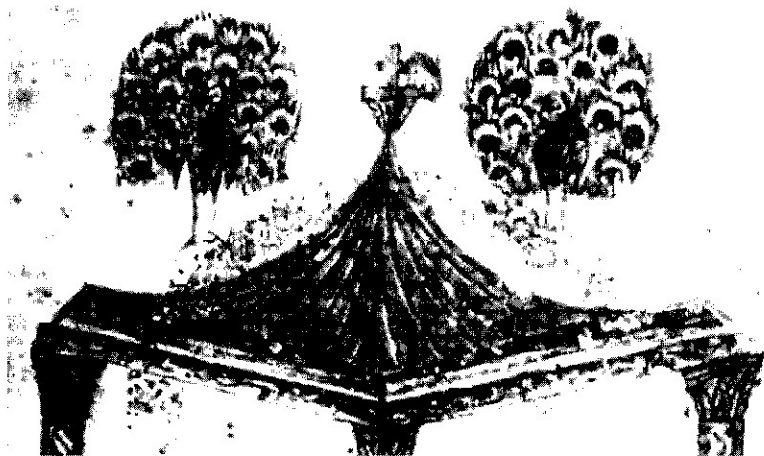




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Feast of the Annunciation

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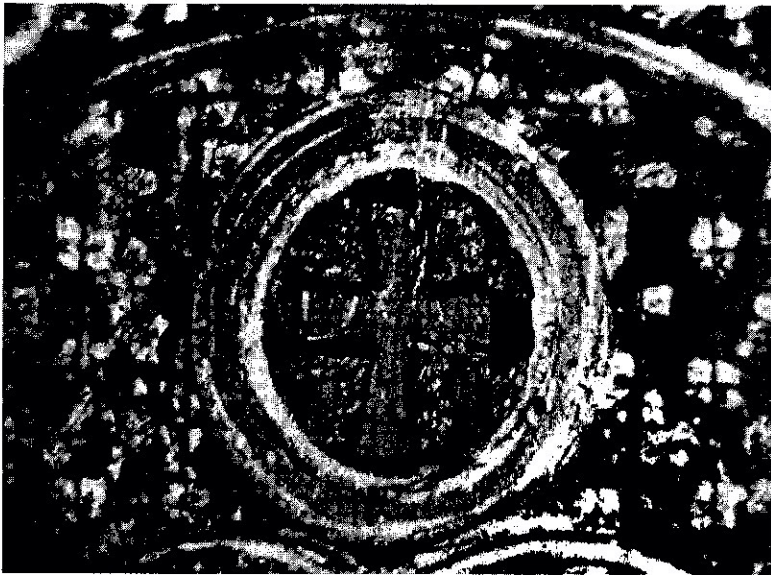
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This book, **Aspects of Maronite History**, originally appeared as a series of articles prepared by Chorbishop Seely Beggiani for the *Maronite Voice*, the monthly publication for the Eparchy of Saint Maron of Brooklyn. Given the importance of the information, and the need to bring it together into one compilation, this book is being offered to the reader interested in the development and growth of the Maronite [REDACTED] Church, from its origins to the present day.

The Catholic Church is united by one faith, and expressed in and through twenty-two unique Eastern and Western traditions: theologies, spiritualities, liturgies, languages, and cultures. The Maronite [REDACTED] Church, one among the oldest of the twenty-one Eastern Catholic Churches, finds its ancestral roots reaching back to Antioch, Edessa, and monasticism as lived by St Maron.



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Maronite Beginnings (4th to 9th Centuries)

The founding of the Maronite Church is due to three historical events: the life and deeds of St. Maron, the establishment of the Monastery of *Bet Maroun* ("the House of Maron"), and the organization of the Maronite Patriarchate. The hermit and ascetic St. Maron gave the Maronite Church not only its name, but also its soul and inspiration. The monks of the Monastery of *Bet Maroun* and the laity who gathered around them constituted the community of faith, which was to develop its own Christian and Syriac identity. Constituting itself as a Patriarchate defined the Maronite church's juridical structure as a viable and particular church among the other churches of the universal Catholic Church. By studying the history of the birth and growth of the Maronite church we can come to an understanding of the persons, places, cultures and events that define her character and shape her identity and mission.

The Period before St. Maron

The roots of Christianity in Lebanon go back to Jesus Christ. The Gospels tell us of His travels to *Tyre* and *Sidon*, and His dialogue with the Phoenician woman. There is even the legend that the Transfiguration of Christ took place in the region of the Cedars. After the ascension of Christ, the Apostles went out to preach the Gospel to the whole world. We presume that St. Peter and the Apostles used the Lebanese coastal road to go to Antioch.

Mc 15:2
Mt 15:2

The Acts of the Apostles (cf. Acts 11:19) tell us that due to the persecution that ensued after the martyrdom of St. Stephen, the Christian community was dispersed and some carried the message to Phoenicia. Describing the journey of St. Paul, chapter 21 of Acts informs us that when Paul came to *Tyre* he "looked for the disciples there and stayed with them for a week". It goes on to describe that at the time of Paul's departure from *Tyre*, the whole community including the women and children came to bid him farewell and knelt and prayed on the beach. Chapter 27 of Acts, in narrating St. Paul's

departure for Rome, mentioned that the entourage stopped at *Sidon* where Paul was allowed to visit "friends who cared for his needs".

These references indicate to us that Christianity was established in Lebanon from its earliest days. Very soon, *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and *Beirut* became dioceses with their own bishops. In their prayer and worship these early Christians of Lebanon and Syria would have been influenced by the liturgical practice of Jerusalem and Antioch. Further to the east and in the small towns and villages of the countryside, the Syriac culture developed by the early Christian communities of *Nisibis* and *Edessa* and crystallized in the writings of St. Ephrem and James of Saroug had the greater impact. Thus, the theological and liturgical matrix out of which the Maronite Church would arise was already in development.

Pre-Monastic Asceticism

From the earliest days of Christianity, men and women were attracted by the call to follow Christ in total discipleship and complete renunciation. In the beginning, there was no established way on how this was to be achieved. (In another place, we have described the uniquely Syriac institution of the "sons and daughters of the covenant", where men and women sought to fulfill their baptismal commitment by living lives of celibacy within the Christian community at large.)

Other Christian ascetics sought to live as solitaries in deserted places. They usually spent their days in long periods of prayer with severe fasting and other rigorous forms of asceticism. Some chose to mortify themselves by becoming '*stylites*', living on the top of columns for long periods of time. Others chose to live out in the open without benefit of shelter, exposing themselves to the elements. Their goal was total detachment so that by disciplining their bodies, they might focus only on things spiritual. While these holy men and women more often lived alone, they did attract disciples who came to them for spiritual direction. In a sense these small groups of ascetics were the precursors of the development of cloistered monastic communities.

Saint Maron

It was in this milieu of hermits and ascetics that we learn of St. Maron. Maron decided to leave the world and to seek solitude on top of a mountain, probably somewhere south of *Cyrrhus* and northwest of *Aleppo*. He had been a disciple of the hermit *Zebinas* who was known for his assiduousness in prayer, spending all day and night at it. Our principal historical source on the life of Maron is Theodoret, Bishop of *Cyrrhus* (393-466), who wrote a *Religious History of Syriac Asceticism*. Theodoret tells us that the mountain Maron chose had been sacred to pagans. He converted a pagan temple that he found there into a church, which he dedicated to the "true God".

Maron lived an austere life. While he erected a small tent for shelter, he rarely used it and spent most of his time in the open air as a form of mortification. We are told that Maron was not satisfied with the ordinary exercises of piety but added to them. He would often spend the whole night standing in prayer. He practiced numerous other penances and fasted for weeks on end. Maron became known for the gift of miracles and attracted many people, even from great distances. He accomplished many cures and exorcisms. Theodoret goes on to say: "He cured not only infirmities of the body, but applied suitable treatment to soul as well, healing this man's greed and that man's anger, to this man supplying teaching in self-control and to that providing lessons in justice, correcting this man's intemperance and shaking up another man's sloth."

Maron attracted a number of disciples for whom he became a spiritual father. Theodoret summarizes the work of Maron in poetic fashion: "By cultivating that spiritual field, he raised in it many wonderful plants in the realm of virtues, cultivating and offering to God this marvelous garden that now flourishes in the region of *Cyrrhus*." We are told that after the death of Maron, the people of the various neighboring villages fought over his body. It was the belief that having a holy person buried close by would bring

blessings and cures on the inhabitants. Theodoret informs us that the inhabitants of the nearest and largest village came in great numbers, took possession of the body, and built over it a magnificent church. While we do not know the exact location, it was probably between *Aleppo* and *Cyrrhus*. Theodoret tells us that the relics of Maron are venerated with great public solemnity in his day and are the occasion of many miracles.

The other historical source we have about St. Maron is a letter addressed to him by St. John Chrysostom. Chrysostom had been exiled from the Patriarchate of Constantinople to *Cucusus* in Armenia. From there he wrote to "Maron, priest and solitary", telling him that he is "joined to [him] in the bonds of charity and affection", and is comforted by the news he hears about Maron's holy life. He is concerned about his health and asks for his prayers. We believe that the letter was written around 406. Based on the writings of Theodoret and Chrysostom, we usually date St. Maron's life from 350-410 (although some have placed his death as late as 423).

The Disciples of St. Maron

Theodoret also describes for us the lives of some of the disciples Maron left behind. There were among others James of *Cyrrhus*, Limnaeus, Domnina, Cyra and Marana. Theodoret singles out especially James of *Cyrrhus* who had been taught by Maron and later went off to live by himself. He lived a life of austerity, exposing himself to the open air and the elements without respite, saying that the skies were his roof. After living in a small cell, he went to a mountain near *Cyrrhus*. Due to his renown for holiness, pilgrims would come and take from the earth where he resided for a blessing. He also possessed the gift of miracles, and is said to have raised a child from the dead.

St. Limnaeus, after being taught by Maron, also lived in the open air. He possessed the gift of healing, and also gathered blind beggars around him and sought to take care of their needs. Sts. Cyra and Marana were two noble women of *Beroea*, who founded a small convent on the outskirts of the city. They themselves lived in

the open air and carried heavy iron and chains on their bodies as a form of mortification. They also practiced long periods of fasting. Emulating the life of Maron, St. Domnina set up a small hut made up of grain stalks in the garden of her mother's house. She lived her life in prayer and fasting, giving alms to those in need. Mention should also be made of the austere hermit, and later bishop, Abraham, who Theodoret tells us converted a large village in Lebanon from impiety to the true faith.

R. M. Price, who has translated Theodoret's *Religious History* into English observes: "St. Maron emerges from the Religious History as the first influential hermit of the region of *Cyrrhus*. His pattern of life in the open air, exposed to the extremes of the climate, was imitated by many . . . and gave the asceticism of *Cyrrhestica* a distinctive character, for elsewhere hermits normally lived in cells or caves." What is remarkable about St. Maron is that his main goal in life was not to become famous, but to serve his God in total detachment from the world. Yet while being separated from the world, he served the people of this world, who came to him in search of spiritual and physical healing. His eye and his heart were set on God and union with Him in the future kingdom. Yet by being totally faithful to God's will, this humble hermit has also achieved worldly immortality through the Church, which bears his name. In fact, the Maronite Church is the only church in Catholicism, which bears the name of a person.

The Monastery of St. Maron

The spirit and teachings of St. Maron lived on after his death in his disciples. Not only was a church built in his memory which became a site for pilgrimage, but very soon after his death in the early part of the fifth century, a monastery was established nearby. Scholars place the monastery at Qalaaat al Modeeq near Apameus. The Monastery of St. Maron (Bet Maroun) grew in significance and in numbers as time went on. (The Arab historian, Abu al-Fida tells us that the Emperor Marcian sought to buttress the doctrinal position of the Council of Chalcedon by increasing the size of the Monastery of St. Maron and allowing a large number of Greek-speaking monks to be settled there.) In 445, Theodoret of Cyrrhus informs us that there

were 400 monks in residence. Bishop Thomas of Kfartab in the 11th century speaks of as many as 800 monks. Mas'oudi, an Arab historian of the 10th century, describes the Monastery as a large edifice surrounded by 300 cells. The Monastery of St. Maron came to preside over a federation of monasteries in its province. Its representatives participated in synods of Constantinople in 536 and 553.

The monks of St. Maron came from among the people of the region, and the Monastery was the place where the lay people received their religious instruction and were educated and trained in various skills. Therefore, both the religious and lay followers of the spirit of St. Maron became known as the Maronites. As time went on, this community possessing its own religious and cultural identity became known as the Maronite nation.

Defenders of the Faith

The region in which the Maronites lived was the crossroads of many cultures and beliefs. It was the arena for rich, but also controversial theological speculation. In the fifth century much debate took place regarding how the divine and human natures of Christ were to be taught. No good Christian doubted that Christ was both divine and human, but there was disagreement in explaining how the two realities related to each other. Some tried to say that the divine and human in Christ were two independent persons who worked together. This teaching, known as Nestorianism, was condemned by the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus in 431 because the bishops reasoned, if God had not truly united Himself to our humanity, then we have not been redeemed. The Christians of Persia persisted in the Nestorian teaching and separated themselves from the universal Church. Others took the opposite approach, teaching that there was only one nature in Christ, that the divine completely absorbed the human. This teaching, known as Monophysitism, was condemned by the Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon (a town near Constantinople) in 451. The Council taught that Christ was fully divine and fully human but one in person. Many Christians of Egypt (Copts) and Ethiopia persisted in the Monophysite teaching, as did

many Christians of the church of Antioch, who were referred to as Jacobites (named after their founder, Jacob Baradai).

The Maronites (as well as the Melkites) were staunch defenders of the Council of Chalcedon. The monks of St. Maron took the lead in preaching the true doctrine and stopping the propagation of heresy. The monks describe their activity in a memorandum sent by the priest Alexander, who was head of the Monastery to the Bishops of the region. This memorandum was inserted in the acts of the Fifth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople in 553.

The 350 Maronite Martyrs

In a letter addressed to Pope Hormisdas in 517, monks of St. Maron address the Pope as the one occupying the Chair of St. Peter, and inform him that they are undergoing many sufferings and attacks patiently. They single out Antiochian Patriarchs Severus and Peter, who, they say, anathematize the Council of Chalcedon and Pope Leo, whose formula the Council had adopted. The Maronites are mocked for their support of the Council and are suffering afflictions. The Emperor Anastasius had sent an army that had marched through the district of Apamea closing monasteries and expelling the monks. Some had been beaten and others were thrown into prison. While on the way to the shrine of St. Simon Stylite, the Maronites had been ambushed and 350 monks were killed, even though some of them had taken refuge at the altar. The monastery was burned. The Maronites appealed to the Emperor in Constantinople, but to no avail. Now, they appeal to the Pope for deliverance against the enemies of the Fathers and the Council. They exclaim: "Do not therefore look down upon us, Your Holiness, we who are daily attacked by ferocious beasts. . . . We anathematize Nestorius, Eutyches, Dioscorus, Peter of Alexandria and Peter the Fuller of Antioch, and all their followers and those who defend their heresies." The letter was signed first by Alexander, priest and archimandrite of St. Maron. Over 200 other signatures follow, of other archimandrites, priests and deacons. The importance of the Monastery of Bet Maroun is evidenced by Alexander's name leading the list of delegates. Pope Hormisdas, in

a letter dated February 10, 518, tells the archimandrites, priests, and deacons of the region of Apamea that he read their letter describing the persecutions of the heretics. He consoles them in their sufferings and tells them not to despair for they are gaining eternal life through this. The Emperor Justinian restored the walls of the principal monastery of St. Maron.

The Expansion of the Maronites

Having originated in the area of Apameus, the Maronites spread into the valley of the Orontes River, to Hama and Homs. They also spread to other regions: Mabboug, Qennesrin, Aleppo, Damascus, Edessa, Baghdad, Takrit, and al-Awasim (a line of fortifications stretching from Antioch to Mabboug, raised under the Abbasids against the Byzantine armies).

The Formation of the Maronite Patriarchate

The Moslem conquests of the seventh century had a profound effect on the church of Antioch and the region in which the Monastery of St. Maron was located. Maronite immigration to Lebanon, which had begun some time before, was intensified, especially since the enemies of the Maronites sided with the Moslem armies against the Maronites.

The Patriarchs of Antioch were also under siege. After the death of Patriarch Anastasius (around 609), only titular patriarchs of Antioch were named and they resided not at Antioch but at Constantinople. Having been physically vacant since 685, the Patriarchate became juridically vacant in 702, and no one was named as a successor. It was during this time that John Maron, Maronite Bishop of Batroun became Patriarch of Antioch and established himself in Kfarhai, Lebanon. Writing regarding an event that occurred in 746, the historian Denis of Tell Mahre declares: "The Maronites remain as they are today. They ordain a patriarch and bishops from their monastery."

In 694 the Emperor Justinian Rhinotmeteus sent troops against the Maronites. Soldiers attacked the monastery and killed 500 monks,

and went toward Tripoli, Lebanon to capture John Maron. However, they were ambushed on the way and two of their leaders were killed. This was only one of several persecutions which forced John Maron to flee several times. St. John Maron died around 707 in the Monastery of St. Maron in Kfarhai.

Persecutions by heretics and the Arabs resulted in the destruction of the Monastery of St. Maron and the definitive establishment of the Patriarchate in Mount Lebanon. The historian, Patriarch Stephen Duwayhi, tells us that this took place under John Maron II in 939. The historian Massoudi, who died in 956, informs us that the Monastery of St. Maron was destroyed by the sultan reigning at his time. In Lebanon the Patriarchate was successively located in the Monasteries of Ianouh, Maiphouq, Kfarhai, and Qannoubin (in the "Valley of the Saints"). Patriarch Duwayhi tells us that due to persecution the patriarchal see was changed fourteen times from its beginning in 685 until it was finally settled in Qannoubin in 1440 by Patriarch John al-Jaji.

The institution of the Patriarchate was not followed immediately by a complete ecclesiastical organization. The Patriarch remained for a long time the only head of his people. Without doubt, heading certain towns, villages, and even monasteries were bishops; but they were, strictly speaking, only representatives of the Patriarch. The division of the Patriarchate into eparchies or dioceses was accomplished only following the Synod of 1736. Since the Maronite community was founded on a religious core, it was natural that the Patriarchate would become the rallying point, in both political and ecclesiastical spheres. This status of the Patriarch was reinforced further by temporal rights the Arabs recognized for the spiritual heads of Christian communities, and that the Crusaders, Mamelouks, and Ottoman Turks continued.

