

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

J.K. Campbell, *Honour, Family and Patronage. A Study of Institutions and Moral Values in a Greek Mountain Community*. Clarendon Press. Oxford, 1964. Pp. XII + 393 (illustrations 6, Index, Appendixes, Map).

Beginning in 1935 when the Dane, Carsten Hoeg, published his book on the Sarakatsani,<sup>1</sup> these interesting nomads of the Greek earth became the object of study for foreign and Greek writers. It was not only for the language and folklore elements of their isolated existence that they were studied, but also for the problems of their ethnological placement and origin.

It was natural that this curious but important social group of shepherd families that regularly migrated between the plains and mountains of Greece setting up temporary villages of huts and living a strict, traditional life, would be observed from every scientific vantage point and studied as a separate group or in relationship to the Greek whole.

Whoever became personally acquainted with these proud shepherds and observed the splendor of their family and shepherding management and their devotion to traditions and institutions, but also their dynamic contribution to the Greek economy, has wished to use his scholarship as a means not only to study them more deeply but also to protect them from the danger of social conformity and also hostility.

Such moral support of the Sarakatsani is evident in most of the scientific studies written to date on the life and language of the Sarakatsani. This is even more true of the work of J. K. Campbell who as a socio-anthropologist but also with his own humanistic sentiments studied the social forms of a particular community of Sarakatsani.

Mr. Campbell lived two years, 1954 and 1955, with the Sarakatsani of the Zagori villages in Epirus; it is obvious from his book that he had two successes while with them: a) he gained their trust and b) he studied them well. The first is important in the study of farm and peoples, particularly of groups like the Sarakatsani who live isolated

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1. Les Saracatsans, une tribu nomade Grecque. (I. Etude Linguistique. précédée d'une Notice ethnographique. II. Textes; contes et chansons). Paris-Copenhague, 1925.

from the social whole. The second depends on the individuality of the investigator. Mr. Campbell shows himself in this book to be an acute observer with a psychological and sensitive predisposition that helped him in understanding the life and relationships of the groups he approached. Beginning with the material basis of the unique life of the Sarakatsani, the flocks and shepherds, he then examines the broader relationship of the Kinsmen and Affines, and finally proceeds to the elementary family which he studied on the basis of its economic aims but also in its ethical relationships with the outside community and with God.

Mr. Campbell does not discuss the question of the origins and ethnology of the Sarakatsani in his book. He assumes that they are Greeks. In describing their way of life I would like to stress at this point of how much the folklore material (so much of which was gathered by Mrs. Chatzimichali, and an equally large amount used by Mr. Campbell in his study) indicates that the Sarakatsani are Greeks. One asks oneself if perhaps their practices are not the most genuine and most unspoiled ones of Greek life, representative of its first agricultural and shepherding form, since honour, family and patronage continue to regulate life in Greek communities.

Mr. Campbell's book was written according to the method and with the knowledge acquired by scholars during their extensive education for sociological and anthropological investigation. Influenced though by his alive subject, he does not remain dryly objective. He moves quite freely between description and reflection which is made quite pleasant by folklore examples and poetic language. After a short preface (pp. V-VII) in which he gives the outline of his work and expresses his gratitude to the scientists, foreigners and Greeks, who gave him their assistance (and also to his father, wife, the Sarakatsani, and the photographer "Dimitri") the writer proceeds to the chapters of his book which are eleven in total.

Chapter 1 (pp. 1-18) is according to the words of the author, a "Historical and Geographical Introduction." He begins with the general picture the Sarakatsani present to the eyes of the traveler. "In the plains it is unnecessary even to leave the main roads to see small groups of circular, domed, huts of wood and thatch, or flocks of sheep and goats guarded by shepherds dressed in rough black suits and immense goat-hair capes woven from the fleeces of their own animals" (p. 1). And he proceeds immediately to the information: "From May until the first days of November these semi-nomad shepherds graze their

considerable flocks on the higher slopes of the mountains... Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia and Thrace are the provinces in which they are most numerous... In the whole of Greece their number, perhaps, approaches eighty thousand" (p. 1).

