THE PLAY, LANGUAGE AND LORE OF BRAZILIAN CHILDREN IN THE RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

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A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD at the University of St Andrews

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THE PLAY, LANGUAGE AND LURE
OF BRAZILIAN CHILDREN IN THE
REGENCAO OF BAHIA

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The study records and examines the play, language, and lore of Brazilian children in the Recôncavo area of the state of Bahia in Northeast Brazil, using an ethnographic-linguistic approach based on fieldwork there in 1973-1974. The Recôncavo is a fairly narrow strip of land surrounding the Bay of All the Saints, with its social and economic focus at Salvador, the capital of Bahia state. Play, language, and lore are studied in the context of the history and social background of the Recôncavo, one of the earliest Indian-inhabited areas to be settled and colonised by the Portuguese, and one of the most densely African-populated once the Portuguese began to import negro labour to Brazil from Africa, a practice which spanned some three hundred years. Other factors examined are the continuing influences of European immigration at various social levels and more recent cultural links with the United States.

Children's spontaneous play and imitative behaviour are classified and discussed as far as this is possible, but the writer concentrates largely on more organised games detailing and commenting on the procedures and language involved, and, where relevant, indicating parallels and similarities in European and African games, as well as indigenous customs as far as these have been recorded. To facilitate discussion and comparison these are grouped into game preliminaries, games of speed and skill, duelling games and tests of strength, games of
reflex control, forfeits and guessing, pretending, make-believe and acting games, progressing through infant rhymes and recreations to sung circle games, and dramatic dialogues and sketches. Language as popularly employed by children outside their games is then examined and children's riddles and their use of poetic language are discussed in two subsequent chapters.

Popular juvenile lore and the language and practices associated with it are then studied: the writer first details in chronological order a number of recurring popular festivals in which children are particularly involved and then examines occasional customs and beliefs.

The terminology employed in games is listed alphabetically in an appendix with explanations in English. There is also an appendix of game names with chapter references.
I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to all the following people and institutions without whose invaluable assistance this thesis may never have been completed: Shell International Marine Ltd., Dr. Ramakrishna Bhagavan dos Santos of the Fundação Cultural do Estado da Bahia and Teresinha Brés Assunção. I also owe a great debt to Professor Frederico Adelweiss for inviting me to use his magnificent library in Salvador, to Dr. Vivaldo da Costa Lima, Glória Carvalho and Peter Cradock Esq. for their hospitality and generosity, and Maria Helena Negrão Iwerson, Diva Gomes, and Alzira, Margarida and Marli Mendes da Silva for their help in Brazil and their willingness to correspond since my return. My deep gratitude is also extended to my supervisor Douglas Gifford for all his advice, assistance and encouragement towards completing the work.
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EXPLANATORY NOTES

Vocabulary, orthography and translation

Terms in Portuguese or other languages are translated or explained where this is deemed necessary for an adequate understanding. Where slang expressions, colloquialisms or peculiarities of local dialect or pronunciation require clarification, this is given in the text or footnotes. Terminology employed in games and other play activities is briefly explained in the text where essential, but is otherwise dealt with in a glossary at the end (Appendix 1). Game names are also listed alphabetically in a glossary at the end (Appendix 2), with reference to the chapter and sub-section in which they are described. Mention is made in the text of equivalent English games etc., where close parallels exist.

African and Tupi terms are transcribed according to recognised Brazilian Portuguese orthography. Quotations from published works are verbatim transcriptions and no alterations have been made to the orthography; certain archaisms and obsolete spellings are therefore apparent. Where informants' written accounts have been transcribed, these have been unaltered as far as possible, except where errors in spelling, punctuation or syntax have rendered them incomprehensible otherwise. Unless otherwise indicated, translations of herb and plant names and their botanical glosses are taken from Taylor's Portuguese-English Dictionary (see Bibliography).
Bibliography

All details concerning published sources quoted can be found in the Bibliography. In cataloguing authors' works, I have adopted the practice of listing Spanish and Spanish-American authors under their first surname according to Spanish custom, and similarly, Portuguese and Brazilian authors under their second surname. Federico García Lorca is referred to in the text as Lorca, since he is commonly known by this name in English-speaking countries, but he is listed in the Bibliography under his first surname, García. Where Spanish authors are particularly well-known by both names such as Menéndez Pidal, Rodríguez Marín and Caro Baroja, both names are retained to avoid confusion. References in the text show the author's surname only, except where a Christian name or initials are necessary to distinguish two authors of the same surname with publications in the same year (e.g., H. J. R. Murray and M. Murray). Luiz de Andrade and Mario de Andrade, where distinction is required for clarity, are referred to in the text as L. Andrade and M. Andrade respectively. I have used English translations of Freyre's two major works, *Casa Grande e Senzala* and *Sobrados e Mucambos* simply because they are clearly indexed and annotated; in the case of most of his other works, reference is to Brazilian originals. Occasionally, the same work is listed under two editions (e.g., Ramos' *Negro Brasileiro*, 1935 and 1940) or under its Portuguese and (translated) English title (e.g., Azóvedo's *A Cultura Brasileira*, 1964 and *Brazilian Culture*, 1950): this is due to the fact that certain editions consulted in libraries in Brazil were unavailable on my return to Britain, where different editions of the same work were consulted.
Where an author has more than one work published in any year it appears in the text and in footnotes with a number in square brackets after the year of publication (e.g., pins 1973 [2]). This number also appears in the Bibliography; it is therefore clear which publication is referred to. References in some chapters may be to one edition and elsewhere to the other edition, but this should always be clear from the year given. Where authors have collaborated in a work, both names appear in the Bibliography. In the case of several authors collaborating all names are given for ease of reference, since notes in the text often relate to individual contributions by specific authors rather than to the compiled work under the name of its editor.

Where reference is made to Stith Thompson's Motif-Index of Folk Literature, the bibliographical reference is abbreviated to MI (Motif-Index) followed by Stith Thompson's index number. Other abbreviations (names of journals etc.) may be found at the front of the Bibliography. Quotations from most early writers (i.e., sixteenth and seventeenth century chroniclers) are taken from more modern editions, and reference is made in the Bibliography to these rather than to the originals.
CHAPTER 1
THE GENESIS OF THE PRESENT STUDY

1.1 The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to record, classify and examine the play activities, language and lore of children in the Recôncavo area of the state of Bahia, north east Brazil, using an ethnographic-linguistic approach. It is based on fieldwork in the area in 1973-1974 and supported by preliminary and subsequent library research. In recording and examining, I shall attempt to establish the principal characteristics of play activities, language and lore in the Recôncavo with regard to the sex, age and social grouping of the participants. I shall also attempt to establish how far they are European, African or indigenous in origin or influence in the light of the history of the area and its settlement by three distinct racial groups. In concluding, I shall also examine the possible reasons underlying my findings and discuss the likelihood of the survival or change of the play activities recorded in 1973-1974.

Comparative material will be drawn from published sources.

I have not included a study of toys, except where toys of a certain type (kites, marbles etc.) are essential to the playing of games, nor have I included dances, except to mention their performance at certain festivals.

1 In using the term 'children' I include adolescents up to the age of 17 or 18.
2 See below p. 22 for the geographical situation of this area.
Both these deserve a separate study but are outwith the scope of the present one. Also excluded from the present study is any discussion of the countless improvised games (with the exception of the most commonly-played make-believe games) and feats of athletic prowess observed, such as walking on one's hands (plantar bananeira), swimming games, the construction of cars from old boxes for racing or riding in and the racing of ants attached to pieces of cotton, to name but a few examples.

My interest has been in the games and other activities themselves and in the words spoken and sung in the course of play: I have not therefore attempted any analysis of them from a psychological angle, in the manner of Piaget, nor have I examined them as a sociologist in terms of group organisation and structure. I have limited my examination of children's language to a study similar to the ones in the manner of Piaget, rather than taking it as a point of departure for deeper linguistic research in the manner of Leopold. As far as their history is concerned, I have drawn the line at making comparisons with the earliest published accounts available; many scholars have already traced games and other ludic activities back to pagan ritual and deciphered 'magical' formulae and shown how adult games have become children's games with the passage of time, and I have not felt it necessary to run over their tracings except to make reference to some of their findings where appropriate.

3 See Upies 1973 [1].
4 Leopold 1971.
6 Béart 1967:270.
1.2 The Study and Classification of Games

The English terms 'play' and 'game' have been variously defined and redefined by scholars of different disciplines: philosophers, psychologists, educationalists, historians and sociologists. 'Game' generally presupposes a set of rules or some kind of formal organisation, while 'play' suggests a more spontaneous and less regulated activity. However, these notions of definition are partly imposed by the strictures of the English language: while 'to play' and 'to play a game' have different connotations in English, jocar and brincar do not in Portuguese, and children use both to describe their play activities. I use the term 'game' in the text, therefore, where Brazilians would use joro or brincadeira, keeping to the children's own definition of activities as brincadeiras rather than adhering to more rigorous pre-delineated definitions. 'Game' should therefore be understood in the broadest sense. In a wider sphere, I have taken 'play' to encompass imitative behaviour of a more spontaneous nature (make-believe activities etc.), certain forms of sport (climbing the greasy pole, canoeara), songs and sung dialogues and sketches: all these constitute 'play' in the broad sense in which it is defined by Huizinga.

In dealing with the language of children, there is obviously an overlap of categories: play and language are closely connected. Lullabies, sung games and popular poetry may be said to 'play' with language in a particular way; riddles, puns and witty repartees are also ludic activities which rely on the manipulation of language.

8 GED in fact gives: 'diversion, spell of play' or 'contest played according to rules and decided by skill, strength or luck.'
In providing as comprehensive a picture as possible of the play world of the Recôncavo, the lore and beliefs of the children observed at play must also be mentioned, and I have felt it important to include an account of the salient events of the children's year: the festivals and celebrations to which they look forward and which often constitute the most striking childhood memories. The Portuguese term folcando (fun, frolic, prank, revelry, merrymaking) probably best encompasses all these activities (with the exception of beliefs and superstitions) but English furnishes no suitable translation.

In classifying these games and other activities, I have drawn to some extent, especially in studying children's language, on the comprehensive studies of British games, language and lore, provided in the two major works, (Children's Games in Street and Playground and The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren), but without following their scheme chapter for chapter. I have adopted much of their terminology, partly to facilitate comparison with European games and partly because it appeared to provide a clear and familiar frame of reference for the English-speaking reader. These studies, together with Lady Gomme's earlier Traditional Games of England, Scotland and Ireland constitute a principal source of comparative material, while Déart's Joux et Jouets de l'Ouest Africain is the most comprehensive reference work available for West African games, songs and dances.

Two collections of essays, Caillois' *Jeux et Sports* and Avedon and Sutton-Smith's *The Study of Games*, also provide comparative material and show a variety of methodological approaches, with contributions from scholars of differing academic disciplines.

The arrangement of material in the present study is explained below (1.4).

1.3 The Study of Ethnography and Folklore in Brazil

Interest in ethnography and national folklore in Brazil was first stimulated by the Modernist movement of the 1920s, when Brazilians were encouraged to look inwards (rather than outwards towards Europe and the United States of America) in an attempt to find a national identity and to examine the positive contribution of the different races which had come together to form the nation (see Chapter 2). Tupi studies were developed and Brazil's African heritage examined in depth by anthropologists, poets and novelists alike. This interest has been maintained throughout the present century and in the last ten years has been given further stimulus by government bodies and educationalists. I have heard earnest appeals by adults on children's radio programmes to teach young people traditional songs, dances and games in order to preserve them, and national congresses have been

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11 The starting point for the Modernist movement was the *Semana de Arte Moderna* held in São Paulo in February 1922.
called to decide how folklore should be promoted in schools throughout Brazil\textsuperscript{12}.

Cowie has drawn attention to the 'popular misconception' behind the work of many folklorists that "folklore" and popular customs are all dying out (1963-1964:235-236) and to the fact that 'sometimes the very people who are most moved by tradition, and who wish to preserve what they believe to be old, are the people who hasten or finalise a change' (ibid.:239). This is the case in Brazil,

\begin{itemize}
  \item The recommendations of the Terceiro Congresso Brasileiro de Folclore (quoted by Carneiro 1965:111) merit citation here, to give some idea of the scale and nature of the present movement. \textit{1O} terceiro Congresso Brasileiro de Folclore, considering a necessidade de proteger e estimular, e em certos casos restaurar, os folguedos populares nacionais, a fim de que possam reintegrar-se na vida do povo, seja através dos grupos que primitivamente os realizavam, seja através dos brincantes não tradicionais (estudantes, artistas etc.), recomenda: A, a utilização de folguedos populares como recreação nas escolas, até no ensino médio.
  \begin{enumerate}
    \item Na escola primária, ananomasias, parlendas, rondas, jogos de salão, jogos e competições ao ar livre, de acordo com a idade e a predileção dos alunos
    \item Na escola secundária, danças, autos (no todo ou em parte), cortejos, e, quando for o caso, teatrinho de bonecos, com figurantes masculinos e femininos
    \item Nas dois níveis, a preferência deve orientar-se para as tradições populares locais.\' The report goes on to recommend that these suggestions be carried out on a national scale in cooperation with the educational authorities and recommends the award of medals, diplomas etc., for the best festivals and processions, by way of encouragement to performers.
  \end{enumerate}
\end{itemize}
and is no doubt true in the case of many songs and dances 'promoted' by the various bodies involved, however commendable their primary intentions. My conclusions lead me to draw attention to this contemporary interest in folklore studies in Brazil and at the same time to point out its possible deleterious effect on spontaneous popular forms of expression. I have tried in compiling my bibliography to wade through a great backwash of pseudo-folkloric publications and to select works of positive value to the ethnographer and folklorist: where I have drawn on the former I have always attempted to verify the information by cross-reference to more scholarly works or corroboration from informants.

While the causes and results of miscegenation have fascinated many scholars in the last fifty years, only certain aspects of the question have been examined. The profound and continuing influence of African religion has been studied in depth (see Chapter 26c) and the African influences in Brazilian popular music, dance and cuisine are clear. Research continues into Amerindian contributions to contemporary society, but any systematic study of children's play and expression has been neglected, although it provides a suitable field for the investigation of cultural syncretism on a different level.

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14 Cf. Herskovits 1932:23: 'The tenaciousness of games in the face of historical vicissitude has been observed by more than one student of culture. That this tenacity should be manifested is not entirely strange, since games are among the least suspect elements in the behaviour of a subject people and therefore no stringent measures are taken to suppress them, while, in the case of peaceful diffusion of a culture, the appeal of the more familiar types of relaxation may cause people to turn to the older games.'
In any study of this nature, overlapping of categories is inevitable, but I have attempted to divide it into three broad areas: games proper, song, and language and lore. After the present chapter and Chapter 2, which contains historical, geographical and demographical details about the area, Chapters 3 to 7 examine largely games of skill, action, speed, strength and reflex control; Chapters 8 to 10 examine lullabies, songs and sung games and sketches where actions are secondary to the sung words; Chapters 11 to 14 deal with the language and lore of children outside the organised game (in general), and constitute a study of the ways in which children play with language itself and of their beliefs and usages as determined by the calendar, weather and various non-recurring events. This is followed by a concluding chapter (15).

Where possible, I have tried to keep chapters a more or less uniform length, but this has not always been possible, due to the nature of the material and the presence or absence of rhymes, songs, riddles etc. obtained at first hand and quoted in the text. In the case of Chapters 5 and 12 for instance, Chapter 5 is quite short, since I was unable to find other games classifiable in the category of Duelling Games and Tests of Strength, and yet I felt they warranted inclusion as a category on their own, for these reasons:

Cf. Sutton-Smith 1959: 'Whether a classificatory system be based on the psychological, historical, educational or structural characteristics of the games, there is bound to be a certain arbitrariness in any approach, as well as a great deal of overlapping between categories'.
A duel or an endurance test requires little commentary and is much the same in any country: a riddle on the other hand is considerably more complex and deserves a more detailed examination. Chapter 12 therefore has a much longer introductory section and is of necessity a considerably longer chapter on account of the many examples quoted and studied. Chapters 11 and 14, similarly, have many subdivisions on account of the nature of the material analysed. In the case of cross-reference to published works, the same applies: where a number of studies are available in connection with a certain subject as much reference as possible is given to facilitate comparison; elsewhere bibliography has not been available and I have been unable to suggest origins and parallels. Whenever possible reference is made to African and Amerindian variants of games and other practices, although I found very little reliable bibliography available for the latter.

Within chapters I have made subdivisions according to game and song types and to practices and events; these are further subdivided where I have deemed it necessary for clarity. These are given appropriate English headings, except in the case of Chapter 14, where subheadings in the Calendar section are in Portuguese, in the same way as some names in the rest of the text.

1.5 Fieldwork

The study is based primarily on first-hand fieldwork carried out over a ten-month period from July 1973 to April 1974 in the Recôncavo, based on three centres: Itaparica, on the island of Itaparica in the Bay of All the Saints;
Cachoeira, a town on the river Paraguacu, some 85 miles inland from Salvador, and Salvador itself, the capital of the state of Bahia. From these centres regular trips were made to villages and outlying rural districts to obtain as representative a survey as possible within the defined geographical limits.

Itaparica was chosen as a centre for study because of its semi-isolation from the rest of the Recôncavo as an island. It is now linked to the mainland by a regular ferry service and is joined on the southwestern side by a bridge, but was for many years accessible only by canoe or similar small craft. Cachoeira, on the other hand, was chosen by virtue of its central position in the interior of the Recôncavo, having long been a trading centre and market town providing a link between the sertão and the coast, based on economic factors, but providing a centre for cultural exchange at the same time. It has a much larger population than Itaparica, although Itaparica is the main town on the island. It has also been more affected by external influences in the past, notably the German-owned tobacco factories situated at São Félix immediately opposite Cachoeira on the river Paraguacu. Cachoeira reached its peak in terms of economic prosperity and population density in the middle of the nineteenth century and has now declined in both these respects, but continues to be a focal point in the social and economic life of the Recôncavo.

16 *Sortão*, 'the interior hinterland'. The term *sortão* covers an enormous area of the north eastern interior, from Bahia to Ceará.
Salvador, the capital, with its population of over a million, was chosen as representative of a large urban centre in the process of industrialization and also as the nucleus of the Recôncavo.

1.6 Informants

In and around each of the three centres, contact was established with a number of informants, principally children, but also mothers, grandmothers and other relatives. Informants also included teachers who were in regular close contact with children. Informants were of both sexes and all ages, but it will be seen that female informants predominate: girls and older women were more co-operative, knowledgeable and enthusiastic than boys, and successive interviews and periods of observation showed girls' games to be considerably more complex than boys'. I was able to detail most boys' play activities I observed myself without the aid of informants, while in the case of many girls' activities I relied on the explanations and commentaries of girl informants. Women in this community are primarily housewives and mothers, exclusively concerned with work in the home and child-rearing, and fathers rarely play with their children (except to play football with their sons); there are therefore no older male informants.

In each centre I spent a large proportion of time with a small number of informants who volunteered to collect information on my behalf in addition to what they were able to supply themselves, and these principal informants are indicated by an asterisk in the list of informants which follows.
In addition to the data provided by those volunteers, other information was obtained from children both in and out of school. The period spent in Itaparica coincided with term time and I made daily visits to the local primary school, orphanage and kindergarten where I observed children in the classroom and at play. The months spent in Cacheira and most of the time spent in Salvador coincided with the long summer holidays, when I had the opportunity to observe children playing in the street, in their homes, and on the beach for longer periods.

In contacting informants I attempted to maintain an even balance between social classes, although the greatest number come from the lower socio-economic groups, which make up the greater part of the population, especially outside the large urban centres. I therefore feel that they are not disproportionately represented. Having spent several months in the State primary school in Itaparica which was overcrowded, understaffed and lacking in facilities (one Head Teacher, one trained teacher - on maternity leave for half of the term - and one student teacher to 248 children), I counterbalanced this with a number of weeks in a small, expensive, private school in Salvador, while maintaining contact with working-class children outside school.

Tape recordings were made of the majority of the rhymes and songs collected, but I have limited the present study to an examination of the words and manner of play, worthy as the music is of commentary by a musicologist.
Children were always ready to provide assistance, particularly girls, as I have already indicated. Mothers and other relatives were also helpful, although it was not always easy to distinguish reminiscence from actuality. Teachers were generally reliable informants and able to point out glaring misunderstandings, mistranscriptions and faulty dictation while allowing me to preserve spontaneous improvisations and record intentional or unintentional alterations which are part of the natural process of oral transmission. Some teachers were overkeen to organise or supervise play and to 'perfect' children's own methods of regulating their activities and performing sketches in order to give me what they deemed 'the right impression'; such controlled displays I tended to ignore for the purpose of this study, and I have not recorded them.

Informants are referred to in the text by means of an initial and number in parentheses. In each case the initial refers to one of the three central locations. Informants lived either in these towns or in outlying villages or rural areas within a close radius of them. I, therefore is Itaparica, C is Cachoeira and S is Salvador. Informants are listed in the order in which they were contacted without regard to age, status etc., the largest number being from Itaparica where the longest total period was spent.
Basic biographical details in respect of each informant are given below to establish:

1) Sex  
2) Age  
3) Colour  
4) Family situation  
5) Type of school attended (where relevant)  
6) Other pertinent information where available.

In iv) I have indicated the social status of the family by the initials H, M and L signifying High, Middle, or Low.

This is not based on official Census data, but is the result of my own observation or knowledge of the family situation, and these three groups seem to me sufficient for the purpose of this study. The symbol ? indicates information not available.

I1* Girl, 16, Black, L, State Secondary. One of large family with several younger children.


I5* Girl, 18, Light mulata, L, Postulant living in convent orphanage and helping with children resident there. Originally from sertão area.

I6* Girl, 16, White, M, Private school in Salvador. Resident in Itaparica over weekends and during holidays, otherwise boarded out with relatives in Salvador. Generally well-educated; studying for University entrance.

17 Numerous divisions and sub-divisions of colour are made in Brazil for official and non-official purposes. Wagley and his fellow contributors discuss these and their implications in detail. For the purposes of this study it is considered sufficient to use four groupings: black, mulato (and light and dark mulato), and white.

*(1963)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>School Level</th>
<th>Family Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I7</td>
<td>Girl</td>
<td>Mulata</td>
<td>State Primary</td>
<td>13 years old, living with parents, five children aged 1 to 15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I8</td>
<td>Boy</td>
<td>Mulata</td>
<td>State Primary</td>
<td>12 years old, living with parents, five children aged 1 to 15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I9</td>
<td>Girl</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>State Primary</td>
<td>11 years old, living with parents, five children aged 1 to 15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I10</td>
<td>Girl</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>State Primary</td>
<td>11 years old, living in convent orphanage, no details of family known.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I11</td>
<td>Girl</td>
<td>Light mulata</td>
<td>State Primary</td>
<td>14 years old, living with parents, five children aged 1 to 15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I12</td>
<td>Girl</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>State Primary</td>
<td>12 years old, living with parents, five children aged 1 to 15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I13</td>
<td>Girl</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>State Primary</td>
<td>13 years old, living with parents, five children aged 1 to 15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I14</td>
<td>Girl</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>State Primary</td>
<td>10 years old, living with parents, five children aged 1 to 15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I15</td>
<td>Girl</td>
<td>Mulata</td>
<td>State Primary</td>
<td>10 years old, living with parents, five children aged 1 to 15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I16</td>
<td>Boy</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>State Primary</td>
<td>14 years old, living with parents, five children aged 1 to 15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I17</td>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>Mulata</td>
<td>State Primary</td>
<td>65 years old, living with daughter, five children aged 1 to 15, married children and grandchildren living in neighborhood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I18</td>
<td>Boy</td>
<td>Mulata</td>
<td>State Primary</td>
<td>13 years old, living with parents, five children aged 1 to 15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I19</td>
<td>Girl</td>
<td>Mulata</td>
<td>State Primary</td>
<td>13 years old, living with parents, five children aged 1 to 15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I20</td>
<td>Girl</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>State Primary</td>
<td>9 years old, living in convent orphanage, no details of family known.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I21</td>
<td>Boy</td>
<td>Mulata</td>
<td>State Primary</td>
<td>11 years old, living with parents, five children aged 1 to 15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I22</td>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>Light mulata</td>
<td>State Primary</td>
<td>30 years old, daughter of I17, living with her mother, four children aged 3 to 13.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I23</td>
<td>Girl</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>State Primary</td>
<td>8 years old, living with parents, five children aged 1 to 15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I24</td>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>State Primary</td>
<td>7 years old, nun of Italian origin but born in Brazil, age and details of family not obtainable, probably in mid-thirties, in charge of kindergarten and supervisory duties of children in orphanage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C1</td>
<td>Girl</td>
<td>Mulata</td>
<td>State Secondary</td>
<td>15 years old, only surviving child of widowed mother, living in extended family group with younger cousins and godparents' children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2</td>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>Dark mulata</td>
<td>State</td>
<td>37 years old, separated from husband, bringing up five children on her own, aged 3 to 15, one other married daughter with husband and 18-month old baby living in house.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
C3* Girl, 16, Mulata, L. Just left Secondary school, helping mother with housework and care of younger brothers and sister.

C4 Girl, 15, Mulata, L. State Secondary, close friend of C3.

C5 Girl, 15, Light mulata, L. Not at school.


C7 Woman, 58, Dark mulata, L. Godmother of C1, living in same house. Eleven children of her own, four still at home, aged 14 to 21.

C8 Girl, 12, Dark mulata, L. Not at school. Also a godchild of C7, but not related to C1.

C9 Woman, 27, Black, L. Mother of four children, aged 2 months to 9 years.

C10* Girl, 16, Black, L. Not at school, in charge of running of household and caring for younger children aged 6 to 12, mother having died.

C11 Woman, 61, White, M. Retired headmistress of State Primary School, São Félix.

C12 Girl, 7, Mulata, L. State Primary.

C13 Boy, 15, Mulata, M. Not at school.

C14 Boy, 17, Mulata, L. Not at school.

C15 Girl, 6, Black, L. Not at school, daughter of C9.

S1* Woman, 27, White, M. Trained primary school teacher, with experience of teaching in primary schools in Recôncavo and inland parts of state, and also responsible for research project on education through play in the state of Bahia, mother of 3-year old boy.

S2* Woman, 48, White, M. Mother of six children, aged 11 to 22, Teacher in University.

S3* Girl, 10, Mulata, M. State Primary, one of family of fourteen children, of which she was the fifth.

S4 Girl, 10, Black, L. Not at school, daughter of washerwoman at M's house.

S5 Girl, 8, Mulata, L. State Primary.

S6 Girl, 9, Mulata, L. State Primary.

S7 Girl, 7, White, M. Private school, Godmother paid fees.

Girl, 7. Light mulata, H. Private school.


Girl, 10. Light mulata, H. Private school.

Girl, 10. White, H. Private school.


Boy, 10. White, H. Private school.


Girl, 10. Mulata, H. Private school.

Girl, 10. White, H. Private school.


Boy, 10. White, H. Private school.


Girl, 7. Mulata, Private school. Mother engaged with 51 on education through play research project.

Where any game, song or other practice or activity is recorded in the text and not followed by reference to an informant or a published source, it is a personal observation or transcription made by myself in the course of fieldwork. Children obviously duplicated such information and to avoid a confusing proliferation of informant numbers, I have in each case given only one number at the foot of the text or account recorded: that of the first informant to provide the material in question. The majority of accounts given verbally by informants during fieldwork are transcribed in my own words in English (with the exception of the words of songs, rhymes etc.), but in some cases informants volunteered to provide a written account of festivals and similar events or described these in letters
sent to me after the end of the period of fieldwork to
describe events I was not present to witness, and I have
transcribed these written accounts verbatim, as I feel it
is of interest to observe how children and adolescents
describe such occasions themselves.

Certain discrepancies may be observed in some sen.,s
and rhymes between the use of proper names (different ones
being substituted at random) and the terms fulano, fulana;
again I have preserved one or the other according to the
children's own usage and to the way in which they dictated
these to me. A rhyme may run:

'A canoa virou
deixaram virar
foi por causa de Maria'

for example, using the name of one of the participants,
Maria, or it may run: 'foi por causa de fulana'. I have
also preserved their somewhat arbitrary use of terms such
as drama, música, (a song or tune) pensamento, quadrinha,
trova, and versinho, but explained them further in notes.
CHAPTER 2
THE BACKGROUND TO THE PRESENT STUDY

2.1 The state of Bahia in 1974

Bahia is one of the largest of the 25 states in Brazil and has an area of 342,000 square miles. The state capital, Salvador (or Bahia, as it is also known within the state) has a population of approximately 1,314,000 out of a total national population of 104,000,000. Bahia forms part of a region known as the Nordeste, also comprising the states of Sergipe, Alagoas, Pernambuco, Paraíba, Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte, in which some 25 per cent of the total population of Brazil live. Over the last century the Nordeste has declined considerably in importance, particularly in the economic sphere, with the steady industrialization and urbanization of the South and the decline in the traditional system of agriculture as practised in the Nordeste. Industrial and agricultural projects have been set up in this region in the last few years in an attempt to open up and exploit the Nordeste, however, but these have not been entirely successful in discouraging disproportionately large shifts in population towards the industrial centres of the South.

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1 Total area of Brazil: 3,286,647 square miles. All statistics in this paragraph are taken from The Investors Chronicle, London, 4-7-1975.
Tobacco and sugar, traditionally important as crops in the state of Bahia principally for export but also for domestic consumption, are still important and sugar cane is the principal crop grown in the coastal zone from Paraíba southwards. Ninety-five per cent of Brazil's cacao is also produced in Bahia, with most of the plantations in the Ilhéus area in the south of the state.

Coffee, sisal and piassava are also grown on a lesser scale, and more recently natural deposits have begun to be exploited and Bahia now produces 100 per cent of Brazil's barite, 96 per cent of her magnesite, 81 per cent of petroleum and 73 per cent of lead. Copper ore deposits are being tapped and natural gas and oil are also being exploited. There is a large aluminium smelting plant at the new industrial centre of Aratu on the outskirts of Salvador.

In the last five years the tourist industry has been much developed, encouraged by the federal and state governments, and Salvador in particular is now one of Brazil's principal tourist centres. These developments have naturally brought in their wake increased possibilities of employment, but to a large extent, and especially in the rural areas, technological and industrial progress have far exceeded advances in the social services. Educational and medical facilities, especially in rural areas, tend to be deficient or totally lacking.

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2.2 Geography and history of the Recôncavo

The Recôncavo is the name given to a strip of land some thirty miles wide (maximum width) and sixty miles long, surrounding the Bay of All the Saints (Bahia de Todos os Santos), as will be seen from the map on p. 22. It enjoys fertile growing conditions and soil and climate are both well suited to the cultivation of sugar and tobacco. It was one of the first areas to be colonised by the Portuguese who soon divided up the land into large plantation estates worked by slaves and run on patriarchal lines, primarily concerned with the production of sugar. This feudal system of land tenure changed little over the centuries and vestiges of it are still apparent today. Its easily-definable geographical limits, its historical importance as an area in which three races, indigenous, European and African, came together, interbred and intermarried and the peculiar autonomy which relative economic prosperity and a fairly stable population over 400 years have given the Recôncavo make it an eminently suitable area in which to conduct a field study.

Brazil was discovered by Pedro Álvares Cabral in 1500.

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4 According to Putnam: see Freyre 1946: xix n. 2.
5 See Freyre 1946: 24, 43, 175.
6 Although this is generally accepted, recent research, according to Henshall and Momsen (1974:33) has shown that Phoenician traders reached the north eastern coast of Brazil in the sixth century B.C.
Key:  Boundary of Recôncavo
Parish and municipal boundaries
Salvador was established in 1502 as one of the first permanent European trading ports, and the city itself founded in 1549. At first the trade was in *pau brasil* (brazil wood), a dyewood with a rich red hue, and French traders were at first more active than the Portuguese, but in 1530 the Portuguese Crown divided the coastal area into 12 *capitanias* (captaincies) and sent out representatives to administer them and this effectively established Portuguese supremacy. The *capitanias* established, colonisation soon gathered momentum and by 1538 African slaves were being imported to work on sugar plantations, sugar having been introduced from Madeira a few years before. Within 50 years there were nearly 50 *engenhos* (plantations and mills) in the Recôncavo area.

The coastal Indian tribes with whom the first Portuguese colonists came into contact were for the most part a relatively stable and culturally advanced people and peaceful in comparison with some of the tribes who inhabited the interior. The area around Salvador was inhabited by Tupinambá and Tupiniquin tribes who presented little resistance or hostility to the settlers, although their neighbours, the Botocudo, who were fierce and culturally more backward, attacked and laid waste Tupinambá and Portuguese settlements, killing both Indians and Portuguese.

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7 Menshalli and Homsen 1974:11, 15.
2.3 Salvador

From the trading post of the early sixteenth century Salvador soon grew into a prosperous commercial centre, in addition to being the colonial capital until 1763 when the capital was transferred to Rio de Janeiro. The Dutch invaded Bahia in 1623, and remained in Salvador for a year, returning fifteen years later in a second attempt to conquer it, but being definitively defeated. With the increasing prosperity of the plantations, estate-owners began to construct impressive town houses in addition to the casas grandes (mansions) on their estates. The city prospered enormously in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; extravagant dwellings and rich churches were erected with lavish gold-leaf interiors; the population quadrupled from 10,000 in the seventeenth century to 40,000 in the eighteenth. Even after the transfer of the capital to Rio de Janeiro, Salvador continued to develop as a commercial centre and as a port serving a large region of the Nordeste. The history, growth, development and demographic expansion of the city have been studied in detail by Ctt (1955, 1957[2]) and Azvedo (1969).³

2.4 Itaparica

Itaparica is an island in the Bay of All the Saints (see map p.22). The principal town on the island is also

³ See also Wetherell 1860; Silva 1971. Kipling remarks: 'One felt, without telling, that Bahia was the Mother City - the hearth of all that flaming energy when Brazil was being born' (1940:112).
called Itaparica, although until 1815, when *freguesia* (parish) status was conferred, it was known as Ponta das Baleias, and the island was best known for the whale oil it produced. The oil was used in Brazil and Portugal in arsenals to make tar and the rest was exported to France and England and used in the purification of sulphur and in textile mills. In 1831, the town of Itaparica was of sufficient size to justify its becoming a *vila* (town, large village) but it remained relatively cut off from the mainland, until 1847 when the first ferry service was set up, linking some of the principal towns of the Recôncavo (Cachoeira, Itaparica, Santo Amaro, Nazaré, Maragogipe) with Salvador. The only appreciable commerce with the mainland revolved around the whale trade. The relative calm of life in Itaparica was disturbed in 1837 during the Sabinada uprising, one of the many in the period following independence. The leaders of the uprising having captured the strong points of the city, they obliged the president of the province and other officials to leave Salvador and these took refuge in Itaparica. Itaparica was subsequently overthrown by some of the 3,000 rebels and the province was proclaimed an independent state. Troops were sent in from Rio de Janeiro and Pernambuco, Itaparica was repossessed by loyal forces and the rebels returned to Salvador where they were finally besieged, and capitulated on 15 March 1838.

9 For a brief description of Itaparica in 1823, see Graham 1824:144-145.
10 So called after the leader of the uprising, a certain professor of medicine by the name of Sabino.
11 For further details, see Bruno 1967:59, 75, 79, 85, 98, 102, 110.
Itaparica today maintains regular contact with the mainland and many Itaparicanos travel daily to Salvador by regular ferry to work, as there is little employment on the island. Development is being encouraged, especially in connection with tourism, and land is being sold off in plots for the construction of chalets and beach houses. Apart from some agricultural produce, the island's principal export is the mineral water bottled at a natural source on the outskirts of the town of Itaparica.

2.5 Cachoeira and São Félix

Cachoeira was founded in the closing decade of the sixteenth century, some fifty years after the city of Salvador, and soon grew in importance as a nucleus for tobacco production. The colonists had observed how the Indians always planted tobacco round their dwellings, generally for use and consumption during religious rituals, and the early Portuguese name for it was *erva-santa* (holy herb). In the late sixteenth century they too began to plant tobacco, and when this activity was extended to the Cachoeira area, where the soil was particularly favourable for the cultivation of tobacco, it became economically very significant. It was also a form of cultivation in which smallholders could participate on a scale within their means, since only a small shed for hanging up and drying the leaves was necessary. Tobacco was exported from this time onwards and slaves were often bought with tobacco. By 1639 tobacco planting had become so popular and so profitable that the

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12 This name is still recognised; see Taylor 1970:259.
authorities were obliged to prohibit small-scale planters and labourers from growing it, 'por ser causa de se ocuparem no benefício d'èle o deixarem a planta de mantimentos tão necessários para a sustentação da gente.' The tobacco export trade was probably stimulated by the activities of the Dutch West India Company which had created and expanded markets for Brazilian produce. Boxer notes that 'Manchu monarchs at Peking' as well as West African dignitaries and slave merchants bought Brazilian tobacco, but the former must have been more discriminating for the tobacco sent to Africa appears to have been of somewhat inferior quality, and Boxer, taking the year 1726, records how some 20,000 choice rolls were exported from the Cachoeira area (where the best variety of leaf was reputed to grow) 'and as much again of inferior quality for export to the Mina coast' (1962:151). At the end of the eighteenth century various types of tobacco were introduced from Virginia, and cotton-growing was also started.

Cachoeira was also important over a long period as a trading centre and as a crossroads. The river/sea route to Salvador (Rio Paraguaçu/Bahia de Todos os Santos) was established long before the first steamer appeared (sent out from England in 1819), and several important overland routes linking the interior with the coast, and the northern sertão, with central and southern Brazil met at Cachoeira. Boxer (1962:228) comments on the importance of these routes providing a link with the São Francisco valley route in the gold rush to Minas Gerais, when ore was discovered there.

13 Bruno 1967:35.
By the early years of the nineteenth century, Cachoeira and São Félix, which stand opposite each other on the banks of the Rio Paraguapú, were easily the most important commercial centres after Salvador. Bruno quotes an observer in 1859 commenting on these two bustling communities: 'tudo é comércio, tudo é atividade comercial. Entradas e saídas de barcos de carga, tropas de muares e cavaleiros isolados.' (1967:110). A railway link to Feira de Santana was established in 1876 but São Félix continued to be the centre for pack animals taking all European products to the interior.

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Sketch Map to show strategic situation of Cachoeira and São Félix in former times

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14 Spix and Martius 1938:169. See also Graham 1824:154: 'Cachoeira, about fifty miles from Bahia, is a good town, where there is one English merchant resident. It is populous (in 1804 it contained 1088 hearths) and busy; for it is the place where the produce, chiefly cotton and tobacco, of a very considerable district, is collected, in order to be shipped for Bahia...The streets are well-paved and the houses built of stone and tiled: the country is flat, but agreeable.'
There was little agricultural diversification over this period. Mandioca\textsuperscript{15} production was increased in the nineteenth century and the farinha (flour) was exported for consumption in the region; coffee was planted on a fairly small scale round São Félix towards the end of the century, but sugar and tobacco continued as the principal products; tobacco gradually increasing in importance over sugar during the 1870s.\textsuperscript{16}

Today there is talk of Cachoeira becoming a ghost town. This is no doubt an exaggeration, but the town has declined in prosperity and in population with the movement of unemployed workers and young people towards Salvador and the cities of the South. The traditional industries continue, but the tobacco industry at São Félix was affected by the departure of German manufacturers during World War II, although there are still two cigar factories in Cachoeira, employing mostly women, who work long hours for extremely low remuneration. Apart from a small paper mill, there is no other industry in Cachoeira today and with the construction of new North-South roads and the decline of the railway system, Feira de Santana has taken over as the important crossroads town. There is no longer a ferry service to Salvador, although there are roads to Feira and to the capital, and the latter can be reached in about two hours by bus.

\textsuperscript{15} Mandioca (Manihot esculenta), 'the common or bitter cassava', from which manioc meal (farinha de mandioca) is made. This is a staple food throughout Brazil.

2.6 Immigration

a) Portuguese

Apart from adventurers, speculators and members of religious orders, a great many of the first Portuguese immigrants were *degradados* (exiles), sent to Brazil for criminal, religious or political offences, and prostitutes and orphan girls sent from Lisbon to provide wives for the male immigrants who had not already taken wives from amongst the Indians. The Indians had been generally friendly since the arrival of the first traders with whom they had exchanged Brazil wood for trinkets and axes. A number of impoverished nobles also settled in the new territory, but probably the largest proportion of immigrants, even in this century, came and still comes from the artisan class and from small fishing communities. (It's research in the public archives of Salvador shows that most of them originated from the northern province of Entre Douro e Minho, and considerably less came from the south of Portugal.) The rush to Brazil in the hope of finding a better life and increased prosperity reached such a pitch that at one point in the eighteenth century the Portuguese government ordered immigrant ships to be turned back on arrival at Bahia. The immigrants, forewarned, succeeded in settling in Brazil, however; the ships docked with only children and old people on board, the younger people having already disembarked on beaches above the entrance to the bay.

17 Henshall and Mønsen 1974:34.
18 Ott 1955:46ff.
19 Ott 1955:50-51.
Immigration from Portugal has remained constant and Brazil has encouraged immigrants by exempting them from the quota system imposed on immigrants from other countries in the 1930s.

b) Other Europeans and Asians

Apart from the steady flow of Portuguese immigrants and the importation of African slaves during the years of the Colony and the Empire, there was little immigration until 1887, but in the 46 years after this there was a great influx of European and Japanese immigrants to Brazil. The number of Italians leaving their country for Brazil equalled and possibly surpassed the number of Portuguese. The Italians, on the whole, were agricultural labourers and the majority settled in the São Paulo area and the southern states of Brazil. Spain, third after Portugal and Italy, provided 500,000 immigrants in the 73 years up to 1957 (14 per cent of the total immigration in this period), although the majority of Spanish immigrants went to Brazil before 1924. Japanese immigration, which started in earnest about 1923, ranks fourth, with German and Russian immigrants fifth and sixth respectively, although figures concerning Russians are dubious as many Polish immigrants before World War I were recorded as Russian, and these statistics were never altered.

