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In copertina foto di Antonio Cusimano

Eugene N. Cohen

Sensible Men and Serious Women

Order, Disorder, and Morality in an Italian Community

The Question of Honor

In 1965, as editor of a volume of papers on values of Mediterranean society, Peristiany identified honor and shame as ubiquitous and constant values of Mediterranean communities (1965: 9-10). Since then, over a half century of ethnographic research testifies to the wide usage of these notions in communities throughout the Mediterranean[1]. However no unanimity exists amongst anthropologists regarding the meaning of honor and shame in Mediterranean societies.

Gilmore, a leading exponent of the diacritical portraits of honor and shame in Mediterranean thought, argues, "there is general agreement": the honor/shame syndrome is central to the unity of Mediterranean culture (1987: 3). In contrast, Brandes (1987), Fernandez (1983), Herzfeld (1980; 1984), Pina-Cabral (1989), Schonegger (1979), and Wikan (1984) question, in varying degrees, the usefulness of the honor/shame concept[2]. Herzfeld considers honor and shame unwarranted generalizations, no better than ethnocentric stereotypes (1980: 349; 1984). He calls for scrupulous attention to ethnographic description (Herzfeld (1980: 339, 349; 1984: 446) in order to avoid construction of tourist like caricatures of Mediterranean behavior.

Davis (1977) and Schneider (1971) advance materialist explanations of honor and shame. Davis considers the sexual component in honor and shame to be secondary. For Davis (1977: 77, 89- 101) economic competition, wealth and class standing determine the extent of honor. In his words, "… it [honor] describes the distribution of wealth in a social idiom…" (1977: 98). In an impressive and well received analysis Schneider (1971: 2) attributed the Mediterranean concern with honor and shame to the interaction of ecological forces. Environmental exigencies forced pastoral and agricultural economies into competition over scarce economic resources. The ability to defend and maintain the chastity of females played the crucial role defining the identity of groups in this shifting and hostile game of economic roulette. In Schneider's scenario internal and external economic competition was the seed bed of the Mediterranean code of honor and shame.

Gilmore, in contrast, advances a psycho-sexual interpretation of honor (1978: 8-16). The focus of Gilmore's analysis is the exaggerated masculinity of Mediterranean men. For Gilmore the source of Mediterranean machismo derives from the fragile gender identity of men. Flamboyant expressions of male virility, the obsessive concern with masculine sexuality, the denigration of females and honor and shame are, for Mediterranean men, endless rituals of manhood (Gilmore 1987: 16), an escape from an unconscious fear of feminization.

Not all observers of Mediterranean society accept these interpretations. Gilmore questions the usefulness of historicist explanations (1987: 7-8). Davis (1977: 90-100) chastises those who fail to discern the economic and class basis of honor. Gilmore's focus on the machismo of Mediterranean received a withering critique from Pina-Cabral (1989). Thus, in spite of extensive efforts, honor and shame remain refractory questions in the anthropology of Mediterranean societies.

Partly this is a consequence of the failure to consider honor and shame within the wider context of ideas about the nature of human behavior in Mediterranean thought. Too often anthropologists view honor and shame as an encapsulated domain, explained by reference to some underlying causal substratum. In this paper, I examine

honor and shame in a broader framework three inter-related and overlapping topics: the perception of honor and shame in a Central Italian community, ideas about proper and improper behavior in relation to the meaning of inter personal relationships, and a fundamental cognitive structure encompassing these ideas. I believe this cognitive framework is wide spread throughout southern Europe and may be a salient mark of the Mediterranean as a distinct cultural area.

Honor in Collefiore

The data for this paper were collected between 1964 and 1966 in Collefiore (a pseudonym), a mountain village in Southern Tuscany. Revisits during the years from 1968 to 2009 provided opportunities to obtain additional information. In the mid 1960s, the village population numbered 750 persons. About 400 sharecropper peasants, agricultural laborers, peasant proprietors lived in isolated farmhouses and tiny hamlets in the countryside surrounding Collefiore. Compared with villages, countryside dwellers are drawn from a wider geographic base. This diversity reflects the movement of tenant sharecroppers, from one farm to another in the process of accommodating the changing numbers and composition of the peasant households to the sizes of a farm tenancy. With a single exception, however, both villagers and country dwellers are Tuscans. They share linguistic usages and customs distinctive to this part of Southern Tuscany. The one of exception is a small number of Sardinian herders and farmers who moved into the area after the Second World War.

Agriculture is the basis of the village economy. Large landowners (*padroni)* own about half the arable land. *Padroni* divide their landholdings into various sized farms. Traditionally, tenant share cropper peasants (*contadini-mezzadri*) and occasionally employed day laborers (*braccianti*)[3] cultivated these farms (Cohen 1979). *Contadini-mezzadri* received a share [traditionally half] of the farm's produce. About a quarter of the population are peasant proprietors (*coltivatori diretti*). They cultivate small, [the largest *coltivatori diretti* holding in Collefiore, was about 7 hectares] mostly scattered, plots of land. *Coltivatori diretti* work the land directly and rarely employ wage laborers. There are some modest manufacturing enterprises – cement block, wood construction and textile piece work. There are also a small number of artisans, shopkeepers, school teachers and civil servants in the community. In recent years, agriculture has become a part time activity for many families (Goodman and Redclift 1988: 784-791). Intermittent wage and industrial labor, outside the community, is not uncommon among *contadini, braccianti, coltivatori diretti,* and artisan and shopkeeper families.

Davis (1979: 90) in a perceptive observation notes, "only central Italy (Tuscany/Umbria) has not produced reports of honor". It is not clear if this manifests the absence of the notion of honor in the region, or the failure of fieldworkers to report its occurrence. In Collefiore, honor (*l'onore*) is a rarely heard term. However, villages, especially men, have no difficulty defining honor. They cite those elements of honor identified by anthropologists central to the concept: female chastity, displays of manhood, touchy aggressiveness, and, above all, recourse to violence. They do not associate honor with wealth or economic power. In my discussions with men about honor, I experienced the distinct impression that, to them, the idea of honor was a little ridiculous. The attitude of women toward honor is not dissimilar. My landlord's wife, one of the few women willing to discuss honor with me, made jokes about it. She candidly expressed her opinion that any person who got into trouble over honor and threatened well being of the family was plainly crazy. The only other woman willing to speak to me about honor, a young girl in her 20s with a reputation for loose behavior disparaged honor as something made up and used by gossiping women to insult people they did not like.

Collefioresi attitudes about honor must be understood within the context of the Italian media and ethnocentric stereotypes. Television and magazines are major sources of information, for events outside the community. Lurid and often bizarre cases of honor involving homicide and illicit sex receive wide exposure in these media. Villagers react to these reports with a mixture of amused bewilderment and ethnocentric disdain. They find it difficult to comprehend the idea of killing for honor. To them it is silly and stupid. They understand them only as events occurring in a strange and different land – Sicily, southern Italy, Sardinia – inhabited by people with menacing and violent customs. News cov-

erage reinforces and shapes their views about honor as a violent custom of the 'other' Italy. Anthropologists may argue about the Mediterranean as a culture area, but to villagers the boundaries of their cultural world are clear. "North Africa" they informed me, "begins somewhere around Naples."

Villager attitudes toward their Sardinian neighbors exemplify these perceptions. Sardinians are an invisible section of the community. They do not take part in village social or political activities, and villagers have limited social relations with Sardinians. The attitude of Collefioresi, toward Sardinians blends fear and dislike. Part of this dislike originates from the presence of a strange and different population replacing former Tuscan sharecroppers, who maintained a wide range of relations with the village population. Collefioresi believe Sardinians are prone to violence and this reinforces their apprehensive attitude. "They carry knives". It was a comment I heard often. Informants, partly joking and partly seriously, warned me not to look at Sardinian women. Even an innocent glance, they told me, would be interpreted as a sexual advance that could result in a violent reaction. To village men the alleged inclination of Sardinian men to use violence defending the chastity of their women was both amusing and distasteful. Generally, my male informants did not consider Sardinian women good looking and scoffed at the idea they could be objects of sexual lust.

