

## اتجاهات ومشاكل اليوم بعض الملاحظات التمهيدية

أبرز حقيقة يراها من ينظر إلى المسح السابق هي تقدم العلم التاريخي خلال الخمس عشرة سنة الأخيرة، والشيء البارز هو سرعة التقدم، وكذلك سعة الجبهة التي يسير عليها هذا التقدم، وخاصة إذا قوبلت بما كان في الخمسين سنة السابقة من جمود، لا في الإنتاج الذي كان يسير بخطى بطيئة، ولكن في التصورات الفكرية. لقد حاولت قبل خمس عشرة سنة أن أعرض بشكل غير قطعي المنظر التاريخي، وكان من الصعب تجنب الاستنتاج بأن علم التاريخ قد سقط في أخدود حفرت العجلات الثقيلة للكتابة التاريخية في القرن التاسع عشر<sup>(٨٦٤)</sup>. والحق أن مسحي لم يمتد إلى أبعد من حدود أفق أوروبا الغربية، وإن المؤرخين الشيوعيين قد يدعون أن وضعية الكتابة التاريخية الماركسية، كانت مختلفة، وأنها كانت تعطي أملاً أكبر، ولن ندخل في مجادلات وإنما يكفي أن نقول: إن تقدم كتابة التاريخ في الأقطار الشيوعية، منذ سنة ١٩٥٥ كان لا يقل قوة عما هو عليه في الغرب، على الأقل في التحسينات التقنية والأفكار، ويمكن وصف التقدم منذ سنة ١٩٥٥ بأنه ثوري على طول الجبهة، بما في ذلك ميادين التاريخ الآسيوي والإفريقي التي كانت مهملة نسبياً من قبل.

إن السبب الأساسي لهذا التقدم الثوري، في عالم أصبح أكثر استجابة للعلم مما كان عليه سنة ١٩٤٠، يرجع إلى تأثير الجيل الجديد من المؤرخين، بالنظرة العلمية عن الكون الذي يعتبر الجنس البشري جزءاً منه، علماً بأن الإنسان يشغل ٩٩٪ من الكتابة التاريخية.

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(٨٦٤) انظر مقالي في ملحق التاميس الأدبي، ٦ كانون الثاني ١٩٥٦، وكتابي «التاريخ في عالم متبدل» (١٩٥٥) وخاصة ص ١-٣٠.

إن الانقسام المزعوم بين عالم الإنسان وعالم الطبيعة، التي كانت تعتبر حكمة مسلمة بها منذ أيام الفيلسوف كانت أصبحت تبدو للجيل الجديد - أي لمن ولد بعد سنة ١٩٤٠ - فكرة عتيقة، وأصبحت دراسة الجنس البشري باعتباره يختلف نوعياً عن تاريخ الأسماك مثلاً، ترجع إلى أسباب تجسدية مشكوك فيها. والحق أننا إذا تركنا جانباً لحظة من الزمن تعصب الإنسان لجنسه، فإن المرء يتساءل عما إذا كان دور الإنسان في تاريخ العالم هو أقل بروزاً خلال عدة قرون من دور عدد من الحيوانات الأخرى كالقمل والجردان<sup>(٨٦٥)</sup>. إن التاريخ وعلم الحياة هما من وجهة نظر العالم البيولوجي جزءان لكيان واحد، وإن الزمن التاريخي هو مجرد استمرار للزمن البيولوجي أو «قمته»، وإن كثيراً من هذا لا بد أن يصح على العالم الجيولوجي من حيث إن شكل الأرض ومحتوياتها ومناخها المتبدل، كلها تؤثر في المدى البعيد، تسيطر على الكائنات وعلى نمو الحضارات<sup>(٨٦٦)</sup>، ولذلك أصبحوا اليوم يعطون أهمية لبعض المواضيع مثل موضوع المناخ في التاريخ القديم<sup>(٨٦٧)</sup>، حيث أن التحقق من أن رحلات الفايكنج مثلاً يمكن تفسيرها حسب الأدلة التاريخية فقط (مثل أساطير لايف إريكسون)، وإنما يجب أن تربط بالتبدلات المناخية<sup>(٨٦٨)</sup> وفي

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(٨٦٥) انظر مثلاً: زنسر «الجردان والقمل في التاريخ» (١٩٣٥) إن المؤرخ يطير الآن على ارتفاع ٣٠/٠٠٠ قدم عادة ويرقب من الجو التخدشات البشرية التعيسة على سطح الأرض قد يتساءل أحياناً عما إذا كان أثر الإنسان على محيطه الطبيعي يقارن بأي شكل من الأشكال في بقاءه وقوته بأثر الإنسان الابتدائي القديم.

(٨٦٦) انظر: دارلبختون «التاريخ والبيولوجي» في كتاب «حركات جديدة في دراسة وتدريس التاريخ» الذي أشرف على طبعه بالارد (١٩٧٠) ص ١٤٧ - ١٦٠.

(٨٦٧) عن تقرير مؤتمر لجنة المناخ القديم للاكاديمية الوطنية للعلوم الذي عقد في اسين (كولورادو) في سنة ١٩٦٢ انظر مقال لاروي لا دوري في «الحوليات» المجلد ١٨ (١٩٦٣) ص ٧٦٤-٧٦٦

(٨٦٨) نفس الشيء ينطبق على المشكلة القديمة في عبور هانيبال جبال الألب انظر: بير «الألب والغيلة» (١٩٥٥) حيث نوقشت الأدلة المناخية ص ١٠٤-١٠٧

الحقيقة إن الارتباطات بين التاريخ والعلوم كعلم الحياة، تفتح بعداً جديداً يكاد يكون لما يستكشف بعد.

