

TRADITIONAL PATTERNS OF INTERACTION
IN THE ARAB-ISLAMIC REALM

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
SHELDON S. EDISON

1968

ABSTRACT

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by Sheldon S. Edison

Although the Arab-Islamic realm has long been the subject of academic inquiry, a realistic understanding of the societal dynamics has yet to be attained. In large part, this shortcoming derives from the tendency to structure the Arab-Islamic situation in terms of closed communal systems evidencing inter-communal patterns of isolation. The present effort proceeds on the assumption that the principal socio-economic communities, viz. peasant, pastoralist and urbanite, are, in effect, open systems which manifest a significant degree of inter-communal interaction.

In order to delineate the spatial, temporal and functional dimensions of these patterns of interaction a relatively new conceptual construct, the ecological trilogy, is employed. Briefly stated, it posits the functional interrelation of the three com-

munities within the temporal and spatial dimensions of the Arab-Islamic realm. The strategy of the research design is to utilize this model in deriving a coherent analysis of the body of literature available on the Arab-Islamic realm.

It has been found that although interaction can be defined from an inter-communal perspective, it cannot be so defined within an intra-communal context. Relations between similar socio-economic units (e.g. village-village, city-city and camp-camp) are strikingly absent. One explanation, framed in terms of the resource base available to each community, is that whereas the resources present on the inter-communal level are essentially complementary and the communities symbiotic, on the intra-communal level resources tend to be equally distributed and consequently competitive.

To postulate the existence of an integrated Arab-Islamic society, therefore, would be as invalid as to assert its patterned isolation. Rather, it would appear that a form of plural society is present, in Van Nieuwenhuijze's terms, a convergent society. Here persistent inter-communal activity is evidenced on only a few of the possible levels of interaction, notably the economic. At the higher levels of social stratification, however, a merging of the communities is personified by the urban elite.

**TRADITIONAL PATTERNS OF INTERACTION
IN THE ARAB-ISLAMIC REALM**

By

Sheldon S. ^{auth} Edison

A THESIS

**Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of**

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Geography

1968

13
2-2-68

Acknowledgments

It is indeed an exacting task to express one's gratitude to those who are deserving of it. Likewise, there is none that is more satisfying.

This thesis is a reflection of my academic development during the first two years of graduate study. As such it is in many ways a microcosm of the diverse intellectual stimuli to which I have been exposed. It should be viewed as a reflection of a tradition which I consider to be central to any learning experience, the dedication and interest of the instructor in his students and in his subject. I, during the course of my Master's program at Michigan State University, consider myself fortunate in having had the opportunity to study under a number of such mentors who pursue this tradition.

At this time, I would like to take the opportunity to express my appreciation to them. First, I would like to thank Dr. Lawrence Sommers, Chairman of the Department of Geography, for his conviction that each student should be approached as an individual and his willingness to avail himself from a busy schedule to render assistance when requested. To Dr. Paul English, Chairman of my Master's committee, I express my deep appreciation for the dedication and intellectual intensity with which he approaches his students and his discipline; to Dr. Harm deBlij, my advisor, my gratitude for the patience, understanding and firm gui-

dance which has characterized all my relations with him. I would also like to thank Dr. Horvath and Dr. Hunter for their interest in my academic development and for their willingness to read and offer suggestions regarding this thesis.

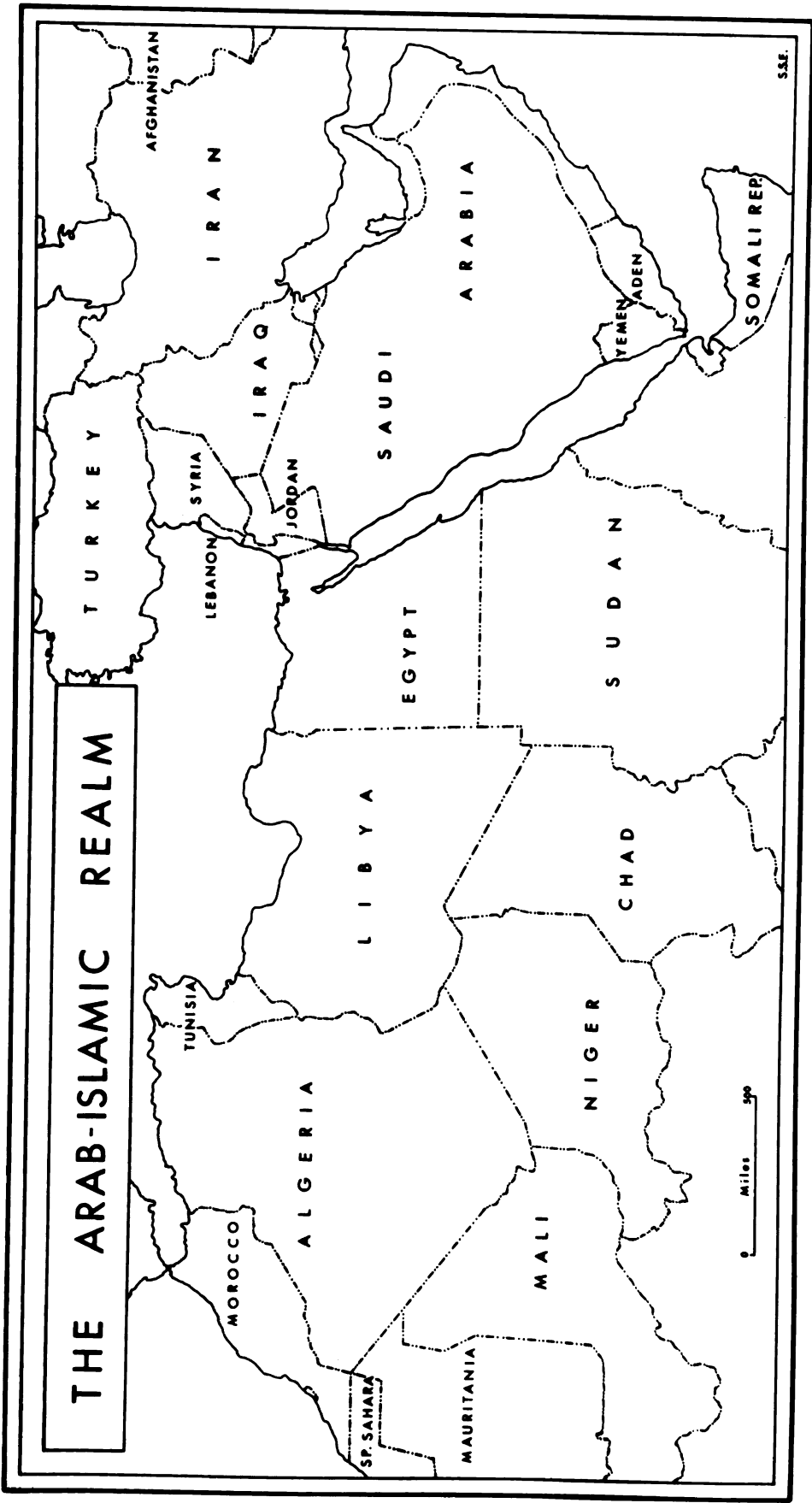
I would also like to take this opportunity to express my deep felt appreciation to my wife Lynne for the encouragement, assistance and understanding she has displayed throughout the writing of this thesis. Most important of all, however, I want to express my gratitude to my parents whose respect for knowledge was inextricably interwoven in my upbringing. It is to them that I owe my present and my future.

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THE ARAB-ISLAMIC REALM

MAP I

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Background

In the present-day streamlined and "scientific" realm of the social scientist the scale of significance appears to be weighted in favor of what is loosely referred to as "theory-building." The much touted catch-words are model, matrix, hypothesis and, above all, theory. These are the measures of excellence to which the social science fraternity aspires. Thus methodology has often come to be viewed as synonymous with and, consequently, replaced by, appeals to theory.

The fact remains, however, that in the construction of even the more glamorous theoretical infrastructures there tends to be lacking a fundamental effort in methodological techniques. This is where theory-building falls short in its attempt to speak for methodology. All too often one finds that because of the ambiguity of underlying concepts and terminology, and a lack of rigor in the interpretation of relevant data, otherwise sound theoretical frameworks are misused and eventually discredited. The researcher, in failing to be aware of the techniques of conceptualization, that is, the careful formulation of relevant descriptive and analytical tools within the framework of the data at hand, has assuredly not made use of the full range of necessary methodological procedures. The establishment of faulty

generalizations rather than sound theory has been the result, and the reliability of the knowledge embodied in the conclusions tends to be suspect by association. If reliable knowledge is accepted as one of the goals of scientific endeavor, the problem of imperfect conceptualization and the shortcomings which it implies presents itself as an area in need of competent discourse.

The present effort, in part, is an attempt to open for discussion one example of what is asserted to be a poorly-devised and radically misused concept: isolation. Traditionally, the concept of isolation has been employed in a wide range of empirical and theoretical situations most generally having as their focus an analysis of specific types of human organization. As such, it has come to function as a surrogate for normative, ethnocentric and methodologically unsound generalizations.

Isolation has been employed by the social scientist to characterize a human community (whether it be an encampment, hamlet or village) whose processes are assumed to be inhibited and somehow inferior to those of present-day "western" urbanized society. This community, furthermore, has been viewed conceptually and empirically as a closed system in terms of its social, spatial and temporal processes and as one in which factors of the natural environment act as the dominant barriers to extra-communal interaction, thereby effecting a "state of isolation."

Although it is highly unlikely that a social scientist would fully subscribe to such a perspective today,¹ isolation as a concept remains in the common parlance of the field and the implications of its past history on its present role are not as clear-cut as they would at first appear to be. Despite the recognized untenability of the assumptions outlined above, the underlying philosophies which gave rise to them have not been discarded and isolation, by virtue of its intimate tie with these philosophies, has continued to function in their behalf. What is required at this point is a thorough re-appraisal of the term in order to assess whether its continued vogue is due to these vestigial overtones or is contingent upon some valid conceptual need of social science methodology.

One aspect of this appraisal will therefore focus on an area, the Arab-Islamic realm,² in which utilization of the concept of isolation has significantly "biased" the body of

¹The traditional orientations and the suppositions upon which isolation is based--cultural relativism, ethnocentrism, closed-system analysis and determinism (whether teleological or environmental)--are presumably viewed as dead-ends in the development of social science methodology.

²Perhaps one of the more difficult aspects of this study is that of choosing a suitable term to denote this region. Whereas "Southwest Asia-North Africa" would be most accurate, it is also cumbersome. The designation "Near" or "Middle East" is unacceptable in that it does not embrace North Africa and has been compromised by attempts to apply it to a constantly changing inventory of states. (Indeed, prior to World War II, India was considered by Britain as part of the "Middle East.")

In the absence of any recognized regional name for the area in question, the term "Arab-Islamic realm" is suggested. Justification for this choice is predicated on the recognition

knowledge presented in the literature. Generally, it can be said that apart from a few recent efforts, a major portion of the work conducted in the area has proceeded under the assumption that the relevant unit of analysis is the individual encampment, village or town, each being approached as an empirically closed system. Although three systems of human activity and the communities within which they achieve fundamental expression (i.e. the pastoralist³, peasant and urban) are recognized, each is viewed as an entity of itself and with minor bearing, at best, on the other two. One could conclude that the whole tenor of academic inquiry in this area has been characterized, both implicitly and explicitly, by an emphasis on diachronic indices of disassociation and isolation on all levels of analysis.

Statement of Problem

Framed within the context of the human community, it is hypothesized that the term "isolation," because of its implications and traditional associations, does not manifest

of Islam as the most constant and pervasive socio-cultural phenomenon in the region and the Arab population as the dominant transmitter of the socio-cultural system, from the Arabian-Levant "heartland" throughout the African-Asian hinterlands.

³"Pastoralist" is here employed in preference to the traditional term "nomad," in that "nomadism" refers only to one sub-type of the encompassing pastoral community. Furthermore, the term "nomad" could logically be used to characterize a wide range of communal types which do not fall within the pastoral realm (e.g. certain fishing groups, itinerant traders, vagabonds and, conceivably, elements of the "Jet Set").

sufficient potential to justify its development and continued employment as an independent variable in the analysis of types of human organization. Recognizing the human community, whether it be the tribe, village or town, as a dynamic and essentially "open-ended" manifestation of human organization, it is felt that a research design focusing on the patterns and processes of interaction would permit a more effective and realistic assessment. Such an approach would further enable the researcher to formulate an integrated design utilizing both the micro as well as the macro level of analysis, for it permits one to emphasize both the internal cohesion of the individual communal type as well as the equally significant points of articulation which integrate it within the wider spectrum of the encompassing society. Both spheres of interaction, the intra- as well as the extra-oriented patterns of activity, are thereby judged relevant to a competent analysis of the interacting systems of forces which characterize human communities.

Method of Approach

The basic strategy within which the following discussion is developed includes: (1) an inquiry into the nature of the term "isolation" and the manner in which it has been employed as a concept in social science methodology, (2) a discussion of the explanatory potential of a newly-formulated theoretical construct (the ecological trilogy)⁴

⁴Paul W. English. "Urbanites, Peasants and Nomads: The Middle Eastern Ecological Trilogy." Journal of Geography, Volume LXVI, No. 2, (February, 1967), pp. 54-59.

which, it is felt, provides a more viable and flexible framework for the study of human communities, (3) a testing through the medium of the case-study method (focusing upon the Arab-Islamic community) of the proposed construct and its potential for analysis vis à vis the traditionally employed concept of isolation.

The overriding objective of this study is to dramatize the necessity for effective conceptualization by illustrating the manner in which faulty methodology can result in biased and distorted conclusions. By utilizing the ecological trilogy in an analysis of the same body of data to which researchers in the past have applied and justified the concept of isolation, it is hoped that this objective will be attained.⁵

Justification

Both orientations to be considered in the following discussion, isolation and interaction, bear strong relevance to the discipline of geography, the problems with which it deals, and the methodology with which it operates. Specifically, the geographer is concerned with space, points and lines and the manner in which these elements are related in

⁵It is not to be implied, however, that by reason of this effort the efficacy of the ecological trilogy has similarly been proven. The most positive statement which can be made in this regard is that within the context of the present discussion, and that of the Arab-Islamic community, the explanatory potential of this construct is significant. Its recognition as a valid conceptual tool, however, awaits employment in other socio-cultural systems.

site and situation. Both isolation and interaction focus explicitly on this concern by providing a framework for analysis within which the nature of space, points, and lines, the patterns they form and the processes of human activity they represent, can be identified and explained. The posited model of communal organization and interaction, i.e. the ecological trilogy, fully falls within the philosophical and methodological spectrum of the discipline.⁶ Utilization of the "regional approach" further commends this effort to the attention of the geographer.⁷

It is on the basis of these observations that the present effort justifies the relevancy of the questions asked and the conclusions reached. It should also be mentioned that this effort is strictly a library study and, as such, is dependent upon the techniques of others for the reliability of the data employed. The manner in which this data has been

⁶The only area in which the disciplinary loyalty of this discussion can be questioned is in the selection of pertinent data. Unfortunately, the geographer has, to date, offered little in the way of expanding the area of knowledge germane to the Arab-Islamic realm in general, and to the communal components of society in particular. The substantive coverage has, at best, been sparse and inhibited by the attitude of "uniqueness of place." On the level of synthesis and the development of generalizations applicable to a perspective wider than that of the individual effort, the contribution of the geographer in the Arab-Islamic realm has been conspicuous by its absence.

⁷Likewise, the term isolation presents itself as a valid concern of the geographer. As has been briefly alluded to in the above discussion, isolation has traditionally derived its support from the contention that the natural environment provides the major inhibitors to human interaction. One might, therefore, view as incumbent upon the geographer an interest in ascertaining the other variables which contribute to a valid situation of isolation.

conceptually organized, however, is the responsibility of the writer, as are the conclusions reached.

CHAPTER II: ISOLATION

The Nature of Isolation

Introduction

The term isolation or isolate¹ has enjoyed wide and persistent use in the vocabulary of both the academician and the layman. Although differing in the level of rigor and precision employed, both groups tend to view isolation as a spatial, temporal and psychological state characteristic of an individual element as well as a system. For the academician, isolation, apart from its descriptive potential, also serves as a conceptual tool, a method of analysis in which the desired objective is the abstraction of an element or system from reality in order to better understand its structural and processual components. Its utilization is amenable to all levels of situational complexity from the micro to the macro level of generalization.

The present discussion recognizes both perspectives; that is, isolation as a state of being as well as a conceptual tool. Conditions under which these perspectives and their intended objectives have been biased and distorted will be

¹It is recognized that any attempt to analyze the meanings and implications of a word exposes itself to the pitfalls of semantics, chief among them being the temptation to seek support in the philosophical realm of epistemology. Nonetheless, a brief discussion along these lines is warranted by the nature of the term, the traditional misuse to which it has been subjected and the consequent misunderstanding engendered.

presented in an attempt to assess the relevance and the viability of the term to an analysis of the human community.

Generally, isolation serves as a convenient means for structuring observation and analyzing data, the item of interest being conceptually or perceptually abstracted from the matrix of reality. Isolation, then, is not a part of reality but is rather a creation of the mind, a mental construct. The process of hypothesis formulation provides a good example of this technique. Assumptions are made as to what elements germane to the perceived situation are significant with respect to the anticipated objectives. Those deemed extraneous are removed, either physically, as in many laboratory-conducted observations, or conceptually, via the use of operational definitions, models and theoretical constructs. A state of isolation is posited when the phrase "all other things held equal" is employed.

The critical element involved in the proper utilization of the "isolation technique" is control or rigor. Within the laboratory situation where physical variables such as time, temperature and state are of significance, isolation can be effected at a relatively high level of accuracy and often implies an actual physical separation of the interacting variables. When one enters the realm of the social sciences, however, although the complexity of the reality dealt with is no more intricate than that encountered by the physical sciences, it is far less perfectly understood and, consequently, less easily managed. Isolation, in the hands

of the social scientist, thus tends to be a more ambiguous term and a less effective tool.

Isolation and the Social Sciences

The ambiguity of the term isolation, as employed by the social scientist, arises out of the dual nature of its introduction into the vocabulary of the field. It enters both as a "primitive" concept from the layman's realm and through the medium of analogy from the physical sciences. Subsequent to its introduction there does not appear to have been any attempt either to reconcile the two levels of rigor with which the term was initially employed or to redefine it in terms of the specific requirements posed by the nature of the problems to be dealt with.

As such, isolation's history within the social sciences parallels that of similar lexical and conceptual analogies abstracted in toto from other areas of inquiry. It was immediately and naively incorporated into theoretical frameworks together with the often-conflicting residual assumptions under which it was initially employed. In this regard, three biased perspectives manifest in the researcher's approach to the term isolation can be identified.

The normative fallacy

The first fallacy arises from what might be called an "ethnocentric" or "normative" approach. Traditionally, isolation stands as one of the conclusions most frequently derived from the study of rural communities. Upon closer

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inspection, however, its application is found to be weighted in favor of those communities which fall within the "non-western" category of human spatial organization, specifically the tribal encampment and the tribal peasant village. Furthermore, not only is isolation widely employed in an analysis of rural situations, but its use is restricted to this setting by a questionable dichotomy posited to exist between the rural and urban realms.² The urban center is thus taken as the mean or "norm" and the rural community as the deviation from that norm. This deviation is measured in degree of isolation. In effect, the urban center becomes the implicit frame of reference for analyses of rural organization.

If one carries this line of discussion a little further, it is found that given the variety of forms which human organization manifests within a particular unit of space, isolation tends to be employed as a measure for only one type of extra-communal relationship, that is, with the urban center. There has not been an analogous attempt to utilize the term in an analysis of those patterns of interaction which center upon settlement types of the same or similar magnitude, that is village-village, village-small town

²It is not the intent to discuss the rural-urban dichotomy and the controversy which it has generated at this time apart from pointing out the tenuous and unrealistic nature of the situation which it envisages and, consequently, the tenuous and unrealistic rationale for the employment of the term isolation in this context.

and village-encampment. Apart from this unilateral orientation, one could also establish a strong case for a similar emphasis on a unidirectional perspective in the analysis of communal interaction. Within a rural-urban framework, it is always the degree to which a village is divorced from the city, rarely the converse, which is emphasized.

The fallacy of absolutism

A second fallacy is embodied in the "absolutist approach." In its pristine lexicographical form, isolation characterizes a situation in which the individual unit is completely divorced from those factors and forces which comprise its environment. There remain no points of reference by which relative location and orientation can be realistically established. Psychologists recognize such a state in certain individuals and designate it autism³ or mental isolation. Rarely, however, does a state of total isolation occur either in mental illness or in the controlled environment of the laboratory.

Nonetheless, the social scientist attempts to employ an absolutist conception of isolation in his analysis of human communities. This fallacy does not arise out of any particular conviction on the part of the researcher but

³Autism is characterized by a state of complete withdrawal in which the drives, norms and perceptions which previously tied the individual to his external environment are negated and re-oriented towards what might be called an "internal environment."

appears to be the consequence of a lack of information and understanding.⁴ Isolation remains an absolute in the vocabulary of the social scientist because there has been little attempt to identify its component processes and define its parameters.

Isolation is, furthermore, a convenient term due to its widespread use in the lay community. By acceding to convenience, the researcher compromises the clarity and rigor of his methodological procedures and opens to doubt the reliability of his data and conclusions. Isolation can only be viewed as a term whose definition is operational; its meaning and significance is relative to the methodological and empirical framework employed. Isolation is also relative in the sense that as an absolute it can only exist as an heuristic device or an ideal state, and not in reality. Communities are not isolated; they are isolated to a high, moderate or low degree. A community is more or less isolated than another.

The fallacy of determinism

The third or "deterministic" approach posits a univariate relationship between the effect- isolation- and the components of one sector of the environment (commonly the physical sector) as the cause.⁵ To use an example, it is

⁴Both of the term as well as the community.

⁵Concepts such as ease of access, friction of distance and time-distance inversions focus upon the so called "impedance potential" of physical features and are often utilized in support of this relationship.

thought that if a hypothetical village were fifty miles from another community, it would be more isolated than a village located ten miles from the reference community. Similarly, if a village were separated from another by a mountain range, a river or a desert, it would be more isolated than a village located on the same side of the "barrier" as the reference community.

On the basis of empirical evidence, however, it has been found that physical features commonly thought to be impedances to human interaction in many situations act to enhance and facilitate interaction.⁶ Similarly, researchers have found that a high degree of human interaction often takes place in spite of the presence of a physical barrier and that a state of isolation may exist where no apparent physical determinants can realistically be identified.

A pragmatic approach

A fourth or "pragmatic" approach is here presented as a constructive alternative to the above three perspectives in coming to grips with a realistic assessment and application of isolation. The first assumption which this approach

⁶A large portion of this evidence has come from the recent work of political geographers who have traditionally been fettered by deterministic assumptions. Edward Ullman's study entitled "Rivers as Regional Bonds: The Columbia-Snake Example," Geographical Review, Vol. II, No. 2 (April, 1951), pp. 210-225, provides a good example of this trend.

Again, one of the rare cases in which the Middle Eastern observer was cognizant of the potentially integrative function of supposed physical impedances is illustrated by the following statement: "Certain deserts divide countries and their civilizations inexorably; others unite them. The Syrian desert is one of those which unites adjacent lands." Christina Phelps Grant, The Syrian Desert: Caravans, Travel, and Exploration (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938), p. 1.

embodies is that in any given situation in which isolation appears to provide a realistic characterization there exists a range of variables which, to varying degrees and in various and often changing combinations (over time and space), are capable of inducing and mediating such a state.⁷ It is therefore incumbent upon the researcher to ascertain the nature of the individual situation by identifying these variables and tracing their ramifications. Generally, it will be found that in addition to the physical, there is the whole gamut of social phenomena, from the economic to the psychological, which is relevant. Within the individual situation, however, certain variables are found to be more relevant than others.

A second assumption posits that in order to obtain a realistic assessment of isolation one must treat the individual situation within the context of its including environment. This objective is approached, in a general sense, in the manner in which the research design is constructed. It is fulfilled, however, by undertaking a detailed analysis of the manner in which the reference community relates, functionally, spatially and psychologically, to a wider framework of

⁷There are commonly a multiplicity of mediating and contributory conditions which together make the occurrence of a given event (isolation) probable. We are seeking the range of commonly held properties of the event or what might be called the "conceptual order" of isolation.

human organization. Thus, if the reference community were a peasant village one would equally consider its relations with neighboring villages as well as with the provincial town and the regional center. What is of concern, then, at this level of analysis is a determination of that from which the reference community is said to be located.

A third assumption holds that an analysis of isolation must address itself to the mutually related questions of where the stimuli for isolation lie and where the communities relevant to the study perceive them to reside. Here one is dealing with what might be termed the "perceptual environment" of isolation. Traditional assumptions which posit a "self-induced" state of isolation as well as those which insist upon an "externally-generated" one tend to be naive at best and biased at worst. A more realistic assessment would recognize a complex set of stimuli having both internal and external structural components and would indicate the operation of a system analogous to the action-reaction mechanism.

A fourth assumption focuses upon the suitability of distance as an effective unit of analysis in the identification, comprehension and explanation of isolation. The choice of distance resides in the fact that those conditions commonly found to be related in a causal manner to a situation of isolation can be directly translated as a function of distance.⁸

⁸In dealing with distance, it is to be recognized that as in the case of isolation, the physical component, although the most obvious, is not always the most relevant. To

Distance itself has been widely employed as a justification for isolation. What has not been recognized here-to-fore is that distance is implied in a large majority of the other inhibitors of interaction. Distance, then, can be viewed as a common-denominator in an analysis of isolation.

The Employment of Isolation

Introduction

Framed within the objectives of the present discussion, that is, the relevance of the term "isolation" to the study of human communities, this section will address itself to the manner in which isolation is employed by the social sciences. Two methodological constructs which have enjoyed widespread exposure on all levels of academic activity, the continuum and closed-system analysis, will be discussed in this regard. These approaches, it is felt, fail to come to grips with a realistic appraisal of the isolation concept. As the following discussion will document, both evidence an ambiguous and

take an example offered previously, if one has a hypothetical situation in which two villages are being compared in terms of their degree of interaction with a neighboring town, it is quite possible that the furthest village from the town in terms of "linear distance" will be found to exhibit the higher degree of interaction. A socio-cultural or psychological component of distance would then appear to be the more relevant one.

vacillating perspective which jeopardizes their effectiveness as well as that of isolation.

In the light of these shortcomings, a third construct, that of the ecological trilogy, is advanced as a potential replacement in the analysis of human communities. Although this concept, relative to the above, has not been developed to its full potential, it is felt to provide a convenient yet demanding matrix for the inclusion of a valid concept of isolation. Concomitantly isolation serves to increase the rigor of the construct and the reliability of its results.

The Continuum and Isolation

Of all the tools we possess, among the most useful are the two-fold classifications of society, but they are also the most easily damaged and most dangerous if carelessly and unskillfully handled.⁹

Under the direction of individuals such as Toennies, Odum, Becker, Weber, and specifically Redfield, significant contributions have been made regarding the use and value of the continuum construct and related typologies in the analysis of culture and society.¹⁰ The fundamental methodological assumption upon which all such activity has been predicated is that macro as well as micro analysis can and should proceed simultaneously within the same conceptual framework.

⁹Howard Becker, "Sacred and Secular Society," Social Forces, Vol. XVIII (1950), p. 361.

¹⁰The following contributions are relevant:
Howard Becker, "Sacred and Secular Society." Social Forces, Vol. XVIII (1950), pp. 367-376.
Francisco Benet, "Sociology Uncertain: The Ideology

The over-riding objective has been to develop reliable and testable generalizations concerning society and culture in their global "unfolding." This has been accomplished through an identification, classification and analysis of posited universal "types" of human organization: the tribal group, peasant community and urban society.¹¹ Use of the term "continuum" derives from the fundamentally linear and unidirectional nature of the functional, spatial and temporal relationships found to exist between these three universal types.

of the Rural-Urban Continuum," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. XIV (1958), pp. 1-23.

Emory S. Bogardus, "Odum and Folk Sociology," Sociology and Social Research, Vol. XLI (1956-7), pp. 441-48.

Alvin Boskoff, "Structure, Function and the Folk Society," American Sociological Review, Vol. XIV (1949), pp. 749-758.

Werner J. Cahnman, "Culture, Civilization and Social Change," Sociological Quarterly, Vol. III (1962), pp. 93-106.

Richard Dewey, "The Rural-Urban Continuum: Real but Relatively Unimportant," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LXVI, (1960), pp. 60-66.

Roscoe C. Hinkle, "Howard Becker's Approach to the Study of Social Change," Sociological Quarterly, Vol. II (1961), pp. 155-180.

Herman Miner, "The Folk Urban Continuum," American Sociological Review, Vol. XVII (1952), pp. 529-537.

Charles T. Stewart Jr., "The Urban-Rural Dichotomy: Concepts and Uses," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LXIV (1958) pp. 152-158.

¹¹A "feudal" type has been posited as falling between the peasant community and urban society. See Gideon Sjöberg, "Folk and Feudal Societies," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LVIII (1952), pp. 231-239, and Sjöberg's The Pre-Industrial City. Stewart's "The Urban-Rural Dichotomy: Concepts and Uses" is also relevant.

Within the context of the continuum, use of the term "isolation" gives rise to many of the fallacies encountered in the previous section. Implicitly, isolation embodies normative, deterministic and absolutist overtones. That is, it is not used in any quantitative or qualitative attempt at scaling or measurement. Its presence is explicit yet its meaning is at best implied. No attempt is made to indicate its parameters or to document its relevance. Nevertheless, isolation has come to be recognized as a hallmark of the continuum approach.

On a perusal of the literature pertaining to the continuum, it would appear that isolation signifies a type of "base-level," the constant from which change or "progress" is described, measured and predicated. Isolation is an heuristic device not necessarily valid in itself but useful in the development of new areas of inquiry. Furthermore, although its existence is explicitly recognized, its employers do not feel called upon to support or justify its presence in any definitive manner. As such, isolation can be thought of as an expendable "straw-man," a diversionary tactic useful in its ability to focus criticism upon itself without endangering the fundamental structure of the model itself.¹²

¹²A further drawback of the rural-urban continuum is its tendency to emphasize forms rather than processes. As such it is unfit to deal with the phenomena of interaction. "It is when the arrangement of types becomes an end rather than the means, when emphasis is on the validity of the series as formulated rather than on the utility of the classification as revealing dynamic processes, that valid objection can be

Closed-System Analysis and Isolation

Closed-system analysis and its empirical parallel, the "community study," similarly enjoy widespread recognition and support within the social sciences (specifically anthropology, sociology and geography). As can be seen from its title, the underlying methodological emphasis focuses on the micro level of analysis. It is thus employed as a method of approach both in its own right as well as in support of "encompassing" or macro-level frameworks such as the continuum construct discussed above. In this orientation, the fundamental unit of analysis is the community, whether horde, camp, tribe, village, town or urban center. The perspective is holistic, the physical limits of the community serving as the conceptual limits of the inquiry. The community is consequently viewed as an isolate. Justification for such an approach is predicated on the relative simplicity of the model and the ease with which data can be collected and analyzed.

What condemns this approach, at least with respect to the objectives of the present discussion, is not the use of the community matrix, but rather the inability or unwillingness of its proponents to proceed beyond the conceptually restricted confines of the individual study. The perception of the community as an isolate, initially employed for the purposes of convenience in the collection and analysis of

raised to them." M.J. Herskovitz, "Methodology in Rural Urban Studies," Sociology and History: Theory and Research, ed. Werner J. Cahnman and Alvin Boskoff, (New York, 1964), p. 603.

data, has thus, in effect, been transferred to reality. Temporal, spatial and functional dimensions are deemed relevant only to the extent to which their expression approximates that of the unit of analysis. Any extension of these dimensions into the extra-communal realm is consequently considered irrelevant.

It would then appear that methodological considerations and the search for reliable and effective generalizations on the micro level of analysis have been decidedly compromised in the name of expediency. Attempts to derive macro-oriented postulates would presumably contend that "the whole is equal to the sum of its parts." Unfortunately, the conceptual and empirical gap between the community and its encompassing social system remains.

The Ecological Trilogy and Isolation

The ecological trilogy successfully avoids the various shortcomings outlined above both in the micro-macro dichotomy and its approach to the concept of isolation. Before proceeding with an analysis of the manner in which the concept of isolation is incorporated within this construct, it might be well to first focus on the general nature of the ecological trilogy and the assumptions upon which it is based.

Briefly stated, the ecological trilogy posits a conceptual division of the socio-cultural whole into its relevant sub-systems (communities).¹³ Each community is viewed as

¹³A definition of the "socio-cultural whole" can vary in scale from an analysis of the individual or town to that of a society as in the present discussion.

embodying a variable complex (economic, social, spatial, psychological, temporal and ecological) which gives rise to a set of problems and assumptions essentially unique.¹⁴ The existence of the community as an isolate, empirically and conceptually, is rejected. In its place is posited an interaction network which provides the dominant unit of analysis in terms of which both system and sub-system are defined. Interest is therefore focused upon the patterns of interaction and the manner in which they structure the sub-system and the system.

What distinguishes this approach from that of the continuum and closed-system analysis is that the researcher is provided with two integrated levels of analysis: micro in the case of the individual sub-system and macro with respect to the socio-cultural whole.¹⁵ The integration of these two levels arises from the recognition that each sub-system participates in some form of dependency relationship¹⁶ with all other sub-systems.

¹⁴"Uniqueness" in relation to the variable complexes which characterize the other communities comprising the socio-cultural whole.

¹⁵The ecological trilogy construct also permits one to operate both from an aggregative and disaggregative perspective.

¹⁶Dependency can be characterized by a spectrum of relationships from a situation of total dominance (parasitism) to one of complementarity (symbiosis.)

In what manner, then, can the concept of isolation provide a constructive contribution within the framework of the ecological trilogy? In order to postulate situations of interaction accurately it is necessary that a qualitative and eventually a quantitative measure be developed whereby variability in the nature and degree of interaction can be determined. The concept of isolation provides a useful surrogate for those factors which individually and in combination retard interaction. By analyzing and eventually obtaining an accurate measure of these "isolating" factors, patterns of interaction would be better understood and predicted.

With this objective in mind one could construct the following model: Given a uniform interaction surface on which all units of flow are equal in terms of persistence, distance and rate of transmission and relative strength, one would then proceed to distort this ideal surface in order to approximate reality as represented by the data employed. The main points of distortion would represent the various impedances and cause fluctuations in the persistence, frequency and relative strength of the lines and levels of the interaction surface.

By utilizing this simulation model one could derive two units of analysis which would be relevant individually or in conjunction. If one were to focus upon the distorting mechanisms, indices of their relative strengths could be plotted in the form of "isolation patterns." The media of

interaction being investigated would serve as the common frame of reference. Similarly, if the interaction network were the primary unit of analysis, one could run the model under various types and degrees of distortion and trace the quality and quantity of interaction manifested by the surface. Different surfaces under similar distortions and similar surfaces under differing distortions could be compared. One could conceivably factor out gross measures for both units of analysis and by maintaining a constant temporal and spatial dimension construct "regions" defined in terms of equal interaction and equal distortion levels.

To conclude, it is felt that the processual framework provided by the ecological trilogy for the analysis of human communities overcomes many of the serious shortcomings evidenced by traditional methodological constructs. In its emphasis on human interaction as the principal unit of analysis, the ecological trilogy furthermore provides a medium within which isolation can be utilized as a constructive analytical tool. In this context one test of the value of the isolation concept to the study of human communities lies in the conclusions reached in the present study.

CHAPTER III: THE ECOLOGICAL ORDER

Introduction

Traditionally, studies of the human community have been prone to recognize only the physical component of the environment and, in so doing, have failed to integrate discussion of the physical setting into the mainstream of analysis.¹ The end result is a conceptual and empirical gap between the community and its environment, with the researcher finding it difficult to justify the relevance of the "physical setting" to the objectives of the study.

The incorporation of ecological concepts into the methodology of the social sciences evidences a greater awareness of the environment.² Support for the ecologist's view of environmental analysis as central to an understanding of the community, however, has not been forthcoming. Although

¹Cultural geographers as well as anthropologists and other social scientists are guilty of this shortcoming.

²See Julian Steward's discussion of anthropology's employment of ecological concepts in "The Concept and Method of Cultural Ecology" from his Theory of Culture Change, (Urbana: 1963), pp. 30-42.

Also relevant are Betty J. Meggers, "Environmental Limitation on the Development of Culture," American Anthropologist, Vol. LVI (1954), pp. 801-824 and June Helm, "The Ecological Approach in Anthropology," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LXVII (1962), pp. 630-639.

A discussion of geography's use of ecological concepts can be found in W.B. Morgan and R.P. Moss, "Geography and Ecology: The Concept of the Community and its Relations to the Environment," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. LV (1965), pp. 539-550.

it is now fashionable to employ ecological terms, the underlying concepts have not been accorded a place in social science research.³ "Ecology" tends to remain a lexical surrogate for "physical setting."⁴

The present discussion recognizes the composite nature of the environment. The environment embodies a social as well as the commonly recognized physical aspect and, as such, can be viewed as a component of the internal and external subsystems of the community. The "environment" thus represents an integral part of the community.⁵

Taking these observations as the point of departure, the ensuing discussion will focus upon the three major components of the ecological order: the physical environment, the social environment and the community. Analysis will be structured by one of the fundamental nexi of human organization,

³That is, although the usefulness of ecological concepts is accorded lip service, their actual employment in a research situation has certainly not been enthusiastic.

⁴Especially in many of the more recent ethnographies developed by the anthropologist. Here "The Geography of . . ." is replaced by "The Ecology of . . ."

⁵If this statement is taken to its logical conclusion one might validly deduce that the community, likewise, represents an integral component of the environment. The differentiating element, therefore, is the unit of analysis, be it the community or the environment.

the relationship between location (site), resource base,⁶ and interaction, the independent variable being resources. One could illustrate the relationship between the ecological order and the posited variables in the following manner:⁷

	NATURAL ENVIRONMENT	SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT	COMMUNITY
LOCATION			
RESOURCES			
INTERACTION			

Figure I

By employing this approach, it is felt that a discussion of the environment will provide a useful introduction

⁶ Resource base is here defined as an inventory of supportive factors which the community under discussion recognizes as necessary to its existence. It is to be expected that such a liberal approach encourages the inclusion of cultural and behavioral as well as demographic and physical components. One further component- technology- can be viewed as a complex phenomenon which is to a great extent culture-bound. Technology embraces not only forms of energy, techniques of storage, transportation, communication and distribution, but also the formal and informal media through which decisions relevant to the above are formulated and implemented. Charles Issawi and Carlos Dabezies, in their work, "Population Movements and Population Pressure in Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria," The Millbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. 29 (1951), employ a similar approach in their definition of "sustenance area," p. 391.

⁷ The analysis of settlement patterns, i.e. "the order which the members of society observe in their utilization of space," (Bruce G. Trigger, History and Settlement in Lower Nubia /New Haven, 1965/, p. 2), well illustrates one context in which this relationship is central. According to Trigger, the settlement pattern "is . . . the outcome of an adjustment which the society makes to a series of determinants that vary in importance and in terms of the demands they make upon the

to the Arab-Islamic realm and its communities. As such it should prove pertinent and rewarding.

Natural Environment

Location

The spatial frame of reference for the present analysis extends across portions of two continents, from the Atlantic Ocean in the West to the Indian Ocean in the East (see map I). This realm can be divided into three subregions defined in terms of the degree of influence of the Arab-Islamic component.⁸ They are: (1) the Levant-Arabian peninsular region which is recognized as the core area or "heartland" of Arab-Islamic socio-cultural patterns,⁹ (2) the Maghreb or North African region¹⁰ which, together with the

society." (Ibid., p.6)

This "series of determinants" includes primarily the three basic components of the ecological order as well as location, the resource base, and interaction.

⁸ Refer to chapter I, p.2, footnote 2 for a discussion of the term "Arab-Islamic realm."

⁹ Including the contemporary states of Syria, the Lebanon, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, the Yemen, the Trucial States and the South Arabian Federation. The present state of Israel, although an integral part of this region, by virtue of its recent history presents problems which preclude its inclusion in the present discussion.

¹⁰ Encompassing Spanish Sahara, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt and the northern portions of Sudan, Chad, Niger and Mauritania.

(3) "protrusion" regions (i.e. Turkey, Iran, the Somali Republic and Afghanistan) comprises the zone of socio-cultural syncretism of the indigenous life-modes and those of the overlying Arab-Islamic culture. Throughout the ensuing discussion the area encompassed by these three socio-cultural units will be referred to as the Arab-Islamic realm.

The similarity of the ecological order throughout a major portion of the Arab-Islamic realm is both striking and profound. Indeed, if one were to treat the contemporary political units of this realm individually, the same general ecological theme would come to the fore again and again. The major community types and the settlement patterns which they evidence, that is the pastoral encampment, the peasant village and the urban center, remain the same as do the including natural environments within which these communal types interact (the coastal littoral, the uplands and mountains and the steppelands and deserts).

Stereotypes emphasize the priority and immutability of certain man-land relationships (e.g. nomadic pastoralism and the arid zone, the peasant-agriculturalist and the steppe), but it must be recognized that such relationships, although accurate in a general sense, are by no means absolutes.¹¹

¹¹ "Implicit here is a division of the Near East into sub-areas in terms of the distinctive patterns of ecological adaptation; desert oasis, exotic river basin, rain-fed plains, humid tropical or sub-tropical coasts, and mountains. In all cases, except in the mountain areas, an economic trichotomy of urban craft and mercantile system, cultivating village system,

Nomadic-pastoral populations occupy a significant position ("niche") within the ecological order of the uplands, coast and steppe as well as the arid zone. Peasant and urban communities are likewise indigenous to the mountain and desert realms. The natural environment, therefore, cannot be realistically employed as an ultimate criterion for distinguishing among the three modes of human settlement.¹²

Resource Base

Another characteristic of the Arab-Islamic realm is the relatively restricted nature of its resource base¹³ (in areal extent and quantity). An inventory of the "natural"¹⁴

and nomadic pastoral system could be demonstrated . . . [as a/ topic for future synthesis." (Louise E. Sweet, Tell Togaan: A Syrian Village (Ann Arbor, 1960), p. 3, footnote 2).

¹²In certain situations it might prove to be a relevant variable in the identification of variations existing within a community type. Although this has been generally accepted for the pastoral community to the point where numerous subtle distinctions have been identified (see "Nomads and Nomadism in the Arid Zone," International Social Science Journal, Vol. XI, No. 4 (1959) pp. 481-585,) it has not been equally recognized in the peasant community, specifically with regard to settlement patterns. (See Jules Blache, "Modes of Life in the Moroccan Countryside: Interpretations of Areal Photographs," The Geographical Review, Vol. XI, No. 4 (October, 1921), pp. 477-502, for a refreshing approach.)

¹³Although one could employ petroleum in rebuttal, the focus here is a general one framed in terms of "basic" population requirements of what is, in Sjoberg's phrase, a "pre-industrial society."

¹⁴In contrast with the "social" components of the resource base.

Cf. chapter II, p. 27, footnote 6.

resource base would include water, arable soils, animate energy (animal and human) and vegetation, with water as the independent variable.

Water

Water is perhaps the most critical resource. An absence of precipitation during the high sun period, the frontal systems and the adverse physiographic influences inducing rain-shadow conditions all effectively restrict initial input into the region's hydrologic cycle. The large areal extent of high evapotranspiration rates in combination with sparse vegetative cover and rapid runoff similarly inhibit the utilization and storage of what precipitation does occur. The resultant water-deficient situation thus must be recognized as a major control in the location and organization (e.g. settlement patterns) of human populations.

By plotting the incidence of water-availability either in its initial (rainfall) state (in the so-called "fertile crescent"), as runoff (river systems such as the Nile and Tigris-Euphrates) or as storage (ground water reserves giving rise to springs), one can effectively pinpoint the major foci of human activity. Modifications effected through human intervention in the form of water-diverting, conveying and retaining media (artificial catchment schemes, irrigation networks, aqueducts and qanat networks¹⁵) however, should be recognized as expanding the spatial and temporal parameters of habitation.

¹⁵See George Cressy, "Qanats, Karez and Foggaras," Geographical Review, Vol. XLVIII (1958), pp. 27-44.

See Adams, Land Behind Baghdad for a discussion of

Arable Soils

Fertility in combination with other favorable components of the soil environment (moisture content, temperature and structure) determines in large part cultivability and therefore provides a second control to human habitation and resources. The relevance of man as an intervening agent, however, must again be recognized if one is to understand why, in many areas where a favorable combination of natural factors would commonly be reflected in relatively large units of population, one finds the opposite to be true.

Perhaps the best example of man's unfortunate tampering with the soil environment lies in his attempt to irrigate areas where local conditions such as slope, temperature and water source do not lend themselves to the practice. Such is the case in the lower Tigris-Euphrates valley and the outer margins of oases and alluvial fans. Soil sterility is the

the historic trends in human habitation in the Baghdad hinterland through a competent and insightful geographic analysis.

The study seeks to identify in the area some of the converging natural and human forces which shaped its successive phases of advance and decline over a total period of six million years. . . . Its central focus is not the sharply defined ebb and flow of the historical record, but the underlying, more slowly changing relations of man to land . . . [the] understanding of patterns of human adaptation to, and exploration of, a highly specialized natural setting. (Robert McC. Adams, Land Behind Baghdad: A History of Settlement on the Diyala Plains (Chicago: 1965), pp. vii-viii.

result of intensive leaching of minerals and organic matter, a concentration of noxious salts in the "A" horizon and a rise in the local water table through the blocking of internal drainage.

Examples of relatively successful efforts to extend the acreage of arable land include the drainage of swamp land such as the Huleh in present-day Israel, portions of the Nile delta in Egypt, the lower stretches of the Tigris-Euphrates valley in Iraq, the Latakia region in The Lebanon and the Ghab region of Syria.

Animate energy

Animate energy in its human and/or animal form represents a third component of the natural resource base. In this regard three demographic aspects of the Arab-Islamic realm bear relevance. First, the inequality in the gross distribution of population corresponds to the unequal distribution of natural environments amenable to sustained human occupancy. It is the fertile riverine floodplain, the upland and mountain complex, the coastal plain and the interior steppe which reflect the major concentrations of population.

