

Aspects of Ethnology*

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I.

JOSÉ LEITE DE VASCONCELOS (1858—1941)

FROM THE AGE OF TWENTY RIGHT UP TO HIS 83RD YEAR, Leite de Vasconcelos' activity was gigantic and to him more than to anybody else, we owe the expansion of ethnographic research in Portugal.

It was fated that a spontaneously revealed inclination such as his should finally make its presence felt; and although he was the most distinguished student at Oporto's Medical School, sitting for his last exams in 1886, Medicine was to give way to the higher interests of his mind.

It is not possible to detail within the limits of this article the activity of a man who for over sixty years worked hard at his favourite sciences: Ethnography, Philology, and Archaeology. Although we are specially interested here in Ethnography, it should be said that he handled the above branches of knowledge in an effort towards total comprehension of the present and the past of Portuguese culture. There is no doubt that scientific specialization is more and more necessary, yet this may be a hindrance to the understanding of phenomena, because it may lead one to lose a panoramic view of the whole. In his time, the sciences he studied did not have their present specialized character, and this may be why he knew how to assign to them the goals he did. In fact, Leite de Vasconcelos raised the concept of Ethnography to a truly superior level, which does both him and our national science great credit. Even to this day modern French students are still struggling in defence of a concept of Ethnography which this man had already adopted in Portugal.

For Leite de Vasconcelos, Ethnography is a science encompassing all the cultural aspects of any race, although he considers that the actions of a cultivated part of stratified societies belong to the history of civilization rather than Ethnography. He does add, however, that it is not always possible to distinguish between the two.

In fact, Ethnography cannot be limited only to what is rural or child-like. The whole nation fits into the sphere of ethnographic research, though in different degrees. What renders an ethnographic phenomenon characteristic is a psychological element and not one of class. This element, which one may call *ethnical*¹ is found in varying degrees among all individuals of all classes and societies.

* A collection of important chapters from sources that have only appeared in Portuguese.

1. Jorge Dias, *Cultura Popular e Cultura Superior*, Santiago de Compostela 1949, pp. 8—11. I then called „popular“ what to-day I call „ethnical“, because this seems less likely to cause confusion.

However, as men who are attached to the land and more in contact with Nature show a larger measure of the *ethnical* element, it is often and erroneously thought that Ethnography studies only cultural manifestations of country people, as a social class.

José Leite de Vasconcelos, then, was ahead of his time, for he gave bases to Portuguese Ethnography which other countries are still far from attaining.

It is curious that he should have arrived at these theoretical results, so worthy of our admiration, without being himself a theorist. It may be said that it was through research proper and direct work that he arrived at results which minds better equipped for speculation than his did not attain. True, we should not forget the influence exerted on him by Adolfo Coelho, with his various working programmes so widely elaborated. However, decades spent in questioning people, in tramping around the country, in climbing mountains, without loss of spirit and with stout heart, must lead to no less true conclusions than the mere interplay of abstractions of the man sitting at his desk. In sciences such as Ethnography, results are unattainable without direct social intercourse with the people within their natural environment. This was Leite de Vasconcelos' greatest triumph and it was this which contributed most towards the progress of research in our Country. Another quality of the great master was to know how to awaken in others a taste for science. He had friends and informants everywhere and many of these became his active collaborators in the great work of his life: Portuguese Ethnography.

We have already said that he also cultivated both Archaeology and Philology, but Ethnography remained the science of his predilection. Until recently Ethnography was closely connected with Philology, and even to-day there is no dearth of followers of this tradition which, in certain cases, gave birth to excellent results like the well known method of *Wörter und Sachen* (words and things). However, the growing complexity of these sciences forced a demarcation of fields. Although they complement each other and they may profit from the conclusions of others, each science demands to-day an exclusive specialization, difficult to accommodate. Philology continues to be dedicated to dialectical phenomena and to words and things, a linguistic-ethnographic aspect that can only be studied by a Philologist. In his time, cohesiveness was still possible, mainly because the philological method was the rule. Conscious that popular traditions were rapidly lost, he strained all his energies to collect all he could while encouraging others to do the same. Though Ethnography was not part of any university curriculum, the unbounded love he had for it worked wonders; and Leite de Vasconcelos started what is called a „school“ and created his own disciples. It is lamentable that lack of an official organisation should cause the immense creative power of this learned man to be dissipated.

II.

RIO DE ONOR
Social Structure

COMMUNAL ORGANISATION

THE INHABITANTS OF RIO DE ONOR AT PRESENT constitute two very similar communities, each of which is uncommonly homogeneous. Because of the historical stability of the country to which it belongs, the Portuguese Community keeps its form of traditional life more intact. The Spanish Community having suffered the repercussions of the political convulsions which violently and tragically shook the whole country, shows clear symptoms of quick changes. However, both of them show signs of debasement of a primitive common form which, quite possibly, stood the test of centuries with few alterations.

Dealing with the subject with some sequence, we shall describe only the organisation of the Portuguese section and will refer to the Spanish one (which incidentally was practically the same as the other, at least until 1914) only to show the differences between them, while trying at the same time to explain the reasons for these.

THE FAMILY

RIONORESE SOCIETY IS MADE UP OF FAMILIES, called *neighbours*. In fact, the symbolic unit of a family is the *home*, that is, the combination of moveable and immovable possessions which constitutes the subsistence basis of the family. The home must be kept undivided through succeeding generations and to it the family has to subordinate all its aspirations. The home has its own brand mark for cattle and its own name which is at the same time the family's name. But not the inverse; if an "outside" man marries a Rionorese heiress it is he who assumes the name of the home while discarding his own. This is what happened to Uncle Lombeiro, even though he was an Excise Inspector whose economic status was above the average of those of the region. Again each home or each neighbour has a representative on the Council, chosen by the latter for his qualities, without regard to rank in the family. In accordance with this principle of subordination to the home, the family cannot exceed certain limits. The core of the family is a couple and its children, paternal uncles being eligible to join it, rights of succession being patrilineal. Should the couple reach a comparatively advanced age or should one of them die and the continuity of the home has to be provided for, the parents will consent to the marriage of one of the children. Such marriages were, generally, late marriages so as to keep down the number of offspring, whose appetite would be superior to the yield of the land. The other children would not marry and would stay on at the home to which they belonged. So, there could be homes whose families were made up of the original couple, the father's brothers, and the children of the couple, one of whom might be married and have children. At times, therefore, three generations were linked. We are thus presented with a so-called "extended family" made up of two families,

each one a nucleus, together with uncles and unmarried children¹. However, as a consequence of late marriages and the fact that only one son married, families are not large, and generation gaps are so wide that only rarely do three generations live under the same roof, especially nowadays when traditions are less binding, so that new families may form independent homes. This tendency to keep the home undivided is a deliberate one² with, at times, an interesting sequel. For instance, there was a home where, due to the deaths of various members of the family, only two brothers survived. They lived alone for a number of years. At long last, they arranged for one of them to be married, so that there might be a woman in the house, and to provide for continuity of the family. And so it was that one of them took unto himself a bride; she helped to keep a good house for the brothers, without any friction or unpleasantness³.

In this way, Lower Rio de Onor managed for a long time to keep an almost constant number of homes (30—35). In principle, each home was a neighbour and each neighbour was represented on the Council. However, from 1914 onwards, direct influences exercised on the boys doing their military service, and other indirect influences, gave rise in the new generations to an attitude of rebellion against tradition, for the tendencies of every age impose themselves imperceptibly and are farreaching.

They marry earlier now, and often several sons of the same family do so, with the result that, apart from the neighbours who are members of the Council, there are to-day 14 more homes which, though helped by the others, are only marginally within the organisation.

Such a revolution in usage was possible because of the increase in wealth due to modern technical procedures, especially through the use of chemical fertilizers, making it possible to sow grain on land hitherto barren⁴. This struck the first blow at the Rionorese social structure and at the family stability which was at its base. Once a traditional organisation is broken, new problems are quick to emerge, some of them not easily solved. In fact, the new families, not participating in the Council, lead an insecure and, at times, precarious life. In spite of the fact that new measures were adopted by the Council to deal with such situations, as we shall see later, the crisis was not resolved.

The blow struck deeper at Rionor de Castilla, for the traditional organisation itself failed to resist it. The Council is practically extinct and social life resembles

1. Regarding the classification of nuclear and extended families, see George Peter Murdock, *Social Structure*, New York 1949, p. 1—22.

2. As much in Rio de Onor as in various other villages to the North of Braganza and Vinhais, a few old people told us that this was a custom dating from old days and only thus could they live in comparative affluence.

3. This solution of three people living together is purely economic; one should not see it as a case of tolerated polyandry. Sexually, it looks like a monogamic marriage, similar to any other.

4. Cultivation was only possible in the last 40 years, by using chemical fertilizers. The poor, shallow soil could only produce when fertilized. But, with chemical fertilizers, the situation changed completely.

more that of other neighbouring villages, where communal property is not strong enough to impose a special organisation.

At Rio de Onor, as in a majority of our Northern villages, marriage is generally endogamous. Seldom does an "outsider" marry a village girl. The exceptions are mainly Excise Inspectors who, having lived a long time in the village, have managed to overcome tradition. Despite the opposition of neighbours, especially the boys who force outside suitors to pay for wine in the guise of a fine, endogamy is not absolute. But between Lower and Upper Rio de Onor, the difference in nationality is not an obstacle to marriages between Portuguese and Spaniards. This seems to prove the identity of origin of the two nuclei; for, otherwise, the endogamous tendency would have been followed here too.

As we have stated, endogamy is not absolute, but whenever it is departed from it is the man who moves, by going to live in the woman's home. In the few cases of exogamous marriages, it was the "outsider" who came to live in the woman's village. We have a few examples of this matrilineal trend in our own times, which may possibly be duplicated in other Bragançine or Samoran villages. We did not have a chance to check this.

The ties formed outside the family are not very strong. Relationships between kinsfolk not living under the same roof, are not very different from those with other neighbours. Moreover, the small number of inhabitants is a cause for numerous consanguineous marriages and there are few neighbours who are not remotely or closely related with all the others.

Apart from kinship, mention should be made of *compadrio*^a). Although there is no special obligation between the *compadres*^b), as in other regions, their special manner of treatment is emphasized. Even though they might have been on first-name terms, they are only addressed as *compadres* after such relationship has been established. Only godparents at christenings are *compadres* of the child's parents and vice-versa. Witnesses to weddings are not *compadres*^c).

THE COUNCIL

THE RIONORESE COUNCIL (*al conselho*) is an organisation of all who share in the integral collective property. It may be said that until the beginning of the 20th Century the Council was the social organisation which enabled all communal inhabitants of Rio de Onor to cope with their manifold problems as cattle breeders⁵ and farmers. Left to themselves from time immemorial, they sought to make the most of the land which they collectively controlled, for the growing of essential foodstuffs and cattle grazing.

^a Translator's Note: Relationship between the parents of a child and its godparents.

^b T. N.: Name given to each parent or godparent in the above relationship.

^c T. N.: Witnesses at marriages are also called *compadres* in Portugal.

5. The term "cattle-breeder" is employed here in a genuine sense, that of a breeder of cattle. In this region, the word "cattle-breeder" may be taken to mean a breeder of sheep (*ganado* or *ganau*).

Collective property, owned equally by all, called for a rigid organisation which laid down rules and regulations clearly defining the rights and obligations of each owner. Along with juridical norms, a system of more or less severe penalties was established, to enforce observance of the law by all.

This small state, as it were, between Portugal and Spain, acquired the form of what may be called a representative democracy.

The Council's influence is of the utmost importance in the whole life of the community. Not only does it regulate the daily and traditional activities, it also resolves many unexpected cases, some of them without form of precedence.

As we have stated, there is private property as well as three types of collective property at Rio de Onor. The Council does not only intervene in the work of collective property; much of the agricultural labour on private property is equally subject to the rulings of the Council.

Collective property is divided into grazing lands (*o monte*), land for sowing (*as roçadas*) and grass meadows, marshlands known as *contos*. Although these *contos* are registered in the Land Office they are the Council's common land. These marshlands, extending for kilometres along the river, are the reason why the curious social organisation of Rio de Onor continues viable to this day⁶. At Rionor de Arriba the *contos* are less important, but they also were the centre of the old organisation, contributing even to-day to a certain social cohesion.

As the *contos* are the greatest wealth of the land collectively enjoyed, their organisation had to be based on common enjoyment. By calculating the average number of neighbours⁷, and the production of hay at the *contos*, the Rionorese decided that each neighbour could send to pasture not more than three heads (two cows and a calf). This maximum limit became also a sort of condition for participation. Only neighbours who had cattle in the *couto* could be members of the Council. That is how a quite well balanced and stable organisation was established. Each neighbour had to have enough cattle for farming and manure, but he could not go beyond the established limit, unless he had previously obtained outside the *couto* private marshlands where he could pasture the surplus cattle⁸. Thus, we have a system tending to the maintenance of a greater social balance and justice, in relation to the techniques known and used in the region. Yet, this system was possible only provided that the rules for demographic limitation, already referred to, were observed⁹.

Only when outside influence began to be more greatly felt (1914—18), did the traditional setting break up and the number of hearths, varying between

6. Actually, grass meadows are the element of cohesion between the neighbours, members of the Council. The day when the owners demand a partitioning will see the end of the organisation.

7. According to informants, the number of neighbours was more or less constant, varying between 30 and 35.

8. A few neighbours have small marshlands in valleys dug out of hillsides, where there is running water.

9. The tradition which prevented more than one son in each family and, generally, no longer a young one, from getting married, dictated the demographic level.

30—35, increased; to-day the number has gone up by 14. By disregarding tradition, these neighbours struck a telling blow at the equality system prevailing until then. The system is still the same, apparently as strong as ever, but sooner or later the problems created by the neighbours excluded from the Council, who are in an unfavourable economic condition, will end by producing dissension and the fragmentation of collective property, as is the case in a few villages of Samora, in the neighbourhood of Rio de Onor¹⁰.

In the old days all the neighbours of the land had a representative on the Council, which still functions as a kind of advisory assembly and legislative chamber. The Members of the Council elected two chiefs, the Stewards, from among their colleagues every year.

THE STEWARDS

THE STEWARDS FORM AN ANNUAL DUUMVIRATE. Their election, by ballot, was replaced a few years ago by a system of rotation. Every neighbour in turn had to perform the functions of Steward when his turn came. This change was due to protests from a few who had been elected several times, while others were never returned. As the job meant hard work, the Council gave effect to the protests by adopting a fairer system.

As stated, Stewards were until a few years ago appointed by election on New Year's Day, by the members of the Council. On the first day of the year, retiring Stewards would ring repeated peals on the Church bells (*campás*) as a summons to the representative of every home to meet at a place which for generations had served this purpose. Neighbours would begin to assemble in the small square on the right bank of the river, near the common wine-press. After waiting for a length of time prescribed by custom, the Stewards would call the roll of neighbours who would answer: "Here". Those who were absent, without cause, paid a fine. The roll-call over, one of the Stewards would remind the people that they were going to elect the new Steward who, for one year, would manage the community's business, and would urge them to consider the importance of the occasion; that each should choose those who, by experience and good counsel, were deemed by them to be the best able to lead the people. Following this, the election would begin in the following manner: each of the Stewards, with a tally in hand, would call out the representatives of each home, divided into two groups, according to whether they were from the left bank or the right bank of the river. One by one they would approach the Steward who would then ask: "Whom do you vote for on this side of the border and on the other?" This question they would answer in secrecy, by whispering into the Steward's ear, the name of a neighbour from the right bank and another from the left bank, for the Stewards¹¹ had to represent both banks.

10. We spoke to Spanish peasants from Samoran villages, who abandoned the communitary region a few years ago because of opposition by the less favoured ones.

