people.

So I will end with the words of George Washington to the American Troops before the battle of Long Island.

The time is now near at hand which must probably determine whether American are to be freemen or slaves; whether they are to have any property they can call their own; whether their houses and farms are to be pillaged and destroyed and themselves consigned to a state of wretchedness from which no human efforts will deliver them. The fate of unborn millions will now depend, under God, on the courage and conduct of this army. Our cruel and unrelenting enemy leaves us only the choice of a brave resistance or the most abject submission. We have, therefore, to resolve to conquer or to die.

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## THE CERES INSCRIPTION<sup>1</sup>

By JOSEPH BUSUTTIL

CERERI. IULIAE. AVGVSTAE.  
DIVI. AVGVSTI. MATRI.  
TI. CAESARIS. AVGVSTI.  
LVTATIA. C.F. SACERDOS. AVGVSTAE.<sup>2</sup>  
IMP. PERPET.<sup>3</sup> VXOR.<sup>4</sup>  
M. LIVI.<sup>5</sup> M.F. QVI. OPTATI. FLAMINIS. G(A)VL.<sup>6</sup>  
IVLIAE. AVGVSTI. IMP. PERPET.<sup>3</sup> CVM.<sup>7</sup> V.  
LIBERIS S.P.<sup>8</sup> CONSACRAVIT.

Cereri Iuliae Augustae, Divi Augusti, matri Tiberii Caesaris Augusti, Lutatia, Caii filia, sacerdos Augustae, imperatoris perpetui, uxor Marci Livi, Marci filii, Quirina tribu, Optati Flaminis Gauli, Iuliae Augusti, imperatoris perpetui, cum V liberis sua pecunia consecravit.

To Ceres Julia Augusta,<sup>9</sup> (wife) of the Divine Augustus,<sup>10</sup> mother of Tiberius Caesar Augustus,<sup>11</sup> Lutatia, daughter of Caius (and) priestess of

<sup>1</sup> For this inscription Cf F. Abela, *Descrittione di Malta*, Malta, 1647, p. 215; O. Brès, *Malta antica illustrata*, Roma, 1810, p. 251; A. Caruana, *Report on Phoenician, Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Malta, 1882, p. 137; id *Frammento Critico*, p. 290; Ruggiero, *Dizionario epigrafico di antichità Romane*, Vol. III, 1895-1919, p. 434; C.I.L. No 7501; Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Vol. I, No 121; *Documents illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*, collected by V. Ehrenberg and A.H.M. Jones, Oxford, 1955, No. 126.

<sup>2</sup> AVGVVS Abela, Brès; AVGVSTAL Caruana.

<sup>3</sup> The two words are bracketed by Dessau and Ehrenberg.

<sup>4</sup> Omitted by Abela and Brès. The latter adds TI. IMP. after *Perpet.*

<sup>5</sup> M. IVLIO Abela, Brès.

<sup>6</sup> Omitted by Abela, Brès and Caruana.

<sup>7</sup> Omitted by Abela, Brès and Caruana.

<sup>8</sup> *sibi* Abela; *suis* Brès.

<sup>9</sup> In Latin inscriptions the name of the goddess with whom Julia Augusta was identified was placed first. Cf. V. Ehrenberg, op.cit. No. 127: *Iunoni Liviae*, To Juno Livia. In Greek inscriptions the name of the goddess comes after the name of Julia Augusta. Cf. V. Ehrenberg, op.cit. No. 129:

Julia Augusta Hestia.

<sup>10</sup> The husband's name in the genitive was usually added to the wife's name to make identification easier. Of Ehrenberg, op.cit. No. 127: *Iunoni Liviae Augusti*, To Juno Livia (wife) of Augustus.

<sup>11</sup> A Greek inscription reproduces almost the same words: Cf. V. Ehrenberg, op. cit. 89.

Augusta,<sup>12</sup> (wife) of the *imperator perpetuus*,<sup>13</sup> wife of Marcus Livius Optatus, son of Marcus, of the Quirine Tribe, (and) Flamen of Gaulos; to Julia, (wife) of Augustus, *imperator perpetuus*, has consecrated together with her five children at her own expense.

What is the date of the inscription?

We read in the inscription that Lutatia, priestess of Augusta, consecrated something to Julia Augusta, who is identified with the goddess Ceres. Julia Augusta is Livia Drusilla, the second wife of the Emperor Augustus and the mother of the second Roman Emperor, Tiberius, by an earlier marriage with Tiberius Claudius Nero. As long as Augustus was alive, his second wife, whom he had married on the 17 August 38 B.C., bore her father's name – Livia. It was only after the Emperor's death on the 19 August 14 A.D. that Livia, on the strength of her husband's will, was adopted into the Julian family and changed her name to Julia.<sup>14</sup> In his will Augustus had laid down that Livia and Tiberius should both adopt the name of *Augusta* and *Augustus* respectively.<sup>15</sup> Henceforth Livia was known as *Iulia Augusta* or simply as *Augusta*. Similarly Livia's son, Tiberius, who had already borne the name *Caesar* when he was adopted by Augustus in 4 A.D., on the latter's decease, took on the name *Augustus*. Furthermore by vote of the Senate the dead Emperor became *Divus Augustus* or *Divine Augustus*, a temple was voted in his honour and a priesthood (*sodales Augustales*) was set up to look after his cult.<sup>16</sup> In our inscription Livia is called *Iulia Augusta*, *Tiberius Augustus* and *Augustus Divus*. There can be no doubt, therefore, that our inscription is posterior to Augustus's death, i.e. after 19 August 14 A.D.

Livia died at the ripe age of eighty-five in A.D. 29. The Emperor Tiberius did not attend his mother's funeral and was opposed to her deification.<sup>17</sup> It was not until 42 A.D. that, at the instigation of the Emperor Claudius, she was voted a goddess.<sup>18</sup> She was thus the second Roman woman to be addressed with the official title of *Diva* (Divine), the first

<sup>12</sup>In Pompei a priestess of Ceres was called *Clodia M.F.* Id. No. 327.

<sup>13</sup>Under the Republic a general after his triumph lost his *imperium* and the title of *imperator*. Augustus remained *imperator* and hence his title of (*imperator*) *perpetuus* or *permanent general*. On the meaning of *imperator* Cf. Gilbert Charles Picard, *Augustus and Nero*, London, 1966, pp. VII-XV.

<sup>14</sup>Cf. Tacitus, *Annales*, I, VIII: *Nihil primo senatus die passus nisi de supremis Augusti, cuius testamentum... Tiberium et Liviam haeredes habuit. Livia in familiam Iuliam nomenque Augustum adsumebatur.*

<sup>15</sup>Cf. Tacitus, *ibid*; Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, 201.

<sup>16</sup>Cf. Tacitus, *Annales*, V, 2; Suetonius, *Div. Aug.*

<sup>17</sup>Cf. Tacitus, *ibid*; Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 51.

<sup>18</sup>Cf. Suetonius, *Claudius*, 11, 2; Cassius Dio, 60, 5, 2.

being Julia Drusilla, the twenty-one year old sister of the Emperor Caligula, who was consecrated in 38 A.D. In the Ceres inscription Livia is not called Diva, which means that the inscription precedes her apotheosis in 42 A.D. Unfortunately there are no more details which help us to determine the date with greater accuracy. All we can say is that the inscription is certainly not earlier than August 14 A.D. and not later than 42 A.D. All the same since Tiberius had vetoed his mother's consecration and reduced the honours which the Senate had decreed,<sup>19</sup> it is very probable that after her death Livia's cult suffered a setback and that, therefore, Lutatia's offering anticipates her death in 29 A.D. So it probably belongs to the period 14-29 A.D.<sup>20</sup>

Julius Caesar, the real founder of the Roman Empire, was worshipped as *Divus Iulius* (Divine Julius) after his death. Octavian, who had been adopted by Caesar, assumed in his lifetime the title of *Divi filius* or Son of Divine (Julius). In 27 B.C., on the proposition of Munatius Plancus, Octavian received from the Senate the religious title of *Augustus*, which means 'something that goes beyond the human realm and draws near to the divine'.<sup>21</sup> Poets of the Augustan period, notably Vergil and Horace,<sup>22</sup> called the Emperor a god. Augustus, however, tactfully rejected divine honours for himself in his lifetime and initiated the custom by which only the dead ruler could become a god in the Roman state cult.<sup>23</sup> The divine worship of the Emperor and his family never secured a foothold in Rome whilst the Emperor was alive.<sup>24</sup> In the provinces, however, and in the Italian communities things were different: emperor-worship, if not exactly encouraged was at least tolerated. In several parts of the Greek and Western world Augustus was revered as a god in his own lifetime and temples dedicated to Augustus and to Rome were erected everywhere. The Emperor was identified with Jupiter, Mercury, Apollo and the other gods. The imperial cult in the provinces was extended to members of the Emperor's household. Julia, the daughter of Augustus, was venerated as Aphrodite and Gaius Caesar as the New Ares.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Tacitus, *Annales*, V, 2.

