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A WORD ABOUT MANUSCRIPTS

Lambda Alpha will consider manuscripts for publication in any field of Anthropology from faculty to students. Papers submitted for publication should be typed double-spaced on noncorrasable paper following the pattern established in American Anthropologist. All references to literature must be correctly documented with the author's name, date of publication, and the page number, e.g. (Smith 1969:340). Manuscripts should be sent to:

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The editorial staff of the Journal of Man takes pleasure in presenting Volume 15, numbers 1 & 2, to our readership and members. The research represented by the papers published in these pages demonstrates the depth required by the modern anthropological writer in the evaluation of diverse peoples. However, we recognize the obligation to admit that this volume, good though it is, represents a failure to show one of the "sacred" axioms of anthropology: anthropology is fundamentally an holistic discipline, one that approaches the study of humanity from all perspectives. Conspicuously absent from this volume is any reference to physical anthropology or archaeology. It is our hope that future issues will redeem this academic sin.

We wish to especially clarify our policy of accepting papers from students. The editorial staff will consider for publication papers from professional researchers and students, whose work submitted represents high-quality scholarship, writing, and, for want of a better expression, a readability. Although the present volume presents a majority of papers from professionals, either working in the field, or engaged in teaching, we wish to strongly reiterate our policy of welcoming student submissions.

Finally, there is the need felt to explain the color change on our cover. This may seem rather trite, however, yellow/black is the "official" color scheme of Lambda Alpha, so any color change needs to be clarified. It is rather simple: our supplier, (controlled by University contracts), no longer makes available our customary yellow covers. Hence the tan/brown. We wish to announce a competition for a new cover design. Please submit designs compatible with the new color format to our Wichita address. The winning design shall be chosen by Dr. Wayne Parris, Editor-in-Chief, and announced in Volume 16. The new cover design may include a reproduceable graphic design, as well as the expected Lambda Alpha Journal of Man, name.

The student Co-Editors
Lambda Alpha Journal of Man
CALL FOR PAPERS

Manuscripts are now being accepted for the JOURNAL OF MAN, Volume 16 published by Lambda Alpha, the national Anthropological Honor Society. Professional, avocational and student manuscripts are welcome. The deadline for acceptance of articles for this issue is April 1, 1984. Papers should range from five to twenty-five pages in length and should be typewritten following the format accepted by American Anthropologist.

Manuscripts should be sent to:

Editors, JOURNAL OF MAN
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Applications are now being accepted for the 10th National Lambda Alpha Scholarship Award. In order to insure a quality set of candidates potential applicants will be allowed to join the honor society but must be accepted by their local Lambda Alpha Chapter and have paid their dues prior to the application deadline of March 1, 1984. A sum of at least $100 will be granted with the award.

The candidate's chapter should provide the following information to the director of the National Lambda Alpha Scholarship Award Program:

1) Letter of nomination from department of proper academic unit.
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3) Statement by applicant of future professional plans.
4) Transcript of grades.
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The National Office always appreciates donations to the scholarship fund. Such donations will, however, have no effect on the selection of the awardee. Contributions should be sent to the National Office. Applications for the National Lambda Alpha Scholarship should be sent to:

B. K. Swartz, Jr.
Director, National Lambda Alpha Scholarship Award Program
c/o Department of Anthropology
Ball State University
Muncie, Indiana 47306
In this paper I present some data on attitudes towards illness, curing, and politics in a multiethnic farming community in rural Tanzania. Magugu is a settlement in Northern Tanzania populated by people from over 80 East African ethnic groups. The population of about 7000 cultivate small plots scattered over a 150 mile area near the Western Wall of the Eastern Rift Valley about 90 miles southwest of Arusha. The community was founded in 1944 as a haven for refugees from a sleeping sickness area. These pioneers, for the most part contract laborers on nearby European estates, had come from all over East Africa and formed the nucleus of the community. In the ensuing years they were joined by migrants who came from as far afield as Sudan and Rhodesia.

The brief political history of the community is characterized by tension between the indigenous Mbugwe and the settlers. Before independence in 1961 the newcomers were under the nominal authority of the Mbugwe Paramount Chief. After the end of British colonial rule, power and authority shifted to the leaders of the migrants who had enthusiastically worked for the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), the independence party, and the subsequent single legitimate political party in Tanzania.

To begin, I discuss the status of mchinjamchinja as it is variably perceived by the inhabitants and relate this to another category of capricious supernatural being, the shetani (pl. mashetani). Finally, I consider how these classes of extraordinary beings relate to public health employees and political statuses in the community.

The term mchinjamchinja derives from the Swahili verb kuchinja - "to slaughter, cut the throat of, kill - esp. of animals for food" (Johnson, 1967:56). In such a predominately Moslem community as Magugu kuchinja is usually taken to mean the ritual slaughter of an animal by cutting his throat. The noun mchinja means butcher, a perfectly
respectable occupation; however, when the noun is reduplicated, the meaning alters. Mchinjamchinja means one who slaughters human beings with the purpose of using their body parts as agencies of sorcery or in the manufacture of medicines. An mchinjamchinja is able to extract all of the blood of a victim as well as remove the liver, spleen, and other vital organs without breaking the skin. Accounts of sucked-dry corpses found in the bush are current in the community. The medicines manufactured from these organs and effluvia of the mchinjamchinja's victim can either be the conventional kinds that alleviate suffering or the nefarious types that cause pain, social alienation, or control of the victim by a malign agency or person. The mchinjamchinja is conceived of as a nocturnal creature, like the witch, who roams the countryside. During colonial rule in Tanzania, Europeans, especially European-trained medical personnel, were believed to be mchinjamchinja. Scientific medicine's concern with blood, stool, and urine specimens reinforced the populace's fears since these effluvia are considered powerful agencies of sorcery. At the time of my field study (1969-70) and for some time preceding it, there were no European medical personnel at the Magugu 28-bed hospital. Tanzanian dressers, dispensers, and nurses exclusively operated the installation. Nevertheless, the association of scientific medicine and mchinjamchinja persisted. The African hospital employees and other public health employees as well as judicial and governmental administrative officials are now considered to be mchinjamchinja who practice their evil craft in collusion. Europeans are now politically powerless, but usually they are economically well-off and still considered to be mchinjamchinja. I believe that this complex gives us some insight into a folk theory of causality of death and illness as well as a theory of politics and political authority.

Beings like the mchinjamchinja are certainly not unique to East Africa. They bear resemblance to the shamanistic complex. In European folklore, the Vampire comes to mind as a counterpart. Eliade has stated that this bloodsucker is really an alter ego of the shaman and the Vampire's ability to change himself into a bat or any other animal is a relict of the shaman's similar power (Eliade, 1964: ). This is the activation of the Master of Animals role, a persistent theme in shamanic lore (Labarre, 1972:137). A related manifestation of this power in the Magugu area is the capacity of witches to change themselves into animals, most notably hyenas.
It was surprisingly easy to acquire this information. One would surmise that it would be difficult to elicit data from the populace about such a sensitive area. That government employees are in league against the citizens is a serious accusation. Yet this knowledge was volunteered to me by a score of informants, Christian and Moslem, Mbugwe and settler, adult and child. I do not believe it improbable that the mchinjamchinja complex is believed in by representatives of the different religious and ethnic groups of Magugu.

Related to the mchinjamchinja is a category of evil spirits which are usually considered to be part of Islamic ideology. These are the mashetani (sing. shetani). According to the dictionary, these are evil spirits, but locally they are believed to be capricious, sometimes evil, sometimes beneficient. Among their malign characteristics is the power to possess or control an individual by entering his body. Possession brings on a wide range of physical and mental illness and can cause antisocial behavior such as fighting or drunkeness. When an individual is possessed, he must go or be taken to a specialist to have the shetani exorcised. The shetani belong to various tribes such as Arabs, Masai, Europeans, Indians or Mbugwe. When the victim is possessed, he begins to speak in the tongue of the "tribe" of the shetani without any foreknowledge of the language. The victim is also prone to behave like a member of the ethnic groups of the shetani. For example, if he is possessed by a Masai shetani, he will seize a spear and begin to jump up and down in the Masai dance movements.

A folk tale, collected from a young Christian man, indicates how a person can get control over the shetani and become an mganga wa mashetani. A man walking along the beach near Tanga at high noon was captured by a shetani who came out of the water and carried him off to the bottom of the sea. There he stayed for seven days. He was well treated, indeed he was lavishly entertained and instructed in the "medicine" of the shetani. After he was expert in this art, he was returned to the beach from where he was abducted. His relatives and friends rejoiced to see him again. From that day to the present, this person has been a formidable mganga wa mashetani.

Magugu is far from the ocean. The local shetani live in fig trees, sacred places in traditional lore as well as among the local Moslems. Information secured from children of the community hints at a syncretism of the shetani with the mchinjamchinja category. They see the shetani living in
trees and coming out at night to wander the deepest bush. If man should enter their territory, the shetani would jump upon him and make him go to sleep. Then they would put a spell upon him so that he would go to the bar and get drunk. The man would be able to kill people while he was drunk and under the influence of the shetani and alcohol. The shetani would bring the victim back to life and he would become a more evil man than the murderer. He would become an mohinjamohinja who would make nightly forages for his meal of blood. If the trees that the shetani inhabit were to be cut down, death would come to their occupants as well as their mohinjamohinja vassals.

The shetani exorcism ceremony can go on for days. An informant who had attended several of these ceremonies as well as an mganga wa shetani gave me descriptions which I have synthesized as follows. The ceremony begins at 6 pm and is usually attended by a crowd of neighbors and friends. The patient is covered with a white cloth while he sits on the ground. The mganga puts a burning stick of incense under the cloth. Then the victim begins to tremble and the mganga tells him that the shetani has entered his head. The mganga then begins to beat a drum and an empty kerosene tin. The possessed jumps up and spins around, still with the cloth covering his head. All others in attendance stand up and jump and sing, and clap their hands. This clapping and singing goes on until midnight or later. Apparently, when exhaustion overtakes all, they cease their activities and sleep on the dancing ground. The next morning the mganga seizes the patient by the ear and tells him to go away for a month. If he does not get relief, he should return after that time for further exorcism. It is possible that when the possessed starts to rise and spin around that the others present will be seized by shetani, either the exorcised shetani or its comrades in the neighborhood. At this time the friends and neighbors of the newly-possessed victim must negotiate with the mganga for the fee for driving out this newly ensconced spirit.

There is a morbid fascination with these events. People know that they are vulnerable to seizure by a shetani and yet there is always an audience. I participated in a shorter version of the ceremony, one that was carried on in two shifts in the morning and afternoon. There were always ten or fifteen people looking on as well as taking part in the drumming. Gray has described and analyzed this complex among the Segeju on the northern Tanzanian coast. His account differs from my own observations in several minor points, but there is notable divergence in that in Magugu there is no cult formed of women
who have undergone exorcism as far as I could determine. But among the Segeju as in Magugu, the shetani has a prominent place in the "native medical system and in the magico-religious life of the society" (Gray, 1969:171-187).

The waganga wa shetani are feared and respected in the community as are the other medicine men. There is a variety of these specialists. Some concentrate on alleviating antisocial situations which are usually regarded as manifestations of witchcraft. There are also rainmakers, diviners, people who compound magical medicines which protect crops from pests and thieves, mganga who insure the fertility and abundance of crops and those who do not admit to, but are widely suspected of, being black magicians or sorcerors. In Mbugwe contexts, these latter are believed to associate with each other at night and roam the bush astride hyenas.

Public Health and Secret Sorcery

The founding of Magugu was a public health strategy - to exterminate tsetse flies, clear brush to halt their further expansion from the south, and house refugees from a sleeping sickness outbreak area. We would surmise that members of such a community would be exceptionally receptive to scientific medicine. Yet when we examine the mchinjam-chinja complex, a sympathy for scientific medicine does not become apparent. Rather, what emerges is a fixing of scientific medicine and its practitioners into traditional native categories. Certainly, there is receptivity on the part of many people at certain times to the medicine practiced at the local hospital. However, often these same people are apprehensive that those who can cure can also kill.

Following are some data on the interdigitation of government and medicine. Actually the two areas, politics and health, overlap, since Tanzania is a socialist state and both traditional and scientific medicine is under the control of the national government.

(1) The Idara Ya Ndorobo or Tsetse Extermination department installed a camp at Magugu in 1967 to control both sleeping sickness and malaria. About a score of the employees of this bureau with their families reside in a camp about a half mile from the village of Kibaoni, the administrative and population center of the Magugu area. They are occupied with spraying the surrounding countryside
with especially virulent pesticides to eradicate tsetse flies and mosquitoes. Occasionally, cattle have died after grazing pasture which had been recently sprayed. The pesticide is closely guarded and, supposedly, none outside of the department are allowed to handle it.

