

NOTA DE APRESENTAÇÃO

O conjunto de artigos reunidos nos dois tomos de *Trabalhos de Antropologia e Etnologia* de 1997 (fasc. 1-2 e 3-4) — sob o título genérico de “Família e Herança em Portugal” — teve a sua origem num painel organizado no âmbito do 87º Congresso da Associação Americana de Antropologia em Phoenix, Arizona, a 20 de Novembro de 1988. A designação original do painel — “*Anthropology Meets History in Portugal: Kinship, Inheritance, and Dynamic Community Models*” — e as comunicações nele apresentadas tiveram em comum dois temas fundamentais unificadores: (a) processos de sucessão, herança e transmissão da propriedade em comunidades rurais portuguesas, e (b) perspectivas temporais na análise dos três domínios associados da *família*, da *casa* e das *localidades*. Cada tomo dos TAE de 1997, assim, irá reunir um grupo de artigos focados prioritariamente sobre cada um destes dois eixos. Um objectivo primordial foi desencadear uma troca de ideias e pistas sobre modelos e procedimentos teóricos, por um lado entre a antropologia e a história e, por outro, entre investigadores portugueses e norte-americanos que tinham levado a cabo pesquisas recentes sobre os referidos tópicos em terrenos portugueses. Teve o patrocínio da (à altura) recém-criada *Society for the Anthropology of Europe* e algum apoio da Fundação Luso-Americana para o Desenvolvimento.

Entretanto, tendo passado bastante tempo desde a data em que o painel decorreu, o conjunto de comunicações originalmente apresentadas sofreu alterações significativas que lhe confere hoje um carácter quase totalmente novo. Em primeiro lugar, todos os trabalhos originais comportaram actualizações de conteúdo e de bibliografia, tornando a sua ligação ao texto anterior mais ou menos remota. Serão os casos dos artigos, neste primeiro fascículo, de Cristiana Bastos e Fátima Brandão e, no fascículo seguinte, dos de Denise Lawrence, Francisco Ramos, José Sobral e Georges Augustins. Por outro lado, foram substituídos os artigos de Brian Juan O'Neill neste número e Álvaro Ferreira da Silva no próximo. Além disso, foram incorporados textos de autores que não participaram no painel mas cujos temas se inserem claramente nas vertentes-chave daquela reunião. Tais alterações em nada transformaram — antes enriqueceram — as principais linhas temáticas do painel de 1988, tanto num sentido de diversificação conceptual como de alargamento empírico e geográfico.

Em termos linguísticos e estilísticos, foram efectuadas algumas traduções do inglês norte-americano para o português, sempre corrigidas pelos autores e revistas posteriormente por membros do Conselho Redactorial. Por esse paciente trabalho de revisão — também efectuado em relação ao nosso próprio texto, original e imperfeitamente escrito em português — agradecemos vivamente a Vítor Oliveira Jorge, Henrique Gomes de Araújo e Paulo Castro Seixas. Agradecimentos igualmente calorosos são dirigidos à revista *TAE* e em particular ao seu coordenador pelo interesse manifestado em publicar os dois conjuntos de artigos, assim permitindo a sua difusão geral e discussão. Esperamos que este seja considerado um contributo para o aprofundamento não apenas da antropologia social e cultural de Portugal rural, mas também para novos ângulos de conceptualização dos *processos dinâmicos e de longa duração temporal* das relações sociais, nos domínios de estudo da família e dos padrões de herança em Portugal.

A autorização para a versão portuguesa do artigo de Jeffery Bentley foi gentilmente concedida pela Arizona University Press, uma vez que esse texto foi publicado anteriormente como Capítulo 4 do livro desse autor — *Today There is No Misery: The Ethnography of Farming in Northwest Portugal*, 1992.