The Maronite historian, Bishop Peter Dib, has observed that the geographic situation of the Maronites in Lebanon, and the religious and political battles that they were undergoing, had especially reinforced them in a spirit of nationality; they saw in their fidelity to

the Patriarch an expression of patriotic sentiment. Retrenched in the precipices of the mountains of Lebanon, this people was able to create for itself its own way of life and to enjoy a certain autonomy under the direction of their spiritual leaders. The French writer R. Ristelhueber states: "Strongly grouped around their clergy and their Patriarch, the Maronites constituted a small people with their own particular identity. The holy valley of Kadisha, marked with cells of hermits, and the cedars in the heights were symbols of their vitality and independence. The patriarchal Monastery of Qannoubin, perched as an eagle's nest, summarized their whole history."

Immigration to Lebanon, which had increased after the Arab invasions, had intensified under the Abbasid Calif al-Mamoun (813-33). The choice of Lebanon was understandable since its mountains were almost impenetrable. The oldest known Maronite establishment in Lebanon is the Church of Mar Mammias in Ehden in 749. Maronites had immigrated also to Cyprus and Rhodes.

Thus we see that the Maronite Church rooted in the ascetic spirit of St. Maron, was molded into a community of faith with a monastic stamp. Its origin and early development help to explain why its liturgical life is characterized by simplicity and a hopeful anticipation of the future kingdom. From its birth it has been called upon to defend the faith in its preaching and teaching and to witness to the faith in persecution and martyrdom. Its vocation is to live the Gospel of Christ whatever the circumstances and whatever the place in which it finds itself.

The Crusades (10th to 14th Centuries)

Very little is known about the Maronites in Lebanon between the time of their being established there in the seventh and eighth centuries and the coming of the Crusades in the eleventh century. During this period the Maronites and the region were dominated by the *Abbasids*, whose rule was often severe, and who persecuted and decimated the Maronites. When the first Crusaders arrived in Lebanon in 1098, they were surprised and pleased to find fellow Christians who welcomed them with hospitality. We are told that the Maronites were of great assistance to the Crusaders both as guides and as a fighting force of 40,000 men known for their prowess in battle. The Franciscan F. Suriano, writing some time later, described them as "astute and prone to fighting and battling. They are good archers using the Italian style of cross-bowing". The Crusaders not only passed through Lebanon on the way to the Holy Places, but established themselves in the country and built fortresses in a number of areas, the ruins of which remain to this day. Close relations were also established between the Latin Hierarchy that accompanied the Crusaders and the Maronite Church.

With the coming of the Crusaders, it would seem that the Maronites made a conscious decision to seek the support of the West. Prior to this time, the Maronites lived and thought on a provincial level. Their major concerns were to defend themselves against local heretics (a struggle based not only on a religious plane, but also on ethnic and cultural levels) and to attempt to establish a *modus vivendi* with Arab rulers. With the coming of the Crusaders they began to look to the West for assistance. Ties with the Holy See became closer, Western practices were adopted, and Latin influence and changes in the Maronite Liturgy took place.

The Lebanese historian Philip Hitti observes: "of all the contacts established by the Latins with the peoples of the Near East, those with the Maronites proved to be most fruitful, the most enduring. Disabilities, particularly those imposed by the *Ummayyad Umar*, the

Abbasid al-Muttawakkil and the *Fatimid al-Hakim*, under which the Christian minorities (at best second class citizens) lived, had conditioned them for foreign influences and rendered them especially receptive to friendly approaches from Westerners." The era of the Crusades produced a veritable renaissance in the Maronite Church. Numerous churches were built and religious art works were produced at this time. Ernest Renan cites churches in the towns of *Hattoun, Maiphoug, Helta, Toula, Bhadidat, Ma'ad, Koura*, and *Semar-Jebail* among others as examples.

Early Latinization

Because of their close ties with the Crusaders, the Maronites began to adopt certain Latin practices. From the 12th century they began to use bells in Lebanon, according to the way of the Western church; up to that time they had used wood for the calling of the faithful to church as the Greeks do. When Queen Constance, wife of the King of Sicily, bought the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem and the Sanctuary of Bethlehem, she gave to the Maronites the Grotto of the Cross and many altars in other churches in the Holy City, permitting them to celebrate on the altar of the Franks and using their religious articles. It was during this time that Maronite prelates began wearing ring, miter and cross as the Latins do.

Patriarch Jeremiah al-Amshiti was the first Patriarch to make an official visit to Rome in 1213. He assisted at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. A painting depicting a miraculous event which occurred, while he celebrated the Divine Liturgy in Rome showed the consecrated Host hovering above his head. It was displayed in St. John Lateran for many centuries.

In a *Bull* addressed to the Maronites in 1215, and reiterated by subsequent Popes, Pope Innocent III encouraged Latin practices, such as having the Bishop alone as the minister of Confirmation, and decreeing that nothing other than olive oil and balsam should be used in the preparation of Chrism. He also called for the use of bells to discern the hours and to call the people to church. Pope

Innocent also sent the Maronites church ornaments and vestments conforming to the Latin usage. Rome kept contact with the Maronites in the 13th century, through visitations by Dominican and Franciscan friars. The Franciscans opened monasteries in *Antioch, Tripoli, Tyre* and *Sidon*.

The Alleged Conversion of the Maronites

If one were to consult many of the standard encyclopedias and reference works regarding the history of the Maronites, the vast majority will claim that the Maronites were once heretics and experienced a conversion at the time of the Crusaders in the 12th century. The Maronite Church has always denied this charge, and has always affirmed its acceptance of all the teachings of the Catholic Church and its constant union with the Pope. It seems that a principal source of this false accusation was the writing of a historian of the time, William of Tyre. In his history, he speaks about a mass conversion of Maronites that took place around 1182 which involved the Patriarch, all the bishops and the laity. He identifies the heresy as that of *monothelism*, the teaching that there is only one will in Christ.

The heresy of *monothelism* arose in the seventh century as a misguided attempt by the Emperor to bring religious peace to his empire by a formula that would seek to compromise the views of the *monophysites* who claimed that there was only one nature in Christ and the Catholic party who said that there were two natures in Christ, a divine and a human one. *Monothelism* taught that Christ had two natures but one will, which in effect was the divine will. Those who advocated this heresy declared that to speak of two wills in Christ would be to say that the human will could diverge from the divine will, which would mean that Christ could sin. The Catholic party declared that to eliminate the human will in Christ would be to distort His humanity. The sixth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople in 681 condemned the heresy of *monothelism*. For a church or a community of believers to be guilty of heresy, it must make the teaching a public position of their church. It must be taught by their patriarch and bishops. To be guilty of formal heresy

in the Catholic Church, one must be condemned officially by the Church and persist in the teaching once condemned. There is no indication that the Maronite Church as a church ever taught *monothelism*. Some authors have tried to point to one or more writings of individual Maronites. But nowhere is there a false teaching attributed to a Maronite patriarch or bishop. Furthermore, the Council of Constantinople in condemning monothelism listed by name those who had spread this heresy. The Maronite Church is not mentioned and there is no Maronite name on the list.

Regarding the claims of William of Tyre of a miraculous conversion of the Maronites, some Maronite scholars have speculated that the event might have been in actuality a public profession of faith rather than an abjuration of heresy. Through the years opponents of the Maronites have repeated the charge of heresy for their own purposes. It is unfortunate that various encyclopedias have perpetuated this unsubstantiated charge and not consulted the officials of the Maronite Church. On the other hand, for the last nine hundred years the Popes, in official declarations, have consistently praised the Maronites for their perpetual union with the Church of Rome.

The Defeat of the Crusaders

Towards the end of the 13th century the *Mamelukes* of Egypt began to gain the upper hand in the eastern Mediterranean. The crusaders in retreat found refuge among the Maronites in Lebanon. While the Franks tried to hold the line there, they were defeated by the *Sultan's* troops. In 1267 upper Lebanon was destroyed. Many captives were beheaded, trees were cut and the churches were destroyed. From 1289 to 1291 the whole of the Lebanese coast fell to the invaders. The once flourishing cities of the Mediterranean went up in flames as the Moslems took their vengeance on the Christians. According to the Historian Theodore of *Hama*, even in *Kisrawan*, not a monastery, church or fort was saved from destruction.

The last Crusader fortress, St. John of Acre, fell shortly after Beyrouth in 1291. A good number of Maronites grouped around their Patriarch and established at *Hadeth* a center of resistance. But the Patriarch himself was soon captured.

The loss of the Latin states caused the conquered to look to the island of Cyprus, acquired in 1192 by Guy de Lusignan. Many Maronites followed the movement of immigration to Cyprus. They chose to live in the higher elevations of the island where they preserved their culture and their customs. We know that there was a Maronite bishop in Cyprus as early as 1340. The Maronite immigration also extended to Rhodes.

The period of the Crusades marks an important milestone in the history of the Maronites. The communication with the West from this time on were to increase and become solidified. Many religious orders were to come to Lebanon in succeeding centuries and establish institutions and schools. European culture would also be transmitted. Latinization of the Maronite rite, which had its beginnings with the Crusades, was to continue with the Synod of Mount Lebanon in 1736. Even politically, the Maronites looked for aid and support more often than not from the countries of Europe, especially France.

Contacts Between West and East (14th to 16th Centuries)

The Rule of the *Mamlouks*

The year 1291 marked the definitive loss of the last remnants of crusader rule in the Middle East. From that time the region was under the domination of the *Mamlouks* until the *Ottoman* conquest in 1516. Fearing a new invasion from the west, the *Mamlouk* rulers were suspicious of any relations of the indigenous Christians with foreign countries. Any attempt at ties with the West were considered unpardonable treason, a plot against the security of the state.

The Maronites, grouped in Northern Lebanon, organized themselves under the direction of their Patriarch and clergy. They divided themselves into many districts headed by chiefs taken from within the nation and called *mouqaddimin*. This organization gave them a certain autonomy. The *mouqaddimin* were responsible to the *Mamlouk* governor of Tripoli and administered the temporal affairs of the community. They were generally ordained subdeacons so that they would have a right of precedence over the laity in the Church. By the fourteenth century the Maronites in Lebanon had grown in numbers and occupied a considerable number of towns and villages.

The Franciscans in Lebanon

After a lapse of several decades, the popes of the fifteenth century took a renewed interest in the East, and especially in reuniting those who had separated from Rome. Missionaries from various religious orders were sent to the Middle East. The Franciscans especially became active in Lebanon at this time. In response to an invitation from Pope Eugene IV to attend the Council of Ferrara-Florence, Patriarch John *al-Jajji* commissioned the Superior of the Franciscans in Beyrouth to represent the Maronite Church, and to assure the Holy Father that the Maronite Patriarch accepted in advance all the decisions of the Council. Suspicious and angered by the developing ties between the Maronite Patriarch and the West,

the governor of Tripoli sent soldiers to destroy the monastery of *Maiphouq* in 1439. As a result, Patriarch John *al-Jajji* moved his residence to the monastery of *Qannoubin* in the "holy valley" [*wadi qadisha*] in 1440. At this residence, dedicated to Our Lady, the Patriarchs were to remain for the next three centuries, living an austere and simple existence.

In 1444 the Holy See created an Apostolic Commissioner for the Maronites, Druze and Melkites. The most active among the missionaries in Lebanon was the Franciscan friar Gryphon who had studied Arabic and Syriac in Jerusalem and who chose to live and work among the Maronites. He constantly traveled through the mountain villages from 1455 to 1469 building new churches there. He enjoyed the complete confidence of Patriarch Peter *al-Hadathi* who encouraged him to preach in all the Maronite parishes and monasteries. On the other hand, Friar Gryphon also sought to Latinize some Maronite liturgical practices, but this was met with resistance from the Maronite clergy. However, on a mission to Rome, Friar Gryphon wrote a letter to the Maronites affirming their faith and their perpetual union with the Holy See. He also noted that the Maronites frequented the churches of the Franks, celebrating at their altars with the same articles and making the sign of the cross the way the Franks did.

The Maronite areas enjoyed some tranquility in the second half of the fifteenth century. Christians gathered together in large numbers. The village of *Hadsheet* alone had twenty priests. In the churches of *Besharri*, there were as many altars as days in the year. Over one hundred monasteries were scattered over the mountain. Peace, although relative, led to prosperity. As a consequence there was a development of intellectual and spiritual life. Schools multiplied and churches were augmented. The historian Patriarch Stephen *Duwayhi* claims that at that period there were 110 Maronite manuscript copyists.

Persecutions

The peace that Maronites enjoyed during this period was relative and intermittent. The *mouqaddimin* were not always able to protect their compatriots from the tyrannical measures that were decreed. In a report sent from *Qannoubin* to the Holy Father in 1475 by the Papal legate, Brother Alexander of Arioste states: "In the midst of this nation [Maronite] live the Saracens . . . Their tyranny knows no rest; also, in parts of Lebanon, there is only desolation, provoking tears. Under the pretext of raising a certain tribute that they call *gelia*, they [the agents of the authority] despoil the poor mountain people of all that they have; afterwards, they beat them with rods, inflicting all sorts of torments to extort from them what they do not have. Against these vexations, there is only one recourse possible, apostasy. Many might have fallen if it had not been for the charity of their pious Patriarch [*Peter ibn Hassan*] who came to their aid. Dismayed at the peril to the souls of his sheep, he gave over all the revenues of his churches to satisfy the greed of the tyrants. The door of the patriarchal monastery was walled up; sometimes he was obliged to hide in caves hollowed out of the earth.

Offentimes it was the patriarchs who were the focus of persecution. Patriarch David of *Hadsheet* was put to death by Sultan *Qalaoun* in 1282, and Patriarch Gabriel of *Hajoula* was burned at the stake near Tripoli in 1367. In a letter to Pope Leo X of March 8, 1514, Patriarch Simon declares: "We pray to God that during your days, we are liberated from the jurisdiction of the infidels who devour us, crush us and inflict on us taxes, very heavy tributes, affronts, persecutions and blows."

Gabriel *ibn al-Qilai'i*

The figure who dominates Maronite History of the fifteenth century is that of Gabriel *ibn al-Qilai'i*. He was born in 1450 in the village of *Lehfed* in the province of *Jebail*. During his mission to Lebanon, Friar Gryphon chose him along with two other Maronites to enter the Order of St. Francis. After their religious profession at Jerusalem, all three went to Venice and Rome to complete their studies. Returning to Lebanon, Brother Gabriel instructed the people in the

faith and wrote against the *Jacobite* or *Monophysite* heretics [those who say there is only one nature in Christ]. He excelled in the composition of *zajaliat* [a type of popular poem]. He composed and translated into Arabic many works of theology, history and canon law. In 1507 he was consecrated Bishop of Nicosia for the Maronites of Cyprus and remained in his See until his death in 1516.

Bishop *al-Qilai'i* defended vigorously the perpetual faith of the Maronites against accusations he found in his reading of Latin sources. He exercised a profound influence on the life of the Maronite Church, but also furthered the Latinization of Maronite liturgy and discipline.

The Rule of the Ottomans

In 1516, the Ottomans, under the leadership of Selim I conquered Syria and Lebanon. The region was divided into three *pashaliks*: Damascus, Aleppo and Tripoli. The *pasha* of Tripoli had the responsibility to watch over the seacoast, the region of the *Nosairis* (*Alawites*), Lebanon and the grand coastal route leading to the interior. In 1660, a new *pashalik* of Sidon was created to watch over the South of Mount Lebanon.

The historian, Bishop Pierre Dib observes that the history of Syria and Lebanon during this period can be summarized in this way: "administrative anarchy, a series of intrigues and quarrels among the *pashas*, indigenous dynasties, a chain of extortions, vexations and killings". The Ottomans did not have the force to remove small local dynasties maintained by individual *emirs*. Rather, they considered them as vassals and expected them to pay taxes or *miri*, to furnish a military contingent, and not to encroach on territories directly exploited by agents of the *Sultan*. Under these conditions, the *sultan* permitted them to ransom their own subjects, to fight among themselves, to perpetuate a state of anarchy, which would make the subjection of the region easier.

At this time the Maronites, massed in the northern part of Lebanon, belonged politically to the rule of Tripoli. However, they continued to

be governed directly by their *mouqaddamin*. The role of the *mouqaddamin* consisted principally in raising the tax. They were subcollectors under the Moslem collector appointed by the *sultan*. About 1655 the government of a significant Maronite district, that of *Besharri*, was conferred on the *Metouali* or Shiite family of *Hamada*, which resulted in a number of Maronites fleeing to the south of *Nahr Ibrahim* and to the villages of the coast. The first *Hamada* governors were just and good administrators, but their successors adopted an entirely opposite direction, and imposed much oppression. Many Maronites were forced to emigrate and a majority of them took refuge in the district of *Kesrawan*.

The Pontifical Mission of 1578

In the 15th and 16th centuries contacts between the Holy See and the Maronite patriarchs continued. Missionaries and papal legates continued to be sent to Lebanon. Often, they brought with them gifts of Roman altar vestments and furnishings. In the pontifical letters that were sent one can determine time and again the particular importance that the Popes attached to the adoption of certain rites and usages of the Latin Church, especially in the administration of the sacraments. And so the way was prepared for a systematic Latinization that would be accomplished in the succeeding centuries.

In 1578 Papal legates John Baptist Eliano, S.J. and Thomas Raggio, S.J. were sent to the Maronites. They brought with them a Papal Bull addressed to the Maronite Patriarch. After acknowledging the faith of the Maronites, Pope Gregory XIII requests that the Maronites should follow the Roman tradition in not adding references to Christ in the *Trisagion*, in having only Bishops administer the sacrament of Confirmation, and in not giving the Eucharist to children under the age of reason. The Holy Father closes by saying that he is going to send Arabic translations of the decrees and canons of the Council of Trent, and a catechism for use of pastors. We might note that the changes advocated by the Holy Father were of longstanding liturgical practice in the Maronite tradition.