<sup>20</sup> This is also the opinion of Michelangelo Cagiano de Azevedo, Cf. *Missione Archeologica a Malta, Campagna di Scavi, 1968, Rinvenimenti vari*, Roma, 1969, p. 79.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. F. Altheim, *A History of Roman Religion*, London, 1938, p. 368.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Vergil, *Eclogues*, I, 6-8; Horace, *Odes*, III, 5, 1-10.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. F. Altheim, *op.cit.* p. 360 and p. 444.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Tacitus, *Annales*, 15, 74: *deum honor principii non ante habetur quam agere inter homines desierit.*

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *Documents illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*, collected by Ehrenberg and Jones, Oxford, 1955, No. 63, 64.

Whilst Augustus was alive his wife Livia was venerated as a goddess; but it was only after his deification that her cult received a fresh impetus. Artists in all parts of the Empire adorned her statues with the attributes of Venus, Juno or Ceres. Roman traders who travelled across Asia to the Chinese silk markets took presents to the rajahs of Afghanistan of medallions bearing the portrait of a rejuvenated Augusta wearing the crown and a veil of a goddess.<sup>26</sup> In A.D. 23 the province of Asia was allowed to erect a temple to Tiberius, Livia and the Senate.<sup>27</sup> On the island of Samos Livia had a temple and a priestess.<sup>28</sup> Likewise in Gozo she had a priestess – *Augustae sacerdos* – charged with the task of looking after her cult. In Gozo she was identified with Ceres.<sup>29</sup> An inscription bearing the word Λιβία (of Livia), which had been discovered in Malta,<sup>30</sup> may, perhaps, refer to Augustus's wife. Another inscription recently unearthed by the Italian Archaeological Mission contains the words *Aug. imp.* and the name M.f. Optat(us), that is the self-same words which appear in the Ceres inscription.<sup>31</sup> If Aug. stands for Augusta, then, perhaps, this last inscription bears witness to the existence of the cult of Livia in Malta.

Ceres was the goddess of corn and as such was worshipped in corn-producing areas. This inscription indirectly records the growing of corn in Gozo. In the first century A.D. Chrestion restored the temple of Proserpina in Malta.<sup>32</sup> Proserpina too was connected with the growing of corn, Ceres, like Demeter, was also a deity related to the Mother-Earth, which 'makes all life spring from her bosom'.<sup>33</sup> Hence the cult of the Mother-Earth, represented in Malta and Gozo by the fertility cults which go back to early antiquity, makes its reappearance or is perhaps continued in the cult of Ceres.

Livia's priestess was Lutatia, the daughter of Caius. The name Lutatia indicates that she was somehow connected with the plebeian family of the Lutatii. In conformity with Roman usage, Lutatia, being a woman,

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Gilbert Charles Picard, *op.cit.* pp.80-81.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. V. Ehrenberg, *op.cit.* No. 124, 126, 128-130.

<sup>28</sup> *Id.* No. 102; R.E. Vol. XIII, I, 1926, p. 917.

<sup>29</sup> For coins bearing the legend AVGVSTA CERES, Cf. E. Mary Smallwood, *Documents illustrating the Principates of Gaius, Claudius and Nero*, C.U.P., 1967, No. 129, 312a, 312B.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. A. Caruana, Report etc. p. 138; Vassallo, *Monumenti antichi di Malta*, p. 38.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Michelangelo Cagiano de Azevedo, *op.cit.* p. 79.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. C.I.L. No. 7494; Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Vol. II, I p. 122, No. 3975.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. F. Altheim, *op.cit.* p. 120.

retained only one name,<sup>34</sup> that of her father. In accordance with the Roman law of agnation the wife was considered a member of her father's, not of her husband's family. This explains why Lutatia and her husband M. Livius Optatus had completely different names. Roman laws governing marriages seem to have been followed in Gozo in the first century after Christ.

Lutatia consecrated something to Julia Augusta. It could not have been the customary offering to Ceres which she, as Livia's priestess, was expected to make from time to time: there would have been no real reason to commemorate such an event in an inscription. It must have been a statue (*signum*) or an altar (*ara*).<sup>35</sup> The consecration was valid only if it was made with the permission of the Gozitan community. The expenses in this case were met by Lutatia herself. Her children helped her in the religious ceremony just as the *camilli* helped the Flamen Dialis. Before the word *liberis* (children) there is the letter V which would either stand for *viro* (husband) or else for the number Five.<sup>36</sup> If V stand for *viro* and in that case it would be necessary to interpose *et* (and) (her husband *and* her children), then Lutatia was aided by her husband, who was a priest himself. If on the other hand V stands for five, then Lutatia had her reasons for including that number in the inscription. Augustus had been obsessed by the falling birth-rate in Rome. In 19-18 B.C. two bills went through the Senate: one dealing with marriage between the social classes, the other for the restraint of adultery. Three children constituted the norm of a successful marriage in Rome<sup>37</sup> and those parents who had three children received a number of material benefits (*ius trium liberorum*). In the provinces it was only after the birth of a fifth child that parents could claim the same privileges.

Lutatia's husband was Marcus Livius Optatus. The name of his father – C(aius) – is also inscribed: which indicates that Marcus Livius was neither a slave nor a freedman.<sup>38</sup> As a free-born person he was allowed to record the fact that he belonged to the Quirine Tribe. He was also a *flamen* – a position reserved to free-born citizens. On the other hand the *cognomen* Optatus is of servile origin. Marcus Livius was at one time

<sup>34</sup> Cf. V. Ehrenberg, *op.cit.* No. 327: Glodia A.F. sacerdos.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Festus, 321; Gallus Aelius ait, *sacrum esse quodcumque more atque instituto civitatis consecratum sit, sive aedis, sive ara sive signum sive locus sive pecunia sive quid aliud quod dis dedicatum atque consecratum sit.*

<sup>36</sup> Cf. C.I.L. No. 7501. Cf. also V. Ehrenberg, *op.cit.* no. 43B: Iano Aug. sacrum C. Iulius ... *cum liberis* posuit.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. J.P.V.D. Balsdon, *Roman Women*, London, 1962, p. 202.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. A.M. Duff, *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire*, Cambridge, 1958, p. 52.

probably adopted into the Livian family, of which Livia, Augustus's wife was the most illustrious representative. Perhaps an ancestor of his had once been a freedman and had, perhaps, a Greek name like Ἐραστος which which was changed to Optatus.

From a historical point of view the most important piece of information is that he was the Flamen of Gozo (Flamen Gaul (I)). In Roman religion the flamen<sup>39</sup> was a priest of a particular deity.<sup>40</sup> Wearing the toga with a purple edge (praetexta) and a tight-fitting head-gear (galerus) on which stood a small rod (apex) the flamen offered the customary sacrifice to the god which he represented. In Rome there were three major Flamines and twelve minor ones. When Julius Caesar died and became a god he was voted a flamen. When Augustus died and was consecrated his wife Livia became his chief priestess.

In the provinces it was the flamen who officiated in the name of a community. Although there is no word like *Augustalis* or *Augusti* after flamen there can be no doubt that Optatus was a Flamen of Augustus in Gozo. He was responsible for the imperial cult on that island. Furthermore the flamen was attached to either a *colonia* – a community of Romans or Italians who had settled down together in a given place – or a *municipium* – a self-governing community.<sup>41</sup> As we learn from later inscriptions<sup>42</sup> Gozo was not a *colonia* but a *municipium*. This seems to indicate that the municipium in Gozo existed in the first half of the first century after Christ.

