

*Lugares de Aqui, Actas do Seminário "Terrenos Portugueses."* Edited by Brian Juan O'Neill and Joaquim Pais de Brito. Lisbon: Publicações Dom Quixote, 1991.

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*Lugares de Aqui* is a collection of ethnographic investigations of Portuguese spaces and places. It grew out of a working seminar entitled *Terrenos Portugueses* held at *O Centro de Estudos de Antropologia Social* at the *Instituto Superior de Ciências do Trabalho e da Empresa* between 1988 and 1989. The eleven papers are all by anthropologists who have conducted fieldwork in continental Portugal, the Azores, or Madeira. The collection is not, as O'Neill and De Brito point out in their preface, an attempt to represent all the various strands of anthropological research on Portugal, but to put together a sampling of current ethnographic projects. The papers, however, do provide invaluable insight into the range of theoretical and methodological concerns of anthropologists working in the Social Anthropology Department at I.S.C.T.E. as well as into life in various less-well-known corners of Portugal.

The topics and approaches of the papers are quite diverse, but the broad theme of "spaciality and territoriality" (14) runs through all the investigations and holds the collection together. All the papers explore and problematize in one way or another the concept of space and place. Methodological questions include: What kinds of spaces and places are the sites of anthropological investigation? What should the center of an investigation consist of and how should its boundaries be defined? Are boundaries inherently physical or social, and how should the complexity intertwined and often ambiguous physical and social dimensions of "place" be sorted out? In what ways can written documents be understood as constituting social spaces? Substantive ethnographic questions focus on the cultural meanings of spaces and places for the groups of inhabitants of various local communities. As O'Neill and de Brito state, "The house, the village, the neighborhood, the latifundio, the hill, the site, the parish, the place, the couple, the farm - all these units are organized with quite different structures and meanings; these multiple territorialities are, directly or indirectly, the subjects of our reflections" (14).

The papers each focus on different parts of Portugal - the Azores, Madeira, Trás-os-Montes, Alto Minho, Beira Alta, Alentejo, the mountain-

ous areas of the Algarve, and Lisbon - and together they raise the question of how regionally specific patterns in the definition and use of various spaces can best be explored and understood.

The papers offer very different perspectives on the problem of Portuguese *terrenos*. João Leal explores the history and meanings of the Holy Ghost Feast in São Jorge in the Azores and depicts how the feast plays an important part in the construction of distinct and competitive parish identities. His analysis points out, however, that the relation between physical proximity and place-linked identities is not constant as seasonal migrations of the population to different parts of the island regularly bring members of different parishes side by side for significant portions of the year. Jorge Freitas Branco contrasts the romantic images of Madeira found in eighteenth century European travelogues with his own ethnographic images of hierarchy and social relations of present-day life. Pedro Pista's study, in contrast to Leal's documentation of strongly delineated parish identities, describes a very decentralized population in the Alto Barrocal region of the Algarve. Residence is neolocal and widely dispersed and he raises the question of what "place" people feel connected to as well as what kind of "place" constitutes the site of his study. Cristiana Bastos, like Pista, found a very sparse and decentralized pattern of settlement in the mountainous region of the Algarve. She argues that contrary to the widespread image of this region as deserted and "dying," she found resilient and "vital" forms of social life. The necessary flip-side of this region's continued vitality has been the cyclical outmigration and absence of many of its residents: "leaving was, and is," she argues, "the way to assure this difficult survival" (113). In Bastos's analysis, her analytic space necessarily expanded to include migration to other places. João de Pina Cabral uses the case study method to explore the politics of space in a village in Alto Minho. His analysis of why he was able to live in a particular house in the village, what the occupancy and location of that house meant to its owner, and how those meanings changed over time, offers insight into the complexities of local politics and local spaces and how national politics impinges upon local relations of power. Brian Juan O'Neill carefully divides the "spaces" of a village in Trás-os-Montes into exterior, communal, collective, and domestic spheres. Within this grid, he is able to document the complex and overlapping social interactions in each of these areas as well as identify the "real" social groups of village life (20). In Rio d'Onor (of Jorge Dias fame) of Trás-os-Montes, Joaquim Pais de Brito explores the use of village space through