20 Macshans and Homsen (1974:232, 234) estimate that in the 150 years up to 1969, Portugal contributed 1.8 million immigrants and Italy 1.6 million. Smith (1972:125), however, taking a shorter period (1884-1957) estimates more Italian immigrants than Portuguese, together making up a total of two thirds of total immigrants.
Nearly all these later European and Japanese immigrants settled in the South, which rapidly increased in importance as the industrial and commercial nucleus of the country, although the Japanese have been largely responsible for horticulture and much of the agricultural production in the South. A number of Spaniards seem to have settled in the Bahia area but they soon became assimilated with the local population\footnote{Smith 1972:131; Diasues Jr. 1963:135.}. The Germans in the South, on the other hand, tended to preserve their national identity, language and customs for much longer. Joinville (Santa Catarina) and other southern towns still publish daily newspapers in German. The editor of the Buenos Aires \textit{Standard}, Michael Mulhall wrote in 1871:\footnote{Mulhall's \textit{Rio Grande do Sul and Its German Colonies}, London 1873: 105-106, quoted by Smith 1972:134.}

\begin{quote}
Imagine to yourself, reader, a country nearly as large as Belgium or Holland cut out of these Brazilian forests, where the inhabitants are exclusively German, and speak no other language; where chapels and schools meet you at every opening in the wood; where the mountainsides have been in many cases cleared to make room for corn-fields; where women travel alone through the forests in perfect security; where agricultural and manufacturing industry flourish undisturbed; where crime is unknown and public instruction almost on a level with that of Prussia.\footnote{Smith 1972:131; Diasues Jr. 1963:135.}
\end{quote}

Immigrants to other parts of the country do not seem to have followed the example of the industrious German immigrants, except in the case of small isolated colonies of single-nationality immigrants.
The following table (see p. 34) will give a fairly clear picture of the pattern of immigration over a little more than half a century. The number of Portuguese immigrants began to decline in the early 1970s however, while Asian immigration increased. In 1972 there were 807 registered Portuguese immigrants, while there were 1,895 Koreans and, third, 674 Americans. Brazil is this year (1977) preparing to welcome another influx of Japanese immigrants.

c) **Africanas**

For some fifty years before the discovery of Brazil, the Portuguese had been taking West Africans to Portugal as slaves, and were particularly familiar with the Yoruba people who enjoyed a good reputation as workers. There were probably some 10,000 slaves of African origin in Lisbon in the sixteenth century. It is not easy to establish exactly from what parts of Africa slaves came in the early sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as the geographical terminology of Portuguese sailors was vague and sketchy, or inaccurate answers to questions about geographical and tribal origins appear to have been given by Africans on arrival in Brazil. Many records of slave transactions have also subsequently been destroyed. Slaves were often simply recorded as *negro da Costa* (Slave coast negro) or *Nagô*, which was the name given by the French to those people who spoke Yoruba or its related dialects.

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24 Ramos (1946:281) gives 1452 as the date when the Portuguese first started taking slaves from West Africa.
25 Ctt 1955:54.
26 Ctt 1955:58.
27 For other similar vague appellations, see Ramos 1946:275.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of origin</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>1,510,078</td>
<td>31.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>1,457,617</td>
<td>30.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>657,744</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>209,184</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>192,574</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>109,889</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>88,789</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>78,706</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>53,555</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>41,495</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>40,274</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>30,686</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>28,771</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuania</td>
<td>28,605</td>
<td>0.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>25,616</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>24,109</td>
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<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>23,113</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>14,316</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>13,218</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Netherlands</td>
<td>12,989</td>
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<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>12,541</td>
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<tr>
<td>Uruguay</td>
<td>10,720</td>
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<td>10,112</td>
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<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>7,492</td>
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<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
<td>6,486</td>
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<td>Sweden</td>
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<td>Denmark</td>
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<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>2,704</td>
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<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>2,485</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>2,306</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvia</td>
<td>2,209</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>1,325</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Countries</td>
<td>56,414</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,765,113</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* denotes one tenth or one per cent.

28 Smith 1972:126 (Sources: Revista de Imigração e Colonização I, No. 4, October 1940, 641-642; Anuário Estatístico do Brasil VII, 1946, IX, 1948, X, 1949, XI, 1950, XIII, 1952, XV, 1954, XVII, 1956, and XIX, 1958. For the years 1952 and 1953 the 'other countries' category includes all immigrants except those from Germany, Italy, Portugal, Japan, Russia and Spain.)
Nagô (here denoting the language rather than the people) later evolved into a kind of *lingua franca* amongst the slaves in Brazil, assimilating elements from other African languages. As creole slaves increased in number and Portuguese began to predominate as the language spoken among them, Nagô became a ritual language, and is still used in some African-based religious observances in Bahia. It seems clear, however, that a large proportion of slaves were of Yoruba or Bantu origin and that although the majority came from the West Coast and as far south as Angola, some also originated from Mozambique. An anomaly pointed out by Ott (1955:59) which adds to the difficulties of establishing the true origin of slaves, is the fact that Brazilian slave buyers would often stipulate that consignments of slaves should be from a particular tribe or country. The traders, keen to please and to foster their own interests, would alter the nationalities of the slaves, according to the stipulations of their customers.

Portugal controlled the slave traffic, and in the early years of the Colony, each *senhor de engenho* (sugar plantation owner) was allowed to import 120 slaves per *engenho* from Guiné and São Thomé, according to Ramos' researches.

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29 Not to be confused with *lingua geral*, a Tupi-based language evolved by the Jesuits to facilitate communication in the early days of colonisation.


In the seventeenth century, the negro population increased considerably and a two-way trade was established, with tobacco (some 35 per cent of Bahia's production), sugar, mandioca, aguardente (sugar cane brandy) and cowries being exchanged for manpower. French travellers are reported as referring to Bahia as 'New Guinea' while Southey remarked that any traveller to those parts might have supposed himself in Negroland' (1817:2,674).

The procedence of slaves was largely governed by the internal politics and wars of the African countries: the victors sold their prisoners-of-war into slavery and profited in the process. The Gêê (a Sudanese group) were taken to Brazil in large numbers in the seventeenth century, while in the next two centuries it was Yoruba groups who predominated.

Côt, working from the public archives of Bahia, ecclesiastical registers, ordes sécrètes (royal mandates) and some 130 manuscripts containing sale contracts, concludes that in the eighteenth century the majority of slaves in the capital were of Sudanese origin, while in the sertão at the same period, the majority were of Bantu origin, a good half being from Angola. This preponderance of Sudanese in the capital continued into the early nineteenth century, according to sale contracts, while Reôncavo parish registers record almost equal proportions of Bantu and Sudanese.

32 Statistics are unreliable for this period, but see evidence provided by Pierson 1967:129-133.
33 With the exception of one or two large centres of population, like Nazaré (Côt 1955:60ff.), See also Côt 1952:141-151; Pierson 1952:153-156.
Hausas were also imported on a lesser scale. These were Muslims, and culturally superior to the other groups, and their influence made itself felt in Bahia despite their deficiency in numbers.

In 1815, the Vienna Convention abolished slave trading north of the Equator, and although Portugal adhered to the Convention, Bahia continued and even augmented trade with Cuidah and Lagos. The Lei de Fronte Livre (Law of Free Birth) in 1871 finally declared children born of slaves to be freemen and slavery was formally abolished in Brazil in 1888.

Slavery in Brazil differed from slavery in North America in many ways, most clearly evidenced perhaps by the differences in racial discrimination and tolerance which have emerged in both countries since Abolition. While sociologists of differing political complexions (cf. Freyre 1946 and Castro 1966) interpret the social history of slavery in Brazil in conflicting ways, it is clear that slavery under the Portuguese was less harsh and inhuman than in North America. Miscegenation was widespread and a network of intimate personal relationships distinguished slavery in Brazil in one way from slavery in North America. In his 1869 travelogue, Burton commented on the Brazilian system: 'nowhere, even in oriental countries, has the "bitter draught" so little of call in it' (1869:1, 270). It is a fact that

34 Verger 1957:118.
While tribal units were scrupulously split up in North America, this tended not to be the case in Brazil, and although it was considered unwise to keep very large groups of slaves from one tribe on a single plantation, small units and family groups were often left intact, facilitating the transmission of religious beliefs and cultural patterns. Graham commented on this permissive aspect of slavery after visiting a plantation on Itaparica in the early 1820s: 'in their huts something like the blessings of freedom are enjoyed, in the family ties and charities they are not forbidden to enjoy' (1824:144). While the influence of European Catholicism and the cults and practices associated with it will be clear from the foregoing discussion of colonisation and immigration, and from the resume of education and the role of the Jesuits which follows, I feel a somewhat more detailed description of the principal African religious organisation is required here, since its influence on Brazilian society, particularly at the lower social levels, has been profound. The influence is a continuing one, and unlike the Indian religions and practices which were swiftly eclipsed by the catechists, African religions have flourished, and, if anything, gained support in recent years. The importance of these beliefs and practices will be seen later in Chapters 7 and 14.

38 Pierson 1967:173. For other accounts of African immigration and slavery in Brazil see Ramos 1935; Rodrigues 1964; Carneiro 1936; Freyre 1946.
The Africans brought over to work the sugar plantations of colonial Brazil retained their religions and rites, which were tolerated by their Portuguese masters who soon saw that it was to their advantage to allow the slaves this spiritual/psychological outlet if they were to render good service. The Church, too, took a tolerant attitude on the whole and allowed the two religions to co-exist as long as lip-service was paid to Catholicism. The Yoruba pantheon of gods corresponds quite closely with the Catholic hierarchy of saints: the African goddess of fresh water, patroness of motherhood and archetype of feminine beauty came to be worshipped under the name of the Blessed Virgin Mary for example, and other gods and saints became fused in the popular imagination according to their functions and attributes. Now African deities are revered on the feast-days of their Catholic counterparts, and artistic representations of easily-recognisable Catholic saints are referred to by the name of corresponding deities in the African hierarchy.

37 There was in fact a fusion of several African rites which became syncretised as members of different tribes arrived in Brazil; Yoruba ritual in general considered to have predominated.

38 For a discussion of this tradition of religious tolerance, see Freyre 1946:30,472.
The Afro-Catholic fusion having taken place, other religions and beliefs were then superimposed: indigenous deities were included in worship, especially in remoter inland areas, and from this mesticagem of religions arose what is now known as Candomblé de caboclo. Some cult houses, especially in Salvador and the large cities of the state of Bahia, have remained traditionally African, and while absorbing some Catholic beliefs and practices have not admitted any indigenous influences. Fringe groups like the Candomblé de caboclo which had already diverged from traditional practice and absorbed other external influences, later came under the sway of Spiritism. Spiritism has been preserved in a 'pure' form in some parts of southern Brazil, but it has more often intermarried with African animistic and fetichistic religions in the form of Candomblé.

39 Candomblé has become a generic term for the religious beliefs and practices of the descendants of African slaves, over and above its dictionary definition of a religious festival or rite. Caldas Aulete gives the following: 'Candomblé (Braz. Bahia) festa religiosa dos negros jeje-nagôs, tradicionalmente mantida pelos seus descendentes e mestigos'. For other definitions and etymologies, see Bastide 1961:17-18; Carneiro 1961:17-18; Verger 1957:20. Candomblé de caboclo is listed by Caldas Aulete as 'Braz candomblé em que é predominante a influência indígena e mestiga'. Bastide (1901), Carneiro (1961), Verger (1957) and Rodrigues (1935) all provide comprehensive studies of Candomblé.

40 Spiritism or Spiritualism was introduced in Europe by Léon Hippolyte Dénisart Rivail (1804-1869) whose pseudonym, given by his spirit guide, was Allan Kardec; hence Kardecism, Kardecist. For general studies on Spiritism with particular reference to Brazil, see Wilson 1975:117-120; Acuncig 1961; and Clair 1971; Azevedo 1950:159. OED makes no distinction between the terms Spiritism and Spiritualism.
Umbanda in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo and infiltrated Candomblé de caboclo in the Nordeste. The majority of smaller seitas (sects) now reveal a fusion of African, Catholic, indigenous and Spiritist elements in worship and ritual. Umbanda and Candomblé de caboclo are by no means restricted to the coloured population (especially in the South), and many devotees are first and second generation European immigrants.

2.7 Internal migration

Although European and Asian immigrants since the establishment of the Republic have tended to settle in the South, and although the Negro population is concentrated in the coastal states north of Rio de Janeiro, there have been movements of population which have influenced the social and cultural development of the various regions. In recent years, most of the movement has been southwards towards the industrial hub of the country or to the large coastal cities in the Nordeste, away from the arid inland areas. In this way, Salvador, for example, has been subject to influences from the sertão, although they may be discounted as relatively minor. The general process of homogenisation may be attributed to the return of migrants from the South to the poor north eastern areas, bringing habits, ideas and skills to their native towns and villages. In many rural areas,

41 Umbanda is a form of Candomblé (see note on preceding page). For a detailed explanation of the term and religious practices of the Umbandista, see Cascudo 1962:757-760; McGregor 1966; St Clair 1971.

schooling is a considerable factor in urban migration, and children may be sent to stay with relatives in the state capital or larger towns, where education facilities are available, or in cases where the family has sufficient resources they may all move. In many outlying districts, only primary education is available. The role of radio and more especially television in spreading ideas and contributing to the cultural unification of the country cannot be underestimated.

2.8 Education: a brief historical résumé

a) Jesuits

As yet unfounded at the time of the discovery of Brazil, the Society of Jesus was in its infancy when colonisation began, and the Jesuits played an important part, not only in schooling as such, but in the whole process of colonisation. Their presence in Brazil for some two hundred years until their expulsion in 1759 is of great significance and has been well documented by Jesuits and lay historians. In the sixteenth century, the Jesuits' catechising mission was centred on the children of the Indian tribes whom they found in Brazil. Whether one regards this as a process of insidious indoctrination and a stifling of natural exuberance and established values like Freyre (1946: 164), or a more benign and civilising function like Azevedo (1950:332), the impression made by the Jesuits on the native population was a profound one. Anchieta informs us that

43 Leite 1939; Maduroira 1929:2; Cardim 1925; Cabral 1926. See Azevedo 1950:363-364 for further bibliography.
the members of the Society taught the children to read, write, count and speak Portuguese, which they learned and spoke with great grace, to dance in the Portuguese style, to sing and to have their musical choruses and flutes for fiestas. The children then taught their parents and were encouraged to scorn and deprecate their former spiritual leaders. Described by Orwell, as a twentieth century phenomenon, this method of conditioning is unacceptable in the extreme, but it became the central policy of the Jesuits and successfully undermined most forms of indigenous culture.

In some areas the Jesuits segregated the Indians into reduções (mission villages), which might, had they been allowed to survive, have become concentrations of single ethnic and cultural groups, but they were gradually dissolved or broken up by the bandeirantes (pioneers/armed explorers) forging their way into the interior, and the populations of the reduções were scattered. The Jesuits, then, in Azevedo's summing-up, were not merely servants in the work of catechization, but were laying the basis of popular education and spreading the same faith, the same language and the same customs through the younger generation.


44 Translated and quoted in Azevedo 1950:330. Cf. Cardim 1925:315 'em todas essas três aldeias ha escola de ler e escrever, donde os padres ensinam os meninos índios; e alguns mais habilis tambem ensinam a contar, cantar e tocar; tudo tem bem, e ha á muitos que tambem frutas, violas, cravo, e officiam missas em canto d'orgão, cousas que os pais estiam muito. E ate os meninos falam portuguez, cantam à noite a doutrina pelas ruas, e encendam as almas do purgatorio'.

45 Azevedo 1950:353; Southey 1817:2,454.
The value of the highly literary type of education the Jesuits brought to Brazil, in practical terms, is questionable: a simple, more down-to-earth Franciscan approach would no doubt have been of more profit to the Indians than the emphasis on learning by rote, grammar, rhetoric and Latin which were the essential components of a Jesuit education. The Jesuits founded a number of schools and seminaries, including the Colégio da Bahia in 1556, and in addition to teaching themselves they also prepared secular clergy in their seminaries. These men subsequently became private teachers or chaplain-teachers in the casas grandes of the big plantations, acting as tutors to the sons of senhores de engenho. The general contribution of the Jesuits to the cultural foundations of Brazil is summed up as follows by Freyre:

'the importance of the seminaries and Jesuit schools in Brazilian society during its most difficult epochs of integration can never be sufficiently stressed... The students who had studied in these religious schools brought some element of civility and universality to a medium powerfully influenced by the autocrats of the big houses and the more patriarchal mansions of the city or inland towns. In their attire and mode of living they represented the growing tendency toward the prevalence of European ideas and city manners as against the rustic or turbulently rural ambiance, often personified in their fathers' (1963:64).

Apart from the general European, and specifically Iberian, influence of the Jesuits during these first two hundred years, there was little other outside influence on education. Dutch was taught in Pernambuco schools for

46 See Freyre 1946:162.
a while during the Dutch occupation in the seventeenth century but the Jesuits did their best to combat any infiltration of African or indigenous ideas, practices or modes of speech. They strove especially to preserve the purity of the Portuguese language against the corrupting influence of the slaves' speech and it was here that the chaplain-tutor's role was important. Most casas grandes had a schoolroom, and in some cases were enlightened senhoras de engenho allowed the slave children to be instructed together with their own sons. These private tutors ranked as members of the patriarchal family in the casa grande, like bachelor uncles or widowed grandfathers, rather than priests under the direct control of bishops. They were required to instruct boys according to the conventional Jesuit curriculum and prepare them to enter military or law schools, or seminaries.

At first the Jesuits had not admitted negro or dark mulato boys to their schools, only whites or Indians, but this apparent prejudice was swept away by a Carta Réis (Royal Missive) issued from Portugal, in 1686, ordering the Society to admit pardos (dark mulatos) 'for schools of science ought to be common to all manner of persons without any exception whatsoever.'

Although educational institutions of relative note were beginning to be established in cities like Salvador in

48 Freyre 1963:212.
49 Freyre 1946:347,406.
50 Freyre 1959:87.
51 Translated and quoted in Freyre 1946:406.
the seventeenth century, it became the common practice in the latter part of the century for plantation owners and people of similar social standing to send their sons to Europe, and principally to Portugal, to complete their education. In 1675 an agreement was ratified with the Universities of Evora and Coimbra, whereby students of Philosophy and Rhetoric in Bahia could spend one year of their course in these old-established Universities.

In the early eighteenth century, when Bahia was flourishing, intellectual and literary life flourished too in the capital, but the expulsion of the Jesuits and the transfer of the colonial capital to Rio de Janeiro within four years of each other in the middle of the century marked something of a decline in this sphere, although the city continued to prosper commercially and began to attract more foreign interest. As Boxer points out, however (1962:158), the foreigners were really more interested in trade and the acquisition of wealth than in culture, and amends were not made for educational deficiencies, in effective terms, until well into the nineteenth century.

The expulsion of the Society in 1759, instigated by the reforming zeal of the Marqués de Pombal in Portugal, was followed by the establishment of so-called escolas récias (royal schools) to replace Jesuit schools, with a system of elementary schools, financed by a local tax levied on foods and beverages. This plan soon failed.
The practical effect of Pombal's sweeping measures was not therefore the reform but rather the total destruction of a whole educational system, which remained in ruins until the arrival of the Portuguese court in 1808. This heralded the beginning of the re-Europeanization of Brazil, and an influx of foreign ideas, particularly from France and later from the United States. Four years after their expulsion from Brazil, the Jesuits were expelled from France, and from Spain, Naples and Sicily in 1767, culminating in the total suspension of the Society by Pope Clement XIV in 1775. They were not to reappear in Brazil for another 67 years.

By this time there had developed a very marked cultural abyss between the higher and lower strata of the population, with a small educated elite and a vast mass of illiterates. Azevedo comments:

'This lack of equality, which is a normal effect of an agrarian, slave-holding civilisation, was notably increased by the development, in the growing school system, of schools destined to train for the liberal professions without a parallel development in the education of the people' (1950:385).

Priests continued to run schools and seminaries after the expulsion of the Jesuits, and in the early nineteenth century, according to Freyre (1959:118), some of the Muslim negroes maintained schools in Bahia along with mutual aid societies through which a number of slaves were liberated. Freyre quotes from Thomas Ewbank's account of his sojourn in Bahia (published in 1856) in which Ewbank noted that some

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57 Cf. Lourenço Filho 1947:142.
Bahian slaves were able to 'write Arabic fluently' and were in fact 'vastly superior to their masters'. This however appears to have been an exception to the general rule.

b) The nineteenth century

Attempts were made to reform the system even in the early years of the nineteenth century, though they do not seem to have been very effective. They gathered momentum towards the middle of the century, and in Bahia the central figure amongst the reformers was Abílio César Borges, Baron of Macaúbas, who created many schools in Bahia. The post-Independence Constitution of 1823 stated 'each village or city should have a public school and each district a high school'. The Additional Act (to the Constitution) of 1834 gave control of primary and secondary education to the provinces, only higher education and elementary education within the capital being financed by the central government. When the Assembly was dissolved by Dom Pedro I, he granted a constitution with provision for public education limited to 'the right of every citizen to receive primary education', but it was rare for all but the sons of aristocrats to go beyond primary school. Under Pedro II (four years after the proclamation of his majority), Rio de Janeiro had 16 public schools, 16 private primary schools for girls and 18 for boys in a population of about 200,000; i.e., one primary school for every 900 children of school age. In general, schools were badly housed and widely scattered (a problem which was eased to some extent by the coming of railways in the 1850s) and teaching was inefficient. Teachers for

58 Lourenço Filho 1947:143.
Girls' schools came from the Educational Seminary, where orphans were recruited for teaching girls and were provided with the first chairs of reading and writing that fell vacant. These were the orphans that upon reaching the age of 18 had failed to get married and were not employed as domestic servants. All these factors contributed to the near impossibility of creating a literate and numerate electorate among the masses. Again there is a glaring discrepancy between the facilities available for the rich in higher education and the lack of provision at the most elementary level. In 1839, the public library of Bahia had a large number of valuable manuscripts, and 10,000 volumes, mostly in French, on its shelves.

Schools, where they existed, offered little attraction for the children who attended them in the middle years of the century. Kidder and Fletcher comment on the Rio schoolboy:

"He is made a little old man before he is twelve years of age, having his stiff black silk-hat, standing collar, and cane, and in the city he walks along as if everybody were looking at him and as if he were encased in corsets. He does not run or jump or trundle hoop, or throw stones as boys in Europe and North America." (1857:176)

The process of re-Europeanization which had started with the establishment of the Empire in Brazil brought with it a taste for European modes of thought, dress and customs, and a number of more opportunistic immigrants appear to have infiltrated the Brazilian education system on the crest of this particular wave. Private schools run by European

59 Regulation of January 7, 1846, quoted by Azevedo 1950:393.
60 Manchester 1947:150.
61 Bruno 1967:118.
62 Cf. Freyre 1946:405, where the traveller John Luccock's impressions are noted. Cf. also Graham 1824:273.
settlers were established and Freyre quotes the schoolmaster priest Lopes Gama writing in Pernambuco in 1842:

'Any Frenchman, any Englishman, any Swiss etc. any cunning creature from those countries coming to Pernambuco and having no other mode of livelihood at once announces that he is going to share with us his great enlightenment' (1946:411).

Others, especially French and English teachers, no doubt with more genuine aims, opened schools in Bahia and elsewhere and the Franciscans instituted the study of French and English in their schools and colleges. French thought and literature enjoyed a tremendous vogue in Brazil throughout the nineteenth century. Barbosa comments: 'l'instruction publique, à son premier stade, est grandement redevable aux émigrés français, royalistes échappés à la Révolution, ou victimes de la constante transformation des régimes en France.' (1923:215). The first Jesuits to return to Brazil, in 1842, were Spaniards rather than Portuguese. This Europeanizing influence was felt not only in schools but in the general upbringing of children at home; they were dressed in European style, despite its obvious unsuitability for the climate and 'what mattered was for them to seem English or French.' Freyre quotes a number of contemporary newspaper advertisements to illustrate this phenomenon, including one by a French Madame offering: 'all types of social dancing, as well as the polka, the mazurka, the cracovienne, the tarantella, the bolero' (1963:225), and points to the pronounced swing

63 Freyre 1963:211.
64 Azevedo 1950:491. Kipling (1940:105) notes the persistence of this trend in the early twentieth century.
65 Azevedo 1950:1398.
away from Portugal:

'a reaction had set in against Portuguese values. Everything that was Portuguese was "in bad taste"; everything French or English or Italian or German was considered "in good taste"' (1963:227). This reaction against Portugal has continued, even if slightly diminished, up to the present. Freyre bemoans the passing of a more colourful century: 'The re-Europeanization began by dimming the African, Asiatic or indigenous element in our life, whose bright colourfulness was typical of our landscape, attire and habits' (1963:206).

Economic factors were also responsible for this influx of foreigners and foreign ideas. With the decline of the slave-based economy, immigrant workers became extremely important and Brazil was obliged to look outwards both economically and culturally. By the late nineteenth century, German and American ideas were gaining acceptance and a number of American mission foundations (Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist and Episcopal) set up their own schools.

By the end of the Empire, high standards had been achieved in the fields of medicine, law and engineering, but primary and secondary education were still poor and inadequate. In a population of over 13,000,000 the total enrolment in primary schools was only 250,000. The Republican Constitution of 1891 took the responsibility for secondary education off the shoulders of the states, but they continued to control the primary sector.

67 Cf. Freyre 1948:61, 266-7 (quoting one of many advertisements for English governesses).
69 Lourenço Filho 1947:143; Azvedo 1950:419.
70 Lourenço Filho 1947:144.
c) The Twentieth Century

In 1907 the first two women took bachelor's degrees and very slowly the movement of women into higher education began. At this time education for girls was confined almost exclusively to schools belonging to religious orders, made up for the most part of foreign nuns (principally Belgian and French), with the exception of a few Protestant schools. Effective reform of the whole system did not begin until the 1930s, under Getúlio Vargas, who set up a Ministry of Education and Health, made education free and compulsory (1937) and transferred the responsibility for financing the educational system to the federal government. He undertook a 'renationalization' of the south of Brazil and between 1937 and 1941 closed 774 private schools considered to be 'denationalizing' in tendency and replaced them with 885 public (i.e. state) schools. In 1940 special aid was granted to the southern states for the construction of school buildings in centres of foreign population and by 1942 there was a national primary enrolment of 4,000,000 in a population of 42,000,000. The Vargas reforms went a long way towards improving the situation, but secondary education continued to lag behind and still does in many areas. In 1950, only 6.7 per cent of those eligible for secondary education attended, and this had only increased to 11 per cent by 1960, although figures for 1977 are likely to be much higher.

71 Barbosa 1923:460-462. The Sacré Coeur convents in Rio and Bahia, according to Barbosa, were 'parmi les établissements les plus recherchés pour les jeunes brésiliennes'.
73 Azevedo 1950:1474.
74 Lourenço Filho 1947:145.
75 Campbell 1972:19.
2.9 The games of three continents

a) Indian

While early chroniclers related many of the social and religious customs of the natives of Brazil in considerable detail, they paid little attention to games, whether those played by adults or those played by children. Karsten, studying the games of Andean Indians, laments a similar failure to describe such activities on the part of Spanish chroniclers:

'We may, of course, find it strange that these men, who in many other respects have given very detailed descriptions of customs prevailing in the Inca empire, have not paid more attention to the numerous games which were practised by its native inhabitants, intimately connected as they were with their religion and superstitions' (1930:5).

As Karsten mentions, many dances and ritual games formed part of religious observances in which children participated from an early age and the Jesuits played on the Indians' fondness of such practices in their programme of catechization. As we have already seen (Chapter 1.1) a great many games throughout the world have their origin in religious ritual, and gestures, actions and sometimes words, have remained where beliefs have long since been dissolved. Freyra points to animistic survivals in the play of Brazilian children:

Many of them [animistic and totemistic survivals] are to be found in the play and the games of children in which there is an imitation of animals, either real ones or vague, imaginary, demoniac creations of the childish fancy. They are to be found also in the tales of serpents, which have a special fascination for the Brazilian young. As a sort of social memorial, inherited as it were, the Brazilian, above all in his childhood, when he is more intuitive and less intellectualized by European education, feels strangely close to the living forest, filled with animals and monsters known to him by their indigenous names and, in good part, through the experience and superstitions of the Indians' (1946:138-139).

This is a somewhat fanciful interpretation, and such generalisations are often in danger of becoming vague or exaggerated, but it is hard to be more specific and virtually impossible to pick out any definite Indian contribution to the play of contemporary children. Freyre cites the Indians as the originators of ball games (using rubber balls), but since these have now become so widely diffused throughout the world they cannot be seen as a peculiar local influence.

Cardim, an early Jesuit missionary, who notes a great many observations on child-rearing and behaviour in Indian society, appeared impressed by the element of 'fair play' in children's games (although he is not specific about the games themselves) and the absence of fighting, quarrelling and obscene language:

'têm seus jogos, principalmente os meninos, muito variados e graciosos, em os quais arremedação muitos genros de passaros, e com tanta festa e ordem que não ha mais que pedir, e os meninos são alegres e dados a folgar com muita quietação e amizade, que entre eles não se ouve nomes ruins...o raramente quando jogão se desconcertão, nem desavem por cousa alguma, o raramente dão uns nos outros nem pelejão' (1925:175).
Cardim in fact found the Indian children happier and more fun-loving than their Portuguese counterparts: 'têm muitos jogos a seu modo, que fazem com mais festa e alegria que os meninos portugueses' (ibid:310). Where Cardim does go into more detail, the kind of play he describes seems to be of an essentially practical nature, as one would expect from the children of a people whose survival depended on hunting and skill in self-defence:

'nestes jogos arremedam varios pássaros, cobras e outros animaes etc., os jogos são mui graciosos, e desenfadiços...Todos trazem seus arcos e frechas, e não lhes escapa passarinho nem peixe na agua, que não frechem, pescam bem a linhas, e são pacientíssimos em esperar...' (ibid:310).

He is presumably talking about the play of boys of the tribe, for the girls, as in most primitive societies, were employed from an early age in practical assistance in domestic chores, cultivation and child-minding, not playing at houses, but helping to keep house themselves79.

In the study of individual games which follows any evidence of Indian influence will be noted, and an overall assessment of the Indian contribution to the play world of the Recôncavo child given in the conclusion. Even in more general terms, the Indian contribution to the foundations of Brazilian culture is not easy to assess, so rapid was their assimilation into European culture or, alternatively, their disappearance into the interior. Brazilian toponymy and the classification of plants, animals and birds preserve the Tupi language, and the physical appearance of the average Brazilian today bears witness to Indian forbears. Certain

79 Fernandes 1963:269; Métraux 1928 [1]:212-213.
culinary practices and utensils have survived and the Indian hammock is still retained in the Nordeste (especially in Pernambuco and Ceará) in preference to the European bed. 

b) European

Any brief résumé of research on European games is impossible here, since there is a wealth of published material, almost all of which has appeared since about 1870, with the awakening of interest in folklore and the founding of the Folklore Society in England and similar societies in other European countries. Interest in children's games in the United States was stimulated at much the same time (nearly all these games being of European origin). As we have seen already (see above, 2.6b) immigrants came to Brazil from nearly every country in Europe in varying numbers, although the majority of foreigners engaged in education, and therefore likely to influence schoolchildren in their play, have been Portuguese, French or English-speaking. As with Indian influences, European parallels and comparisons will be cited as the games are studied in the following chapters and the overall pattern of influence determined in the conclusion.

c) African Games

The games of West and South West Africa have been

81 The word folklore was coined by William John Thomas, in 1846.
82 South West Africa here denotes a general geographical area including Angola; not specifically the country today known as South West Africa (Namibia).
the subject of more recent study than those of the Indians, although in this case there is little early material to consult in the form of missionary chronicles. Most of the research published on African games has appeared in the course of the last century, and scholars have been faced with the problem of singling out games of purely African origin in colonial or post-colonial societies, where, as in Brazil, European influence has been strong. The process of syncretism has blurred dividing lines and translations of European rhymes may have been superimposed on indigenous games and vice versa.

There is no doubt that in general terms the influence of Africa in Brazil has been far greater than that of the indigenous populations in social and cultural terms. African food is an integral part of Brazilian traditional cuisine and African rhythms and instruments form the foundation for Brazil's popular music which is quite unlike the popular music of other Latin American countries (with the possible exception of the Caribbean area). As we have seen above, (2.6c) African religion has retained its hold over the descendants of slaves and even attracted settlers of European descent, surviving periods of persecution by the police and alternating tolerance and antagonism from the Catholic Church. The influence of Africa in children's play, language and lore will be studied in the following chapters, and set beside indigenous and European influences in the conclusion.

83 See Gallet 1934; Almeida 1942; Andrade 1933, 1963; Aradjo 1964 [1], 1967; Wetherall 1860.
CHAPTER 3
GAME PRELIMINARIES

3.1 Introductory remarks

In a great number of the games to be discussed in the following pages, one child is singled out to play either the disliked role (e.g. pegador, Lobo), or the role of principal importance (e.g. mão)\(^1\). In the latter case, and sometimes in the former, one child may appoint himself leader, or offer to be pursuer or seekor, and if there is no opposition on the part of the others, the game will continue. More usually, however, the children cast lots in some way: throwing a coin, drawing sticks, making a show of fingers, or most frequently of all, counting out or dipping\(^2\), in order to cast roles fairly.

3.2 Counting out

Counting out is particularly popular as a preliminary to games played by girls, although smaller boys may sometimes be seen to participate as well. It involves one player reciting a rhyme, usually a nonsense rhyme, with marked emphasis on the syllabic divisions, and touching the hands, feet, shoulders or heads of her fellows as she counts.

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\(^1\) For the universality of these names in games see Simpson 1954:69-70; Curiel Mérchan 1944-5:162; Carrington-Bolton 1888:18-20,42; Valle 1964 [2]. For a further analysis of the disliked role see Gump and Sutton-Smith 1971:390-397.

\(^2\) This term dates from the early 1940s but is widely known in Britain. See Opies 1969:28-29.
She may literally count, using numbers, or simply break up the rhyme syllabically as she touches the other girls. These rhymes are known in Portuguese as fórmulas de escolha or fórmulas de serteio.

Such rhymes have a long history. The Opies have traced the process of counting out back to at least the seventeenth century in France and England (1969:38). It is likely that the practice and indeed many of the rhymes themselves, are a good deal older, and the custom does not appear to be restricted to Europe.

The action of touching specific parts of the body in counting out is almost as important as the rhymes themselves. M. Murray, going back to the Egyptian Book of the Dead (c. 2000-3500 B.C.) mentions finger-counting as important in a magical spell for the use of the dead in the other world, and considers that this practice may well have been part of the funeral ritual (1925:186-187). Béart draws attention to the fact that sick people and criminals were formerly designated by being touched on the breast or shoulder, as children often do when counting out (1967:22). Nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century social historians and folklorists subscribed to the theory that some of these formulae were merely a relic of very early magico-religious rites and practices, spoken and written charms and incantations which had lost their original meaning through geographical and linguistic diffusion, and with the decline of such rituals, but which were retained in an adulterated form in the gibberish formulae of the playground.

3 See Comhaire-Sylvain 1949:144.
Carrington-Dolton, in his fairly comprehensive collection, has attempted to trace many well-known European counting-out rhymes to a common origin, and sets the first lines of many of them side by side to show their similarities. This he attributes to gleichklang operating across linguistic boundaries, while pointing out how variations have occurred through an attempt to give words a recognizable meaning in particular languages. He rightly points out, however, that the retention of rhyme, rhythm and the number of words is the most important consideration in the transmission of these formulae, while less importance is given to the words themselves. Metrical similarities are apparent immediately from his examples (ibid. 145-55).

As will be seen from the examples that follow, the basic formulae are subject to day-to-day mutations in the street and playground, dependent on the ingenuity and imagination of the children who employ them. When we consider that this process of daily deturpation has continued over centuries, it is remarkable how many of the most popular rhymes have remained so similar over a long period. Newell, writing originally in 1903, remarks that

'a change in the termination of a sound has often involved the introduction of a whole line to correspond; and in this manner a fragment of nursery song may be inserted which totally alters the character of the verse. Again, the desire for a quaint alliterative effect has similarly changed the initial letters of the words of formulae, according as the whim of the moment suggested' (1963:195).
The Opies' collection is the most recent and one of the most comprehensive, providing comparative material as well as original contributions from the British Isles (1969:28-61)\(^5\).

So, with Brazilian counting-out rhymes, we find a pattern of adaptation similar to that described by Newell, both from day to day and over a longer period of acculturation, when Portuguese words no longer relevant in Brazilian life were changed to fit into a more familiar context. The same process occurs in popular poetry. But the basic rhyme is the same in Brazil as in Portugal, in a great many cases, just as English rhymes are common to all parts of the English-speaking world. What the Opies say about British children's insistence on a 'fair deal' holds true for Brazilians too:

'It is clearly not true that any phrase will do; for unless the children being counted are already familiar with the words the dipper is using, they cannot be sure that he is being fair' (1969:31).

The Opies also remark on the extraordinary ability of children to remember and transmit to others gibberish rhymes, often much better than facts and tables learned in the classroom, and this too is true in the case of the children studied in the Recôncavo (ibid.:44).

To give an unexpected twist to the ending, an extra line or two is sometimes added on to prolong the atmosphere of suspense before the dipper finally eliminates one of the players. It also has the function of conferring an additional element of 'fairness' on the dip in the eyes of the participants (see below 3.3., xxxvi-xxxix). On other occasions,

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\(^5\) See also Opies 1973[2] for a number of other counting-out rhymes also popular as simple nursery rhymes.
the children being counted out are required to participate and a question is asked in the last line to which the child on whom the last syllabic count falls is required to give an answer. Sometimes the whole dip consists of a series of questions and answers. Goldstein has shown that in the case of many children, the supposedly inherent element of luck or chance in this system is negligible, and in a high proportion of cases it is an exercise in strategy on the part of the child engaged in counting out his or her fellows (1971:167ff.). However, the inclusion of strategy depends on the individual involved rather than being an intrinsic element in the process of counting out, and since I am primarily concerned here with the process as a preliminary to other games, rather than a game in itself, I shall limit myself to the content of the counting-out rhymes.

3.3 Recôncavo counting-out rhymes

Pinta ininha (or in ina, ininha, as it is found in some versions) is perhaps one of the most popular and best-known counting-out rhymes, known on both sides of the Atlantic in both Spanish and Portuguese versions.

7 Cf. Neveux 1967:444: 'Si des enfants, avant d’entreprendre un jeu qui exige des rôles définis, désignant "au hasard" par exemple par une comptine syllabique, les personnages et leur fonction, dira-t-on qu’avant de jouer à cache-cache ils ont d’abord joué à un jeu de hasard? Certainement pas. La formule de désignation est choisie en raison de son impartialité, afin que personne ne porte de responsabilité dans l’attribution de mauvais rôles!'.
Amongst younger children, not yet of an age to organise themselves into chasing games, the rhyme is also known and has developed into an independent game, often played with an older child or adult, while mothers dandling their babies often use it as a finger-touching game. Several versions were collected in the Recôncavo and these may be set against variants from other parts of Brazil, Portugal, Spain and Spanish America. Players spread out their hands, palms down, and the counter touches, or more often pinches, the back of their hands according to the syllabic count. When only one hand is left, the others having been eliminated successively on each final syllabic count, the process may be still further prolonged by dipping between the hand and the ground. In the Cachoeira version, the counter brushed her hand across the others in accordance with the words spoken.

1) Pinta leninho

de cana ventinha,
mo corra, mo corra,
de catinha,
tira esta mão
que já está fora. (14)

8 Gentle tickling or pinching of fingers and toes is then often followed directly by a game of Esguenta mão (see Chapter 8.7) with more slapping etc. Cf. Melo 1959:375; Comes 1951:292.

9 Both pinching and brushing may become quite violent, so much so that Freyre remarks that it is a game which reflects the sadism of children of the slave-owning class in earlier times (1946:1392). Freyre also mentions a Spanish version pinchinica, which includes kicks as well as pinches, also noted by Rodriguez Marin 1951:68 and Torner 1945:160. It never appeared violent enough to be termed 'sadistic' in the rounds I witnessed.
ii) Pinta lainha
de cana vintinha,
entrou na barra
dos vinte e cinco,
ingorra, mincorra,
de cante fora
tira esta mão
que já está fora. (16)

iii) Pinta lainha
de cana vintinha,
nasceu na barra
de vinte e cinco,
inga mincorra,
ficaste fora. (51)

iv) Pinta lainha
sola mincola,
o rei mandou dizer
para tirar esta mão fora,
Vai vai vassourinha
varre a casa da rainha,
o rei mandou dizer
pra varrer bem varredinha. (C10)\(^{10}\),

Clearly this is virtually a nonsense rhyme, but set against other versions collected in Brazil, some light may be shed on the possible original words. Some are considerably longer, so in each case only the first four lines are quoted.

'Canivetinho
de Pintainho
que anda na barra
de vinte e cinco...'

(Collected by Romero in Pernambuco, 1954: 2,175)

\footnote{10 This appears to be a combination of two quite different rhymes, the sweeping case again being a popular infant amusement (see Chapter 8.7 vii)). However, Melo records a similar rhyme in Rio Grande do Norte, the first four lines of which run:

'Varre, varre esta casinha
que está cheia de títica de galinha
Pinicainho
da barra de vinte e cinco'.
Cf. also Cascudo 1958:146.}
According to Cascudo, 'Pincainho da barra de vinte e cinco' as he terms it, dates back to before the sixteenth century (1953:146). The Recôncavo versions are obviously full of corruptions and, characteristically, have no clear sense. Cana vinitinha, venticinha or vintinha appears to be derived from canivetinho (a skinny little nag) and pintainho/a appears to be a similar corruption of pintainho (a chick). Pintainho becomes pinta to rhyme with pintainho while by simple linguistic confusion, and no doubt the association of ideas between the pecking of a chick and pinching, pintainho has become pincainho (pinicar 'to pinch') in certain variants (see note 10 on preceding page). The recurring numbers, which vary from twenty-one to twenty-five, continue to puzzle me, although comparison with Spanish and Portuguese versions suggests that the rhyme originally told a tale about a man selling livestock:

'Pintole minto
que vend'a vaca
a tint'ocinco
forolo mouro
que tu es touro
viva a faca
da comarca.'

(Collected in Portugal by Gouveia 1926:xx)
'Pinto, repinto
vendió las cabras
a veinticinco
en qué lugar?
en Portugal:
en qué calleja?
en la Moralloja,
Agárrate, niña,
de mis crojas'.

(Collected in Spain by Gouveia 1926:xx)

The fact that the rhyme remains basically undecipherable is not particularly important. What I have attempted to show in the examples quoted is the way in which a rhyme may undergo successive adaptations and corruptions, but remain recognisably the same; how it may evolve in such a way that the actual meaning may be quite different from that of the original rhyme. I propose to study one or two similar counting-out rhymes in this way and then pass on to shorter and simpler ones.

v) Children adopt the same procedure in this counting-out rhyme as before, but touching rather than pinching.

Uma pulga na balança
deu um pulo e foi a França,
os meninos a correr
as meninas a brincar,
vamos ver
quem vai pegar. (14)

Melo considers that this rhyme, which he also records, forms part of a more extensive rhyme, Pico, pico, coloririco:

'Não temos dúvida em afirmar que a nossa fórmula de escolha, tão sem pé nem cabeça, nada mais é do que um fragmento disperso do jogo do "pico, pico" de extensa difusão latina' (1959:347-348).

Many variants of this pico, pico rhyme exist in Brazil, again as counting-out rhymes.11

11 Cf. Melo 1959:347; Gouveia 1926:xxii; Boiteson 1944:56; Cabral 3112-1884:418, Lira (1952:45-46) links this with Pinta linha as another pinching game.
vi) Bico, bico, siririco
quem te deu tamanho bico?
Foi o rei do meu senhor.
Cativale, cativem
na boluja do meu bem. (C3)

vii) Tico, tico siririco
quem te deu tamanho bico?
Foi o velho Benedito.
Picoté, picotá
ele é de são Vá. (S1)

viii) Cadorico, cadorico,
quem te fez tamanho, bico?
Foi Nosso Senhor Jesus Cristo
que tu vas e que tu venhas,
lá pra trás dessas montanhas,
quero de ouro quer de prata
manda o rico que vai à mata,
o pioleho na trípeça
e a pulga na balança
dá um pino – põe-te em França. (13)

13's version would seem to bear out Melo's theory. It is
certainly a rhyme of considerable antiquity, and alluded to
in Gil Vicente's Quem tem Farellos?, where the old mother says:

'Quem te deu tamanho bico,
rostinho do celorico? 12

As with Pinta lainha, the opening lines of different variants
offer most similarities, while the rest may be quite
unrecognisable. Carrington-Bolton quotes a very short two-
line version from Portugal:

'Pico, pico masa rice
quem te deu tamanho vico! (1888:17),

and a gallego variant runs:

'- Pico, pico, mazarico
quen chedon tamaño pico?
- Doumo Dios por meus pecados
pra picar nos carballos...

