

الجمهورية اللبنانية
مكتب وزير الدولة لشؤون التنمية الإدارية
مركز مشاريع ودراسات القطاع العام

مصادر الثقافة في لبنان

Republic of Lebanon
Office of the Minister of State for Administrative Reform
Center for Public Sector Projects and Studies
(C.P.S.P.S.)

CULTURAL RESOURCES IN LEBANON

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Dedicated to the memory of

Dr. Salwa C. Nassar

Late President of

THE BEIRUT COLLEGE FOR WOMEN

1965 - 1967



DR SALWA NASSAR

1913 - 1967

FOREWORD

For the idea of having a lecture series on the cultural resources of Lebanon, credit must go to Dr. Salwa Nassar, late Professor of Physics at the American University of Beirut and President of the Beirut College for Women from 1965 until her untimely death in 1967. This idea was one of many proposed by Dr. Nassar to serve Lebanon and Lebanese education. Unfortunately, she did not live to see all her ideas come to fruition. Her proposal to establish a National Council for Scientific Research was one of the few put into effect in her lifetime. Other proposals, such as the ones to establish pilot laboratories in Beirut and the provincial centres for use by schools that have no laboratories of their own, and to establish national research centres to keep Lebanese scientists from going abroad, await recognition. It is consoling that many of Dr. Nassar's friends who have been influenced by her ideas have assumed responsibility for keeping them alive, and for continuing some of her efforts. In compliance with her will a board of seven has instituted the Salwa Nassar Foundation for Lebanese Studies which will continue to sponsor projects on cultural resources of Lebanon.

This volume, presenting the lectures on Lebanon delivered at the Beirut College for Women in the summer of 1966, is published with the help of funds secured by Dr. Nassar for the purpose. It is as much an introduction to the cultural resources of Lebanon as it is a testimony to the great woman who conceived of it and worked hard to complete it. Those who participated in the lecture series, either as lecturers or as members of the audience, appreciated the importance of the project and the dedication of Dr. Nassar. The editors of the present volume hope

that it will be the first of a series that will investigate all aspects of Lebanese life.

The lectures included in this volume attempt to sketch in broad outline the geography, history, politics, sociology, economics, administration, literary activity, and religious life of Lebanon; subjects that require further consideration in depth by scholars of Lebanese affairs. The authors of the papers include professors, journalists, men of letters, religious leaders, social workers, and other leaders of the community. In organizing these lectures, Dr. Nassar was assisted by Mrs. Matta Akrawi, Mr. Marun Kisirwani and Miss Julinda Abu Nasr, to all of whom we owe much gratitude. Special thanks are due to Rosemary Sayigh who edited the first draft of the English section of this book, to Ahmed Said (Adonis) and Mrs. Akrawi, who edited the Arabic section, and to Professor Rose Ghurayyib who summarized the Arabic lectures in English. We are also grateful to His Excellency Najib Alamuddin whose financial assistance has made this publication possible.

The Council

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Physical Geography of Lebanon

BY JAMES HUDSON*

In general, the papers in this seminar deal with social and historical aspects of Lebanon. Instead of overlapping with these by discussing the economic and cultural geography of Lebanon, I shall describe its physical geography only, an aspect not usually treated at length in social science papers. The physical geography of an area is important to the people of that area, and the relationship between the two is quite complicated. I will try to suggest some of the ways in which this relationship can be analysed.

A terminological note may be made here. To geographers, the terms "physical geography" and "physical environment" are almost synonymous, both terms including the landforms, the climate (or weather), the vegetation, the soil, the mineral and water resources, and the other natural, not human, characteristics of an area. The term "physical geography" may also be used to mean the locational distribution of these characteristics. Further, geographers often shorten "physical environment" to the simple term "environment."

Two introductory points may be made about the physical geography of Lebanon, First, its elements are not isolated features, but are parts of systems that extend far beyond Lebanon's borders. Thus, the Beka'a is part of the Rift System, which extends from southern Turkey to Mozambique in Africa, while the climate is part of the Mediterranean system, which extends as far west as Portugal and Morocco.

Secondly, Lebanon is a mountainous country; as with

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any mountainous country, its physical geography is extremely complex. Landforms, climate, soils and vegetation differ strikingly within short distances. We are all familiar with the slogan of "ski in the morning and swim in the afternoon" (though few have probably done it) and can appreciate the abrupt climatic transition implied in it. Equally sharp changes occur with other elements of the environment: for example, note the rapid changes from good soils to poor soils, as you drive through the Lebanese mountains. Rather than deal with the details of this complex pattern of physical geography, I shall describe it generally as a basis for the discussion of some of the implications of the environment.

Four Landforms

In the Levant, the landform regions run north and south, parallel to each other. Lebanon cuts across the grain of this pattern, and includes part of four of the regions: the coastal plain, the coastal mountains and hills, the interior trough, and the interior mountains, but it does not reach far enough east to include any of the interior plain.

The coastal plain on the west is narrow and discontinuous. Indeed, we can speak of coastal plains in the plural. Only a few plains – those of Beirut, Tripoli, and the Akkar – are more than small in size. Most of the plains have been formed of deposited material – alluvium brought down by rivers and material washed in by the sea. Some of the plains, such as that of Byblos, are not formed of alluvial material, but rather are shelves carved into the shore.

Rising immediately behind the coastal plains are the mountains. Their form may be compared to a comb. The main range forms the handle of the comb, and the nearly parallel ridges extending westward may be compared to the teeth. These ridges are steep-sided, while their tops are relatively smooth. Between them are narrow, deep gorges. The mountains are constructed of limestone with occasional layers of sandstone.

To the south, in the vicinity of Nabatiye, the high Lebanese mountains give way to the lower hills of Galilee, an area of low rolling limestone-marl hills, cut by narrow valleys.

Lying at the foot of the great eastern face of the Lebanese mountains is the Beka'a valley, a long narrow plain. It is part of the Rift system which extends from the Taurus Mountains in Turkey to Mozambique in Southern Africa. The Beka'a is formed by alluvium washed into the Beka'a from the mountains on either side. East of the Beka'a are the Anti-Lebanon Mountains, formed mainly of limestone.

As with the landforms of Lebanon, the climate is also part of a larger region, that of the Mediterranean climatic region, which extends westward to the Atlantic shore. In the winter, storms formed over the Atlantic move eastward through the Mediterranean bringing the rain of that season. In the summer, the rainbelt retreats to north of the Alps and the Mediterranean receives no rain. This dry season is caused by a temperature inversion – in simple terms, higher temperature aloft in the atmosphere than at the ground – which prevents the surface air from rising high enough to cause rain. The effect of the temperature inversion may be seen from the mountains on a summer afternoon: the lower air along the coast is hazy, being filled with moisture and dust, while the upper is clear, dry, and clean.

The mountains play an important role in the distribution of the rainfall in Lebanon. The rain-bringing storms are intensified by lifting on the west side of the mountains and by descent on the east side. Thus, the highest amount of rainfall (over 1,200 mm per year) is in the vicinity of the highest part of the mountains. From there, the amount of rainfall decreases southward until one reaches south Lebanon, which lacks high mountains, and thus has only a limited amount of rainfall (about 800 mm). This change in altitude affects the amount of rainfall in the Beka'a in an opposite manner: the southern Beka'a, with low mountains or hills to the west, receives a moderate amount of rainfall, but the northern Beka'a, with

high mountains to the west, receives a small amount of rainfall and is a semi-arid region.

The temperatures of Lebanon are generally subtropical: mild winters, and hot summers. These also are affected by the mountains, with lower temperatures at the higher altitudes.

As noted above, the pattern of the distribution of soils is extremely complicated. In general one can say that Lebanon has poor soils, interrupted by pockets of good soil. Most of Lebanon has soils developed in limestone, the major surface rock in the country. These are thin and poor in many minerals, lacking organic content, unable to retain water, and apt to be full of rocks. The pockets of better soils are developed mostly on alluvial material, such as in the Beka'a, the coastal plains, or scattered depressions in the mountains, or else are built on such material as sandstones or volcanic rock.

The natural vegetation of Lebanon has been grazed, burnt, cut, or otherwise affected by man for so long that it no longer exists. What does dominate is either agricultural land or else a degraded wild Mediterranean vegetation of brush and low trees which are able to endure the poor soils and summer drought.

Water Problems

In terms of its overall water situation, Lebanon must be termed a sub-humid country, that is an area with serious, but not intense, water problems. In general, the country receives as much rainfall per year as the humid areas of Europe or the United States, in some areas even more, but it is not as effective as it might be for several reasons. Of first importance is that it is seasonally concentrated. Most of the rainfall falls in the four months from December through March. During the four to six months of the summer, in contrast, no rain falls. The high temperatures of the summer evaporate available surface water rapidly and demand that the plants transpire large amounts of water in order to survive. Yet no water is available to the

plants, and they must lapse into dormancy or die.

Secondly, the rainfall is variable. From one year to the next, the amount may differ by as much as 50%. Seasonal variations are even greater: one spring may have more rain than desirable, and the next spring have practically no rain at all. Thirdly, much of the rain falls torrentially so that, during a storm, the soil is quickly rendered impermeable, and much of the rain rushes off the land in floods rather than being stored in the soil.

Other elements in the physical environment conspire to impoverish Lebanon's water resources. Even if the rainfall were not torrential, its rapid run-off from the surface is encouraged by steep slopes and sparse vegetation. This lessens the chance for water to be stored in the soil, to be used by plants later, or gradually to seep into the rivers, raising their flow during a low-water period. And even if the water were kept at a particular place, the limestone rocks and soil allow water to drain through them rapidly, so that little is available at the surface for plant use.

Two aspects of the physical environment help to balance the unfavorable water situation. One is the structure of the mountains which provides a system of springs bringing water the year around. In addition, the height of the mountains means that winter precipitation falls as snow. The water of the snow is stored naturally, being carried over from the rainy winter to the water-deficit period of late spring.

Geography and Character

What does its physical environment mean to Lebanon? The physical geography of Lebanon, as described above, may be labelled a poor one. Lebanon does not have vast, rich agricultural plains, nor a bountiful climate, nor a constant water supply, nor large mineral deposits. For the environmentalist school, this poverty of resources would determine the nature of Lebanon's society. In the view of others – the cultural or

economic determinists – the physical geography of Lebanon would have little relevance to the nature of the country. These simple approaches are not satisfactory, and, when they are applied to real situations, can be very easily shown to be inadequate.

The most sensible approach to analyzing the importance of the physical environment is the most obvious approach; the physical environment is one of the factors that are important in forming the character of a region. Thus many factors have been important for the funneling of trade through Beirut: the very existence of trade routes between the Near Eastern countries and Europe, Beirut's location near these routes, the special political, economic, and cultural conditions in Lebanon, and the history of the city, to mention some. The physical location of the city on the sea has, of course, been as essential as the existence of the trade routes themselves, and of these other factors, in directing trade through Beirut. And the existence of St. George's Bay as a large, deep-water embayment protected from the prevailing southwest wind and wave has made Beirut an attractive site for a port. But neither the seaside location nor the existence of the trade routes nor any other factor would be sufficient by itself to bring about the growth of the port.

For the most part, the physical environment is inert, that is, it does not act directly itself. The Lebanese mountains have not made the towns of Aley, Sofar, and the others into summer resorts. Rather, these places have been made into summer resorts by people for whom several factors have been important. These factors include the existence of the mountain coolness, the existence of numerous prosperous groups living in warmer places (Beirut, Kuwait, etc.), the existence of facilities for transportation, and the development of the concept of escaping summer heat in the mountains. Another factor is that in the early days of this century, as now, many people in Beirut had their origins in the mountains. With the close family ties of the culture, they would escape summer heat by going to their ancestral villages. They were not forced to do so by the

mountains; if there was any force, it was the force of family ties working through the members of the family.

The environment is not always inert. When an earthquake destroys a village in Lebanon, the physical environment is acting forcibly to cause the devastation. The choice of people to live in an earthquake zone is, however, a human choice. That the people of the village chose to build in an earthquake zone and that they chose not to build, or were ignorant of, earthquake-resistant structures are human factors working with the activity of the physical environment to cause devastation.

This active aspect of the physical environment, as expressed in what we call devastations, becomes an inert aspect in the long run. Thus, we would say that, in a hundred years, an area will suffer a certain number of earthquakes that will destroy buildings, a certain number of floods that will cause serious damage, and a certain number of frosts that will kill citrus trees. This is "statistical inertness" and is on the same level as saying that Beirut receives an average of about 99 mms of rain per year.

Change

Physical environment is subject to change and it can be changed naturally. Over the eons the Lebanese mountains have risen from the sea, and the climate has changed from tropical to subtropical. These natural changes, beyond the comprehension and interests of most men, need not concern us. Short-run natural changes may also occur. A landslide may cause the diversion of a river or the creation of a swamp, while a fire caused by lightning may denude an area of its vegetation. Likewise, the natural invasion of new plants or animals will cause a change in the biotic environment.

Man also can change the physical environment to suit his activities. Three examples concerning landforms can be seen in Lebanon. The slopes of many mountains here have been converted from the steep chaos of their natural condition to

the stepped order of terraces. This change in the natural environment had to await certain developments. The technique of terracing had to be introduced, seemingly from Italy, and had to be spread among the people. There had to be a sufficient number of people to make the tremendous amount of work worthwhile in this case, groups of people who were dependent upon agriculture and who, for religious reasons, were unwilling to migrate to plains where terracing would be unnecessary. As soon as opportunities opened outside and it was safe to migrate, many terraced areas were abandoned, but, for years after, the surface of the slope has retained its stepped nature.

Another example of man changing the natural environment is the Beka'a. Part of the Southern Beka'a was a swamp. The area was attractive for agriculture: it was flat and had a comparatively good soil and water supply. When technology, capital, and organization were brought together with the concept of draining that area, the swamp disappeared. The third example is the proposed Hammana-Chtaura tunnel. To the eye of the car-driver or truck-operator, it will change the environment of Dahr el-Baidar by lowering it by several hundred meters and by eliminating snow.

Climatic change is also possible. At present, change in the micro-climate (the "true" climate) is not possible. Even the greatest amount of cloud seeding will not bring rain in the summer, and nothing can yet be done to reduce the natural heat and humidity of Beirut's summers. But modifications can be made in the micro-climate. A plant growing during the summer takes water from the soil; if the water is not provided naturally, it can be provided artificially by irrigation; in this way, the climate for the plant has been changed. If heat and humidity outside cannot be reduced, it can be reduced inside by airconditioning, changing the climate of Beirut and, incidentally, reducing the attractions of the mountains in summer.

Lebanese Attitudes to Their Environment

The statements above are geographers' view of Lebanon's physical environment. But geographers here have little influence on how society and individuals use their environment. Here, we can only suggest questions, for we are exploring the unexplored.

How do the Lebanese analyze their physical environment, and what do they know about it? Scholars tend to believe that everyone analyzes the environment as rationally as they themselves think they do. But even in scientific works, one can find errors in describing the environment, and we are all familiar with books that describe the limited agricultural resources of the Lebanese mountains as rich and bountiful. A similar optimism probably affects the farmers. In another sub-humid area (Utah), I found that irrigation farmers regarded years of above-average water supply as average, years and years of average water supply as being poor.

How does a society view the possibility of adjustments between its activities and the environment? Here the prevailing spirit seems to be acceptance. For many decades the Lebanese bemoaned the disappearance of the cedars, but felt nothing could be done about it. The technology of planting trees was available, and was used for orchards. But until recently, few were able to conceive of replanting cedars on a large scale. Many do not realize that techniques are available for them to adjust their activities to the environment. The Beka'a has a drought problem. It also has two agricultural stations where advice is available for improved seeds, fertilizers, and cropping methods to adjust agricultural activities to the semi-arid climate. But few Beka'a farmers go to the agricultural stations for advice; perhaps they feel that nothing can be changed.

What sort of long-range view of its environment does this society have? Does it see it as Mother Nature, to be interfered with as little as possible? Does it feel that the environment is something that is irreplaceable and must be treated carefully

James Hudson

so that it will yield for future generations? Or does it feel that the most must be extracted from the environment at the present time to support the present generation, and that future generations will be able to take care for themselves? In Lebanon, it would seem that there is a beginning of a shift from maximum present extraction to planning for future generations (the Litani project) and of viewing the environment as sacred (reafforestation).

* * *

In summary, we can construct a model that will illustrate the nature of the importance of the physical environment to a region. At the beginning there is the physical environment itself, composed of many elements which are connected with each other and act upon each other. Then comes the society which lives in this environment. It can adjust its own activities to the environment and can adjust the environment to its own activities. The nature of the adjustments will depend upon many factors. Some factors are tangible: the nature of the finances, technology, and organization available to the society. Other factors are less tangible. These include such interrelated factors as the view that the society has of itself, its degree of willpower, its concept of the physical environment.

We might conclude by stating the case for Lebanon. This country, viewed as a whole, has a relatively poor set of resources provided by its environment. Yet the country is one of the most prosperous in the region. Why is this so? The answer lies not in the physical environment, but in the society and its individuals in comparison with the other societies in the area. I suggest that the definitive answer is one of the most complicated questions of geography or even of the social sciences, and I suspect that the most important social factors lie not in the tangible group of the society's technology and finances but in the less tangible group of the society's concepts in relation to its use of its physical environment.

Ancient Lebanon

BY WILLIAM A. WARD*

To speak of ancient Lebanon usually means to speak of the Phoenicians. Praised by Homer and other ancient writers, the Phoenicians truly deserve a prominent place in the history of the ancient world. Their ships moved throughout the Mediterranean and their trading colonies sprinkled its shores from Lebanon to Spain. Their alphabet became the standard medium for writing, their glass a prized item in international trade. Phoenician ivory-carving decorated a hundred palaces in a hundred cities. And when a world conqueror arose, be he a Cyrus or an Alexander, he first had to come to terms with the Phoenicians before his conquests could be assured.

However, these are the classical Phoenicians of the first millennium B.C., and they come relatively late in the history of Lebanon. By the time of the Phoenicians described by Homer and other Greek authors, the history of Lebanon was already ancient and shrouded in the misty half-truths of mythology and legend. Indeed, the Phoenicians themselves have become enshrined in legend, some of which has persisted to the present day. It is only with difficulty that we can even define what we mean when we speak of Phoenicians. However, I must come to grips with this problem at the outset of this lecture.

We are accustomed today to think in terms of a country called "Phoenicia" and a people called "Phoenicians". Unfortunately, both terms are misused and freely applied to the whole of ancient Lebanese history and to all the people who once lived here. In reality, the inhabitants of ancient Lebanon

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never referred to themselves as "Phoenicians", nor did they call their land "Phoenicia". They called themselves "Men of Tyre", "Men of Sidon", and the like, and their country they called "Lebanon". Similarly, in Egyptian and Babylonian texts as early as 1500 B.C., this area is called "Lebanon". No one in the ancient Near East ever used the term "Phoenicia".

The ancient Lebanese were first called "Phoenicians" by the Greeks. It is quite true that this term is based on a word for crimson or purple dye, though we now know that the Greek word itself is Semitic in origin. The Greek word *phoinikies*, from which we derive our word "Phoenicians", comes from an old Semitic word for a plant which is a common source for crimson and purple dye. This is found in Arabic as *fuwwa*, and in the Hebrew Old Testament as *puwva*. It would be difficult to say when the Greeks first began to call the Lebanese "Phoenicians", though the first time the word appears in writing is in Homer's *Odyssey*. The word means something like "crimson dye makers". It was originally a kind of nickname used by the Greeks to designate the coastal inhabitants of Syria-Lebanon, after the dye industry which was especially prominent here in antiquity. The word therefore has no ethnic or linguistic connotations, and refers primarily to a particular craft or industry.

If the term "Phoenician" cannot be considered an ethnic or linguistic one, it likewise cannot be considered a political one. As we will see, political unity was never achieved in ancient Lebanon, so it is incorrect to speak of "Phoenicia" as if it were a nation. Hence, it is not a geographical term either, at least in origin. The only definition left to us, then, is a cultural one, and it is in this sense more than any other that the Greeks first coined the term. Strictly speaking, we have no right to use the word any differently from the way the Greeks used it, and we have no right to apply it chronologically any differently from its application in antiquity. To the Greeks, the Phoenicians were a people famous for their dye industry, living along the Syro-Lebanese coastline, whose main occupation was foreign trade and whose ships commanded the east Mediterranean Sea.

Following this usage, we would have to apply the term to the inhabitants of the Syro-Lebanese coast from the tenth to the fourth centuries B.C.

But the term "Phoenician" has become so common in modern usage that I will bow to popular opinion at the expense of historical accuracy and linguistic pedantry. We must keep in mind, however, that it was originally only a Greek nickname for the Lebanese during a certain period in history.

Lack of Documents

Ancient history is reconstructed basically from written documents. Naturally, the more written documents we have, the more we know about history. But there is another source of information and this is the mass of material that remains unearched by archaeologists. Trained scholars can produce a great deal of information from tumbled walls, old broken pots and all other aspects of material culture. In fact, nothing is more instructive, short of written documents themselves, than an ancient garbage dump. The things people once threw away as useless are, to the modern historian, precious pieces of information which help write history.

In studying the history of ancient Lebanon, we have much in the way of material remains, but we are hampered by the lack of written documents from Lebanon itself. The sum total is not very impressive. A group of Egyptian texts, giving little more than names and titles of Egyptian kings and officials, and dating to the third millennium B.C., has been found in Byblos. From the second millennium B.C., there are royal archives from Ras Shamra which cover a short period in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C., and a few letters written by Lebanese kings of the fourteenth century B.C., have been found in Egypt. Also from the second millennium are some royal inscriptions of the kings of Byblos written in Egyptian hieroglyphic and a small group of documents in a local script which remains undeciphered. Finally, there is a series

of inscriptions largely of a funerary nature, written in the Phoenician alphabet, dating to the late second and the first millennia B.C. This is all the written material we have from ancient Lebanon prior to the Hellenistic Age when Greek inscriptions begin to appear. It is obvious that such a small and scattered group of written texts does no more than give us little bits and pieces of history and is far from what we would like to have.

Unfortunately, we do not possess two major documents written in Lebanon itself which would have been invaluable. There seems to have been a great deal of literary activity in Lebanon in the sixth century B.C. One Phoenician author, Sancthuniaton, collected the religious literature of ancient Lebanon and wrote a detailed analysis of this material. Sancthuniaton's original work has disappeared, though we do have a brief outline preserved by the Greek writer, Philo of Byblos, who lived in the first century A.D. A second major work, probably also composed in the sixth century B.C., was a history of Tyre. Again, the original work is lost and is preserved only in outline form by another Greek writer, Menander of Ephesus, of the third century B.C. It is indeed disappointing to the modern historian that neither of these important books has survived in its original form.

On the other hand, because Lebanon stood at the crossroads of history, it is mentioned time and again in the records of other nations. Thus we can use Egyptian, Hittite, Babylonian and other sources to help fill in the gaps. It is sometimes surprising from where scraps of information come. Four years ago, a Sumerian economic text was published giving simply a list of sacrifices offered to a temple by the rulers of various towns. Among them is the name of a king of Byblos who ruled around 4,000 years ago. There are hundreds of such odd bits of information which are of invaluable help to the historian.

Another written source for reconstructing the history of ancient Lebanon is Greek mythology. The myths and legends of the Greeks range over the whole Mediterranean world and

there is a considerable amount of useful information about Lebanon. Mythology is based on historical fact, no matter how much interpretation and speculation has been added. During the past twenty years or so, scholars have become increasingly aware that Greek mythology, far from being the result of over-active imagination, really preserves historical events and real people. The problem is not whether to accept or reject a myth or legend, but rather to separate the historical facts from their mythological framework.

Let me give one example. One of the minor heroes of Greek mythology is Cadmus. Cadmus was the grandson of Poseidon, god of the sea. He was a prince of Phoenicia, though the family was Greek in origin. When the god Zeus kidnapped his sister Europe, Cadmus and his brothers set out in search of her to bring her back. The wanderings of Cadmus took him to Rhodes, then to Thrace in northern Greece and finally to the Oracle of Delphi which he asked for help in locating his sister. The Oracle told him to give up his search, stop his wandering and establish a new city instead. Cadmus followed the Oracle's instructions and built Thebes, one of the more important Greek cities.

While this is a myth, it does preserve a core of historical truth. For example, the name Cadmus is not Greek. It is really the Semitic name *Qadmu*, which means "the Easterner", and is therefore a fitting name for the hero of the myth. Note also that Cadmus is a descendant of the god of the sea, a detail which fits well into the Phoenician setting of the story. Probably this myth records the westward expansion of the Phoenicians, beginning in the tenth century B.C. when they established trading-posts throughout the Mediterranean world. While it would be going too far to say that the Greek city of Thebes was actually founded by Phoenicians, we can suggest that they were probably in contact with Thebes by trade. It is also interesting to note that Cadmus is credited with bringing the alphabet to Greece. This reflects the Greek adaptation of the Phoenician alphabet, an event which is now known to have taken place

around 800 B.C.

The historian thus has available a collection of written documents for reconstructing the history of ancient Lebanon, though these are scattered in both time and place. Taken as a whole, this material might seem to represent a substantial source of historical knowledge. In reality, it gives only an infinitesimal part of the story. We are allowed fleeting glimpses into the lives of a relatively few important rulers, and a few general views of events in isolated years. For the bulk of the history of ancient Lebanon, we can only make intelligent guesses. We cannot now write a continuous history, and probably never will. This is why we must speak in broad generalizations, and think chronologically in terms of millennia and centuries.

There is one more point which should be mentioned before discussing history, and that is the geographical extent of the area we must cover. I have already noted that the term "Phoenician" covers the whole Syro-Lebanese coast, and that it is a cultural term. From this it is evident that modern political boundaries do not reflect those of antiquity. We must think, therefore, in terms of cultural rather than political units. We must consider the whole Syro-Lebanese coastal area as a cultural unit in antiquity. This gives us a geographical limit, but we must also give some kind of chronological limit, thinking in terms of a continuing cultural unity. Throughout historical times – roughly, 3,000 B.C. onward – the Syro-Lebanese coast preserved a cultural identity which set it off from other areas. Thus we can speak of Ras Shamra and Byblos as part of the same cultural unit, even though in ancient as in modern times these two places were politically separate. In the following discussion, I will use the terms Phoenicia and Lebanon interchangeably, both referring to the whole Syro-Lebanese coast. The problem here is that neither term can be applied to this area throughout all its history. It would perhaps be better to use some term like "coastal Canaanites" and forget the traditional ones altogether.

The Early Importance of Trade

Perhaps the best way to approach the history of ancient Lebanon is to say something about the implications of Lebanon's geographical position. Modern Lebanon stands in a vital position for the movement of world trade and derives a good deal of its economic and political stability from precisely this. We merely have to project our present situation into antiquity to understand the reasons why the ancient Lebanese – or Phoenicians, if you prefer – played the role they did on the international scene. It may come as a surprise to realize just how far back in time our modern situation can be projected.

We can do no more than glance briefly at the earliest age of human habitation in the Near East. The common consensus is that we have evidence for the existence of man in this area at least one hundred thousand years ago. Interestingly enough, one of the heaviest concentrations of people at this early age was right here in the Beirut area. Man of this time was still in the Old Stone Age, or Palaeolithic Period. He had no towns or villages and knew nothing about farming. He wandered from place to place seeking food and water and, in general, lacked the leisure time to give expression to any creative impulses he may have felt. For tens of thousands of years, small groups of people lived in this fashion, never staying long enough in one place to leave more than the faintest traces of their presence.

Then came a great moment in the history of man – the first towns and villages. Just what caused man to settle down in one place and build permanent towns is a vast problem now being studied by many scholars. The process cannot detain us here, but the result is important. The Neolithic Revolution, as it is called, brought about a whole new way of life. Man learned farming, animal husbandry, and architecture. He formed new standards in government and society, new legal systems to control his urban way of life. He now lived in settled communities and his endless wandering had ceased. He was assured of an adequate food supply and – most important –

the community began to specialize in labour. Not everyone was needed to work the fields, so craftsmen, artisans, merchants and professional groups came into being. One could now indulge in creativity and artistic experimentation as leisure time was available. This drastic change in daily life was so far-reaching that it has only been paralleled at one other time in history – the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century.

Where were the first towns and villages? It would be unwise to answer this question now since in the past few years archaeologists have been finding very old towns everywhere, each in its turn laying claim to being the first. Jarmo in northern Iraq, Jericho in the Jordan Valley, Çatal Hüyük in south central Turkey may all be as old as eight or nine thousand years. Byblos was settled over seven thousand years ago, Ras Shamra, near Latakia, even earlier. Such ancient towns have forced a complete reappraisal of our concept of early man in the Near East.

It is important to note that Lebanon was among the places where this enormous change in society first took place. It is also important that Lebanon's location placed it at the geographical center of the Neolithic Revolution. Now the building of towns and villages has one automatic result – foreign trade. Any community has access to natural resources, or manufactures something in excess of what it can use. One town may have more grain than it needs. Another may have certain kinds of stone valuable for making vases and storage jars. A town may have a surplus of wine, oil, or copper, or such rare commodities as spices, ivory and even gold and silver. Foreign trade began when these ancient towns exchanged their surpluses: wheat for copper, decorated pottery for textiles, spices for gold, and so on. This exchange of surpluses brought about an active merchant class, built a complex system of trade-routes, and created the fortunes of Lebanon.

Giving even the most cautious estimate, it is safe to say that between five and six thousand years ago, one could travel from the Persian Gulf to Central Europe, by land and sea, on regularly used trade-routes which carried this exchange

of surplus goods from one end of the ancient world to the other. This was an established fact over five thousand years ago. It was no accident that Byblos, at this very time, was a thriving and wealthy town, situated at the center of a primitive, but active, international economy.

Byblos and Egypt

The reason, of course, was the sea. Perhaps the sea was not vital when the earliest village was built at Byblos, close to the shore. The adequate water supply was sufficient excuse for founding a village here at first. But the natural harbor, not far from the original village, soon became one of its most important assets. Once Byblos was firmly established, the sea became a natural ally. It was the sea that led to other coastal towns. It was by sea that the ships of distant places found their way to Byblos. It was the sea that brought Byblos and Egypt together in a commercial partnership that would last for two thousand years.

Byblos might have prospered without Egypt, but this relationship between the land of the cedars and the land of the Nile proved one of the most fruitful, and lasting, in history. For of all nations of antiquity, Egypt could benefit most from what Lebanon had to offer. Lebanon possessed vast forests of evergreen trees – cedar, cyprus and juniper. Egypt had no trees suitable for building. Other nations may have desired Lebanese timber, but for Egypt it was a necessity. It is not just coincidence that Lebanon and Egypt formed this long friendship around 3,000 B.C. when Byblos was in its first period of prosperity. Egypt had just become united and a new kingdom builds: temples, palaces, tombs, houses, ships, and a thousand other things which created a demand for wood. Not the splintery and weaker woods of Egypt, but strong timbers, more durable woods, which had to be obtained elsewhere. At the beginning of its own history, Egypt came into contact with a limitless supply of the very product it lacked, but needed in abundance.

If I have read the evidence correctly, it was the Lebanese who found the Egyptians, and not vice-versa. But whoever was responsible for the earliest contacts, Egypt became the best and most faithful customer Lebanon ever had. And not just timber. Oil and resin are by-products of the timber trade. Now it happens that early in their history, the Egyptians developed religious ideas which called for the preservation of their dead, and began the practice of mummification. In this elaborate, but by no means secret method, the use of fragrant oils and resins played an important part. Hence, Lebanon found an endless market in Egypt where the practice of mummification was not abandoned until Christian times. For over three thousand years, anyone who could afford it was mummified at death. Cedar oil and other by-products of the timber industry were thus always in demand in great quantity. It is no wonder that Egypt, even in her age of conquest when cities fell to her armies by the score, always counted Byblos a friend. There was forged here a relationship almost unique in history for its length of mutual goodwill.

A description of the town of Byblos as it was five thousand years ago will serve to describe the society and culture of Lebanon throughout its history. From what I have already said, it is evident that Byblos must have been a cosmopolitan town where the peoples and cultures of the whole ancient world came together. Important trade-centers are cosmopolitan by the very nature of their reason for existence. The ships coming from Egypt, Cyprus and the Aegean world, and the caravans arriving from Turkey, Mesopotamia and Palestine brought with them not only articles of trade. They brought people as well. And whenever a man moves to settle in a foreign place, he takes with him his own heritage: his ideas, his religion, his way of doing things. When we consider that people from all over the ancient world were going and coming through this town, and that many of them came to settle permanently, we can immediately see the effect this had on the population of ancient Lebanon.

In the course of the past few years, some historians have presented evidence which suggests that already five thousand years ago the native population of Lebanon and Syria was Semitic. Now the word "Semitic" is not an ethnic term. One is a Semite because one speaks a Semitic language. Therefore, we can only determine the presence of Semites at a given place on the basis of language. Unfortunately, there are no written documents presently known from Lebanon dating to this early period. There is however, strong indirect evidence that the population of Syria-Lebanon at least as early as five thousand years ago was basically Semitic-speaking. But these native Semites were not the only people to live here. In the mid-third millennium B.C., an Egyptian temple was erected at Byblos. This would point to a sizable Egyptian population resident in the town. We may safely infer that there were similar groups of other foreigners also resident at Byblos. The result was a population which was very like that of modern Beirut. It was multi-lingual, engaged in trade and commerce, and lived in a cosmopolitan atmosphere whose elements were drawn from everywhere in the ancient world.

This then is the first important point about ancient Lebanon - it always had a mixed culture and its people were among the most cosmopolitan in antiquity. At present, we can speak only of the towns along the coast like Byblos. Further inland, in the Beka'a Valley, there were other towns which must have been in existence five thousand years ago. But the kind of culture they had is still unknown since they have not been excavated. During the past two years, a most welcome archaeological survey has been made in Lebanon so we now know at least where other early towns once existed. Until more excavations have been undertaken, it would be fruitless to speculate on the nature of the inland culture of this early period.

Political Disunity

I have been speaking of the towns of Lebanon rather than

kingdoms. This brings us to our second important point about ancient Lebanon – its political disunity. While generalizations are always dangerous and someone can always come up with one discordant exception, I will attempt one anyhow. Ancient Lebanon was only united at those times when it was ruled by a foreign power: unity was imposed on Lebanon by outside military force. This might seem strange. While the mountains were a natural barrier to the unification of the coast and the Beqa'a, the coastal area could easily have been forged into a single maritime kingdom. The fact remains that it wasn't. The normal unit of government in Lebanon, as in Syria and Mesopotamia, was the city-state. There were hundreds of such tiny states, often consisting only of one small town and the surrounding farmland. Like the Greeks of a later age, the ancient Lebanese preferred independence in small states to the security of kingdoms. In antiquity, security and local independence did not often go together.

This refusal to unite plagued the Lebanese towns throughout their history. Any foreign power strong enough to invade had only to capture the city-states one by one. Or, if a temporary coalition of Lebanese towns was formed in the face of a common enemy, the various towns in such a coalition normally put their own interests first. Thus the ancient history of Lebanon is a long series of conflicts with stronger powers on all sides. Through the centuries, Akkadians, Amorites, Egyptians, Hittites, Mycenaeans, Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians, to mention only the more prominent ones, invaded and occupied part or all of Lebanon. Possibly, political unity would have made little difference. But without it, it was that much easier to conquer the area piecemeal.

This political disunity placed the towns of Lebanon, like those of Syria and Palestine, on the defensive in international affairs. It was the custom for a small state, unable to protect itself against larger powers, to form alliances with a powerful neighbor. Lebanon, while it profited greatly from being at the center of international trade, was also in the center of inter-

national politics. And in this respect, there was little profit. One powerful neighbor was fine; an alliance was made and both sides were content. But often there were two strong neighbors, or even three, and then one had to choose allies, certain that the one left out would seek immediate vengeance. Towns such as Byblos and Ras Shamra continuously had to make political choices from the standpoint of which neighbor was least dangerous as an enemy. They had to know when to break an alliance, and when to shift sides; this gave them a political acumen known in few places in the world.

These coastal towns had a particular appeal for conquerors. They were wealthy enough for possession of them to be a sufficient reason for invasion. But they also had access to the sea and it was this that attracted the armies of other powers and the greed of other kings.

Thus the political role played by Lebanon in antiquity was a relatively minor one. In the third millennium B.C., when there were no powers with imperial ambitions in the Near East, the city-states along the Syro-Lebanese coast could maintain their independence. The second millennium B.C. was the age of limited empires, when the kingdoms of Egypt, Turkey and Mesopotamia reached out beyond their own borders to build captive provinces in foreign lands. One of these provinces was inevitably Lebanon, no matter from which direction the conqueror came. The first millennium B.C. was the time of world empires, when first the Assyrians, then the Babylonians and finally the Persians came roaring out of the east like hungry lions to swallow up any morsel that stood in their way. Lebanon always stood in the way.

Perhaps it is unkind to suggest that Lebanon's political role in the ancient world was to be the after-dinner liqueur following any meal of conquest. Still, this is the case. However, like a good liqueur, Lebanon always managed to settle the conqueror's stomach when his gluttony was over. For when the conquerors returned to their native lands, they had become just a bit Lebanese. One gets the impression that there was a

sophistication here which overwhelmed the ambitions of kings by quietly laughing at their pretensions. An integrated, cosmopolitan society tends to have a feeling of cultural superiority.

Cosmopolitanism

Up to this point what I have said about ancient Lebanon can be applied to any period of its history prior to the Hellenistic Age. The geographical position of ancient Lebanon made it the commercial crossroads of antiquity and its inhabitants willingly and successfully accepted the role of international merchants that history forced upon them. The atmosphere thus engendered was a cosmopolitan one, giving rise to an international mentality and an international civilization. Fortunately, we possess both literary and material remains which illustrate this mixed culture.

One of the most important collections of written documents from the ancient Near East was discovered some 35 years ago at Ras Shamra. These documents are written on small clay tablets in a script having only 30 signs, each representing a single consonant. It is thus one of the first alphabets. The language represented by this script is a Semitic dialect called Ugaritic, after the ancient name of Ras Shamra, which was Ugarit. The value of these documents can hardly be exaggerated. For, preserved on these ancient pieces of clay is the essence of the religion of ancient Lebanon. Here we can read the great myths and legends which give us the basic features of the theological and philosophical speculation of the Lebanese of the mid-second millennium B.C. Baal and Anath are no longer shadowy deities known only from vague references in the Old Testament and classical literature. In the Ugaritic documents, they are defined clearly. I should note, however, that even after 35 years of intensive study by many scholars, it is still impossible to give a completely accurate translation of these texts. This should not surprise us, since after several centuries of study, parts of the Hebrew Old Testament still defy accurate translation and understanding.

Still, it is possible to see for the first time into the mind of ancient Lebanon. As we might expect, the sight is a composite one. The mythology of Ugarit comes from many sources – Palestine, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Lebanon itself. Some scholars even see in this literature an influence from Arabia. Here, then, is a religious tradition which embodies the major characteristic of ancient Lebanese civilization: its cosmopolitan mixture of many foreign traditions with the indigenous one. We have been accustomed to think of the Hellenistic Age as the time of religious syncretism in the ancient world. In reality, Alexander the Great and the new era he began comes at the end of a process which had been going on for centuries. We have proof from Ugarit that the combination of many religions which was an essential factor of the Hellenistic Age was already an accepted fact a thousand years before.

Important though it may be for revealing the religion of Lebanon in the second millennium B.C., the Ugaritic tablets have an even greater value. Scholars had long suspected there was more than a superficial resemblance between the great literary works of antiquity. The Greek Hades described in Homer's *Odyssey*, for example, in detail for detail the same land of the dead described in the Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh and the Old Testament book of Job. In Babylonian, Hebrew and early Greek literature, there are a hundred concepts which are the same. But all this, which generations ago led only to theory and speculation, lacked a focus. The relationships were there, but the reason for them and the means by which they were achieved was not clear. Ugarit provided the key.

Just as Lebanon stood in the commercial center of the ancient world, it appears to have stood in the literary center as well. Ugaritic mythology shares with the Babylonian, Greek and Hebrew traditions, an overwhelming mass of similarities. It is utterly impossible to think in terms of coincidence or accidental resemblance. We are not dealing with isolated details or general ideas which are common to all men everywhere. We are dealing with the basic questions asked by philosophy

and the vital issues raised by man's search to understand himself and the divine world. In an astounding number of cases, the answers are identical in all these literary traditions.

Ancient Lebanon was a melting-pot of ideas as well as populations. There took place along this coastline a syncretism of philosophy, a combination of religious thought, just as important and influential as the sweeping movement we call Hellenistic culture. Such a combination of foreign traditions, and their transmission to the rest of the world in this syncretistic form, was inherent in the ancient Lebanese mentality. From the beginning of its history, Lebanon traditionally was a mixed culture. The combination of foreign cultures with their own came naturally to the people who lived along this coast. They had always known a syncretistic civilization.

Artistic Syncretism

We can see precisely these principles in other phases of Phoenician culture. In art, for example, it is possible to trace the same combination of foreign and native elements and the diffusion of this composite product into the rest of the world. It is a most interesting process. The artistic traditions of Egypt, Mesopotamia, Syria-Palestine, Turkey and the Aegean world were fused together into a blended tradition which was uniquely Phoenician. This syncretistic tradition was then passed back into the very cultures which had contributed to it. That the Phoenician artistic tradition was popular in antiquity is obvious from its wide distribution. From the Assyrian palace at Nineveh to the homes of noble families in Italy, Phoenician objects have been found in abundance everywhere.

Modern scholars often criticize Phoenician art as being little more than imitation. To a certain extent this is true; there is very little originality in this art. Technique and craftsmanship were mastered to a high degree, but one cannot see in Phoenician art a real creativity. On the other hand, the Lebanese artist did not merely copy and we do him a great

injustice to accuse him of plagiarizing the creative work of others. To be sure, he borrowed ideas, designs and motives freely from all over the ancient world. But he combined them into a unique art form distinct from any other. While his subject matter may have been taken from elsewhere, we must grant him an outstanding ability to combine widely differing traditions successfully. The aesthetic, balanced and very pleasing result was never achieved, and rarely attempted, by any other civilization. It is more difficult than it seems to blend several distinct art forms into a single one without producing a hybrid monstrosity. It was achieved in ancient Lebanon, and for the very reasons we have noted above. By virtue of his own culture and mentality, the Phoenician artist, more than any other, was equipped to produce a syncretistic art that would be at home anywhere.

Greek and Phoenician Colonization

That this art is found everywhere is, of course, the result of foreign trade and the trade-colonies which the Phoenicians established around the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. Now we must make an important distinction between Greek and Phoenician colonization. The Greek colonial movement originated in a need to find suitable land for an expanding population, to solve local economic problems by establishing self-supporting colonies overseas. Trade between the colonies and Greece was carried on, but this was not the primary reason for the colonial movement. On the contrary, the Phoenicians were motivated almost entirely by trade, so that we cannot speak of colonies in the Greek sense. The Phoenicians rather established trading and supply depots, not permanent urban communities which were new city-states in their own right. I am speaking now of the early first millennium B.C., when Phoenician colonization began, not the later centuries when towns like Carthage grew to prominence.

This commercial expansion followed the trade-routes of

the Mediterranean, and can be dated to the first half of the first millennium B.C. Already by the middle of the tenth century, the Phoenicians had reached Spain and founded the town of Cadiz. The attraction in Spain were the rich metal deposits in the northwestern part. All along this route, small colonies were planted to serve as supply stations and to take advantage of local products and resources such as the metal mines of Sardinia. With a long line of trading-posts stretching from Lebanon to Spain, Phoenician ships could always be assured of finding supplies along the way to the west.

With some reluctance, I must point out that the supposed circumnavigation of Africa by Phoenician ships is only a theory and probably wrong. It is based on a cryptic statement by the Greek historian Herodotus, and supported by a modern forgery. Therefore, until good evidence is available, it seems best to discount it. Phoenician ships may have reached some point along the west coast of Africa, though just where is unknown.

Phoenician overseas expansion declined around 700 B.C. with the Assyrian conquest of Lebanon. At about the same time, the Greek colonial movement was under way, further hampering Phoenician attempts to control the sea. The end of Phoenician colonial expansion came in the early sixth century when the Babylonians captured Tyre. The colonies were now left to die out or like Carthage, eventually to gain a distinction of their own. The Punic civilization of the western Mediterranean area in later times was the result of this separation of the western colonies from the motherland. But this lies beyond the limits of the present lecture.

Contributions to World-Culture

I have still to touch on one important aspect of ancient Lebanese civilization, already hinted at above, and that is its contribution to the history of man in general. I have emphasized that a great cultural synthesis took place in ancient Lebanon over a long period of time, and that the results of this synthesis

were diffused throughout the ancient world. We know that there was an immediate and far-flung impact of this diffusion on other cultures. For example, archaic Greek art of around 800-600 B.C. was heavily influenced by contemporary Phoenician art. Schools of Phoenician ivory carvers were even established in the Greek islands to train and influence a whole new generation of Greek artists. But artistic traditions change and new art forms and schools arise to replace the old. Thus the Phoenician artistic influence in antiquity may have been internationally prominent, but it was not permanent. Material culture undergoes a constant transition so that the physical products of one century do not look like those of any other.

One aspect of material culture, however, did remain permanently a part of civilization - the alphabet. This invention revolutionized man's life in many ways. While we take it for granted, the alphabet was indeed a remarkable discovery and it is worth while examining the context in which it came about.

Man had invented writing long before he conceived of an alphabet, but it was a far different kind of writing. We call it hieroglyphic, or picture-writing, a system which uses pictures of things instead of letters. Any hieroglyphic system develops a complex and difficult script containing hundreds of signs. In the ancient Mediterranean world, several hieroglyphic systems were invented prior to the alphabet. The Egyptian system was invented around 3,000 B.C. and remained in use until Christian times. Shortly before 3,000 B.C., the Sumerians of southern Mesopotamia also invented a hieroglyphic script. In the course of time, this system evolved from pictures to hundreds of wedge-shaped characters, called cuneiform, most commonly associated with the Babylonian and Assyrian languages.

Today, with the help of dictionaries, grammars, comparative linguistics and other tools, a good student can master Egyptian or cuneiform in four or five years, and can become an expert in ten. In antiquity it took more like twenty. The fact that writing was such a complicated affair limited the scribal

profession, hence literate society, to those who had the patience to spend their whole lives walking down the tortuous paths of spelling and grammar.

Of course attempts were made to make writing easier. Possibly the earliest attempt at a more simplified script was made at Byblos. Excavations here have uncovered a dozen inscriptions written in what is called "Proto-Byblian". Unfortunately, no one has yet succeeded in deciphering this script. We are not even sure if the signs represent whole syllables, or just consonants. It may even be an alphabet. But at present, it remains one of the mysteries of ancient Lebanon.

Another system of writing was invented on the island of Crete. This combines features of both the cuneiform and hieroglyphic systems, though it has many fewer signs. While this script has still not been fully deciphered, it seems to represent a Semitic language.

Still another script was developed in the peninsula of Sinai around 1500 B.C. Some scholars believe this has now been deciphered and can be translated. If so, the Sinaitic script is an alphabet used to write a Semitic dialect, and is the earliest alphabet now known.

Finally, there was another hieroglyphic system, the Hittite, invented in ancient Turkey in the second millennium B.C. to write an early Indo-European language.

The first genuine alphabet about which there is no doubt whatsoever is that found at Ras Shamra. This is the Ugaritic alphabet of 30 signs used to write only the consonants of the local Semitic dialect. The Ugaritic alphabet was in use as early as the fourteenth century B.C., and probably earlier, though we have no texts before this time.

It is readily apparent that there was a long history of writing prior to the appearance of the Phoenician alphabet. This was a new alphabet, using different symbols, to write the consonants of the Semitic dialect of the ancient Lebanese, beginning around 1100 B.C. It is called "Phoenician" since it is first associated with the coastal cities of Syria-Lebanon. It is impossible to say

at present where the "Phoenician" alphabet originated, but it seems likely that it was not in Lebanon.

The whole problem is quite complicated, but it is now clear that several alphabets were invented prior to the Phoenician one, which is a local variant of a much older and wider tradition. However, it was the Phoenician form of the alphabet that became standard throughout the Near East; first for local dialects in Syria-Palestine such as Hebrew, Phoenician and Moabite, then for Aramaic which became the *lingua franca* of the Orient after the sixth century B.C. And it was this alphabet which was borrowed by the Greeks when they came into contact with the Phoenician city-states and their trading-posts. Finally, it was this alphabet in its Greek form which was adopted in the west and is still used to write most of the languages of Europe. While we cannot give the Phoenicians credit for inventing the alphabet, they were responsible for popularizing it. As with so many other things, it was through Phoenician enterprise that one of the significant inventions of man was spread throughout the ancient world.

What I have said in this lecture has only touched lightly on the history and civilization of a remarkable people. Whether we call them Lebanese, Phoenicians, or Canaanites, their contribution to the story of man in antiquity was a vital one. While they are most commonly thought of as merchants who were a primary factor in the movement of international commerce we must look beyond their mercantile interests.

We cannot ascribe to them great inventions and discoveries which significantly changed man's material culture. Nor did they make major contributions to man's philosophical development. But in their own way, they performed a unique and permanent function in history. They were the transmitters of culture rather than its creators.

This is not a role to be taken lightly, nor thought of as having only secondary importance. Creativity, to have a lasting impact, must be made known. Though we cannot consider the Phoenicians' culture a creative one, it was they who transformed

the creative impulses of others into a cultural compromise which altered civilization not only in the Near East, but in Europe as well. It was the ancient Lebanese who first brought the Orient and the western world together. It was they who laid the foundations for the Hellenistic world. But even before this, it was primarily due to their efforts that the civilizations around the Mediterranean Sea contributed to and profited from an international civilization, already flourishing in the second millennium B.C.

They were responsible for the first cultural synthesis in history, anticipating Alexander the Great by a thousand years. It is this for which they should be remembered. They stood at the heart of the ancient world, fused its diverse cultures into a unique cosmopolitan symbiosis, and projected the brilliant result to the limits of the civilized world. Such a contribution to history must forever stand as one of the high points in the continuing development of man.

The Archaeology of Phoenicia

BY DIMITRI BARAMKI*

Today in our study of history, we lay more stress on the cultural progress of man than we do on accidental battles, dates of historical events or names connected with them. Some dates and names we must use, but only as pivots on which to anchor fluctuations in the progress or decline of civilization, or as landmarks in a maze of historical incidents.

In the case of Lebanon, it has been possible for some to follow the progress of man, stage by stage, from the Pleistocene Period to the present time. Because of the relatively salubrious climate of the country, the Lebanese coast attracted man at an early date, almost since his appearance on the face of the earth about a million years ago. How that early hominid lived we do not know, as he left no clues behind him which we can use to gain an insight into his manner of life. But from the moment that man started fashioning tools, we can follow his advance in broad outline without difficulty.

Tool-producing man made his appearance in Lebanon about half a million years ago. His first tools were crudely fashioned hand-axes, or fist-hatchets, which were made of flint or chert, and trimmed along the edge either with a wooden mallet or by striking them against some hard substance. This type of tool is called Abbevillian (formerly Chellian) after the Abbeville in the valley of the Somme in France where they were first discovered. Examples of this type of tool have been discovered at Jezzín, Dubayeh and other places in Lebanon. The

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tool in question had a very long lease of life, and was used for at least a quarter of a million years without change. Sometimes an accidental flake, known as Clactonian, might result in the process of manufacture.

Neanderthal Man made his appearance in the Near East about 60,000 years ago, in other words at the beginning of the Riss-Wurm or Third Interglacial Age, and continued to inhabit the area well into the First Phase of the Wurm or Fourth Ice Age, when he moved into natural caves to take shelter from the onset of the extreme cold climate. He introduced a new flake industry which stemmed from the Acheulian culture. Flakes were struck off from a previously prepared core and came to be the principal tool, the Levallois flake. Hand-axes tended to disappear and certainly ceased to be the principal implement. The core was probably used as a hand-axe after it had become impossible to strike more flakes from it, and as such was only a by-product.

Levallois-Mousterian flakes have peculiarities which make them easily recognized. They are generally shaped like a laurel leaf, the scars at the back are irregular, the face has horizontal ripples, and near the point of percussion there is a bulbous prominence known as the percussion bulb.

Neanderthal Man controlled fire, with which he was able to scare away wild animals and roast venison; but he continued to live, like his predecessors, by hunting and gathering wild fruits and herbs. The Levallois-Mousterian industry embraces the entire Middle Palaeolithic Age, and examples of the implements in question have been found at Jezzin and Nahr Ibrahim.

The Upper Palaeolithic Age witnessed the appearance of homo sapiens in Lebanon somewhere around 30,000 years ago, at the beginning of the Second Phase of the Wurm Ice Age. He lived in caves and rock shelters and introduced the blade industry. The blade differs from the flake industry of the previous age in that blades either have more or less parallel sides, or the scars at the back of the blade are parallel instead of being irregular and the face of the tool is smooth and has no ripples. This is due to the method of preparing the core. Whereas the

core belonging to the Levallois-Mousterian has a tortoise shape, the core of the Upper Palaeolithic is roughly cylindrical in form.

In a rock shelter at Ksar Aqil near Antelyas a sequence of six stratified cultures of the Upper Palaeolithic Age has been discovered ranging roughly from 30,000 to 10,000 years ago. A very important tool, the burin or graver, was invented in this period; it was provided with a very sharp point used in engraving on bone, wood or stone. An ingenious method was adopted of striking off the point when it became blunt, so that a new sharp point was provided in place of the old one.

Beginnings of Agriculture

About 10,000 years ago, in other words at the end of the third Phase (The Wisconsin Phase) of the Fourth Ice Age, man (or woman according to Gordon Childe) proceeded to experiment with edible seeds and thus ushered agriculture, on a modest scale, into world history. The staple food of man continued to be the venison of hunted animals augmented with the scant agricultural produce that was cultivated in the immediate vicinity of the cave in which he dwelt. The shift from the hunting stage to the agricultural stage developed gradually during the long period of the Mesolithic Age. The Natufians, whose culture was first discovered at Wady en-Natuf near Ramleh in Palestine, seem to have stood at the cross-roads dividing the purely hunting stage from the agricultural stage. Some of their remains have been found in rock shelters and caves in the mountains and others in the plains at the bottom strata of later villages and cities. The sub-species of man responsible for this culture was dolichocephalic and belonged to the Mediterranean race.

But the great revolution in man's economy and industry took place during the Neolithic Age when agriculture expanded to such an extent that it formed man's staple diet, and gave rise to other industries, thus laying the foundations for settled life and eventually of civilization. The Neolithic Age (roughly

from 6,000-4,000 B.C.) witnessed the expansion of agriculture, the domestication of animals, the creation of villages and the beginning of architecture, the invention of pottery, the wicker-work and textile industries and the rise of community life which ultimately led to the creation of simple form of government. The sub-species of man that brought about these changes and laid the foundations of civilization also belongs to the Mediterranean race. Examples of the arts and crafts of this race have been discovered at Byblos.

The middle of the Fourth Millennium witnessed the arrival of the brachycephalic Semites in Lebanon. They introduced their own new methods of construction and a new ceramic industry. Their arrival coincides with the arrival of the Semitic Gerzeans into Egypt and they seem to have been an off-shoot of the major Gerzean invasion of Egypt. They built huts on a round or elliptical plan, and roofed them with animal skins; they introduced new pottery forms characterized by flared rims, and carinated¹ bodies; they introduced jar-burial, and used metal to a small extent. Their culture is well represented at Byblos, which, under their sway, developed into a fairly large town where industry and agriculture developed side by side.

Cities with Walls

By the beginning of the Third Millennium most of the towns of the Fourth Millennium developed into cities protected by strong walls. The farmers had to move out to new villages. Furthermore, there developed a specialization in industry and a rise in monumental architecture which found expression in the construction of temples and palaces. Excellent examples of these developments may be seen at Byblos.

The specialization in industry of the Third Millennium led to extensive trade, and Byblos for example thrived on the export of timber and pottery. Graceful pots finished with a

¹ Curves in vessels broken into angles.

red slip and an effective pattern-burnish, were discovered in a First Dynasty cemetery at Abydos. Both in the National Museum and in the Museum of the American University of Beirut, there is a large number of pots treated in this way, including twin jars, tall jugs, bowls and other forms.

In spite of the discovery of metal most of the tools used were still made of flint, but axe-heads and daggers made of copper were not uncommon.

The great edifice of the Early Bronze Age, as the first seven centuries of the Third Millennium are now called, came tumbling down before the onslaught of the nomadic Amorites, who in the twenty third century B.C., taking advantage of the chaos prevailing in Egypt, attacked Syria, Phoenicia and Palestine, destroyed most of the cities and decimated the population. Their large numbers and the use of a formidable bronze dagger enabled them to subdue one city after the other in spite of the strong walls with which the cities of Phoenicia were fortified. Byblos survived the first attack but succumbed to the second. The cities of Phoenicia lay in ruins for three or four centuries, and very few recognizable Amorite structures have been discovered anywhere in Lebanon. But the Amorites probably lived in tents, and although buildings attributable to them are scarce, extensive cemeteries with the Amorite hallmark have come to light in several places. Their caliciform¹ jars and tall goblets painted sometimes in brown with geometrical patterns, are very characteristic of their industry. In addition to pottery vessels, they used to make large numbers of figurines of a nude goddess of fertility, beasts of burden laden with baskets of jars and many other similar subjects. The Amorites were responsible for stamping the Near East with its Semitic character.

Some doubt, entirely misplaced, has been expressed in certain quarters, regarding the generally accepted original home of the Semites, but weighty evidence still points to Arabia

¹ Shaped like a calyx.

as the focal centre of the dispersal of Semitic folk. Craniological studies in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Jordan have demonstrated conclusively that before the Fourth Millennium B.C. there were no brachycephalic folk living on the periphery of the Syrian Desert, which Breasted has aptly called the Fertile Crescent. The first indication of the appearance of Semites in Lebanon comes from the Chalcolithic cemetery at Byblos dated about 3500-3200 B.C. Other areas have produced brachycephalic and dolichocephalic skulls in more or less equal numbers. It is only with the arrival of the Amorites that brachycephalic skulls predominate, thus demonstrating that they are responsible for giving Lebanon and neighbouring countries their predominantly Semitic character. The paucity of inscriptions unfortunately precludes the drawing of any conclusion on linguistic grounds.

Sometime in the twentieth century B.C. a folk of metallurgists called by Schaffer of Ras Shamra "torque¹-wearers" appeared in the area. Although their original home is not certain, evidence points to the north as the centre of their origin. Metallurgy received a great impetus from their arrival, and a large number of artefacts in bronze were introduced by them such as fenestrated axe-heads, torques, socketed lance-heads, spirals and biconical beads. Their arrival coincided more or less with the Renaissance of Egypt under the Twelfth Dynasty, and the establishment of the Pax Aegyptiaca in the Near East. New cities arose over the ruins of the old ones, trade with Egypt revived, and Phoenicia was flooded with Egyptian artefacts received in exchange for valuable timber.

Trade Expands

However, no unified continental power arose in Phoenicia, and the cities continued to be independent city-states. Belief in some form of afterlife can be deduced from the care of the

¹ An ornament of solid metal worn around the neck.

dead and the valuable treasures buried in the royal tombs. Monumental and domestic architecture improved as may be witnessed in the great legacy of the Middle Bronze age at Byblos. The ceramic industry improved, both in the graceful pear-shaped forms introduced, and in the decoration and treatment of the surface of the pots. Trade embraced wider horizons as can be seen in the artefacts imported from Crete, Asia Minor, Cyprus and Mesopotamia. There is in the Museum of the American University of Beirut a pot made in Kamares in Crete which was found in a tomb at Byblos, in addition to numerous other artefacts of Anatolian, Mesopotamian and Egyptian origin.

The Hyksos invasion of Egypt did not affect trade with Egypt adversely, as more Hyksos scarabs have been found than Egyptian ones of earlier periods, pointing to an increased volume of trade. The Hyksos also introduced a peculiar type of pottery, with a black or grey slip, decorated with chevrons of triangles and other geometrical patterns made with a pin point. The pottery in question has been found in Phoenician cities as well as in Syria and Palestine.

The expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt ushered in the Late Bronze Age. A new short-lived ceramic school came into being at the outset, in which the surface of the pot at the shoulder was divided into panels, in each of which an animal, a fish or a bird was painted in polychrome. The surface was burnished to a high sheen. The school lasted about fifty years and was replaced by another in which the shoulder was divided into panels with polychrome bands, but they were left empty and the surface was not burnished.

Changes in the ceramic industry followed which reflected the political or commercial influences prevailing at the time.

During the first two centuries of the Late Bronze Age, between 1580 and 1400 B.C., the traditions of the previous Middle Bronze Age continued except in the before-mentioned two schools. The cylindrical juglet of the Hyksos Age continued, its surface never burnished, but invariably wet-smoothed. As

from 1400 B.C. Mycenaean vessels including the pyxis¹, the stirrup vase and the lentoid² vessel were imported in fairly substantial numbers and were locally copied. The surface of dippers³ was shaved vertically and Cypriot vessels of base-ring⁴ ware were clumsily imitated. To give you an example, in a tomb at Sarafend (ancient Sarepta), sixty seven vessels were found of which forty four were Mycenaean vessels, imported from Mycenae or Cyprus, twenty two were local imitations of Mycenaean vessels and only one betrayed local traditions of workmanship and design.

The Fourteenth Century witnessed the disruption of the Egyptian Empire under Akhenaton and the invasion of the Habiru. Many cities were destroyed or reduced in size. Bronze arrow-heads made their appearance for the first time and trade flourished to a greater extent than ever before in spite of the troubled times. The Hittites under Shubiluliuma became masters of most Syria and North Phoenicia.

Alphabets

The Late Bronze Age saw great strides in writing. The cuneiform alphabet of Ras Shamra-Ugarit was invented in the north, and the cursive Proto-Sinaitic script of Sarabet el Khadim in Sinai was created in the south, probably by a Phoenician overseer.

I wish at this juncture to dwell on the role of the Phoenicians in the development of the alphabet. A syllabic system of writing arose almost simultaneously in Egypt and Mesopotamia. In both areas the system developed out of a pictographic method of writing in which the signs or pictures used gradually acquired a phonetic, as distinct from an ideographic value. To simplify

1 Cylindrical vessel.

2 Shaped like a lentil.

3 Small jug used for drawing liquids out of larger vessels.

4 Jugs of various sizes with a high base shaped like a ring.

some of the syllables the Egyptians added determinatives, signs representing letters which aided the readers in deciphering the syllables. But the Egyptians could not divorce the syllables from the determinatives.

A syllabic system of writing is very cumbersome in trade. A period of experimentation was started by someone in which some Egyptian determinatives were used as independent self-contained letters, and new signs were invented in addition to complete the required letters based on acrophony, that is giving to each sound the picture of an object in which that sound is the first in its name. Thus the head of an ox, which is aleph in Phoenician becomes the letter A, the picture of a house, beit in Phoenician, becomes the letter B and so on.

That the Phoenicians carried the alphabet to Greece is generally conceded but that they invented the alphabet is not generally accepted. In favour of the Phoenicians it must be said that the letters have Phoenician names, that the Phoenicians were the most civilized folk outside Egypt and Mesopotamia, that they were the principal middle men in trade between the ancient nations and that they needed more than any one else a simple medium for recording their commercial transactions. The need was felt simultaneously in North and South Phoenicia. North Phoenicia looked to Mesopotamia for inspiration and South Phoenicia to Egypt. That the earliest attempt discovered so far at developing a cursive alphabetic system of writing should be found in Sinai is not to be wondered at. In exchange for her timber Byblos received copper, turquoise and malachite from Egypt mined in Sinai. It is not inconceivable that a Phoenician overseer was sent there to make sure of the quality of the merchandise. One cannot conceive of the wild tribesmen of Sinai coming out with such an epoch-making innovation. The proto-Sinaitic script is Semitic and that precludes an Egyptian being responsible for it. Furthermore the name of Baalat or Lady has been deciphered by Albright, who furthermore suggests that the Baalat in question was most likely Baalat Gibal, "Notre Dame de Byblos", who was often referred to simply as Baalat.

It has been suggested that the alphabet was invented in the Near East, somewhere outside Lebanon. Which of all the neighbouring countries could have invented an alphabet which reached its perfection in the Tomb of Ahiaram? The Aramaeans of the hinterland, like the Israelites, were dependent on the Phoenicians for their masons, carpenters, metallurgists and ivory carvers during the Early Iron Age. Is it conceivable that nations who were lagging so far behind the Phoenicians could produce an alphabet, a feat which requires such ingenuity and foresight that only a fully developed nation could achieve it? Furthermore it is generally conceded that some letters were borrowed directly from Egyptian determinatives. Only a nation with very close ties with Egypt would borrow Egyptian symbols. Of all the nations in the Levant the Canaanites of the coast and their descendants the Phoenicians had the closest relations with Egypt. Whether we call them Canaanites or Phoenicians, all evidence points to the inhabitants of the coast between the mouth of the Orontes and Dora as the inventors of a purely alphabetic system of writing as distinct from a purely syllabic system, or a system of syllabic writing aided by "alphabetic" determinatives.

Waves of Invasion

After two centuries of struggle between the Egyptians and the Hittites for supremacy in the Orient a convulsion from an unexpected quarter shook the eastern basin of the Mediterranean with repercussions farther afield. The Dorian invasion of Greece brought about great movements in the East. Aegeans fleeing for dear life from the Dorians armed with iron weapons threw themselves on the Hittites of Asia Minor and on Egypt. The Hittite Empire was destroyed overnight, but Egypt, with a great effort, under Ramses III managed to stem the tide and survive the blow, although she was unable to throw the invaders back into the sea, and had to allow them to settle in Philistia.

Wave upon wave of Aegeans with their women and children

poured into Phoenicia from the North, destroying Alalakh (Tell Atshaneh), Ras Shamra-Ugarit and Aradus in their stride. The edge of their onslaught was not blunted until they reached Byblos.

The Philistines, who had unsuccessfully attacked Egypt, created a new federation of city states in southern Palestine and brought the entire country under their domination; at the outset they even captured and destroyed Tyre and Sidon, but they were unable to hold them, and both cities eventually survived the blow.

The Twelfth Century has been described as an end and a beginning: an end of the Bronze Age and a beginning of the Iron Age which was introduced by the Aegeans: an end of the might of Egypt and the Hittites, and a beginning of the supremacy of Assyria and Babylonia; an end of the battles of aristocrats and a beginning of the democratization of war.

Out of the chaos created in the ancient Levant, there eventually arose a number of petty states in Syria, Phoenicia and Palestine. Furthermore the Phoenicians stepped in to fill the vacuum created by the collapse of the Mycenaean sea-power or thalassocracy. Industries took a new turn. The prevailing piriform¹ vessels of the previous age gave way to globular forms; iron weapons and tools started displacing bronze implements and arms. Painting in horizontal bands and concentric circles replaced the panels of the previous age. But above all the cursive alphabet of Sinai crystallized into the Phoenician alphabet used on the tomb of Ahiaram, the Moabite Stone and other notable inscriptions of the time.

Middle Men Between East and West

For three centuries, from the twelfth to the ninth, the Phoenicians held undisputed sway over the waters of the Mediterranean. They were the middle men between east and

¹ Pearshaped

west, but they did not only carry merchandise but ideas also, and many a thought or a conception developing in the west was carried to the east, or vice versa, along with the goods with which they traded.

During the first three centuries of the Iron Age, after the collapse of Egypt and before Assyrian power rose to great heights, the Phoenicians, by virtue of their geographical position and the various influences to which they had been subjected, became the foremost architects, craftsmen and artisans of the civilized world. They conceived of a new architectural plan, the Bit Hilani plan, for the construction of temples and palaces; their services in all fields were sought by their neighbours. They boasted the best carpenters, ivory carvers, metal workers, textile manufacturers and dyers in the entire civilized world. David, Solomon and Ahab were not the only monarchs to solicit the aid of the superior Phoenician technology, but the kings of Damascus, Arslan Tash and Gozu (Tell Halaf), followed their example. Homer recognized their competence in the textile industry and in dyeing.

Hitti in his "History of Syria" says that every citizen of any civilized country is also a citizen of Syria. We can narrow this down to the Phoenician coast in many respects.

The Phoenicians were a hardy, courageous race, who circum-navigated Africa at a time when the ancient civilized world centred around the shores of the Mediterranean. They were the first to sail on uncharted seas. It is true that the motive was gain, but the hazards taken were more than was necessary for cking out a respectable living. That they worked for gain is no failing, for we still do in the twentieth century, and without that motive the tempo of progress would be very slow indeed. The Phoenicians have been maligned by some of their enemies but what nation has not? In spite of this, their greatest praise comes from their competitors.

Notes on the Heritage of Baalbeck and the Beka'a

BY HAROUTUNE KALAYAN*

When the Roman Empire conquered the Middle East, the religious aspirations of the Middle East subdued the population of the Mediterranean Roman world. The first goddess to invade Rome was Atargatis. The temples at Niha in the Beka'a are dedicated to Atargatis. Later we find Adonis and the triad of Baalbeck established in Rome. It was through these and other gods of the Orient that the idea of an after-life, with the promise of eternal happiness for the pious and punishment for the wicked, was developed and introduced into the religion of the people of the Mediterranean world. The oriental religions paved the way for the concept of a suffering, loving, universal God. The oriental Gods were "all-powerful", "everlasting", "most high", "preservers of the whole universe". They were "separated from man by a far greater interval than any god of Greece or Rome".

Middle Eastern Paganism (so-called) was no longer the worship of different local gods but rather of one God with several local names, as is shown in the prayer of Nonnos, a pagan writer of the fifth century A.D. Nonnos describes the god Dionysius as travelling through Europe and Asia, and addressing Melkart, the god of Tyre, in terms he does not use for the other deities: "Starclad Heracles, Lord of Fire, Prince of the Universe... you are called Belos on the Euphrates, Amon in

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Libya, Apis by the Nile, Arabian Cronos, Assyrian Zeus... thou of many names... O hear my voice graciously with friendly ears!"

The religions of the Lebanese coast and interior have not been fully studied but the fact that they were attacked by early Christian writers, such as Eusebius of Caesarea, shows their universal character.

Philosophic Heritage

Starting with the Hellenistic period, we find poets and writers of the Middle East taking the lead in literature and culture. To cite a few names: Antipater of Tyre, Meleager, Philodonus, Archias, Posidonius, Maximus of Tyre, Porphyry, Iamblichus, Isodore, Lucian, Lebanus... eminent jurists such as Papinian, Ulpian of Tyre... These writers and philosophers were instrumental in the development of Neoplatonism, "an idealist religious philosophy" with universal characteristics. Probably Neoplatonism was a common subject of discussion in the salons of Baalbeck during the Roman age. An inscription on the floor of the house of one Patrikios, son of Olympios, reveals that Patrikios considered himself the rival of one of Plato's disciples.

The house of Patrikios was partly built on the ruins of a former house whose triclinium contained a mosaic floor, a masterpiece of art, signed by the artist Amphion. A medallion shows Calliope, the Muse of Philosophy at the center, surrounded by Socrates and seven wise men, Solon of Athens, Thales of Milet, Bias of Prien, Clebulos of Lindos, Periander of Corinth, Pittakos of Lesbos, and Chilon of Lacidemon; the name of each philosopher is followed by his most famous maxim. Solon advised, "Nothing too much"; Thales, "Caution attracts ruin"; Bias, "Most men are wicked"; Clebulos "Measure in everything is better"; Periander, "Reflection will hasten the work"; Pittakos, "Catch the opportunity"; Chilon, "Know yourself". We can conclude that Baalbeck contained a developed philosophical

society. It is unfortunate that there is no written record of the daily life of Baalbeck, but the archeological remains help us to get some idea of it. Some of the above maxims are commented on by Plato, which seems to show that Plato was discussed in Baalbeck's salons.

Architectural Heritage

Careful examination of the construction of ancient buildings indicates the existence of three main schools of masonry, which led to the development of different styles of architecture. These three main schools begin to be differentiated in the early second millennium B.C. Their existence is based on the use of one specific tool for the dressing of the stone surfaces. If we remember that in the past the ability to use a certain tool was gained through apprenticeship, and through apprenticeship the accumulated knowledge of the past was passed on from master to apprentice, then it is clear that the tool associated with this knowledge was the creator of each school of architecture.

Any monument of the past is a product of one tool alone, and we must consider it the product of the school associated with that tool. I have suggested the following names for the three schools.

1. The Lebano-Syrian school, with its main tool the prototype of the modern *shahouta*, which is an adze-like instrument, its handle perpendicular to the dressing edge.
2. The Greek school, whose predominant tool was the chisel and mallet.
3. The Armenian-Anatolian-Etruscan school whose tool was an axe-like instrument with its handle in the same plane as the dressing edge, most probably from Anatolia from where both the Armenians and Etruscans, by tradition, migrated.

During the Hellenistic period, and even more during Roman and Byzantine rule, these three schools of masonry all flourished separately, but never built anything conjointly. Any monument

of the Hellenistic or Roman period is a product of one of these tools, probably contracted for and built by travelling groups of masons who had a common tool, or apprentices from the same school of masonry.

The Emperor Trajan in the second century A.D. alluded to the frequency with which architects from the eastern provinces were employed in Rome. We know that Trajan himself employed Appollodorus of Damascus to build a bridge over the Danube and the forum of Trajan in Rome. Examination of these monuments and others of Trajan's period shows them to be products of the Lebano-Syrian school. Probably Appollodorus was not a white-collar architect in the modern sense of the word, but a chief mason travelling with his group of workmen from this part of the world.

Although the Lebano-Syrian school produced most of Lebanon's ancient monuments, there are some built by other schools. Examples are the temple of Bziza, a product of the Greek school, and the temple of Maqam er-Rab, in Akkar, a product of the Armenian-Anatolian-Etruscan school. Clearly these three schools of masonry worked without restriction throughout the Roman Empire. The whole of Roman architecture and sculpture can be divided into these three main groups. The architecture of each group is different in its structural concept, decorative features, and elevation, although the plan is the same.

These same schools later on produced so-called Byzantine architecture, of which the well-known variety is in fact a product of each group uncontrolledly striving to create new styles. But it is easier to perceive conformities and resemblances when buildings within the Byzantine Empire are grouped according to these schools, than when they are grouped according to countries of location.

This system of classification explains more naturally the development of architectural styles, their differences and similarities, than the accepted one.

It is unfortunate not to have the names of the chief masons

of the Lebano-Syrian group who supervised the construction of several temples in the Beka'a. It is only in the connection of the Emperor Trajan that the name of Appollodorus is kept on record.

Baalbeck

The masterpiece of the Lebano-Syrian school is without doubt the temples of Baalbeck. In Baalbeck, on some of the architectural fragments, we find names which might be those of the head masons. The name Kointos, on the upper part of the south east corner piece of the pediment and on another piece of the cornice, might indicate that Kointos had supervised the construction of these parts. Two more names appear on the central west façade architrave of the so-called Temple of Bacchus, Abidla (transformed Abdullah) and Ouitlos.

It is certain that in all of the temples on an east-west axis, each side is the work of separate sub-divisions of the group. Although the planning is the same, the structural solutions are different for each sub-division, as well as the numbering of blocks and the signs used in construction. Here we have evidence of grouping within the same school. As an example, in the lower ground floor of the rectangular courtyard, the chambers are barrel-vaulted in the southern section, while those of the north have flat domes and flat arches. Again, in the south, to support unforeseen upper walls, walls are constructed in the middle of the chambers, while in the northern section arches are built for this purpose. In the Temple of Bacchus there is a marked difference in the sculpture of the ceiling of the peristyle starting from the middle of the west façade.

The system of numbering the blocks is different for each group, one group having chosen the bar system while the other took the Greek alphabet. These numbers refer to the place of the block on the plan. Thus each block was marked in the quarry for its pre-assigned place in the monument. During excavations we discovered a scale model of the adyton of the Temple of Niha,

on which numbers indicate how many feet wide each part was to be. This is concrete evidence of the way in which the Lebano-Syrian school of masons planned and worked.

We said before that Baalbeck was a masterpiece. It is a masterpiece both in architectural concept and structural realization, which in ancient times were the work of one man, the mason. The dimensions of the blocks surpass the human imagination. Blocks of four hundred cubic meters have been lifted and accurately placed, using pulleys and scaffolding. There is one lewis hole (attachment device) for approximately each five tons of block. The holes are grouped from two to six together, probably worked on a continuous rope, thus saving effort.

The limit of lifting power was, according to evidence, about a thousand tons. They were victims of their principle, for according to the Lebano-Syrian school of masons the podium¹ of the temple had to be composed of three layers of stone. Thus, the temple of Jupiter, with a height of approximately fourteen meters, had to have courses of stone four and a half meters high and eleven to twenty meters long. Most probably when the chronicler Pascalis speaks about a famous thrilithon² in Baalbeck he is referring to the three courses of the podium of the Temple of Jupiter.

The mechanics of lifting heavy weights is well explained by Heron of Alexandria who lived around 62 A.D., which, according to an inscription at Baalbeck, was when the masons were placing the capitals on the columns of the Temple of Jupiter. The mechanics of Heron is found only in Arabic translation. It was translated by order of Caliph Abu'l Abbas (862-866 A.D.) by Costa ben Luka of Baalbeck. According to A.G. Drachman, the translator "shows himself here to be a man who understands his text thoroughly, and who is very careful not to make any errors. . ." He concludes "I think we can regard

1 Podium, base.

2 Thrilithon, "three stone."

his translation as an intelligent and faithful rendering of the original."

It is not surprising that a translator of a book about the mechanics of moving heavy weights should come from Baalbeck. This fact may explain the use of large stones in constructions of the Arab period, thus showing a continuation of the Lebano-Syrian masons' tradition.

Although both in Lebanon and Jordan early Omayyad architecture is mainly the product of the Armenian-Anatolian-Etruscan school, starting with the early Middle Ages, Arabic fortresses along the line of Aleppo, Hama, Homs, Baalbeck, Karak-Nouh, Damascus, and Ajloun were the product of the Lebano-Syrian school of masonry. Along the coastline, however, the fortifications of the Crusaders were in the Anatolian style, most probably by masons from Anatolia.

It was during this period that the Armenian-Anatolian school of masons took over from the Lebano-Syrian school the use of the chisel and toothed tools. It was these tools which later produced the intricate capitals and decorations of Gothic architecture.

It was again during this period that the defence plans of the Crusader castles were changing from a system of independent towers into a succession of concentric defence lines.

During the same period, the machicolation defence system built on superposed consols of stone, which was introduced into this country with early Omayyad architecture, was taken over by the Lebano-Syrian school of masons and developed into very intricate forms, as we can see at Baalbeck. Later on it was adopted by the builders of the Crusader castles to replace their wooden *hourd*¹ system of defence.

In this area the two schools of masonry interacted, the Armenian-Anatolian and the Lebano-Syrian; later on we find the Armenian-Anatolian school launched out into Gothic architecture while the Lebano-Syrian school developed into

1 French term for a type of defense construction using wood.

Arabic, Mameluke, and other forms of Moslem architecture in Syria and Lebanon.

The Site of the Temples

In the rectangular courtyard, to the south of the temple of Jupiter, there is a natural crevice about fifty meters deep. At the bottom of this crevice there is a small rock cut altar. In all probability this crevice was the centre of the first worship. Pre-Roman construction is confined to the middle part of the rectangular courtyard and contains remnants of the late second millennium B.C.

The site was a tell¹, which grew gradually like other tells of the Beka'a. During the Roman period the tell was enclosed by the rectangular courtyard, and the area between the tell and the Roman construction is filled with chips of stones, from the dressing of the surface of the stones of the Roman buildings.

The original plan of the sanctuary was a rectangular courtyard with an altar at the center. The altar still stands in the rectangular courtyard. There are places for two receptacles at the west end, to hold liquid offerings. There might have been two others at the east end. They were perhaps like the altar in Jerusalem as described by Ezekiel Ch. 42, v. 13-20 "and from the altar and upward shall be four horns... thou shalt take of the blood thereof, and put it on the four horns of it, and on the four corners of the settle... thus shalt thou cleanse, and purge it." From the receptacles on the altar of Baalbeck liquid offerings used to flow to two consecutive shallow basins into the natural crevice referred to above. Thus the purification liquid flowed into the ancient altar site.

The rectangular courtyard contained two solitary columns, the same kind as were seen in front of the temples of Tyre by Herodotus. The same kind of columns were erected in front of the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem, which were planned or

¹ Tell: an artificial hill, usually the site of a city.

constructed by an architect or chief mason from Tyre.

We can conclude that the planning and dispositions of the temples in Baalbeck were of the Lebano-Syrian local tradition.

The Roman enlargement of the plan has kept the same axis as the previous temples. The original entrance to the pre-Roman temples had two towers with a staircase in between. The present Roman one is a duplicate of the ancient entrance on a larger scale.

During the Roman period the plans were constantly changed as construction went on. As we said above, the first planning was for one large courtyard with an altar in the middle. Later the courtyard was cut short at the west end to add the Temple of Jupiter. Later on the courtyard was cut at the east end and a hexagonal courtyard was added.

The level of the courtyard was planned to be higher, but was reduced by three steps to make seats for the spectators of religious ceremonies. This can be ascertained from inscriptions on the steps, claiming the ownership of places.

The courtyard was the theatre of a famous oracle, according to records: "the statue of the God was carried on a litter by the leading inhabitants, who had previously practised long abstinence and had shaved their heads. The direction to be taken by the procession was signified by the divine spirit which thereby conveyed the answer to be given to enquiries." Trajan, on his Parthian expedition, was urged to consult the Oracle of Heliopolis. He sent a blank letter and received a blank answer; then he asked about the fate of his expedition. The Baal of Baalbeck directed that a centurion's staff dedicated to the Temple be cut into pieces, covered with a napkin, and handed to the Emperor. This was interpreted, after the expedition, to mean that the Emperor would go and conquer, but that only his bones would reach Rome. There is also a record of a black stone which answered questions. How ancient is the Oracle of Baalbeck? We do not know. But most probably its existence was one of the main reasons for its enlargement. An inscription

found in one of the rectangular courtyards says: "This exedra¹ is reserved for the village of Elphana of the Apameans for ever," and the same kind of inscription is found on the steps around the rectangular courtyard and on the threshold of the Temple.

The order of architecture at Baalbeck is Corinthian and classic in its modular relations; a study by a German expedition of the Temple of Bacchus shows clearly the regular relations between the diameter of the column, its height, capital, and entablature. But there is in the decoration a variation in architectural motives. The artist did not follow a pattern, but was free in his designs. For instance, in the entablature² of the colonnade of the rectangular court, instead of a flower design between modillions³, the mason has produced heads of Pan in different shapes, and instead of darts he has produced fine sculptures of Venus, storks, or leaves. All this shows that the masons were versed in their crafts, and that they were master sculptors free to carry out their own conceptions.

