

## APPENDIX

### ANTHROPOLOGY MEETS HISTORY IN PORTUGAL: INHERITANCE, KINSHIP, AND DYNAMIC COMMUNITY MODELS

(Panel Discussion Document - 1988)

#### INTRODUCTION

Portugal has until now constituted a relatively uncharted territory of Europe, and in the current process of its "coming of ethnographic age" it also affords one of the richest and most fascinating fields for the combination of anthropological and historical research. A widely variegated geographic mosaic - simultaneously North Atlantic, circum-Alpine, and Mediterranean in classic terms - is mirrored by an abundant historical patrimony of administrative, ecclesiastical, fiscal, and genealogical documentation. It is now possible to carry a step further the pioneering suggestions by Evans-Pritchard in 1961 and again by Davis in 1977 that anthropology should incorporate history more completely within its overall program. A number of the speakers/authors brought together here have chosen to confront this proposition in a preliminary way, through detailed treatment of three major topics:

- (1) processes of inheritance and the inter-generational transfer of property;
- (2) patterns of kinship, marriage, and family structures in the widest sense;
- (3) the construction and refinement of dynamic and diachronic theoretical models of social process, social reproduction, and change within rural communities.

While consciously attempting to avoid such reified abstractions as "the family", the household, the residential settlement (the local community), and the hypothetically monolithic value-system (the moral community), the papers joined in this panel also propose to go beyond a traditional positivist focus upon the short synchronic moment of the "ethnographic present". This need not imply a full-scale abandonment or transformation of the methodology of participant observation, but rather a somewhat prudent step forward in the sense of elasticizing the relatively brief period of time normally contemplated as basic ethnographic fieldwork. Nor is there proposed a haphazard cross-filtering of ideas and methods in the name of interdisciplinary fashion. The specific task at hand is to open *strictly delimited fields and themes* (in this case, inheritance/kinship/temporal processes) where a number of branches of historical research and anthropological inquiry converge.

While the first topic presupposes the inclusion of background data from legal history, the second suggests the sub-fields of family history and historical demography, and the third invokes methods in the "re-study" of rural communities as well as models of social time and enduring *mentalités*. All of these potential dialogue situations across disciplinary boundaries urge us to tread cautiously lest we lose sight of the original goal of an initial mapping voyage of this uncharted territory. Two means of developing this new emphasis include: (a) placing each case studied within a precise regional and temporal context within contemporary Portugal, and (b) the tracing of a wider comparative perspective situating Portugal within Europe and the Mediterranean through parallels with similar materials from France, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, and Austria. The immediate geographical and cultural field is thus not a strictly Iberian one, but a wider span embracing West-Central or Latin Europe as a whole. Furthermore, underlying this line of analysis is the assumption that a "historical anthropology" of Portugal (or indeed of Europe as a whole) must be constructed with great care and with keen attention to the ethnographic particularities of the community, region, and country in question (Durand-Drouhin *et al* 1981-85).

The three major topics at hand are therefore the following: let us expand a little on their internal structures and bibliographic supports.

## I. INHERITANCE PROCESSES AND KINSHIP PATTERNS

A reasonable number of monographs have now appeared which deal with the specific mechanics in inter-generational property transmission in European and Mediterranean rural societies, as well as larger questions of inheritance patterns and the social reproduction of family structures over time: Augustins (1981/1982), Bentley (1987a/1987b), Berkner (1972b), Bourdieu (1962/1976), Brandão (1983/1985), Cole (1977a), Davis (1973), Douglass (1969), Iturra (1980), Khera (1973/1981), Le Roy Ladurie (1976), Leyton (1970), Lisón-Tolosana (1971/1976), Loizos (1975), Macfarlane (1978), O'Neill (1985/1987b), Ravis-Giordani (1987), Rogers & Salamon (1983), Siddle (1986), and Wolf & Cole (1974). Three of the above have written specifically about Portuguese inheritance customs. Curiously, very few of the scholars in this list cite one of the earliest ethnographic studies of rural inheritance systems - J.A. Barnes' article on two Norwegian hamlets (Barnes 1957). Nevertheless, much of this work has derived inspiration from the comparative models developed by Jack Goody (1969/1973/1976b), which continue to constitute stimulating frameworks for research on the complexities of inheritance practices and ideologies. Merely the tip of the iceberg in Portugal has been chipped off, and ongoing work focuses upon the following topics:

(a) Regional variation - The situating of Portuguese inheritance customs in comparative context: Mediterranean, Southern Europe, Central Europe. On a more localized level, the schemes of Yver (1966), Le Roy Ladurie (1976), Augustins (1982), and Rogers & Salamon (1983) are particularly useful in their discrimination of key forms of property transfer: the two extremes of male primogeniture and strictly egalitarian partibility, along with more elusive forms of preferential partibility. Austustins' distinction between inheritance of property and succession to the post of household head is quite helpful in delimiting a number of possible approaches to the problem. How well do these schemes apply to Portuguese inheritance practices?