A second demographic factor is mobility. As a component of the resource base, the relevance of demographic mobility to animate energy lies in its ability to reflect both cause and consequence of a subsistence existence. As a cause it often deprives the community (urban, peasant or pastoral) of the energy necessary to maintain itself. As an effect it reflects a situation in which the scope of a community's

resource base, not broad enough to provide a return commensurate with the energy input, necessitates a reduction in the population size both through a high mortality rate (malnutrition, starvation and disease) and migration. Demographic mobility then highlights the restrictive nature of a resource base operating at the subsistence level. It also illustrates a lack of resiliency and adaptability indicative of the thin margin between subsistence and surplus.¹⁶

¹⁶ It might prove constructive to be somewhat more explicit regarding the term surplus and its relation to subsistence. Both terms, fundamentally, are dependent upon the socio-cultural as well as the commonly accepted natural environment for their expression, and the former is often more relevant. The main locus of distinction, however, appears to lie in the nature of resource allocation and its relation to anticipated return. Subsistence activity implies a situation in which the actual return is absorbed in the regeneration and/or replacement of that portion of the resource base employed in producing a yield. Surplus activity, however, permits the achievement of goals not directly related to the resource-return nexus. One might posit a "threshold" situation as representing the range within which one activity grades into another. Two criteria can be employed in defining the range of this "threshold." First, one finds a complex set of interacting variables, including socio-cultural as well as natural-biologic imperatives. Any attempt at causal analysis would have to recognize a multivariate rather than a univariate relationship. Secondly, recognition of a threshold situation carries with it the implication of a flexible rather than a static relationship between surplus and subsistence, in which a constant interplay between resource base and anticipated return provides the norm. With the development of a major dislocation in the resource-return nexus, however, there develops a concomitant disruption in the threshold situation and, similarly, in the relationship between surplus and subsistence.

For a fuller discussion of this situation see H.W. Pearson, "The Economy Has No Surplus: Critique of a Theory of Development," in ed. Trade and Markets in the Early Empires, (Arensberg, Pearson, and Polanyi). (Glencoe, 1957). Chap. XVI, pp. 320-341. Marvin Harris has published a rebuttal in, American Anthropologist, Vol. LXI (1959), pp. 185-190. For a reply to Harris see George Dalton, "A Note of Clarification on Economic Surplus," American Anthropologist, Vol. LXII (1960), pp. 483-490.

Historically, The Arab-Islamic realm has provided an arena for the confrontation of disparate ethnic and racial groups, each contributing some ingredient to the overall resource "mosaic"¹⁷ of the realm. This area has also served as a generator of population movement, north into the Iberian peninsula, south into the Sudanic belt of Central and West Africa and the Indian Ocean littoral of East Africa and east into the Indian sub-continent and Southeast Asia. In contemporary times this phenomenon has continued in the form of the more restricted¹⁸ and selective¹⁹ process of emigration and has resulted in the establishment of communities in the western hemisphere, Western Europe and West Africa.²⁰

A tradition of large-scale population movement is likewise evidenced within the parameters of the realm itself. Taking the Levant area as the core, one can trace patterns of out-migration into North Africa and Turkey. A counter-vailing pattern of in-migration derives from the Arabian peninsula, Persia and the Maghreb. The process of emigration also undergoes its full cycle within the realm. One facet

¹⁷See Carlton Coon, Caravan, (New York, 1961).

¹⁸"Restricted" in terms of the size of the populations involved.

¹⁹"Selective" in terms of the foci of the emigration process.

²⁰See A. Tannous, "Emigration, A Force of Social Change in An Arab Village," Rural Sociology, Vol. VII (1942), pp. 62-74.

of this process is illustrated by the propensity for Syrian, Lebanese and Egyptian populations to settle in Iraq and the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean littoral states.

In addition to the unequal distribution of population and the phenomenon of mobility, there is a third factor which relates to the demography of the Arab-Islamic realm. It focuses on forms of demographic instability which attain spatial expression on a smaller scale than was evidenced in the above discussion. Chief among these is depopulation which derives from natural as well as social, economic and political causes. Indeed, it is difficult to approach the historical evolution of the realm without being cognizant of the pervasive instability which characterizes all segments of the population. Thus, one finds that although the site of Arab-Islamic settlement types generally portrays an uninterrupted history, the populations which inhabited it most definitely did not.

Urban centers underwent continuous cycles of expansion and decline, their population size being a sensitive indicator of conditions in their hinterlands. Within the hinterland the peasant population employed mobility as a means for overcoming the consequences of epidemic, famine, drought and civil disorder. The origin histories of individual communities tend to substantiate the widespread temporal and spatial extent of this phenomenon. Similarly, within the pastoral community the prospect of depopulation was ever-present with drought, livestock epidemics and warfare as the principal stimuli.

The employment of animals as a source of energy, a further characteristic of the resource base common to the Arab-Islamic realm, is perhaps more significant for its temporal persistence than its areal extent.²¹ It should nonetheless be recognized that animals such as the water buffalo, ox, donkey and camel, apart from their utility as a food source, do serve as major suppliers of energy for transport, cultivation and irrigation. Indeed, one could state with some confidence that practically every peasant community boasts the presence of some beasts of burden.

It should likewise be noted that the restricted nature of the resource base does not permit widespread ownership of this energy source.²² Generally draft animals are either kept as communal property, owned by a number of households or by an individual whose wealth is above that of the average cultivator. Regardless of the locus of ownership, however, the draft animal is a highly-prized commodity.

²¹That is the importance of a portion of the Arab-Islamic realm as locus for the initial domestication of animals as a source of energy. See Charles A. Reed, "Animal Domestication in the Prehistoric Near East," Science, Vol. CXXX, No. 3389 (1959), pp. 1629-1639.

²²A similar though less obvious situation can be found in the pastoral realm. Here, although animals were widely used as beasts of burden in subsistence activities, it was only the wealthier individual who, through ownership of large numbers of high quality stock, was able to participate in high-return activities such as raiding, and providing animals for caravans or agriculture.

Animate power, then, if defined in terms of that medium most commonly employed, implies labor undertaken by the peasant himself with the aid of relatively unsophisticated tools such as the hoe and sickle. Draft animals, although a part of the resource base, tend to be accessible to only a segment of the community.

Natural vegetation

Natural vegetation in the form of grasses, scrub and forest comprises a fourth component of the resource inventory. This complex too has a highly uneven distribution which is attributable to man, climate and other natural selecting agents. In every discussion of man's relation to the land in the Arab-Islamic realm one finds his profound effect on the natural vegetation coming to the fore again and again. According to Carleton Coon "the fact is that except for China no part of the earth's surface seems to have been so denuded as the Middle East."²³ Adams approaches the situation in the following manner:

The natural vegetation is not merely a passive reflection of climatic and edaphic conditions outside the control of man; in fact, over the greater part of the area natural vegetation survives only as the weeds of cultivation.²⁴

This is most abundantly clear with regard to the forestlands. From one end of the realm to the other, stands

²³Coon, op. cit., p. 20.

²⁴Adams, Land Behind Baghdad. . . , p. 5.

of timber are an anachronism. Only in the scattered and inaccessible uplands where the effects of human occupation have not been felt (such as the higher slopes of the Atlas and Anti Atlas in Morocco and Algeria, the Tarus and Pontic of Turkey, the Elburz of Iran)²⁵ can one find woodland remnants.

Two activities which span the history of human occupation in this area are commonly judged the principal causes for this state. They are the practice of unrestricted goat grazing and a dependence on charcoal as a source of heat.²⁶ These activities have been so intensive that even the successional scrublands of maquis and chaparral have been partially destroyed. Coon observes that

In Iran one is struck by the difference between the complete barrenness of the landscape, which is either under cultivation or within walking distance of a village, and that of the uninhabited deserts. In the inhabited land children go out every morning with long-handled hoes and sacks to remove every spear of inflammable vegetation, including camel thorn that the sheep and goats have left behind.²⁷

²⁵ See Oxford Regional Economic Atlas: The Middle East and North Africa (London, 1960), pp. 22-23.

²⁶ John Kolars has attempted to ascertain the relative effect of man and goat in the destruction of Middle-Eastern woodlands by analyzing the relationship between the three in southwestern Turkey. See John Kolars, "Locational Aspects of Cultural Ecology: The Case of the Goat in Non-Western Agriculture," Geographical Review, Vol. LVI, No. 4 (October, 1966), pp. 577-84.

²⁷ Coon, op. cit., p. 21.

The importance of wood and wood products and their scarcity in the inventory of resources are reflected in numerous social and economic activities. Throughout many parts of the realm roof-beams attain special significance and are the most prized possession of the peasant, the hallmark of solvency if you will. Indeed, some observers of nomadic and semi-nomadic communities have isolated the acquisition of roof-beams as a reliable indicator of impending sedentarization.²⁸ Similarly one finds that a long-standing trade relationship between the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean states and East Africa has been predicated on acquiring mangrove poles (boriti).

The grasslands of the desert-steppe zone and the alpine pastures present a somewhat different situation. Here vegetation represents a more immediate component of the community's resource base. The pastoral community's continued existence as a consuming and reproducing unit is dependent on sufficient pasturage. There thus exists an intimate and critical relationship between population movement, population size (both human and animal) and the location, areal extent and quality of the grazing space. This relationship varies from place to place, season to season and year to year.

²⁸F. Barth, Nomads of Southern Persia: The Basseri Tribe of the Khamseh Confederacy, (Oslo, 1961), p. 117.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the natural vegetation, however, is the wide variety of species which have been domesticated and cultivated by man.²⁹ To quote Coon again:

landscape was so richly endowed. Nowhere else in the world has man domesticated and improved so many cultivatable plants and trees.³⁰

A large majority of the food and tree crops cultivated in the realm today were at one time a part of the natural vegetation.³¹

Interaction

The potential for interaction provides a third avenue for discussing the natural environment of the Arab-Islamic realm. It also affords the opportunity to introduce the concept of isolation within a substantive context. Of concern here, then, is the manner in which the natural milieu both encourages and inhibits human communication.

²⁹For a competent discussion of the origins of plant domestication and cultivation in the Levant area see Robert J. Braidwood, "The Agricultural Revolution," Scientific American, Vol. CCIII, No. 3 (1960), pp. 130-148.

³⁰Coon, op. cit., p. 23.

³¹The poplar is one of the more unusual tree crops commonly associated with peasant settlements. This species, due to its rapid growth rate, ease of management, and relatively straight trunk, is employed in a wide variety of ways, for roof beams and other housing materials, fodder, tools and shade, to name a few.

Traditionally it has been postulated that deserts, mountains, bodies of water and other "disruptive" elements of the environment tend to retard movement of goods, populations or ideas. If one defines retardation in terms of time, distance and energy output the premise appears to be acceptable. But how, then, can one reconcile this position with the Arab-Islamic realm which has its share of retarding elements yet, throughout its history, has functioned as an entrepôt for forces originating on three continents? A partial explanation might be that interregional movement was often conducted on a large scale and supported by interests (political, mercantile, religious) capable of underwriting the expenditures of time and effort through their control over an extensive resource base.

If one applies this premise of physical factors inhibiting movement to a smaller-scale situation, however, it tends to be more useful. In focusing upon the Elburz Mountains of Iran (or the Pontic Mountains of Turkey) and their influence upon human interaction, for example, the role of inhibitor does appear justified. Here, interaction within the populations of the Caspian littoral is decidedly more intense than that between these coastal communities and their transalpine counterparts. One cause for this situation might center on the nature of the available resources. In that a large percentage of these populations are peasant-agriculturists operating at a near-subsistence level, the expenditure of time and effort necessary to overcome the confining influence of the Elburz range cannot always be underwritten.

Physiographic features also do function in a beneficial manner with regard to human interaction. The juxtaposition of dissimilar ecological realms, for example, often encourages a situation of socio-economic complementarity centering upon different though compatible resource bases. Thus the population of one environment attempts to overcome a scarcity of certain items in its resource inventory by exchanging items of which it has a surplus.³² Another illustration is offered by Louis Mumford with reference to Egypt. Here, mountainous regions to the east and west of the Nile Valley and the inhibiting effect they have on movement is viewed as one of the principal factors contributing to the "super-city" nature of the state.³³ By providing a barrier, they similarly fulfill the functional requirements of an urban center- enclosure, assembly and intermixture.

Physiographic factors are not, however, the only conditioners of human interaction. Indeed, a more explicit case for the influence of physical factors upon human interaction can often be made by employing climate as the independent variable and emphasizing the temporal rather than the

³²An illustration of "complementarity" is provided by the long history of trade manifest among the populations of the Saharan, Sudanic and tropical forest zones of West Africa.

³³Referred to in F. Benet, "Sociology Uncertain: The Ideology of the Rural-Urban Continuum," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. XIV (1958), p. 14.

spatial component of movement. Seasonal flooding of the major river systems intermittently hampers communications as do the winter snows and the hot dry summer winds (khamzin).

The seasonality of interaction can also be recognized on the local level. The pastoralist and peasant's journey to town is not a random process. They come primarily to convert a surplus into other necessities. The greater incidence of urban-focused interaction would then take place at those times immediately following the harvest.

Furthermore, intervillage interaction, through the medium of the fair, is generally at its peak during the spring. Within the village, interaction appears to be most evident during the times of peak activity such as planting and harvest; external interaction, often through the migration process, is most intense during the low-activity periods. In some areas, however, local ecological conditions encourage the dispersal of a peasant community during the periods of high activity to fields lying in a more amenable environment. Relations between the peasant and pastoralist communities and within the pastoral community are likewise governed by the seasonality of activities.³⁴

Natural disaster provides one last, albeit unorthodox, illustration of the relationship between the natural

³⁴ Within the pre-Islamic pastoral community of Arabia for example, inter-tribal interaction was influenced by the seasons. The best example of this phenomenon is that during the monsoonal season a region-wide truce was declared, feuds were dropped and markets were held.

environment and human interaction. Drought, plague and epidemic, although displaying a decidedly adverse effect on human occupancy, are often positive factors in the context of interaction. The historical record provides numerous examples of this phenomenon. In many cases, there exists a close correlation between large-scale population movements and natural disaster. Periods of extended drought, for example, often contribute to intensified contact between the nomadic pastoralist and the settled community either through sedentarization, conflict or conquest. The peasant community, although an infrequent participant in mass migrations, does undertake migration in the face of natural or man-made disaster. In this situation the parochial identity of the individual community, deprived of its spatial expression, is breached, either by establishing residence in the urban environment or interacting with other rootless peasant communities.

The Social Environment

The second component of the ecological order, the social environment, provides perhaps the strongest justification for the delimitation of an Arab-Islamic realm. The principal structuring element is Islam, which, in its broadest sense, can be viewed as a complete and consistent way of life. Islam fosters a sense of identity among peasant, pastoralist and urbanite alike and often transcends the parochial tendencies operative within these communities. It

furnishes the principal context within which the individual, community, and society relate to each other and to the natural environment. The ideology and institutions through which Islam is expressed and the patterns of activity which it prescribes constitute, in large part, the "social environment" of the Arab-Islamic realm.

Location

The Arab-Islamic social environment is structured by a plethora of forms. Chief among these are units of space commonly defined in religious terms, the mosque, shrine and religious lodge. As is the case with other types of human spatial organization, an analysis of sacred space can be derived from two perspectives, form and process. The latter perspective will be emphasized here. Furthermore, in addition to delimiting the population served by a particular institution, attention will be focused on the full range of activities provided for and encouraged by the institution. In the Arab-Islamic realm, institutions designated as religious often function in an economic, political and socio-cultural capacity as well.

The communal mosque

The mosque attains importance as an ubiquitous spatial form within the permanently settled portions of the realm (the peasant and urban zones). It represents a demographic focus of local significance, its watershed of attraction generally coinciding with the bounds of an individual village, a section of a town or neighborhood

of a city.³⁵ Its range of function, and consequently its influence, is restricted mainly to the religious sphere.

This situation is reflected in the form of the mosque and the activities of its functionaries. The mosque, in size and architectural style, tends to be indistinguishable from other structures in the community and does not alter the skyline. Furthermore, its spatial positioning within the community does not follow any regular pattern.³⁶ The religious functionary (mullah) is not a specialist and, in many cases, is required to undertake other activities to maintain a subsistence level.³⁷

The Friday mosque

The Friday mosque (jami) provides a contrasting picture. It is ubiquitous only in the sense that it is found

³⁵The correspondence is not, however, absolute. Thus, one can find one mosque serving a number of neighboring villages, and a multiplicity of mosques within a city quarter.

³⁶Within the village situation, the mosque tends to be located at the spatial center although this relationship is not invariable and is often dependent upon other factors. In the urban environment, spatial centrality appears to be the exception rather than the rule.

³⁷In the town the mullah sometimes functions as the political official of the ward (mukhtar.) In Coon's discussion of this situation it is difficult, however, to determine whether the religious or political position is dominant. See Coon, Caravan, op. cit., p. 228.

in every urban center.³⁸ Unlike the communal mosque, it exhibits a wide spectrum of functions which attain spatial expression on a regional rather than a local scale. As such its watershed of attraction embraces an urban as well as a rural congregation.³⁹

As a religious institution, the Friday mosque gains preeminance by virtue of the injunction that the Friday or "sabbath" service must be conducted in the presence of at least forty males. It is only in an urban environment that this edict can be complied with. The interweaving of religious and political functions is illustrated by the prayer leader's (iman) sermon which is often employed to demonstrate support or criticism of the political establishment. Often the urban political establishment employed the Friday mosque in maintaining the status quo.⁴⁰ Indeed, the iman is commonly one of the principal administrators in the urban center.

³⁸The presence of a jami mosque is a principal determinant employed by the Islamic scholar for conferring urban status on a community.

³⁹A visit to the jami mosque is generally high on the peasant's itinerary when he journeys to town. The mosque's rural congregation, however, is impermanent in terms of individual commitment and the consistency of attendance.

⁴⁰In his analysis of the Friday mosque in Northern Nigeria, Abner Cohen amplifies on this role. Cohen establishes an intimate relationship between the spiritual and political spheres centering on the Friday prayer. Proceeding on this assumption, it is posited that the Friday service can be employed in ascertaining the nature of the political situation manifest in the urban center. It was the Friday prayer that provided the largest forum for political discussions. (Paper delivered at Michigan State University on November 11, 1966).

Similarly, it is found that the mosque operates within the economic sphere as well as the political. Indeed, an analysis of those portions of the urban environment in which economic activities are conducted would be forced to consider the Friday mosque.⁴¹ In view of the number of transactions of goods and services taking place within its shadow, one might be tempted to view it as indirectly providing all the functions of a sug.

Bazaars are arranged around the mosque in order of the products' relation to the functions of the mosque and the prestige accorded services by the traditional structure⁴²

Furthermore in its ability to command wealth through the contributions of its congregation, the Friday mosque is an active participant in the economic sphere. A large portion of this wealth is in the form of land (wagf)⁴³ from which the mosque derives rents. Investment is also made in commercial

⁴¹The influence of the Friday mosque in the economic sphere can be seen in Wheatley's discussion of the spatial and functional adjustments in the Iranian and Turkish cities which took place following the Arab conquest. Specifically, the mosque was established in the space beyond the walls (rabad) where only the market existed previously. The center of the city (diz) where the citadel was located consequently declined (Paul Wheatley, "What the Greatness of a City is Said to be: Reflections on Sjoberg's Pre-Industrial City," Pacific Viewpoint, Vol. IV, No.2 (1963), pp. 183-184.)

⁴²Morroe Berger, The Arab World Today (Garden City, 1962), p. 88.

⁴³An endowed religious foundation or trust fund established by laymen for the benefit of the mosque. Wagf property may be in the form of a plot of land, a building or a water source (fountain or spring.) This institution existed prior to Islam but was expanded spatially and functionally by it.

transactions and it is not unusual to find caravans being organized and conducted by the religious hierarchy.

This preeminence of the Friday mosque is reflected in the morphologic structuring of the Arab-Islamic city. Invariably it is located at the spatial and/or functional center of the city fronting the main square (maydan) in the company of government buildings, homes of the nobility and the main bath (hamman.) Its multi-functional sphere of influence similarly attains spatial expression in the form of court buildings where religious law (shari'a) is adjudicated, schools and colleges for the instruction of laymen and candidates to the ministry and the parcels of waqf property scattered through urban and rural space.

The shrine

The shrine offers a further illustration of the manner in which sacred space is defined and delimited. In contrast with the mosque it attains a ubiquity which transcends the pastoral as well as the peasant and urban communities. Its religious foundation derives from all facets of Islam, orthodox, ecumenical and syncretic. Its cultural import partakes, to employ Redfield's terminology, of both the "Great" and "Little" tradition.

In terms of the shrine's morphologic expression, one can identify a host of forms: from a natural feature such as a spring, cave or boulder, to a man-made object (tomb, dwelling, or mosque). Most significantly, however, it is the functional nature of this institution and the spatial expression of these functions which are particularly relevant to

the present discussion. In view of the many forms which the shrine takes it is advisable to approach this phenomenon from a spatial-functional perspective. In this regard, two types of shrines can be identified, the "parochial" and the "societal."

The "parochial" shrine encompasses those institutions with small congregations and relatively restricted watersheds of attraction. Throughout the Arab-Islamic realm, especially (though not exclusively) in the rural sectors, one finds numerous examples of this type: the spring or well, the weekly market and the seasonal fair, the cemetery, the monastery (ribat) and the village. Although in each of these cases there is a specific natural or man-made feature identified as the "shrine" where religious activities are centered, it is commonly the encompassing institution and the functions which it embodies that provide the major focus of activity for the congregation.⁴⁴

The relevance of the shrine lies in its ability to impart a sacred aura to the unit of space within which the institution is located, placing it above the threat of violence. As such it injects a stabilizing influence by ritually sanctioning peace and condemning hostility. In a social environment

⁴⁴See W. Fogg, "The Suq: A Study in the Human Geography of Morocco," Geography, Vol. XVII (1932), pp. 257-67, and his article, "A Tribal Market in the Spanish Zone of Morocco," Africa, Vol. XI (1938), pp. 428-45.

where the threat of feud, be it individual, communal or tribal, is always imminent, such an institution is requisite.⁴⁵

One can thus identify in the Arab-Islamic landscape a plethora of parochial areal-functional units whose initial, immediate and justifying function is religious. Nonetheless, their more attractive attributes are tied to the subsistence, economic, political and socio-cultural needs of the participating congregation and the guarantee of security whereby these needs can be satisfied. Temporal considerations (i.e. the frequency of participation as determined by number of visits) vary considerably from situation to situation. The extent of the resource base available to the congregation, propinquity and the scheduled round of activity of the individual communities come to mind as some of the more obvious determinants.

The "societal" shrine derives its significance from the extensive congregation which it serves and the primacy of the religious imperative (fulfilled through worship and education).⁴⁶ It provides a spiritual focus for either a

⁴⁵See F. Benet, "Explosive Markets: The Berber Highlands," in ed. K. Polanyi, C. Arensberg and H. Pearson, Trade and Market in the Early Empires (Glencoe, 1957), pp. 155-217.

⁴⁶This is not to imply, however, that religion is the only activity. Indirectly the "societal shrine" encourages through the pilgrimage an ideal situation for the exchange of goods and ideas among populations from widely separated portions of the realm. Although economic activities are not permitted within the shrine itself, Mecca and other societal shrine centers have traditionally served as major entrepôts.

major sect within the Islamic community such as at Al Kufa, Njaf, Kerbala, Mashad, Wazzan and Marrakesh, or for the community as a whole, e.g. Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem. In both cases the urban center provides the principal morphologic expression. Here, as with the parochial shrine, there exists a spatial hierarchy of sanctity within the encompassing institution.⁴⁷ The area of greatest religious significance, commonly found at or near the geographical center of the city, is highlighted by the preeminence of religious activity to the exclusion of other forms of activity, and the rule of the religious hierarchy (expressed through a wide range of legal and ideological precepts). Generally, the shrine takes the form of a mosque, an imposing edifice of architectural intricacy and lavishness.

The religious lodge

The religious lodge provides a fourth and final illustration of the organization of sacred space. Here one is again faced with a multiplicity of institutional forms. One early example is provided by the religious paramilitary

⁴⁷ In his discussion of the pre-Islamic origins of Mecca, Eric Wolfe ("The Social Organization of Mecca and the Origins of Islam," The Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. VII, No.4 (1951), pp. 329-356) identifies a similar ability to imbue space with religious overtones on the part of the societal shrine. Thus the haram which originally surrounded only the Ka'ba was extended by the ruling Koreish to include all of Mecca, thereby increasing stability and security. Tribal idols were employed to attract visitors as well as to increase the image of a sanctuary. Similarly, pacts were established to protect pilgrims and merchants on their journey to Mecca. All three techniques were directed against the disruptive and disfunctional effects of the blood feud (hulf) on the new religious and economic order established by the Koreish.

settlement (tamsir).⁴⁸ In the initial years of Islamic expansion this type of settlement was established on the marchlands of the nascent Islamic state under the direction of warrior-monks. Its function was primarily that of a military entrepôt, providing military units with supplies, leadership and human resources; exercising, extending and consolidating political control; inciting and fortifying the spiritual emotions of its military congregation and pacifying the alien populations through vigorous conversion practices. As a tool of military conquest, however, this form was relatively short-lived.

In approaching the "true" religious lodge, that is, one in which the spiritual objective is dominant, Sadler identifies two basic types, the "virtuoso" and the "parish" community.⁴⁹ Here the differentiating factor is the degree to which the lodge interacts with its congregation.

The "virtuoso" settlement (ribat) exhibits a way of life similar in many respects to the monastic orders of Christianity, with personal holiness as the desired objective. Ties with the lay community are, according to Sadler, kept at a minimum, with conversion and caste-like discipleship

⁴⁸ Often referred to as a ribat. Here the term ribat will be employed in a non-restricted manner to characterize the lodge of a monastic religious order (tariga).

⁴⁹ A. Sadler, "Islam: The Parish Situation and the Virtuoso Community," Muslim World, Vol. LI (1961), pp. 197-210.

as the principal means of interaction. Coon⁵⁰ and Evans-Pritchard⁵¹, however, appear to take a somewhat broader view of the "virtuoso" community and enumerate a wide range of social, economic and political activities whereby this religious order forms a close contact with the lay community. Indeed, whereas Sadler emphasizes the isolation of a ribat and its adherents from the secular environment, Evans-Pritchard suggests a close functional and spatial relationship within the urban environment. He goes so far as to employ this situation as the principal means whereby the "parish" Sanusi community can be differentiated from that of the "virtuoso" Darwish and Sufi Brotherhoods.

The history of the growth and spread of the (non-Sanusi) orders is part of the general history of the growth and spread of the urban centers of Cyrenacia.⁵²

This difference of opinion, it would appear, does not arise out of the unreliability of one side's data. Rather, it tends to reflect the wide range of types possible within the Arab-Islamic context. One could realistically posit a continuum situation in which the degree of change is reflected in the type of institution, the extent of its functions and the size of the participant congregation.

⁵⁰Coon, Caravan, op. cit., pp. 129-136.

⁵¹E. E. Evans-Pritchard, The Sanusi of Cyrenacia (Oxford, 1949).

⁵²Ibid., p. 87.

The "parish" community, according to Sadler, operates as a clergy on behalf of the spiritual needs of its lay congregation. To a degree not found among the virtuoso orders, secular activities such as agriculture, pastoralism, trade and politics are integrated into the spiritual environment and employed in the pursuit of spiritual objectives.⁵³ In his discussion of the Sanusi (recognized by Sadler as a "parish" community), Evans-Pritchard states:

Anyone who studies the distribution of Sanusi lodges in Cyrenacia will observe that they were placed . . . on a politico-economic plan.⁵⁴

Furthermore,

Sanusi lodges served many purposes besides catering for religious needs. They were schools, caravanserais, commercial centers, social centers, forts, courts of law, banks, storehouses, poor houses, sanctuary and burial grounds.⁵⁵

⁵³The guild institution, an amalgam of social, economic, political and military functions within a syncretic spiritual contest, can be viewed as a uniquely urban manifestation of the "parish" lodge. According to Gibb and Bowen (Islamic Society and the West, Vol. I [Oxford, 1950]), "All who were engaged in any urban occupation were members of a corporation." (p.277) The guild would then appear to be an ubiquitous phenomenon within the urban environment which, in Fischel's view, "structured all economic activity." ("The City in Islam," Middle East Affairs, Vol. VII [1956], pp.230-231.) Lewis approaches this phenomenon in the following manner: "So important was the guild in Islamic life that in many cases the topography of the Islamic city, which was built on the idea of a market, was determined by the needs of the guildsmen." ("The Islamic Guilds," Economic History Review, Vol. VIII [1937], pp. 20-21). He furthermore states that the distribution of guilds in different towns was practically identical. (Ibid., p. 21).

⁵⁴E.E. Evans-Pritchard, The Sanusi of Cyrenacia, op. cit., p. 78.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 79.

In the Cyrenacian hinterland, then, the concept of sacred space is developed to a high degree, the lodge (zawiya) and its surrounding estate (haram) providing the spiritual as well as economic, social and political focus. In a manner reminiscent of the shrine institution, the lodges represent "stable points in a country where all else was on the move."⁵⁶

A similar situation is evident in the Arabian Peninsula where a more orthodox variant of the "parish" community, Wahhabism, has been employed as a political as well as a religious force. Here the Sanusi lodge is replaced by the township (dirah). It too can be viewed as a unit of sacred space as its settling was a religious obligation (This primacy of religious criteria can be seen in the name given to the individual settlements: Al Hijra). Within the context of this discussion, then, the state of Saudi Arabia, as initially envisaged, represents a valid illustration of the manner in which sacred space is accorded areal-functional organization.

Resource Base

An itemization of the resource potential of the social environment demands greater caution and insight on the part of the observer than was necessary with the natural environment. This is because the foundation upon which social

⁵⁶ Ibid.

resources are predicated is an intricate, dynamic and often contradictory body of beliefs, tradition, norms, ritual, attitudes and goals. In essence, it is the ideology of the society.⁵⁷

Within the Arab-Islamic realm, the "Five Pillars of Islam" fulfill the role of an ideological foundation in the secular and sacred spheres. The principal categories of this system will provide the general framework for the ensuing discussion: They are: (1) prayer (sala), (2) almsgiving (zaka), (3) fasting (saum), (4) pilgrimage (hajj) and (5) profession of faith (shahada).

Prayer

Prayer is an important category of social resources. On one level prayer functions as a medium for identification and integration within the community.⁵⁸ It is a focus for activity and emotion which demands full participation on the part of the communal congregation. On a second level, prayer establishes a rapport between the spiritual and the secular,

⁵⁷ For a discussion of religion viewed as the ideology of a community and the manner in which it mediates man's relation to the physical environment, see Elaine M. Bjorklund, "Ideology and Culture Exemplified in Southwestern Michigan," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. LIV, No. 2 (June, 1964), pp. 227-241.

⁵⁸ H. Barclay, "Muslim Religious Practice in a Village Suburb of Khartoum," Muslim World, Vol. LIII (1963), pp. 205-211, mentions that all his informants recognized sala as the first requirement of Islam and the initial means for defining a Muslim.

the mundane and the ideal, heaven and earth; it creates a unity of the "universal" and the "local". It offers the individual a context within which the harsh reality of day-to-day existence can be interpreted, rationalized and made more palatable.

Almsgiving

Almsgiving represents one of the more significant elements of the social environment. Its relevance to the resource potential of Arab-Islamic society lies in its being one of the major institutions whereby the community's surplus is redistributed.⁵⁹ In many respects it defines one aspect of "social surplus."⁶⁰ The practice of almsgiving operates as a form of social welfare whereby members of the community incapable of self-support are provided for.

Almsgiving is also utilized to support the religious establishment. Much of this contribution, however, is subsequently employed to benefit the entire community through the support of educational facilities and public works. The institution of almsgiving, it might also be mentioned, has

⁵⁹ Another institution which provides a similar service is the charitable foundation (waqf) which is established by members of the lay congregation and administered either by the state or the religious hierarchy. As a means for maintaining social-economic equilibrium within the community, it provides for a wide range of welfare services. "Essentially it serves to iron out the differences between high and low, rich and poor, familiar and strange, bringing the extremes closer to the mean." Coon, Caravan, op. cit., p.127.

⁶⁰ For a discussion of the term "surplus," see footnote 16 of chapter III.

further benefited the community by providing a tradition of communal support which has paved the way, so to speak, for the establishment of a system of secular taxation.⁶¹

Fasting

The third "pillar" of Islamic ideology, fasting, provides a visible means whereby an individual can express his commitment to the community.⁶² As with prayer and profession of faith, periods of fast such as Ramadan reinforce group solidarity by symbolically re-establishing the individual's position within it.⁶³ Technically, fasting

⁶¹The relationship between the religious injunction of almsgiving and the secular institution of taxation is somewhat of a moot point. Coon argues that although functionally similar they are genetically and institutionally distinct. "Zaka differs from those /secular taxes/ in that it was not originally designed to support the state, being rather a means of levelling out the income of the various elements in the community so that no one would go hungry, of financing the conversion of the heathen and of facilitating travel between the various parts of the Islamic world" (Coon, Caravan, op. cit., p. 112) Although this might technically be true there is ample evidence to the contrary. (Coon even offers one illustration: Caravan, p.112, footnote #7). Eric Wolf asserts that zaka early became a "graduated income tax," with payment or non-payment being the chief test of adherence to Islam as well as the Islamic state. (Wolf, "The Social Organization of Mecca and the Origins of Islam," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. VII (1951), pp. 349-350. Indeed, given the close ties which have traditionally existed between the political and religious establishments and the generally secular nature of the ends to which zaka can be employed, it is not difficult to appreciate this situation.

⁶²That is the Islamic community of the faithful (ummah).

⁶³Barclay feels that the fast of Ramadan, by virtue of the restrictions placed on the individual and the "multitude of visible communal activities associated with it, provides a less critical index of religiosity (in that there is a strong imperative to conform) than other forms of ritual behavior such as prayer.

also operates as a "great equalizer" in that both rich and poor must participate and suffer the requisite deprivations.

The fast also has a deleterious effect on the community's resource potential. Since the Islamic calendar is based on a lunar rather than a solar cycle, the fast of Ramadan often falls during the critical planting or harvesting season. By interrupting the cycle of activity and inhibiting the output of labor, the threshold between subsistence and surplus is often disrupted.⁶⁴ As such, fasting becomes "the rich man's routine"⁶⁵ for he alone has a resource base secure enough to withstand its adverse effects.

Pilgrimage

The act of pilgrimage (hajj) is laden with numerous resource implications. Perhaps more than any other ideological principle, excepting almsgiving, pilgrimage offers a viable medium for employing one of the more significant elements of a community's resource base, manpower. Three illustrations will support this observation.

Throughout its history the Arab-Islamic state relied heavily on the hajj principle to recruit a military force capable of supporting and extending its sphere of control. Utilized in combination with the Jihad (holy war) the hajj

⁶⁴Supra., footnote 16, chapter III.

⁶⁵Coon, Caravan, p. 114.

injunction was directed mainly at the pastoral community which provided a major portion of the state's military strength. By invoking the hajj the state induced the pastoral warrior to enter the area under effective state control (bled el-makhzen) and submit to its authority.⁶⁶

A second aspect of the hajj principle focuses upon urban migration as a religious obligation and a sacred act. In this manner Islam, basically an urban-based and urban-oriented ideology, provides for the demographic continuity of the city and the expansion of urban space through the establishment of new cities. Migration, interpreted as pilgrimage, thus represents a religious as well as an economic imperative.

Employing the hajj principal as initially perceived, that is, as a pilgrimage elicits a further resource implication. Whereas profession of faith establishes a commitment to a spiritual community primarily through the medium of an emotional experience, the pilgrimage embodies a physical expression as well. Furthermore, the pilgrimage enables the individual to appreciate the spatial as well as the spiritual manifestations of the community.

⁶⁶ See F. Benet, "The Ideology of Islamic Urbanization," International Journal of Comparative Sociology, Vol. IV (1963), pp. 216-218.

Early references to the military camps of the seventh century Islamic state as "houses of emigration" support this interpretation of the hajj. See W. Fischel, "The City in Islam," Middle Eastern Affairs, Vol. VII (1956), p. 227.

The resource potential of the pilgrimage, however, lies in its ability to stimulate the exchange of goods, services and ideas. Recognizing the average adherents inability to underwrite the large expenditure of time, energy and resources requisite for a pilgrimage, Mohammed allowed - indeed, encouraged- the pilgrims' participation in trade. Consequently pilgrimage foci such as Mecca and the settlements located along the numerous hajj routes developed as major commercial entrepôts, the routes themselves functioning as transportation and trade media. The pilgrimage institution, then, serves as a significant medium for distributing resources on a regional and inter-regional scale.

Profession of Faith

Profession of faith is the most immediate emotional expression of community. As a "resource" it fosters a common identity among heterogeneous populations fragmented internally and divided externally. Profession of faith ensures support for demanding situations such as warfare on the basis of a commitment to the ideological foundation of Islam. It also serves as a medium for interaction whereby dissimilar populations can communicate, a good example being the theoretical right of every member of the Islamic community to unimpeded access to the dominant symbols of the community (e.g. Mecca). In a manner of speaking, then, profession of faith is a passport, a declaration of citizenship in a spiritual community (ummah).⁶⁷

⁶⁷ See W.H. Watt, "Conditions of Membership of the Islamic Community," Studia Islamica, Vol. XXI (1964), pp.5-12.

Interaction

In approaching the integrative components of the social environment, it is to be kept in mind that by employing Islam as the principal frame of reference, indeed, as one of the determinants of the areal unit of analysis (i.e. the Arab-Islamic realm), all discussion proceeds on the assumption that interaction is both evident and significant. Within this context, then, a concern with the presence of interaction is academic. What is of concern is the manner in which the institutional and ideological elements of the social environment combine to effect as well as inhibit functional and spatial interaction.

As can be seen from the above discussion, potential channels for human interaction are numerous. On the local level, ritual activities are conducive to interaction through the establishment and reinforcement of a common spiritual identity. Prayer, especially the Friday service, tends to be a group rather than an individual activity. As such it reiterates the individual's emotional and spiritual commitment to the community. Almsgiving fosters interaction by calling for face-to-face contact between members of disparate socio-economic strata. Although conducted on a person-to-person basis, it nonetheless demands the individual's awareness of his responsibility to the community as well as the community's obligations to the individual. Similarly, fasting operates as an equalizer cutting across all lines of distinction in its demands for compliance.

The mosque, shrine, and religious lodge provide the institutional matrix for these activities. The functional capacity of these institutions is not, however, restricted to the spiritual realm. Rather, one finds that the religious function tends to enhance the institution's ability to accommodate other activities— economic, political and social. As would be expected, their integrating potential is greatly expanded. The importance of this situation is appreciated when one recognizes that a spiritual congregation, in focusing upon a mosque, shrine or lodge, similarly partakes of the attributes of a political, social and economic areal-functional unit.

Activities and institutions which stimulate and symbolize interaction at the local level, however, often manifest an inhibiting tendency when approached within a regional context. One finds, for example, that the relationship between a village and its religious institution is stronger than the relationship between the institution and its encompassing hierarchy. The result is a de-centralization of authority and a high degree of local autonomy.

In an urban environment a similar situation is evident. Here, once again, the ability of the religious institution to reflect the identity of its congregation tends to discourage interaction on a city-wide scale. The multiplicity of mosques and lodges within the urban center is explained in large part by this phenomenon.

Patterns of interaction are nonetheless very much in evidence on this level. The enactment of the Friday prayer, a major requirement of Islam, necessitates a sizeable congregation, possible only with the participation of a large segment of the otherwise fragmented urban population. This institution, in its emphasis on centralization, seeks to reduce the parochial attraction of the neighborhood mosque.⁶⁸ Within the framework of the Friday mosque, the functional capacity of the neighborhood institution is thus expanded in range and impact.

An institutional medium for regional interaction is the waqf. This widely dispersed areal-functional network of social welfare institutions encompasses urban and rural space and plays an important role in stimulating movement between the two. Within the socio-economic dimension, it reduces the gap between rich and poor, high and low-born, by supplementing the resource base of those in need.

The "parish" type of religious lodge also acts in support of regional interaction. By emphasizing the regional nature of the spiritual community, it ameliorates the parochialism of the individual components. The Sanusi Order of

⁶⁸In his study of the Friday mosque in Ibadan, Nigeria, Abner Cohen undertakes a functional analysis of the Friday service as an index of urban centrality. Although emphasizing the political realm, Cohen documents the degree to which the socio-economic, political and religious spheres of Ibadan interact within the institution of the Friday mosque. (Paper delivered at Michigan State University, November 11, 1966).

Cyrenacia well illustrates this ability.

Similarly, the "parochial" shrine induces interaction by attracting elements of diverse ecological communities, specifically the peasant and pastoral . By providing a conflict-free environment, the shrine enables disparate communities to establish bonds of complementarity. Here, then, social inhibitors of interaction such as warfare and feud are avoided through an appeal to the sanctity of sacred space. Indicative of the shrine's importance as an agent for interaction is its ubiquity throughout the ecological order, the wide range of institutional forms it manifests, and the catalogue of needs it satisfies.

Perhaps the most effective, or at least the most evident, aspects of regional interaction focus upon the "societal" shrine and the hajj institution. In that the "societal" shrine commands a much larger and more dispersed congregation than does the parochial, its visitation establishes patterns of communication which attain realm-wide expression. It further serves as a symbolic focus in terms of which an otherwise fragmented society can articulate its common spiritual identity and commitment.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ See C.A.O. Van Nieuwenhuijze, "The Ummah, An Analytic Approach," Studia Islamica, Vol. X (1959), pp. 5-22. Here an analysis of this form of "social identity" attempts to isolate the contributing factors, the manner in which "identity" is expressed, and the situations which give rise to this expression.

H. Ritter, in his work "Irrational Solidarity Groups: A Socio-Psychological Study in Connection with Ibn Khaldun," Oriens, Vol. I (1948), pp. 1-44, discusses the variables associated with the establishment of intra- and inter-group

In its emphasis upon the sanctity of urban-oriented migration, the hajj institution, apart from the pilgrimage covered in the above discussion, presents a situation of rural-urban interaction with a long historical tradition. It is an ubiquitous form of movement binding town and country into one interacting whole. In combination with almsgiving, the hajj provides Arab-Islamic society with a system of resource distribution which is evident in all sections of the realm.

The Community

A discussion of the components of the ecological trilogy (the urban center, pastoral encampment and peasant village) at this time is warranted by the objective of the present chapter, to present an overview of the Arab-Islamic realm. Whereas the following chapters will focus on the patterns of interaction exhibited by the individual components of the trilogy, the present analysis will stress their locational and resource characteristics. In this manner it is hoped that the section will both adhere to the format and intent of the preceding discussion and provide a prelude for discussion to follow.

relations through the medium of what he refers to as "asabiya" or "sense of solidarity and common identity."⁶⁶

The Urban Center

Introduction

Within the Arab-Islamic realm as in other parts of the non-Western world, there exists much debate regarding the finer points of what constitutes a "city" and "town". Each researcher, it seems, attempts to apply his own set of criteria especially when dealing with an historical situation. Mikesell for example, claims that in "Morocco, as in other parts of the Muslim world, it is difficult to find intermediate stages in the settlement hierarchy. Indeed, there isn't an equivalent in Maghribi Arabic for the word 'town'."⁷⁰ Blache, via an analysis of air photographs of the Moroccan landscape, similarly contends that "the transition which in Europe leads from the village to the country town and from the town to the city is here absent."⁷¹

In another section of his study, however, Blache maintains that such transitions are not only present, but that they can be observed: "Between the dar (house) and the kasba (town), insensible transitions and diversity of types may even be seen in the same agglomeration."⁷² Numerous

⁷⁰M.W. Mikesell, Northern Morocco: A Cultural Geography, (Berkeley, 1960), p. 67.

⁷¹Jules Blache, "Modes of Life in the Moroccan Countryside: Interpretations of Areal Photographs," Geographical Review, Vol. XI (October 1921), p. 487.

⁷²Ibid., p. 480.

studies from Morocco and other parts of the Arab-Islamic realm support this latter view and tend to refute Mikesell's assertion. Indeed, the Moroccan term sehir translates as "town."

Subsuming both "city" and "town" under the heading of "urban center" does not appear to alleviate the situation. The controversy centering on the distinction between "village" and "urban center" is typical. Traditional indices developed in western situations tend to be inappropriate and misleading, especially quantitative criteria such as size and density of population. According to Benet, "One must look for more subtle distinctions than the quantitative to arrive at useful definitions of the urban milieu."⁷³ Mikes is in agreement, and offers one possible alternative:

The questionable use of terms implying size- village, town, city - are best dealt with in relation to the traditional culture under consideration. Size alone, abstracted, is no criterion; nor is degree of concentration. Assessing the nature and relative size and specialization of the 'center' of a settlement is probably the best approach to the differentiation of town and village.⁷⁴

⁷³F. Benet, "Sociology Uncertain: The Ideology of the Rural-Urban Continuum," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, XIV (1958), p. 4.

⁷⁴S.W. Mikes, "An Urban Type: Extended Boundary Towns," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. XIV (1958), p. 348. On the basis of field work conducted in Iraq, Adams has found that "there is absolutely no evidence of lesser population densities obtaining in small agricultural settlements than in urban centers, in spite of the necessity of accommodating large numbers of live stock in a small settlement. . . there is little or no evidence of a positive correlation between larger settlement size and greater density." Robert Mc C. Adams, Land Behind Baghdad: A History of Settlement on the Diyala Plains (Chicago, 1965), p. 25.

Contributing to this debate are the "functionalists" who define settlement forms on the basis of activity patterns. This approach is evident in the following statement:

The oases, even the smallest of some few hundred inhabitants, are towns, not villages. They possess the organs of urban life. . . . In this urban setting, the life itself is distinctly urban. . . . the places of amusement are indicative of the night life which is analogous to that of the low quarters of one of the ports.⁷⁵

Adding to the confusion of terminology is the tendency to employ both the term "village" and "town" in attempting to comprehend the areal-functional nature of the urban center. In his analysis of Cairo, for example, Ayrout states that "it is enough to cast a glimpse at felahin (peasant) colonies in Cairo to see that they are simply villages, grouped according to place of origin in the old quarters."⁷⁶ Ziadeh, however, feels that "these new quarters (of Damascus) were not mere extensions and expansions of the city. They were almost new towns only physically lying within the immediate proximity of the city."⁷⁷ Xavier de Planhol, discussing the Islamic city, completes the analogical procedure by approaching the urban center "as a

⁷⁵E.F. Gautier, "Nomad and Sedentary Folks in Northern Africa," Geographical Review, Vol. XL (1921), p. 8.

⁷⁶H.H. Ayrout, The Egyptian Peasant (Boston, 1963), p. 150.

⁷⁷Nicola A. Ziadeh, Urban Life in Syria: Under the Early Mamluks (Beirut, 1953), p. 82.

collection of cities living under the haunting fear of a general massacre."⁷⁸

In the present discussion both city and town will be subsumed under the category of "urban center." The distinction between the urban center and village is predicated on ecological characteristics. The principal variable employed in highlighting the rural-urban distinction is the resource base available to each community type.

Location

As a mode of settlement the urban center constitutes a major temporal, functional and spatial focus of the Arab-Islamic realm. If one accepts the premise that one of the principal determinants of the city is resource potential, an analysis of its locational qualities, then, should proceed within the same framework. Thus the phenomena of focality and accessibility are recognized as the mediating elements between urban location and the nature of the center's resource potential.

