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ASYLUM IN MALTA – A BRITISH OFFER TO POPE PIUS IX

Joseph Bezzina

On June 16, 1846, the partly liberal bishop of Imola, Giovanni Mastai Ferretti, was elected to the throne of Peter as Pope Pius IX. During his pontificate, the longest in history, the confrontation of liberal ideas with traditional positions of the church, which had started in the eighteenth century and continued to grow during the French Revolution, reached its peak. The hostility was further inflamed by the revival of the Roman Question.

The restoration of the authority of the Pope in the Papal States after the brief interlude of the Roman Republic had taken place in a clear reactionary atmosphere. The movement for the unification of Italy, headed by Victor Emmanuel II (1849–1878) and directed by the Piedmontese Prime Minister Cavour (1852–1861), had in the meantime grown into an avalanche that could no longer be stopped. By 1860, the Pope had lost most of his territory: the Papal States became restricted to an area around Rome. On March 17, 1861, the first Italian parliament in history proclaimed the kingdom of Italy. Many were trying to convince the Pope to seek a reasonable compromise with the new kingdom. Pius IX was not so much concerned with temporal power for its own sake as that he saw in it the indispensable guarantee of his spiritual independence, and the outraged reaction of Europe's ultramontane press confirmed him in the belief that this power was something for which he had to answer to the Catholics of the whole world and of which he could not dispose according to his private wishes.

The situation worsened further during 1862. *Pio Nono* felt helpless. And like the proverbial drowning man clutching at a straw he sought British help — those same British whom he had many times denounced for backing publicly the *Risorgimento*. In the night of July 25, 1862, Odo Russell⁽¹⁾

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1. This paper is to a large extent based on the despatches of Odo Russell from Rome to his uncle Lord John eventually Earl Russell. Extracts from these despatches have been edited by Noel BLAKISTON, *The Roman Question*, London 1962, with an excellent introduction (pages ix–xxxviii) on their author.

received a note that the Pope wanted to see him the next morning.⁽²⁾ Odo Russell was not an official accredited agent to the Vatican. Protestant England would not have permitted such an appointment. However, he was for all practical purposes, except in certain matters of diplomatic ceremonial, the English representative at the Vatican.

Russell was received by the Pope at noon. After an exchange of views on the prevailing situation, the Pope expressly asked Russell whether he could “do something for *il Papa* in London”.⁽³⁾ When Russell begged an explanation, the Pope expressly told him whether under the prevailing circumstances “he could go and live in peace in England”.⁽⁴⁾

The British representative replied that “in England the rights of hospitality were sacred (and) that so long as he submitted to the laws of the land, he could enjoy that national hospitality and protection England extended to those who sought refuge within her realms”. However, he added hastily, he “trusted His Holiness would never have to resort to so extreme a measure and would rather make peace with Italy than abandon Rome”. The Pope disagreed, but Russell, in an answer that attests to the foresightedness of this diplomat, retorted: “I believe on the contrary that the Spiritual Power would be far stronger without that temporal millstone round the neck of the Papacy which required the support of a foreign army to impose it upon Italy. Indeed the Temporal Power as it now existed appears to me a serious impediment to the free exercise of the Spiritual Power and I wonder he had not cast it away since it was now evident that it could not be upheld many years longer without endangering the peace of Europe and the unity of the Roman Church”.⁽⁵⁾

The circumstances behind the request

The circumstances that led the Pope to send for the British representative in July 1862 and grant him an audience after a lapse of one year and a half⁽⁶⁾ were several. Giuseppe Garibaldi and the thousand had crossed over from Sicily to Calabria and were preparing to march upon Rome. General Comte de Montebello, head of the French army that was

Odo Russell’s connection with Malta had begun at least in 1860. That year he was instrumental in overcoming a host of difficulties related to the establishment of the Diocese of Gozo; cf (= confer) in relation my book Joseph BEZZINA, *Religion and Politics in a Crown Colony. The Gozo-Malta Story. 1798–1864*, Valletta 1985, especially pages 198–215.

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2. Cf Odo RUSSELL to Earl Russell, 26 Jul 1862, PRO, F(oreign) O(ffice), 43/86B, no 100.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Cf Odo RUSSELL to Earl Russell, 13 Feb 1863, PRO, FO, 43/89B, no 24.

occupying the Papal States on behalf of the Pope, had concentrated his troops in Rome and was making great preparations to defend the port of Cività Vecchia. He had thus withdrawn his troops from the Neapolitan frontier and, in doing so, left the mountain passes of Abruzzo free for Garibaldi's army to invade Rome without meeting any obstacle or resistance. These circumstances and military measures led the Papal Government to believe that the French moves were done with a precise purpose: the French Government would allow the invasion of the Papal States and then impose their conditions on the Papacy for the general pacification of Italy. Finally, at the time, great irritation prevailed at the Vatican against Emperor Napoleon III for having obtained the recognition of the Kingdom of Italy by Russia, Prussia and Portugal.⁽⁷⁾

The question then arose as to where the Pope should go if he had to leave Rome. Three countries were proposed: Austria, Spain and Bavaria. It was ascertained that Austria and Spain might be seriously embarrassed in their relations with powerful France if they received the fugitive Pope. Würzburg in Bavaria was recommended, but there was no way to reach it without passing through Austria, Northern Italy or France. Two governments only remained to be appealed to in case of need: England and Turkey. The Pope could of course not ask the Sultan for protection. England alone remained. England that was strong enough to meet the displeasure of Catholic France.⁽⁸⁾

There is a possibility that the Pope was really seeking refuge in the British realms and that he was placing his hopes for a return of the Papal States in an imaginary war between France and England. Yet in all probability the Pope's intentions were otherwise. Odo Russell thought in fact that the Pope had made that request so that he would report what the Pope had requested and so "the French Government should feel the necessity of taking measures to ensure his remaining in Rome, as his flight to England would have a bad effect in France".⁽⁹⁾ Russell did not comply.

The British offer

"I need scarcely add that there is no prospect whatever of the Pope ever carrying out his threat of going to England",⁽¹⁰⁾ concluded Odo Russell in his report to London on the papal audience and request. However Earl Russell,

7. Cf in relation Giacomo MARTINA, Pio IX. *Chiesa e mondo moderno* (= Nuova Universale Studium 18), Roma 1976, 19–26; Roger AUBERT, *The Roman Question*, in *History of the Church*, ed by H. Jedin – J. Dolan, VIII, London 1981, 248–255.

8. Cf Odo RUSSELL (secret) to Earl Russell, 14 Feb 1863, PRO, FO, 43/89B no 25.

9. Odo RUSSELL to Earl Russell, 26 Jul 1862, PRO, FO, 43/86B, no 100.

10. *Ibid.*

the British Foreign Secretary did give some consideration to the request.

Since June 1859, when he became Foreign Secretary of State in the second cabinet of Viscount Palmerston, Russell had fully occupied himself with the problem of Italian Unification. On October 27, 1860, in a famous despatch to Sir James Hudson, the British Minister in Turin, the Foreign Secretary had publicly supported the *Risorgimento* movement: "Her Majesty's Government will turn their eyes rather to the gratifying prospect of a people building up the edifice of their liberties, and consolidating the work of their independence, amid the sympathies and good wishes of Europe".⁽¹¹⁾ For that letter, informed him Odo Russell, his nephew, "you are blessed night and morning by twenty million of Italians . . . and at the moment it was published in Italian, thousands of people copied it from each other to carry it to their homes and weep over it for joy and gratitude in the bosom of their families".⁽¹²⁾

Even before this despatch, described by a French critic as *le monument le plus curieux d'une littérature diplomatique tout a fait nouvelle*,⁽¹³⁾ the Pope had been very critical of Russell's policy. "Our bitterest enemy, and I will say so even before you, is Lord John Russell", he told Odo Russell during a private audience in January 1860. "His dislike to the papacy and to the Catholic religion is so violent that he seems to tremble over with hatred when he speaks against us".⁽¹⁴⁾

The British Foreign Secretary was, of course, asserting all the time the official British stand upon the Roman Question. This he repeated very clearly in his reply to the papal request despatched to Odo Russell on October 25, 1862. However, he also made it clear that he did comprehend the stand taken by the Pope. "This melancholy state of things in Italy wounded the kind heart and harrowed the paternal feelings of His Holiness, and . . . the conscientious feelings of duty of the Pope would always oblige him to refuse any terms of accomodation, whether recommended by the Emperor of the French or by any other power, which would leave him with less than his former territory".⁽¹⁵⁾

The policy pursued by the Pope had very recently been publicly and unanimously approved by the whole of the Catholic world. On the occasion of the canonization of the Japanese martyrs on Pentecost Sunday, 1862, all the bishops had been invited to attend so that the occasion be rendered a manifestation of the power, the union and the universality of the Church.

11. Earl RUSSELL to Sir James Hudson, 27 Oct 1860, reproduced in Spencer WALPOLE, *The Life of Lord John Russell*, II, London 1889, 325-327.