(b) The legal background - What impact did the 1867 Portuguese Civil Code have upon inheritance systems (Brandão 1983)? A more difficult historical question is the detection of forms of partibility prior to the inception of the Civil Code - what regional patterns can be indicated at this stage within rural Portugal? Further, what parallels can be established outside Portugal within similar legal frameworks? See, for example, Wheaton (1980) for the case of seventeenth-century Bordeaux, and also for France - Lehning (1980), Shaffer (1982), and Traer (1980).

(c) Family Cycles and Social Reproduction - What forms of property transmission are linked to *pre-mortem* transferral (marriage and donations) or to strictly *post-mortem* division? The extended life-cycles and delayed transfers located by O'Neill in Trás-os-Montes province (1983) contrast with those reported by Brandão (1985) for the Minho, and depart drastically from the rapid and syncopated life-cycles described for the Mediterranean cases of Southern Italy and Cyprus (Davis 1973; Loizos 1975). Can we begin to detect evidence for trends in Portugal towards either of these forms? Should we also reconsider the myth of fragmentation and ineluctable partition (Bentley 1987b)? What kinds of larger social reproduction are shaped by specific forms of property transfer between individuals, family units, and wider social groups or classes? What role do the landless and land-poor have in social reproduction? Which non-material resources are of prime importance - names (Pais de Brito 1983), craft skills, prestige and honour? The household - and indeed the village community - is more easily conceived in this framework as a *dynamic* rather than a static or overly abstracted entity (Bourdieu 1976; Netting 1979).

(d) Strategies, Social Action, and the Individual - One component of this topic concentrates our attention upon the classic contradiction between the Individual and Society, or alternatively between an omnipotent Durkheimian Social Structure and ostensibly mute or highly inarticulate individual subjects. Bourdieu's concepts of individual and family "strategies" of marriage and inheritance (1976/1980) indicate an alternative theoretical model, apparently steering clear of both an excessive objectivism and an overly Sartrean subjectivism. The concept of *symbolic capital* also suggests a fruitful field of enquiry in which the legal, social, and symbolic elements in inheritance processes may be linked together: see particularly Medick & Sabean (1984) for some examples of how this may be done, as well as the more purely theoretical points brought up by Bourdieu (1980/1987). Close attention to this theoretical problem in some of the Portuguese

cases dealt with in this session may locate precise ethnographic illustrations exemplifying this wider philosophical question (Giddens 1984; Sobral 1987).

(e) Kinship Patterns and Family Structures - This category attempts to suggest questions of interest within the general anthropological realm of "kinship", without merely reproducing abstract deities of analysis such as the family or "the household" resembling the concept of *unilineal descent groups* which Leach so vehemently criticized in *Pul Eliya* (1961), and without multiplying repetitive collections of household composition in historical domestic groups: see Laslett (1972) along with Berkner's critique of the latter (1975). How can we begin to compare Portuguese family structures - while remaining aware of the variety of family types within Portugal - with other European materials? - cf. Callier-Boisvert (1968), Lawrence (1982), Lawrence & Salvador (1983), Wall (1986), and Willems (1962). How can we deal with newly reported units of analysis (Bastos 1988) such as the *monte algarvio* which fit neither into a "household" nor even a "community" model, but which nonetheless evoke interesting questions concerning kinship and neighbourhood practices?

One possible stance is to focus on aspects of kinship, marriage, and family structures which have *not* been copiously analyzed as yet in other European contexts (or indeed within Portugal itself), rather than patterns such as emigration or the position of women in "rural society" as a whole (itself an abstraction). Such topics might include: kinship and spatial organization (village taverns, neighbourhoods, changes in house construction and the social roles of dwellings), patterns of late marriage and non-marriage, local traditions of illegitimacy and consensual unions, temporary domestic service, life-cycle servanthood, and networks of cooperation within the wider kindred group (*parentela*). (This is not an exhaustive list, but merely a preface to myriad other possible themes.)

The varieties of Portuguese kinship and family patterns appear to defy any prefabricated categories of "nuclear/extended family household" models, as well as any hasty boxing of this country into European or Mediterranean culture areas (although Laslett's recent fourfold typology of family structures in traditional Europe is of some assistance - cf. Laslett 1983). The panel on "Portuguese Family: Tradition and Change" organized by Denise Lawrence and Mari Lyn Salvador at the 1983 Meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Chicago placed the spotlight on a number of Portuguese kinship patterns. The state of the art (anthropological kinship and family studies) in Portugal indicates that a rainbow of local kinship practices continues to afford a rich field of study along a wide spectrum of methodological and theoretical lines, and that the growing *corpus* of monographic research in other European countries now invites more detailed comparison.