Villagers believe land owners, who not want to rent land to Sardinians, do so, fearing that a refusal for no obvious reason might lead to some kind of retaliation. Landowners, informants insisted, would routinely cheat their Tuscan sharecropper peasants, but are scrupulously honest with their Sardinian tenants. Any hint of dishonesty could invite a physical attack.

Time has not dimmed the strength of this antipathy. During short revisits from 1988 to 2009, in many of my private conversations, villagers expressed intense animosity against Sardinians. This dislike appeared to be greater now than in prior decades. In this aversion ran a constant theme, Sardinians, they told me, adhere to a bizarre code of behavior, and resort to violence both to protect the chastity of their women and in their interpersonal relations. In an ambiguous and vague manner, there is a linkage, in the thinking of villagers, between Sardinians, Southern Italians, honor, violence, and criminality. One village man, who worked in Milan, told me, he never ventured out in the evening. Southern Italians and Sicilians inhabited the same quarter of the city he lived in, and he feared he would be attacked or assaulted if he risked a walk in the evening. The upsurge of kidnappings throughout Italy in the 70s and 80s appeared to increase suspicion about Sardinians. Some of my close friends made vague and imprecise references to these crimes and the local Sardinian population.

Serious and Sensible

Collefioresi rarely, if ever use, use the term honor. Instead, the most widely used word to judge and evaluate a person's respect, status, reputation, and esteem is *serio (seria* for females). A person who is *serio* is moderate, thrifty, hard-working, trustworthy, avoids boorish and insulting behavior, does not use vulgar or blasphemous speech, keeps his/her word, runs a proper household, avoids arguments and quarrels, keeps the respect of neighbors, expresses considered, sensible and thought out opinions and does not steal, cheat, or get drunk. A *seria* woman is chaste, and avoids sexually provocative or indiscreet behavior. Villagers will not consider a blatantly promiscuous or physically aggressive man as *serio*[4]. These are values of fundamental importance to Collefioresi. Moderate behavior, avoidance of inter-personal antagonisms, adult maturity and individual integrity are core values in the notion of *serio. Serio* not only summarizes the moral codes of Collefioresi, it is a measure of adherence to the moral values of the community.

The phrase *un uomo quadrato* identifies men who exemplify the epitome of *serio.* The English gloss of this phrase – a level headed or sensible man – hardly does justice to its meaning in Collefiore. Most villagers identified one man in the community, a school teacher, as *un uomo quadrato.* This evaluation rested on his honesty, trustworthiness, his serious commitment to teaching, and, above all, his ability to maintain good relations with most villagers. This last trait is significant. Villagers are suspicious of each other. They are resolute in their belief that envy, betrayal, and deception are qualities inherent in the nature of man. All inter-personal relations bear this suspicion. This unequivocal conviction is funda-

mental in the thinking of villagers. The identification of this one village school teacher as *un uomo quadrato* rested, in part, on his status as an educated person. More important were his virtues as a soft spoken and unassuming person who took no public role in village politics. It was these characteristics that gave him the respect of villagers.

Shame, unlike honor, is a widely used term in Collefiore. Both men and women use *serio/seria,* but women are much more likely than men to employ the word shame. *Vergogna,* routinely translated as shame, is more exactly defined as public embarrassment. Shame has two related dimensions. It is first, a measure of the failure, or alleged failure, to live up to the moral codes of the community. Second, shame occurs as a result of the public knowledge of this failure to abide community moral norms, or fear that such a lapse will become public knowledge. Thus behavior observed, expected, anticipated, or imagined is assessed in terms of *vergogna.* "No, one shouldn't do that, it would be a shame".

The most vocal and common expression of shame focuses on female sexuality. Women who are, or believed to be, promiscuous, who flaunt their sexuality, or display any behavior that could be construed as deviating from a narrow ideal of female chastity are routinely condemned, in gossip, as shameless (*svergognata*). Not only is their behavior immoral, but it shows they do not care what others will say or think about them. "What will they [people] think, what will they [people] say?". It was this public aspect of behavior, rather than immorality or sinfulness that appeared to concern villagers.

Two examples will give some idea of the range of behavior that falls within this category. One evening, while helping teach a class in English to village teenagers, I was introduced to a young girl recently returned from employment in England. After the class ended and everyone left, we chatted for a few moments. Our conversation ended abruptly when she announced that it was 'dangerous' (*pericoloso*) to continue. At first, I thought she feared walking back to the village in the dark and encountering a *lupo mannaro* (werewolf). Villagers avoid walking about in the dark, and I recorded accounts about encounters with werewolves. She laughed at that and explained that villagers knew what time the class ended. If village women saw her returning home a little later than usual, they would accuse her, in gossip, as using those few minutes to meet her lover. Her fear was the danger of having her reputation and her family's defamed.

The second incident involved a married woman widely regarded in village gossip as promiscuous. One afternoon she drove alone out of the village. At the time, I was in a desultory conversation with two middle-aged women. Immediately, they accused her of being shameless. It was obvious, they claimed, she was meeting one of her many lovers. When I objected that it was not obvious to me, they gave me a scornful pitying look reserved for the trusting and naive American. They patiently explained that no proper woman goes out alone for any apparent reason, and, anyway, "everyone knows she is a whore". This dimension of the solitary and unaccompanied woman appears basic to the idea of female shamelessness. It applies to any woman in the company of an unrelated man. On occasion I drove my landlord's wife to a nearby town when she wanted to purchase sewing supplies. In every instance, her husband insisted that my wife accompany us. He explained to me his fear of village gossip. "They have nothing else to do, but talk about people and make up things". Although villagers never stated it explicitly, this perception of female wantonness appears to rest on the idea that females are unable to control their sexuality.

This notion of female sexual wantonness emerged in conversations my wife had with unmarried teenage girls. They asserted with unambiguous conviction that women, but not themselves of course, married only as a 'cover' (*copertura*). By this they meant that women married in order to have lovers. If they became pregnant, their status as married women would protect them from accusations of shamelessness. The psychodynamics of this view of sex and marriage are beyond the confines of this paper, but two themes pertinent to this paper are evident here. Implicit is the notion that deceit and duplicity are basic in inter-personal relations, even one as fundamental as marriage, and that sexuality is an uncontrollable and unruly passion.

Shame belongs to the vocabulary of women, and shamelessness is largely the domain of women. The attitude of men is different. When the names of allegedly promiscuous village women came up in my conversations with men, it was clear they considered such behavior unacceptable. Such women were whores, their hus-

bands were stupid. It was behavior that was ugly (*brutto*) and bad (*cattivo*). However, these were minor themes compared with their statements of envy about men fortunate enough to enjoy the sexual favors of these women.

Davis in an extended review of honor and shame in Mediterranean communities (1977: 89-100) points out that materialist interpretations of honor link it with differences in wealth and economic power. The wives of poor men can be seduced with impunity by their superiors. The poor have no honor to lose. As Davis (1977: 95) states in a crude, but vivid fashion, "you could copulate with his daughter, they say of a poor man, and he would hold your coat". The data from Collefiore are unclear at best. There is an unending profusion of rumor and gossip about illicit sexual activity. In my field diary I noted, in jest, that if half these stories had any factual basis Collefiore must be the most sexually active community in the world. It is impossible to verify these stories or to distinguish reality from fantasy[5].

Gossip is endemic in Collefiore. Gossip about men from wealthy and powerful families seducing powerless females, usually domestic servants, is a recurring topic. How valid are these accusations? In only a single instance, did the account appear to have a factual basis. The others appeared to be no more than gossip and hearsay, based on fantasy, imagination and malice. Stories of the rich and powerful seducing domestic servants and powerless females are morality tales. They tell us more about the moral perceptions and attitudes of villagers than the sexual practices of *Signori*.