(Collected in Galicia by Douza Brey 1946[1]:180) 13.

12 Quoted from the 1912 edition 2, 250.
13 For other Portuguese variants see Melo 1959:347-348; Dias
1967:16, 162-164; and for an Azorean version, Cabral,
31-12-1884:418.
Again, these shed little light on the meaning of the lines, but show how the basic sounds have remained similar. The recurrence of *siririco* in the Recôncavo versions is again no doubt due to corruption through an association of ideas: *bico* suggests birds, *ticotico* is a bird (the Brazilian sparrow, *Zonotrichia capensis matutina*), *siririca* is another name for the *bem-te-vi* (*Pitancia s. sulphuratur*), which becomes *siririco* to rhyme with *bico*. *Cativala*, *cativem* is probably a corrupted form of *que te vai, que te vem*, like the *que tu vas, e que tu venhas* of I3's version, reminiscent of many popular *pegas* or curing prayers 14.

ix) Children adopt the same procedure as before, touching and not pinching.

_Ananianapolipolitana_
_o vapor que passou pela Espanha,_
_venha cá_
_não vou lá,_
_os cavalos vão correr_
_os meninos vão brincar_
_quero ver quem vai pagar._ (C5)

x) _O na ni de la po politana_
_o vapor que passou pela Italia,_
_vem de lá, lá não vou_
_o na ni, o naninani na no._ (C12)

The second version is obviously more corrupted than the first, though even in the first, the opening lines appear to bear no relation to the rest. The ship is mentioned in a number of versions, and Spain is the country most often referred to, although France or Italy sometimes seem to be substituted, and in Spanish versions, the country mentioned is almost always France: 15

15 The rhyme is common in Spain and many Latin American countries. For Spanish versions see Pérez de Castro 1956:478; examples from Argentina, the Dominican Republic, and the Canary Islands are given by Melo 1959:344-345.
'Un, don, din, de la poli, poli carpa,
un sahón que no llega nunca a Francia,
niña ven aquí, yo no quiero ir,
un, don, din.'

(Collected by Curiel Merchán in Extremadura, 1944-5: 163)

'Bin, bon, bon,
de la bero, bere, banía,
segundón
de la pena de Francia.'

(Collected by Rodríguez Marín in Spain, 1951:5, 20)

Rodríguez Marín notes (see version quoted immediately above) that 'la pena de Francia' ia a 'monte situado en el término de la Alberca, provincia de Salamanca. Menciónaló Cervantes en El Ingenioso Hidalgo. 11- xxii.' Whether Rodríguez Marín's version is the original is by no means certain, however, and 'peña de Francia' is quite likely to be a local addition by children who would naturally incorporate a familiar landmark.

xi) Children adopt the same procedure as before in this counting-out rhyme, touching and not pinching.

Papagaio louro
do bico dourado,
leva esta cartinha
ao meu namorado.
Se tiver dormindo
bate na portá,
se tiver acordado
traga a resposta. (17)

xii) Papagaio real
para Portugal. (C10)16.

These two rhymes are quite different from those discussed so far in that they are simple to understand and show no obvious corruptions. I can find no immediate explanation for the fact that they have remained unaffected in the course of transmission, although xi) is often found in

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16 For other Brazilian versions see Cascudo 1965:34-35; Costa 1907:530; Lira 1952:160; Gomes 1951:297. For a Portuguese version, see Vasconcellos 1882:162.
printed collections of popular poetry and may have retained its sense through being written down and published, and not simply passed on through oral tradition.

The first lines of C10's rhyme are an echo from the seventeenth century: Costa quotes from Frei Vicente de Salvador's História do Brasil, written in 1627:

"os povoadores, por mais arraigados que na terra estejam, e mais ricos que sejam, tudo pretende levar a Portugal, e se as fazendas e bens que possuem souberam falar também lhes houveram de ensinar a dizer coisas aos papagaios, aos quaes, a primeira coisa que lhes ensinam é "Papagaio real, para Portugal" - porque tudo querem para lá" (1907:550).

The image of a bird as messenger or intermediary is common in Iberian lyrical poetry from the Middle Ages onwards, and before this, according to Cascudo, the parrot was used in India and later in Athens, as an intermediary between lovers (1965[1]:35). Parrots are common in Brazil and were early imported into Portugal as a great novelty. Parrots in Europe had always been of the grey variety before the discovery of Brazil, and the green Brazilian ones were much coveted in Portugal.17

xiii) Children adopt the same procedure as before in this counting-out rhyme and those which follow.

Lá em cima do piano
tem um copo de veneno
quem bebeu morreu,
6 culpado não foi eu.18 (S6)

xiv) Lá atrás da minha casa
tem um pé de mangaiô,
o presente que te deu
e um pinico de coco19. (S18)

19 Coco; children's word for faeces.
Again, these rhymes are quite clear in sense, and fall into a different category from those discussed at the beginning of the chapter. They are more modern, and similar in type to many popular quatrains or versinhos (little verses). Lá atrás de and Lá em cima de are typical beginnings in this kind of popular poetry. Vulgar or nonsensical endings (like xii) are also common, while others deal with ridiculous or amusing situations, or are simply based on a meaningless repetition of syllables.

xvi) Joãozinho é um bom aviador,
quando falta gasolina
ele mija no motor. (S11)

xvii) Uma velha muito velha
foi fazer operação,
dentro da barriga dela
 tinha um pneu de caminhão. (I2)

xviii) Uma velha fez xixi na canequinha,
foi dizer para a vizinha
que era caldo de galinha. (I9)

xix) A casinha da vovó é cercada de cipó,
o café 'ta derramando
porque não tem pó. (C12)

xx) Fui no botequim comprar café,
encontrei um cachorrinho com rabinho em pé
chupando um picolé. (C10)

xxi) Subi no pé de mamão
com sapato de algodão,
o sapato pegou fogo
eu subi de avião. (S20)

20 Xixi, 'children's word for urine.'
xxii) Três panelas,
bolou, fedou,
arrenega da gma
que te fumou21. (C6)

xxiii) Sinesi bam bom
sinisi bam bom
a malú a mayá. (I10)

xxiv) Pam roleta
pam ropí
pitá pitá ruji,
a morena mais bonita
ó a que vai fugir. (I13)

Other rhymes are almost complete little poems in themselves,
use the letters of the alphabet as a counting device, or
confer importance and authority on the dipper in some
particular way.

xxv) Fui no mato buscar lenha
um capim cortou meu pé,
amarrei com fita verde
cabelinho de José,
José, Jessizinho,
José enganador,
eganou a filha alheia
com palavras de amor. (C9)

xxvi) Tico tico no fubá,
foi à feira passar,
encontrou a namorada
e ficou a namorar. (S1)

xxvii) Fui na lata do biscoitos
tirei um,
tirei dois,
tirei três, etc. (C3)

xxviii) A, E, I, O, U, W,
na cartinha do Jujú,
o Jujú sabe ler,
o Jujú não sabe escrever
na cartinha do A B C. (C9)

xxix) Um, dois, três,
sabão português. (I20)

xxx) Minha mãe mandou dizer
que quem vai pegar
é este daqui. (C3)

Endings which may be added to any dip at will are as follows:

xxxii) Dongala, caceto,
a casa caiu
virou sorvete. (I1)

xxxiii) Pau, porrete,
bongala, cacete. (I3)

xxxiv) Sabonete
mais velho
tiro esto. (C1)

xxxv) Pilão, pilão
carne frita no feijão. (S10)

In addition to these endings, there are participation dips, to which I have already referred, in which the child on whom the last count falls must answer a question, usually by giving a number, name or colour. In the case of numbers, the dipper proceeds to count round again, one number at a time until the stated number is reached, and names are usually spelt out syllabically. The mention of a colour precipitates the elimination of all those wearing or not wearing the colour in question.

- Pique, pique, picolé
  quantos piques você quer?
  - Quatro
  - Um, dois, três, quatro. (I19)

- Lá em cima do morrinho
  tem um anúncinho,
  que cor é a roupinha dele?
  - Amarelo.
  - a, ma, re, lo. (S12)

22 Papai do céu; children's word for God.
xxxviii) — Lá em cima do morrinho
tem um anãozinho?

— Tem,
— Que cor é a roupa dele?
— Azul,
— Então me amostre.

The girl on whom the last count falls then has to indicate any other child wearing the colour and that child must go out. (C1)

Sometimes more than one child participates in the dip as it may consist of a series of questions and answers:

xxxix) — Vocês têm uma bonequinha?

— Tenho,
— Ela é loura e engrapadinho?
— Não,
— Quantos anos ela tem?
— Novo,
— Um, dois, três etc. 23 (I11)

It is not always outstretched hands which are counted. It may be fists piled on top of one another and gradually eliminated by the dipper who runs through a series of questions and answers:

xl) — Que tem dongo?

— Meladinha 24,
— Que tem fora?
— Corda do violão,
— Tira esta mão fora. (I4)

Children may sit round in a ring, or in a row, and with feet outstretched in front of them let themselves be counted according to one of the foregoing rhymes, or subject themselves to more violent ordeals, such as this foot-counting rhyme 25:

24 Meladinha: a drink which is offered to friends and relatives in rural areas when a child is born. It is composed of honey, garlic, eucalyptus (cane sugar brandy), pennyroyal mint (poejo), a kind of absinthe (jaana) or wormwood, palm, onion, almond oil and nutmeg. It is generally known as meladinha do porão.
25 Cf. Carrington-Beeton 1888:12-13. These leg-counting games are also popular in West Africa, as Béart's text and illustrations show 1955:643-650. The girl on whose leg the last count falls is often tickled or pinched.
Compadre Manuel Fernando
dou conselho à sua filha,
que passou por minha porta,
o buliu com cabra morta,
cabra morta disse assim:
bã bã bã
 tiro este pó.

The last foot to remain is seized by the others who have been eliminated and banged on the ground to a chant of:

Pila pilão,
carne frita no feijão. (C12)

Alongside these counting-out rhymes, there exists a system of counting which has no place outside the playground. This is a system generally known in Britain as 'Chinese counting' and in the United States as 'Indian counting'.

There appears to be no equivalent name in Brazil, although the same system exists. Carrington-Dolton (1888:61) and the Opies (1969:47-48) have traced back these number sequences in Britain to what they call the Anglo-Cymric score, with many of the numbers bearing a close resemblance to Welsh ones.

Up to the date of the Opies' publication (1969), these were still in use in the remotest areas of Britain for counting sheep, and other researchers have mentioned their being used by women to count stitches. In Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking countries an independent system of counting is also found, but to date there has been no evidence of it being used for a practical purpose such as the counting of sheep, and I have only come across it in these counting-out rhymes.

In nearly every case, there is a numeral for one to four and sometimes five, after which other rhyming words are added, culminating in a final line: *que dez são* (or *doze*, *vinte*, depending on the length of the rhyme), as in the English *Een, een, mina, mo*, 28 Some of the Spanish versions are longer and more intelligible:

'Una, dona, tena, catena
quina, quineta,
estando la reina,
en su gabineta,
vino el ladrón
rompió el cordón
cuéntalas bien
que las veinte son'.

(Collected in Tenerife by Bouza Brey and Cuscoy, 1949 [2]:9)

'Una, dona,
tena, catona,
quina, quineta,
Estaba la reina
en su camareta,
Vino Gil
rompió cuadril
Cuéntalas bien
que las veinte son'.

(Collected in Venezuela by Olivares 1948:158)

If we set the Recôncavo version alongside various Spanish and Portuguese versions (and one from Roumania) it will be seen that the first four or five numbers employed are almost identical in every case.

The recurrence and similarity of these numbers would suggest that they are linked, not with systems of counting sheep or a more primitive form of numerals, but with gambling and the throwing of dice. Tylor (1929:268) mentions the English names for the well-known dicing set as being: ace, deuce, tray, cater, cinque, size, and H.J.R. Murray (1925:118) gives the names of the various throws of a single die as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{as } & \text{ du trei quater cinc si} \\
\text{deus} & \text{ sis}
\end{align*}
\]

Equal throws of two dice (doublets) are

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ambas } & \text{dudu tern quaterne(s) quini sine} \\
\text{amesas} & \text{ ternes quines sines}
\end{align*}
\]

29 A Catalan rhyme. Cf. Amades (1951:27) who gives another Catalan rhyme which starts *uni, dori, depoeri, vesqueri*.

30 This rhyme was recorded in the Canary Islands.

Since the idea of throwing dice is germane to that of casting lots, it seems all the more likely that this is how these counting-out rhymes were derived originally in Europe\(^3^2\). A similar counting-out rhyme using only three numbers is:

\[
\text{xliii) Uni duni tê}
\]
\[
\text{salomé mingua,}
\]
\[
\text{uni duni tê}
\]
\[
\text{uma sorvete colorê,}
\]
\[
\text{o escolhido}
\]
\[
\text{foi você. (61)}
\]

This again appears to have a fairly wide distribution all over Latin America, and is clearly part of the same sequence\(^3^3\).

### 3.4 Other methods of elimination

Apart from counting-out rhymes and numbers, there are various other ways of starting a game, which are also held to depend on luck. Children may be eliminated by passing a ball, as in the English game of Pass the Parcel where the child left holding the ball at the end of the accompanying rhyme is eliminated. This often precedes games in which a ball is to be used anyway.

1) Lá vai a bola
girar na roda,
passa depressa
diante diante,
sem demora,
pois no fim desta canção
se você estiver com a bola na mão,
depressa pule fora. (C10)

---

\(^{32}\) For further Brazilian variants see Gomes 1927:242; Melo 1959:338–349; Boiteux 1944:52.

\(^{33}\) Cf. Melo 1959:346–347; Carrizo n/d:419.
This continues until only one child is left. Then, less commonly, there is Cara ou Coroa, (Heads and Tails) which is more often a game in itself than a preliminary. The coin is spun on the ground rather than thrown in the air, and it is occasionally played with coloured shells etc., instead of coins.  

Elimination by drawing straws is also quite common. The child who draws the short straw from a fistful (all apparently the same length) is eliminated.  

Similar to this is Pauzinhos, where each player has three sticks, which are hidden in the hand behind the player's back. Players make guesses as to the total number of sticks in all the hands and when the sticks are produced, the player with the closest guess is eliminated.  

The commonest of all preliminaries other than counting-out rhymes, and the procedure preferred by boys, is Par ou Impar. Hands are hidden behind the players' backs and they wager on an odd or even total. When their hands are shown, an odd or even total of fingers is held up, and the player who guessed correctly wins, or is eliminated, depending on the purpose of the draw. This procedure is known all over Spanish America, generally as Pare y Nones and has been well known since ancient times, Egyptian paintings testify.

34 The Greek game of ostrakinda was played with shells, dark on one side and light on the other, while in Roman times, the coin version was known as Caput et Navis, from the markings on coins. It is now known as Dia y Noche in Spain or Cara y Cruz. For other names see Melo 1959:338.
to the fact that it was popular in ancient Egypt (Béart 1967:221) and Pinon has traced it in ancient Greece and China, in Samoa and amongst the Maoris (1967:193), while the Roman Micare digitis is obviously a variant of it.

3.5 Concluding remarks

Children's fondness for 'fairness' and exactitude is well exemplified in their insistence on the use of these rhymes and other practices for choosing players to take certain roles. Even very small children will insist on a favourite story being retold without a single deviation from the original telling, as has been recognised all over the world, and their insistence on the correct procedures being observed and the correct rhymes pronounced before a game begins is similarly characteristic, not only of children in the Brazilian Recôncavo, but in countless other countries besides. The ritual is almost as important as the game it precedes. The Opies' observations at the conclusion of their chapter on game preliminaries are apt here:

38 Brewster (1943:134-135) says that Micare digitis required three players, and the third had to guess the number of fingers the others held up.
39 The rhyme may be meaningless or a clear corruption of a rhyme with meaning, but for a given group accustomed to playing together, the 'recognised' repeated formula will be the only correct one as far as they are concerned.
To the majority of young players dipping is not so much a means of getting a game started as part of the game itself. When children describe a game they may spend as much time giving details of how they decide who is to be on as they do in describing the game; and those details they will very properly repeat with renewed earnestness when they describe further games (1969:161).

The same is true in the Reconcavo.

Older rhymes have been subject to a greater degree of corruption in the process of transmission, although as we have seen, new meanings have sometimes been superimposed on the original ones through successive individual adaptations. The older rhymes, too, tend not to be in the easily-memorised form of quatrains.

All the rhymes are of European origin, principally Portuguese and Spanish, although the practice of counting-out itself cannot be limited to a single country, or even continent, of origin. Other practices such as the drawing of straws and holding up of fingers are similarly ancient and widely diffused and are as widely used in West Africa today as in Brazil.

40 Cf. Vasconcellos 1890-1892:168.
4.1 Introductory remarks

I propose to discuss in this category games in which speed and/or skill are the principal factors: I therefore include chasing games, games where players are caught or players/objects intercepted by an opposing team or individual, games where players hide or objects are hidden and sought, and racing games. Not all these games involve physical activity, and I have included marble and board games as well as one or two games played on paper, as races, since the principal aim in all of these is to 'arrive first', and this provides a common denominator between these and less sedentary games where running is involved. The majority of chasing games and others where one player is singled out from his fellows in some way are preceded by some form of counting out, but details of the preliminaries will not be given in each case since they have been discussed adequately in the preceding chapter.

4.2 Chasing games

Although chasing games are not great in number, nor are they very varied, they are amongst the most popular and the most often played by boys and girls, indoors and out. Those played in the Recôncavo may be roughly divided into three sections: those consisting simply of

running and catching, in an undefined area, those where
the chase is restricted by a particular space limit,
order or formation of players, and those where the chase
is preceded by a set dialogue. In the first category
come games like Pícula, Ladrão e Policia and Cabra Cerca;
in the second, Carração, Ratinho and Chicote Queimado
and finally, making use of dialogue, Lobo and Girolé.

a) Pícula and its variations

Pícula is the commonest chasing game played. The
pegador having been chosen by a dip, the other players
usually have a chance to run away at the beginning while
the pegador remains in one spot. Sometimes the other
players will then shout

— A rolinha vocu, triscou, pegou²,

which is a signal for the pursuit to begin. I2 explained
that the pícula was the name given to the safe place or
'home' to which players could return without fear of
being touched³. When any player is touched he immediately
becomes pegador. Sometimes the pegador must touch another
player three times on the head before he can be counted as
captured, as in the British 'crowning' tradition⁴.

² This appears to be the remnant of a longer preliminary
verse. Gomes (1951:293-294) gives the following
opening to the game:
Manja/ Manja é!/ Farinha de cçco!/ Papai-mané!/ Galinha chouc!/ Tillisscou, pegou!/ Na galha do pau embicou!/ É tempo de guerra!/ Seu pai coma terra!/ Valeu, valeu!/ Pegue eu que sou seu!'. See also
Silva 1926:18.
³ The 'safe place' is common to all such games. Cf.
The name *Picula* is presumably derived from *picar*, describing the action of the *pegador* although Gomme mentions a game called *Pi-cow* (pronounced *pee-ku*) in Britain which Jamieson had collected and given as a variation of *Hide and Seek* and in which the shout of *'pi-cow'* was a signal to the hidden players to be on the alert (1898:40).

There are numerous variations on *Picula: Durinho* where, when a player is touched, he must become *pau duro* (stiff as a log) and not move again until he is touched by another player. He then becomes *mole* (soft) and can run around, but if he is touched more than three times, he must become *pegador*. *Ajuda* involves an ever-increasing number of chasers, who are not linked together in a chain, but as soon as they are touched become *pegadores* and have to help the original one to catch others. Boys have a particularly rough version known as *Murrinho* where the *pegador* catches the others by giving them a hard blow on the arm. *Pega Ladrão* and *Ladrão e Polícias* are played along the same lines as they are the world over, as is *Indio e Artista* (*Artista* here referring to the film star cast in the role of cowboy). Girls said they enjoyed playing *Mulher Pega Homem*, in which girls chase boys (17, S13).

b) *Cabra Cega*

This Brazilian version of *Blind Man's Buff* is one of
the most ancient games and one of the most widely known. A player is blindfolded and turned round three or more times. He may then be asked Está tonta, cabra cega?, and if he is dizzy he replies estou. The others then run off with the cabra cega in pursuit, and when he touches another player, he must guess that player's name. If he guesses right, they exchange roles. Sometimes the other players taunt the cabra cega or repeat a refrain or question:

— Cabra cega, não me nega. (C3)

Sometimes the element of guessing and identification takes the place of the pursuit completely, and although this is more properly a guessing game when played like this, I shall deal with it here as it is still known as Cabra Cega. This time the game is played in a circle with the blindfolded player in the centre, and he must identify one of those in the circle.


6 This again appears to be a fragment of a logger dialogue which occurs in several versions of the game. Melo's version (1959:360) runs: 'Cabra cega?/-Senhor?/-De onde vieste?/-Detrás de serra/-Que trouxeeste?/-Um saquinho de farinha/-Da me um bocadinho?/-Não chega para mim mais minha velha'. See also Gomes 1951:292-293; Dias 1967:16, 168.
by touching them or by identifying any sound they make.

Why the blind pursuer should be a goat is obscure although this is the name by which it goes in other countries too: in Sweden, Germany and Scotland it is also a goat. In other Portuguese and Brazilian variants it is Cobra Cega although this name is not known in Bahia, and is more likely a confusion based on homophony. Comme says that the blind man was originally not only hoodwinked but also enveloped in the skin of an animal (hence the Scottish Old Blind Hairy) which bears out associations between the blind pursuer and the devil (1894:27). Óéart gives an interesting slant to this theme of spirit possession and evil spirits in animal form in his account of the highly organised Senegalese game of Le Faux Lion, which is akin to Cobra Cega in many respects (1967:252-253). In Japan, to take an example from much further afield, the blindfolded player appears as a horned monster, representing an evil spirit. Amongst Ecuadorian Quechua-speaking Indians, the game is widely played at wakes: in this instance the blindfolded player represents the dead person. This ceremonial game after a death is called Ayacatulluna (to play the Dead Man). Karsten explains further:

8 Newell 1963:162; Comme 1894:40.
9 Melo 1959:360-361. Melo quotes a number of Portuguese sources. There is a snake known as cobra cega which no doubt contributes to this confusion (it is also known as cobra de duas cabecas).
10 Carrington-Bolton 1885:11.
'it is the dead Indian himself, or more properly speaking, the disease- and death-spirit who is looking for fresh victims among the survivors, who acts the part of the blind-man...... The Indians have the idea that by representing dramatically the way in which the demon catches the survivors they are able to prevent them from being carried off in reality - a principle underlying numerous games, dances, and other ceremonies of the South American Indians' (1930:27-29). The sport of making a blind player guess who hit him is also of ancient origin and widely disseminated. Béart even suggests that the gospel accounts (Matthew 26:68, Luke 22:64, and Mark 14:65) of the mocking of Christ by the soldiers allude to this common game. As with the chase game in Blind Man's Buff, this element of taunting and identification formed part of an adult game for a long time, certainly until the eighteenth century, and is the subject of one of Goya's tapestry designs depicting social customs.

c) Garrafão

Garrafão is played by drawing a squarish bottle shape on the ground with chalk or charcoal. Players come into the garrafão through the neck opening and the chase takes place within the limits drawn on the ground. The pagador may only leave the garrafão by the neck opening, but the other players may exit through the sides, crossing the lines.

11 Karsten's italics.
12 For African versions see Breveter 1944:269 and D'art 1960:89.
13 Cf. Meio 1959:365. Goya's design is entitled La Gallina Ciega; the tapestry of the same name now hangs in El Escorial.
However, if a player has to cross the lines in order not to be caught, he or she must come in again through the neck, this time hopping. Further restrictions are imposed each successive time a player crosses the lines instead of running out through the neck:\footnote{14}

d) \textit{Você viu o Ratinho por aí?}

This game starts by the players forming a line. The child at the front of the line is \textit{dono/a da brincadeira}, the game leader. The \textit{dono} asks the next child in line a question, which is answered, and the dialogue runs as follows:

- \textit{Você viu o ratinho por aí?}
- \textit{Sim.}
- \textit{Para onde foi?}
- \textit{Para São Paulo (or any other city).}
- \textit{Por aqui ou por aqui? (indicating right or left).}
- \textit{Por aqui (indicating right or left).} \footnote{13}

The \textit{dono} then runs up the side indicated and the child at the opposite end, on hearing the cue, runs down the other side. If he or she is caught by the \textit{dono}, he or she is \textit{galinha choca} (out), if not, he or she moves up to the front to the second place in the line and the \textit{dono} proceeds to ask the same series of questions. The \textit{dono} aims to get as many players out as possible in a short space of time\footnote{15}.

Karsten describes an Ecuadorian Indian game played at wakes in the same way as Blind Man's Buff, known as...
Sirasu Catuainj Huasháma (which he translates from Quechua as 'give me the last man from behind'). An Indian representing the dead man stands at the front of the line and having said si rasu cat uainj gives chase to the last man in the line, who must try to reach the 'Dead Man's' place at the front before he is caught (1930:28). Whether European antecedents of the game have their origin in similar practices is open to question, and the game as it exists in the Recôncavo today is more likely to be of European introduction than the Indian legacy.

e) Chicote Queimado

Chicote Queimado is amongst the most popular games today and has retained its popularity over more than a century according to many old informants (especially 117 and C7)16. It is played now in the following way: a piece of wood or a handkerchief is produced to serve as the chicote queimado. Players form a circle, and one player remains on the outside of it with the chicote. The others face the centre, usually with legs apart. Sometimes a refrain is sung or said:

1) Chicotinho queimado
   é dois cruzados17. (C9)

16 In other parts of Brazil the game is known as Cvo Chêco (Piazza 1960:180) and Corro-Coxia (Martins 1959:318). Bandeira alludes to the game in one of his best-known poems, Evocação do Recife (11. 9-10):
   'Recife da minha infância
   A Rua da União onde eu brincava de chicote-queimado'.

17 Cruzado: an old Portuguese coin of gold and silver. In Bahia it may also mean 40 centavos.
11) Chicotinho queimado
dois cruzado,
quem olhar para trás
toma chicotada. (19)

When the song stops, the player on the outside who has been walking round the circle will have dropped the chicote between, or just behind, the legs of one of the players. Nobody must speak or indicate who has the chicote. The game then continues in one of two ways. Generally the player picks up the chicote as soon as he realises it is by his leg and chases the first player round the outside of the circle with it. The latter aims to get round and into his 'victim's' place before he is caught, and they then swap roles. Otherwise the first player may go round saying:

- Quem tem o chicote queimado? (19)

and if a player erroneously says atrás de mim, when it is behind someone else, he must pay a forfeit.

The sense of the chicote is clear, one player trying to whip another as he chases him round, but queimado is less easily explained, although it is interesting to compare this with names the same game is given in other countries. The French Jeu de Chandelle also carries the idea of burning, as does the Welsh game recorded by Gomme:

'Tartan Booth, Ch ma'en llosgi, Boethiawn (Not tart, Ch, it burns! very hot!)' (1894:112)

And the English Black Doggie (Gomme 1898:407) similar to Drop the Handkerchief. If the handkerchief is not noticed

---

18 The same term is employed in Spain (Extremadura) where the handkerchief is called al zurriago (Curiel Merchán 1944:5:185).
by the player behind whom it has been dropped, she is
told she is *guisimado*, (burnt). This in turn is like the
Spanish game of Calderón where the first player is entitled
to hit the victim with the handkerchief if she does not
notice it has been dropped behind her\(^{20}\). It also bears
similarities to the Haitian *Ca-cache-Namba*\(^{21}\) and a number
of West African games\(^ {22}\). In some parts of Brazil, *Chicote
Guisimado* involves a preliminary game of seeking: the player
who finds the hidden *chicote* then chases the others and
tries to hit them with it\(^ {23}\).

f) *Lobo*

Both the most popular dialogue and chase games which
follow are European in origin and still enjoy great
popularity in Europe. *Lobo* is played very similarly to
the English *What's the Time Mr. Wolf?* and the words are
almost identical to those recorded in a Cairo version by
the Opies (1969:103). It is also very similar to the
French *Promonons-nous dans les bois tandis que le loup n'y
est pas* as recorded by Lima (1968:177) and Déart (1967:250).

Children form a line and one child, who is designated
*Lobo* stands a little further away. Those in the line say
or sing:

- *Vamos passear na floresta*
- *enquanto Seu Lobo não vem.* (I3)

---

\(^{20}\) López de Guereñu 1960:166.

\(^{21}\) Simpson 1954:166.

\(^{22}\) Déart 1955:1238.

\(^{23}\) Cf. Martins 1959:315; Piazza 1960:180; Cabral 1952:69;
Melo 1959:358 (the game here is called *Pâia Quente*).
They join hands and walk away, to return a minute later and ask:

- 'tá pronto Seu Lobo? (I3).

Lobo then makes some excuse (estou tomando banho, estou me enxugando, estou calçando minha meia etc.), and repeating the first two lines, (Vamos passar etc.) the children go off again. The questions and negations are repeated until suddenly Lobo replies Estou whereupon he chases them all and the first caught becomes Lobo.

c) Girôflê

Girôflê or Jerôfrê as I17 sang it, again comprises a dialogue and the appearance of a devil-figure who suddenly gives chase. Girôflê is a carnation and the term is French, and although carnations are now cultivated in Brazil, the term, devoid of any meaning in fact to the players, has never been translated into Portuguese as cravo.

Three or four children hold hands with elbows bent and hands raised to shoulder level, and take three or four steps back and forward as they sing. One child, who has remained separate, asks questions. These in the group sing first, and then the child who has remained apart asks a question (singing) to which the others reply, and so on.

- Eu fui no jardim celeste
  jerôfrê, jerôfrê,
  eu fui no jardim celeste
  já vão me encontrar.

- O que foste lá?
  jerôfrê, jerôfrê,
  o que foste lá?
  já vão me encontrar.
- Fui colher as violetas
  jerofré, jerofrá,
  fui colher as violetas
  já vão me encontrar.

- Para que sirvem as violetas?
  jerofré, jerofrá,
  para que sirvem as violetas?
  já vão me encontrar.

- Para coroar Nossa Senhora
  jerofré, jerofrá,
  para coroar Nossa Senhora
  já vão me encontrar.

- Se encontrasse com o Demónio?
  jerofré, jerofrá,
  se encontrasse com o Demónio?
  já vão me encontrar.

- Eu botaria os dois chifres
  jerofré, jerofrá,
  eu botaria os dois chifres
  já vão me encontrar.

- Para que sirvem estes dois chifres?
  jerofré, jerofrá,
  para que sirvem estes dois chifres?
  já vão me encontrar. (II7)

The child who has remained apart from the others now rushes at the other children, making two imaginary horns with his fingers, and the other children scatter as in Lobo.\textsuperscript{24}

4.3 Catching and intercepting games

With the exception of Três Três Passaré, all the games in this category take place within a specifically delimited area, or make use of lines and circles drawn on the ground for the purpose. So while a classe may be involved, players do not disperse over a wide area as in the preceding category.

\textsuperscript{24} Cf. Gomes 1951:280-281. This version is a little longer and includes a meeting with the King and Queen in the garden, but is basically the same as the Itaparica version.
a) Três Três Passaré and its variations

Even in its name, this game is very similar to the French Trois Fois Passer, and in actions and gestures resembles the English Oranges and Lemons. Two players make an arch with their arms and the other players file through. The last player is mão, and runs through three times, being caught when the arch falls on her the third time. The children forming the arch have already decided between them that they will represent certain fruits or pieces of cutlery, and the mão then has to choose between carpo ou faca, pera ou maca, and take her place behind the appropriate child forming the arch;

The game may be expanded in different ways. In one version, one player started one side of the arch, while the others formed a line the other side. The solitary player asked those forming the arch:

- Cadê o grilo que comeu a mandioca?

to which they replied:

- Está lá atrás (13),

indicating the line of players. The solitary player then ran round in pursuit as if to catch the grilo whereupon the others ran through the arch to escape. The game then continued as before with the players repeating the refrain:

1) Três três passará

derradeiro ficará. (13)


26 As the use of this terminology suggests, the game is usually only played by girls, though younger boys may join in.
ii) Três três passarə
derradeiro ficarə,
bom vaqueiro, bom vaqueiro
dá licença eu passar,
com meus filhos pequeninhos
para eu acabar de criar. (C6)

The game sometimes ends in a tug of war, when all the
players have lined up on opposite sides, or the chasing
and pinching of one side by another.

A rather different version of the game which does
not involve catching any one player or taking sides, but
which is often called Três três Passarə, and therefore
included here, involves players standing in two parallel
lines and all forming arches. Hence its alternative name,
Túnel. The last couple passes under the arch and forms
another arch at the far end 27. The game continues
indefinitely. The actions are accompanied by a sung chant:

iii) Tatararara taxim doI4,
o Cato comou minha carno
só deixou minha colher (C3).

In its basic structure, as described in the first two
versions, the game occurs in a great many countries,
although the verses sung have quite different senses.
The capture of one child between two other players forming
an arch, the choice between two options and the ultimate
tug of war or mocking of one side by the other are elements
which are constant throughout. Sometimes the choice is
between fruits, as in the English version and some Brazilian
ones, sometimes it is between heaven and hell (Italian and
French versions), sometimes between sun and moon (several

27 Cf. the English game of Thread the Needle described
African versions). Various theories have been put forward as to the significance of this symbolic choice and the beliefs and practices crystallised in 'arch games', but it is impossible to establish whether the game started in one country and spread gradually to others, or whether similar games existed independently. The syncretic process referred to by Comhaire-Sylvain seems the most likely (1949:152), for even the two versions from the Recôncavo given above are already a fusion of two game-types: the 'arch game' and the tug of war type of game in which two sides struggle for power. The unexpected appearance of a vacaio (cowboy) in the Cachoeira version I take to be a corruption of barqueiro (boatman) - hardly surprising, in consideration of Cachoeira's geographical situation and proximity to the maré, linking this variant to the traditional 'fallen bridge' games which have been popular since the Middle Ages. If we set C6's version against one recorded by Gomes elsewhere in Brazil, it may gain in

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28 Sources and further examples: Newell 1963:204-205; Comhaire-Sylvain 1949:151-152; Béart 1960:56-57, 1967:187. The choice in a Swabian version of the game, according to Newell, is between the devil and an angel; between the sun and the moon in Zaire, and connected with an incest myth, according to Comhaire-Sylvain (it is called Elmi Kobotela), and also between the sun and moon in Senegal, in Béart's account. The choice in Haiti is the same (Simpson 1954:72). In the Spanish game Puerta de Alcalá, the choice is between cuchar de oro and cuchar de plata (Curial Merchán 1944-5:165). Elsewhere Béart refers to mediaeval French versions of the game known as Jeu de la Porte de St. Jean and Jeu de la Porte de St. Nicholas (1960:58, 1967:187).


sonso!

- Dá-me licença, bom barqueiro
dá-me licença, pra eu passar;
tenho minhas filhas pequeninas
não posso mais me demorar.

- Passarás, passarás,
alguma delas há de ficar
so não for a primeira
ha de ser a de detrás! (1951:270).

The plea by the mother to let herself and all her small
children through may have referred originally to the
age-old practice of walling up children when bridges were
being constructed. Passing under the arch may well
symbolise crossing over the bridge, when we consider that
many mediaeval bridges were covered in.

b) Cuatro Cantinhos

A similar syncretic process may have taken place with
this four corner game, according to Dáart, who considers
the French version to be long established in Africa, but
one which 'a probablement recouvert un jeu plus ancien'
(1951:273). The form which exists in Brasil today is
certainly very close to the European versions and is almost
exactly the same as the British Puss in the Corner or Puss
in Four Corners. The game may be played indoors or out,
and four or more corners may be used. There should be one
player too many for the number of vacant spaces. The extra

32 Gomme 1898:188; Daiken 1949:199. Versions of the game
from other countries are Chambre À Louer (Franco),
Moving Day (Canada), La Candelita (Puerto Rico), La
player goes over to one of the inhabitants of a cantinho, which may literally be a corner of a room or square, or else a circle drawn on the ground, and asks:

- Tem uma casa que me empreste?

The answer comes:

- Vai naquela casa

indicating one of the other cantinhos (13). While the answer is being given all the other players change cantinhos and the extra player tries to beat one of the other players to an empty cantinho.

Sometimes the space is more limited and circles are drawn close to each other on the ground. The extra player implores each of the others, hand outstretched:

- Me dá um cantinho?

While his back is turned or his attention diverted, they join hands with the player in the nearest circle and feet together, jump simultaneously into each others' circles. They continue to jump from one circle to another to prevent the extra player from obtaining a cantinho.

Variants of this game are Correio, identical to the British game of General Post, and Jogo de Número which tends to be an organised playground game with various players sitting in a circle being given a series of numbers. Two or three players share the same number. One player is left outside the circle and when any one number is called, all the players bearing that number get up and run around until they are told to stop, at which point the extra player tries to get to one of their places before them.

33 In Portugal children used to ask for a brasinha de luz: Vasconcellos 1882:39.
c) Cadeia and Guêro

A number of catching and intercepting games like Cadeia, Guêro and Pandeirinha (see d), similar to the English game Release, are played, when a reasonable number of children is present. In Cadeia and Guêro, prisoners are taken by the porador in a game of Picula, played as described before, and put into an area set aside for a prisão, from which they can be saved by a touch from a member of their own team.

d) Pandeirinha

In this game an object must be seized from the opposing team. The opposing team can take prisoners on the way. Two teams line up facing each other on either side of the street. A demarcation line is drawn down the middle. Behind each team is a leaf, stone or similar small object, which the opposing team aims to get. Each team works out a system of decoys and one member tries to get across and behind the opposing team without being touched. Those who are touched become prisoners, and can only be saved by being touched again by a member of their own team.

e) Barra Manteiga

A similar game of considerable antiquity is Barra Manteiga. Again two teams are drawn up on opposing sides of the street or playground. By Par ou Impar, a player from

34 Game 1894:144-145 refers to a similar game in Britain known as French and English, and to Scotch and English (1898:183-184).
35 Daiken 1949:31 barra from the French games Barres.
say, team A, is chosen to go first. This child (A) slaps each of the other team on their outstretched hands, without warning hitting one much harder than the rest. This child (B) then has to chase (A) back to his or her team, and if (B) catches (A) before the dividing line, (A) must become (B)'s prisoner. If (A) is not caught, (B) becomes (A)'s prisoner.36

f). Baleado

Teams are drawn up in the same way as before and stand facing each other across a central dividing line. This game again involves one side taking prisoners from the other. This time a ball is used and instead of the hand slapping of Barra Mantexa, a player comes out only as far as the dividing line and aims a ball para meter the players in the other team. Players in the latter team need not keep still, but may run around within their own defined campo in order to avoid being hit. If a player is baleado, (i.e. hit or 'killed' by the ball), he or she picks up the ball with which they have been hit and go to the prison area behind the opposing team, and then throw the ball back to a player on their own side. This player in turn takes aim from the centre line. If no hit is made but the ball falls into the enemy campo, they retrieve it and aim back. The side with most prisoners wins, but there is no system of releasing prisoners37.

36 Cf. Comme 1898:79-83: Prisoners Base or Country Base.
Cf. also Béart 1955:274-275: this game is quite widely played in West Africa, under different names, but probably of French introduction.

37 Cf. the British game of Tutt-Ball described by Comme 1898:314.
4.4 **Hiding and seeking games**

**a) Picula de Esconder and its variants**

This game, otherwise known as Chiculatinha, Piculada and Esconde-Esconde, and the equivalent of English Hide and Seek, is much played: one player is chosen as seeker by a dip, or Par ou Impar, and is ordered to count up to a certain number, often thirty-one, in which case he or she shouts out *Trinta e um, olê* (11) on reaching this figure. A player's eyes must be closed while he counts. Meanwhile the others hide. He then leaves the picula or home, and sets off in search of the others, who try to get back to the picula while he is not looking in their direction. If one of the players reaches the picula before being seen or before the seeker manages to get back there, he calls out:

- *Um, dois, três, salve eu!*

or

- *Piculado! (Ii)*

sometimes banging a stone on the ground or wall three times as he says it. Similarly if the seeker spots someone and gets back to the picula before that person, he shouts out from the picula:

- *Um dois, três, visto fulano! (Ii)*

The last player to get back becomes seeker next time, or, if the seeker fails to catch a single player, he remains in that role, and the rules may then be modified so that the first person caught out becomes the next seeker. Occasionally the seeker is assisted by other players who guide him to find the remaining one calling *quente* or *frio* depending on whether or not he is near.
It seems possible that the calling of the numbers um, dois, três may have originated in an older practice, for according to Newell, in the nineteenth-century Spanish version of the game, a player reaching his goal had to spit three times by way of a conjuration against the evil spirit whom the seeker represented (1963:276). We may note a parallel here between the notion of the seeker or chaser as an embodiment of an evil spirit in European games and the Quechua idea described by Karsten in Cabra Cega and Você viu o Ratinho por ali? In Portugal the game is played in exactly the same way: players count to thirty-one and beat three times on the ground with a stone.

b) Esconde-Cindy

Mention has already been made of variants of Chicote Queimado where the chicote is hidden rather than dropped behind a player and where the finder then chases the other players with the chicote (see 4.2e). This game in the Reconcavo is generally known as Esconde-Cindo or Esconde-Pauzinho. Players may again be guided by being told they are hot or cold. Older informants remembered this being played as a parlour game, sometimes by adults, to musical accompaniment, the music increasing or diminishing in volume according to the seeker's proximity to the object (117, 52, C11).

38 Dias 1967:16, 176.
4.5 Racing games

Races are not necessarily tests of physical speed, and included in this category are fairly static games such as Gude (Marbles) and Ponga (Three Men's Morris), where the first to finish indeed wins the race, but no running is involved. Similarly one or two paper games will be described in that they are tests of speed and skill. Racing is obviously an element of some of the games already described, Picula and Piculado among them, but those described below generally involve overcoming or avoiding obstacles in accordance with a set of rules, be the obstacles physical, imaginary, or written on paper. I shall examine the more active games first, followed by those of a sedentary nature.

a) Galinha Gorda

This is the only common game which is purely a test of physical speed and does not involve overcoming obstacles but I have included it with the others as it is a race of the simplest kind. Often an older child will play this with much younger ones, and stand apart from them holding sweets or some tidbit in his or her hand. A series of questions and answers follows, starting with the older child:

- Galinha gorda?
- Gorda.
- Assada ou cozida?
- Cozida.
- Vamos a ela?
- Vamos.
- Pra cima ou pra baixo?
- Pra cima. (I)}

For some reason these answers appear to be invariable; the answers assada and pra baixo are never given.
The sweets are then thrown up in the air and the children run forward to pick up all they can. In many districts this is played in the water and children dive to retrieve stones which are thrown in the water.

b) Bôca de forno

This game is always preceded by an interchange of orders and affirmations between one player and the rest as in Galinha Gorda. It is really an acting, seeking, racing and forfeit game all in one, though speed is probably the most important factor. One player is chosen to stand apart from the rest and he or she starts off:

- Bôca de forno?
- Forno.
- Tira um bolo?
- Bolo.
- Faz o que eu mando?
- Faço.
- Se não fizer?
- Dá um bolo (Cf)

The first player then orders the others to go and find and bring back some object - a dry leaf, a nut, a flower etc., or perform some command: kiss a passer-by, jump a wall and return. This done, they race back to the base.