The flamen became the most important personage in a municipium. Only rich people could afford to reach that position. Once installed as flamen he was expected to pay a fixed sum of money (*summa legitima*) and to take part in the most important religious ceremonies. Though he was elected annually, it seems, by the *decuriones* – the representatives of the municipium – he retained the title of flamen for life.<sup>43</sup>

The Ceres inscription is very important for the religious history of Gozo. In the first half of the first century A.D. there was in Gozo the imperial cult. Optatus was responsible for the worship of Augustus on the island and Lutatia was a priestess who looked after Livia's cult. Livia

<sup>39</sup>The word seems to be connected with the Indian *Brahman*. Cf. Ernout-Maillet, *Dictionnaire etymologique de la langue latine*.

<sup>40</sup>Cf. Cicero, *De Legibus*, II, 8, 20: Omnibus divis pontifices, singulis flamines sunt.

<sup>41</sup>Cf. J. Gag , *Les classes sociales dans L'Empire Romain*, Paris, 1964, p. 173.

<sup>42</sup>Cf. C.I.L. No. 7507, 7508.

<sup>43</sup>Cf. *Dictionnaire des antiquites grecques et romaines*, Vol. XIII, p. 1868. Also J. Gag , op.cit. p. 173.



is identified with Ceres – which indicates that the goddess Ceres had been worshipped in Gozo. The cult of Ceres presupposes an agricultural community. The inscription also shows that the 'Romanization' of the island was well under way. The presence of a flamen probably points to the existence of a *municipium*. The inscription is in Latin, whilst another inscription dealing with the worship of Augustus in Malta<sup>44</sup> is in Greek. The name of the priestess of Livia is Roman and so is that of the flamen of Augustus. Finally Roman customs were being followed in Gozo in the first half of the first century after Christ.

<sup>44</sup>Cf. Kaibel, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Vol. XIV, p. 142, No. 601.

## LUCIUS CASTRICIUS PRUDENS

by JOSEPH BUSUTTIL

A Greek inscription dealing with Lucius Castricius Prudens, a Roman Knight, was first published by Quintinus in 1536 in his description of the island of Malta.<sup>1</sup> The inscription, which is generally attributed to the time of the Emperor Tiberius (14-37 A.D.),<sup>2</sup> is very important for the light it throws on the history of the island in the first century of our era.

Lucius Castricius Prudens was *πρῶτος* of the Maltese.

The common meaning of the Greek word *πρῶτος* like its Latin equivalent *primus* is *first in rank, time or place*. In the plural it is also employed to denote the 'leading persons' in a town or community. This use, already attested in Polybius, survives in the Greek of the New Testament.<sup>3</sup> Likewise Cicero employs *primi* and *primus* to indicate the chief persons or person in a city.<sup>4</sup> In the last century before our era we hear of the *decemprimi* — the first ten — that is the most important ten citizens in a given community: they were invested with special powers and privileges.

After the first century A.D. the *decemprimi* or *δεκαπρῶτοι* were mainly in charge of the collection of taxes.<sup>5</sup>

In imperial times we read of several people called *πρῶτος* of a particular place or city. Lucius Flavius Volonius was the *πρῶτος* of Callipoli, Symmachus of Acmonia and Aurelius Mucianus of Dioclea.<sup>6</sup> The holder of the title was generally an outstanding personality in the community. Lucius Flavius was a Benefactor of his city, Symmachus a rhetorician etc.

It is extremely difficult to decide whether *πρῶτος* was merely an honorary title or whether there were responsibilities attached to it. That the

<sup>1</sup>Cf. *Descript. Insul. Melit.* in *Thesaus. P. Burmanni*, Vol. XV, 2.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. A.A. Caruana, *Report on the Phoenician and Roman Antiquities*, Malta, 1882, p. 135.

<sup>3</sup>Polybius, 1, 31, 5; 2, 39, 2; Mark 6, 21; Luke 19, 47; Acts 13, 50.

<sup>4</sup>*Pro S. Roscio*, 25; *Ad att.* X, 13, 1.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, Oxford, 1957, p. 390.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. R. Cagnat, *Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes*, Paris, 1911, Tom. 1, No. 816., Tom. IV, 652; IV, 666. Other *πρωτοι* are found at Ephesus (Tom 1, 798), at Thyatiris (Tom. IV, 1226, 1276), at Themisonii (Tom. IV, 882).

person who was called *πρῶτος* carried great weight in the community can be deduced from the title he held. Reference has already been made to the *decemviri* or ten leading citizens in a community. In an inscription we read of the *δεκαπρῶτοι* not of a city in Sicily but of all the cities taken together.<sup>7</sup> This may mean that the Province of Sicily had ten principal citizens invested with certain powers. If this is so then the Maltese *πρῶτος* might perhaps have been one of them. The difficulty here is that the *δεκαπρῶτοι* were individually known as *δεκαπρῶτος* and not as *πρῶτος*. Another possibility is that the *πρῶτος* might have been the President of a Council of some sort. It is not known whether there was a *municipium* in Malta at this time. The safest thing to say is that no one knows the exact functions and powers of the *πρῶτος*.

Lucius Castricius Prudens who lived in the time of Tiberius (14-37 A.D.) is the first *πρῶτος* we know of. About 60 A.D. there was another *πρῶτος*, Publius, who gave hospitality to St. Paul.<sup>8</sup> Whether there was any connection between Lucius Castricius and Publius is not known. Publius, *πόπλιος* in Greek, could be either a *praenomen* or a *cognomen*.<sup>9</sup> We read of more than one Publius Castricius mentioned in inscriptions.<sup>10</sup> In an inscription of the Antonine period we come across an unnamed *Primus*.<sup>11</sup>

The exact title seems to have been *πρῶτος Μελιταίων* in Greek and *Melitensium Primus* in Latin. This title or office survived throughout the whole of the first century A.D.

Lucius Castricius is styled as *πάτρων* or *Patronus* of the Maltese. In Republican times individual provincials had patrons in Rome to defend them and their interests against a possible miscarriage of justice on the part of the Roman *Praetor*. Diodorus, a citizen of Malta, had to resort to the help of his patrons in Rome to be protected against the unfair demands of Verres.<sup>12</sup> Similarly whole communities could place themselves under the protection of a *patronus* who would defend their interests in Rome. Cities of the Empire chose men of eminence whose occupations took them frequently to Italy to be their *patroni*. These would naturally voice the requests of separate communities.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 139.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Acts, XXVIII, 7-10.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Dessau, op. cit., Vol. II, 1, No. 7090: I.O.M. conservator Licin. Tugnatius *Publius*.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Id. No. 9417: P. Castricius P etc.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. C.I.L. No. 7495

<sup>12</sup> Cf. In Verrem, 11, 4, 38-39.

Lucius Castricius Prudens was chosen by the Maltese community to present and forward its interests in Rome. It is not clear whether he was Roman, Italian or Maltese. In the inscription we are told that he was a Roman Knight. This does not necessarily mean that he was Roman. Augustus encouraged municipal leaders in Italy to become Equites or Knights, provided they owned 400,000 sesterces<sup>13</sup> – the necessary qualification. The name Lucius Castricius Prudens does not throw any light on this matter. At this time Malta was slowly but irrevocably becoming Romanized.

The practice of having a *patronus* to represent Maltese interests survives up to at least the middle of the second century A.D. We have on record other names of Patroni chosen to champion the interests of the Maltese and the Gozitans.<sup>14</sup>

Lucius Castricius the *πρωτος* and Patron of the Maltese seems to have filled other offices as well. In the inscription we come across the participle *ἄρχας* agreeing with the subject. The Latin version reproduced by A.A. Caruana<sup>15</sup> is *praefectus* i.e. Lucius Castricius was put in charge over the Maltese. But the Greek word for *praefectus* is not the word *ἄρχας*. Nor does the word correspond to the Latin *duumvir*.<sup>16</sup> *ἄρχας* is the aorist participle active of the verb *ἄρχω* which could also mean 'I exercise the functions of an archon.'<sup>17</sup> Hence *ἄρχας* might mean 'after having been an archon.' In Republican times we know of the existence of two Archons in Malta.<sup>18</sup> If we are correct in our interpretation of the verb *ἄρχας*, then Lucius Castricius had once been an *archon*. Furthermore it would mean that certain forms, at least, of internal government which existed in Malta in Republican times still survived in the first century after Christ.