(2) Another public health installation at Magugu is a station of the Tropical Pesticides Research Institute (TPRI). This comprises a laboratory and six experimental huts of different material where various insecticides are tested. The station was constructed in 1962 and is an institution of the East African Community. The six experimental huts are sprayed with different types and solutions of pesticides. The habits of mosquitoes and effectiveness of the sprays are tested. Observers note what hours mosquitoes enter and leave and in what part of the hut they alight. It is necessary for the huts to be baited with humans since apparently the mosquitoes will not enter empty huts in sufficient number for experimental purposes. Consequently, people are always sleeping in the huts. They sleep for a period of five days and are paid a shilling a night. People line up for the opportunity to get this easy money. A wage for sleeping is attractive in most parts of the world.

The permanent employees of the Idara Ya Ndorobo and the TPRI are believed by many to be mohinjamohinja. Under special suspicion is the assistant director of the TPRI, a pugnacious, argumentative maverick who makes waves with other bureaucrats as well as the local people. He and his colleagues are believed to traipse the bush at night, killing people, sucking their blood, and removing their brains and innards. These organs are then turned over to the hospital personnel who convert them into medicine. When I asked an informant why people continued to go to the hospital to be dosed with tainted medicine, he answered that one just had to take his changes. Besides, there is no other place to go! Sometimes you can be cured and sometimes you can be killed. Such a phenomenon exists all over Kenya and Tanzania, wherever he had travelled. This resident believed that a man would be helpless when seized by an mohijamohinja who would inject the victim with a needle to keep him from crying out. Then he would be killed and his organs removed.

The employees of the above-mentioned departments are, of course, relative strangers in the community. This alone does not explain their repugnancy. Magugu is a community of strangers. The average period of residence from a sample of
100 males was only 12 and a half years. Not only the TPRI and Idara Ya Ndorobo are suspect, but those who associate with them as well, even though they be outwardly respectable churchgoers or attendants at the mosque.

(3) An anthrax epidemic wiped out large portions of the local livestock in 1968. This occurred soon after the government forcibly transferred the Mbugwe from their traditional homes near Lake Manyara shore to a place several miles away. The anthrax was believed to be caused by the government intervention in the living patterns of the people. The Mbugwe reasoned that if they had been left alone in their homeland and not forced to move to an area where grazing and water were poor, their cattle would have survived. This removal was ostensibly another public strategy which would improve the lives of the Mbugwe by placing them in a habitat with less mosquitoes.

(4) In 1969, governmental medical personnel treated people for bilharzia which was endemic in the area. Those who did not take part in the treatment were put in jail, according to several informants. Reactions to the drug used in the treatment were often characterized by loss of appetite, weakness, dysentery, and deranged behavior in a few cases. This forced dosage to relieve a debilitating illness was not appreciated by all of the citizens, especially the Mbugwe who already bore rancor against the government for their removal.

(5) All waganga or native curers have to register with the government, and pay a license tax of 70 shillings since January of 1970. Consequently, the citizens see that the government has virtually monopolized all curing. The distinction between scientific and traditional curers blurs in the eyes of the inhabitants. The term mganga is used for both scientific and traditional medicine men. Hospital personnel are observed visiting native curers and vice versa. A common professional association is logically assumed by the populace.

(6) There are repeated allegations that the medical personnel at the hospital sell treatment and medicine which is supposed to be free of charge to all citizens. The local appreciation of this is that if one does not give a gift or payment to the dispenser, one will receive watered-down medicine. This is apparently a nation-wide problem and a long-standing one. Letters appear in the East African
Standard complaining about this in different parts of the country. A letter I came across in the National Archives dated June 23, 1959, dealt with a complaint of bribery at the Arusha hospital. Nevertheless, each morning people queue up at the hospital for treatment. From 150 to 300 people a day are treated, primarily for malaria and bilharzia. If the dispensers are believed to be *mohinjamochinja*, who are likely to use watered-down medicine when they do give a conventional treatment, why do so many people go there to seek relief? People take their chances on the possibility that they may be given good medicine and be cured or relieved of pain, although some time they may be given poison or medicine which put them in the control of the *mohinjamochinja*. Thus, there is an element of whimsy and caprice in the machinations of the nefarious. Evil is a certainty, but its specific application is an uncertainty. There is a minimal optimism in the face of a dubious and dangerous cure. The citizens do not usually complain to government officials because they understand that these same officials are in collusion with the hospital personnel.

Conclusions

I began this discussion with the derivation of the noun *mohinjamochinja* from the verb *kuchinja* which means to kill or slaughter animals for food. Just as people kill animals for food *mohinjamochinja* kill people so that they might eat them. There is a common metaphorical use of the very "to eat" (*kula*) in Swahili and in other Bantu languages in the area. One can "eat the wealth of the country" or one "eats other people" when one exploits them. So, "to eat" means to derive energy in the physiological sense and also in the sociological sense. For example, all of the bureaucratic personnel of Magugu are relatively overweight. The remainder of the population range from lean to scrawny. Bureaucrats get large salaries, have sedentary jobs, and can afford more beer and richer foods than the average African husbandman: factors which lead to paunchiness. This occupational dimorphism is not lost on the inhabitants. One informant pointed to a young administrative officer who had been in the community for a few years, and told me: "Look at how fat he is. When he first arrived here, he was skinny as the rest of us. (The young man had just begun his civil service career.) He got the way he is now by 'eating us'." This same informant was also firmly convinced of the *mohinjamochinja* complex. So as *kuchinja* means to kill for food *kuchinchinja*, the killing of the *mohinjamochinja* (if there is such a word) could be taken to mean to kill for power.
Witches, *shetani*, *mchini jamchinja*, politicians, traditional curers, and public health employees are all seen as being involved in a secret communications and interaction network. The populace can directly observe the public health and governmental personnel associating with each other and this reinforces their assessment of collusion. However, they associate with each other because they are in the process of forming a social class, a bureaucratic bourgeoisie, which is based on commonality of education, occupation, sophistication, and interaction. Jacobson has studied bureaucrats in Mbale, Uganda and, like those elites, the civil service personnel in Magugu are incorporated "in a non-tribal social network which, in turn, is based on a national economic-occupational system" (Jacobson, 1973:131). Traditional curers are not part of this bureaucratic elite in governmental view, but they are part of the structure in folk conception in that they also are possessors of arcane lore and powers, who do not often associate with the farmers in the community outside of professional, consultative interaction.

Sorcery and politics are equated in that they are conspiratorial and secret arts. When any citizen is queried about who comprise the highest social stratum of the community, the invariable answer is a listing of the above-mentioned statuses. Virchow had in mind the responsibility of government to assure the health of its constituents when he stated that politics is "nothing but medicine on a grand scale" (Lieban, 1973:1031). The people of Magugu reach a similar conclusion in that they see power and authority as being exceptional attributes of humans which must be acquired or reinforced through supernatural and extraordinary associations which cure or kill as does scientific medicine. As medicine men manipulate the supernatural, so do politicians, bureaucrats, and curers manipulate groups and individuals. People who have power over bodies of men have control over a man's body.
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SPIRIT POSSESSION:
A CASE STUDY FROM SRI LANKA

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DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The focus in this case study is Sita, a 19-year-old young adult, who is possessed by a spirit. Sita identified the spirit as "Mahaschona," the demon that frequents graveyards and cemeteries. The cure was an elaborate 32-hour exorcism ceremony that included drumming, chanting, and dancing.

A Brief Family and School Background

Sita's illness commenced six years ago with stomach cramps which were too severe to be ignored or treated by simple cures. Sita is the youngest child and the only girl in a family of four adult children. Her home was located in a small village. The predominant occupation in the village, including that of her father, was farming rice. Her involvements in school in addition to academic courses included participation in athletic events. Her academic performance showed graduation from high school and a continuation of school work towards higher education.

A Traumatic Experience

After two years of study, she took the national university entrance examination. She obtained simple passes which qualified her to enter the university where only the top twelve percent of those who qualify can really gain admission to the university. While attending school in preparation for this examination, Sita was taken ill several times with severe stomach cramps and chest pains for which she got Western medical treatment through the hospital. In a culture that values education students who take the national examination but fail to enter find it such a traumatic experience that some have even committed suicide. University education has the promise of mobility, self-
respect, a job with a reasonable earning capacity, and the connotation of an ultimate good life. Sita lost all these prospects when she could not enter the university.

A Point of Decision-Making

The alternative was to continue in school and try to enter the university once again as she had one more chance to gain admission. This was not possible due to the economic position of her family. She felt that they had sacrificed too much already to send her through twelve years of education. Her grades in school had been good, and therefore her family had encouraged her to continue her schooling. She suffered loss of self-esteem and self-worth—and a sense of shame that some of her friends did enter the university while she failed to do so.

The paralysis of her legs from the knees downward was a psychophysiological response (Schwab and Schwab, 1978:254). She literally asked for forgiveness on her knees from her family who had collectively contributed to buying books, clothes, and paid her school fees. She had strong expectations of high performance but was deeply disappointed at obtaining only passing grades. She was the first in her family to study up to the entrance to the university, and her family was very proud of her.

This was a point where she either had to resort to some kind of manual labor as employment or undergo training to obtain other skills. The daily respite with her school friends was now over, and she would be confined to the house like every young female adult, until she found gainful employment or got married. Marriage was furthest from her mind at this time as she wanted to find an educated and handsome young man, someone who could offer her a better standard of living.

In addition to coping with new problems that were bound to appear, she now had to deal with conflict, fear, and feelings of worthlessness. She also had to find new friends in the village and new sources of support for security. At this point, all these feelings brought intolerable tensions and an overall sense of unresolved problems. This was indeed a crisis point for her.

Analysis

Traditionally, psychologists have tended to view a client's current life situations through past experiences with an
emphasis on early childhood development. However, we can look upon individual and family problems not only in a maturational perspective but in terms of developmental stages. These are transitional stages which confront all people during the human life cycle.

It has been found that there are tasks in a person's developmental process and also in the social and physical environment at each stage of the life cycle. Erikson (1959:116-121) names these "intergenerational cogwheeling." People in the course of their lives have to learn roles that are unfamiliar and for which they are unprepared. In a village culture that is undergoing social and economic change, a young person may be the first to face a particular situation. In Sita's case, she is the youngest in the family and the only female. Two of her brothers are employed, and her sister-in-law works in a shirt factory. She is a young adult in a developmental phase with a maturational crisis. The passing grades she obtained in the University Qualifying Examination determines her ability to obtain entrance to the university system which qualifies only the top twelve percent of the student population that appears for this examination. For her "passes" she will receive a certificate but that does not qualify her to enter the university. Therefore, her only avenue of obtaining a bachelor's degree is closed to her.

With many students having these certificates and with no special vocational skills, Sita is now at a decision point. Is she to sit for the examination again? Is she to quit school and seek a job? Do her parents have the money to see her through another year of school and pay the fees to sit for the examination again? What is to happen to her in the future? Would she be forced to get married to someone from her village?

Some of her friends have qualified to enter the university; therefore, she has experienced a "loss of face" which she referred to in my interview with her. She has had to deal with some family problems such as her brother's unemployment amidst a soaring standard of living and inflation of thirty-two percent. Therefore, the reality of the failure at the examination did place additional strain on her.

She was on the threshold of assuming a new role which was that of staying at home and hunting for a job in the city, which was doubtful with high unemployment at that time. Later, she had registered herself in the Bureau for
Employment and stood in line many times hoping they had found a job for her. At this point, her capacity to assume an appropriate role may be very small. She decided to seek training as a typist but found that the funds her family had were inadequate for this. At this time, where she had to stay at home and periodically seek some sort of employment, Sita was facing a psychosocial crisis and a 'turning point' (Erikson, 1968:96).

Robert Weiss (1976:213-232) refers to this as a "transition state." He says, "Should the crisis end instead of change . . . the individual's emotional organization and his or her other relational arrangements must also undergo change. In addition to having to cope now with new problems, the individual must find different ways of dealing with dissapointment, tension, or fatigue and find new sources of support for security, for feelings of worth and for other components of well-being."

Sita has shown the psychophysiologic response of being unable to walk due to the stressful situation that she had to face at this crisis point. Her culture does not take kindly to people who are mentally ill. That would have been a negative affliction and would bring shame on a young girl who is 19 years old. Even her chances for marriage would be affected but this culture does not look down on being possessed by a spirit. For in this case the young woman is not to blame; the blame is on the spirit who has possessed her. Sita could show her hostility and even demonic aggressiveness as a symptom of the spirit possession without any overtones of mental affliction.

Based on Adolf Meyers' teaching that illness is associated with life events, successes, or failures in school or at work, etc., Holmes and Rahe (1975, 6:133-146) in 1967 developed the Social Readjustment Rating Scale (SRRS) to quantify stressful life events requiring some degree of adjustment. A clustering of events such as major life changes such as death, divorce, change of job, and so on that adds up to a score of 150 has the likelihood of illness to increase; 150-199, mild life crisis; and 200-299, predicts associated health changes.