12. Odo RUSSELL (private) to Lord Russell, 1 Dec 1860, in WALPOLE, II, 328.

13. Cf WALPOLE, II, 325.

14. Odo RUSSELL (secret) to Lord Russell, 31 Jan 1860, PRO, FO, 43/76, no 19.

15. Earl RUSSELL to Odo Russell, 25 Oct 1862, PRO, FO, 43/85, no 46.

They reiterated that it was the duty of the Pope to assert the temporal rights of the church by remaining in Rome, until violently driven away by the enemies of religion.⁽¹⁶⁾

Nonetheless, animated by a friendly feeling to both parties, Earl Russell suggested that the Pope should retire from the conflict and expect in tranquillity the issue which in the order of Providence might await the Papacy and determine the fate of Italy. In the name of Her Majesty's Government, he then offered the Pope asylum in the island of Malta.⁽¹⁷⁾

The Vatican reaction

On November 11, Odo Russell communicated the contents of the despatch with the Malta offer to Giacomo Cardinal Antonelli, the papal Secretary of State.⁽¹⁸⁾ He informed Russell that he was as much anxious as the British Foreign Secretary “that Rome should not be the seat of a perpetual foreign occupation” and that the Pope should be “independent of enemies who persecuted the church and independent of friends whose protection could not unhappily yet be dispensed with”. “He was compelled, he further explained, to accept the protection afforded him by the presence of French garrison in Rome”.⁽¹⁹⁾

Cardinal Antonelli seemed to have been immensely pleased with the despatch and asked for a copy to submit it to the Pope. When Russell went with a copy a few days later, the Cardinal snatched it out of his hands and “crammed it into his bosom and buttoned it up as if it had been a bag of golden *scudi*”.⁽²⁰⁾ Russell was of the opinion that the despatch was a good move in every respect and if the Pope were to accept it would be the best thing he could do for the Roman Catholic Church”.⁽²¹⁾

The despatch was probably communicated to the Pope on November 20. A few days later Cardinal Antonelli informed Odo Russell that “His Holiness had fully acknowledged the friendly spirit in which that

16. Cf. in relation to Roger AUBERT – Giacomo MARTINA, *Il Pontificato di Pio IX (1846–1878)*, 2da edizione italiana a cura di G. Martina (= *Storia della Chiesa dalle origini ai nostri giorni*, fondata da A. Fliche – V. Martin, XXI) 1v in 2, Torino 1970, 160–163.

17. Cf Earl RUSSELL to Odo Russell, 25 Oct 1862, PRO, FO, 43/85 no 46.

A short account of the story was given by Arturo MERCIECA, *Il Papa a Malta*, in *Malta Letteraria* 1/7 (1904) 212–216. His account is based entirely on a review of the monumental work by Emile OLLIVIER, *Empire Liberal*, IX, Paris 1904. The review appeared in *The Times Literary Supplement* (30 Sep 1904) 293. In its essentials this account is accurate, though there is some doubt on who first requested the asylum.

18. Cf Odo RUSSELL to Earl Russell, 11 Nov 1862, PRO, FO, 43/86B, no 108.

19. Ibid.

20. Odo RUSSELL (private) to Earl Russell, 19 Nov 1862, PRO, 30/22/76.

21. Ibid.



Odo Russell *later*
Lord Amphil of Amphil



Cardinal Giacomo Antonelli

communication had been made, but that since it was his manifest duty to remain in Rome so long as he could do so with advantage to the spiritual interests of the Church, he could but thank Her Majesty's Government for their intentions but he could not share their opinions nor could he avail himself of their hospitable offers at present".⁽²²⁾

Pope Pius IX could speak in that way for another reason: Garibaldi had been halted in his march towards Rome. He was met to the south by an Italian force sent to meet him by the Italian Prime Minister Urbano Rattazzi, afraid that an attack on the papal city would provoke the French and the Austrians into a counterattack. On August 29, Garibaldi's Thousand were routed at Aspromonte, he himself was wounded and held as prisoner for a considerable time. This tense situation of July had thus been somehow relieved.

The passage in the Malta despatch that mostly pleased the Pope and caught Cardinal Antonelli's fancy was the one where Earl Russell affirmed that the Pope might one day return to Rome owing his power to the love and respect of his subjects.⁽²³⁾ On January 7, 1863, Pope Pius himself confided to Odo Russell how much "he had been gratified by the offers of hospitality made to him by Her Majesty's Government" and requested him to thank Earl Russell for "offering him a palace at Malta". "The Maltese", proceeded the Pope during the same audience, "were good Catholics and he knew he would there be surrounded by a population as devoted and respectful as his own subjects might be at Viterbo, but so long as he was protected by France he would not avail himself of the protection of England".⁽²⁴⁾

Irritation at Paris and Vienna

In the meantime, Cardinal Antonelli had assured Russell that he intended to make a secret of the Malta despatch and that he would not communicate its contents to anybody. This declaration led Russell to believe that in fact he must have given a copy of it to some friend. Russell soon found out that His Eminence had given a copy of the despatch, together with an Italian translation to Baron Bach, the Austrian Ambassador in Rome, who had sent a special messenger with it to Vienna via Paris so that it might be read by Prince Metternich, the Austrian Ambassador in Paris. The informant also told Russell that Cardinal Antonelli had explained to the Ambassador that he had accepted the document as it might one day prove

22. Odo RUSSELL (confidential), 28 Nov 1862, PRO, FO, 43/86B, no 118.

23. Cf Odo RUSSELL to Earl Russell, 25 Feb 1863, PRO, 30/22/76.

24. Odo RUSSELL to Earl Russell, 7 Jan 1863, PRO, FO, 43/89B, no 5.

most useful and “that although the Pope could not accept English hospitality at present he might stand in need of it in the future”.⁽²⁵⁾

At the beginning of 1863, there was in fact a feeling of great expectations. Many from the Pope downwards were hoping that a solution for the Roman Question was finally dawning. The Malta despatch led some to believe that the British had begun to favour the Pope. The French were seemingly also harbouring friendlier feelings and a booklet circulated in Paris around that time confirmed this view. This booklet, *L'Union Italienne*, after proving the impossibility of a united Italy showed the advantages of a Confederation with several suggestions to satisfy all parties concerned. The idea of a Confederation had been first suggested in 1843 by Vincenzo Gioberti in his masterpiece *Il primato morale e civile degli Italiani*. *L'Unione Italienne*, inspired without doubt by Emperor Napoleon himself, further suggested that England and France, by virtue of their possession of the islands of Malta and Corsica, should equally become members of the Italian Confederation.⁽²⁶⁾

In the meantime, the contents of the Malta despatch had also been leaked to the French. Prince Metternich had most probably handed a copy to the Emperor. Monsignor Flavio Chigi, the Apostolic Nuncio in Paris, informed Cardinal Antonelli that the French were deeply annoyed at the Malta despatch.⁽²⁷⁾ On January 22, the *Journal des Débats* of Paris published some extracts and, to the indignation of Odo Russell,⁽²⁸⁾ also gave an imprecise account of the circumstances under which the despatch had been forwarded to the Pope. In a Blue Book, *Documents Diplomatiques*, the French also made public the diplomatic correspondence that had been exchanged to date concerning the matter.

The following story emerged. After having been received by the Pope, Odo Russell advised His Holiness in the Foreign Secretary's name “to leave Italy, adding that Her Majesty's Government would in such case willingly offer him Malta as a residence, that English ships would be placed at his disposal and that the Pope could reckon on the readiness of England to secure an asylum to him worthy of himself”.⁽²⁹⁾ The story proceeded that on December 26, 1862, Odo Russell made a further communication to Cardinal Antonelli delivering a private letter from Earl Russell “expressing regret that the Pope had not availed himself of the offer of an asylum in Malta and adding that the Pope would soon be obliged to have recourse to it”.⁽³⁰⁾ The

25. Odo RUSSELL (private) to Earl Russell, 16 Dec 1962, PRO, 30/22/76.

26. Cf AUBERT – MARTINA, *ibid.*

27. Cf Odo RUSSELL (private) to Earl Russell, 21 Jan 1863, PRO, 30/22/76.

28. Cf Odo RUSSELL to Earl Russell, 26 Jan 1863, PRO, FO, 43/89B, no 13.

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*

sources concluded that the Vatican wanted to keep the question secret but that Odo Russell had spoken on the subject to one of the diplomatic envoys accredited to the Holy See.

The story, based on correspondence exchanged between the French Foreign Minister, Monsieur Edouard Drouyn de Lhuys and Prince de la Tour d’Auvergne, the French Ambassador in Rome, was firmly believed by the French authorities and they immediately acted upon it. In fact, the previous French Ambassador in Rome, Marquis de Lavalette, who shared the British views concerning the Pope’s temporal power, had been recalled late in 1862 soon after word on the Malta despatch had reached the French Government. In January all the officers and officials who served Lavalette and shared his views were gradually removed to France and their places filled up by men who believe in the Temporal Power and an Italian Confederation.⁽³¹⁾

The French Government was also much annoyed by the fact that the Pope seemingly talked about the Malta despatch to everybody and appeared gratified at the course followed by Earl Russell in the matter.⁽³²⁾ So was the Austrian Government, who, it was widely believed, would “advise the Pope to die the death of ten thousand martyrs rather than abandon Rome”.⁽³³⁾

The full facts

Odo Russell felt extremely indignant at how the story of the Malta despatch emerged from the French publications. Three inaccurate facts had been purposely leaked about the despatch. First that it was not Cardinal Antonelli who had given a copy of the despatch to Baron Bach; secondly, that Russell had made a renewed communication about it at Christmas, and finally, that the whole initiative lay with the British. Russell had to make known the full facts.