11. In the Middle Ages, Stewards were the descendants of the *villicos*, of the Roman and Visigothic periods, who later took over the collection of pecuniary fines for offences and

The Stewards would go on engraving on the tally in the presence of the elector the votes for the respective homes, using pocket knives. These tallies are divided into as many sections as there are homes of the members of the Council, each following the other in the tally, according to the order occupied by each home in the village.

When the balloting was over, the Stewards would retire among the members of the Council, where they would proceed to count the points, and then announce the results in public and call in the two successors.

From this point onward, custom has not altered and proceedings continue as in the days when they used to be elected. The retiring Steward must account for expenditure and revenue to the new duumvirate and the whole Council. Entries as to all current public expenditure are notched on the tallies. Only exceptional items are recorded on paper. On the other hand, at Rionor de Arriba, almost everything is recorded on paper, very few tallies being kept¹².

TALLIES

TALLIES ARE WOODEN STICKS, generally of poplar, varying in size, between one and one and a half metres long, according to the use to which they are put, on which sections of equal length are cut by a knife, each section corresponding to the home of each neighbour, according to the order occupied in the village. Each tally is related to a certain subject: cattle, hay, elections, fines, etc. Stewards notch up certain conventional signs on these sections, each sign corresponding either to expenses, fines or *sortes*^a; each item paid for and settled is then scraped off with a knife. A deep and short vertical slit corresponds to a unit. Five is like an X less one of the lower legs, a kind of Y. Ten is an X. A *canada*^b of wine is a long and shallow vertical slit.

At Rionor de Arriba, there used to be a rent paid annually to Don José Escudero de Cervos. It was remitted only a few years ago. This rent was paid jointly by the village, each neighbour being assigned a share of it. These shares were engraved on a monumental tally. This was a tree trunk, more than three metres long and thick as a yoke, divided in the middle by a deep incision. On one side, there were the homes of the neighbouring Spanish Council, on the other those of the Portuguese neighbours who owned land in Spain and who were therefore rent payers to Escudero. This trunk which should have found a place in a museum

crimes (*calumpnia*, *caomias*, voices). See Alberto Sampayo, *Estudos Históricos e Económicos*, Lisbon 1923, p. 187.

12. Rionorese tallies have already been mentioned by various authors. Luis Chaves describes them in a book on traditional measures, in *Notação popular de medidas*, in: *Portugal*, Vol I, 1928, p. 107—110 and 137—147. Much has been written about markings of this kind in other countries. L. Rüttimeyer, *Über einige archaische Gerätschaften und Gebräuche im Kanton Wallis und ihre prähistorischen und ethnographischen Parallelen*, in: *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, (Festschrift für Eduard Hoffmann-Krayer, Basel, 1916).

^a T. N.: Lands for which lots are drawn.

^b T. N.: An old measure, capable of holding approximately two litres.

was burnt two years ago before I learnt about it¹³. It seems that they paid 42 *minas*^c of rye and 40 *reales*^c in cash.

In Rionor de Arriba, a pint was a slit, a half pint a large dot, a fat *perra*^c a hole, a small *perra*^c a smaller hole. To avoid mistakes, dots for half pints were notched on one side, while holes for *perras*^c were notched on the other side.

IN EXHIBITING THE TALLIES RELATING TO THEIR YEAR OF ADMINISTRATION, the Stewards render an account of the matters recorded thereon. Should there be an item not settled, the old tallies may be passed on to the new Stewards. Otherwise, old tallies were replaced by new ones, and on these the Stewards record the subjects as they arise. On this day, they generally try to resolve all outstanding matters so as to begin the year free from old complications. Overdue fines are paid, debts are settled and only in special instances are cases left pending to be decided by the new Stewards.

Fines are generally paid in wine, which is drunk in common by the members of the Council on meeting days and communal working days.

At every meeting of the Council, the Stewards, at the start and at the close of the meeting, ask whether the men wish to drink. If the answer is yes — and it always is — the tally for debts of wine is studied to find out who has debts in wine to pay; a pitcher, specially kept for the purpose, is handed to the debtor and he is told: "So and So, go fetch so many litres of wine which you owe as a fine".

One of the Stewards goes along to the wine cellar with the designated neighbour, to ensure that he does not, in fact, choose an inferior product. The wine must be the best he has. When the two of them return to the meeting, one of the Stewards says to one of the neighbours, generally the youngest of them: "So and So, pass the wine". The neighbour then takes up a glass (*bassu*) and the *canada* and, having first served the Stewards, he goes round serving each neighbour in turn. When the round is over, the young man calls out aloud: "Those who have not drunk a *bassu*, should show a hand". If somebody says that he has not drunk and this is confirmed by the neighbours, he receives the wine due to him. Following which, the young man goes on his second round, repeating at the end: "Those who have not drunk the second *bassu*, should show a hand".

The wine emboldens the quiet ones and tongues are loosened. Talk becomes warm and threatens to go on forever, but the Stewards are conscious of their obligations and so call the neighbours to order, saying: "Listen". Silence is established and the Steward begins to state the order of business, always following a formula: "Wine has been drunk and may it benefit all of us. It is So and So's who paid this or that fine".

Council meetings are frequent. Sometimes they are small meetings, in late afternoon, to lay down the next day's work. At other times, they are extraordi-

13. O *Abade de Baçal* reproduces a long tally from Calabor (See Fr. Francisco Manuel Alves, *Vestígios do regime agrário communal*, in: *Ilustração Transmontana*, 3rd year, Oporto 1919, Fig. 3, p. 140).

^c T. N.: Names given to local measures.

nary meetings to deal with fortuitous or complicated cases, demanding long discussion.

Members of the Council are chosen at the beginning of the year by the Council of the preceding year, attention being paid only to each man's personal qualities. The choice is of the man who is the best able to represent his home at the Council, regardless of whether he is or is not the head of the family.

Women may not be members of the Council, even though widowed or with absent husbands. Should the home have no male representative, the woman has to come before the Council at the beginning of the year to state the reasons for this. The Council may then allow the home to be admitted on payment of a certain consideration, the home thus benefitting from the privileges accorded to members of the Council, but having no representative at its meetings.

It is also on the first day of the year that *geiras*^a are fixed. These are payable to the Council by men who are absent from work. Payment is waived only if the absence can be justified.

Each member of the Council is entitled to graze two cows or two oxen and one calf in the grass meadows, although for the grazing of the calf they must pay a pitcher of wine to the Council. Three head of cattle is the maximum per home, unless a poorer neighbour cannot use up his quota and enters into an arrangement with a more affluent neighbour. The two neighbours agree between them as to what is to be paid for the right to graze one animal. Such payment is always made in rye, and the Council does not intervene in the transaction when all goes well. But apart from the payment to the neighbour to whom a quota is ceded, a neighbour is also obliged to pay the Council two pitchers of wine should the animal sleep in his own yard, or one only if it sleeps in the neighbour's yard. These wine contracts are recorded on the appropriate tallies. And as they are paid off to the Council during the year, they are erased accordingly. One pitcher of wine is an X, half a pitcher a Y, a quart a /, and a *canada* a long dash.

All the activities of the Council and the Stewards, though subject to tradition, can be adapted to new circumstances, though always within the principles laid down by custom. Thus, rigid as the system seems to be, it shows great flexibility and capacity for improvisation when faced with new situations. This is due to the curious circumstance that whereas Rionorese have great respect for institutions, they nevertheless retain complete freedom of discussion and of judgment as to the deeds of men. In no way do they confuse the functions which a man performs with the man himself, and this is why one of the oldest organisations of our Country is capable of presenting extraordinarily progressive aspects.

One of the more outstanding characteristics of this people is the independent attitude in the face of officialdom and their deep feeling of equality amongst men. Several examples of this will be given in the chapter devoted to psychology,

^a T. N.: *Geira* or *Jeira*, land ploughed by men in one day; day's work of one labourer; a day's wages.

but the following paragraph, indicative of the behaviour of the Council when before the Stewards, also illustrates it.

The Stewards who are elected annually, formerly by ballot and now by rotation, are expected to carry out their year's mandate with the utmost dedication and proficiency, not only because this is important to the community but also because their prestige is at stake. However, the Council is ruthless in its opposition to and criticism of their chiefs. If in the course of the year any Steward's actions are considered to be so inefficient as to jeopardise the general interest, the Council calls an extraordinary meeting at which the incompetent Steward's expulsion will be decided by vote. Apart from expulsion, in itself shame enough, the Council obliges him to pay for a pitcher of wine.

A neighbour, more critical and active, who will not tolerate a negligent Steward's continuing in office for a whole year to the prejudice of the Community's interests, is generally responsible as complainant for such proceedings. Upon the expulsion of the incompetent Stewards, the neighbours generally elect the complainant to test his capacity as a leader. They want to know whether he can lead as well as he criticises. Experience has shown that it is not the same thing.

Although the Stewards are the supreme authority, the organisation does not confer on them absolute power. When the Council disagrees with an order from the Stewards, the case is submitted to a vote, and the majority will decide.

Even in personal matters, the Council may punish the Stewards. Here is an example:

Soon after he was installed, a Steward was at home when the Council sang carols at his doorstep. Being in an ugly mood, he slammed the door in their faces instead of according them a gesture in keeping with the season. Angry at such rudeness, the neighbours decided to punish him. They went to the village shop where they drank and ate as much as they could, afterwards obliging the churlish Steward to foot the bill, whether he wanted to or not.

But these are isolated instances, serving to show the democratic principles of the Rionorese political system. As a general rule, everything runs smoothly and the Stewards try to carry out their duties without provoking any friction or giving cause for censure from members of the Council. With this in mind, they avoid imposing on others their opinions and submit for discussion all complicated matters or those admitting of more than one solution.

The Steward's intervention in the life of the Community is almost unlimited, but it is subject to a vote of the members of the Council. The will of the Stewards becomes sovereign only through a majority of votes. Whenever a Steward proposes that a certain measure be taken or that a certain fine be levied against a neighbour and the Council disagrees, the Stewards immediately decide to call for a vote. One of them says: "Let's cast stones". Each one receives a bit of slate on which he draws a dash or which he leaves blank, according to whether he agrees or disagrees with the proposal. The Stewards collect the slates, count the votes, and the proposal is either accepted or rejected. Once accepted, nobody discusses it any more and everyone obeys the Stewards who supervise its implementation.

Council meetings are frequent and they are always announced by repeated pealings of the church bells. The bells are rung in the evening, and again early next morning. If there is only one peal at night and in the morning, it is a sign that the Council meets only in the morning. If there are two peals, the meeting is to last the whole day. All neighbours are at the beck and call of the Council during this whole period. Jobs of collective interest that have then to be done are innumerable; paths, repairs to the homes of the people, work on grass meadows, etc. Many of these jobs are annual or else recur so often that in certain seasons everyone knows that they have to be done. But unexpected matters, brought up by a Steward with a more original mind, or new problems, created by extraordinary circumstances, also fall to be dealt with.

In the last few years we have seen many instances of original achievement which we may mention. The most interesting of all, revealing great cooperation and inventive spirit, was the construction of a new windmill, which we have mentioned when dealing with windmills. Still in this century, they built a stone bridge, a school and a road to Varge¹⁴. To raise the necessary funds for some of these undertakings, they were forced to sell a few lots of uncultivated lands to neighbours of the village.

When in 1944 potato beetles made their appearance at Rio de Onor, as they did in many parts of the Country, the Rionorese did not remain idle. One of them went to Braganza to collect information from its Farming Cooperative and told the Council what was to be done. The Council accordingly acquired a sprayer, bought the arsenical product then in use and, as it was highly poisonous, sprayed it with the necessary care. Later, when Gesarol became known, they used it. Thus, they managed to fight the beetles scientifically, whereas in many regions of the Country beetles are still being fought by primitive and inefficient processes, like catching and killing them one by one.

Before the last War, it was customary for mechanical threshers to make their appearance in rye producing regions in Trás-os-montes and Beira. For a percentage of threshed rye, these machines did the threshing rapidly. Owing to the lack of petrol during the War, the peasants went back to the flail and threshing was done as in the old days. However, in the last few years, mechanical threshers have come back, netting a nice profit for their owners. One Steward noticed immediately that the purchase of one of these machines would effect a saving for everybody, because the percentage paid as hire to the owners was higher than the interest on capital invested. The matter was raised in the Council and a decision was taken by a majority vote. A thresher was promptly bought and it has performed the threshing in the last few years. However, as a petrol run engine could be a danger to the village, it was decided to build a proper shed to house it, away from the village, so as to minimise the risk of fire. In this structure, known as the "machine shed", apart from the tresher itself, winnowing machines

14. A few of these jobs were done with official collaboration, but most of the effort came from the Rionorese.

are also put away, these machines having been purchased previously, and being also collective property.

MEN OF RODRA

MANY OF THE JOBS OF WORK ARE DONE BY ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL or by members of a family sent to do the work in their stead. However, there are several jobs which do not occupy everybody and, therefore, are in a class by themselves. These jobs are not actually connected with any agricultural or pastoral work, but are of interest to the Community. The men performing these casual jobs are called Men of *Rodra* and they are, each in turn, picked out by the Stewards.

Jobs done by these men are varied. In the chapter dealing with economy, we shall speak again of the functions assigned to them, notably those of water conservancy connected with the grass meadows. Here we shall limit ourselves to duties of a general nature.

Almost all the jobs to be performed outside the village are done by the men of *rodra*. It is they who go to Braganza to buy fertilizers or cement, to pay taxes, or to do anything else of this sort. If the task is a complicated one, such as submitting a petition to Officials or dealing with Court matters, the Council does not appoint those men of *rodra*, whose turn it is to be picked, but carefully chooses instead those who show special qualities, so that the task might be better performed.

In the old days, when the economy was a more restricted one and industrial products were hardly accessible to peoples of such a simple mode of life, the Council had special outfits for men of *rodra* for the performance of their special missions. Now, obviously, a suit and a pair of boots made for a particular function instead of for a particular individual, would not fit everyone of those chosen for the performance of such functions and, naturally, the results were sometimes droll, but this was of little moment to the case. Its aim was to invest the man charged with the missions with a certain dignity, not only as a sign of respect for the Officials with whom he had to deal, but also to give a certain air of dignity to the functions to be performed. If we consider the matter more broadly, this was not too far removed from the case of a diplomat when he hands in his credentials to a head of state. If the ambassador's uniform were not made to measure, it would render the wearer grotesque. The boots were the more serious matter; these would be carried by hand until arrival at Braganza, not only for reasons of personal comfort but also for economy. But, afterwards, when they had to walk back and forth along its streets, what torture must have been endured by those whom the boots did not fit.

These strange habits plus the dialect spoken by the people in the old days, now on the way to extinction, account for some of the absurd views and ridiculous anecdotes about the Rionorese which go the rounds in certain places, specially at Braganza. One of these was connected with the practice of the man of *rodra* going to town to pay the village's taxes. The story goes that one of them was

robbed by the slickness of a city dweller. Although the tale is untrue, because the Rionorese are no fools and not gullible, it is still a curious one for it reflects the opinion of the inhabitants of other regions. The story is about a man of *rodra*, who had never before been to town, but who went to Braganza to pay taxes. The poor, worried man went into a shop which was full of people, and asked if it was there that the taxes were to be paid. On hearing this, a cunning fellow, answered yes, it was right there and that he himself was there to collect them, whereupon our trusting Rionorese handed the money over, glad that he was so quickly delivered of his task, and went back home. On arrival, the Council promptly discovered that he had been cheated and another man had to go to pay a new sum into the Government coffers. The scene is outlined in the following stanza:

Those from Rio de Onor
Are few but pay well.
They pay taxes twice
From not knowing to whom they should be paid.