(f) Historical Family Studies - Moving into the realm of social and economic history, the possibilities for forging links with historical anthropology are ample. Both Brandão & Feijó (1984) as well as Ferreira da Silva (1987/1988) indicate an array of historical sources susceptible to interdisciplinary analysis; merely a few of these include repetitive household listings (*Róis de Confessados/Status Animarum*), parish registers (*registos paroquiais*), tithe compilations (*livros de décima*), notarial registers (*cartórios notariais*), probate inventories (*inventários orfanológicos*), and wills (*testamentos*). These sources allow us to penetrate into the world of family relations (as well as relations between wider social groups in agrarian society) far beyond the limits of the ethnographic present (Brettell 1986; Greven 1970; Highsmith 1983; Rowland 1984), although the methodological and practical problems of record linkage and anthropological-historical theorization cannot be left aside or underplayed (Calhoun 1978; Wrigley 1973).

How does an initial phase of research into the themes of family history in Portugal open up specific articulations with social-anthropological studies of kinship in a wider sense? Is it feasible and practical at this point to summarize and clarify common ground between anthropologists and historians with respect to Portuguese family history, as has been done at another level by Bouquet & de Haan (1987) in their treatment of the uses of "kinship" in anthropology and rural sociology? The articulations between history and anthropology are multiple here, and not reducible either to historical demography or to the statistical study of household composition - cf. the larger conceptions proposed by Mitterauer & Sieder (1982), Plakans (1984), and Wall *et al* (1983).

## II. DYNAMIC MODELS OF THE RURAL COMMUNITY

This topic represents an embryonic shift towards a series of theoretical approaches which attempt to

conceptualize the rural community in a new and different fashion. Shying somewhat away from classic Redfieldian notions of the isolated or hermetic “little community” should, however, not necessarily lead to a total abandonment of village-inward models via the adoption of village-outward frameworks (Blok 1974) or world-system theories. A number of recent currents in European anthropology suggest that the following three themes offer particularly novel and rewarding paths of research:

(a) Developmental Cycle Theories - The work of Michael Mitterauer and Reinhard Sieder on rural Austria (1979/1982/1983) and Segalen on Brittany (1977/1985) has stressed in a clear manner the ways in which the concept of the “developmental cycle in domestic groups” coined by Meyer Fortes and Jack Goody in the 1950’s (Goody 1958) can be adapted and refined for the historico-anthropological study of rural European family and household systems. Already in 1972, Berkner (1972a) had called attention to the limitations of the frozen “photographic” nature of household classificatory schemes derived solely from one specific date, while other authors had long stressed the need for considering kinship as a processual course rather than a static unit (Hammel 1972). The possibilities for analyzing a wide spectrum of factors concerning household *processes* over a number of decades (and in some cases, centuries) are in Portugal particularly good, and we have developed (1987b) one kind of extension of developmental cycle theory in our study of social groups over time (1886-1978) through the combined use of parish registers, Confessional Rolls, and genealogies.

(b) Re-studies of Communities - In the wake of the classic case of a re-study of the same rural community by two different anthropologists (Redfield 1930 & Lewis 1951), a new form of re-study has emerged in the work of a number of Europeanist anthropologists. Leaving aside two cases involving contrasting views of different communities in the same region of one country (Mead 1928 & Freeman 1983 as well as Pitt-Rivers 1954 and Gilmore 1980), another set of ethnographers has chosen to conduct brief visits to the communities they studied in monographic fashion at an earlier date (cf. Wylie 1957 & 1981; Lisón-Tolosana 1966 & 1978; Cutileiro 1971 & 1977; and, outside Europe, the interesting case of Berreman in Northern India - 1963 & 1972).

All of these texts raise profound questions concerning dimensions of time, social change, and social continuity. At the same time they oblige anthropological models of the rural community to tackle larger theoretical and methodological problems addressing the link between strictly chronological processes and perceived notions of change within different sectors of a given rural society: why in some cases does the sphere of *politics* or *technology* exhibit such rapid transformation while the spheres of *family*, *religion*, or *social values* reveal such resistance to change? While Berreman found that almost nothing had changed in Sirkanda over a period of ten years, Cutileiro dealt with large-scale national and local mutations in tenurial structures and agrarian reform in Southern Portugal, and Lisón-Tolosana watched Belmonte de los Caballeros disappear before his very eyes some 17 years afterwards. An Aristotelian mean is afforded by Wylie, who found that certain sectors of Peyrane exhibited change over a 25-year period while other areas remained relatively stable.