He then speaks of the general name "Vlachs" which has been applied beginning from the XI century to the transhumant shepherds of the Greek mountains, and he distinguishes the Koutsovlachs and Albanian Vlachs from the Sarakatsani. "With both these ethnic minority groups the Sarakatsani are culturally contrasted. They speak only Greek; their values, institutions, and art forms are dissimilar. They claim that the Klephtic heroes Katsantonis and Karaiskakis were Sarakatsani" (pp. 2-3).

Using this opportunity the author takes note of the discussions that have taken place concerning the origin of the Sarakatsani communities and he refers to the views of Hoeg, Capidan, Aravantinos, Georgacas and Chatzimichali.<sup>1</sup> He of course does not agree with the view of the Roumanians that the Sarakatsani were Roumanian Koutsovlachs who had become hellenized, but he also feels Hoeg's theory that these shepherds are the descendants of primitive pastoral tribes in Greece, from preclassical times, can neither be proven or disproven. He accepts the linguistic unity of the Sarakatsani as shown by Hoeg and the unity of art forms as shown by Chatzimichali.<sup>2</sup> He doesn't doubt that "transhumant pastoralism, of one kind or another, has, from the earliest times, been a feature of Greek country life," but he concludes that the problems of origin of the Sarakatsani "may never find definitive solutions" (p. 4). He expresses his opinion however "as a social anthropologist not concerned with the problem of origins," that "in their social values and institutions, the Sarakatsani, as they exist today, provide no evidence of a past history that has ever been anything but Greek" (p. 6). He more nearly approaches the view of Georgacas<sup>3</sup> that the Sarakatsani appeared on the scene at a later period but that their origin is definitely Greek. (It is my own personal opinion that the fact alone of competition from foreign nomad shepherds, who had come to the Greek mountains during the Byzantine period, was sufficient to induce the Greek shepherds—a group from Epirus or Acharnania—into living a nomad existence and to developing into scattered communities).

2. Angeliki Chatzimichali, *Σαρακατσάνοι* Vol I (1-2) Athens 1957.

3. Demetrius Georgacas, «Περὶ τῆς καταγωγῆς τῶν Σαρακατσαναίων» in *Ἀρχεῖον τοῦ Ὁρακικοῦ Ἐθναυροῦ*, vol XII (Athens 1945-6) p. 68-128.

In this same chapter, the author introduces the particular area of the Sarakatsani of the Zagori which he will investigate. There follows a description of their nomadic life which has the vividness of a documentary film, and the observation that "Winter in the plains is a kind of exile; the return in spring to the mountains of Zagori is the return home" (p. 8).

Valuable geographical and historical information supplements this chapter. Drawing from the "Zagoriaka" of I. Lambridis (1889) the author describes and evaluates the circumstances which led the Sarakatsani to the Zagori (the latest—from the 19th century) and later the changes brought about in their shepherding life by the refugees of 1922, the division of Chiftlik lands in 1927, the law establishing rights of lease (1930) and the law of settlement of pastoralists (1938). In this way he comes up to the present state of the Sarakatsani and their social-economic relations with the sedentary, permanent villagers. With this background material we better understand the chapters that follow.

In Chapter II (pp. 19-35) J.K. Campbell discusses flocks, shepherds, and the role of women in shepherding. He begins with the significance of the sheep in the life and the prestige of the family and proceeds to the internal division of the flock according to each animal's role in production (lambing, milking etc.). He speaks of the thatched huts and the sheep-folds, and there follows a systematic description of shepherding and milking; it becomes evident that he patiently sat at the side of the shepherds and learned the secrets of their occupation. He then deals with the shepherds themselves, with the distribution of the work according to age, and with their hard work at night. "On nights, when there is driving rain or no moon, the midnight grazing is a situation which tests the shepherd's nerves and ability" (p. 27). The identification of the shepherds with their animals is vividly shown in two of Campbell's phrases: "If a sheep is stoned by another man, the shepherd's honour is touched" (pp. 30, 31). And: "Sick sheep are tended with care and compassion. A shepherd may sleep with the animal under his cape to give it warmth" (p. 31).

