

which Avakumović decrees for himself, the lack of both perspective and understanding with which he views his subject, lead to the waste of a great opportunity; this is truly a history in only one dimension, with the whole heart and substance of the matter left out.

Carnegie Institute of Technology

LEONARD BUSHKOFF

J. K. Campbell, *Honour, Family, and Patronage: A Study of Institutions and Moral Values in a Greek Mountain Community*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964. Pp. xii + 393.*

Many anthropologists will happily read but most historians, even Balkanologists, may regrettably overlook *Honour, Family, and Patronage*, an anthropological study of the Sarakatsan shepherds of the district of Zagori to the northeast of Jannina, where a group of communities of 4,000 persons, or 5 per cent of all Sarakatsani in Greece, lives a pastoral existence.

As an addition to the growing list of studies of "little communities" (see *Balkan Studies*, VI, No 1, 1965, 208-12), Campbell's contribution appears to have been inspired in part by Julian A. Pitt-Rivers, *The People of the Sierra* (London, 1954), especially in its concern with the values of Mediterranean cultures. Parts of his excellent chapter on "Kinsmen and Affines" were earlier incorporated as an essay on "The Kindred in a Greek Mountain Community," in *Mediterranean Countrymen*, edited by J. A. Pitt-Rivers (see *Balkan Studies*, VII, No 1, 1966, 212-16) and published as one of the volumes of the series "Recherches Méditerranéennes" of the French Maison des Sciences de l'Homme (The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1963).

Honour, Family, and Patronage is based on field work undertaken during 1954 and 1955, but the author also acknowledges his indebtedness to Mme. A. Chatzimichalis, the foremost Greek scholar of Sarakatsan folklore, as well as to other scholars. Indeed, the Sarakatsani are one of the best known of the many clusters of "little communities" of Balkan shepherds, but Campbell's analysis is infinitely superior to that of any previous study of Sarakatsan society and culture. The only study of comparable scope is the even more recent *Pasteurs nomades méditerranéens: Les Saracatsans de Grèce* (Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1965) of G. B. Kavadias.

* In view of the interest generated by this pioneering study, *Balkan Studies* is printing two reviews of it, one by a Greek scholar (see V, No. 2, 1964, 363-77), and this critique by an American historian with anthropological concerns.

The primary criticism of Campbell is that his work lacks an adequate historical or diachronic basis. Such criticism is justifiable in view of the fact that his first chapter comprises a good "historical and geographical introduction" of 18 pages, just enough to whet our appetites and lead us to hope that he will serve as both historian and anthropologist in future endeavors, thus tackling the problem of "total anthropology" and "total history," the first necessarily diachronic and the second ideally anthropological.

After his introduction, Campbell describes and analyzes Sarakatsan society and values during the mid-1950s, with occasional allusions to changes in the Sarakatsan order of things since the 1930's. He rejects the view of some non-Greek scholars that the Sarakatsani are recently-Hellenized Vlachs, holding to the opinion that they have been Greek-speaking for many centuries.

By and large, however, his most pertinent (although very casual) historical observations relate to economic and demographic change rather than to the problem of ethnogenesis. He thus notes that both Sarakatsani and Vlachs were more numerous relative to the total population a century ago, and probably even absolutely more numerous, than they are today. Secondly, he observes that the number of sheep per Sarakatsan family has diminished: "Before 1922 it was not exceptional for a man to own 2,000 sheep; today a flock of 500 is considerable" (p. 15). In fact, there were in the mid-1950's no more than "24.5 sheep and goats per head of population" (p. 7, n. 19). Simultaneously, the available winter grazing has declined in area and increased in cost. Moreover, while in the 1930's the whole community of Zagori Sarakatsani ate maize bread, today most families make bread "from a more expensive brown flour which is largely wheaten in content" (p. 247), subjecting those families which continue to eat yellow bread to much ridicule. Finally, homespun clothes have become less fashionable and more money is spent for store-bought goods.

In other words, a society which has grown poorer has also become more spendthrift. The question arises, has this society become poorer because it has grown less frugal, or do the more enterprising members of the society tend to emigrate, either to neighboring towns and villages or to Athens and other countries? Campbell casually notes that emigration has occurred but unfortunately does not look more deeply into the problem. Our own feeling, however, on the basis of the facts provided, is that the Sarakatsan order is a rapidly declining way of life, especially in light of the fact that for the Sarakatsani poverty is morally reprehensible.

And dishonorable! But honor is a basic value of Sarakatsan society, determined by virginity in unwed girls, fertility in women, family solidarity, sibling solidarity, and the possession of wealth and prestige.

Campbell also points to a tendency toward the division of the extended family into component elementary families (pp. 69-88), although this point does not emerge clearly from his study because of the absence of systematic historical examination. But if Sarakatsan wealth is disappearing and family solidarity is waning, how long can the Sarakatsani continue to exist as an autonomous society? True enough, the *stani* or *tselingato*, an economic association of generally related families, is still strong. But the *stani* embodies little more than a relatively short-lived contractual relationship.

Inferentially, one of the ultimate aims of the author is a better understanding of the vast Mediterranean Community. Unfortunately, however, he engages very little in comparative anthropology and almost totally neglects the neighboring Albanian, Vlach, and Slav communities of shepherds. For Montenegro and Serbia, however, there exist at least two very useful studies in Western languages of honor, family, and patronage: Gerhard Gesemann, *Heroische Lebensform: Zur Literatur und Wissenskunde der balkanischen Patriarchalität* (Berlin, 1943), a slight modification of Gesemann's inaugural address as rector of Charles University in Prague in 1933/1934, and Jovan Brkić, *Moral Concepts in Traditional Serbian Epic Poetry* (Gravenhage: Mouton and Co., 1961).

