Journal of the Faculty of Arts

UNIVERSITY OF MALTA

SPECIAL ISSUE

Contributions

to

Mediterranean Studies

Vol. VI 1977 No. 4

This issue has been edited by Mario Vassallo.

The *Journal of the Faculty of Arts* is being merged with *Economic and Social Studies*, also published by the University of Malta, and will henceforth appear as the *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* in order to express the attention which the University of Malta is focussng on the analysis of past and present problems of the Mediterranean region.

The *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* will be published twice yearly and will cover as wide an area of research as possible, including history, law, economics, medicine, sociology, political science, religion, sociolinguistics and culture. English will be the working language of the journal, but articles in French and Arabic will also be welcomed.

Outstanding subscriptions will be transferred to the new journal. Enquiries should be addressed to the *Editor, Journal of Mediterranean Studies, University of Malta, Msida (Malta).*

PRINTED AT THE MALTA UNIVERSITY PRESS

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FOREWORD

This volume is being offered as a contribution by the University of Malta towards the study of the culture of the Mediterranean region.

The phrase '*culture* of the Mediterranean' and not '*cultures* of the Mediterranean' is here being used not because one is not aware of the differences that exist in this part of the world, but because of the fact that in spite of the variations that hide behind the language and national costumes of the countries that form the Mediterranean littoral, there exist fundamental similarities amongst them.

In this part of the world, renowned as it is throughout the history of the western world for its strategic importance, the ecological setting facilitated the *relative* isolation of different communities and of their civilization and culture: the mountainous peninsula, and the many islands, provided continuous and natural protection to their inhabitants, limiting cross-fertilization, and fostering among the local communities, by way of self-defence, a sense of communal cohesion not readily paralleled in larger communities. Formal unification mostly through military force, settlement, and rebellion following a period of relaxation by the conquering power, are a constant feature in the history of most Mediterranean communities. But although such a pattern of repeated rebellion against enforced unification fostered rather than hindered diversity, it did not entail total isolation or exclusiveness. Ecological factors did not prevent similar patterns from taking shape in the different communities. Perhaps it was the similarity of prevailing conditions, with which every community had to come to terms, that gave rise to such patterns. Concepts related to such items as 'honour', 'shame' and 'guilt', village traditions, mating patterns, organizations, networks, inheritance laws, and even indigenous economic structures, are easily comparable amongst the different Mediterranean societies. It is in this sense that one can talk of a regional Mediterranean culture that links the more particular folk-cultures, and

that reveals itself through the different political hegemonies that are themselves partly a reflection of the ecological conditions referred to above.

At the basis of both the distinctiveness and the similarity which paradoxically characterize Mediterranean civilizations, lies an important factor: religion – and the history of religion in this part of the world. The Mediterranean can be said to have given rise to three of the world's most important religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The development of these religions from each other is too well-known to need comment here; but, despite their essentially monotheistic slant, the diversity in the details of the belief-content of these three religions, and the extent to which each has managed to crystallise itself around the ethnicity of different races, have resulted in a situation where each has come to symbolise a particular tradition, and a particular orientation to life, that appears to be in opposition to the others. The practical implications of such a situation, in political terms especially, is too evident to be disregarded even in this second half of the twentieth century: conflict tends to linger on, often enough outwardly basing itself on religious differences as a substitute for wider aspirations and interests. This explains the growing awareness in Malta, and especially at the University of Malta, of the special call Malta has in the development of a regional consciousness. This explains on the one hand, why the problems and the virtues of Maltese society cannot be understood without reference to the broader Mediterranean context; and, on the other, the role which the University of Malta aspires for itself in a future, re-organized Mediterranean.

In spite of its geographical limitations, Malta unites some of the more important features of Mediterranean communities. Most of the papers presented in this volume are directly concerned with ethnological details of either the Mediterranean as a whole, or of some section of it within a specific period of the history of the region. In this respect, the group of papers on Malta's social life and history, offer themselves as a very important link in the ethnological analysis of what has been earlier referred to 'the *culture* of the Mediterranean'. Although Malta is very small in size, it combines specifically the virtues of being both an 'isolated' community and a 'total society'. It is nearer to a community in the sense of a group of persons in social interaction within a geographical area and having one or more additional common ties – than perhaps any other nation state could claim to be. The pattern of repeated conquest typical of the Mediterranean has been Malta's recurring experience throughout its history, causing its people to

live necessarily close to one another both physically and emotionally, in a tightly-knit web of interrelations that offered the best prospect of common defence. Even now that the population is almost three times as large as that of the last century, the Maltese live lives in which inter-personal relationships colour every aspect of social involvement. In the villages, most especially in the smaller ones furthest away from Valletta, practically everyone knows everybody else, and friendship and kinship ties are of the greatest importance. And even though the same could not be said of relationships on the level of the 'total society', there is an important sense to the idea that one can know about everyone whom one needs to know about, that such information can be quickly acquired, and is indeed acquired inadvertently, and all the same. Obviously enough, in such a society, gossip, the exchange of information, and the recurrent attempt to 'locate' individuals in some sort of network which everyone apprehends in part, are important dimensions of social reality. At the basis of all this, of course, lies another important factor until recently literacy was very limited, and the slow tempo of rural or pre-industrial society allowed the Maltese to avoid the preoccupations with time and its use characteristic of an industrial and automatized society. Time was not the automatic measure of activity in everyday life which it has become in advanced nations. Work and play were less sharply differentiated, since time was less often a commodity which one sold as such. At times, over-recruitment with the Services establishments allowed an atmosphere of unhurried ease to prevail even at work, and this attitude reflected both the ryhthms of the pre-industrial world, and the importance attached to the cultivation and maintenance of interpersonal relationships.

On the other hand, Malta has gradually acquired a political structure, social institutions integrated throughout society, agencies of control, and incentive systems, which make it structurally very similar to much larger social entities, and unlike the ordinary community within a nation-state. In order to survive, Malta had, despite its size, to develop links with other bigger nations on various levels, and to consolidate these links by the appropriate institutions at home. Even though they exist only in miniature, Malta had to develop, for example, a communications system, a diplomatic corps, a currency, and financial institutions of its own. These and many other institutions which are a normal feature of a nation-state, but not of a town or a city, at times not even of a metropolis, Malta has had itself to create as a state society. In this sense Malta distinguishes itself, by its race, its language, by

its distinctive political and social institutions, from other Mediterranean communities. Sicily, less than sixty miles north, eighty-one times larger, and with a population fifteen times that of Malta, with a not dissimilar experience of foreign rule, has not (possibly because of a lack of distinctive racial and linguistic characteristic) ever succeeded in attaining full nationhood despite successive attempts to do so throughout its history. In more ways than one, therefore, Malta is simultaneously the microcosm and the macrocosm, uniting all the ethnological patterns of the Mediterranean region, but giving them a colouring that distinguishes them clearly from those of nearby communities.

The University of Malta in turn has to reflect these characteristics. At home, the University is at times thought of as an institution with very limited interests in the development of the society that nurtures it. In fact, the University has, since its very foundation as a theological college nearly four hundred years ago, been contributing substantially to the needs of the loacl population. The schools of theology, medicine and Law which we have, in fact provided, and still provide, the local people with a route for social and intellectual mobility that greatly facilitated their interrelations with the ruling foreigners. It was through the routes provided by this University that local leaders emerged. The changes in social and political conditions on the island are a reflection of the skills and techniques imparted throughout the University courses. It was within the precincts of the University too that freedom of dialogue and expression, of unbiased analysis and criticism, were fostered. In the last analysis, the very set of symbols used by local leaders in their campaign to politicize the local population are essentially a complex fusion of old and new ideas that under conditions when Malta had no proper identity, could be brought about only within the search for truth which has been the hallmark of our University.

But although this University's main obligation is towards Maltese society, it has to fend off the parochialism that would characterise it if it related its function exclusively to local needs. Increasingly, the disparities already referred to as characteristic of the Mediterranean, are losing ground to the similarities of the region. The rate of change and of relative affluence of the Mediterranean countries is quickly showing itself, and, perhaps for the first time in its history, the Mediterranean is becoming a region with a world-interest, and with a potential power-position which it will have to learn properly to exploit. As a pre-eminently educational institution, the University of Malta seeks to insert itself into this movement, and indeed, to provide the intellectual stimulus for the

search of a macro-Mediterranean consciousness. At first sight, the task at hand might appear to be beyond the resources that are at our disposal. Not only is Maltese society too small to be able to support a University with such vast aspirations, but the tools that are needed as prerequisites for development along such lines seem to be missing. This might explain the relative inertia that followed a specific recommendation to this effect by the 1957 Heatherington University Commission which insisted in its report that the University of Malta should develop into 'an important intellectual centre of the Mediterranean'. A closer analysis of the problems and the possibilities however need not be so pessimistic. Linguistic tools are the most urgent prerequisite for developments in this field. The Mediterranean is bedevilled by a multitude of languages that reflect the patterns already discussed, and any attempt to develop a Mediterranean studies programme, will have to tackle the language barriers that thus far have hindered full communication and co-operation. In this regard, the natural bent for languages of the Maltese should in the long run be an important asset.

There are three obvious fields where the University might contribute at a Mediterranean level. Because of its history Malta has archaeological remains of the utmost interest, beginning with paloelithic times. Increased emphasis in this field at our University could contribute to the better understanding of the sources of western civilization. The resources of the sea, on the seabed, and below it, are increasingly being recognised as possibly the main source for man's future requirements. In some areas the economic wealth of the sea and of the seabed are already being exploited to meet some of man's needs; this has now to be done with more emphasis on regional collaboration. Developments in the sciences in Malta should be orientated more to research on the sea, not just to enable man better to exploit the most common sources around him in this part of the world, but to lead him to learn how not to spoil the ecological setting on which the well-being of future generations depends. Earlier it has been indicated that a basic characteristic of Mediterranean countries is development. Acculturation and the transfer of technology is changing the way of life of most people in the region; expanded education is consolidating these changes and is giving rise to demands for further change from within. Man in the Mediterranean should be able to understand this process, he should be allowed to modify himself the symbolism of folk-culture rather than be dragged to suffer from the ills resulting from the fragmentation of social relations, a common experience in the more developed, more industrialised, societies. The University

of Malta is only now envisaging a demand for expansion in the direction of the social sciences. Given a wider, Mediterranean basis, social policy courses could assist potential leaders and social workers who will be increasingly in demand in the whole region.

As such, the papers presented in this volume have to be considered primarily as one step in an on-going search for relevance and meaning in a context which is increasingly becoming more complex. Mediterranean Symposium II, which was held under the auspices of the Extension Studies Board of the University of Malta, jointly with Dowling College, New York, covered a range of topics, and a variety of interests. By itself, it was never intended to cover all the vicissitudes of the region, but to serve as a rallying point for scholars from all over the world to come together and share the results of their research. There is very limited reference to specific aspects of Arab culture in the following papers, for example. This does not mean however that in Malta the Arab world is being neglected: only a few months after Mediterranean Symposium II, another conference was held in Malta specifically to discuss Euro-Arab relations, this time organised by the Euro-Arab Social Research Group. It is through this and other on-going initiatives that the University seeks to build up the literature on the Mediterranean, and to develop multiplex relations among the communities that harbour along the Mediterranean littoral. A global picture of the Mediterranean is indeed in the making, but it certainly needs much more work to be completed.

The presentation of the papers has followed more or less the proceedings of the symposium itself, with the whole material divided into three main blocks, each focusing on a relatively related series of interests. The first section deals broadly with the Mediterranean History, the second treats aspects of Iberian History, and the third discusses aspects of Maltese life and history.

April 1977 MARIO VASSALLO

THE LAW OF THE SEA AND THE MEDITERRANEAN

by P. SERRACINO INGLOTT

IN June 1976, the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which has claims to being the international conference in human history with the largest number of participant nations ever, stands adjourned. It is not yet certain that it will actually produce a new Law of the Sea. But it has already achieved two things of undoubtedly great historical importance. From a positive point of view, it has put into circulation a powerful concept; it is now impossible for mankind to forget that there is a 'common heritage of mankind'. From a negative point of view, it is already clear that mankind has shown itself not yet in a political condition to apply the concept as fully as it seemed at first reasonable to hope. The reasons for these two results must be left for future historians to determine; I will only say that I think it likely that, among them, Maltese parish-pump politics may be assigned a role analogous to that of the length of Cleopatra's nose in a more ancient period of Mediterranean history. With these two results taken as given and as symptomatic of even more general political conditions, the purpose of this paper is to look for new bearings. Its thesis is that the practical obsolescence of the nation-state on the one hand, and the practical nonachievement of a really significant form of world-government even in the sphere of ocean space on the other hand, point to the need of practical projects on a regional scale. The development of regional institutions may be the transitional way of the present dilemma which confronts the citizens of nations in a world not yet ready to accept that the world is one small planet.

A conclusion which shows some similarities, but also a very notable difference, seems to have been reached by the experts of the Club of Rome. Their first major report (M.I.T. team) attempted to describe the world as a single system in which both natural and cultural factors came into play. Part of the powerful criticism

which that first report aroused, was due to the fact that by its approach in global terms, the report discounted the importance of the inequalities of development between the different parts of the world and hence did not adequately take into account the different shares of responsibility in the causing of the problems and correlatively in the just apportionment of the burden of solving them. The second major report (Mesarovic-Pestel) recognising the validity of this criticism sought to take regional differences into greater account. This was a step forward. However the principle adopted for the division of the world into regions appears again to be wide-open to criticism. For instance, Europe and Africa are taken as 'regions'; while there are strong ecological, in the sense of natural-cultural, reasons for not doing so. Southern Europe and Northern Africa appear rather to go together and apart from the blocs into which Mesarovic-Pestel have fitted them. In other words, it is a region like the Mediterranean which constitutes the kind of unit which appears capable of consideration as a system of a kind which makes sense, at least from the point of view of the need of institutions to deal with the problems which can no longer be tackled at the level of the individual nation-states.

The most basic condition which has allowed and assisted the Mediterranean region to acquire the structure of a system is, of course, geography. The Mediterranean region is clearly marked out by the dividing barriers of mountain ranges to the North and desert expanses to the South which, throughout history, impeded easy trade and other communication. On the contrary, the sea never constituted a dividing barrier between North and South, but rather a means of easy and cheap communication.

As Perry Anderson has written in a recent study:

'Graeco-Roman Antiquity was quintessentially Mediterranean, in its inmost structure. For the inter-local trade which linked it together could only proceed by water: marine transport was the sole viable means of commodity exchange over medium or long distances. The colossal importance of the sea for trade can be judged from the simple fact that it was cheaper in the epoch of Diocletian to ship wheat from Syria to Spain – one end of the Mediterranean to the other – than to cart it 75 miles over land. It is thus no accident that the Aegean zone – a labyrinth of islands, harbours and promontories – should have been the first home of the city-state; that Athens, its greatest exemplar, should have founded its commercial fortunes on shipping; that when Greek colonization spread to the Near East in the Hellenistic epoch, the port of Alexandria should have become the major city of Egypt, first maritime capital in its

history; and that eventually Rome in its turn, upstream on the Tiber, should have become a coastal metropolis. Water was the irreplaceable medium of communication and trade which rendered possible urban growth of a concentration and sophistication far in advance of the rural interior behind it. The sea was the conductor of the improbable radiance of Antiquity. The specific combination of town and country that defined the classical world was in the last resort only operational because of the lake at the centre of it. The Mediterranean is the only large inland sea on the circumference of the earth: it alone offered marine speed of transport with terrestrial shelter from highest wind or wave, for a major geographical zone. The unique position of classical Antiquity within universal history cannot be separated from this physical privilege'.

The geographical characteristic of the region – a fertile, if narrow, belt of agricultural coastal land, enjoying the same climate and, hence, producing similar products, studded with towns which are basically ports and centres for their respective hinterlands, constitutes, as Braudel so rightly emphasized, the framework which has continued from ancient times until today to condition the history of the region and the development of its characteristic ways of life.

In recent times, indeed, the sea has come to assume an even greater importance because of the changing relations between its resources and human needs, in addition to its ancient and still actual role in communication.

Until recently, the main resource of the sea was fish, and many factors, from over exploitation to pollution, now threaten this resource, previously believed to be inexhaustible because self-renewing; on the other hand, the idea of changing the nature of fishing from that of hunting to that of farming is being actively explored. It is abundantly clear that the organisation of fishing today requires overall regional management to save the Mediterranean from becoming a dead sea as many experts are fearing it will otherwise fatally become.

Until recently, the mineral resources of the seabed, especially oil, were as inacessible to human exploitation and, indeed, as unknown as the moon, but science and technology have altered the situation; and at present the bottom of the sea appears to be more economically interesting than the back of the moon. (It should always be remembered that the Mediterranean Sea, in terms of its depth, is not so much a sea, as a small ocean).

Until recently, the industrial revolution had only slightly affected the region. Now factories are being built, and their builders prefer

the seashores, for greater ease in getting rid of waste material, as well as accessibility to what is still the cheapest means of transportation.

Until recently, only small numbers of wealthy individuals could afford to come to the Mediterranean region as tourists, but in the nineteen-sixties the age of mass-tourism began, and the onslaught of the so called 'golden hordes' descended in their many thousands to bask in the sun and peer at its sights. Suffice it to say, that in Malta, in one decade, the number of hotels quadrupled, and there were more tourist arrivals per square mile of Malta last year than Malta has inhabitants. Another use of the sea which it is impossible to ignore if especially one has the Mediterranean in mind is the military. In fact, while the rest of the world has been achieving a certain progress towards disarmament, the Mediterranean region is experiencing a contrary process. Some Mediterranean countries, including some of the poorest, are themselves, justifiably or not, notably contributing to the escalation of armaments in the region. But it is still true that the Mediterranean Sea is dominated by the presence of the two greatest superpowers – the USA and the USSR. On the one hand, the Israeli-Arab conflict and other inter-Mediterranean disputes provide special pretexts for this presence; on the other hand, several Mediterranean states keep foreign bases in their territory because of the economic advantages they reap from this presence.

Still, other uses of the sea and its shores could be listed. Rather than go on prolonging the list of uses, it is important to realise the incompatibilities between most of them. If a factory is sited near the sea, to use it as a rubbish deposit, the coast can hardly be promoted as a tourist attraction. Neither can it be one, if oil-prospectors are digging in the vicinity, nor will the fishermen continue as happily and successfully at their work.

In the Mediterranean Sea, if anywhere, the need for a policy of overall supranational management is obvious. For the decisions which conflict are, at present, being taken by different nationstates and they can only be harmonised by inter-national agreement. It was in this context that the Maltese delegate to the United Nations proposed the idea of a new Law of the Sea, which would recognise the obsolescence of the old idea of the freedom of the seas and the consideration of the sea as the property of nobody, and substitute it by the new idea of ocean-space, beyond fixed limits of national jurisdiction, as the 'common heritage of mankind' to be governed by an Authority through which all nations would participate in decision-making and in fruit-taking in proportion to ability and need.

This idea, in a first phase, gained ground progressively, against the opposition of the superpowers, but then, in a second phase, began to be whittled down again as the developing countries which had rallied round the idea began to be attracted by short-term advantages. It now seems likely that with the acceptance of an insufficiently rigorously defined economic zone, in principle of 200 miles, but they are likely to be elastic, the resources available to the World Authority will be perhaps only adequate to finance the expenses of running it. Moreover these provisions are clearly hardly capable of rational application to regions like the Mediterranean (or the Caribbean) Sea. Certainly, their unmodified application would hardly lead to the rational development of the resources of the sea. On the other hand, the setting of some regional institutions is contemplated – both a variety of purposes: with regard to the seabed, to the management of living resources, for pollution control scientific research and transfer of technology, and also for dispute settlement. These provisions do, perhaps, indicate on what lines developments might be practically pursued on the regional Mediterranean level, towards seeking to apply the concept which has gained so much applause and so limited a practical application on the world level, so that the Mediterranean marine space, with its living and non-living resources be treated as the common heritage of the Mediterranean peoples who should assume joint responsibility for it on behalf of mankind as a whole.

It appears unfortunately but abundantly clear that the political problems in the area make the prospect of the creation of a Mediterranean Authority which would entirely manage the resources of the Sea as difficult as that of a World Authority with really significant powers proved to be. The creation of such an Authority cannot be regarded as a serious practical prospect. However, it appears that moves in its direction can be made by the setting up of a number of regional institutions, in addition to existing ones, with functional specialisations on the one hand, and then coordinating machinery for the various institutions on the other hand.

There already exists a General Fisheries Council for the Mediterranean, which if restructured and strengthened could provide a starting point for the system. The recently established station for exchanges on marine pollution could be strengthened and developed into an integrated system of environmental quality management. The initiatives of the International Ocean Commission of UNESCO, and of the International Commission for the Scientific Exploration of the Mediterranean Sea, should also be restructured and strengthened to make possible the participation of all Mediterranean countries,

especially the least developed, in the planning and execution of research as well as in making the results and their interpretation promptly available to all. The ICSEM could, indeed, function as one of the Regional Scientific Centres envisaged by the draft text of the Law of the Sea.

In addition to these existing Mediterranean Institutions which, however, badly need reform and coordination, new institutions are required. In the first place, a regional centre is required to regulate activities on the seabed. It should include a commission to regulare the international activities of companies operating on the seabed. Machinery for settling disputes should be created on a regional basis and the aim should be to declare common ownership over disputed areas, pooling costs and sharing profits among the participating countries, on the model perhaps of the Eems-Dollard Treaties between Holland and the German Federal Republic in the North Sea.

In the second place, because of the fact that the Sea can become a significant source of energy through solar collection, exploitation of ocean thermal gradients and geothermal energy, an institution is required to allow the Mediterranean States to launch a cooperative project of scientific research, technological innovation and mutual assistance to ensure the equitable sharing of results. In the third place, that a Mediterranean Development Bank should be established in order to help achieve a more balanced growth in the area mainly by helping to channel capital resources available in countries of the area for the development of the area. Other institutions could also be created to increase data exchange and encourage trade between the Mediterranean countries.

Then, integrative machinery will be required to harmonise the activities of these institutions, to regulate the interaction of uses of Mediterranean marine space and resources, and to consider the needs of other activities not at present regulated by any intergovernmental institutions. Such machinery must be based on an assembly structure composed of the policy-making bodies of the institutions mentioned and might thus consist, in the present situation, of four sections or chambers. To these a fifth, a civic or political chamber might be added which might be derived from the Mediterranean municipal initiative established in the Declaration of Beirut. Decisions should require the consensus of two 'chambers' – the civic chamber and the technical chamber competent in the matter under discussion.

It is felt that, in the present atmosphere of tension and conflict in the Mediterranean area, such a functional, flexible, and decentralized approach to Mediterranean problems common to all States

would obviate many of the difficulty encountered by the traditional approach, and that functional cooperation on the above lines, on the transnational and subnational rather than on the national and international level, would, in turn, enhance the chances of peace in the area. A programme of gradual force withdrawal could then be developed, with the final goal of making the Mediterranean Sea a zone of peace, with particular emphasis on the immediate withdrawal of all vessels and facilities carrying atomic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. Meanwhile the interests of the world community in free navigation in and through the Mediterranean can be assured, in accordance with the provisions of the new Law of the Sea. The integrative machinery recommended for the Mediterranean could be part of and participate in the decision-making processes of whatever machinery may be established by the Law of the Sea Conference for the managing of ocean space and resources as a whole.

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SECULARISATION IN SPAIN, PORTUGAL AND GREECE

by DAVID MARTIN

THE discussion of statist regimes of the right must turn on the same axis as discussion of statist regimes of the left: the monopoly of the means of power. By extension, this inevitably directs attention to the area of church-state relations. The state endeavours to include the church within its monopoly. However, it tries to do so at a point where the process of differentiation in the society at large gives leverage to the ancient symbolic tension between church and state, and allows it opportunity to express itself.

Furthermore the lesion between church and state is exacerbated by the fact that the Roman Catholic church at large, in Europe and elsewhere, has largely loosed itself free from statist entanglements, and exercises an external pressure on the pace of internal developments. Indeed, ecclesiastical leaders can easily draw appropriate lessons from the debacles attending such entanglements, notably in France. A liberal regime becomes an acceptable option as compared with the fate awaiting the church under totalitarian regimes. The freedom of the spiritual arm is at least a possibility under liberal aegis, and the chief danger of liberalism is its tendency to offer opportunities for take-over by disciplined minorities.

Such a drift is particularly likely to occur in countries where all the processes have been damned up by a 'reactive organicism'. The fear of anarchy or of a disciplined take-over from the left holds back sectors which might otherwise embrace the liberal option and lends colour to the accusation that the church clings to the old organic Baroque connection. On the other hand, the same fear also inclines other sectors to make an immediate alliance with the left to prevent the classic polarization occurring yet again. And this fear is conjoined with a genuine idealism, especially among younger and lower clergy, which takes a politico-religious form. The

fears of the right are thereby exacerbated, and the very alliances designed to prevent polarization then act to bring them into being. Yet these polar tendencies have not the force of the classic tension, because models of radical Catholicism are available to ameliorate them and because the enveloping atmosphere of religion can allow the early protests to utilize the church, and church buildings, as a symbolic and actual umbrella or refuge.

Since different parts of a country will be at different levels of development, the polarization will play up regional patriotism, some of an archaic, and some of a modern, variety. If large fissures are already present, based on regional sentiment, the polarization will partly turn on the axis of centre versus periphery. Spain provides the obvious instance, two of its regional areas being more developed than the centre, and one less.

The ideology of the right-wing conservative state tends to be an interim development and to occur as a reaction to an initial liberal phase or, more usually, phases. Each of these phases has exemplified accelerating hostilities between church and liberal state, in spite of major attempts to cross the divide. In the Spanish case, it was essentially the violence of the attack on the Church which sparked off the civil war. Once the organic state is restored, there cannot be a return to a straightforward traditional ideology, and there still has to be an interim hybrid form of legitimation incorporating a variety of tendencies, including the radical thrusts underlying the right-wing forces, as well as traditionalism. The uneasy alliance of the right is initially held together by the fact that its ideology turns less on ideas than on symbols and invocations. It is only afterwards that a centred focus of power crystallizes out and clips both its traditionalist and its radical wings. However, this crystallization means that its power rests more specifically on control of the state apparatus and less on a broad base, and this in turn makes the internal manipulation of élites all the more crucial. At the same time, the mass of the population continue to note the invocation of familiar symbols, including religious symbols, and prefer any kind of stability to civil war and anarchy. The 'ideology' thus contains at least one plank which is largely accepted: stability to create a form of mass support. Only a reckless misuse of force or violence will alienate this kind of support or else an egregious incompetence in the handling of economic development. In Spain, the élite committed neither mistake: in Greece the élite committed both.

No analysis of fascist ideology is required here, nor of conserva-

tive organicism but one or two points are worth noting by way of contrast with statist ideology of the left. The chief distinguishing characteristics of left ideology is that it is an intellectual construct, and can even be regarded as an ideology of the intelligentsia in its bid for power. Certainly, its call to certain sections of the working class can be regarded as a useful gesture en route to supreme power, however marked by the guilt and romanticism of middle class intellectuals. But the kind of ideology animating right wing organization is not so much an intellectual construction as an invocation of certain attitudes and symbols believed to inhere in the nation and believed to be capable of saving that nation at historic crises. Since these virtues are essentially military there is already present an incipient tension with Christianity. In Nazi Germany the Christian aspiration towards peaceability was regarded as a weak religious sentiment sapping the warrior virtue of the German spirit. Behind this militarism lies a less stark, because a more Christianized, tradition of aristocratic chivalry. At any rate, it is the military who project themselves as unphilosophic guardians of the national soul and its martial spirit. They are 'called' by crisis to exercise their historic function and to banish the corruption and venality of liberal democracy. They speak for history, and in Greece they claimed to speak very specifically for Christianity. The rhetoric is based on notions of historic destiny toned by religion. Here there appears a further contrast with statist ideology of the left. The right sees itself as propelled by history whereas the left claims to act as its midwife and to propel it forward by conscious decision.

All statist ideologies demand public adherence to their rituals and dogmas, but the right seeks a lesser degree of inward assent. The élite are openly willing to act on behalf of the masses, whereas élites of the left retire behind a dogma of universal support to which they endeavour to give a measure of reality by total socialization. The right wing élite tolerates apathy in the mass, and indeed can approve of it, and also allows itself discreet scepticisms provided they are not trumpeted abroad in a disruptive manner. How people think is less relevant than how they act. In Spain, for example, a degree of free speech and free circulation of books and ideas existed which compared very favourably with conditions obtaining in eastern Europe.

If leaders are forthcoming – and the right people in the right positions – then opinion need not be too grossly intruded upon. The crucial problem is the creation of a philosophy of development

which will relate to the objective conditions and consequences of economic change and progress. Once models of modernity are available, especially through the impact of tourism, then development is essential. So there appear right wing approaches to modernity, endeavouring to promote industrialization within a traditionalist format. The most obvious contemporary example is Brazil, where an expanding élite of many millions subsists over a mass of many more millions. As in Spain, the trans-Lusitanian church has proved a major source of opposition to this policy both with regard to its political and its economic brutalism. The philosophy of development applied in Brazil is essentially that utilized in the Soviet Union: the sacrifice of a generation or so of workers now for prosperity and – perhaps – liberty, later. The important point here is that in all instances of 'reactive organicism', in Brazil, Chile, Spain, and Portugal, and to a lesser extent in Fascist Italy and Greece, the Church shuffled out of the ancient right wing alliance. And, in spite of frequent governmental pressure on higher appointments, the ecclesiastical protest has come in some degree from the episcopate itself. In 1971 the Jesuit Assembly of Spanish Bishops and Priests actually issued a scathing indictment of Franco.

One further important religious aspect of development has been the spread of Protestant attitudes partly through pietist sectarianism, as for example in the Pentecostal movement, and partly through functional equivalents of the Protestant Ethic within the Catholic Church itself. In Chile and Brazil, from about 1950 onwards, there has been a steady, indeed accelerating, growth of Pentecostalism, more particularly perhaps among migrant workers. In both countries Protestants now comprise some ten per cent of the population. In Spain, the *Cursillos de cristiandad* have worked on a psychological basis quite similar to Moral Re-Armament or the Wesleyan class meeting, and have formed cadres of local leaders and activists. In both Spain and Greece, ascetic lay orders, operating among the highly placed, have penetrated the machinery of government: Opus Dei and Zoe. Opus Dei in particular was successful in providing a functional equivalent of the Protestant Ethic to channel the psychic energies for development and leadership. Indeed, the Spanish economic miracle, operative from about 1958 onwards, owed a great deal to the ideas of Opus Dei.

We now turn to the European cases of 'reactive organicism' which have been operative since the war, i.e. omitting Fascist Italy, and Nazi Germany, which are briefly covered in the 'Latin' and 'Mixed' categories respectively. Spain provides the most complex and so-

ciologically interesting instance, and it is appropriate to begin by noting a crucial aspect of the Spanish case, the complex pull over centuries of centralism and pluralism, centralism and regionalism. Mediaeval Spain was, in a limited sense, pluralistic; Baroque Spain was a monolithic entity deriving from a drive to the unitary state. Indeed, Catholicism itself was thoroughly subordinated under the enlightened absolutism of Charles the Third. Hence the Protestants are very few (some 50,000) and mostly of foreign origin: they are concentrated somewhat in Catalonia and are primarily urban. Such proselytising dynamic as there is can be found amongst such groups as Pentecostals and sectarians, operating amongst the poorer migrants in squalid urban areas.[1] But there are other sources of dissent, some old and some recent, operating within and without the Catholic Church and these may now be surveyed. Such a survey is best conceived within general remarks about the complex ambience of relations between religion and culture.

The traditional extra-ecclesiastical sources of dissidence are bourgeois rationalism, the spiritual illuminism of the free-masonry, Marxism (which is mostly not theoretical) and the various forms of anarcho-syndicalism and anarchism, the latter rooted in notions of the autonomous village. Spanish freemasonry played the same important anti-clerical role in the nineteenth century as it did in France. The spirit of autonomous community[2] (which one also finds, of course, in Russia and Greece) lies behind a variety of Christian humanism which is anti-clerical in its exaltation of the person and its opposition to all state absolutism. Perhaps one should emphasise that in a culture which is both orthodox and untheological intellectual dissent has traditionally had to express itself outside the Catholic Church, even though there are forms of historical romanticism (such as that of Menéndez y Pelayo) which emphasise the cultural role of the Church. The Spanish Church is historically not an intellectual church, any more than it is a lay church, and what is interesting about the present scene is the existence of progressive Catholic intellectuals and laity.[3]

The layers of Spanish piety correspond roughly to those to be found in Poland and Italy as well, of course, as elsewhere, and some of them are in varying senses, 'secular'. Thus the layer of superstitious magic is secular in that it represents proto-scientific manipulations, and the layer of simple piety is secular in its attention to 'material' objects, albeit imbued with divine, efficacious 'stuff'. And the layer of Baroque Catholicism is secular in its complete assimilation to the status quo and the world as given. One

makes this point here, though it could be made in most contexts, simply because the process of secularisation is too often expounded by reference to orthodox, theologically adumbrated norms whereby not only are rather a small number of people classifiable as religious today, but very few can have been classifiable as religious in the ages of faith. Another point worth emphasising in the Spanish context, since it is dramatically illustrated in the Spanish data, is that even reckoning by the usually accepted norms of institutional practice, secularisation in parts of Spain is a process, indeed has been a constant *condition,* over two centuries.

The layer of superstition, popular, manipulative and utilitarian, is enormously important in Spain and not merely so in country districts. There are, according to Jésus Marcos Alonso, two levels.[4] The first is semi-magical and barely touched by Catholicism: the magic formulae of 'The Cross of Caravaca', and the spells, incantations and the like in which some Catholic element may be lodged, such as the sign of the cross. The second is best illustrated by the cult of the saints, and their respective fields of protective expertise. These are often survivals of older religions given a Catholic slant. Many people who are fanatically devoted to these patronal saints or procession societies are entirely unconcerned with communion, confessions or the moral precepts of the church. *Thus deviance from the moral precepts of the church, noted several times above, is no more a new phenomenon than is deviance from institutional practice.* Furthermore, even the more 'orthodox' rituals, devotions and spiritual associations are often recommended for 'secular' motives not far distant from those now so popular in the United States: peace of mind, family unity, relief of frustration.

A third level of ritual conformity and motivation exists which is less secular than sub-Christian: God is viewed as unapproachable, impersonal and capricious, especially in relation to untoward events. This leads to a propitiation of Him for basically utilitarian reasons, to the proliferation of less uncertain intermidiaries, to excessive concern about the correct mechanics of the rite, to a disjunction between religion and morality, and to fatalism. In short, it has many characteristics in common with magic. It appears Catholic but is deficient by Catholic norms: its God is a disguise for the caprices of the phenomenal world and its ritual is a remedy limiting that caprice. The Church colludes in this because it colludes with an appearance of conformity, but under pressure of social change the exterior facade often collapses to the bare minimum of ritual acts involved in occasional conformity. Moreover, while internally

incoherent it is also capable of subsisting with inconsistent ideologies, e.g. communism. A non-theological Catholicism can cohabit with a non-ideological communism.

A level of religiosity which may include some or even all of the above is cultural Catholicism, whereby a non-Catholic is not a Spaniard, and a non-Spanish Catholic is a Catholic of the second class. The Church becomes a cultural service station for the nation, as well as being defined as guardian of the national essence. Such a version of civic religion can easily be reduced to social conformities and pressures and involves a subjection of religion to the ethical norms of the particular community. This means in effect a strict application of ethical norms within the family and little application at all within the realms of economic and professional life: this is, of course, a phenomenon not confined to Spain and derives from a fundamental recalcitrance of social relations above the level of the intimate and personal to ethical regulation. It is the obverse of the inability of political norms, as for example in eastern Europe, to have resonance at the personal level. Such a sanctification of local standards (or a secularisation and subversion of religious standards) makes all change equivalent to subversion. Hence the usefulness of this kind of religion to authoritarian regimes.

Such an identification of religion and caste is profoundly Durkheimian and breeds two dissident forms of religiosity: a non-church Christianity sitting loose to dogmas and institutions,[5] and a Christianity which sees the Church as a specific distinct community of believers in personal relationship to God and committed to a common way of life which translates as far as may be the imperatives of the gospel, first internally and then extemally. More can be said of this below in the course of examining the transitions occurring in the recent past from the rigidities immediately succeeding the civil war to the relative flexibility and openness of the post-conciliar period. The end of the Civil War marked a retum to the Baroque State whereby the Church was rewarded for its part in the War, more particularly by control of education and the prohibition of civil marriage. The Church licked its wounds after the violent explosions of anti-clericalism under the Second Republic (1931-6). With one or two episcopal exceptions conformity reigned and church adherence became an index of conformity. The radical Catholic movements in Catalonia (parallel to the French J.A.C.) were forced underground, as radical separatist and foreign-inspired. The church however was not fascist: the fascists gestured towards it to

secure support, but the church remained simply conservative.

From 1950 to 1960 there were occasional and intermittent critical voices, sometimes of French inspiration: intellectual Catholics with more universalist perspectives and movements within Catholic Action. Religious renovation worked through the 'Courses in Christianity' for local lay leaders, the development of more specialised 'Catholic Action', movements of familiar spirituality, and the organisation called 'For a Better World'. All of these represented a desire for a more socially active religion, one which was more personal and thought out.[6] Nevertheless, the Concordat of 1953 between the Vatican and the state remained conservative.

The post-war period of inflation in religious practice and priestly vocations then reached a plateau. 1960 marked a new era: the impact of the economic miracle, of accelerated tourism and above all migration, of elements of liberalisation, of the Vatican Council, and then of the general stirrings of dissent abroad, especially in France. The Council itself fed additional inflammable material into the new situation and made the Pope and Rome appear to conservatives as another channel of foreign, meddlesome influence. Many Catholics began to feel the need of a degree of independence from the State, especially so amongst workers, students and members of the liberal professions. Those who accepted the ideas of the Council favouring pluralism, liturgical reform and the replacement of authority by pastoral dialogue found themselves embattled in a generational struggle which was even more marked within the priesthood than elsewhere. This struggle contained echoes of the Dutch situation and of the much more minor disputes in Croatia: vocations fell, defections rose, some lost their faith, a few became Marxists. Various factors contributed to this, amongst them the shocks sustained by priests in working class areas, and an even more general sense that the traditional psychology and role of the priest was too constricting. Hence young would-be priests interrupted their studies and shifted into industrial or intellectual avocations. Ordinations fell by one third; vocations, which had climbed to a peak in 1967, also fell.[7] Both the crisis in ordinations and vocations reflected a partial abandonment of the traditional anti-intellectual traditions of Spanish clergy and religious, a rejection of the principle of seniority, and an aspiration towards the expertise appropriate to specialist tasks. The latter ran paripassu with a sense of displacement amongst the religious as the State absorbed their traditional functions in public health, social assistance and education. Underlying it all were new conceptions

of humanity, of Christ and of personal realisation which were seen as needing to be worked out through personal work and evangelical poverty within a communitarian setting. In short, the general crisis of identity and role in Western Europe, plus the aspiration to communal forms of existence, hit the Spanish Church a little later than elsewhere, but not much. Hence the disfavour into which the Concordat of 1953, tying the Church to the regime has fallen, even amongst moderate Catholics. Hence also, maybe, the statement by the new Prime Minister (1974), in his speech announcing a measure of liberalisation, that interference by the Church would not be tolerated. Presumably the association of radical Catholicism and both Basque and Catalan separatism in part lay behind this warning. Official undertainty about the Church probably underlay the new 1970 education law giving the state an effective monopoly.

Opus Dei is a quasi-order, founded in 1928, operating a type of patronage system which has earned it the sobriquet 'Holy Mafia'. It is ascetic in discipline and aims to influence the world rather in the manner of Moral Re-Armament. The basic conception runs parallel to, and in imitation of, the Institución Libre de Enseñanza which was not only a seedbed of progressivism and agnosticism but also influential in distributing jobs. Though Opus Dei was originally unsuccessful the Civil War and its aftermath brought an opportunity to help fill the immense gap left by the exiled or liquidated Republican intelligentsia. The great success was Catolonia: the bourg eoisie was brought back to Hispanic piety and preferred the Opus, with its combination of the Catalan evaluation of hard work and loyalty to the régimé, to the anti-capitalist slogans and centralist attitude of the Falange. Since then the Opus has infiltrated banks, bought shares in diverse companies, and has its members in key posts in industry and the ministries, though it is relatively unrepresented in the present government, (1974).[8] The important point is that Opus Dei has found means, temporary maybe, of reconciling modernization and hierarchy, religion and rationalization and the public recognition of certain forms of hedonism. It constitutes a theo-technocracy and as such is a partial equivalent of the Protestant Ethic, albeit working within the élite levels of a hierarchical, Catholic society and specifically dedicated to élitist ideals. And in its concern for education, signalised in the creation of the new university of Navarre, it grasped at one of the crucial levers of power and influence.

This then is the wide spectrum of Spanish religiosity, running from manuals of incantation to the left-wing guerrilla priest in the

movement for Basque autonomy and the J.O.C., Juventud Obrera Católica.[9] Thus William Christian in his description of religious life in the Nansa Velley of Northern Spain, more especially the apparitions of the Virgin and St. Michael in the early 1960s, can describe the coexistence of these levels even in one area.[10] The oldest layer probably antedates Christianity and manifests itself in the shrines which influence specific areas, such as province, valley or village, and it corresponds to the local sense of identity. These shrines also help to deal with concrete problems: soliciting divine energy for human purposes and eliciting human energy for divine purposes. The next layer, deriving from the impulses of the Counter-Reformation, is characterized by a sense of sin and fear of purgatory and includes highly general devotions, such as the Sacred Heart and the Rosary, whose objective is personal salvation and the transformation of persons from one spiritual condition to another. The latest layer, barely laid down, derives from the initiative of young priests encouraging people to find God in one another rather than through intermediaries.

Portugal may be dealt with much more summarily from one point of view only: the repetition of a division between north and south, found also in Spain, and for exactly the same reasons, i.e. the imperfect christianisation of the Islamic south and the latifundia which the conquering Christians carved out for themselves. When the Portuguese South was reconquered the crown, the military orders and the nobility divided up the land between them thus bringing about an initial concentration of property. This frontier between north and south, roughly marked by the Tagus, is not merely an economic one, but can be traced along the whole march of Christian-Islamic coexistence and warfare, through southern Italy and Albania to be Bulgarian Black Sea coast.

The River Tagus is not simply a geographical but a social and religious boundary. A primary index of this difference is provided by the map of civil marriages. Civil marriage has been long recognised in Portugal, (1973), even between 1910 and 1926, and carried with it the legal possibility of divorce; those who were married canonically automatically renounced this legal possibility. Now divorce is open to those married in church. The map of civil marriages prior to 1974 therefore reflects faithfulness to the norms of official, institutional Catholicism though not necessarily religiosity in se. The whole of the north of Portugal constitutes a solid bloc in which Catholic marriage forms 90% – 100% of the total. In the south by contrast there is quite a large area in which Catholic mar-

riages run only at 40% – 60%, and in one municipality they sink to only 20% of the total. Infant mortality is higher in the north and the number of births per 1,000; illegitimacy is higher in the south. Communism and atheism are largely confined to the south, and both have drawn of the reservoir of radicalism laid down earlier by anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism.

The variations in moral style, of if you like degree of secularisation, are related to basic differences in social structure. The family in the north is patriarchal and deeply attached by kinship ties and personal ties to small holdings. The family in the south has been proletarianized and its relatively unstructured constituent members work for low pay in large scale holdings organised on capitalist lines. The equipment used in the north is more primitive and unmechanised. The farming of the north is basically for subsistence whereas in the south there is a degree of unemployment which contributes to social disintegration. Although Portugal as a whole is primarily agricultural (47% of its population works in agriculture) the industry of the north tends to be of the kind characteristic of the *first* industrial revolution (textile industries, personally owned, with a considerable artisanate) while the industry of the south is large-scale, impersonal industry. The latter is associated with a lower degree of practice than the former. Two further points are worth making since they bear on the issue of secularisation. First, there is a layer of religion below the Church, operated by female adepts. Second, the religion of the north, though practised by the majority is essentially a folk religion, whereas the ecclesiastical religion of the south, *where practised,* is sometimes closer to official Catholicism.[11] As in Spain some southern towns exhibit higher practice than the country: the towns contain the bourgeois, administrative and landed sectors.

These elements have, of course, all been reactivated by revolution. The Church initially welcomed the régime in cautious terms, and at least avoided any identification with the so-called Christian party of the right. It attacked atheism and totalitarianism, not agrarian reform or communist cooperatives. As the communist attempts at hegemony grew in vigour and determination, the Church was forced into a practical alliance with democratic forces, drawing on its northern strength especially at parish level to neutralise communist control of the levers of power. Thus the socialists found themselves demanding freedom both for their own paper and for Catholic radio. If the Portuguese struggle for democracy proves successful, this unique alliance will have had much to do with it. What

one has above all to remember is that the liberal régime of 1910 – 1926 acted against both the Church and the left. This did not join them together, but it did provide a common fate and thereby broke the worst spirals of left-wing-Church antagonism. The revolution, even in its extremist phases before November 1974 was *not* markedly anti-clerical. The Bishops repaid moderation with moderation, whatever local priests might say in their parish weeklies. Moreover, the corporatist union organisation of the right-wing régime 1926 – 1974 ensured that there was no specifically catholic unionism to confront left-wing unionism. The struggle in the unions is between a centralising communist thrust and the socialist and extreme left opposition. Church influence presumably leans towards the non-communist forces.[12]

When considering modern Greece, which is a country with high levels of belief and even to some extent of practice, one must remember history.[13] Whereas Spain was divided in two by the Muslims, in Greece the Turks were dominant for several hundred years. However, the Greeks were not only dominated by the Turks but themselves became an instrument of Turkish domination through the Patriarchate of Constantinople and its relation to other Christian millets. The Greek hierarchy became *more* powerful and centralized under the Turks: it monopolised the highest offices and fully participated in the corruption of the Porte. The Turks effectively controlled appointments, and a corrupted simoniac Church became assimilated to national interests almost without remainder. Since in the period of national awakening the nation came to be conceived in terms of Hellensim the Church became a defender of non-Christian values including the lay and enlightened spirit of the Phanariot aristocracy. It was therefore triply secularised: by its identity with the nation, by secular power and corruption, and by the promotion of Hellenism. There remained the monastic tradition of spirituality and the liturgy, the former bitterly attacked and restricted by the 'enlightened'. And even these remains went into slow decline. The Church of independent Greece became helplessly dependent on the state and supported the government in the task of shaping Greece according to urban and middle class values. There is however a continuing sentiment at village level, also to be found in Spain, which comprises a tradition of human equality and brotherhood expressed in communal and economic forms.[14]

Two points are crucial for the present argument: the role of Zoe, parallel to Opus Dei, and the continuing struggles over appointment which carry on the age-old Byzantine and Turkish tradition. Zoe

was founded in 1913 as a monastic order in the world, dedicated in part to liturgical reform and especially to the elimination of the kind of priestly isolation symbolised by the iconostasis, and dedicated also to militant social action. This social action includes a notion of Graeco-Christian civilization which compounds the earlier conjunction of Orthodoxy and Hellenism. The role of Zoe became increasingly controversial with the appointment of Heronymos Kotsomis, one of its members, as Archbishop of Athens, and the penetration of the government of the colonels by other members of the organization. Dissident bishops were removed and the ecumenical Patriarch in Constantinople was attacked in order to create a mini-Vatican in Athens. Indeed, these attempts are similar to those of the Moscow Patriarchate in trying to extend its ecumenical control, so that political ambition can be pursued in a wider context. What is interesting in the debate between governmental supporters and dissidents is the fact that the latter appeal to ancient precedent. As the ultramontane liberals in nineteenth century France appealed to the Pope against Gallican subservience so the Greek dissidents appeal to the ancient rights of the Ecumenical Patriarch: 'the bonds between the Church of Greece and the Patriarchate are unbreakable and sacred'.[15]

The Colonels corruption of the Church could not do away with the age-long identification of the Church and the Greek and Byzantine spirit. Yet it did contribute to a youthful alienation which saw the new appointees of the régimes as puppets of reaction. Only a very few dissident priests attracted torture at the hands of the régime, and the 'true' tradition perhaps passed into the hands of Makarios. As is well known, the Colonels and Makarios were more and more in conflict. His deposition and the Cypriot tragedy followed directly on this conflict, accelerated by the final desperate moves following the polytechnic events in Athens. Once the northern army removed the Colonels – after refusing to move against the Turks, – the appointees of the right were mostly retired, and the tarnished image of the Church hierarchy at least improved to some degree. What remained indestructible was the rural cycle of festival and rite, both personal and communal, carrying forward the heart of Greek culture in a manner almost Jewish in its intimate linkage of family, community, and religion. The Paschal Lamb in Greece symbolizes exactly what the Passover signifies in Israel.

The three oligarchic and – until recently (1974) – conservative cultures just discussed have characteristics which enable one to emphasise points of key importance. The first two points are about

history. The rhetoric of Spanish nationalism is in terms of historic destiny and identity; the rhetoric of Greek with Greek is in terms of an appeal to ancient practices and rights, including the practices of Byzantium. And just as the language of such cultures refers back to the past and mystical doctrines of the meaning of the past, so too the historic frontiers of the past underlie the patterns of contemporary religiosity, above all the age-old frontier with Islam. The strong religiosity of Cyprus (and indeed of Malta) is nourished by the existence of that frontier. The third point concerns the range of meaning behind the term secular in that it may denote assimilation to established power, an overtly materialist doctrine, hedonistic indifference, religious propaganda based on psychic utility, or manipulative, proto-scientific practices designed to conjure responses from nature. Such a range of definition allows one to see how beneath the apparently identical outward garment of religion, modern and ancient, there may be highly secular substrata, depending of course on the definition one chooses to employ. The Greek case is particularly dramatic insofar as the Greek Church, seemingly devoted to Orthodox spirituality, became, quite soon after the achievement of independence, closely identified with Hellenism, in many respects a secular doctrine and certainly one at odds with its own deposit of faith. Of course, the face of 'secular' will vary with the religion under review. When the religion is Christian, then there arises a contrast between a faith in 'signs' relating to God's Kingdom and magical manipulations for one's own benefit, so that faith in 'signs' is 'religious' and magicality 'secular'. Similarly for a religion whose fundamental deposit of faith puts secular authority under divine judgement, separates the community of faith from the ethnic or local community and reverses the status order in favour of the 'offscourings of the earth' most of the data presented above constitute secularisation. They do so because religion becomes almost isomorphic with social structure, local identity and secular moral and status evaluations. It is precisely this secularisation, whereby the institutionalisation of faith accelerates its assimilation to the world as given, which sparks off – in certain circumstances – the rejection of institutional Christianity *in se* and all its structures of authority. It is therefore arguable that 'progressive' forms of Christianity in (say) Spain are more religious than the ancient faith of that country. Indeed, there is one further point of interest here: in Spain and in Greece, and for that matter in Tsarist Russia, there existed and exists today a local level of equality, communal sensitivity and democracy, which stretches

back, like the foral traditions of the Basques, to medieval times and earlier. These very old traditions of communalism link with some of the progressive sectors of the church, but since such traditions occur within very hierarchical overall structures, the underlying impulse finds its modern realization in 'communautés de base', reclaiming derelict areas and setting up self-selected groups of radical dissenters. In so far as such groups are explicitly political, they can be labelled as 'secularized' but they are hardly more political than was the Baroque church and their relation to the foundation documents of Christianity is arguably closer. We have the paradoxes of secularization always with us. What more materialistic, in one sense, than agricultural magic, and what more materialistic, in another sense, than the total collusion of the church with the imperatives of power?

NOTES:

[1] Cf. P. Almerich, 'Spain' in H. Mol (ed.), *Western Religion*, The Hague: Mouton, 1972.

[2] Cf. M. Kenny, *A Spanish Tapestry*, New York: Harper, 1966.

[3] R. Duocastella, 'Espagne: Société et Eglise en processus de change', *Actes de la 12e Conférence de Sociologie réligieuse*, Lille: C.I.S.R., 1973.

[4] J.M. Alonso, 'A social and psychological typology of religious identification in Spanish Catholicism', *Social Compass*, Vol. XII, Nos. 4-5, 1965.

[5] Cf. for example the para-Christian influence of the minor German philosophical current associated with Karl Krause. R. Carr gives an account of this in his Spain *1808-1939*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966, in which he underlines the mixture of Protestant Ethic motifs and subjective mysticism. What one finds especially interesting is the way the innovators reflect the structure and mode of traditionalism. As Carr puts it, 'The danger of Krausism lay precisely in that it was a quasi-religious movement with professors as its priests.' (p. 303).

[6] R. Duocastella, *op. cit.* On the period of 'personal religion' in the 1950s, cf. A. Orensanz, *Religiosidad Popular Espanola* 1940-1965, Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1974. The *Cursillos de cristiandad* represented a version of the Wesleyan class meeting plus various socio-psychological techniques. It is as if Spain passes through hints of Protestantism very rapidly, as it were en passant, as it shifts between traditionalism and radicalism. Protestantism is implicit in aspects of Opus Dei, Krausism, and the *Cursillos* but never achieves full expression on classic Reformation lines. There are further references to the Cursillos and to Catholic Action in A. Orensanz, *Crisis Rural y Sociedad del Ocio*, Zaragoza: Prensa Aragonesa, 1974.

[7] R. Duocastella, *op. cit.* For a survey indicating the degree of recent radicalization among the clergy, cf. J. Cazorla, 'Consensus et Conflit dans d'Eglise espagnole sous le régime de Franco', *Actes de la 13e Conférence internationale de Sociologie religieuse*, 1973: Lille, C.I.S.R., 1973. This showed that over one third of the priests surveyed were socialistic in approach. On a comparative note, one has the feeling that the tension which gradually developed in Fascist Italy between Church and State after the Concordat could have developed further along the lines now evident in Spain.

[8] According to a report in *The Times*, January 3, 1974. Cf. various works which comment on the relation of politics and religion in Spain: J. Tusell, *Historia de la Democracia Christiana en Espana*, Cuadernos para el Dialogo, Madrid, 1974; J.J. Linz, 'An Authoritarian Regime'. In E. Allardt and S. Rokkan (eds.), *Mass Politics*, New York, 1970; and S. Giner, 'Spain', in S. Giner and M. Archer, *Contemporary Europe*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1971. Giner discusses such matters as the unrest among higher-paid workers and students, as well as the clergy (p. 149). Giner describes the Church as implicated in the political system and ruling élite up to 1951, and definitely split after 1968, more particularly along generational lines, between *conciliares* and *integristas*. He stresses the skill of Opus Dei in blending *integrismo* and *desarrollizmo*. J.J. Linz provides an interesting analysis of the Spanish cabinet from 1938 to 1962 (p. 276). His reference to the acquiescent attitudes of technical élites fits in with the passive attitudes of such élites in many social contexts, left, right, or liberal. Technological Universities are a good investment against radicalism. For a comparison of Spain and Holland, cf. P. Alfonsi and P. Pesnot, *L'Eglise contestée*, Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1973.

[9] A. Orensanz, *Religiosidad Popular Española*, *op. cit.*, p. 53. 'El movimiento jocista trata de aprehender la realidad del mundo obrero en su interna conformación 'sin' mediatizaciones estructurales'.

[10] W.A. Christian, Person and God in a Spanish Velley, New York: Seminar Press, 1974.

[11] The data cited above are located in A. Querido, 'Portugal', in H. Mol, *op. cit.* Cf. J. Cutileiro, 'A Portuguese Rural Society', Oxford, O.U.P. 1971.

There is further background in H. Martins, in S. Giner and M. Archer, *op. cit.* I am particularly indebted to Dr. Cutileiro for a paper read at a seminar at L.S.E. and originally given in Rome, May 1976.

[12] I rely here on reports from *The Times*; on A. Hastings in *The Tablet*, April 12 and 19, 1975; and J.S. Monteiro, 'O dilema de Igreja em Portugal', *Expresso*, 19 April, 1975. It seems likely that the strength of northern Catholicism did, in the end, contribute to the relaxation and (perhaps) the end of communist hegemony in the summer of 1975. The situation also shifted further and more crucially in a non-communist direction in November, 1975.

[13] For the history, cf. J. Campbell and P. Sherrard, *Modern Greece*, London: Ernest Benn, 1968, Chapter 6.

[14] Cf. J. Campbell, *Honour, Family and Patronage*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964, which gives an excellent account of concepts of honour and the role of religion in a mountainous area of Greece.

[15] Cf. 'Greek Report', April 1969, *Shadow over the Greek Church*, which discusses the role of Zoe (or Zoi). I rely partly on information provided by Dr. N. Kokosalakis. There has been material from time to time in the Eastern Churches Quarterly, and a special issue dedicated to Greece in *Social Compass*, XXII, No. 1, 1975. This issue contains a short history of Zoe, including its divisions, and an article by B. Jiovitsis on the Greek priesthood. The sociographic account of the priesthood shows it to be drawn more particularly from isolated island and mountain areas, where it exercises a clear and broad leadership role and provides a channel of mobility. The recruitment of priests declines with increasing size of town and is negatively associated with education. (It is perhaps of interest that Greece is the most 'believing' of European nations, more especially with respect to the existence of the Devil. Few countries rival Greek deference to the existence of the Devil, though Americans are much seized of his diabolic reality and have shown marked increases in their belief over the past decade.)

RECIPROCAL MIGRATION
A MEDITERRANEAN EXAMPLE

by CHARLES J.M.R. GULLICK

THE theoretical background to the study of migration can in most cases be placed at the door of Ravenstein and his laws of migration.[1] One of his laws said that: 'Each main current of migration produces a compensating counter-current'.[2] It is an aspect of this law that I am going to explore in this paper. His terms have changed with time and now the key words are stream and counterstream. That streams of migrations happen is a common observation, and can be demonstrated by the local examples of Maltese emigration to Australia, Canada, the United States and Britain. The counterstream can take various forms. Thus there is mainly the return of migrants who for some reason decide that opportunities are now better at home. The term 'returned migrants' is commonly used to describe this[3] and these can include the children of returning migrants and migrants proper. By migrant in this paper I mean one who intended to settle permanently and has in most cases official permission to do so. I am not going to refer to illegal migration, nor to migration on renewed tourist visas. Counterflow can also include people indigenous to the area of destination who come with these returning migrants. These are normally thought of as having 'become aware of opportunities or amenities... through stream migrants'.[4] I think this often over-relates the two migration systems. In many cases I feel it is better to describe the two peoples separately with both having streams and counterstreams connecting the same locations but with different groupings using each system. This set of two streams and two counterstreams flowing in reverse directions to one another I have christened reciprocal migration. I feel that such migrations are of great importance to the theoretical study of interethnic relations.

Interethnic relations are notoriously difficult to compare as eth-

nicity is such a wide term and found in so many social contexts and thus much has had to be done in the context of entire social systems.[5] However it is possible in the case of reciprocal migration to study less than entire social systems as the roles of the minority and the majority are then reversed within two cultures. Thus, as in most cases the purely cultural features in the equation are fairly constant in the meeting of the two cultures, fewer cultural aspects have to be taken into account and factors relevant to the analysis can be emphasised. This is the main reason why I have ventured to add another term to the long list of terms to do with migration. By using the word reciprocal in the phrase 'reciprocal migration' I do not mean that there is any equivalence in the size of the two minorities involved and I am only using the word to show that there is a contemporaneous reversal of roles involving two peoples in minority and majority situations.

As my prime Mediterranean example of reciprocal migration I am going to discuss migration in and out of Malta. The country with the reciprocal migration relationship that I am mainly going to talk about is Britain.

Maltese Stream and Counterstream

The best studied section of Maltese migration is that done by Price (1954) who mainly covered the period 1842-1881[6] for which, and indeed up until 1918, statistics of migration have had to be produced by the study of the records at the passport office. From 1918 onwards statistics are also available from the then formed department of emigration. The trouble with these figures is that they are not comparable. Those up to 1881 only deal with the native Maltese population. Then from 1881 onwards all civilians on the island were included. Then from 1901 the figures of the sizable British garrison on the island were also included. The Garrison were an extremely fertile group, due to the high proportion of wives in the child-bearing range and all their children born in Malta have thus counted as Maltese migrants in British statistics, making all figures of Maltese migration, especially to Britain, where most such families returned, highly suspect. Dench has, by means of assumed sex ratios of the actual Maltese migrants, produced some estimates of the actual size of this minority in Britain.[7] Another complication is the fact that any migrant returning to Malta via Italy was put down in the figures as having come from Italy, when many had probably come overland from Britain. Many Maltese migrants also passed through Britain to both Canada and the United States and are

thus counted as British not Maltese in those countries' statistics. Given these complications I will only give an outline of the general patterns of movement and not figures.

An important feature of nineteenth century movement was a series of attempts to organise emigration from the Maltese Islands. The first which I have researched most sent them to the West Indies, between 1831 and 1840 to Guiana and Grenada. The former was a complete disaster, the second was not nearly as bad as claimed by contemporary Maltese accounts or by Price.[8] In fact, given the art of indenture then it was probably as efficient as the first shiploads of emigrants from Madeira to the Caribbean. These Portugese persisted in the westward migration and are now moderately numerous in the West Indies. The Maltese refused further offers to go to Jamaica, and Central America despite the fact that the early experiments with indentured labourers from Madeira had formed the ground rules for bringing labourers successfully into the West Indies. Subsequent plans to settle Maltese groups in Cyprus, Australia and America were equally disastrous. As a result over 90% of nineteenth century migrants only went as far as the coasts of the Levant and North Africa. This was mainly the result of three social factors: (i) the belief that America and Australia had strange and deadly diseases; (ii) the belief that they should go to areas with similar languages and (iii) a desire to be near enough to Malta to be able to return home when necessary. During this period the main pushes and pulls of migration were economic, both at home in Malta and on the Barbary and Levant. The Crimean War was a major period of prosperity in Malta but even then the Egyptian cotton boom was more tempting and for the period a record emigration took place. The end of this boom coincided with a depression on the Barbary coast effecting a major return to Malta. In the 1870s the recovery on the coast coincided with a slight recession in Malta sending migration up again but it diminished between 1875 and 1880 as a result of the poor economic state of Egypt. From the 1860s on the standard of living in Malta overtook that of most of the Mediterranean. Then in the 1880s schemes involving large-scale public expenditure in Malta increased employment opportunities and resulted in a net inward movement up to 1905 with labourers even being imported from Italy and Spain. In the meantime French and Italians expanded into the traditionally Maltese preserves in the Islamic coasts of the Mediterranean.

1906 saw the completion of major harbour and dockyard facilities and unemployment became rife. By then the Italians and French

had complete control of North Africa and other fields had to be investigated. An attempt in 1912 to send migrants to Brazil failed. Then in 1916 a disasterous attempt at migration to Australia resulted in an embargo on future movement, which was however lifted in 1920. Then vocational courses for intended migrants were introduced and eased many of the problems of migration. Short-term migration to Europe and North Africa declined rapidly and many migrants were forced to return as the result of restrictive practices there. Migration to Australia, Canada and the United States was controlled by quota systems that reduced potential movement. The slump of the 1930s restricted this further and there was little revival before World War II when all Maltese migration stopped. Migration to Britain had been slight throughout this period and Dench thinks there were less than a thousand Maltese in Britain before the War apart from service brides.[9] After the war migration increased rapidly to Australia, Canada and the United States, Australia getting the lions share, except in the period 1951 to 1953 when Canada was favoured, during a period of economic difficulties in Australia.[10] Migration reduced in the late 1960s as the result of an internal boom in Malta, but increased in the early 1970s but has now, due to the economic climate in recipient countries, reduced to be virtually non-existant, while counterflow has increased. Maltese minorities were expelled from newly independent Mediterranean countries in the 1960s, but many were not allowed back into Malta but instead joined the members of the excolonial powers in metropolitan countries or departed for Australia. Thus Tunisian-Maltese in both Britain and Australia.

The most fuzzy of all the migration pictures concerns the Maltese coming to Britain. As far as can be judged the pre-war Maltese concentrated at port cities such as Cardiff, Gillingham, Plymouth and Southampton with relatively small groups in London, South Shields, Bristol, Liverpool, Swansea and Manchester. Those in London were divided between the dock area and the West End. With the exception of the latter most of these clusters were of seamen and ex-seamen. The group in the West End of London were students and professional people. Many Maltese came to Britain after the war making probably 5,000 by the early 1950s, 10,000 by the early 1960s and perhaps 13,000 by the mid 1960s. The first substantial Maltese community was in London. This group was made up of both newly arrived migrants and pre-war migrants who seem to have moved there during the war. The major grouping was in Stepney with secondary developments in Tower Hamlets, Hack-

ney, Islington and to a lesser extent Brixton and parts of the West End. Small concentrations now exist in Manchester and Nottingham.

It should be emphasised that the sizes of groups are estimated after the British born in Malta have been subtracted by dint of guestimate and that much of the Maltese migration up to the introduction of restrictions by the Commonwealth Immigrants Acts were for short periods with a quick return to Malta.[11] The Maltese were given a proportionately overlarge allowance by these acts which they never fully used. Thus in 1971 the allowance for 'A' employment vouchers was reduced from 1,000 to 500.

British Stream and Counterstream

There has been a British minority on Malta since before the island's annexation by the British in 1801. An initial British merchant community has continued to this day in the form of various industrialists with factories and other businesses on the island. These are mainly transient and on renewable work permits and thus nowadays do not fit within the confines of migration studies if a definition involving an intention of permanancy is included, as herein.

The major British presence from Annexation until very recently was that of British servicemen on the isle. These like the later invasion of British tourists were only temporary residents and thus outside the sphere of this discussion. Though it can be argued that much of the social relations between British and Maltese in Malta historically stem from the British Services.

The group of Britons, fitting the definition of migrants, and who are the subject of this aspect of the reciprocal migration between Britain and Malta are the so called British Residents who have permits entitling them to permanent residence in Malta as long as they do not work or enter politics in Malta. To cushion the economic consequences of a feared British military withdrawal tax benefits were offered to expatriates as from the year of assessment 1964. These included extra personal deductions, reduced tax rates (2.5% of income brought into Malta) and certain duty free concessions for persons with an income of originally £M800 per year and later £M1,400 p.a. These concessions produced an increase in Britons in the island, housing estates for them, a short lived spell of economic prosperity and partially inspired a tourist boom. The latter was in many ways due to Britons visiting retired residents in Malta.

The stream to Malta peaked around 1970 and then began to dec-

line. New permit rules came into effect as from 14 November 1972 which tended to reduce the flow even more. There were from then on two categories given permits. Those coming in under the first had to bring in at least £M4,000 a year and have capital worth £M20,000, purchase or lease a house in Malta and be liable to at least £M1,000 tax per annum. Those in the second category had to have capital worth £M100,000 with the same conditions as the first group. Their tax was to be the same as that of the Maltese but without surtax. The previous residents with the old style permits also had their taxes increased. This together with the tensions of the 1971-72 dispute over British bases on Malta increased the counterflow and remigration. Many of these, however, retained their residence permits and can and in some cases did return after the troubles were settled. A major problem from the point of view of the student of migration stems from this. The only readily available statistics of the British residents is the number of permits in existence and this does not take into account the counterflow. Thus while it is known that there were just over 3,100 permit holders in January 1976 it is not known how many of them are using their rights. It is probable that the peak population of British residence in Malta was one of about 5,000 in 1970, but this is ultimately a figure reached by guestimate.

RECIPROCAL MIGRANTS

The fact that the cultures involved in the British/Maltese relations in both Britain and Malta are basically the same means that only a few items need be isolated out for discussion. In this paper I am going to compare the following: (1) some political considerations, (2) diglossia, (3) colonialism and the length of history of the minority grouping, (4) age factors, (5) status stereotypes, (6) acculturation and most important of all (7) attitudes to minorities.

(1) *Political Considerations:* a basic difference between the British and Maltese political system for dealing with their minorities is that Maltese system is more legalistically plural. By legalistic pluralism I mean that the minority has different legal and financial rights and obligations to that of the majority (this usage is of course different from that of Cox,[12] which is equivalent to 'pluralistic integration'). This term is not intended to refer to laws relating to migrant entry but to their status once arrived. The best example of the functioning of this is the way that the taxes of the existing residents were altered by the Maltese government in 1972. This has meant that the Maltese govemment as a result of this le-

galistic difference has found it easier to deal with the British minority, than has the British with the Maltese minority. Another factor in the policies of the Maltese towards their British minority that is relevant to the study of reciprocal migration is that the Maltese see or at least claim to see their emigration to Britain, and possible return to Malta from thence in terms of economic need.[13] This view has resulted in the treatment of the British residents and attempts to integrate them being on economic terms with little reference to other factors.

(2) *Diglossia:* Malta is a society with a high degree of diglossia[14] while Britain has little. This has resulted in most migrants being able to fit into the British linguistic system while the British in Malta have remained an almost completely English speaking group relying on the local majority's bilingualism. This means that it is possible to isolate the British in Malta by linguistic means, while the Maltese in Britain could not be so treated. It also means that the Maltese in Britain can use their language as an identifying trait.

(3) *The Colonial Past and History of the Groupings:* the fact that the British are the remains of Malta's colonial past and that they have been there as a grouping for over two centuries means that the Maltese had specific methods for dealing with them while the British with no such relationships have no specifically designed methods for treating the Maltese in Britain. This has produced problems for the Maltese in Britain as they are treated as any other group and thus assumed to have their own internal structure which they do not have. This has resulted in pressure on the Maltese to curb their co-islanders' less savoury traits. This has not produced Maltese social sanctions against offenders but instead the more respectable Maltese tend to pass as British and consider the British very prejudiced.[15] The British colonial role in Malta and length of their presence there also means that the needs and requirements of the British in Malta are better understood and catered for than are those of the Maltese in Britain.

(4) *Age:* the age difference between the basically old British residents in Malta and the relatively young population of Maltese in Britain has produced some differences. Thus the British in Malta have to be continually replaced by new residents otherwise the group will soon die out. In contrast the Maltese in Britain are a viable breeding unit, or rather, given their tendency to hide their ethnicity, non-unit. The age difference has also had some effects

on the sixth factor to be considered, namely acculturation. Thus the Maltese in Britain by being younger are more ready to take on new traits and fashions, than are the older British residents in Malta who are in many cases, already set in their ways. This also explains why many of them do not attempt to integrate.

(5) *Status:* The difference of financial, hierarchical and stereotype status between the two minorities is a major factor in the difference. The British minority can in many cases afford to move out of Malta, though there is a sizable minority who as the result of fixed pensions and inflation would find it difficult. They can also in most cases afford the required luxuries and services to cushion themselves from many social problems. Thus Maltese migrants without this are far more affected by British governmental policies. The major factor, however, is their stereotype in Britain which is a key factor in the Maltese in Britain trying to pretend not to be Maltese.

(6) *Acculturation:* the different direction of acculturation involved in the two cases has made a major difference to the minorities under discussion. Thus in Britain the Maltese are acculturating in the local British culture, while in Malta the acculturation is also from the British (and not only the residents) to the Maltese. Thus in Britain the flow is from the majority to the minority while it is the reverse direction in Malta. The main result of this difference in the direction of acculturation in the context of interethnic relations has, however, been that this paper has talked about the ethnicity of the minority in Britain and the Maltese reactions to the minority in Malta. This is a fundamental difference that, while partially resting on the high status of the British minority is mainly due to the fact that they have a base culture that is considered more developed by many of the Maltese and is still relatively powerful. Thus while in the majority in Malta the Maltese often react as if they were the minority in Malta and the British in the majority.