In a letter to Earl Cowley, the British Ambassador in Paris, he confided that his informant about the leakage by Cardinal Antonelli was none other than an old friend of his, Baron Ottenfels, secretary of Baron Bach. One day “he told me in strict confidence that Bach was in possession of Lord Russell’s Malta despatch . . . I said I could tell him nothing about it and that he must get all his information from the Vatican on the subject”.⁽³⁴⁾ He had also learnt that when La Tour d’Auvergne asked Antonelli whether he had communicated a copy to Baron Bach, the Cardinal hinted to the French Ambassador that Russell might have given a copy to his friend Baron

31. Cf Odo RUSSELL (private) to Earl Russell, 21 Jan 1863, PRO, 30/22/76.

32. Ibid.

33. Odo RUSSELL (private) to Earl Russell, 16 Dec 1862, PRO, 30/22/76.

34. Odo RUSSELL to Earl Cowley, 30 Jan 1863, PRO, FO, 519/205.

Ottenfels who it turn passed it to his superiors. The fib was told to please the Austrian Ambassador,⁽³⁵⁾ concluded Russell.

It was Earl Russell who first telegraphed Odo Russell whether he had sent him a private letter concerning the Malta despatch.⁽³⁶⁾ Russell replied in the negative⁽³⁷⁾ and later informed him that when he confronted Cardinal Antonelli about this supposed second communication on the morrow of Christmas, the Cardinal felt "much embarrassed . . . and immediately offered to rectify the statement with all sorts of assurances of friendship".⁽³⁸⁾

The greatest inaccuracy concerned the origin of the initiative. The published documents hinted that the papal audience to Odo Russell on the previous July 26 had been granted at the British representative's request. Cardinal Antonelli confirmed this impression in a letter to Flavio Chigi on January 30 and proved the fact by a reference to the Pontifical Audience Register.⁽³⁹⁾ Odo Russell denied to Antonelli that he had ever solicited the papal audience.⁽⁴⁰⁾ In an explanation to the Foreign Office, he recalled how in a report written down on the very same day he reported the words: "*I sent for you to . . . distinctly pronounced by the Pope. (This) left no doubt in my mind that the audience had not been granted to me in consequence of my past applications which had not been attended to for a year and a half by Cardinal Antonelli, but for a special purpose and I therefore concluded that I had been sent for by the Pope*".⁽⁴¹⁾ He also repudiated the French accusation that he had given too much importance to the Pope's words in the same audience and that the Pope spoke to him without attaching the slightest importance to what he said. Explained Odo Russell: "I did not attach undue importance to them for the simple reason that I never believed in the withdrawal of the French garrison from Rome and therefore never believed the Pope would leave Rome".⁽⁴²⁾ Regarding the second, he recalled: "I could not but be impressed by the earnest appearance of Pius IX and it never occurred to my mind that the spiritual independence of the Roman Catholic Church was a subject with which the Pope would trifle in conversation with anyone".⁽⁴³⁾

35. Odo RUSSELL (private) to Earl Russell, 31 Jan 1863, PRO, 30/22/76.

36. Cf Earl RUSSELL (telegram) to Odo Russell, 19 Jan 1863, recited in Odo RUSSELL to Earl Russell, 20 Jan 1863, PRO, FO, 43/89B, no 10.

37. Cf *ibid.*

38. Odo RUSSELL (private) to Earl Russell, 31 Jan 1863, PRO, 30/22/76.

39. Cf Giacomo Cardinal ANTONELLI to Fabio Chigi, 30 Jan 1863, quoted in Odo RUSSELL to Earl Russell, 13 Feb 1863, PRO, FO, 43/89B, no 24.

This inaccuracy is also discussed in Henry DRUMMOND WOLFF, *Rambling Recollections*, I, London 1908, 342.

40. Cf Odo RUSSELL to Earl Russell, 13 Feb 1863, PRO, FO, 43/89B, no 24.

41. *Ibid.* Cf also Odo RUSSELL (private) to Earl Russell, 17 Feb 1863, PRO, 30/22/76.

42. Odo RUSSELL to Earl Russell, 13 Feb 1863, PRO, FO, 43/89B, no 24.

43. *Ibid.*

An uproar in London

The news of the Malta despatch caused an uproar in London. The city dailies, relying initially on the inaccurate reports in the French papers, carried very critical remarks on the whole British initiative. In a leader on January 23, 1863, *The Times* castigated the Whigs for their daring step in the Roman Question and described the offer of a Palace to the Pope in Malta and his eventual transfer to the island with his retinue as tantamount to the creation of an *imperium in imperio*. The critical feelings towards the Malta offer did not abate and the Prime Minister promised a full explanation in parliament.

The Foreign Secretary immediately sent a messenger to Rome to inquire Odo Russell whether he could publish the whole correspondence on the subject. On January 28, he telegraphed to Earl Russell: "Publish anything you please and never mind me".⁽⁴⁴⁾ When a few days later he received a request for the publication of further correspondence related to the Roman Question, he telegraphed the same reply.⁽⁴⁵⁾

On February 5, the Prime Minister Lord Palmerston delivered a statement in the House of Commons. In a speech that reflects what has been rightly described as "the policy of prestige of Palmerston",⁽⁴⁶⁾ the Prime Minister reiterated the British policy towards the unification of Italy since their accession to the Government in June 1859. This policy had been made known far and wide through the despatch of the Foreign Secretary in October 1860. Britain had thus proved to be the champion of liberal and constitutional movements in Europe against the older order of despotism and legitimist monarchy. It was this same pragmatic policy that had led his Government to offer Pope Pius IX asylum in Malta after he had formally requested British help.⁽⁴⁷⁾ In a debate that followed Earl Russell explained further the whole circumstances that had led to the Malta despatch and laid on the table of the House the relative correspondence.⁽⁴⁸⁾

The Governor of Malta and Gozo, Sir John Gaspard Le Marchant had seemingly until then been kept in complete darkness about the Malta despatch. It does not transpire from the official published and unpublished correspondence that he was ever informed about the proceedings. The palace that the British had in mind for the Pope and his retinue, *Verdala* or *San Anton*, could most probably be prepared at a very short notice to

44. Odo RUSSELL (telegram) to Earl Russell, 28 Jan 1863, PRO, FO, 43/89B, no 16.

45. Cf Odo RUSSELL (telegram) to Earl Russell, 4 Feb 1863, PRO, FO, 43/89B, no 19.

46. David THOMPSON, *England in the nineteenth century* (= The Pelican History of England 8), London 1979, 153.

47. Cf HOUSE OF COMMONS, *Debate*, 5 Feb 1863, in *Parliamentary Debates*, Hansard, Third series, CLXIX, 122–138.

48. Cf *ibid* and HOUSE OF COMMONS, *Accounts and Papers*, 1863–LXXV–4028.

accommodate His Holiness. Or the British were perhaps convinced that the Pope would never leave Rome.

A profitable move

Odo Russell was more angered than embarrassed with the lies perpetuated by the diplomatic channels on the Malta request. Remembering that July 26, he wrote later: "I felt horribly bored and put out when I received the order to go to him and would have got off if possible, for the heat was intense and the prospect of a uniform at twelve o'clock in the day was most unpleasant to me".⁽⁴⁹⁾ The root of the whole question, he concluded, rests in the fact that "the Pope, who hated Thouvenel [the former French Foreign Minister] and Lavalette, and who now has Drouyn de Lhuys in whom he has more confidence, would willingly hush up the past terrors he underwent when Garibaldi was approaching".⁽⁵⁰⁾ He lamented: "I am accused of lying, which God knows I have not done. And to the evidence brought against me by a Pope, a Cardinal and an Ambassador I have nothing to oppose but my single, simple, and isolated word of honour".⁽⁵¹⁾

Nonetheless, "the more I think the measure over the more I convince myself that it will in the end prove to have been good policy".⁽⁵²⁾ Time later he could write with pleasure to Earl Russell that "the leading cardinals . . . , since your Malta despatch, have much greater confidence in the English Government than in the Emperor Napoleon and Monsieur Drouyn de Lhuys, and seem anxious to be civil to me".⁽⁵³⁾ "The priests (also) are very much pleased with your Malta despatch and with your speech about the Pope".⁽⁵⁴⁾ "The Pope (himself) has quite a weakness for me".⁽⁵⁵⁾

Discussions about an asylum for Pope Pius IX in Malta soon died down. The possibility of the Roman Catholic Church being directed for some time from Malta vanished. Perhaps it had never subsisted in reality.

49. Odo RUSSELL (private) to Earl Russell, 17 Feb 1863, PRO, 30/22/76.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid.

52. Odo RUSSELL (private) to Earl Russell, 21 Jan 1863, PRO, 30/22/76.

53. Odo RUSSELL (private) to Earl Russell, 22 Apr 1863, PRO, 30/22/76.

54. Odo RUSSELL (private) to Earl Russell, 25 Feb 1863, PRO, 30/22/76.

55. Ibid.

COMMUNITY THROUGH FREE COMMUNICATION

Maurice Eminyan, S.J.

Since the end of Vatican II the Church has been observing the Sunday after the Feast of the Ascension as World Day of Social Communications, in order to draw the attention of all Christians to the fact that the mass media are truly gifts of God and as such should be made use of for the good of man not only as an individual but especially as a member of society. Hence the necessity of placing the media at the service of responsible human freedom, to ensure free and responsible communication resulting in the building up of a true community on both the civil and the family levels.