An examination of other Balkan societies and cultures might have enabled the author to distinguish between the specifically Sarakatsan and the generally Balkan (or Greek) and between Sarakatsan and other mountain societies. In the larger context, the *stani* appears as an institution common to many different Balkan shepherd societies. At the same time, one might be in a better position to answer the question of why the Sarakatsan term for a man lacking in cunning is *ντόμπρος*, presumably derived from the Slavic word for "good," as we may infer from the fact that the word for an irresolute man is *καλός* (p. 263). Finally, Campbell contends that "the dualist Bogomil heresy made little headway in Greece" (p. 335n.), but this statement assuredly does not apply to Medieval Thrace. Moreover, the author produces evidence showing that the Sarakatsani accept the notion of the impurity of sexual relations. But if the Cathari or Bogomils were not the only religious group in the Balkans to embrace this notion, were they not at least its chief exponents?

The attitude toward sex, according to Campbell, conditions Sarakatsan attitudes toward the various age categories into which their so-

ciety divides, with the ideal category being the generation of virgin girls eligible for marriage and unmarried virile males in their twenties — *pallikaria* — responsible for protecting and avenging the honor of all family members, especially that of their sisters. Campbell hence perceives the existence of two different, and sometimes incompatible, codes of honor, one taking the form of valuing family integrity above all else and the other of prizing courage, bravado, and self-renunciation through self-assertion, the honor of the gerontocracy as against the honor of the *pallikari*.

In his discussion of Sarakatsan values, kinship relations, the family as a corporate entity, age categories, the relationships of antagonism and competition between families, religious practices, and the institution of patronage, Campbell achieves rare distinction. Through the patronage of village notables, lawyers, higher officials, and occasionally a member of parliament, as well as through the Orthodox religion, the Sarakatsani maintain links with the wider Greek community. The everyday religious life of the Sarakatsan, however, is “essentially a family cult” (p. 115), and his ordinary activities are regulated closely by the seasons. Campbell gives us, in fact, an excellent statement of the Sarakatsan conception of time (pp. 34-35), applicable moreover to other shepherd societies, notably in the Balkans:

Time is not for the Sarakatsani a homogeneous medium, units of time which may be saved or lost. In one respect it is a succession of activities concerned directly or indirectly with the flocks and determined by the ecological rhythms of the different seasons and the changing conditions of temperature, grass, and water. The cycle of the year is related, of course, to the succession of calendrical months, but the months themselves are associated with particular activities rather than the reverse. Within the cycles of the day, the week, and the year different moments of time have different qualities, sacred or profane, of ill fortune or good fortune, to which the work of the shepherd is accommodated. For example, shearing may not begin on a Sunday which is sacred, nor on a Tuesday or Friday which are inauspicious. Time in another aspect is measured against the progress of the individual through his life considered as a succession of statuses in the family. This paradigm of statuses, also, has a circular appearance in the replacement of one generation by another. Time then is not a scale marking a linear progress, or a means of dividing life into portions of work and leisure, it is a continuum of activity within the family and in the service of the flock. The family and the flock are both forms divinely confirmed,

the earthly family being a refraction of the Holy archetype Family, while the sheep is a sacred animal blessed by God. These things have always been so, they always will be so.

If we recall, however, what has been happening to Sarakatsan flocks and to the extended family, we may wonder how long the Sarakatsan system of values will continue to prevail. There may even be a solution to which Campbell does not allude, namely the development of winter sports and summer health resorts. But if Sarakatsan society assumes new forms, it will no longer be the society that Campbell has described.

Let us observe in conclusion that Campbell has made an extremely perceptive analysis of Sarakatsan society. That is, indeed, the only kind of study which truly merits a lengthy critique.

Rutgers University

TRAIAN STOIANOVICH

Comité National Hellenique de l' Association Internationale d'Etudes du Sud-Est Européen, *Quinze ans de Bibliographie Historique en Grèce (1950-1965)*, Athènes 1966, Pp. 266.

In addition to the bibliography on *La Grèce Moderne et sa littérature* (see *Balkan Studies*, 7, 1966, 269-270), the *Bibliographie Historique* is one of the most important publications offered by the Greek scholars to their Balkan colleagues on the occasion of the first International Congress of Balkan and South-East European Studies in Sofia, last August.

Edited under the sponsorship of the Greek affiliate of the International Association of S.E. European Studies, and arranged under the direction of professor C. Th. Dimaras, it is a collection of the most significant historical and related studies, written by Greek authors, which have been published (or republished) in Greece in the last fifteen years.

Although the work took flesh and bones from the *Bulletin de Bibliographie Hellenique*, it extends four years over the latter, and will continue to stand as a separate publication on account of its special nature. This is, to be sure, a selective bibliography. The compilers have, in general, been guided by their intention to include only documents, monographs, biographies, and longer critical works, and to exclude merely expository ones. Thus, not only extensive research but also much critical work was required. Their overall aim has been to present the contemporary state of Greek historical thought. And this they have marvelously achieved.

An outside observer will certainly not fail to take notice of the fact that historical thought in Modern Greece pays attention with a perfect