After meeting with the Maronite Patriarch, the Papal legates sought to examine the liturgical, canonical and theological books used by the Maronites. Father Eliano proceeded to censor and burn the books he considered contained errors. He has been accused by the Maronites of destroying many precious manuscripts important for the history of the nation. In fact, Patriarch Stephen Duwayhi, noting that Arabic words often have many meanings difficult to understand, claims that Eliano was not a scholar in Arabic. Duwayhi further observes that Eliano did not distinguish books accepted by the Maronites as contrasted to those of other churches. On the other hand, Eliano's behavior is defended by the Jesuit scholar Louis Cheiko.

Father Eliano had thought of building a seminary in Tripoli, but decided against it because of the persecutions and difficulties the Maronites suffered there. He decided that Rome was the only place. He asked that six students be sent to study in Rome, but only two were sent, Gabriel *Adniti* from Mount Lebanon, and Gaspar of Cyprus. On his return to Rome, Father Eliano reported on the condition of the Maronites, praising their tradition and obedience to the Holy See and their joyful acceptance of the faith. Eliano told the Holy Father that, because some heretics were intermingled among the Maronites, some errors had infiltrated among them from foreign books and therefore the Maronites were employing improper customs. The Holy Father was happy with the report and thanked God for keeping the faith among a faraway people who knew neither the language nor the customs of Rome.

It would seem that Eliano reported on other Maronite practices that he considered objectionable and that should be surrendered. He stated that Maronites use both leavened and unleavened bread and add salt, that the deacons receive the Eucharist under both species, that the celebrant gives Communion to people from his own host, that there are no statues in their churches, and that they do not kneel in their churches. (We note that these are traditional practices among the Eastern churches.)

The Maronite position regarding the first visit of Papal legates Eliano and Raggio can be summarized best by citing the letter written by Patriarch Michael el-Ruzzi to Cardinal Caraffa, the Cardinal-Protector of the Maronites, dated August 25, 1678: "Since, my brother, there may be someone who will write to you that there are some words found in our books opposed to the holy Church, we accept only what the holy Church accepts, and whatever errors are found in some copies would have crept in and been inserted in them from the books of nations which are near us and from a long time ago. My brother, remove all suspicion concerning our rectitude; we were founded from antiquity in the faith of the Holy Apostolic Roman Church which we have always embraced; and we do not speak to you merely with our lips, but with our lips and hearts, may God be our witness."

Pontifical Mission in Lebanon and the Maronite College in Rome (15th to mid 16th Centuries)

In 1580 Pope Gregory XIII sent the Jesuits John Baptist Eliano and John Baptist Bruno to Lebanon as his legates. They brought with them many religious articles including a number of books. Because of the need for printed books for Syriac speaking Christians, the Holy Father had established a Syriac printing press in Rome. Among the books that were published and brought by the legates was a catechism printed in *karshuni* [Arabic written in Syriac letters], which had been composed by Fr. Bruno and translated by Fr. Eliano. It was modeled after the one composed by Peter Canisius after the Council of Trent, and it advocated many of the sacramental practices of the Roman Church. Other publications included a book on the decrees of the Council of Trent, a book on the heresies of the Jacobites and the Nestorians, and translations of the Imitation of Christ and the prayers of the Latin Mass.

The Papal legates also brought with them 300 chalices, vestments, molds for making hosts, vessels for the Holy Oils, rosaries and pious images. Cardinal Caraffa, the Cardinal-Protector of the Maronites, recommended that the legates introduce the rosary first in the monasteries, and later they were to found confraternities in different localities. It is probable that the gifts of molds for hosts hastened the use of unleavened bread among the Maronites. The legates were advised that their highest priority was to hold a synod at which the new catechism was to be accepted, and salutary decrees in conformity with the Council of Trent were to be passed for the purity of faith and the improvement of discipline.

The Maronite Synod of 1580

On August 15, 1580 at *Qannoubin*, the Patriarchal residence in the *Valley of the Saints*, the Maronite synod opened with the Divine Liturgy celebrated by Patriarch Michael *el-Ruzzi* in the presence of the papal legates, bishops, and a crowd of 2,200 notables, ecclesiastics, and faithful. The catechism brought by Eliano and

Bruno was adopted by the assembly. The synod went on to affirm the teachings of the Council of Trent. They also accepted the addition of the *filioque* [the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son] to the Nicene Creed. The addition of the phrase "Who was crucified . . ." to the *Trisagion* was outlawed.

The Synod accepted the use of both the Latin and Eastern formulas for Baptism. It advised that while it was customary to use triple immersion in Baptism, in necessity, a single immersion, or infusion suffices (in fact, the practice of infusion slowly gained acceptance). The Synod declared that the Bishop was the minister of Confirmation and that it was most appropriate that this sacrament be given to those who have reached the age of reason. We might note that it was about this time that Maronite rituals began to have *rubrics* inserted reserving Confirmation to the Bishop.

The synodal chapter dealing with the Eucharist cited the text for the consecration of the Eucharist from the Roman Missal. The synod stated that while it was permissible to give Communion to infants, it was in no way necessary for salvation. Since there is the danger of irreverence, "we discern that there is merit in following the custom of the Roman Church". In 1577 the distribution of Communion to infants was a universal practice in Lebanon. While Pope Gregory XIII exhorted the Patriarch against this practice, he did not formally forbid it. Although the Synod of 1580 speaks against it, the practice did not stop for several decades. The synod also recommended the Roman formulas for sacramental absolution and for Extreme Unction.

All in attendance publicly approved the declarations of the Synod. The papal legates asked and received permission from the Patriarch to tour the country and promulgate the decrees of the Synod. The legates also took this opportunity to distribute the catechism they had brought with them. Schools were founded for children, and we are told that Fr. Eliano began to teach the Latin language at *Qannoubin*. It was also at this time that Fr. Eliano was able to send four more students from among the Maronites to study in Rome.

The Maronite College in Rome

Perhaps one of the most important results of the Papal legations to Lebanon in 1578 and 1580 was the founding of the Maronite College in Rome. Patriarch Michael *el-Ruzzi* had asked Pope Pius V in 1568 to establish a house in Rome as a school for Maronite students to learn theology so that on their return they would better serve the Maronites. However, at first, students were not sent. The two students who came in 1579 were put in the school for Neophytes in Rome. Four more students came in 1581 and joined the others. Eight more were sent in 1583, and four came from *Aleppo* in 1584. On February 9, 1582, Pope Gregory XIII erected a guest house in Rome for the Maronites and set aside 200 ducats as a pension for its support. In 1584, due to the urging of Cardinal *Caraffa*, Pope Gregory XIII converted the guest house into the Maronite College, exclusively for Maronite seminarians and for the priest faculty that would care for them. Later that year Pope Gregory XIII added to the yearly income of the College, as did Pope Sixtus V. Cardinal *Caraffa* left his entire fortune to the College.

The impact and importance of the Maronite College cannot be underestimated. Students of the College were responsible for the spreading of knowledge in Europe about the East including its language, history, religions and institutions. From the College were graduated scholars whose works have been precious aids to European Orientalists. Besides returning to their country with many elements of Western culture, the Maronite alumni were of benefit to their compatriots by starting a renewal of intellectual activity in Lebanon. This movement reached its fullness with Patriarch Stephen Duwayhi and the Assemanis. From Rome many alumni were attracted to France at the beginning of the 17th century and introduced Oriental studies there, thus spreading knowledge about Eastern Churches and cultures.

With the establishment of the Maronite College, Rome was in a position to learn more accurately the customs and traditions of the

Maronites. On the other hand, a great number of patriarchs and bishops of the succeeding centuries were graduates of the Maronite College, and therefore attuned to the mind of Rome. The students of the College were instrumental in printing liturgical books in Syriac. The first was a Book of Offices for the Dead and was published in Rome in 1585 with the financial help of Pope Gregory XIII. In 1592, George Amira, a student of the Maronite College and later a Patriarch, produced a Missal in Syriac at the *Medici* Press in Rome. In the back of the Missal was the life of St. Maron taken from the Syriac account of Theodoret as well as prayers for the blessing of holy water. At first, the use of this Missal was forbidden by the Maronite Patriarch Sergius *el-Ruzzi* because the one who had been assigned the final examination of the Missal, a Fr. Thomas Terracina O.P., replaced the traditional words of Eucharistic institution of the various Maronite anaphoras with those of the Roman Missal. He had also altered the meaning of the words of the Epiclesis [the calling down of the Holy Spirit in oblation]. All of this had been done without the knowledge of the Pope or the Patriarch. Although the Patriarch eventually agreed to the use of the Missal out of necessity, this Missal was not accepted everywhere, since the Synod of 1736 had to suppress the use of arbitrary consecratory formulas.

Pontifical Mission of 1596

In 1596 Pope Clement VIII decided to send another mission to the Maronites. The Jesuits Jerome Dandini and Fabius Bruno were chosen. They were to affect any reforms they deemed appropriate, to see to it that the Maronite students who returned from Rome were properly used, and to choose more good students to be sent to Rome. After meeting with the Patriarch, Fr. Dandini traveled throughout Lebanon and leaves an extensive description of the customs of people. He discovered that the people are pious and have a simple and ardent faith. They highly respect their priests and when they meet a cleric they kiss his hand and ask for his blessing. The women are held in high regard, and there is no scandal among them. Dandini describes the celebration of the

Maronite Divine Liturgy noting that the laity have a great part in the chanting. The laity is given the Eucharist under both species.

Dandini goes on to observe that the priests and people alike assemble to recite the Divine Office. Secular and religious gather at midnight for Matins, and there is always a large number of lay people present. During the Lenten fast the Maronites eat nothing until a few hours before sunset. They abstain on Wednesdays and Fridays from meat and dairy products. They also fast twenty days before Christmas and fifteen days before the feasts of Sts. Peter and Paul and the Assumption. He notes that the Maronites do not have holy water at the entrances of their churches.

The Synods of 1596

At the urging of the Papal legates, a Maronite Synod was held in September of 1596. The doctrinal and liturgical decrees of the Synod were a reiteration of those of 1580. In addition, the Synod called for the use of only unleavened bread in the Divine Liturgy. It advocated the use of the Roman formulas for the sacraments. Nevertheless, this prescription was not put into practice universally, and the synod of 1736 gave the option of using either the Roman or the Eastern formulas. The Synod called for the exclusive use of the Missal printed in Rome in 1592; however, as we have noted, this Missal gained only very slow acceptance. The synod introduced the holy days and feasts of the Roman calendar, including Trinity Sunday and Corpus Christi.

While the Synod of 1596 again called for the Bishop to be the minister of Confirmation, the Maronite scholar *Abraham el-Haqani* observes that some priests still confirmed infants as late as 1654. Many of the ancient rituals still presented the rite of Confirmation in conjunction with Baptism, and these rituals continued to be used in a number of churches. The same can be said regarding giving Communion to infants, which continued at least until the middle of the 17th century.

A second synod was held in November 1596 to approve six canons dealing with discipline and practice which were to be added to the previous synod. They included a declaration that it was not necessary for secular priests to be married, since celibacy is a more perfect state. The synod also called upon the Bishops to live in their dioceses rather than be grouped together at the Patriarchate. However, this injunction was not implemented until after the synod of 1736.

The Process of Latinization

The actions of the Papal legates and the Synods of 1580 and 1596 give us graphic examples of the attempted Latinization of Maronite liturgical practices. As we have seen, elements of Latinization can be traced back to the time of the Crusades. However, at that time the practices were superficial, limited to such secondary points as the wearing of ring and *miter* by prelates, the manner of making the sign of the cross, the use of bells, unleavened bread, and Western altar furnishings. Even these changes did not become universal. With the Synods of 1580 and 1596 we see an attempt to give canonical and ritual legitimization to a systematic process of Latinization. This does not mean that there was an intentional policy on the part of the Roman Church to Latinize another tradition. Rather, we should recall that in this period after the Protestant Reformation in Europe and the holding of the Council of Trent, there was a desire to ensure ritual correctness seemingly through uniformity of practice.

Although conferring the three sacraments of Baptism, Confirmation, and Holy Eucharist at the same time was the ancient tradition of Christian Initiation in both the Western and Eastern Churches, as time went on the Roman Church had introduced the practice of conferring Confirmation by the bishop and the Holy Eucharist only after the age of reason. The Churches of the East had continued the ancient practice. It would seem that the Papal legates felt that the Roman practice should be favored and supersede the Maronite practice as a better way of conferring the sacraments. In the same

way, preference was given to the Roman sacramental formulas as a better way to ensure ritual correctness.

Ironically, the Maronite College of Rome also had a decisive influence on the Latinization of Maronite practice. Its students were anxious to follow the ideas of their teachers and the customs of the center of Christendom. On the other hand, the Maronites were anxious to show their fidelity to the Roman Church and their gratitude for its support and concern. Even so, decades and sometimes centuries passed before these Latinizations went into practice. And there were certain proposals that the Maronites actively resisted. It should also be noted that most of the Latinizations dealt with externals, and the essence of the Maronite tradition remained unaffected.

Maronite Western Practice (Late 16th to mid 17th Centuries)

The 17th century was a transitional one in Maronite Church history. While two synods were held in 1598 and 1644, they were not assembled in the presence of Papal legates, but called and presided over by the Patriarchs themselves. It was during this time that the declarations regarding liturgy and practice of previous synods and of Papal legates were either implemented or disregarded. During this period there was a steady stream of correspondence between the Holy See and the Patriarchate regarding the matters studied by the previous synods and current problems.

The Synod of 1598

Patriarch Joseph el-Ruzzi convoked a synod in 1598 which met in the village of *Beit-Moussa*. Besides re-affirming previous decrees regarding Baptism and Chrismation, it made confession by the faithful obligatory three times a year: at Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. It was not permitted to have baptismal godparents from a heretical or schismatic community, nor was one allowed to receive the Eucharist in another community. The words of institution in the Divine Liturgy were to be only those found in the Missal of 1592 (that is, the words taken from the Roman Missal).

Marriage with non-Catholics was forbidden. The Synod forbade marriage after subdiaconate, which was another imitation of the Roman practice. Maronite tradition did not forbid marriage until diaconate. In fact, this synodal canon was never put into practice. An innovation from this synod was the canon making the vigils of Epiphany, Purification, Ascension, Pentecost, Transfiguration, Exultation of the Holy Cross, and All Saints, days of fast. Heretofore, vigils were unknown in the East as days of fast.

In addition to the above canons, Patriarch Joseph el-Ruzzi instituted other laws to correspond more closely the practice of the Roman rite. He permitted bishops to eat meat (heretofore they had

abstained always), and allowed the eating of fish and drinking of wine during Lent. He also dropped the penitential week of *Niniveh* and shortened the fast before the feasts of Sts. Peter and Paul and the Dormition from thirty days to fifteen days, and before Christmas from forty days to twenty days. Patriarch el-Ruzzi also promulgated the Gregorian calendar in 1606. It seems that the Roman students had something to do with its introduction into Lebanon. With its inception, the Western feasts of *Corpus Christi* and St. Joseph were formally accepted. However, the calendar was accepted only in Syria at first. In Cyprus and elsewhere the difficulties were such that the Julian calendar continued to be used. It was also at the beginning of the 17th century that the Maronites abandoned counting the years from the era of Alexander the Great and began dating from the Christian era.

The reaction among the Maronites against these innovations was so great that Pope Paul V in a letter in 1610 to Patriarch John Makhlof, successor of Patriarch Joseph, declared that the Holy See permits the return of the former customs in order to pacify the spirit of the people. However, as time went on the innovations became accepted practice.

Maronite Practice in the 17th Century

The Maronite life-style of this time is reported by two Western voyagers, John Cotovicus and Francois de Breves. Cotovicus, who traveled to Jerusalem and the Middle East in 1598 and 1599, reports that the Patriarch of the Maronites has the title Patriarch of Antioch and has ten suffragan bishops, who have no dioceses of their own. He mentions that the Maronites use western practices such as bells, miter, ring and unleavened bread. But they also retain eastern customs such as married clergy, communion to infants, the faithful receive the Eucharist under the forms of bread and wine, and Easter is kept according to the ancient manner.

Francois de Breves gives us a description of a patriarchal divine liturgy at *Qannoubin* in 1605. He notes that the Maronite Liturgy is similar to that of the Roman, with the exception that neither the

priests nor the people ever kneel during the divine service. We are told that the Patriarch lived in simple poverty, and was loved and revered as a "demi-god", because of the candor and sanctity of his life. The monks in Lebanon never ate meat and lived on roots, beans and fruits. Also, at that time, there were 600 villages in Lebanon under the rule of the Patriarch.

In 1609, the Bishops unanimously elected John Makhlouf Patriarch. He was noted for his deep piety and heroic virtue and supposedly had a vision when he was in the province of *Kesrawan*. In a letter dated October 7, 1610, Pope Paul V stated that since he has heard that the *Druze Emir* Of Lebanon, *Fakhr-ed-din* II, was an enemy of the Turks and was favorable toward the Christians, the Maronites should cultivate his friendship to gain his protection.

***Fakhr-ed-din* II**

During the time of Ottoman rule, the political fortunes of Lebanon depended on the strength of the alliances that were formed among the various Lebanese feudal families, and the power of the *pashas* (governors) who had jurisdiction over Lebanon, such as the *pashas* of Damascus and Tripoli, and later of *Saida*. In the latter part of the 16th century the *Ma'an*, a Druze family in the *Shouf*, increased its power base among the *emirs* in Lebanon. The apex of its power was reached during the reign of *Fakhr-ed-din* II (1598-1635). He extended his rule far beyond Lebanon to the prejudice of the neighboring *emirs* and *pashas*. When threatened with an attack from the *pasha* of Damascus, he fled to Florence in Italy where he remained with Cosmo de Medici (1613- 1618), and visited Pope Paul V. He developed ties with the Maronite scholars who resided in Italy, and later, one of the them, *Abraham el-Haqline*, served as his intermediary before the court of the Medicis.

Fakhr-ed-din returned to Lebanon, consolidated his rule and increased the prosperity of Lebanon through encouraging Western culture and trade with Europe. With a prosperity and peace unknown up to that time, arts and letters flourished in Lebanon. *Fakhr-ed-din* was very tolerant and favorable to the Christians. In

regard to the Maronites, he left all their affairs up to the Patriarch. In fact, at times, 20,000 Maronites fought in his army. His principal adviser and aide was the Maronite, *Abou-Nader el-Khazen*. (There are some who claim that *Fahkr-ed-din* converted secretly to Christianity, but there is no factual evidence to support this). *Fahkr-ed-din* aspired to achieve complete independence, but was abandoned by his allies and defeated by his enemies. He was accused of various charges by the neighboring Turkish rulers and was beheaded in *Istanbul* on the orders of *Sultan Murad IV* in 1635.