The geometric decorations of the ceiling of the Temple of Bacchus and that of the great altar in the rectangular courtyard are the forerunners of Arabic art.

It is unfortunate that the heritage of Byzantine art in the Beka'a, at such sites as Brissa and Borthkush which were Byzantine religious centers, have not been explored yet.

Anjar in the Beka'a contributed much to the elucidation of early Omayyad architecture, showing that its early constructors were of the Anatolian-Armenian school, who passed on to the Arabs their Roman-Byzantine heritage of city-planning and the construction of arched columns bordering the sidewalks, as well as the Roman public bath system.

1 A recess within a courtyard.

2 Upper section of a wall, usually supported on columns.

3 An ornamental bracket on a cornice.

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Coastal Lebanon

The Ancient Sea-Ports of Phoenicia

BY HELGA SEEDEN*

The geographical situation of the Lebanese coastline has at all times, and particularly in antiquity, caused the rise of sea-faring communities, hence the development of the ports of modern Beirut, Saida and Tripoli is only the last link in a long chain of earlier maritime cities, which equalled in importance—though not in size and number of inhabitants—these present-day commercial centres. At different periods of ancient history the names Byblos, Tyre, Sidon, and Beirut were as well known internationally as Beirut is today, the world then being more restricted than now.

If one looks at an archaeological map of palaeolithic sites in Lebanon, it will be noticed that a greater number of them cluster in certain regions along the coast than in the hinterland. Since food-gathering, hunting and fishing were the only means of providing his livelihood for Stone Age man, it is likely that the mouths of rivers such as the Dog river were attractive fishing-grounds, and the natural caves and rock-shelters of the promontories served as habitations.

The discovery of agriculture in the 8th millennium enabled man to become independent of the hunter's luck and settle down near his crops. The consequent development and refinement of flint and bone tools made a number of inventions possible, to mention only architecture and pottery. Man had stopped being a parasite, he now began actively to change the surface

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of the earth by growing crops, felling trees and building villages in the plains.

The lowest levels of the Byblos excavations have revealed a telling example of a neolithic village and the life of its inhabitants in the 6th and 5th millennium B.C. They built small houses of unhewn stone foundations and sun-dried mud brick walls for themselves and their dead. It was customary then, as in many other neolithic settlements, to bury the dead under the floors of the houses in order to protect the family ancestors from savage tomb robbers such as wild animals.

It must be emphasized that everything in this period was fabricated with tools made of flint, bone or wood; obsidian was a precious rarity, one of the earliest objects of trade, possibly coming from as far away as Anatolia. That the inhabitants of Byblos lived on both agriculture and fishing can be deduced from the types of tools that they left behind. Barbed harpoons carved out of bone were hafted and used for fishing. In the neolithic villages the first small-scale industries grew up. Specialized craftsmen such as potters were to develop later out of these beginnings. At the outset of the over 2000 years of the Neolithic Period the earliest village communities did not know pottery. Whatever vessels they used for storage were made of perishable materials such as animal skins, wood or wicker-work. These primitive villages of Byblos were covered by later ones which used pottery. The pots were at first entirely handmade and crude.

Ancient Byblos

A number of settlements were built on the site of ancient Byblos covering altogether a span of about 3000 years. In the fourth millennium newcomers introduced a new type of house-plan and a different kind of pottery. But the most characteristic feature of these new settlements are the burials. The people of this period used huge storage jars for grain, into which they inserted their dead in an embryonic position, together with the

usual funerary offerings: pottery vessels for food and drink, weapons and articles of ornament.

It was only after these initial 3000 years or so had elapsed that the first real town was built in Byblos. The knowledge of the thick forests growing on the mountain-sides of Lebanon had by then reached Egypt, and the inhabitants of Byblos in the 3rd millennium started building sea-going ships which towed the rafts of tree-trunks along the coast to the harbours of the Nile Delta. And Byblos prospered. It grew into a city surrounded by massive fortification walls to protect its accumulating wealth, stored in temples and residences, against foreign and often nomadic raiders. The leisure and prosperity of the earliest commercial centre on the Lebanese coast can be easily "read" in the available archaeological sources: evenly ground alabaster and stone vessels from Egypt and elegantly shaped and decorated vases produced in the potters' workshops of Byblos itself.

At the turn of the millennium, by the year 2000 B.C., however, this splendid town had fallen in a terrible conflagration which turned the timber roofs and supporting beams of houses, temples, and palaces alike into ashes. The Biblical Amorites had overrun the Near East destroying and conquering whatever stood in their way.

In the 19th century B.C. a new city was built, because Egypt needed timber, and trade in general had become more and more an economic necessity. The city plan changed little. The main sanctuaries of Byblos were rebuilt partly on the pre-war walls which had been built so well that they still protruded intact out of the ashes. The temple of Reshef, the male deity, was erected on top of the ruins of the earlier building. Opposite this, and separated from it by a newly laid out public square, stood the new temple to the Lady of Byblos, Baalat Gibal, the female deity of the city.

Attached to the Reshef-temple was a major complex of rooms, most likely work-shops for the metal-workers who were responsible for the large number of bronze figurines of gods and men clad in gold-foil. Judging from the provenance of

these figurines in temples and near shrines they must have been votive offerings "bought" by the citizens, travelling sailors, and merchants, before going into the sanctuaries. (They seem to have been the ancient, more artistic and more expensive, equivalent of candles).

Trade and the Alphabet

Industry, and with it trade, grew tremendously during the second millennium. The wealthy centers of Middle Minoan Crete sent their goods in a particular type of pottery named today Kamares ware, after a cave in Crete where it was first discovered. Some examples of this ware, including one complete pot (although an inferior specimen, perhaps "for export") reached Byblos. Other local products and foreign importations of the age such as silver "tea-pots" of Aegean shape and gold jewellery and royal weapons are in the Beirut National Museum. The royal tombs of Middle Bronze Byblos contained such a wealth of material, besides the beautiful and refined pottery of the age, that quite obviously Byblos was a maritime centre of foremost importance.

In fact trade played such a vital role in the city's economy that the traditional means of keeping accounts was not fast and efficient enough for the warehouse keepers and shipowners of Byblos and the other cities along the coast. The alphabet was invented. First known attempts go back to the middle of the 2nd millennium, and by c. 1200 B.C. an inscription in a fully developed consonantic script was carved onto the sarcophagus of King Ahiram of Byblos. This was deposited in one of the earlier shaft graves of the royal necropolis, where M. Dunand found it in 1925 (in Tomb V).

In the second half of the 2nd millennium trade relations with the West increased considerably. Cypriot products in their characteristic wares—pottery was rarely exported empty but usually as a container for exported goods—reached the Lebanese coastal cities; and the Mycenaeans not only sent their goods but

followed them themselves and strengthened their diplomatic and commercial ties with Phoenician cities. More recent parallels show how fast such institutions are liable to be followed by whole colonies of foreign merchants, bankers, industrialists and craftsmen. The mixture of languages and ideas in these Bronze Age cities along the Near Eastern coast has left a silent witness in the diversity of objects and works of art that are still found when excavating these sites.

Other Lebanese coastal cities of the period are not yet known through excavations, but from the Amarna Letters of the Egyptian Foreign Office of the time of Amenophis III and his son Amenophis IV, Akhenaton. Besides Byblos, the rulers of Tyre and Sidon, as well as Beirut, sent letters written on clay to the Egyptian capital. This is how Rib-addi of Byblos (Gubla) addressed the Pharaoh in one of his letters:

“Rib-Adda spoke to (his) lord,
the king of the lands, the great king,
the king of battle: Ba’alat of Gubla
give power to the (king),
my lord. At the feet of my lord, my sun,
seven times and seven times I fall down.
Let the king, the lord, know that all is
well with Gubla, the faithful
handmaid of the king, from the time
of his fathers. . .
. . . Let the king look upon the tablets
of the house of his father, (and see) if the man,
who is Gubla, is not a faithful servant.”¹

For some of the coastal centres the exchange of material and spiritual goods of the 2nd millennium came to an end as abruptly and completely as 3rd millennium Byblos had been brought to its fall. For other cities, which had been spared foreign invasion and utter destruction, it spelt the rise to absolute

1 S. Mercer, *The Tell el Amarna Tablets*, Toronto, 1939, p. 273.

power over the seas. Foremost among these were the rival cities, Sidon and Tyre, which succeeded a declining Byblos as first among Lebanon’s maritime centres. The mighty Bronze Age Empires had fallen or passed through periods of internal weakness. Minoan-Mycenaeon sea-power was broken when the Dorians invaded Greece; and the weapons forged by the skillful bronze-smith-artists of Cnossos, Mycenae, Argos and Pylos were not efficient enough against the new metal iron, with which the newcomers were armed. The palace-states of Mycenae, Pylos and Cnossos were left abandoned and in ruins. The Achaeans lost their predominant role as “rulers over the Mediterranean” and were forced themselves to migrate.

Phoenician Expansion

We come to the period around the year 1200 B.C. Bronze Age Troy has been destroyed by the Achaeans – Homer recorded this event several centuries later. Ras Shamra-Ugarit and Alalakh in North Syria are in ruins. What happened to the other cities along the coast is less clear from archaeology, since neither Sidon, Tyre, nor Beirut have been excavated down to that level, except for chance finds here and there. The stratification of Byblos towards the end of the Bronze and the beginning of the Iron Age (around 1200 B.C.) is rather disturbed.

Greece and the Aegean islands at this point sank back into a period of illiteracy, since the writing-system devised and used by the Minoan and Mycenaeon sea-lords and merchants had been lost to posterity, when the roofs and walls of the palaces collapsed in the last conflagration, burying the administrative archives. Their shelves filled with baskets and chests of clay tablets vanished under a mass of ashes and debris. The Phoenician merchant-cities took over. Their fleets were well-equipped to voyage across the Mediterranean, and their sailors and captains were experienced enough gradually to transform the Mediterranean from a Minoan-Mycenaeon-Greek sea into a Phoenician sea. Moreover their Bronze Age invention, the

alphabet, was not lost, but rather perfected. It travelled along with them and was thus taken up by the Greeks a couple of centuries later. A much later Roman coin of Tyre recalls this fact. It shows three Hellenes in long Greek dress receiving the alphabet scroll from Cadmus, legendary prince of Tyre. Many other things were carried westwards in Phoenician ships of that period, the beginning of the first millennium. The naval and commercial power of Tyre and Sidon became proverbial even among distant nations. The establishment of simple trading-posts and factories all over the Mediterranean frequently led to later colonization of extensive foreign territories.

The finds in the Khaldeh cemetery suggest that the amount of foreign wares and goods in Tyrian and Sidonian warehouses of the time was great. Cypriot importations were not uncommon. One celebrated Phoenician export-product was textiles: finely woven, purple-dyed cloth as well as elaborately embroidered finished garments. Thus in the Iliad, Hector coming into his father's palace from the battle-field instructs his mother Hecuba to offer the best robe in her possession to the goddess Athene, "so that she may have pity on the town of Troy, and the Trojan wives and their innocent children" and save them from being defeated by the Achaeans. And this is what Hecuba does:

"... she descended into the fragrant store-chamber. There lay the elaborately wrought robes, the work of Sidonian women, whom Alexandros himself, the godlike, had brought home from the land of Sidon, crossing the wide sea, on that journey when he brought back also gloriously descended Helen. Hecuba lifted out one and took it as gift to Athene, that which was the loveliest in design and the largest, and shone like a star. It lay beneath the others. She went on her way, and a throng of noble women hastened about her."¹

This and other statements in contemporary and later ancient sources, together with mounds of murex shells out of

¹ *The Iliad of Homer*, Trans. by R. Lattimore (University of Chicago Press, 1951). Book VI, 288-296.

which the dye was extracted in the dye-shops of Sidon and Tyre, are ample evidence of the prosperity of this particular branch of industry.

Glass in its beginning was on its way to becoming another choice product of the Phoenician cities; sand-core-vessels of lovely greenish blue glass with yellow and light blue or white thread designs were made not for their own sake, but in order to serve as containers for precious perfumes and ointment. They were sealed with wax and wrapped in bast. The empty bottles are now found in excavations as far afield as Delos, Carthage, Italy and elsewhere. Ivory carving and metal work remained two of the best-paid and most demanded art-industries of the Phoenician coastal cities. Examples of these products are found in several places to which they were exported. It is indeed through the export of ivory carvings used mainly as inlay for furniture and interior walls, that the commercial relations of the coastal cities are known. Phoenician carved ivory fragments from the 16th to the 7th centuries B.C. are found all over the Near East and the Mediterranean world. There was no noticeable break around the fatal year 1200, which is in keeping with some of the historical facts. Phoenicia's boom had been prepared for by wide diplomatic and commercial relations between East and West in the Late Bronze Age, i.e., before 1200 B.C.

Greeks and Persians

The "territory" of the Phoenician cities should be measured by sea-miles rather than land-miles. It stretched as far as the Phoenician ships could cover the waters, rather than as far as land-armies could march. Hence the Phoenicians had at all times to fear the surrounding land-powers. They tried to follow as much as possible a policy of peaceful diplomatic relations, meaning sometimes the payment of tribute to threatening invaders such as the Assyrians. The Assyrians as well as the Persians depended on sea trade for certain commodities.

Hence alliances between the land and the sea-powers were dictated by common interests. It was only when tributes became too exacting that conflicts arose and the Phoenician cities split up in internal factions, for and against submission to the land-power. The real threat to Tyre and Sidon in the middle of the 1st millennium, however, came from the West. The young Greek city-states had gradually emerged from a period of which only the archaeologist can piece together some knowledge. The city-states had engaged in a vast colonization of the Mediterranean world. Unlike the Phoenician trading stations established to open up new markets, the Greeks were forced to leave their cities because of over-population. They therefore founded daughter-cities in various places in the Mediterranean world, and more than once they found Phoenicians from the Levant already settled there, for example in Thera, the volcano island, north of Crete, where according to Herodotus, Phoenicians had settled before the Greeks arrived. Increasing Greek explorations were realized by the Phoenician cities to be dangerous competition, and they saw their chance for retaliation in an alliance with the mighty land-power of Persia, the enemy of Greece. The Persians possessed no fleet.

It is at this time, in the 5th century B.C., that most probably a Persian residence was erected in Sidon of which some remnants are now in the National Museum. Capitals of typical Achaemenid design appear as architectural elements. How Sidon and Tyre looked in this period we do not know, since excavations have not generally progressed to the Persian level. We do know something about the tombs though. An exceptional find came from the cemetery of Ain el-Helweh in Saida, where (among Attic pottery of the 5th century, a sign of re-established trade-relations with the West) the lower jaw of an obviously wealthy Sidonian was discovered. He had been "cured" of pyorrhea, an astounding achievement of the dentistry of the period, c. 2500 years ago. The Phoenician dentist had reset his client's teeth with a thin gold wire (there is no record of the cost of the operation).

At the same time Sidonian kings engaged in vast building programmes. A number of Phoenician inscriptions from Sidon report the building of various temples in Sidon "of the Sea" to Astarte and "Baal of the City", as well as to Eshmun-Asklepios, the god of healing, in the mountains. This is the only one of the recorded temples which can actually be visited at Bustan el-Sheikh (on the road to Joun). The resources available to the Sidonian kings of the period must have been remarkable, if one looks at the size and execution of the preserved substructure of this temple, with its elaborate terracing and the efficient drainage system which carried down the holy water from the spring dedicated to Eshmun into the cisterns where the sick would undergo their treatment.

The Conquest of Tyre

Tyre of this period has not yet been uncovered by the spade, but that it must have looked formidable, especially its island-fortress, is evident from some of the contemporary coins showing a Tyrian war-galley in front of high battlemented towers, which commanded the two harbours of the city.

Alexander's desire to conquer this city on his way to Egypt was a necessity, since he could not have left so important a sea-power in his rear. Arrian, a 1st century Greek from Nicomedia, tells us of the heroic fight the Tyrians put up to keep their independence and their city. They, in good Phoenician custom, wanted to remain neutral, as long as the fight between Persians and Greeks had not been decisive.

"The plain fact is that anyone could see that the siege of Tyre would be a big business. The city was an island, and strengthened all round with high walls; moreover, any movements from the seaward side were in Tyre's favour, as the Persians were still supreme at sea and the Tyrians had plenty of ships left. But Alexander's arguments, nonetheless, winning the day, he decided to build a mole from

the mainland to the city. . . As long as the building of the mole was near the mainland, the work went on without difficulty; for the depth was not great for the structure, and no one hindered. But when they got into deeper water and also nearer the city, they were in great distress by reason of volleys from high walls; since the workers were clad rather for work than for warfare; and the Tyrians sailing up in their triremes on this side and on that, being still masters of the sea, made in many places the building up of the mole impossible for the Macedonians."¹

Alexander then had two towers built at the head of the mole to be able to continue its building under their protection. But the Tyrians, very ingeniously, managed to set these afire. At this point the fleets of Arados, Byblos, and Sidon, some eighty triremes, and ships from Cyprus, arrived and submitted to Alexander.

"The Tyrians first decided to give battle by sea, should Alexander attack them there. But then sighting a host of ships far beyond their estimate – for they were unaware so far that all the Cyprian and all the Phoenician ships were with Alexander . . . the Tyrians . . . refused battle; but with so many of the triremes as the mouth of their harbours would hold they blocked the entrance and guarded them, so that the enemy's armada could not anchor in any of the harbours. . . Next day Alexander ordered the Cyprians. . . to blockade the city at the harbour that faced Sidon, and the Phoenicians to do the same at the harbour on the other side of the mole, facing towards Egypt, where was his own pavilion. . . The Tyrians set wooden towers on the battlements which faced the mole, so as to fight therefrom; and wherever else the engines were being brought to bear, they defended themselves with missiles and with fiery arrows

¹ Arrian, *Anabasis Alexandri* (in two volumes, Loeb Classical Library; Harvard University Press, 1954) Book II.

assaulted the ships themselves, so that the Macedonians feared to approach their wall. The walls facing the mole were about 150 feet high and of corresponding breadth, stoutly built of big blocks of stone fitted in mortar. . ."

The Tyrians then hauled huge boulders into the water at the foot of their walls, in order to prevent the enemy ships from approaching the walls. Alexander managed with great difficulty—Tyrian divers were cutting the ropes under the water—to tow them away. The Tyrians now, "hard pressed all round, determined to attack the Cyprian vessels which were blockading the harbour that fronted Sidon." They made a brilliant sally at noon-time, when the enemies had retired to their tents. Alexander, on this day, had returned to the ships earlier than usual and was thus able to save the situation. The brave Tyrians had to abandon their ships, since the retreat into their harbour was blocked. "Now that the Tyrians could look for no help from their ships, the Macedonians began to bring up their engines against the wall." The walls were tested from all sides as to their thickness and strength.

"A part of his triremes Alexander ordered to sail round about either harbour, to see if perhaps they might force an entrance. Other vessels which carried ammunition for the engines or had archers on deck, Alexander ordered to circle about the wall. . . so that the Tyrians should be attacked from all sides and become distracted by their danger.

As soon as Alexander's ships closed upon the city and the gangways were thrown upon the wall from the ships, the guards stoutly mounted the wall by these . . . Alexander followed up and seized the wall with his followers. Holding then some of the towers and the walls between them, he passed on through the battlements towards the royal quarters; this way it appeared that descent into the city would be easier.

To turn to the ships and their crews, the Phoenicians

near the southern harbour, where they were moored, forcing their way and tearing asunder the booms, played havoc with the ships in the harbour, attacking some afloat, and driving others ashore; the Cyprians by the northern harbour, which had not even a boom, sailed in and captured the city on this side. The main body of the Tyrians deserted the wall when they saw it was in the enemy's possession; but they massed together at what is called the Shrine of Agenor, and there made a stand against the Macedonians. There Alexander with his bodyguard came upon them, and some he slew there, still fighting; the rest he turned to flight and pursued. There was a bloody massacre . . . As for those who fled to the temple of Herakles—these were the more important Tyrians, King Azemilcus, and some Carthaginian visitors, come to their mother-city to pay honour to Herakles, according to some ancient custom—to all these Alexander granted complete pardon; the rest he sold into slavery; there were sold, what with Tyrians and foreigners captured at Tyre, some 30,000. Alexander sacrificed to Herakles and held a procession in his honour, with his whole army under arms; there was a naval review also in honour of Herakles, and Alexander held games in the temple enclosure and a torch-race; the engine which battered the wall he dedicated in the temple; and the Tyrian sacred ship, consecrated to Herakles, which he captured in the attack, he hallowed to Herakles with an inscription, either of his own composition or of someone else's not worth recording; that is why I did not trouble to copy it. Tyre then was captured, in the archonship at Athens of Anicetus in the month of Hecatombaeon."¹

This is a Greek account of the event. Besides the bravery and ingenuity of the Tyrian defenders one other fact stands out clearly in this text: the continuous rivalry between the cities

¹ Arrian, *Anabasis Alexandri* (in two volumes, Loeb Classical Library; Harvard University Press, 1954) Book II.

of the Phoenician coast. Thus the ships from Sidon, Byblos and Arados fought on the Greek side, against their age-old trade competitor Tyre. From then on Alexander's mole linked Tyre to the land and transformed it into a peninsula. Little is so far known of Hellenistic Tyre, the Tyre after the destruction, but in Roman times she had regained much of her preeminent position as a commercial centre.

Glass was now added to the chief products of the Phoenician cities, when a Sidonian glass-maker invented the metal blow-pipe. Until now Sidonian and Tyrian glass factories are known by their names; Ennion, who owned factories in Sidon as well as in Italy, left behind mould-blown glass with the relief inscription "Ennion made it", then as celebrated a trade-mark as "made in Murano" later. Phoenician glass-blowers were most probably responsible for spreading their art all over the Roman Empire, and new centres of glass making grew up in Italy, Gaul, and the Rhineland.

A brief glimpse at Roman Tyre as it reemerges today, thanks to the efforts of the Director-General of Antiquities, Emir Maurice Chehab, and his staff, must suffice to give an idea of its extent and importance as a centre of trade and industry. Colonnaded streets with shops on both sides and market-places, or fora, were as common in Tyre then as in any other of the great Roman cities of the time. By this time Berytus had grown into a prosperous centre of maritime trade and learning and it gradually took the lead among the coastal cities, succeeding Sidon and Tyre, themselves successors of a yet more ancient Byblos. Time and again fragments of public buildings of Roman Beirut are brought to light underneath modern buildings and streets. Byblos as well has left behind some of its Roman buildings (the theatre for instance), and a number of well-built Roman roads, a sign of its being a meeting-point for overland traffic.

In conclusion, one might say that the achievements of the Phoenician coastal cities were of a mainly practical nature. The alphabet, for example, was an invention that democratized writing; before the introduction of the alphabet, writing in

its different and complicated forms (akin to Chinese today) was an art mastered only by a few highly specialized scribes. The smaller number of signs in the alphabet made it possible for a greater amount of people to learn it and use it for everyday purposes as well as for official inscriptions. The alphabet was taken up like a tool, spread, and became indispensable. The Phoenicians were expert in crafts like metal work, ivory carving, embroidery, and glass manufacture, which, in addition to their artistic merit, served practical purposes. They were useful, and hence perfect objects of trade.

Perhaps the practical nature of the Phoenician contribution to the progress of man was the cause of the fact that for such a long time almost nothing was known about the culture of this great people on the Eastern coast of the Mediterranean, and it was only through recent discoveries that the tremendous importance of the Phoenician cities is gradually being realised.

The Emergence of the Lebanese Republic

BY KAMAL SALIBI*

The Lebanon we know today is a phenomenon of the twentieth century. It came into being on 1 September 1920, when General Henri Gouraud, French High Commissioner in what was then called the "Western Occupied Zone" (now Lebanon and Syria), proclaimed an independent "State of Greater Lebanon" placed temporarily under French Mandate. The new state was called "Greater Lebanon" (*Grand Liban* or *Lubnan al-Kabir*) to distinguish it from the old *sanjak* (administrative region) of "Mount Lebanon"—an entity which had enjoyed autonomy as a mutasarrifate of the Ottoman Empire since 1861. In addition to the mountain territory of this mutasarrifate, "Greater Lebanon" included four areas which had formerly been under direct Ottoman administration: Tripoli and its hinterland, Sidon and its hinterland, and the city of Beirut (all three of the old *vilayet* of Beirut), and the *Beka'a* (of the old *vilayet* of Syria). These four areas, along with Mount Lebanon, were now organized as one country, separate and distinct from Syria.

In one sense, the Lebanese entity which General Gouraud proclaimed was something new. Never before had there been an independent Lebanese State; certainly not one which brought together the territories which now bore the name "Lebanon". The very term "Lebanon", less than a century before, had been no more than a "geographic expression" denoting a stretch of mountain territory barely one hundred kilometers long. The term had first come into official use as a

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“political expression” in 1861, when the autonomous Mutasarrifate of Mount Lebanon was established. When General Gouraud proclaimed the State of Greater Lebanon in 1920, he was giving the term “Lebanon” a new definition.

In another sense, the establishment of “Greater Lebanon” was the culmination of a historical process dating back a number of centuries.

As early as 1517, the Ottomans, who had just completed the conquest of Syria and Egypt from the Mamluks, unwittingly laid the foundations of the later autonomy of Mount Lebanon by allowing the traditional feudalism of some Lebanese regions to remain undisturbed. The hereditary chieftains of these regions were left to manage their internal affairs and to make war against one another much as they pleased, provided they paid a small tribute. By 1605, the Druze chieftains of the Ma'n family succeeded in permanently uniting under their rule the Druze territory of the Shuf (southern Lebanon), and the predominantly Maronite region of the Kisrawan (central Lebanon). The line of the Ma'n emirs became extinct in 1697; they were succeeded as feudal rulers of the Shuf and the Kisrawan by their Sunnite kinsmen the Shihabs (originally from the Mount Hermon region, in the province of Damascus). By the late eighteenth century, these Shihabs had not only succeeded in permanently extending their rule over the predominantly Maronite territory of northern Lebanon, but many of them had also become Maronite. Having thus brought the whole of Mount Lebanon under their control, the Shihabs, depending on Christian (mainly Maronite) support, next tried to crush the power of their feudal subordinates and hence promote their own central authority. The “Emirate of Mount Lebanon” which they created, so called by modern historians, had no official designation in its own time; its *de facto* existence, however, was generally recognized.

Druze-Maronite Alliance

This “Emirate of Mount Lebanon”, Druze in origin and

headed by Sunnite emirs after 1697, became, in the course of the eighteenth century, clearly associated with Maronite (more generally, with Christian) interests. The reason for this association relates to social changes of the time. The modest social and economic development of the Christian Lebanese, largely because of their connection with a flourishing silk trade, had, by the late eighteenth century, put them out of harmony with the traditional feudal system in the mountain. They hence became enthusiastic supporters of the Shihabs, when the latter sought to end the power and privileges of the feudal families. Although there were Maronite as well as Druze feudal families, it was mainly among the conservative Druze peasantry that the feudal cause found support; the Druzes felt, probably rightly, that their community stood or fell with its feudal leadership. Externally, France upheld the cause of the Maronites and the Shihabs; her rival Britain came out in support of the feudal party, and hence of the Druzes. The Ottomans, suspicious of the growth of Shihab power, likewise threw their weight on the feudal and Druze side.

The conflict between the emirs and the feudal families, the Christians and the Druzes, brought about the end of the Emirate in 1841. Two decades of trouble and bloodshed followed, culminating in the ferocious civil war of 1860. In 1861, under pressure from France, the Ottoman Government and the European Powers agreed to a settlement in Mount Lebanon which went a long way to satisfy the local Christian interest. The territory of the former emirate, by a special *Règlement Organique*, was established as an autonomous *sanjak* of the Ottoman Empire. It was to be governed by an Ottoman Christian mutasarrif who could not be Lebanese, but who was to be assisted by a locally elected Administrative Council representing the various Lebanese sects in proportion to their numbers.

It was this Mutasarrifate of Mount Lebanon, created under French auspices in 1861, which became in 1920 the nucleus of Gouraud's “Greater Lebanon”.

Greater Lebanon

Like the Mutasarrifate of Mount Lebanon, the state of Greater Lebanon came into being to satisfy a Christian Lebanese interest. Between 1861 and 1914, Maronites and other Christians in Mount Lebanon, while accepting the Mutasarrifate as a practical alternative to direct Ottoman rule, tended to regard it as a temporary arrangement which should lead in time to a more complete national existence. Christian Lebanese patriots, proud of their hard-won autonomy, looked forward to a greater measure of independence; their leaders dreamt of the day when they would replace the Ottoman mutassarrifs as the heads of a Lebanese state. The Christian middle class, whose increased social and economic development after 1861 was striking, felt restricted by the boundaries given to the Mutasarrifate in that year. The absence of a Lebanese harbour was particularly resented by businessmen, who were forced to trade through Ottoman ports; and the famine suffered during the First World War drove home the fact that the terraced hillsides of Mount Lebanon do not grow enough food. Even before 1914, Christian Lebanese patriots were clamouring not only for fuller independence, and for the attachment of the coastal cities to Mount Lebanon, but also for an extension of Lebanese territory to include the fertile plains of 'Akkar and the Beka'a. Lebanese patriots demanded the "ten thousand square kilometres" necessary, as a minimum, for a Lebanese national existence.

In 1920, as in 1861, the French acted in support of local Christian claims. There was, however, an important difference. The Mutasarrifate established in 1861 was a predominantly Christian country, where Druzes (together with Sunnites and Shiites) formed a small minority. The same could hardly be said of Greater Lebanon, where Christians only formed a small majority. The four areas which were made part of Lebanon after 1920 had substantial Muslim majorities—Sunnite in the case of Beirut and the region of Tripoli; Shiite in the case of the Beka'a and the region of Sidon. To make the country

economically viable, its near homogeneity had to be sacrificed.

The French, in 1920, wanted to create a Christian national homeland; something else turned out instead. Hardly had the State of Greater Lebanon been proclaimed than the Muslim population of the four added districts clamoured for immediate "reunion" with Syria. In 1927, 1933 and 1936, Muslim congresses organized by Sunnite leaders repeated the urgent demand for succession and union with Syria. If the Christian Lebanese wanted a separate national existence, they should (so the Muslims felt) content themselves with the mountain.

It was by the determined effort of the French Mandate that Greater Lebanon survived its formative years. Today, looking back at the period of the Mandate through the eyes of ambitious politicians whom it tried to keep from mischief, or profit-hungry businessmen to whom it forbade illicit gains, the Lebanese, perhaps, do not give enough credit to the vision and resolve which the French authorities put into the making of the new Lebanon. Between 1920 and 1939, under the watchful eye of the Mandate, major problems connected with the establishment of a Lebanese national existence were successfully resolved. On the eve of the Second World War, the new Lebanon was ready for independence.

The Lebanese Constitution

The greatest single achievement of the Mandatory period was, beyond doubt, the Lebanese Constitution. Promulgated on 23 May 1926, this Constitution was the work of a committee of the Representative Council of the State of Greater Lebanon, assisted by French advisers. Michel Chiha, a leading Lebanese businessman and intellectual, was the secretary of the drafting committee and its most active member. The Constitution, once promulgated, established Lebanon as a lay parliamentary Republic; pronounced all Lebanese citizens equal before the law, regardless of creed; recognized the principles of freedom of worship, freedom of speech and assembly, freedom of the press,

and freedom of education; recognized the principle of equitable sectarian representation in public office, without detailed specifications; specified the boundaries of Lebanese territory, and declared them immutable. Today, with the Constitution in its forty-first year, it is hard to tell whether this Constitution was originally the product of Lebanese common sense, or whether the political common sense of present-day Lebanon is a product of the Constitution. There was certainly no lack of political realists, like Michel Chiha, among the Lebanese who helped draft the Constitution. On the other hand, by fixing only the broad lines of Lebanese political life, the Constitution left ample room for political give-and-take, particularly where relations between the various religious groups were concerned; this, undoubtedly, caused Lebanese common sense to develop through practice.

A second fundamental achievement of the French Mandate was the re-orientation of Lebanon towards secularism. In 1861, the Mutasarrifate of Mount Lebanon had been established to serve as a Christian national homeland, with guarantees to the non-Christian minorities. When Christian national leaders of the Mutasarrifate period demanded the establishment of a Greater Lebanon, they thought of it in the same terms. As it turned out, Greater Lebanon had too small a Christian majority to justify its establishment as a Christian national homeland. Its Sunnites, Shiites, and Druzes formed too large a section of its population to be satisfied with the status merely of a guaranteed minority. For Greater Lebanon to survive, it had to be organized as a lay state based on voluntary cooperation between religious groups of equal political status. For the permanent survival of Lebanon to be secured, the Christians (more particularly, the Maronites) had to be allotted key positions in the state, as their communities stood to lose most if Lebanon, as a sovereign entity, were to disappear. These key positions apart, the Lebanese state was to be organized as a partnership among the various religious groups, each sect having a share in proportion to its size.

The re-orientation of Lebanon towards secularism did not immediately end Muslim opposition to the new state; moreover, it made many Christians in the country feel that France was betraying their cause. Despite Muslim non-cooperation and Christian remonstrance, however, the Mandatory authorities, with the help of enlightened Muslim and Christian Lebanese elements, were able, within two decades, to lay strong foundations for a secularly-oriented Lebanon. The Constitution, far from declaring the country a Christian state, mentioned no state religion, and firmly established the principle of political and civic equality between all Lebanese citizens. The Constitution also established the principle of the equitable distribution of public appointments among the various sects. In 1936, in connection with the conclusion of a Franco-Lebanese treaty which promised Lebanon full independence after three years, the Lebanese President of the Republic, Emile Eddé, promised the French High Commissioner, Damien de Martel, that the government of Lebanon, after independence, would maintain an equitable sectarian representation in the government, and a just distribution of public benefits among the various Lebanese regions. This promise was embodied in an exchange of notes numbered 6-6 *bis*; although the Franco-Lebanese Treaty of 1936 was never ratified, the appended notes 6-6 *bis* continue to be referred to as part of Lebanon's unwritten constitution.

By 1939, enough precedent had accumulated to provide a working basis for close intersectarian cooperation in Lebanon. Lebanon's first President, elected in 1926, was a Greek Orthodox Christian (Charles Dabbas); after 1934, however, the Presidency became the preserve of Maronites. In 1937 a Sunnite (Khayr al-Din al-Ahdab) was appointed for the first time as Prime Minister, and the Premiership was henceforth established as a Sunnite preserve. It was, in fact, with the appointment of Ahdab as Prime Minister that the political integration of the Muslims in Lebanon began in earnest. During the six years that followed, Sunnite leaders like the Sulhs actually took the initiative in negotiating a Muslim-Christian agreement to serve as a basis

for future cooperation. The result was the gentlemen's agreement commonly called the "National Pact", which was reached on the eve of the general elections of 1943.

The National Pact

It is with the "National Pact" that we come to the next stage in the development of modern Lebanon. The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 caused the postponement of the termination of the Mandate in Lebanon, promised for that year. In 1940 France fell; and in the summer of 1941 British and Free French forces occupied Lebanon and Syria. To win local support in the two countries, the Free French government, in the course of their occupation, proclaimed their complete independence. The French High Commissioner in Beirut was then replaced by a Resident General; in 1943, the Lebanese Constitution, suspended in 1932 and only partly restored in 1936, was re-established in full force, and preparations began for general elections. It was in connection with these elections that a coalition of Moslem and Christian leaders announced the birth of the "National Pact". By the terms of this pact, the Muslim leaders promised general Muslim loyalty to Lebanon as a sovereign and independent state with immutable frontiers; the Christian leaders promised to respect the claims of Arab countries on Lebanese cooperation, and agreed to renounce French or other Western sponsorship for the independence of the country.

The elections of 1943 were a victory for the "National Pact". The Christian-led Constitutional Bloc and their Muslim allies, authors of this Pact, came out with a large majority; and Bishara al-Khuri, head of the Constitutional Bloc, became President of the Republic. Emile Eddé, chief Maronite rival of Khuri, won his seat in parliament, as did some of his supporters; his National Bloc, however, was the loser in the elections.

The defeat of the National Bloc in the elections of 1943 was as significant as the victory of its Constitutional rival. Emile

Eddé, head of the Bloc, was a Christian patriot of the old school, who never ceased thinking of Lebanon as a Christian homeland, and whose devotion to France was unshakable. His followers were, in the main, the simple Christian villagers who could not understand the subtle implications of the "National Pact", and who looked upon France as the "eternal protector". By 1943, two decades of social change had made the position of the National Bloc untenable. "What happened was not simply that the population flowed into Beirut from the villages of the mountain, but that influence of many kinds radiated from Beirut over the countryside, subtly transforming its customs and its opinions." In the Lebanon of 1943, agrarian influence was giving way before business influence centered in Beirut. The Constitutional Bloc, sometimes nicknamed the "Consortium", represented the interest of the rising Christian middle class which "found itself involved in a commercial and professional life... cutting across the frontiers of sects"¹. Faced with a union between the leaders of this group and their Muslim allies, the devotees of the idea of a Christian homeland under French protection stood little chance of success. The fact that the British, who were anxious to get the French out of Lebanon and Syria at the time, backed the Constitutional Bloc, further helped in deciding the issue in their favour.

With the victory of the Constitutional Bloc in 1943, trading interests triumphed over agrarian interests; businessmen triumphed over the landlord; inter-sectarian cooperation replaced dependence on French protection as the prime guarantee of Lebanese independence. Within a short time President Khuri and his chief Muslim ally, Riyad al-Sulh, succeeded, with British help, in securing an effective termination of the French Mandate. By the end of 1946 the last ties between Lebanon and the Mandatory Power had been undone, and the last French troops left Lebanon.

¹ Albert Hourani, "Lebanon from Feudalism to Modern State," in *Middle East Studies* (1966), pp. 262-263.

Growing Integration

Lebanon since 1943 has been a rapidly developing country. It has also had its troubles. The National Pact, devised by a small group of leaders as a basis for general Christian-Muslim cooperation, took a long time to become adequately integrated in the Lebanese way of life. The material development of Lebanon since independence has brought with it serious problems, notably a growing disparity between classes. Among the Muslims, who are the worst sufferers from this disparity, Arab nationalist (more recently, Arab socialist) influences are strong. Inter-sectarian crises were not unknown in Lebanon between 1943 and 1954. After 1954, with the phenomenal spread of Nasserist propaganda in the Arab world, these crises in Lebanon became frequent and increasingly serious. In its essence, Nasserism was an urgent call to Arab unity under the leadership of Egypt; its appeal to the general run of Lebanese Moslems was immense. Following the Suez crisis in the autumn of 1956, Nasserist pressure on Lebanon became so strong that Christians and moderate Moslem leaders were alarmed. In March 1957 the Lebanese Government subscribed to the Eisenhower Doctrine, as a means of securing some guarantee for Lebanese independence against Soviet-supported and Egyptian-led Pan-Arab claims. The circumstances of the time made such a guarantee necessary, especially after February 1958, when Syria joined Egypt to form the United Arab Republic. Strictly speaking, however, the Lebanese Government, by seeking a Western sponsorship for Lebanese independence, had broken a fundamental principle of the National Pact. In reaction, a Lebanese Moslem rebellion was proclaimed in May 1958, leading to a state of civil war which lasted for six months.

The 1958 civil war was a severe test for the Lebanese Republic; the test, however, was passed. In the course of the troubles, U.S. Marine landings prevented the continuance of armed interventions from Syria, which had been going on for more than two months, while U.N. diplomacy sought to reduce

Egyptian political pressures on Lebanon. This made it possible, in the end, for Lebanese leaders to settle the conflict among themselves with the minimum of outside interference, and to restore the National Pact as the basis for the country's national existence. Since 1958, the national unity of the Lebanese people has been developing more and more into a reality. Sceptics, pointing out occasional intersectarian incidents, often speak of this national unity as a myth; even they, however, admit that the myth, on the whole, works.

The Body Politic in Lebanon

BY JEAN BAZ*

Although it was officially part of the Turkish empire, Lebanon always enjoyed considerable autonomy. After the Maan princes, the Chehabs came to power.

Having supported Ibrahim Pasha, the son of Muhammad Ali, Emir Bechir II was obliged to abdicate in 1840 and was exiled to Malta, and then to Constantinople where he died in 1850. He was replaced by Bechir III who possessed all the faults of his predecessor without any of his redeeming qualities. His reign was brief as he was deposed in 1841. Osman Pasha, known as the Austrian, his real name being Michel Latts, seized power in the name of the Sultan, which provoked discontent among the Lebanese and energetic protests from the Great Powers of the time to the Sublime Porte.

After lengthy negotiations, Turkey accepted, with considerable reservations, the solution proposed by Chancellor Metternich, and divided Lebanon into two prefectures, one extending from the Damascus road to the north called Christian prefecture, and the other called Druze, extending from the same road, in a southerly direction. But Turkey, which could not forgive the Emir Bechir his alliance with Egypt, opposed the nomination of a Christian prefect from the Chehab family, in spite of the efforts made by France, but opposed by England and Austria.

The Christian prefecture was, therefore, given to an emir of the Abillama family, and the Druze to one of the Arslan emirs.

The regime of these two prefectures collapsed with the

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The Body Politic in Lebanon

violent events of 1860, and was replaced, by general agreement between France, England, Russia, Austria, Prussia and Sardinia (German and Italian unity did not yet exist), by a special regime, defined in the Protocol of June 4, 1861. This regime is known as the Mutasarrifate.

Among the powers we have named, the U.S.A. does not appear because at this time it was still faithful to the Monroe doctrine and had not yet appeared upon the Near Eastern political scene. The regime set up by the protocol of June 4th was unilaterally abolished by Turkey in 1914. Freed in 1918 by the Allies, Lebanon was subsequently placed under French mandate. In 1922 the Council of the League of Nations directed France to draw up, within a delay of three years, a constitution for Lebanon. This delay was not respected because of the Druze rebellion which broke out in 1925. Not until May 23rd, 1926, was the Lebanese Constitution put into force. Until that date Lebanon was administered by a French governor.

After this brief historical outline we shall examine the body politic of Lebanon, as conceived and defined in the Constitution.

Its organs are the executive power exercised by the President of the Republic; the cabinet which includes the President of the Council and the ministers; and the legislative power exercised by the Chamber of Deputies.

The Executive Power

The constitution-makers of 1926 took as their model the French Constitution of 1875 on which the third Republic was based; as well as the constitutional customs which formed around it. But if they took the French Constitution as a model, they did not make a carbon copy of it. They introduced sensible improvements, some of which may be found in the French Constitution of 1958, as we shall indicate below.

As everyone knows, the Parliament which set out the details of the 1875 French Constitution was composed of a majority of

monarchists, and the Third Republic only saw the light in France after the Count of Chambord had refused to compromise over the flag. For this reason the French Constitution of 1875 conferred rights upon the President of the Republic. And it was the same in our Constitution.

The Lebanese state is thus embodied in one man who is the chief. This institution is sufficiently explained by the traditions of Lebanon, which during hundreds of years has seen the nation, if not the State, embodied in one person.

The Constitution of 1926 had chosen 2-chamber representation. A Parliament would consist of a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. The President of the Republic was to be elected by secret ballot by a 2/3 majority of votes, by the Senate and Chamber of Deputies joined in Congress (Article 49).

Only Charles Debbas, the first President of the Republic, was elected according to this procedure. A constitutional law of October 17, 1927, suppressed the Senate for the reason that its existence would cause delay in voting laws. Today the President of the Republic is elected by secret ballot by a 2/3 majority of votes, by the Chamber of Deputies. After the first ballot, an absolute majority is required for the following ballots.

The period of office for the President is six years: the mandate is not renewable at its expiry, but may be sought again six years later. This period is personal, in the sense that if the President should die or resign, his successor is elected in turn for six years (as in the case of Camille Chamoun who succeeded Bechara al-Khoury upon his resignation).

The President is the sovereign head of the Lebanese Order of Merit and the National Order of the Cedar. He is expressly protected against press attacks by the statute of libel, and although he occupies public office, in case of defamation, the truth of the actions imputed to him cannot be proved. The statute of libel can be invoked even when there is no defamation, injury, or offense. Thus a newspaper was prosecuted and condemned for having published an equestrian portrait of

President MacMahon with the caption, "Good heavens, how intelligent the horse looks."

The Constitution does not recognize any official reward for former presidents. In theory they have no right to a pension. The American Congress allotted annual pensions of \$ 5000 to Presidents' widows (Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt and Mrs. Wilson) but never to a former President. In France there is a law allowing former Presidents who deserved well of their country, life pensions of 700,000 Fr. annually, payable also to widows and minor children. In Lebanon former presidents have no right to a retirement pension, but a recent law has given a pension of LL 1,000 per month to the widows of former presidents.

Duties of the President

The duties of the President are many and varied. He ratifies treaties and communicates their substance to the Chamber as soon as the security of the State permits. However, treaties involving the finances of the State, commercial treaties, and in general those treaties which cannot be denounced at the end of each year, are only binding when they have been ratified by the Chamber. He alone represents Lebanon, either at home in national ceremonies, or abroad in relations with foreign countries; ambassadors are accredited to him, and he sends Lebanese ambassadors to foreign countries. He has the right of amnesty, that flower which the Constituent Assembly tore from the crown of Louis XVI. He puts into force laws once they have been voted by the Chamber. This promulgation should take place in the month following the despatch to the Government of the law which has been confirmed, and within five days if the enforcement of the law has been declared urgent by a specific vote of the Chamber.

However, the Constitution does give the right of *velo* to the President. Within the delay fixed for its promulgation, he may call the Chamber to a new debate, which cannot be refused. In this event the law must be passed by an absolute majority of

the members of the Chamber.

On the other hand, the President has the responsibility of enforcing the laws; to this end he has statutory powers, but cannot modify the laws themselves, or refrain from applying them. The statutory powers are of primary importance, for their object is to ensure the application of the laws, and to perfect them where necessary. But in doing this, the statutory powers must respect on one hand the texts, which have a superior authority, and on the other hand the general principles of law which jurisprudence equates with a specific law. As a result, a ministerial order cannot overrule the provisions of a presidential decree, any more than such a decree can modify a law, or even a decree issued by the Cabinet.

The President of the Republic nominates candidates for all those civil and military posts whose mode of nomination is not otherwise laid down by law. He appoints and dismisses the ministers, amongst whom he chooses a President of the Council. It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of this right of dismissing ministers given by the Constitution to the President, which makes of our body politic both a presidential and a parliamentary regime.

A parliamentary regime, contrary to what might be thought, is not only a regime which takes for granted the existence of a Parliament, but also one where the ministers, grouped in a cabinet, are *responsible* to the Parliament, not to the Head of State. A presidential regime is government by a man chosen by the people in two stages. The ministers do not form a cabinet; there is no Council of Ministers, nor Prime Minister. The President is at the same time Head of State and leader of the Government. In the United States, prime example of presidential rule, a minister does not consult with his colleagues, he is simply the head of an administration. It happens, and indeed it is an ancient custom, that the President of the U.S. summons the ministers to discuss with them the affairs of the country, but he is not obliged to take their advice. One day when the ministers held an opinion contrary to that of President Lincoln, he ended

the debate by declaring, "Seven noes, one aye; the ayes have it."

In a presidential regime, as we have said, the President must adopt a policy and impose it upon the country. The natural result is that he must be free to choose the instruments of this policy. The ministers are therefore the personal agents of the President. He appoints and dismisses them as he sees fit. Toward the end of his presidency Wilson was ill at the White House, and Secretary of State Lansing attempted to call ministerial meetings to formulate a certain policy. Wilson, once restored to health, wrote to him, "I am dismissing you because you have tried to formulate policy in opposition to me, and because, according to the Constitution, my policy must govern the country." According to the same principle President Jackson dismissed in succession two secretaries of the Treasury, until he found one who would follow his financial policy.

A Rusty Arm

By making the ministers responsible to the Chamber of Deputies, and by giving the President of the Republic the right to dismiss them, our Constitution makes our political regime a parliamentary one, flavoured, if I may use the phrase, with *presidentialism*. But this safeguard, which gives the President the power to dismiss ministers, has become, through lack of use, to use an expression beloved of Tardieu in "The Captive King", a rusty arm in the conventional arsenal. In fact no President has yet used this right of dismissing ministers. Nevertheless an attempt at dismissal, or more precisely a timid and disguised dismissal took place in 1952. The President, Bechara al-Khoury, accepted the resignation of the Prime Minister Sami Bey Solh. This latter, while recognising that this was merely a polite expression, energetically denied the existence of such a resignation, which in fact had never been presented.

But if the President does not use this right of dismissal, which is a crude way of disposing of ministers who have become

persona non grata, he does, on the other hand, profit from his superior authority over the Chamber of Deputies to indicate clearly to the Cabinet when the moment for it to offer its resignation has come.

The President of the Republic is responsible only for acts depending upon his office, in cases of violating the Constitution, or of high treason. And it is for this reason that each of the orders of the President must be countersigned by the minister or ministers concerned. The only exception to this rule is the nomination or dismissal of ministers.

Why is this formality of ministerial countersignature found in all parliamentary regimes? There are historical reasons. Parliamentary government was first instituted and developed, in England. In order to exist in conjunction with growing democracy, the monarchy has shrunk almost to a point of disappearance. The King of England no longer rules; he is no longer the chief of the government.

This disappearance of the monarch, in England, has arisen from many causes. First of all its *inviolability*. It is a very ancient principle of English law that *The King can do no Wrong*. English apologists explain the principle by this example, if the King kills a minister with his own hand, the Prime Minister may be blamed, but if the King kills the Prime Minister with his own hand no one can be blamed. From this it follows that the King cannot give a wrong order nor commit a wrong act. If, therefore, the King is irresponsible, a responsible person must be found. These responsible persons are the ministers who countersign all the orders of the King.

It will doubtless be objected that the principle of irresponsibility is a natural attribute of the monarch, deduced from the multiplication of powers in his person : he is the legislator and thus legalises all the orders that he issues: he is the judge and thus is absolved . The result is that legal irresponsibility cannot be envisaged in a republican regime. And in fact responsibility appeared, in France, until 1875, to be of the essence of the Republic. It was the right centre wing of the Assembly that

insisted in 1875, as a condition of its adherence to the Republic, that the *President* be irresponsible, as was the King. The Lebanese Constituent Assembly, well trained, adopted for itself the principle of the irresponsibility of the President of the Republic.

But this irresponsibility does not hold good in the case of violation of the Constitution, or of high treason. Some apologists teach that the exception of high treason applies only to penal responsibility, an affirmation which contradicts the Constitution, which only has political responsibility in view.

Some jurists maintain that this intention must remain a dead letter, by virtue of the principles of criminal law. Since high treason is not defined, there can be no legal infraction of the statute forbidding it. Besides, the Constitution pronounces no sanctions, and so by virtue of the rule 'no punishment without a law', the High Court, adhering to Article 8 of the Constitution, can inflict no penalty, and according to some (Duguit) not even the forfeiture of office.

The Case of High Treason

But this argument is not valid in the case of high treason, for here it is a question of political responsibility. Article 66 does, in fact, declare the ministers collectively responsible to the Chamber for the general policy of the Government, which means to say that they should be deprived of office if they are to blame. We are thus led to conclude that the President must lose his office in an instance of high treason.

The Constitution does not define high treason. All agree that any grave infraction of the Constitution would constitute high treason. In an article published in 1958, Mr. Joseph Saouda maintained that the simple fact of the President's wish to prolong his mandate constituted an instance of high treason. It is difficult to follow his somewhat far-fetched argument.

The principle of the irresponsibility of the President is destined to ensure his maintenance in power for the entirety of his mandate. It follows that the President cannot be dismissed,

nor overthrown nor deprived of office. This does not mean that the Parliament does not possess *in fact* the power to take steps to shorten the length of the presidential mandate. This happened in France after the Wilson scandal in 1887. The Chamber decided to overthrow any ministry which would not insist upon the resignation of the Chief of State, and declared that it would meet that same evening in order to receive a "communication from the Government". This communication was the message of resignation. Grévy ended by yielding. After the general elections of 1924 Millerand was obliged to resign by a parliamentary majority and by a party which had decided to go on ministerial strike. In Lebanon President Bechara al-Khoury was in the same fashion obliged to resign, because no Sunni Muslim would accept the Prime Ministry. But the success of the operation does not prove its legality.

Moreover, the Chief of State cannot participate in parliamentary debates. An invariable tradition confirmed by the rulings of the Chamber makes this rule a corollary of the principle of irresponsibility.

The President may, by decree, for sufficient reasons, taken upon the unanimous advice of the Council of Ministers, dissolve the Chamber of Deputies before the legal expiry of its mandate. The reasons for which the President may do this are: 1) The refusal of the Chamber to meet in an ordinary or extraordinary session, notwithstanding two convocations made successively by the Chief of State. 2) The rejection 'en bloc' of the budget with the intention of paralysing Government action. In an instance of dissolving the Chamber, the electoral bodies must meet within two months, and the new Chamber is summoned within the 15 days that follow the declaration of the electoral results.

Whilst in France dissolution was only practised once under the Third Republic, in Lebanon, on the other hand, this right has been more frequently exercised. The President appoints and dismisses ministers, amongst whom he chooses a President of the Council. In France, under the Third Republic, the Prime Minister was not created by the Constitution, his office sprang

out of usage. Poincaré wrote in the "Revue des Deux Mondes" in 1920, "A President of the Republic who only wished to appoint ministers would adhere to the constitutional letter of the law. I do not advise him this singularity, for he would soon be the object of attacks during parliamentary debates." But this thesis was not upheld by the greatest apologists who retorted that the Constitution speaks of a Council of Ministers; there can be no Council without a President.

President of the Council

The Lebanese constitution-makers ended this argument by providing for the post of President of the Council. The role of the President of the Council is extremely important; he defends the general policy of the government in the Chamber, and is obliged to answer the most important questions. The Prime Minister is the chief minister; the others are subordinate to him. In France, Waldeck Rousseau obliged 'his' ministers to show him the outlines of the speeches that they had to give on various occasions, and required them to make changes. During a session in 1924, Herriot, then President of the Council, was able to speak of "Mr. Raymond, my minister today." In England, the Prime Minister does not use the possessive: the ministers are always the King's.

It is commonly said that the President of the Council is first among equals. But neither Clemenceau's nor Poincaré's colleagues ever considered themselves their equals. The President of the Council is, and must be, a leader. The chief duty of the leader of the Government is to see to the coordination of the activity of various ministerial departments. According to protocol, the President of the Council, chief of the Government, has always had the right of summoning a minister and asking him for an explanation. This is why, when on April 10th, 1931, Laval, then President of the Council, went to the Quai d'Orsay to discuss external affairs with Briand, his action was not according to custom. But he re-exercised his prerogative in

Nov. 1931 when he went off alone on his great diplomatic journey to Washington, and replied on his own, without the Foreign Minister even being present, to the questions addressed to him on his return.

The desire has often been expressed that, in order that he may more easily supervise the ministers, the President of the Council should himself be obliged to administer one of these departments, when he is without portfolio. As for the ministers, they may be chosen from amongst the deputies or from outside the Chamber. Article 65 of the Constitution makes one condition: no one can be a minister who is not Lebanese. The ministries are interchangeable. Public opinion is unfavourably impressed by what is often called ministerial incompetence. People are taken aback to see a member of parliament, whose antecedents seem in no way to have qualified him for the task, take on the direction of a certain ministry. For example, a doctor may become Minister of Justice. Further scandal is created by "department swapping". A member of parliament passes insouciantly from the Ministry of Education to that of Public Works, or to the Post Office. But it would be a dangerous exaggeration to insist upon the abandonment of the traditional method of recruiting ministers, in order to choose them solely among specialists; the role of a minister is a political role, one of direction. Technical questions are dealt with by the permanent officials. It has been firmly maintained that the most competent Secretary of the Navy in France under the Third Republic was Georges Leygues, who was completely ignorant of anything to do with ships. However, the minister should never shelter behind his officials. Charles Dumont broke this rule in 1931 when he declared in a discussion concerning a battleship, "I am not a technician, my permanent officials have studied the matter."

The supporters of "department swapping", who are numerous in Lebanon, can draw encouragement from this saying of Lamartine: when a deputy interrupted him declaring that the department heads were more competent than the

ministers, the author of the "Meditations" snapped back, "Sir, they are not so competent in politics, and here it is a matter of politics because it is a matter of governing."

The Cabinet

A cabinet thus recruited includes various prominent citizens. Ministerial posts are distributed amongst the different religious communities, or to borrow an expression dear to Maurice Barrès, amongst the various spiritual families of which the Lebanese population is composed.

A family-established custom of the Constitution—in this realm custom acquires the force of law—assigns the Presidency of the Republic to a Maronite Christian, the Presidency of the Chamber of Deputies to a Shi'a Muslim, the Presidency of the Council of Ministers to a Sunni Muslim. The Greek Orthodox hold the vice-Presidency of the Chamber and that of the Council of Ministers. The posts are distributed according to the numerical importance of each community.

The ministers receive a basic salary to which is added a car allowance and entertainment expenses; the whole not exceeding LL 3,500 per month. This figure is far from excessive if one considers that the ministers must meet even their personal expenses from the sum. A busy lawyer makes a financial sacrifice in accepting a ministerial post. In theory the ministries are all on the same level; there is only one difference, official if not statutory. Protocol gives precedence to the President of the Council, then the Vice-President, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the Minister of Justice, in that order. It is to be noted that in Lebanon, contrary to French usage, the Minister of Justice is not *de jure* Vice-President of the Council of Ministers. Nor is he President of the Council of State or the Civil Tribunal; Lebanese law, in order to remove the administration of justice from the political sphere, has entrusted these two high judicial posts to professional magistrates.

But if in theory the ministerial posts are all on the same level,

there exists in fact a hierarchy which no exterior sign indicates. Certain ministries are considered as 'command levers'. These are hotly disputed by those eligible when ministries are being formed. Usually each minister is placed at the head of a department. But a parliamentary regime may also include ministers without portfolio.

We, in Lebanon, have had several ministers without portfolio. In the ministry of Abdallah Yafi formed on June 8, 1956, Saeb Salam was included as Minister of State, without a ministry. The ministry Saeb Salam formed on August 1st, 1960, included two ministers without portfolio. But politicians show little enthusiasm for the post of minister without portfolio. Such a minister is a "poor relation" beside those occupying specific posts. He has no premises and no officials. An office is hastily fitted up for him in the unoccupied rooms of a ministry; if he insists on his right to be informed of the contents of files, only expurgated versions are sent to him; if he insists on his right to comment upon the organization of a ministry, he is regarded as a person interfering in what does not concern him. Also, a minister without portfolio does not dispose of those material benefits which make other ministers a centre of attention; he has nothing to give away, neither money, nor jobs, nor decorations. In a word, he has no power. When Poincaré was Prime Minister without portfolio, he was obliged to ask a "real" minister for a pencil.

A ministry can only be created by a law. We have had a recent example in Lebanon with the Ministry of Tourism. In France ministerial organization (number of ministers, under-secretaries of state) was left almost entirely to the free choice of the Government. In theory it was by presidential decree that all these matters were settled. André Tardieu established a record of inflation with 34 ministers and under-secretaries of state; and in his 3rd ministry he reduced the number to 21, but this has been surpassed by every government since.

The cabinet may include under-secretaries of state, that is to say junior ministers. Emile Edde's cabinet in 1929 included

a single under-secretary of state, Gabriel McNassa. In 1959, the creation of junior ministerial posts was considered, but then definitely abandoned.

In the same fashion as the President of the Republic, but each one concentrating upon his department, the ministers assume the burden of carrying out laws and regulations. Where this is concerned, they exercise statutory powers.

Ministerial Responsibility

Ministers have free access to the Chamber and must be heard when they request it. Their responsibility is *political*, *penal* and civil. The ministers are collectively responsible, before the Chamber for the general policy of the Government, and individually for their personal functions (Article 66). Obviously, collective responsibility exists only in political matters, not in penal or civil affairs. Certain principles are common to all members of the Government; these constitute, in the terms of Article 66, its general policy. If these principles are attacked, the ministers defend them unanimously. If an act involving general policy is rejected, the whole ministry falls. But if the rejected action is exclusively the concern of one minister, it is he, personally attacked, who falls.

Having insisted upon the collective responsibility of the ministers for the general policy of the Government, Article 66 of the Constitution adds that the ministers are responsible "individually for their personal actions." This individual responsibility is extremely rare in practice. For it to be invoked:

- 1) The disapproved action must have no connection with general policy;
- 2) It must not have been discussed by the Cabinet;
- 3) The Prime Minister should not have declared it to be a matter for debate in the Chamber.

So far no question of individual responsibility has been recorded in Lebanon. However, in France Darlan, Keeper of the Seals, was held responsible for having permitted a judge to swear an oath of loyalty on the telephone, and also a general who had organized a private information

service in the army, by means of a system of memorandums. The minister individually responsible is "unloaded", and a general post takes place among the ministers. But far from lightening the ministerial task, this reshuffle is usually the prelude to the coming storm.

As for penal responsibility, this tends to affect ministers personally or concerning their possessions, by means of penalties in punishment of any infraction of the penal code that they may commit. This responsibility may be invoked against ministers in the same way as against ordinary persons, even if it deals with crimes committed during the exercise of their functions.

Parallel with this penal responsibility in common law, Article 70 of the Constitution gives the Chamber of Deputies the right to accuse the ministers of high treason or grave neglect of the duties of their office. This latter expression is too vague. Its application can create abuses, as in the case of Malvy, in France. But it is reassuring to learn that this system of bringing ministers to trial has never been applied.

Finally, the civil responsibility of ministers obliges them to cause no harm to the State or a third party. It is enforced by the obligation to repair the harm.

Article 70 of our Constitution allows for the civil responsibility of the ministers, indicating that a special law needs to be passed to deal with this responsibility. This law has not yet been passed. Lately, due to encouragement from His Excellence the President of the Republic, a draft law has been prepared to classify this responsibility. Even if the project is carried through, too much reliance should not be placed upon the practical effects of such a law.

In France the civil responsibility of ministers has been indicated, though without a positive result, in the case of overspending credits. The most famous instances are those of Peyronnet who set aside in 1828 a credit of 179,000 francs for the construction of a dining room in the building of the Ministry of Justice, and Caillaux (father of the former Prime Minister)

who overspent the credit allocated for the installation of the State Accounts office in the Flore Pavilion.

Parliament

The second political organ is Parliament.

The constitutional law of October 17th, 1927, abandoned the two-chamber system by abolishing the Senate. Our Parliament is, therefore, composed of one house, the Chamber of Deputies. The democratic character of this Chamber is reinforced by two basic features: direct election by universal suffrage for a period of four years, at the expiration of which a complete renewal takes place. The deputies are elected by voting for a list. Confessional allotment divides the seats among the different religious communities.

The principle of complete periodic renewal does not, however, exclude *partial* elections in the case of a seat becoming vacant by death, or resignation. But the vacancy will not be filled if the Chamber has less than six months to run of its electoral mandate; this is in agreement with the principle of universal eligibility which true democracy represents.

Contrary to the advice of St. Paul, Lebanese law-givers admitted the weaker sex to political life in 1954; they may vote and are eligible as members of Parliament; they have shown, in the various election campaigns, great enthusiasm, even some turbulence. Of course, there are conditions of electoral eligibility (age, absence of criminal convictions) but the limits of this lecture do not permit us to enter into details here.

The Chamber shares with the Government the right of fixing the time during which it exercises its functions. These periods are called sessions. Article 32 of the Constitution obliges the Chamber to meet in two ordinary sessions each year. The first begins on the Tuesday following March 15th, and ends on the last day of May. The second begins on the Tuesday following October 15th; it is devoted primarily to the discussion and voting of the budget, and lasts until the end of the year. The opening

and closing of ordinary sessions take place according to the law at the dates specified above.

On his responsibility the President of the Republic may summon the Chamber for an extraordinary session. The agenda thereof is fixed by the decree summoning it. If an absolute majority of the members of the House demands an extraordinary session, the President of the Republic is obliged to accede to this demand. The responsibility of the ministers cannot be questioned during an extraordinary session, unless a minister himself requests a vote of confidence.

During the sessions, the Chamber meets; these meetings are most often remarkable for the absence of a quorum. It has the right to "constitute itself", that is, to confirm its powers, to elect its officers and the members of the different commissions. These have the responsibility of preparing its work. The meetings of the Chamber are public; however, it may meet in secret session upon government demand, or if as many as five members request it.

Originality of the Lebanese Constitution

In order for a law to be promulgated, it must have been voted by the Chamber. But the Constitution, and herein is shown its originality, allows the President of the Republic a *subsidiary legislative* power. In fact, if the Chamber of Deputies has not given its final opinion upon the projected budget before the expiry of the session devoted to its examination, the President of the Republic will summon the Chamber for an extraordinary session ending on the last day of January in order to pursue the budget debate, if by the end of this extraordinary session it has not been definitely passed, Article 86 of the Constitution authorizes the President, through a decree issued with the agreement of the Council of Ministers, to place the projected budget upon the statute books in the form in which it was presented to the Chamber. But the Head of State cannot exercise this right unless the projected budget was presented to the

Chamber at least 15 days before the beginning of the session. This provision was made in order to combat the passivity of the Chamber and spare the country the expedient of 'provisional twelfths'¹. Its efficiency is so evident, that the French Constitution of 1958 found it necessary to adopt a statute analogous to our Article 86.

In legislative affairs, properly called, the Lebanese Constitution sets up a system with an attention to special interests no less remarkable than its originality. By the terms of Article 58, the President of the Republic must execute, by decree issued with the agreement of the Council of Ministers, any legislative project that may have been declared urgent by the Government in its message of transmission to the Chamber, and upon which the Chamber has not pronounced itself within 40 days following its communication to the assembled members.

It cannot be doubted that in drawing up this text the Lebanese constitutionalists had in mind the experience of French parliamentary practice concerning legislative affairs. On the other hand Article 58 seems to fit in very well with the general tendency of the Constitution toward the system of presidential supremacy which Lebanon was intended to possess, and towards providing the Head of State an extraordinary subsidiary legislative power.

Under the rule of the French mandate the Government did not use the urgency procedure, because the Chamber of Deputies showed good will and respected the desire of the Government by voting projected laws with all desired speed, whether urgent or not. When it gave signs of some resistance the Government produced a law of qualification to empower it to legislate by decree; this was the law of December 26, 1929, which gave full powers to the cabinet presided over by Emile Eddé.

¹ Translator's note: A provisional twelfth means that in the absence of an agreed budget for the current year, government expenditure should not exceed, each month, that of the same month in the previous year.

Government by Decree

After independence, during the period 1943–1952, the docility of the Chamber was limitless. In 1952 the Government was qualified by the law of October 15, 1952, to promulgate laws by decree for a six-month period. The same right was given to it for a period of three months in 1954. From 1955 on Article 58 has been more and more frequently applied. Conceived as a means of compensating for the legislative assembly's tendency to occupy itself with political manoeuvres rather than the elaboration of laws, however necessary and urgent they might be, this article has not ceased, since 1958, to be used increasingly frequently.

Isolated and intermittent protests from certain parliamentary factions against this practice, whose persistent and almost habitual use damages the integrity of the legislative competence of Parliament, have until now never manifested themselves in an official motion of censure. Nevertheless, it should not be doubted that the Chamber is jealous of its prerogatives. If the executive power is permitted so much initiative in the field of legislation it is because, on the one hand, the Chamber realises that the greater part of legislation thus imposed is necessary, and on the other the parliamentarians, thus relieved of a task for which few of them are qualified, are left free for political manoeuvring.

From 1959 onwards the Government has used the procedure specified in Article 58 at so accelerated a rhythm that almost all the laws which have appeared on the statute book between 1959 and 1964 were promulgated by decree.

But after the election of M. Charles Helou to the Presidency of the Republic, the Government abandoned this use of Article 58 and merely used it as a means of persuasion to hasten the voting of projected laws.

Summing-up

As a conclusion to this rather technical discussion, what must we think of our political institutions?

In France the elaborators of the Constitution of 1875 agreed that the President of the Republic was a powerful and respected Head of State, but that in fact his powers had been considerably lessened for various reasons. They had been so much reduced that the presidential office on the Elysée could reasonably be declared a golden cage. To Poincaré, President of the Republic during the 1914–1918 war, are attributed these words, "I am informed of the latest news from the front upon reading my newspaper in the morning." Some critics even went so far as to say that the most important function of the President of the Republic was presiding at national ceremonies and kissing pretty girls who presented him with bunches of flowers.

But in Lebanon, the President of the Republic has retained the role of leader and umpire which the Constitution intended to confer upon him. He has even increased his prerogatives. His influence upon the Cabinet and the Chamber is evident. He personifies the country and national unity. He exercises a necessary function of supremacy. He makes state affairs a single whole and indicates the lines of both interior and foreign policy.

As for the Chamber of Deputies, its presence constitutes a safety valve. It has not always been worthy of itself, though it has sometimes shown signs of vitality. But on the whole it does not fully occupy the place expected of it. It could and should do better.

It may be argued in defence that this fault is endemic in a parliamentary regime: a regime in which anyone, being fit for anything, may at any time be placed anywhere. But this really does not justify the apathy of the Chamber which has amongst its members some able people. It only needs to realise what it is and what is its function, to fulfil its mission quite adequately.

It is clear that Lebanon's political system, which guarantees

Jean Baz

it a democratic and free existence, is satisfactory. However, this system is not, and cannot be guaranteed by the authority of the state. It is for the Lebanese, for all Lebanese with no distinctions between them, to make their task easier by living, according to the words of Ernest Renan, united by the same memories of the past and the same hopes for the future.

The Economic Structure of Lebanon

BY ELIAS S. SABA*

It is perhaps futile to attempt to understand the economic structure of the Lebanon without casting a brief look at its socio-political structure. You may have heard detailed expositions of the country's political and social structure by people much more qualified than I am. What interests me here is only to highlight certain socio-political characteristics which are decisive in determining the country's economic *structure* and *system*.

Present-day Lebanon was declared a republic on September 1st, 1920, by adding to the pre-war Sanjak of Lebanon several coastal towns and their surrounding districts (Beirut, Tripoli, Tyre and Sidon), the Bika'a Plateau on the east, and the districts of Rashaya and Hasbaya in the south.

The core of present-day Lebanon, therefore, is roughly the region known as Mount Lebanon. This region has impressed upon the whole country many of its own characteristics which have differentiated it from the rest of the surrounding countries and which have contributed in no small part to its present economic structure and way of life.

In the first place, there is Mount Lebanon's tradition of asylum. Because of its rugged topography, Mount Lebanon has served throughout history as an asylum where various tribes and religious sects, persecuted in the interior plains, have found a safe refuge. Being forced to live together in a relatively small area, they have come to respect each other's beliefs and ways of life. Of course there were periods of strain

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and even open collision, but the causes were essentially political and social rather than religious. Out of this situation a tradition of tolerance and liberalism has grown.

In the second place, there is Mount Lebanon's tradition of autonomy. Partly because of the special religious and ethnic structure of its population, and partly because of its rugged and rather impenetrable nature, Mount Lebanon has enjoyed a greater degree of autonomy than the rest of geographical Syria. "Caliphs, Crusading rulers, and Ottoman Sultans alike refrained from demanding more from Lebanon than tribute and the formal recognition of their suzerainty¹." Internal affairs were left in the hands of local dynasts. "In principle, and sometimes in fact, the ruler of the Mountain was elected by the feudal lords²." This tradition of autonomy has expressed itself well in modern times; Lebanon was the first republic in the whole region—it achieved its independence in theory and fact almost twenty years ago; and it is about the only remaining democracy amidst a host of authoritarian regimes.

Thirdly, there is the country's religious structure and its westernization. Although Lebanon's population includes a multitude of ethnic minorities, religious groupings are more numerous and play a still more important role in its political life. The most significant consequence is that, unlike any other country in the region, no one religious community forms an absolute majority. This religious division of the country's population permeates all aspects of political life. The country's constitution has recognized it by providing for an equitable representation of the various sects in governmental posts. The fact that no one sect forms an absolute majority has created a delicate domestic socio-political balance which goes far in explaining Lebanese attitudes and policy in general. Another Lebanese characteristic is its westernization and higher level of

1 A.H. Hourani, *Syria and Lebanon*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), p. 130.

2 *Ibid.*

education than the other countries of the region. The reason for the westernization is mainly due to the predominance in Mount Lebanon of the Maronites, who belong to the largest western Church in the whole area (Protestantism came at a much later stage). Thus, a large part of the population – and one for whom the clergy plays an important role in religious as well as temporal matters – have continuously looked to the West for inspiration and protection against persecution. Being more westernized than the others, the Maronites in particular and Christians in general were quicker than other religious groups to assimilate western culture.

These characteristics of asylum, autonomy, religious heterogeneity and westernization distinguish Lebanon from the rest of the region and go a long way towards explaining its special attributes. They are responsible for the Lebanese way of life which may be described as cautious, rarely extremist, liberal, tolerant, democratic, and determined to preserve Lebanese independence. The country may indeed be looked upon as a social laboratory where East meets West through a relatively safe process, on the whole avoiding harmful clashes and abrupt, disruptive changes. Even the domestic strife of 1958 may be taken as a further example of the country's spirit of liberalism and tolerance, in view of the sudden end of hostilities and the ease with which the country went back to normal conditions. In fact, the events of 1958 made it more clear to every one that the essence of Lebanese stability is the preservation of that precarious socio-political balance which is the result of the country's religious and ethnic mosaic.

The Economic Structure

To start with, one of the first facts about the economy of Lebanon which strikes an observer is the almost complete absence of basic economic data and the unreliability of whatever available information exists.

Although there are no official figures for national income,

a study carried out by the Economic Research Institute of the American University of Beirut estimated per capita income in 1950 at about U.S. \$ 250. In 1962 it was estimated at about U.S. \$ 350. Such figures, though relatively low by Western standards, compare very favourably with those for other countries of the region.

Looking at the distribution of national income among the various sectors of the economy, one is struck by some peculiar features, in the first place by the relatively small role played by agriculture. In 1950 only 20% of total national income was contributed by agriculture. Even this relatively small proportion has been on the decline, falling to 16% in 1955 and to 14% in 1962. Lebanon may have been conventionally classified as an agricultural country, perhaps justifiably since agriculture employs about half of the labour force. Yet, because of the relatively low contribution of agriculture to national income, Lebanon is more akin to the developed, industry-biased economies of the West. Industry, however, plays a less important role than agriculture does; in 1950 it contributed about 14% to national income. Like agriculture, its relative importance has been falling, amounting to 12.7% in 1955 and only 11.7% in 1962.

The most important sector is trade, contributing about 29% of total income in 1950, about 30% in 1955, and more than 31% in 1962. Even this high figure somewhat underestimates the real share of the trade sector, because a good part of income arising in the transportation and finance sectors is related in one way or the other to trade. Thus, the share of trade amounts to as much as 35% of national income, reflecting the mercantile nature of the Lebanese economy.

The sector that has registered the largest gain in its relative position as a contributor to national income is the finance sector, including banking and insurance. From a low 3.8% in 1950, its contribution rose to 5.1% in 1955 and to 6.5% in 1962. Other sectors which have gained in relative importance are real estate, rising from about 9% in 1950 to about 11% in

1962, and government, increasing from about 7% to more than 8% in the same period.

Not only does trade contribute the largest share of national income, but foreign trade by itself is the largest single contributor. It has been estimated that foreign trade alone contributes about 23% of national income.

The most important attribute of the Lebanese economy, therefore, is its essentially mercantile nature and its dependence on foreign trade to earn almost one fourth of its annual income.

Along with this predominance of trade, and of foreign trade in particular, there is another, more or less related, feature of the economy, i.e., the predominance of intangible services over tangible goods. The production of services amounted to about 67% of total national income in 1950, whereas that of tangible goods amounted only to 33% of the total. Not only that, but this already excessive disproportion in the value of goods and services seems to be increasing: services' production rose to 71% in 1955 and to more than 74% in 1962, with the production of goods falling to 29% and 26% respectively. This is certainly a peculiar feature in an economy that is still classified as underdeveloped. In most other "conventional" economies, the production of goods in underdeveloped economies exceeds the production of services. In the more developed ones, the two lines may attain equal importance.

The pre-eminence of trade, and of foreign trade, in a country like Lebanon is understandable. "Forming through its geographical position a link between three continents, and having a population with a tradition of tolerance, freedom and westernization, Lebanon has developed as a country of middlemen and merchants¹." The country today thrives on a prosperous import and reexport trade as well as on such service transactions as gold brokerage, transit and entrepot trade,

¹ E.S. Saba, "The Implications of the Foreign Sector in the Lebanese Economy", *Middle East Economic Papers*, American University of Beirut, 1962, p. 142.

tourism, and exchange and commodity arbitrage. Beirut's well-developed sea and air ports, the country's free economic and foreign exchange systems, its stable political and social structure, and its active and relatively large entrepreneurial class have made of Lebanon the region's trade and financial centre. In fact, trade permeates all strata of life in Lebanon, public as well as private. Today Beirut has assumed the role of ancient Tyre as the port of Asia.

One can explain the pre-eminence of services over goods as another reflection of the more fundamental causes which give pre-eminence to trade itself, i.e., the paucity of natural resources, the heritage of freedom, liberalism and westernization, and the resourcefulness of the Lebanese in exploiting their geographic position and climatic advantages.

A natural result of the primary role played by foreign trade is the economy's bias towards the foreign sector which in turn can be illuminated by an examination of the country's balance of payments.

Until March 1950, Lebanon and Syria formed a customs union, and separate foreign trade figures for the two countries do not exist. That is why it has not been possible to reconstruct Lebanon's balance of payments for the years before 1951. Figures for the period since 1951 are available; they are not official figures but estimates made by private groups (such as ERI at the American University of Beirut or the American Embassy) or by international institutions (I.M.F. or I.B.R.D.)

These estimates present more than one significant feature. In the first place, the merchandise trade account (physical exports and imports) has shown persistent and growing deficits of alarming magnitudes, amounting to LL. 820 million in 1961, LL. 745 million in 1962, and LL. 863 million in 1963. In the second place, surpluses earned from services (or invisibles), and on the capital and donations account, have consistently more than compensated for these deficits. During the thirteen-year period of 1951-1963, deficits on tangible exports and imports amounted to about twice the value of exports, and

exports paid for about one-third of imports (exports here include non-monetary gold and re-exports); and an average of about 65% of national income was spent every year on imports. Even this high ratio seems to be rising with time. Against this, the country depended on the sale of services to foreigners, on receipts of capital from abroad and on foreign donations to pay for its huge deficits. About 60% of deficits were made good by surpluses from services and the rest by receipts from capital movements and donations. The heavy dependence on goods produced abroad, on services sold to foreigners and on foreign capital receipts and charity is again a reflection of the preponderance of services over goods.

Instability and Maldistribution of Income

The effect of this dependence upon services is to give the economy another of its characteristics: instability, both in the short and the long run. Services include such items as tourism, transportation, investment, transit and foreign exchange operations, and it is obvious that these depend heavily on policies and conditions ruling in other countries, over which Lebanon has very little, if any, control. The instability of income deriving from services was adequately demonstrated during the Suez crisis of 1956 and the domestic political strife of 1958. Added to this, there is the fear that income from services may not continue to rise at a rate matching the rate of increase in merchandise trade deficits. The reason for this is the increasingly nationalistic economic policies which are being applied in neighbouring countries, such as Syria, Jordan and Iraq. In the Arab world of today, self-sufficiency and autarchy rather than integration and cooperation seem to be calling the tune in the economic field, and can be expected to do so for some time to come.

Added to this, receipts from capital and donations are not much more stable or dependable. Funds have been coming mainly from the oil-rich Arab countries, and from Lebanese

emigrants. Like income from services, these receipts are heavily dependent on conditions outside Lebanon. Again the effect of the events of 1956 and 1958 support this conclusion.

Still another characteristic of the economy is the inequitable distribution of income among persons and districts which is largely the result of the mercantile nature of the economy. It has been estimated that about half of the population earn on an average less than U.S. \$ 165 per head per year, that about one third earn about U.S. \$ 250 per year, and that only 4% earn above U.S. \$ 1000 annually. Whereas half of the labour force are employed in agriculture, they receive only around 14% of national income; in industry, about 11% of the labour force receive about 12% of national income; but in trade, 11% of the labour force enjoy about 31% of national income; and in finance, 0.4% of the labour force enjoy about 6.5% of national income. Such figures are extremely revealing, especially if one remembers that the share of wages and salaries to total income produced in agriculture and industry is much higher than that in trade and finance where about 85% of income takes the form of profits and interest.

This inequality of income distribution among persons is accompanied by a geographic maldistribution, because the overwhelming majority of transport, trade, financial, professional, governmental and even industrial activities are concentrated in and around the capital city of Beirut.

Finally, another characteristic of the economy that derives in no small part from its mercantile and service-biased nature is the limitation of employment opportunities which is forcing young and able Lebanese to emigrate. It is estimated that whereas for every one million Lebanese pounds of national income produced 924 persons are employed in agriculture and 286 in industry, the figure falls to 188 for services in general. For trade alone it is 113 persons and for finance it is as low as 22 only. Considering the rapid rate of growth of the population (about 2.3% annually), and the paucity of the country's natural resources, a case for encouraging the growth of agriculture and

industry seems to be well founded at least upon considerations of employment.

These seem to be the most important economic characteristics of the country. Implied in them, it is clear, are certain definite economic problems which the present *structure* and *system* helped create, magnify and perpetuate. Such problems are emphasized by many, and are the focus of attacks aiming at changing the foundations of the economy.

Problems

The first economic problem is the maldistribution of income and wealth among individuals and regions alike. It may be claimed that the standard of living of all Lebanese has improved substantially during the past fifteen years, and that it is today considerably higher than that in neighbouring countries. This is indeed true. But it does not controvert the existence of social discontent and the feeling of deprivation. For economic satisfaction is the result of the relative and not the absolute level of individual income. In other words, those Lebanese who have remained since 1950 at the bottom of the income and wealth strata continue to feel discontented despite the fact that their absolute income level has increased appreciably. In fact, their discontent and dissatisfaction may have increased since 1950 because the gap between them and the richer groups has grown wider. Similarly, Lebanon has always been better off than its neighbours, and it is doubtful whether its *relative* position in the international scale of income and wealth has much improved, if at all. On the other hand, the propensity to imitate, seems to be a much greater force today due to the improvements in means of transportation and communication, especially in a small country like Lebanon where social stratification is not very rigid.

The second problem is the maldistribution of factors of production, both human and non-human, among the various sectors of the economy. We have seen that the services sector in

general (and the trade sector in particular) has been increasing in relative importance at the expense of agriculture and industry. One may ask what is wrong with that, since investment in services is presumably more lucrative than in tangible goods. The answer is that here there may very well exist a disparity between private and social gains and private and social costs: although *private* gains may be low and costs high in industry and agriculture, *social* gains may be high and costs low. If this is so, then private investment will not of itself be encouraged to move into industry and agriculture, to the detriment of society's interests at large. Among the social benefits of agriculture and industry, one may mention employment, economic stability, and the reduction of dependence upon the foreign sector.