(7) *The Attitudes to Minorities:* the most important factor in the comparison of these reciprocal migrants is I feel the comparison of their attitudes to minorities, as it determines the behaviour of both the British and Maltese as both majorities and minorities. The Maltese view of the British in Malta is far more one of taking them as individuals than is the British view of the Maltese in Britain who are mainly considered as a group. Thus there is a potential source of friction in Malta between the British view of themselves

as a grouping and with the Maltese less group oriented attitudes. The situation of the Maltese trying to be individuals in Britain without over considering themselves a group has, as Dench[16] has shown already, caused conflicts with the British trying to treat them as a group.[17]

Conclusion

I feel that such comparisons of migrants in reciprocal migration situations have some importance in isolating factors in the analysis of interethnic relations. They certainly cut out the necessity of comparing total situations. I feel that similar studies of other cases of reciprocal migration with similar reversals of majority and minority roles should be similarly fruitful. In the Mediterranean another example to be studied at once springs to mind; that is the study of the British in Cyprus (or rather those recently in Cyprus) and the Cypriots in Britain. Such a study along with others would help answer the question as to how much the reactions of a minority are determined by their reactions as a majority at home and how much is due to the responses of their host culture?

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[1] Ravenstein, E.G. 'The Laws of Migration' *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society,* vol. 43, (June 1885) pp. 167-227 & 'The Laws of Migration' (2) *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* vol. 52 (June 1889) pp. 241-301.

[2] Ibid. (1) p. 199.
[3] Cf. Price, C.A. *Malta and the Maltese: a study in Nineteenth Century Migration* 1954, Georgian House, Melbourne, p. xix.
[4] Lee, E. 'A Theory of Migration' in J.A. Jackson *Migration*, Sociological Studies No. 2, Cambridge University Press (1969). p. 293.
[5] Cf. Lowenthal, D. 'Post-emancipation race relations: some Caribbean and American perspectives', *Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs*, vol. 13, nos. 3-4 (1971) pp. 367-377; and van den Berghe, P.L. *Race and Racism: a comparative perspective* (1967) John Wiley & Sons, New York, London, Sydney.
[6] Price *Malta and the Maltese.*
[7] Dench, G. 'Maltese Immigrants in London: Analysis of some official Statistics', *Institute of Race Relations Newsletter* (January 1968) pp. 17-23; and *Maltese in London: a case-study in the erosion of ethnic consciousness*, Report of the Institute of Community Studies (1975) pp. 27-33, & 240-242.
[8] Price, *Malta and the Maltese*, pp. 75-85.
[9] Dench, 'Maltese in London, pp. 27-33 & 240-242.
[10] Cf. Richardson, M. 'Population and Migration', in H. Bowen-Jones, J.C. Dewdney and W.B. Fisher *Malta: Background for Development* Geography Department, Durham University (1961) pp. 133-163, and Zammit, A.C. 'Malta and Migration', *International Migration*, vol. 1, no. 3, (1963) pp. 178-182.
[11] Cf. Dench, G. 'Maltese Immigrants in London', pp. 17-23, *Maltese In London*, p. 25; and 'The Commonwealth Immigrants Act and Maltese Immigration' *Institute of Race Relations Newsletter* (July 1968) pp. 289-292.
[12] Cox, O.C., 'The Question of Pluralism' *Race*, vol. 12 (1971) pp. 385f.
[13] Cf. Zammit, E.L. 'The behaviour patterns of Maltese migrants in London with reference to Maltese social institutions' (B.Litt thesis, Oxford University 1970); 'A group of young Maltese workers in Britain – some Sociological observations' *Economic and Social Studies*, Malta, vol. 2 (1973), pp. 27-34; and 'The "Economic" orientations of Maltese migrants in London: work, money and social status' *Economic and Social Studies*, Malta, vol. 3 (1974) pp. 17-39.
[14] For a definition of this term cf. Ferguson, C.A. 'Diaglossia' Word vol. 15, (1959) pp. 325-340 and for its more modern usage Fishman, J.A. 'The Sociology of Language: An interdisciplinary Social Science Approach to Language in Society' Newbury House, Mas. (1972) pp. 91-106, also cf. Gullick, C.J.M.R. 'Maltese and Creole' Belizian Studies vol. 4 no. 3 (1976) pp. 25-36.
[15] Cf. Dench *Maltese in London* pp. 152f.
[16] Dench 'Maltese in London', pp. 174f.
[17] Cf. Gullick, C.J.M.R. 'London Maltese' *New Community*, vol. 4, no. 3, (1975), pp. 404-7.

PORTUGAL AND THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN: A SUGGESTED SURVEY

by HARRY BERNSTEIN

THE lines of late medieval and early modern trade that once linked Portugal with Barcelona and Spain ran overland from Atlantic Lisbon to Mediterranean Spain. They carried goods from Brazil as well as metals from Spanish America during the sixty years when Madrid dominated Lisbon. The section of Fernand Braudel's study of modern Mediterranean history which he calls 'L'Espagne quitte la Mediterranée', he might have also described as Spain pulls Portugal into the Mediterranean.[1]

After the discovery of America, the great wealth of Spanish American gold and silver plied these land routes. During the eighteenth century some unknown amounts and carats of the bright Brazilian diamonds also went both by overland and by sea to reach Barcelona, or to get to Italy. Although exposed to the costly raids of Catalan and Pyrenean *bandeirolismo* and brigandage/banditry, the risks of trading overland from Portugal to the Mediterranean were probably far less dangerous than the sea route.[2]

North African piracy and privateering made the Portuguese routes into the Western Mediterranean a problem, from their conquest of Ceuta in 1415 to their practice of using naval convoys in 1800 and later. While the *bandeirolismo* and banditry on land were a sort of class struggle of Christian versus Christian, the North African and Portuguese encounters were the war of Christianity versus Islam, combining the crusade-reconquista with the gains of commerce and the income from ransoms. Across its five hundred years of activity the Santa Misericordia of Lisbon paid the Algerian attackers enormous sums in ransoms.

As goods and gold went into the Mediterranean, peoples left the Mediterranean to live and work in Portugal. The Genoese and some Florentines were there early. Catalans lived and were established in Lisbon at the same time that the Genoese and other Italians

were. This migration of merchants took place in late medieval and early modern times. Then, in the eighteenth century, Maltese came to Portugal.

The Maltese in Lisbon lived by the riverfront, as sellers of fruits and vegetables. Some made their living by drying and selling fish in *cabanas* by the Tejo. The great historian of Lisbon, E. Freire de Oliveira reports their presence in 1737, calling them 'vendedores ambulantes' who set up their 'tents' in the *terreiro do paco*. Their services in Lisbon were different from their work in Barcelona.[3]

It is true that the people of the Mediterranean had much in common by ancestry and appearance. It is also noteworthy that their rivalry was keen and often warlike. Competition sprang up even where they produced much that was common. The common culture of olives, wine, and of clay tile has been well known. This trio was connected with the classical heritage. The Portuguese discovery of Brazil brought new products: Pernambuco dyewood for one thing. By the mid-eighteenth century Pombal of Portugal had reduced the Portuguese importation of rice from Sicily, from Genoa, or by way of Venice. His promotion of large-scale fishing in the waters off Algarve shaped a new era. Rice production changed the landscape and economy of Aveiro to this day.[4]

This competition in Mediterranean products was even better expressed in wine and olive production. In the mid-nineteenth century, Alexandre Herculano, Portugal's most outstanding historian and historical novelist, and a very successful farmer, defended Portugal's own olive oil as being far better than the French (Provence), which was then being imported by prosperous Lisbon merchants using ships from Marseilles. Classical similarity gave way to national differences and local variation in growth and quality – free trade arguments versus tariff protections were also involved.

Diplomacy also formed links that connected Portugal with the Mediterranean. Balance of power in both the Iberian and Italian peninsulas reflected friendly as well as hostile positions. Competition with Castile in Catalonia and in the Italian balance compelled some degree of policy even in distant places such as Barcelona and Turin.

The Portuguese anti-Castilian position in the revolt for independence was helped by the Catalan Revolt against Castile. While Catalan (i.e. Barcelona merchants) followed the overland routes to Lisbon to seek aid, Portuguese emissaries went by sea to Barcelona, going on by ship to Italy and into Mediterranean France. Such a mutual interest of Portugal and Catalonia never again

reached as high as it did in 1640 when their struggles for freedom from Spain coincided. As Portugal rose to independence and Catalonia declined to dependence, the balance in the Iberian peninsula changed permanently.

The Portuguese published many books and pamphlets at this time to record their attention to Catalonia and Barcelona. Private letters abound that have described the mutual sentiments and hopes that they could have shared. Pamphlets and newspapers in the Pombal Collection of the Biblioteca Nacional attested to this Luso-Catalan relation not only in 1640 and 1641, but in the War of the Spanish Succession (1704), and as late as the Napoleonic Era (early nineteenth century). These early journals, like many of the books and pamphlets, were written in Portuguese. The high level of interest in Catalonia probably reflected the offer of the Barcelonese to elect João IV of Portugal as their king, as their forefathers had once elected Pedro in exchange for help against vengeful Castile.

The Mascarenhas Mission of 1641 showed the Portuguese some of the dangers of using the sea route. The risks of the sea, its currents, calms, and shallows were not as catastrophic as the *mistral* winds that blew out into the Mediterranean and North Africa, all the way down the France's Rhône Valley. Convoys, navies, and diplomatic missions were scattered, shipwrecked, and otherwise destroyed. For the Portuguese, the Spanish seapower, coastguards, and maritime presence in the Mediterranean was further proof positive of the enmity of Castile, both in Iberian as well as Italian land-and-sea geography.[5]

In spite of the Portuguese effort, the Restoration succeeded in Portugal, while independence failed in Catalonia. Although the Portuguese King greeted the Catalan deputation which came to him, 'constantly with a smile on his face and showing signs of his great pleasure ...', said one Catalan contemporary who saw this 'because I was right behind our Ambassador as he read our declaration ...', Catalonia nevertheless succumbed.[6] As war, diplomacy, and treaties secured Portugal's borders and guaranteed her independence as a nation, the commercial force of the eighteenth century renewed the momentum of economics which continued to bring trade into the Mediterranean. Some of that trade, although Luso-Brazilian in origin was more colonial than Portuguese.

Portugal's exports to Barcelona in the eighteenth century included large and regular shipments of Brazilwood. The strong textile industry in Barcelona made extensive use and developed special techniques for using the 'color portugués on cloths.

Brazilwood ('palo Brasil' or Ferlambuch wood) provided an invaluable red dye and coloring. The wood trade had declined even before 1800 because of high prices, but after that other factors such as the discovery of chemical dyes helped to shift the economic geography of the trade. The incorporation in 1755 of the Catalan Company trading to America at the time when the Pernambuco Company was also founded for Brazil, had set up a Spanish agency which could import the *brasilete* woods ('de nova selva') from the forests of Santa Marta (New Granada or Colombia). The red dyes for Barcelona were supplemented by the blue or indigo dyes and plants from Campeche. We do not know if the Catalan Company had any illegal trade with Brazil in other items.

Perhaps the price rise imposed on Pernambuco wood by the Portuguese royal monopoly for higher royal income, cost the Portuguese and Brazilians their dyewood market in Barcelona. Pernambuco wood from Brazil sold at nine libras an arroba, which was a high price.[7] Barcelonese textile shops and factories turned more and more to the very good dyes of France, Italy and Aragon. The Brazilian dyes had served admirably in the coloring of the *indianas*, a cloth and dress as multi-colored as the *chita* (Maltese gingham or calico) which the Portuguese liked so much. In 1785 the Junta de Commercio of Barcelona was able to get a master of silk dyeing to write his book *Quadern* ('Arte de la Tintura ...) as a text for other guild masters, apprentices, and journeymen on the art of using Pernambuco or Brazilwood.

In 1786 Genoa was getting tobacco, Brazilwoods, rice, cotton, cacao, sugar and coffee from Brazil, reshipped from Portugal, while Genoa sent Portugal velours from Piedmont (Turin).[8] Recently published correspondence of the Lisbon merchant, F. Pinheiro, documented the large imports of dyewoods into Lisbon from Brazil. These letters from a merchant who traded with Brazil and Northern Europe also proved the continued activity of Italian merchants as far away as Brazil. Pinheiro's largest trade was not with the Spanish Mediterranean, yet his letters and reports showed imports into Portugal of Catalan *agardente*, as well as *passas* or raisins from Alicante.[9] Separately, E. Freire de Oliveira, author of the multi-volumed *History of Lisbon*, referred to the large amount of tavern sales. Valencia shipped to Portugal *chapins*, a kind of high soled shoe or slipper.

The strong *tanoeiros* guild (makers of barrels, casks and pipes) were charged with checking any liquid imports, if they came in casks. They had the authority to stamp the barrels. These coopers, one of the most powerful and influential guilds in Portugal, did not

use the Pernambuco-Brazil wood for their containers, as the carpenters did for their cabinets and furniture. The coopers used other woods, oak from Portugal and even wood shipped from Hamburg (Germany). This guild was ever alert, both to the law and to safeguard their own and the royal interest, at the customs house or the Paço da Madeira. Foreigners were also buying casks, barrels and containers, not only for the wine, brandy and olive oil, but also for the needs of the British Navy at Gibraltar and in the Mediterranean.[10]

In short, as Frédéric Mauro once wrote, Barcelona was one of the cities of the Western Mediterranean to which came the goods of Brazil and Portugal.[11] We can now add that the Western Mediterranean also sent goods to Portugal, and also perhaps, to Brazil. Pernambuco wood and Brazilian cotton found uses more and more. Brazilian cotton substituted for the Malta supply in Barcelona's textile production. The great and dazzling supply of Brazilian diamonds and semi-precious stones adorned the garments and bodies of the Catalan rich.

It was not only commerce and traders that moved. Diplomacy and international relations went right along with commerce, into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Diplomatic ties and international relations not only made up for and balanced the separated geography, but also added to this sum of the survey of the Portuguese presence in the Mediterranean. Moving from the background of modern history into the foreground of the nineteenth century with its Napoleonic and Anglo-French wars and naval battles, it is clear that religion, the Church, and empire-building were absent from the Portuguese diplomacy and action in the Mediterranean. Portugal's comparatively slight presence was that of an acceptable guest and visitor, not a conqueror or owner.

Even from an earlier time, that of Minister Pombal, the efforts to improve and modernize the Portuguese Navy were closely related to both the growth of commerce and diplomacy. It is not an accident that Pombal's procedures for the revival of the navy, arsenals and shipbuilding were timed to accompany the organization of commercial corporations that depended on sea exploitation or maritime communications, such as the Pernambuco and Para companies in America. Yet, in 1751, even before the stock companies were created, Pombal had also organized the Companhia Geral dos Pescadores do Reino de Algarve (a Fishing Company), ostensibly to organize the sardine and tuna fishing along those waters leading into the Mediterranean. In that era of Portuguese boundary disputes with the Spanish in Latin America, Pombal also had it in

mind to drive Spanish 'intruders' from occupying the beaches. He went so far as to plan a new Portuguese town at the mouth of the Guadiana River. This would have brought Portuguese commercial fishing, and the patrols of the Portuguese Navy, closer to the Gibraltar base and entrance to the Mediterranean and North Africa.[12]

The age of war between Portugal and France from 1795 to 1812 greatly extended these early purposes of modernizing the Portuguese Navy and merchant vessels for use in the Mediterranean. The ministers of the later eighteenth century, Martinho e Melo (1755-1785) and Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho (the Conde de Linhares) continued at the end of the century, and in the beginning of the nineteenth, to promote the development of their Navy. Scientific reforms, schools, geography, modern workmanship in the arsenals, accompanied their reforms and brought wider horizons within reach, in America as well as in the Mediterranean.

In 1793 Portuguese troops had gone into Catalonia again, in order to help Spain, but at great sacrifice in deaths, injury and illness, leaving Barcelona after Spain negotiated the peace in 1795. In a few years the new Portuguese Navy replaced the army, taking part with the British in the sea battles off Alexandria, the fight for Malta (1798), and even later, in the battle of Trafalgar. The small but changed Navy proved useful to the British fleet in the Mediterranean.

The presence of fixed British sea power at Gibraltar and of more mobile Portuguese squadrons in the Mediterranean made the greater movement from the Algarve-Atlantic-Gibraltar lanes safer and swifter. But they also suggested something more in the line of dynastic diplomacy. In 1807 when the Portuguese royal family and the convoy left Lisbon for Brazil, following the French invasion, an idea was proposed. An exchange of letters between Lord Strangford (British Minister to Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro) and the Conde de Barca (Portuguese Foreign Minister) suggested in October 1807 that ships that could not reach Madeira or Brazil should instead sail for Gibraltar where the British could sustain and protect them (this was two years after the Battle of Trafalgar).

Some years before this, in his address of 1798 to the newly formed Portuguese Real Sociedade Militar, Maritima e Geografica, the Minister Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho (Conde de Linhares), now the Minister for Navy and Overseas, called for still more modernization and reorganization of both the Portuguese Navy and the guild labor and skilled workers of the shipyards. His purpose was to provide access to 'those coasts close to us, which are going to be ... frequently visited by our merchant marine ... the Coasts on

the other side of the Mediterranean [and] those of the Baltic and those of South America.' That same year the small Portuguese Navy took part in the Battle for Malta. Linhares' speech thus also strengthened, as he said himself, the commercial credit which London insurers were giving to Portuguese merchant ships now moving their freight into the Mediterranean.

Linhares gave a third address to that Society (forerunner of the present-day Geographical Society of Lisbon). Here he referred to the Crown's new practice of sending Portuguese Navy cruisers against the Algerian pirates of North Africa. He emphasized in several other addresses the recent Portuguese Navy and merchant ship convoy system which secured 'for the vessels of his Royal Highness the rich commerce of the Mediterranean.' In spite of the insistence of the Lisbon city council that all ships coming to Portugal from Sicily, Oran and the Levant must be inspected for their sanitation and cleanliness from disease, the exchange of Luso-Brazilian products for those of the Mediterranean continued. Mediterranean trade also followed the flag to Tunisia as well as Turin (then known as Savoy or Piedmont). The Portuguese diplomacy in Turin also seemed to have a way of balancing the Spanish power in the Iberian peninsula with that of the Spanish power in the Italian peninsula (Naples).

This same Sousa Coutinho (Linhares) himself had fond feelings for Turin. He had previously been the Portuguese Minister to Savoy. He had married a Piedmont lady.[13] Coutinho also had many times used the example of Turin as a model for Portuguese credit and fiscal policies, and how to learn from Turin's example of good banking and credit. Generally declared to be pro-British in his outlook (which does not contradict the above) it is possible that Coutinho (like the later Minister Cavour in Turin) saw both in Turin and England the stamp of creditworthy Portuguese commerce and banking procedures.

His speeches and policies several times renewed the idea that Brazilian products would not only enrich Portugal, but would also come to the Mediterranean. He expected that the new trade into the Mediterranean would open the way for 'colonial goods', such as Brazilwood, cotton, tobacco and the precious and semi-precious products of the Brazilian mines. This Sousa Coutinho Ministry may well have linked Luso-Brazilian products as well as Portugal's diplomacy to the Western Mediterranean and to Italy.[14] In diplomacy, briefly, the decline of a helpless Catalonia in the Iberian peninsula was compensated somewhat by the Luso-Savoy-Piedmont relationship in the Italian peninsula.

We are told by Damião Peres (the noted contemporary Portuguese historian) that the political struggles in Italy after the middle of the nineteenth century were closely watched in Portugal. He explained that the creation of the Kingdom of Italy from that of Savoy-Piedmont-Sardinia provoked anxiety in Portugal 'where some extreme spirits felt that the unification of Germany and Italy endangered the independence of Portugal.'[15]

The forces of nationalism, unification, and even of the Socialism which arose in Mediterranean lands after 1840 were as important as those more economic and geographic elements of the wind and the sea which moved the trade and the diplomacy. The ideas of the nineteenth century are rich with influence and energy which have also moved men and even changed history. The temper and the times of the years 1868 to 1874 are strong with events such as the Spanish Revolution, the Papacy and the Papal States, the socialism and federalism of Catalonia, and the effects within Portugal. It was also an era of Fréderic Mistral, his *félibres*, the revival of Provençal and Catalan cultural and literary nationalism, some of which found echo and praise in Portuguese letters and essays, as well as in a few expressions of national politics.

One of the best known and internationally respected of the present-day (1976) historians and writers of Portugal, A.H. de Oliveira Marques, has again raised the prospect of the Iberian Union between the changing Spain and the changed Portugal. The prospect of unity between the two kingdoms proposed one hundred years ago by Prim in 1868 and 1870 apparently still has signs of life and interest, based now upon an additional observation that a Porto/Lisbon axis should meet with a Barcelona/Valencia axis which would again join the Atlantic and the Mediterranean.

During those years of the past century when colonialism and imperialism were at their height from 1870 to 1920, powers such as Britain and Germany looked to Portugal to help them enter the Mediterranean. Portugal was thus also the way-station for passage to the Mediterranean, Suez and points east. This politic and political reality led to the German policy under Bismarck of uniting Spain and Portugal (i.e. the Mediterranean) under another race of Kings: this time the Hohenzollern candidate. That a Hohenzollern could make Portugal the Piedmont of a united and royalist Iberian unification might now seem far-fetched, but the entire balance of power relation of North Europe might have been upset by any such enlargement of the Iberian population, resources, market economics, military position and size.

These large questions involving Iberian power, size and strength

were very upsetting to France, and became one of the elements in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. Differences between the Great Powers over any changing balance in proposals for a united Iberia ran parallel with other considerations and ambitions having to do this time with the Portuguese place in Africa. The back seat which Bismarck offered Portugal was not so removed from the scene as the memorandum proposed in the Italian Sonnino Cabinet of World War I, which proposed Italian acquisition of Portugal's African colonies. These internal differences between the Great Powers matched the internal differences between their peoples.

Differences existed and exist between workers and peoples of Southern Europe and those of Northern Europe. Latin European workers have had in common the fact that they resembled each other in the economic stage they have reached. Workers in Portugal, Italy and Spain had a predominance of rural laborers rather than factory workers or proletariat. Church domination as well as feudal landlordism kept these workers illiterate and ignorant. Only such cities as Porto, Lisbon, Barcelona and Turin emerged from this background into the better and freer light of liberalism, Socialism and literacy. As a result some individuals of liberal ideas and others of Socialist principles have reached across the Mediterranean, penetrating the domination of the society and proving the power of their ideas.

One should therefore conclude this survey with some appreciation of the place of rebels and radicals in Mediterranean affairs. The contribution of Mediterranean men to Portuguese liberalism as well as Socialism has deserved a place, and merits mention.[16] Sometimes their presence was but coincidence, and we lack the proof of any yet-known connection. Still, it is in this trace of history that the humanity of the Mediterranean relationship takes its place alongside commerce, diplomacy, geography, and naval wars.

Giovanni Durando of Piedmont, one of two brothers who fought for the Portuguese liberals during the Peninsular War, stayed long enough to take part with Pedro's rebels in the siege of 1832, and precede the radical democratic reforms of 1836.[17] He surely can contrast with the force of Italian reaction and Church influence, in the example of the reactionary Charles Albert of Savoy, the Mediterranean despot who, when driven out of Turin, abdicated to Portugal, to a monastery in Porto.

Mediterranean radicalism had as much persistance as Mediterranean reaction. Radicalism moved from east to west in some other ways, trying to make Portuguese workers more class conscious. In 1870 a committee nominated by the Socialist Congress

of Barcelona sent an appeal to workers in Portugal to join the International Association of Workingmen. After the Paris Commune, three Spanish delegates to the Association came to Lisbon to set up a section or centro. A few years later this became the Socialist Party of Portugal. José Fontana (1841-1876), a founder and high intellectual of Lisbon's earliest Socialism, was one of the great Mediterranean or South European Socialists. Fontana came from Ticino (the Italian Swiss town) to organize the Portuguese workers into strikes, discipline, unionism and political action. Like the Barcelona Socialists, Fontana was also both national and international-minded, but always loyal to the interests of the working-class, even though he rose himself from being a printer to becoming a publisher.[18]

For centuries Italy as well as Catalonia and Portugal had nourished a strong and talented guild society of workers, soon to be forced open by the energetic liberal capitalism of the nineteenth century. Migrants and immigrants could pass from one of these countries to the other to look for work with their artisanry and skills. Was it then only a coincidence of parallel economic stage that brought about the abolition of both the Lisbon and Barcelona guilds in the same year 1834? Was it but another coincidence that the Fascisms and 'corporate' state of Italy and Portugal appeared at the same time in the 1920s? Could it be that similar conditions influenced these Mediterranean events? The New State of Salazar, together with that of Mussolini, must also have followed the precedents of the jacobins, carbonari, and even Mediterranean Socialists in pointing out the routes and directions of their origins, if not the history and causes of their origin.

NOTES:

[1] F. Braudel, *La Mediterranée et le Monde Mediterranéen à l'Epoque de Philippe II*, 2nd ed. révu et augmenté, 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1966), II-467.

[2] Braudel reproduced the maps of the overland trade routes found in Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal, *Los Caminos en la Historia de España* (1951), showing the position of Barcelona.

[3] E. Freire de Oliveira, *Elementos Para a Historia do Municipio de Lisboa*, 17 vols. plus a 2 vol. Index, (Lisboa: Camara Municipal, 1882-1911), XIII-281, XIV-476.

[4] V. Magalhães Godinho, *Prix et Monnaies au Portugal*, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, VI[e] Section (Paris: Libraire Armand Colin, 1955), p. 16.

[5] *Relação da Embaixada do Padre Mestre Inacio Mascarenhas a Catalunha da 1[a] Edição de 1641* (L. de Anveres, publisher of Lisbon). Reimpressa por Edgar Prestage, (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1926); Catalan report of Mascarenhas in *Arquivo de la Corona de Aragon, Memorial Historico Español*, XXII, pp. 64, 66, 378-379; XXV, pp. 369, 376-377, 380.

[6] Prestage did not know that the Manuscript #513 in the University of Coimbra Library told the story of the Portuguese reception of the Catalan mission. Many pamphlets and contemporary letters, some from Lisbon, others from Barcelona also reported the Catalan-Portugal contacts.

[7] Pedro Molas Ribalta, *Los Gremios Barceloneses del Siglo XVIII. La Estructura Corporativa ante el Comienzo de la Revolucion Industrial* (Madrid, 1970), pp. 199, 522.

[8] See trade records in papers of Grao Para and Maranhao Company. Arquivo de Ministerio das Finanças (Lisbon), vol. 123, marked 'Copiador de Italie e Norte', for the company's letters to their agents, factors and correspondents in Marseilles, Genoa, Venice and even Trieste.

[9] Luis Lisanti, *Negocios Coloniais* (Uma correspondencia comercial de secolu XVIII), Braizl, Ministerio da Fazenda, 5 vols. (São Paulo: Visão Editorial, 1973), III-790; Freire de Oliveira, *op. cit.*, XVII, pp. 142-'46, 177-178.

[10] Brazilwoods were too costly to be used for wine casks or barrels, or olive oil containers.

[11] F. Mauro, *Le Portugal et l'Atlantique au XVII[e] Siècle*, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, VI[e] Section, (Paris: 1960), p. 390.

[12] Magalhaes Godinho, *op. cit.*, p. 252n., tells of an Extremadura Company which in 1747 combined with the Granada Company to sell silks to Portugal.

[13] Marquez de Funchal, *O Conde de Linhares: Dom Rodrigo Domingos Antônio de Sousa Coutinho*, (Lisbon: Typographia Bayard, 1908), Doc. 41, pp. 278-280.

[14] 'Colecão de Portugal' documents in Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro; Sousa Coutinho's letter of 1800 referring to 'Portuguese Consuls' in Barcelona, Alicante, Cartagena and Malaga.

[15] Damião Peres, *Historia de Portugal*, VII, pp. 389-395, quotation taken from A. Serpa Pimentel, *Da Nacionalidade e do Governo Representativo*, (1881), p. 74.

[16] Out of the elected membership of Portugal's great historian and novelist, Alexandre Herculano, to the Turin Royal Academy of Sciences, came Herculano's personal and political friendship with the Piedmontese liberal historian, Luigi Cibrario (minister of education for Cavour).

[17] G.F.H. Berkeley, *Italy in the Making, 1815 to 1846*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1932-1940), I pp. 82, 151; III p. 29n.

[18] See the *Almanaque de José Fontana*, (Lisboa: 1885-86).

EDUCATION IN THE CLASSICAL MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

by CHARLES MIZZI

INTRODUCTION

The following essays an examination of the nature of education in the 'World of Antiquity'. It attempts to answer how people experienced education, how they viewed it, supported it and were changed by it.

It is well at the outset to establish limits for the inquiry. The World of Antiquity, a priori, includes the cultures and civilizations bordering the Mediterranean, particularly the Eastern where grew the most active civilizations, the cultures to which twentieth century societies trace their beginnings. The time span of 1000 B.C. to the establishment of Christianity neatly brackets not only the glories of Athens and Rome, but also the changes wrought by religion, which ethic is held to be basic to Western European Civilization.

The usual terms – culture, social agency, civilization, etc. are used according to usual scholarly protocols. Education, however, the central concern of this essay needs to be defined more carefully.

Education is usually accepted as that collection of customs, duties, exercises, formal and informal arrangements by which members of a culture can be said to become assimilated. By historical, social and anthropological standards, education is the process, no matter how conducted, of acculturation.

Historians are wont to view education as the process,[1] that a culture or a civilization establishes in order to safeguard and carry on its traditions and its values. In a narrower sense, education becomes the formal process by which a child is taught those things necessary to become accepted in the world of adults and eventually function as an effective member of society.

This view is unnecessarily limiting. Central to the thesis being

explored is that education goes well beyond the formal and informal processes, and includes the total world in which the person operates and is in touch with. Further, formal, systematized education can be seen as a frequently limiting agency, that reduces, rather than enlarges a person's scope of action. (Aristotle Book VII No. 15)

For the purpose of this paper then, education is taken to be as any activity, casual or formal, directed or accidental, which tends to make the individual more sensitive to his environment, and better able to control or react to it.

I

The easiest starting point for this exploration is the self-same 'World of Antiquity' in Marrou's landmark and still definitive work: History of Education In Antiquity. It is convenient because his world of antiquity is coterminous with the subject area – the Mediterranean, the concern of this paper and this symposium. He writes of the same time span as well. Further, one may borrow his justification for his work for this modest essay.

> Everything we have of any importance in our society, had its beginning in the Graeco-Roman world. This is especially true of education.[2]

Beyond academic interest, the significance of these concerns with education would be evident from the most cursory glance at headlines the world over. Whether named directly, or by implication, the assurance of a future for each of our societies, the most often accepted goal of education and educational systems, is a globally recurring theme.

After acknowledging a debt to Marrou for providing so excellent a starting point, it is necessary to indicate the departures from his form. In addition to the different usage of the term cited previously, this essay includes and gives equal weight to Hebrew culture. Further, since education is being viewed as a far more diffused process than that of historians in general and Marrou in particular, this essay does not limit itself to historical 'record' alone, but includes the writings and traditions extant at the times, including scriptures, and the epics as well poetry among its sources.

Lastly, in addition to the historical perspective, the topic will be examined from the point of view of evolution and social change. The intrinsic nature of education – that of the changing individual, his growth and development, social and intellectual is also considered.

It seems most assuredly true that the dramas of yesterday are constantly reenacted with only changes in scenery and in dramatic personae.

II

Man shares with all other organisms, a need to protect and prolong life; to procreate and continue the species. Man differs from all others – at least according to what science can thus far determine, in that he is aware of himself and his eventual death. While unable to achieve immortality, he has managed to not only ensure his continuity but simultaneously, increase his chances. While true for man as individual, this is even truer for the societies he has designed. He has established additional means beside self reproduction to protect life and expand his kind and his culture – his kith and kin. Economics, bureaucracies, armies, family and social organisations are among the agencies that evolved and have been constantly improved to feed, protect and continue specie and culture. Any living organism can be born, grow and mature, given a set of environmental factors over which it has little or no control. Man cannot. Left by himself, he would hardly survive birth. He cannot grow without the social organization of the family to provide for him. With only limited control of his environment, he can grow, but not mature, without the intervention of the family as well as other social agencies. He is not fully a member of society until his growth and maturity are shaped into molds and behaviors that form the value systems of his culture, necessitating a degree of interaction with and control of his natural as well as social environment.

These interventions, by the family and other social agencies are the formalized aspects of his education. From the very earliest of societies:

> ... hunting is a set of ways of life. It involves division of labor ... sharing according to custom ... planning ... knowledge of many species, ... areas ... technical skills.[3]

Clearly, man learns by imitation. From the earliest that he was able, he learned the rudiments from observing his elders and then assumed or was given responsibilities as he was able to discharge them. The games of childhood, his very play included elements of adult behavior be it hunter or warrior – (or today's jet pilot), and was encouraged and aided by adults as part of his 'learning'.

If imitation however were the sole or even the major source of learning, then it would seem that culture would be stultified and

unchanging. The 'learning' process must include some elements either intrinsic or extrinsic that enable the learner to transcend the immediate stimulus and rather than react to it in the 'patterned' behavior common even to social insects like bees, to take bold, new, innovative, strange avenues. That this is a slow, difficult and frequently dangerous process can be seen in the fact that while man has been 'around' at least a half a million years, he was hunter for all that time save the last five or six thousand. From earliest times it was the family that was the most important and most vital element of 'education'. This remains true even today, although the technical aspects have been, for several hundred years, given over to 'Rabbis' or other teachers. Marrou, among others cite the fact that all of the child's earliest training is done by the family – even in as highly specialized and narrowly directed a culture as Sparta's. The most eloquent of 'proof' is that of Marcus Aurelius who opens his Meditations by stating:

> From my grandfather Verus I learned good morals and the government of my temper.[4]

Historical references indicate convincingly that in Hebrew culture in particular as well as most Middle Eastern cultures in general, the family's educational responsibilities extended even into vocational training. As became widespread later, a person's field of endeavor – his trade – his contribution to society – was most often dictated by his family's. The sons of herders became herders themselves, children of nomads and farmers grew up to become nomads, farmers, etc. In a society with very little differentiation among its members, especially true in the Middle East, clans and whole tribes were all farmers or herdsmen or warriors.

As society became complex and needs for artisans, merchants, scribes became felt, these functions were assumed by families insuring the continuance of a skill and its refinements.

In the simpler societies of the Hebrew culture and in the earlier beginnings of Greek and Roman civilizations, whatever education was necessary, even for the specialities that the rudimentary technology was beginning to identify, was available through the family.

There occasionally appeared an individual, necessarily self taught – an astronomer, a poet, a prophet whose personal qualities and exceptional skills made him a leader or at least made people listen to him. If not killed as dangerous to the status quo, or shunned or exiled and thus lost to history and to us, he was honoured or even deified. Since he alone possessed the skill, he alone could pass it on, and the sole means of doing so was for his

pupil or pupils to go and live with him. The necessity of daily bread made this most difficult and explains why so few of the above managed to establish their skills and their names until a more complex – a surplus based society that afforded a leisure class could be supported. A Sappho, a Solomon, a Homer could achieve immortality and lend credence to the graces and achievements of an era that allowed many others to vanish into the dust of the ages.

The needs of a growingly complex society were responded to by the appearance of innovators who gave the sharpened javelin more range by adding a throwing stick; who bound layers of springy wood with sinew to make the more powerful composite bow, who noted and told others how crops grew better when planted at the right phase of the moon and better still when irrigated. These boons however were limited to those who saw them or heard about them at least until the advent of the scribe.

Until the appearance of writing in some form or other, education was essentially that gained from immediate observation and local training. Differences in language, customs, traditions, styles even in the conceptualization of the world around them must have characterised even peoples living in close proximity:

> Cultural differences ... have been ... explained by diverse geographic or economic conditions ... of endlessly varying social contexts ...[5]

Histories, epics, advice, all lore transmitted by word of mouth necessarily suffered – or enjoyed a local translation and coloration. No hegemony could be imposed or achieved as long as clans and tribes, no less than nations and cultures had no permanent record to refer to. Therefore it is not surprising that the first schools as we would recognize them today were for the teaching of scribes, and even less so that the scribes, because of their unique position, transcribing, recording and transmitting the important events and knowledge of their own and of previous ages, became associated with learning and even wisdom. No doubt, the diligence required in learning the early systems of writing, hieroglyphics, pictographs etc. requiring as it did a lifetime's devotion indicated unusually apt and highly motivated pupils. For the most part, however, scribes, while enjoying a much easier life in terms of sheer fatiguing labor, and a status superior to the general population, were not regarded as particularly learned or wise. Their status did not automatically confer on them even the regard that literacy would enjoy among the illiterate. They were, except for the chief scribes, the court attendants, the chamberlains, no more

than skilled artisans.

While knowledge, wisdom, being learned and accomplished in the things that each society deemed important, ordinary literacy was not to be highly prized until much later, certainly not until writing became simplified into the twenty characters of the Phoenician, or the thirty characters of the Hebrew Alphabet which one could master in a lot less than the lifetime that earlier systems required.

This, then, is the gradual evolution of the system of education by which societies sought to insure the preservation – but not necessarily the diffusion – of the skills, crafts and knowledge it deemed important. Temples took on priests and scribes. The palace supported artists, poets, bards and musicians. Families of craftsmen passed technology on, and the family taught language, manners, tradition and values.

As each society became more complex, it stratified into classes from farmers to free holders to rulers. The role each member had to play became increasingly differentiated, and what may loosely be called teachers – tutors is a more accurate term, came into being, supported either by public funds, or by private donations.

The place where they taught was not always specialized. Of course, the temple was necessary for the training of future priests, and part of it as well as rooms in the palace were set aside for training and using scribes – astronomers, magicians, prophets or seers each were given such room as was available – for as long as they were popular, interesting, or at least useful. For the military skills that Greek societies prized, appropriate grounds were necessary and built at public expense. These provided settings for racing, javelin throwing, wrestling, dancing and the other parts of the physical curriculum that made a boy into a warrior. The values and philosophies that he needed to be imbued with – heroism, patriotism etc. were of necessity made a part of this curriculum through the recitation of poems and their accompaniment in music, and therefore, at least in the beginning, were conducted in the same setting as the physical preparations. For the rest – of whatever a child needed to be taught there were usually no specially provided places.

Throughout Asia Minor, then, the beginnings of each system of education was marked by a recognition of immediate social needs and an attempt to meet them by the provision of people and places specifically employed.

III

Social evolution resulted in two and eventually three classes.

Beginning as hunters following game, then domesticating some species and turning to nomadic and semi nomadic herdsmen and eventually to agriculture; social and cultural changes, gave rise to basic peasant societies. Differential access to resources enrich some to establish a small but powerful ruling class. Speaking of Mayan cultures, Redfield quotes Dr. Pedro Armillas:

> (there became) formed two social groups ... dominant, aristocratic, cerem onial and hamlet dwelling farmers. The dominant group ... (developed) commercial and martial ... later.[6]

Having the leisure, the means and the clearest reason to do so the ruling classes established and supported the 'schools' and systems of their day.

Whenever they could spare them and could afford it,[7] the peasants, laborers, and especially the artisans sent their children to these schools.

David, Hero of Alexandria and Euclid, came from these classes and may well have attended some schools. However the wisdom of David, Hero's steam engines and jet propulsion, Euclid's geometry did not spring from and could not have been based on so limited though rich a curriculum as was available to them. Springing from what the Greeks referred to as the demos – the ordinary people of the day, these three and the legion like them of innovators, independent thinkers, who were 'educated' in the truest sense must have had available to them much more than the tradiam and quadrivium, the gymnasium and olympiads. Certainly t he schools produced famous people of the day. Rhetors and advocates who were renowned in Greek and Roman worlds – but they are known to us mostly because they were noted by the Homers and Plutarchs of whom they were contemporaries. Few, if any are known because of their surviving works, unlike the men of the people who left behind them, if not their names like Democritus and Archimedes, their works – the compass, cartography, the arch, medicine, and similar pillars on which not only societies, but civilization itself is founded.

These usually nameless benefactors had a richer source, and when free, or at least able to utilize it, were able to grow in 'knowledge and wisdom'. This source was free of tuition, and not only available, but by circumstances enforced itself on all – though not many could make much use of it for much profit. This source was simply the world they lived in – their environment.

Whereas the children of patricians attended schools or had tutors who taught them, told them what to look at, for and how to look at it, the children of farmers and artisans had a whole world

of work and worry, of conflict and concern, needs and necessities thrust upon them. Where the children of the ruling classes met with other children of ruling classes, and played with them and the frequent visitors, ambassadors and other assorted nobles, and became, in addition to their own cultural patterns and skills, also fluent with similar patterns and skills of other peoples; the children and the adults of the working class, to a smaller extent the peasants' and to a larger extent the artisans', met with the people and problems of classes above and below theirs. Met with tradesmen coming from neighbouring and distant cities, with sailors from different climes. Their needs to adjust were stronger, the opportunities to do so, vastly greater. Just as today we consider the press and other media as 'educational'; and travel, 'broadening', we must take into account the press of different and often conflicting values and customs to which ordinary folk were exposed, and from which the ruling class were generally insulated. The educational system was used to give a Hellene identity, as is demonstrated by the fact that they established identical schools with identical curricula when expatriated as a means of self recognition and to maintain their Hellenism. The haphazard, unregulated 'education' of the common man in the street made him a man of the world, the very phrase we use to describe an educated person today. The end product was, though not identical, still the same man of 'virtu'.

Safa points out that this 'open community' is accompanied by:

> a growing outward orientation ...
> increasing importance of institutions ... banking ... trade
> changing standards and aspirations ...
> emphasis on status and upward mobility ...
> growing inequality in the community leading to ... heterogeneous community including white collar workers, artisans ... professionals.[8]

She continues, quoting Nash that children in open societies show a decided break with community roles and ties and indicate their willingness to risk their future in the outside world and further points out that

> the schools are not seen or used as catalysts in social change, but are confined to the transmission of elementary skills, patriotism, and some minor facts about history, etc ...[9]

Education is usually viewed as a process extrinsic to the individual, that changes him into a member of a particular culture. The universality of culture itself would tend eventually to, if not

obliterate these differences, at least render them of secondary importance.[10]

Education however implies an intrinsically human process. It is most successful not when imposed as a 'smoothing off the rough spots', but when 'internalized', when the process is not just simply a part of the individual's daily behavior, but an awareness of it and its conscious control. Piaget writes that:

> intellectual evolution requires that both mind and environment should make their contribution. This combination has, during the primitive stage, a semblance of confusion, but as mind adapts itself, it transforms it.[11]

Education, as well as the psychophysical process itself, is not an automatic process, Since man is autonomous, he goes well beyond the 'specie specific behavior of primates. He must not only react to the environment, but interrelate with it.

Perception, basic to the psychomotor process, is not simply an awareness of the environment, a sensory impression of the world around us, but an expression of active relation to it. This 'active relationship from which the ruling classes were protected dated back to the shipping and trade of the Pharaohs, the camel caravans, the markets as well as the circuses, frequent religious observances and rituals. The world was not only made up largely of the common man in the streets. It was made, and eventually run, if not ruled, by him. It made him as much as he made it.

IV

By 1,000 B.C., then, these societies had become sufficiently complex to become differentiated into classes, at least the three broad ones of serf, freeholder including artisans, and the aristocratic ruling classes, whose privileges included that of being the warrior group. The values of this class becoming dominant, education became oriented toward their skills and ideals. The following five centuries, with varying degrees of complexity saw the establishment of a systematized approach toward the teaching of these values.

Though largely true for the entire world from the yet to be recognized Roman Empire eastward to what was to become Islam, there were sufficient variations to merit a brief survey.

Based on agriculture, Roman society counted heavily on its ties with the soil and was therefore sturdily rural and family centred.[12] The mother took complete charge, and it was her honored responsibility to look after and bring up her own children. She

began their teaching of manners and morals and the traditions that one day they would find

'lovely and splendid to die for'.

About seven, the father would assume responsibility for his sons, teaching them all that his father taught him while the girls learned domestic skills from their mother. At sixteen boys entered public life, usually under the tutelage of a friend of the family's. This apprenticeship involved actual attendance at the forum and was soon followed by at least a year of military service and its attendant training.

The more frequent, though small scaled military involvements of the fiercely independent city states of Greece made training for military service, the basic goal of education. Racing, wrestling, shotputting and similar sports, because of their direct bearing on militarily useful skills as well as toughening, so essential to their small, but effective armies, became central to the curriculum. The odes, poems and sagas that gave the life of the warrior-to-be its meaningfulness,[13] were necessarily included. Dancing and singing were essential to the recitation of these lessons. Then there were the peripherally useful skills such as arithmetic, medicine and astronomy.

It is useful to note here two factors that romanticists often misconstrue. These are the military nature of Sparta and the place of music, dancing and poetry in a military curriculum. The two misconceptions are not unrelated. Further, they underscore the central theme this essay pursues, that much of what truly constitutes education is incidental.

It is true that Sparta was a military state, and its ideals, uncompromisingly militaristic. Dancing, singing and poetry were important accomplishments for all Spartan men – and women – along with physical prowess. The arts formed a basis for religious life and rituals of Spartans (and all others of that time who counted). They formed a matrix of grace, beauty of movement and expression that linked the physical skills and formed them into a way of life. Lastly and importantly, Sparta had had a tradition that can be described as chivalric, at least until the sixth century B.C. Great feasts, religious observances, even funerals were beautiful and moving events, as well as important state functions. Dancing, music and poetry were the modes of expression, the basic means of celebration. In addition to its beauty, poetry embodied the moral and historic traditions. To a people not given much to writing, poetry was the only means of passing on, these sagas, the ancient wisdom.

Replete with expeditions, wars and rebellions, Sparta's history understandably misleads one into thinking that they did nothing else but fight. Warfare was not practical except in good weather anyway. In the interim, the households held dinners and other 'entertainments'. Until professional singers and dancers came into vogue – very late if at all in Sparta, the accompaniment to the many courses, and the periods in between, were the occasions for the guests, as well as the host, to sing, dance, play, recite poetry or make it up, all to their own musical accompaniment. Such schools as existed at the time, beside those for priests, were to teach singing and playing the lyre.

While true for Sparta, the place of the arts in the rest of the Greek States was even more exalted, especially after the fifth century. Of course, the military games and sports and contests, needed and had special areas designed to accomodate the activities. These were provided, as were tutors, helpers, coaches and trainers at public expense. This was also true for Greece in general, with the difference that the arts were given stronger emphasis in the rest of Greece than in Sparta. Private tutors were more often employed, and beginning with the fifth century, reading and writing were more commonly taught, occasionally in a place and by a pedagogue who taught nothing else.

Going eastward, we find a different people, the Hebrews, whom history slights somewhat. Having simplified the alphabet, and written down the 'laws', their covenant with God, and further, basing their culture on their unique image as the Chosen People, the Hebrews based their education on a knowledge and understanding of the laws that governed their behavior as a compact with their Creator. Thus in addition to the family's contribution in terms of manners and morals that they shared with the Greeks and the Romans, the Hebrews early established means of teaching, reading and writing to all (at least all males). From the very earliest times – when a child first could speak, his father would teach him to repeat some biblical passage or aphorism. Another difference for the Hebrews was that there was no limit – education was never completed but was considered to be a lifetime process. It is most important to note that while teachers and tutors and pedagogues, though sometimes famed and occasionally even respected in the rest of the world, those in Hebrew society were honored and held in awe and even revered. The rest of Asia Minor, Egypt and the areas that were to become Islam shared traces of Hellenic elements, reflecting Greece's influence on their waning power, but mostly retained the rigid, stratified system typical of the advanced society it represented. Scribal and priestly schools

were established in every temple. The aristocracy were taught by tutors. The army was professional, and individual scholarship which in calendars, astronomy and medicine was considerable, was supported by the throne and individual aristocrats.

Summarising then about 500 B.C. we see systems that tended to maintain the status and privileges of the few in all but Hebrew societies. Military and artistic skills were taught as a means of class identification and participation. These systems depended on the family in the beginning then on institutions that were aided by professionals for specific skills. It was not only education that identified the Jew as such and allowed him to participate in his society. Not only the outward behaviors and skills, military or artistic, or more accurately, vocational, but the inner adoption of a relationship with God that governed his relationship to man, that identified the Hebrew.

It is significant then that the best organisation of the system, military oriented for the Hellenes, Landowning and managing for the Romans, Scribe, Priest oriented for the Egyptians, appeared after the organisation of society on the basis that characterized it which then organised the education along appropriate lines. That of the Hebrews, however, modified Hebrew society itself so that 'ahl el kitab' – the people of the book, rather than fashioning an educational sys tem to suit their needs, were changed – their customs, traditions and laws became fashioned on what their studies and explorations revealed to them.

IV

The next five hundred years brought tremendous political and historical changes – the decline of Sparta, the Homeric Platonic era, the end of the Egyptian and Persian empires, the turmoil in Israel-Judea, the ascendancy of Rome to its glory and the dawn of Christianity. No less dramatic, but far more elusive were the changes in education. The formalized aspects remained – indeed those of classical Greek are largely extant today. Beginning dimly in the change of orientation of the Spartan citizen, and in the emphasis of Hebrew culture and religion, modified by Christianity and still later by Islam, education was to have a different goal, that of service to God and man(kind) rather than personal achievement and gain. In addition, education, instead of identifying, separating, excluding, maintaining, through communication and diffusion, came to have a totally different goal and impact.

The era 500 B.C. to the beginning of Christianity saw the increasing specialization of areas of skills and knowledge. One

might say the curriculum was becoming differentiated and articulated. Reading and writing and arithmetic were taught more commonly, and regarded as basic skills. Literacy was no longer casual, but a useful, and eventually an indispensable skill – though except in Hebrew societies, still not taught to any but the upper classes. Grammar and rhetoric, geometry and astronomy, the natural and physical sciences, philosophy and logic, began to crowd sports out of the curriculum. Classical education was still the same, albeit more complex. It was the mark of a Hellene that his curriculum was the same in Athens as it was in Alexandria. It was still limited to the upper classes and such of the rising middle classes that could afford it.

By five hundred B.C., however, there was a profound change in the nature, and therefore the goal of Spartan education. Originally the ideal of the military culture was the military hero, besting his opponent in single combat.[14] Each Spartan had as his goal to become an invincible fighter, and as such he sought to excel in everything – to stand out individually. This changed however from individual goals of excellence to common ideals of solidarity. Not the man who was mortal, but the state, which was to go on forever, was supreme. The human person now became only a part in a political collective. The free citizen, the knight, was now a soldier in a city-state, and the highest virtue was not strength or individual distinction but courage, valor, being steadfast in battle. The goal of Spartan education submerged the individual in his meaning and service to the state.

Hebrew society, shaped as it was by the laws of the TORAH, welded into a nation by its monotheism, drew its temporal as well as its spiritual power from the Temple in Jerusalem, resulting in urbanisation and its attendant social disjointment. The laws, through prophecy and through study and development applied themselves to these injustices, to the relationships between rich and poor, to the dealings among men. Most importantly, these laws were widely broadcast, carefully studied, interpreted and reinterpreted, so that there was a constant flow and interchange of opinion and information which by discussion and word of mouth, by frequent and regular religious observances and by the (easily read) written word reached every member of society and was made available to every member of the family through the joint responsibility of the parents.

Although in the beginning excluding physical sciences, and foreign languages because they might adulterate Scripture, by 500 B.C. Jews began to find that the 'Greek Studies' were useful and were teaching philosophy and arithmetic, as well as medicine

and astronomy.

These two factors then, the submergence of the individual to the state – similar to the submission of the Jew to God, and the universal nature of Jewish education, modified the course of mankind's aspirations. No less important than the actual physical diffusion of knowledge and wisdom to all Jews, rather than the 'ruling' classes (of course widely different levels of attainment were found and expected) was the extreme reverence accorded to learning by the Jews, far surpassing the respect and occasional honor conferred upon the learned few of Greek and Roman cultures.

Christianity, and later Islam, continued the bent that Judaism gave to education. To Christians and Mohammedans, in the same measure that it was for the Hebrews, life was a relationship with God and it governed every phase of his behavior. Whereas the Jews codified these laws and taught them as central in their education, early Christians as well as Mohammedans felt that Christian Education could not be given in a school, but only through the Church and the family. Indeed the first hundred years of Christianity, the main concern of the Church, besides proselytyzing, was how parents should bring up their children, thus continuing and reinforcing a Judaic tradition.

V

The transition is now clearer. From a system that was designed to embellish the character and skills of an individual to make him outstanding, an important contributor to the state, and its defender, education becomes a type of behavior that regulates man's conduct with others and with the world around him in recognition of the power and glory of God and in order to serve Him better on Earth to enjoy the eternal rewards that early Christians and Mohammedans took pains to picture. Judaism, Christianity and Islam replaced the State as the supreme power in a person's life. All three detailed and described minutae of daily life that must need be observed to 'live rightly' and gain salvation. Military skills and the arts were no longer meaningful in this context and both virtually disappeared except in classical formalized education which was hardly central any longer to the daily life of the Christian or the Moslem as it had been to the Spartan, the Greek or the Roman. The mission of Christianity was to evangelize – to spread. To do this it needed the tools of classical education. Reading and writing became basic, then poetry and drama to illustrate and instruct. So that in spite of its almost cavalier attitude to classical, formalized education, Christians rapidly translated scriptures into

all known languages and added these and whatever was specifically religious training to the schools and institutions already established in the graeco-roman world. They also set up similar schools all over those parts of Asia and Africa that had not yet been touched by either Greek or Roman classical education. Thus Christianity achieved what the Hellenes or the Romans never even thought of trying – exporting or imposing classical education and making it almost universal. By translating scriptures and presenting them in Greek forms eventually making use of dance and drama, poetry and myth Christianity succeeded, shortly before the rise of Islam (and then to be imitated by it) in making classical education universal. Christian scholars, drawing on Greek learning in spite of early reluctance to become involved with 'impurities' – as their predecessors, the Hebrews had, and assuming provenance over all knowledge for their purposes, for evangelizing, for learning about man and the world, the better to understand him, the more easily to Christianize him, made scholarship a universal factor, erasing the old tribal or national boundaries, engaging in free exchange of knowledge (at least in the beginning and speaking in the lingua franca of scholarship.

As in Judaism, in order for a man to be able to understand his duties and responsibilities, he had to understand himself, nature, and his relationship to the world around him. This necessitated a far more sophisticated person, as the Hebrews discovered than ancient paganism or pantheism required. This was another factor that the Church assumed as a necessity to enable 'His will to be done on earth ...'

The change is now complete. From being a limited and limiting exercise, education has become diffused to all of mankind, at least on the way to becoming available. Instead of being the 'mark of a Hellene' or 'what it is that makes a Spartan' – instead of distinguishing among men, and separating them, education becomes a homogenizer, making all men 'the same – sons of God and therefore brothers'. Instead of being a development of traits skills and characteristics to raise a man above his fellows, it becomes a means for him to learn about his fellows, to love them and serve them better.

This phenomenon, the change of education from what may rightly be called a 'rite of passage' into a more active, more responsible role, albeit still an individual one, into a 'leading out' process, a transcending of self, a sublimation, cannot be explained simply on the basis of even so revolutionary a development as Christianity. Monotheism was present in Judaism. Sublimation – even if only to the state was a feature of Spartan Life.

Education had made the individual either subject to the state or so narrowly and closely identified – 'Hellene', 'Roman', that no other life was available, indeed, no other condition was conceivable than the one he was educated into. The epitome of education, particularly after Christianity and the attendant rise in scholarship tended rather to 'free' the individual from temporal power, eventually even from state control. Properly regarded, education came to mean freedom from servitude, at least in attitude if not in fact. Servitude became willing service – to all mankind, not to an autocratic state, or church.

One needs to look beyond the actual methods, the content or curricula, to attempt an explanation of so profound an impact.

What is the nature of the educational process itself? What happens to an individual when he is taught, when his eyes are opened, his horizons expanded, even in a narrowed, controlled direction? How does he change from a casual, carefree youth, a privileged son of a privileged family, hardly different in boyhood from the children of serfs playing the same games, learning the same language on his father's estate, to the grave, responsible citizen of adulthood? The most prevalent educational theory, not completely discredited yet, though known to be unsatisfactory in explaining all the above phenomena, is that of the 'tabula rasa'. It has been current for the past several centuries and led or midled historians into accounting for the change as a simple accumulation, an accretion, a concatenation of knowledge, skills, arts, artifice and accomplishments. Simple observation, repetition, recitation and refinement is all that was needed.

As the Hebrews discovered, and the Greek philosophers were to find shortly after them, independently and for different reasons, whatever the senses absorbed had to be categorized, modified, changed, evaluated, shared with others, tried, changed again. Knowledge was never complete, but was always a continuous and a changing process. The educated man was not he who reached a level of accomplishment, but he who discovered his goal, and sought a way of reaching for it. Unlike the arts, where style and pleasure afforded easily marked acceptance, knowledge, was always the same, though also always changing. It always involved 'eternal verities', 'heavenly harmonies', truth, beauty and especially justice. These, a man became aware of gradually in a slowly growing awareness which eventually came to imply that the virtues were the same for all men at all times, that they did not change with the times or with political parties. They could not be learned from any poem or song or lesson, but had to be fashioned elaborately by each man for himself and for all men to share.

Avoiding hazardous theoretical speculation, it was evident that it was not only the senses that had to be refined and trained, nor just the body that had to be strengthened and made graceful. As Marcus Aurelius says in book IV of his Meditations one did not just have to remember the sequence and pattern of events as they followed each other like links on a chain, but to perceive the meaning of the pattern and the organization of the events – and for this was needed another kind of vision.

That is indeed implicit in how humans learn. They share memory and vision and movement with most other creatures. But they also have reason and judgement. This reason for which man is richly equipped, is available to all men who exercise it. Both the systems of servitude, and the sublimation either to the state, or to individual excellence tend to confine the discovery of individual goals as well as the means for reaching them. Means tended to become goals in themselves. This was especially demonstrated in Greece when athletic games rather than being a means to a healthy body became themselves goals to reach for, to the extent that as professional singers had earlier replaced the people of a city state in religious observances the citizens mere spectators, so did professional athletes become the central concern of gymnastics. A town would take pride not in having many fine racers or wrestlers, but in having a few who were chosen for the potential and limited all their training to become the best. The systems also tended to minimize contact among men except from similar classes, so that the interchange of ideas and judgements was necessarily limited to the common – local – experience. Yet communication had been a fact of life from the earliest time of the Egyptians. Their vast commerce, by land and sea, brought them in contact with the rest of the world. Seamen, merchants, scribes, brokers, bureaucrats, all sort of working people were in touch with each other. The world's seaports, oases, crossroads, caravans, each grew into metropolitan centres with free exchange of tongues and ideas. As commerce expanded and as cities grew into empires, a vast portion of the peoples began to have their ideas as well as their horizons expanded. Society now began to witness the familial tradition, status by status quo, by role, change into something different as farmers went to sea, seamen became tradesmen, and tradesmen made their impact on commerce and politics. The frequent invasions and expeditions also served to break down the provincialism that held thought in check and kept different ideas from surfacing. Even the gory circuses, no less than the olympics served in their way as immediate, though extrinsic education. Egyptian commerce on the seas, Greek wars, levantine caravans and Roman administration were educational

influences without parallel. It was on this fertile soil that the seed of Judaic universal culture and Christianity's transcendence of self (an idea of Plato's and Aristotle's) took root and flourished.

Education, formal or informal, planned or incidental, as any factor with universal application, as a system, must conform to structural analysis. As such it must have a clear process, a predictable change, and clearly defined properties, boundaries. Examined structurally, education in antiquity responds to this process, but only one includes all the other contributing factors in addition to the formalized systems. The process is clear – acculturation – but it is self-limiting. Its results are merely a repetition of what had gone on before. For the system to be structurally sound, it must include provisions for change. Both the family, at one extreme, and the schools that were established at the other were (as they tend to be now), staunch guardians of the status quo. Whatever changes occur, come from without, through invasion, official fiat, or other factors unrelated to the system. If one includes the self induced changes, the people who saw and perceived, who changed themselves and therefore brought the change to succeeding generations, then it would be a self generating change and not only desirable, but also foreseeable. The established schools did have particular identifiable properties, but the properties were more closely related to training – as soldiers or monarchs, scribes or astronomers than they were the property of education itself.

The property of education is clearly identifiable when one again includes the whole wide world which was more easily and literally within the grasp of the hewers of wood and the drawers of water. This property was freedom. Education freed the individual from the immediate environment when he grasped, along with his labor, the scheme of it and how he and it fitted into the continuum of life and nature. This is why formal education as usually studied was limiting and structurally unsound. The privileged few who learned dance and rhetoric and archery became good dancers and better archers – they would hardly have survived if they did not. In doing so, they were cut off from the general scheme of things and until the philosophers and the Jews and the Christians established man in nature, it was more difficult for them to be freed of their accomplishments. Finally, the ultimate nature of this freedom, structurally, was that it could not be limited. Once education begun, if it were true education, it could neither be controlled nor limited. The church itself attempted to limit this education and control access to it as well as its diffusion and only succeeded eventually in freeing it – and men – completely. More recently in modern history, any number of dictatorships have attempted to control edu-

cation, both the formal system as well as the casual exchange of knowledge and information. The revolutions, purges of intelligensia and growth of the university attest to the fact that it cannot be done. The most important contribution of education of antiquity, in addition to the grandeur of the classics and the glory of poetry and drama, was the discovery that education helps man transcend himself – and history.

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NOTES:

[1] Though frequently the term is used to describe the result.
[2] Marrou, p. xi, xii.
[3] Lancaster in Washburne, p. 217.
[4] Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*, Book I, line 1.
[5] Murdock in Washburn, p. 230.
[6] Redfield 'Peasant Society & Culture'.
[7] Also, whenever and wherever it was permitted.
[8] Wax, Diamond & Gearing, p. 219.
[9] Ibid., p. 222, 223.
[10] Murdock in Washburn, p. 232.
[11] Piaget, p. 258.
[12] 'The Dispossessed' the first of Vergil's Pastoral Poems makes five 'rural' references in the first six lines of verse.
[13] How many generations of schoolboys recited the words of Telemachus from Book XX of the Odyssey?

> Let none abuse the stranger
> Let no man in this house show rudeness
> Better far were death than behold disgraceful deeds
> Strangers abused, damsels dragged to shame.

DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAS AND SOME OF THE MALTESE ECONOMY IN THE ROMAN PERIOD

by ANTHONY BONANNO

CERTAINLY one of the most striking aspects of the Maltese archaeology of the Roman period is the comparatively large number of villas, or rural houses, distributed in different areas of the two major islands of the Maltese archipelago. Already twenty-two sites have been recorded, their state of preservation ranging from just a few foundation walls to full-scale building complexes.

By far the largest and most impressive remains of such buildings are those excavated in recent years by the Italian Mission from the University of Rome at San Pawl Milqi.[1] Another villa, not much smaller in scale, was excavated in 1915 by Ashby at Ta' Kaċċatura, near Birżebbuġa, on the other side of the valley opposite the well-known prehistoric site of Għar Dalam.[2] Yet another is currently being excavated by the Museum Department at Żejtun.[3] The thermal complex of Għajn Tuffieħa, decorated with pleasant and varied geometrical mosaics, must have formed part of a sumptuous villa.[4] Traces of similar baths have been recorded at Marsaxlokk,[5] and another villa with richly patterned mosaics was brought to light at Ramla Bay in Gozo.[6] Other sites which have produced remains of villas are: Tas-Sittin (near Fawwara), Ras ir-Raheb (near Baħrija), Fiddien (near Mtaħleb), Wardija, Bidnija, Hal Far and St. Thomas Bay.[7] Until its name is corrected it may not be superfluous to repeat that the so-called 'Roman Villa' of Rabat is not a villa at all, but a Roman town house.

Only a few of the sites just mentioned are examples, on a more modest scale, of the type of villa used exclusively as a holiday resort like that described at length by Pliny the Younger in his letters.[8] The majority seem to have been the permanent residences of well-off country gentlemen and incorporate installations for the

extraction of olive oil and, probably, for wine pressing. At the villa at San Pawl Milqi, for example, one finds several olive-pippers and huge rectangular blocks of stone on which the wooden structures of the *prela*, or olive-presses, used to be mounted, as well as a whole system of rock-cut channels. Besides, a large number of containers carved in stone must have served as settling vats. At the villa in Zejtun only one such rectangular block and a couple of stone vats survive. A similar stone press-bed and two rock-cut settling tanks are visible at Ta' Kaċċatura. Evidence of the same agricultural industry, in the shape of instruments used for such processing, comes from various other sites. The reconstructed olive-pipper at the Museum of Rabat comes from Marsaxlokk;[9] the basin of another stands in the forecourt of St. John's church at Hal Millieri.[10] My attention has recently been drawn to two similar instruments, one at Għajn Tuffieħa, in the field further uphill above the baths, and one in a field on the Mġarr-Ġnejna road.[11]

Considering the small size of the islands, the number of these olive oil processing plants is certainly significant and it seems logical to assume that other such installations have either been completely destroyed or still await discovery. The size of some of of these agricultural plants and the large quantity of this industrial equipment so far recorded suggest two tentative comments by way of interpretation: the first of a broad ecological nature, the second purely economic. The frequency of these complexes implies that the cultivation of the olive-tree was well diffused on the islands, certainly much more than it is today, and it should not be too difficult to envisage large silvery-green patches of olive groves marking the Maltese landscape in Roman times.[12] It also implies that a considerable portion of the Maltese economy in the same period was supported by the cultivation of the olive and by its by-products.

From the economic point of view the question arises whether production was intended to cater exclusively for local needs or whether there was enough surplus to promote oil or olive export. Ancient literature is completely silent in this regard, whereas it is fairly informative about another Maltese product, linen. Our only sources remain, therefore, archaeological and it is once more archaeology that provides us with further information. There is a very characteristic type of amphora, egg-shaped and neckless, which is widely diffused in Malta and is commonly held to be a local Maltese variation of a Phoenician type.[13] Its shape survives also in the Roman period. Such amphorae appear sporadically in

other sites bordering on the Mediterranean.[14] Besides, amphorae of Italian pedigree were at one stage imitated in Malta.[15] These containers could very well have carried Malta-produced olives or olive oil exported to other centres. Moreover, we know that it was a regular practice to re-use amphorae, originally produced in some foreign land, to export locally produced commodities. The Maltese of Roman times might have, therefore, exported their merchandise in containers originally produced in Rhodes, Spain, Italy and elsewhere. Further evidence for such a trade comes from the Grand Harbour area, precisely from Marsa, at the foot of Corradino Hill, where in 1766 some store-houses were discovered, one of which containing 260 entire amphorae, ready, one would presume, to be shipped off to some unidentified destination.[16]

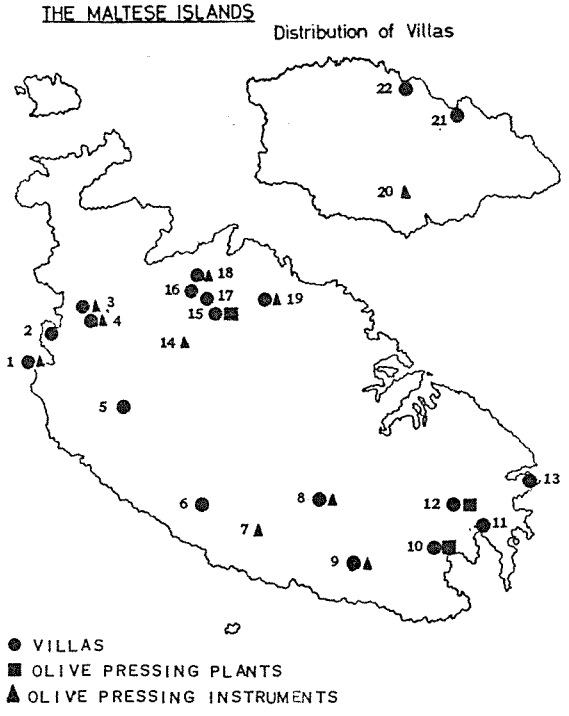
Some of the questions that one may ask regarding these large rural villas are: Who were their owners? Were they rich natives or Roman magistrates on temporary residence for their tenure of office in the islands, or rich landowners from some other area of the Roman Empire: Sicilian, North African or Italian? What sort of labour did they employ, slavery or some other system whereby local farmers were recruited? Were there other farmers of more modest means earning their living independently, or was Maltese agriculture monopolized by the rich owners of these villas? The answers to such questions are not available at this stage of the study of the Roman period in Malta. Perhaps archaeology may in the future solve, at least in part, some of these problems.

The attached map shows very approximately the distribution of country villas on the two islands. The survey of the Roman antiquities of the Maltese islands is still in its initial stages, and the map does not have any pretensions of accuracy or completeness.[17] From the present map one observes that most of the recorded villas lie within 2 or 3 kilometres from the sea, but we find a few further inland, as much inland, in fact, as a maximum breadth of 13 kilometres permits. The siting is almost always on a high place either on top of flat hills or promonotories (Ras ir-Raħeb, Għargħur) or, more often, on the sloping sides of ridges over valleys or facing the sea (Bidnija, San Pawl Milqi, Burmarrad).

The olive is the only agricultural product for which we have ample archaeological evidence but certainly other products were grown locally to satisfy, even partly, local needs. The ear of corn appearing, in conjunction with the head of a female divinity, on locally-struck coins of the early Roman period[18] may seem to indicate that corn was also grown in some abundance on the islands. Vegetables were presumably also grown, but one must keep in

List of Villa Sites

The number on the left corresponds to that on the attached map. The six-figure number refers to the grid on the 1:25,000 maps of Malta published in 1962 by the Directorate of the Overseas Surveys.