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41 Cf. Melo 1959:355. Lins do Rego gives an account of the game as played in his youth on a sugar plantation, in Menino de Engenho: 'De manhã íamos com os moleques lavar os cavalos, e ali passávamos horas inteiras dentro d'água. Galinha gorda,
gorda é ela,
Vamos comé-la,
vamos a ela,
For West African diving games, see Béart 1955:327.

42 The forno referred to here is no doubt the simple outdoor oven common in rural dwellings, made of baked clay with a small semi-circular opening raised some way off the ground; this is the boca de forno.

43 A play on words, common in a number of games. Bolo means both a cake and a slap.
and the last there (or the player arriving without the requested object) gets a bolo. Sometimes the objects are abandoned and another round is played immediately, sometimes the first player bundles up the objects and goes off and hides them. The other players then look for them and the first to find the bundle gives the orders next time. This game may be prolonged interminably and the players never seem to tire of repeating the same opening dialogue, the chorus of answers building up to a crescendo as they get closer to the final command which is their signal for action. Figueiredo Filho fondly remembers it as the 'brincadeira das noites enluaradas' in the interior of Ceará (1966:76-77) and a number of other commentators record a similar opening dialogue and subsequent race.44

44 Gouveia 1926:xxiv-xxv; Martins 1959:311; Melo 1959:366-367; (his version is called Bento que Bento é o Prado; Gomes 1951:293.

45 Cf. Opies 1969:134: the English game Please Mr Fisherman (may we cross the Water), is very similar.

44 Gouveia 1926:xxiv-xxv; Martins 1959:311; Melo 1959:366-367; (his version is called Bento que Bento é o Prado; Gomes 1951:293.

45 Cf. Opies 1969:134: the English game Please Mr Fisherman (may we cross the Water), is very similar.


c) Mâmê Posso ir?

This is a slow race, in terms of speed, but nevertheless the first to finish wins.45 It is mostly played by girls. One player is chosen as mãe. The others stand in a line, some way away, and starting at one end, ask the mãe:

- Mâmê posso ir?
- Pode (or não pode, as the mãe chooses)
- Quantos passos?
- Um de elefante, dois de formiga (variable). (I4)

If the steps taken appear to be too large or too small according to the mãe, the player is penalised and has to go back to the beginning. The first to reach the mãe takes her place.

44 Gouveia 1926:xxiv-xxv; Martins 1959:311; Melo 1959:366-367; (his version is called Bento que Bento é o Prado; Gomes 1951:293.

45 Cf. Opies 1969:134: the English game Please Mr Fisherman (may we cross the Water), is very similar.
d) Batatinha Frita

Batatinha Frita has its closest equivalent in the English game of Grandmother's Footsteps. It is particularly popular with girls. One player stands with her back to the rest, who advance chanting

- Batatinha frita, um dois, três.

At três, they must stop and the player at the far end (mãe) is allowed to look round. If any player is seen moving, she is ordered back to the beginning.

e) Macaca

Macaca or macaqueira is a particularly popular game with girls. Diagrams are drawn or scratched on the ground and players work their way round in strict order, hopping, dribbling or balancing small objects (stones, bottle tops, banana skins) in an attempt to complete the circuit several times without being eliminated. The game is played in various ways and there is obviously a great deal of scope for individual variations. According to I2, the person hopping round is called the macaqueira. Each square is called a casa (see Fig. 1). Standing outside the diagram, the macaqueira first throws a small stone or banana skin into the first square. She must then hop over this first square, landing on one foot in the second. She hops into

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46 This game is known as Amarelinha in many other parts of Brazil. Nobody in Itaparica had heard of Amarelinha and in Salvador there was some confusion as to whether it was the same game. Other Brazilian names for the game are Sanota, Maré, Avião and Pular Macaca (Medeiros 1961:334) Academia (Melo 1959:350).

47 According to 83, on the other hand, the double squares are casas, the others, which resemble rungs, are escadas.
the third, taking care to clear the dividing line, for if she landed on this she would have to forfeit her turn. The fourth and fifth casas are straddled with a foot in each, and she hops into the sixth and straddles the seventh and eighth. She now turns round and goes back in the same way, picking up the object in the first square as she goes and throwing it into the second, which she then proceeds to jump over on the second lap. This continues until she has thrown the object into all the squares and reached the eighth one. She now asks the other players:

- Saio ou entro?

standing on one foot with the object in hand. If they reply entro, she goes back the way she has come, if sai, she comes out into the cêu area, turns round with her back to the casas, and asks:

- Macaco ou onça?

to which the others reply

- Macaco

She then throws the object over her shoulder. If it falls in one of the casas, well clear of the lines, she may fechar aquela casa by putting a cross or star through it and sometimes initialling it. She has three chances to aim straight, but if she does not succeed and fechar uma casa at this stage, she is eliminated. It is now the turn of the next player to repeat the same sequence, but once a casa is fechada, other players may not land on it at all,
Another Salvador version differed only from Fig. 1, in that a space beyond square 1, on the outside, was known as *Inferno*. Crombie believes this 7-squared diagram to be the original, hence its name, *The Week* in some countries (1886:405). For other diagram illustrations see Crombie 1886: (facing) 404.
but must hop right over it. The player to whom the casa belongs, on making another circuit, is allowed to descansar in her own house, i.e. land in it with both feet.

In a Cachoeira version (Fig. 2), the game is played in exactly the same way as the Itaparica version, except for a few modifications. As the player hops her way round from the lua end to the beginning and back again for the last time, she should chant

-Dá licença eu recordar, até o B-A-B51?,
broken up syllabically according to the jumping rhythm.
The others reply

-Dou, Macaco ou onça?
This time the answer and procedure are somewhat different. If the player replies macaco, she starts again at the beginning; if onça, she starts at square 7 and repeats the whole procedure the other way round52. Then, depending on which end she finishes, she steps outside and faz o ceguinho, throwing the stone or skin over her shoulder without looking, exactly as in the Itaparica version, with the consequent fechamento de casa. Other players may however descansar in casas fechadas on condition that the owner gives permission (dá licença).

C12's version (Fig. 3) was also found in Itaparica, Salvador and Cachoeira, with varying numbers of casas.

51 B-a-bá: the old method of learning to read: B + a = ba.
52 In another Cachoeira version this repetition of the circuit was omitted; players simply threw the object over their shoulder from the lua, if the answer was onça, and from square 1 if the answer was macaco. (C10)
On the first circuit a stone is kicked round; it must land in each case and not come to rest on any line, or the player will be eliminated. After all the players have completed the first round, any number of increasingly complicated tasks may be imposed: jumping round with the stone balanced on the back of the hand, with the stone balanced on the head, in the crook of the elbow or bent knee, on top of the foot, behind the ear, on the shoulder, and even on the chin with the player's head bent backwards.

The Salvador caracol diagram is used either for hopping (like Fig. 1) or for the stone kicking variant (like Fig. 3). As is common when children play, one game leads directly into another, and a round of Macaca may become a preliminary to other games. The winner at Macaca becomes the dono da macaca, with a corresponding hierarchy beneath him or her, and consequently has the privilege of choosing the next game to be played.

There is evidence that this game is popular all over the world, and has been for centuries.\(^{53}\) It forms part of

\(^{53}\) For an account of this game in ancient Greece and Rome see Béart 1955:247, 1967:226, 244, and for ancient China, India and pre-columbian America, 1967:185. Nash also gives an account of it as played in Central America (1967:195-196). In Japan the game is called Ishi-keri (personal informant). Béart discusses West African versions of the game, Guim Guim Plan and Pilane (1955:247-249) and other Spanish and Portuguese versions of the game from Spain, Portugal and Latin America are as follows: La Peregrina (Puerto Rico), Luche, El Cajón (Chile), Golkea, Coroza (Colombia), Havuela, Tejo (Argentina), Reina Mora, Pata Coja, Infernálculo, Becolita (Spain and Canary Islands), Jogo do Homem da Mulher, Jogo da Macaca/do Diabo/do Homem Morto/do Gargalo, Semana, Coroa (Portugal). Sources for these Spanish and Portuguese names: Cascudo 1962:16; Melo 1959:1349; Medeiros 1961:1337, 351. In Britain the game is best known as Hopscotch or Beds (Comme 1894:223-226).
a whole series of obstacle and diagram games, some sedentary, some active like Macaca, which in French are grouped under the heading Les Marelles (subdivided into Les Marelles Assisso and Les Marelles Debout)\textsuperscript{54}. From marelles comes the Portuguese Amarelinha. Grouped together in this way, Macaca can be seen as related to games like Ponga, even though these involve no movement (see below 4.51). The French Marelles is derived from móreau (a small object pushed with the foot) though Macaco/a presumably derives its name from macaco meaning a square paving stone, although in rural areas it is often played on a dusty earth surface. The children's naming of the player hopping as macaquínho suggests a typical linguistic confusion between macaco (paving stone) and macaco (monkey). Diagrams vary from place to place and from country to country but the basic rules, such as not touching lines, remain invariable\textsuperscript{55}.

\textsuperscript{54} Béart 1967:226-245.
\textsuperscript{55} See Comme 1894:224; Daiken 1949:41-44; Cascudo 1962:7; and Melo 1959:350. Melo gives this more complex diagram:

```
\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
\draw [step=0.5cm, thick] (0,0) grid (3,3);
\node at (0,0) {1};
\node at (1,0) {2};
\node at (2,0) {3};
\node at (0,1) {4};
\node at (1,1) {5};
\node at (2,1) {6};
\node at (0,2) {7};
\node at (1,2) {8};
\node at (2,2) {9};
\node at (0,3) {10};
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}
```
In West Africa children use the same terminology as they close squares, like the Portuguese fechar casa in China, the idea of 'resting' in the houses is the same. In many countries the stone is kicked round rather than being thrown into this square and that, but as Béart points out in describing the West African version of the game, this practice probably originated from the game being played on a sandy or dusty surface, where the diagram was scratched on the ground (1955:250). In this way the Dahomian (Gim gim pla) game corresponds exactly to the Itaparican one. Béart even includes a diagram known as La Marelle 'brésilienne' to be found in the Brazilian quarter of Ouidah (Dahomey) whence many Africans returned about the time of Abolition (1955:249).

It differs from the Itaparican version in that there is no heaven and no shutting off of casas. The Porto Novo (Dahomey) version, however, includes the arbitrary throwing of the stone over the shoulder to obtain a casa wherever it may fall.

The game has obviously long been a field for speculation and research by folklorists and historians and it is generally supposed that the diagram is symbolic of the trajectory of the soul on its passage towards heaven. The Puerto Rican name, La Peregrina, is suggestive of this, as is the shape of the diagram itself, similar to the plan of a church with its main nave and side chapels.

57 Medeiros 1961:335. The game is known as Tiao Fang Tsz.
58 Comme 1894:211. Hickety-Hackety, a Somerset version, is played like this (ibid., 1224-227).
Elles sont déjà sans doute et deviennent certainement des "itinéraires" quand se développent les idées mystiques et eschatologiques néées des progrès du christianisme ou de l'Islam. Les marelles, en forme de basilique, acquerront un transept aux beaux temps des cathédrales gothiques et l'ont souvent conservé.

Les itinéraires des marelles rectangulaires conduisent presque toujours au Paradis en pays chrétien, à Adianna en pays musulman, après toutes sortes de péripéties subies par le petit palet, le mèreau, qui représente l'âme; dans les marelles en escargot, elles conduisent assez souvent par des détours surprenants à Rome ou à Jérusalem (1967:244).

This Christian symbolism was no doubt superimposed upon an older set of pagan symbols (even in present-day Brazil, lua and gêu exist side by side as the end point of the itinerary) and Déart has pointed out that older pre-Christian diagrams were more often labyrinthine in construction, whereas the more modern ones are long and thin (1955:247). Caracol, like the French Escargot may then represent the older type of diagram, or be an African influence, as a number of indigenous West African

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60 Cf. the choice between sun and moon in African versions of the game of Trâa Trâa Passara, and the heaven-hell choice in countries where the Christian tradition is long established.

61 Caillois bears this out: 'La marelle représentait vraisemblablement le labyrinthe où s'égarait d'abord l'initié' (1967:8).
Games are played over a spiral course. The frequent occurrence of the spiral as a symbol all over the world in many different religions could also be related to this game, but it is outside the scope of the present work.

Other commentators reject this religious interpretation and Hirn points out:

'sur les diagrammes anglais la place de l'abside porte souvent le nom de Londres. Et dans les marelles du Nord, la grande capitale est remplacée, on le sait, par la désignation terre à terre de "pot au feu maternel", ce qui donne certes au jeu un air charmant de familiarié et de piété filiale, mais exclut toute interprétation religieuse.'

Obviously it would be wrong to overstress the religious symbolism, and as in so many similar games, children are not aware of playing out any sort of allegory as they

62 Béart 1955:443-446. Béart even suggests a two-way process between children and architects: 'Alors que les enfants copiaient, pour leurs marelles en croix, les architectes des cathédrales, les architectes des cathédrales se sont très probablement inspirés des jeux d'enfants pour tracer dans les cathédrales des escargots qu'ils nommèrent labyrinthes ou lieues,...., que l'on rencontre dans beaucoup d'églises (Saint-Ouen, Chartres, Rheims, Amiens etc.,) qui conduisent à Jérusalem et qui valent des indulgences à qui les parcourt dévotement à genoux' (1967:245).

Cf. also Crombie's conclusions: he suggests that children, like their elders, Christianised existing pagan forms, 'abandonné the heathen labyrinth' and replaced it by a form far more consistent with their ideas of heaven and future life, the form of the Basilicon, the early Christian church; dividing it into seven parts as they believed heaven to be divided and placing the inmost sanctum of heaven in the position of the altar. In pre-Christian games, Crombie suggests the seven compartments may have represented the seven planetary spheres (1886:408).

participate, but both Béart and Hirn's views are quite acceptable: if a Christian interpretation can be superimposed at a later date on a pagan plan of symbols, yet another interpretation may be put on it by a different group of children in any given country, where they adopt the game as their own and may add familiar terms or other details.

f) Baba games

While the scrupulously regulated and precise game of Macaca is played more often by girls, boys engage in rougher races dependant on physical skill, many based on football techniques, but not requiring two full sides. Baba, the popular name in Bahia for football, comes into the names of most of these games. Baba Cascudo can be played by any number, one of whom stands in a makeshift goal. The others take turns at scoring goals: when a boy scores, he can go out, the last to score being penalised with a cascudo (blows on the head from all the other players). Baba Quadrado requires four players, two in the goal and two opposite them. Each of the two players outside the goal tries to score three goals, if he succeeds, he and his partner win, if not, he must change places with one of the two in the goal. Other forms of Baba, in which, for the players, attacking their opponents is a more essential element than scoring, will be discussed in another category. Football can also become a sedentary game for two players, and many boys make their own boards
for Botão or Futebol de Mesa. A board is marked out like a football field; nets are made from any scraps of wire or material around the house, and the goalies are generally made from matchboxes with a piece of lead inside and a cut-out photograph of a popular local or national player gummed on the top. The other players are represented by plastic counters or bottle-tops and have the name and number (and sometimes a photograph or cigarette-card) of the player stuck on top. The ball may be a button (hence the name of the game) or a little piece of rubber. The players are set out in the normal positions for kick off and the side to start is decided by a round of Par ou Impar. The game is played by flicking the counters from behind with the thumb and first finger so that they impell the ball or button towards the goal. Normal rules are more or less strictly observed according to players: if one 'player' hits another without hitting the ball, it is a foul, if the ball crosses the side line, the other 'team' has a free kick from the line, players may be offside, take corners and so on.

Boys are also fond of Totó (bar football) where this is available in bars and botequins.

g) Guáo

Football has taken the place of many games boys used to play although many still continue to be played by girls.\(^{64}\)

\(^{64}\) The same thing is happening in Africa. See Béart 1955:377.
The game which is still popular with boys, especially those under about 11, but sometimes played by 17 and 18 year-olds, is Guile (marbles). Some marble games can be played individually and cannot therefore be considered as races, but generally there are four or more players, often grouped in partners. The most popular marble games are Três Buracos and Triânculo.

In Três Buracos, three holes are scooped out in the earth or sand at intervals of six feet (as marked by six times the length of a player's foot). Naming the holes A, B and C for reference (see Fig. 5), players draw a starting line behind A. By Par ou Impar it is decided who will have first throw and the opening player aims his marble at hole C, from behind the starting line. The player whose marble is closest to the hole then starts, but if any two marbles touch each other during these preliminaries everyone has to go back to the beginning and start again. Once this starting procedure is over, players go back to the starting line and aim for C again. Once the marble lands in C it is batizado, and the player is entitled to another turn. The marbles are now flicked with the finger and thumb from C to B and from B to A, with extra turns for every hole taken. The aim is not only to advance one's own marbles but also to divert other players' marbles. If a player's marble is within a palm's measure

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65 In other parts of Brazil known as Bolinhas de vidro/Mica, Pégas (Santa Catarina), Núrico (Paraná). (Cabral 1952:167, Piazza 1960:179).
66 Cf. Gomme 1894:67-68 and 1898:256-257 for English variants of the game: Chuck or Chock-hole and Three Holes. The moves are the same but there are no parallels in terminology. See also Howard, 1960:172, for an Australian version of the game known as Nux.
of the hole, he can bring his marble out of the hole and flick it at one of his opponent's to send it off in the opposite direction\textsuperscript{67}. From A, the \textit{batizado} works his way back to C, which is now called a \textit{boca de veneno}. Once he succeeds in getting the marble in the \textit{boca de veneno} the marble itself becomes \textit{veneno} and is deadly to all other players\textsuperscript{68}. The object is now to 'kill' as many other players as possible on the way back to A; a single touch from \textit{veneno} is \textit{morte} and elimination for the others. If one child is playing with \textit{veneno} and hits another still not \textit{batizado} (in C for the first time) that player \textit{morre parâno}. In this case, the \textit{parâno} owes \textit{veneno} ten points, which may mean a forfeit of ten marbles, if they are playing \textit{ás veras}, or some other forfeit if it is simply \textit{de brincadeira}, a decision which is usually made after quite serious argument and discussion at the outset. \textit{Veneno} may strike other players inside holes (in which case they are said to \textit{morrer dentro}) or between them (\textit{morrer fora}) but in either case they owe one point to \textit{veneno}. When children play with a partner they may help

\textsuperscript{67} Measured by the length of span between outstretched thumb and index finger, with the thumb to the edge of the hole, and the index finger describing an arc.

\textsuperscript{68} Cf. Poison Ring in Australia. Winning marbles with knockout powers are also known as poison. (Howard 1960: 169-177). A similar idea occurs in a Sudanese game of dice: \textit{Nama} (hyena), in which the stick (as opposed to a marble) completing the set course first 'devient hyène, repart en jouant deux fois par coup d'un autre joueur, afin de manger les bâtonnets qui ne sont pas arrivés' (Béart 1955:430). The same metaphorical terms connected with annihilation and eating up opponents are employed in some African \textit{Mancala} games (ibid.,485). Comhaire-Sylvain describes a series of Congolese games, \textit{Nkoko} and \textit{Nkwa}, played with pebbles or \textit{nkoki} seeds; again the metaphor of eating is employed in the game terminology (1949:148-150). Cf. also Gommè 1898:471-472.
and use the partner in various ways. If a partner is within a palm's measure of a hole his counterpart is already in, he may bring the partner in, flick both partner's marble and his own towards the next hole together, or use his marble to flick an opponent's marble out of the way. Various other rules may be imposed; players must aim at holes from a standing position, for instance, whereas veneno can flick the marble from a squatting position, but these are generally improvised on the spur of the moment according to the players.

**Gude**

**Triângulo 1**

**Triângulo 2**

**Triângulo 3**

CASTAÑOS

**Fig. 5**

**Fig. 6**

Triângulo is something of a generic term, since it seems to be loosely applied to marble games which are not in fact on a triangle shape and which are often not played
with marbles but rather with Coca-Cola tops (called castelos because of the crenellated surface they present when upturned for play), or cashew nuts. (See Triângulo 3 in Fig. 6).

In the first version, players decide first whether they will play às veras or de brincadoira and they throw to start, each player having contributed one or more marbles to the triângulo. The player whose marble lands nearest the triangle shape is first off. The aim is to shoot the other marbles right out of the triangle from some distance, the successful player winning those marbles he displaces for his own collection, if they are playing às veras, or else simply gaining points.

The second version is played when there are more players or simply more marbles at stake: greater skill is required to dislodge several marbles at a time.69

The third version was particularly popular in Cachoeira, and seemed to be enjoying a popularity craze at the time. It was either known as Triângulo, Castelos or Jogar Castanha, and was most commonly played with bottle-tops.70 A line is drawn at some distance with charcoal, and from the boat-shaped outline castelos are thrown at the line. A castelo which lands on or nearest the line, determines the starter. After this the game proceeds like the first version, with players either standing and throwing their missiles from the line, or squatting and flicking them between finger and thumb, trying to shoot the castelos off the line and right out of the shape.

69 For West African parallels, see Béart 1955:360-361.
70 Known as Barra in Espírito Santo and played in the same way. See Cascudo 1962:356. For a Portuguese version see Dias 1967:16, 148-149.
A game played by both sexes and called Bico by some children (S19, C13)\(^{71}\) is played with a more complex diagram, but again with cashew nuts or castelos (see Fig. 7). One child stands to one side with a supply of nuts or castelos to be won in the game. The other players aim at the square from behind the starting line, aiming at the highest numbers. Castelos landing on an X score nil, but 1 pays out one nut or castelo, 2 pays out two etc.

Fig. 7 - Bico

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Player with supply of nuts stands here.

h) Pedrinhas

While girls play Bico and are occasionally seen to play Triângulo, the Jogo das Pedrinhas is an exclusively feminine pastime\(^{72}\). This would appear to be another game of multiple origin and with its roots in ancient divinatory

71 Hotly disputed by other informants (I15, I16, C3, S14) who insisted that this was not the right name, although they were unable to provide any alternative.

In the Recôncavo it is played in two ways: with small stones or cashew nuts (generally the most common) and with small bags full of beans or rice (anquinhas) for which, again, there seemed to be a craze at the time in Salvador. The latter is identical to ō-tadama (citadama) or Japanese Jacks as recorded by Newell in Boston Mass (1963: 192-193). Whether pedrinhas, castanhas or anquinhas are used, the variations of the game which are played most are Três Marias and Capitão.

Três Marias (after the popular name for one of the constellations in the southern sky) is played with five stones. They are thrown in the air together, while the player quickly turns her hand over to catch them on the

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73 For a study of the antiquity and early history of this game see Leake 1895:184ff, and 1906:44-66. Tylor also discusses the Greek astragal game and similar Roman ones (1879:742 ff.), so does Lovett (1901:280-293). For African variants see Béart 1955:350-353, and especially B brewster 1954:40-43, who discusses the Yoruba ḍéga but also gives a comprehensive comparative study and wide bibliography. Middle American versions recorded include Matatona among the Otomi of Mexico (Vogt 1969:718) and Mapenena among the Aztecs (Nash 1967:204). In Portugal the game is known as Chaneleta (Melo 1959:354) Bato, Chinnas (Casquilo 1962:592) and Jogo das Héneas (Vasconcellos 1882:98) and elsewhere in Brazil as Jogo do Xibu (Ceará) (Figueiredo Filho 1962:109-110). In Spain it is most often known as Tabas or Juego de las Tabas, but sometimes as Pedrinhas (Lorenzo 1955:272-273). British versions are recorded in some detail by Gomme (1894:66) as Checkstones, Chucks, Chuckie-stones, Fivestones, Dabs, Jacks, Hucklebones; and by Daiken (1949:122), and Budd and Newman (1941:18ff) as Knucklebones. Rabelnaus includes it as one of Gargantua's pastimes on rainy afternoons: 'Mays apes disner, en lieu des exercitations, ils demouraient en la maison et....revocquaient en usage l'antique jeu des tales ainsi qu'en a escript Leoniens' Gargantua ch. 22.
back of it. However many she manages to catch on the
back of her hand, she then throws in the air and tries to
catch them again in the palm. Ten points are scored for
each stone caught in the palm.

In Capitão, five stones are thrown on the ground in
haphazard fashion. Picking up one stone, the player throws
it in the air, meanwhile picking up one stone from those on
the ground and catching the falling stone in the same hand.
The retrieved stone is then put on one side and the original
one thrown in the air again, while two are picked up
together, and then another two. The first move (throw one;
pick one up) is known as rei, the second (throw one, pick
up two twice) as soldado. Players then attempt to throw up
one and pick up three together (capitão) and finally four
together (ladrão). Sometimes one stone is picked up off the
ground, while two, three and four are thrown up together.

An arco is then made with the left hand by placing the
thumb and index finger on the ground and all the stones are
thrown down again. The player(s) then tells her opponent
which stone she must pick up first (generally the least
accessible) and pass under the arco. Stones are then
picked up in the same order (1+1, 1+2, 1+3 etc) but
must be passed under the arch before the stone in the air
is recaught. If a player fails to catch the stone or pass
the others under the arch, she is out for that round.
Players winning one round assume the title rei, two rounds
soldado, three rounds capitão and so on.
Apart from the arco, there are all sorts of difficult conditions to fulfil which may be brought into the game to complicate matters. Players may now decide whether they will be limited to five pedrinhas or saquinhas or whether any number up to ten will be brought into play, making the game increasingly difficult. Players are asked:

- Quantas mãos você joga?

Six was the most common answer. *Mão de uma* is sometimes the term applied to picking up one at a time, *mão de duas* for two at a time and so on instead of *rei, soldado* etc. Players then decide whether they are going to play duro or mole. If duro, all the stones must be picked up together while the original stone is in the air, which is not easy when it comes to *mão de cinco* or *de seis*, whereas playing mole, players may gather the pedrinhas in two stages, first drawing them together and then throwing the stone in the air again and picking them up. Other mãos then played are *mão de murinho, mão de dedos, mão de passar por dois, mão de pontas* and *canelão* (see Fig. 8). Slow, clumsy players who take a long time to complete the set tasks are taunted: the last to finish is called *lambe-lambo* (slowcoach, usually applied to slow and finnicky eaters); to losers other players say *'você arreia pedra'.*

As Déart and Browster have shown (see p. 122 n. 73) this game is widely played in Africa, as it is in most countries. Karsten discusses Taba games at some length and shows how, among the Indian of the Puna of Jujuy, tabas or huayru (Quechua) dice were thrown over a dead man's tomb to determine which mourner should pronounce an appropriate prayer. These huayru were made of llama bones and often interred with the dead, suggesting 'the dice have originally been used for some secret magical purposes' (1930:6).

Amongst the Ecuadorian Indians the game is also closely associated with vigils over the dead and wakes, and is of ritual importance. In these Amerindian games, the astragal is regarded as a die, and the side on which it lands determines the success or failure of the player. The name tabla, according to Karsten, is derived from the Quechua
tahua, meaning four (ibid. 115), owing to the shape of the
die. The tahua is also used in divination by the Peruvian
Quechuas (ibid. 117).

While the game as played in the Recôncavo today does
not correspond to the description above, it may be an
indication of the way the game has evolved. The throwiý
of shells or bones, seeds or nuts is common in Nigeria and
other parts of West Africa as a means of divination as it
was in the ancient world, but in the absence of suitably
shaped bones etc., children have recourse to pebbles or
other material and develop the practice as a game with a
different focus of attention: picking up and arraíging the
stones as a test of skill.

1) Pongá75

This is one of the simplest diagram games, related to
Noughts and Crosses, and more popular with boys than girls.
It is better known and more frequently played amongst the
poorer classes. Lines are drawn on the pavement or
scratched in the earth and each of the two players has
three stones or bottle tops to play with (see Fig. 9). The
player who starts has a recognised advantage and at the
start of the game this is decided by Par ou Impar. In
subsequent games the winner of the last round leads off.
As in Noughts and Crosses, the aim is to block off the
partner's exits while getting one's own stones in a straight
line, diagonal, horizontal or vertical. Another variant is

the moving of all one player's stones to the opposite side of the diagram and vice versa; the first to get there wins.

Ponza belongs to a very ancient series of three-in-a-row games often known as morris, from low Latin *morcellius*, existing all over Europe, Asia and West Africa. The earliest known morris was found incised on roofing slabs at the temple of Kurna in Thebes, which dates from the reign of Rameses I (1400-1366 B.C.). The game was known to the ancient Greeks who called it *ponto grammata* (five lines) and is mentioned by Sophocles. It was played in Arabia prior to A.D. 1000 and later carried to Spain by the Moors and from there spread into Europe and was taken to the New World. Whether it was subsequently adopted by the Indians there, or whether a similar game already existed must remain a matter of conjecture. The Arabic name for morris games was *qirra* which in Spain became *alquerque*, a term later used for other board games too. Alfonso X's manuscript (1283) contains two *alquerque* games played on

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76 H.J.R. Murray 1925:37.
78 Quoted by Brewster 1957 [2]:225.
80 This term is now obsolete. In modern Arabic the game is known as *dria* (Brewster 1957 [2]:225).
81 This is a manuscript compiled under the direction of King Alfonso X of Castile, treating in detail of the games played in Spain. The manuscript is generally referred to as Alf. See Brewster 1957 [2]:229.
a lined board in addition to the Alquerque de Tres or Tres on Raya which most closely resembles Ponga\textsuperscript{82}, so girn may originally have meant a lined board of any kind\textsuperscript{83}. H.J.R. Murray mentions no name for the game which bears any resemblance to the Brazilian Ponga, for which I can find no etymological significance.

Variants of the game are to be found all over the world with three, five, six, nine, eleven, and twelve men. Diagrams have been found carved into cloister seats in the cathedrals of Norwich, Canterbury, Salisbury and Gloucester and in Westminster Abbey\textsuperscript{84}. The game must also have been played in the open over a roughly drawn diagram and not necessarily on a wooden board\textsuperscript{85}. It certainly appears to have been very popular from the twelfth to the sixteenth century in Britain, after which it suffered a decline.

Akidada, the Yoruba version recorded by H.J.R. Murray, uses a six-lined board (see Fig. 10) while the eight-lined smaller merels, as in Ponga, corresponds to one of those noted at Kurna\textsuperscript{86}.

\textsuperscript{82} H.J.R. Murray 1925:40.
\textsuperscript{83} Alquerque was also a term applied to part of a mill for grinding olive oil. In countries where the game is not known by a word derived from merollus, its name is often connected with milling. Cf. Brewster 1957 [2]:231.
\textsuperscript{84} Gomme 1894:141; H.J.R. Murray 1925:41.
\textsuperscript{85} Cf. 'The fold stands empty in the drowned field
And crows are fatted with the murrian flock
The nine men's morris is filled up with mud
And the quaint mazes in the wanton green
For lack of tread, are indistinguishable.'
(Shakespeare, \textit{Midaummer Night's Dream}, Act II, 1:96-100).
\textsuperscript{86} An identical board is used for games played in India (Bengal), Switzerland, Greece, Haiti and parts of England (Brewster 1957 [2]:226-231).
Apart from the opening of play with pieces entered separately, *Ponca* conforms to H.J.R. Murray’s account of *Three Men’s Morris*:

‘When all the men have been entered without a row being formed, the game proceeds by alternate moves in which a man can be moved one step along any line through the point on which it stands to a neighbouring empty point. The player who first makes a row, wins’ (1925:40).

The game is played in exactly the same fashion in Bengal where it is called *Tant-fant*, according to Brewster (1957 [2]:226). He goes on to comment: ‘As might be expected, forms of the three-in-a-row game are played over a large part of Africa’. Information about play amongst South American Indians is scant, although Brewster refers to one tribe, the Bogas, but does not identify them further. In North America it is known to be popular among the Zuñi, Tewa and Papago. The game no doubt came to Brazil both from Portugal and Africa, in both cases via the Moors, corroborated by Brewster in his conclusion:

‘As stated earlier, neither the provenience nor the date of this game can be definitely established. However, all available evidence points to its having originated in the Arabic world and following much the same path as chess, to having entered Europe with the Moors’ (1957 [2]:260-261).
j) Jogo da Volha

This is the Brazilian name for Noughts and Crosses. It is not particularly popular or even very well known in the Recôncavo. As will be clear from the foregoing, it is most like a pen and paper version of merels.

k) Pontinhos

There are two games by this name, the second of which will be discussed with guessing games, since it falls more properly into that category. In the first game, a series of small dots is made on paper in the shape of a square. As each player's turn comes, he draws a line to join two dots, aiming to complete a square eventually with four lines (fechar uma casa). He then initialises his casa. This entitles him to an extra turn. The game continues until all the dots have been joined and the square has assumed a chequerboard pattern. The winner is the player with most squares to his name.

1) Mamífero, Ave ou Peixe?

This game is played by drawing three columns on a piece of paper, each column being headed mamífero, ave and peixe respectively. There may be more columns: 12 listed six, headed fruta, passar, animal, cidade, ator and atriz, but the number and subject heading is variable. Players then hold up their fingers and according to the total number counted, a letter of the alphabet is chosen: six fingers, for example, would give F, so everyone must write a word beginning with F in each of the appropriate columns.
The winner is the first to show a series of complete columns after the last letter has been called. The game no doubt originated in the classroom and its pedagogic function is clear, but it is nevertheless popular in the playground.

4.6 Concluding remarks

A wide variety of games have been encompassed in this chapter, among them some of the most ancient and most widely disseminated: Cabra Cora, Três, Três Passaré, Macaca, Pedrinhas and Pouca. Speed and skill are important elements in these games, and a characteristic common to the first four is that they are all connected with religious observances, and allude to beliefs about the spirit world, the supernatural or the after-life, either directly or allegorically. Whether Pouca ever formed part of ritual symbolism or was used in divination is not clear; it appears to be purely a game.

The majority are outdoor games which are naturally popular in a warm climate and played by both sexes, although even here girls' preference for ordered, more structured and regulated games will be noted. Três, Três Passaré, Barra Manteiga, Macaca and Pedrinhas are the favourites in this group among the girls, while boys' preferences are for Picula, Murinho, Baba and Pouca.
5.1 **Introductory remarks**

Apart from the constant rough and tumble fights and scraps indulged in by boys there are several games in which fighting or duelling of some kind is an important element or an end in itself, or where some form of endurance test or ability to withstand 'torture' is undergone by some or all of the players. Other activities test individual strength or endurance in a competitive fashion. Clearly skill is involved in a number of these games, but I have attempted to group together those where fortitude and physical strength are the main factors, rather than speed and agility as in the preceding chapter. The only exceptions to this are the games of *Sabugo* and *Papagaio* which do not really test the physical strength or endurance of the players, but which I have included as they are duels of a kind, and, like most of the games in this category, particularly popular with boys.

5.2 **Duelling games**

a) *Briga de Calo*

This game should properly fall into the category of a pretending game, for it is such in concept, but in practice generally turns out to be a duel. It is a mock cock-fight in which two children (generally boys) imitate fighting cocks, using their arms as wings which they flap at each
other. The mock clawing often degenerates into a real fight.

b) **Queda de Braço**

Queda de Braço or *Queda Francesa* is only generally played by boys. Two opponents sit facing each other and, elbows resting on the ground or on a table, they clasp each other by the right hand, forearms together, and each tries to force his opponent’s arm down. According to Karsten, this 'arm-breaking game' is of Amerindian origin, although it seems to have been a popular form of combat all over the world.

c) **Capoeira**

Since *Capoeira* is a form of duelling peculiar to Bahia and not easily compared with any similar European practice, it merits a somewhat longer discussion here. It was formerly a kind of free fight with less bodily contact than wrestling, but considerably more acrobatic, with adult participants often dealing their opponents blows with the feet while standing on their hands themselves. It is certainly of African origin and most probably originated in Angola. Carneiro, in a short study of *Capoeira*, sums up

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1. Cock-fighting as a sport witnessed by adults is on the decline, but may still be seen.
2. Quoted by Freyre 1946:150.
4. See Cascudo 1967:181. Cascudo goes on to state that it had its origin in part of an initiation rite (183-185): the victor in a round of *nigolo* (the Mucope word for *Capoeira*) had the right to choose a wife from amongst girls newly arrived at puberty without paying the usual *dote esponsalício*. 
the transformation which it has undergone:

'Idá-se o nome de capoeira a um jogo de destreza
que tem as suas origens remotas em Angola. Era
antes uma forma de luta, muito valiosa na
defesa da liberdade de fato ou de direito do
negro liberto, mas tanta a repressão policial
quanto as novas condições sociais fizeram com
que, desde o começo do século, se tornasse
finalmente um jogo, uma vadiação entre amigos'(1971:1).

Since then it has become more of a dance form even than a
sport, and as a graceful acrobatic dance has become a
popular tourist attraction in Bahia and the Nordeste, with
its own accompanying music and rhythms. In one private
school in Salvador, boys included Capoeira among their
favourite 'dances' and none considered it as a form of
combat. In rural districts, however, and in poorer
quarters of Salvador, boys regarded it as more of a friendly
fight, though in fact they very rarely hurt each other, and
were as controlledly graceful and agile as the boys who
performed it as a dance form.

Capoeira appears to have undergone a curious process
of transition, from being a form of public ludic display or
competition in Angola to a serious means of defence in
nineteenth-century Brazil, and latterly, a ludic display
once again. The word itself is of Tupi origin and literally
means sparse scrub; the kind of growth which appears after
preliminary land clearance. It subsequently came to denote
a bandit, highwayman or ruffian, no doubt one who dwelt in
this rough hinterland. From a highway bandit o capoeira

6 I later established it had been included on the school
curriculum as an activity for boys while girls were
having ballet classes.
8 Cascudo (1967:188) quotes from Frei Domingos Vieira's
dictionary published in Cporto in 1873: 'Capoeira: Negro
que vive no mato e acomete os passageiros à faca'.
(as opposed to a Capoeira, denoting the fight or dance)

became an urban phenomenon, as Freyre describes:

'a curious type of urban Negro or mulatto, whose counterpart was the capangas and cabras, the hired gunmen of the plantations. The speciality of the capoeira was his razor or sharp-pointed knife; his trademark, the kinky hair combed in the shape of a turban, the light sandals on his feet, which were almost those of a dancer, and his loose-jointed gait. His art included, in addition to all this, a variety of difficult steps and movements of incredible agility, in which the street vagabonds were initiated almost as in a Masonic rite' (1963:141-42).  

A nineteenth-century English traveller, Wetherall, comments on the Negroes in Bahia: 'they are full of action, capering and throwing their arms and legs about like monkeys during their quarrels. It is a ludicrous sight' (1860:120).  

However ludicrous Capoeira may have appeared to Wetherall it came to present a serious threat to social order in the nineteenth-century. In a prevailing mood of unease as slaves were freed (and escaped in some cases) the white administration clamped down on exclusively 'African' activities: forms of religious worship, dancing of samba and other dances considered to be of a lascivious nature, and Capoeira itself, thus debasing all these activities.  

By a peculiar reversal of moral standards and fashions, such activities, a hundred years later, are receiving encouragement from the authorities, partly in the exploitation of the tourist industry, and partly in a more genuine

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9 See also Freyre 1963:261.  
10 Freyre comments: 'It was the shortsightedness of such repression that turned their festive gatherings into sessions of witchcraft, the cult of Ogun into a coarse imitation of Masonry, with mysterious signals and whistles, Mohammedanism into the mortal enemy of the religion of the Christian masters of plantations and city houses, capoeiragem into a criminal and bloody activity, and the samba into a low, indecent dance' (1963:328).
desire to acquire a national identity and recognise the positive contribution of African culture to Brazilian life and mores.\footnote{For other accounts of the history and development of Capoeira, see Cascudo 1962:181-182, 1967:179-189; Querino 1938:270-278; Almeida 1942:110-112.}

d) Cavalo do Guerra

This is a piggy-back game in which boys mount on each others' backs and those on top try to knock their fellows off. The game is well-known all over Brazil, and is of considerable antiquity in Europe, as Gomme has shown with her references to illustrations in mediaeval manuscripts (1894:311-312).

e) Sabugo

This and the game which follows are 'duels by proxy', to use the Opies' term (1969:226-227). While British children duel in this way by holding conker fights, boys in the Recôncavo play at Sabugo in which a used corn cob is used as a club and blows rain until one cob is splintered and its owner proclaimed loser. It is one of the most popular diversions among boys, and has been for a long period, as Amado's autobiographical account shows:\footnote{Amado uses the sergipano name Capuco for Sabugo which is more common in Bahia. The game itself is exactly the same.}

"Capuco é espiga de milho depois de tirados os caroços. Os meninos iam buscá-lo nos quintais, no montuo, no chiqueiro arrancando-o dos dentes e da lama dos porcos. A briga de capucos era como jogar pião, empinar papagaio, botar sal e pimenta em cima do sapo, dos maiores divertimentos da criançada. Toda uma cerimônia rodeia o encontro de dois jogadores; medem-se tamanho e grossura; discutem-se as condições do encontro, quantas vezes um capuco deve bater no outro, se até quebrar ou se até um certo número de pancadas...a fraude abunda." (1954:88).
f) Papagaio

Kite-flying (*Papagaio*, as mentioned by Amado above) can also become a form of duelling, when small pieces of glass or sharp stones are attached to the cord of the kite, and boys try to tangle the cords of the kites with their opponent's in an attempt to cut them down.

5.3 Tests of Endurance

a) Baba games

I have already examined some racing Baba games in the preceding chapter (see Chapter 4.5f). Two further variations of Baba fall into this category. Baba Maluco, as the name suggests, is a rough game, and is played only by boys. Again it is a kind of football, but the aim is not to score goals, but to score personal prestige in terms of endurance. The aim of the game is to 'shoot' other players, rather than goals, which involves kicking the ball as hard as possible at the other boys playing. The ball may not be thrown, only kicked, and it can become very violent. Boys who cannot put up with constant hard knocks are forced to retire, until only the toughest are left:

> O mais fraco sai, e o mais forte fica. (I8)

*Baba de Pancada* is similar in that the aim is not to score goals as in normal football. Whichever boy has the ball must pass to another as quickly as possible and keep the ball moving, unless he wishes to be attacked by all the other players. There are certain similarities to rugby.

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13 Nash records this sport as popular among the Tarascans of Mexico (1967:204).
football (hardly played in Brazil) except that boys attack by kicking each other rather than tackling.

b) **Ovinho**

In this game too, boys have to undergo rough treatment from other players. The name *Ovinho* is curious and I was unable to find any reasonable explanation of it. As in the case of *Murrinho* (see Chapter 4.2a) the game is really based on *Picula* or *Piculado*, but involves a forfeit at the end. *Picula* is played in the normal way (see Chapter 4.2a) but once a boy has been caught, or seen by the seeker, three times, he is given a choice of *castigos* (punishments). These are *passa ponte* (passing through the legs of another player standing astride, who pummels the victim hard on his way through); *liga radio* (twisting the victim's ear round); *parte cuquinha* (a blow on the head) or *calça meia* (having one's 'socks pulled up' by another player; this involves him running his nails up the victim's shin from ankle to knee). Boys who cannot endure their *castigos* are obliged to retire from the game and are considered *fraco*, incurring much derision from their fellows.

c) **Colpe**

Another popular 'torture' which may accompany such games as *Ovinho* or occur in a more spontaneous way in playground disputes, is *Colpe*, which also measures fortitude. It corresponds to the British Chinese Burn or Nelson's Arm.