As we have seen, the present system and structure lead to a heavy dependence on the foreign sector, and, therefore, to instability. In Lebanon we depend on others to produce about two-thirds of what we consume and we also depend upon them for maintaining our relatively high and comfortable living standard.

Finally, there is the problem of unemployment. Although there are no statistics to show the extent of unemployment in Lebanon, yet it is safe to say that the present economic structure, with its dependence on invisibles, is not able to provide sufficient jobs for the annual increase in the labour force. The result has been underemployment in the agricultural, construction and the services sectors and unemployment particularly among the holders of intermediate and secondary school certificates. The problem would have been much more acute had it not been for continuous emigration to the Americas, Africa, and, recently, the oil-rich Arab countries.

Suggestions For Reform

These are indeed very serious problems. There are people who are using the type of arguments developed above as arguments against the present economic structure and system,

and in favour of a more socialistic system, although the details of the latter are still vague and have not yet been crystallized.

It is my contention here that socialism is not the best answer to the country's present economic problems and difficulties, and that some other solution would definitely be more advantageous. I understand socialism to mean an economic system in which the majority of factors of production are engaged in socialized industries. Let me hurry here to say that I define a socialized industry as one in which the public sector owns the non-human factors of production and which is operated not for the purpose of private profit but in the interests of those whom the public sector is supposed to represent. Thus defined, socialism in my opinion is inferior as an economic system for Lebanon to what is suggested here.

A different solution would be a complete revision of the doctrinaire, *status quo* role of the state in the economic life of the country – a revolution, in fact, in the accepted opinion concerning this role, with respect to the principle involved, the actual outcome of the state's interference in the economic life of the country and the quality of the human element necessary for carrying out the state's economic functions.

It is not possible here to explain in detail all the implications of such a new outlook. Suffice it to mention certain cornerstones.

In a country like Lebanon, the prime responsibility for correcting the abuses of the free economic system falls upon the Ministry of Finance. For it establishes financial and monetary policies, and through them is able to readjust the distribution of income and wealth. Similarly, it can reallocate resources among the various sectors in such a way as to assure a balanced economic growth, thus reducing the vulnerability of the economy. Indeed, it is difficult to overemphasize what the Ministry of Finance can do in Lebanon to correct the lapses of the present economic system and reduce its dangers, keeping it always within the framework of a "free" system.

In addition, other official agencies should be used to contribute their share towards the success of our "revolution".

The Ministry of National Economy, for example, can play a most welcome part through licences and other legislation, enabling it to supervise the activities of private enterprise for the ultimate purpose of reallocating factors of production, limiting of monopoly and other imperfections in the market structure, and maintaining the quality of production. It may also choose to enter the market as buyer or seller of certain commodities so as to provide them to the public at relatively low prices, or to avoid excessive price fluctuations.

The Ministry of Planning should devise a development plan whereby the objectives of economic policy are first of all defined. The plan should then estimate the expected role of the all-important private sector in order to arrive at the desired magnitude of the public sector's investment. It should also propose ways and means of financing the expected volume of public investment, indicating the implications of each source of finance.

In a country like Lebanon, where the finance sector is the most dynamic, with the highest rate of increase and a radiating effect on other sectors of the economy, a great deal of the success of the free economic system depends upon the success of the Central Bank in carrying out its functions. These may be summarized as follows:

- To assure the sanity of banking operations and of the banking system as a whole in order to encourage savings and ensure the continued inflow of Arab and other foreign capital. In this way the Central Bank should help cement Lebanon's position as a regional, and even international, financial centre.

- To help in building the country's monetary and financial infrastructure by encouraging the establishment and development of a monetary and financial market and by providing effective methods of monetary control.

- To provide relative stability in the domestic and foreign value of the Lebanese currency.

- To participate in the success of the country's development plan by providing the necessary funds for it and by assuring the

distribution of such funds (and especially private credit) among the various sectors in accordance with the plan and in such a way as to provide balanced economic development.

- To collect adequate statistics concerning the monetary and economic situation in the country, and to analyse and publish such information in order to provide a wider understanding to both the state and the public.

- To provide competent advice in all matters pertaining to money, credit and the public debt.

Finally, it may be necessary in certain cases to resort to public enterprises - which are public agencies in charge of producing and/or distributing commodities directly. Such will be the case in those instances where it is difficult or where there exists such a wide difference between public and private gains that the private sector does not take the initiative of its own accord. It also imposes itself in the case of certain strategic industries where the security of the state dictates that they should not be left in private hands.

The system suggested here, is, in my opinion, a superior alternative to socialism for the ailments of the Lebanese economy. It is more in conformity with the Lebanese mentality, way of life, heritage and tradition. It also maintains the essence of economic freedom, the free market system and the price mechanism. Thus, it reduces the dangers and disadvantages of the present economic system, which may be aptly described as chaotic or unrestrained, without doing away with its great achievements of mobility, technical openness and economic growth and prosperity.

The question that imposes itself here is, is it possible for this change, this "revolution", to take place? Who is to assume the role of leadership? And what is likely to happen if the proposed change is long in coming?

In order to answer these questions, it may be well to attempt to locate the forces that determine Lebanon's economic and social policies and its system of government.

If we take the period since 1950, and try to isolate a single economic group that has had the most influential role in the

country's economic, social and political development since then, which is most responsible for Lebanon being what it is today, we can hardly hesitate in selecting the business community. That is why the responsibility for the ailments of the Lebanese economic system falls essentially upon businessmen. It is our firm belief that if the Lebanese economy suffers today from the difficulties mentioned above, if the Lebanese administration has not yet been freed from incompetence and lack of vision, if it does not believe in the positive and constructive role which the state can play in the socio-economic field, and if it refuses to take the government's economic role seriously, if it has failed so far to replace a degree of equitable freedom for the complete unrestraint and lack of rules that characterise our economy in all its aspects – if all this is so, it is because Lebanese businessmen continue to believe that the present system suits their interests better than any other. So that the responsibility both for what exists today, and for any changes that may be desirable, must rest primarily upon businessmen and not on any other group which may appear to be actually ruling.

The initiative in the "revolution" that we are proposing must, therefore, come from the business community. And it is our belief that it will be forthcoming, despite the so-far current opinion among businessmen that changes in the present set-up are not likely to be in their interest. For we feel that soon enough, the more dynamic, mobile and adaptable businessmen are likely to realize that if they do not take the initiative, then things are going to get out of their control and into the hands of the mobs and opportunists, to the detriment of all concerned.

It is our feeling, therefore, that the present state of affairs of unrestrained chaos cannot go on for long. Either the business community, supported by a political, administrative, technical and trades union elite, will take the initiative and start the long process of peaceful but tangible change – and there is little time to waste – or else a change is likely to be forced upon us by one militant group or another. And the latter eventuality will hardly be in the interests of the country.

The Lebanese Administration

BY ELIE SALEM*

If we were to divide the nations into traditional, transitional, modern and post-modern, Lebanon would fit somewhere between the transitional and the modern. Culturally, Lebanon is quasi-modern, organizationally it is transitional. Hence the subject of Lebanese administration is of great interest because it is in a state of becoming, and we are therefore in a position to determine what it is to become.

In Lebanon, as in any part of the Middle East, history weighs heavily on the present. It serves both as a source of inspiration as well as of rigidity. It can neither be changed nor denied, but it can be interpreted and re-thought to govern the future aspirations of the present generation. In Lebanon, history has not yet been updated. Instead, it remains a mass of facts, data and memories that have not been digested and used as a platform for political action and administrative motivation. Lebanon's past is a kaleidoscopic image of all the great empires that rose and fell in the Near Eastern cradle of civilization. Each of these cultures has deposited its meaning and left its impact on this terrain. Thus, not only are Lebanese cities, religions and monuments, the mirrors of an illustrious past, but the people manifest in their lives and behavioral patterns the legacy of a rich, colorful and fantastically checkered past. The Arab tradition has left a lasting impact on the Lebanese, affecting Lebanon's religious structure and determining its language and its cultural commitment. The Ottoman

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conquest, which lasted 400 years, has left behind a deposit of values, legal injunctions and organizational patterns that have yet to be researched and acknowledged.

To these two major influences must be added the local, integral traits that have been in the making in Lebanon for thousands of years. This includes the social, political, religious and economic experiences of the rugged tribal, confessional and family-knit communities that have inhabited this mountainous coastal strip for the past six thousand years. Modern Lebanon is the product of the interaction between these local communities on one side and the external imperialist forces on the other. The latter provided Lebanon with a political umbrella under which it continued to develop. Both internal and external factors provided the infrastructure for the French administrative changes that came in the wake of the mandate. French reorganization of the Lebanese administration along modern-western lines gave Lebanon a new formal structure. The country was declared a republic, governed by a democratic constitution which guaranteed an independent judiciary and an executive accountable to the legislature. The concept of "fused authority" under which Lebanon had been governed for years, in which self-made leaders and established families felt ideologically secure, was replaced by a more sophisticated and exacting concept. The strains that weigh heavily on the modern Lebanese are the strains of adjustment from the fused concept of old to the refracted concept of modern democratic existence.¹

Since independence, Lebanese governments have continued the French impetus in the modernization and rationalization of the administrative set-up and have solicited the support of foreign experts for this purpose.

¹ The "fused" and "refracted" theories have become a part of contemporary political and public administration literature. Fred Riggs gave these terms wide circulation.

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

The President

The republic is presided over by a president elected by Parliament for a period of six years. The president is assisted by a staff under a director-general. The president exercises directly and through his staff considerable influence over the administration. Often a call from the presidential residence can affect policy, speed a transaction, delay or arrest it as the situation may require. In view of the excessive power of the president, it might be expected that he should have a large staff, intellectual, vigorous and perfectly attuned to the challenges of the time. His staff of about thirty officials are entrusted with specific duties of a routine, technical or protocol nature. It is unfortunate that the president is not assisted in substantive matters by a general staff of intellectual "whiz-kids" capable through research and foresight of advising him on broad policy matters. The absence of a nucleus of intellectuals in the presidency and the premiership is the most serious lacuna in the recent administrative reforms.

Premier

Next to the president in the administrative chart we have the premier. According to convention the premier is a Sunni Muslim who will thus balance the Maronite president. The vice-premier is a Greek Orthodox and the speaker of parliament is a Shi'i Muslim. Thus the formula of government accommodates the confessional realities of the Lebanese social structure. The premier is nominated by the president from among prominent Sunni leaders. While the premier need not be a member of parliament it is usually advisable to choose a parliamentarian because it is easier for him to form a cabinet.

Cabinet

The premier as the coordinator of the cabinet is the one responsible constitutionally for the managing of the administration and the execution of policy. Legally it is the premiership and not the presidency which is responsible for supervising the bureaucracy. It is here therefore that we must look for a nucleus of men and women who are perfectly qualified to run the show in a modern state. But here again we are disappointed, for the premier's office is staffed far more by typists, hujjab¹, and servants than by the staffmen on whose shoulders and brains the burden of modern government should fall. By staffman, I mean an intellectual-hard-working, self-effacing, dedicated, totally consumed by one thought—to help the premier make the right decision in the maze of choices facing him. Recent reforms have centered largely on the ministries and on key departments and services. But the offices of the presidency and of the premiership need reform equally. As administrative reform depends on political reform, one hopes that political reform will come and that it will revolutionize the cabinet-idea in Lebanon.

The cabinet, as it stands, is the vehicle of political consensus in this kaleidoscopic country. It varies in size from a minimum of three or four to fifteen or more. Once the premier proposes the members of his cabinet the president appoints them by decree. Presidential support is essential for the formation of the cabinet and for the duration of its tenure. The premier chairs the routine meetings of the cabinet, coordinates the policies of the ministers and executes the decisions of the cabinet. Important meetings of the cabinet are presided over by the president. Soon after he is appointed, the premier submits a policy statement, *bayan wizari*, to parliament, on the basis of which he invariably receives a vote of confidence from the legislature. These statements are of great interest to the student of politics and public adminis-

¹ Performing the same function as the farrash in Egypt.

tration, both for what they contain and for what they omit. The most important and the most imaginative of these *bayans* were the ones issued by Riyad al-Sulh on the eve of independence and these became the model for future *bayans*. The *bayans* usually emphasize administrative reorganization, the reform of the bureaucracy, the improvement of the public services, etc. The *bayans* from independence to 1964 have been collected in book form and are available to the reader. The Lebanese cabinet is not a forceful body with broad and firm policy lines. While it executes the public business (and the public business is the largest single business in Lebanon), still it is only one among several such institutions.

There are in addition, the established families, the big bankers, the religious leaders, the political parties, and the newer voluntary associations. Of these elements the established feudal families are the strongest, and they continue to have great power over their followers who expect protection and rewards from them rather than from the central government. The crisis of 1958 revealed beyond doubt that at such times local leaders and established feudal families have greater control over their followers than does the central government. Each religious and ethnic group has its own pyramid of power and its own internal source of strength, and it is with the heads of these pyramids that the Cabinet must deal and at times even negotiate.

As a transitional country, Lebanon reflects the characteristics of traditionalism and of modernity. These characteristics are also reflected in the Cabinet. No woman has yet been appointed to the Cabinet, and except for one *interim* term, no woman has been elected to Parliament. This is consistent with traditional political behavior that reserves the political arena for man. This tradition, however, is rapidly changing in Lebanon, and women are beginning to show interest in running for Parliamentary seats and in entering the bureaucracy. Also reflecting the "transitional" character of the Lebanese Cabinet is its combination of traditional and modern elements. It is

common for the Cabinet to include members with Ph. D. degrees and members with only a secondary education, members in their late sixties and members in their early thirties; members that are radical and progressive and members that are conservative and traditional. In this sense the Lebanese Cabinet is representative of the trends in the country; and unlike most Cabinets in its sister Arab States the Lebanese Cabinet is not the instrument of one "group" only, although it has a high percentage of members of the traditional ruling families.

The "isms" that stir other societies exist only at a secondary level. The Cabinet supervises the bureaucracy but in Lebanon it is not, strictly speaking, a body "apart" from the bureaucracy. It is a picture of Lebanese politics in miniature, based on balance and compromise, tradition and a middle-of-the-road approach that is unusual in the contemporary Middle East.

The Cabinet under the premier and the president is the vehicle through which the country is administered. The Cabinet sets policy, prepares bills, organizes the offices of state, appoints and dismisses the top members of the bureaucracy.

The Ministries

Every member of the Cabinet heads one or more of the ministries. These ministries are: Foreign Affairs, Justice, Finance, Public Works, Interior, Agriculture, Public Health, Economy, Defense, Education, Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones, Labour and Social Affairs, Planning, Information, Water and Electrical Resources and Tourism. The number of ministries has increased from seven in 1927 to the present 15; and there is every indication that it will continue to grow to accommodate the complexity and diversity of contemporary government.

Each of these ministries is headed by a minister responsible through the cabinet to the president and to the legislature. The actual management of the ministries, however, is entrusted to the director-general who is responsible to his minister. The director-general performs all the routine work of the ministry,

including the supervision and discipline of its bureaucracy. The directors-general of all the ministries constitute an *ad-hoc* council that meets once every three months under the chairmanship of the President of the Civil Service Council to coordinate their administrative work and to exchange views on ways and means of improving communication, control and production.

Each ministry is divided administratively as follows:

- Directorate-General
- Directorates
- Services
- Bureaux
- Sections

Work-flow in the ministries assumes a pyramidal form which ensures legal control but which tends to delay transactions and to increase red tape.

Muhafazat

Lebanon is divided into five *muhafazat*. These are administered by the Ministry of Interior through the agency of the *muhafiz*. The *muhafiz* represents the central government in the region and coordinates (except in judicial matters) the counterpart units of the central government in his region. The *muhafazat* are divided into twenty-four *qada* each of which is presided over by a *qaimmaqam* who is responsible to the *muhafiz*. The *muhafiz* and the *qaimmaqam* supervise local government in their respective areas. Local government, especially municipal councils, tends to be weak and dependent on central government, for reasons which are beyond the scope of this paper.

Public Agencies

Almost all public agencies are administered within the matrix of the ministries. The score or so independent agencies

and public utilities are all attached to the ministries although they enjoy some administrative and financial autonomy. Examples of these utilities are the Litani Service, the Beirut Power and Transit Service, and Tripoli Water Service. Each of these services is run by a director and an executive board. The members of the board are appointed by the Council of Ministers. These autonomous agencies are a function of contemporary complexity and they represent a growing trend throughout the world. There is a growing belief that a specialized function is best administered by a specialized staff that enjoys a great deal of freedom and autonomy and that is more or less free from the cumbersome procedures of bureaucracy. Since World War II, Europe, the Soviet Union, the United States and most of the developing nations have increased their reliance on such agencies.

Internal Controls on the Administration

Public utilities like the regular ministries are subject to the surveillance of the Bureau of Accounts, the Central Inspection Administration, and the Civil Service Council. These three administrative units are attached to the office of the prime minister and they constitute an internal check on the Lebanese administration. To these may be added the Conseil d'Etat in the Ministry of Justice which corrects and amends governmental action in *ultra vires* cases. Internal controls are also exercised by the Ministry of Finance which restricts expenditure to the legal confines detailed in the budget.

The present President, M. Charles Helu, and most of the administrative reformers, expect the Bureau of Accounts, the Central Inspection Administration and the Civil Service Council to check red tape, eliminate waste, purge the administration and invigorate it through proper recruitment. The work of the Bureau of Accounts, unlike that of the Budget Bureau in the United States, is restricted to fiscal control and particularly to the negative aspect of checking and auditing. The two other

agencies were established under President Shihab, although they did not bear fruit until the 1966 purges under President Helu. Although these agencies are staffed by some of the finest bureaucrats in Lebanon they still lack personnel; and many of their vital operating units exist more on paper than in reality. We may also note the excessive legalistic spirit that has limited the effective action of these reform units. As these represent the vanguard administrative units, the reform thrust into the future, one would expect to see them operating in an atmosphere of greater freedom and rationality. The stipulation that the President of the Civil Service Council should be more than forty years old and that he should have had at least fifteen years in administration is irrelevant.

The modern approach to administration tends to value the role of youth in top administrative posts. The fact that developing nations tend to be under the political and administrative leadership of men in their late twenties and early thirties indicates the appreciation of these nations for the vigor of youth. Equally interesting is our unnecessary insistence in Lebanon on the need for experience. A man with fifteen or twenty years experience in the government is practically finished. To accomplish, to excel, to dare, to lead, to be different, to inspire, and to invigorate one must come from the outside. Only he who is on the outside, can see matters differently and can be therefore radically change-oriented. A fifteen-year experience is often one year experienced fifteen times, and therefore does not guarantee that the right man will be recruited.

External Controls

In surveying internal controls on the administration we must keep in mind our usage of the term administration proper as consisting of the operative arm of government, i.e. the bureaucracy: all the officials of state from the Director-General to the gate-keeper; we must exclude the political figures who ultimately manage the administration and who are accountable

to the people. By external controls on the administration we mean those exercised by the President, the Cabinet and Parliament in the formal hierarchy, and by outside forces and pressure groups in the informal arena. There is in Lebanon no clear constitutional provision with respect to administrative control. It is not clear for example how far the president can go in leading the bureaucracy. Can he, for example, call on the head of a service, or speak directly to him by phone, encouraging him for some action or reprimanding him for another, without provoking his minister? There seems to be a silent consensus that the president may not do so without at least informing the ministerial authority. One prime minister once said that whenever he saw the directors-general in the presidential residence he took it as a hint to resign.

In a democratic country the constitutional check on the administration is the legislature. It is the legislature that establishes administrative units and eliminates them. It is the one that approves the budget and controls through it the being and the behavior of the bureaucracy. But in Lebanon, as in most democratic countries, parliament is rapidly losing control over the burgeoning bureaucracy. Parliaments however must always try to regain their control by reforming themselves and by sharpening the instruments of their control. It is amazing that, in spite of the accusations levelled against Lebanese bureaucracy, parliament has never really tried to investigate the bureaucracy, and to shape it into a modern tool of democratic service and welfare development. Instead it has pathetically relegated its power to successive cabinets, giving them the authority to create, organize, abolish and dismiss. Hence the problem of reform in Lebanon includes not only the problem of invigorating the administration but also the problem of invigorating parliament.

On the informal plane the confessional leaders, the feudal families, the political parties, the public media, and even the anomic forces—such as the Sidon demonstrations of July 5, 1966, against government officials—exercise their share of control

over the Lebanese bureaucracy. The administration of any country always carries the impact of its environment. Lebanon's history, religious composition, and its extensive involvement in commerce affect the structure and the operation of its bureaucracy. Things in the administration are what they are because Lebanese policy is what it is. If so many directors are Maronites, so many have to be Sunni, Shi'i, Orthodox, Druze, etc. If a Sunni is dismissed from position x the Muslim religious leaders see to it that he is replaced by a Sunni. If a position was occupied by a Maronite the President and his Cabinet take the advice of the Maronite Patriarch in making the replacement. The important fact is that hardly ever is a major appointment made without proper clearance from the religious authorities. This is informal external control. As to the role played by the press and the political parties it is minimal in Lebanon in view of the weakness of the former and lack of roots of the latter. One can discern, however, that the influence of the public media and of the political parties is growing while that of the established families is slowly waning.

The Bureaucracy

The Lebanese bureaucracy has grown from 3,700 in 1927 to approximately 25,000 in 1965. This is commensurate with the growth of governmental services in Lebanon whose expenditures rose from LL 5,791,532 in 1927 to LL 514,790,000 in 1965. The table below indicates the expansion between 1927 and 1965.

Table I

Lebanon, Public Budget

1927 - LL.	5,791,532	1951 - LL.	89,450,000
1933 - «	4,513,500	1957 - «	170,000,000
1936 - «	6,369,000	1963 - «	425,400,000
1945 - «	43,764,500	1965 - «	514,790,000

This development in administrative activity is part of a world-wide trend towards greater governmental services and control, caused by the world wars, by the expansion of the industrial and technological revolution into multiple voluntary associations, by the growing demands of nationalism and of the ideology of the welfare state. The number of Lebanese bureaucracy is expected to double in the coming decade. Both in number and in training these bureaucrats should be capable of handling the public business. Let us now see who these bureaucrats are, and how we are planning to improve them.

The Lebanese bureaucracy, like Lebanese society, is greatly heterogeneous. Lebanon is both rich and poor, cultured and ignorant, developed and backward, rational and irrational—to repeat, it is in transition. Most of the upper bureaucrats are highly educated; lawyers, doctors, Ph.Ds., engineers; they speak at least two languages very well. They have travelled abroad and developed new interests. A few of this upper stratum are highly efficient and compare favorably with the best bureaucrats in the world. I know some who refuse to have chairs in their office, to break the Lebanese habit of friends visiting, and to force them to transact their business in a speedy way standing up. The absolute majority of the upper bureaucracy are graduates of the St. Joseph University and particularly of its law school. Only recently have the graduates of the American University, the oldest modern university in the Middle East, been admitted into the upper echelons of the Lebanese bureaucracy. The education of the top bureaucrats is mainly legal. This seems unfortunate at this moment of history. Times of action, change, and “take off” require specialized skills in the social sciences and technology.

In the middle levels of the administration we find holders of the official high-school leaving degree, the *baccalaureate*, who are as unpredictable as the education which they have received. The *baccalaureate* is one of the problems of Lebanon. It is out-of-date and ill-adapted to the needs of Lebanese society. As we cannot determine what it is we cannot divine its outcome

in terms of rules applied and morals upheld. It is possible to predict the behavior of the graduate of the traditional Muslim *medresse*, of the French, and of the American high-school, because each represents an integrated cultural legacy, but this is not possible with the holder of the *baccalaureate*.

The lowest rungs of the governmental ladder are occupied by holders of the *certificat*, the *brevet* or by those without any school-leaving degree. These usually find in government position the status, the prestige, and the aura of power which make them “somebodies” in their respective environments. Government in the Middle East is highly prestigious, and an official will go to any lengths to guarantee his tenure in office. When the yearning for power and prestige has no base of culture or humanity the danger of arrogance, and exploitation of the citizen by the bureaucrat is real. In Lebanon this is still a problem. Hence the need for reform not only in office buildings and organizational charts but in the very character and behavior of the government employees so that they may become civil servants in the real meaning of the term.

We may depict the Lebanese bureaucrat as a neatly dressed gentleman, with a clean white shirt, golden cuff-links, impeccably tailored suit and well shined shoes. He drives a Fiat or a Peugeot, carries a brief case of which he is usually relieved on the way by one of the many attendants that swell the bureaucracy. He is highly amicable with his colleagues, inclined to joking, story telling and office politics. He enters his office, sits at his desk, reads the newspaper and orders his first cup of coffee. He is extremely polite to his friends, neutral or forbidding to the anonymous citizen. He takes a great deal of pleasure in formalities, in postponing transactions, and in withholding information. He works efficiently for about two hours out of a six hour day, and in all his relations with ordinary citizens he conveys an aura of power and grandeur.

This picture, like all pictures, is not altogether accurate, but it is a picture that the observer of the Lebanese bureaucracy is bound to see. Such a type of bureaucrat is certainly not the

kind of person who can realize the objectives of the modern administrative state which has unprecedented socio-economic commitments. The modern state must not only provide peace and order, but it must educate the citizen, hospitalize the sick, take care of the poor and aged, provide economic justice, and opportunities for employment, and it must increasingly assume the roles that were originally performed by the family, the church, the clan and the magician. To perform this duty well Lebanon needs bureaucrats capable of facing this challenge, bureaucrats who are dedicated to the public interest as seen from the liberal democratic view. The behavior of the typical Lebanese bureaucrat is commensurate with the social pattern in which he exists. Such behavior becomes a problem only when new expectations, new challenges, new demands emerge. What can be done then to transform the role of the bureaucrat from a ceremonial one to one of achievement? The Lebanese bureaucrat carries in his person all the problems and possibilities of the Lebanese individual. He has a strong allegiance to his family and religious community. He is submissive to the orders of his superiors, depends on their counsel and follows their path, and he is afraid to take initiative. Basically, however, the Lebanese is shrewd and active; and if his energies are liberated and well directed he can excel.

In reforming the bureaucracy obviously we begin with the following:

1. Dismiss corrupt and inefficient employees. A start has been made in this direction. More must be done in the future with equal courage and determination.
2. Recruit highly qualified elements disregarding as much as possible traditional limitations of age, sex, religion and political opinion. This implies paying good salaries to attract the best elements from the universities, industry, trade and from abroad. Lebanon cannot afford any "brain-drain."
3. Train the actual and the potential administrators to guarantee a viable administration now and a flow for a

better administration in the future. Under President Shihab a training school for the civil service was opened under the direction of the Civil Service Council. This school prepares new government employees for their jobs as well as training employees who are already working. Employees are also sent abroad for training in specialized subjects. The most important aspect of training, however, remains the school system of the country. For a viable bureaucracy there is no substitute for a good school system—all other attempts are short-term palliative measures only. Reform of the administration, therefore, presupposes educational reform from the elementary to the university level.

Administration Reform

The question of administrative reform was raised by the first government of independent Lebanon and was a subject of concern throughout the Khuri regime. When Sham'un came to power he had already promised to clean up the administration. During his regime, the cabinet of Khalid Shihab in 1952, and of Sami al-Sulh in 1954, asked and received power from parliament to issue legislative decrees reorganizing the administration. This same policy was followed in the early days of the Shihab regime; and it is to 1959 that we must turn if we are to examine the legal structure of the existing administration. Sham'un and Shihab showed great interest in foreign experts and as a result Lebanon received a stream of advisors of whom we shall mention only a few as examples.

The police administration was given advice as early as 1952 by American experts sponsored by the U.S. Operation mission to Lebanon. Messrs. Becht and Kesper – Dutch experts – were supported by the Ford Foundation to advise the Ministry of the Interior. They were hired as a result of a study made by Mr. Culbertson from the Ford Foundation submitted in 1954 to Premier Sami al-Sulh. At present the same Foundation is assisting in the development of the program of the Public

Administration Institute in the Civil Service Council. Many United Nations experts helped improve specific administrative areas. In 1956 Fernand Arro and Pierre le Saux examined the postal system and made detailed recommendations; T.E. Young studied the statistical organization and submitted a report. In 1958 Marcel Toti advised on public finance administration. In 1960 Pierre Senechal submitted a report on the Bureau of Accounts and emphasized the need for better post-auditing; and the U.S. sent Benjamin Higgins to help in fiscal management.

Under President Shihab there were so many French experts working in so many areas, that people began to believe that the country was administered by foreign experts. The art of getting the most out of experts and of their reports, which are often neglected, is yet to be learned by the needy nations. Hence a great deal of effort is wasted in the Middle East.

One of the most significant jobs done by foreign experts in Lebanon was the work of R.P. Leuret, the Director of l'Institut International de Recherche et de Formation en Vue du Developpement (IRFED). The two-volume study made by IRFED is an important document containing the socio-economic facts of the country in 1960-61 and the critical comments of the experts on these facts.

In considering its developmental objectives the Lebanese administration must ponder the positive and negative forces that were brought out by the IRFED Report. According to IRFED the Lebanese administration is helped in its developmental efforts by the nature and the economy of the country. Especially:

1. the independence of Lebanon and its unique role as the meeting place of East and West in the Middle East.
2. the role of the Lebanese emigrants as suppliers of cash and projects and as ready avenues for external cultural and commercial contacts.
3. the varied agricultural experiences, and technical inclination

- of many of its citizens and the abundant water resources.
4. the availability of capital and the possibility of its use in development-oriented industrial projects.
 5. Lebanon's international position as helpful in marketing Lebanese products.
 6. Lebanese readiness to undertake technical training and to prepare experts for helping underdeveloped countries.
 7. operational skill in commerce.
 8. infinite touristic possibilities.

These are some of the positive factors which the bureaucracy can explore in formulating a developmental policy. I must add that awareness of the possibilities awaiting the bureaucracy depends upon its consciousness of the significance of the historical moment; and this depends on thorough education and on intellectual openness beyond the confines of office routine.

I shall stress again the need of the Lebanese administration for the following:

1. The need for intellectuals in the Lebanese bureaucracy at the staff and higher levels in central and local government.
2. The need for a positive ideology that will unite the employees and fire them for action. Dismissing the corrupt does not increase production and multiply services. Only through faith, goals, vigor and passion are great ideals realized. Such an ideology needs to be worked out by Lebanese intellectuals.
3. The need for symbols and slogans, for psychological keys to unlock the inhibited energies of Lebanese public servants.
4. Great objectives, for a quarter of a century. The need for vision - a goal towards which Lebanon must aim. In the desert even the mirage is enough inducement for exertion.
5. Internal and tactical improvements for the work atmosphere. Better buildings, offices, lighting, library and conference facilities: things which make work a pleasure and not a burden.

6. The need for style on the part of political and administrative leaders. Many a mover of men is reputed more for his style than for his substantive ideas. This is true in all organizations whether religious, political, military or commercial.

Rural-Urban Migration in Lebanon : Motivation and Adjustments

BY FUAD I. KHURI*

Little is known about rural-urban migration in Lebanon. Research on the subject is scanty; an up-to-date national census has not been made for political reasons. The little we know comes from case studies of villages or from personal observation of the rapidly growing suburbs of Beirut, Tripoli, Sidon, Tyre, and other major cities in Lebanon. In the summer of 1965, however, the author conducted research into migration patterns in Douma and Aramti, the former a Greek Orthodox village in North Lebanon, the latter a Shi'ite village in the South.¹ Since this research was limited to two villages only, it must be considered a pilot study from which further lines of inquiry can be derived. Conclusions drawn in this paper are based, therefore, on the data collected in Douma and Aramti, and on the author's personal observations and readings.

This paper discusses the motivational factors that prompt a villager to migrate to the city, and the residential and occupational adjustments he makes there. The motivational factors are treated under two headings, the pull factors: that is whatever attracts villagers to live in the city, and the push factors, or whatever pushes them out of the village.

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The Lure of the City

In Lebanon, as elsewhere in the Middle East, the city offers many services and facilities – educational, recreational, economic, religious, administrative, and political – which are either unavailable or inferior in the country. The four universities of Lebanon are in Beirut, and most of the highly rated schools are in Beirut, Sidon and Tripoli. Many families, as a result, seek residence in these cities to send their children to school. It is less expensive for a family with two or more children in high school to live in the city, especially in Tripoli or Sidon, and partake of other city facilities, than to pay the high fees of a boarding school. Boarding schools in Lebanon are private schools, sometimes run as businesses, with fees amounting to about \$800 per year for a boarder in the upper secondary classes. This amount is double the per capita income per year in Lebanon, estimated at \$400.

While education attracts the relatively rich to the city, recreation appears to attract both the rich and the poor. Life in the village, governed by routine, is boring to the young. "There is nothing to do here," "By 7 o'clock the village is fast asleep," "This place is full of gossip," "There is no privacy in the village," "Village life is difficult," – these were some of the many complaints the author heard in Douma and Aramti. In cities, running water, electricity, asphalted streets, and a continuous provision of vegetables, fruits and meat are available. In the countryside, on the other hand, electricity has only recently been introduced, vegetables are only available in season, and meat once or twice per week. Also, recreational facilities such as night-clubs, bars, cinemas and prostitutes, while lacking in villages can be found in cities.

The city provides more and better opportunities for work and investment. While none of the male rural migrants from Douma and Aramti above 20 is unemployed, one-fifth of the males who live in the village are unemployed, and two-thirds of them are underemployed – that is, employed seasonally.

In the city, incomes rise and standards of living get higher. The income per capita per year in Aramti is estimated to be LL. 248 for those who live in the village compared to LL. 648 for those who have migrated to the city; in Douma it is estimated to be LL. 1178 compared to LL. 3372 respectively. Although this increase in the annual income per capita is due to the availability of better-paying jobs in cities, it is also, in part, due to the fact that villagers who accumulate capital, either in the village or abroad, tend to migrate to the city searching for an investment. This is especially true of rich emigrants who, after returning to Lebanon for good, find it wiser to invest their money in apartment houses.

By building, managing, and often living in his apartment house, an investor acquires many assurances: he has a house and a job, controls his own property, and avoids "the wolves in other enterprises," as one returning emigrant from Sierra Leone put it.

As economic and religious centers, the cities enable the Muslim to practise his religious duties more efficiently. In pre-industrial cities trades are routinized and can be accommodated to Islamic prayer and feasts more easily than can agricultural work which varies with weather, season, and labor. The city in the Muslim world supports the mosque, the *imam* (religious leader), the jurist, and other authorities required for the interpretation and enforcement of religious rules. As a state (Islam is both religion and state), Islam requires experts available in the city to interpret its complex jurisdiction. As "the citadel of faith", the city, from a Muslim point of view, is a preferable locale for women. Instead of sharing, unveiled, the rough outdoor labor of men in the country, the village girl who migrates to the city can restrict her activities to domestic work, a practice highly admired in the Middle East. City trades, such as shop-keeping, crafts, and public services, are male trades; the female's chief occupation is, and preferably so, her role as a housewife.

Finally among the pull factors, there are the political and

administrative services that the city offers in Lebanon. Government transactions, major or minor, are concluded in the city that houses the ministries and their branches. This centralization in administration draws to the city two groups: (1) those who, by profession, have to consult government officials repeatedly, and (2) the government officials themselves. Of the 265 male rural migrants from Douma and Aramti who hold jobs in the cities of Lebanon, 58 are government officials. Politicians, too, prefer to live in the city to be able to exercise their functions of *waasta* (intercession) *nufuz* (influence), both of which are necessary to maintain a successful political career. Political power is not derived only from the influence exercised by a leader over his followers, but also from his ability to affect decisions made by government authorities concerning his followers. To do so, a leader has to be physically and socially close to government.

The Push Factors

Because it houses the rich, the educated, the religious elite, the rulers, and other models worthy of imitation, the cities of Lebanon are looked up to and admired by villagers. City ways and manners are thought to be refined and cultivated, village ways and manners crude and superstitious. Anything, therefore, that intensifies contacts between villagers and city people tends, within limits, to accelerate rural-urban migration. Modern transportation and mass media; motor roads, cars, radios, newspapers, and the recently established television; all encourage villagers to migrate to the city and partake of its blessings. More important are the thousands of Lebanese who, commuting daily or seasonally between the villages and the cities, display city ways in the villages, and consequently entice others to migrate. The following narrative, taken from village lore in Douma, demonstrates how the villagers there regard their village ways. A villager related to me: "While in Beirut, a villager decided to see a film. To the astonishment of those who

were sitting beside him, he started to spit, as a sign of disgust, at the sight of apparently attractive pictures. When he was questioned about his odd behavior, the villager snapped back: I am not spitting at what I am seeing, but at what I have left behind."

In his book, *Peasant Society and Culture*, 1956, Robert Redfield distinguishes between the Syrian, the Andalusian, and the South Italian peasant, who all detest agricultural work; and the Bulgarian, the Irish, and the English country-man who recognize the dignity of agricultural labor. To Redfield, the abhorrence of agricultural work, common to the peoples around the Mediterranean Sea, is due to the prestige of the town, the polis, and has been deepened through the ages by their distaste for peasant life. J. Weulersse makes the same observation in his book, *Paysans de Syrie et du Proche-Orient*: "The fellah cultivates with regret. . . he works for himself and not for the land; he does not feel that the land is an extension of himself" (*il ne sent pas que celle-ci le dépasse et le prolonge*). This dislike of agricultural work, coupled with an admiration for city trades, tends to prepare the villagers to migrate when possible.

Other push factors are modern agents of change, such as education, emigration, industry, and the army, affecting youth faster and earlier than the old. As a result, generational mobility and conflicts between parents and children, societal and individual, develop, leading eventually to a number of readjustments. Nothing is more difficult to a villager than to live ashamed in a community whose manners, values, and ways of life he no longer tolerates nor understands. The villagers' explanation of this feeling of shame is that "the change of water spoils the person who leaves his birth place." In fact it is a change of personality.

In the village, a young person of moderate means, who aspires to a better way of living, is crippled by social and kinship obligations. His family taxes him financially, and his society morally; if he fails to aid his close relatives he will be despised and ridiculed. For him migration is the best escape from these

obligations because, once he is away from his community, they start to decline until they eventually disappear altogether.

Migration is also an obvious outlet for the status climber and the *nouveau riche*, who, in addition to wealth, strive for social recognition. Since their background is known to everybody in the village, they find it more difficult to attain social recognition there than in the city, where they are unknown. In a research study the author conducted into social class in "Cedarstown" (Ammioun, Lebanon), in 1960, he found that the criterion which set class I apart from class II was neither wealth nor consumption habits but family background. While descendants from notable families were classified by villagers as belonging to class I, descendants from ordinary families, though similar to class I in wealth and consumption, were classified as class II. Villagers suspect the *nouveau riche* of having gathered his wealth by fraud. According to Foster, in his article on "The Image of the Limited Good," this suspicious attitude towards acquired wealth is common to many peasant societies. Classical peasants, Foster argues, believe that success in this world is limited and cannot normally be achieved in excess; anyone who achieves it beyond this limit could not have done so by normal means.

Adjustments to Urban Living

Some Lebanese today are inclined to believe, without reason, that rural migrants to Beirut live in the rapidly expanding slum areas. True, slum areas are expanding because of rural migration, but so are middle income areas. In other words, not all rural migrants live in slums; only few of the 208 rural migrants from Douma and of the 857 from Aramti live in such areas. The others live in other non-slum areas of Beirut. However, while the rural migrants from Aramti tend to localize in particular districts, the rural migrants from Douma do not. It may be that the rules of marriage, inheritance and succession among the Shi'ites of Aramti favor localization, since these rules apply within the same patri-kin. Endogamous marriage

is a social expectation in Islam and the right of a person to marry his father's brother's daughter is recognized. According to the Ja'fari law of inheritance, practised by Shi'ites in Lebanon, lineal relatives (those related by descent) have priority over affinal relatives (those related by marriage), and males over females. These two priorities favor the localization of a patri-kin since it is composed of the lineally related people who carry the same name and trace descent through the male line to a known ancestor.

The rules of marriage and inheritance followed by the Greek Orthodox of Douma, on the other hand, do not encourage localization of the patri-kin. The Orthodox Church forbids marriage within the immediate patri-kin of the first and second order, and only permits it among more distant relatives. Inheritance takes place within the nuclear family, but can be extended to collateral relatives and in-laws who may not be members of the dead person's descent group, depending on whether or not he had married within his patri-kin.

There are still two other factors, income and occupation, which explain the localization of the Shi'ite and the dispersal of the Orthodox in Beirut. The Shi'ite migrants from Aramti hold a variety of occupations almost equal in income and status: most of them are taxi-drivers, policemen, vegetable-peddlers, and wage-laborers. Members of the same patri-kin tend to concentrate in the same occupation; many of the El-Hajj migrants are taxi-drivers, the Mizhirs vegetable-peddlers, and the Haidars were tram-drivers until trams ceased to operate in 1965. (Note the peculiar kinship connection between taxi-drivers and policemen in Beirut, which, in part, explains the permissiveness with which traffic rules are applied). The migrants from Douma, on the other hand, hold varied and differently graded occupations. Some of them are civil servants, medical doctors, dentists, or lawyers; others are journalists, teachers, tailors, clerks, or carpenters. Few of them are taxi-drivers, policemen, or wage laborers (See Table I). Because of their varied income and status, migrants from Douma would not be

expected to be found in the same neighborhoods in Beirut, since neighborhoods tend to vary according to class and status.

Occupational Adjustments

Rural-urban migration involves a number of readjustments to the urban setting of which the occupational change from agriculture to other jobs is the most conspicuous. Since it reflects the market demand for labor, occupational change tells what sectors of the economy are growing, and at what rate. The occupational distribution among the rural migrants from Douma and Aramti was as follows:

Table I
Occupations of Rural-Urban Migrants from Douma and Aramti by Sex

Occupation	Douma		Aramti		Total
	Males	Females	Males	Females	
Policemen	1		32		33
Taxi-drivers	3		23		26
Teachers	5	9	11		25
Clerks	6	5	8		19
Doormen and Office-boys			19		19
Peddlers and Wage-Laborers			99		99
Shopkeepers	2				2
Tailors	6	2			8
Mechanics	2				2
Soap Manufacturers	1				1
Carpenters	7				7
Landlords	4				4
Higher Civil Servants	8				8
Librarians	1	1			2
Journalists	2				2
Lawyers	2				2
Medical Doctors	2	1			3
University Professors	1				1
Dentists		1			1
Total	53	19	192		264

Evidently, a very high percentage of these occupations belongs to services rather than production, reflecting the fundamental bias of the Lebanese economy. Of all these employees, 19 are females from Douma working mainly as teachers, dressmakers, or clerks. No woman from Aramti, the Shi'ite village, is reported to hold a job outside her house, which supports my previous contention that the city offers the Muslim better opportunities to live in a way which is considered ideal in his society.

One important finding, mentioned earlier, about the occupational adjustment of the rural migrants from Douma and Aramti is the one-hundred per cent employment among the adult males above 20, excluding students and proprietors. Only when jobs are available do kinsmen (and less frequently friends) already living in the city, send after new rural migrants. The Lebanese villager prefers to stay in his village where the cost of living is lower if no job is available for him in the city. The belief, therefore, that rural-urban migration increases the rate of unemployment in the city, and that rural migrants come to the city before they find a job, seems to be unfounded. Nor does the argument that rural migrants are isolated in the city appear to be true since only 13 of the 1,065 rural migrants from Douma and Aramti live alone. These 13, of whom 9 are females, hold jobs mainly as teachers and clerks, and all of them come from Douma. None from Aramti, male or female, live alone. Compared to the total population of migrants, the difference between the females and the males who live alone is statistically insignificant; it is nevertheless an interesting finding since the customs of Lebanon would not lead us to expect it. Yet there may be a reason for it: males in the Middle East are expected to support their families, females, on the other hand, receive support. When they migrate to the city, males apparently take their dependents with them; females, having no dependents, take none.

The occupational variation characterizing rural migrants from Douma, in contrast to those from Aramti, can be attributed

to the achievements of both villages in education and emigration, and in their attitudes towards women and work. Although the number of rural migrants from Aramti (857) is four times larger than that from Douma (208), as many migrants from Douma have completed elementary education and above as from Aramti (see Table II).

TABLE II
The Level of Education of the Rural Migrants from
Douma and Aramti by Sex

Village	Elementary		Some		Secondary		Some		College		Total
	Graduate	Secondary	Secondary	Graduate	Graduate	College	College	Graduate	Graduate		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Douma	17	15	29	26	12	10	9	2	14	1	135
Aramti	46	30	27	10	15		4		4		136
Total	63	45	56	36	27	10	13	2	18	1	271

The migrants from Douma, males and females, have achieved proportionally higher and more varied education than those from Aramti. Because of this the Douma migrants hold more varied jobs than those from Aramti.

Emigration, by increasing wealth differentials, also leads eventually to occupational variation. Unlike Aramti, Douma has had a long tradition of emigration, which began in the middle of the nineteenth century and has continued up to the present time. In Aramti, except for the handful of emigrants (19) who, in the nineteen twenties, left Lebanon for the Americas and never came back, no one from this village has emigrated abroad. Induced by the returning emigrants or the money they send back, or both, wealth differentiation in Douma has subsequently generated variation not only in dress, ideas, behavior, and consumption, but also in occupations.

Occupational variation is also a result of the differential attitudes towards women and work held in the two villages of Douma and Aramti. Table II shows that proportionally, more female migrants from Douma than from Aramti go to school; they reach a higher level of education, and hold jobs as secretaries, teachers, or dressmakers outside their homes (See Table I). By contrast, the female migrants from Aramti are restricted in occupation because of the general belief, reinforced by religion, that it is degrading for a male to let a female relation work outside her home. Such behavior is considered to be the least feminine for females and least honorable for males. Working outside the home, a rural migrant from Aramti reasoned out his belief, exposes women to men; and since women are unable to restrain their emotions, they fall into temptation, thus dishonoring not only themselves but their families. "Women bring shame," he stressed, and therefore "should not be taught the art of writing lest they write letters to their lovers."

* * *

What prompts villagers to migrate to the city is a complex system of economic wants, social expectations, and personal needs and desires. Favorable conditions, social and economic, acting as pull factors in the city of destination and unhappy experiences acting as push factors in the village of origin, simply encourage rural-urban migration; they do not determine it. Kinship relations accelerate rural migration when conditions are opportune. In other words, more villagers having relations in the city seem to migrate than villagers who have no such relations. Because of this, rural-urban migration should not, as it so often is, be considered a feature of social disorganization, and the breaking down of family and other traditional ties. On the contrary, it is in some respects a mechanism by which traditional ties are altered, but not lost, as a form of readjustment to new demands and settings. This is particularly true of migrants in Lebanon who believe that, by living in the city, they can live

in what they and their society consider a superior way.

Economically, rural-urban migration can also be considered a form of readjustment accompanying industrial growth. When the demand for labour produced by industry increases, agricultural labor migrates to the industrial city to fill the vacuum. By improving farming practices, advanced technology increases agricultural productivity while reducing manpower needed for agriculture, which in turn changes the patterns of land use and again forces small farmers, peasants, and wage-laborers to leave the land. This movement out of agriculture into more productive employments leads to a better economic utilization of labor, and increases national income.

Looking at rural-urban migration in the cases of Douma and Aramti, as the author has done in this paper, one is struck by the positive effects of rural migration. Undocumented observation in Beirut, however, suggests that rural migration, among other factors, has aggravated such symptoms of disorganization as the poor sanitation and health conditions in the city, increasing crime rates, prostitution, and drug addiction. To what degree rural-urban migration contributes to these ills is a question that can only be clarified by further research.

Basic Social Trends in Lebanon

BY SAMIR KHALAF*

The Transitional Nature of Lebanese Society

Contemporary Lebanese society shows a number of underlying trends which together determine its main features. Like most other societies in transition, Lebanon is characterized by a shift from a kin-centered, traditional type of social organization to one based on rationality, specialization and freedom of association. The net effect of this has been a loosening of the older social bonds (such as kinship, fealty, communal and religious ties) which held individuals and groups into a highly cohesive social order, without as yet leading to the emergence of a completely fluid type of "mass society."

Change in Lebanon - whether social, economic, or political - is not entirely a process of conversion and swift transformation. It does not involve a complete break with the past. It is much more a process of selective adaptation and assimilation.

(Ultimately, the process of modernization in Lebanon must be conceived in terms of what kind of society or social system is most compatible with already existing value patterns and historical traditions. It is not, as often assumed, a choice between "traditional culture" and "mass society". Nor could it be an instance of transformation of a traditional society into a secular nation-state. It is doubtful whether Lebanese society can ever be a duplicate of a rational, secular and egalitarian society based exclusively on achievement - oriented and

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universalistic criteria. Rather, the quest for modernity boils down to a question of how to assimilate traditional culture into the culture of a rational and secular society without destroying both.

(The history of Lebanon provides ample proof of the persistence of primordial ties and loyalties in contemporary political and economic institutions. The persistence of such ties, however, should not be taken to mean the absence of innovation. If modernization is to be defined as the ability to absorb and generate change,¹ then there is plenty of room for modernization without the repudiation of traditions. Generally, the Lebanese have always displayed the necessary readiness and capacity to absorb change. Innovation, as such, is not generally resisted. On the contrary it has a relatively high appeal among most segments of society. What is resisted is the abandonment of traditions and the repudiation of traditional values. Throughout its continued contacts with Western civilization, Lebanon has successfully managed to assimilate ideas and styles of life of other cultures without drastically changing its basic character. There is no reason why this cannot continue. It is true the challenges of the contemporary age are greater, but then Lebanon can still choose those aspects of a secular society which are compatible with its socio-cultural traditions.)

In effect this is what marks the process of modernization in Lebanon. In as much as Lebanon has been able to emancipate women without revolutionizing family patterns, introduce secular reforms without upsetting the delicate sectarian balance, industrialize without diluting kinship and paternalistic loyalties, it can easily adopt the political instruments of a nation-state and yet preserve some of its primordial loyalties. In some important respects, no other course appears feasible at present.)

¹ For an elaboration of the concepts of modernization and empathy see, respectively, M. Halpern, "Toward Further Modernization of the Study of New Nations," *World Politics*, Vol. 17, (October 1964), pp. 158-181; and D. Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society*, (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1958), pp. 19-110.

That this is so can be readily seen in the type of political and economic institutions that have been emerging. The most viable of these institutions are neither traditional nor rational in character: they are a hybrid of both. Two of the most apparent instances are the persistence of primordial ties in national and local politics, and the continuance of the family firm in industrialization.

To exercise effective political leadership in Lebanon requires, above all, skills of flexibility and compromise needed to give the compatible elements of a traditional society and a secular state. This, in concrete terms, means expressing traditional sentiments in modern idioms, to assimilate and transform attitudes and to mould them into modern ones. The successful political leader is not a political ideologist of the variety of Antoun Saadeh or Mustafa al-Aris; rather the Salams, Jumblatts, Eddes, Jumayyels, and Karamis – those who disguise their traditionalism behind the garb of political slogans and pseudo-ideological platforms.

Political prerogatives and access to political power and privileges are still largely a reflection of kinship, fealty and sectarian loyalties. The so-called "antiquity of blood," to use Machiavelli's phrase, is not a dead relic of Lebanon's feudal past, it is still alive today. A sizable portion of the Parliamentary elite are local *za'ims*, not national figures – people who have inherited their leadership over a tightly local community and who sustain their power by ties of kinship and fealty. Parties, blocs and pressure groups are so soaked in parochial and personal rivalries that they have not been able to transcend their petty personal feuds to grapple effectively with the serious public issues of the country.

Precarious as this may seem, the political system has nevertheless been successful in integrating the society's pluralistic factions and in solving some of its pending political problems. Primordial ties and loyalties need not be, as is often assumed, impediments to national solidarity and political unity. In the absence of voluntary associations and other rational instruments

of political change, they can be instrumental in integrating society. It is true that factors like kinship, fealty and religion may undermine or inhibit the growth of civil or national loyalties, but they need not be detrimental in terms of overall stability. Individual freedom and democratic institutions thrive more in Lebanon where primordial ties still persist than in neighbouring Arab states like Egypt, Syria and Iraq where these ties have been relatively diluted by national, party and ideological loyalties.

In much the same way the family firm has been effective in coping with urgent industrial problems like labour relations. Indeed, the most successful and innovating industrial organizations are not impersonal corporations but paternalistic and family firms. In the absence of other agencies, such as a powerful and organized labor movement and a more consistent policy of government control, such firms have performed some vital functions. Contrary to the charges frequently levelled against them, they do not appear to be incompatible with the demands of industrialization. Instead, they combine the virtues of two worlds: some of the secure and tested traditions of the past along with the rational and secular requirements of contemporary society. In as far as they have been able to reconcile these two tendencies, they have remained viable and adaptable organizations.

The results of a case study of 10 family firms, provide ample proof in support of this contention.¹ The Ghandours, Jabres, Badaros, Boutroses, Asseilys, Kortases, and a score of others, are the leading firms in their respective industries. They are not only the largest in terms of size and capital invested, but they appear to be the most innovating and adaptive. The attitudes and practices of the patrimonial managers surveyed in the study demonstrate that they have assimilated and

¹ Samir Khalaf and Emile Shwayri, "Family Firms and Industrial Development: The Lebanese Case," *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 15, No. 1, (October 1966) pp. 59-69.

reinforced a good part of the demands of industrialization as a rational process. It is for this reason perhaps that many of the managerial norms and practices which are rapidly becoming obsolete in advanced societies are still effective and functional in Lebanon.

I am suggesting that there is in Lebanese society a fundamental tendency which unfortunately is overlooked by many observers: the capacity to change without a complete break with the past. To industrialize, to introduce secular reforms and political change, a country must (some scholars insist) turn its back completely on its traditional forms of social organization, particularly sentiments associated with kinship, fealty and religious affinities. In other words, they believe that as long as these traditional loyalties persist, there is little hope of effective change and development. The contemporary history of Lebanon speaks otherwise.

This is why I suggest that the term "transitional" may be inadequate for describing the real nature of Lebanese society. As the term has been predominantly employed, it suggests a transitory or temporary stage between a certain traditional past and a rational future state. May not some "transitional" conditions turn out to be relatively permanent? Can we be certain, for example, that the present political system in Lebanon will shake off the vestiges of its kinship, communal and confessional past to pass into the fold of national states? There are indications that this change may never happen. In other words, the political *za'im*, the family firm, the confessional bureaucracy need not be contradictions in terms, they may be here to stay. This may not be a curse, as is often assumed, but a blessing.

Decline in Kinship

Kinship has been and is likely to remain, Lebanon's most solid and enduring tie. The extended and patriarchal family, all other evidence to the contrary, has demonstrated remarkable

resiliency as a unit of social organization. In fact, there is still much truth in the often repeated observation that in Lebanon the family, not the individual, is the basic social unit. To a large extent a person's status in society, his occupation, social and political prestige are defined by it. One's status and power, in other words, are still partly proscribed, limited by the accident of birth. To say that a person is a "son of a family - *ibn 'ayleh* - prompts one to bypass any other attribute that he may possess. The concept of *ahl* (kin) extends beyond and differs from the lineal concept typical of Western culture.)

Society starts with the family and is fashioned by it. The behavior of the individual in various life-situations is mainly an expression of his family pattern. Since blood ties are intimate and binding, the sovereignty of the family transcends all other loyalties, and the individual is usually compelled to suppress his individuality if it happens to clash with the whims or dictates of the family. As part of an intimate primary group, the individual no doubt derives a good deal of emotional support and security from his family, but it also exacts a price: his loyalty and subordination. Filial piety is a sacred norm; a debt one owes his kin, and a pre-requisite for gaining approval.

It is not within my scope here to trace the cultural roots of this pervasive value pattern. Suffice it to note that although family loyalty is still very strong, kinship has been growing less important in the total social organization of society. The family is beginning to lose many of its old traditional functions. It is no longer as exclusive an agency of socialization. Whereas it used to monopolize the life-experience of an individual, many agencies and groups are now competing with the family in carrying the main burden of social organization. Even where this competition to reach the individual is not intense, the mass media have begun to expose the individual to alternative sources of satisfaction and stimulation. As a result, and particularly in the more urban and secular parts of Lebanon, adolescents are not as much under the direct surveillance of their families. Youth is beginning to realize that there are greener

and more exciting pastures elsewhere.)

This is certainly not something peculiar to Lebanon. Other societies, at different stages of their development, must have gone through similar transitions. As far back as 1887 the German sociologist Tonnies contrasted two types of societies: A "*gemeinschaft*," or communal society, in which people feel they belong together because of kinship and natural ties of blood; a "*gesellschaft*," or associational society, where the major social bonds are voluntary and rational in character. The decline in *gemeinschaft*, then, represents a decline in the sense of kinship with other members of the community. What is rather peculiar are some of the reactions and consequences of this inevitable transition.

(The basic question then is what happens to a kinship culture when its basic unit of social organization (i.e. the family) begins to decline? Several things happen. Among others, people begin to lose the emotional supports and restraints which an intimate group like the family provides. The family, notwithstanding the eroding forces of urbanization and secularism, is still the major security device in society. It is a most sobering palliative. It serves as a tranquiliser pill, a confessional box, a safety valve and a "security blanket" all put together. One, in fact, may easily infer that the reason why the incidence of suicide, alcoholism, drug addiction and other mental and psychological disturbances is relatively low in Lebanon is because of the persistence of primordial attachments associated with family loyalty. All preliminary evidence thus far points out that family disorganization or the breakdown of primary group ties seems a crucial factor in accounting for prostitution, juvenile delinquency, vagrancy and other symptoms of personal and social disorganization. In short, family disintegration is a predisposing, and not merely an incidental factor, in social disorganization.¹

¹ For the impact of family disorganization on prostitution see: Samir Khalaf, *Prostitution in a Changing Society*, (Beirut, Khayat Publishers, 1965), pp. 45-50.

How have the Lebanese responded to such underlying transformations? Typical of most kinship cultures, reactions have been mostly protective in nature. In the absence of voluntary or alternative welfare agencies, and as long as kinship sentiments remain sociologically meaningful, reactions will take one of two forms: either to protect the family from further decline, or to recreate the sense of *gemeinschaft* associated with the natural and intimate ties of blood. Both of these reactions have materialized in the creation of "artificial" single-family associations. These associations, with a formal organizational structure and elected officers, date back to the turn of the century and reflect the sequence through which different religious communities have been secularized. For example, during the first quarter of the century it was predominantly a Christian phenomenon. Having undergone the process of modernization relatively earlier than other groups, it was the urban Christian population which had to face the brunt of social change first. With urbanization and western contact come the disruptive and disassociative forces of secularization, and consequently a greater need to seek an integrative outlet through family association.

During and after World War II, the Sunni Moslems began to undergo similar experiences; hence more of them established their associations during that period than any other sect. The fifties witnessed similar tendencies among the Shi'ites, and the larger number of family associations among them is reflective of the same dissociative forces which prompted the groups to recreate the sense of family solidarity earlier. It is generally in this order that these three major groups underwent the process of absorbing some of the secular tendencies inherent in modernization.

It is of interest to note that the number of family associations among the Druzes is relatively low. This should not be taken to mean that the Druzes are still untouched by the demands of secularization. Rather, as a community they are comparatively more cohesive and clannish, and their communal structure

is sustained by stronger primordial affinities. It is perhaps for this reason, too, that the incidence of social and personal disorganization among the Druzes is still relatively low.¹⁾

(These family associations, then, are significant in that they are both a symptom of and a response to secularization and social change. Desirable and inevitable as it may seem, modernization remains a painful process because it entails a considerable degree of disruption and change. The changing patterns and styles of life in urban centers which are characteristic of the early stages of modernization are not usually accepted without some opposition. Traditional modes of behavior are being persistently put to test and the typical pattern of Lebanese life is one of conflict between the conservative legacy of the past and the radical and more secular potential of the future.)

In such times of flux and uncertainty one can find some refuge and security in certain traditional forms of social organization. Such refuge need not be interpreted as a fatalistic flight from the disquieting demands of a complex and competitive world. Neither should it be taken as a gesture to glorify the sacred traditions of kinship for their own sake. Rather, in as far as family associations combine the primordial sentiments of kinship with some of the rational expectations of a welfare agency, they can be effective in coping with some of the problems of a transitional society.

Social Differentiation

Like almost all other societies in transition, Lebanese institutions are also becoming increasingly differentiated. Very few of the traditional agencies and groups which sustained cohesion and solidarity within society in the past still survive

1 The author is presently conducting an empirical survey on the incidences and pattern of drug addiction, vagrancy and juvenile delinquency. All preliminary evidence so far supports the above observation.

today. Apart from the primordial ties of kinship, fealty and religion, two types of associations maintained a certain degree of homogeneity in early Lebanese cities – namely, neighborhoods (quarters) and guilds. These too have been diluted by urbanization and the expansion of commerce and industry. Except for insulated traditional quarters, the sense of neighborhood has almost disappeared. What was spared by industrialization has been eroded by the urban sprawl and the unregulated pattern of mixed land use.

Naturally this trend toward differentiation is not confined to the process of urbanisation. The pattern is deep and extensive. Three major manifestations will be briefly cited here. First, it can be readily observed in the fact that the major economic, political and religious institutions are becoming increasingly distinct and specialized. Many of the functions, for example, which used to be the exclusive domain of the family are now relegated to other special-purpose groups and institutions. Where in its medieval and classical periods the spiritual and temporal forces in Lebanon were completely fused, the head of the state today is no longer the “defender of the faith.” The religious, political and military elites, unlike those of other Arab states, are quite distinct and differentiated. So too is religious and secular education.

Second, Lebanese society is becoming increasingly stratified and class-conscious. Despite a growing and an adaptable middle class which tends to cushion some of the class differences, the social hierarchy is still sharply defined. Not only are the strata becoming more sharply defined, but the criteria for determining social rank are also undergoing change. Previously one’s social position was predominantly defined by ethnic, kinship and religious considerations. Now, to a considerable extent, it is a reflection of wealth, occupation and other more achieved attributes such as competence and one’s innate ability. Though this makes for increasing mobility and favors the movement of people up and down the class structure, it does nevertheless, accentuate status-seeking and class-consciousness.

Finally, and at all levels of the society, one can discern some of the symptoms associated with increasing division of labor and specialization. This in itself is not unusual. Even the most primitive society is usually characterized by some degree of division of labor on the basis of age and sex. The proliferation, however, of specialized functions and interests, typical of a service-biased economy, appear to be pushing specialization prematurely to extremes. With increasing isolation from traditional affinities, this can undermine the integration of society.

Secularism and Rationality

Another major and inevitable trend in the social structure of Lebanese society has been characterized by a shift toward increasing secularism and rationality in social relations. Patterns of behavior in traditionalist and rural areas are still clearly prescribed, and some – as has been indicated earlier – have remained constant for several generations. It is also true that people in such areas usually accept the values and norms of their society almost with reverence. Few of these norms are ever questioned.)

Such attributes of a “sacred society”, however, are becoming exceedingly rare. The urban Lebanese, particularly those who have partially cut their primordial affinities, appear freer to question and criticize the traditional norms. The Beirutis is often admonished for becoming increasingly materialistic. Youth, though hesitantly, is beginning to question the expectations of the adult world. It is no longer as willing to subscribe to a way of life which is not effective in coping with its problems. It would rather rebel than condone the social hypocrisy rampant in society.

At least three manifestations of this trend can be identified, all of which can be substantiated by recent research evidence. First, secularism by its very nature encourages rationality in social relations. To varying degrees, the Lebanese is beginning

to be concerned about the effectiveness and efficiency of his social institutions. The yardsticks for measuring social behavior are becoming increasingly utilitarian. Traditions are rarely venerated for their own sake; but rather when traditional norms and practices have demonstrated their effectiveness in coping with the contemporary problems of a changing society. Second, secularism is closely associated with impersonality in social relations. With the decline in kinship and other primordial ties, a sizable part of the traditional network of human relations is being rendered impersonal in character. Third, in as far as rationality and secularism give people the freedom to question long established values and institutions, then they can begin to experiment with alternative associations and agencies. The multiplication of such special-purpose groups – from professional associations to escort-bureaus and Swedish massage institutes – which Lebanon has witnessed in the past decade or so reflects this tendency.

Resisting the Mass Society

The result of all these trends in the West has been the emergence of the so-called “mass society” with its associated attributes of alienation and anomie. The “mass society” can be summed up as follows: the swift development of mass media and means of transportation have brought people into closer contact and bound them in new forms of association; division of labor and specialization has made them more interdependent, so that any change in one part of the society is likely to affect all others; despite this greater interdependence, however, people have become increasingly alienated from one another and from their society; the older primordial sentiments of kinship and communal affinities have been diluted, and individuals are increasingly questioning the relevance of the traditional norms and values which had previously sustained cohesion and solidarity within society. At the same time, greater social and spatial mobility has intensified the status anxiety associated with

social climbing. Few of the traditional norms are relevant today.

As a result of all this, the individual loses his sense of identity, and his anxiety increases. The critics of “mass society,” particularly Ortega Y. Gasset, Karl Jaspers, Karl Mannheim, Paul Tillich, Erich Fromm, are all adamant in their charge that the “mass” divorces or alienates the individual from himself. The most typical character of the “mass society” is the anomic man – the person who is in but not of the society: and the most typical condition is anomie – a state of mind in which the individual’s sense of social cohesion is seriously weakened.

In Lebanon, so far, we seem to have avoided this uprooting and alienating state of mind. We are attempting instead to modernize without eroding the traditional forms of social organization. In doing so we have managed to make the best of two possible worlds: the secularism of the new and the security of the old. The tensions, nevertheless, are great. The typical emancipated Lebanese (who is still part of a minority) remains a marginal man: a man torn between two ways of life and conflicting expectations. These underlying tensions are almost everywhere the same. As expressed by Daniel Lerner, they are the tensions of “village versus town, land versus cash, illiteracy versus enlightenment, resignation versus ambition, piety versus excitement.”¹ It is a conflict between “courage culture” whose themes are obedience, loyalty, and courage, and “ingenuity culture” whose themes are those of imagination and innovation. One preserves the familiar: the other seeks the new.

The conflict is certainly not over. Perhaps there need not be any conflict between the two cultures. The task before the Lebanese is nonetheless immense: he has to rethink the whole basis of his society without completely breaking with the past. There are the reassuring grounds for optimism. With the persistence of some of the primordial ties, I think he can accomplish this without too high a price in terms of sanity and social well-being.

¹ Daniel Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society*. (The Free Press of Glencoe, 1958), p. 44.

The Family in Lebanon

BY LEVON H. MELIKIAN*

I will do two things in this article. First I will look at some concepts that have universal validity about the family, then I will try to apply these concepts to the Lebanese family. I will restrict myself as much as possible to empirical data and avoid making generalizations about this important institution. I will look at the family as a dynamic rather than a static institution, one in which there is constant interaction among its members, and one which is rapidly changing both in form and function. I will show that the Lebanese family is changing from a traditional to a more liberal form.

All societies include some institution, which in one way or another corresponds to the family as any one of us conceives it to be. "Ideally, the family is a structural unit of a man and a woman joined together in a socially recognized union and their children."¹ Murdock sees this basic unit in three distinct types of family organizations.

The first type is the *nuclear* family. This is the most basic unit. It consists of a man and a woman and their offspring. Among many societies nuclear families are combined, like atoms in a molecule, into larger aggregates which make Murdock's two other types. The second type is the polygamous family. In this family two or more nuclear families are affiliated by a plural marriage, i.e. they have one married parent, the father,

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1 Murdock, G.P.: "The Universality of the Nuclear Family." In Bell, N.W. & Vogel E.F. (Eds.) "A Modern Introduction to the Family." Glencoe, Ill. Free Press, 1960.

in common. The third type described by Murdock is the *extended* family. In this case two or more nuclear families are affiliated by joining the nuclear family of a married adult to that of his parents. A good example is the patriarchal family which has three generations living with each other.

Irrespective of its form, whether nuclear, polygamous or extended, the family performs certain functions, some of which are universal and others of which are culturally restricted. The universal functions are biologically determined. All societies prescribe the conditions under which individuals can legitimately satisfy their sexual desires, and all societies prescribe ways and means for the care and socialization of children. All societies have some "marriage" customs and some ways of bringing up children.

Differences between societies in the conditions under which sexual relations can be conducted exist, and differences in the ways of caring for children and in the goals of their socialization can be found. These functions of perpetuating the human species, and bringing up children to become members of a particular human society, remain two of the primary functions of the family.

Another group of functions of the family are culturally and socially determined. Among these functions the following are important. The economic productivity of the family, a function which decreases with modernization; the care of the aged and the infirm; protecting the interests of the family and encouraging solidarity among its members; and in some societies the family has a special function in politics and also confers special status upon its members.

The Family in Lebanon

Let us take a look at the type and structure of the Lebanese family as well as its functions. Because of possible differences in type between different sections of the Lebanese community it is important to identify the community from which the family

comes. Is it Christian or Muslim? Maronite or Shi'ite? Rural or urban? Even though no basic differences have been proved it is still important to identify the family we are talking about.

Writers in the field have described the Middle Eastern family, as well as the Lebanese family, as being patriarchal, patrilocal, patrilineal, and authoritarian. These characteristics apply to either the nuclear, polygamous or extended family types.

Let us first consider Murdock's three types; which of them applies to Lebanon?

Writers in the field have tended to emphasize the polygamous and extended types only. The Muslim family has frequently been identified as polygamous, but available information seems to indicate that it is not so at all. The frequency of polygamous Muslim families is extremely low, and even in highly conservative Muslim countries it does not exceed 10%. A cautious estimate is it does not exceed 3-4% in any particular Lebanese village; while in the city it is a rare phenomenon. For example, in his study of Beirut, Churchill¹ came across two polygamous families in his sample of roughly 1000 Muslim households; much less than one percent of his total sample. This kind of family is on its way out.

What about the extended family? No statistical data is available, but my impression is that it is more frequent in rural than in urban areas. Data presented later shows that this type of family is slowly changing, and the nuclear family is emerging. We can say that no single kind of family structure is characteristic of Lebanon. The trend is away from the extended family to the nuclear family, with the polygamous family practically out.

In spite of these changes however the "family" still commands the primary loyalty of the individual, even of educated university students. Evidence for this comes from a study by Melikian and Diab² in which loyalty to the family

1 Churchill, Charles. *The City of Beirut*, Beirut: Dar-El-Kitab, 1954.

2 Melikian L. and Diab L. "Group Affiliations of University Students in the Arab Middle East." *J. Soc. Psychol.* 1959, 49, 145-159.

ranked first among both Christian and Muslim, males and females, and among the politically committed and non-committed students. Next to the family in order of importance were religion, nationality or citizenship, ethnic group and finally the political party. Repeating the same study after one year showed that this hierarchy of loyalties also remained unchanged.

The importance of the family to the Lebanese may also be inferred from the slogan of the Kataeb party which reads thus: "God, country and family."

As we have seen, one of the functions of the family is biological. Each society has its own codes and customs regarding marriage. How about Lebanon? Are Lebanese marriages endogamous or patrilocal as in any traditional society? What marriage choices does the average Lebanese face? Is the traditional pattern of marrying a girl from the same village still strong? Is marriage between cousins as frequent as we are told? Who contracts the marriage - the individuals or their families? How about divorce? The data I am going to present indicates the emergence of new trends.

Let us first take the place from which the couple comes. Do Lebanese tend to marry people from their own village, place of birth or family? Studies of place of birth of three generations and of the practice of cousin marriage suggest that this once prevalent pattern is changing.

In 1952, 65 Lebanese students were asked to indicate the place of birth of their maternal and paternal grand-parents, their parents and themselves. In 1962 the same question was put to another 107 students. Their answers were very instructive.

75% of the 1952 group reported that grandparents on both sides were born in the same town or village, while in 1962 only 55.7% gave the same answer. In 1952, 65% reported that both of their parents came from the same birth place; in 1962 this dropped to 47.1%. In 1952, 40% of the subjects were born in the same place in which their parents and their grandparents were born, while in 1962 this figure dropped to 22 1%. These

last figures are extremely important especially if we consider the birth place of the three generations as an index of the extended family. From these results we can see that the extended family, or whatever factors strengthen it, seems to be on the decline.

The frequency of marriage to the paternal parallel cousin (father's brother's daughter), to other relatives, and to non-relatives was also studied. Out of the parents of 30 Muslim students who were questioned, only 2 were paternal cousins, 9 were related in other ways, and 19 not related at all. Out of 77 Christians only 2 had parents who were paternal cousins, 8 were otherwise related and 67 not related at all. Differences between Christians and Muslims were not significant.

Comparison of marriage and divorce documents issued by the religious courts of Beirut over a period of time throws some light on what is happening to the Lebanese family. Two studies of this kind are available. The first, conducted by Miss Abu Khadra,¹ is a study of the marriage contracts of Sunni Muslims in Beirut between 1936 and 1956. The second, conducted by Miss Sukkariyeh is a study of Greek Orthodox divorce decrees issued in Beirut between 1933 and 1957.

Miss Abu Khadra compared 213 marriage contracts written in 1936 with 210 contracts written in 1956. Her findings are indicative of a change from the traditional pattern. She too found a near absence of first cousin marriage, as well as a slight decrease in the mean age at which Muslim men get married (from 30 to 31), as well as an increase in the average age of marriage of Muslim women (from 20 to 22 years), with a very sharp decline in marriage below 16 for both males and females. This may be only an urban phenomenon but nevertheless it shows a new trend. These same findings have been corroborated by an independent study of marriage contracts among Sunni

¹ Abu Khadra, Rihab. "Recent Changes in Lebanese Moslem Marriage shown by changes in marriage contracts." Beirut: American University of Beirut. (Unpublished M.A. Thesis).

Muslims in Tripoli and Damascus over the past fifty years.

Miss Abu Khadra also found a decline in the role of the grandfather as the bridegroom's agent in signing the marriage contract and an increase in the role of the father and the groom himself between 1936 and 1956. The grandfather's role drops from 19% to 7% during this period, whereas that of the father increases from 15% to 20% and that of the groom from 41% in 1936 to 61% in 1956. This sharp increase for the groom may be an indication of a growing freedom to initiate and contract his own marriage. Another indication of the declining role of the family in this area is the marked increase in the number of contracts that were drawn up in the *sharia* courts, rather than at home. The increase in court drawn-up contracts over this period was from 3% in 1936 to 25% in 1956.

Miss Sukkarieh's study¹ of the divorce decrees issued by the Greek Orthodox ecclesiastical courts of Beirut also show some very interesting changes between 1933 and 1957. She examined a total of 313 decrees for three five year periods 1933-37, 1943-47, and 1953-57, and found a rather even incidence of divorce ranging from 8.23% to 9.49% of all marriages. She also found a decline in the number of annulled marriages and an increase in the number of actual divorces granted. In the period 1933-37 50% of the decrees annulled the marriages, while in 1943-47 and 1953-57 the number of annulled marriages declined to 37% and 20% respectively. For the same periods the number of divorces granted increased from 47% to 53% to 70% respectively. During these same five year periods the number of women initiating divorce proceedings increased, showing that women were no longer willing to put up with unhappy marriages. Two other indications of the growing secularization and liberalization of the marital bond in this community appear. The first is a decline in "adultery" and a sharp rise in "incompatibility" as causes for divorce. The ascription of guilt

¹ Sukkarieh, Bassimah. "Divorce Factors Among the Greek Orthodox." Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1960, (Unpublished M.A. Thesis).

to one party only drops from 36% in 1933-37 documents to zero in the 1953-57 documents, showing again the admission of equal responsibility to both partners for the failure of the marital bond. Such a picture is a far cry from the traditional authoritarian extended family which predominated at one time.

The decline in authoritarianism in the Lebanese family has also been the subject of study. The authoritarian family is one in which the parents, especially the father, dominate and restrict the activities of the members of the family, especially the children. Studies have shown that the Lebanese family is the least authoritarian of the Arab families and that Lebanese parents appear to be more permissive to their children than any other Arab parents. Compared to the family in Jordan, Syria, Egypt and Iraq, the Lebanese family was found by Nagati¹ to be the most exposed to modernizing influences. He found this increased exposure to reflect itself in the extent to which they allow their children, both sons and daughters, to go out or swim with the opposite sex, choose their own friends, spend their money and choose a vocation. This is more apparent in the case of the Christian than the Muslim Lebanese family, and the urban more than the rural; but the Muslim family in Lebanon is more exposed and more permissive than the Christian family in say, Egypt or Iraq.

These changes in the extended family are still changes in form, rather than in function. They are surface changes rather than changes at the core. In spite of the greater permissiveness allowed to Lebanese children they are still expected to react in the traditional manner. For example, the choice of a marriage partner is still in general the concern of the whole family and not of the individual concerned. A good son or daughter, whether Christian or Muslim, is expected to marry the girl or man chosen or at least approved of by the parents. This is one of the things that cause much resentment among youth. Tensions are

1 نجاتي، محمد: «اتجاهات الشبان ومشكلاتهم» - التقرير الثاني، القاهرة، دار النهضة العربية، ١٩٦٢.

present but, in general, rarely come to the surface, and when they do so they are displaced.

This shows itself in a recent study carried out at the American University in which sixty Lebanese students were asked to tell an imaginary story about an old woman and a young man who were shown to them in a picture.¹ The majority of the subjects described the young man as the son of the older woman and imagined him as telling his mother that he had married a girl of his own choice. The mother objects strongly and threatens her son. Most of the stories ended with the son divorcing his wife and coming back home. There seems to be too much at stake, even in fantasy, to oppose the family and go against its wishes; no one can afford to lose the support and security which the family provides him.

Procreation and socialization are two other universal functions of the family. The first involves the perpetuation of the family and its name, and reflects itself in the desire for children; and the second is the way in which children are brought up to become fully fledged members of their society. It is the process by which they acquire the values and ways of behavior which their society approves. These are passed on to them by their parents and other family members.

How do these functions apply in Lebanon? The family name and its perpetuation through children are very important to the Lebanese. Nevertheless we note a decline in the size of the Lebanese family over the years. In his fertility studies of Lebanon, Yaukey² interviewed 139 mothers married before 1928 and 693 mothers married after 1928. He found that urban mothers married before 1928 had on the average more children than those who were married after 1928, irrespective of the religious denomination to which they belonged. The opposite was true for the rural mothers, except in the case of the Greek

1 Melikian, L. "Inter-Personal Relations among University Students in the Arab Middle East." (Unpublished manuscript).

2 Yaukey, David. "Fertility Differences in a Modernizing Society." Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961.

Orthodox mothers, who showed the same trend as the urban mothers. The figures are presented below:

	<i>Before 1928 marriages</i> Average number of Children	<i>After 1928 marriages</i> Average number of Children
URBAN		
Muslim	7.26	6.45
Maronite	4.8	3.6
Greek Orthodox	4.4	3.6
RURAL		
Muslim	6.6	7.4
Maronite	6.5	7.5
Orthodox	7.8	4.0

These figures reflect a trend towards a decrease in the size of the urban Lebanese family and also show that on the average, Muslim families are slightly larger than Christian families. The close similarity between rural Muslim and rural Maronite families is interesting to note.

The socialization and upbringing of the Lebanese child has been the subject of intense study. Prothro¹ has presented the most elaborate and systematic study, which shows that the pattern in Lebanon is not much different from that in the surrounding Arab countries. He reports that, irrespective of their religion or place of residence, Lebanese mothers "have as their ideal a child who is obedient, polite, neat and not aggressive. The emphasis is on checking unruly impulses to

¹ Prothro, E. Terry. *Child Rearing in Lebanon*, Cambridge: Harvard Univer-Press. (Middle Eastern Monograph Series, VIII), 1961.

produce docility and tractability." These are inculcated through a system of rewards and punishments. Boys are given preferential treatment which is clearly marked in the later age at which boys are weaned.

Within this general pattern Prothro found some variations from one religious group to another. Armenian mothers were on the whole more dominant and demanding, less permissive and less warm than the Arab mothers. They, rather than the fathers, made the decisions at home and disciplined the children, and they tended to rely more than the other mothers on beating and scolding. The Orthodox mothers were on the average warmer toward their children than the other mothers and relied more on discussion and reasoning as disciplinary techniques. Sunni mothers had more children; in their discipline they placed less responsibility on the child, less frequently rewarded good behavior and relied more on empty threats. They also reported more separation between the father and the child. They opposed fighting, even in self-defence, more than all the other mothers.

Some indirect evidence of a change in patterns of childrearing in Lebanon is presented by Prothro when he compares "modern" and "traditional" mothers. However no change in the goals of socialization seems to appear.

Dennis,¹ in an interesting comparison of the activities for which Lebanese and American children living in Beirut are rewarded by their parents, shows a definite reinforcement of the traditional values. For example he shows that Lebanese children in Beirut, unlike American children, are rewarded for being quiet in the presence of adults. He also shows that Lebanese parents tend to perpetuate behavior that encourages dependence on adults, unlike the American parents who encourage peer-oriented behavior. The perpetuation of such traditional behavior may not be in accordance with the function

¹ Dennis, W. "A Corss Cultural Study of the Reinforcement of Child Behavior," *Child Development*, 1957, 28, 431-438.

of the newly emerging nuclear family structure in Lebanon.

* * *

Let us direct our attention to some of the remaining functions of the family as they apply in Lebanon.

Let us first consider the economic function of the family – a function which, according to economists and sociologists, becomes less and less important as the society advances.

One of the main functions of the family in Lebanon is the economic support of its members. In a recent study¹ students were asked to identify areas in their lives which they were willing to talk about to parents, siblings, friends and outsiders. It was found that money was the only area which was not talked about to non-family members. To expose his economic conditions would show that an individual's family was unable to support him or satisfy his economic needs. This would reflect badly on the family.

The traditional family as a production unit is slowly disappearing. A new trend is appearing in which more women are working and earning a living. What will women do as they become economically more independent? The traditional responsibility of the male for the unmarried female members of the family will in all probability decline. What will happen to the husband-wife relationship when the woman also begins to earn?

Another interesting manner in which the family in Lebanon demonstrates its economic function is the large number of family firms. Professor Khalaf is at present studying² this phenomenon in Lebanon. In an analysis of 12 family firms in Lebanon he arrives at the conclusion that they are more efficiently run and

1 Melikian, L. "Self-Disclosure Among University Students in the Middle East," *J. Soc. Psychol.* 1962, 57, 257-263.

2 S. G. Khalaf, "Family Associations in Lebanon" (unpublished manuscript).

more viable than non-family firms. Some family firms are a carry-over from the old family and craft specializations, which have become modernized and taken new forms and directions.

A second function is that of taking care of the aged and infirm. Let us remember that age confers status. There is still a strong feeling of responsibility for one's aged parents and sick members of the family. The idea of sending one's parents to a home for the aged, is still alien and socially unacceptable. It smacks of disrespect, and of failing in responsibility to one's parents.