Recently, Kohn (1976, 133:177-180) has emphasized the role of stress in etiology of schizophrenia. He cites a study conducted in San Juan which showed that schizophrenics who were in the low SES brackets and underwent deprivation, had experienced many more stresses than had the control group. He says that lower social class persons are genetically vulnerable, encounter numerous stressful events and circumstances, and have fewer inner and outer resources to cope with these tensions. Sita's family
liyed at subsistence level. Her choices of acceptable adaptive responses were few. Her physiological response for the release of tension manifested itself as a temporary paralysis of her legs until a simple exorcism ceremony was performed for her. This was performed a month ago, and her paralysis was cured, but she still suffered from severe stomach cramps. The family wanted a complete cure and held an advanced all-night exorcism ceremony to rid her of the spirit that was making her ill. The exorcism ceremony was an acceptable therapeutic practice in the culture.

**Culture's Therapeutic Influences**

Scientific attempts to understand relationships between culture and mental illness can be traced to the early decades of the 19th century when both psychiatry and anthropology emerged as disciplines. At the beginning of the 20th century, advances in psychiatry and significant achievements in anthropology led to a convergence of interests in ethnic psychosis and relationships among culture, personality, and mental illness.

Schwab and Schwab (1978, pp. 254-255) say that culture exerts preventive and therapeutic influences. Cathartic strategies such as festivals, holidays, vacations, and particularly in the United States, sports, are examples. Harvey Cox (1969) deplores the progressive decline of festival and fantasy in the modern world. He believes that the diminishing importance of festivals is leading cultures to a "cultural aridity" that may be linked with obsessionalism.

Scheff (1973, p. 88) refers to several examples of procedures that have led to the emotional release in social settings such as Greek tragedy during the classical era of democracy in Athens (Luca, 1968, p. 273). Performances were occasions for the expression of crying and wailing and therefore catharsis. He also refers to the Quakers, who considered shaking as a form that discharges fear, more recently seen in black churches in the United States.

The Chinese Communists used the theatre depicting the oppression of the old society that caused the audience to explore woe and weeping. An instance of a social form that meets individual needs in a social setting was the "speak bitterness" meetings where prostitutes in China were encouraged to rid themselves of shame and hostility by recounting their pasts and oppressions which resulted in catharsis.
The process of becoming cured can be compared to Wallace's concept of "mazeway resynthesis;" that is, a reorganizing of one's way of structuring the world due to intolerable anxiety and crisis. The culture can be either a hindrance or a support to mazeway resynthesis depending on whether the culture views the experience as undesirable and negative with shame, anxiety, and a feeling of alienation, or as positive and appropriate providing a culturally sanctioned channel for emotional release. In this case, the culture has indeed accepted the ceremony as a manner of healing (Ames, 1978, pp. 42-48).

Obeysekera (Scheff, 1975, pp. 135-151) reports an exorcism of a spirit in Sri Lanka where a woman, who was delusional, mute, and withdrawn, was cured through an exorcism ceremony. The exorcist questioned her adroitly and brought her conflicts into the open, resulting in an emotional release.

Trance State, Problem Resolution, and Catharsis

Although personal life crises may be painful, the effects of them need not be pathological. The resolution of crisis experiences (Forer, 1963, 13:275-281) can lead to a creative effort. It can lead to new inner convictions and insights and thoroughly benefit the individual.

During the trance state, whether the individual remained conscious or experienced amnesia, the person has had an opportunity to "act out" some of the frustration and conflict while some inner resolution takes place. For some individuals undergoing trance, there is memory upon awakening and for others, amnesia. Hilgard (1978) confirms that possession-trance and amnesia are not necessarily connected. His "neo-dissociation" theory says that possession represents a special type of dissociation where "amnesia is not essential." He also emphasizes that repression and dissociation are not inter-changeable terms. Yap (1960, pp. 114-137) indicated possession by a mythical personality may be psychotherapeutic in that it "can help the individual grasp a profoundly complex life situation as a first step towards further action and self-development."

Conclusion

A culturally-accepted therapeutic strategy known as the "thovile" exists in Sri Lanka and it is a combination of almost thirty years of dancing, drumming, and chanting and provides
elaborate ritual, festivity, fantasy, therapy and entertainment. The Thovile, or exorcism ceremony, also displays deep concern of the immediate family, friends, and community who attend in order to witness the cure.

In the exorcism ceremony, three stages are identifiable. The first stage of the exorcism is that of initial spirit-communication, where the exorcist opens himself to attack at the cemetery. There is a second stage of trance-suggestion-cure where there is a lengthy and elaborate ritual of chanting, drumming, and dancing. There is a third stage of recovery-resolution, and a sense of togetherness in entertainment where masked dancers in colorful costumes evoke laughter, mirth, and enjoyment. Sita made a personal effort, with a healing effort by the two exorcists and a supportive effort by the community, resulting in a synthesis of conflict resolution by Sita. After recovering from the trance, and having gone through the entertainment stage of the ceremony, Sita seemed to have gained composure. She looked extremely exhausted but not in pain. She could now see that her family, friends, relatives and neighbors accepted her, in spite of her failures.

I interviewed her a week later and inquired about her health. She said that she had not experienced the former symptoms of her illness. She also said that the exorcists brought her some medicine to be taken internally. This was a herbal medicine to be taken for a week at regular intervals. She discussed her future plans, her decision to seek work, her decision not to go back to school and her plans to seek training in pursuit of batik-making, which is a cottage industry. She had risen above her feelings of weakness and hopelessness and had resolved to look for the future possibilities for success and personal growth.
FOOTNOTES

1. For years, the term "psychosomatic" designated bodily conditions thought to be caused mainly by psychological forces and conflicts. But in the 1950s, the use of the term was limited to a few specific diseases such as asthma and peptic ulcer- "psychophysiological reaction" encompassed a large variety of somatic complaints where emotional and social factors were etiologically prominent. Currently, the terms are used interchangeably.

2. Since pity, especially in tragedy, is often pity for the dead or bereaved, it is also akin to the shared or public lamentation which is part of life in small and closely knit communities. There is a suggestion that the audience luxuriated in community sorrow, "surrendering itself" to lamentation and taking part in mourning along with actors and chorus.
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It was a hot afternoon in August, around 3 p.m. Our regular mid-day meal was on the table, which would then be followed by the traditional afternoon nap while the sun was at its hottest on the Athenian streets outside. I had just passed the olives when my dear, Christian father-in-law suddenly asked me, "If you don't believe in the 'evil eye', if you don't take precautions to ward it off - what do you do? How do you Americans live? I cannot understand this!"

This question out of the blue, really took me off guard, as did many practices I observed while I lived with my husband's Greek Orthodox family in Athens for eight months in 1976.

The purpose of this paper is to acquaint the reader with the above mentioned Greek practice which is still much believed in by Greeks today: the concept of the 'evil eye' or 'Vascano'. By the end of this paper the reader should have an understanding of what the evil eye is, how you get it, and what you do to get rid of it. It will also become apparent that it is indeed a very ancient tradition in Greece.

The term evil eye is not a term easily defined without first gaining a little understanding of Greece and Greeks. It is an ancient custom, a modern belief, a Greek idea and a religious practice and it is impossible to understand at first glance. At this point a very basic definition will be given for the evil eye from the Encyclopaedia of Superstitions: "The basic conception is that certain persons can bring misfortune or illness to human beings and animals, and destroy or damage inanimate objects, simply by looking at them. Hence, the term 'overlooked,' which often applied to those who were thought to have fallen under some enchantment" (Hole, 1961:155). This is a very incomplete definition, particularly in certain aspects of the "Greek" evil eye, but it is enough to let us begin. As one follows through this
paper noting the various cases and cures one should be quite well informed on the subject by the close. And it really is only by observing the cases that one can get the true concept as the Greeks see it.

Along with a number of books on the subject, interviews were held with a number of people from different parts of Greece. It should be noted that by far the more information was gained from older people who had raised children in the traditional Greek setting; it is one thing to hear an old tale from your grandmother and quite another to actually live the tale.

Before one can really understand the many ancient religious customs still practiced in Greece, of which the evil eye is only one among many, one must realize it is not only ancient religious customs these people carry on - it is an ancient life style in the full sense of the word in many areas. But it must be also stated that radio, TV, and easy travel are now making more changes in a few years than had previously been made in generations.

Travelling through Greece, one is amazed at the contrasts. Athens, a city of nearly 3 million people is modern in most aspects. Everyone downtown, who is anyone, is wearing the latest Paris fashions. Yet, everywhere you turn you are also hit by the contradictions - the ancient customs still there alongside the new; the old women in mourning black from head to toe, possibly for fifty years, the man in the business suit going to work on his bicycle, the fruit and vegetable market in the center of the street.

The villages are very beautiful, so picturesque that you can truly wonder if they are really there. They have a certain dreamlike quality. Yet, they really do exist, for a while, anyway.

Greece's geography is very mountainous and rough in most areas. Transportation, although easier than before, is still very difficult and some villages, even today, can not be reached in a wheeled vehicle.

Today, most of the villages have radio, some even a television or two, and a good number have a bus through town every few days. Monastirakion, like a good many of the small villages, has only one place in the entire village where the bus could turn around. Most of the mountain villages and some of the larger towns have streets which a car or bus -
or even a jeep can not travel. Some streets may be four feet wide paths with steps the entire length.

Life has always been difficult in Greece. The land does not give itself freely and anything which is received is only through hard labor, attested to by the stooped backs and wrinkled brows of the villagers. Thus, all the young who get even half a chance to get out and get to Athens do so, or to Germany, or America or to almost anywhere outside the village. For while a village is a fantastic place to visit (with lots of foreign money) it is a most difficult place to live. There are no real conveniences as we know them.

This is one reason Athens has grown so tremendously these last fifty years. It is also why, when you visit a village there are so many old folks and so few young ones. Thus, unless something happens to change things quickly, these villages will become ghost towns. Although the Greek government has been trying to figure out a way to encourage people to remain in their villages, they have thus far been unsuccessful.

This continuous exodus of villagers to Athens and other areas is also a large part of the reason that in Athens you can hear any number of old folktales and see all kinds of village beliefs and practices. It is, at the same time, the reason many of the practices and folktales are close to becoming lost.

The twentieth century has been a time of accelerated change in all the world and Greece is no exception. The great mobility has led to much moving about and loss of lifestyles which had previously continued in the same way, in the same place, generation after generation for hundreds and hundreds of years.

The older generations were not put under the same pressure to change as are the Greek youth today. For the old, things are that way, they have always been that way and that is just the way things are.

The priests did not encourage change in their villages. They held complete control over the lives of the villagers. As Frank Fotopoulos said "If the priests were angry with you all they had to do was excommunicate you or refuse to baptize your baby." Straight to hell in either case. You did not upset the priest! These people are strong in their Orthodox faith and to be unbaptized is the worst thing that could happen to you. The priests controlled all aspects of religion.
Today this has changed somewhat, particularly with the younger people. Nevertheless, the church has helped retain many of the ancient practices of Greece that would possibly have been lost otherwise. The evil eye is a good example, for if it had been merely a superstition of the area, first - the church would have tried to root it out, second - as the people move from the area and leave behind many of their old customs, they do not leave behind the Church and their faith. And since the evil eye is incorporated into the Greek Orthodox Church, with a special prayer to exorcise it, it is just as strong in Athens as in the rural village. Even in America, a good many Greeks believe in the evil eye, including the priests.

At this point, it is hoped the reader has a better idea of the Greek people and their environment than previously, and therefore realize that the evil eye is real to these people and must be dealt with. And it is dealt with. It is dealt with in a multitude of ways, as we shall see in the following exorcisms.

As mentioned earlier, the Greek Orthodox Church has a prayer to exorcise the evil eye from people who have been "overlooked." Below is a translation by Father Nicholas Dufault. This prayer is taken from a Greek religious book, The Efhologion.

O Lord, our God, King of the ages, Who holds all creation and is all powerful, Who made all things and wrought all things by a single command; Who changed the seven-fold furnace and flame in Babylon into a cool rain and Who protected the three holy children unharmed; the physician and healer of our souls; a bulwark of all those who believe in You; we pray to You and we beseech You, remove and cast away every diabolical energy, every satanic assault and every attack, every harmful and wicked curiosity and the evil eye of the wicked and sinful persons from your servant ___name___; and whatsoever has happened, either by beauty, or by courage or prosperity of jealousy or envy or by the evil eye, do You, O loving Master, stretch forth Your strong hand and Your mighty arm, and visit this, Your creation, and send to him an angel of peace, a strong guardian of soul and body, who will cast out and drive away every evil will and every poison and the evil eye of the envious and evil people; so that Your servant,
who is guarded by You, may sing with praises; "the Lord is my help and I will not fear what man may do to me;" and again, "I shall not fear evil, for You are with me; for You are the Lord, my strength, the Prince of peace, and the Father of the age to come." Yea, O Lord, our God, save Your servant from every evil thing keeping him above all evil; by the intercessions of Your all-holy and glorious Lady, Theotokos and all-virgin Mary, of the Archangels of light, and of all Your Saints. Amen.