1. Ras ir-Raheb (395739)
2. Qala Pellegrin (402752)
3. Ghajn Tuffieha (421762)
4. Misrah Miel (423755)
5. Fiddien (436711)
6. Tas-Sittin (477666)
7. Hal Millieri (523665)
8. Tad-Dawl (near Mqabba) (529677)
9. Hal Far (554645)
10. Ta' Kaccatura (574657)
11. Marsaxlokk (589667)
12. Zejtun (582678)
13. St. Thomas Bay (61786)
14. Bidnija (462757)
15. San Pawl Milqi (470768)
16. Wardija Hill (463776)
17. Wardija Hill (464773)
18. Wardija Hill (465778)
19. Gharghur (506758)
20. Xewkija (333878)
21. Ramla Bay (355911)
22. Marsalforn (335925)

mind that the change to the present intensive cultivation of such vegetables is a much more recent phenomenon.[19]

We do not know for certain whether flax, the linen plant, was systematically cultivated or not. That it was seems to be indirectly implied by the frequent mention in ancient Greek and Latin writers of a Maltese textile, the raw material of which has been firmly established to be linen rather than cotton.[20] But the cultivation of flax requires deep soil and a great quantity of water.[21] Deep soil occurs extremely rarely in the Maltese islands and it can be found only in the alluvial deposits at the very lowest edges of the larger valleys. As far as irrigation is concerned, we are all too familiar with the low rainfall of this part of the Mediterranean where an annual 0.75m. of rain is the rare exception. And the climatic conditions in Roman times could not have been very different from the present ones. Similar considerations have made Busuttil and others conclude that flax was probably imported in its raw state, and processed and woven locally.[22] The discovery of burnt fabrics

made from 'flax or a fibre of that type' in the Bronze Age layer at Tarxien[23] may suggest, but does not prove, that flax was grown in Malta in prehistoric times, whereas the spindle whorls found in the same context[24] clearly suggest a certain amount of weaving activity. On the other hand, enough documentation survives to show that flax was cultivated in Malta in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries A.D.[25]

According to ancient writers, an important Maltese industry, the products of which enjoyed a wide and long lasting repute for their quality and fineness, was the textile industry.[26]

It is unlikely that the Romans introduced this industry in the archipelago which to them was mostly, if not only, of strategic importance. It seems in fact very probable that it was a survival of Punic times when Malta was a well established trading post – perhaps even a colony – of those people of Phoenician origin who in the Western Mediterranean are better known as Carthaginians. Both the Phoenicians and, later, the Carthaginians were renowned for their intensive trade in sought-after textiles and it is very probable that they established a weaving industry also in these islands. The Maltese products were in fact so well known that Cicero, the famous Latin orator, calls them simply 'Maltese' (*Melitenses*)[27] and the Sicilian historian, Diodorus Siculus, says that the most important Maltese craftsmanship was devoted to the production of draperies (ὀθόνια), which were distinguished for their sheerness and softness.[28] Besides these, other writers, such as Varro, Silius Italicus and Novius refer to Maltese textile products.[29]

Cicero, in his prosecution speeches against Verres, the former propraetor of Sicily and Malta, among other things, accuses him of having seized for himself great quantities of Maltese clothing and that for his sake the city of Melita itself had for three whole years served as a weaving factory.[30] This suggests that most of the drapery was woven in the city itself by specialized workshops and, probably, within the household, perhaps by the female members of the family. That there were specialized craftsmen in the profession (ὀθονοποιοι) is witnessed by Diodorus, but the weaving implements discovered in the 'Roman villa' of Rabat indicate that it was also a home-based craftsmanship.

That the Maltese draperies were luxury products and fetched good prices is inferred by the ancient writers' statements and it is natural to conclude that this industry must have been one of the most important sectors of the Maltese economy in the Roman period.

The economy of the archipelago, however, was certainly not limited to agriculture and textiles. The geographical position of the islands invited and compelled their inhabitants of all times to resort to fishing. In a paper delivered in a congress on Sicily and Malta,[31] I postulated the existence of fishing communities in the vicinity of the harbours and of the smaller sheltered bays of the islands: the Roman predecessors, admittedly on a much smaller scale, of the fishing villages of Marsaxlokk, St. Paul's Bay, Xlendi and Mgarr (Gozo). Once more, positive concrete evidence for this hypothesis is lacking, but fishing implements have been discovered in the Rabat 'villa'.

Some years ago, a Maltese scholar, basing his arguments on two integrated and somewhat controversial lines from a Latin poem on hunting,[32] tried to establish the existence in Malta of a coral industry in the last century B.C., which employed a number of people (κωραλλεῖς) in fishing coral off the Maltese shores.[33]

From the second century B.C., when Rome had become the leading naval power of the Mediterranean, one of its most pernicious enemies were the pirates. Several campaigns against them failed or achieved limited results until in 67 B.C. Pompey, the Roman general, managed 'to restore the control of the sea to the Roman people'. In his speeches against Verres, Cicero tells us that pirates were accustomed to use Malta as a shelter during the winter.[34] The pirates were called Cilicians because originally they came from Cilicia Trachea in Asia Minor but they certainly included adventurers of other nationalities, perhaps even Maltese recruits. There was probably some agreement of non-aggression, even tacit, between the pirates and the Maltese since we are told that the former, one of whose main activities was the looting of temples, left the riches of the Maltese temple of Juno untouched. Besides shelter, the pirates needed provisions, especially food and fresh water, which was not easily available in the islands. In exchange the local inhabitants of the rural and coastal hamlets and the rich owners of the large villas had their lives and property guaranteed and they could also have received from them other commodities and luxuries looted from elsewhere. Such agreements are, in fact, recorded in other places.[35] Harbour activity involved in the maintenance of ships, piratical and other, and in the loading and unloading of cargo must have also employed a number of Maltese workmen.[36] Such harbour activity is attested by the number of discoveries of Roman lead anchors in the larger as well as in the smaller harbours, such as Salina bay, which must have once served as a small port.[37]

Besides providing an outlet for artistic expression, the building industry has always played an important role in keeping a section of the Maltese population gainfully occupied. Naturally, in the Roman period its proportions were by no means comparable to those it reached with the population explosion from the time of the Knights up to the present day, but it was certainly not negligible. Diodorus Siculus praises the dwellings of the islanders 'being ambitiously constructed with cornices and finished in stucco with unusual workmanship'.[38] The huge well-dressed rectangular blocks we see employed in constructions of Roman date – the standard size was approximately 1.20 × .50 × .50m. – require the experience of specialized masons and man power (probably in addition to the use of draught animals) for quarrying, transporting, dressing and laying. Specialized masons must have been employed for the more refined decorative work of which the Greek Sicilian historian speaks. Most of this architectural decoration was made in local stone but we have in our museums an interesting collection of ornamental architectural fragments, such as capitals, cornices, cavettos, in marble. Marble does not occur naturally in Malta and so it had to be imported. It is a totally different material from local stone and though the Maltese masons could have learnt the carving technique it required, it is more probable that experienced craftsmen were brought over from abroad to sculpt it *in situ*. This is exactly what was done in the case of that grandiose architectural programme of the Forum of Septimius Severus in the North African city of Lepcis Magna, for which a whole team of sculptors and carvers were imported from Asia Minor together with the marble with which they were familiar.

Throughout their history the Maltese have always been shrewd and able merchants and in Roman times a section of the Maltese population could well have practised trade, a profession they may have inherited from the Phoenicians, the tradesmen *par excellence* of antiquity. We have only one allusion, in ancient literature, to sea-merchants in connection with Malta, but it is not specified whether they were Maltese or Phoenician.[39]

Thus it is clear that agriculture and the weaving industry were the two main sectors of the economy of the Maltese islands in the Roman period. Fishing and port industry also played an important part and building a minor one. Other minor industries or crafts must have existed. For example, one that is amply testified by archaeological finds is pottery-making.

Though it may be presumptuous to say that Malta was particularly wealthy in Roman times, we have the testimony of the first century B.C. Sicilian historian who, in the same passage, tells us

that the Maltese enjoyed a good standard of living, an achievement which he attributes to Malta's geographical position, its excellent harbours and to 'the sea-merchants'. That there were a number of rich, well-off families is proved by the large rural villas and city houses excavated so far. Some of these could even afford thermal complexes of considerable size. Public buildings, decorated with rich marbles, are testified by inscriptions and by actual material remains. But we still have to investigate whether this well-being was shared by the rest of the population which lived in the two main cities of the islands and in the rural and coastal villages.

NOTES:

[1] M. Cagiano de Azevedo and others, *Missione Archeologica a Malta. 1963/8* (Rome, 1964/9) sections dedicated to 'S. Paolo Milqi'.
[2] T. Ashby, 'Roman Malta', *Journal of Roman Studies* V (1915) 52-66.
[3] *Museum Report 1961*, p. 5; *1972/3*, p. 72; *1973/4*, p. 51.
[4] *Museum Report 1929/30*, pp. VIII-XII; *1930/1*, pp. III-IV; *Bulletin of the Museum* I, 2 (1930) 56-64.
[5] *Museum Report 1931/2*, p. V.
[6] Ashby, *Roman Malta* 70-4.
[7] See *Museum Reports 1902 ff.*
[8] Pliny *Epistulae* II, 7 and V, 6.
[9] D. Trump, *Malta: an Archaeological Guide* (London, 1972) 109. The one in the courtyard of the Cathedral Museum at Mdina was moved there from San Pawl Milqi prior to the excavations by the Italian Mission. See *Missione Archeologica, 1963* pp. 127, 135, pl. 41,2.
[10] See A. Luttrell, ed. *Hal Millieri: A Maltese Casale, its Churches and Paintings* (Malta, 1976) 26, pl. 8A. In the surroundings one can also observe some walls which, from the size of the blocks, may be dated to the Classical period.
[11] I am indebted to R. Vella Bonavita for the information. For the one in Għajn Tuffieħa see *Missione Archeologica, 1963* p. 20.
[12] There are several Maltese place-names connected with olive oil, such as Zebbug (olive), Zejtun (edible olive), Birzebbuga (olive well) and Ghajn Zejtuna (olive spring). See J. Aquilina, *Papers in Maltese Linguistics* (Malta, 1961) 205, 220, 234-5.
[13] Trump, *Malta* 110, pl. 21.
[14] A study of the distribution of these amphorae is not an easy one and would entail a careful examination of various collections and museums in North Africa and in Western Mediterranean countries. It is, nevertheless, a major *desideratum*.
[15] According to A. Ciasca, 'Ricerche puniche a Malta', *Ricerche puniche*

nel Mediterraneo centrale (Roma, 1970) 102.

[16] Ashby, *Roman Malta* 28-9. For earlier bibliography see *ibid.* 28, n. 2.

[17] A systematic topographical survey of the Maltese antiquities has recently been launched jointly by Dr A. Luttrell of the History Department of this University and the present writer. For a preliminary report on this survey, see A. Luttrell, 'L'abitato medioevale a Malta: un approccio archeologica', *Colloquio Internazionale di Archeologia Medievale: Palermo, 1974* (Palermo, 1976).

[18] *Missione Archeologica. 1964* p. 121, pl. 50; E. Coleiro, 'Maltese Coins of the Roman Period', *The Numismatic Chronicle*, XI (1971) 76, pl. 15, 4.

[19] M. le Lannou, 'Sicile et Malte. Problèmes Géographiques et Economiques', a paper delivered in the *IV Congresso di Studi sulla Sicilia Antica* (1976) due to be published in *KOKALOS* for 1976.

[20] J. Busuttil, 'The Maltese Textile Industry in Antiquity', *Melita Historica* IV (1966) 215-9.

[21] McGraw-Hill, *Encyclopedia of Science and Technology* V (1960) 297-8; G. Usher, *A Dictionary of Plants used by Man* (London, 1974) 357-8. See also J. Borg, *Descriptive Flora of the Maltese Islands* (Malta, 1927) 274-5.

[22] Busuttil, *Maltese Textile Industry* 217, following H. Thédenat, s.v. 'Linum' in *Dict. des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines* III (1904) 1261, and Yates, *Textrinum antiquorum* I (London, 1843) 252.

[23] T. Zammit, *Prehistoric Malta: The Tarxien Temples* (Oxford, 1930) 55-6; J.D. Evans, *The Prehistoric Antiquities of the Maltese Islands: a Survey* (London, 1971) 150, n. 2.

[24] Zammit, *Prehistoric Malta* 72-3.

[25] I owe this information to Dr. G. Wettinger of the University of Malta.

[26] Hesychius 1027; Diodorus Siculus 5, 12; Varro, *Sat. Men* 433; Cicero, Verr 2, 2, 176; 2, 2, 183; 2, 4, 103-4; 2, 5, 27; Silius Italicus, *Punic.* XIV, 274; Novius (*apud* Non.) 540, 11. See above note 20.

[27] Cic. *Verr* 2, 2, 183.

[28] Diod. Sic. 5, 12.

[29] See above note 26.

[30] Cic. *Verr* 2, 4, 103.

[31] *IV Congresso Internazionale di Studi sulla Sicilia Antica* (1976) due for publication in *KOKALOS* 1976.

[32] Grattius Faliscus, *Cynegeticon libri* 11. 405-6.

[33] J. Busuttil, 'The Coral Industry', *Journal of the Faculty of Arts* (R.U.M.) IV (1971) 332-3.

[34] Cic. *Verr.* 2, 4, 103. See J. Busuttil, 'Pirates in Malta', *Melita Historica* V (1971) 308-10.

[35] Dio Cassius XXXVI, 20; Cic. *Verr.* 2, 4, 21.

[36] Malta was regularly visited by cargo vessels on established trade routes. See J. Busuttil, 'Maltese Harbours in Antiquity', *Melita Historica* V (1971) 305.

[37] See the distribution map of underwater discoveries in *Missione Archeologica. 1964* fig. 1.

[38] Diod. Sic. 5, 12.

[39] Diod. Sic. 5, 12.

MARTIN I OF ARAGON AND NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE AND PRISONER EXCHANGE WITH TUNIS (1398-1410)

by ZAIDA GIRALDO

THE course of relations between the crowns of Aragon and Tunis in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries has been studied extensively in the works of Capmany, Mas Latrie, Gimenez Soler, Brunschvig and Dufourcq, among others.[1] On the basis of their work, an overview emerges which indicates that fairly continuous relations were maintained between the crowns in order to protect an important commercial relationship.

With the advent of Pere el Gran to the throne in 1276 relations between the two crowns entered a new phase. It was the wars between the crown of Aragon and the Angevins and their allies over the control of the island of Sicily which brought the crown of Aragon into a different posture toward Tunis. In this new state of affairs, Tunis was viewed not only as a commercial source of funds (badly needed to carry out an expansionistic foreign policy) but also as a source of revenue in the form of tribute. The tribute in question was substantial and had been paid by Tunis to the rulers of Sicily from the time of Frederick II.[2] This tribute was claimed by the crown of Aragon when its rule became established there and was acknowledged by Tunis in the treaty of Panissars in 1285.[3] That treaty, and the treaty signed in 1360, were agreements signed when the crown of Aragon was in the most favorable bargaining position and, for that reason, both treaties acknowledged substantial monetary claims by the crown against Tunis.

The situation began to change with the accession of Abu-l-'Abbas to the crown of Tunis in 1370. Abu-l-'Abbas was a strong ruler who restored the realm of Tunis to its former size by retaking many breakaway areas such as Bougie, Susa, and Mahdia.[4] It was under Abu-l-'Abbas that Tunis began to develop an expansionistic policy

in the Mediterranean. This policy came into conflict with the attempts of the crown of Aragon, under Joan I (1387-1395) and Marti I[5] (1395-1410), to quell rebellions on Sicily and Sardinia and reassert its power over the large-scale empire it claimed in the Mediterranean. This policy also came into conflict with the traditional posture of Tunis as the minor power in relation to the crown of Aragon as the major power. No longer were Pere el Gran or Pere el Cerimoniòs (1336-1387) on the throne leading an empire fully committed to its destiny of Mediterranean expansion. Instead, the crown of Aragon was faced with what could have become a major insurrection in its sphere; its position appears to have been somewhat weak, or at least vulnerable.

In contrast, at the very same time that the crown of Aragon seems to have been most vulnerable, Tunis adopted an aggressive stance toward its Western neighbors on the Mediterranean, and its corsairs began harassing shipping and attacking coastal towns and islands. In order to put an end to these depredations, a joint Franco-Genoese expedition was mounted in 1390 and made an attack against Tunis at the port of Mahdia.[6] When the combined expedition failed in its attack on Mahdia and, therefore, in its attempt to quell Tunisian power, Genoa was forced to sign a humiliating treaty with Tunis in 1391. This treaty differed from all previous treaties signed by Western powers with Tunis in that it included a set ransom price to be paid for the captured Christian warriors. Normally, treaties of peace tended to stipulate free exchange of captives in a return to the *status quo ante bellum.*[7] Therefore a new element has entered the picture. It is this element that will prominently reemerge in future dealings between the crowns of Aragon and Tunis.

By the year 1399, it seems apparent that a major crisis was looming between the realms of Aragon and Tunis. In that year, Martin wrote a letter in which he refers to the fact that the kings of Tunis and Tlemsen were interested in returning 1500 Christian captives who were citizens of the crown of Aragon. From this unusually large number of captives it would seem that just prior to 1399 relations between the realms had reached an all-time low. Documents of the period attest to raids on islands under the control of the crown of Aragon, and in August or September of 1397 Torreblanca and Orpesa on the mainland (in Valencia) had been sacked by four galleys from Bougie.[8] In this attack alone, 800 captives had been taken. In addition, several eucharistic hosts in their tabernacle had been stolen from the church in Torreblanca. This act caused an enormous sense of outrage in the kingdom and

the cry for revenge could not be ignored. The crown could not stand for this aggression on the part of Tunis and yet, because of rebellions in its empire, was not in a position to begin an all-out attack on the aggressor. For that reason, Martin seems to have begun a tortuous course of diplomacy geared to solving both problems at the same time. Within this course of action the very human element involving 1500 prisoners became secondary to considerations of state.

A brief detour at this point to discuss the specifics of the problem of the prisoners in question seems to begin in the year 1393. It is to that year that I date two letters addressed to Martin from captives in Tunis.[9] In these letters from the captives of Sicily and Gozo the prisoners describe their condition to Martin. Their claim was that they were forced to work night and day and were placed in leg irons upon returning from their labors. They further remonstrated that they were kept naked and barefoot and in a state of starvation. In a touching line they stated, 'the human mind cannot comprehend nor the human tongue describe the pains and tribulations that we suffer ...'. Further, in the letter from the prisoners of Gozo, the claim was also made that many of them, their wives, and their children, were being converted to Islam by means of torture. It is these letters, and others like them, which seem to be referred to by Martin in March of 1398 when he informed a court official that in response to letters from captives he had decided to send an ambassador to Tunis to arrange for prisoner exchange.[10] This official was asked to arrange for a ship at no cost to the crown, if possible, to take ambassador Pere Queralt and the members of his party to Tunis. Yet in May of 1399, more than a year after Martin had ordered the drafting of the preliminary instructions for his ambassador, Queralt and his party still had not left on their mission. It is apparent that the reason for the delay was the North African crusade mounted by a Vallencian and Mallorcan armada and that, in effect, other considerations had been placed ahead of the question of the Christian captives.

The manifest purpose of the North African crusade of 1398 was to retaliate against Tunis for the attack on Torreblanca of 1397. In no way was the fate of the prisoners being considered by the crusaders. This venture was solely constituted for the purpose of vengeance. According to the *Anales* of Zurita, Martin had secured papal authorization for the crusade in 1397.[11] In this way, the costs of the armada would be paid for out of church revenues collected in the kingdom. In February of 1398 Martin requested that the Valencians elect Huc de Santa Pau, the leaders of the expedi-

tion which had conquered Djerba in 1393, as captain of the armada. Instead the Valencians chose Vilaragut. A month later, in March of 1398, Martin ordered the drafting of the document referred to above, where he revealed his intention of beginning diplomatic negotiations with Tunis for the return of the prisoners. While these two courses of action seem mutually contradictory, that is planning an attack while, at the same time, preparing a peace mission, later events seem to indicate that Martin intended to employ the sacred armada as a diplomatic weapon to be used, in the same way as the peace mission, for reasons of state. In addition, Martin needed the armada to release the pent-up furor of his subjects against the Tunisian corsairs. The extent of this furor is revealed in a document dated 30 June 1399 where Martin informed his officials that although the armada had left the port of Valencia, the member of would-be crusaders congregating there represented a threat to Moors of the kingdom.[13] That he ordered execution for any who refused to obey the order to disperse indicates how unruly the situation had become.

The evidence for interpreting Martin's dual intentions regarding the use to which the armada would be put is, to begin with, that in August of 1398, a year after the attack on Torreblanca, when the crusade finally began its mission, the armada did not attack Bougie, its natural target, but Tedellis. Because Tedellis was not at that moment under the control of Tunis but, rather, being held by the Abdalwadides, enemies in long standing of the Hafsides of Tunis, it would appear that the attack represented more a diplomatic show of force than the preliminaries to war.[14] Then in September of 1398, directly after the attack on Tedellis and before the armada could have a chance to engage in other attacks on the North African coast, Martin despatched it to aid the Pope at Avignon.[15] This effectively ended the North African campaign for 1398. By December of that same year Martin was in a position, once again, of being able to reopen diplomatic negotiations with Tunis. To this effect, he wrote to the Valencians requesting a ship for delivering an ambassador to Tunis, and he further requested that they promise not to harm the subjects of the crown of Tunis nor the prisoners taken in the attack on Tedellis. From this document, two things are apparent. The first is that Martin knew full well that Tedellis was not a Tunisian dependency (because it is clear he distinguishes its citizens from those of Tunis) and that, therefore, the attack on Tedellis could not have been carried out in the mistaken belief that it constituted an attack on the

crown of Tunis. Second, Martin seems to be contemplating using the prisoners from Tedellis as bargaining tools. This deliberate use of captives for purposes of negotiations was a prominent element in all of the diplomatic dealings which occured between the crowns of Aragon and Tunis from this point onward.

The year 1399 was devoted again to attempts to combine peaceful negotiations with force. In January of that year, Queralt was advised to stand by to begin his mission.[16] Yet, in May, Martin authorised the armada to attack all Saracen states, with the exception of Granada and Egypt where peace treaties were in effect.[17] But he also authorised the armada to attack the rebels on Corsica and Sardenia, indicating strongly the potential use being made of that fleet.[18] This time, the crusaders did manage to attack Tunis at Bone, in August 1399, but, in fact, Martin had attempted, too late, to deflect the armada to Sicily to put down a rebellion that was threatening his son's rule on that island.[19] However, because the attack did come off, the Tunisian question and that of the prisoners opened up again when the Tunisians, in reprisal, attacked Terranova in Sicily and captured the bishop of Syracuse. The question of prisoner exchange now became more meaningful and negotiations began again in November of 1399.

In a letter written during that month, Martin responded to a letter from Abu-Faris (Abu-l-'Abbas' son and successor) asking for peace between Tunis, Aragon, and Sicily.[20] According to the letter, Martin stated that he would comply with the request by Tunis for Ambassador Queralt and would send him to negotiate the peace. He further accepted Abu-Faris' offer of a hostage and promised to give good treatment to this hostage who was identified as a first cousin to the king by the name of Ibrahim. In fact, it now seems apparent from later documents that this hostage probably arrived in late April or early May of 1400 in the company of a Jewish physician sent as a messenger from Tunis.[21] Pere de Queralt was summoned to the court that same day for 'some affairs of no small urgency'.[22] The next reference to the matter occured in September 1401 when the hostage was described in a document as 'that Moorish captive who is in our minor palace in Barcelona and for exchange of which said king intends to give us the said bishop ...'[23] A subsequent reference was made to him in July of 1402 when the king ordered Queralt to trade the captive moor 'Mule Brahi, relative of the King of Tunis, for the bishop of Sicily.'[24] At the end of that month the 'Moorish captive named Mule Brahi' was turned over to Casasaia who had been ordered to accompany Queralt on his mission to Tunis.[25] As it would be difficult to interpret the name of

Mule Brahi as anything other than Ibrahim, plus the fact that two documents mention that this person was a relative of Abu-Faris, one is lead to the inescapable conclusion that the hostage who was promised 'good treatment' by Martin was imprisoned and held as a political pawn. The apparently premeditated nature of the act is a startling commentary on Martin as a political pragmatist and on the situation in which he found himself.

During the year 1401 internal problems kept Martin occupied and away from the capital for the entire year. The problem of the peace treaty and of the prisoners in Tunis seemed to fall into abeyance. As the papal license for the armada expired early in that year, Martin seems to have been left with diplomatic negotiation as the sole weapon in his arsenal.

It was not until February of 1402 that Queralt was ordered once again to report to Martin in order to begin his mission. That month Martin wrote to the Master of the Mercedarians asking for 1000 gold florins of Aragon from the funds collected for the purpose of ransoming captives.[26] The letter that appear in the registers under the seal of secrecy (where most of this correspondence is copied) do not reveal whether this sum had actually been requested by Tunis. In April 1402 new instructions were prepared for Queralt.[27] They are very similar to the instructions prepared four years previously in April of 1398 with the addition of a request for relics of St. Oliva and of Christ.

The final stages of preparation for the mission of peace and prisoner exchange began in the summer of 1402. In July of that year, Martin instructed Queralt that if he was unable to secure the freedom of all the captives he ought to try for certain individuals, especially the bishop of Syracuse.[28] A few days later Martin arranges for 1000 florins to be deposited in the bishop's name in Barcelona.[29] The instructions state that if the bishop were freed the money was to be paid to Martin; if not, the money was to be returned to whomever deposited it. In August, Martin wrote again to the Master General of the Mercedarians informing him that the request for the 1000 florins be brought up at the next general chapter of the order being held on 16 August.[30] From this, it seems obvious that it was not the Mercedarian order that had provided the money deposited in the Barcelona bank. On 7 August, Martin wrote Queralt asking him to work diligently to secure the relics of St. Oliva and Christ but, that if all that he is being sent to bargain for could not be obtained, he was to settle for what he could get. Also, Martin requested that Queralt procure some marble columns and high quality stone work made in Tunis.[31] Need it be stressed

that all of this time the prisoners have been languishing in what appears to have been appalling conditions of imprisonment.

Queralt finally began his mission in 1402 – more than years after its inception. The course of the negotiations that took place in Tunis spanned the period August/September 1402 to March 1403. The actual treaty seems to have been signed some time in March 1403 and is referred to as concluded in a document issued by the city of Marseilles on 22 March 1403.[32] A document emanating from Mallorca dated 19 March 1403 indicated that subjects of Tunis, Bougie, Bone, and Constantine, were not to be harmed in any manner, although they seem to be differentiated from those described generally as being at peace with the kingdom.[33] A second document, also from the governor of Mallorca, dated 21 March 1403 refers to the negotiations and, as a gesture of friendship, returns to Tunis a prisoner from that kingdom who had been captured in a raid in the territorial waters of Tlemsen.[34] In May of that year, the governor of Mallorca seems to make official reference to the treaty in a proclamation to officials of the crown of Aragon that states: 'conditions exist that make for peace and truce with said beneficent king and under protection and safe-conduct to the lord king of Tunis...'[35] On 27 June, Roger received the order to publicise this treaty, along with a copy of the document in Latin. In order that 'no one be able to allege ignorance of said peace' Roger ordered it translated (*arromansar*). This explanation precedes the text of the treaty which was finally published on 6 September 1403.[36]

In the treaty of 1403, the articles dealing with the question of the captives number 12 of 51 chapters. These sections spell out in very particular detail the rather considerable amounts of money to be paid to free the captives. Although this in itself was not the normal procedure in peace treaties, it does follow the precedent set by the Genoese-Tunisian treaty of 1391. The stipulations dealing with the prisoners detail the circumstances under which captive infants are considered freeborn; the price for children under captivity; permission for captives while awaiting ransoming to pay a weekly bond in order to be allowed out of irons; and a number of other details of lesser interest. All these articles are unique and are clues to the fact that relations between the two realms had undergone considerable permutations from the relatively cordial negotiations conducted previously.

A further sign of the peculiar nature of this treaty is that the first article deals with the possibility of future conflict between the crowns of Aragon, Sicily, and Tunis. According to this first section, hostilities between Sicily and Tunis over the islands of

Djerba (claimed by Sicily) and Pantaneleya (claimed by Tunis), were not to be engaged in for a period of at least five years and then only after a declaration of intent to attack was given six months prior to the assault. Because of political exigencies affecting the crown of Aragon, this short-term suspension of hostilities over these two areas of contention outlasted the expiration date of 1408 and, in fact, endured for 30 years – until Alfons el Lliberal led an attack on Djerba in 1432. The fact, however, that this problem was dealt with first in the treaty would seem to indicate that it was an important consideration, possibly an urgent one, at the time the treaty was signed.

In the period immediately following the signing of the peace, the documents indicate that Martin was attempting to honor the treaty of 1403. He seems to have made serious efforts to return Tunisian captives to Tunis, as indicated by two documents.[37] This scrupulosity is noteworthy in view of the fact that the crown of Aragon had been forced to pay a heavy ransom for the return of its own subjects from Tunis. However, by 1406 war was being considered by Martin's son, the king of Sicily, as he wrote to his father in January explaining why he was unable to obey a command to send an envoy to Tunis to try to negotiate for restitution of damages caused to citizens of Sicily since the signing of the peace.[38] In this letter, Martin el Giovane informs his father that he is making preparations for war in the likelihood that no restitution would be made. The preparations he describes were extensive and certainly seem to indicate a commitment to war on the part of Martin el Giovane. On the other hand, Martin had obviously not given up in his attempts to honor the treaty. In February of that same year, he received a report informing him that Pere de Queralt was on his way to Tunis to bring back the captives taken during peace time or to free them.[39]

It seems likely that Martin kept the peace and kept his son in line until the five year limit expired sometime around March 1408. By 1409, however, it was apparent that Martin el Giovane had embarked on a campaign against Tunisian subjects. The evidence for this is to be found in documents dated 10 May 1409, in which Martin el Giovane details the conditions for a 'truce' between Sicily and Tunis.[40] According to the letters, two Jewish emissaries from Trapani had become involved as go-betweens in attempting to settle hostilities between Sicily and Tunis. Martin el Giovane informed them that although he could not enter peace negotiations with Tunis without the participation of his father, he would be willing to consider a 'truce' between Tunis and Sicily if Tunis

consented to pay 30,000 doubloons for the ransom of captive Moors being held at that time in Sicily. This would seem to indicate that Martin el Giovane had begun operations against Tunisian shipping and had captured considerable numbers of people. Although the letter reads like a blackmail document, it is certainly in line with the conditions imposed on the crown of Aragon in the treaty of 1403. The large sum involved may even represent the amount that the crown was forced to pay to redeem its own citizens from captivity.

This new, and final, phase of diplomacy between Martin, his son, and Abu-Faris came to an abrupt end when Martin el Giovane died on 25 July 1409 and was followed by his father less than a year later on 31 May 1410. The death of Martin threw the crown of Aragon into a period of turmoil during an extended interregnancy, followed by the short reign of Ferran.[41] Although the crown was stabilized during the rule of Alfons el Lliberal, relations between the crown of Aragon and Tunis remained as hostile as they had become during the rule of Martin.[42]

NOTES:

[1] For Antonio de Capmany y de Montpalau, see *Memorias historicas sobre la marina, comercio y artes de la antigua ciudad de Barcelona*, 5 vols., (Madrid: 1779) and *Antiguos tratados de paces y alianzas entre algunos reyes de Aragon y diferentes principes infieles de Asia y Africa, desde el siglo xiii hasta el xv*, (Madrid: 1786). For Jacques M.J.L. de Mas Latrie see *Relations et commerce de L'Afrique Septentrionale ou Magreb avec les nations Chrétiennes au Moyen Age* (Paris: '886) and *Traités de paix et de commerce et documents divers concernant les relations des Chrétiens avec les arabes de L'Afrique Septentrionale au Moyen Age*, (Paris, 1866). For Andres Gimenez Soler see 'Documentos de Tunéz, originales o traducidos, del Archivo dela Corona de Aragon, *Anuari del Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, (Barcelona: 1909-1910), 210-262 and 'Episodios de la historia de las relaciones entre la Corona de Aragon z Tunéz', *Anuari* (1907), 195-224. For Robert Brunschvig see *La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafsides: des origines a la fin du xv^e siècle*, 2 vols., (Paris: 1940; 1947) and 'Documents inédits sur les relations entre la Couronne d'Aragon et la Berbérie orientale au xiv^e siècle', *Annales de l'Institute d'Etudes Orientales*, vol.II (1936), 235-265. For Charles-Emmanuel Dufourcq see *L'Espagne Catalane et Le Maghrib aux* xiii^e et xiv^e siècles,

(Paris: 1966) and 'La Couronne d'Aragon et les Hafsides ou xiii siècle (1229-1301), 51-113; 255-292; 'Documents inédits sur la politique ifrikiyenne de la Couronne d'Aragon', 255-292; 'Nouveau documents sur la politique africaine de la Corona d'Aragon', 29-32 all to be found in *Analecta sacra Tarraconensia*, (Barcelona: 1952; 1953). For additional published documents emanating from the kings of Tunis, reflecting the Tunisian side of the correspondence, see M.A. Alarcon y Santon and Ramon Garcia de Linares, *Los documentos arabes diplomaticos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragon*, (Madrid: 1940).

[2] C.E. Dufourcq, 'La Couronne d'Aragon', *Analecta sacra Tarraconensia*, xxv (1952), 51.

[3] For treaty of Panissars (1285) see A. de Capmany de Montpalau, y *Antiguos tratados*, 39-52. For treaty of 1360 see M.A. Alarcon, *Los documentos arabes*, 311-320.

[4] An examination of Abu-l-'Abbas' reign appears in R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale*, I, 187-209.

[5] In order to avoid confusion for the English language reader I will henceforth use the English spelling for Marti's name.

[6] For a detailed account of the siege of Mahdia see E. Marengo, *Genova e Tunisi, 1388-1515: Relazione Storica*, (Rome: 1901), 25-28; John Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, Spain and the Adjoining Countries*, 2 vols., translated by Thomas Johnes, (London: 1842), 446-449; 465; Brunschvigs's treatment of the seige and subsequent negotiations can be found on pages 199-203 of his *La Berbérie orientale*, vol. I.

[7] After the treaty of 1307, the ambassador from the crown of Aragon is instructed to secure the freedom of Christian captives, without ransom, in accord with the treaty. See Capmany, *Antiguos Tratados*, 58. In 1325 a request for freedom of a captive, with no reference to ransom, is predicated on the existence of a treaty in effect between the crowns. Capmany, *Memorias*, I, 83. The peace treaty of 1360 specifies that subjects of Tunis 'seran puestos en libertad cuantos se hallaren en cautiverio' after the signing of the treaty. Alarcon, *Los documentos arabes*, 318. A treaty signed in 1377 between the crowns of Aragon and Granada specifies that the two kingdoms will exchange all prisoners, without reference to ransom payment. Alarcon, *Los documentos arabes*, 412-13.

[8] A detailed account of the attack on Torreblanca can be found in Andreu Ivars Cardona, O.F.M., *Dos creuades Valenciano-Malloquinès a les còstes de Berbéria: 1397-1399*, (Valencia: 1921). For a discussion of the Tunisian attack on Gozo in 1389 see Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale*, I, 197-198 and 205 where he refers to Abu-l-'Abbas' description of the attack on Gozo as an episode of the 'holy war' he was conducting against the Christians. For references to Sicilian captives see Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale*, I, 206 in which he cites documents dated 25 February 1393 whereby Martin, at that point in time Duke of Montblanch, instructs his ambassador to Tunis to demand the liberation of the Sicilian captives. Also see document published in R. Starrabba, 'Documenti riguardanti la Sicilia sotto re Martino I', *Archivio Storico Siciliano*, iii (1875), 172,

dated in the 8th indiction (1400) in which Martin, writing to his son the king of Sicily, refers to the news sent from Sicily 'that the king of Tunis wages war against Sicily and every year continually, with six galleys, injures said realm taking people and turning people away from said realm and had taken Terranova and in this way how some coastal towns are in danger, especially those with few people.' Martin's reply is that he is sending Queralt to negotiate the peace and free the prisoners.

[9] Archivo Historico de la Corona de Aragon (A.H.A.), Cartes reals Joan I, caja 7, num. 1058 and 1065. For a published transcription of document 1058 (the letter from the prisoners of Gozo) see Johannes Vincke, *Die gesandtschaften de Konige Aragon um die Reliquien hl. Barbara*, (1940), 121. This transcription is incorrectly dated 1408 by Vincke. It is apparent that he dated it by indiction without noting that it was, in fact, addressed to Martin as Duke of Montblanch. For that reason it must be dated an entire indiction series earlier, namely 1393.

[10] A.H.A., R. 2240, f. 72r. (23 March 1398). For published transcription see D. Girona y Llagostera, 'Itinerari del rey en Marti (1396-1410)' *Extret de l'Annuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, (Barcelona: 1916), 33-34.

[11] Geronimo Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragon*, vol. ii, (Zaragoza: 1668), 425.

[12] A.H.A., R. 2239, f. 122v. (27 February 1398); Girona, 32.

[13] A.H.A., Cartes reals Martin I, caja 1, num. 104: 'Don Martin ... a todos e quales quiere officiales e sotsmesos nostros dentro el Regno daragon... havemos sabido huy dada de la present yassia el estol desta santa armada ... sia ya partida dela playa o grau dela dita cuidad entanto que ha fustas do mas gentes pudiessen ir encara que quisiessen e lo que peor yes muyta gent qui daqueste Regno apres quel dito estol yes partido yes ida ala dita Ciudat ... vos dezimos e mandamos ... que encontiment vistas las presentes con voz de publica crida publicar sagades ... que alguno de quales condition o stamento sia no sia osado yr enla dita armade dius pena de perder el cuerpo e el honor la qual pena queremos e vos mandamos en el no obedient sia executada ... como el contrario seria muyt perigloso a los moros de nostra senyoria.'

[14] For Brunschvig's discussion of this question see *La Berbérie*, I, 220-221.

[15] A.H.A., R. 2240, f. 136v and R. 2240, f. 137r. (28 September 1398); Girona, 45.

[16] A.H.A., R. 2240, f. 167r-v. (12 January 1399); see Girona, 55.

[17] A.H.A., R. 2242, f. 117 (6 May 1399); see Girona, 63.

[18] A.H.A., R. 2242, f. 161. (11 August 1399); see Ivars, 140. See Ivars, 144 for document on this question dated 26 August 1399.

[19] A.H.A., R. 2242, f. 186r-v. (17 November 1399); see Ivars, 159-160.

[21] A.H.A., R. 2243, f. 99r. (3 May 1400). The first letter in question merely informs the *batle* of Barcelona that 'maester Boniuha Bondavi jeheu fisich sa a nos vengut per misatger del rey de Tuniç...' It goes on to ask that they be issued a garment described as follows: 'portare la roda groga e verenella segons nouellament es stat ordonat.' Since this

letter is immediately followed by one addressed to Pere Queralt which states: 'Com nos vos haiam per alguns afferis no poch urgents molt necessari pregam e manam vos tan expresament com podem que tantost per stats e vinguts a nos ...' I conclude that the ship from Tunis is likely to have brought the hostage, along with the physician and the two others mentioned to serve as messengers.

[22] See the second document quoted in note 21.

[23] A.H.A., R. 2244, f. 77v. (28 September 1401): 'Lo Rey. En Casasaye. Nos sobre la missatgeria que lonch temps ha segons nos sabers havem deliberat fets per lo noble mossen P. de Queralt al Rey de Tuniç per lo recobrament del bisbe de Saragoça com daltres presos ... E fets tenir esment quel moro catiu lo qual es al palau menor nostre en Barchinona e per cambi del qual lo dit Rey nos enten donar lo dit bisbe ...'

[24] A.H.A., R. 2245, f. 14v. (22 July 1402); see Ivars, 162. Note, however, that Ivars mistranscribes the name of the captive as 'Male Brachc'.

[25] A.H.A., R. 2245, 17r. (31 July 1402). 'Lo Rey. – Segons haver sabut per relatio del feel Cambier nostre en F. de sentmanat donzell vos havets liurat al feel conselli nostro en ffrancesus de casasaia mercader de barchinona aquell more catui apellat Mule brahi ... – Dirigitur Nicholo capita guardiano Regii palacii minoris.' Casasaia is given specific instructions about his particular role in the negotiations in a document dated 7 August 1402 (A.H.A., R. 2245, f. 19r).

[26] A.H.A., R. 2244, f. 134v. (25 February 1402); see Girona, 95.

[27] A.H.A., R. 2244, f. 156v-157v. (12 April 1402); see Ivars, 161.

[28] A.H.A., R. 2245, f. 14v. (22 July 1402); see Ivars, 162.

[29] A.H.A., R. 2245, f. 15r. (22 July 1402). 'Lo Rey. – En Casasaia ... per la deliverata del dit bisbe se pague mil florins darago volem que facats que aquella sien deposat en la taula dela Cuitat de barchinona sots tal condicio que si per qualsevol dels caps demunt dits lo dit bisbe sera deliverat de sa captivitat los dits mil florins seran liurats a nos o aqui nos manarem e si per ventura no podra esser delivrat lo dit bisbe peguts... aquella persona que per nom del dit bisbe les haura deposats.'

[30] A.H.A., R. 2245, f. 18. (3 August 1402); see Girona, 101.

[31] A.S.A., R. 2245, f. 19. (7 August 1402); see Girona, 101.

[32] R. Burnschvig, *La Berberie*, I, 225.

[33] Archivo Historico de Mallorca (A.H.M.), A.H.82, f. 80: 'Guidaticum fferari peyre patroni cuisdam galiote xxii bancharum. Nos en Roger de Moncada baron... no harats dampnificats alguns sotsmeses del dit senyou ne altres qui sien en pau e en treua ab aquell ne sotsmesses del rey de Tunis de bogia de bona e de contestina ...'

[34] A.H.M., A.H.82, f. 86: 'Molt alt e poderos princeps mule bufferes [Abu-Faris] Rey de Tunis. En Roger de Moncada ... patro de Galiota es arribat en questa ciutat ab la sua Galiota ... aportats aci algunos moros presos e cativats segons havem trobat ab informatio legitima en les mars de benigener del Realme de Tremse e ab los dits moros es stat preso abdalla benegamet altamin or lo qual haven trobat esser del vostre Reyalme de Tuniç e nos molt alt princep volents tenir e servar la bona confianca e

amistat ques serve entes lo dit Rey e senyor nostre ... e vos ... segons es stat trattat per lo molt noble mossen P. de guralt encents que vos e vostros sotsmeses trattats amigablement abs los sots meses del dit senyor Rey nostre havem deslineat a guitiament soltat de mans del dit parto ... lo dit abdalla benehamet ...'

[35] A.H.M., A.H. 82, f. 88. (30 May 1403): 'Honorabilibus universis et singulis officialibus et personis venerabilis intra dominationem illustrissime domini Aragon Regis ... de Rogerius de Montecateno ... no dampnifficando in personis vel bonis aliquos subditos domini Regis predicti vel de ditione sua nec aliquos alios cuiusquis status legis vel conditionis existant qui sint in pace vel treuga cum dicto denigno Rege aut sub protectione et salva guardia dicto domini regis de Tuniç ...'

[36] A.H.M., A.H. 421, f. 123r-134v; see E. Aguilo, 'Pau feta entre els reys de Arago y de Sicilia de una part y el rey de Tunis de l'altre (1403)', *Bulleti Societat Luliana*, ix (1901-02), 350-355.

[37] A.H.A., R. 2248, f. 35v. (20 September 1403): 'Lo Rey. – Mossen Guillem ... Sapiats que nos havem mester un sclau negre per servir aci en la nostre cambra, e segons havem entes vos tenits I daquells qui foren presos de Tuniç a Oriola, lo qual sclau nos trametats decontinent.' In addition, A.H.A., R. 2245, f. 184v. (27 September 1403) in Girona, 101 in which Martin requests full details from Queralt in order to decide whether to return two Tunisian captives who had been taken after having left Tunis without permission 'e enaven en altres parts per armar fustes contra nostres vassalls e sotsmeses ...' In spite of this incriminating activity on the part of the captives Martin was most anxious to investigate the problem carefully in order not to take a chance on violating the peace.

[38] A.H.A., Cartes Reales Martin I, caja 5, num. 882. (5 January 1406): 'Molt alt e molt excellent princep ... que vostra gratia senyoria vol a ordona que yo tramates al rey de Tuniç per requerir lo que faes restituir e tornar les dans per sos sotsmeses donats a sotsmeses vostres senyou e meus del temps enca que son fermada la pau ... e com molt alt senyou segons lo so deles paraules del dit capitol se dega rahonablement [one word indecipherable] que sia comminacio de fer lo semblant que ell ha fer e per consequent seria querra ... yo açi he fet ja faç e fare aquell millar preparatori que puxa axi de galeas e gents darmes com altres coses necessaries ... he ordonat e faç fer en diverses parts daquesta ylla per les maritimes algunes torres per guarda daquella per les quals se pora saber en un jom per tota la ylla si fustes algunes hic haura arribades ... vostre humil primogenit qui besa vostres mans ... lo Rey de Sicilia ...'

[39] A.H.A., Cartes Reales Martin I, caja 5, 910. (11 February 1406): 'Molt alt senor ... Guillem de Fenollet ... Item molt alt senyor conta com mossen P. de Aueralt ab la galera den bernes devia anar per embaxador al Rey de tunis per traure los catius preses en pau o darli deseximents.'

[40] These three documents from the Archivio di Stato of Palermo are published in Mas Latrie, *Traités de paix*, (Documents), 167-169.

[41] In 1416 a letter is sent to Ferran from the prisoners in Tunis in which they state that: 'nosalters mesquins estant confians que appres vostre

coronacio nosalters aurem reemsio dels penes en que som posats e per co molt alt senyor nosalters mesquins catius crestains ... qui fore aci en poder dels infels ... More than likely this confidence, on their part, was misplaced.

[42] For an account of the course of these later relations see R. Brunschvig, *La Berberie*, I, 225ff. Zurita's graphic narrative describing Alfons' attack on Djerba can be found in his Libro xiv, on pages 210-211 of the fourth volume of the edition cited above. Mas Latrie publishes a number of documents which were sent between the crowns of Aragon (including Sicily) and Tunis during the period after 1438. See his *Traités de paix*, (Documents), 169-181; 330-341.

MEDIEVAL MACHIAVELLIANISM: A STUDY IN 14th CENTURY CASTILLIAN DIPLOMACY

by BENJAMIN TAGGIE

NICOLO Machiavelli, born in 1469, wrote his most renowned work, *The Prince*, in 1513. Since the sixteenth century, there have been those who have condemned the work such as Cardinal Reginal Pole, who in 1536 assailed it as a product of the devil. Francis Bacon noted, 'Machiavelli dealt with men as they are, not as they ought to be.' Today, the work remains controversial. One aspect of Machiavelli's work that has stirred less controversy, however, is that it reflected the violent and chaotic political conditions in sixteenth century Italy. In this paper, I will attempt to demonstrate that this political condition, now called Machiavellianism, was indeed practiced extensively in the Iberian Peninsula more than a century before Machiavelli's birth. I am, of course, aware of the anachronistic nature of such a statement. Nevertheless, I believe that I may demonstrate the synthesis of concepts which the term 'Machiavellianism' embraces was indeed practiced in fourteenth century Iberia.

By Machiavellianism I refer to the total divorce of morality from politics. This concept is beyond question the most controversial aspect of *The Prince*. As Machiavelli wrote: 'I thought it better to treat this subject as it really is, in fact, than to amuse the imagination with visionary models of republics and govemments that never have existed. A prince that wishes to maintain his power ought to learn that he should not be always good.' Thus, Machiavelli discourages liberality, believing that it is better for a prince to be feared than loved, that a ruler should not keep faith if it is against his interest to do so, that the ends justify the means, and that the ruler is justified in following any course that will serve the state. In short, then, the term Machiavellian has come to signify something opportunistic and cynical, a doctrine clearly expressing the author's low regard for human nature. Using the term

Machiavellian in this context, I will now examine the political conditions of fourteenth century Iberia.

In the middle of the fourteenth century, the Iberian Peninsula was governed by four colorful personalities. Portugal was ruled by Pedro I, known as the Cruel or the Severe. Navarre was ruled by Charles II, known as the Bad; En Pere III, the Ceremonious, governed Aragon, and Pedro I, also known as the Cruel, reigned in Castille. All of these monarchs, if we apply the definition just given, can be classified as Machiavellian princes. I shall, however, concentrate on Pedro I of Castille (1350-1369) and the two individuals who served as his political tutors: his father, Alfonso XI, and the Portuguese, Juan Alfonso de Alburquerque.

Pedro was born on the 30th of August, 1344, the only legitimate offspring of the unhappy union of Alfonso XI and his queen, Maria, daughter of the king of Portugal. At that time, Alfonso had already left his wife for the charms of his mistress, Leonore de Guzman. It is possible that the queen hoped that by producing an heir to the throne, the king would return to her. These hopes were quickly shattered.[1]

There seems, however, to be no question that Alfonso looked upon Pedro is legitimate heir and successor. Though Alfonso was guilty of neglect in regard to his heir, the political acumen of the Castillian king would undoubtedly have influenced young Pedro. Certainly Alfonso XI would have been an excellent tutor in Machiavellian politics.

Alfonso had succeeded to the throne amidst great turbulence in 1312 when he was only one year old. At fourteen, he began to rule in his own name. One of his first political moves was to call his uncle, who at that time was one of his greatest challenges for the throne, to a meeting. Under the pretense of working out an agreement between the two parties involved, the young monarch instead ordered his uncle's arrest and execution. By similar acts, Alfonso intimidated his enemies, restored order in his kingdom and became one of Castille's great monarchs. Alfonso was a willing adherent to the Machiavellian concept that a prince must not mind incurring the charge of cruelty for the purpose of keeping his subjects mindful and faithful. Most importantly, he was successful in combining fear with the absence of hatred, a trait admired by Machiavelli. Nor would Machiavelli have been disappointed in the manner in which Alfonso kept faith in matters of politics. For Machiavelli, a ruler ought not to keep faith if it were against his interests or if the commitment was no longer pragmatic. We can observe this by looking at a series of very interesting political negotiations between Alfonso

XI and the court of France and England during the 1340's.

During these years, England and France were making preparations for renewing the Hundred Years' War and both were desirous of obtaining the assistance of the Castillian fleet. Consequently, there was fervent diplomatic activity to obtain a Castillian marriage-military alliance. With the support of the Avignon Papacy[2] the French won the victory. On January 2, 1346, Alfonso signed an agreement[3] in which he promised to aid the French against the English and to marry his son to a French princess. The French, in turn, agreed to pay a dowry of 300,000 florins. Four days later, he concluded a treaty with the English ambassador in which he promised to marry Pedro to Edward III's daughter, Joanna.[4] It appears, then, without question, that Alfonso XI was more than qualified to instruct the young prince in that political philosophy we have come to call Machiavellianism. It seems, however, that it was not Alfonso XI who educated Pedro in the arts of statemanship but rather Juan Alfonso de Alburquerque.

Alburquerque was not Castillian but Portuguese. He was a kinsman of both the king of Portugal and Queen Maria. Early in life he had abandoned his country and entered the service of young Alfonso XI. At the time that Alburquerque linked his future to that of the Castillian king, the nobility had not yet been subdued.[5] By aiding the king, Alburquerque earned the gratitude of the Castillian monarch who was to bestow lavish gifts on him in future years. The education of Pedro was placed in the hands of Juan Alfonso, who was made major domo for the boy. At the death of Alfonso XI, Alburquerque, already in an important position with the young heir, seemed destined to play a prominent role in the new government. Unscrupulous, intelligent, and ambitious, Alburquerque was equipped with all the necessary tools to play the game of Castillian politics. For the next three years, as Chancellor he was the most powerful figure in Castille and at the same time, nurtured Pedro in the arts of Machiavellian government.

Alburquerque's first program was to make the power of the king felt in all parts of the realm. According to Castillian law, a Cortes was to meet at the beginning of each new reign. The three estates in Castillian society were allowed to present their complaints and and petitions to the king. Consequently, Alburquerque summoned the Cortes to convene in Valladolid in the summer of 1351. Apparently the selection of that city was intentional. Since it was located in the northern province of Castille, it would be necessary for the king and his party to pass through the territories which had most strongly supported Alburquerque's greatest rival, Juan Nunez

de Lara.[6] The hostility of Juan Nunez to Alburquerque was shared by a considerable number of the Castillian nobility, who resented the power of this foreigner in Pedro's court. Just before his sudden death in Burgos on November 28, 1350 (he was most likely a victim of the Black Plague), Juan Nunez de Lara was preparing to revolt against Pedro and Alburquerque.[7] Thus, the kingdom was temporarily spared civil war, but there remained many who were opposed to Alburquerque. Foremost was Garcilaso de la Vega, adelantado mayor of Castille.

Garcilaso was a powerful man who had found favor with Alfonso XI, and had been major domo to the children of Leonor de Guzman. He was a man proud of his feudal power and totally lacking in humility. Pedro soon found it easy to apply several Machiavellian principles in his dealings with Garcilaso. For example, Machiavelli writes:

> I say that every prince must desire to be considered merciful and not cruel ... A prince ... must not mind incurring the charge of cruelty for the purpose of keeping his subjects united and faithful.
>
> And men have less scruple in offending one who makes himself loved than one who makes himself feared; for love is held by a chain of obligation ...; but fear is maintained by a dread of punishment which never fails.

Garcilaso was in Burgos with a large number of armed men as the king approached that city in May of 1351. I believe at this time Alburquerque was seeking a victim in order to display his power and that of his royal protege. Garcilaso was an appropriate choice. To destroy a man of such power would surely intimidate the rest of the Castillian nobility. Garcilaso played right into the hands of his enemies. Learning of the king's approach, he and his followers met the king at a place called Celada. Almost immediately, the hostility existing between Garcilaso and Alburquerque surfaced. Though unsupported by historical documentation, one historian suggests[8] that the entire episode was planned by Alburquerque so that he might have the opportunity to destroy his rivals. Only Pedro's intervention prevented bloodshed. The following day, a similar episode broke out and again the king prevented an armed conflict.[9]

On the day following Pedro's arrival in Burgos, Garcilaso was summoned to appear before the king. Immediately upon entering the king's presence his companions were seized and, upon Pedro's orders, Don Garci was murdered. The king then ordered that the body be thrown into the main square of the city, where a bullfight

was to be held that day.[10] Other executions soon followed, plunging Burgos into a state of terror in which no one dared raise his voice against the king or his chancellor. Alburquerque then directed Pedro toward the liquidation of the remainder of the family of Juan Nunez de Lara and of his main supporters. In the following weeks this purge was carried out. The great land holdings which once belonged to the Lara family were confiscated and put under the direct control of the crown. Alburquerque had taught Pedro the value of fear and cruelty in the administration of his domain. This lesson Pedro never forgot.

From Burgos, Pedro proceeded to Valladolid for the meeting of the Cortes. The Cortes was convoked during the first days of July, 1351 and lasted until March of 1352. Pedro, who had shown such ferocity in dealing with his enemies in Burgos, now revealed another side of his personality, one of generosity in dealing with the petitions and complaints brought before him.[11] We can see an obvious attempt to establish the concept of a monarch who must be feared but not necessarily hated; one who would deal out death and destruction to those who would oppose him but could also display compassion and generosity to those who petitioned. It was under the strong hand of Alburquerque, then, that Pedro was introduced to the arts of statesmanship. But unfortunately for the Portuguese minister, he was to become one of his protege's first victims.

Alburquerque fell out of favor with his young master early in 1353 as the result of a marriage which he contracted between the crowns of Castille and France.[12] (Neither of the treaties signed by Alfonso XI in 1346 had been implemented.) The Castillian king was reluctant to abandon his beautiful and intelligent mistress, Maria de Padilla, in favor of the French marriage, despite the numerous advantages which it offered.[13] The pressure which Alburquerque applied to Pedro to consumate this alliance was the main reason that the Castillian king decided to dispose of his Portuguese minister.

Without any hesitation, Pedro was prepared to abandon the man who had served him so well. Unaware of his imminent downfall, the minister continued to advise the king in matters of state. Upon the urging of Alburquerque, the marriage of Pedro and Blanche of Bourbon took place on June 3, 1353. Three days after his marriage, Pedro left Valladolid to be reunited with Maria de Padilla in Toledo.

With a large following, Alburquerque pursued the young king, hoping to bring him back to Valladolid and his bride. On the Sunday following Pedro's wedding, Juan Alfonso reached the village

of Albornoz, a short distance from Toledo.[14] There, he was visited by Pedro's emissary, Don Samuel Levi, who was the king's treasurer and a partisan of the Padilla family. Levi brought instructions from Pedro that he wished to consult with his minister and that the king did not understand why Juan Alfonso would bring such a powerful host with him. He ordered Alburquerque to dismiss them and come to Toledo alone. Pedro sent assurance that he had nothing to fear for his personal safety. Alburquerque, however, remembered only too well the lesson he had taught Pedro in the case of Garcilaso and had no intention of placing himself at the mercy of the young king. Fearing for his safety, he abandoned the project and fled to his homeland.[15]

Following Alburquerque's departure, Pedro purged his government of all those placed in power by Juan Alfonso,[16] destroying those who resisted. Thus Pedro began to govern in his own name, employing the methods he had been so ably taught by Alburquerque.

In the years immediately following Alburquerque's discharge, Pedro was forced to rely upon the political acumen he had acquired. In 1354 a rebellion broke out, led by Enrique of Trastamara, the bastard half-brother of the king, and supported by Alburquerque who had returned from exile to play a leading role. After a desperate struggle, Pedro was finally able to crush the last remnants of this rebellion in the early months of 1356. It appeared, then, that tranquility would once more be restored to the Castillian kingdom.

But the peace was only temporary for by the end of 1356, Castille was to be involved in one of the most prolonged and bloody wars in her history. The war with Aragon broke out late in 1356 and did not end until the death of Pedro in 1369.

The war continued intermittently until 1361, generally favoring Castille. In the early months of that year, Pedro, intended to deal a final blow to his enemy. Realizing the precarious nature of his position, the Aragonese king entered into negotiations with Granada, hoping to create a diversion and gain time for his kingdom to recover from numerous defeats suffered at the hands of the Castillian forces. The conditions for Aragonese intervention in Granada were well timed. In May of 1361, a coup d'etat had taken place in Granada which resulted in the seizure of the throne by the vizar Abu-Said. In doing so, he had driven Mohammed, an ally and vassal of Pedro, from the throne. Abu-Said realized that the Castillian king would support Mohammed and he eagerly entered into an alliance with the king of Aragon. Pedro was already deep in Aragonese territory when he received news of these events.[17] This

danger forced Pedro to give up his invasion when it appeared that victory in Aragon was at hand. Within a few days a peace agreement between Castille and Aragon had been reached.[18] When Abu-Said learned of this settlement between Aragon and Castille, he wrote to Pedro protesting his peaceful intentions and offered to continue paying tribute to the Castillian king as his predecessor had done.[19] Pedro, however, had already determined to destroy the usurper. An interesting stipulation of the Aragonese-Castillian treaty of 1361 had required Aragon to assist Pedro in his war against the Moors. Pere III was reluctant to aid his bitter rival, so he procrastinated as long as there was the slightest chance that Granada might be successful. En Pere wrote Pedro on September 8[20] and again on October 25[21] offering excuses to the Castillian king. He first pleaded illness which prevented him from taking part in these matters; his second reason was the threat that the Free Companies were to his kingdom. Apparently the Castillian king accepted these excuses, for in a letter of his own, dated from Seville on September 24, 1361, he offered with equal hypocracy his condolences to the Aragonese king for having to face such a menace and apologized that he was unable to aid him because of the war with Granada.[22] When it appeared inevitable early in 1362 that the usurper was about to be destroyed. En Pere quickly dispatched a detachment of Aragonese troops to fulfill his obligation to Pedro I. He displayed no scruples about deserting an ally that he had used so successfully months earlier.

The war with Granada ended with the death of Abu-Said in April of 1362. Pedro was now free once more to turn his attention to Aragon. The following passage from *The Prince* shows how clearly Pedro practiced the Machiavellian Creed,

> How laudable it is for a prince to keep good faith and live with integrity, and not with astuteness, every one knows. Still the experience of our times shows those princes to have done great things who have had little regard for good faith, and have been able by astuteness to confuse men's brains, and who have ultimately overcome those who have made loyalty their foundation. ... Therefore, a prudent ruler ought not to keep faith when by so doing it would be against his interest, and when the reasons which made him bind himself no longer exist. If men were all good, this precept would not be a good one; but as they are bad, and would not observe their faith with you, so you are not bound to keep faith with them.

The war against Granada had attracted most of the great nobles

of Castille to Andalucia. With the end of the war, the time had come for Pedro to disband his army. Before he did so, Pedro took the opportunity to call a Cortes in Seville, in the spring of 1362. The king took advantage of the Cortes to inform his vassals that they would soon be called upon to defend the frontier of Castille. The existing truce between France and England left numerous mercenaries unemployed. For months they had ravaged the French kingdom and were now directing their attention to the Iberian Peninsula. Already in the fall of 1361, they had attacked the frontier of Aragon.[23] Because of these activities, En Pere had excused himself from aiding Pedro in October of 1361. Pedro impressed upon the Cortes that Castille would be the next target of these mercenaries and it would be necessary to employ considerable forces along the frontiers to prevent such an invasion. Possibly few of Pedro's nobles suspected the true reason for the concentration of an army in the northeast of Castille. The intent of Pedro, of course, was to take the Aragonese kingdom by surprise and resume the war which he had been forced to terminate because of the threat of Granada.

These matters accomplished, Pedro left Seville with a considerable following. Early in May, Pedro entered into negotiations with Charles of Navarre for an offensive and defensive alliance. The Navarran king showed considerable interest in establishing an alliance with Castille. His relationship with France was bad, and of all the Iberian kingdoms, his was most susceptible to invasion by the Great Companies. In a matter of days the agreement had been worked out. The two kings made an alliance of friendship, promising to aid each other in all their wars and to mutually deliver all immigrant exiles.[24] This treaty was ratified by Charles of Navarre on May 22 at Soria and by Pedro at Saragossa on June 2.[25]

On the surface, the treaty appeared to hold many advantages for Navarre, a small state surrounded by many enemies. It had now acquired the protection of their powerful neighbour to the south. It was not long, however, before Charles realized that the alliance he had just concluded had been bought at a high price. Only days later, Pedro informed Charles that he was prepared to renew the war with Aragon, and by the terms of the treaty just concluded, he expected Navarran troops to fight along side his own in the campaign which would begin in a few days.[26] Charles the Bad had fallen into Pedro's trap. As reluctant as he was to enter into the war with Aragon, he had no choice. He officially declared war on Aragon toward the middle of June and sent his troops to the aid of

the Castillians.[27] Pedro did not trouble himself with such formalities. Almost immediately following his meeting with the king of Navarre, he invaded western Aragon. Pere III had been taken totally by surprise. At that time he was on the other side of his kingdom at Paprina with all of his available forces.

The situation of the Aragonese king was critical. This renewal of the war by Pedro earned for him the denunciation of the pope, Urban VI, and was proclaimed by En Pere to be an act of unparalleled treachery. The real cause of this indignation on the part of En Pere and his supporters was that their own aggressive plan against Castille had been thwarted. Pere III had been endeavoring to enlist the Companies to invade Castille and overthrow his hated rival. As the danger to his kingdom increased, the Aragonese king intensified these negotiations.[28] In the meantime, the Castillian-Aragonese war was continued with disastrous results for Aragon.

In an attempt to break the spirit of the Aragonese, Pedro was waging the war with an exceptional degree of terrorism.[29] He had given orders that no Aragonese prisoner was to be taken alive. At this crucial moment Charles V of France came to the aid of Aragon. The French king had been a supporter of Enrique of Trastamara for many years. He now saw how he could solve two problems with the same action. Since signing the treaty of Brittany in 1360 which had temporarily ended the war between France and England, the French kingdom had been ravaged by the unemployed Companies. Thus, in the case of Charles V, two policies of paramount importance coincided: the attainment of a successful solution to the Iberian problem, and the elimination of the Free Companies from his kingdom. Both of these goals could be accomplished through implementing the same program, sending the Companies to Castille to help overthrow Pedro and to establish the Trastamaran usurper.

Charles V's enthusiasm of ridding France of these mercenaries was shared by Pope Urban VI. It was agreed that Charles V, the Papacy and En Pere would each pay one third of the cost to subsidize the expedition.[30] In January of 1366, under the command of Bertrand du Guesclin, the Companies began their invasion of Castille. Pedro, still trusting in his alliance with Charles of Navarre, had taken no precautions to guard the Navarran frontier. He was totally unaware of an alliance recently concluded between Charles, Enrique of Trastamara and En Pere.[31] Pedro assumed the Companies would attack from western Aragon and thus took the necessary precaution to strengthen his fortresses along the Aragonese frontier, but imprudently trusted the Navarran alliance. When the Companies made a sudden dash through Navarre and descended upon

northern Castille, Pedro was outflanked. The mercenaries, disregarding conventional methods of siege warfare, moved quickly on the Castillian capital of Burgos. Faced by widespread desertion to the usurper, Pedro fled his kingdom to take refuge with his English allies in Gascony.

In 1362, Pedro had concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Edward III. He now sought to invoke that treaty. The bargaining between him and the Black Prince (who represented Edward III in the negotiations) continued through 1366. Finally, after assuming full financial responsibility for the invasion and granting extensive territories to both the Black Prince and Charles of Navarre (who had once again changed sides), the expedition to restore Pedro began in the early months of 1367.[32]

Charles of Navarre, having secretly abandoned his alliance with Enrique of Trastamara, allowed the English army to descend upon northern Castille and take Enrique by surprise, as the Companies had done to Pedro in 1366. The campaign which ended in triumph for the Black Prince at Najera in 1367 proved to be a Phyrric victory. Pedro and the Prince were totally incompatible allies because of their differing political mentality. The Black Prince, imbued with western chivalry, found the Machiavellian Castillian unpalatable. An ill-advised clause in the treaty of Libourne had provided that all prisoners taken during the campaign be turned over to the Black Prince.[33] The battle of Najera had offered Pedro I the opportunity to rid Castille, once and for all, of those who opposed him. The inability, then, of the Black Prince to grasp the political realities of Castillian politics made the entire campaign of 1367 useless.

The day after the battle, Pedro's greatest rivals, who had been determined to resist his authority, were paraded before him.[34] When Pedro demanded that these knights be turned over to him, the Prince replied in a pretentious manner that English knights worked for honor and that there was not one among them who would give up his prisoner if he supposed he was being brought to be killed.[35] What the Prince was proposing must have appeared as sheer madness to Pedro. In a matter of months, most of the prisoners had been ransomed and were again in rebellion against Pedro, working for the establishment of the Trastamaran dynasty. Though we must applaud the nobility of the Prince's sentiments, Machiavelli would clearly have supported Pedro.

> He should not shrink from encountering some blame on account of vices that are important to the support of his states; for,

everything well considered, there are some things, having the appearance of virtues, that would prove the ruin of a prince should he put them in practice, and others upon which, though they are seemingly bad and vicious, his actual welfare and security depend.

The elimination of Pedro's rivals at Najera, if not humane, would have been the most pragmatic action, for it would have terminated the civil war and restored order to Castille.

Pedro was correct when he acknowledged that his kingdom was now in a worse state than before.[36] Soon his enemies would again be at large to attack him. In the meantime, he had incurred an enormous debt.[37]

By the end of 1367, the Black Prince had returned to Gascony, and Enrique of Trastamara endeavored once more to overthrow Pedro. The struggle between Enrique and Pedro dragged on until March of 1369 and ended with the murder of Pedro at Montiel on the fourteenth of March. Ingloriously, the career of Pedro I of Castille had come to an end. For nineteen years he had practiced Machiavellian statescraft in an effort to bring a strong, centralized monarchy to his kingdom. This was the same motivation that prompted Machiavelli to write *The Prince*, to end the chaos in the Italian Peninsula by establishing a strong government capable of asserting itself in the face of the prevalent anarchy. It is ironic that Machiavelli found it necessary to praise another Spanish monarch, Ferdinand II. This man was able to accomplish what Pedro had failed to do more than a hundred years earlier by employing the same tactics encouraged by Machiavelli. Any analysis of the fourteenth-century political practices of the Iberian Peninsula reveals that the concept of Machiavellian government, so closely identified with sixteenth-century Italy, were indeed prevalent in the Iberian Peninsula more than one hundred years before Machiavelli.

NOTES:

[1] Juan Catalina Garcia, *Castille y Leon durante los reinados de Pedro I. Enrique II, Juan I y Enrique III*, 2 Vols. (Madrid: El Progresso Editorial, 1891), Vol. I, p. 1.

[2] Vatican Reg., 138, N. Mxxxviii, Mxxxix, piece just., no. 7 and MXL, piece just., no. 9.

[3] French National Archives, J 602, no. 41.

[4] Thomas Rymer, ed., *Foedere, conventiones, litterae et acta publica*, (London: 1825), Vol. III (i), p. 22.

[5] This was during the crucial years, 1336-38, when Alfonso was concurrently at war with the king of Portugal and many of his nobles, including Juan Manuel and Juan Nunez de Lara. This conflict must have posed serious problems for Alburquerque, who was a nephew of the king of Portugal. It appears that Juan Alfonso solved his dilemma by aiding Alfonso XI in his conflict against the Castillian nobility, but abstained from taking part in military action against his native kingdom. For a more detailed discussion see E.R. Amaya, *Don Juan Alfonso de Alburquerque*, pp. 28-34.

[6] Juan Nunez, who had revolted against Alfonso XI in 1336, had been forgiven by Alfonso and had remained loyal until the king's death in 1350. At that time, Alburquerque and Juan Nunez had entered into a shaky alliance which quickly dissolved when Pedro I became seriously ill during the early months of his reign. When it appeared that Pedro's death was imminent, two parties emerged. One headed by Alburquerque supported Fernando of Aragon (a nephew of Alfonso XI), another claimed the crown for Juan Nunez de Lara, since he was a descendent of the house of Cerda. The unexpected recovery of Pedro I ended the need for this political division, but the brief conflict ended the hope of cooperation between Don Juan Alfonso and Juan Nunez. Soon after the king's recovery, Don Juan Nunez withdrew from the court at Sevilla to his lands in Castilla where he died suddenly months later.

[7] Pero Lopez de Ayala, *Cronica del rev Don Pedro*, ed. E. Llanguano y Amirola, Vol. I, (Madrid: Real Academia Espanola, 1779), p. 15.

[8] Proposer Merimee, *Historie de Don Pedro Ier, Roi de Castille*, (9th ed.; Paris: Charpentier, Libraire-Editeur, 1865), p. 38.

[9] Ayala, p. 37.

[10] Ibid., pp. 42-43.

[11] Unpublished documents, Archivo Nacional, Madrid: co. 934, n. 16, co. 383, no. 15, co. 371, n. 18, co. 357, n. 2.

[12] Unpublished Documents, French National Archives, J603, N. 51 and N. 53.

[13] The relationship of Pedro I and Maria de Padilla is far too complex to enter into a lengthy discussion of in a paper of this size, but several points must be brought out to put the event into its proper perspective. The traditional story of the relationship, drawn from the *Chronical* of Ayala, is that Padilla was brought up in the household of Alburquerque and was introduced to the king in 1352. Alburquerque's intention was to divert the king's interest from government through the charms of Padilla, a creature Juan Alfonso presumed he could control. This interpretation is opposed with some merit by E.R. Amaya. Nevertheless, Pedro did meet Maria in 1352 and she soon became the king's favorite. By the following year, her relatives were cooperating with the bastard sons of Alfonso XI to depose the Portuguese minister so they could enjoy more authority in

the government. It appears that these interests coincided with those of the young king who was now eighteen and desirous of escaping the authority of Alburquerque. The French marriage proved to be an event around which these events evolved.

