

Julian Pitt-Rivers (ed.), *Mediterranean Countrymen: Essays in the Social Anthropology of the Mediterranean*. The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1963. Pp. 236.

This volume stems from a conference held in 1959 under the auspices of the Wenner-Grenn Foundation. The title can be interpreted in a number of ways. It might suggest the impact of an environment on the country peoples found within its ambience. It might suggest the solutions which rural people occupying the Mediterranean have developed for social and cultural problems. It might also suggest an interest in the interaction between Mediterranean peoples and the historic background which they share to various degrees. In other words, it raises questions concerning unities, diversities, causal and historical relationships which the term "Mediterranean" brings to mind.

Given the possibilities latent in the title, some may be disappointed by the limited scope of the book, for it focuses upon the social anthropology of cases selected in a somewhat unsystematic manner. These cases were chosen less for their representativeness than because scholars were available who had conducted research in the area. The following essays are included: Julio Caro Baroja, "The City and the Country; Reflections on Some Ancient Commonplaces"; A.H. Abou-Zeid, "Migrant Labor and Social Structure in Kharga Oasis"; Pierre Bourdieu, "The Attitude of the Algerian Peasant Toward Time"; J.K. Campbell, "The Kindred in a Greek Mountain Community"; I. Chiva, "Social Organization, Traditional Economy, and Customary Law in Corsica: Outline of a Plan of Analysis"; Ernestine Friedl, "Some Aspects of Dowry and Inheritance in Boeotia"; Harry Levy, "Inheritance and Dowry in Classical Athens"; Ernest Gellner, "Saints of the Atlas"; Emrys Peters, "Aspects of Rank and Status Among Muslims in a Lebanese Village"; Paul Stirling, "The Domestic Cycle and the Distribution of Power in Turkish Villages"; and Laurence Wylie, "Demographic Change in Roussillon".

Those who expect the use of a single conceptual framework will be disappointed. The cases are not ordered by any grand scheme which copes systematically with historic, ecological, or socio-cultural variations. We do, however, find a unifying theme in the problems of articulation of local communities with the larger wholes of which they are a part. In addition, this collection provides a useful corrective to the facile generalizations which see socio-cultural systems purely as carriers of their great urban traditions. Nearly all previous studies have been done by

scholars drawn to the Mediterranean because of its central rôle in the development of Western civilization. The very concept of "civilization" implies the central role of urban focused states. This being so, it is not surprising that the non-urban areas, the hinterlands of the great civilizations, are either ignored, seen as passive suppliers of food and raw materials to dynamic urban centers, or regarded as pale, diluted imitators of urban life.

The anthropologist, aware of the richness, diversity and varied qualities of small-scale social units, regards the picture of the countryside and its rural population as a passive arena in which armies pass to and fro while its history is made by outsiders, as unsatisfactory and certainly incomplete. Studies of non-Western civilizations, such as those of India and the Near East, have lead anthropologists to develop an orientation and conceptual apparatus which sees civilizations as complicated entities consisting of numerous parts, urban and rural, each divided into groups based upon social status, occupation, and both great and little religious and philosophical traditions, these groups being integrated into states in no simple manner. Thus, what are assumed by some scholars to be relations fixed by the administrative apparatus of the state, are from the viewpoint of the countrymen (and the anthropologist also) complex relations which must be accepted and adapted to, but which can also be manipulated for his own devices and at times changed through his own actions.

It may well be true that concentration on the urban area is legitimate in terms of power and influence. However, in terms of process, it begs the question of the manner in which the mechanisms and structures developed by the larger society may in turn be adaptive to various features of rural culture and social structure. The studies under discussion are, in the words of the editor, "A sampler rather than a summary" (p. 11). Since an understanding of local diversity is more important to anthropological knowledge than a similar understanding of recent national entities which are the products of urban elites, the studies are a sample of "variables of which the social anthropologist of the Mediterranean must take account" (p. 11). With a focus upon rather narrowly delimited units, which are viewed synchronically, it is not surprising that the conclusion, if it has any common focus, is concerned with how the internal structure of the community is determined and—or influenced by the community's relationship to the larger unit of which it is a part.