Although the Church has this prayer and the priests are sometimes called on to exorcise the evil eye, it is by far the most common to go to an old woman in the village or town who is well known for her power over the evil eye. In Crete you would often go to an old man.

I interviewed a very sweet lady from a village around Thessaloniki. Her name is Vassilliki. She came to the United States with her family in 1978. She has two grown children and a wealth of information on customs and beliefs. Below is her number one choice cure for the evil eye.

They take a plate and fill it with water. Then they pray the following prayer three times as they make the sign of the cross on the overlooked person:

"Jesus Christ is conquering and he scatters all evil. He scatters all evil to the mountains and to the highest mountains."

Following the prayer, the old lady drops some holy oil in the plate of water and observes it. The prayer and the crossing is performed three more followed by another drop of oil in the water. This is the final time.*

Each time the oil is dropped into the water it is observed. If it remains a drop you don't have a bad eye, but if it dissolves into the water it reflects the evil eye being dissolved.

* It is interesting to note that in this cure for the evil eye, as well as those following, the ancient Greek idea of the good number 3 and the best number 9 (3x3) is carried throughout. The person is generally always crossed and prayed over three times, and then three more times until in the end he has been prayed over and crossed 9 times.
While in Greece, I myself, saw this particular method used by my sister-in-law. The only difference being that instead of a plate of water, she used a cup of water.

My husband and I had been in Greece only a short time when we had a nephew born. Before the allotted 40 days were up we went to the house to see the baby. At this time I was totally unaware of the customs and beliefs of the Greek people. And I really must have worried them to death. Naturally, I wanted to make a good impression and the baby was really very beautiful. So I made a fuss over what a beautiful child he was. Of course, the baby proceeded to not act so well. So they performed the above described ritual and yes, he had been overlooked, and they got rid of the evil eye. They performed this cure on the baby on three different occasions when I was present.

Although it sounds like they thought I was terrible, this is not necessarily the case. Our term "evil eye" is really rather misleading, for the Greek term is not really translated evil eye, but the "bad eye." They don't really connect that much EVIL to it as our term implies, particularly the common people. To the Greeks the bad eye is to be expected, it is a part of life so to speak. Anyone can give the evil eye quite unintentionally. Thus, whenever you compliment someone or something you always spit three times (like we knock on wood.) This will prevent you from giving the person a bad eye. When I say spit, I mean they say "phtou, phtou, phtou," in imitation of spitting. However, some of the old villagers actually spit. And I had two people tell me they were actually spit on by older folks when they were young. But this is no longer the rule.

Although it is understood anyone can give a bad eye quite unintentionally, some people tend to give it much worse than others. According to Father Nicholas Dufault, unbaptized people (hence, unorthodox foreigners) tend to give it badly* as do people with black eyes, or those whose eyebrows meet. Blue eyes generally do not tend to give it so much. Other sources state that cross eyes or any type of unusual eyes are to guarded against (Hill, 1968).

One man was said to have had an extremely evil glance especially first thing in the morning. Every morning he would get up and immediately go look out at the fruit tree in his front yard. He did this to save his friends and neighbors this terrible glance. Of course, the fruit tree died eventually (Hole, 1961).

*It can now be clearly seen that my sister-in-law had reason to worry for her baby; a foreigner, unbaptized and making compliments to the child without spitting. They would have been in mortal fear had they known that my grandfather and great grandfather both had unusual right eyes.
Two people whom I interviewed told me stories concerning people who tended to give the evil eye. These people who claim to have the power of the evil eye are usually women, as are those who generally have the power to exorcise it. Father Dufault said that people who are able to exorcise the evil eye live to be very old.

The first case was told to me by Mr. Frank Fotopoulos. He spent the first 16 years of his life in Monastirakion, a village in the middle of the Peloponnese. When he returned home in 1972 after 44 years in the United States he was met by his sister. She told him to look at a certain house ahead of them. Then she told him that a woman would come to the window. The woman claimed to have an evil eye and the people in the area all knew this was the case. The sister told her brother that if this woman would compliment him it would be very bad. Well, the lady came to her window and called to the man's sister, "You have a very nice brother from the United States." As soon as they arrived home, the sister ran to the garden in the back yard and took a piece of a plant and immediately stuck it in her brother's coat pocket. Mr. Fotopoulos said it smelled worse than a skunk; he didn't know the name of the plant but it was wild garlic. Father Dufault said he has seen wild garlic used in the same manner by people. Anyway, the brother was forced to carry this in his pocket all the while he visited and he still had it in his pocket when he arrived back in the United States. It worked - he made it home. It might be noted that his pocket stunk for several months even after washing.

In another case, there was a wake held in Boston. The deceased man's son arrived with his wife and six month old daughter from New York. While at the wake, an old lady kept looking at the pretty little baby. She probably complimented the child also. The baby, almost immediately, went comatose; wouldn't eat or anything. The next day the lady who had looked at the baby called and asked how the baby was, she said she had a tendency to give the evil eye and she was concerned about the child. So the grandmother took some of the baby's clothing to a very old lady there in Boston who was well known for her power to exorcise the evil eye. My informant did not know what the old lady did but before the grandmother had even arrived back home the baby was fine. (This baby is now Father Dufault's wife.)

As mentioned earlier however, anyone can give the evil eye. Vassiliki also told me the following account of her
little sister's fatal case of the evil eye. Vassilliki had a very beautiful little sister. This sister had beautiful blonde hair which was very uncommon for the area. When the girl was three or four years old her Godmother visited. She asked the parents to send the little girl to her house the next evening because she was having out of town guests and she wanted them to meet her Goddaughter. So they dressed the child up in her very best and sent her to her Godmother's house. The evening went well, the guests just could not stop complimenting on how beautiful the child was, especially her lovely hair (probably foreigners). The child came home cranky and generally did not act well. She began shivering and within 24 hours she had died. They had not even time to try any of the bad eye remedies. She was gone so fast they had not even realized it was that serious. Now, as they look back on the events of the day it is obvious it was the evil eye.

Vassilliki also told me of a neighbor lady in Thessaloniki who went completely crazy. She had a little two year old daughter at the time, which was 1943. This child was the only person that the lady would let near her. She chased everyone else away with a board. She was then placed in a mental institution for a year. Her family finally decided to take her to the church and have the priest exorcise her with the prayer related earlier. She was kept at the church for 40 days for this. It took five men to pull her loose from the bed she clung to and to remove her bodily to the church. Afterward, she came home a perfect wife and had another child. She was gentle as a lamb and when Vassilliki left Greece in 1978, the lady was fine.

Father Dufault says the evil eye can be of different intensities, as these different cases would also seem to indicate. He also said that this last case could have been an actual possession by the devil, which the evil eye, in extreme cases, can lead to. (This is extremely rare.)

The above case was the only one related to me in which the priest performed an official exorcism. Most exorcisms of the evil eye in Greece are performed by old women or men in the village or town.

My husband related this story as often told him by his grandmother. His grandmother's father was a ranger officer in the country mounted police, and as such he had a very fine and beautiful horse. His job was to ride from village to village
to see that all was in order. He was stationed in Karditsa, somewhere between Athens and Thessaloniki. One day, while he was at a village about an hour's ride from Karditsa, he received a number of compliments on his horse. Many of the villagers were standing there admiring his fine horse when he came out to mount up and go. He had hardly arrived home in Karditsa when the horse laid down and died.

There are many different stories one can hear about the evil eye. People are not the only ones who get the evil eye. As we have seen animals also are susceptible. Most Greeks can tell you many cases of each type and they believe these. I even know a pediatrician, recently graduated in Athens, who absolutely believes in this idea.

Now that we have an idea what it is we are dealing with we will check out a few more cures. But, before one can really understand the evil eye cures or exorcisms I am about to relate, it would be good to explain where the practicers get their cure ingredients: holy water, holy oil, holy flowers and holy salt.

During the many religious days of the Easter festivities there is a re-enactment of Jesus' crucifixion, burial and resurrection. On what they call Big Thursday, Jesus is crucified on the cross, he is left over night on the cross in the church. That night people leave little containers of salt or oil or flowers near the cross which they pick up Friday morning when Christ is taken off the cross. (This is the only time all year that the cross and Christ are accessible to the people, the rest of the year being kept in the holy area of the church where only the priests may go).

That is where the people get their holy salt, oil and flowers for their various needs throughout the coming year. They receive holy water from the priests several days after Jesus' death (representing the day when Christ appeared to his disciples after the resurrection). On this day the priests give out holy water.

The people keep all these holy things at home in the econostasio (icon stand) in the east corner of their home, along with the couple's wedding crowns, and the holy lamp (wick in oil) which burns at all times. The oil from the holy lamp may also be used as holy oil. The themiato is also kept there in the econostasio along with a picture of Jesus, Mary, and possibly the saint special to the family.
HOLY SALT CURE

You take salt in your thumb and first two fingers (your first 3 fingers) of your right hand and as you pray make the sign of the cross of the overlooked person three times.

Then the overlooked person is given the salt. He tastes some, throws some in the water and some in the fire as he says:
"As the salt is dissolved in the water and explodes in the fire. That is how the evil eye will go away from me."

The entire ritual above is performed three different times - total crossing, 9.

HOLY FLOWERS AND HOLY WATER CURE

You make the sign of the cross on the overlooked person in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit three times.

Then you take one of the holy flowers and dip it into the holy water and sprinkle the person three times and make the cross three times as you say a prayer.

HOLY FLOWERS AS INCENSE CURE

You put some charcoal in the themiato and burn some of the holy flowers. You smoke the person and pray three times as you cross them and the evil eye will go.

(The themiato, mentioned above, is a little bronze incense burner with a hood topped with a cross. Little pieces of charcoal are put in this and then the incense or the holy flower.)

SPITTAL CURE

Older ladies would rub your forehead (sometimes with spit). They would say a prayer and spit three times.
Most practitioners will not tell you the prayer they use and they mumble so you cannot understand. This is their prayer and it won't work if they tell it to others. If the old parent is dying he or she will tell the prayer to one of their children. Usually, one member in the family knows the prayer at a time.

In my husband's mother's family, Auntie Tassia is the official one to rid other family members of the evil eye when stricken. She came quite often to rid me of the evil eye (which I had mistaken for colds.)

AUNTI TASSIA'S CURE

She would hold the overlooked person's hand and mumble the prayer as she looked down Then she crosses the overlooked person three times and spits three times Then she stops to see if she yawns She repeats this entire process two more times. Finally crossing the overlooked person and praying nine times.

If she is yawning this is a sign that she has exorcised the evil eye and if she is not yawning, there was no evil eye in the first place.

Father Dufault reported the following story to me. Ten years ago he had his three year old daughter overlooked by some Jewish visitors. She was a very pretty child. Almost immediately she became unlike her usual self and slept hours on end. Finally, he performed the prayer and he said he yawned for over an hour.

Yawning is the usual indication that the evil eye has been exorcised. The person who performed the exorcism will often yawn. However, the overlooked person will often sneeze and this is the evil leaving him.

Spitting is a part of many evil eye cures and a good prevention in all of Greece. "Spitting as a counter charm is a folklore practice of universal distribution." (Halliday, 1963).

Concerning the sneezing, Mr. Fotopolos of Monastrikion, recalled the following account. His younger sister had become very ill, she had fever and was very anemic. Finally,
the grandmother said to take her to the lady in the shack on the outskirts of town - a witch. The boy was very surprised because although he had been running errands and delivering mail for sometime he never knew this lady existed. Anyway, the lady mumbled something and put her fingers in some water and threw it in the face of his sister. She immediately sneezed and was pronounced well. And she was.

I might mention that this man is now a Baptist minister and does not believe in the evil eye, yet he has to admit that is exactly the way it happened.

A lady from a village on the island of Crete, Theodora, explained what her grandfather used to do to untie the evil eye. My husband's grandfather also came from Crete, although from a different village. Upon hearing this description, my husband remembered his grandfather doing the very same thing. So the following cure was the only one I found performed by old men. I do not know if women also used this cure.

**TO UNTIE THE EVIL EYE #1**

He would take a string and measure from the tip of his fingers to his elbow.
He would cut the string at that point.
Then he would tie a knot in the string.
Holding the string in his right hand he would recite a prayer and cross the overlooked person three times.
As in previous cures the prayer and crossing were repeated two more times, totalling nine.
Then he would untie the evil eye.
If the string was shorter upon measuring, that meant it had been an evil eye.
The victim must then wear the string for several days around his neck.

Upon hearing this cure, Vassilliki recalled a cure her family often utilized when she was a very small girl. It must be remembered that in those days everyone had handkerchiefs. If you got an evil eye, you gave your handkerchief to a certain old lady who would then perform an exorcism.

**TO UNTIE THE EVIL EYE #2**

The old woman would tie a knot in the corner of the overlooked person's handkerchief as she mumbled a prayer.
She would proceed to measure the length of the handkerchief (by palm measure which was common at the time).
She would spit three times.
She would do this measuring, mumbling and spitting three times each.
Then she would return the hanky and the person with the evil eye problem would untie the knot above their head so the evil could fly away.