While religious tolerance and peace existed in the areas where *Fahkr-ed-din* had exercised his authority when he was in power, after his fall reprisals by his enemies and rivalries among his followers destroyed his work and unleashed new bloody battles in Lebanon. The *Metoualis*, especially, supported by the *pashas* of Tripoli, attacked the Christian area of North Lebanon. This situation caused more emigration of the Maronites to the South. Many settled in the midst of the Druzes and even among those *Metoualis*, whose *sheiks* were more favorable than those in the North.

Maronite Publications

Under the direction of Patriarch John Makhlouf, the Maronite Divine Office for weekdays was printed at the Maronite College in Rome in 1624. It contained hymns and homilies of St. Ephrem. Prior to this time, the Psalms were published in Syriac and *Karshuni* (Arabic written in Syriac letters) at *Koshaya* in Lebanon in 1610, and in Latin and Arabic by the Roman students in 1614. The students of the Maronite College in Rome also published a catechism in 1613. Various books dealing with Arabic and Syriac grammar and literature were also printed.

The Coming of Western Religious Orders

In 1625, Pope Urban VIII, responding to the request of the Patriarchal Vicar, Bishop George Amira, requested that three French religious communities: the Carmelites, Capuchins, and Jesuits, send missionaries to Lebanon and Syria. The situation of the Maronites outside of Northern Lebanon was rather precarious.

In *Aleppo*, the Maronite church could seat about forty or fifty people. They did not have a bishop to serve them, and the priests were little educated. The Jesuits who were sent there in 1625, taught catechism to the children and established a sodality. The Maronite community grew to 4,000. At Damascus there were a few hundred Maronites with a small church and simple priests. The same could be said for *Saida*. In *Tripoli* there were three hundred Maronites hard pressed by the Turks.

Patriarch George Amira

Patriarch Makhlouf was succeeded in 1633 by George Amira, the first student of the Maronite College in Rome to be chosen for this position, and the first patriarch not to come from the monastery. George Amira had been sent to study in Rome in 1583 and returned to Lebanon in 1595. In 1596 he published a Syriac grammar in Latin, one of the first of its kind in all of Europe, and also a New Testament in Syriac. He had been consecrated bishop of *Ehden* in 1596 at the request of the Papal legate *Dandini*. He was given permission by the Pope to celebrate Mass in Latin as well as Syriac and Rome also assigned to him an annual pension during his whole life. Patriarch George Amira worked to develop Catholic missions in the East. For example, he gave the Carmelites the Monastery of St. Eliseus near the Cedars in 1643.

Patriarch Joseph Aqouri (1644- 1648) and the Synod of 1644

Patriarch Joseph Aqouri succeeded Patriarch Amira in 1644. Among the many books he wrote were a defense of the Gregorian calendar against the calumnies of the Eastern nations; a Syriac grammar with interpretation in *Karshuni*; various hymns in Arabic, and, perhaps, a tract on the primacy of the Sovereign Pontiff.

In sharp contrast to Patriarch Joseph el-Ruzzi, Patriarch Aqouri had a strong desire to return to and preserve the ancient customs. Therefore, he convoked a synod of the clergy and people at the Monastery of St. John the Baptist in *Harash* in Lebanon. The Synod opened on December 5, 1644 and was attended by seven bishops and some priests. The Synod re-instituted the practice forbidding

bishops to eat meat. It also forbade the activity of Western Missionaries and Religious Orders in Maronite parishes without the permission of the Patriarch.

The Synod of 1644 seems to have restored some of the ancient practices more by what it did not legislate than by explicit decree. For example, there is no mention made of the obligation to use the Missal of 1592 with its borrowing from the Roman Missal, nor is there any reference to fasting on the vigils of feasts. However, the Synod also repeated many of the Latinizations of the previous synods. While there was an attempt to return to ancient customs, there resulted a confirmation of many western practices. The two currents of Latinization and reaction to it were to continue to oppose each other, both in spirit and in practice until the definitive synod of 1736.

The Saintly Patriarch Duwayhi (17th Century)

As we have seen in other periods, one way to study Maronite History is by describing and interpreting events as they occurred during the reign of each patriarch. We will use this approach in discussing the last half of the 17th century.

Patriarch John Safrawi (1648-56)

Patriarch Safrawi lived a life of abnegation, penance and extreme asceticism, and was noted for his practice of prayer and austerity. He supervised the publication of two volumes of the Divine Office. He also prepared an edition of the *Fenqeeto* or *the Book of Fixed Feasts*. Through diplomatic missions Patriarch Safrawi was able to obtain a commitment of "protection and special safeguard" for the Maronites from the king of France. In answer to the Patriarch's request for help, King Louis XIV, while still a minor, wrote a letter to the Maronite Patriarch in 1649. He stated that he had advised his ambassador to the Levant and his successors to give the Maronites every assistance and protection, "so that they suffer no ill treatment and are free to exercise their spiritual function."

Patriarch Safrawi also sought the help of Pope Alexander VII in having a Maronite, Abou-Naufel el-Khazen, named Vice-consul of France to Beyrouth. El-Khazen was of great help to the Maronite Church in the 17th century. By his influence with the Druze and Turkish *emirs*, he was able to give protection to the Christians in his province of *Kesrawan*. He put his credit at the disposal of the western missionaries, such as the Jesuits and the Capuchins, thus facilitating their establishment in Lebanon. El-Khazen subsequently became a French consul of Beyrouth in 1662. He was the first consul of Beyrouth whose jurisdiction had been separated by the king from *Saida* and *Aleppo*. The functions of the consul of France to Beyrouth were exercised for nearly a century by Abou-Naufel and his descendants. It was not a light advantage for the Maronite

Patriarchate to have one of its subjects bear the title consul of France with all the rights and honors, which the representatives of France in the Middle East enjoyed.

On the other hand, during this period we have reports from various missionaries and travelers about the desperate situation of the Maronites in different areas. In 1656 the Maronites of *Aleppo* were required by the Turks to pay a large sum of money which they could not afford, so their sacred vessels and church furnishings were seized. Moved by their sad situation and convinced that they were unjust victims, the French Consul Picquet solicited help in their favor from the Roman Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith. To the 300 ecus obtained from Rome, he added 200 from his own pocket. The Capuchin Father Justin of Tours tells us that in *Aleppo*, the Maronite religious led a life more angelic than human, and more admirable than imitable. Their lives were so austere that they astonished all the people, and even the Turks considered them saints.

At *Saida*, the Christians were so hard pressed by the Turks that some lost their faith. The Jesuit mission there taught catechism and preached. The city of Beyrouth had suffered much ruin. There were quite a few Maronites there, and they shared the Church with the Latins. A wall divided the Church in half. The Jesuits also had missions in Tripoli and *Antoura* in *Kesrawan*, and did apostolic work in all the neighboring villages.

Patriarch George Bseb'el (1657-1670)

Patriarch George Bseb'el was learned in many oriental languages and canon law. During his reign, the Maronites underwent incessant trials. The situation was so dire that many Maronites left the mountain, and the Patriarch himself was often reduced to hiding in grottos. The Patriarch reported the situation to King Louis XIV of France, who sent the Patriarch a gift of 500 ecus and had his ambassador in Constantinople seek to protect the rights of the Christians of Lebanon.

In 1660 the Chevalier of Arvieux visited the Maronite territory and wrote lengthy descriptions of his travels. Of special interest is his narrative of his visit to Qannoubin and we cite it here at length for the insights it provides regarding Maronite life at this time:

“Qannoubin or Coenobium or monastery in Latin, is the patriarchal monastery where the Patriarch resides . . . We were received by the bishops and religious. . . [who] led us into a large room, gave us refreshments, and helped our valets discharge their duties and fed them. Other brothers went to announce our arrival to the Patriarch. He was hidden in a grotto far away, very secret, of difficult access and well covered, where he does not go out during the day but only at night. This is because the inhabitants of these mountains were at war with the pacha of Tripoli, who had asked for a large sum of money which they had judged was not proper to give him. The pacha would often send the Turks to take the Patriarch and lead him to him, not doubting that when he would have him in his hands, all the Maronites would sell everything to ransom him from prison.

The Patriarch arrived a half hour after he was informed. We kissed his hand in respect, he embraced us with tenderness and was very complimentary. I spoke for the whole troop and did so in Arabic which pleased him very much. After these ceremonies, he led us to the church where the Hail Mary was chanted followed by litanies to the Blessed Virgin in Syriac sung in the same tone as is sung in Latin in our churches.

Leaving the church, the Patriarch took us to a large room where supper had been prepared. The Patriarch, bishops and priests did not cease to encourage us to eat and drink well.... [they] did not show us example; on the contrary they were very sober. Some drank only water. This grand meal was only to extend us hospitality. Their life was ordinarily extremely frugal. They fast often and very austerely; they work very hard and rise at night to chant the Office with excellent melodies and perfect harmony. After giving thanks, the Patriarch had me sit with him and spend nearly two hours in conversation. We were struck by the vivacity and force of his spirit, as well as that of the bishops and priests. Afterwards,

we were taken each to his proper cave, where we found the mats and covers we had brought with us.

The Patriarch was named George, but his name did not appear on his seal: there were the words in Latin and Syriac: Petrus Patriarch Antiochenus [Peter, Patriarch of Antioch], because Saint Peter had been the first bishop of Antioch. The words were inscribed around the image of the Blessed Virgin. This prelate was modestly dressed in a robe of cheap cloth, and wore a large turban of blue cotton. Formerly he had worn white, but he was obliged to take blue after the Turks became masters of the country and appropriated to themselves the sole right of wearing a white turban.

...
All the Maronite prelates lead a very regular and austere life; they live poorly and take only what the earth gives them by the work of their hands. They do not put on the display of the prelates of Europe. Their ecclesiastical regalia is also poor. They are adorned with virtues and not with rich clothes, embroidery, gold or silver. They have only crosses of wood, but they are bishops of gold. All the Christians have an infinite respect for them and a blind obedience to all their commands. They kiss the hands of archbishops, bishops and priests, and the feet of the Patriarch. They respect them as fathers and superiors, and their manner of living is a good example for them as for us who, feeling emancipated, try to live opposite to what we should.

The following day the Patriarch celebrated a pontifical Mass. He was assisted by four bishops, two on each side of the altar. He had a master of ceremonies, a deacon, a subdeacon, two acolytes, and many priests with different functions. . . . After the Mass ended, we received the blessing of the Patriarch, and we went to await him in the large room. He came after finishing his prayers. We thanked him and he responded with unimaginable goodness, inviting us to stay at Qannoubin as long as we wished, and to see what was in the country. We kissed his hand, and he gave us his blessing. He left for the security of his secret cave.

After a great dinner, we were taken by some of the venerable fathers to see the monastery and its environs. The church is beautiful and large, cut in the rock. In the sacristy there is a large

tableau of King Louis XIV. At supper, the Patriarch spoke to us of him and assured us that they regarded the king as their most powerful and zealous protector, and that they offer special prayers for him every day at Mass and in their Office.

We went to the bottom of the Valley of Saints, where we saw an infinite number of caves, which are the residence of the holy anchorites whose lives would be a source of admiration for all generations to come. We passed a good part of the day in this frightful and very agreeable solitude, and then we left with some regret, and we went up to Qannoubin in the evening."

Patriarch Stephen Duwayhi (1670 -1704)

Stephen Duwayhi, one of the greatest of the Maronite Patriarchs, was born in *Ehden* on August 30, 1630. He was sent to Rome in 1641 by Patriarch George Amira. Both in Europe and in the Middle East, Duwayhi sought out manuscripts and sources that dealt with Maronite history and tradition. Returning to Lebanon in 1655, he was sent as a missionary by the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, and went throughout Lebanon teaching the children and preaching. He was sent by Patriarch George Bseb'el to Aleppo where he remained for some time, and it is said, he converted many Orthodox, Nestorians, and Jacobites to the Catholic faith. In 1668, he was consecrated Bishop of Cyprus, and he was elected Patriarch on May 20, 1670. As Patriarch he went all over Lebanon investigating and correcting liturgical books, with the desire to return to the ancient customs. During his term as patriarch he suffered many persecutions and had to flee to Kesrawan and the Chouf. There are many who report that miracles took place during his life and after his death. Patriarch Duwayhi was the first Maronite to attempt a complete history of his people. He published several volumes which earned him the title of "Father of Maronite history."

We have an eyewitness description of some of the Maronite Liturgical practices during this time. M. De La Croix, secretary to the French ambassador to Constantinople, writing about 1672 states that the Maronites have 60 anaphoras. Their vestments are

like those of the Roman church, but they do not follow the Roman rubrics on color. They say only one Mass per day at each altar, and the lay people receive communion under both species. They have seven bishops: at Qannoubin with the Patriarch, at Saida, Cyprus, Damascus, Ehden, at the Monasteries of Mar Eliseus and Mar Sarkis, and also a mitered abbot at the Monastery of St. Anthony. The observation that the Maronites have 60 anaphoras indicates that despite the Synods of 1596, manuscript missals were still being used. Also surprising was that lay communion under both species seemed still to be in practice, at least in some parts of Lebanon.

Patriarch Duwayhi undertook to stabilize the Maronite Liturgy. He sought to publish a definitive ritual. In regard to baptism, his ritual contained the rites of James of Saroug, James of Edessa, and Basil. However Patriarch Duwayhi's ritual forbade priests to confer Chrismation. Also, it required that children reach the age of reason before receiving communion. Thus, in these practices he confirmed the Latinizations of previous synods. Not found in the ritual of Duwayhi are the rite for blessing of ashes, and the rite of the Cross for the Fridays of Lent. Patriarch Duwayhi ordered that this ritual be the only accepted one in the Patriarchate. Another significant work was Patriarch Duwayhi's definitive commentary on the Maronite Liturgy which bore the name of *Lamp of the Sanctuary*.

Patriarch Douehi sought to publish a *Pontifical* which, it was hoped, would make practice uniform. To reform the *Pontifical*, Douehi depended on the works of Patriarch Jerome Amchiti (1209-1230), and the ritual of 1295 by Archbishop Theodore of *Akourah*, and manuscript *Pontificals* dated 1311, 1495, 1581, and 1584. Patriarch Douehi sent the text to Rome to be printed in 1683. However, despite its solemn approval by the Synod of 1736, the *Pontifical* never gained universal usage in the Patriarchate. In fact, it was never printed.

Patriarch Duwayhi's work was not limited only to history and liturgy, he also established a seminary at Qannoubin to teach Maronite students free of charge. The religious Order of St. Anthony was

founded under him. (This Order is not the Antonine Order of today, but rather was the basis for the *Allepine* and *Baladite* Orders). In 1700 there were forty religious of this Order at Qannoubin. They lived a very austere life and dressed very simply. Pope Clement XII in 1732 confirmed the Order and its institutions. At this time all the monasteries were autonomous. Patriarch Duwayhi wished to introduce the Western system of centralized authority, and on June 18, 1700, he approved the first constitutions for the reform of the monasteries.

The political condition of the Maronites at this time was no better than in the preceding years of this century. Throughout all of Lebanon, the Maronites suffered persecutions under the Turks.

Villages were destroyed and their inhabitants dispersed, fathers of families were thrown into prison, and outrages were committed against the Patriarch and Bishops. Patriarch Duwayhi appealed to the King of France to intervene, and on June 28, 1702, the King sent the Patriarch 1,000 pounds to help pay his debts.

An important event that took place during the Patriarchate of Stephen Duwayhi was the hundredth anniversary of the Maronite College in Rome, which had been founded in 1585. At this time, the College boast of four Patriarchs and thirteen Bishops from among its graduates since its establishment.

Synod of Mount Lebanon (18th Century)

Liturgical Developments

The publication of a second edition of the Maronite Missal in Rome in 1716 had some impact on Maronite liturgical practice. While it contained a number of ancient Anaphoras (Eucharistic prayers), the "words of institution" remained those of the Roman rite. Nor did the Missal restore the *epiclesis* (invocation of the Holy Spirit) to its original form. An innovation in this Missal was an anaphora from the canon of the Roman Missal. In subsequent editions of the Missal, this Anaphora had the first position.

The Missal also changed the place of the ablutions in the Liturgy [cleaning of the chalice and of the paten] from after the final blessing to before the prayers of thanksgiving, which represents imitation of the western practice. Another feature of this Missal was the inclusion of a Liturgy of the Signing of the Chalice to be celebrated once a year on Good Friday. A Liturgy of the Pre-Sanctified had originally been celebrated throughout all of Lent, but had been abandoned for a long time. In fact, the Liturgy of the Signing of the Chalice was not the ancient Liturgy of the Pre-Sanctified but an adaptation of the ancient Anaphora of *Sharrar*. In 1731, an abridged edition of the Divine Office was printed by the press of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. It is probable that the private recitation of the Office began to predominate at this time.

The National Synod of Mount Lebanon of 1736

Preparations for the Synod

One of the most important events in Maronite history was the convening of the Synod of 1736, which gave the Maronite Church a codification of its particular law. It was subsequently approved by Pope Benedict XIV in 1741 *in forma specifica* which meant that it also had the force of pontifical law. The Maronite patriarch, bishops and secular and religious clergy had sent letters to the Holy Father expressing the need for reform. Seeking to have pontifical approval

for their actions, they requested that an Apostolic Visitor be sent with full powers to convoke a synod. They recommended that the legate know the language of the country and therefore suggested the appointment of Joseph Assemani, a Maronite priest and a scholar who was highly regarded in Rome. In November of 1735, Pope Clement XII agreed to the Maronites' request.

With the arrival of Joseph Assemani in Lebanon in 1736, it was decided that a synod should be held at *Qannoubin* beginning August 15. However, since Ottoman troops were gathering in Tripoli, it was decided to have the Synod at the Monastery of *Louaizeh* in *Kesrawan*, an area ruled by Christian chiefs. After some delays, the Synod finally assembled on September 30, 1736. Present at the Synod, in addition to the Maronite patriarch and bishops, were two Armenian and two Byzantine bishops, heads of the monastic orders, ten western missionaries, diocesan and religious priests, and numerous chiefs of the people. Two sessions a day were held for three days and the Synod closed on October 2, 1736.