The participle *ἄρχας* is followed by a second participle *ἀμφιπολεύσας*. The normal meaning of *ἀμφιπολεύω* is 'I serve, I administer to.' It could also mean to be an *amphipolos* or a priest of Zeus Olympios. The Greek-English Lexicon by Liddell and Scott translates the verb *ἀμφιπολεύσας* by 'having administered' to the God Augustus. Similarly A.A. Caruana reproduces a Latin version in which the verb is rendered by *famulatus ad-*

<sup>13</sup> Suetonius, Div. Aug. 116; Dion. Halic. VI, 13.

<sup>14</sup> C.I.L. 7506, 7508; Caruana, op. cit. p.146

<sup>15</sup> Cf. A.A. Caruana, op. cit. p.134.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. C.I.L. X, 773, A. Mayr. *Die Insel Malta im Altertum*, Munchen 1909, p.106.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Liddell and Scott, Greek-English Lexicon.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Kaibel, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Vol. XIV, p.142, No.601.

*dictus*.<sup>19</sup> It is more reasonable to assume that the two participles stand on their own and that θεῶν Ἀυγούστῳ is the indirect object of the main verb. In the other inscriptions in which reference is made to a *Protos* the latter was very often a priest, sometimes a high-priest.<sup>20</sup>

We know from Diodorus Siculus that in 342-343 B.C. Timoleon established the ἀμφιπολία – the office of an ἀμφιπολος (The minister of Zeus Olympios) – priesthood of the highest order.<sup>21</sup> Cicero informs us that the Syracusans used to choose a candidate for this office, every year and that this priesthood was held in the highest possible regard.<sup>22</sup> Although in Diodorus's own time the *amphipolos* of Zeus Olympios was losing its importance the office still survived.<sup>23</sup> If ἀμφιπολευσας means, as it probably does, 'having been an amphipolos (or priest of Zeus Olympios)', then this priesthood existed also in Malta in the first century A.D.

Lucius Castricius the *Protos* and *Patron* who had once been an *archon* and an *amphipolos* 'did something' to the god Augustus. The main verb in this inscription is incomplete. There are only three Greek letters . . . Ε Σ Χ which seem to be part of the main verb. C.I.G. suggests ( Ἀν) ΕΣΧ(ΗΣΕΝ) – the common Greek word for the Latin *dedicavit* – he dedicated, he offered, he set up etc.<sup>24</sup> There are many Latin inscriptions in which we are told that a certain person *divo Augusto sacrum dedicavit*. On the other hand the verb ἀνέστησεν would do damage to the X. A possible alternative might be ( Ἀν) ΕΣΧ(Ε) with χεῖρας (hands) understood and it would mean 'he raised up his hands' i.e. 'he prayed' to the God Augustus.

On the 17th of September of A.D. 14 Augustus was declared a god by decree of the Senate. Priests were assigned for his worship, and Livia, his wife, whom in his will he had named Augusta, was made his priestess. By a vote of the Senate a shrine was erected to him in Rome; other shrines were erected by various communities.<sup>25</sup> It is not known whether there was a shrine built for Augustus in Malta. This inscription, however, shows that he was recognized in Malta as a god and that prayers or sacrifices were offered to him.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. A.A. Caruana, op. cit. p. 134.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. XVI, 70, 6. Cf. R. Cagnat, op. cit., Note 6.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. XVI, 70, 6.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. In Verrem, 11, 2, 51.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. XVI, 70, 6.

<sup>24</sup> C.I.G. Vol 3, No. 5754.

<sup>25</sup> Vell. 11, 124, 3; Tac. Ann. 1, 8, 2; Suct. Div. Aug. 101, 2; Dio LVI, 46, 1-3.

One can now draw some general conclusions. In the first half of the first century A.D. the Maltese community, like other communities, had its own patron to voice its requests. Whether this means that at this stage the Maltese obtained Roman citizenship is a moot point.<sup>26</sup> Secondly there was an office or a title of *πρωτος* whose exact functions are unknown. Thirdly, it seems, that the archonship which existed in pre-Augustan times survived in the first half of the first century A.D. Fourthly, if our interpretation of *ἀμφιπολευσας* is correct there was also in Malta the office of *Amphipolos*. This office links us religiously with Syracuse and the Greek speaking world.<sup>27</sup> Finally emperor-worship was also found in Malta. A feature linking us with all the other parts of the Roman world.

This inscription is also interesting from another point of view. It shows that from a cultural point of view the Maltese were still a part of the Greek world. The language of the inscription is Greek, the title or office of *πρωτος* is found in Greek cities, the archonship is of Greek origin, the *amphipolos* is likewise Greek. But at the same time the romanization of the island is slowly under way. Lucius Castricius has a completely Roman name, he is a Roman knight, belongs to the Quirine tribe; there is a Patronus in Malta and Augustus is worshipped as a God. One last point, the Emperor is not referred to as *Σεβαστος* the Greek word for Augustus, but as he was known by the Romans, Augustus.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. R. Vol 29, 1931, p. 546.

<sup>27</sup> Another *amphipolos* is mentioned in an inscription found at Chalcis.

## APPENDIX

Λ. ΚΑΠΤΙΚΙΟΣ.<sup>1</sup> ΚΥΡ.<sup>2</sup> ΠΡΟΥΔΗΝΣ.<sup>3</sup> ΙΠΠΕΥΣ. ΠΩΜ.<sup>4</sup> ΠΡΩΤΟΣ. ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΩΝ.  
 ΚΑΙ. ΠΑΤΡΩΝ.<sup>5</sup> ΑΡ ≡ ΑΣ. ΚΑΙ. ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΕΥΣΑΣ.<sup>6</sup> ΘΕΩ.<sup>7</sup> ΑΥΤΟΥΣΤΩ...  
 ΕΞ... Ν... Ε. ΙΝΕ.

Lucius Castricius Prudens of the Quirine tribe, a Roman Knight, Protos of the Maltese and their Patron, having been an archon and an amphipolos offered (?) prayers (?) to the God Augustus...

<sup>1</sup>Everyone agrees that the missing letters are — ΣΤΡΙ to form the Latin word Castricius (Καστρικίος). Cf. Kaibel, op. cit., XIV, No. 601; C.I.G. No. 5754; R. Cagnat, op. cit. Tom. 1, No. 512; O. Brès, *Malta Antica Illustrata*, Roma 1810, p. 321; A.A. Caruana, *Frammento Critico*, p. 288. For the name *Castricius*, cf. Suet. Div. Aug. LVI; R.E. Vol. 6, 1899, p. 1776, Dessau, op. cit. No. 9417.

<sup>2</sup>Κυρ(ελευα) answering to the Latin Quirina (tribu). Caruana, op. cit., reproduces the translation *ex Quirina tribu*. But this *ex* is not found in Latin inscriptions. Cf. for instance, *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, by J.M. Reynolds and J.B. Perkins, No. 376: Q(uintus) Pompeius Quir. (ina tribu).

<sup>3</sup>For this name Cf. Dessau, op. cit., No. 4483, 5137, 5138.

Note that the custom of separating the cognomen and the nomen by interposing the name of the tribe is found in many Latin inscriptions. Cf. for instance, *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, No. 347: Ti(berius) Claudius Quir(ina tribu) Sestius.

<sup>4</sup>The two words answer to the Latin *equus Romanus* expressed in many inscriptions by the abbreviated words eq(ues) R(omanus).

<sup>5</sup>O. Brès, op. cit. p. 321 translates *arcipatrono*. The word πατρων is a grecised form of the Latin *Patronus*.

<sup>6</sup>Brès, op. cit. renders it by the word *flamine*. The Greeks used for 'flamen' the grecised form φλάμην just as they used πατρων for *Patronus*.

<sup>7</sup>Θέω had better been translated by god, rather than divine.

## SOCIETE LITTERAIRE DU MAINE

*Dimanche 16 mai 1971*

By FELIX GAUCHER

JE suis vraiment confus de me retrouver à cette tribune, par la grâce et l'amitié de votre Présidente, et d'y prendre à nouveau devant vous la parole. Ma seule excuse, c'est que je n'y serai encore que le témoin de la personne et de la pensée du poète Laurent Ropa, mon ami et le vôtre.