A third function is to promote family solidarity. This is very clearly marked in Lebanon – among both Christians and Muslims. A family is expected to present a solid front to the outside world – to protect its members and their interests. One is expected to side with members of his family – even when they are in the wrong. He is expected to do this even by the party with whom they are in conflict. This is illustrated by the proverb: "I and my brother against my cousin, but I and my cousin against the stranger."

One way in which this phenomenon shows itself is the number of family associations registered with the Government. Professor Khalaf has recorded some 1,200 family associations registered with the Lebanese government over the past fifty years. Until 1940 this appeared to be a Christian phenomenon, but between 1940 and 1952 it becomes more of a Sunni phenomenon, and from 1957 to 1962 more Shi'ite families formed associations. Apparently the Druzes do not find a need for this. It seems to be a response to the break-up of the extended family pattern and its functions.

One logical development of this family solidarity is in the area of politics, and is still clearly marked in Lebanon. Family affiliation gives status and hence an assurance of acceptance. One would venture to say that in Lebanon the family plays a much more important role in politics than the political party. In fact families boast about their political power, and traditionally you could estimate the political strength of

the family by the number of men and guns that it could muster.

Aspirants for political office (e.g. parliament), make it a point to win the support of large families because families tend to vote in blocks. An analysis of the family affiliations of members of the Lebanese Parliament would show a tendency for most of them to come from large families and clans. In fact, political appointments still tend to be made with the family and religious affiliation, rather than qualifications, in mind. This is equally true for all Lebanese, irrespective of their religious affiliations.

In spite of the fact that the structure of the Lebanese family is changing, it is still expected to serve the traditional functions. For how long will the new structure into which the Lebanese family is evolving be able to support these functions without causing any personal or social disruptions? Have other social institutions that can take care of the traditional functions of the family such as old age care evolved? Are we preparing the young to live in a world in which the nuclear, rather than the extended family is the rule, or not? These are some of the questions to which social scientists and planners must direct their attention. Unless these gaps are met, and unless the culturally determined functions change or are delegated to some institution, personal and social disorganization may become more prevalent.

Public Health in Lebanon

BY JAMAL K. HARFOUCHE*

In the form we know today, the highest measure of health for all, public health has never until recently been a national objective. We can hardly speak with accuracy on the state of public health before the nineteenth century, for diseases continued to be largely undifferentiated and unclassified, and records of births and deaths were not kept.

The climate of opinion favourable to public health, when it did come in western countries, depended more upon enlightened self-interest than on a visionary dedication; the development of a social conscience often followed when diseases were seen to endanger the lives and health of the rich and poor alike; when infant mortality meant a weaker army for national defence, and the health of industrial workers became an important consideration in improving output.

The two leading European innovators of modern Public Health – John Peter Frank of Austrian Lombardy, and Chadwick of England – saw in poverty the main cause of ill-health, but followed different systems in developing the new social service. Frank's system concerned itself with personal hygiene, hospitals and medical care, whereas Chadwick's system emphasized the importance of environmental sanitation. The first was adopted by most European countries, and the second influenced developments in North America and Great Britain.

Public Health administration on the continent of Europe

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tended towards state control with all the advantages of centralization and of central stimulation, and the disadvantages of lack of local autonomy. With emphasis on personal rather than environmental hygiene, European countries established an admirable system of municipal and country hospitals, and tended to develop insurance against sickness. The European pattern of Public Health spread in its turn to colonial territories and thus from France to Lebanon.

The historical development of the Lebanese Public Health System may be divided into four periods:

1863–1914: Period of special status (the Mutassarifate)

1914–1918: Period of direct Turkish rule (First World War)

1919–1943: Period of the French Mandate

From 1943: Independence.

Between 1863 and today, a period of 103 years, the Lebanese Public Health system has developed at a slow pace. Its organizational pattern and administrative set-up reflect to a large extent the influence of Lebanon's rulers and their concept of health. As the rulers differed in nationality and cultural outlook, they also differed in concepts and ways of implementation. The net result is a patchwork which requires much effort to reorganize.

At its inception the system was set on two sound bases: Hygiene and Public Assistance, the equivalents of preventive and curative medicine.¹ However, imbalance between these two basic and complementary components, was, and still remains, the characteristic feature of the system.

A brief summary of the system during each of the above-mentioned periods will clarify some of the factors responsible for the complexity of its structures and the imbalance in its functions.

¹ Khoury E. "The Organization of Public Health in Lebanon" (Lecture delivered in Arabic at the Lebanese Cenacle, Beirut 1949).

The Mutassarifate (1863–1914)

In 1863, Lebanon was given special status as an autonomous province, under the protectorate of the seven "great powers." Official records do not indicate that Lebanon had a state Public Health system prior to this date.

In 1866, Daoud Pasha, the first mutassarif (provincial governor), appointed the Italian physician Cossin as chief medical officer (*ser-tabeeb*) to the central administration in Baabda, then the capital of Lebanon. Cossin appointed two Lebanese physicians, Ghalib el-Khoury and Suleiman Nahhoul, as medical officers to the districts of Jbeil and Kisrwan, and Zamba effendi, an Italian physician, as his assistant in the central administration.

During this period (1863–1914), state Public Health activities were limited to Mount Lebanon, not including the Wilayat of Beirut, Tripoli and Sidon. They were largely curative, and preventive work was limited to immunization.

Personnel in health administration consisted of a chief medical officer, and two medical officers for the gendarmerie, one in Baabda and one in Beit el-Dine, each assisted by a trained pharmacist. All were paid by the Government. The chief medical officer supervised the work of his assistants, examined pharmacists and midwives, and issued licences equivalent to the State Diploma. Medical officers assigned for the gendarmerie were mainly concerned with the diagnosis and treatment of illness among the gendarmes, prisoners, government employees and their families. They were also authorized to issue health certificates. District medical officers served in an honorary capacity. Their post was only nominal, and their functions were limited to smallpox immunization in time of epidemic, and to the issuance of health certificates and medico-legal reports.

Health services consisted of only two government hospitals and two pharmacies. The first government hospital was established in Baabda by Muzaffar Pasha through taxes imposed on Lebanese emigrants. The second hospital was in Beit el-Dine

close to the prison. Private hospitals, operated at that time by foreign missions, had their own administration and were self-supporting.

The *wilayat* of Beirut and its district had a municipal, but no state health system. The municipal administration consisted of:

1. Director-General of Health, with his headquarters in the Municipality of Beirut.
2. One or more assistants in the central administration, who performed the following functions: issuance of health certificates and medico-legal reports, inspection of customs, prisons, food, waste disposal and cleanliness of the city; treatment of patients admitted to the Municipal Hospital. This hospital was small in size with an annexed pharmacy. It had no surgery and only provided free medical care for internal venereal diseases among the prostitutes.
3. Each district had a medical officer who was responsible for the municipal health system in his locality.

Sanitary conditions in general were poor. Village and city people depended largely on exposed and polluted springs, fountains, rivers and wells for their drinking water. In some of the large towns water was piped to a central place (*sabeel*) where people had access to it. Water from the Dog River was piped to Beirut in 1875, and from the Damour River in 1887.

Housing conditions remained in a very poor state up to 1890, when Lebanese emigrants started to construct new houses. Even these lacked sanitary facilities. Due to lack of running water, sewage and waste-disposals systems, it was customary to build kitchens and latrines outside the houses. Many beautiful old homes still bear witness to this pattern.

Water-borne diseases were, and still are prevalent. Tuberculosis and venereal diseases were rare in Mount Lebanon, but their incidence increased rapidly following the onset of emigration from about 1860. Smallpox, malaria, diphtheria, plague and endemic typhus were a real menace to the country.

Direct Turkish Rule (1914-1918)

This period was noted for widespread epidemics of old and new diseases. Of the new diseases, typhus (louse-borne), relapsing fever, cholera and tuberculosis deserve special mention. Starvation and malnutrition affected a large sector of the population and caused numerous deaths.

As in all public health developments, the heavy toll of diseases and death gave impetus for better health organization, expansion of the administrative set-up, establishment of new health services and increase in the number of health personnel.

With the appearance of the first smallpox cases in Jbeil, the Turkish government appointed four physicians who went from village to village vaccinating people against the disease, assisted by gendarmes. Military service became compulsory for Lebanese physicians.

In February, 1916, the Lebanese *ser-tabeeb* was replaced by a Turkish physician, Husni Muhyeddine. It was he who organized the first Health Department and set it on a sound administrative basis. Of his achievements the following are note-worthy: the health administration was moved to a separate building which was rented in Baabda for this purpose; a record and register system was established; taking the district as a basis, the geographic area of Mount Lebanon was divided into twenty-three health administrative units, while for each district a medical health officer and a sanitarian were appointed; the honorary service of district medical officers was replaced by a salary system, with district medical officers paid a monthly salary of 1,000 Turkish piastres. In an attempt to control the spread of typhus (louse- and flea-borne), he provided each district with a fumigating machine drawn by mule or donkey to disinfect people's clothing throughout the country. Vaccination against smallpox and cholera became compulsory and quinine was distributed for the treatment of malaria cases. Public baths were established for the poor who constituted the majority of the population. A reporting system was introduced:

district medical health officers and sanitarians were required to report periodically about health conditions in their locality; reports included the incidence of communicable and infectious diseases, births, deaths and their causes. Compulsory medical examination for workers in different occupations was instituted and a sick report had to be presented after each illness. New health services were established, including three new hospitals in Baabda, Zahle, Aley, two public assistance centres in Jounieh and Batroun, a pharmaceutical depot in Baabda and a central laboratory.

French Mandate (1919-1943)

When the French mandatory power took over, all physicians in civil and military services were dismissed, and a new health administration was established in Baabda.

In 1919, Dr. Toufik Abillameh, who served with the French Forces during the war, was appointed director of the new administration under the supervision of an Austrian professor from the French Medical Faculty in Beirut. In this work Dr. Abillameh was assisted by three physicians, one responsible for the gendarmes and prisoners, and two for the southern and northern districts of Lebanon. The Baabda hospital for communicable diseases was closed.

In 1920, the state of Greater Lebanon was declared by General Gouraud, the Baabda health administration was liquidated, and a new Department was established under the Ministry of Interior in Beirut, capital of the new state.

The health administration of Beirut city continued to be in the hands of its Municipality, and the new Health Department was only responsible for the districts. It had no plan, and took little interest in preventive work and rural health. Curative work mainly centered around government employees and their families, gendarmes and prisoners. Its personnel comprised the following: a Lebanese doctor (Dr. Youssef Mandour), a French advisor, chief clerk, secretary and accountant, a school health

physician, and district physician for the *muhafazat* and districts.

Between 1928 and 1929, the Health Department was separated from the Ministry of Interior. A Health Ministry was created and a Health Council, consisting of professors from the two Medical Schools and outstanding Lebanese physicians, was formed. The council held meetings every two weeks. It studied local diseases such as dengue fever, typhoid and malaria, and made a plan for disease control and prevention. After the resignation of the Cabinet, the Health Ministry reverted to a Department. In 1930, the posts of Health Director, provincial and district medical officers were all abolished, and the Department was reduced to a minimum.

In 1931, a small Technical Service was established, comprising one physician and one sanitary engineer. Its tasks were mainly preventive, concerned with the control of epidemics and communicable diseases; health inspection, especially in summer resorts and hotels; advice on sewage disposal to municipalities; inspection of slaughter houses and factories. It issued decrees which were the nucleus of health legislation in this country. A decree defined the procedures for enforcement; violators were subjected to fines and penalties. In addition to these measures, some health education was achieved by the periodic distribution of bulletins. Provisional licences were issued to control the practice of pharmacists, dentists and midwives who had no formal professional training.

In 1932, in the absence of a Health Ministry, a decree was issued delegating to the Mayor of Beirut city the responsibility of Director of Health. Thus, the Beirut Municipal Department of Health became an independent administrative unit operating in isolation of the State Health Department. When a Health Ministry came into being, this measure complicated the machinery and made it difficult for the Health Ministry to formulate a unified health policy. In effect, the present Ministry of Health exists in Beirut but does not function. Matters were further complicated recently by the intervention of the Ministry of Social Affairs and the Department

of Social Development in health matters. Unless health plans and services are well coordinated much of the funds and human resources invested in them will be wasted.

Independence

With the coming of independence in 1943, the Ministry of Health was re-established with a Director-General and three directors to head its main divisions: the Technical Services, the Quarantine Service, and the Administrative Service.

Its activities continued to be based on hygiene and public assistance. A Supreme Health Council with consultative status was formed in 1944. Directors were appointed to the central administration in each government. A health team consisting of one physician, one nurse and one sanitarian was appointed to each district with a motor vehicle to facilitate their work. The functions of the team are mainly preventive. They consist of sanitary inspection, enforcement of health laws, health education, immunization, attending to deliveries, spraying insecticides and reporting health statistics i.e. births, communicable diseases, deaths and their causes, number and type of health personnel in the different localities.

In an attempt to decentralize public assistance (i.e. curative medicine), the Health Department created new hospitals in the Beka'a, a small hospital of 20 beds was enlarged in 1948 to include 100 beds, laboratory, X-ray facilities and a pharmacy was added; special sections were allocated for prisoners and for communicable diseases. Sidon Hospital was constructed in 1948; Tibnine Hospital was planned in 1948, but was completed later; the Sana'i Hospital was transferred from Beirut to Baabda in 1946.

The development of dispensaries or clinics, except for remote areas, was left for societies and private agencies. Two public assistance centers were established in Nabatieh and in Batroun. Four centers for ambulatory tuberculous patients concerned with case finding and treatment were established. A

shelter for beggars was designed for screening purposes, after which the disabled were sent to special institutions and the well repatriated. In 1949 the responsibility for handling these cases was delegated to Beirut Municipality.

Some attempts were made to provide continuing education for personnel in health administration and services: the "Ecole de Formation Sociale" was used to train nurses with special emphasis on medical social work; fellowships were provided by UNICEF, WHO, and other agencies.

Two special projects were planned but not implemented. They were: a control area to study health problems jointly with the Rockefeller Foundation; and al-Madina el-Suhiyya, in Warwar, designed to have a hospital of 1,100 beds and to serve as a center for investigation.

The Present System

Since 1950, several new developments have taken place. The present set-up may be briefly reviewed with special reference to organizational structure, budget, curative health services, preventive health services, and the Public Health development plan.

The present Ministry of Public Health has a rather intricate and complex structure. This probably reflects its historical development: ambiguity of purposes, the influence of interrupted, non-adapted foreign expert advice, and poor planning.

The Director General is the top administrator. He ranks next to the Minister. Under him there are three Directors, each responsible for a separate division or directorate. These are subdivided into services and departments as shown in table 1.

Although the health budget shows an apparent increase during the last decade, its proportion to the total budget has actually decreased;¹ 5.06% per cent in 1957 as compared with

¹ Azar, J. "Health Needs and Objectives." First National Conference for Development, 1966.

4.07% in 1966. The proportions allocated to education and social welfare for the same years show a reverse trend, with a relative increase of 1.88% and 1.39% respectively.

The estimated expenditures for 1966 (Table 1),¹ indicate clearly the emphasis on curative medicine. Whereas 32.7% of the budget is allocated to medical care, only 5.4% is allocated to Public Health and 0.1% to Health Education. The 20.1% budgeted for development will be spent mainly on hospitals.

Curative Health Services

In view of their cost and concern to the Ministry of Public Health, curative health services will be considered in some detail. These services consist of two groups: dispensaries and hospitals (see Tables 2, 3, 4, 5).

A total of 199 dispensaries operate throughout the year. The percentage distribution according to district and type of administrative agency responsible for operating them is presented in Tables 4 and 5. It is worth noting that 40% of these dispensaries are located in the district of Mount Lebanon, where health conditions are on the whole good, as compared with 10% in South Lebanon, where the health need is greater. Furthermore, most of these dispensaries are found in large cities and towns, with a marked shortage in villages.

In addition to maldistribution in relation to health needs, a study by the Joint Health Committee of the Ministry of Planning showed the following weaknesses: 90% of dispensaries were located in buildings which lacked adequate facilities and were not especially designed for this purpose; 95% lacked laboratories and radiological services; 91% of specialists connected with these dispensaries were located in the districts of Beirut and Mount Lebanon; 59% of the dispensaries operate three days or less per week, and 61% provide medical

¹ Ministry of Public Health; "Dispensaries of the Ministry of Public Health in the Muhafazat," 1966 (Arabic).

examination for less than 20 patients per work-day (the type and quality of medical examination were not assessed).

Moreover according to Lebanese Health Laws, each dispensary must have a minimum of one graduate nurse from an officially recognized school. Despite this requirement, only 91 dispensaries (46%) had graduate nurses. The total number of nurses (graduate and practical) employed by these dispensaries amounted to 128. The discrepancy between the public and private sectors in this area is evident from the fact that the total number of public dispensaries is 44 as compared with 115 private (Table 3). The emphasis is on cure rather than prevention; most dispensaries do not have a proper health reporting system, health records are poorly kept and lack adequate information for statistical purposes.

Shortage of Hospitals

At present, there are 138 hospitals in the country, with a total bed capacity of 7,762 (Table 4). These hospitals are open all the year round, with the exception of some maternity hospitals which operate during summer months. Most of them (120, or 86.9%, with a total of 6,556 beds) are owned and operated by private institutions or individuals. Of these, 33 have contracts with the government. The study of the Joint Health Committee for General Planning,¹ showed that half of the contracted hospitals are not equipped to provide basic laboratory tests and radiological services.

Only 18 out of 138 hospitals are public, with a total bed capacity of 1,206. The ratio of public to private hospitals is thus 1: 6.7. In addition to beds available in public hospitals, the government purchases services from the private contracted hospitals, mostly for tuberculous cases and for patients with mental and neurological diseases.

¹ Report of the Joint Health Committee Ministry of Planning, Republic of Lebanon, Nov. 20, 1964 (in Arabic).

The distribution of hospitals according to districts is presented in Tables 6 and 7. The lowest bed capacity is in the Beka'a and South Lebanon where the health need is greatest. In the Beka'a, even the private sector has been inactive, with only one hospital for the whole district.

Half of the public hospitals are located in rural areas, indicating a trend towards decentralization. However, none of the rural hospitals have proper diagnostic means. They serve mostly as shelter for needy patients.

The estimated number of beds per 1,000 population is 3.19. This figure is very low, compared with a range of 8-15 for advanced countries. The required minimum number of beds is estimated at 15,616, which means an increase of 7,854 over and above the present total. But this does not make provisions for population increase or for hospital services purchased by non-Lebanese nationals. Lebanon serves as a medical center for the whole region, and the health need of the latter category of patients should be accounted for in planning.

Preventive Health Services

The Department of Vital and Health Statistics is a recent development in the National Public Health System which should be of great significance in its future development. A knowledge of the exact number of a population and its demographic features are essential for sound health planning. Without these tools, public health principles cannot be properly implemented. Unfortunately, in Lebanon as in most countries of the East Mediterranean, statistical data are practically non-existent and health planning is largely based on estimates. Consequently, grave errors are often committed, effort is duplicated, material and human resources are wasted, and public health remains a "lost cause."

Lebanon has not had a census for at least a quarter of a century, but an accepted estimate for the general population is 2,002,00. Crude death and birth rates also suffer from lack

of proper registration and reporting. Deficiencies in the registration and reporting system are not only the responsibility of the public health administration, but of every citizen, especially health workers and members of the medical profession. In this regard, medical education has not proved any better than the Public Health machinery. The cure-oriented physician has narrowed his horizon and lives his practice in almost complete isolation from the community. If death and disease are still under-reported in Lebanon, it is mainly because the medical profession has not assumed its full responsibility.

But even as estimates, the crude birth and death rates of the Lebanese population have much to say. The age distribution indicates that 58.2% of the total population is less than twenty-five years old. Therefore, we are confronted with a young population and the health problems of infants, children, and youth require our immediate concern and action. There is variation between the districts. The birth rate for Beirut, if accepted at its face value, beats the rate for Japan and the most developed Western countries. But the rates for South Lebanon and the Beka'a indicate that these parts of Lebanon still bear a striking similarity to the least developed African countries. This contrast is a challenge to the public health administrator and to every health worker and citizen in this community. In planning health services, and in allocating funds, priority should be given to the most needy districts.

The crude death rate seems to indicate that the Lebanese were born to be immortal, despite our poor sanitary conditions. If accepted at its face value, the rate of 4.7 per 1,000, recorded in 1964, amounts to half the rate recorded for some of the most developed countries. That this is probably due to an under-reporting of deaths is a fact which was clearly spelled out by the Public Health Department in the official Report of 1964. The population structure, and the incorrect estimation of its total, may be additional factors.

Of the communicable diseases, tuberculosis (all forms) and poliomyelitis, occupy the first and second place respectively.

Enteric fever (typhoid and paratyphoid) and poliomyelitis, show opposite time-trends. The first is decreasing while the second is on the increase. The difference is probably due to a relative improvement in environmental sanitation. The above-mentioned diseases, and others listed in Table 7, are all preventable. Immunization, health education, personal hygiene, and environmental sanitation, the four pillars of Public Health, have proved to be the most effective preventive weapons in developed countries, and this should be the case in Lebanon.

Maternal and Child Health Services

Maternal and Child Health is an area of major importance in Public Health for several reasons. In developing countries, with an estimated crude birth rate of 40-50 per 1,000, and an annual population increase of 2.5 - 3%, mothers of child-bearing age, infants, and children less than fifteen years of age usually constitute about 55-60% of the total population. Mothers and children are, moreover, vulnerable groups due to the physiological stresses of pregnancy, location and growth. In these groups the hazards of disease and death are numerous, and the health need is great. Comprehensive health care (prevention and cure) is most effective and least costly if carried out in early age - preferably from the onset of conception. Expectant and lactating mothers as well as infants and children in the pre-school and school age are most receptive to health education and modification in health habits and practices.

In this area, the Ministry of Public Health has been relatively ineffective. The Maternal and Child Health Service was started about thirteen years ago in collaboration with the World Health Organization. At present, it has three centers for health supervision and milk distribution, located in Beirut, Sidon and Tripoli. No such centers are available in rural areas where mothers and children are found in large numbers and where health needs are the greatest. School health in general is still in an elementary state.

Malaria Control Center

Malaria has been widely spread in Lebanon since 1863, affecting the coastal and mountainous sectors of the country up to an altitude of 1,200m. above sea level, where the abundance of springs, sources, brooks, and river banks serve as favourable breeding places for mosquitoes.

In 1935, 41% of infants and children below the age of twelve years showed a positive splenic index. During this year, the first attempts at the control of the disease were initiated by the local authorities. In 1943, over 21,000 cases and 132 deaths were reported. After D.D.T. spraying in 1947, only 6,000 cases and 19 deaths occurred.

Between 1951 and 1953, an international team (joint WHO and UNICEF), operating under the auspices of the Lebanese Ministry of Public Health, conducted a nation-wide survey, trained health personnel, and developed the first Malaria Eradication Plan for Lebanon. In 1955, the Malaria Control Center or Bureau was established and funds were budgeted for the purpose. The conference held in Damascus, June 1955, approved the principle of coordinating the Eradication Plan in the three neighboring countries: Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan.

The Malaria Control Center represents one of the most noteworthy preventive achievements of the Lebanese Public Health System. The only five malaria cases observed in 1965 (during the examination of 56,311 blood slides) were in immigrants who had newly entered the country, but no cases were observed in the indigenous population. Surveillance operations necessary in the maintenance phase, particularly in the regions below 1,000 m. altitude, are being continued.

The future plan is to integrate the Malaria Control Service personnel in Public Health Services and in the Health Centers envisaged by the Five-Year Development Plan.

The Malaria Control Service as a part of the over-all Public Health System illustrates two important principles: that a widely spread endemic disease may be controlled and

eradicated if the etiology of the disease is known, and effective means for its treatment and prevention are made available through a well-organized program; and that the success of a service is a result of an orderly sequence of actions whose sum total makes up public health practice. Although the health problem may differ in nature, the process remains the same. For the sake of clarity the sequence may be summarized as follows: a nation-wide survey, to assess the magnitude of the problem; a plan based on a full knowledge of the assessed problem; training of Health personnel; establishment of an administrative unit, and allocating adequate funds for the implementation of the plan; coordinating the plan with other eradication programs in neighboring countries; constant evaluation of the eradication process and follow-up; and a plan for the integration of health personnel in other preventive services, once the problem is completely overcome.

Public Health programs often fail as a result of three major shortages operating singly or jointly: lack of organization, funds, and manpower.

Manpower is beyond doubt the most important of these factors. The serious shortage of adequately trained health personnel in Lebanon was emphasized by the Five Year Development Plan which was approved by the Council of Ministers in its session of April 21, 1965. This shortage is largely due to poor salaries. However, specialized medical education, non-adapted professional training, poor orientation and motivation, limited opportunities for continuing education and lack of interest in community health, also play a considerable role.

The physician population ratio in Lebanon is estimated at 1/1,500, which compares well with the ratio in developed countries. The essence of the problem lies in distribution. The majority of Lebanese physicians are located in Beirut and large towns, with a marked shortage in rural areas. This maldistribution is a source of major concern to health planners, administrators and educators.

For the year 1966, there were 71 vacant posts for physicians, and the shortage of nurses (graduate and assistant), is even more marked than the shortage of physicians. The number of vacant posts for nurses and other health personnel for 1966, and for the health services included in the Five-Year Plan, was 1,587.

Public Health Development Plan (1965-1969)

This plan aims at the training of health personnel in adequate numbers to meet the existing need, and improving health conditions in the districts by establishing health centers and dispensaries, and uplifting the standards of existing hospitals.

The aim is to train about 200 nurses, 200 assistant nurses, 50 midwives, 40 sanitarians and 20 sanitary inspectors, by providing fellowships to trainees in private institutions, and by establishing schools in Baabda and Tripoli for nurses, with branches in the different *muhafazat* for assistant nurses.

So far as physical facilities are concerned, the aim is to construct and to equip more health centers and dispensaries in the various districts. These facilities will be mainly utilized for preventive purposes. The plan also aims at the completion of Baabda hospital and the establishment of a central hospital in Beirut to replace the old Karantina hospital. The new hospital will include a center for the control of cancer and a military unit.

The Central Laboratory is to be improved, and district laboratories in Sidon, Tripoli and Zahle are to be established. Special health services will include projects conducted by the Ministry of Health in disease prevention and control, and environmental health. The Akkar region will be given special consideration in these projects.

The proposed budget for the implementation of the plan is presented in Table 9.

Conclusion

Public health has moved far since Galen dreamed of hygiene on the Acropolis at Pergamos. But permanent improvement in health, in this country, as in many regions of the world where development is still in its earliest state, must await a *strong National Public Health system capable of providing the highest measure of health for all.*

For the attainment of this goal there are five pre-requisites: 1) a sound health philosophy, clearly defined, and accepted by educator, statesman, legislator, professional health worker, tax-payer and man in the street; 2) the social framework necessary to ensure a standard of living adequate for the maintenance of health; 3) a social consciousness and a people eager to learn and willing to assume full responsibility in organized health schemes; 4) basic scientific knowledge adapted to local resources and health needs; 5) a strong health machinery, well conceived, adequately staffed and financed to meet changing needs.

The day has come for public health to be a cause of general concern. The rising cost of medical care, the claim of the common man for better standards of living, better health, a longer and more productive life, are some of the new challenges which face this community and must be met if Lebanon is to take its place among the modern nations.

TABLE 1
Estimated Expenditures
Ministry of Public Health
(1966)

	L.L.	Per cent
1. Personnel	5,044,100	20.87
Employees		
Contractors		
Workers		
2. Medical Care (curative)	7,922,000	32.76
Purchased services in institutions		
and private hospitals		
3. Indemnity and Bonus	1,100,000	4.56
4. Equipment, Supplies, Rents	533,000	2.20
5. Transportation, Feasts, Representation	331,000	1.37
6. Subsidies	1,408,300	5.83
Disabled, leprosy, Red Cross		
7. Health Education	25,000	0.10
8. Water Analysis	3,000	0.01
9. Central Laboratory	618,700	2.56
10. Department of Public Health	1,305,000	5.40
11. Miscellaneous	1,025,600	4.24
12. Health Development (Hospitals)	4,860,000	20.1
Total	24,175,700	100

TABLE 2

Number of dispensaries in Lebanon, and distribution according to district - 1964

<i>District</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Beirut	42	20
Mount Lebanon	79	40
North Lebanon	33	16
South Lebanon	19	10
Beka'a	26	14
Total	199	100

TABLE 3

Distribution of dispensaries according to type of administrative agency-1964

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Government	44	22
Municipality	14	7
Private	115	58
Joint	26	13
Total	199	100

TABLE 4
Hospitals
Number and Distribution by District

<i>District</i>	<i>Private</i>		<i>Government</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No. of Hospitals</i>	<i>No. of beds</i>	<i>No. of Hospitals</i>	<i>No. of beds</i>	<i>No. of Hospitals</i>	<i>No. of beds</i>
Beirut	57	2,302	2	247	59	2,549
Mt. Lebanon	23	3,171	5	268	28	3,439
North Lebanon	27	682	4	277	31	959
Beka'a	1	107	2	148	3	255
South Lebanon	12	294	5	266	17	560
Total	120	6,556	18	1,206	138*	7,762

* The total number of hospitals does not include institutions for the aged.

TABLE 5

Private Hospitals
Number and distribution according to type of service

<i>Type of Hospital</i>	<i>Number</i>
General	81
Maternity	22
Sanatoria (T.B.)	5
Mental & Neurological diseases	2
Other (polio, E.N.T., etc.)	10
Total	120

TABLE 6

Population distribution according to age (1964)

<i>Age range (years)</i>	<i>Per cent (estimated)</i>
0 - 4	14.3
5 - 9	13.7
10 - 24	30.2
25 - 49	26.6
50 - and over	15.2
Total	100.0

TABLE 7

Communicable Diseases Reported, 1963

<i>Disease</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Tuberculosis all forms	823	47.6
Acute Poliomyelitis	274	15.9
Food Poisoning	121	7.0
Malaria	102	5.9
Diphtheria	89	5.2
Dysentery (acute bacillary and amoebic)	89	5.2
Epidemic cerebro spinal meningitis	80	4.6
Typhoid & paratyphoid fever	78	4.5
Favus	52	3.0
Trachoma	12	0.7
Anthrax	2	0.1
All other diseases*	5	0.3
Total	1,727	100.0

* Malta fever, Scarlet fever, Murine typhus (flea borne), Leprosy, Rabies, Influenza, Puerperal fever.

TABLE 8

Type and number of health personnel required for vacant posts: Ministry of Health, 1966, (Category A & B) and Five Year Development Plan.

Type of Health Personnel	Number		
	Ministry of Health	Five-year Plan	Total
	1966		
Physician	71	148	219
Nurse (graduate)	104	231	335
Assistant nurse (B)	100	274	374
Midwife	26	96	122
Social worker	-	95	95
Sanitary engineer	2	40	42
Sanitarian	45	126	171
Sanitary inspector	-	216	216
Entomologist	-	4	4
Insect collector	-	8	8
Health educator	-	22	22
Pharmacist	5	-	5
Chemist	19	53	72
Statistician	-	9	9
X-ray technician	-	49	49
Laboratory technician	14	49	63
Total	386	1,420	1,806

TABLE 9
Estimated Budget, Public Health
Five-year Development Plan 1965-1969*
in million L.L. per Type of Project per year

Type of Project	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	Total
1. Training of Health Personnel	-	0,500	1,000	1,000	1,000	3,500
2. Physical Facilities for Health Services (buildings Equipment, Supplies)	3,000	4,000	9,000	10,000	10,000	36,000
3. Laboratories	0,250	1,400	0,950	1,150	0,250	4,000
4. Special Health Projects	0,150	0,100	0,100	0,100	0,050	0,500
Total	3,400	6,000	11,050	12,250	11,300	44,000*

* 1. The total estimated budget for Development (5-year plan) = 788 million L.L.

The proportion allocated for health = 5.58%.

2. Other allocated Development funds which may have an indirect effect on health.

Million L.L.

a. Housing Project (Ministry of Social Welfare)	20.0
b. Social Security Scheme (Ministry of Social Welfare)	60.0
c. Social Development	65.0
d. Drinking Water	53.0
Total	198.0

The Development of Education in Lebanon¹

BY DR. NAIM ATIYEH*

Modern trends in the study of education emphasise the sociological-genetic approach, rather than the purely descriptive or analytical. We try now to understand educational theory in the concrete historical-social setting from which it emerges, not "in vitro" but "in vivo." We should recognise however that there are serious difficulties in the way of bringing such sociological-genetic emphasis to the study of education in Lebanon.

First, there has been little research on the social structure of modern Lebanon and the relations between its various interests and pressure groups. In the absence of such information it is almost impossible to gain any deep insight into the conflicts and forces which have determined, and still continue to determine the direction of collective action in Lebanese society.

Second, our knowledge is even less adequate when it comes to the educational theories, teaching methods, curricula and administrative practice, of the past. This makes it impossible to correlate developments in social structure and class conflicts with developments in education.

Third, there are few studies on Lebanon which provide accurate data on the distribution of the student population in terms of age, sex, religion, social class and geographic area, or on conditions and development possibilities of the labor

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¹ This is an abridged form of the original text, (note of the author).

The Development of Education in Lebanon

market. In the absence of this information, it is impossible to grasp the impact of demography and employment on the educational system in Lebanon. We cannot see how education seeks to adjust itself to the characteristics of the student population on the one hand, and to the demands of growth and development on the other.

Not until we have a fuller knowledge of the various forces at work in Lebanese society up to the present, and of corresponding intellectual and institutional developments, shall we be able to draw a comprehensive and meaningful picture of our national development. Such an undertaking demands the collaboration of specialists from all the human sciences: history, sociology, economics, and philosophy of education. So far, it remains an unfulfilled task.

However it is still possible, in the light of what research has been done and from available documents, to reconstruct, though imperfectly, the story of education in Lebanon as it evolved within the social order.

The full story should begin in ancient times, with the rise of civilization on the shores of Phoenicia and in Mesopotamia. It was only at the beginning of the 19th century A.D., however, that a Lebanese school system began to take shape. For Lebanon is a young state, fortuitously planted in an ancient land, with no demonstrable link between its modern history and its ancient past.

But this does not mean that our present system of education is unrooted, absurd or without identity. To be sure, it has inherited its entire structure and administrative system from the French Mandate. It has also inherited from it a curriculum alien to our traditional way of doing and thinking, based on the philosophy of "culture generale," and embodying the concerns of French cultural thought. However the moral and social problems which now confront Lebanese education cut deep into the modern history of Lebanon and cannot be fully understood without reference to their origin and the way in which early education in Lebanon was affected by them. A

brief historical review is indicated.

Since the 7th century A.D., Mount Lebanon, the predecessor of what is today the Republic of Lebanon, has offered refuge to a number of settlers of a variety of ethnic strains and religious affiliations, who fled persecution and violence in surrounding countries. Among them were the Maronites who settled in the North, the Druzes in the South, and later on the Shiites in the Ksrawan area in the South. Other minorities such as the Sunnites and Melchites were already settled, or were later to settle in coastal villages paralleling Mount Lebanon.

One thing these settlers had in common, they were all seeking safety and freedom, both political and religious. And there was scarcely any communication between them, as each settlement kept to itself in the seclusion of remote mountain valleys and plateaus.

However, during Ottoman rule, political considerations brought the Maronites and the Druzes together; and under the able leadership of the Ma'nids in the 17th century, and the Shihabs in the 18th, Mount Lebanon slowly grew toward closer political unity, and developed a unified form of authority vested in a single overlord, who could enlist the loyalty of Christians, Druzes and other sects alike.¹ In this respect, inter-community confrontations witnessed in Lebanon were similar to those experienced in the New World, when Puritan and other Protestant sects sought refuge in America in quest of religious and political freedom. In both places, inter-community contacts led to a growing awareness of the need for cooperation in freedom and mutual respect for the rights, opinions and customs of others. Thus simultaneously, the duty to live together and the right to differ were upheld.

The privileged political status which Mount Lebanon then enjoyed, guaranteed security and freedom, and thus attracted

¹ Salibi, Kamal, *The Modern History of Lebanon*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, Asia - Africa - Series, 1965, p. XIV.

foreign visitors including travellers and missionaries. As Lebanon opened its doors to outside influence and became especially receptive to European ideas, the relations which had been established between Christians and Europe, since the time of the Crusaders, received a new stimulus which led to stronger cultural contacts and educational activity. As early as the 17th century, a number of primary parish schools were started in various parts of Lebanon, and thus were to lay the foundation for the revival of the country early in the 19th century.¹

Next to the opening of Aintura college in 1728 and of Zghorta Seminary in 1735, both meant for higher education, the most significant development during that period was perhaps the Maronite Synod held in Luwayza in 1736. In fact, it produced what amounts to a first official statement of educational policy in Lebanon.

Significant points in this policy are expressed in the following resolutions:²

1. Living in Fear of God: "It is always timely to try to teach children, however young, to behave in fear of God."³
2. Early Education: "children and youths are by nature inclined to the pleasures of the world. Thus they ought to be guided to piety and worship at an early age, while they are still immune to the corrupting influence of evil habits and pernicious practices which obstruct readiness to learn and turn the spirit away from the teachings of the Church."⁴
3. Education for Virtue: "Thus full care should be exercised in guiding boys to the practice of every virtue, in thought, speech or action...lest they should drift to sin and indulge

¹ Hitti, P. *Loubnan Fi Al-Tarikh*, Dar Al-Thaqafa, 1959, p. 483.

² These resolutions may be found in scattered places in "Al-Majmah Al-Lubnani" published in 1788. The translation is mine. Another translation including some of the clauses quoted above and other clauses not quoted here, may be found in: Salibi K., *Op. Cit.*, p. 124.

³ *Al-Majmah Al-Lubnani*, p. 388.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 375-376.

in vice because of a predisposition to evil in human nature itself."¹ (Although not with the same tone of urgency, similar concern is shown for the education of girls who are to be entrusted to the care of nuns.)

4. Universal Education: "Schools should be established in well-known towns and villages, and in larger monasteries, and be continually maintained in such good care that the children, who are to live in them or in the vicinity, will learn from them what is necessary for their education and salvation."²
5. Church-Controlled Semi-Gratuitous Education: "Bishops, priests, and heads of monasteries are urged to show concern by taking steps to appoint teachers, draw up lists of children of school age and command their parents to send them to school. The poor and orphans shall have free board at the expense of the church. As to the teachers' salary, let the parents pay one share of it, and the church another."³
6. Three-Stage Program: All children shall be taught reading and writing, then the Psalms, the Book of the Mass and the New Testament. Brighter children should be selected for a more advanced program to be administered in two stages including first, grammar, music, the Church calendar, and then higher studies such as rhetoric, prosody, philosophy, arithmetic, surveying, astronomy and other mathematical subjects.*

It is important to note here that the progressive stand of the Synod was quite comprehensive. It touched educational policy, school maintenance, fees, program of study and textbooks. In all these, the recommendations made and the resolutions taken constituted a radical break with the past. And although

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 388-389.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 375-376.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 378.

* Item No. 5 is not a literal translation of the corresponding text in Arabic. It is a summary of it.

the suggested curriculum did not include natural sciences, it still indicated a definite concern for knowledge at large, with no apparent bias for religious indoctrination. It is also to be noted that the New Testament was one of the books assigned for reading by all children, which gives unequivocal evidence of the liberalism of this Synod. Direct exposure to the New Testament would provide a real chance for the free interpretation of its teachings and thus foster the spirit of questioning and critical evaluation.

On the other hand the Synod must have given new stimulus to primary education. In fact, when Patriarch Youssef Istifan in 1787 established a clerical Seminary at Ayn Waraqa, it was soon transformed on demand by laity into a secular high school, which indicated that there was perhaps enough demand for post-primary education to justify this action.

— It was not until the third decade of the 19th century that one could speak of the beginning of a true cultural revival in Lebanon. Several factors then combined to produce a sudden spurt in Lebanese education, imparting to it new vigor and starting a general movement for modernization and reform. Among such factors we can count, with new elements in it this time, the rebirth of foreign missionary activity, the occupation by Ibrahim Pasha of Syria and Lebanon, the social awakening of the peasantry and lower classes of Lebanon, the privileged political status which Lebanon enjoyed under the new Mutessarifat regime and the general movement for reform and revival in the whole Arab world.

In the first place, missionary activity was renewed in the first three decades of the 19th century, with the coming of an American mission in 1820 and the return of the Jesuits shortly afterwards. But it was not until the time of the Mutessarifat after 1860, when peace and prosperity again prevailed, that the activity of foreign missions and local congregations picked up speed and began a close competition for the creation of more and better schools. This competition assumed two levels: religious,

where one sect grew suspicious of another and undertook to plan for the protection of its own subjects from the danger of proselytization; and national, where natives, prompted by an impulse for self-assertion and by hostility to the political ambitions of the mother countries of the missionaries, began to free themselves from the tutelage of their foreign teachers and masters, and build a net of national schools of their own.

The fruit of this mad race in the 'house of intellect', as it were, was a Syrian Protestant College (1866) later to become the American University of Beirut, a French Jesuit University (1875) known as the Saint Joseph University, and a number of school systems in various parts of Lebanon and representing all denominations and social groups.

In the second place, between 1833 and 1840, came Ibrahim Pasha who took a special interest in schools. His motive was partly educational, but above all he intended to use such schools for promoting his own military and political needs and propagating his own ideas on Arab nationalism.¹ However, to the credit of Ibrahim Pasha we can count a number of significant achievements. First, important reforms in school administration were made, which redefined the relation of the state to education. Second, a primary school system for the benefit of Muslim children was inaugurated on the model of the modern school system of Muhammad Ali in Egypt. Third, a number of colleges were opened in the larger cities of Syria for the encouragement of higher learning and the training of doctors, engineers and military officers. Fourth, the principle of education as a public service, free of charge was upheld. Although not much survived the regime of the man who initiated these achievements, his merit was to have whipped Muslims out of their slumber and imparted some vitality to their traditional system.

Another factor in Lebanese revival was the awakening of

¹ Antonius, George. *The Arab Awakening*, Khayat's College Book Cooperative, Bliss St., Beirut, 1955, pp. 27-29 and 40-41.

the peasantry and other lower social classes to their social and political rights. This was perhaps both an outcome and a cause of revival.

On the other hand, the collapse of the feudal regime under the Mutassarifate, led as might be expected to the rise of a new bourgeois class of merchants and traders who diligently competed for status with the landed gentry and other socially high-ranking people. This new social class was the nursery of the modern secondary school in Lebanon. But more research is still needed to determine the impact it actually had on school curricula and educational policy.

From that time on, a new phenomenon was witnessed in Lebanon and Syria, i.e. the birth of another new class, an offshoot of the first, including intellectuals, professionals and men of letters. It is they who led the intellectual and political revival. This phenomenon was not limited to Lebanon and Syria; in fact, it was a general movement which encompassed the whole Ottoman Empire.

In the Muslim world for instance, a number of movements, such as the Wahabi movement in the Arab Peninsula, the Sinoussi movement in Libya, the Reformist movement in Tunis and the Salafi movement in Morocco, had been leading a campaign for the regeneration of Islam, calling for its purification from false teachings and practices, and for return to the true Islam of the first generation.¹

Working with similar zeal for the regeneration of Muslim civilization, Khayr-Eddin in Tunis, Tahtawi, Al-Afghani and Abdo in Egypt, and Al-Kawakibi in Syria, all went a step further and pressed for a new understanding of Islam, based on the rational re-interpretation of the Koran in the light of modern needs and scientific progress.²

¹ Al-Jundi, Anwar. *Al-Fikr wal-Thaqafa Al-Mu'assira Fi Shamal Afriqia*, Cairo, 1965, pp. 17-52.

² Hourani, Albert. *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*, Oxford University Press, 1962, Passim.

In Lebanon and Syria, Faris Shidyaq, Nassif Yazigi and his son Ibrahim, Van Dyck, Butrus Bustani and his son Selim, Francis Marrash, Adib Ishaq and many others set the pace for a real literary revival, which imparted new life to the Arabic language, turning it into a simpler and more flexible instrument for the expression of modern ideas. Also, they all called for the opening of a new type of school with richer curricula and better methods of teaching, and advocated universal education for both boys and girls, as a basis for national revival.¹

Towards the end of the 19th century, two new elements entered the field of education in Lebanon, first the establishment of Greek Orthodox schools by the Russian 'Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society'; second, the establishment in 1878 of a benevolent society known as the Muslim Makassid Khairiyah Society, for the education of Muslim youths.

- It is presumed that the Palestine Society had political as well as educational and religious objectives. Politically, it perhaps aimed to reduce French influence in the Near East, and above all to counteract Greek supremacy in the Eastern Orthodox church. At the same time, the interest it had in education was solid and unequivocal. In less than 10 years for instance, between 1895 and 1904, the Society had already established in Lebanon and Syria 68 schools accommodating 10,000 children.² It charged no fees, and provided students with books and other classroom material on a loan basis.³ However, their influence was short-lived, as they were all shut down with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and of the Russian Czarist regime.

By contrast, the Muslim Makassid Society still remains an outstanding example of organized private sectarian initiative. Its basic merit is to have laid the foundation for Muslim educational revival in Lebanon. In fact, the Sunnites

1 *Ibid.*, Passim.

2 Stavrou, T.G. *Russian Interest in Palestine*, Institute for Balkan studies, Thessaloniki, 1963, p. 164.

3 Interviews with a number of surviving teachers who worked with the Palestine Society.

of Lebanon and Syria, because of their close connection with the Sultanate and their deep belief in Muslim unity, had become hostile to Western institutions.¹ This hostility they shared with some Christian sects who, until the end of the 19th century continued to identify with the Ottomans and fought foreign schools on national grounds.² But while the Christians were receptive to western ideas, Muslims could not readily accept them without reinterpretation, in accordance with the principles of their religion. Thus for a long time Muslims restricted themselves to Ottoman schools which had become old-fashioned and non-creative.³ Naturally, this placed serious limitations on the progress of literacy among them, particularly on the spread and development of higher learning.

Naturally, the Muslims of Lebanon and Syria were bound to take some action for the reconstruction of their community. Thus the Makassid society was formed. Among other things, it took it upon itself to offer Muslim children in Beirut and other places of Lebanon and Syria a modern education.

Although in its earlier years, the Makassid school system was not quite stable it helped to arouse among Muslims new interest in learning. Thus by the close of the 19th century, all sects of Lebanon, though in varying degrees, had been well-started in an educational revival which was to grow unhampered until 1914, when it was brought to a sudden halt by the advent of the first World War.

On the other hand, one of the most significant tasks the French undertook during their mandate over Lebanon was the creation of a system of modern school designed for the general expansion of national public education. As time went on, the position of the French in Lebanon had become more secure. Thus they thought that, in fulfillment of this ideal of educational

1 Beyhum, Mohammad Jamil. *Al-Mara'a Fi Al-Tarikh wal-Shara'eh*, Beirut, pp. 206-207.

2 Massarra, Jrasimyos. "National Schools", "Al-Hadiyya", vol. IV, No. 60, 1886, pp. 206-207.

3 Al-Husri, Sati "Hawliyat al-Thaqafa al-Arabiya", vol. 1, Cairo 1949 p. 11.

expansion, they could reorganize education in Lebanon on the model of the French school system. Naturally, they began by creating a form of central authority, in the person of a Minister of Education to share with French authorities the right of supervision over private education, and to be in full charge of public instruction, but, who in turn had to submit to French control. This was perhaps the first most significant change made by the French. From a highly decentralized system, education in Lebanon soon became highly centralized, with a rigorous administrative pyramid.

Another significant innovation introduced by the French was the creation of a primary state school system to spread free public primary education. Although state schools offered only primary education, official control over all stages of education was now possible. The French not only prescribed detailed syllabi for each of the stages of education; they also astutely adopted the system of public examinations as a device of remote control. This proved to be very successful in bending programmes in most private schools towards the French pattern, and bring them indirectly under State control. Eventually, all private elementary and secondary schools, using French as a language of instruction, came to operate within this framework, remaining free in internal management, but compelled to meet the minimum requirements of official examinations.¹

Anglo-Saxon schools and native schools affiliated to them, remained outside French influence except for their compliance with the requirement of the French language as a compulsory language. Though losing in prestige, they continued to function with complete freedom, using their own textbooks, managing their own schedule, and conferring their own degrees. By and large, they looked for accreditation to the American University, once the Syrian Protestant College, or else they prepared their students for British public examinations.

¹ Kurani, Habib. "Lebanon: Educational Reform", Yearbook of Education University of London, Evans Brothers, 1949, pp. 455-456.

At the close of the term of the Mandate, the French had built the infra-structure on which education in Lebanon now rests.

After World War II, Lebanon achieved its political independence and joined the United Nations and the Arab League as a founding member. For the first time, after centuries of foreign rule, public powers came to be vested in a national government elected directly by the people. This created great enthusiasm for the reconstruction of Lebanese society along modern democratic lines, consonant with public welfare and national sovereignty. Naturally the financial and educational responsibilities which the fulfillment of this goal demanded, were by far beyond the resources of private schools. Thus the general public in Lebanon was more than ready to accept the principle of education as a public service. Popular pressure was even such that the State found no escape from entering into the field of education and undertaking direct responsibility for the provision of a public school system. However, it continued to respect the principle of private initiative and autonomy in education, and to count on the cooperation of voluntary schools. The State school system was not therefore, designed to replace private schools, but to supplement them, or simply to exist side by side with them.

The first problem before the State was that of broadening access to free education. The government thus began by revitalizing the primary school system already at work, by increasing the number of public elementary schools. At one point, the government was ready to invite for teaching service any educated person who responded to the call of duty. This certainly tended to create a gap between public schools staffed by emergency teachers, and private schools staffed by relatively superior teachers.¹ To remedy this situation, the government

¹ Sadaka, Najeeb. "Al-Tarbia Fi Loubnan," in *Mouhadarat Fi Nouzum Al-Tarbia*, Dept. of Education, Amer. University of Beirut, 2nd edition, 1958, pp. 1-42.

took two significant measures: first, it established new teacher-training schools, and in-service teacher-training programs; second, it sought to organize a strong program of State subsidy, which would enable private schools themselves, without jeopardy to their standards, to offer elementary education, either free of charge or at a nominal fee."¹

Content to leave secondary education to private agencies,² the government moved up to higher education. In 1951, it established a state university, the Lebanese University, to offer education at low cost, and eventually free of charge. Also, it created a sizable scholarship fund for students attending other universities or studying abroad.

More recently, the government felt compelled to pay more attention to secondary education, including professional and vocational training. Important reforms are being put into effect in this domain, with the purpose of expanding the state school system from the middle, connecting it at the lower level with the Primary School system, and at the upper with the Lebanese University. Eventually this should make it possible for any Lebanese youth to have free education from the first grade through college, and for Lebanon to achieve the ideal of free universal education.

The second problem for the State was to provide through education, a basis for national solidarity. The solution of the problem was thought to be in a national educational system with unity of outlook and purpose.³

However, the State had no wish to interfere with religious

1 Ministry of Education in Lebanon, Ministerial Decree on the Organization of Teaching Personnel in Private Schools, Beirut, June 12, 1956.

2 The first attempt to expand public secondary education was made in 1952 when the Government undertook to establish three secondary schools. Although not officially acknowledged yet, secondary education however is now becoming more and more a state responsibility.

3 "Loubnan Fi Ahd Al-Istiklal", First Cultural Pan-Arab Conference, Beit-Mery, 1947, p. 16; and "*Manhaj Al-Talim*", Ministry of Education in Lebanon, 1946, p. 2.

instruction, nor to violate academic freedom. Also, much as it deplored the detrimental effect of foreign ideologies on national loyalty, it still recognized the contribution which foreign schools could make to the culture of the land.

The government then decided to follow a middle-of-the-road policy. First, while it continued to guarantee the freedom of religious instruction in private schools, it attempted to secularize the public school system, by keeping religious instruction at a minimum, and enriching programs of civic education. Second, it prescribed an official syllabus, designed in conformity with national interest, decreeing that it should be followed, as a minimum requirement, by all primary and secondary schools, public or private, national or foreign.

Also, the Arabic language was given priority, and made by law the language of instruction.¹ But for a number of reasons, this could not be put into effect immediately. Foreign languages, especially French and English which were given by law an equal status, were thus to remain as the dominant media of instruction in most secondary schools. In fact, a large number of private elementary schools in larger cities, following the lead of influential foreign schools, adopted a double syllabus, with two duplicate parts, one to be taught in Arabic in conformity with the new law, and the other in a foreign language.²

In purely academic matters, the State possessed a powerful instrument of control, the external public examination, which is one of the salient features of the Lebanese system of education. Although all private schools are given a relatively free hand in the management of their internal affairs,³ they have no authority

1 "*Al-Jarida Al-Rasmi'a*", Ministry of Justice in Lebanon, 1943, No. 4106, p. 11501.

2 Sadaka, Najeeb, *Op. Cit.*, p. 25.

3 Private schools are not free in all matters of administration. The Syndicate of teachers is gradually gaining more power, and will eventually exercise close control over private school owners. Already important reforms concerning salaries, social security and dismissal policy have been carried out by the government under the pressure of the Syndicate.

to grant official titles, degrees or certificates. Of course any school master can grant a school leaving diploma, but it will not carry the stamp of official recognition. Only State certificates or their equivalents¹ are recognized by the government. They confer upon their holders such privileges as entry into public service and institutions of higher learning. For this reason, a number of public external examinations corresponding to the various levels of school certification are held by the government twice a year.

Until recently, as mentioned earlier, schools of the American and British type had not operated within this plan.² Instead, they prepared their students for entry to the American University of Beirut or to Beirut College for Women, or for study abroad. Thus indirectly they forfeited their right of competition for public offices.

To remedy this, the authorities adopted a temporary measure which granted provisional recognition to high school diplomas until such time as schools were ready for State public examinations.

Also, admission to the American University was made subject to the requirement of a State certificate or its equivalent. As a result, schools with English as medium of instruction were gradually bent towards the pattern prescribed by the government and indirectly brought under State control.

With this last development education in Lebanon may be said to have achieved structural unity. At the root of this unity

¹ The equivalence of degrees and certificates is determined by a special committee appointed by the Minister of Education, including in its membership representatives from the various Universities of Beirut. Evaluation is made on the basis of courses, academic standards of institutions involved, and number of years of education. In the case of State degrees earned outside Lebanon, diplomatic courtesies are apt to over-rule the necessity of strict adherence to academic standards. Some certificates earned abroad may thus be inferior to Lebanese certificates.

² Anglo-Saxon schools first began to participate in State public baccalaureate examinations in 1955.

there is the public external examination, first introduced by the French; but which, in the hands of the Lebanese government, has now become a very effective tool for the over-all control of education, ensuring both excellence in standards, and the exercise of greater equity in the evaluation of merit.

In contrast to the diversity of outlook in the schools of Lebanon, the educational ladder, which has now come to prevail in the country, is well articulated, with uniform curricula, spread over three consecutive stages, the Primary stage from 6 to 10/11; the Complementary stage from 11 to 14/15; and the Secondary stage from 15 to 17/18.

The ladder looks as follows:

1. Primary Education, from 6 to 10/11, offers a common program for all children, leading up to a State certificate of Elementary Studies. It qualifies for admission either to the next stage of the academic stream, Higher Primary Education, usually called Complementary education, or to lower agricultural and technical schools.
2. Higher Primary Education, from 11 to 14/15, offers also a uniform program, leading up to a Higher Primary Certificate, known as the 'Brevet'. Teaching in this section lays the foundation for Secondary education, and is in effect often mixed with it. In most schools, the four classes of this stage are known as first, second, third and fourth secondary classes. In some schools, especially where this stage is terminal, the term Complementary is more common.

The Brevet certificate offers three outlets:

- a) Elementary Teacher Training.
 - b) An Arts and Crafts School, now known as the Technical Center of Dekwanch.
 - c) Higher Secondary Education.
3. Higher Secondary Education, from 15-to 17/18, prepares students for the Baccalaureate certificate given in two stages,

the Baccalaureate first part in two years (Arts or Sciences), and the Baccalaureate second part in one additional year (Philosophy or Mathematics).

The Baccalaureate (as a whole) gives access to higher learning, and qualifies its holders to enter competitive examinations for admission to professional colleges, such as the School of Medicine, the School of Engineering, the Higher Teachers Training College and the Military Academy. Selection for parallel colleges at the American University of Beirut, though not based on examinations for holders of the Baccalaureate, is also competitive.

Thus the State educational ladder in Lebanon includes a common stem of Primary education extending over five years, which leads to a variety of streams, academic, professional and technical. The academic stream is continuous and rationally coordinated from stage to stage. The agricultural and technical streams are each divided into two independent stages, lower and advanced. Each stage is conceived to be somewhat terminal. The professional teacher training stream has only one level paralleling the Higher Secondary Program.

Certainly, before any further integration in the school system of Lebanon can be attempted, it is important that a revision of educational objectives be made in the light of the experiences of the last 20 years. However, the working statement of such objectives, first formulated in 1946 by the first Cabinet formed after independence, includes a number of universal principles which will continue to underlie education in Lebanon. Of these, four points stand out as an embodiment of Liberal Arts education, and define the purpose of education in Lebanon.¹

1. To promote in youths the sense of the dignity of man and individual respect;
2. To prepare them for enlightened citizenship and active membership in society;

¹ Takla, Selim. *Manhaj Al-Talim Fi Loubnan*, Beirut, pp. 3-6.

3. To develop in them profound loyalty to the classical heritage of Lebanon, with its deep culture and sense of mission to the world;
4. To impart to them, prior to any specialization, a broad and solid Liberal Arts education, based on the acceptance of philosophy as basis for all specialization, and the appreciation of the role of science in modern civilization.

The broader aim of this education is still to be achieved through a carefully selected program of liberal studies, embodying the best in the cultural heritage of man, both humanistic and scientific.

Music in Lebanon

BY DIANA TAKY DEEN*

It is difficult for a performer to speak about music; being continuously involved with an abstract art makes it hard to be articulate about it. It has been said that perhaps the best critical evaluation of one performance is another. Moreover, for a performer to speak or write about music is even more difficult than for other artists, since by definition, a performer is not necessarily a musicologist, critic, or speaker.

What follows is neither an essay on music and the importance of music in human existence, nor a history of music in Lebanon, but rather a report on musical life in our country as it exists today, of music composed by Lebanese (a more accurate term than Lebanese music), and finally an attempt at an evaluation, together with a glance at future prospects.

What is happening to music in Lebanon today, and what brings about these happenings? What problems are we facing and what solutions does the future offer? What new horizons can be envisaged?

Let us first look at the musical scene in July 1966. Upon arrival in the city of Beirut, any musician, journalist, or educator would naturally inquire about our orchestra. Similarly, the first question a Lebanese musician abroad is most likely to be asked is, "How big is the orchestra in your country?" The answer to this question, which is also the description of the general situation, means very little in itself, but certain facts, by giving it a context, also give it significance.

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The answer is, of course, "It is growing."

It is growing, not slowly and surely, but only slowly. Sometimes not even slowly, since every now and then, a lone instrumentalist of a section has to leave Beirut after a mere half dozen appearances, to be replaced about nine months later by another, playing in a different section of the orchestra. This shows that the story of our orchestra is like the myth of Sisyphus.

Concerts and Performers

How then is this orchestra growing? It is growing along with the public. The Lebanese music-lover has once and for all adopted the concert hall as both a replacement of and a complement to his gramophone. Fifteen years ago, a musical connoisseur was considered as well-informed as his pile of records at home was high and heavy. Today a season ticket is his pride. The music-lover has become more active, recognizing the irreplaceable authentic value of a live performance. Consequently a small minority has gone further by forming chamber groups – mostly semi-professional – playing for themselves and others. The public of the concerts given at Assembly and West Halls of the American University, Irwin Hall of Beirut College for Women, or the Auditorium of l'Ecole Supérieure des Lettres is cosmopolitan, of three generations, in most instances as open to communication through music as the artist on stage could desire, and in turn, consciously or unconsciously demanding better quality.

Occasional disappointments are still to be expected however, even if in these representative halls a genuine love of music is revealed at certain high points by the enthusiasm of silence during the performance and applause at the end. Clapping in between movements is now unheard of, but artists still need to plead with organizers, late-comers and photographers to spare them interruptions.

It can be said that almost every concert-goer is a music lover, although the contrary still does not necessarily hold true.

Whereas the weekly sale of classical records during the winter season is larger than that of any one concert box-office, the addition of three larger, specially-constructed halls during the coming year will prove whether or not the number of concert-goers in Beirut exceeds nine hundred (the capacity of the largest hall to date).

With respect to the public then, music in our society is passing very definitely from the "social" to the "artistic" level. While this "leap" takes place, one cannot but be reminded of how the need for artists and live performances two or three hundred years ago gave birth to the most important composers of all time.

The orchestra referred to earlier is part of the national institution for music in Lebanon, the Conservatory of Music: an autonomous body, 41 years old, financed by the Ministry of Education with a budget of close to LL 900,000. It has 500 students, 70 teachers for 25 subjects, and produces an average of two to four piano or singer graduates per year, one of whom is currently a full-fledged Professor of Harmony at the Conservatoire Supérieur de Musique in Paris.

During the last five years, the major accomplishments of the Conservatory have been its emphasis on the theoretical basis for instrumental training (even though composition is still not taught as a separate subject); an increase by almost 100% of student enrollment in the wind section; and, in spite of a marked division between the "Occidental" and "Oriental" sections as they are distinguished there, a fulfillment of the first constructive step towards mutual integration.

With the budget for concerts and the orchestra increasing annually (except for this last year), teachers are being given more opportunity to perform and this undertaking is meeting success in terms both of quality and quantity. During the 1965-66 season, chamber music concerts multiplied and several works were introduced for the first time in Beirut and other centers of the country.

The orchestra today is made up of seventeen players who

are also mostly instructors in the string department. Outside players are sometimes invited when the repertoire of the monthly concerts is enlarged to include more winds. There is one main conductor of the Conservatory Orchestra, and two or three other members of the teaching staff who conduct the eight or nine annual free concerts played to capacity halls.

Adaptation of the score is common practice so that an acute listener is likely to notice effective changes of color and proportions, and might be amused, for example, to hear a saxophone substituting for the bassoon (Beethoven's Violin Concerto, third movement, second theme), or an absence of the second oboe, or even a string instrument replacing its wind counterpart (new horizons in orchestration technique!).

On the other hand, however, and this is where potential "growth" takes place, second and even third horn parts are played by students in their third and fourth years of study and string players occasionally play in chairs not too far from their instructors.

It is not clear whether the particular enjoyment by the public of Italian Seicento and Setticento Music is due to their tastes as such, or to the orchestra being most nearly fully rehearsed in these periods; Suk and Bartok, together with music written by Lebanese, have been received lately as very welcome refreshers.

The orchestra is also "growing" through its efforts, in spite of limitations in number, preparation, study, and rehearsal time, to perform works by local musicians - thus lifting up the hopes of those who aspire to write for an orchestra and of others who, like the composer of a certain symphony dating back a few years, are obliged to keep the manuscript somewhere in a drawer.

The drawer is not locked; it is only closed.

Lebanese Composers

Who are these composers and what is Lebanese composition

like? In a report of this kind, composition is certainly the most difficult section to tackle.

In its essence, the term "Lebanese Music" describes individual writing – each composer emerging from different backgrounds and training, not under the influence of one special "school." With the concept of "School" or "Group" disappearing in the world today, the inability to determine a coherent school of composition in our country is no indication that standards are not established and, in some cases, already reached. The results of the three national contests organized by "Les Jeunesses Musicales du Liban," given full support by foreign cultural missions in Beirut and the Lebanese Cenacle, and judged by leading international figures, the recurrence of performances both in Lebanon and abroad by international artists, (written up favorably in the international press), the special interest shown for three years now by the Italian, French, and German radio stations, and most of all the publication by the "Editions de l'ORTF"¹ in Paris of two prize-winning works; all these serve as encouragement and proof of the validity of our composers.

There is in Lebanon a type of musical writing known as "folklore." It can be heard from Radio Liban (although the quantity of the classical music programs there is considerable), often on television (which in passing, may be described as thoroughly inequipped musically), sometimes on commercial recordings, during summer festivals, and in a permanent theater program during the winter. This is the music of Lebanon to which a tourist is usually introduced, whose popularity establishes it as representative of "local" and even "national" musical creation.

The word "folklore" dances to practically every tune labelled "Lebanese Music" and vice versa. Some of this music is all right: .01% of it is probably original: one unique human voice attached to the folklorique set-up is wonderful. But this

¹ Office de la Radio-Télévision Française.

kind of music is not real folklore; that it should be called so for commercial reasons is something we are being forced to accept but should not tolerate. None of the music on sale in the "souks" and music shops is really folklorique and what real folklorique music there is remains unknown, except to a few. In this respect, our musical resources are about to vanish even before we realise what they are, or if they even exist. The misconceptions due to using false terms are progressively leading us away from our own musical heritage.

It is not our main concern here to discuss the intricacies of our heritage or the subtleties of our history, tradition, and culture that the distinguished lecturers of this series have expounded. Again, it is not our business to elaborate on the past. Our concern is with the present. The fatal misconceptions concerning folklore derive from the basic blunder of dividing music into two. Music in Lebanon is always either Western or Eastern.

The establishment of a Bachelor of Arts degree in music at the American University of Beirut in 1966 is a constructive step towards the development and ultimate integration of the two species of music. The following quotation from the curriculum of the Bachelor of Arts degree in Music at the American University of Beirut is an important constructive step towards solving the problem of Eastern and Western music.

"In music, there are no distinctions between formal factors which are so affected by ethnic differences that the separation of that art into radically opposed categories can be justifiably warranted. Music for a musician is only one thing: Music. That word alone embodies its formal totality. For him (the musician), radical divisions between oriental and occidental forms do not exist, only their subtleties. The same is true of the artist, who comprehends Hokusai and Whistler with equal familiarity.

In the training of a musician, insistent preoccupation with formal separation does little more than create the confused notion that certain rhythmic patterns, modes, and scales belong to music. Such activity would be better served in pointing out

the distinguishing factors and the interactive influences which occur throughout the history of music. Instead, the effect of this preoccupation has been to impede the interrelation and mutual absorption of musical forms, so necessary to creative composition and the understanding of music.

Equally disastrous, because of too emphatic a consideration for the genresque, would be lack of a scientific approach to musical scholarship and disciplined instruction.

What seems to be needed most is not an overt concession to the indigenous, but a discipline which places all formal structures in their proper perspective and treats them accordingly. The principal danger in an undergraduate curriculum where too much emphasis is placed on indigenous factors is that, instead of reinforcing those factors, they would inevitably be jeopardized by over-emphasis. This could lead to inadequate musical preparation and perhaps to the sterile preoccupations of those who are obsessed by 'the search for their own values'. To survive such an unhappy ordeal, one would do well to be fully equipped academically.

The work of Bela Bartok represents a mastery of ethnic background. As a composer he was neither occidental, nor oriental. He represents the knowledgeable and successful merger of the component elements of both. . . ."¹

Furthermore, such a program should not be self-consciously concerned with 'the needs of the area'. The primary concern of any program should be with what is right musically, irrespective of where that program is located. In this sense it should be emphasized that the main body of the proposed curriculum is based on the western formal concept. This concept should prevail until such a time as its disciplined thoroughness has been incorporated into the musical genre of the Middle East. Only then will the formal values of music transcend the limitations of folklore. . . . The aims of the curriculum would be:

¹ Quoted with the kind permission of the American University of Beirut.

- to create the circumstances necessary for a mastery of the art on the undergraduate level.
- to induce a disciplined state of mind which would disavow the superficial.
- to create the circumstances necessary to produce leaders in the fields of performance, composition, conducting, and musicology.
- to make music meaningful in its highest and most professional sense.
- to attempt to insure through the nature of the program itself that students will perform in the field, in one capacity or another, after they have graduated."¹

Keeping the development of such a program in mind, it seems appropriate at this point to discuss the question of standards in music as they appear in music education and performances. Synonymous with the quest for standards is the name "Les Jeunesses Musicales du Liban", a non-profit organization subsidized by at least two governmental ministries, and now in its eleventh year of existence. This movement was originally based upon the ideals of the International Federation of Jeunesses Musicales, but with the urgent need of this generation for music, it became the main impetus for the musical renaissance of the '60's.

Through the activities of "Les Jeunesses Musicales du Liban", the Department of Social Development of the Ministry of Social Affairs, and the Music and Art Teaching Center, there has been an increasing number of concerts, and some initial music training in the elementary classes, in villages and towns of the different regions of Lebanon. There is also a condensed teacher-training program.

To the same movement belongs the rising stability and reputation of the Baalbek Festival, and the guarantee of the international careers of the handful of Lebanese artists and

¹ *Ibid.*

soloists. It has given rise to a kaleidoscopic variety of concerts, a few of which are first-class. Here, the contribution of the foreign cultural missions is valuable.

What should be vigorously recommended for the future of this Renaissance are the following:

- the implementation of the governmental decree including music in the public school curriculum (up to now, the lack of teachers has been the drawback.)
- the creation of National Institute for Research in Folklore discussed about four years ago, perhaps as an outgrowth of this Cultural Resources of Lebanon series.
- the institution of an autonomous Symphony Orchestra eventually leading to an Opera and a Ballet Company, out of which would naturally develop permanent professional chamber groups still practically non-existent today. It goes without saying that choirs and music for chorus would be the natural outcome of public education in music.
- the creation of a permanent concert management to promote concert activity to and from Lebanon.
- and finally, the encouragement of knowledgeable music criticism which both results from, or leads to, a conscientious attainment of professional standards and attitudes.

* * *

A conscious effort has been made, during the preparation of this report, to limit the mention of names and to talk only of the public, the performer, and the composer. Within this triangle music finds life: upon it, the musical life of a nation is built.

We are now living through a crucial period in our musical development where only "disinterested" interest in music will allow our national music to survive and music to become a natural part of our lives and society.

For with Shakespeare,

"The man that hath no music in himself
Nor is not moved with concord of sweet sounds
Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils;
The motions of his spirit are dull as night,
And his affections dark as Erebus.
Let no such man be trusted."

Lebanon and the Modern Art Movement

BY YVONNE SURSOCK COCHRANE*

No one would contest that Lebanese painting is going through a difficult and trying phase. What does the future point to? And still more important what does the present consist of?

In most countries the present rests on tradition; here we have no living tradition as far as painting or sculpture is concerned. Yet we have deep and far reaching antennae that connect us to a remote but significant past that is slowly unveiling itself to us.

The circumstances of our history prevented the development of painting or sculpture. For centuries we were confined to decoration and it is only in the course of the last hundred years that art in Lebanon broke loose from its fetters. During this short period it has had to cover all the ground already crossed by Europe during five centuries. For it was towards the West that we turned for guidance and inspiration. Italy provided the elements of our first discoveries, and later on, the "Ecole de Paris" put us in contact with the problems and the aspirations of the moment. However in that vertiginous race, it proved difficult, if not impossible, to hinge our new artistic trends to our cultural traditions and to our immemorial tendencies. We had bypassed, through no fault of our own, the complex and delicate process which assists the continual interaction of subconscious ancestral memory and contemporary thought and which is characterised by a surge of inspiration from the depth of one's inherited culture,

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meeting and blending with a simultaneous impact of modern vision.

So there was our art without moorings or ties – long did it float, pushed by various currents and moulded by them – until it gradually became impregnated with a definite Lebanese quality and flavour.

However our past was all too often encouraged to emerge in the shape of nationalistic tokens, Phoenician or other emblems, thinly veiled in modern dress, instead of remaining the subtle life-giving foundation which should provide meaning and a basis to our artistic ventures.

Had it not been for a few genuine artists who maintained a strong and healthy stand and refused to accept the easy way out offered by a popular formula, Lebanese artistic production would have easily dwindled to a sideline of folklore, all right for the tourist trade and fit to be sold at airports but not in serious galleries.

To realise how absurd it is to inject ready-made forms from the past into a modern painting or sculpture, one must first clearly grasp the underlying meaning of shape itself; a form in the world of art is the expression of a definite period. Each period of history in related countries has its own vision of things which it crystallises, through the medium of its greater artists, in certain formal patterns, and these are referred to as a style. This process presupposes a choice of elements and a restraint which results in a constant relationship between individual works. Furthermore each period of history has its own style which extends even beyond the plastic arts to other modes of expression. One meets here with subtle correspondences where rhythm, mood, sensitivity combine to blend sensorial and emotional factors into an unifying framework which, being essentially representative of its time, can lend itself to no other. This explains why Raphael is so different from Caravaggio, even when they treat the same subject and why a landscape of Ruysdale has very little in common with another of Patinir. But how very close Raphael is to the sculptors and architects of

his time and what an extraordinary affinity there exists between the painters and the authors of the 19th century!

Today, the shortening of distances has made it possible for artists all over the world to share in the same preoccupations. It has also helped to fuse together and unify the principles of artistic vision and therefore to establish an universal style; or rather to extend beyond the frontiers of continents the various manners of plastic expression which might, if things were less chaotic, become an universal style and express the dominants of our age.

However, in spite of this chaos, which I will speak of later, there is no doubt that definite schools of thought in art have established themselves throughout the world and they each represent a fractional exploration of reality. And although today no school of painting or sculpture is unique to a nation, one may safely assume that each country, or each culture, has its own artistic personality. It is therefore quite unnecessary to worry as to whether Lebanese art will reflect Lebanon. The true Lebanese artist cannot but remain faithful to himself even when he is subject to foreign influences. He will interpret and translate these influences in a manner which is essentially Lebanese and he will do this naturally, unconsciously, for he is heir not only to his Lebanese past but to time immemorial. He feels, thinks, reacts, and creates through the mesh and filter of his background, his whole being is conditioned by that past. But, and this is very important, his subconscious allegiance to the past does not make him a man of the past; he is in no way identical to a Lebanese of the 17th century and still less to a Phoenician; he is their prolongation (not necessarily better or worse) into the world of today, which is just as compelling an environment as bygone centuries were to those who lived in them. The Lebanese artist of today will therefore express the destiny of late 20th century Lebanon in a manner and with forms which are peculiar to our time; that is, in the diversity of 20th century universal styles, but in a way which cannot be other than Lebanese.

You will probably want examples to understand how style can lend itself to personality, both national and individual. The best way is to compare and analyse works of art, and understanding in this field is often better achieved with the help of emotions and sensations than with words. One must face the fact that there comes a moment when the work of art eludes all attempt to seize it intellectually, and one has to accept it as a miracle. Artistic creation is miraculous indeed even when it is accomplished within the pale of a well defined world and with the help of a set of clear and workable assumptions, which in turn give rise to a creative set of values. Today this is no longer the case, which makes the miracle even greater. The chaotic situation we are faced with is not the fault of society alone; the expansion of knowledge has largely contributed to the general disorder. We are witnesses to the shattering flight of our environment in an ever-expanding physical world, and with it the break-up and collapse of our former values. This state of affairs is universal. The development of science has drowned all our illusions; we appear to be floating in uncertainty and objective thought has got out of its depth. Reality seems to have given way to an infinity of realities. We are no longer able to comprehend the Universe. Our mind, accustomed to clarify and to classify, is confused and put off by the very nature of things discovered for they appear to stand apart from the realm of natural evidence.

In this general upheaval art suddenly found itself isolated and disconnected from the various pillars it had always been linked to, such as religion and philosophy. This was considered by some to be a liberation, by others a drama. In any case, art is now an independent empire on a par with religion, philosophy or science. The mind in each one of these autonomous domains meets reality through a series of experiences in which a particular reality is discovered.

Having thus been released from its subordination to religion, art is also no longer dependent on a social context; it used to be the ornament of a civilisation; today, having severed its

tics with decoration or beauty, it is considered to be essentially a means of apprehending the universe, which in fact, it fundamentally always was. But never was the claim so arrogant and never had there been the same insistence on autonomy and splendid isolation. Solitude is not an easy thing to face even in favourable circumstances but when it is set upon shifting sands it can lead the way to desintegration.

Kandinsky in his "Reminiscences," written in 1913, gives one an idea of the reactions of an artist to the discoveries of contemporary physics, when he announces "the crumbling of the atom was to my soul like the crumbling of the whole world. Everything became uncertain, tottering, weak. I would not have been surprised if a stone had dissolved in the air in front of me and become invisible."

Then, equating science with the laws of nature, he goes on to say that science seemed to be destroyed, but this was only a delusion, an error of the learned. Of course this is nonsense, and even rather misleading as far as Kandinsky himself is concerned, for he tells us that this was the moment of liberation which allowed him to paint completely non-objective pictures, when in fact he had produced his first abstract a year or two before Mosley and Niels made their shattering revelations (1913) about the atom. The decisive influence in converting him from figuration was probably the Fauve painters of 1905-6.

There certainly was cause for a reappraisal of art quite independently of the questionable need to keep it in pace with scientific advances. It had become encumbered with a paraphernalia of trivial observation which were stifling creativity. But the reaction against academism developed into an endless round of mutations, and one can definitely say that in the course of the last forty years painting has considerably contributed to the liquidation of values by its constant changes of direction. Today the notion of beauty is meaningless and has little to do with art. Novelty, intensity, and all values relating to shock, have supplanted aesthetics. Intellectual and spiritual activities are no longer needed to "understand" works of art. We are

asked to allow ourselves to be stung and infused with an overpowering sensation divorced from all other manner of experience. This new philosophy of art may have its points, but its dangers lie in the desperate search for originality and the unexpected in order to bring about the violent shock the work is meant to produce; and also, let us face it, in the publicity stunt which goes with shock and which is an underlying aim. Discovering a new form requires creativity, perfecting it demands humility and patience. Modern artists have unfortunately no time for the latter. Each inventor of a new style has his followers. These believe they have caught on to something and that they are "with it." Never have mediocrity and fashion been in greater alliance.

One must admit however that whatever the vagaries of contemporary art the origin of the movement against tradition was a genuine desire for renovation and an enterprise of research. It gradually led to a complete suppression of the object through continual and pursued modification of the visual representation of things.

But the alteration of traditional values was already on its way when in the early days of this century certain painters and critics expressed admiration for the work of primitive people whose culture and mental processes were totally different from theirs and whose art responded in no way to the established criteria of the civilised world. This attitude was of course quite wholesome and desirable for it indicated an opening of the mind and a faculty of appreciation hitherto unknown. It did not necessarily imply a disregard for values that had been established over the centuries, but simply an acceptance of other values.

The real break occurred in 1913 when Malevich presented his famous white square on a white ground; and in a proclamation comparable to that of Kandinsky in his "Reminiscences," declared, "by supremacy I understand the supremacy of pure feeling in creative art." He adds, "everything that determines the objective ideal structure of life and of art-ideas, concepts and images - all this the artist has to set aside in order

Yvonne Sursock Cochrane

to heed pure feeling." A few years later, Mondrian expresses the same approach in a theory of the mutual interaction of constructive elements and their internal relations. "This process consists in mutual purification; purified constructive elements set up pure relationships, and then in turn demand pure constructive elements."

Did this obsession with purity, with the immediacy of sensation, that had such radical consequences for modern art, make its first appearance in history with Kandinsky, Malevich and Mondrian?

You might be surprised to hear that a similar phenomenon happened long ago in this part of the world.

Middle Eastern artists may have a closer understanding of abstract art than they consciously realise, for that understanding reaches back to a very remote past. When, in the year 306, the synod of Elvira officially condemned the making of images it did so in the name of purity; any representation of God by image or by symbol was looked upon as an attempt to degrade the divine essence. God must be apprehended immediately as a spirit without the intermediary of figuration. Adopted by Origen, this point of view was followed by St. Augustine and thus made its way to Europe. Iconophobic impulses had long existed in the Orient and the decision of the Synod of Elvira only put an official confirmation on a situation that had already established itself in the field of art. By the fourth century representational painting in Syria had lost most of its vigor and conviction; it needed but slight encouragement to turn completely towards the abstract. The interesting point of connection with contemporary art is that in those days abstraction was claimed on a basis of a theory that aimed at purity of sensation cleared of all connection with memory, or any of the complex train of associations which figurative works arouse, and which dilute the sensuous immediacy of art thus seemingly depriving it of strength. There already do we find stress on the element of shock.

Syrian iconophobia is therefore the result of a spiritual

awakening onto which an esthetic theory had grafted itself. The West returned to figuration round about the year 660 when Gregory the Great was Pope. Rome therefore re-established the link with its pagan past as far as the arts were concerned. In the Near East there was no such return; Islam remained on the path of iconophobia and maintained the tradition until the 20th century.

The modern advocates of abstract art will point out that there exists a fundamental difference between non-figurative Byzantine, or Islamic art, and contemporary non-representational expression. The latter, they claim, is essentially a communication and an insight into life and the world, whereas the imageless art of Syria or Constantinople never went beyond decoration. Here it is necessary to distinguish between theory and what becomes of it. I draw your attention to the fact I mentioned earlier that the abstract art of the ancient Orient stems from twin aspirations, the one being spiritual and the other esthetic, in very much the same way as modern theoreticians have based their conceptions on an intellectual and esthetic idea. If in the Orient the results did not coincide with those that were hoped for, namely that abstract art should reach the sphere of deep communication, there is little to prove that it has done so anywhere in the world. Doctrines often weaken with time and the works which then derive from them gradually cease to bear any relation to the strong and impelling motives which were at the source of the whole impulse; they sometimes even stray into the path of nonsense. You might be amused to hear what Salvador Dali has to say on the subject. This is an extract from a lecture he gave in 1955 at the Sorbonne: "Today modern painters believe in almost nothing (bravos)... It is quite natural that if one does not believe in anything one should end up by painting practically nothing. Such is the situation of all modern painting including abstract, aesthetician, academic, and the sole exception is a group of painters belonging to the School of New York, who, through lack of traditions and because of a sort of instinctive paroxysm find

themselves very near to beholding a new pre-mystic belief, which will be sparked off when the world gets conscious of the latest progress in nuclear science."

This brings us back to where we started: the collapse of our values. It is no longer doctrines that lead the world of the arts today, but rather reactions to one established thing or another, negations instead of affirmations. Is Pop Art anything other than a retreat into the anonymous, and a movement of revolt against the glorification of the artist's sole personality and the projection of an era overshadowing the work itself? The creation of forms and of worlds must now give way to the object in all its platitude. Never was there more spectacular a changing of parts. But where will all this lead us to?

Here in this country we have reached a turning point: after a slumber of centuries and a tumultuous awakening, Lebanese art, as I said previously, is becoming aware of an underlying quality which springs from our deepest self. How will we blend our innermost aspirations with the whirlwind currents of international art? That is what the terrifying, thrilling and mysterious future will tell us.

The lectures contained in this volume have been published in the languages used by their authors. Sixteen of them are in English, seven in Arabic. In order to give non-Arab readers a general idea about the Arabic lectures, an English summary of each has been included in the following pages. The contents have been reduced to a minimum and the authors of the lectures are requested to excuse the editors if the summaries do not do justice to their works.