One of the many grave problems — philosophical, sociological, theological and pastoral — raised by the mass media themselves such as they have developed in our days concerns the need of placing these media at the service of man rather than subjecting man to the media; thus “man as such would not regress and be degraded in his humanity, but truly become a better person, more fully aware of his dignity and more responsible”.⁽¹⁾

Such was, in fact, the principal aim of the Pastoral Instruction *Communio et Progressio* issued in 1971 by the Pontifical Secretariate for the Means of Social Communications. “The Unity and Advancement of men living in society: these are the chief aims of social communication and of all the means it uses. . . . More than ever before, the way men live and think is profoundly affected by the means of social communication”.⁽²⁾

Freedom is man’s specific characteristic: he will make progress as man to the extent that he becomes more free, and he is more free when he can communicate with his fellow men without undermining his capacity for autodetermination. Of all man’s actions only the ones that are freely elicited are imputable to him: for these, in fact, he is responsible to the extent that he is free, that is insofar as they are truly his. When he is determined to act, or when his freedom is curtailed (e.g. by ignorance, fear or violence), he is less human in his activity and consequently less responsible for his actions.

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1. *Redemptor Hominis*, n. 15.
2. *Communio et Progressio*, n. 1.

What sort of influence have these mass media been exerting on man in recent times? If they have helped him to communicate with other fellow men as before, pulling down almost entirely the barriers of time and space, have they really made man more human, and therefore more free and responsible?⁽³⁾

The mass media, after emerging from the Gutenberg era through the intervention of the *printing press*, started reaching the masses around 1830 when the first modern vehicle of information was born: the *newspaper*. In 1895 the *cinema* was invented, becoming especially popular after 1920 when the first sound film was produced. Meanwhile the electronic media had come into their own through the invention of the *radio*, to explode in the 1950's with the *television* boom and in the late 1960's with the computerized telematic processes and global world-vision communications made possible through the satellites. How right was the philosopher of communications, Marshall McLuhan, when he referred to this world of ours as electronically recreated and turned into a "global village"!

Social communications media as we have them today affect practically all aspects of human life. Man's aspirations to freedom and his success or failure in achieving it in any high degree will be necessarily influenced by them. Hence "the importance and significance of the media will ultimately depend upon the working of man's free choice in their use".⁽⁴⁾ And this applies to both communicator and recipient. Freedom of communication can be inhibited or impeded in many ways; state ownership, control by a political party, concentration of the media in a few hands, economic pressures, pressures from trade unions, and the like. One or more such factors affect the media almost everywhere, with the resulting infringement on the freedom of groups and individuals.⁽⁵⁾

These remarks lead us to the hot problem of manipulation, whose effects are all the more deleterious and lasting as it operates through the subconscious of persons and masses. The manipulatory powers of the media operate more or less irresponsibly on three levels: the supranational, the national and the private. On the supranational level we often see the media massively controlled by technologically overdeveloped countries or by their multi-national tentacles; these, after the fashion of a new type of imperialistic colonialism, often operate to the detriment of developing economies, and sometimes also of whole native cultures, for example in the Third World.⁽⁶⁾

3. Luigi Mistrorigo, "Media e Cultura", *Seminarium* 25 (April 1985) 168-177.

4. *Ibid.*, n. 13.

5. John Paul II's address on World Day of Communications 1981, *Osservatore Romano*, Engl. edition, 18 May 1981, p. 9.

6. Antoine de Tarlè, "Nouveaux Media: vers l'internalisation", *Études* (May 1986) 627-37.

On the national level the manipulators are often the governments themselves, when these in turn are not themselves manipulated by irrational pressures and ideologies; these often manipulate the formation of public opinion, by placing obstacles against and sometimes altogether impeding the free and balanced flow of truthful and integral information. This they do by restricting access to the sources of information, by excluding individuals and groups from the broadcasting media, by censoring and mutilating non-subservient contributions, by twisting truths or resorting to outright lies or exaggerations, and finally by constantly hammering on the same thing in a process of irresponsible brain-washing. The communists are masters of these techniques, but they are not alone.

On the private level manipulation is exercised more often than not through advertising. "If false assertions are made about the goods for sale, if less admirable human tendencies are exploited, those responsible for such advertising harm society and forfeit their credibility".⁽⁷⁾ Furthermore, unremitting pressure to buy certain articles can create false needs that hurt both individuals and families, alienating them from what they really need. Such selling methods are base and immoral, for they not only threaten subconsciously the freedom of the individual, but are an affront to human dignity as well. The depersonalizing influence of the media, when the process of manipulation sets in, turns men into amorphous elements and peoples into masses, only capable to react passively without a mind of their own.

The Church, whose task is to prolong in history Christ's redeeming presence in the world and to make his salvation accessible to all men, cannot remain indifferent before the great opportunities offered by the means of social communication as well as before the harmful influences often resulting from them. While making use of the media in carrying out her pastoral and humanizing ministry in the world, the Church's task is also that of liberating man from intellectual slavery, from moral degradation and deceit, from ignorance and ruthless exploitation, all of which often finds its way to man through the media: the cinema, radio and television, the press.

From the individual we now turn to the family. To have a better world, it is not enough to have better and more responsible individuals. We need above all better families, and a family is more than an addition of individuals. What is the impact of the mass media on today's family? What are the immediate and the lasting effects of the social means of communication on the family? If such questions were ever relevant, they are certainly so today, when they are not only reaching the "masses", but have indeed penetrated into many millions of homes and have rendered accessible to the majority of

7. *Communio et Progressio*, n. 59.

mankind all that modern culture and technology have to offer in the way of information, educational aids and entertainment.

There can be no doubt that the mass media have greatly benefited the family and have rendered an immense service to the parents in their proper task as primary educators of their children. It is enough to think about the impact of films on children, of children's books of all sorts (comics, illustrated stories and science books, etc.), and most particularly of television in more recent years. These "marvellous instruments", as Vatican II has called them,⁽⁸⁾ can be said to be in more ways than one complementary to what the children normally learn at school and in the home, providing as they do all sorts of information about every aspect of human life and about events actually taking place in every part of the world.

The recreation and entertainment which these media offer to the young and old alike are also important elements which, besides helping the families to remain united within the precincts of their own homes, must be taken into consideration when dealing with all-round psychological and moral information of youngsters.

While appreciating, however, the usefulness of the mass media and their contribution for the well-being and progress of the family, the parents have the duty of watching very closely, seeing to it that the use their children and they themselves make of the media, both in and outside the home, be not indiscriminate and uncontrolled, but guided by moderation and intelligence.

If this is not done, then the use of the media can well become an addiction instead of a good and useful habit. An indiscriminate watching of films and television programmes, and to some extent also an immoderate listening to songs and pop-music on radio and transistors tends to generate in the young a "passive" mentality; they will become used to being at the receiving end without any effort to act or to think creatively. Little by little the brain becomes "atrophied" for inactivity and lack of effort, especially in young people whose minds are still developing.

Hence, the need of choice between what should be watched or heard and what should not. And it is the parents' duty to help their children in this respect and to train them to make such choices, so that, when the parents are not around or when they themselves have become adults, the children may be ready to decide for themselves in a mature and responsible way.

Some of the products of the mass media (films, television programmes, comics and periodicals) carry no message at all and are absolutely useless, others are based on a wrong scale of values and gradually inject a materialistic and pagan view of life, others still are positively harmful portraying

8. *Inter Mirifica*, Decree on the Instruments of Social Communication, n. 1.

violence in crude detail and giving an idea of sex that is unworthy of man.

If properly used, on the other hand, and if the proper choice is made, the media can be powerful instruments for the teaching of authentic values, for presenting these values as truly attractive, for fostering love and justice and thus positively contributing to the unity of mankind and for peace between all races, nations and classes. It is only in this way that the media, instead of being exploited for the commercial, partisan or political interests of an individual or group, can serve as "social means of communication", that is as instruments which bring about union (com-union) through the mutual sharing of spiritual and moral goods in this global village of ours.

The mass media can be the family's worst enemy just as much as they can be its best friends. It all depends on how they are used by the members of the family and by the family as a unit. A stranger to London who judged the cinema by the posters he saw from the top of a double-decker, by film advertisements in the dailies and by what he read in the review columns, could be forgiven for concluding that the venal were conspiring with the mad to destroy the innocent and to poison the adult. If this is an exaggeration, the opinion that young people tend to imitate what they see is not far from the truth.⁽⁹⁾

That is why the Church is interested today more than ever in the means of social communication and considers it her duty and her God-given right to have free access to them as indispensable channels for her task of evangelization. By making adequate use of the mass media, especially radio and television, the Church can help to bring about love where there is hatred, union where there is separation, justice where there is injustice, truth where there is deceit and error. These are fundamental values for human life and indispensable elements in every education. By doing so, the Church would be following upon the steps of Christ, the Divine Communicator, thus becoming ever more a veritable community of God's children, a community of love.⁽¹⁰⁾

True, the trend in many countries of the world today seems to be in the opposite direction. But hope is one of the characteristics of the People of God, a people who believes in the Risen Christ and therefore also in man

9. Desmond Fisher, "Communications and Community", *Studies* 75 (Spring 1986) 74-85.

10. The theme of "community" and "communication" as applied to the Church has been a recurrent one in post-conciliar ecclesiology, having its theological foundation on collegiality and on the "body of Christ" notion. One of the most recent publications in this respect is: R. Kress, *The Church: Communion, Sacrament, Communication* (New York, Paulist Press, 1985); see also Walter Kasper, "Church as Communio", *Communio* 13 (Summer 1986) 100-117.

himself. Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, the theologian of the mass media, was a man of hope, and his conception of an evolving universe animated by the “christic” element within it is also based on hope. The Church looks forward with hope and confidence like Teilhard, who once wrote: “I do not know *what* the future holds, but I do know *Who* holds the future”.