Temos a impressão que a etnografia e a história, cumulativamente, continuam a tornar mais complexa a sua visão sobre as riquezas e singularidades dos sistemas de sucessão e de estruturas familiares neste país. Dois textos recentes destacam-se por terem feito tentativas semelhantes de síntese inicial: o dossier de cinco artigos sob o título genérico “Les Transmissions entre Générations: Héritage et Succession au Portugal” organizado em 1991 por Colette Callier-Boisvert no Nº 3 do Boletim *Recherches en Anthropologie au Portugal* (Centre d'Études Portugaises de l'EHESS), e o artigo de Margarida Durães de 1995 intitulado “Necessidades Económicas e Práticas Jurídicas: Problemas da Transmissão das Explorações Agrícolas. Séculos XVIII-XX” e publicado no Nº 29 da revista *Ler História*. Os artigos aqui reunidos, por conseguinte, entram em discussão paralela com as análises enunciadas nestas duas publicações, que também salientam a necessidade imperiosa de focagens sincronizadas entre a antropologia e a história, entre as práticas familiares e os sistemas jurídicos. É precisamente neste *interface* interdisciplinar — tomado com cuidado e atenção, em vez de num sentido desenfreado ou imediatista — que julgamos produzir um contributo importante. Trata-se de estabelecer um laço construtivo de olhares diacrónicos entre duas ciências sociais focadas simultaneamente sobre lugares e processos afins.

A lógica de ligação entre as duas grandes temáticas nos dois tomos é simples. No primeiro, o objectivo é algo reservado: delinear alguns dos pontos principais de uma análise comparativa das formas de sucessão e herança portuguesas. Não esqueçamos o aviso famoso de Edmund Leach no seu polémico *Repensando a Antropologia* (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 1974 [1961]), no sentido de

evitarmos circunscrever as nossas recolhas etnográficas apenas a esforços de “coleccionar borboletas” específicas, neste ou naquele terreno concreto. Tendo amplos os exemplos etnográficos disponíveis, dever-se-á tentar avançar algumas linhas de síntese e comparação. O primeiro texto pretende esboçar um panorama inicial do tema, dividindo os sistemas portugueses de sucessão e herança em três grandes categorias: práticas de primogenitura, de preferência preciputária e de divisão igualitária, categorias que estão respectivamente associadas vulgarmente com as três palavras *morgadio*, *terço* e *partilhas*. Seguem-se três textos, respectivamente, de Cristiana Bastos, Jeffery Bentley e Fátima Brandão, nos quais se oferecem exemplos concretos de sistemas regionalmente diferenciados dos processos em análise. Antes que tudo, pretende-se salientar que os textos reunidos *não* visam inserir-se apenas dentro da bibliografia da “família” em Portugal, bibliografia essa que ainda se encontra em vias de pura expansão. Assim, delimita-se também o campo de estudo noutra direcção, num sentido de restringir drasticamente o domínio focado em termos disciplinares. Não se propõe esgotar — nem sequer tocamos a ponta do icebergue! — as perspectivas sociológicas, geográficas, jurídicas, demográficas e psicológicas sobre a família e herança em Portugal. Antes, procura-se apenas tentar desbravar uma abertura de um campo *específico* de futura intersecção de análises.

Claro que, com esta atitude prudente, também serão registadas, mas pouco efectuadas, comparações com outras regiões europeias e mediterrânicas com óbvias similitudes. Um passo significativo terá sido dado se este conjunto de textos conseguir solidificar a noção de que *diversas* formas de transmissão dos bens podem caracterizar a mesma comunidade rural, de maneira divergente conforme o momento histórico concreto. Associado a esta noção, perdura o mito de que a abolição dos vínculos em 1863 e o Código Civil de 1867 foram os culpados directos da extinção da primogenitura e da instituição de uma supostamente nova “lei” de partilhas igualitárias no país. Os textos reunidos tendem a contrariar esta ideia simplista. Por um lado, parece existirem provas de que certas populações, *mesmo antes de 1867*, efectuavam partilhas equitativas. Paralelamente, os artigos insertos neste dossier fornecem provas de que há famílias e comunidades que, *muito depois de 1863*, continuam a aproveitar todos os meios práticos e legais possíveis para evitar ou adiar os efeitos de partilhas, através do favorecimento de um só herdeiro.