This cure could be performed without the old lady ever seeing the overlooked person, just so long as she had the person's handkerchief. Vassilliki, as a young girl, was often sent to this old lady with a handkerchief of her mother's or aunt's.

Now that we are aware of a number of cures for the evil eye in modern Greece, it is quite interesting to read the song of Alphesiboeus in Virgil's eighth Eclogue.

The shepherdess tries to bring back her lover, Daphnis, by performing elaborate rites, accompanied by an incantation. In these magic rites, lustral water, sacred boughs, and frankincense are used. The homoeopathic element appears when the enchantress winds about the image of Daphnis three threads of different hues, in each of which is a knot, thus, as she binds the image of Daphnis, she hopes to bind Daphnis three threads of different hues, in each of which was a knot; thus, as she binds the image of Daphnis, she hopes to bind Daphnis himself to his sweetheart, with the aid of an incantation, 'Lead Daphnis from the city, my charms, lead Daphnis home', repeated nine times during the rites. The enchantress employs two images of Daphnis, one of clay, representing him in his attitude toward other girls, toward whom he will harden as the clay hardens; the other, of wax, which melts and causes Daphnis to melt with love for his sweetheart. 'As this clay hardens and this wax melts with one and the same fire,' she sings, 'so may Daphnis melt with my love.' In these rites, some personal affects which Daphnis has left behind are hidden by the witch in the earth under the threshold. (Burriss, 1972).

Note the similarities to some of the evil eye cures related earlier: the number three, reciting the chant nine times, knots, lustral water - holy water, sacred boughs -
holy flowers, frankincense - holy oil, "As this clay hardens and this wax melts with one and the same fire, so may Daphnis melt with my love" - "As the salt dissolves in the water and explodes in the fire, so may the evil eye go from me," and the use of the personal belongings - handkerchieves or the baby's clothing.

Most of these evil eye cures are full of ancient ideas of superstition and magic and are often a form of sympathetic magic, containing both contagious and homoeopathic aspects.

According to Nilsson, "In ancient Greece the difference between religion and superstition was a difference of degree rather than kind," and that "There were also merely popular superstitions, but even these were not sharply distinguishable from certain religious ideas." (Nilsson, 1981). This was not a problem confined only to ancient Greece. For Nilsson’s statements could also be made in Greece today. Even here, in Wichita, Father DuFault has trouble explaining to some of the older ladies in the church that certain practices they still carry on in the name of the church have absolutely nothing to do with the church. But you cannot convince them otherwise because "my mother did it that way, my mother's mother did it that way and it was always done that way!"

This concludes the different methods of evil eye cures and types of exorcisms which I was able to uncover in my interviews and my studies. However, to be sure, there are a vast number more and any number of combinations and elaborations on the one outlined here.

Although there are many different methods of cure, there are common themes throughout - beauty and prosperity creating jealousy and evil will. This is also made very plain in the Greek Orthodox Prayer related earlier in the paper which the Church uses to combat the evil eye.

Beautiful babies and children are always seen as especially susceptible and you can usually find charms against the evil eye attached to their pillow or clothing. This is much the same as in early Rome and Greece where young children usually were also protected from evil with amulets. "The mother, in anxiety for her child's safety, usually fastened an amulet or charm of some kind around its neck to keep away unfriendly spirits" (McClees, 1924).

According to the Oxford Classical Dictionary, "Amulets are charms or objects worn for magical use, to protect the wearer against witchcraft, the evil eye, sickness, accidents, etc. The efficacy of the amulet might be enhanced by engraved
figure (deities) of symbols . . . , inscriptions (magical) formulas, unknown magic words, etc.) are here often added, but such inscriptions were also thought effective by themselves."

In Greece today, the most common charms for the evil eye are various blue eye symbols, the cross, and the felato. The felato is a copy of the Church's prayer for the evil eye which is folded in a triangle again and again (note the three corners) until very small, then it is sewn into a cloth with a cross embroidered on it. My husband made the long trip to America in 1969 with a very old and worn felato pinned inside his coat by a very worried grandmother.

In ancient Greece, "Artemis and other divinities were invoked to protect the child, and special precautions were taken against the 'evil eye' and malignant spirits which might bewitch and harm it (Gulick, 1902). Birth and new babies are surrounded by superstitions in nearly all early societies. But it seems a likely assumption that in this Greek setting, babies could also be especially susceptible due to the fact that they are always beautiful. (What mother's baby is not beautiful and what mother is not proud?) And healthy children are the very symbol of prosperity and good fortune. Beauty, prosperity, good fortune - the very bringers of the evil eye.

In the ancient times, as today, they had methods of exorcism. "Persius describes how the old wives who are skilled in averting the 'burning eye' spit on their middle finger and rub saliva upon the infant's forehead" (Halliday, 1963), reminding one of the almost exact practice still carried on in parts of Greece today.

This Greek idea that extreme prosperity and good fortune bring on the "evil eye" or misfortune is a very ancient one dating as far back as Homer. These two concepts are defined as hybris and nemesis. "Hybris is haughtiness in word and deed, presumptuous conduct; nemesis is the ill will or indignation (of the Gods or others) which such conduct arouses (Nilsson, 1969).

Although I had never heard the word hybris and nemesis, I witnessed these concepts every day I lived in Greece. To give you one small example: If a Greek woman is getting dressed just perfect to go out for the evening and at the last minute she runs her stocking, invariably, the Greek with
her will say, "Never mind, that's for the evil eye" - meaning it would not be good to be perfect anyway, you would get an evil eye, - misfortune would befall you.

This reminds one of the story of old Cresus and his tremendous luck. This same story is a popular history which reflects the attitudes of the people of the ancient times. In folktale it is known as The Rings of Polycrates. It runs as follows (greatly shortened):

"Because Polycrates conquers and prospers, he takes the advice of his friend, the Egyptian king Amatis, to rid himself of a prized possession, and casts into the sea his most precious ring, that other (including the gods) will not envy him. But a fisherman gives a fat fish to Polycrates as a gift and in its belly is found the ring. Amatis then sorrowfully severs his friendship with the too lucky Polycrates, who meets a horrible death of crucifixion." (Megas, xxxi)

The first time I heard this ancient story it immediately reminded me of today's Greeks always saying, "That's OK, it's for the evil eye." It's not good to be perfect; excessive admiration of a person or his goods invites danger.

Another example of the timeless quality of the evil eye be seen in the sixth Idyll of Theocritus.

"The love-sick Polyphenus, after looking at his reflection in the sea, persuades himself that he is not so hideous after all, nay, positively good looking. "Then to shun the evil eye did I spit thrice, in my breast; for this spell was taught me by the crone, Cottytaras, that piped of yore to the reapers in Hippocoon's field." (Megas, xxxi)

Halliday, 1963:35). It becomes apparent from interviews and observations of modern Greeks and from studies of ancient Greek literature and history that the evil eye is, and was a common concept to both groups. Greeks throughout time have been painfully aware of the "evil eye." It was something that was a part of life and it had to be dealt with. The ancient Greeks, much like the Greeks today, had their cures for the evil eye, some of these rituals being identical throughout all ages. So, although the names of the Gods have changed, the basic idea is still very much alive in modern Greece as it has been throughout most of its history.
PERSONS INTERVIEWED

Vassilliki - An older lady, around 50 years old, born and raised near Solonika. She was born shortly after her parents arrived from Asia Minor during the great population exchange between Greece and Turkey in the 1920's.
She married and raised two children. Seven years after the marriage, the family moved to Athens and then in 1980 the family finally moved to Wichita, Kansas to be with their son. She now lives in Wichita with her husband and a grown son and daughter.

Frank Fotopoulos - He was born and raised in the village of Monastirakion, in the middle of the Peloponnese. He left Greece at the age of 16 years in 1928. He is now a Baptist preacher here in Wichita. He was very helpful to me in my research.

Father Nicholas Dufault - He is the priest for the Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church in Wichita, Kansas. He was previously from New England. He translated the Church's prayer against the evil eye for me. He also related several incidents he had witnessed or been told. He also was very helpful.

Theodora - A thirty year old woman born and raised in Crete. Five years ago she married an American who was there teaching agricultural studies. She now lives on a farm near Newton, Kansas with her husband and two young children.

Varvarigos Raftopoulos - My husband also related a number of incidents to me. He was born and raised in Athens, where he was the constant companion to his grandmother and grandfather. Here he was told many stories and trained in the old traditional ways.
He was a great help to me in providing information and especially in helping translate some of the material. He has been in the United States since 1969.

*Of course, I used some of my own experiences of 1976 when my husband and I lived in Greece for 8 months, as well as my experiences among Greek Americans these last eleven years.
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In Hungary the peasantry as a social category has been brought to an end by a well identifiable process: the collectivization of agriculture. In brief, collectivization means, that traditional farms hitherto controlled and worked by individual families are brought together into larger units of production to be worked and managed by the body of members, who partake in the revenues in proportion to their input of labour and land. Since 1960, concluding a process extending over ten years, the proportion of independent peasant farms in Hungary has become insignificant.

In socialist Eastern Europe, typically, government programmes have aimed to restructure and control far larger social and economic domains than it has been the case in Western Europe, where political programmes related to agriculture, for example, have been much less ambitious and more piecemeal (Franklin, 1969). In Eastern European countries, particularly those that went ahead with collectivization, it has been a question not only of change but of guided, planned and, many would argue, imposed change. The questions which arise with greatest urgency are, undoubtedly, in connection with the effects of political programmes and economic strategies, on the social contexts of production. The economic and social function of the former peasant families have undergone fundamental changes as a consequence of collectivization, the analysis of which is by no means finished; in fact it is only gathering momentum in Hungary since the 1970s. Assessment of social variables associated with the outcome of specific political and economic programmes demands special attention. Even in a country where collectivization has been only partial, for example Yugoslavia, it has been shown to what significant extent the social context of production may hamper or restrict the outcome of economic and political programmes (Barie, 1978). The question is of equal relevance to Hungary.

In the course of the collectivization campaign in Hungary, the options open to the peasantry were very limited or at least heavily channeled toward specific directions. Options were open, however, as regards the engagement of family labour in
various sectors of production such as, for example, non-agricultural employment in industry or collectivized agriculture. The terms of engagement of the former peasants in the various sectors - both agricultural and non-agricultural - is a crucial question. As it will be argued in this study, the form this engagement takes, had, and continues to have, significant consequences on the development of the different sectors themselves, which may coincide with or diverge from, the aims of central economic planning at various points. For example, since the 1950s, there has been a vast influx of manpower from agriculture into industry, allowing the completion of its planned growth. On the other hand, the emergence of a new and resilient sector of private production, alongside collectivized agriculture, was quite unforeseen and unbidden. The unplanned development of the plot farming sector is inseparable from collectivization itself.

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In Hungary, the model followed in the course of collectivization was the Soviet model or, more precisely, the collective system of agriculture as it was by the 1950s in the Soviet Union. However, in Hungary collectivization took place with significant variations from the stricter Soviet model; for example, simpler and more varied types of collectives were tolerated than has been the case in Russia (Erdel, 1979:250).

Collectives in Hungary were envisaged as organizations integrated in their village of base. Terminology reflected this aim; throughout the 1950s and 1960s the "collective community" (termeloszovetkezeti koszosz) was a standard term (Erdel, 1952; Markus, 1967). Identification of collective and village followed from the assumed relationship between the peasant family and the collective. Socialist policy makers reckoned that peasant families rather than individual members would be the constituent units of the collective membership. Collectivization policies did not originally envisage or aim at the dissociation of the process of production from the rural family. The proclaimed aims were not only to draw individual farms into common units of production but also to draw rural families into a collectivity based on common interests and commitment. This was not specific to Hungary; policies in relation to the peasantry were relatively homogenious throughout Eastern Europe in the late 1940s and early 1950s, in order ' . . . to create and maintain the monolithic unity of socialism . . .' (Hegedus, 1977:90). In Yugoslavia the collectives were briefly hoped to 'revive the zadruga spirit (Baric 1978:274) and in
the Soviet Union the collective farm was envisaged as '... not merely a unit of production but an elementary social cell ...' (Yanov quo. in Osipov, 1972).

Collectivization in Hungary has developed otherwise through a dynamic of its own, the analysis of which falls outside the scope of this paper. The element of this development that relates to our theme, is the commitment of family manpower to work within the collective and outside it. The initial economic problems of the collectives and their inability to ensure the livelihood of their members made it necessary to allow members to retain small plots of land in private cultivation. The plots (standard size: 0.57 ha.) could be of very high quality land nonetheless; for example, in vine-growing regions the majority are scattered on the hillsides where the best vineyards are, but mechanical cultivation favoured by the collectives was not practicable.