ACTIONS: TOKENS AND KINDS

Joe Friggieri

In recent philosophy of action, it has become customary for philosophers to talk of actions “under a certain description”.⁽¹⁾ If on the road to Thebes Oedipus quarrels with a man and kills him, without knowing that the man is his father, then under the description “killing a man” Oedipus’s action is intentional, but under the description “killing his father” his action is unintentional.

We express this idea better as soon as we realize that an action is the doing of many things. One thing Oedipus does is kill a man; another thing he does is kill his father. The doing — his action — is a doing of (at least) these two kinds. We do not say that Oedipus’s killing of a man and Oedipus’s killing of his father are two actions; we say that his action — his doing — is a doing of (at least) these two kinds: manslaughter and patricide.

The beginning of progress in a proper understanding of actions is marked by an awareness of this very basic distinction between the particular events which are our doings on the one hand, and the things we do, or *what* we do, on the other. In this article I would like to show, by means of a few examples, why we must make this basic distinction.

In Alan Robbe-Grillet’s novel *La Jalousie*, one of the characters, Franck, crushes a centipede with his napkin on the terrace at dinner-time. Later on in the novel the same centipede reappears, this time in the narrator’s bedroom. Franck crushes it with a towel. Now if we ask about the two episodes “What did Franck do?”, the answer in both cases will be the same: “He crushed the centipede”. We know, however, that *two* crushings have occurred, the first on the terrace and with a napkin during dinner, the second in the bedroom and with a towel at night; and a compelling reason emerges for distinguishing people’s doings of things (their actions) from the things they do (action kinds).

If the idea of two crushings of the same centipede strikes us as preposterous, since we do not, outside fiction, encounter such bizarre

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1. Anscombe describes the phrase “under a description” as Aristotle’s “ ” in modern dress (Latin *qua*). G.E.M. Anscombe, “Under a Description”, *Noûs*, 13 (1979), p. 219.

occurrences, then we may think of two beatings of the same donkey, two recitations of the same sonnet, two climbings of the same ladder, and countless other such examples. In all these cases it would be true to say that the agent did the same thing but false to say that only one action occurred. *The thing he did* is the same on both occasions, but his *action* is not the same. He may be held responsible for the first climbing but not for the second, praised for today's recitation and criticized for yesterday's, punished for one beating and rewarded for the other, etc.

The same distinction between particular actions and action-kinds is forced upon us if we consider such expressions as "He did the same thing as you". Here what we are saying is that the same action-kind subsumes both his action and yours; or (which is the same) that your action and his are of the same kind.⁽²⁾

Just as there can be two particular actions (e.g. mine and yours) of the same kind (as when I do the same thing as you), so, and conversely, one and the same action may be of different kinds. If I alert the prowler by turning on the light, clearly I have done (at least) two things. One thing I've done is turn on the light; another thing I've done is alert the prowler. My action is of these two kinds. But an answer to the question "How many things did I do?" tells me nothing about the number of actions (i.e. particular doings) that were mine.

We should gather further evidence for our distinction between particular actions and action-kinds if we consider a problem which many philosophers have set themselves, namely the problem of agency. Some philosophers have sought to establish criteria of agency by focusing on the specific behaviour of action verbs. Kenny defines a verb of action as

"a verb which may occur as the main verb in the answer to a question of the form 'what did A do?'"⁽³⁾

This procedure is confusing, for two reasons:

1) it is misleading to try to characterize *action-verbs* like this. Q. What did he do? A. He fell asleep. He trembled with fear. He sneezed. He blinked. He sweated. Although they occur as the main verb in the answers to Kenny's question, "fell asleep", "trembled with fear", "sneezed", "blinked", "sweated" do not (normally anyway)⁽⁴⁾ report an action. Not all doings are actions; and so not all verbs which report a doing are action-verbs.

2. "For if there are particular actions, then it is surely a sufficient condition of difference that one action is yours, another mine". J. Hornsby, "Actions and Identities", *Analysis*, 39/4, October 1979, p. 200.

3. A. Kenny, *Action, Emotion and Will*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963, p. 154.

4. Can I sneeze intentionally? Well, I can intentionally cause myself to sneeze (e.g. by sniffing pepper). But might not someone also have the ability to sneeze at will, just as some actors have

2) It is misleading to characterize *actions* via action-verbs. To know whether an action occurred we must know more than that the main verb (which occurs in an answer to the question "What did he do?") is an action-verb. Let us call "hit" an action-verb (seeing that, unlike "sneezed", "sweated", "fell asleep", it does sometimes report an action). How can we tell whether "hit" in "Paul hit the lamp-post" reports an action? If Paul was pushed, fell, and hit the lamp-post, then "Paul hit the lamp-post", though true, would not report an action. We cannot tell, just by looking at the verb (even when it is a verb of action, as in this case), whether an action had occurred.⁽⁵⁾

There are exceptions. If we accuse a person of lying, or forging a document, or cheating, or murdering someone, then we are obviously imputing agency to the accused. If we are right, i.e. if our descriptions are correct, then (1) these verbs must report an action, and (2) the action must be known to the subject *under that description*.⁽⁶⁾ Otherwise we must be wrong, we have passed the wrong judgement: *either* because no action has occurred (the man's hand was forced: this is how his signature came to appear on the dotted line); or because the action was of another kind — not of the kind we said it was (the subject did not know the rules of the game, therefore he wasn't cheating; he did not intend to deceive, therefore he wasn't lying, etc.).⁽⁷⁾

But these are exceptions; and in the vast majority of cases we must discard grammatical criteria, or verb-lists, as indicators of agency. Davidson writes:

"In a host of cases a sentence can record an episode in the life of the agent and leave us in the dark as to whether it was an action".⁽⁸⁾

He gives these examples:

"He blinked, rolled out of bed, turned on the light, coughed, squinted, sweated, spilled the coffee, and tripped over the rug".⁽⁹⁾

the capacity to weep at will? Cp. Austin, "Doubtful, though not inexplicable", cases arise here, because of doubt as to how much is connoted by a putative description of a "physical" action. Can I pretend to cough? Shall I, if I produce a coughing noise, have actually coughed? Or is "to cough" different from "to deliberately cough"? "Pretending", *Philosophical Papers*, Oxford University Press, 3rd ed. 1979, p. 258, footnote 3. My claim is simply that, "normally anyway", "sneezed" does not report an action.

5. Compare Locke, J., *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), Book 'II, ch. xxi, and MacMurray, J., "What is Action?", *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, Supp. Vol. 17 (1938), 69–85.

6. Neither of these two consequences follows from the truth of "he hit the lamp-post". Even if he was pushed, and even if he thought that what he had hit was a traffic-sign, the sentence "he hit the lamp-post" still correctly reports what happened when he fell.

7. See Anscombe, *Intention*, 2nd ed., Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1963, para. 47.

8. D. Davidson, "Agency", in *Essays on Actions and Events*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1980, p. 44.

9. *Ibid.*

In all these examples, *something* is always *done* by whoever is the subject of the particular verb. What he or she does is blink, roll out of bed, cough, squint, spill the coffee, etc. But, Davidson is suggesting, we do not always and necessarily have a corresponding action whenever we have a case of something done. Not all sentences which report that something was done, report that an action occurred. And in this way a new reason emerges for the recognition of doings beyond things done.

SOME QUR'ÂNIC EXEGESIS: PROPHET SOLOMON & THE JINN

Edmund Teuma, O.F.M. Conv.

The only prophet, besides Muhammad, about whom the Qur'ân declares that he had some kind of communication with the *jinn*, was Solomon: "*And his hosts were mustered to Solomon, jinn, men and birds; duly disposed. . .*" (Q. 27,17). Solomon had dominion over them and they rendered him servitude by God's order: ". . . *And of the jinn, some worked before him by the leave of his Lord; and such of them as swerved away from Our commandment, We would let them taste the chastisement of the Blaze*" (Q. 34,12).⁽¹⁾ This was one of the gifts the Lord gave to the son of David.⁽²⁾ From Q. 38,37 it is known that the *jinn* subjected to Solomon were builders and divers. They used to build for him any construction he liked and they used to dive for pearls, so that Solomon is said to be the first one ever to draw pearls out of the sea.⁽³⁾ Q. 34,13 is more specific: "*fashioning for him whatsoever he would — places of worship, statues, porringers like water-troughs, and anchored cooking-pots*".⁽⁴⁾ The "*places of worship*" have been described as "*fortified castles and noble mosques*", and they are called "*mahârîb* (plu. of *mihrâb*) because they were defended by means of war (*harb*). The statues which the *jinn* worked were images of angels and prophets, made of copper, brass, glass, and marble. They were accustomed to hang them in temples so that people may pray and perform adoration

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1. Cfr. also Qur'ân 38,37.