من جهة أخرى لا يوجد أدنى ريب في أن موقف المؤرخين من عملهم قد تأثر بعمق بهيكل الفكر العلمي السائد في العالم الحديث، فالجيل الجديد مجهز بأساس أمتن من العلوم الأساسية، ولذلك فإنه أشد رغبة ممن سبقه بالتفكير بالأصناف العلمية، وإن هذا التبدل في الموقف والمعالجة، وليس تطبيقات معلومات وتقنيات علمية خاصة، هي التي ولدت هذا الجو الجديد. وهذا التبدل أساسه هو أن المؤرخين، أو قد يكون من الأصح عدد متزايد النمو من المؤرخين، هم مستعدون لإثارة أسئلة علمية عن الحقائق التاريخية، وإنهم قد قرروا أن المعلومات التاريخية لا تقل في كفاءتها عن مادة النبات، مثلاً، في الدراسة العلمية فهم كما أشار م. م. بوستان في مقارنة طريفة، قد اختاروا ما اختاره نيوتن في اليوم المشهور الذي استراح فيه تحت شجرة التفاح الأسطورية<sup>(٨٦٩)</sup>، فلعله قد سأل نفسه السؤال الواضح لماذا اختارت تلك التفاحة المعينة تلك اللحظة التي لن تعود لتسقط على رأسه الفريد - وهذا ما فعله المؤرخون بصورة تقليدية، غير أنه بدلاً من ذلك سأل نفسه لماذا سقطت التفاحة، وبذلك أنتج نظرية الجاذبية، ويبدو أنها وصلت أخيراً المرحلة التي تستطيع فيها أن تقوم بقفزة كبيرة إلى الأمام، وهذا ما فعلته منذ أمد طويل العلوم غير الدقيقة الأخرى، كعلم النبات أو علم الحيوان، حيث جمعت المادة ووصفتها لتخرج منها تعميمات، وتصوغ منها فرضيات علمية.

لقد فصلنا في الصفحات السابقة أسباب الاعتقاد بأن التاريخ قد وصل منعطفاً حاسماً، فلا حاجة لإعادة ما ذكرنا. ومن المؤكد أنه يوجد اليوم انتعاش في عالم التاريخ وشعور بإمكانياته، وهي تتعارض بشكل واضح مع

(٨٦٩) انظر: بوستان: «الحقيقة والمتعلقات: مقالات في الطريقة التاريخية» (١٩٧١) ص

الشك والقلق الذي علق عليه ف.م. بوويك قبل ربع قرن<sup>(٨٧٠)</sup>. غير أن وصول التاريخ نقطة تحول لا يستلزم أن يعني أنه سيسلك الطريق الصحيح أو أن يتحاشى شهوة الاندفاع في الطرق الفرعية والعريضة. إذ كان الغرض المعلن لهذا العرض، هو الكشف عن التيارات السارية والتعليق عليها، فإن الوقت قد حان للاعتراف بأن الاتجاه السائد بين المؤرخين هو روح المحافظة التي قد يقول بعض النقاد أنها الداء المهني المميز لهم، فقوة مقاومة التبديل تعادل، إن لم تزد، على القوى التي تعمل على التبديل، وقد قيل في أحد الأمثلة القديمة: إنك تستطيع أخذ الحصان إلى الماء، ولكنك لا تستطيع أن تجبره على شرب الماء، ولا بد من أن نذكر أن ٩٠٪ مما يطبع اليوم من الكتب التاريخية هي تقليدية جداً في طريقة بحثها ومادتها وتصوراتها، فهي تكتفي بالأخذ من رأسمال موروث، وهي شأن بعض الصناعات الأخرى في الأقطار القديمة النمو، ستبقى مستعملة للمكانن العتيقة التي رغم كونها أقل من المستويات الحديثة، فهي لا تزال تمكن صاحب المصنع من تزويد مقدار منتظم ومستمر من المنتجات التقليدية الجيدة التي يوجد لها سوق، وبأقل ما يمكن من صرف رأس المال الجديد.

لا نريد من هذا أن نقول: إن التاريخ حتى في أقوى أشكاله التقليدية، هو جامد، وإنما بالعكس يستمر الآن سيل من «إعادة نظر دقيقة» وهي التي يمكن أن يطلق عليها «السلعة المعروضة» للمؤرخين التقليديين<sup>(٨٧١)</sup>، وحيثما أجال المرء نظره عبر الزمان أو المكان، فقلما يجد أياً من الآراء العتيقة التي كانت سائدة قبل خمسين سنة، لم يصبها تحوير أو تصليح أو تنقية، أو حتى التبديل (والحق أن هذا ينطبق على معظم التحويرات والتصليحات والتنقيحات

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(٨٧٠) انظر: بوويك «المؤرخون المحدثون ودراسة التاريخ» (١٩٥٥) ص ٢٢٩، ٢٣٥

= ٢٣٦

(٨٧١) عن بعض الأمثلة «لإعادة النظر الرقيقة» انظر مارويك «طبعة التاريخ» (١٩٧٠)

ص ١٨٢-١٨١

والتبديلات)<sup>(٨٧٢)</sup>، كما حدث أيضاً في المادة توسع ملحوظ أشرنا في الصفحات السابقة إلى بعضه، وليس إلى كله. وإذا لم أكن مخطئاً في فهمي للغرض من هذا العرض، فإن النقطة الأساسية هي ليست إعادة النظر والتبديل أو التأكيد. ومن الصعب أن أذهب إلى أبعد من هذا، وفي ظل الاتجاهات السائدة في البحث التاريخي، وأن أقوم بعرض مختصر لخلاصة التبدلات، مثلاً في تفسير تاريخ البرلمان الانكليزي، أو أصول الحرب العالمية الأولى.