[14] Ayala, p. 97.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 101.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 114.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 348.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 350.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 324.
[20] Diplomatic Documents, General Archives of the Crown of Aragon, Reg. 1391, p. 74.
[21] *Ibid.*
[22] *Ibid.*, Reg. 1394, p. 75.
[23] *Ibid.*
[24] Don Jose Yanguas y Miranda, *Dictionario de Antiquidades de Navarra*, (Madrid: 1840-43), Vol. III, p. 99.
[25] Burtalis, *Archives de la Chambre de Comptes de Navarre*, p. 86.
[26] Ayala, pp. 353 ff.
[27] Geronimo Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragon*, (Zaragoza: 1610), Vol. II, p. 259.
[28] French National Archives, Paris, J 603, N. 58.
[29] Zurita, *Anals*, Vol. II, p. 317.
[30] Vatican Archives, Reg. 247, folio 55.
[31] Archives of Chamber of Counts of Navarre, Caja 41, N. 47.
[32] Rymer, *Foedere*, Vol. III (ii), pp. 800-602.
[33] *Ibid.*
[34] Ayala, p. 471.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 472.
[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 473-474.
[37] Rymer, Vol. III (ii), p. 825, and Public Records Office: Exchequer (Diplomatic Documents), No. 1225.

LATE-MEDIEVAL MEDITERRANEAN EMPIRES: THE CATALAN EXAMPLE

by ANTHONY LUTTRELL

'EMPIRE' may be defined as a 'supreme and wide (political) dominion.'[1] During the late middle ages the Kings of Aragon, who came to rule not only in Aragon, Catalunya and Valencia but also in the Balearics, Sardinia, Sicily, Naples and elsewhere, thought of their wide Mediterranean dominion, a dynastic confederation or commonwealth which was also a strategic sphere of influence and an economic community, as being in some sense an empire; and they could address its inhabitants, whatever their language or origins and whether or not they came immediately under the supreme rule of the Aragonese Crown, as their subjects or *naturals* – often using that term in Catalan, the imperial *lingua franca*.[2]

There were, admittedly, oratorical occasions on which it suited the late-medieval Kings of Aragon to emphasize rather more strongly than was justified the effectiveness and cohesion of their own imperial government. The Crown evolved an elaborate administrative apparatus of indirect rule, of *cortes* and parliaments, viceroys and governors-general, but at the same time it was usually sufficiently astute to flatter and respect local and 'national' sensitivities and institutions.[3] Such royal pretensions have led some modern historians astray. In 1970 the American historian J. Lee Schneidman published a book on the 'Aragonese-Catalan Empire'[4] which contained an exaggerated and unreal vision of Catalan power, and which doubtless deserved the savage and telling criticisms it was promptly accorded in a review by J. Hillgarth.[5] Hillgarth subsequently offered his own interpretation of the same theme in an extended critical essay which certainly provides an extremely useful if somewhat debatable survey of a wide range of pertinent and important questions.[6] His work has the cardinal merit of presenting these issues clearly for discussion. The present brief

notes are designed merely to comment on certain controversial aspects of these problems, omitting in particular all discussion of those political, constitutional, legal and cultural institutions which assured varying degrees of autonomy to the component dominions of the Catalan commonwealth, incalculable factors largely ignored by Hillgarth but which had their importance in preserving the unity of the whole empire.

Hillgarth begins, without offering any explicit definition of 'empire', by posing a series of extremely relevant questions; the fifty-page summary of current research which follows will be helpful to the English reader but contains no important major new interpretations; while a concluding section adjudicates, very briefly and not very clearly, on the imperial 'problem'. Hillgarth distinguishes, necessarily, a series of periods in Catalan expansion, but he covers only the first stage down to the death of Jaume II in 1327; this periodization is confusing since he also emphasizes a major change of policy in 1295[7] while he frequently adduces evidence from well after 1327. It is true, as Hillgarth states, that after 1296 the Aragonese king lost direct political control in Sicily and that his Cypriot wife failed to give him the son through whom he hoped to extend claims to Cyprus, but by 1327 Jaume had conquered Sardinia and had permanently preserved Sicily from the Angevins of Naples, while the Balearics, Sicily itself and, in the fifteenth century, even Naples, all subsequently came under the direct government of the Aragonese Crown which had only lost control of the Western Mediterranean islands for a comparatively brief period.

It is certainly legitimate to discuss how far the Catalan form of empire had developed by 1282, 1296, 1327 or any other date. Situations and policies changed, however. Catalan-Aragonese strength in the Mediterranean was a major consideration for all concerned at the height of a great war with Genoa in 1352, for example, or in the fifteenth century, when Alfonso V conquered Naples; it was relevant to the vexed questions of the Mediterranean policies of Ferdinand and Isabella, of Charles V and of Philip II. Whatever the real limitations and frailties of Catalan power – and Hillgarth does emphasize how much was achieved despite these weaknesses – it does seem somehow unsatisfactory, even arbitrary, to cut off the argument at a particular chronological point. Hillgarth concludes: 'The idea of a Catalan "empire" seems . . . misleading. Such an idea could only have taken real form if the Crown of Aragon had really controlled the kingdoms ruled by junior branches of the House of Barcelona, [that is] Majorca and Sicily', and 'The basis for any

real Catalan "empire" must be considered fragile when no major challenge could be overcome except by luck.'[8] Such judgement begs many questions; it applies only to certain moments in time; it neglects the economic issues; it demands clearer definitions. It also requires a much wider context and a great deal more research, a whole team of Braudels examining Spain and the Mediterranean world during a succession of periods for many of which statistical and other evidence is largely lacking.[9]

If Venice, a city-republic which had the most meagre mainland resources and which for long avoided major territorial commitments on *terra firma* either in Italy or the Levant, or Genoa, another city-state with a much looser imperial administrative system than that of Venice, can both be considered to have had empires, then Catalunya surely had one also. Genoa's political instability and the comparative independence of its colonies make its case a debatable one, but Venice had a major fleet, a colonial civil service and a series of strategic bases.[10] Hillgarth complains that the Catalan empire 'is continually referred to as if it possessed the same solidity attained by the Roman or British empires of the past'.[11] Here we face a problem of definition. Venice did not have less of an empire because, even with Catalan help, it did not defeat the Genoese fleet in 1352 or because the Genoese very nearly captured Venice in 1380. Why and when the Catalan empire began to decline and what was the nature of its 'crisis' are other, much-debated questions. Nor is it necessarily relevant to Hillgarth's point whether the Catalans or the Aragonese were the more preponderant at any particular moment, or whether it was the Crown or the Barcelonese patriciate which determined or profited from policy.

Hillgarth's insistence on direct political control in Sicily as a criterion of Catalan empire[12] seems partly misplaced. Jaume II's brother Federico replaced him as King of Sicily in 1296 but what followed, despite the outward and occasionally even bloody appearance of formal warfare, was actually a tacit alliance.[13] Between 1296 and 1409 fundamental economic interests held Catalunya and Sicily remarkably close; even in the case of Genoa, a real enemy, Genoese trade with Sicily and Catalunya continued through long periods of armed conflict.[14] Sicilian ports, the Sicilian grain needed in Catalunya, Genoa and Tunis, and the Sicilian markets for Catalan cloth and other manufactures formed essential elements in a series of triangular or polygonal trading relationships which did not collapse merely because the King of Aragon's brother became king in Sicily. Whether or not the Aragonese king benefitted per-

sonally, it was these mutual commercial interdependencies which formed the foundations of the Catalan common market, of what Mario del Treppo calls the *Impero dei mercanti catalani.*[15] It was economic rather than military realities which were decisive. Admittedly, Catalan naval power was always strictly limited,[16] but even if that had not been the case the Mediterranean could still not have become a 'Catalan lake', for the technical limitations of galley warfare prevented any power from keeping its fleet permanently at sea in distant parts in such a way as to control the whole or even a major part of the Mediterranean.[17]

The modern discussion of Catalan policy in the Eastern Mediterranean was initiated at a congress in 1957. Using in particular a document of 1311 in which Jaume II spoke of the Mediterranean islands as stepping stones to the Levant together with a series of fifteenth-century shipping statistics, the outstanding Catalan historian Jaime Vicens Vives launched his theory of a *ruta de las especias* across the islands of the Mediterranean to Egypt. This thesis saw the spice trade as providing 'the fundamental structure of the great commerce of Barcelona and the basis of the Mediterranean imperialism of its kings.'[18] It was almost immediately rejected by the Sicilian medievalist Francesco Giunta[19] and in numerous subsequent publications including, most recently, that of Hillgarth. It is now generally agreed that Catalan interests lay predominantly in the Western Mediterranean, that the Maghreb was more important than Egypt, and that the Crown consistently avoided the implication of its limited armed strength in the East.

It does not, however, follow that there was no such thing as a Catalan empire. If the Kings of Aragon avoided entanglements with the crusade and with the exploits of the Catalan Companies which conquered Thebes and Athens in 1311, that was for lack of resources rather than for lack of interest. In the Northern Levant, Catalan commerce and royal involvement in *Romania* were slight.[20] In 1352 the combined Catalan and Venetian navies fought an inconclusive battle against the Genoese in the Bosphorus. Losses were heavy on both sides and the results were ultimately disappointing to the Catalans who never again sent a major force into the Eastern Mediterranean, but it is hard to understand why Hillgarth should call this naval intervention 'disastrous', especially as the Catalan-Venetian fleet did roundly defeat the Genoese off Alghero in the following year.[21] To the south, Jaume II concluded treaties with the Mamluk sultans; he made the ambitious if ultimately fruitless Cypriot marriage of 1315; Catalan pirates operated between Fama-

gusta and Alexandria; and trade with Egypt brought in 'perhaps as much as 300,000 *sueldos* in a good year', some ten percent of which went to the Crown in licences or fines so that, as Hillgarth himself points out, 'In the treasury accounts for 1302 fines for trading with Alexandria constituted almost half the revenues the Crown received from Catalonia.'[22]

Levantine affairs may have been marginal but evidently they were far from negligible. It may yet transpire that the luxury trade from Egypt, Syria and Cyprus provided the capital for a group of Catalan patricians who possibly played a key role both in the formation of royal policy and in the industrial development of Barcelona.[23]

In any case, such considerations are marginal to the main issue of empire. Whatever its precise nature, however it changed from one period to another, whoever benefitted from it most, wherever its real centre lay at any particular moment, the Aragonese Crown, or *los paises de la Corona de Aragón,* constituted an entity which was something more than a mere *regnum* and which may, with suitable qualifications, be termed an 'empire', a 'supreme and wide (political) dominion'.

NOTES:

[1] *The Concise Oxford Dictionary,* ed. H.& F. Fowler (5th ed: Oxford, 1964), 397.

[2] The bibliography is voluminous; see especially *Indice Histórico Español,* I – (1953-).

[3] Cf. A. Ryder, 'The Evolution of Imperial Government in Naples under Alfonso V of Aragon', in *Europe in the Late Middle Ages,* ed. J. Hale *et al* (London, 1965).

[4] J. Lee Schneidman, *The Rise of the Aragonese-Catalan Empire: 1200-1350,* 2 vols. (New York, 1970). Schneidman was, of course, following many modern Catalan writers who had political and other motives for advancing exaggerated views concerning Catalunya's past strength and glory.

[5] J. Hillgarth, in *Speculum,* XLVII (1972), 345-353.

[6] J. Hillgarth, *The Problem of a Catalan Mediterranean Empire: 1229-1327* = *English Historical Review,* Supplement 8 (London, 1975). A Spanish version of this work, cyclostyled and without notes, was circulated among the acts of *I Congreso Internacional de Historia Mediterránea: Palma, 1973* (forthcoming). Hillgarth's *The Spanish Kingdoms, 1250-1516, I:*

1250-1412: Precarious Balance (Oxford, 1976), which was not available at the time of writing, repeats much of *Problems* more briefly but within a wider, more original context and in a more balanced way; Hillgarth repeatedly emphasizes the inconsistency, as well as the limitations, of Catalan policy.

[7] *Problem*, 48.

[8] *Problem*, 52, 53.

[9] However, M. del Treppo, *I Mercanti catalani e l'espansione della Corona d'Aragona nel secolo XV* (2nd ed: Naples, 1972), is fundamental; the reign of Pere III (Pedro IV) constitutes the most serious lacuna.

[10] Cf. F. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au Moyen Âge: Le développement et l'exploitation du domaine coloniale vénitien (XIIe – XVe siècles)* (Paris, 1959). There is no space here for an extended comparison of the Venetian, Genoese and Catalan empires.

[11] *Speculum*, XLVII. 351.

[12] Eg. in *Speculum*, XLVII. 352, and *Problem*, 52-53.

[13] Hillgarth himself (*Problem*, 34-38) partly accepts this. See A. Giuffrida's introduction to *Acta Siculo-Aragonensia, II: Corrispondenza tra Federico III di Sicilia e Giacomo II d'Aragona*, ed. F. Giunta – A. Giuffrida (Palermo, 1972), which Hillgarth ignores.

[14] M. del Treppo, 'Tra Genova e Catalogna...', *Atti del I Congresso Storico Liguria-Catalogna* (Bordighera, 1974).

[15] Del Treppo, *Mercanti*, p. xiv.

[16] Hillgarth does not cite perhaps the most important study: J. Robson, 'The Catalan Fleet and Moorish Sea-Power: 1337-1344', *English Historical Review*, LXXIV (1959), though he does mention it in his *Spanish Kingdoms*, I. 431.

[17] J. Guilmartin, *Gunpowder and Galleys: Changing Technology and Mediterranean Warfare at Sea in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1974), is especially relevant. Hillgarth, *Problem*, 12-13, does discuss naval power very briefly, but more information and further analysis of the type provided by Robson and Guilmartin would probably lead to the rejection of his insistent views *(Problem, 53 et passim)* concerning the fragility of Catalan 'empire' and the 'luck' which alone, he considers, permitted its survival.

[18] J. Vicens Vives *et al.*, 'La economia de los paises de la Corona de Aragón en la baja edad media', *VI Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón* (Madrid, 1959), 106-107. Vicens, 104, also wrote of 'el procesò de formación de la Confederación catalanoaragonesa y de su complejo imperial en el Mediterraneo occidental'.

[19] F. Giunta, *Aragonesi e catalani nel Mediterráneo*, II (Palermo, 1959), 7-18.

[20] A. Luttrell, 'La Corona de Aragón y la Grecia catalana: 1379-1394', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, VI (1969), surveys the whole topic.

[21] *Problem*, 48; for the Catalan viewpoint of this major battle, see A. Luttrell, 'John Cantacuzenus and the Catalans at Constantinople: 1352-1354', *Martínez Ferrando, Archivero: Miscelánea de estudios dedicados a*

su memoria (Barcelona, 1968); G. Meloni, *Genova e Aragona all'epoca di Pietro il Cerimonioso, I: 1336-1354* (Padua, 1971); and M. Costa, 'Sulla Battaglia del Bosforo: 1352', *Studi Veneziani*, XIV (1972). Alfonso V subsequently revived an Aragonese interest in *Romania:* Del Treppo, *Mercanti*, 597-600 *et passim*, and *idem*, 'Tra Genova e Caralogna', 661-663.

[22] Hillgarth, *Problem*, 40-43, 47-48. J. Trenchs Odena, *'De Alexandrinis:* El comercio prohibido y el papado avinoñés en la primera mitad del siglo XIV', *I Congreso Internacional de História Mediterránea: Palma, 1973* (forthcoming: circulated in cyclostyle), is a most important contribution.

[23] In addition to the work of Del Treppo, the whole question of the formation of Catalan capitalism, of the distant origins of Barcelonese industrialization, and of the connections with the Levant trade, have been the object of recent studies, published and unpublished, by J. Ruiz Doménec; these are cited and summarized in F. Udina Martorell, 'La expansión mediterránea catalano-aragonesa', *II Congreso Internacional de Estudios sobre Culturas del Mediterráneo Occidental* (forthcoming: circulated in cylostyle).

THE LANGUAGE BARRIER: THE PROBLEM OF BILINGUALISM AND MUSLIM-CHRISTIAN INTERCHANGE IN THE MEDIEVAL KINGDOM OF VALENCIA

by ROBERT I. BURNS

THE thirteen-year Valencian crusade by King James of the confederated Arago-Catalan realms ended in 1245, doubling the coastline of Mediterranean Spain and heralding the close of the classical phase of Spain's Reconquest. A subtler and more intense confrontation then began between Muslim and Christian. James the Conqueror needed Christian settlers to defend his new seaboard; he needed as many Muslims as he could keep or attract, to wring profits from the land; and he needed a state of detente between the intermingled communities until he could stabilize Valencia as an independent and prosperous makeweight against his older provinces. This postcrusade story, with its assimilative-antagonistic tensions, its segregation and fraternization, and its bloody revolts and riots, supplies a chapter in the history of acculturative protocolonialism more fascinating and instructive than the crusade itself.[1]

I

Running just below the surface of that story is the mysterious problem of language. How did the dominant minority communicate with the sullen, dissident majority? Obviously numbers of Muslims spoke some Romance, while numbers of Christians had some Arabic. But did the generality of people communicate readily across the religio-cultural lines -- in the cities, on the farms, or at the aristocrat-notable level? The question is of cardinal importance for all other aspects of interchange. If the two bodies uneasily co-inhabiting the kingdom stood isolated at the elementary level of

language, conditions for forbearance or fusion were very different than if they shared a common tongue.

The meager and ambiguous evidence throughout Islamic Spain has produced two schools of interpretation, neither of which applies to thirteenth-century Valencia satisfactorily. One line of historians and linguistic specialists affirms that Spain's Muslim population was significantly bilingual, with Romance the more dominant or domestic tongue. Another holds that the Muslims generally spoke only Romance, with Arabic the preserve of a negligibly few erudites and officialdom. Some express this in terms of class division, separating the exclusively Romance-speaking masses from the Arabic-centered upper classes. Others phrase the opposition as Romance-speaking rural areas versus cities more hospitable to bilingualism. A number of authors see a chronological distinction: deepening Arabization from the late-eleventh century, under the brief Berber dynasties; they too are reluctant to surrender a considerable survival of bilingualism. Many representatives from the different schools cherish bilingualism as a characteristic peculiar to Spain within medieval Islam, a symbol and vehicle of deeper continuities.

Few voices have challenged the consensus of the traditionalists. Two have recently spoken from a background of Valencian studies, one an essayist and the other a protagonist of 'ethnological' history. For the essayist the almost exclusively Arabist culture of sixteenth-century Morisco Valencia argues a fully Arabic pattern before the thirteenth-century crusade. For the ethnological historian the early victory of Arabic in Valencia flows logically from the dynamics of his structuralist model. In widening these tentative attacks upon the fundamental promise of the traditionalists, an historian ought to search now for data by regions and by time periods, sensibly allowing both for variety and evolution. The kingdom of Valencia during the crusade-era generation provides such a laboratory for closer investigation.

If the consensus for Romance dominance is impressive, the same cannot be said for the evidence invoked. There is little enough of it for a region like Valencia, so the linguist snatches at historical scraps, while the historian borrows conclusions from linguistic and literary analysis. Worse, the historical evidence lies scattered over a disconcerting sweep of centuries, so that it must be stretched forward to cover very different eras, while the literary conventions or toponymical-anthroponymical sources are by their nature inconclusively achronological. Anecdotal fragments play a major role. Ibn Hazm found it strange that some Muslims near modern Aguilar

and Moron in eleventh-century Castile 'did not speak Romance but exclusively Arabic'. Ibn Sida of Denia at midcentury apologized for his inelegant Arabic, pleading the dominance of Romance speech in his environment. Some probative fragments can be fitted into contradictory interpretations, as when the Cid late in that same century had Mozarabs guard Valencia's walls because they knew the ways of Muslims 'and spoke as they did'. All three examples might also be made to reflect an eleventh-century transition into a more extensive Arabic, a stage in evolution away from bilingualism.

In assessing such evidence, not enough attention is paid to total ambience: the symbiosis between city and countryside in Islamic Spain, the sharp differences in regional background and development, the mobility so striking within the Mediterranean Islamic community and the drift of population, and the precise impact of the Berber dynasties. Perhaps the historian and linguistic scholar would be wise to search out comparative analogies from other areas of medieval Mediterranean Islam, as well, and especially to borrow concepts and findings from the behavioral sciences. The language problem involves so much hypothesis and conjecture that no source of light should be disdained.

For the non-Hispanic medievalist, coming to the problem from the outside, the very terms Romance and Arabic with their variants can be confusing. Classical Arabic in its medieval form was a universal or mandarin instrument serving the literati, bureaucrats, and religious figures (groups more interpenetrating than differentiated), with city children frequently learning its rudiments. Vulgar Arabic, at times so debased as to be useless for understanding the Koran, existed in various Spanish dialects; this is the Arabic in question here as a popular speech orientation. Imported Berber, which made some places briefly trilingual and which undoubtedly gained strength during the Almoravid and Almohad years prior to the Valencian crusade, did not take root in Spain; Guichard does argue for an early, intense Berberization of the Valencian region, but this need not have impeded eventual Arabization. Literary Arabic is the most accessible of the Islamic-Mudejar language of Valencia, in a legacy of carefully wrought literature; samples of less elevated work, though rare, are not lacking – for example, a contract of marriage. Some scholars see an echo of vulgar Valencian Arabic in the world-list attributed to the Dominican linguist Raymond Martí, presumably composed in thirteenth-century Valencia or at least in eastern Spain as a handbook for convert work among the conquered Muslims. In 1566 Martin de Ayala, the arch-

bishop of Valencia, published an interlinear *Doctrina cristiana en lengua araviga y castellana* for newly converted Moriscos; clumsy and straitened in Latin characters, it offers clues to the pronunciation of Granadan vulgar Arabic. Valencian comprised a distinct dialect, despite the high degree of homogeneity of Spanish vulgar.[2]

What was Romance among Spanish Muslims? Though some describe its early form as a single language, resembling 'perhaps Galician and western Leonese more than any other',[3] it was a congeries which varied and evolved by regions. Aprioristically one might expect in thirteenth-century Valencia some form of Castilian, Aragonese, Catalan, or native Valencian. The Valencian crusaders called such tongues Latin, and a Romance-speaking Muslim a Latinate. Romance was also called *aljamìa*, from *al-'achamuja*. Only in the later Mudejar period did that word assume its modern meaning of any Romance language as written in Arabic or Hebrew characters; the phenomenon itself began earlier and has analogs in other Mediterranean countries. (The corresponding generic term for Arabic was *algaravìa*, from *al-garbi*).

Local chauvinism adds a complicating factor in the case of Valencia. Was Valencian Romance merely a dialect or subform of imported Catalan as it declined into variant shape among the multilingual postcrusade settlers? Or is it a more ancient and honorable form, reflecting immemorial precrusade Romance of the Valencian region, a linguistic bridge proudly uniting over the centuries a common Valencian people who were separated at another level by the accident of Islamic and Christian religions? This latter vision reflects, in local and linguistic form, the wider battle of interpretations about the nature and evolution of Spanish culture: did European Spain absorb and transmogrify its few Muslim conquerors, so that 'the Arabs did not invade Spain', or did a radical discontinuity intervene, profoundly orientalizing the Spaniards?[4]

II

Representative opinions on bilingualism, first for Spain as a whole and then for Valencia, can illustrate and elaborate the several schools. The great Evariste Levi-Provençal concluded that Romance dialects deriving from Latin persisted alongside Arabic in Islamic Spain from the ninth to the fifteenth century; 'a kind of Romance-Hispanic *koine* prevailed in almost all regions', though more in country than city, over Arabic or Berber. Henri Terrasse sees Islamic Spain as becoming 'Arabized only little by little and remaining bilingual', with Romance serving as 'the language of

women, the language of the home, often enough that of inmost thoughts'. Emilio Garcia Gomez has showed that Romance Lyric poetry continued, enjoyed presumably by Mozarabs and at least a stratum of bilingual Muslims. Following Julian Ribera Tarrago, he puts Romance as the familiar language of all classes from emir to rustic.

An older historian so widely read as Andrés Giménez Soler taught flatly that the Spanish Muslims 'had not adopted the language of the Arabs' and consequently that Mudejars 'never spoke Arabic'; one or other erudite mastered it, of course, but the common language remained native Romance. Later historians such as F. Arranz Velarde contrast the exceptional literary Arabic with the widespread Romance. Among current authors the Arabist Inwar Chejne has 'widespread bilingualism' yield only to the armies of the Reconquest and thus 'become less prevalent' from the late eleventh century; because of this 'linguistic conquest the Mudejars forgot their Arabic, and 'the language of the Moriscos was Romance'. Titus Burckhardt more cautiously states that 'a large number of the townspeople (we do not know how great a proportion) spoke Romance at home and in the streets'; though literary Arabic was 'thoroughly alive', some Muslims had no Arabic beyond their prayers. Reyna Pastor de Togneri, analyzing the shift from Islamic to Christian Spain, finds 'a certain Romance-Arabic bilingualism which was distributed equally' among Muslims and Mozarabs; unaware of the frequent phenomenon of bilinguality in the Islamic world, she sees this as unique to Spain.[5]

The authority of Ramon Menéndez Pidal, so potent in problems of Spanish history, adds weight to the bilingual case. In his magisterial study on the origins of Castilian, he divided bilingualism into three stages. During Spain's first two centuries of Islamic rule, Romance 'predominated', except for 'extreme cases', educated Muslims and Mozarabs were bilingual, while 'Romance doubtless dominated' the masses. During the tenth and eleventh centuries, despite the flowering of Arabic culture and concomitant languishing of the native spirit, he sees the balance of evidence as favoring the thesis that the previous linguistic situation persisted. From 1099, with Berber influence increasing and Mozarabs leaving en masse, Romance still retained 'considerable social and even literary value', and bilingualism 'continue very strong in all Islamic Spain'. Fragmentary for each stage, his evidence grows progressively weaker until the third stage rests on episodes such as Pope Celestine seeking on missionary knowledgeable in Latin and Arabic to visit the Mozarabs, Jacques de Vitry reporting that

Mozarabs used Latin as a learned language, and the dubious biography of the Valencian Mozarab St. Peter Pascual. Persistence of Romance nomenclature in botany, and the odd phrase or final verse of Romance mixed into a poetical form add little reassurance.[6]

The reader begins to suspect that the Berber dynasties found a real but fading bilingualism, perhaps already minimal or spotty, and further discouraged it – partly by hostility, partly by diminishing and isolating the Mozarabic enclaves, partly by presiding over a far larger influx of Arabic speakers than has been admitted, and mostly by paralleling a continued linguistic acculturation whose origins and momentum anteceded them. Romance ahd endured long enough to influence a mixed Arabic for Spain's masses, the kind of garble which evoked contempt from the otherwise Hispanophile Ibn Khaldun: due to contamination from Romance languages 'the entire urban population' of fourteenth-century Granada 'had come to speak another language, one peculiar to them', an Arabic which seemed 'no longer Arabic'.[7]

The narrower battlefield of Valencian linguistics has its special alarums and excursions. Francisco Carreres y Candi, in his monograph on Valencian a half-century ago englobed within a multivolume standard reference work, summed the older positions and bibliography from the chronicler Beuter up to Simonet, concluding that 'the Arabic tongue was little known by our Muslims, even among the highest social classes'. He conceded a negligibly few bilingual Muslims plus a general familiarity with the Arabic language, and insisted despite 'ancient prejudices' that 'the Iberian Romance language' held the field alone in the Valencian region up to its conquest by King James. Nicolau Primitiu applied this position to the postcrusade Mudejars so exuberantly as to misread an important document and make a convert *faqih* abandon his Arabic to learn Valencian so as to preach to the Muslim masses. The current champion of the traditionalist view, Antonio Ubieto Arteta, insists that Islamization of eastern Spain was merely 'a religious conversion but not a change of culture [*raza*] or of language'; Valencia's Muslims spoke Romance as their basic tongue, the educated adding Arabic. Consequently 'the Valencian region suffered no change in its human structures', either from the eighth-century Arabic conquest or the thirteenth-century Christian reconquest.[8] Current events have politicized this desire to legitimize Valencian as an ancient and perduring language which dominated Islamic Valencia. Fortifying a growing mood of regional autonomy, V.L. Simo Santonja has just published a large volume of eloquent argumentation on the antiquity, superiority, and perennial domin-

ance of Valencian; its impact locally has been strengthened by a reissue of Ubieto's 1975 book with added chapters of linguistic arguments. An academic curiosity has transmogrified into a political polemic.

This legitimation of modem Valencian as a direct descendant of a Visigothic and Mozarabic language shared by Muslims and Christians is firmly dismissed by the eminent Manuel Sanchis Guamer, whose work in historical linguistics of the Valencian kingdom is now the standard. While the Arabic invasion did freeze the several Visigothic dialects we lump together as Mozarabic, Valencia's dialect was 'very different from the present Valencian language', which is 'nothing else than the Catalan imported by the Reconquest' and modified by regional morphological-phonetic elements and some Arabic and Mozarabic vocabulary. Sanchis Guamer does leave the impression of a residually bilingual Islamic and Mozarabic upper class, rather like Menéndez Pidal's position on Valencia. But the influence of Fuster, the feebleness of Mozarabic as a literate language (so that educated Mozarabs 'preferred Arabic', while the masses could hardly resist the steady pressure of Arabic as a superior vehicle), and the significance he attaches to the bilingual Mozarabs as intermediaries between Islamic and Christian regions up to the very invasion by James I – all lead to assume but not express some degree of general triumph by Arabic.[9]

The Valencian historian Roque Chabas, observing that Romance documents prepared by the crusaders for Muslims were regularly in Castilian, suggested that the generality of Valencian Moors had for long been out of contact with their Catalan-speaking neighbors but in touch with Castile. The Arabist Ribera Tarrago arrived at the same conclusion concerning Valencian Muslims, from his examination of surviving words. José Lacarra, speaking for the Ebro Valley residents he has researched so thoroughly, who constituted the immediate prefrontier of Muslim Valencia, believes they spoke 'a Romance idiom'. The archivist Enrique Bayerri, in his monumental volumes on the same region, argues that 'the normal thing was to ignore the Arabic language of the rulers', except for a handful of useful phrases, even the local intellectuals falling back on Romance in their private lives.[10]

Against the range of Romance-dominant schools, Joan Fuster proposes that Valencian Muslims were Arabic speaking at the time of the crusade, and bilingual only by exception. Where the scholars of Romance persuasion argue forward from a much earlier linguistic state, Fuster is driven to his contrary conviction by the

obviously unlingual Arabic speech of the Moriscos and assumes that this must represent a precrusade cultural condition rather than a brilliant creation by subjugated Mudejars. Pierre Guichard, in his recent application of anthropological structuralism to the society of Islamic Spain and especially to Valencia, touches lightly on language as a basic structural factor. Of Valencia's Mudejars he concludes: 'contrary to what is sometimes thought, they spoke [only] a vulgar Arabic dialect', so that individual contacts with Christians 'appear to have been relatively limited'. Each position, Guichard's aprioristic and Fuster's aposterioristic, achieves only plausibility unless solid contemporary evidence can be unearthed.[11]

III

Some evidence from the crusade generation is ambiguous; in arranging surrender formalities in Arabic, for example, the conqueror just might have intended a courteous regard for the official language. Taken as a whole, however, the evidence indicates that the two peoples could not normally understand each other, and that the barrier was Arabic. In arranging surrender, King James refers to interpreters. Negotiations with Murcia involved his sending first a ransom-official knowledgeable in the enemy's language (the Christian *exea*) together with a Mudejar. This encounter led to a second, conducted for the king by Dominic Lopez, a settler of Murviedro who 'knew Arabic' and Astruc Bonsenyor 'a Jew who was my secretary of Arabic'; the word each time is *algaravia*. At his subsequent secret meeting with the Murcian envoys, James kept at his side only Astruc 'who was a *trujaman* – that is, crown dragoman or interpreter. Such dragomans formed part of the king's entourage. Ibn Farah (Abenferri), the envoy from Jativa, had to conduct his business 'before my [the king's] dragoman'. At Minorca James sent three agents 'and one Jew whom I had given them for a dragoman'. He had his message to Elche carried 'by one of my dragomans, with the *exea*'. James's agent negotiating with the ruler of Majorca spoke through an accompanying dragoman. Even so unceremonial an occasion as settling a quarrel over irrigation rights between the Christians of Bairén and Benietos in 1244, involving testimony from a local Muslim, required the use of 'a dragoman'.[12]

All the Valencian surrender treaties still extant originated as Arabic or Arabic-cum-Latin documents. Sometimes the authorities prepared matching copies in each language (as they did also with Majorca's whole book of postcrusade land division); at other times

they preferred an interlinear system. King James's son Peter has left a description of the charter given by James in 1242 to the Muslims of Eslida and its neighboring towns, the whole being preserved in a copy of 1342. 'The document was written in Latin words, interlineated with Arabic or Saracen letters'. Only the Latin, the copyist noted, was being transcribed for preservation, a circumstance explaining why copied charters usually survive in Latin. The same result came from dividing a bilingual chirograph or double document torn across a line. Thus the crown copy of Uxo's 1250 pact was understandably in Catalan, as was King Peter's 1283 military directive (in Arabic) to his Valencian Mudejars. The restoration of treaty privileges to Alfandech, after a revolt, survives in Latin; but a notation by James II in 1298 attests that he had seen the original Arabic letters, complete with Peter's seal, and had caused this faithful Latin translation to be drawn from that Arabic. An agreement of vassalage between the Muslim lord of Alcala in Valencia and Prince Alfonso in 1244 bears the notation that the originals were in Latin and Arabic. A 1232 surrender of revenue rights by the ex-*wali* of Valencia, Abu Zayd, comes down to us in Latin but still has the Muslim's approval appended in Arabic along with his titles and the date by the Islamic era. The transfer of fealty by the sultan of Murcia from King James to Castile, five months after James's conquest, is annotated: 'written in Latin and Arabic [*en arabigo*]'.[13]

James had the charter for Chivert drawn in both languages; our transcript of 1235 witnesses that the original filled 'thirty-seven lines of Saracen letters, of which I the undersigned notary wrote none in the present copy'. The 37 lines of Arabic at Chivert disconcert at first; the Latin requires over 170 lines of print in a modern book just for the body of text. The Latin of the original however, as the notary betrays in discussing damage to its last lines, ran to no more than 40 lines at most; if the Arabic was more compact than the Latin, the correspondence of 40 lines to 37 indicates an interlineated original. The disparity between 40 Latin lines and 170 probably derives partly from the wholesale abbreviations then prevalent and partly from the oblong shape of the parchment which easily reduced the total of original lines. Any number of humbler, private documents may have had an Arabic counterpart or original now lsot. Mudejars sometimes transferred land titles to Christians by means of an Arabic deed, as at Alcira in 1245. King James referred to such a 'Saracenic instrument' in 1261 when confirming the conveyance of a Carbonera property by the Jativa

qa'id to the settler Dominic Marqués. So rarely does an early Valencian document actually survive in its original Arabic, however, that the brief agreement of 1277 with the rebel *qa'id* of Finestrat now appears extraordinary.[14]

The intermediary role of bilingual Jawa in Valencia, like that of Sanchis Guarner's Mozarabs, assumes the existence of a language barrier. The 'secretariate of Arabic' was an institution long established in the realms of Aragon, used mostly for foreign contacts but also where necessary for domestic needs. Its incumbents were Jews, valued for their language skills. In 1220 Pope Honorius III had rebuked King James for 'rarely or never' sending diplomats to the caliph at Marrakesh except Jews, who might betray Christendom's plans and secrets. Prince Alfonso had his own Arabic 'office', to which in 1284 he appointed the Jew Bondavid Bonsenyor with instructions 'to cause documents to be drawn or read in Arabic'. Men like Samuel the *alfaquim* drew local instruments in Arabic for Valencia, in their capacity as 'writers of Arabic' for the crown – a safeguard for the Muslims of Carbonera, for example, or 'a certain Saracen parchment of Guadalest'. The Christians' use of Jews as the ordinary intermediaries with Islam oddly enough found no echo among the enemy; Valencian Muslims of the crusade era did not employ Jews as interpreters in surrender negotiations, either because the inimical Berber domination had discredited their use, or because they found it more acceptable to communicate in Arabic while relying on the known institution of royal dragomans. The single use of a Jew occurred at the surrender of Petrercastle – and he had immigrated there only recently when Castilian tributory overlordship had been accepted; James expressed surprise that 'the Saracens had done him no harm'.[15]

Several times in his memoirs King James directly names the the language of the Valencian Islamic kingdom and of the offshore island principates. He has the Murcian ruler of Majorca address the aljama 'in his Arabic'. When Peñíscola unexpectedly sent its offer of surrender in writing, James had to find a Muslim at Teruel 'who knew how to read Arabic' in order to decipher it; the Romance or Latin of this bilingual go-between was Aragonese. The first surrender feelers from Almazora came through Michael Pérez, an esquire of Peter Cornel, who used to bargain for the release of prisoners there because 'he knew Arabic'. A message from the *qa'id* of Bairén, conversely, came by a 'Saracen who knew our Latin [Romance]'; and at Villena the king treated with 'two Saracens, one of whom knew Latin'. Long after the crusade, in 1282, a

bill of sale for a Valencian slave thought it worth identifying her specifically as 'a White, Latin-speaking Moor, by name Fatima'.[16]

The word commonly used in King James's memoirs to indicate the speech of the enemy was *algaravia*. To the king this was a synonym for Arabic and for 'the Saracens' language'. He also used *arabich*, as when he sent broadcast to the aljamas of his Valencian kingdom 'letters and messages in Arabic'. His son Peter similarly issued tax instructions 'written in Arabic [*in arabico*] to all the Saracens of the lord king in the realm of Valencia'. These words signified the natural speech, and to all appearances the only speech, of his Muslim subjects. In the surrender documents, a species of permanent constitution for rural as well as urban areas, this *arabich* was demonstrably Arabic. The more ambiguous term 'Saracenesque' (*sarrahinesch*), counterpart to 'Christianesque' (*cristianesch*), could mean Arabic. When King Peter during a North African adventure sent ashore a Christian sailor 'who knew Saracen very well', the precise language is not specified; the Muslims reciprocated by finding 'a Moor who knew how to talk Romance [pla]'. A clearer context was the reception of Mudejar tax accounts at Orihuela in 1317 in *murisch* and their translation into *christianesch*.[17]

On the spontaneous and popular level there is also evidence that the Muslims of eastern Spain spoke Arabic. The ruler of Islamic Majorca heartened the defenders in the hurlyburly of a Christian assault by shouting encouragement in Arabic; King James, catching the hortatory imperative, exhibited his knowledge of Arabic fragments by recording how the Muslim 'cried to his men "roddo!", that is to say "stand".' On another occasion a surrender rather than be killed, proudly chose death with the cry 'Le mulex'; King James interpreted the phrase: 'which is to say, "No, lord".' A less pertinent but nonetheless useful episode comes from Valencia's Granadan periphery after the turn of the century. When the Arago-Catalan forces attacked Almeria in 1310, Prince Ferdinand of Majorca was attacked by the son of the ruler of Guadix, who kept shouting to him: 'Ani be ha soltan!' (probably the colloquial *ani ben as-sultan*, for *ana bnu 's-sultani*). Ferdinand had to learn from the interpreters (*los torsimanys*), with him on the battlefield, that this meant he was a king's son. Such incidents, involving spontaneous speech, suggest that one should apply literally the observation in the *Cronica latina*, written probably by the crusading primate of Toledo, Roderick Jiménez de Rada (d. 1247), that Spanish Muslims were 'a people of a different religion and language'.[18]

The attitude of missionaries in this region may convey something about the language. Raymond Lull deserves a passing nod: though his immediate milieu was the analogous Majorca kingdom, his wider horizons embraced nearby Valencia. He learned 'lo lenguatge arabic', in which he wrote some of his books, from a bilingual slave purchased on Majorca; rather defensively he explains to God in one passage that praising Him in Arabic is a good thing, and that he fears no man for doing so. More to the present point were the famous Arabic language schools set up at both Valencia city and Jativa. The Dominicans concentrated precious manpower there after the crusade, confident of an eventual harvest of Muslims. Though the language schools envisaged an apostolate among the intellectuals or influential figures, and served an area broader than this conquered kingdom, their very location at so early a date, the successes they reported, and the institutionalizing of the missionary efforts as schools of Arabic, point at least to a numerous Mudejar group who handled Arabic familiarly, and implies that Arabic was the only tongue by which they were accessible.[19]

A particularly valuable witness, this time to the Arabic unilingualism of the common man, comes from the last decade of the thirteenth century or the first decade of the fourteenth. By that time the Muslim educated and notable classes had suffered depletion both by loss of real power and by emigration, while adaptation to the conquerors' patterns would have been most intense and as yet unrestricted by legislation or other pressure. Yet the Dominican bishop of Valencia, a saintly scholar-statesman distinguished for his peacemaking services on the larger Mediterranean scene, found the weight of Arabic in Valencia a discouraging incubus. Speaking of the heartland of the new kingdom, where Christian settlers clustered in greatest intensity, he complained in a sermon delivered before his metropolitan that half or even half of his diocese spoke only Arabic. The bishop may have exaggerated for effect, and his proportions leave room for the increase of bilingual Moors expected by that period; but he makes clear that even then the majority of the Mudejar community were unilingual and confined to Arabic.[20]

Without this accumulating evidence, the later Morisco unilingual Arabism would come as a shock, a language revolution unnoticed and unrecorded until long triumphant. By calling the evidence lying neglected in Boronat's old collection of documents, Fusta has called attention to this phenomenon of triumphant Arabic in the sixteenth century. He realizes how improbable it is that the late

Mudejars or early Moriscos forged a universal and exclusive language for their community in the intervening two centuries, with acculturative pressures steadily increasing and the rural classes early coming to predominate. Fuster shows not only that the Moriscos here spoke Arabic exclusively, allowing for a stratum of exceptions, but that both their own leaders and the Christians saw this as a defence for their communal identity and for their religious preferences. Transforming the forced, pseudo-conversion of the Moriscos into genuine conversion would have required learning their language, as zealous ecclesiastic urged; but this, the civil authorities countered, would only consolidate the foe. Destruction of the language itself, as the inner fortress of the Morisco 'nation' had higher priority than conversion. Pretending to use conversion as a means to assimilation, but more shrewdly aiming at acculturation, the crown launched what Fuster describes as 'a war' and 'a systematic offensive' to extirpate Arabic. One effect of this linguaphobia was the incidental documentation about the tenacious strength of Arabic in Valencia.

At a post-rebellion treaty in 1528 the Valencian Moriscos reminded Charles V that 'in the said kingdom the greater part of the Moorish men and almost all the women' were ignorant of Romance (*aljamia*) and that to learn it would require 'a very long span of time', at least forty years. The emperor fatuously gave them ten years to learn Castilian or Valencian. The parish rectors in 1550 found communication impossible because Valencian Moors 'do not know' Romance; some thought their isolation from Christian contact to blame, but Morisco attitudes indicate that the isolation was sought to protect the language and way of life. The bishop of Orihuela found Moorish women especially 'stubborn and resistant to our language'; he considered 'their language an impediment to their conversion', a device of the aljama *alfaquis* who thereby sustained the whole fabric of Moorishness. Moriscos in Aragon proper, who had lost their grasp of literary Arabic, sent their children to Valencian parts to study it. A Morisco commoner, on the other hand, though he could 'read and write [vulgar] Arabic,' confessed that he understood 'little or nothing of the book of the Koran'. A Moor of Chiva, who 'had never spoken or written except in Arabic', seem to represent the norm, with bilingual Moors the exception.

At that time the Valencian aljamas still kept their intra-aljama records of contracts, marriages, sales, and the like in Arabic, a number of Valencian Christians fell into the Arabic speech of their neighbors, so that later the government was able to use them

as spies. Converts wrote religious books in Arabic for their reluctant fellow Moors; Muslim pedagogues countered with classes in Arabic. Fuster points to 'a veritable public documentation [in Arabic] which guided the daily life of the aljamas'. He describes 'the fight against Arabic' waged grimly by sixteenth-century Christians, and sees all this as a key to understanding the Morisco problem and the tension between the two peoples.[21]

The accumulating evidence impresses. If it does not lead inexorably to an exclusively Arabic-speaking populace, it does demand readjustment of currently held theories, a revision which nunaces also the traditional understanding of Spanish Muslim society. The Arabic-speaking stratum in Valencia was, at the least, far more numerous than previous commentators allowed for; it must have included not only the professional and administrative classes, and the average horseman in battle, but the generality of people who were not at the lowest level of proletariat and rustic. The tradesman, the elders of a smaller town, the multitudinous owners of better farms, the prosperous share-farmers (*exarici*) – all those most visible as the people of a place, all those not faceless, in short the generality of folk with even moderate influence – were Arabic speaking.

This just may leave room for the theory that the masses still clung to a garbled Romance – the despised 'rustic' in hamlet and countryside, the poorer classes of *exarici*, the lowliest laborers or workers in the city, perhaps the sheepmen, minstrels, fishermen, and muleteers. Numerically formidable, their language would have survived in life's backwaters. Sealed away in their lowly anonymity, incapable of real communication in Arabic beyond the necessities of the market-place, they would have been useless as translators and unacceptable to both sides in responsible public actions. If the speakers of Arabic had some grasp of Romance, to cope with such classes, it must have been as rudimentary and ineffective as the Romance-speakers' Arabic, at the level of the tourist or resident colonial. More probably these rural masses had already lost their Romance too and spoke Arabic.

In a cosmopolitan region like the eastern coast, special 'Latiniate' or bilingual Moors surely were at least as common as Arabic-speaking Christians. From their ranks came the interpreters, the friars' language instructors, and the Moorish members of a Christian lord's household; but as individuals they shed no light on the language of the populace at large. The full picture of thirteenth-century Valencian society therefore, as conjecturally reconstructed in the light of fresh evidence, suggests either a largely Arabic-

speaking rather than bilingual population or less probably a people divided by language. If divided, the Arabic speakers covered a wide range including illiterates, with the Romance speakers generally illiterate and anonymous. (Such a divided Muslim community would have had little occasion for extensive intracommunication, bridging the gap by garbled phrases of vulgar Arabic.) In short, Arabic was the common coin of the Valencian world encountered by most crusaders, merchants, administrators and settlers.

IV

The full revision of the accepted traditionalist position can be presented in several conclusions. (1) The Arabic-speaking classes comprised a very broad sector of the population, and not a small elite, at the very least, in precrusade Valencia. (2) The Romance-speaking masses, if any, were nearly invisible in public affairs; they must have had at least a bilingual grasp of vulgar Arabic. But the evidence indicates that the masses were already confined to Arabic; just like the generality of the upper and middle classes. (3) After the crusade, when the literate and administrative classes emigrated in disproportionate humbers, while the farmers stayed as prized resources for the Christian landlords, it was precisely the masses who clung to Arabic, with an intransigence obviously owing less to their increasing isolation than to a proud, deliberate sense of cultural identity.

(4) After the crusade the incidence of Romance may have risen sharply; occasions for its use multiplied as Christian settlers moved in. By the late 1250's a full generation of Mudejars had grown up under Christian rule, many of them doubtless absorbing the conquerors' language. As Ibn Khaldun saw clearly, the conquered tend to imitate their conquerors.[22] The young, the facile, the adaptable, the opportunist, and to some extent all those thrown into closer contact with Christian neighbors, who comprised the new establishment, would either acquire or sharpen Romance. This in turn set the stage for that mingling and transdescending of religio-cultural differences which triggered restrictive legislation and polemic. It could also have amplified the residual 'Mozarabic' element, the old Valencian some scholars see as legitimation and bridge for a modern Valencian independent and non-provincial.

(5) After the postcrusade revolts, the picture changed. The destruction of political hopes by the conquest of Montesa, the increasing absorption of Valencia into a European mood as immigration and Catalan institutions worked their influence, the increas-

ing loss of leader classes by emigration, the growing isolation and eventually the active search for cultural islands by the more zealous Mudejars now in retreat from the pressure of Christian presence – all combined to discourage neo-Romance except among that minority who kept a foot in both worlds or who drifted into the European orbit for opportunist reasons.

When the Arabist orientation began to predominate in precrusade Valencia is difficult to say. The region had long been a unique corner of Spanish Islam, something of a frontier far from the feeble heart of Cordova caliphate. It assumed its cultural and linguistic forms by slow evolution, with a turning point probably under 'Abd ar-Rahman III in the tenth century. A seaboard community, linked horizontally with the Near East and vertically with North Africa, its non-peasant elements lay unusually open to external Islamic influences and population drift. The early dominance of Romance, wearing ever thinner, must have been badly eroded by the opening of the twelfth century, with the mass emigration of Mozarabs only contributing to a deeper charge long at work in the cultural patterns and now presided over by the Berber dynasties.

The language revolution began long before the Berber dynasties arrived, accelerated during the twelfth century, and triumphed at least by the Almohad era. All the Valencian crusade or postcrusade evidence encourages this conclusion. Rejecting it merely postpones and intensifies a revolution by which the Mudejars would then have had to destroy conclusively their immemorial Valencian Romance, their intimate tongue of home and daily living – a phenomenon improbable and unrecorded by contemporaries. The precrusade evolution or spread of Arabic probably was weakened by the coming of the Christian conquerors, until in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries new factors reversed the trend: increasing isolation in the countryside, increasingly restrictive legislation, and reflexive zeal by the *'ulama* or community leaders. The protective ramparts of Arabic, a barrier to ready communications with the Christian settlers from the fall of Valencia city on, eventually became the Morisco barricades.

Even if one were to concede the traditionalists' near-universal Romance dominance, or a maximum bilinguality, their understanding of the life-situation would still be wrong. A special form of language barrier would still have stood between Muslim and Christian; the thin stratum of classical Arabic speakers among the upper class would still have posed a disproportionate obstacle. In anthropological terms, the Arabic of the dynamic establishment figures, both in city and countryside, comprised a main boundary –

maintaining mechanism for Valencia's Islamic culture. This was more true for Arabic in Islam than for the role of Latin in Europe, because of the interpenetrating nature of the Islamic establishment. It was more true also because Arabic was a language essentially sacred in a sense that Hebrew, Latin, or Greek were not. In such a situation of Arabic-Romance bilingualism basic communication between Valencian Muslims and Christians might indeed have been easy; but the linguistic-cultural frame would have emphasized the separateness of each world, so that the very communication paradoxically would only have intensified the sense of alienation.

By any interpretation, language was a problem in postcrusade Valencia, and entered the texture of the conquered kingdom's larger social problems. When all the evidence is brought to bear it seems reasonable to conclude that the role of Arabic here went far beyond the framing function of a formal or mandarin tongue, profound as the implications of such a bilingual situation would have been. It was a problem in the very mechanics of daily living. Each people spoke a different language in Valencia, without a significantly diffused bilinguality. Language had to have been the primary perceived difference and alienating factor between Muslim and Christian here.

NOTES:

[1] On the crusade and postcrusade developments see my *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Reconstruction on a Thirteenth-Century Frontier*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), *Islam under the Crusaders: Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth-Century Kingdom of Valencia* (Princeton, 1973), *Medieval Colonialism: Postcrusade Exploitation of Islamic Valencia* (Princeton, 1976), and my forthcoming *The Crusader-Muslim Predicament: Colonial Confrontation in the Conquered Kingdom of Valencia* (Princeton), with their bibliographies and introductions.

[2] *Vocabulista in arabico*, ed. Celestino Schiaparelli (Florence, 1871), moot attribution to Martì (1230-1286)) from Simonet to Coromines, authors have variously sited its composition, with opinion currently favoring D.A. Griffin's argument that it is a copy done in the Catalan regions, perhaps on Mallorca, but reflecting thirteenth-century Valencian speech. Julian Ribera Arrago, 'La doctrina cristiana en lengua arabiga, de Martin de Ayala', *Disertaciones y opusculos*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1928), II, 330-335.

Pierre Guichard, 'Le peuplement de la région de Valence aux deux premiers siècles de la domination musulmane', *Mélanges de la casa de Velazquez*, V (1969), 103-158. On Valencian Arabic see also G.S. Colin, 'Al-Andalusia *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2d edn., 4 vols. to date (Leiden, 1960ff.), I, 501-503; he allows for possible differentiations on a large scale among the rural Moors of Valencia, but they may just as well have shared the town vernacular except where Romance held the field. Ramon Menéndez Pidal in his study 'Sobre Aluacaxì y la elegia arabe de Valencia' cautions that Valencian vulgar Arabic was not involved, the elegy being an ignorant reconstruction of an Arabic text from a Castilian translation by a Christian or Jew at the end of the thirteenth century (*Homenaje a D. Francisco Codera en su jubilacion del profesorado: Estudios de erudicion oriental*, ed. Eduardo Saavedra *et alii* [Zaragoza, 1904], pp. 393-409). See Ribera's 'La elegìa de Valencia y su autor', *ibid., pp.* 275-291.

[3]Pedro Aguado Bley, summing the opinion of Codera and others, in his still popular and recently reprinted *Manual de historia de España*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1947), I, 456.

[4]Ignace Dogue's 1969 French volume with that title is now gaining wider readership as *La revolucion islamica en occidente* (Guadarrama, 1974).

[5]Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, 3 vols. (Paris, [1950-1953] 1967); revised in translation by Emilio Garcìa Gomez, *España musulmana hasta la caìda del califato de Cordoba(711-1031 de J.C.)*, 2 vols., in Ramon Menéndez Pidal *et alii*, *Historia de España*, 12 vols. to date (Madrid, 1957 ff.), IV, xix, 47-48, and V, 96, 103-104, with opinions of Terrasse, Ribera, and the editor Garcìa Gomez. Gimìnez Soler, *La edad media en la corona de Aragon* (Barcelona, 1944), pp. 293-294. Arranz Velarde, *La España musulmana (la historia y la tradicion* (Madrid, 1941), p. 71. See also S.M. Imamuddin, *Some Aspects of the Socio-Economic and Cultural History of Muslim Spain, 711-1492 A.D.* (Leiden, 1965), pp. 134-135, 187-188; and on the earlier period but by implication applicable to the later, M.W. Watt and Pierre Cachia, *History of Islamic Spain* (New York, 1967), p. 56. Chejne, *Muslim Spain: Its History and Culture* (Minneapolis, 1974), pp. 184-185, 375-377. Burckhardt, *Moorish Culture in Spain* (London, 1972), p. 81. Pastor de Togneri, *Del Islam al Cristianismo: En las fronteras de dos formaciones economico-sociales, siglos XI-XIII* (Barcelona, 1975), p. 38.

[6]Menéndez Pidal, *Orìgenes del español, estado linguìstico de la peninsula ibérica hasta el siglo xi* (3rd edn. revised, [Madrid, 1950]), pp. 418-432, with the crusade and precrusade period on pp. 425 ff.

[7]Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, transl. Franz Rosenthal, 3 vols. (Princeton, 1967), III, 352. On p. 367 he contrasts the Berbers, who have a mere gloss of Arabic speakers over a Berber-speaking population, with Spain where Arabic plays a greater role and non-Arabic speakers were more recent immigrants; in such comments on contemporary, as against historical Spain, Granada is meant. Spaniards also

displayed interior differences of dialect (pp. 351-353). On the linguistic borderline between the Tortosa and Valencia diocese, which falls deeply within the Valencian kingdom, coincides with the older frontier between Islamic Tortosa and Valencia, and probably reveals pre-Arabic dialect divergences, see the discovrey of Ramon Menéndez Pidal, 'Sobre los limites del valenciano', *Primer congrès interbacional de la llengua catalana* (Barcelona, 1908), p. 342, with its application in my *Crusader, Kingdom Valencia*, I, 43 and II, 391.

[8] Carreras y Candi, 'El lenguaje valenciano', book-length study within *Geografia general del reino de Valencia*, 5 vols. (Barcelona, 1920-1927), vol. *Reino de Valencia*, pp. 570-585, esp. p. 583. For Primitiu in his *Recordances de Sant Vicent Ferrer* (Valencia, 1950) see the refutation by Manuel Sanchis Guamer, *La llengua dels valencians* (Valencia, 1972), pp. 134-135. Ubieto, *Origenes del reino de Valencia: Cuestiones cronologicas sobre su reconquista* (Valencia, 1975), pp. 90, 190-191.

[9] Sanchis Guamer, *Introduccion a la historia linguistica de Valencia* (Valencia, 1950), pp. 135-136, 144, 147. See also his *Els parlars romanics de València i Mallorca anteriors a la reconquista* (Valencia, 1961), pp. 53, 59-61, 99; *Els valencians i la llengua autoctona durant els segles XVI, XVII, i XVIII* (Valencia, 1963), pp. 58-62, and on the vulgar Arabic pp. 95-96; and his more recent *Llengua dels valencians*, pp. 118-119, 134. Sanchis Guamer is persuaded by the exiguous evidence, as I am not, that a sufficient community of Mozarabs remained in Valencia to serve as intermediaries for the crusaders and to influence the alteration of their Catalan into Valencian. Among the valuable fragments extent for reconstructing Valencian Mozarabic speech, the personal and place names of King James's *repartimiento* for land distribution are particularly important.

[10] Chabas, 'Viaje literario al archivo general de la corona de Aragon', *El archivo*, I (1886), 190. Ribera, *Disertaciones*, II, 352-357, esp. p. 355. Lacarra, 'La reconquista y repoblacion del valle del Ebro', in K.M. Font y Rius *et alii, La reconquista española y la repoblacion del pais* (Zaragoza, 1951), p. 69. Bayerri, *Historia de Tortosa y su comarca*, 8 vols. to date (Tortosa, 1933 ff.), VI, 423-427, citing Ribera, Sanchez-Albomoz and others.

[11] Joan [Juan] Fuster, *Poetes, moriscos, i capellans* (Valencia, 1962), sections on 'La llengua dels moriscos' and 'La lluita contra l'algaravia', pp. 95-113; also in his *Obres completes*, 4 vols. (Barcelona, 1968-1975), I, 408-416, 426-430. Pierre Guichard, *Al-Andalus, Estructura antropologica de una sociedad musulmana en occidente* (Barcelona, 1976), pp. 23-29 on the historiography of hispanicity versus discontinuity, p. 33 (quotation), pp. 271-272, 393-402 on non-linguistic evolution of Valencia.

[11] King James I, *Llibre dels feyts*, facsimile edn. (Barcelona, 1962); also in *Les quatre grans croniques*, ed. Ferran Soldevila (Barcelona, 1971); also as *Crònica*, ed. J.M. de Casacuberta, 9 vols. in 2 (Barcelona, 1926-1962): chaps. 78, 436, 437, 439 on Murcia; 119 (Minorca), 321, 416. The irrigation document is in Roque Chabas, *Distribucion de las aguas en 1244 y donaciones del termino de Gandia por D. Jaime I* (Valencia, 1898): 'trugaman'.

[13] Bibl. Univ. Valencia, cod. 145, Bulas, reales ordenes y concordias sobre diezmos, doc. 21 (May 29, 1242): 'Carta scripta erat latinis diccionibus, interliniata literis arabicis vel sarracenicis, idem quod ipse dicciones latine significantibus in effectu; series vero dicti privilegii quantum ad dicciones latinas sequitur sub hac forma'. The Eslida and Uxo charters are conveniently in the documentary appendix of Francisco Fernandez y Gonzalez, *Estado social y politico de los mudejares de Castilla, considerados en si mismos y respecto de la civilizacion española* (Madrid 1866), docs. 15 and 23; Peter's 1283 order is doc. 53, the Murcia treaty doc. 47. The Alfandech charter is in the Arch. Crown (Archivo de la Corona de Aragon) at Barcelona: James II, Reg. Canc. 196, fol. 164: 'de arabico in latinum ad mandatum nostrum'. The Abu Zayd concessions in in *El archivo*, IV (1890), no. 16; that of al-Azraq the lord of Alacla is *ibid.*, I (1886), pp. 204-205. The *repartimiento* dividing Majorca exists in both Latin and Arabic versions; the Arabic may be the lost original of 1232 or a contemporary copy, the Latin and Catalan versions, of 1267, reflecting either a translation or a Latin original. The Arabic was published by Jaime Busquets Mulet, 'El codice latinoarabigo del repartimiento de Mallorca', *Homenaje a Millas-Vallicrosa*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1954-1956), I, 243-300.

[14] Arch. Crown, James I, Reg. Canc. II, fol. 199 (April 9, 1261): 'vobis Domenico March [esii] ... prout in instrumento sarracenico'. For the Finestrat document and episode see my *Islam under the Crusaders*, p. 333. The Chivert charter is in *Homenaje a Codera*, pp. 28-33. The land sales at Alcira, 'a sarracenis ... cum cartis sarracen[is]is', entered a legal dispute in 1245 (see my *Islam under the Crusaders*, p. 267 and n.).

[15] Arch. Crown, Peter III, Reg. Canc. 41, fol. 97 (March 27, 1279): 'tradidimus Samueli alfaquimo quandam literam assecuramenti Sarracenorum de Carbonera que erat sarracenica'. Reg. Canc. 44, fol. 142v (June 22, 1279): 'tradidimus Samueli alfaquimo quandam cartam pergamini sarracenicam ... de Godalest [Guadalest]'. Reg. Canc. 48, fol. 6v (April 29, 1280): 'quandam literam sarracenicam que ut Samuel alfaquimus dixit ...' *Libre dels feyts*, ch. 414: two envoys 'e i Juheu que.y estava en temps d.En Joffre e.Is Sarrains no. 1 havien negun mal feyt'. On use by Jews of the crown see my *Islam under the Crusaders*, pp. 253-254 and *passim*, and my *Medieval Colonialism*, ch. VIII, part 5. The pope's letter is in Solomon Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century: A Study of their Relations During the Years 1198-1254, Based on the Papal Letters and the Conciliar Decrees of the Period*, 2d edn. rev. (New York, 1966), doc. 45 (Nov. 4, 1220). Bonsenyor is in David Romano, 'Los hermanos Abenmenassé al servicio de Pedro el Grande de Aragon', *Homenaje a Millas-Vallicrosa*, II, 255 (Feb. 13, 1284).

[16] *Llibre dels feyts*, ch. 79: 'en sa algaravia'; ch. 182: 'faem la ligir a i Sarahi que havia en Terol, qui sabia ligir d.algaravia'; ch. 189: 'sabia algaravia'; ch. 411: 'ii Sarayns ... i d-aquels era latinat'. Francisco Roca Traver, 'Un siglo de vida mudejar en la Valencia medieval (1238-1338)', *Estudios de edad media de la corona de Aragon*, V (1952), 177n.: 'una

mora blanca latinada per nom Fatom'. Sanchis Guarner refutes the suggestion that the Peñiscola Muslims were speaking either Valencian or Aragonese in that episode, and argues that the Teruel Moor's Romance was Aragonese (*Historia linguistica de Valencia*, pp. 142-143).

[17] *Llibre dels feyts*, ch. 367: 'cartes e missatges en arabich'. Arch. Crown, Peter III, Reg. Canc. 46, fol. 221v (July 9, 1284): 'fuit scriptum in arabico universis Sarracenis domini regis regni Valencie'. Muntaner, Cronica, ch. 85: 'sabia molt be sarrahinesch'; the Muslims 'hagren un moro qui sabia parlar pla' — a medieval idiom for Romance, as when documents were 'en lati o en pla'. The Orihuela accounts are in *Rentas de la antigua corona de Aragon*, ed. Manuel de Bofarull y de Sartorio, in the *Coleccion de documentos inéditos del archivo general de la corona de Aragon*, ed. Prospero de Bofarull y Mascaro *et alii*, 41 vols. (Barcelona, 1847-1910), XXXIX, 109ff.: 'reebre los comptes murischs et trasladar aquells en cristianesch'. For a 'litera sarracenica' of 1280 by Jativa Muslims paying taxes, see my *Medieval Colonialism*, p. 223n.

[18] *Llibre dels feyts*, chaps. 60, 85, 247. *Cronica latina de los reyes de Castilla, edicion critica* (ed. M.D. Cabanes Pecourt [Valencia: 1964]), p. 114: 'populum alterius religionis et lingue'.

[19] An account of the schools and their bibliography is in my 'Christian-Islamic Confrontation in the West: The Thirteenth-Century Dream of Conversion', *American Historical Review*, LXXXVI (1971), 1386-1434.

[20] *Collectio maxima conciliorum Hispaniae et novi orbis*, ed. José Saenz de Aguirre, 6 vols. (Rome, 1753-1755), V, 286: 'Audivi namque e bonae memoriae episcopo valentino hoc publice praedicante: quod tot vel plures sunt in sua diocesi mezquitae Sarracenorum quot ecclesiae Christianorum, et tot vel plures ... scientes loqui algaraviam seu sarracenice quot e contra'. Reported to Benedict XII by the metropolitan Arnold as an eyewitness. Though dated 1337, the report quotes 'the late' bishop of Valencia; this cannot be the reigning Raymond of Gaston (1312-1348) but only Raymond Deçpont (1289-1312), former governor of the Ancona march at Rome, chancellor and intimate of the kings of Aragon, protector of the poor, who brought the twenty-year war of the Sicilian Vespers against France to a close and helped resolve a number of lesser difficulties (see my *Crusader Kingdom of Valencia*, I, 27; E. Olmos y Canalda, *Los prelados valentinos* [Valencia, 1949], pp. 77-82).

[21] Quotations from Fuster (see above, note 11). See also Sanchis Guarner, *Els valencians i la llengua autoctona*, pp. 60-62.

[22] *Muqaddimah*, I, esp. ch. 2, sections 22-23, and ch. 3, section 5.

CENTRALISM AND REGIONALISM IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SPAIN

by W.N. HARGREAVES-MAWDSLEY

THE absolutism of the Habsburgs, who ceased to reign in Spain in 1700, was followed by the even more authoritarian and centralising policy of the Bourbons, which Philip V borrowed from his grandfather Louis XIV of France, his mentor. Of institutions existing at the time of Philip's accession the one which he made the most use of as an instrument of Bourbon autocracy was the Council of Castile, and this was strengthened throughout the eighteenth century as an antidote to regionalism. Practically all the notable statesmen of the period were associated with it, many becoming its President.[1]

Philip and his descendants were all centralists, although their statecraft was modified according to their varying characters. Thus Philip, a weak personality though outwardly a sabre-rattler, was throughout his reign in the hands of women, first the Princesa de los Ursinos and afterwards of his second consort Isabel Farnese; Ferdinand VI, jealous of his power, used it carefully and intelligently; while Charles III made use of his uncontested personal popularity to transform himself from a despot of the old school, though broadly speaking a benevolent one, such as Frederick William I of Prussia, into an enlightened one, such as Emperor Joseph II and other contemporaries. During Charles's reign (1759-88) Spain came nearest during the eighteenth century to approaching the European thought of the day. The point is that supreme power was vested in the monarch, though as the century progressed he became increasingly sensitive to the doctrine of 'accountability' beloved of physiocrats and Encyclopedists alike.

In the long run the rise of the middle classes, following the pattern in the rest of Europe, greatly benefitted the Bourbons. It was a new strong arm for the crown, and in return new privileges, even

amounting to titles of nobility, were granted to the professional class, which is seen increasingly to occupy positions of importance at the expense of the old nobility.

A noteworthy feature of government under the Bourbons was the rise of professional statesmen opposed to feudalism and without feudal, and so regional interests, unknown under the Habsburgs. In the seventeenth century there had been *cancilleres*, or advisers to the sovereign, but now appear ministers, who are auxiliaries of an absolute monarch, and who have wide functions and far more influence than the *cancilleres* ever had. Under the Habsburgs there had been favourites who had exercised a personal power over the king, usually disastrously since they were untrained in governing. Now there were sober statesmen, who after faithfully working for years as civil servants, came to the front and enjoyed great prestige in the eyes of the nation; such were Patiño, Campillo, Ensenada, Carvajal, Campomanes and Floridablanca.

As early as 1705 a start was made in building up ministerial and civil service power, when by royal decree the *Despacho universal* was split into two secretariats, one for War and Finance and the other for Public Administration. In 1714 this system became more intricate, and by 1787 the number of secretariats had been increased to four with a completely separate one for the Indies.

Of the organs of government the Councils had always been very important, in fact vital to the administration. Under the later Habsburgs they had been increasing in power to such an extent as to damage efficiency and become detrimental to royal authority. Under the Bourbons, as one would expect with a caesaristic and centralising crown, all were brought under the King's private Council, generally known as the Council of Castile, before the death of Philip V in 1764. The Council of Castile thus became the pivot of Bourbon centralism, absorbing as it did all regional councils.

It had legislative powers, and was responsible for preparing ordinances, decrees and rulings on matters carried out in the name of the crown. The results of its deliberations had the force of law. As a high administrative tribunal the Council had a very wide area of jurisdiction extending from its being a High Court of Justice to judge cases of high treason and *lèse-majesté* to being the supreme authority on ecclesiastical affairs, while in the educational field it held wide powers. It issued licences for all published work, and even kept a watch on commerce and agriculture, mines, forests, roads and bridges, and municipal finances.

Philip V's tutor in affairs of state was Louis XIV the keynote of whose policy, inculcated upon him in his formative years by Maza-

rin, had been the idea of power intensely concentrated on the Crown. Philip was a willing pupil, and his French advisers Orry and Amelot, trained in the service of the French king before they came to Spain, carried the theory into effect.

If Philip had had any doubts about the dangers of regionalism they became certainties during the years of the Spanish Succession War, when he seemed to be in danger of losing his throne to the Archduke Charles of Austria and to the Allies, who were backed at home by Aragon, Valencia, Cataluña, Navarra and the Baleares, not always for the Austrian's sake, but as an opportunity to gain freedom from hated Castile.

Philip's success at the Battle of Almansa (1707) gave him his first opportunity for revenge and to carry out a policy which should settle the dominance of Madrid. Thus on 29th June of that year[2] the political privileges of Aragon and Valencia were abolished by decree, and Castilian law was forced on those recalcitrant regions. Although a calendar month later, on representations being made that, whatever attitude their governments had taken this did not mirror the views of the Aragonese and Valencians at large, who were loyal Felipists, the king softened the decree and restored local privileges, he did not relax his hold on the form of government under which these areas should live. It was Amelot who impressed on Philip that, while he might indulge Aragon and Valencia with vague prerogatives, he must never let them off the reins of Madrid. When in 1713 the war of the Spanish Succession ended, and, except in Cataluña and the Baleares Philip was victorious, the Spanish minister Macanaz, a disciple of Amelot, in drawing up a revised constitution for all the component parts of Spain, followed this policy.

In 1707 High Courts (*audiencias*) were set up, one for Aragon in Zaragoza and one in Valencia for Valencia, their character and organization being copied from the chanceries (*cancillerias*) of Valladolid and Granada. How much regional autonomy was to be allowed could be seen in the following years, as when, for example in 1711 it was decided that, although criminal cases in Aragon could be judged by the High Court of Zaragoza, they were to be 'regulated in order to accord with the customs and laws of Castile'. Civil cases, on the other hand, could be judged according to municipal laws (that is, the laws of the City of Zaragoza) unless the crown intervened, in which case they were to be judged by Castilian law. Thus the real rule stemmed from Madrid; but as a gesture of appeasement privileges were extended where they could do no harm to centralism. The powers of the High Court of Valen-

cia were similarly curtailed in 1716.