2. Cfr. Q. 38,39; other gifts granted by God to Solomon were: the subjection of the wind (Q. 21,81; 34,12; 38,35–36); the fount of molten brass (Q. 34,12); the speech of birds, which the Prophet inherited from his father (Q. 34,16); this speech of ants (Q. 27,18–19); besides judgment and knowledge (Q. 21,79; 21,81; 27,15). For a parallel Biblical text cfr. I Kings, ch. 4–5 where the greatness and glory of Solomon are extolled.

3. Al-Zamakhsharî, Abû al-Qâsim Mahmûd b. 'Umar, *al-Kashshâf 'an haqâ'iq al-tanzîl*, Misr (Cairo), al-Maktaba al-tijâriyya al-kubrâ, 1933, IV 74–75.

4. For a parallel Biblical text cfr. Qohelet 2, 4–10.

directed towards them as though they were the “*qibla*”.⁽⁵⁾ This means that the prohibition of statues is a relatively recent law. Moreover, it is narrated that the *jinn* worked for Solomon two lions at the base of his throne and two eagles on top of it; when he wanted to be lifted the lions spread their forefeet, and when he sat down the eagles overshadowed him with their wings.⁽⁶⁾

When one confronts the story of Solomon with Q. 23,97: “*I take refuge in Thee from the evil suggestions of the satans, and I take refuge in Thee, o my Lord, lest they attend me*”; one cannot help asking: how is it that Solomon sought this sort of commerce with *jinn*? First of all we have to observe that not all the *jinn* were under Solomon’s command: “*and of the jinn, some worked before him. . .*” (Q. 34,12). Secondly, it was God himself who permitted that Solomon was not afraid of the *jinn*. It was the Lord who gave His Prophet strength to subject the *jinn* and make workers out of them.⁽⁷⁾ This subjection of the *jinn* to Solomon was considered a punishment for them. The reason of the punishment, however, remains unmentioned: “. . . *the jinn saw clearly that, had they only known the Unseen (al-*gayb*), they would not have continued in the humbling chastisement*” (Q. 34,14). In fact Q. 38,38: “*and others (other jinn) also, coupled in fetters*” seems to allude to rebellious *jinn* who would not submit to Solomon’s orders since these orders weighed upon them because of their punishing tone. Some think that he used to tie their hands to their necks and to fetter them in the temples, that they might abstain from wickedness.⁽⁸⁾ In normal circumstances a human being should beware of *jinn* and keep them off his life as much as possible, for communion with them might end up in corruption (Q. 23,97).⁽⁹⁾ But since

5. “*Qibla*” means “direction”; here it refers to the direction one has to face when performing canonical or liturgical prayer. The official “*qibla*” of Islâm is the holy city of Mekka. In primitive Islâm it was Jerusalem, but then it was changed to Mekka by Muhammad himself following discord with the Jews.

6. Zamakhsharî, *al-Kashshâf* III 451–453; al-Baydâwî, ‘Abd Allâh b. ‘Umar b. Muhammad b. ‘Alî Abû al-Khayr Nâsir al-Dîn, *Anwâr al-tanzîl waasrâr al-ta’wîl*, Istanbul (no date) II 285–286.

7. “Shortly after his accession he was in a valley between Hebron and Jerusalem, when he received his authority over winds, water, demons, and animals from the four guardian angels in charge of these spheres. Each one gave him a jewel which he placed in a ring composed partly of brass and iron. With the brass he sealed his orders for the good *jinn*, while with the iron he sealed his orders for the evil *jinn*” . . . *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam edited on behalf of the Royal Netherlands Academy by H.A.R. Gibb and J.H. Kramers. . .*, Leiden, E.J. Brill; London, Luzac & Co., 1961, 549–551.

8. Zamakhsharî, *al-Kashshâf* IV 74–75. For a parallel Biblical text cfr. Zechariah 5, 7–8. *Aydhâb*, on the Red Sea, was assigned by him as a place of incarceration for the demons, cfr. *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islâm* 549–551.

9. Apart from seducing man to serve idols, commentators agree that they also provided man with lustful desires and with ways and means to obtaining them. Cfr. Zamakhsharî, *al-Kashshâf* II 50–52; Baydâwî, *Anwâr al-tanzîl* I 462; Al-Alûsî, Abû al-Thanâ’ Mahmûd Shihâb al-Dîn, *Ruh al-ma’anî*, Misr (Cairo), Idâra al-tiba’a al-muniriyya, 1926, VIII 22–23; ‘Abduh, Muhammad; Ridâ, Rashîd, *Tafsîr al-Qur’ân al-hakîm (tafsîr al-manâr)*, al-Qâhira (Cairo), Dâr al-Manâr, 1934–42, VIII 66.

“some worked before him by the leave of his Lord”, Solomon’s relationship with the *jinn* could not have contained corruption, for it was God himself who willed it.⁽¹⁰⁾

As to the possible origin of the various elements composing the Solomon legend both in the Qur’ān and in the “Stories of the Prophets”,⁽¹¹⁾ it is said that they come from Jewish Targum and Midrash, and from Babylonian Talmud.⁽¹²⁾ But here we have mentioned only a few elements of the Solomon legend alluded to in the Qur’ān. Official revelation is usually not so prolific as other sources. In fact the bulk of the material on this subject makes part of Islamic Tradition and it will be treated in another article, in which it will be interesting to examine some *hadīth* narrations⁽¹³⁾ in which Solomon and his *jinnī* servants are the principal protagonists.

10. Al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh Muhammad b. ‘Umar b. al-Husayn, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, Mīsr (Cairo), al-Matba’a al-Misriyya, 1933, XXV 246–250.

11. Al-Tha’labī, Abū Ishaq Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm, *Kitāb qisas al-anbiyyā’*, Mīsr (Cairo), al-Matba’a al-Amīra, 1898.

12. Cfr. Sidersky, D., . . . *Les Origines des légendes musulmanes dans le Coran et dans les vies des prophètes*, Paris, Librairie Orientaliste P. Geuthner, 1933, 115–122, where the author reports passages from Jewish literature which are parallel to the Muslim version of the Solomon legend. For more profound studies cfr. Speyer, Heinrich, *Die Biblischen Erzählungen im Oran*, Hildesheim, G. Olms, 1961, 372–404. The same arguments are sustained in short in *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 549–551.

13. *Hadīth narrations* are reported sayings from Muslim Tradition concerning Muhammad and showing him prophesying and giving oracles that were not included in the text of the Qur’ān.

THE TEMPLE-THEME IN LUKE

Jim Dawsey

One of the most intriguing puzzles of Luke's Gospel is its emphasis on the temple. As René Laurentin has pointed out, it is somewhat striking that this theme frames the story.⁽¹⁾ Out of six episodes in Lk. 1–2, three take place in the temple: The Gospel opens with the angel's annunciation to Zechariah in the temple (Lk. 1:5–22); after Jesus' birth, he is taken to the temple (Lk. 2:22–39); and at the age of twelve, he is found by his parents at the temple (Lk. 2:41–50). In the same manner, the Gospel closes with this theme, so that after Jesus' ascension, the witnesses "returned to Jerusalem with great joy and were continually in the temple blessing God" (Lk. 24:53).

This emphasis on the temple seems peculiarly out of place in a Gospel that according to scholarly consensus was composed by a Gentile writing outside of Palestine after 70 A.D.⁽²⁾ Recognizing the problem and trying to show that the temple-theme was indigenous to a pre-70 Palestinian source, Lloyd Gaston resuscitated Proto-Luke.⁽³⁾ But as many have already indicated, the hypothesis of a pre-Markan Luke composed of Q and Luke's special materials runs aground at many points.⁽⁴⁾ For our purposes, and in critique of Gaston, it is enough to point out that he draws too heavily on Sahlin's theory that Lk. 1:5–3:7a was originally part of a Hebrew source. The connection of Lk. 1:2 with the rest of Luke is well established through the narrator's voice in the Gospel, which is consistently of the same type in Lk. 1:5–24:53.⁽⁵⁾ Furthermore, the temple theme is integral to the Gospel

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1. René Laurentin, *Jésus au temple: Mystère de Pâques et foi de Marie en Luc 2, 48–50*. Etudes bibliques (Paris, 1966), p. 88. So also Augustin George, "Israel dans l'œuvre de Luc," *RB* 75 (1968):499; See G. W. H. Lampe, *St. Luke and the Church of Jerusalem* (London, 1969), pp. 3f.

2. H. Conzelmann, "Luke's Place in the Development of Early Christianity", in *Studies in Luke-Acts*, ed. L. Keck and J. L. Martyn (Nashville, 1966; reprint ed., Philadelphia, 1980), pp. 298f.; W. G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 17th revised edition, trans. H. C. Kee (Nashville, 1975), pp. 147–151.

3. Lloyd Gaston, *No Stone On Another* (Leiden, 1970), pp. 244ff.; Paul Winter also thought that the temple material in Lk. 1–2 ultimately could be credited to an early source ("The Proto-Source of Luke i, ii," *NT* 1 (1956):184–199.