For villagers, it is a fundamental presumption that a sexual encounter will occur if an unrelated male and female are alone together for even the most limited period of time. I have substantial data clearly suggesting such situations are sexually provocative and enticing for both men and women.

A village man sexually accosted a Turkish girl who spent a day in Collefiore with a group filming the village. She asked him to accompany her to the other room in his house in order to take a light meter reading prior to filming while his wife and three male film crew members remained in the next room[6]. Later, he told me and other men what happened. He explained, there is only one reason a woman wants to be alone with a man. He interpreted her request as an invitation for sex and attempted to have intercourse with her as soon as they entered the room. She rebuffed him, threatened to make a scene, but promised she would call him from Rome. In spite of her reaction, he was confident she wanted to see him again and he expected to hear from her. She never called.

On several occasions I found myself alone with a woman from the village. Their reaction was either acute flustered embarrassment or flirtatious giggling and coquettish jesting. Several men on many occasions congratulated me for having sexual relations with village women. Although I denied the validity of their claims, I doubt if they accepted my denials. It was obvious that my movements in the village were under close scrutiny. Their praise rested on the observation of situations where I was alone with a woman. Men greeted my protest that one instance lasted no more than 10 minutes and involved nothing more than paying for a repair to my car, with disbelief and knowing smiles. "Ten minutes, that's all you need" (*Bastano dieci minuti*).

Villagers assume sexuality is an integral part of domestic service. The comment by the Schneiders (1976: 91) about the risk, "that an unmarried woman might go astray, becoming a prostitute or a maidservant to the aristocracy" makes the same point. Village women expressed strong and vibrant resistance to working as domestic servants. At first, I believed this represented an unwillingness to work at menial labor, but later I recognized the sexual component in the female domestic servant-employer relationship. Gossip about the village priest and his domestic servant illustrates the conjunction of domestic service and sex. Villagers assumed the priest and his live-in domestic servant, both in their late 60's, were having sexual relations and living together as husband and wife. The major objection to this presumed relationship was not a question of honor or even immorality, but the suspicion the priest diverted church funds to support his 'wife'.

Thus, the well-to-do and powerful had the means and opportunity for sexual exploitation, and in this respect Davis is correct. It is less clear if this is a rampant and normal state of affairs or something exceptional. It ignores the capacity of the powerless for retaliation or retribution. Sexual exploitation is but one aspect of the servant-master relationship. My conversations with members of wealthy households revealed a con-

stant apprehension about domestic servants revealing family secrets. Servants are the weak link in maintaining the integrity of the household as a fortress of secrecy.

For Davis, there is a connection between honor and high social status. Collefioresi appear to link status and appropriate behavior. On one occasion, I clambered atop a massive mud slide (*frana*) on the slopes below the village, to gauge its extent. In the process, I slipped, and the mud sucked my boots off my feet. I returned to the village barefoot and muddy. Some villagers found my behavior inappropriate. "Educated people [a person of high status] should not do things like that, it is foolish and shows a lack of maturity".

My card playing cronies (day laborers, artisans, and peasants) closely questioned my status as a *professore.* In Italy, they said, educated and powerful [rich] people would not play cards with people of their class. For such people it would be demeaning and imply a sense of social equality where everyone would feel uncomfortable. "Would a *professore,* a *padrone* lose respect?" I asked. "You are the only *professore* we know, and our *padroni* are thieves".

It was clear from the tenor of their remarks that a person of high status engaging in inappropriate behavior could lose respect, while lower status individuals had little to lose in this regard. Thus, while most villagers scorn and disparage the rich and the powerful they defer to wealth and power. Respect or deference, however, is not honor and Davis's conclusion that economic power automatically confers honor does not appear to be supported by the ethnographic evidence.

Furbi *and* Fessi

Shamelessness, however, does not apply to all deviations from the community's moral code. There is an extensive vocabulary characterizing disapproved, but non-shame behavior.

Unacceptable or unpleasant behavior is most often characterized as ugly (*brutto*), a very commonly used term. Persons exhibiting these behaviors are not serious (*non serio*). They are flighty, immature, and not sensible; these are character flaws that can lead to shameless behavior. *Brutto* and *non serio* are the terms most widely used to describe unacceptable behavior.

In addition, *maleducato* (rude, ill-mannered), *cattivo* (bad, mean – applied to persons), *ignorante* (ignorant), *sciocco/stupido* (foolish, stupid, silly), *tonto* (dull, stupid), *poverino* (literally poor little one; it can be used sympathetically or derogatively in a meaning reminiscent of the slang word 'wimp', *antipatico* (abrasive, cold personality), *peccaminoso* (sinful), *schifoso* (disgusting, repugnant), *cattivo* (bad), *birbone* (rascal, rogue), *villano* (rude, boorish, lacking manners, acting like a peasant or *contadino*), *mascalzone* (rascal), *buffo* (clown) are among the terms used by Collefioresi in describing objectionable, disagreeable and offensive behavior.

Related to this vocabulary, but defining a separate domain are the terms *furbo* and *fesso. Furbo* is a double edged word. It states both malice and admiration. To be *furbo* is to be cunning, shrewd, and crafty. A *furbo* has the unerring ability to discern the angle in every situation and to turn it to one's self-interest. To be *furbo* is to take advantage of others, who become *fessi* (fools). Accusing a person of being *furbo* is usually, but not always, an insult, a statement of denigration. It also signifies genuine admiration. At a dinner party my wife described why we decided not to have children immediately. Her explanation received gushing admiration. *"Ma, sei furba! Qui, vogliono un bambino subito"* (You are *furba*! Here, they want a child immediately). Generally, no one likes to be thought of as *furbo.* It complicates relations with people. Given a choice, however, all villagers would prefer to be a *furbo,* rather than a *fesso*. A *fesso* is mocked. A *furbo* looks out for number one, and that is all important.

Being *furbo* is not a matter of personal idiosyncrasy. Thinking only of self-interest and attempting to outwit other people is, in the view of Collefioresi, a fundamental human attribute. *Furbizia* [the quality of cunning and shrewdness] expresses the idea that an aura of deceit and double dealing surround all relationships.

Furbizia is not a local belief[7]. The Schneiders' description (1976: 81-86) of the expression *furberia* in Western Sicily parallels the image of *furbizia* in Collefiore. However, there is some inconsistency in their position. It is difficult to ascertain if they believe (1976: 84-85) *furberia* is restricted to Western Sicily or is merely more extreme than similar beliefs in Eastern Sicily. Although they note its occurrence in other parts of Southern Italy (Davis 1969: 75-76), they find its origin in the peripheral role of Western Sicily in a weak and overextended Spanish Empire. They attempt

to explain *furberia* in Western Sicily in terms of the particular economic relations of this region within a capitalist world-system. Although this theoretical construct has considerable merit in explaining the course of economic activity in Sicily, it leads them astray regarding the fundamental nature of *furberia* (*furbizia*). According to the Schneiders (1976: 85) *furberia,* "celebrates astuteness […] when it contradicts the public welfare or legal norms". Cheating the state, ignoring public welfare, or breaking the law may be exercises in *furbizia,* but these are surface features, not its fundamental essence. *Furbizia* conceptualizes the treacherous nature of inter-personal relations. It expresses the central idea that cunning duplicity and calculating self-interest are integral in all relationships. Forgetting this is the precursor of becoming a *fesso.*

This idea is, I believe, common throughout Italy and much of the Mediterranean. Its origin is debatable, but it is doubtful if it is recent. Its roots may stretch back to classical antiquity. Homer records Odysseus' proud boast "I am Odysseus son of Laertes, renowned among mankind for all manner of subtlety". Even Athene, Odysseus' protector agrees "[…] Who could surpass you in all manner of craft even though you had a god for an antagonist? Daredevil that you are, full of guile, unwearying in deceit" (Homer, Book IX, 13). It is a classic definition of *furbizia.*

Honor and Violence

Although Collefioresi rarely use the word honor, their notions of status, reputation, and prestige overlap many of the elements of honor. Fundamental in their thinking is the idea of personal integrity and esteem, especially in its public aspect. Manifesting a good public image, *fare una bella figura,* is important. This does not imply a Felliniesque circus, a strutting *passeggiata.* Collefioresi are loathe to exhibit their wealth or good fortune. They would shrink from the notion of demeaning or humiliating other members of the community by arrogant public display. Such displays would generate envy, possibly the *malocchio* (evil eye).