The duties of the neighbours, both in respect of services to the Council and those to the *rodra* are subject to established and rigorous rules. It is up to the Stewards to guide, supervise, and see that the duties are discharged, under pain of fines large or small. In very few serious cases, the Stewards may go so far as to expel the neighbour. However, there is no record of a neighbour ever having given cause for such extreme measure. The Rionorese is a peaceful man, completely integrated with tradition. It would be difficult to cite a case of rebellion or the commission of a crime by this people. Their arguments in the Council and their aggressive attitude against the Stewards when the latter overstep the limits, cannot be considered a rebellion, for this is but an aspect of the democratic nature of the institutions. So soon as the Council comes to a decision on a certain matter, opposition ceases automatically and everyone collaborates. If the decision was wrong, those who previously voted against it make use of this as an argument in any identical event in the future, and no more.

One day, however, a member of the Council who was not a native of the land, but who had the rights of a native through marriage to a Rio de Onor heiress, refused to pay a fine. He was therefore deprived of all the privileges enjoyed through membership of a communal organisation, which is tantamount to their expulsion of a neighbour, life being impossible for a man who finds himself isolated in a communal village. But the man was tough and stubborn and not only did he not pay any attention to the Council's decision — he also attended the next meeting of the Council. In the light of such cynicism, the neighbours decided to mete out severe punishment. They caught him, dragged him outside the village, dug a deep hole and buried him in it up to the neck. A Steward then addressed him: "Now, decide for yourself". Terrified, the man swore submission and from then on never failed in his communal duties.

Unity and harmony amongst members of the Council is normally perfect but once it was seriously threatened. Just after the proclamation of the Republic,

when fighting between political parties was at its height, the majority of the Council allowed themselves to be convinced by a priest, who having married a school teacher, had been unfrocked by the Church, to receive him as the parish priest of the village. In their simplicity, they thought that they had made a great acquisition — in one stroke they had got a priest and a school teacher. However, a more enlightened minority not only did not agree with the decision, but publicly condemned the council's action¹⁵. After long argument, the majority decided to punish the rebellious minority by forbidding it to dance at festivities, to drink at the Council from the same cup — a grave affront — and to take their cattle to the grass meadows.

Fortunately this situation was of short duration and, a little later, the old habits of comradeship triumphed, harmony was restored and all became friends once more.

JUSTICE

IN THE MAJORITY OF CASES, Rio de Onor does not need to have recourse to the Courts of Justice of Braganza. The Council and its two Stewards, generally, decide all disputes, quarrels over cattle, and damages caused to individual property and theft.

Fines payable by members of the Council for their absences from meetings and the like are laid down annually when the Stewards are installed in office. But not all fines are fixed beforehand. In many special cases when somebody commits an unusual offence, the Stewards consult with the Council. They call a special meeting and one of the Stewards expounds the case: "Let's cast stones! So and So did this and that; is he to pay a fine? If you draw a dash, the man pays; if you don't, the man does not pay". Following this, he hands out to each member of the Council a bit of slate, so that each one can draw on it as he pleases. When each has received his bit of slate, he next announces the fines applicable to the particular case. Although the signs are traditional ones, he frequently adds: "Crosses are pitchers (X), half crosses (Y) half pitchers, dashes are *canadas*, and dots are quarts". He then removes his hat, holding it with the crown pointed downwards so that each may drop into it the piece of slate with his marking and without anybody seeing it. The defendant himself, if a member of the Council, is entitled to vote. At times the offence is considered without mention of the offender's name, so that even the defendant votes without knowing it.

When all the slates have been dropped into the hat, the Steward sorts them out according to their marking, making several mounds, which he then lays on the ground before everybody. If a majority of slates is not marked, the offender will not be condemned; otherwise, he will be condemned in accordance with the majority of the markings. In current cases, fines range from a quart to a pitcher of wine. Only in special cases is it voted that fines should be paid in cash.

15. A few of these were relations of a priest, and therefore had someone to give them suitable counsel.

Stewards are entitled to reduce the fines by half, particularly in the case of grave offences, when fines may be very high.

Though not frequent, such cases do occur from time to time. I shall relate a few cases, to show the breadth of Rionorese justice.

Before the construction of its own building, the school occupied a house belonging to a neighbour. As this man wanted it for some purpose, he decided to pull a few strings in Braganze, without consulting the Council, and the school had perforce to vacate the house. When the neighbours learnt of this, the Council convened and stones were cast, but this time it was decided that the fine was to be paid in cash and not in wine. The result was that the selfish neighbour had to pay 1 000 \$ 00. With the money a calf was bought and a feast was held. The convicted man was also invited to it. As soon as the fine is paid and the defendant punished, everything is forgotten and life begins anew, without any resentment.

Thefts are rare; shop doors are left with the keys in the latch generally and woven linen is left overnight by the river to bleach, nobody touching it. However, in the course of years a few thefts have been recorded, as we shall see.

A complaint about damage or some offence committed by a neighbour must be made according to a procedure long hallowed by custom. The complainant waits until the Council is in session and goes to it holding a sort of hoe (*guintcha*) called *sadantcha*. Once there, he directs his steps towards the Stewards and, striking the ground with the *sadantcha*, he says: "Here is a *penhora*^a against So and So, he having caused me damage".

The Stewards call in the accused and ask him if he admits the *penhora*. If he refuses, the complainant withdraws the *penhora*, by removing the *sadantcha*, and receives from the accused an indemnity or amends for the damage, the accused in this instance not being compelled to pay a fine to the Council.

If the accused accepts the *penhora*, the Stewards appoint two experienced men to investigate the case. Normally, these experts are chosen from among the elders of the Council. Complainant and accused leave in company with the experts to ascertain who is in the right. In the meantime, the *sadantcha* remains in the midst of the Council, until the men return. Before they depart, a decision is taken about the fine to be paid by the one who loses the case.

As soon as they return, the experts report their findings to the Stewards and a decision is taken about whether the complainant is right or not. Should the accusation be well founded, the defendant has to repair the damage and pay the Council a fine. Should the complainant be in the wrong, it is he who has to pay a fine to the Council.

^a T. N.: The literal translation of this word is "attachment", "seizure", "pledge", etc. But the word, in this case, has a far stronger local meaning than otherwise, and it should be taken to mean a "complaint", a "charge", an "allegation".

The symbolism covering the act of accusation is a curious one, according to which the complainant leaves a hoe as a pledge of his good faith. Here is an impressive picture of a medieval symbolism long obsolete in other regions but alive in this one, which is, even to this day, removed from the levelling influences of our times.

Sometimes it happens that the complainant does not accuse anybody in particular because he does not know who caused the damage. Then the Council has to act as a police investigator. I know of two cases which I shall recount.

Once a bundle of straw, which a neighbour knew he had left at a certain spot, disappeared. He went to make a *penhora* at the Council and the latter appointed two men to investigate. After a short time the author of the theft was discovered and was fined 150 \$.

Another curious case was that of a theft of cabbages, stolen from a neighbour's vegetable garden. The latter made a *penhora* and the experts immediately went to investigate. Inquiries, footprints on the soft earth of the vegetable garden, etc. led to suspicion falling on a woman of the village. The investigators resolutely entered the woman's place, collected all the cabbages they could find and carefully compared them with the cut stems in the garden. They concluded that they were indeed the stolen cabbages and the woman had to pay a fine of 100 \$.

The discrepancies in the fines referred to above bear no relation to the offences concerned. These were widely spread over the years, so that the fines are related to the current value of money. Today (1950) a fine for theft is fixed at 500 \$.

The Council is also in the habit of punishing smugglers, independently of Revenue Officers, who have a post in the village. It does so not only to repress what the law of the Country considers to be a crime but, above all, in order to win the trust of the Officers, who thus know that the inhabitants are on their side. Such trust is of fundamental importance to these people; owning, as they do, property on both sides of the frontier, they have frequently to cross the border to attend to their affairs.

Not all offences are reported by complainants. The Council has a sort of policeman who goes round the properties in the village daily¹⁶ to check the damage caused by cattle or people. This man carries a stick, *al caiato*, as a symbol of authority. The *caiato*, a kind of stick with a branch at its extremity, goes the round from neighbour to neighbour every day. This stick has no practical use or value; it is a mere badge, a symbol of the function performed by the neighbour holding it. In the old days, the Stewards also bore a wooden stick as a symbol of supreme authority, but the custom lapsed long ago. At Rionor de Arriba, the same custom existed and was kept up almost up to the Spanish Civil War. The stick used then, in our possession, is made of an apparently foreign black wood. Engraved on it are many figures that look like dates. These dates may have been cut as and when judges were installed in office, and all of them are of the 18th Century.

16. This custom has been abandoned for a number of years now.

The use of a baton or a stick, as a symbol of authority, was enormously widespread in the Middle Ages. To-day, in the popular and higher cultures of European peoples, the tradition of the stick as one of the insignia of power or justice is still maintained. From a sceptre topped by a flower, a sphere or other ornament, which was borne by Roman Consuls or Emperors, and nowadays by sovereigns and marshals, to the stick borne by the humble judge of Vilarinho da Furna or *al calato* of Rio do Onor, the baton continues to be a symbol of authority or justice. In certain instances its use has disappeared, but the word is still preserved as for example, in Germany, where the General Staff, *Generalstab*, which literally translated means *baton general* (or *staff general*), is that branch of the Army that bears the stick of supreme power¹⁷. In our own Courts of Justice there still are Judges of the First Stick, etc. though nobody ever recalls having seen them bearing a stick. But in Rio de Onor the symbol is a live one.

MUTUAL INSURANCE

THE COUNCIL IS ALSO CONCERNED WITH HELPING ITS MEMBERS who may be in trouble. Whenever a grave accident takes place, the community may be obliged to support its loss.

If, for instance, a cow breaks a leg and has to be destroyed, the neighbours are obliged to buy a certain quantity of meat, proportionate to the number of people in their homes and to the properties they own. Thus the afflicted neighbour will not suffer too great a loss¹⁸.

In the autumn of 1946 when harvesting was over, a fire broke out at the home of a neighbour whose lot, overnight, became one of stark misery. He had lost his home, and had nothing with which to feed his family. The Council met and the Steward decided what each neighbour, in proportion to his possessions, should give to the unfortunate man. The damage, estimated at 10 000 \$, was compensated for in grain, potatoes, beans, hay, clothing, wood, cash and help in reconstruction. One can say that he received almost as much as he had lost and his life went on as if nothing had happened.

Translated by Carlos Humberto da Silva from: Jorge Dias, Rio de Onor — *Communitarismo Agro-Pastoril*, Oporto 1953, pp. 133—162.

17. Karl von Amira, *Der Stab in der germanischen Rechtssymbolik*, München 1909.

18. This same custom exists in several villages at Gerês and Serra Aamarela. See Jorge Dias, *Vilarinho da Furna*, Oporto 1948, and Tude de Souza, *Gerês*, Coimbra 1927.

III.

THE LAW OF AFFINITY

BEYOND NATURAL CONDITIONS WHICH ESTABLISH LIMITS and assert themselves, there is Man with his tendency to cling tenaciously to a tradition of which he is the bearer and in which, apart from usages and customs, working techniques and tools are included. When Man comes to a new region his sole aim is to impose on Nature his habits and traditions. He can only win the struggle against Nature if he is blessed with qualities of imagination and adaptability and, above all, when these welcome qualities coincide with his tendencies.

We believe that there is a law which we call the Law of Affinity. This is worthy of study because of its importance in understanding the migration of peoples and their later successes. This Law determines the behaviour of a people when it migrates from one region to another, depending on the conditions of affinity of environment.

If, in the land to which he comes, he finds conditions similar to those of his land of origin, where he may develop a type of economy peculiar to him and if the natural environment is like that to which he was used, Man succeeds more easily. If it is very adverse, victory is difficult; the degree of his influence on the new surroundings will be greater or less as these are favourable or unfavourable, varying from complete dominance, accompanied by manifestations of a superior civilization to total assimilation or disappearance.

Although this ground has been but little trodden before and one must step cautiously, we wish to develop this concept a little further, as a result of research into certain cultural aspects of our Country. It seems that this Law of Affinity may contribute to explain the settlement, dominion, progress, and apogee of an invading people's culture in proto-historical times and equally those of people presently so-called primitive.

If the land to which a people comes allows it to develop its own type of traditional economy, the people will settle down, fight, mix, and assimilate. If the new surroundings are yet more favourable than those from which they came its culture will not only impose itself but will enter a phase of great brilliance, as was the case with the Arabs in the South of the Peninsula.

If a people comes to a land hostile to its traditional culture, it fights at a disadvantage, withdraws or moves on in search of better conditions. Should these not be found, then it is assimilated or it disappears, as in the case of the Vandals who came from the damp and cold regions of Central Europe and ended by vanishing in the scorching plains of Northern Africa without leaving any trace, save for a not very edifying historical souvenir.

Would it not be this Law that explains the brilliance of Roman culture in the South of Portugal, whereas in the North it was limited to an administrative activity and the building of bridges and roads? Without forgetting, obviously, the fundamental importance of idiom and such spiritual values as may be attached to it.

Would it not be this that established the limits of the Kingdom of the Swabians, as it previously did to a remarkable type of Celtic culture?

We may add to this several comments such as the fact that the reconquest stemmed from the Asturias and rapidly reached the Douro and the fact that the Moors put up a stouter defence along the Mondego, while the Christians were braver to the North of that line; a line establishing as it were a division between two different worlds, where there clashed the advance guard of two peoples or, rather, of two concepts of life, linked with the two then irreducible cultures.

As stated, we are treading on virgin ground; but this Law of Affinity must be taken into account if we are to study the expansion of a people, a culture, or even of a simple cultural element. When viewed abstractly and independently of a natural set of conditions, cultures can never be understood. In fact, accidental or arbitrary historical or cultural phenomena are far less frequent than they seem to us at first sight. But it is difficult to understand the complex and at times confused causality which is at their origin. While in respect of physical or chemical problems we may in laboratory tests limit their causes and observe their effects because we are the ones who prompt such test, in social, historical, or cultural phenomena we have to content ourselves with what develops naturally. It is necessary in the labyrinth of complicated causes and effects to distinguish those which are inter-related, because Man obeys a complex causality in that an outside determinative is opposed to an inside determinative, in fact not less powerful.

Because we have never seen this Law spelled out, we have found passages in the works of two very perspicacious authors showing that this idea has also crossed their minds. This is not surprising for this idea is intuitive enough to whomsoever has pored over problems related to the History of Culture.

One of these authors, Orlando Ribeiro, in his clear geographical synthesis of Portugal says: "Would not the similarity of environment of both sides of the Strait of Gibraltar explain to some extent why the Moors abandoned Galicia and the remoteness of the Douro at an early stage, to cling tenaciously on to the Southern half?"¹

The other, that great historian of Art, the Marquis of Lozoya, a singularly refined and cultivated man, says with reference to the establishment of the Celts in the Peninsula: "Through circumstances unknown to us (perhaps for its geographical and climatological similarity with Central and Northern Europe) the north-western region admitted a larger quota of Celtic population"². It remains to be seen whether it was such a larger quota of the population or, more precisely, the population itself which imposed its culture more successfully when there was geographical similarity and when it was more easily assimilated because there was none. Be this as it may, we are pleased to see that such an idea crossed the minds of the two abovementioned researchers, encouraging us to persevere in its

1. Orlando Ribeiro, *Portugal, o Mediterrâneo e o Atlântico*, Coimbra 1945, p. 90.

2. Marques de Lozoya, *Historia del Arte Hispánica*, Vol. I, p. 80.

analysis. We are convinced that it will yield useful results when applied with due caution to ethnological studies and other correlated subjects.

Taking into account this Law of Affinity, it is undeniable that for each natural area there is a corresponding zone of settlement for a people of a certain culture, who only in such a region would find conditions favourable to its development. Even considering that certain invading peoples did occupy areas larger than the above areas, this Law explains why the development of certain characteristics was clearer within those areas which, at times, are known to us through some outstanding aspect and why, beyond such areas, those characteristics tend to fade away because they were less able to impose themselves in order to fructify and to resist the action of new influences.