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14 Cf. Newell 1963:138-139. Newell describes the similar games of Beetle and Wedge and Mustard or Pepper. In the English game of Trades, a boy is asked to guess the trade of his questioner, and is 'hammered', 'rasped' or 'planed' accordingly.
where the unfortunate player's arm is twisted behind his back until he cries or begs to be released.

d) *Espremo-cato*

This game and the two which follow differ from those already discussed in that they do not involve 'torture' or the attack of one player by another. They are nevertheless tests of individual strength and endurance. This is hardly an organised game but rather a popular diversion whenever a number of children come across a vacant bench or a length of smooth-topped wall. As many as can fit on the bench squeeze on together and all try to push off those at the end, who in turn push in the opposite direction in an attempt to remain on. When only two players are left on the bench they try to push each other off: elbows but no hands may be used.

e) *Vendedor de Farinha*

This, like *Cavalo de Guerra*, is a piggy-back game and really much better known in the interior than the former. In this region *farinha de mandiocca* is sold loose in markets and from house to house and is conveyed there in huge hide chests strapped on to the backs of horses and mules. So the *vendedor de farinha* with his heavy load is a common sight and the dialogue between him and his customer is not hard to improvise. The *vendedor* mounts another child (who pretends to be the chest of *farinha*) on his back and goes round calling out:

- *Farinha, olha farinha, quem vai comprar? O freguês, vai querer farinha aqui hoje?*

15 Also known as *Pari-cata, Gata Parida* (I2) (C3).
Questions are then asked about price and quality, the 
vendedor extols his merchandise:

- 'Tá fininha, moreninhal! (C3)

If the customer decides to buy, he or she, since this game is popular with both sexes, must carry away the 'chest' which is offloaded from the vendedor's back to his own, without dropping it.

f) *Pau de Sebo*

This is a supreme test of physical endurance and strength, and only attempted by boys. A pole is greased and at the top there is often a prize, usually in the form of money. As elsewhere, this is a seasonal activity, and is the invariable accompaniment of celebrations at São João. It is partly a test of machismo, and as such, not far removed from puberty and initiation rites of the kind practised amongst indigenous societies and in West Africa.

5.4 Chain-breaking games

a) *Carneirinho*

This is generally played by girls and its circle form

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16 Other popular amusements at São João are races like *ovo na Colher* (egg and spoon) and *Corrida de saco* (sack race).

17 Cf. Béart 1967:267: 'D'autant que très souvent, dans ces jeux issus des cérémonies religieuses, il existe une recherche de la prouesse à exécuter, celle qui existe en particulier dans tous les changements de classe d'âge. Grimer sur une tombe d'un seul élan est une prouesse que chacun peut se proposer, mais qui devient très souvent en Afrique jeu rituel. Grimer au haut d'un arbre est une prouesse que se proposent tous les enfants. Grimer aux arbres dans un bois sacré est une autre affaire. Là sans doute est né le mat de Cocagne....'.

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and set dialogue make it characteristic of girls' games (cf. Chapter 9). However, mixed groups are quite often seen, though only younger boys are likely to join in.

Children stand in a line, one having been isolated by a dip or by Par ou Impar. This child is carneirinho. The carneirinho squats down opposite the line of children who ask:

- Carneirinho quer pão?

Carneirinho replies with an affirmative bleat and moves a step forwards towards the line. If he replies in the negative (a shake of the head), he takes a step back away from the line. He is then invited to accept other items of food:

- Carneirinho quer biscoito? (arroz, feijão, carne etc.).

He continues advancing until he reaches the line. The players then close round him in a circle and he stops in front of several players in turn, pawing at the ground. One of the players in the circle asks:

- O que é que está cavando aí?

to which he replies:

- Aipim.

The player then asks:

- Me dá um pedaço?

to which the carneirinho replies:

- Não dou pra minha avó, quanto menos pra você.

Carneirinho then hits the child on the leg and the child jumps. The procedure is repeated several times, and eventually the carneirinho retires to the middle of the circle. Those in the circle tighten the grasp of their hands, and carneirinho goes up to any two players, and indicating their linked hands, asks:
They reply

— Ferro (prata, ouro etc.) que nunca quebra. (13)

_Carneirinho_ then tries to break out of the closed circle while the other players try to resist his battering. If anyone lets the circle break he must run off as fast as possible for the _carneirinho_ now gives chase and if he or she is caught that child becomes _carneirinho_ next time.

b) _Veadinho_

This game is almost identical, except _veadinho_ is substituted for _carneirinho_. It ends, however, with the following dialogue between the 'animal' and the player, with the _veadinho_ speaking first:

— Veadinho sai? (three times)
— Não sai

(At this point the _veadinho_ breaks out of the circle)

— Veadinho sai
— Pega o veado! (114)

The players in the circle then chase the _veadinho_, and the player who catches him becomes _veadinho_ next time.

Similar games with animals breaking out of a ring are to be found in several countries, and the English game also includes the reference to different metals. Other animal names are used in different parts of Brazil and Europe: _Veadinho_ or _Veadinha_ in Ceará, Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais, João do Veado in São Paulo and Coelho in Alagoas and Rio Grande do Norte. In Portugal it is _Touro_. British versions are Bull in the Park or Bull in the Ring. In Cornwall the animal is a pig. Sources: Figueiredo Filho 1962:82; Hele 1959:356-357; Gomes 1951:290-291; Gomme 1894:150; Spies 1969:237-239.

18 C1 identified this game as _Cachorrinho_. Other animal names are used in different parts of Brazil and Europe: _Veadinho_ or _Veadinha_ in Ceará, Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais, João do Veado in São Paulo and Coelho in Alagoas and Rio Grande do Norte. In Portugal it is _Touro_. British versions are Bull in the Park or Bull in the Ring. In Cornwall the animal is a pig. Sources: Figueiredo Filho 1962:82; Hele 1959:356-357; Gomes 1951:290-291; Gomme 1894:150; Spies 1969:237-239.

19 Gomme 1894:150. The bull asks for the key of the barn door asking whether it is steel or iron.
Games of this kind are also common all over West Africa and are found among the indigenous populations of Central America. Although it has declined in popularity in Britain in recent years, it is still one of the most popular in the Recôncavo.

5.5 Concluding remarks

The duels and tests of strength and endurance detailed above constitute the principal play activities of boys in the Recôncavo, apart from football which is probably their favourite diversion. Boxing and wrestling are also popular, but the bouts are usually very spontaneous and do not necessarily conform to accepted rules and regulations. In Itaparica and parts of Salvador underwater endurance tests were also practised: holding one's breath, swimming certain distances under water and performing similar feats, but none of these showed any kind of formal organisation.

These are to some extent tests of machismo, which colours much of social life in the Recôncavo, and which boys are aware of from an early age. Small boys are encouraged by their parents to 'prove themselves' by not crying and by displays of physical strength, just as young adult males are required to 'prove themselves' by acquiring wives and fathering children. At all stages in their intervening boyhood and adolescence they set themselves and

22 Opies 1969:1239.
23 Déart's findings in West Africa are similar. Football (in games played there), according to him, 'n'est que le résidu de tous les jeux de balle oubliés, vaguement contaminé par le vrai football' (1955:30).
each other trials and challenges in the playground, acquiring, in their success or failure, the admiration or scorn of their contemporaries.

The chain-breaking games are quite different, and as I have mentioned, more characteristic of girls' games. Girls' preference for structured, more complex games has already been recorded in the previous chapter, and will be explored in greater depth in the next.
CHAPTER 6
GAMES OF REFLEX CONTROL, FORFEITS AND GUESSING

6.1 Introductory remarks

A number of different types of game are encompassed within this chapter, but all have certain features in common: in all of them, the player or players are required to do or say the right thing at the right time. Failure to do this may lead to a forfeit being paid, or some form of punishment or elimination. In the case of clapping and skipping games, which are to some extent tests of endurance like the activities discussed in the preceding chapter, the ability to perform certain actions at a certain speed and for a given length of time is all-important; other games where muscular control is involved may require players to keep completely still or resist an impulsion to laugh or speak for a given length of time. In others, verbal control is the dominant feature and the ability to repeat a difficult sequence of words accurately, or to count backwards constitutes the material of the game. Where guessing games are concerned, mental agility predominates over purely physical control, but the same kind of concentration is involved; players may have to remember words or facts which have already been suggested and rejected, and they must restrict their guesses to a given length of time.

6.2 Clapping games

Clapping games are an exclusively feminine preserve. They are usually played by girls in pairs and follow a preordained pattern which both must endeavour to keep up
however fast they clap, alternating between vertical and diagonal movements and sometimes involving more complicated manoeuvres like turning back to back and clapping, clapping one's own knees and then one's partners, squatting, sitting and standing again and swivelling round between claps. Clapping is accompanied by short rhymes, broken down syllabically to conform to the rhythm of the claps. These rhymes are generally cantigas de roda or snatches from popular songs, but according to informants, some rhymes are specifically connected with clapping games and not used otherwise, and these are the rhymes which I have transcribed below. Particular instructions for clapping and other movements are not given with each rhyme in this case, as these tend to vary, and girls tend to swap rhymes about indiscriminately.

**Rhymes**

1) *O bacurau foi*
   numa festa no céu,
   sem camisa
   e sem chapéu;
   sem calça
   e sem paletó,
   chegou na calçada
   e disse:
   amanhã eu vou. (C1)

2) *Eu vi o sapo*
   eu vi uma rã,
   e um gia,
   O sapo 'tava
   com balaio de tapioca,
   por detrás da angioca
   pra vender no mesmo dia². (C2)

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1 *Bacurau;* 'a night hawk'. Also, in carioca slang, a Negro.
2 *Angioca;* 'a hole made in clay soil, which fills with water when it rains, producing layers of different coloured clay which is extracted to make dyes.'
iii) Eu vi o sapo
na beira do rio,
a mulher do sapo
foi quem me contou,
que o marido dela
era professor
e doutor.  (C10)

iv) Era uma casa
muito engraçada,
Não tinha teto
não tinha nada;
ninguém podia
entrar na casa,
porque na casa
não tinha chuão;
ninguém podia
dormir na rede,
porque na casa
não tinha paredes. (S5)

v) Papai Ferreira
Wanderleia, Wanderleia,
comprou um carro
tremendão
cheio de meu coração,
Se esta rua fosse minha,
Eli Regina,
eu mandava ladrilhar,
Roberto Carlos,
com pedrinhas do amor,
Simona,
para meu bem passear. (C6)

vi) Minha mãe me deu
do machucador,
eu não sou pimenta
mas minha mãe me machucou.

3 S5 indicated that the rhyme was considerably longer than this, but this was the only part that she knew
by heart. It is in fact a popular song and has been recorded in Italian and Portuguese, but I have been unable to establish whether it is of folk origin or an original composition.

4 All the names given in this rhyme are those of stage
or film stars, or popular singers. Unless Wanderley is intended for Wanderleia (and there is a pop singer
of this name) there appears to be a line missing, as
'ele é um pão' can hardly refer to Wanderleia. Pão, in slang, means a handsome man, heart throb. It gave
a different version of this rhyme substituting a
prestação (on hire purchase) in place of ele é um pão/
do meu coração.

5 Cf. Chapter 9.4 xviii.
De abóbora faz melão
de melão faz melancia,
faz não Sinhá,
faz não Sinhá,
faz não, faz não, faz não.
Quem quiser aprender a dançar
vai na casa de seu Juquinha,
ele pula, ele roda
elo faz quebradinho. (13)

vii) A diamanti ti tua
tu tuei a don don
a diamanti su su su
o a dan dan
moia volta vou ver
solo por ti eme a
eme a e a don don
a caneta a caneta
do tinteiro estourou,
meia volta vou ver
vou casar com você,
em que dia não sei
nem quero saber. (S6)

viii) Palminha palminha
noss vamos bater,
depois as mãozinhas
atrás esconder, (hide hands)
a, la, la, la, la.
Bem forte, bem forte
noss vamos bater,
depois as mãozinhas
atrás esconder. (hide hands)
Baixinho, baixinho (clap in a squatting position)
para alto e para baixo (stand and squat again)
para direita e para esquerda (clap on right and left)
para frente e para atrás, (clap in front and behind)(124)

ix) Piriri que bate bate7
piriri que ja bateu,
quem costa de mim é ela
quem costá dela sou eu8;
quem costa de mim é ela
quem costá dela sou eu,
Pedro foi à pesca
pesca por jerei
quando Pedro chegou
encontrou um jacaré
quando Pedro chegou
encontrou um jacaré. (C7)

6 According to C2 this is a cantiga de roda, though I have already mentioned it is quite common for these to be used as clapping rhymes. I3 said it was a samba de roda.
7 Piriri is an abbreviated form of piriri, the vulture-parrot of central and northeastern Brazil (Gypornitta vulturina).
8 Normal stress would fall on the initial o as in the preceding line. Here it is altered to fit the rhythm.
x) Escravos de Jô
jogavam caxangá,
tira
bota
deixa zabelô ficar;
guerreros com guerreros
fazem zig zig zag.
Guerreros com guerreros
fazem zig zig zag. (II)

The last rhyme was used in Itaparica as a clapping game but in Salvador was more often sung while passing round an object like a matchbox, as an elimination game. The player left holding it at the end is out (89). The words are puzzling and even a study of variants is hardly enlightening, although Rezende's version (1949:54), Escravos do Job⁹, suggests a possible Amerindian origin with its allusions to the game of Caxangá as a way of settling disputes¹⁰. I quote it in full by way of illustration:

'Os escravos de Job
Estão jogando o caxangá
Tira, pôô, deixa ficá;
Guerreros com guerreros,
zic, zic, zig zag (bis)

0' guerreros da taba sagrada
0' guerreros da tribu tupi;
0' guerreros p'tra que bordada?
0' guerreros escutem aqui!

Os caciques da tribu de cá
Os caciques da tribu de lá,
Resolvem a parada
Jogando o caxangá.'

The origin of the game as played today is clearer, as Braga has shown:

'também é muito comum as crianças apropriarem-se dos cantos que ouvem, entoando-os por adultos, imprimindo-lhes feição própria. Do jogo de mesa "Escravos de Jô", típico de mesa de bar, no qual cada jogador marca os tempos fortes da melodia, passando ao vizinho da direita, com um pancada na mesa, um objeto qualquer, fizeram um brinquedo em que acutados no chão, passam ao companheiro da direita uma pedra, reproduzindo os citados movimentos' (1948:49).

⁹ According to Rezende, some children sing 'os escravos del rei
¹⁰ For variants see Figueireido Filho (Cabo de Jô) 1966:111; Gomes 1951:290; Piazza 1960:49.
Obviously the beating out of a rhythm associated with 
Cananga makes the rhyme a suitable one for clapping to.

This type of reflex control game is very popular in 
West Africa as Béart has shown (1955:307-312) and there 
too they are sung to the accompaniment of a rhythmic chant, 
as they are all over Europe. As we have seen, rhymes vary 
onormously in character, from nonsense rhymes (vii) to those 
borrowed from adult amusements (x) and the clearly improvised 
Papal Ferreira (v). What is important is the marked rhythm 
of a rhyme and the child's ability to perform the right 
actions at the right speed and the right time.

6.3 Skipping games

With skipping, as with clapping, it is the ability to 
react quickly to instructions and keep in time which is 
important. Most skipping games depend either on a player's 
ability to keep jumping for long periods of time, or to 
increase the speed of jumping by degrees until those holding 
the rope are turning it very fast. Again these are games 
played exclusively by girls, and those discussed will be 
those in which three or more players participate, rather 
than 'solo' games where a girl skips alone. Some of the 
games are recognised by specific names, others simply by the 
dialogue or series of instructions which they comprise.

Those with names are given first, followed by miscellaneous 
rhymes and instructions where appropriate.

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11 For English rhymes about film and pop stars improvised 
in the same way cf. Ritchie 1964:45, 48; Opies 1973 [1]: 
103-120.
a) **Named skipping games**

i) **Pular de Corda**: two girls hold the rope and other girls take it in turns to skip. Those holding the rope chant:

> Quero saber a sua idade;
> um, dois, três, quatro etc.

They continue counting and turning the rope until the player trips. The player who reaches the most advanced age wins. (13)

ii) **Chinelinha**: two girls hold the rope and another girl starts skipping, holding a slipper. When those holding the rope chant 'um, dois, três, chinelinha' she must drop the slipper while still skipping and on the command 'um, dois, três, apanha a chinelinha' pick it up. (12)

iii) **Passe Doi**: two girls hold the rope and another number of others participate. In this case they do not jump over the rope at all, but must pass through while the rope is in the air without being caught. (513)

iv) **A Cobrinha**: two girls hold the rope and a number of others participate. Those holding it shake it on the ground to make it look like a snake, and the others must jump over it without letting it touch them. (114)

v) **Altinha**: two girls hold the rope, which in this case is kept horizontal, and raised little by little to constitute a high jump. The girl who is able to jump highest wins. (516)

vi) **Mesas**: this game is almost exactly the same as v) except each time the rope is raised, a month is mentioned, starting with janeiro when the rope is a little way off the ground, and finishing, if the players can jump that high, with dezembro. (C12)

vii) **Foguinho**: two girls hold the rope and a number of others participate. All file through, jumping the rope in turn, while those holding the rope chant:

> Um, dois, três, saída,
> se não sair vai tomar foguinho!

On foguinho they begin to turn the rope very fast and whoever is caught at that point must jump fast to keep up without tripping. (115)

viii) **Coroinha**: two girls hold the rope and one starts skipping. Those holding the rope chant um, dois, três, coroinha. At coroinha the girl skipping must squat down and for a further count of three, those holding the rope swing it to pass over her head. When the chant reaches coroinha, the second time, she must stand up and resume skipping. (110)
ix) Two girls hold the rope and two skip together. The rope is turned at a constant speed throughout, and those skipping hold a conversation about the time. One must ask que hora é essa? and the other reply, choosing any time she likes, but not repeating the same time twice. The conversation continues until one girl's concentration is interrupted and the rope catches her. (S10)

b) Miscellaneous skipping rhymes

i) The girls holding the rope sing:

Seu marido morreu,
deixou uma porção de filhos;
um, dois, três, quatro etc.

They continue counting until the girl skipping trips. (C3)

ii) The girls holding the rope sing:

Na hoi hi hua perua,
gato, cachorro no meio da rua.

On rua the girl skipping must go out, another girl replaces her and the chant is repeated. (S13)

iii) The girls holding the rope sing:

Maria sai da lata
que a lata só tem barata,
Maria sai do lixo
que o lixo só tem mosquito,
Maria sai da adeira
que a adeira só tem porqueira,
Maria sai do rego
que o rego só tem morcego. (C9)

At the end of this chant the girl skipping changes places with another and the chant is repeated.

iv) The girls holding the rope sing the first line, raising the rope higher and higher. The girl skipping replies, for as long as she is able to keep up.

- A maré 'ta enchendo
- Deixa encher. (S7)

v) The girl skipping holds a conversation with one of those queuing up for a turn. The one in the queue speaks first:

- Tum tum tum,
- Quem bate?
- Sou eu, comedre,
- Entre. Quer um cafezinho?
- Quero.
- Vou-me já.

At this point they change places. (C1)

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12 For a number of similar Brazilian skipping games see Medeiros 1961:317, 328, 348.
vi) The girls holding the rope chant while a girl skips until she trips. The letter on which she trips marks the supposed initial of her boyfriend's name.

 Açucar bem sesado,
 queremos saber
 a letra do seu namorado.
 A, B, C, D, etc. (11)

vii) As in v) the girl skipping holds a conversation with one of those in the queue. Those in the queue must all identify themselves by the names of different flowers.

 - Quem é que bate?
 - Sou eu.
 - Eu é quem?
 - E a rosa/dália/bonina etc. (13) (13)

Like so many other games, skipping appears to have been an adult pastime in Europe before the present century (14). Boys, too, participated in the past, but they are now only to be seen skipping when training to be, or imitating, boxers or footballers. This also appears to be the case in West Africa where skipping games even among girls are of European origin and not indigenous (15). The main interest today lies in the competitive aspect of these games, the ability to 'stay in', or to jump longer or higher than one's follows.

Mention should also be made here of leapfrog games, which are played by both boys and girls under the name of Salto Mortal, which is presumably a corruption of the French Sauter Mouton, although the Portuguese term is also given to the gymnastic feat of turning a running somersault in the air and landing on one's feet. Leapfrog is not particularly popular however, and compared with the variety of names and different jumps to be found elsewhere in Brazil and in other

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14 Gozze 1898:200. For older skipping rhymes in Britain see ibid., 200-204.
15 For a similar West African game see Béart 1955:312-315.
countries there was very little in the Recôncavo and children only performed a simple vault.

6.4 Other reflex control games

If the nine games to be discussed here, three involve control of the whole body, three are based on resisting the impulse to laugh, and three involve voice control. These forbidding the players to laugh are perhaps the most interesting and there is evidence of clear parallels in all three cultures with which we are concerned as I shall show.

a) Pimentinha ou pimentão

One player is singled out by a dip and the others all climb up on to logs, benches or any object some way off the ground. The odd player then goes round asking each one pimentinha ou pimentão?. The answer is generally pimentinha in which case the questioner pulls the other child down. If the answer is pimentão the child still gets pulled down but much more roughly. The player must remain in whatever position he falls and not move until all have been pulled down. The questioner then chooses the 'statue' that most appeals to him or her and they swap roles.

b) Morte ou Vivo

This is similar to the game described above, although this time children are not subjected to the same rough

treatment and it is more of an exercise of reflex control. One child is chosen by a dip and then goes round commanding the others to be morto or vivo. If the command is morto the children must squat down and remain immobile until the order is reversed to vivo when they must jump up and remain stiffly erect until the order is contradicted again. Players anticipating an order or not acting in accordance with the order must either go out or pay a forfeit.

c) Viradinha

This is a game played by boys and is really another variation on football. Two players are required: one in goal and the other with his back to the goal. The latter picks up the ball and has to balance it on the top of his foot, hop round to face the goal and then shoot without letting the ball fall to the ground. Obviously this is a test of skill in many respects, but requires similar muscular control to the games given above.

d) Meu Pai Matou um Porco

Players sit round and one starts off saying to the others:

- Meu pai matou um porco. O que é que você quer do porco?

The players must then ask in turn for different parts of the pig, either in mime, or a combination of words and mime, but in as amusing a fashion as possible, e.g.:

- Aquela coxa cheia de carne...aquela orelha que é enorme.

17 D'Arcy 1955:246-247. Talbot (1967:320) mentions that skipping is a common pastime among children in the Niger Delta, but does not indicate whether or not it is of supposedly foreign introduction.
and so on. The aim is to make the other players laugh.

Whoever does laugh is out. Some forfeit may be required of this player, or else the game may simply continue until all but one have been eliminated.  

e) Perca Sória

This game is played by two or more children who sit and stare at each other to see who can keep a straight face longest without laughing. Si gave a variant in which children had to stare at each other without blinking for as long as possible, the first to do so being the loser.

f) Céu ou Inferno

This is the most popular game of this type in the Rocinha and is known either by the name given above, or Céu, Inferno ou Purério. In the simplest version, players sit round and one pulls a face. Those who laugh are banished to Inferno, and those who keep a straight face go to Céu. The face-pulling continues until almost all the children have started to laugh. In some versions, players who laugh have to make a blind choice, three areas having been designated in advance as Céu, Inferno and Purério, without the knowledge of the other players. The dono/a da brincadeira is chosen by a dip, or by virtue of having been the last child.

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18 In Coard the game is known as Suást; see Figueiredo Filho 1966:118. The dialogue is slightly different and the players are asked whether they were afraid when their father killed the pig. Then 'a interlocutora sopra-lhe nos olhos ou ameaça-lhe atingir o rosto com um tabejo. Se a menina fechar os olhos é que teve medo; no caso contrário, é que não teve o menor sobeço, com a imaginária matança do porco'.

19 Cf. Três Três Passarã, Chapter 4.3.
to laugh in a preliminary round. The dono/a may hold a
stick and pick on people in turn, pointing at them and
trying to make them laugh. Then as the other players fail
to suppress their smiles or laughter they are asked to
choose one of the areas and so may find themselves in céu,
inferno or purgatório. At the end, the nature of their
choice is revealed and those in heaven jump up and shout for joy and those in hell feign misery and abjection. C3 added a fourth area, formigueira, an unpleasant place
where people would be eaten alive by ants. This was a
similar fate, according to her, to that of the soul in
purgatório, who would be eaten alive by purgas (pulga)21.
The game belongs to a similar cycle to the 'who will
speak first stories'22 and has roots in European tradition,
but is found amongst African and Amerindian peoples too.
As is often the case with African games, one cannot be sure
they are not of Arab or European origin, but Béart lists a
number from different parts of West Africa: the Bariba
Senaou, Senaou, and the Dahomean Edi and Setoobo of which
he says:

'Sous des vernaculaires différents même jeu sur
toute la côte, du Libéria au Cameroun; plus simple,
le monsieur a tout un répertoire d'histoires cociques,
qu'il faut écouter sans rire, celui qui rit est

20 Cf. Fitas, Chapter 6.5.
21 The confusion of r and l is common in nordestino speech.
22 S2 described a similar game called Adoro São Roque in
which a child is chosen as the 'saint' and the others
have to kneel in front of her and resist the impulse to
laugh while the 'saint' makes faces. They must repeat
over and over again Adoro São Roque sem rir e sem chorar.
There is no choice of heaven and hell, but whoever laughs
becomes São Roque. Cf. also Rozende 1949:46; Costa 1907:46.
23 MI J2511. The term quoted is Stith Thompson's.
The Senegalese game of *koti-koti* includes the notions of heaven and hell (ibid.:636-637)\(^{23}\); according to whether or not girls laugh when tickled they go to heaven or hell\(^{24}\). A parallel may also be traced with an indigenous game/dance described by Uberg from observation of the Terena Indians in Mato Grosso, in which 'a figura principal era o bôbo cuja função consistia em fazer com que os assistentes rissem — e por isso mesmo pagasses multas em viveres.'\(^{25}\)

Despite the gap in cultures it is possible to see here a connection between the Indian bôbo figure and the grimacing dono/a da brincadeira, pointing a stick, the traditional appendage of the Fool\(^{26}\). The prohibition on laughing at the Fool figure introduces another parallel with European and Semitic culture, if we recall that the traditional Fool was regarded with a mixture of awe and amusement and often seen as a clairvoyant and not simply a source of mirth, especially in Muslim cultures\(^{27}\).

\[g) \text{Guarda Chova}\]

In this game words and gestures must be performed together in correct sequence. All the children sit or squat

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\(^{23}\) Béart translates the game terms as heaven and hell, which indicates an imported game. It is likely, however, that this superseded an African game, and only the terminology was changed.

\(^{24}\) Béart recalls the French game played with infants: 'Je te tions par la barbichette, le premier qui rira aura une tapette'. The same game exists in West Africa, but in Senegal provides 'de curieuses nuances: ici la maman souhaite voir rire l'enfant, là elle est fière de voir l'enfant, surtout si c'est un petit garçon, ne pas rire' (1960:77).

\(^{25}\) Quoted by Carneiro 1965:44.


\(^{27}\) Welsford 1968:60-61, 76, 111.
in a circle with one holding an umbrella or stick represent-
ing an umbrella. As this is passed round each player must
make three distinct movements: passing the umbrella first
to the left-hand side, then holding it in front and then
passing it to the other side as if presenting arms and saying
simultaneously:

- For aqui, por ali, por acolá,
and then passing it on to his neighbour. Whoever fails to
say it correctly must pay a forfeit.

h) Meu Chapéu Tem Três Pontas

This is conducted in the same way as the game described
above. In the first round the following verse is repeated
by all the players, accompanied by suitable gestures. In
each succeeding round, certain words are left out and the
gestures substituted. These words or phrases omitted are
indicated in the text by numbers indicating the five rounds
which are said.

- O meu (1) chapéu (2)
tem três pontas (3)
tem três pontas o meu chapéu,
se não tivesse (4) três pontas
não seria (5) meu chapéu. (16)

O meu, for example, is indicated by a pointing of the index
finger towards the speaker, chapéu is indicated by drawing
the shape of a hat on the head and so on. If a player says
the word or phrase instead of making the gesture in the
appropriate round, he must pay a forfeit.

i) Toco

Children sit round in a circle and each one chooses a
name with the suffix -toco28; e.g.: arranca-toco, tira-toco.

28 Toco: 'a stub or stump'.
enole-teco, carrera-teco, morda-teco and so on. Any number of names may be made up in this way. Children then begin clapping rhythmically and to the rhythm of their clapping take it in turns to say their own 'name' followed by that of one of the other players. That player must then say his 'name' as he claps and name another, and so the game continues. Whoever fails to respond or speaks out of time with the clapping is eliminated or must pay a forfeit.

6.5 Forfeits and guessing games

Paying a forfeit (prenda) is often an integral part of longer games as we have seen in the preceding sections of this chapter, but it may sometimes be played as a game in itself. Similarly, in the case of guessing games, guessing a certain fact or facts may be the sole objective of the game or guessing may form part of a more complex game. Some of these more complex games fall into other categories, but those in which guessing is a vital element will be discussed here. I shall first examine forfeit games and then those involving guessing.

a) Jogo de prendas

Players must surrender some personal object or item of clothing and these are hidden by a chosen player. Concealing one of the objects, this player then asks any other players — "O que é que o dono desta prenda vai fazer?"
The answer may be in the form of a dare, a command or a question, and the owner must comply or give an answer accordingly. Players may find themselves in the difficult position of being required to comply with their own orders,
if the prênda in question was forfeited by them in the first place.

b) Barquinho

A small object is thrown from player to player, and a central player chosen by a dip calls out:

- Lá vai um barquinho carregado de A (B, C, D, E etc.).

The players have to guess what the letter A stands for. Those who get it wrong pay a forfeit to be redeemed at the end. In I9's version, no object is passed round but the central player starts off with a phrase like:

- Lá vai um barquinho carregado de manga,

and the other players follow in quick succession with the names of other fruits, flowers, groceries or whatever has been decided on beforehand. If a player fails to follow on quickly or supplies a word from an unsuitable category, he or she must pay a forfeit. In S2's version the central player supplied a single word, say, amor, and the other had to supply rhyming words until one was caught out.

c) Cai no Poco

This game is played by girls, who sit on the ground in line and one, whom I shall call (A) sits with her back to the others. She addresses (B), who is one of the players in the line:

(A): Cai no pôco?
(B): Quem tira?
(A): Nêu bem.
(B): Quem é seu bem?

(B) then goes down the line pointing to girls without naming them and without (A) seeing. Each time she points, she asks:

- É esse?
When she finally gets an affirmative reply from (A), she asks her:

(B): Que é que você dá nele?

and (A) answers with some promise like um beijo or um abraço or whatever else she feels like. She then turns to face the other players and has to fulfil whatever she has promised to do, regardless of whom she has unwittingly chosen.

d) Confidências

This game is similar in character to Cai no Poco but is played on paper. It consists of presenting girls (since boys do not play) with deceptively innocent questions and has a second series of questions to which answers to the first series may be cunningly fitted so that they become embarrassingly compromising. This is similar to English written games such as Consequences. This may either be played by folding one page of an exercise book in half and writing down questions with a space for answers beside each, and then unfolding the page to reveal a second set of questions (as shown in the layout below), or else the first set of questions may be dictated by one girl to others who simply write down the number and the answer and then have to give whatever answer they have written down to the second set of questions when these are read out, resulting in great hilarity. The example which follows is copied verbatim from 13's exercise book, as played with 14.
The vertical line indicates the fold in the paper concealing the second set of questions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions (Series 1)</th>
<th>Answers</th>
<th>Questions (Series 2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Gosta do sua vida?</td>
<td>Sim</td>
<td>Saiu ontem à noite?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Que hora costuma dormir?</td>
<td>às dez</td>
<td>que horas?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Diga um nome de um rapaz</td>
<td>Paulo</td>
<td>Com quem?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Diga um número do 1 a 29</td>
<td>dezoito</td>
<td>quantos anos ele tem?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Gosta de banana?</td>
<td>sim</td>
<td>foi beijada?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. diga uma gíria</td>
<td>curtição</td>
<td>que disseste?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. onde gostaria de estar agora?</td>
<td>na praia</td>
<td>onde foi o primeiro encontro?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Gosta de música?</td>
<td>muito</td>
<td>gosta dele?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. gosta de fruta?</td>
<td>sim</td>
<td>fez alguma besteira?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. onde costuma dormir?</td>
<td>na casa</td>
<td>onde?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. costuma tomar banho?</td>
<td>costume</td>
<td>porque?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. diga um nome de outro rapaz</td>
<td>João</td>
<td>quem estava presente?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. quando casar, o que quer ter?</td>
<td>filhos</td>
<td>qual resultado?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. gosta de roupa nova?</td>
<td>sim</td>
<td>vai repetir?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. diga outro lugar onde gostaria de estar agora</td>
<td>no estádio</td>
<td>onde?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. diga o nome de outro rapaz</td>
<td>Mauro</td>
<td>com quem? (13)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While this is neither a guessing game nor a forfeit game in the strictest sense, it contains elements of both. IJ said girls always tried to 'guess ahead' as to how the second

series of questions might fit their answers; the girl whose answer is most 'incriminating' is in a similar position to the player paying a forfeit.

e) **Cacique**

This is partly a guessing game, partly a game of forfeits. Children of both sexes play, and generally stand round in a circle. One child is sent out of the room or directed to stand at a distance from the others while one of those in the circle is chosen as cacique. The first player then comes back and is asked to guess who has been appointed cacique. If he gets it wrong, he must pay a forfeit.

f) **Escrava**

This game, which is also known as Simpatia, is only generally played by girls. It again involves one player leaving the others and standing out of earshot. Meanwhile all the others pass judgment on her and one girl is chosen as a spokesman and the first player is recalled and told what has been said, but without any of the other girls' names being mentioned. She then has to guess who said what about her. If she rightly suspects what a certain girl has said about her that girl must admit it, and she then takes her place. A girl may often discover her supposed friends to have, or at least to express, unpleasant opinions of her, and according to C4, the game often degenerates into squabbles and provokes hard feelings which persist long after the end of the game.
g) **Quatro Letras**

This and the two games which follow are very simple guessing games, well-known in most European classrooms as well as in Brazil. In this instance, a player thinks of a four-letter word, say, for example *cera*. Other people in turn mention other words with four letters, and if one of the letters coincides with those in the word *cera*, that letter is eliminated. A player suggesting *casa*, then, could cancel the letters *c* and *a*. This process of elimination continues until all the letters have been noted and the word guessed. This game was not particularly popular amongst poorer children or those in rural areas, but enjoyed popularity amongst better-off children in private schools with a better educational background and a more widely-developed vocabulary and consequent interest in words.

h) **Forca**

This corresponds exactly to the British game of Hangman where the gallows is built up (i.e., drawn on paper) step by step at every failure of a player to guess the missing letters in a word spelt out by dashes.

i) **Pontinhos**

Like Forca, this game is also played on paper. The numbers one to ten are written along a line by two players. One player, shielding his or her paper, scribbles a number and asks the opponent to guess what the number is. If the guess is right, the opponent writes the number under the corresponding number in the sequence one to ten on the paper.
If wrong, the other child writes down the number in the same place on his or her paper. Taking alternate turns, the game continues until all ten casas are fechadas, using the same terminology as Macaca, three 'vertical' numbers counting to fechar uma casa (see Fig. 1 below).

![Fig. 1](image)

Pontinhos

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

casas fechadas

j) Quando Eu Fui para Bahia, com Quem Deixei Meu Anel?

This game, and the ones which follow, belong to the more complex type of which guessing forms an integral part. It is also known more simply as Anelzinho. It is played by both sexes. Children sit round in a circle and have to guess who is holding an object which is passed round without being revealed, since all hold their hands joined as if in prayer. The first player passes a ring (or any other small object though it is still referred to as a ring) to the next player by placing his joined hands above theirs and letting the ring slip through imperceptibly. Others in the circle make as if to pass the ring so as to deceive another player standing on the outside of the circle (having been chosen by a dip), who goes round asking those in the circle:

- Quando eu fui para Bahia, com quem deixei meu anel?

to which they all reply in turn:

- Na mão de outro.

The outside player finally makes a guess as to who has the ring and if he or she gets it wrong they must pay a forfeit,
In C5’s version, no player stood on the outside, but one stood in the middle repeating:

- Anelzinho, anelzinho
  onde é que está o anel?

k) Cordão

This game is very similar to the one described above, except the ring is threaded on a cord which is held by everyone in the circle and a player in the middle has to guess whose hand is on the ring at any given moment. When a correct guess is made, the person in question changes places with the player in the middle. Meanwhile the children in the circle sing:

- Bobão entrou na roda, bobão,
está vendo o anel passar, bobão,
mas não sabe em que mão
ole vai, ole vem
por aqui passou;
ole vai vai vai,
ole vem vem vem,
o anel por aqui já passou. (C2)

The mocking of the player in the centre is common to many versions. In the coffee-growing regions (Southern Minas Gerais, São Paulo, Paraná) the game is called João Bobão and is played with the ring threaded on a cord in the same way (S2). Here the children sing:

- Fulânio que está na roda
  parece um bobão, toleinão.30 (S2)

It is certainly known all over Brazil and has enjoyed popularity in the United States and Europe for many years31.

30 In parts of Minas Gerais the game is also known as Babão. See Rezende 1949:141; Martins 1959:314-315.
Béart notes countless West African variants many of which have magical connotations. Costa quotes an early nineteenth century account of the game by Lopes Gama (writing of Brazil):

"Há um chora Mané não chora, brinquedo que ordinariamente executa-se no chão, todos em roda, assentados em esteiras, e os marmanjos de pernas encruzadas, metidos no meio das meninas, como peixes em viveiros. Um vai para o meio da roda afim de empolgar um limãosinho, que anda invisivelmente de mão em mão, que para esse efeito travam-se de tal arte, que vai passando de uma à outra tão escondidamente, e ao som de cantarolas, que é preciso bom olho para o descubrir e tomar. Uma vez por outra lá cahe o limãosinho, e é preciso procural-o com grande sofreguidão e alvorado."

(1907:506)32.

1) Fitas

This game is generally played by girls. Two girls are chosen to be anjo bom and anjo mal. They stand some way away while the other girls agree on the colours with which they will be associated. Occasionally the names of fruits are substituted. Then one of the anjos is asked to come to the loja where the fitas are for sale. The following dialogue takes place between the anjo and the dono da loja.

The anjo speaks first, knocking on the door:

- Tum, tum, tum.
- Quem bate?
- Sou eu.
- Quem?
- Anjo mal.
- Que quer?
- Fita.
- Que cor?
- Vermelha (or any other colour). (It)

33 The Ngô version from West Africa mentioned by Béart (1955:237) is also more often played with a lemon or orange than anstone or ring. Lopes Gama's italics.
34 The Peruvian version of the game is called La Fruta, as described by Gómez 1955+56:104.
C2 gave a different version of the dialogue which ran as follows:

- Batata, batatão, Tem fita?
- Tem.
- Que cor?
- Todas as cores,
- Tem vermelha?

If it has been prearranged that one of the girls is a fita vermelha, she goes away with the anjo; if there is no fita of the colour requested some kind of abuse is hurled at the anjo such as:

- Vá tocar seu violão! (I)

or

- Escorregue na gamela! (C2)

or

- Vá lamber sabão, na casa de João! (I)

all of which are meaningless in themselves, but serve to send the anjo away. The game ends in a variety of ways.

In some places it is merely a contest between the two anjos to see who accumulates a larger number of followers through correct guesses as to the colours of the fitas on sale, elsewhere those who are on the side of the anjo bom (i.e. in heaven) chase those who are in hell with the anjo mal, shouting 'belisca o Cão!'^35 and trying to pinch them. As played by C6, the game ended in a tug of war between the two sides. Gomme records a similar British game from Depsford called Angel and Devil (1894:8) in which the Devil

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^35 Cão, 'the Devil' in popular speech.
^36 Cf. Turner 1946:108. In Argentina the game is known as Los Colores. A similar dialogue is acted out between an angel, devil and followers and the game ends in a tug of war. Those who have gone with the anjo mal have to be 'redeemed' at the end of the game. In Mexico the game is also known as Juego de Los Colores (Espinosa 1954:503).
was rebuffed with 'Go and learn your ABC' if he asked for a colour which was not available. A similar rebuff is noted by Newell (1963:253) who considered the game to be of recent introduction in the United States (in 1883), probably of German immigrant origin (ibid.: 213). He refers to a whole series of European and American games in which the Devil has to guess birds, beasts, colours etc., nearly all of which start with an imitation of knocking at the door.37 The game has clear affinities with Três Três Passarê, especially those versions of Três Três Passarê where players find themselves in heaven or hell and rejoice or mourn, and fight or redeem each other accordingly.

6.6 Concluding remarks

This chapter has encompassed a wide range of games, quite different from one another in many respects inasmuch as some are sung, some require the players to keep silent; some involve physical exertion, others require players to keep completely still or are simply sedentary games in which the mind is active. What is common to them, however, is the importance accorded to timing, concentration and control, factors which enter into all games to some extent, but which appear to be the salient characteristics of the ones discussed above.

37 Cf. Vasconcellos (1882:314) who mentions a Cantiga de feira: O Demônio à tendeiro, vende fitas amarellas.
CHAPTER 7

PRETENDING, MAKE-BELIEVE AND ACTING GAMES

7.1 Introductory remarks

This chapter falls into two broad divisions: one dealing with games and play of a spontaneous or improvised nature in which children imitate adult activities or imagine themselves to be in real or fictitious situations, and one dealing with games in which a set dialogue known to all the players is reproduced and acted out. The term 'game' is used in its broadest sense in discussing activities in the first category since they are generally lacking in formal organisation, but the term brincadeira is nevertheless used by the children who participate, and they are therefore included as such.

7.2 Pretending and make-believe games

As in all societies, games and play imitative of adult behaviour are common in Brazil. The sexual divisions with which we are familiar are the same: girls play at keeping house; boys play at being policemen, make revolvers from pointed fingers and surprise unsuspecting companions. Boys seem to prefer playing shopkeepers to girls, ride broomstick horses and make 'cars' out of paper and cardboard. They may pretend to be astronauts landing on the moon, or planes crashing in mid-air. Girls prefer cutting out paper and making dolls' clothes: one engrossed 12 year old (I12) said she was playing at registering the birth of her baby and arranging for its baptism (a considerably longer and more
complicated process in Brazil than it would be in Britain).

What emerges from overall observation is that girls' make-believe games and play tend to be much more closely related to everyday life and reveal attention to detail, whereas boys' are rougher and less precise and are less often based on 'real' everyday situations. Girls play at being mothers, children and nurses, boys rarely join in to play the paternal role or the doctor, unless they are very small; they prefer the fantasy world of cowboys and Indians or soldiers, in which all are involved on an equal footing as opposed to the regulated play of the girls with their carefully delineated roles and duties. The same spontaneous division has already been noted in several games already discussed, and is apparent in many societies, no doubt largely due to women's less overtly aggressive nature and to conditioning early in life to the acceptance of the maternal, house-making role. This is particularly true in rural and semi-urban areas of north-east Brazil, where families are large and women rarely work outside the house, unless as cleaners in other people's houses or in the fields where they are often accompanied by their younger children. Girls of six or seven are often seen nursing baby brothers or sisters and may be responsible for cooking for a family by the age of ten, so it is easy to see why this should be so clearly reflected in their play, if indeed they have the opportunity to play

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Cf. Sutton-Smith 1959 (1):53: 'It is noticeable that girls' games of skipping and their informal activities often fall into this leader type of organisation, with one player taking a commanding role over all the others... Anyone who would seek to understand children's games, therefore, must determine why it is that girls spontaneously adopt the leader pattern in so many of their games, and why boys spontaneously choose to fashion their games after the style of cowboys and Indians'.

at baby-minding rather than being obliged to mind a real baby. Boys' domestic responsibilities are minimal until they are old enough to work and then their contribution is financial rather than personal.