The establishment of diocese with residential bishops

On the first day of the Synod, it was decided that there would be eight dioceses with definite boundaries, each with its own bishop. These were: Aleppo, Tripoli, Jbail and Batroun, Baalbeck, Cyprus, Beyrouth, Tyre and Sidon. At this time there were sixteen bishops who, for the most part, lived with the Patriarch at *Qannoubin* or at a monastery. They would visit various diocesan areas, but with the exception of Aleppo and one or two other places, they had no permanent episcopal residences in the Maronite territories. At times, the bishops were not much more than patriarchal vicars. This agreement, signed by the Patriarch and thirteen bishops, was a first step in securing ordinary jurisdiction for the bishops. Since there were sixteen bishops, it was decided not to assign dioceses until the number of bishops was reduced to seven. The patriarch would also choose a diocese for himself. In addition, the patriarch was able to name a few bishops as his vicars. However, the obligation of residence decreed by the Synod was not put into practice until

about a century later under the patriarchate of John Hobaish (1823-1845).

Issues regarding faith

The declarations of the Synod were divided into four main parts, each containing chapters consisting of numerous canons. Part one of the Synod concerned the Catholic faith. The section begins by citing several letters of the Popes exalting the faith and loyalty of the Maronites. The Synod reaffirms the mandates of previous synods regarding the inclusion of the *filioque* [that is, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son] in the recitation of the Creed, and the use of the Gregorian calendar.

The Patriarch was advised to translate the catechism of the Council of Trent into Arabic and to oversee the publishing of treatises of canon law, sacred scriptures, theology and church history. In general, the Patriarch was given extensive authority over the publication of books, especially those regarding the liturgy.

The Mysteries

Part two of the Synod concerned the Mysteries [sacraments] and is greatly influenced by the Roman ritual and the Synod of *Zamosc* of 1720 for the Ruthenian church. It seems that the Synod of Mount Lebanon took an accommodating approach to liturgical practice. On the one hand, it formalized much of the Latinization that had been mandated in the last two centuries. On the other hand, it sought to preserve ancient Maronite liturgical tradition. In other words, it sought to incorporate both traditions. It should be noted that in matters of liturgy as well as all aspects of Maronite church life, the Patriarch was granted extensive powers.

The Synod states that infants are to be baptized by immersion, and adults by immersion or infusion [pouring water on the head]. The baptismal formula of either the Roman or the Eastern Church can be used. It is interesting to note that the Synod did not sanction the exclusive use of the Roman ritual in the administration of Baptism. In fact, Baptism by infusion was considered by the Synod only as an

exception. While they were permitted to do so formerly, priests are no longer allowed to bless the oil of catechumens. Holy Communion immediately after Baptism is to be given only to those with the use of reason. In fact, in a later chapter, the Synod forbids priests under penalty of automatic suspension to give Communion to infants. This ancient practice must have been wiped out soon after, since the later synods of 1755, 1756 and 1768 make no mention of it. On the other hand, the traditional practice of the priest blessing the water of baptism immediately before use is restored.

The Synod declares that while the old rituals allowed priests to confirm after baptism, since the Roman pontifical is now followed, only bishops may confirm. The minister of confirmation is left free by the Synod to use the formula of confirmation of either the ancient Maronite rituals or the Roman ritual. Stating that infant confirmation has fallen into disuse, the Synod sets the age of Confirmation between 7 to 12 years old.

Although the ancient customs and rituals employ the Eastern formula for penitential absolution [that is, *the servant is absolved*], from now on, only the indicative form of the Roman church is to be used. In regard to Extreme Unction [Anointing of the Sick], the minister is free to use the formula of the Eastern or Roman church, but the number and place of the anointings are to be according to the Roman ritual.

The synodal chapters on visitation of the sick and on burial are taken literally from the Roman ritual. While recognizing that the practice of Holy Communion under both forms is common in the Eastern church, and even in Lebanon until the 17th century, following the lead of the Roman Church, the Synod forbids Communion under both species to lay people and to clerics below diaconate.

The Fathers of the Synod were not satisfied with the single Latin formula of consecration, which was imposed on all the anaphoras of the Missals of 1592 and 1716, and wished to reestablish the various

traditional formulas. However, since a new edition of the Missal was not forthcoming until 1816, the Maronites ended by definitively adopting the Roman text in the Synods of 1755 and 1756. A further step in Latinization took place with the canon's ordering that the altar furnishings and vestments be adopted according to the use of the Roman church. The Synod also permitted the celebration of more than one Divine Liturgy at an altar each day; therefore, from this period, we have the introduction of Liturgies that were not solemn [that is, without deacon and other ministers]. Prior to this time, only the solemn Liturgy was known. In fact, rubrics for the Divine Liturgy suppose the presence of a deacon. Joseph Assemani had composed a sample "low Mass" in 1735 by reducing the rites and formulas of the Missal and the *Diaconicon* [book used by the deacon at Liturgy], but this text was never formally adopted.

The hierarchy and diocesan clergy

The Synod of 1736 delineated clearly for the first time the powers and privileges of the various prelates ranking below the bishop. There is to be only one archdeacon in a diocese, and he acts as Vicar-General. The *econome* [diocesan financial officer] is to concern himself with the ecclesiastical goods of the diocese, even when the See is vacant. Some of the duties and powers of the *periodeute* are to visit churches, to consecrate baptistries, churches and altars and, with the permission of the bishop, to administer confirmation. He ought to see to it especially that the decisions of the Synod of 1736 be observed, and to render an account of how curates acquit themselves of their duties. The *periodeute* has the right to the crozier, and there is to be only one *periodeute* to a diocese.

According to the Synod, the *chorbishop* has the right to the miter and crozier. With the authorization of the Patriarch, he can confer Confirmation and Minor Orders. A *chorbishop* should be appointed in every populous locality. The title of *archpriest* is given to the *chorbishop* of the episcopal residence, who ranks over all other dignitaries in the diocese, and occupies the first place in the cathedral when the Bishop is absent.

The Synod reserves to the Patriarch the nomination and consecration of bishops, although the counsel and advice of the bishops is required. The bishops are ordered to reside in the dioceses and carry out their episcopal duties. Bishops or their delegates are to make a visitation to their dioceses at least every two years and to hold a diocesan synod every year.

Monasteries and Convents

The Synod of Mount Lebanon forbade the establishment of double monasteries, that is monasteries where men and women religious were separated by a simple cloister. This practice had been an ancient one among the Maronites and there is no indication that it had led to abuses. The Synod also called for the establishment of schools in the cities, in the principal villages and in the monasteries, where children are to be taught free of charge. Also, alumni from the Maronite College in Rome were to establish seminaries in the principal cities and important monasteries.

On October 2, the decrees of the Synod were unanimously approved and signed by all the dignitaries who had attended. After some controversy, the decrees of the Synod were approved by Pope Benedict XIV in *forma specifica* in 1741.

The Assemani Family

Mention should be made of the Assemani family who had a profound impact on the relations of the Holy See and the Maronites in the field of Oriental studies in the 18th century. Joseph Simon Assemani of *Hasroon*, Lebanon and an alumnus of the Maronite College in Rome is said to have known thirty languages. Soon after his ordination, he was given a post in the Vatican Library. From 1715 to 1717, he was sent to the Middle East on a manuscript expedition, and the manuscript he brought back were placed in the Vatican Library where they formed the nucleus of its subsequently famous collection of oriental manuscripts. In his trip to the East from 1735 to 1738, he returned with a still more valuable collection. Many extracts of the about 150 manuscripts he gathered were

published in his principal work, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clemento-Vaticana* [an analysis of the contents of the Oriental manuscripts in the Vatican Library], by which he contributed more than any other to make known in Europe Syriac literature and the history of the Churches of Syria, Lebanon, Chaldea, and Egypt. As we have seen, Joseph Assemani was sent by Pope Clement XII as a Papal legate to the National Synod of Mount Lebanon in 1736. Afterwards, he was appointed Prefect of the Vatican Library and Titular Archbishop of Tyre. Some of his other titles were: Canon of the Basilica of St. Peter, Consultor to the Holy Office, Sigillator of the Apostolic Penitentiary, and Member of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. He devoted the latter part of his life to carrying out an extensive plan for editing and publishing the most valuable Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Persian, Hebrew and Greek manuscripts. Besides his various publications on a wide range of Oriental subjects, he left about 100 works in manuscripts form, the majority of which were destroyed in a fire in 1768 which broke out in his Vatican apartment adjacent to the Library.

Stephen Awad Assemani, nephew of Joseph Assemani, completed his studies at the Maronite College in 1730. Some months later, he joined the Vatican Library as successor to his uncle in the Syriac section. As a missionary of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, he spent some time in Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia where he converted the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria and the Nestorian Patriarch of Babylon. He was consecrated Titular Archbishop in 1736. Pope Clement XII sent him to Florence, where he published a catalogue of the manuscripts of the Florentine Library. He later succeed his uncle as Prefect of the Vatican Library, where he published a catalogue of its Persian and Turkish manuscripts and a large part of its Arabic manuscripts.

Other notable members of the Assemani family included Elias Assemani, the uncle of Joseph, who brought to Europe some of the first oriental manuscripts. Pope Clement XI sent him to the monastic libraries of Nitria, and he returned with 40 books. Joseph Louis Assemani, a nephew of Joseph Assemani and cousin of

Stephen Assemani, was an expert in liturgy and a member of the Pontifical Academy. His nephew Simon Assemani was professor of oriental languages at the University of Padua.

Civil History

The Emirs, who succeeded Fakhr-ed-din II who was sentenced to death in 1635, governed Lebanon with a precarious authority, under the strict surveillance of the sultan. At the time of the death of the Emir Ahmed in 1697, the Ottoman rulers were preoccupied with affairs of Europe, and thus were willing to allow the Lebanese to have a degree of autonomy, as long as the annual tribute was paid to Istanbul.

At a national assembly held in Al-Samqaniyah, the feudal lords of Lebanon chose the Druze Emir Bashir-al-Shihabi to be governor of Lebanon. The Shihab family was to rule Lebanon for almost a century and a half (1697-1842). In 1711, after the battle of *Ain Dara*, the new governor Haidar Shihab brought about feudal reform in Mount Lebanon and a re-distribution of the feudal districts in which the Maronites chiefs took part. Some of the Maronite leaders were chosen to take part in the direction of the country. Besides the *Khazen*, there were the *Hobaich*, the *Dahdah*, the *Khoury*, and *Bitar* among others. Among the Moslems and the Druzes, the *Bellama* were raised to the rank of *emirs* and installed over the *Matn*. The *Jumblatts* were in the *Shouf*.

The Maronite leaders worked to get the administration of the Maronite districts of North Lebanon into their hands rather than Metualis. This was achieved in 1777 when the handling of affairs was given to the sheiks of the region such as the Karams, Awads, Dahers and Abi Saabs among others. During the reign of Emir Molhem (1732-1756), the Maronites spread further to the South of Lebanon and eastward to the Biqa Valley.

In the Middle of the 18th century, the Shihab received Baptism and joined the Maronite Church. Other emirs such as the Bellama followed their example. The first Christian Emir was Yusif who was

proclaimed emir of all the Mountain in the national assembly of *Barouk* in 1770. He ruled from 1770-80. Nevertheless, in the eyes of the Druzes he was considered officially a Druze, and the Moslems looked upon him as Moslem. It was necessary to await the coming of the Emir Bashir II (1789-1840) to have a national emir declare publicly his Christian faith. This happened during and after the Egyptian occupation of 1831-40.

The adherence of the emirs to the Christian religion and the entry of the local feudal leaders into the government of the country contributed notably to the prosperity of the Maronite Church. The civil chiefs of the people made a large number of donations to the church and established pious foundations. However, there were times when the secular rulers tried to interfere in the affairs of the Church.

The generosity of the Christian Chiefs was a great help to the various Religious Orders in Lebanon. Under the patronage of the Khazen family, the work of the Capuchins and the Jesuits spread rapidly. In 1655, Abu-Nowfel el-khazen had given land to the Jesuits in *Aintura*, where there they built a college and a seminary. Franciscans became established in *Tripoli* and Carmelites in *Bsharri*. According to the Maronite historian, Bishop Pierre Dib, the Shihabi emirs, thanks to their political intelligence, acquired a strong influence with neighboring Turkish authorities. They used their prestige for the service of Lebanon, which they maintained as a land of refuge. During this time, Mount Lebanon, compared with the other territories of the region, could be considered as a land of refuge. But, in reality, the peace that they enjoyed was precarious and intermittent, and at the mercy of the neighboring *pashas*. The *pashas* always watched for an opportunity to mix in the affairs of Mount Lebanon, and their interference caused trouble and disorder. Politics, rival factions and divisions among the emirs aroused a spirit of anarchy. This situation gave rise to the extortions, affronts, turmoil of all sorts and battles among different groups. The Maronites were hardly spared; they were at times left at the mercy of their enemies.

Hindiyeh

In the latter part of the 18th century, a large controversy occurred involving the Patriarch, the Jesuits and Rome regarding the mystic nun known as *Hindiyeh* [Indian]. Her real name was Ann Ajami and she was born in *Aleppo* in 1720. Piously raised by her mother, she tended towards mysticism from her youth. At the age of twelve, she was admitted into the Confraternity of the Sacred Heart, founded in *Aleppo* by the Jesuits, and then directed by the Lazarist Fathers. Besides her penchant for mysticism, she acquired early on a great reputation for sanctity. Her religious practices included fasting and physical discipline. From an early age, *Hindiyeh* claimed to have visions of Christ, and also of the Blessed Mother and the saints.

Her Spiritual Director during her early years was the Jesuit Anthony Venturi. The Jesuits wished her to enter the convent of the Visitation, established under their direction in *Aintura*. However, she claimed that the Lord appeared to her many times, and that she desired to found a new congregation under the name of the Sacred Heart. This congregation was founded at *Bkerke* in 1750, and its rule, which was in accordance with the Synod of 1736 was approved by Patriarch Simon Awad and some Maronite Bishops. Meanwhile, the Jesuits had become her opponents and declared that they suspected her spirituality and teachings, and recalled her Jesuit spiritual director to Europe. The Patriarch, other Christian personalities and even the Emir defended her. After an investigation, the Patriarch exonerated her, which led to a conflict between him and the Jesuits. The latter took the question to Rome, and worked against the Patriarch and the bishops before the Holy See.

Things came to the point where the Patriarch was obliged to forbid Maronites to have any relations with the Jesuits under pain of excommunication.

On January 4, 1752, the Pope censured Patriarch Simon Awad for his having pronounced on an affair of such importance without

having consulted the Holy See beforehand. He suppressed the Congregation of the Sacred Heart and ordered *Hindiye* transferred to another convent. He subsequently sent an apostolic legate to make a complete investigation. The legate returned to Rome with a report favorable to *Hindiye*. The Pope charged others to examine the writings relative to *Hindiye* and her congregation. Their evaluation conflicted with the report of the legate. Seeing this, the Pope called an assembly of Cardinals to settle the question. In January 1755, the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith wrote to the Patriarch concerning the "manifest illusions", ecstasies, visions and revelations of the seer and of the "credulity" of her spiritual directors. Pope Benedict XIV imposed a new spiritual director on *Hindiye*, but this arrangement did not work out.

Patriarch Tobias el-khazen

In the meantime Patriarch Simon Awad had died on February 12, 1756 and was succeeded by Tobias El-Khazen. The new patriarch established his residence in *Kesrawan*. He was desirous to implement the decrees of the Synod of 1736. To that end he called for a synod to be held at the Monastery of St. Anthony of *Beqata* in *Kesrawan* in 1756. The synod tried to bring about the division of the eparchies as decreed by the Synod of 1736.

Patriarch Tobias El-Khazen was neither an adversary nor a close follower of *Hindiye*, whose reputation had increased and whose work was growing. The theological and spiritual doctrines of which she had spoken of had gained for her popular esteem. They wondered how her knowledge could be purely human when she could hardly read Arabic. The truths she enunciated were considered by the public as affirmations of divine knowledge. According to Bishop Dib, in reality, the doctrines that *Hindiye* propagated were nothing original. They were simply an amalgam of ideas taken from various works in dogmatic and moral theology, expressed in Arabic by some students from Rome. The convent of *Hindiye* became a site for pilgrimage. In 1759 and 1768 Pope Clement XIII accorded indulgences to the visitors of *Bkerke*. (It

seems that Rome had forgotten the condemnation it had made some years before.)

Patriarch Joseph Estephan

Patriarch Tobias El-khazen died on May 29, 1766 and was succeeded by Joseph Estephan. The new patriarch made his residence in *Ghosta*. An ardent promoter of ecclesiastical discipline, Patriarch Estephan was desirous to apply the reforms of the Synod of 1736. With papal approval, he called for a synod to assemble in *Ghosta* in 1768. The Congregation of the Propaganda approved the text of the synod on September 4, 1769. To ensure that the clergy be properly trained, and in spite of great difficulties, Patriarch Estephan established a national seminary at the Monastery of *Ain Warqa*. This seminary gained a great reputation as a center of learning. It produced a large number of patriarchs, bishops and priests.

Patriarch Estephan was also interested in the temporal interests of his people. In 1771, he named the Cure of Notre Dame of Versailles, Abbe Allard, as his representative to the King of France "in order to execute our commissions and those of our Patriarchal See of Antioch, which is placed under the protection of our great king, the most Christian King of France and Navarre." He also petitioned from King Louis XVI that the well-known Maronite Sheik Ghandour Said El-Khoury, be consul of France to *Beyrouth*. El-Khoury had been secretary of the Emir of Mount Lebanon, Joseph Shihab. In 1787, el-Khoury was named consul of France to *Beyrouth*

Patriarch Estephan's policies did cause some opposition from some bishops and monasteries. They complained first to the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, and later to the Pope himself. Joining in the opposition were some members of El-khazen family. The Pope asked the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith to make an investigation. Those opposed to the Patriarch used the controversy surrounding *Hindiye* as a weapon against him.

The Congregation of the Sacred Heart, under the auspices of the Patriarch, had risen anew. The Patriarch was an ardent apostle of the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. He had made the Feast of the Sacred Heart a holy day of obligation in the Patriarchate, and ordered that it be celebrated with as much solemnity as Easter and the Ascension. In addition to approving the Congregation at *Bkerke*, he aggregated three other religious communities to it.

