

IN MEMORIAM

Professor Lloyd A. Fallers died in Chicago on 4 July 1974 at the age of 48. A member of the editorial board of *IJMES*, 'Tom', as he was known to nearly all his students and colleagues, had been active in Middle Eastern studies for over a decade after having already distinguished himself through research in East Africa.

Born in Nebraska in 1925, Fallers was both an undergraduate and graduate student at the University of Chicago, where he earned his Ph.D. in Anthropology (1953). After three years at Berkeley and one at Princeton, his teaching career was almost entirely at the University of Chicago, where in 1973 he was named the Albert A. Michelson Distinguished Service Professor of Anthropology and Sociology.

As a student at Chicago, Fallers was strongly influenced by the comparative sociology of Max Weber, long before Weber figured significantly in the teaching of anthropology in the United States or in England. Weber's concern with the development of 'rational' bureaucracy out of traditional forms of domination was central to Fallers' first book, Bantu Bureaucracy (1956), based on field research among the Basoga of Uganda (1950-1952). In preparation for this study, Fallers received a Fulbright grant to study at the London School of Economics for a year (1949-1950). The field research itself was funded through a British government fellowship to the East African Institute of Social Research, one of the first awarded to an American for work in an English colony. Subsequent publications based on this research dealt with land tenure (1956), marriage (1957) and law (1969). His interest in comparative patterns of leadership, domination and social inequality led to a later, broader study, in collaboration with other scholars, the results of which were published as The King's Men: Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence (1964). During this study he was also director of the East African Institute of Social Research, the only American ever to hold the post.

Before beginning research on Turkey in the early 1960s, Fallers had been one of the founding members of the University of Chicago's Committee for the Comparative Study of New Nations, together with Clifford Geertz, Edward Shils, David Apter and others. In 1969 he became the Committee's chairman. In logical sequence to his earlier work in East Africa, he became interested in the social anthropology of nation states. In this context, he and his wife Margaret, also a social anthropologist, learned Turkish and undertook fieldwork in Turkey in 1964, in Konya, and again in 1968-1969 in the coastal town of Edremit. Illness forced him to cancel a later field trip, but his research objectives had already taken shape.

Foremost among these was his analysis of the conditions under which primordial, class, religious and other loyalties could be superseded by a fragile 'civility' in a nation state, enabling its citizens to assume an unconscious social contract with other members of the polity. Fallers was gifted in his ability to explore such theoretical issues, often dealt with by others in jargon-laden and overly abstracted terms, in the concrete, empirical context of specific social situations.

His Social Anthropology of the Nation State (Aldine, in press), based partly upon his Turkish experience, is a carefully crafted essay on how the systems of meaning which make civility possible in a nation state are socially maintained through the ordinary, daily round of events which its citizens experience and, like many theorists, take for granted. Fallers' sensitively written 'Notes on an Advent Ramadan' (J. Am. Acad. Re. 42[1974]: 35-52) deals similarly with variant Turkish understandings of the Islamic tradition and how this tradition is experienced and modified in the daily affairs of a contemporary Turkish community.

The civility which Fallers explored in theory also informed his personal ethic of university life. He was a committed intellectual who saw teaching and openness to colleagues as inherent to his vocation. He was vitally interested in the work of students and colleagues and always willing to engage in patient, Socratic dialogue to help others shape their ideas. So committed was he to this aspect of intellectual life that in addition to research, he continued his teaching in his last years from a wheelchair and on crutches, often at great, although concealed, personal sacrifice. Once, referring to his love of teaching and his ability to stimulate the work of others, he modestly called himself a schoolmaster. His use of the term reinvigorates the calling. His legacy is twofold: his own wide body of scholarship and a decisive influence on the thought and work of students, colleagues and friends.

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