Le 20 avril 1969, j'avais évoqué avec vous sa vie et son œuvre littéraire. Ce soir, c'est Malte, le pays de sa naissance et de sa race que je vais vous présenter. J'ai eu moi-même, en effet, la joie de la découvrir l'année dernière aux vacances de Pâques, en compagnie de Mme Ropa. Au départ, nous nous réjouissions à la pensée de connaître enfin le pays et le village natals de Laurent Ropa; sa famille surtout, encore nombreuse et proche, puisque son plus jeune frère, mon aîné de quelques années seulement, est là-bas supérieur d'un couvent de Dominicains.

Mais ce que nous ne soupçonnions pas, et ce fut une révélation inattendue et merveilleuse, c'est l'étendue extraordinaire de son rayonnement dans sa petite patrie; d'autant plus extraordinaire qu'il n'y était lui-même jamais revenu depuis qu'il l'avait quittée, ayant à peine deux ans. L'Université, les autorités civiles et religieuses, l'élite cultivée tout entière, sachant que sa Veuve arrivait à Malte, s'étaient concertées pour transformer notre pèlerinage privé en voyage officiel, hommage unanime et solennel à l'écrivain qui avait su exprimer l'âme de son peuple. Je vous en résumerai l'essentiel en guise de conclusion.

Pour commencer votre voyage, il n'est sans doute pas inutile de procéder à un bref rappel de géographie et d'histoire.

Car, ainsi qu'on l'écrivait récemment dans une revue touristique française, à l'heure actuelle, 'Malte est encore aussi peu connue de nos compatriotes que la Perse pour les contemporains de Montesquieu'. Il est vrai qu'elle n'est constituée en Etat indépendant que depuis septembre 1964.

Tout de même, Malte est à peine à quatre heures d'avion de Londres et de Paris. A 90 Km au S. E de la Sicile, elle fait partie de l'Europe. Au coeur de la Méditerranée, à distance sensiblement égale de Gibraltar et de Suez, entre l'Europe Méridionale et le continent africain distant seulement de 300 Km, sa situation en a fait, depuis les époques les plus reculées, un carrefour et souvent un conflit de civilisations et de cultures.



C'est ce qui explique la richesse de son passé tout autant que son actuelle prospérité.

C'est un archipel de cinq îles, fort inégales d'ailleurs, d'une superficie totale de 32.000 ha, 4 fois Belle-Ile, mais seulement le 1/30ème de la Corse. Les deux plus petites, Cominotto et Filfla sont inhabitées; la troisième, Comino, est un simple jalon sur le trajet maritime de 6 Km qui relie les deux principales: Malte et Gozo. Dans Malte, la plus grande distance N.-O.-S.E est d'environ 27 Km et la plus grande largeur O.-E, environ 14 Km. Pour Gozo qui est, je vous le rappelle, celle où naquit à Xaghra L. Ropa, les distances correspondantes sont respectivement de 14 et 7 Km environ.

Malte ne possède ni montagnes, ni rivières. Toute sa fraîcheur lui vient de son sous-sol et de la mer. L'île est caractérisée par une succession de collines basses aux pentes couvertes de champs en terrasses. Les côtes sont pourtant escarpées de hautes falaises rectilignes ou découpées, avec de nombreux ports, baies, criques et plages de sable.

Le climat est chaud et sain, sans vents violents, ni brouillards, ni gelées. Les pluies sont peu abondantes et de courte durée. Conditions idéales qui ont mérité à l'Archipel le surnom d' 'Îles heureuses'.

La population est actuellement de 330.000 h., concentrée dans Malte où la densité atteint le chiffre énorme de 1.077 au Km<sup>2</sup>, urbaine à 90%. Avec ses 27.000 h. Gozo est, au contraire, une île de paysans et de pêcheurs. Quant à Comino, elle compte 27 h. et deux hôtels. Pas de voitures, l'idéal comme vous le voyez pour le dépaysement et la tranquillité.

Le peuple maltais se caractérise par son amour de la paix et son sens de l'hospitalité. Racontant l'accueil reçu par St Paul auprès des Maltais, lors de son naufrage en 60 ap. J.C., St Luc écrit dans les Actes des Apôtres: 'Les habitants ont fait preuve à notre égard d'une courtoisie peu commune'. Nous avons d'ailleurs pu constater nous-mêmes que les Maltais d'aujourd'hui sont demeurés dignes de leurs ancêtres et que, chez eux, la gentillesse de l'accueil est vraiment remarquable. Intérieurs: mobilier, tableaux, tapis, vaisselle, couverts: tout est de qualité et de bon goût.

Quant à la langue c'est un dialecte d'origine punique, dérivé du phénicien, profondément influencé ensuite par deux siècles d'occupation arabe et par le voisinage de l'Italie. Elle a du moins conservé une grande vitalité et donné naissance à une littérature toujours plus étendue, surtout depuis l'indépendance où le Maltais a désormais, comme langue officielle, préséance sur l'anglais.

Outre l'originalité du site, de sa race et de sa langue, Malte offre à la curiosité du touriste et de l'historien deux domaines incomparables: les temples préhistoriques et les souvenirs grandioses de l'ordre de Saint-

Jean de Jérusalem, plus connu sous le nom d'Ordre de Malte.

*Les temples mégalithiques* sont les plus beaux spécimens d'Europe et sans doute du Monde. Alors que les autres n'apparaissent que comme des ébauches – les monuments maltais sont des constructions élaborées, des temples véritables avec portique, enceinte, narthex, chœur, autel, nefs latérales et niches. Leurs dimensions comme leur quantité sur un espace aussi restreint sont véritablement prodigieuses. Disséminés dans les deux grandes îles, les premiers ont apparu vers 3.200 ans av. J.C. avec les tombes collectives de Zebbug. A partir de 2.900, ce sont les temples de Ta-Hagrat près de Mgarr et 50 ans plus tard, les vastes réalisations de Ġgantija, près de Xagħra dans l'île de Gozo. Alors commence une période d'apogée qui s'étend sur 8 siècles, avec notamment le site souterrain de Hal-Saflieni et les temples de Tarxien, les plus célèbres, à 5 Km de la Valette.

Ces temples constituent une œuvre de Titans. Leurs dimensions sont colossales; L'enceinte de Mnajdra, par exemple, ne compte pas moins de 85 mégalithes dont le plus petit est estimé à 2 tonnes; l'ensemble en comporte 150. A Hagar Qim, la pierre la plus haute dépasse 5m. et pèse 21 tonnes. Quant à l'ensemble des trois temples de Tarxien, on y compte au moins 370 mégalithes.

Ce sont les vestiges d'une civilisation absolument unique au monde à cette époque et l'archéologue italien Ugolini a émis l'hypothèse selon laquelle Malte aurait été le centre de la civilisation méditerranéenne, avant la Crète minoenne et la Grèce mycénienne. C'est d'elle que sera partie la culture qui ensemença l'Orient égéen avant de refluer sur l'Occident.

#### LA FOI CHRETIENNE

Mais l'événement qui, à l'aube de notre ère, a marqué l'île d'une empreinte indélébile et qui lui a donné les traits essentiels de son actuel visage, c'est d'une part la foi chrétienne apportée par St Paul lui même, et d'autre part l'ordre militaire et hospitalier de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, devenu l'Ordre de Malte.

Le christianisme a profondément marqué l'âme maltaise: à Malte, il se manifeste partout au point qu'on a pu écrire: 'L'Eglise catholique y est aussi omniprésente qu'à Rome, le clergé encore plus nombreux, les sanctuaires aussi vastes et aussi riches, La Madone est partout, jusque dans les autobus et les cinémas.

Le peuple maltais a gardé le culte de l'Apôtre Paul et pendant les siècles de la présence des chevaliers, entre l'Afrique musulmane et le Turquie ottomane, Malte fut un véritable bastion avancé du catholicisme militant.

Chassés de Rhodes en 1522, ils viennent s'installer à Malte en 1530. Moins de 35 ans plus tard, ils devaient soutenir, cinq mois durant, le siège le plus terrible que l'île eût jamais connu. Cinq fois moins nombreux que leurs assaillants, les Chevaliers, au prix d'un héroïsme extraordinaire et à l'exemple de leur grand Maître, un Français, Jean Parisot de la Valette, parvinrent à repousser les Turcs et leurs alliés. C'est de ce 12 septembre 1565 que les historiens font commencer le reflux de la puissance turque en Méditerranée.