Gender is the language and symbolism of this public image. Women should be chaste, get married, have children, and run a proper household. Men should be trustworthy, honest, good providers and assert their personal integrity. The basis for a *bella figura* is adherence, or at least appearing to adhere, to the moral and behavioral codes of the community. In Collefiore, and probably throughout the Mediterranean, adherence to community moral codes is a performance oriented public activity. It is not what you are, but how you display yourself that is crucial. In some ways the language of the theater, rather than that of anthropology may be more apt. The community is a stage, the inhabitants both players and audience. How the audience assesses your public performance is important. The backstage privacy of life is a person's affair. Keeping this aspect of life hidden is of overriding importance for Collefioresi. From this axiom flows the fear of gossip, the suspicion of people outside the family, the importance of secrecy, the loathing of the informer/spy (*spia*) and the inviolability and privacy of *la casa*[8]. For the audience, however, there is a persistent quest to penetrate backstage. Thus, there is the unrelenting gossip, the attempt to breach the secrecy of the private domain. The desire for privacy and the integrity of the home come from the belief that others plot to ruin your performance, by discovering your secrets. For this reason Collefioresi cherish privacy and secrecy. Prying into the affairs of others (*fare la spia*) generates fear and animosity.

We rented part of the house from our landlord, and maintained a separate household and kitchen. For a short period we closed our kitchen and ate our meals with my landlord's family. They asked us not to tell anyone about this arrangement. The second day we did this, the young daughter of the one family in Collefiore who had a small part time restaurant appeared at the dinner hour to borrow a button. My landlord and his wife interpreted this as a maneuver to find out if we took our meals with them instead of buying them at the restaurant. They became terribly upset and livid with anger, and righteously insisted it was repulsive to use a small child to *fare la spia.*

Collefioresi do not apply the term honor to the moral code of their community because they perceive the term ethnocentrically. It is, in their view, a custom of 'other Italians' – Sicilians, Sardinians, and Southern Italians. The salient distinction between their behavior and that of honor is the role of aggression and violence as a means of redressing violations of the code of honor. One story told by an informant vividly illustrates

how Collefioresi perceive this difference between Tuscans and Sicilians.

One evening, according to my informant, an elderly man arrived home and discovered his wife in the kitchen in a conversation with an elderly man. All, he emphasized, were at least 70 years of age. Immediately, the husband became abusive to his wife, accusing her of being a whore (*puttana*) and accused the man of trying to seduce his wife. The uproar and argument soon drew the attention of the neighbors, who attempted to calm them. Although the neighbors took the entire event as an amusing joke, the husband declared, "You see, I caught them. I will take him to court and ruin him". My informant regarded the episode as ridiculous, and the husband as a *sciocco* (fool). "But", my informant noted, "Tuscans take people to court, in Sicily the husband would have shot both of them".

Collefioresi exaggerate the violence of South Italians and see themselves as non-violent. They are not alone in this tendency to associate honor with violence. Ethnographic accounts make the identical point. Pitt-Rivers and Brogger stress that a killing is necessary to redress violations of honor. "The ultimate vindication of honor lies in physical violence" (Pitt-Rivers 1965: 29). Brogger (1971: 109) claims that in a question of a man's honor, "the most violent reaction should be expected". However, this cultural ideal is not always translated into reality. Brogger admits (1971: 133) that killing for honor is rare, and the one case cited by Pitt-Rivers ended in court, rather than the morgue. Chapman (1971: 95) makes a similar point. Most accusations of seduction in Milocca result in a court case not a homicide. Her conclusion that most killings in Milocca involve the Mafia, rather than honor, requires a reconsideration of the accepted equation of honor and violence. A close reading of Blok (1974) suggests homicide in the community of Gennuardo involves criminal activity rather than honor.

Are the Collefioresi as non-violent as they claim? Assessments of violence and measures of violence are enigmatic. Knauft's (1987: 457-500) re-evaluation of homicide and violence in societies characterized by anthropologists as peaceful and non-aggressive illustrates some of the problems in this area.

According to police records and court documents, Collefiore is remarkably peaceful. There are no recorded cases of homicide, physical assault or violent rape since the close of the Second World War. In numerous conversations, Carabinieri stationed in the village called Collefiore boring and peaceful, "Nothing ever happens here". Informants could not, or would not, recall incidents of violence. In 18 months of residence, I observed a single case of minor physical aggression. I heard about three alleged and very vague incidents of fighting and physical assault.

Exhibitions of violence and aggression appear to nonplus and disconcert villagers. The single violent incident I observed evolved from a teasing and clowning around episode. A young peasant boy, slightly drunk and encouraged by his companions grabbed a teen-age girl's coat and kept it out of her reach by throwing it in the air. This continued for a short period until he accidentally dropped it in a puddle of water. Infuriated, she slapped him violently. The reaction of the participants and spectators was surprising. Everything and everybody stopped. The spectators, teenagers and young adults, ceased yelling and laughing, the young man stood silent and still. The girl without a word picked up her coat and walked away. The spectators appeared embarrassed and quickly and quietly drifted away. Later, village gossip described the incident as an ugly thing (*una brutta cosa*).

Other incidents, based on hearsay and gossip were much less detailed. For a few weeks a farcical story circulated throughout the community describing how a woman chased her husband with an iron pot (or knife?) through one of the village bars when she discovered he was having an affair. While the account was replete with details, no one could be found who admitted to actually seeing the incident. One man allegedly threw his mother down a flight of stairs. There were rumors about two married men in a fist fight over a mistress they shared. When villagers told me these stories, and I heard them from a variety of people, they appeared more concerned to condemn the violence as stupid and ugly, rather than to provide detailed and accurate accounts. In some ways these gossip stories were vehicles for endorsing proper behavior and denigrating offensive behavior.

One man, a rugged and muscular day laborer, had a reputation for aggressive masculinity. After a few drinks, he got surly and attempted shows of physical intimidation. This consisted of pushing, shoving and finger poking other men. He did it with a marvelous degree of finesse. It sug-

gested a degree of physical intimidation, but hesitant enough to be taken as nothing more than playful joking. He avoided high status people and men with reputations as partisan fighters. Villagers intensely disliked him and believed he engaged in criminal activity. They considered him *cattivo* (bad) and a *mascalzone* (a rogue, a rascal, a nasty character).

Violence is rare, but not unknown to the community. Rumors and gossip persist about one killing and an attempted murder [the alleged participants were Southern Italians] shortly after the war. Informants made vague references about violence during and immediately after the war. Partisans allegedly ambushed and shot two German Army stragglers near the village. There was a particularly gory account about the stabbing and decapitating of a Moroccan soldier, part of the unit that entered the village as the Germans retreated, for raping a peasant girl. Partisans, who took control of the community, systematically beat local fascist officials. In 1948, as a reaction to the assassination attempt on the Communist party leader P. Togliatti, riots erupted throughout the local area. In a nearby community two Carabinieri were hacked to death, and there was an alleged gun fight (described to me in vague terms) in Collefiore between opposing political factions. Older men gave me ambiguous accounts of inter-village fights going back to the 1920's, but details were lacking. The lack of details and vague imprecision of these accounts testify to the unwillingness of villagers to get involved, in any manner, with such disturbing events. Individuals or their relatives who may have taken part in these incidents still lived in the community. Telling stories about particular people are the surest means of making enemies.