Hence, once we know with more or less precision the areas occupied by different types of ploughing in our territory, it will be necessary to make an analysis of the different populations and cultures, which from our earliest acquaintance with agriculture, settled and developed in our Country, so as to clarify if possible the complicated problems connected with the question of the origin of ploughs. In fact, if certain aspects are simple and a plausible explanation for them is easily found, there are more complicated ones which surely cannot be solved quickly. We shall therefore limit ourselves to formulating theories that may have the merit of stimulating further research which with the passage of time may enable more reliable results to be reached.

It is necessary, then, to begin by carefully analysing the different peoples who contributed with their ethnic background and their own cultures towards the formation of our present human agglomeration, to-day so well defined and unified by eight centuries of History and by such other natural elements of unification as we would do well not to ignore³.

Withal, it is not possible to produce an ethnological study of the past without having to cross the present political frontiers, which came into being later and which correspond to a reality that makes no sense in relation to very remote times.

Archaeologists, Anthropologists and Ethnologists starting from archaeological finds, from texts of old classical writers and from every other element, no matter how rare, which may throw some light upon different eras, have arrived at a few conclusions, concordant in many aspects though many controversial points still persist.

Fortunately, to-day, the tendency to generalise, so fashionable in the 19th Century and at the beginning of the present one, gave way, in the face of the multiplicity of factors entering into all problems of Culture, to deeper reflection. Simplistic theses, attractive as they are in their outlines, are condemned to failure, because reality is always complex. To-day, an attractive thesis must be superseded by the need to find another one closer to the truth, less brilliant and spectacular though the latter may be.

3. Orlando Ribeiro, ditto, p. 204 et seq.

For our purposes it will not be necessary to begin with an era earlier than that in which Man had already attained such a degree of development as enabled him to use a complicated instrument like the plough. However, in view of the uncertainty presented by such studies, we shall start with the Neolithic, because this is the time when Agriculture began to develop.

Translated by Carlos Humberto da Silva from Jorge Dias, *Os Arados Portugueses e as suas Prováveis Origens*, Coimbra 1948, p. 82—85.

IV. THE SUEBIC HYPOTHESIS

AS WE HAVE SEEN THE GALICIAN-PORTUGUESE GRANARY is a special type of barn intended for the storage, preservation and drying of vegetable foods. Nowadays its sole use is as a dryer and for the storage of grain before threshing. This may lead to the conclusion, as indeed it has with most writers on the subject, that it is but an ordinary granary or dryer adapted to the preservation of Indian corn or maize, and that it came into being only after the introduction of this cereal into the Galician-Portuguese region.

However, it is not improbable that in the case of millet (*panicum miliaceum*), much cultivated between the Douro and the Minho until the 16th century¹, there existed the custom of storing and drying in special structures raised above the ground and ventilated. This grain is very similar to sorghum, and certain African peoples such as the Macondes of Mozambique still keep unthreshed sorghum in rectangular bamboo cornlofts built on stakes, rough-and-ready granaries from which the women-folk draw grain for threshing as and when required.

In fact the theory that these granaries ante-date the introduction of maize is confirmed by a miniature in a 13th century codex of Escorial, of the "Songs of St. Mary" depicting two granaries similar to those of Galicia².

Furthermore, the fact that these granaries are to be found in a Galician-Portuguese area, in a narrowly delimited zone, leads one to think that their origin pre-dates the formation of Portuguese nationality. A political frontier would have been an obstacle to its homogeneous distribution on both sides, the more so when it is seen that in Spain and Portugal alike its limits were, roughly, those of ancient "Gallaecia" or rather, the ancient "Regnum Gallicense" or "Regnum Suevorum"³. Northwest of Galicia is to be found the square, broad, general granary (the Asturian *horreo*), very different from the narrow rectangular and specialised granary or cornloft, ventilated and raised from the ground (the

1. This is still cultivated in certain northern parts of the country. See Jorge Dias, *O Pão de Pão e os Milhos*, Instrumento de Origem oriental na Serra da Padrela, in: *Trabalhos de Antropologia e Etnologia*, Vol. 12, parts 3 and 4, Oporto 1949.

2. Lampérez, *Arquitectura civil española*, Vol. 1, p. 90 (fig. 81). Cited by Julio Caro Baroja, in: *Los Pueblos de España*, Barcelona 1946, p. 343.

3. Following the designation of Hydacius or Idacius, Bishop of Aquae Flaviae, in his "Chronicle" of the 5th century.

Galician *horreo*); while in Portugal, this type of granary is not used south of the Mondego⁴, where a new area of cultural transition begins.

It should be noted, too, that in the Bronze Age, cornlofts similar to the Galician-Portuguese must have existed in certain regions. This may be inferred from a German funerary urn representing a narrow rectangular cornloft on four legs which were equipped with discs to prevent access by rodents⁵. Is there some possible connection between this Bronze Age German urn and Portuguese granaries? Any such relationship can be accepted only as a working hypothesis, not as an indisputable fact. However, as the Suebic Kingdom embraced exactly the Galician-Portuguese region in which these granaries are found, it is reasonable to seek a possible relationship between these peoples.

It was in this very Bronze Age that the Suebi lived in north Germany and south-east Scandinavia, the region where this urn was found, and it may be assumed from this that they were familiar with their construction in this form. In the Iron Age, about 700 B.C., they started their southward trek. From 600 B.C. they began invading sparsely peopled Celtic lands, and by 100 B.C. they are to be found settled in the region of the middle Rhine and the Main⁶. These facts are confirmed by Strabo and Cesar⁷. It would seem that during this period the Suebi, already large in numbers, became divided into various tribes, some of significant size — the Marcomani, the Cuandos, the Bavarians, the Alemanni, the Thuringians and the Batavi.

In fact the real foundation of these peoples begins in the third century and is largely contemporaneous with the great migrations⁸. Of these tribes, those of most interest to us are the Marcomani and the Cuandos.

About 8 B.C. the Marcomani, led by Maroboduus, invaded Bohemia, while the Cuandos occupied Moravia under the leadership of Tudrus. Maroboduus later conquered the Cuandos and other tribes, thus extending his dominion over a vast area. Until their alliance with the Alani and the Vandals, Cuando and Marcomani movements in the third and fourth centuries of our era are difficult to follow.

The Vandals were a people of east Germanic origin⁹ while the Alani were Asiatics who in the fourth century were settled in north-east Caucasus¹⁰. In 401, the Alani and Asdingian Vandals were in presentday Austria and Bavaria,

4. Some were built only recently in Alcobaça.

5. Adolf Helbok, Heinrich Marzell, *Haus und Siedlung im Wandel der Jahrtausende*, Berlin and Leipzig 1937, fig. 4.

6. Gustavo Schwantes, *Die Swebische Landnahme*, in: *Forschung und Fortschritt*, 1933. — Cited by Wilhelm Reinhart, *O Reino Hispânico dos Suevos*, Coimbra 1944, p. 15.

7. Strabo IV, 3 and 4, VII, 1, 3. Caesar *Bellum Gallicum* I, 51.

8. Manuel Torres, *Las invasiones y los reinos germanicos de España (años 409—711)*, in: *Historia de España* by Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Madrid 1940, p. 5.

9. Louis Marcus, *Histoire des Vandales*, Dijon 1836. — L. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Wandalen*, Leipzig 1901.

10. Gustave Lagneau, *Des Alains et de quelques autres peuplades Sarmates dans les Gaules*, in: *Compte-Rendu des Séances de la Commission royale d'Histoire*, Vol. 4. Brussels 1877.

their object being to march into Italy. They were defeated, and remained in the Alpine regions¹¹. Later they contemplated and then planned a penetration of Galliae. In this they were joined by a Cuando-Suebic group, who, though having little in common with the Vandals and Alain, entered into alliance with them. The expedition began its crossing of the Rhine in the last days of 406, when that river was probably frozen over. The Asdingians were the first across, in all likelihood in the Mogancia region¹².

Although allies, each group maintained its independence and had its own leaders. At the head of the Suebi marched Hermericus who remained as chief until he settled in Spain¹³ where he began to divide the territory amongst his people.

In a single thrust these peoples, defeating the Franks, reached the Pyrenees. Here, however, they failed to overcome the resistance encountered; and only in the autumn of 409 did they succeed in crossing into the Iberian Peninsula, roving and pillaging until they found regions best suited for settlement. These different groups of peoples were not armies on the march — they were agglomerations of men, women and children in search of lands where they might settle¹⁴. By 411 each group had fixed upon a province, and amongst them the territory was accordingly partitioned. The Alani settled in Lusitania and the Silingan Vandals in Betica, while the Suebi and Asdingan Vandals opted for Galicia.

WE HAVE IT FROM OROSIO THAT ONCE SETTLED "the detested Barbarians exchanged the sword for the ploughshare and treat the surviving Romans as colleagues and friends so that already some of them prefer the barren freedom of the Barbarians to the detested fiscal exactions of the Romans"¹⁵.

It should be obvious that this settlement was not achieved without loss of blood or a change in the former social structure. The Roman *villae* were broken up and their lands divided among the new masters. As Orosio puts it "through partition and distribution they consolidated their hold on these possessions, a tenure they maintain to this day"¹⁶.

These peoples were not barbarians in the sense which, thanks to the prestige attributed to Classical Antiquity by the Renaissance, the word then acquired. In the fifth century "barbarians" was synonymous with "alien". And in truth the Germans were not nomads and robbers but an evolved agricultural people, as is confirmed by the many evidences of their culture which will be analysed later. And the great French historian Fustel de Coulanges in his "Histoire des institutions politiques de l'ancienne France" seeks to rehabilitate these German conquerors, emphasizing that their level of culture was not by any means low, as claimed by certain writers; and comments favourably on the relations resulting

11. Torres, op. cit. p. 18.

12. Ibid. p. 20.

13. Ibid. p. 20.

14. Ibid. p. 21.

15. Paulo Orósio, *Adversus Paganus Historiarum*, book VII cap. 50, Cologne 1561.

16. Ibid. cap. 40.

from contact between Romans and Germans. As for the Suebi, they were an important Germanic people of whom Tacitus says "they occupy the greater part of Germany, and are still divided into separate tribes each with a name of its own, while the name Suebi is given to them all in common"¹⁷.

It is understandable that many writers should have attributed to them faults which they did not have, and considered them to be mere brigands who by continuous acts of plunder, ended by ruining the lands they conquered.

War cannot bring immediate benefits, and the former masters of the country who were forced to yield it up or to partition it with the invaders could not have viewed its new occupants with satisfaction. However, as has been seen, the Barbarians sought to establish cordial relations with the former occupiers, and it would seem that in the first years after the partition there were no perturbing incidents to record.

That the Suebi were pagans is not surprising: only some four centuries had elapsed since the spread of Christianity. And, as Salvianus says, the Barbarians were imbued with high moral virtues in contrast with Roman vice and immorality¹⁸. Requila (Rekhila) died a pagan in 448, but his son and successor Requiar (Rekhiario) had by then been baptized a Catholic¹⁹.

Clearer testimony that the invaders did not want to disorganise the local economy lies in the fact that the Suebi very soon began minting gold coins, on the Roman model initially²⁰. This indicates that not only did the land continue to be productive — commercial transactions on a bigger scale were also carried on. The reign of the Suebi came to an end in 585, after 172 years. Is it likely that from that moment all their local influence should also have ceased? This might have been so if the Suebi were merely a military élite which disappeared on being vanquished. But, as authors already cited have shown, they were peoples in search of territories to live in²¹ and, though they were not very numerous, the fact that they settled there and mixed with the local people must have contributed to an increase in their numbers and more particularly to the diffusion of many of their usages and customs.

There are no reliable data on the number of Suebi who came to the Peninsula. According to ancient sources, when the Vandals and Alani went to Africa²², they were some 80,000 in number, including women and children; and this has led a Portuguese writer to estimate that, having regard to the fact that they were not as powerful, the Suebi could not have numbered more than 60,000²³. But Hans

17. Tacitus, *Germania* (Nicolau Firmino), Lisbon 1940, p. 26, cap. XXXVIII.

18. Wilhelm Reinhart, *O Reino Hispânico dos Suevos*, Coimbra 1944, pp. 13—14.

19. Hidacius, cap. 137; Saint Isidore, cap. 86.

20. Reinhart, op. cit. p. 21.

21. Torres, op. cit. p. 21.

22. Reinhart: op. cit. p. 18. See also: Victor Vitense, *Historia persecutionis Africanae provinciae*, in *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Berlin 1879, 111, p. 2. bk. 1, 2.

23. Luís Gonzaga de Azevedo, *História de Portugal*, Lisbon 1934, Vol. 1, p. 136, note 2.

Delbrück²⁴ considers the figure of 80,000 ascribed to the peoples who went to Africa to be an inflated one, and Reinhart is of the same opinion. He thinks that when the Suebi crossed the Rhine there could not have been more than 20,000 of them: and of these only some 5,000 to 7,000 were warriors²⁵, for a group consisting of men, women and children could have mustered only a considerably smaller number capable of bearing arms.

This number is a mere estimate. Now, the density of the local population in those days was very much less than today, wherefore a score of thousands of people with an evolved culture could not but exercise a profound influence on the culture of the peoples amongst whom they settled and with whom they intermarried. When it is remembered that in Mozambique there are 60,000 Portuguese from Metropolitan Portugal as against an indigenous population of 6,000,000, the important influence exercised by these thousands of Suebi upon the Galician-Roman population is easily understood. This influence is evidenced for example in place names and those of persons. Although it is not easy to pick out Germanic names of Suebic origin, it is certain that many such came to the Peninsula. The Romanist Meyer-Lübke found an enormous number of Germanic proper names, still in use, in 952 Portuguese manuscripts of 775 to 1100, the greater number of which have not survived²⁶. Reinhart, who lived long years in the Peninsula, also found a large number of Germanic names, largely used by the inhabitants of the north-west²⁷. Of course, many of these names became widely adopted in the early years of the Reconquest and are therefore not of Suebic origin. On the other hand the disappearance of many of these names is accounted for by the Church, from the 13th century onwards, consenting only to Biblical names and those of Saints and Martyrs being given to infants at baptism²⁸.

PLACE-NAMES STILL IN USE, however, are testimony of the enormous influence of the Germanic people. Piel says that Germanic names in the Peninsula are to be found almost exclusively in Galicia and the north of Portugal, that is, in the region roughly corresponding to that occupied by the Suebi, and that, apart from this, all Germanic place-names without exception have their origin in the names of persons²⁹.

These names were used to designate rural estates, as Piel asserts when he says that in "the north-west of the Peninsula the current mode of naming a house after its owner is simply by using the genitive of his name"³⁰. It is interesting to observe that the Germanic peoples' concept of family included the country

24. See Reinhart, *op. cit.* p. 18.

25. *Ibid.* p. 18.

26. Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke, *Romanische Namenstudien*, 1 and 2, in: *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie*, Vienna 1904 and 1917.

27. Reinhart, *op. cit.* p. 37.

28. *Ibid.* p. 38.

29. Joseph Piel, *Os nomes germânicos na toponímia portuguesa*, Lisbon 1937, p. 9.

30. *Ibid.* p. 10.

estate which served as the basis for its sustenance. "Family", a foreign word, came to Germany only in the 18th century³¹, and until then the word *Hof*, meaning rural estate, was used. Among certain noble Portuguese families it is still the custom to refer to some individual as "a cousin of our house", in the same way as, formerly, "the House of Austria", etc. used to be referred to. This usage still prevails in certain old-world regions of the north-west such as Vilarinho da Furna where "house" is used instead of "family"³². Basing what he has to say on Tacitus, Manuel Torres analyses the type of Germanic estate, which, according to him, was far from communal in that it consisted not only of privately owned agrarian lands but also of agrarian enterprise on the part of a lord of the manor on the seigniorial system through settlers and slaves, to the advantage of a large landowner, even though these lands might not have been fully exploited³³. The agrarian unit made up of various lots was the *Hufe* (*Hof*) whose owner generally had the right to the products of communal pastures and woods, a right known as *Allmende*³⁴.