La ville de la Valette est née de ces événements dramatiques. Le siège terminé, le grand-Maître dont elle porte le nom entreprit la construction de cette prodigieuse forteresse. Bâtie sur le rocher Sceberras, entre les deux rades naturelles de Marsamxetto au N. et du grand Port au S., elle fut commencée moins de 6 mois après le siège, puis renforcée et embellie pendant plus de deux siècles.

A l'intérieur des remparts, les rues étroites et rectilignes se coupant à angle droit, les maisons hautes et sombres, les escaliers à larges marches, les arcades, avec les monuments qu'y ont laissé partout les Chevaliers lui donnent un cachet extraordinaire.

Son existence est liée, en effet, à la structure même de l'Ordre autant qu'à son histoire. Depuis son origine qui remonte aux Croisades, l'Ordre de Malte était divisé en 'langues' i.e. en nations, dont 3 pour notre pays qui n'avait pas encore réalisé alors son unité, à savoir la France proprement dite, l'Auvergne et la Provence. Chaque langue avait son auberge, i.e. son couvent, puisque les Chevaliers étaient des moines-guerriers. Mais ils étaient aussi hospitaliers; et si actuellement, l'Ordre de Malte qui existe toujours, a renoncé à sa vocation monastique et militaire, il n'a pas abandonné, au contraire, sa mission hospitalière, notamment en ce qui concerne la lutte contre la lèpre et les secours aux lépreux du monde entier.

Quant au grand Maître, c'était un véritable Souverain, issu des plus illustres familles de l'Europe catholique, traitant d'égal à égal avec les rois de son temps. Avec les riches revenus des 'Commanderies' dont il disposait sur le continent l'Ordre de Malte construisait sans cesse avec munificence palais, églises, monuments, accumulait les œuvres d'art en même temps qu'il continuait à fortifier l'île pour la rendre emprenable, si bien que l'austère forteresse renferme les trésors artistiques d'une ville-musée.

Et d'abord les édifices religieux. A part la cathédrale anglicane construite au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle sur l'emplacement de l'ancienne auberge d'Allemagne, ils datent tous de l'époque des Chevaliers.

La plus ancienne et la plus riche c'est l'ancienne église conventuelle de l'Ordre, la cathédrale Saint-Jean. Un peu noyée dans les hautes mai-

Au terme de ce voyage et de cette découverte de Malte et de son peuple, je pense que ceux d'entre nous qui l'avons connu, nous réalisons mieux tout ce que la personnalité originale et attachante de Mr Ropa doit à ses origines et à sa race.

Nous comprendrons mieux aussi sans doute, pourquoi l'élite de son peuple l'a si spontanément et avec tant de ferveur reconnu comme l'un des siens, exalté si pieusement sa mémoire au cours des journées inoubliables qu'avec Madame Ropa nous avons vécues là-bas l'an dernier.

A notre arrivée à l'aéroport nous apercevons le Père Rapa et la famille qui nous attendent. Mais quand nous descendons la passerelle, c'est tout un groupe d'universitaires qui nous accueillent avec les cameramen de la T.V. maltaise que nous retrouvons dès le lendemain à l'Ambassade de France où le chargé d'affaires, Mr Bonavita, avait tenu à recevoir Mme Ropa. Celle-ci allait ainsi devenir, aux informations quotidiennes, l'une des vedettes de l'actualité. Elle s'en est acquittée d'ailleurs avec une aisance dont elle s'étonnait elle-même, était donné la réserve naturelle aux Sarthois du N. que nous sommes.

Ainsi en fut-il tout au long de cette semaine aux deux réceptions à l'Université, comme au cours de notre premier séjour à Gozo, le mercredi-Saint 25 mars, organisé et financé entièrement par l'Office du Tourisme, sur invitation du Président du Comité Civique de Gozo dans le Salon d'honneur avec signature du Livre d'Or.

Le sommet ce fut le dimanche de Pâques 29 mars 1970, l'inauguration à Xaghra, son village natal, d'une plaque commémorative en l'honneur du poète Laurent Ropa.

Dans la rue principale se rassemblent, avec la famille, les personnalités universitaires, civiles et religieuses: le Docteur Tabone, Président du Conseil de Gozo; son frère, Ministre du travail; les professeurs Aquilina, Cardona; le poète Mr Pisani; l'évêque de Gozo et la foule nombreuse et attentive. Après les discours du Président, de Mr Pisani, le professeur Cardona lit le poème qu'il a composé en Maltais en l'honneur de Mr Ropa. Puis tout le monde se lève, Mme Ropa enlève le voile aux couleurs maltaises qui recouvre la plaque de marbre aux lettres dorées 'A Laurent Ropa, né à Xaghra à Noël 1891, mort en France le 29 mars 1967, romancier et poète français qui a traduit en français des oeuvres maltaises, le Conseil Civique de Gozo l'honore en ce 3ème anniversaire de sa mort' et la musique joue l'hymne national maltais. Puis c'est au 1er étage de l'hôtel Victoria, la visite de l'exposition où sont rassemblés articles et photos de journaux et de revues sur Mr Ropa et sur son oeuvre, la liste et des extraits de ses poèmes et, sous-vitrine, l'acte de son baptême dans l'église de Xaghra en date du jour même de sa naissance le 25-12-1891.

La ferveur de l'hommage ainsi rendu à notre Ami, n'illustre-t-elle pas

à merveille l'affirmation qu'il rappelait lui-même dans la revue Afrique dont je vous parlais tout à l'heure?

'La vraie grandeur se situe au plan le plus élevé, celui de l'âme et de l'esprit'.

Elle s'affirme et demeure au-delà de l'espace et du temps; et vous aimerez, je pense, au terme de cet entretien, entendre maintenant quelques-uns de ses poèmes et admirer sur l'écran les diapositives les plus caractéristiques de son pays d'origine, aimablement prêtées par le Bureau du Tourisme de Malte.

## FEDERIGO TOZZI

Di GIOVANNI CURMI

DOPO il Pirandello e dopo il Panzini, uno dei più potenti narratori italiani del Novecento è Federigo Tozzi, morto a Roma nel 1920 all'età di trentasette anni, oggi molto ingiustamente già quasi dimenticato.

Nella sua breve e tormentata vita egli scrisse quattro romanzi, *Con gli occhi chiusi* (1918), *Tre Croci* (1920), *Il podere*, pubblicato a puntate nel 1921 dalla rivista romana 'Noi e il mondo', *Gli egositi*, uscito postumo presso Mondadori nel 1923; e una cinquantina di novelle raccolte in tre volumi: *L'amore* (1919), *Giovani* (1920), *Ricordi d'un impiegato* (1927).

Nei suoi libri, tutti tragici, sopra lo sfondo d'una continua lotta contro la miseria, entro un'atmosfera di cupo pessimismo e di cieca fatalità, egli descrive e racconta la vita degli inetti, dei falliti e dei vinti. E l'anima dei suoi protagonisti egli scruta con una analisi crudele e scarnificatrice. Il mondo artistico tozziano, sia nelle novelle che nei romanzi, sempre si concentra su 'vicende dolorose, atti di violenza, impulsi criminosi, speranze crollate, esistenze spezzate.' Il Tozzi è verista, e le vicende dolorose le descrive sempre troppo realisticamente e le anime disperate le sviscera sempre con una schiettezza troppo spaventosa, e ogni cosa racconta senza 'alone sentimentale' con una prosa asciutta, quasi scarna ed aspra, tutta nerbi, e con uno stile potente e rapido.

Nel suo capolavoro *Tre croci*, respinto, nel 1919, da 'La Nuova Antologia' ma pubblicato l'anno dopo, nel 1920, dai Fratelli Treves, il Tozzi ci ritrae, con meravigliosa evidenza, i tre fratelli Gambi, i quali, complici di un reato di falso, scivolano nell'abbruttimento e nel fango fino ad essere inghiottiti dall'implacabile gorgo della disperazione. Uno dei fratelli, Giulio, s'impicca nella libreria, 'teatro delle sue gesta criminose', un bugigattolo pieno di scaffali, di volumi e di polvere. Ecco la brevissima scena del suicidio: 'Allora, spense la luce. E, al buio, senza rendersi conto che si ammazzava, mise la testa dentro il laccio. Sentendosi stringere, avrebbe voluto gridare; ma non gli riescì.' L'altro fratello, Niccolo, muore d'un colpo apoplettico, e il terzo, Enrico, muore in un ospizio di mendicizia.