ولا ريب في أن بعض المواضيع الجديدة قد تكون فيها مبتدعات أساسية في الطريقة والمعالجة، غير أن هذا لا يعم وجوده عليها جميعاً. ولم أر من الضروري أن أبحث، مثلاً، التاريخ الأفرو - أمريكي المرغوب اليوم، لا لأني لا أعتقد بأهميته، بل بالعكس إنه يبدو لي أن معظم ما كتب عن التاريخ الداخلي للولايات المتحدة في القرنين التاسع عشر والعشرين، بما في ذلك المقدار الكبير مما كتب عن مؤسسة «الرق» قد فندها إهالها وجهة النظر الأفرو - أمريكية، وإنما لم أبحثها لأني لا أستطيع أن أجد أنها تتضمن أفكاراً جديدة وطرقاً جديدة سوى ما ذكرته أعلاه (كمراعاتها أهمية الروايات الشفهية مثلاً)<sup>(٨٧٣)</sup>.

لما كان الغرض من هذا العرض، هو فرز الاتجاهات التي تميز البحث التاريخي اليوم عن البحث التاريخي بالأمس وقبل الأمس، ولذلك لم تبد ضرورة للكلام عن المقدار الكبير من العمل الذي مهما كانت روعته فإنه لا يفيد، وإنما في بعض الأحيان يعارض بصراحة المبتدعات في الطريقة وفي

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(٨٧٢) خير نموذج يمثل هذا الوجه هو سلسلة «إعادات نظر تاريخية» التي تطبع بانتظام في مجلة «التاريخ» منذ عدة سنوات، وهي ترجع إلى سنة ١٩١٧ وقد استمرت إلى سنة ١٩٥٥ حيث تلاشت لا بسبب اعتقادها بعدم بقاء ما يستحق الإعادة، ولكن بسبب سخف إعادة النظر فيما أعادت فيه النظر.

(٨٧٣) انظر أعلاه ص ١٤٥، أما عن مقدمة مختصرة جداً للتاريخ الافروأمريكي الذي يتوفر عنه الآن مقدار هائل من الكتب فانظر: كونواي «تأريخ الزنوج في الولايات المتحدة» (١٩٦٩)

التصورات. لذلك لم أتحدث بأي شيء عن التاريخ الفكري، أو تاريخ الأفكار، الذي راج كثيراً في بعض الأقطار في الخمسينات، مع أنها تبدو لي، وأرجو ألا أكون مخطئاً، أنها قدمت قليلاً مما هو جديد أو منشط في العشر أو الخمس عشرة سنة الأخيرة<sup>(٨٧٤)</sup>. إن هذا النوع من الكتابة التاريخية يتبع بصورة طبيعية منذ ظهوره دفعته الذاتية الاستمرارية، شأن ما يوجد من الإنتاج المستمر في السرد السياسي والتراجم التاريخية القديمة الطراز. ولكن من حيث العموم، من الإنصاف أن نقول: إن قول بترفيلد بأن: «فكرة أن التاريخ هو ميدان لنشاط أفكار مفصولة عن الجسد»، قد تركها معظم المؤرخين<sup>(٨٧٥)</sup>، ومع هذا فمن المهم التأكيد على أن المواقف التقليدية لا تزال سائدة في نسبة كبيرة من كافة الكتابة التاريخية، وإنه لا يوجد ضمان بأن الاتجاهات الجديدة التي استعرضناها ستسود حتماً حقاً إنها في الوقت الحاضر تمثل آمال الأقلية، ولا يؤمل منها غير ذلك. ثم إن غالبية الذين يرحبون بالاتجاه الجديد ويعتقدون أنه جاء ليبقى، يرون أنه تقنيات مكتملة مفيدة يمكن أن تجمع مع التاريخ التقليدي، وليس أنه بديل لفلسفة متفجرة وطريقة بحث عتيقة<sup>(٨٧٦)</sup>.

(٨٧٤) إن مشكلة التأريخ الفكري هي غموضه الزائد. ويكاد يستحيل تحديد الحدودين التاريخ الفكري (تأريخ الأفكار). والتأريخ الحضاري، والتأريخ الروحي. كما ذكر هـ. ج. شويب في كتاب «ما هو التأريخ الروحي وماذا سيكون» (١٩٥٩) ص ١٠-١٢، ويكفي أن ينظر إلى قائمة مصادر كتب من أمثال كتاب ستروميرج «التأريخ الفكري الأوروبي منذ سنة ١٧٨٩» (١٩٦٨) لئرى أنه عملياً يمكن أن يوضع فيه أي شيء وكل شيء، غير أن الأبوة الفكرية قد انحدرت من بوركهارت، وهاوزنجاومانيكه. وأبرز مدافع حديث عنها واقواها تأثيراً هو هـ. ستوارت هيوز الذي يمكن اعتبار كتابه «الشعور والمجتمع: إعادة توجيه الفكر الاجتماعي الأوروبي ١٨٩٠ - ١٩٣٠» (١٩٥٨) مثلاً بارزاً لتأريخ الافكار الحديث باحسن صورة.