Violence in Collefiore tends to occur during the unusual conditions of wartime or when there is a collapse of police and political authority. Outsiders, rather than Collefioresi, are generally the targets of violence. Although antagonism and dislike are part of normal social relations in Collefiore, they rarely flare into open violence. Recourse to violence for resolving conflict is not an ingredient in the cultural repertoire of the community[9].

Fear of violence, however, is deep-seated. It is not a freely discussed topic. On several occasions, in private conversations, these fears bubbled to the surface. They revealed not a fear of particular individuals, but a conviction that without the imposition of police and state control the ugly and unruly nature of people would erupt in violence and disorder[10]. This deep fear of untrammeled and uncontrolled violence reflects a fundamental view of the world held by the Collefioresi.

Order and Disorder

As my field work drew to a close several of my closest friends/informants took me aside and in hushed tones told me, "Yes, I know why you are here. You want to find out what Collefiore is really like. I can't tell you now, but just before you leave, I will tell you about people here. Then you will discover what we are really like".

I pressured them not to wait. "Tell me now". It did no good, they adamantly refused. They did not state it openly, but it was clear they feared what they told me would in some way get back to the subjects of their stories. Their reticence also reflects the firm belief that privacy and secrecy are critical in avoiding trouble with other people.

Later, in secretive, but not isolated[11] conversations my informants told me their stories. Without exception, they were accounts of people denouncing someone to the police for violations of licensing and motor vehicle laws. My informants attributed them to malice, vindictiveness, spite, envy and economic rivalry. In my informants view, they expressed a single theme; they called it *la fregatura.* Collefioresi and Italians in general, my informants confessed with dismay, are selfish, envious, self-centered, swindling, cheating, deceitful, treacherous, cunning and perfidious humans who think only of their own interests and benefits. If anyone has an opportunity to deceive, swindle, cheat or dupe someone, even for the smallest gain, he/she will do it. *La fregatura* summarizes this litany of subterfuge and duplicity. To Collefioresi, it is a quality inherent in the nature of man, but exhibited in its most damning way by themselves. One informant expanding on the fundamental nature of *la fregatura* claimed, "Even a mother will *fregare* her own children".

Delivered with vehemence, certainty, and finality *la fregatura* proclaims everything in their world as a swindle, and a fraud, the bane of their existence. Collefioresi see Germans as hard-working and disciplined, the English as confident and sure of themselves, Americans, wealthy, pow-

erful and open. They perceived Italians, with dismay, as preoccupied in figuring the angles, and being *furbo.* In attempting to *fregare* everyone, they did nothing more than victimize themselves. It was the ultimate *fregare* and the elemental flaw condemning them to political instability, poverty and lack of respect in the world community[12].

In a brief, but astute observation Crump (1975: 23-24) dismisses many of the themes advanced in Italian ethnographic studies – patronage, amoral familism, brokers – as superficial, rather than substantive. He presents an alternative scenario, claiming Italians live in two worlds, one profane, imperfect, and disunited, the other sacred, perfect, and harmonious. The two worlds interact at the human level, but since man is imperfect, all institutions are corrupt transformations of the ideal. Man is perfectible, but until this ideal becomes actuality, the world remains flawed. Implicit in this conception is the idea that order can be brought out of chaos. The Italian word *sistemazione* summarizes this idea. This is an interesting and suggestive idea and it is unfortunate that Crump neglects to expand on it. *Sistemazione* and *sistemare* are intriguing words in the Italian vocabulary. Their formal translation – to systematize, put in order, arrangement – suggests a formal quality that belies their everyday, idiomatic usage. Their application and range are quite astonishing. Obtaining a job (*mi sono sistemata bene*), repairing a road (*strada in sistemazione*), seeing that a daughter marries (*finalmente, ha sistemato sua figlia*), disciplining a child (*ti sistemo io*) are just some of the instances where *sistemare/sistemazione* expresses the notion of finally getting things into their proper order. Informants greeted my explanation of Murdock's OCM for organizing field notes, with great admiration, "*una bella sistemazione*". *Sistemare* brings order out of chaos. Collefioresi sense the world as inherently unruly and disorderly, and human effort struggles to constrain and channel this disorder. Cronin (1970: 207) draws attention to this idea in her study of Sicilian migrants in Australia. "Women (and men too…) must be controlled; there is no idea of self-control". In the cognitive framework of Collefioresi thinking *sistemare* stands as the polar opposite of *la fregatura.* Crump calls this the sacred and the profane. I prefer the more neutral characterization: order and disorder. The interface between these two domains is at the human level of interpersonal relations, *sistemazione/sistemare* and *la fregatura/fregare* define the contrasting dimensions of an overarching cognitive structure, *serio* and *furbo* define the scope of the interpersonal relations linking these two contrary domains.

Serio applied to individuals is both a measure of adherence to the moral codes of the community and a definition of these moral values. An intriguing aspect of *serio* is the position taken by Collefioresi on the moral quality of *coltivatori diretti* as a group. To Collefioresi, *coltivatori diretti* represent the moral and behavioral norms of *serio*[13]. This is surprising. *Coltivatori diretti* are peasant proprietors, and their economic position is hardly that of power and wealth. In the past, it took arduous physical labor to cultivate their scattered plots of land. They were primarily subsistence oriented, but they did sell some of their produce locally. *Coltivatori diretti* do not play an important role in local politics, they are not prominent village leaders and they are not important sources of employment for agricultural day-laborers. *Coltivatori diretti* rely upon family labor. They employ *braccianti* only when circumstances make this unavoidable. The moral strength of *coltivatori diretti* resides in their economic independence. Unlike *braccianti* and *contadini,* they are not dependent upon *padroni* for their livelihood and unlike *padroni* they are not dependent upon *braccianti* and *contadini* to carry out essential agricultural tasks. Shopkeepers and artisans depend upon customers and customers distrust shopkeepers and artisans. In all these relationships there is the lurking fear of being cheated. Unlike other social-economic groups in the community, the economic role of *coltivatori diretti* does not involve them in the necessity of forming close and enduring relationships with other people in the community[14].

Crump recognized the role played by interpersonal relations in evaluating moral worth. He contends (Crump 1975: 23) that only figures free from "the dyadic contracts and networks inherent in all forms of brokerage and coalition-forming", escape the stigma of corruption. "One never thinks of the Pope, or Padre Pio, as being engaged in ordinary conversations, let alone intrigue. The Pope speaks ex cathedra, and Padre Pio hardly spoke at all". The identification of a single man in Collefiore as *un uomo quadrato* rested on this individual's ability to maintain cordial relations with most villagers. He escaped

the suspicion of *la fregatura,* not because of his inherent goodness, but by reason of his reserved relationships with other members of the community. In a mode similar to the Pope or Padre Pio, cited by Crump, people who avoid relationships with others circumvent the burden of *fregatura* and *furbizia.*

Coltivatori diretti are in an analogous position. They evade the necessity of enduring relations with other groups in the community. Unlike the Schneiders who see competitive relationships as the source of honor and shame, the position advanced here is that the elements of the moral code – honor, shame, *serietà* and *furbizia* – are consequence of the cultural principle that all social relationships carry the baggage of inherent duplicity. The closer the relationship the more salient is the fear of *la fregatura* Thus, inheritance squabbles between family members become intense, intractable and intemperate in their petty stubbornness. Dividing the estate unleashes the suspicion of being cheated.