The author's first mention of women in shepherding life is with humor ("Women and goats are conceptually opposed to men and sheep") and then he proceeds to describe their important duties: "The assistance women give in the care of the animals is their direct contribution to the stani. Their work within the hut concerns only their own family. They care for the children, cook, bake bread on the open hearth, cut wood or bushes for the fire, carry water in barrels from the spring,

sometimes from a very considerable distance" (p. 32). And: "The building of the hut is entirely the work of the women... Five or six women working continuously are able to erect a hut of conventional size in two or three days"<sup>4</sup> (p. 33).

With Chapter III (pp. 36-58) Campbell enters into the broad system of family relations (Kinsmen and Affines). He first stresses the significance of Kinsmen and begins with the Kindred who comprise the blood Kinsmen, from the grandparents to the second cousins. The economic aspect of the system is then explained: "It is a corporate group owning in common all significant property" (p. 37). And then the religious: "The family is also a religious community with its own sacra" (p. 37). "Generally the family is the center of the shepherds world" (p. 38).

In this same chapter he gives in condensed form what he will later repeat concerning the defensive cohesion of the family against the stranger and then gives details on the need for solidarity among relatives for survival, in marriage and the defense of honour. A person without relatives can't get on, "Nobody takes account of a man without Kinsmen" (p. 39). He often uses anecdotes and sayings to supplement descriptions or his views; this is one of the most useful functions of folklore material in sociology.

This chapter is one of the richest in material and most characteristic of the book; part of it has been already published in the periodical "Mediterranean Countrymen," 1963. The picture of the eternal revival of families through brothers who then branch off is a vivid and instructive one. This exists in other nations too but the manner in which it is done by the Sarakatsani and other Greeks is quite unique.

Also interesting is the observation that despite their bilateral origin, the Sarakatsani have a very strong sentimental interest in their patriline, and a formal preference for those kinsmen who are related through the fathers (p. 55). This is a sentiment general to all Greeks and is quite strong even in urban families of the big cities.

Chapter IV (pp. 59-94) is entitled "The Extended Family" and is also one of the most interesting chapters in the book. It is divided into individual headings: "Status of the Bride," "The Brothers and Their Wives," "The Separation of Brothers" and "The Companies

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4. I should like to mention here the book of Maria Ioannidou-Barbarigou, *Καλύβαι Σαρακατσανικών* (Annals of the Folklore Archives-Academy of Athens, Vol. VI, 1950-1951, pp. 231-244).

of Related Families.” Here the author mentions some of the wedding customs to show the character of the bride’s new status as a member of her husband’s family (p. 60). On page 61 he gives the Greek verses for the bride’s leave-taking. He interprets the details in the usual way on the basis of anthropological and symbolic criteria. “The brother of the groom places at the bride’s feet a pair of new shoes,.....for now she enters a new pathway of her life” (p. 60). And: “In the bride’s first ceremonial exchange of greetings with people to whom she has never spoken, there is symbolized the initial pattern of their relations...” (p. 61).

The successive fate of the bride as the days pass from the Sunday of the wedding to the Friday when she takes her place in the new family is given in detail and with sociological commentary. The author does not only see the folklore-color but reflects on the “captiveness” of the bride in her new home where she serves to all of her husband’s relatives until the hour of liberation with the birth of her first child. “After the birth of her first child, it is said that the new bride “takes root” in the new family” (p. 69). As for the extended family of the brothers and their wives, the Sarakatsani themselves say that, “they would live together all their lives, were it not for the quarrels of their wives” (p. 71). The author quotes two Sarakatsani (panhellenic) sayings at this point to which I might add the one: “They quarrel like bad sisters-in-laws.”