Place-names representing as they do ancient rural estates, it is possible through them to evaluate the importance of the Suebi in Galician-Portuguese rural life.

George Sachs lists 2000 places in the Peninsula with Germanic names, although he found it impossible to distinguish those of Suebic from those of Visigothic origin³⁵. These place-names are much commoner in the North-west:

Province

Corunha	15.9 %
Lugo	15.3 %
Braga	11.7 %
Porto	10.7 %
Pontevedra	8.7 %
Orense	8.2 % ³⁶

Rodrigues Lapa made a critical study of Sachs' work, and with the aid of the Etymological Dictionary of Galician Place-names published by Padre Sarmiento in the 18th century, was able to add new ones to Sachs' list³⁷.

Piel, the Romanist who lived many years in this country was of the opinion that there must be some 5000 Germanic names distributed mainly in north Portugal, Galicia and the Asturias³⁸.

31. Hans F. K. Günther, *Le Mariage, ses formes, son origine*, Paris 1951, p. 12.

32. Jorge Dias, *Vilarinho da Furna, uma aldeia comunitária*, Oporto 1948, pp. 250—251.

33. Vorres, *op. cit.* p. 6.

34. *Ibid.* pp. 6—7.

35. George Sachs, *Die germanischen Ortsnamen in Spanien und Portugal*, Jena and Leipzig 1932.

36. Reinhart, *op. cit.* p. 39.

37. *Ibid.* p. 40 (Rodrigues Lapa, *Boletim de Filologia*, Lisbon 1933—1934).

38. J. M. Piel, *Os nomes germânicos na toponímia portuguesa*, in: *Boletim de Filologia*, Lisbon 1936. By the same author: *O património visigodo da língua portuguesa*, Coimbra 1942 (cited by Reinhart: *op. cit.* p. 40).

It may seem strange that despite so strong an influence in the matter of names of persons and places, the Germans should have left so little of their vocabulary in the lexicons of Peninsular languages. A number of assimilated Germanic words have been noted — according to some writers, about 170³⁹, — very few relatively to the influence these people exercised in other realms of Galician-Portuguese culture. However, this is not uncommon, and is a feature of other regions with similar histories. Thus, the Himas, a Nilotic pastoral people who invaded Uganda, Ruanda-Urundi and the north-west of Tanganyika some time before 1500, settled in these territories, dominating the Bantu populations established there: yet they adopted the Bantu tongue⁴⁰. But, though assimilating the language of the conquered, they retained the characteristic traits of their own pastoral culture. This generally happens where the settlement is peaceful, more especially where there is intermarriage between the invaders and the women of the region. When infants begin to learn to talk, their first teachers are women: hence the maternal tongue tends to be the norm. On the other hand, when the invaders constitute small compact groups with little or no contact with the natives, they retain their own language. The so-called racial enclaves of Brazil such as the German colonies of Joinville and Blumenau in the state of Santa Catarina, kept the Portuguese language right out of their intercourse, whereas the Germans who settled in other parts of the country mixed with the Brazilian population and were quickly assimilated linguistically.

THIS IS PRECISELY WHAT HAPPENED IN THE REGION OCCUPIED BY THE SUEBI. In keeping with the Germanic tradition, families had no liking for living together in large agglomerations. On this tendency, Tacitus says: "It is well-known that none of the Germanic tribes live in cities. Their homes are separate and scattered, pitched at the call of the river, plain or wood. They build villages, but not as we (Romans) do with the buildings all adjoining and connected. Each man has an open space around his homestead . . ." ⁴¹.

Thus, in contrast with the Roman tradition, the Germanic people showed a marked tendency to live in isolated houses. It may be for this very reason that the ordinary sense of the word *vicus*, *vigo* in popular form (as in Vigo — Vicus Spanorum — in Galicia) was lost among us, as Alberto Sampaio says: "perhaps because such agglomerations were rare" ⁴². In fact, *vicus* originally meant clusters of habitations such as a group of slaves' or tillers' cottages, a street, a cross-road, the district of a city, towns later grown into cities; and finally habitations of landed owners, built contiguously and forming a rural commune, a form of

39. Vicente Garcia de Diego, *Elementos de Gramática Histórica Galega*, Burgos 1909; José Santiago Gomez, *Filología de la Lengua Gallega*, Santiago de Compostela 1918; E. Gamillscheg, *Romania Germanica*, 1, 1934 (cited by Reinhart, op. cit. p. 38).

40. George Peter Murdock, *Africa, its Peoples and their Culture History*, New York 1959, p. 46.

41. Tacitus, op. cit. p. 14, cap. XVI.

42. Alberto Sampaio, *As vilas do norte de Portugal*, in: *Estudos Históricos e Económicos*, Oporto 1923, Vol. 1, p. 91.

association having its own administration with certain objects and called *vicani*⁴³. Now, having regard to the Germanic tendency, such a word would find little use although of course it cannot be stated categorically that these people were not to be found occasionally living in groups of an urban type. As against the little use of *vicus* there may be noted the plentiful designations for sub-units of a *vila*, such as *casales*, *quintanas* or *quintãs* and *vilares*, the commonest of which is *casale*. According to Alberto Sampaio these existed in different sizes in the first centuries of the Middle Ages, and some belonged to ennobled families⁴⁴.

If these historical facts are compared with present circumstances, a surprisingly close similarity is seen to exist to this day and, independently of natural factors they are patent proof of the natural continuity of ancient traditions in this region. In his study of the agglomeration and dispersion of rural peoples in Portugal, Orlando Ribeiro produces figures that indisputably confirm the hypotheses we have been seeking to prove. Comparing certain data from the 1911 Census of Villages he concludes that settlements and villages are typical of Tras-os-Montes while in Minho hamlets and houses remote from one another are the norm⁴⁵.

District	Bragança	Braga
Population	192.024	382.276
Villages	660	6.685
Villages of less than 100 inhabitants	151	6.091
Population of these Villages	9.226	209.025
Isolated Houses	238	5.920
Population of these Houses	1.316	31.138

The most typical "settlements" are the villages of Tras-os-Montes, compact and surrounded by large uninhabited areas. Scattered "settlements", isolated houses and hamlets are commonest in Minho. Cases of "intercalary dispersion" where there are combined long-founded settlements dotted here and there with isolated houses and other forms of dispersion are found in Estremadura, Beira Alta, Ribatejo and Algarve. Orlando Ribeiro considers the *monte* of Alentejo to be a form of settlement⁴⁶.

And the same geographer says: "In Minho there are no areas largely peopled other than towns and cities. While most of the parishes of Tras-os-Montes each consist of a single, close-knit peopled place, in Minho there are parishes in which the church and vicarage stand isolated, while surrounding yet separated from them by fields and woods, are single houses or small clusters of dwellings making up a population seldom exceeding a hundred"⁴⁷. The result of these widely different types of settlements is that the word *casal* as a place-name occurs 101

43. Sampaio, op. cit. pp. 90—91.

44. Ibid. p. 84.

45. Orlando Ribeiro, *Aglomeração e dispersão do povoamento rural em Portugal*, 1939, p. 5.

46. Ibid. pp. 12—17.

47. Ibid. p. 5.

times in Braga and 274 times in all of Minho, while in Bragança it is found only once and in the whole of Tras-os-Montes nine times⁴⁸.

Another curious similarity between the Suebi and the Galician-Portuguese is the tendency of Galicians and the people of northern Portugal to emigrate. The Galicians have always shown "a likeness for and a spontaneous inclination towards emigration" as Murguia says⁴⁹. The first and biggest emigration from Portugal was by people from Minho, and only later did those of Beira, Tras-os-Montes and Algarve leave the country. Brazil was largely colonised from between the Douro and the Minho. In Germany it is the present-day Suebi, the *Schwaben* (Württemberg) who are "of all Germans, those with the greatest propensity to emigrate"⁵⁰.

Division of labour according to sex is another aspect of unchanging tradition or its continuity amongst the peoples of Atlantic Portugal⁵¹. The Atlantic coast in the north of the country is where women are most actively engaged in working in the fields⁵². In certain villages, for example in Afife and Castro Laborreiro, women are often seen even tilling the soil, though all over the world this has always been men's work. Now, on reading Tacitus one sees that a feature of the Germans that impressed him was that with them, working in the fields was a woman's job. Tacitus says that Germans left "the care of house and fields to women and old men and the weaklings of the family"⁵³. The difference where the people of Minho are concerned is that here the men, instead of giving themselves up to idleness, or indulging in hunting and war, move to other parts of the country or go abroad in search of work⁵⁴.

There are, among the varied traditions of Atlantic Portugal a number common also to Germanic peoples and which stem from the Suebic infrastructure of that region. These include playing at quarter-staff⁵⁵, fighting between cows or bulls⁵⁶ and Easter eggs⁵⁷.

48. Ibid. p. 6.

49. Cited by Reinhart, op. cit. p. 45.

50. Reinhart, op. cit. p. 45.

51. We adopt here Orlando Ribeiro's classification of natural regions in: Portugal, o Mediterrâneo e o Atlântico, Coimbra 1945; a work of great interest for the ethnologist.

52. Ribeiro, ibid. p. 182: "In the Minho region and in Beira as many as 45 % of the women work at agriculture".

53. Tacitus, op. cit. p. 14, cap. XV.

54. "It is of interest that in Lombada, in the concelho of Bragança, there is a community whose characteristics are very similar to those of the Germanic communities described by Tacitus; see J. Dias, Rio de Onor, Oporto 1953, pp. 539—540.

55. This game, so popular in the Douro-Minho region up to a few decades ago was known also at least in France (*Bâton*) and German Switzerland (*Stockfechten*).

56. Butting contests between bulls belonging to country folk were common in the mountain villages of Gerez and Amarela, just as fights between cows were well-known in the Serra de Montermuro, Gralheira. See Tude de Sousa, "Gerez", 1927, p. 18, note 1; and George Dias, Vilarinho da Furna, pp. 187—189.

57. Painted Easter Eggs are cited by Francisco Jose Veloso as an example of Suebic-Portuguese similarity: see A Lusitânia Suévico-Bizantina, in: *Bracara Augusta*, Vol. 2, pt. 3 (16), Braga 1950 p. 245. Amongst us the tradition is kept alive especially in Atlantic Portugal and is to be seen also in Germanic regions although it is really typical of Slavic countries (Russia, Bulgaria, Romania etc.). The Alani were, possibly, even closer to this tradition than we.

In dress also we see in the region features described in many works as Suebic or Germanic, such as the clogs of wood and leather so widely worn in Atlantic Portugal, which Germanic peoples wore in the first Iron Age 800—400 B. C.⁵⁸. These clogs indeed are still worn elsewhere — in Galicia, the Asturias, northern France, Belgium, Holland and Niedersachsen (Germany)⁵⁹. Another article of attire, the so-called “back-apron”, still in use by the men of Barroso, in Terras de Basto and in Vilarinho da Furna⁶⁰, is the exact counterpart of the woollen or leathern cape which the Germanic male wore⁶¹. The pouches which the women of Atlantic Portugal hang from their waists are also mentioned in connection with Germanic women who used to wear “a belt from which some pouches hung”⁶². But the mantles which these women wore over their heads⁶³ cannot as certainly be identified with the capes of the Serras or with the head shawls or kerchiefs which our Atlantic Portuguese women wear. These may have a different origin.

HERE AND THERE ARE OTHER FEATURES WHICH BEAR CURIOUS RELATION to those of Germanic culture, as for example the mark which the Lojas family of Vilarinho da Furna⁶⁴ use for branding their cattle, not unlike a flaming swastika and similar to marks used by Germanic pastors⁶⁵. The cow riddle, of which there are many variants in this country — in Barroso (Telho), Vilarinho da Furna⁶⁶ and the Vale de Cambra⁶⁷ — is extraordinarily like those which are still to be heard in cattle country, in England, Norway, the Faroes, Sweden and Switzerland⁶⁸. From the area over which these are to be found, it must be inferred that they had a common origin in the Germanic cattle-rearing people⁶⁹. The better to illustrate the close similarity, two Portuguese and two Germanic versions follow. One from Vilarinho da Furna goes thus:

Four on the ground, four in bed,
Two gouges and one that fans it:
A cow.

58. See H. Obermaier y A. Garcia y Bellido: *El Hombre Prehistórico y las Orígenes de la Humanidad*, Madrid 1944, p. 321.

59. In some of these parts the clogs are of wood only. See Meyer, *Konservations-Lexikon*, Leipzig 1925, s. v. *Holzschuhe*.

60. Jorge Dias, *Vilarinho da Furna*, pp. 127—132; see plates XIII, XVI, XX.

61. Torres, op. cit. p. 9. See also G. Girke, *Die Tracht der Germanen*, 1—2 (Mannus Bibliothek, no. 23—24, 1922).

62. Torres, op. cit. p. 9.

63. Ibid. p. 9.

64. Jorge Dias, *Vilarinho da Furna*, p. 82.

65. Künßberg illustrates a goat's horn with a swastika branded on it, found in Tavetsch (Switzerland). See Eberhard Frhr. von Künßberg, *Rechtliche Volkskunde*, Halle 1936, Plate XIII.

66. Jorge Dias, op. cit. pp. 234—236.

67. Julio Dinis, *As pupilas do Senhor Reitor* (ed. *Civilização*) p. 144. Certainly culled in Vale de Cambra.

68. Richard Weiss, *Volkskunde der Schweiz*, Erlenbach—Zürich 1946, p. 276.

69. Antii Aarne in: *Folklore Fellows Communications*, 27, p. 60.

"Four on the ground" are the legs; "four in bed" the udders; "two gouges" are the horns; and "the one that fans it" the tail.

The version from Telho, Barroso is almost identical:

Four on the ground, four in bed,
One that beckons (the tail)
And two that fan (the horns)

The cow-riddle of the old Icelandic saga of Hervor and King Heidrek, rendered into modern German, goes thus:

Viere hangen (four pendant)
Viere gangen (four walking)
Zwei weisen den Weg (two show the way)
Zwei wehren den Hunden (two ward off dogs)
Hinten zottelt einer (in the rear, one fans)
Ofers schmutzig (often dirty)
König Heidrek (King Heidrek)
Kannst du es raten (can you guess it?)

Contemporary riddle in Swiss-Germanic dialect:

Vieri trampe (four that walk)
Vieri lampe (four pendant)
Vieri luege (four that look)
Gege Himmel (towards Heaven)
Lueget si in Himmel ne (when they look upwards, towards heaven)
Chunt gäng eine hinde zue (one always follows behind).

The similarity between the Portuguese riddles and these of Germanic origin is plain, and any question of coincidence must be ruled out.

In the field of laws and customs there are also certain parallels, such as the "expulsion of the neighbour" in force in certain mountain villages of the north as for instance S. João do Campo and Vilarinho da Furna⁷⁰. The expulsion from the "sipe" or clan, that is from the family as a social group including every relation, was also known in Germanic law⁷¹.

It was in rural life more than anything else that the Suebic influence was greatest. The thousands of Suebic families that settled upon lands allocated to or appropriated by them in 411 undoubtedly made an important contribution to the local culture. Thus, still in use in the more backward parts of the country is a wooden cask, equipped with a peg attached to the underside of a disc, also of wood, which serves to churn butter.

This apparatus is to be found in Vilarinho da Furna where it is known as *rolhas de pau* (literally "wooden stoppers") and not only in the Serra Amarela but also in the Serras de Arouca (Albergaria das Cabras) and the Serra de Monte-

70. Jorge Dias, op. cit. pp. 60—64.

71. Torres, op. cit. p. 10. See also K. v. Amira, Grundrisse des Germanischen Rechts. In: *Grundriß der Germanischen Philologie*, ed. Hermann Paul, 5, 3rd. ed. 1913.

muro (Campo Benfeito). Formerly known in certain French villages as *la baratte*, this appliance is thought to date back to the Celtic and Germanic era in France. It supplanted an even more archaic process which consisted in pouring the milk into leathern flasks for churning by hand⁷².