the account books of the local tavern/store. Through these records, he gains insight into the rhythms of village life and the meaning - or lack thereof - of the national border separating the neighboring Portuguese and Spanish villages. In contrast to the other studies of the collection, Graça Índias Cordeiro focuses on an urban space in Lisbon. Her solution to the methodological challenges of finding a definable "group" and "place" within the flux of urban life is to observe the social interactions within a neighborhood cultural and recreational club. She documents the issues which unite - and divide - the members and argues that urban life is not necessarily characterized by anomie and isolation. Francisco Ramos revisits Vila Velha in Alentejo (of José Cutileiro fame) and explores the social terrain of nicknames: who calls whom what and why. He argues that the oral culture of nicknames sheds light on the complex "game of representations on the social stage" (234). Drawing on research in a village in Beira Alta, Raul Iturra argues for the importance of situating the analysis of village relations within a wider set of conjunctures as well as for the value of paying closer attention to the historical and oral memories of the collective past. Miguel Vale de Almeida explores a very different "space" when he analyzes the themes, symbols, and ideological framework of the *Livro de Leitura da Terceira*, the official third-grade textbook under the Estado Novo. He offers a fascinating interpretation of the comprehensive worldview imparted to generations of Portuguese students.

It is difficult to lay out specific issues which are relevant for all of these diverse articles. But there are two directions in which most, if not all, of the articles, could be pushed further. One concerns the extent to which local spaces are contextualized within wider and more encompassing spaces. For example, many of the analyses of local communities would benefit from being set within the relevant larger spaces which envelop and impinge upon life at the local level. The nation, "Europe," and international markets are, for example, spaces as well as references to how village or neighborhood spaces fit into the dynamics of national and world-systems would add an important dimension to many of the analyses. The kinds of links both Pina Cabral and Bastos, for example, make between changes and continuities in local patterns and shifts on national and supra-national levels would further illuminate many of the issues addressed in the other articles. Dialogue with social scientists working with the world-systems model at the *Centro de Estudos Sociais da Faculdade de Economia* at the University of Coimbra could thus be fruitful (see *Portugal: Um Retrato Social*, edited by Boaventura de

Sousa Santos, 1993). The other general question which is raised, but largely not addressed by these explorations of Portuguese *terrenos*, concerns the place of migrants in Portuguese spaces. Except for Bastos, who makes migration a central part of her analysis, none of the other articles takes up the issue of how emigrants - or returned migrants - figure into local interactions and definitions of space and place. Given the prominent place of emigration within the lived experience of most Portuguese people, as well as the complicated relations of Portuguese migrants to physical and social spaces of their homeland, it is a striking gap in a collection about the cultural geography of Portugal.

This eclectic collection offers the reader valuable and ethnographically rich insights into the rhythms of everyday life in Portugal. The focus on regional specificity and detailed accounts of the locale contribute to a more complex and differentiated understanding of the many varied places which constitute Portugal. This is an especially significant contribution given the relative peripheral place of Portugal within the anthropology of southern Europe. The collection's thematic thread also foreshadows in very stimulating ways the subsequent burgeoning of theoretical interest in the problematic of space and place (See for example: *Place and the Politics of Identity*, edited by Michael Keith and Steve Pile, 1993; *Space, Time and Modernity*, edited by Roger Friedland and Deirdre Boden, 1994; *Geographical Imaginations*, by Derek Gregory, 1994; and *Senses of Place*, edited by Steven Feld and Keith Basso, 1996). One would hope that translations into English of future collected works in progress will encourage still more cross-fertilization across the linguistic divide.