The economic aspect of the relationship between the brothers is described in the same chapter: “The flock and everything connected with it is held as common property; decisions which concern its welfare are based on a general concensus of opinion” (p. 72). But... “few extended families survive for longer than ten years without the separation of at least some brothers” (p. 79). Then they divide the animals of each category and each acquires his own flock. These flocks are then pooled together in a family cooperative or company (pp. 80-81 and 88). Here too appears the matter important to all Greeks, the marriage of the sister. The author discusses it with deep family and social understanding. He begins with the Sarakatsani principle that “the brothers must, as members of the family, contribute their share towards her dowry, and they defend her honour,” and he points out something which is panhellenic, that “the marriage of the sister represents for the brother the successful and honourable accomplishment of these tasks: her virginity has been preserved intact and the dowry has been handed over” (p. 82).

Campbell places the average age of marriage as 30-32 for men and 25 for women. The last brother remains unmarried “until all the

sisters have found husbands." But the other brothers also "do not divide the extended household, until all the sisters are married" (p. 86). Respect for the father is another tradition which tends to hinder independence (p. 88).

As one goes from one chapter to the other in the book, one gains increasing admiration for the logical and ethical traditions of a Greek community that are becoming increasingly difficult to find in the cities.

In Chapter V: "Collateral Kinsmen" (pp. 95-123), the matters pertaining to the bonds of close kinship are discussed in contrast to those with outsiders. As much confidence as there exists for relatives, equal is the amount of doubt and suspicion shown to non-kinsmen. A Sarakatsanos "is confident that a kinsman will keep a secret..... that his kinsmen will support his case; and for his part he will not suffer in silence the public criticism of any of his kin" (p. 95). The author here gives examples related to him by Sarakatsani. These are of instances of mutual support which of course are not missing from other Greek related groups. Perhaps the love of homeland felt by Greeks living abroad can be attributed to this same feeling.

Another good heading in the book is that of the ties between cousins. "Their affections are like those of brothers and sisters. "Cousins are concerned about each other's successes or misfortunes, hopes and fears" (p. 100). "Relations between men and women—first cousins—are almost always close and affectionate" (p. 103). If the sexual allusions which are developed should advance to sexual intimacy, the honour of both families would be destroyed (p. 110). And in the broad category of kinship, particularly significant is the effective kinsman, even if he should be a distant kinsman. Here too the author gives an example of a rich relative helping a poorer kin: "When Sotiri Achnoulas was dismayed at the promulgation of a government order forbidding the pasturage of goats in certain areas of the Zagori, he decided to pay a visit to his "cousin" (third cousin) John, a Sarakatsanos of wealth and influence. He was confident that John could help him because of his influence with the local Member of Parliament" (pp. 108-109).

The author then proceeds to the expressions of solidarity among relatives at festive occasions. "In the atmosphere of festival excitement the sentiments of kinship solidarity are strengthened and re-created." And: "If it is true that the gathering of dispersed kinsfolk is an occasion for the re-statement of kinship values, it is also true that it is the statement of kinship which invokes the gathering at all" (p.

114). This is how the great joy evident at gatherings and feasts, in which the author participated in the villages and huts of the Sarakatsani, during the celebration of: Easter, the feasts of St. George, the Prophet Elias, Saint Paraskevi, Assumption of the Virgin Mary (and we should not forget that of the Ascension of Christ) as well as weddings in August and September (p. 115), is explained.

In the wedding customs of the Sarakatsani, Campbell finds reflected in many ways, the solidarity of kinsmen. He describes some of these, the bridal procession of kinsmen, the wedding standard, etc., under a heading which is of great folklore interest. His descriptions are vivid in imagery and have psychological insight: "After the meal is over, it is again first cousins who stand in the middle of the dancing, one with a bottle of ouzo and the other with a plate of cheese or olives to give refreshment to the sweating dancers. These are not considered to be menial tasks; on the contrary, it is a privilege of close kinship to be allowed to assist in this way" (p. 118).