Ecco la chiusa del romanzo, con le due nipotine accanto al letto di morte di Enrico: '... Lola e Chiarina gli misero due mazzetti di fiori sul letto, uno a destra e uno a sinistra. C'era una sola candela; che, essendo di sego, si piegava per il calore della sua fiamma rossa, come se avesse nello stoppino un poco di sangue morticcio. Esse pregavano inginocchia-

te, con le mani congiunte vicino ai mazzetti di fiori; e, in mezzo a loro, il morto diventava sempre più buono. Il giorno dopo, spaccarono il salvadanaio di cocchio, e fecero comprare da Modesta tre croci eguali; per metterle al Laterano...'

Il Tozzi, infatti, che da anarchico e ateo s'avviava alla conversione e al cattolicesimo militante, fa piantare sulla tomba dei fratelli Gambi la Croce, simbolo di pace, di carità e di redenzione.

A proposito di *Tre croci*, Domenico Giuliotti scrisse: 'Sentono arrivare un barbaro a tutta corsa e loro (i romanziere psicologici e sentimentali) sono bolsi e sfiancati' e il Bergese scrisse al Tozzi 'Sei un blocco di metallo. Le *Tre croci* resteranno piantate su questa fungaia letteraria e segneranno il sepolcreto di tutte le chiacchiere.'

Il Tozzi, come dicemmo, ebbe una vita molto tormentata. Suo padre aveva una trattoria a Siena, sua madre era sempre malaticcia, e lui era l'unico figlio rimasto in vita di otto fra maschi e femmine. Il padre voleva assolutamente che il figlio lo aiutasse nei lavori dell'osteria, mentre il figlio sognava l'arte e la gloria. Gli attriti fra i due cominciarono ben presto. In una lettera del 3 febbraio 1903, Federigo scriveva: '... mi pare che la mia vita vada sperdendosi, come un rigagnolo, nella fogne melmose del comune destino... ah! oggi, ho pensato di ubbriacarmi... certo, io sono un anormale, e la mia anima è come un turbine, che passa devastando e uccidendo; ella devasta e uccide la mia giovinezza...' Ribelle, covando nella anima il risentimento, abbandonò la casa paterna, si recò a Roma, ma non trovò lavoro, e fu per un certo tempo, per due mesi, un impiegato ferroviario a Pontedera.

Le opere del Tozzi contengono molta materia autobiografica. Il suo carattere ombroso e scontroso, il suo spirito impulsivo, il suo esacerbato personalismo, il suo naturale pessimista, sono così potenti in lui che egli non ne sa liberarsi, e non gli riesce quindi mai di obbiettivarsi completamente, e di conquistare quella lucidità e quell'armonia senza cui l'opera d'arte rimane frammentaria e non raggiunge l'equilibrio richiesto dalla vera opera d'arte. Tutti i personaggi che ritrae sono in fondo lui stesso. Giustamente osserva il Pellizzi nelle *Lettere italiane*: 'Egli non ha da dire se non gli sconnessi e successivi momenti dell'anima sua, senza mai obbiettivarsi del tutto: sempre violento, impulsivo, quasi spaurito della sua stessa aggressività; presente sempre, col suo volto contratto e gli occhi un poco allucinati, in ogni riga dello scritto.'

Prima che la realtà lo attanagliasse, prima che il mondo gli facesse prendere un atteggiamento di rancore e di violenza verso tutto e verso tutti, quando la vita era per lui ancora bella e la donna era ancora Madonna, il Tozzi scriveva molto diversamente. Ecco un brano della sua lettera

del 13 dicembre 1902 che parla del suo primo amore e della sua fidanzata: 'E tanto dolce, il primo amore! Ignoriamo la donna, e la si ama per conoscerla. Questa ingenuità da Dafni è così soave, che non si dimentica più. I primi baci! Il mistero che si svela! Sorprese della gioventù sempre rosee! Quando la si guarda negli occhi, che ebbrezza! La mia donna aveva gli occhi neri; ma io non sono stato mai capace di scrutarli, perchè m'abbagliavano, e tremavo. Se io dovessi descrivere il suo viso, non potrei. Ne ho avuta sempre, una sensazione scompigliata, meravigliosa. Ecco: chiudendo gli occhi la rivedo, ma non bene. Riconosco la guancia tanto bianca, come un petalo di rosa, e la bocca leggermente rosea, sempre atteggiata a un sorriso calmo, incantevole...'

Anche nei 'Bozzetti' di *Bestie* ha pagine poetiche e musicali, come la seguente, che interpreta liricamente così bene l'ansia e l'immagine del sogno introvato e non mai raggiunto:

Io m'ero messo in testa di trovare il violincello che udivo tra gli alberi del bosco; quando tira vento, non sta più zitto niente! Credevo che fosse a pochi passi da me: e, allora, andavo là, quasi di corsa. Non c'era più; più lontano ora; ma distante da me quanto prima. Andavo lo stesso. Nè mano! Sempre, sempre vicino a me; ma non dovevo vederlo nè trovarlo mai! Così, sul fiume, il riflesso del sole camminava, sempre avanti a me; e, dove era stato prima, l'acqua tomava ombra turchina, senza che vi fosse nessuna traccia di quell'incendio finto.

Così i monti non erano più azzurri quando, dopo mezza giornata di strada, vi ero giunto; ed allora vedevo altri monti; ma era inutile che io camminassi a posta per questo!

Così le onde che il vento faceva sopra il prato: dov'ero io, attorno alle mie gambe, tutto era fermo come me.

Così i miei sogni quando mi sono destato.

Nè, da vicino, ho mai potuto guardare la trasparenza violacea che aveva un piccolo padule del fiume; non c'era più.

Così da ragazzo, l'eco della mia voce: un'altra voce, ma senz'anima.

Così i pappi di certi fiori, quando volevo portarli in mano.

Il violincello del bosco l'avrei voluto comprare, per darmi l'aria di essere ricco. E suonarlo i giorni di festa della mia anima; ammaestrando un liocomo, color di carta bianca, che prenderei da qualche favola vecchia.

Infine, nonostante tutto il suo rancore contro la vita e contro gli uomini Federigo Tozzi riconosce la necessità della solidarietà umana contro il pericolo di ogni genere che ci sovrastano, come nella seguente favoletta intitolata *La formica*, che riportiamo nella sua interezza:

Con la mia moglie era un affar serio, ogni giorno di più! Bastava un



pretesto qualunque per leticare parecchie ore. Una volta, la minestra mi parve sciocca, anzi, era certamente. Glielo dissi. Mi rispose:

- Perchè non vai a trattoria?
- Se fossi più furbo!
- Vai, dunque.
- Me lo vorresti proibire tu?

E la guardai con tutto il mio odio; ed ella altrettanto. Ma io non glielo volevo permettere. Allora feci l'atto di darle uno scapaccione. Si alzò rigida come uno stecco; e si mise a guardarmi fisso. Pareva che i suoi occhi si allargassero sempre di più; ma mi sentivo tanto più forte di lei che non pensavo nemmeno a offenderla. Mi disse:

- Vuoi scommettere ch'io vado dal procuratore del re?
- E perchè no? Potevi esserci andata. Così mi sarei fatto fare la minestra più salata, se non c'eri in casa!

Si slanciò; io mi riparai con un braccio piegato.

In questo mentre vedemmo, tutti e due insieme, non so come, una formica che finì dall'orlo del fiasco stava per scendere dentro e cadervi.

La rabbia finì subito.

Ella la prese con le dita e la scaraventò lontano. Io dissi:

- Per fortuna l'hai vista! Avremmo dovuto buttar via tutto il vino!
- E il pranzo finì bene, quella volta.

## A MALTA EROICA E SANTA

Un dí a te venimmo, isola petrosa  
 in veste d'educatori, operanti  
 per un'Europa unita e prospera,  
 donatrice feconda di civiche libertà.