Notes on Lebanon Under the Emirs 1516-1842

BY FOUAD EPHRAM AL-BUSTANI*

The emirs who ruled Lebanon between 1516 and 1842 belonged to two outstanding families: the Druze Maanids who ruled the Chouf district since the beginning of the 13th century, and the Moslem Chehabs, prominent in Wadi-t-Taim (Southern Lebanon) since the end of the 12th century. This period had the following characteristics:

1. It was a period of stability. Six Maanid emirs ruled successively over a period of 180 years and eight Chehabi emirs covered with their rule a period of about 150 years.

2. It was a period of integration. Like many other countries of the Middle Ages, Lebanon was divided into feudal or small estates ruled by minor chiefs. It became gradually unified through the efforts of energetic rulers like Fakhreddin II (1586-1634) and others. In 1710, the feudal divisions of Lebanon were reorganized, in consequence of the famous battle of Aindara.

3. The chief district of Lebanon was the Chouf, seat of the Druze Maanids. This district was mainly inhabited by Druzes; hence the word "Druze" came to mean "Lebanese" or native of Lebanon, as distinguished from foreigner or non-Lebanese. The French orientalist Desgranges who lived in Lebanon at the beginning of the 19th century says, in a letter addressed to a friend, that he was studying Arabic with a group of Druze monks, meaning Lebanese or native monks.

The name Lebanon was applied not only to Mount

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Lebanon but also to the neighboring districts conquered by Fakhreddin I and his successors.

4. The hereditary rule of the emirs was established by Fakhreddin I (1516–1544) and recognized by the Sublime Porte (Turkish Government) at a time when other Turkish vilayets submitted to the direct rule of the sultans. After that, Lebanese autonomy developed. The Lebanese Emir had a large measure of independence. He could organize his army, extend his possessions, and conclude treaties with foreign states, while the main concern of the Ottoman sultan consisted in his being nominally recognized as chief ruler and receiving the annual tribute.

5. On the other hand, the subjects of the Emir, i.e. the Lebanese people, enjoyed a large measure of freedom and had great influence over the ruler. This was evident in the fact that the rulers were generally obliged to embrace the religion or doctrine which prevailed in the district which they ruled. Thus the Druze Lam'ids who ruled the Metn district, peopled mainly by Maronites, accepted the Maronite faith. The same is true of the Moslem Sunni Chehabs who were converted to Maronitism when they ruled the Maronite Kesrouan.

6. The greatest of the Maanids was Fakhreddin II who concluded treaties with Italian princes, built fortresses outside Lebanon, stretching from Palestine to Palmyra, and extended his rule over neighboring countries. For these reasons, he was persecuted by the Ottomans and obliged to flee to Italy from which he returned after five years of exile, to continue the internal development of Lebanon. He was the founder of Greater Lebanon which included in his time Tripoli, Akkar and the whole of Palestine.

7. In 1697 the Chehabs replaced the Maanids as rulers of Lebanon, when the notables of the country met at Sumqaniyeh Wadi-t-Taim (Southern Lebanon) and decided to transfer the rule of Lebanon from Ahmed Maan, who died without a male heir, to Haidar Chehab, his grandson by one of his daughters. The Chehabs ruled Lebanon from 1697 to 1842. The most

famous among them was Bashir II (1789–1840), nicknamed the Red Emir because he destroyed his rivals. Bashir II joined Muhammed Ali of Egypt in 1822 against the Ottoman Turks, allowed Egyptian interference in Lebanese affairs and was finally exiled by the Porte to Malta and then to Constantinople (1840). The Lebanese decided in a general meeting held that year at Deir-el-Qamar, to revolt against the Egyptian General Ibrahim Pasha and the Turks decided to replace the local government by the regime of the "Two caimacamates," dividing Lebanon into two main districts: The northern district containing a Christian majority, with a Christian caimacam as its ruler; the southern district, inhabited mainly by Druzes and ruled by a Druze caimacam.

Main cultural events

In 1584, the foundation of the Maronite Institution of higher learning in Rome.

In 1752, the foundation, at Deir-el-Qamar, of a public school for "children of all classes," showing the democratic character of the period.

In 1789, the foundation of the Lebanese Ain-Waraqqa School, modelled after that of Rome.

Printing presses were introduced in the 17th and 18th centuries. In 1610, a printing press was established at Deir-Qizhayya, Northern Lebanon. In 1734, the printing press of Deir Mar Yuhanna, Khunshara (Metn) was founded. In 1761, St. George's Press, Beirut. In 1834, the American Press, Beirut.

Under Bashir II, inoculation against smallpox was introduced in 1806. The quarantine was created in 1832 and the reorganization of the tax system in 1832.

Lebanese History Between 1841 and 1920

BY YUSIF IBRAHIM YAZBEK*

The period between 1841 and 1920 in Lebanon begins with the collapse of the Emirate, whose last representative was Bashir III, and ends with the proclamation of Greater Lebanon or independent Lebanon, in 1920, under the French mandatory power.

The main characteristic of this period was the open interference of foreign powers in Lebanese affairs. Lebanon, because of its strategic position and the diversity of its religious affiliations, became a field of active competition between the Powers over the spoils of "The Sick Man" or the Ottoman Empire. In 1840, as a result of British interference, Bashir II (the Great) was exiled to Malta, then to Constantinople; the Lebanese were aroused against the Egyptian ruler Ibrahim Pasha who was evacuated from Lebanon with his army. Bashir III, who replaced Bashir II, became a tool in the hands of the British and the Turks. An insurrection of the Lebanese Mountain against him, headed by the feudal chiefs, led to his deposal and replacement by an Ottoman official, Omar Pasha who, with the support of the British and the Turks, worked to deprive Lebanon of the autonomy it had enjoyed under the Emirate, but his despotic rule created another insurrection among the Lebanese and ended in his deposal. European interference was again active. Metternich, the Austrian statesman, proposed the division of Lebanon into two districts, called *Caimacamates*, one to be ruled by a Druze chief, the other by a Maronite. This proposal was put into effect. It

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Lebanese History Between 1841 and 1920

adopted the distribution of offices on a sectarian basis and officially confirmed sectarian antagonism which had not existed under the Emirate, a period which was not free from factions, but whose causes, instead of being sectarian, were tribal or feudal.

The regime of the two *caimacamates*, in spite of its defects, brought into Lebanon the rudiments of democratic rule by establishing in each of the two districts a council made up of representatives of the various sects, entrusted with judicial and administrative powers.

In 1856, the Turkish Government proclaimed by imperial decree the equality of all Turkish subjects, with the aim of preventing the Powers from interference in Lebanese affairs on the basis of protecting the rights of Christian minorities.

In 1858, the peasant revolt in Kesrouan against feudal and clerical despotism, led by Tanios Shaheen from Raifoun, resulted in depriving the ruling family of Kesrouan, the Khazens, of their feudal privileges.

Sectarian rivalry, encouraged by the *caimacamate* regime and instigated by Turkey and the Powers, led, in 1860, to the massacre of Christians by Druzes in the Druze *caimacamate*. Again the Powers intervened for the creation of an international status for Lebanon, called the Protocol, subject to the protection and control of the Seven Powers¹, which placed Lebanon under the rule of a Christian Turkish official, called Mutassarraf, and guaranteed its autonomy. A council representing the various Lebanese sects was to be elected and entrusted with the tasks of counseling and financial supervision. In this way, the Lebanese were further prepared for the practice of representative government.

Under the Protocol regime, the Ottoman Constitution which instituted the first Parliament in the Ottoman Empire, was proclaimed in 1910. World War I (1914-1917) put an end to Lebanese autonomy; in 1916 the Protocol was abolished;

¹ Prussia, Austria, Hungary, France, England, Russia, Italy.

Lebanon was directly ruled by Turkish officials who persecuted and executed Lebanese free men. Turkey joined Germany against the Allies and, as a result of the monopoly imposed by the Turks on Syrian wheat and of the cutting off of sea exports from Lebanon by the Allies, famine spread in Lebanon and thousands of Lebanese died of starvation. World War I ended with the disruption of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of the French Mandate in Syria and Lebanon.

In spite of dark spots, already referred to, in connection with this period, we should remember that foreign interference in this same period, i.e. in the 19th century, permitted the introduction of Western culture into Lebanon. Foreign teachers, printing presses, books and schools made of the Lebanese educated class the leaders of the Arab Renaissance and the heralds of the ideas of freedom and nationalism in the Arab world.

Eastern Churches

BY FATHER GEORGE KHODR*

الجمهورية اللبنانية
مكتب وزير الدولة لشؤون التنمية الإدارية
مركز مشاريع ودراسات القطاع العام

A knowledge of the Eastern Churches, in whose spiritual heritage Lebanon partakes, requires a preliminary study of the Church of Antioch, mother of all Eastern churches and of all Christianity. Such a study seems now impossible because the Church of Antioch, in its pure original form, has become extinct. Its main features have been best preserved by the Syriac Orthodox Church which dominated the chair of Antioch since the fifth century A.D. but this church has also gradually dwindled and, for scholars of today and of the future, a study of the Syriac heritage becomes imperative for a deep understanding of Eastern Church history.

In spite of apparent dissensions and multiple factions, the Eastern Churches were united in one essential creed and, by pointing out the chief characteristics of the Greek Orthodox Church, we shall be describing the most representative one among them, the Church with the earliest history, the witness of seven Church councils, the first heiress of Antioch, in whose guardianship oriental theology has continued to develop until our days. Though affiliated to Byzantium, the Greek Orthodox Church in this country has inherited from Alexandria, Jerusalem and Antioch more than from Byzantium.

This Church has four characteristics: first, a belief in God's presence in man, leading the individual to seek and know God, not by intellectual, Aristotelian methods but rather by divine revelation and contemplative theology. It is a belief which transcends Greek philosophy without rejecting it. It craves a

* Lecturer and writer.

mystic approach to the Divine, culminating in the kind of faith acquired by the Apostles.

The second characteristic is a belief in the divine origin of man, which makes of him another God, with a personal dignity and superiority over other creatures, called to reach perfection and to achieve an existential freedom. The Eastern Church believes that the divine element exists in man's essence, while the Western Church believes that man has to seek divine grace outside himself.

Thirdly, the Eastern Church believes in God's presence in man through the mystery of Redemption. God became man to redeem man from his sin and show him the way to salvation. A new covenant was made between the Creator and the created, by which we are again called to walk with God by imitating Christ's life in order to be worthy of His glorious resurrection.

The fourth characteristic is a belief in God's presence through the Church. God reigns eternally by means of the Church which is the body of Christ and His revelation to the world. The Eastern Church is based on two dimensions: the episcopate and the spiritual Church members who, like the Apostles, have been visited by the Holy Spirit and have obtained the power of vision and insight. A halo of sanctity surrounds the bishop, because of the holy functions he performs, even though he himself may not possess any personal holiness. He is a link between men and Christ, a teacher and a servant whose duty is to consult the members of his diocese, to listen to the Holy Spirit speaking through his inspired inferiors and to obey the Church Canon. Each local church is joined to the other churches by means of the provincial council headed by the patriarch. Unity is made possible by close cooperation and harmony of the patriarchs. The Greek Orthodox Church recognizes the historical primacy of the bishop of Rome (the Pope) but does not consider him the heir of St. Peter's power and does not recognize his authority to impose dogmas and a way of life on the Universal Church.

A final trait connected with the Greek Orthodox Church

is the emphasis given to liturgical life which forms another link between man and God and consists of a set of meaningful symbols: the curved dome symbolizes our bowed heads and bodies before the Divine presence; the rising smoke of incense symbolizes our prayer ascending toward heaven; the gorgeous priestly robes suggest the participation of the heavenly host in our service round the divine throne; the icons represent holy presences sharing our worship.

The danger to which the Eastern Church is exposed is overemphasis on symbols and outward forms, while the Western Church may suffer from an opposite danger: that of intellectual exaggeration.

What is Islam

BY SAYYID MUSA AL-SADR*

This study revolves around four points: First, the individuality of Islam. Second, its spirituality. Third, Islamic concern about the social problems of man, in addition to those of faith and morality. Finally, the opportunity for evolution offered by Islam.

I. The Individuality of Islam

Orientalists have frequently emphasized the point that Islam borrowed its main elements from former religions and cultures. While the Koran recognizes the divine origin of monotheistic religions which formed a chain in which Islam was the last link, it does not fail to point out the unique character of Islam which is a strict monotheistic belief, making man a participant in the universal submission to a divine, omnipotent Power which is the beginning and the end of all creatures. The characteristic feature of Moslem art, the arabesque, symbolizes by its curves, the idea of adoration, of self-prostration in complete submission to God.

God in Islam is completely free from anthropomorphic attributes. "Nothing is like unto Him," says the Koran. He is the absolute perfection which cannot be attained by man. His perfection is reflected in universal harmony. His omnipotence and omnipresence make Him, in spite of transcendence, nearer to man than his vein.

The angels are, according to the Koran, God's messengers

* Founder of the "Islamic Studies Institute."

who direct universal laws by God's order and assist man in his search for the right, while Satan, the fallen angel, leads the campaign of seduction, luring man into evil, but, unlike Ahriman, the evil deity, he is only a cause, not a creator of evil. Man enjoys free will and has to choose between good and evil, to listen to the devil or to the voice of truth.

The prophet in Islam is one of God's servants. He is neither an angel nor a demi-god. Islam refutes the crucifixion of Christ as an historical fact and not, as some orientalist believe, on the ground that prophets should be immune to such a penalty, since the Koran asserts otherwise that some prophets suffered martyrdom.

Resurrection of the dead is a general belief in various religions and philosophic systems, but, in Islam, it is characterized by the following: first, the belief that reward and punishment in the other world are of the same nature as the acts committed in this world. Second, on Judgement Day, man is enlightened about the causes of his retribution. Third, Islam believes that both body and soul share in the final requital.

The individuality of Islam is finally shown in its unique vision into historical and scientific facts, independently from the theories and systems of the Koranic period.

II. The Spirituality of Islam

Several scholars criticize Islam for the emphasis it gives to the material aspects of living and to details connected with the marriage institution and the material pleasures of paradise. To these critics we reply that a division between the material and the spiritual is scientifically inaccurate, for a material act may be in itself a form of spiritual worship while a spiritual act may be moved by material or selfish interests. In Islam, all things and all acts, spiritual or material, are closely united in worshipping God and revealing His power.

Another point criticized by certain people is the Islamic law of retaliation. This law is considered a part of the universal

order, created as a means of warning and protection. On the other hand, while Islam permits retaliation, it requires that it be done within the limits of justice and does not fail to recommend forgiveness and consider it among the great virtues.

III. Social Concern in Islam

Another criticism is connected with the social institutions established by Islam which, according to critics, make of it a rigid organization, unable to keep pace with the changing needs of society.

My answer to this important point is the following: first, it is impossible for any religion to limit its principles to those of faith and morality and to do without a concrete social system which serves to embody them; for man is a complex, social being who cannot, in his philosophy of conduct, be isolated from the group.

Second, we believe that, in spite of fixed social laws, Islam gives ample opportunity for evolution and change based on continuous study and interpretation, just as the universal laws of nature, when subjected to a deeper and more accurate, scientific study, may receive a new interpretation and be seen in a new light.

Islamic laws are contained in the Koran which is the word of God and, as the word of God, it is far above human understanding. It is imperative for man to keep meditating upon that word with the aim of revealing its profound meaning and discovering in it new truths which were concealed from our predecessors.

The Writings of Lebanese Emigrants

BY ROSE GHURAYYIB*

Lebanon in the 19th century played a leading role in the Arab literary revival. This was due to its early contacts with western culture, brought about by the efforts of Lebanese bursary students returning from Rome where an oriental school was founded for the Maronites, and, more particularly, by the efforts of American and European missionaries who, all through the 19th century, vied with each other in the creation of schools, printing presses and other cultural institutions throughout Lebanon.

The neo-classical movement which worked for the restoration of classical Arabic was led in the 19th century by Lebanese scholars like Nassif al Yazigi, Butros al Bustani and Ahmed Faris al Chidiaq. The Lebanese produced authors, translators, poets, journalists, teachers and orators, who did not limit their activity to Lebanon but shared in the cultural development of Egypt and other Arab countries.

In the Americas, where thousands of Lebanese emigrants established themselves toward the end of the 19th century as merchants and businessmen, a literary Arabic movement was produced. It had its source in the Lebanese homeland movement, but it revolted against the traditionalism of the homeland authors and started a radical, revolutionary movement, unprecedented in the Arab world.

The movement took shape in two literary societies: one in North America, "Al-Rabitah-'l-Qalamiyah"; the other in South America, "Al-Usbah-'l-Andalusiyah". For lack of space, this

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talk has been limited to the achievements of four representative figures in the northern group which was the earlier and more influential one.

Rihani who emigrated to America in 1888, gave his first speech on religious tolerance in 1900 and published in New York his first book: "A Summary of the French Revolution" in 1902. He is considered the first pioneering emigrant writer in the field of social reform. Like earlier militant authors in the Arab world, Al-Afghani, Muhammad Abdo, Chidiaq, Farah Antoun and Adib Ishaq, he preached social reform and religious tolerance, attacked clerical despotism and harmful traditions, but he used a new style for the purpose and was the initiator of the prose poem, later adopted and developed to a high degree by Gibran, the head of the Northern League and most influential member in it.

Gibran's fame rests partly on the new poetic style he used to advocate social reform and to attack social evils already denounced by Rihani: clerical and feudal despotism, social inequality, enslavement of women, and religious fanaticism. It also rests on the metaphysical or universal trend he inaugurated in modern Arabic literature and which exerted its influence not only on other emigrant writers like Nuaimy, Abi Madi, Nassib Arida, Rashid Ayoub, Nudra Haddad and Fawzi Malouf but included the "Apollo Group" in Egypt and other Arab poets.

The metaphysical element finds expression in a mystic, humanitarian tendency which permeates Emigrant literature and which may have been inspired by mystics of the Ancient East or by Eastern inspired Romantic authors like Blake, Shelley, Poe, Emerson and others.

The mystic principles expressed by Gibran and his associates were not, however, of the negative, inert, type. Besides a belief in universal brotherhood, they embodied a call for universal responsibility suggested by Gibran's belief that no individual emancipation is possible without universal emancipation.

If we consider Gibran as the guide of the Emigrant literary movement, we may consider Nuaimy as its mouthpiece in his

book "Al-Ghirbal", which expounded the critical or esthetic principles of the Emigrant School. Besides literary criticism, Nuaimy devoted most of his writings to constructive, social criticism. In his contemplative lyrics, he was no less personal than in his essays. Iliya Abi Madi, the most popular among Emigrant poets, shares their metaphysical trend but remains nearer to the ordinary reader in his semi-classical style, his optimistic vision and the fascinating allegories he employed to express his social philosophy.

The Emigrant writers renovated Arabic literature in both form and content. They were pioneers in the art of the short story (Gibran and Nuaimy), in the use of the prose poem and poetic prose (Rihani and Gibran), of the allegorical style (Gibran and Abi Madi). They revived old forms like aphorisms and maxims (Rihani, Gibran, Nuaimy), introduced into modern Arabic literature the elements of dream and contemplation and led the romantic revolt against the fetters of grammar and prosody as well as against hackneyed themes.

They had, in the Arab world, a far-reaching and lasting influence because, in spite of western influences and universal tendencies which may be recognized in their writings, the Arab East was their main source of inspiration. It inspired their images and their style; its problems and needs formed the main topics they treated and their humanitarian philosophy had its roots in the monotheistic religions of the East.

Contemporary Lebanese Poetry

BY ALI AHMAD SAID (ADONIS)*

During the first half of this century, three trends have been noticeable in Lebanese poetry: the first is the reactionary trend which was a continuation of the neo-classical movement of the 19th century; the second, a liberal movement which attempted a renovation of both form and content; the third, a romantic current which either expressed nostalgic and violent ideas or emphasized aesthetics and elegance of form.

The first trend need not be discussed because it consisted of slavish imitation of ancient models.

The second trend, represented by Gibran and the other Emigrant writers, was a radical revolt against the past and a vision which aspired to change the world. With Gibran begins modern Arabic poetry. He initiated the idea that a real poet must have individuality and freedom to create his own world and technique. From Gibran we learned to breathe beauty into things around us and to blend philosophy with poetry.

The third trend is represented, in its first aspect, by Fawzi Malouf, in his long poem, "On the Magic Carpet," which relates a dream or an attempt to escape from reality into a world of fancy, from which the poet was forced to return, in order to discover that his only salvation lies in his pen. Another long poem of escape is one entitled: "Above the Clouds," by Abdallah Ghanem, which describes life as a sad journey, leading through various roads to God and showing poetry as the only source of happiness. These two poems are of great importance in the study of modern Lebanese poetry in its metaphysical aspects.

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Contemporary Lebanese Poetry

Elias Abu Shabaka's poetry reveals a strong sense of the presence of evil in this world and an effort to find an escape in love, or in the innocence of nature and childhood. For this purpose, he uses a strongly expressive language which gives his words the effect of living objects.

Two other innovators deserve mentioning in this respect: Adib Mazhar who introduced into Arabic poetry western symbolic techniques and Khalil Mutran who insisted on unity of the poem and diversity of form.

The other aspect of romanticism has, as a distinguishing trait, the tendency to overemphasize form, to use words for their peculiar sound or for their novelty and, for this purpose, to tolerate artificiality. This tendency had a certain root in our traditional poetry, represented by Dhur-r-Rumma, Abu Tammam and Sharif-ar-Radi, but here it has been exaggerated to the point of complete abstraction and isolation from reality, or to a mere repetition of ornamental words.

Among the quasi-traditional poets who flourished between 1920 and 1950, it is possible to name many who were able to produce great poetry, uninjured by traditionalism. Among the most representative of this group stand Bishara-'l-Khoury (Al-Akhtal-as-Saghir), Salah Labaki, Yusuf Ghossoub, Shafiq Malouf, Amin Nakhleh, Bulos Salameh.

The limited time I am given leaves me no chance to discuss the Lebanese poetry produced in the French language, which, to me, represents a passing phase in whose twilight rise two illustrious poets, like twin shining stars: George Schehade and Fouad Gabriel Naffah.

For the same reason I am obliged to overlook another phenomenon in our modern poetic movement – the revival of colloquial poetry which has received a new impetus in the poems of Michel Trad, and the songs of the Rahbani Brothers, interpreted through Fairouz's voice.

If we attempt to evaluate Lebanese poetry during the first fifty years of this century, we may conclude that, with the exception of Gibran's works, this poetry has been more

Ali Ahmad Said (Adonis)

traditional than original, more superficial than profound and creative. It is the task of contemporary poets, who appeared since 1950, to create what their immediate predecessors failed to create.

Speaking of creativity, I do not mean complete rejection of the past. True modern poets insist on a dialogue between past and present for the sake of inspiration and development. Innovation does not guarantee originality and excellence. In fact, much of our ancient poetry has more originality than some of this poetry which calls itself modern. Yet we cannot produce good poetry by imitating the ancients, because our new poetry has to grow from our own age and answer our new needs. This new poetry is our hope and our salvation. It represents a daring step, a turning point in our poetic life. In spite of defects which are common to every beginning, such as inflation, verbosity and forgery, it is the poetry which we expect to grow and bear fruit, because it answers Gibran's call for authenticity and his vision of a further adventure into the realm of the universal. It is the poetry of revelation and of complete dedication.

The Lebanese Cenacle in Twenty Years

BY MICHEL ASMAR*

The Lebanese Cenacle was founded in 1946, a year which represents a turning point in Lebanese life. Lebanon had won its independence in 1943. World War II ended in 1945. In that same year, Lebanon became a member of the Arab League, then of the United Nations, and, with the evacuation of foreign troops from Lebanon, a new page was opened in Lebanese history. The Cenacle was then created as an open forum for the various ideological trends to meet and work for a discovery of the true Lebanon, of its message, and of its political, social and aesthetic philosophy.

Among the Lebanese, we may distinguish three different trends. The first, a negative one, affirms that Lebanon is too small to form an independent state. It should be absorbed in the larger Arab world.

The second negative trend asserts that Lebanon should be reduced in size, so that it may rid itself of some of its inhabitants and form a home for a small, homogeneous, isolated group.

The third trend, a positive one, states that Lebanon, in its present size, has a real existence and, as such, it should be able to live and develop.

The positive attitude is the realistic one: it is the attitude of the stronger and more numerous group. It is the attitude adopted by the Lebanese Cenacle, and its adherents are those who care to bring together the different groups and lead them to a common belief.

The common belief should be an agreement on a common

* Founder of the Lebanese Cenacle.

definition of Lebanon, which is the following: Lebanon is a Mediterranean country, heir of a long succession of Mediterranean cultures; Phoenician, Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Hittite, ancient Egyptian and Arab. Its language is Arabic; it shares with the neighboring Arab countries a common culture and common interests. Lebanon is not only an Arab country, it has played a leading role in the world of Arabism by producing eminent Arab scholars. But Lebanon has also an international character. By virtue of its size and central position, it has been, since the 22nd century B.C. open to world cultures. It is both Arab and international, a link between East and West, but, above all, it has its own personality. This is the common creed around which we want to meet. It is the Lebanese reality which forms the basis of the "Lebanese Pact."

With this common basis as a point of departure, we have been able to organize our various series of lectures and bring together the varied tendencies represented by such politicians as Kamal Jumblat, Habib Abi Shahla, Saëb Salam, Hamid Franjeh; by historians like Fouad Bustani, Charles Corm, Arnold Toynbee, Jawad Boulos, Edward Hunein; by ideologists like Alfred Naccash, Pierre Jumayel, Takieddine Solh, Edmond Naïm, Jamil Jabre and Bashir Uraidy.

Equally important in the realization of our goal were the lectures dealing with Lebanese foreign relations, given by Fouad Pasha Khatib, Kamal Jumblat, Emile Bustani, Muhieddin Nsouli, Fouad Ammoun, Ibrahim Ahdab, Philip Tacla and Manuel Yunis.

A series of lectures was given by leaders of the Lebanese revival and creators of its development. The social and economic problems were discussed by a group of specialists in these fields. The administrative problems and achievements were presented by the five administrators of Lebanon in 1960. The educational, the artistic and the spiritual aspects were also amply discussed. The problems of the Lebanese youth, the Lebanese woman and the Lebanese home had their share in our program of lectures. Arab questions and their relations to Lebanon were not neg-

lected. Philosophic ideology received due attention in the lectures of Lebanese specialists like Charles Malik, Kamal Hajj and René Habachi; of world known thinkers like Jean-Marie Domenach.

Besides the important activity displayed by the Cenacle in the field of lectures, it took charge of publishing the works of a brilliant writer like Khalil Sarkis; of organizing literary weeks for some of our outstanding authors, like Al-Akhtal-as-Saghir, Saïd Takieddine and Amin Rihani. It also shared in the preparation of a book on civic education for the Lebanese Army.

Besides a full program extending over twenty years, the Cenacle has important plans for the future, which it expects to carry out with the help of its many friends, among whom we are proud to mention the president of B.C.W. Dr. Salwa Nassar, and her devoted associates.

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مصادر الثقافة في لبنان

Republic of Lebanon
Office of the Minister of State for Administrative Reform
Center for Public Sector Projects and Studies
(C.P.S.P.S.)

CULTURAL RESOURCES IN LEBANON

République Libanaise
Bureau du Ministre d'Etat pour la Réforme Administrative
Centre des Projets et des Etudes sur le Secteur Public
(C.P.E.S.P.)

Librairie du Liban

مصادر الثقافة في لبنان
سلسلة محاضرات

مقدمة

فكرة انشاء سلسلة محاضرات حول « مصادر الثقافة في لبنان » تدين بوجودها للدكتورة سلوى نصار ، أستاذة الفيزياء سابقا في جامعة بيروت الأمريكية ورئيسة كلية بيروت للبنات بين ١٩٦٥ و ١٩٦٧ .

كانت هذه الفكرة واحدة من كثيرات راودت ذهن الدكتورة نصار في خلال سعيها الدائب لخدمة لبنان وتطوير أوضاعه الثقافية . وقد عاجلتها المنية قبل ان تشهد تجسيد أفكارها في مشاريع ثابتة ، باستثناء « المجلس الوطني للأبحاث العلمية » الذي أبصر النور على يدها . أما المشاريع الأخرى التي ظلت حلما في رأسها فنذكر منها انشاء مختبرات مركزية في بيروت وسواها من مدن لبنان ، توضع تحت تصرف المدارس المفتقرة الى مختبرات . وتأسيس مراكز أبحاث وطنية تغني العلماء اللبنانيين عن الهجرة الى الخارج .

من دواعي العزاء ان يتطوع فريق من أصدقاء سلوى نصار للاضطلاع بمسؤولية احياء آرائها ومواصلة السعي لتحقيقها . وعملا بوصيتها تألفت لجنة من سبعة أعضاء لانشاء « مؤسسة سلوى نصار للدراسات اللبنانية » بقصد الاستمرار في رعاية مشاريع البحث في مصادر الثقافة اللبنانية .

يضم هذا الكتاب سبله المحاضرات التي قدمت في كلية بيروت للبنات في صيف ١٩٦٦ وقد تم نشره بفضل تبرعات مالية حصلت عليها الدكتورة نصار لهذه الغاية . واذا وجدنا فيه خطوة أولى لدراسة مصادر الثقافة في لبنان ، لا بد ان نجد فيه كذلك شهادة ناطقة بهمة المرأة التي أنجبت الفكرة واستطاعت ان تجمع المحاضرين والحضور الذين اعتنقوا فكرتها وشاركوا في إنجازها .

عدد المحاضرات ثلاث وعشرون ، ست عشرة منها في الانكليزية وسبع في العربية . تتناول نواحي مختلفة من الثقافة اللبنانية ، كالتاريخ ، الجغرافية - السياسة ، الاجتماع ، الاقتصاد ، الادارة ، النشاط الأدبي والفني . اصحابها اساتذة جامعيون ، ادباء ، صحافيون ، عاملون في الحقل الاجتماعي أو الديني . وضع كل منهم محاضراته في اللغة التي سبق له التمرس بها . وقد حال ضيق المجال دون ترجمة المحاضرات من لغة الى

الزكري

الذكريات لوى شكري نصار

١٩٦٧-١٩٦٣

رئيسية طبعته بيروت للبنات

١٩٦٧-١٩٦٥

أخرى ، ولكن ، بما ان قسما كبيرا من القراء في لبنان والأقطار العربية الأخرى يعرفون اللغتين ، رأينا لفائدة القراء الاجانب الذين يجهلون العربية ، أن نضع للمحاضرات العربية خلاصات انكليزية موجزة لا تفي بالأصل لكنها تسهم في تقديم صورة شاملة لمضمون الكتاب .

ختاما يجب التنويه بشكر السيدة نجلا عقراوي ، السيد مارون كسرواني والآتسة جولندا أبي النصر ، الذين ساهموا في تنظيم المحاضرات وكان لهم الفضل الأكبر في انجاح المشروع .

الفهرس

١	لمحات في بعض الخصائص اللبنانية في عهد الامارة لفؤاد افرام البستاني
٢١	تاريخ لبنان من ١٨٤١ إلى الانتداب ليوسف ابراهيم يزبك
٤٣	الكنائس الشرقية للأب جورج خضر
٥٩	الإسلام للسيد موسى الصدر
٨١	مع الندوة اللبنانية في عشرين سنة ميشال الأسمر
٩٩	ادباء المهجر لروز غريب
١١٧	في الشعر اللبناني الحديث لعلي أحمد سعيد (ادونيس)

لمحات في بعض الخصائص اللبانية

في عهد الامارة

لفؤاد أفرام البستاني

اذكركم ، اول الامر ، بتلك الحكاية التي سمعتموها صغارا عن الملك النبي سليمان الحكيم وكيف كان باستطاعته ان يروّض العفاريث ويحشر كلاً منهم في قمقم صغير . من هذا النوع عملنا في هذه الساعة . سنروّض احداث لبنان التاريخية ، على مدة ثلاثة قرون وربع القرن ، ونحشرها في ساعة ذهب منها كثير من الدقائق . وتسهيلاً لهذه المهمة رأيت ان اضع بين أيديكم لائحة بأهم المصادر التي يمكن الرجوع اليها في متابعة هذه الابحاث . ذكرت المصادر فقط ولم اتعرض للمراجع . وينبغي التمييز هنا بين المصادر والمراجع .

نفهم بكلمة مصادر الآثار والمدونات والتعليق ، والمذكرات ، والشروح ، وكل ما يتعلق في الموضوع ، في عصره ، او في اقرب وقت منه ، كمختلف الرسائل ، والقرامانات ، والاوامر التي كان يصدرها الامراء ، او يتلقونها من السلطان ، او مذكرات المعاصرين ، او قصائد الشعراء المدّاحين في عصر الامراء ، او اخبار الرحالة ، كل هذا من المصادر . ذكرنا منها اهمتها واسهلها متناولا ، ولم نذكر المراجع لانها كثيرة مبذولة في المكاتب ، من السهل تناولها . انما نود ان نبني على الاصول .

وتجدون في اللائحة الثانية جدولين باسماء امراء لبنان ، من الاسرتين الكبيرتين : المعنية والشهابية ، الذين تولوا الحكم في لبنان ، حسب التسلسل التاريخي . وتلاحظون اولاً ان المعنيين معروفون في جبل الشوف منذ اوائل القرن الثاني عشر ، والشهابيين معروفون في وادي التيم منذ اواخر القرن

الثاني عشر ، أي ان هؤلاء الامراء كانوا في لبنان قبل العهد الذي يهنا في كلامنا على تاريخ لبنان في عهد الامارة الموحدة ، وتجدر الإشارة ان الامراء المعنيين الذين ولوا جبل الشوف ، او جبل الدروز ، فكانوا امراء لبنان توالى منهم ستة امراء فقط ، في نحو مئة وثمانين سنة ، وان الشهابيين توالى منهم ثمانية امراء كذلك في مدة تقرب من قرن ونصف القرن . وفي هذا دليل الاستقرار الذي كان في لبنان بالنسبة الى ما كان حوله من ولايات عثمانية .

ونصل الى الجدول الثالث « لبنان في عهد الامارة » وقد اوردنا فيه اهم الاحداث التاريخية :

اولا : المعارك الحاسمة ،

ثانيا : المعاهدات والاتفاقات ،

ثالثا : الاجتماعات السياسية ،

رابعا : مصادر النهضة الحديثة ،

خامسا واخيرا : بعض الاحداث الاجتماعية .

بفضل هذه المعالم ، يمكن ان نلقي نظرة شاملة على هذا العهد الذي بلغ كما قلنا اكثر من ثلاثة قرون . وكان مبدأه بدخول الاتراك العثمانيين بلاد الشام سنة ١٥١٦ . وقد اشرنا الى انه من الافضل ان نسمي الموضوع « لبنان في عهد الامارة الموحدة » بين المناطق المختلفة . ذلك ان لبنان كان منذ ذهاب الصليبيين ، واستقرار الايوبيين والمماليك مورزا بين امارات ومشيخات اقطاعية عديدة . فكان كل امير يقطع لنفسه جبلا او واديا يستقل بحكمه . شأن لبنان في ذاك العهد شان الكثير من مناطق الشرق والغرب ، حتى ظهرت الدولة العثمانية الجديدة في بر الاناضول ، فكانت قوتها الناشئة تدفعها الى التوسع ، ولا سيما بعد ان استولت على بيزنطية عاصمة الامبراطورية العريقة . فكان من الطبيعي ان تقوم الدولة المستقرة في هذه المناطق ، وهي دولة المماليك ، بالدفاع عن كيانها . بيد انه كان بين الدولتين فرق كبير : دولة فنية مندفعة مهاجمة ، ودولة

هرمة مدافعة ، وكان من الطبيعي ان يفكر الامراء الاقطاعيون في منطقة الدولة الشائخة في أيّ من الحزبين سينتصر ، وبالتالي في أيّ من الفريقين عليهم ان ينصروا وان يساعدوا . وهو امر يعرض لكبار الساسة . وكبار رجال الدولة ، في كل عهد انتقالي .

وقد عرض لامراء لبنان المتفرقين شيئا وفرقا ومناطق ، فكان من حدس فخر الدين الاول ، امير جبل الشوف ، ان يتوقع الانتصار لهذه الدولة الزاحفة من اعالي الاناضول ، فانحاز بمجموعة رجاله لمساعدة السلطان سليم الاول الذي كان بحاجة الى مساعدته ، وكل فاتح بحاجة الى أيّ زعيم من البلاد المزمع غزوها . انحاز اليه خلافا للكثرة الساحقة من زملائه ومنافسيه ، امراء المقاطعات المختلفة ، وكان من حظ العثمانيين الانتصار الساحق في معركة مرج دابق ، على آخر سلطان من المماليك وهو قنصوه الغوري سنة ١٥١٦ ، وهي معركة شهيرة ذكرناها في طليعة المعارك الحاسمة لا بالنسبة للعثمانيين وحدهم بل بالنسبة للبنان ، ولا تزال حتى اليوم ننعيم بمفاعيلها . ذلك انه بعد هذه المعركة ، اصبح امير جبل الشوف ، او امير جبل الدروز ، اميرا للبنان بكامله ، واطلق عليه لقب « سلطان البر » . وفي نظر السلطان العثماني كلمة « سلطان البر » تعني شيئا عظيما ، مع ما تعنيه من حقوق شرعية . ومن هنا حصل التوسع اولا في القرمانانات الرسمية ، وثانيا في الواقع في ما تعلق بمدلول جبل الشوف او جبل لبنان . ولا بد من حاشية نذكر فيها ما تنطوي عليه تلك المراسلات عندما نتكلم عن جبل الدروز ، او جبل الشوف ، او امير الدروز .

كان فخر الدين المعني الاول ، الذي ساعد السلطان سليم ، اميرا للشوف الذي كان مأهولا بأكثر ربه الساحقة ، ان لم نقل بمجموعه ، بالدروز . اذا كان فخر الدين الاول امير الدروز ، فعدا جبل الشوف ، بما ان سكانه من الدروز ، « جبل الدروز » . وينبغي ان لا نخلط بين « جبل الدروز » الحالي و « جبل الدروز » المذكور في الوثائق والقرامانات السلطانية . جبل الدروز الحالي اسم مستحدث في القرن التاسع عشر ، او اواخر الثامن عشر ، من جبل حوران على اثر هجرة الدروز من لبنان اليه ،

واضح في انتقال الاسرتين الكبيرتين من حكام لبنان : الاسرة الشهابية ،
والاسرة اللمعية ، من مذهبي السنة والدروز الى المذهب الماروني .

على اثر معركة عين دارة ، التي ذكرناها من المعارك الحاسمة في هذا
الجدول ، والتي جرت سنة ١٧١٠ ، رقي اللمعيون من رتبة «مقدم» ،
وهو لقب عسكري في الاصل ، الى رتبة امير ، بفضل ما اظهره من بطش
في سبيل اقرار سلطة الامير حيدر الشهابي . فأمرهم هذا واقطعهم مناطق
من بلاد المتن ، وبلاد المتن اذ ذلك اكثريتها من الموارنة . فاضطر الامراء
اللمعيون الى الانتقال الى المذهب الماروني . كذلك لما اولى والد الامير
بشير الكبير ، الامير قاسم ، حكم منطقة غزير في كسروان ، وهو قلب
الموارنة ، اضطر الامير قاسم الى الانتقال الى المذهب الماروني ليحكم
المنطقة المارونية . وفي غزير رزق ولدين : الامير بشيرا والامير حسنا ،
فعمدهما على المذهب الماروني . هذه من الخصائص التي ينبغي ان تذكر
اذا تكلمنا عن لبنان او جبل الدروز او جبل الشوف . ولا يخفى انه لما
امتدت سلطة فخر الدين الاول ، واطلق السلطان يده في المقاطعات
المجاورة ، اخذ حكمه يمتد وبلاده تتسع ، وبفضل اتساع هذا الحكم ،
اصبح اسم جبل الدروز ، وجبل لبنان فيما بعد ، يمتد على مناطق لم تكن
داخلة في تحديده اول الامر ، فاخذ ينتشر اسم جبل لبنان معنويا وجغرافيا
كما حصل في اسم فرنسا مثلا الذي كان يطلق اولا على جزيرة ايل دو
فرانس ، ثم امتد على المناطق الملحقة بها بفضل امتداد سلطة ملوك فرنسا .

هكذا حصل في لبنان حتى ان اسم لبنان ، على عهد فخر الدين
الثاني ، وصل من تدمر الى اعالي حلب الى اقاصي فلسطين . فكان لبنان
يتسع وينكمش نسبة لقوة الامير ولشخصيته ونسبة للاحداث المجاورة .
ويطول بنا الحديث اذا عرضنا لتفاصيل الاحداث التاريخية فلنتركها
جانبا ولنجتهد في استخلاص بعض الخصائص في التاريخ اللبناني ، بعد
ان ذكرنا مقدماتها على اثر الفتح العثماني . قلنا ان السلطان سليم اقر
الحكم لفخر الدين الاول ، وأقره وراثيا . وهي ميزة مهمة جدا ان تعترف
الدولة العثمانية بالحكم الوراثي في لبنان ، بينما كانت تحكم ولاياتها

ذلك ان الدروز الموجودين في جبل الدروز من سورية هم في اصلهم
مهاجرون من جبل لبنان ، من دروز لبنان ، مع اقلية ضئيلة قدمت
اليهم من الجبل الاعلى في جهات حلب . ومما يذكر انه قبل وصول الدروز .
منذ اوائل القرن الثامن عشر ، الى جبل الدروز الحالي ، كان اسمه جبل
حوران .

اذأ « جبل الدروز » في النصوص اللبنانية يعني « جبل الشوف »
او « جبل لبنان » الذي كان منحصرا في بقعة درزية . وكان المعنيون
الدروز قد احتلوا تلك المنطقة على اثر انتصار الايوبيين على الصليبيين ،
فتمركزوا فيها ، ولهذا اصبحت كلمة درزي (وجمعها دروز) مرادفة
لكلمة لبناني ، وطني ، بلدي . من هنا نفهم ما ورد في رسالة للمستشرق
ديفراج من مستشاري اوائل القرن التاسع عشر . وكان قد قدم الى لبنان
سنة ١٨١٦ ، ثم ترجم الى اللغة الفرنسية كتاب المعلم نقولا الترك ، في
تاريخ الحملة الفرنسية على مصر . وفي اثناء اقامته في بلادنا كتب رسالة
الى احد اصدقائه في فرنسا يقول انه وفق الى بيثة يتعلم فيها اللغة العربية
على ابنائها ، وهذا المكان هو « دير مار يوحنا للرهبان الدروز » . وهو دير
مار يوحنا في رشميا . وليس من شك ان « الرهبان الدروز » معناها الرهبان
اللبنانيين ، او البلديين ، أي غير الافرنج (الاجانب) . هذا تأييد لما
قلناه من ان كلمة دروز اصبحت مرادفة لكلمة لبناني ، بفضل ان امير
لبنان هو امير الدروز سواء اكان درزيا او غير درزي ، فالمعنيون كانوا
من الدروز . ولكن الشهابيين الذين ورثوا عنهم الحكم في جبل الدروز ،
أي في جبل لبنان ، ورثوا كذلك لقب « امير الدروز » حتى آخر عهدهم
كما يرد في القرمانات التي تنعت الامير منهم بأمر جبل الدروز ،
وامير الدروز ، على كون الشهابيين لم يكن منهم احد من المذهب
الدرزي . الشهابيون في اصلهم من المسلمين السنيين من بني قريش ،
الا انهم عندما حكموا المناطق المارونية في جبل لبنان ، انتقلوا الى المذهب
الماروني . وهو من الاحداث المهمة في التاريخ اللبناني . اذ نرى فيها قوة
الشعب بالنسبة للحاكم ، حتى انه في لبنان ينعكس المثل العربي القائل :
« الناس على دين ملوكهم » . فتقول « الملوك على دين ناسهم » . والامر

المجاورة للبنان او البعيدة عنه ، مباشرة ، بواسطة ولاية تعيينهم لمدة غير محدودة قد تكون سنوات ، وقد تكون بضعة اشهر ، توليهم وتزلمهم وفقا لرغبة صاحب الجلالة ، وهم في اغلبيتهم الساحقة . غرباء عن المناطق التي يتولونها ، على خلاف ما كان يجري في لبنان .

من هنا اصبح للامير اللبناني طاقة الاستقلال ، الاستقلال الداخلي اولا . ولنذكر انه لم يكن يهيم السلطان من هذا الامر الا ان تصله الجزية في موعدها . وهكذا اصبح الامير اللبناني ، اذا ما آمن دفع الاتاوة السنوية في موعدها ، يتركه السلطان وشأنه في الاحوال الداخلية . فهو مستقل اداريا ، ومستقل تشريعا ، ومستقل في جميع شؤونه الداخلية . وهذه المناطق كانت ، كما قلنا ، تتسع بفضل شخصية الامير . فاذا كان الامير قويا حارب جاره ، واستولى على اقطاعه . واذا شكاه جاره الامر للسلطان فكان ينبغي ان يمر ذلك بالولاية وبالديوان . فكان الامير يعد بالزيادة في دفع الاتاوة فيزيل الشكوى . وفي الكثير من الاحيان كان للامير اللبناني جماعة يخدمون مصالحه حتى في الصدارة العظمى ، وفي قلب قصر السلطان نفسه . كان يرسل اليهم الهدايا فيشدون ازره لدى صاحب الجلالة . فعلاقة السلطان بالامراء كانت اذاً علاقة معنوية في اكثرها ، وهي شبيهة بعلاقة الامبراطور الجرمانى في اوروبه بملوك وامراء المناطق المختلفة . يهيم الاسم المعنوي واداء التكريم والتبجيل ووصول الجزية في وقتها .

وهكذا اخذ الحكم ينتقل في لبنان من امير الى امير في الاسرة المعنية حتى كان فخر الدين الثاني ، وهو اعظم شخصية برزت في المعنيين وفي الشهابيين ، بل انه من الشخصيات الفذة في التاريخ الشرقى . جمع الشخصية التي تمثل الطموح وسعة التصميم . وبعد النظر وحسن الادارة في التاريخ اللبناني .

طمح فخر الدين الى انشاء دولة ، لا ضمن الامبراطورية العثمانية ، بل دولة مستقلة حتى عن الامبراطورية العثمانية . فاستقبل قناصل الدول الاجنبية في قصوره الثلاثة في دير القمر ، مقر حكمه الاصيل . وفي

بيروت ، وفي صيدا . وارسل الوفود الى اوروبه . وقد ذكرنا بعض المعاهدات التي عقدها مع غراندوق توسكانة ومع البابا بولس الخامس ، وعزز العلاقات التجارية ، واستخدم المهندسين . وصناع الاسلحة ، ودقائق البارود ، فرفع القلاع حتى أصبح له خمس واربعون قلعة ممتدة من فلسطين حتى تدمر . وقد جدد جميع القلاع الصليبية القديمة وجعل فيها كل الحاميات مع الذخائر والمؤن .

كل هذا بالطبع اثار حفيظة الباب العالي فحاول القضاء على فخر الدين فامر اولا والى الشام بالزحف عليه . ولا بد هنا من حاشية نلاحظ فيها انه لم يحصل في تاريخ لبنان ، على عهد الامارة ، خلاف بين لبنان وسوريا لانه لم يكن هناك كيان معروف مستقل اسمه سوريا . انما الخلاف كان يحصل بين لبنان والسلطان العثماني ، فيجيش السلطان او يأمر احد ولاته في دمشق ، في حلب ، في عكا بالزحف على الامير او يرسل اليه جيشا خاصا اذا تفاقمت الثورة .

اما خلاف مباشر بين الجيران فلم يكن يحدث ، الا على بعض المحصولات او بعض المواشي ، وهي حوادث بسيطة .

وقد تفاقم الخلاف بين الباب العالي ولبنان سنة ١٦١٣ ، واوفد السلطان جيشا كبيرا بقيادة احمد حافظ باشا ، وهي السنة المعروفة في التقاليد اللبنانية ، بسنة الحافظ . ورأى فخر الدين الثاني انه لا يستطيع الصمود بوجه هذه القوة فاستقطب شكاوي السلطان على شخصه اي انه جعل الخلاف . لا بين السلطان ولبنان ، بل بين السلطان وفخر الدين . فانسحب مختارا الى ايطاليا . هرب وترك في البلاد اخاه يونس ، وامه الست نسب التنوخية ، وهي من فضليات النساء سياسة ودهاء وحسن تدبير واسرتها من امراء التنوخيين الذين كانوا في لبنان منذ عهد الصليبيين يحكمون مقاطعاتهم في المنطقة المعروفة بالغرب . والتي كانت سوقها الحافة سوق الغرب .

انسحب فخر الدين وظل في ضيافة امراء ايطاليا ، والكروسي البابوي ، مدة خمس سنوات هدأت في اثنائها الحالة في لبنان . فعاد سنة ١٦١٨

بعدد من المهندسين والاطباء وعلماء التخطيط الحربي ، وعمل على احياء لبنان من جديد ، كما يقول الشاعر سعيد عقل :

داس في ارضه الامير فراح الجبل الميت في ثياب النشور
وسرت رعشة بلبنان هزت من ذرى ارزه الى صخر صور

كان عدو المعنيين اللدود ، يوسف باشا سيفاً ، صاحب الاقطاع الواسع في طرابلس وعكار ، قد استفاد من غياب فخر الدين ومن ممالأته للسلطنة العثمانية فتوغل في لبنان حتى عاصمة المعنيين دير القمر ، فخرّب قصر الامير فيها . فكان لفخر الدين ان يستعيد ازدهار بلاده وان يعيد بناء قصره . ورأى ان يكون ذلك موافقا لمعاقبة المعتدين ، فجيّش رجاله ، وذهب الى الشمال ليحارب يوسف باشا سيفاً ، فانصر عليه في سلسلة من المعارك لا يسعنا الوقت للاشارة اليها ، وخرّب قصوره في عكار ، ونقل بعض حجارته رمزيا الى دير القمر فجعلها في قصره ومن هنا نشأت تلك الاسطورة القديمة التي تذكر ان فخر الدين كان قصير القامة ، ما تهابه العين اذا مشى ، الاّ انه كان مرتفع الصدر على الجواد . وكان قد زفّ اخته الى احد بكوات عكار ، وهم طوال القامات ضخام الاجسام ، فذهب يوماً لزيارتها ، فاستقبل استقبالاً حسناً بالطبع ، ولكن لم يخلُ الامر من التناذر بقصر قامته حتى سمعت اخته بعض منافساتها يقلن لها : « اهذا اخوك ؟ يمكن ان يبيض البيضة ، وهو واقف ، فلا تنكسر ! » فأثر القول فيها حتى افضت به الى اخيها . فوقف فخر الدين يوم الوداع والقي مقطوعة زجلية يقول فيها على ذمة الاسطورة :

نحن زغار بعيون العدو كبار

انتم خشب حور ، نحن للخشب منشار

وحق طيبه وزمزم والنبي المختار

ما بعمرّ الدير الاّ من حجر عكار

وتقول الاسطورة انه نقل كثيرا من حجارة عكار في القوارب ، من سواحل عكار حتى نهر الدامور . ثم صفّ الزلم من الدامور الى

دير القمر ، على مسافة متر بين الواحد والآخر ، فأخذوا يتناقلون الحجارة حتى وصلت الى هناك وجعلها في واجهة قصره ، وهي لا تزال بارزة معروفة حتى اليوم .

يهننا من حكم فخر الدين ما امتاز به هذا الشخص من بعد نظر ودهاء سياسي ، وتوفير المعاونين في مختلف الاماكن ، والاستفادة من الظروف ، حتى انه كان له صديق في بلاط عباس شاه ، امبراطور العجم ، هو الشيخ لطف الله اللبناي من ميس الجبل ، كان رجلاً تقياً اقام في ايران ، في جوار عباس شاه ، وكان رجلاً فاضلاً يستشير به شاه . واهل ايران يكرمون ذكره حتى اليوم بمسجد في اصفهان ، الى جنب مسجد الشاه عباس . كان هذا على صلة بفخر الدين ، فكان اذا شغل السلطان العثماني بالحرب التركية الايرانية بين العثمانيين والصفويين ، افاد فخر الدين من هذه الفرصة ليعزز مركزه في لبنان ويزيد علاقته مع الغرب .

بيد انه لم يكن بدّ من الانفجار . فانفجرت الحصومة في معركة عنجر المذكورة بين المعارك الحاسمة - الجدول بين ايديكم . جرت المعركة في ٢ تشرين الثاني سنة ١٦٢٣ ، فانصر فيها فخر الدين . انتصر باربعة آلاف رجل من جيشه والوف من رجال انسابه الشهابيين الذين عاونوه قادمين من وادي التيم ، بطريق حمارة المثلّ على عنجر في آخر سهل البقاع ، مما يلي مدخل وادي الحرير الى بلاد الشام . بخمسة آلاف انتصر على اثني عشر الفا ، وقبض على قائد الجيش الوزير العثماني . لكنه اكرمه ، وسيره مع حامية الى دمشق . فسعى هذا الوزير لدى السلطان حتى رضي على فخر الدين ، وارسل اليه لقب « سلطان البر » اسوة بجده العظيم « فخر الدين الاول » ، وهكذا يكون المعنيون قد نالوا على فترتين لقب « سلطان البر » . ونحن نكبر ذكرى فخر الدين لا لانه ، كما قلنا ، رجل دولة ذو دهاء وسعة تفكير فقط ، بل لانه كان رجل دولة في الشؤون الداخلية كذلك . آمن الحياة للشعب ، وأمن وحدة الشعب . حتى ان الاختلافات الدينية لم يكن لها من مجال . فكانت

الطوائف اللبنانية تعيش متآلفة لا همّ لها الا خدمة الوطن بجدمة الامير .
بقي ان نتقل الى النقطة التي اشرنا اليها فيما تعلق بقوة الشعب في
لبنان وشخصيته ، وباستمرار الحكم ، برضا الشعب ، في الاسرة الواحدة .
وهكذا نصل في حكم المعنيين الى اواخر القرن السابع عشر ، سنة ١٦٩٧
وفيها كانت وفاة آخر امير معني هو الامير احمد الذي لم يخلف ولدا ،
انما كان له اخت زوجها امير راشيا من الشهابيين في وادي التيم الاعلى .
وله بنت زوجها امير حاصبيا من الشهابيين في وادي التيم الاسفل .
فاجتمع ذوو الرأي في البلاد في مؤتمر وطني قرب عين السمقانية في
منبسط من الارض ، وهناك تداولوا في الامر ، فأرأوا ان ينقلوا الحكم من
الاسرة المعنية الى الامير بشير الشهابي ابن الامير حسين ، يعني ابن
اخت الامير احمد المعني . وكتبوا محضرا بذلك وارسلوه الى الباب العالي
للموافقة . وهذا مظهر مهم جدا من استقلال لبنان ، وعدم تدخل السلطة
العثمانية ، نضيفه الى ما كان من عدم تدخلها كلما انتصر السلطان على
خصم له من الأمراء . ولقد كان من الطبيعي ، لو كانت الدولة العثمانية
تحكم مباشرة لبنان ، كما كان شأنها في غيره من الولايات ، ان يعين
السلطان العثماني ، وقد انتصر على الامير قرقماز مثلا ، او على فخر
الدين الثاني ، او على بشير الثاني ، ان يعين واليا من قبله على لبنان ،
ويتخلص من الاسرة الحاكمة . الواقع كان السلطان يكتفي بالانتصار
على شخص الامير ويرضخ لنقل الحكم من امير الى امير . وعلى هذا
أرسل المحضر للسلطان العثماني للموافقة ، فذكر السلطان انه لا يزال
في بلاطه احد افراد البيت المعني ، وهو الامير حسين ابن الامير فخر
الدين الثاني ، وذلك انه لما قبض على فخر الدين واولاده سنة ١٦٣٤
وارسلوا الى الاستانة قتلوا جميعا ما عدا ولدا صغيرا كان اسمه حسينا
رني في بلاط السلطان وترقى في مراتب السلطنة حتى صار من الباشاوات .
فذكره السلطان آثذ واستقدمه وقال : « ان اسرتك قد انقرض الحكم فيها
في لبنان ، وهم يطلبون اميرا . فهل لك ان تذهب فتتولى لبنان . اماره
اهلك ؟ » وكان الامير حسين باشا قد تقدم في السن فاستدرك الامر ،
وقال : « ان مقامي بجانب جلاله السلطان افضل من كل امارات العالم . »

ثم لفت نظر السلطان الى ان الحق يعود بالاولى الى ابن بنت الامير المتوفى ،
لا الى ابن اخته ، ولكن بما ان الامير حيدر ، ابن بنت احمد المعني ،
كان لا يزال قاصرا ، فيحسن ان يكون الامير بشير ابن اخت احمد المعني
وصيا عليه حتى يبلغ الثامنة عشرة . وهكذا كان . وعلى عهد الامير حيدر
حصلت المعركة الحاسمة في عين داره كما قلنا سنة ١٧١٠ ، في
التاسع عشر من اذار ، فأعيد تنظيم لبنان الاقطاعي على اثرها . وتوالى
الشهابيون ، واشهرهم بشير الثاني ، كما كان اشهر المعنيين فخر الدين
الثاني . والكلام على الامير بشير يطول جدا ، واكثر احداثه معروفة
فتركها منتقلين الى بعض الشؤون الثقافية والديمقراطية التي يمكن ان
نستخلصها من عهد الامراء .

ذكرنا ارادة الشعب التي برزت في مختلف الحوادث التاريخية . ولنا
ثلاثة امثلة جليّة عليها : هي مؤتمر السمقانية سنة ١٦٩٧ ، وقد اشرنا
اليه ، واجتماع دير القمر في شهر ايار سنة ١٨٤٠ ، وفيه أقرت الثورة
لا على شخصية الامير بشير ، بل على الحكم الكائن في ذلك العهد ، ثم
اجتماع انطلياس في حزيران سنة ١٨٤٠ ، الذي أعلنت فيه الثورة ،
وقد يكون من المفيد ان نلقي نظرة على تلك النصوص في نكهتها التاريخية
فندكر اولاً هذه الوثيقة المهمة :

« في ٢٧ ايار الاربعاء انتخبوا اهل الدير اربعة عشر انسانا للتدبير .
من الدرور : حمد الشحاري ، وخزوع خبيص . من الموارنة :
نادر ابو عكر ، ابراهيم عيد ، فارس ثابت ، سعد باز ، يوسف
ابي شمعون ، غندور الكك ، بشارة الجلخ ، منصور مرهج .
من الكواتلة : سلوم الحداد ، حنا عيسى ، داوود الجاويش ،
حبيب الصوصه . وتحالفوا ان كل شيء يدبروه يحفظوه سرا لحد
وقت العمل . وفي هذا النهار حضر البعض من المقاطعات اثنين
اثنين ، بالوكالة عن كل مقاطعة ، واجتمعوا في الخلوة وتحالفوا
على الرأي والقلب والكلمة واحدة ، ثم بثوا الدعوة الى العصيان في
في انحاء البلاد . »

من المفيد كذلك ان تقرأ نص الدعوة الى العصيان ، وهذا هو :

« انه تقدم منا بجانبكم خلافة على البابين ما وصل ولربما يكون قد بلغ لديكم . وانما نعيد على حضرتكم التعريف وهو انه نهار السبت الواقع في ٢٢ شهره (ايار) صدر امر شريف على كافة البلاد من لدن سعادة افندينا ولي النعم ايده الله ، بطلب السلاح الذي بيدنا من البواريد العسكرية فحالا قدمنا بساط الرجا اول وثاني وثالث ، في ابقاء السلاح بيدنا فما صار قبول بذلك . وبحيث متحقق عندنا طلب السلاح ينتج منه اولاً سبع فرد (الفردة اصلها القرية يعني الضريبة السنوية) ثانياً طلب اولادنا من جميع الطوائف ليتقدموا الى النظام (النظام يعني الجيش اي الخدمة العسكرية) فحيث ان هذا الامر ليس فيه شبهة لازم اننا اظهرنا العصاوة من بعد الاتكال على الله واعتمدنا على محاربة هذه الغدارة وتقديم الطاعة لسعادة افندينا الامير المعظم . ونهار الاربعاء المبارك امس تاريخه حضر لنا علم من صيدا بانّه متوجه علينا عسكر فحالا في النهار نفسه توجه من هذا الطرف عسكر وصحبته جناب المشايخ بيت ابو نكد ومسا تاريخه نهار الخميس حضر لنا بشارة سنية بانهم ظفروا بهؤلاء الخارجين واخذوا منهم مئة وثمانين بارودة ولا يزالوا مقيمين على جسر صيدا بانتظار العساكر الذي تمر جهتنا . نرغب ان تكونوا كما نحن متيقظين سهرانين واعين بكل ما يجد من نواحي بيروت من الجهة الشمالية وكلما جد شيء عرفونا حالاً صحبة مخصوص وبعونه تعالى انتم الظافرين ولا يلزم نحثكم على التيقظ كون هذا صالح عايد للجميع نساله تعالى نسمع عنكم كل ما يسر الخواطر حسب عوايدكم السابقة هذا ما لزم افادتكم والله يحفظكم . اخوتكم اهالي دير القمر نصارى ودروز . »

هذا كان صباح اجتماع انطلياس وفيه تقرر اعلان الثورة . وكان كل ذلك بفضل وعي الشعب . فقد صح فيه قول لامرتين الذي كان ، قبل هذه الحوادث بعشر سنوات ، في زيارة الامير بعد ان طاف في مصر

وانحاء لبنان ، فكتب في « رحلته الى الشرق » : « في مصر رجل هو محمد علي ، اما لبنان ففيه شعب . »

وننتقل بسرعة الى الاحداث الثقافية ومنها تأسيس المدارس وكان من اسبابها القريبة تأسيس الكلية المارونية في روما التي خرجت طوائف من الشبان الموارنة عاد منهم قسم الى لبنان واخذ بتأسيس المدارس منذ اوائل القرن السابع عشر . ولا بد من التوقف قليلاً لدى مدرسة مهمة فيما تعلق بالتعليم الشعبي الديمقراطي ، وهي مدرسة دير القمر التي فتحت ابوابها سنة ١٧٥٢ ، بفضل وقفية وقفها الست امون والدة الامير يوسف شهاب للربان الحلبيين الموارنة وهذا نص الهبة :

« وجه تحريره ووجه تسطيره هو اننا وهبنا وهبة لا ترد اصلاً الى اعزازنا الربان الحلبيين اللبنانيين ، الاقبية الاربعة والدكاكين الذين فوقهم جميعا الذين هم لنا بجانب كنيسة التلة عن يد عزيزنا القس متى حكيم الحلبي . ويكون لهم ملكاً ووفقاً صحيحاً شرعياً ويصرفوهم حيث شاءوا وما احد له علاقة معهم ولا نحن بنوع من الانواع اصلاً تحريراً في سنة ١١٦٣ للهجرة اي سنة ١٧٥٠ . »

ثم شرط هذه الهبة : « ارتضينا ان نوضع فيه اثنان من الاربان لاجل تعليم الاولاد . » وجاء في سجل الرهينة في سنة ١٧٥٢ : « ابنتت الرهبانية الحلبية اللبنانية انطش في بلدة دير القمر ، بلدة الامير ، دار الحكم ، واقامت فيه مدرسة لتعليم الاولاد . وهذه المدرسة تحوي ما عدا اولاد الطائفة المارونية ، اولاد الامراء ، والسنتات ، واهل القرية . » فهي اذا مدرسة مجانية ، شعبية ، ديمقراطية ، يجتمع فيها مع ابناء الامراء والسنتات ، ابناء الفلاحين في القرية .

وهناك ذكر لعدد من المدارس ، وعدد من المطابع تجددونه في هذه اللائحة .

وننتهي بالاشارة الى ان اول مطبعة ادخلت في نواحي الشرق الادنى كانت مطبعة دير مار انطونيرس قزحيا في وادي قاديشا ، التي اخرجت

لبنان في عهد الامارة

اهم المصادر وايسرها متناولاً

- ١ - احمد بن محمد الخالدي
لبنان في عهد الامير فخر الدين المعني الثاني - نشره اسد رستم وفؤاد افرام
البستاني ، منشورات مديرية المعارف العامة والفنون الجميلة : بيروت ١٩٣٦ .
- ٢ - محمد المحيي
خلاصة الاثر في اعيان القرن الحادي عشر (مصر) الجزء الثالث .
- ٣ - الامير حيدر احمد الشهابي
لبنان في عهد الامراء الشهابيين - نشره اسد رستم وفؤاد افرام البستاني -
٣ مجلدات في منشورات مديرية المعارف ، بيروت ١٩٣٣ - ١٩٣٥ .
- ٤ - الامير حيدر احمد الشهابي
تاريخ احمد باشا الجزائر - نشره انطونيوس شبلي واغناطيوس خليفة ، بيروت
١٩٥٥ .
- ٥ - القس روفائيل كرامه
مصادر تاريخية لحوادث سوريا ولبنان ١٧٤٥ - ١٨٠٠ . طبعه الاب باسيلوس
قطان ، بيروت ١٩٢٩ .
- ٦ - مخايل الصباغ العكاوي
تاريخ الشيخ ضاهر العمر الزيداني - طبعه الاب قسطنطين الباشا .
- ٧ - القس حنانيا المنير
الدر المرصوف في تاريخ الشوف - نشره الاب اغناطيوس سركييس في المشرق
١٩٥٤ - ١٩٥٥ .

اول كتاب ، وهو كتاب المزامير ، باللغتين العربية والسريانية سنة ١٦١٠ ،
تلتها بعد مائة واربع وعشرين سنة مطبعة دير مار يوحنا الصايغ في
الخنشارة ، واول كتاب اخرجه هو « لسان الزمان » المترجم سنة ١٧٣٤ .
وثالث مطبعة كانت مطبعة القديس جاورجيوس في بيروت سنة ١٧٥١ .
وبالنسبة للطوائف المختلفة نذكر ان المطبعة الاولى انشأها الموارنة ،
والمطبعة الثانية الروم الكاثوليك ، والمطبعة الثالثة الروم الارثوذكس .
وولي ذلك سنة ١٨٠٨ انشاء مطبعة دير مار موسى الدوار ، وهي التي
نقلت الى قزحيا فيما بعد ، فجددت مطبعتها القديمة . ثم سنة ١٨٣٤ ،
أُنشئت المطبعة الاميركية في بيروت ، وكانت قبلا في مالطة . يتضح من
هذا ان المطبعة الاولى ظهرت في لبنان اكثر من مئتي سنة قبل وصول اي
مطبعة الى مصر .

ونختم هذا الحديث الذي طال على غير قصد مني ، بذكر ثلاثة
امور مهمة في العصر الشهابي : اولها ادخال اللقاح ضد الجدري بفضل الامير
بشير الثاني . ثم انشاء المحجر الصحي او الكرنتينة . واخيرا تنظيم جباية
الضرائب والغاء الالتزامات .

هذا ما كان من الممكن ان نحصره في هذا القمقم الصغير من التاريخ
الطويل للبنان في عهد الامارة .

20. P. Paolo Carali, Fakh Ad-Din II e la Corte di Toscana, Roma, 1936.
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لبنان إبراهيم يزبك

أراني مضطرا الى بدء حديثي بتكرار كلام اعلته مرارا في مختلف المناسبات ، فأقول :

« تاريخ » لبنان ناقص نقصانا كبيرا .

وفيه تقطع ، وفضاء خال . وحلقات مفقودة .

وفيه إعراض عن شروح ضرورية لا تستقيم الحقيقة باهمالها .

وهذا كله يجيز لنا القول ، بأسف لا يضاهيه أسف : ان لبنان لا تاريخ له . اما الكتب التي وسمت بالصفة التاريخية لهذا الوطن الجميل فهي — باستثناء قليل — بعض حجارة خام ، غير متساوية في قاعدة البناء . ناهيكم بان في صفحاتها نزعات لا تتفق مع مقومات الوحدة اللبنانية . وهي ايضا تخالف الواقع . ما كتبها كاتبوها الا لجهلهم حقيقة الحوادث واسبابها ، او لرغبتهم في التضليل والتعكير .

اما الجهل فيرجع سببه في الدرجة الاولى الى فقدان الاصول ونقصان المواد التي تبني التاريخ .

واما الرغبة في التضليل والتعكير ، فنفس من الخناس الوسواس .

واذا جاز . في الماضي المظلم ، ان تسمى تلك الكتب بانها « تواريخ » فنحن اليوم في وضع — والعهد عهد استقلال كامل — يدعونا الى العناية بتاريخنا المنشود ، دعوة ملحة ، وبسرعة .

ورأس العناية بتاريخنا هو جمع ما تبعث من اصوله . والتفتيش عن

١٨٠٨ انشاء مطبعة دير مار موسى الدوار . نقلت الى قزحيا فجددت مطبعتها القديمة .
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اوراقه في كل زاوية ، وكل بلد . ثم نعني بتشميشها والتحقيق في كل كلمة فيها ، حتى نطمئن الى صحتها وصدقها .

ومن العناية بتاريخنا : مثل هذه الندوات ، تدرس فيها تياراته وبناقش في احداثه ، على مستوى جامعي ، اعني ان لا يبالي المؤرخ الا بالحقيقة وحدها على ضوء علمه وثبته ، اياً كان لونها .

ليسمح لي في هذا المقام ان اشكر سعي الذين عملوا لهذه المحاضرات في كلية بيروت للبنات ، وفي مقدمتهم عالمتنا الجليلة سلوى نصار .

وبعد ، فالفترة التي سنطّل عليها في هذه الساعة - من انهيار الامارة الشهابية سنة ١٨٤١ الى اعلان لبنان الكبير سنة ١٩٢٠ - هي من اعظم الايام في حياة لبنان ، وبعدها اثرا في ايصاله الى حالته الاستقلالية .

ففيها كان الغاء النظام الاقطاعي الذي كان مسيطرا على بلادنا ، إلغاء رسميا ، وابطال الامتيازات التي كانت لاصحابه ابطالا قانونيا . وفيها كان الخطو الاول الى ممارسة شعبنا حقّه في انتخاب نوابه ومشايخ صلحه . والأمران عملان طبيعيان في العالم العربي . أي اننا أول شعب في هذا العالم حطّم إقطاعيته ، وأول شعب فيه مارس الانتخابات القانونية . وسيأتي حديثهما بعد قليل .

وفي هذه الفترة أيضا لطّخ جبين لبنان بعار التناحر والتقاتل الذي ألبسه مسبوه ثوبا دينيا ، والدين في الاصل والسبب براء منه ، على ما سنبسّطه في حينه .

وفي الفترة المذكورة دولّ نظام لبنان ، فصار دستور في حمى ستّ دول اوروبية هي اعظم دول الأرض يومها .

وفي هذه الفترة وثب اللبنانيون الى الحضارة الاوروبية وثبة جريئة جعلت من وطنهم لؤلؤة في جبهة الشرق . وكان علماءؤهم العباقرّة نواة النهضة الفكرية في العالم العربي . وما التيارات التقدمية التي تعصف بشعوب قومنا اليوم لاسعاد الانسان العربي الا من قدح زندهم .

وفي الفترة المذكورة كانت الحرب العالمية الاولى التي قلبت اوضاعنا كلها رأساً على عقب . وقد مات نصف الشعب اللبناني جوعا وتشريدا وضيقا . وفيها وطنّنا حقنا في الحرية والاستقلال بان قدمنا على مذبحهما قرابين الاستشهاد ، على اعواد المشائق وفي ساحات المعارك . وهذا اكرم واقدس ما يقدمه شعب ثمنا لحرياته .

وستلاحظون ان هذا الحُقب من تاريخنا (الذي بدأ بانهايار الامارة اللبنانية وانتهى بالاحتلال الفرنسي) قد تأثر كثيرا بالتدخل الاجنبي في شؤوننا في جميع الميادين . وهذا أمر حتم : فلبنان جزء من الشرق . وللشرق في ذلك الزمان - ولا سيما في اواسط القرن التاسع عشر - مأساة اشتهرت باسم « المسألة الشرقية » وهي تعني في الأكثر اوضاع السلطنة العثمانية التي شبّهت بالرجل المريض . وقد ربطت مرامي الطمع دولا اوروبية بجبال التحاسد والتنافس والتباغض والغدر ، حتى صارت شغلها الشاغل ، ما يتحرك غصن في بلد شرقي ، لأوروبية فيه مطعم ، حتى يتحرك قناصلها للاهتمام بحركة ذبّاك الغصن . وتعلمون ان الاقطار العربية كانت ، بعد أستانة ، في مقدمة المرامي الاستعمارية التي تحدق اليها الروسية والنمسة وانكلترة وفرنسا في السلطنة العثمانية . ولما كان لبنان باب الاقطار العربية ، فالتنافس الاجنبي على التدخل في شؤونه نتيجة بدهية لها . ويؤلنا القول إن ذلك التدخل ، في اكثره ، كان مصدر نكباتنا .

نعم : ان الفترة التي نسط الآن اهم مراحلها هي من اعظم الايام في حياة لبنان : انهار حكم الامير بشير الثاني بمعول مادته الفعالة من انكلترة ، وأقضي صاحبه الى مالطة ثم الى أستانة وحيء بنسيبه وسميته بشير الثالث وفرض خلفا له . فبدأ هذا حكمه ممثلا للأوامر التركية والانكليزية . مشتركا مع الثائرين اللبنانيين على ابراهيم بن محمد علي باشا والي مصر . حتى تمّ جلاء ابراهيم عن هذه البلاد في خريف ١٨٤٠ .

وبهذا الجلاء تنطوي صفحة عهد من عهود الحكم في لبنان ، لم يكن كله اسود . ومن الواجب ان نشير الى بعض اثر تركه وكان له شأن :

أولا ، ذبوع كتب دين الموحدين (أي الدرروز) . وكان الوصول اليها قبل ذلك صعبا جدا - ان لم يكن مستحيلا - لانها محفوظة في حرز حريز عند كبار رجال الدين وحدهم ، ولم يتسرب منها الى غير الموحدين الا القليل القليل ، وقد حفظ هذا القليل في خزائن الخاصة . فلما احتلت الجنود المصرية القرى الدرزية استولت على ما في خلواتها من كتب المذهب وبعثرتها فوصل كثير منها الى الأجانب ، ثم انتقلت منهم الى المكتبات العامة في مدن مصر واوروبه واميركا ، حتى صار باستطاعة أي طالب يرغب في استقراء مذهب التوحيد والاطلاع على حكمته السرية ان يسافر الى القاهرة وباريس ولوندره وروما وبرلين فيدرس تلك الكتب وينسخها او يصورها . وفي رأي المتواضع ان هذا الحادث هو من اعظم حوادث القرن التاسع عشر في لبنان .

ثانيا ، نمو مدينة بيروت نموا سريعا شاملا ، بعد ان كانت قرية محصورة بسور لا يدخل اليها الا من احد ابوابها السبعة . وقد نقل اليها مقر الولاية من صيدا فور جلاء جيش ابراهيم باشا عنها واحتلال الانكليز والعثمانيين لها . وانشئت فيها المخازن التجارية والمدارس ، وجاءتها الارساليات الدينية والاقتصادية . ولم يلبث نموها بسبب التصاقها بالجبل أن جعلها في مقدمة مدن السلطنة ، حتى لقبت بالدره في تاج آل عثمان .

ثالثا ، ظهور افراد من صفوف الشعب في قيادة الثورة على حكم ابراهيم بن محمد علي باشا . وهي ظاهرة جديدة وخطيرة تدل على واحد من اثنين :

(ا) إما أن يقظة شعبية بدأ يندر قرننها بعد ان رسخ النير الاقطاعي المطبق في البلاد ، ولا سيما في الحكم الشهابي - وخاصة في عهد بشير الثاني الذي قاد طغيانه الامارة الى الفناء .

(ب) واما ان الاقطاعية التي كانت تسود لبنان ظلت حليفة ، وبالتالي عميلة ، للاحتلال الأجنبي .

ولعل الأمرين صحيحان !

ولا شك في ان هذه الظاهرة الشعبية الجديدة كانت من الاسباب الرئيسية في الاحداث التي سنواجهها .

عين بشير الشهابي الثالث خلفا لسيبه وسميه ، وبدا تعيينه للجميع عنوان تدخل انكليزي سافر ، وكان اول تدخل اجنبي ، غير عثماني ، من نوعه ، في اختيار حاكم لبنان - منذ كان لبنان !

واستسلم الامير الجديد استسلاما مخجلا لمشيشة عمال لوندريه واستانة في ادارة الامارة ، واساء التصرف مع ممثلي الاقطاعية ، ولا سيما في الشوف . ولم يبد الحكمة ولا التبصر في اعماله ، حتى اخذ الاقطاعيون الشهابيون واللمعيون والجنبلطيون والعماديون واخوانهم ، يتربصون به ، ولكل منهم غرض وغاية ، فعصفت بالجبل ريح فتنة سموم اشترك الاجانب بالتحريض عليها ، وفوجيء الشعب البريء ، الكادح المضيف ، بسلاسل تقوده الى التناحر باسم الدين . ولم يسبق له ان عرف هذا النوع الخسيس من التفرقة التي نفخ الاقطاعيون في نارها ، فتأزمت الحالة وتدخلت اوروبه في القضية اللبنانية من جديد .

واقبل المير بشير الثالث ، وجيء بخلف له من ضباط الجيش العثماني اسمه عمر باشا المشهور بالنمساوي وقيل في الحكم الشهابي :

« اولهم بشير ، وآخرهم بشير »⁽¹⁾

عين عمر باشا خلفا لبشير الثالث موظفا عثمانيا بكل ما لهذه الكلمة من معنى ، يتلقى الاوامر من ممثلي الحكومة العثمانية وقيادة الاحتلال الانكليزي ثم ينفذها تنفيذا اعمى . وكان حكمه اول حكم من نوعه في لبنان : فقد دشّن فيه الحكم الاجنبي المباشر ، دون ان يكون لابنائه ، اصحاب الشأن ، أية كلمة !

(1) حكم بشير الاول سنة ١٦٩٧ - وهو اول الحكام من هذه الاسرة - واقبل بشير الاخير سنة ١٨٤١ .

وعمر باشا ، هذا ، تجبري مسيحي . دخل في دين الاسلام وعمل ضابطا في الجيش العثماني ، ونجح في بعض المعارك التي خاضها فرقي الى الرتب العالية ، واشترك في مطاردة جيش ابراهيم بن محمد علي باشا واخراجه من هذه الديار ، وسار على توافق كامل مع القيادة الانكليزية في تلك المطاردة ، كأنه احد اولئك المتطوحين الاوروبيين الذين أسلموا وتعلموا ليتولوا القيادات والمناصب العليا في الامبراطورية العثمانية ، وكان معظمهم يعملون للسياسة الانكليزية . وقد كثر عددهم في القرن الماضي تحت شعار التطربش .

ومع جميع الامكانيات والصلاحيات والرياح المواتية ، التي رافقت عمر باشا لحكم الجبل ، عجز الرجل عن تنفيذ الرغبات الاجنبية التي لُقنها للقضاء على امتيازات لبنان ومميزاته ، وعجز بالتالي عن ربطه بحكومة السلطنة ربطا مباشرا على ما كان مقصودا من تعيينه . وقد كانت استانة هائجة الرغبة في ذلك الربط ، لان الامارة اللبنانية في البلدان العربية الخاضعة للنير العثماني في ذلك الزمان لم تكن ليطمأن اليها . ناهيك بانها الحكومة العربية الوحيدة التي وطد استقلالها الداخلي استمرار وراثي في اسرة واحدة بلا انقطاع . تتابع الحكام من ابنائها مئة واربعاً واربعين سنة ، حتى صارت دولة ضمن الدولة .

عجز عمر باشا عن تحقيق الرغبة العثمانية الانكليزية في لبنان وبدت سياسته اشد سوءا من سياسة خلفه بشير الثالث ، ومثله اتبع سبيل الارهاق والصلف والعنذر ولكن لم تكن له ، مثله . جذور في الارض اللبنانية ، فلم يلبث ان ضج السكان منه بعد ان انتشرت الفوضى في جميع الجهات .

وفوجئت السياسة بعجب مستغرب : وهو أن الاقطاعية الدرزية التي اقامت النكير على الحكم الشهابي وأصرت على التحرر منه ، وكتبت في ذلك عشرات الطلبات الى استانة ، رضيت برجوع هذا الحكم الى لبنان شرط أن ينضم اليها مواطنوها النصارى في عزل عمر باشا !

وعزل النمساوي بعد ان نفخ في نار فتنة مذهبية جديدة بأمر من أسياده . وتدخلت اوروبة في شؤون لبنان من جديد . إلا أن تدخلها جاء ،

كعادته ، متضارب المطامع ، وزاد في التوتر بينها حتى تأزمت علاقتها . و « عطف » فرنسا على الامارة المنهارة ولكن عطفها لم يكن منبعثا من المروءة وحدها ، فالوصول الى الهند - ونحن في طريقها - من شغل الدول الشاغل ، فرأت سياسة التسويات السلمية تخفيف الازمة بمنح لبنان نظاما استقلاليا جديدا « بقدر المستطاع » اوحت به لوندرة الى البرنس مترنيخ رئيس حكومة النمسا . فاقترحه سفيره في استنبول وأقرته الدول نظاما موقتا ، يقضي بقسمة لبنان لبنانين : احدهما يحكمه امير درزي ويحكم الآخر أمير ماروني ، ويطلق على كل منهما لقب قائم مقام . والتسمية هذه ، لا تعني الوظيفة الادارية الضيقة التي نعرفها اليوم ، وانما هي استمرار للحاكمية الاستقلالية السابقة ، ولصلاحياتها في ايام الامارة ، ولكنها مطورة ومصغرة الشأن .

وهكذا عرفنا حكم القائم مقاميتين . وقد جاءنا أبت . وقالت استنبول يوم اعلنته : « ان هذا التدبير انما هو وقي ، وعلى سبيل التجربة » .

ولما تبلّغ سفراء الدول الاوروبية الخمس^(١) هذا الاجراء الظالم - وكانوا قد ايقنوا في مفاوضاتهم مع حكومة السلطان ان حكومة تركية تنوي القضاء على الاستقلال اللبناني ، بل على كيان لبنان ، قضاء مبرما - كتبوا الى ناظر الخارجية العثمانية كتابا مشتركا رسميا أصروا فيه على ان يثبت ذلك التدبير الموقت الامتيازات التي كانت تتمتع بها الامارة اللبنانية .

واطل نظام القائم مقاميتين على الجبل العاني يزيد في وضعه بلبلة حتى جر الى فتنة جديدة جعل اللبنانيين حطبيها ، فضغطت الدول الاوروبية المذكورة على حكومة السلطان العثماني ضغطا جديدا وارغمتها على اعادة النظر في نظام حكم لبنان . فأوفدت استانة وزير خارجيتها شكيب أفندي الى بيروت لتسوية الامر - وهو أحد أقطابها السابحين في محيط المرامي البريطانية في الشرق - فوضع للقائم مقاميتين « البلديتين » نظاما جديدا^(٢)

(١) هي انكلترا ، وبروسيا ، والروسية القيصرية ، وفرنسا ، والنمسا .

