

subject— is legitimate, praiseworthy, and successfully carried out. But, as the author himself points out, much more research, based on unpublished archival material, needs to be done both in Greece and Bavaria before anything approaching a definitive account is possible. And we still need a book (which could be based on primary and secondary printed sources) on the Bavarians in Greece that will question some of the traditional interpretations and point to some of the major problems needing investigation.

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Georges B. Kavadias, *Pasteurs nomades méditerranéens: Les Saracatsans de Grèce*. Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1965. Pp. xi+444.

Aiming at a study of cultural *and* social anthropology, Kavadias has organized his book on Saracatsan society and culture into four parts: Saracatsan techniques and technology, i. e. the methods by which Saracatsan man (and woman) manipulates nature; Saracatsan society; Saracatsan rites, values, and beliefs; and the holistic aspects of Saracatsan society and culture. André Leroi-Gourhan, an innovator in prehistoric and early historic anthropology of techniques, honors the book with a preface, for it is intended to be the first volume in a series (directed by Paul Albou) entitled "Collection Sciences Humaines Appliquées." These gestures are quite appropriate, as one of the chief objectives of the author is to define and analyze Saracatsan material culture, or the relationship between man and nature, and man and man's works. While such an interest has long been prominent in Central and Eastern Europe (both pre-Communist and Communist) scholarship, major theoretical contributions to the study of man's works have primarily stemmed from French (and a few but notable American) scholars: Marcel Mauss, André Varnagac, and Leroi-Gourhan in anthropology, Ignace Meyerson in psychology, and Marc Bloch and Fernand Braudel in history. Kavadias has profited from the studies of all these scholars except Braudel's, and has also had recourse to certain studies of the historian Lucien Febvre and the anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss. His approach is thus largely structuralist (or *gestaltist*), and this greatly aids the readers to comprehend Saracatsan society and culture. Kavadias is less of an innovator than the scholars upon whom he has so wisely drawn, but

he has a firm grasp of anthropological theory and has produced a study of some importance.

According to Kavadias, the Saracatsans probably originate from sedentary Greek peasants who, reacting to some critical situation in the crisis-ridden fourteenth century, sought refuge in the mountains and adopted sheep raising (largely a man's task) and goat raising (exclusively a woman's task) as a way of life. He estimates the Saracatsans now present in Greece at 90,000 to 110,000 (some Saracatsans inhabit the neighboring Balkan countries). His study is based on an ample literature and on interviews with over a hundred informants. Kavadia's work is thus more ambitious than that of J. K. Campbell, *Honour, Family, and Patronage: A Study of Institutions and Moral Values in a Greek Mountain Community* (Oxford University Press, 1964),<sup>1</sup> which is limited geographically to the 4,000 Saracatsans of the district of Zagori, to the north-east of Jannina, and is restricted topically to a view of their social structure, beliefs, and values. Kavadias' study, moreover, includes a subject of no more than incidental importance for Campbell: Saracatsans techniques of acquisition, utilization, and consumption.

Among the tools and material objects which Kavadias discusses are the low, sometimes legless, table known as *tavla* or *sofra*, the cradle, cooking utensils, ovens, receptacles for cheese and milk, distaffs, looms, shepherd canes, types of dwelling, blankets, carpets, men's and women's clothing, animal collars and animal enclosures and shelters. Later, in a chapter on art in the third part of the book, he adds Saracatsan musical instruments to this list. Among the techniques he describes are those of milking, encouraging and regulating the fecundation of sheep, as well as lighting, heating, and cooking.

Quite correctly he divides Saracatsan cooking techniques into four basic types: boiling in pots, baking in embers under a *gastra* (*ghastra*)—a spherical, often metallic cover about a meter in diameter over which is placed a layer of embers—roasting whole animals on a spit, and baking in an oven. Roasting on a spit has some characteristics of a ritual sacrifice and is normally conducted by men. The use of ovens is a relatively recent practice, and the right of possession is customarily extended to several households or companies of shepherds. Pertinent though they are, however, the author's observations on food and cooking techniques might have benefited if he had consulted the fundamental work (in Ger-

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1. Reviewed in two issues of this journal: 5, (1964), 363-77; and 7, (1966), 501-505.

man and in French translation) on the history of plant foods by A. Maurizio, one-time professor of botany at the Higher Technical School of Lwów.