Accolti dal tuo materno amplesso,  
 un patto stringemmo d'esser concordi,  
 nella quotidiana gioiosa fatica,  
 di suscitare, ne le generazioni novelle,  
 energie sane, per un maggior progresso.

Era Natale, luminoso e sereno,  
 e dai tuoi spalti turrati, dalle spiagge silenti,  
 l'eco lontana a noi venne  
 de' prodi difensor crociati,  
 che scudo fecero, dei lor giovani petti,  
 all'orde mussulmane, di sangue assetate.

– Noi qui lottammo e cademmo, oh Europa,  
 donandoti, in olocausto, pace e libertà –  
 Quel grido d'allora è il vaticinio odierno.  
 e dalle glauche spumeggianti spiagge  
 di Valletta e di Gozo, di Comino e dell'isole vicine,  
 noi ti salutammo, in coro vibrante:

– Malta, coraggiosa, gentile e ospitale,  
 incontro e scontro d'antiche stirpi,  
 del Mediterraneo fosti e resti Regina!  
 Noi t'ammiriamo, con pienezza sincera,  
 perchè, acciaiata da le sofferte ingiustizie,  
 perdòno concedi a chi, ingrato, t'offese.

– Malta nobilissima, di Paolo e di Luca,  
 di Giovanni e di Caterina,  
 de' Cavalieri e Maestri antichi e nuovi  
 nutrice amorevole e generosa,  
 ancor resti, nella progenie gagliarda e proba,  
 guida retta e presidio sicuro.

– Malta, raccolta, laboriosa e tenace,  
 rispettata dagli uomini, benedetta da Dio,  
 sii tu, nei secoli a venire,  
 di nostra fede democratica sollievo e sprone,  
 nella fierezza per la riconquistata indipendenza,  
 coronamento e sublimazione d'ogni virtù.

Viandanti desiosi, in cerca di verità perenni,  
 quel grido d'esaltazione udimmo,  
 e, in armonia di spirto col popolo tuo  
 di Medina e di Mosta, di Sliema e di Cospicua,  
 di Vittoria e d'altre città e borghi solatii,  
 vigor novo attingemmo pel nostro agire.

Dai colli aprichi e dai ridenti casolari  
 – occhieggianti su l'ampio Mediterraneo –  
 da Mellieħa e da Paola, sognanti albe rugiadose,  
 dalle maestose cattedrali e dalle legendarie rovine  
 di tempi insigni e di mistiche catacombe.  
 a noi un ammonimento viene, oggi,  
 ad oprare uniti, perchè il mondo  
 non soffra più l'orror di fratricide guerre.

Ordunque, non di Solimano o di Mustafà  
 la scimitarra sanguigna, sterminatrice,  
 e neppure del Corso predone l'imperio duro;  
 ma la georgica serenità de' tuoi campi sudati,  
 sí che dai sonanti cantieri di Valletta,  
 un inno salga al cielo, auspicante l'avvento  
 d'un' Europa nuova, giusta e federata.

Mai più il grido di guerra santa,  
 prorompente dai petti di Buglione e di Tancredi,  
 di Carafa e di Doria, bensí la dolce visione  
 di graziose barchette, cullate lene dall'onde azzurrine,  
 e bacciate dal volo radente di candidi gabbiani,  
 nelle accoglienti insenature di Floriana e Msida.

I mozzi palazzi, guasti per antiche e recenti demenze,  
 sono là ad ammonirci: – Fratelli pace!  
 L'inno ecumenico della cristiana esultanza  
 sovrasti il lugubre nunzio bellico.  
 Nel travaglio insonne dell'ère buie  
 la Fede non vaní, perchè la Speranza s'accrebbe  
 nella Carità pe' sofferenti d'ogni tempo e luogo,  
 sostegno valido all'ardenza dell'Amore.

Isola stupenda, inondata di luce,  
 conquiso ha il nostro cuore  
 per la lindura delle tue vie armoniose  
 e l'aspetto solenne de le città antiche,  
 che sembrano dormire placide  
 sotto la coltre di gloriosi eventi.

Le mille scogliere, glabre e ferrigne,  
dove approdaro eroi, martiri e santi,  
sono, oggi, al viator pensoso  
testimonianza salutare  
per superar le quotidiane asprezze.

Quelle stesse che furono dell'Apostolo delle Genti,  
che sono nostre, perchè anche noi, insani,  
offendemmo il fratello debole e il fanciullo ignaro,  
anche noi, come Saulo di Tarso, negammo la Verità,  
sprezzando crudelmente il Dator d'ogni bene.

Ma dalla Fede illuminati e redenti,  
come i timorosi discepoli d'Emmaus,  
nell'angoscia pungente, t'imploriamo:  
– Signore, resta con noi, perchè fa sera,  
e l'Europa e il Mondo hanno bisogno di Te,  
ora e sempre!

VINCENZO CIAMPI

## CLIO ET TYCHÈ

*A mon ami J. Busuttil, dont le travail sur Byzance touche à bonne fin*

Cherche lent, méthodique, obstiné mais très sûr  
 Le message authentique et la vérité pure  
 Qu'offre à son chaste amant sobre Muse Clio,  
 Et livre-les vivants, nimbés de leur halo.

En bon fils de Géante, ô mon cher Busuttil,  
 Dévide patiemment d'Ariane le fil.  
 Dépeins aux descendants d'Hagar-Kim ou Mnaidra,  
 Du Labyrinthe obscur les tortueux méandres.

Montre-leur la grandeur, ingénieux Procope,  
 D'une nouvelle Grèce, d'un Empire Nouveau  
 Opposant Bélisaire au Vandale et au Goth.

De Van Dijck et Gérard, aussi docile enfant,  
 Dépeins-nous le héros, aveugle et mendiant,  
 Des Byzantins ingrats repoussé, pauvre Job.

Octobre 1971

F. CUNEN

## OCTOBRE

*A tous les Nemrods de France et du monde*

Tue donc chasseur, la biche pleure,  
 Mais qu'importe au lâche vainqueur.  
 Son argent a payé la chasse,  
 La bête paiera la casse.

Patron des tueurs, Saint Hubert,  
 Tu vis briller le tendre cerf  
 Des lueurs d'une croix étrange ..  
 Qui ton ardeur en pitié change.

Si en ce signe, tu ne crois  
 Moderne et vantard Tartarin,  
 La larme qu'en ce soir serein,

Verse, acculée, biche aux abois  
 Te voue aux remords du Tartare  
 Si tu ne l'épargnes, barbare.

Octobre 1971

F. CUNEN

Tandis que je passais de longues semaines, en notre maison des Ardenes, à classer les documents lègués par Madame Ropa, j'ai bien des fois rencontré votre nom. Ce me sera un plaisir d'écrire bientôt ce chapitre émouvant de fraîcheur et d'enthousiasme patriotiques qu'est l'histoire de Malte, depuis les années 1930, que vous avez crée en compagnie des Dun Karm, Saydon, et autres intellectuels, et que Ropa excella à chanter ou traduire.

Je songeais alors aux foules vaines et hâlées (ou candidates au hâle), se livrant aux oeuvres pies d'un culte solaire de nouvel aloi, tandis que vous peinez à des tâches qu'ignore la multitude. Vous trouverez ces réflexions dans le sonnet que je vous dédie en toute amitié.

## SONNET SUR DEUX TONS

*A Joseph Aquilina.*

A l'ombre, je voyais les multitudes brunes  
Redorant au soleil leurs corps tout allongés.  
Leur lent farniente, que seule lasse la lune  
Se vautrait dans le bain de la foule plongé.

Tandis que vous peinez, solitaire, dans l'ombre,  
Fatigué du soleil, écoeuré de l'azur,  
Aux travaux minutieux, aux recherches sans nombre,  
Dur fruit d'un long labeur, havre solide et sûr.

Là-bas, sur le roc jaune de nos plages maltaises  
S'étire paresseuse, de rocher en falaise,  
La masse des chairs cuites à point, repues.

A l'absorbant devoir obstinément fidèle,  
Gigantesque ouvrier, amant de l'oeuvre belle,  
Dans l'Ombre inspiratrice, façonnez votre Opus.

1.x.1971 – St. Julien, Malte

F. CUNEN