As *Hindiyeh* increased in reputation, so did the rumors against her. Among those opposed to her were her brother, a Jesuit, Nicholas Ajami, who had been a spiritual director and treasurer of her convent. When he was discharged, he became a violent opponent, but later retracted his position and became a defender. The accusations against the convent were also made against the Patriarch. So many complaints were sent to the Holy See that it sent two pontifical missions to investigate. Both sided with the opposition. The second legate made extreme charges against the Patriarch. On June 25, 1779, the Pope suspended the Patriarch from the powers of orders and jurisdiction, except those of priest. A Patriarchal administrator was named to handle the affairs of the Patriarchate. Bishop Dib observes that the responsibility for this decision falls heavily on the erroneous information provided by the two Roman representatives.

Rome declared *Hindiyeh* a victim of illusions, condemned her to retract her pretended revelations and disavow her doctrines, which were characterized as false, temerarious and touching on heresy. She was relegated to another convent, and the Congregation and Confraternity of the Sacred Heart were definitively suppressed. *Hindiyeh* transferred to the convent of *Saidat el-Haqilah*, ended her days in quiet and penance, and died on February 13, 1798. Patriarch Estephan, despite serious illness, decided to go to Rome to defend himself. However, by the time he reached the port of Jaffa, he was too ill to travel further. After being moved to Mt. Carmel, he sent representatives to the Holy See with the documents necessary for his rehabilitation. He also wrote to King Louis XVI. In

the meantime, the Patriarchal administrator, Michale El-Khazen, following the advice of the papal legate, called a synod at the monastery of *Maiphouq* for July 21, 1780. Five sessions were held at which the legate presided. All the decrees issued by Rome to the Maronites during the patriarchate of Joseph Estephan were solemnly promulgated.

The Holy See delayed in deciding on the rehabilitation of Patriarch Estephan, and pursued further investigation of the case. Finally, Fr. Joseph Tian, later Patriarch, was delegated by the Patriarch, bishops and clergy to represent the Maronite cause. On September 21, 1784 the congregation pronounced a definitive verdict in favor of the Patriarch.

It is difficult to evaluate the *Hindiyeh* controversy. It pre-occupied three different patriarchs, a number of papal representatives and often the Holy See itself. The Jesuits and certain opponents of Patriarch Estephan chose to consider her as dangerous and suspect. Her charismatic spirituality and her strong will appealed to a large number of the ordinary people, and even the Emirs of Mount Lebanon defended her. Some observers have even seen her as a symbol of national identity in opposition to the self-interest of foreigners. She still remains a mystery to historians. Some have found her teachings to be unoriginal. Others are amazed at how a person who some have considered illiterate could be said to have produced fifteen volumes of meditations, exhortations, spiritual dialogues, hymns, prayers and mystical experiences.

Patriarch Estephan convoked a synod at *Ain-Shaqiq* on September 6-11, 1786; however, its acts were not approved by the Pope. Pope Pius VI ordered the holding of a new synod under the presidency of Germanos Adam, Melkite Metropolitan of *Aleppo*, who was designated Apostolic legate. The synod met on December 3-18, 1790 at the Monastery of *Bkerke*. It had as its principal purpose to provide for the application of the Synod of 1736 and pontifical instructions to the Maronites. At the ninth session, the bishops decreed the transfer of the patriarchal see to the Monastery of

Bkerke. The acts of the assembly were confirmed in part by the Holy See.

Lebanon's Turmoil and Emigration (19th Century)

Patriarch John el-Helou and the Synod of Loaiseh of 1818

Patriarch John el-Helou (1809-23) made his residence in the ancient patriarchal monastery of Qannoubin, which was run down from being abandoned for many years. He tried to rebuild and restore it. He also converted the monastery of John Maron of Kfarhai into a seminary.

A significant event in the reign of Patriarch el-Helou was the holding of the Synod of Loaiseh. Pope Pius VII had called for a synod to deal with the matters of the fixed residence of bishops and of mixed monasteries (that is, the practice where houses for men and women religious stood side by side). The Synod opened on April 12, 1818 at the Monastery of Our Lady of Loaiseh. The first session dealt with the question of monasteries. There were four categories: seminaries, monasteries for men, monasteries for women, and monasteries for women leading a common life without pronouncing vows.

A special commission was designated to deal with the arguments concerning the right of patronage, that is, certain wealthy families had given land or money to establish religious houses and had rights over how they were to be administered. In the second session, the monasteries which were to serve as residences for the Patriarch and bishops were indicated. There was also a decision to have the Monastery of Roumiyeh as a national seminary. Pope Pius VII approved the acts of the Synod in 1819.

Although mandated by the Synod of Mount Lebanon, the practice of mixed monasteries came to an end only after the Synod of Loaiseh, during the reign of Patriarch Hobaich in 1826. In the case of residences for bishops, which was also mandated by the Synod of Mount Lebanon, because of the lack of episcopal residences, newly elected bishops would reside in monasteries placed under the patronage of their relatives or a family which they knew, even

outside their territory. The Synod of Loaiseh fixed the monastery where each would live, but it fell to Patriarch Hobaich (1823-45) to see to the definitive application of the decrees concerning residence.

Patriarch Joseph Hobaich

Patriarch Joseph Hobaich was elected May 25, 1823. He had neither the canonical age (40 years), nor the two-thirds' majority required for patriarchal election. The Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith wished to declare the election null, but the Pope validated and confirmed the election on May 3, 1824.

Patriarch Hobaich sought to implement the reforms of the Synod of Mount Lebanon and to provide for the education of the clergy. The Maronite College in Rome had been closed by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1798, and its holdings were liquidated in 1808. Patriarch Hobaich wished to revive it, but circumstances hindered him. Therefore, he reorganized the seminary of Ain-Warka and erected two new ones, that of Mar Abda Harharaia in 1830 and that of Mar Sarkis and Bakhos in 1832. Patriarch Hobaich urged the priests and monks to follow the synodal articles, and during his reign parish organization made progress.

Patriarch Hobaich was highly regarded by the Ottoman authorities. The Sultan accorded him the favor of having a charge d'affaires at Istanbul, and sent him the medal of mejidie of the first class, a rare distinction for this time. To be more accessible to the people, Patriarch Hobaich established two residences. The winter residence was at Bkerke, and the summer one in the region of the Cedars. However, instead of residing at Qannoubin in the "Holy Valley", which was of difficult accessibility, he chose to live at nearby Diman, which dominated the valley. Here he built a church and along side it a cloister.

Patriarch Hobaich and the Maronites had to suffer through the tragedies of 1840-45 (which we will discuss below). During that period he sought to provide strength and leadership. The burdens of this sad time resulted in his death on May 23, 1845.

Patriarch Paul Masad

After the nine-year reign of Patriarch Joseph el-Khazen, Paul Masad was elected by acclamation on November 12, 1854. The new Patriarch inaugurated his reign by preparing for a national synod to be held at Bkerke in 1856. He, himself drafted the text, which was intended not only to assure the application of the Synod of Mount Lebanon, but also to introduce modifications as the circumstances required. However, the acts of the synod were never confirmed officially, and remained a dead letter.

Patriarch Masad provided leadership during the tragic events of 1860. In 1867, he went to Rome to assist at the 1800th anniversary of the martyrdom of Saints Peter and Paul. This was perhaps the second time a reigning Maronite Patriarch had visited Rome. He did not attend the First Vatican Council (1869-70), but was represented by a mission headed by Peter Bustany, Archbishop of Tyr and Saida.

From Rome, the Patriarch went to Paris where Napoleon III welcomed him with all the honors due his rank. He traveled to Istanbul, where the Sultan Abdul-Aziz offered him hospitality in a palace where care had been taken to install a chapel. Patriarch Masad died on April 18, 1890. Besides having been a strong and resourceful leader, he was a person of great intellect and had written many theological works.

Civil History

Bashir Al-Shihabi II (1788-1840)

Emir Bashir II led Lebanon for half a century. During his time he worked for an enlarged and independent Lebanon. He also sought to modernize the country. He acted in defiance of Istanbul and his long reign was marked by four periods of either self-imposed or enforced exile. The historian Philip K. Hitti describes Emir Bashir as "Christian by Baptism, Moslem in matrimony, and Druze through convenience."

Emir Bashir sought to modernize the country and open it to European influence. He promoted commerce, built highways, and improved health resources. He moved his capital From Dayr al-Qamar to Beit Eddine.

One of the political alliances of Emir Bashir II was with Mohamed Ali, the ruler of Egypt, and his son Ibrahim, who in their battle with Turkey had occupied parts of Lebanon and Syria. In 1840, Ibrahim sought to conscript forces in Lebanon but was resisted by the Druzes. To help in defeating the Druzes, he armed 7,000 Maronites. This resulted in bad feelings between the Maronites and the Druzes. These tensions were further inflamed by British and Turkish agents using money, arms, and promises to advance their own agenda for the region.

The Major Powers of Europe and Russia chose to support the Ottomans against the Egyptian rebellion. They considered it in their interest to maintain the integrity of the Turkish Empire in the balance of power in Europe. England especially feared that Turkey's removal would render insecure England's route to India and its position there. An Anglo-Austrian-Turkish fleet attacked Beirut and landed troops in Junieh. On October 18, 1840, Emir Bashir delivered himself to the British and was exiled in Malta and later in Istanbul. He died in 1850.

The Conflict of 1841

According to Philip Hitti, tensions in Lebanon had been developing for years. The Druzes had resented Emir Bashir's efforts to undermine the authority of their feudal chiefs and also deplored his son Khalil's use of Maronite troops to crush the uprising of their co-religionists. The Druzes resented the large increase of Christians and their heightened status in the Druzes sector. As noted above, British and Ottoman agents sought to stir up one community against another for their own purposes. Hitti observes: "Before the 1840's the alignment [among Christians and Druze] was feudal and partisan rather than religious and denominational."

In 1841, what may have started as a small disagreement between a Christian and a Druze, resulted in both sides taking up arms. Dayr al-Qamar was set on fire on October 14, 1841. Soon other towns and vilages in the Shuf and al-Garb became involved, including Jezzine, Abayh, al-Shuwayfat, al-Hadath, and Baabda. Fleeing Maronites passing outside of Beirut by the camp of Turkish troops, who were supposedly sent to restore order, were attacked and robbed.

Bashir III had succeeded as Emir of the Mountain. However, the sultan did not give him the power of his predecessors, and subsequently took advantage of his incompetence and the events of 1841 to depose him. A Hungarian, Omar Pasha, who had come to Lebanon with the Ottoman army to drive out Ibrahim was named governor of Lebanon in January of 1842. According to the historian, Bishop Pierre Dib, Omar's tyranny and brutality, and ineptness obliged Istanbul to recall him.

The Partition of Lebanon into Two Qaim-maqamats

For the next stage of rule in Lebanon, the Maronites and their French allies urged an autonomous Lebanon under the rule of the Shihab. However, on January 1, 1843, the sultan seeking to weaken Lebanese autonomy and supported by the British, who were rivals of the French in the Middle East, divided Lebanon into two jurisdictions or qaim-maqamats, a Maronite one in the north and a Druze one in the south. Both were responsible to the Ottoman wali or governor of Saida residing in Beirut. The Beirut-Damascus road was the dividing line.

The major problem with this arrangement was that while the Druzes were numerous in the south, the Christian population was also considerable. There were many mixed villages. According to Hitti, the Christian district had 74,700 Maronites and 10,150 Druzes. The Druze district had 25,450 Druzes, but also 17,350 Maronites, 5,200 Greek Orthodox, and 15,590 Melkites. The total population of the mountain was 213,070, of whom 95,350 were Maronites, 41,090

Melkites, 28,500 Greek Orthodox, 35,600 Druzes, 12,330 Metualis and 200 Jews.

The Conflict of 1845

During this time there was instituted in the mixed villages of the south the office of wakeel (procurator): one for the Christians and one for the Druzes. However, the artificial divisions of the country had increased tensions and anarchy. A second conflict erupted in 1845. After a surprise attack by the Druzes, the Christians burned fourteen Druze villages, and moved on to al-Mukhtara[home of the Jumblatts] where they were attacked by a Turkish regiment. At Abayh, the Turks served as reserve forces for the Druzes. The conflict spread to Jezzine, Deir al-Qamar and other places.

The sultan sent Chaikib Effendi, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Beirut and charged him to re-establish order. He created a national majlis or council in October of 1845. It was to be composed of a delegate from the Qaim-maqam, a Moslem judge and counselor, a Druze judge and counselor, a Maronite judge and counselor, a Greek Orthodox judge and counselor, a Melkite judge and counselor, and for the Metualis, only a counselor since they had a judge in common with the Moslems. The jurisdiction of the majlis was not limited to judicial affairs, but extended to financial and administrative matters. While seemingly a structure allowing for Lebanese representation, the council was entirely under the power of the Turkish authorities. According to Bishop Dib, "From this time on, Lebanon, at the total discretion of the Ottoman pashas, was no more than a theater of intrigues, revolts, and battles."

The Massacres of 1860

In the Druze qaim-maqamat within a period of ten years upwards of 700 Christians were murdered without any attempt of investigation. The massacres that took place in 1860 from April to July lacked any immediate provocation and seemed premeditated. In a few weeks more than 60 villages of the Metn and the Shuf lay in ashes. Turkish regular troops did nothing to stop the fighting and Turkish irregulars maltreated and pillaged refugees fleeing to Damascus and Beirut.

According to Philip Hitti, in the large cities a criminal procedure was often followed. The Ottoman garrison commander would offer the Christian population asylum, ask for the surrender of their arms and proceed to see them slaughtered. In Dayr al-Qamar the number killed was 2,600, in Jezzine, 1,500, in Hasbayya, 1,000 Greek Orthodox, in Rashayya, 800. Zahle was attacked and looted. The total came to 12,000. Ten thousand Christians were killed in Damascus, including the Massabki brothers who refused to deny their faith. The three brothers, Francis, Abdul-Moti, and Raphael were martyred on July 10, 1860. They were beatified by Pope Pius XI on October 10, 1926. Three hundred sixty villages were destroyed; 560 churches were torn down; 42 monasteries were burned, and 23 schools were destroyed.

Dismayed by this situation, Fr. John Hadj, who would become a future Patriarch, and who was a judge of the majlis, drafted a report containing a detailed account of these events and spread it throughout Europe. His appeal and reports from other sources moved the French to act. The Great Powers decided to intervene but only France sent 7,000 troops. In the meantime, Fuad Pasha, the Ottoman Foreign Minister, had achieved a cessation of the fighting.

A commission of the Great Powers was set up to investigate the tragedy. In its deliberations the British and the Turks voted together. Very few were found guilty of crimes, and very little indemnity was paid to victims.

The "Organic Laws" of 1861 and the Mutasarrifiyah of Mount Lebanon

In seeking to establish a constitution for Lebanon, the French sought to set up an autonomous principality under a Maronite governor. Their candidate for the post was Yusuf Karam. However, the British and the Ottomans were opposed to this arrangement and revised the proposed Organic Laws so that Lebanon would not be ruled by a native. On June 9, 1861, the revised Organic Laws for Lebanon were signed in Istanbul. This constitution remained in

effect until the beginning of World War I. It was signed by France, Britain, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Turkey, and Italy (in 1867). It reconstituted Lebanon as an autonomous mutasarrifiyah, but under a governor-general of the Christian faith, designated by the sultan and approved by the signatory powers. The governor was responsible directly to the sultan and not to the regional Ottoman governors.

In this new arrangement, the ancient territorial jurisdiction of Lebanon was reduced in half. It was stripped of the Bekaa and Wadi-Al-Taim, as well as Beirut and Saida. Beirut, Saida, and Tripoli were put directly under Ottoman rule. The new governor was not to be related to any of the Lebanese peoples. He had the authority to levy taxes, appoint judges, approve the sentences of the tribunals, and to maintain security and order. The mutasarrifiyah was divided into seven districts, each under a qaim- maqam.. Three districts were Maronite, one Druze, one Moslem, one Greek Orthodox, and one Melkite. There was also a local judiciary and a native police force.

Yusuf Karam

Dawood Pasha, an Armenian, was appointed as the first governor-general for a term of three years on June 10, 1861. He offered the office of qaim-maqam of Jezzine to Yusuf Karam. Karam was highly regarded by his fellow Christians as a man of great courage and virtue. He refused to work with the new government and in public statements addressed to the Pope and the French government decried the surrender of Lebanese rights. He objected to the requirement that the governor be non- Lebanese, and to the dictatorial rights given him. He also complained that according to the agreement the imperial treasury would underwrite Lebanese budget deficits, thereby making the country subservient to Istanbul.

Yusuf Karam led a revolt for Lebanese independence, but was eventually apprehended and taken to Istanbul. After Dawood Pasha's term was renewed in 1864, Karam managed to return secretly to North Lebanon to renew his struggle. He was defeated

and left Lebanon under French protection in 1867. He was banished first to Algeria, then to Paris and Naples where he died in 1888. His body was returned to his native , Ehden, where he is venerated to this day.

Dawood Pasha was succeeded in 1868 by Nasri Franco, an Aleppine Latin rite Catholic. Patriarch Paul Masad in his visit to Istanbul in 1867 had spoken on his behalf. After his becoming governor-general, Franco Pasha had very good relations with church authorities. On the other hand, his successor, Rustom Pasha, an Italian nobleman, challenged the growing influence of the Maronite clergy. He had Archbishop Peter Bustany of Tyr and Saida sent into exile. However, through the efforts of the French hierarchy, his exile was only a brief one.

Other governors-general followed. Some were effective in their rule, others were inept or exploitive and subject to corruption. It was during the bad periods that immigration of Lebanese in significant numbers began to take place.

The structure of Lebanon as a mutasarrifiyah under the Organic Law is favorably evaluated by historians. Bishop Dib observes that while the new Law "was not free from criticism, still it did provide a regime of social concord among the diverse elements of the population. Christians, Moslems, Druzes, and Metualis lived side by side without defiance or harm."

Independence and Conflict (20th Century)

Civil History — World War I and its Aftermath

With the outbreak of World War I in 1914, Turkey allied itself with Germany and the Central Powers. In October of that year, Jamal Pasha appeared in Damascus as commander of the Fourth Turkish Army. He was to occupy Lebanon and abolish its Constitution in August, 1915, and make the country directly subject to Ottoman military rule. Special privileges were abrogated and some monasteries were converted into military castles.