Chapter VI: "Affinal Relations" (pp. 124-149) deals with the general topic of kinship through marriage and shows how this is created and maintained. In it the customs of the betrothal and the wedding are described (this chapter too is of folklore interest) and sociological interpretations are given to the events of "abduction," "return." He also discusses the element of hostility which exists in affinal relations through marriage, the obligations of affines, as well as some structural implications which appear. In this chapter one realizes the wealth of sociological material to be found in folklore. Mr. Campbell moves easily and well with sociological insight among customs and their manifestations.

The factors which direct relations during the preparations and the actual wedding ceremony, are the hostility on the part of both sides and the necessity to preserve their honour. Marriage negotiations are conducted carefully. Betrothals are made guardedly. An abduction is an act of affront to the girl's family. "To break an engagement is also a violent affront to the honour of the families." "A marriage is an arrangement between opposed groups, which involves important considerations of honour and prestige" (p. 131). But even during the wedding ceremony, the element of hostility exists; it is evident when the groom's bridal procession arrives at the bride's home (p. 133), as she is gotten ready for her departure (p. 134) and when, after the religious wedding ceremony the two families celebrate separately (p.



136). Greek weddings in general show many such elements of hostility<sup>5</sup> and an entire study could be made on this.

Campbell however finds that reconciliation is also affected through the marriage, particularly with the custom of "return" to the bride's home on the Sunday after the marriage ceremony. "Betrothal, marriage and the return are the three stages in which affinal relations are established" (p. 138). He then discusses the degrees of kinship created by the marriage; he gives the names of: co-bride, co-bridegroom, father-in-law, brother-in-law, co-parents-in-law, son-in-law etc. and he tells what the common folk believe concerning these relationships. Greek folklore can contribute pertinent details on this point.

Chapters VII and VIII, "The Family, a System of Roles" (pp. 150-184) and "The Family as a Corporate Group" (pp. 185-212), are discussions of the elements in family composition and of its active cooperation. The author describes the bonds of husband and wife, both inside and outside of the home; they of course indicate the status of the woman within her family and in the community. "A wife must show respect to her husband at all times" (p. 151). "Obedience is a moral imperative for the wife" (p. 152). "Divorce is not possible" (p. 154).

There follows a description of the relations between parents and children, which is also given with sociological-folklore commentary on the part of the author. This chapter could be very instructive to city-dwellers. "Children become progressively aware that the loving indulgence of their father is conditional on their living up to standards..." (p. 156). And: "Children of all ages are tolerated on almost all occasions and no topic of discussion is considered unfit for their ears" (p. 157). Mr. Campbell's description of the upbringing of a Sarakatsanos could be given in the classical words "De liberis educandis." The children however have restraints imposed on them by tradition: "The son, under the age of twenty does not smoke or drink ouzo in his parent's presence" (p. 160).

The mother's—mother-in-law's role is that of "diplomat and peacemaker between the dissident wives" (p. 165). And more poetically, "sitting at the hearth with her various grandchildren around her, the mother becomes the physical and moral center of the extended family..." (p. 166).

The author then examines the relations between the brothers themselves. "The emotional identification of siblings has its origin in the

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5. N. G. Politis, *Λαογραφικά Σύμμεικτα*, vol. III, Athens 1931, pp. 232-322.

common experience of early childhood" (p. 173). And for the economic: "Unmarried brothers work together in service to the family flock. This common dependence and service to the flock is another ground for their close identification" (p. 173). He observes with affection, the life of the girls of the Sarakatsani and sees that, "while brothers stand in the public gaze, sisters are closeted within the privacy of domestic life" (p. 178). and "the unmarried sister is always under the authority of her brothers" (p. 179). Yet, "the honour of the family is largely in the keeping of the sister" (p. 179).