(٨٧٥) يقول بترفيلد «لا يوجد شكل من التأريخ أكثر خطأ من التأريخ المستحصل عن طريق الدراسة الأدبية للأفكار، أو نوع التأريخ الذي يتكلم بأسوأ أحواله وكأن العقل البشري قد قرر الظهور والتوسع في عصر النهضة» بترفيلد «التأريخ والعلاقات الانسانية» (١٩٥١) ص ٧٦، ٨٤

(٨٧٦) هذا هو موقف مارويك، مثلاً في المصدر المذكور أعلاه (١٩٧٠) ص ١٩٨

لذلك فمن المهم قبل الانتهاء أن نلاحظ باختصار بعض العقبات العامة التي تقف بوجه «الاختراق» والتحول من تاريخ ما قبل العلم إلى التاريخ العلمي، ذلك الاختراق الذي يبدو أنه الآن في حدود الإمكان: فأولها وأهمها العوائق السيكولوجية المتوطدة التي سبقت الإشارة إليها، وهي تردد المؤرخين في نبذ عاداتهم المتأصلة وفي إعادة التفكير بالمقولات الأساسية في عملهم<sup>(٨٧٧)</sup>، ومن المؤكد أن هذه أصعب العقبات، خاصة وأن المفترضات والآراء القديمة قد أصبحت داخلة في صميم التدريس، وإنها - على الأقل في بعض الجامعات القديمة - أصبحت تنقل من جيل إلى جيل باعتبارها حكمة موروثية. أما طلب التغيير فقد جرف جانباً باعتباره «يريد أن يصبح التاريخ شيئاً هو ليس منه»، رغم أنه عند ملاحظة الطبيعة غير المرضية وغير العلمية التي عليها التاريخ الآن، رغم عدم تفسير سبب إهمال هذه الرغبة واعتبارها غير منطقية<sup>(٨٧٨)</sup>. لا ريب في أن الفكرة التي دعا إليها ف. م. بوويك حيث قال: «لماذا اتهم كثيراً عندما استطع على تتبع خطوات رهبان فرنسيس الوئيدة؟ لا تزال قوية التأثير، حتى أن عدداً من المؤرخين، يرون أن التاريخ هو إثارة الماضي و «متحف للأصدقاء والانعكاسات»<sup>(٨٧٩)</sup>. إن هذه الفكرة عن التاريخ باعتباره مثيراً للذكريات وليس تدريباً عقلياً، تعززها وتؤيدها المطالب الشعبية، فالتاريخ الذي يغرم بالقصة ويعنى بالأخلاق لا يزال يحظى بشعبية هائلة وخاصة إذا كانت هذه الأخلاق هي التي ترغب الأكثرية - في أي مجتمع - التخلق بها. وإن شهوة المؤرخين للسمرسة لهذا الطلب. هي كبيرة،

(٨٧٧) انظر أعلاه ص ٤٢٤

(٨٧٨) انظر مارويك: المصدر الآنف الذكر ص ١٠، ١٢٩، أن الحالة غير المرضية للتاريخ التقليدي، أجاد وصفها أحد أنصارها الانكليروهوكتيسون كلارك حيث اعترف ان «تخبط الصورة بحيث لا يمكن رؤية أي شيء ككل «يؤدي إلى» نوع من التضاد التاريخي والى عدد لا يحصى من حوادث الصدف، وإلى انعدام الكونيات» «تكوين انكلترا الفكتورية» ١٩٦٢ «(ص ١٧).

(٨٧٩) انظر: بوويك «المؤرخون المحدثون» الآنف الذكر (١٩٥٥) ص ١٨٢-١٨٣

خاصة وإن الجهد الفكري الذي يحتويه هذا النوع من الكتب التاريخية ليس بالكبير جيداً. إن النجاح الظاهر للكتب شبه الشعبية، مثل كتاب سيسل ودهام سميث «السبب لماذا» أو كتاب باربارا تاشا «مدافع شهر أغسطس»، وكذلك إلى الكتب السردية لمؤرخ محترف بارز كالسر ستيفن رنمان<sup>(٨٨٠)</sup>، هي مثل واحد بارز تقتصر عليه، وهي تقدم خير دليل على أن الكتابة التاريخية الحية والملونة والذكية لا تزال لها سيطرة كبيرة على أذهان الجمهور القارئ المثقف. ولعله ليس من العجيب في مثل هذه الأحوال أن يتمسك المؤرخون بالطابع الوصفي في أساسه وبالتقنيات الأدبية التي أتمتها منذ زمن طويل العلوم الأخرى، كعلم النبات وعلم الحيوان.

والعامل الآخر الذي يقف بوجه موقف جديد وعلمي أكثر للتاريخ، هو عدم قدرة المؤرخين على فصل أنفسهم عن محيطهم الخاص، فالعلم من حيث العموم يتقدم في جبهة عالمية، وهناك أنواع من التاريخ تساوي في عددها عدد الشعوب والأمم. والتاريخ كما لاحظنا، جاء إلى الوجود كشكل من الخرافة<sup>(٨٨١)</sup>. ولا يزال الاقتران بين التاريخ والأساطير، وخاصة الأساطير القومية، عاملاً قوياً. ويقول المؤرخ الصيني (المنفي) شنك تي كون: «أصبح اليوم مقبولاً من حيث العموم اعتبار كتابة التاريخ هو عمل سياسي إلى حد ما»، واعترف المؤرخ الانكليزي بترفيلد، دون تأنيب ضمير فيما يظهر، «إننا ندرس ونكتب من التاريخ النوع الملائم لتنظيمنا» ولا أستطيع أن أقبل أن يكون هذا النوع من التاريخ هو في نفس الوقت أكثرها تطبيقاً لحفظ النظام القائم<sup>(٨٨٢)</sup> ويعتقد الكثير أنه إذا صحت هذه الملاحظات كان مستقبل

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(٨٨٠) اشر هنا طبعاً إلى كتابه العظيم «تاريخ الحروب الصليبية» (٣ أجزاء ١٩٥١ - ١٩٥٤)، وهو كتاب أوليه أعظم التقدير.