Official justification for the plots were the following: 1) to enable members of the collective to produce food for their own consumption so that the collective could concentrate on commodity production; 2) to ease transition from individual farming to collective farming; 3) to exploit existing facilities of peasant farming which could not be usefully employed in collective farming 4) supplement income of members and thus check wholesale abandonment of agriculture; 5) that assets specific to each sector could complement one another to mutual benefit (Fazeka, 1976:155).

These justifications imply the temporary character of plot farming within the socialist agricultural system and were formulated under the assumption that when collective farming has been firmly established, plot farming will wither of its own accord.

Since 1959 however, plot farming as assumed a far greater role than had been ideologically designed for it. Although the plots occupy only 15% of the country's agricultural land, they provide more than one third of the national agricultural output; in 1978, 26.3% of crops and 45.8% of livestock have been produced on the plots (Varga, 1980).

Although in Hungary collectivization contributed significantly to the modernization of agriculture as a whole and promoted steady economic growth overall, it has failed to supply enough agricultural product either to cover the needs of the market nationally or the members themselves. During
the 1950s this was attributed to the lack of machinery and large-scale farming technology, insufficient production capital, the half-hearted attitudes of members or, often, to sabotage.

Since then, particularly from the mid-1960s, significant progress has been made and the collectives have greatly improved their production, strengthened their organization and accumulated capital, without however, being able to cover the country's total requirement of agricultural products, which have themselves risen together with higher standards of living. The need for the production of plots is as vital today as it had been in the 1950s, and it is likely to remain the case in the foreseeable future.

Plot farming developed towards intensive commodity production relatively quickly, competing with collectives at first by tying down manpower and interest and, later, by competing on the market, although plots produce products for which the collectives are less well adapted (such as fruits, vegetables, livestock) or cannot produce in large enough volume.

I propose to examine forms plot farming takes, through the example of one Transdanubian village, Pecsely, although the versatility of plot farming cannot be made fully apparent by the example of any one village. In Pecsely, the diversity of possibilities is obscured by the predominance of vine-growing, a branch particularly suited for plot farming, which precluded the need to innovate and diversify, as it has been the case in some other regions (Kuczi and Kovacs, 1982). For example, stock raising which is a preferred production branch in plots, is relatively underrepresented in Pecsely, but, from the point of view of the social variables associated with plot farming, the limitations arising out of regionally specific constraints are less essential, although they have to be borne in mind.

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In spite of their territorial insignificance - covering less than 10% of the local agricultural land - plot farms in Pecsely are of considerable relevance to the villagers; the plots provide large revenues, tie down significant manpower and occupy a central position in the villagers affective interest in a way the collective does not.

In Hungary there are altogether about 1.6 million plots, and more than five million people, that is half the population,
lives in households engaged in plot farming (Varga, 1980). In this national context therefore it is hardly surprising that in a village which offers attractive plot farming production possibilities, the majority of villagers are involved. Household plots are commonly derived from membership in the collective but there are in addition so called "complimentary plots" which are not connected to collective membership and can be bought, leased or inherited. Nationwide, more than half of all plots are of this kind. Since 1967, members of collectives are entitled to a plot on an individual basis, not as families, regardless of the number of family members in the collective, as it was the case before. This reform acknowledges the economic significance of plots as well as the fact that the units in the collective membership are not families, but individuals.

In Pecsely, a village of 191 households only 31 do not have plots of any description; these are commonly households of elderly people, too weak or ill for physical labour, though they are not necessarily the oldest villagers, for there is a fair number of villagers, both men and women, well into their 70s or 80s who still control and work a plot.

Immediately after mass collectivization in 1960, the tendency was the maximal incorporation of land into collective farming but by 1970 it had become apparent that not all land could be usefully fitted into the large-scale farming programme; the cultivation of marginal land was therefore abandoned. In order to restore these to use, many being valuable hillside stretches - a system of long leases was instituted on very advantageous terms. Thus in practice there is no shortage of land for plot farming, on the contrary, it is still rather the amount of wasted vineyards that constitute a problem.

The plots are valuable because a standard size plot vineyard may net considerable revenue, often as much as the average yearly wage from the collective. Many families work two or three times the standard size. Production costs are kept low in spite of commercial sprays and fertilizers, because the plot farmers have all the equipment they need and the family supplies the bulk of the labour. In 1979, for example, the highest income in Pecsely was in the region of 100 thousand forints, which is almost three times as much as the average yearly pay in the local collective. But variations between households and over consecutive years are great. Exact figures for incomes derived from the plots are hard to come by, as people are not forthcoming with precise amounts, but the estimate of informants, that on average
incomes from plots amount to about half of the family's total income is consistent with national averages (Enyedi, 1979:79).

There appears to be a close correlation between overall family assets and the scale of plot farming in which they are engaged. The wealthiest families, judged by their housing standards and assets such as a car, are those that have the largest and best plots in addition to employment of one or more members in the collective or industry.

Plot farming in Hungary today is not a continuation of traditional farming; it is not 'the same, only smaller'. The structure, function and meaning of plot farming is new, even though certain features of traditional peasant farming have been perpetuated in it, such as for example, the use of family labour and local networks of reciprocal help.

Versatility in form and function are important new features of plot farming; plots may be innovative or traditional, market-oriented or for household consumption and may be specialized to a greater or lesser extent. The purpose plots fulfil influences considerably their form - plots which serve mainly to satisfy the elderly parents emotional attachment to traditional farming are quite different from plots established with specific material goals in view.

Engagement in plot farming falls into distinct types, even in Pecsely, where specialization in vine growing is predominant. The older, former middle and small peasants typically produce for the market but remain within the traditional framework of techniques and branches of production for which they both have the means, equipment and local network of reciprocal help. They re-invest a certain production capital year after year but investments in modernization of farming are limited to the purchase of small mechanical implements or the conversion of vineyards to the widely spaced rows, i.e., the "cordoned" system, which allows less labour intensive cultivation. Although attentive to market demands this type of plot farmer avoids branches of production which are perhaps more profitable but are less prestigious in terms of traditional evaluation, such as for example, pig fattening. The profits of plot farming are generally destined to some pre-set purpose - house renovation, building or the purchase of a car. The independence allowed by plot farming and emotional attachment to the land play major roles and material gains are often secondary. They
maintain habits of very low personal consumption, and the main beneficiaries of the profits of their plot farming are their children. Few plot farmers of this type make exact calculations in terms of investment-return; a vague sense of "it's worth it" is more typical, which determines how much physical labour they are ready to devote to the plot. For many, the main benefits of plot farming are in the farming itself.

The formerly landless are likely to find less satisfaction in farming; they do not aspire the reputation of "good farmer" and the purpose of their plot farming is beyond farming itself. They convert the material benefits of plot farming into general improvements of their lifestyle - mainly by creating homes better equipped with modern comforts.

The younger age group of plot farmers, now in their 30s or 40s, are often skilled workers and engage in plot farming more out of calculated choice, carefully assessing how its profits compare with earnings from other sources and adjusting the plot's production to the market. The younger plot farmers in Pecsely all have some other employment, but a job often chosen in function of the requirements of plot farming; one that allows flexible work hours or allows access to facilities that can be put to use on the plot, too. These young men are more likely to innovate, to engage in new types of production branches which do not have a local tradition or are not prestigious in terms of traditional evaluation, such as pig-fattening or sheep farming. They are more interested in modern techniques and devices - automatic pig-feeding devices, for example - than the older farmers. For them plot farming is a means toward a goal - to achieve an ideal modern lifestyle - and as such engagement in plot farming is claimed to be temporary until these goals are reached. How temporary or otherwise their engagement in plot farming really proves to be remains to be seen.

The level of plot farming in which a family is engaged may be associated with several factors, such as for example, former status. The former landowner families had a better starting point in spite of the leveling effects due to the removal of most of the land from private control through collectivization. The former independent small farmers had better houses, more equipment, winecellars, livestock and, more importantly, the lifelong attachment and habit of farming for themselves. Vineyards became crucial assets in
plot farming; the former landowners found it less difficult to focus their attention and ability to that sector, than the former landless who had formerly not owned vineyards. Better equipped and better housed, the former landowners also lacked the pressing need to invest in the acquisition of these. Within the collectives themselves, the former landowners proved to be in better position to secure for themselves the better paid positions, as team drivers or branch managers, for example. Indeed the former landowning families have, in Pecsely, seized their initial advantage and remained among the most prosperous in the village.

Nevertheless one also finds a good proportion of formerly landless families who have made excellent material progress and control, today, lucrative plots.

Besides the starting point of families - their former status - it was of great significance at what point in its domestic cycle a family was in the 1960s. The greatest advantage could be reaped from the dual arrangement of plot farming and collective membership after that time, in the improved economic climate of the 1960s and 1970s. Hence, the families where the household head and his wife were at the time in their 40s had a distinct advantage; in the prime of their strength yet experienced in farming. With the help of their teen-age children they could adapt to new conditions, store up enough working years in the collective to qualify for good pensions and accumulate enough funds to set up their children independently. Less advantaged were the villagers who at that time were older, that is about 50 or 60, whose children had left the village to settle elsewhere and who consequently had little help with plot farming, could not accumulate enough working years to qualify for adequate pension and did not have energy or incentive to exploit plot farming fully.

The ready market for wine and the tradition to produce wine for the market has made it relatively easy for the villagers of Pecsely to change over from traditional farming to commodity production. A crucial aspect is how family labour is allocated and put to use on the plots.

In Pecsely, those working an average of 8 to 10 hours in the collective or non-agricultural employment, work, in addition about 2 hours on the plots. The plots mobilize significant after hours work and the daily, weekly and yearly work schedule of the villagers has been re-structured to accommodate full exploitation of the plots. Sunday and other
holidays have become working days almost entirely devoted to the plots. Likewise, the paid yearly holidays are not used for the purpose for which they have been designed, that is, taking proper rest, but are taken piecemeal, as the plots demand, not only to work them but also for example, for errands which arise in connection with the plots, such as the purchase of implements.

Plots are rarely individual affairs and involve family groups of variable composition, not necessarily only those living in the same household. Women and elderly parents play a major part in plot farming. The plots can be worked on a flexible work schedule which can be fitted in with the household chores and its pace may be adapted to the declining strength of the elderly.

Labour division in plot farming conforms in some ways to the traditional labour division on the pre-collectivization farms. There is commonly one main worker, acting as the 'chef d'enterprise'; he or she keeps watch over the plot and is the main worker and decision-maker. Around every individual in charge of a plot, there is a ring of helpers of various description. The degree and scope of such help varies considerably, ranging from regular daily help to once-yearly participation in the vintage. Members who help regularly are recruited mainly from among the immediate family — wife, parents, and children. A number of sons and daughters retain this link with the parental household even though they no longer live in the village. Those that do still live in the village in a separate household are likely to have their own plot, in which case they help one another on a reciprocal basis as the need arises. It is common for an elderly parent to be in charge of a compounded family plot while the rest of the family — either living in Pecsel or away from it — come to help with the larger tasks. More distant relatives may give occasional help, but never on a regular basis; strict reciprocity is in order. Married brothers or sisters do not as a rule work a plot jointly as the immediate family does. In addition, friends, neighbours, fellow villagers, and hired labour may be recruited occasionally. Basically then, plot farming engages three kinds of labour: 1) the main person responsible who is principal decision-maker; 2) a first ring of helpers from the immediate family who also benefit from the income from the plot; 3) a second ring of helpers who may have a plot of their own, do not benefit from the income of the plot in which they help out but either receive reciprocal help or are paid on a daily basis. A network of reciprocal help on the plots is dense.
and is an important ground for interaction between the villagers, following the pattern of traditional contacts through the families of the village.

Ownership rights over the plots do not necessarily determine the way in which they are worked and managed. Plots derived from collective membership of a son or daughter, may be principally worked by an old but energetic parent or a son may work the plot of his enfeebled father. The income from the plots is often turned toward the building of a house or the purchase of a car within the close family circle, regardless of who actually does most of the work on the plot or whose membership in the collective makes the plot available. The older parent typically, retains very modest, traditional consumer habits and is more prepared to take upon himself demanding physical labour. The main beneficiaries of his efforts may be his children or grandchildren whose more costly urban-style living is financed from the revenues of the plot.

The limitations of plot farming are set by the availability of family manpower rather than land. Family labour is by its nature limited, vulnerable to loss of members through moving away, sickness or death. Hiring labour is expensive in the long run and its availability is limited. Fully expanded exploitation of plot farming may have to be drastically reduced if even one family member opts out. It is particularly vulnerable to the loss of the older, main worker in charge and such loss invariably leads to the rethinking of the extent of plot farming by the family.

Families place high value on the eventual rise of one or other member in the social order and education leading to non-agricultural occupation are paramount aspirations. The family members' engagement in various economic sectors is recentralized through the upward striving aspiration of the family and plot-farming is the sector in which the family is engaged at a unit. The problem facing many families is the setting up of the young independently, complete with all amenities considered desirable. In the present circumstances of chronic house shortage and the high costs of housing, plot farming offers essential means towards this goal.