Interesting are the author's observations concerning "interrelations" (pp. 179-184) which are governed by sex and age, by the isolation of the families and the importance of prestige values. He also discusses the dangers which threaten the stability of family relations and which are primarily three: "when a female member compromises her sexual honour; when differences arise between father and his sons; and when rivalry exists in the relations of brothers."

The author devotes the following headings to the "Family as a corporate group": "The solidarity of the family" (pp. 185-203), and "Hostility between unrelated families" (pp. 203-212). The first is representative of the defensive and the other of the offensive element of the family group. Many of the points brought up in these headings have been previously discussed; this is evident if one refers back to the index. The points are now however more thoroughly delved into, for example: the solidarity of the family rests on three basic elements: the natural, the economic and the ethical. The natural factor is that of blood: "The solidarity of the corporate family is symbolized in the idea of blood" (p. 185). "The honour of the family is literally the honour of its blood" (p. 186) The economic factor is "The property of the family is owned corporately" (p. 187). And the ethical factor "secrecy about the family and its affairs is a measure of the loyalty and of the internal cohesion of the group" (p. 192). Generally the moral solidarity in the family secures the honour of the family (p. 193). How much more would be understood concerning the ethical principles and psychology of groups such as the Sarakatsani, if more books like this one of Dr. Campbell would be read. And how much more could sociology offer on a subject such as this one.

The practice of vendetta is a part of the offensive solidarity of the family. However the Sarakatsani (unlike the Maniates) do not practice vendetta indiscriminately. Vengeance is direct. And they make sure that the corporate order of the family is not disturbed: "An unmar-

ried brother avenges a brother, an unmarried son his father..." (p. 194).

There follow examples of offensive solidarity: "The hostility that exists between unrelated families is encouraged by the belief that their interests are mutually destructive" (p. 204). It is on the basis of this belief that Campbell explains the attitude on the part of the Greeks concerning misfortune and the inequality in the distribution of goods. (p. 204).

It is at this point that the old Sarakatsani practice of sheep-theft is discussed; this is a practice common to all sheep-raising areas of Greece. He describes it well; it is one of the few good pieces of writing on the subject.

Chapter IX (pp. 213-262) deals with patronage. It is one of the least studied subjects in Greece. Politicians and lawyers should read this section. They would see a large part of Greek reality in this patronage of the Sarakatsani which is written with a light touch of satire by the author.

The matter is simple: The Sarakatsani of the Zagori, like all Sarakatsani and Greek sheep-raisers, or poor villagers, in their relations with administrative employees and the people of the city, do not have the ability or the courage to come into direct contact with them. This is why they always seek out a protector who might be a rich relative, the merchant, the wedding or baptismal sponsor, the doctor, the lawyer, or the deputy. The fact that they are sought out, leads doctors and lawyers to become deputies in Parliament.

Campbell does not go into his subject directly, but starts with small headings which lead gradually into the subject of patronage. He first writes of the community (pp. 213-217) and contrasts the character and the way of life of the Sarakatsani with that of the permanent villagers of the Zagori. He then elaborates on what he has learned concerning spiritual kinship. This heading is also of folklore interest and it deals with wedding sponsors to godparents. The social consequence of the protection practice is clearly shown, but also the information concerning weddings and baptisms is invaluable.

The author then proceeds to the system of village friendships (pp. 224-238) and lists the patrons that are sought out by the Sarakatsani. They are: the village president, the other members of the council, the schoolmaster, the priest, the wealthy villagers (the part dealing with the village president shows excellent powers of observation and psychological insight on the part of the author). The Sarakatsani then come to the city and seek out the lawyers and government

officials as patrons (pp. 238-247). This is even more necessary because the Sarakatsani "must also adapt themselves to the laws and regulations of the State, and attempt in their own interests to influence the administration" (p. 238). The Sarakatsani have many dealings with government officials: agricultural, police, army, judiciary etc.. Each Sarakatsanos tries to come out well in these dealings by the use of every possible means: "Gifts and money bribes were freely offered in making approaches to minor state servants" (p. 240). The author must have been present during one of these incidents of small bribe-giving; he describes it charmingly. He also comments that officials lack of understanding in dealing with the problems of the Sarakatsani and arrogantly and snobbishly refer them to lower officials. I think that incidents like these were few and besides, that now things have changed. If not, a cure could be effected if some of these officials read Campbell's book.