Cataluña[4] and Mallorca did not feel the rigour of Bourbon centralism until 1714 and 1715 respectively. They had been hardened apponents of Philip V and were made to smart for it. When on 16th September, 1714 Barcelona capitulated to the Felipists its three proud institutions, the Council of One Hundred, the *Diputacion* and the *Brazo militar* or *Brazo noble* (Officer Corps) were dissolved. In their place a Royal Council of Justice and of Government were created, composed of six councillors and a secretary, all of them Catalans, with Patiño, representing Madrid, as President. Vengeance, however, lurked behind the apparent smiles, for when this Council was joined by another new institution, the Council of Administrators of the City of Barcelona, it was soon realised that both were tools of the central government. Their very first acts showed this, for how could Catalans prohibit their own people from carrying arms, exact savage stamp duties, force citizens to make over part of their property to billet the occupying forces of Castile, order those who had gained titles and other privileges from the Archduke Charles to hand over their documentary evidence for these to be burnt, and perhaps most humiliating of all to insist that Catalans who wished to journey outside Cataluña should obtain a passport or else suffer execution? All these laws were passed by mid-November, 1714.

The following year the University of Barcelona was disbanded, its members being banished to brand new buildings, on which acroteria in the shape of crowns were abundant, in the country town of Cervera. Professors and students could do little harm in that remoteness. Only the Grammar School, a minor part of the University which prepared students for matriculation, remained in the capital. At the same time the Cortes of Cataluña was suppressed, its members being absorbed into the Cortes of Castile at Madrid, which now became the only one in Spain.

This curtailment of Catalan liberties was not enough for the triumphant Bourbons, and in 1716 the so-called and euphemistically termed New Plan was introduced. By it all ancient Catalan usages and forms, both political and economic, procedural and legal were abolished in favour of Castilian ones. The Catalan language was forbidden in administration and in the law courts. The criminal law of Cataluña was to be Castilian. The success of the New Plan was, however, never complete, and until the early nineteenth century Cataluña continued to preserve a great deal of its own criminal law, while the office of Notary Public of Barcelona survived. Civil and mercantile law remained exclusively Catalan,

and in fact the New Plan expressly stated that the central government in Madrid wished to respect Catalan law which dealt with the family, property and the right of the individual. The Catalan language, though banned from all public institutions of learning, continued to be taught privately.

As to the government of Cataluña, the supreme body was the *Audiencia* of Barcelona with the Captain-General of Cataluña presiding; but its decisions had no power in the face of the opposition of the central administration of Madrid. In 1740,[5] however, it was enacted that if Madrid overruled Cataluña an appeal could be lodged in the Council of Castile. Until 1768, when it was abolished as being contrary to the spirit of the Enlightenment, there existed in Cataluña a feudal Tribunal of Peers, to which appeals concerning appropriation of land could be made.

Philip V failed to honour his declarations made at the time of the capitulation of Barcelona, and many high civil servants and officers were imprisoned. General Moragos was the most prominent of four Catalans who between March and April, 1715 were shot for attempting to escape. So prominent a Catalan Felipist as Bishop Taverner of Gerona drew attention to this failure of the victorious régime to keep its promises in a speech delivered to the Provincial Council in 1717. Some citizens of Barcelona decided to emigrate to Sardinia rather than see the new fort (*ciudadela*) arise to overawe the city.

Mallorca was similarly dealt with in 1715[6] when by royal decree the *Audiencia* of Palma was set up, presided over by a Felipist general. Mallorquin civil law, as practised by the *Consulat del Mar* and the *Gran i General Consell*, however, survived until 1718. The city council of Palma and the councils of the provincial towns were nominated by the crown.

In the Basque provinces the settlement was somewhat different, for here there was more readiness on the part of the central government not to upset local susceptibilities since its control of this area was never too secure. Even so, in spite of much window-dressing, representatives of Bourbon authority were intruded into local government throughout the eighteenth century. The sovereign was directly represented by the crown-nominated chief magistrate (*corregidor*), the captain-general and lord mayors (*alcaldes mayores*). The *corregidor* resided in Bilbao with the title of Lord of Vizcaya.

The good-will of the Basques was vital, the strategic importance of their territory and their sympathies for their fellow Basques on the French side of the frontier being no light considerations; and

hence it is not surprising that no attempt was made to place them under a military governor.[7] Furthermore, the Felipists in 1717 made a placatory gesture towards the Basques by moving their customs posts from the boundary with Castile to the French frontier and the coast; but owing to the resultant outbreak of fraud and contraband which this gave rise to, Madrid was forced to return the posts to their former position.

The two notable characteristics of the Bourbon administration were centralism and uniformity, with the Crown under Philip V more crudely and realistically absolutist than under the Habsburgs. The purpose of both was to bring about efficiency by the attempted destruction of regionalism and so of feudalism, and by the concentration of wealth and power in the Crown 'for the good of the people'. In spite of this policy, throughout the eighteenth century the provincial administration of Spain remained regionally inspired and so out of harmony with the central one.

Why did this insensitive centralising policy not bring its expected success? This seems the more extraordinary when one considers that hosts of provincial assemblies and councils were powerless before a handful of government officials backed by law.[8] Apart from the obvious cause, that of difficulty of communication in this particularly mountainous country, there was another matter which militated against a tidy uniformity. In the eighteenth century Spain's territorial divisions still kept their mediaeval feudal limits, something so bound up with the jealousy guarded traditions of Spanish culture as not to be lightly swept away. Confused and disorderly they may have been,[9] but they were Spain. Thus a senior civil servant of enlightened ideas would find it exasperating[10] that the divisions between the provinces were so irregular, that the very provinces varied so much in size, and that in many cases portions of the territory of one became entangled in the territory of another. Just as various as were the shape and size of the territories were the constitutions of the local governments, so that some towns might be under the kings' authority, others under the lord of a manor, others under an abbacy, and others under one of the Military Orders. Navarra had the distinction of being the only part of Spain to have a viceroy, an office of great dignity and filled always by outstanding figures on the nomination of the crown.[11]

It is always difficult for a new dynasty to graft itself on to a nation foreign to it, and particularly in a country as exclusivist, proud and traditionalist as Spain, as the Habsburgs had originally found.[12] The War of the Spanish Succession was for the Bourbons a blessing in disguise, since from it grew both a pride and resent-

ment on the part of Spain, pride in a new régime which had won in the face of great odds and which had identified itself with Spanish nationalism, and resentment against the Allies who had dared to take up arms against their country and presume on its integrity.

Regionalism has always been, and is today, a prime problem of Spain. The Bourbons were faced with it from the start, but by the end of the eighteenth century at the national level they had to a large extent succeeded in gaining popular loyalty and in making Madrid the hub of their personal power and the centre and pattern of government. Although at the provincial and local levels successful centralisation was by no means complete, many inroads had been made into feudal autonomy, which could not have happened had devotion to the Crown among the nascent middle class, which had profited from it, and the peasantry, for whom it was the pinnacle of nationalistic emotions and even religious faith, not become a reality.

NOTES:

[1] The two great classical works on the *Consejo de Castilla* are: A Martinez Salazar, *Coleccion de memorias y noticias del gobierno y politico del Consejo* (Madrid, 1764) & E. Escolano de Arrieta, *Practica de Consejo Real en el despacho del los negocios consultivos, instructivos y contentiosos* ... (Madrid, 1796). They are essential for the subject of Bourbon statecraft.

[2] Fray Nicolas de Jesus Belando, *Historia civil de España* (Madrid, 1740), pt. I, pp. 316ff, see W.N. Hargreaves-Mawdsley, *Spain under the Bourbons* (London, 1973), pp. 35-6.

[3] Many examples mentioned here are to be found in Santo Sanchez, *Extracto puntual de todas las pragmaticas, cédulas provisiones, circulares publicadas en el reinado del señor Don Carlos III* (Madrid, 1792-93).

[4] On the treatment of Cataluña by Philip V *see* J. Mercadar Riba, art. 'La ordenacion de Cataluña por Felipe V: La Nueva Planta', *Hispania*, num. XLIII, pp. 257-366. Some of this should be read with caution.

[5] Santo Sanchezz, *op. cit.*, *real cédula*, 12 enero, 1740.

[6] Santo Sanchez, *op. cit.*, 28 noviembre, 1715.

[7] Godoy later in the century tried to overawe the Basques by placing them under a military governor, but the attempt failed.

[8] Desdevises du Dezert, art. 'Les Institutions de l'Espagne au XVIIIe siècle, *Revue Hispanique* (June 1927), p. 149.

[9] *op. cit.*, p. 150.

[10] As did Campomanes; see his *Cartas politico-economicas*, carta IV.

[11] José Yanguas y Miranda, *Diccionario de Antigüedades del reino de Navarra* (Madrid, 1840), vol. III, p. 527.

[12] For example Charles I (V) in his early years had to face the *Comuneros* and other rebellions, although he was to become the favourite King of Spain.

ENGLISH TRAVELLERS IN LATE 18TH CENTURY SPAIN: EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS

by NORMAN HOLUB

MY work will be a brief comment on three English Voyagers to Spain in the late 18th Century encompassing the years 1760-88, the approximate time span of the reign of Charles III. The three travellers are Joseph Baretti, Joseph Townsend and William Beckford. Joseph Baretti in fact is not English.[1] He was born in Lombardy and was the son of a member of the Italian lesser nobility who was a successful architect in Turin. Baretti had lived in England for ten years before his 1760 voyage to Spain and was an intimate friend of Samuel Johnson and his literary circle of savants.

These three gentlemen were selected for two good reasons. One, travellers to Spain who wrote about the country in the late 18th century are few, and two, each man represents a different view of the kingdom's society and topography. Baretti spends only a month in Spain (1760) on a trip to Genoa, and focuses on the lower classes, the 'Goya' classes, and conditions of travel and life on the Spanish roads. Townsend's sojourn, almost two years in length, (1786-87), gives a much more involved view of Spain. Townsend, a former headmaster and Master of Arts, writes of agriculture, economics, manufactures, population, and is most inclusive. Townsend is literally a sourcebook of information on late 18th century Spain. William Beckford, the scion of a fabulously rich Jamaican sugar plantation family, young and brilliant, in 1786 is in disfavor with English society and has exiled himself from England to Iberia. Young, rich and handsome, Beckford easily captures and captivates first Lisbon's and then Madrid's high society. Beckford's Spain is upper class and compliments the Spains of Baretti and Townsend.

Joseph Baretti's first voyage to Spain occurs in the late fall and

early winter of 1760 at the onset of the reign of Charles III. Baretti is on his way to Genoa to see his family again after a 10 year absence from Italy. In his residence in London of over a decade, Baretti has made a name for himself in the city's literary circles. He is well known for his work in the Italian opera company and his Italian to English translations. His source of income is meager, while Townsend's is substantial and Beckford is one of the richest men in Western Europe. Baretti, first and foremost, is a critic. His intellectual honesty and critical harpoons against the major Italian writers of the 1740's, when he was the editor of an avante guarde Italian literary journal, were the reasons for his leaving Italy in 1750.

Baretti relates his trip through Iberia by the literary device of a series of letters supposedly written while he is travelling to his family in Italy. From the beginning of the trip he clearly states that the *London Spectators* admonishes one to keep a daily journal and that he is writing these letters for future publication.[2] He knows his trip through Spain will be a quick one and he realizes that in such a short space of time he will not always meet interesting places or be part of arresting events. His letters explain these shortcomings more than once and he is apologetic of his daily fare to his readers of posadas, inns, innkeepers, travellers, friars, peasants and their customs, victuals and eating habits.[3] A valuable record for the historian and social scientist but poor pickings for Baretti who wants to make the big splash before his reading public.

Leaving Falmouth Harbor on August 23, 1760, Baretti takes the King George Packet to Lisbon, arriving there on August 30th. Through Baretti's eyes we see the Lisbon of 1760, still devastated from the November 1766 earthquake, one of the world's worst quakes, and a devastation of which remind the present reader of 20th century Hiroshima. After several weeks in Portugal, and after many miserable *estallagems*, Baretti on the 22 September enters Spain through Badajoz. In Badajoz he encounters the Italian Jesuit Cardinal Acciaoli who has recently, with his entire entourage, been deported from Lisbon. A cardinal in provincial Badajoz is an event of some importance. The manner of the Cardinal's deportation from Portugal is a living historical event.[4]

Baretti will travel the main road from Badajoz through Talavera la Reyna (October 1st) to Madrid. Before coming to Madrid he will make a side trip to Toledo and Aranjeuz where the Bourbon Kings are in residence. He will stay in Madrid for only a week, from 7-13. From Madrid he will make his way to Zaragossa and thence

to Barcelona, a one day stop over. Leaving Barcelona, he will go north to Gerona, Beziers, Nice, Monaco and finally to his destination, Genoa. The journal of the Journey supposedly is written in the inns at night before he retires. His notes of travel include the conditions of the *posadas* and the hospitality or lack of it by the *posadero(a)s*.[5] Baretti had been promised by his guides that Spanish *posadas* are much cleaner and better than Portuguese *Estellagems*, a fact which he quickly verifies as being false.[6] Baretti sees and even partakes in (at times) the rural peasants proclivity to dance the *fandango* from morning to sunset. All that is needed is a guitar, which everyone has, and castanets and the dance begins, Baretti remarks. He is enchanted with the dancing and compares the Spanish folk dancing with the French minuets which are very formal and inhibit spontaneity. (The 'true' Englishman, Joseph Townsend, who at forty-seven is very traditional and very English, and very formal, finds the dancing and the spontaneity disgusting).[7] Baretti is also fascinated with the manner in which many of the Spaniards, literate and illiterate, are able to sing and versify as they go along, impromptu. He calls it a special talent of the Spanish race. Joseph Baretti's *Journey from London to Genoa* is truly a travel log of the Spanish road.

Both Baretti and Townsend are taken aback by the extreme wretchedness and non-productivity of the people and soil of *Estramadura.*[8] Beckford, in his haste to reach Madrid, scarcely notices or pays attention to the landscape or the Spanish folk. Though Baretti is quick to compare customs and conditions in his travel with English and Italian counterparts, he is not quick to criticize his host country or the people. He adopts the tone of a man who has seen much and who understands much. He is a strong monarchist who sees in the elevation of Charles III an excellent opportunity for Spain to become strong again, economically and militarily, via decrees and new laws from Madrid. The enlightened and cultured man from Turin muses in one of his letters on the rise and decline of men and empires including Rome and warning England, proud mistress of seas (an England he truly loves and admires), of this constant thread of world history. In analyzing Spanish history, (though he has his doubts about the expulsion of the Moors), one of the country's major economic resources, he pokes fun at M. Voltaire who decried the expulsion as insanity, and supports monarchial and inquisitorial decrees deporting the Moors on the grounds that they constituted a perennial source of revolution in the midst of Spanish society.[9] In weighing the effects of the importation of the large quantities of gold and silver from the Indies on the

people and nation of Spain, Baretti states that this 'easy wealth' has gone far to depopulate the less fertile areas of the Kingdom and has had a crippling effect on Spanish industry.[10] For 1760, Baretti's assessment of the ills that beset the Spanish economy and the causes of these ills highlights an astute and critical mind. Not that his ideas on the Spanish decline were original as is seen here in the Venetian Ambassador Vendramin's comments in 1667.[11]

> ... about this precious metal which comes to Spain from the Indies, the Spaniards say not without reason that it does on Spain as rain does upon a roof – it pours on her and it flows away.

But Baretti is primarily a thinking man who is aware of castles and women's smiles and many things.[12]

Commenting on the decline of Spain under her later Hapsburg monarchs, Baretti traces the religious and dynastic wars and policies of the earlier monarchs Charles V and Philip II, as major contributing causes of decline and at the same time empathizes with these policies given the temper of the earlier times and Spanish foreign policy.[13]

Baretti's letters also note the cultural and artistic levels of both Iberian monarchies. He has a much higher regard for Spanish cultural subsidization than Portuguese. But again he does forgive this lack of the Portuguese court by commenting that small nations such as Portugal are not to be criticized for their lower level of cultural attainment. He knows of Feijoo and his contributions to the Spanish enlightenment.[14]

Before his arrival in Madrid, Baretti makes a side trip to Toledo and devotes an entire letter to the great cathedral there and its mozarabic rite. He is impressed by this grand edifice and the income of the archbishop which he states is second only to the Holy Father in Rome. From Toledo he visits the royal palace and gardens at Aranjeuz and is much taken with the beauty of the place. In reality, Aranjuez is his first glimpse of upper class Spanish architecture and art and he finds it on a level comparable to any advanced nation in Europe. He admonishes Mr. Clarke, an English traveller to Spain the year before, for Clarke's statement that 'the palace of Aranjuez is a tolerable edifice and the garden a dead flat'. 'There are some people', chides Baretti, referring to Clarke, 'in this world whom (sic) nothing can please out of their own country'.[15] This comment on Clarke is one of the keys to Baretti's success as a traveller 'out of his own country'. Though we know from Ian Robertson's introduction of Baretti's volatile nature and

quick temper, on the road, he is accomodating comprising and versatile. In his own words, 'for the successful traveller a sense of humor is most important'.[16]

Baretti's entrance into the Madrid of 1760 is a disaster. Art and culture notwithstanding, the open sewers of the Spanish capital and the noxious odours emanating from them makes it impossible for him to remain long in Madrid. He refers to the city as the 'great cloaca'.[17] In 1765, on a return visit, he will find Madrid healthful and beautiful, accomplishments due to the hygenic program by Charles III to clean up the city. But in 1760 he will only be a week in Madrid. His eyewitness views of the city makes for a solid historical vista of the late 18th century Spanish capital.

Valencia and the huerta of Valencia captivates Baretti. He is particularly impressed with the developing high standards of the medical school and training hospital under the new plan of Charles' ministers. Barcelona, where he spends only one day, is a city of bustling economic activity and commercial expansion. He comments on the clothing establishments, weapons manufacture, the arsenal and foundry for the casting of the big cannon destined for the wars of the Bourbon monarchy, blanket production, etc. Townsend in 1787 is similarly impressed.[18] Baretti notes that the Catalonians are very favorable to Charles III because he, on assuming the throne, cancelled the debt imposed on them for taking the losing side in the War of the Spanish Succession.

As for Spanish banditry and highway robbery, Baretti makes light of it. The roads may be the worst in western Europe but for this English traveller they are safe if one does not travel alone and keeps his weapons in view for the eyes of strangers. Townsend is very conscious of the stories of highway banditry and is not so matter of fact on this hazard to the traveller.[19]

The journal describes at length the history (if Baretti knows it) of the cities Baretti travels through. I believe these insights must have been added later when he edited his notes. The 1760 voyager is enchanted by the 'Moorish castles' which he sees everywhere built on their high mountain summits. He also catalogs the conditions of the *posadas* where he spends the nights, and the fact that the traveller must bring his own food with him to the inn though he has use of the fire for cooking purposes. The variety and types of food available on the Spanish roads and the hospitality and openess of the Spanish country people provide insights for the letters. Particularly vexing to Baretti, Townsend and the American minister John Adams, in that gentlemen's brief trip through Asturias in 1780, were the fleas and other house vermin. The fleas make

sleeping in the backcountry Spanish provinces a very difficult thing to come by.[20]

Both Baretti and Townsend remark on the curious custom of Spanish officials meeting their callers or guests in sleeping cap and nightgown. For Baretti it is a village corregedor in Estramadura, in soiled nightgown and cap, and for Townsend it is the powerful minister of state Compomanes who greets him so attired in his bedroom. 'This is the custom of the country' a Swiss woman traveller married to a Spaniard tells Baretti when he related this 'shocking' scene to her. 'The Spanish think nothing of greeting one in their nightclothes, especially older men practice this custom, and you (Baretti) should not see this as a sign of disrespect'.[21]

The journal's comments on Charles III, fortunately, Baretti does see him on this trip, is a 'must' for the 18th century Spanish historian.[22] That Baretti's journal has only lately been re-published can be seen in its absence from the footnotes of recent books on Spain in the late 18th century. Its 'Goyaesque' word pictures provide valuable insights of rural Iberia in 1760.

Joseph Townsend's three volume *Journey Through Spain, 1786-87*, a trip made when Townsend was forty-seven years of age, is a veritable storehouse of factual information on the Spain of those years. Townsend, a former English headmaster and holder of a Master of Arts Degree, was an ardent amateur naturalist and scientist, avocations which were very fashionable in Europe and in America among the literate upper and bourgeois literate classes. As a learned man with an academic reputation, Townsend has easy access to men of learning and politics, wherever he goes in Spain.

Townsend enters Spain through Barcelona. He will spend many months in the kingdom and visit most of the major cities and provinces. He is particularly interested in all phases of the new science, and meticulously notes the flora, fauna and geological formations that he encounters on his travels. He likes to jot these finds down in their Latin names when he can. With Townsend, a much quoted set of volumes, in later histories of the period, facts and figures are the mainstays of the trip. He is writing for an English speaking audience interested in manufacturing, population, economic indecies, botanical and other natural history phenomena, agriculture, etc. Townsend's book accents the fact that by 1786, the 'new European' is an intellectual with a questing mind (and an open mind) who expects to find similar men in other societies with like interests.

Be it Bareclona, Valencia or Madrid, Townsend puts down all of interest to him in his journal. Barcelona, commercial, industrial

and economically thriving, is a city very much like that of the cities of his mothercountry. Though he is impressed with the vigor and expansion of the city and its world wide trade, he singles out the Royal Academy of Arts, which he visits, and the municipal hospital for particular praise. He will visit the museums, private and public scientific and natural history collections, hospitals, schools, manufacturing establishments, everything of interest in the new Spain of the enlightenment. He is an Adam Smithian in economics and commends Charles III and his ministers for their farsighted economic policies which incorporate the Adam Smith philosophy. Medicine and its advancement is also high on the list of his observing priorities. The Barcelona municipal hospital is a wonder to him. 'No hospital that I have yet seen on the Continent is so well administered as this general hospital of this city', he writes.[23] The progressive convalescent ward is separated from the sick wards at the hospital and is an innovation which Townsend finds very intelligent. The Townsend trip, made at the close of Charles III's reign, provides an important eyewitness picture of Spain before the French Revolution and Napoleonic debacles. Townsend's visits with Campomanes, a man he very much admires and whose program for Spain he supports fully, Floridablanca, Penalba, Aranda, and other noteworthy figures in the ecclesiastical and scientific Hispanic worlds as well as the political one, are important first hand glimpses of these men of power and politics.[24] Townsend is also invited to the Madrid parties, salons and tertulias and will meet the capital's high society. The younger William Beckford will also be invited to many of these affairs. Townsend is to be found in the cell of Feijoo in Oviedo, the medical school in Valencia, the theater in Madrid, the college campus of Villadolid and Salamanca, visiting in Cadiz with the old and bent Antonio de Ulloa and every place which he feels represents the Spain in 1786. His volumes are invaluable sources of information of the epoch. In one of his musings, when examining a fossil in amber, he remarks cryptically, 'we see it (the fossil) likewise as one link in a vast chain, the origin of which all philosophers are laboring to discover.[25]

The William Beckford journal, recently edited and re-discovered is a tour into the play of Madrid's 'high society'. Beckford, rich in line for a title, loses his bid because of rumors and scandel about his deviant sexual practices. He appears to be bi-sexual. The unfortunate death of his young wife in Switzerland complicated Beckford's life further and the family decides to ship him off to the Jamaica estates. However, Beckford becomes seasick and land-

ing in Lisbon decides to remain there. Lisbon society is enraptured with the young handsome and intelligent Englishman. Feted by all, he is the English crown price of the Lisbon inner circle.[26] His previous reputation and his enemies in England make it impossible for Beckford to be presented to the Portuguese queen and he is forced to leave Lisbon for reasons of state. In Madrid he is again lionized by the dukes, marquis and duchesses and is invited to all the important parties. His journal is intensely personal and episodic. He seduces many hearts both male and female. Beckford is particularly drawn to the exotic and occult and is a great favorite of the ambassador of the Ottoman Empire. The journal highlights the variety of life and its intensity among the nobility and bureaucracy of the capital. Beckford's friends and confidants are nobles, high officials, ambassadors and women of the upper class. He has known several of the women in other capitals of Europe. Through the few pages of the journal the historian can discover a valuable picture of the mores and amusements of Madrid's society.[27] Beckford has no interest in the peasantry or the *Nueva Planta* of Charles III's ministers. The journal highlights the similarity of interests and diversions of upper class Europe, a Europe which Beckford, by birth, education and manners blends easily into.

NOTES:

[1] Joseph Baretti, *Journey from London to Genoa*, 2 vols. (New York, 1970); Joseph Townsend, *A Journey through Spain, 1786-87*, 3 vols. (London, 1791); Boyd Alexander, ed., *The Journal of William Beckford in Portugal and Spain, 1787-88* (London, 1954).

[2] J. Baretti, I, p. 269.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 304.

[4] J. Baretti I, pp. 254-259; Richard Herr, *The Eighteenth Century Revolution in Spain* (Princeton, 1958), p. 22.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 254.

[6] J. Townsend, I, p. 332; J. Baretti I, p. 249; Beckford, during the evening of his first night in Spain is treated to the *Fandango*, danced by the lady of the house and her two handmaidens, accompanied by guitars. Alexander, *Beckford*, p. 286.

[7] J. Baretti, I, p. 292.

[8] J. Baretti, I, p. 361.

[9] Carlo M. Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution* (New York, 1976) p. 235.
[10] J. Baretti, II, p. 156.
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 361-64.
[12] J. Baretti has seen 8 volumes of Feijoo's works and comments that the Benedictine monk is not venerated on the other side of the Pyranees as he is in Spain. J. Baretti, II, p. 33.
[13] J. Baretti, I, p. 377.
[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 375-76.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 382-
[16] J. Baretti, II, pp. 268-69; J. Townsend, I, p. 134; Herr, *Eighteenth Century*, pp. 141-45.
[17] J. Baretti, II pp. 388-89; J. Townsend, II, p. 72. Townsend comments that a guide should go through the forest before the party so as not to be robbed like the other groups.
[18] J. Baretti, II, p. 242; The American minister John Adams, on his way to France during the American Revolution, tarried in Spain for awhile. Adams was aghast with the vermin he found in every bed in backcountry Asturias and stated that sleep was impossible while travelling in the country. Frank MacShane, *The American in Europe* (New York, 1965), p. 53.
[19] J. Baretti, I, p. 325; The great minister of Charles III, Campomanes greets Townsend in his bedroom in cap and gown. J. Townsend, I, p. 282.
[20] J. Baretti, II, pp. 81-87.
[21] J. Townsend, I, p. 132.
[22] J. Townsend, I, pp. 243-44; II, p. 23; See E. Allison Peers, *Spain, A Companion to Spanish Studies*, 5th ed. (London, 1956), p. 74 for the role of Charles III's ministers in the Spanish state; See also, W.N. Hargreaves-Mawdsley, *Spain Under the Bourbons, 1700-1833* (Columbia, South Carolina, 1973) for the more important documents of the Bourbon monarchs of Spain.
[23] J. Townsend, II, p. 57.
[24] J. Alexander, *Beckford*, pp. 14-18.
[25] J. Alexander, *Beckford*, pp. 300-319.

FUNERAL LAMENTS AND FEMALE POWER IN SARDINIAN PEASANT SOCIETY[1]

by ELIZABETH MATHIAS

INTRODUCTION

The members of all societies, maintain a shared pattern of behaviour for dealing with death. Patterns for regulating this ultimate rite of passage are culturally prescribed on the basis of a particular culture's values, norms, and conception of the nature of life after death. Furthermore, in every society, behavioral roles in rituals surrounding death are assigned to males and females according to the societies' view of what is considered to be appropriate behavior for each sex. In most studies of funeral behavior the emphasis has been on the activities that follow the event of death, commenting on their function as a socially sanctioned expressive outlet for feelings of loss and grief. When funeral laments have been analyzed, the goal has been primarily to determine the structural properties or singing style of the form.[2] Surprisingly, the actual words of funeral laments have received little attention, and, in particular, there is little information about the funeral laments of women as they reveal the woman's view of life and death and her attitudes about her condition in her society.[3] Above all, funeral laments have not been studied from the point of view of the woman's role in the basic subsistence activities of her society as this role relates to her institutionalized position in ritual activities. The ideas that peasant women communicate in their laments and the specialized audiences to whom they relay this information have not been the subject of systematic analysis, and there has been no significant theorizing as to the degree of social control which peasant women may actually exert through the public drama of the wake and funeral in societies where women, not men, have control over the dissemination of information about past and present events in their communities.

It has been exhaustively documented that social control in many primitive and peasant societies, where status is achieved and lost primarily through personal comportment and adherence to established norms and not mainly through acquisition of goods, is maintained largely through verbal behavior, such as shaming and joking. Also, the nature of funeral ceremony as standardized action which exerts control in society by reaffirming the status quo has also been discussed.[4] In Goody's view for example, as he speaks of the funeral behavior of the LoDagaa, 'Ceremonies of the cosmic style ... are usually simply affirmatory in that they restate established positions and relationships, often in the highly charged manner that led Chapple and Coon to speak of them as 'rites of intensification.'"[5] Goody has concerned himself with the interdependency of mortuary beliefs and practices with the other aspects of society, and has noted the important function of the funeral as social control. In Goody's words:

> Funerals are inevitably occasions for summing up an individual's social personality, by a restatement not only of the roles he has filled but also of the general way in which he has conducted himself during his lifetime. The composition of the obituary ... involves directly or indirectly *a public reformulation of social norms that itself serves as a sanction for behavior* [my emphasis].[6]

When, as in Sardinian peasant culture, the ritual activities of the funeral, and especially of the wake with its funeral lamenting, are controlled exclusively by women, and when the society is sexually segregated, as is that of the Sardinian peasant, with only women furnishing the audience for the lament, we observe that there is an important area of social control that resides mainly in the hands of women. The traditional view of peasant women as male-dominated, passive, abused and helpless creatures appears to require careful re-examination. Clearly, the overt control of resources in Sardinian peasant society as in other peasant cultures appears to be in the hands of the males and outwardly all power seems to be vested in males; women never appear to control the official public machinery of peasant cultures. However, women do control many decisions made in private sectors and there is often a distinct distribution of power between males and females, a mute agreement as to formal/informal controls within the society. When we examine the separate community of women in the Sardinian peasant culture of the *Barbagia* (Central-eastern Sardinia) and note how the flow of information is largely regulated by women, a new dimention of control,

latent, but no less powerful, appears.[7]

This paper aims at an analysis of the content and performance of the Sardinian funeral lament in cultural context in order to demonstrate the manner in which women control the flow of information in Sardinian peasant society. We view the wake and its dominant verbal expressive form, the *attitu* (funeral lament), as a public drama with an all female cast which reveals the major concerns of the female population and, at the same time, exerts a measure of social control within the village in which it is performed.[8] In Sardinia the *attitu* is exclusively a female art, and as we shall see, the drama of the wake is particularly significant in this culture where women have no other public, verbal expressive outlet. The role of the wake and of the *attitu* in the lives of the women of a mountain village of 2,800 inhabitants will be discussed and the social ramifications of the control of the flow of information by women, through the medium of the *attitu*, will be examined. A particular event, the wake of a forty-eight year old woman who had committed suicide by hanging, will be used as our major illustration of the role of the *attitu* in village life.

The Setting and the Community of Women

Within those villages of the *Barbagia* where sheep and goat hearding is the main subsistence activity, males and females are separated along lines of both work and leisure activities. Because of ecological necessity and cultural dictates, men engage full time in herding activities while women work at hoe gardening, food processing and preservation, child care, and maintenance of the homes in the villages.[9] This division of labor between pastoral and agricultural activities has produced a mutual dependency system in which males and females rely on each other for survival but are rigidly segregated. Accordingly to the ideology of both males and females herding is strictly male work and gardening is exclusively the work of women. Though males may do some of the initial heavy ground breaking, men do not tend the gardens; similarly, women do not engage in herding activities. Additionally, culturally prescribed expectations of behavior for males and females limit contact between the sexes during leisure activities, with men grouping together with other men in after work hours, and women spending their brief moments of leisure time in or near their homes predominantly with other women. The sexes are similarly separated in ritual activities, especially those surrounding death.

Thus, we see that the combination of intensive pastoralism and equally intensive hoe agriculture, plus the concept that males and

females should not mingle in leisure time activities, produces a stringent segregation of the sexes. It is clear that the separation of males and females in Sardinian peasant society extends into all areas of life, and that this sexual polarity is dictated both by ecological factors and by cultural regulations. For both sexes there are traditionally prescribed patterns of behavior from which neither sex may depart without strong social disapproval. It is central to our thesis that these male and female roles are enforced by both sexes. In Sardinian peasant society no man or woman may deviate from the norm without risking criticism or ridicule from both males and females and, within this culturally patterned standard of expectations, males are required to leave the ritual activities surrounding death to females. Women handle all of the ceremonies of the wake and only females are involved in the communal ritual of the wake and especially of the *attitu*. This socially patterned sexual division of the sexes in the ceremonies relating to death further reinforces the male-female separation required by the other institutionalized behavior complexes of the community.

Thus, the women of Sardinian peasant society are united in their separate community of females within the context of the wake and of the funeral.[10] One must consider the fact that what unifies also separates. The unification of females teamed with the exclusion of males in the critical rituals surrounding death further reinforces the separation of the sexes within the culture. Men are involved incidentally in the wake. While the women gather around the only incidentally in the wake. While the women gather around females, by the mandates of tradition, are allowed to sing the *attitu*.[11] Since death occurs frequently in the villages, about every two weeks, women participate in funeral ceremonies at least ten to fifteen times each year and the female community is repeatedly brought together in the highly charged emotional atmosphere of the wake. At this time, a woman expresses her deepest feelings about past and present events, either as a major singer of the *attitu* if the wake is for a member of her family, or as a member of the supporting chorus, if the wake is for a member of another family. To discuss the wake as a disseminator of information in the community, several questions must be raised: What is the performance setting of the wake? What sort of information is conveyed in the *attitu*? Who communicates what information to whom? And do men have any opportunity to learn about what has been said?

We have pointed out that the wake is sexually segregated and that only females perform the *attitu*, and have noted that the wake is a collective representation of female unity, where comments are

made about events and matters of interest to the community as a whole. Although men do not participate in the wake, in the hours and days after the funeral they hear the female members of their families discussing the content of the *attitu* and the ideas contained in the supporting comments of the women in attendance. In this way the information conveyed in the closed system of the wake reaches the men and is spread throughout the community.

The Wake

When a death occurs in the village the close female friends of the family gather to prepare the body for the wake. It is washed and clothed and laid out on a bed in the home. News of death travels rapidly, and soon many women of the community gather around the bier, as the *attitu* begins. The wake is a social drama with the principle mourners, or main actors, and the secondary mourners, or chorus participating. The following is an account of the wake of the suicide victim as we observed it on June 15, 1975:

We had heard about the woman's suicide the day before and had learned that she had been found hanging in the *cantina*, the first floor storage room of the house, by her youngest daughter, Anna. We also knew that the woman had been known to be *esaurito* (severely neurotic) and, as a result, would not be denied a Roman Catholic burial. Today, the day after the death, at 3.45p.m., we took the mountain path down to the home of the deceased to attend the wake and to pay our respects to the family. As we approached the house we heard the *attitu*. We arrived in the small courtyard which was filled with men who were sitting around in small groups, quietly talking. It was obvious that the men could hear some of the words of the *attitu* issuing from the partially open windows of the house, but none appeared to be listening. We entered the house and climbed the steep wooden stairway leading directly into the room where the body lay. The room was about fifteen by fifteen feet and there were about forty women clustered around the body on the bed. Seated at either side of the head of the body were the two daughters of the deceased, Anna (age twenty years) and Laurina (age twenty-four years). They were singing the *attitu*, and, at the time we arrived, had already been singing for about twenty hours.

The *attitu* consists of improvised rhymed verses of irregular length, about eight to ten stresses; the length is determined by the amount of breath which the singer can expend before having to inhale again. The singing is polyphonic. On this occasion one of the daughters sang the major verses while the other formed a background of stylized comments; then the lead position was reversed,

with the other daughter taking the lead. The secondary mourners, the women clustered around the body, furnished an additional choral background of words, sometimes referring to the deceased or to the daughters singing the *attitu*, or to their own personal sorrows of past events. The effect was one of a casually coordinated group performance, with the two lead singers setting the pace. It was obvious that the women were all singing as individuals yet they were still aware that they were members of a group. It would be impossible in this brief paper to repeat in detail exactly what the singers conveyed in the forty minutes that we were present. However, since we are contending that the *attitu* furnishes the main communication device about past and present events in the community, we will list the main ideas that we heard expressed by both the major singers of the *attitu*, and by the secondary singers, the chorus of women gathered around the body.

In this culture the dead are thought to be able to hear the words of the living, and are especially able to listen in the hours following death and before the burial. The daughters, thus, spoke directly to their dead Mother, asking her questions and complaining to her for deserting them. It is central to our thesis that the questions addressed to the dead are equally designed to convey information to the other women present about the circumstances of the life of the deceased and about the event of her death. This is true of all *attitu* in Sardinian peasant society, not just of one sung in the event of death by suicide. However, in this case, the element of public apology was obviously stronger. The daughters sang on the following points: about the good qualities of the deceased, and about the circumstances of her death, asking her why she had tricked them by committing suicide despite their almost continuous surveillance of her in the weeks before her act. They sang about their loving relationship with the deceased, about their deep feelings of loss, and about their fears for the future without her support. They also sang about how the women of the community had been so kind as to gather to be with them at this tragic time, and expressed their hope that the women would understand the circumstances of their Mother's death and have compassion for their family in its suffering. The ideas that were presented were scarcely repeated in the time that we listened, and we heard later from other women about the many other facts of the family's past troubles which the daughters had conveyed in the *attitu*.

During the daughters' performance the secondary mourners, the chorus of women, expressed their own feelings. One must remember that the major singing takes place in the immediate area surround-

ing the body. The other women, standing further from the body, are stimulated by the *attitu*, a form which they all know well, to comment upon their own misfortunes of the near or distant past. During the wake we heard patterned phrases from the other women referring to the following subjects: There were comments directed to the deceased members of other families and explanations of their deaths, and there were requests, directed to the body (or soul) of the dead woman of this wake, to convey greetings and requests for assistance to these deceased members of other families. It was obvious that the women believed that the dead woman would be able to carry the messages to other departed souls and that they believed in a community of the dead that all join soon after death. The miseries of each woman's present condition were also expressed, and, again, the information seemed to be directed not so much to the body of the deceased as toward the gathering of women. One woman sang briefly about her son who had been accidentally killed several years before by an electrical current in the village bakery, while another lamented about her present miserable condition; she had been abandoned by her husband who had emigrated to Germany for work and had chosen to remain there to live with another woman, leaving her alone with three children to care for. Still another woman drew parallels between the unexpected nature of the present death and that of one of the members of her family which had occurred many years before. Another spoke repeatedly to her husband who had died thirty years past. All of the women participated in the wake in some way, and each seemed to interpret this event as an occasion to vent her feelings anew and to remind others about the sad circumstances of her own past.

Conclusion

The wake in Sardinia is a public event, conducted by and attended by females only. It is an event that brings the women into the forefront, gives them their major chance for action, and furnishes them with a socially sanctioned occasion through which they may express their feelings and gain support from females, and from males as well, through the dissemination of this information throughout the community. The wake and the *attitu* gives a woman the chance to be heard publically and to be taken seriously. It furnishes her with a channel through which she may circulate information about herself that she wishes to make public and presents her with an official and legitimatized event for social display. This occasion gives her the opportunity to praise or to put down others and, at times of stress, to rally the community to her support. In

fact, the *attitu* has at times, such as when a shepherd has been killed by other shepherds, or a bandit from the village has been killed by the police, had such an inflamatory effect on the village as a whole that the church has attempted to prohibit the holding of wakes.

In Sardinian peasant culture the wake presents the main channel through which news about the past and present condition of individual families may be spread. As such it is the only large scale public medium through which past and present events may be linked and presented. And the women control the system. In this society, as in most peasant societies, the status of the family is the focal point of honor and of status, and it is the woman who controls a major part of the information that may maintain or diminish this status. Matters of family and personal honor, esteem, dignity, respect, pride and prestige are largely manipulated by the female community. Within this separate community women dominate the public flow of information and the related sector of attitude maintenance. Additionally, since women have exclusive rights to the principal channel of communication with deceased members of the community, they also control interaction with the world of the dead. (The village priests also communicate with the dead, of course and the men of the village are aware of the collusion of the priests and the women in this matter. Several male informants confided to us that, 'I preti pascolano le donne', The priests herd the women). Sardinian peasant males are restrained by custom from complaining about their personal problems except perhaps to a very few very close male friends, usually members of their families. They have no comparable public mechanism through which to ventilate their feelings.[12] If a wife dies the husband, however grief stricken he may be, is expected to remain in the background, leaving the expression of emotion to the surviving female members of the family.

It is clear that the cleavage between the male and female worlds in this culture is socially standardized and culturally prescribed. The separate expressive behavior forms and performance settings of the two sexes restate established positions and relationships and thus reinforce the polarity that characterizes the relationship between males and females. The overt expressive behavior of both sexes then, may be viewed as 'rites of intensification' relating to the separation of the sexes and contributing to the maintenance of traditional roles. In Sardinian peasant culture, as in most peasant cultures, males and females alike are captives of traditionally prescribed role models, internalized at an early age and followed with

little questioning as to possible alternatives. Because these norms are enforced directly from within the peer group, deviation from expected behavior patterns is extremely difficult if not impossible. Since the channels of communication with both the worlds of the living and the dead and the flow of information concerning past and present events in Sardinian society are controlled by women, one must conclude that to a significant degree the social norms and behavior of this culture are controlled by the female subgroup. In the Sardinian Barbagia women, through their expressive verbal behavior, serve as mediums through which much private information flows into the community as a whole. Although outwardly social power is vested in the males, the culturally institutionalized event of the wake and the *attitu* confers upon women a significant sector of influence beyond the reach of males in the society. Sardinian males are aware of this network of female control and customarily relinquish this sector of power to women.

Additional studies of the not so obvious but essential mechanisms and dynamics of social control within peasant societies are needed, and a new perspective is required. We must move from the oversimplified traditional view of the dominance of males over females in peasant culture to an approach that will emphasize the complexities and varieties of dominance-submission patterns in specific peasant cultural settings. The Sardinian case of female social control as exerted through the *attitu* suggests that analyses of performance settings and forms of expressive behavior as they relate to environment and subsistence patterns, to sexual separation, and to male-female roles in a variety of peasant cultures may yield new insights into structures of power in traditional societies.

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'Sardinian Shepherd's Poetry as Verbal Art: An Examination of Verbal Dueling in Two Inter-Linked Performance Communities', Paper presented at the National Conference of the American Folklore Society, New Orleans, October 23.

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NOTES:

[1] The research upon which this study is based was carried out between May 1975, and September 1975, in Central-Eastern Sardinia. I want to thank Professor Paolo Pillonca for his assistance during the field study and M. Estalie Smith for her valuable comments during the revision of the paper.

[2] See Wolfgang Laade, *Die Struktur Der Korsischen Lamento-Melodik*, Baden-Baden, Editions P.H., Heitz/Verlag Heitz GMBH 1962; Alan Lomax, *Folksong Style and Culture*, Washington, D.C., 1968; David Sapir, 'Diola-Fogny Funeral Songs and the Native Critic', African Language Review, 1969, pp. 176-191.

[3] One notable exception is Catherine H. Berndt's interesting paper, 'Expression of Grief among Aboriginal Women', *Oceania:* 20:286-332, 1949-50.

[4] For a discussion of current ideas on joking behavior see, Richard W. Howell, 'Teasing Relationships', Addison-Wesley Module 46, 1973. See also, Robert B. Edgerton and Francis P. Conant, 'Kilapat: The "Shaming Party" among the Pokot of East Africa', *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology (Journal of Anthropological Research)*, 20: 404-418, 1964.

[5] Goody, Jack *Death, Prosperity and the Ancestors: A Study of the Mortuary Customs of the LoDagaa*, Stanford University Press, 1962.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

[7] For a recent challenge to the concept of females in peasant society as playing a subordinate role to males see Susan Carol Rogers, 'Female Forms of Power and the Myth of Male Dominance: A Model of Female/Male Interaction in Peasant Society', *American Ethnologist*, 2:4: 727-756.

Clifford Geertz has considered the quality of drama in collective expressive behavior in his analysis of the Balinese cockfight, noting that, 'The culture of a people is an ensemble of texts, themselves ensembles, which the anthropologist strains to read over the shoulders of those to whom they properly belong'. (Geertz: 1972:29). See also Alan Lomax's discussion of folk song as presenting, '... an immediate image of a cultural pattern'. Lomax has suggested that, 'The performing arts acquire their quiet and unobtrusive authority in the lives of men precisely because they carry their message about social structure beneath the surface'. (Lomax: 1968:6).

[8] For a discussion of subsistence patterns, economics and social structure in Sardinia, see Alex Weingrod and Emma Morin, 'Post Peasants: The Character of Contemporary Sardinian Society', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 13:301, 324:1971.

[9] Comments on the male-female separation in the Sardinian wake and funeral may be found in sections written by Enrica Delitala and Raffaello Marchi in, *Sante, Streghe e Diavoli: Il Patrimonio delle Tradizione Popolare nella Societa Meridionale e in Sardegna*, a cura di Luigi M. Lombardi Satriani, Firenze, Sansoni, pp. 444-448 and pp. 455-456. Marchi mentions the interesting fact that, in the past, there was often a *contro-attitu* along with the *attitu* in which the *faults* of the deceased were sung.

For other discussions of funeral lamenting in Italy see, Alberto Maria Cirese, 'Nenie e Prefiche nel Mondo Antico', *Lares*, 17:22-24:1951, and Ernesto de Martino, *Morte e Pianto Rituale: dal Lamento Funebre Antico al Pianto di Maria*, Torino, Boringhieri, 1975 (first published in 1958).

[10]Lomax has noted that the singing style of southern Italy is characterized by factors including a high degree of nasality and glottal constriction. We noted the nasal quality in the singing of the *attitu* but felt that the glottal constriction was minimal. It is difficult to apply Lomax's criteria to the *attitu* since continuous weeping will naturally constrict the nasal passages.

[11]Sardinian men do sing improvised poetry in public in their verbal dueling sessions, *La Gara Poetica*. However, they do not sing of personal distresses. For descriptions of this all male poetry see, Elizabeth Mathias, 'Sardinian Shepherd's Poetry as Verbal Art: An Examination of Verbal Dueling in Two Interlinked Performance Communities' paper presented at The National Conference of the American Folklore Society, New Orleans, October 23, 1975, and Elizabeth Mathias, '*La Gara Poetica:* Sardinian Shepherds' Verbal Dueling and the Expression of Male Values in an Agro-Pastoral Society', paper presented at the meetings of the American Anthropological Association, San Francisco, December 6, 1975.

[12]An interesting event which illustrates the female exclusion of males from participating in the *attitu* occurred at another wake in the same village where the data for this paper was collected. On this occasion a transvestite in the village, who was known for his skill at singing women's songs, entered the room where the body of an old woman was laid out and attempted to begin to sing the *attitu*. The women, kindly but firmly, interrupted his song and directed him out of the room.

CONCUBINAGE AMONG THE CLERGY OF MALTA AND GOZO ca. 1420-1550*

by GODFREY WETTINGER

BY the early fifteenth century Western Europe recognised that the Catholic Church did not permit priests to marry – that, in fact, they could not marry, such 'marriages' being regarded as null and void.[1] This did not prevent successive attempts at the later church councils, right down to and including the Council of Trent, to abrogate or, at least, to modify considerably the church requirement of strict clerical celibacy.[2] In any case, as is generally known, evasion was very common throughout later medieval times, most frequently by resort to concubinage.[3] The literature of the time, and university textbooks and other reference works of the present day, all teem with references to the problem. One reads of an Icelandic bishop and great poet with his two *sons* becoming martyrs to the Catholic faith in 1551;[4] in that island apparently it was usual for clergymen to marry.[5] Elsewhere one reads of 'too many of the country clergymen living in concubinage!'[6] In 1429 a provincial synod at Paris declared among other matters that 'Concubinage is so common among the clergy that it has given rise to the view that simple fornication is not a mortal sin.'[7] In Catholic Westphalia priest dynasts held ecclesiastical livings generation after generetion, long after the time of Luther, the 'ancient custom' of priests living in concubinage being so difficult to break.[8] As late as 1600, in the inner Catholic cantons of Switzerland an episcopal visitation found over half of the priests were living in a married state.[9]

NOTE ON ABBREVIATIONS:

AAM Archiepiscopal Archives at Mdina, AIM Archives of the Inquisition of Malta, AO Acta Originalia, Cath.Mus.Md., Cathedral Museum at Mdina, CEM Curia Episcopalis, Melitensis, Libr. Library, NAV Notarial Archives at Valletta, Not. Notary, Quad.Div. Quademi Diversi, RA Registrum Actorum, RML Royal Malta Library, Univ. Università.

In Malta practically nothing has been published about the problem except for the recording by Dusina, the Apostolic visitor of 1575, that the parish priest of Birkirkara had two concubines and that at least another priest had in his youth frequented the company of prostitutes – a totally different matter.[10] Back in the eighteenth century a local antiquary noted a couple of donations made by clergymen to their own children, information he obtained from the notarial records, but no one else continued his line of study.[11] Genealogists could not ignore the problem so easily, but they never wrote any history. G.F. Agius de Soldanis, the antiquarian and historian of the eighteenth century in his history of Gozo might have used the register containing some of the principal documentation on concubinage among the clergy of Gozo but he failed to allude to the matter.[12] In more recent times, one of the reasons for the lack of awareness that clerical concubinage was once one of the Church's most intractable problems in Malta must lie in the absolute or relative inaccessibility of the archives dealing with the period previous to ca. 1550, including such material as had been temporarily accessible in the eighteenth century. Only recently has it become relatively easy to carry out intensive research at the Notarial archives, while it was not before 1969 that the older parts of the Episcopal Archives at Mdina were opened to the historian. This fundamental improvement has coincided with an increasing seriousness and professionalization among historians. Important historical research has been carried out in the Faculty of Theology for quite some time now, and more recently the Department of History has been set up and taken the lead in research, at least on lay aspects of history, together with historians from several other faculties like those of Medicine, Law and Architecture as well as the Departments of Maltese and Economics, not to speak of foreign scholars. This near-explosion of historical knowledge ensures that sooner or later someone would tackle the problem of clerical concubinage. The present investigation is an independent effort made in the belief that it can only advance the date of the inevitable study by a few years at most.

Undoubtedly the richest source of information is that contained in the episcopal archives at Mdina (Curia Episcopalis Melitensis), now properly inventoried and open to investigation in Malta as well as in America, the latter by virtue of the microfilming carried out by the Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Library at St. John's University, Minnesota.[13] However, the notarial archives of Valletta themselves contain much vital evidence of unimpeachable authenticity, though the task of sifting it out from the other stuff is infinitely

more laborious. Secondary sources are scarce. Genealogical information obviously sheds some light on the problem of clerical concubinage, but its reliability is sometimes suspect. Throughout, the historian has to distinguish carefully between allegations of concubinage, particularly if they are made by private persons who might have an axe to grind, from admissions. On the other hand, admissions of paternity by priests can be taken as indirect admissions of concubinage and not of a merely transitory and mercenary relationship such as that involving prostitutes. Peternity attributions in notarial deeds or in official documents in the form of 'Margarita ... filia naturalis quondam Venerabilis donni Leonardi Pisano'[14] can also be regarded as reliable evidence of concubinage; they could only have been made if the allegations were accepted by the priests concerned during their lifetime or at least generally admitted.

In spite of the scarcity of archival material for the pre-1500 period of Maltese history, such evidence as survives is enough to show that concubinate clergymen abounded in Malta and Gozo during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries at all levels of the hierarchy, as can be seen from an examination of paternity records involving priests (Table I).

Table I

OFFSPRING OF CLERGYMEN IN MALTA AND GOZO, 1420-1554

NAME OF PRIESTS	'FLORUIT'	OFFSPRING	SOURCE REFERENCE
Diocesan vicars (i.e. *vicarii generali* and *vicarii capitulari* who were not of episcopal rank)			
D. Cataldo Cusburella	1418-20	Antonio (s)	Genealogical table in RML, Adami Collection, v. 6, p. 223
D. Lanceas Desguanes	1445-89	Antonio (s)	RML, Libr. Ms. 695, f. 5v (18th cent. summary)
		Guaglarda (d)	Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, AO, v. 16A, f. 15v
		Violante (d)	NAV, R 494/1, f. 53

D. Enrico de Bordino	1487-1519	Nicolo (s)	Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, v, 6, f. 124v
D. Consalvo Canchur	1490-ob.1531	Antonio (s) Andreas (s) Matheus (s)	NAV, Ms. 779/1, f. 13 of 3rd quire
		Joseph (s)	Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, RA, v. 2, f. 20v, ib., RA, v. 2, f. 19v
		Leonora (d)	RML, Ad. 50, p. 521
		Giovanna (d)	RML, Ad. 50, p. 519
D. Amatore Zammit	1475-1534	one daughter	Ib., CEM, AO, v. 12, f. 136
D. Luca Bartholo	1519-55	Romana (d)	Ib., v. 25, f. 142
Archdeacons			
D. Lanceas Desguanes	(see under Diocesan vicars)		
D. Dominicus Dimech	1511-41	Margarita (d)	Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, RA, v. 2, f. 16
		Antonella (d)	
Dean			
D. Gullielmus Tunne	1442-79	Nicolaus (s) Paulus (s)	Ib., AO, v. 1, f. 100
Precentors			
D. Philippo de Guevara	1503-ob. 1531	Ysabella (d)	Ib., v. 26B, f. 415
D. Enrico de Bordino	(see under Diocesan vicars)		
D. Antonio de Mangione	1511-55	Joseph (s) Margarita (d) Catherina (d)	NAV, R 206/11, f. 6v

Treasurers

D. Petrus Xeberras	1486-1519	Gioanne (s) Antonio (s) Francesco (s)	Genealogical table: Cath. Mus.Md., Cath. Arch. v 280b, f. 601
D. Dominicus Dimech	(see under Arcjdeacons)		
D. Johannes Dimech	1530-45	one son	Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, AO, v. 22, f. 5

Cappellano Maggiore

D. Cataldo Cusburella	(see under Diocesan vicars)		

Parish priests (also Cathedral canons)

BIRGU

D. Philippo de Guevara	(see under Precentors)		
D. Antonio de Mangione	(see under Precentors)		

BIRKIRKARA

D. Enrico de Bordino	(see under Diocesan vicars)		
D. Matheus Camilleri	1547-57	Ascanio	AIM, Processi Ib 'Contra donnum Jacobum Calliam'

BIRMIFTUH

D. Antonio Vella	1489	Nicolau (s)	Cath.Mus.Md., Cath. Arch., Quad. Div., n. 5, f. 10.
		Michele (s)	Ib., n. 12, f. 2v
D. Consalvo Canchur	(see under Diocesan vicars)		

NAXXAR			
D. Dominicus Dimech	(see under Archdeacons)		
QORMI			
D. Juliano Borg	1539-48	Caterina (d)	NAV, R 175/12, ff. 24v-25v
SIGGIEWI			
D. Amatore Zammit	(see under Diocesan vicars)		
ZEBBUG			
D. Johannes Vella	1483-1503	Johanello (s)	RML, Libr. Ms. 1365, f. 149
Other priests in Malta			
D. Antonellus Cachi	1530-38	Gaddus (s)	Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, AO, v. 8B, f. 664
		Laurencius (s)	Ib., CEM, RA, v. 2, f. 206
D. Lanceas Camilleri	1445-ob. ca. 1455	a son a daughter	Ib., CEM, AO, v. 4, f. 84
D. Joannes Canchur	1516-35	Michael (s)	NAV, R175/1, f. 162v
D. Franquino Caruana	1508	Giorgio (s) Matteo (s) Garita (d)	RML, Ad. 50, p. 623
D. Brandano de Caxario	b.ca.1508 ob. 1565	Leonardo (s) Fr. Mariano (s) Not. Antonio (s) Cipriano (s) Vincenzo (s) Not. Giuseppe (s) Ruggier (s)	Genealogical table in G. Wettinger and M. Fsadni, O.P., *Peter Caxaro's Cantilena in Medieval Maltese*, Malta 1968
		Andreas (s)	Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, AO, v. 53, item 'Confirmationes ...'

D. Laurencius de Caxaro	1504-46	Beatrice (d)	NAV, R 175/12, f. 218
		Agatha (d) Francisca seu Chicca (d)	NAV, Ms 719, 21 Nov. 1543
		Lucrezia (d)	RML, Ad. 51
		Vincensica (d) als. 'sor Francesca'	NAV, R 44/14, ff. 34-35v, NAV, R 481/4, f. 334; M. Fsadni, *Id-Dumnikani fil-Belt, 1569-1619*, p. 37, ftn. 101
D. Franciscus Cumbo		Salvus (s)	NAV, R 175/1, f. 142v
		Sebastianus (s)	RML, Ad. 51, p. 1462
D. Giorgio Cusino	1545-62	Ventura (d) Vincenza (d)	NAV, R 175/67, f. 375 RML, Ad. 51, p. 1553
D. Blasius Grima	1500-32	Johannes (s) Catherina (d)	NAV, R 140/9, f. 118v
D. Antonius Micallef	15 -58	Georgius (s)	NAV, R 175/56, f. 632
D. Leonardus Pisano	1486-1538	Margarita (d) Don Joannes (s)	NAV, R 175/2, f. 215 Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, RA, v. 1, f.
D. Francesco Sillato	1543-90	Mariola (d)	NAV, R 175/10, f. 276v
D. Jacobus Vassallo	1486-ob. 1530	Salvus (s)	Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, AO, v. 8A, f. 2
D. Nardo Zammit	1544	a daughter	Ib., CEM, AO, v. 22, f. 140v

D. Pietro Zammit	1540-49	Isabella (d)	RML, Ad. 59
Priests in Gozo			
D. Matteo de Brunetto	1465-93	Antona (d)	Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, AO, v. 9, f. 25
D. Johannes Balistrera		Margarita (d)	Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, AO, v. 8A, f. 192rv
D. Francesco Barberi		Andreana (d)	RML, Adami Coll., v.
D. Alvarus Incastella		Jacoba (d)	Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, AO, v. 24A, f. 190
D. Antonello Lazu		Angela (d)	Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, AO, v.

It is not possible to give with precision the dates when these clergymen failed to practise the strict celibacy that was required of them by canon law. If they obtained their preferment after their lapses one could conclude that such behaviour was rather easily forgiven and forgotten; if afterwards, then one could say that even highly placed churchmen were prone to neglect church law.[15] Both alternatives imply more than a little laxity on the part of the church authorities. Certainly, the practice of concubinage was no bar to high office, and priests like Brandano de Caxario, with his numerous progeny all children of his concubine Catherina Aczupardo, could live a tranquil life almost until old age, earning his living mainly by his work as a notary, accompanied and surrounded by his 'wife' and family as any other married man on the island.

Concubinage among the regular clergy had obviously to overcome the problem of their community way of life, and evidence of their resort, occasional or habitual, to concubinage is somewhat rare – partly, no doubt, because each religious house had its own internal disciplinary system which could normally be relied on to deal effectively with all but the most refractory members and which left no record of itself in the bishop's archives. By 1500 Malta had houses belonging to the Franciscans, Augustinians, Carmelites, Dominicans and was about to have one belonging to the Observants, while Gozo had its Franciscans and Augustinians, but there is practically no secure information on concubinage among them

until that date. However, the list of Rabat households of 1483 has these suspicious entries:[16]

Agata de presti Johanni cum altri quatru buki, salmi iii
Chancha di frati Cola cum sou figlu, salmi ii
. . .
Frati Johanni Antoni cum altri tri buki, salmi iii
. . .
Dulga di don Angarau et di sou figlu, salmi ii

It is difficult to resist the temptation to regard these as references to concubines named Agata, Chancha and Dulga and to the household of a friar named Frati Johanni Antoni, Chancha herself being the concubine of a Frati Cola. The alternative explanation that these females were really daughters of the priests in question does not make matters any better. That they were mothers or sisters is unlikely if one compares their entries with that of others in the same source:

Presti Cathald Debonu et la sua nonna, salmi ii

where the relationship is clearly expressed and the priest's name takes precedence, and

Don Gullielmu Sillato cum altri quatru buki, salmi iii
. . .
Presti Gullielmu Zammit cum altri dui buki, salmi iii

where the relationship is unspecified but the priest's name still takes precedence. It is true that the last two references resemble that to Frati Johanni Antoni, but Frati Johanni Antoni had no business to have a household of his own if he belonged to a religious order. It is just possible that both Frati Johanni Antoni and Frati Cola had obtained permission to reside outside the communities to which they belonged, and that Frati Cola's Chancha was his servant – who had a son of her own. Possibly Frati Johanni Antoni was merely a lay brother living with his family, but it is more likely that he was 'Venerabilis frater Johannes Antoni la Pucella ordinis Carmelitarum',[17] who is frequently mentioned in the records of the bishop's court around 1504 for the debts and other scrapes into which he got himself, as when he was accused of knocking down the rubble wall of the field belonging to Lucas Borg, or when, more significantly, he was for some time accused of heresy.[18] He is recorded to have taken on long lease on 31 January 1500 lodgings from the Augustinian friars next to their convent at Rabat on its eastern side.[19] He is frequently referred to as a 'painter' of holy objects and icons. In 1524 a marginal entry in the records of the bishop's court refers to 'Catherina daughter of the late friar

Johannis Antoni la Pucella'.[20]

There is no doubt that members of religious houses occasionally obtained permission either to leave their order permanently or to reside outside for some time. Thus in the first half of the sixteenth century (and even later) several had leave of absence enabling them to administer parishes as vice-curates.[21] Thus in January 1536 Don Johannes Pisano, parish priest of Birkirkara, farmed out his parish to the Augustinian Friar Andreas Catania,[22] who was found in August 1540 to have been living with a *daughter.*[23] Fr. Catania also had an illegitimate son named Salvatore.[24] On the other hand, Fr. Laurencius Burg, who was accused of living publicly with a female in 1526, had actually received a dispensation to leave the Dominican Order as early as 1523, and his case is therefore no different from that of the secular concubinate priests.[25] Father Petrus Bonellus of the Augustinians, who is known to have had at least one son named Petrus like himself,[26] had much difficulty in convincing Mgr. Dusina in 1575 that he had obtained in a proper manner a dispensation to relinquish the Augustinian Order and become a secular priest.[27] He was still referred to as a friar four years later.[28]

A few other paternity admissions among the regular clergy during the sixteenth century have been found. In 1534 the Franciscan Fr. Paulus Zichendo was able to legitimize the birth to Magdalena, his concubine, of a son named Pascuallius and three daughters named Beatrice, Catherina and Margarita.[29] In 1541 Don Guglielmo Saliba made a donation to Joanne Batista, his nephew, who was the son of his own brother, 'Fr. Joannes Saliba ordinis minorum'.[30] And in 1560 Berto Calleja, the illegitimate son of Fr. Francesco Calleja, almost certainly of the Augustinians, was married to Vincenzo Casha, the illegitimate daughter of Ambrogio Casha.[31] Although reliable and clear evidence for the extensive and regular practice of concubinage is less abundant for the regular than the secular clergy, there is no doubt that concubinage among the former was a problem that needed constant care.

Passing on from records of 'parentage' among clergymen to direct records of concubinage, one cannot do any better than give a list of concubinate clergymen based on the official proceedings of 1543:[32]

Table II

CONCUBINATE CLERGYMEN OF MALTA, 1543

PRIEST'S NAME AND OFFICE	CONCUBINE'S NAME AND PARENTAGE
D. Johannes Dimech, Treasurer	Paula, d. of Agata Kibeylet and Andreas
D. Francesco Sillato	Imperia, d. of Johannes Gandolf
D. Nicolao Zammit	Dominica, d. of Salvus Burg
D. Gullielmus Saliba	Imperia, d. of Periusi (?)
D. Johannes Xebirras	Agata, d. of the late Leonardus Caruana
D. Leonardus de Cachi	Perna Gozitana
D. Andreas Axac	Johannella la Panhormitana
D. Josephus Ingomes	Bartholomea Curuel
D. Luca Bartolo	Helena, ex-slave of Honorabilis Johannelli Cassar
D. Matheo Zamit	Rayni, illegitimate daughter of the late Antonius Cassar
D. Consalvus Bonichi	Concubine not mentioned
D. Antonius Vitali	Juliana, d. of Zimirid

Almost two years later it becomes possible to draw up an even longer list and supplement it with another one covering the Gozitan clergy, enabling an estimate to be made of the rate of concubinage among the secular clergy of the two islands. The first list contains a total of nineteen priests who were officially believed to have concubines:[33]

Table III

CONCUBINATE CLERGYMEN OF MALTA, 1545

PRIEST'S NAME AND OFFICE	CONCUBINE'S NAME AND PARENTAGE
D. Antonius de Manione, precentor	Juliana, ex-slave of Laurentius Baglio
D. Joannes Dimech, treasurer	Paula, d. of Agata di Cubeibet
D. Luca Bartholo	Elena, ex-slave of Joannelli Cassar

D. Franciscus Sillato	Imperia, d. of Joannes Gandolf
D. Guglielmo Salibe	Imperia, d. of Corrias
D. Andreas Axac, curato dilo Sigeui	Joanne Panormitane
D. Leonardo de Cachi	Perna Gaulitana, d. of Antoninus de Lucia
D. Nicolaus Zammit	Dominica Burg
D. Brandano Caxaro	Catherina, d. of Inguterra Aczuppardo of Tarxien
D. Georgio Butigeg	Margarita
D. Nicolao Darmania	Catherina, d. of Laurencius
D. Paulus Cumbo	Margarita, d. of Albertus Cadus
D. Antonius Vitali	Joanne di Zimech
D. Joannes Xiberras	Agata, d. of Leonardus Caruana
D. Bartholomeus Saliba	–
D. Georgius Cuzin	Antonina Michallef
D. Franciscus Darmenia	Ysolda, d. of Simonis Skembri
D. Angelus Gauchi	Paula, d. of Thomasius Cumbo
D. Laurencius Burg	Agnete, d. of Benedictus Cachi

The priests D. Josephus Ingomes and D. Matteus Zammit, who appear in the first list are absent from the second. Presumably they had made their peace with the Church. Although no complete list of the total number of clergymen on the island exists, a careful examination of the names of priests in one volume of 'Registrum Actorum' of the bishop's curia for the years 1540 reveals a total of some 67 priests, showing that Malta could not then have had much fewer priests, if so at all, than it was to have in 1575.[34] In this very rough and ready fashion, one can calculate that between one-fourth and one-third of Malta's secular clergymen had concubines in 1545. The probability that a few priests' names have failed to be recorded in this register is counter-balanced by the possibility that other priests appearing in the early part of the register had died by the date of the records on which the list of concubinate clergymen is based and that others in the later part of the register had not been ordained yet at that time.

The inquiry made in 1545 into the incidence of concubinage among laymen as well as among clergymen in Gozo provides the information on which Table IV is based:[35]

Table IV

THE CONCUBINATE CLERGYMEN OF GOZO, 1545

PRIEST'S NAME	CONCUBINE'S NAME
D. Cerbonio Platamone, a cleric	Brandana, ex-slave of Johannes Antonii Sansone
D. Rodrigo de Miglares	Margarita, d. of Franciscus de Federico
D. Julliano Farrugia	Isabella, d. of Andreote Cauallinu
D. Andrea Chetut	Salvata, ex-slave of the Platamone family
D. Franciscus de Vetero	Zaida, his slave
D. Paulinus Garraffa	Imperia de Amphasino
D. Antoninus Mannara	Antonina, widow of Federicus Xeibe
D. Johannes Chappara	Sirena de Albano
D. Federicus Florentina	Imperia, d. of Johannes Sardaina
D. Jacobus de Auola	Johanna, d. of Zagade
D. Antonius Sanctoro senior	Catherina, ex-slave of Franciscus de Manuele
D. Franciscus Cauallino	Imperia, d. of Perius Saliba
D. Johannes de Theobaldo, a cleric	Imperia dila Terranova (Gela)
D. Johannes de Naso	Catherina Xama

These fourteen names of priests (which include two clerics in minor orders) should be compared with a total number of 46 priests on the island of Gozo whose names appear in one place or another in the same register covering the years 1545-46 when a thorough investigation into the way of life of the Gozitan clergy was carried out. Once more, the concubinate clergy amounts almost to one-third of the total number of secular priests in the same district.[36]

Most of the women who were prepared to accept the status of a priest's concubine in Malta seem to have belonged to the island's peasantry: Margarita Cadus, Imperia Gandolf, Antonina Michallef, Joanna Zimech and Catherina Aczuppardo have typical peasant surnames. Paula Cumbo, Ysolda Skembri and Agnete Cachi might have belonged to families owning a few fields, but their status could not have been appreciably higher because, after all, even

peasants frequently owned a field or two in late medieval or early modern Malta.[37] In Gozo, surnames like de Federico, de Albano and de Amphasino might indicate a middle class origin, but others like 'the daughter of Zagade' and Catherina Xama, more probably show a peasant origin. Three nicknames reveal that the women had left their own country or town of origin: in Malta, one finds Perna Gaulitana, i.e. the Gozitan, who was the concubine of Don Leonardo de Cachi, and Joanna Panormitana, i.e. the Palermitan, who was the concubine of Don Andrea Axac, the grammar schoolmaster and Lutheranising priest; in Gozo, one meets with Imperia di la Terranova (of Terranova or Gela in Sicily). Several of the women had once been slaves in the possession of middle class families in Malta or even upper class ones in Gozo or had belonged to some prominent ecclesiastic like Don Matteo de Brunetto.[38] Don Francisco de Vetero made a concubine of his own slave, Zaida. At least two concubines had illegitimate births: Rayni, the concubine of D. Matheo Zammit, and Paula, the concubine of Don Johannes Dimech.[39] It would seem that none of the women were otherwise married at the time of their concubinage, and hence they were free to marry the priests with whom they lived if the Church did not forbid it. In any case, their status of common-law wives was far from ephemeral or unstable. Eight of the priests who had concubines in 1543 kept the same ones two years later.[40] Four of them kept them still even as late as 1554.[41] These were D. Guglielmus Saliba, D. Leonardus de Cace or Cachi, D. Nicolaus Zammit and D. Andreas Axac, while D. Antoninus Manjuni himself kept the same concubine he had been ordered to abandon in 1545. In the previous generation, Don Jacobu Vassallo's Catherina was associated with him both in 1504 and in 1512, and it is not before 1522 that he seems to have had another concubine: Vennera, daughter of the late Johannes Bugeya.[42] Perhaps Catherina had died by then. Catherina Aczuppardo seems to have been the mother of all Brandano Caxaro's children, and Julliana, a freed slave of the Baglio family, seems to have been the mother of all three children of Don Antonio de Mangione. Don Joseph Bellia's alleged crime of having had two concubines in 1575 at one and the same time is still just about unique in the island's records.