In the most general chapter in the book, Caro sensitively delimits the problems of the definition and characterization of country life in

terms of the complicated relationships existing between cities, country-men in immediately adjacent areas, and more isolated and culturally distinct mountain districts. One may conclude that the simple rural-urban dichotomy is inadequate for sophisticated analysis and that the anthropologist will hopefully spur his colleagues with urban interest to provide him with a finer typology of cities as a point of departure for his own research. Such a typology could then be used to help classify and analyze the various types of rural culture and social structure which grow out of interaction patterns with well delimited and specified urban centers. All of the other contributions, in one way or another, add to our understanding of persistence and change under the impact of modernization radiating from the cities.

Abu-Zeid describes change in a hitherto isolated Egyptian oasis as due to contact with the city. He focuses particularly on attitudes which accompany such change. Bourdieu concentrates on the Kabyle's changing attitude towards time, as the traditional life, with its long periods of inactivity, is giving way under the influence of a modern capitalistic economy. Campbell's interest is in the part kinship plays in the persistence of a traditional social structure among a group of transhumant Greek shepherds. He shows how the group uses the articulation with the larger society for internal persistence. Chiva shows how customary law, village cooperation, and land tenure systems in Corsica serve to perpetuate traditional structures while the structures contradict and to some extent conflict with the demands of the state. Friedl and Levy are both concerned with the role of kinship and the dowry, Friedl in a modern Greek village, Levy in the dowry as an ancient pattern found in classical Athens. Friedl pictures a situation where marriage ties and migration to the city are transforming the traditional village. Peters and Gellner both concern themselves with the rôle of religion and the social status derived from it in the perpetuation of traditional Moslem structures, Peters in Lebanon, and Gellner in the Atlas Mountains. They also describe the transformations wrought in these social systems as isolation and independence diminish as the impact of the larger society grows. Stirling outlines the basis of continuity for a Turkish village, in terms of mobilization of labor and the direct support of male children as basic elements in political action. He also considers how changes in inheritance as well as other changes deriving from the larger society transform this system. Wylie studies a French village and clearly demonstrates, through demographic analysis, that the seeming changelessness and static appearance of the village is illusory. It is, rather, an extremely dynamic

system, intimately related to the larger society and affected by it through both emigration and immigration.

In his introduction the editor summarizes and integrates the studies and contributes a highly enlightening analysis of certain contrasts between northern and southern Spain in terms of social structure and persistence among the Basques and the Andalusians. He demonstrates that stereotyped characterizations of rural versus urban do not apply to this case, with many urban characteristics applying to the agricultural Andalusians.

This book makes a number of contributions. It marks the maturation of the social anthropology of the Mediterranean area, and is proof that anthropologists are now willing and able to fruitfully turn their attention to historically old and well-documented societies which are central to the development of the Western tradition. These societies lack the "advantage" of those traditionally studied by anthropologists, societies usually ignored by other disciplines, primarily because they have left no written records. In the Mediterranean the anthropologist joins the historian and must sustain his labors with arguments more sophisticated than those which justify his working in an area simply because it was previously unstudied. He must demonstrate that what he does complements the work of others, be they social scientists or humanists. This book is a good beginning. We can look forward with anticipation to the next volume which will take up the significance of the ideas of honor and shame in Mediterranean culture.

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Bernard Lewis, *Istanbul and the Civilization of the Ottoman Empire*. Norman, Okla: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963. Pp. 189.

The Centers of Civilization Series is devoted "...to cities which have exercised a radiating influence upon the civilizations in which they existed." If any city fits that description certainly Istanbul in Ottoman times is it. Istanbul was both the physical and psychological center of the empire; all influences radiated out from it just as naturally as all talent was drawn to it by the magnetic force of its attraction. Through both governmental policy and irresistible attraction all sorts of people from sections of the empire, and even from beyond its borders, mingled in Istanbul, which according to a description found in Vasif Efendi's chronicle, "is a model to the world for making unity out of diversity."