In the summer of 1915, the governor-general of Lebanon Ohannes Pasha, who had been forced to dissolve the administrative council, was replaced by Ali Munif, the second Turk ever to rule Lebanon.

Jamal Pasha imposed military conscription on Lebanese citizens, requisitioned beasts of burden, and ordered the people to supply the troops. A reign of terror was introduced into Lebanon. Many Lebanese were accused of treason. The Archbishop of Beirut was exiled to Anatolia where he died. Accused of sympathy with the French or with the Arab cause resulted in Moslems and Christians to be hanged in Beirut and in Damascus in 1916. This event is commemorated by Martyrs' Square in Beirut and the celebration of Martyrs' Day.

With the Ottoman empire collapsing, the Turks introduced worthless Turkish money in Lebanon which increased the economic hardship of the war. In addition, 1916 marked a time of famine and starvation in Lebanon. The deteriorating living conditions also led to epidemics of typhoid and bubonic plague. It is estimated that 100,000 Lebanese lost their lives.

In 1918, French and British forces were to be found in the Middle East along with an Arab force headed by Prince Feisal and his adviser and aide, T. E. Lawrence. Prince Feisal had hopes of ruling

over a territory to include Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan. However, as the war was drawing to an end and victory over the Ottomans was at hand, the British and French were in vigorous competition over who would control and influence the Middle East. They were already in tough negotiations to determine which territories would be under their control.

After leading his troops into Damascus, Prince Feisal sent a group of commandoes to Beirut where they raised the Hejaz flag on October 5, 1918. This action alarmed the French who sent warships on the following day to Beirut. On October 8, General Allenby, Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces, entered Beirut and had the flag taken down.

The Paris Peace Conference

The victorious Allies gathered in Paris in 1919 to determine the disposition of the defeated Ottoman Empire. Patriarch Elias Hoyek lead a delegation of Lebanese notables which came to Paris "in the name of the government and the Administrative Council of Lebanon, therefore, in the name of the people of the Lebanese towns and countrysides," to demand of the Peace Conference, the autonomy of Lebanon and the restoration of its natural and historical frontiers, with the mandate of France.

At Paris, the Patriarch and his delegation were hosted by the French government. Patriarch Hoyek had meetings with many political notables, including the French President Poincaré and the French Premier Clemenceau. On October 27, 1919, he presented to the Peace Conference a long memorandum which exposed the desires and demands of the Lebanese.

On November 10, Clemenceau wrote to the Patriarch reiterating the close bonds that France and Lebanon have had through the centuries. He assured him that Lebanon's desire for autonomy and independence coincide with France's liberal traditions. He concludes: "With the help and support of France..., the Lebanese are assured of preserving their traditions, of developing their political

and administrative institutions, of reclaiming completely their country, and of seeing their children educated in their proper schools for public service in Lebanon... Desirous of the most favorable economic relations in all the countries confided to its mandate, France will give the greatest consideration that in detrmning the boundaries of Lebanon, it is necessary to include the "Mountain," the territories of the plain, and access to the sea, as indispensable to its prosperity."

In the meantime, Prince Feisal was having difficulty ruling over the various factions in Damascus. These ranged from conservative traditional families who had been pro-Ottoman to liberal pro-Arab and anti-French groups, and others who supported a Greater Syria. Feisal called for elections to a General Syrian Congress which assembled in 1919 and called for an independent Greater Syria which would include Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Palestine.

Patriarch Hoyek was alarmed by these and other moves against Lebanese independence. In December, 1919, he formed a new delegation, composed of Lebanese notables and headed by his Patriarchal Vicar, Archbishop Abdullah Khoury. He sent them to Paris to defend the cause of the country and to complete the work that he had initiated.

Premier Clemenceau had offered Prince Feisal a compromise wherein he would rule over Syria, but not Lebanon, under a loose French trusteeship. However, this agreement was voted down by the Syrian General Congress in January, 1920. Subsequently, the Second General Syrian Congress in March, 1920 declared an independent Greater Syria encompassing Lebanon and Palestine with Feisal as constitutional monarch. Both Britain and France were alarmed at this development. On May 27, 1920 the French Commander in Beirut, General Gouraud was ordered to take the field against Feisal and to move on Damascus. Damascus was occupied on July 26, and Feisal was ordered into exile on July 27.

In the meantime on May 19, 1920, Alexandre Millerand, who succeeded Clemenceau as French Premier wrote the following to Archbishop Khoury: "In virtue of a decision of the Supreme Council, the Allied Powers have conferred the mandate over Syria to France who has never varied in its intention to call for Lebanon's independence under French mandate."

On August 24, Millerand wrote again to Archbishop Khoury: "...Your country's claims on the Bekaa, that you have recalled to me, have been granted. General Gouraud has proclaimed at Zahle, in conformity to the instructions of the French government, the incorporation into Lebanon of the territory that extends up to the summits of the Anti-Lebanon and of Hermon. This is the Greater Lebanon that France wishes to form to assure your country of its natural borders. Lebanon ought to extend from Jebel Akkar in the north to the confines of Palestine in the south, along with the cities of Tripoli and Beirut."

On September 1, 1920 Greater Lebanon was officially proclaimed in Beirut by General Gouraud. The new state included the ports of Tyr and Saida in addition to Beirut, its new capital, and Tripoli. Besides Baalbeck and the Bekaa, Hasbayya, Rashayya, and Marjayoun were included. Lebanon's territory had doubled in size, and its population had increased by more than half greatly increasing the number of Moslems.

On July 24, 1922, the League of Nations approved the French mandate over Syria and Lebanon. On May 23, 1926 Lebanon was declared a Republic.

Civil History - World War II to the Present

With the outbreak of World War II in Europe, the French High Commissioner for Lebanon Gabriel Puaux proclaimed martial law and dissolved parliament on September 9, 1939. Lebanon was controlled by the Vichy authorities after the fall of France in 1940. However, this regime was overthrown with the occupation of Lebanon by British and Free French forces in 1941. On November

26 of that year, General George Catroux proclaimed the sovereignty of Lebanon and the termination of the Mandate.

Elections were held in 1943 and *Bishara Al-Khuri* was elected President. *Riyad al-Solh* was chosen Prime-Minister. The new government sought to pass measures to establish its autonomy. In response, the French Delegate-General, Jean Helleu, suspended the constitution and arrested the President, Prime-Minister and Cabinet. They were placed in the castle of *Rashayya*, and martial law was declared. However, after nine days of riots and demonstrations, the French authorities gave in and restored the government. In 1945, Lebanon became a founding member of the United Nations. By December 31, 1946, all foreign troops had withdrawn from Lebanon.

With their constitution and with what became known as the *National Pact*, the Lebanese sought to have all the various religious groups adequately represented. This policy applied to the presidency, the cabinet, the parliament and the upper-level positions in government. Lebanon is not a country where one can speak of a clear majority in its population. In reality, Lebanon is a nation of several minorities.

The political character of the Lebanese republic did not completely favor one group over another. While the Christians may have had some advantages in domestic affairs, Lebanon was considered an Arab country in foreign affairs. Economically, no religious group had the clear advantage. At the dawn of the conflict of 1975, there were many prosperous *Sunni* Moslems in Lebanon, and many poor Maronite Christians.

The Events Leading to the Conflict of 1975

The Arab-Israeli war of 1948 and the subsequent flood of Palestinian refugees into Lebanon had a tremendous impact on all facets of Lebanese life. The number of Palestinians living in Lebanon has exceeded 600,000. If one considers that the native Lebanese population consists of 3 million persons, the refugee population amounted to an increase of 20%. To compare this to the

United States, it would be equivalent to the coming of 50 million refugees into our country in the space of a few years. Under United Nations supervision, the vast majority of Palestinian refugees have lived in poverty and in refugee camps for 40 years.

Another significant event for Lebanon was the civil war that broke out in Jordan from September 16-27, 1969 between the army loyal to King Hussein and the PLO and *Fatah* fighters. The Palestinians were defeated and sought refuge in Lebanon. While the sheer number of foreign refugees had been a threat to Lebanese social and economic stability, the coming into Lebanon of armed Palestinian fighters represented a danger to the existence of the Lebanese state itself.

Without respect for Lebanese sovereignty, the heavily armed PLO fighters were to be found on the streets of Lebanon and soon clashed with Lebanese security forces. In the agreement known as the *Cairo Pact* of November 3, 1969, the PLO was to respect Lebanese law outside the camps, but the Palestinians were given a free hand inside the camps.

With the Palestinians heavily armed within their camps, and with the Lebanese government seemingly under pressure from Arab countries not to weaken the Palestinians, many Lebanese began to arm themselves. Within a few years, a number of independent militias were formed, heavily armed and supported from within and outside the country. With the government and the Lebanese army neutralized, and with the militias unregulated, it was only a matter of time before armed conflicts would occur.

It is important to note that the Lebanon of 1975 was not a country of great political and economic injustice. It was not a garrison state where the party in power ruled with an iron hand and people lived in fear of the secret police. It was not a country dominated and run by Christians. Proof of this is that when the conflict finally did break out, the Maronite President could not act without the approval of the Moslem Prime-Minister and the Cabinet. The complaints of the poor *Shiite* Moslems in the south of Lebanon, which was one of the volatile issues in 1975, were directed not at the Christians but at

what they perceived as an unresponsive government, made up of both Christians and Moslems.

The fact of the matter is that Lebanon of 1975 was one of the most free and democratic countries in the Middle East: a country where all religions had freedom of worship. Economic inequities were due partly to Lebanon's *laissez-faire* capitalism, and also to the entrenched feudal structure found in both Christian and Moslem areas. Had tiny Lebanon not been located in the midst of larger countries at war with each other, armed conflicts would probably not have occurred.

Foreign elements found it to their advantage to manipulate affairs in Lebanon. Factions within Lebanon believed it to their advantage to ally themselves with foreigners at the price of Lebanese sovereignty. Add to this, extremists on both ends of the political spectrum saw in the state of anarchy an opportunity to reshape radically the status of Lebanon.

While religion is a central factor in Lebanese life, and often becomes a cause of tension and even prejudice, the conflict in Lebanon was not a religious civil war. More Christians and Moslems died at the hands of their fellow religionists, than from the other side. The war in Lebanon was perpetuated by various elements seeking political and economic power.

The Conflict of 1975

Open conflicts began in 1975, and the Lebanese government and army found themselves unable to deal with the situation. Events reached a point in 1976, where the Lebanese Left and the Palestinians, with help from outsiders, were gaining the upper hand, and threatening to change the constitutional status of Lebanon. It was at this juncture that Syria, who had been a supporter of the Left, entered into Lebanon and tilted the balance in favor of the Christians. In a meeting held October 25-26, 1976, the Arab League organized a peace-keeping force for Lebanon of 30,000 soldiers, the majority of whom were Syrian.

In the following years, Lebanon went through a series of cease-fires followed by the resumption of hostilities. More and more people were being killed and wounded. Thousands were being displaced from their homes. On June 6, 1982, an estimated 60,000 Israeli troops invaded Lebanon. PLO leaders and troops were forced to leave Lebanon in August of that year. After undergoing a *war of attrition*, Israel found its presence in Lebanon to be counter-productive and began withdrawing its forces in September of 1983. However, Israeli troops still remain in the south of Lebanon.

On October 22 and 23, 1989, the Lebanese Parliament met in *Ta'if* in Saudi Arabia and approved a new constitutional structure which equalized the powers between the President, Prime-Minister, and the Cabinet, and called for an equal number of seats for the Christians and Moslems in Parliament.

The year 1990 witnessed the tragedy of Christian factions fighting and killing each other, and probably signifies the lowest point in recent Maronite history. By October of that year, hostilities in Lebanon came to an end.

The fifteen years of conflict had seen perhaps as many as 150,000 Lebanese killed, many more wounded and mutilated, and hundreds of thousands displaced from their homes. What was once a significant Lebanese middle-class had become impoverished. Thousands of Lebanese had left the country.

Lebanon today finds the majority of its territory occupied by foreign forces, and the world community unwilling to pressure them to withdraw. Their presence makes it impossible for the Lebanese to govern themselves properly or to have confidence in their future. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the Lebanese spirit and character will prevail.

Religious History - The Maronite Patriarchs

Patriarch Hoyek was succeeded by Archbishop Anthony Areeda of Tripoli in 1932. A graduate of the Sulpician Seminary in Paris, Patriarch Areeda reopened the patriarchal seminary of St. Maron in *Ghazir* in 1934, and gave its administration to the Jesuits. He also built a basilica in the summer residence of *Dimane* and commissioned the painter Saliba Doueihy to do the artwork. According to Bishop Tayah in his book *The Maronites*, Patriarch Areeda was concerned for the Maronite communities established overseas, and attempted to take a census among these communities while a nation-wide census was being conducted in Lebanon.

At the death of Patriarch Areeda in 1955, the Vatican bypassed an election by the Maronite bishops and appointed the Archbishop of Tyre, Paul Meouchi, as Patriarch. Patriarch Meouchi was a strong figure and had a significant influence on the political life in Lebanon.

During his tenure, he and the Maronite bishops actively participated in the deliberations of the Second Vatican Council. In 1972 and 1973, Liturgical reforms of the Maronite Missal were inaugurated with the publication of the experimental texts both by the Vatican and by the Patriarchate. In 1962 Patriarch Meouchi was the first Maronite Patriarch to visit the Maronites in the United States. On that occasion, he dedicated the Maronite Seminary in Washington, D.C.

Upon the death of Patriarch Meouchi in 1975, Anthony Khoraiiche, Archbishop of *Saida*, was elected to succeed him. Patriarch Khoraiiche was confronted with the outbreak of hostilities in the country. A man of the land and of the people, he tried valiantly to restore harmony among all Lebanese. During his tenure, the Maronite Seminary of *Ghazir* was restored.

The one light during this sad period in Lebanon was the canonization of St. Sharbel Makhoul at St. Peter's Basilica in Rome on October 9, 1977. St. Sharbel was one of only a few persons from the Eastern Churches to be canonized by the Roman Church

in modern times. What is significant about his saintly achievement is that in our contemporary world of constant activity and material achievement, he is a witness to the life of solitude, fasting and prayer. St Sharbel's canonization was followed by the beatification of Blessed Rafka el-Raiyiss on November 17, 1985. Her life was a witness to redemptive suffering in Christ.

Patriarch Khoraiiche resigned his office in 1985 and was succeeded by Nasrallah Sfeir in April, 1986. Having been the Vicar for two previous patriarchs, Patriarch Sfeir was well experienced in the role of *Bkerke* in both the ecclesiastical and civil spheres. He became a strong voice for reason and sanity in the latter years of the Lebanese conflict. At the present time, he has become the conscience of the country, pointing to the injustices that exist in the social and political spheres, and speaking up for the poor and disenfranchised. In his writings and sermons he has been presenting an agenda of how Lebanon is to achieve a future based on freedom and human rights.

The works of liturgical reform bore fruit in 1992 with the publication of a new Maronite Missal. The Missal represents an attempt to return to the original form of the Antiochene Liturgy. Its Service of the Word is far more enriched than previous Missals, and it features six *Anaphoras* [Eucharistic Prayers]. At the present time, liturgical reform is continuing at an accelerated pace.

The World Synod of Bishops for Lebanon

In June, 1991 Pope John Paul II announced a special Synod of Bishops for Lebanon. The Synod met at the Vatican from November 25 to December 14, 1995. The purpose of the special Synod was to revitalize the Christian churches in Lebanon, to underline their importance as witnesses of the Christian Gospel in the Middle East and to advocate harmonious relations among all religions.

To show his concern for the people of Lebanon and to strengthen and console them as they recover from many years of suffering,

Pope John Paul II visited Lebanon on May 9-10, 1997. He was welcomed enthusiastically by the whole nation.

His Holiness took the occasion of his visit to present his post-synodal Apostolic Exhortation: *A New Hope For Lebanon* to the patriarchs, bishops, clergy, religious and all the faithful of Lebanon. In this Apostolic Exhortation, the Holy Father calls for renewal of the Church in its members, in its structures, and in its pastoral activity. He calls for communion among the Catholic churches in Lebanon and around the world. Dialogue with the Orthodox churches is encouraged. There is also a call for dialogue between Christians and Moslems, and for peace and reconciliation. The Exhortation ends with a discussion of the role of the Church in its service to society.

The Universal Expansion of the Maronite Church

Beginning with the last decade of the 19th century, Maronites began to emigrate from Lebanon and Syria. At first, they went to other countries in the Middle East. However, they soon began to travel to all parts of the world. The last thirty years have witnessed the formal establishment of many Maronite eparchies outside the Middle East. Eparchies are now found in Brazil, the United States, Canada, Australia, Argentina, Mexico, and the Maronites of Europe have an Apostolic Visitor. Thus, the Maronite Church is fulfilling the Gospel mandate to go forth and make disciples of all nations.

Maronites in the U.S.A.

The Period Before World War I

It is difficult to pinpoint when the first Maronites arrived in the United States. With their entrepreneurial spirit, it would not be surprising if Maronites would have ventured forth to the "New World" as soon as it was known that it was being colonized. However, Maronites from Lebanon and Syria began immigrating in substantial numbers beginning in the 1880s and 1890s. Prior to this time, Maronites had immigrated to Egypt and other countries of the Middle East and the Mediterranean.

There were various reasons for leaving Lebanon. While religious issues might have been a factor, the principal causes were lack of economic opportunities and lack of living space. Life in the mountains of Lebanon was austere, and the land area of Mount Lebanon prior to 1920 was very constricted.

In the latter part of the 19th century, Lebanon was ruled by *pashas* who were appointed by the Ottoman sultan. While some *pashas* were moderate, others were repressive in their policy leading to political oppression and religious tension. Between 1900-1914, the population of Lebanon decreased by 100,000, or one-fourth. Besides coming to the United States, Maronites immigrated in significant numbers to Brazil, Canada, Mexico, Central America, Argentina, Australia and various parts of the African continent.

The early Maronite immigrants to the United States accepted whatever work they could find. Some worked in factories which produced textiles, steel, or automobiles; thus, Maronite communities sprung up all over New England, in Pittsburgh, PA, Birmingham, AL, Youngstown, OH, Cleveland and Detroit. Being descendants of ancient traders, some Lebanese immigrants became peddlers in cities, towns and mining camps. Others opened dry goods stores and groceries. A few quickly became wealthy merchants.