(٢) ٣٠ من ١٨٤٥ سنة .

خاليا من جميع الصلاحيات الاستقلالية ، ولكنه خال ايضا من الصلاحيات الطاغية التي مارسها حكام الامارة الشهابية المنهارة . وزاد في الطين بلة انه قسم وحدة الحكم الوطني قسمين فاتحا الباب في وجوه المتنافسين - وما اكثرهم ! - يضطرمهم للزلفى الى السلطان وعماله وحاشيته . ناهيكم بأنه حال دون الارث في الولاية . وانه لأمر خطير ، فالامارة اللبنانية كانت عنوان الدولة العربية المستقلة ، وعاشت ذات سلطان على القبائل والعشائر المجاورة لبنان ، فليس من المصلحة التركية ان يقوم عندنا حكم هذا شأنه ، تربطه تقاليد وروحته ومخالفاته بالعشائر العربية المنتشرة من أبواب بيروت الى جبال اليمن ، مما يهدد بايقاظ القومية العربية المخدرة بمورفين الدين .

واكبر عيب يراه الوطنيون في ذلك النظام الموقت انه كرس الانشقاق المذهبي الذي افتعلته الاقطاعية ، وشجعت عليه المطامع الأجنبية . وذلك انه وضع لانشقاقنا المؤلم قواعد قانونية (دستورية) ووزع اجهزة الحكم على النسبة الطائفية لا على الكفاءات . وهو لم ينظر الى حقيقة الفتنة المشؤومة على انها حادث طارئ ، من شأنه ان يتلاشى مع الاقطاعية التي سببته . ولكنه نظر الى الحادث الطارئ كأنه « حالة ثابتة ، دائمة مع الشعب . فمن اللازم ان ترافق نظام حكم الشعب » . وكان تكريس التفرقة المذهبية بين اللبنانيين في نظامهم تكريسا قانونيا ، أول عمل من نوعه في تاريخنا .

وأرى واجبا مقدسا عليّ ، ونحن في هذا الصدد ، ان اقول ان اللبنانيين لم يعرفوا الانقسام المذهبي قبل حكم ابراهيم بن محمد علي باشا وحليفه بشير الشهابي الثاني اللذين عملا كثيرا في خلق اسباب ذلك الانقسام . واللبنانيون كانوا اصحاب حزبية اقطاعية تجمع المسيحي الدرزي والمسلم في صف واحد ، ضد مسيحي ودرزي ومسلم في الجبهة المخاصمة .

واللبنانيون في سالف عصرهم كانوا منقسمين بحزبية عشائرية ، فهم قيسيون ويمانيون .

فاذا ما تناحر مترعموهم مشت الأسر المتحالفة المتعددة المذاهب ، الى منازل مزاحمتها مدفوعة بالغرضية الحزبية لا المذهبية .

ونظرة الى تاريخهم قبل انتهاء حكم بشير الشهابي المشؤوم ترينا صفحة نقية من التسامح الديني والاتحاد . وحسبنا ان ننظر الى موقعة عين دارة ، مثلا ، في مطلع القرن الثامن عشر وقد تطاحن الحزبان القيسي واليماني فيها تطاحن المستमित فقلبت مصير الجبل رأسا على عقب وكانت اخطر حادثة في تاريخه الوطني في ذلك القرن ، فزرى ان آل القاضي وعماد وعبد الملك الدرور القيسيين يحاربون ابناء دينهم علم الدين وهموش وارسلان وصواف اليمانيين . وقد انضم الى الاولين جماعة من النصارى فلم تتأثر نصرانيتهم بدرزية حلفائهم أو خصومهم .

ونرى ان الشيخ قبلان القاضي الدرزي « كبير طوائف الشوف » (على ما ينعتة الشدياق) ، توفي سنة ١٧١٢ بلا عقب موصيا بجميع متروكاته للامير حيدر الشهابي المسلم الذي تربطه به الرابطة القيسية .

بل نرى حادثا اوقع في النفس من ذلك كله في تأييد الغرضية الحزبية وهو ان الماروني الشيخ فرنسيس الخازن الساكن في جوار بطريكه ومطارنته جعل قبيل وفاته حليفه الدرزي الشيخ بشير جنبلاط وصيّا على اولاده .

ونرى للمعيين والحزب اليزبكي يقارعون بزعامة النكديين بشيرا الشهابي ويعملون على تثبيت ابناء عمه في الحكم ضد الجنبلاطين والعماديين وحلفائهم الذين كانوا يؤيدون بشيرا .

ثم نرى بشيرا هذا يتفق مع العماديين على قتل خصومهم النكديين بمؤامرة دنيئة . ويرينا التاريخ مارونيا في دير القمر اسمه حنا يندر يتقد مواطنيه محمودا وواكد النكديين (الدرزيين) من سجن عكا بحيلة جريئة لم يقدم عليها درزي .

وبلغ من شدة عطف الشيخ بشير جنبلاط على المسيحيين في مقاطعاته أن بنى لهم الكنائس من ماله الخاص ورهبان دير المخلص في جوار صيدا يعرفون هذا حق المعرفة ، ودير مشموشه الماروني في اقليم جزين ما يزال يحدث حتى يومنا عن تساهل ذلك الزعيم الدرزي ، ولا ريب بان احفاده يحفظون مرسوم الحبر الاعظم اليه اذ يشكره على « حسن

على الوجه الحقاني ، وتنظيم مضابطها والحكم بها وفقا للاصول والعادات
المكانية السابقة . »

اما اعضاء المجلسين فيكونون من وجوه الطائفة التي ينتمون اليها .
ويستخبون - وقيل الانتخاب صراحة - بمعرفة المطارنة والشيوخ العقال .
ويجب ان يكونوا ممن هم اكثر جدارة ، وان تتحقق فيهم الشروط الثلاثة
الآتية :

اولا : ان لا يكون العضو قد استخدم عند المعتمدين الاجانب .

ثانيا : ان لا يكون قد تظلل الحماية الاجنبية .

ثالثا : ان لا يكون من سكان القرى الخارجة عن دائرة ادارة الجبل .

صحيح ان نظام القائم مقاميتين ثقب ثغرات منوعة وعميقة في الكيان
الوطني الذي رافق الامارة اللبنانية طوال الاحتلال العثماني منذ ١٥١٦ حتى
ذلك اليوم ، ولكننا نقول بانه اشرك ، الى حد ، طوائف لبنان في الحكم
بموجب امر من جلالة السلطان امير المؤمنين ونحط بالشعب بخطوة تمهيدية
الى حياة تمثيلية (نيابية) ستأتي بعد قليل .

وكان باستطاعة العقلاء ، لو أتيح لهم ان يظهرها ، ان يربحوا من
ذلك النظام ، على عيوبه الكثيرة ، مكاسب لخدمة الشعب . ولكن التحاقد
بين الاقطاعيين ، وتطاحتهم على النفوذ والسيطرة ، واللدس الاجنبي من
الشرق والغرب حال دون ذلك . ونذكر للمناسبة انه كان للامير حيدر
اسماعيل ابي المم ، أول قائم مقام ماروني ، ثلاثة مساعدين في الحكم
اختيروا من عباقرة الرجال ، هم المغفور لهم سمعان اللبكي وعيد حاتم
ومخايل نصار ، فوضعوا « نظاما داخليا » لحسن سير الاعمال في حكومتهم
والحفاظ على المواطنين والزاهة والعدل ، جاء بمبادئ خلقية رائعة .

عاش نظام القائم مقاميتين - وقيل يومها انه موقت - ست عشرة سنة .
وما كان من الحق ان يعيش ذلك الوقت كله . ولكن التضارب الغربي على
خبرات « الرجل المريض » ابقى اللبنانيين حطب المحرقة في انتظار اليوم

مساعيه نحو مواطنيه المسيحيين . »

ثم يرينا التاريخ ان المير عباس ارسلان (الدرزي) قد انضم الى
جيش المير خليل بشير الشهابي (المسيحي) وحارب معه دروز وادي
التيتم .

فتلك الحوادث وهذه الشواهد ، وهي غيض من فيض ، تثبت لنا
ان الحزبية العشائرية او الاقطاعية ، هي التي كانت تقود اللبنانيين
في حياتهم وان الانقسام المذهبي لم يدخل صفوفهم الا بعد مجيء ابراهيم
باشا الى بلادهم ثم انتشار الارشالات التبشيرية فيها على اختلاف معتقداتها .

ومن الواجب علينا ، انصافاً للتاريخ ، ان نقول في هذا الصدد إن
الدول الاوروبية ، ولا سيما انكلترا وفرنسا والروسية ، سعت كثيرا الى خلق
هذه التفرقة بين اللبنانيين وشطرهم الى طوائف دينية ، وهوذا الكولونيل روز
الانكليزي الذي اوفدته لندن الى لبنان وسورية لطرده ابراهيم باشا منهما
يقول بكل صراحة في تقرير رسمي بعث به الى حكومته : « ان الموارنة
مستسلمون نفسا وجسدا الى فرنسا . . . وعليه فلم يبق لانكلترا ان تختار
في الامر بل من المتحتم عليها عضد الدروز . . . »

اقول هذا كله ، مع اننا نرى ان نظام القائم مقاميتين ، على عيوبه
تلك ، جاءنا بنوع جديد من الحكم : هو طلائع الشورى التي كادت
ان تكون بدعة في ذلك الظلام ، فجعل لبنان اول مختبر للديموقراطية في
النصف الآخر من العالم .

ان الادارة السنوية التي انشئ بموجبها نظام القائم مقاميتين قد نصت
نصا صريحا في بندها الاول على تأليف مجلس لدى كل حاكم من
الحاكمين مهمته :

« فصل الدعاوي وفقا للعادات الموقعية القديمة ، وللاصول المذهبية
وتوزيع مال الويركو^(١) على كمال العدل والحقانية . ثم رؤية الدعاوي

(١) هي ضريبة مباشرة على كل راشد .

الهنائيء . فهل يتاح لهم ان يصلوا الى هذا اليوم المنشود ؟

لعل بعد الضيق فرجا . . .

وجرى في ايام ذلك النظام حادث خطير في « المسألة الشرقية » جرّ وراءه ذيولا بشعة وأخرى حسنة ، كان لنا قسط منها جميعا ، عنيت به عقد معاهدة باريس^(١) بعد حرب القرم . فقد نص البند التاسع منها على ما يلي :

« ان سلطان الدولة العثمانية قد تفضل ، لعنايته بخير رعاياه جميعا ، باصدار منشور غايته اصلاح ذات بينهم وتحسين احوالهم بقطع النظر عن اختلافهم في الاديان والجنس ، وأخذ في ذمته مقصده الخيري نحو النصارى القاطنين في بلاده . ولما كان من رغبته ان يبدي الآن شهادة جديدة على نيته في ذلك ، فقد عزم على ان يطالع الدول المعاهدة بذلك المنشور الصادر عن طيب نفس منه ، فتلقى الدول المشار اليها هذه المطالعة بتأكيد ما لها من النفع والفائدة . ولكن المفهوم منها صريحا انها لا توجب حقا لهذه الدول في أي حال كان بأن تتعرض ، كلها او بعضها ، لما يتعلق بالسلطان ورعاياه ، او بالتدخل في ادارة سلطنته . »

قلنا : ولم يكن المقصود من هذا المنشور السلطاني اجراء المساواة بين جميع العثمانيين ، على اختلاف مذاهبهم الدينية ، بقدر اسكات كبيرات دول اوروبة عن مزاعمها بحماية النصارى في الشرق . فالروسية القيصرية زعمت انها تغار على ارثوذكسية السلطنة وتريد حمايتهم من الظلم المحيق بهم من عمال حكومتهم المستبدين . وكذلك زعمت فرنسا والنمسة حمايتهما وعطفهما على الكاثوليك لمنع اضطهادهم . ومثلهما زعمت انكلترا حمايتها الفرق الانجيلية (قبل اصطيادها اخواننا بني معروف) وادعت انها لا تسمح بسوء معاملتهم .

ورأت أستانة في تلك الحمايا تدخلا في شؤونها سبب اضعافها وهو

رأي ظاهره صحيح ولكن الحقيقة تكذبه : فالتدخل الاوروبي لحماية نصارى الشرق - وهي حماية كاذبة ومضللة - لم يسبب اضعاف السلطنة العثمانية ، ولكن سوء سياسة بعض سلاطينها واكثر رجالهم من مدنيين وعسكريين هو الذي زرع الفوضى والبؤس والاضطرابات ونشر المظالم في السلطنة ، حتى انفسح المجال لتدخل اوروبة في شؤونها !

ونصح عاقل حكيم للسلطان عبد المجيد باعلان المساواة بين جميع رعاياه و « عدم اذلال النصارى واليهود باجراءات رسمية لا تقرها الكرامة الانسانية ومبادئ حقوق المواطن » . وقال الحكيم للسلطان : « انكم بالعائكم التفرقة الرسمية في معاملة رعايا جلالتكم ، وباعلانكم التساوي بينهم جميعا امام القانون ، وفي مختلف المعاملات ، تقضون على الحجج التي تذرع بها اوروبة ، ثم تحولون دون تدخلها في شؤون المملكة . . . »

وانتصح جلالة السلطان عبد المجيد واصدر منشوره التاريخي الذي اشتهر « بالخط الشريف » لان امير المؤمنين كتبه ووقع عليه بيده . وبلغه للدول المجتمعة في باريس فأدخلته الدول في البند التاسع من معاهدها .

والى حد بعيد كان لذلك الخط الشريف تأثير رجعي مؤلم في المسلمين المحافظين والمتمرتين ، كما حرك الزهو في بعض جهلة النصارى ، فاحمرت العيون ولم تلبث الحالة الروحية ان ازدادت سوءا وتأزما .

وفي ذلك الزمان عينه ، وبالضبط ، مع الخط الشريف ، كانت يقظة شعبية تتلملم وتحرك الفلاح الكسرواني . من الواجب التاريخي ان نذكر ان هذا الفلاح ماروني لان لنعته صلة بالحوادث التي سيأتينا خبرها قريبا .

عوامل جمة كانت تلملم ذلك الفلاح . اولها : سوء تصرف كثيرين من الاقطاعيين اصحاب المقاطعة . وقد تكاثفت عذابات الفلاح واحقادهم وآلامه من تصعّر ساداته وسوء تصرفهم حتى طفحت الصدور وبات اصحابها المقهورون يرتقبون أول مناسبة للانفجار .

العامل الثاني : ان افراداً من الاكليروس ، من ابناء الشعب

(١) في ٣٠ من آذار ١٨٥٦

الكسرواني ، بلغوا من الثقافة الغربية العصرية حددا العالي . وعلى الرغم من رقيهم ظلوا يحسبون « ابناء فلاحين » - الفلاح يومها « حرف ساقط » ! وفي اكثر الاحيان قدّم النسب وعراقة الاصل والبيت الكبير على العلم والتقوى والمؤهلات الكاملة في رفع الكهنة الى مراتب الاحبار ، فعين المطارنة لأنهم ابناء الاسرة الفلانية واقصي اصحاب الكفاءات العلمية والروحانية . ومعنى ذلك انه يجب ان يكون الكاهن ابن اسرة اقطاعية حتى يستحق ان يصير مطرانا وان جاهلا متأخرا وغير كفاء ! واما الكاهن ابن الفلاح فحظه في ذلك قليل وان كان مثقفا ورعا عبقريا . وعليه ان يرتقب نجوم السعد ، تنير له من قبة الصياد في الفاتيكان حتى يحسن مصيرا . ولا شك بان هذا الوضع في الاكليروس الماروني سبب كثيرا في انفجار كسروان على الاقطاعية الخازنية .

العمل الثالث : مساعي عمال الحكومة العثمانية الى خلق الاضطرابات والفتن لالغاء امتيازاتنا التي ظلت « تنظر اليها بعين الاستياء » . وفي هذا يقول فنصل انكلترة في بيروت ان حكومة استانة ترغب في اثاره اللدائس « حتى يشتك اللبنانيون في حرب اهلية ، وبهذه الوسيلة تبسط اجنحة حكمها مباشرة على لبنان . وهي غاية جعلتها مرمى انظارها منذ منح لبنان نظامه الحالي » (يريد نظام القائم مقاميتين . انظر المحررات السياسية ج / ، ص ٣٤٣ ، ١ ت ٢ سنة ١٨٥٨ .)

واندلعت نيران الثورة الشعبية في كسروان على الحكم الخازني الاقطاعي ومشت في معظم طبقاتها منذرة غير منتقمة ، لم يعرف انها قتلت بريئا ، او اعتدت على بريء ، الا ما ندر . فهرب الخازنيون من كسروان واستولت قيادة الثورة على ارزاقهم ووزعتها على الانصار والمستحقين .

ولم في تلك الغضبة الشعبية فلاحون كثيرون من العامة : ابرزهم واجراهم وابعدهم نظرا يطار من ريفون اسمه طانيوس شاهين^(١) انتخبه رفقاؤه شيوخ الشباب وكيفا عاما عنهم . فظهر من الدهاء والفطنة والحزم

(١) من اسرة سعادة المنتشرة فروعها في مختلف أنحاء لبنان .

وسرعة المبادأة : بل اظهر من الدبلوماسية في اعلان اهداف الثورة ومطالبها ، وفي المفاوضات لتحقيقها ، ما حير العقول .

ولعل اعظم ما بدا من ذلك البطل الشعبي انه اعلن الحكم الجمهوري في الارض التي سيطر عليها الثوار . قال مؤرخ ثورته انطون ضاهر العقيلي : ان طانيوس شاهين فتح خروجه (أي مطاعمه) في بيته الى الشارد والوارد وعمل منازل (أي مضافات) ، وفرق جيخانات (أي اعتدة نارية) وعمل مثلما تعمل الدور الواسعة حتى ان اسمه شاع في كل الجهات . وكل قرية لا تسمع لمقاله (أي لا تطيع امره) كان يرسل اليها جمهور من باقي القرايا لاجل تطيعها . . . وصار يقطع اوامر بتحصيل الحقوق وقصاص المذنبين . كيئما شاء ، من دون معارض . ويقول : « بقوة الحكومة الجمهورية . » وابتدأ يتعاطم ، وامره نافذ على الجميع .^(١)

وفي كتاب بعث به طانيوس شاهين الى اهالي جبيل قال لهم فيه :

« بيدي بيولدي (أي أمر سام) من الدول السبع لتحرير المسيحيين فيجب أن لا يبقوا عبيدا لاحد . فاذا شئتم ان تعتقوا من عبوديتكم فلا يستطيع انسان ان يمنعكم . لا المشير (الحاكم العثماني الاعلى) ولا القائم مقام (المسيحي) . »

وفي هذا الكتاب بيان صريح ، وجلي ، لمفهوم الثورة عند طانيوس شاهين ، ولوطنيته .

وكان ان استجار الخازنيون الهاربون ، بكل صاحب شأن . وطرقوا ابواب جميع القناصل في بيروت طالبين تدخلهم لقمع الثورة . بل انهم استفزوا بعض الدول ، وفيها غير مسيحية ، على الشعب الماروني الثائر !

« وبدت فضيحة التنافس الاستعماري بأجلى رياتها ، اذ تناقض مواقف عمال لندن وباريس في سياستهم التقليدية . فطفق القنصل الانكليزي يعطف على آل الخازن ضد الثوار - ومعروف ان الخازنيين

(١) كتاب « ثورة وفتنة في لبنان » : لناشره يوسف ابراهيم يزبك ، ص ٨٧

اصدقاء فرنسا وعمالها من قديم الزمان - وراح القنصل الفرنسي يعطف على الثائرين قصاصا لعماله السابقين من بني الخازن الذين تأكلوا ومشوا في ركاب السياسة الانكليزية . »

وسعت الطيركية المارونية الى اقناع المشايخ الخازنيين بقبول وكيل معهم يمثل الشعب الكسرواني في الحكم ، وبأن يتنازلوا عن بعض امتيازاتهم الاقطاعية فلم يرضوا . واذا الجبل يفاجأ بفتنة جديدة فقضت الظروف بان يعود الخازنيون الى كسروان افرادا عاديين ، لا امتيازات لهم ، ولا هم يحكمون !

نحن الآن في السنة الستين المشؤومة بعد الثمانماية والألف .

قلنا ان نظام القائم مقاميتين جاء عملا أسود ، اذ كرس الانشقاق المذهبي في لبنان تكريسا دستوريا ، فكان من نتائجه البشعة مأساة تلك السنة التي تمادت فيها نعرات التعصب الديني ، حتى اندلعت نار الحرب الاهلية بين جدودنا واخوتهم . وغذتها عوامل كثيرة اهمها :

جهل الاهلين على اختلاف مذاهبهم .

وخبث الاقطاعيين في التمسك بسلطانهم .

ومطامع المستعمرين من شرقيين وغربيين .

والثابت الذي لا ينقض ان السياسة العثمانية ظلت دائما وابدا حاكمة على لبنان تريد افناؤه او فناءه . وتجسدت تلك الارادة في حديث دار بين المشير احمد باشا والي الشام وقائد فيلق عربستان والمستر برانت القنصل الانكليزي في دمشق ، ففي اواخر شهر آب من سنة ١٨٦٠ زار القنصل المذكور المشير الوالي ، وفي الحديث بينهما عن اسباب الفتنة الدينية التي نشبت بين اللبنانيين قال الوالي احمد باشا : « في سورية بليتان هما النصارى والدروز ، ومتى ذبح احدهما الآخر كان ذلك كله ربما للباب العالي . »^(١) وفي الثلاثين من آب كتب القنصل الى سفيره في استانة

(١) كتاب «سورية في ١٨٦١» لسان مارك جيراردن ، ص ٥٦ .

مضمون ذلك الحديث .

ويثبت تلك النية العدوانية ايضا كتاب وجهه ممثلو الحكومات الانكليزية والفرنسية والروسية والروسية في بيروت الى فؤاد باشا ناظر الخارجية العثمانية الذي اوفدته حكومته الى لبنان وسورية لدرس اسباب الفتنة ، واعطته صلاحيات كاملة لمجازاة المجرمين والتعويض على المنكوبين ولوضع النظام الذي يرتثيه لبنان^(١) فقد اكد ممثلو الدول الاربع في بيان رسمي الى الوزير العثماني^(٢) ان الضباط والموظفين العثمانيين هم المسؤولون عن الدماء التي سفكت في الفتنة . وان تحت ايديهم (ايدي الممثلين الاربعة) وثائق تثبت الادلة الجرمية اللاحقة باولئك الضباط والموظفين .^(٣)

قلت : ولدينا وثائق لا تنقض ، اكثرها مراسلات دبلوماسية رسمية ، تؤكد وتثبت ان عملاء الانكليز والفرنسيين قد اشتركوا في زرع بذور الفتنة . وهم لا يقلون تبعه عن الترك .

واهتز الرأي العام المسيحي في اوروبة مما نقل اليه من انباء بولغ في كثير منها ، وحرقت اسبابها ، وأسرعت باريس بارسال حملة عسكرية باسم الدولة لحماية النصارى ظاهرا . ولا يزال هذا الزعم راسخا في جميع الأذهان . ولكن لدينا ما يكشف عن ان القصد الحقيقي من الحملة لم يكن بعيدا عن شؤون قناة السويس : « ففي ذلك الزمان كان السلطان يرفض - بضغط من السفير البريطاني في استنبول - الموافقة على الامتياز الذي منحه خديوي مصر الى دى ليسبس بشق ترعة السويس ، فرأت فرنسا ان تهدد استانة بأنها تشجع لبنان وسوريا على نيل استقلالهما ، وتفكر أيضا في اعلان امبراطورية عربية فيهما يرئسها الامير عبد القادر الجزائري . »

(١) كان فؤاد باشا داهية عصره . وهو القائل : «ان الدولة العثمانية تشبه الملفوفة كل درلة تمد يدها اليها وتقطع ورقة منها . ولكنها باقية على الرغم من تلك الايدي . » (جريدة «البرق» في ٣٠ من كانون الاول ١٩١٨) .

(٢) وقموا عليه وبعثوا به في الثالث والعشرين من شباط ١٨٦١ .

(٣) سان مارك جيراردن ، في كتابه «سورية في ١٨٦١» ، ص ٩٩ .

ولدينا وثيقة تؤكد ان الصحافة الكاثوليكية لم تبال باخبار الفتنة المذكورة ولم تمن بانباء ما سمّي بالمذابح الدينية ، الا بعد وصول الحملة العسكرية الى بيروت . ولعل الصناعيين الفرنسيين الذين كانوا يبحثون عن المواد الخام لصناعاتهم . عرفوا بان لبنان الذي يصنع الحرير قد يصلح لزراعة القطن ، فمالوا الى تأييد حكومتهم في إرسال الحملة العسكرية . »

وقلقت لوندرة للتدابير الفرنسية في لبنان فعملت مع الدول الأوروبية على ايفاد لجنة دولية اليه تمثل السلطنة العثمانية وبروسية والنمسة والروسية وفرنسا وانكلترة بحجة وضع نظام له والتعويض على منكوبيه لمنع تجديد الفتن فيه - وهي الغايات التي جاء لأجلها فؤاد باشا ناظر الخارجية العثمانية - ولكن المقصود الحقيقي من ذلك كله عرقلة مساعي حكومة باريس التي تسابقتها الى توطيد قدمها في ارض تجاور طريق الهند .

والغي نظام القائم مقاميتين ووضعت اللجنة الأوروبية برئاسة فؤاد باشا ناظر الخارجية العثمانية نظاما آخر بدلا منه ، اعلن عنه انه ، هو ايضا ، مؤقت .

وبهذا النظام الجديد الذي عرف بالبروتوكول ، دولّ كيان لبنان تدويلا قانونيا . وصار في وضع عجيب : فلبنان من اراضي السلطنة ، ولكن السلطان صاحب تلك الاراضي لا حق له في مسّ لبنان الا بعد موافقة الدول التي وضعت نظامه (البروتوكول) .^(١)

حمل النظام الجديد عيوباً كثيرة ، ولكنه نصّ على الحياة التمثيلية في لبنان . وكانت السلطنة هي عينها لا تعرف تلك الحياة . اما الذي دفع مندوبي الدول الأوروبية الى هذا النهج الديمقراطي في نظام الجبل - واكثر تلك الدول ليس فيها حياة برلمانية - فكان حافزا منطقيا ، اكثر منه تقدما ومبدئيا . ذلك لأن البروتوكول سلّح المتصرف ، خليفة الحاكم العام في الامارة

(١) بعض حكام لبنان عرفوا عظمة منصبهم . وكان احدهم مظفر باشا يتباهى امام قناصل الدول بقوله : «انا اعظم من خديوي مصر ، فهذا يمزله السلطان متى شاء . واما انا فلا يستطيع احد عزلي الا بعد اتفاق الدول السبع على ذلك ! »

وفي القائم مقاميتين ، بصلاحيات كثيرة ضمت في يديه الحكم كله ، فكان بدهيا ان يؤتى بمجلس شورى شبه نيابي يعمل الى جانبه ، وله سلطان على خزانة الدولة وعلى توزيع الضرائب كي يحول دون غلواء المتصرف .

وعاش لبنان في نظام البروتوكول ، او الدستور الدولي . اثنتين وخمسين سنة لقي فيها هناء وطمأنينة ، الا في بعض ازمات : كثورة الوطني يوسف كرم على داود باشا أول متصرف . ما كان داود باشا يريد الشر للبنان ولكنه جاء اليه في اعقاب الفتنة ووجده شبه مزرعة اقطاعية متلاشية ، لا طرق فيه ، ولا حكومة ، ولا جيش ، ولا موظفون ، ولا رجال اختصاص . وكان عليه ان ينشئ من بقايا الدمار دولة عصرية . وقد رأى يوسف كرم في النظام الجديد قضاء على امتيازات الجبل فأبى الخضوع له . ثم شجعه فثار عليه . وانتهى امره بان ابعده بخديعة الى الخارج ومات في منفاه قرب نابولي مأسوفا على وطنيته .

وفي سنة ١٨٦٤ عدّل النظام (البروتوكول) وبدأت بموجبه الحياة التمثيلية التي كانت تعد يومها حدثا خطيرا جدا . ومن الحق ان يقال في هذا الصدد : ان لبنان هو اول بلد عربي مارس الانتخابات القانونية لاختيار شيوخه ومثليه في مجلس الادارة الكبير الذي هو بعض مجلس نيابي .

وتوالى على حكم الجبل داود باشا (وهو ارمني) ونصري فرنكو كوسى باشا (من اصل حلبي) ورستم باشا (ايطالي) وواصا باشا (الباني) ونعوم باشا (من اصل حلبي) ومظفر باشا (بولوني) ويوسف فرنكو كوسى باشا (من اصل حلبي) واوهانس قيوميبيان (ارمني) . وفي عهد هذا المتصرف الفت حكومة استانة بروتوكول لبنان وجعلت حكومته عادية تابعة لوزارة الداخلية . فقبل عن المتصرفين : « اولهم ارمني وآخرهم ارمني . »

وكان من اعظم الاحداث التي عرفها عهد البروتوكول اعلان الدستور في السلطنة العثمانية والمناداة بالامير محمد رشاد سلطانا خلفا لاختيه عبد الحميد الذي خلعتة جمعية الاتحاد والترقي (١٩٠٩) .

ورافق اعلان الدستور العثماني روح وطني متمدن لا عهد للناس به . وعادت المسألة اللبنانية الى المسرح الدولي من جديد . وفي ابان تلك النهضة خطر ببال المتصرف يوسف باشا ان ينفذ قانون المطبوعات العثماني فانكرت الصحف عليه مسعاه واعلنت الاضراب . وكان احتجاجها اول اضراب عرفته صحافة الشرق (١٩١٠/١/١) .

وكانت الحرب العالمية فقضت استانة على امتيازات لبنان . واحتلت اراضيه ، وشلّ دولا العمل ، وعلّق على المشائق شهداء ، وفتحت السجون للانتقام من الوطنيين .

في اول تشرين الثاني من سنة ١٩١٦ ابلغ السفير العثماني في برلين والسفير العثماني في فيينا حكومتي هاتين الدولتين ان السلطة العثمانية قد الغت البروتوكول اللبناني والسبب في ذلك انها كانت قد اضطرت تحت ضغط فرنسا لان تمنح لبنان امتيازا اداريا صرفا (كذا) ومحدودا ، يسمح للدول العظمى بالتدخل بعض الشيء . وعليه فان الحكومة العثمانية تصرح -- لكي تزيل كل سوء تفاهم يحدث -- بانها وضعت حدا للامتياز المذكور ، وجعلت للبنان طرازا اداريا كالطراز الموجود في سائر الولايات العثمانية .

تمّ ذلك الالغاء في ابان المجزرة العالمية ، والجبل يعالج سكرات الموت والقضاء ، جوعا وامراضا وويلات كازنات ، اذ سدّ الاحتلال التركي جميع الابواب في وجهه برا ، وضرب الانكليز والفرنسيون حصارا في وجهه بحرا ، فراح ابناؤه يتساقطون مئات بعد مئات حتى اقفرت قرى كثيرة من سكانها ولا سيما في المناطق غير الزراعية ، ولم يكن من مواطن ليجرؤ على رفع صوته ، او تحريك ساكن .

فماذا كان من حكومتي فيينا وبرلين في تلك الازمة الكارثة ؟

من المشهور ان النمسة وبروسية ايتدا توطيد استقلال لبنان عندما اشترك سفيراهما في وضع بروتوكوله ، بل ان نظام القائم مقاميتين لقرحه البرنس ميترنيخ رئيس الوزارة النمسوية . وتخبّرتا المفاوضات الدبلوماسية

التي دارت بين الحكومات الاوروبية الخمس لوضع البروتوكول اللبناني ان الدولتين المذكورتين لم تقلا عن زميلتهما نفورا وتقززا من « الجور التركي النازل بالمساكين المظلومين رعايا السلطان المسيحين . » فلما بلغتهما الحكومة العثمانية -- حليفتهما وشريكتهما يومها في الحرب العالمية -- انها الغت البروتوكول المذكور ، سكنت كثلثة الامبراطور فرنسوا جوزيف وبروتستانية حليفه الامبراطور غليوم الثاني ، ورأى العاهلان ان ما اقترفته حكومة صديقتهما السلطان العثماني في استعباد لبنان انما هو عمل مشروع ، ولم يفه احدهما بكلمة . عبرة لجميع السدّج في العالم العربي ، على اختلاف مللهم ، الذين يظنون ان المعتقدات الدينية هي التي تخط سياسة الدولة .

وانتهت المجزرة البشرية وفرضت فرنسا انتدابها على لبنان وسورية باسم عصبة الامم . وهكذا بدأ حديثنا عن انهيار الامارة اللبنانية باحتلال انكليزي لهذه البلاد ، وختمناه عن فرض الانتداب عليها باحتلال فرنسي .

قلت في بدء حديثي ، قبل ساعة : ان « تاريخ لبنان ناقص نقصانا كبيرا . وفيه تقطع ، وفضاء خال ، وحلقات مفقودة . وفيه اعراض عن شروح ضرورية لا تستقيم الحقيقة باهمالها . وهذا كله يجيز لنا القول باسف لا يضاويه اسف : ان لبنان لا تاريخ له . »

وكلامي يعني ان ليس لنا تاريخ صحيح مكتوب .

اما حوادثنا التاريخية فكثيرة وخطيرة . ابيضها يفوق اسودها . وكلاهما يؤكد اننا بجميع طوائفنا كنا شعب طليعة ودعاة حق . عرف آباؤنا بانهم اصحاب اريحيات . فتحنا صدرنا لكل لاجيء مظلوم . ما طأطأنا الرأس الا مكرهين مرغمين في الشدة الغالية .

ما اعتدينا على جار ، ولا غدرنا بجار . ولا نكثنا عهدا .

بجهد ايدينا زرعتنا وعملنا ، ومن عرق جباهنا اكلنا .

اجل ، كنا دائما شعب طليعة .

وكنا دائما عنوان الوفاء والطيب ، والنظافة والمرؤة .

الكنائس الشرقية

للأب جورج خضر

المسألة التاريخية :

لبنان « روحيا » جزء من بطريركية انطاكية وكل المشرق . فاذا أردنا التحدث عن مصادره الروحية في المجال المسيحي كان لا بد من الرجوع الى المسيحية الشرقية حصرا . فكل ما في هذا البلد ، حتى أواخر القرن السادس عشر ، كان مستقى من تراث هذه الأرض . ولم يكن اتصال الموارنة برومية قبل ذلك ذا معنى بالغ من الناحية اللاهوتية . وما أخذت شوكة الغرب تقوى من حيث الولاء المذهبي عندنا وفي الديار المحيطة إلاّ بدءا من القسم الأخير من القرن السابع عشر مما استتبع تنظيمًا قانونيا منفصلا في هذه الملة أو تلك في الثامن عشر وما بعده .

ان حد الموضوع بهذه الصورة لا يفرض أن كنيسة الغرب الكبرى مقصاة عن آفاق هذا الحديث ، ذلك لأن المشرق والغرب قد التقيا ألف سنة ونيف وهما في طريق التحابّ وفي التحابّ كثير من التلاقي . فاذا أصررت في درسنا هذا على تسمية هذا التعليم أو ذلك شرقيا فلا يعني ذلك بالضرورة أنه غريب كل الغرابة عن الكتلركة ولكن ذلك يفيد أن الشرق رعى هذا التعليم حق رعاية وأنه لا يزال يعتني منه بشكل أو آخر وقد يعود هذا الوجه من المسيحية القديمة الى الكتلركة أو غيرها بعد أن أخذت هذه ، في مجمعها الأخير ، تستعيد روحها الشرقية كما يقول الأب كوربون .

وكان لا بد لنا أن نطلّ على الكنائس الشرقية من داخلها وهذا هو المنظار الشرعي الوحيد ، اذ دون ذلك يرى المرء نفسه في برودة المنفرج . يوهم نفسه بالموضوعية ، والموضوعية الكبرى أن يحيا الإنسان ما يتحدث عنه

على قدر ما في طاقته من صدق ، أي أن يعالج موضوعه في إطار الإعجاب . هذا يحتم علينا وجهاً آخر من النهج يفرض نفسه أمام تسال شرعي كذلك : إن كان ثمة مسيحية انطاكية فلماذا لا نعرضها هي بنوع خاص باستقلال عن المسيحية الشرقية ؟ والجواب الفوري هو أن المسيحية الانطاكية ، بصورتها الصافية ، امتست اثراً بعد عين ، ولو كانت الكنيسة السريانية الارثوذكسية تحملها أكثر من غيرها . فمهمتنا هنا ليست بعنا اثرياً لا بد منه يوماً في جو أكاديمي لإغناء النصرانية قاطبة والقاء أضواء على البحوث الاسلامية نفسها . ان كشف النقاب عن الكثر السرياني الدفين هو دعوتنا اجمعين في هذه البلاد . واننا لنستطيع ان نتبين معاملة هنا وهناك . ومن جهة ثانية ، فإن الكنيسة السريانية التي اكتسحت الكرسي الانطاكي منذ القرن الخامس كطائفة مستقلة تضاءلت جيلاً بعد جيل ، فلم يبق لها اثر يذكر في لبنان بعد القرن الثامن عشر ، وكان غيرها من الكنائس الشرقية ممثلاً باستمرار هنا . وكان النهج الطبيعي في البحث ان ننطلق من واقعنا التاريخي لتتعرف هذه المسيحية الشرقية التي كانت على اختلاف نحلها واحتماد النزاع فيما بينها ، واحدة في الجوهر ، راسخة في الايمان الواحد . اجل ان التاريخ يستفيض بالتكلم عن الفروق بين النساطرة واليعاقبة والروم ، ولكنني لست متأكداً من أن الكنيسة الاشورية الشرقية لا تزال على نسطرتها القديمة وقد ثبت نهائياً الآن عند الراسخين في العلم ان لا فرق بين اتباع المجمع الخلقيدوني ومناوئيه ، بين القائلين بأن في المسيح طبيعتين في أقنوم واحد ، والقائلين بأنه ذو طبيعة إلهية واحدة متجسدة . فاهل خلقيدون ، الذين كانوا الروم واللاتين ، واعداء خلقيدون الذين هم السريان والاقباط والارمن ومن قال قولهم في اثيوبيا والهند يجمعون ، في تباين الصيغ والعبارات ، على أن المسيح إله تام . وإنسان تام وأن الوهته هذه لم تنفصل لحظة عن ناسوتيته ، وأن واحداً من العنصرين لم يتلاش في الآخر .

يمكن الإعتبار ، إذن ، أن كلامي يتناول هذه المسيحية الشرقية الواحدة ، علماً بأنني سأعرض عليكم في الأساس لمحة عن تراث الكنيسة الأرثوذكسية التي تأخذ بالمجامع السبعة لأنها هي تلك التي عاشت هذه

الرقعة من الأرض منذ العصر الرسولي وتفاعلت وإياها دون انقطاع وأثرت في مسراها الفكري والفني ولو تضاءلت هي أيضاً مع الزمن ، ولكن ما حدا بي أولاً الى هذا الاختيار هو ان اللاهوت الشرقي لم يتوقف في الكنيسة الارثوذكسية الكبرى ، اذا سمحتم بهذا الاصطلاح ، ونما في صياغته العقديّة حتى القرن الرابع عشر ولا يزال ينمو في عرضه اللاهوتي حتى يومنا هذا . وما التقليد البيزنطي الذي نحن في صدهه سوى وليد انطاكية البكر . وكان فضل الروم على انطاكية انهم اطلقوها الى العالم كما كان فضلها هي على المسيحية قاطبة انها اطلقتها من الاسر اليهودي الى الامم وادخلتها فعلاً في دورتها العالمية . صحيح ان ارثوذكسية هذه البلاد اندمجت ببيزنطية اندماجا كلياً وبذا فقدت طابعها المميز ولكنها لم تفعل ذلك انطلاقاً من تلقاء نفسها ولكن الصليبيين باقصاصهم البطريرك الانطاكي والاساقفة عن كراسيهم القوها فكرياً وطقوسياً في احضان القسطنطينية . غير انها لم تخرج بذات عن انطاكيته اذ انها استعادت ذلك التراث الذي جلبت هي به .

فبيزنطية التراث ليست القسطنطينية اصلاً او كمّاً . وكان دور الروم ما عدا حقبات قصيرة اضعف بكثير من دور الاسكندرية واورشليم وانطاكية وهذه البقعة الالهية التي تمتد بين عاصمة ولاية سورية الرومانية الى حلب شرقاً واقاصي كيليكيا وكبادوكيا شمالاً .

هذه البقعة ليست مصدر لبنان الروحي من الوجهة المسيحية وحسب ولكنها اصل العالم لأن كل ما في العالم من اسس طقوسية ومن رهبانية وموسيقى ورسم دينيين والهيئات جاء اليه من هذه الديار . فكيف لا يكون موريس باريس على حق اذا قال : « ان قلبي لا يعلم شيئاً على انطاكية . » فان كانت هنا آثار الله هذا هونصينا في ارض الاحياء ، ان نغامر مغامرة السماء في ارض انطاكية لا في التحول عنها ، لا في الهجرة ، بل في التعمق في سبيل أبعاد الكون .

اذا شئتم تحديداً للكنيسة الشرقية بكلمات قولوا انها كنيسة الحضرة الالهية الآن وهنا . هذا ما سأسعى الى تبيانه في حديثنا اليوم .

المنهج الشرقي في الالهيات

كنيسة الحضرة الالهية في الانسان ، زمانه ومكانه في ابدية تجسد الكلمة والعدو الى الخلود تعني ، فيما تعنيه ، ان ما يهمننا من الوجود الاتصال الحقيقي بالله ، ان هاجسنا المباشر هو الاله الثالوثي لا الفكر البشري الذي يتصور الله ويضع عنه مفاهيم لاهوتية تكون بالنهاية منحوتات للعقل الساقط الجريح . اي اننا نحاول ان نعقل الامور « على طريقة الرسل لا على طريقة ارسطو » . تأملاتنا ليست تأملات فلسفية . لا افلاطونية غيبية عندنا بالرغم مما يُظن ويكرر خطأ . نحن لسنا مثاليين بالمعنى الفلسفي ، لا نذهب من الوجود الى الفكرة بل من موجود الى موجود : من الله الى الانسان او بالاحرى من الاله المتانس الى ابيه من جهة والى المخلوق والكون من جهة أخرى . ننطق بالالهيات اذا صليتنا لان هذا النطق ممكن فقط لمن تسرر ، فاستطاع ان يتقبل الملائكة الالهية اذ كان وجه ربه اليه وكان وجهه هو الى الحبيب . المعرفة ليست تدرجا من العقل البشري الى العقل الاسمي ولكنها اقتبال الاعلان الالهي والكشف . من كان الله له الها وكان هو لربه ابنا . من حيا هذه المحبة المباركة بتجليات التوبة ، من جاور المسيح والتمسه على وجوه المساكين ، اندفع الى التكلم بالالهيات لينقل الى الناس حضرة تطهرهم . يتجاوزون بها كل منطوق اللسان ، لان « الكلمة تنفضها دائما كلمة أخرى » ، كما يقول قديسنا بالاماس ، « ولكن الخبرة لا يستطيع احد نقضها . »

هكذا لا تبدو لنا العقيدة بسطا عقليا لمضمون الوحي ، او تعبيرا فلسفيا لما اعلن مرة واحدة للقديسين ولكنه حد تجاوزه خطر على الحياة الروحية وهدم لها . فنقول : المسيح اله وانسان معا لا لرضي رؤيتنا الذهنية بل لتجعل الخلاص ممكنا . فان لم يكن السيد الها فلم يُقصد احد من خطيئة ولو لم يكن بشرا سويا فانه لم يموت . وقد تخطى الاباء الفلاسفة اليونانية ولو استخدموها ليفوا الانجيل حقه . فاتخذوا لفظة الاقنوم ولفظة الجوهر ، وهما واحد عند الاغريق ، وأعطونا مضمونين مختلفين ليعبروا عن حقيقة الكتاب . كانوا احرارا من مناهجهم الفكرية وطرقهم في التعبير وسَموا

بأذهانهم الى فكر المسيح وعرفوا انهم لا يقدر ان يدركوا الله . كانوا يسعون بالحرى الى ان يدركهم الله . وما لجأوا الى تنزيه الله عن كل ما هو دونه الا يقينا منهم أن التأكيد يليق بالموجودات وأنه يفوق كل موجود وجوهر وعقل . فلا نُؤكد عنه ما نقرره عن سواه . وان فعلنا لا نكون قد بلغنا الله بل ما هو مدرك منه أي هو دونه . بالتجريد ، بالجهالة ندرج من الادنى الى الأعلى ونصل بالتنزيه الى ذاك الساكن في النور الذي لا يدنى اليه . والانسان لا تسري به النعمة الى فوق الا ليتحد بالاله الحق وهو عاجز عن التعبير عن طبيعته وهمه أنه يرى لا أنه يعلم . هاجسه أنه يصير الى هذه الحضرة الثورانية التي تعلوه دوما وتجعل اله ابراهيم واسحق ويعقوب غير اله الفلاسفة والعلماء . الالهيات ، عند ذلك ، تمجيد وقربان في ذهول واسترحام . هي محل الراهن واليقين .

الدنو الى الله دنو صوفي بمتناول كل انسان . فاذا كان سر الله قد كشف ، ومع ذلك لا يهتك الحجاب غير الحب ، فطريقتنا الوحيدة الى الله هي التسرر يبقى الله فيه فوق غمام ويصير اقرب الاقربين بان واحد . بهذا التضاد تكمن حقا كل علاقاتنا به .

الله في الانسان بالخلق

هذه العلاقة ابتدأت بالخلق الذي ثبت الانسان أمام الله كأنه اله آخر له تفوقه على الكون وحرية . انه ليس امتدادا ولا جزءا منه اذ كيف يتمتع عند ذاك بكرامة الذاتية ، كيف يكون مخلوقا على صورة اله حر يقابل من ليس الها ؟ ينبغي ، لتتم كرامة المخلوق ، أن يكون إلهيا ومدعو الى التاله بطريقة ما وأن يكون هو ذاته بان واحد ليكون راهنا أمام الله ، لكي يعترف الخالق للمخلوق بحقانيته ويجري بينهما حوار حق يمكن لكل منهما ان يقول « انا » بملئها وأن يقول للآخر « أنت » بملئها . وهذا ممكن فقط اذا أدركنا الخلق عملية تفرغ الهي يتنازل فيها الله ، بحريته التامة ، عن بعض قدرته للانسان . ان لم يصبح الانسان حرا مثل الله ، مع ادراكنا لنسبية المخلوق ، فهذه حرية توهب وتؤخذ . انها قناع العبودية . شيء من

سر عميق ، من التزام الهي يداخل هذه القضية . فان لم تكن الحرية مع كل امكانيات مآسيها وجودية كلياً فهي ليست بشيء . وهذا ما دعا برديايف الذي لم يعرف حقاً هذه النظرة ان يقول ان الحرية في تلك القوة التي تسبق الله وقد سماها الالهية وهي تولد الله والحرية بأن واحد . العامة تقول عند المصيبة : انها ساعة تخل . اجل كانت الحرية هنا ، لا كارثة بل رحمة في لحظة تخل الهي ، لا تخل عن الانسان بل تخلي الله عن اطلاقته ليتيح لهذا الانسان ان يضحى امامه كلياً كريماً . أي أن الله ربط نفسه بنا ويساعدنا اذا أردنا أن نفك من عقال حريتنا . نحن مأساة الله لا العكس ولكن في ذلك مسرته لأنه انطلقنا .

بتلك الصورة التي فطرنا عليها غدونا مالكي كل خير في الله أصلاً ومدعويين الى الكمال الالهي نفسه . على صورته ومثاله خلقهما . الصورة هي هذا الشبه الالهي المطبوع فينا . وأما المثال فهو حركتنا لكي نحافظ على الشبه ونقترب من الاجل يوماً بعد يوم من طبيعة الحرية المغامرة . كما أن الخلق من لدن الله ايضاً مغامرة . وفي السير الى الله يتزايد الشبه وتتجانس الحريتان الالهية والانسانية فيتناهى التباعد الممكن ويقترب الانسان من ذاته على قدر اقترابه من ربه . فاذا عرفنا داخلية الله في الطبيعة الانسانية منذ الاساس ، اذا فهمنا العنصر الالهي فينا غير دخيل بل أصيل ، لن نؤكد انسانيتنا ضد الله بل معه ولن نحاول أن نتخذ الانسان من ربه كمن عدو وكأننا اذا اكدنا لا إلهيتنا نكون بالقدر نفسه قابضين على الحرية . هذا كله ناتج اساساً من ان الغرب المسيحي لم يرهبة الله أصلاً في الطبيعة ولم يرها في الجسد ولكنه جعل النعمة تزداد على الطبيعة فأخذ الانسان يحس في عصر النهضة أنه ينبغي ان يسعى الى الانسانيات سعيه الى مضممار مستقل عن النعمة فكان ما يعاناه من هذا الموقف حتى يومنا هذا في مجالات الفكر والفن جميعاً .

الله في الانسان بالتجسد

هذه الصورة الالهية التي عليها طُبعنا الى الابد لم تستطع كارثة الخطيئة

الغاءها ولكنها تشوهها فينا . فاذا لم يبق الانسان الخاطيء على صورة الله فهو غير موجود اذ لا يحدد الانسان الا بالاضافة الى الله . ولكن الانسان . على ذلك شل عن السعي الى ربه . دخل في مجال الموت لان « اجرة الخطيئة هي الموت » . بات الموت عالمه وأفسد الانسان الخليفة كلها لكيلا يموت . فكانت البشرية ، طيلة حياتها ، تحت العبودية خوفاً من الموت . فالسرقة مثلاً خوف من الجوع . كذلك الشراحة . وما الجوع ، في حس الانسان ، الا سبيل الفناء . والفجور خوف من العزلة . الانسان يحاول بالخطيئة ان يختطف الحياة ، ان يخلد نفسه . لقد القينا انفسنا في هذا الجحيم ، اننا نخطيء لنحيا ولا نحيا . نريد وجوداً لا يهين الله عليه ، فردوساً لا يتكلم الله فيه واذ بنا امام سراب المعصية ومرارتها وخبيثتها . نلاحق الظلال . هذا هو الوضع الذي صرنا اليه بمأساة الخطيئة . هذا هو الجب الوجودي الذي طرحنا انفسنا فيه . الى جب الفساد هذا نزل ابن الله لكي يرفع اليه الانسان العاجز عن كل ارتفاع . هذه الخليفة التي قطعت نفسها داخلياً عن ربه اراد الله ان يصل الى صميمها ، ان يحملها في قلبه دونما اغتصاب فاقترح عليها مغامرة الحب من جديد . « ما كانه الانسان اراد المسيح ان يكونه حتى يقدر الانسان ان يصبح ما هو المسيح » ، كلام القديس قيريانوس ، اسقف قرطاجة ، هذا انما هو تعبير آخر عن هذه الكلمة الشهيرة في تراث الاباء : « لقد تأنس الله ليتأله الانسان . » نعم ، المخلوق لن يصبح خالقاً ولكنه مدعو ان يساهم النعمة : ان يتمتع بحياة الله ، ان يدخل الثالوث حسب قول السيد : « من أحبني . . . يحبه ابي وإليه تأتي وعنده نصنع منزلاً » (يوحنا ١٤ : ٢٣) .

بكلمة وجيزة ، باعث الله الى تجسيد الكلمة طبعه الحب . قصد الله ليس ان يكون فوق الانسان بشريعة يملها من عل ولا ان يكون الى جانب الانسان بافتقادات الانبياء ، كما تصرف ازياءنا في العهد القديم ولكن ان يكون في الانسان وان يكون هذا فيه . غاية التجسد « الخلاص » التي لا تحمل فقط معنى سلبياً ولكن تفيد « الحياة الوافرة » . التجسد يكشف لنا ان الله لا يقبع في جمود « الابدية » ، لا يشفق على نفسه ، يبذلها حتى الموت ، يعاني ما يعاني ليصدق كل أمرىء أن ربه أحسن عليه من نفسه .

يجعل نفسه طفلاً أي عرضة لملك حسود قادر على خنقه ، طريح أئمة « لا يطفى فتيلاً مدخناً ، ولا يكسر قصبة مرضوضة » الى ان تكسره البشرية جمعاء على الصليب ليصبح بعد ذلك عرضة لجبها .

« والمحبة أقوى من الموت » . لذلك أبادته عندما نزلت اليه . بانسحاق يسوع بالتواضع الكلي والظهور الكامل واللطف اللامتناهي ، بانحداره الطوعي الى حيث يملك الفساد زال كل فساد . لما قام في اليوم الثالث أطلق من نفسه الحياة الى الكون حتى قال الذهبي القم : « المسيح قام وليس من ميت في القبور . »

الحضرة الالهية تلقى الموت في عقور داره لكي يصعد جسداً مع المسيح الى السماء ويتهياً في السماء جسد الكون امتداداً من المسيح الظافر ، ليهيئنا السيد بالاسرار السماء الجديدة والارض الجديدة وذلك في الكنيسة بالروح القدس عن طريق المعمودية والمسحة والشكر وما اليها من كشوفات العهد الجديد ووسائل التقديس فيه .

من عرف فتح المسيح ونصره بأفعال التقديس « يلتهب محبة للخليفة كلها ، » كما يقول القديس اسحق السرياني ، « للبشر والحيوانات والشياطين ، للمخلوقات جميعاً . . . والقلب يلطّف ولا يحتمل أن يرى ألماً ما أو أن يسمع به . . . هذا الانسان لا ينقطع عن الصلاة من أجل أعداء الحقيقة . من أجل من يؤذيه ليحفظوا ويطهروا . »

الحضرة الالهية في الكنيسة

لقاء الحضرة الالهية للانسان بالصورة التي خلقنا عليها وبالغذاء ، لقاء الثالث بالمجد الذي يسطع منه كل ذلك ، يتم ، كما استهالنا ، الآن وهنا . هذا اللقاء تم بين الله والانسان على الوجه الكامل في المسيح يسوع ولكنه سرمدية الملكوت بواسطة الكنيسة .

المسيح المجيد الجالس عن يمين الأب هو حجر الزاوية لبنيان الله الذي لا يتزعزع في السماء ، وهو يتدعم من فوق ، ينمو من عرش الله الى

ارضنا او قولوا إن الكنيسة جسد ينمو من رأس وليس بين الجسد والرأس من فاصل كما يقول الذهبي القم ، لان « كل فاصل يميّتنا » . وبالمفهوم العبري الكامن وراء عبارة بولس « الكنيسة جسد المسيح » العبارة تعني ان الكنيسة هي كيان السيد في العالم ومظهره لان الجسد في التوراة اصيل لا يتجزأ عن الذات ولا تُعقل هي بدونه .

فمذ أعطينا ابن الله ناسوتياً أعطينا امتداده في الناس لان المسيح مسكين الله مع الناس .

ومنذ ان صعد الرب الى السماوات شد معه البشرية واجلسها معه . والعنصرة التي جرت للرسل تتوالى على الجماعة بالصلاة وتلاوة الكلمة ومشاركة الاسرار ، تنوع المواهب وتوحد المؤمنين بأن معاً على صورة الثالوث القائم على التنوع والوحدة . أجل لن تبلغ الكنيسة الكمال قبل ادراكها ملء الملكوت الذي ينمو فيها ولكنها تحتضن ، منذ الآن ، بذار الملكوت . « الكنيسة كلها كنيسة التائبين ، الكنيسة كلها كنيسة الهالكين . » هذا ما قاله البار افرام السرياني لما رأى الحنطة والزوان معا في حقل الرب . والمؤمن يعي أن الكنيسة تتقدس فقط برأسها الغلاب وانه هو الذي يوحدنا بجسده ودمه الكريمين . الكنيسة تُحذق بها الاخطار دوماً بالضبط لان المسيح فيها طريح حريتنا . وأفتك الاخطار الداخلية عندما تفقد الاخلاص . ولذا يفتقد الروح القدس الجماعة . فعندما تبدو لك منهارة متصدعة فهذا إنذار للمخلصين ليعرفوا أن الحاجة انما هي الى واحد فيتبلورون بالتوبة وينتعشون بدفقات النعمة . وهكذا قامت الكنيسة ، في الرؤية الشرقية على بعدين : على الاسقفية من جهة وعلى الروحانيين من جهة ثانية .

الاسقفية

الاسقفية شأن أساسي لامتداد المسيح في الزمان والمكان بالمكان الآخر . هي وظيفة قائمة في هذا الجسد الذي تأملناه قليلاً . يعاين المؤمن فيه السيد بشخص الاسقف مقيماً عشاء الرب وسائساً شعب الله ، الامة المقدسة . بالانجيل والقانون الكنسي ومعلماً ونذيراً . أي أن الاسقف الذي يؤمّننا هو

صورة الله ما دام على الايمان المستقيم متمسكا بالشريعة . حافظا نفسه من دنس العالم . هو وظيفيا بالنسبة لنا المسيح الآن وهنا .

بالطبع الصورة لا تلغي المثال بل تثبته . فاذا جملت الصورة او قبحت فالمسيح حي اساسا فينا بالاسرار المقدسة والاتقياء الذين لا يحنون ركبة لبعل .

تحيط الاسقف هالة من التقديس بسبب هذه الوظيفة التي أشرنا اليها وهي وظيفة الخلافة الرسولية . وفي النظرة الشرقية الوظيفة الاسقفية ليست وظيفية الاثني عشر الذين عاينوا الرب منذ المعمودية يوحنا الى القيامة . « فالرسل لم يقيموا رسلا ولكن رعاة ومعلمين » (نيقولاوس وكفازيلاس) . والرسل ما كانوا مرتبطين بمكان معين وأطلقوا الى المسكونة كلها في حين أن كل مطران له بأن واحد مسؤوليتان : مسؤولية رعاية كنيسة محلية ومسؤولية الكنيسة الجامعة . وهو يمارسها بمشاركة أخوته كلهم على صورة جماعة الاثني عشر .

هذه الوظيفة في الجسد لا تعطي الاسقف او القس مندوبه في الرعية كرامة القداسة الخاصة . إنها إمامة موضوعية لا ذاتية . وليس أحد في أية كنيسة يعتبر ان كاهنه هو بالضرورة أعرق أعضاء الرعية في الطهارة والاعراض عن الدنيا . لذلك ليس من أصل لهذا التصور الذي يجعل بين الناس تفاوتاً في البرِّ قائماً على اختلاف الوظائف .

ومن الضرورة بمكان أن نبيِّن في مجال هذا العرض أن الاسقفية او القسوسية في الكنائس القديمة هي وساطة ضمن الجسد الواحد الذي هو الكنيسة بمعنى يجب تحديده والتدقيق فيه . لا يمكن لعبارة الوساطة الكهنوتية ان تعني نقصانا في وساطة المسيح العادية . فلا تنميد أن الكاهن له ان يقدم لك ما لم يأت المسيح به او ان يزيد حرفا واحدا على ما سلّم دفعة واحدة للاجيال . فالمسيح وسيط بمعنى انه أجرى المصالحة بين الله والناس . والاسقف وسيط بمعنى انه ينقل الآن وهنا في الكنيسة جمعاء وبالخضوع لها ما امره المسيح مرة . ليس مخلوق يستطيع ان يعطينا خبز الملائكة .

المائدة مُعدَّة . فانها قد أنزلت من السماء « لتكون عيدا لأولنا وآخرنا » . نحن جميعا اصحاب العيد وليس الخادم رئيس المتكأ الا لكونه قد أسلم للصلب . ولكونه فاق الكل في المحبة كلّف برعايتهم .

رأس الجماعة هو فيها ومنها . ومن واجباته الاساسية ان يستشير الكهنة والشعب ، ان يصغي الى ما يقوله له الروح في الكنيسة بواسطة الاصغرين . القانون من جهة أخرى يحده وإن عصى فالجماعة الاسقفية في بلده او خارج بلده تنظر في امره .

الكنيسة المحلية والكنيسة الجامعة

هذا ما يدعون ان نبيِّن العلاقة بين كنيسة وكنيسة . ان اصرارنا على الاسقف يتضمن ان الكنيسة في الرؤية التقليدية هي الكنيسة المحلية . فحيثما كان الاسقف والجماعة حول مائدة الرب كانت الكنيسة الواحدة المقدسة الجامعة الرسولية . فان الكنيسة المحلية ، كنيسة بيروت مثلا ، ليست جزءا من الكنيسة العالمية . فحيثما حل الروح القدس — وهو حال في كل خدمة الهية — حيثما يتحول الخبز والخمر الى جسد الرب ودمه ، تتكون الكنيسة كاملة . على أن هذه الكنيسة المحلية يجب ان تكون مرتبطة بالخلافة الرسولية لتكون على صلة تاريخية عقائدية بالاثني عشر وموصولة بالتالي بالمسيح الممدود عبر الزمان الى الكون بَعْدَ من ابعاد التجسد كما بيَّنَّا .

هذه الوحدة الكاملة في المكان ليست وحدة منغلقة فانها منفتحة على كل الوحدات المماثلة لها في الاقليم من جهة وفي العالم من جهة أخرى وذلك بالتآلفية الجمعية .

فالوحدة تتوطد على الصعيد الاقليمي بواسطة المجمع الاقليمي الذي يرئسه رئيس أساقفة او بطريرك وذلك في نطاق ما سمي بالكنيسة المستقلة . إن هذه الكنيسة كيان رسولي او تاريخي تنسّق عمل مجموعة من الكنائس المحلية او الابريشيات وتظهر وحدتها في المسيح . هذه الوحدة الاقليمية .

المنهج الشرقي في الالهيات

هذه النظرة لا تحول دون اعتبارنا بطرس هامة الرسل الذي تركز عليه اسس الكنيسة كما يقول فوتيوس . صخرة تقوم عليها الكنيسة بالنسبة لاعترافه وايمانه ولكن كل الذين اعترفوا بالمسيح لها صخور ايضا وبطارسه حسب قول اوريجانيس : « ان نحن قلنا انت المسيح ابن الله الحي نصبح انفسنا بطرس . . . لان كل من وافق المسيح صار صخرة . » ولكن . بصورة ادق ، كل الاساقفة معا جالسون على كرسي بطرس وكذلك كل بمفرده . غير انه من المسلم ان الكنيسة الشرقية لم تر بعصر من العصور بين بطرس واسقف رومية ذلك الارتباط الذي تقول به البابوية ولم يرس احد من الاباء القديسين في الشرق اولية رومية القانونية على كرامة بطرس الرسول العظيمة . الموقفان متباينان من الاصل . من القرن الخامس . ولذلك لا يمكن للموقف الروماني عندنا ان يفرض على الكنيسة الجامعة عقيدة ومسلك حياة . الكنيسة تقوم على الاسقفية وعلى الروحانيين ايضا . وبكلمة اخرى على انبياء العهد الجديد . والتنبوء ، لغة ولاهوتا ، لا يعني ضرورة الكلام عن المستقبل بل انباء الجماعة بأمر الله الآن وهنا . هو نوع آخر من الحضرة الالهية فيما بيننا . انها لموهبة تنطلق من العنصرة التي يحملها كل مؤمن بالسر الذي يلي المعمودية ، سر الميرون المقدس . ومن قوى هذا السر ان الروح يقيم في الكنيسة من وهب شخصا وبدون كهنوت ان يكون رسولا . انه لا يقيم الاسرار ولكنه يهدم في الكنيسة ويبنى ويغرس ويقتلع . كما يقول ارميا . والاسقف الصالح يصغي اليه اصغاه لبوق الروح . فليس المسيح المحدود تاريخيا بالاسقفية او المنقول لنا بالاسرار الذي يبني الكنيسة وحسب ولكن الروح ايضا بالالهامات المتواصلة هو الذي ينعشها . لقد مثلت الرهبانية هذا الدور النبوي وهي غير متصلة بالكهنوت اصلا وسلك مستقل عنه تماما . والراهب مجرد وجوده دعوة الى ان تنجذب الكنيسة الى الملكوت الآتي وان نحيا بحق الانجيل . ولكن بعد الروح القدس لا شكل له معين . هو شخصي ابدا ، غير مرتقب ، كذلك العاصفة التي هبت في علية صهيون على التلاميذ .

كتلك الممثلة في الكرسي الانطاكي او الكرسي الاورشليمي ، وغيرها تقوم على مبدأ هو روح تعاونها وتعاصرها الا وهو المنحى المجعبي الذي اسميناه بالتآلفية اذ ليس له مثيل في دستور من دساتير العالم . وقد عبر عن هذه التناغمية القانون الرسولي الرابع والثلاثون القائل : « ينبغي ان يعرف اساقفة كل شعب من هو الاول فيما بينهم وان يقرؤا به رئيسا ولا يقوموا بشيء خارج كنيستهم المحلية دون الرجوع اليه . . . وكذلك لا يأت الاول بشيء دون الرجوع اليهم . . . اذ بذلك تكون وحدة الفكر ويتمجد الله بالرب في الروح القدس . » عندنا هنا التأكيد ان سياسة الكنيسة لا تعقل الا انعكاسا عن المحبة الثالوثية التي تحرك كل اقنوم نحو الآخر . ان جماعية الاساقفة ووحدتها مظهرها التماسك بين البطريرك وأخوته .

ان التقدم الذي للبطريرك على الصعيد الاقليمي يتمتع به بابا رومية ، في النظرة الارثوذكسية : على الصعيد العالمي . انه اول بينهم متساوين . وهذه الاولية التاريخية مرتبطة برومية لكونها كانت عاصمة الامبراطورية من جهة . وهذا الباعث صرحت به المجامع ولأن رومية كانت كنيسة عظيمة جدا يعرفها الجميع كما قال ايريناوس . اولية ، باعتراف اكابر علماء الغرب المحدثين ، لم تكن سلطانا الهيا عند الشرقيين ولكنها كرامة تلك السبافة في المحبة والتي عصمها الله برحمة منه ، بوجه عام . من البدع التي تآكلت الشرق في القرون الاولى وكان من الطبيعي اذ ان تكون ملجأ للآباء الارثوذكسين فيما عانوه من اضطهاد وتشرد . الشهادة الشرقية ازاء رومية لا تزال الكنيسة المحلية حاوية ، بالحدود التي ذكرنا ، ملء المسيح وان الاسقف المحلي ابدا صورة السيد . لا يمكن ان يحد وجوده آخر لان حقانية الكنيسة متحدرة مباشرة من المسيح . ان ولاية الاسقف الروماني المباشرة على كل مؤمني الارض نراها لاغية لولاية الاسقف المحلي . وفكرة كنيسة عالمية تكون متسعا لرومية تصطدم لدينا بفكرة كنيسة تتكون في كل مدينة من جراء المعمودية وتقديم الذبيحة الالهية فيها . الماء ومسحة الروح القدس والدم الالهي منشأ الكنيسة في كل ارض .

« الحضرة الالهية الآن وهنا » لا يقدر الانسان ان يفهمها حقها ما لم يتكلم عن الطقوس ، هذه الصلة المثلى بين السماء والارض . والليتورجيا ، هذه الخدمة العامة المشتركة ، لا يستطيع المرء ان يدرك منها حرفا الا على طريقة « تعال وانظر . » انها قضية العمر لانها الهتكتُ الرئيسي للحجب المحيطة بالله . نندرج فيها من الجسد الى ما يفوق الجسد ، من الكلمة الى ما لا يسوغ النطق به . تقوم بذلك معا سجدا ووقفا لان الجسد يتبع النفس اذا تحفزت وانتصبت امام ربها او اذا انحنت امامه وأطاعت . تقرن معنا المادة والفن بالعبادة لانهما باكورة هذا الكون الذي يتوق الى تجليه الاخير ولاننا لا نزال في اطار اللحم والدم . وفوق ذلك نرتقب لهذا الجسد العابد مجدا ابديا . الرموز العديدة التي تلقينا نجماها لا فكرا مجردة ولكن مدارج الى السماء . فاذا قدمنا البخور نطلب ان تستقيم مثله صلاتنا امام الله . واذا تسربل كهنتنا حللا بهية فلكونهم مدركين انهم ليسوا واقفين في قدس الهيكل الارضي وحسب بل هم منتصبون لدى العرش الالهي نفسه ، ذلك لان القوات السماوية تخدم معنا وهم غير منظورين ولان المعبد الذي نحن فيه قد انحنى الله عليه كما تنحني القبة البيزنطية في البناء . أيقونات السيد والدة والقديسين حولنا ليست مجرد صور أتى بها الفن الشرقي في مرحلة من مراحل تطوره ولكنها اطلاقات علوية علينا . يبخرها الكاهن كما يبخر المؤمنين لعلمه بأن أصحابها هم أحياء معنا الآن أعضاء في الجسد الواحد . اننا نختبر في الليتورجيا ، هذه المحبة المباركة ، اختراق الحواجز بين المنظورات وغير المنظورات ، فالموجود يصبح راهنا ، ويتبدد الموت امام هذه الحياة الفائضة علينا من كل جانب . عندنا هنا الحضور الاول للمسيح : مولده وسيرته وموته وانبعائه وجلوسه عن الميامن ، وعندنا المجيء الثاني المجيد . الملكوت في وجهيه هذين يأتي الينا لا ذهنيا او تصورا بل ببعض من بهائه . في الليتورجيا الالهية نجما لحظات ثابتة معا راجين ان نشترك ببهاء أوفر في نهار ملك الله الذي لا يغرب ابدا .

هذه الموحيات هي وراء كل ما تعرفونه في كنيسة المشاركة . هي تفسر قوتها الكامنة والفاعلة كما تفسر ضعفاتها . هذه الموحيات هي التي ينبغي ان نسعى اليها لفهم المواقف التي وقفها الشرق المسيحي في الدنيا المسيحية ولنعرف شيئا من حياتنا القومية وما يتحول فيها عن النظرة الروحية الخلاقة الى فولكلور ديني ووثنية . ولكن الصنمية محدقة بكل مذهب . هنا صنمية الشكل وهناك صنمية الكلمة والعقل . غير ان محبة المسيح الصالبة قادرة ان تجعل الانسان الارثوذكسي الترائي الحس ، الطقوسي ، مؤكدا للنور والجمال ، الفقير الى الروح القدس ، متخطيا تجاربه ليصرخ لحضارة اليوم : « المسيح قام . حقا قام » ، في بهجة فصيح مقيم .

الإسلام

للسيد موسى الصدر

أختير لي في هذه السلسلة من المحاضرات موضوع « الإسلام » والموضوع في حد ذاته واسع جداً . ثم إن اعتبار هذا الموضوع حلقة من مصادر الثقافة في لبنان يضيف جانباً جديداً على موضوع المحاضرة ، جانباً ثقافياً تاريخياً يشمل حقلاً مترامياً الاطراف متنوع الجوانب ، شمول ثقافة لبنان وتنوعها .

فالبحث عن تأثيرات الإسلام في الثقافة بلبنان ، يمتد منذ أيام الزحف الاسلامي نحو هذه المنطقة واستقرار الحكومات والانظمة الاسلامية في دمشق وغيرها ، الى جولات الصحابي الجليل أبي ذر الغفاري في جبال لبنان ، والتأثيرات والتفاعلات العامة لتعميم الدعوة الاسلامية في جميع هذه المناطق طيلة القرون المتتالية . ومن مشاركة علماء لبنان في توسيع الثقافة والحضارة ونقلها الى اقطار العالم ، الى الانتاج الضخم من الكتب والمحاضرات ، الذي نجده عند علماء جبل عامل وبعلمك وبيروت وطرابلس .

أضف الى ذلك انفعال اللغة العربية بصورة عامة بالتعاليم الاسلامية بالقرآن الكريم بالذات . هذا وغيره يتجاوز امكانية البحث عنه في محاضرة واحدة . ثم إن مستوى الداعية والمحاضرين والمستمعين يجعل المحاضرة جامعية يطالب صاحبها ببحث موضوعي جديد .

هذه العناصر جعلتني أحتار في انتخاب الجانب الذي يكون الحديث عنه ملائماً . وفرضت علي تأخيراً في تقديم المحاضرة ربما خرجت به عن الطريقة المتبعة في هذه السلسلة .

فحاولت أخيراً أن أفسر العنوان العام لسلسلة المحاضرات وأوسع مدلوله

فأختار البحث عن أحد مصادر الثقافة في لبنان لا عن تأثير هذه المصادر في ثقافتنا اللبنانية كما هو المطلوب .

وحثني على هذه المحاولة تلاقى الافكار والآراء الشرقية والغربية في لبنان حول كل شيء وحول الاسلام مما قد يوجب الغموض في بعض النقاط الاساسية من الاسلام ، تلك النقاط التي أخذت القسط الاكبر من دراسات علماء كبار ، امثال ماسيه ولامنس ودرمينجهام وماسينيون وامثالهم .

ويؤكد لكم قبول العذر اني احاول عدم الخروج عن اختصاصي بصورة عامة وفي هذا الحقل بصورة خاصة وارجو ان اوفق لاداء المهمة مع بذل جهدي المقل وتقديمه المتواضع .

طريقة البحث في المسائل الدينية

قلت ان تلاقى الافكار ودراسات هؤلاء العلماء جعل الغموض يكتنف بعض النقاط في الاسلام . ولكني ما اردت اتهم هؤلاء الافذاذ الذين صرفوا عمرهم في دراسة الشرق والاسلام ولا قصدت التقليل من قيمة دراساتهم الواسعة العميقة وخدماتهم الكبرى للثقافة العالمية .

بل اريد ان اقول ان المبادئ الدينية والحقائق والافكار المذهبية لا يمكن ان تعبر عنها الفاظ وعبارات محضة ولا تدرس من خلال مطالعة بعض الكتب والمقالات التي تبحث عنها . ذلك أن لكل علم وكل عرف مصطلحاته الخاصة التي لا تعرف حقائقها الا بدراسة واسعة في حقول العلم المذكور او ممارسة ذلك العرف ممارسة تامة ، وهي مصطلحات تسمى حقائق عرفية عامة أو خاصة . والفقهاء يعبرون عنها بالحقائق الشرعية او الحقائق المتشرعة ، اما المعاني والافكار الدينية فيضاف اليها انها تقارن سلسلة من الخواطر الروحية والحياة المعنوية والاحداث التاريخية التي تنتقل بالسيرة عبر الاجيال وتربط بسلسلة طويلة من العقائد والتربية الدينية والعشرة الطويلة مع ابطال الفكرة ومؤسسيها .

هذه الميزة التي تشبه الى حد ما ميزات الادب والفن تجعل من الصعب جدا دراسة المبادئ والافكار الدينية بعمق والحكم لها او عليها .

بل يجب على الباحث ان يطلع عليها وعلى جميع جوانبها وعلى تاريخها ويلاحظ الاحداث والنصوص والقرائن ثم يحاول ان يناقش أصحاب المبدأ ويستوضح الملابس والمتشابهات لكي يتمكن من الخوض فيها والاحاطة بها .

وأعتقد ان مراجعة كتب أصول الفقه (مباحث الالفاظ) تؤكد ما ذكر . لهذا فانا نعتقد أن أفضل طريقة لدراسة هذه المبادئ والافكار هي الطريقة المتبعة في هذه المحاضرات وهي بذاتها طريقة « الندوة اللبنانية » في محاضراتها من إناطة البحث بأصحاب المبادئ ومطالبتهم بموضوعية البحث والدراسة .

اما النقاط التي احاول البحث عنها في هذه المحاضرة فهي :

- (١) الاصاله او ذاتية الاسلام .
- (٢) الروحية في الاسلام وقوتها او ضعفها .
- (٣) اهتمام الاسلام بشؤون المجتمع وعدم الاكتفاء بالإيمان والاخلاق ثم حل مشكلة التطور .

* * *

(١) الاصاله

تحت هذا العنوان ناقش ما ملأ كتب المستشرقين والكثيرين من الباحثين الجدد حيث أكدوا أن الاسلام اخذ الكثير الكثير من عقائد الاديان السماوية الأخرى التي كانت شائعة في اوساط العالم العربي حين كانت معبرا لرحلات النبي محمد التجارية قبل ظهور الاسلام . وتأثر الاسلام كذلك بالافكار والعادات الوثنية السائدة في الجزيرة وعند الفرس والروم الذين كانوا على اتصال تجاري وسياسي مع العرب في مكة . والعادات

السومرية او الصابئية أثرت في العبادات والسير الاسلامية . وافضل ألا
انقل نصوص ما قالوا ، حذرا من اطالة الكلام .

رأي الاسلام في الاديان

وقبل ان ندرس مدى صحة هذا الكلام يجب ان نلاحظ منطق الاسلام
حول الاديان السماوية . فالقرآن يعلن ان رسالة محمد هي العقد الاخير
من سلسلة الاديان الإلهية وان محمدا هو خاتم الانبياء ، مؤمن بهم ومصداق
بأنهم رسل ربه .

« قل ما كنت بدعا من الرسل » (٤٦ : ٩ قرآن كريم) .

« آمن الرسول بما انزل اليه من ربه والمؤمنين كل امن بالله وملائكته
وكتبه ورسله لا تفرق بين احد من رسله » (٢ : ٢٨٤) .

والقرآن يؤكد أيضا ان دين الله واحد ويسميه « الاسلام » ويعتبر
ان جميع الانبياء كانوا يبشرون به وقد جعل الله لكل منهم شرعة ومنهاجا .

« شرع لكم من الدين ما وصى به نوحا والذي اوحينا اليك وما وصينا
به ابراهيم وموسى وعيسى ان اقيموا الدين ولا تتفرقوا فيه » (الشورى ١) .

وفي كثير من الآيات القرآنية نجد القرآن ينقل عقائد واحكاما وقصصا
تربوية عن الرسالات السماوية ويعتمد عليها . اذا لاحظنا هذا المنطق
فلا نجد اية غرابة او اي مانع من بعض التشابه في العقائد والاحكام
والاخلاق الاسلامية مع الاديان السماوية الاخرى .

الطابع المميز للاسلام

ولكننا نقول ان الاسلام مع ذلك له طابع خاص في جميع حقوله
وتعاليمه ، يعطيه ذاتية خاصة ويميزه عما عداه من الاديان ومن العقائد
الاخرى .

والباحث في مختلف حقول الاسلام يمكنه ان يكتشف هذا الطابع
بوضوح ، هذا الطابع الذي يعبر عنه بالتوحيد فيسمى الاسلام بـ « دين
التوحيد » .

فكلمة الاسلام حسب المصطلح القرآني هو التسليم لله رب العالمين
الذي « له اسلم من في السموات والارض طوعا وكرها واليه يرجعون »
(آل عمران ٨٣) .

فالاسلام اذا هو الانضمام والانخراط في سلك جميع من في السموات
والارض والاتحاد معهم في المبدأ والسير والمرجع ازليا ابديا .

والاسلام ايضا حسب التفسير القرآني هو السجود الارادي من الانسان
وتسبيحه وصلاته والتحاقيه بذلك بركب الكائنات الواحد ، الذي هو بمجموع
اجزائه ساجد ومسبح ومصل لله الواحد في محراب الكون الواحد .

« ألم تر ان الله يسجد له من في السموات ومن في الارض والشمس
والقمر والنجوم والجبال والشجر والدواب وكثير من الناس » (الحج ١٧) .

« يسبح لله ما في السموات وما في الارض له الملك وله الحمد وهو على
كل شيء قدير » (قرآن كريم) .

« ويسبح الرعد بحمده » ١٣ : ١٤ . « تسبح له السموات السبع
والارض ومن فيهن وإن من شيء الا يسبح بحمده ولكن لا تفقهون
تسبيحهم » (١٧ : ١٤ ، قرآن كريم) .

« ألم تر ان الله يسبح له من في السموات والارض والطير صفات
كل قد علم صلوته وتسبيحه » (النور : ٤١) .

والمجتمع كالجسد الواحد ، في رأي الاسلام ، اذا اشتكى منه عضو
تداعى سائر الاجزاء بالسهر والحمى (حديث شريف) . والانسان ،
ايضا في رأي الاسلام ، موجود واحد بجسمه وروحه وحدة متكاملة
متفاعلة .

وفي حقل العقيدة والايمان ان الله هو الاول والاخر والظاهر والباطن

والمبدأ والمنتهى « انا لله وانا اليه راجعون » ، (٢ : ١٥٦ ، قرآن كريم) .
والغاية في السير والعبادة والجهاد هو الله الواحد « وما امروا الا ليعبدوا
الله مخلصين » ، ٩٨ : ٥ ، ويكون الدين كله لله : (٨ : ٣٩ . قرآن
كريم) .

وفي الانظمة الاجتماعية والمالية والمدنية والاخلاقية نجد محاولات واضحة
لجعلها على قاعدة واحدة تقرب بين الافراد حتى تجعل من كل واحد
بعضا من الكل لا فردا من الكلّي على حد التعبير المنطقي .

وقد عبّر القرآن عن الاموال والتعهدات والقوى المادية والمعنوية للافراد
المختلفة انها « لكم » فاضافها الى المجموع تكريسا لهذه التربية وتأكيذا
لهذه القاعدة .

وتأثر الفن الاسلامي بهذا الطابع المميز فاصبح طابعه الانحناء الذي
يشكل خطأ واحدا على اختلاف اشكاله وانواعه (Arabesque) .

وبكلمة موجزة ان الطابع المميز للاسلام هو الوحدة في الايمان والتشريع
والفن والتفسيرات . فلنعد الآن الى ذكر بعض التفاصيل خاصة حول ما
ورد في عبارات الاستاذ ماسيه لكي نرى الاصلة الذاتية بوضوح اكثر .

الله

فالله هو الذات الواحد الاحد ، ليس كمثل شيء ، له الاسماء الحسنى
والامثال العليا والصفات الكمالية كلها ، يتعالى عن كل نقص وحاجة فهو
الصمد ، لم يلد ولم يولد ، مجرد من الانتساب الخاص الى كل شيء او الى
كل فرد او الى كل ظاهرة . فالعالم باجمعه والبشر بجميع افراده والاحداث
كلها امامه سواء ، هو الخالق والمستمر في خلقه ولا وجود ولا بقاء للموجودات
دون ارادته ودون تصرفه ، وهو عالم الغيب والشهادة لا يغرب عنه مثقال ذرة .

ويرى الباحث ان هذا الكمال المطلق الذي يتجلى في تفسير الله يعكس
على الخلق جوانب تربوية عديدة ويبعده عن مجرد فكرة تجريدية وصورة

قلبية او طقوس مذهبية .

فالتعمق في التجرد والابتعاد عن الشبه والتعالي عن أي ربط خاص
بشيء ، ينزع صفة القداسة الذاتية عن كل شيء . ويحرر الانسان من
اي قيد عقلي او عملي او عاطفي او عملي او اجتماعي فيجعل منه .
وهو عبدالله ، الحر المنطلق في جميع شؤون الحياة لا يقف أمامه مانع .
وينعكس الكمال الالهي على الكون كله وعلى الانسان بالذات فيرى
الكون والانسان في احسن صورة واكمل تقويم وأدق تنظيم .