Focality

In approaching the temporal dimension of the realm, many observers have employed the urban center in such a manner

⁷⁸Xavier de Planhol, The World of Islam (Cornell, 1959), p. 14. Von Grunebaum, in his article "The Muslim Town" (Landscape, Vol. VII, No. 3 [1958], p. 7) likewise employs this technique. "Unity in (urban) residence is functional not civic. It (a city) is a collection of towns."

as to imply that Arab-Islamic history is essentially urban history. They contend that the urban center has generated, mediated and resolved the dominant forces operative throughout the temporal and spatial dimensions of the realm.

In addition to this temporal significance, the city has also achieved functional significance. Politically and administratively, the city has evolved as the institutional medium through which dynasties and empires have exercised power. Islam has likewise employed the urban center as its principal arena for expression, recognizing the center as the only acceptable environment for the full observance of its precepts. Similarly, in its ability to focus, convert and redistribute a major portion of the realm's resource base (in the form of goods and services), the urban center is the most articulate expression of the realm's economic organization.

This focality of the urban center attains spatial expression via a wide range of forms, the most explicit being the morphologic structuring of the center itself. The impact of this structuring is increased, furthermore, by its ubiquity throughout the urban environment of the realm. Within the Arab-Islamic city one repeatedly finds the central core defined according to functional rather than strictly spatial considerations. As such, it is the location of the Friday mosque (jami), government buildings (administrative,

judicial, military), residences of the elite⁷⁹ and main market (sug) with its associated caravanserai (khan) which determine the central core of the city. Within this institutional complex the major activities of the realm are focused.

Accessibility

Throughout the Arab-Islamic realm the location and structure of the various settlement patterns are largely conditioned by each community's perception of its resource base, the nature of this base and the means for converting resources into goods and services beneficial to the community. What distinguishes the urban center's spatial adjustment to its resource base is the mediating role which accessibility plays in this relationship.

Within the context of the peasant community, for example, suitability of site tends to be determined by a substantial portion of the resource base being within the territorial bounds of the community. For the peasant community, then, proximity can be recognized as the principal condition for determining locational imperatives.

The urban center, on the other hand, is not restricted in its selection of site by the relative location of its

⁷⁹This elite represents the sum of the individual elites of the peasant and pastoral as well as urban communities. One can thus recognize a qualified yet distinct demographic expression of the urban center's focality.

resource base to the same degree as is the peasant village. Apart from those resources which derive uniquely from urban space (i.e. skills, stability, security), the city's principal resource base lies well beyond its territorial bounds. Its ability to control and utilize this extra-urban base in support of its own objectives, then, lies in the urban center's ability to maintain access to this base. Access, in turn, is in large part dependent upon technology. Whereas the peasant community's spatial relation to its resource base is conditioned by a relatively restricted technology, the urban center's technological sophistication allows it a much wider range of action. Consequently, distance as an impeding factor is overcome.

Focality and accessibility, in conjunction with their implication of extra-communal orientation and interaction, can thus be identified as two principal factors which differentiate the urban center from other settlement types. This observation, however, has not met with equal acceptance by researchers of the Arab-Islamic realm. When attempting to define the Arab-Islamic city in terms of its spatial and functional position vis à vis the peasant and pastoral communities, many observers feel there is a basic discrepancy between the view presented above and the situation they find in reality. Instances are cited in which the urban center apparently occupies a niche that is functionally and spatially alien (i.e. exhibits neither focality nor accessibility) to the encompassing social, political, economic and demographic environment.

Western Libya was never anything but a maritime facade, a country of emporiums and ports, the trade of which was fed by merchandise from the Sudan as much as, if not more than, by the products of the country itself.⁸⁰

What such observers have not fully appreciated is the dual orientation of the urban center. On one plane of interaction the local or "immediate" rural environment provides the dominant focus; on a second plane, the dominant focus is provided by the regional or inter-regional environment.⁸¹ This distinction actually occupies a central position in the hierarchial organization of urban centers. "Low-order" urban centers, such as the market-town, oriented principally to the local rural situation are deemed "indigenous" to the encompassing environment. "Higher-order" centers, on the other hand, whose greater technology relegates local considerations to a peripheral position, are judged "alien."

⁸⁰ Jean Despois, "Types of Native Life in Tripolitania," Geographical Review, Vol. XXXV (1945), p. 355. As an illustration Despois offers the case of "Tripoli, a Turkish city since the sixteenth century (which) has remained more or less alien to its hinterland peopled by hostile tribes." (p. 356) Although the validity of this example is questionable, it should be recognized that there are situations in which the urban center was, to a large extent, an alien form. Mikesell's assertion that Moroccan cities didn't evolve as trading cities for the rural areas is one example in which a valid case can be made for the "alien city." He states, "The Moroccan city is an imposed entity. No Moroccan city is truly native . . . since they are walled cities they begin and end abruptly." (M.W. Mikesell, Northern Morocco: A Cultural Geography . . . p. 67).

⁸¹ Briggs, for example, states, "In spite of their seeming variety, the true urban centers of the Sahara are formed

The distinction between the higher-order center and its lower-order counterpart, and the question of locality and extra-communal interaction, is further compounded by the tendency of observers to view the higher-order center as a product of functional specialization; economic, political, or religious. Beirut is thus characterized as a mercantile center, Mecca as a religious, and Damascus as a dynastic center. Approaching the higher-order center as a specializing institution, however, masks its true multi-functional qualities and encourages the contention of its alien position within the encompassing landscape.⁸²

Once again the morphologic characteristics of the Arab-Islamic city can be cited to illustrate the functional and spatial integration of the higher-order center within the including environment. As has been seen the central core of the urban center is generally defined in terms of an institutional nexus of religious, political and economic establishments.

alike in that all depend primarily . . . on interregional as opposed to purely local trade." Tribes of the Sahara (Cambridge, 1960), p. 75.

Within the local rural-urban context, then, the urban center's hinterland tends to take the form of an immediate, concentrated and multi-dimensional space-time manifold. On a regional inter-urban level of analysis, however, the city's hinterland can be viewed as extensive, discontinuous and predominantly uni-dimensional.

⁸²There are Arab-Islamic urban centers which are not integrated into the landscape pattern. One illustration are those Moroccan cities established by the Spanish crown, such as Ceuta and Melilla. A second example is the dynastic city conceived as the physical expression of a newly-emergent ruling establishment. This type was often inhabited solely by the functionaries of the establishment and their supporters. They were what one might call "private cities."

The portion of urban space surrounding the core constitutes a somewhat distinct environment, or rather set of environments, overlain by "urban culture." Here space is structured into quarters (hara) by socio-cultural, rather than by strictly functional, imperatives. Bounded by walls and gates, each quarter incorporates all the attributes of an individual community complete with the requisite economic, religious and political institutions. To a large extent the patterns of activity are functionally and structurally distinct from those operative within the central place of the city and are relevant only within the confines of the quarter.

How, then, does this pattern of quarters, functionally peripheral yet spatially contiguous, illustrate the local focality of the urban center? It is within the quarters that the full impact of demographic focality can be appreciated. Every urban center, regardless of size and function, is largely dependent upon neighboring rural populations for its continued existence. And, as has been seen, urban-oriented migration represents one of the major manifestations of human movement. The resolution of this process is represented by the hara institution which defines the ethnic, religious and, more importantly, the locational origins of the community it encompasses.⁸⁴

⁸⁴One could theoretically reconstruct the range of the center's focality by identifying the locational derivation of communities resident in urban space.

Furthermore, the system of quarters provides the principal medium for the numerous economic and socio-cultural activities which tie the urban center, high as well as low-order, to its including environment.⁸⁵

The Resource Base

As mentioned previously, the resource base provides a principal context within which settlement types can be differentiated. Employing the expanded definition of "resource" developed above,⁸⁶ it should be possible to highlight at this time some of the more important components of the urban center's resource base.

Perhaps the most significant resource complex available to the center is the interacting network of the various organizational hierarchies- political, religious and economic (as personified by the elite). Via this network control is exercised, over the resources of the rural community (i.e. peasant agriculturist and nomadic pastoralist) as well as those of the lesser towns. This network, through taxes, rents, alms, shares and profits, also provides the means whereby these widely dispersed resource units are siphoned off, transferred and concentrated in the center. This concentration

⁸⁵ Within the larger urban center the central core serves as the institutional matrix within which regional and inter-regional patterns of activity are dominant.

⁸⁶ Supra, p. 32 , Chapter III, Footnote 6.

of resources, translated into capital goods, in turn stimulates and underwrites commerce, manufacture and a wide range of services.

Knowledge and skill are another resource to which the urban center has access. In that the center provides the home for the elite as well as a large population displaying all levels of wealth, and since an equally extensive non-urban population is dependent on it a suitable market is present for a wide range of goods and services which demand highly specialized activity. The urban center, then, has a monopoly on the institutions of learning, the scribes, teachers, artists and artisans, to name but a few.

The demographic resource presents yet another medium through which the urban center can assert its pre-eminence. A large population provides a suitable market for the goods and services produced by the center. It also permits adequate defense and manpower for the construction and maintenance of public works such as walls, roads and buildings. Further, the urban masses in many instances, are enlisted in support of a regime or the establishment of a new political, spiritual or social movement. Most important of all, however, is the necessity of a large population for the continued existence of the center.

In conclusion, then, it can be said that the urban center, regardless of size and principal functional orientation, represents a most significant spatial, temporal and functional focus for the Arab-Islamic realm. Through the

various activities which it performs it has a unique potential for gaining access to and exploiting the resources of the less well-developed communities of the realm, rural and urban. With the assistance of this extensive resource base, the urban center is able to both maintain and extend its sphere of influence and control.

The Pastoral Community

Despite its traditional popularity in research⁸⁷ the pastoral community remains a relatively unknown quantity. In approaching the pastoralist, then, it is perhaps best to commence discussion with some observations which at first glance might appear self-evident. Nevertheless, their re-statement permits clarification of this complex subject and provides viable guidelines for subsequent discussion. In this manner it is hoped that the sizeable though unorganized body of data relevant to the pastoral community can most effectively be brought to bear on the nature of human interaction within the Arab-Islamic realm.

Pastoralism denotes a wide spectrum of activities⁸⁸ whereby man has adjusted to and modified his environment.

⁸⁷ According to Barque, "There is probably more literature on 'the nomad' than on any other group, perhaps because the West has found them more romantic, more exotic, and more akin to their own prehistoric forebearers." International Social Science Journal, XI, No. 4 (1959), p. 485.

⁸⁸ "There are wide variations in the ecological conditions to which they (the nomads) have to respond and a correspondingly wide variation in the animals that are kept and the area of movement. It would consequently be a mistake to treat the nomad as a homogeneous group. . . The

The pastoralist, as the peasant and urbanite, has had to evaluate the natural milieu and develop a technology for employing resources to satisfy his needs. A definition of pastoralism, then, is contingent upon the interplay of the natural and social environment.

The cultural differences in techniques and values, and hence in the utilization of the physical-biological environment and its conversion into a human habitat have distinguished one human group from another.⁸⁹

In approaching the pastoral community within the present context the intent will be to identify some of the major features whereby the community gains coherence as a principal component of the Arab-Islamic realm. The ensuing discussion will employ the same units of analysis used in the preceding sections, that is "location" and "resource base."

Location

One of the shortcomings in traditional accounts of the pastoralist is the attempt to establish an invariable

composition of the herds varies according to rainfall, soils and elevation, as does somewhat the character of the people and the clan confederacies which claim the various zones." Leo Silberman, "Somali Nomads", International Social Science Journal, Vol. XVI, No. 3 (1964), pp. 559-560.

The spectrum of types ranged from the nomad (grands nomades) who can further be differentiated into camel herders (bawadi, jamala) cattle herders (baggara) and sheep and goat herders (shwaya), the transhumant and semi-nomad who also can be defined in terms of herd composition, natural milieu, and permanency of residence, to the peasant agriculturalist who engages in pastoralism as an ancillary subsistence activity.

⁸⁹ William L. Thomas Jr., ed. Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth (Chicago, 1956), p. xxxvi.

relationship between the pastoral community and an arid environment. Quite to the contrary, the pastoralist's natural milieu includes practically all ecological combinations: the ocean littoral, steppeland, alpine upland as well as arid plain. Indeed, it would appear that the pastoralist exhibits a greater degree of adaptability than do the peasant and urbanite.⁹⁰

Most observers, however, have been hesitant to attach significance to this fact. Their unit of analysis is landscape transformation and re-organization, a process which, it is felt, is not reflected in the pastoral community. According to Barth the pastoralists "are organizationally equipped only to exploit a natural environment as it is, not to invest labor in modifying it for subsequent more efficient utilization."⁹¹ True, although the pastoralist does exert a decided influence on the ecological order of his habitat, specifically the floral and faunal components, it is difficult to find evidence ("evidence" generally interpreted as physical structuring) of such interaction. To Berque, "These lands . . . are 'covered,' 'dominated,' or 'controlled' by him rather than exploited."⁹²

⁹⁰"We are impressed with the sheer vastness of the space and time covered by this way of life no less than by its archaism." J. Berque, International Social Science Journal, Vol. XI, No.4 (1959), Introduction, p. 486.

⁹¹F. Barth, Nomads of Southern Persia. . . , p.102.

⁹²J. Berque, op. cit., p. 486.

To predicate one's analysis of the pastoral community on criteria which attain significance within other patterns of subsistence activity cannot, however, be justified. Furthermore, morphologic forms, although useful in the analysis of some human communities, are not ultimate criteria. Their value lies in providing the observer with a convenient expression of the manner in which man organizes his environment. Their absence, then, cannot be taken as adequate proof that such organization does not, in fact, take place.

It remains that although the pastoralist has not always effected a visible alteration of his habitat, he has nonetheless established an intimate and effective relationship with it. In his discussion of one of the modes which pastoralism takes, i.e. transhumance, Stauffer offers the following observation:

Transhumant nomadism is both a valid mode of survival and a fully rational and expedient form of land utilization, granted the level of Middle Eastern society and its economic development to date. In much of Iran and Afghanistan it is indeed the superior solution to the challenge of the environment.⁹³

The locational aspects of a community, that is, the manner in which a population distributes itself within the spatial dimension, are in large part a reflection of the

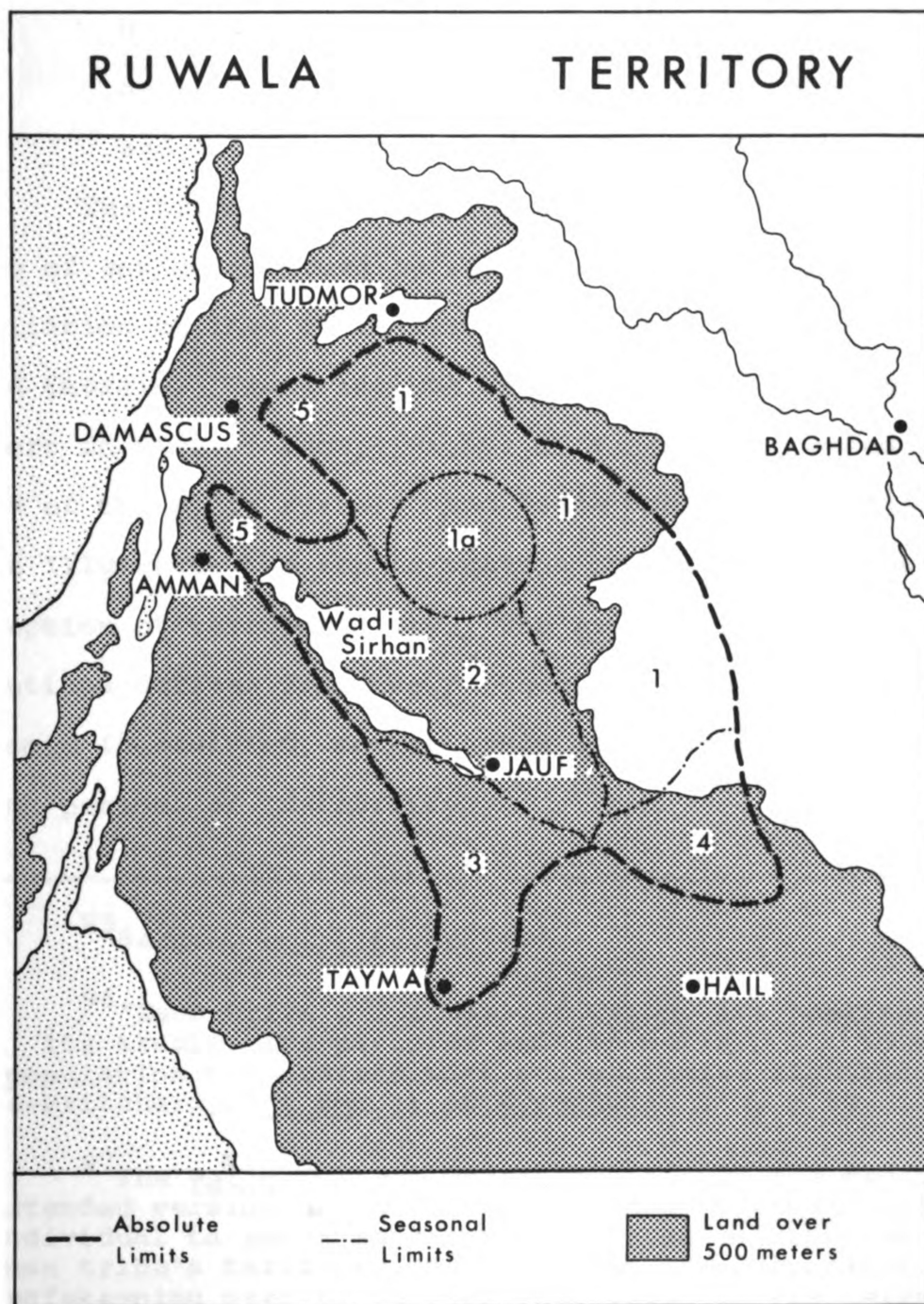
⁹³T.R. Stauffer, "The Economics of Nomadism in Iran," Middle East Journal, Vol. XIX, No. 3 (1965), p. 285. See also Silberman, op. cit., p. 559: "By natural selection the nomad has proved himself a skilled ecologist, maintaining a most delicate adjustment between the capacity of his animals to go without food and water and the timing and route of their movement from one grazing or water source to the next."

means whereby a community relates to its environment. Commonly, settlement patterns and other physical manifestations of this relationship are emphasized in a discussion of communal location. Since pastoral settlement is an ephemeral phenomenon and the morphologic structuring of space a rarity, a realistic assessment of locational characteristics must seek other units of analysis. In the present discussion, then, an attempt will be made to express communal location in terms of the three principal dynamics of pastoral society, territoriality, mobility and dispersion.

Territoriality

One means whereby the pastoralist relates to his natural milieu can be seen in his conception of "territoriality" (that is, the defining of space in terms of imperatives arising out of the natural and social milieu). Although this phenomenon is present among all forms of human organization, (e.g. the Bushman culture of the Kalahari Desert)⁹⁴ its level of sophistication within pastoral space permits a favorable comparison with the peasant and urban communities. Berque offers the following commentary:

⁹⁴The Bushmen organize their natural milieu in terms of the location of water sources. When the realms of a number of groups focus upon one water source, however, one finds that proximity to the source is reflected via decrease in the local dimensions of the realm and in restriction of the number of rights obtainable. Due to the critical nature of a water source, proximity is also reflected by an increase in inter-group hostility. (Personal communication, Dr. Harm De Blij).



Map II-- The numbers refer to pastures occupied seasonally as follows: 1. Winter (1a. Richest in winter); 2. Spring; 3. Occupied in winter when rains are good or usual pastures fail; 4. Occupied when pastures fail to the north and west; 5. Summer (oasis settlements).

Source: C. Daryll Forde: "The North Arabian Badawin," Geography, Vol. XVIII (1933), p. 209.

However light may be man's (i.e. the pastoralist's) hold on these tracts of land, it nevertheless gives rise to an infinite number of rights among those concerned—rights of use and access rather than ownership.⁹⁵

The tribal territory (dirah, watan) provides one example of space delimited by rights of usage.⁹⁶ Here tribal affiliation defines an individual's rights to the resources found therein. These include water, pasture, and communal support, in time of feud. Rights of access, expressed in terms of the Rafiq system⁹⁷ and "safe conduct" (anaia)⁹⁸ again illustrate the sophistication of the pastoralist's conception of territoriality. The importance of these institutions derives from their insuring the continuity of economic interaction, market trade and long-distance commerce during periods of instability.

⁹⁵ Berque, op. cit., p. 487.

⁹⁶ "Each tribe . . . has its watan, its homeland, its soil, its arable, its pastures and its wells . . . to which its population has preferential and exclusive rights." E.E. Evans-Pritchard, The Sanusi of Cyrenacia. . . , p.55.

⁹⁷ The Rafiq system, operating through the medium of an extended version of "blood brotherhood" (akhwan) obligates an individual to see a merchant or caravan safely through his own tribe's territory and then hand the responsibility for safekeeping over to another individual in the neighboring tribal territory. See H.R.P. Dickson, The Arab of the Desert: A Glimpse into Bedawin Life in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, 2nd edition (London, 1951), pp. 110-112.

⁹⁸ Anaia is a Berber institution which similarly insures the right of access to an individual through another tribe's territory. See F. Benet, "Explosive Markets: The Berber Highlands," . . . for a full discussion.

A further example of territoriality defined in terms of rights of access is the "tribal road" (il-rah). Applying mainly to transhumant populations which pass through lands inhabited by peasant and urbanite, this institution is defined by Barth⁹⁹ as the combined route and schedule which describes the location of the tribe throughout the yearly cycle. It is recognized by pastoralist, peasant and governmental authority alike as a general "passport" with concomitant rights of the pastoralist to the use, but not ownership, of available resources.

Mobility

The phenomenon of mobility presents a second context for discussing the locational aspects of the pastoralist community. The term "mobility" is a surrogate for a wide spectrum of types of movement. These can be plotted on a continuum between "migration," which denotes a total displacement of habitat, and the restricted cyclical and rhythmic movement characteristic of "nomadism." In the present discussion, however, emphasis will focus upon the principal stimuli which effect mobility in the pastoral realm, namely the natural, political and economic variables.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ See Barth, Nomads of Southern Persia . . ., pp.4-7. See also John Kolars, Tradition, Season and Change in a Turkish Village (Chicago, 1963), p.49, for a similar situation among the Yurukler transhumants of southwestern Turkey.

¹⁰⁰ One aspect of pastoral mobility which will not be dealt with directly but which should be recognized is the inter-regional variant which involves movement over a wide expanse of territory during a considerable period of time. In Turkey, for example, de Planhol finds that from the end

Natural stimuli

One facet of the interplay between the bio-climatic milieu and the needs of the pastoralist is the restricted resource base to which he has access. These are "seasonal resources," displaying a spatial distribution which is discontinuous and unstable. The demands of the pastoralist, however, are continuous in time: they require satisfaction on a day-to-day basis. Thus the irregularity in the spatial and temporal components of his resource base are compensated for through mobility. Following the migration of the water-sufficient seasons, the pastoral community commutes from one favorable location to another. To quote Whytron, "The desert tribe is really a mobile village adapted to living in a critical environment where freedom of movement means survival."¹⁰¹

of the eleventh century, when the pastoral Turkomans entered Turkey from the east, one can trace a persistent trend of pastoralism to the west. Two principal factors abetting this development were the favorable natural milieu and a power balance initially in favor of the pastoralist. (Xavier de Planhol, "Geography, Politics and Nomadism in Anatolia," International Social Science Journal, Vol. XI, No. 4 (1959), pp. 525-531.

In the Arabian Peninsular-Levant region one finds a similar situation of much longer duration. Here, Arabia-based pastoralist communities have displayed a persistent tendency to move in a northwesterly and northeasterly direction. As the saying "Yaman is the womb of the Arabs and Iraq is their grave" attests to, this phenomenon both relates to the pastoralist and provides the major context within which the history of the area has been written.

In North Africa long-distance mass migration has been a dominant focus of activity. Although in existence prior to the seventh and eleventh century Jihad -inspired migrations from the Levant, they became more complex and explicit within the framework of Arab-Islamic occupation. Here the initial trend was east-west. Subsequently an accompanying west-east component developed and in time overshadowed the former.

¹⁰¹Quoted by Stauffer, op. cit., p. 285.

Herd composition is another relevant variable which enters into the causal relationship between natural stimuli and pastoral mobility, the foci of interest being sustenance demands, distance capabilities and the time factor. It is generally recognized that the carrying capacity of a pasture-land varies with the type of livestock. Similarly, certain animals such as the camel are capable of undertaking the stresses of travel without debilitating effects whereas the sheep and goat cannot.

Time likewise appears to be a consideration. Since access to the resource base is intimately related to the bio-climatic cycle it is imperative that the pastoralist community pattern its rate of movement to the seasons. Camels present few difficulties in this regard; consequently their numbers tend to dominate in the more arid portions of the realm.¹⁰² It is also found that camel and cattle ("herd") pastoralism generally exhibits longer migratory routes than is typical of goat and sheep ("flock") pastoralism.

Political stimuli

Political imperatives arising out of inter-communal (urban-nomad) and intra-communal (inter-tribal) conflict are a second cause of pastoral mobility. Indeed, it is often

¹⁰²Sweet observes that "the role or sphere of camel pastoralism in the Near East seems to be historically more closely connected with, and dependent upon, oasis towns of Arabia than with the continuous belt of cultivation in the Levant area." Louise Sweet, Tell-Toqaan: A Syrian Village. . . . p.2.

found that political stimuli supersede the imperatives of the natural environment.¹⁰³

Watering and pasturing are, indeed a permanent problem for the tribe, but as the cause of long-distance migration, herding is dominated by political and strategic rather than economic (subsistence) considerations.¹⁰⁴

Governmental relations provide the best documentation for discussing politically derived patterns of pastoral mobility. Expressed spatially as a hypothetical line dividing the "desert" from the "sown"¹⁰⁵ the balance of power has fluctuated across the landscape. With the balance resident in the pastoralist community, the pattern and degree of mobility is favorably defined. The result is a restriction of the "migratory round" concomitant with an increased access

¹⁰³Trigger contends that "A range of choice offered by one factor, in this case ecology, may be sharply limited by problems in another sphere." His emphasis is on political and strategic factors and he employs the Shukriya Bedouin of the Sudan as an example. Here inter-tribal raiding encouraged the consolidation of small herding groups. This in turn decreased the carrying capacity of the pastureland and necessitated movement at short intervals. With the establishment of Pax Britannica, the tribes reverted to their antebellum situation, with the individual herding groups again able to utilize a pasture in such a way that mobility was no longer necessary. Bruce Trigger, History and Settlement in Lower Nubia (New Haven, 1965), p.7. See also F.C. Thomas Jr., "The Juhaina Arabs of Chad," Middle East Journal, Vol. XIII (1959), pp. 143-155, for a discussion of a similar situation.

¹⁰⁴Berque, op. cit., pp. 485-6.

¹⁰⁵Or, more accurately, the line dividing the pastoralist from the agriculturist, the nomad (bawadi) from the Citizen (hadur), or the "country of the sword" (Bled es Sif) from the government land (Bled-el-Makhzen).

to a more favorable distribution of resources.¹⁰⁶ This situation is also reflected in an expansion of pastoral and livestock populations and in the level of mobility evidenced within the Arab-Islamic community as a whole.

An expansion of the government's sphere of control at the expense of the pastoralist initiates a new set of controls. Here the more abundantly endowed portions of the realm are no longer available and the pastoralist is forced to employ mobility to maintain a tolerable relationship with a less hospitable environment. In situations where the power of the government is decisive, moreover, one finds a noticeable reduction of the pastoral populations (herds and people) and, similarly, in the gross level of mobility.¹⁰⁷

Economic stimuli

The economic influence on pastoral mobility centers in the market institution.¹⁰⁸ Despite the assertion by some traditional observers that the pastoralist's subsistence system is not market oriented, numerous recent studies have uncovered evidence of pastoral participation. In his study of

¹⁰⁶The Qashqai tribe of southwestern Iran illustrates such a situation. Here a combination of rich pasturage and weak governmental authority results in an attenuated il-ran.

¹⁰⁷Regarding size of livestock population, it is generally found that there is not an immediately noticeable decrease in gross numbers. Indeed, for many, the presence of large herds and flocks is evidence of recent sedentarization.

¹⁰⁸It should also be recognized that long distance trade ("caravan commerce") plays a contributory role in the analysis of pastoral mobility.

the pastoral populations of Iran, for example, Stauffer finds that in many situations "the accessibility of the consuming market . . . partially dictates the composition of the herd,"¹⁰⁹ and that the pastoralist tends to market a greater percentage of his produce than the villager.¹¹⁰

Two conclusions regarding mobility can be derived from these observations. First, the pastoralist's dependence on and participation in the market institution necessitates movement over considerable distances.

The journey made for the benefit of the herds, even those made by desert tribes proper, are quite restricted and in any case much shorter than the journey undertaken for the benefit of trade.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Stauffer, op. cit., p.292.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p.294. Barth similarly states, "The Basseri maintain an approximate economic . . . balance with their external social environment mediated through market exchanges." F. Barth, Nomads of Southern Persia . . . , p. 113.

¹¹¹ Kaj Birket-Smith, Primitive Man and His Ways: Patterns of Life in Some Native Societies (New York, 1963), p.148.

William Polk offers the following observation initially made by Burckhardt:

These Kourdines (Kurds) bring annually into Syria from 20-30,000 sheep from the mountains of Kourdis-tan; the greater part of which are consumed by Aleppo, Damascus and the mountains (of the Lebanon) . . . The Kourd sheep-dealers first visit with their flocks Aleppo, Homs, Hama, and Baalbec and what they don't sell on the road, they bring to pasture at . . . (the uplands) . . . whither the people of Sahle, Deir-el Hammar and other towns in the mountains repair and buy up thousands of them.

W. Polk, The Opening of South Lebanon, 1788-1840: A Study of the Impact of the West on the Middle East (Cambridge, 1963), p.80. An analysis of the source areas for camel meat sold in Egypt would manifest a similar situation as the above.

Second, if the market exerts an influence on the composition of the herd, it can be assumed that this situation will act as a control on the parameters of the "migratory round" and thus on the level of mobility.¹¹²

Dispersion

Dispersion is a third medium for identifying the dynamics of pastoral location. As with mobility, the pastoralist employs dispersion as a most effective technique for maintaining a favorable balance with his natural milieu. An analysis of patterns of dispersion can be approached in terms of their spatial and temporal components.

The pastoralist community presents a highly dispersed pattern of occupancy¹¹³ in comparison with the peasant and urbanite. This situation arises primarily from the interplay between the natural environment and the demands of animal husbandry. Thus, although tribal identity provides the principal parameters for defining "territoriality," it is the ubiquitous and finely distributed network of herding encampments (oulad, duar) which highlights the nodes of activity and

¹¹²In a similar manner, it cannot be denied that the multi-functional demand for the camel throughout the Arab-Islamic history has had an impact on the pastoral community, one facet being an increased level of mobility which such a pattern of activity necessitates.

¹¹³The term "occupancy" is here employed to denote the spatial locus of activity rather than residence. "Habitation," it is felt, would tend to emphasize residential qualities and therefore be unsuitable for the present discussion.

population concentration.¹¹⁴ The location of these encampments, rather than that of the tribal territory, most accurately reflects the interaction between the pastoralist and his environment. The tribal 'round,' then, can be recognized as the ultimate limit for dispersion.¹¹⁵

In the temporal dimension it is possible to plot for any one point in time an irregular distribution of encampments around a "mean" which, in the present context, would be defined as the tribal route. Through time, however, (i.e. from season-to-season or year-to-year), the nature and degree of this dispersion fluctuates significantly. To expand on this point, although the overall direction of movement remains constant within the yearly cycle, one finds a rhythmic pattern of increasing dispersion (during the summer) followed by a reversal in favor of greater concentration (in the winter).

Resource Base

The preeminence of animal husbandry as the dominant mode of subsistence activity constitutes a further characteristic of the pastoral community. Indeed it is the main factor

¹¹⁴For a discussion of the herding encampment and its spatial and functional relationship with the tribal community as a whole see E.E. Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 54-57, and F. Barth, Nomads of Southern Persia . . . pp. 45-47.

¹¹⁵The controls being primarily political and social rather than bio-climatic.

which distinguishes the pastoralist from his peasant counterpart.¹¹⁶ From his herds the pastoralist satisfies a major portion of his biologic needs. The herd is also the principal context through which his status, rights and obligations within the community (i.e. the social environment) are defined and expressed.¹¹⁷

Animal husbandry, however, is not the sole determinant of the resource base nor the only mode of activity engaged in by the pastoralist. Other forms of subsistence activity such as hunting, gathering¹¹⁸, itinerant agriculture,¹¹⁹ and casual labor and services¹²⁰, although peripheral,

¹¹⁶ Thus Krader's definition of transhumance as "pastoralism under conditions of sedentary habitation, and as part of an economy mainly dependent on cultivation" (Krader, "The Ecology of Nomadic Pastoralism," International Social Science Journal, Vol. XI, No. 4 (1959), p. 500), would effectively exclude it from the pastoral community as here defined.

¹¹⁷ This phenomenon is often referred to as the "livestock complex."

¹¹⁸ "The nomad utilizes to an astonishing degree the wild plants of the desert." E. F. Gautier, "Nomad and Sedentary Folks of Northern Africa," Geographical Review, Vol. XI (1921), p. 8. Also "It (the pastoral community) regularly uses what might be termed 'famine food resources' as it lives permanently at the starvation level." Berque, op. cit., p. 485.

¹¹⁹ Agricultural activities indulged in directly by the pastoralist on a highly eclectic and extensive basis, commonly in cereals. The procedure is to sow the seed broadcast in the wadis and interdune areas along the tribal round and harvest the crop on the return journey. The Basseri, however, hire peasants at their summer terminus to plant the crop which they harvest themselves in the early fall.

¹²⁰ Including guide service, protection, provision of draft animals, ambulatory trade, herding, harvesting crops, trucking and mining.

do nonetheless contribute to the pastoralist's resource potential. Indeed, many tribal communities formalize this activity complex in terms of a "noble"- "vassal" relationship,¹²¹ in which components of the community "specialize" in specific subsistence activities. Thus the "noble" pastoral community possessing the livestock nexus is complemented by the "vassal" community which specializes in "inferior" activities such as agriculture (e.g. the Haratin), fishing (e.g. the Imraquen), hunting (e.g. the Nomadi),¹²² and craftsmanship (e.g. the Solluba).¹²³ These occupational communities, nonetheless, enter into a spatial as well as functional definition of the Arab-Islamic pastoral community.¹²⁴

¹²¹ See R. Patai, Golden River to Golden Road: Social and Cultural Change in the Middle East (Philadelphia, 1962), pp. 251-266, for a discussion of "noble" and "vassal" tribes. The "noble-vassal" or "patron-client" relationship is also manifest within as well as between tribes, between individuals and, during the early centuries of Islam, characterized the relationship between the State and its non-Islamic communities, i.e. the Jews and Christians.

¹²² See Briggs, Tribes of the Sahara for a discussion of these subsidiary communities and their position within the pastoral community.

¹²³ This situation is furthermore a prime example of Coon's "mosaic" concept in that communal identity similarly embodies an occupational identity.

¹²⁴ "To describe the Tuareg as nomadic, then, is only part of the story. Their society is, in fact, extremely complex and the actual herdsmen constitute only a single component of a rather complicated organism, the separate parts of which have been mutually adapted in order to function." Kaj Birket-Smith, op. cit., p.137.

As mentioned previously, however, the most definitive characteristic of the pastoralist's resource base is its pervasive and persistent instability. Furthermore, this resource base is exploited mainly through primary types of activity, accessibility being directly dependent upon the controls emanating from the natural milieu itself. In view of this situation, therefore, it is imperative that the phenomena of mobility and dispersion be recognized as two of the more significant and critical components of the pastoralist's resource potential. Via these two activities the pastoral community is able to effect a favorable balance between the demands of his habitat and the satisfaction of his needs.

The Peasant Village

Introduction

The peasant village provides a third key to understanding the Arab-Islamic community. Within this community the peasant attains significance by virtue of his numbers and the agricultural surplus which he makes available to the pastoralist and urbanite. Due to his numerical preponderance¹²⁵ and the extensive degree to which peasant-oriented activities structure Arab-Islamic space, the peasant community stands

¹¹⁵"One can safely maintain that in every country of the Near East the number of villagers is greater than that of urban and nomadic populations combined." C.A.O. Van Nieuwenhuijze, "The Near Eastern Village: A Profile," Middle East Journal, Vol. XVI (1962), p. 295.

as the most obvious expression of human areal-functional organization in the realm.

He is the embodiment of maps showing the distribution of population or the cultural landscape of the Arab-Islamic realm. He supports the worker and the merchant in the town. His payment of rents and taxes supports the landlord and the government.¹²⁶

Apart from these basic considerations, observers have been reluctant to attribute definitive criteria to this community and those which have been posited are conflicting, ambivalent and often negative. Areas of confusion include the peasant's relation to the land and the village, the manner in which he structures his natural and social milieu and his relations with the pastoral and urban components of the Arab-Islamic community. The end product of these commonly unsympathetic, uninformed and uncritical efforts is often little more than a caricature of the peasant community.¹²⁷

What is consistently misunderstood is that the peasant community, although unified enough to make it distinguishable from its co-residents of Arab-Islamic space, manifests significant internal disparities. In terms of the

¹²⁶Douglas D. Crary, "The Villager," Social Forces in the Middle East, ed. Sydney N. Fisher, (Ithaca, 1955), p.43.

¹²⁷One aspect of this situation is identified by H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen (Islamic Society and the West, Oxford, 1950, Vol. I., Pt. I, p. 5): "No Moslem writer, in either medieval or modern times, has condescended to describe the organization of village life in his country."

present discussion one such divergence can be identified, that between the "tenant" and "freehold" unit.¹²⁸ It is posited that this distinction is basic to an adequate and realistic assessment of the peasant community.

The ensuing discussion, then, will employ these two types of communities as a means for coming to grips with some of the contradictions which have highlighted discussions of the peasant realm. Each will be a point of departure for analyzing those factors arising from a discussion of the two basic variables of the Arab-Islamic community: location and resource potential.

Location

Although occurring in all sectors of the natural and social milieu, peasant occupancy, defined in terms of temporal persistence, is concentrated in those areas of adequate water

¹²⁸ Another distinction within the peasant community centers on the degree of pastoral influence present (influence defined in terms of social structure, spatial organization and subsistence orientation).

Based on his field work in eastern Iraq, Barth prefers to distinguish between "tribal" and "feudal" villages, the former freehold, the latter tenural.

There is an indication that only the two poles, tribal and feudal, are moderately stable, and that change from one to the other, once initiated, is a moderately rapid process. This is indicated by the numerical preponderance of villages of the polar types as compared to the intermediate types. The actual border between areas where tribal vs. feudal organization predominates has remained moderately constant for many generations with apparently only minor oscillations.

F. Barth, Principles of Social Organization in Southern Kurdistan, (Oslo, 1953), p.135.

supply and arable land. These include the coastal littoral, the riverine alluvial plains, areas of seasonal rainfall (e.g. the Fertile Crescent) and the alluvial fans of the foothills and terraces of the uplands. Strategic, economic and social considerations enter as secondary locational controls. Sites which combine both a permanent water supply and arable land thus provide the general limits within which peasant habitation is possible. The secondary locational controls, in turn, define the distributional discontinuities within these limits.¹²⁹

In both the freehold and tenant situation, the individual site is structured by the village type of settlement which is spatially ubiquitous and temporally persistent throughout the Arab-Islamic realm.¹³⁰ Although the village's origin is unclear, most observers accept its antiquity. According to Lambton, "There seems to be little doubt . . . that in the earliest times for which we have any records the dominant type of settlement was the village."¹³¹

Explanation for its persistence resides in economic, strategic, fiscal and political considerations. The

¹²⁹ Thus an analysis of the spatial pattern of peasant habitation in the Lebanon would require a recognition of religious pluralism and political conditions as locational determinants.

¹³⁰ "The stability of the village, in social pattern and usually also in numbers, is a noticeable fact, traditionally," C.A.O. Van Nieuwenhuijze, "The Near Eastern Village. . .", p.303.

¹³¹ Ann Lambton, Landlord and Peasant in Persia: A Study of Land Tenure and Land Revenue Administration (London, 1953), p.2. She expands on this point in the following manner: "This importance of the village as a unit in rural life has

fundamental nexus, again, appears to be the nature and distribution of the resource base and the technology available to exploit it.

Irrigation could best be carried out as a corporate enterprise . . . [as could] resistance to predatory elements such as nomads and rival groups and the extortion of government officials. Muslims, in many cases, dealt with the conquered peoples in groups . . . It is clear that government policy in the early centuries of Islamic rule fostered such communal organization since administrative convenience demanded that their relations should be with communal units rather than with individuals.¹³²

A further reflection of the interaction between the natural milieu (resource base) and the social-milieu

persisted through medieval times down to the present day. The isolated settlement is still the exception. . . Where small farms or hamlets . . . are founded they are in almost all cases attached to a parent village." (p.4).

¹³²Ibid., p.3. The isolated farmstead type of dwelling and land unit relation, however, is present in some areas of the realm, but appears to be a reflection of a unique combination of local factors. Mikesell, among others, feels that the dispersed farmstead must also be recognized as a traditional form." In most of the Riff the terms 'hamlet' and 'village' are complete misnomers . . . houses are separated by at least one hundred meters." (Marvin W. Mikesell, Northern Morocco: A Cultural Geography (Berkeley, 1960/ p.71).

Trigger's reference to Nubian "hamlets" which are linear, several miles long and fifty feet wide presents a similar situation. (Bruce Trigger, History and Settlement in Lower Nubia (New Haven, 1965/ pp. 14-16.

Muksani supports this view: "While the fellahin villages are of the cluster type, the Bedouin build . . . houses [which are] widely scattered." (H.K. Muksani, "Sedentarization of the Bedouin in Israel," International Social Science Journal, Vol. XI, No.4 (1959), p.546.

Blache identifies the pastoral influence as the central reason for the absence of the village pattern of settlement: "Here cultivation everywhere bears a nomadic aspect. . . houses. . . are rare and always isolated; there are no villages." (Jules Blache, "Modes of Life in the Moroccan Countryside; Interpretations of Aerial Photographs," Geographical Review, Vol.XI, No.4 (Oct., 1921), p.485.

(technology) is the nucleated village.

This compact village is indigenous to an agricultural system in which the cultivated land is continuous and its forms of utilization are more or less similar. Agglomerated settlement is most frequently an expression of the economic need for cooperation.¹³³

The degree of nucleation or concentration of settlement, however, appears to present a range of possibilities. Apart from the tightly nucleated form there is the dispersed complex of hamlets¹³⁴ as well as a pattern of settlement which combines both the nucleated village and the hamlet. Kolars offers the following observation:

Many times a mahalle (neighborhood) is separated from its village by several kilometers of empty land . . . These satellite communities are formed by the

¹³³Crory, op. cit., pp. 46-7. "The ecological pattern is dominated by small tightly-knit clustered, self-sufficient and inwardly directed traditional villages." (Lincoln Armstrong and Rashid Bashshur, "Ecological Patterns and Value Orientations in Lebanon," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. XXII(1958) p.406.

Tannous similarly finds that, "Each village is a clearly defined ecological and psychosocial entity. Each village has defined clearly the bounds of its territory with respect to other villages." (A. Tannous, "Group Behavior in the Village Community of Lebanon," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. XLVIII [1943], p.233. See also John Gulick "The Lebanese Villages: An Introduction," American Anthropologist, Vol. LV (1953), p.367.

¹³⁴Wickwar observes, "One reason why it has been possible to exercise so considerable a range of administrative discretion in subdividing a country into "villages" is that not all rural populations live in nucleated villages; some live in outlying hamlets. . . often without a place of worship." W.H. Wickwar, "Patterns and Problems of Local Administration in the Middle East," Middle East Journal, Vol. XII (1958), p.254.

sloughing off of excess population who abandon their original homes in order to move nearer their fields, or by formerly nomadic and semi-nomadic people settling at several of the stopping places along their seasonal route-way. As an isolated mahalle increases in size, it may in time demand separate recognition as a village (koy).¹³⁵

Approaching the individual settlement as an areal-functional unit allows one to derive further spatial implications. This can best be accomplished by identifying and plotting the nodes of activity which structure the internal organization of the community. The principal node is invariably that of the nuclear or extended family which represents the most viable functional and residential unit. A secondary node is the lineage or clan (hamula), morphologically expressed in the form of the headman's house, the mosque and the square (saha).

At this level one can discern the manner in which the village as a whole is structured. The pattern is dependent upon the manner in which the community was settled and by whom.¹³⁶ Thus, if the village was founded by a group

¹³⁵ John Kolars, Tradition, Season and Change in a Turkish Village (Chicago, 1963), p. 33.

Briggs, however, feels that groups of vicinal hamlets may result from political conflict rather than demographic growth. "The fragmentary nature of such clusters of several neighboring but separate settlements is rarely if ever, the result of political union . . . it is caused by centrifugal force." Briggs, Tribes of the Sahara . . ., pp. 73-4.

¹³⁶ As defined by Barth, "The tribal village constitutes one close-knit kin group or a distinct endogamous lineage segment of a larger linear group. The non-tribal village is endogamous but is internally unstructured above the household level." F. Barth, Principles of Social . . ., p. 72.

consisting of one clan, the clan is commonly coterminous with the village and the institutional complex is located at the center of the settlement.¹³⁷ If the initial founding group consisted of two or more clans, or if settlement was accomplished over a considerable period of time and involved a number of distinct groups, one will find a bi-central or multi-central arrangement.¹³⁸ This secondary node provides the framework within which most village intra-action transpires.

A tertiary node, reflecting the interaction between the social (technology) and natural components (land, water, pasture, woodland) of the community's resource base can likewise be identified. In contrast with the primary and secondary nodes, however, activity patterns and their spatial expression appear to be diffused and discontinuous rather than concentrated and contiguous. One explanation resides in the nature of the natural and social milieus. Where land and water resources are generally uniform in quality and

¹³⁷Lambton states, "The tribal nature of society in early times determines that the village made up of a clan should be the model settlement," Lambton, op. cit., p.2.

¹³⁸Despois finds that in many North African oasis communities the complex history of settlement has resulted in a situation where "houses are grouped in hamlets rather than a real agglomeration-- the hamlets are dispersed in the oasis with the mosque, market and shops in the center." Jean Despois, "Types of Native Life in Tripolitania," Geographical Journal, Vol. XXXV (1945), p.361.

quantity, holdings are contiguous. Fragmentation, resulting from inheritance practices, however, often disrupts this pattern. Where the resource base is not equally distributed, the fragmentation caused by social precepts is compounded.