4. For a summary of the main arguments with a bibliography see, Kümmel, *Introduction*, pp. 131–35.

5. A recent thorough study is David S. Tam's, "The Literary and Theological Unity Between Lk. 1:2 and Lk. 3–Acts 28" (Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1978).

structure as a whole and not only to the non-Markan sections of Luke. Conzelmann, especially, has demonstrated how by the omission of Mark's episode of the fig-tree, Luke has made the cleansing of the temple the goal of Jesus' journey toward Jerusalem (Lk. 19:28-48).⁽⁶⁾ Also, Laurentin has seen something similar in the allusions in Lk. 1-2 to Malachi's oracle concerning the Lord who comes to his temple to purify the sons of Levi (Mal. 3:1ff.).⁽⁷⁾ According to Laurentin, Jesus' enigmatic statement as a boy at the temple, οὐκ ᾔδειτε ὅτι ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς μου δεῖ εἶναί με; (Lk. 2:49), previews his function as an adult: Jesus comes as the Son of God, who takes back and purifies God's temple.⁽⁸⁾ This dovetails with the Gospel-narrator's view that opposition to Jesus is centered at the temple and sets the stage for the death of Jesus at the hands of the chief priests and scribes, who ironically do not recognize the Son of God who is teaching daily in the temple. With Laurentin, there is a second irony as the work of God in taking back his temple is only completed through the Passion, which is forced in Luke by the temple-authorities' insistence that Jesus is not the Son of God (Lk. 22:66-71).⁽⁹⁾ Even if one theorizes, as Gaston did, that Proto-Luke would have been heavily edited by the Gospel's author, it is difficult to see how such a pervasive use of the temple-theme is anything less than a structural element of the gospel as a whole.⁽¹⁰⁾

But, why would a Gentile writing to Gentiles perhaps ten years after the destruction of the temple and using Mark or Matthew as a source make the temple into a structuring element of his narrative?⁽¹¹⁾ Our answer must start with an observation: the temple-theme is not peculiar to Luke. In all four

6. H. Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke*, trans. Geoffrey Buswell (New York, 1961), pp. 75f., 199.

7. R. Laurentin, *Jésus au temple*, pp. 90f. Also C. Van der Waal has emphasized the connection between Lk. 2 and Mal. 3, 4 ["The Temple in the Gospel According to Luke", *Neotestamentica* 7 (1973):53f.]

8. R. Laurentin, *Jésus au temple*, pp. 37-76; C. Van der Waal, "The Temple in the Gospel According to Luke", p. 55. According to Conzelmann, Jesus seizes the temple and exercises the office of king of Israel, reigning and teaching in the temple ("History and Theology in the Passion Narratives of the Synoptic Gospels", *Interpretation* 24, 2 (1970):196).

9. R. Laurentin, *Jésus au temple*, p. 100.

10. Gaston made too little of the importance of the seeming new beginning in Lk. 3:1 to the Proto-Luke Hypothesis. B.F. Streeter and V. Taylor were especially careful to show that Lk. 1-2 were not part of Proto-Luke (cf. L. Gaston, *No Stone On Another*, pp. 244ff.; B.F. Streeter, *the Four Gospels* (London, 1924), pp. 201-222; V. Taylor, *Behind the third Gospel* (Oxford, 1926)). Gaston also did not take into full consideration the theological connection that exists between Lk. 1-2 and Lk. 3-24 (cf. H.H. Oliver, "The Lucan Birth Stories and the Purpose of Luke-Acts", *NTS* 10 (1964):202-26, especially pp. 220f.; and W.B. Tatum, "The Epoch of Israel: Luke i-ii and the Theological Plan of Luke-Acts", *NTS* 13 (1967):184-95).

11. See the elaborate theory of Naymond Haskins Keathley, "The Concept of the Temple in Luke-Acts" (Th.D. dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1971), pp. 164-171.

Gospels Jesus drives the money changers out of the temple.⁽¹²⁾ Likewise, opposition to Jesus is centered at the temple in all of the Gospels.⁽¹³⁾ It is especially noteworthy that the death of Jesus in Mark and Matthew is immediately followed by the notice that the curtain of the temple was torn in two (Mk. 15:38/Mt. 27:51). The direct, immediate result of Jesus' death is the tearing of the temple-curtain.⁽¹⁴⁾ Luke's redaction at this point is extremely interesting, because he transposed the notice of Jesus' death and the tearing of the curtain (Lk. 23:45f.). The direct, immediate result of the tearing of the curtain is that Jesus commits his spirit into the Father's hands, and dies.⁽¹⁵⁾ This fits in very nicely with the "Jesus who comes to take back God's temple" perceived by Conzelmann and Laurentin.⁽¹⁶⁾ The tearing of the curtain marks the end of his work. But Luke on the one hand, and Mark and Matthew on the other, are clearly not different in structure at this point, but only different in emphasis.⁽¹⁷⁾ In Luke, Jesus' life-work concerns the temple, and only after this work is completed does he die. In Mark and Matthew, death itself brings Jesus' work with the temple to completion. Thus, it does seem that the temple-theme actually preceded Luke, and was a structural element of a general Gospel-form.

With this in mind, a second observation is in order: the temple in Luke is associated with the proclamation of Good News. Gaston has been helpful here, in calling attention to Luke's precise distinction between the temple itself (ναός) and the temple mount (ἱερόν).⁽¹⁸⁾ Since it is the latter that is emphasized in the Gospel, Gaston concluded that the author was more interested in the temple as a place of teaching and proclamation than as a place of what he termed, "cultic activity".⁽¹⁹⁾

12. Lk. 19:45f./Mk. 11:15-17/Mt. 21:12f./Jn. 2:14-16. Ernst Lohmeyer has emphasized the theme in all four gospels (*Lord of the Temple*, trans. by Stewart Todd (London, 1961), p. 36). He pointed out that the cleansing of the temple should be understood as a sign that the Kingdom is at hand. It is an eschatological event (pp. 44ff.).

13. Lk. 22:47ff./Mk. 14:43ff./Mt. 26:47ff./Jn. 18:2ff. Cf. A.M. Ramsey, "The Narratives of the Passion", *Studia Evangelica* 2, p. 125.

14. Bultmann called the tearing of the temple curtain "a pure novelistic motif", and thought of it as a sign which was added on to the original account of the crucifixion (*The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 2nd ed., trans. J. Marsh (Oxford, 1968), p. 282). But this view undervalues the importance of the temple motif to the Gospel story, and completely disregards the one to one correspondence of the death of Jesus with the tearing of the curtain.

15. A. Loisy noticed the Lucan change, and drew attention to the importance that the torn veil plays in the theology of Hebrews (cf. Heb. 6:19f., 10:19f.), but he nevertheless was hesitant to point to the same emphasis in Luke (*L'evangile selon Luc* (Paris, 1924), p. 561). F.W. Beare, however, saw the "mythical (rather than legendary)" quality of the torn veil (*The Earliest Records of Jesus* (Nashville, 1962), p. 238).

16. Conzelmann did not mention Lk. 23:45f. Laurentin, however, did draw out the significance of the passage, tying it nicely to Jesus' statement in Lk. 2:49 (Jésus au temple, p. 133). Cf. E. Lohmeyer, *Lord of the Temple*, pp. 34f.

17. Cf. F.W. Beare, *The Earliest Records of Jesus*, pp. 238-40.

18. L. Gaston, *No Stone On Another*, pp. 365-69.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 367.

But one must moderate Gaston's definition of cultic activity. The temple mount, the ἱερόν of Luke, was the object of the pilgrimage at the ancient festivals, and proclamation and worship were not mutually exclusive, but tightly bound together in a festival setting. One of the governing ideas of the festival in ancient Israel was the idea that God was revealing himself.⁽²⁰⁾ In a sense, the purpose of the festival was the epiphany of God. In the recitations, processions, songs, dances, mock battles, etc., God made himself known for who he really was. This was especially true in the repetition of the festal myth, which allowed the pilgrim to relive the story of salvation, and so experience first hand God's saving works and will. Thus, the proclamation of the myth at the festival carried associations of "glad tidings".⁽²¹⁾

This coincides with what one finds in Luke, with the appearance of God in the form of Jesus at the temple. K. Baltzer has very ably shown that Luke's use of the temple is governed by this concept of the mighty presence of the Lord, which among other thoughts included at the time of Jesus, the expectation that God would someday cleanse his temple and take up residence there, bringing in the time of salvation.⁽²²⁾ It is the fulfillment of this expectation that is forcefully portrayed by the structure of Luke. The baby Jesus is recognized in the temple as God's Salvation. It is in the temple that the boy Jesus previews his mission concerning the temple. As a man, Jesus enters the temple and drives out the merchants. Then, he teaches and proclaims the good news in the temple. Immediately before his death, the curtain of the temple tears. And, after Jesus' ascension, the disciples go to the temple, where they remain continually blessing God.

It is striking that the temple in Luke is not replaced by the Church. The temple itself appears as something positive.⁽²³⁾ Its possession by the disciples at the end of the Gospel is an affirmation of the dawning, long awaited kingdom. In the eyes of the author, the temple in Jerusalem was the most significant institution on earth. It was the place where the expectations from of old were fulfilled.

To recapitulate, then: The good news of the Gospel is closely allied with the temple theme in Luke. The Lord manifests himself for who he is in relation to the temple. Further, the theme of the temple brings together two

20. Sigmund Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, vol. 1, trans. D.R. AP-Thomas (New York, 1967), especially pp. 140-69.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 142.