Before 1914, Maronite communities were to be found all over the United States. Besides the places mentioned above, they were located all over the South, in Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana and Texas. In the Midwest, Maronite presence extended from Wheeling, WV. to St. Louis, MO. and from Detroit, MI to St. Paul and Minneapolis Minnesota. In the Far West, Maronites were already to be found in California and Oregon.

These early Maronite immigrants identified strongly with their religious heritage. Although they attended the local Roman Catholic churches at first, they were anxious to preserve their own tradition. Very quickly, they petitioned the Patriarch to send them priests. Many worthy priests were sent over as missionaries and were instrumental in founding a number of churches. Other Maronite priests came to visit their relatives in various American cities and took the opportunity to celebrate the Divine Liturgy and administer the mysteries, at least on a temporary basis. Maronite priests were already active in New York City, Boston and Philadelphia in 1890 and 1891. The Divine Liturgy was being celebrated at an early date in St. Louis.

The origins of the local parishes happened in a variety of ways. At times, leadership was provided by Maronite clergy. In some areas, the laity took the initiative, usually by forming clubs, primarily to raise enough money to purchase a building. In some places, the Latin bishops offered financial and material help. The first church buildings were often large houses which were purchased and remodeled, where the first floor would be the church and the second floor the rectory. At times, Protestant churches were bought and renovated.

By the beginning of World War I, there were already, at least twenty-two permanent Maronite parishes in the United States. At least four more parishes had permanent places of worship before the end of the war. Parochial schools were established in Buffalo, NY, in Wilkes-Barre, PA and, soon after, in Detroit, MI. Parishes also provided facilities to teach the new immigrants English, and organizations were formed to help those in need.

Post-World War I to the Establishment of the Maronite Exarchate

The period during and after World War I was a time of consolidation of the old parishes and the establishment of new ones. A substantial number of Maronite immigrants from Lebanon and the Middle East came to the United States after the war. However, the United States government imposed strict immigration quotas soon.

During this time, many of the parishes already in existence sought either new or larger facilities, and many churches were built. In the 1920s, at least seven new permanent churches were established, and at least two more were added in the 1930s. Parochial schools were started in Waterville, ME. and later in Olean, NY.

Maronites in the United States sought to preserve their identity in various ways. The principal vehicle was parish life and worship. The tendency among the first immigrants and their children was to preserve, almost untouched and unchanged, Maronite practice as it was when they had left the Middle East. Depending on the leadership and the abilities of the various priests who came from Lebanon through the years, changes were introduced in music and ritual as they were developed in Lebanon. Devotions and music were also sometimes borrowed from the Latin churches.

For these first and second generation Maronites, the Maronite tradition was the source not only of their religious, but also of their national and social identity. They cherished the cycle of religious feasts and practices. Many knew Arabic, the vernacular in Lebanon and Syria of the Maronite Church, and some laity even knew Syriac, the ancient liturgical language. The Maronite Church served as an agent of acculturation into the American way of life for recent immigrants.

Recent generations of American Maronites have related to their Maronite tradition in differing ways. The backbone of most parishes consists of those who seek to perpetuate the heritage handed down to them from their parents and grandparents. Among this group are

those who strive to learn more about the spirit and essence of the Maronite tradition through books and other resources that have become available in recent decades.

Unfortunately, a large number of American Maronites have abandoned the Maronite tradition almost entirely. For some, this is due to their being in areas where there are no Maronite churches or organizations. Others who have married non-Maronites have found it convenient to attend the church of their spouse. In the early years, some Maronites sought to be completely assimilated into American society by joining the Latin Church, which they identified as American. On the other hand, the Maronite Church in the United States has been blessed by the addition of many non-Maronites, through marriage who have become very active and dedicated to their parishes. In recent years, a good number of non-Maronites have joined the Maronite Church, attracted to the power of its spirituality and the richness of its liturgy.

There were other factors that preserved the social bonds among Maronites and other peoples of the Middle East in the United States in the early decades. In many areas, social clubs were formed either as "Lebanese/Syrian Clubs" or named after the village from whence significant groups had immigrated. Later, many of these clubs were organized on a regional level, such as the Midwest and Southern Federation of Lebanese and Syrian Clubs. Similarly, parishes in different areas of the country organized *mahrajans* (local and regional celebrations) in conjunction with certain religious feasts, such as the Dormition [Assumption] of Mary, or with seasonal secular holidays. At these events on the parish, regional and national levels, Middle Eastern culture was preserved through the celebration of food, music, dance and sometimes even poetry and drama. Many young Maronites met their future spouses at these Federation conventions and parish *mahrajans*.

The Maronite Seminary

In the 1950s, some Maronite clergy and laity, among them the Maronite League, began to work actively for the establishment of a

Maronite Seminary in the United States. In 1959, the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Churches formed a committee of Maronite priests in the United States to collect funds for a seminary to be established in Washington, D.C. In addition to being the nation's capital, Washington was chosen especially to take advantage of the facilities of the Catholic University of America and its ability to grant pontifical degrees in theology and canon law. The University is also known for its department of Semitic and Oriental languages. Archbishop (later Cardinal) Patrick O'Boyle of Washington was asked to take responsibility for the seminary's establishment, and Chorbishop Mansour Stephan of Brooklyn was appointed as National Chairman of the building fund.

In June, 1960, Archbishop O'Boyle called the Maronite clergy of the United States to a meeting in Washington, where a goal of \$500,000 was set as a minimum to be raised from among the Maronite faithful in the United States; twenty-four Maronite priests attended. In July 1961, Archbishop O'Boyle, with the approval of the Maronite clergy, purchased a house on Alaska Avenue, N.W. The house was renovated, and a chapel, bedrooms and a recreation room were added. In 1964, the building next door was purchased and used for seminary bedrooms and a library. A new wing to the seminary was added in 2000.

Our Lady of Lebanon Maronite Seminary opened its doors on September 24, 1961. Its first rector was Reverend Elias el-Hayek, and the prefect of studies was Fr. Seely Beggiani, who was subsequently named rector in 1968. The seminary held an open house for the Maronites living in the Washington area on St. Maron's Day, 1962, and this event marked the beginning of a Maronite parish community in Washington.

Patriarch Paul Cardinal Meouchi formally dedicated the seminary in 1962. Over two thousand Maronite clergy and laity, as well as nine Latin rite bishops, joined in the celebration at the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception. The nationally known television speaker, Bishop Fulton J. Sheen, preached the homily. Cardinal

Meouchi was accompanied by the future Patriarch and Cardinal Antoine Khoraiche.

In its 42 years of existence, the Maronite seminary has produced 59 priests. As the only diocesan Maronite seminary outside of Lebanon, it has provided an indigenous clergy, as well as clergy who come from Lebanon as seminarians to be trained and serve in the United States. The alumni of the seminary have been active in establishing new missions and churches. The Maronite seminary has become a center of research and publication in the fields of Maronite history, liturgy, theology and spirituality.

The National Apostolate of Maronites

In 1963, a group of Maronite laity in the United States formed what was then known as the National Association of Maronites. The purpose of the organization was to unite Maronite laity throughout the United States and to perpetuate the Maronite tradition. At the beginning, its immediate goals were to support the Maronite seminary and to work for the coming of a bishop to serve the Maronite people of the United States.

In 1968, Archbishop Francis Zayek reconstituted NAM as the National Apostolate of Maronites. Thus, it became the official lay apostolate of the Maronite Eparchies in the United States. As the years have progressed, NAM has increased its involvement and support in many areas, including youth, religious education, vocation awareness and recognition of the work of individual laity on the parish and eparchial levels. NAM's annual national and regional conventions have served to continue to strengthen the religious, cultural and social bonds of Maronite laity throughout the United States. While similar events are held by other Eastern Churches, the Latin dioceses have nothing to compare with these lay assemblies.

The National Shrine of Our Lady of Lebanon

In the early 1960s under the leadership of Msgr. Peter Eid of Youngstown, OH, and through the efforts of clergy and laity in Ohio,

Pennsylvania and West Virginia, a national shrine in honor of Our Lady of Lebanon was established in North Jackson, OH. It was formally dedicated in 1965, and was modeled on the famous shrine at *Harrissa* in Lebanon. It quickly became a popular place of pilgrimage for Maronites and other Catholics of the Eastern and Midwestern United States. In 1987, an impressive chapel dedicated to Christ the King was dedicated by Archbishop Zayek at the National Shrine.

During the early 1960s attempts were made to estimate the number of Maronites residing in the United States. This project proved to be near impossible because the majority of Maronites were to be found in states in which there were no established parishes. Also, through marriage and other types of assimilation one did not even know what family names to look for. After contacting clergy and lay leaders throughout the country, an estimate of 200,000 Maronites was made. This figure is probably extremely low. The task of estimating the number of Maronites today is even more difficult.

1966 to the present - Establishment of the Maronite Apostolic Exarchate and Eparchy

On January 10, 1966, Pope Paul VI established the Maronite Apostolic Exarchate in the United States. An exarchate is a church structure that is often created in a missionary territory to lay the groundwork for a definitive eparchy or diocese. Bishop Francis M. Zayek was appointed Exarch. Bishop Zayek had had long experience in the Vatican as a teacher of canon law, and on the staff of the Roman Rota. His recent experience as first Bishop of the Maronites of Brazil made him highly qualified for the same responsibility in the United States. Bishop Zayek was installed on June 11, 1966 in Detroit, MI., where he was to establish his See. Detroit was chosen because it was home to the largest concentration of Maronites in the United States. The Exarchate at this time consisted of forty-three Maronite parishes.

Pope Paul VI raised the Exarchate to the rank of Diocese or Eparchy on November 20, 1971. The Holy Father also appointed

Bishop Zayek as the first bishop of the Diocese of Saint Maron U.S.A. Bishop Zayek was installed as such on June 4, 1972. The decision was made to move the location of the diocese from Detroit to Brooklyn, NY in 1977. In view of the serious crisis affecting the Maronites in Lebanon, a move to the East coast gave the bishop closer access to the United Nations, to Washington, D.C. and to New York, the port of entry of many Lebanese Maronites coming to the United States. A move to the east also set the scene for the eventual division of the Eparchy. Bishop Zayek took possession of his new Cathedral on May 21, 1978.

To help with the responsibilities of the vast and expanding diocese, Chorbishop John Chedid was appointed Auxiliary Bishop in 1980. Bishop Chedid had distinguished himself as a pastor and in the holding of several diocesan offices. He was ordained bishop on January 25, 1981.

In recognition of his pioneering work in the United States, Bishop Zayek was given the title of Archbishop by the Holy Father on December 10, 1982.

The Maronite Exarchate and diocese was faced with many challenges. The original immigrant church had given way to second and third generation American-Lebanese, who had adapted quite thoroughly to the American milieu. Many Maronite parishioners were losing the knowledge of Arabic, the vernacular of the Middle East, and knew no Syriac, the liturgical language. Prior to the approval of English in the Liturgy, translations were published and books were printed where liturgical Arabic and Syriac were written in phonetics. Also, while the Maronite culture and liturgy had continued to develop in Lebanon and the Middle East, it had been "frozen in time" in the United States and in other countries of immigration. Some updating was introduced by the various pastors, who came from the Middle East, in the intervening years. However, in many American parishes, the liturgy and the music were identical to what was prayed sixty years before.

On the other hand, the tragic events in Lebanon beginning in 1975 had resulted in a large new class of immigrants who brought with them the Maronite way of life as it had continued to develop in the Middle East. This is especially true of the significant number of Maronite clergy and seminarians who immigrated over twenty years. Therefore, the great challenge was to make all Maronites feel at home in their parish community and to be able to worship in the most fruitful way possible. Second and third generation American Maronites, recent Maronite immigrants and Maronites of no Lebanese background were encouraged to support each other's understanding of what it is to be Maronite.

Archbishop Zayek set as his priorities the spiritual progress and unification of Maronites in the United States, the establishment of new parishes and missions in areas that had no Maronite clergy, and the encouraging of the older parishes to expand and, if necessary, to replace their church buildings.

Through the efforts of Archbishop Zayek, Bishop Chedid and the clergy, much work was done to adapt the Maronite Liturgy to the needs of the Eparchy. An extensive Lectionary was published, as well as a Book of Anaphoras and Book of Feasts. Several translations into English of the Divine Liturgy were put in the hands of the faithful. Translations of the Divine Office, the Mysteries (sacraments), and Maronite liturgical hymns were made available. A complete series of catechetical texts grounded in Maronite tradition and culture was published. Various members of the Eparchy have published books on Maronite theology, liturgy, spirituality, history and Eastern canon law.

A priority of the Eparchy was to organize the youth. In recent years annual national meetings of the Maronite youth have taken place, where youth from all over the country have attended in significant numbers. Besides the strengthening of social ties, the meetings are directed to developing youth leadership and attachment to the Maronite tradition.

A diocesan newspaper, *The Challenge*, was established in 1978. With the formation of two eparchies in 1994, it has been succeeded by *The Maronite Voice* in the Eparchy of Saint Maron, and *Maronites Today* in the Eparchy of Our Lady of Lebanon.

The Order of Saint Sharbel was established in 1980. It is an association of laity and clergy whose main purpose is to offer spiritual and material support to the Eparchy. Its specific goal is to ensure the financial needs of the Maronite Seminary and seminarians. It also seeks to provide additional financial benefits to the retired clergy. The Order has been very successful, and this is a sign of the dedication of American Maronites to their clergy.

During the serious crisis in Lebanon in the 1980's a Commission for Lebanon was established by the Eparchy to rally support for the Maronites in Lebanon. The purposes of the Commission were: to provide information and education regarding the status and future of the Maronite Church and its people in Lebanon to Maronites and interested persons in the United States; to work actively on all levels of the American government so as to ensure the continuation of American ties with Lebanon and the perpetuation of Lebanon's pluralistic character; and to provide financial and material support to the needy in Lebanon. The Commission sought to keep Lebanon, its sovereignty and freedom on the American foreign policy agenda giving testimony to Congress and maintaining contacts with the White House and the States Department. Through pamphlets and articles, it has endeavored to keep people informed about the threats facing the Maronites and other religious communities in Lebanon. During the time of the fighting in Lebanon, it was able to raise over \$200,000 to help the needy. The work of the now two Commissions for Lebanon of the two Eparchies continues, because complete sovereignty and freedom for Lebanon have not yet been achieved.

During the time of Archbishop Zayek, ten new parishes were established, bringing the total number of parishes to fifty-three. In addition, there were nine missions.

Religious life is also represented in the Eparchy. For over thirty-five years, the Antonine Sisters have performed an active ministry in Ohio and the surrounding states. Their work includes education, catechetics and nursing. In recent years, they have devoted much effort to the day care of the elderly.

Contemplative Orders of men and women who seek to live according to the Maronite tradition have been founded. These now include Most Holy Trinity Monastery in Petersham, MA, and Holy Nativity Monastery in Bethlehem, SD. The hermits of Jesus and Mary in Rutland, MA are nuns who are devoting their lives to prayer for the Maronite clergy.

The Formation of Two Eparchies

On March 1, 1994, Pope John Paul II announced the formation of two eparchies from the original Diocese of Saint Maron-USA. This action was in recognition of the growth of the Maronites in the United States, and to make the vast area of the United States a little more manageable. Because the vast majority of the Maronite parishes are to be found east of the Mississippi River, it was necessary to make the dividing line of the two eparchies at the Ohio-Pennsylvania border and points south. As a result, the Eparchy of Saint Maron of Brooklyn incorporates those states that border on the Atlantic coast. The newly formed Eparchy of Our Lady of Lebanon of Los Angeles includes all the remaining states.

Bishop John Chedid was installed as the first Ordinary of the new Eparchy on June 23, 1994. Having distinguished himself as Auxiliary Bishop and Judicial Vicar for the Eparchy of Saint Maron for many years, and having been highly respected by the Maronite clergy and laity, Bishop Chedid was well prepared for his new responsibility. Bishop Chedid has responded to the challenges of forming a new Eparchy, and has sought to give it its own identity. He has endeavored to consolidate the work of the past and to found new parishes and missions.

Bishop Stephen Hector Doueih

When Archbishop Francis Zayek reached retirement age, the Holy Father announced the appointment of Chorbishop Hector Doueih as the second Bishop of the Eparchy of Saint Maron on November 23, 1996. He was ordained Bishop on January 11, 1997 and enthroned on February 5, 1997. Besides his pastoral experience, Bishop Doueih had been responsible for much of the work done on the Maronite liturgy in the United States in recent years. While deeply attached to his Lebanese heritage, Bishop Doueih has enthusiastically embraced all that is good in American culture. These qualities enable him to relate well to the varied clergy and laity that now constitute the eparchy.

The Maronite Church in the United States faces its second century with many reasons for hope. It also faces the challenge to preserve its identity and its heritage, while trying to relate to generations imbued with contemporary American culture. As the branch of a church with apostolic origins, it is called to preach and to witness to the Gospel of Christ in whatever place or culture it finds itself. Its history in the Middle East and in the United States has prepared it to carry out its mission.

Bishop Robert Shaheen

On February 15, 2001, Maronite Patriarch Nasrallah Peter Sfeir ordained Robert Shaheen to the Episcopate as successor to Bishop Chedid. Bishop Shaheen was the first American-born priest to be ordained a Maronite Bishop and the first alumnus of Our Lady of Lebanon Maronite Seminary to be elevated to that office. In his priesthood, Bishop Shaheen distinguished himself as an extremely successful pastor, who in his 34-year tenure transformed St. Raymond parish of St. Louis into one of the most strong and active communities in the United States. Bishop Shaheen has been a staunch supporter of the Maronite Seminary, the National Apostolate of Maronites, the Shrine of Our Lady of Lebanon, and the Order of St. Sharbel. Bishop Shaheen's pastoral gifts have

already marked his episcopate. In addition, he has established a number of missions throughout the Eparchy.

The first hundred years of the Maronites in the United States have been marked by much progress and achievement. The original immigrants worked to see that their children and grandchildren received the best education available. As a result, Maronites have become prominent in all aspects of American life, whether political, professional, commercial or in the world of entertainment. The number of Maronite parishes and indigenous Maronite clergy in the United States far exceeds those of all of the other countries of immigration put together.

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