Similarly, in villages where social organization is predicated on the tribal model the resource base is often communally owned with individual access defined in terms of kinship rights. Here crop patterns are homogeneous and activity is undertaken on a communal basis. The cycle of activity is thus identical for the entire village.

Another situation is evidenced where landholdings are located at a distance from the community. This may be brought about by an individual owning property within another neighboring village (commonly a result of exogamous marriage) or a village having access to two or more ecological realms.¹³⁹

The Resource Base

As evidenced in the preceding discussion, there is little to distinguish the freehold from the tenant village in terms of location and locational imperatives. The distinction between these two forms is critical, however, in the context of the resource base and, more specifically, the relationship manifest between the peasant (as an energy source) and the resource base (land).

¹³⁹One thus finds villages in Iran, Iraq, and Turkey where alpine meadows, alluvial plain and forested uplands are within a community's territory. See John Kolars, op. cit., for a full discussion.

The principal components of the peasant resource base are here defined in terms of the traditional "five point" system for crop distribution: land, water, seed, draft animals and labor. These elements will be approached in terms of the degree to which they reflect interaction between the natural and social components of the resource base.

Land

In areas where the impetus for village development depends on the initiative of a community, be it peasant, pastoral, or semi-nomadic, there is a strong sense of unity based on the perception of a common temporal and spatial bond. Such unity establishes the village's charter for independence, provides the principal social institutions (lineage [hamula], clan) and gives the individual specific "legal" rights to the basic units of production.

The main reference points for these communally sanctioned rights and obligations is land, its ownership and utilization. Thus the free peasant approaches his land much as the pastoralist approaches his herds, as something imbued with socio-cultural and psychological implications that supercede utilitarian economic value.¹⁴⁰ The "livestock complex"

¹⁴⁰H. Barclay recognizes the high value of land to the peasant and employs it as an index of "peasantness."

The conception of one's own piece of land as sacred is often considered a characteristic peasant trait. The frequency with which Buurri al Lamaab farmers have sold their land may show an absence of such an attitude. It could be argued that these villagers never had the opportunity to become peasants in this sense.

Harold Barclay, Buurri al Lamaab: A Suburban Village in the Sudan, (Cornell, 1964), p.29.

of the pastoralist is paralleled by the peasant's "land complex."¹⁴¹

The free peasant responds to his plot of land as if to a living organism. Each plot often has a proper name and a personal history which are handed down from generation to generation. Land, then, is a value in itself and is surrendered only as an extreme measure.

Land acquired such an intimate connection with the ancestors, frequently containing their tombs and in the terrace wallings always being the direct and visible fruit of their labors, that there remains to this day a strong desire to retain land within the family.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ It is to be recognized, however, that pastoral attitudes toward land of recently sedentarized populations often display more affinity with the tenant than with the freehold peasant. The following quotation appears to refer specifically to this group:

Paradoxical, in our western eyes even shocking, is the existence of a peasant population in the East which lacks all peasant atavism; here are people of the land who have no feeling for the land or respect for it, farmers who despise farming, tillers of the land who loathe the plow, villagers who disavow their village in order to remain faithful to their tribe. The peasant masses of the Middle East exist in a state of self-rejection. This is quite unique, an almost pathological situation among farmers in the whole world.

Gabriel Baer, Population and Society in the Arab East, (New York, 1964), p.137.

¹⁴² William R. Polk, The Opening of South Lebanon, 1788-1840: A Study of the Impact of the West on the Middle East, (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 180-181.

This emphasis on ancestry offers both the individual and the community a context for realizing stability, security and identity. To own and work the land is to participate in the work of generations past and future. As a resource and a tangible symbol of the common nexus of interests, rights and obligations, land thus supports and is supported by the social organization of the community.

The tenant village's approach to land is significantly different. Here, land is an "impersonal" resource, used and manipulated for utilitarian ends rather than as an end in itself. Indeed, rights to land are divorced from any spatial, temporal or emotional commitment to the village or to the resident population.

An outstanding feature of much of the Arab Middle East . . . is the fellah's detachment from the land, mainly because he isn't its owner and also because of nomadic influences. This is particularly true of the plains of the Fertile Crescent, where the fellah is reputed for his contempt for land and agricultural work. It is also the main area of tenancy.¹⁴³

Rights to the resource base are defined by a variety of contracts between the landowner and tenant laborer rather than by communal membership. In a social context then, land is dysfunctional, serving to inhibit communal identity, solidarity and stability. The landlord, not the village, provides the ultimate locus for all rights and obligations.

¹⁴³G. Baer, op. cit., p.137.

The individual is little more than a unit of labor, the tenant village a domicile.¹⁴⁴

Water

Water provides a second essential in the peasant's resource base. In areas where access is relatively permanent (at springs, wells or rivers) rights to its use are commonly defined by residence. Many portions of the peasant realm, however, reflect a situation in which access is severely restricted. Here water rather than land provides the principal locus of communal rights and obligations. Furthermore, land as a resource unit (i.e. arable land) is defined in terms of its proximity to the water source.

Labor

Labor, both animal and human, represents a third element of the resource base. In that most peasant activities are labor intensive it is essential that each landholding unit (defined either as the household, village or landlord) have the manpower adequate for agricultural activities. Draft animals provide supplementary labor but, as mentioned previously, access to this energy source is generally restricted.

¹⁴⁴ Within the tenant realm the "village" is defined wholly in terms of its resource potential, specifically land. Thus, the traditional practice of landowners is to define their holdings in terms of the number of villages owned rather than by acreage. Villages were the unit of exchange and sale, not land. The village, then, is not conceived of as a unit of population, but as a labor source.

The community therefore avails itself of energy surpluses of other areas. Despite the parochial nature of the freehold village, one often finds that occasional exigencies permit new members to establish residence on a temporary or a permanent basis, a process which expands the community's labor potential. One thus finds nomadic and semi-nomadic households attached to the community during the harvest.

Similarly, pariah groups (woodcutters, charcoal makers, shepherds) are encouraged to pursue their activities on village lands considered peripheral. In this manner the village benefits by exploiting resources which, because of a lack of knowledge or time, would otherwise not be available.

In the tenant village, then, the peasant is viewed as a unit of labor through whose efforts a surplus is realized. Where tenancy approaches serfdom a permanent supply of labor is assured. Where labor is contracted for definite periods of time, however, a certain element of instability is encountered.¹⁴⁵

The Crop

The crop is dominated by grains such as wheat, barley, millet, rice, maize and sorghum. Tree crops, cotton, tobacco, silk, indigo, vegetables and livestock further supplement the grains.

¹⁴⁵See L. Dupree, "The Changing Character of South-Central Afghanistan Villages," Human Organization, Vol. XIV (1956), pp. 26-29.

These crops are both the effect of resource utilization and the means whereby resources are exploited.¹⁴⁶ Through the crop, the requisite human and animal labor is assured. Furthermore, it enables the individual to obtain, through rents and fees, those items in which his resource base is deficient. Similarly, it permits him to fulfill his social obligations such as taxes and tithes.

Technology

Although not a part of the traditional "five-point" system, technology, as a part of the peasant's resource base, should also be discussed. While not widespread, neither is technology totally absent from the peasant realm. Nor, when present, does it represent an innovation abstracted from the urban realm.

The best expressions of peasant technology, or at least the most obvious and most easily appreciated, appear to be present in situations where access to land or water is restricted. One thus finds peasant skills reflected in the intricate pattern of terracing in Syria and the Lebanon, where flat land is a scarce commodity.¹⁴⁷ In the semi-arid

¹⁴⁶ Apart from controls exerted by the natural milieu, crop type is also determined by the market, the system of tenure (grains lend themselves to sharecropping) and social imperatives.

¹⁴⁷ "The Syrian peasant is more like a miner than a farmer. . . . Elsewhere man has cultivated the land, in Lebanon he has made it. Elsewhere the harvest is the produce; here it is the soil." John Gulick, Social Structure and Cultural Change in a Lebanese Village, (New York, 1955), p. 72. See also N. Lewis, "Lebanon: The Mountain and its Terraces," Geographical Review, Vol. XLIII (1953), pp. 1-14.

portions of the peasant realm, compensation for insufficient water is made through an extensive network of irrigation, aqueduct, qanat, artificial catchment basin, and cistern systems.¹⁴⁸

Technology is further evident in the processing of raw materials by village craftsmen. The peasant also expands his resource base by maintaining access to other itinerant specialists (on a less permanent basis) and by occasionally availing himself of skills resident in the town.¹⁴⁹

Conclusion

By way of conclusion, some observations might be made regarding the comprehensiveness of the peasant's resource base.

¹⁴⁸ See George Cressey, "Qanats, Karez, Foggaras," Geographical Review, Vol. XLVIII (1958), pp. 27-44.

¹⁴⁹ In this context the social milieu militates against the full utilization of the peasants' resource potential. According to Fuller, "Specialization of labor is frowned upon since it tends to identify the peasant with a town way of life . . . It is to the towns that the peasants expect to go for specialized services. . . that is what the towns are for. . . Specialization cuts the individual off from the group and differentiates him from the others. It builds a partial man unable to participate in the whole life of the community." Annett Fuller, Buarij: Portrait of a Lebanese Muslim Village, (Cambridge, 1961), p.9.

In Morocco, however, Mikesell has found that, "The traditional economic organization of Berbery can be described as a system of semi-specialization and exchange designed to promote communal self-sufficiency. In other words, self-sufficiency at the level of the clan or tribe is achieved by semi-specialization of the individual family." M.W. Mikesell, Northern Morocco. . . , p.90.

It would appear that Fuller's comment emphasizes the ideal and Mikesell the real.

Numerous observers have posited self-sufficiency and have predicated their case for village isolation upon it. Ayrout, for example, contends that, "The peasant masses live on their own resources without any contribution from the outside."¹⁵⁰

Upon a perusal of the literature, however, it would appear that self-sufficiency, a favorable threshold situation between both surplus and subsistence and the resource base and demands made upon it, is at best an ideal state which is approached but rarely realized.¹⁵¹ Rather, a fundamental imbalance is found among the resource components, specifically land and labor. Labor deficiencies, as has been seen, are resolved in part by gaining access to external energy sources through sharecropping and day-labor arrangements. The deficiency of land, however, brings about the most critical disparity. Here again a partial resolution is achieved through contracting for land in areas which are labor deficient.

Migration, however, appears to be the most widespread alternative to resource imbalance. Seasonal migration is

¹⁵⁰ H.H. Ayrout, The Egyptian Peasant, trans. by John Williams, (Boston, 1963), p.113.

¹⁵¹ According to Fisher, "It is fair to say that the greater number of peasants live on the extreme margin of subsistence; rents and taxes may absorb as much as five-sixths of the total production of a holding. . . [nonetheless] subsistence is the overriding consideration with the aim of feeding the local population on local produce. (W.B. Fisher, The Middle East: A Physical, Social and Regional Geography, [London: 1961], pp. 197-198).

undertaken to supplement the community's resource base during low activity periods. It is commonly resolved within the rural realm, increased mobility enabling the individual greater access to the requisite resource components. Long-term migration, in contrast, implies a rejection of the rural resource potential and seeks resolution within another habitat, commonly the urban milieu. Within this context pressure on the community's resources is reduced by the absence of the individual from the village and by the remittances which he contributes.

The least extreme and consequently the most persistent means whereby deficiencies in the peasant's resource base are overcome is through trade. External ties effected through the itinerant trader, the weekly market, seasonal fair or urban bazaar allow the villager access to supplementary resource components. His participation in these institutions, however, carries with it the imperative that he possess a surplus, other than labor, which can be employed as a unit of exchange.

Regardless of the means whereby the peasant seeks to effect a favorable balance between the resource base and his needs, it is to be recognized that invariably some degree of recourse to the outside world is necessary. By the very nature of the base itself, "self-sufficiency," defined in social as well as biologic imperatives, implies access to extra-village supplementary sources of support.

Village landholdings don't suffice village needs although they guarantee to the peasant at all times a minimum of security and the sense of possessing a means of life which is particularly his own.¹⁵²

¹⁵² Annett Fuller, Buairij: Portrait of a Lebanese Muslim Village (Cambridge, 1961), p.9.

CHAPTER IV: THE URBAN CENTER

THE URBAN MILIEU

Introduction

The urban center, in a manner similar to the peasant village and the pastoral encampment, represents a dominant theme in the evolution of Arab-Islamic spatial, social and economic configurations. Although commonly associated with the spatial and temporal development of Islam and Islamic civilization, it attains added significance by virtue of its pre-Islamic foundation which dates back to the middle of the fourth millenium B.C. One thus finds in the Arab-Islamic realm a continuous history of urban settlement, ranging from the nascent Mesopotamian "type" through the pre-Islamic Berber, Persian, Byzantine and Arabic variants, to its greatest efflorescence concomitant with the rise of Islam.

In view of this situation, it is surprising to find that the urban aspect of Arab-Islamic civilization remains an "unknown quantity" in many respects. It has been relatively ignored by the Western observer, maintaining at best a position peripheral to traditionally popular items of academic interest such as the peasant and pastoral communities.¹ Only within the last two decades has a small yet

¹At the opposite extreme is the body of Islamic literature which emphasizes the urban milieu at the expense

critical body of literature, replete with newly-collected primary source materials (both contemporary and historical), and enlightened conceptual schemes been developed.² As a result, many widely-held axioms concerning cities in general and Arab-Islamic cities in particular have come under critical examination.

The following discussion recognizes the positive contributions of this literature and employs one of its more recently devised analytical models- the ecological trilogy-³ in analyzing the nature of the Arab-Islamic city and its relations with the pastoral and peasant communities. More specifically, attention will be focused upon the following

of the rural. This is "a literature of townsmen from beginning to end. . . it is only from the works of European writers that it is possible to gain insight into the life of the agricultural (and pastoral) community." H.A.R. Gibb and H. Bowen, Islamic Society and the West, (Oxford, 1950), Vol. I, Part I, p. 276.

²For example: L. Nader's "Communication Between Village and City in the Modern Middle East," W. Fishel's "The City in Islam," M. Alam's "Ibn Khaldun's Concept of the Origin, Growth and Decay of Cities," Eric Wolf's, "The Social Organization of Mecca and the Origins of Islam," Xavier DePlanhol's The World of Islam, and Gideon Sjoberg's Preindustrial City.

It should be mentioned that the initial impetus regarding this development was provided by the formulation of broad integrating theories of social structure and social development, such as the "folk-urban continuum" of Redfield, and attempts by advocates and critics of these theories to test their claims to universality within a cross-cultural framework. Horace Miner's study of Timbuctoo is a good example.

³For a brief discussion of this concept and its application to the Arab-Islamic realm, see Paul Ward English, "Urbanites, Peasants and Nomads; The Middle Eastern Ecological Trilogy," Journal of Geography, Vol. LXVI, No. 2 (February, 1967), pp. 54-59.

topics: (1) the nature of urban space and its development as a unique reaction to a set of stimuli operating spatially and temporally within the Arab-Islamic realm, (2) the patterns and processes which relate the urban system to its co-resident systems of spatial organization, the peasant village and pastoral encampment, (3) the manner in which this relationship effects a situation of centralized control weighted in favor of the urban center⁴ and, (4) the factors

⁴This analysis is predicated upon the assumption that urban dominance is one of the principal characteristics of the urban center (viewed as a global phenomenon). Briefly defined, urban dominance (derived initially from an ecological context) implies a progressive and continuous attempt on the part of the urban center to assimilate surrounding non-urban space and populations to a point where they can be successfully incorporated, functionally and/or legally, within the urban framework. This process can be broken down into a number of inter-related patterns of activity arranged along a continuum. Each level of activity is defined in terms of the nature, degree and focus of the interaction as well as the concomitant re-organization of urban and non-urban space. The resultant continuum might take the following form: (1) the development of an urban center either as a natural or artificial outgrowth of indigenous conditions and characterized in the latter case by the city's existence independent from non-urban space, (2) the establishment of a situation of complementarity between urban and non-urban systems predicated upon the city's dependency on the non-urban systems (Implicit here is the increasing permeability of the barriers which bind each system), (3) the establishment of fundamental and persistent inter-system patterns of activity and the securing of their structural requisites in all of the participating systems, (4) the disruption of complementarity in favor of a situation in which the urban center establishes itself as a center of gravity for the patterns and processes of interaction and maintains a monopoly in the generation, mediation and resolution of the flow of goods, persons and ideas, (5) the increasing dominance of the urban center in controlling the patterns of interaction in both urban and non-urban space and the nascent spatial and functional reorganization of non-urban space, (6) the dissemination of intangible goods (values and norms) by the urban center into the non-urban systems and their progressive acceptance by the non-urban populations, and (7) the de jure or de facto incorporation of transformed extra-urban space within the urban environment and the similar functional and behavioral incorporation of the newly "urbanized" population.

evidenced by the urban center which tend to inhibit these centralizing tendencies.

The City and Change

In a realm where the dominant forms of human activity⁵ exhibit a marked and pervasive instability in historical as well as contemporary times, the urban center appears to be inconsistent in its commitment to fixed patterns of spatial location and organization.⁶ The assumption is that within a situation of sudden and frequently disruptive change, the survival potential of locationally fixed patterns would be low.⁷

⁵That is, demographic, political, religious and settlement.

⁶R. Patai supports this argument and recognizes the differential effect which change has on the town and the village. "The fate of the towns was always characterized by more frequent and incisive changes than that of the village." Golden River to Golden Road (Philadelphia, 1962), p. 267.

⁷A somewhat curious relationship between the urban center and the peasant village lies in the sphere of conflict and conflict resolution, more specifically, the spatial expression of these two situations. The tentative hypothesis offered here holds that within the Arab-Islamic framework, overt conflict is often shunted from the urban scene to the rural hinterland. Although this hypothesis seeks to encompass processes of exceeding complexity, it does appear to offer insights into the urban center's relation to conflict and conflict resolution and to provide a stage for one facet of urban-rural interaction. It might prove rewarding, in passing, to speculate on a possible explanation for this phenomenon.

As has been seen, urban space functions as a catalyst for all variants of change. Change, in many situations, is mediated and/or resolved by conflict, the level of conflict depending upon the nature and intensity of the specific unit of change. Situations of change requiring a low level of conflict resolution usually affect a small segment of the social order and are relatively non-disruptive. Large-scale change, however, is mediated by a higher level of conflict and demands the participation of a major segment of the society above and

This apparent inconsistency is dispelled, however, when it is recognized that locational immobility does not necessarily imply structural fragility, especially where initial site selection depended upon more than one criterion.⁸ Although it is true that "the earth of Islam is pockmarked with the skeletons of dead cities,"⁹ one should temper this view by taking into consideration the length of the urban tradition in the Arab-Islamic realm, the many single-function centers, and the general unavailability of structurally sound building materials.

Furthermore, although physical location was relatively immutable, the populations and the dominant patterns of activity were not. Thus settlements, initially defined as cities in terms of demographic size, functional orientation and relative importance, did exhibit marked trends of contraction and even disappearance (not permanent) over time, but continuously maintained their dominant function as foci for human activity in the form of towns and villages. The close spatial association between present-day communities

beyond the urban center. It is within this situation that rural space functions as a "safety valve." Here the hinterland serves as a shatter, buffer or diffusion zone within which urban disequilibrium can be effectively resolved without doing major violence to the social and physical structuring of the urban center itself.

⁸The location of Petra, for example, appears to have been determined solely by proximity to the existing trade routes and considerations of defense.

⁹F. Benet, "The Ideology of Islamic Urbanization," International Journal of Comparative Sociology, Vol. IV (1963), p. 212.

and the distribution of tells,¹⁰ especially within the Levant-Arabian "heartland," supports this contention. Within this frame of reference, therefore, Benet's contention that "Islamic cities are short-lived and their death is final so that every few generations there are kaleidoscopic rearrangements in the total urban landscape,"¹¹ appears unrealistic.

An emphasis upon the locational mobility of populations and the rearrangement of functional relationships would be more to the point. The Arab-Islamic city is a complicated and evolved microcosm, and, far from epitomizing rigidity and inadaptability, it both reflects and effects those patterns of mobility which characterize Arab-Islamic society.

The City and Islam

The Medieval Moslem culture was above all an urban culture. . . Islam. . . rebuilt and refashioned the cities from their foundations.¹²

Most authorities have recognized Islam's influence on the nature and evolution of the urban center throughout the

¹⁰ Remains of former human occupation taking the form of a hill-like structure.

¹¹ F. Benet, op. cit., p. 212. This hypothesis has similarly been used to explain the frequent absence of municipal institutions in the Arab-Islamic city. "The cities of the Middle Ages were ephemeral, enjoying a commercial and intellectual efflorescence for a century or so and then dwindling and disappearing. There have thus rarely been any clearly defined municipal institutions or permanent urban entities." B. Lewis, "The Islamic Guilds," Economic History Review, Vol. VIII (1937), p. 20.

¹² H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, op. cit., p. 276.

Arab-Islamic realm, core area and borderlands alike. In their search for meaningful correlations between Islam and the urban center, however, many have erroneously assumed the presence of a conceptually closed system characterized by a simple cause and effect relationship. Unquestionably, Islam has had a profound influence upon the urban landscape, but it must be kept in mind that at the time of Islam's ascendancy in the seventh century, the network of cities and towns was already a well developed component of the pre-Islamic environment.¹³

Although Islam did not establish the initial foundation for the urban center, it did provide a new context within which the potential function, intensity and areal extent of this pattern of spatial organization was magnified.

One cannot underestimate the influence of Islam on the structure. . . of the Arab city. This impact may be called universal in the sense that expanded urbanization is

¹³ Recognizing this situation, Benet hypothesizes that Islam's encouragement of urban-focused migration (hijrah) is predicated upon a conception of the city as the repository of civilization and derived from an ancient Babylonian tropism. Similarly, he finds that Islam, in its emphasis on the urban way of life as the "good life," draws heavily from the Mesopotamian example: "The Mesopotamian attitude was one of unconditional acceptance of the city as the only possible way to lead a civilized (sacred) life. (Benet, op. cit., p.219). He also quotes Leo Oppenheim: "Mesopotamian rulers prided themselves on their efforts to 'gather in' the non-urbanized of their subjects, 'the scattered.' The utopia of complete urbanization was the chief aim of royal policy in the ancient East." However, Benet qualifies Oppenheim's statement by observing that "complete urbanization can be understood in the context of exceptional landscapes of Mesopotamia and Egypt where it is possible to live and to command according to that formula, but it remains inapplicable in other Near Eastern landscapes." Benet, op. cit., p.220.

a global phenomenon, and indigenous in the sense that certain cities have grown faster than they would have under a more normal impetus.¹⁴

With the advent of Islam, then, both the urban milieu and its patterns of interaction with the other major components of the Arab-Islamic realm (i.e. the peasant and pastoral communities) were altered considerably.

Through the medium of Islamic doctrine, for example, the cities and towns of the empire came to represent the normative as well as the physical embodiment of Islam: the only suitable environment in which an individual might satisfactorily fulfill his duties and obligations as a Muslim.¹⁵ In effect, the urban center became, especially throughout the early expansionist decades of the empire, a sacred cosmological center,¹⁶ "isolated within the continuum of profane

¹⁴S.G. Shiber, "Planning Needs and Obstacles," The Arab World Today, ed. M. Berger, (New York, 1962), pp. 169-170. See also W. Fischel, "The City in Islam," Middle Eastern Affairs, Vol. VII, (1956), pp. 227-232.

¹⁵For a further discussion see Xavier dePlanhol, The World of Islam (Ithaca, 1959).

¹⁶One finds, for example, the introduction and re-introduction of the urban pattern of settlement into a previously rural environment occurring concomitantly with the extension of the Islamic Empire under the impetus of the Jihad or "holy war." These urban cells were referred to as "houses of emigration" and "places of holy war," and adequate support for their establishment was as much a religious act as a political or administrative one. Indeed, many of these centers were fortified convents (ribat) ruled by warrior monks.

This phenomenon is also evidenced in the creation of the present-day state of Saudi Arabia under the Wahhabi movement. Saud decreed the establishment of a township within each tribal area (dirah) as a sign that the tribe accepted the puritanical tenets of Wahhabism and (consequently) the superiority of the state.

(non-urban) space."¹⁷ Each urban epicenter was positioned within a ritual hierarchy, relative location being determined by the degree to which the center concentrated the plethora of religious institutions and supporting functionaries. Within this framework Mecca, apart from its prior secular significance, reigned as the symbolic center, the juncture between heaven, earth and hell.¹⁸

Similarly, within the realm of intra- and inter-state relations there again appears a distinct tendency to employ the urban center as the dominant frame of reference. Here the city was visualized as the most effective spatial expression of power, control and organization. Muhammed, as Benet points out,¹⁹ preferred to view the "exterior" world bounding the nascent Islamic state as represented by indigenous urban centers. Inter-national affairs were consequently

¹⁷ Paul Wheatley, "What the Greatness of the City is Said to Be: Reflections on Sjoberg's Pre-Industrial City," Pacific Viewpoint, Vol. IV, No. II, (1963), p. 183.

¹⁸ Wheatley employs Mecca as an illustration for a city type which he labels the "sacred city." (Ibid., p. 182) The strength of Mecca's ritual centrality can be seen in its influence in naming the geographical units of the empire. Many were identified on the basis of their location vis à vis Mecca. Syria (es Shem), for example, translates as "left hand"; the Hejaz translates as "the middle" and the Yaman as the "right hand" for those who took to Mecca from the Mediterranean littoral. See C.P. Grant, The Syrian Desert: Caravans, Travel and Exploration, (New York, 1938), p.11.

¹⁹ F. Benet, p. 215. This discussion embodies A.N. Poliak's observations on the matter.

viewed as inter-urban affairs, and world history as the history of cities.²⁰ Relations between the Muslim state and the various national, ethnic and religious groups constantly being incorporated into the rapidly expanding Islamic empire were similarly mediated by an urban frame of reference. Each population was recognized as possessing certain rights, freedoms and obligations which were generally synonymous with those of "township."

The City, Islam and Commerce

Islam and commerce, the sacred and the secular, did not constitute mutually exclusive or antagonistic spheres. Quite to the contrary, the high degree of correspondence between these two patterns of activity serves as a hallmark of Islamic social and economic space, especially in an urban framework. Indeed, one finds a persistent interpenetration of function and outlook between the merchant and his body of economic "ethics" and the religious functionary and his ritual postulates.²¹ Often it is almost impossible to separate the two callings in that they existed in the same individual or institution.

²⁰ Thus, the Islamic realm was referred to as the "city" or "place of Islam" (Dar-*al*-Islam) and non-Islamic space as the "place" or "city of war" (Dar-*al*-Harb).

²¹ The Hajj pattern underscored this relationship by focusing upon certain cities (e.g. Cairo, Baghdad, Basra, Damascus) as points of departure and trade. Annual fairs were planned by towns along the Hajj routes to coincide with the caravan. Further, smaller mercantile caravans followed behind the Hajj caravan and maintained a symbiotic relationship with them. Also pertinent are the following statements regarding "pilgrimage" caravans to Mecca:

It is possible, therefore, to view Islam as a predominantly urban-oriented faith, conceived of by town merchants, government officials and members of the military as a means for strengthening their position, for justifying a concern with economic activities, and for establishing the paramountcy of the urban center whose institutions were essential to their activities.

In early Islamic times it was predominantly the merchants who were engaged in the development of the religious sciences of Islam. . . . [which they sought to pervade with the] spirit and ideals of the rising mercantile class [of which they were representatives].²²

With the above discussion in mind, one can expect to find a close correspondence between the apogee of the Arab-Islamic bourgeoisie as an economic, socio-political and religious force, the continued expansion of the Islamic realm and the period of greatest functional and spatial development of the urban center. Within the Muslim empire, the resultant cross-fertilization produced a period of efflorescence under

Each of the great Hajj caravans was a veritable travelling city of from 5-10,000 people, so there were countless opportunities for trade among the pilgrims, as well as among both townspeople and Bedouin at the various stations. C.P. Grant, op. cit., p. 221. The entire convoy resembled a travelling souq- a perambulating bazaar. . . . so that between the needy pilgrims, avid nomads, and the eager villagers- the merchant made a handsome profit. (Ibid., pp. 221, 232, 233).

²²S.D. Goitein, "The Rise of the Near Eastern Bourgeoisie in Early Islamic Times," Journal of World History, Vol. III (1957), p. 585.

the Abbasid and Almoravid caliphates (eighth to eleventh century).²³

The City, State and Administration

A third major stimulus which historically has supported and extended the significance of the urban milieu is government and administration.

The course of Middle Eastern history reveals that. . . a rigorous yet small community has asserted political dominance over a large area, but because of numerical inferiority. . . a hold has been maintained on the towns from which an alien countryside has been ruled. The ancient Persians, Greeks, Romans, early Arabs, and the Turks have all followed this plan, so that a tradition of rule and dominance has come to be characteristic of the towns.²⁴

Whereas Islam effected the spiritual paramountcy of the urban center, and trade provided for its day-to-day existence, political decisions and administrative activities established its raison d'être.

The effect of political and administrative decisions upon the urban realm and its relations with non-urban space differs considerably, however, from that brought about by Islam and commerce. Islam, as has been seen, sought to set

²³This cross-fertilization is most clearly typified in the urban landscapes of Iran and Iraq which represented at this time the most dynamic centers of trade, commerce and religion in the Islamic empire.

²⁴W.B. Fisher, The Middle East: A Physical, Social and Regional Geography, (London, 1952), p.131.

the city apart from and above its rural hinterland, and commerce sought to establish its dominance through the medium of inter-urban interaction (and only secondarily through urban-rural trade relations). Governmental and administrative procedures, on the other hand, reintegrated the city within its encompassing rural landscape. In the name of administrative convenience, the urban center came to be dependent, in a manner of speaking, upon the rural realm for its legal status; the city and its rural ramifications were treated as one administrative entity.

It must be pointed out at this time that references to "governmental" or "political" activity do not imply "municipal" activity or institutions. Indeed, the historical development of the urban realm appears to be devoid of any tradition of municipal political activity or administrative independence.²⁵ Political and governmental control and the institutional framework within which it was conceived and expressed commonly resided in one urban center which served principally as the dynastic home and seat of power, or Sjöberg's "societal capital."²⁶ The major portion of the

²⁵ Some functions commonly associated with municipal governments were undertaken either by private interests (the resident elite), the guild system, or by the individual quarters (hara). Each quarter, for example, conscripted and supported its own militia.

²⁶ Gideon Sjöberg, The Pre-Industrial City (Glencoe, 1960), p. 73. Many centers are referred to descriptively as "private" cities in contrast to "public" cities. "Private" is used to emphasize that the main purpose of the center was to house the organs, members and supporters of the government.

urban milieu consequently served as the medium through which administrative and political decisions were implemented rather than formulated.

This situation, however, did not detract from the overall effect which the urban center had vis à vis the rural community. The city remains a major focus, albeit on a secondary level, of administrative centrality. As such, it has been able to effectively control, through legally prescribed methods (taxation), the productive activities of the rural populations. Although a portion of the resultant "surplus" is siphoned off by the dynastic seat of power, a large amount is retained by the secondary urban center either in the form of fees, taxes, corvée labor and allotments or by graft and other covert means.

Recapitulating briefly, emphasis in the preceding section focused on the nature and development of urban space within the context of its dominant stimuli. Discussion has also centered upon the manner in which these stimuli have acted, both individually and concomitantly, to establish the urban center's parameters and to justify its role as focus for the central patterns of activity operative within the Arab-Islamic realm.²⁷

²⁷ Fisher develops this same point in the following manner:

It is interesting to observe that with a basis of trading activity, administrative control, and religious association, the cities of the region have been able to maintain an uninterrupted tradition over several thousand years. Political groupings come to an end, but the importance of towns continues; in the Middle East, cities outlast empires. W.B. Fisher, op. cit., p.131.

The remainder of this chapter will emphasize the urban center's relations with its co-resident units of the Arab-Islamic realm (i.e. the peasant and pastoral communities). More specifically, an attempt will be made to identify patterns of interaction and analyze the "contour gradient" of activity, if you will, between urban and non-urban space in order to better appreciate the urban center's focality.

Interest will be centered on those patterns of activity which display zones of overlap rather than congruence. In terms of activity types, significance will be determined by the relative degree of commitment (expressed in terms of the allocation of resources and energy) both systems maintain in a particular activity. In line with the overall objectives of this study, precedence will be accorded those situations in which urban interests provide both the parameters and the initiating stimuli for interaction. "Dominance," at least within the confines of the present chapter, is recognized, but as an heuristic device only.

Urban Pastoral Relations

As mentioned previously, traditional views concerning urban-pastoral relations have suffered extensively from a commitment to the stereotype as the medium for analysis, and the illusion of mutually exclusive realms which such an approach fosters. The present discussion recognizes the deep-seated antipathy between both communities. However, when the urban center is viewed in terms of the activities it

encourages in non-urban as well as in urban space,²⁸ it then becomes a relevant focus for many of the pastoral community's attitudes, both positive and negative. As such, it constitutes a major segment of the pastoralist's world view. The same can be said regarding the urbanite's perception of the pastoral realm.

This discussion contends, therefore, that in addition to the antipathy between both communities, there also exists the reality of a "common ground," defined in terms of reciprocity and expressed by urban-pastoral interaction. Three components of this "common ground" will be highlighted in the ensuing discussion: the (1) political, (2) demographic and, (3) economic.

The Political Component

With the extension of the perimeters of the Muslim state²⁹ in the eighth to eleventh century, there occurred a similar extension of urban space. Both developments depended upon the superior position of the state (and city) vis à vis the pastoralist, but, paradoxically, they were equally dependent upon the pastoralist for their execution and maintenance.

²⁸It is hoped that the term "urban," employed with reference to pastoral as well as peasant interaction, will imply process rather than morphology, thus permitting the recognition of characteristically urban-generated activities which take place in non-urban space (e.g. the ambulatory merchants and craftsmen).

²⁹Whose institutions and functionaries were urban-based.

With the locus of power residing with the state and expressed through the medium of the city, pastoral populations were enlisted in a punitive as well as a colonizing capacity, the basic pattern of settlement being the urban center.³⁰ Urban cores were established and re-established throughout the empire, in the Levant-Arabian heartland³¹ as well as in the provincial hinterlands. In the political record of the empire, one finds that the accepted procedure was to employ the pastoralist as a military colonist in the constantly vacillating Islamic marchlands.³²

The Demographic Component

Whereas the political balance of power vacillated considerably in areal extent as well as temporal persistence (following the initial expansion of the Islamic empire), the demographic situation provided a somewhat more consistent picture. A major aspect of the demographic component, viewed

³⁰Urban paramilitary settlements (tamsirs) included Kufra, Basra, Fustat, Hira, Jabiva, Tlemcen, Sousse, Sfax, Monastir.

³¹See the following for a more detailed account: Kamal S. Salibi, "The Buhturids of the Garb; Medieval Lords of Beirut and of Southern Lebanon." *Arabica*, Vol. VIII (1961), pp. 74-97; William R. Polk, The Opening of South Lebanon, 1788-1840: A Study of the Impact of the West on the Middle East (Cambridge, 1963); and Nicola A. Ziadeh, Urban Life in Syria: Under the Early Mamluks (Beirut, 1953).

³²With this situation in mind one might successfully reconstruct these units of "unstable" space by tracing the linear arrangement of urban settlements which served as their chief mode of physical expression.

in terms of urban-pastoral interaction, is that of population movement, i.e. migration.

Perhaps more than any other individual factor, migration represents the urban center's appeal as an alternative habitat in the pastoral realm.³³ Although it must be recognized that migration is a highly complex process involving "push factors" rising out of the pastoral experience as well as "pull" factors originating in the urban center, the point to be emphasized in terms of this discussion is that the city was ultimately the resolving medium for this movement.

Mohammed recognized the regularity of this process and the unique position which the urban center maintained as its ultimate focus. His main effort was to accelerate migration by imbuing it with spiritual connotations: urban-oriented migration became a religious imperative (hijra).

³³ Without entering into a full analysis of the mechanics of the migratory process at this time, let it suffice to say that (1) the act of migration can be viewed as a group or individually initiated dynamic effected by a fundamental disequilibrium in the source area. This state of imbalance can be induced by positive as well as negative factors. (See F. Barth's Nomads of Southern Persia: The Basseri Tribe of the Khamsah Confederacy, Oslo, 1961). (2) The initiating stimuli for migration arise both in the source area and in the area of attraction. They too are both positive and negative, but are not mutually exclusive: that is, the positive doesn't necessarily imply "pull" (in-migration) and the negative "push" (out-migration). (3) Migration, in contrast to other types of inter-communal movements, implies a permanent change in habitat, occupation and, eventually, in values and life modes. (4) The migratory process often encompasses and is masked by subsidiary supportive activities such as trade, itinerant labor and pastoralism.

Ibn Khaldun adds further insight into the relationship between migration and the city by contending that high mortality rates caused the urban center to depend upon the influx of pastoral populations for its continued existence.³⁴ Although quantitative indices are not available to document this situation, a reliable indicator is the influence of pastoral tribal society on the morphology of the urban center.³⁵

The Economic Component

Perhaps the most significant component of urban-pastoral interaction, in terms of its ubiquity in both time and space and the importance attributed to it by both communities, is economic activity. It is this medium that best

³⁴ See M. Alam's discussion of Khaldun in "Ibn Khaldun's Concept of the Origin, Growth and Decay of Cities." Islamic Culture, Vol. XXXIV (1960), pp. 90-106. Nicola Ziadeh also documents this phenomenon in the monograph, Urban Life in Syria. . . , p.63. "Could one find, too, in the proximity of the four towns- Aleppo, Damascus, Hama, Hims- to the desert, any bearing on their survival? We are inclined to believe that people from the fringes of the desert have always grafted the edge towns with new blood. This gave them more resistance and supplied them with energy which was needed for their building over and over again."

³⁵ Numerous observers have referred to the hara or quarter system, an ubiquitous characteristic of the Arab-Islamic city, as an example of this influence. (Cf. W. Fischel, op. cit., and X. De Planhol, The World of Islam. An indirect indicator of the urban center's success in attracting pastoral populations and the positive role it played in the processes of tribal formation can be seen in the following quotation. These Mauritanian and Sudanese cities, starting from scratch, are cybernetic mechanisms to reprocess the human waste from the tribes, and they become neural points in the establishment of tribes so that, paradoxically, the cities are fundamental elements for the tribal renewal. F. Benet, op. cit., p. 225.

illustrates the ability of the urban center to extend its base of support beyond urban space by means of formal and informal networks of trade. Furthermore, it is worth noting that these trade networks, for the most part, have persisted despite political instability, a convincing testimony to their centrality to both communities.

The economic medium of interaction can be broken down for analysis into the following patterns: (1) itinerant trade, (2) services, (3) the market and (4) organized commerce.

Itinerant Trade

Itinerant trade represents perhaps the most ubiquitous pattern of economic activity encompassed by urban-pastoral interaction. As an individual transaction it involved the exchange (through barter) of a small unit of goods with a low intrinsic value, a minimum of institutional structuring, and the general absence of capital formation. Nevertheless the combined effect of this mode of activity was significant in terms of the total number of items exchanged and the extent of the market.

As a system of economic interaction, therefore, itinerant trade can be characterized as: (1) impermanent in terms of length of continuous contact with a segment of the market, (2) regular in temporal and spatial occurrence (i.e. location in the same general area at the same time from year to year), (3) integrated in its "fit" within the pastoral socio-cultural environment, (4) extensive in terms of the area and population covered and, (5) restricted in the

variety and quantity of goods offered or accepted in trade.

The nature and effectiveness of this economic activity in serving the pastoral community with urban products arises in large part from the fact that a majority of the peddlers are former nomadic-pastoralists, part-time pastoralists,³⁶ and minor religious functionaries.³⁷ A further point to be emphasized, then, is that the ties binding the itinerant trader to the urban center are tenuous. Only a small percentage of the peddler population can be classified as urban either in terms of perceived communal affiliation and identification, or residence.³⁸ Consequently, within this economic

³⁶The term "pastoralist" is emphasized, for in view of the highly mobile nature of the itinerant trader, it would not be inaccurate to refer to him as "nomadic." Indeed, in the Maghreb one finds large segments of formerly or partially-nomadic populations engaging in this "mercantile nomadism." The Chaamba provide an example: "In 1937 it was estimated that the Chaamba of Metlili owned 80% of all the shops in the southwestern quarter of the Sahara." (Lloyd Briggs, Tribes of the Sahara [Cambridge, 1960], pp. 203-4). The Mozabites of Algeria and the Chleuh of southern Morocco also specialize in migratory trades.

³⁷These religious specialists, although tied to the town and city by their education, and conceiving of themselves as townsmen, accompany the pastoralist on his round and take advantage of the awe and respect accorded him to pursue itinerant trading activities. For example, in the Kabylia plains, the markets are run by part-time teachers (tolba) whose religious calling assists mercantile activities. Similarly, the Shorfa Marabouteem, descendants of Mohammed, are shopkeepers; scattered over the western Sahara, "they cultivate their human flocks assiduously by visiting all of the far flung cities of their cults or by sending agents out to them. . . . The vast wealth thus accumulated enables them to maintain efficient administrative control and commercial channels throughout the net of their widely scattered groups of devotees." (Briggs, op. cit., p.99).

³⁸The average number of journeys-to-town per year is two. Often the trader will keep a second wife in the town or enter into partnership with a well-established urban-based merchant. Rarely, however, will he remain there for any length of time.

framework the urban center functions primarily as a source of supply and a market for those products garnered from the pastoral realm. Despite the absence of participating urban functionaries, however, it would still appear that the demands of the urban center are met.

Services

Service-oriented activities similarly serve as foci for the establishment and reinforcement of urban-pastoral interaction. Many artisan groups in the pastoral realm depend upon the urban center for raw materials (e.g. unrefined iron). Other disparate urban-focused enterprises include "fencing" for stolen goods and smuggling of contraband such as guns. Both of these activities demand close cooperation between the pastoralist and his urban accomplice and despite their somewhat "shady" nature represent a significant locus for economic interaction.

A second major area of service provided by the urban center is that of religion. In the rural areas of North Africa especially, one finds numerous urban-trained religious functionaries (sayyids) maintaining well-defined roles as arbitrators of feuds and larger inter-tribal conflicts, as supervisors of rural markets, as purveyors of religious and magical charms and assorted paraphernalia, as intermediaries in peace agreements, marriage negotiations and inheritance distribution.

A third urban activity which could be classified as a "service" is less tangible but no less significant than those

previously mentioned. One might refer to it as entertainment or simply a "change of pace" atmosphere.³⁹

For the nomad, the town is a psychological as well as an economic necessity. The nomad comes to the oasis to see men, to learn the news, to frequent the bazaars and places of amusement.⁴⁰

Indeed, observers have explained the pastoralist's journey to town as rising out of psychological rather than economic needs. Barth, for example, maintains

Direct bazaar sales and purchases represent only a small fraction of the turnover of a nomadic household, but have a special importance because of the festive setting. . . For the nomad such trips to the town are great events.⁴¹

The Market

The market institution⁴² and its contribution to urban-pastoral interaction differs from that of itinerant trade in many respects. Whereas itinerant trade tends to be

³⁹ Dickson has recognized this situation along the Persian Gulf littoral of Arabia where "each tribe has its own favorite towns which it goes up to for its necessities and it looks forward with joy to such visits." H.R.P. Dickson, The Arab of the Desert: A Glimpse Into Bedawin Life in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia (London, 1942), p. 49.

⁴⁰ E.F. Gautier, "Nomad and Sedentary Folks of Northern Africa," Geographical Review, Vol. XI (1921), p.7.

⁴¹ F. Barth, op. cit., p. 98.

⁴² Here reference is made specifically to the urban market, but it must be recognized that the so-called "ephemeral" rural market institution also attracted urban-centered merchants. This latter type will be discussed later.

impermanent, informally structured, restricted in scope of activity and range of products handled but extensive in coverage, the market is permanent, formally structured, relatively unrestricted in the variety and quantity of goods and operates on an intensive basis.

A further distinction resides in the relationship of the functionary to the urban center. While the itinerant trader's ties to the urban center are ephemeral, the individual involved with the market institutions appears to be very much a part of the urban community in outlook, values, and perceived relationship to the pastoralist.

The atmosphere engendered by the itinerant peddler, and by the market merchant in their dealings with the nomad are thus found to differ significantly. Whereas the itinerant trader is pretty much at home in the pastoral community, the market merchant, identified directly with the urban center by the pastoralist, is unable to establish this rapport. It is the direct face-to-face contact between members of different communities that encourages the formal (and structured) pattern of market relationships.

One last distinction between these two economic institutions which should be made is the basic difference in the type of good exchanged. In his dealings with the peddler, the pastoralist seeks items which are needed but are not necessarily essential. Furthermore, as livestock is not a convenient medium of exchange for the small-scale itinerant trade, the pastoralist will often prefer to barter handicraft

items. The market, however, affords the pastoralist an effective medium for the sale or exchange of surplus stock⁴³ and offers a wide range of the goods and services which he deems essential. The pastoralist is thus dependent upon the urban market as the only stable and adequate institution for converting his surplus into necessities. The importance of this situation to the pastoralist represents a common denominator throughout the Arab-Islamic realm.⁴⁴

Organized Commerce

The fourth economic institution fostering close urban-pastoralist interaction is inter-urban trade. In terms of the amount and value of goods, the number of participants (direct and indirect), and its relevance to urban space, this type of economic interaction (here termed "organized commerce"⁰) dominates.

⁴³The importance of this activity and its intimate tie with the urban center is recognized by Stauffer who states, "The accessibility of the consuming market partially dictates the composition of the herd." T.R. Stauffer, "The Economics of Nomadism in Iran," Middle East Journal, Vol. XIX, No. III (1965), p.292.

⁴⁴Dickson documents this phenomenon in the Arabian peninsula where it is called musabilah. Two observations attest to its importance to the pastoralist: (1) Ibn Saud's blockade of Kuwait city in order to prevent this relationship was made in the hope of gaining ascendancy over the tribes. (2) Dickson also mentions the urban center's policy of preventing such pastoralist relations in retaliation against nomadic "indiscretions." "The system (musabilah) enables the town authorities to exercise a beneficial control over the Bedawin who market with them, as any misbehavior at once results in the tribe's being forbidden to enter the town-- a very great hardship to the desert shopper." H.R.P. Dickson, op. cit., p.49.

In contrast with itinerant and market trade, however, the pastoralist is generally not a direct participant in organized commerce: that is, he does not benefit as a buyer or seller from the exchange of a good.⁴⁵ His importance stems from the fact that inter-urban trade quite often transcends pastoral space. In order to establish a situation favorable to organized commerce, therefore, it is necessary for the town merchant to have at his disposal the logistical requirements (e.g. manpower, guidance, beasts of burden) to traverse the pastoral realm. The pastoral community was most able to provide such resources.⁴⁶

A no less important requirement for inter-urban trade was a stable environment within which the merchant's rights, authority and property would be respected. To this end one

⁴⁵This is a general statement to which there will obviously be exceptions. Grant, for example, cites the following situation:

Every caravan that went out from Mecca loaded some of its camels with goods to be sold en route, and wherever it camped displayed its wares, like a peripatetic fair, to do business with the nomad.