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At it has been seen, it is characteristic to plot farming that its units of common interest are small, based on family household and local networks. In a system such as the
Hungarian, where centralized control over socio-economic processes has been the paramount aim the status of plot farming is ambiguous, comparable to the situation appropriately formulated by E. R. Wold (1968:2):

... the formal network of economic and political power exists alongside, and intermingled with various other kinds of informal structures which are interstitial, supplementary and parallel to it... (because)

... the formal table of organization is elegant indeed but fails to work unless informal mechanisms are found in direct contravention.

The controversial position of the plot farming system follows from two main features: first, it is based on private, small interest groups as opposed to the socialized sectors and, secondly, it is a sector through which the equalizing distribution of incomes of the socialized sectors are modified. But, after almost two decades of official quasi-oblivion, a new trend is taking shape since the 1970s, aiming at the integration of plot farming to the collective system and plots are often represented as part of the collectives. For example, F. Donath (1977) argues that since members may renounce their share of plot land and receive compensation in cash instead, plots are nothing but "a part of the members pay in kind." He thus stretches the concept of collective farming to include the plots as well, in an attempt to play down the differences inherent in each. This seems laboured, stretching the meaning of payment in kind rather far, for, in fact, plots are no more than an opportunity for members to work after hours; it also ignores that more than half of the plots countrywide do not arise from collective membership at all. Such interpretation does not alter the fact that it is a question of two types of relations of production which are fundamentally different: large-scale industrialized production on the one hand and small-scale private enterprises on the other.

However, from the technical point of view undoubtedly there is reason to view the two sectors as complementary. For the plots to be able to focus on specialized labour-intensive branches of production it is essential, for example, that the production of grain and fodder be carried out by mechanized means in the collective. On the basis of this, J. Tepicht (1973:15-45) has proposed that the sectoral
integration of peasant production previously achieved at the family level, is now organized on a national scale, through the complementary relationship between the collectives and small plots. But it remains useful to distinguish the technical, from the socio-economic aspect of plot farming; the former allows, indeed requires integration, while the latter does not.

It would appear that the present tendency to view the plots as merely branches of collective farming serves to justify their existence and support. Significant new development in this direction has taken place in Hungary since the economic reforms of 1968 (see F. Donath, 1977) and, mainly since 1980, with more supportive stand in relation to plot farming or rather what it represents in terms of individual enterprise and small-scale, self managed interest groups. The reforms of 1980 and of January 1982 allow unprecedented scope for individual enterprises and associations, both within agriculture and outside it, through several types of concessions and incentives. For example, they extend the fields in which private enterprise may be engaged; secondly, a number of new forms of small enterprises and associations, such as small cooperatives, service groups and business communities are legalized; lastly, new forms of cooperation between state-enterprises, collectives and individuals are made possible. These alternatives are inventive and novel and widen the scope of individual and family enterprise well beyond the domain of plot farming.

From the initial suppressive stand in relation to plot farming throughout the 1950s, trend has been toward increasing acceptance of the integration of plot farming into what Wolf has called "the formal table of organization" (E.R. Wolf, 1968:2). It is probably not unjustified to view this as, albeit belated response, to the way in which families related to the collectives, engaged family manpower in various sectors, restructured labour-division and work schedule, to include, and indeed create, a new sector of production for themselves.
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SHIR MOHAMMAD KERBALI:
A TRADER IN THE VILLAGE MARKETS OF MAZANDARAN

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ABSTRACT

The article is a brief sketch of some of the activities of a trader, Shir Mohammad Kerbali, in the weekly market cycle in the province of Mazandaran in northern Iran. The markets are all near the city of Babol located in the central part of the province. Some attempt is made to provide historical depth to the trader's activities in order to show the nature of the role of the small trader; namely, that his activities are based upon long experience, that there is a stated reluctance to change while at the same time evidence of the unique ability to adapt to outside influences. The role of the petty trader as "pawn" or victim is also explored and questioned.
SHIR MOHAMMAD KERBALI:
A TRADER IN THE VILLAGE MARKETS OF MAZANDARAN

The bazaar marketing system (cf. Thompson and Huies, 1968) is one which has long been established in Iran and one which has shown little inclination to change (cf. Thompson, 1981). While traders exhibit a variety of methods and entrepreneurial skills in maintaining themselves and their families, those working within the system have little leeway to introduce change or to otherwise influence that system. In many respects they seem to be pawns. However, within the restrictions that must be endured, the role of the petty trader who is able to not only manipulate the system at times but to continually provide a service to a low-income clientele can be neither underestimated nor undervalued.

Accounts of the activities of the traders and merchants in the Middle East and elsewhere (Meillassouz, 1972; Bohannon and Dalton, 1965, et al) focusing upon traders and bazaar merchants usually give us a general picture of activities such as credit and social networks (Geertz, 1963; Potter, 1955, et al), and types of traders including entrepreneurs, petty traders, and itinerant pedlars (Dewey, 1962; Fogg, 1932, et al), among others. The types vary from those who are quite wealthy to those who make only a minimum subsistence living. And concomitantly, from those who have significant social and political power to those on the fringes of the bazaar economic system who have no access to the sources of power at all. As a group, bazaar merchants who are organized into guilds or other fraternal groups can wield considerable power both economically and politically. Petty traders and itinerant pedlars on the fringe of the bazaar marketing system, on the other hand, tend to be more individualistic and lack the economic and political clout which would align them with other merchants. The position of petty trader is oft times a two-edged sword. Although the traders lack access to the sources of power, economic and political, they feel they have a freedom of action which is denied their more permanently located brethren. Moreover, while some professions suffer setbacks during political crises, trading, especially on the part of small entrepreneurs, often escapes the more severe consequences.

In this paper, rather than generalize about the role of the petty trader (which I have done elsewhere (Thompson, 1981), I intend to offer an intimate account of one petty trader's activities in the markets of Mazandaran. By following trading
ventures over a period of years, we can observe how an entrepreneur on the fringes of the market system adapts to changing circumstances. In addition, we can perhaps understand that while outside observers might consider him a "victim" of that system because he lacks access to the centers of economic and political power, he himself considers his freedom from control by that same system an advantage that he is very unwilling to relinquish.

A PETTY TRADER IN THE RURAL MARKETING SYSTEM

Weekly markets in the rural areas near the city of Babol, Mazandaran (see Map) probably began sometime during the 19th century (Rabino, 1928). Initially, these markets served as places where urban-based traders could buy village handcrafts and other products in exchange for retail merchandise and/or foodstuffs which they brought from the urban bazars. Today, cash is the basis of exchange in these weekly markets and the products handled by traders are almost exclusively retail items from Tehran. Only a few traders have continued to buy and sell locally-made handcrafts in the various weekly markets. Shir Mohammed Afghani, more commonly known simply as Kerbali², was one of the latter.

Although the traders claim that their numbers have been greatly reduced in recent years, some of them at least, have continued to make a reasonably good living. Shir Mohammad Afghani began his activities in the rural marketing system sometime during the 1940s³. He began as a teenager by hauling merchants to the weekly markets by bicycle when his father had a bicycle repair shop in Babol. During the late 1940s, Kerbali slowly entered the marketing system as a trader himself by buying various items in Babol such as clothing, raisins, sugar, salt, and the like which he would take to one of the weekly village markets. He would exchange these items for village-produced crafts, primarily the village-woven cloths called Chador Shab and Shabad⁴. He sold the village-produced items in other weekly markets and, occasionally, in Babol.

In the late 1950s, Kerbali gradually stopped exchanging urban products for the village materials and began paying cash to the villagers. As a result of a rising cash income during the 1960s, villagers began to buy more ready-made materials and the number of women weaving cloth gradually decreased. However, a demand for the hand woven materials persisted in the village markets and in order to ensure a supply of village-woven cloth, Kerbali increased his efforts
to make ties with many village weavers. He did this by supplying some weavers with raw materials (e.g., cotton, linen, silk, or jute thread) and paying them a wage for their work. He ensured supply from weavers who had their own materials by advancing them small amounts of cash. At the same time, he added some factory woven cloth pieces to his inventory.

In addition to village handcrafts, the villagers in the Babol hinterland were also known for silk production. Before World War II, most of the silk production was used for local weaving but later silk producers began to sell the raw silk to urban-based buyers. Kerbali began buying raw silk which he, in turn, sold to buyers from Kashan in central Iran where silk is used in carpet weaving. He worked to ensure a supply of raw silk by providing producers with silk worms and mulberry leaves. Kerbali divided the income from the sale of the raw silk equally with those producers whom he supplied.


Kerbali's trading activities in the weekly markets did not change considerably during the 1960s. He continued traveling to the various markets in the company of the other traders; however, they now shared buses or taxis rather than traveling on foot or by bicycle. In addition to the village woven cloth, he began to sell material which is woven in the textile factories in Yazd; hand towels, machine-made cotton prayer rugs from Turkey, village-woven silk headscarves from Azarbijan and woolen caps, neckscarves, gloves, and cummerbunds from mountain villages which he obtained from another trader. He also carried rough cloth bath mitts, and some trinkets - silver rings and other inexpensive jewelry. He continued to buy and sell raw silk.

Kerbali bought almost all his chador shabs and shabads from women in the Getap and Halidasht area (see Map). Since he had been buying cloths in this area for over 25 years, he had established good lines of supply. He went to Getap at least once a month to buy cloths, and, women coming to Babol often brought clothes to him there. If he contracted with a woman for cloth, he provided the raw materials and paid her a wage determined by the quality of the cloth he wanted to be woven and his own estimation of the woman's weaving ability. The wage for average weaving was 10 rials per meter but could go as high as 20-25 rials for good quality material. The raw materials for a seven-meter length of white cloth
(about 13 inches wide) cost about 200 rials for linen (less for cotton and synthetics). The seven meters of cloth made two shabads which he then sold for 140-200 rials each.

Women who had their own raw materials sold their cloths to Kerbali by the finished piece - there was no accounting for the number of meters. The price was determined by the quality of the weaving. Kerbali said that he knew weavers so well that he could estimate the quality of a piece before he even saw it. The women themselves were very aware of their own abilities and knew how much they could expect for their labor. Women would also weave for a specific amount of money. That is, if a weaver needed 300 rials she would offer a piece of cloth that she felt would bring that amount. If she needed more, then she would choose a higher quality piece. If Kerbali was unwilling to meet her estimation of what a particular piece was worth, the weaver would not sell it. There are other buyers of village cloth and the women felt under no obligation to sell only to Kerbali.

At times, Kerbali gave cash advances against work in progress to some of the better weavers. While the advance did place the weaver under some obligation to provide cloths to Kerbali, the price of each individual chador shab or shabad was reckoned in the usual manner. The weaver was under no obligation to accept a lower price for a piece she felt was of high quality, and Kerbali was under no obligation to accept every piece that the weaver offered.

This is not to imply that all transactions with weavers were straightforward; haggling and bargaining over price did take place with each party trying to maximize her or his own position. At each buying session in the villages, the weavers brought their cloths to the house where Kerbali was staying. The women examined one another's work for quality and design and discussed prices other women had received - both from Kerbali and from other buyers. Kerbali examined each weaver's estimates of the resale value of the cloths. The whole process could take several hours with some weavers finally agreeing to a price while others took their cloths home with them. The buying sessions were an example of group consensus; the women acted in unison to restrain too high a price demand on the part of fellow weavers and too low price offer on the part of Kerbali.

The factory-made cloth that Kerbali carried was from the textile mills of Yazd (central Iran). The cloth is usually
of cotton and has a large plaid design somewhat similar to the traditional design of the village chador shabs. There are, however, two differences: first, the village material is woven on narrow looms producing a length of material approximately 13 inches wide and several meters long while the factory material is much wider. The village chador shabs require about five 3 meter pieces to make one whole cloth while the factory type requires only two pieces for the same size chador shab. Kerbali bought 30 to 50 meter bolts of the factory cloth, cut it to size and hemmed the cut edges. Factory woven linens were bought already sized and usually one-half meter long and one meter wide. Kerbali paid about 130 rials for the linen cloth and between 100 to 200 rials per meter for the cotton chador shab material.

Hand towels were carried by Kerbali more as a "convenience" item than a profit-making one. The towels cost him about 30 rials. He bought them anywhere he found them at a low price and sold them for a 50 or 10 rial mark-up. He said that "people always need hand towels and maybe they'll buy something else as well."

Machine-made cotton prayer rugs were added to his inventory after Kerbali had taken a tour of several Middle Eastern countries, including Turkey (see footnote 2). He bought some of the rugs there and then later discovered that the same items were available in the Tehran bazaar. The rugs usually have a picture of the religious sites in Saudi Arabia as the design and are used by the villagers more for wall hangings and decorations than as prayer rugs. He sold the rugs for 270-480 rials each at about a 20% mark-up. Pairs of prayer rugs were sold for between 420 and 700 rials.

Silk headscarves were once woven in Mazandaran but the practice has generally died out. However, some women still prefer to use them and Kerbali bought the scarves, which are from Azarbaijan, in the Tehran bazaar. The scarf material, either in black or orange, is about 30 inches square and cost Kerbali about 300-400 rials each. His mark-up was 8-12%.