The fortunes of the priests' children varied, in the normal way, according to the status and wealth of their parents. Thus Antoni, son of Archdeacon Lancia Desguanes, seems to have inherited most of his father's money and property. He married Margarita Vaccaro, a member of one of the foremost families on the island, and founded an independent branch of the Desguanes or Inguanes

family from which persons still proudly claim descent if only through the female line.[43] His sister Guaglarda married Manfridus Caxaro, a member of another prominent family of the time,[44] while a second sister, Violante, still a minor on her father's death, married Nicolaus Saguna, a prominent man-about-town of the 1490s.[45] Don Brandano Caxario, Manfrido's nephew, served as a notary for thirty-two years, and it is therefore no surprise to find at least two of his eight sons becoming notaries – Antonio and Giuseppe – while another became a lawyer – Cipriano.[46] Yet another son, Mariano, became a Friar Minor, while Leonardo, apparently the eldest of the eight, is commonly referred to in the records as 'Magnificus', a title usually reserved to the leading citizens of Mdina.[47] Mariano himself was not the first or last priest's son to enter the ranks of the clergy. It is known, for example, that Nicolaus, the son of Don Gullielmus Tunne, had by 1479 reached the rank of subdeacon.[48] Don Matheo Canchur, the son of Don Consalvo, became a prominent clergyman and master notary or registrar of the bishop's court:[49] his father was a most active public notary working mainly in the district of Birmiftuh. Both Don Henericus Bordino and Don Leonardus Pisano had sons who became priests, namely Don Nicolaus Bordino and Don Joannes Pisano, the latter of whom eventually became parish priest of Birkirkara, while Don Amatore Zammit's grandson, Marcus Vella, became a Dominican friar.[50] On the other hand, Don Jacobus Vassallo's first idea for settling the future of his son Salvo seems to have been to apprentice him to a tailor, to follow the same craft to which his own father had belonged.[51]

The church authorities in Malta or Gozo cannot be accused of accepting concubinage as a way of evading the church laws of celibacy, however common a phenomenon it was both in the islands and abroad. Bishop Johannes de Paternione (1478-89) had himself already issued a decree at Catania, signing and sealing it as bishop of Malta, in which he declared that no cleric, priest or canon, of whatever grade, whether high or low, should dare to keep a lover or concubine, under express penalties. The document was affixed to the door of the cathedral of Malta for the information of the clergy.[52] Then on 26 October 1500 the Viceroy of Sicily wrote to the town officials of Malta and presumably to those of other towns under his jurisdiction, stating that he had received a letter from the King himself, dated Madrid, 15 May 1500, informing him that the King had been told by some God fearing persons that in the kingdom of Sicily there were several ecclesiastics who kept concubines publicly as if they were married to them, to the great

scandal of the Christian people and the damnation of their souls.[53] The Viceroy had therefore to require each and every prelate and their vicars and other officials to see to the matter without delay, imposing spiritual penalties on the clerics and ecclesiastics who kept concubines publicly so that this public sin might be totally extirpated. A proclamation should promise an immediate whipping to such women and their further inacrceration until the Viceroy himself decided what further penalty to impose. The viceroy's letter reached Malta on 30 November. These church authorities reacted on 9 December, when they issued their proclamation containing the addition that further punishment could also be imposed at the discretion of the bishop.[54] Laymen were also forbidden to keep concubines on penalty of a whipping and punishment at the bishop's discretion but not that of the Viceroy, who was not mentioned in this regard and had not himself referred to them in his letter.

It is abundantly clear that these warnings had little or no visible effect on the incidence of clerical concubinage in the Maltese islands. In 1512 Don Jacobus Vassallo had to be expressly ordered to stop seeing his concubine, Catherina,[55] and in 1519 the Dean of the cathedral Don Bartholomeus Bonavia, the vicar general at the time, reminded clerics that they had to live a celibate life.[56] He therefore ordered the priests, deacons, subdeacons and other clerics under his jurisdiction to put away any concubines they might have and to maintain no further contact with them nor support them any more directly or indirectly. The penalties were a fine of ten uncie on transgressing priests and a whipping for the women. On 8 October 1522 the bishop himself issued a set of comprehensive regulations affecting the clergy of Malta.[57] After some directions on the wearing of the clerical habit, priests were told to live 'honestly in accordance with canon law without the concubinage of suspect females or of concubines – whom they had to dismiss under the penalty of a fine of fifty uncie'. In 1535 Don Lucas Barthalu, the vicar general, started off his own set of regulations or 'capitula' for the clergy by requiring them to live chastely in the face of God with a pure and clean heart.[58] They were therefore ordered to live without any concubine in accordance with canon law and to dismiss within nine days any whom they might have under a penalty of ten uncie as well as a month's imprisonment in a place to be established by him. A copy seems to have been affixed also to the door of the mother church of Gozo where it still lay more than a year later.[59]

The biggest effort to stamp out concubinage seems, however, to

have occurred during the 1540s. On 26 February 1542 Don Pancratius Michallef, acting as vicar general for bishop Dominicus Cubelles, again reminded everyone, lay or ecclesiastic, that they had to live chastely and he imposed a penalty of twenty uncie on those who kept concubines after that date, especially if they had received holy ordination, whether they were their old concubines or new ones.[60] A few months later, archdeacon Josephus Manduca made a surprise raid on Don Johannes Pisano, parish priest of Birkirkara, to obtain proof that he was staying in his concubine's house for days together with a couple of male friends and their female lovers.[61] Shortly afterwards he was charged with keeping a concubine.[62] On 16 June 1543 twelve other priests were ordered to dismiss their concubines.[63] They included Don Lucas Bartholo who had himself tried to put an end to concubinage in 1535 when he was vicar general. On 7 April 1545 a new 'Tabula concubiorum' was drawn up consisting of nineteen priests' names and those of their concubines in Malta and they were also ordered to break up their relationship.[64] Finally, in the same year, some fourteen clergymen in Gozo and their concubines were also similarly but individually ordered to stop seeing each other on a fine of twenty uncie and other punishment at the bishop's discretion for the priest and a fine of five uncie and a whipping for the woman.[65]

Even then, clerical concubinage was far from abolished. In later years, priest after priest whose name appears in the list of 1545 received repeated warnings to amend his life.[66] The birth of children to their concubines and their acceptance of paternity reveals that concubinage was still in full vigour at least in so far as it affected the older members of the clergy. In 1574 one learns of the conferment of the sacrament of confirmation on 'Andreas Caxaro filius donni Brandani et Caterinae Jugalium'.[67] Don Brandano Caxaro had died in 1565 and his son Andreas must have been born to his concubine when the couple were no longer young some fifteen or more years after they had been warned to stop their relationship. One also notes how the priest who made the record referred, loosely and no doubt incorrectly, to Don Brandano and Caterina as 'Jugalium', married persons, and that Don Brandano's concubine remained the same woman he had had in 1545. In fact, in 1563 it was stated in court that he had kept her as his concubine for the previous twenty years.[68]

There is no doubt that a serious effort, the most serious so far, was made in 1545 to enforce the sanctions of the Church on the concubinate section of its clergy. On 14 March 1545 Don Giorgio Cusin was not only ordered to stop seeing his concubine 'Antonina

dicta Nina' but was suspended from at least some of his sacerdotal duties.[69] On 5 December 1545 Don Joannes Dimech was found guilty of keeping a woman named Paula as his concubine. He was therefore sentenced to be deprived of his dignity of treasurer of the cathedral and fined the sum of twenty-five uncie, while Paula herself was sentenced to be led on an ass through the public thoroughfares of Mdina and Rabat, with bare shoulders and wearing a mitre on her head, and to be whipped and fined ten uncie.[70] Two years later, the archdeacon insisted on a sentence being pronounced without further delay by the bishop's court on the priest Georgius Farruge, accused of concubinage and other faults.[71]

The heresy scare of 1546 provides the first substantial information on the attitude taken by the priests accused of concubinage towards the institution of clerical celibacy. We do not know precisely what were the heretical opinions of Don Franciscus Jesuald (alias Gesualdo), a French chaplain or priest of the Order of St. John, but it is recorded by the only historian who seems to have had access to first hand material, perhaps to the actual inquisitorial proceedings,[72] that on his way to execution in that year he began to exclaim 'What are the priests waiting for to take wives, once this is permitted to them?' He was then gagged by order of Bishop Cubelles lest 'he proceeded any further in his scandalous railing against sacerdotal celibacy and any other article of faith.' In the end he was burnt alive impenitently giving up his unhappy soul to the devil. At least three other unnamed priests prosecuted in 1546 also believed that priests could or should marry, but recanted and were given lesser punishments.[73] Their San Benito garb remained on show in the cathedral at Mdina until the early nineteenth century.[74] It is possible that Don Andreas Axac was one of them, the cooperator of Jesuald. In his recantation among other counts he stated:[75]

> And furthermore I abjure and anathemize that heresy which says that it is licit for the priests to take a wife, and I am sorry and sad to have thought that it would be much better for priests to have a wife as do the Greeks, and I say and protest that I want to believe and to be observed whatever the said Holy Roman Church had ordained and commanded – that is, that priests and ordained men and the religious should not take a wife.
>
> ....
>
> And I am sorry and sad to have had a concubine for more than ten years past, whom I have kept with carnal effect as no other than a wife, and I am sorry and sad that in the said time of concubinage I have occasionally celebrated mass.

Many years later, Don Gregorius Mamo testified how, as a pupil in the town grammar school kept by Don Andreas Axac, he used to bring meat for his master's Friday and Saturday meals from 'the house of his woman whom he kept as his wife, and that he (i.e. Don Andreas) used to say that one could keep a woman and that it was not a sin for a priest to keep a woman for himself, and that he kept that woman as my father kept my mother.'[76] The two priests whose names are unknown (possibly including Don Andreas) believed that priests could marry and they actually took their concubines to the little church of Our Lady della Rocca of Mdina and married them there [*per verba*] *de presenti* in accordance with ecclesiastical rites.[77]

Additional information is available from the heresy prosecutions of 1563. Don Johannes Xeberras believed that priests could marry, 'that it was permissible and licit for a priest to have a wife', and 'that if a priest took a concubine for a wife and in place of a wife, it was not a sin to do so.'[78] The layman Antonius Cassar believed that it was lawful for a priest to marry.[79] The Franciscan friar Antonius Haius thought that it was lawful (licit) for regular and secular priests to have a wife and that they did not sin when they had one.[80] The lawyer and judge Augustinus Cumbu thought that priests and clerics could have a wife.[81] It will not occasion any surprise to find Don Brandano Caxaro on 18 July 1563 at the age of fifty five declaring that priests could contract marriage without any dispensation from the Pope.[82] Even as late as 1575 Don Gregorius Mamo of Siggiewi, the worthy pupil of Don Andrea Axac, had solemnly to renounce before the Inquisitor his belief that 'it would be better for a Latin priest to have a wife as is the custom with Greek priests.'[83] Apparently Don Andrea's teaching had a very convincing and long-lasting quality about it.

However, it is a fact that concubinage among the clergy in Malta as elsewhere was a much older phenomenon than Lutheranism.[84] Its existence must have strongly assisted in the spreading of something like Lutheranism in the island in the decade preceding 1546, but was not itself caused by it. In Malta as elsewhere there seems to have survived a strong conservative largely passive opposition to the Church's teaching on celibacy with an unbroken tradition going back to the High Middle Ages, when it was still possible for some to think that Church Councils might reverse the trend towards celibacy.

Clerical concubinage survived for so long very largely because its pervasiveness made it extremely difficult for the Church to marshall the full force of its sanctions against it. Thus in June

1524 the bishop's court consisted of Don Consalvus Canchur, who was the Vicar General, of Don Laurencius Caxaro, the judge and assessor, and of Don Matheus Canchur, the court notary, the registrar or recorder of the proceedings.[85] Consalvus Canchur and Laurencius Caxaro were two of the principal concubinate clergymen with large families of children; Matheus Canchur was Consalvus's own son.[86] It could not be expected that such a court would exert itself too much in the suppression of concubinage. Again one notes that the court which vexed the archdeacon so much in 1546-47 for delaying its sentence on Don Georgius Farruge who was being prosecuted for concubinage consisted of Don Franciscus Sillato as judge and Augustinus Cumbu and Gregorius Xerri as his assessors.[87] Now Sillato figured among the concubinate clergymen as recently as 1545,[88] and Cumbo was to be attacked in 1563 for thinking that priests could marry.[89]

The evidence indicates strongly that several Maltese priests and laymen in the middle years of the sixteenth century actually still believed that the Church was wrong in insisting on strict clerical celibacy, but it is difficult to be sure of the strength of this belief. Certainly only a minority of those prosecuted for heresy at the time confessed, or were made to confess, to such a belief. By then the pressures to conform were becoming far too strong for the further survival of any unorthodox belief or practice. The prosecution of reputed Lutherans could not have failed to intimidate would-be concubinisers. In 1575, Don Pietro Dusina, the Apostolic Delegate, received only one report of concubinage among the local clergymen.[90] Whatever one thinks of the efficiency of his investigations in this respect, there is no doubt that it was the generation falling within 1545-75 that witnessed the definite eclipse of clerical concubinage from the Maltese Islands.

NOTES:

[1] E. Jombart, 'Celibat des clercs, i. en droit occidental', *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, III, col. 136.

[2] Ibid. H.C. Lea, *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church*, London, 1932, pp. 343-45. G.G. Coulton, 'Celibacy', *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed., vol. 5, p. 96.

[3] 'Au XIVe et au XVe siècles, la loi de celibat fut mal observée. A défaut de mariages, le concubinage des clercs s'etalait au grand jour': E. Jombart, loc. cit.

[4] Jon Arason, last Catholic bishop of Holar, and his two sons were captured and executed by the protestants in 1551: art. 'Arason, Jon' in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed., v. 1; 'Bishop Lawrence's son Arni (c. 1330)', art. 'Icelandic Literature' in ibid., v. 12, p. 54; 'Odd Gottskalkssib, son of the bishop of Holar': ibid.

[5] N.K. Andersen, 'The Reformation in Scandinavia and the Baltic', *The New Cambridge Modern History*, II, 144.

[6] R. Aubenas, 'The Papacy and the Catholic Church', *The New Cambridge Modern History*, i 91.

[7] D. Hay, *A General History of Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century*, London, 1966, p. 54; Cf. H.C. Lea, op. cit., p. 333, for the admission in 1428 by the bishop of Angers that concubinage was public and undisguised.

[8] H.G. Koenigsberger and George L. Mosse, *A General History of Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1969, p. 170.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Dusina's Diocesan Visitation, 1575; R(oyal) M(alta) L(ibrary), Libr. Ms. 643, pp. 90, 359.

[11] 'Ivi (atti di Not. Giuseppe Guevara) li 12 ottobre 1546 donatione di D. Luca Bartolo Canonico della Cattedrale à favor di una sua figlia naturale': RML, Libr. Ms. 704A, p. 405; 'Li 23 Agosto 1547 (atti di Bonetiis) il Canonico Cantore D. Antonio de Mangione fà donatione irrevocabile à tre figli naturali avuti da Giugliana ... (illegible)': ibid., p. 402.

[12] His Visitation by Bishop Cubelles, 1545, must refer to Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, RA, v. 36: Cf. G.F. Agius de Soldanis, *Ghawdex bil-Grajja Tiegħu* miġjub bil-Malti minn Mons. Dun Ġużepp Farrugia, II, 45.

[13] J. Azzopardi, *Handlist of the Episcopal and Pro-Vicarial Archives* (Curia Episcopalis Melitensis or CEM Archives) at the Malta Cathedral Museum for the Malta Study Centre of the Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Library, St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota, USA, 1975.

[14] NAV, R 175/2, f. 215.

[15] Lanceas Desguanes was already archdeacon of the cathedral in 1445, having obtained that dignity probably as early as 1434. When he died in 1489, his daughter Violante was still a minor: NAV, R494/1, deed dated 7 May 1496.

[16] Cath.Mus.Md., Cath.Arch., Quademi Diversi, n. 7 (unpaginated).

[17] Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, RA, v. 1, f. 96.

[18] For debts, ib., ff. 76v, 77v and 86; for knocking down the wall: ib., f. 104; for accusation of heresy: ib., ff. 30v, 33r-v, 34v, 65, etc.

[19] Deed dated 31 January 1500: NAV, R 494/2, foliation undecipherable.

[20] For his artistic prowess see G. Wettinger, 'Artistic Patronage in Malta, 1418-1538', in *Hal Millieri*, ed. A.T. Luttrell, in the press; for his daughter Catherina see Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, AO, v. 7A, f. 234, where the text has been damaged by water so that it is hardly legible but the marginal entry has withstood the water much better.

[21] For the Dominicans, see M. Fsadni, O.P., *Id-Dumnikani fir-Rabat u fil-*

Birgu sa l-1620, especially pp. 190-91.
[22] Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, AO, v. 17A, f. 232.
[23] Ib., RA, v. 2, ff. 278, 281v.
[24] RML, Ad. 51, p. 951.
[25] 'sta ingarzato puplicamenti', accusation before the bishop's court by Michael Bonnichi, 21 November 1526: Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, RA, v. 1, f. 196. For Borg's dispensation: ib., Cath.Arch., Parchments, n. 6, dated Rome, 10 September 1523.
[26] NAV, R 111/16, f. 220v.
[27] RML, Libr. Ms. 643, p. 518.
[28] NAV, R 111/16, f. 220v; reference to 'frater' was however subsequently obliterated.
[29] Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, RA, v. 2, f. 119.
[30] NAV, R 175/8, f. 74.
[31] RML, Ad. 50, p. 710. The Augustinians had a Fr. Franciscus Calleya on 31 August 1549: NAV, R 105/17, f. 13.
[32] Ibid., RA, v. 3, ff. 146-149v.
[33] Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, Registrum Litterarum Monitorialium, v. 4, ff. 22v-24.
[34] The volume examined for drawing up a list of the clergymen of Malta is Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, RA, v. 3, containing accusations against clergymen, the collation of clergymen to benefices, complaints, etc., by laymen supported by statements made by clergymen and other business frequently witnessed by clergymen. On the whole it would seem few clergymen of the time could have avoided having their name entered at least once in the register. In 1575 the diocesan visitor Dusina examined the following number of clergymen: on education, 9 canons, 11 presbiters, 7 parochi and 12 others; on benefices: 1 vicar, 12 canons, 13 presbiters, 8 parochi and 14 others, most of those in the former being also to be found among the latter.
[35] Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, RA, v. 36 (1545-46) ff. 211-218.
[36] Exactly 14 cases of concubinage among Gozitan laymen were dealt with on the same occasion. It is probable that these prosecutions were intended merely as a camouflage for the action taken against the clergy, and it is therefore unlikely that precisely that number of concubinate laymen existed in Gozo. However, concubinage must have been relatively much stronger among the clergy than among laymen, for whom in most cases the option of a regular marriage always lay open.
[37] Cf. G. Wettinger, 'The Village of Hal Millieri, 1419-1530', in *Hal Millieri*, ed. A.T. Luttrell, in the press.
[38] Don Paulo Juributino of Gozo was alleged to have kept Laurencia, the freed woman of Don Matheo de Brunetto, as his concubine for some time: Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, AO, v. 9, f. 29.
[39] Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, AO, v. 22, f. 3v.
[40] Only D. Antonius Vitali seems to have replaced Julliana, daughter of Zimirid, by Joanne de Zimech, and it is possible that the record here is defective.
[41] Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, RA, v.
[42] Ib., v. 1, ff. 86, 132, 166v et seq.

[43] Cf. summary of his will, 26 October 1512, in RML, Libr.Ms. 695, f. 5v.
[44] Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, AO, v. 16A, f. 15v.
[45] NAV, R494/1, ff. 53-54v of the 6th quire, entry dated 7 May 1496.
[46] Notes to genealogical table in G. Wettinger and M. Fsadni, O.P., *Peter Caxaro's Cantilena: a Poem in Medieval Maltese*, Malta, 1968.
[47] Ib.
[48] Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, AO, v. 1, f. 100.
[49] Ib., CEM, RA, v. 1, f. 186.
[50] 'Dompnus Nicolaus de Bordino filius dicti dompni Henerici', 13 October 1511: Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, AO, v. 6, f. 124v; 'clericum Johannem Pisano filium dompni Leonardi Pisano', 11 April 1512: ib., CEM, RA, v. 1, f. 29v of quire belonging to 1511; 'Venerabilis Fr. Marcus de Vella ordinis sancti dominici ... dicto Reverendo Donno Amatore Zamit avo materno dicti conventi', 29 January 1533: Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, AO, v. 12, f. 136.
[51] Salvo was certainly the son of Catherina and much later Don Jacobu Vassallo had a son named Salvo; on being accused of having withdrawn her son from the craftsman to whom she had apprenticed him, Catherina said that for the past two years Salvo had served Don Jacobo 'non comu garczu ma comu servirrichi sensa nullo pictato (i.e. without any pittance, without pay) et ad laude de dio et per guadagnari et campari cum dicto Don Jacobo de servicio': Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, RA, v. 1, f. 86.
[52] Statement made by Don Michael de Falczono, 1 May 1496: Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, AO, v. 3, f. 71.
[53] Eighteenth century copy in Cath.Mus.Md., Cath.Arch., Ms. 28, ff. 105v-106v.
[54] Bandu et comandamentu, 9 December 1500: Ib., CEM, RA, v. 1, f. 3A.
[55] Ib., f. 132.
[56] Ib., f. 153.
[57] Ib., v. 3, f. 216-216v.
[58] Ib., v. 2, f. 139, dated 21 July 1535.
[59] Evidence given in the church court of Gozo, 7 August 1536: Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, AO, vol. 15, f. 302v.
[60] Ib., CEM, RA, v. 3, 58v-59v.
[61] Ib., CEM, AO, v. 22, proceedings n. 9.
[62] Ib., CEM, RA, v. 3, f. 146.
[63] Ib., ff. 146-149v.
[64] Ib., Registrum Litterarum Monitorialium, v. 1, 22v-24; see Table III.
[65] Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, RA, v. 36 (1545-46), ff. 211-218; see Table IV.
[66] On 11 May 1554 Don Luca Bartholo was ordered again to stop seeing Helena the manumitted slave of the late Joannelli Cassar: Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, RA, v. 33, f. 89 of section for 1548-54. Cf. also IB., f. 89v against D. Antonino Manjuni, precentor of the cathedral, and his concubine Juliana.
[67] Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, AO, v. 53, item 'Confirmationes factae in Ecclesia parrochiali huius Victoriasae civitatis ...'.
[68] Evidence of Don Laurencius Falsone, 1 July 1563: AIM, Processi, v. 2 'Contra Donnum Brandanum de Caxario', f. 2v.
[69] 'Non debeat *legere librum sacerdotalem nec psalmos* necque quasqumque alias orationes super infirmos nec non et quod de cetero non audeat con-

versari nec non praticare cum Antonina dicta Nina eius consobrina': rescriptum, 1 March 1545, Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, Monitoria, v. 1, f. 13.

[70] Sentence, 5 December 1545: Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, RA, v. 3, ff. 255-256v; ibid., AO, v. 26A, f. 11. However Dimech had apparently already died on 8 November 1545, probably at Agrigento, where he was reported to be at the time of the sentence: ibid., Cath.Arch., Ms. 165, f. 295v.

[71] Ibid., Ms. 4, ff. 5v-6v (olim pp. 4-6).

[72] S. Sebastiano Salelles, *De Materiis Tribunalium S. Inquisitionis seu de Regulis Multiplicibus pro formando quovis eorum Ministro*, Rome, 1651, v. 1, p. 47. Salelles, a Spanish Jesuit who spent most of his adult life in Malta, was consultor to the Inquisitor.

[73] Ibid., 'Cooperator vero eius sic expeditus de haeresibus formalibus convictus, poenitentia ductus misericordiam petens reconciliatus in forma etc. condemnatus prout de iure & constrictus ferre habitum poenitentia Hispanice San Benito sicuti pari modo fuerunt constricti, & similiter expediti alii duo Sacerdotes, non solum quod credidissent sibi licere uxorem ducere, sed facto etiam ipso concubinas suas sibi de praesenti desponsassent, servato ritu Ecclesiastico in sacello Sanctae Mariae in Rocca Civitatis Notabilis. Atque istorum sunt habitus poenitentiae qui usque ad praesens in eminenti loco Ecclesiae Cathedralis ad memoriam rei & maiorem ... liorem reconciliatorum appensi manet.' Most of this passage was inserted in an Italian version by S. Imbroll or, rather, his continuator C. Michallef, in his unpublished Annali Istorici della Sacra Religione Gierosolimitana, tomo II, f. 56 of RML, Ms. 24', but G.A. Vassallo, *Storia di Malta raccontata in Compendio*, 185, p. , bowdlerized Imbroll's words by omitting the phrase 'con le loro concubine', making it merely seem that the two priests thought that they could marry, which in afct they did. More recent writers leave out the incident completely.

[74] G.A. Vassallo, *Storia di Malta raccontata in Compendio*, p. 395.

[75] AIM, Processi, vol. 4, ff. 205, 206; cf. text in A.P. Vella, *The Tribunal of the Inquisition in Malta*, Malta, pp. 49-50.

[76] AIM, Processi, v. 3, f. 223v. D. Andrea Axac also was accused of eating on days of abstanence.

[77] See above, ftn. 73.

[78] AIM, Processi, v. 1A, f. 13v.

[79] Ibid., f. 15v.

[80] Ibid., f. 22.

[81] Ibid., f. 28v.

[82] AIM, processi, v. 2, 'Contra donnum Brandanum de Caxario', ff. 3, 4.

[83] AIM, Processi, v. 3, f. 236.

[84] See the earlier examples in Table I, above.

[85] Cath.Mus.Md., CEM, RA, v. 1, f. 186.

[86] Table I.

[87] Cath.Mus.Md., Cath. Arch., Ms. 4, ff. 5v-6v.

[88] Table III.

[89] AIM, Processi, v. 1A, f. 28v.

[90] Dusina's Diocesan Visitation, 1575: RML, Libr. Ms. 643, p. 90.

DEL COL.LEGI DELS JESUÏTES A LA UNIVERSITAT DE MALTA

Contribució a llur història institucional i econòmica

by MAQUEL BATLLORI

En erigir-se el col.legi de jesuïtes a Malta per voluntat de Climent VIII amb el breu del 12 de novembre de 1592, i en començar-hi l'ensenyament l'any 1593, era bisbe d'aquesta diòcesi un català, Tomàs Gargal,[1] que ací italianitzà el seu nom en Tommaso Gargallo i influí decididament en la institució d'aquell centre d'ensenyament. En ésser expulsats de l'illa els jesuïtes el 1768, un altre bisbe català de Mallorca, Bartomeu Rull,[2] regia l'Església maltesa. Aquestes circumstàncies i el fet que Malta des del 1282 havia estat vinculada, a través del regne de Sicília, a la Corona catalano-aragonesa, justifiquen a bastament – jo crec – l'ús de la llengua catalana en la publicació d'aquest breu report.

Es ben sabut que la primera idea del bisbe Gargal era d'instituir un seminari tridentí. Les característiques essencials d'aquesta mena de centres d'ensenyament eren llur dependència immediata i directa del bisbe, la vida comú del rector i dels professors amb els alumnes, i la destinació d'aquests a la vida eclesiàstica activa, raó per la qual l'ensenyament dels seminaris havia d'ésser essencialment pastoral, mentre que la teologia especulativa i positiva restava confiada a les universitats.

A tot Europa, els seminaris estrictament tridentins foren poc nombrosos, en relació amb la multitud de diòcesis que hi havia. Molts bisbes preferiren o bé d'erigir un col.legi residencial prop de qualque universitat veïna, o bé de fundar en llurs diòcesis un col.legi de jesuïtes. Aquesta solució, que desvirtuava la primera idea dels seminaris tridentins, oferia alguns aventatges, tanmateix: L'ensenyament – literari i cristià alhora – s'estenia a un nombre més gran d'alumnes, tant si eren destinats al servei de l'Esglé-

sia com si no; el bisbe restava deslliurat de la cura de formar els professores; a més a més, els prelats podien esperar que el desenvolupament ulterior d'un col·legi, un cop fundat, podria fer-se amb la

Això és el que s'esdevingué, de fet, al col.legi de La Valletta. Però la seva fundació econòmica inicial fou essencialment eclesiàstica: donacions del bisbe Gargal i aplicacions de taxes i beneficis eclesiàstics a favor del col.legi.

En inaugurar-se l'ensenyament l'any 1593, el col.legi de La Valletta era només un col.legi universitari en potència. Les Constitucions de la Companyia de Jesús preveien la fundació de col.legis i universitats. El primer acte canònic qua atorgà als col.legis de jesuïtes la facultat de donar graus de batxiller, de llicenciat, de mestre i de doctor en filosofia i teologia fou el breu de Pius IV del 19 d'agost de 1561, d'acord amb el qual el prepòsit general de la Companyia o els rectors dels col.legis per delegació seva podien concedir els graus susdits a tots llurs alumnes d'aquells col.legis i universitats de la Companyia de Jesús ' inquibus ordinariae studiorum artium liberalium et theologiae lectiones habebuntur'.[3] Suposat això, en aquells períodes en què el col.legi de La Valletta, a partir del tercer decenni del segle XVII, tenia el curs complet de filosofia, i des que vers la fi del mateix segle impartia l'ensenyament complet i ordinari de la teologia, era, jurídicament, un col.legi universitari, bé que no encara una universitat.[4]

Ho esdevingué només, des del punt de vista canònic, el 1727, després de l'erecció, el 1703, del seminari diocesà de Malta, que comportà una llarga i complicada causa jurídica sobre els béns que el col.legi li havia de cedir.

Sant Ignasi de Loiola havia regulat les universitats de la Companyia de Jesús en la part IV de les seves Constitucions, sobretot en el capítol XI, 'De acceptar universidades', i en el XV, 'De los cursos i grados'.[5] L'esmentat breu de Pius IV del 1561 sobre la concessió de graus acadèmics fou confirmat per una butlla de Pius V del 10 de març de 1571. Ultra això, dues butlles de Gregori XIII, del 30 d'octubre de 1576 i del 25 de maig de 1584,[6] i una altra de Pau V, del 4 de setembre de 1606,[7] aprovaren solemnement l'institut de la Companyia i confirmaren tots els anteriors privilegis atorgats pels summes pontifexs doncs els esmentats de Pius IV i Pius V.

En virtut d'aquesta legislació canònica, el prepòsit general dels jesuïtes podiu erigir en universitat, quan li semblés oportú, aquells col.legis on s'ensenyessin els cursos complets de filosofia i teologia, i podiu també delegar a llurs rectors la facultat d'atorgar

els graus universitaris.

Quan l'any 1727 – previ acord del rector del col.legi de La Valletta, pare Martino De Andrea, amb el gran mestre de l'orde de Sant Joan de Jerusalem, Manuel de Vilhena, el general dels jesuïtes Michel Angelo Tamburini delegà al rector del col.legi, de llavors endavant, la facultat d'atorgar graus, concedí també al col.legi tots els drets pertanyents a les universitats erigides pels papes.[8] El col.legi esdevingué, doncs, de fet, una universitat de dret pontifici, però no prengué el títol d'universitat, sino el d''Acadèmia'.

Almenys des del segle XVI, entre els juristes no eclesiàstics s'havia anat obrint pas la teoria que no eren els papes, sinó els prínceps, els qui podien obrir universitats i atorgar graus acadèmics amb validesa civil. Per això, ja des del segle XVII, els generals de la Companyia solien fer ús dels privilegis pontificis en aquest punt, i molt particularment en el de convetir algun col.legi en universitat, després d'una entesa amb les autoritats civils corresponents. Si no es tenia això present, les controvèrsies i les dificultats amb les universitats properes entrebancaven la vida i el curs de les noves universitats de dret pontifici, com s'esdevingué a Sàsser.[9]

Ara bé, a Malta devia subsistir el dubte si el gran mestre, subjecte amb vincles feudals al rei de Sicília com a suprem sobirà de l'illa, tenia prou autoritat per a erigir una universitat de caire civil. A més a més, si hom acudia a l'emperador Carles VI d'Austria, llavors rei de Nàpols i de Sicília, podia donar-se la sensació d'un menyspreu de l'autoritat del gran mestre. Jo pensaria que aquestes dues raons degueren moure el prepòsit general Tamburini – tot i atorgar al col.legi de La Valletta, per delegació pontifícia, els privilegis de les universitats papals – a no donar-li el títol d'universitat, sinó el d''Acadèmia', el qual, per altra banda, era sovint emprat des del Renaixement per moltes universitats, com a terme més adient al llatí clàssic.

Quan el 1768 el gran mestre Manuel Pinto exilià els jesuïtes i en confiscà els béns, determinà d'aplicar-ne la major part a la fundació d'una universitat, on, ultra les lletres humanes, la filosofia, les matemàtiques i la teologia, que ja s'ensenyaven al col.legi de La Valletta, fossin també explicats els drets civil i canònic, als quals s'afegiren, poc després, algunes càtedres de medicina. Cal advertir, però, que si bé les universitats reials, el segle XVIII, solien tenir les facultats de dret i de medicina, hi havia moltes universitats pontifícies que només tenien les d'arts i de teologia. Tal era l''Acadèmia' de Malta des del 1727, la qual, com hem vist,

era una universitat pontifícia de fet, i també de dret quant als privilegis, bé que no n'hagués adoptat el títol, per les raons damunt apuntades.

Però Pinto no fundà oficialment la nova universitat fins de sprés d'haver-ne rebut el breu d'erecció atorgat per Climent XIV el 20 d'octubre de 1769, que aplicava legalment els béns confiscats als jesuïtes a aquesta institució. La fundació oficial de Pinto és datada el 22 de novembre del mateix any. La universitat erigida el 1769 era una universitat pontifícia de dret i de fet; i era també una universitat civil de fet; que ho fos també de dret, depenia de si la sobirania del gran mestre era prou alta per a tal erecció, sense comptar amb el rei de Sicilia; però la circumstància que aquest no al.legués mai, en aquest punt, cap dret feudal superior – com l'havia al.legat, l'any precedent, a pròposit de certes fórmules principesques usades per Pinto amb ocasió de l'expulsió dels jesuïtes – permet de suposar una aprovació tàcita, que convertia la nova institució en una universitat civil també de dret.

En la història de la universitat de Malta, com d'altres universitats europees i sudamericanes, cal també distingir l'aspecte jurídic de l'aspecte històric. Després de l'expulsió dels jesuïtes o després de la supressió de l'orde el 1773, segons els casos, les universitats que prosseguiren i continuaren l'ensenyament de les universitats de la Companyia de Jesús eren, jurídicament, universitats noves, però històricament n'eren una pervivència. La major part de tals universitats consideren com a data de fundació la de la universitat preexistent, i de vegades, abusivament des del punt de vista jurídic, la de la fundació del col.legi que després es desenvolupà com a universitat.

En el cas de la universitat de Malta, aquest lligam històric també existeix, car tant el breu de Climent XIV com l'acte fundacional de Manuel Pinto precisen que la nova universitat s'erigeix en el que havia estat col.legi dels jesuïtes, i, a més a més, a la nova institució s'aplicaren els béns de l'antic col.legi.[10]

Ens manca una història seriosa de l'ensenyament dels jesuïtes a Malta des del 1593 fins al 1769.[11] Hi havia queixes específiques contra la província siciliana dels jesuïtes, perquè hom deia que sovint enviava a Malta professors poc adients. Però hi havia també el to general que havien conservat la major part dels col.legis i universitats regentats pels jesuïtes: la introducció de les noves ciències coexistia amb una filosofia escolàstica que, pel que fa sobretot al tractat de 'physica', era ja molt anacrònica; i en teologia prevalia el mètode especulatiu sobre el positiu – falles que

eren comunes a gairebé tots els centres eclesiàstics d'enseyament.

En canvi, posseim estudis remarcables sobre l'economia del col.legi l'any 1768 – el d'Alfredo Mifsud[12] – i sobre el desenvolupament econòmic del col.legi de La Valletta durant els segles XVI i XVII – el de Pio Pecchiai.[13] – Però aquest darrer treball, realment valuós, gairebé no ultrapassa l'any 1703, i es basa quasi exclusivament en el Fondo Gesuitico de Roma, mentre que molts altres documents de caire econòmic es conserven a l'Arxiu Romà de la Companyia de Jesús, no consultat per Pecchiai.[14]

Les rendes anuals del col.legi, passades després a la universitat, l'any 1767 sumaven escuts 6344.9.9.[15] Les partides més elevades provenien dels quatre beneficis que havien restat com a propietat del col.legi després de la separació de béns amb el seminari (escuts 2106.8.16), d'enfiteusis i censals rústecs (1758.10.18) i urbans (1027.6) i de béns i drets radicats a Gozo (783), ultra la fundació de la càtedra de matemàtiques pel tresor de l'orde de Sant Joan de Jerusalem i de l'almoina corresponent als sermons de la quarta dominica de cascun mes al temple dels hospitalers (310 escuts, conjuntament). S'hi afegien petites quantitats provinents de certs llegats (escuts 57.8), d'algunes propietats rústegues (38) i de la 'massetta' del forment (escuts 6.3.16). La renda dels capitals dipositats a la 'massa frumentaria', que actuava com a banca, era d'escuts 256.7.19.

Un document inèdit del Fondo Gesuitico de l'Arxiu Romà de la Companyia de Jesús[16] ens permet de precisar quins eren i d'on provenien aquests capitals:

	escuts
Dall'eredità del signor abbate del Brio	2400
Dall'eredità del signor dottor Giacomo Sagnani	800
Dalla transazione delli signori Testaferrata e Castilletti	1320
Dalla permuta d'un luogo di case	50
Da legati di nostra chiesa ed altri particolari	2235 6
Dall'eredità Petraliti	125
Dalla reluzione de' capitali	1626
	8355 6

Comparant la suma total d'aquests capitals amb llur renda anual (escuts 256.7.19), hom constata que la 'massa frumentaria' donava només una renda del 3,42 o/o, rèdit molt baix en comparació amb el que solien fruitar pertot els censos i els lloguers.

Del fet que els béns provinents de la redempció de censos no perpetus (1626 escuts, a la darrera partida) fossin imposats a la 'massa frumentaria', tot i donar aquesta una renda tan limitada,

hom pot deduir que no era fàcil de fer altres inversions més favorables, i que el col.legi de La Valletta seguí el costum d'altres bandes, de no exportar els capitals fora de la regió on els col.legis eren enclavats, bé que si s'haguessin imposat en obligacions d'algun banc de la Itàlia continental – val a dir, en 'luoghi di monte', – haurien obtingut una renda prou més alta.[17]

APPÈNDIX

Documentació de caire econòmic referent al col.legi de La Valletta, conservada a l'Arxiu Romà de la Companyia de Jesus, còdex *Sic. 196* = *Fundationes II*, part V, 'collegium melitense'.

1. Folis 134r-141r: 'Breve ristretto della fondatione del collegio di Malta'. Arriba fins al 1646. Al foli 141v, un arxiver escriví: 'Sicula. Scritture riguardanti al collegio di Malta'. I un altre hi afegí: '1683'.

2. Folis 142r-143v: 'Copia del memoriale che monsignor inquisitore di Malta manda all'illustrissimi signori cardinali Santa Severina e Cusano etc.', títol afegit (foli 142r) per una mà diferent. Exposa que Gregori XIII, a petició de la Ciutat de Malta, atorgà a aquesta una lleu taxa eclesiàstica per a pagar les despeses del predicador, del mestre d'escola i del metge; durant deu anys s'ha recaptat molt, mentre que només 542 escuts han estat destinats a eixugar aquelles despeses; les entrades d'aquella taxa han estat assisgnades al col.legi dels jesuïtes.

3. Foli 144rv: Còpia simple del breu de Gregori XIII a la Ciutat, 10 d'abril de 1582, atorgant la taxa de què parla el n.° 2.

4. Folis 145r-158v (els folis 157v, 157^{a}r, 157^{b}rv i 158r, en blanc): Còpia del breu d'erecció del col.legi de Malta, adreçat per Climent VIII a la Ciutat el 12 novembre 1592, autenticada a Malta, el 20 del mateix mes, pel gran mestre Verdalla, amb el seu segell.

5. Folis 159r-166r: Una altra còpia del mateix breu, autenticada a Malta, el 13 de juliol de 1683, pel gran mestre Gregorio Carafa, amb segell.

6. Foli 167rv: Lletra de Diego Ximénez, secretari de la Companyia de Jesús, al pare Lorenzo Paoli, enviant-li, el 19 de març de 1593, el document original corresponent a la còpia del n.° 10. Text en italià.

7. Foli 168rv: Nota sobre el benefici de Leonardo Abel, sense

data, enviada al pare Ottavio Lorenzin. Text en italià.

8. Foli 169r: Minuta de súplica indatada de l'inquisidor de Malta al cardenal Cusano perquè el papa apliqui al col.legi de La Valletta la taxa referida als n.os 2 i 3, d'una vàlua de 2.000 escuts, dels quals només 542 'vano in servitio del publico'.

9. Foli 170rv: 'Copia della lettera scritta al signor cardinale Cusano', títol afegit (foli 170r) per una mà diferent. Es tracta d'una carta escrita per l'inquisidor de Malta, sense lloc ni data, enviantli la mateixa informacio contenida en el n.º 8.

10. Folis 171rv, 172v: Còpia simple de l'acceptació de la fundació del col.legi de La Valletta pel pare general Acquaviva el 2 de febrer de 1593. Text en llatí.

11. Folis 173r-174v, 175v (els folis 174av i 175r, en blanc): Còpia de l'acte signat a La Valletta el 25 d'octubre de 1604, pel qual el bisbe Tomàs Gargal atorga al col.legi de La Valletta una casa i la capella de Sant Lloreç, a Vittoriosa. Autenticada a Malta, el 7 d'abril de 1611, pel gran mestre Alòfius de Wignacourt, amb segell. Textos en llatí.

12. Folis 176r-178v, 179v: Còpia de l'acte signat a La Valletta el 7 de febrer de 1609, contenint la compra, per part del col.legi, d'una casa de la senyora Caterina Biscaina (en un altre lloc: Buscaina). Còpia autenticada a Malta, el 7 d'abril de 1611, pel mateix gran mestre, amb segell. Textos en llatí.

13. Folis 180r-187r: Còpia de l'acord, per 778 escuts, 10 tarins, signat a La Valletta el 29 d'abril de 1609, entre Giovanni Paci, rector de la parròquia de Sant Pau, i el col.legi dels jesuïtes. Còpia autenticada a Malta, el 7 d'abril de 1611, pel mateix gran mestre. Textos en llatí.

14. Folis 188r-189v: Acte del pagament de 165 escuts, 5 tarins, per part del col.legi a Giovanni Paci, referents a l'accord del n.º 13; datat a La Valletta el 15 de març de 1610. Còpia autenticada a Malta, el 3 d'abril de 1611, pel mateix gran mestre, amb segell. Textos en llatí.

15. Folis 190r, 191r, 192v: Lletra autògrafa de fra Catalano Casati al pare general de la Companyia de Jesus [Muzio Vitelleschi], de Malta, 5 d'octubre de 1618, sobre la mort d'un ciutadà honrat que deixà els seus béns a Gozo per a fundar-hi una residència de jesuïtes; el prega, a més a més, que faci retornar a Malta el pare espanyol que hi havia. Text en italià.

16. Folis 193rv, 194v: Lletra autògrafa de F.A. Balthassarre

Cagliarese al mateix pare general, de Malta, 24 de setembre de 1618, precisant que els béns deixats per Colangelo Mahnueh a Gozo renden 200 escuts anuals. Text en italià.

17. Folis 195rv, 197v: Lletra autògrafa del pare Pompilio Lambertenghi, provincial dels jesuïtes de Sicília, a Vitelleschi, de Palerm, 21 d'octubre de 1618, donant-li les mateixes dades del n.° 16, rebudes del rector del col.legi de La Valletta [pare Nicolò Gusmano]. Text en italià.

18. Foli 196rv: Informació anònima sobre la mateixa donació, sense lloc ni data.

19. Foli 198rv: Còpia simple d'una lletra del pare general Muzio Vitelleschi al bisbe de Malta [Miquel-Joan Balaguer de Camarassa] de Roma, 24 d'abril de 1625, dient-li que, tot i els seus desigs de servir-lo, doni ordes al que li dirà el rector del col.legi de La Valletta sobre les dificultats que hi ha per a acceptar la donació per a la fundació de Gozo.

20. Folis 199r, 200v: Súplica autògrafa d'Antonio Scarsi alias Machanutio, nebot de Nicolao Angelo Machanutio, al mateix Vitelleschi, sense lloc ni data, pregant-lo que afavoreixi la pretensió de la seva mare (germana del Nicolao Angelo esmentat), vídua pobre amb set fills (l'un, captiu), que amb els béns de l'herència destinada a la fundació de Gozo s'institueixi un benefici eclesiàstic a favor d'un dels seus fills.

21. Folis 201rv, 202v: 'Difficoltà che occorrono intorno al nuovo collegio di Malta'. Sense lloc ni data. S'hi exposen sis dificultats, la primera de les quals és que la fundació és insuficient; car, per voluntat dels papes, les fundacions han de bastar per al manteniment de dozte persones, les quals necessiten 600 escuts anuals de renda.

22. Folis 203r-205v (el foli 205^{a}rv, en blanc): Declaracions sobre certs béns que havien pertangut a fra Gabriel Cassar, cavaller de Sant Joan, datades el 15 de maig de 1641. Còpia autenticada pel gran mestre Gregorio Carafa, a Malta, el 20 de juliol de 1683, amb segell. Textos en llatí.

23. Folis 206r-207v, 208v (el foli 207^{a}rv, en blanc): Còpia autèntica de la donació inter vivos d'una casa i d'una terra, feta pel gran mestre Paolo Lascaris Castellar, a Malta, el 15 de desembre de 1647; les rendes són destinades a la celebració de la festa de sant Francesc Xavier el 2 de desembre de cascun any.

24. Folis 209r-214v, 215v (els folis 214^{a}rv i 214^{b}rv, en blanc):

Fundació de misses perpètues per Teodora Bonnici i el seu marit Giacobo Testaferrata, a La Valletta, 23 de març de 1654 (text italià), i acceptació per part del col.legi dels jesuïtes, 22 de maig de 1654 (text llatí). Còpia autenticada, en llatí, pel gran mestre Nicolau Cotoner, a Malta, el 14 de desembre de 1665, amb segell.

25. Folis 216rv, 217v: Atestació autèntica de frater Laurentius Borgius que cap pagament no ha estat fet en la seva presència pel pare Vincenzo Galeanti. Datada a Malta, el 13 de gener de 1676.

26. Còpia simple d'una súplica indatada del rector del col.legi a Felip IV d'Espanya, demanant que, puix que els beneficis eclesiàstica aplicats a aquella institució 'a pena bastano per la sostentazione delli padri che vi stanno', hi vulgui destinar, àdhuc a l'avançada, una part dels expolis dels bisbats de Sicília, talment com ja ho havia fet Felip III.

27. Folis 220r-221v: 'Consulta fatta dal p. Ignatio Gargano, provinciale della provincia de Sicilia [1646-49], circa l'accettatione d'una villa con casamenti, donata al collegio di Malta da fra' Gio. Francesco Habela, vicecancelliere della religione gerosolimitana, doppo la sua morte'; aquest títol es troba al foli 220r; document indatat. Malgrat les dificultats, la consulta és favorable a acceptarla.

28. Folis 222r-223v: 'Copia del memoriale per il collegio di Malta consegnato all'eccellentissimo signor balí Zondedari, ambasciatore straordinario della sovrana religione gerosolimitana al papa Clemente XI' [1700-21], títol afegit (foli 223v) per una mà d'arxiver. Memorial indatat, perquè retornin al col.legi els béns del bisbe Gargal passats al nou seminari.

29. Folis 224r-233v: Testament i codicils, autenticats, del doctor físic Giacomo Segnani, de La Valletta; text part en italià i part en llatí. (a) Folis 224r-229r: testament del 19 de desembre de 1716, atorgant diferents llegats a les seves germanes i a d'altres persones, i nomenant hereu universal el col.legi de La Valletta; s'hi llegeix, encara: 'Di più esso signor testatore ordina e vuole, a maggior gloria di Dio, che detto collegio, suo herede universale, debba, doppo un anno dalla sua morte, mantenere qui in Malta due padri di detta Compagnia maltesi, oltre quello che predicherà in tempo dell'avvento e della quaresima in quell'anno, acciò faccino le missioni nella lingua maltese per due volte all'anno, cioè nella primavera e nell'autunno, per tutti i luoghi di questa diocesi di Malta e del Gozzo, eccetto che nella città Valletta, e si distribuiscano in detti luoghi in maniera che in tre anni, et al più in quattro, in tutti

i luoghi dell'isole di dette diocesi sia seguita e fatta la missione, e poi terminata fra detto tempo, s'incominci di nuovo' (226r). (b) Folis 229r-232r: codicil del 16 de desembre de 1722, canviant alguns llegats. (c) Folis 232r-233v: codicil del 13 de gener de 1724, amb altres canvis en els llegats.

30. Folis 234r-254v (els folis 253v, 253[a]r-254r, en blanc): 'Legati della chiesa di Malta', títol de mà d'arxiver. Al foli 236r, es llegeix: 'nell'anno 1725'.

NOTES:

[1] Prevere de Barcelona i cavaller de Malta, d'on fou nomenat bisbe l'11 d'agost de 1578. Hi morí el 10 de juny de 1614. Veg. G. van Gulik – C. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi,* III, *saeculum XVI ab anno 1503 complectens* (Münster 1910) 261. Fou sepultat al temple del Gesù, l'església del col.legi per ell fundat.

[2] Nat a Pollença el 1691, nomenat bisbe el 1757, mort el 1769. Veg. R. Ritzler – P. Sefrin, *Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi,* VI (Pàdua 1958) 284.

[3] *Institutum Societatis Iesu,* I (Florència 1893) 34-37; veg. p. 34.

[4] Remeto al treball, en preparació, del Dr. V. Borg, per a la revista *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* (Roma). Moltes notícies sobre la fundació del col.legi es troben en l'obra del mateix autor, *The Seminary of Malta and the Ecclesiastical Benefices of the Maltese Islands* (Malta 1965).

[5] *Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu, Monumenta Ignatiana, Constitutiones,* II (Roma 1936) 465-468, 479-482; III (ibid. 1938) 142-144, 152-155.

[6] *Institutum Societatis Iesu,* I (Florència 1893) 63-67, 90-98.

[7] Ibid., 131-137; veg. p. 134, sobre la concessió de graus.

[8] Veg. A.P. Vella, *The University of Malta* (Malta 1969) 16-17.

[9] Vegeu el meu treball 'L'università di Sassari e i collegi dei gesuiti in Sardegna,' *Studi sassaresi,* serie II, 1 (1969) 3-108, reproduït, en català, al volum *Catalunya a l'època moderna: recerques d'història cultural i religiosa* (Barcelona 1971) 83-162.

[10] Vella, ob. cit. (supra, nota 8), 122-126, 37-38. Veg. V. Borg, 'On Fixing de Foundation-Day Date of the Royal University of Malta,' *Seminarium melitense,* 10 (1955).

[11] Vegeu, però, el treball en preparació cit. supra, nota 4.

[12] 'L'espulsione dei gesuiti da Malta nel 1768 e le loro temporalità,' *Archivum melitense,* 2 (1912-13) 113-166.

[13] 'Il collegio dei gesuiti in Malta.' *Archivio storico di Malta*, 9 (1937-38) 129-202, 273-325.
[14] Aquests documents es troben espargits en diferents còdexs de la sèrie *Sicula*. A l'apèndix, descric un conjunt de 30 peces de caire econòmic reunides a *Sic. 196*.
[15] Publicat per Vella, ob. cit. (supra, nota 8), 115. Les mateixes dades es troben a l'Arxiu romà de la Companyia de Jesús, Fondo Gesuitico, Collegi, 92, 1463, 23.
[16] Signatura esmentada en la nota anterior.
[17] Veg. el volum *Catalunya a l'època moderna*, cit. (supra, nota 9), 108.

FROM THE JESUIT COLLEGE (1592) TO THE UNIVERSITY OF MALTA (1769)

Some Contribution to their Institutional and Economic History

by

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Clement VIII's foundation of Jesuit College in Malta (1592) and the beginning of lessons (1592). The University privileges granted by Pius IV to the Jesuit Colleges. The right given by Paul V (1606) to the Jesuit Generals that some colleges become Papal Universities. In 1727 Fr. M.A. Tamburini uses this right in favour of College of Malta, which then becomes a Papal University. The agreement with the Grand Master Manoel de Vilhena in the same year converts the same College also into a civil university. This is the juridical situation of the 'Academia Melitensis' until the expulsion of the Jesuits from Malta in 1768. The creation of a new University in Malta by the Grand Master Pinto and by Clement XIV in 1769.

The canonical foundation of the Jesuit College by Bishop Thomas Gargal (Gargallo) in 1592, instead of a Tridentine seminary. Institutional differences between a Seminary and a College. The revenues of the Jesuit College until the creation of the Seminary of Malta in 1703. The juridical disputation between the Seminary and the College till the Roman decision in 1710.

The relevant studies of Alfredo Mifsud and of Pio Pecchiai on the Economic history of Malta from 1592 to 1769 may be completed with the documents of the Jesuit archives in Rome. The economic state of the capital and of the revenues of the Maltese College in 1769.

IL ALGODON DE MALTA Y LA INDUSTRIA TEXTIL CATALANA

by PEDRO VOLTES

LA presente nota se propone atraer la atención de los estudiosos sobre el importante tema de los envios de algodón desde Malta a España que fueron muy intensos hasta finales del siglo XVIII. Los historiadores generales del archipiélago maltés – [como Schermerhorn, Zammit, Blouet, Luke, y tantos más] – coinciden en estimar que los cultivos de algodón en Malta constituían uno de los sectores más relevantes de su economía y que esta produccion dependía a su vez de la exportación a España, de tal suerte que la prohibición de entrada de la misma en nuestro pais determinó la extinctión de aquellas plantaciones a mediados del siglo XIX. Dejemos a un lado la cuestión, verdaderamente sugestiva, de si el algodón expedido por Malta estaba producido en su totalidad en el archipiélago, o comprendía tambien remesas de paises del Próximo Oriente, especialmente Egipto canalizadas a través de Malta.

Merece tambien interés el curioso balanceo entre algodón americano y algodón de Malta que se percibe en la política aduanera española, como en seguida veremos, otorgando al de Malta en ciertos momentos un trato favorable que quizás se deba en definitiva a la condición teórica y remota de posesión de la Corona española que tenía el archipiélago desde su entrega en 1530 por Carlos V a los Caballeros de San Juan. En otros casos, es el puro hecho coactivo de que España se halle en guerra contra Inglaterra el que interrumpe las comunicaciones atlánticas y por consiguiente provoca que nuestros tejedores tengan que abastecerse por fuerza con algodón de Malta autorizado para entrar en España. Se advierte como telón de fondo en las épocas de paz una rivalidad radical entre algodón de América y algodón de Malta, probablemente defendidos uno y otro en Madrid por grupos de presión interesados en su consumo por la industria textil española.

Romeva, en su 'Historia de la industria catalana', menciona el hecho de que en 1722 el algodón pagaba unos derechos aduaneros del 56 por ciento, excepto el de Malta que abonaba diecineve dineros por libra. Es pues manifiesto que estos grupos de presión se valían del arancel para sus maniobras. Es verosimil que los tejedores catalanes fuesen favorables al segundo que logicamente ?llegaría a Barcelona por camino más corto y directo y a menor coste que el americano, incluso despues de la libertad de comercio directo com América dictada para Barcelona y otros puertos por Carlos III. Por lo demas, se perciben dos evidencias: que el algodón americano era de superior calidad y que los malteses acostumbraban a abuser de la posición privilegiada en que les situaban las guerras atlánticas para subir desconsideradamente los precios.

Para no acudir a materiales más antiguos veremos en una Real Orden de junio de 1728 que recoge Carrera Pujal en su 'Historia politica y económica de Cataluña' (Tomo IV, pag. 134, Barcelona, 1947) uno de los múltiples casos de admisión del algodón maltés en rama o en hilado en España, al tiempo que se prohibían la entrada y uso de tejidos extranjeros de cualqier procedencia. Quedaba claro que este algodón se admitía como materia prima para que trabajase la industria nacional y asi lo aclaró un edicto del intendente de Cataluña en noviembre de 1729 que habla del 'deseo de su Majestad que se animen sus vasallos a todo genero de fabricas y asi que podrán libremente los naturales y moradores del Principado comerciar y vender los tales lienzos pintados y tejidos de algodón mientras fuesen de fábrica de estos dominios'. Dicho sea de paso, Carrera Pujal ve en estas disposiciones un testimonio de la introducción en Barcelona de la nueva industria algodonera, vanguardia de la industrialización global del pais.

Miguel Izard, en su obra 'Revolució industrial i obrerisme', (Barcelona, 1970), significa que Barcelona era desde el siglo XVII el gran puerto de tránsito europeo de algodón en rama o hilado procedente del Mediterraneo oriental y especialmente de Malta, que era reexpedido desde nuestra ciudad a Gran Bretaña, Flandes y Francia. La irradiación del algodón maltés a través de Cataluña hacia Francia e Inglaterra ayuda a explicar el interés de estas dos potencias en adueñarse de Malta en los primeros años del siglo XIX. Por preeminente y valiosa que sea la significación estratégica del archipiélago, cabe imaginar que el deseo de eliminar la posición intermediaria de Barcelona también animo primero a Napoleón y luego a los ingleses a apoderarse de Malta para tener acceso directo al algodón de las islas que tanto necesitaban las factorias

de uno y otro paises.

En 15 de mayo de 1760, el secretario de Hacienda, Esquilache, dispuso por Real Decreto que se permitiera la entrada de toda clase de hilados y tejidos de algodón abonando derechos aduaneros del veinte por ciento, tal como había ocurrido y volvería a ocurrir en todas las ocasiones en que el anhelo de recaudaciones arancelarias prevalecía sobre los criterios más elementales de la política económica. Los fabricantes de Barcelona reaccionaron con alarma y recurrieron a la Junta General de Comercio para exponer el perjuicio que causaría aquella disposición y pidieron que por lo menos se les concediese franquicia de derechos para la entrada de algodón en rama o hilado, para trabajar con él en sus factorías. En cambio, según decían, si se admitía la entrada de tejidos se agudizaría el paro en éstas. A este propósito indican un detalle curioso: que en el puerto de Barcelona había tres barcos de Malta cargados de algodón en espera de encontrar conprador. Esta indicación nos hace notar que en muchos ocasiones el algodón maltés venía en plan de oferta sin estar previamente comprado por los tejedores catalanes. El conflicto a que nos referimos se resolvió en diciembre de 1760 autorizando a los fabricantes a introducir cada año dos mil quinientos quintales de algodón mediterraneo, durante diez años, sin pagar derechos. Por esta época y acaso en alguna otra ocasión estorbó la llegada de algodón de Malta la noticia de que en las islas hubiera peste, información probablemente cierta muchas veces, pero que quizás en otros casos era difundida como bulo por los partidarios del algodón americano. Estos últimos ganaron posiciones a virtud de la Real Cédula de 15 de diciembre de 1766 que concedió exención de aduanas al algodón americano y a la exportacion de tejidos hechos con él.

Carrera Pujal supone que los algodones de América no saldrían a precio ventajoso y que su hilado progresaría poco, razones que según él constituyen el fundamento de un memorial enviado al Rey a fines de 1771 por los fabricantes catalanes de indianas suplicando que no aplicase el gravamen del 20 por ciento a la entrada de los algodones de Malta. En el mismo son, la Junta de Comercio de Barcelona manifestó a la Junta General de Comercio de Madrid que, por conveniente que fuera promover y abaratar el cultivo del algodón americano, antes había que procurar no poner trabas económicas al de Malta para que no faltase su suministro a las fábricas, lo cual da a entender que en Cataluña, por lo menos, el aprovisionamiento inmediato de éstas dependía de la materia prima maltesa y que la americana llegaba con más dificultades, para no men-

cionar las interrupciones que provocaba cualquier guerra atlántica. Era pues forzoso, añadimos, seguir abonando a Malta los quinientos mil pesos anuales que se compraban allí de algodones e hilados, según había expuesto el fabricante José Canaleta, citado por Carrera Pujal. En mayo de 1772 se dictó una Real Orden que concedía por tres años la suspensión de este gravamen del 20 por ciento y expresaba que en ese trienio habría tiempo bastante para que quedase establecida en debida forma el hilado del de América. No ocurrió así, y en ello debió de intervenir el atraso en que permanecían las manufacturas americanas dentro de política contención del desarrollo fabril de aquel continente que propugnaba nuestro Gobiemo.

Ramón Grau y Marina López, en su trabajo 'Empressari i capitalista a la manufactura catalana del segle XVIII' incluyen la cita de un sustancioso párrafo de la Junta de Comercio de Cataluña que pone en comparación los contrapuestos modos de pago del algodón americano y el de Malta.

En 1772 los fabricantes barceloneses de indianas habían constituido la llamada Compañía de Hilados de Algodón, para secundar los deseos gubernamentales de que se emplease algodón americano. Carrera Pujal, utilizando el Archivo de la Junta de Comercio, recoge el dato de que esta empresa hiló durante los dos años siguientes la cantidad poco importante de 6.888 arrobas de algodón americano y que era manifiesto que el mismo era más escaso y caro que el de Malta.

Este último experimentó un enorme auge en Cataluña, augurio de la crisis final, durante nuestra guerra con Inglaterra de 1779 a 1783, dentro de un proceso que tenemos estudiado en nuestro trabajo 'Repercusiones económicas de la intervención española en la Guerra de Independencia de los Estados Unidos' (publicado en 'Hispania', 1961). Interrumpido una vez más todo suministro americano fue preciso contar exclusivamente con el de Malta. Cuando terminó la contienda, se planteó nuevamente la polémica sobre autorizar o no la entrada libre del algodón maltés. Una información practicada por la Junta de Comercio concretó que la buena marcha de las factorías algodoneras catalanas precisaba trescientas setenta mil arrobas de algodón hilado que América era incapaz de aportar. La cuestión estaba en los mismos términos cuando se reprodujo la guerra con Inglaterra entre 1796 y 1801 y se cortó otra vez el abasto americano. Anotaremos para terminar que el siglo XIX comenzó con una fase de prohibición de entrada del algodón maltés, la cual, por lo demás quedó corroborada por los efectos de

las guerras napoleónicas, a partir de las cuales damos por extinguida la significación de Malta como abastecedora de la industria algodonera española.

Queda por investigar el efecto que en ésta causaría la privación de semejante aprovisionamiento y el obligado recurso a las compras, no ya precisamente en las antiguas colonias sudamericanas sino en los Estados Unidos que venderían el algodón a un precio evidentemente más caro.

En otro plano de ideas, el final de las compras catalanas a Malta significa el epílogo de una de las pocas estructuras antiquás mercantiles mediterraneas que llegaron hasta el siglo XIX, fusionando unos atributos de óptima racionalidad económica con el recuerdo lejano de la función de Barcelona como receptora y manipuladora de productos de todo el Mediterraneo.

HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF MEDICINE AND SURGERY IN MALTA

by PAUL CASSAR

THE story of disease and healing in the Maltese Islands begins with the earliest inhabitants of Malta and Gozo about the year 2400 B.C. The most ancient remains of medical interest have been found in the Stone Age temples of Mnaidra, Hagar Qim and Tarxien. The sick resorted to these shrines to pray to the deity to restore them to health and, by way of thanksgiving for recovery from their illness, were in the habit of depositing in these temples small 'ex-votos' of pottery in the shape of diseased parts of the human body. There are examples of a swollen face, an oedematous foot and a torso with a prominent abdomen.

That these temples were associated with the healing art is also shown by the figure of the serpent which since very early times has symbolised the art of medicine in the ancient Near East, Egypt and Greece. Pottery objects showing two intertwined coils come from Mnaidra while in the temple of Ggantija in the neighbouring Island of Gozo the figure of a sequent like creature is carved on a large block of stone.

The underground temple at Pawla – known as the Hypogeum and also belonging to the Stone Age period – has furnished us with two statuettes each representing a sleeping woman on a sort of couch. These statuettes are reminiscent of the rite of incubation by which the patient was put to sleep by the priest to have the line of treatment to be followed inspired by the god while the patient was in the hypnotic state.

With the advent of the Phoenicians to Malta about 800 B.C., the god Exmun became the protector of the sick. During the Roman period which begins with the capture fo the Maltese Islands from the Carthaginians in 218 B.C. we come across more tangible evidence of the medical art among us such as feeding bottles of baked clay for babies and invalids, the supply of running water for

domestic purposes, the existence of heating arrangements in Roman houses and the provision of toilet seats with a notch on their front edges at the public baths of Ghajn Tuffieha – a design anticipating the modern U-shaped lavatory seats. But the most outstanding medical event of Roman rule was the shipwreck on the Island of Malta in A.D. 60 of St. Paul and his companions among whom was the physician Luke. This evangelist is the first medical man to come to Malta. His Acts constitute the earliest written document known to us dealing with the history of disease and its treatment in Malta.

Practically no records relative to the years that followed the fall of the Roman Empire have survived in our Islands except two, both of which are of a funereal character. One is a tombstone in Greek testifying to the presence of a Christian physician, named Domesticus, who was buried in the vicinity of Mdina which was then the citadel and capital of Malta. The inscription is difficult to date (Luttrell, 1975a), but it is likely that it belongs to the period from the third to the fifth century. The other record consists of a series of stone slabs from a cemetery in the Island of Gozo bearing the crests of church dignitaries and noblemen who were taking part in the crusade of 1270 against Tunis and who are believed to have died of plague in Gozo on their way to the North African coast.

Plague has been one of the scourges of seafarers in the Mediterranean since the early Middle Ages; hence the establishment by maritime communities of quarantine measures which were already in existence in Malta by 1458. Among the penalties laid down against breaches of the quarantine laws was the burning of merchandise and also of the homes of offenders to ensure the elimination of the fomites of the disease.

Not far from Mdina was the hospital of the Holy Ghost which according to legend was founded by St. Francis of Assisi on his way to Africa in 1220. Although this tradition remains a myth, there are documents which prove that the hospital was already in existence in 1372 when it was under the direction of a Franciscan Friar of the Order of the Minor Conventuals who came to Malta in that year (Luttrell, 1975b). In 1575 it consisted of a small church containing only four beds in each of which two patients were placed according to the usage of the time. Besides the sick the hospital also received foundlings. For this purpose it had a contrivance called 'rota' which was a cot revolving on a vertical axis that communicated with the outside of the hospital by means of a window through which the unwanted baby was deposited inside the cot. The building was enlarged in subsequent years and its bed complement in-

creased considerably. It continued to function uninterruptedly as a hospital up to 1967 when it was closed down by the government. Until then it could boast of a continuous history of over six hundred years and claim to be one of the oldest surviving hospitals in Europe.

A new phase in our medical history begins with the granting of our Islands as a fief to the Knights Hospitallers of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in 1530 by the Emperor Charles the Fifth; but our association with this band of aristocratic rulers opens rather sadly. One of the earliest Maltese doctor on record is Joseph Callus who was born in the early years of the 16th century. He was already in practice in 1530 and had joined the naval medical service of the Order of St. John being engaged on the *Sant'Anna*. Five years later he was appointed District Medical Officer at Mdina.

On taking possession of Malta, the Order of St. John had solemnly declared to respect the political and other liberties of the Maltese but Grandmaster Jean de la Vallette soon forgot this promise and took the imposition of taxes into his own hands. A group of discontended citizens decided to appeal secretly to Philip II, King of Spain, but their petition, instead of reaching the king, fell into the hands of the Grandmaster. Dr. Callus is said to have been the author of the document meant for the king. He was arrested and condemned to death, his execution taking place at Rabat in 1561.

The Order of St. John had its origins in Jerusalem about the mid-eleventh century with the aim of nursing those pilgrims that fell ill during their journies to the Holy Sepulchre. Hence their name of Hospitallers. In later years they developed also into a military and naval power as they had to defend themselves and their patients from the attacks of the harassed Moslems. On coming to Malta in 1530, one of their first acts was to found a hospital at Birgu where they had settled. This hospital was later transferred to Valletta. It was known as the Holy Infirmary and there the Knights, and sometimes even the Grandmaster himself, served the sick in person in silver plate. This hospital was exclusively reserved for men, the sick being classified into medical and surgical cases and housed in separate wards according to the nature of their illness.

Near the Holy Infirmary was another hospital for women while a district and nursing service was set up in the towns for the benefit of sick women who could not be admitted into hospital.

Drugs for both hospitals and for out-patients were supplied by the pharmacy of the Holy Infirmary which has remained famous for the beauty and variety of its majolica drug jars and pots, some of which are decorated with the coat-of-arms of the Grandmasters such

as those of Alofius de Wignacourt (1601-22) and of Ramon Perellos y Roccaful (1697-1720).

Owing to the prevalence of plague in the Mediterranean during the 16th and 17th centuries, the Order of St. John devised and developed a system of quarantine to control the spread of this disease by contaminated ships, passengers and goods. On reaching Malta vessels were kept for a period of observation and isolation in Marsamxett Harbour before the crews, travellers and merchandise were admitted for treatment at the Lazzaretto which was erected on Manoel Island in 1634. Through its quarantine system, Malta safeguarded not only its own public health and that of other Mediterranean countries but also their commercial interests for once plague had gained a foothold in a country it brought about a wholesale disruption of its social and economic state. To keep itself informed of the health conditions of the various Mediterranean ports, the government of the Order maintained a regular correspondence with the sanitary authorities of such ports as Venice and Naples besides obtaining information from its various embassies in the capitals of Europe (Arch. 1484 and Arch. 1485).

In 1676 Grandmaster Nicolas Cotoner founded the School of Anatomy and Surgery at the Holy Infirmary of Valletta. From this origin has evolved our present medical school which was later incorporated with the University of Malta when this institution was established by Grandmaster Emanuel de Fonceca in 1769. The greatest importance was attached to the performance of dissection and of post mortem examinations in the teaching of anatomy and surgery so much so that to provide the necessary material it was decreed in 1739 that the corpses of knights and of patients dying in the infirmary were to be made over to the teacher of anatomy.

By the 18th century this school had become so renowned that it attracted not only Maltese but also foreign students from as far away as the Eastern Mediterranean. After graduation a number of Maltese surgeons went over to Italy where they made a name for themselves as teachers and practitioners. Mention may be made of the anatomist M.A. Magri who in 1740 was appointed Public Dissector at the Hospital of Santa Maria Nuova of Florence and in 1748 Lecturer in Anatomy and Physiology at the Regio Ospedale of Messina; and of Emanuel Grillet who became Professor of Obstetrics at the University of Palermo.

One of the famous Maltese surgeons who worked and taught at the School of Anatomy and Surgery was Michael Angelo Grima. He was a contemporary of John Hunter and like him received some of his surgical training on the battlefield during the Seven Years War

of 1756-63, though the two surgeons were on opposite sides. Grima has recorded some of his war cases in his book of traumatic surgery. He promoted the spiral suture of the intestines and experimented successfully on the removal of the spleen in dogs. He also published the results of his work on the 'contre-coup' phenomenon of head injuries and on popliteal aneurysm, the latter being published in London in 1773.

Grima was also one of the members of a commission appointed by the Grandmaster to investigate the claims of mesmerism in October 1783. It is significant that this commission reported adversely on this method of therapy several months before the Royal Commission of King Louis XVI issued its condemnation of mesmerism.

Another prominent Maltese surgeon, whose name is still alive on the continent of Europe, was Joseph Barth. He was born at Valletta and begun his studies at the Holy Infirmary but later went to Vienna where he became the oculist of the Empress Maria Theresa. In the Austrian capital he occupied the Chair of Ophthalmology at the University of Vienna which was purposely founded for him in 1773 by the Empress in recognition of his professional services to her son, later Joseph II. He died in Vienna in 1818.