O segundo conjunto de artigos (a ser publicado, como dissemos, nos próximos fascs. 3-4 dos TAE de 1997), igualmente não deverá ser interpretado como focando literalmente “a família” em Portugal. Aí serão três os sub-domínios sobre os quais os antropólogos e historiadores se debruçam: (a) *casas* ou *grupos domésticos* interpretados como entidades em fluxo constante, quer na sua composição, quer nas suas transformações através do tempo; (b) *famílias* conceptualizadas

como “campos” de actividade laboral que intimamente ligam o foro familiar à área de emprego local; e (c) a *localidade* rural como arena de intersecção de vários tipos de temporalidades. Nitidamente, o conjunto de textos sugere um exercício no sentido de “repensar” as categorias analíticas que se têm — às vezes subrepticamente — infiltrado nas nossas disciplinas, a ponto de nos criarem mais entraves teóricos do que capacidades de abertura ou invenção. *Casa, família e comunidade* tendem, nos anos 90, a converterem-se em camisas-de-forças: isto já foi evidente em 1988, e continua, a meu ver, a caracterizar boa parte do dilema etnológico actual em torno da sociedade rural portuguesa.

O segundo conjunto de textos propõe-se — salvo obviamente as especificidades de cada um — desenvolver formas de perspectivar *processos não necessariamente uniformes* relacionados com a casa rural, as famílias camponesas ou operárias, e a própria comunidade aldeã. Estas *não* constituem entidades reificadas ou estagnantes, situadas num presente desfocado através de miopias e astigmatismos analíticos. Quais as dimensões temporais, de média duração, dos seus desenvolvimentos, desintegrações e reajustamentos? Quais as formas em que a antropologia e a história podem, com prudência, articular-se e fundir-se cuidadosamente, relativamente a estes campos comuns?

O espírito que inspira os textos sobre “Família e Herança em Portugal” poder-se-ia caracterizar, pois, como *interrogativo* em vez de afirmativo ou racionalmente comprovativo. Agradece-se particularmente a Georges Augustins, do Laboratoire d'Ethnologie et de Sociologie Comparative da Université de Paris X (Nanterre) — etnólogo com uma apurada visão comparativista da Europa, actualmente a desenvolver pesquisa no Sul de Portugal — um comentário de síntese final em forma de Posfácio (que o leitor encontrará no próximo tomo) aos dois conjuntos de textos agora publicados.

No sentido de o leitor se poder situar melhor face ao âmbito das questões teóricas que inspiraram o painel original, incluímos a seguir — inalterado — o texto introdutório de 1988 que acompanhou o convite aos investigadores que no painel participaram. Estas linhas constituíam basicamente um *call for papers*, embora procurassem obviamente ir mais além desse objectivo prático, no sentido de estabelecer algumas linhas e pistas iniciais para debate e discussão naquele congresso norte-americano.

Decidimos manter o texto no inglês original, sem deixar de chamar a atenção para uma das razões curiosas de o incluir aqui como parte integrante desta nota prévia: o *time-span* entre 1988 e 1997 suscita, precisamente, uma série de interrogações comparativas sobre o estado da questão (os estudos sobre família e herança em Portugal), tal como foi focada no final dos anos 80 e agora, novamente, em finais dos anos 90. Por isso mesmo, parece-nos mais interessante não retocar nem actualizar o documento, deixando-o tal como foi exposto anterior-

mente. Na bibliografia, o especialista encontrará algumas referências que não duplicam — antes complementam — as dos quatro artigos subsequentes do “dossier”, tornando-a um instrumento ainda útil hoje. Que linhas principais de pesquisa e que temas continuaram entretanto a ser abordados pelos antropólogos e historiadores? Como se desenvolveu este ramo da etnografia de comunidades rurais portuguesas neste período, em matéria de formas de transmissão e sistemas de parentesco, através das monografias produzidas por investigadores nacionais e estrangeiros? Que tópicos deixaram de suscitar tanta atenção, e por quê? Que outros — inteiramente novos — apareceram inesperadamente?

Serão, claramente, questões em aberto, a colocar a um texto incompleto e embrionário, cujo única finalidade foi — e continua a ser — a de despertar interesse e reflexão criativa e propiciadora de novas investigações.

Janeiro de 1997.

Brian Juan O'Neill

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. Augustins' 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 & Sabeian (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 Ruiivo & 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.

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