Even the language shows this influence although, as already stated, it has been little enriched with Germanisms. *Roca* is of Germanic origin (Gothic *rukka*⁷³, old high German *rocco*⁷⁴). The cellar, which in Minho is used for storing wine, and sometimes other consumable commodities or domestic utensils, is there known as a *loja* which, according to Alberto Sampaio, is of Germanic origin⁷⁵. Then again there is *broa*, the name given to corn bread between the Douro and the Minho as well as in Galicia: its etymon would appear to be Germanic. Juan Lopez Soler maintains that *broa* was already in use before the introduction of corn, and meant bread made from millet. It was in fact the generic term for "bread" in the region⁷⁶. Now, Murguia says that *broa* has its origin in the Celtic *bro* and the Germanic *brod*⁷⁷. Candido de Figueiredo compares it with the German *brot*, without suggesting that this is its origin⁷⁸. Other dictionaries ascribe it to the Gothic etymon *brauth*⁷⁹, another pointer to a Germanic origin. If this is in fact its genesis, then, the use of *broa* being co-extensive with the areas occupied by the Suebi, it would seem evident that it must be Suebic and not Gothic. This "mixed bread", now made of an admixture of corn and rye, used formerly to be made of rye and millet ("panicum miliaceum", Lin.)⁸⁰, and was without doubt the bread of the Suebi, these cereals amongst others, including spelt, having been grown in the region from remotest times. Spelt, Lautensach says, was formerly grown in the north of the country but has now disappeared completely from Portugal. It was quite possibly brought here by the Suebi. The "Diplomata et Chartae" cites it more than once as a product of the north⁸¹. To this day in the Serra da Padrela there is in use for husking millet an apparatus known as a *pio de piar os milhos*, a kind of pestle actuated by footwork, formerly much more widely used in connection with this grain⁸². In certain parts, as in Beira,

72. Musée Rétrospectif du Groupe VII, Agriculture — Exposition Internationale de 1900 à Paris. Rapport de M. Jules Sain.

73. A. Sampaio, op. cit. p. 106.

74. See Cândido de Figueiredo, Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa.

75. A. Sampaio, op. cit. pp. 94 and 122. Based on Körting, Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch, art. 4704.

76. Juan López Soler, Los Hórreos Gallegos, in: *Actas y Memorias de la Sociedad Española de Antropología, Etnografía y Prehistoria*, Vol. X, parts 1 and 2, Madrid 1931, p. 133.

77. M. Murguia, in: *Boletín de la Academia Gallega*, 20th January 1909, cited by Juan López Soler, op. cit. p. 133.

78. Cândido de Figueiredo, op. cit.

79. Amongst other dictionaries, those of Augusto Moreno and of Joaquim de Almeida Costa and António Sampaio de Melo.

80. A. Sampaio, op. cit. pp. 102—103.

81. H. Lautensach, A formação dos aspectos culturais da paisagem portuguesa, Lisboa 1944, off-print from *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia*, Lisbon 1943, 61st series, p. 10.

82. Jorge Dias, O Pio de Pilar os Milhos, in: *Trabalhos de Antropologia e Etnologia*, Vol. XII. warts 3 and 4, Oporto 1949.

millstones manually worked also serve the same purpose⁸³. Paul Leser's opinion is that this appliance is one of a number of Nordic agricultural instruments such as the thresher or the quadrangular plough whose use at the beginning of the Middle Ages was already widespread over north-west and central Europe, which leads to the belief that its diffusion began very early⁸⁴. However, he does not think that the diffusion of the *pio* is so patently Nordic as is the case with the quadrangular plough and the thresher which were already widely used throughout Transcaucasia, Galicia, Poland, Steiermark, Kärnten, Krain, Salzburg, Berne, Hungary etc.⁸⁵. In fact, the tendency is to consider that in this instance the influence is not directly Germanic but rather Oriental, an influence which may be explained by the migrations of the Alani from the Caucasus.

THE SUEBIC ORIGIN OF THE QUADRANGULAR PLOUGH is hardly open to doubt. In Portugal there are three types of plough homogeneously distributed in three large geographical and ethnographical areas⁸⁶. The *garganta* plough pertains to Mediterranean Portugal, akin to those of the Greek and Roman world and spread throughout the Mediterranean basin. The radial plough belongs to Transmontane Portugal, a rudimentary and archaic type, probably associated with the Celtic settlers. The quadrangular plough is peculiar to the whole of the northern coast right up to the slopes of the mountainous regions of the north. This Germanic or Germano-Slavonic plough, whose provenance was northern and central Europe with the north of France as its southern boundary (from Brittany to the Jura Mountains) later crosses the German border to the Alps⁸⁷, and then appears, in an island as it were, in the northwest of the Peninsula.

The close similarity between this type and that used by Germanic peoples naturally leads us to ascribe its existence here to the cultural influence of these peoples, and more particularly of the Suebi, over the Peninsula. The coincidence that these Germanic quadrangular ploughs, peculiar to the northern and central zones of Europe, are found in the very regions occupied by the Suebi is a weighty argument in favour of their Suebi origin in the Peninsula⁸⁸. The Suebi crossed the Rhine in 406 and in 411 settled in Galicia, partitioning the lands amongst themselves⁸⁹. No sooner was this done, says Orosio, than they changed their

83. Jorge Dias and Fernando Galhano, *Moinhos de descascar milho miúdo e o monjolo brasileiro*, off-print from Vol. VIII of *Actas do XIII. Congresso Luso-Espanhol para o Progresso das Ciências*, Oporto 1953.

84. Paul Leser, *Westöstliche Landwirtschaft*, in: *Festschrift für P. W. Schmidt*, Vienna 1928, pp. 416—484.

85. *Ibid.* pp. 469—472.

86. Orlando Ribeiro's geographical areas (see note 51 ante) correspond roughly to cultural areas: see Jorge Dias's *Tentâmen de Fixação das Grandes Areas Culturais Portuguesas*, in: *Estudos e Ensaios Folclóricos em Homenagem a Renato Almeida*, Rio de Janeiro 1960, pp. 431—454.

87. G. A. Montandon, *Traité d'Ethnologie Cyclo-Culturelle*, Paris 1934, p. 259.

88. Jorge Dias, *Os arados portugueses e as suas prováveis origens*, off-print from *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*, Vol. XVII, 1948.

89. See note 16 ante. Hidacius says that the barbarians drew lots for the provinces to be inhabited. See Hidacius cap. 49 (cited by Torres, op. cit. p. 21).

swords for ploughshares, *gladios suos ad aratra conversi sunt*⁹⁰. A people in quest of lands on which to settle and who soon after their arrival began to cultivate them would naturally use ploughs which were part of their cultural tradition. Of course, if these lands were by their nature unsuitable for the Germanic plough, they would have used the local version; but the fact is that they opted for that province of the Peninsula most nearly similar to the lands from which they came — it was not a haphazard matter. And it was a decision which contributed to the survival of many forms of their culture⁹¹. Contrary to the view of Manuel Torres⁹² who thought that their survival could be ascribed solely to Galicia being a distant country, it is the writer's belief that the similarity of the settled lands to those of their origin also played a part in this.

However, it must not be inferred that the close association of the quadrangular plough with the invaders is based only on these arguments. It is known that quadrangular ploughs with ploughshare, cart and symmetrical mouldboards had long been in use by Germanic peoples, even as far back as the days of the Roman Empire⁹³. The asymmetrical form with a single mouldboard is later in date, and according to Haudricourt, began to be used in France in the Merovingian period⁹⁴. The Merovingian Dynasty began with Merovius who is believed to have reigned from 448 to 458, that is, after the Suebi came to the Peninsula. But the Suebi came directly from Germany and certainly brought with them the asymmetrical version still to be seen in this country (in Paredes de Coura and Vila Verde) whereas it was introduced into France some decades later.

Ploughshares of the kind common in this country are of great antiquity in Germany. Fragments of these appear in the 5th century Visigothic treasure unearthed at Szillägy-Someyo in Transylvania⁹⁵.

Now, every kind of quadrangular plough described by writers of treatises on the subject is to be met with in Atlantic Portugal. Apart from the *vessadoiro*, with two mouldboards so large that they serve also as lateral plough-handles independently of the central board in which the shaft of the plough is inserted, there are asymmetrical ploughs with a single fixed mouldboard the *aravessa* and the *zanga*. Again there are *vessadoiros* with a single movable mouldboard, the *charrua*, now attached on one side, now on the other, or with two movable mouldboards, one of which is idle while the other is in use, depending on the side which is being tilled.

All these different types till with the ploughshares affixed to the stilt, although there are *vessadoiros* without a coulter, this being attached to a separate beam,

90. See note 15 ante.

91. This statement is based on a theory of the law of affinity outlined by Jorge Dias in: *Os Arados Portugueses*, pp. 82—85.

92. Torres, *op. cit.* p. 22.

93. R. G. Collingwood and J. M. L. Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, pp. 208—214; the Belgae introduced into Britain in 75 the large plough on wheels, drawn by oxen (like the Portuguese *vessadoiro* of the Minho).

94. Information from André G. Haudricourt and Mariel Jean-Brunhes Delamarre.

95. Alexandre Baschmakoff, *L'Evolution de la Charrue à travers les siècles au point de vue ethnographique*, in: *L'Anthropologie*, 1932, p. 86.

a *seitorio* or ristle plough, ploughing the furrow ahead of or behind the *vessadoiro*⁹⁶. As for the coulter of Portuguese ploughs, these are the same in all three types and the fact that they are widespread over Europe does not detract from what has been said of the frame of the plough⁹⁷.

The quadrangular plough is to be seen not only in Atlantic Portugal and Galicia — it is found also in the Asturias and along the northern coast of Spain right up to the Pyrenees. However, the more complex types, equipped with wheels etc. are very rare in Galicia and the Asturias⁹⁸. This tends to show that the greatest concentration of the Suebi was in settlements between the Douro and the Minho, and that their activities north of Galicia and south of the Douro were on a very much smaller scale. Indeed, the greater homogeneity of the quadrangular plough south of the Douro and the lesser diversity of the elements described would appear to confirm this inference. It is possible that with the introduction of maize, the quadrangular plough, more practical than the radial type for furrowing deep, spread further south and crossed the Mondego.

THERE ARE OTHER GERMANIC AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS which, like the flail, we must ascribe to the Suebic invaders. Herculano de Carvalho made a very close study of the primitive threshers of the Iberian Peninsula; and he establishes a clear distinction between threshing by animals alone or with the *trilho* (*tribulum* and *plostellum*) ordinarily called a *trilha*, and threshing with a beetle or flail, usually known as a *malha*, and clearly depicts the distribution of the two systems in charts⁹⁹. From these it will be seen that in Mediterranean Portugal threshing by animals alone and with a *trilho* (*plostellum*) predominates; in Transmontane Portugal the *trilho* (*tribulum*) is commonest, although in conjunction with the beetle; while in Atlantic Portugal especially north of the Mondego, the beetle is the most popular.

On the introduction of the flail into the north-west of the Peninsula, Herculano de Carvalho says that if we temporarily ignore the model of the threshing beetle which he designates by the letter "D" (in his chart) "it will be seen that the area in which the flail was most used is mainly in the western zone embracing Galicia and nearly all of Portugal, next a much narrower zone in the mountainous regions from the Asturias to the Vascongardos. The centrifuge of this area at once suggests itself as the North-west, that is, the zone made up of Galicia and Portugal. It was from there that the flail radiated southward until it reached its present limits, and only a political and cultural movement — the Reconquest —

96. Examples of all these ploughs are reproduced in Jorge Dias, *Os Arados Portugueses*.

97. See Jorge Dias and Fernando Galhano, *Algumas relhas de arados portugueses actuais*, off-print from the *Actos do XIII Congresso Luso-Espanhol para o Progresso das Ciências*, Vol. VIII, 7th section, Oporto 1953.

98. See Julio Caro Baroja, *Los arados españoles (sus tipos y reparticiones)*, in: *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares*, Vol. V pt. 1, Madrid 1949. See also Jorge Dias, *Die Portugiesischen und spanischen Pflüge*, in: *Laos*, Vol. 1, Stockholm 1951.

99. José Gonçalo C. Herculano de Carvalho, *Coisas e Palavras, alguns problemas etnográficos e linguísticos relacionados com os primitivos sistemas de debulha na Península Ibérica*, Coimbra 1953. See annexed maps.

can account for this. It is this movement which, accounting as it does for the distribution of this agricultural tool in Portugal, also explains why the flail is virtually not to be found in Central and Southern Spain: to the west, the Reconquest had its fulcrum first in Galicia, later in the north of Portugal, in zones where the use of this threshing instrument was deeply rooted in tradition. The Leonese and Castilian Reconquest on the other hand, during its period of greatest intensity, beginning with the 10th century, had its centre in regions where threshing was carried out "by the tramlings of animals, with or without a harrow"¹⁰⁰.

We see therefore that the area over which the flail is distributed in the Iberian Peninsula corresponds roughly with that of the quadrangular plough dealt with above. Now, according to Leser, the flail was the principal threshing instrument in Central Europe. In Italy, he says "as one travels from north to south it becomes rarer and rarer"¹⁰¹. While the Mediterranean countries are clearly an area of diffusion of other types of threshers, the flail was mainly used in middle and northern Europe¹⁰².

Be that as it may, it would seem that the flail made its appearance in Central Europe between the 3rd and 5th centuries of our era, and some authorities hold the view that its probable centre of diffusion lay between the Moselle and the Rhine where as from the 3rd century, there was tremendous economic development based on the growing of cereals¹⁰³.

The theory of Roman origin has been doubted by many writers such as Leser, and more recently by Trotziz¹⁰⁴ and Herculano de Carvalho¹⁰⁵, who examining flails much more closely, arrives at most interesting conclusions as to the type that must at first have come into common use amongst us. As a result we can deduce as he did that the flail came from the above-mentioned region of Central Europe and gradually spread over all of Europe "borne on the waves of Germanic invasions which brought it in its most rudimentary form as far as the Iberian Peninsula"¹⁰⁶. With a vast bibliographical analysis and much personal research as his basis, the same author finally adopts the hypothesis that the flail was brought to the Peninsula by Germanic invasions, and considers it reasonable that it should be associated with the Suebi, once it is accepted that the use of the flail had its fulcrum in the north-west¹⁰⁷. His theory of a possible diffusion of the flail along the length of the Cantabrian Range right up to Galicia by slow stages not associated with migrations is highly improbable. As he himself says:

100. Ibid. pp. 102—103.

101. Paul Leser, *op. cit.* p. 458.

102. Ibid. And see Meyer-Lübke, in: *Wörter und Sachen*, Vol. 1. p. 231.

103. J. G. C. Herculano de Carvalho; *op. cit.* p. 100.

104. Dag Trotziz, *Slagan och andra tröskredskap*. (Nordiska museets handlingar 17) Stockholm 1943, p. 176.

105. Herculano de Carvalho, *op. cit.* p. 100.

106. Ibid. p. 101.

107. Ibid. p. 103.

"It is unlikely that, following this course, the flail in its journey having conquered a slice of territory so poor, and limited as it was to the mountainous coastal zone, could have become so widely diffused in the north-west"¹⁰⁸. Apart from this it should be noted that "it is much more reasonable to infer that it radiated from Galicia to the Asturias rather than the converse which would have been the more natural if the spreading of the tool had also followed the opposite course"¹⁰⁹.