For Collefioresi violence, sexuality and *furbizia* are manifestations of an innately unruly human nature. The *furbo* attempts to convert a mutual relationship into a one-sided advantage. Therefore care and prudence are necessary in dealing with other people. Collefioresi fear violence and they appear able to subvert their aggressive impulses, at least against each other, into nonviolent channels: gossip, slander, lawsuit and avoidance[15]. They view police power and the state as a fragile shield between order and anarchy. Mediterranean ethnographies commonly assert that women become shameless and bring shame to their male relatives by engaging in illicit sexual behavior. This may be an accurate ethnographic observation, but it focuses on the sexual behavior of women and fails to explore the sexuality of men. "*Tutti gli uomini sono cacciatori*" (all men are hunters). It is a popular proverb of Collefioresi women. It would be surprising if cognate proverbs were not found throughout the Mediterranean. Sexuality, both in males and females, is an undisciplined passion. In this sense, the sexuality of men and women is identical, both representing the domain of disorder. Neither is able to control their sexual passion. While the image of the hunter may have a more favorable image (at least among men), ideally, sexuality should be channeled into the *sistemazione* of marriage or prostitution, an institution representing another form of sexual *sistemazione.* Chapman's statement (1971: 88) that every Sicilian adult male is expected to marry in order to establish the only socially approved basis for his sexual life and that, "Any unmarried male, even a priest, is regarded as a menace to the honor of women". It is a precise reflection of Collefioresi thinking.

Discussion

This paper began with question of a simple ethnographic observation: the lack of reports of honor in Central Italy. Examining this question in the Central Italian community of Collefiore it is clear that although the Collefioresi rarely use the term honor to characterize their ideas about proper behavior, their moral code closely resembles the elements of honor identified in Mediterranean communities. In their thinking they associate honor with violence and perceive this as a defining custom of Southern Italians. For Collefioresi, their reluctance to use violence sets them apart from this 'other' Italy.

In general, their notions of public self-esteem, the mistrust and suspicion of others, their penchant for secrecy, the fear and resentment of unrelenting gossip and a world view defined by order and disorder conforms to a general circum-Mediterranean code of conduct. In Greece, Friedl (1962: 76) calls it agonistic. Gilmore (1987a: 36-38) describes the Andalusian community of Fuenmayor as an "atomistic community" where there is a pre-occupation with adversity, feelings of persecution and life becomes a "relentless battle for a capricious but all-powerful public esteem." The community is a fragmented humanity united by mutual distrust and suspicion. Brandes interprets (1975: 150-151) responses to the Murray Thematic Apperception Test by the people of the Castilian village of Becedas as "projections of an inner fear for the safety of one's person and possessions and of a psychological sense of vulnerability to the world at large". Collefioresi see them as living in a threatening, hostile and potentially dangerous world inhabited by scheming opportunists. In Collefiore, this fundamental cultural ethos underlies the notions of shame, *serio*, *furbo*, *fesso*, *furbizia*, *la fregatura,* and *sistemazione.* Maintaining order, bringing arrangement to a disorderly world and, above all, manifesting a public display of order is a cultural and social and psychic defense against

the assaults and encroachments of an ever threatening anarchy.

The elemental structure in this world view is inter-personal relationships. It is in the relations between persons where the ethos of *sistemare* and *fregare* find expression. For it is only through human relationships that the things of this world are accomplished. The necessity of relationships is the source of calamity. This is the troubling paradox of life for Collefioresi. Gilmore (1987a: 35) captures the essence of this dilemma as "simultaneous engagement and repulsion". The lurking suspicion of duplicity exists in every relationship. It is from this cultural axiom that the spirit of Mediterranean morality flows.

Contemporary anthropology discounts ideology and belief as primary forces in human behavior. Too often ideology and belief becomes a cart hitched to the donkey of objective (material) conditions. The Schneider's attribute honor and shame to the interaction of ecological forces and productive economies. Gilmore (1987a: 36) puts it bluntly, "an ethos – a shared world view or common psychological orientation – does not spring from nowhere. Rather it is a consequence of historical adaptations to social and political conditions. So here, we move [...] to the objective conditions which spawn it". To understand these objective considerations Gilmore introduces the conditions of economic life in contemporary Andalusia. It is a life of economic scarcity and insecurity, of poorly paid agricultural workers where existence is a titanic struggle of family against family, worker against worker, peasant against peasant, landowner against laborer, fathers against sons, brother against brother, class conflict, the rich against the poor (Gilmore 1987a: 40-47). Hobbes would feel right at home.

No one would question the accuracy of these observations, but serious problems exist in their use as interpretive concepts. Historicist explanations assume that at some time in the past a set of particular circumstances generated a pattern of congruent and supportive (i.e. functional) behavioral practices and ideological beliefs. Leaving aside the sticky question of epistemological primacy given to objective conditions, we may ask, how do these ideas persist if circumstances change? Are we to believe that these objective conditions remain unchanged through time in *saecula saeculorum*?

Gilmore's description of contemporary Andalusian economy is irrelevant to his problem. The geographic breadth, cultural tenacity and psychological embeddedness of the *furbizia-fregatura* concept throughout the Mediterranean imply a significant time depth to this set of beliefs. The dimensions of current Andalusian economic existence are inapplicable to the origin of this ideology, unless we intend to project these social and political conditions unchanged back through time. Furthermore, the Andalusian economic, political and social system is not typical of the entire Mediterranean region. In the Mediterranean diversity, not uniformity is typical. Land owning aristocrats, landless peasants, latifundia, dry farming, communities of peasant proprietors, capitalist farming, irrigated fields, agro-towns, dispersed peasant farmers, wheat fields, varieties of land tenure systems, specialized market oriented commodity growers are a catalog skimming the surface of diversity in the agricultural sector. It omits entirely the historical complexity of the urban, mercantile, bureaucratic, craft and industrial worlds. In spite of this multifarious diversity, an identifiable and shared world view links them as part of common Mediterranean heritage. This edifice of belief is too broad and too deep to have been reared upon the base of a single regional economy.

There is in these objective conditions interpretations an anthropological sleight-of-hand. They rest on a simple, but overwhelmingly appealing idea: the scarcity of resources. This concept conveys an image of solid, quantitative objectivity. What is a scarce resource, how do we measure it and how do other societies measure it? Decades ago, ecological interpretations of warfare (Vayda 1961; Harris 1977: 31-54) used a comparable notion: the carrying capacity of the land. It was a simple, appealing and seemingly logical proposition. When population growth exceeded the capacity of the land to support the population, it triggered warfare and solved the problem by reducing the population or acquiring someone else's land. It soon became clear, however, that the concept lacked explanatory power. It is not possible to calculate the carrying capacity of the land, and a society's perception of land shortage may have no relation to quantitative measures of capacity. It is a cultural statement that, for a time, masqueraded as a quantitative objective concept. Scarcity of resources suffers from the same problem. Scarcity is a cultural interpretation, not a mathematic equation cal-

culating a precise level that once reached becomes an automatic trigger generating agonistic ideologies[16].

The Mediterranean is not unique in the experience of grinding poverty, selfish exploitation, and cruel oppression. Yet, anthropologists appear to agree on the existence of a peculiarly Mediterranean set of cultural beliefs about human behavior. I suggest an alternative view. Mediterranean culture provides a set of interpretive templates that give meaning to the varying exigencies of life. Mediterranean children imbibe the image of an agonistic world long before *la fregatura* victimizes them. I recorded this conversation between a mother and her four year old daughter.

"When I grow up, what will the world be like?"

"Who knows?"

"Will it be beautiful, Mama?"

"Eh, it's ugly and gets worse every day".

Notes

[1] References to the ethnographic literature on honor and shame in the Mediterranean can be found in Blok 1981; Davis 1977; Gilmore 1987, 1987a; Herzfeld 1980, 1984; Pina-Cabral 1989; Schneider 1971; Wikan 1984. Over the last two decades anthropological interest in honor and shame has diminished. The work of Fazio (2004) and Plesset (2007) on honor, family, and gender list few references to honor after 1990.

[2] Discussions of honor and shame constitute a substantial body of literature in Mediterranean anthropology. Wilson used the concept to interpret historical data (Wilson 1988). These debates failed to penetrate mainstream anthropology. Hatch (1989) in a review of theories of social honor fails to mention the Mediterranean at all.