With the passage of the Maltese Islands to the British Crown at the dawn of the 19th century, the medical services established by the Knights of St. John were consolidated and expanded. The following are the highlights that stand out prominently during our connexion with Great Britain:

(1) The beginnings of ether anaesthesia in 1847 about three months after its introduction in London. The first ether anaesthetic was administered in Malta by Assistant Surgeon (later Sir) Thomas Spencer Wells at the Royal Naval Hospital known also as Bighi Hospital.

(2) The development of the concept and practice of public health with the enactment of appropriate legislation for the provision of a wholesome water supply, the laying down of a drainage system in the towns, the prevention of the introduction and spread of communicable diseases, the enforcement of vaccination against smallpox and the regulation of burials outside the churches.

(3) The setting up of courses for the theoretical and practical training of midwives and nurses in 1869 and 1882 respectively – a venture which gradually evolved into our present school for Nurses that is recognised by the General Nursing Council of England and Wales.

(4) The discovery in the human spleen of the causative germ of Brucellosis, then known as Undulant or Mediterranean Fever, by the Army Surgeon (later Sir) David Bruce with the help of the Maltese laboratory worker Dr. Giuseppe Caruana Scicluna. Bruce published his results in 1887 from the Garrison Hospital – the former Holy Infirmary of the Knights – but it was not until 1905 that the source of the microbe was found to be the goat thanks to the research work of the Maltese physician Dr. (later Sir) Themistocles Zammit. Armed with the new knowledge that Brucellosis was conveyed to men by goat's milk practical steps were taken to prevent the infection from reaching human beings. These culminated in 1938 in the introduction of pasteurization of goat's milk which now covers the whole of the Maltese Islands and which has resulted in the almost complete eradication of Brucellosis amongst us.

During the time of the Order of St. John, Maltese medical men, after pursuing their studies at our medical school, sought to widen their training and experience at the universities of Italy and France; but by the early decades of the 19th century the current shifted to Scotland and later to England. It is now the established practice for our specialists and consultants to obtain post-graduate diplomas and degrees in the British Isles. A strong link with the United Kingdom was forged as far back as 1901 when medical graduates of our university became entitled to be registered to practice in the United Kingdom.

Maltese doctors have worked side by side with British physicians and surgeons during the Crimean War of 1854-56 and during the two World Wars. They have served in the Colonial Medical Service and in the medical branches of the British Army, Navy and Air Force. An appreciable number have made the British Isles their home being engaged in general practice or occupying consultant and academic posts in various specialties. Others are in Africa, Canada, Australia and in the United States of America. The World Health Organisation has also availed itself of Maltese physicians especially in connection with public health projects, the control of trachoma and of tubercolosis in various parts of the globe. Many of us through our publications have made an impact on international readership. Thus far from remaining isolated in our Island home, Maltese medical men have not only kept abreast of the stream of progress but have spread out into the world to carry with them the heritage of an ancient European culture and the application of the new advances and techniques of medical art and science to the benefit of all mankind (Cassar, 1965).

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THE PLAGUES OF 1675 AND OF 1813 IN CONTEMPORARY POETRY

by PAUL CASSAR

OF the 3 major outbreaks of plague that struck the Maltese Islands since the end of the 16th century – 1592, 1675 and 1813[1] – those of 1675 and of 1813 have inspired two authors to compose verses about them. The 1675 epidemic is dealt with by Don Melchiore Giacinto Calarco from Alicata in Sicily who wrote an allegoral poem entitled *Melpomene idillio nella peste di Malta.* It is dedicated to 'My Most Illustrious Lord and Master' Fra Don Ernaldo Mox of whom Calarco professes to be 'not only his servant but his chained slave'. Mox was a Spanish Knight of the 'Sacred and Most Illustrious Religious (Order) of Jerusalem, Commander of the Command of Spluga Calva and Valfagona, First Chamberlain of the Most Eminent Prince Fra D. Nicolao Cotoner, Grand Master of the aforesaid Religion and Prince of Malta and Gozo' (Figure 1).

The author makes no claims to literary fame; on the contrary, he apologizes for his lack of erudition. The only information we have about him is that he was living in Valletta in October 1677.

The poem, in free verse, was published in Catania in 1677. The only copy I know of in Malta is in a private collection. The author begins by describing his sea-crossing to Malta from Sicily during a moonlit night, his landing at St. Paul's Bay and his entry into Valletta. He is impressed by the beauty of Maltese women and alludes to their love affairs with the knights.

The Muses of poetry, Calliope; of lyric, Erato; of music, Euterpe; of history, Clio; and of tragedy, Melpomene, come to Malta,

> *Del sacro monte lor verdi rive*
> *poste in oblio, verso le nostre sponde*
> *mosser le piante.....,*

to sing of the fragile and fleeting beauty of our women.

MELPOMENE
IDILLIO
Nella Peste di Malta

Compoſto dal D. Don Melchiore Giacinto Calarco del Regno di Sicilia, e Citta dell'Alicata.

All'Illuſtriſſimo mio ſignore, e padrone Collendiſſimo il ſignor Fra Don Ernaldo Mox Caualiere dè la Sacra, & Illuſtriſſima Religione Geroſolimitana.

Commendatore dè le Comende di Splugà Calua, e Valfagona, e primo Camariere

Dell'Eminentiſſimo Prencipe Fra D. Nicolaò Cotener gran Maeſtro dè la predetta Religione, e Principe di Malta, e del Gozo.

In Catania nel Palazzo dell'Illuſtriſſimo SENATO, Per Diego Falſeperna

1677.

Figure 1. Titlepage of *Melpmene* a poem dealing with the events of the plague of 1675.

Donne vostre bellezze
Condite di dolcezze,
Son dell'eterno Sole,
Che gira la gran mole
Hor piovoso, hor sereno,
Ombra fugace e rapido baleno.

Il vostro adorno viso,
Raggio di Paradiso,
Vola, passa e sen fugge
Col tempo che lo strugge.
Qual fieno o polve al vento,
Caderà deformato in un momento.

The Muses, after thus hinting at the impending calamity, return to Mount Parnassus. The plague breaks out but there are doubts as to whether the illness is 'contagious' or not. In the meantime the people are sickening and dying. Medical 'experts' are brought over from Sicily and France (Figure 2). Some attribute the cause of the epidemic to the influence of the stars; others blame some occult poison.

Melpomene and the other Muses return to Malta to lament the death of so many women,

Ch' una suol furia
A tante veneri
Potesse uccidere

and of valorous knights who

Ne spada cingono
Ne lancia impugnano
Inermi porransi
Scoverti al tumulo.

Social life is disrupted:

Sospesi i tribunali,
Derelicte le piazze con le strade
Anzi tolto il commercio,
E se si traficava, eran le merci
Denudati cadaveri e sospiri.

Viddesi l'isoletta triunfante
Caduta da la sfera de' contenti,
Ira bersaglio, e scuopo
De' fulmini del Cielo.

Ma nell'atto pietoso
L'istessa sposa amata,
Come se de' Serpenti del deserto,
Aduccider con baci appresso haueſſe,
Baciando l'vccideua.
Cadeua il figlio esangue,
E mentre quella sconsolata madre
Lacerandosi il petto,
Al caro pegno con sospiri ardenti
Fini baci d'Amor stampaua in bocca
Di pestiferi fiati il cor recinto.
Languida tramortiua.
O'quãto all' hor caduca,ò quãto frale
Si conobbe d'ogn'vn la vita humana.
Sel'viuere. e morire
In vn suol batter d'occhio cõsisteua.
Nulla l'arte giouò, nullail sapere
De' fisici periti
Che de' franchi, e dà sponde Sicane
Con le sue squadre elette
Il nostro Gedeone
Con somma diligenza fe condurre,
Sè pria che dà Larte,
O con medica man guarito fosse
L'infermo moribondo,
Era il medico vcciso da' l'infermo.
L'vsar atto pietoso
Nèl procinto di morte,
Ai più familiari era interdetto'

Medici di Frãcia, e Sicilia chiamati dal Gran Maestr

Pro-

Procurar non potendo il Padre
Ad altri la salute abbãdo
Senz'appreſtar à se stesso la morte, naua il
Poiche era di più viui figlio,
Carnefice vn suol morto, & il ma
Et in premio e mercede rito la
Rendea la morte,à chi l'haueа sepol- mogle
O quanti semiuiui (to
Sotto i morti sepolti,
Quanti dal fuoco inceneriti e spenti,
Triunfaua sul carro
Degl'estinti la morte
Tanto uie più crudele,
Quanto deuoratrice di più uite.
Inesorabil perche senza orecchio
E si vedea dall'ossa aride,e secche
Quanto dura e crudel ella si fosse
Mentrè col piè scarnato
Di calpestrar i morti mai satolla,
Le ceneri de'uiui tormentaua,
L'hore de' semiuiui misurando.
Con polue de' sepolti.
Mà chi ridir potrà le varie guise
Di pianger, e morire?
Quant'innocenti spirauan la vita
Pria che l'aure vitali?
A quanti tra le fasce ancor legati
Era rotto lo stame de la vita?
Tal'vn mentre dal seno

E deli-

In the midst of this disaster, the knights exert themselves to help the plague-stricken and succour the needy:

Discorrevan per tutto coraggiosi
A la misera gente suggerendo
E del proprio suo
E del comun erario le vicende;
Facendo veder presso le pareti
De' cadaveri infetti.

In the meantime a relic containing the bones of Santa Rosalia, through whose intercession Palermo had been delivered from the plague, is brought to Malta from Sicily. It is carried to the Conventual Church of St. John amid the jubilant pealing of bells, the firing of petards and the implorations of the people for divine mercy:

E quella galeria che fa corona
Al campanile de la Chiesa madre
Del divin precursore
Con varji lumi coronati i tetti
E di fiaccole accese li balconi,
Ribumbando per tutto il suon lo sparo
De le campane, de li mortaletti
Con le sante reliquie se processe
All'aspettata beneditione.
. . . . . .
All'hora il popol tutto in atto humile
Pietà, disse, Signor, Pietà pietade,
Ecco in cener ridotto
L'infrancibile scudo de la fede.

God hears their prayers and the plague comes to an end:

Intese il buon Iddio di Malta i pianti
I singulti, i sospiri
E di somma pietade il cor ferito,
Figli, rispose e disse,
Mi penetiaro il core
Con le rovine tue
De le vedove e orfani li pianti,
Deh' riposa, deh' godi.
. . . . . .
ti prometto
Quella pace ch'l Ciel fe con la terra.

The plague of 1813 is the subject of three sonnets and a poem

of 17 *terzine dantesche* by Gioacchino Ermolao Barbaro. They all bear the same title *Per la peste di Malta nell'anno 1813* and form part of a collection of Italian verse published in 1843.[2] One of the sonnets and a few *terzine* are reproduced here to give an idea of the author's style:

PER LA PESTE DI MALTA DELL'ANNO 1813

Io ben la vidi allorchè il mio si pose
Misero fral su queste altere mura
Per cui l'arte sudò, sudò natura
Superbe, insuperabili famose.

Io ben la vidi orribil nube, e ascose
Con le nere ombre, e monti, e ogni pianura
Nunzia fatal di più fatal sciagura
Nube, che in se chiudea mistiche cose.

E ben lo fu quando per te s'aperse
Malta infelice, e assai meriace e fiera
Suoi tristi eventi contro te converse.

Ombra vana non fu, ma atroce e nera,
Che di fiele letal il suolo aperse,
Che tolse il lume, e l'Uom condusse a sera (p. 19).

The plague is resembled to a sinister black cloud that overshadows Malta and brings death and destruction in its wake. It is of interest to note that a modern artist, who painted an allegorical representation of the plague events of 1675 in the Basilica of St. George at Gozo (1957), also makes use of a black cloud to symbolise the threat of invasion of that island by the plague.[3]

In the following *terzine*, the author stresses the impotence of the medical profession to check the spread of the disease and the uselessness of the remedies at their disposal to treat the sick. In fact, he lost three of his children in 1813.

. . . . . .
La seguace d'Ipocrate e Galeno
Studiosa gente a cui ciascun vorria
Fidar la cura del comun veleno

In van s'aggira nella peste via
Con tutti i fogli, che ha gia divorato
Della latina, e greca libreria,

E per avverso alto voler del fato
Con util sempre, e splendida mercede
Il ministero del morir gl' è dato.

Invan con medica arte, invan si crede
Trarsi del tempo dall'ingiurie, e affanni
Se pertinace, il suo voler si vede.
. . . . . (pp. 67-8)

Gioacchino Ermolao (d. 1814) was the son of the lawyer Carlo Antonio Barbaro (1720-98) from Valletta who was created Marquis of St. George by Grand Master Emanuel de Rohan in 1778. Gioacchino studied at Pistoia and on his return to Malta was appointed Jurat and Captain of one of the Order's regiments. He enjoyed the reputation of being a man of letters 'well versed in literature and the fine arts'.[4]

Comment

The onslaught of disease on a large scale has prompted several men of letters to record in prose the medical events of which they were witnesses. One recalls, for instance, Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron* where he tells of the ravages of the plague of 1348 in Florence; Daniel Defoe's *A Journal of the Plague Year* which deals with the pestilence of 1665 in London; and G.M. de Piro's *Ragguaglio storico della pestilenza che afflisse le isole di Malta e Gozo negli anni 1813 e 1814* (Livorno, 1833) concerning the plague of Malta of those years.

Epidemic disease has also inspired poets to preserve its memory in verse. Francesco Petrarca wrote a poem called *Il trionfo della morte* to commemorate his beloved Laura who died of the plague in 1348; Girolamo Fracastoro, doctor and poet, published a poem – *Syphilidis sive morbi gallici* – in 1530 at Verona about a mythological herdsman named Syphilus who, in his impiety, was smitten by the gods with an infectious disease whence the same of syphilis is derived; 32 years earlier Francisco Lopez de Villalobos, active in the 16th century, wrote a poem of 72 stanzas on the same theme – *Tratado sobre las Pestiferas Bubas*; the French adventurer and poet François Villon, who flourished in the mid-15th century, is reputed to be the author of another poem about syphilis – *Ballade sur la grosse verole*; François Marie Arouet de Voltaire also sang, in verse, of Francis I's syphilis; and the poet Tan-Nan left a poem called the *Death of the Rats* inspired by a plague epidemic in Yunnan in the second half of the 18th century.[5] The Abate Enea Gaetano Melani Sanese, Protonotary Apostolic and member of the Order of St. John, wrote a long poem on *La peste di Messina accaduta nell'anno 1743* of which he was an eyewitness.[6]

Compared with the old masters, Calarco and Barbaro are cer-

tainly not first-rate poets and their verses find no place in the world of great literature. Written in a rhetorical and conventional vein, these poems present no profound thoughts or original ideas. In spite of the fact, however, that these compositions do not rise to any literary heights, it has been considered worthwhile to draw attention to them as pointers to the type of literary culture prevailing at the time and as examples of a genre of literature that attempts to bring the world of poetry into relation with contemporary medical events and with their impact on Maltese society.

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[3] BEZZINA, J. *Il-pittura fil-Bazilka ta' San Gorg*, Malta, 1965, p. 53.
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CHANGES IN THE EPIDEMIOLOGICAL PATTERN OF DISEASE IN THE MALTESE ISLANDS

by F.F. Fenech – R. Ellul Micallef – M. Vassallo

Rudolph Virchow, the German Pathologist who is considered the father of medicine, in the middle of the last century, wrote that 'Medicine is a social science and that politics is nothing less but medicine on a large scale'.[1] In fact the incidence and pattern of disease in any community reflect not only the standard of medical care but also, and possibly to a greater extent, the socio-economic conditions of the country. In Malta, there are few accurate records of the incidence of diseases 50 years ago let alone a century ago.[2] However in a report of the Barracks and Hospital Improvement Commission on the Mediterranean Station published in 1863, it is stated that in 1851, when the civilian population was 90,021, the death rate was 25.5/1000 population.[3] It is relevant to point out that at that time 57.5% of all deaths were in children under 5 years.[4] This catastrophic death rate in the under fives reflected the state of very unhealthy conditions present both in the towns and villages of the Island. Though it is true that Medicine has changed more in the last 50 years than it had done in the previous 500 years, in Malta it is only since the end of the 2nd World War that the situation started to improve.[5] Indeed before 1940, the pattern of poverty and its harmful effects on health were plain to see.[6] The purpose of this communication is to discuss the changes in the pattern of disease which occurred before and after 1940 and to underlie the importance of these changes as an index of the state of health of the community.

The population of Malta had shown a steady increase, interrupted only during the war years 1940 to 1943, till 1962 when the net increase in the population has been controlled.[7] The factors which brought this about were the marked reduction in infant mortality from 257.5 per thousand live births in 1932 to 19.9 in 1974 as well as

an increase in the life-span which in 1974 stood as 69.07 years for males and 72.65 years for females. The check in the population growth has been brought about by emigration and by a dramatic fall in the birth-rate from a peak of 39.3 per thousand population in 1944 to a figure of 15.8 in 1969. It has gone up to 17.9 in 1974. Figures I and II clearly demonstrate this.

If one studies the Expectation of Life (Table I) one realizes

Table I

EXPECTATION OF LIFE 1870-2 TO 1974

AGE	ABRIDGED TABLE							LIFE TABLE		ABRIDGED TABLE
								1	2	
	1870-72	1880-82	1890-92	1900-02	1910-12	1920-22	1930-32	1948	1967	1974
	MALES									
0	44.67	47.14	41.16	43.91	43.42	45.88	41.35	55.69	65.7	69.07
1	55.67	57.76	50.46	53.34	54.28	57.91	55.95	64.81	68.1	69.35
5	54.48	57.89	59.16	56.84	58.40	59.48	58.19	61.81	64.4	65.41
10	53.47	54.58	54.46	52.87	54.49	54.63	53.87	57.50	59.7	60.51
15	49.62	50.23	50.18	48.48	50.01	50.22	49.36	52.88	54.8	55.60
20	45.96	46.39	46.00	44.40	45.81	46.18	45.24	48.45	50.0	50.80
25	42.73	42.47	41.98	40.23	41.62	42.33	41.19	44.12	45.3	45.94
35	34.04	34.41	33.05	32.01	33.21	33.16	32.53	35.25	33.9	36.34
45	26.48	26.21	24.92	24.17	24.99	25.05	24.19	26.45	26.7	26.97
55	19.07	18.53	17.61	16.66	17.24	17.47	16.83	19.02	18.3	18.60
65	12.41	11.80	10.82	10.56	10.74	11.12	10.39	12.84	11.7	11.32
75	7.05	6.73	5.97	6.01	6.17	6.60	5.51	8.17	6.7	6.26
	FEMALES									
0	47.40	48.45	42.80	43.90	44.74	45.23	43.46	57.72	68.9	72.65
1	55.73	57.56	50.75	51.88	54.75	57.40	57.09	56.92	70.8	73.22
5	54.41	57.42	59.08	56.23	58.55	59.52	59.41	63.52	67.1	69.28
10	53.76	53.99	54.37	52.49	54.48	54.91	54.91	58.85	62.3	64.37
15	50.05	49.77	50.20	48.23	50.16	50.34	50.43	54.24	57.4	59.45
20	46.28	45.88	46.36	44.23	46.18	64.33	46.10	49.62	52.6	54.54
25	42.65	41.95	42.30	40.30	41.94	42.55	41.89	45.22	47.8	49.69
35	33.97	33.93	33.47	32.29	33.83	33.57	33.71	36.40	38.4	39.88
45	26.21	26.50	25.64	24.38	25.46	25.45	25.68	27.94	29.1	30.37
55	18.20	18.60	18.03	16.80	17.76	17.73	17.74	19.96	20.3	21.40
65	12.75	11.74	11.24	10.31	11.23	11.19	10.92	13.54	13.0	13.71
75	7.13	6.66	6.32	5.58	6.15	6.55	5.93	8.75	7.5	7.45

Expectation of Life: the average future lifetime by persons aged exactly 'x' (the respective age group) if subjected to the recorded death rates of that period.

that though there has been a general trend of improvement in life expectation at all age groups, the maximum increase has been registered in the first year of life. There has been a 50.5% increase in the life expectation of the newly born between the years 1920 and 1974. An interesting aspect of the expectation of life table is the narrow gap which now exists between expectations of life at birth and at age 1 year. In the years 1930 to 1932, the increase in expectation of life after the first year was 14 years; in 1974, this has been reduced to 6 months. The difference is due mainly to the great reduction in infant mortality which occurred in the intervening period.

The end year population of these Islands in 1974 was 317,980. Table II shows the age structure of the population. It demonstrates that our population is being restructured and this is resulting in an increase in the over sixties. This trend is likely to persist and be accentuated over the next fifty years as it reflects the immediate post war large number of births which occurred at the time when infant mortality was dropping. As such, this implies not only more dependents on working groups but also increased demands on social and health services. It is thought that the distributions of persons in the different age groups is likely to even out because of the decreasing family size.

Table II

AGE STRUCTURE OF POPULATION

AGE	1964		1968		1974	
	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%
0-14	106,806	33.3	92,971	29.2	76,605	25.7
15-59	176,781	55.1	183,909	57.8	183,202	61.6
60+	37,033	11.6	41,277	13.0	37,815	12.7

The relationship between the crude birth rate and crude death rate as well as the net rate is shown in Figure I. Whilst the crude death rate has remained fairly static since 1953, the crude birth rate continued to decrease till the mid-1960s and it has remained fairly stable since then.

One of the best health indices is still, despite some theoretical objections, the infant mortality rate. This is an expression of many factors – genetic, nutritional, health habits, provisions for an efficient drainage system a safe water supply and general hygienic measures as well as the availability and quality of health servic-

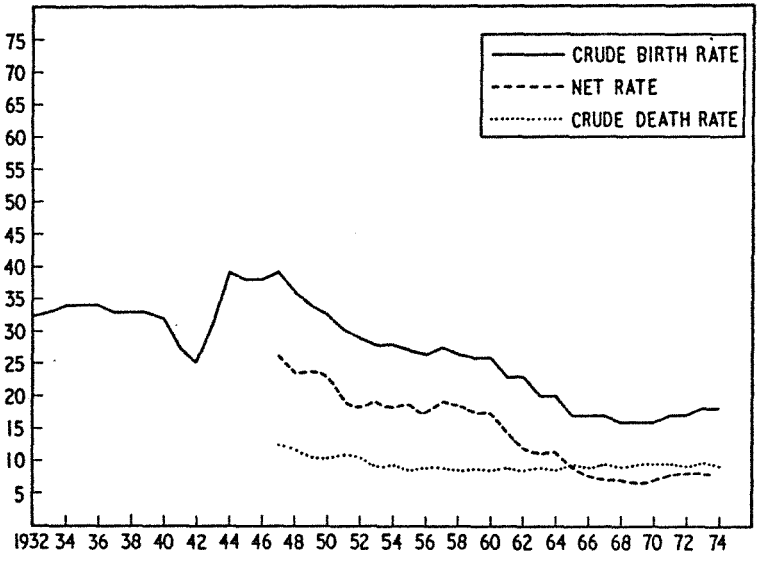

Fig. I

es. Indeed its multifactorial nature is an advantage when studied in this context. The infant mortality rate in Malta, as evident from Figure II up till 1943 was very high indeed. From 1945 onwards, it has shown a remarkable decline, the rate of 16.7 in 1972 being the

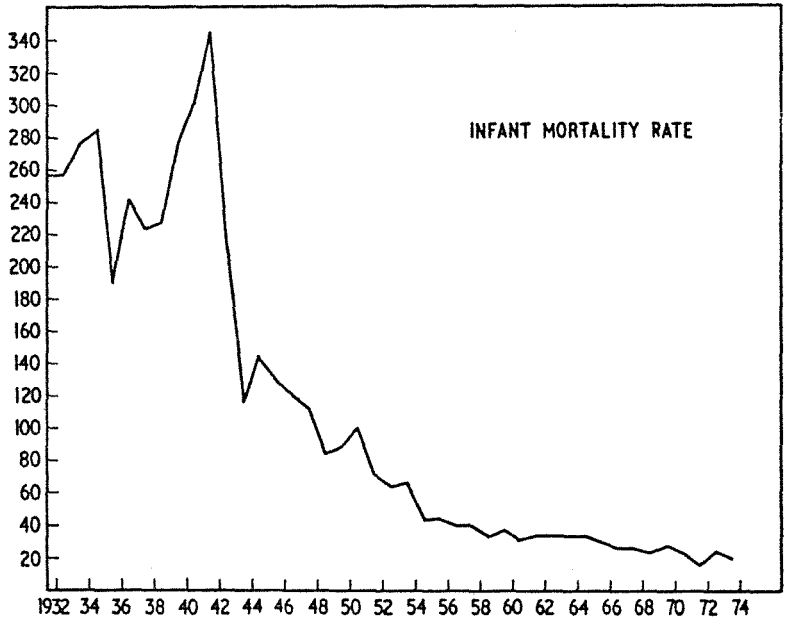

Fig. II

lowest ever recorded and less than one eighth of what it was in 1945. Indeed the present mortality rate in Malta compares very favourably not only with those of other Mediterranean countries but also with those of developed Northern European countries (Table III).

Table III

INFANT AND 1-4-YEAR MORTALITY RATES IN SELECTED COUNTRIES, 1972

COUNTRY	INFANT MORTALITY PER 1000 LIVE BIRTHS	MORTALITY RATE IN 1-4-YEAR OLD PER 1000
Yugoslavia	44.41	1.7
Portugal	41.41	2.7
Greece	27.33	0.8
Italy	26.95	0.8
Bulgaria	26.15	1.1
Malta	19.68	0.6
Israel	18.91	0.7
United Kingdom	17.22	0.7
Spain	16.27	0.9
France	13.33	0.8
Iceland	11.56	0.5

Epidemiological studies of a number of infectious diseases very often provide a very good index not only of the state of health of the community but also of the effectiveness of the preventive and curative health services. *Puerperal fever, diphteria* and *poliomyelitis, tuberculosis, trachoma* and *Brucellosis* will be considered in turn.

Puerperal fever, which can be defined as an infection which has entered through the birth canal during or after labour or abortion, is an index of the standard of obstretic practice in the country. Since 1944, there has been a progressive fall in the number of cases of puerperal sepsis (Figure III). It is gratifying to note that no cases of puerperal fever have been notified since 1963. This clearly reflects the high standard of obstetric care in Malta.

The control of infectious diseases through vaccination is rightly considered as one of the big success stories of preventive Medicine. Vaccination against smallpox in Malta had been compulsory since before the War, however it was only in 1953 that a free immunisation service against diphtheria was started, however some

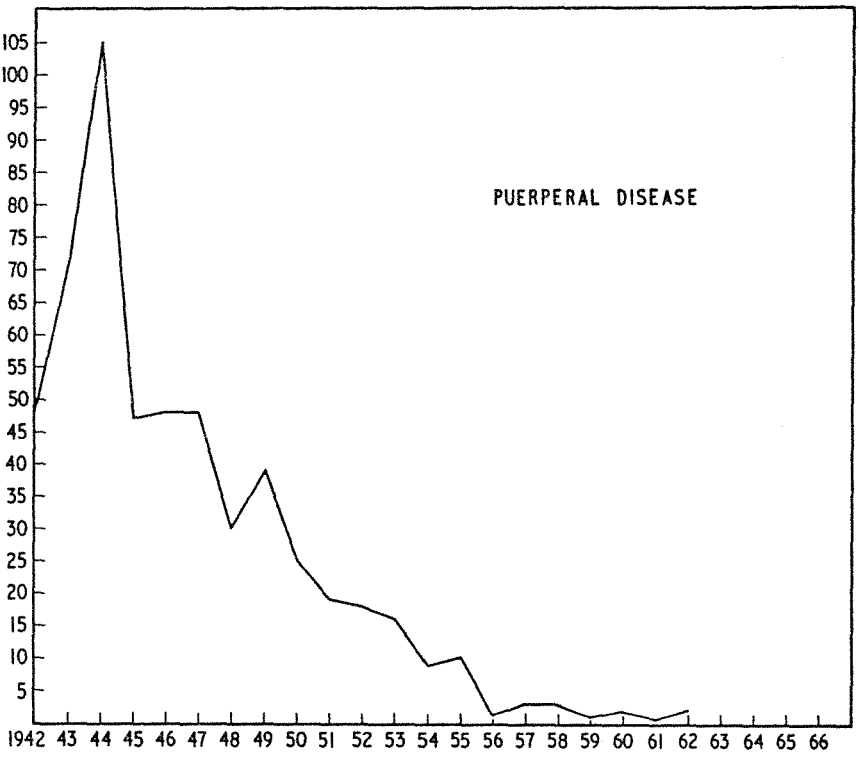

Fig. III

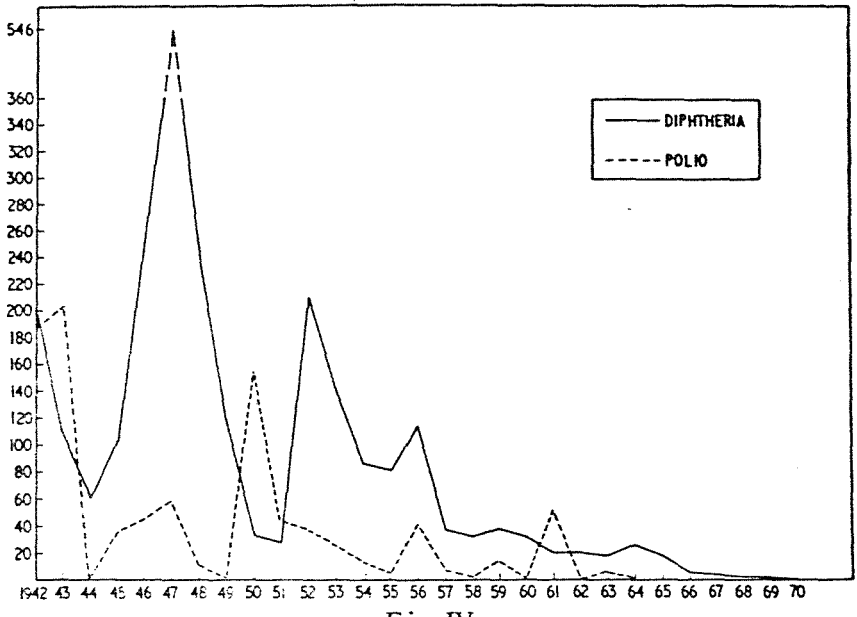

Fig. IV

years had to elapse before parents of schoolchildren realised the usefulness and advantages of this preventive measure.[8] Now nearly 80% of school entrants are vaccinated against diphtheria. Figure IV illustrates the marked drop in incidence; there has been no case reported since 1970. The same can be said for poliomyelitis and as a successful vaccine became available, there was a most satisfactory response to the offer of free vaccination. In fact there has been no notified case of poliomyolitis since 1965 (Figure IV).[9]

There has been epidemiological evidence of an association between a poor social environment and susceptibility to tuberculosis.[10] Figure V shows the death rate from pulmonary tuberculosis in a number of Mediterranean countries. It will be realised that in the

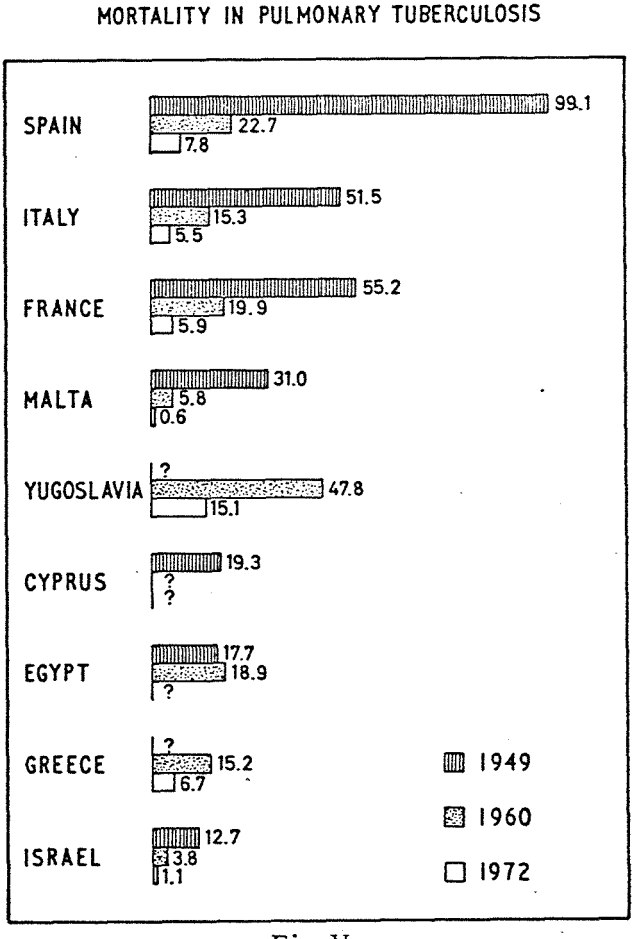

Fig. V

case of Malta, these rates have markedly improved and are now very low indeed. As indicated by Figure VI, dramatic downward hands

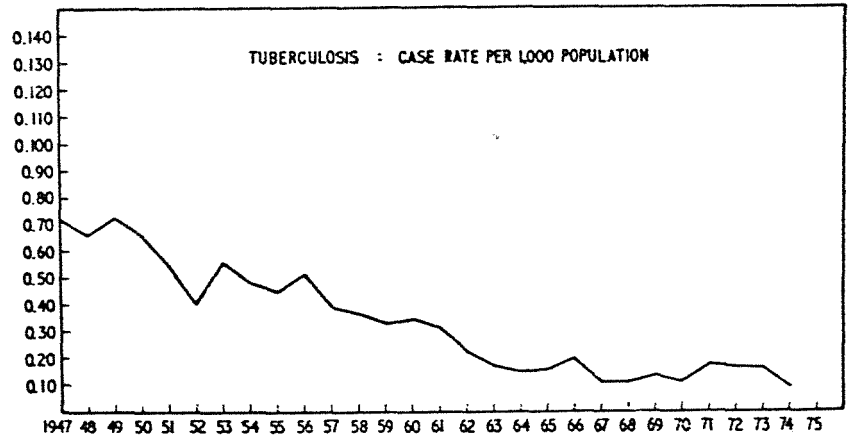

Fig. VI

in the case-rate for tuberculosis have been registered over the last two decades. The early pulmonary disease of young adults has been brought under control and the incidence is highest in middle aged and other people, a situation common in developed countries.

Another infection to be discussed is Brucellosis. This is being done because Brucellosis is intimately related to the history of medicine in Malta. It was in Malta that most of the work to discover the causative agent of undulant fever was carried on and it was in 1886 that Sir David Bruce found the microbe of brucellosis in the spleen of four soldiers stationed in Malta.[11] Brucellosis is a disease in humans acquired through ingestion of infected goats' and cows' milk. The practical effects of the discovery of the microbe in goats' milk in 1906 were immediately evident. The prevalence of Brucellosis in British Forces was immediately reduced first by banning goats' milk. As evident from Table IV, the incidence in the local population remained high and was only drastically reduced when milk pasteurization became compulsory in 1957. Brucellosis is now limited to dairy industry workers as well as to persons eating raw cheeselets.[12]

Trachoma, a disease affecting the eyes, which not infrequently led to blindness, was rampant in Malta up to 1950. Through the effort of local ophthalmologists we have succeeded in eradicating the condition from these islands, and have not had a single case since 1962. Figure VII vividly reproduces the dramatic decrease in the incidence of Trachoma in immediate the post-war period.

Table IV

INCIDENCE OF BRUCELLOCIS 1942-

YEAR	TOTAL NUMBER OF CASES	YEAR	TOTAL NUMBER OF CASES
1942	456	1960	260
1943	334	1961	127
1944	173	1962	90
1945	1024	1963	69
1946	2410	1964	56
1947	1390	1965	70
1948	1039	1966	24
1949	902	1967	29
1950	864	1968	14
1951	613	1969	57
1952	550	1970	51
1953	425	1971	56
1954	548	1972	63
1955	522	1973	34
1956	432	1974	31
1957	257		
1958	117		
1959	220		

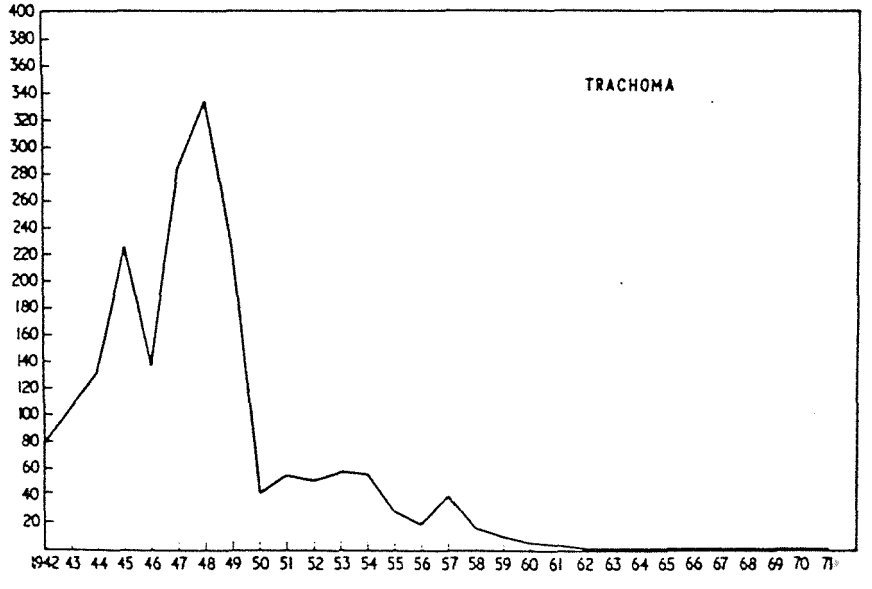

Fig. VII

There is no doubt that poverty and its ill-effects on health has been successfully controlled in Malta. A pattern of diseases which are prevalent in developed countries is now seen to be emerging, however. In 1974, deaths from heart disease and cerebrovascular disease accounted for 40% of all deaths. These together with cancer, which accounts for 13% of all deaths, make up the major causes of death in Malta (Figure 9). Malta is now beginning to experience the harmful effects of affluence on health that result from the increase in tobacco consumption, from the overindulgence in food – especially the wrong food – and from lack of exercise. If the pattern of other developed countries repeats itself here, as one believes it will, the incidence of cardiovascular deaths is bound to increase. This is more likely to occur in Malta because of the known high incidence of *diabetes mellitus*, a disease well known to accellerate the degeneration changes in arteries. This state of affairs can be forstalled if the experience of others is leamt from. Though the relief of poverty is clearly associated with general health benefits, the onset of affluence may, as has been shown in other countries, prove deleterious to the health of those individuals who were not prepared for it. As already indicated, real dangers result from overindulgence in food, tobacco and alcohol as well as from lack of exercise. Such dangers can be controlled if we can train ourselves and others in the habits of moderation. Indeed the results from Framingham in the United States have demonstrated unequivocably that in heart disease, once the recognised adverse factors have been brought under control, the actual incidence of heart attacks has decreased.[13] It is therefore important that at this critical stage of the history of disease in Malta, a health education programme be formulated in order to inform and instruct the public on the control of these adverse factors. Clinical experience frequently suggests that for health education to be shown in stark reality the possible consequences of ignoring reasonable medical advice. One very often finds that, in the vast majority of individuals, knowledge of the facts by itself is a useless prophylactic agent. It is only when it is combined with fear that it becomes effective.

NOTES:

[1] Quoted in H. Miller *Medicine and Society* (Oxford, University Press, 1973), p. v.

[2] It is important to distinguish between *incidence of disease* and *causality of mortality*. For the latter, data is more profuse.

[3] See *Report of the Barracks and Hospital Improvement Commission on the Sanitary Condition and Improvement of the Mediterranean Station* (London, H.M.S.O., George Edward Eyre & William Spottiswoode, 1863), p. 87. The rate is further confirmed by Dr Ghio *The Cholera in Malta and Gozo in the year 1865* (Malta, Govt. Printing Office, 1867), p. 6, where he says that 'the average rate of mortality in these islands under ordinary circumstances is about nine persons per diem (24 per 1000, annually on the entire population)'.

[4] Ghio, *ibid.* adds further '... that is to say 5 under five years of age, 23 between five and seventy and 17 of seventy and upwards'. (p. 6).

[5] Ghio, *ibid.* adds further on 'The mortality among children of the lower classes is mainly due to want of care. If these children had the benefit of better care in sickness, the rate of mortality in the absence of the eruptive diseases which occasionally visit these islands, would be much reduced'.

[6] See, e.g. Giusè Bonnici *It-trobbija tat-Tfal* (Malta, Tip. Lux, 1932), p. 35 where he insists that the three major causes for the high rate of death among children were lack of recreational space, poor hygiene, and overpopulation in households.

[7] In the Demographic Review of the Maltese Islands for the Year 1969 (Malta, Central Office of Statistics, 1971), p. 1, it is stated that 'After the year 1962 the population reversed its long history of almost uninterrupted growth and began to show a tendency to decline rather slowly'.

[8] Report on the Health Conditions of the Maltese Islands and on the work of the Medical and Health Department for the year 1951 (Malta, Govt. Printing Press, 1953), p. 19.

[9] See Report on the Health Conditions of the Maltese Islands and on the work of the Medical and Health Department for the years 1965, 1966, 1967 (Malta, Dept. of Information, 1970) p. 6.

[10] See e.g. J. Crofton & A. Douglas *Respiratory Diseases* (2nd edition) (Oxford, Blackwell Scientific Publications, 1975) and L. Stein 'Tuberculosis and the "social complex" in Glasgow' *Br. J. Soc. Med.* VI, 1 (1952).

[11] D. Bruce, 'Note on the Discovery of a Micro-organism in Malta Fever', *The Practitioner*, XXXIX (1887), p. 163.

[12] For an excellent historical excursus on the control of Brucellosis, see P. Cassar *Medical History of Malta* (London, Wellcome Historical Medieval Library, 1964) pp. 240-247.

[12] W. B. Kannel, W.P. Castelli & P.M. McNamara 'The coronary profile: 12 year follow up in the Framingham study' *J. Occup. Med.*, 9 (1967), p. 611; J. Truett, J. Cornfield & W. Kannel 'A multivariate analysis of the risk of coronary heart disease in Framingham', *J. Chron. Dis.*, 19, (1967), p. 382; and T.R. Dawber, G.C. Meadors & F.X. Moore 'Epidemiological approaches to heart disease: the Framingham study' *Am. J. Pub. Health*, 41, (1951), p. 279.

RELIGIOUS SYMBOLISM IN A CHANGING MALTA

by MARIO VASSALLO

THIS paper attempts to analyse the interaction between social change and religion in Malta. I do not intend to go into the at times overdrawn theoretical discussions on what one means by religion; in the Maltese context *questions related to problems of ultimate meaning* have, for centuries, been answered within the framework of one religious ideology – that of the Catholic Church. In a sense, therefore, this discussion will have to restrict itself to an analysis of the interaction between social change and one particular form of structured religion. On the basis of my data I should then like to suggest ways in which the Maltese experience might contribute some valuable insights to the theoretical discussion on secularization.

Since the end of Islamic rule in Malta, Maltese identity hinged on two primary principles: *language* and *religion.* All the islanders speak Maltese, a language in its own right. Although Semitic in its grammatical structure and syntax, it is written in Roman script and, like the race, has received a number of Romance and Anglo-Saxon accretions. The history of literary Maltese has been erratic, and it took very long for the local language to acquire the status and the official recognition it currently enjoys.[1] Although interest in written Maltese is about two centuries old, the status of Maltese was generally restricted to that of a second-class culture carrier. Several Maltese intellectuals had, at various times, tried to engender a love for the language, and to develop its literary potential.[2] Their motives, and at times their methods as well, were not uniformly acceptable to all the factions in Malta, and in effect Maltese persistently acted as a buffer against acculturation. At times this buffer was believed to be necessary as a safeguard against the suspicion – not always unfounded[3] – that education, and the development of the local tongue, was simply a subtle method of conversion. At other times, language came to symbolize the Maltese

dislike of the colonizers' way of govemment and of the lack of understanding of the needs of the locals.[4] The persistent use of Italian as the language of culture and in the internal administration of the island, and indeed the whole language question that bedevilled Maltese politics in the 1920s and the 1930s confirmed this. The forceful imposition of English as *official language* in the 1921 Letters Patent[5] could not but consolidate for a further two decades the position of Italian as a surrogate of indegenous identity. Paradoxically enough the chances of Maltese to develop along the lines which a number of a political Maltese intellectuals had indicated were further stifled.

The other basic component of Maltese identity is *religion.* A long-standing tradition, attested to by archaeological discoveries, claims that the Maltese were converted from paganism to Christianity by the apostle Paul when he was shipwrecked on his way to Rome for judgement.[6] Contrary to popular belief, recent research suggests that the presence of Christianity was not continuous in Malta since Apostolic times. Evidence for any Christian presence during the centuries of Islamic rule between 870 and the XI-XII centuries is indeed fragmentory.[7] Soon afterwards however, Christianity regained ground[8] and contemporary Maltese still take pride in their fathers' courageous participation in the defence of Christian Europe against the onslaught of the Turks in 1565; in the way the Maltese ousted the French from Malta in 1800 when anticlericalism began to show clearly beneath the *liberté, egalité, fraternité* motto of the French revolution; and in the vigorous way in which they affirmed their religious tenets from the day when they sent their first dispatch to Lord Nelson.

Despite the power over the minds of the Maltese it eventually gained, Christianity was always an import for Malta; and insofar as the spiritual direction of the Church lies outside the islands, it remains an import, relying on edicts and directions that come, ultimately, from without. Yet the process of religious socialization has been long and thorough, never succumbing to the demands made from conquerors, and steadily absorbing the preoccupations of folk culture into a Catholic matrix. In different circumstances, religion allowed the Maltese to consolidate their sense of separate identity around it, even in the face of invaders whose formal religious profession was, at times, also to the Church of Rome. This could take place because religion had gradually come to constitute distinctive local customs, it had come to sanctify distinctive traditions, and legitimized and permeated activities which had else-

where lost their distinctively religious character.[9] The Church was the symbol of Maltese national identity and the repository of distinctive Maltese customs.[10] The contrast of the secularized or profane soldiers with the Maltese ideal of religion was often sharp, and all the more strongly asserted because the Church was the only really viable local institution which mobilized popular sentiment, which was a focus of folk attitudes, and which provided opportunities for local leadership.[11]

Language and religion, then, came to be the primary sets of symbols around which indigenous life in Malta centred. The need for such a system of symbols such as this was mandatory for the preservation of the local community throughout its modern history. Like many of its island neighbours in the Mediterranean, Malta has a history of conquest, struggle and occupation; and experienced several quite different influences since paleolithic man first built his giant temples at Hagar Qim and Mnajdra. For centuries Malta was occupied by foreign powers, it was run as an island fortress,[12] and as such needed an indigenous force to weld together all the elements necessary for a separate identity.

The overall image of pre-Independent Malta is one of a *convent-cum-fortress* island. Structurally the indigenous population was broken down into a number of tightly-knit communities dispersed in the various settlements, and had religion to cement them and to 'protect' them from alien influences. Over the last two decades however, Malta has lost both its '*fortress*' and its '*convent*' status; and has joined the bigger nations in the rat-race for a new identity and a new mode of living in the developed, and the emancipated community of nations.

The need to abandon Malta's *fortress* status in favour of a more equitable and directly productive society had long been felt by Maltese leaders, as well as by well-intentioned visitors who from time to time visited Malta and suggested remedies for its economic ills.[13] In 1945 for example, Sir Wilfred Woods, who had been sent to Malta specifically to investigate the financial situation of the islands had this to say:

> for centuries, the economic structure of Malta has been artificial in the sense that it has been based on the invisible exports of services, which, since the political connection with Britain, has taken the form of labour for the Defence Departments in the U.K. ...[14]

Further on in his report, Woods suggested that,

> if any considerable expansion of Malta's national income apart

from employment in the U.K. services is possible at all, it will have to come from more intensive exploitation of the land, the production for export markets of a limited range of consumer goods which her resources in labour may make possible, or some combination of these possibilities.[15]

The changeover from 'fortress' to an industrialized country was held back by several factors. British military interests in Malta persisted well into the fifties, and it seemed then that only some form of constitutional arrangement with Britain other than total dependence on the policies set by Whitehall, could safeguard the British military interests in the Mediterranean and simultaneously ascertain for Malta an increasing level of per capita income. Political integration with Britain was, as a matter of fact, the set programme for Malta by the mid-fifties, and was abandoned only after the change in defence policy affected by the British Government on the adoption of the East of Suez policy by Lennox Boyd in 1958.[16] By the late fifties, it became obvious that Malta's ultimate future lay with some form of independence, something to which the Nationalists had aspired as early as 1921[17] and which Mintoff had begun to demand very vociferously soon after the collapse of his integration proposals.

Besides the developments on the level of big-power policies, several other factors at home were intensifying the call for self-determination. With the introduction of free and compulsory education in 1948, the process of politicization was expected to become more widespread; and the demands for self-assertion and self-determination were re-inforced. In many respects in fact, the period 1947-1958 could be called the formative period of Maltese nationality. Widespread education was providing the skills which would become so necessary as Malta changed its role from that of fortress to an industrialized country. The definitive departure from the old way of life came in 1958 when economic planning was first introduced; and when the changeover of the Dockyard from a predominantly military arsenal to a commercial enterprise was announced.[18] Malta was now set on the paths of industry and tourism. Deep structural changes in the Maltese economy were in the making. From very early in the infrastructural phase, new factories started to sprout everywhere; new hotels started to dot Malta's beaches. By 1975, employment with the Services establishments had gone down from the 21,000 level it had been in 1951 (when it was 24% of the gainfully occupied population) to a mere 4166 (3.9%). Over the same period the percentage share of jobs claimed

by the manufacturing sector alone had risen from a mere 10.0% to 29.0%. The number of tourists visiting Malta sprang from a mere 12,583 in 1959 (the year following the creation of a Tourist Board) to 372,516. In just eighteen years in the tourist industry, Malta started to receive more than one tourist per annum for every person living on the island.[19]

The effects of these sudden departures from the traditional way of life, and most especially the rapidity with which they came about, have had far-reaching effects on all the aspects of the life-styles of the Maltese. A few important features of this change could be isolated:

(a) *assertion of Maltese national identity.* When political independence was achieved in 1964, the Maltese finally had an opportunity to start doing things 'the Maltese way', to look for an indigenous tradition of ordering public affairs, to assert Maltese style, and to restore, resuscitate, or re-create Maltese institutions. Foreign powers should now treat Malta as an equal. Such a prospect was not without difficulties. Malta's social and public life had been dominated by foreign institutions and run by foreign personnel; indigenous political consciousness had been affected and moulded by institutions imported from Britain; disparity in size and in economic viability between Malta and other independent states could not but affect her relations with them.

Increasingly it became apparent therefore that to survive Malta needed to exploit her natural assets, and to sell herself to a client who had a completely different set of values from those of her previous military occupant. Suddenly, folklore, tradition, sandy beaches, local artisanship and religious pageantry itself became wares which had to be exploited and sold.

(b) *Wider opening to other cultures.* The process of indigenization just described inevitably had to be balanced by a wider opening to alien cultures. The developments in industrial output and in touristic appeal generated a need to establish economic, cultural and diplomatic ties with other nations. Better communications – by sea and air – had to be secured, and the already existing telephonic and telex communications with the outside world expanded. Contact with other cultures, and their values as widely divergent as could be conceived of in a mixture of communist Chinese experts and Swedish tourists, was further intensified with the advent of television;[20] and by the increased demand for foreign printed media as a result of the population's general advances in literacy. This, and the impact of tourists seeking to shed the constraints of their normal lives, gave a new ethos to the islands.

(c) *New patterns of extended socialization.* On the more localized level, the daily experience of many people began to be completely different from those of their fathers, or even of their elder brothers and sisters. The extension of education into the prime of adulthood not only raised the aspirations for achievement of Malta's new generations, but it also provided a new context for extended socialization. In the same manner, the increasing congregation of workers in the concrete dens of the Marsa Industrial Estate, was a new socio-psychological experience for many people, necessitating socialization to new conditions, and an effort at adjustment between traditional mores – such as those obtaining on the family's *razzett* – and those developing within industry. The involvement of women in factory life – an entirely new phenomenon – was a virtually revolutionary circumstance. From a dependence on an employer who was personally known, and with whom a long-standing relationship often evolved, work relations became more impersonal, the cash-nexus assumed a larger role, and individual autonomy was a new possibility. As has been argued, 'what is most fundamental here is not the quantum of remuneration, but the fact that these young men and women have obtained independent employment.[21]

(d) *A new diffusion of interests.* Democratization on all levels has increased the associational aspects of life. Maltese society is gradually losing its *gemeinschaftlich* characteristics. Family grip over the individual now diminishes as the individual reaches maturity; and the village's grip over the family as a unit has practically disappeared. Self-assertion and creativity are now positive values in the educational system: both represent an assault against the old kinship and community structure. In industry, new patterns of association, focusing, at the extreme, on collective bargaining, and strike action, represent new conceptions of the in-group, demand new loyalties which conflict with older patterns. The increased use of the vote, and the demand for its responsible use, represent a radical democratic and ultimately individualistic perspective, that stands in sharp contrast with the old community allegiancis. Conscious interests, consciously-formed associations have not only caused the erosion, but have positively militated against the old 'natural' and 'given' social units, often to the bewilderment and shock of the older generations.

The effects of economic planning, therefore, did not merely dismantle the physical features of Malta as a fortress, but, re-inforced by educational changes, also opened Malta's convent doors to values previously excluded by its insularity.

Such a process came largely through a substantial decrease in the legitimating power of the Church on the *local* level. To the Church, in fact, the supra-village forces operating in Maltese society were disrupting its traditional form of societal organization, and hence they were disrupting the source of its strength. The second book of the *Codex Iuris Canonici*, the body of legislation that regulates internal organization within catholicism, makes it clear that traditional Church structures are essentially based on territorial divisions;[22] authority is to be exercised hierarchically, starting with the Pope at the very top, down to an ordinary Church rector at the very bottom.

Social change in Malta, as has already been indicated, went counter to this 'philosophy' of relationships within the community. Within a very short period of time, the barriers which had so strongly separated the different communities were destroyed, and the internal cohesion that for so long had characterized this type of society were diluted by the greater mobility necessary for a person's education, work and recreation.[23]

Cutting across this process of deep social change induced by Malta's economic needs, a further 'event' intensified the process of what might be called 'deconventualization'. For ten long years, the church in Malta underwent the traumatic experience of its dispute with the Malta Labour Party. The tendencies Mintoff had shown as early as 1939[24] when he was still a university student gradually evolved into a clear programme for the effective 'secularization' of Maltese life, and for the planned dimunition of the Church's superintendency and traditional legitimating power. Over the fifties, and through the sixties until final agreement was reached in 1969, all the Church's attention was directed at keeping Mintoff out of power, and to fight the secularising trends to which he was committed. Frequent public meetings, especially during the two elections of 1962 and 1966, and before the 1964 referendum preceding Independence, were used by each side to attack, contradict, and argue against the other party. Very often, Mintoff attacked the rallies organised by the Junta[25] of gross misrepresentations of what he said and of what he was advocating for the nation's good. The other parties, and the Church itself, obviously did their best to persuade people that Mintoff's socialism was a threat to the nation's economy, tradition, and future. What is particularly interesting is not, however, the tenets of each faction. It is rather the recognition of the fact that Malta's acculturation was not resulting only from the new ethos imported recently into the island

by books and tourists. It was being forcefully generated by an effective agency rooted in Maltese social structure itself, viz. a political party the leader of which had, since 1949, when he assumed its direction, avowed himself in favour of a deep structural alteration in the traditional ordering of Maltese social mores.[26]

Various areas where the affects of Malta's loss of its previous 'convent' status can be felt can be referred to at this point. Only a number of areas where such an effect was mostly felt could be mentioned:

(a) *Vocations.* The vocation to the priesthood is no longer considered as a status route by parents. Its attractiveness no longer lies where it might have been in past years: the priest is no longer in practice the only person with a high level of education. He is no longer the person to whom everyone would go whenever all sorts of difficulties arise. The process of structural differentiation in society at large started to attract young men with leadership orientations into the more lay professions, and although vocation trends do not in general and as yet, indicate substantial downwards shifts, the percentage intake from people within the relevant educational catchment area is much lower than previously.[27]

(b) *Village festas.* In village society, the normal festa in honour of the patron saint, and quite commonly that in honour of the secondary titular saint organised by the opposing faction or *partit*, were the most important events of the year. With the extension of lesiure facilities, and the greater availability of quick transport, festivities are no longer tied exclusively to a Church once-in-a-year event; but have become a constant feature of Maltese life. Much of the symbolism of traditional folk-life – which used to reach its climax in the village festa – steadily lost its earlier significance and ceased to be intrinsically justifiable or beneficial. Even other previously all-important events like the Good Friday processions underwent the accretion of instrumental and pragmatic values that had been quite alien to them in earlier times. Gradually people became more self-conscious about such festivals, and from natural parts of social life in its various manifestations, they became to be regarded less as coherent elements in everyday activity, less as essential features of the community's symbolic universe, and more as isolated, saleable artefacts of culture, to be produced and performed 'to order' for outsiders for whom they bore no intrinsic meaning but only the qualities of spectacle. What was once sacred, jealously-guarded, and good-in-itself, had become another item to be put in the balance of payments as a credit-earning product.[28]

(c) *Education.* Before the introduction of compulsory education in 1947, the Church practically controlled the educational system in Malta. It was very well represented at the University, it ran the teachers' training colleges, it owned the most important secondary schools with the exception of the Lyceum and one big secondary school for girls, had several primary schools, and monopolised nursery education. The Church's overriding presence in secondary schools persisted until 1966 when free secondary education by the state was extended to all and the school leaving age was raised. Teacher training is no longer run by religious. The percentage intake of students in the other Church-run educational institutions has now gone down considerably, and nursery education no longer is a virtually Church monopoly. Religion too is no longer a compulsory subject in schools, and is very often dropped as an academic subject in favour of one of the other 'more useful' subjects.

By the mid-sixties and early seventies, therefore, the traditionally most important institutions of Maltese social life had undergone radical change. On the one hand, the young 'State of Malta' was reaching out for full maturity and was already making its voice listened to in spite of its smallness.[29] The Church, on the other hand, was engaged in a serious attempt to re-tailor itself according to the ideas emanating from the turmoil brought about by Vatican II.[30] In Malta itself, the paradox for the Church at this critical period of self-appraisal was the recognition that it was, faster than ever before, losing its symbolic effectiveness. The reason for this was of course not very difficult to see, even though many church leaders in fact failed to do so. As long as culture, tradition, national life-style, and religion were intertwined in a complex set of mutually supportive attitudes and values, the Church was the dominant indigenous institution. Once the connections were broken – as they were when Independence was attained and national identity could now start being built on purely secular values – the way was open for a process of diminution of the significance of the Church in Maltese national life.

The effect of social change in general, and of the new theological stances emerging after Vatican II, on the life of the leaders of the Church could not be of equal incidence. Although they had trained for the same role-set, and although they were all supposed to be operating within the same institutional set-up, priests for example actually differ extensively in their world-views.[31] For the first time in Malta's history a number of orientations towards the traditional form of religious symbolism are openly adopted in Malta without fear of global exclusion and of social extortion by an

overtly religion dominated social system.[32] The resultant pluralistic situation is a completely novel experience among indigenous Maltese; and though strains and tensions still erupt at times of conflict on a micro level (in small groups, or within households), they no longer evoke the kind of macro level dissension that characterized Maltese public life in the 1960s.[33]

What does secularization mean in the Maltese case? And what, if any, is the specific function of religion at a time when social forces in Malta are forcefully pressing for the rapid establishment of a welfare state?

(a) The conscious departure from *wertrationalität* to *zweckrationalität* referred to above, and the rapid blurring of practically all urban/rural borders have resulted in social forces that make traditional religious structures less relevant on the macro-societal level. The shift among the clergy towards a dialogic stance is not an independent phenomenon.[34] It follows on the social consciousness of a people increasingly aware that their dependence on religion need not be as exhaustive as it previously had been. Certainly there has been a diminution in the social significance of religious structures and institutions as traditionally understood. The Church has become to occupy a less conspicuous and less presidential place in the affairs of the nation. Traditional church gatherings, festivals and activities can no longer claim exclusively to portry national identity and solidarity. Grandiose church structures and activities are losing their previous universally accepted symbolic content. The diminution of the Church's legitimating power occurs as the local/rural context – in which religious virtues and morality had been primarily conceived – becomes a context in which men fear cultural deprivation.

(b) The disintegration of the Church and religion on the macro-societal level does not, so far at least, indicate a parallel disintegration on the micro-societal level in Malta. Although the global influence of the Church and of religion on society may appear to be on the decline, an unmistakeable revival of religious feeling, of inquisitiveness about religious tenets, belies a shift towards a more communitarian rather than a hierarchical conception of Church belonging. Interest in the activity of the religious leaders arises more out of a desire to further one's knowledge of religious doctrine, rather than to participate in parochial organisation. The decline of traditional religion, with its concomitant features, is in fact giving way to more personalised, nucleated meetings. To a large extent this is a natural extension of the new creeds created by the emerging societal ethos of a Malta the population of which

begins to suffer from the ills of compartmentalised education, work conditions and leisure facilities; in other words of the loss of person-to-person interaction associated with the decline of *Gemeinschaft* and the rise of *Gesellschaft*. Paradoxically perhaps, the loss of the traditional *Gemeinschaft* is creating a demand – even if such a demand is not always clearly articulated – for a quick return to it.

(c) Such a replacement of mass church education by more personalised nucleated meetings has been accompanied by a somewhat strange phenomenon: the Church in Malta spontaneously exhibited an attempt to develop the service ethic, and to consolidate its grip on the level of the total society by providing services, as an auxiliary agency, in certain departments of life where it supplies a lack that in more developed societies might be met by functionaries of the state. This itself is perhaps the best instance of the interaction of social change and the new *gesellschaftlich* characteristics evolving in Maltese society and in Church structures themselves. The various welfare commissions set up by enterprising individual priests as para-ecclesiastical agencies[35] are in themselves an acknowledgement that it was almost mandatory for a process of structural differentiation to take place within the Church itself. Rapid social change created new needs, and the Church in Malta, in an attempt to come to terms with the new societal needs, found itself developing ways and means whereby to meet the more complex demands of a people liberated from the local community and requiring more sophisticated, more specialised and more technical forms of advice. Whether this extension of one of the Church's features – the *Koinonia* in the theological jargon – persists in this form when the state is willing and ready to take over these activities is as yet very difficult to say. The fact remains that such a critical period of societal development was instrumental for new ideas – say on the emancipation of women and birth control – to be filtered to the population at large, and for them to acquire legitimation by none less than an offshot of traditional ideology.

In theoretical terms, therefore, one could conclude that the Maltese experience of religion-social change interaction over the last two decades suggests:

(a) that contrary to what Larry Shiner seems to imply secularization and the extent of structural differentiation characterizing a society undergoing rapid social change need not be two independent phenomena. In the Maltese case, the two prove to be closely interlinked, with secularization – here understood of course as the loss of social significance by religion – directly resulting from

differentiation;[36]

(b) that the Maltese experience seems to vindicate the Parsonian approach to secularization in that religion still acts as a source of both legitimation and change even if it tends to lose part of its former function of paramount ascendency in all sectors of social life.[37] The frequent attempts by the leaders of both Maltese political parties to prove that they and their party are actually doing best in actualizing the Christian Code is indicative enough of how true this is.[38] The Maltese experience does not fulfill the conditions of say, Sorokin's 'zero-sum concept',[39] neither does it fit into any scheme of secularization that postulates a 'total emptying of religion's social significance';[40]

(c) the foregoing assertions are evocative of possible fusion of what might be considered two of the most popular theories of religion in the literature: the Marxist and the Durkheimian. Even though mass education and the resulting new aspirations are making the Maltese eager for the establishment of a meritocracy, remnants of the old structures – patronage and client relationships in politics e.g. – persist.[41] In such conditions, religion and not politics may in the long run prove to be best carrier of the egalitarian ethos in Malta.

At Church everybody is treated the same, and the shift towards a dialogic stance among the Maltese clergy indicates more an awareness to persist in that direction. As such, religion would be thriving on empirical social conditions, and, at least partially, on the impossibility of the 'secular institutions' to actualise the thrust of the new Maltese societal ethos. In this sense, Marx's assessment of religion as expressing and reflecting, in his own words, 'real distress', and the suggestion that the existence of religion is 'a protest against real distress' might come to be vindicated. The other aspects of his theory of religion do not however seem to fit in with what is happening in Malta: as an important carrier of change, religion could not be called 'the opium of the people', but rather a source of light. It is precisely in these terms that elements of Durkheim's understanding of religion – most especially religion understood as a focus of common identity – seems to me to be more appropriate than ever. A theory of religion incorporating the above elements from what are normally considered exclusive theories of religion appears to me to be the best possible explanatory system for current Maltese religion and religiosity.

NOTES:

[1] See D. Marshall, *History of the Maltese language in Local Education* (Malta, MUP, 1971); and H. Frendo 'Language of a Colony' (Malta Univ. M.A. Thesis, 1974). Maltese became, in conjunction with English, Malta's official language by letters Patent of 12 August 1936.

[2] Canon Agius De Soldanis (1770) published the first Maltese grammar in 1770. He was the first Maltese scholar to insist on the need for a standard orthography for Maltese.

[3] The British operated in Malta through the Church Missionary Society and used the island as a centre for all the Mediterranean, publishing the Bible in various languages. See Parl. Papers, *Reports of the Commissioners appointed to Inquire into the Affairs of Malta 1838* (140-I), pp. 15-17; and C. Sant *It-Traduzzjoni tal-Bibbja u l-Ilsien Malti 1810-1850* (Malta, MUP, 1975). When press censorship was relaxed in 1839 (Ordinance No. IV of 1839) a stream of 'newspapers' started to be published, by the Protestants in Malta, rhytmically to be rebutted by similar publications, primarily edited by Jesuits in Malta. The 1883 elections were fought specifically on this issue.

[4] The election of two simpletons (Ciappara, a pauper of seventy eight with chronic nervous disease, and Baldacchino, an obscure and illiterate organ grinder) to the Executive Council in 1882, intended to bring in a halt the administration of the island, was one such symbolic gesture by the Maltese.

[5] The Malta Constitution Letters Patent 14 April 1921, art. 57, i-iii.

[6] Acts of the Apostles, xxvii, 27-xxvii, 11. An early Christian presence in Malta is confirmed by the archaeological evidence, particularly by the catacombs around Mdina.

[7] This remains a debatable issue. The most recent and elaborate study, A. T. Luttrell, 'Approaches to Medieval Malta', in *Medieval Malta: Studies on Malta before the Knights*, ed. A. T. Luttrell (London, British School at Rome, 1975), 19-41, 60-64, 69-70, tentatively concludes, after a discussion of the evidence and of the incorporations previously advanced, that there is no firm evidence for the continuity of Christianity in Malta between 870 and *circa* 1200.

[8] See A. Luttrell, 'The Christianization of Malta', *The Malta Yearbook* 1977 (Malta *forthcoming*).

[9] This point has been made very clearly by David Martin: 'in a general way a nation denied self-determination by another dominating society will either seek sources of religious differentiation, or use the pre-existing religious difference as a rallying point'. In G. Walters (ed.), *Religion in a Technological Society* (UK, Bath University Press, 1968), p. 35.

[10] The extent to which this is true is suggested by the following examination question, set in the Urban Studies paper for the B.A. in Architectural Studies: 'The State, the Church and the Market were the three forces traditionally at work in an urban settlement. Discuss how the town plan tends to reflect their relative strength at any one time.' (June '76).

[11] An excellent recent illustration to this is provided by D. Fenech, *The Making of Archbishop Gonzi* (Malta, Union Press, 1976). An example from the XVIII century can be found in Ph. Callus *The Rising of the Priests: its implications and repurcussions on ecclesiastical immunity* (Malta, MUP, 1961).

[12] Independence was attained in 1964. The natural step from a Constitutional Monarchy linked to a foreign-born and foreign-maintained monarch, to an indigenous Republic was taken a decade afterwards, and came into effect with the appropriate constitutional amendments in December 1974.

[13] Various examples could be cited. Towards the end of XVIII century, at a time when M.A. Vassalli believed that the Order of the Knights was in serious difficulties, rather than joining the subservise elements then being cultivated on the island by the French, he wrote an important memorandum to the Grandmaster in which he advocated that the Order should rationalize her activity and develop relationships with the East. His ideas were considered impractical, however, and he eventually joined the Jacobite faction. See F. Panzavecchia, *L'Ultimo Periodo della Storia di Malta sotto il Governo dell'Ordine Gerosolomita* (Malta, Stamperia del Governo, 1835), pp. 342-47. See also G. Mitrovich, *The Claims of the Maltese founded upon the Principles of Justice* (London, Mills & Son, 1835); and his *Indirizzo ai Maltesi* (Londra, dai Torchj di Mills e Figlio, 1835), in which he made substantial claims for better salaries and pensions for the Maltese. Similarly, see N. Zammit, *Malta e Sue Industrie* (Malta, Stamperia di Governo, 1886), pp. 33-42, 116-22, and especially 123-26. Zammit criticizes the widespread belief in luck among the Maltese; and insists that it is necessary to 'destroy the superstition of luck from the people's minds'. For an account of similar calls by M. Dimech, see G. Frendo, *Birth Pangs of a Nation – Manwel Dimech's Malta* (Malta, Mediterranean Publications Ltd., 1972), Ch. VII. The above names have been given by way of an indication, and others – like G. Ellul Mercer, F. Mizzi, N. Mizzi, S. Savona and P. Boffa – could also be cited to similar effect.

[14] W. Woods, *Report on the Finances of the Government of Malta* (London, Colonial No. 196, 1946), par. 6a.

[15] *Ibid.*, par. 8.

[16] See an excellent analysis of the integration issue by D. Austin, *Malta and the End of the Empire* (London, Frank Cass, 1971). The extent to which the British persistently thought of Malta mainly as a fortress is typically brought out in a retort by Lord Kimberley, Secretary of State for the colonies in 1880 that 'while Her Majesty's Government were willing to pay the utmost possible consideration to the views and votes of the elected members in all matters, especially in purely local matters, it was inevitable that in a fortress the ultimate decision in most cases must remain with the Government'. C.O. 158/257.

[17] Dr. E. Mizzi is reported to have claimed Dominion Status rights for Malta when commenting on the 1921 semi-responsible constitution: 'For the Maltese to satisfy themselves in their most intimate and profound aspirations, they would have to be conceded the status of a Dominion within

the Imperial community (the Commonwealth, i.e.) similar to that of Canada, Australia, and South Africa'. Anon, *L-Istorja tal-Partit Nazzjonalista* (Malta, Lux Press, 1972), pp. 12-13.

[18] For the relevant documents related to this period, see D. Mintoff (ed.), *Malta Demands Independence* (Malta, MLP, 1959), especially pp. 22-24 for the Statement by the Secretary of State on the Future of the Dockyard and pp. 44-47 for the Colonial Office's assessment of Malta's economic position and outlook at the same time. The book concludes (pp. 99-102) with Mintoff's own assessment, and his arguments in favour of independence and non-alignment.