The villagers in the Caspian lowlands of Mazandaran use only cotton, linen, jute, silk, or more recently, synthetic fibers ("American silk") in weaving. Similar kinds of weaving only of wool, are found in the mountain village areas. In order to have some of the woolen material but especially to have caps, neck scarves, cummerbunds, and socks and mittens
of knitted wool, Kerbali had an exchange relationship with a trader who buys the woolen goods in the mountain areas. In exchange for the woolen items, Kerbali gave the other trader chador shabs and shabads from the villages in the Babol area. Although cash values were put on the items exchanged, very little, if any cash exchanged hands.

Small pieces of rough woolen material are sewn into bath mitts by village women. These mitts are used for scrubbing the body during the weekly visit to the hamman (bathhouse). Kerbali paid about 15 rials for the bath mitts and sold them for 20-25 rials. Sometimes he provided their material to women who did the sewing but usually sewers provided their own materials.

Collecting pieces of old silver jewelry and trinkets was something of a hobby for Kerbali. "I buy them from villages who know I have an interest", he explained. Kerbali did not display the small pieces of jewelry and would bring them out for inspection only if someone asked him to. He sold the jewelry and silver pieces to buyers in Babol and Ghaemshahr (formerly Shahi) who wanted them primarily for their content. Kerbali said, "I have some things which I got 20 to 30 years ago when they were very common. Nowadays, these things are not so common and I keep them for that reason. Occasionally, I have something that is a little valuable but most of the things are broken or not of good quality so their only value lies in their scarcity."

When Kerbali began buying raw silk (about 20 years ago), he either bought from producers or he provided silk worm eggs and/or mulberry leaves to producers. He and the producer split the income equally from the sale of the raw silk. In 1972, Kerbali continued to buy raw silk but he did not operate on a shared income basis. Instead, he bought silkworm eggs which he sold to producers at a small profit. Kerbali felt that he had the right of first refusal for the production of those villagers who had bought eggs from him. In 1974, Kerbali was paying about 300 rials for 100 grams of raw silk. When he accumulated 25-30 kilograms of raw silk, he sold it to a buyer from Kashan at about a 21% profit.

ATTENDANCE AT MARKETS

In 1971-1974, Kerbali went to five markets each week: Kiakola, Halidasht, Ghaemshahr, Banamir, and Juibar (see Map). On the two days he did not go to market, Kerbali went to
the Getap area to buy cloth and/or raw silk. Kerbali rated
the markets of Juibar and Banamir as excellent, Halidasht and
Kiakola as good, and Ghaemshahr as fair. He varied the amount
and kinds of merchandise he carried to each market according
to his estimate of what he could sell there (see Exhibit One
for an estimate of goods carried to each market). Kerbali sur-
mised that the markets of Juibar and Banamir had an average
of 1,000 villagers visiting and purchasing; Halidasht and
Kiakola averaged about one-half that. The urban market of
Ghaemshahr undoubtedly had the highest attendance but the
permanent shops there provided keen competition to traders
such as Kerbali and his sales were lower in the Ghaemshahr
bazaar than at the strictly rural markets. With the exception
of Kiakola, the other weekly markets have no permanent shops
and the market place is deserted except on the market day.
Kiakola has one paved street with about 20 shops but these are,
as yet, no serious threat to the traders in the weekly market.
The town of Juibar does have about 50 shops but the weekly
market site is about two kilometers outside the town and there
is no real competition on market day from the permanent shops.
In fact, some of the shopkeepers in Juibar go out to the
weekly market site on market day.

In 1974 Kerbali felt that his activities as a trader in
the weekly markets were profitable. He estimated that on
very good days he grossed as much as 10,000 rials (1974, 70
rials = U.S $1.00); however, his average net profit was much
lower, probably nearer 600-1000 rials per day on the five
market days.

Buying and selling in the rural areas is, however, a time
consuming job and Kerbali sometimes talked of the possibility
of opening a small shop in Babol. To do so would require a
great deal of cash. For example, a location outside the bazaar
area would have required about 300,000 rials for a 20 square
meter building, land, and key - or goodwill - money, and guild
licenses and membership (cf Thompson 1981). A smaller shop
and land in the bazaar area would have cost between 50,000
and 100,000 rials. The key money could run as much as 1,000,000
rials in capital goods investment. In contrast, Kerbali
rationalized, "With a capital of about 50,000-60,000 rials, I
can make as good a living selling in the rural markets as I
can with a shop in Babol."

In addition to the costs of opening a shop, Kerbali felt
that a great deal of risk would be involved. "If I open a
shop, I will have to add to or change the kinds of things I
sell. Of course, I would probably sell cloth because it is
something I know, but a person has to be very careful in choosing what he is going to sell. I would have to add the new cloth very slowly while I was learning who the best suppliers are, establishing credit, and building up a clientele. The village women would still come to me to sell their cloth but I wouldn't have as many customers buying the village material."

Despite the risks involved, Kerbali still occasionally talked about the possibilities of opening a shop. "I have a wife and three children to consider and I'm thinking about buying a 600,000 rial house. By selling in the weekly markets, I am able to make a good enough living for now; however, the weekly markets might become less important. Two markets nearby which used to be good have more-or-less closed and my sons will probably never want to sell in the weekly markets the way I do. I have to think of some other options and opening a shop is, of course, one of them." He continued, "I could, of course, try to become more of a middleman for things like raw silk or other village products. This would require a lot of money — at least 1,000,000 rials, and would be risky. I like my present work because I have a lot of freedom and I don't want to get into anything that would take that away. My business is very good now and, God willing, I won't have to change.

THE SITUATION IN 1978

In 1974, many of the traders in the circulating markets felt that their years were numbered and that theirs was a slowly dying profession. However, in 1978 the markets were not only still thriving, they had grown and the traders who had looked forward to a bleak future felt that "business had never been better." Double digit inflation throughout the country for several years had made village products competitive again and, at least temporarily, had put more expendable income in the hands of villagers. While they continued to do a major portion of their buying in the urban bazaars of Ghaemshahr and Babol, villagers retained their ties with the merchants who had for years come to the villages to serve them.

Kerbali indicated that not only had his business increased, he had dropped all plans to open a shop in Babol and had gone ahead with the purchase of a house instead. He had also acquired a small mo-ped in 1977 which freed him
from total dependence upon public transportation to and from the village markets. The only change in the market routine was the weekly trip to Ghaemshahr. He had never felt that bazaar very profitable and had decided that he no longer need go there. This allowed him an extra day to go to the Getap and Halidasht areas to buy village cloth. The weavers in those two areas had continued producing and he still had close ties with many women in those villages. Prices had increased to keep abreast of inflation but the hand woven items were still in demand and the prices were still competitive with the factory-made cloths from Yazd.

Although the markets were crowded and the traders all agreed that they were making more money than ever, it was difficult to tell if new traders were joining their ranks. While some men had entered the market, at least temporarily, to take advantage of the surge in business, there was no way to assess what the long-term effects might be. Itinerant traders who traveled through the villages (but not necessarily attending the weekly village markets) also indicated that their business had been improving. However, the five or six men that were interviewed were elderly and had been itinerant traders all their lives; no young men seemed to be taking up the trade. Handcrafts, especially pottery and hand-woven cloths, seemed to remain an important aspect of the itinerant traders' products for sale.

Kerbali had maintained his ties with the trader from the mountain villages and was still serving as a middleman between the silk growers and the rug weavers from Kashan. Between 1971 and 1978 the only significant changes in his routine were the purchase of the moped and abandonment of the Ghaemshahr market (probably due as much to local harrassment of weekly traders by city officials as to the lack of business); otherwise, he practiced his trade much the same. Accounts were still largely carried in his head and slack time during the marketing day was spent going over the number of items sold and how much he had gotten for each one. He was continually counting the number of different items he had brought to the market and memorizing which pieces he had sold. When he reached home in the late afternoon or early evening, he would again go over his mental records. Although Kerbali had a modicum of literacy and did make certain types of entries in a small notebook he carried, very little of his financial transactions were ever recorded. He occasionally made cryptic notes concerning which weavers had received materials or money but these too were usually carried in his head. Oral contracts were generally made in the presence of several people and each person's word was considered to be binding in any case.
In October, 1978, Kerbali died. His eighteen year old son was, at least for a while, taking his father's place in the markets. He indicated that he wanted to clear out the inventory but was doubtful about whether or not he would continue selling in the markets because he wanted to finish high school. At that time, all school in the country were closed because of political unrest so he was able to take advantage of the unexpected holiday to conduct his father's business. The son may, like many other traders before him, be forced to continue in a role which is not really of his own choosing. He has become the head of a household and the role of trader (not totally unfamiliar to him) may prove to be the only avenue open during a period of political unrest and economic instability. As Kerbali's son, he has access to the broad network of suppliers developed by his father, and if he persists, other traders will offer encouragement and support.

CONCLUSIONS

As a small trader, Kerbali was fairly representative of that genre, at least in northern Iran. Personal observations in Tehran, Mashad, Shiraz, and data from elsewhere in Iran (Thorpe, 1974, et al), would indicate that Kerbali was probably typical for the country as a whole. While having the means to purchase a house for 600,000 rials might seem to make him a bit affluent, it must be remarked that he did not pay cash for the property and it took him over forty years to establish himself well enough in the community to be able to acquire a loan (which was secured through the aid of an older brother in any case). His untimely death has put his family into a very precarious position since he died without substantial property or wealth, certainly not in an amount which will sustain his widow and three teenaged sons until the latter are able to support themselves economically. While his family will undoubtedly survive, their standard of living (not high in any case) will be much more constrained.

Kerbali's reluctance to try his chances in the urban markets is typical of itinerant entrepreneurs who fear the controls they might come under if they operate in a less flexible situation. His very conscious decision to remain outside the power structure of the bazaar market system allowed him to make ad hoc changes and adaptations throughout his career as an entrepreneur. The vagueries of the
economic situation in Iran reinforced his prejudices. Inflation, an unstable government, and urban problems provided him with many reasons to continue in his virtually unchanging business. Kerbali considered it absolutely essential that he have the flexibility to supply the village markets with products they needed. While an outside observer might see Kerbali as a pawn in the over-all structure of the market system in Iran, he saw himself as an independent entrepreneur providing a basic service to the villagers. In that role, he succeeded admirably.
VILLAGE MARKETS NEAR BABOL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Market</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>Ganjeafrus</td>
<td>Babol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>Zavardeh</td>
<td>Kiakola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>Halidasht</td>
<td>Mirbazaar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>Ganjeafrus</td>
<td>Ghaemshahr (Shahi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>Babol</td>
<td>Banamir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>Amirkola</td>
<td>Juibar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

paved road

- dirt road

- rough dirt track

No Scale
EXHIBIT ONE
GOODS CARRIED TO MARKET BY KERBALI 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Banamir</th>
<th>Juibar</th>
<th>Kiakola</th>
<th>Halidasht</th>
<th>Ghaemshahr 2</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chador Shab</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shabad</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory Chador</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>20</td>
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<td>15</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>Towels</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>40</td>
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<tr>
<td>Woolen Goods - 50 pieces (in season)</td>
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1. These are maximum numbers that Kerbali considered carrying at peak buying times in the Fall and just before the Persian New Year period (March 21). During inclement weather, Kerbali drastically reduced the amount of goods he carried to a market.

2. Formerly Shahi
FOOTNOTES

1. Fieldwork for this paper was carried out in 1971-1974 while I was doing research in Iran first under an NIMH pre-doctoral grant and later while employed by the Iran Center for Management Studies. Fieldwork in 1978 was carried out while I was conducting special research for the University of the North, Babolsar, Iran.

2. Before his marriage (about 1960), Kerbali traveled to Kerbala, Iraq, a well-known shrine for Shia Muslims (hence the honorific Kerbali). In true trader fashion he traded as he traveled in Iraq, Syria, and Turkey.

3. This estimation is based upon Kerbali's assertion that he began his activities during the Russian occupation of northern Iran which ended in 1948.

4. Chador Shab — 1½ meter square used for covering bedding that is rolled against the walls in homes during the day. They are usually colored and woven in a plaid pattern. Materials used are cotton, jute, linen, or silk. Shabad lengths of cloth used for sheeting and dust covers. They are usually made of linen and are white; some of them have embroidery.

5. In 1971-73, 76 rials = U. S. $1.00. In 1974, the exchange was 70 rials to U.S. $1.00. In 1978, the official exchange was pegged at 70 rials to U.S. $1.00 but the actual amount fluctuated widely on the open market.

6. In 1974, the government price for Iranian silkworm eggs was 160 rials for a 12 gram box (about 2,000 eggs) and 400 rials for a 12 gram box of Japanese silworm eggs. The blackmarket price for Iranian eggs was as much as 900 rials for a 12 gram box and 1200 rials for Japanese silkworms.
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