A third kind of re-study involves the long-term analysis of one rural community by a team of anthropologists (Foster 1979; Veiga de Oliveira *et al* 1974). In Portugal, two classic anthropological monographs (Dias 1953; Cutileiro 1971) present us with base-lines with which to develop re-study frameworks in a particularly fruitful way (see also Ruivo & Marques 1982). Both Pais de Brito (1981/1983) and Ramos (1987) are currently conducting research along these lines, respectively, in the communities studied some years ago by Dias and Cutileiro. In both cases, a series of detailed theoretical questions about time and processual models of the rural community have arisen.

(c) Generational Time and Family Time - A final direction in which some of this work points is that of concepts of time: the seminal texts here are the chapter of Lisón-Tolosana’s *Belmonte de los Caballeros* (1966) entitled “Generations” and Hareven’s work on “family time” (1982). Both concepts are sufficiently complex and subtle to shift our attention to the origins of sociological, anthropological, and historical conceptualizations of *social time* as far back as Sorokin & Merton (1937) or even earlier. Four direct links seem feasible, between these concepts of time and other related currents in anthropology and history: (a) oral history and the study of social memory (Pais de Brito 1987); (b) aspects of [musical] *tempo* and manipulated time within the programmed temporal units of rituals (Bourdieu 1980); (c) long-term processes of time within the specific sub-field of historical anthropology (Evans-Pritchard 1961; Blok 1974; Davis 1977; Macfarlane 1977); and (d) overall models of *longue durée* and *mentalités* (Braudel 1977/1981-84).

While these links are not proposed concretely at this point, future research might direct careful time and effort to the four above-mentioned articulations as well as to the development of other forms of temporal

and processual models. These models are clearly not transposable directly from history to anthropology (see Sobral's critical review of the French *mentalités* school, 1987), but the overlap is flagrant. Curiously enough, anthropologists have been studying simultaneously the two extremes which some of the representatives of the Annales school designate as the momentary *event* and the *longue durée* inadvertently, skipping over almost totally the middle category of *conjunctural time*, which the topic of the re-study of rural communities brings back onto the stage from another angle. See also Goody's daring but stimulating treatment of long-term processes in Europe (1983) as well as Sobral & Iturra's discussion of Goody's thesis (1984). This topic might therefore constitute a form of "signpost", indicating another possible convergence between anthropologists and historians in future research on rural Portugal.

April 1988.

### BIBLIOGRAFIA PRELIMINAR

- ANDERSON, MICHAEL (1980) *Approaches to the History of the Western Family 1500-1914*. Londres: Macmillan.
- AUGUSTINS, GEORGES (1981) "Maison et Société dans les Baronniees au XIX Siècle", G. Augustins & R. Bonnain *Maisons, Mode de Vie, Société*. Tome I de I. Chiva & J. Goy (orgs.) *Les Baronniees des Pyrénées: Anthropologie et Histoire, Permanences et Changements*. Paris: EHESS/Centre de Recherches Historiques, 21-122.
- (1982) "Esquisse d'une Comparaison des Systèmes de Perpétuation des Groupes Domestiques dans les Sociétés Paysannes Européennes", *Archives Européennes de Sociologie* XXIII, 1, 39-69.
- BARNES, J.A. (1957) "Land Rights and Kinship in Two Bremnes Hamlets", *J.R.A.I. (Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute)* 87 (January-December), 31-56.
- BASTOS, CRISTIANA (1988) "The Northeastern Algarve and the Southern Iberia Family Pattern", *Journal of Family History* 13, 1, 111-122.
- BENTLEY, JEFFERY (1987a) "Technical Change in a Northwest Parish", Scott R. Pearson *et al* (orgs.) *Portuguese Agriculture in Transition*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 167-186.
- (1987b) "Economic and Ecological Approaches to Land Fragmentation: In Defense of a Much-Maligned Phenomenon", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 16, 31-67.
- BERKNER, LUTZ (1972a) "The Stem Family and the Developmental Cycle of the Peasant Household: An Eighteenth-century Austrian Example", *American Historical Review* 77, 2, 398-418.
- (1972b) "Rural Family Organization in Europe: A Problem in Comparative History", *Peasant Studies Newsletter* 1, 4, 145-156.
- (1975) "The Use and Misuse of Census Data for the Historical Analysis of Family Structure" (Review Article), *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* V, 4, 721-738.
- BERREMAN, GERALD (1972) [1963] "Epilogue: Sirkanda Ten Years Later", G. Berreman *Hindus of the Himalayas: Ethnography and Change*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 358-404.
- BLOK, ANTON (1974) *The Mafia of a Sicilian Village 1860-1960: A Study of Violent Peasant Entrepreneurs*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- BOUQUET, MARY & HENK DE HAAN (1987) "Kinship as an Analytical Category in Rural Sociology: An Introduction", *Sociologia Ruralis* XXVII, 4 (Analysing Kinship), 243-262.
- BOURDIEU, PIERRE (1962) "Célibat et Condition Paysanne", *Études Rurales* 5/6 (Avril-Septembre), 32-135.
- (1976) [1972] "Marriage Strategies as Strategies of Social Reproduction", E. Forster & O. Ranum (orgs.) *Family and Society: Selections from the Annales*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 117-144.
- (1980) *Le Sens Pratique*. Paris: Minuit.
- (1987) *Choses Dites*. Paris: Minuit.
- BRANDÃO, FÁTIMA (1983) "Death and the Survival of the rural Household in a Northwestern Municipality", *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford (JASO)* XIV, 1, 75-87.
- (1985) "Práticas de Herança no Concelho de Vieira do Minho (1870-1930)", Albert-Alain Bourdon (org.) *Les Campagnes Portugaises de 1870 à 1930: Image et Réalité* (Actes du Colloque, Aix-en-Provence, 2-