(٨٨١) انظر أعلاه ص ٢٤٦ - ٧

(٨٨٢) انظر ص ٧٣ في «مجلة الصين» العدد ٢٣ (١٩٦٥) أو ص ٥١ في الكتاب الذي أشرف على نشره فيوريكير «تاريخ الصين الشيوعية» (١٩٦٨)، بترفيلد «الانكليزي وتاريخه» (١٩٤٥) ص ١

التاريخ قائماً، والواقع أنه توفرت لنا فرصة واسعة لملاحظة أن البحث التاريخي يتركز في كافة الأقطار على التاريخ القومي، ولا حاجة إلى الإضافة بأنه في معظم أجزائه يعكس شعورياً أو لا شعورياً أسطورة قومية. إن «التاريخ الإجماعي هو ليس بدعة أمريكا الشمالية كما تدعي أحياناً الدعاية ضد أمريكا». فمعظم المؤرخين هم مدافعون من دون تعمد أو قصد أحياناً عن أوضاعهم، القائمة، أو ربما نكون أكثر إنصافاً إذا قلنا أنهم فرائس أو ضحايا محيطهم الخاص. وإن التاريخ لا يزال الموطن المحبب لتجمع الأقاليم. وهذه الوضعية لا يمكن لأي مهمم بالتاريخ إلا أن يراها، مزعجة جداً. وإذا لم يستطع التاريخ تحرير نفسه من الأساطير بالصورة التي قامت بها بعض العلوم كالفلك والكيمياء، وإذا لم يستطع أن يقتطع نفسه كلياً وإلى الأبد من جذوره الأسطورية كما حرر علم الفلك نفسه من علم التنجيم والكيمياء من علم السيمياء، فإن فرص التاريخ في تحطيم الحلقة المفرغة التي حبس فيها في الماضي لن تكون كبيرة.

ثم إنه بهذه المناسبة ليس من الصحيح القول بأن كل التطورات الحديثة مشجعة، إذ أنها كما أشار ف. بيداريدا «أظهرت إلى النور من المغلقات والمنحرفات، ما لا يقل عما أظهرته من الطرق المثمرة المتقدمة»<sup>(٨٨٣)</sup>. ولعل من أهم هذه، مما لم يذكره بيداريدا ولكننا أشرنا إليه أعلاه، هو ثقل الضغوط الرسمية، واحتمال أنها قد تستعمل لدعم تاريخ مقبول اجتماعياً وسياسياً<sup>(٨٨٤)</sup>. وهذه الضغوط كانت دائماً موجودة في كافة البلاد، والحق أن هارولد تمبرلي وهو أحد المشاركين في طبع «الوثائق البريطانية عن أسباب حرب سنة ١٩١٤» الرسمي، كان المفروض أنه يعرف ما يعنيه عندما عبر عن استيائه مشوهات مؤلمة في الحقائق في سنة ١٩٣٠، والضرر الذي قد

(٨٨٣) بيداريدا «المؤرخ وطموحات الكافة» (ص ١٨٠ في «التاريخ والمؤرخون» ١٩٦٤)

(٨٨٤) انظر أعلاه ص ٢٤٥

يصيب التاريخ من رعاية الحكومة<sup>(٨٨٥)</sup>. غير أن التقنيات المتقدمة التي تستعمل الآن، والتوحيد الوثيق في البحث ورعاية الحكومة له، وما يتبع ذلك من طلب الأموال لمواجهة المصروفات المتزايدة على الآلات والقوة البشرية، كل هذه جعلت المؤرخين أكثر تعرضاً للسيطرة الحكومية من أي وقت مضى، وقد قال تريست: «إن العلوم الاجتماعية» وهو يدخل التاريخ فيها بصورة خاصة، «أصبحت مما يحسب حسابها سياسياً»<sup>(٨٨٦)</sup>. ومن الصعب أن نتوقع من أية حكومة (أو في هذا المضمار من أية مؤسسة خاصة) أن تختار تقديم مساعدة مالية لمشروع تراه مخالفاً، أو ربما لا يساعد على تنمية مصاها الوطنية، وقد كتب بترفيلد ببلاغة عن «مزلق التاريخ الرسمي»<sup>(٨٨٧)</sup>، غير أنه توجد اليوم مجالات لضغوط آخذة بالتأصل، وخاصة (كما قال بترفيلد) و «إن الدولة الجيدة الإدارة لا تحتاج إلى الرقابة الصارمة» ولكنها قادرة جداً على ربط المؤرخ بألطف رقيقة وقيود مريحة محكمة»<sup>(٨٨٨)</sup>.

وفي الوضع السائد أضرار أخرى ذات طابع عالمي أكثر، وإن لم يكن من السهل إقصاؤها، ومن هذه الأضرار «الاهتمام بالتقنيات لذاتها، وخاصة الإمكانات الطريفة لعلم الحسابات»، هذا بالرغم من تحذيرات المؤرخين الكمين البارزين، من أمثال إيديلوث. ومن السخف تقليل أهمية المبتدعات التقنية، والواقع أنني لا أفكر في هذا. إن تقدم معظم العلوم اعتمد على التقدم التقني، وإن كثيراً منها كان ينتظر ذلك (ففي حالة علم النبات مثلاً أعتمد على المكروسكوبات المركبة الدقيقة) ولا يوجد سبب للاعتقاد بأن التاريخ يشذ عن ذلك، بل بالعكس فإن الآلة الحسابية إذا استعملت بصورة صحيحة فإنها