THE HISTORICO-CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF OTHER PORTUGUESE AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS is still incomplete, so that it is impossible to bring them into and thus complete the picture we are trying to draw. However, Fernando Galhano who for years has collected and made an intensive study of many such tools, says of the hoe that there is a clear contrast between the digging implements of Atlantic and Mediterranean Portugal, and that one type is found distributed uniformly throughout the region between the Douro and the Minho. Further, he says, distinct types are found in Atlantic Portugal, and only south of the Mondego is there the interpenetration of two types, which bears witness to the hybrid tendency of the region¹¹⁰. It is unfortunately impossible so to make a comparative study of European types and those described by Fernando Galhano as to permit of deductions therefrom. But the coincidence of distinct types being found in the different regions of cultural influence is consistent throughout.

Fernando Galhano also made a study of another instrument — the harrow. In his map showing the distribution of the eight types seen in Portugal, type one is spread over nearly the whole of Atlantic Portugal, reaching as far south as Lisbon and eastward to Castelo Branco. In Transmontane Portugal, apart from this type which is found south of Beira Baixa, there are another four different types. Type five is uniformly distributed throughout Mediterranean Portugal, although here and there small areas use other types. However, no type other than type one will be seen in Atlantic Portugal as far as the Mondego¹¹¹. On the other hand this type is also found in Galicia¹¹², which establishes a curious association between it and the quadrangular plough. Paul Leser says that the typical middle and northern European harrow is one whose frame has at least four cross-bars provided with teeth¹¹³. Galhano's types one, two, and eight, which are distributed over Atlantic Portugal, also have these characteristics. Type one covers the whole region; type two an area in Ribatejo; and type eight a small area south of the Mondego.

108. Ibid. p. 103.

109. Ibid. p. 103. The linguistic elements on which he bases this statement are dealt with in the linguistic section of his book.

110. Fernando Galhano, *Enxadas e Sachos*, in: *Trabalhos de Antropologia e Etnologia*, Vol. XIV, parts 1—4, Oporto 1954.

111. Fernando Galhano, *Grades*, off-print from *Trabalhos de Antropologia e Etnologia*, Vol. XIII, parts 1—2, Oporto 1952.

112. Vicente Risco, *Estudos Etnográficos da Terra de Melide*, in: *Terra de Melide*, Compostela 1933. p. 367, fig. 72.

113. Paul Leser, op. cit. p. 465 (figs. 65, 66 and 69).

Another type of Portuguese harrow, also with four cross-bars but generally not equipped with teeth, is type three — to be seen in the Transmontane East¹¹⁴. We thus have yet another agricultural instrument which, by virtue of its area of distribution and its similarity with the type which Leser considers to be representative of Germanic Europe, can correctly be ascribed to the same Suebic influence. On the other hand the types Galhano found in Mediterranean Portugal correspond to those of Italy¹¹⁵.

Is it possible to relate all these implements to any other features of our traditional agricultural life so that these also may be shown to have a Germanic origin or a middle European provenance? I believe it is. In dealing with threshing, a "husking to exhaustion" by animal trampling, with or without a *trilho*, and husking by flail have been mentioned. When threshing installations came to be examined, it was seen that in the regions where the *trilho* is used, the threshing floors are generally large expanses of broken earth. The very same floor may be used every year; in other cases the husking takes place in different parts of an area from year to year. Where the identical floor is always used this is generally one where animals in their toil have trodden circular paths for years. The area thus fixed upon is sometimes solidly paved with stones and cement or mortar. It is circular in shape more often than not, and almost level. Storage-sheds are not usually annexed to these areas¹¹⁶.

In Atlantic Portugal, occasionally north of the Mondego and more commonly north of the Vouga, the areas where the husking is by the flail are rectangular enclosures of stone, always with a structure annexed, a shed or a lean-to where the grain is kept in bad weather and where also the threshing is done when the rainy season makes this necessary. Alberto Sampaio refers to areas where formerly grain was husked and adjacent to which the denizen of the north-west erected a shed — (L. *ad pendulum*) — "a lightly built structure to protect the grain from summer showers and the morning dew"¹¹⁷. In this part of the country where "summer showers" are frequent, threshing floors and sheds are of granite, often very large and well built.

As mentioned, in certain parts of the northwestern seaboard, notably around Ponte da Barca, Vilarinho da Furna etc. there will be found, independently of the shed (here known as a *sequeira*) a square-built structure paved in the same way as a threshing-floor and annexed to such a floor. This structure, enclosed on all sides by four walls and having doors, is known as a *ladrilho* and is for threshing¹¹⁸. Here then, as in Central Europe, is the threshing floor in the form of a roofed and enclosed building. And it is the product of two distinct forms of

114. Fernando Galhano, *Grades*, p. 17.

115. Paul Scheuermeier, *Bauernwerk in Italien, der italienischen und rätoromanischen Schweiz*, Erlenbach—Zürich 1943. pp. 92—93.

116. However, in the Mondego region where, as already stated, this threshing-floor and the rectangular one co-exist, the former frequently has a shed attached, thus indicating a point of contact.

117. A. Sampaio, *op. cit.* p. 94.

118. Jorge Dias, *Vilarinho da Furna*, pp. 33—34.

culture, owing something undoubtedly to climatic and socio-economic factors, but at the same time closely associated with two different cultures, the one Mediterranean and the other from Middle and Northern Europe.

The threshing-floor of the region between the Douro and the Minho, with its paved shed and open doorways allowing of ventilation, is certainly a meridional adaptation of the Middle European one.

The Germanic indoor threshing-floor, built within a granary or even a barn, as is the case in Germany¹¹⁹, is to be found here in the Northwest, although but rarely. It is, in any event, a hybrid type, of two independent halves, one indoor, the other outdoor (for, in Atlantic Portugal, the threshing-floor is in reality an extension of the shed) and is the type normally and ordinarily adopted in this whole Atlantic zone. On the other hand, the threshing floor in Mediterranean Portugal is, like that of Central or Meridional Spain or of Italy, an open-air floor, a true "area"¹²⁰.

THERE EXISTS THEN A CHARACTERISTIC CULTURAL COMPLEX associated with the cultivation of rye and millet (and nowadays of maize) connected in many of its elements — the plough, the harrow, the flail and the threshing-floor — with a probable Germanic origin; and it is not unlikely, therefore, that the granary, which existed in the Peninsula before the advent of maize, was also a unit of this complex or that it also is of Suebic origin.

Millet, which was known to the peoples of this region from Neolithic times, was stored by them in wicker baskets, a technique already known. In fact Trotzig associates this very old cereal with primitive systems of threshing ante-dating the flail, used in archaic parts of Europe, such as trampling on the grain with clog-shod feet, still to be seen in certain zones of Minho¹²¹. And Herculano de Carvalho in studying archaic ways of husking says that "in Covas spikes of that cereal (maize) are stored in large, traditional grain baskets and husked, when necessary and only in sufficient quantity for baking a batch¹²², in a *masseirão*¹²³ with a beetle used for pounding flax, or with a club about half a metre long"¹²⁴. A similar method is to be seen for example in Montedor, where, in wet weather the spikes, in a long box, are pounded with a wooden club. If these old methods applied originally to millet, and now appear associated with maize and its storage in granaries and baskets, it follows surely that millet also was associated with these means of storage. Thus, when the Suebi came to the Peninsula, they would

119. Meyers Konversations-Lexikon, Leipzig 1925. In Germany the threshing-floor is so closely identified with the granary that a reader looking it up in the Encyclopedia is referred to *granary*.

120. Scheuermeier, op. cit. Vol. 11, Bern, 1956, pp. 1—14.

121. Dag Trotzig, op. cit. p. 173; H. de Carvalho, op. cit. p. 87.

122. H. de Carvalho, op. cit. pp. 78—79.

123. „*Masseirão*“ — a kind of large wooden chest on four legs with holes in the base (made with an awl) or a base of wooden slats (see H. de Carvalho, op. cit. p. 78, fig. 51).

124. H. de Carvalho, op. cit. p. 79.

have found here the practice of storing millet in baskets that provided ventilation. And they must have continued with this practice, save for the difference that in place of ventilated baskets they changed over to storage in cornlofts similar to the funerary urn of the Bronze Age which was familiar to them, coming as they did from the north of Germany where their ancestors had lived¹²⁵. When they came to the north-west of the Peninsula, the Suebi could well have built granaries for millet (the then existing grain) in the style known to them through their ancestors¹²⁶. It appears to be the custom, in keeping with Germano-Suebic usage, to affix cruciform finals at one end of the roof of a building and apointed ornament at the other, these being indicative formerly of private ownership¹²⁷. Although their original significance has been lost, they continue to appear. A characteristic of Galician-Portuguese granaries, they are a feature which greatly strengthens our theory of the Suebic origin of the granary.

The use of this particular form of cornloft was extended to the storage of millet, and supplanted the old one whose name *canastro* was given to it also, it having the same function (in the same way as, centuries later, maize — *Zea Mays* — was to be given the name of the old cereal — *Panicum miliaceum* — which it displaced). And in the 13th century it is these granaries, probably of Suebic origin, that appear, at least in certain regions, in the form shown in the illumination to the Codex of Escorial¹²⁸. In certain more backward parts, the very old wicker baskets are still in use in some cases, alongside the new granaries. Later, the introduction of maize not only led to a tremendous development of the granary in general, but also brought about important functional modifications and adaptations involving a certain alteration in shape, more particularly in that they became narrower and were equipped with more ventilating louvres.

Translated by Leo D'Almada from Jorge Dias, Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira e Fernando Galhano, *Sistemas Primitivos de Secagem e Produtos Agrícolas — Os Espigueiros Portugueses*, Porto 1963, pp. 208—234.

125. A. Helbok and H. Marzell, op. cit. p. 33.

126. This form of storage may be considered adequate — as we have seen, the Macondes of Mozambique use a granary very similar to ours for sorghum, which is similar to millet.

127. Luis Bouza-Brey Trillo, Panorama conxectural do estado do direito privado no Reino Suévico da Gallecia in: *Bracara Augusta*, Vol. XI—XII, Nos. 1—4 (43—46) Braga, Dec. 1960—Jan. 1961, pp. 110—111.

128. The ethnologist Caro Baroja, in: *Los Pueblos de España*, Barcelon 1946, p. 343, note 30), considers that these *hórreos* reproduced in the 13th century illumination, already referred to, to be of the Galician type.

V.

RIO DE ONOR
San Xuan

ST. JOHN'S DAY IS THE BIGGEST FESTIVAL OF RIO DE ONOR and marks the apogee of the summer cycle, almost coinciding with the Summer Solstice.

The feast of Rio de Onor's patron saint begins on the 23rd of June and around it revolves the greatest light-hearted activity of the region.

Days before this women and young girls are shopping for materials — the event calls for new dresses. Seamstresses and dressmakers arrive from neighbouring villages and all around there is a ceaseless stir and commotion. Housewives spurred by a desire to outdo their neighbours, fuss and toil ceaselessly, often working without plan or method, and thus with unnecessary expenditure of energy.

Tramps and gypsies begin to gather from afar on the eve of the big day. They have covered tens of miles to fill their bellies and haversacks. Thanks to their peculiar organisation and to a familiarity with the calendar of fairs and feasts, these are the people who get the most out of this Summer season. But the haversacks are small, and cannot provide for the endless winter . . .

Preparations attain their climax on the eve. The village resounds with the noises of cattle and of humans. At doorways and in the squares men slaughter and skin sheep, lambs, goats, pigs and even calves, while the better off congregate and divide the meat amongst themselves.

The women gather on the banks of the river, washing the intestines and giblets. While the men carve the carcasses, dogs struggle over the scraps and bones. Fierce dog-fights end with the yelps and howls of the weaker.

A tone of festivity and plenty prevails amongst a people who enjoy this abundance on but a few days of the year.

Houses are scoured, and their inhabitants wash with greater care, (some only on this day of days) for homes and bodies alike must be clean for the feast of San Xuan.

Towards dusk an air of expectancy begins to reign. Music, already contracted for, should be arriving shortly. Everyone hopes it will be as good as in past years. Soon, from a hill-top, the sound of bag-pipes and the beating of drums are heard, rolling down the slopes to the valley. Fireworks are let off, and a crowd runs to meet the musicians who this year come from the bands of Vinhais: for such a feast a local orchestra will not do — novelty is needed to stimulate the greater excitement which the day calls for.

Here they come! Two drums are in the lead, followed by bagpipes, a flute and a trumpet. The eardrums vibrate with the shrill sounds of these instruments. A close-packed enthusiastic crowd follows this strange fanfare to the house where the band is to stay.

Meals follow, one upon the other almost uninterruptedly. Here is an invitation to partake of calf's udder, a much prized delicacy. Sheep's blood prepared in a special way is next offered. Wine flows in torrents. The smell of this abundance attracts the hungry from leagues around — more gypsies, more tramps, friends and relatives from both sides of the border, keep coming.

At night-fall, lights in kitchens indicate that housewives are still at work. From a repeated clanking of pans one guesses that rice-pudding is being prepared — it is the spoon beating against the copper pot as the grains sticking to its sides are removed.

The night is a short one. At crack of dawn the *ronda* wakes the whole village, and is a reminder that today is a gala day. The *ronda* is traditional at all the festivals of the region, but on this day the strident, wild music from Vinhais reinforced by the local players and singers gives the custom an unusual volume. The hustle and bustle goes on. There is more slaughtering and roasting of pigs. Yet more guests arrive and their coming raises a doubt whether the food may not suffice, a disgrace which would be intolerable to all. The ovens cannot cope with the meat to be roasted. Pigs and sheep, roasted or about to be roasted, are carried through the streets on large skewers. Portuguese voices and laughter mingle with those of their Spanish neighbours who are interestedly watching the animated fishing going on in a large pool of the river that runs through the village. By decree of its council the past year has been a closed season for this pool, so that there might be enough fish in it for today. One of the majordomos directs the fishing, and young boys, some in the stream and others on its banks, drive the fish into the nets. The fishing also provides a pretext for many to bathe, a bathe on St. John's morn having special virtue. Some scrub themselves with the morning dew, especially that which has fallen on the flax, as this gives youth and vigour to men and beauty to women.

The fishing has been good: kilos of rock-bass, trout and eels which will go to augment the repasts of the majordomos of St. John who must play host to the priests invited for the festival Mass as well as unexpected guests.

MASS ON THIS DAY OF JUBILATION IS LATE, and is followed by a procession that winds along all the village streets before returning to the church.

Heading the procession is an enormous banner flapping in the breeze. It is followed by the band and a group of boys letting off fireworks. Next come little angels, then platforms bearing Our Lady of St. John, carried on the shoulders of neighbours clad in red sleeveless tunics.

The clergy space themselves out in the procession. The parish priest, in front, is in command. Under a canopy comes a priest holding high the reliquary. The faithful follow, devout of mien and decked out in their best clothes. Young girls in mantillas sing appropriate hymns.

The procession is back in the church. It is two in the afternoon, and the fast has not yet been broken — a repast such as is to follow demands a completely empty stomach. St. John's dinner is a true gastronomic treat. A people who in their

day-to-day lives are relatively frugal know no half measures on this day. Even the poorest eat and drink to repletion and beyond, though this may mean days of want to follow. No one has a care for expense; doors are open to all acquaintances, and everyone is an acquaintance.

The dinner on St. John's is the year's most sumptuous. In dimensions it is gargantuan. Enormous courses follow one upon the other: pot-roast and potatoes, roast kid, veal cutlets, rice, roast beef, pork, fried fish, suckling pig on skewers, and finally, rice pudding. Wine is plentiful and the joy almost frenzied. In nearly every house the same courses are eaten save for veal and fish. Traditions must be maintained whatever the difficulties of supply.

Dinner over, everyone makes for the dancing arena, on the right bank of the river and shaded by venerable chestnuts now in bloom. The band, seated on large fallen branches of the trees gives an encore of yesterday's repertoire with small variations. If there is anything for admiration in this itinerant orchestra it is the superhuman endurance of its components. For more than 36 hours they know no rest. Intervals are short and rare — everyone wants to dance until he can dance no more.