The imitative and pretence games of girls fall into three main groups, which will be discussed under subheadings below.

a) Brincando de Comadre/mãe

The extended family group created by compadrio (com-paternity) is found throughout the Recôncavo, and great importance is accorded to these links of kinship once established. The terms compadre\(^2\) and comadre are however further extended and applied to friends who are not necessarily compadres through a formal act of ritual sponsorship. As described by I3 the principal activities of comadres consisted of oferecendo cafecinho to one another, conversando e fofocando\(^3\), and these were the activities imitated in their play. Brincando de mãe generally involved playing with dolls or smaller children who were cuddled, chastised, fed and washed in the course of play.

b) Brincando de Batizados

Play imitative of religious practices constitutes perhaps the most interesting area of activity in this field in the Recôncavo. Of the principal Christian rites, baptism is that most commonly chosen for imitation by girls, most

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\(^{2}\) A term used between the parents of a child and the child's godparents and vice versa. Compadres may also be created through sponsorship at weddings etc. and through rituals at certain festivals (see São João, Chapter 14, 8).

\(^{3}\) Fofocar: 'to gossip'.

probably because it is the practice with which they are most familiar and because it may be incorporated into mother and baby games. It is of course also intimately connected with the notion of *compadric*. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the legal formalities connected with registering a birth are not ignored either, and the intricacies of local bureaucracy are faithfully mirrored in play. Weddings are less often imitated, perhaps on account of the fact that only girls are generally involved in this type of play, and while they will play the role of priest or godfather, they tend not to take the bridegroom's part.

c) *Brincando de Candomblé*

In a society where *Candomblé* and its rituals exercise a strong influence on everyday life, it is not surprising that girls should bring this into their play. Women play an important role in the religious organisation, and women priestesses are more commonly found than men, so this too may contribute towards its popularity as an activity for imitation by girls, set against the male-dominated Catholic hierarchy.

This section is necessarily longer than the preceding two, not because *brincando de Candomblé* outstrips other imitative activities in popularity, but because more detailed explanation is required of the rites on which play is modelled. Christian rites such as baptism described above require little amplification for the average European reader, but a religious organisation as unfamiliar as *Candomblé* must be explained in greater depth for the children's imitation of
it to make sense. An outline of the religion and its evolution in Brazil have already been given (Chapter 2.6c), but I shall relate it here to the child's world in the Recôncavo and discuss the rituals most commonly imitated.

Children are accustomed to attend Candomblé rites and festivals from a very early age and soon become familiar with a world of gods and spirits whose existence is unquestionable. Their parents may be deeply involved in the life of a terreiro (cult house), as mãe or pai de santo (priests or priestesses, lit. mother and father of the saints), or the father may be an ofã or drummer. Some parents may simply attend as onlookers taking their children with them. It may be suggested to children from four or five years old that they would make suitable initiates, and a particular illness, deliverance from disaster or death or other notable event in their lives may single them out as 'belonging' to a certain god, bringing in its train a series of obligations and duties to be fulfilled.

Candomblé festivals are generally held on a Saturday night, but particular dates on the traditional African calendar occasion other celebrations and special homage is paid to gods on the feasts of their Catholic counterparts. They may also be held to inaugurate a new terreiro, on the occasion of an important cult member's birthday or an

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4 This does not apply so widely to children from higher socio-economic groups, but is true of the majority in rural and poorer urban areas.

5 Ofã, 'protector civil do candomblé, escolhido pelos orixás e confirmado por meio de festa pública, com a função de prestigiar e fornecer dinheiro para as festas sagradas.' (Carneiro 1961:186). The term santo, used here in the expression pai de santo is an example of religious syncretism reflected in language. The Yoruba term for priest is Babalorixá, baba meaning father and orixá, deity, ruler of one's head.
anniversary, but whatever the occasion the prevailing atmosphere is one of festivity: costumes are ornate and colourful, and often disproportionately expensive in relation to the incomes of the participants; the drum beats are hypnotic, the trances often spectacular and the youngest children sit wide-eyed in amazement like their European counterparts watching acrobats at a circus. The gulf is great between this kind of worship and the staid atmosphere of enforced solemnity which hangs over Christian churches. For these children, unused to 'children's parties' as we know them in Europe the Candomblé is a big party for both adults and children and a primary source of entertainment. It is such for the adults too, who, while not disregarding the more serious function of their worship, still refer to it as a brincadeira thus linking the ceremony semantically with the play world of the children. The link between play and serious ritual is a fundamental and long-established one as Huizinga has shown in his exploration of the essential connection between the ecstasy of the Christian mystic and

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7 Again, these remarks are applied to the middle and lower socio-economic groups; in higher groups children's parties are arranged in European fashion.
8 The following remarks recorded in Cachoeira and Itaparica serve as examples: 'E a primeira vez que vamos brincar aqui' (mãe de santo after the inauguration of a new terreiro); 'Gostou da nossa brincadeira?' (High priest of Egungun cult after an all-night ceremony in which spirits of recently dead priests returned to the terreiro embodied in their successors).
9 Not to be confused with Candomblé de brincadeira; see Bastide 1961:116ff. There are also semantic connections in other languages as Huizinga points out: 'among the oldest significances of pflegen occurs the "celebration of festivals" and in its Anglo-Saxon form lāo, lācan means, apart from play, leaping, rhythmical movement, also sacrifice, offering, gift' (1949:39, 41). See also Nash 1967:192 for a discussion of the term in Mexico.
Vie'frenzied trance of the primitive worshipper:10

'Needless to say, the mental attitude in which a community performs and experiences its sacred rites is one of high and holy earnest. But let it be emphasised again that genuine and spontaneous play can also be profoundly serious. The player can abandon himself body and soul to the game, and the consciousness of its being "merely" a game can be thrust into the background. The joy inextricably bound up with playing can turn not only into tension, but into elation. Privolity and ecstasy are the twin poles between which play moves' (1949:20).

At a typical Candomblé ceremony, drums are beaten according to specific rhythms to summon the gods of Africa to the terreiro. Each god has his own particular devotees, in the same way as a Catholic may profess devotion to a particular saint, although in the case of Candomblé the god chooses his followers rather than the other way round.11 Fully-initiated cult members, usually women, dance in a circle to the rhythm of the drums making gestures appropriate to the rhythm and representative of actions associated with the god who is being summoned, according to mythical accounts of the lives of the gods. When three rhythms have been played and when concentration on the arrival of the god has reached a pitch of intensity amongst the dancing initiates, one of them may suddenly fall into a trance. She is then said to cair de santo, to be possessed by the god or 'goddess of whom she is a devotee. The trance state may take various

10 Huizinga quotes Plato's Laws and comments: 'This identity of ritual and play was unreservedly recognised by Plato as a given fact. He had no hesitation in comprising the sacra in the category of play' (1949:18). He later expands these remarks: 'The Platonic identification of play and holiness does not defile the latter by calling it play, rather it exalts the concept of play to the highest regions of the spirit...In play we may move below the level of the serious, as the child does; but we can also move above it - in the realm of the beautiful and the sacred' (ibid:19).

forms depending on the nature of the god and the medium/initiate concerned. It may be frenzied and violent or it may be gentle and serene. To the observer, the initiate is no longer herself; she has assumed a different identity, a different appearance and way of moving and when she speaks, as she sometimes does, a different voice, but always a consistent with the recognised characteristics of the god who has possessed her. It is therefore immediately apparent to the onlookers which god is present in the terreiro. The trance may last a matter of minutes or considerably longer. The arrival of the god is greeted with clapping and special songs are sung in the manner of hymns. These are very repetitive and have a marked rhythm.

In their imitative play, girls most frequently copy the dancing and singing in roda formation, trance and possession, the passe and certain curing practices closely connected with Candomblé and Candomblé priests. In the first instance, girls organise themselves into a circle and decide which god each belongs to, according to the most obvious characteristics of the girls participating or choosing their mothers' santo. Some girls may already know which god they belong to, their mothers having consulted a mãe de santo on their behalf.

The central interest is then to cair de santo, and the most frenzied and hysterical trances are those generally imitated. Most children displayed a certain shyness when asked about

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12 Tomar passe: in Candomblé, a ceremonious leave-taking, a request for permission to leave at the end of any ceremony or ritual, with the blessing of the mãe or pai de santo.
13 The mãe de santo may determine this by personal insight and knowledge of the child's character or else by divination, making use of the jogo de búzios (throwing of cowrie shells).
this aspect of their games, and confessed to 'receiving spirits' \textit{(receber, manifestar-se)} with nervous giggles, as if sensing that they were being disrespectful or sacrilegious. Children of five to eight may writhe on the floor, throwing their arms about as they have seen their mothers do in the terreiro. This pretence possession is accompanied by clapping, dancing and singing of the songs sung in adult Candomblé. The roda of the initiates and the processing round to music links Candomblé naturally with the traditional \textit{cantigas de roda} of children (see Chapter 9) and with \textit{samba de roda}, which are both commonplace in the playground. In its very physical formation, then, \textit{brincando de Candomblé} is an extension of \textit{brincando de roda} as children know it. Regular attendance at a particular terreiro familiarises children with certain \textit{cantigas} and those collected from children reflect the mingling of African and European cultures in the combination of African and Portuguese words\textsuperscript{15}.

1) \textit{Cxossi, Cxossi}\textsuperscript{16}
\textit{Cxossi é marangoã, marangoã.} \textit{(C1)}

2) \textit{Fala cabocolo}
\textit{não me atrapalha}
\textit{deixa eu comer}
\textit{a minha sapucaia,}
\textit{deixa eu comer}
\textit{a minha sapucaia.} \textit{(I15)}

\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Candomblé de caboclo} sessions predominated over traditional and conservative African ones both in Itaparica and Cachoeira and environs.

\textsuperscript{16} The Yoruba god of the hunt, syncretised with St. George.
iii) Caça na Aruanda & coroa
Oxossi é caçador, & coroa,
Oxossi é caçador, & coroa. (C1)

iv) Oxossi mora den'na lua
e veio ao mundo para clarear;
Eu queria ver Oxossi
para com ele eu falar;
Eu queria ver Oxossi
para com ele eu falar. (C8)

v) Quem passa na beira d'água
e ver um pássaro cantando,
O Senhor Oxumaré
O Senhor Oxumaré
que nas águas vem chegando. (S21)

vi) Ogun de Ronda
Ele vem rondar,
O Senhor Ogun
Que é de beira-mar
0, 35, 3 8 8, á. (I2)

vii) Ogun de lâ, tê tê tê
Naiongá,
Ogun de lâ etc. (C8)

17 Luanda (Angola) became important during the days of
slave trading and remains in many nostalgic songs.
Cascudo (1965:90-95) lists many of these: "Não
acredito que nenhuma cidade deste mundo esteja nas
cantigas brasileiras como Luanda", "Luanda é
sempre uma projeção lírica, um apelo à Poesia
recordadora, fórmula de compensão ao sofrimento,
recurso à saudade viajeira, atravessando as águas
do mar!".

18 The African god Oxossi is connected with the moon,
so, in Portuguese folklore, is St. George, another point of correspondence between the Yoruba and the
lavrador português, o brasileiro vê no disco lunar
São Jorge combatendo a dracaol. Den'na <dentro da

19 Oxumaré, the god of the rainbow.

20 God of war and metal, Ogun is syncretised with St.
Antony since he is also the god who facilitates
the solution of problems, que abre caminhos, there
being a similarity between this and St. Antony's
popular function as the patron saint of all lost things.

21 Cf. Carneiro 1936:92. The Caboclo Ogun can present
himself under the name of Ogun de lâ 'suponho simples
aférese de "Ogun de milé", ... revela o sincretismo
gêge-nação-mussulmí-bantú com uma claridade
surpreendente".
viii) Quando eu vim do mar
Que saltei em terra,
Foi para te vê, foi para te vê
Foi para te vê
Foi para te vê, Ògun de 10. (I1)

ix) Eu vou para a Pedra da Baleia
Yemanjá sereia,
Eu vou para a Pedra da Baleia
Yemanjá sereia,
É eu vim da Pedra da Baleia
Yemanjá sereia. (I6)

Yemanjá 'sta na pedra de Suda,23
Ôlê elô elô. (S21)

Cyá cyá, ela é dona do mundo,
Cyá cyá, Yansan venceu tudo24. (S4)

The passe, a part of Candomblé ritual which is often incorporated with Spiritist practices, represents a cleansing from evil influence through the power of the pai or mãe de santo while in a state of trance and therefore imbued with the attributes of the deity incorporated in him or her. The pai or mãe run their hands over the body of each person there, paying special attention to all the extremities: head, hands and feet. The pai or mãe clap their hands over the head, the person is spun round, the soles of his feet are tapped hard,
and each finger is shaken and pulled, often till the joints make a cracking sound. There is a final embrace between the devotee and the nai or mae (or rather, the god or goddess they represent), and then he is free to go, and the next in line moves up in order that the same process may be repeated.

Again the visual appeal to a child is strong: the gestures are striking and easily imitated, especially the clapping and pulling of fingers. This practice therefore becomes a popular subject for imitation, although the finger-pulling is often carried to such extremes that the game degenerates into a fight and the mae soon forgets her dignity.

The mae and pai de santo have other activities outside the organisation of rituals and are usually called upon in cases of illness to rezar (say curing prayers) or make special offerings. This may also be done by lay curandeiros (curers, folk doctors), although they generally confine themselves to rezas and do not make offerings in accordance with Candomblé ritual. The prayer, usually of Catholic origin but with names of appropriate African deities added, is accompanied by a brushing of specific parts of the patient's body with a leafy twig or stalk from a tree or plant judged to have a favourable magical influence in the circumstances. While children, in their play, will not remember the words of the prayer, they will pick grasses and leaves and imitate the actions, brushing them over the body of a playmate with a few mumbled words.

These, then, are the principal rituals reenacted by children in their play: the enactment may never be the same on successive occasions, but will depend on individual
improvisation and an ability to act *ad lib.* A more regulated and organised form of acting will be seen in the games which follow.

7.3 Acting games

These make up a large part of play and enjoy considerable popularity, again principally with girls. Generally a set dialogue, well-known to all by heart, is acted out, with each child taking it in turns to play a specific part. Sometimes the dialogue is sung, sometimes the singing takes precedence over the acting and is merely accompanied by simple mime. This type of sung dialogue or little drama I propose to deal with in a separate category (see Chapter 10), restricting the present one to games in which action is more important than, or of equal importance to the words.

a) Cochicho no Rei

The five games which constitute the principal matter of this category are all similar in form, but Cochicho no Rei, of a somewhat different nature, has been included, since although it is a purely sedentary game and requires a pack of cards, it is also based on a set dialogue and a series of prescribed actions.

There are usually four players. Four cards are removed from the pack (*As, Rei, Dama, Valeta*)\(^{25}\) from any suit, and if there are more than four players, other cards are taken out in the following order and with the following denominations:

\(^{25}\) These are the four picture cards in the pack (of any one suit).
An odd little chivalreque drama is then enacted with the cards in the principal roles. The cards are split, shuffled and dealt. Whoever has the Rei says:

- Cochicho ne rei

and whoever has the Valete replies:

- Secretario conde.

As they say this they both put their cards on the table, face uppermost, and the Rei has to give the Valete a slap (da um bolc). The Rei then asks the Valete:

- Em que ponto você se acusa?

and the Valete replies:

- Eu me acuso no As

(or Duque etc, if there are more than four players). Whoever is then in possession of the As has to put his card on the table face uppermost and hold out his hand for the Valete to give him a series of slaps. The remaining Dama then identifies herself and comes in to play, overcome with compassion at the fate of the As or Duque. Face uppermost she lays her card, not on the table but on the outstretched palm of the As. This action is known as a Dama fica com pena. If the Valete continues to slap the hand of the As and by mistake slaps the Dama's face, the As is entitled to slap the Valete back as chivalry demands. The game is said to be more

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26 Cf. those numbers employed in counting out. See Chapter 3.3.
fun the more players there are (C1), and like so many
slapping and teasing games often degenerates into a pitched
battle and chase, and ceases to be a simple card game. I
have been unable to find any parallels for this game in
Europe and no information on its origins in Brazil.

b) Namães Venha Me Buscar

This game and the two which follow also end with
slapping and beating and often a chase, as if the dialogue
were merely a lengthy preliminary to a game of tig.

The words and the very characters involved suggest
that it originated in uma representação popular (folk play),
a kind of terno or rancho. From this it has been adapted
to a very elaborate kind of chasing game, but offers an
opportunity to mimic common adult foibles: the reeling drunk
husband, the sharp-tongued but protective matriarch with her
powerful oath, and the despairing mother with her proverbial
'I told you so'. The game has no specific name, but is
simply termed uma drama and known by its first line of
dialogue.

There are four characters, an abused wife, a drunken
husband, a weary mother and a grandmother or aged aunt. There
is no defined field of play but the grandmother, mother and
couple are all in separate houses. The young girl goes

27 For a definition, see Cascudo quoting Nina Rodrigues (1962;
648-649): 'um grupo de homens e mulheres, mais ou menos
numeroso, representando pastores e pastoras que vão a Belem
e que de caminho cantam e pedem agasalho pelas casas das
familias. Podemos dividir o RANCHO em duas categorias: o
TERNO, que é o RANCHO mais sério e mais aristocrata, e o
RANCHO propriamente dito, que é mais pandego e democrata'.
28 I continue to use the Portuguese term drama in this
context, since its connotations are different from English
drama.
running from her house to her mother's, her husband staggering behind her in pursuit. The dialogue between mother and daughter runs as follows:

**Moca:** - Ai Mamão, venha me buscar, este homem quando bebe só falta me matar.

**Mãe:** - O conselho que eu lhe dei você não quis tomar, vá pra casa de sua tia que ela pode lhe aguentar.

The girl then runs to the aunt's house, the husband still chasing after her, and the following dialogue ensues:

**Moca:** - Ai vovó venha me buscar, este homem quando bebe só falta me matar.

**Vovó:** - Te desconjuro cruz você é maldiçoado, minha neta é de Deus e você é do Diabo. (C1)

The husband tries to pull the girl away, whereupon she hits him with a stick and he drops down dead.

(c) *Labo de Gato*

This has a less violent conclusion but nevertheless involves a chase and a beating; even if the beating is symbolical rather than actual. This game can be adapted for play by larger numbers of children, though there are only two principal characters, the Mãe and Maria. The others are all 'children'. The mother is on her way out to work, and leaving Maria, the eldest daughter, in charge of all the younger children; a common enough situation in everyday life.

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29 Clearly there is a discrepancy here about whether the fourth figure is an aunt or a grandmother, but I have retained it as dictated by C1.

30 This line is accompanied by a crossing of the right index finger over the left.
in the Recôncavo. The mother leaves precise instructions with Maria:

Mãe: - O Maria, você arruma a casa, pentea o cabelo dos meninos, dá banho, dá comida, come o seu e guarda o meu.

As soon as the mother’s back is turned the children start shouting and playing up. The mother returns and the following dialogue takes place between her and her daughter:

Mãe: - O que foi isto Maria?

Maria: - (making excuses) Mamãe, foi a lagartixa que pegou no pé de fulana e ela chorou.

Mãe: - Mas Maria, ainda não cheguei no trabalho e os meninos tão gritando.

She goes off again but returns for the same reason at least three times (when the dialogue is repeated) and finally declares she is going for good, whatever happens. The children continue to play up and tease Maria and eventually the mother returns, her day’s work over. A series of questions and answers follows:

Mãe: Maria, você deu banho nos meninos?
Maria: Dei.
Mãe: Deu comida?
Maria: Dei.
Mãe: Penteou o cabelo?
Maria: Penteei.
Mãe: Comeu sua comida?
Maria: Comi.
Mãe: Guardou a minha?
Maria: Guardei.
Mãe: E com que cobriu?
Maria: Com o rabo de gato! (13)

At this the mother bursts into a rage, grasps a stick and runs round chasing Maria, shouting:

- Que, Maria, um rabo de gato!

while the children all shriek together and get in their way adding to the general confusion.
Games with set roles of this type are universal and always seem to attract girls. The acting out by children of the role of children is also curious but by no means unusual, as Sutton-Smith has shown.

d) As Melancias

Perhaps the most widely known game of this type is As Melancias, which conforms to a pattern very common in many countries, including Europe and West Africa. Again one child is Maria, left in charge, one is the dona das melancias and another child plays the part of a dog. A fourth is the indrão das melancias. All the other children pretend to be melancias and stick out their stomachs to resemble water melons. The dona das melancias goes off to work leaving Maria to look after the water melons. She may

31 Sutton-Smith 1959 [1]:38: 'It is apparent that girls use these games to play out their feelings about the relationships between children and adults. Sometimes they choose to be "good" mothers, solicitous for the welfare of their lost children; sometimes, domineering mothers chastising naughty girls for being stolen; or out-and-out "bad" adults in the form of devouring witches, ghosts, blackmen and blacksmiths. They also play at being "good" "naughty" "scared" or "chooky" children.

32 Béart 1955:651; Rave Khal (Le Père das Melongs) (West Africa); Comhaire-Sylvain 1949:145-147; Euulu (Zaire); Vasconcellos 1882:166; Jôco das Pitiitas (Portugal); Gomes 1894:151, 396-401; Gipsy, Mother, mother the pot boils over; 1898:188-189, 215, 391; Shepherd and wolf, Steal the Pigs, The Witch; Torner 1946:104-105; Los Pollitos (Argentina); Simpson 1954:67-70; Los Petits Cisnes, Ma Commère prends Paule (Haiti); Newell 1963:259-263: versions from Italy, Germany, Spain and the U.S.A. Cf. Also MI G261 (R 10.3).

33 In CI's version there was no Maria figure, only the dog guarding the melons. The dog is subsequently beaten by the dona das melancias.
also be asked to find out which one is ripe enough for the midday meal, which gives her licence to poke them with her finger to ascertain the degree of ripeness (and tickle them if she gets the chance). As the dona leaves, she says to Maria:

- Toma bem conta das melancias.

An old man arrives (the ladrão in disguise) and asks for water:

- O minhá senhora, me dá um copo de água.

She goes off to get the water and meanwhile the old man makes off with one of the melancias. The dog barks and Maria comes running back, but the man has disappeared. When Maria counts the melons she finds:

- Esta falta uma melancia.

The same incident is repeated until all the melons have been stolen. The dona returns and Maria is obliged to recount the sad tale:

- Vio um rapaz pedir um copo de água, eu fui apanhar e quando voltei não estava mais o rapaz.

In some versions (I1, S1), the dona comes back after each successive theft, scolds Maria when she finds out what has happened and tells her to be more careful next time, but she is always duped.

The dona sees a man selling melons in the street and is suspicious:

Dona: Aquelas melancias parecem todas minhas! É, moço, venha cá. Estas melancias, onde é que o senhor roubou?

Ladrão: São minhas; comprei.

Dona: (to dog) O Totô, cheira estas melancias.

To the great hilarity of the melancias, the dog then sniffs
at them one by one (often one of the high points of the game) and barks in recognition at each one. When he comes to the last one, both Maria and the dona cry:

> Ah, ladrão de melancias

and run after him with a stick.

This is almost identical to the Portuguese *Jogo das Pitinhas* where the fox steals the chicks and the cock crows each time one is taken. The Argentine *Los Pollitos* also has a hapless girl left in charge, and a Gaelic Theft of the Goose game combines both these elements.34 Melons are replaced by leeks in a Spanish version and the children all have the names of different leaves in a German equivalent.35

Comme (1898:188-189) records a pig-stealing game which includes the subsequent meeting with the thief in the street and his flat denial of guilt, and the Zairian *Elulu* revolves around the theft of children by a former slave. These in turn are related to a whole cycle of witch/ghost games in which children are stolen, begged or exchanged and which we may group in the subdivisions outlined by Sutton-Smith:

> 'In the first category, the central player represents a fearsome person, such as a witch or a ghost, who captures and steals children; in the second, the central player represents an old woman who is teased by the other players' (1959 [1]:32)36.

### c) Eu Sou Rica, Rica, Rica

This game belongs to a series in which one party begs goods or children from another. This is one of the

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34 See preceding page (188) note 32. For the Gaelic game, Daiken 1949:14-15.
35 Newell 1963:279.
best-known of Brazilian games and has retained its popularity over many years. One child is designated a *Rica*, and another a *Pobre*, the poor woman with a string of children on either hand, in line formation. The long line advances a few steps to meet the rich woman who also comes forward, and they then step back, continuing to move back and forward in this way as they sing:

**Rica**: 
Eu sou rica rica rica  
de ma ré ma ré ma ré,  
eu sou rica rica rica  
de ma ré de ci.

**Pobre**: 
Eu sou pobre pobre pobre  
de ma ré ma ré ma ré,  
eu sou pobre pobre pobre  
de ma ré de ci.

**Rica**: 
Quero uma de vossas filhas  
de ma ré ma ré ma ré,  
quero uma de vossas filhas  
de ma ré de ci.

**Pobre**: 
Escolhe a qual quiser  
de ma ré ma ré ma ré,  
escolhe a qual quiser  
de ma ré de ci.

**Rica**: 
Eu quero Fulana  
de ma ré ma ré ma ré,  
ou quero Fulana  
de ma ré de ci.

**Pobre**: 
Que ofício dará a ela?  
de ma ré ma ré ma ré,  
quê ofício dará a ela?  
de ma ré de ci.

**Rica**: 
Ofício de costureira (anything may be substituted  
de ma ré ma ré ma ré, here)  
ofício de costureira  
de ma ré de ci.

The proposition is invariably accepted by the poor family, in which case all the remaining poor children sing:

**Pobre**: 
Vamos fazer a festa dela  
de ma ré ma ré ma ré etc.

Otherwise the rich woman continues making suggestions until a suitable *ofício* is found. Eventually the poor woman is
left alone and the rich one surrounded by children, the roles reversed, and they sing in turn:

Po Boys: De pobre fiquei rica
de ma ré ma ré ma ré,
Etc.

Rica: De rica fiquei pobre
de ma ré ma ré ma ré,
Etc. (I3)

Countless different versions of the rhyme are given by folklorists37 and in almost every case the refrain is slightly different: marria décant, vou m’embrora, é de manf, manf, manf, de mavo mavo dica,38 but most are agreed that this is simply a corruption of the French je m’en vais d’ici (literally translated in fact in vou m’embrora). The game may well be French in origin, although it is widely diffused in Europe39. Daikon gives several English versions of The Old Woman from Sandyland (1949:82-84), Gomes (1894:313-319) gives Lady of the Land, the only difference being that the poor woman offers her children and praises their ability to perform household tasks, rather than choosing a suitable job as in Fu Sou Rica. She believes it originates in the practice of hiring servants and mentions (ibid:319) that The Hiring was a popular dramatic performance at Harvest Homes, representing the farmer engaging a man, describing the work, terms of service etc. in a rhyme. Another version, Green


38 Another Brazilian refrain runs Matairo, tiro lé, with almost the same words and actions. This appears to belong, however, to a slightly different game, where the rich woman starts off singing Mou castelo é tão belo. López de Guereña gives an account of a game similar to this in Spain, with the refrain Matarilo, rilo, rilo (1960:162).

39 Simpson 1954:170-72 records a French Haitian version, where the two women exclaim respectively: Riche, riche que je suis! and Pauvre, pauvre que je suis!
Grass, (ibid: 153) consists of a series of enticements to lure the child over from one side to another, but the advancing and retreating movements of the two lines parallel Eu Seu Rica. The traditional actions and gestures of Mare We Come Gathering Nuts in May are also reminiscent of the Brazilian game. Other English variants contain a suitor figure who comes to ask for a daughter in marriage.

The Brazilian version, then, appears to be a fusion of both these game-types: the poor woman keen to place her daughters in good service, and the widow keen to marry them off, but only if the conditions the suitor offers appear favourable. The closing lines vamos fazer a festa dela are more suggestive of preparations for some kind of marriage-feast than for a departure into service and in addition to this there is the underlying social theme, particularly pertinent in the case of the Recôncavo where poverty is prevalent and families are large, focused in the last line where the mother who started poor but prolific proclaims de pobre fiquei rica, once the burden of the large family is removed. Any idea of the rich woman's life of ease and comfort being intensified by the acquisition of more and more servants seems to have been completely forgotten here: she has simply swapped roles with the original Pobre and now finds herself equally burdened with many mouths to feed.

This process of adaptation and re-structuring is typical of many traditional games, which evolve in accordance with different social and geographical situations. The essential

40 Newell 1963: 56 A poor widow from Barbary-land. See also ibid: 58 'The widow with daughters to marry is a European celebrity'. Gomme 1894: 163, 287.
format remains the same but the children alter the emphasis, unwittingly, to suit their own social milieu and their own preoccupations, so a game representing mediaeval courtship and etiquette is brought up to date by successive generations until a completely new meaning is superimposed on the original stylised gestures and actions.

f) A Bela Condessa

Concluding this series of capturing and choosing games is A Bela Condessa, or simply La Condessa\textsuperscript{41}. Again it is a game firmly rooted in European tradition and variants of the game have been found from Finland to Andalucia\textsuperscript{42}. The common features of some of these versions will be discussed later.

The three Recôncavo versions recorded are given below:

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textbf{Homen}: Onde mora bela Condessa?
\textbf{Condes}: Língua de França onde nasci.
\textbf{Homen}: (pretending it is not her)
O que queres com a bela Condessa?
Língua de França onde nasci.
\textbf{Homen}: Vim aqui que o rei mandou buscar uma de vossas filhas e levar a essa hora também.

(He then reviews the daughters, rejecting those who do not appeal and eventually choosing and leading away the one of his choice)

\textbf{Homen}: Essa quero, essa não quero,
essa bebe ovo gorgo,
essa come requieção,
essa é do meu coração. (15)

\item \textbf{Homen}: O rei (sic) mandou pedir uma das filhas para casar.
\textbf{Condes}: Minhas filhas lá não vão nem por ouro nem por prata nem por sangue da lagarta.
\end{enumerate}

\textsuperscript{41} A Condessa is also a 'widow with daughters to marry' in Nello's version, as in the preceding game (1922:1634).
\textsuperscript{42} Udal 1889:224 n.; Brandão 1954:634.
Homem: Tão alegre que eu vim
    tão tristonho eu vou voltar.
Condes: Volta, volta, cavaleiro
venha ver o seu modelo.
Homem: (rejecting and choosing)
Esta quero, esta não quero, OR Esta quero, esta
esta como pão da cesta,
bebe vinho de gázeta,
esta fede, esta
como queijo o queijo,
veem, buscar meu coração,
esta é a flor da
(choosing one) (C10) laranjeira. (S1)

iii) Menino: Onde mora bela Condessa?
Língua de França onde eu nasci.
Vim aqui que o rei mandou
buscar uma de vossas filhas
e levar a Senhora também.
Condes: Minha filha eu não dou
nen por ouro nem por prata,
nen por sangue da rainha
para casar com este pirata.
Menino: Tão alegre que me vim
tão tristonho já me vou.
Condes: Venha cá Sou Cavaleiro
escoles a qual quiser.
Menino: Esta quero, esta não quero,
esta bebê ovo goro,
esta como queijo o
esta é do meu coração;
(The chosen girl goes to kneel at his side)
Condes: Lá vai minha filhinha
vestidinha de cor de rosa,
penteando seus cabelos
e botando banha cheirosa,
e botando banha cheirosa. (C8)

The two most obscure lines are made clearer by comparison
with other versions and Peninsular transcriptions of the
verses, which show the process of successive corruptions.

(no Portuguese and two Spanish versions run as follows:

1. - O condessa, condesseninha, - condessa de Aragão,
vinha-te pedir uma filha - das mais lindas que elas são.
- Minhas filhas não são dou - nem por ouro nem por prata
nem por fios de algodão - nem por dinheiro que vale
- Tão contente como vinha, - tão triste me vou a achar.
Pedi lma filha à condessa: condessa não me quis dar,
- Volta atrás, ó cavaleiro se quer ser homem de bem
darei-l't uma filha minha, - se ma tu tratares bem'.

(Recorded in Bragança, Portugal. Vasconcellos 1960:242 no.682)

43 Vasconcellos' italics.
Al franque do1 oro
que es umillas de un marqués,
que me ha dicho una señora
qué lindas damas tenéis!
- Si lad tengo o no lad tengo,
para mí las guardaré.
- Oh, qué alegre que me vine!
Oh, qué triste que me voy!
Que las hijas del roy moro
no me las quieren dar, no.
- Vuelva atrás el caballero;
no vaya tan triste, no;
de las hijas que aquí tengo
escoja usted la mejor.
- No quiero ésta, por tiñosa,
i tampoco esta leprosa;
esta pido, por hermosa,
por hermosa y por mujer,
que me pareció una rosa
pintadita de un clavel.
- Por Dios pido al caballero
que me las trate muy bien.
- Ellas serán bien tratadas,
en sillas de oro sentadas,
y los pies en una almohada
y las del marqués también;
el vino que el roy bebiere
ellas beberán también.
- Si no hacen lo que las manden,
azotitas con vinagre,
pasa que requieran bien."

(Recorded in Asturias. Rodríguez Marín 1951:5, 41-42.)

- De Francia vengo, señora,
de por hilo portugués,
y en el camino me han dicho:
buenas hijas tiene usted.
- Si las tengo, que las tenga,
más son, que no de usted,
con el pan que Dios me ha dado
yo las he de mantener.
- Muy enojado me voy
a los palacios del rey,
que las hijas del roy moro
no me las dejan coger.
- Vuelva, vuelva, caballero
no sea tan descortés,
que de tres hijas que tengo,
la mejor es para usted.
- Esta escojo por bonita,
esta escojo por clavel,
que me ha parecido rosa,
acabada de nacer.
- Cuídate, usted bien.
- Ella será bien cuidada,
en silla de oro sentada,
y azotitos con correa
cuando sea menester."

(Recorded in Burgos. García de Diego 1950:115.)
It may either be played in circular formation and was
described by several informants as a brincadeira de roda
(C5, C2), or in lines, the children forming two lines
with the line of suitors advancing to meet the Condessa and
her daughters, or sometimes the children are seated and
the suitor or suitors walk up and down (C4).

Obviously there are considerable gaps in the reconcavo
versions, when compared with the Spanish and Portuguese ones
given above, but this is obviously not noticed by the children
who are quite unaware that they are reciting a fragment of a
much older romance. The emphasis is on the action and in
particular on the rejection of two girls and the choice of a
third which is acted up to the maximum, as in the case of the
dog smelling the melancías. The rejection of the unsuitable
brides and the corresponding insults are a feature of
several English and Spanish versions of the game.

The Brazilian versions generally have the interrogative
opening and start with the words onde nasci while the
majority of Spanish versions start De Francia venzo, señora.
Linam de Franca onde (eu) nasci is less clear, but Brandão
(1954:591-661), comparing several Brazilian and Spanish-
American versions, notes that thread is mentioned in many of

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44 For a possible interpretation of the line formation
and the circle see Gomme 1898:478-530.

45 Udal 1889:222-223; Curiel Merchán 1944:116-123.

46 Garcia de Diego 1950:115; Mello 1922:1634; Brandão 1954:593.


48 Brandão 1954:630ff.; 593-598, 600; Gomes 1951:281-282;
Neves 1948:41-47.

49 Brandão 1954:610-612, 634-635; Rodríguez Marín 1951:5,41-42;
García de Diego 1950:115-117.
them (610-612):

'Nem por ouro nem por prata
nem por fio de algodão'

providing a link with the opening lines of the Castilian versions:

'De Francia vengo, señora
de por hilo português'.

According to García de Diego (1950:115) this is an allusion to the very fine silk thread manufactured in Portugal in the sixteenth century. She goes on to cite a Spanish version from Guadalajara and a Portuguese one:

'Ni por oro, ni por plata
ni por punta de alfiler'

which bear out Brandão's findings. Fios d'Aragão is presumably a corruption of fios d'algodão, also probably confused by the fact that in some versions the Condessa d'Aragão is the main protagonist. It seems plausible, then, that líncua de França is a corruption of linha de França, referring once again to the thread. Brandão suggests that envoys are bartering fine thread with the Countess in exchange for her daughter(s). He concludes: (ibid.:1626)

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50 See Cervantes, La Guardia Cuidadosa: 'Sale otro mozo vendiendo y pregonando tranzas, eras, holanda de Cambray, randas de Flandes e hilo portugués'.
51 The romance is known in some Spanish-speaking countries as Hilo de Oro, Hilo de Plata (Carrizo 1937:1371-137). The Italian version of the game is in fact called l'ambasciatore (Rodríguez Marín 1951:5142).
'Língua de França deve ser pois uma corrutela de linha de prata (algumas versões brasileiras falam claramente em língua de prata) talvez por influência das versões castelhanas "De França venho, senhora". Linha de prata passou a linha de França, e perdido o significado de linha era natural que passasse a língua.'

He goes on to quote Carolina Vasconcellos' reference to

'...o costume de vender em Espanha o fio português certos amoladores que vinham de França a Espanha, todos os anos, sendo tal fio linha de ouro, algodão ou linho, para ser usado primeiro pelas damas do alto coturno...'

Nem por ouro nem por prata is common to the majority of versions, but the line which follows is again obscure, and differs in the two versions which include that couplet:

'nem por sangue de rainha nem por sangue de lagarta';

Da rainha is presumably the result of a series of corruptions through folk etymology summarised thus:

De algodão > de Aragão > da rainha

and da lagarta is more complex. Several versions have sangue de dragoão instead of da lagarta, where the derivation from de algodão > de Aragão can be seen. A popular confusion between lagarto and dragoão is quite conceivable, as Bouza Drey suggests (1949:544-546) since lizards and dragons have certain physical similarities; there appears to be further popular confusion between lagarto 'lizard' and lagarta 'caterpillar'. It seems likely that lagarto is the original word and Bouza Drey comments:

'Todavia se asigna al lagarto intervención en leyendas populares de santuarios, quizá por confusión con dragones u otros seres legendarios......'


54 Also in Cecilia Meireles' version from Minas quoted by Brandão 1954:605, and Neves' from Espíritu Santo (1943:47).

55 Games 1951:281-282.
Drandão (ibid., 1627) offers no further explanation for the appearance of the word sangue, though this again is probably due to simple confusion in the popular mind, the corruption of algodão > Aragão > dragão having once taken place, fios dragão would no longer have any sense, and assuming dragão and lagarto to be interchangeable, sangue de lagarto, with its magical powers, would seem a suitable oath on which to swear.

Under various names (usually La Condeza(s) in Spanish and Portuguese speaking countries, and Three Knights or Dukos from Spain in English ones) the game has enjoyed great popularity over a number of years. There is perhaps a slight decline in popularity in Brazil now, but it has certainly come much later than in other countries: Nowell, writing originally in 1883, remarked that it had been a universal favourite in the United States with the preceding generation, but it was by then nearly forgotten.

7.4 Concluding remarks

It will be seen from the foregoing that from an early age, girls imitate the social organisation and customs of their parents and elders, while boys show little or no evidence of the same practice in their play. Not only are customs, religious rites and certain modes of behaviour perpetuated in this way by girls, but so are fragments of

56 Vasconcellos 1960:104. A version of the romance Veneno de Mariana (see Dom Jorge e Juliana, Chapter 10, 2J) has the lines:
- Que doitaste vos à vinho – que me fez tanto mal?
- Deitei-lhe a espinha da cobra, – sangue do lagarto vivo
describing the ingredients of the poisoned cup.
poetic drama, romances and folk plays. Even those girls whose classroom record was not particularly good, as far as I could judge in conversation with their teachers, showed a surprising ability to memorise dialogues of the kind given above. Constant repetition in the playground contributes to this, although not all games of this type are played with equal frequency. Game a), which is rather different from the rest anyway, was only known to some ten girls, and b) was less popular than d), e), and f), possibly because of its limited appeal in the playground, having only four characters, while d), e) and f) can involve any number of children.

The games studied here also show an ability, common to all Western children, to mingle fact and fiction in their play; they will imitate the behaviour of local comadres with a fine degree of accuracy and exchange current gossip borrowed from their parents and elders and switch without difficulty to bartering imaginary daughters in marriage in mediaeval Spain, often using unfamiliar or uncomprehended terms, or turning allusions they have failed to understand into nonsense.

Divisions of class are apparent here too; children of all social groups may play at baptisms and other Christian rituals may be imitated, while only those children belonging to lower socio-economic groups will imitate Candomblé rituals, since these tend to be associated with them and are despised by a large proportion of higher socio-economic group members.
8.1 Introductory remarks

The *cantigas de ninar* or lullabies of the Reconcavo may be divided into several broad categories: those whose words are designed simply to soothe and reassure the child and those which mingle soothing words with threats and inspire terror of the monster or bogeyman who will carry off any baby who persists in crying. Others sketch a fairy story or legend, or call upon saints and angels to bless the child. Béart, in studying African lullabies, makes a similar division, this time into three categories; one designed to 'appeler les bénédictions de Dieu sur l'enfant' a second to 'promettre à l'enfant quelque gâterie s'il dort' and a third to 'menacer l'enfant de quelque danger s'il ne dort pas' (1960:69).

Many lullabies are simply improvisations, sometimes sung to the tune of a well-known children's rhyme, or else variations on the text of a popular traditional lullaby. Other rhymes and infant play activities will be discussed later in the chapter.

8.2 Soothing lullabies

This type of lullaby often explains to the child what the mother or guardian is doing, where and why she has gone and when she will be back, a feature common to many European and African lullabies.

i) Nem na nem
nenê do coração,
tia Flora 'tá descansando
e a prima Vera no fogo. (I3)

ii) Lu, lu, lu, menino mandu,
cara de pato e nariz de peru,
lu, lu, lu, menino o que é que tem?
sua mãe foi para fonte, logo vem.
Cata panelinha de vintém
bacalhau com azúte sabe bem. (I3)

iii) Vá dormir nenê, vá dormir nenê,
que sua mãe foi na fonte
lavar roupa. (I15)

iv) Vá dormir menino
o que é que tem?
seu paizinho foi pra cidade
mas logo vem;
foi comprar um brinquedinho
de vintém,
e qualquer coisa que ele traz
agrada bem. (I11)

v) Vá dormir nenê
que eu tenho o que fazer,
tenho roupa pra lavar
e comida pra fazer. (I19)

vi) Vá dormir menina
que eu tenho o que fazer,
vou lavar e vou gamar
uma roupinha pra você.

vii) Dorme meu menino
mãe tem o que fazer,
lavar e passar
camisolas pro bebê. (I23)

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2 I3 used the names Flora and Vera because they were relatives of hers; any name may be substituted.
3 I3 was unable to give any meaning for the word mandu, and thought it was used simply to rhyme with peru.
Cl however, described o mandu as a dwarf in long concealing clothes, usually seen with arms outstretched and his face almost completely obscured. This conforms approximately to the description given by Carneiro 1937:274 ff.
4 A number of sounds with no meaning of their own recur: in these lullabies: e.g. nem na nem, lu lu lu, su su, true true.
5 Cf. Cabral 20-3-1884:222.
8.3 Narrative lullabies

The narrative type of lullaby often refers to the infancy of the child Jesus, or, in a totally different vein, relates a story, usually about animals.