- 4 Décembre 1982). Paris: Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian/Centre Culturel Portugais, 143-172.
- BRANDÃO, FÁTIMA & ROBERT ROWLAND (1980) “História da Propriedade e Comunidade Rural: Questões de Método”, *Análise Social* XVI, 61/62, 173-207.
- BRANDÃO, FÁTIMA & RUI FEIJÓ (1984) “Entre Textos e Contextos: Os Estudos de Comunidade e as suas Fontes Históricas”, *Análise Social* XX, 83, 489-503.
- BRAUDEL, FERNAND (1977) “Histoire et Sciences Sociales: La Longue Durée”, *Écrits sur l'Histoire*. Paris: Flammarion, 41-83.
- (1981-84) *Civilization and Capitalism 15th-18th Century* (3 vols.). Nova Iorque: Harper & Row.
- BRETTELL, CAROLINE (1986) *Men Who Migrate, Women Who Wait: Population and History in a Portuguese Parish*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- BURNS, ROBERT K. (1963) “The Circum-Alpine Culture Area: A Preliminary View”, *Anthropological Quarterly* 36, 3, 130-155.
- CALHOUN, C.J. (1970) “History, Anthropology, and the Study of Communities: Some Problems in Macfarlane’s Proposal”, *Social History* 3, 3, 363-373.
- CALLIER-BOISVERT, COLETTE (1968) “Remarques sur le Système de Parenté et sur la Famille au Portugal”, *l’Homme* VIII, 2, 87-103.
- COLE, JOHN (1977a) “Inheritance Processes in the Italian Alps”, *Ethnohistory* 24, 2, 117-132.
- (1977b) “Anthropology Comes Part-way Home: Community Studies in Europe”, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 6, 349-378.
- CUTILEIRO, JOSÉ (1971) *A Portuguese Rural Society*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- (1977) “Posfácio”, *Ricos e Pobres no Alentejo (Uma Sociedade Rural Portuguesa)*. Lisboa: Sá da Costa, 403-424.
- DAVIS, JOHN (1973) *Land and Family in Pisticci*. Londres: Athlone Press.
- (1977) *People of the Mediterranean: An Essay in Comparative Social Anthropology*. Londres: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- DIAS, ANTÓNIO JORGE (1981) [1953] *Rio de Onor: Comunitarismo Agro-pastoril*. Lisboa: Presença.
- DOUGLASS, WILLIAM (1969) *Death in Murélag: Funerary Ritual in a Spanish Basque Village*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- (1980) “The South Italian Family: A Critique”, *Journal of Family History* 5, 4, 338-359.
- DURAND-DROUHIN, J.-L. & L.-M. SZWENGRUB em colaboração com L. MIHAILESCU (1981/1982/1985) (orgs.) *Rural Community Studies in Europe: Trends, Selected and Annotated Bibliographies, Analyses* (III vols.). Oxford: Pergamon Press/Vienna: European Coordination Centre for Research and Documentation in Social Sciences.
- EVANS-PRITCHARD, E.E. (1961) *Anthropology and History: A Lecture*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- FERREIRA DA SILVA, ÁLVARO (1987) “Família e Trabalho Doméstico no ‘Hinterland’ de Lisboa: Oeiras, 1763-1810”, *Análise Social* XXIV, 97, 531-562.
- (1988) “Estruturas Agrárias e Relações Sociais: Fontes para o seu Estudo (Décimas e Cartórios Notariais)”, Miriam H. Pereira & M. J. da Silva Leal (orgs.) *Arquivo e Historiografia: Colóquio sobre as Fontes de História Contemporânea Portuguesa*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional/Casa da Moeda, 327-353.
- FREEMAN, DEREK (1983) *Margaret Mead and Samoa: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- FOSTER, GEORGE *et al* (1979) (orgs.) *Long-Term Field Research in Social Anthropology*. Nova Iorque: Academic Press.
- GIDDENS, ANTHONY (1984) *The Construction of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- GOODY, JACK (1958) (org.) *The Developmental Cycle of Domestic Groups*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (1969) “Inheritance, Property, and Marriage in Africa and Eurasia”, *Sociology* 3, 1, 55-76.
- (1973) “Strategies of Heirship”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* XV, 3-20.
- (1976) “Introduction” & “Inheritance, Property, and Women: Some Comparative Considerations”, J. Goody, J. Thirsk & E.P. Thompson (orgs.) *Family and Inheritance: Rural Society in Western Europe 1200-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-9 & 10-36.
- (1983) *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- GILMORE, DAVID (1980) *The People of the Plain: Class and Community in Lower Andalusia*. Nova Iorque: Columbia University Press.