Kavadias also refers to another technique: the teaching and learning of letters and numbers. While illiteracy is very high, especially among women, older boys and youths often learn to write while tending their herds during the "summer" season. Writing letters and numbers on sticks of wood ("sur des lames de bois," p. 364) during their leisure, they master what is necessary for an effective control or accounting of the activities of their shepherd company or *tseligato*. Unfortunately, Kavadias gives no further details regarding this open-air school ("l'école en plein air") in which Saracatsans take so much pride. These sticks are in effect tally sticks, known elsewhere in the Balkans as *rabos* (or a variant thereof); unfortunately, Kavadias does not provide the Saracatsan name. It is perhaps worth mentioning that the journal *Annales (Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations)* has undertaken an elaborate *enquête* under the rubric "*Vie matérielle et comportements biologiques*," in which both the tally and patterns of human consumption are receiving serious study.

Although less complete and less analytical than Campbell's, the comments by Kavadias on Saracatsan social structure and organization are of considerable value, and both authors provide a fine analysis of Saracatsan beliefs, rites, values, and aesthetics. Particularly noteworthy in Kavadias are his observations on Saracatsan attitudes toward spaces. The Saracatsans, like Greeks and Mediterranean peoples in general, look upon the east and right as propitious and life-enhancing forces and upon the west and left as directions linked with darkness, doom, and death. Thus in the Mediterranean, the paschal lamb is sacrificed with its head turned toward the east, people turn toward the east for prayer, and churches and tombs are oriented toward the east, toward Jerusalem and the source of light generally (pp. 319, 331). Kavadias also presents some interesting details on Saracatsan notions of time (pp. 24, 350). The period from St. George's Day to St. Demetrius' Day is in general a time for the separation of the sexes, and of youths and men in their prime from old men and small children. Many young men spend this period with their flocks of sheep, while women, old men, and children stay in the winter (or "permanent") encampment. The great feasts of celebrations of a magico-religious character very largely occur during the winter season (St. Demetrius' Day to St. George's Day), when men

and women live together. The Saracatsans themselves speak of the two seasons as the time of the "plains" (*kheimadia, chiamadia*) and that of the "mountains" (*pselomata, psilomata*). The two seasons are further subdivided according to sheep-herding activities into at least the following, often overlapping, parts: the "time of shearing" (*kouros*), normally in April and May; the "time of fecundation" or mating (*markalos*), normally in June and July; the "time of turns" (*aradia, aradhia*), between the time of mating and that of lambing, when milk is scarce and the members of a *tseligato* take turns in milking sheep for their personal use; the "time of births" (*gennos, ghennos*), or lambing, around Christmas and in January; and the "time of milk" (*galata, ghalata*), from January to St. George's Day and beyond.

In his title and throughout the book, Kavadias describes the Saracatsans as "pasteurs nomades," but nowhere does he satisfactorily define the term "nomadism," and he makes no distinction between "nomadism" and "transhumance." In fact, however, the seasonal movements of the Saracatsans would best be designated as transhumance, since they do not involve entire communities but are rather limited to male specialists and assistants and apprentices (men, youths, and adolescent boys). A form of seasonal migration occurs which geographers generally, though perhaps misleadingly, define as "normal transhumance." So-called normal transhumance involves an upward movement of stock-raising specialists from the plains to the mountains in spring and a return to the "permanent" homes in the plains or lower valleys in the autumn. Some Saracatsans may have once engaged in what geographers call "inverse transhumance"—a downward movement from the mountains to the plains and maritime areas in autumn and a spring-time return to their "permanent" mountain homes. It is even possible that nomadism—the seasonal migration of entire peoples or communities—may have existed among some Saracatsans, as among the Turkish Yürüks and some Vlachs, during part of the Ottoman era. But nowhere does Kavadias provide any data to prove that either "nomadism" or "inverse transhumance" still exists. This shortcoming is partly the result of the neglect of some very significant geographical studies, especially the work of Xavier de Planhol, as well as a lack of historical research. Thus, Fernand Braudel's vitally important *La Méditerranée à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1949: rev. and enl. ed., 1966) does not appear in Kavadias' bibliography.