1) Calai meu menino
calai meu amor;
faca que corta
dá golpe sem dor7.
Maria lavava
José estendia,
chorava o menino,
do frio que sentia. (I17)

2) Maria lavava
José estendia,
chorava Jesus
no colo de Maria 8. (C2)

3) Minha rolinha fez seu ninho,
para seus ovinhos chocar
e a cobra veio comer;
Minha rolinha foi chorar,
nao chore, nao chore, minha rolinha
daixe de tanto chorar,
depois da cobra morta
seus ovinhos venha a chocar9. (C5)

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7 This rather curious couplet continues to puzzle me. It is certainly widely known, but its inclusion in lullabies is somewhat incongruous. In most other published versions it is 'a faca que mais corta dá o talho mais sem dor'. Cf. Andrade 1946:13, where he describes it as an 'acalanto tradicional'.
9 Singig records an almost identical cantiga (a cantiga de roda, rather than de ninar, according to him) in Minas Gerais (1953:326-329). See also Andrade 1946:70-71.
iv) Sapo cururu na beira do rio,
    quando o sapo grita o menino
    o que está com frio;
    a mulher do sapo
    deve estar lá dentro
    fazendo rendinha para o casamento.

8.4 Lullaby prayers

These beg protection for the child, or depict the child,

in image, in the close care of St. Anna's

i) Fogo, fogo bicho feio
    que o menino é muito meu.
    Vai a noite em mais de meio
    inda não adormecou.
    Meu menino pende o rosto
    roza baixo com fervor,
    são Trindades de sol posto
    dorme, dormo meu amor,
    ah, ah, ah, ah. (S1)

ii) Dorme, dorme, menino
    dorme dorme meu amor,
    os anjos do céu te valendo
    e a benção do Senhor. (I9)

iii) Sururu, menino mandu
    cara de gato, nariz de poru,
    este menino não dorme na casa
    dorme nos braços do Senhora Sant'ana. (I22)

8.5 Threatening lullabies and bocoymen

The largest category is that where some dreadful fate

is threatened for the child who does not sleep. Generally

10 Cf. Almeida 1942:106; Braga 1948:54; Ramos and Ramos 1948:66; Sinzig 1938:222; Pinto 1911:40-41, 195; Gomes Jr. and
   Baptista 1943:14. In a number of these variants, *sano cururu* (Hypo marinus, the marine toad) is replaced by
   *sano jururu*. According to Pinto (1911:195) 'jururu em
   Minas é sinonimo de tristonho, macambuzo'.

11 Trindades: the bells traditionally rung at six, noon
   (Angelus) and six in the evening. In this case it is the
   evening bell. The Trindades may also be feared as they
   indicate the horas abortas when evil influences are at
   their strongest. See Vasconcellos 1882:298.

12 Cf. Guarnieri 1946:162; Cabral 20-3-1884:222; Sinzig 1938:17. Sinzig records a similar lullaby, substituting
   *macama* (mammy, slave nurse) for Senhora Sant'ana. I17
   gave the following verse to the same tune as iii):
   'este menino não dorme na casa
   dorme na limeira debaixo da rama.'
this takes the form of a suggestion that the child will be
carried off by a bicho (any unspecified animal or insect) or
a legendary bogeyman or anthropomorphic/zoomorphic creature
like the Lobishomem (werewolf) or the Cuca (described below)¹³.

In perhaps the best-known of all Recôncavo cantigas do ninar,
it is a black-faced ox that will come to take the child away.

i) Boi, boi, boi, boi da cara preta,
pega este menino que tem medo de careta¹⁴. (I1)

This may be lengthened so that the two lines given above
become the refrain:

ii) Su su su menino mandu
cara de gato, nariz de peru,
Boi boi boi, boi da cara preta,
leva este menino que tem medo de careta. (I2)

iii) Boi, boi, boi, boi da cara preta
pega este menino que tem medo de careta,
ão não não coitadinho, não pegue ele,
que ele é bonitinho. (I12)

Other lullabies about the boi are as follows:

iv) Boi, boi, boi, boi do curral,
vem pegar nenê
porque ele quer mamar¹⁵. (I15)

v) Boi, boi, boi, boi do curral,
pega este menino que tem medo do lalal¹⁶. (S12)

vi) Boi, boi, boi, boi do zoinho¹⁷
vem pegar nenê,
que tem medo do sapão. (I13)

¹³ For a general discussion of bogeyman figures see

que exista baiano que não tenha ouvido esse estribilho na
sua infância, cantado pelos doce lábios maternais. Entre
as muitas cantigas de ninar da Bahia, nenhuma de palavras
que tanto se popularizassem quanto as do estribilho desta'.
In fact a popular samba based on this lullaby was high in

¹⁵ Curral: the a is frequently dropped in bahiano speech and
this word is therefore often pronounced currá, thus
rhyming with mamar, in which the final a is similarly

¹⁶ Lala! according to S12, was a synonym for bicho papão (see
below), but I presume it to be of her own invention.

¹⁷ Plural and augmentative singular are confused here, zoinho <
o olho while zoinho < os olhos < olhão < olhão < olho grande.
The ox plays a prominent part in Brazilian folklore and in a region such as the inner limits of the Recôncavo, bordering on the sertão with its herds of cattle, it is not surprising that the familiar ox should be included in children's rhymes. The ox has been important in mythology and folklore from ancient Greece and India to Scandinavia and Angola and has figured as a sacred ox in Christian ritual and a totem in African worship. Machado Filho sees the 'totem do boi' as a principally Bantu survival in Brazil, 'reforçado por temas análogos de folclore caboclo dos vaqueiros de influência ameríndia' (1964:53), while Brandão (1951:117) and Cascudo (1962:140-145) show the wide dissemination of practices, symbols and beliefs related to the ox in the Ancient World, Europe and Asia.

It seems likely that the Bantu ongome and the Iberian boi have become fused into a single entity, with a pronounced Iberian emphasis in such popular representations as bumba-meu-boi. The boi in these lullabies seems to be peculiar to

18 The reference to Piaui probably goes back to the early eighteenth century; at the end of the seventeenth century, cattle were taken up through Pernambuco to the newly colonised Piauí which became a prime cattle raising area. See Costa 1907:259.
19 Cascudo 1962:140-145.
20 Cf. the festival of El Toro de San Mardos in Spain, 25 April. See Caro Baroja 1944.
22 Machado Filho (1964:53-55) gives the texts of a number of work songs from Minas Gerais in which the bull is referred to by his Bantu name, ongome.
23 A kind of popular auto in which the boi is the principal protagonist. A framework covered with cloth is built to represent the boi and a dancer moves about under this, like a pantomime horse. For a fuller description see Cascudo 1962:140-145.
the sertão (and the Recôncavo) and I have been unable to trace any European lullabies which make similar allusions, with the exception of a reference made by Lorca (1963:98) to el toro used to frighten children in the south of Spain. Abrahams writes of the animal in West Indian summing plays (no doubt similar to bumba-meu-boi) as being descended from African scandal plays (1970:245-246). This is the 'boi misterioso de pauta com o demonio' with mysterious attributes and powers, like those related by Amado in the autobiography of his childhood:

'Os bois que morriam não se enterravam. Arrastava-se para o cemitério dos animais, à beira do rio, debaixo dos marizeiros, onde eles ficavam para o repasto das urubús. De longe sentia-se o hálito podre da carniça, e a gente via os comensais disputando os pedaços de carne e as tripas do defunto. O zumbi, que era a alma dos animais, ficava por ali rodando. Não tinha o poder maligno dos lobishomens. Não bebia sangue nem dava surras como as caiporras. Encarnava-se em porcos e bois, que corriam pela frente da gente. E quando se procurava pegá-los, desapareciam por encanto.' (1954:48)

Other awe-inspiring figures are more vague, and for this reason all the more menacing, as Lorca comments, referring to the Spanish coco, in his study of Spanish lullabies (1963:98): 'la fuerza mágica del "coco" es precisamente su desdibujo'. A number of vague bogeymen are mentioned in the following examples: a cuca, o bicho papão, a caipora, o tutu/Zambi, o bicho, o morcego. These figures will be discussed later.

24 Cascudo notes (1962:142): 'O boi, espalhador de pavorres infantis, é imagem na cantoria sertaneja'. Campos (1960:69) draws attention to the treatment of the 'boi misterioso' in popular music and literature, especially in literatura de cordel (chapbooks). Cf. also Brandão 1951 [1]:117-149; Cascudo 1939:71-83. The notion even extends into plant taxonomy. The plant Malicia (Mimosa pudica) is also called maria-fecha-a-porta-gue-o-boi-ja-vem (122): when anyone treads on the plant it immediately closes up.
viii) Dorme nenê
que a cuca aí vem,
papai foi na roça
e mamãe fui também. (C10)

ix) Dorme nenê
que a cuca vem pegar,
papai foi à roça
mamãe já vem já. (I18)

x) Vai dormir minha filhinha
que o bicho papão vem aí,
dorme dorme menezinha
se não o bicho papão vem pegar. (C3)

xi) Xó papão
de cima do telhado,
deixa nenê
dormir sossegado. (I22)

xii) Caipora
lá do meu sertão,
pega essa menina
pra lovar no teu surrão. (S7)

xiii) O tutu Zambá
come, come, come, João
vem comer nenê
come, come, come
o nenê não quer dormir
come come come.
O tutu Zambá. (I22)

xiv) Dorme nenê
que o bicho já vem,
pai foi à caça
mamãe logo vem. (I19)

xv) Vá dormir Dorinha
que na casa do vovô,
tem um bicho pegador
de menino chorador,
δ, δ, δ, δ. (I6)

xvi) Tras trás, abre a porta e acenda a luz,
tenho medo de morcego
que ele é o homem do capuz. (C12)

25 Cf. Gomes and Baptista 1924:10. Vasconcellos gives a similar rhyme about the Portuguese *Cêca* (1882:208). For Spanish versions see Rodriguez Marín 1951 1,30 and 3.10. A popular Spanish version is also quoted by Unzué's (1964:93): 'duerme niña chiquita, que viene el coco, a llevarse las niñas que duermen poco'.

26 For Portuguese variants see Gallop 1937:68 no. 33; Vasconcellos 1882:208.

27 Any name may be substituted.


29 Cf. 'Eye baby bunting'! Cpolos 1973 [2]:63.

30 Cf. Rezende 1949:73.
xvii) Su, su, su aratu
não, mãe, não camarão,
caranguejo usa capote
urubú tem seu gibão,
coitadinha da Dorinha,
que se arrasta pelo chão;
não vá na beira do paco, caroço,
bichinho morde seu pé, jacaré. (I1)

No informant when asked was able to describe clearly any of these bogeymen. All were vague. C3 described the bicho papão as a giant figure with long hair and a huge head, I22 described tutu Zambá as 'um bicho que da médio', S8 affirmed 'o bicho papão come criança', S10 said it was 'uma bruxa'. S14 equated cuca with cérebro. According to I6 the bicho papão and bicho do mato come with a bag or basket on their shoulder to take away naughty children, whom they later eat (cf. negro do surrão, see below). Other bogeyman figures used to threaten naughty children, but which do not occur in the lullabies listed here are o lobis-homen (C2), o quibungo (S1), o sapo (I16), o velho (C1), and, of more recent introduction, o guarda and o polícia (S1). These bogeymen have come to be fused into what is virtually a single figure, although they derive from a number of different sources as I shall show by detailing each one in turn.

Cuca is defined by Cascudo as a 'papão feminino, fantasma informe, ente vago, ameaçador, devorando as crianças, papona'.

31 Any name may be substituted.
32 Unlike the other lullabies, this is an adaptation of aamba do roda.
33 In popular slang, cuca = brainbox; see Carneiro 1973:52.
34 This bicho does not occur in any of the lullabies recorded, but according to I6 was virtually synonymous with o papão.
36 Ott (1955:218) describes this as 'um bicho meio homem, meio animal, tendo uma cabeça muito grande, e também um grande buraco no meio das costas'. See also Freyro 1946: 340, 383; Cascudo 1962:636-637. According to Cascudo the quibungo is of Bantu origin.
37 O sapo (toad) is not mentioned in this section, but see above vi), where sapo occurs.
The Portuguese form is coca, like the Spanish coco, connoting a fearful, black figure. Rodríguez Marín (1951:11, 37) quotes a note from Covarrubias (Tesor de la lengua castellana, o español, Madrid 1611):

"en lenguaje de los niños, vale figura que causa espanto, y ninguna tanto como las que están a lo oscuro o muestran color negro de cuyo nombre propio de Cano que reinó en la Etiopía, tierra de los negros."

This is the same coco of which Lazarillo's little brother was so afraid when he saw Zaidé:

"como el niño vía a mi madre y a mi blancos, y a él no, huía del con miedo para mi madre, y señalando con el dedo decía 'Madre, coco!'" (Lazarillo de Tormes, Tratado 1°)

Portuguese also has coco, a traditional figure in Good Friday processions, usually representing Death, draped in black robes and with a pointed hood with only slits for the eyes; naturally a frightening spectacle. The reference to o homem do capuz in xvi) is clearly based on this figure.

Like the Spanish coco, the Portuguese coco is a black figure. In addition to this, Spanish has a coca, a papier-mâché serpent which regularly forms part of Corpus Christi processions in many parts of Spain. Hence from Portuguese and Spanish folklore alone it may be seen how the corporate entity is built up: black, not clearly recognisable as human by virtue of the hood or else half-man, half-animal in the form of a grotesque carnivalesque dummy.

39 Casas Doso also suggests a link with the fabulous Bernúncia of southern Brazil (1962:112-113): 'A Bernúncia é uma convergência dos monstros processionais, tão antigas e comuns na Europa, para um auto. Conserva dos animais simbólicos de sua classe o autismo e a agressividade característica espavorindo a assistência e sendo andrógino. Lembra, materialmente, a COCA, a SANTA COCA, que desfilava nas procissões de Corpus Christi em Portugal e Espanha (especialmente na Galícia) sendo vencida por São Jorge. O aspecto é idêntico.'
Cascudo further points out that cuca in pumbudo means grandfather, (cf. o velho, p. 210) and in Tupi, a quickly swallowed morsel, 'assim os elementos indígenas e africanos concorrem para a dispersão do mito nos elementos característicos' (1962:255). The same term appears to be used in parts of West Africa although whether or not this is due to the influence of European colonists is not clear; Béart (1967:195) notes the term koukou, which is very close to coco, among the Peul, and reveals similar attributes.

Bicho is literally any kind of animal or insect, but the meaning has become extended in this context to include any weird creature from human giants to insubstantial spirits. To a large extent, the generic bicho has absorbed the mbaú of the Guaranís, the zumbi of the Angolese and Congolese negroes and the papão of Portugal becoming, like the cuca a composite figure. Freyre comments:

'The Brazilian child is not afraid of any particular bicho, but of the bicho in general, a bicho that he cannot very well describe, but which represents a kind of synthesis of the Brazilian's ignorance of the fauna as well as the flora of his country. (1946:139)

Sometimes the word bicho is qualified by an adjective like feio, or perador, or it is the bicho papão, a somewhat more clearly defined entity, said to eat children.

The caipora is another fabulous figure, either with feet turned backwards, or with only one foot, but certainly

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40 Cf. also Carneiro 1937:100ff.; Vasconcellos 1882:297; Braga 1948:152; Béart 1967:195. O velho is a common term for grandfather in Recôncavo usage.
42 Freyre deals with these monsters at some length and traces the bicho complex back to Indian origins. See 1946:140-142, 151-155, 337-341.
43 Cf. also Cabral 20-8-1884:348; Braga 1948:52; Vasconcellos 1882:297; Ott 1955:218.
deformed. He is sometimes depicted as a dwarf. Such stunted, deformed creatures are accredited magical powers in a number of African cultures, and have similar attributes in Graeco-Roman, mediaeval and early Renaissance European culture. 44 Caimora appears to be a corruption of the Tupi curumira, which Gardin mentions in some of the earliest chronicles treating of Indian society: 'têm grande sede do demônico, ao qual chamaam curumira' (1925:162). Putnam, in his translation of Freyre's Casa Grande e Senzala, translates Lima and Barroso's vivid dictionary definition of the caimora:

'the name of a mythical being that, varying with different regions, is now represented as a one-legged woman who goes hopping along, now as a child with an enormous head; again, as a little Indian who is under an enchanted spell; and yet again as a man of colossal size mounted on a peccary (porco do mato)' 45 (1946:99 n.59).

Both size and sex, then, are subject to mutation, and as we have seen above, individual descriptions of such beings tend to be vague and show marked discrepancies from one informant to another; on a wider plane, regional variations are also very marked. In Bahia, according to Cascudo: 45

'É uma cabocla que no negro ou um negro velho, e também um negrinho em que só se vê uma bunda' 45 (1962:167).

Lullaby xii) in fact clearly mingles the basically Amerindian caimora with the African-inspired negro do surrão (negro with a pouch) 46. Dearth notes a similar phenomenon in Senegal, a Moor who carries off all naughty children in his kassoutra (a big leather bag) (1967:195), and translates a Mina lullaby in which a crying child is threatened with a

45 Cascudo's italics.
46 For a fairy story about the evil negro do surrão who stole first a girl's gold earrings and then put the child herself in his pouch, see Freyre 1946:341.
similar fate, again vague and thus doubly terrifying:

'Bébé chéri, tobili
ne pleure pas dans la nuit
quelque chose te prendrait la vie
bébé chéri, tobili' (1955:71).

Tutu Zambé or simply tutu also appears to be of African origin. Cascudo suggests (1971:315) that Zambé is either a corruption of the Angolese Zambi, meaning god, or Zumbi meaning a departed spirit. The two ideas are no doubt confused to a certain extent. The tutu is seen as a wild pig (porco do mato)47 and although the etymology of this word is by no means clear it may be of African or Tupi origin or possibly a purely Brazilian invention48.

Mercenário means, literally, a bat, traditionally associated in Portugal with darkness and the works of the Devil, and even dubbed o passarinho do diabo49. Bats are also commonly associated with witchcraft and occult practices. Goya draws menacing bats in a number of Los Caprichos: El sueño de la razón produce monstruo (plate 43), Mucho hay que chupar (plate 45) and Sa rapulans (plate 51). In xvii) the bat is clearly confused with the robed and hooded cuca figure, although pictured in the imagination, the gap between the two is not so great: a bat with outstretched wings may resemble a dark figure in a wide-sleeved robe. Although the bat is probably scaring enough in itself to a small child, there may be an additional menace suggested in the incorporating of the cupendiope legend into this verse. In Apinajé mythology, the cupendiope were a tribe of winged

47 Cf. Cabral 20-9-1884:346. According to Cabral, the tutu or tutu-zambé (or cambé) is seen in Bahia as a porco do mato and is similar in other attributes to the papao and coca in Portugal. See also Braga 1948:52.
Indians like bats who lived in the upper reaches of the Rio Tocantins. They only came out at night and lived in a cave on a hillside. At night they flew out armed with crescent-shaped axes (machados de lua in Portuguese), slaying humans and animals. In this case it is not clear whether this somewhat obscure myth has been assimilated, but again syncretism is clearly possible.

8.6 Miscellaneous lullabies

Four further lullabies are included here; they do not appear to me to fit into any of the preceding categories, and are all quite different from each other.

1) Su su menino de mandu,
   quem te pariu
   que te dá um caruru. (C3)

ii) Lu, lu, lu, menino mandu,
    quem não tem camisa
dorme nu. (I19)

iii) Dorinha já mamou,
    sim, sim, sim,
    Dorinha quer dormir,
    ó, ó, ó. (I6)

iv) Dormo nenem do meu coração
    pega mamadeira e bota no chão,
    tem uma irmã do meu coração
    que tanto piscou o olho
    que ficou sem as pestanhas. (S13)

8.7 Finger games

Apart from these lullabies, numerous rhymes and verses are borrowed from samba de roda and cantigas de roda, and sung (often to the accompaniment of appropriate gestures)

50 Cascudo 1962:258-259.
52 Any name may be substituted.
to amuse infants. The other most popular types of infant amusement are tickling games, or those which end with a playful pinch or slap. The simplest of these, similar to the English This Little Piggy Went to Market played with the toes, is one in which each finger is held in succession and named.\[53\]

i) Dedo mindinho (little finger), seu vizinho (fourth), maior de todos (middle), furu-bolos (index), o mata-piolhos (thumb) (I24)\[54\].

The most widely-known, both in the Recôncavo and outside Brazil, is one popularly known as 0 Gato Comeu, similar to the English Round and Round the Garden which also involves tickling. There are several versions. The mother, or older child playing with the baby, opens the child's hand and touches the middle of the palm, asking:

ii) Cadê o arroz (carne, banana etc.) que estava aqui?
- 0 gato comeu\[55\].
  
  (the first player then runs his fingers up the child's arm, tickling him at the elbow, under the arm and behind the ear, and saying!)

- 0 gatinho foi por aqui,
  por aqui, chegou aqui, para beber agua
  foi por aqui, por aqui, parou aqui! (I3)

In another slightly longer version, the mother starts at the little finger, works up to the thumb, and then tickles palm, wrist, elbow and armpit, before returning, to the child's delight, to begin all over again:

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\[55\] Where the child is too young to answer himself, the older player answers in this way for him.
iii) Cadê o feijão que estava aqui?
- O gato comeu.
- Cadê o arroz que estava aqui?
- O gato comeu.
- Cadê a carne que estava aqui?
- O gato comeu.
- Cadê o macarrão que estava aqui?
- O gato comeu.
- Cadê a farinha que estava aqui?
- O gato comeu.
- Chegou aqui, mijou aqui, vem andando, chegou aqui, cagou aqui, vem andando, chegou aqui, quiquiriqui (tickling), esqueceu de uma coisa, voltou aqui (13).

This game is very well known both in Europe and Africa. As Déart comments: 'on retrouve dans la nursery de tous les peuples la petite bête qui monte' (1967:197). Although simplified in such a way that O Gato Comeu is the inevitable answer in each case, these rhymes appear to belong to the very ancient type of cumulative tales, many of which include the idea of a cat or a dog stealing and eating someone’s food. Cervantes alludes to this form of infant amusement in the Quijote:

'y así como suele decirse "el gato al rato, el rato a la cuerda, la cuerda al palo", daba el arriero a Sancho, Sancho a la moza, la moza al ventero al la moza,...' (Don Quijote 1, 16).

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56 For African versions see Déart 1955:74, 77; Bett 1924: 89–90. Elsewhere, Déart gives an Arab version (1960:75) where a cat chases a mouse (up the child’s arm). Déart’s italics in quotation. His translation of one such typical rhyme shows close similarities: ‘Ma mère te donne du pain, le chien le mange, elle te donne des bonbons, le chien les mange, elle te donne des mangues, le chien les mange’. For other European and Brazilian versions, see Monte 1957:49; Costa 1907:502; Gomes 1951:295; Gouvea 1967:58; Capes 1973 [2]:18, 199; Romero 1954:2, 692.

57 Goume (1894:117, 118) describes a Yorkshire game popular with boys in the early nineteenth century; fists are piled on top of each other and are knocked off to the accompaniment of the following rhyme:

‘What's there?’
‘Cheese and bread and a mouldy halfpenny’
‘Where's my share?’
‘I put it on the shelf and the cat got it’
‘Where's the cat?’
‘She's run nine miles through the wood’
The English *This is the House that Jack Built* clearly falls into the same category\(^58\), and its origin has been suggested by Spence as a Hebrew hymn in the *Sepher Hagradah*, which describes how a man purchased a kid (1947:179-180), although Spence makes it clear that 'cognate rhymes from the folklore of many countries reveal the wide popularity of the simpler theme'.

A finger game popular with children of about 2 to 6 names fingers as follows:

\[
\text{Mãe} \quad \text{Pai} \quad \text{Avô} \quad \text{Avô} \quad \text{Bebê}
\]

and fingers are touched as the appropriate words are spoken:

\(\text{iv) A mãe disse no pai 'não bule no bebê' \}
\(\text{o pai disse no avô 'não bule no bebê' \}
\(\text{o avô disse à avô 'não bule no bebê' \}
\(\text{qual é o bebê?} \)

and as soon as the other player follows the example of the first and touches his little finger, he is reprimanded with feigned impatience:

\(\text{não bule no bebê! (S21)\(^59\).} \)

Sometimes the whole hand is played with, not just the fingers. *Frequentã mãæ* is a popular amusement of this type. First the infant comes and puts his hands inside his mother's to warm them. Once they are warm, he withdraws them and

\(^{58}\text{Cf. Bett 1924:84.}\)

\(^{59}\text{Bule for bula (3rd pers. sing. imperative); common popular usage in parts of the interior of Bahia and Minas Gerais.}\)
Bate na porta, beating his mother's hand. The following dialogue ensues:

v) - Quem é?
   - Sou eu.
   - Temos bolinhos quentes? 60
   - Temos.
   - Deixa ver. (I17)

The child then puts his hands on the mother's face. If the hands are warm, the mother expresses pleasure; if still cold, the child receives a little slap 61. C3's version had a slightly different dialogue:

vi) O cachorro passou por aqui?
   - Passou.
   - Para onde ele foi?
   - Desceu pelo rio abaixo.
   - Você deu comida a ele?
   - Dei, dei pão com água.
   - Vamos ver se tem pão quente por ai? (C3)

The other child, or children, then put their hands on their thighs and rub them to warm them, and then test them for warmth on the mother's cheeks, with the same outcome: acceptance or a slap.

When there are two or three small children, mothers (or older children) may ask them to hold out their hands and them make a sweeping, tickling movement as she brushes her hand across, saying:

vii) Vassourinha, vassourinha varre a casa da vizinha. (I23)

This may lead to pinta lainha, (discussed in Chapter 3.3), or lagarta pintada (see Chapter 9.4).

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60 Bolo (dim. bolinho) means both a cake and a slap, as in the game of Boca de Forno discussed in Chapter 4.5.
61 For longer versions see Gouveia 1926:xxiv. Children may play this game with adults and other children as well.
3.8 Animal rhymes

Most other infant amusements consist of rhymes about animals, often accompanied by imitations of animal or bird noises and movements.

i) Eu sou um patinho
que gosta de marchar/nadar,
a minha conetinha
vou agora entoar.

Todos os patinhos
que sabem bem nadar,
cabeça para baixo
o o rabinho para o ar,
hoje estou contente
da água vou sair,
e depois de aquecido
no ninho vou dormir.
quiritiquiqui. (I19)

ii) O sapo, o sapo, de cores bem alegres,
ão tem, não tem, rabinho nem orelhas;
ô água gua
ô água gua gua gua. (I3)
(here the children hop round like toads)

iii) - Aonde vai amigo sapo?
- Eu vou rodar,
- Olha o boi que não te pise,
- Eu piso ele.
(The two children involved in this little dialogue then hold each other's hands and squat, jumping round and round together till one falls over, singing 'esquidindomdo' over and over again.) (S5)

Where there are a number of small children playing, as observed in a kindergarten, conga-type formations are popular. Again, animals are the subject of the rhymes sung. Children line up each holding on to the clothes of the one in front, and sing:

iv) Olha o rabo do tutu camaleão,
oilha o rabo dele,
oilha a volta que ele dá
oilha o rabo dale. (S12).

62 with the exception of trains, which obviously lend themselves to the conga formation.
8.9 **Concluding remarks**

These verses and amusements, popular with children up to the age of 5 or 6 are, on the whole, Portuguese in character. They have nevertheless undergone a process of adaptation and absorbed fabulous beings and bogeymen from Amerindian and African cultures. Some have altered in respect of their geographical situation; the *sertão* is brought in, the alligator, armadillo and *boi de Piauí* make their appearance. Others retain purely Portuguese constructions (8.4 i) or, in contrast to the African caruru mentioned in 8.6 i, make reference to essentially Portuguese dishes like *bacalhau com azeite*, very rarely eaten by people in the *Recôncavo*. Repeated improvisation has reshuffled lines and couplets, some which recur often (*cara de gato, nariz de peru*) take on an almost formulaic character, and are introduced at will.

As in the process of religious syncretism (see above Chapter 2.6 c) where Catholic saints and African deities became fused by virtue of their apparent shared attributes, so the same process may be seen at work in the equation of fearsome child-stealing monsters of divers origins, telescoped into entities like the *Cuca*, the *boi* and the *tutu*, which are now exclusively Brazilian.\(^63\)

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\(^{63}\) These figures are known throughout Brazil, not simply in the *Recôncavo*, although the *boi* is generally only found in the *Nordeste*. 

CHAPTER 9
CANTIGAS DE RODA

9.1 Introductory remarks

The adopting of circular formation for dances or religious or social rituals is of great antiquity and to be found in all three continents with which we are concerned. According to Griaule, 'on considère habituellement la danse en ligne comme caractéristique de l'Afrique tandis que la danse en rond le serait de l'Europe', although the Candomblé, which combines Yoruba and Bantu ritual traditions, uses circular formation in dance and ritual worship. It is therefore virtually impossible to state dogmatically that the roda is exclusively African, European or indigenous in origin. I do not propose to give a lengthy history of the round dance or examine its magico-religious pre-Christian origins, as detailed studies of this have already been made.

While it is clear that the roda existed as a formation in Africa and pre-Columbian America, how far the rodas of children in the Recôncavo today are typically African, Amerindian or European remains to be examined. Folklorists in the past have picked out certain characteristics and pronounced them to be of a specific origin; Carneiro states that 'a provocação, o apelo a outras pessoas para que entrem na roda, faz parte integrante de tôdas estas diversões devidas ao negro de Angola' (1965:56). However, this is only partly

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2 Quoted by Béart 1967:258.
3 Gomme 1898:478-479.
true, and depends on the exact way in which the invitation is made: a pronounced umbirada (butt in the stomach) is obviously African-inspired, a hug, kiss, beckoning or outstrectching of the hand is more likely to be Portuguese or European. The figure in the middle of the roda who is continually replaced is both characteristically African (as in samba de roda) and European. The roda itself may be simply a convenient grouping of players for a game whose principal interest is hiding, running, or even guessing; it may be essential to the performance of the activities involved in the game, where children are required to join hands and gallop round gathering momentum. What I shall be concerned with here are the cantigas de roda; the songs sung while in circle formation. The texts of the cantigas provided by informants will be given first, followed at the end of the chapter by a discussion of their form and thematic content. Some texts require little or no commentary, but comparisons with similar cantigas recorded elsewhere and other published findings are given where I have been able to trace them and where these serve to clarify the origin or development of a particular cantiga or explain obscure references.

Children themselves make little or no distinction between different types of roda. One may call in the playground or street 'vamos brincar de roda' and the games which follow may be of an active nature, the roda revolving, players dancing, clapping or even chasing each other, or purely

4 Umbirada or umbirada; literally a navel-to-navel bump.
sedentary with the children sitting cross-legged or legs outstretched on the ground simply singing or miming. All are brincadeiras de roda. Any form of classification is therefore somewhat arbitrary, but I have divided the cantigas de roda into three broad categories: those in which one player stands in the centre and then chooses a partner or substitute to replace her or in which some form of substitution and exchanging of roles takes place within the roda; those in which there is no essential substitution or choice made, but in which all participants take it in turns to sing a verse of their own choice, and a third group which involves very little activity other than simple mime, and in which the cantigas are generally short or repetitive and do not involve the addition of countless verses. These three types I have simply termed substitution rodas, improvised rodas and simple rodas. In substitution rodas a series of verses known to all the participants is generally repeated a number of times as players continually change places with each other. In improvised rodas a central verse is sung by all at the beginning, and players then contribute verses (vão tirando versos) in turn, usually drawn from a stock of quatrains and occasionally improvised by quick-witted participants. Most girls have a fairly wide repertoire of quatrains which they have learned by heart. They are often required to incorporate their own names or those of others in the roda into verses, and I have kept these as they were given, as examples, except where informants themselves used fulana.

7 Except when they are very small, boys rarely participate in cantigas de roda, and regard them as an exclusively feminine type of play. Cf. Simpson 1954:71.
or where a named character is the central figure throughout (Margarida, Teresinha do Jesus etc.). Simple rodas, like substitution rodas, are generally repetitive. Where cantiga involves tirando verses, the first three quatrains of those given by the informants in question are cited here as examples, even though many more verses may have been recorded originally. The same series of verses will not necessarily follow in any two renderings of an improvised roda. A final section of miscellaneous verses (verse saltos) is included at the end to include all those verses not given as part of cantiga, and others simply given on their own by informants. These are adaptable for inclusion in any cantiga de roda and can generally be sung to any tune.

Sometimes verses will appear to be relevant to the refrain, sometimes children 'follow on' by starting the next verse with a similar introductory line or treating of the same subject\(^8\). Elsewhere they may contradict what has been said in the previous verse. Conversely, humorous or vulgar quatrains may be interspersed with whimsical or traditional lyrical ones. Quatrains may appear to be hybrid in themselves with the first couplet bearing no relation to the second, or an unexpected comparison may be introduced. Accentuation is often altered to fit the rhythm of the verse, a typical feature of Spanish and Portuguese lyrical verse\(^9\).

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\(^8\) Certain lines like Lá atrás da minha casa and Lá vem a lua saindo recur over and over again at the beginning of verses.

\(^9\) Cf. Torner 1966:420-421. See also Gallop 1936:230-244.
9.2 Substitution rodas

1) Girls form a roda and two remain on the outside. These two do not join in the singing. When the appropriated verse is sung, these two enter the roda, give each other a hug and a kiss and then choose two other players who substitute them on the outside of the roda and the whole process begins again.

Por esta rua,
dominé,
passei ou meu bem,
dominé,
não foi por mim,
dominé,
foi por alguém,
dominé,
deis passarinhos,
dominé,
sairam no laço,¹⁰
dominé,
dá um beijinho,
dominé,
dá um abraço,
dominé,
escolha uma,
dominé,
para ser seu par,
dominé! (II)

This canção appears to have its origins in one of the choruses in the Quinta Jornada of A Nau Catarineta (believed to be an account of the shipwreck of Jorge Albuquerque Coelho in 1563). As the bird in captivity sings to alleviate its sorrow, so should the prisoner sing:

'Meu passarinho
da-mda;
Caiu no laço:
Meu bem!
Dá-me um beijo
da-mda;
E um abraço;
Meu bem!'¹²

¹⁰ Laço; 'a type of trap or snare; a loop of string is made with a slip knot, laid on the ground and maize put in the centre. When the birds come to eat, the string is pulled tight and they are caught by the feet.

¹¹ Cf. Andrade 1946:73; Guarnieri 1946:270; Rezende 1949:153; Costa 1907:159; Bettencourt 1947:120; Gomes 1951:275; Pinto 1911:70-71; Thomas 1923:201. For a similar English rhyme see Gomme 1894:309.

11) Girls form a roda and one remains on the outside. This cantiga is mimed throughout, and instructions for the appropriate mime are given after each line in parentheses. All the girls mime and the one left on the outside comes in to the roda on the second line. At the end she chooses another girl to take her place.

A pombinha vocu, vocu
(hands waved in simulated flight)
caiu no laço,
(hands crossed over chest, fingers limp)
se embaraço;
(hands fluttered all round body)
a pombinha vocu, vocu
caiu no laço
se embaraço
(all actions repeated as before)
me dá um abraço
(arms crossed over chest, hands on shoulders)
quê eu desembaraço
(let arms fall limp)
esta pombinha
(hands waved in simulated flight)
quê caiu no laço.
(arms crossed over chest, fingers limp). (11)

iii) Girls form a semi-circle rather than a complete roda, with one facing the rest. The chorus then begins with a question to the viúva who is standing apart. She then replies. After the final chorus has finished, the viúva chooses a partner from the others in the roda (in spite of her words), and this player then becomes the viúva.

- Senhora dona viúva,
  dizem com quem quer casar, quer casar,
  se é com filho do rei
  ou com capitão general, general, general?

- Não é nenhum desses homens,
  que eles não são para mim, para mim;
  eu sou uma pobre viúva
  triste coitada de mim, ai de mim, ai de mim.

- Ulha a viuvinha (clapping)
  que vem de Belém,
  ela quer casar
  mas não acha com quem.13 (C1)

This cantiga is widely-known in Spain as La Viudita del Conde Laurel14 and is similar to the English Poor Mary/Jenny lies a-Weeping or One Poor Widow was Left Alone15.

14 See Gil 1964:36; Rodríguez Marín 1951:1, 70, no.75.
15 See Comme 1898:162-63, 381-382; Daiken 1949:75.
iv) This *cantiga* uses the same pattern of question and answer, with one girl standing apart from the rest and choosing a substitute as she sings the final line of her verse.

- A canoa virou
doixaram virar,
foi por causa do Maria\(^{16}\),
que não soube remar.
Dirim pra lid
Dirim pra câ
Maria velha quer casar,

- Se eu fosse um peixinho
que soubesse nadar,
tirava Mariane\(^{16}\)
do fundo do mar,

- Dirim pra lid
Dirim pra câ
Maria velha quer casar\(^{17}\). (C10)

v) Girls form a roda with one on the outside. This girl comes into the roda when the others sing entrou. They sing the first part of the *cantiga* as a chorus, she replies and then chooses a partner who then takes her place on the outside of the roda.

- Mais uma boneca
na roda entrou
querendo roubar
o que nunca roubou,
Mais uma boneca
na roda entrou,
querendo roubar
o que nunca roubou.
Querendo roubar
verde limão\(^{18}\),
mocinha solteira
quero rouba o ladrão.
Ladrão, o ladrão
rouba riquinhó
Ladrão, o ladrão
não queira ficar
nesta roda sezinha,

- Sezinha eu não fico
nem hei de ficar,
porque tenho a Rita\(^{19}\)
para ser meu par\(^{20}\). (C1)

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16 Any name may be substituted.
18 The use of citrus imagery and similar traditional poetic devices is discussed at the end of this chapter.
19 Any name may be substituted.
vi) Girls form a roda with one on the outside. This girl comes in to the roda on entra and chooses a substitute on abraça.

A variant was given by CI in which a girl on the outside is required to pull a face at one girl in the roda and then embrace a different one. The one who is embraced then goes out of the roda with her and the roda continues until all have gone out and only one girl is left unchosen. CI indicated that there was often a great deal of hard feeling caused when girls sang and acted out this canto de roda and generally unpopular girls tended to be ridiculed by being left in the middle.

A variant was given by CI in which a girl on the outside is required to pull a face at one girl in the roda and then embrace a different one. The one who is embraced then goes out of the roda with her and the roda continues until all have gone out and only one girl is left unchosen. CI indicated that there was often a great deal of hard feeling caused when girls sang and acted out this canto de roda and generally unpopular girls tended to be ridiculed by being left in the middle.

vii) Girls form a roda with one girl in the middle. At the end of the verse, she chooses one girl from the roda, hugs her and they change places. The girls sing the verse as a chorus and the one in the middle sings the couplet at the end as she chooses her partner and spins her round.

- Eu vi Gracinha lá no corredor
  pedi um beijinho, ela me negou;
  tornei a pedir, tornou a negar
  vem acá Gracinha, vem me abraçar.

- Tra la la la, que mal eu fiz,
  tra la la lu, o amor é seu.
  Tra la la lu, que mal eu fiz,
  tra la la lu, o amor é seu. (I3)

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21 For Scandinavian parallels, see Braga 1948:61; and French Canadian ones, Newell 1963:110. For other Brazilian variants, see Rezendo 1949:55; Lira n/d:141; Gomes Jr. and Baptista 1924:37; Piazza 1960:35.

22 CI did not indicate any repetition like S16.

23 Any name may be substituted.
Girls form a *roda* and several girls remain on the outside. One by one they enter the *roda*, winding their way in and out of the others, who remain static. They mime to the words, and eventually choose partners from the *roda* who then take their places on the outside. Those in the *roda* sing the opening verse, then the others come in, with *mais um* being sung by all as a chorus.

- *Para dentro e para fora*
  - *mais um, mais um*
  - *para dentro e para fora*
  - *mais um, mais um, mais um.*

- *Eu abro esta janela*
  - *mais um, mais um*
  - *eu abro esta janela,*
  - *mais um, mais um, mais um.*

- *Eu tiro um companheiro*
  - *mais um, mais um*
  - *eu tiro um companheiro,*
  - *mais um, mais um, mais um.*

- *Eu danço engraçadinho*
  - *mais um, mais um*
  - *eu danço engraçadinho*
  - *mais um, mais um, mais um.*

- *Eu deixo ele na roda*
  - *mais um, mais um*
  - *eu deixo ele na roda*
  - *mais um, mais um, mais um.* (I3)

This *cantiga* is similar to iv) above. Girls form a *roda* with one in the middle. Those in the *roda* sing first as a chorus, and then the girl in the middle answers.

- Não chore **Eliana**
  - nem queira chorar,
  - que o barco navega
  - nas ondas do mar,
  - é **Eliana** que quer embarcar
  - tindela, tindela, tindela.

- Se eu fosse um peixinho
  - que soubesse nadar,
  - tirava **Cristiane**
  - das ondas do mar,
  - é **Cristiane** que quer embarcar
  - tindela, tindela, tindela.

- Não chore **Cristiane**
  - nem queira chorar...etc. (I3)

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24 Any name may be substituted.
x) Girls form a roda with one left on the outside. At para o meio da rua, this girl comes in and replies to the others. She chooses a partner who then takes her place.

- Ai ai ai
  minha machadinha
  ai ai ai
  minha machadinha,
  tenho coisa boa
  se é minha,
  tenho coisa boa
  se é minha,
  tu é minha
  ou também sou tua
  tu é minha
  ou também sou tua
  passa machadinha
  para o meio da rua.
  Passa machadinha
  para o meio da rua.

- No meio da rua
  não hei de ficar
  porque tenho Helena25
  para ser meu par26. (C8)

xi) Girls form a roda with one in the middle. Those in the roda sing the first four lines, she replies, and then the chorus takes up again. The cantiga ends with a round of clapping and stamping, and the one in the middle finally chooses a substitute.

- Gracinha, menina ingrata25
  hei de te dar um tiro,
  com uma pistola de prata
  e sete balas de suspiro.

- No meio de tantas flores
  não sei qual escolherei
  aquela que eu mais estimo
  com ela me abraçarei.

- Você gosta de mim?
  ô Gracinha,
  eu também de você,
  ô Gracinha,
  vou pedir para seu pai,
  ô Gracinha,
  para casar com você,
  ô Gracinha.

---

25 Any name may be substituted.
- Se ele disser que sim,
  Ó Gracinha,
  tratei dos papeis,
  Ó Gracinha,
  se ele disser que não
  Ó Gracinha,
  morrerai de paixão,
  Ó Gracinha.

Palma, palma, palma (clapping)
Ô Gracinha,
pé, pé, pé (stamping)
Ô Gracinha,
roda, roda, roda (spinning round)
Ô Gracinha,
abraça quem quiser,
Ô Gracinha. 27, (14)

This appears to be something of a hybrid roda, although I saw it played in this way a number of times in Itaparica.

Certainly the first two verses form a cantiga de roda in their own right and have been recorded as such elsewhere. 28

Costa (1907:456) and Boiteux (1944:92) consider this to be of African inspiration and Costa's version, which is otherwise very similar to I4's, differs in that it has a chorus of

'alêlê, apôlê, calunga
mussunga, mussunga ô'

and is according to Costa a chula africana. 29

xii) Girls form a roda. One girl goes to the middle; she is Teresinha de Jesus. This roda relies heavily on mime: Teresinha falls, three others from the roda come and help her to her feet, she shakes the hand of the first two and dances and leaves the roda with the third. This child subsequently takes her place and becomes Teresinha.