- GREVEN, PHILIP J. (1970) *Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- HAJNAL, JOHN (1965) "European Marriage Patterns in Perspective", D.V. Glass & D.E.C. Eversley (orgs.) *Population in History: Essays in Historical Demography*. Londres: Edward Arnold, 101-143.
- HAMMEL, EUGENE A. (1972) "The Zadruga as Process", P. Laslett & R. Wall (orgs.) *Household and Family in Past Time*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 335-373.
- HAREVEN, TAMARA K. (1982) *Family Time and Industrial Time: The Relationship Between the Family and Work in a New England Industrial Community*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- HIGHSMITH, ANNE L. (1983) "Religion and Peasant Attitudes toward Death in Eighteenth-century Portugal: The Parish of São Cristóvão de Rio Mau, 1747- 1785", *Peasant Studies* 11, 1, 5-18.
- KHERA, SIGRID (1973) "Social Stratification and Land Inheritance among Austrian Peasants", *American Anthropologist* 75, 3, 814-823.
- (1981) "Illegitimacy and Mode of Land Inheritance among Austrian Peasants", *Ethnology* XX, 4, 307-323.
- LASLETT, PETER & RICHARD WALL (1972) (orgs.) *Household and Family in Past Time*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (1983) "Family and Household as Work Group and Kin Group: Areas of Traditional Europe Compared", R. Wall, P. Laslett & J. Robin (orgs.) *Family Forms in Historic Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 513-563.
- ITURRA, RAÚL (1980) "Strategies in the Domestic Organization of Production in Rural Galicia (N.W. Spain)", *Cambridge Anthropology* 6, 1/2 (Studies in European Ethnography), 88-129.
- LAWRENCE, DENISE (1982) "Reconsidering the Menstrual Taboo: A Portuguese Case", *Anthropological Quarterly* 55, 2, 84-98.
- (1983) "Managing Family Pollution: Sex, Death, and Portuguese Women", Comunicação apresentada no 82º Congresso Anual da *American Anthropological Association*, Chicago, 20 de Novembro.
- (1987) "The Ritual Meaning of the Street", Comunicação apresentada no 86º Congresso Anual da *American Anthropological Association*, Chicago, 19 de Novembro.
- LAWRENCE, DENISE & MARI LYN SALVADOR (1983) [co-organizadoras] "Portuguese Family: Tradition and Change", Painei 458 integrado no 82º Congresso Anual da *American Anthropological Association*, Chicago, 20 de Novembro.
- LEACH, EDMUND (1961) *Pul Eliya - A Village in Ceylon: A Study of Land Tenure and Kinship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- LEHNING, JAMES (1980) *The Peasants of Marthes: Economic Development and Family Organization in Nineteenth-century France*. Londres: Macmillan.
- LE ROY LADURIE, E. (1976) "Family Structures and Inheritance Customs in Sixteenth-century France", J. Goody, J. Thirsk & E.P. Thompson (orgs.) *Family and Inheritance: Rural Society in Western Europe 1200-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 37-70.
- LEWIS, OSCAR (1972) [1951] *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlán Restudied*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- LEYTON, ELLIOTT (1970) "Spheres of Inheritance in Aghnaboy", *American Anthropologist* 72, 6 1378-1388.
- LISÓN-TOLOSANA, CARMELO (1971) *Antropología Cultural de Galicia*. Madrid: Siglo XXI.
- (1976) "The Ethics of Inheritance", J.G. Peristiany (org.) *Mediterranean Family Structures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 305-315.
- (1978) "Aspectos del Cambio Socio-cultural en una Comunidad Rural", Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (org.) *Homenaje a Julio Caro Baroja*. Madrid: 685-698.
- (1983) [1966] *Belmonte de los Caballeros: Anthropology and History in an Aragonese Community*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- LOIZOS, PETER (1975) "Changes in Property Transfer among Greek Cypriot Villagers", *Man* 10, 4, 503-523.
- MACFARLANE, ALAN (com S. HARRISON & C. JARDINE) (1977) *Reconstructing Historical Communities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (1978) *The Origins of English Individualism: The Family, Property, and Social Transition*. Oxford: Basil