Despite this omission, Kavadias shows that the Saracatsans form

part of the greater Hellenic community and of the still larger Mediterranean world. Whatever the much-disputed real ethnic origins of the Saracatsans may be, there is no question of their affinities with Mediterranean civilization. The author brings this out most clearly in describing the Saracatsans as a folk with a religion of the syncretic type, interpreting the world through a prism of beliefs born of the myth of the Great Mother, as it has been modified by the practices of Greek Orthodoxy and the exigencies of pastoral life; as a result, the influence of women was much diminished. Kavadias maintains, however, that the competence of women in the performance of magical rites tended to free them of the disabilities imposed by a society dominated by men. This may well be, but there is no reason to suppose, as does Kavadias, that the "phenomena of social pathology are unknown" (p. 413) among Saracatsans. Why then the need for so many magical practices and beliefs, and why especially the widespread belief in the Evil Eye?

If the author is careful to place Saracatsan society within the complex framework of Mediterranean civilization, he is less ready to admit the importance of Saracatsan relation with the Slavs. At one point he acknowledges that "many *tseligatos* are dedicated to a [particular] saint" (p. 332), but he makes no allusion to the similarity between this practice and the South Slavic *slava*. When he approaches the problem of the relationship between the South Slavic *zadruga* and the Saracatsan extended family (pp. 172-173), it is to describe the *zadruga* as an extended family in which the authority of the head is limited by a council, and the Saracatsan extended family as a group in which the family head, even when an elected chief, holds a distinctly superior position toward other members. Yet the South Slavic extended family hardly exhibited the same characteristics among all South Slavs and in all periods. In fact, it sometimes resembled the Saracatsan form, especially among South Slavs with pastoral habits. Finally, Kavadias accepts the view that "the words *tseligas* and *tseligato* are without question of Slavic origin" but dismisses the importance of this fact by describing it as nothing more than linguistic borrowing, common to the whole of Greece (pp. 395-396). We do not imply that Slavic culture had a greater impact upon Greek—or Saracatsan—society than that of the other Balkan cultures. Instead, we urge scholars to analyze objectively the manner and degree of interpenetration of South Slavic, Greek, Albanian, Vlach, Turkish, and other cultures in various Balkan areas and among different social and ethnic groups.

Such a study of Saracatsan society and culture is unfortunately still wanting. Indeed, it cannot be carried through satisfactorily without careful study of the problem of "acculturation," or transformation of a culture. Kavadias promises (p. 406, n. 5) to give us such a study in the near future. We can only hope that such a work will contain a historical or diachronic dimension.

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John Julius Norwich and Reresby Sitwell, *Mount Athos*. With photographs by the authors and A. Costa. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1966. Pp. 191 (incl. 63 plates).

This outrageously expensive volume deals with a place and subject that have attracted increasingly large numbers of visitors and investigators and have resulted in a large number of books, many of them good. We refer to the only Christian monastic republic in the world, Mount Athos. Since the celebration in 1963 of the thousandth Anniversary of the Holy Mount, the center of Eastern Orthodox monasticism has received a great deal of attention from all kinds of people and for all kinds of reasons, some of them unfortunately wrong. It is all too easy for an outsider to view Mount Athos as an anachronistic curiosity, as a womanless remnant of mediaeval Byzantium, as a haven for misfits from a modern world whose secularism cries out unashamedly against the existence of any religious place, let alone a 7000 foot mountain peak that is dedicated to the Holy Virgin and whose monks are completely committed to an austere life of prayer. Even those who may look at the Holy Mount more positively may tend to view it as an archaeological and historical treasure-house to be explored and exploited for the sake of scholarship for Byzantine history, Orthodox theology, and church history and art.

However, it is important to realize that these secular conceptions of Mount Athos create a distorted view of its nature and function, and the authors of this book unfortunately reflect this Western secular attitude. As travelers but not as pilgrims, as Westerners on holiday, they were more concerned with those very material things (food, bath, women, living accommodations, conveniences) that the monks have rejected. Never once in what is really a travel book, to be used with the utmost caution, are the real religious and theological reasons for Mount