(C.P. Grant, op. cit., p. 131).

⁴⁶These service functions were often central to the pastoralist's existence. For example, Grant claims that "without the breeding of these pack animals it is doubtful if they (the pastoralists) could have lived in . . . the desert at all." (Ibid., p. 153). Many pastoral communities such as the Tebou of the Sahara have specialized in guiding and leading caravans. Others as the Teda of Tibesti and the Tuareg of the Ahaagar Massif have, for centuries, conducted and controlled a major portion of trans-Saharan caravan commerce. See Briggs, op. cit., for a full discussion.

finds that the urban-based merchant often took a direct hand in the political organization of pastoral space. He sponsored and supplied pastoral institutions from the clan to the confederacy, thereby effecting a partial re-organization of non-urban space on the basis of urban-formulated needs and goals. Accounts of such practices in numerous areas of the Arab-Islamic realm attest to their success.⁴⁷

Urban-Peasant Relations

Interaction between the urban center and the peasant village is dependent upon the relationship between land, labor, and product, on the one hand, and the locus of rights to and control over these resources on the other. Within this context two situations are possible, the differentiating factor being the locus of rights and control. When the locus of rights and control resides in the village, one pattern of

⁴⁷One example of this practice is offered by Barth regarding the development of the Khamseh Confederation in Iran. The confederation is recent—90 to 100 years old—and its origin must be traced, not to any of the constituting nomad tribes, but to the bazaar and government palaces of Shiraz. . . it was as a (military and political) counterweight to the Qashqai as well as to protect his caravans. . . that Ghavam-ul-Mulk (a merchant) founds and leads. Allegiance was obtained through gifts of arms and service, the Ghavam serving as sponsor and protector of the tribes' interests vis à vis the Shah's government. (Barth, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-89). Another example is offered by the history of the Sanusi Order in Cyrenacia. Here one finds an urban-developed religious order expanding along the major trade routes of the region and establishing control in terms of allegiance, trade, transportation and security. Their main group of followers were nomadic pastoralists who inhabited this vital piece of "economic space."

urban-village interaction is manifest, and when it is invested in the urban center an entirely different pattern develops. Both patterns will receive attention in the following discussion.

Land Use and the Elite as Avenues of Urban-Village Interaction

In the Arab-Islamic realm the urban center effects its primacy and indeed, its existence, through control over the means of agricultural production and the consequent surplus.⁴⁸ This control is predicated upon two inter-related phenomena: (1) the preference of the elite to reside in urban space and (2) the dependence of the elite upon land for its raison d'être as well as its principal means of support. By providing a home for the elite, the urban center is then able to extend direct control over resources located in non-urban space.

The urban centers secure their needs by means of control of the land and its crops through ownership and tenant contracts. . . . Control of the resources of the rural hinterland has been historically concentrated in urban centers. . . . Control of the land and its production lies ultimately with the urban elite through taxation, tribute and tenancy obligations.⁴⁹

Urban Land-Use

Throughout the historical record the elite, be it of pastoral, peasant or urban origin, has tended to identify

⁴⁸ Supra, Chapter III, Footnote 16, p. 39.

⁴⁹ Louise E. Sweet, Tell Tqqaan: A Syrian Village (Ann Arbor, 1960), pp. 3-5.

itself and its prerogatives with the ownership of land.⁵⁰

To this class "land. . . is looked upon as a source of gain, whether it be in the form of social prestige, political power, or economic advantage."⁵¹ As such, land came to be the only acceptable context for the elite's participation in economically oriented activity. If one views this factor in conjunction with the elite's urban residence and the fact that a significant portion of urban wealth and power is concentrated in the hands of this elite, it is not difficult to accept the following characterization of urban economic life. "Traffic in land is not only the main industry and mover of capital, but also the past-time of the able."⁵²

⁵⁰In many of the Persian Gulf and South Arabian shaikhdoms (city-states), the close relationship between land, political power and Arabic ethnicity on the one hand, and labor and trade and other ethnic groups on the other, illustrates a situation in which landholding by the Arab elite functions as a component of Coon's "mosaic." In Bahrein, (similarly,) the Sunni-elite own the land and the Shia minority cultivate it.

Land as a medium for capital investment and increased prestige has also come to characterize non-elite groups—specifically the merchant. "There is a general tendency for small merchants in the towns to invest their profits in land in the neighborhood because, in spite of . . . the greater profits offered by trade and certain other fields . . . land still offers the small man greater security for investment of his earnings. The small absentee landowner is thus found mainly in the neighborhood of the towns. In many cases, much of the land in the immediate vicinity of a town is owned by landowners of this type." Ann Lambton, Landlord and Peasant in Persia: A Study of Land Tenure and Land Revenue Administration (London, 1953), p.291.

⁵¹J.A. Bill, "Social and Economic Foundations of Power in Contemporary Iran," Middle East Journal, Vol. XVII (1963), p.401.

⁵²Shiber, op. cit., p.174.

It must be emphasized, however, that economic motives, although relevant, are not the only dominant stimuli in the ethos of the elite. Of equal import are the social and political prerogatives which accrue through land ownership and speculation. One is thus faced with a situation in the eleventh century Arab-Islamic city, as well as in its twentieth century representative, in which non-economic motives and goals often provide the stimuli for the center's "major industry and mover of capital."

Furthermore, the quality of land, defined in terms of remunerative or productive possibilities, does not appear to be a relevant consideration, certainly not in terms of capital gain. Within the urban context one finds land speculation and development undertaken with full knowledge that other areas of capital formation and investment are more rewarding financially. In Beirut, today, magnificent high-rise apartments stand vacant in the central business district. Rents bear little relation to demand or competition. Often they are purposely inflated to discourage occupancy.⁵³ Similarly, in Tripoli demand for land is so acute that with its unavailability, traditional associations have been transferred to the structures built upon it. Thus, stories of

⁵³From a conversation with Dr. Joseph Van Riper, visiting faculty member at the American University of Beirut and presently in residence at Harpur College, State University of New York at Binghamton.

individual buildings are variously owned as are the individual rooms.⁵⁴

Rural Land-Use

In the peasant realm, the basic approach of the urban-based elite towards land appears to be conditioned by the same factors operative in the urban environment. Despite the fact that the elite is wholly dependent upon the land for support, its attitudes towards the productive components (labor, technology) tend to be negative and dysfunctional. Again, the elite's perception of "source of gain" is framed in terms of social indices. Lambton, whose work in the historical development of land-use, land-tenure and land-right patterns in Iran has become a basic reference, offers the following insight into this situation.

It would probably not be unfair to say that the average landowner would rather own several villages in bad condition than one or a few in good condition. This arises partly from the fact that political power and social prestige were in the past and are still, though to a lesser extent, derived from the possession of land as such rather than primarily from income derived therefrom.⁵⁵

This situation, in many areas, is further complicated by the practice of dividing rights and ownership of the rural inventory of resources, within a specific village, among a

⁵⁴ Shiber, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

⁵⁵ Ann Lambton, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

number of individuals. Cases have been documented in which ownership of the village (i.e. the buildings) and the receipts derived as rents and taxes is vested in one individual, the land in another, and water in a third. Any attempt at an explanation or judgment in economic terms would, understandably, be both fruitless and unrealistic. It is only when viewed against the backdrop of land as a unit of social and political value that this practice can be accurately comprehended.⁵⁶

A further characteristic of this system well illustrates the non-economic perception of the land owning elite. Positioned between the peasant producer and the urban consumer are a number of individuals whose commitment to the system is framed by a progressive delegation of economic rights by the landholding elite. To the landlord this practice is an efficient method of relieving himself of responsibility without losing ownership.⁵⁷ Furthermore, it should be recognized that by delegating certain rights in the system to intermediaries economic imperatives and controls are introduced,

⁵⁶ Dupree offers a case study in the inefficiency of land tenancy in Afghanistan. Here the population of the village changes annually as the landlords switch tenants from field to field and village to village. Under the system of "split-farming," an individual can be moved to one village and contract to work a field in a third. The result is endemic insecurity and a constant state of economic and social disorganization. For a further discussion, see L. Dupree, "The Changing Character of South Central Afghanistan Villages," Human Organization, Vol. XIV (1956), pp. 26-29.

⁵⁷ Sjoberg views this process as a convenient means whereby the elite can divest itself of the taint of economic enterprise without foregoing the profits. (Sjoberg, op. cit., pp. 183-185).

although admittedly on a modest scale. It is only through the medium of economic institutions such as the market, and economic stimuli in the form of profits, that these intervening functionaries are assured adequate compensation.⁵⁸ The peasant's position, however, remains what Gellner refers to as an "external proletariat."⁵⁹ Nowhere does he enter the system other than as a laborer or, at best, a sharecropper; his span of rights is restricted to those of basic biologic subsistence.

It should not be inferred from the above discussion, however, that the elite totally disavowed the "economic imperative."

The point. . . is that the settling of Mamazan, as is true with many Iranian villages, was essentially an economic arrangement. The landlord viewed his land as a source of gain. To promote this venture, a village was founded. . . and peopled with peasants who were encouraged to leave famine areas or overpopulated villages. . . Kin, family and religion were of secondary importance in the settlement and structure of the new villages.⁶⁰

⁵⁸The fundamentally dysfunctional nature of this system must be accorded precedence. According to Lambton, "This system of the progressive delegation of rights in tenant villages. . . is responsible for the lack of efficiency and the low level of capital investment." (Lambton, *op. cit.*, p. 272).

⁵⁹E. Gellner, "Patterns of Rural Rebellion in Morocco: Tribes as Minorities," Archives Europeennes de Sociologie, Vol. III (1962), p. 300.

⁶⁰George Jennings, "Economy and Integration in Changing Iranian Villages," The Minnesota Academy of Science Proceedings, Vol. XVIII (1960), p. 114.

As early as the seventeenth century one finds an increasing emphasis on the cultivation of cash crops such as tobacco, rice and cotton coupled with an extension of cultivation into virgin territories such as the Gezira region of Syria and reclaimed delta-lands in Egypt. On a smaller scale the economic motives of the elite's activities in the rural realm is similarly well-documented. This is particularly evident in times immediately following the government's ascendancy over the pastoralist community. With the establishment of security, city money

came out of locked boxes and off women's wrists and went into land. . . . The movement of population and capital out from the cities to the rural areas and the rise of share-cropping resulted. . . . More than ever before there was a linking of the city and countryside and a breaking of the autonomy of the village and its lands as outsiders came to own land and to hire villagers to part-time labor.⁶¹

The "economic imperative" of the elite can also be viewed in terms of its effect upon the demographic patterns of rural space, specifically its role in effecting population instability & mobility. Traditionally observers have failed to recognize the pervasive and persistent instability of the

⁶¹William R. Polk, op. cit., p. 172. Lambton similarly finds this process in Iran: "The tendency for the peasant population to lose land to the merchant, speculator and others after a bad year, or a series of bad years would seem to be relatively widespread. Merchants and others from the towns or their agents are often to be met within the country after a bad year looking for possible bargains in land." (Ann Lambton, op. cit., p. 277).

peasant community (especially the tenancy type)⁶² preferring, rather, to focus upon large-scale manifestations commonly brought about by intermittent "sensationalist" factors such as invasions, famine and civil conflict. The elite's control over a major segment of the "primary" rural resource base (land and labor), as well as the resultant surplus obtained as rents, fees and taxes, illustrates one of the more subtle and ubiquitous causes of demographic instability.

In 1845 (Aleppo) city notables acquired rights over villages and were draining the wealth from the countryside to such an extent as to ruin agriculture. Of the one hundred and seventy villages established or reclaimed with Egypt's encouragement, all but thirty-five or forty were abandoned upon the return of the Turks. Bedouin pressure accounted for some, but the main causes lay elsewhere. Tax farmers, who kept the villages in perpetual debt and often coupled their tax collecting functions with usury by forcing the payment of taxes in cash, played the key role.⁶³

Instability arises out of a situation in which the surplus is defined in terms of elite perceived goals and bears little relation to the immediate resource base. The resultant

⁶²Michel, however, employs the traditional mobility of the tenural system in explaining the rapid and seemingly uncharacteristic response of the peasant to the opening of reclaimed land in the lower Helmand valley for settlement and cultivation. Dupree's analysis of peasant tenural conditions in Afghanistan is another exception. (A.A. Michel, "The Kabul, Kunduz and Helmand Valleys and the National Economy of Afghanistan: A Study of Regional Resources and the Comparative Advantages of Development," National Academy of Science, National Research Council, Dept. #5 [1959], and L. Dupree, op. cit. Footnote 54 briefly discusses the salient points of Dupree's article.

⁶³Polk, op. cit., pp. 225-226.



"threshold"⁶⁴ is consequently chronically unstable. Surplus and subsistence activities are dependent upon mutually exclusive sets of variables and attitudes towards the resource-return mechanism. When surplus expands at the expense of subsistence, depopulation through mortality or migration is the end result.

The parasitic activities of the elite were also manifest in patterns of urban-rural interaction such as the market. In spite of the large percentage of the annual surplus absorbed directly by the elite and the government, the peasant sharecropper still found it possible and necessary to exchange a small portion of his allotment for requisite goods and services offered by other peasant communities, pastoral groups and, most significantly, by the urban center. In pursuit of these needs the peasant became an active participant in the market economy.

The landlord, however, in addition to his control over the land and the surplus, successfully intervened in the market situation as well. In the Saharan oasis market, for example,

the gardener is at an economic disadvantage, for the landlord . . . interposes himself in effect, if not in theory, as an inexorable intermediary between the actual producer and the trader in the market place.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ See Chapter III, footnote 16, p. 39, for a discussion of "threshold" and its relation to surplus and subsistence.

⁶⁵ Briggs, op. cit., p. 72.

The landlord, as is to be expected, further decreases the peasant's "operating capital " and effects a concomitant reduction in the necessities obtainable. Viewing the market as a medium for economic exchange and redistribution, the landlord, then, restricts and retards the scope and effectiveness of its functions.

Trade as a Medium for Urban-Village Interaction

The village as locus for rights to the rural resource base provides the setting for the present discussion. Of significance here is a recognition of the freehold village's ability (in contrast with the tenant and sharecropper village) to define and justify the surplus in terms of its perceived goals. A major factor in this process of peasant goal formation is the desire for goods and services originating in urban space and made available through the trade media. Again, emphasis will focus upon trade situations in which the urban center maintains pre-eminence vis à vis the peasant sector.

Trade patterns represent one of the major structuring and integrating forces in rural as well as urban space. Concomitantly, the merchant, in his many guises, articulates these patterns for the participant as well as for the observer. As Potter indicates, he serves "as almost the only member of the urban pattern who has contact with the rural economy."⁶⁶

⁶⁶Dalton Potter, "The Bazaar Merchant," in Social Forces in the Middle East, ed. Sydney N. Fisher (Ithaca, 1955), p. 101.

As such, the urban-based merchant, in the company of the artisan as well as a plethora of other functionaries from barber to labor recruiter⁶⁷, operates within a well defined and long standing institutional matrix encompassing the urban bazaar (suq),⁶⁸ the village and inter-village market,⁶⁹ the regional fair,⁷⁰ as well as the less formal village-oriented and

⁶⁷One member of this group is the townsman who, through the ownership of agricultural machinery, dominates the planting and harvesting activities in the proximal areas of the hinterland. He thereby gains not only a share in the harvest, but also the right to buy up that which remains.

⁶⁸See Potter, op. cit., for a discussion of the urban market and the role of its participants, especially the merchant, in effecting urban-rural interaction.

⁶⁹The rural market, although imperfectly understood and poorly documented, has been approached by some as an institution of great complexity and deserving of the title suq regardless of whether or not it manifests temporal, spatial and morphologic permanency.

In effect. . . we are confronted with a complex legal, political and often even religious institution which serves primarily economic ends. . . in no case does the mere frequency of random exchanges taking place in it make an open place a suq. The complex criteria that make for a suq raise even the most modest onto the institutional level of the Champagne fairs of the thirteenth century. . . It is the institution rather than the physical structure that is relevant. (F. Benet, "Explosive Markets: The Berber Highlands," Trade and Market in the Early Empire, ed. K. Polanyi and W. Pearson, (Glencoe, 1957), p. 193.

Fogg takes a more extreme view of the rural market: The suq. . . (is) a 'town' in disposition and organization, in economic, political and social functions, differing in the absence of concrete expression and ephemeral nature as well as lack of residence (N. Fogg, "The Suq: A Study in the Human Geography of Morocco," Geography, Vol. XVII [1932], p. 260).

⁷⁰Fairs in the Arab-Islamic realm, as in Medieval Europe, often had an important religious component which

ambulatory trades.⁷¹

The profound influence which this trade and service complex, operating through the merchant, has on both the urban and rural community is predicated upon two axioms of Arab-Islamic life: (1) the dependence of the urban center upon the rural realm for a major portion of its resource base as well as a market for its goods and services and (2) the dependency of the peasant village upon the urban center for scarce commodities and necessary services. Despite this seemingly complementary and symbiotic arrangement, however, the pre-eminence of the urban center strongly dictates the gradient of economic interaction.

In theory economic dependence is a two-way relationship. If the villages depend on the towns for their survival, so also do the towns depend upon the village for food and labor. But in fact, even in purely economic terms, the townsmen with their greater concentration of wealth are always stronger in specific instances than the villagers who are normally too near to seriously want to take risks, and too numerous and divided to use the weapon of cutting off urban food.⁷²

regulated their temporal cycle. Their success as a medium for urban-rural as well as inter-rural interaction can be observed in a statement by Fuller. "Peasants and townfolk within a radius of fifteen miles congregate. . . coming by overloaded autos, trucks, camels, donkey, horses. . . on bicycle and on foot." (Anne H. Fuller, Buairij: Portrait of a Lebanese Muslim Village [Cambridge, 1961], p. 82).

⁷¹In many situations one finds formerly urban-based artisans, merchants and other goods and service purveyors establishing permanent residence in the village. Where villages were too small, widely separated, or operating too near subsistence level to permanently support such individuals, schedules were established whereby a number of proximal settlements were served by the same individual.

⁷²Paul Stirling, Turkish Village (London, 1965), p.80.



In view of this situation, it can be appreciated that most "of the Middle Easterners are peasants strongly influenced by commercial urban life."⁷³

Migration as a Medium for Urban-Village Interaction

In attempting to document the manner in which migration not only fosters urban-rural interaction but also operates in a way suggestive of urban pre-eminence, certain traditional assumptions must be kept in mind. Although rural-based migration would appear to find its greatest expression within an urban context (that is, urban-oriented factors structure the process), it does not necessarily follow that (1) migration is an index of urbanization, (2) that the act of migration is necessarily resolved within the urban environment, (3) that migration implies a preference for one mode of life over another and (4) that migration operates as an independent variable.

As has been mentioned, traditional accounts have tended to emphasize that rural insecurity, resulting from civil strife, taxation, conscription, invasion and natural catastrophies, is the chief causal factor in urban-focused migration. This is true in part, but more often than not the imbalance was resolved within the rural environment itself. Only in the context of political and administrative decisions

⁷³John Gulick, Introduction to "Dimensions of Culture Change in the Middle East," Human Organization, Vol. XIV, No. 1 (1965), p. 3.

formulated in response to imperatives generally extraneous to the rural situation can rural "migration" be viewed as significantly augmenting urban population.

At best, urban-oriented migration is indicative of a positive perception of the urban environment by the peasantry. The urban center does not offer an alternate mode of life, but rather an environment amenable to objectives incapable of realization in rural space. Furthermore, the migratory process is a selective and selecting process. It is not the total urban environment which attracts the peasant but the commercial aspect of it. It is not the fulfillment of all goals that is anticipated, but rather the realization of economic goals.⁷⁴ The commitment of the migrant, therefore, is not to a way of life, but to a system.

The Arab city is a conglomeration of spheres and segments, but it is not, in itself, a cohesive social unit, an in-group. The majority of city dwellers are people who have gathered there for the primary purpose of engaging in commerce. Their loyalties are to their own family, to their home village, and to their religion. . . the truth is that their loyalties although very real, are many rather than one--and none of them is directed towards the city itself.⁷⁵

⁷⁴There are other positive incentives which draw the peasant to the urban center. One of these is the desire to enter the religious hierarchy. In order for an individual to gain the credentials necessary to pursue a recognized religious calling, urban residence was a basic prerequisite (in that religious institutions and functionaries were urban-based). "I suspect the religious calling provided the only gateway... to urban life traditionally." (P. Sterling, "Religious Change in Republican Turkey," Middle East Journal, Vol. XII (1958), p. 406).

⁷⁵John Gulick, Social Structure and Cultural Change in a Lebanese Village (New York, 1955), p. 171.

What appears to be operative is a situation in which the migrant views the urban center in the same manner that the urbanite perceives the rural realm-- as a "resource space" within which certain economically-defined goals can be attained. Whereas the urbanite enters the rural realm with the object of translating power into social and economic gain, the peasant enters the urban environment on a much lower level: powerless, with the act of migration as the only means whereby his worth as a unit of labor can be fully realized. Urban oriented migration and residence, therefore, are means rather than ends in themselves. The act of migration does mediate urban-rural interaction and tends to be indicative of urban pre-eminence, but primarily within the economic sphere of activity.

Inter-Urban Interaction

A third context within which urban interaction is manifest can be defined in terms of the relationships extant among cities and towns. Unfortunately, these loci of interaction do not attain a recognition in the traditional literature commensurate with their significance.⁷⁶ In approaching inter-urban interaction from an historical perspective, then, implications of uniqueness deriving from the paucity of

⁷⁶A similar situation is met regarding inter-village and inter-encampment (pastoral) interaction.

documentation must be tempered by the recognition that uniqueness resides in the bias and inattention of the observer rather than in reality.

If one accepts the validity of Redfield's "Great Tradition" in the sense that there exists a "community of interest"⁷⁷ which unites spatially separate and functionally disparate urban centers within a common environment, the potential for interaction appears secure. This tradition is expressed in the major forms of activity which structure the urban environment (i.e. economic, political, religious). These types of activity, furthermore, provide insight into the nature and relevance of inter-urban relationships that traditional literature ignores.

City-City Relations

To take the commercial complex as a case in point, the role of the city as the major institutional expression of this system of ramified activities supports the validity of inter-urban interaction. Witness, for example, the following statement:

⁷⁷ "The cities of different countries shared a common culture. . . even when physical intercourse was limited." (H.A.R. Gibb and H. Bowen, op. cit., p. 276). This "Great Tradition" can be said to foster a greater and more persistent degree of interaction than that which transpired between the individual urban center and its rural hinterland.

This phenomenon is implicit, though unrecognized, in Mikesell's discussion of the historical development of Morocco. He observes that as a consequence of Arab colonization in the seventh and especially the eleventh centuries, Arabic was promptly established as the language of government, commerce and communications in the urban environment, but did not significantly penetrate to the rural areas. See Marvin Mikesell, "The Persistence of Berbery," Annals of the Association of American Geographers (April, 1965), Vol. LV, pp. 85-94.

It is, indeed, extraordinary that no one has sufficiently noted the bazaar to remark upon the fact that the principal raison d'être of the large cities in the Arab World is the chain of markets from one end of the Middle East to the other.⁷⁸

Throughout its history the Arab-Islamic realm has served as an entrepôt, mediating commercial relations between neighboring continents. It is, then, to be expected that trade routes would function as the most articulate and effective media within the realm and that the urban environment, recognizing this network as a locational imperative, would be in a position to capitalize upon its benefits.

A system of trade routes and urban foci, however, does not comprise the full picture. The nature of the good which this system mediates is also relevant, but ultimately, it is the human factor that provides the stimulus, mediates the exchange and transfer, and generates the demands for the good. Movement, then, between urban points consisted not only of the good, but also of individuals-merchants, artisans, porters-committed in some manner to that good.

A similar though somewhat less obvious case can be made for other types of inter-urban relationships. The religious hierarchy, for example, did not reside within one portion of the urban environment, but rather provided a major structuring element in the activities of every important center.

⁷⁸ Dalton Potter, op. cit. . . . , p.102.



The same can be said of the political system. In order to maintain a certain level of cohesion within each organizational hierarchy it was necessary to transfer individuals, directives, revenue and support from one urban focus to another. Another component of inter-urban interaction was thereby created.

City-Town Relations

The phenomenon of inter-urban interaction is manifest within yet another context, this one bearing a strong overall resemblance to the city's relationship with the rural communities of the peasant and pastoralist. Here emphasis is on the manner in which urban centers occupying different levels in the "hierarchy of cities" interact. Two concepts commonly employed in dealing with this process, "allometric growth" and Myrdal's "backwash effect,"⁷⁹ will be utilized.

In coordination with other related concepts such as Jefferson's "primate city," the principle of allometric growth has come to be widely recognized and employed in dealing

⁷⁹ For a discussion of these concepts as applied to the Arab-Islamic realm see: Morroe Berger, The Arab World Today, Chapter III; Gideon Sjoberg, The Pre-Industrial City; D.G. Adams, "Current Population Trends in Iraq," Middle East Journal, Vol. X, 1956, pp. 151-165; H. Awad, "Morocco's Expanding Towns," Geographical Journal, Vol. CXXX (1964), pp. 49-64; M. Berger, ed. The New Metropolis in the Arab World; John Clarke, "The Population of Tunisia: An Example of Contact Between Modern Civilization and the Moslem World," Economic Geography, Vol. XVIII (1952), pp. 364-371; Doris G. Phillips, "Rural-to-Urban Migration in Iraq," Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. VII (1959), pp. 405-421; John I. Clark, The Iranian City of Shiraz; Nicola Ziadeh, Urban Life in Syria; W.B. Fisher, The Middle East; R. Platt and M. Heiny, Egypt: A Compendium, (New York, 1958).



with the contemporary urban environment. More recently, however, urban analysts have been expanding the time dimension of their activities to the point where allometric growth is being applied to historical situations. In terms of the Arab-Islamic realm, allometric growth, defined as the disproportionate ability of certain higher-order cities to develop at a rate far exceeding that of their lower-order neighbors and commonly at their expense, bears a striking relevance to the present discussion.⁸⁰

One illustration of this process that finds widespread documentation within the Arab-Islamic realm involves centers of disparate orders which interact in a symbiotic manner. Here a dominant urban center, through one or several media of control, effects a cooperative and complementary atmosphere with the smaller and less-independent cities in its hinterland. In that these secondary urban concentrations mediate the dominant center's interaction with elements beyond its sphere of control, one might refer to them as "intervening" centers. Towns such as Harim and Izaz in the twelfth century state of Syria, for example, served as fortress towns for the commercial and political metropolis of Antioch.⁸¹

⁸⁰ See Nicola Ziadeh, op. cit., for an historical discussion. In discussing the phenomenon of allometric growth in the Arab-Islamic realm, Morroe Berger posits that the moderate rate of such growth evidenced in Syria is due to the "relatively large, productive agricultural regions which have supported big cities of their own." (M. Berger, op. cit., p. 79).

⁸¹ See Nicola Ziadeh, op. cit., for further discussion.

Allometric growth, however, does not necessarily take place within a peaceful environment. Indeed, the relationship between urban centers of the Arab-Islamic realm was often predicated upon intense competition and mutual hostility.

The tendency. . . [is] to view Middle Eastern cities as historically staking out extensive commercial, agricultural and economic claims over extensive competing hinterlands.⁸²

Violence in the form of military activity was often the rule rather than the exception. It must not, however, be construed that military activity destroyed or subverted the ante-bellum pattern of interaction, specifically the inter-regional commercial patterns. Rather, it was the control over these patterns and, at worst, their functional and spatial re-orientation, which commonly resulted from a successful inter-urban military venture.⁸³

The presence of merchants and craftsmen as "camp followers" indicate the economic imperative of many inter-urban military conflicts. With the conquest of an urban center these individuals moved in and usurped the positions of economic control within the city. With the re-establishment

⁸²R. Adams, Land Behind Baghdad: A History of Settlement on the Diyala Plains, (Chicago, 1965), p.22. Baer offers the following insight into this phenomenon. "It is indeed true that politics have sometimes kindled enmity between cities such as that between Damascus and Aleppo, or between certain Iraqi cities, but this was never based on civic awareness of townsmen, but rather usually involved the vested interests of the very limited group of upper-class people only." (Gabriel Baer, Population and Society in the Arab East [New York, 1964], p. 203).

⁸³This same process can be seen in the catalogue of military activity during the Middle Ages in Europe.

of the status quo⁸⁴ one finds that activity, especially commercial activity, continued as it did prior to conquest. Now, however, the frame of reference was defined in terms of the goals and objectives of the victorious center.

Similarly, with victory it was often the practice for the conquering army to resettle the skilled stratum of the population within their own center. This procedure not only insured the defeat of the enemy, but also augmented the potential of the victor.

The concept of "backwash effect" proposed by Myrdal highlights a situation basically similar to that portrayed by allometric growth, but does not restrict itself to the urban environment. Taking the higher-order center or "metropolitan region" as his point of departure, Myrdal focuses upon the manner in which this type of spatial organization siphons off the agents of economic development from the rest of the economy ("economy" having an urban as well as a rural component).

An illustration of the "backwash" effect focuses upon the urban center's effort to transform rural space into an environment more capable of concentrating and utilizing the resource potential of the area in its (the center's) behalf. The result is the establishment of agricultural and, more

⁸⁴Conquered urban settlements were rarely razed as a consequence of war.

significantly, commercial colonies by the "mother" center in its hinterland. Eberhard refers to these nascent cities as "boom towns" and documents the establishment of three such communities in the Cukurova of southeast Turkey.⁸⁵

What is relevant to this discussion is that these ramifications of urban space rose in response to the demands and objectives of the urban center in whose hinterland they were located. Although the populations were not initially urban (more often than not they were pastoral populations undergoing enforced sedentarization), the functions of the nascent center were. Furthermore, the majority of the merchants and artisans who regulated the economic activities of the nascent center originated in the "mother" center as did the operating capital. These "boom towns" then served as an effective medium for furthering the interests and objectives of the dominant city.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Von Wolfram Eberhard, "Types of Settlement in Southeast Turkey," Sociologus, Vol. III (1953), pp. 49-64.

⁸⁶ Mention might also be made of a further manifestation of inter-urban interaction, migration. It might appear somewhat incongruous to find a discussion of migration falling at the conclusion of a section dealing with such interrelated topics as backwash effect and allometric growth. It should be pointed out, however, that when migration is employed as a component of these processes, what is recognized is its rural-urban manifestation. Thus, for example, the allometric nature of Cairo's growth is analyzed on the demographic plane by pointing out the selective nature of the process. Here, the urban-oriented migrant bypasses the lower-order, morphologically compact and ethnically homogeneous valley towns of his immediate environment in favor of the larger centers of the delta. (See Stephen H. Longrigg, The Middle East: A Social Geography [London, 1963], pp. 218 and following). A similar



Conclusion: Isolation Versus Interaction

Now that an analysis of the various manifestations of urban-rural interaction has been undertaken it should be possible to draw some conclusions as to the success of the Arab-Islamic city in participating in and organizing the significant patterns of activity manifest within and among the communal components of the Arab-Islamic realm.

The urban center, regardless of its functional orientation and position within the urban hierarchy, maintains a vested interest in its encompassing rural space. Essentially a type of spatial organization whereby large numbers and densities of population can be incorporated within a distinct morphologic, socio-cultural and functional framework, the city is largely dependent upon the influx of resources from areas external to it. In an attempt to

situation holds true for analyses of Baghdad's allometric development. (For a further discussion see D.G. Adams, "Current Population Trends in Iraq," Middle East Journal, Vol. X [1956], pp. 151-165, and Doris G. Phillips, "Rural-to-Urban Migration in Iraq," etc.)

What tends to be consistently ignored is the inter-urban aspect of migration. Intuitively, one could posit that such a process does exist, but supporting data is lacking. Sporadic references occur in Evans-Pritchard's study of the Sanusi of Cyrenacia, where it is observed that a significant portion of the populations of Cyrenacian towns came from urban centers further to the west; and in John Clark's recent study of Shiraz, where a passing reference is made to the centrality of inter-urban migration in an analysis of Shiraz's demographic environment. Clark, however, does not offer any documentary support. In view of the lack of data, this area presents itself as a fertile field for investigation by the historian, geographer, and sociologist.

maximize the process of resource transferral the urban center consistently seeks to concentrate and extend its control over the mediating institutions which effect this change.

It must, however, be recognized that this imperative does not unfold in a fully harmonious manner. Rather, there appears to be a wide array of countervailing forces, not always in equilibrium, working both for and against the pre-eminence of the urban center. For example,

The concept of the rural economy, not merely as the helpless pawn in political struggles, but as something of independent worth, something to be noticed and nourished by princes, dawns slowly in the historical record. . . rarely before the mid-nineteenth century do accounts portray a continuous countryside, including the empty steppe of the nomad, the roads and caravansaries of the merchants and pilgrims, and the waxing and waning enclaves of cultivation within a single interacting whole.⁸⁷

By undertaking a summary of the major alternatives whereby the urban center has attempted to secure a favorable relationship vis à vis the peasant and pastoral communities, it should be possible to highlight some of the more relevant impedances to this process.

On the complementary or "symbiotic" level of interaction the center secures its needs (in the economic sphere) through the various exchange media operative in non-urban space such as itinerant trade, the weekly market and

⁸⁷ Robert M. Adams, op. cit., p. 25.

the seasonal fair. Here the city, through its merchant representative, takes part in the process on an equivalent plane with the peasant and pastoral participants; the fulfillment of the center's needs is in direct proportion to its ability to satisfy the demands of the other two communities.

With a shift of the mediating institution and the processes of interaction which it embodies (in this case, again, an economic illustration) to the urban environment, a situation of equivalence is no longer possible. Although the needs of the rural sector still provide the framework for interaction, the fact that the peasant and pastoral communities seek to resolve these needs within an urban context weights the overall benefit accruing from this relationship in favor of the urban center.

What is more significant, however, is that not only does the peasant agriculturist and nomadic pastoralist patronize the urban market institution (sug), but that they often do so in preference to the rural counterpart.

Interaction, manifested mainly in commercial contacts between nomad and agriculturist, is an important characteristic of Middle Eastern social life everywhere and the locale of a major part of this interaction is in the town.⁸⁸

The reason for this, as has been seen above, resides in the ability of the urban sug to provide an infinitely greater

⁸⁸R. Patai, "The Middle East as a Culture Area," Middle Eastern Journal, Vol. VI (1952), p.15.

array of goods and services for its participants. In this manner the urban center is also able to obtain a larger amount of requisite resources than is possible within the rural situation.

Employing migration as the unit of analysis, one uncovers a situation similarly weighted in favor of the urban center. Here again urban-oriented migration tends to be framed within the context of needs generated within the peasant and pastoral communities. The migrant recognizes the urban center as the most effective medium within which these needs can be fulfilled, but his commitment to it remains a selective one. Despite this, the center nonetheless benefits substantially. If one views the individual migrant as a demographic resource unit it is then possible to define his utility despite his low level of commitment.

A third level of interaction is characterized by disruption of a symbiotic situation in favor of urban dominance. Here the urban environment, by means of its control over the media of interaction and the progressive re-orientation and re-organization of rural space, is able to establish itself as the center of gravity for the patterns and processes of interaction (i.e. the flows of goods, services and values which they mediate), as well as locus for the generation and resolution of the needs and demands which structure the system.

A most vivid example of urban dominance resides in the relationship between the elite and the city. The analysis

is two fold. First, it must be recognized that the urban center, by virtue of the unique amenities which it provides, has been most effective in attracting the principal element of economic, political and social power resident in rural space. By incorporating the rural elite within its structure, the city has been able to extend and concentrate its sphere of influence.

C.A.O. Van Nieuwenhuijze characterizes this situation in the following manner:

The town is the seat of authority. It is the real home of the elite; not merely of its urban manifestation, but of the elite⁸⁹ of Middle Eastern society in its totality.

And later,

The urban elite is primarily nothing but the successful (and successive) blending of the power elite of the nomadic sector and the landlord elite of the village. Each of them is effective in absentia in the sector where it is rooted. The two of them jointly are effective primarily in an orbit that comprises town, village and desert all at once and secondarily in the town proper.⁹⁰

Secondly, it can be seen that this elite, by virtue of its position within its respective communities, incorporates the greatest concentration of resource potential available to the urban center. The center is thus able to retain within its bounds and employ in behalf of its needs the "banks,"

⁸⁹C.A.O. Van Nieuwenhuijze, Social Stratification in the Middle East (Leiden, 1965), p.43.

⁹⁰Ibid., p. 63.

storehouses" and "graineries" of the peasant and pastoral communities.

Another manifestation of urban dominance centers upon the efforts of the city to reorganize and reorient rural space by establishing agricultural colonies and especially urban commercial centers in its hinterland. In this manner there is no competition of needs to contend with, nor ineffective and insufficient concentration, organization and transferral processes. Many such situations have been documented, but it might prove worthwhile at this time to recognize a substantial body of opinion which contends that a significant characteristic of the Arab-Islamic realm is the absence of the "daughter," "boom" or "market" town and that this is evidence of the Arab-Islamic urban center's fundamental inability to effectively organize and integrate its hinterland. Jules Blache takes such a position:

The transition which in Europe leads from the village to the country town and from the town to the city is here absent. The towns are not prosperous agricultural centers, market places that have grown. ⁹¹ but are the creation of Sultan builders. ⁹¹

The observers who choose to view the Arab-Islamic urban center as an alien and disparate element in the landscape also contribute to the argument. Their emphasis,

⁹¹Jules Blache, "Modes of Life in the Moroccan Countryside: Interpretations of Areal Photographs," Geographical Review, Vol. XI, (October, 1921), p.487.

however, is on the center itself rather than on its subsidized offshoots. Numerous succinct statements could be presented to illustrate this position, but Benet's observation provides a good representation.

Instead of the . . . city conceived of as the organic growth of a system of villages into a central town or . . . as the outgrowth of agricultural overproduction of a region. . . the Near Eastern city is the result of a political decision. This city is not, as Henri Pirenne said of most cities of the West, the outcome of trade and merchants. The Near Eastern cities were created whole and although they strengthened the merchants' hand, one feels that they were not absolutely essential to all the trafficking of caravan trade.⁹²

What supporters of this contention fail to consider is that the establishment of an urban center by governmental decision, although a reality in the Arab-Islamic setting, appears as the exception rather than as the rule. Furthermore, in situations where a city was created by decision, its continued development was dependent upon the establishment of multi-functional relationships with its hinterland.⁹³

In conclusion, then, it can be said that to a large degree the Arab-Islamic urban center has been successful in

⁹²F. Benet, "Explosive Markets: The Berber Highlands," . . . , p. 223.

⁹³Adams, however, takes a less optimistic view: City development. . . only to a degree may be viewed as a stimulus to commercial and regional growth. More frequently it has become an instrument for the consolidation of royal power at the expense of the nobility in newly won territory; a forced and artificial transfer of population that may have reaped as large a harvest in social and economic disruption as it did in enhanced commerce, craft, or financial strength from the creation of new urban centers. R. Adams, op.cit., p. 69.

centralizing the patterns and processes operative within the realm. In its relations with the peasant and pastoral communities, it has been dependent, for the most part, on complementary and symbiotic interaction which, in certain situations, has been replaced by a situation of dominance. Dominance as defined, however, cannot be employed as a universal characteristic of the urban center's relation to its co-residents in the Arab-Islamic realm.

Furthermore, although isolation cannot be accepted in its totality with regard to rural-urban interaction, there do appear to be factors which significantly inhibit the development of the urban center and its relations with the agricultural and pastoral communities. In view of the widespread presence of these factors it would appear to be somewhat unrealistic to posit dominance as a universal or even generally applicable characteristic of Arab-Islamic cities. Nor does dominance appear to accurately portray the functional and spatial interrelationships of the urban center with its hinterland.

CHAPTER V: THE PASTORAL COMMUNITY

Introduction

Predicated upon the general overview of the pastoral community developed in Chapter III, the present discussion takes as its point of departure the manner in which the pastoralist relates to the peasant and urbanite. Operating within the analytical framework provided by the ecological trilogy it is felt that a realistic assessment of the pastoral community derives not from a concern with its distinctiveness, but rather from a concern with the community's role as a major interacting component of the wider Arab-Islamic society.

The close interaction and interdependence of the nomad and the settled population in every corner of the Middle East is a strong indication of the advisability of treating their individual cultures as mutually complementing elements of one single culture area.¹

It will therefore be the objective of the ensuing discussion to focus especially on those patterns of interaction initiated and maintained by the pastoralist with his co-residents of Arab-Islamic space to satisfy his needs.

¹R. Patai, "Nomadism: Middle East and Central Asian," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. VII (1951), p.414.

Topics for discussion will include: (1) an inquiry into the nature of the pastoralist-urban interaction through the medium of a "power-balance" analysis, (2) the validity of the continuum construct as a means for increasing the effectiveness of the "trilogy" in comprehending the nature of pastoral-peasant relations, (3) the patterns of interaction manifested in the pastoral community, and (4) those factors within the pastoral community which retard interaction.

Pastoral-State Relations

Historically, the pastoral community has played an important role in intra- and inter-state relations. Its contribution has not, however, been a consistent one. Pastoralists have founded, ruled and populated states, cities, towns and villages and have likewise harassed and destroyed them. They have participated in one of the principal functions of government, the enacting, levying and collecting of taxes and have resisted, when capable, similar demands when made by others.

Furthermore, in a realm marked by political instability, the pastoralist, through his mobility, military prowess and ability to control large areas, functioned as a force for stability as well as a locus of instability towards which dissident elements gravitated.² Because of its relevance to

²Macmichael makes this point explicit in his analysis of the relationship between pastoral and urban interests in Egypt. "It is a striking, but not the least surprising fact

the state, few regimes were immune to the pastoral community's influence.

As it is hazardous to generalize about the manner in which the pastoral community approached the state, it is similarly unwise to generalize as to the major spheres of activity within which this relationship was effected. All too often observers have tended to emphasize the martial accomplishments of the pastoralist to the exclusion of his equally valid participation in trade and settlement. Two illustrations will suffice.

In the fourth and fifth centuries B.C. the Persian and incipient Ottoman Empires enlisted tribes in northern Arabia (Arabia Deserta and Arabia Petraea respectively)³ to

that the tendency of each successive dynasty that ruled Egypt was increasingly to regard the Arabs, that is the nomad, not so much as forming an integral part of the state as an element of danger and unrest hovering on the borders of the country, to be made use of when convenient, but never entitled to more consideration than they had the power to extort." H.A. Macmichael, A History of the Arabs in the Sudan, Vol. I, (Cambridge, 1922), p. 174.

The author likewise contends that settlement was not a state policy in its relations with the pastoralist. "Among the cardinal tenets of Muhammedan policy in these early days was the prohibiting of the acquisition of land by the Arabs... The idea was that they should remain soldiers and not engage in agriculture as settlers." Ibid., p. 157.

³Both terms are archaic, but do aid in the location of early tribal states. The former refers to that portion of the Syrian Desert and steppe between present-day Iraq and Jordan. The latter includes the northwest part of the Levant including Sinai. (Webster's Geographical Dictionary, [Springfield, Mass], 1965, p. 57 under heading "Arabia.")

Occupying Arabia Deserta was the Lakhmid tribe which initially centered on the Babylonian-Arabia frontier (Hira). The Ghassanid tribe from the fifth to the seventh century ruled Phoenicia, Palestine, Jordan Valley, the Hauran, and western Syria.

defend their borders against the incursions of dissident tribes to the south (Arabia Felix).⁴ Through time these warrior populations and the territories they inhabited were incorporated into the political, economic and administrative structures of their patron empires as semi-autonomous client states. Largely independent internally, these constituted buffers between the rival empires.

A similar situation arose in the western uplands of the Levant where, in the eighth century, a march representing a pause in the expansion of the Islamic State (Dar-ul-Islam) was established. In order to employ the militancy of certain dissident pastoral communities to its own advantage, the government encouraged their migration to the area. This resulted in the founding of a chain of fortified villages (amsirs) engaged in pastoralism, agriculture, and defense in what was once a depopulated border zone. The traditional reliance of the pastoralist on mobility both for defense and subsistence was here replaced by permanent settlement in strategic locations.⁵

Although these developments are not unique in the annals of international relations they do highlight the

⁴Arabia Felix or "Fertile Arabia" delimits the major portion of the Arabian Peninsula. Some observers restrict this term to the southern and eastern littoral states of the peninsula. (Webster's Geographical Dictionary. . ., p.57).

⁵The subsequent history of this area is basically a restatement of this same theme. Thus, with the threat of a Frankish invasion in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the government resorted to its traditional appeal to the pastoral community.

pastoralist as a stabilizing force in the demographic and economic as well as the political and military spheres. Despite their somewhat checkered development there is clear evidence that prior enclaves of cultivation were expanded and a continuous landscape of villages, towns and cities established. Through the medium of trade, these "semi-states" also served as middlemen between the steppe and forest realms to the north, and the desert and littoral regions of the south.⁶

Pastoral-Urban Relations

The crux of the relationship between the pastoral and urban communities can be viewed within the context of a "power motif." Expressed spatially, the state is divided into zones defined in terms of the degree of formally constituted power exercised by the government therein. One would then have a landscape organized in terms of a series of isolines denoting areas of equal degree of governmental control. Superimposed on this "formal political surface" would be a secondary "informal surface" representing other loci of power, that is, the pastoral and urban communities. Thus the power gradient within a state would be characterized by its dispersion around three foci: the state, the urban

⁶See C. Churchill, Mount Lebanon: A Ten Year's Residence, from 1842-1852. Vol. I (London, 1853). Also see William R. Polk's The Opening of South Lebanon, 1788-1840: A Study of the Impact of the West on the Middle East (Cambridge, 1963).

center and the pastoral community.⁷

It is within this "motif of power," then, that the relationship between the pastoral and urban communities will be examined. Emphasis will be placed on trade, settlement and strategic considerations as the principal foci of interaction.⁸

Defense

Security is one of the principal objectives which the urban center seeks to insure through its relations with the pastoralist. In that the government has traditionally been either unwilling or ineffective in maintaining internal security, it was incumbent upon the city to develop its own

⁷The history of the Arab-Islamic realm documents this constellation of power and records the manner in which the various power foci patterned their activities so that a status quo amenable to their interests might be achieved and maintained. According to Clarke, for example, the city of Shiraz "is always aware of the presence of the surrounding Qashqai and Khamseh confederacies of tribes." (J. Clarke, The Iranian City of Shiraz [Durham, 1963] p. 3).