[3] In the 1960's a rural exodus of sharecropper peasants began to change the traditional *contadini-mezzadria* system. Between 1951 and 1965 the number of peasant cultivators in the countryside outside Collefiore declined by 70%. Large landowner invested in modern farm machinery and employed salaried workers.

[4] The moral values and the rare use of the term honor in Collefiore resemble the situation described by Lison-Tolosano for the Spanish community of Belmonte de los Caballeros (1966c: 314-319).

[5] Messenger in his efforts to uncover the truth about rumors of illicit sexual activity in the Irish community of Inis Beag discovered that every instance reflected sexual fantasy (1969:107-108).

[6] Subsequently, I learned the film crew used this procedure to avoid accusations of theft or damage when they filmed in a person's house.

[7] Many ethnographic studies in Mediterranean communities describe beliefs similar to the concept of furbizia. See Brandes (1975: 149-155), Bailey (1971: 21-22), Belmonte (1979: 33-36, 48), Campbell (1964: 203-212), Chapman (1971: 227), Colclough (1971: 223-225), Cutliero (1971: 230-237), Friedl (1962: 75, 79-81), Gilmore (1987a: 5-6), Lopreato (1967: 103-117), Loizos (1975: 66), Pitt-Rivers (1961: 139-141), Wade (1971: 252-256), Wylie (1957: 194-205). See Gilmore (1987a: 42) for references to comparable notions in North Africa and the Middle East.

[8] At first, many of villagers believed we were relatives of the family we lived with. This was the only way they could account for our residence in their house. It illustrates clearly the idea of the house as a fortress of secrecy open only to family members. Gilmore (1987a: 38-40) has an excellent discussion of the Andalusian *casa* as a fortress of secrecy. See also Brandes (1975: 153-155) for an alternative method of handling the problem of secrecy.

[9] In this respect, Collefiore appears to be very similar to the Umbrian community of Monte del Vibio described by Silverman (1975: 42-43, 141, 192). In Monte del Vibio, hostility and discord result in gossip, verbal insults, and lawsuits, rather than violence.

[10] Villagers criticized the Italian government for its inability or unwillingness to control (literally, 'to the put the brakes on') the lawless behavior of various groups (strikers, mafia, unions, communists, capitalists) in Italian society. This reflects a corporatist view of the state. The alleged maintenance of social order under Mussolini was one of the few acts of the Fascist regime receiving grudging approval from some villagers. See Chapman (1971: 248-256) for local poetry in Milocca praising the Mussolini government for imposing law and order. The lines, 'Even mice have to walk in a straight line' or 'they will feel the claws of the cat' are especially significant.

[11] Although these conversations involved sensitive topics, they did not take place in secret. This dimension reflects the care individuals take to avoid arousing suspicion that something deceptive or dishonest is occurring. There

is a talent to communicating confidential material during the course of an open and seemingly innocent conversation and Collefioresi were adept at this practice. Brandes (1975: 152-153) describes how secrecy and privacy are taboo in the Spanish community of Becedas.

[12] Belittling Italy, Italians and the Italian character are endemic pastimes of villagers. One example of this genre is the lack of discipline tale. Old men, veterans of the First World War, never tired of telling me how German soldiers could march through the countryside and not steal an apple. Italian troops, they asserted, looted and stole whenever possible. Lopreato (1967: 66, 84-85, 105) contains similar stories.

[13] This is a generalization about *coltivatori diretti* as a social category. Individual *coltivatori diretti* are no more trusted than any other person in the village. In a similar manner *contadini* (peasants) who routinely denounce *padroni* as thieves and devouring wolves make exception for particular individuals. It was not uncommon for peasants to tell me, 'The Marchesa [a large landowner in a neighboring valley] was always kind and honest to my family'.

[14] By the early 1960's traditional *coltivatori diretti* activity began to change. The children of many *coltivatori diretti* abandoned farming and left the community. Those who remained began to develop specialized cash oriented agricultural activities - dairying, vineyards, vegetables and often combined this with part-time wage labor.

[15] See Cohen (1972) for a description of the non-violent methods used by Collefioresi for assailing their adversaries.

[16] Moore's comments (1990: 1-3) on Alexander de Waal's volume on famine in the Sudan (1989) makes the same point. Famine is based on cultural understandings and is not a quantitative concept.

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Abstracts

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Memoria e oblio dei campi di concentramento dei Repubblicani spagnoli nel sud ovest della Francia

Nel 1939, alla fine della Guerra Civile spagnola, migliaia di Repubblicani oppositori del Generale Franco finirono in esilio in Francia. Sin dal loro arrivo, essi furono internati nei campi e costretti a condizioni di vita molto dure. Sino agli anni Settanta del Novecento, questo inglorioso episodio della storia francese è rimasto praticamente nell'oblio. Oggi, almeno nel sud del Paese, non passa giorno in cui qualcuno non evochi la memoria dell'esilio e dell'internamento dei Repubblicani spagnoli in Francia. Questo contributo, basato sul caso del Campo di Le Vernet, mostra il processo che dall'oblio ha condotto alla memoria dei campi e ne analizza le caratteristiche.

Parole chiave: Memoria; Oblio; Campi di concentramento; Repubblicani spagnoli; Ebrei.

Memory and oblivion of the internment camps of the Spanish Republicans in South-West France

In 1939, at the end of the Spanish Civil War, which set Republicans against General Franco partisans, tens of thousands of them flowed into exile in France. Upon their arrival, they were interned in camps where living conditions were very hard. Until the 1970s, this inglorious episode in the history of France had practically fallen into oblivion. Today, in the south at least, never a day passes but somebody evokes the memory of exile and internment of Spanish Republicans in France. This paper - based on the Camp of Le Vernet case - shows the process that leads from oblivion to recovery of the memory of the camps and analyses what characterizes this memory.

Key words: Memory; Oblivion; Internment camps; Spanish Republicans; Jews.

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Sensible men and serious women: order, disorder, and morality in an Italian village

For over a decade, anthropologists engaged in a vigorous debate regarding the utility, meaning, and explanation of honor and shame in Mediterranean communities. There are competing interpretations regarding these cultural constructions, but no consensus. Partly, this is a result of examining honor and shame as discrete domains deriving from more fundamental conditions.
In this paper, I examine, in detail, the ethnography of honor and shame in a central (Tuscany) Italian village. I use these data to contend honor and shame are not encapsulated domains, but are part of a wider and fundamental cognitive framework and world view involving the nature of inter-personal relations, understandings regarding the attributes of human nature and an agonistic perception of the human condition.

Keywords: Italy (Tuscany); Honor; Shame; World View; Inter-Personal Relations.

Uomini responsabili e donne serie: ordine, disordine e moralità in una comunità italiana

Per più di un decennio gli antropologi si sono impegnati in un acceso dibattito sulla pertinenza, il significato e il senso dell'onore e della vergogna nell'area del Mediterraneo. Le interpretazioni fornite per queste costruzioni culturali sono state spesso contrastanti e non si è raggiunto un accordo. Ciò è dipeso, in parte, dal fatto che l'analisi ha riguardato l'onore e la vergogna intesi come ambiti separati derivanti da altre condizioni fondamentali.
In questo contributo, propongo, in particolare, un'etnografia dell'onore e della vergogna presso una comunità dell'Italia centrale (in Toscana). L'obiettivo è mostrare come queste due sfere, lungi dall'essere isolate, vadano invece inserite in un più ampio quadro cognitivo e in una visione del mondo che coinvolge le relazioni interpersonali, la comprensione degli aspetti della natura umana e del suo modo di percepire agonisticamente la propria condizione.

Parole-chiave: Italia (Toscana); Onore; Vergogna; Concezione del mondo; Relazioni interpersonali.