[19] See Table I, Appendix I, p. 24.

[20] See Table 2, Appendix II, p. 25.

[21] Besides its own TV network (beaming programmes on one channel, but with a second channel in its late stages of development), Malta can receive both RAI-Italian programmes very clearly.

[22] S. Busuttil, (ed.) *Tourism in Malta: Socio Economic Aspects* (RUM, Department of Economics – AIESEC-MALTA, 1971), p. 6.

[23] The territorial dimension is so basic to the 1917 Codex that Canon 216 specifically states: 'non possunt sine speciale apostolico indulto constitui paroeciae pro diversitate sermonis seu nationis fidelium in eadem civitate vel territorio digentium, nec paroeciae mere familiares aut personales; ad constitutas autem quod attinet, nihil innovandum, inconsulta Apostolica Sede'.

Later on in Canon 241, section 2, an explicit exception is made for military chaplains: 'circa militum cappellanos sive maiores sive minores, standum peculiaribus Sanctae Sedis praescriptis ...'.

Some of these provisions of the Codex have now been superseded recently by *Pastorale Munus* (1963), *Episcoporum Munuibus* (1966), and *Mignatorum Cura* (1969).

[24] It is worth noting that before the coming of industry and tourism to Malta, mobility from one's place of residence to another settlement or parish was restricted to urgent needs, and only special occasions like the festa provided opportunities for people to leave their homes and attend the celebrations of other nearby parishes. The growth of population around Valletta already referred to, had allowed the services and the dockyard to draw their labour supply from the new suburbs, thus consolidating a 'village' ethos even in these specialised areas of Malta's economy.

[25] The debate was conducted in the columns of *The Daily Malta Chronicle and Imperial Services Gazette* in December 1938 and January 1939. On 9 January 1939, Mintoff wrote that he believed 'workers should have the same economic rights as the peers and the judges ... and anything that will help to put that ideal in practice, whether it comes from the Pope or from any other source, is welcome to us ...' He later commented on how he understood Malta's social structure since 1500 AD, and divided it into three social strata: (a) the Knights, (b) the 'professionists', and (c) the workers and peasants. He commented: 'The "professionists" licked the Knights' boots whilst the workers and peasants licked the boots of their

fellow citizens, the "professionists". Captain Ball occupied Malta by request of these "professionists" who had worked up the workers and the peasants to a red-hot religious fanaticism. Thus the Knights left the island and in their stead ruled the British who, being interested in the island from a strategic point of view, gave all the desired privileges to the "professionists" who later on developed into ultra-patriots, and became pro-Italian ...'

[26] A committee formed by representatives of the leading associations for the lay apostolate.

[27] For details on the issues that resulted in Mintoff's rise to power in the Malta Labour Party see D. Mintoff, *Malta's Struggle for Survival* (Malta, Lux, 1949);

Mintoff, *Malta u l-Gvern Ingliz* (Malta, Muscat, 1950);

Mintoff, *Malta u l-Patt ta' l-Atlantiku* (Malta, Muscat, 1950);

Malta u l-United Nations (Malta, Muscat, 1950).

See too, editorial in *Is-Sebh* (M.L.P. organ) of 13 July 1950.

[28] These trends were noted in the results obtained from a yet unpublished survey conducted in 1976 among students of the Theology Faculty, RUM, and among prospective candidates to the priesthood.

[29] Perhaps the most typical example of this is Carnival. This feast of popular extravagance is no longer linked to the liturgical calendar, but is now held in May, precisely in order that it may fall during a period when more tourists are visiting Malta.

[30] Perhaps the area in which Malta's voice was most effective is in relation to the law of the sea. Malta's proposals to the United Nations on the need for consensus on how to exploit the riches of the oceans for the good of mankind opened a debate that indicates the potential small countries have in such international institutions. See: Proceedings of *Pacem in Maribus Conventions I-IV* (10 volumes) (Malta, International Ocean Institute, 1970-1972).

and

A. Pardo *The Common Heritage – Selected Papers on Oceans and World Order 1957-1974* (Malta, MUP – Int. Ocean Institute, 1975).

[31] The idea of pastoral planning was first talked about in Malta in 1965. In spite of several attempts by various Diocesan Commissions, no concrete plan was produced until 1975. In March 1976 a definitive proposal was announced, with 'permanent education' and 'evangelization' as its two core concepts.

See B. Tonna (ed.) *Evangelizzazzjoni* (Malta, Segreterija Pastorali – Dok. I, 1970.

[32] See M. Vassallo 'Religion and Social Change in Malta' (Oxford University D.Phil. thesis, 1974), VI, pp. 266-335.

[33] For a discussion on emerging patterns of religiosity among Malta's young generation, see M. Vassallo 'Youth and the Future of the Faith in Malta', a paper read at an International Symposium held for delegate of Bishops' conferences on 'Youth and the Future of Faith in Europe' by the Vatican Secretariate for non-Believers, Rome 18-20 November 1975. Four

patterns of belief are to be distinguished (a) the *traditional* (b) the *dialogic* (c) the *liberated* and (d) the *ideologically atheistic*. The first two still relate belief to religious structures, the third belies a privatization of religious symbolism. The extent of pluralism is accentuated by the wide generation gap, especially in the villages where the incidence of social change has been highest.

[34] For an excellent account of *rural* politics in the 1960s see J.F. Boissevain, *Saints and Fireworks – Religion and Politics in Rural Malta* (London, Athlone Press, 1965); and J.F. Boissevain, *Hal Farrug – A Village in Malta* (USA, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1969). In his work Boissevain tries to relate the structures of political dissent to those of religious dissent, as crystallised around a Church-legitimized institution in some Maltese parishes: the secondary patron saint and the secondary *partit*. Such a view has very limited validity when extended beyond the specific areas in which Boissevain's research was located. Direct connections between the social roots of religious and political extremism have been observed in a number of countries, S.M. Lipset, *Political Man* (London, Mercury, 1960), pp. 107-108, refers to the success of young Trotsky in Czarist Russia as dependent on the support he got from religious sects; to the extent to which Communists in Holland and Sweden are more numerous in centres which once were the basis of fundamentalist religious revivalism; and to how, in Finalnd, Communism and revivalist Christianity are often strong in the same areas. The Maltese case is however very different from the instances mentioned by Lipset: in Malta the opposition between the patron saint and the secondary saint as it existed in some villages (and as it still does even if with diminishing relevance) is best understood as a form of institutional opposition within the same broad framework of belief; and so as opposition mostly of a formal kind. In the cases mentioned by Lipset, the opposition between the beliefs of the people of different groups are real, and differ fundamentally in their content.

[35] For a discussion of this shift among Maltese diocesan clergy, see 'Developments in Disharmony' in M. Vassallo 'Religion and Social Change in Malta', pp. 3'8-335.

[36] Like the Cana Movement, the Emigrants' Commission and the Social Action Movement.

[37] L. Shiner 'The Concept of Secularization in Empirical Research' *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 67, (1967), pp. 212-214.

[38] See T. Parsons 'Christianity and Modern Industrial Society' in E.A. Tiryakian (ed.), *Sociological Theory, Values and Socio-cultural Change* (Glencoe, Free Press, 1963) pp. 33-70; and T. Parsons 'Religion in post-industrial America: the problem of secularization', *Social Research*, 41-2, (1974), pp. 193-225.

[39] A typical example was Mintoff's speech at a public meeting prior to the important amendments to the Constitution in 1974. On October 27, 1974 Dom Mintoff publicly made reference to religious values to legitimize the proposed changes by referring to one of the basic tenets of Christianity,

equality of all men before God. During that meeting he distinguished at length between two types of Christians: 'stamped Christians (tal-bolla), and 'real Christians', and insisted that only those in the second category are true Christians. See *l-Orizzont*, 28 October 1974.

[40]P.A. Sorokin 'The Western Religion and Morality of Today', *Inter. Year Book for the Soc. of Religion*, II (1966) pp. 9-43.

[41]Such a definition of secularization would be the one suggested by C.Y. Glock and R. Stark in *Religion and Society in Tension* (Chicago, Rand McNally & Co., 1965) p. 116: the replacement of 'the mystical and supernatural elements of traditional Christianity' by 'a demythologized, ethical rather than theological, religion'.

[42]J.F. Boissevain 'When the Saints go Marching Out! Reflections on the Decline of Patronage in Malta' to be published in the *Proceedings of the Seminar on Changing Forms of Patronage in Mediterranean Society* (Rome, Amer. Univ. Fieldstaff, Centre for Med. Studies, Nov. 28-30, 1974).

APPENDIX I WORKING POPULATION OF THE MALTESE ISLANDS 1951-1974

EMPLOYMENT SECTOR	1951	1953	1955	1957	1959	1961	1963	1965	1967	1969	1971	1973	1975
Agriculture & Fishing	12940	8700	8980	8410	8070	7880	7960	7150	6950	5280	6160	6751	7066
Construction & Quarrying	6140	7120	4540	5420	7230	8980	6660	7400	10320	12380	11010	4364[3]	5022[3]
Manufacturing Industries	8750	9120	8080	8670	14920	15130	16550	18130	19660	22790	25480	30800	31287
Electricity & Gas	70	70	100	100	100	130	650	700	790	920	960	864	807
Commerce	11450	11710	10150	11120	12210	12040	12450	12970	12790	13740	14220	13486	13665
Transport, Storage & Communication	4170	3980	3430	3780	4060	4080	4340	4060	4030	4460	4560	4427	5858
Business, Personal & Recreational Services	7380	7130	5910	7560	8040	8480	8380	8980	10420	12690	13470	12639[4]	12664[4]
Total Private Industry	50900	47830	41010	45060	54630	56720	56990	59390	64960	72250	75860	73331	76369
Government Services	13320	14290	15550	16970	17190	16790	16440	17570	18580	19430	20510	19784	18841
Defence Depts. (Civil)	18390	18600	19580	19560	12260	12140	10260	8410	7350	5750	4390	4132	4166
(H.M. Forces)	3090	3600	3390	3550	3680	2940	2410	2530	2420	2030	1110	760	
Total Gainfully Employed	85700	84320	79530	85140	87730	89220	86500	88120	93310	100460	100408[5]	102981[2]	107814[5]
Unemployed	1073	977	5695	3284	3219	4367	7015	7859	5387	3831	5925	4823	4895
Labour Force	86773	85397	85225	88424	90949	93587	93515	95979	98697	104273	109005	107840	112708
Index of the Labour Force (1951 = 100)	100.	98.02	98.22	101.9	104.8	107.8	107.7	110.6	113.7	120.0	122.2	124.2	129.38

PERCENTAGE COMPOSITION OF WORKING POPULATION													
Agriculture & Fishing	14.91	10.20	10.54	9.49	8.88	8.42	8.51	7.11	7.04	6.03	5.65	6.26	6.27
Construction & Quarrying	7.08	8.35	5.33	6.13	7.95	9.59	7.12	7.71	10.46	11.87	10.10	4.05	4.46
Manufacturing Industries	10.08	10.69	9.48	9.80	16.42	16.17	17.70	18.04	19.92	21.87	23.38	28.57	27.76
Electricity & Gas	0.08	0.08	0.11	0.11	0.11	0.14	0.69	0.73	0.80	0.88	0.88	0.80	0.72
Commerce	13.20	13.73	11.70	12.57	13.43	12.86	13.31	13.48	12.94	13.21	13.05	12.51	12.12
Transport, Storage & Communications	4.80	4.67	4.03	4.28	4.47	4.36	4.64	4.23	4.08	4.28	4.18	4.11	5.20
Business, Recreational & Personal Services	8.51	8.36	6.94	8.55	8.85	9.06	8.96	9.36	10.55	12.18	12.36	11.72	11.24
Government Services	15.35	16.76	18.21	19.14	18.91	17.98	17.58	18.30	18.44	18.65	18.82	18.35	16.72
Defence Depts. (Civil)	21.19	21.81	22.97	22.84	13.49	12.97	10.86	8.76	7.44	5.52	4.03	3.83	3.70
(H.M. Forces)	2.83	4.22	3.99	3.19	4.02	3.82	2.94	3.61	2.45	1.95	1.02	0.70	
Unemployed	1.24	1.38	1.57	3.71	3.54	4.67	7.50	8.19	5.46	3.65	5.44	4.47	4.34

Notes: [1] including 590 in Malta Land Force in 1970;
[2] including 670 in the Malta Armed Services in 1971;
[3] including 46 engaged in oil Drilling in 1972; 105 in 1973;
[4] including 93 employed with Diplomatic Missions of other countries in Malta;
[5] including 667 in the Malta Armed Services and of 1495 members in the Emergency Labour Corps in 1972; and of 652 in the Malta Armed Services and of 4322 in the Pioneer Corps (which replaced the Emergency Labour Corps) in 1973. of 636 and 630 in the Armed Forces in 1974, 1975 respectively, and
of 3648 and 7810 in the Pioneer Corp, *Dirghajn il-Maltin* and Auxiliary workers in 1974 and 1975 respectively.

Figures for 1951-1971 are arrived at from estimates made by Labour Officers in the course of their inspection during the year. Figures for 1972-73 are based on specific manpower surveys.

Source: Department of Labour

APPENDIX II DEVELOPMENTS IN TOURISM IN MALTA (1959-1975)

YEAR	NO. OF HOTELS	NO. OF BEDS	NO. OF ROOMS	NO. OF EMPLOYEES	VISITOR ARRIVALS	LENGTH OF STAY	TOTAL GUEST-NIGHTS (000)	GROSS INCOME £M000[4]
1959	25	1,218	—	—	12,583	—	176	765
1960	26	1,388	—	438	19,689	—	275	966
1961	26	1,422	—	428	22,611	—	316	1,094
1962	30	1,744	896	516	23,334	—	326	1,167
1963	32	1,815	934	540	32,299	—	452	1,402
1964	36	2,360	1,225	766	38,380	—	537	1,533
1965	38	2,380	1,236	819	47,804	—	669	1,890
1966	54	3,112	1,625	1,082	72,889	13.04[3]	950	3,220
1967	71	4,710	2,396	1,910[2]	97,519	15.88	1,548	5,062
1968	89	6,101	3,142	2,473	136,995	12.87	1,763	7,998
1969	101	7,562	3,885	2,778	186,084	12.63	2,350	10,836
1970	110	7,935	3,942	2,723	170,853	14.23	2,431	9,820
1971	113	8,512	4,277	3,315	178,704	13.31	2,379	10,601
1972	80[1]	7,971[1]	4,103[1]	2,695	149,913	12.49	1,873	8,500
1973	79[1]	7,919[1]	4,049	2,880	211,196	13.28	2,790	16,151
1974	83[1]	8,390[1]	4,271[1]	3,382	272,516	13.40	3,635	22,300
1975	91[1]	9,424[1]	4,816[1]	3,833	334,519	13.93	4,633	27,700

[1] As classified by H.C.E.B. on March 1, '973
[2] Source: Dept. of Labour
[3] Malta Govt. Tourist Board Sample Surveys
[4] Central Office of Statistics

Source: Malta Government Tourist Board

THE CHANGING STATUS OF WOMEN IN MALTA

by SIBYL O'REILLY MIZZI

CHANGE in the status and role of women is indicative of overall change within a society. By status I mean, the collection of rights and duties, associated with polar positions in a pattern of reciprocal behavior, while roles are the dynamic aspect of status, the putting into effect of its rights and duties. Each society can be viewed as a balanced collection of statuses and roles interwoven into a particular cultural pattern. Change comes to a society when the cultural pattern is altered. This can happen in two ways: (1) the number of statuses within a society can either be increased or decreased thus changing the pattern, for example, the status of midwife and the status of marriage broker have both disappeared from Maltese society while there are many new technical statuses not in existence 100 years ago. (2) Through time the behaviors associated with a particular status and viewed as acceptable by the society in question can change. It is this change, the alteration of behavioral patterns with which I am concerned at this time.

In most traditional societies the majority of women hold the statuses of wife and mother and Malta is no exception. Thus changes in the behaviors associated with these statuses can be construed as basic changes within a society, lying as they do, at the core of a woman's life.

Two of these changes seem to me to be of singular importance in Maltese society, namely the changing patterns of mate selection and changing fertility patterns and it is these two changes that I will discuss in this paper.

CHANGES IN PATTERNS OF MATE SELECTION

In Malta, 50 to 100 years ago, most families arranged marriages for their daughters while sons gradually chose their own mates. If a household had a marriageable female living within it a pot of *basil* would be kept on a window sill to indicate her presence. This allowed an eligible male to approach her father and ask for

her hand in marriage. If this device did not work, or for other reasons a girl remained unmarried there was always a marriage broker or 'huttaba' available for consultation. Although there is no hard data available today, the remincences of many older men and women as to their parents and grand-parents marriages lead us to believe that the family played a very large part in the selection of a proper mate for the daughters of the household. The girl herself was asked for her consent to the marriage, but the initiative in selecting a mate was usually not hers.

From about 1900 up until World War II there began to emerge a more modified pattern, where young women, although still guarded and with very limited access to the opposite sex, began to have some voice in the selection of a husband. They were able to walk along the local promenade with their girl friends under the watchful eye of their parents or other relatives and were able to attract the attentions of young men as they so desired. Friends of her brothers, cousins and other kin, and local neighbourhood youth were all possible mates. However young women were not allowed to go out with a man unescorted by an adult member of the family and even groups of girls must be escorted when they left the immediate neighborhood. Young men still had to ask a girl's father for her hand in marriage. They were usually local youths who were well known to the family. The final decision in selecting a mate still lay with the woman's parents. This power was supported by the dowry system; which mandated a dowry for every girl, but giving the father control by his right to withhold the dowry if he did not approve of her suitor.

After World War II another pattern entirely began to emerge. Young women, possibly because of the greater freedom and mobility given to them as a consequence of the disjointment of Maltese society by wartime conditions, began to meet young men outside of their own communities and subsequently marry them. Today, young women go singly or in groups from all over the island, to Valletta or Sliema in order to meet young people, both male and female. The very young girls of 13 or 14 years are still kept close to home, meeting their friends within the community. When they reach 16 years however, the sphere of interaction moves to the urban centers. At this age there is more individual paring of particular boys and girls for the movies, a bite to eat, etc. but generally single sex groups return home together by bus rather than in couples. This kind of group interaction can continue for many months with the boy and girl never really having a date, but seeing each other often. It is during this period that young people are able to meet a variety of members of the opposite sex without any

commitment on either side. Finally a pairing takes place by an individual couple and they see only each other, for periods of up to several years, meeting often usually either in Sliema or Valetta.

During this time, the parents have very little knowledge of who their children are seeing and almost no control over it. While they may suspect that their daughter or son is seeing someone, it is rare for them to know exactly who it is. Brothers and sisters share this information among themselves but do not discuss it with their parents.

After many months or even years of seeing each other, the young man or young woman is brought home to meet the parents of their respective partners. This is a very serious event in the lives of the young people. It announces to the world of friends, neighbors and relatives, as well as the parents, that there is a serious attachment and begins the time when parents can start to investigate each others backbround prior to engagement and marriage. Most girls do not like to bring home more than one or two boy friends in a life time. Their reputation is likely to suffer, especially in the eyes of the neighbors. A girl who cannot make up her mind, or cannot hold on to a boy is looked upon as a flirt, which is unflattering.

Thus the parents are kept completely apart from any participation in this important decision making process of mate selection. They do still retain some measure of control through the dowry system, but girls can make their own dowry today and often do so.

This process of changing pattems of mate selection is illustrated by data collected through interviews in Senglea in 1973.

AGE COHORT	NO.	MET WITHIN COMMUNITY OR THROUGH RELATIVES		MET OUTSIDE COMMUNITY	
		NO.	%	NO.	%
15-29	41	21	51	20	49
30-44	39	19	49	20	51
45-59	23	19	83	4	17
60-75	18	17	94.5	1	5.5

AGE COHORT	NO.	AGE AT MARRIAGE
15-29	26	20.27
30-44	36	20.94
45-59	23	22.08
60-75	17	24.18

Of the women who were over 44 years of age in 1973 more than 80% of them had met their husbands either within Senglea or through

relatives; of the women who were under 44 years of age in 1973 however, only 50% of them had met their husbands within the community or through relatives. This 30% change is significant and suggests that women do indeed increasingly choose their own mates.

This transfer of power, the power to select a mate, from parents to the young women involved is a major change in the life style of Maltese women, with important implications for social structure.

Changes in Fertility Patterns

Several fertility surveys have been done in Malta during the last 30 years. In 1955, a survey was made and again, in much greater depth, in 1961. The study in 1955 concluded that 'fertility in Malta has changed little since the start of the century, when it was already very high by British standards'. 'If we ignore illegitimacy, assume the continuation of 1954 age-specific mortality rates and that the number of marriages will depend on the number of males reaching marriageable age, then an assumption of *six children per marriage*, spread according to the duration specific rates of the sample would, in the absence of emigration raise the population from 299,000 in mid-1955 to 469,000 in mid-1975.' (Seers, 1957)

According to the 1961 survey, the average family size appeared to be dropping. They said: 'Women who were married for the first time in the years before 1920 had, on the average, borne 6.64 children by the end of 1960. For women married in 1920-29, the average was 6.21; it was lower still at 5.78 for those married in 1930-39.' (Enquiry, 1963, p. xivii). Thus, even in 1961, the family size seemed to be dropping.

Examining the Crude Birth Rate tables, it becomes apparent that the birth rate (number of live births per 1000 persons in the population) while it has been slowly declining since 1900, really began to change radically in 1961. In 1960, the CBR was 26.1 and in 1961 it had dropped to 23.3. From that point on, it declined significantly every year, until in 1969 it was 15.8/1000. In 1970 there was an increase and again in 1971 and 1973 when the CBR was 17.5. This rise is probably caused to some degree by the structure of the population. In 1944, directly after the war, there was a large increase in the number of babies born and the CBR went up to levels common in 1900. This rise continued until 1950 when the CBR returned to the pre-war levels. It is these children, the war babies, that are now beginning to have children, thus showing another increase in the CBR.

Sociologists often use the ideal family figure as a good tool in trying to predict family size. The following table shows the

figures when an ideal family figure was asked for in Senglea. The women responded with 2 or 3, 4 or 5. The responses were averaged, thus getting a composite figure.

AGE COHORT	NO.	IDEAL FAMILY SIZE AVERAGE NO. CHILDREN DESIRED	'AS MANY AS GOD SENDS' TRADITIONAL RESPONSE	
			NO.	%
15-29	53	2.8	3	5
30-45	41	2.6	3	7
45-59	26	3.3	8	30
60-75	19	4.6	12	63

The response 'As many as God sends' is viewed as the traditional one.

Obviously, the traditional attitude has almost disappeared among the younger generations. Maltese women have accepted some measure of control over their own sexuality and the size of their families. Family size in reality is generally larger than ideal family size, but the decrease in the ideal model is an important factor in the future reduction in real size of families. The actual number of children among the same women who were interviewed concerning ideal family size is an interesting statistic.

AGE COHORT	NO. OF CASES	ACTUAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN	
		NO. OF CHILDREN	AVERAGE NO. OF CHILDREN
15-29	22	37	1.7
30-44	41	124	3.0
45-59	28	138	4.9
60-75	18	68	4.9

When examined in relation to the ideal family size, we see that the 15-29 year old group who have not finished their child bearing years has some leeway in reaching their goal of 2.8 children. The 30-44 group has already exceeded their goal of 2.6 and probably will end up with between 3 and 4 children per family. The 45-59 group who have generally finished their child bearing years have also exceeded their ideal number of children. The ideal is between 3 and 4 and the reality is between 4 and 5. The oldest group have generally met their ideal number; however, I feel that my particular sample in this age group is not representative of the age group as a whole. It is the smallest group in my sample, thus subject to fluctuations in statistics and it has an unusual number of single women and several women who married late in life and thus had only one child at most. Therefore, I suspect that the real number of

children in women of the age category is in excess of 4.9 per woman and that they too have exceeded their goal. The pattern seems to be, that the actual number is one more than the ideal number. Thus, there is some predictive value to ideal family when one wishes to examine future family size.

Another indication of change in family size through time is found by comparing my informants number of children with their mother's number of children. This gives us a further time depth plus an indication of changing family patterns.

INFORMANTS NO. OF CHILDREN

AGE COHORT	NO. OF CASES	NO. OF CHILDREN	AVERAGE NO. OF CHILDREN
15-29	22	37	1.7
30-44	41	124	3.0
45-59	28	138	4.9
60-75	18	68	4.9*

INFORMANTS MOTHERS NO. OF CHILDREN

AGE COHORT	NO. OF CASES	NO. OF CHILDREN	AVERAGE NO. OF CHILDREN
15-29	60	317	5.3
30-44	45	298	6.6
45-59	29	229	7.9
60-75	23	166	7.2

*possibly incorrect

Thus we can see a continuous decline in the average number of children throughout eight generations of women.

The decreasing birth rate can be related to several factors:

(1) Establishment of compulsory education

(2) Greater economic cost of having and raising children

(3) Higher aspirations on the part of all Maltese

(4) More entertainment in the evening especially the development of TV

(5) The perceived effect of foreign influence both during the war and after

(6) The establishment of some means of disseminating birth control information.

The establishment of compulsory education and the subsequent increase in the number of years spent in school has tended to lower the birth rate. The fertility study done in Malta in 1961 shows that 'Women whose husbands have had some further education after compulsory school age tended to have the smallest fa-

milies, 3.44 live births per woman. The families of men with no further education after compulsory school age has 4.66 live births per woman and those with no schooling at all had the largest families or 5.81 live births per woman. This indicates a direct relationship between the husband's increased education and decreased family size. In 1946, the compulsory school attendance age was 12 years. It subsequently changed to 14 and finally in 1973 to 16 years old. This, thus increased the minimum amount of education for everyone and indirectly helped to lower the birth rate.

The standard of living has increased in Malta over the last 75 years. In 1900 the average income was 100L per person while the income today is about 200L per person. In the past, most children were born at home and delivered by a midwife, at a minimum cost to the parents. Today, almost all children are born in the hospital and are delivered by a doctor. This is a much more expensive process even with a health delivery system that is state subsidized.

When we asked the question 'Where were your children born – at home or in a hospital?', of our 100 women in Senglea, the distribution on the following table became evident.

AGE COHORT	CHILDREN BORN AT HOME		CHILDREN BORN BOTH AT HOME AND IN HOSPITAL		CHILDREN BORN IN HOSPITAL	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
15-29	1	5	0	0	19	95
30-44	9	23	14	36	16	41
45-59	19	70	7	26	1	4
60-75	10	77	2	15	1	8

The big change came between the 30-44 year old age group and the 45-59 year old age group, or about 25 years ago. Also the role of midwife has literally died out in the society. The last midwife in Senglea died in 1970 and there was no one to replace her. Doctors have also refused to deliver babies at home except in cases of emergency. This has decreased the number of birth irregularities but has increased the cost of childbearing. Also, the cost of raising children has risen greatly. This has always been true in urban areas and is partly the case for a disparity in the number of live births between urban and rural woman. Urban-suburban women in Malta have 4.25 live births per woman while rural women have 5.05 live births per woman according to the Fertility Study done in 1961. Urban women also have fewer very large families of over 10 children. Undoubtedly, the cost of raising the children and the cost of feeding them is one of the deterents to large families in urban areas, along with the smaller household quarters.

In the past, Maltese families had fewer aspirations for their children as well as for themselves. To be fed, clothed and be able to read and write were often the greatest extent of their ambitions. During and after World War II, the Maltese were exposed to more direct contact with other nations. Up to that time, very few Maltese had travelled and returned to Malta with an understanding of other people's life styles. Today, Malta is part of western European culture and as such desirous of much better material life for themselves and their children. Minimum conditions of life sustenance are no longer enough. Washing machines and cars have become a necessity and a modern bathroom is a status symbol. All this costs more money and children are expensive. Also, there is a desire on the part of parents for better things for their children, as well, so there is more emphasis on education and vocational training to allow them also to achieve a better lifestyle.

Before TV arrived in Malta in 1963, there was very little to do in the evening. The church acted as the focus of community life and whatever social activities there were, were connected with parish activity. This generally finished early and when couples or individuals arrived home there was little to do. Sex was the most pleasant and inexpensive pastime. This coupled with the attitude that whatever God sends in the way of children is alright and a very limited knowledge of birth control procedures, led to an excessive number of children in many cases. Many doctors and social workers in Malta have told me that the TV has been the greatest birth control device to come to Malta.

During and after the war, a large number of English people came to Malta to work there in the many middle level jobs, such as foreman or chief clerk, that were closed to the Maltese. They often lived with Maltese families or in close proximity to them. This was especially true in Senglea, where many foremen in the dockyard lived. These English families were usually much smaller in size than the Maltese ones and became an influence on their neighbor's ideas and attitudes. This, along with the letting in of new ideas and family modes through the TV had an influence on the birth rates of the Maltese. Again, I find that I am emphasizing the influence of communications. However, it cannot be overemphasized that Malta, before the War, was a very closed community. This closed society had only one idea on how life should be lived, that proposed and upheld by the Roman Catholic Church which denied any means of limiting families until after World War II. Although many emigrated, very few came back to tell what life was like in other places. Today, there is a very large number of overseas

Maltese that return during the summer to visit their home islands and much greater communication takes place. TV came to Malta in 1963 (before a radio station did) and open up the horizons of the Maltese. They say that a picture is worth a thousand words, and so it seems in Malta.

Finally, the establishment of some center for the dissemination of birth control information was critical. In the past, a certain amount of birth regulation through the use of 'Coitus interruptus' was evident. In fact, the priests and doctors in Senglea tell me that this is still the prime birth control method used in Senglea. However, the establishment of the Cana movement was important as an indication of a change in attitude rather than just as a center for instruction in method. The fact that the Roman Catholic Church was the innovator in the area of birth regulation was of immense importance, especially to Maltese women who take their religion very seriously. No longer was the attitude 'as many as God sends' the prevailing one but rather a new attitude of adult responsibility especially in the matter of family size was fostered. Rhythm birth control is not very effective viewed statistically but the attitude conveyed by those who advocated rhythm and taught it to the people was very effective. It was no longer viewed as a sin to decide that you did not want unlimited children and there was some way to try and control your own fertility. No matter that the method was faulty. The attitude change was what was important. Today, young Maltese women talk about birth control and the size of their families freely and can openly discuss various methods of contraception.

In 1972 and 1973, there were no legal means of birth control available within the country. However, sometimes in 1974, a new regulation was passed whereby contraceptives could be imported into the country if the proper duty was paid. When I returned in 1975, women were able to obtain the pill at several drug stores in Malta with a doctor's prescription. However, there is great concern about the side effects of the pill and many Maltese women do not use it at present and contraceptives still may not be either displayed or advertised in Malta.

Women's attitudes towards contraception were varied and sometimes contradictory. We asked the question 'Do you approve of contraception?' In answer we got either a 'yes', 'no' and 'no but we approve of either safe-period or family planning'. It seems probable that they understood contraception to mean positive contraception such as the pill or condoms, etc., and this is often apparent in their comments about the pill. The answer that they

were in favor of the safe period is quite clear, but the answer that they were against contraception and in favor of family planning was confusing. I interpret the 'no, but' answers to really be a qualified yes. In other words, the women who answered 'no, but' were really conveying a feeling in favor of some sort of contraception either licit (safe period) or illicit (withdrawal).

ATTITUDES TO CONTRACEPTION

AGE COHORT	TOTAL	IN FAVOR		AGAINST		QUALIFIED AGAINST	
		NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
15-29	59	12	20	27	46	20	34
30-44	43	11	26	13	30	19	44
45-59	26	2	8	15	57	9	35
60-75	20	2	10	15	75	3	15

The fact that the youngest age group was 46% against any form of contraception was quite a surprise. In general, one thinks of of the youngest as the most progressive but this was not true in this case. There is still a large number of women who have strong feelings about how to limit their families. When you view this data in conjunction with the ideal family size figures and the actual drop in the size of families, one wonders about the connection between belief and behavior. Only 3 women in the 15-29 age group said they wanted as many children as God Sends, or 5% of the group, while 46% of the group was against any method of contraception.

There seems to be some effect of the position in the developmental cycle on attitudes toward contraception. Women in the 30-44 year old group, after they have had a few children are more inclined to be positive about contraception than the younger women, while women in the 45-59 age group are again less inclined to be in favor of contraception. Also, the change in attitudes of the church towards contraception would not generally be reflected in this group (45-49) as the older members of the group would have been over 40 when the new regulations and practices were being advocated. I examined the data with reference to differences in attitudes between single and married women and there appeared to be no significant difference. The single women's pattern of answers were almost identical with the married women's patterns in all cases. I also examined the group for a correlation between education and socio-economic differences and attitudes to contraception and there still appeared to be no significant differences within the group. The middle class women living in Senglea felt the same way as their working class neighbors. However this may not hold true

in a largely middle class community. The questions about ideal family size and the question about contraception were widely separated in the interview. This may account for some discrepancy in the answers. But, I feel that, in many cases, especially the younger women, the two attitudes are both valid and that many women have not, as yet, worked through an acceptable life orientation to the problem. We see the same phenomena in the United States in regards to abortion, especially in Catholic women. When you ask them if they are in favor of abortion, the answer is no, yet, we know from statistics that many Catholic women, when faced with the situation get abortions, even though they will still hold a position against it in theory. In a society where there is a great deal of religious pressure to adopt a particular value, it is more comfortable to verbally adopt the prescribed value and when faced with the situation react as the situation dictates. I think that this is what is happening in Malta with contraception.

Conclusion

Thus we can see that change within statuses can be just as viable and important as the opening up of new statuses, especially to women. Maltese women, along with all other women, will continue to be wives and mothers. However the process by which they attain these statuses as well as the behaviors considered acceptable within the statuses can and do show evidences of change. Changes in the family can lead to concomitant changes in social structure and the implications of change in women life-styles can be far-reaching within the society as a whole. These behavioral adaptations are a necessary first step toward a restructuring of women's status within Maltese society.

CONTEMPORARY MALTESE LITERATURE – AN INTERIM REPORT

by DANIEL MASSA

IN discussing immigrant ethnic groups, Geoff Dench finds evidence that among Maltese in London there is 'widespread complicity in electing a non-Maltese identity.'[1] This reflected itself particularly in non-performance of previously sacrosanct religious duties such as hearing mass and going to confession. This is particularly true of Maltese in the red light district of Soho round Frith and Greek Street, where the dominant dialect happens to be Maltese expressed primarily in four-letter words.

Yet the swear-words and blasphemies against what the emigrants had previously held to be sacred are, paradoxically, significant links to their island home. It is reaction and over-reaction to upbringing, and I have seen the most hardened dissidents from our monolithic theocracy prepare with awe and longing for a christening or wedding, and watched them later caught up unavoidably in the long-remembered rituals of religious ceremony.

And later when you visit home, the dissidents proudly display photos of the overdecorated churches back home, and their village patron saint, and when they come to Malta to visit relatives many would have their visit coincide with their village festa – a feast of colour, sound, procession and ritual. Theirs is almost a pilgrimage. The 'been-to's' still are drawn by ritual.[2]

This Maltese love for ritual is not unnoticed by foreigners. V.S. Naipaul, the Trinidadian writer, makes his hero (Ralph Singh) recall the christening of the Maltese baby with the eminently English name:

> Through his godfather John Cedric renounced the devil and his works. Lieni [the Maltese girl who pimped for Singh] grew grave towards the end. She was almost in tears when she went to the priest ... No longer the smart London girl; and for the first

time that afternoon I remembered that she was an unmarried mother. It was left to the tiny [Maltese] godfather to revive our spirits in the taxi, and even Elsa, his wife, passionately anti-clerical, agreed that it had been a beautiful ceremony of forgiveness.[3]

This bears out what the seasoned traveller Adolphus Slade wrote as far back as 1837. He pointed out that though the towns of the Barbary states teemed with Maltese this had no effect in reducing Malta's population which had then assumed alarming proportions. The Maltese did not colonise and settle. Having realised a little money as tailors, joiners or boatmen they returned 'to their beloved rock to marry and multiply. The love of country, so strong in a Maltese, is owing, in great measure to religious zeal, Nowhere else does he see the rites of his church officiated so really and so earnestly, or such a general acquiescence in its dogmas.'[4]

Since that time we have had our mutations, acquiescence to dogmas is not so universal, but the attachment to ritual remains strong in both rural and industrialized areas. Despite the tolling of new secular bells, the Church still remains central in town and village. Even architecturally, the female structure of the church predominates over the male 'cubist' house-blocks laid out in concentric circles around it.[5] The dominant position of the church spells out in stone its social, educational and religious role as leader. The homogeneity of Maltese villages which, as J. Boissevain notes, is mainly due to the 'unifying influence of the church in a small isolated island society'[6] has in turn been up to the early sixtees reflected in the literature of Malta – religious poetry of statement and prayer, drama and novel that like a litany sought to make sense of life and generally (like Milton's) justify the ways of God to man. This essentially homogenous stand with regard to religion and social reality is e.g. amply illustrated in Ġużè Aquilina's first and second editions of *Il-Muża Maltija* (1948; 1964), where both matter and manner were orthodox and homogenous.

In the mid-fifties, this essential homogeneity was being dented as Malta started on a career of secularization that is gathering pace today. When the newly-reconstituted Malta Labour Party came to power in 1955 church/state relations were never at ease; after the April 28, 1958 riots, and the open war that followed the ecclesiastical interdicts, the Malta Labour Party could not fit within the hierarchical system of metaphoric concentric circles within the traditional life of the community.[7] The long and bitter politico-religious controversy resulted in a withdrawal of MLP sympathizers from religious societies such as ZHN, Catholic Action etc. Men

stayed away from Sunday mass, or protested by not contributing the odd penny for the upkeep of the Church. In return die-hards and MLP candidates were at times refused absolution, could not act as godfathers, were married privately in the sacristy, and sometimes even refused the traditional rites of Christian burial.

The unavoidable corrosion of socio-religious structures was linked also to the incipient and widespread industrialization in the three years of Labour power (infrastructure, road-building, tourism, improved bus-services, factories). This is important for literature and the arts because forms of artistic creation often undergo radical changes in industrial habitats, due not simply to the emergence of new techniques for communication, but as the direct result of the fact that industrial production itself provokes fundamental changes.[8]

Industrialization and secularization increased even during the Nationalist Administrations decade. If anything, secularization seemed to be strongest in the Sliema areas, not exactly Labour catchment areas.

A further impulse for change was independence in 1964 – that ought to have led to a national revival. This happened partially in the case of language, but following the conflicting realities of Independence many poets and writers felt then, and still do, that there was not enough cause for celebration. Even the growth of tourism was being interpreted as confirming us 'a nation of waiters', substituting traditional hospitality for 'service'.

However, independence as a political fact was with us and it urged change, possibly a strengthening of nationalistic fervour by a reevocation of the great epic past – the 1565 Great Siege and all that. But writers felt that our past was one of DEPENDENCE rather, and we could derive no consolation from it. In '64, the young writers meeting every Saturday at Caffé Premier in Valletta connected with the *Kwartett-Antenni* series and *Moviment Qawmien Letterarju* (V. Fenech, L. Spiteri, M. Azzopardi, F. Ebejer, O. Friggieri, T. Preca, F. Sammut, C. Vella, J. J. Camilleri, Ph. Sciberras, A. Sant, A. Marshall) seemed to reject the sclerosis of aging institutions, and in an attempt at renewal threatened withdrawal from 'the older cultures'.

This can perhaps be illustrated by recalling the ethics-cum-literature controversy that broke towards the end of 1968. The Establishment had tried to censor 5 items in a musical-literary evening because members of the group had dealt with (a) sex outside marriage [L. Spiteri] (b) humbug and patriotism [V. Fenech and

M. Azzopardi] (c) hypocrisy of the establishment [J.J. Camilleri] (d) religious doubt [myself]. The Establishment not surprisingly thought that in form and matter the *Kwartett-Antenni* group showed manifest contempt of accepted mores, and one member of the Manoel Theatre Management Committee described them as 'rebellious, unscrupulous, Law-shattering boobies.'[9]

Be that as it may, this well-knit group registered the disenchantment that there was in the air, in the lengthy controversy that followed recording that institutions of the past must be experienced as abandoned if Malta were ever to renounce a philosophy of mediocrity that clung to the mythical security of the past. The writers were 'no longer at ease here, in the old dispensation.'

Yet this lack of security and/or homogeneity as well as the alleged decay in religious faith and performance may itself have been an impulse in the birth of our new literature. Why?

So long as the villagers believed that one brought rain unto the parched fields through episcopal circulars urging collective prayer, that the blessing of animals and farm implements brought a plentiful harvest come Pentecost, that the liturgy of Ash Wednesday and Good Friday was a collective ritual of repentance and atonement for Carnival, so long would the symbolic act/drama/procession/ritual be performed with a devotion and enthusiasm that is itself a source of vitality. But once doubt and scepticism crept in, once men were drawn by experience rather than by custom, by new ideologies rather than traditional mores, the collective invigoration would weaken – and many drift, have drifted away, become outsiders, mere lookers-on of a rite established through centuries by custom. The rite itself may vanish, at best remain a feast to draw the crowds like Lapsi in Xgħira or San Girgor in Marsaxlokk, or 'just for luck' like the blessing of luzzi and boats at the start of the *lampuki* season. It stops being religion. Religion moves away from folk drama and ritual towards dogma and ethics; but the ritual mould, the shell that had possessed the inhabitants for so long, remains and is left ready for a new content.[10] There is a transfer.

That is one reason why some of the best modern Maltese poetry still evokes the rhythm of religious rites, one reason why symbolic action and ritual mould is pervasive in what is the best play ever written in Malta, *Boulevard*,[11] why Francis Ebejer holds on to it in his plays *Menz* and *Hadd fuq il-Bejt*, as well as in his best novel In the *Eye of the Sun*; why symbol and ritual reoccur in Trevor Zahra's *Weraq tal-Palm*, in Frans Sammut's novels, *Gaġġa* and *Samuraj*.

Yet linked as they are to the old ritual, the new poetry, drama,

fiction (now also supported by cultural/ideological material from abroad) rejected the assurance inherent in Christian tradition that freedom could only be found in the old context of changeless spiritual law. Under their new dispensation, God is not ruled out of court, if anything he's as omnipresent, but is asked embarassing questions. Thus the poet-writer puts forward characters/personae/voices who are lost and uncertain in an island where notions of hierarchy are being challenged. We have e.g. not poetry of orthodoxy and statement, but of search, doubt, questioning and outright dissent. This is also true of the best novels and plays.

It is difficult in the time available adequately to discuss the whole range of contemporary Maltese literature. I shall therefore concentrate mainly on the novel, as a genre possessing an eminently 'societal role', known to express, perhaps even more than poetry and drama, a close connection between sociology and psycho-analysis, and especially in countries recently independent expressing ideas of national renaissance.

I shall deal mainly with post-independence novelists Francis Ebejer and Frans Sammut, focussing on recurrent concepts such as (a) retreat from the community (b) impotence/sterility syndrome (c) descent into psychopathology (d) regression and polarization and (e) immaturity of the protagonists.

I shall try to describe, extract meaning and signpost direction, much in the same way that the novel as a genre is at times supposed to do.

I start by stating that 12 years after Independence, now that we're proclaimed a Republic, I see no signs that our novel can now, or in the immediate future, express ideas of national renaissance except at a very superficial level.[12] Our most skilled writers are really not concerned with celebration or the epic narrative adopted by their predecessors [A.E. Caruana, *Inez Farruġ* (1891); Ġużè Muscat Azzopardi, *Nazju Ellul* (1909); Ġużè Aquilina, *Taħt Tlett Saltniet* (1938); Ġużè Galea, *Żmien l-Ispanjoli* (1938)] who situated the action in bygone epochs and read 'the past as a parable of the present.'

Rather than that, the novel now rejects the 'epic' past with almost a shudder, and does not accept the present, whereas the future seems to offer regression rather than resurrection. The articulating ethos, the community impulse seems to be negative, similar to that of dissident elements in London's Frith Street – a rejection of religiously grounded community life that does not generate roles and relations capable of supporting an alternative social order.[13] But this rejection has up to now proved to be at

least culturally positive.

The novels we have had are biographical (with traces of autobiography) tracing the career of a character who is problematic, an outsider whose unknown quantity is manifest through his deviation, which in turn is rooted in his immaturity and 'abnormality' vis-a-vis his social habitat. We thus have a curious mixture of psychoanalysis and sociology.

Joseph (*In the Eye of the Sun*), Raymond (*Weraq tal-Bajtar*), Fredu and Samwel (*Gaġġa* and *Samuraj*), the protagonists of perhaps the best novels written in the last six years, are the diametrical opposites of our traditional heroes. Their only real Maltese ancestor is G. Ellul Mercer's *Leli ta' Haż-Żgħir* (1938). All are very young, often still students, weak and seeking to escape from what they define as a corrupt society. In Lukacs/Goldmann terms, they are not only lost and hesitant, but also potentially diseased. Their disease becomes incurable and they 'seek' to contaminate others, usually the ones they love – Karla, Zabbett.

As dissenters, they seek to dismantle the social framework to promote a subjective reality, and this in turn leads to psychological traumas. In the eyes of the performing community they therefore become malevolent atoms defying and subverting order and institutions much in the same way that these 'rebellious, unscrupulous, law-shattering boobies' of the *Kwartett-Antenni* group were doing in late 1968.

It is not coincidence that the 'first' successful novel about the 'diseased' hero was born in late 1969. *In the Eye of the Sun* Joseph, a medical student with great potential, is alienated by the existence that he sees the performing majority leading in the sun of holiday villas. As the plot unfolds, Joseph retreats from town and university, first to the job of a night watchman in a candle factory, then barefooted to his old village, Dingli. Cutting himself off, he evokes the past to express his contempt for the present, but the past for Ebejer is not the 'epic' but the traumatic past of his hero's personality, and Joseph retreats from the eye of the sun to the old farmhouse of his childhood and ultimately, just before tragedy, within a cave in the cliffs. His 'standing still in the centre' of the cave,[14] personified for Ebejer not simply an existence in the sun but, more important, an escape from what the sun stood for in Malta's development – the materialistic enclosure of the land and sea-scape by tourist development. That 'standing still' records the essentially passive nature of the heroes' claim for survival.

Now coming close on Alfred Sant's *Weraq tal-Bajtar*,[15] Francis

Ebejer's *In the Eye of the Sun* inaugurated a pattern in Maltese fiction. With the exception of G. Ellul Mercer, novelists had shied away from psychological traumas – but since then, we have had a spate of such novels; Trevor Zahra's *Weraq tal-Palm* and *Hdejn in-Nixxiegħa* and Frans Sammut's *Gaġġa* and *Samuraj*. In all these, we have young people in search of self and identity by overthrowing legacies of religious and social restraints. This leads to a decline in moral certainties, a sense of guilt and a psychological crisis. Their solution is to retreat from society. Joseph, perhaps the most radically escapist, does not simply refuse the Maltese society he lives in, but also the advances created by modern mechanization and technology. This is also basically true of Samuel in *Samuraj*. In both novels, the most modern farm implement that the heroes use is a rake. They are people who have stopped performing. Joseph, for example, would play on a stone whistle. The will towards the structuring of a new order is weak or lacking, because they are people in retreat.

Their tragedy lies in the fact that while they are disgusted by what they know is a community of convenience, they are not mature enough even to think of moving towards a community of conviction. Joseph and Samuel seek weakly to build a world for Karla and Zabbett, they are drawn to the fields for a time conjuring the 'promised sea of ripe corn growing' [Brecht], but their vision is short-lived and positive action in terms of harvest is 'hard and bitter agony' for them. It has to be if they use nothing more sophisticated than a rake. Striving for some kind of centre, some kind of meaning, 'standing still in the centre', they derive not self-possession but self-loss. Their glimpses of paradise[16] are illusory, attempts to inhabit them lead to disappointment and emptiness. This is Joseph in Ebejer's *In the Eye of the Sun:*

> He thought of Karla and others without interest – they were something altogether separate from him. There was nothing left in him. He told himself: let me feel love; and he felt nothing. Let me feel anger, and he was not angry ... he found there was nothing to look for, nothing he was interested in ... Joseph walked like a stranger in the very land he loved.[17]

The vision of ripe corn growing is overtaken by barrenness, and the heroes are drawn into the impotence-cum-sterility syndrome. On an island where Aneurin Bevan once noted that 'people bred like rabbits', it is significant to find that sterility should feature so prominently in the literature of the late Sixties and early Seventies. See e.g. Alfred Sant's *Kjaroskur* and *Weraq*; Mercer's *Leli ta'*

Haż-Żgħir; Ebejer's *Hadd fuq il-Bejt*; Zahra's *Weraq tal-Palm*; L. Spiteri's *Hala taż-Żogħżija*; Sammut's *Gaġġa* and *Samuraj* [See also Achille Mizzi's *Kastità*].

In *Samuraj*, impotence is anticipated symbolically by Samuel's castrating the pigs with a pen-knife on the very first page of the novel. It is a recurring image that recapitulates, resolves and anticipates.

And yet as G. Lukacs wrote, in another context, 'impotence is not thought of so much as a physical failure.'[18] It is rather an emotional failure to make significant and lasting contact, because the characters Leli, Joseph, Fredu and Samwel do not possess healthy normality. Disengaging themselves from the social apparatus, they have nurtured a subjective reality and their actions, even when well intentioned, are in the long run reducible to a nervous tic.

Even love, because it is so inhibited by sexual frustration and guilt, unmans them; even after they have gained some 'self-possession' by positive action in the fields. Joseph e.g. thinks that Karla can redeem him: 'he hoped by one act to obliterate from his mind the disquieting thoughts ... hoping for exorcism,'[19] and yet when he comes to the crunch he can't do it. Facing a naked body, he regresses into the traumatic past of his personality. The same is true of Samwel in *Samuraj*. When Samwel has Zabbett all to himself on his farm, he acts 'like a scared schoolboy' and he hardly dares undo her zip.[20]

Having lost the opportunity healthily to love, both protagonists yearn in fantasy for a return to the matriarchal hold.[21]

In Ebejer's *In the Eye of the Sun*, the regression into infantilism is marked symbolically in stages. We have first Joseph's inability to make love to Karla:

> He got into the bed, touched her, discovered she was naked.
> Her arms went around him and she was pressing him to her,
> murmuring his name. Her face reminded him of fever, dark
> red, burning ... He held his arms rigidly to his sides.
> She kept pressing to him.
> Lie still,' he told her; he realized, with shock,
> that he was sobbing: 'For God's sake lie still.'
> Then she was quiet and for a moment they both lay
> side by side, untouching, unspeaking.
> At last he said, 'I must go.'
> 'Why, Joseph, Why?'
> 'I can't ... I wish you were old and fat,' he cried
> angrily at last.[22]

Soon we have a dramatic symbolic development of this wish when Joseph returns in a fever and in his delirium is seduced by the fat farmer woman, Karla's mother:

> And when after his deep restlessness began again, she raised him a little to her and with a hand directed his hands to her breasts. He strained with pouted lips, searching blindly, sobbing aloud in his searching. She lifted one of her breasts and placed its thick dark point between his lips. His sigh was such as a child would make.[23]

Finally we have the symbolic return to the womb in Joseph's retreat in the cave:

> Joseph tumbles into the brush, raises himself again, thrusts his body through; he is inside the sheltering place. Joseph climbs into the inner cave and stands still in the centre. He lifts his arms and laughs to the cave-ceiling, its walls ... A shout repeated, over and over again, from close-by to distant, and the baying rises: outside this cave, this sheltering place, a world of dogs. His body jerks up in a ball, head touching knees, as the noise rises, far, near, men, dogs, the remorseless hunt for him.[24]

This process of inwardness followed by paranoia is brought about and later itself identified with abstract subjectivity,[25] because the protagonist has shut himself away from communication, resorted to fantasy, and aspired towards primordial unity within the womb, the sheltering place.

This aspiration is basically a death wish,[26] a refusal to acknowledge that the world is at odds with the construct of his imagination. But whereas e.g. in Wilson Harris's *Palace of the Peacock* this is a necessary step to a new life-wish that is directed towards acceptance of various cultures and freedom,[27] in Ebejer, Sammut, Sant, Zahra and Spiteri it is directed inwards, becomes almost narcissistic,[28] and fantasy and regression become ends in themselves.

There is no escape but flight or death.

Johnny in L. Spiteri's *Hala taż-Żogħżija*, Raymond in Sant's *Weraq tal-Bajtar*, and Fredu in Sammut's *Gaġġa* flee, seeking to drown their alienation in the amorphous mass of the city. Fleeing from institutions of bondage, their separation is sour, leading to nausea.

The others commit suicide – Ebejer's Joseph in *In the Eye of the Sun*, Zahra's Robbie in *Weraq tal-Palm*, Sammut's Samwel in *Samuraj*, the most recent suicide in the Maltese novel. Their sepa-

ration from their society means the inability to discover a meaning either in the performing community or in the construct of their fantasy. Suicide is absolute polarization, a separation that affords neither reconciliation nor redemption.

This is what happens in Zahra and Ebejer. This is what happens in Sammut's *Samuraj*, a clever novel uniting disparate viewpoints skilfully, proleptic in method, using the anticipatory image inherent in the title to imply Kermode's 'sense of an ending'.

Samwel takes the pen-knife he had used earlier to castrate the pigs, raises it aloft and brings it down repeatedly till his

> entrails hang loose and the hard and bitter
> agony had begun. Above him, high high above,
> the sky was not sad. He saw a boy picking flowers
> for his mother and waited expectantly for the kiss
> on his face.[29]

The ending of a Samurai? Not really! Rather the image that sums up tragic situation and answering gesture, typifying perhaps the case of the present Maltese writer's social identity being marked by a withdrawal from social convention that has resulted in a negative condition, a sense of deprivation, and the lack of a dimension essential to the continuing creative effort.

This, it seems to me, will sooner rather than later lead to a cul-de-sac. We must signpost new directions. Our writers now have to provide more mature protagonists, capable of working even within 'self-imposed limitation', assuming what Lukacs and Goldmann would term 'virile maturity'.

The poet-novelist-dramatist will do this not by escaping into fantasy, non-identity or suicide but by choosing to live in a world constructed from what he knows to be human, by not choosing to abolish reality. Therapy may be found in trying to establish a sufficiently deep and concrete relationship with present reality, by directing endeavour outwards, by attempting to link different people's imaginations [See *Samuraj*'s method], by looking for a worthwhile purpose to follow clashes with entrenched authority. Having rejected so much, we must now define what can be accepted, and such acceptance must come through a critical but not denunciatory, a sympathetic but not gushily patriotic, possibly parodic, assessment of our people and our land. By doing this, the writer might renew his being, his habitat and, more humbly, his claim to relevance.

The legend of the 'diseased' community and the necessity to overthrow legacies of repression and superstition have till now

wrought fundamental changes into our insights into a body of tradition that appears, and is, vulnerable. And yet this culture might still possess the capacity to release a variety of culturally regenerative blood.

So that our solutions might not come pat – flight abroad or suicide, facile and easy as the traditional remorse cliché at the foot of the cross. We might explore critical realism, resisting the temptation to indulge in socio-political simplifications. We might examine the models of other newly-independent nations – Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart and Arrow of God*, Wilson Harris's *Palace of the Peacock*, Lamming's *In the Castle of My Skin*, Armah's *The Beautyful Ones*. There is no easy walk to freedom, but there are directions out of the rut of dissent and empty gesture. When new directions are signposted we shall have started the long and painful transition towards a new medium of consciousness and an alternative social order. I shall be keeping my ears close to the ground. This is a very interim report.

NOTES:

[1] *The Maltese in London* (1975), p. 44.
[2] Cf. Laurent Ropa's *Chant de la Noria* (1932).
[3] *The Mimic Men* (1967), p. 13.
[4] *Turkey, Greece and Malta* (1837), I, p. 117.
[5] See Richard England, 'Dossier' *Illum*, October, 1975.
[6] *Hal-Farrug* (1969), pp. 99-100.
[7] ibid., p. 67.
[8] J. Duvignaud, *The Sociology of Art* trans. T. Wilson (1972), p. 124.
[9] *Malta News*, 16 January 1969.
[10] Jane Harrison, 'From Ritual to Art', *Ancient Art in Ritual*, ed. Williams and Norgate (1948), pp. 138-9.
[11] Peter Serracino Inglott, 'Mill-Ewwel ghat-Tieni Ebejer', *Il-Polz* 17 (March 1971), pp. 12-13.
[12] Cf. Manwel Haber's allegorical play *Iben il-Maghtuba* (1975) 'translated' into a novel by Charles Micallef (1976).
[13] Geoff Dench, *The Maltese in London*, pp. 45-6.
[14] *In the Eye of the Sun* (1969), p. 146.
[15] This novel was first serialized in *It-Torca*, 2 June 1968 to 30 March 1969.
[16] ibid., pp. 101-102; Frans Sammut, *Samuraj* (1975), pp. 70-73.

[17] *In the Eye of the Sun*, p. 109.
[18] *The Meaning of Contemporary Realism* (1972), p. 74.
[19] *In the Eye of the Sun*, pp. 106-107.
[20] *Samuraj*, p. 139.
[21] ibid., p. 161; *In the Eye of the Sun*, p. 107.
[22] *In the Eye of the Sun*, p. 107. Cf. his early love-making to the professor's daughter Yvonne where Joseph again 'can't' till he resorts to the deviation of plastering her body with soil.
[23] ibid., p. 139.
[24] ibid., pp. 146-155. Having established the symbolism, Ebejer then spells out the movement by referring directly to Joseph 'an educated man, going back, going back to the blind, savage cavern of your mother's womb,' p. 156.
[25] G. Lukacs, op. cit., p. 24.
[26] *In the Eye of the Sun*, p. 107, Joseph 'thought of death' as he starts his regression towards infantilism.
[27] Jean-Pierre Durix, 'A Reading of Paling of Ancestors,' *Commonwealth Newsletter* (1976), p. 37.
[28] Cf. Alfred Sant's 'mirror scene', *L-Ewwel Weraq tal-Bajtar* (1968), pp. 151-3.
[29] *Samuraj*, p. 163.

THEATRE IN MALTA

by JOE FRIGGIERI

THE two most popular forms of theatre in Malta are farce and melodrama. These are the main ingredients of what the Maltese call *tijatrin*, a term which, generally speaking, refers both to a type of theatre as well as to an entire evening's entertainment *at* the theatre.

Until quite recently, and especially before the advent of television and its spread to the majority of Maltese homes, the theatre provided the main source of entertainment for a very large section of the local population. A number of amateur theatre-companies used to go from village to village and present a three- or four-hour programme consisting of a very long 'serious' first part (*id-dramm*) and a shorter light one. The whole evening could also be divided into three sections of more or less equal length. In this case the programme (referred to as a *tryptich*) would open with a tear-jerker (*dramm*, *buzzett*, or *melodramm*), to be followed by a 'social comedy', *vudvill*, or farce and a light-weight melee of sketches and songs (*il-varjetà*) at the end.

Tijatrin is still very popular in Malta, in spite of its more recent and sophisticated rivals in the field of entertainment. The most popular venue for *tijatrin* is the village parish-hall. Here, under the watchful eye of the parish-priest, the vulgarity of some of the farces is kept down to a minimum and the didacticism of the drama further emphasised.

Almost invariably the situation in *tijatrin* is contrived, the plot either perfectly predictable or with a twist at the end which is hardly ever the natural result of what has gone on before. Actors will go out of their way to give the audience their money's worth of laughter or tears by generous ad-libbing. A couple of our more popular actors are in fact notorious for their ad-libbing, and sometimes it is difficult to control this even when they are taking part in a more sophisticated production.

FARCE

There are two types of farce which form an integral part of every local company's repertoire; one is imported, the other local. Imported farce is the result of loose translations or adaptations of French and mostly Italian third-rate sketches whose authors are hardly ever acknowledged in the programme. It is based not so much on the exchange of witty repartee as on the exaggeration of physical defects, insults flung between the irate wives of gullible husbands, and the mishaps of well-meaning but rather dim servants who fail to carry out their masters' orders and as a result create widespread confusion and chaos. Hackneyed technical devices such as mistaken or double identity, wild goose-chases, talking at cross-purposes and 'double-entendre' are employed.

There is, however, a second type of farce which is much more 'Maltese' in situation and choice of characters and which, I think, deserves to be cultivated and developed. I intend to say something about this 'genre' later.

MELODRAMA

Not uncommonly the subject chosen for melodrama is religious. In the prologue the plot is laid, while in the three acts that follow, the sufferings of a young martyr at the hand of a merciless and unscrupulous tyrant in the early days of Christianity are revealed in extreme and excruciating detail.

An example of the unexpected but welcome twist at the end is the conversion of the villain through a miracle just before curtain down. Another device which is looked forward to is the crowning of the saint in heaven amid the joy and glory of more experienced saints and winged angels. A variant on this is often the story of a more contemporary saint – such as a young virgin defending her purity against the assaults of a sex-maniac, or someone miraculously healed at Lourdes.

The Passion of Christ, with a cast made up of over a hundred actors, veterans and newcomers, is still the main theatrical attraction during Holy Week, alongside the processions in full costume with statues and characters from the Bible parading through the streets of a number of towns and villages. On these occasions the whole village becomes a natural stage. In recent years there has been a revival of these processions, and they have now become a well-advertised tourist attraction.

A more elegant variation of melodrama for the middle-classes was that of Italian Opera at the Royal Opera House in Valletta before this was destroyed by bombing in World War II.

Realism

More serious drama, involving more complex themes and requiring a more natural style of acting and greater discipline from actors working together under the control of a director, is of more recent origin. The effects of Realism only started to be felt in Malta after the War, mainly through the works of Ġużè Diacono, Gino Muscat-Azzopardi, and Ġużè Chetcuti, who aimed at ridding the theatre of improbable situations and blown-up styles of acting, and at replacing them by plays which depended much less on far-fetched plots and *coups-de-théâtre* and contained a rather heavy dose of social comment aimed at portraying the less attractive side of the Maltese character in a realistic light. They all seek to expose, in more or less similar ways, the hypocrisy of a closed community hiding under a veneer of self-righteousness, the 'holier-than-thou' attitude of middle-class gossipers, the hatred lurking behind the dark suspicious looks of village-women in their black dresses peeping from behind closed shutters in the heat of long summer afternoons. Spiteful and sarcastic remarks are made by people whose main business in life is to probe the private lives of others, reveal secrets, and try to unravel the mysteries surrounding real or imaginary scandals. The dialogue is venomous as the web of rumour spreads round the victim and leads to an explosion of violence with tragic results.

Ebejer

In the early Sixties, mainly as a result of the tourist industry, new currents of thought and ways of life were introduced into an insular Maltese milieu. 'To the average, conservative Maltese', as Professor Serracino-Inglott puts it, 'it was as though a life-long addict to native folkdances had lost his head and fallen over his heels overcome by the whiskey-laden whiffs of jazz'.[1] A similar effect was produced by Francis Ebejer's new kind of theatre which 'happened' at the same time. One can say that Ebejer burst upon the Maltese theatrical scene with his first three-act play *Vaganzi tas-Sajf* (*Summer Holidays*) in 1962, setting the trend for a more mature and modern approach to our theatre and bringing it in line with the best modern thought and technique.

The Ebejer phenomenon came like the proverbial bolt from the blue. When nobody was quite expecting it, Ebejer brought us face-to-face with a Maltese way of expression that revealed a new wealth of possibilities.

Vaganzi tas-Sajf had won First Prize in the first-ever play-writing competition organised by Malta's National Theatre, the

Manoel in Valletta. In 1964, two years after *Vaganzi tas-Sajf* and the year of Malta's Independence, came *Boulevard*, a sweeping, evocative and ironic look at the human condition conceived in terms of 'total theatre', and three years later *Menz*. Ebejer's English play, *Cliffhangers*, was, like all his other plays, produced by the author himself and acted by a Maltese cast. This creative period culminated in *Il-Hadd fuq il-Bejt* (*Sunday on the Roof*), staged in 1971 and described as a 'national happening', the like of which had not been known in Malta ever since the good old days of Italian Opera at the Royal Opera House.

There are many factors which account for this sudden acquisition of fame, this rise in Ebejer's popularity; but it seems to me that two stand out more clearly than others. The first is Ebejer's change of style, or rather the widening of his expression, reflecting the different facets of this writer's exciting personality: from the theatre of ideas in *Vaganzi*, to symbolist-absurdist in *Boulevard*, to social-symbolic in *Menz*, to naturalistic in *Il-Hadd fuq il-Bejt*, to the use of folk-themes in *L-Imnarja Żmien il-Qtil* and *Meta morna tal-Mellieħa*.

Secondly, people's thoughts in the very early sixties had begun to veer towards the idea of political Independence. There was an outburst of enthusiasm for the arts inspired by the search for a national identity, and some of the old yardsticks did not apply any more. Our theatre desperately needed someone to point out the way and Ebejer had come along, after his long and successful apprenticeship in radio-drama. This is why the year 1962 – the year of *Vaganzi tas-Sajf* – is regarded as the beginning of a new and powerful Maltese dramatic tradition.

Ironically – and this is a pointer to what I described earlier as an intriguing development – Ebejer's best work so far, *Boulevard*, came in 1964, near the beginning of his chequered career in the theatre. At this time the right theatrical climate had not yet been created and a much later play like *Il-Hadd fuq il-Bejt*, which is less complex technically and thematically, would perhaps have been received better.[2]

Experimental drama

There have been one or two good efforts in experimental drama during the past few years which I think deserve a mention. *Theatre Laboratory* (which later changed its name to *Teatru Henri Dogg*) directed by Mario Vella, a philosophy student now doing post-graduate research in London, used the Grotowski technique in a rather impressive production of Antonin Artaud's *The Ċenċi* and in a dramatised adaptation of *Moby Dick*. This group was also respon-

sible for the choreography for Charles Camilleri's major work for organ, the *Missa Mundi*, having had a request to present a Maltese translation of Edward Albee's *Tiny Alice* turned down by the censor.[3] Some time later *Teatru Workshop*, directed by Albert Marshall, who works as a director for Television Malta, gave a memorable performance of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* in Maltese.

WHICH WAY TO GO

For quite some time now a long discussion has been going on in the correspondence-columns of the *Sunday Times of Malta* in connection with Maltese theatre.[4] Various correspondents have given reasons why they think the Maltese are very reluctant to watch what has been called 'serious drama' – by which is meant, generally, the 'classics', ancient and modern. A Maltese repertory company – *The Atturi Theatre Group* – was set up two years ago with the intention of staging a play a month. It has provided a very small section of British residents, with their regular fare of entertainment, ranging from plays by Ibsen, Chekov, Pirandello, Ugo Betti, and Tennessee Williams to third-rate British sex-farces which have been their greatest box-office successes. This fact has been acknowledged by *Atturi* on many occasions. It is also a recognised fact that the Maltese working-classes (the 'less well-educated classes' as they've been referred to in one of the letters) do not as a rule sponsor *Atturi* productions. And it would be as unrealistic, I think, to expect the Maltese worker to accept the type of bourgeois theatre provided by *Atturi* in one form or another, as it would be undesirable to try to convert him to it.

There is, I think, one sane policy to be pursued vis-à-vis this problem. It involves a theory of the theatre which is quite different from the one held by the present established local companies. It involves the creation of a new kind of theatre which considers the street, the factory, the school as its premises; which does not aim at 'attracting' the public but at going out to them, especially the working-classes, from whom it tries to receive on-the-spot adhesion.

The aims of this kind of theatre are not 'cultural' in the sense that word is used in bourgeois slogans like 'culture for all' or 'cultural democracy', but political, aimed, that is, at bringing about solidarity among the workers through an increase of their 'awareness', and at changing existing social structures. It seeks to change the stage-public relationship by inviting active participation by the group.

This kind of theatre in Malta still does not exist. In order to be successful it would have to be rooted, I think, in popular theatre –

or *tijatrin.*[5]

I referred earlier to a type of Maltese farce which deserved to be considered separately. This was a vehicle for social satire and offered the only occasion for the whole village to laugh at the expense of characters taken from the higher echelons of society – the lawyer, the notary-public (*in-nutar*), the doctor, the chemist (*l-ispiżjar*). These were the 'untouchables' of Maltese society, the priveleged classes, and in farce they all came in for their fair share of ridicule. The humble peasant's down-to-earth commonsense was used as a weapon to deflate the lawyer's bombastic 'latinorum'. The notary's renowned tight-fistedness and the parish priest's platitudinous sermonising were two other targets for this kind of farce.

I think that this satirical aspect of *tijatrin*, if cleverly exploited, could offer many possibilities for the development of popular theatre in Malta. The characters and plot could easily be updated to reflect the changes which have gradually (and at times not so gradually!) changed the face of post-War and post-colonial Maltese society. The style of acting and the various 'heightening' effects of *tijatrin* can still be used; but they ought now to be made to bear on the contemporary situation, to throw light on the various problems which concern the people very closely but which they might not have succeeded as yet in focussing clearly.

This idea of theatre as a medium for creating social awareness, theatre as a political weapon using the style and techniques of *tijatrin* and developing its satirical aspects, still has to be given a chance. It is an illusion to think that the theatre – like the Church, or education – has ever been 'above politics', or will ever. If we want to create a new living theatre for our people this is, I think, what we should keep in mind and try in some way to put into effect.

NOTES:

[1] *Contemporary Art in Malta*, (Richard England ed., A Malta Arts Festival publication, October 1973), Introduction p. 7.

[2] For a fuller discussion of Ebejer's plays, see my essay in *Contemporary Art in Malta*, op. cit.

[3] Censorship in Malta has always been an extremely irrational and arbitrary affair. In 1970, for example, a request by the *5-Arts Drama Group* to present Arthur Miller's *A View from the Bridge* was turned down by the

censor on grounds of homosexual traces in the script. Seven years earlier, however, Elia Kazan's film version of the play had been shown locally, homosexual kiss and all!

In an appendix to his first collection of three-act plays, Francis Ebejer tells of his ordeal with the censor in 1962 before his prize-winning play *Vaganzi tas-Sajf* could get its 'nihil obstat' from the Police Headquarters to be performed in public. The censor's objections on this occasion ranged from the ludicrous to the downright insane. A perfectly innocent phrase like 'sexual urge' had to be changed to 'outward beauty', 'the Face of God' became 'the reality of life', et cetera. (*Id-Drammi ta' Francis Ebejer: Menz, Boulevard, Vaganzi tas-Sajf*, appendix, Lux Press, 1970).

In 1969 the Censorship Reform Group sent a memorandum to the Minister of Post strongly deploring the injustices of the Censorship Law and asking for some of its provisions to be updated or repealed. The memorandum dealt with anomalies in the case of imported literature, but most of what it said about the arbitrary nature of censorship in Malta could also be applied to the theatre and films. (*ARTI*, n. 5, July 1974, pp. 130-132).

[4] *Sunday Times of Malta*, May 23, 1976, p. 16, and letter pages of the following weeks.

[5] In 1971, the Social Action Movement sponsored a small group of actors and directors interested in the idea of street theatre, and a number of successful performances were held in village squares. The idea was taken up again in 1974 by the Centru Espressjoni Popolari which sought to bring about a fusion of elements from the related fields of liturgy and drama. Both ventures, however, were rather short-lived.

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