Blackwell.

- MEAD, MARGARET (1973) [1928] *Coming of Age in Samoa: A Psychological Study of Primitive Youth for Western Civilization..* Nova Iorque: Morrow Quill.
- MEDEIROS, FERNANDO (1987) [1985] “Grupos Domésticos e *Habitat Rural* no Norte de Portugal - O Contributo da Escola de Le Play, 1908-34”, *Análise Social* XXIII, 95, 97-116.
- MEDICK, HANS & DAVID SABEAN (1984) (orgs.) *Interest and Emotion: Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press/Paris: Maison des Sciences de l’Homme.
- MENDRAS, HENRI & IOAN MIHAILESCU (1982) (orgs.) *Theories and Methods in Rural Community Studies*. Oxford: Pergamon Press/Vienna: European Coordination Centre for Research and Documentation in Social Sciences.
- MITTERAUER, MICHAEL & REINHARD SIEDER (1979) “The Developmental Process of Domestic Groups: Problems of Reconstruction and Possibilities of Interpretation”, *Journal of Family History* 4, 3, 257-284.
- (1982) [1977] *The European Family: Patriarchy to Partnership from the Middle Ages to the Present*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- (1983) “The Reconstruction of the Family Life Course: Theoretical Problems and Empirical Results”, R. Wall, P. Laslett & J. Robin (orgs.) *Family Forms in Historic Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 309-345.
- MONTEIRO, PAULO (1985) *Terra Que Já Foi Terra: Análise Sociológica do Abandono de Nove Lugares Agro-pastoris da Serra da Lousã*. Lisboa: Salamandra.
- NETTING, ROBERT (1979) “Household Dynamics in a Nineteenth Century Swiss Village”, *Journal of Family History* 4, 1, 39-58.
- (1981) *Balancing on an Alp: Ecological Change and Continuity in a Swiss Alpine Community*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- NETTING, R., R. WILK & E. ARNOULD (1984) (orgs.) *Households: Comparative and Historical Studies of the Domestic Group*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- O’NEILL, BRIAN JUAN (1983) “Dying and Inheriting in Rural Trás-os-Montes”, *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford (JASO)* XIV, 1, 44-74.
- (1985) “Family Cycles and Inheritance in Rural Portugal”, *Peasant Studies* 12, 3, 199-213.
- (1987a) “Portuguese Peasant Life-cycles: Mediterranean or Central European?”, Comunicação apresentada ao 3ème Congrès de la SIEF (Société Internationale d’Ethnologie et de Folklore) sur le Thème du Cycle de Vie, Zürich, 8-12 April.
- (1987b) *Social Inequality in a Portuguese Hamlet: Land, Late Marriage, and Bastardy 1870-1978*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- PAIS DE BRITO, JOAQUIM (1981) “L’Ordre de l’Ordre: Rotativité dans les Travaux et Organisation de l’Espace dans un Village du Nordest de Portugal”, Comunicação apresentada ao Colloque d’*Ethnologia Europaea*, Montmajou.
- (1983) “La Maison et les Stratégies de l’Identité sur l’Usage des Noms à Rio de Onor”, *l’Uomo* VII, 1/2, 145-154.
- (1988) “Histórias Que se Sabem, Histórias Que se Contam: Estratégias Sociais na Oralidade Aldeã”, *Ler História* 12, 111-124.
- PINA-CABRAL, JOÃO DE (1984) “Comentários Críticos sobre a Casa e a Família no Alto Minho Rural”, *Análise Social* XX, 81/82, 263-284.
- (1986) *Sons of Adam, Daughters of Eve: The Peasant Worldview of the Alto Minho*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- PITT-RIVERS, JULIAN (1971) [1954] *The People of the Sierra*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- PLAKANS, ANDREJS (1981) “Anthropology, History, and the European Joint Family: Reflections on Modes of Research”, *Ethnologia Europaea* XII, 2, 117-132.
- (1984) *Kinship in the Past: An Anthropology of European Family Life 1500-1900*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- RAMOS, FRANCISCO (1983) “Influence of Urban Contact on Rural Portuguese Families”, Comunicação apresentada ao 82º Congresso Anual da *American Anthropological Association*, Chicago, 20 de Novembro.
- (1987) “Social Change in a Portuguese Rural Community: Vila Velha Revisited”, Comunicação apresentada ao 86º Congresso Anual da *American Anthropological Association*, Chicago, 22 de Novembro.
- RAVIS-GIORDANI, GEORGES (1987) (org.) *Femmes et Patrimoines dans les Sociétés Rurales de l’Europe*