The lawyer is a saviour to the Sarakatsanos in the event of trouble, not only because he knows the law, but because he approaches the shepherds on equal footing. The heading referring to the role of the lawyer is one of the best in the book and applies to all Greek regions.

Other patrons, who are more directly related to the economic life of the Sarakatsani, are the cheese merchants (pp. 247-262). The latter travel through the mountains purchasing the milk production in advance, and then place all of the Sarakatsani products on the market. They are the big middlemen who hold the whole economic structure of the shepherds in their hands by means of the loans they extend and the purchases they make. During the entire twelve months of the year, a Sarakatsanos is always in debt and obliged to the merchant. He therefore needs to make him "patron" to save his own prestige (fortunately too that the Greeks, also for social prestige reasons, accept being patrons). And the chapter ends with a wise conclusion on the part of the author, "patronage relations produce a certain equity in the distribution of facilities and privileges, and place some check on the victimizing of individuals" (p. 261).

Chapter X (p. 263-320) delves into the values of prestige, one of the most interesting subjects in sociological investigation. Prestige governs the behavior of individuals, of families and of groups, of local regions and countries with one another. On prestige hinge self-regard, name, pride and preservation of honour. Around these elements, the author builds his chapter. He begins with the hierarchy of fami-

lies (pp. 263-268); he then enlarges on the meaning of honour (pp. 268-397) which is a condition of integrity (moral or material) and which is secured in a man with manliness and in a woman by shame. "Manliness and shame are complementary qualities in relation to honour" (p. 271).

In this same chapter an "Honourable Man" is defined, either on the basis of positive ideals (how he behaves) or on the basis of negative ideals (what he avoids), for example, "A man who interferes with women, or picks a quarrel with an old man or a young boy, quickly loses his social reputation" (p. 293). And finally, he examines the material elements in prestige (pp. 297-306), which he had also referred to in previous chapters, and finds that basic to the shepherd are: **a.** the number of members in a family, **b.** wealth (particularly in animals), **c.** the lineage, **d.** the marriage, **e.** display of pride (here he uses folklore material—as to dress, ornaments and beauty of dowry). All of these, perhaps with the exception of the first, are also important prestige elements for the people of the cities.

Chapter XI, which is the last chapter, (pp. 321-356) deals with the values of religious beliefs. It contains much folklore material, as well as sociological, theological and philosophical conclusions drawn from the beliefs of the Sarakatsani. At one point, the author derives a theological system from the beliefs and the manner of worship of the Sarakatsani. I feel, however, this is the manner of worship and the faith common to all Greeks as given to them by their Greek Orthodox religion, but which also include remnants from ancient Greece. To the argument that the Sarakatsani were nomads who lived far from churches, we can make the observations: **a.** that possibly before becoming nomads, they were settled members of communities, **b.** that even during the years of the nomad existence, they found the opportunity to worship in the Greek Orthodox churches of various villages and particularly in monasteries which are so plentiful on the mountains of Greece, **c.** that much of their knowledge of the Scriptures and the Bible might have come from the Aetolian preacher St. Cosmas who taught in the villages and mountains of Pindos in between the years 1760-1779. Here is another subject concerning the spiritual life of the Sarakatsani that needs to be investigated.

Headings in this chapter are: "God and Sin," "The Devil," "The Ways to God" (one of the most beautiful) and "Social Values and Religious Ideas."