(٨٨٥) انظر: تمبرلي «البحث والتاريخ الحديث» (١٩٣٠) ص ٤

(٨٨٦) انظر: تريست: المذكور أعلاه ص ٧٩٩ في «الاتجاهات العامة» الأول: العلوم

الاجتماعية (١٩٧٠) أما عن وضع التأريخ فانظر المصدر السابق ص ٧٩٣

(٨٨٧) انظر: بترفيلد «التأريخ والعلاقات الانسانية» (١٩٥١) ص ١٨٢-٢٢٤

(٨٨٨) المصدر السابق ص ١٩٨

- كما ذكرنا سابقاً - تمكن التاريخ من أن يصبح علماً تراكمياً ويحطم الحلقة المفرغة التي سجنته في فلسفة خاطئة وطرق بحث معيوبة<sup>(٨٨٩)</sup>. ولكن يجب أن نتذكر دائماً أن « التحليل الكمي ليس هدفاً، وإنما هو وسيلة من وسائل المعرفة<sup>(٨٩٠)</sup>. » وإنه يجب ألا يُسمح له أن يميل مسار وطبيعة البحث العلمي، وإن كان توفر أو عدم توفر المصادر قد سمحت في إحدى المراحل، وكما كتب كرستوفر داوسن « إن إتقان التقنيات وحده لن ينتج تاريخاً عظيماً، مثلما أن إتقان الأوزان الشعرية لا ينتج شعراً رائعاً<sup>(٨٩١)</sup>، والأخطر من هذا هو أن البحث قد يتركز على مواضيع غير مهمة لا لسبب سوى أنها يمكن معالجتها بطرق المكائئ<sup>(٨٩٢)</sup>. وفي هذه الحالة فإن استعمال التقنيات الجديدة بدلاً من أن يرفع التاريخ إلى مستوى أعلى، فإنه سيقتى المرض الذي يقاسي منه البحث التاريخي بشدة، كما يلاحظه كل من يقرأ عناوين الأطروحات التي تحضر في الجامعات في كافة أرجاء العالم، وهذا المرض هو تصيد التوافه<sup>(٨٩٣)</sup> والشكوى اليوم مرتفعة بسبب أن « التاريخ الاقتصادي الجديد » لا يزال بعيداً عن التحديد والوضوح، ولكنه مع ذلك أتاح مناقشة لا تنتهي حول قضايا كان « الأجدد أن تدفن منذ زمن بعيد<sup>(٨٩٤)</sup> ».

هذه مشاكل يعتبر تجاهلها ابتعاداً عن الواقع، وهناك خطر حقيقي من أن التاريخ بسبب تراكم المعلومات التي وفرتها التقنيات الحديثة ونمو المواصلات،

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(٨٨٩) انظر: أعلاه ص ٤٢٢-٤٢٤

(٨٩٠) انظر: ديوبيك دوبروف « طرق الكمية والمكائئ في معاملة المعلومات التاريخية »

(١٩٧٠) ص ١٣

(٨٩١) انظر: داوسن « حركيات التأريخ العالمي (١٩٥٧) » ص ٢٩٣

(٨٩٢) انظر: برايس « العمل الكمي الحديث في التأريخ » (١٩٦٩) ص ١٣ في « التأريخ

والنظرية بايهفت ٩

(٨٩٣) لقد شخص هذا المرض بوويك في كتابه « المؤرخون المحدثون... » المذكور آنفاً

(١٩٥٥) ص ١٩٢

(٨٩٤) نورت « حالة التاريخ الاقتصادي » ص ٩١ وفي مجلة الاقتصاد الأمريكي مجلد ٦٠

(١٩٦٥) الملحق.

قد يصبح في «العصر الاسكندري» الذي كانت فيه أقصى الطموحات هي إعداد تنظيم انسكلو بيدي. وكما ذكر أندريه مالرو: إن هذه أول مرة في تاريخ العالم يصبح فيها من الممكن أن تسمح في وقت واحد كافة السجلات، والأعمال الفنية، والفنون، والأدلة الأركيولوجية والمصادر الوثائقية للماضي<sup>(٨٩٥)</sup>. وإن الإمكانات التي توفرت ينبغي أن تكون مثيرة ومحركة، ولكنها قد تكون مرعبة أيضاً. كيف يستوعب المؤرخ هذا الكون الرحيب المتوسع من المعرفة؟ إنه، كما أشار بيديا ريديا طريقه التقليدي - الفحص الدقيق المحكم للمنفرد والفرد - الذي ينتج في أحسن الأحوال أجزاء مشتتة يستحيل أن نستنبط منها «قوانين» أو تعميمات ذات قيمة، أو حتى أن نحصل على نظرة عامة للكل<sup>(٨٩٦)</sup>. ولعل التدهور الكلي في الاهتمام «بفلسفة التاريخ» التي لاحظناها من قبل<sup>(٨٩٧)</sup>. هي من أعراض هذه الوضعية، والالتجاء إلى «التاريخ الدقيق» أسهل وأكثر أماناً، ولا يمكن إنكار وجود مرحلة يتبع فيها «التاريخ الدقيق» بصورة شعورية وبذكاء، وهي تساهم أكثر من التعميمات الفخمة القائمة على أسس ضعيفة<sup>(٨٩٨)</sup>، غير أن المتكئين من معالجة «التاريخ الدقيق» أمثال م.م. بوستان، يدركون أنها غير كافية، وانه بدون «التاريخ الكبير»، لا يمكن جعل ظاهرة «التاريخ الدقيق» منسجمة في أي علم شامل مهم<sup>(٨٩٩)</sup>، ومع هذا تبقى مشكلة الكمية شبحاً ملازماً للمؤرخ. إن الفجوة الآن واضحة جداً، والراجع أنها ستتسع بين التراكم المتزايد للبحث في نطاق ضيق، مما تصعب السيطرة عليه الآن، وبين غرض التاريخ الذي يعتمد عليه كل مدعاه للاهتمام الجدي، وهو إعداد «الكل». إن هذه القضية والقضية

(٨٩٥) مازليش «سر التاريخ» (١٩٦٦) ص ٤٥٠ حيث نقل قول مالرو.