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Pane al pane e vino al vino

È noto che il pane e il vino rappresentano due pilastri centrali delle basi alimentari dei popoli del Mediterraneo, essendo entrambi i frutti fecondi e millenari di due fondamentali piante di civiltà: il grano e la vite. In quanto segni eccellenti di riproduzione ciclica della terra e per ciò stesso di rifondazione del vivere e dell'esistere, pane e vino sono simboli paradigmatici dell'indissolubile simbiosi tra l'umano e il vegetale, tra l'umano e il sovraumano. Assicurando la transizione dalla natura alla cultura, il loro consumo ha contribuito a determinare status e gerarchie, a plasmare forme e pratiche rituali, a conferire identità e memoria, a dare ordine e significato al mondo. Per alcuni aspetti in opposizione dialettica, ponendosi il pane sul versante del cotto e il vino su quello del fermentato, l'uno e l'altro sono nella prassi e nella lingua popolare siciliana elementi complementari di un'endiadi formale e concettuale, di un binomio semantico irresistibile e inscindibile, significanti indiscutibilmente diversi ma – a livello delle strutture profonde – sostanzialmente riconducibili ad un comune orizzonte di senso.

Parole chiave: Relazioni pane-vino; Fermentazione; Simboli; Proverbi; Riti.

"Pane al pane e vino al vino". *Symbolical meanings of bread and wine in Mediterranean cultures*

It is known that bread and wine are two fundamental pillars of the basic diet of the peoples of the Mediterranean, being both thousand-year old and fruitful products of two key plants of civilization: wheat and vine. As excellent signs of the cyclical reproduction of the earth and thereby of the re-foundation of life and existence, bread and wine are paradigmatic symbols of the indissoluble symbiosis between the human and the vegetable kingdom, between the human and the superhuman. By ensuring the transition from nature to culture, their consumption has contributed to determine status and hierarchy, shape ritual forms and practices, give identity and memory, give order and meaning to the world. Being in some respects in dialectical opposition, as bread is cooked and wine is fermented, they are both, in practice and in the Sicilian vernacular, complementary elements of a formal and conceptual hendiadys, of an irresistible and inseparable semantic pair, significants indisputably different, but – at the level of deep structures – essentially referable to a common horizon of meaning.

Key words: Bread-wine connection; Fermentation; Symbols; Proverbs; Rituals.

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Turisti a Sparta: il passato che non torna e l'invenzione della tradizione

Quando è nato il "turismo culturale"? Di solito il punto di partenza generalmente indicato e privilegiato è l'Europa del Settecento. Tuttavia è possibile esplorare altre culture, più distanti nel tempo, ma pur sempre strettamente collegati alla nostra, almeno nell'autorappresentazione dell'*identità* di cui si alimenta il nostro Occidente.

Si focalizzerà l'attenzione sul mondo greco, con alcune osservazioni generali sul viaggio culturale che è alla radice stessa della storiografia: destinato a divenire in seguito un *topos* obbligato nelle dichiarazioni proemiali degli storici, il viaggio, anzi i viaggi, del *pater historiae* Erodoto introducono ad un'esplorazione sottile e ambigua dell'identità greca. Tuttavia, è il "turismo" culturale a Sparta, divenuto rapidamente tappa obbligata della classe dirigente greco-romana, a fornire il caso più interessante.

Parole chiave: Turismo culturale; Memoria; Passato; Origini; Sparta.

Tourists in Sparta: the past that does not come back and the invention of tradition

When the "cultural Tourism" is born? The point of departure is generally identified in the European culture of XVIII century. Nevertheless it's possible to examine other cultures, which are historically more remote, but at the same time strictly connected with our, in accordance with the status of "identity" that characterizes Occidental world. The attention will be focalised on the ancient Greece. This paper will reserve some reflections to the cultural travel and his relevance among the Greeks. A meaningful example is the travel of the historians: since Herodotus, it has been considered an element necessary and topical, as we can observe in the proemial declarations. The travels of Herodotus, the pater historiae*, enable a penetrating and ambiguous exploration of the Greek identity. In the second part of the paper the focus of attention will be on Sparta, a celebrate destination of the cultural travels of the Greek and Roman elite. This town, for many reasons, provides the most attractive case-study.*

Key words: Cultural Tourism; Memory; Past; Origins; Sparta.

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Peasant and Others in Rural Spain. The Relevance of Models

Since the days of Eric Wolf, most social scientists have routinely depicted peasants as oppressed and exploited, as the bottom rung of society. But are peasants always downtrodden and despised? Can peasants enjoy a high status, be respected, even admired in their society? This paper offers a modest corrective to the prevalent Marxist view from Andalusia (southern Spain). There, peasants – even the poorest – so long as they had a piece of land, represented a solid middle class in local terms, enjoying a relatively prized status. I try to explain the structural context of this glaring exception to the generic paradigm of peasant subjugation by describing the status of peasants relative to other agrarian social classes.

Key words: Peasants; Stratification; Social class; Spain; Andalusia.

I contadini e gli Altri nella Spagna rurale. L'importanza dei modelli

Dai tempi di Eric Wolf, la maggior parte degli studiosi di scienze sociali ha rappresentato i contadini come oppressi, sfruttati e collocati al rango più basso della società. Ma i contadini sono davvero così disprezzati e oppressi? Possono invece apprezzare la loro condizione, essere rispettati e diventare persino oggetto di ammirazione? Questo articolo offre un modesto correttivo alla prevalente visione marxista dell'Andalusia (Sud della Spagna). In questa regione i contadini – anche i più poveri – in quanto proprietari di un terreno, rappresentavano un solido ceto medio locale, tenuto in una certa considerazione. Cerco di illustrare il contesto strutturale di questo caso di studio, che costituisce un'eccezione al generico paradigma del contadino assoggettato, descrivendo la sua condizione in rapporto alle altre classi sociali del mondo agrario.

Parole chiave: Contadini; Stratificazione; Classe sociale; Spagna; Andalusia.

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Diritti Umani egemoni: il caso della circoncisione femminile. Un appello a considerare seriamente il multiculturalismo

L'articolo si interroga sulle differenze che intercorrono fra la circoncisione femminile e le altre pratiche modificatrici degli organi sessuali, in particolare la circoncisione maschile e la mastoplastica additiva, e spezza una lancia a favore dell'applicazione di uno standard unico di valutazione delle diverse pratiche modificatrici. Solo un approccio inclusivo, che tratti "noi" al pari degli "altri", può infatti restituire credibilità all'idea di diritti umani "universali", che altrimenti rischiano di diventare meri strumenti di egemonia culturale. Per prendere sul serio il multiculturalismo occorre, insomma, secondo l'autrice, utilizzare un approccio integrativo, che metta davvero tutte le pratiche culturali sullo stesso piano.

Parole chiave: Multiculturalismo, Egemonia culturale; Diritti Umani; Circoncisione maschile e femminile; Mastoplastica additiva.

Hegemonic Human Rights: the Case of Female Circumcision. A call for taking multiculturalism seriously

In addressing the issue of female circumcision, the paper suggests that only a comprehensive approach towards all modifications of sexual organs, using a single, not a double, standard will make the human rights discourse on sexual organs' modifications less imperialistic, more effective and less assimilating. A more inclusive notion of human rights, a notion that includes "us" – the Westerners – as well as "them" – the "Others" – serves, it is argued, to give credibility to the "human rights spirit". What makes female circumcision a human rights' violation while male circumcision and breast augmentation are considered acceptable and even respectable cultural practices? Trying to find out the reason for singling-out female circumcision, the author will briefly address a number of issues, including health concerns, patient's consent (choice), sexual fulfillment limitation, and beauty requirements in different cultures. Taking multiculturalism seriously, it is argued, calls for an integrative approach towards the plurality of cultures and practices.

Key words: Multiculturalism; Cultural Hegemony; Human Rights; Female/Male Circumcision; Breast Augmentation.