Previously, I had expressed the hope that the chapters dealing

with the economic life of the Sarakatsani and the upbringing of their children would be read by scholars in these two fields, and similarly, I hope that the chapter dealing with their religious concepts (which are made simple by their way of life) will be read by the theologians. The "way a form of Christian belief may co-exist with the values of honour and prestige" (p. 321) is particularly worthy of attention. The Sarakatsani conception of God, as given by the author, is the same as of the rest of the Greeks, and is expressed in the same way in their sayings ("God protects and provides"—"God judges and punishes"—"Vengeance is not immediate" etc.).

Campbell divides the sins of the Sarakatsani into two categories, personal sins and ancestral sins. The first of these is in turn divided into three other categories: **a.** Insults to God, **b.** Insults to the family, **c.** Insults to another. The second kind of insults are of two kinds: sensuality and envy (p. 326). The concept of fate as, "All things are written by God," is explained by Campbell as being a way of releasing a man from the shame that accompanies certain kinds of failure (p. 334).

As for the Devil, the Sarakatsani believe according to the Bible, that he is the agent and first cause of evil (p. 331), and that "The object of the Devil is the moral corruption of men, or their physical destruction" (p. 332). Here however, Campbell mixes in the Devil with various evil spirits or with the Nymphs who are of course something different, and he says nothing about the classical Greek tradition and the evil spirits of the sheepfold, known from the worship of Pan.

He then writes of "The ways of God." "It is important for the Sarakatsani to be in right relationship with God." "The margin of security possessed by each family in its relative isolation is narrow." And for this reason, "the everyday religious life (icons, oil lamp, prayers) is essentially a family cult" (p. 341). Campbell comments on their particular devotion to Christ and the intercessor Saints (which was also written about in detail by Mrs. Chatzimichali). He also comments on the worship of the Virgin in a family context as the Mother of Christ. He explains the offerings and the sacrifices of the lambs to God and the Saints as "do ut des," and describes the whole of the Great Week (Holy Week) during which time, the Sarakatsani (like the rest of the Greeks) feel closest to God and to Christ. Communion, at that time, takes on added significance. The Sarakatsani, "identify themselves with the sufferings of Christ. In his death, his blood effected a union between man and God. His resurrection has the significance that he lives to die again" (p. 349).

It would take many monographs, and more than just one book review to examine from both a general ethnological and Greek point of view, the many subjects studied in his book by Mr. J. K. Campbell. The Sarakatsani provided him with the opportunity to throwlight on a many faceted kind of life which remains unknown and unexplored from a sociological or economic point of view. Fortunately, Greek folklore investigations up to the present time, have offered much information from all areas and groups. Mr. Campbell used such sources as the above, as can be seen from his bibliography, and knows their significance. He provided us with the key to open the door into an area that has remained unexplored sociologically.

His book reveals a questioning mind and acute power of observation. His chapters are rich with material, and the Sarakatsani come out of the pages of the book with dimension and alive. The elements of many new and specialized additional studies are provided by this book. It informs scholars of a small segment of people living in the mountains of Greece, which, with respect for the individual and the whole, with clear mind before the phenomena of nature and man and with very personal feelings for a protector God, continues what might be a classical period kind of life that has always been simple and free, and perhaps made this way by the climate and mountains of Greece.

Athens

DEM. LOUKATOS

J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*.  
A Study in survivals. University Books. New York 1964.  
pp. XXII + 620 with 30 plates.

Any foreigner, with a tolerably good knowledge of life in contemporary Britain and Germany, having once read the *Agricola* and *Germania* of Tacitus, will undoubtedly remember the pleasant surprise and heartfelt delight experienced in constantly discovering in their pages the old in the new, that is, in the customs and manners of the contemporary German and Briton, catching a glimpse of the ways of the German and Briton of old, as encountered by the Romans twenty centuries ago. For the customs and manners of a nation, like those very distinctive characters of a nation's own *physique*, are things strongly persistent and extremely long-lived and die very hard, if they ever die at all.