⁸Indeed, as was highlighted in Chapter IV, it is difficult and often academic to distinguish between the affairs of state and those of the urban center. Although the Arab-Islamic realm is formally defined as a continuous network of states, a spatial expression of the effective political unit, that is, the territory under the continuous control of the state, is rarely coterminous. One finds then that the state, defined as the spatial expression of an effective political unit, was often coterminous, areally and functionally with the parameters of urban space.

deterrent force. The central component of this force was invariably the pastoralist.

It is not a paradox, however, to find that the pastoralist is also one of the center's antagonists, for conflict resides in inter-urban and intra-urban situations as well. Furthermore, within the pastoral community, identity and loyalty, in their widest application, are tribally rather than communally defined. For one tribe to be employed in defending a border, town or village from the incursions of another is consequently a common occurrence.

The means whereby a tribe was enlisted to support an urban center and the nature of the ensuing relationship varied with the balance of power. When the state held the upper hand the participation of the pastoralist was secured through conscription and forced migration.

The Arab tribes might be summoned to join the Sultan's forces, and their camels be compelled into long and painful convoys towards the frontiers; or should the Viceroy (of Egypt), as was not improbable, repel the invasion and bear back the tide of battle to the walls of Damascus, they would be placed in a situation of doubt and difficulty and at all events have to bear the entire burden of supporting the contending parties.⁹

Given a situation of equality or one where the balance was in favor of the pastoralist, other methods were employed. Understandably appeals were couched in terms favorable to the

⁹C.W. Churchill, The City of Beirut: A Socio-Economic Study, (Lebanon, 1954), p.243.

tribe. Such inducements included immunity from taxation, conscription, and other levies, the privilege of collecting taxes, unencumbered movement and complete autonomy, and the rights to own land (including the villages and populations located thereon).

In Morocco, Arab tribes such as the Gaish were allotted public land and pasture surrounding the principal cities, considered exempt from all taxation, and excused from conscription in return for establishing a secure perimeter against the incursions of Berber elements. In Algeria, urban "brotherhoods" (sof)¹⁰ invited their pastoral counterparts to settle near the city in order to tip the intra-urban balance of power in their favor and thereby wrest political, economic and social control from the rival "brotherhood."

In Syria, where the invading Shammar and Anizeh tribes of the Nejd (the central semi-arid tablelands of the Arabian Peninsula) were moving north and forcing the smaller and weaker tribes into areas under government control, urban interests from Aleppo entered into partnership with the tribal shaikhs. Large tracts of land were offered in return for

¹⁰ According to Briggs the sof is almost a universal division of the political communities in Saharan urban centers; it was often reflected in the economic sphere as well. "In the Sahara the dual party system seems to be most highly developed in the commercial centers of the north and apparently fades out to the south as the commercial function . . . becomes more and more attenuated. . . Some minority groups reproduce the sof pattern in miniature within their internal political structure [e.g. the Jews of Ghardaia]." (Lloyd C. Briggs, Tribes of the Sahara, [Cambridge, 1960], p.80).

the pastoralist's support against neighboring cities.¹¹

In north central Iraq, during the successful nineteenth century tribal uprising against the Pashalik segment of the Ottoman Empire, the Hamawand tribe established a nonaggression pact with the cities of Kirkik and Suleiman in return for supplies and a percentage of bazaar receipts, but did not desist from raiding their hinterlands. The Jaf shaikhs, on the other hand, received gifts of land, villages and urban real estate and were subsequently able to use these to gain control over the Suleiman bazaar and eventually the city itself.

Commerce

The pastoralist's role in commerce can similarly be approached in terms of his ability to effect and maintain stability.¹² The pursuit of long-distance trade ("caravan

¹¹ Often the tribal shaikh, cognizant of the possibilities for personal gain, would enlarge the system by importing captive village populations to augment the work force. He would continue, however, to pursue his role as shaikh in leading his followers against cities with which no agreements had been concluded.

It must be recognized, however, that a balance of power in favor of the pastoralist did not always imply pastoral-urban interaction. Indeed, in Cyrenacia Evans-Pritchard finds that "though maintaining communications with the towns, neither the tribal Shaikhs nor the Sanusiya allowed themselves to be subordinated to them or identified themselves with urban interests. The Bedouin Shaikh did not, like the Syrian landowner, feel any need to have a town house, and the Sanusiya ever remained a country and Bedouin Order and directed its affairs from the desert. Town and country were kept apart, with the towns dependent upon the country and not the country on the towns." E.E. Evans-Pritchard, The Sanusi of Cyrenacia (Oxford, 1949), p. 45. See discussion, p. 44.

¹² "[The pastoralist] . . . are an important factor in the circulation of goods in all parts of the arid zone and in neighboring territories." Lawrence Krader, "The Ecology of Nomadic Pastoralism," International Social Science Journal, Vol. VI, No. 4 (1959), p. 507.



commerce"), however, appears to be predicated more upon the balance of power in the pastoral community than that operative between the pastoralist, urban center and state. Within this context, "power" is expressed in terms of the degree of access maintained by one tribe in the territories of other tribal units. Three procedures for effecting a situation amenable to caravan commerce can be documented.

As has been seen, the state and the urban center, in their attempts to enlist the support of the pastoralist, offered wide-ranging concessions. One such concession centered upon preferential rights in the urban bazaar such as trade privileges and rights to a share of the tax monies. Another concession with a bearing on long distance, rather than bazaar, trade was the state's granting a monopoly on the right to form, protect and lead caravans. Such a situation occurred in the end of the eighteenth century when the Agail tribe of the Nejd was invited to settle in the Baghdad, Basra, Damascus and Aleppo regions in return for a trade monopoly on all mercantile activities between Mesopotamia and Syria.¹³

Often one finds that an urban center, by entering into an agreement with a tribe, has been able to alter a balance of power operative in the pastoral community. In this manner the urban center, in effect, becomes a direct

¹³The Agail, in turn, often farmed out this privilege to other tribes.

participant in the power relations of the pastoral realm. The circumstances surrounding the formation of the Khamseh Federation of the Basseri and lesser tribes of central Iran is illustrative of this procedure. "The Federation's origin," Barth states, "must be traced, not to any of the constituting nomadic tribes, but to the bazaar and government palaces of Shiraz."

It was as a counterweight to the Quashqai as well as to protect his caravans. . . that Ghayam-ul-Mulk founds and leads the confederation. Allegiance was obtained through gifts of arms and services the Ghavam provided as sponsor and protector of the tribes' interests vis à vis the Shah's government.¹⁴

Apart from the efforts of the state and the urban center, commerce was, in the final analysis, dependent upon the pastoralist. And his interest and participation in such activities is of long standing. In the Syrian Desert, for example, sophisticated techniques were established whereby long-distance trade could proceed despite tribal hostility. Where one tribe held ascendancy its members were able to capitalize on the security it was able to guarantee either as caravan leaders or by the following procedure:

A Bedouin agent was often stationed in all the cities bordering the desert and acted as collection representative for all the tribes amongst whom prospective caravans would need

¹⁴F. Barth, Nomads of Southern Persia: The Basseri Tribe of the Khamseh Confederacy, (Oslo, 1961), pp. 87-88.

to journey. He received the money for 'safe conduct' (khawah) passes.¹⁵

During times of instability other media were employed. In the settled portion of the route the caravan organizers established ties of "brotherhood" in every town and village to assure safe conduct in return for a "transit tax." This same technique finds expression within the pastoral realm as the "Rafiq system." Here safe passage was guaranteed through the medium of "blood-brotherhood" (akhwan). Each tribe granted the merchant safe passage through the territory under its control. In order to insure access throughout the entire length of the caravan route, then, it was necessary to establish a large number of such ties and maintain their effectiveness through the periodic granting of gifts.

Apart from defense the pastoralist's participation in commerce also took the form of more "mundane" services. The pastoralist, in return for shares or salary, provided caravans with reliable guidance, transport facilities and labor. He maintained the routes and facilities such as wells and caravanserais. Indeed, one finds that the pastoralist, working on behalf of urban interests, has often been responsible for the organization of such commercial excursions. At times, such activity was, for all intents and purposes, a pastoral monopoly.

¹⁵Christina Grant, The Syrian Desert: Caravans, Travel and Exploration (New York, 1938), p. 138. In situations where the balance of power favored the city, the khawah was not paid. See H.R.P. Dickson, The Arab of the Desert, 2nd Ed.; (London, 1951), p. 443.

Organization of Urban Space

Defense and commerce, however, are only two aspects of the complex pattern of interaction between the pastoral and urban communities. The association between these two modes of life is further revealed in the pervasive influence which the pastoralist had on the organization of urban space.¹⁶

As documented previously,¹⁷ the pastoralist aided in the development of Arab-Islamic urban space. To quote Benet, "They kept in place the few urban bricks of Islam from the Atlantic to the frontiers of India."¹⁸ Initially, the pastoralist was decisive in structuring the social milieu of early Islamic urban centers.

Culturally speaking, the largish Arabian settlements such as the commercial city of Mecca or the primarily agricultural agglomeration of Medina had remained under Bedouin influence, that is to say, they had not been able to develop an ethic and an intellectuality of their own with which they would have dared openly to defy the traditional nomadic ideals.¹⁹

¹⁶In "Nomads and Farmers in Southeast Turkey: Problems of Settlement" (Oriens, Vol. VI [1953], pp. 32-49), W. Eberhard identifies the presence of what he calls Camp and Burg cities. These were divided into clan and guild districts, a central market and a central space in which the tribal shaykh lived. Although the author does not draw any conclusions, one might be tempted to view these as precursors of the Arab-Islamic city. The relationship between cause and effect, however, is not clear and, in the absence of supporting data, this approach remains at best a possibility.

¹⁷See Chapter IV, "Urban Pastoral Relations," p. 137.

¹⁸F. Benet, "The Ideology of Islamic Urbanization," International Journal of Comparative Sociology, Vol. IV (1963), p. 218.

¹⁹W. Fishel, "The City in Islam," Middle Eastern Affairs, Vol. VII (1956), p. 229.

Through time, however, this impact was modified considerably, leaving tribal organization as the sole reflection of the pastoralist's²⁰ influence. Indeed, many observers contend that tribal organization and the imperatives upon which it is based have had a persistent influence on all aspects of urban life.

The tribe was an irreducible unit. Its structure was maintained in Mecca and Medina and carried over into the conquered settlements. There, in order to curb feuds, every tribe was allotted its own quarter, each of which formed an administrative unity.²¹

Thus, the quarter (hara) system, a universal component of the Arab-Islamic city, had its foundation in tribal exclusiveness which was later redefined by the millet system in terms of ethnic criteria. This unique mode of organizational structuring remains today, as does the insecurity and hostility which initially necessitated its development.

Institutions such as the guild and the sof are viewed by some as further illustrations of the impact of the pastoral community on the urban center's social milieu. Again,

²⁰ "The tribal structure is such an unmistakable hallmark of nomadism that wherever it exists among a settled population. . . [it serves] as a definite indication. . . of nomadic descent." R. Patai, "The Middle East as a Culture Area," Middle East Journal, Vol. VI (1952), p.6.

²¹ W. Fischel, op. cit., p.230. Benet, in addition, contends that "the bi-polar foci [character and structure] on which these cities grew results from the projection of tribal patterns upon the urban milieu." F. Benet, op. cit., p.218.

these can be viewed as reflections of the latent instability and fissiparous tendencies inherent in the pastoral community.

The division within the city, the barrio spirit and that most curious phenomenon of which there are recorded instances, leagues formed by opposing barrios enveloping and dividing the cities of a country in the manner of Guelphs and Ghibelines, or the origin and formation of the guilds, echoes the nomadic or tribal past of the settlers.²²

By way of conclusion it can therefore be stated with some degree of assurance that the pattern of interaction manifest between the pastoral and urban communities is indeed profound and pervasive. Furthermore, the role of the pastoralist in this relationship has been central within the spheres of defense, commerce, settlement and the unfolding of the urban social milieu. This documentation, however, disagrees with the traditional body of literature which, in emphasizing the fundamental "incivility" of the pastoralist, does not easily avail itself of such an interpretation.

Pastoral-Peasant Relations

Introduction

In defining human groups such as the pastoral community, one is frequently tempted to seek an internally homogeneous and mutually exclusive construct, two situations which

²²F. Benet, op. cit., p. 214.

Gibb and Bowen, in their discussion of this phenomenon, claim that the sof institution was reflected in the religious hierarchy (Ulema) of Cairo as well. H.A.R. Gibb and H. Bower, Islamic Society and the West, Vol. I, Part I (Oxford, 1950), pp. 268-9.

are alien to the present discussion and rarely manifest in reality. These shortcomings can in part be avoided by employing a loose, open-ended continuum which would highlight the congruities rather than incongruities between groups.²³

Such an approach would have the following end result:

The nomadic camp and the agricultural village must not be conceived of as two opposing forms of locational aggregates. The existence of a continuous scale of transition forms between the two clearly shows the camp and village to be extreme forms of a range of possible mixtures of elements taken from both. . . The cultivation of the soil and animal husbandry can coexist and mutually complement each other.²⁴

The continuum situation here envisioned recognizes the process of sedentarization as the principal medium through which pastoral-peasant interaction occurs.²⁵

²³"The conflict of the Bedouin and the settled man, the parable of Cain and Abel, is one of the oldest themes of Middle Eastern life, but between the two, many mutual interests existed; and buffers, in the form of semi-settled tribes softened the impact of alien ways of life. Much of their culture the Bedouin and villager shared." (William R. Polk, op. cit., p. xvii).

An opposing view is offered by Berque who states, "the antithesis between these two ways of life is indeed so sharp that it allows of no intermediate shades." (J. Berque, Introduction to "Nomads and Nomadism in the Arid Zone," International Social Science Journal; Vol. XI, No. 4 [1959], p. 488).

The individuality of the principal components is recognized, but is not permitted to become a preoccupation. Furthermore, an associational perspective is utilized to counteract the excesses to which the developmental (progressional and successional) assumptions common to this continuum technique are prone.

²⁴R. Patai, op. cit., p. 11.

²⁵The cyclical nature of the sedentarization process and its role as medium for communal interaction was recognized, documented and analyzed by Ibn Khaldun in his Muqaddima in the 14th century.

Analysis of the loci of interaction within this process, that is, the individual "stages," will proceed within the context of the "decision environment," i.e. the individual and/or corporate decisions taken by a group regarding sedentarization within a framework of alternatives. Furthermore, attention will be directed towards those "stages" which comprise the intervening portion of the sedentarization process, the semi-nomadic community. By so doing the disparities of the two polar communities are modified and emphasis is shifted to the intervening realm where the clash between the "desert" and the "sown" is softened.

The sharp distinctions we are apt to make between settled peasants and nomadic herders require amplification; there is rather a gradation from one social and economic pattern to another. Besides the major division between 'arab', the dweller in moveable tent, and hadhar, 'the dweller in the brick,' i.e. the peasant living permanently on tilled land, there are qarauna (villagers), owners of tilled land and permanent dwellings who, nevertheless, move away at the end of summer after sowing their crops and live in tents. . . on the neighboring steppes, where they herd their flocks of sheep and goats. Such groups grade into sawaga (drovers), herders on the settled margins who rely mainly on flocks. . . and never penetrate the poorer steppe-desert of the interior.²⁶

Thus, between the pastoral and peasant communities the sedentarization process highlights a broad spatial,

²⁶C. Daryll Ford, Habitat, Economy and Society: A Geographical Introduction to Ethnology, 5th ed., (New York, 1963), p. 309.

temporal and functional zone of flux. Within this ill-defined "shatter-zone" of the Arab-Islamic realm one finds sedentarization, providing the principal mechanism through which economic, political and social contact takes place.

The Process of Sedentarization

Sedentarization is but one component of a larger process of population transfer from one natural and social milieu to another. Other components of this demographic transfer process include desedentarization and urban-oriented migration. The phenomenon of sedentarization can, in turn, be separated into its individual elements defined in terms of temporal, spatial, demographic and socio-economic criteria. It may be undertaken by an individual, a lineage or a tribe. The process may encompass a short time span such as a year or be carried out over a period of decades and even centuries. It may take place within a locality, a region or between regions. Similarly, the demographic unit undergoing sedentarization may present any combination of traits derived from a wide range of social and economic criteria. The degree to which certain traits judged significant are present or absent would then be employed in identifying the major pattern of the sedentarization process.²⁷

²⁷The independent variables providing a yardstick against which "modification" can be identified are (1) the dominant mode of subsistence activity and (2) the structural nature of the social milieu. Thus, at the pastoral pole one finds an emphasis on animal husbandry coupled with a tribal form of social organization. The opposite or peasant pole should then be characterized by a minimum of animal husbandry and the absence of a tribal influence on the structuring of the social milieu.

According to Awad, "As long as a group (even a

Furthermore, the sedentarization process is open-ended, multi-directional and non-deterministic.²⁸ That is to say although the process is initiated within the nomadic community it need not be resolved within its polar opposite, the sedentary community.²⁹ It should likewise be recognized

sedentary group) possesses a tribal organization it is referred to as 'Arab' to distinguish it from the peasant 'felaheen.'" (M. Awad, "Settlement of Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribal Groups in the Middle East," International Labor Review, Vol. LXXIX [1959], p.25).

Similarly, Patai points out that, "The tribal structure is such an unmistakable hallmark of nomadism that wherever it exists among settled villages. . . [it is] a definite indication. . . of nomadic descent." (R. Patai, op. cit., p.6).

Krader, on the other hand, prefers to postulate a "parasitic-symbiotic continuum" as the framework within which the characteristics of the individual communities and their interaction can be analyzed. At one pole is the parasitic "hunting ecology," at the other the symbiotic "farming ecology." Within this continuum the "herding ecology" is therefore mixed, partly symbiotic and partly parasitic. (Krader, op. cit., p.501).

²⁸From his work in the Sudan, Macmichael offers a good example:

The Bega were essentially a nomadic folk and the Blemyes primarily sedentary and riverine and there can be little doubt that the Blemyes were originally a branch of the Bega who had settled on the river and abandoned the nomadic life. . . A similar tendency has been and still is very marked all along the Nile Valley. This isn't to deny many cases of a movement in a contrary direction: the two tendencies may even be at work contemporaneously and movement is definitely directed one way or other at any particular period by the political conditions of the moment.

(H. A. Macmichael, op. cit., pp. 38-9).

²⁹Indeed, a major pattern of the wider sedentarization process incorporates the urban rather than the peasant environment.

Fisher emphasizes this point: "In that pastoral-nomadism was often regarded as an unsatisfactory alternative to agriculture, it was believed that primitive man passed from a life of hunting and gathering first into the stage of pastoralism, and later, in places where conditions were

that the process of sedentarization, by definition an inter-communal phenomenon, is the product of a complex array of forces deriving from all communal components of the ecological trilogy, pastoral, peasant and urban alike. Consequently, the "decision environment" within which the initial decision to undergo sedentarization as well as the subsequent "environments" in which further critical adjustments are made are themselves the products of an interplay of forces from within as well as outside the community.

The Decision Environment

Most commonly sedentarization is initiated by an individual or corporate inability to maintain a favorable balance with the natural and social milieu,³⁰ and is influenced by a variety of factors. One cause might be natural factors such as a relatively long-term deterioration in the number and quality of herds, pastureland and water resources or the more spectacular and immediate effects of drought and epidemic. Also encouraging a decision to undertake

favorable, to the fullest development of a life based on cultivation . . . Pastoralism may, in some instances, represent a special, later development from agriculture—a dynamic response to environmental conditions, and not a degeneration, or a mere half-stage towards something better." (W.B. Fisher, The Middle East: A Physical, Social and Regional Geography, 4th ed. rev., [London, 1961], p.129).

³⁰Barth prefers to view this situation in terms of its effect on the entire community. "The persistence of the present form of Basseri organization depends on a continual process of sloughing off the members who fail to retain the productive capital in herds which are required for an independent pastoral existence." (F. Barth, op. cit., p. 108).

sedentarization³¹ is demographic attrition arising out of a combined low birth-high death rate, childlessness, the prospect of a non-male progeny or overpopulation.

Similarly, intra- and inter-tribal conflict resulting in the loss of men, herds and the consequent inability to resolve blood debts play a major role in the "sedentarization syndrome."³² The pressure of larger tribes, often forcing the smaller into the settled portions of the steppe and resulting in increased contact with the peasant and urban communities must also be recognized.³³

³¹See F. Barth, op. cit., pp. 113-120. The relevance of sedentarization to the demographic nature of the pastoral community can be seen in Barth's statement, "The difference between the growth and decrease of a section depends on the difference in rates of sedentarization and emigration, and not on the difference in fertility rates." (F. Barth, op. cit., p. 118).

³²This situation is illustrated by the events leading to the founding of Mecca in 400 A.D. by the Koreish tribe, an impoverished segment of the Kinana confederacy. Through the medium of trade and eventual sedentarization, however, it was able to re-establish its position within the tribal context. See Eric Wolf, "The Social Organization of Mecca and the Origins of Islam," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. VII, No. 4 (1951), pp. 329-356.

³³This situation was discussed above with regard to the role of the Shammur and Anizeh tribes in forcing the smaller Syrian tribes into the "realm of the sown." This process involves a timespan of centuries and provides the major mechanism whereby the urban and peasant populations of the Syrian steppe were replenished. In North Africa, specifically Libya and Egypt, one finds a parallel situation. "The first intruders from the west [Morocco and Algeria] were pushed to the Nile by stronger tribes coming behind them and these by yet stronger. They pushed one another like trucks on a siding." (Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 50). For a further discussion see M. Awad, "The Assimilation of Nomadism in Egypt," Geographical Review, Vol. XLIV (1954), pp. 240-252.

A decision to undertake sedentarization also arises as a byproduct of the economic situation. The deterioration of relations between the pastoralist and client retainers,³⁴ peasant agriculturalists or urban commercial interests, and the loss of traditional services such as those associated with caravan commerce upon which the pastoralist is often dependent for a significant portion of his subsistence are two illustrations.

Likewise, the political situation resulting from an unfavorable balance of power is reflected in the sedentary process. A shift in power in favor of the government is commonly expressed in terms of land confiscation, the restriction and disruption of migratory routes, the sealing off of rural and urban markets and enforced sedentarization.³⁵

Sedentarization also derives from positive factors. Again, however, the causative factors reflect the inability of the pastoralists' natural and social environment to effectively respond to demands made upon it. Thus a commitment to a change in habitat, be it partial or total, is the result. A list of such positive factors would include an

³⁴Many such relationships were terminated with the establishment of Pax Gallia in the Maghreb.

³⁵Forde has documented the following situation in northern Arabia: "If a central authority can guarantee security to the villagers and townsmen, the herdsmen of goats and sheep reoccupy the deserted oases, build houses and hamlets and are transformed into settled farmers. They in turn entrust their livestock to groups of Bedouin who, ceasing to enter the inner desert, are often themselves transformed into drovers of the margins." (C. Daryll Forde, op. cit., p. 310).

individual's attaining a superior economic position,³⁶ a balance of power in favor of the pastoral community, the personal motives of the tribal shaikh,³⁷ natural disaster within the peasant realm, and the prospect of reinforcing traditional positions of dominance within a village.³⁸ It should again be emphasized, however, that a combination rather than one or two stimuli are "causal" or "contributory" in any individual example of the sedentarization process.

Range of Alternatives

As mentioned above, the sedentary process is non-deterministic, not necessarily resolving itself within one environment (i.e. the settled realm). Rather, one finds that the individual or group undergoing sedentarization avail themselves of three alternative courses of action: (1) attempt a return to the nomadic state, (2) accept the status quo of a semi-nomadic mode of existence, or (3) seek a greater

³⁶ See again Barth, op. cit., pp. 106-7. Also relevant in his statement, "Various mechanisms. . . compensate for [economic] fluctuations. . . In cases of excessive accumulation of wealth, they are: increased consumption, decline in the rate of productivity of the capital, early subdivision of the household and its division into an increased number of new units receiving disproportionate shares of the original estate. Where these mechanisms fail. . . to compensate fully . . . for growth. . . of herds, sedentarization takes place." (p.111).

³⁷ Most commonly these interests center on acquiring and using land to gain entrance to and acceptance by the elite.

³⁸ Brice, however, highlights another process: "Sometimes such tribes, while still practically independent of the government, encouraged Greek and Armenian artisans and farmers to settle in their territory and gradually themselves took to village life by imitation. W.C. Brice, "The Anatolian Village," Geography, Vol. XL (1955), p.166.

commitment to the sedentary milieu.³⁹

Although a return to the nomadic mode of existence from a state of semi-nomadism is possible, it is not probable. As stated previously, the decision to undergo sedentarization derives from an inability of the individual or the group to effect a balance with either the social or the natural environment of the nomadic community. Semi-nomadism, as will be discussed below, does enable a population to maintain a basic level of subsistence but it does not permit the accumulation of a surplus requisite for re-establishing a favorable threshold within the nomadic community. Thus it can be said that the level of subsistence obtaining within the semi-nomadic community does not permit the return of its members to a nomadic way of life.

This is not to imply, however, that such a development does not occur. It would appear that the central issue, again, is the nature of the decision environment. When the decision is dependent upon factors arising within the semi-nomadic community itself a return does indeed appear improbable. When the locus of decision-making resides without, however, and a choice is no longer available to the community, such a situation may in fact develop.

³⁹ Although the urban center does enter into some patterns of sedentarization, they are not of specific interest in the present context. For a discussion of this phenomenon see Chapter IV, pp. 139-141.

A good example of such a return to nomadism is the situation arising within the political sphere. Such was the case in Chad at the turn of the century, when Pax Gallia was established.⁴⁰ A combination of deleterious factors, chief among them inter-tribal hostility, forced the Juhaina nomads to undertake semi-sedentary activities in a region where the natural milieu was "eminently suited to pastoralism." French rule resolved the prior imbalances, but also initiated some new ones, e.g. the freeing of slave communities upon which the semi-sedentary Juhaina depended for the construction and repair of wells. The result was an abandonment of semi- for unhampered nomadism. The necessary threshold was regained through an expansion of migratory routes and a re-establishment of commercial contacts with peasant and urban interests.

Within the Syrian Jezira a somewhat different situation exists.⁴¹ Here the introduction of mechanized agriculture

⁴⁰ See F.C. Thomas, Jr., "The Juhaina Arabs of Chad," Middle East Journal, Vol. XIII (1959), pp. 143-155, for a full discussion. Churchill documents a pertinent example of this process in The Lebanon. "The Shehaab tribe. . . decided to move; wearied of a residence which exposed them to unceasing contributions [to the state in the form of military support] and left them no certainty as to whether they should reap what they sowed. . . But the departure of the entire family from a spot which their ancestors had inhabited for five centuries, where the tent had long been exchanged for the substantial and well-built house; where, in fact, had been erected a large and capacious town, that of Shohba, was an affair of great difficulty. Nevertheless it was accomplished. (C. Churchill, Mt. Lebanon: A Ten Year's Residence . . . Vol. I, pp. 139-140.)

⁴¹ See E. Garzouzi, "Land Reform in Syria," Middle East Journal, Vol. XVII (1963), pp. 83-90, and A. Mahhouk, "Recent Agricultural Development and Bedouin Settlement in Syria," Middle East Journal, Vol. X (1956), pp. 167-176, for two contrasting interpretations of this situation.

and a shift to commercial crops such as the cotton-rice-winter wheat complex interrupted the trend towards full sedentarization.⁴² The creation of large farms, the removal of peasant villages, a decreased demand for labor and the lack of winter stubble for grazing thwarted the gradual integration of pastoralism and agriculture and their representative populations. These restrictions in the resource base forced an abandonment of semi-nomadism and caused a return to nomadism with banditry as a means for re-establishing a viable threshold.

Semi-Nomadic Pastoralism

The semi-nomadic pastoralist is an anomaly. His is a "composite" community, one which partakes of qualities germane to the pastoral and peasant realms. The semi-nomadic or semi-sedentary pastoralist personifies the continuum of activities and life modes evidenced between these two. Such internal complexity, however, characteristic of the semi-nomadic pastoralist, does not easily yield to classification.⁴³

⁴² Similarly, the introduction of tree crops on former fallow, the hostility of neighboring nomadic pastoralists and natural disasters provide further stimuli for reversing the sedentarization process. See R. Tamsma, "From Nomads to Farmers in Morocco," Geographic Review, Vol. XLVIII (1958), pp. 110-112.

⁴³ Although the pastoral variant of semi-nomadism is of immediate concern here, it should be recognized that semi-nomadism as an alternative to nomadism and peasant sedentarization is also manifest in such diverse activities as trade, truck driving, fishing, soldiering, mining and construction, brush cutting (for firewood), charcoal manufacturing and lumbering. The Chamba of the central Maghreb, former nomadic

There are, however, criteria which apply equally to all such activities. First, all semi-nomads tend to emphasize some mode of "flock" pastoralism, commonly of sheep and goats. What sets them apart from their nomadic counterparts is a direct commitment to other modes of subsistence activity.⁴⁴ In this manner the imbalance which necessitated their withdrawal from the nomadic community is, in large part, redressed. Nevertheless, although cultivation is commonly one of these non-pastoral activities⁴⁵ and partial sedentarization

pastoralists, in 1937 were estimated by Briggs to own 80% of the shops in the southwestern quarter of the Sahara. "They remained nomadic in the sense that they were on the road constantly and returned to Metlili briefly one to two times per year. . . it is common to find nomads tending to seek out semi-sedentary commercial occupations." (L. Briggs, op. cit., pp. 203-4).

Another example are the Tahtaci who "seem to have originally been nomadic tribes that. . . lost their animals and specialized in lumbering. During the summer they go up into the high mountains to cut lumber; in the fall they bring it down into the plains where they sell it. . . The whole group comes down to the plain. . . and lives in settlements that differ. . . (in that) the inhabitants usually do not own . . . [or] farm land. The villages are left empty during the warm season." (Von Wolfram Eberhard, "Types of Settlement in Southeast Turkey," Sociologus, Vol. III, No. 1 [1953], p.56).

⁴⁴Many of the activities listed in Footnote 43 can similarly be employed here. The difference, then, would be one of degree of commitment, not kind. Along the Persian Gulf, for example, Kuwaiti pearling crews commonly undertake a form of semi-nomadic pastoralism during the off-seasons (i.e. autumn, winter and spring). The "direct" nature of these commitments is emphasized. As discussed above, modes of activity other than animal husbandry are found in the nomadic pastoral community. These activities are not, however, performed by the pastoralist although he does benefit from them. It is therefore an indirect or secondary attachment.

⁴⁵For this reason Krader prefers to employ the term "transhumance" rather than semi-nomadism. "Pastoralism, under conditions of sedentary habitation, and as part of an economy mainly dependent on cultivation, may be termed transhumance." (Krader, op. cit., p.500). The types of agriculture engaged

is often evidenced,⁴⁶ there remains a fundamental distinction between this community and the peasantry. Whereas the peasant emphasizes the land as the principal component of his resource base, the semi-nomadic pastoralist still looks to his flocks.⁴⁷ In view of this situation, then, Louise Sweet's contention that semi-nomadic pastoralism "constitutes a characteristic sub-system of the whole culture of the area [the Arab-Islamic realm]"⁴⁸ appears to be valid.

The principal relevance of the semi-nomadic pastoralist to the present discussion, however, lies in his ability to mediate interaction between the pastoral and peasant communities. He effects this through the spatial and functional propinquity maintained with both communities. Indeed, just

in range from extensive and itinerant cultivation of cereals along the migratory routes to intensive care of tree crops.

⁴⁶The greater degree of immobility required by non-pastoral activities and its morphologic expression in the form of a permanent village should also be recognized. The presence of a village, however, does not necessarily imply a permanent resident population. According to Despois, "The village, often practically empty for a part of the year, is as much a depository [for grain surplus] as a living center." (Jean Despois, *Types of Native Life in Tripolitania*, Geographical Review, Vol. XXXV [1945], p. 364).

⁴⁷In Egypt, Abou-Zeid has found that "whatever his main job may be, a man is likely to possess a number of sheep . . . this means that all sectors of the population have an active interest in livestock." (A.M. Abou-Zeid, "The Sedentarization of Nomads in the Western Desert of Egypt," International Social Science Journal, Vol. XI, No. 4 [1959], p. 552).

⁴⁸Louise Sweet, Tell Toqaan: A Syrian Village (Ann Arbor, 1960), p. 90.

as the nomad employs mobility as a major component of his resource potential, the semi-nomad utilizes propinquity to establish a favorable balance with his milieu.

Although the spatial dimensions of the semi-nomadic realm are difficult to delimit a generalized picture is evidenced. The semi-nomadic community, by and large, occupies the borderlands of both the pastoral and peasant communities and is also distributed continuously throughout the realms of both. As such, attempts to impose absolutist criteria in the spatial analysis of the two communities are unrealistic. Rather, the recognition of a highly permeable situation defined in terms of the interplay of forces germane to both is necessitated. The following quotation illustrates this situation:

Besides the migration of whole tribes from Cyrenacia into Egypt, there has taken place an exodus of many tribal sections and fragments. . . until today there isn't a Cyrenacian tribe, or even a large section, which hasn't some of its members in Egypt, often whole lineages. . . There are said to be 30,000 Harabi' alone. . . while the Aulad'Ali and their client aggregates number nearly 40,000.⁴⁹

Functional propinquity is expressed through a wide range of activities which structure the life modes of the semi-nomadic community and its relations with the pastoral

⁴⁹ Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 50-51.

and peasant communities. The semi-nomad thus combines both animal husbandry and agriculture as well as a plethora of other occupations deriving from his propinquitous position. For this reason he is both dependent and depended upon by pastoralist and peasant alike. One function he provides for the nomadic pastoralist is documented by Dickson:

Many of them (the semi-nomadic pastoralists) . . . go and come from the towns to their original tribes and regularly intermarry with their desert cousins. . . They, the Arab dawi, are, in short, sort of half-Bedouin, to be made use of by the purebred article, when the latter comes to town to purchase his needs. The Arab dawi is also a useful go-between in business transactions. . . they get prestige and honour among their neighbors whenever they put up their desert cousins.⁵⁰

Furthermore, whereas the nomad's relations with sedentary society are unstable and sporadic, the semi-nomad's are continuous and relatively permanent. Barth discusses this problem of "equivalence" and "comparability" existing between nomadic and sedentary communities and recognizes the institution of centralized chieftainship as the principal medium through which this disparity is resolved.⁵¹

⁵⁰Dickson, op. cit., p. 109.

⁵¹According to Barth,
We have seen how a conflict between two Basseri nomads is settled. . . The persons or groups involved in such conflicts are homologous and fully comparable; their choices are subject to the same restrictions. . . Similarly where two farmers. . . come into conflict, their positions are comparable. . . When, on the other hand, a conflict arises between a nomad and a farmer. . . the position is different, and the problem of equivalence and comparability arises. . . Pastoral nomadism, by its technical requirements affects the

Between nomad and sedentary there are thus no mechanisms on the level of local communities for the regulation of . . . relations by law and for the resolution of conflicts by other means than by violence . . . A workable mechanism can only be achieved by channeling such conflicts through [institutions] . . . which bridge this difference by transforming the interests and the social units concerned to a point where they become comparable and thus able to communicate.⁵²

It would appear that in many spheres of pastoral-peasant interaction, specifically the economic, the semi-nomad fulfills a similar function. In Egypt, for example, Evans-Pritchard mentions that "The Bedouin . . . know their kinsmen . . . and sometimes when the price of sheep is low in the Egyptian markets they leave their animals with them to sell on their behalf when the price rises."⁵³ Barth refers to a similar economic relationship for the Basseri nomadic community:

The vast bulk of the Basseri's supplies of agricultural and industrial products is obtained . . . from trading partners usually referred to as "friends," in the smaller villages and from occasional traveling peddlers. Each nomad has stable relations with a number of such trading partners in villages scattered

position of the nomad and restricts the possible range of his actions in very determinate ways . . . very different from the restrictions implied by farming. (F. Barth, Nomads of Southern Persia . . . , p. 78).

⁵² Ibid., p. 79.

⁵³ Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 50-51.

along the migration route of his section.⁵⁴

Thus, the semi-nomad, by incorporating elements of both communities, is able to provide a "common ground" for beneficial activities. On one level the semi-nomad speaks for the peasant, on another for the nomad. In many respects he functions as a socio-economic translator.

Full Sedentarization

The foregoing of pastoral activities for other modes of subsistence, commonly centering on some aspect of the agricultural nexus, constitutes another, albeit extreme, end result of the sedentarization process. Many observers view this as the inevitable resolution of the imbalance which initially precipitated the process. Awad, for example, recognizes what he refers to as an "assimilation syndrome" and contends that

There can be little doubt that assimilation is the ultimate end of the nomadic element that settles in the borderlands of cultivation. . . they cannot resist the temptation to penetrate further.⁵⁵

Within this context, semi-nomadism is accepted as a temporary stage which, by implication, does not possess the

⁵⁴F. Barth, op. cit., p. 98. For a full discussion see pp. 97-100. It should be mentioned that Barth refers to "villager" rather than "semi-nomad" in his discussion. The activities performed and the nature of the relationship itself lead this writer to believe that the "villager" was a semi-nomad.

⁵⁵M. Awad, "The Assimilation of Nomadism. . .", p.247. Awad, furthermore, identifies four categories on the "continuum of assimilation": (1) pure nomadism: relationship between nomad and peasant based on mutual service activities, (2) partial

resource potential capable of redressing the imbalance. It would appear, then, that once the decision is made (either through necessity or choice) to limit the amount of energy expended in pastoral activities, subsequent decisions will reflect the continuing decline of such activity in favor of other commitments. Parenthetically, a countervailing attempt to effect a balance between the semi-nomadic pastoralist and his natural milieu can be attained only within the sedentary realm.

There are a number of temporary and seasonal occupations. . . open to the nomad: in harvesting, or guarding winter crops and stores, or as shepherd for a village flock, or by. . . local transport or trading. Common to all these is the need for the nomad to establish an enduring association with one particular village or another, and to be stationary during the period of his work. . . . While this opens the way for the development of more intimate bonds with villagers, both personal and economic, it also usually accelerates the rate of reduction of the nomad's remaining herd by interfering with the normal migratory cycle. The result thus tends to be further loss of animals, loss of contact with. . . (the tribe). . . increased dependence on sources of income within the village and eventual integration into the sedentary community.⁵⁶

nomadism: the division of labor and residence not as extreme within the nomadic community, (3) partial assimilation: agricultural land is obtained, worked and settled on by the former nomad (4) advanced assimilation: villages are shared with peasants and land acquired through marriage ties.

⁵⁶F. Barth, op. cit., p. 109.

The point to be emphasized, however, is that despite the semi-nomad's commitment to the sedentary realm for his livelihood there remains a significant attachment to some form of animal husbandry.⁵⁷ When the sedentarization process derives from capital deficiency one finds that the individual is generally unable to establish a stable and secure resource base which would permit him to willingly relinquish his investment in livestock. His access to the principal resource unit, arable land, is restricted by a lack of capital, by land itself being a scarce resource, and by the distrust which characterizes his relations with the peasantry.

Tenancy is an alternative but rarely affords the semi-nomad the stability and security he seeks. Furthermore, the very factors which precipitated his withdrawal from the pastoral community are operative in the sedentary realm as well.

A good herdsman was more likely to be a successful rainland farmer than a villager who attempted to break too sharply with the past and neglected to care for his livestock. . . the value of the animals in the process of transition from pastoralism to cultivation lay in the security they provided in an environment which is marginal for sedentary agriculture. When crops failed, animals could be sold, as a last

⁵⁷ According to Monteil, "In 1958 near Ouargla, Petit found 'nomads' who go no further than fifteen kilometers from oasis in carts or by mule; some go to daily work on foot, bicycle, truck, followed by the animals. When they reach the pasture lands, they buy water from a water-carrier from Ouargla. (Vincent Monteil, "The Evolution and Settling of the Nomads of the Sahara," International Social Science Journal, Vol. XI, No. 4 [1959], p. 579).

resort, to buy grain and permit another crop to be sown. But even during the most prosperous periods stock raising was never abandoned, so that when factors other than climate, such as political unrest or exorbitant taxes made it impossible to carry on agricultural activities, the farmer could at any moment revert to nomadic activities.⁵⁸

Land as a resource unit does, nevertheless, enter into the sedentarization process. As discussed previously, sedentarization was not always precipitated by conditions within the pastoral community. Often it was imposed upon the entire community by governmental decree. In such situations the spatial expression of this process often coincided with the tribal territory. The tribal sections, formerly defined in terms of rights to water and grazing resources, now came to represent territorial units with land ownership as the primary criterion. Traditional grazing rights were transferred into cultivation rights; individual herding groups attained spatial expression through the establishment of villages. Although land tended to be communally (masha) rather than individually owned, the individual did possess access to this resource within a relatively secure

⁵⁸ Georges Brausch, "Change and Continuity in the Gezira Region of the Sudan," International Social Science Journal, Vol. XVI, No. 3 (1964), p. 342. Monteil carries this point further: "After all what would be the advantage of putting an end to a way of life which is certainly the way of use of the economy best suited to the climate? It is so well suited to it that after there have been good rains the nomads who have settled down sometimes resume their past migrations." (Monteil, op. cit., p. 581).

relationship. Documentation of this mode of sedentarization, however, emphasizes its fundamental instability, as a viable threshold between the community and its natural milieu could not be maintained. Commonly the areas of sedentarization were at best peripheral to agriculture. Areas where "mass" or tribal sedentarization was more successful reflect situations in which the process was gradual and derived from pastoral superiority. The land chosen for cultivation tended to be above average and the pastoralist was often assisted in his new occupation by peasant clients.

Land also entered into the sedentarization process undertaken by the individual pastoralist. This relationship was substantially restricted, however, in that it arose out of a situation of capital accumulation rather than deficiency. Land was acquired as an alternative resource, the intent being to assure the stability of the principal resource unit, livestock. Under favorable conditions it developed into a contributory resource, providing the pastoralist with foodstuffs formerly obtained through the sale of livestock.

The nature of this relationship between pastoralist and land and its role in effecting sedentarization is documented by Barth:

It is a characteristic feature of wealth in herds that its net productivity rate. . . declines as the size of the herds increases . . . The typical pattern for wealthy nomads is therefore to convert a fraction of their wealth in flocks into landed property. . . Along their whole route of migration, they acquire plots. . . The land provides them with a secure store of wealth and a considerable annual income in agricultural products

needed in their normal pattern of consumption. . . . The process tends to become cumulative, with a steadily growing fraction of the nomad's wealth invested in land. The greater these interests in land are, the more the owner becomes motivated to supervise and control his property; and he thus finds himself drawn increasingly into the many ways . . . of the sedentary landlord.⁵⁹

The Peasant Role

Within the peasant community the sedentary imperative would appear to be assured by the permanent dwellings, the demands of agriculture and the perception of land as the primary component of the resource base. Mobility, nevertheless, is very much in evidence. In the upland settlements of the Lebanon, Turkey, Iran, Iraq and the Maghreb the seasonal migration of entire villages from one ecological realm to another has been termed "transhumance" or "semi-nomadism."⁶⁰ Yet, the objective remains cultivation.

The seasonal mobility of individuals such as plowmen, artisans, shepherds and casual laborers provides another component of the peasant milieu. One also finds peasant communities in which the spatial contiguity of residence and occupation (i.e. agriculture) is absent and commuting over considerable distances is required on a daily basis.

⁵⁹ F. Barth, op. cit., pp. 103-106.

⁶⁰ See John Kolars, Tradition, Season and Change in a Turkish Village (Chicago, 1963), pp. 46-49. According to Kolars, "The fact that similar patterns of seasonal migration are found throughout the Mediterranean region indicates that this may not always be the sign of truly nomadic forebearers." Ibid., p. 51.

Similarly, within areas of tenancy and sharecropping agriculture, mobility of residence is high. Political and climatic instability further contribute to the patterns of mobility evidenced by the peasant community.

Animal husbandry presents a second point of congruence between pastoral and peasant communities. Indeed, many observers recognize the presence of this activity as valid support for the contention that a significant portion of the peasant community derives from the pastoral realm.⁶¹ Although this view can be accepted, especially where the social milieu provides corroborating support,⁶² it is to be recognized that other causal factors are commonly involved.

Nevertheless, a large segment of the peasantry depends upon some mode of animal husbandry for maintaining the threshold with its environment. The possession of livestock as a

⁶¹Communal land ownership (masha) and the patterns of agricultural activities which it defines similarly have been identified as a carry-over from the pastoral realm.

⁶²That is to say, where other indicators of a pastoral past such as a tribal mode of social organization are in evidence. The prestige which accrues to an individual by virtue of his livestock holdings and the willingness of individuals to retain animals for prestige (e.g. as a "social resource") are also relevant. Sweet, in dealing with this phenomenon within the peasant community, contends that the presence of livestock should be analyzed in terms of classes of animals and the traditions to which they belong, the species, usage, size of herd and the presence of a distinction between its role as a prestige or subsistence resource. (Louise Sweet, op. cit., p. 90). Specifically, the presence of abnormally large herds can be taken to indicate a recent influx of former pastoralists. Communal land rights structured by the masha system is also a signpost.

food source, an energy source and a unit of surplus capital, then, figures largely in the peasant's perception of his resource base and its potential. In areas where climatic, economic and political instability are endemic, animal husbandry permits the individual a marginal alternative to agriculture. According to Gibb and Bowen, "The ordinary peasant of the 'subsistence' areas was. . . more dependent upon the animals he raised than upon the crops he grew."⁶³ Thus, mixed-farming can be said to play a central role in the peasant community.

"Tribal" structuring of the peasant's social milieu provides a final theme for a discussion of peasant-pastoral congruence. Here again the pastoral influence appears as the rule rather than the exception. Many villages manifest a social structure predicated on the lineage system which, in turn, determines the spatial organization of the settlement as well. In contrast with the "non-tribal" village which, according to Barth "is internally unstructured above the household level,"⁶⁴ the "tribal village is comprised of one or

⁶³H.A.R. Gibb and H. Bowen, op. cit., p. 245. The authors are here referring specifically to Anatolia, but similar conditions hold for large segments of the peasant realm.

W.B. Fisher contends that, "For the most part, agriculture and animal husbandry tend to be separate occupations. The 'mixed' type of farming characteristic of many parts of the world is practiced only on a small scale. . . in their separation one may trace the operation of "geographical" controls." This appears to be an oversimplification which holds true for areas such as the Nile and Tigris Euphrates alluvial plains. (W.B. Fisher, op. cit., p. 213).

⁶⁴F. Barth, Principles of Social Organization in Southern Kurdistan. (Oslo, 1953), pp. 70-72.

two close-knit lineages."⁶⁵ With the presence of two or more lineages the spatial organization of the village is structured by the hara system. "Polarity," then, reflected in the authority, residential and activity patterns, is a hallmark of the tribal village.⁶⁶

A further ramification of pastoral influence on the social structure of the peasant village can be seen in the tendency for lineage groups to partake of the characteristics of a moiety. Balanced opposition expressed through feuding is reflected in the presence of competing socio-economic and political hierarchies within the village. Individual and group identity is then defined in terms of the lineage rather than the village.