The crowd spreads more and more widely over the arena and the circle of dancers keeps growing larger, animation increasing with the exhilaration produced by music and dance. The continuous beat of drums kindles an irrepressible nervous excitement which little by little infects even the most phlegmatic and the aged. All married and single, young and old, even children, dance today. Everyone must pay tribute to St. John, patron saint, that he may reward them with rich harvests, with plenty and with happiness.

Towards evening the arena presents a stimulating picture of collective frenzy. On the periphery of the original circle of dancers others are formed, keeping time with it thanks to the cohesive action of the music. In the centre is the motley crowd of those who dance because it is the custom — old and young alike, women with women, children with grown-ups, parents with children, grandparents with grandchildren, in a medley of motion. It is the dancing of those who in living as in dancing, aim no higher than at equality with others, mere links in the great chain of generations, for whom day follows monotonous day, with no greater ambition than to toil in order to live and to live for toil.

The smaller groups present greater individuality. They are either children dancing with one another, and who have no wish to be other than children, or the expert dancers who are proud to display their magnificent evolutions and foot-work, their graceful whirling. Or again, they may be lovers who, less closely packed and more emotionally, wheel around sentimentally, having eyes only for their partners, oblivious of the surrounding multitude. Yet again, and a little further off, is the fantastic dancing of gypsies and tramps. Here is the climax of the picturesque. Ragged tramps with bushy unkempt beards, deeply tanned by the highway sun, lame, malformed, monstrosities of nature who wailingly exhibit

their deformities at markets and fairs, now have their great day. Liberated and revived by the alchemy of meat, drink and the magic of the mad music, they dance with abandon. Clouds of dust are raised, and lit by the setting sun. Svelte figures of olive-skinned gypsies tread a graceful measure, the long coloured skirts of their partners swirling in harmony. Nothing can compare with the rhythm of these elegant figures. A strange and free race, comrades with the tramps in the same dance because both are nomads and outcasts, perhaps because both are free. . . . They possess neither hearth nor orchard, field nor marshland, but to them belongs the wide horizon, the mystery of distance and the insatiable yearning for it.

Probably for this reason no group of dancers on this day impresses as much; the gypsies by the superiority of their grace and elegance, by the agility of their movements; the tramps by the fierce exuberance of their spirits, wild and overflowing. Heady with wine, dribbling, shining with sweat, they have the aspect of savage glitter of those from whom anything, even a crime, may be expected.

NIGHT FALLS SLOWLY OVER THE HUGE CHESTNUTS. Feet keep beating time without cease while one by one the stars stud the great transmontane night. The drums keep drumming and the pipes never stop. Night's mystery veils the bodies enthralled by the music, and seems to weld them together.

The dancing is uninterrupted. Some go off to sup quickly and return, others have a snack without leaving. Flashes of light and bonfires intermittently illumine musicians and dancers. Many have stopped dancing and have joined the crowd of spectators. Others rest for longer periods before returning anew to the dance. Some never stop.

Throughout the night the very atmosphere seems vibrant with a magnetic tension produced by the monotonous and strident music. Only the first glimmer of dawn brings a short pause to the festival. The light of day sweeps away the sombre shadows of the shortest night in the year and the grandest night for Rio de Onor.

The next day is also given up to feasting. The eve's abundance is sufficient to provide for it. There is a surfeit of bread, meat and wine, and the beautiful lettuce makes an excellent salad. Some visitors depart; others stay on for one more day; no one can give serious thought to work.

The gypsies and tramps also make ready for yet another move. Their calendar indicates a new fête in some distant village and there they make their way. Full haversacks assure them of food for some days' journey. Then another feast and more abundance will once again fill them and their haversacks. And so it goes on through the year. Were is not for winter . . .

For Rio de Onor, St. John's is over. Mowing and reaping now begin, the days of heavy work in the *contos* and *faceiras dal pan*, when the heat shrivels and the thirst burns. But the happiness is not ended. When the sun begins to sink and the evening cools, songs are heard from the cornfields. The reapers are returning

home in the dusk, singing along the way, and at night the pipes and drums play for the young to dance.

Translated by Leo d'Almada from Jorge Dias, Rio de Onor — *Comunitarismo Agro-Pastoril*, Oporto 1953, pp. 349—357.

VI.

VILARINHO DA FURNA Games and Sports

WHAT HAS BEEN SAID ABOUT THE INHABITANT OF VILARINHO with regard to festivals may also be said of him within the framework of an activity which, as it is more or less carried out under the guise of physical exercises, we shall call Sports.

The austerity of a Vilarinho highlander's temperament gave little scope for the development of competitive games and those calling for dexterity, these being based on a certain extrovert attitude foreign to him.

The gusto and the *joie de vivre* characterising Paganism provoke an excess of vital energy which it is necessary to liberate through physical games, to be played against one another for pleasure, and not as a mere necessity for physical distension. According to Huizinga, a game is something more than a pure physiological phenomenon or a psychic reaction, psychologically motivated. As such it surpasses the limits of purely biological activity or the purely psychological¹. It cannot be said of the inhabitants of Vilarinho that they have not a sporting bent. Many of them are passionate devotees of certain pastimes, but what we do note is an absence of games involving contests between individuals or groups. Yet there is a marked inclination for a very special type of sports: hunting. Hunting is not a sport like other sports, except to certain city dwellers, such as those who hunt in game preserves and go in for live pigeon or clay pigeon shoots. A true hunter is one in whom his pre-historic ancestor is incarnate and for whom hunting was almost the only form of economy. It was these hunting peoples who painted the Atlantic bison, the Calapata (Teruel) deer, the Teruel wild boar hunt and scores of other cave pictures of great beauty, attesting to the superior aesthetic capacity of our remote ancestors. The pleasure of hunting is unique, not to be confused with the pleasure derived from any other form of sports, because to hunt means to return to the purity of the origin of the species: it is almost a dedicated activity. Condemned to kill in order to survive, Man in his struggle with other animals does not feel hatred or malice; one could almost say that he feels love. In the perfect solitude of Nature, his senses concentrated in the complete tension of struggle, Man trails animals untiringly. Instinct is quickened in a hunter; any

1. J. Huizinga, „Homo ludens, El juego como elemento de la História“, Editorial Azar, Lisbon 1943, p. 16.

imperceptible movement or sound rivets his attention and at the right moment, when the animal stirs, he tenses himself completely to fire the fatal shot. Although unconscious of the psychological process unfolding within himself, the fact remains that he feels the satisfaction of one who is fulfilling destiny and the splendour and courage inherent in it.

Hunting, then, is the sport which the inhabitant of Vilarinho indulges in with the greatest passion, and often as a poacher, shooting does in State-owned forests. To him, hunting is a natural right, and to transgress a law which arbitrarily (in his eyes) bars him from its free exercise is not a Crime.

The increase in population and the improvement in the quality of firearms has made game scarcer to such an extent that only a few dozen years ago a species indigenous to Gerês, the wild goat, "*Capra Lusitana*"², disappeared and other species were threatened, like the royal eagle, "*Aquila Crisactus*", which makes nests in the crags of mountains and which is destroyed not only by shooting but mainly by poison, because of the damage it does.

The wild boar is still found in a few places, most frequently in a very deep valley, on the Spanish frontier, at the limit of the Lindoso untilled grounds.

Roebucks, "*Cervus Capreolus*", have not been exterminated thanks to the protection of the Forestry Services which, as far as they are able to, prevent hunting inside State-owned woodland, and the Hunting Committee who banned temporarily the hunting of roebuck in all the mountain country, though how successfully is questionable.

Smaller game, like hare, partridge and rabbit is not very plentiful but occurs in sufficient numbers to cater for hunters, who in these seasons when ploughing and the pasturing of cattle make less demand upon their time, spend whole days in the mountains and valleys, with only a slice of bread, a rasher of bacon in their knapsack and a drop of wine in their flask. While at it they are as agile and alert as does.

Foxes are plentiful but they are not strictly the objectives of a hunt, although they are shot down when seen; they are also destroyed through poisoning when raiding hencoops.

The fox generally kills more birds than he can eat, and returns the following night to finish off what was left of the previous night's meal. Knowing this, farmers pour strychnine on the dead birds; when the fox comes along and eats the poisoned remnants it often dies not far from the spot where it has had its meal.

The noblest and the most ferocious animal of the region is the wolf. It is no longer an object of individual hunting, though whole shooting parties are organised at certain seasons.

WOLF SHOOTING PARTIES

A WOLF SHOOT IS THE MOST INTERESTING FORM OF HUNTING, not only because of the number of people involved but also for its traditional and communal

2 Carlos França, Arquivo da Universidade de Lisboa, Vol. IV, „Le Bouquetin du Gerez“.

aspect. While ordinary hunting is an individual aspect that cannot be referred to a particular people, a shooting party is a typical aspect of these regions and is related to communitary organisation. The wolf infests all the north-western ridge of mountains, majestic and rough, linked to one another like petrified monsters, that stretch from Peneda to Larouco.

The inhabitants of the highlands live in an eternal struggle against wild animals though the latter often pay for crimes they have not committed, for wild animals that account for the nocturnal disappearance of cattle are of a different species. The wolf is an animal of strange and mysterious habits; sometimes it almost vanishes as if becoming extinct; then suddenly it reappears in large numbers. During the 1914—18 World War, wolves had almost abandoned the region but in the last fifteen years they have come back in great numbers, causing serious loss and worry to the highland peoples. Hence, the need to hunt them down and to destroy them by every means, poison being to-day the commonest and most efficient method. But shooting parties have not been completely suspended, for they are an old tradition which, while satisfying the need to fight the common enemy, also gives to men the pleasure of a big warring expedition.

So, when the animals become more threatening and leave their lairs not only to kill and devour goats and rabbits, even cows, and, above all, mares in *feirio*^a, the highlanders organise a shoot to attack them in their own domain: in the deep gorges covered by thickets and in the crags of the border regions.

Shooting parties may be local and limited to the population of a particular place, in which case they are handled and directed by an Overseer; or general, when they are large parties organised by the Forestry Services or by the District Officer.

In the last few years there have been no shooting parties at Vilarinho, but they are frequent with neighbouring upland communities. Not many years ago we witnessed a shooting party at Peneda. As far as we know, general shoots took place only at Marvão or Cabreira, these being organised by the Forestry Services.

In the case of shooting parties or common *montarias*^b, the one of interest to us as an aspect of the communal life of these peoples, the decision that one should be held is taken at a meeting of the Board. It is up to the Overseer to set the date. The Overseer pores over a given plan of attack, according to the spots known to be inhabited by the animals. These must be driven into the pitfall, made up of two large stone walls, each about one hundred metres long, set at an acute angle, quite open and generally on a downward slope, with a hole, the "pit", at the lowest point where the walls meet.

The aim is to drive the animals towards and within these walls so that, once inside and driven forward, they have to descend to where the walls narrow into a corridor. Here it is easy to kill them. But should an animal escape death by

a) Translator's Note: *Andar ao feirio*, refers to cattle which is left to roam about.

b) T. N. Synonym of "shooting parties".

buckshot and run wounded, along the narrow passage, it will fall into the pit, which has been previously covered with branches and leaves. It is then killed.

A shooting party is one of the most extraordinary spectacles to be witnessed in the highlands. Before dawn, all have occupied the spots allotted to them by the Overseer. At the right moment, at zero hour, a shot will shatter the magnificent serenity of the dawn. A barbarous and infernal uproar immediately wells up from pigsties and distant hills. Hallucinating cries echo along the steep hills, mixed with the yelping of dogs. Rocket cracks and shrill horns answer the *sarronca's* diabolical noise. The *sarronca* is an appliance made from a cash, with a goat's skin stretched over one end and pierced in the middle by a waxed string on which the fingers are run, thus producing a raucous and unpleasant sound. In the darkness of early morning, when the outlines of the mountain ridge are barely visible, when slopes and steep hills are only black blotches, when everything appears confused, from afar, from many points around us, the shouting increases, the uproar is multiplied, although nothing can yet be clearly seen. The frightened animals run wildly towards the side where there is no noise. It is here that the pit lies and far down, hunters holding their guns at the ready, their hearts thumping, await in silence.

The shoot lasts for hours. Care is necessary to prevent the animals from hiding or escaping through a gap.

Little by little the round-up is tightened and those voices, so distant in the morning, are now clearly distinguishable. From behind them there emerge the incredible figures of the beaters. When the mass of men coming from the West reaches the ridge, behind the pit, it is as if a phantasmogoric frieze of a bygone age made its sudden, live, appearance, right in the middle of the 20th Century. Barbarous and dishevelled men, their clothes in tatters, armed with sickles and scythes, flint arquebuses, pitchforks, blunderbusses or long single-barrelled guns, some of them on horseback, all of them with an expression of holy fury, anxious to settle accounts with the wolf before it is within range of the guns of the hunters at the pit, the only ones to have guns with central percussion. There is nothing to compare with this spectacle in our times. These men who to-day track down wolves must of a certainty be the same ones who for a whole century drove back the Roman legions. They are men of the mountains, lonely and free, fired with an enthusiasm for a combat, which now is only a fight against wolves.

It is possible that constant use of strychnine may make shooting parties superfluous³ and if that is so, one more of the great spectacles played, live, in the grand scenery of those rocky mountains and wild thickets, will be gone. As with so many things to-day, the picturesque is sacrificed to the practical, not because the former is less popular, but because the scope of the latter is so much wider.

However, for the moment, shooting parties have not lost their meaning. Proof of this lies in the pits still to be seen in the region. Maintained by the community, they represent a high collective value.

3. In 1945, 19 wolves were poisoned.

At Amarela there are three pits: one, in ruins, at Vilarinho Hill, another at Lindoso Hill, and a third at Carrasqueira, the point in the mountain range where more wolves and wild cats are found.

For the people, these hunting parties are enormous fun. After the shoot, hunters and beaters get together, under the shade of a huge tree on any plain, near a spring, to enjoy tasty snacks and plenty of wine. In the midst of laughter and tales of hunting or adventure, more or less enriched by fantasy, they eat and drink fraternally, offering one another what each one has brought along, until at the end of the day they are awakened from their dream and reminded that they have to go back home. Then, if there are any dead wolves, these bands of men carry them away, hangig from poles. Their arrival at the village rouses enormous excitement, the population coming out to cheer the heroes.

In general, even local shooting parties comprise men from neighbouring villages; they come voluntarily, partly for enjoyment and partly because of an ancient spirit of solidarity in an undertaking of such magnitude and such widespread interest.

Besides individual or collective shooting parties, such as we have described, traps for catching wolves are also used. Tude de Souza speaks of a special device for catching wolves called "The goat's pit"⁴.

It consisted of a stone wall three to four metres high, built round a rock and roofed on the inside. When wolves were to be attracted, a kid was placed on the rock and the animal's bleatings would serve to lure the wolves in. The wolf jumped in easily enough, but then it could not get out; and it was killed afterwards.

This process described by Tude de Souza has been obsolete for a long time at Vilarinho and, it appears, in other villages as well⁵.

The inhabitants of Vilarinho also catch by means of traps, for though not allowed by Law, they provide a small free supply of rabbits and partridges. The most widely used trap in Vilarinho is the *enxó*, consisting of a wooden frame, with two lids, also of wood, closing automatically through stretchers made of twisted goat's fur. This trap is placed on the ground, over a previously dug up hole, at a point where game is known to pass, the hole being disguised with loose earth. When a rabbit or a partridge passes over it, the lids yield to the victim's weight and it falls into the hole; the lids spring closed again as soon as the victim ceases to weigh upon them. The poacher later comes to collect his bag.

A noose is also frequently used for small game.

Translated by Carlos Humberto da Silva from Jorge Dias, *Vilarinho da Furna, uma aldeia comunitária*, Oporto 1948, pp. 180—186.

4. Tude de Souza, Gerez, 1927, Page 48.

5. See description by Camilo of one of these pits at Samardã. Camilo Castelo Branco, *O Degradado*, Minho Novels, 2nd Edition, Lisbon 1903, III, pp. 17—18.

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