- Méditerranéenne*. Paris: Éditions du CNRS/Marseille: Centre Régional de Publication de Marseille.
- REDFIELD, ROBERT (1930) *Tepoztlán: A Mexican Village - A Study of Folk Life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press/Midway Reprint, 1973.
- (1973) [1956] *The Little Community/Peasant Society and Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- RIBEIRO, ORLANDO (1986) [1945] *Portugal, O Mediterrâneo e o Atlântico*. Lisboa: Sá da Costa.
- (1987) *Introdução ao Estudo da Geografia Regional*. Lisboa: João Sá da Costa.
- ROGERS, SUSAN CAROL & S. SALAMON (1983) "Inheritance and Social Organization among Family Farmers", *American Ethnologist* 10, 3, 529-550.
- ROWLAND, ROBERT (1984) "Sistemas Familiares e Padrões Demográficos em Portugal: Questões para uma Investigação Comparada", *Ler História* 3, 13-32.
- RUIVO, FERNANDO & M.M. LEITÃO MARQUES (1982) "Comunidade e Antropologia Jurídica em Jorge Dias: Vilarinho da Furna e Rio de Onor", *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais* 10, 41-87.
- SHAFFER, JOHN W. (1982) *Family and Farm: Agrarian Change and Household Organization in the Loire Valley 1500-1900*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- SEGALEN, MARTINE (1977) "The Family Cycle and Household Structure: Five Generations in a French Village", *Journal of Family History* 2, 3, 223-236.
- (1985) *Quinze Générations de Bas-Bretons: Parenté et Société dans le Pays Bigouden Sud 1720-1980*. Paris: PUF.
- SIDDLE, DAVID (1986) "Inheritance Strategies and Lineage Development in Peasant Society", *Continuity and Change* 1, 3, 333-361.
- SILVERMAN, SYDEL (1979) "On the Uses of History in Anthropology: The *Palio* of Siena", *American Ethnologist* 6, 3, 413-436.
- SOBRAL, JOSÉ MANUEL (1986) "Prefácio", *Padre Casimiro Apontamentos para a História da Revolução do Minho em 1846 ou da Maria da Fonte, Finda a Guerra em 1847*. Lisboa: Rolim, 28 pp.
- (1987) "Mentalidade, Acção, Racionalidade - Uma Leitura Crítica da *História das Mentalidades*", *Análise Social* XXIII, 95, 37-57.
- SOBRAL, JOSÉ MANUEL & RAÚL ITURRA (1984) "A Domesticação do Comportamento Selvagem dos Europeus", *Ler História* 3, 81-94.
- SOROKIN, PITIRIM & ROBERT MERTON (1937) "Social Time: A Methodological and Functional Analysis", *American Journal of Sociology* XLII, March, 615-629.
- TRAER, JAMES (1980) *Marriage and the Family in Eighteenth-century France*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- VEIGA DE OLIVEIRA, ERNESTO, F. GALHANO & B. PEREIRA (1974) "Rio de Onor 1973", Instituto da Alta Cultura (org.) *In Memoriam António Jorge Dias*. Lisboa: Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar, Vol. III, 285-312.
- WALL, KARIN (1986) "Agriculture and the Family in Portugal: Aspects for a Critical Appraisal", Sociedade Portuguesa de Estudos Rurais (org.) *Facts and Figures about Rural Portugal*. Braga: 13th European Congress for Rural Sociology, 89-106.
- WALL, RICHARD, P. LASLETT & J. ROBIN (1983) (orgs.) *Family Forms in Historic Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- WHEATON, ROBERT (1980) "Affinity and Descent in Seventeenth-century Bordeaux", R. Wheaton & T. Hareven (orgs.) *Family and Sexuality in French History*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 111-134.
- WILLEMS, EMÍLIO (1962) "On Portuguese Family Structure", *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* III, 1, 65-79.
- WOLF, ERIC & JOHN COLE (1974) *The Hidden Frontier: Ecology and Ethnicity in an Alpine Valley*. Nova Iorque: Academic Press.
- WRIGLEY, E.A. (1973) (org.) *Identifying People in the Past*. Londres: Edward Arnold.
- WYLIE, LAURENCE (1981) "Peyrane Ten Years Later" & "Twenty-five Years Later", L. Wylie *Village in the Vaucluse* [1957]. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 340-370 & 371-383.