The relevance of the pastoral community lies in the fact that these peasant moieties and the tradition within which they operate are paralleled by a similar phenomenon in the pastoral milieu.⁶⁷ Thus, in situations where a peasant moiety requires assistance it is often the pastoral counterpart which is called upon. The presence of moieties sharing

⁶⁵According to Patai, "Both the wandering unit and the village consist of two kin groups." (R. Patai, "The Middle East as a Culture Area," . . . p. 11).

⁶⁶See C.A.O. van Nieuwenhuijze, "The Near Eastern Village: A Profile," Middle East Journal, Vol. XVI (1962), pp. 295-308.

⁶⁷This phenomenon occurs throughout the Arab-Islamic realm and encompasses all three components of the ecological trilogy. Patai, for example, lists the following pairs of moieties to which both peasant and pastoral populations of Arabia and the Levant belong: Qahtan-Adnan, Yafa-Hamdan, Hinawi-Ghafari, Qais (red) and Yaman (white). Ibid., pp. 11-13.

a common identity in both the peasant and the pastoral communities can similarly be seen as providing for a "comparability" and "equivalence" that facilitates interaction between the two communities.⁶⁸

In returning to the continuum by way of conclusion, one finds that not only is a transition situation valid, but that the peasant community, within the context of the above discussion, does not represent the logical antithesis of the pastoral pole and vice versa. The modal type of subsistence activity characteristic of the semi-nomad and the "peasant," that is, mixed farming, is the same in kind if not in degree.⁶⁹ Social structure likewise provides an integrating rather than a dichotomizing influence. Indeed, the term "detrribalization" would then encompass peasant as well as pastoral populations. Furthermore, the sedentarization process, highlighting as it does the similarities extant between the two communities, is found to be present within the same tribal encampment or village, the same sib or clan, the same family or the same individual.

⁶⁸ See discussion above, pp. 210-212.

⁶⁹ Indeed, Sweet goes so far as to state:
The traditional tri-zone concept of cultural relations in the Near East allies the shepherd's culture to the Bedouin, whereas it seems more likely that there is a greater cultural distinction between camel nomads and shepherd pastoralists than between the latter and the peasant cultivator. (L. Sweet, op. cit., p. 2).

Pastoralist Intra-Communal Interaction

As highlighted in the preceding discussion of the urban center,⁷⁰ an analysis of intra-communal interaction is hindered by the paucity of data. Within the pastoral context this situation is compounded by the nature of the community itself. It is difficult to focus on interaction when the principal characteristics of the pastoral community, conflict and mobility, militate against such an approach.⁷¹

The endemic instability of the pastoral community does not, however, negate the potential for interaction.

Evans-Pritchard offers the following example:

Although there [are]. . . intertribal wars and feuds. . . and in spite of the difference in status between free and client tribes, there were laws. . . which gave every Bedouin the freedom of the whole country, and there was much coming and going between the tribes and exchange of hospitality, especially in the (common) grazing grounds. . . and where the necessities of Bedouin life, watering at wells in transit, the crossing of another tribe's territory on the way to markets, the pursuit of straying camels, and the need to sow where rain fell, imposed a recognition of individual rights without regard to tribal affiliations or social status.⁷²

⁷⁰Supra, Chapter IV, Section entitled "Inter-Urban Interaction."

⁷¹Briggs, for example, states that, "Their (the Moors) essential spirit of disunion expressed in endless feuding, raiding, and counter-raiding, inter-tribal and even intra-tribal wars seems to have blocked effectively all avenues of economic or political expansion." (Briggs, op. cit., p. 236)

⁷²Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 54.

One finds, then, that the potential for interaction is evident in precisely those areas of the pastoral milieu where some degree of incompatibility is present.⁷³ Trade, for example, serves as a dominant framework within which noble and vassal, nomadic and semi-nomadic communities interact. The principle upon which this process operates is similar to that of "complementarity."⁷⁴ Again, the divergence in the modes of life and the ecological order of the participating communities provides a "demand gradient" sufficient enough to precipitate interaction.

In an indirect manner, conflict and mobility provide a second locus for interaction. Here the demographic component is emphasized. As previously observed, tribal organization above the level of the herding group is an ephemeral and often fictitious entity. Although common origin is stressed within the pastoral milieu, it is dependent upon the manipulation of tribal genealogies. Again one finds, in a manner similar to the village and urban center, that although the tribe may be represented continuously in time, its membership is not.

⁷³Socio-economic differentiation within the community provides one often ignored context for interaction. The wealthy herd-owner, in an attempt to insure his holdings, distributes the herd throughout the tribe by concluding various types of contracts. Briggs, referring to one of these arrangements, states: "Livestock loans constitute an important conjunctive mechanism which binds together the different social segments of a community." (Briggs, op. cit., p. 223.) See also Barth, op. cit., pp. 102-103 for a further discussion of this mechanism.

⁷⁴Supra, p. 48. This situation is recognized by Barth: "This independence and self-sufficiency of the nomadic household, whereby it can survive in economic relations with an external market, but in complete isolation from all fellow nomads, is a

This fragility of the tribal structure is evident in Morris' observation that "tribes created themselves like pearls around small and insignificant cores."⁷⁵ The endemic instability of the natural and social environments can be identified as the principal cause of this situation. Briggs finds that

The feud system tends to promote periodic changes in the structure of the nomadic tribe because it reduced drastically the economic rank and political power of some kin units within the general framework of the community as a whole.⁷⁶

The cyclical process of tribal disintegration and dispersion and the subsequent reformulation and reintegration of a new "composite" tribal population is thus an ongoing phenomenon which permits the dispersion of vicinal populations and the concentration of formerly dispersed demographic units.⁷⁷ In Tunisia, for example, this process has resulted in a complex ethnic assemblage derived from practically the whole of the Maghreb.⁷⁸

The third and perhaps most relevant area of interaction is dependent upon institutions which are appended to

striking and fundamental feature of Basseri organization." (F. Barth, op. cit., p. 21).

⁷⁵ James Morris, Islam Inflamed: A Middle East Picture, New York (1957), p.163.

⁷⁶ Briggs, op. cit., p. 123.

⁷⁷ See F. Benet, op. cit., pp. 224-225.

⁷⁸ "There are few Tunisian tribes that don't have their Trabelsia (Tripolitarians)." (Jean Despois, op. cit., p. 366.)

the pastoral milieu but are not a part of it. Indeed, it is the alien nature of these institutions which accounts for their success in stimulating and mediating interaction.⁷⁹

As elements foreign to tribal society they are considered neutral within the context of the feud. This neutrality enables the institution to establish stable and permanent sites within the pastoral environment and provides the pastoralist with situations in which interaction can be effected without danger. According to Gellner:

An important function of the various local religious centers were precisely to facilitate and guarantee contact across septic frontiers, not merely between two spheres (makhzen and siba) but also between the various tribes.⁸⁰

Similarly, the plethora of units of "sacred space" established by the Sanusi in the form of settlements (ribat), shrines, cemeteries and markets were imbued with this foreign and neutral aura, thereby facilitating intra- and inter-tribal contact. Accordingly Evans-Pritchard states, "Anyone who studies the distribution of Sanusi Lodges in Cyrenacia will observe that they were placed. . . on a politico-economic

⁷⁹The viability of the tribal confederacy is viewed by Barth as dependent upon factors which are basically external to the pastoral community: "A further related factor in the centralization and maintenance of the confederacy appears to be trade. There are suggestions that the existence of trade routes through areas occupied by a tribe tends to correlate with the degree of centralization in that tribe. This might be expected since such trade increases the number and importance of contacts with the sedentary authorities and thus the potential external sources of authority which support centralized chieftainship." (F. Barth, op. cit., p. 130).

⁸⁰E. Gellner, "Patterns of Rural Rebellion in Morocco: Tribes as Minorities," Archives Europeennes de

plan."⁸¹ Furthermore, these units of space were commonly located at points where interaction could best be developed or where it already transpired.

It [the Order] seeded itself, as it were, in the crevasses between tribes and between tribal sections, and its points of growth were also the points of convergence in the tribal and lineage structure.⁸²

In conclusion, then, it would appear that the potential for interaction does exist in the pastoral realm. Within the context of the tribal system, however, numerous factors effectively impede peaceful contact and confine interaction to a rudimentary level. Situations in which institutions and patterns of interaction are developed to a significant degree appear to be dependent upon the presence of non-pastoral elements which, by their "alienness," are able to establish the stable points necessary for interaction.⁸³

Sociologie, Vol. III (1962), p. 300. With the establishment of Pax Gallia, however, these institutions lost their main function and declined. Benet contends that the oasis market towns (qsar) of North Africa functioned in a similar capacity. "They also carry the imprint of neutrality. . . The qsars are generally under the protection of nomadic groups that rent buildings in the town as storehouses. If the qsar is central to different tribes its independence is more complete." (F. Benet, "Explosive Markets: The Berber Highlands," Trade and Market in the Early Empires, ed. K. Polanyi et al., [Glencoe; 1957], p. 199).

⁸¹ Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 78.

⁸² Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 73.

⁸³ One could also view the urban centers of Iran as playing a similar role in the establishment of the Khamseh Federation.

Conclusion: Isolation Versus Interaction

Having analyzed the manner in which the pastoral community relates to its urban and peasant counterparts through the medium of the ecological trilogy, it should now be possible to draw some conclusions as to the degree to which the pastoral community is integrated into the encompassing Arab-Islamic society. In so doing, however, it is deemed necessary to highlight some of the qualities of the pastoral community which inhibit interaction with its co-resident units of Arab-Islamic space.

Traditional accounts of the pastoralist have tended to emphasize the isolating factors of his natural milieu. In view of the above discussion, however, many of these assertions prove to be untenable. The pastoralist does not live "outside" of the sedentary realm. Rather, he occupies those areas which, although "peripheral" in terms of the imperatives of sedentary life, are nonetheless distributed within and between the spatially-fragmented zones of sedentary habitation. It is to be equally recognized, however, that the dimensions of the pastoral realm do impede interaction by virtue of the distance factor. Similarly, the spatial and temporal discontinuities which characterize the resource base of the pastoral milieu requiring mobility tend to compound the inhibiting qualities of distance.

It is within the social milieu of the pastoral community, however, that the isolating as well as integrating potential of pastoral society is most clearly evidenced.

According to Stauffer, "The village peasant and the tribal pastoralist are closely coupled by their complementary exploitation of existing resources and the mutually beneficial exchanges which ensue."⁸⁴

This statement, although factual, tends to mask a number of incongruities between the nomadic and sedentary populations. In the first place, there is a fundamental disparity in the temporal and spatial dimensions of the two communities. The nomadic pastoralist, operating within the framework of alternatives imposed by his resource base and the technology used to exploit it, finds few points of spatial and temporal congruence with his sedentary counterparts. His resource base is restricted in time and discontinuous in space. Furthermore, the nature of his subsistence capital, livestock, requires almost constant attention. Mobility and constant commitment are thus the primary criteria whereby the pastoralist approaches his temporally and spatially extensive milieu.

The peasant and urbanite, on the other hand, tend to employ stability and proximity as the means for best utilizing their resource base, the dominant imperatives being the location of the market and arable land and continuous access to both. Although the level of technological

⁸⁴T. R. Stauffer, "The Economics of Nomadism in Iran," Middle East Journal, Vol. 19, No. 3 (1965), p. 294.

development warrants a high temporal commitment to subsistence activities, there are, nonetheless, periods during which leave can be taken.

Operating as they do within somewhat divergent spatial and temporal dimensions the opportunities for contact and interaction between nomad and sedentary are relatively restricted. There are recognized schedules which define the times and loci of interaction, but these are tenuous. When interaction does occur, it is generally restricted to those areas in which both parties have an immediate interest, commonly trade and services. Social interaction, predicated upon an awareness arising out of persistent and prolonged contact is consequently rudimentary.

As was introduced in the preceding section, conflict tends to mediate many of the situations where the potential for interaction within the pastoral society exists. The endemic nature of feud and warfare and the pervasive instability deriving from such activity, however, preclude many of the possibilities for inter- and intra-communal interaction.

It has been postulated by analysts of communal organization that factors for integration at the local level of community tend to precipitate conditions of disintegration at the higher levels of the system. This assertion appears to be valid in the pastoral context where the herding camp displays the greatest degree of integration. Viewed within the encompassing tribal structure, internal integration is expressed in terms of external isolation.

A fundamental feature is the relative isolation of each camp. Its members have intimate and frequent interaction with each other. . . Relations with outsiders, on the other hand, are very few and interaction very infrequent. The camp members react continually . . . to the physical environment; they co-operate in sub-groups and as a whole unit; and the migrations themselves may. . . be regarded as. . . nearly daily occasions when the unity and distinctiveness of the group is asserted. . . But social contacts outside, even with other Basseri groups, are largely avoided, to such an extent that intercommunication between camps is poor even when they are located close to each other for longer periods.⁸⁵

The elements of which this situation of integration is constructed include kinship, the imperatives of the resource base and pastoral technology, the obligation of and right to group support, and, most significantly, the latent prospect of hostility. Barth provides an illustration of this phenomenon regarding the Basseri pastoralists of Iran:

This isolation is partly a product of the barriers of suspicion and fear with which the camp members surround themselves. While relations within the group are characterized by the diffuse and embracing mutual trust appropriate between close kin, all outsiders that are not closely related are regarded with the utmost reserve. The camp is very unwilling to admit new members, even as hired shepherds. . . Other camps are suspected of thefts and banditry; with some justification every herdowner feels that outside his camp he is surrounded by a hostile world.⁸⁶

⁸⁵Barth, op. cit., p. 46.

⁸⁶Barth, op. cit., p.47.

Just as conflict encourages integration at the local level and isolation at the higher levels of organization, it likewise may encourage integration at the upper levels of organization. Thus one finds that the independence and isolation of the camp is broken down by its inability to deal effectively with higher levels of conflict. This situation is reflected in the tribal community as a whole partaking of the attributes of the camp.

Nonetheless, it is to be recognized that in spite of the localized and diffuse presence of integration obtaining within the camp society and, on occasion, the tribe, the instability which pervades the spatial and temporal dimensions of the pastoral community effectively retards interaction and integration.⁸⁷

Within the inter-communal framework the situation is somewhat similar, although the conclusions to be derived are not. The traditional observer's persistent emphasis on conflict as the principal medium for nomad-sedentary interaction is not wholly without justification. The negative attitudes of distrust, fear and antagonism arising from such a situation

⁸⁷ Another factor which enters into a discussion of conflict is propinquity. It appears that persistent conflict, regardless of the nature of the groups involved, does not endure between proximal communities. A prolonged state of conflict is possible where the intervening distance is significant and contact is intermittent.

further restrict the range and effectiveness of interaction.⁸⁸

It should be recognized, however, that in spite of the reality of conflict, the pastoralist provides functions which are central to the maintenance and stability of the sedentary realm.⁸⁹ It is the pastoralist who has often provided the foundation upon which states, cities, towns and villages have been established and have prospered. Similarly, through the medium of sedentarization, the pastoralist enhances the resource potential of the sedentary realm in the form of population transfer, goods and services. He contributes to integration by providing the media and supporting technology whereby the vastness of the Arab-Islamic realm can effectively be transcended. His adaptability to the sedentary

⁸⁸ Nonetheless, Gellner claims that one of the principal personifications of this psychosocial incongruity, that is, the line separating the "desert" from the "sown," is far from absolute. "The political bifurcation of the country is transcended by the economic and religious spheres. Regular pilgrimages, markets, ribats followers of local saints exist in both spheres." (E. Gellner, op. cit., p. 300). Similarly Evans-Pritchard comments that, "They are strangers to each other who meet but don't mix. There is a barrier between them and each distrusts the other. Nevertheless there is a measure of economic interdependence between them. (Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 44).

⁸⁹ In the Maghreb, however, Gautier has found that hostility does not necessarily imply conflict between pastoralist and sedentarist. "The fortification of the oases are primarily a protection against neighboring oases. A nomadic tribe has for its hereditary enemy another tribe. . . . Nomadic and sedentary folk are too much complementary parts of one whole to engage in combat with each other." (E.F. Gautier, "Nomad and Sedentary Folks of Northern Africa," Geographical Review, Vol. XI [1921], p. 9). Here again the theme of complementarity is evidenced. Blache, however, disputes this assertion: "It is only in the desert that nomad and sedentary people live side by side in opposition as strangers to each other." (Jules Blache, "Modes of Life in the Moroccan Country-side: Interpretations of Areal Photographs," Geographical Review, Vol. XI, No. 4 [October, 1921], p. 48).

environments of the peasant village and urban center further support his relevance in effecting interaction and integration.

Perhaps the most significant characteristic common to these several types of nomads is the pattern of symbiosis which ties them to the larger society of the Arab world. . . [These form] an integral and dynamic part of the culture, the tribal unit, existing side by side with the agricultural village and the trading city, has. . . in its relation to them played a role as significant to local culture as that played by the other two.⁹⁰

⁹⁰E. Bacon, "Types of Pastoral Nomadism in Central and Southwest Asia," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. X (1954), pp. 146 and 52.

CHAPTER VI: THE PEASANT VILLAGE

Introduction

In undertaking an analysis of the relationship between the peasant community and its urban and pastoral counterparts, one is immediately struck by the numerous paradoxes which characterize the treatment of this theme in the literature. References are made to the preponderance of the peasant community in terms of population and area, yet few observers are willing to accord the peasant an independent contribution to the development of the Arab-Islamic realm. "He preserves and repeats but does not originate or create."¹ According to Patai,

It is remarkable that in the Middle East, where three-quarters of the population lives in the rural areas, the village should have contributed so little to the culture. . . broadly speaking, the role of the rural population is confined to providing food and taxes. . . everything else originates in the towns. . . In other areas, the rural sector plays a larger role in the cultural interchange between town and country than in the Middle East, Here the village is a passive recipient.²

¹H.H. Ayrout, The Egyptian Peasant, Translated by John Williams (Boston, 1963), p.140.

²R. Patai, Golden River to Golden Road: Society, Culture and Change in the Middle East (Philadelphia, 1962), p.269.

The peasant village is recognized as providing the principal resource units (land, labor and surplus) for the economies of the pastoralist and urbanite. Indeed, as was highlighted in the preceding chapters, the peasant's crop reflects a common aggregate of interests and commitments which encompasses the entire realm. The crop sustains the populace and provides the requisites for trade and commerce, the dominant activities of the realm. Nevertheless, one finds that

From the viewpoint of both the town dweller and that of the nomad, the village is something of lesser importance. Insofar as there exists a relationship between village and town and between village and nomad, they are characterized by a certain marginality on the part of the village, as if its existence were of no vital importance to the town or the nomad.³

Furthermore, in association with and compounding the above situations is the assertion, whether implicit or explicit, that the village operates within a framework which has historically been isolated from, and largely ignored by, the overall socio-cultural, economic and political structuring of the Arab-Islamic community.

In either power structure [desert empire or agricultural dominion with the city as center] the village is the natural and necessary resource of manpower and economic power, yet in neither does it feature as an integral part of its operative acculturation . . . The traditional function is to on tap

³C.A.O. Van Nieuwenhuijze, "The Near Eastern Villages: A Profile," Middle East Journal, Vol. XVI (1962), p. 295.

. . . it is passively integrated and not necessarily a social, economic, political and administrative unit in its own right. ⁴ It is better to avoid the term integration.

It will be the intent of the ensuing discussion to approach the peasant community as an integral component of the Arab-Islamic realm. Within this context, emphasis will be placed on those situations which are defined in terms of interaction on both the inter and intra-communal level. Topics for analysis include: (1) peasant-urban relations as mediated by the migration process, (2) peasant-pastoralist interaction, (3) intra-communal relations. A final section will attempt to integrate the themes of isolation and interaction and derive some valid conclusions regarding the manner in which the peasant community relates to its neighboring urban and pastoral communities.

Peasant-Urban Relations

Analyses centering on the relationship between the peasant and urban communities customarily employ the theme of urbanization as the principal matrix for discussion. Implicit in this approach is the assumption, indeed, the axiom, that urban patterns dominate irrespective of the temporal, spatial or functional context. A concomitant assumption is that urbanization embodies and, indeed, necessitates anomie.

The present discussion recognizes the validity of many of the conclusions regarding urban development. It is the

⁴Ibid., p.296.

relevance of this process as a dominant influence on non-urban communities, however, that is questioned.

In this section the frame of reference will be the peasant community and the manner in which it relates to and influences the urban center. Recognizing the traditional tendency to view urban-oriented migration as a principal means whereby urbanization is effected, it will be the intent here to approach migration as a significant component of the peasant community's resource potential. Emphasis will be placed on the manner in which migration operates as a positive, coherent and functional influence on the community.

It is hypothesized that within the context of peasant-urban relations there does exist a well-defined sphere of interaction in which the peasant is able to maintain his way of life. Furthermore, it is advanced that the process of "urbanization," that is, the extension of urban institutions and norms, may in certain situations be balanced or superseded by a countervailing process of "ruralization."

Urban-Oriented Migration

Spatial mobility, that is, migration, is here approached in terms of its contribution to the peasant community's resource potential. As such, it tends to reflect the relationship between the demands of the population and the ability of its resource base to satisfy them. Migration is not, however, to be viewed either as a contemporary phenomenon rising in response to "modernization" or "industrialization," or as a

"last resort" alternative. Indeed, in the Arab-Islamic realm one finds that migration is a traditional component of the rural economy and, in many areas, is as important to the village's survival as agriculture.

Three patterns of migration are employed by the peasant: (1) extra-national,⁵ (2) rural-oriented⁶ and (3) urban-oriented. These can be differentiated on the basis of

⁵Extra-national migration represents a group rather than an individual investment and implies a long-term obligation on the part of both parties, the migrant and his supporters. The migrant's supporters (his immediate household or minimal lineage) are obliged to supply funds for passage and eventual establishment. The individual's commitment is fulfilled through periodic cash remittances.

As in other aspects of peasant activity, land, kinship and social relations often lend coherence and stability to an economic activity. The migration contract is no exception. Ties between the migrant and the group are maintained by his dependency upon the group to support and protect his rights to land. The individual operates as an extension of his village within an alien context. The norms and attitudes which delimit the village from alien space similarly function with regard to the individual. The strength and vitality of these norms find expression in the fact that although a large majority of "overseas" migrants fail to return home, they persist in their desire to identify with their native village, mainly through their unwillingness to be relieved of their rights to land. Similarly, those who do return are reintegrated into the spatial and social framework of the community. Their migratory activity provides the basis for prestige and new status within the community. "Even men who have spent six years in South America fall back quickly into the village pattern. With their earnings they may enlarge an orchard or vineyard or build a new house. But their lives in no way appear to be perceptibly altered by their sojourn abroad." (Annett H. Fuller, Buairij: Portrait of a Lebanese Muslim Village [Cambridge, 1961], p.18).

⁶This pattern of activity will be discussed in the next section.

whether or not a change of habitat is involved. Sub-types are identified in terms of the degree of spatial and temporal separation from the reference village. The initiating stimuli, the goal of the migrant (skilled or unskilled) and the number of individuals involved in one unit of flow⁷ are likewise relevant to a definition of the migratory process. Within the present context urban-oriented migration is emphasized. Attention will focus on: (1) the relationship between migration and the reference village, (2) the nature of the migratory process and, (3) the position of the rural migrant within urban space. Again it is emphasized that urban migration is here conceived of as a means whereby the peasant community effects a more amenable relationship between its needs and the potential of its resource base.

The Reference Village

The peasant community has traditionally manifested an imbalance in its resource base, commonly between land and labor. Dislocations have also been precipitated by "catastrophic" events such as drought, famine, epidemic and civil disorder. Although imbalances and dislocations may be resolved either within the village or the rural realm, by manipulating the threshold between subsistence and surplus, in the

⁷That is, whether migration is undertaken by an individual, a group, a family or a community ("mass-migration").



former, and by utilizing extra-village rural migration in the latter, urban migration has often been employed as a "safety valve." The influence of the migratory institution on the village is significant. By definition the process requires the absention of an individual from the community. It also counteracts to varying degrees the traditional parochialism of the village. Where it is undertaken by selected individuals on a seasonal basis (generally during the low-activity periods) few immediate effects are evidenced apart from its salutary effect on the land-labor ratio.⁸

When migration is defined in terms of years, however, its impact on the community is immediate and profound. Only the least-productive components of the population, the adolescents, elderly, females and physically handicapped, remain. An increasing disparity in the threshold between subsistence and surplus is the result. A dearth in the availability of energy reduces access to the resource base and, concomitantly, decreases the latter's potential. In Nubia Trigger has found a situation in which "farming is something carried on by old men and young boys."⁹

⁸In this context one can assume that the community's resource base has not been heavily taxed and that land, as an economic asset, and agriculture, as a mode of economic activity, are deemed deserving of the time and energy expended in comparison with the time and energy commitments within the urban milieu. "Surplus labor has for generations left the village during the working season and returned to spend. . . the 'sitting season' in the home village." (B. & G. Helling, Rural Turkey: A New Socio-Statistical Appraisal [Istanbul, 1958], p.29).

⁹Bruce G. Trigger, History and Settlement in Lower Nubia, (New Haven, 1965), p.19.

Most villages which recognize migration as a suitable means for expanding the potential of their resource base, however, lie within the intermediate and more moderate range of the "impact spectrum." Here the absention of a portion of the production population is the rule and the migrant population undergoes frequent change. Thus, the traditional agricultural-oriented economy of the village is maintained and migration, expressed through the medium of remittances, is conceived of as a supplement.

It is to be recognized that the community is not being deprived of the migrant's peak years of energy output. First, the traditional economy is not able to capitalize fully on his energy potential by virtue of its labor surplus. Secondly, this "energy surplus" is employed in the urban economy from which the community derives benefit.

Nevertheless, one must realize that the migrant's participation in non-agricultural activities and the institution of migration itself are means rather than ends. The reference village remains as the locus of resolution of the migratory process, and agricultural activity undertaken on one's own land is the ultimate objective. "The Mozabite oasis dweller is a farmer in his youth and again in his old age. During the middle years he may be a bus driver, shop keeper, or mechanic."¹⁰

¹⁰ Marvin W. Mikesell, Northern Morocco: A Cultural Geography (Berkeley, 1960), p. 95.

The Migratory Process

Migration is likewise effected through a wide range of forms, from the informal individual to the institutionalized group response. Where it is not a part of village tradition, migration tends to be employed only as a "stop-gap" measure in the face of "catastrophic" events. Here the process is unstructured and, as such, tends to work to the migrant's disadvantage.

Some villagers. . . have only recently felt the need for emigration and they are finding it difficult to compete successfully with men from villages which have a long tradition of emigration."¹¹

In a surprisingly large sector of the community, however, migration is an integral component of village life and organization. The process tends to be well-organized; it is defined in terms of explicit objectives and commands the recognition and cooperation of the community.¹² Migration also appears to draw upon a higher level of resource potential than is evident in the unstructured situation; a larger percentage of the migrant population is skilled or semi-skilled.

As with extra-national migration, urban migration is

¹¹John I. Clarke, "Emigration from Southern Tunisia," Geography, Vol. XLII (1957), p.99.

¹²"Migration to work is regarded as something tied to a certain time of life. 'It is a bachelor's duty' say the villagers of young men who leave." (B. & G. Helling, op. cit., pp. 29-30).

initially defined in terms of family commitment. Family support, then, is predicated on two patterns of economic activity, agriculture and labor-employment, and maintains a dual spatial and functional orientation, the urban pole being understandably less permanent. To take "mercantile migration" as an example,

Family relations [are] important for they mean a diminution in overheads and when one member of the business returns home for a year or two he is automatically replaced by a relative.¹³

It is on the village level, however, that the phenomenon of migration is most clearly developed. In Egypt, for example, almost every village has its representatives in the cities who contract for jobs and secure housing for new and prospective migrants. This activity is often formalized by a hierarchical system of contractors and sub-contractors, hired by urban interests to recruit rural labor. Often a bond is established between a village and an urban employer whereby the village tacitly agrees to supply the requisite labor in return for guarantees of employment. Urban based peasant voluntary associations (nadi) are found to fulfill a similar function in ameliorating the migratory process.

A further refinement in the migratory process attains its most widespread expression in North Africa. Here migration is approached as a highly-specialized mode of activity.

¹³John I. Clarke, op. cit., p. 101.

Individual villages assume the role of both labor recruiter and employer by specializing in specific urban-oriented occupations and directing the main stream of migration towards specific urban centers. Thus, migration is no longer a random process.

By virtue of this activity's lengthy tradition in the village and the widespread tendency in the Arab-Islamic realm for trade membership to be defined on ethnic and religious grounds, these communities now maintain an "hereditary" prerogative over certain skills and economic enterprises which amounts to a virtual monopoly. Clarke offers the following observation:

Perhaps the most interesting feature of emigration is the remarkable growth of occupational specializations. The members of each village. . . tend to concentrate on a certain trade or occupation, which is sometimes practiced throughout Tunisia.¹⁴

The village thus manifests itself as a spatial embodiment of the ethnic division of labor. The individual migrant partakes of this privilege by virtue of his membership in the community.¹⁵

¹⁴John I. Clarke, op. cit., p. 99.

¹⁵The migratory process is likewise structured by both improvised and formalized channels of communication whereby news and remittances are brought to the village. Members of the village who visited the city or returning migrants often provided the medium. Lambton has observed this practice in Iran: "In such cases where a number of persons from any one district have gone to some town in search of work, there is often some system devised by which

The Peasant Community in Urban Space¹⁶

The primary impetus for and justification of urban migration, then, is a general desire to buttress the economic viability of the peasant household and, concomitantly, that of the village. Thus one can, for the most part, assume that the major ties between the migrant and the urban milieu will be defined in terms of the labor market and will be uniplex in nature. It can similarly be assumed that the migrant will seek to maintain the web of interpersonal multiplex relations embodying the attitudes, values and norms which structured his way of life prior to entering the town.

To the extent to which conditions will allow, peasants will tend to carry on as they did prior to coming to town. This refers to norms of conduct, type of housing, and even to a more or less

one of their number collects money periodically to take back to their families left in the village." (Ann Lambton, Landlord and Peasant in Persia: A Study of Land Tenure and Land Revenue Administration [London, 1953], pp. 278-279).

Potter identifies the bus driver as a link in this system: "They act as agents for small farmers in the village and deliver small consignments of fresh food to merchants in the towns through which they pass. They are messengers who carry news of relatives, remittances and gossip from the outside world, from village to village." (Dalton Potter, "The Bazaar Merchant," Social Forces in the Middle East, ed. Sydney N. Fisher, [Ithaca, 1955], p.103).

Perhaps the most important medium, however, is the mails. Indeed, in many areas the post office has become the principal focus of activity for the reference village. Its position is most evident, however, when extra-national migration is undertaken.

¹⁶See J. Abu-Lughod, "Migrant Adjustment to City Life: The Egyptian Case," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LXVII (1961), pp. 22-32, for a comprehensive areal-functional analysis of the peasant community in urban space.

See also P. Suzuki, "Encounter with Istanbul: Urban Peasants and Village Peasants," International Journal of Sociology, Vol. V, No.2 (Sept.1964), pp.208-216, for a case study approach to urban migration in Istanbul.

village-like atmosphere that they sometimes manage to maintain.¹⁷

Perhaps the most common manifestation of the migrant's desire to maintain his traditional ties is the mutual-assistance association.

In the towns where they work, the Nubians have their own cafes and traditional associations under the leadership of a shaikh to whom part of the salary is paid in return for his assistance in getting them jobs and for help in bad times.¹⁸

Generally, membership is defined in terms of the individual's rural residence and the basic objective is to provide a viable and resourceful frame of reference by which the migrant can comprehend his alien environment, yet maintain, in part, his commitment to his previous life. In that the labor market provides the common medium through which all members operate in the urban milieu, the mutual aid associations often take on the qualities of a guild. Awad, for example, has found that,

Their cohesion is such that they continue to regard themselves as jointly responsible towards other townsmen for any injury that one of their number may cause in the exercising of his trade.¹⁹

¹⁷C.A.O. Van Nieuwenhuijze, Social Stratification and the Middle East (Leiden, 1965), p.48. Stirling offers the following observation: "As far as I was able to judge, the social life of these migrants in town was largely spent among other villagers. . . . The migrant laborers seem to have formed their own subsystem within the town and to have lived very largely within it." (Paul Stirling, Turkish Village. [London, 1965], p.285).

¹⁸Trigger, op. cit., p.19.

¹⁹H. Awad, "Morocco's Expanding Towns," Geographical Journal, Vol. CXXX (1964), p.52.

The association also maintains a fund accessible to all members. This fund was a ready source of capital for emergencies such as rent, convalescence, sickness, transportation fare, unemployment and the working capital to begin a business.

Another major function which the association provides and which most observers overlook is that of assisting the migrant in fulfilling his commitment to his family and his village. Funds are allotted to purchase items requested by the village. Messengers are employed to maintain contact with the village, and to relay news and, more importantly, remittances on behalf of the migrant.

A second expression of the migrant's desire to maintain his traditional commitments is his attempt to reorganize urban space in terms of the forms with which he is most familiar, those of the village. Morphologically as well as functionally, "they tend to build within the city a replica of the culture which they have left behind." To quote Ayrout:

Even where the felahin build a suburb, it bears exactly the same appearance [as the village] untouched by [the urban center's] proximity.²⁰

And later:

It is enough to cast a glimpse at the felahin colonies in Cairo to see that they are simply villages, grouped

²⁰H.H. Ayrout, op. cit., p.90.

according to place of origin in odd quarters.²¹

The attempt to reconstruct physical space in terms of traditional motifs is but one manifestation of the migrant's attempt to reconstruct the social space. The migrant maintains primarily one relationship with the urban community, the economic. The remainder of his needs can only be expressed in an environment with which he can fully identify. Only by reestablishing the village atmosphere are these needs fulfilled.

Thus persons from the same parent village tend to work and reside in the same general area for security, stability, as well as "good company." Focal points for such interaction include the cafe (owned by a member of the community) which functions as did the coffeehouse in the reference village, the trade and labor associations, and the religious center, be it a mosque or church.

The overall effect of this attitude of the peasant migrant appears to be a duplication of the major mechanism whereby the "insularity" of the parent village is achieved. The urban peasant community is thus set apart from its incorporating human landscape in a manner similar to the peasant

²¹Ibid., p.150.

In her work "Rural-to-Urban Migration in Iraq," (Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. VII [1959], p.412), Doris Phillips has found that rural migrants tend to construct whole villages in the empty spaces which surround Baghdad (Asima-"squatter zone"). These villages have their own suq and are "more noticeably tribal in structure and culture than are the slums which are in closer contact with urban influence." She claims that few engage in cultivation but that the "elite" of the peasant squatters do have large herds of cattle.

village vis à vis the rural landscape. In his study of a Lebanese village, Gulick cites the example of members of a community who migrated to Beirut. The social space which they have created is referred to by the author as "Little Munsif."

To outside acquaintances it [Little Munsif] appears to have established no identification with its urban surroundings nor to have established any strong ties with non-Munsifiim. These people [however] are by no means cut off from the village. People come and go from the village constantly for brief visits. The evening gatherings are similar in form to those in the village proper.²²

This insularity is compounded because the peasant migrant does not perceive of his residence or his activities in the urban center as a permanent commitment: the rural village remains the ultimate place to which the peasant belongs.

Ruralization

Gulick has stated that:

Urban studies in Lebanon, or in any other Middle Eastern country, will be of tremendous value and importance. . . but must be based on. . . an understanding

²²John Gulick, Social Structure and Cultural Change in a Lebanese Village (New York, 1955), pp. 102-103.

In his study of the peasant life in Istanbul, Suzuki finds a similar situation:

One striking example of the in-group feeling possessed by these [migrants]. . . emerges in their near-total obliviousness to their next-door neighbors in the isolated shack town. . . because "they are not of our village," as one informant put it. Yet this shack town is composed of only 13 shacks, seven of these . . . occupied by [the group].

(P. Suzuki, "Village Solidarity Among Turkish Peasants Undergoing Urbanization," Science, Vol. CXXXII [September, 1960], p.891). See also, by the same author, "Encounters with Istanbul: Urban Peasants and Village Peasants."

of village life. This is because so many²³ city dwellers were village born and bred.

In view of this influence, the conditions in the Arab-Islamic city tend to dispute many of the traditional assumptions regarding urban development and the process of urbanization as well as the validity of the rural-urban construct. To quote Suzuki:

The enduring attachment of the peasant in the urban setting to his original unit of social organization, be it a tribe, village or extended family, forms a strong link which does violence to the model of the rural-urban dichotomy constructed by social sciences. What is generally taking place. . . is a ruralization of the cities, where the peasants carry on an essentially rural or folk way of life.²⁴

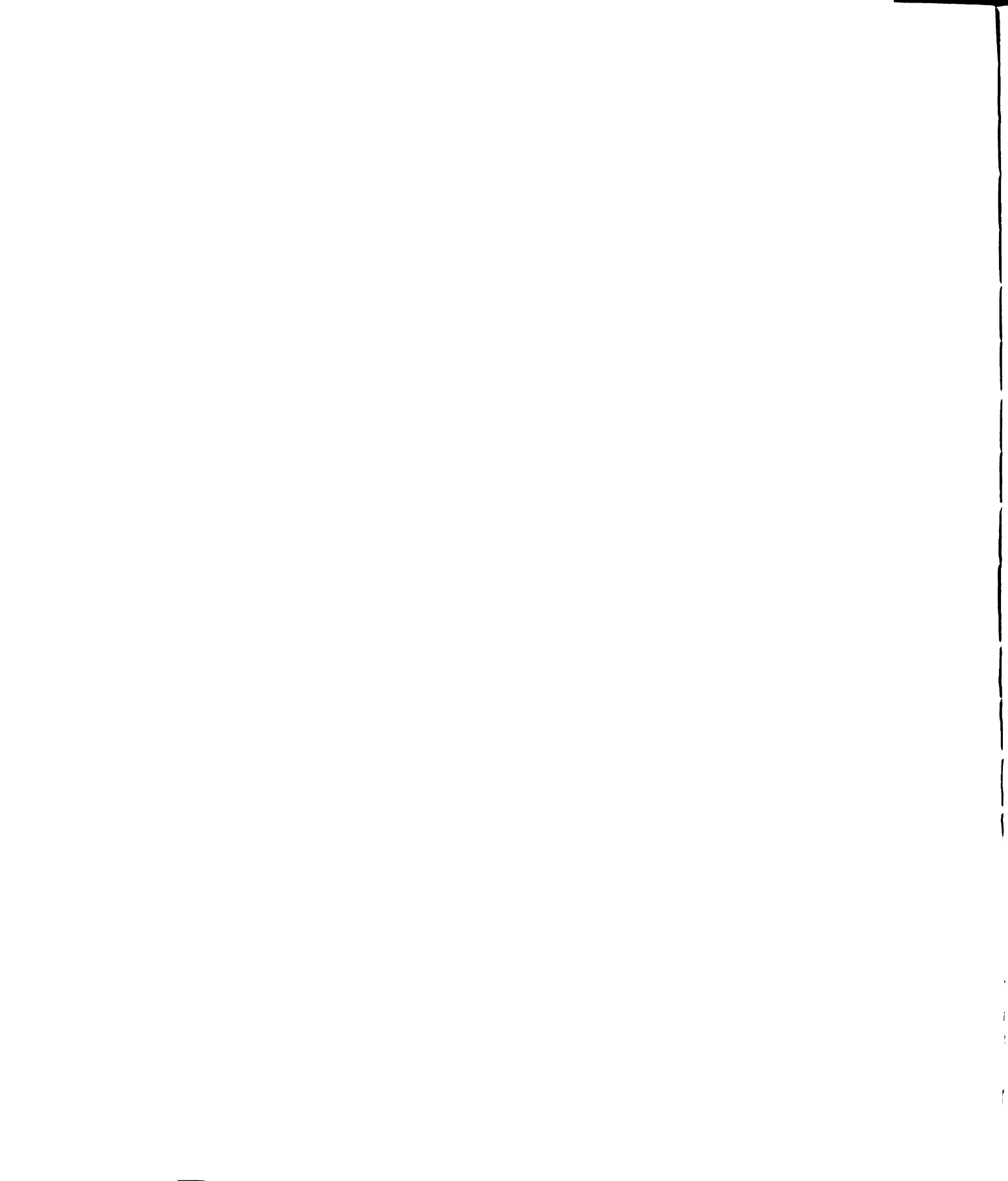
One tends to find then, a viable peasant culture which is generally successful in maintaining in urban space the norms, values and attitudes expressed in rural space. Not only does the peasant migrant retain his traditional life-ways, but he also has been able to exert a profound influence on the social and physical space of the urban center itself by virtue of his numbers and the length of time he has been associated with the urban milieu.²⁵

The tendency for cities to continually incorporate rural space which has been structured by the peasant tradition and the village populations residing thereon has similarly

²³ Gulick, op. cit., p.17.

²⁴ P. Suzuki, "Village Solidarity. . .", p.891.

²⁵ It should similarly be borne in mind that the pastoralist, as a member of the "rural community" has exerted a profound influence on the Arab-Islamic city. See Chapter V, Section 1 for a full discussion.



contributed to this situation. Indeed, as Abu-Lughod has found in Cairo, many urban centers, especially those of the "primate" variety can be viewed as areal-functional expressions of the rural-urban fringe.

There are vast quarters within the mosaic of Cairo where physically, culturally and socially the way of life and the character of its residents resemble rural Egypt.²⁶

Furthermore, one must recognize that in many cases the peasant migrant does not enter urban space with the intent of establishing a permanent commitment. His presence is commonly justified as a means for gaining access to the urban center's resource base through the labor market and commerce. The commitment, then, is temporally and functionally restricted, defined in terms of temporary residence and economic activities.²⁷

The Arab city is a conglomeration of spheres and segments, but it is not, in itself, a cohesive social unit, an in-group. A majority of the city dwellers are people who have gathered there for the primary purpose of engaging in commerce. Their loyalties are to their own families, to their home villages, and to their religion. . . the truth is that their loyalties are very real, and are many rather than one and none of them are directed towards the city itself.²⁸

The village, then, provides the principal reference point for the migrant. When he feels that his objectives have been

²⁶ Abu-Lughod, op.cit., pp. 24-25.

²⁷ One reflection of this is the high rate of absenteeism attributed to the peasant laborer because of his periodic return to the reference village.

²⁸ Gulick, op. cit., p.171.

attained he returns to the village.

It is with the migrant's return to the village that one can best ascertain the degree to which the urban influence is manifest. A perusal of a large number of such studies, however, tends to reinforce the contention that urbanization has not been particularly successful in visibly altering the rural way of life. One observer concludes: "Even the man who has been successful in town may not achieve such an effective integration that he could eventually resist the temptation of returning to the village."²⁹

Urbanization, then, viewed as the extension of urban attitudes and values, does not appear to adequately encompass the full spectrum of peasant-urbanite relations. What has generally gone unrecognized in much of the traditional literature is the ability of the rural tradition not only to maintain its identity in the urban environment, but also to influence the structuring of urban social and physical space. In view of this situation it would appear that there is need to refine and reformulate the parameters of urbanization in order to better comprehend the reality of urban development as one component in the development of society as a whole.

Suzuki illustrates one possible course of action.

²⁹C.A.O. Van Nieuwenhuijze, Social Stratification in the Middle East (Leiden, 1965), p. 50.

Stirling offers a similar observation: "Plenty of people have been to live in the towns for months and even years at a time. . . but remained villagers, whose center of interest was the village." (Paul Stirling, Turkish Village [London, 1965], p. 24).

Intensification of village practices and a viscidty among the migratory group as an emergent force of adjustment. . . . may not necessarily be the results of renitency to the dominant mode of life in the city, but may well attest to the persistency and vigor of village culture patterns and values. On the other hand, the dominant mode of life in the city, especially of the non-Western nation, may be characterized by nothing more than a rural or peasant way of life. If this latter statement is true, it is possible that we are witnessing the emergence of a different kind of city, one which is neither "feudal," "pre-industrial," "administrative," nor "industrial" but pre-eminently peasantlike in quality. It would follow then that a better understanding of the universal phenomenon of urbanization and the nature of the city could be gained by looking into peasant life in the city.³⁰

Peasant-Pastoral Relations

The relationship between the peasant and the pastoralist similarly tends to be presented ambivalently in the literature. Some observers stress the violent aspects of this locus of interaction; others the need of the pastoral community for goods and services provided by the peasant economy. The two are rarely reconciled.

It should be recognized, however, that although communal strife is an historical reality, it does not mediate the full range of activities which structure communal interaction, and, consequently should not be permitted to operate as a distractor. There are significant patterns of activity

³⁰ P. Suzuki, "Encounters with Istanbul. . . .", pp. 214-215.

which do not reside in the context of "power analyses" and it is these which provide the principal media for peasant-pastoral interaction. The relationship, therefore, can be thought of as symbiotic, not parasitic, even though the symbiosis may be compulsory in certain instances.³¹

In many respects one finds that the pastoralist's approach to the peasant is likewise ambivalent. Within a socio-cultural context he despises the peasant's mode of life, his sedentary habits and attachment to the soil. In an economic context, however, the pastoralist is well aware of his dependence on the peasant. Thus, although peripheral to the pastoralist's social milieu, the peasant community occupies a central role in the economic milieu. Indeed, cases have been documented in which the pastoralist has on his own initiative actively encouraged the establishment of peasant communities in his realm.³²

The peasant community comprises a major component of the pastoralist's resource base. Although the pastoralist's life is structured in terms of the "livestock complex" he nevertheless depends heavily on agricultural products, specifically grains, for a large portion of his diet.³³ According to

³¹"Nomadic and sedentary folk are too much complementary parts of one whole to engage in combat with each other," (E.F. Gautier, "Nomad and Sedentary Folks of Northern Africa," Geographical Review, Vol. XI [1921], p.9).

³²See W. von Eberhard, "Nomads and Farmers in South Eastern Turkey: Problems of Settlement," Oriens, Vol. VI(1953), pp. 32-49.

³³"The Moors use 50,000 tons of millet per year as well as 5,000 tons of sugar and 8,000 tons of cotton goods." (J. Beyries as quoted by Vincent Monteil, "The Evolution and

Gautier, "The nomad is tributary to the oasis for the greatest part of his vegetable diet, dates and cereals."³⁴ Access to these staples is effected either by direct participation (i.e. itinerant agriculture), raiding, the levying of tribute, or most commonly, through the market exchange. The locus of this mode of interaction is invariably the peasant community. One facet of this process is highlighted by Barth:

The vast bulk of the Basseri's supplies of agricultural and industrial products is obtained. . . from trading partners usually referred to as 'friends' in the smaller villages. . . Each nomad has a stable relation with a number of such trading partners in villages scattered along the migratory route of his section.³⁵

The peasant is also important to the pastoralist in his ability to gather, synthesize and translate the news of activities germane to the sedentary realm. The nature of this process is documented by Kolars:

This situation has been radically altered by the development of the village coffee-shop as a more amenable alternative to the institution of the headman's guest room. Now, the pastoralist no longer exactly knows where to go, whom to befriend, nor where to fit into the altered village social structure. Thus in social as well as in the more practical affairs of agriculture, the nomad and the village's traditions are becoming separate and more remote.³⁶

Settling of the Nomads of the Sahara," International Social Science Journal, Vol. XI, No. 4 [1959], p.575). Although the methods for obtaining these figures are suspect, a valid general impression can be gained from them.