22. K. Baltzer, "The Meaning of the Temple in the Lucan Writings", *HTR* 58 (1965):263-277.

23. The contrast with John seems very sharp at this point. By moving the episode of the cleansing of the temple to the beginning of Jesus' ministry John replaces the temple with the community of the disciples. Thus, there is a much sharper division in John than in the other gospels between the Church and Judaism.

elements of the festival experience. One is the epiphany of the Lord in the temple, and the other is the fulfillment of the expectation that God would purify His temple.

But how is one to understand this close association of festival motifs with a gospel written to gentiles after the destruction of the temple? Of course, one of the governing insights of Biblical scholarship has been that the Bible narratives reflect the worship of the community. For instance, there is no real challenge today to the claim that the cult has influenced the Passover narrative⁽²⁴⁾ — so much so that it is widely accepted that Ex. 12 owes its form as much to the Passover ceremony as to an original Passover event.⁽²⁵⁾ Along similar lines, Rudolf Bultmann has argued that “the Last Supper” was not originally the report of a Passover meal, but arose as a cult legend.⁽²⁶⁾ Is, then, the temple-theme in Luke likewise a projection from the festival setting back into the narrative? Can one hypothesize that the historical development of the third gospel paralleled at this point the development of the Old Testament’s “P” source, which also focuses on the temple and shows the projection of the cult into the narrative, but which was only written down after the destruction of the first temple?

The question of the Gospel-genre is both important and difficult. Among the more recent suggestions are Koester, Perrin, and Kee’s views stressing the kinship to apocalyptic, and Talbert’s view that the form of the gospels is related to biography.⁽²⁷⁾ Although the stronger tendency today is perhaps to think of the gospels as more like sermons than like biographies, one must admit that there is no real consensus among scholars concerning the question of genre. Nevertheless, an observation made by William Beardslee seems significant. He observed that the narrative form of the Gospels conforms to a pattern of religious speech associated with the

24. See Brevard S. Childs, *The Book of Exodus* (Philadelphia, 1974), pp. 178–214; J.B. Segal, *The Hebrew Passover* (London, 1940), p. 150.

25. In this regard, J. Pedersen’s work was especially important [*Israel: Its Life and Culture*, vol. 3–4, 2nd. ed. (London, 1940), pp. 728–37].

26. Bultmann’s main evidence is twofold: 1) There is tension in the introduction of Mk. 14:22–25 into the narrative, which indicates that the author of Mark appropriated these verses ready-prepared from the liturgy of the early Church; and 2) the principal element of the Passover meal — the Passover lamb — is not mentioned in any of the accounts of the meal (*History of the Synoptic Tradition*, pp. 265f.; 277f.). Although J. Jeremias has counter claimed that the historical evidence really indicates that the Last Supper was a Passover meal, and that the Passover lamb was not included in the Gospel-story because it was immaterial to it, the main point remains unchallenged: the cult has shaped the narrative [J. Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (London, 1966). For a complete discussion see I.H. Marshall, *Last Supper and Lord’s Supper* (Grand Rapids, 1980), pp. 57–75].

27. Helmut Koester and James M. Robinson, *Trajectories Through Early Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1971); Norman Perrin, *The New Testament, an Introduction* (New York, 1974); Howard Clark Kee, *Community of the New Age: Studies in Mark’s Gospel* (Philadelphia, 1977); Charles H. Talbert, *What is a Gospel?: The Genre of the Canonical Gospels* (Philadelphia, 1977).

religious festival.⁽²⁸⁾ As is well known, traditional societies have often used narratives to re-enact the community's founding reality into the present. This reenactment has taken place on special occasions, set aside for this purpose, and has been carried on by specially designated people who recited the founding story. When told in its ritual setting the story functioned to represent the past, so allowing the community to participate in the salvific event.⁽²⁹⁾

Since there are indications that the temple-theme preceded Luke, and was a structural element of a general Gospel form, and since the general Gospel pattern observed by Professor Beardslee, and the temple-theme in Luke are both closely associated with the festival occasion, it is possible to hypothesize that the positive emphasis placed on the temple in Luke results from the author's attempt to recapture an earlier element of the Gospel story. It would have been natural for the Christian community to have early on replaced the Moses-story that was told at Passover with the new story of salvation, also linked to Passover. The temple-theme in Luke might have been appropriated from that story.

One must be cautious at this point, for Luke in many ways is more literary and stands further away from the festival reenactment narrative than do the other gospels.⁽³⁰⁾ However, beyond the temple-theme, there are some other elements peculiar to Luke, which lend support to the idea that the author, while using Mark as a source, and expanding and making more literary his story, also tried to recapture some characteristics of an earlier form. Although this is not the place to discuss these elements, the "Septuagintal or worship language" of Luke, and the hymnic form of the opening chapters of Luke are suggestive in this regard.⁽³¹⁾ Further, the prologue of the gospel, and especially the phrase ἄνατάρξαθαί δειήγησιν (Lk. 1:1), gives some support to this view. Two points in particular should be kept in mind concerning ἄνατάρξαθαί δειήγησιν. The first is that the term δειήγησιν does not easily cover the miracle stories, the sayings of Jesus, and those many other loose bits and pieces of tradition that form-critics would like to see at this point behind Luke's

28. William A. Beardslee, *Literary Criticism of the New Testament* (Philadelphia, 1970), pp. 15f.

29. Cf. Theodor H. Gaster, *Thespis* (New York, 1961); Mircea Eliade, *Myths, Dreams and Mysteries*, Trans. P. Mairet (New York, 1960); *The Quest* (Chicago, 1969), pp. 72-87; *Cosmos and History*, trans. W.R. Trask (New York, 1959).

30. On the literary style of Luke see Henry J. Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts* (New York, 1927); *The Style and Literary Method of Luke* (Cambridge, 1920).

31. Fred Horton attempted to link the language of Luke to worship with his article entitled "Reflection on the Semitisms of Luke-Acts" in *Perspective on Luke-Acts*, ed. C. Talbert (Edinburgh, 1977). Perhaps, however, the view that the Semitisms in Luke result from the author's attempt to imitate the Septuagint is a more established position (cf. H.F.D. Sparks, "The Semitisms of St. Luke's Gospel," *JTS*44(1943):129-38.

Gospel.⁽³²⁾ Moreover, the number of διήγησις is singular, and one must stretch the syntax of the Lk. 1:1–4 considerably to read the object in close association with the plural subject as indicating the “many (or few) narratives (or sources)” used by the author in composing his own work. The force of the language is that there was only one διήγησις of the things which had been accomplished. The second point that should be kept in mind is that the prepositional force of ἀνατάσσομαι emphasizes the “reproduction” of tradition, rather than the “composition” of tradition. There is no weighty evidence indicating that ἀνατάσσομαι was synonymous with the συντάσσομαι of written compositions.⁽³³⁾ Thus, the easiest reading of the prologue is that the author of Luke, like the πολλοί to which he refers, thought of himself as attempting to pass down the same story delivered from the beginning by the “eyewitnesses and ministers of the word.” Under those circumstances, a combination of literary and reenactment elements becomes entirely possible in the gospel.

Therefore, even if the third gospel was written to Gentiles long after the destruction of the temple, the temple-theme in Luke might well have had its origin in the festival experience. But if it in fact represents a projection of the festival onto the narrative, it also represents much more. Luke’s emphasis on the temple signifies the author’s attempt to preserve an important part of the Jesus-story that was being dropped from the tradition. Luke has often been called a historian, and here the description would fit, not in the sense of one who objectively weighed sources and reconstructed the real events of the life of Jesus, but in the sense of one who recaptured and passed on an old component of the “good news” announced by the earliest Church.

32. Cf. Friedrich Buchsel, “διήγησις”, *TDNT*, II, p. 909.

33. ἀνατάσσομαι is a rare word in ancient Greek texts. Friedrich Blass drew up the evidence very clearly in *Philology of the Gospels*, and attempted to show that the word denoted a “reconstruction or restoration from memory” (London, 1898; reprint ed. Chicago, 1969, pp. 15f.). What is most certain from the evidence, however, is that the force of ἀνατάσσομαι lies in the repetition of something already established.

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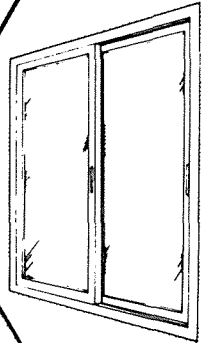
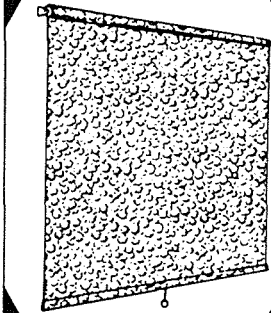
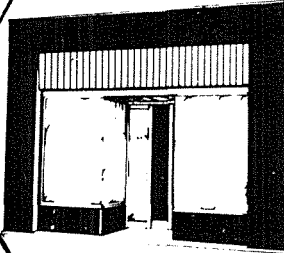
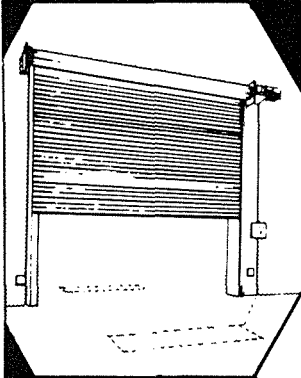
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