(٨٩٦) انظر: بيداريدا: المذكور أعلاه (١٩٦٤) ص ١٨٢

(٨٩٧) انظر أعلاه ص ١٨٠

(٨٩٨) هذه هي النقطة التي تشير بصورة خاصة إلى التأريخ الأندونيسي انظر أعلاه ص

٣٦٢، ١٧١

(٨٩٩) انظر: بوستان «تاريخ اقتصادي لاوربا الغربية ١٩٤٥-١٩٦٤» (١٩٦٧) ص ٥

المركزية في الموضوعية، هما قرنا الحيرة التي تواجه المؤرخ اليوم .  
قد يكون من العبث إنكار أن معظم المؤرخين يواجهونها بكثير من  
الرضا، والتاريخ حرفة مزدهرة، وهو يقدم دخلاً متزايداً، ويجلب عدداً  
كبيراً من الطلبة (رغم أن الكمية لا تتطابق دائماً مع الكيفية)، وله أتباع  
كثيرون من العامة والقراء الذين يستمتعون كما يستمتع الكبار أنفسهم في  
المناقشات الجوفاء، ونورد أمثلة دون ذكر الأسماء: من أخلاق وسياسات  
هتلر، أو تنويع شارلمان، أو ظهور طبقة ملاكي الأراضي - وهي التي  
أصبحت أكبر مساهمة شعبية للمؤرخ في إمتاع الجمهور.

إنهم يرون أن النقد الذي يوجهه إليهم علماء الاجتماع، من أمثال روبرت  
ميرتون، هو نقد سيء التصور وسيء الأدب، وإذا كلفوا أنفسهم بالإجابة،  
فلن يكون جوابهم سوى اللجوء المألوف إلى اتهامهم بالعبث وليس إلى فحص  
عيوبهم ومحاولة علاجها. غير أن هناك عدداً من الرجعيين الذين يدعون بثقة  
أن ثيوسيديدس هو أعظم مؤرخ في كل العصور، وهؤلاء كعلماء السياسة  
الذين يعتقدون أن كل الحكمة السياسية تركزت في أرسطو، وموقفهم من  
التاريخ تطوري معتدل، وهم يرفضون بسخرية، وليس بغضب، كل اقتراح  
بأن التاريخ بحاجة إلى تغير ثوري، ولعلمهم محقون. إن الله مع الجيوش  
القوية، وإن المحافظين - أو على الأقل المعتقدين بأن التاريخ يتقدم بلطف في  
طريقه المرسوم - إنما هم جيش قوي له أتباع في كل معسكر أيديولوجي،  
ويكفيهم، كما كتب حديثاً أحد المدافعين عن «استمرارية الغرض» إن  
التاريخ رغم الانتكاسات والبلاغات الكثيرة، يتقدم من حيث العموم نحو  
تقنيات أنقى وأفكار أكثر تقدماً وتعقداً<sup>(٩٠٠)</sup>، ويبدو أنهم لا يشعرون بالخرج  
في مدى الغرابة من عدم فعل ذلك، بعد ألفي سنة، كما أنهم لا يهتمون فيما  
إذا كانت تسير في المتاهات ومن دون تبدل أساسي في الوجهة.

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(٩٠٠) مارويك «طبعة التأريخ» (١٩٧٠) ص ٢٣

إذا أردنا تلخيص الوضع، فإن النتيجة التي نستخلصها هي: أن التاريخ اليوم تواجهه احتمالات هائلة وأخطار كبيرة. ولما كان هذا العرض قد تركز على الإمكانات وعلى الأمان الجديدة التي فتحتها التيارات الحديثة، فمن الصواب أن نقدر الوزن الحقيقي للأخطار التي لا يوجد مؤرخ مفكر غير مدرك لها. ولعل التاريخ بسبب مادة موضوعه، قاسى من الثقل القاتل للماضي أكثر مما قاساه أي موضوع آخر. ولا يستطيع أي أمرء أن يتنبأ فيما إذا كان سيغسطس ويغرق، أو فيما إذا كان سيريز منتصراً متشظاً ومتجدداً، وكل مانستطيعه هو أن نزن القوى المتصارعة ونستخلص استنتاجاتنا الشخصية سواء كانت تفاعلية أو تشاؤمية، تبعاً لأمزجتنا الخاصة. إنني في نهاية هذا العرض الطويل أميل إلى تفاؤل معتدل، رغم أنني أعتقد أن القوى متوازنة بشكل جيد، للراحة أو الاضطراب، ومن المؤكد أنه يحتمل أن ما سماه ماثيو أرنولد «النهر الضخم من التزييف المسمى التاريخ»، قد يستمر في جريانه بين ضفافه الرحبة، قائماً بالإرواء باعتماداً على الحياة في نمو مترف للأساطير والخرافات، شأن ما كان يفعله طوال القرون. لقد كان هذا هو غرضه الأصلي، كما رأينا،<sup>(٩٠١)</sup> ومن الخطأ الاعتقاد بأنه قد حرر نفسه نهائياً من سوابقه الأسطورية. غير أنه من الصحيح أيضاً أن للمؤرخين اليوم ما لم يكن لهم من قبل، من الوسائل لتحويل دراستهم إلى علم، وقد يثبت أن البحث عن تاريخ علمي، في القرن العشرين هو أمر محير، كما كان لبكل وكومت وسبنسر في القرن التاسع عشر، ولكننا لا نستطيع أن نعرف ذلك حتى تتم المحاولة فيه، وإن الذين ينكرون مسبقاً الإمكانية يشبهون المؤرخين الذين كتب عنهم هيمبل، والذين يستنتجون من فلسفة مغلوبة أنه لا يمكن أن توجد فلسفة للتاريخ، وهم لا يقولون إنه يجب تحسين فلسفتهم في التاريخ<sup>(٩٠٢)</sup>، وكل ما

(٩٠١) انظر أعلاه ص ١٢٦

(٩٠٢) انظر هيمبل «حول أشكال تنظيم دراسة التاريخ في ألمانيا» (١٩٥٩) ص ١٧٨ في كتابه «مائة سنة من المجلة التاريخية» الذي أشرف على طبعه ث. شايدر.