³⁴Gautier, op.cit., p.8.

³⁵F. Barth, Nomads of Southern Persia; The Basseri Tribe of the Khamseh Confederacy, (Oslo, 1961), p.98.

³⁶John Kolars, Tradition, Season and Change in a Turkish Village (Chicago, 1963), p.50.

Perhaps the most significant role played by the peasant community with regard to the pastoralist focuses upon the process of sedentarization. In effect the pastoralist is offered access to another habitat and, concomitantly, to another resource base (the sedentary realm). By undertaking this process the pastoralist is able to employ the potential of the peasant community, specifically agricultural activity, as a means for resolving the initial imbalance which precipitated the sedentarization process. Although his presence is not particularly welcome, the pastoralist is nevertheless permitted access to significant components of the peasant's resource potential.³⁷ The success of this process is reflected in its long historical tradition and the large units of population which it has affected. The result is not only a change in economy, but also a change of culture, norms, values and attitudes.

Trade in agricultural products, however, comprises only one aspect of the peasant-pastoralist economic relationship. Equally relevant is the wide range of services which the peasant provides. Although it is often difficult to distinguish between service and product-oriented relationships in that both are often part of the same transaction, there are significant activities which can be highlighted independently. These services range from fencing for stolen goods to extending credit.

³⁷Supra, Chapter V, pp. 198-208.



The most significant service activities which cross-cut both peasant and pastoral economies center on commerce, agriculture and animal husbandry. These derive from spatial proximity and the intrinsic complementarity of the two economic systems. The pastoralist is permitted, indeed encouraged, to pasture his herds on harvested and fallow fields. The peasant thereby gains sorely needed fertilizer. In that the peasant resource base likewise incorporates animal husbandry, the peasant often contracts a pastoralist to care for the village flocks. Similarly, in areas where the village is located along the pastoralist's route peasants often are contracted to plow, sow and cultivate crops to be harvested by the pastoralist when he reaches that location. The peasant, in turn, hires the pastoralist to harvest his crops and, on occasion, to guard them from other peasants and pastoralists.

To posit, then, that the peasant does not enter into the world-view of the pastoralist would appear to be a mis-evaluation. Not only does interaction occur, but one finds that, indeed, the peasant provides much that is essential to the pastoral mode of life.

[The] minor oases and agricultural centers
 . . . are essential organs of the internal
 life and external relations of the tribes.
 Without their help the great Saharan nomadic
 tribes could never operate as such.³⁸

³⁸ Henri Duveyrier as quoted by Lloyd C. Briggs, Tribes of the Sahara (Cambridge, 1960), p.63. Werner Cashel is also quoted: "The Bedouin economy isn't self-contained but presupposes an economy of oases." p. 118.

Intra-Communal Relations

A Model of Time-Space Activity

A realistic portrayal of the dynamic configurations of the peasant realm is impeded by a priori assumptions of isolation. In view of this situation, it might prove worthwhile to construct a three dimensional landscape as a matrix within which human interaction could be plotted. The principal differentiating variable would be persistence, operationally defined as the degree to which a specific activity type is manifested within the spatial and temporal dimensions of the landscape. In this manner one should be able to plot the nodes of activity present within a specific time-space dimension and order them in terms of the number of activity patterns evidenced and the degree of persistence of these patterns.

Within this model, therefore, the village- expressing as it does a "hot spot" of activity- would attain representation as a sequential series of points common to all landscapes framed by the chosen temporal and spatial parameters. Its "persistence value" would be expressed by a maximum value for both time and space. Employing this village as the frame of reference, one would then proceed to plot the persistence values of secondary activity patterns which relate the reference village to other foci of interaction, be it a neighboring village, weekly market, seasonal fair, or itinerant traders, craftsmen and other ambulatory functionaries. In this manner one should be able to derive some realistic conclusions

regarding the nature and degree of interaction present in a specific unit of time and space. Parenthetically, one would also be able to trace the general parameters of isolation which are evidenced.

In the discussion to follow, an attempt will be made to approach the peasant realm in terms of this construct. Emphasis will be placed on the two principal loci of interaction, (1) intra-village, and (2) extra-village institutions.

Intra-Village Interaction

The most persistent locus of interaction within the peasant realm centers on the village and involves multiplex³⁹ relations which support and are in turn supported by the value system of the community. According to Stirling,

If we could measure the intensity of social relations in terms of emotional strength, of the number of rights and duties involved and of the frequency of contact, we would find that all residents. . . had their more intense and stable relations almost exclusively inside the village. . . Even enemies inside the village are intimate enemies.⁴⁰

The dominant values include (1) an emphasis on kinship, genealogy and land as comprising an irreducible relationship, (2) the subordination of the interests of the individual to those of the group, and the right to and obligation of communal support in all extra-village activities, (3) the perception of one's village as a complete, superior and self-contained environment.

³⁹That is, relations which proceed on multiple levels concurrently.

⁴⁰Paul Stirling, Turkish Village (London, 1965), p.30.

Ancestors, Kin and Land

Land provides the principal medium through which the individual's commitment to the lineage is defined, and it is in terms of land that his most immediate rights and obligations in inter-personal relations are expressed. Support for this observation is two-fold. First, as has been seen, land represents the fundamental component of the peasant's resource potential.⁴¹ The kin group, as the major land-holding unit, thus serves as the channel through which the individual is guaranteed access to the use of this resource unit and the rights to its potential (i.e. the crop).

Secondly, apart from its economic implications, land also personifies the relationship between an individual's past, present and future, between his ancestors, kin and progeny. Thus land is the tangible symbol on which the identity, integrity and stability of the family line and, concomitantly, that of the individual member, is predicated. It contributes a degree of permanency upon which the individual is dependent in approaching his natural and social milieus.⁴²

It is against this backdrop, then, that one should interpret injunctions against exogamous marriages, the pre-eminence of patrilocal residence, the reluctance of individuals to alienate their rights to land through sale, the inheritance system and its reflection in the highly fragmented land

⁴¹Supra, Chapter III, pp. 112-114.

⁴²Fuller, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

holdings and the desire of migrants to retain their rights to land. All, directly and indirectly, seek to preserve the lineage's and the individual's rights of access to the land.⁴³

The family and lineage similarly serve as principal media through which the individual relates to his social environment, specifically the village. The relevance of the kinship institution in this process is central. Where the lineage structure (hamula) maintains the same bounds as the village it tends to reinforce the commitment to the village; kinship and communal identity are thus synonymous. Where kinship structure is not homogeneous, that is, where more than one lineage defines the commitments of the village populace, the individual tends to identify first with his kin and only secondarily with the village. On the village level this situation attains areal-functional expression in the form of a bipolar or multi-polar arrangement.⁴⁴

⁴³These injunctions can similarly be viewed within the village context. Since land largely determines residence and comprises a major section of the village's resource base as well, its alienation restricts the community's access to it and represents a direct threat to the community's integrity. Similarly, in situations of feud, exogamy (in combination with inheritance practices and the obligations of kinship) tends to reduce the fighting strength of the village and leads to conflicting loyalties and increased friction.

⁴⁴Stirling has found that when a village assumes a ribbon-like expression (as is the case with many Turkish villages of Anatolia where the principal water sources are springs located at the base of uplands), there tends to be present a sharp contrast between the two poles of the village which often leads to bitter rivalry, friction and sometimes violence. Commonly this rivalry is expressed in ceaseless jokes. (Stirling, op. cit., p. 237).

The Individual and the Group

The subordination of the individual's interest to those of the group provides a second locus of norms in terms of which intra-village interaction is expressed and encouraged. Although pertaining to kin as well as to non-kin relations, it would appear that injunctions emphasizing the group at the expense of the individual derive from situations in which kinship affiliation is either not relevant or enters as a potential divisive factor. The social existence of an individual, apart from the community, is denied. The desire for privacy is suspect and is interpreted as an evil, an attempt to place oneself apart from and against the community. The individual exists by virtue of his participation in the community and the community in him.

The basis for this norm is predicated on the belief that conformity and cooperation are insurance for survival. Furthermore, one finds that in its relations with the state, the village was treated as an indivisible unit. It was on a village and not on an individual basis that taxes were levied and labor conscripted. The positive aspects of group consciousness and identity are also reinforced by the religious tenet of asabiya.⁴⁵ Most relevant, however, is the dependence of the individual upon the group for support in times of

⁴⁵See H. Ritter, "Irrational Solidarity Groups: A Socio-Psychological Study in Connection with Ibn Khaldun," Oriens, Vol. I (1948), pp. 1-44.

feud. The institution of "collective response" is central to a definition of the village and the lineage.

All members of the village are expected to defend [it]. . . Not even the lineages crossed village boundaries so that the village, from the outside, presents a solid front of loyalty. . . This outward solidarity is matched by what one might call internal intensity.⁴⁶

Perception of One's Village

It is to be recognized, however, that the values discussed above are relative to the situation. That is, although they may be defined in terms of lineage affiliation on the intra-village level and lead to a polarization of the village's internal activity patterns, they are similarly employed in supporting communal identity, integrity and stability where the situation has extravillage implications.⁴⁷ Thus, within a wider frame of reference, the village takes precedence and demands the same loyalty and support of the individual as evidenced by the family and lineage. When the village is threatened, all loyalty is transferred to it and internal disparities are temporarily reconciled.

⁴⁶ Stirling, op. cit., p. 30.

Stirling also mentions that "even where agnatic ties do exist between villages, the primary duty of defense and revenge lapses. No quarrel or feud between lineages crosses village frontiers." (Stirling, op. cit., pp. 176-177).

Gloria Wysner has also found close association to be a dominant value among the Kabyles; "Partnership is the soul and life of Kabylia. . . the Kabyle who lives and works in isolation is an exception." (Gloria Wysner, The Kabyle People [New York, 1945], p. 134).

⁴⁷ See A. Tannous, "Group Behavior in the Village Community of Lebanon," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. XLVIII (1943), pp. 231-239.

In certain situations the lineage or kin group and the village don't coincide, and a conflict of loyalties may result. In such cases the village community seems to take precedence. . . . In the non-tribal tenant villages kinship tends to set the factional patterns of alignment within the community, but in no case would it seem possible for kinship ties crossing village boundaries to override village identification in a situation of conflict. Where the two differ, the communal factor takes precedence over the genealogical factor in determining loyalties.⁴⁸

As was the case within the pastoral community, however, violence (i.e. overt hostility) is not persistent spatially or temporally. Thus, although

there is evidenced a certain degree of solidarity among members of one village vis à vis another village, landowner or State, this solidarity appears only on occasion, in the face of some external threat. It doesn't persist and doesn't assume organized form. . . . The fellahin seldom take organized action for the sake of a common cause.⁴⁹

Nevertheless, if one views hostility rather than conflict as the principal medium of extra-village expression and associates it with the attempt to overcome the polarizing tendencies of intra-village life, factionalism can be approached as an integrating factor, and a more effective case can be made for the persistence of village unity. Within this context Barth has found that

⁴⁸ F. Barth, Principles of Social Organization in Southern Kurdistan (Oslo, 1953), pp. 128-129.

⁴⁹ Gabriel Baer, Population and Society in the Arab East (New York, 1964), p. 174.

It is a very characteristic pattern. . . . that every Kurdish village has one or more special 'enemy' villages towards which considerable hostility is expressed- quite out of proportion to the actual grievances between the two communities. . . . This standardized hostility towards an 'opposing' community undoubtedly serves as a mechanism for the mobilization of primary village identification and thus overrules or limits kingroup factionalism.⁵⁰

A second manifestation of village unity derives from the fact that to its membership, the village is the physical embodiment of a complete way of life, a total social and natural environment. "The clarity of the physical bounds of the village and its components is a true reflection of a complete form of association within."⁵¹

In this milieu inter-personal relations are multiplex and personal; the rights and obligations of the individual are prescribed and guaranteed. Apart from the village, however, relations are uni-plex and discontinuous. They are also highly volatile and unstable. "The outer world," according to Fuller, "does not possess a similar guarantee of security

⁵⁰ Barth, op. cit., pp. 128-9.

"Thus, the village, united against the world, divided against itself, and confidence and mistrust live side by side." (H.H. Ayrout, The Egyptian Peasant [Boston, 1963], p.113).

"It isn't uncommon for the people of one community to attribute all evil to those of a neighboring one." (H. Barclay, Burrai Al Lamaab: A Suburban Village in the Sudan [Ithaca, 1964], p.117).

⁵¹ A. Tannous, "The Arab Village Community of the Middle East," Smithsonian Report (1943), p.543.

"From the viewpoint of the villager Tell Toqaan is the center of a small universe to which the surrounding area is satellite." (Louise Sweet, Tell Toqaan: A Syrian Village [Ann Arbor, 1960], p.20).

since the peasant has no tangible stake in it."⁵²

A common expression of this dependence on the village in extra-village relations is the proclivity of the peasant to extoll the virtues of his village in his discussion with non-villagers.

The villagers conceive of their community as a distinct and separate entity. All village members know its boundaries. All have a strong sense of village loyalty to each other and to the village as a whole. To the outsider the peasants of Buarig brag of their village waters which are purer than those of the more populated plain's edge. . . they brag of the commanding view from the village. . . stressing its superior outlook in comparison to that of neighboring and less elevated settlements. They brag of themselves. . . In contrast they tend to overlook the shortcomings of both themselves and their own village.⁵³

There is a strong feeling of village uniqueness and superiority when approached within a comparative framework. This, in turn, is a reflection of Gulick's "hallmark of village culture," the extreme localism of knowledge, interest, loyalties and activities.⁵⁴ In that the limits of the village

⁵² Fuller, op. cit., p. 10.

"With its land, it [the village] forms a whole, outside which even its neighbors are alien and dangerous." (Ayrout, op. cit., p. 109).

⁵³ Fuller, op. cit., p. 10.

"The virtues of the village are an eternal topic of conversation with outsiders." (P. Stirling, op. cit., pp. 28-9).

⁵⁴ J. Gulick, "Conservatism and Change," Middle East Journal, Vol. VIII (1954), p. 297.

"Since they [women] don't leave the community freely and only rarely accompany their men on the latter's longer sojourns from home, their confinement to the village is in itself a strong influence in drawing men back to the community and in maintaining the village as the permanent focal point." (Fuller, op. cit., p. 18).

lands are similarly the limits within which most of an individual's life activities take place, the boundaries of the village are imbued with social and psychological as well as physical and administrative associations.⁵⁵ The commitment of the individual is raised to the level of ideology. The external world, by definition predicated upon different values, norms, and consequently, commitments, thus personifies a contrasting ideology. Where two ideologies meet, incongruity and friction is the rule.

Understanding is limited by experience. People anywhere can only interpret that part of their society that they don't see, or don't live in, in terms of the society they do live in. . . . People in a small scale society are bound to fail to grasp the size and diversity of the larger society in which their small-scale society nests. The tightly knit, stable rural communities which I

⁵⁵This is also reflected in the "fusion of past temporal events with the known spatial dimensions [which] tends to reinforce lore by localizing it. . . . It brings the past closer to daily experience, for as the peasant feels more at home within his own community, so he feels closer to past temporal events if given a spatial setting within the orbit of his own visible horizon. By drawing the noose tighter about time and space the peasant himself secures a firmer place within the flux of events. Like the boundaries of his own village which give him security, he also finds boundaries to space and time The very fact that it is difficult to conceive of space and time apart from village existence and traditional activities, moreover [acts] as a cohesive factor relating the peasant more closely to his environment and establishing the community as the center of gravity." (Fuller, op. cit., pp. 13-14).

Also relevant are Ayrout's observations: "The fellahin finds the same difficulty in widening his outlook in space as in imagining himself in the future" and "The fellahin doesn't think outside of the immediate present; he is fettered to the moment." (Ayrout, op. cit., pp. 109, 140).

studied constantly foreshorten social distance and underestimate social complexity in the outside world.⁵⁶

Extra-Village Interaction

It is not to be implied, however, that the village is a closed system, an isolate. Although isolation may be primary, it is not absolute. In the social and, more explicitly, in the economic sphere, one finds a considerable degree of extra-village interaction.

The Social Sphere

As mentioned above, the territorial bounds of the village do not always comprehend the full expression of its individual lineages. Although extra-village lineage affiliations do lapse in situations of violence, such instances are not permanent and the lineages do provide an effective medium for interaction beyond the village.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ P. Stirling, op. cit., p. 288.

Also relevant is Crary's statement that "Visits to the village of persons whose missions are beyond the experience of the peasant are therefore incomprehensible and are regarded as intrusions and viewed with suspicion." (D. Crary, "The Villager," Social Forces in the Middle East, ed. Sydney N. Fisher, [Ithaca, 1955], p. 55).

Ayroul observes that these individuals are "walled in by their habits as well as their villages, dense and gregarious, but isolated and unorganized." Furthermore, "each village is centered on its own self-sufficient life; each has its own mentality and its own Egypt." (H. Ayroul, op. cit., pp. 3-4; 14).

⁵⁷ The whole question of lineage versus village loyalty has yet to be resolved. Jay Weulersse claims that in the Syrian lowlands, "loyalty to the tribe implies a rejection of the village communal feeling, and undermines the territorial unity of the village. As a result the felahin have no spiritual links with their villages." (J. Weulersse, in G. Baer's Population and Society in the Arab East [New York, 1964], p. 173).

Baer claims that, "There is general unanimity on the

Similarly, religious affiliation , in many contexts, establishes media for extra-village interaction. In his work in a Lebanese village, for example, Gulick found a seemingly atypical situation in which a surprising amount of inter-village activity was evidenced. Upon closer examination, he found that this was due to the fact that the parent village and its ring of "daughter" villages (among which interaction was persistent) were similar in religious affiliation, i.e. Greek Orthodox; surrounding villages were all Maronite. Thus, the parent and daughter villages appear to operate as a composite village. The fact that all were called by one name symbolized this unity.⁵⁸

The "Little Tradition," in its emphasis on non-formalized religious institutions, likewise encourages interaction. Foci for such extra-village activity include the finely distributed pattern of graves, tombs and shrines to which district pilgrimages are made. In Turkey, Makal identifies a widespread rural institution, the "Hearth of Healing"

subject of the fellah's ties to his village among the authors describing both Egyptian and Fertile Crescent villages. . . . It is felt [however] that the territorial unity of the village is destroyed by a commitment to the hamula or religious community. [Thus one may pose the question whether the fellah's spiritual ties are really directed to his village, or is the village simply identical with a family unit or religious sect?" (G. Baer, op. cit., pp. 173-174).

⁵⁸ Louise Sweet documents a similar situation for Tell Toqaan and its neighboring villages. Here, however, tribal identity is the principal integrating factor. The result is an enclave of villages bearing one name and led by a shaykh resident in the main settlement.

(anat), as a similar quasi-religious locus of activity.⁵⁹

One also finds that the derwish order, a ubiquitous and powerful institution within the peasant realm, serves as perhaps one of the major channels through which village parochialism is breached. Not only do members of the brotherhood travel from village to village in the pursuit of their chosen "spiritual path" (tariqa), but contributions are regularly collected from and scholars supported by the village.

The Economic Sphere

The villager also frames his commitment to the village in terms of economic criteria with self-sufficiency as the often quoted characteristic.

The villagers liked to exaggerate their . . . self-sufficiency, and liked to emphasize their independence, in their still traditional view of the world, the land gave an assurance of survival.⁶⁰

Although self-sufficiency of the village has similarly been expounded by numerous observers, it would appear that such a state could persist for a limited period of time only and under extremely favorable conditions.⁶¹ More frequently,

⁵⁹ See Mahmut Makal, A Village in Anatolia (London, 1954), pp. 85-86, for a full discussion.

⁶⁰ Stirling, op. cit., p. 79.

⁶¹ According to Stirling, "Traditionally, the economy of the village was a near-subsistence economy. A high proportion of what the village consumed they produced for themselves, and except for relatively few essentials, what the village didn't produce it went without. For considerable periods, the village could survive without the towns." (P. Stirling,

the traditional economy of the village is far from self-sufficient. Although its resource base is in imbalance and all villages operate within a similar economic framework, some specialization in crop and craft is present. A situation amenable to trade is thereby effected.⁶²

op. cit., p.78). It would appear that Stirling is correct if one views the town as the locus of trade. Although Stirling does mention inter-village trade, he does not accord it much attention.

There are situations, however, in which the natural milieu displays little diversity and villages all derive the same products from their labors. Here it would appear that trade is relatively unimportant and any trade that does occur takes place within the urban milieu where a demand exists for the peasant's surplus. "A striking feature of the Egyptian rural villager and of his village as a whole is their aloofness from nearby villagers and villages. . . Soils, climate, and water supply are so nearly uniform throughout the valley and delta that villagers are not dependent on one another and consequently don't need intercommunication. Each is completely self-sufficient. . ." (R. Platt and M. Hefney, Egypt: A Compendium /New York, 1958/, p. 117).

Ayrout states, "Nothing is more like one Egyptian village than another Egyptian village." (Ayrout, op. cit., p.59). Stirling identifies a similar situation in Anatolia, but derives more realistic and comprehensive conclusions. "Villages are homogeneous in production and economic relations between them consist mainly of reciprocal exchanges and small individual loans, the use of craftsmen, advice on health and medicines. . . religious and magical consultations, and sales of animals." (P. Stirling, op. cit., p. 80).

⁶²Village craft specialization tends to be an ubiquitous phenomenon throughout the peasant realm. Consequently a favorable bargaining position is assured in the weekly market. Items include pottery, stone mortars and pestles and threshing boards. Most articles produced are utilitarian and are manufactured for a rural market exclusively. Sweet states, "The more one examines the technological and economic life in Tell Toqaan, the more it seems that much must come from the outside and that the village is not self-sufficient." (Louise Sweet, op. cit., p.51).

Migration.- As has been seen, migration is a reflection of the imbalance in the village's resource base. One component of this process is resolved within the peasant realm; it is usually undertaken for a short period of time when activity in the reference village is at a minimum. This situation derives from the range of ecological regions which are encompassed by the realm. Thus, as the seasons change, so do the loci of agricultural activity. An individual can thereby complete part of the agricultural cycle in his own village and then seek similar employment in other areas where labor is in demand.

The young unmarried men drift off to find work. . . either in Beirut. . . or in the olive and citrus groves of the Mediterranean coastal strip. A plowman having completed the work on his own lands takes the same route, descending to sea level altitudes where agricultural work continues throughout the winter. Shouldering his plow and driving his brace of oxen. . . he leaves . . . the herdsmen depart, escorting the goats to the same lowland area.⁶³

Even during this period of absence, however, the villager seeks a familiar environment either through association with fellow villagers or by establishing close personal multiplex relations in his business dealings. Fuller observes,

The flocks are grazed in regions where the herdsmen have established traditional relations over a period of years. . . Persons . . . attempt to find work in the same general neighborhood of one another, feeling at all times the need to associate

⁶³ Fuller, op. cit., p. 24.

with those with whom they have the strongest ties. The single plowman after his day's work seeks out the herdsmen's shelter and shares in their meal. The young unmarried men come on foot or by bus from the suburbs of Beirut to call on the herdsmen family. As a result a lesser village community is established. . . and the sense of tie with the mountain community is not entirely disrupted.⁶⁴

Trade.- Patterns of activity centering on the exchange of a village's surplus for items not in its resource base provide a second nexus of extra-village economic interaction. Where services are offered on an individual basis by ambulatory craftsmen, merchants, sharecroppers, woodcutters, herdsmen and other specialists, an attempt is made to establish relations within a personal and traditional framework.⁶⁵ Although these contacts display little persistence in the spatial and temporal dimension, they are, nevertheless, "permanent" in the sense that they are a repetitive or a cyclical process.

The weekly market and the seasonal fair present perhaps the most articulate expression of inter-village economic interaction. Indeed, the market is as indigenous to the peasant realm as is the village itself. This institution is viewed by most communities as a necessity and they go to great lengths to insure its continuous operation. In the Rif, for example, the endemic feuding necessitates establishing women's

⁶⁴ Fuller, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

⁶⁵ "The villagers, although often forced into relations with complete strangers, don't like such relations and constantly seek to turn the impersonal, single-stranded tie into a multiple personal loyalty." (Stirling, op. cit., p.81).

markets so that rudimentary trade can continue.⁶⁶ In most areas, however, markets are assured continuous operation.

Several features of the rural market bear recognition. First, one finds that the spatial characteristics of the market are dependent upon a number of factors. The level of hostility in an area, for example, dictates the general location of the market. Where a low level is evidenced, the market is commonly organized in the village square (saha). In the locations where feud is endemic, however, the market is located at a distance⁶⁷ from all centers of human activity in order to insure its neutrality.⁶⁸

An absence of morphological expression⁶⁹ which is continuous in time provides a further distinctive characteristic of the rural market. Thus, one finds that the activity rather than the physical structuring defines the market. All

⁶⁶ See M. Mikesell, Northern Morocco: A Cultural Geography, Vol. XIV (Berkeley, 1960), p. 7. Women appear to be important personages in maintaining the peace. They are the conciliators and messengers of peace. The anaia (safe conduct) of women is likewise the strongest kind, involving the whole village's honor. See F. Benet, "Explosive Markets: The Berber Highlands," Trade and Market in the Early Empires, ed. K. Polanyi and H. Pearson (Glencoe, 1957), pp. 320-341, for a full discussion of the position of the market institution in situations of feud.

⁶⁷ Here the market is viewed by the villagers as something akin to its wasteland, as embodying evil spirits, and as impossible to bring under the control of the village.

⁶⁸ This is commonly associated with the isolation of the village from all forms of economic activity. That is, no exchange or commercial transactions are permitted outside the market institution.

⁶⁹ Inter-tribal, regional, and inter-regional markets, however, do display some permanent morphological structuring.

that is required for choice of a suitable site is its being a sufficient distance from settlement, yet accessible, and the presence of a permanent water source and a relatively level cleared area.

Whereas the market site is continuous in time, its operation is not. Only in the market town is there a sufficient supply and demand to warrant its daily operation. In the peasant realm, the market may be bi-weekly, weekly, monthly or seasonal. It is not to be implied, however, that the individual village maintains access to only one market. Commonly its members take advantage of a number of markets. It is the highly coordinated nature of the market network which permits this access. Vicinal markets are on a staggered schedule so that one could, if inclined, visit every market in the region on its appointed day. The high degree of spatial and temporal organization evidenced by the rural market is observed by Benet:

Indeed, the system is at home throughout the Middle East, for the products of the countryside appear in the city bazaars on appointed days. But nowhere is the system as elaborately perfected as in North Africa. . . . The whole area could be plotted in this way; as clusters of markets of which it is possible to make weekly rounds.⁷⁰

⁷⁰F. Benet, op. cit., p.197. See the following works by Walter Fogg for a full analysis of the rural market institution in Morocco:

"Village, Tribal Markets, and Towns: Some Considerations Concerning Urban Development in the Spanish and International Zones of Morocco," Sociological Review, Vol. XXXII-XXXIII (1940-41), 85-107.

"Beliefs and Practices At or In Relation To a Moroccan Tribal Market," Folk-Lore, Vol. LI (1940), 132-138.

"The Organization of a Moroccan Tribal Market,"¹⁰

A third characteristic of the rural market is its distinctive atmosphere. Latent conflict, anxiety, stress and heightened insecurity provide the backdrop for all transactions. This tends to reflect the high degree of interaction which is developed between otherwise hostile and antagonistic groups. Benet appraises this situation in the following manner:

Psychologically as well as physically the markets stand on the fringes of the ingroups [villages]. Here the world of the village comes into contact with similar outside groups. The suq stands locationally apart from and in contrast to the village; well outside of the settled areas.⁷¹

Here the market institution represents a danger spot, a weakness in the social structure. By its inability to deal effectively with conflict and instability and express its neutrality,⁷² it is not able to incorporate the full range of

American Anthropologist, Vol. XLIV (1942), 47-61.

⁷¹"The Suq: A Study in the Human Geography of Morocco," Geography, Vol. XVII (1932), 257-67.

⁷²"A Tribal Market in the Spanish Zone of Morocco," Africa, Vol. XI (1938), 428-445.

⁷¹Benet, op. cit., pp. 198-199.

⁷²"In most parts of the world it is usually found that the market place is neutral ground. . . . In some parts of Egypt, however, not only is the market place the site regularly chosen for village conflicts, but fights which take place there are by no means confined to non-market days." (Winifred Blackman, The Fellahin of Upper Egypt [London, 1927], p.129.

In Morocco, however, violence was expressly forbidden. When it did occur (nefraa- break of the peace) public pressure was relied on to prevent its spread. If death resulted, the market was closed for a year as a means of purification.

activities, specifically those which demand a relatively high level of stability and permanence (e.g. credit institutions).

In conclusion, then, it can be said that there is a surprisingly high degree of extra-village interaction in the peasant realm. Although villagers will attempt to discredit this observation, the fact remains that the village is not a total entity and, to varying degrees, it is dependent upon neighboring villages and other extra-village institutions.

None of these villages is self-contained. Although each shows a high degree of self-sufficiency and endogamy, it is tied to others in a web of social relations, embracing the whole of southern Kurdistan. Many institutions affecting large districts have their main focus in one or another of these local villages, not visibly different from the next; the home village of the leader, of a derwish brotherhood, that of a tribal leader, a rich landowner, a locally important mullah. Ordinary trade ties village to village and village to city. . . Thus no village is self-contained or separate in structural terms. Clearly a larger unit of study than any one village is needed.⁷³

One can only concur with Benet's contention that the "extraordinary assumption that rural villages are isolated is a romantic and ethnocentric bias."⁷⁴ To the western observer, it is a romantic notion, an integral part of the "peasant mystique." To the peasant villager, it is an ethnocentric reflection of the totality of his commitment to the community.

⁷³Barth, op. cit., p. 16.

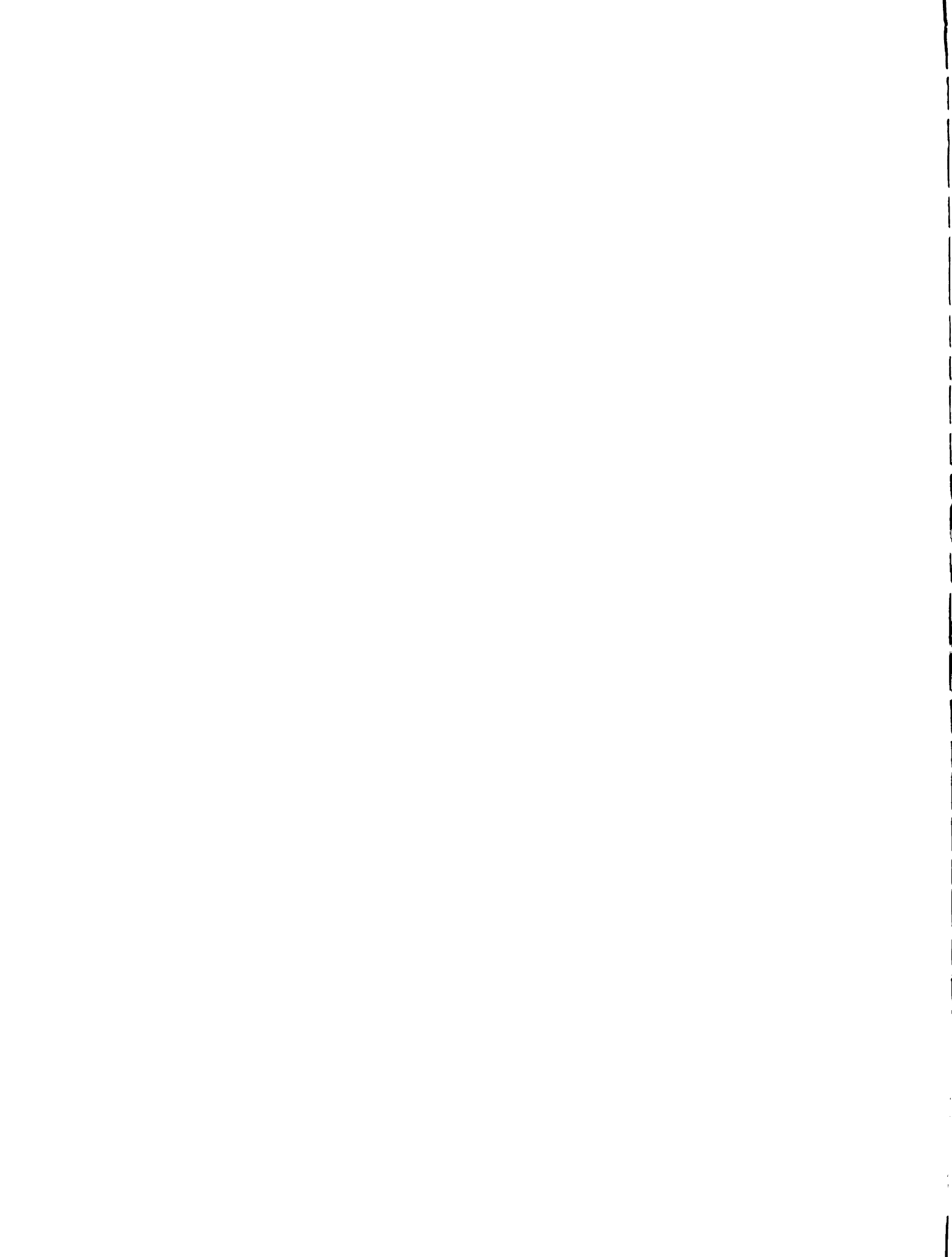
⁷⁴F. Benet, "Sociology Uncertain: The Ideology of the Rural-Urban Continuum," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. XIV (1958), p.10.

Conclusion: Isolation Versus Interaction

It might prove worthwhile at this point to again employ the "time-space model" presented in the preceding section to analyze the manner in which the peasant community relates to the urban and pastoral communities.

The principal node of interaction which maintains a high level of persistence in both the spatial and temporal dimension is the village. If one defines village interaction in terms of its multi-plex qualities, secondary "village-like" nodes can be identified throughout the rural realm and also in the urban milieu. These are the psychosocial and sometimes physical fabrications of the village migrant population which, divorced from the reference village, seeks to reconstruct a facsimile of it in an alien landscape. Although the degree of interaction (intensity) manifested by these nodes may approach that of the village, it is, by virtue of its transitory nature, a condensed and generalized version. They cannot reflect the full range of interaction present within the reference village. They do, nevertheless, display a significant degree of persistence in both time and space.

Tertiary nodes of interaction would appear to center on the vicinal village, one which is tied to the reference village by patterns of interaction predicated upon a common identity, be it kinship, religion, ethnicity or culture. Here again multi-plex relations are preferred. The spatial component of this pattern is commonly stable and persistent, although the temporal dimension may reflect situations of



conflict and other inhibiting factors. It is to be recognized, however, that in areas of endemic feud, the vicinal village is, in many cases, fully alienated, the only inter-actance media being the institution of the feud itself.

Quarternary nodes of interaction display a more widespread and fragmented spatial expression. Similarly, their temporal persistence is ephemeral. Although these nodes, represented by the extra-village periodic market, other rural-based religious, economic and social institutions, and the market town and urban center, maintain definite ties with the village, the latter's commitment is minimal and transitory. Furthermore, relations are commonly uniplex, mediated by one sphere of activity without recourse to or the support of other inter-personal relations. Commonly, it is with the intent of satisfying immediate, short-term needs that these institutions are employed by the village.

If one were to apply this generalized discussion to a specific situation and plot the resultant landscape, many of the anomalies of the peasant realm would be placed in a more intelligible light. Perhaps the best example of this is that lines of equal persistence tend to cross the bounds which set the peasant community apart from its urban and pastoral counterpart. By and large, however, the following observation by Fuller places the range of peasant interaction in its proper perspective:

The peasants tolerate other peasants more readily than they do city dwellers or

desert nomads. . . They tolerate and accept persons from their own general neighborhood more readily than persons from beyond the spatial horizons of their own world.⁷⁵

⁷⁵Fuller, op. cit., pp. 33-34.

CHAPTER VII: CONCLUSION

The Traditional Arab-Islamic Society

The preceding discussion, in focusing on the Arab-Islamic realm, has been undertaken with three fundamental objectives in mind: (1) an appraisal of the present vogue and future potential of the concept of isolation in the study of human communities, (2) an attempt to employ the technique of conceptualization (i.e. the formulation of relevant descriptive, analytical and predictive tools) in constructing viable interactance models, and (3) an application of the resultant conceptual constructs in an analysis of the human components of the Arab-Islamic realm.

It has been hypothesized that the term "isolation," because of its distracting implications and traditional associations, does not manifest sufficient potential to justify its continued employment as an independent variable in the analysis of human organization. Approaching society and its subsystems as dynamic and open-ended, the foregoing discussion has proceeded within the context of a recently-devised theoretical construct, the ecological trilogy.

Basically, the ecological trilogy demands a research design which focuses on the patterns and processes of interaction as the principal units of analysis. In this manner it permits a more effective and realistic assessment of the human community. Through the medium of the case-study approach it

has been the intent to ascertain the explanatory potential of this construct within a substantive context. An attempt has likewise been made to provide an amenable situation in which "isolation" can be utilized as a constructive analytical tool in support of the objectives of the ecological trilogy.

Discussion centering on the patterns of interaction which characterize the Arab-Islamic realm has proceeded under the assumption that a significant portion of the available data concerning this realm has been distorted by a lack of rigor and awareness on the part of the researcher. This, in turn, has resulted in the positing of false assumptions and conclusions regarding the significant components of Arab-Islamic society, specifically, the relevance of isolation as an intrinsic and primary characteristic. In essence, then, the question has been raised as to the reliability of the body of knowledge germane to the realm.

It has traditionally been posited that the three major communal components of the Arab-Islamic realm (i.e. the peasant, pastoral and urban communities) are, in effect, closed systems displaying few points of congruence with each other. Employing the same body of data utilized by these observers, it has been found that there does indeed exist a high degree of inter-communal interaction, and that these communities are interdependent components of Arab-Islamic society.

It has also been discovered that although interaction can be defined from an inter-communal perspective, it cannot

be so defined for the intra-communal situation. Thus, relations between similar types of settlements (village-village, city-city and camp-camp) are strikingly absent. Furthermore, whereas inter-communal interaction is mediated by components of the social milieu, intra-communal interaction tends to be characterized by violence and hostility, or, to use Van Nieuwenhuijze's term, "patterned antagonism."¹

One possible explanation for this apparent paradox which is supported by the literature centers on the nature of the resource base accessible to the three communities. In contrast to traditional assumptions, it does not appear that any of these communities is fully self-sufficient. Each is, to varying degrees, dependent upon the other two for a necessary portion of its resource potential. In accordance with this imperative, each community manifests a wide range of patterns and processes whereby access to extra-communal resources is effected. One might therefore conclude that in many respects the economies of the three communities are complementary and the relations conducted in response to this situation, symbiotic.

On the intra-communal level of analysis, however, this situation is not present. Here, the economies are by

¹It should be remembered, however, that "patterned antagonism" similarly holds true in a very general sense regarding inter-communal relations. It is counter-balanced by the fundamental interdependency of the three communities. Nevertheless, patterned antagonism can be viewed as playing a contributory role in preventing the establishment of greater areas of commitment between the three communities.

and large similar, as are the resources upon which they are predicated. Intra-communal trade and other market-oriented activities are thus ephemeral. An observation by Berger regarding the Egyptian peasant community supports this contention:

Villages. . . appear to be unrelated to each other directly and only through their bilateral relation, so to speak, with a large city nearby. Villages are not oriented toward one another; rather, several villages in a region are all oriented toward the large city in it.²

Given the presence of inter-communal interaction then, what can be said regarding the manner in which the peasant, pastoral and urban communities relate to establish an Arab-Islamic society? Initially, it would appear that it is a plural society, that is, one characterized by distinct communities which display a close interdependence in some fields of activity, but not in others. Although intercommunal interaction is present, its most persistent expression tends to center on market-oriented activities. Social interaction, on the other hand, is intermittent.

Economic, or subsistence, needs necessarily override temporarily, in any given interaction, the decisive pull of intergroup hatred and suspicion. They do, that is, if they are successful and complete transactions. Since most Middle Eastern cities owe their very existence to the fact that they are long standing trading centers where members of every element in the mosaic have interacted more or less peaceably, it is clear that group enmities can be and have been for a long time, overridden successfully. But they

²Morroe Berger, The Arab World Today (New York, 1962), pp. 84-85.

haven't been obliterated; indeed, they maintain their vigor.³

Thus, the Arab-Islamic society cannot be viewed as an integrative society, that is, one in which inter-communal interaction proceeds on all levels of activity and in a persistent manner. Rather, one might approach it as a convergent society in which persistent interaction transpires on only a few levels, but where, at the higher levels of social stratification, there is manifest a merging of the three otherwise parallel communities as personified by the urban elite.

One of the ways in which a society is manifested as a self-perpetuating process . . . is by articulation. . . The way in which Middle Eastern society achieves its own distinct articulation cannot be called stratification. . . it is a pattern of a composite society. . . a society that would be pluralistic but for the fact that it. . . is integrated in a particular sense. A society that traditionally could be called discontinuous, it is only integrated insofar as it converges on a core (the urban elite). There is parallelism rather than integration that prevails between the sociocultural patterns of the various sub-units that comprise the encompassing society. . . Such differences between component units. . . are not so much a difference between entire patterns as differences in specific elements of one pattern, such as creed, religion, geographic origin and language descent. . . Pluralism is overcome by convergence; not integration. Convergence. . . of elements that in converging, retain their distinct integrity as self-contained cultural entities.⁴

The three components of traditional Arab-Islamic society are sub-systems which interact sporadically within

³ John Gulick, Social Structure and Cultural Change in a Lebanese Village (New York, 1955), p.158.

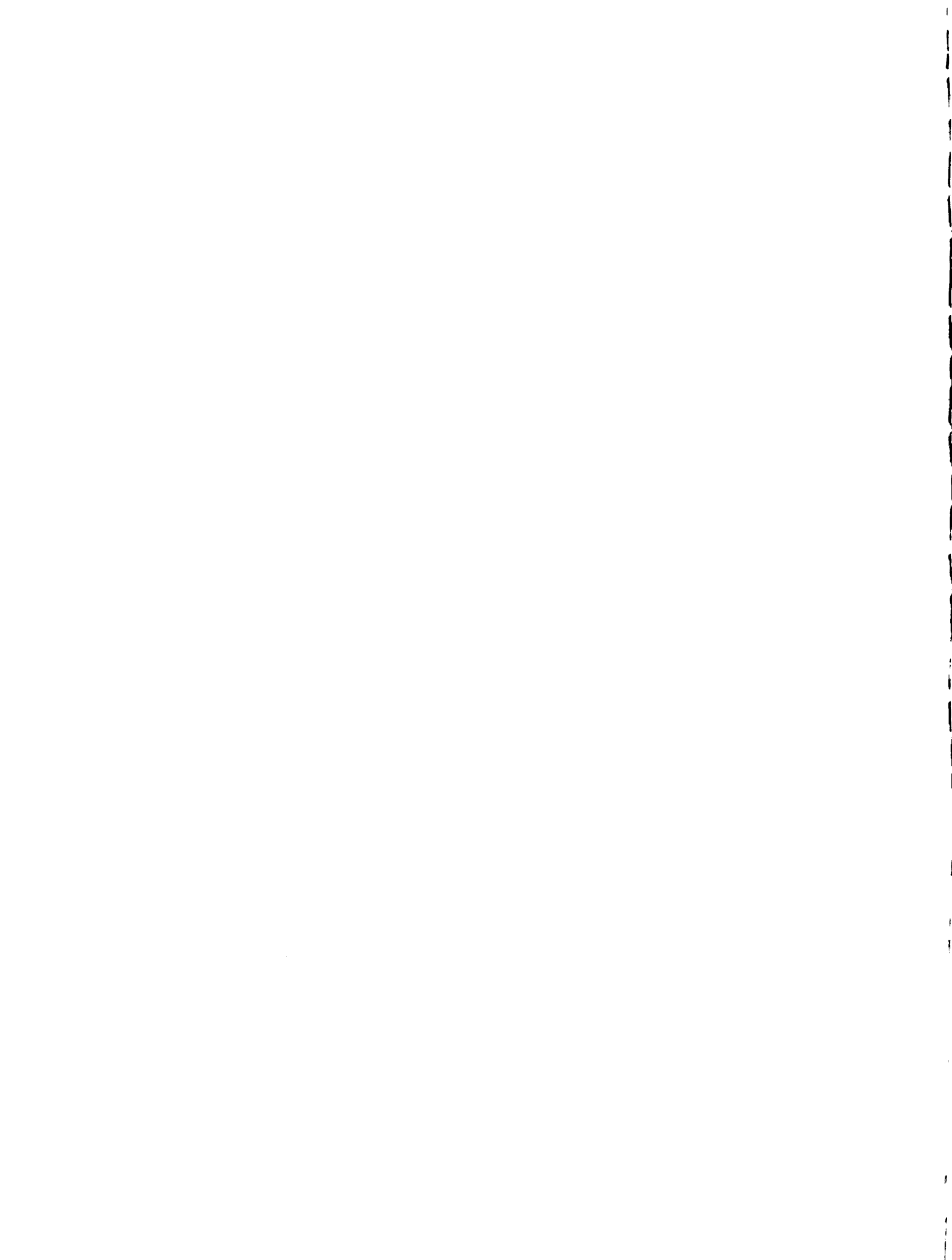
⁴ C.A.O. Van Nieuwenhuijze, Social Stratification in the Middle East (Leiden, 1965), p.10.

the social context and persistently in the economic. They do not, however, attain integration except in the long-standing proclivity of their respective elites to reside within the urban center. Articulation can then be employed to characterize social interaction, convergence can be used to characterize economic interaction and integration to describe the elite. It is only integration which manifests a lasting commitment on the part of the communal participants.

It is evident that there remain many unresolved questions. Although the patterns and processes of interaction have been highlighted, the finer distinctions between articulation, convergence and integration remain to be analyzed. It is here, then, that the potential of isolation as the unit of analysis makes its best case.

This is not to imply, however, that such analysis should be predicated on the natural environment as the independent variable. Rather it would appear that the locus of isolation-producing situations resides within the psychosocial sphere, that is perception. It is felt that by analyzing the "world-view" of the peasant, pastoral and urban communities, that is, the manner in which they perceive of themselves, their co-resident communities and their encompassing society, that one can best approach and gain an understanding of why integration has been inhibited within Arab-Islamic society.

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