والاحاطة التيمومية ، على حد التعبير القرآني ، تربط بين التجرد المطلق
الالهي وبين ان يكون الله اقرب الى الانسان من حبل الوريد وان تكون
الارض جميعا قبضته والسموات مطويات بيمينه فالابصار لا تدركه ولكنه
يدرك الابصار .

ان الله بعيد عن ادراك العقول « كلما ميزتموه باوهامكم في ادق معانيه
فهو مخلوق لكم مردود اليكم » (حديث شريف) . ومع ذلك « هو معكم
ايضا كنتم » حيث انه « مع كل شيء لا بالمقارنة وغير كل شيء لا
بالمزايلة » (نهج البلاغة) . وهذه الاحاطة تشعر الانسان بالاطمئنان بالقوة
وتزيل عنه الوحشة وتوحي اليه بالمسؤولية وهكذا نرى تأثير الفكرة العميق
في الحياة الانسانية وابتعادها عن التجريد . « والله المشرق والمغرب فاينما
تولوا فثم وجه الله » ، (٢ : ١١٦ ، قرآن كريم) . « وقلب المؤمن عرش
الرحمن » ، حديث شريف ، و « إننا عند المنكسرة قلوبهم » ، حديث
شريف ، و « من عاد مريضا فقد عادني في عرشي » ، حديث شريف .
و « المحسن يلمس يد الله حال احسانه » ، حديث شريف .

هكذا يرى الباحث صورة جديدة لله في الاسلام تختلف عن جميع
الصور الاخرى واذا كان يمكننا تلخيص الايمان المسيحي بالله بكلمة
موجزة هي ان « الله هو المحبة » يمكن تلخيص الايمان الاسلامي بالله
بان « الله هو الحق » بما لكلمة الحق من معنى .

ولقد أجاد مترجمو القرآن المتأخرون حيث احتفظوا بكلمة الله من
دون تعبير آخر مشابه في سائر اللغات .

وهي فكرة قديمة قدم الأديان لكنها بصورة عامة ، في الإسلام وفي الأديان كلها ، تختلف عما ورد في آراء الفلاسفة باسم أرباب الأنواع وباسم المثل الأفلاطونية أو الأنوار الأسعهدية .

وقد نوقش موضوع الملائكة في الإسلام في كتب الباحثين من الشرق والغرب مناقشات مفصلة وساعدهم على هذه المناقشات كلمات علماء الكلام والسير من الأساطير والتخرصات حول الملائكة وحول المقربين منهم جبرئيل وميكائيل وإسرافيل وعزرائيل بالذات ؛ ورأى بعض المستشرقين الكبار خلال مقارناتهم أن هذه الفكرة في الإسلام دخيلة واعتمدوا لذلك صيغ هذه الأسماء وغير ذلك .

ونحن حينما نحاول البحث في ذاتية الفكرة الإسلامية عن الملائكة نعيد إلى ذاكرة المستمعين ما ورد في أول المحاضرة حول تصديق الإسلام بالأديان السماوية السابقة وبما جاء فيها ثم نقول :

أن ما ورد في كلمات علماء المسلمين في الكلام والسيرة والفقهاء أيضا كله يحمل قائلها المسؤوليات . أما مصادر الشريعة الإسلامية فخالية من هذه التفاصيل ولا تهتم إلا بالإيمان بالملائكة وبالجانب الربوبي منه الذي سوف نبحث فيه ؛ أما حقيقة الملائكة وتفصيلاتها وتجردها وماديتها فلا نجدتها في المصادر الأصلية ولهذا فالاعتقاد بهذه التفاصيل وبغيرها لا يعد من الإيمان الإسلامي الذي يدين به المسلم بل كلما يجب أن يؤمن به المسلم هو وجود ملائكة الله فقط كما يجب أن يؤمن بالله وبكتبه وبرسله وأن الله جعل من الملائكة رسلا وأنهم يسبحون بحمد ربهم ويقدمونه في الليل والنهار لا يعصون الله ما أمرهم ويفعلون ما يؤمرون . يؤمن المسلم بهذا كله لأن القرآن نص عليه وأخبر عنه . أما الجانب العلمي في فكرة الملائكة فلا أعرف أي مبدأ أو دين غير الإسلام تعرض له ما عدا الذي ورد في إنجيل متى في الأصحاح الأول وفي أعمال الرسل بصورة موجزة . هذا الجانب تشير إليه بعض الآيات القرآنية التي تعبر عن الملائكة

« المدبرَات امرأ » والتي تسند كثيرا من الأحداث الكبار في الدنيا والآخرة إلى الملائكة ، ومن هذه الآيات : « أن الذين قالوا ربنا الله ثم استقاموا تنزّل عليهم الملائكة الا تخافوا ولا تحزنوا وأبشروا بالجنة التي كنتم توعدون نحن أولياؤكم في الحياة الدنيا وفي الآخرة » ، (٣٠ : ٣١ ، قرآن كريم) .

تتلخص الفكرة في أن الملائكة هم الذين يدبرون القوى الكونية الظاهرة والخفية بأمر من الله وأنهم يطيعون الله ولا يتخلفون عن أمره . فمن يسلك سبيل الحق تواكبه الملائكة قائلين له « نحن أولياؤكم في الحياة الدنيا وفي الآخرة » . فالسالك ليس منفردا في طريق الحق بل القوى الكونية التي هي طوع يد الملائكة تسانده وتقويه وترفع وحشته .

أن المؤمن السالك في سبيل الحق والعدل لا يشعر بالوحدة والوحشة بل يشعر بمواكبة الكون وتأييده لقواه فيطمئن بأنه المنتصر حيث « أن الله هو مولاه وجبريل وصالح المؤمنين والملائكة بعد ذلك ظهير » . (٦٦ : ٤ ، قرآن كريم) .

وهذا الشعور هو ضروري بالنسبة لحملة الرسالات وأصحاب المبادئ الذين يحاولون التأسيس وإعادة بناء الإنسان ومجتمعه .

الشیطان

والحديث عن الشيطان ، ملك الشرور ، يرتبط بالحديث عن الملائكة ؛ حيث أنه كان مخلوقا معهم . حسب وصف القرآن ، قبل خلق آدم مطيعا ساجدا مسبحا لله ثم عصاه حينما أمره بالسجود لآدم فرفض استكبارا واعتزازا بعنصره ثم أمهل إلى يوم الدين وهو يقود حملة الاغواء وتضليل البشر بالتعاون مع جنوده قوى الشر .

ويختلف هذا التفسير اختلافا كبيرا عن معنى « أهريمان » عند الفرس القدامى حيث أنه خالق الشرور وهو في صراع دائم على رأيهم مع « آهورمزدا » اله الخير .

يختلف تفسير الشيطان المخلوق عن أهريمان الخلق تماما مبدأ وأثرا ؛ حيث ان مشكلة الصراع النفسي التي يعانها الانسان المؤمن بالهي الخير والشر هي مشكلة كبيرة حيث انه يرى الكون كله والمجتمع والانسان كل منهما يتبعض وهذا الانسان الذي يشعر بالازدواجية في وجوده وفي مجتمعه وفي مبدئه ومصيره ويعيش في صراع ابدى ذاتا وسلوكا وزمانا هو انسان محطم ضعيف حقا .

ويختلف معنى الشيطان في الاسلام عن معنى ملاك جهنم ورئيس هذا العالم واله الدنيا في سائر التفسيرات . واخيرا يتفاوت مفهومنا عن الشيطان عن رأى البعض من انه الموحد الاكبر الذي امتنع عن السجود لغير الله وصار عندهم رأس القديسين وقائد الموحدين .

اما اصالة الفكر الديني حول الشيطان فانها تبلغ القمة في القرآن من الناحية التربوية فان الشيطان اسمه الاصيل ابليس الذي كان من المقربين عند الله فطرد من مقام القرب لاجل معصية صدرت عنه استكبارا فسمي الشيطان . فانحرافه وطرده وشقاؤه لعصيانه اوامر ربه لا لذاتية الشقاء فيه ولا لعفوية الطرد وابعاده عن مقام القرب .

ومن جهة ثانية فان الشيطان كذات يمثل وحدة قوى الشر وتكتلها امام قوى الخير في صراع ازلي ابدى بين الحق والباطل مهما كان نوعهما او وصفهما او قدرهما .

واهم النواحي التربوية في اعطاء فكرة الشيطان واستلامه مهمة الاغواء والتضليل مع جنوده التي منها النفس الامارة بالسوء ، اهم هذه النواحي هي تكريس اختيار الانسان والتأكيد على انه مخير بين الخير والشر لا مسير لا يهتدي الا الى دوره الكوني المقرر له .

وقد اوضح القرآن الكريم هذه الناحية في لوحة تاريخية رائعة اوضح فيها كيفية الخلق في سورة البقرة آيات ٣٠ الى ٣٨ ، وبموجب هذه الآيات اراد الله ان يجعل في الارض خليفة لا آله مسيرة ولا شبه آله . بل اراد خلق موجود يتصرف حسب ارادته ويمارس حريته . حيث ان حرية التصرف

لا تتم الا مع وجود نزعتي الخير والشر في الانسان . والا مع وجود طريقيي الخير والشر في الارض ، خلق الله الانسان بهذه الخصائص ثم علمه الاسماء وجعله مستعدا لمعرفة حقائق الكون والقوى الكونية متمكنا من الاحاطة بها عن طريق معرفتها . ثم أمر الملائكة ان يسجدوا لآدم فخضعوا وسجدوا له بأمر الله وخضوعهم للانسان يستلزم مطاوعة القوى الكونية التي هي بيد الملائكة له . فاصبح آدم سيد الكون ، خليفة الله في الارض . وامتنع ابليس من السجود لآدم وطرد من مقام المقربين وامهل حسب طلبه الى يوم القيامة وبدأ هو وجنوده باغواء البشر واصبحوا من الدعاة الى طريق الشر يساندون النزعة الشريرة في الانسان .

فالكون ميدان للسير في الخط المستقيم والانحراف والضلال . والانسان امام مفترق الطريقيين يسمع صوت الله بلسان عقله ولسان ضميره ولسان انبياء الله وبالطرق الاخرى للهداية وصوت الشيطان بلسان نفسه الامارة بالسوء ولسان عناصر السوء والفساد من البشر وغيرهم . يستمع الانسان في حياته الى النداءين فيجيب بملء ارادته لنداء الخير او لنداء الشر . وهكذا نرى ان الشيطان في مفهومه الاسلامي يقوم بدور بارز في تعميق التخير الانساني « ويهلك من هلك عن بينة ويحيي من حي عن بينة . »

النبي

والنبي عبد من عباد الله له ما لهم من الحالات والرغبات ويشعر بما يشعرون من الصراع النفسي بين الخير والشر . لكنه يتبع في القول والفعل ومعاشرة الناس ما يوحى اليه وان لم يكن مطابقا لمراضيتهم لا ينحرف ولا ينطق عن الهوى ولا يساير ولا يجامل رغبات الناس ولا يزن الامور بالموازين الشائعة .

ان النبي عبد من عباد الله لا ملاك ولا نصف اله . يعيش ويموت ويموت ويحشر ويحاسب يوم القيامة . وبذلك يصبح قدوة صالحة للناس . اماما لهم سندا حيا لواقعية رسالته مثبتا امكانية تطبيق تعاليمه الدينية .

وقد ورد في القرآن الكريم في سيرة الانبياء عامة وفي سيرة النبي محمد خاصة دلائل كثيرة على ذلك حيث وجه اليهم النقد والتشجيع والتأييد والتهديد والنصيحة والعتاب على بعض التصرفات . والنبي مع ذلك يتمتع بعناية الله ووحيه وتسديده وبذلك يصبح قوله وعمله ورضاه عن عمل الآخرين هي سيرة وأسوة حسنة للامة .

فالصفة المميزة للنبي في رأي الاسلام كونه عبدا ورسولا في نفس الوقت وبذلك تبدو بوضوح اصالة الفكرة وعدم انفعالها بالعاطفة الطبقية كما يقول برتراند راسل حيث يتهم الاسلام بذلك نظرا لموقفه من السيد المسيح وتأكيده انه ما قُتل وما صُلب . ان الاسلام المنكر لصلب المسيح يؤكد ان كثيرا من الانبياء قتلوا في سبيل رسالتهم . « أفكلما جاءكم رسول بما لا تهوى أنفسكم استكبرتم ففريقا كذبتم وفريقا تقتلون » ، (قرآن كريم) . فلا ينكر صلب المسيح لعاطفة الزمالة ولا للتأثر بآراء « النوستيسيزم » بدليل موقفه ايضا من المسيح بالذات ، بل للرسالة مقام انساني كبير لا يتزع صفات البشر عن حاملها وهو مع ذلك مقام الاتصال بالله ونقل تعاليمه بكل امانة ودون خطأ وتحريف .

المعاد

أن المعاد من المبادئ العامة لجميع الاديان ولاكثر المدارس الفلسفية ولكنه عند الاسلام يتميز بخصائص مهمة تجعله فكرة ذات اصالة .

هذه الميزات هي اولا ان الجزء في يوم المعاد بنفس الافعال الصادرة عن الانسان : « يوم تجد كل نفس ما عملت من خير محضرا وما عملت من سوء تود لو ان بينها وبينه امدا بعيدا » ، (٣ : ٣٠ ، قرآن كريم) . ويختلف هذا التفسير عن المجازاة في الحقوق الجزائية وعن تفاسير المعاد في غير الاسلام حيث ان الجزء نوع من رد الفعل الحسن او القبيح للانتقام او للتأديب او الاصلاح . فالعمل يختلف عن الجزء عادة . ولكن الجزء في المعاد الاسلامي هو نفس الاعمال التي تتمثل بالصورة المناسبة لعالم

الخلود . والمعاد من جهة ثانية يوم بروز النتائج ووقت اكتشاف حقيقة الاعمال والا فالجزاء حسب تحديد القرآن هو مقترن بالعمل وقت صدوره ولكنه خفي عن الابصار . « ذلك يوم الوعيد . لقد كنت في غفلة عن هذا فكشفنا عنك غطاءك فبصرك اليوم حديد » ، (٥٠ : ٢٣ ، قرآن كريم) .

ومن جهة ثالثة فالمعاد عند الاسلام هو تمثل الانسان بجسمه وروحه للحساب وليلتقى حصاد عمره . اما النقاش المعروف بين فلاسفة الاسلام الملتزمين انما هو حول تحديد معنى الجسم الذي يحشر . لاني اصل المعاد الجسماني .

وبالبحث يعرف بعد هذه الملاحظات مدى الفرق الواضح بين المعاد الاسلامي وبين معنى السماء او معنى عودة الروح عند المصريين القدامى او الوثنيين في الجزيرة او انتصار النور على الظلمة عند المجوس .

واخيرا

تبلغ الذاتية في الاسلام قمتها في قسم الامثال وقسم التاريخ . حيث اننا نعرف اليوم مدى ثقافة الانسان في اقطار العالم ومقدار معرفته في العلوم والتاريخ حال ظهور النبي محمد وحال نزول القرآن . اننا نعرف ذلك ولكننا نجد ان القرآن لم يتأثر اصلا بالآراء العلمية السائدة في عصره وبالمعلومات التاريخية المعروفة عند البشر في ذلك الوقت .

فالآيات الواردة في الاستشهاد بحركات الشمس والقمر والنجوم والارض وغيرها لم تتأثر اطلاقا بالهيئة البطليموسية وآرائها .

والآيات التي تشير الى مبدأ الخلق وتكوين الارض واتساع الكون وغيرها تكاد ان تنطبق على أحدث النظريات العلمية من دون تأثر بثقافة عصر نزول القرآن .

والآيات التي تنقل تاريخ الفراعنة وخاصة فيما يعود الى فرعون يوسف

وتسميته بالعزیز وفيما يعود الى غرق فرعون المعاصر للنبي موسى ونجاته ببدنه : هذه الآيات لم تتأثر اصلا بالروايات الشائعة في عصر ظهور النبي محمد ؛ بل إن بعض هذه المعلومات كانت خفية عن معرفة البشر الى زمن اكتشاف تاريخ الفراعنة بواسطة شامليون .

(٢) الروحانية في الاسلام

هذا البحث أثار اهتمام كثير من الناقدين والمهتمين بالشؤون الدينية وقد قرأت طويلا وسمعت الكثيرين يناقشون هذا الجانب من الاسلام ويقفون عند « تدخل الاسلام في الشؤون المادية وعند مقابلة التعدي بالمثل ورد الكيد بالكيد والاهتمام بالزواج والتأكيد عليه وحتى اللجنة عند الاسلام التي تشبه بيستان ايضا » .

وتجاهل بعض هؤلاء الباحثين الروحانية المتناهية التي تتجلى في العقائد الاسلامية في الخالق وصفاته واسمائه وفي جعل الايمان بالغيب الركن الاساسي للاسلام في القرآن . ومهما كان فعلينا ان نناقش هذا الموضوع بصورة موجزة بعد الفات نظر المستمع الكريم الى مقدمة ايضا .

ان التقليد الشائع يقتضي تقسيم الاشياء عامة واعمال الانسان بالذات الى مادية وروحية وحسب هذا التقسيم يبدو ان لنا امورا مادية والاشتغال بها يُعد الانصراف الى المادة نظير الاكل والشرب والزواج والتجارة وامثال ذلك . ومقابل هذه الامور فالصلاة والعبادة والصدقة والتضحية والانصراف الى التفكير تعد من المعنويات والروحيات لان القسم الاول هو امور زائلة تناسب جسد الانسان ورغباته الآتية والقسم الثاني هو تلبية لميول سامية ولرغبات روح الانسان وقواها فتعد امورا غير مادية .

والحقيقة ان هذا التقسيم خال من الدقة ولا ينطبق على التفسير الفلسفي ولا على التعاليم الدينية ولا يحظى باقتناع روح المؤمن الفاحصة .

فالمادة في التفسير الفلسفي كل موجود يحتاج الى الحيز والابعاد او كل موجود متحرك متطور الحقيقة ، والمجرد اي غير المادة هو ما ليس له ابعاد وما لا يحتاج في ذاته الى زمان او مكان او حركة .

وعلى هذا التفسير فجميع الحركات الصادرة عن الانسان مادية حتى العبادات والصدقات والاحسان وحتى التفكير فانه يقترن بحركات خلايا الدماغ التي هي مادية . ولا يتمكن الفيلسوف ان يتصور انفصال الجسم عن الروح وصدور افعال من احدهما بمعزل عن الآخر لكي يسمى بعضها افعالا مادية وبعضها الآخر افعالا روحية .

بل التفاعل بين الجسم والروح يبلغ درجة تجعل منهما ، عند كثير من الفلاسفة ، تركيبا اتحاديا وقد ابدع صدر الدين الشيرازي حيث جعل الروح ذات حدوث جسماني وبقاء روحاني .

فالميزان الصحيح لمعرفة مادية شيء وروحانية في اعمال الانسان هو باعث العمل وغايته فكم من صلوة او صدقة او تفكير هي من المادة في الصميم وما اكثر الاعمال المادية او الاجتماعية او الادارية التي تصدر لغايات سامية فتجعل منها عبادات مقدسة .

ومن جهة أخرى اذا لاحظنا ان جميع الموجودات من خلق الله وجميع جوانب وجود الانسان حقيقة واقعة تبرز الارادة الالهية ، اذا لاحظنا هذا كله ، فمن الصعب جدا ان نفرق بين وجود وآخر وان نميز بين جانب وعمل وبين سائر الجوانب والاعمال بل لا يمكن التفريق والتمييز الا اذا انحرف الانسان بعمله عن الرسالة الحياتية التي ارادها الله له .

والآن نعود لكي نبحث في الجانب الروحي من الاسلام ونقول ان الاسلام يقدس جميع الموجودات الكونية ويعتبرها ، بمادياتها ومعنوياتها ، كلها ساجدات لله مسبحات بحمده ، وحتى الموجودات الشريرة او الضارة فشرورها واضرارها نسبية واذا استعملت بقدرها وفي موضعها فلا شر ولا ضرر .

وبالنسبة الى الانسان يعترف الإسلام بجميع جوانب وجوده وجميع

رغبته ويحترم في ذلك ثم يحاول تنظيم صلاته بغيره وتنسيق نشاطاته وتعديل رغبته لكي يلعب دوره الكوني ابي دور خلافة الله في الأرض فيعيش بجميع جوانب وجوده افضل عيش واطيبه واكثره تمتعاً بالكون .
وفي هذا الخط ، خط اداء الواجب ، كل عمل من الانسان عبادة وكل حركة منه مقدسة والعكس بالعكس .

وهكذا نرى ان الاسلام يعطي صفة الروحية لجميع اعمال الانسان الصادرة عن باعث سليم ويصيب جميع الموجودات بصيغة القداسة .

فالاصح في التعبير الا نقول بضعف روحية الاسلام واهتمامه بالماديات بل نقول بقوة هذا الجانب الى حد يحول كل شيء الى الروحيات .

ولعل السبب في تعبير القرآن في اغلب المواضيع بالنفس دون الروح لاجل هذه المقارنة حيث ان الروح المهتمة بتصريف شؤون الجسد تسمى نفساً . اما الروح فهي اسم خاص للشأن التجردى المطلق الذي يتجلى حال نزول الوحي وتدبير الشرع والذي يواكب الملائكة في بعض الآيات القرآنية .

ومن اطرف ما يرى في الاحكام والتعاليم الاسلامية انها تؤكد على ان ما خلق الله من الزينة والطيبات هو خلق للانسان وتوجه باللوم الى من حرمها . انها تؤكد على هذه ومع ذلك فقد جعلتها فتنه وذلك تأكيد على ان النعم كلما ازدادت والاموال كلما كثرت والجاه كلما عرض يجب ، بنفس القياس ، الازدياد من الايمان والاكثر من التقوى والآل فالانسان يقع في خطر الانحراف عن الخط المستقيم والالتناء بالجانب الشخصي عنها والاستسلام لها . علي يقول : « ليس الزهد الآل تملك شيئاً بل الزهد الآل يملكك شيء . »

وعلى ضوء واقع الانسان وواقع الخلق وتفسير المعاد وكون الجزاء بنفس الاعمال ، على ضوء هذه الامور ، نفهم واقع الجنة والنعم التي هيأها الله لعباده المتقين .

وقد حاول القرآن الكريم بعد ذلك ان يسبغ على النعم هذه صفات

روحية كالخلود والطهارة وعدم السأم والحمول ووجود الصفاء وشمول الاخوة وعدم استماع اللغو والاثم الا قبيلاً سلاماً سلاماً . ومع ذلك كله جعل القرآن رضوان الله اكبر نعمة من نعم الجنة وافضلها ولكنها تغني النفوس التي كانت تقول : « الهى ما عبدتك خوفاً من نارك ولا طمعاً في جنتك بل وجدتك اهلاً للعبادة فعبدتك . »

أما حديث مقابلة التعدي بمثله من دون ظلم ولا تجاوز فهو جزء من النظام العام الذي وضع لصيانة المجتمع وسلامته وحفظاً للانسان وسوف نبحث فيه في القسم الاخير من محاضرتنا .

واحب ان اذكر هنا نقطة واحدة هي ان الاسلام في هذه المواضيع اعتبر العفو خيراً واقرب للتقوى اذ لا يوجب تمادي الطغيان والركون الى الظلم والآل فهو منظم يعد الانسان به احد الظالمين .

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(٣) شؤون المجتمع

ان الاسلام لم يكتف في تعاليمه بالعقائد وبالتوجيه الخلقى بل قدم نظاماً عاماً للحياة يشمل صلات الفرد بالآخرين وبالذولة وتنظيمات ادارية ودولية فضلاً عن قوانين الاحوال الشخصية .

هذه التدخلات التفصيلية في الشؤون الحياتية تفتح مجالاً للتساؤل عن سببها ثم هل بالامكان وضع نظام ديني يتمتع بالقداسة والثبات للمجتمع وشؤونه المتطورة في كل عصر حتى أصبحت كل يوم هي في شأن .

ولاجل ايضاح هذه النقطة ، التي أعتبرها اهم النقاط في هذه المحاضرة والتي تجاوز السؤال عنها نطاق الكتب الباحثة عن الاسلام بل اصيحت مجالاً لتساؤلات الجميع حتى المسلمين انفسهم ، لاجل ايضاح هذه النقطة نطرح اولاً هذا السؤال :

هل الذين يكتفون او يريدون من الاديان ان تكتفي بالايمان والاخلاق يعتقدون ان صيانة الايمان والمحافظة على الاخلاق الحسنة امران ممكنان لمن لا يرتبط في عمله الخارجي بخطة تتناسب مع الايمان والاخلاق المذكورين ؟

هل الانسان وهو موجود واحد لا موجودات متعددة . هذا الانسان هل يتمكن ان يعزل روحه عن تأثيرات جسده او يمنع جسمه من التفاعل مع روحه ؟ والايمان والاخلاق اللذان هما من افعال النفس وصفاتها ، هل يمكن ابعادهما عن تأثيرات اعمال الجسد ؟

طبعاً الجواب سلبي وواضح ، فان التفاعل بين جوانب وجود الانسان امر بيديني ولهذا ولأجل صيانة الايمان والاخلاق لا بد من ان يتقيد الانسان بعمله وان يرتبط برباط يتناسب مع الصيانة الروحية المذكورة .

والقرآن الكريم مثل بقية الكتب المقدسة يؤكد هذا التفاعل ويعلن ان ممارسة الاعمال السيئة تنزع الايمان من القلب : « ثم كان عاقبة الذين اساؤوا السوأى ان كذبوا بآيات الله وكانوا بها يستهزؤون » ، (٣٠ : ١٠ ، قرآن كريم) . ثم هل من المعقول ان يعيش الانسان في مجتمع يناقض الخط الذي يسلكه في عمله ويتنافى مع ايمانه واخلاقه ثم لا يفعل بذلك المجتمع ؟

ان الانسان في تكوينه ، في حياته ، في حاجاته ، في وعيه ، في تفكيره وفي جميع جوانب حياته ، الانسان في جميع ذلك موجود اجتماعي يتفاعل مع مجتمعه الذي يعيش فيه . فهل يمكنه ان يعزل ايمانه واخلاقه واعماله الشخصية من تفاعلات مجتمعه ؟

أعتقد أن الجواب عن هذا السؤال ايضا واضح ولهذا فقد اكد الاسلام على لزوم ايجاد مجتمع يتناسب مع الايمان والاخلاق والاعمال الصالحة واعلن بصراحة : « ما آمن بالله واليوم والاخر من بات شعبانا وجاره جائع » ، (حديث شريف) . أكرر كلمة « ما آمن » لكي ننبيه الى التناقض الذي يراه الاسلام بين الايمان وبين سوء الوضع الاجتماعي الذي يوجب هذه الظاهرة . وعلى هذا الاساس نجد ان الاسلام . الذي يؤكد نيته

« انما بعثت لاتمم مكارم الاخلاق » ، (حديث شريف) ، يحاول لاجل هذه الغاية ان يتدخل في الحياة العملية للانسان ثم في الحياة الاجتماعية فيضع للاول مبدأ الحلال والحرام وللثاني الانظمة القانونية الواسعة التي تشكل ما يقرب النصف من التعاليم الاسلامية .

فلندخل الآن في مطالعة السؤال المهم الذي يطرح من صعوبة انسجام القوانين الثابتة مع المجتمع المتطور . والجواب عن هذا السؤال يحتاج الى عرض امور ثلاثة :

اولا : ان التطور في الحياة وفي التاريخ البشري معناه تفاعل الانسان مع الكون . فالانسان في كل يوم تزداد تجاربه وتتقدم علومه فيكشف اشياء جديدة من الكون ثم يستعمل معرفته الجديدة ويمارس وعيه الجديد فيستفيد من القوى الكونية المكتشفة ويطور بذلك حياته الشخصية والاجتماعية وينتقل الى فصل جديد من فصول التاريخ البشري الطويل .

فالتطور هو قراءة الانسان سطرًا جديدًا من كتاب الكون وطي صفحة جديدة من هذا الكتاب وممارسة معرفته الجديدة والتغيرات الناتجة عنها .

هذا مفهومنا عن التطور . فليس هناك موجب غريب للتطور ، يدخل من عالم آخر في حياة الانسان وفي العالم الذي يعيش فيه الانسان ، ليس هناك شيء يطور حياة الانسان من الخارج ولا هناك فقد عامل من عوامل الحياة الانسانية لكي تتغير الحياة من اجله .

ان التطور هو تفاعل الانسان مع الكون فقط والمعروف ان الانسان والكون عنصران كانا في مسرح الحياة من اول الخلق ما زاد فيهما شيء ولا نقص منهما شيء بل تبدأ كل صفحة جديدة من الحياة بكشف جديد للانسان عن الكون وتفاعل بينهما .

ثانيا : ان الدين حسب رأي الاسلام شريعة وضعها خالق الكون والانسان

اي الله سبحانه . وخالق الكون يعرف جميع جوانب وجوده
ظواهره وبواطنه ، ويعرف ايضا جميع جوانب وجود الانسان وجميع
حاجاته ورغباته ؛ ان الله يعرف هذا كله فوضع قوانين لكي يتمتع
الانسان بالكون فيحيا حياة طيبة كاملة تماما مثلما تضع مؤسسات
صنع السيارات توجيهات لصيانة السيارة والاستفادة الكاملة منها
لان المؤسسة خبيرة بكيفية صنع السيارة ومشخصاتها وطرق الاستفادة
الكاملة منها .

ثالثا : قلنا ان الله خالق للكون وعارف به وخالق للانسان وعارف به وقد
وضع نصوصا وتوجيهات لكي يعيش الانسان في الكون حياة
طيبة كاملة ذات هدف كبير .

وحسب رأي الاسلام ايضا وضع الله الشريعة والتوجيهات المذكورة
بكلمات صادرة عنه ، وهي الآيات القرآنية . والايان الاسلامي
يرى ان معاني القرآن منزلة بالفاظه بعينها . والمعروف ان كلام الله يختلف
عن كلام البشر تماما حيث ان فهم كلام البشر محدود بمستوى
معرفة القائل ولا يمكن التجاوز لهذا الحد وكلما ازداد مستوى
معرفة المتكلم ازداد امكان تفسير كلامه والتعمق فيه ، ولهذا
السبب يتعمق القضاة والمحامون في تفسير نصوص القوانين الى
درجات تتجاوز جدا حدود تفسير كلام العامة من الناس .

وحيث ان مستوى معرفة الله لا حد له فيمكن الاعتماد على جميع
مراحل مدلولات كلامه وكلما ازداد التعمق فيه يتبين معنى جديد
لكلامه . فكلام الله من هذه الناحية مثل الحقائق الكونية بل هو
بعينه من الحقائق الكونية . يكتشف الانسان منه في كل مرحلة
شيئا جديداً وكما يكتشف من الكون في كل مرحلة شيئاً جديداً
وكما تظهر كل يوم صفحة جديدة من حقيقة الانسان بمعرفته
الجديدة .

وبعد عرض هذه المقدمة نعود الى الجواب عن التساؤل المذكور

فنقول ان الانسان له تفاعلات مع الكون تشكل اساس التطور وهذه
التفاعلات تنظمها شريعة الله ولها ايضا مع كل مرحلة من التطور
تعاليم متطورة تتناسب مع المرحلة التي يعيشها الانسان فتتظم الصلات
والتفاعلات الثابتة بين الانسان والكون .

وخلاصة الجواب ان على مسرحنا عوامل ثلاثة يواكب كل منها
الآخرين باكتشاف مراحل جديدة وحقائق جديدة ، هي الانسان ،
الدين ، والكون .

وبهذه الطريقة الموجزة يمكننا ان نحفظ بصفة القداسة للانظمة الدينية
العائدة للانسان والمجتمع مع افساح المجال لتطويرها في الاطار العام
الذي يتضح للباحث عنها . والتعاليم المتطورة تحفظ بالميتها وقوتها وقيادتها ؛
انها مستقاة من القواعد الثابتة الدينية .

مع الندوة اللبنانية في عشرين سنة

ميشال الأسمر
مؤسس الندوة اللبنانية

هذه السلسلة من المحاضرات حول « مصادر الثقافة في لبنان » ، تنظمها كلية بيروت للبنات ، انما تقبل على الاسهام فيها بكل عقلنا وبفيض كبير من عواطفنا . لأننا نعتبر هذه البادرة حدثاً ثقافياً في وطننا . ولذا عمدنا الى حضور حلقاتها واحدة واحدة منذ انطلاق الكلية بها في الخامس من تموز الحالي ، وسنواصل بسرور متابعتها لما في ما تبقى منها لهذا الاسبوع في حقول الآداب والفنون .

ويطيب لنا في هذا المقام ان ننوه بالفكرة التي كانت في اساس هذا العمل ، وان نرسل تحية قدر واعجاب الى التي ستعود اليها هذا المساء من مؤتمر علمي في جنيف والتي كانت امّ هذه الفكرة وأباها ، عنيت رئيسة هذا الصرح التربوي الثقافي الدكتورة سلوى نصار . ففي الفكرة التي انبثق منها العمل ادراك تام للرسالة اللبنانية التي هي ثقافية قبل كل شيء ، تبحث في ماضي لبنان ، كامل ماضي لبنان تاريخياً وجغرافية ، وثروات ارض وبشر ، فتربطه بحاضره وواقعه كي تتجاوزهما اخيراً تطلعا الى مستقبل افضل في وطن أفضل . فهذه الفكرة لا تعمر الا قلب اللبناني الحق ، وهي قبل غيرها تعمّر البيت اللبناني . ثم ان تنطلق هذه الفكرة من هنا ، من مؤسسة « رأس بيروتية » أصيلة ، لمّا يثلج صدرنا وينبثنا بأن العناية بلبنان تعم العاصمة في جميع احيائها . وان يشترك في تنظيم الفكرة وفي رسم الخطوط لتنفيذها فريق كريم من العاملين مع الدكتور سلوى نصار ، لدليل على روح التعاون الذي يهيمن على الاصدقاء فيدفع بأصحابه الى الجهد والبذل في سبيل النجاح ما هو خير للبنان . وان تقتطع نخبة من العلماء والمفكرين قسماً من وقتها لمعالجة مواضيع سلسلة « مصادر

الثقافة في لبنان » ولتقديمها هنا ، وان تكون هذه النخبة منتمية الى مختلف الاوساط الثقافية في بيروت . وان يتحدى الراغبون في الاستماع اليها الراحة الصباحية وحر الاجتماعات فيختارون الطريق الضيق : كل ذلك ينم عن سخاء العطاء للتثقيف والتثقف عند المواطنين اللبنانيين . وان تصمم اخيراً كلية بيروت للبنات على نشر محاضرات هذه السلسلة في مجلد واحد لتنتقل مصادر الثقافة في لبنان الى أبعد من قاعة والى اكثر ممن تستوعب قاعة ، فهذا ما يتجاوز ورغبة الصالحين منا في تعريف لبنان تعريفاً صحيحاً الى ابنائه والى كل صديق له ومحب .

ألا بورك العمل في الفكرة التي أطلقته وفي كل من يسهم في تحقيقه !

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وبعد ، هأنذا اليكم في هذا الصباح في « مع الندوة اللبنانية في عشرين سنة » ، لنستعرض ما استثارت محاضراتها من تيارات .

ان موضوعاً حُدد على هذا الشكل ، يضطرنا بادىء بدء الى ان نتفق معكم على مضمونه وخطوطه وحدوده . فالصيغة التي صيغ بها عنوانه تجعله محصوراً زمنياً وسعة ونوعاً . اما من حيث الزمن فهو يفرض علينا ألا نبحث في هذه التيارات الا بدءاً من العام ١٩٤٦ وهو تاريخ تأسيس الندوة اللبنانية . ومن حيث السعة فهو لا يشمل الا التيارات التي برزت في المحاضرات التي أقيمت من على منبر الندوة دون سواه . ومن حيث النوع فمعالجته تقتصر على التيارات ذات الطابع الادبي والفكري .

ولكن خلافاً لما قد يترأى لأول وهلة ، فان حصر الموضوع على هذا الشكل لا يقلل من أهميته ولا يجعله مبتوراً عن الحركة الفكرية العامة في لبنان .

فمن حيث الاهمية يجب ان نسلم معاً بأن العام ١٩٤٦ انما هو تاريخ مفترق في حياة وطننا . اجل . هناك العام ١٩٤٣ . عام استقلال لبنان . الا ان تشرين الثاني من تلك السنة لم يكن الا انطلاقة فحسب ،

الا ولادة عسيرة بعد طول محاض رافقه العديد من الردات وعلامات الاستفهام الكبرى التي تعذر علينا ان نقرنها في حينه بجواب يطمئن مخافتنا . ونما المولود الجديد في مناخ يساوره شبه الحلم وفي تدفق من الاحداث غير المهيأ لها : من نهاية الحرب عام ١٩٤٥ ، الى انشاء جامعة الدول العربية ودخول لبنان عضواً فيها ، ثم دخوله في هيئة الامم المتحدة . اما الاهم فكان جلاء الجيوش الاجنبية عن اراضي لبنان . وفي العام ١٩٤٦ بالذات أشرعت امامنا صفحة جديدة من التاريخ . وامام هذه الصفحة . وعلى الرغم من ذبائك الاعتزاز القومي العارم الذي كان يجر له جيلنا ، كان يخامرنا ان كل شيء لم يُقل بعد . وكنا مع حفنة من الشباب نشعر في صميمنا ان الاستقلال ما هو غاية بحد ذاته ، ولا يمكنه ان يكون لنا سوى بداية ، معها يبدأ من جديد تعمير البيت اللبناني .

هذا من حيث انطلاقنا بموضوعنا منذ العام ١٩٤٦ . فهذا التاريخ هو في الواقع تاريخ مفترق في حياتنا الوطنية .

اما من حيث البحث في التيارات الادبية والفكرية التي برزت في المحاضرات التي اقيمت من على منبر الندوة دون سواه من المنابر ، فهو بحث يشمل اكثر مما يظن لأول وهلة . فممنبر الندوة لم يكن منبراً مغلقاً على موضوعات دون غيرها او على فئات دون سواها . فحوله حشدنا القيم اللبنانية الاصلية كلها دون تمييز ، واستنهضناها جميعاً للعمل معاً ، رجاء اكتشاف وجه بلادنا من جديد . هذا الوجه الذي تداولته آلاف الحقب . وطمست معالم دعوته سيطرة عثمانية ما أطولها ، ختمها ربع قرن من الانتداب الفرنسي . وكان علينا ان نقيم البرهان على مدى ما يستطيعه معاً الجيلان القديم والحديث ، وما يستطيعه معاً الثقافة العامة والتقنية ، القوة الملتزمة والطلقة من اجل تشييد رسالة لبنانية تكون من الوحدة ما يعود على اواصرها بالتمكين ومن الصوابية ما يجعلها تشد الخير للجميع . كان علينا ان نلقى للبنان فلسفة سياسية وان نركز اسسه على متين الركائز . كذلك كان علينا ان نقيم تماساً بين محاضري الندوة وبين مجمل المواطنين . وان نؤلب لهم بالتالي جمهوراً من المستمعين ، جمهوراً متنوعاً صاغياً ،

وان نعوّده زعامة النخبة اللبنانية . الخلاصة ان منبرنا كان للجميع وان ندوتنا كانت الندوة اللبنانية بـ « أَل التعريف » ، على حد قول سليم حيدر . يقول جورج نقاش : « على صعيد الحرية الاكثر اطلاقاً نرى اناساً ، نرى لبنانيين ، ممن ينتمون الى الاوساط الاشدّ تبايناً ، والى شتى التبعيات ، نراهم يأتون الى الندوة يتطرحون على منبرها السؤال في العلانية ، ويقارعون أفكارهم على اكثر الموضوعات تباعداً ، ونراهم يعرضون علينا رؤيتهم . ان من هذه المطارحة الدائمة ، وفي مضطرم هذه المجاذبة الفكرية ، إن في صراع هذه المعارف والتقنيات ، ومن خلال هذه التباينات والمعارضات ، وبفضلها ، يصنع وسيصنع لبنان . على منبر الندوة يمكننا ان نكون لذاتنا تلك الرؤية لذاتنا ، تلك الرؤية التي يكون لنا ، انطلاقاً منها ، ان نستصفي ذاتنا ، كأناس بلاد وعصر ، متبئين بيئة خلقية وطبيعية ، مضطرين ان نضطلع بذاتنا ، وان نضطلع بذاتنا في بيئتنا ، وان ننيط هذه البيئة بالكوفي . ان هذه الدعوة للانخراط في التاريخ ، لحي شغل الندوة الشاغل » .

ان هذا الانخراط في التاريخ — وهنا نصل الى جانب من جنبات موضوعنا : « التيارات الادبية والفكرية » — فرض على الندوة الاتحمل شاردة او واردة ، مما له علاقة بالحياة عامة ، إلا وتلتقطها وتوليها اهتمامها . انها فهمت الادب في اصالته وواقعه ، في شموله وفي حصره ، في جماليته التقليدية وفي كل نبرة من نبراته الجديدة . انها نظرت اليه تعبيراً عن خلجات النفس في عصرها وبيئتها وفي توقعها الى الامثل . انها قدرته على ضوء قوميته وانسانيته . انها رأت اليه فعل حياة . وهو هذا الادب — الفكر الذي اطلقته من على منبرها ، ينطق بلغة الشعب ، لغة العمل والكدح ، لغة المهنة ، لغة الجهد والكفاح ، لغة التاريخ الحقيقية . انها كانت السباقة الى خلق أدب المحاضرة في لبنان ، فبرز على منبرها في أوسع ما يكون من الشمول . انه لم يعد عندها عرضاً لحادث عاطفي ، او سرداً لتقصص وهمي ، او تغنياً بما يحك الذوق الساذج البليد . بل أصبح ادب تاريخ وقوم ، ادب انسانية وتطور ، ادب اقتصاد واجتماع ، ادب ملاحظة ونقد وثورة ، ادباً وطنياً عربياً عالمياً ، ادباً لبنانياً ملتزماً حرّاً في آن ، ادباً

بصافح كل موضوع وكل انسان في اكثر من لغة واكثر من وطن ، ادباً ينثر على منبر وينشر في مجلة ويعمم في اذاعة فيؤلف في جوهره ، على حد تعبير احد النقاد ، « منتخبات من ارواح ما ينشر في لبنان » ، وقيم ، على حد تعبير ناقد آخر ، « مرتكزات فلسفة سياسية فضلى للبنان » ، ويقدم على حد قول « المجلة العسكرية للانباء » في باريس ، « اغلى مادة لمن يريد ان يعرف لبنان » .

فلتقبل الآن ، بعد هذه التوضيحات التي كان لا بد منها ، على دراسة هذا الادب — الفكر لتبين التيارات التي عبر عنها والمناخات التي أسهم في خلقها .

ولنبادر الى القول ان الندوة في احتضانها هذا الادب وفي تمهيدها لبروزها انما كانت حقاً تعبيراً عن الوعي اللبناني . كانت هكذا منذ انطلاقنا بها ، واستمرت عليه طوال سنواتها العشرين ، وهي تجهد في الا تحيد عن نهجها هذا . فما من قضية كان من الممكن ان تشغل بال اللبنانيين الواعين الا طرحتها الندوة على بساط البحث . فلنرّ معاً الى هذه القضايا :

« المشكلة الدستورية في لبنان — في المعترك — لبنان في مهب مقدّراته — لبنان في مرحلته الاخيرة — وجه اللبناني المجهول — المسؤولية القومية — الاسس الاخلاقية للبيت اللبناني — رجال الفكر والواقع اللبناني — لبنان ونظرية المحيط — المواطن الواعي — لبنان وطن وأمة — شخصية لبنان — وجوه المصير اللبناني — حول بناء الدولة اللبنانية — لبنان معضلات وقوى — كيف أخدم لبنان — الديمقراطية في لبنان — لبنان في واقعه ومرتباه — الطاقة اللبنانية — في طريق التوجيه والانشاء — حضارتنا على المفترق — بعد المحنة وقبلها — لبنان ارض البرهان — القيادة الوطنية الصحيحة — ملامح من وجه لبنان — لبنان ١٩٦١ — الولاء للوطن — ١٩٤٣ : تاريخ مفترق — ان لم يولد لبنان من فوق — المقومات الاساسية لحياتنا الوطنية — تألف البيت اللبناني ووحدته — قيم لبنانية ثابتة — الجذور الروحية للرسالة اللبنانية » : ذلك بعض من المواضيع التي عاجلها المحاضرون

على منبر الندوة في ما يتعلق بلبنان الوطن عامة ، في ماهيته ومقوماته ورسالته . ويطيب لنا هنا ان نقرأ عليكم صفحة من ابرز ما ورد في هذا الباب ، تاريخ كتابتها ١٧ كانون الثاني ١٩٤٧ :

نحن في لبنان فئات ثلاث : سليتان وإيجابية .

— لبنان بلد واسع ، على صغر مساحته ، اوسع مما يجب ان يكون . ينبغي ان تبتز منه اجزاء لتتخلص من سكانها ، فيعود وطناً صغيراً لقوم معينين ، يعيشون فيه منكمشين على أنفسهم ، ينظرون الى الافق ، على تماوج البحر . تلك هي السلبية الاولى . انها انعزالية انكماشية ، اذا سمحتم بالتعبير !

— لبنان بلد صغير . صادراته لا توازن وارداته . لا زراعة ولا صناعة ولا انتاج . انه جزء من كل . انه لا يستطيع ان يعيش بكيانه الحالي ، يجب ان يذوب الجزء في الكل ، على وهج الصحراء . تلك هي السلبية الثانية . انها اندماجية مفرطة !

— لبنان ، بحدوده الحاضرة ، كيان حقيقي ، يمكن ان يعيش ويجب ان يعيش . تلك هي الايجابية !

الايجابية تستند الى الواقع . والسليتان تستند كل منهما الى التاريخ والدين واللغة والتربة . . . الى جميع عناصر القومية ، تقررهما كما تشاء ، وتفسرها كما تشاء . . .

والدين يمثل دوره المهم في تقسيم هذه الفئات . على ان من الانصاف القول ان الفئة السلبية الاندماجية فيها من الطائفتين . كما ان الفئة الايجابية مزيج متوازن منهما . واذن فالدين ليس وحده هو السبب !

الفئتان السليتان . الانكماشية والاندماجية . تعتقدان حرية التعليم المطلقة وتناضلان من اجلها .

والفئة الايجابية ترى التوجيه في سياسة المدرسة . وكل ذلك طبيعي !

نعم . لا تجفلوا ! كل ذلك طبيعي !

ان يكون في لبنان فئة تريد بتر قسم منه لتستقل بالآخر . ذلك طبيعي . وان يكون في لبنان فئة تنكر وجوده . ذلك طبيعي .

وطبيعي ان تشبث كل منهما بحرية التعليم المطلقة ، لتزرع مبادئها في نفوس التلاميذ الطريئة .

بقي عليّ ان اقرر حقيقة : وهي ان الفئة الايجابية هي الاكثر عدداً والاقوى عدداً . وذلك ايضاً طبيعي .

فماذا يجب أن نعمل لحفاظ على الجميع ؟ ولنعيد الى الخطيرة من اعتقدوا — واعين أو مأخوذين — بوجود تركها ؟

فنحن لا نريد ان نفقد من لبنان لبنانياً واحداً ، نحن الايجابيين ! علينا ان نتفق على ما نحن فيه مختلفون .

لكي تمشي العجلة ، يجب ان نخطط لها هدفاً معلوماً تسير اليه ، ان ندرّب الخيول على السير معاً ، في اتجاه واحد .

فما هو الهدف ، وكيف ندرّب الخيول ؟

الهدف لبنان . الذي يجب ان نتفق على مفهومه .

لبنان رقعة من الارض على شاطئ المتوسط . في قلب الشرق الادنى . تعاقبت عليه المدينيات : الفينيقية والرومانية واليونانية والبيزنطية والحشية والمصرية القديمة والعربية . وتركت جميعها ما كوّن تراثه القائم . تراثاً زاخراً ممتازاً ، والصفتان معنيتان ، بكل ما فيهما من قوة .

لغته العربية . وهو من أركان نهضتها . مركزه في قلب البلدان العربية . وتشده الى هذه البلدان صلة الاخوة وصلة الحوار وصلة التاريخ ووحدة

هذا هو الهدف ، هذا مفهوم لبنان . انه الواقع . والميثاق اللبناني هو الواقع اللبناني !

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حول هذا الواقع اللبناني ، واستيحاءاً من جوهره ، ولحمل جميع اللبنانيين ، دون استثناء ابي منهم ، على الايمان به والتضامن في خدمته ، راح محاضرو الندوة يصوغون أفكارهم ويعرضون نظرياتهم . فكان لنا من كمال جنبلاط « رسالتي كئائب » ، ومن حبيب أبي شهلا « مسارات سياسي » ، ومن صائب سلام رأيه في « بناء الدولة اللبنانية » وتأكيده ان « لبنان واحد لا لبنانان » ، ومن فيليب تقلا « احاديث في السياسة اللبنانية » ، ومن حميد فرنجيه « في سبيل تطوير الحكم » ، ومن محمد كنعو « خواطر في السياسة منذ عهد الانتداب حتى اليوم » ، ومن بيار اده « في سبيل صيانة لبنان في الديمقراطية » ، ومن غسان تويني « الديمقراطية على المحك » .

ثم راح محاضرون آخرون يجولون في جغرافية لبنان وتاريخه موقظين ذاكرة الحاضر للتركيز على الماضي وعلى ما يستثيره من عبر . فكان لنا من فؤاد البستاني « لبنان في ما قبل التاريخ » و « تاريخ لبنان في ساعة » ومن كميل خلاط « مجاد امة » ، ومن شارل قرم « لبنان » ، تراث تليد في الحضارة الانسانية » ، ومن ادوار حنين « عبر من التاريخ اللبناني » ، ومن ارنولد تويني « لبنان » ، تعبير صادق عن التاريخ » ، ومن جواد بولس « الأسس الجغرافية للبنان المعاصر » ، و « الامة والدولة في القديم والحديث » ، و « نواميس التاريخ وعبره » و « لبنان التراث : اكتناز وابداع » .

هذه المحاضرات عن المقومات الاساسية للبنان ماضياً وحاضراً ، كان يتخللها محاضرات غيرها في الحكم الحالي ومبادئه . فمن حيث ان لبنان بلد ديمقراطي برلماني ، تحدث الفرد نقاش عن « اصلاح قانون الانتخابات » ، ونظمنا سلسلة بعنوان « من وحي الاستفتاء الانتخابي » تضمنت ثماني حلقات عن المتن والشوف والبقاع والجنوب والشمال وبيروت ، وكان لنا

المصالح والوحدة الجغرافية قبل كل شيء . على انه منذ القدم كان محافظاً على ذاته ، وعلى ميزاته الخاصة ، وعلى استقلاله الروحي . امور يجب ألا ننساها ، لأنها كيان لبنان : انه همزة الوصل بين الشرق والغرب !

لبنان بلد عربي ، لا شك في ذلك : جغرافيةً واقتصاداً ولغةً وشعوراً بذاته . اما العرق ، فليس في الكون امة خالصة . على ان أخلص ما في نسب لبنان ، في نسب القسم الاكبر من اهله - مسيحيين ومسلمين - هي العروبة .

تربطه بالبلاد العربية صفة العروبة ، كما تربطه بتركيا ، مثلاً ، صفة الشرقية ، ولو لم يغال الاندماجيون بالقول ان هذا الجزء من الكل يجب ان يذوب في الكل ، لما غالى الانكماشيون بالقول انهم من غير نسب . فالتفتيق رد فعل في لبنان ، ليس الا .

اما الايجابيون ، وهم الكثرة الساحقة ، فيعرفون ان لبنان بلد عربي ، ولا يفرطون بشبر واحد من كيانه الحاضر . ليست العروبة هي الوحدة ! ولبنان ليس عربياً وحسب . انه تاج العروبة . انه التاج . أليس التاج صغيراً ، ثميناً ، منمنماً ، متألقاً ، ينبوع اشعاع ؟

ولكن لبنان اكثر من بلد عربي . انه بلد انساني . انه بلد الفكر والروح ، بلد التساهل ، بلد الاخاء . ومنذ القرن الثاني والعشرين قبل ميلاد السيد المسيح ، ولبنان يدرّس اللغات الاجنبية ، ويتلقف ثقافات العالم ، لتشع منه مبلورة صافية . انه نافذة على البحر !

وبصفتيه . العربية والانسانية ، دخل جامعة الدول العربية ومنظمة الامم المتحدة . فاشتركتا في هاتين المنظميتين اعلان عن واقع .

لبنان اذن بلد عربي انساني . وكما ان الانسانية لا تشكل خطراً على استقلاله ، كذلك العروبة لا تشكل خطراً على استقلاله . انه همزة الوصل بين الشرق والغرب ، ولكنه هو ذاته قبل كل شيء .

تلك حقائق ، وليست افكاراً أبشر بها من عندياتي .

من نعمة ثابت « التنظيم الحزبي » ، ومن بيار الجميل « الكتاب حركة ومدرسة » ، ومن تقي الدين الصلح « النداء القومي عقيدة ونضال » ، ومن ادمون نعيم « نظرية التقدمية الاشتراكية وتطبيقها في لبنان » . ومن جميل جبر « في سبيل اشتراكية لبنانية » . ومن بشير العريضي « لبنان السياسي » .

وفي حقل علاقات لبنان الخارجية كان لنا من فؤاد باشا الخطيب « التيارات العربية ومركز لبنان منها » ، ومن كمال جنبلاط واميل البستاني « لبنان والعالم العربي » ، ومن محيي الدين النصولي « رسالة لبنان في الشرق الادنى العربي » ، ومن فؤاد عمون « لبنان في دنيا العرب » . ومن ابراهيم الاحدب « العلاقات الخارجية » ، ومن ميشال شيحا « لبنان في العالم » ، ومن فيليب تقلا « لبنان في الحياة الدولية » ، ومن منوال يونس « حياد لبنان ، أي حياد ؟ » .

واعتربت الندوة ان لبنان مقيم ومغترب ، وان لبنان المغترب هو في الصميم من لبنان المقيم ، فكان لنا من هنري الجميل « علاقات البيت اللبناني بابنائهم المغتربين » ، ومن جوزف ابو خاطر « شهادة في المغتربين » ، ومن فاضل سعيد عقل « خواطر الاغتراب والمغتربين » ، ومن ادوار غره « لبنان المغترب ودوره في النهضة اللبنانية الحديثة » .

هذه النهضة اللبنانية بالذات انما لها دوافعها وأسسها وأساليب عملها . ان لها مرتكزات معنوية ومادية ، ولها فلسفة وفلاسفة ، ولها قادة موجّهون وعمال مخلصون ، ولها بجائنة ومنفذون . ان لها جنبات عدة ، ولها أعمدة تلتقي كلها في القمة التي هي البيت اللبناني . في سبيل تعمير هذا البيت جندت الندوة جهود ابنائهم الواعين جميعاً . سألتهم ، سألت كل واحد منهم دون تمييز او تفریق ، ان يغوص في جنبات اختصاصه وان يطلع منها بزيادة تفكيره وخبرته فيضمّنها نصاً تستغرق تلاته ساعة من الزمن ثم يعتلي منبرها فيلقية محاضرة جامعة على رواد قاعتها .

من ثم تتولى الصحافة الواعية تقديم خلاصة هذه المحاضرة لقرائها ، اي الى الرأي العام . وتعني الندوة بنقل اصداؤها الى أبعد من قاعة ،

فتحدث عن مضمونها في الساعة التاسعة من مساء كل ثلاثاء الى مستمعيها في الاذاعة ، وتبلغ المسؤولين في الحكم وخارج الحكم الاهم مما جاء فيها في حقل الاصلاح والتوجيه . ثم تتولى نشرها في مجلّتها « محاضرات الندوة » لتبقى وثيقة محفوظة لجهود محاضريها في حقل معين .

وهكذا تناولت الندوة عمد البيت اللبناني عماداً عماداً . بعد ان مهدت لها بمحاضرة اولى بعنوان « قيم » لميشال شيحا ، وبمحاضرة ثانية بعنوان « البيت اللبناني : الاسس الاخلاقية » لشارل حلو .

تناولت الاجتماع في لبنان فكان لنا حول تركيب وطننا الاجتماعي : من جواد بولس « الامة اللبنانية وواقعها الاجتماعي » ، ومن زكن شخاخيري « لبنان : تجربة اجتماعية جديدة » ، ومن جمال كرم حرفوش « من التمايز الاجتماعي الى الوحدة الاجتماعية » . اما من حيث الاوضاع الاجتماعية ، فكان لنا : من جورج حكيم « تنظيم الانماء الاقتصادي والاجتماعي في لبنان » ، ومن جوزف شادر « المشاريع الكبرى ورفع المستوى » ، ومن رضا وحيد ثلاثيته الرائعة : « العدالة الاجتماعية » و « الضمان الاجتماعي ثروة انسانية في حضارتنا الصناعية » و « لبنان الاجتماعي » . وكان لنا ، الى ذلك ، من محمد مزهر « الحركة العمالية في لبنان » . ومن الرائد النقايبين فؤاد دريان والياس المبر محاضرتان عن النقابات في لبنان .

وتناولت الندوة الاقتصاد في لبنان ، فكان لنا من سعيد حماده « مشاكلنا الاقتصادية وكيف نعالجها » ، ومن غبريال منسى « تعمير الاقتصاد اللبناني » ، ومن جوزف نجار « تجهيز لبنان الاقتصادي » ، ومن ادمون طحيني « التيارات الاقتصادية في لبنان » ، ومن عبد الرحمن سحراني « لبنان بين السياسة والانماء الاقتصادي » ، ومن ادوار نون « مستقبل لبنان الاقتصادي » ، ومن جوزف اوغورليان « الشؤون الاقتصادية والمالية في لبنان » ، ومن البر بدر « نحو آفاق اقتصادية جديدة » ، ومن اندره تويني « الاصلاح المالي في لبنان » ، ومن جميل شهاب « مراقبة الاموال العامة » . ومن عبد الرحمن الطيار « حقول الاقتصاد وتفاعلها » ،

ومن خطار شبلي « الموازنة اداة توجيه » ، ومن امين الحافظ « لبنان الاقتصادي » .

ويتفرع الاقتصاد عامة الى صناعة فيتحدث عنها ، في من يتحدث على منبرنا ، مصطفى النصولي ومير ديب عطية ، والى زراعة فيتحدث عنها ابراهيم عبد العال وفؤاد سعادة وفؤاد نجار ، والى تجارة فيتحدث عنها موسى مبارك ومكسيم دي دوما وجيرار بوير ، والى سياحة واصطياف فيتحدث عنهما جورج ريس وميشال توما ونجيب علم الدين ، والى مواصلات فيتحدث عنها فؤاد شادر ، والى تصميم ومشاريع وانشاءات فيتحدث عنها موريس الجميل وسليم لحود وعثمان الدنا ولويس جوزف لوبره .

وتناولت الندوة على منبرها الادارة في لبنان وهي العمود الفقري لاستقامة العمل الحكومي ، فكان لنا من جان نفاع « الادارة » ومن عدنان اسكندر « لبنان الاداري » .

وحالف التوفيق تعيين قيمين جدد عام ١٩٦٠ على محافظات لبنان الخمس فكان لنا سلسلة من المحاضرات حول « لبنان في محافظات » عالج حلقاتها نصري سلهب وحليم ابو عز الدين وغالب الترك وفوزي البردويل واميل نبي واختتمها بحديث عن « النهوض بالمحافظات » وزير الشؤون البلدية والريفية آنذاك عبدالله مشنوق . ولقد صدرت هذه السلسلة الممتعة في مجلد واحد من مجلتي « محاضرات الندوة » ، ثم نقلت الى الانكليزية باشراف احد محاضري السلسلة حليم ابو عز الدين ونشرتها مؤسسة خياط في بيروت .

وتناولت الندوة على منبرها عماداً هو في الاساس من البيت اللبناني ، عنيت الثقافة . الثقافة بجانبها التعليمي التربوي عامة والجامعي خاصة ، وبجانبها العلمي الصرف ، وبجانبها الفكري الفني الجمالي المبدع . مجموع المحاضرات التي عابجت المواضيع الثقافية في مختلف جنباتها يبلغ المتين ، ويعز عليّ جداً ألا يتسع المجال هنا حتى لذكر عناوينها وسرد الاسماء التي اقترنت بها من كبار المسؤولين والمربين والاختصاصيين

والعلماء والادباء والشعراء والفنانين والنقاد والفلاسفة .

واسمى درجات الثقافة الروحانيات . وفي رأينا ان العائلات الروحية التي يتألف منها لبنان اليوم وارثة اعجاب ما كانت لتتم لولا ارتكاز بناتها على مصادر وصلت بين الارض والسماء فجعلت الاناسيين يعيشون على أرضهم بعض ايام السماء مما هي ملأى بالنهضة والتعمير والتقاوة والمحبة وباسهام المخلوقات في عمل الخالق الدائم . بناة الاعجاب هؤلاء نحن من سلالتهم ، ننحدر واياهم من جذور روحية واحدة ، عبر المسيح ومحمد .

هكذا ، ولان الندوة تؤمن ايماناً ثابتاً بأن الدين اس متين في حياة الاوطان والامم ، وبأن الروحانيات هي من صميم تقاليد وطننا ، وبأن لبنان وحده بين البلدان يستطيع القيام بالتجربة الكبرى لتفاعل الاديان السماوية وملتقاها جميعاً في الخير والمحبة ، — لان الندوة تؤمن هذا الايمان المثلث ، نظمت في العام الفاتت سلسلة من المحاضرات بموضوع « المسيحية والاسلام في لبنان » ، توجت بها محاولاتها السابقة حول الشأن الديني ، وكان لها الصدى المستحب العميق الفاعل هنا في لبنان وفي كل محفل عالمي يعنى بالانسان الكامل ويربطه بخالقه عبر انبيائه ورسله . ويطيب لي هنا ان اتوه بالتعاون الاخوي المثمر الذي استقام بين الندوة ومحاضري هذه السلسلة ، وبتعاونهم التام في ما بينهم . فمع نصري سلهب وجورج خضر وفرنسوا دوبره لانور ويوسف ابو حلقة وموسى الصدر وحسن صعب ويواكيم مبارك وصبحي الصالح ، ومن انضم الى حركتهم او سينضم اليها تؤمل الندوة بأن تسير قدماً في الحوار بين المسيحية والاسلام لما فيه خير الجميع وعزة لبنان .

ولبنان فتي . وفي لبنان فتيان .

ولبنان شاب . وفي لبنان شباب . ومقاليد الامور بدأت تتسلمها ايديهم ، وهم مدعوون سنة بعد سنة الى الحلول محل الاجيال التي تقدمتهم . الا ان لهم قضية بل قضايا . الا انهم يجتازون ازمة بل أزمت ، منها الثقافية من حيث التوجيه المهني ، ومنها الدينية الاخلاقية ، ومنها الوطنية ، ومنها المصيرية الشخصية . لقد استدعت الندوة ممثلين عنهم الى منبرها

للاستماع الى شهاداتهم حول هذه الشؤون جميعاً . وطلبت من اصدقائهم
المرين ان يحاولوا رسم شخصية هؤلاء الشبان والشابات ويتحدثوا عن قلقهم
بتفهم وانفتاح ويعرضوا عليهم ميثاقاً في ما بينهم يساعدهم على اكتشاف
انفسهم وعلى تجاوز قلقهم وبلاهة ما به يصطدمون فيصبحون شباباً أمثل
للبنان أمثل .

وبالنظر الى واقع المجتمع اللبناني نظمت الندوة محاضرات خاصة بالفتاة
والمرأة في لبنان تحدثت فيها ممثلات عنهما : بينهن رائدات موجبات
وشابات ناهضات .

وعالجت الندوة على منبرها شؤوناً اخرى من الحياة اللبنانية . عالجت
شؤون الوظيفة عندنا ، وشؤون المهنة ، وشؤون الامن ، والشؤون الصحية .
واعترت ، في النقطة من المطاف التي بلغت اليها هذه السنة . ان التطور
الذي ادركه العالم اليوم يحتم قيام مؤسسات حكومية وأهلية تعنى كل منها
بالشؤون الموكولة اليها وتكون مجهزة التجهيز المادي والبشري للملائم للقيام
بمهامها . أدركت ذلك فنظمت سلسلة محاضرات بعنوان « لبنان الغد
ومؤسساته الفاعلة » ، فكان في برنامجها احاديث عن المؤسسات الاقتصادية
بالتعاون مع خطار شبلي ومحمد عطاالله ، وعن الجيش بالتعاون مع قيادته
العليا ، وعن المؤسسات النقابية بالتعاون مع فؤاد دريان والياس الهبر ،
وعن المؤسسات الاعلامية بالتعاون مع جبران حايك ، وعن المؤسسات
الاجتماعية بالتعاون مع انور الخطيب ، وعن المؤسسات السياسية بالتعاون
مع بهيج طباره ، وعن المؤسسات الطلابية بالتعاون مع مارون كسرواني
وعمر زين وانطوان فؤاد سعد . وفي تشرين المقبل ستواصل سلسلتها هذه
بمحاضرات عن الجامعة اللبنانية ، وعن مصرف لبنان ، وعن المؤسسات
الثقافية والروحية ، وعن الشعب . ثم تعقد مؤتمراً مصغراً بين محاضري
السلسلة وبعض المعنيين بمؤسساتنا لتطلع منه بتوصيات حول لبنان الغد
وما يقتضيه من عمل ضمن تطور واع سريع .

وشواغل لبنان ، كما سبق ان قلت في مستهل حديثي ، لا يمكن ان
تكون شواغل داخلية فقط . انما تأتي الى جانبها وفي الطليعة شواغله

العربية منفردة مع كل دولة عربية شقيقة او مجتمعة في العائلة العربية في
نطاق جامعة الدول العربية ، ثم اهتمامه بالشؤون الدولية منفردة مع كل
دولة اجنبية او مجتمعة في منظمة الامم المتحدة . ولقد أولت الندوة اهتمامها
هذه الشؤون جميعاً ، وفي طليعتها قضية فلسطين وقيام دولة اسرائيل
العنصرية التوسعية على أرضها اغتصاباً وعدواناً ، فعرضت لها في عشرات
المحاضرات بالتعاون مع قادة الفكر السياسي المرموقين في لبنان ومع
زملائهم في القيادة الفكرية في كل دولة عربية وفي جامعة الدول العربية
وفي معظم الدول الاجنبية والمؤسسات العالمية .

وكان للفلسفة نصيبها على منبر الندوة . فأطلت منه نخبة من رائيها
بينهم كمال الحاج وشارل مالك وجان - ماري دومناك ومحمد عزيز
الخباني . وفي العام ١٩٥٣ ، اكتشفنا رينه حبشي بعد قراءة كتاب له
بعنوان « على مستوى الانسان » وبضع مقالات تتم عن اعتناق صاحبها
الالتزام في الفلسفة . فذهبنا الى القاهرة في شباط من تلك السنة للملاقاته
والتعرف اليه عن قرب والاستعلام عن « المركز الفلسفي » الذي كان
قد انشأه هناك . وفي الربيع كان حبشي بيننا يحاضر عن « مصر » في
سلسلة « العالم العربي ١٩٥٣ » وبعد بضعة أشهر اعدت له الندوة سبل
الاستيطان في ربوع بلدنا . وهو ما يزال يعمل في لبنان عضواً في عائلة
الندوة . ومواطناً معلماً موجهاً ، ومحاضراً ممتازاً تعتر الندوة بأنها استقبلته
على منبرها حوالي اربعين مرة في مدى عشر سنوات ونشرت له نتاجه
بالفرنسية والعربية وأفادت رواد قاعتها وقارئي مجلتها من ينبوع علمه وتفكيره .

• • •

ذاك بعض من كل في حقل المحاضرات تلقي من على منبرنا بانتظام
منذ عشرين عاماً ما بين تشرين الاول وحزيران من كل سنة على اساس
محاضرة اسبوعية مساء كل اثنين وأحياناً محاضرتين .

غير ان للندوة وجوه نشاط اخرى خارجة عن ميدان المحاضرات
العامية . ومن بين هذه الوجوه وجه تفخر بانها تفردت فيه ، وهو تعهدها

نشر نتاج خليل رامز سركيس . اننا نرى في اديتنا الكبير أجمل قلم عربي على أعقق تفكير . ونحن سعداء بأن نكون قد اسهمنا في نشر مؤلفاته تحت كل سماء وزرعناها بذور خير في النفوس جميعاً .

ومن نشاطات الندوة الجانبية تعاونها وكل فريق يعمل للبنان على صعيد الفكر الفاعل . فلقد اسهمنا في تنظيم اسبوع الاخطل الصغير واسبوع سعيد تقي الدين ، وعقدنا ملتقى في بيت الندوة بين المستشرقين والادباء اللبنانيين في نطاق اسبوع امين الريحاني الذي تولى احياءه في الصيف المنصرم المجلس الثقافي للمتن الاعلى . ثم اننا كنا في عداد الذين اسسوا الرابطة اللبنانية للآداب والفنون ، وفي عداد الذين انشأوا ندوة الاثنيين الادبية ، وفي عداد الذين نظموا مؤتمر الدراسات الايطالية العربية . ولقد وضعنا جميع طاقات الندوة تحت تصرف قيادة الجيش عندما صممت منذ بضع سنوات على وضع كتاب «التنشئة الوطنية الانسانية» الذي نعهده مثلاً ممتازاً كان الجيش سباقاً به لكل عمل في التربية المدنية ، وعندما ارتأت تعديل القسم الثقافي من برنامج دروسها في المدرسة الحربية . اما وجود الندوة الى جانب «الشبيبة الموسيقية» في لبنان فقد أسهم ولو اسهاماً متواضعاً في تمكينها من اجتياز المراحل الصعبة في المباريات اللبنانية للتأليف الموسيقي وهي التي تنظمها منذ ثلاث سنوات باشراف لجنة دولية من كبار الموسيقيين العالميين .

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تلك كانت التيارات الادبية والفكرية التي استثارها الندوة عند الادباء والمفكرين في لبنان . وذلك كان المناخ الذي عملت على ايجاده طوال عشرين عاماً لخلق ادب يلتزم جميع القضايا الحياتية في لبنان وينهض بالانسان على ارضه . تلك التيارات وذلك الادب قدرها الحاكم في لبنان ، وتجاوب معها الرأي العام عند ابناؤه ، واعتبرتها المحافل الثقافية في الخارج مصدر اعلام وعنصر تفاعل ، فاذا قاعة الندوة واحة يؤمها الشباب الواعي للاستماع والاكتناز ، واذا بيتها دار كل معني بالشأن الفكري ، واذا مجلتها

«محاضرات الندوة» ومنشوراتها موسوعة يرجع اليها كل راغب في التعرف الى لبنان وترتادها الاجيال الطالعة سعياً وراء ادب الشهادة ، واذا بها تجهد ليل نهار مع اصدقائها لتجهز نفسها مؤسسة ثقافية لبنانية فاعلة ، بكل ما في هذه التعابير من معنى .

ولكن ، ما لي اتحدث عن الندوة وكأنها من الماضي وفيه ؟ الندوة حركة قبل ان تكون اي شيء آخر . وهي في محاض مستمر لولادات جديدة وبدايات لا تعرف الهدوء والركود .

انها في العشرين من سني عمرها . ولناسبة بلوغها هذه السن ضفر لها التقاد والمحبون اكاليل زاهرة من دفق عواطفهم ، اضافت اليها باقة جديدة قبل ان أتناول الكلام امامكم ، السيدة عقراوي التي تلطفت بتقدمي اليكم .

واني ، اذ اتقبل ذلك الذي قيل بي بخالص الشكر وعميق التأثر ، أتقبله لأحوله بدوري الى الندوة والى الرفقاء هنا ممن عرفوا بهذا الملتقى فشاؤوا ان يشتركوا فيه . أحولّه الى زوجتي - صانعة الندوة الاولى الى جانبي والعاملة فيها منذ انطلاقتها ، والى ابنتي امينة سرّها العامة منذ اربع سنوات ، والى رفقاء الفكرة ، بذرة مؤملة في ندوة الاثني عشر ثم شثلة ناهدة في الندوة الحالية . أحولّه الى عمدة الندوة والى مجلس امنائها ، والى اصدقائها كباراً في العمر او صغاراً ، الى السلطة التي ترعى نشاطنا وتساندنا للمضي فيه ، الى الصحفيين والادباء والشعراء والفنانين . أحولّه الى الحاضرين هنا ، والى الغائبين خارج هذه القاعة ، والى كل من اسهم في بناء الندوة اسهاماً خيراً وساعد على نموها وتطورها ، والسلام عليكم .

أدباء المهجر

لسروز غرّيب

نظّم ادباء المهجر اذا نحن حاولنا عرض انتاجهم وتقييمه في ساعة من الزمن ، بعد ان وضع في درسهام عشرات المؤلفات والأبحاث القيمة وما زال أدبهم مفتقرا الى مزيد من الدرس والاستقصاء .

لكني وقد رضيت بمعالجة الموضوع رغم اتساعه ، رأيت ان احصر كلامي في بعض البارزين بينهم ، مشيرة الى الباقي اشارات عابرة ، محاولة التعليق والمناقشة بالقدر الذي يسمح به المقام .

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في القرن التاسع عشر كان لبنان يتبوأ مركز الصدارة في حركة البعث الادبي . فقد سبق جميع الاقطار العربية الى الاتصال بالغرب عن طريق البعثات الدينية التي كانت تقصد رومة لاقتباس العلم ويعود بعض افرادها الى لبنان لانشاء المدارس . وكانت الارشاليات الدينية الاجنبية التي تدفقت على لبنان طوال ذلك القرن تتنافس في انشاء المعاهد والمؤسسات العلمية في ربوعه وبفضلها نشأت عندنا حركة الترجمة والبعث اللغوي وتمكن اللبنانيون من التمرس بعدد من اللغات الاجنبية بالاضافة الى لغة البلاد وهذا التمرس كان العامل الاول في سبق اللبنانيين غيرهم الى التجديد . وفيما كان محمد علي وخلفاؤه في مصر عاكفين على تعزيز الجيش وترجمة العلوم التطبيقية ، موزعي الجهود بين نهضة حربية واقتصادية وثقافية ، كان قادة النهضة في لبنان ، امثال ناصيف اليازجي وبطرس البستاني واحمد فارس الشدياق ، مكيين على احياء اللغة الفصحى وبعث امجادها

الماضية وتجريدها مما علق بها في عصور الانحطاط من شوائب الركافة والبطانة والابتذال . واصبح الادب والشعر للبنانيين آنذاك مورد ارتزاق ، الى جانب كونه باب شهرة ونباهة وترفيه . فكان منهم المؤلفون والمترجمون والمعلمون والصحفيون ، ومنهم المداحون والرثاؤون وادباء المجالس والمناير ، وبلغ بهم الشغف بالعلم والادب حد الوله واستمر فيهم سنة حتى اليوم . يقول فؤاد كنعان ذاكرة ايام كان طالبا في مدرسة الحكمة في مطلع هذا القرن :

« عهد ذاك كان دستورنا قولا سائرا لأمين تقي الدين :

« كل الغنى عندنا مالا ومنزلة بيت من الشعر من غناه اغنانا »

عهد ذاك (القول لفؤاد كنعان) كان لبنان بأسره شاعرا . . . وكانت الرومنطيقية الساذجة خير ما يوصف به لبنان . »

ليس فؤاد كنعان مغاليا في زعمه فقد استبدل اللبنانيون منذ ذلك الحين دولة السيف بدولة القلم . من لم يكن فيهم شاعرا بالفصحى كان زجالا او قوالا وكان السكان فريقا ينظم او يحاول النظم وفريقا يروي الشعر ويتندر بالابيات السائرة والامثال من فصحي وشعبية .

لكن الادب اللبناني والمصري في هذا الطور لم يجاوز مرحلة التقليد واحتذاء السلف ولم يزره التجديد الا لماما . يذكر مارون عبود في « رواد النهضة الحديثة » في القرن التاسع عشر ، بضعة شعراء يلمح فيهم فجر التجديد ويعد بينهم البارودي المصري الذي يقول فيه انه « اعاد الى الشعر رونقه القديم » ، فكيف يصح ان يدعوه مجددا؟ ويذكر معه اسعد رستم وخليل الخوري وشاكر الخوري الذين اقتصر تجديدهم على ادماج بعض النكات في اشعارهم .

ان التجديد في ذلك القرن كاد ينحصر في بث الافكار والفلسفات الغربية الحديثة ، على نحو ما نجده عند فرنسيس مراهس الحلبي صاحب « غابة الحق » وهي حكاية من نوع اليوتوبيا او المملكة الخيالية . فرح

انطون اللبناني الذي حمل على منكبيه رسالة الفكر الحر وكان اول من دعا الى فصل الدين عن الدولة ، اديب اسحق ، بطرس البستاني ، سليم البستاني ، فارس الشدياق ، نجيب الحداد ، وسواهم ممن دعاهم مارون عبود ادباء النضال لانهم انشأوا النهضة الصحفية في لبنان ومصر ووضعوا اساس الحركة القصصية والمسرحية وناضلوا في سبيل الاصلاح الاجتماعي وتحرير المرأة . اما اساليب التعبير فكانت تحاول تقليد المتنبي في الشعر او ابن المقفع والجاحظ في النثر او تبسط العبارة للتقريب بين الفصحى والعامية ، لكنها لم تخلق جديدا .

لم تكن حركة الادب المهجري الا امتدادا لحركة الادب في لبنان المقيم . نبتت من لبنان لكنها ثارت على كل ما في لبنان والاقطار العربية من اوضاع ادبية واجتماعية . دعت الى الهدم وخلق الحديد ووضعت اساس ثورة جذرية شاملة لم يسبق لها مثيل في العالم العربي .

ويحضرنا السؤال :

كيف استطاع اللبنانيون ان ينشئوا في ديار غربتهم ادبا يفوق في اهميته ومستواه ما انتجوه في لبنان ؟

اذا كان اللبنانيون في مصر هم الذين اسسوا صحافة مصر ومسرحها ووضعوا اصول البحث العلمي في التاريخ والادب والعلوم - اقصدهنا زيدان وصروف وتقلا وبركات والشميل وسليم البستاني ونقولا الحداد - فلأنهم وجدوا في قطر عربي اللغة ، مفتقر الى مثقفين يساهمون في بناء نهضته . اما في الاميركتين فكيف نفسر نشوء تلك الحركة الادبية الفريدة في بابها ؟

السريكمين اولاً في كثرة عدد المغتربين الذين اصبح عددهم بين ١٨٩٩ و١٩١٠ ، اي في خلال عشر سنوات ، يزيد على ستين الفا . وقد امتازوا اجمالا بروح المغامرة والطموح وحملوا الى ديار الهجرة حبههم للعلم والادب وكان للبيئة الاميركية التي وفرت لهم من الحرية ما لم يتوفر لهم في بلادهم فضل كبير في اذكاء نشاطهم وللاغتراب فضل آخر في فتح

قرايمهم واطلاق مشاعرهم .

فكان المهاجر اللبناني يحمل الكشّة على ظهره والكتاب في يده . ومن المغتربين من تركوا الكشّة لأجل الكتاب او جمعوا بين مهنة التجارة وحرقة الادب . وبلغ المغتربون في ظرف قصير من قوة المركز الاقتصادي ما امكنهم من تأسيس الصحف وتشجيع الموهوبين منهم على الانتاج الادبي . ورد في كتاب « الشعر العربي في المهجر الاميركي » لوديع ديب انه في الربع الاول من هذا القرن صدر في الولايات المتحدة ٧٩ جريدة ومجلة عربية ، في المكسيك ١٧ ، في البرازيل ٩٥ ، في الارجتين ٥٨ ، في تشيلي ثمان ، هذا عدا ما صدر في اقطار اخرى من المهاجر اللبنانية .

لم يقتصر نشاطهم الادبي على الصحافة والانتاج الفردي بل بلغ من القوة ما مهد لاصحابه سبيل التنظيم والتكامل فتألف من ادباء اميركا سنة ١٩٢١ رابطة دعيت « الرابطة القلمية » اخذت تصدر لعضائها مجموعة سنوية من الشعر والنثر . كان عميد الرابطة جبران وسكرتيرها نعيمه وعضاؤها ايليا ابو ماضي ، نسيب عريضة ، وليم كاتسفليس ، رشيد ايوب ، عبد المسيح حداد .

وفي اميركا الجنوبية تألفت العصبة الاندلسية بعد الرابطة بثلاث عشرة سنة ، رئيسها حبيب مسعود ومن اعضائها ميشال معلوف ، رشيد الخوري (الشاعر القروي) الياس فرحات وسواهم . وكان لمؤسسيها اهداف مماثلة لاهداف الرابطة من حيث الدعوة الى التجديد وتشجيع الانتاج الادبي لكن الاولى كانت اكثر تحررا وابعد أثرا .

في بحثنا لنشوء الحركة الادبية في المهجر ، يجب ان نبدأ بذكر الاديب الذي يعدّه جورج صيدح صاحب « ادبنا وادباؤنا في المهجر » وسواه من باحثي هذا الموضوع ، ابا للحركة وموطئا لسبيلها . أمين الريحاني الذي هاجر الى اميركا سنة ١٨٨٨ وهو بعد في الثالثة عشرة من العمر وكان يلهم بالعربية والفرنسية فتمكن من اتقان الانكليزية والتقى اول خطبه سنة ١٩٠٠ في موضوع التسامح الديني ولعله اول خطاب عربي يلتمى في

حفل من المغتربين حينذاك . وفي سنة ١٩٠٢ نشر اول كتاب له ، في نيويورك ، وعنوانه « موجز تاريخ الثورة الفرنسية » . من هذه التواريخ يتضح لنا انه أقدم أديب لبناني مغترب في اميركا الشمالية التي كان قد سبقه اليها معلمه نعوم مكرزل مؤسس جريدة « الهدى » واقدم صحافي لبناني في تلك الديار .

ومع انه لم ينضم الى اية عصبة شمالية او جنوبية ، لانه كان دائم التنقل بين الشرق والغرب ، فله في الادب المهجري فضل الرائد ، كما كان رائدا في رحلاته الى مجاهل الجزيرة العربية . كان الريحاني اول من تبني مبادئ الاصلاح الاجتماعي وبث فكرة الثورة على التعصب الطائفي وعلى استبداد رجال الدين ، هذه الفكرة التي حمل لواءها احمد فارس الشدياق وأديب اسحق وفرح انطون في الوطن الأم . ففي سنة ١٩٠٣ نشر الريحاني كتاب « المحالفة الثلاثية في المملكة الحيوانية » وفيه ثورة عنيفة على رجال الدين ودعوة الى دين انساني عام . وهو اول من خاطب الحرية بقوله : « متى تحولين وجهك نحو الشرق ايتها الحرية ؟ » كما خاطبها بعده جبران بلسان خليل الكافر فقال : « من اعماق هذه الاعماق ناديك ايتها الحرية فاسمعينا . »

وقد سبق باقي الادباء المهجريين الى اسلوب الشعر المنشور متأثرا بطريقة الشاعر الاميركي والت ويتمن فنشر « هتاف الاودية » في ظرف مبكر ، واعتمد جبران بعده هذا الاسلوب متأثرا بالريحاني او بسواه فكان ثره الشعري فتحا جديدا وعليه قامت شهرته في العالم العربي .