يمكن قوله في هذه المرحلة هو أن إمكانيات رفع التاريخ إلى مكانة العلم هي أكبر جداً، وأن التقنيات المتوفرة، هي متقدمة جداً مما كانت عليه أيام بكل وكومت وسبنسر، وأنه إذا اختار المؤرخون إدارة ظهورهم لها، فإن المسؤولية ستقع على أكتافهم.

ومن سوء الحظ أن الخسارة ستقع عليهم وحدهم، وأن أبرز ضعف في العلوم الاجتماعية في الوقت الحاضر هو فقدان الأبعاد الزمنية والعمق المتأتي من دراسة المجتمع. لا باعتباره مجموعة قوى جامدة، وإنما مجموعة قوى متحركة تظهر نفسها في تبدل مستمر وثابت<sup>(٩٠٣)</sup> وهذا الذي كان مارك بلوش سريعاً في رؤيته هو فرحة المؤرخ وتحديه<sup>(٩٠٤)</sup> وسيبقى علم الاجتماع جامداً (ومن المعلوم أن اليوم هو مجرد ظل يلقيه الماضي على المستقبل)، وإنما كما وجد في كافة العهود خلال العصور، فالتاريخ وحده يستطيع تقديم البصيرة التي نحتاجها لفهم كامل لسير العمليات الاجتماعية والمؤسسات الاجتماعية في الزمن. ولكن ينبغي أن يكون تاريخاً يعالج بروح علمية وينظر إليه لغرض اجتماعي. إن التطورات الحديثة جعلت مثل هذا التاريخ في متناول يدنا، وإن على الجيل الجديد أن يأخذه ويحيد استعماله. إننا نعيش اليوم في مجتمع يحتاج إلى عوائد إيجابية من أمواله التي وظفها، ليس في أدوات رأس المال، ولكن في القوة البشرية التي تدرّبها باهظ الثمن، والتي تأمل أن يقوم العالم الاجتماعي بصياغة نظرية تعمل، وبها نستطيع إخضاع الطبيعة لأغراضنا، وأن نبدل محيطنا.

إن المؤرخ غير معفى من هذا الطلب. ولعله في المدى القصير سيستمر سائراً بارتياح في طريقه القديمة، ولكنه في المدى البعيد سوف يحكم عليه - وسيحكم على التاريخ معه - بالمساهمة التي يقدمها بالتعاون مع العلوم الأخرى ذات الصلة، في استعمال معلوماته عن الماضي من أجل تشكيل المستقبل.

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(٩٠٣) انظر مثلاً ملاحظات س.م. لبيست ص ٢٨٣-٢٨٥ في المجلة الاجتماعية الأمريكية

مجلد ٢٥ (١٩٦٠)

(٩٠٤) انظر أعلاه ص ١٨٠

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يمكن قوله في هذه المرحلة هو أن إمكانيات رفع التاريخ إلى مكانة العلم هي أكبر جداً، وأن التقنيات المتوفرة، هي متقدمة جداً مما كانت عليه أيام بكل وكومت وسبنسر، وأنه إذا اختار المؤرخون إدارة ظهورهم لها، فإن المسؤولية ستقع على أكتافهم.

ومن سوء الحظ أن الخسارة ستقع عليهم وحدهم، وأن أبرز ضعف في العلوم الاجتماعية في الوقت الحاضر هو فقدان الأبعاد الزمنية والعمق المتأتي من دراسة المجتمع. لا باعتباره مجموعة قوى جامدة، وإنما مجموعة قوى متحركة تظهر نفسها في تبدل مستمر وثابت<sup>(٩٠٣)</sup> وهذا الذي كان مارك بلوش سريعاً في رؤيته هو فرحة المؤرخ وتحديه<sup>(٩٠٤)</sup> وسيبقى علم الاجتماع جامداً (ومن المعلوم أن اليوم هو مجرد ظل يلقيه الماضي على المستقبل)، وإنما كما وجد في كافة العهود خلال العصور، فالتاريخ وحده يستطيع تقديم البصيرة التي نحتاجها لفهم كامل لسير العمليات الاجتماعية والمؤسسات الاجتماعية في الزمن. ولكن ينبغي أن يكون تاريخاً يعالج بروح علمية وينظر إليه لغرض اجتماعي. إن التطورات الحديثة جعلت مثل هذا التاريخ في متناول يدنا، وإن على الجيل الجديد أن يأخذه ويجيد استعماله. إننا نعيش اليوم في مجتمع يحتاج إلى عوائد إيجابية من أمواله التي وظفها، ليس في أدوات رأس المال، ولكن في القوة البشرية التي تدرّبها باهظ الثمن، والتي تأمل أن يقوم العالم الاجتماعي بصياغة نظرية تعمل، وبها نستطيع إخضاع الطبيعة لأغراضنا، وأن نبدل محيطنا.

إن المؤرخ غير معفى من هذا الطلب. ولعله في المدى القصير سيستمر سائراً بارتياح في طرقه القديمة، ولكنه في المدى البعيد سوف يحكم عليه - وسيحكم على التاريخ معه - بالمساهمة التي يقدمها بالتعاون مع العلوم الأخرى ذات الصلة، في استعمال معلوماته عن الماضي من أجل تشكيل المستقبل.

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(٩٠٣) انظر مثلاً ملاحظات س.م. ليست ص ٢٨٣-٢٨٥ في المجلة الاجتماعية الأمريكية

مجلد ٢٥ (١٩٦٠)

(٩٠٤) انظر أعلاه ص ١٨٠

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[See also *sub Psychanalyse et sociologie . . .*]

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