ويعتقد ان الريحاني كان سابقا الى وضع الامثال والحكم في ما كان ينشره تحت عنوان « بذور للزارعين » مما نجد له مثيلا عند جبران في كتبه « السابق » و « المجنون » و « رمل وزبد » وفصل موضوعه « حفنة من رمال الشاطيء » . وايضا عند نعيمه في « كرم على درب » .

وفي كل حال . اذا كنا لا نستطيع دائما التثبت من صحة الاقوال التي تعزو الى الريحاني او الى سواه فضل السبق في بعض الفنون والاساليب الكتابية او في بعض الافكار والاتجاهات . لا نشك في ان ادباء المهجر

تأثر بعضهم ببعض واقتبس بعضهم من بعض بصورة واعية او لا واعية ، وعلى هذا الاساس يصح ان نطلق عليهم اسم مدرسة ، مع علمنا بأن لكل منهم شخصيته المميزة .

في جبران عميد « الرابطة القلمية » يقول احسان عباس ومحمد نجم في كتاب « الشعر العربي في المهجر » انه كان « استاذ المهجريين والنور الذي تعشو اليه ابصارهم » وعنه اخذوا فكرة الغاب ، رمز الحياة الحرة المنعقدة من نير التقاليد ، التي يرى صاحبها الكون وحدة تامة تتعاقق فيها الاضداد وتمحي الثنائيات وتتوحد الازمنة ويذوب الشر في الخير . فلسفة الغاب تؤلف خلاصة المواكب ، القصيدة الطويلة التي نشرها جبران سنة ١٩١٨ ، وتعد من بواكير آثاره الصوفية ، وهي التي الهمت باقي شعراء المهجر ، في رأي صاحبي « الشعر العربي في المهجر » ، فكرة الثورة على الثنائية او الايمان بوحدة الوجود . الا أن هذه العقيدة تتخلل ايضا مقالات جبران في « دمعة وابتسامة » التي سبقت « المواكب » كما أن عقيدة التناسخ تؤلف موضوع اولى قصصه في « عرائس المروج » وهي اقدم من « دمعة وابتسامة » .

اذا عددنا الريحاني رائد الثورة الاجتماعية في الادب المهجري ، جاز لنا ان نعد جبران رائد الاتجاه التأملّي الميتافيزيقي ، او موضوع الاهتمام بمشكلات الانسان والمصير ، الذي شمل بطابعه شعراء الرابطة وسواهم من المهجريين . يسيطر على نعيمه في ديوانه « همس الجفون » وفي مقالاته وقصصه الصوفية . يراود ايليا ابي ماضي في « الجدال » و « الحماثل » حيث نلاحظ ان قصيدة العنقاء التي توحي ان السعادة شيء في باطن الانسان ولا تتوقف على الخارج ، تؤدي عين الفكرة التي عبر عنها جبران في احدى مقالات « دمعة وابتسامة » وعنوانها « بيت السعادة » .

التساؤل الميتافيزيقي يغمر ديوان « الارواح الخائفة » لنسيب عريضة ، يغري رشيد ايوب في آثاره المتأخرة « أغاني الدرويش » « وهي الدنيا » وندره حداد في « أوراق الخريف » ، يمتد تأثيره الى فوزي المعلوف في

« على بساط الريح » ، وفي كثير من شعره الكئيب . ويغزو غير المهجريين من شعراء الاقطار العربية نظير جماعة ابولو ، ابو شادي وعلي محمود طه في مصر والشايفي التونسي وسواهم .

ان النقاد الذين تستهويهم النفحة الذاتية الاصيلة عند ادباء المهجر ويتذوقون ما في آثارهم من تأملات جديدة على الشعر العربي ، يجابهون فريقا آخر من النقاد المعاصرين ، ينكرون ما يسمونه بالموقف السلبي ، موقف الحيرة ، والتناقض والحرب من الواقع عند المهجريين ، ولا يقنعهم الحل الصوفي الذي ينتهي اليه اكثر الشعر التأملّي .

في وسعنا ان نرد على هؤلاء الناقدين بقولنا ان الاتجاه الصوفي عند المهجريين ليس في كل حالاته سلبيا او تشاؤميا . فقد تناولوا من التصوف عناصره الانسانية التي تنسجم مع الفلسفة الكلاسيكية ، نظير مبدأ وحدة الوجود الذي يرى الله روحا موزعة في الكون وقد وجد له اتباع بين الفلاسفة القدامى من فيثاغورس وافلوطين وابن عربي الى فلاسفة العصور الحديثة نظير اسبينوزا وبين المعاصرين تيار دو شاردان ولو نظرنا الى هذا المبدأ من زاوية الفكر الفلسفي لوجدنا فيه على تنوع اشكاله ومفاهيمه كثيرا من الصحة . لأنه يعبر عن وحدة الحياة وتمازج اصولها ، عن وحدة الكون والزمن وانتظام الجميع في قوة شاملة تسري في كل من الاجزاء كبيرها وصغيرها كما يجري النسغ في عروق الشجرة فيحييها . اما القول بوحدة البشر فتشبهه الحكمة القائلة « ان الناس مهما اختلفوا متشابهون . »

ولا بد من القول ان شعراء الغرب الرومنطيين الذي تأثرت بهم حركة الادب المهجري هم باعثة العقيدة الصوفية ومجددوها . كان كولردج ووردسورث يدينان بنظرية شبيهة بنظرية التذكر الافلاطونية ، وكان شلي يؤمن بالنفس الكونية التي آمن بها الافلاطونيون واصبحت محور صوفية جبران . ومن الرومنطيين والرمزيين من آمنوا بالتقمص او بحياة سابقة للحياة الحاضرة منهم أدغار ألن بو ، بلايك ، وردسورث ، جيرار دونرفال ، بودلير ، رامبو . وفي اميركا الشمالية كان الاديب

الفيلسوف امرسن الذي عاش في القرن التاسع عشر ، من المؤمنين بالنفس الكونية او الكلية ، وبالتقمص وسيلة لتطهير الذات ، ونموها بالولادات المتتابعة لتصل في النهاية الى حالة الكمال ، وهو عين المبدأ الذي نجمه في تصوف جبران ونعيمه .

ليس غريبا ان يجتذب ادب الرومنطين ادباءنا من مغربين وسواهم فينقادوا له ويقعوا تحت تأثيره . لان هذا الادب لم يكن الا محاولة جبارة لتوسيع افق الفن والادب الغربيين ، بالاغتراف من ينابيع جديدة شرقية ، كان التراث العربي قسما منها . فكان للمزج الرومنطي الموفق بين عناصر غربية وشرقية أثره وسحره في ابناء الشرق جميعا اذ وجدوا فيه نفوسهم ، وقالوا « هذي بضاعتنا ردت إلينا . »

لقد اجتذبتهم عقيدة وحدة الوجود لأنه منها تنفرع مبادئ اخرى انسانية : مبدأ المحبة الشاملة والاخاء البشري والمسؤولية الجماعية التي تبنتها ايضا الفلسفة الوجودية ، حين تثبت أن لا تحرر للفرد بدون تحرر المجموع ، يقابل ذلك في مبدأ وحدة الوجود : « لا خلاص للفرد بدون خلاص المجموع » وهو من مبادئ صوفية جبران . من هذه المبادئ ايضا الدعوة الى تطهير الذات وتنميتها وتحقيق الذات العليا او جوهر الذات حيث يكمن في الانسان سر الكمال ومصدر الألوهية . بهذا يلتقي الصوفيون بمبدأ التفوق على الذات السوبرماني عند نيتشه ومبدأ تخطي الذات عند الوجوديين .

فليس تصوف المهجريين بأسا وخمولا لكنه عمل وعطاء - « لأن العمل هو المحبة سافرة عن وجهها » ، به يتصل الانسان بالانسان وباللله وبه يسعى لادراك ذاته العليا ، لان في قلب كل انسان كنوزا من المعرفة عليه ان يجد في اكتشافها . في قلبه العالم المحجوب الذي سعى اليه المتصوفون منذ القديم حين قالوا : « من رأى نفسه رأى حقيقة الكون ومن ينزع نقاب الظواهر عن بصره يشاهد اذ ذاك ذاته ومن ير ذاته ير جوهر الحياة المجرى . » هنا يلتقي الصوفيون وأتباعهم الرومنطيون بعلماء النفس المعاصرين لأن الذات العليا في رأي الكثيرين انما ترمز الى عالم اللاوعي أي المنطقة التي بعدها علماء النفس مصدر الخلق ومنبع الالهام الذي منه

تنطلق آيات العبقريه .

وقد يكون الاتجاه الصوفي البارز عند المهجريين وليد رغبتهم في حل مشكلة الأديان والطوائف التي ما برح اختلافها وتعددتها مصدر تفرقة وتضاغن في الشرق العربي . وبما انهم لم يؤثروا مذهبها على آخر ولم يتعصبوا لطائفة ما ، تراءى لهم ان التصوف هو المذهب الذي تدوب به الفروق ، وتلتقي فيه الأديان على صعيد واحد ، وتتساوى البيع والجموع ، اذ يجعل الانسان اخا للانسان واخا للطبيعة حيوانها ونباتها .

فاذا صح هذا الظن ، تبين لنا ان ادباء المهجر كانوا في عقيدتهم الصوفية ذوي رسالة اجتماعية انسانية ، منسجمين مع مذهبهم الادبي القائل ان الادب يجب ان يؤدي رسالة ويبث فكرة فلا يكون اداة زخرف لفظي ولا وسيلة لهو وترفيه .

وعلى مثال ادباء النضال في القرن التاسع عشر ، الافغاني ومحمد عبده والكواكبي وفرح انطون وولي الدين يكن ، نشدوا الاصلاح عن طريق الهدم والبناء لكن ثورتهم كانت اوسع نطاقا وارحب آفاقا . كانت ثورة جذرية تناولت الاوضاع الادبية والفكرية والاجتماعية . مما سأسبغه في ما يلي :

دشن المهجريون في تاريخ النقد الأدبي عهدا جديدا لأنهم فهموا الأدب والفن على ضوء جديد . فهموه خلقا وتجديدا لا اتباعا وتقليدا . وقد تبلور مذهبهم الادبي في « غربال » نعيمه الذي يمكن ان نعدده دستور الرابطة القلمية بل دستور المدرسة المهجرية في الشمال والجنوب . ولعله اول كتاب نقدي يعرف الادب تعريفا صحيحا اذ يقول انه انتاج شخصي ينبع من نفس الاديب لا موضوعا يفرض عليه من الخارج . هذا التعريف يقابل قولنا اليوم ان الأدب والفن تجربة ذاتية . وينفي من الادب صفة التقليد والصنعة كما ينفي الادب المسخر والمرتبطة بغاية نفعية كالمدح والثناء والهجاء .

ثم يقول ان الادب حاجة روحية . محوره الانسان والانسان مخلوق

متميز عن الحيوان فيه نفحة من روح الله . وقيمة الادب في ما يبرزه من الروح الانسانية الخالدة . وهو بذلك يربط الادب بغاية مثالية ويعارض فكرة الفن للفن او الفن لذاته . كما يلح على هذه الناحية في فصل آخر يقول فيه ان الادب تمثيل للحياة بجميع مظاهرها . فنظرته هنا تتصف ايضا بالواقعية . وفي تعريفه للشاعر يقول انه نبي وفيلسوف ، مصور وموسيقى وكاهن يخدم اله الحقيقة والجمال ويرى ما لا يراه غيره . وفي هذا التعريف يجمع بين الكلاسيكية والرومنطية لانه يربط الادب بالغاية التهذيبية ويجعل الشاعر كاهنا ، ونبيا يخدم الحقيقة والجمال في آن واحد .

لا يكتفي نعيمه بالتعريف والتقرير بل ينقد بعض الشعراء المعاصرين ومنهم شوقي في قصيدة له تقليدية ذات مطلع غزلي ، من عيوبها الحشو والتناقض وسوء الجمع بين المعاني . بهذا النقد يشير نعيمه الى ركن هام من اركان الجمال تفتقده قصيدة شوقي هو الوحدة والتأليف العضوي الذي يمتاز به الشعر المهجري .

في فصول اخرى يهاجم المؤلف جمود اللغة وسلطان المعاجم وقبود العروض . ويشبه صيحات الرجعيين والمحافظين بتقيق الضفادع وشعر التقليد والصنعة برقص البهلوان ويذهب الى القول ان القوافي والاوزان ليست ضرورة في الشعر كما ان المعابد والطقوس ليست من ضرورات العبادة وان للشاعر الحق بان يميت من الالفاظ ما يشاء ويحيي ما يشاء . من هذا العرض السريع للغربال يتبين لنا ان الشعر المهجري ردة او ثورة على شعر المخضرمين ، شعر الجدلجة والجزالة اللفظية والفصاحة الخطابية . هو شعر همس ومناجاة يحمل طابع الغنائية الصحيحة . ينتقل الاسلوب من التعبير المباشر الى الالمام بالصورة المشعة التي تطلق الخيال وتثير ابعادا من التصورات ، وبالنعيم الذي ينم عن المعنى ويخلق الجو الذي يريده الشاعر .

هذه الميزات تنطبق على مدرسة المهجر اجمالا . واذا عمدنا الى المفاضلة بين الشعراء جاز ان نقول ان ايليا ابى ماضي يقف في طليعة الذين طوعوا الشعر للموضوعات التأملية التي سبق القول انها لون جديد في الشعر

العربي . فقد نظم شعراء العرب القدامى حكما متفرقة في قصائدهم وسبك ابن الفارض رؤاه الصوفية في قصائد مناثرة الاجزاء مكرورة الصور والعبارات ولم ينتجوا قصيدة تأملية خالصة سوى قصيدة « النفس » لابن سينا .

يمتاز شعر ابى ماضي بنزعة تفاعلية يخالف بها نزعة الكآبة واليأس والرغبة في الحرب التي نجدتها عند نسب عريضة ورشيد ابوب وندره حداد ، وهو اكثر شعراء المهجر تنوعا في موضوعاته وروعة في ادائه واغترافا من بحر الاسطورة والقصة . يخترعها اختراعا (كما في الاسطورة الازلية ، الشاعر والملوك الجائر) او يقتبسها من التراث الشرقي (كما في العتقاء) او يستلهمها من الطبيعة التي تحفل بصورها اشعاره كما نرى في « التينة الحمقاء » ، « الحجر الصغير » ، « المساء » ، و « العليقة » .

وهو الى ذلك يجاري نعيمه في هندسة القصيدة واحكام بنائها . اما اهماله للقواعد في بعض الاحيان - هذا الاهمال الذي يلومه عليه طه حسين - فهو في رأي صاحبي « الشعر العربي في المهجر » غير صادر عن عدم المعرفة بل هو « سمة الرومنطية المتحررة في كل عصر لأن صلابة الاسلوب ودقته المتناهية لا تتماشى مع صدق الانبثاق العاطفي » .

شعر نعيمه يمتاز بصبغته الوجدانية فهو شعر ينبع من الذات - كما اراده في غرباله - فيه تصوير هادىء لحالات النفس وخلجاتها . وفيه كما في سائر الشعر المهجري اعتماد صور الطبيعة للرمز الى حالات نفسية وعتائد صوفية . ذلك ما نراه في قصائد « اوراق الخريف » ، « النهر المتجمد » ، « ترنيمة الرياح » ، « الطمأنينة » ، « يا بحر » وغيرها .

ان الثورة الادبية عند المهجريين شملت الشكل والمضمون لا في الشعر فقط بل ايضا في النثر . فقد جدّوا فن المقالة وابتدعوا الشعر المنشور والنثر الشعري الذي اشتهر به جبران وتميز اسلوبه بخصائص ليس هنا محل بسطها وتحليلها . يكفي ان نذكر ان اسلوب جبران يعتمد على تطوير فني الايقاع والتصوير اللذين يرتكز عليهما النثر الفني عند العرب وسائر الشعوب السامية . وكان فاتحة عهد جديد في تاريخ النثر الفني ،

عهد تحرير لفظي وابداع معنوي ، ترك أثره في كل اسلوب نثري مجدد ، مقاليا كان أم قصصيا ام خطايا . ولأذكر من شواهد هذا التأثير عبارة نقلها الاستاذ وديع ديب في كتابه « الشعر العربي في المهجر الاميركي » عن كتاب « المطالعة العربية » الذي كان يدرس في ثانويات مصر الحكومية ، جاء فيها ان المنفلوطي تأثر في القديم بابن المقفع وابن العميد وفي الحديث بجبران ونعيمه (ج ٣ ص ٣٢ من « المطالعة العربية » . ص ١٥٣ من « الشعر العربي في المهجر الاميركي » ، بيروت ، دار ريجاني ، ١٩٥٥) .

وقد جدد المهجريون فن الامثال والحكم وجوامع الكلم ، هذه الانواع التي نبتت في ارضنا وامتاز بها الادب السامي وادب الشرق اجمالا وحفلت بها اسفار التوراة وسور القرآن ومجموعات الحديث . وقد سبق القول ان الريحاني احياها في « بذور للزارعين » ، جبران في « رمل وزبد » ، « والنبي » وبعض مؤلفاته الاخرى ، ونعيمه في مجموعة « كرم على درب » .

ولجبران فضل ابتداء حكايات رمزية في كتابيه « المجنون » « والسابق » وبعض كتبه الاخرى . قيمة هذه الحكايات انها مثقلة بالايحاء وعلى مثال الشعر الرمزي قابلة الحل الى معان مختلفة ، قريبة وبعيدة . منها مثل « البنفسج الطموح » الذي يجوز ان نرى فيه معناه الظاهر وهو أن المغامرة وان قادت صاحبها الى الهلاك خير من الخمول والجمود . او نرى معناه الباطن الصوفي وهو ان الانسان يحصل بالتشوق على ما يريد ويبلغ المعرفة القسوى او معرفة الذات الكامنة وهي الفكرة التي يعبر عنها جبران بقوله في مكان آخر : « كل ما تشنقه الارواح تبلغه الارواح » ، أي أن التشوق وسيلة النمو .

حكاية الأم وابنتها في « المجنون » تشير حسب معناها الظاهر الى الرياء الاجتماعي الذي يجعل كلا من الأم والبنت تعلن كرهها للأخرى في حالة الحلم او اللاوعي ، وتحاطبها بعبارات الحب والحنو في حالة اليقظة او الوعي ، لكن الحكاية حسب التفسير الصوفي تنطوي على سخرية الكاتب من زيف المجتمع الواقعي الذي نعيش فيه والدعوة الى نبذه لتحقيق الذات الكبرى في المجتمع الأمثل .

هذه الصفة عينها تنطبق على فصول « النبي » لجبران وتؤلف سر تنفوق هذا الكتاب وشعبيته . فأكثر فقراته تحتل معنيين ، المعنى الصوفي العميق والمعنى الظاهر القريب ، موضوعا في قالب تصويري طريف . حين يقول المؤلف : إن فرحكم هو ترحكم سافرا . أليست القيثارة التي تريد في طمانينة أرواحكم هي نفس الحشبة التي قطعت بالمدى والفؤوس ؟ « يشير الى وحدة الحياة وانسجام الاضداد في مذهب الصوفيين . لكن قوله يمكن ان يحمل على معناه الظاهر وهو ان الفرحة وليد الحزن واللذة بنت الألم ولا يستطيع الفصل بينهما .

كذلك حين يقول : « ان رغب أحد منكم ان يضع الفأس على أصل الشجرة الشريفة ليقطعها باسم العدالة فليتنظر الى أعماق جذورها فيتضح له اذ ذاك ان جذور الشجرة الشريفة وجذور الصالحة مشتبكة في قلب الارض الصامت » ، يعبر عن استحالة الفصل بين الشر والخير او عن اندماج الشر في الخير حسب عقيدة الصوفيين . لكن الفقرة تعبر ايضا عن المسؤولية الجماعية التي يعلنها قوله : « لا يستطيع فاعل السوء ان يقترف أثما بدون ارادتك كما انه لا تسقط ورقة صفراء بدون علم الشجرة كلها » . حين يودع « النبي » اهل اورفليس بقوله : لقد غربت شمس هذا النهار واغلق علينا ابوابه كما تغلق الزنبقة اوراقها على غدها « يعني رجوع النفس في ولادة جديدة لكن المعنى القريب الذي يفهمه الانسان العادي هو عودة الشمس بعد غيابها وتفتح ورقات الزنبقة في النور بعد انغلاقها في الظلمة . والحنينة الساحرة في « العواصف » تشير ظاهرا الى امرأة ارادت استعباد الكاتب لكن جبران يقصد بها الحياة . وبالاجمال كان جبران اقرب المهجريين الى الرمز واشدهم ولعا بالتصوير والعبارة المشعة .

وكان المهجريون روادا في حقل القصة التي بدأ بها جبران عهده الكتابي في قصص رومنطية الأسلوب . وعالجها نعيمه في قسم كبير من مؤلفاته فكان من المجلدين في ميدان القصص الواقعي وله اقصيص يرتفع بها الى ذروة هذا الفن .

وفي الناحية الاجتماعية ، رفعوا علم الثورة على الشرور التي ما زلنا

نشكو منها اليوم والتي هاجمها قبلهم ادباء النضال : الاقطاعية السياسية والدينية ، والتفاوت الطبقي . ظلم المرأة واستعبادها واستغلالها . الزواج التجاري ، التعصب الديني ، استبداد الغني بالفقير والوالدين بالاولاد ، الخمول والاتكالية والغرور والعبودية للأوضاع القائمة . هاجموا التقاليد والشرائع الضالة التي تستعبد الناس وتفقدتهم انسانياتهم وكراماتهم . آمنوا بفلسفة القوة والتمرد ، فالمسيح في رأي جبران - كما في رأي بلايك - كان قويا متمردا لا ضعيفا مستسلما كما يتصوره الناس .

لكنهم بشروا بفلسفة المحبة والسلام ونبذوا الحرب المدمرة والطغيان ورغم انصرافهم الى الأدب لم يغفلوا الكفاح السياسي بل عاشت في نفوسهم فكرة القومية جنبا الى جنب مع الشعور الانساني . ففي اثناء الحرب العظمى ألقوا اللجان لاعانة منكوبي سوريا ولبنان وعبروا في ما نشره في الصحف والمجلات عن ميولهم السياسية فكان بعضهم من دعاة الوحدة العربية والبعض الآخر من انصار الوحدة السورية او الوحدة اللبنانية . نقرأ للريحاني وجبران وأبي ماضي ونعيمه مقالات اجتماعية بحثية تنم عن فراسة وعمق تفكير وترد فيها اقوال شبيهة بالنبوءات وما علينا الا ان نراجع « الريحانيات » للريحاني ومقالات « الاستقلال والطرايش » ، « ومستقبل اللغة العربية » ، « ولكم لبنانكم ولي لبناني » لجبران ، ومقالات أبي ماضي في مجلة « السمير » لئرى مقدار اهتمام ادباء المهجر بالناحية الواقعية من حياة لبنان .

الا ان شعبية الادب المهجري تركز بصورة خاصة على ما فيه من عناصر حلم وخيال ينكرها الواقعيون . تلك العناصر التي لا يستعنى عنها الادب لانها تلهم الانسان عن واقع مبتذل او تلقي على الواقع ستارا من السحر والروعة .

ان التفكير في الموت ، مثلا ، هو لكل انسان مصدر رعب وألم . لكن الموت بمنظار شعراء نظير ريلكه وجبران ونعيمه انما هو انتقال الى حالة افضل : « أليس الموت وقوف الانسان عاريا في الريح وذوبانه في الشمس ؟ » يقول جبران : « وما هو انقطاع النفس سوى اطلاقه في

الفضاء ليرتفع ويمتد ويصل الى الله دون حاجز ؟ » ومثله قول نعيمة : « ان يكن النوم من اروغ المخدرات وادهاها ، فابرعها وادهاها على الاطلاق هو الموت ووجه الشبه بين النوم والموت قريب الى حد ان يحملنا على الحزم بانهما من عنصر واحد وما الفرق الا في مدى التخدير من حيث طوله وقصره . »

كل هذا يذكرنا قول برغسن ان الاحلام والاساطير الدينية وغيرها تعليل يقي الانسان من السقوط في بلحة اليأس التي يقوده اليها طول التفكير في الواقع ، وقول أبي ماضي :

سر السعادة في الرؤى ان الرؤى

لا كفت تثبتها ولا تمحوها

ولا ننس ان الفشل المادي الذي مني به ادباء المهجر في ديار الغربية ، والظروف القاسية التي مرت بهم والمجاعات والويلات التي تعرض لها لبنان اثناء الحرب العظمى ، كل هذه العوامل صبغت ادبهم بالكآبة والحزن . شذ عنهم ايليا ابي ماضي الذي امتاز بتفاؤله الفلسفي والريحاني الذي غلّف تشاؤمه بمسحة من الواقعية الساخرة وطاف في الاقطار مناديا بمبادئه الاصلاحية ، منددا بادب البكاء والميوعة .

لكن الكآبة كانت من مصادر السحر في ادبهم كما كانت في ادب كيتس وموسيه وسواهما من الرومنطين . اما شعور الغربية والحزن فلم يبق في ادبهم شعورا فرديا بل تطور الى شعور انساني شامل بالانفراد والوحشة يحس به كل مفكر . وأصبح الحزن الى الوطن عندهم رمزا للحزن الى المجهول الذي يراود كل فرد منا .

الى جانب هذه العناصر الشمولية التي تميز الادب المهجري ، اود ان اذكر ميزتين تدلان على اصالته . اولهما ان اصحابه رغم وجودهم في اقطار غربية ، ظلوا اشد تمسكا بالتراث اللبناني العربي واستلهاها له من اللبنانيين المقيمين . فالصور في ادبهم مستمدة من طبيعة لبنان ، من حكاياته واساطيره ، من جغرافيته وتاريخه . فلسفتهم مستمدة في جذورها

من التوراة والانجيل ومن التصوف الشرقي . اسلوب جبران يمت بصلة الى الزمير ونشيد الاناشيد وبعض سور القرآن . اللون الغالب على ادبهم هو الشعر الذي يحتل مركز الصدارة في الادب اللبناني والعربي ، وقد نرى في هذا الانحياز نقطة ضعف لانه منعهم من المغامرة في فنون غربية اخرى كالمرحبة والملحمة لكن لإحجامهم اسبابا لا مجال لذكرها هنا .

اما الميزة الاخرى التي تفرض علينا تقديرهم فهي صراحتهم وجراتهم في مهاجمة عيوب المجتمع وصدقهم في التعبير عن مشاعرهم فليس بين ادبائنا هنا من اجترأ على وصف ضفادع الادب كما وصفهم نعيمه ولا من اجترأ على حمل الرفش لدفن الاموات الاحياء كما فعل جبران في « العواصف » ولا من كشف عيوب تاريخنا وعبودياته كما كشفها الريحاني في « النكبات » .

هؤلاء قوم لم يتبدلوا ولم يستسلموا ولم يحرقوا قلوبهم بخورا امام الانصاب والاصنام .

* * *

كانت حركة الادب المهجري سيلا دافقا غمر الاقطار العربية وزعزع فيها اركان الجُمود والتقليد وفتح عيون العرب على افق جديد . فلم يبق فيهم مثقف لم يتغنَّ بالعنقاء لابي ماضي وباوراق الخريف لنعيمه ولم يترنح على ايقاع مقالات جبران مخاطبا الليل والارض والريح .

يقول الاديب السوري شاكِر مصطفى : « دفقة الرومنطيقية التي هزّت جمود القافية العربية انما قام بها اطفال جبران ومدمنو ايليا ابي ماضي . » وفي كتاب « الشعر العربي في المهجر » لعباس ونجم : « ان التجديد بالمعنى الصحيح كان طارئا على مصر وقد عليها من لبنان » ، وهما يقصدان خليل مطران وادباء المهجر .

اما اليوم ، وقد كاد الزمان يطوي صفحة الادب المهجري ولا يبقى منه الا ذكرى خالدة واصداء تتردد في اسماعنا كالاغاريد ، نشهد

نوعا من ردة الفعل على هذا الادب . وكما تضاربت فيه الآراء في حياة اصحابه فرماه المحافظون بالركاكة والهلهله وقدسه الشباب وانصار الجديد ، تتضارب فيه آراء النقاد في الفترة الحالية ويثور عليه الكتاب الواقعيون زاعمين انه ادب مخدر لا يصلح لشباب اليوم .

ليست الثورة الحالية على الادب المهجري دليل جحود لقيمة هذا الادب لكنها سنة التطور التي رافقت الفن منذ نشأته . وقانون المد والجزر او التآرجح بين تيارين متعاكسين : الذاتية والموضوعية ، الفردية والجماعية ، الرومنطيقية والواقعية . وكما كان الادب المهجري ثورة على ادب المجالس والمنابر والادب الموضوعي الذي يطمس ذاتية الفنان ليربطه بعجلة البيئة والمناسبات ، هكذا ظهر بعض الشعر المعاصر والادب المعاصر موضوعيا ثائرا على الفردية ، واقعيا معاديا للحلم والخيال ، داعيا الى الكفاح القومي وتبني قضايا المجتمع ، فلا مجال فيه للادب الانساني ولا للمثالية التي نادى بها المهجريون .

وقد تبين لنا من خلال البحث ان الادب المهجري ، رغم هذه الاتهامات ، كان ادبا كما يريد الالتزاميون : شاهدا لعصره ، امينا للبيئة التي انبثق منها ، معبرا عن حاجاتها وامانيها ، وانه رغم فرديته لم يهمل الناحية الاجتماعية ، ورغم انسانيته كان قوميا محليا .

لكن اصحابه وجدوا لمشاكلهم ومشاكل مجتمعهم حلولا مثالية فلسفية وغلب عليهم الاتجاه التأملي لانهم كانوا شعراء وادباء لا باحثين ولا خبراء . ولا ريب انهم في ثورتهم على الاساليب القديمة وفي اتجاههم الفلسفي ، مهدوا لبعض الشعر الحديث الذي يلتزم هذا الاتجاه .

ليس عهدنا بالادب المهجري قريبا . فانا من الجيل الذي استيقظ ابناؤه على النعجات الساحرة الآتية الينا عبر البحار . وقد لفحننا لبيب الثورة التي اشعلها ادباء المهجر فنشأنا ثائرين وثائرات . ولم نأسف على انجرافنا بتيار الثورة المهجرية رغم ما كلفنا ذلك من تضحيات .

لقد انقضى عهد الادب المهجري بعد ان ادّى رسالته . فالفصحى

في الشعر اللبناني الحديث

نعلي أحمد سعيد (ادونيس)

I

يبدو لي الشعر اللبناني ، طيلة النصف الأول من هذا القرن ، في صور ثلاث تتجاور وان توافرت في الشكل والطريقة ، وتتداخل غالبا ، وان تباعدت زمنيا . الصورة الأولى هي التقليد والسلفية . وتكتنز الصورة الثانية بدفعة ثورية تجددية في المضمون والشكل معا . أما الصورة الثالثة فتتأرجح بين رومنطيقية الكآبة حيننا والغضب والعنف حيننا آخر ، من جهة ، ورومنطيقية التألق الشكلي التجميلي ، من جهة ثانية .

II

الشعر اللبناني ، كما يتجلى في الصورة الاولى ، تكرر صناعي يقدم أشياء معروفة ، وأشكالا ليست معروفة وحسب ، بل هي ، الى ذلك ، جامدة ومستنفدة . الشعراء هنا ينساقون في طريق مفتوحة . يستعبرون اجواء غيرهم واشكالهم . ما سميناه ونسميه عصر النهضة كان ، في كل ما يتصل بالابداع الشعري ، عصر سقوط وانزواء وراء مراصد للنظر والفهم اقيمت في عصور اخرى لآفاق وغايات اخرى . والشعراء هنا ، كانوا وما يزالون ، حتى حين ينظرون الى الطبيعة حولهم ، ينظرون اليها باعين تاريخية ماضية . الطبيعة اللبنانية في شعرهم قاموس من الكلمات والتعابير والادوصاف المنقولة الموروثة . وليست حضورا من الهواء والماء والتراب ،

في المهاجر اللبنانية تكاد تلفظ انفاسها لكن المهجريين ما زالوا احياء في نفوسنا . وفي هذه الفترة التي تسعى فيها الحكومات العربية الى احياء التراث العربي ، يتجدد الاهتمام بالادب المهجري . فقد اصبح له مكتب في مصر وآخر في سوريا وثالث في لبنان ورابع في العراق . ونشر الدكتور ثروت عكاشه ثلاث ترجمات جديدة لكاتب جبران الانكليزية واصدرت مصر طبعة جديدة لديوان « الشاعر القروي » واصدرت حكومة سوريا كتابين عن ادب المهجر على نفقتها .

كل هذا الاهتمام يثير عند المتفائلين املا بان يقوم اليوم في لبنان حركة ادبية تخلف تلك الوثبة الجبارة التي حققها ادباء المهجر ومضت الى غير رجعة . لكن بعض المتشائمين يتساءلون وايديهم على قلوبهم : أيكون غروب شمس الادب اللبناني في المهجر مؤذنا بغروبها في لبنان المقيم ؟ وهل في وسع لبنان المقيم ان ينجب ادباء يعيشون لادبهم كما عاش ادباء المهجر ؟

ومن الفصول ونحولاتها . وليس في هذا الشعر أي بُعد شخصي ، الكلام رداء مستقل مصنوع لكي يتلبس موضوعا مصطنعا مستقلا . والقصيدة نسخة منقولة من هنا وهناك تلتصق . صنعياً ، بالواقع . واللغة الشعرية ، بالتالي ، صدئة جوفاء ونادرا ما تبدو انها صالحة حتى للفاهم ونقل الأفكار والآراء . فهي تموت لحظة النطق بها ، اذ ليس لها طاقة ذاتية تحفظها أو تجددتها .

III

اللغة الشعرية أكثر من وسيلة للنقل او للفاهم . انها وسيلة استيطان واكتشاف . ومن غاياتها الأولى ان تثير وتحرك ، وتهز الأعماق وتفتح ابواب الاستيقاظ حيث تنمو الحياة وتتحول وتتوالد . باستمرار . انها تُهامسنا لكي نصير ، اكثر مما تُهامسنا لكي نتلقن . انها تيار تحولات يغمرنا بإبحائه وإيقاعه وبعده . هذه اللغة فعل ، نواة حركة ، خزان طاقات . والكلمة فيها أكثر من حروفها وموسيقاها . لها وراء حروفها ومقاطعها دم خاص ودورة حياتية خاصة . فهي كيان يكمن جوهره في دمه لا في جلده وطبيعي ان تكون اللغة هنا ابداعا لا ايضاحا .

نحو الآفاق التي تؤدي اليها هذه اللغة يتجه الشعر بصورته الثانية ، في نتاج جبران خليل جبران ، على الأخص . في هذا النتاج مناخ ثوري اخلاقي صوفي يحول الشعر الى فعل حياة وإيمان . وفيه قشعريرة غنائية مشبعة بلهب التمرد على الواقع والتطلع الى واقع أكثر سموا وإبهى . وتأتي جدّة جبران من انفصاله ، في المقام الأول ، عما نسميه عصر النهضة فلم تكن آثاره ، ولا لغته خصوصا ، وليدة هذا العصر أو استمراراً له ، وإنما كانت تفجرا خاصا .

مع جبران تبدأ في الشعر اللبناني الرؤيا التي تطمح الى تغيير العالم ، فيما تصفه أو تندبه أو تفسره . مع جبران يبدأ بمعنى آخر ، الشعر اللبناني الحديث . ففي نتاجه ثورة على المألوف ، آنذاك . من الحياة والأفكار

وطرائق التعبير جميعا . يقول ، سنة ١٩١٤ ، في إحدى رسائله الى ماري هاسكل : « لم تكن الطرق القديمة تعبر عن اشياء الجديدة . وهكذا كنت أعمل دائما على ما ينبغي ان يعبر عنها . ولم اقتصر على صياغة الفاظ جديدة ، بل ان ايقاعاتي وموسيقاتي كانت جديدة ، وأشكال التأليف كلها كانت جديدة . كان عليّ ان اجد اشكالا جديدة لآراء جديدة » . وفي رسالة ثانية الى ماري هاسكل تعود الى سنة ١٩١٢ ، يقول : « اعرف انه لن يكون بوسعي ان استثير اهتمام اولئك الذين يعبدون آلهة قديمة ، ويتبعون افكاراً قديمة ، ويعيشون برغائب قديمة . » ولكنه يقول بيقين في رسالة اخرى : « اعرف ان لدي شيئا اقوله للعالم يختلف عن أي شيء آخر » .

فجبران منذ بداياته مأخوذ بهاجس التجديد والنفرد ، هاجس ان يبدع أعظم أثر عربي في وقته ، وهو يذكر ذلك صراحة في رسالة الى ماري هاسكل ، سنة ١٩١٤ ، فيقول : « في الأدب العربي أشياء كثيرة أعظم من آثاره ، لكن أقول بصراحة ان آثاره أكبر الآثار في اللغة العربية ، اليوم . »

ولم يكن جبران مخطئا .

هذا يقودنا الى الملاحظة الأساسية وهي أن جبران كان يجمع في شخصه صوت التأثير وصوت النبي . ولهذا كان حدسه الشعري حدس تغيير لا تصوير . كان يرفض العالم حوله ، ويطمح الى عالم آخر جديد . ومن هنا كان الشعر عنده فرادة ، كان يتجاوزا وازافة . فالخلاق بالنسبة اليه هو من يتفرد عن سواه بخصوصية معينة ، ويضيف شيئا جديداً الى خبرة الانسان وتراثه . وقد أوضح رأيه هذا في مناسبات عديدة . يقول سنة ١٩١١ واصفاً فنه : « أعرف ان في نتاجي شيئا غريبا في الفن - اقصد انه جديد - ولو اني لم اعرف ذلك ، لكنك قدفت بعيدا بفرشاتي والواني . » ويكتب عن ميخائيل نعيمة في إحدى رسائله الى ماري هاسكل حين كانا ، هي وجبران ، يخططان معا لاصدار كتاب عنه يضم دراسات متنوعة لكتّاب مختلفين . ويبحثا معا دراسة كتبها بالانكليزية ميخائيل

نعيمة ، لكنهما قررا بعد درسها ومناقشتها أن يهملها . وأوضح جبران سبب اهمالها بقوله : « ان في كل شاعر شيئا خاصا به ، شيئا يجعله فريدا ، عنصرا فرديا فيه ، هو ينبوع نتاجه الخلاق وتعبيره الحق . وليس في مقال نعيمة شيء يوحي بوجود ذلك - وهذا وحده هو الشيء الرئيسي في أي شاعر . »

هذا التركيز على فريدة الشاعر ، يعني ان الشاعر الحقيقي ليس من يقدم عالما خاصا به وحسب ، بل من يقدمه عميقا ، جديدا ، شخصيا ، برؤياه ، وأبعاده النفسية والحضارية ، وبشكله وبنائه . ومن هذه الزاوية لم يكن جبران الشاعر المجدد الأول في الشعر اللبناني وحسب ، بل كان ، الى ذلك ، النموذج الأول للشاعر والابداع الشعري بمعناها الحديث . واذا تذكرنا ما يقوله جبران من ان الفنان « خالق اشكال » نزداد أدراكا لأهميته كنموذج ريادي حديث .

ولعل خير ما يوضح ثورية جبران . وتطلعه الى المستقبل ، ما تحويه رسالته الى ماري هاسكل في ربيع سنة ١٩١٣ حول الفن والحرية ، ردا على رسالة كتبها اليه تبدي فيها اعجابها بالمعرض الدولي للفن الحديث وقتذاك ، حيث يقول : اني سعيد جدا لاعجابك بالمعرض الدولي للفن الحديث . انه ثورة واحتجاج وعلان استقلال . ان الصور بحد ذاتها ليست عظيمة ، بل ان الحميل منها قليل جدا . غير ان روح المعرض بوجه عام جميلة وعظيمة معا . التكميلية ، التأثرية ، ما بعد التأثرية ، المستقبلية . . . هذه كلها ستقضي وتزول ، وسينساها العالم : لأن العالم ينسى على الدوام التفاصيل الثانوية . الا ان روح الحركة لن تقضي ابدا ولن تزول ، لأنها حقيقية ، كما هو جوع الانسان الى الحرية حقيقي . بمقدور الانسان ان يكون حراً دون ان يكون عظيما ، لكن ليس بمقدور أي انسان ان يكون عظيما اذا لم يكن حراً . »

أعترف انني لم أقرأ جبران الا مؤخرا ، وعلى وجه التحديد في هذين الشهرين الأخيرين . أعترف كذلك أن نتاجه لم يستهوني ، ولم أجد فيه ما يمكن ان يكون لي غذاء روحيا أو فنياً . لا من حيث افكاره ولا من

حيث طريقة تعبيره . ومع هذا كنت أشعر وأنا أقرأه انني أمام صوت فريد الحضور في تاريخنا الشعري الحديث . أقول : صوت ، لأنني اريد القول ان جبران . كما تراءى لي ، شاعر بصوته لا بنتاجه . شاعر بالبعد الذي اشار اليه ، لا بالمسافة التي قطعها . انه صيحة تجاسرت ان ترتفع في وجه الماضي ، وان تحاول اختراق جلدة العالم ، املا في النفاذ الى جوهره . وان تمارس الهدم رجاء تشييد بناء جديد . ومع هذا كله بقي ويبقى تفجرا ، او بالاحرى خميرة ممكنا . انه طوفان صغير غسل امام الذين جاؤوا بعده الكثير من عنف الدروب والتواريخ ، الأشياء والكلمات . وفي هذا ، لا في منجزاته ، سره وجاذبيته . هكذا يعكس جبران القاعدة التي طالما اتبعها ويتبعها الكثيرون من النقاد في تقييمهم ، اذ يعتمدون على ما يقوله الشاعر . وقيمة جبران ليست في ما قاله ، بل في صوته - في نبرته ودويها . ان الوضع الذي عاناه جبران وعاشه ، يشبه وضع انسان ينزل بطيئا واثقا في محيط العالم ، لا ترعزعه موجة ولا يرده عائق ، لا يتردد ، ولا يختار ، ولا يلتفت . يستمر في هبوطه سائلا ، مأخوذا بأغوار المحيط وابعاده . وهو دائما وضع من يسكن في أوائل الصباح ، فيما قبل الظهيرة ، وفيما قبل الشيخوخة .

كان الشعر اللبناني قبل جبران في مستوى الأشياء العادية العامة . كان كما وصفه هو نفسه ، « مادة تتناقلها الأيدي ، ولا تدري بها النفوس . »

وبدءا من جبران أتيح للشعر اللبناني ان ينتقل ، فجأة بلا تمهيد أو مقدمات ، الى عالم آخر وراء هذه السطوح التي باخت فيها المشاعر والأفكار - عالم اسرار ومشاعر وتطلعات جديدة .

وفتح جبران في الشعر مجالا آخر لغير الضحك واللهم والبكاء ، ولغير التصنع والصنع ، مجالا أتاح بدوره للشاعر ان يشده الشوق الى معرفة الأسرار ، وان يبدع شكلا جديدا لما يحيط به ، في بهاء الحرية وسلطانها الكامل .

كان جبران يحلم بما هو ابعد من الحلم : بتغيير هذه الحياة على

الأرض اللبنانية . كان يحلم بلبنانه الآخر . وكان في هذا بشارتنا الأولى من أرض الشعر . هذه البشارة علمتنا كيف نُشيع النَّفْسَ الجمالي في كل ما حولنا وفي القيم جميعا ، وكيف نذيب الفلسفة نفسها في الشعر . وحرضت الشاعر لكي يمارس قُدْرَاتِهِ ، كصورة لله وكابن له ، ولكي يقوم بمهامه الكاملة « كبذرة الهية » . ودخلت فينا هاجسا يوسوس لنا الا نرضى بغير الفريد ، وَيُسْعِلُ في اعماقنا لهبَ البحث عنه ، خارج انقاض الحياة والفكر .

وقد حمل هذه البشارة الينا صوت جذبتنا فيه كآبة ليست من هذا العالم ، أثيرية ، صديقة الموت . وجذبنا فيه نبلة الصاعد ، المتعالي ، المليء بالشهوة الى الكل . وكان مع هذا صوتا احسنا ، فيما كنا نصغي اليه ، انه غير مكتمل - انه فاتحة واستهلال . كان في هشاشة العصفور الذي ما ان طار ، راسما بداياته ، حتى غامت طريقه ، وغاب عنا . . . غاب وهو في غمرة الحنين ، على عتبة ان يبدع الاثر الكبير .

ولعلّ كتابه « النبي » هو ، وحده هذه العتبة . لكنه ، في الوقت نفسه ، أثره الباقي كما وصفه ، الأثر الذي لم يسبقه الى مثله شاعر في اللغة العربية .

يقول جبران في احدى رسائله الى ماري هاسكل ، سنة ١٩١٥ :
« تعرفين يا ماري أي هناء كان يجيئي عندما كنت اسمع الناس يمتدحون انتاجي . أما الآن فان المديح يحزنني حزنا غريبا لأنه يذكّرني باشياء لم أحققها بعد . وأنا أريد ان أحبّ لهذه الاشياء التي لم احققها بعد . »

والحق ان من يحب جبران ينبغي ان يحبه لما كان يمكننا ان يبدعه ، لا لما أبدعه .

IV

كانت هذه الصورة الثانية التي يمثلها جبران افقا واسعا من الصبوة الى حياة جديدة وشعر جديد . في هذا الافق تنمو الصورة الثالثة في

اتجاهين يركز اولهما على جوانب المعنى او المضمون ، ويركز الثاني على جوانب الصورة أو الشكل .

في الاتجاه الأول ، تظهر ، أوائل الثلاثينيات ، قصيدة فوزي المعاوف ، « على بساط الريح » ، تمثل هذه القصيدة في تاريخ الشعر اللبناني كآبة المراهقة الغاضبة التي قلما ترضيها أشياء الواقع ، والتي تتعاقب فيها وتتشابك اهواء الحب ، والايمان البريء ، والجموح والحنين وقدر الموت والحياة .

هكذا يحاول الشاعر ان يقول لنا في هذه القصيدة ان الأثير هو المكان الطيع للحياة . هناك تتلاشى صعوبات المعرفة والعمل ، وتمحي الحدود ، ويستبدل العقل الذي يحلل ويمتلك بالحدس الذي يرى المستقبل محترقا كثافة الزمن المعتم . الحلم نفسه يتحقق ، ويصبح كل شيء ممكنا .

في هذا المناخ يكشف الانسان علائق جديدة فيما بين الاشياء والكائنات ، ويكون الحلم أرض هذه العلائق ومادتها ونسيجها . الحلم اذن وسيلة كشف لا يتوصل اليها الشعور في حالة وعيه . فيه تستعيد النفس الوحدة الأولى الضائعة ، تدخل في تواصل مع الطبيعة والله ، مع أرض البشر وسماء الالوهة . فالحلم شكل من الاشكال التي تتيح لنا اعادة التماس مع اسرار الكون ، أي مع قواه الخلاقية .

ويصف لنا فوزي معلوف طريق اعتاقه ، بعيدا عن الواقع ونهار العالم ، بلغة شاحبة ، لكنها حارة . وفي آخر الطريق يكشف ان الممكن الذي حلم به ليس الا مستحيلا آخر ، وان الانسان حلم ، لكنه بين الاحلام جميعا ، مجبول بالأرض ، محكوم بطينة الأرض ، يخلق لنا فوزي معلوف بقصيدته هذه مناخا من القدر الحزين ، والخيال الضائع ، رغم انه وثيق الصلة بالالوهة ، ومن النهاية المحتومة في هذا السحن الذي يسميه الأرض .

ان فوزي معلوف يبحث عن نوع من الخلاص . وقد اكتشف انه لا يستطيع ان يحيا في الأثير ، بين النجوم . حرا . فالحياة مفروضة عليه ،

فوق هذه الأرض ، وبعثا يبحث عن خلاصه خارجها . ويصل أخيرا الى اليقين بان خلاصه ، ان كان هناك من خلاص ، كامن في شعره - في التكريس له والاتحاد به ، بحيث يعيشان معا في وحدة مصير .

في هذا الاتجاه ، كذلك ، نذكر مطولة عبدالله غانم « فوق الضباب » فهذه القصيدة سفر حزين على الأرض ، في طريق تقود ، مهما تعددت مسالكها ، الى الله . وليس في الطريق غير الشقاء الذي قد يكون ، لكن في الشعر وحده ، ينبوع الغبطة الوحيدة في هذه الدنيا . هذه القصيدة ذات أهمية بالغة في دراسة الجوانب الميتافيزيقية ، خصوصا في الشعر اللبناني ، وفي دراسة البناء الشعري ، وصلة الشاعر الحديث بترائه وصلة الكلمة الشعرية بالبعد الفلسفي ، عموما .

ولئن كان فوزي معلوف وعبدالله غانم يتقلنا ، كل بطريقته الخاصة ، الى ما وراء العالم ، فان الياس أبو شبكة يستبقينا فيه ، في مادته ، في مناخ خاص يشعرا بحضور الالم والخطيئة والشر . الياس أبو شبكة يعيش في مسافة يحدها طرفان : الأول البراءة وتتمثل في الطفولة والحلم والظهر . والثاني العالم أي الواقع أو الدنيا . وفي هذا الطرف الثاني يكمن الشر . انه فردوس لكنه مليء بالافاعي . انه كما يعبر الشاعر ، « مستنقع يتنهد » ، و « صباغ فاسد » ، و « مقاذر » ، وسقوط ، و « بحر شبهاة » .

ويلاحظ الشاعر ان الانسان في هذا العالم ضحية ومطية للشر . غير انه يلاحظ ، كذلك ، ان قوة الشر ظاهرية قشورية ، وان القوة الحقيقية كامنة في جوهر الانسان واعماقه . ولذلك حين يشدد على الشر ، يشدد بالمقابل على ان في مقدور الانسان ان يتغلب عليه ويتجاوزه الى الخير . وهكذا تتجمع تجربة الياس أبو شبكة في النفس التي تحتزن استعداداً لان تكون مبعدا - أي طهرا ونقاء وبراءة ، او ان تكون « مغارا سافلا » ، كما يعبر الشاعر نفسه .

ويهرب الشاعر من كوابيس الحياة الواقعية ، فيلجأ الى الحلم والطفولة - ويلجأ الى الطبيعة . فهي في نظره بريئة كاملة . حتى الجماد

فيها شعبان حبا ، كما يقول . في حين يبحث في الخلق عن صورة الخلاق فلا يراها .

وفي احلامه التي يتمنى الا تنتهي يعتمد بين أجنحته الكثيرة ، جناحا قويا خاصا هو جناح اللغة . فهي هنا عنيفة حية متواثبة لكي يقدر ان يحيا ويتجاوز وضعه ، عابرا تلك المسافة نحو لقاء سعيد دائم بنفسه واعماقه . وهو في ذلك يحاول ان يخلق ، شأن بودلير ، حالة دائمة من نشوة الفن وسكره ، رجاء ان يتغلب على هول العالم . هكذا تبدو لغته كأنها تحاكي ، بل تموميء ما يعيشه ويراه حوله من الرعب والعنف . ان لغته صورة ثانية لواقعه . فبين كلماته والاشياء حوله نوع من المطابقة . كأن كلماته أشياء مادية ، وكأن لها طعم الأشياء المادية .

V

اذا كان معظم الشعراء اللبنانيين بين الحريين العالميتين ، لم يتبعوا جبران في طريقته الشعرية ، فانهم الحوا ، مثله ، على ضرورة الخروج من القوالب القديمة ، وعلى رغبتهم في التجديد . نذكر بينهم على سبيل المثال ، لا الحصر ، وجهين غائبين ارى فيهما اساس الشكلية التي ما تزال تسود شعرنا اللبناني وتوجه الفهم والذوق الى حد كبير . الأول هو أديب مظهر ، فقد كانت قصائده القليلة التي كتبها ، والتي لم تكن في مستوى شعري عال ، فاتحة ادت الى ان تكشف لبعض شعرائنا بعدا جديدا في اللغة الشعرية هو البعد الرمزي ، لكن بمدايله وخصائصه الغربية ، أي الذهنية التجريدية .

وقد وصف الياس أبو شبكة هذه الفاتحة في كتابه « روابط الروح والفكر بين العرب والفرنجة » بأنها « فاتحة عهد شؤم » وبأنها « وباء » .

أما الوجه الثاني فأكثر اهمية ، لأنه أكثر استغوارا في الأصول الشعرية وأكثر تمكنا من اللغة العربية واسرارها ، وهو خليل مطران . فقد تبنى خليل مطران التجديد الشعري ودعا اليه بقوة وحرارة ، وحاول ما أمكنه

ان يطبق دعوته في شعره . يقول سنة ١٩٣٣ في مجلة « الهلال » ، عدد تشرين الثاني : « ان الفن ينضج في جو من الحرية ، وهذه القيود الثقيلة ، قيود القافية الواحدة والوزن الواحد تتعارض مع حرية الفن . على ان للقدماء طريقتهم ، فما لنا لا نحاول ان تكون لنا طريقتنا . هناك اكثر من طريقة واحدة ، والذهن البشري لا يعجز عن الابتكار . وظاهر ان اسلوب الشاعر لا يتأثر بالوزن والقافية ، ومن هنا نجد ان التجديد الذي انشده لن يكون كاملا في اسلوبه . غير اني سأجتهد وسع الطاقة في ان ادخل على القديم ما يلحقه بالتجديد ، وتلك اخر التجارب التي اعالجها من هذا القبيل . وعندئذ سأضع التجديد في الوزن والقافية والشكل وفي المعاني أيضاً . »

وقد حقق خليل مطران في شعره كثيرا مما دعا اليه . فجعل القصيدة اطارا موضوعيا اقصاها قليلا عن الذاتية المنغلقة ، ووحد بناءها ، وادخل الى الشعر اللباني نفسا ملحميا . وقد ترك لنا قصائد تعتبر ، من هذه الزوايا ، بين اهم القصائد اللبنانية في النصف الأول من هذا القرن .

VI

اذ يغيب صوت جبران وتلاشي اصداؤه ، تسود الشكلية بانواعها شبه الرمزية وشبه الرومنظيقية . وفي حين يعتبر الاتجاه الذي يمثله جبران نقطة انطلاق ، تعتبر هذه الشكلية عند اصغى من يمثلها نقطة وصول . ولئن كان الاتجاه الأول عالما منفتحا ، فان الشكلية عالم منغلق . وكان جبران ، ضمن التراث الشعري العربي ، نوعا من البداية المفاجئة ليس لما سوابق بعيدة أو قريبة ، اما الشكلية فذروة تقليد معين في فهم الشعر ، وفي النظر الى الجمال والتعبير عنه بالكلمة — وهو تقليد نجده في الشعر العربي عند ذي الرمة وابي تمام والشريف الرضي . وجبران في نظره وموقفه ، يعنى بالانسان والعالم ، اما ممثلو الشكلية التي نمت بعده ، فيعنون بالصنعة والصيغة والمفردة والجمال . هكذا ندرك ان الشكلية الشعرية اللبنانية ، وان بدت ظاهريا انها بعيدة عن التقليد الشعري العربي ، ليست الا امتدادا

منطرفا لبعض نواحيه التي تتصل بالصنعة والصياغة .

الشعر بحسب هذه النزعة ، لا يكتب لكي يقدم رؤيا جديدة ، أو يفتح افقا جديدا . او يعبر عن تجربة روحية جديدة . وإنما يصنع الشعر خصيصا لكي يقدم طرُفا ومصوغات . وهو ، لذلك ، يدور في اطار ذهني تجريدي ، بعيدا عن الأغوار الشخصية الخاصة . بدل ان يحلم الشاعر هنا أو يتخيل أو يفرح ، يترك لكلماته ، ان نحلم عنه وتتخيل وتفرح . وتتجمع هذه الكلمات في قصر قائم بذاته ، وقد يكون براقا — لكن حين يدخل اليه الانسان ، يترك جسده على العتبة ، ويدخل برأسه وحده . واذ لا ترى هذه الكلمات الا نفسها ، ولا تتفاعل الا فيما بينها ، ولا تحطو الى ابعد من حدودها المرسومة ، تتكرر ضمن مذهبية صيغ وتراكيب واحدة ، وتستعيد صورها في تناسخ قلما يغير ، هذه المرة ، شيئا لا في الشكل ولا في المعنى . ذلك ان قوام الشعر هنا هو اللعب لا الواقع ، والكلمة لا اللغة . واذ تنزل الحركة عن الواقع ، تصبح لعبا فارغا يتكرر ، واذ تنزل الكلمة عن اللغة ، تبطل ان تكون وسيلة ابداع وتفجر ، لتصبح وسيلة صنع وزخرفة .

ومن هنا تقوم الشكلية على خلق الصيغ والقوالب ، لا على خلق الأشكال . ويصبح العالم فيها ، لعبة ذات لا يهمها الاختبار او الموضوع او العالم الخارجي ، وتمتج الحرية فيها بالتوهم والاعتباط .

لقد ورث شعراء الشكلية طريقة شعرية قديمة اوصلها بعضهم الى فراغ يمتلئ بالزئير . صحيح انهم زادوا في حسن الشكل القديم وتأنقه ، اختصروه وهذبوه ، واتاحوا له ان يكون أكثر تبلرا ، واشاعوا فيه بدور اللعب ، لكنهم لم يحرروه ولم يتحرروا منه . ابقوه في قالبه الأصلية . كان في معظمه مترهلا فضفاضا ، فصار منمنما ضيقا . . . يبدو أكثر تناسقا ، لكنه يبدو ، كذلك ، أكثر اختناقا .

ولقد ادت النزعة الشكلية الى ان يحذف الشاعر اللبناني العالم الموضوعي الخارجي ويحذف الاشياء . فهو في شعره لا يعبر او يشارك او يرى ، بل يمتطق ويصف ويصطنع . وهكذا قلما نجد في شعره مبنى أو موضوعا .

وانما نجد مغالاة في النواحي الموسيقية . وهذا يؤدي الى حذف الشعر نفسه .
اذ ، دون المبنى ، دون المسادة البشرية لا تجدي الموسيقى ولا يجدي
الايقاع . فالتعبير في الشعر ملتصق جوهريا بما نسميه الدلالة او المعنى
او المضمون ، ويعني تجاهل هذه الصلة او اهمالها تضحية الشعر في سبيل
القالب والاطار الخارجى ، بحيث لا يبقى امام الشاعر الا ان يصمت او
يحصر الشعر في قوالب الجرس الشكلي . ليست القصيدة نغما وحسب ،
وانما هي نغم وتعبير . يجمع النغم بين الايقاع والمدلول ، ويصلنا التعبير
بصاحبه وموضوعه في آن . ان نمة لذة شعرية رائعة في الحركة النغمية
الايقاعية للكلمات ومقاطعها . لكن هذه اللذة مشروطة بكون هذه الحركة
آتية في مدد من تفجرات الأعماق . والا تحولت الى رنين بارد صناعي
اجوف .

حتى ان الاغراق في الشكلية يؤدي الى تفكك القصيدة - أي الى
وجود الايقاع ، بشكل مستقل عن الصور والافكار ، والى ان تكون
له وظيفة مستقلة عن وظيفة القصيدة . الايقاع في اللغة الشعرية لا يندح
في المظاهر الخارجية للنغم . القافية ، الجناس ، تراوج الحروف وتنافرها -
هذه كلها مظاهر او حالات خاصة من مبادئ الايقاع واصوله العامة .
ان الايقاع يتجاوز هذه المظاهر الى الاسرار التي تصل فيما بين النفس
والكلمة ، بين الانسان والحياة .

والشكلية ، فوق ذلك ، تؤدي الى التكرار ، ويمكن القول انها هي
نفسها تكرار . والتكرار نقيض الابداع ، فالابداع بداية دائمة . وقد وصل
الشكل الشعري عند البعض بنتيجة التكرار واستخدام الكلمات آليا ،
الى حالة من الثبات والاطلاقية ، صار معها نظاما وهذا أدنى بدوره
الى ان يصبح الشاعر اسيرا يتحرك في قفص هذا النظام . صار النظام هو
الشاعر - صار هو الذي يكتب القصيدة لا الشاعر . فكأن الشاعر لم
يعد الا صدى أو رجعا ، أو جهاز استقبال وايصال .

حتى الجمال الذي يقول شعراء الشكلية انهم يُعَنون به ، في المقام
الأول ، تخيلي وهمي لا واقعي مرئي . وهو منفصل عن العالم لا مرتبط به .

ان نموذجه غيبي ، ذهني ، لا حياتي ، فالمرأة ، قياسا على ذلك ، جميلة
بقدر ما تشبه هذا النموذج أو تقترب منه . والشعر هنا يقبل ولا يبحث ،
يؤكد ولا يغير . ذلك انه يتحرك ضمن مفهوم الكامل النهائي . والجمال
لا نهائي ، وهو حركة ، وهو يرتبط بالانسان لا بالغيب . ان الجمال
الحقيقي هو المرئي لا الغيبي .

بسبب عن هذا كله ، جعلت الشكلية من الكلمة اداةً صناعية ،
غاية بحد ذاتها . واخذ الشاعر يستخدمها كما يستخدم الحجارة الكريمة :
يقبض على الكلمة كأنها لؤلؤة تشكل مع اخوات لها أنساقا وعقودا جمالية .
ولئن كانت الكلمة تموت بمرض العادة فهي تموت كذلك بمرض الشكلية .
انها هناك قشرة يابسة ، وهي هنا برج معتم . هناك تفقد حيويتها ، وهنا
تفقد فضاءها الداخلي . هناك تسقط في تابوت الاشياء التي استنفدت ،
وهنا تسقط خارج مملكة الاشياء التي تكتشف للمرة الأولى .

والشعر الذي يتخذ الكلمة غاية بذاتها ولذاتها ، ينبع من حدس
زخرفي هو من الافراط والمغالاة بحيث ينظمس موضوعه تحت بريق الزخرف
ويستعيز عن وجوده الحقيقي الحي بوجود ذهني تجريدي .

VII

هكذا اتقلبت رسالة الشعر . الشعر يفتح لنا ابواب العالم ، ويضيء
أمامنا آفاق سيرنا الانساني الطويل . لكن الشعر اللبثاني وصل ، في حضن
الشكلية ، باستثناء بعض ما نراه في شعر سعيد عقل ، المهوبة الشعرية
الكبيرة ، الى ان يكون قوة تحجب عنا العالم ، وتزيد في الكثافة المعتمة
التي تفصل بيننا وبين اسراره . لقد اصبح ، هو كذلك ، عبثا وقيدا .
فهذه الشكلية لم تقدم لنا عالما شعريا جديدا ، أو رؤى جديدة ، أو
قيما فنية وانسانية جديدة . كانت تقليدية تزيّت بزى آخر ، ولم تكن
التغيرات التي حدثت أكثر من تموجات سطحية داخل الاطر والمفاهيم
الشعرية القديمة .

وقبل ان انتقل الى الكلام على هذا الخروج الذي هو اعظم حدث في تاريخنا الشعري ، أحرص على أن أشير الى ثلاثة أمور :

الأمر الأول هو اني تمثلت من شعرائنا بمن رأيت ذروة ظاهرة شعرية معينة ، رأيت يمثل قوة شعرية فرضت نفسها بحيث أصبح لها وجود متميز بارز ، ضمن المجاري الشعرية العامة والمنهجية القديمة او خارجها . وفي نتاج هؤلاء رأيت ما يفيدني في اضاءة ما ارمي اليه . فانا هنا انطلق من وجهة نظر شخصية ، ترتكز الى نظرة شعرية خاصة ، وهي نظرة تدرس الشعر من الداخل لا من الخارج ، وتُعنى بالابداع الشعري لا بالتأريخ الشعري .

أما الذين لم أتمثل بهم فهم شعراء يمثلون ، بتنوع وتمايز ، وجهة النظر التقليدية ، في مواقفهم الشعرية وفي طرائق تعبيرهم . وهؤلاء هم الذين تتماذى في نتاجهم ، بشكل أو آخر ، الطرق الشعرية التقليدية ، بحيث تتفوق في شعرهم جوانب الاتباع على جوانب الابداع . لكنهم قد يكونون ، مع ذلك ، من الوجهة التاريخية أهم الشعراء العرب فيما بين الحربين . بل ان في نتاج الكثيرين منهم شاعرية غنية ، ول هؤلاء قصائد تدخل في جملة اعتزازاتنا الشعرية . اذكر منهم هنا ، تمثيلا لا حصرا ، ايليا أبو ماضي ، وصلاح لبكي ، والأخطل الصغير ، وشفيق المعلوف ، ويوسف غصوب ، وأمير نخلة ، وبولس سلامة .

والامر الثاني هو انني لم اتحدث عن الشعر اللبناني باللغة الفرنسية لانني اميل الى الظن بانه ظاهرة خاصة نشأت في ظروف خاصة . وهي ، اذن ، ظاهرة عابرة ، استطيع ان انظر اليها الآن ، وهي تغيب في بهاء مشع ككوكب نراه للمرة الاخيرة ، فيما ينطفئ متوجا باكليل من الشعر المدهش — شعر جورج شحادة وفؤاد نفاع . فمن الصعب ان يكون لبنانيا ، بالمعنى العميق الكامل ، بالمعنى الذي يبدو لي شخصا على الأقل ، الشعر الذي لا يستطيع اللبناني ان يقرأه أو يتذوقه الا اذا نقله الى لغته الأم .

والامر الثالث هو انني لم اتحدث عن الشعر اللبناني باللغة الدارجة

لانه لم يشكل بعد ، ككل ، قضية فنية بالمعنى الخالص للكلمة . فاذا كان الشعر اللبناني باللغة الفرنسية ظاهرة تغيب ، فرما كان الشعر اللبناني باللغة الدارجة ظاهرة تبدأ بالنمو . لكن هذه البداية لم تصبح بعد قضية فنية الا في نتاج ميشال طراد مقترنا بهذا الهيام الذي يجعل من لبنان أثيرا سماويا ، ومن نتاج الأخوين رحباني مقترنا ، حتى الجوهر ، بصوت فيروز — بهذا الهيام الآخر الذي يصير الوجود اغنية . هذا الشعر - الاثير عند ميشال طراد بداية مفردة لا ثانية لها . وهذا الشعر - الغناء عند الاخوين رحباني هو ، في رأبي ، أهم حدث « شعري - صوتي » في تاريخ الغناء العربي .

بل ربما كان فيما يقوم به الاخوان رحباني بعد فني سيكون له اثر حاسم في كل ما يتصل بنمو المسرح اللبناني . ولكي اوضح هذه الناحية اخذ مثلا من الشعر : انني اتلمس ، على صعيد القصيدة ، انقلابا اساسيا في مفهومها وبنائها — فانا أتنبأ انها ستتجه لكي تصبح ما اسميه « القصيدة الكلية » — القصيدة التي تبطل ان تكون لحظة انفعالية ، لكي تصبح لحظة كونية تتداخل فيها مختلف الانواع التعبيرية ، نثرا ووزنا ، بثا وحوارا ، غناء وملحمة وقصة ، والتي تتعاقب فيها بالتالي ، حدوس الفلسفة والعلم والدين . كذلك اتلمس على صعيد المسرحية ، سيرا نحو « المسرحية الكلية » التي تتجاوز حدود المفهوم المسرحي التقليدي لتصير وحدة سرد وحوار ورقص وغناء ، وحدة كلمة وايقاع وحركة ، لتصير الانسان في كلية تعبيره : بثا ، وسردا ، وحوارا ، وايقاعا ، ورقصا ، وغناء .

VIII

لو أردنا ، مثلا ، ان ننظر الى الشخص اللبناني ، من خلال الشعر اللبناني في السنوات الخمسين الاخيرة باستثناء نتاج جبران خليل جبران وبعض الاستثناءات القليلة الأخرى التي أشرت اليها ، فماذا تكون شخصيته وجوهره ؟ وما تكون الاضاءات والاضافات التي قدمها هذا الشعر لاغناء

الرؤيا الشعرية وتوسع حدود الفهم والحساسية والحياة ، واستشراف المستقبل ؟ وبتعبير آخر ، ما تكون رؤياه للعالم ؟

الجواب عن هذه الاسئلة وعمما يماثلها يسر لنا ان ندرك الدلالة الاخيرة في الشعر اللبناني وان نعرف قيمته الاخيرة . وحين احاول ، شخصيا ، ان اجيب ، لا ارى في الجواب ما يضيف او يوسع او يغني حقا . فهذا الشعر يقدم لنا عالم تقليد وزخرف وصناعة : عالما غير خلاق . الانسان فيه يبدأ من غيره لا من نفسه . يتجه نحو الماضي لا نحو المستقبل . يصف الظاهر ولا يظهر الخفي ، يجترّ خليقة الله ولا يكملها . لا يبدع الحياة على طريقته ، شأن الخالق ، وانما يأخذ ما يُعطى له ، فيضفي عليه التزاويق والبهرجة شأن الصانع .

واذا كان الاساسي في الاثر الشعري العظيم ، هو ان يفجر الطاقة ويجسدها ، ويبعث الدهشة والتساؤل ، لا ان يجسد الاثق الصناعي ، واذا كان معنى الحياة كامنا في الحركة والتشوف لا في الزخرف والزينة ، فان الشخص اللبناني ، كما يبدو من خلال شعرنا - هذا اذا صح ان ننظر اليه من خلاله - كائن يصطنع الحياة في ارض ذهنية مزوقة ، ويعيش في متاهات الزخرف والبهرجة ورفاه الدنيا ، بعيدا عن الانهماكات الكيانية الكبرى ، الشخصية والانسانية . ولئن كانت القصيدة اللبنانية في السنوات الخمسين الاخيرة موكب خرز او قاطرة قشور ، فان الشاعر اللبناني كان يعيش في قفص : ضمن شكل فني لا يتغير ، وبضعة موضوعات ثابتة ، وقاموس الفاظ وعبارات دائمة . لم يكن اذن ، كيانا حرا : ذلك ان حرية الابداع تقتحم كل شيء - بحيث يكون الكون كله ، الانسان والله والعالم ، ارضا مفتوحة امامها . وبحيث لا يعرف الشاعر حدودا غير حدود فنه وابداعه - يغامر ، خارج القواعد والمصطلحات ، في مدائن الاسطورة ، في فضاء الاعماق والاعالي .

كان الشاعر اللبناني يعيش مقعدا ، خارج مملكة المغامرة والسفر في دخلاء الكائن . كان في آن ، خارج الزمن ، موطن التاريخ ، أي موطن التغيير والصورورة ، وخارج الأبدية - موطن الغايات والبدابات .

ليس غريبا ، اذن ان يكون الشاعر اللبناني عاش في ارض تحتضن اعماق ينابيع الحضارة الانسانية واغناها ، دون ان يراها او يشعر بها . اي شاعر لبناني رأى . مثلا ، تجربة المسيح ، أو تجربة محمد ، أو رأى انهماك الذي نتدحرج في مهاويه منذ أكثر من الف سنة ؟ أو رأى اسرار الالوهة والولادة والتحول على هذه الأرض التي تتعاش فيها وتتألف الشيخوخة العريقة القدم والطفولة الابدية ؟ أو رأى اغوار المجهول وابعاد التجدد ؟ اي شاعر لبناني يصل بيننا وبين سلالة الليل المضيء على ضفاف بحرنا المتوسط - سلالة هيراقليطس والقديس يوحنا الصليب والحلاج والقديس اوغسطينس - حيث الرؤيا وحدها تقود الى الشمس ، وحيث الحلم وحده يعرف ان يرى الواقع ؟

انتظر سائلا يقول ، ولعله بينكم : اذا كان الشعر اللبناني في السنوات الخمسين الاخيرة كما وصفته فهل عندنا اليوم خير منه ، وكيف تريد ان يكون شعرنا في المستقبل ؟

والجواب اولاً هو اننا نستطيع ان نعرف السوء دون ان يكون عندنا بالضرورة الجيد . والجواب ثانياً هو ان الشعر لا يُحطَط له ولا تصطنعه المقاييس والمفاهيم . انه بروق تفاجيء في وقت ما ، بذور نائمة في الاعماق تستيقظ في لحظة ما . . . وليس لنا الا ان نرصد ونتنظر .

لكن ، فيما نرصد ونتنظر ، نعيش حركة من الابداع والتجاوز الشعريين لا مثل لها .

بدأت هذه الحركة بعد الخمسينيات : وهي لا تتجاوز الماضي وحسب ، بل تتجاوز الى ذلك وقبل ذلك ظل الماضي الذي تَمَادَى ویتَمَادَى ، بشكل او آخر .

ولا اعني بالماضي هنا . الماضي جملة بل اعني الاشكال والمواقف والمفاهيم التي نشأت تعبيراً عن الحالة الروحية آنذاك ، وصار طبيعياً ان يؤول فعلها لزوال الحالة التي كانت سبباً في نشوئها . هذا يعني ، بعبارة ثانية . ان الماضي يهتم الشاعر اللبناني الجديد ، لا كقدسية مطلقة نهائية ،

بل يهيم بقدر ما يدعوه الى الحوار معه ، وبقدر ما تبدو الطريق التي فتحها طريقنا نحن اليوم كذلك ، وبقدر ما يضيئنا ونحن نسير في عتمة الحاضر صوب المستقبل . فالشاعر الحديد يؤخذ ، من اصوات الماضي ، بتلك التي تعانق المستقبل فيما كانت تعانق حاضرها وتعبّر عنه . مثل هذه الاصوات مفتوحة للحوار والنمو والفعل ، بحيث اننا لا نقدر في تفكيرنا اليوم الا ان نتلاقى معها ونقيد منها ونتفاعل معها . وفي هذا التلاقي والتفاعل لا نعاكس المجرى الذي يحفره نهر الزمن والثقافة باتجاه المستقبل ، بل نصبح كمن يسير مع هذا المجرى ويرافقه ويعيش فيه . ومثل هذه الاصوات ابدية الفتوة - تبقى منجم طاقات وتبقى على افتتاح دائم .

لكن ينبغي هنا في توكيدنا على اهمية الحديد والتجديد ، ان نشير الى حقيقة اكيدة وهي ان القصيدة الاكثر حداثة لا تكون بالضرورة الاكثر قيمة . فالاغراق في التقدم ، شأن الاغراق في القدم ، لا يتضمن ، بالضرورة ، قيمة فنية . ان قصيدة جريئة في ابتكاراتها واستباقاتها الشكلية ، لا تعني بالضرورة انها اكثر قيمة فنية او اجمل من قصيدة تستقي اصولها من المصادر والمكتسبات الفنية القديمة . ان كثيرين تحطّوا من حيث الشكل هوميروس وشكسبير ، لكن ليس بينهم واحد ، ارتفع كراء وخلاق عوالم ، الى مستوى هوميروس وشكسبير .

وهذا يدل على ان التقدم كفكرة ، ينطبق على العلم ، وان الصناعة تتحسن وتكامل ، وان الكشوف العلمية ينفي بعضها البعض الآخر . لكن الشعر والفن بعامة لا ينظر اليه من زاوية التقدم او التحسين . ان الابداعات الشعرية والفنية تتجاوز وتتلاقى وتتقاطع ، لكن لا شيء فيها ينفي الشيء الآخر ، او يحل محله ، او يعوّض عنه .

صحيح ان وجود تاريخ للشعر والفن يشيع الفكرة القائلة ان الشعر يتغير ، وانه بالتالي يتقدم ، هو كذلك ، شأن العلم والصناعة ، وهكذا يعني نقاد الشعر عندنا ومؤرخوه بتسلسل الآثار الشعرية وترتيبها الزمني ، ومركزها في تطور ما يسمونه الأساليب والمدارس ، أكثر مما يعنون بدلالات هذه الآثار ، بحد ذاتها ، وبما تتضمن من الرؤى والفردات الشخصية .

غير ان هذا لا يعني ، باية حال ، ان اسلوب التعبير في القديم ، صالح للتعبير في عصرنا الحاضر . فالطرق القديمة لم تعد تتيح ابداع اثر عظيم . والدليل ينهض كل يوم . فالذين ما زالوا يحافظون على المنهجية القديمة ليس لهم حضور في عالم الابداع الشعري المعاصر . انهم ظلال شاحبة وتكرار عقيم . اما الذين يعطون اليوم للشعر اللبناني اعنى خصائصه فهم الشعراء المجددون . وهؤلاء ليسوا غرباء عن اسلافهم الى الحد الذي يظنه التقليديون . بل ان الصلات بين المجددين واسلافهم القدامى اعمق جدا من الصلات بين المقلدين وهؤلاء الأسلاف . فالمجددون لم يلحوا على التجديد ، الا لأنهم اجدادوا فهم اسلافهم . والواقع اننا اليوم نفهم اثارنا القديمة اكثر من أي وقت مضى . والصلة اليوم بيننا وبين اسلافنا جوهرية لا شكلية ، عميقة لا سطحية . وقد اعطى هاجس التجديد اثارا شعرية عظيمة - حتى اننا لا نستطيع ان نرى اليوم اثرا شعريا مهما ، ما لم يكن مسكونا بهذا الهاجس .

هذا يعني اننا في نقد الشعر ، في تقيمه الاخير ، لا نقارن شكلا بشكل اخر . وانما يجب ان نقارن خلافاً بخلاق آخر - اي تجربة بتجربة ، ورؤيا برؤيا ، وعالم بعالم . والخلاقون يتلاقون عبر العصور ، عبر الماضي والحاضر والمستقبل ، ويتجاوزون ، ويتكاملون ، دون ان ينفي احدهم الآخر ، او يعوّض عنه . فانخلاق كل خلاق ، لا يعوّض .

وكما ان هناك وحدة بين الخلاقين ، فان هناك صلات وقاربة بين اكثر اشكال التعبير عند الخلاقين - قدما واكثرها حداثة . انا اعتبر ، مثلا ، طرفة بن العبد ، وعروة بن الورد وامراً القيس ، وذو الرمة ، وابا تمام وابا نواس والمتنبي والشريف الرضي والنفري وكثيرين غيرهم يعيشون حتى بطرائق تعبيرهم ، في كثير من قصائدهم ، في عالمنا الشعري الحاضر الذي نسميه حديثا . وأرى انهم اقرب الينا من شعراء كثيرين يعاصروننا ويعيشون معنا في مدينة واحدة . ذلك ان نتاجهم يكتنز بهاجس البحث عن واقع آخر ، فيما وراء الواقع ، عن عالم جديد يحظون فيه بانفسهم ، ويتجاوزون به الموت اليومي .

الشكلية يزخرف السطح ويصوغ لجسد العالم الخواتم والاساور والاقراط ،
واليوم يدخل الشعر اللبناني في قلب العالم ، معبرا عن الكيان ككل - عن
الانسان جملة ، هذا المركب الخارق ، الطبيعي الالهي في آن ، النقطة
التي يتلاقى فيها الله والكون .

والشاعر اللبناني الجديد في مغامرته هذه يتجه نحو المستقبل ، في هيام
غامر ، مدركا ان كل جزء من العالم لا يعرفه هو جزء آخر من نفسه
لم يكتشفها بعد . وفي هذا الهيام يدرك ان جديده الحقيقي يعانق القديم
الحقيقي . وان ليس هنا في مد هذه الاعماق الانسانية اللانهائية ، قديم
ولا جديد بل حركة هي الشعر . . . هي هذه العلامة الأساسية وقد تكون
الأولى ، على جدارة الانسان وقوته . العلامة التي تزيده يقينا انه
يتخطى بالابداع كل ما يسلب الانسان هذه الجدارة وهذه القوة وهو في
هذا يتجاوز الشعر الذي يحسن ، شعر الفسيفساء والترصيع ، الى الشعر
الذي يغير ، شعر الوحدة والحركة ، شعر الواقع الشامل ، شعر الكشف
والرؤيا ، شعر المناولة حيث يستسلم الانسان لما يتخطاه ولما يمنحه الأبدية...
الشعر الذي يفتت عصرنا الميت لغاية واحدة : أن ينبعث من رماده عصر
آخر .

طبعاً نستطيع ان نعدد ماأخذ كثيرة على النتاج الشعري الحديث .
ان فيه تضخما ، يرافقه ضجيج فارغ . وفيه انسحار بالطرافة لذاتها ،
وبحث عنها بمختلف الوسائل . وفيه ، الى ذلك ، زيف كثير بأشكال
مختلفة .

ثم ان الاستحداث صار بالنسبة الى البعض طقسا . صار ، بخذ ذاته ،
المقياس الوحيد والقيمة العليا . لتكن القصيدة مستحدثة ولا يهم ما تكون .
لا يهم ما تشهد له او تراه او تعبر عنه . يكفي ان تكون تراكيبها غير
مألوفة ، تصدم القارىء .

وهذا يولد إشكالا يشارك في بلبلة الآراء وافساد التدوَّق حتى ان
الاساسي اليوم في الشعر الجديد لم يعد في التمييز بين القديم والجديد ،
بقدر ما اصبح في التمييز بين التجديد الحقيقي والزيف الذي ينتشر
باسم التجديد . خصوصا ان الكثير من هذا المزعوم تجديدا يخلو من اية
طاقة خلاقية . وتعوze حتى معرفة ابسط ادوات الشاعر : الكلمة والايقاع .

وفوق ذلك ، في غمرة هذه القوضى ، نرى ان الشعر اليوم كثير
كالكلام . نكتبه كما نلقي الخطب ، وكما نأكل ونثرثر في المجالس
والمنتديات ، ونبعثره هنا وهناك في الصحف والمجلات .

غير ان هذا كله لا يضير التجديد من حيث هو مبدأ حياة وضرورة
وجود . وانما يضير النماذج التجديدية الرديئة لا غير . ولهذا فان ما
ينبغي ان نؤكد هنا ، على الرغم من كل شيء ، هو ان الشعر اللبناني
يبدأ اليوم مرحلة جديدة ، جذرية وثورية في الحساسية والفهم والرؤيا
وطرائق التعبير جميعا . كأنه يبدأ من ارض محرقة ، لكي يعرف كيف
يبدأ بكرة ، نقيا .

كان الشعر اللبناني ، كما رآه جبران وحاول ان يكتبه ، يعبر عن
الروح والجوهر وعن غيب الاعماق ، متجها وجهة البحث عن واقع
آخر ، عن نوع من التحقق الخيالي الصوفي حيث لا يعود الانسان يشعر
انه منفصل عن الاشياء ، وحيث تسود الروح على الظواهر . وكان في