- Teresinha de Jesus
deu uma queda a foi ao chão
acudida por três cavalheiros
todos três de chapéu na mão
o primeiro foi seu pai
o segundo foi seu irmão
o terceiro foi aquele
que Teresinha deu um aperto.

27 Cf. Lira n/d:141; Pinto 1911:90-91; Romero 1954:2,525
no.107.
28 Gomes 1951:275.
29 Monte (1957:117,50) and Valle (1936:89) on the other hand, consider it more Amerindian, but give very little satisfactory evidence to support their views.
This cantiga appears to be of some antiquity and is clearly of Iberian origin. The references to the fruit, traditional in medieval lyrical poetry, have no doubt been somewhat adapted: an variant recorded by Lira (n/d:138-139) refers to the same fruits, but in more traditional fashion, suggesting the closing verses of a tragic romance, of which this may be a remaining fragment:

'tanta laranja madura
tanto limão no chão
tanto sangue derramado,
por causa duma paixão.'

The name, Teresainha de Jesus, may substitute that of a princess or lady of the court; there seems little other explanation for the inclusion of a mystic nun, however great her cult in Spain and Portugal, in a game essentially connected with the choosing of marriage partners.

xiii) Girls form a roda with one on the outside and one in the middle with her skirt spread out around her in the widest circle possible. The girls in the roda all squat and hold a piece of the skirt; they represent the walls of Margarida's castle. The cantiga is then sung in the form of a dialogue between the girl on the outside and those in the roda. The former removes one girl or makes her stand up after each verse, until the 'wall' has been destroyed, and Margarida is revealed undefended. The girl on the outside opens the dialogue, which is repeated until all the pedras have been removed.

- Onde está a Margarida, olé olé olé
  onde está a Margarida, olé seu cavaleiro.

- Ela está em seu castelo, olé olé olé
  ela está em seu castelo, olé seu cavaleiro.

- Mas o muro é muito alto, olé olé olé
  mas o muro é muito alto, olé seu cavaleiro.
- Vai tirando uma pedra, olé olé olé
  vai tirando uma pedra, olé seu cavalheiro.

- Tiraremos uma pedra, olé olé olé
  tiraremos uma pedra, olé seu cavalheiro.\(^{30}\)

- Uma pedra não faz falta, olé olé olé
  uma pedra não faz falta, olé seu cavalheiro.

- Apareceu a Margarida, olé olé olé (all-singing hero)
  apareceu a Margarida, olé seu cavalheiro. \(^{(1)}\)

Again, this *cantica* is clearly European: the oldest version appears to be the French *Ô est la belle Marguerite, ogier, beau chevalier, ogier*, according to Newell (1963:223) being Ógier the Dane, a medieval hero. Newell also records an English version, *The Enchanted Princess*. Similar versions are to be found all over Brazil, though in a mineiro version Margarida is no cêu father than em seu castelo and the roda turns into a game of hide and seek with Margarida rushing off to hide as soon as all the pedras (whose presence in this case suggests that castelo antedates cêu) have been withdrawn\(^{31}\).

xiv) Girls form a roda with one seated blindfolded in the middle. She is Dona Sancha. They sing the first four lines as acchorus, and then she replies.

- Senhora Dona Sancha
coberta de ouro e prata
descobra o seu rosto
que quero ver a cara.

- Que anjos são esses
que andam clareando
de noite e de dia
com seu padre nosso
e a sua Ave Maria,
Andorinha, andorinha, andorinha, andorinha. \(^{(C2)}\)

This is a fragment of a more complete game. Elsewhere fuller versions have been recorded, in which the game culminates in a round of hide and seek, with Dona Sancha removing the

\(^{30}\) If the children are old enough to count, the chant changes to duas pedras, três pedras, quatro pedras etc.

blindfold and trying to catch the rest. Whoever she catches takes her place. A final verse, recorded in different variants in other parts of Brazil, answers Dona Sancha's question:

'São filhos do rei
e netos do conde
que mandam que se esconde
debaixo duma pedra.

Nevertheless, the rhyme and its basic origins remain obscure: whether Dona Sancha is blindfolded through confusion with another game, or whether there is an historical reason for, it I have been unable to establish.

xv) Girls form a roda and one remains on the outside. Those in the roda sing first. When they stop, the girl on the outside comes in and sings, and then the others have to copy all her gestures. She then chooses a girl to take her place (sometimes the one who fails to repeat all her actions correctly).

- Candeeiro entra na roda
  entra na roda sem parar,
  quem tocar no candeeiro
  candeeiro há de ficar.
  Cocoroco, candeeiro, sinhá
  eu não sou cadica
  candeeiro sinhá cocoroco
  eu não sou cadica
  candeeiro sinhá cocoroco.

- Hoje eu vou à capelinha
  fazer minha oração,
  acender meu candeeiro
  em louvor a São João,
  (she raises her hands as if in prayer, then kneels, and may perform any other action, such as crossing herself etc., especially if this makes imitation difficult)

- Cocoroco, candeeiro, sinhá,
  (all sing here)
  eu não sou cadica
  candeeiro sinhá. (CS)

After the very Portuguese Terezinha de Jesus and Snhora

32 Alvarenga 1946:144.
34 Cocoroco: onomatopoeic, imitative of a cock crowing.
Dona Sancha preceding this cantiga, this has more African elements, despite the references to São João. The imitation of the cock crowing, the repetition of *sinhá*, which is basically a negro-slave term and the very marked rhythm of the refrain, suggests that this cantiga is more closely associated with *samba de roda* than the Portuguese playground. The mention of São João indicates that it is probably popular as an amusement at the time of the feast of St. John (see Chapter 14.8), although C8 said it was popular among her friends all the year round. The oração is probably a *promessa* (vow) made to St. John to find a husband as SS John and Antony are popularly believed to help young girls in finding *noivos* and countless practices are associated with these beliefs. In England, the candle-holder or 'candlestick' is an onlooker in a game, and the sense may be the same here.

Gomme quotes from an entry in Toone's Etymological Dictionary:

'Before the introduction of the modern candlestick, the custom was to have a candle held by a person appointed for that purpose, called a candle-holder, and hence the term became proverbial to signify an idle spectator'. (1898:341)

Girls form a *roda* and one remains on the outside. When they start to sing, the player on the outside comes in to the *roda*, swaying, hands on hips, and drooping like a rag doll. She then arches her back, sticks out her stomach, and as the rhyme finishes, butts another player in the stomach. This girl then takes her part as Pai Francisco.

Pai Francisco entrou na roda
tocando o seu violão. (mime playing guitar)
Vem de lá Seu delegado,
Pai Francisco entrou na prisão,
Come ele vem
todo requebrado,
parece um boneco
desengonçado.

36 Cf. Sinzig 1938:112; Andrade 1946:72; Costa 1907:511. Some of these beliefs are discussed in Chapter 14.
Como ele vem
todo requebrado,
parece um boneco
desengonçado. (16)

This *cantiga de roda* appears to be a typical mixing of European and African elements. Andrade traces it back to the Portuguese romance of *Conde Claros*, albeit so watered down by other influences as to bear little resemblance to the original episode where *Conde Claros* disguises himself as a priest and goes to confess the *Infanta*. It is possible that this is the origin of what Andrade terms an 'espantosa roda infantil', though the priest, if *Pai Francisco* is a priest, has certainly undergone a process of transformation in that here he is clearly ridiculed. Here he is much more like the Bobo figure in *bumba-meu-boi*, as described by Carneiro:

'aparece um sujeito vestido de clérigo, e algumas vezes de roqueiro e estola, para servir de bôbo da função. Quem faz ordinariamente o papel de sacerdote bufo é um brejeiro despejado e escolhido para desempenhar a tarefa até o mais nojento ridículo; e para complemento do escarnio, esse padre ouve de confissão ao Mateus, o qual negro cativo faz cair de pernas ao ar o seu confessor, e acaba, como é natural, dando muita chicotada no sacerdote'. (1965: 26)

According to Ott, on the other hand, *Pai Francisco* may not be the priest, but the slave:

'O tema diferente que aparece em 'Pai Francisco' tanto pode pertencer ao ciclo do escravo oprimido e perseguido que quer fugir ao trabalho, como ao do músico ambulante perseguido pela Policia'. (1955: 162)

Certainly this would explain the guitar, the mention of the delegado, and the threat of prison, all far from Andrade's

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37 M. Andrade 1972:18 n.41; 1959:1,46.
38 Quoting Costa's 1840 account.
39 Cf. Pinto 1911:82-83.
supposed Portuguese romance. English and French nursery rhyme collections also have verses ridiculing a priest, who is also called Father Francis or Père Francois (Opies 1973 [2]:166-167). A mock confession follows, and in one English version there is also mention of prison: this time the penitent is sent to prison for twenty days for stealing a fish. The butting of another player in the stomach as an invitation to substitute the first is certainly of African origin: a typical superimposition of African form on European content, in a cantiga de roda. Ramos, writing of Angola, says:

'o batuque consiste também num círculo formado pelos dançadores, indo para o meio um preto ou preta, que, depois de executar vários passos, vai dar uma embigada, a que chamam semba, na pessoa que escolhe, a qual vai para o meio do círculo substituindo-o',

(1954:124)

The requebrado, too, suggests African dance; Caymmi describes it as that 'remelexo que é tão próprio da música negra'.

(1967:146). The remelexo and the embigada may be purely bahiano features; the cantiga is certainly known all over Brazil and not all versions appear to contain this butting of players as an invitation to substitute the central figure.

xvii) Girls form a roda; one remains outside wearing a hat. At the appropriate line, she comes in, spinning like a top and obeying the commands sung by the others. She ends up putting the hat on one of the others, who then goes out and takes her place.

O pião entrou na roda
o pião,
o pião entrou na roda
o pião,
rodais que não bambeia
roda, pião,
rodais que não bambeia
roda, pião,

sapateia nos tijolos,
6 pião,
sapateia nos tijolos,
6 pião,
rodais que não bambeia
6 pião,
rodais que não bambeia
6 pião,
amostra tua figura,
6 pião,
amostra tua figura,
6 pião,
rodais que não bambeia
6 pião,
rodais que não bambeia
6 pião,
entregue o chapéu a outro,
6 pião,
entregue o chapéu a outro,
6 pião,
rodais que não bambeia
6 pião,
rodais que não bambeia
6 pião,
E de tico-tico
de carrapicho
pega dona Eliane42
joga na lata de lixo43. (C3)

xviii) Girls form a roda. The centre of the roda is known as the lata de lixo. When a girl's name is mentioned she must go into the middle, into the lixo.

de tico-tico
de carrapicho
pega dona Eliane42
joga na lata de lixo43. (C3)

This very short cantiga which is simply repeated is probably based on a rhythmic work song. A similar one, well-known in Bahia, and now often employed as a counting-out rhyme, starts tico tico, no tubá.

xix) This cantiga is similarly short, and is really simply a nonsense rhyme: this time when the girl's name is mentioned, she must turn her back on the rest of the roda and remain facing the other way until all have turned outwards and then turned back in again.

41 Cf. Gomes 1951:268.
42 Any name may be substituted.
43 Cf. Gomes 1898:86 for a similar English game: here it is a Wash Tub instead of a Rubbish Bin.
Girls form a roda as in the preceding game, turning each time one is named, and then all turning back again one by one. This time one girl stays in the middle and calls the names of the others in turn. Those in the roda sing first.

- As laranjas da China, 8 maninha
de que cor são elas?
- As laranjas da China, 8 maninha,
de que cor são elas?

- Elas são verde amarelas,
vira Teresa de cor de canela
elas são verde amarelas,
vira Teresa de cor de canela. (S11)

Two other versions were collected:

- Que laranjas são essas, menina,
que cor são elas?

- Elas são verde amarelas
tira Cristina da janela,
8 bela. (C6)46

44 Gomes (1898:329-342) records an identical English game, Wallflowers, where children have to perform the same actions when named. Gomes (1951:285) records a slightly different roda in which a tambourine is passed round from one player to another:

'Bambú, quibú,
aroeira manteigueira
Dona Fulana tome o nome
tome lá o seu pandeiro'.

Simpson also records a similar game in Haiti: 'The onions which were sold cheaply'. The game is exactly the same except the last girl to have her name called is subject to teasing (1954:73).

45 Maninha, diminutive form of mana, in turn a diminutive of iran. Dias (1944:147) records that the laranjeira da China (Citrus aurantium sinensis) came to Portugal via Goa from China in 1635, and was soon declared superior to other species, Citrus bigaradia and Citrus aurantium. Cf. Boiteux 1944:77; Thomas 1923:131; Resende 1949:43; Alvarenga 1946:147.

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- O bela, õ bela, 
tem laranja?
- Tem, õ menina.
- Que cor é ela?
- Ela é vermelha e branca.
- Vira fulana pela janela. (C1)

xxi) Girls form a *roda* with one in the middle.
She beckons to another girl, who pretends to refuse to accept her 'invitation'.
After much furious gesticulation, they finally exchange places. A short chase and simulated beating may take place.

- Vem cá Bidu,
  vem cá Bidu,
  vem cá, vem cá, vem cá.
- Não vou lá, não vou lá
  tenho medo de apanhar. (S11)

xxii) Girls form a *roda* with one in the middle.
She sings alone while the others mime the action of rowing and join in on the refrain of *a remar*.

- Eu sou filha de um pobre barqueiro
  fui criada nas ondas do mar
  todo dia mamãe me dizia
  vem filhinha ajudar a remar
- a remar, a remar.
- Fui crescendo, crescendo, crescendo
  as estrelhas do céu a brilhar
  todo dia mamãe me dizia
  vem filhinha ajudar a remar
- a remar, a remar. (I19)

This *cantiga* appears to be a fragment of a longer narrative, but I19 knew no more.

xxiii) Girls form a *roda* with one in the middle who is *vovô*. The last to shout *vovô* at the end becomes the *vovô* and goes to the middle.

Samba crioula
que veio da Bahia,
pega esta criança
e joga na bacia.

47 Cf. Romero 1954:12, 537, no. 112. Cascudo notes, in this edition of Romero, that 'esse Bitu era um tipo popular no Rio de Janeiro, bobedcr de cachaga e cantador de modinha, conhecido por todos'. Bitu according to him, belongs to the early nineteenth century. *Apanhar*, 'to get a hiding'.

---

*S* *roda* means *call circle*. One person stands in the middle while the others form a circle around her. The caller beckons another girl to join; she pretends to refuse to accept the *invitacion*. After much gesticulation, they finally exchange places. A short chase and a simulated beating may take place.

*Cantiga* *a remar* *a remar* *a remar* *a remar* *a remar* *

*Cantiga* *a remar* *a remar* *

---

This *cantiga* appears to be a fragment of a longer narrative, but I19 knew no more.

---

*Cantiga* *a remar* *a remar* *a remar* *a remar* *

---

This *cantiga* appears to be a fragment of a longer narrative, but I19 knew no more.

---

This *cantiga* appears to be a fragment of a longer narrative, but I19 knew no more.
A bacia é de ouro
lavada com sabão,
depois dela lavada
lava o seu roupão.

Seu roupão é de seda
toquinho de filhê,
depois de todo pronto
vamos dar a bença a vovó.

A bença vovó! (c4)48

(xxiv) Girls form a roda with three in the middle who dance with each other while the roda revolves. At tra la la those in the middle pick out three other girls from the roda, link arms with them and twist round, kicking up their heels behind them.

- A carrocinha pegou três cachorros de uma vez.
- Tra la la la la que doce é
- tra la la la la que doce deu. (I3)

9.3 Improvised rodas

The first of these rodas is a combination of substitution and improvisation, in that a partner is specifically 'chosen' by the girl in the middle and they each sing a verse in turn. Those which follow may involve one girl standing in the centre as she sings her verse and then returning to her place in the roda, but one girl generally follows on automatically after another, rather than being picked out to sing.

1) Girls form a roda with one in the middle. Those in the roda call to her and she then replies and chooses a partner, who sits down beside her in the middle of the roda. They then get up and hop round the roda together, with the first girl finishing up in the place of the second. The second girl returns to the centre, tira um verso and then calls another girl to take her place and the whole process is repeated.

48 A bença is a shortened form of Pego a sua benção. (81)
- O doná, o doná
  a Ritinha ficará na roda
  ficará sozinha.

- Sozinha eu não fico
  nem hei de ficar,
  porque tenho Amélia
  para ser meu par.

Deita aqui no meu colinho
deita aqui no colo meu
e depois não vá dizer
que você se arrependeu.

- Eu passei por tua porta
  o cachorro me mordeu
  não foi nada, não foi nada
  quem sentiu a dor fui eu.

- O doná, o doná
  a Aninha ficará na roda
  ficará sozinha.

- Sozinha eu não fico etc. (second girl) (s8)

Noite) Girls form a roda and sing the first quatrain together. This becomes the refrain and is repeated by them in chorus after each verse.

- O que noite tão bonita
  o que céu tão estrelado
  quem me dera ver agora
  o meu lindo namorado.

- Lá de cima me mandaram
  um pratinho de pimenta
  me mandaram perguntar
  se eu era ciumenta.

- O que noite etc.

- Sete e sete são quatorze
  com mais sete, vinte-um
  quem quiser ver, assolotro
  a paixão de cada um.

- O que noite etc.

- Lá em cima daquele morro
  tem um velho fogueteiro
  quando ve mulher bonita
  toca fogo no cabelo.

- O que noite etc. (I1)

---

49 Any name may be substituted.
50 In African cults, pimenta is connected with envy and intrigue. Cf. Martins 1959:321. The wording of the opening line, nevertheless, is typically Portuguese: a great many Portuguese popular verses begin like this, or De Lisboa me mandaram.
51 Assolotro < soletrar.
iii) Girls form a *roda* as in ii) and the same procedure is observed.

- Ciranda, ciradinha
  vamos todos cirandar
  vamos dar a meia volta
  volta o meia vamos dar.

- O anel que tu me deste
  era vidro e se quebrou
  o amor que tu me tinhas
  era pouco, se acabou52.

- Ciranda etc.

- Sete e sete são quatorzo
  com mais sete, vinte-um
  tenho sete namorados
  não me caso com nenhum.

- Ciranda etc.

- Lá detrás daquela casa
  tom um pé de fruta-pão
  o namoro da menina
  é bainha de fação53.

- Ciranda etc.

This appears to have its origins in Portugal as a work song, either at harvest time54 or as a song sung by women working together at night in a *serão*, as described by Vasconcellos:


53 Baina; 'a sheath or scabbard'. In the interior of Bahia, and the *serão*, the sheath of the machete which most herders and cowboys use is commonly used to beat children in punishment. Children are taught to fear a *surra de bainha de fação*. Here the suggestion is that the parents will disapprove of the affair.

54 Cf., Chaves 1942:58-59; Bouza Brey 1946 [2]:69-97. Several commentators base their views that this was originally a harvest song on the fact that a ciranda is a kind of sieve, used in separating the wheat from the chaff. Braga (1948:57) states: 'é moda própria das eiras e contemporânea da primitiva alfaiia agrícola, a Ciranda, que serve para jocírar os cereais, e de onde veio o nome'. Two other folklorists offer alternative explanations. According to Lira (n/d:46) 'talvez pelo movimento rotativo que se imprime à ciranda ou peneira, fosse esse nome, por afinidade, dado a essa espécie de recreação... assim, andar em roda ou fazer ciranda, cirandar'; Lima on the other hand suggests (1946:81) that the etymology is from an Arabic word, *sarna*, 'encadear uma cousa com outra' which could equally well be applied to a *roda*, though the first derivations appear to me more likely. For another account of *serões* see Vasconcellos 1890-1892:166-167.
Vasconcellos goes on to give examples of songs sung, one of which is:

'0 serendá, ó serandinha
toca, toca a serendar;
vamos dar a meia volta,
se é de vira, troca o par'.

In several versions, ciranda is found spelt with an a instead of a o. In others, ciranda appears to have become a Ciranda and has become a character, rather like a Barata (see xix below). In each case, however, the refrain is virtually identical and verses are added at will by each girl as she is chosen.

iv) Girls form a roda and proceed as before.

- A rosá vermelha é do bem querer,
a rosá vermelha e branca
é de amor até morrer.

- Lá vai uma, lá vai duas
lá vai três pela primeira,
lá vai meu amorzinho
no vapor de Cachoeira.

- A rosá vermelha etc.

---

55 For other versions of Ciranda, see Thomas 1923:107; Sinsin 1938:124; Rezende 1949:47; Braunwieser 1946:141; M. Andrade 1959:1, 412; Coe's 1951:272; Gallop 1937:72; Piazza 1960:40; Ramos 1954:127; Callét 1934:161.

56 Costa 1907:510.

57 Normal stress falls on the initial o of rosá.

58 This confusion of singular verb and plural subject is common in popular speech.
- Sacudi o limão verde na parede do mercado, não me caso com menino do fundil arremendado.

- A rosá vermelha etc.

- Eu subi no pé de mamão para tirar mamão devez, o menino por debaixo futucava de uma vez.

- A rosá vermelha etc. (S9)

v) Girls form a roda and proceed as before.

- Abra a roda Marié abra a roda Mariá, o amor das outras chega só o meu não quer chegar.

- Cravo branco na janela é sinal de casamento, menina guarda seu cravo pra casar não falta tempo.

- Abra a roda, Marié etc.

- Mandei fazer um vestido com vinte cinco babados, cada vez que eu visto ele arranjo um namorado.

- Abra a roda, Marié etc.

- Joguei o lenço para cima o lenço virou azul agora estou namorado um rapaz de Paraguaçu.

- Abra a roda, Marié etc. (C10)

vi) Girls form a roda and proceed as before.

- Meu limão meu limoeira meu pe de jacarandá uma vez tindolei e outra vez tindolalá.

---

60 Cf. Cascudo 1968:173. Fundil is a corruption of fundilho, a trouser seat. Arremendado is a corruption of remendado, patched, mended.
61 Futucar = cutucar; 'to nudge, jab, poke'.
62 Marié < Maria. Normal stress falls on i.
63 Paraguaçu, a town in the Recôncavo.
- Da Bahia me mandaram
  um lençinho de cajá
  me mandaram perguntar
  se eu queria me casar.

- Meu limão etc.

- Meu benzinho não jogue pedra
  que estou lavando louça
  jogue um beijinho de longe
  que papai e mamãe não ouça.

- Meu limão etc.

- O enfeite de uma mesa
  é um garfo e um colher
  o enfeite de uma cama
  é um homem e uma mulher.

- Meu limão etc. (C4)

vii) Girls form a roda and proceed as before.

- Eu sou mineira de Minas
  mineira de Minas Gerais
  eu sou carioca da gema
  carioca da gema do ovo.

- Um pouquinho de Coca Cola
  um pouquinho de Guaraná
  um macaco na escola
  aprendendo B - A - Da.

- Eu sou mineira etc.

- Bate, bate sapatinha
  na porta do sapateiro
  também batem meus olhinhos
  quando vê rapaz solteiro.

- Eu sou mineira etc.

- Dentro do meu peito tenho
  duas tesouras de ouro
  uma pra cortar ciúme
  outra pra cortar namoro.

- Eu sou mineira etc. (C8)

---

64 *Coca* for *ocam* (singular verb + plural subject) to conserve rhyme.
65 *Guaraná* a soft drink flavoured with the pounded seeds
  of the *Guarana paullinia* (*P. guaná*), a climbing shrub.
66 Cf., Lira n/d:147.
67 *Vê* for *vem* (singular verb + plural subject) again
  popular usage.
viii) Girls form a roda and proceed as before.

- Tomara eu já me casá,68
  oi, isiá,
  para ter minha casinha
  pra papai, mamãe dizer,
  oi, isiá,
  eu já casei minha filhinha.

- Mou anel de piscar-piscar
  caiu na água e foi ao fundo
  infeliz daquela maca
  que cai na boca do mundo.69

- Tomara etc.

- Menina dos olhos pretos
  sobranceira de veludo
  tu és pobre, pobreza
  mas teus olhos valem tudo.

- Tomara etc.

- Se eu soubesse que tu vinhas
  eu mandava te esperar
  com guarda chuva de ouro
  coberto de rosas e daliá.70

- Tomara etc. (C2)

Isiá, like sinhá in other verses, here betrays a similar negro slave influence, isiá being the equivalent of ‘missy’ on American plantations.71

ix) Girls form a roda and proceed as before.

- O forreiro bate
  bate no ferro
  e vai bater
  em ti também.
  Faz bem, faz muito bem.72

- Quem tiver ódio de mim
  que não puder se vingar
  amarra corda no pescoço
  me chama que eu vou puxar.

- O forreiro bate etc.

68 Casá here replaces the subjunctive caso or casasse.
69 Estar/oir na boca do mundo, ‘to be gossiped about’.
70 Normal stress falls on initial a.
- Na passagem do riacho
  perdi meu anel de ouro
  quem achar ele me dá
  que é princípio do namoro.

- O ferreiro bate etc.

- Fiz a cama na janela
  esqueci do cobertor
  o vento deu na rosaíra
  cobriu a cama de flor73.

- O ferreiro bate etc. (C12)

Girls form a roda and proceed as before. The refrain in the third line of whatever verse is sung in between.

- Peneira, gavião, peneira
  no olho do mandacaru
  se eu fosse rapaz solteiro
  ia casar mais tu.

- Menino das calças curtas
  carreirinhas de botões
  se tu quer casar comigo, gavião74
doxa de chateação.

- Peneira etc.

- Você diz que vai que vai
  mas não me diz quando vem
  você diz que chora, chora, gavião
  triste coisa é querer bem.

- Peneira etc.

- Você me chamava de preta
  sou preta mas dengosa
  pimenta do reino é preta, gavião
  mas faz a comida gostosa.

- Peneira etc. (C2)75

Girls form a roda and proceed as in ix).

- Quem quiser ver velho bonito
  saia fora e venha ver
  venha ver o parafuso76
  até o dia amanhecer.

---

73 Cf. Gomes and Baptista 1924:15. According to them, this verse constitutes a canção de roda in its own right. For a Portuguese version, see Cortesão 1942:157.

74 Confusion of 2nd and 3rd person of verb.

75 C2 thought that this too was originally a samba de roda, but her children listed it among the cançõas de roda they liked best.

- Meu benzinho brigu comigo
me chamou rabo de peixe
ou eu respondi a ele
quando não quiser, me deixe.

- Quem quiser etc.

- Eu não bebo café doce
café doce me aborrece
não namoro com menino
que menino é moleque.

- Quem quiser etc.

- Não agrave os meninos
que ele nunca lhe agravou
eu conheço molequinho
que você já namorou77.

- Quem quiser etc. (I17)

xii) Girls form a roda and as in 9.2 xvii) a hat is
passed round, and worn by each girl in turn.
The one on whose head the hat is placed must
tirar o verso.

- Inderê, inderê, inderê
olha o homem do boné.

- Minha mãe me deu uma surra
por causa de um perruço
quanto mais se ela visse
o namoro no portão.

- Inderê etc.

- Meu benzinho tá na janela
tomando café com queijo
toma o lenço e limpa a boca
que eu quero lhe dar um beijo.

- Inderê etc.

- Joguei o limão pra cima
pra cair na sacristia
caiu no nariz do padre
isto mesmo que eu queria.

- Inderê etc. (C3)78

77 Cf. Monte 1957:42.
78 Cf. Romero 1954:12, 493 no.85. Here the refrain
is slightly different, and reminiscent of certain
lullabies: 'Inderê, buruzunção, olha o moleque do
surrão'. (Romero’s italics).
xiii) Girls form a roda and proceed as in xi).

- Carambola é uma moça namora com dois ou três um namora, outro namora namorar não é defeito; adeus e Carambola a moça feia não namora.

- Eu plantei um pé de cravo na portá do cemitério quem tiver seu namorado faça rosca que eu não quero.

- Carambola etc.

- Eu plantei um pé de cravo nasceu um lindo botão pergunta que nome eu tenho gravado no meu coração.

- Carambola etc.

--- Não namoro com chofer que só fede a gasolina só namoro com caixeiro que só choira a brilhantina.

- Carambola etc. (15)

xiv) Girls form a roda and proceed as before, except in this case only the last line of the opening verse is taken up as a refrain.

- Cadê a letra A cadê o meu amor cadê a letra A foi-se embora e me deixou, Eu vou amar a letra A.

- Você diz que bala mata bala não mata ninguém, a bala que mais me mata são os olhos de alguém.

- Eu vou amar etc.

79 Normal stress falls on initial u.
80 A reference to the popular expression faça rosca, fica pra você used in anger after another person has refused to hand over a possession or object wanted by the first.
81 Cf. Costa 1907:460–461. In some versions the name Carola is used. Carambola, in addition to being the name of a fruit (Averrhoa carambola), is also the red ball in billiards, and may mean a cheat or swindle, no doubt appropriate to the sense of this particular song, Cf. also Gomes and Baptista 1924:35.
82 Any appropriate letter may be substituted.
- Vou m'embora lá pro alto
  que é do alto que vejo bem,
  vejo a casa do meu sogro
  e a tenda do meu bem.
- Eu vou amar etc.
- A letra A é letra correta
  que Jesus abençoou,
  é a letra do meu nome
  porém é do meu amor.
- Eu vou amar etc. (C2)

xv) Girls form a roda and proceed as before, except
in this case a line is intercalated between
each line of the verse chosen, in addition to
the refrain.

- Satú, Satú é de ouro
  Satú, Satú negro velho
  seus carinhos são que me matam.
- Minha mãe ai vem um homem,
  ô vem Satú,
  minha filha deixa vir,
  ô vem Satú,
  eu não devo nada ao homem,
  ô vem Satú,
  nem o homem deve a mim,
  ô vem Satú.
- Satú, Satú etc.
- Quem casar com homem velho,
  ô vem Satú,
  homem velho é o Cão,
  ô vem Satú,
  quem casar com homem velho,
  ô vem Satú,
  tem pelanca para feijão,
  ô vem Satú.
- Satú, Satú etc.
- Se eu casar com homem velho,
  ô vem Satú,
  dele tenho que me rir,
  ô vem Satú,
  faço uma caça bem alta,
  ô vem Satú,
  que ele não possa subir,
  ô vem Satú.
- Satú, Satú etc. (C8)
xvi) Girls form a roda and this time the word sereia is inserted at the end of each line of the verse chosen. There is no refrain as such, but in the final line of each verse, all in the roda join in with ó sereia.

- Lu morava na areia, sereia,
  me mudei para o sertão, sereia,
  aprendi a namorar, sereia,
  com um aperto de mão, ó sereia.

- Waldemar foi à latrina, sereia,
  se esqueceu de se limpar, sereia,
  o papel saiu cantando, sereia,
  limpá a bunda, Waldemar, ó sereia.

- Lá vem a lua saindo, sereia,
  por detrás da bananeira, sereia,
  não é lua, não é nada, sereia, ó sereia. 85
  é a bandeira brasileira, ó sereia.

- Lagartixo foi à missa, sereia,
  pra fazer um batizado, sereia,
  cantadinho no banquinho, sereia,
  com o rabinho pendurado, ó sereia. (I2) 86

xvii) Girls form a roda, and as in xvi), a line is intercalated between each line of the verse chosen as a chorus.

- Lu i-dê-á, ou i-dê-á,
  ó na Feira de Santana
  onde foi o carnaval.

- Vouha cá' meu bem amado
  gosta de mim quer quer
- Vouha cá' meu bem querido
  gosta de mim quer quer.

- Lu i-dê-á etc.

- Não te chamo pelo nome
- gosta de mim quer quer
- para não ser conhecido
- gosta de mim quer quer.

- Lu i-dê-á etc.

84 Again, accentuation is changed to fit rhythm.
85 Cascudo notes, in his edition of Romero (1954: 2, 422 no. 25): 'Com esse verso inicial há quase um cento de quadrinhas líricas ou humorísticas'.
86 Cf. Gomes 1951:287; Ramos 1954:105. Ramos mentions that the sereia appears as a traditional character in bumba-meu-boi. The Yoruba goddess of salt water, called Yemanjá, is generally portrayed as a mermaid in statuary etc. See Caymmi 1967:56.
xviii) Girls form a roda and this time the refrain is repeated after every two lines of the verses.

- Minha rolinha ela pisa aqui
  ela pisa aqui, ela pisa aqui (pointing foot)
  minha rolinha ela pisa aqui
  ela pisa aqui, ela pisa aqui.

- Venha cá meu bem querido
  venha cá meu bem amado

- Minha rolinha etc.

- Tirei meu anel do dedo
  botei na palma da mão

- Minha rolinha etc.

- Para tirar a liberdade
do chofer do caminhão

- Minha rolinha etc.

- Minha mãe é bonitinha
  bonitinha ela é

- Minha rolinha etc.

- Parecendo um Deus menino
  nos braços de São José.

- Minha rolinha etc. (C11)

xix) Girls form a roda and this time each girl must endeavour to contribute a verse on the same subject. A great many verses exist about a barata. There is no refrain, merely a series of verses.

87 *pênog*: literally a spinning-top. Here it is synonymous with malandro, a loafer, good-for-nothing.
88 *Amontei*: a popular form of *monteiru*. 
255

- A barata diz que tem sete saias do balão,
  ó mentira, ela não tem nem dez reis para sabão.

- A barata diz que tem sete filhas para casar,
  ó mentira, nunca foi com marido pro altar.

- A barata diz que tem duas casas de colchão,
  ó mentira, pois ela dorme lá no chão. (S7)

xx) Girls form a roda and as in xix) attempt to introduce verses on the same subject. Again, there is no refrain.

- A rosa ficou doente
  o cravo foi visitar,
  a rosa teve um desmaio
  e o cravo se-pôs a chorar.

- O cravo briga com a rosa
  debaixo do uma sacada,
  o cravo saiu ferido
  e a rosa despedaçada.

- O cravo tem vinte folhas
  a rosa tem vinte e uma,
  anda o cravo em demanda
  porque a rosa tem mais uma.

- Viva o cravo, viva a rosa,
  viva o palácio do rei,
  viva o primeiro amor
  que nesta terra tomou.

xxi) Girls form a roda and this time attempt to perpetuate a string of 'insults', each one leading on from the other as far as possible. Most girls know a number of suitable verses in a set order, and unless there are skilful improvisers in the roda, these rounds do not usually last very long.

- Você diz que sabe sabe
  como burro sabe ler,
  na minha cibeira trago
  capim pra você comer.

89 Barata "a cockroach, also (fig.) an old woman.
93 Cibeira, popular corruption of alcibeira.
- Você diz que sabe saber como burro sabe ler,
a manivela 'tá na coxa
quando quiser vá roer.

- O capim que você traz
leve p'a trás quando for
pra seu pai e sua mãe
que o burro é eu não sou.

9.4 Simple rodas

1) Girls form a roda and sit in a circle with hands outstretched. One child goes round lightly pinching the others' hands in time to the syllabic count of the rhyme. The child whose hand is touched last must then stretch up and pinch her neighbour's ear; the neighbour then pinches her neighbour's ear and so on. When all the children have their hands on each other's ears they sing the cantiga again, all swaying from side to side.

Lagarta pintada
quem te pintou?
Foi uma velhinha
que por aqui passou.
Em tepo de areia
fuzia poeira,
pôa esta lagarta
pela ponta da orelha.

This cantiga de roda is extremely well-known and also very popular with small children.

ii) Girls form a roda, which may remain static or revolve. The onomatopoeic last line is often accompanied by mime, to suggest bells swinging.

Da pinheira nasce a pinha
da pinha nasce o pinhão,
da mulher nasce a firmeza
e do homem ingratião.
Na Lapinha tem
um sino oláê
que faz demem dembão
que faz demem dembão.

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94 Confusion of plural subject and singular verb.
95 For a similar Portuguese game, see Valle 1965:174.
Martins (1959:114) records a very similar cantiga in Minas Gerais substituting canta for lagarta. Cf. also Fones 1951:288.
96 A Igreja de Lapinha: there is a famous church by this name in Salvador, and others in towns all over the state of Bahia.
iii) Girls form a roda which may remain static or may revolve, At Miau, all squat or fall down, as in the English King-a-King-a-Roses with its final A-tishoo97.

Atirei o pau no gato, to
mas o gato, to
não morreu, rou, rou,
Dona Chica, ca
admirou-se, se,
do berrô,
do berrô
que o gato deu!
Miau! (I6)98

This cantiga is very popular with small children, and small boys join in too.

iv) Girls form a roda and stand or sit, for this cumulative type of cantiga where sounds are added to an ever-growing list which is repeated over and over again, as in the English rhyme Old MacDonald had a Farm.

Minha velha tinha uma galinha
minha velha tinha uma galinha
a galinha cocoroco
os pintinhos pio, os pintinhos pio
minha velha tinha uma galinha.

Minha velha tinha um gato
minha velha tinha um gato
o gato miau
a galinha cocoroco
os pintinhos pio, os pintinhos pio
minha velha tinha um gato.

Minha velha tinha um guiné
minha velha tinha um guiné
o guiné 'tou fraco
o gato miau
a galinha cocoroco
os pintinhos pio, os pintinhos pio
minha velha tinha um guiné.

Minha velha tinha um peru
minha velha tinha um peru
o peru gurú gurú
o guiné 'tou fraco
o gato miau
a galinha cocoroco
os pintinhos pio, os pintinhos pio
minha velha tinha um peru. (I22)

98 Cf. Comes and Baptista 1924:17; Melo 1959:348 (a version used as a counting-out rhyme in Rio Grande do Norte); Sinzig 1938:152.
This may be continued for any length of time, depending on the number of animals suggested by participants in the roda.

vi) Girls form a roda and this usually remains static.

Lu vi um pâssaro preto
araruna,
que veio lá do sertão
araruna,
xô, xô, xô (shooing bird away with hand)
araruna,
não deixa ninguém to pegar
araruna. (C6)

This is no doubt a harvest or seed-time song in origin.

The Upies give many instances of such songs designed to shoo away birds in English folklore, and their comments no doubt hold true for Europe and elsewhere:

'In past centuries village boys and young members of the farmer's family used to be employed at seed time as bird-scarers..., and references to the occupation are common in literature....The bird-scarers seem to have sung special songs right to the end of the nineteenth century'. (1973[2]:83-84)

vii) Girls form a roda which may revolve or remain static.

Pombinha branca
que está fazendo?
Lavando a roupa
do casamento,
Que cor é a roupa
é branca ou rosa?
Pombinha branca
é preguiçosa, (C4)

vii) Girls form a roda and remain static until they come to dansando a valsa when they mime in grotesque imitation according to the words they are singing.

Lu vi uma barata
na careca do vovô,
assim que ela me viu
bateu asas e avocou,
Seu Joaquim, quirim-quirim
da perna torta-ta-ta
dansando a valsa-a-a
cola Maricota-ta-ta,
viii) Girls form a roda and mime to the words.

Pela ponte d'Aliança
todo mundo passa.

As lavadeiras fazem assim
assim, assim, assim, assim.

Pela ponte d'Aliança
todo mundo passa.

As cozinheiras fazem assim
assim, assim, assim, assim.

Pela ponte d'Aliança
todo mundo passa.

As arrumadeiras fazem assim
assim, assim, assim, assim.

Pela ponte d'Aliança
todo mundo passa.

As bordadoiras fazem assim,
assim, assim, assim, assim.  (S1)

This is clearly similar to the English Mulberry Bush 100, but even closer to the French Sur le Pont d'Avignon, Ponte d'Aliança being a corruption of the French Pont d'Avignon. Other corruptions are apparent in other parts of Brazil: Ponte da Líshança 100; Ponte do Leão, and Ponte da Vinhaca 101, for example. In its mime sequence it also resembles the French Savez-vous planter les choux, à la mode, à la mode 102.

The list of professions and occupations may be extended as will, in the same way as the animals in iv), but domestic servants recur most frequently and seem to be the most popular subjects for imitation.

ix) This is a similar roda, completely static, but with much mime. Directions for mime are given in parentheses.

99 For a whole series of similar barata rhymes, see Romero 1954:2, 432-433, no. 33.
100 Gomes 1951:271.
101 Draga 1948:61.
Quando eu era menina, 
eu era assim. (skipping)

Quando eu era mocinha, 
eu era assim. (powdering face)

Quando eu era casada, 
eu era assim. (rocking baby)

Quando eu era viúva, 
eu era assim. (one finger on chin, head on one side, pensive)

Quando eu era caduca, 
eu era assim. (old lady leaning on stick)

Quando eu era doidinha, 
eu era assim. (shouting at all others, throwing things) (C3)

Girls took particular delight in acting out the last line, and this mime was prolonged for some time. This is extremely similar to an English game, which starts When I was a Young Girl or When I was a Lady. The version given by Gomme is considerably longer than this, but the progression is the same.¹⁰³

x) Girls form a roda which remains static; mime accompanies actions where it is appropriate.

A linda rosa juvenil, 
a linda rosa juvenil, 
a linda rosa juvenil, 
vivia alegre no seu lar;¹⁳
no seu lar vivia alegre.

Um dia veio um feiticeiro muito mau, muito mau, 
adormeceu a roa assim, bem assim, (feigning sleep)

Um dia veio um belo rei, belo rei, 
e despertou a roa bem assim, bem assim,¹⁰⁴
(with a kiss) (59)

This is not a traditional cantiga de roda but clearly a sung adaptation of the European Sleeping Beauty story. It is nevertheless popular, especially with younger children.

¹⁰³ For the two English versions mentioned here, see Gomme 1898:363-374; Dalken 1949:47-49. For other versions see Sinzig 1938:119; Braunwieser 1946:349; Alvarenga 1946:137; Guarnieri 1946:272. For a Portuguese version see Gallop 1937:146.
xi) Girls form a roda which remains static. The girls mime the actions of the bird about which they are singing.

Minha pomba rola avoa 105
Eu também quero avoar,
o biquinho pelo chão
as asinhas para o ar.
Eu passei uma morena
não deixei de namorar,
minha gente, venha ver
as crianças vadiar. (S13)

xii) Girls form a roda which revolves. At the appropriate points in the canção they stop to mime or to clap, shake their heads etc. as the words dictate.

Vamos dançar a roda
olêlê,
vamos dançar a roda
olá lâ;
moça bonita dança
olêlê,
dança e balança as transas
olá lâ;
gente que é criança
olêlê,
sabe como dançar
olá lâ;
vento que sopra aqui
olêlê,
e o vento que sopra lá
olá lâ;
bate palminha aqui
olêlê,
bate palminha lá
olá lâ;
roda rodá rodá 106
não deixa a roda parar. (S3)

xiii) Girls form a roda which may revolve or may remain static.

Apanha a laranja do chão
tico tico,
apanha com pé e com mão e com bico,
apanha a laranja no chão
tico tico;
meu amor foi embora e eu não fico
apanha a laranja no chão
tico tico;
meu amor foi embora e eu não fico. 107. (C1)

105 Avoar < avoar; to fly. Pomba rola = rolinha 'the blue-eyed dove' (Cxyphela cyanopsis), found only in Brazil.
106 Normal stress falls on initial o.
107 Tico tico 'a sparrow' especially the Brazilian sparrow (Zonotrichia capensis matutina), as opposed to the European pardal.
This *cantiga* may be traced to a popular *auto*, the *Auto dos Congos*. Comparison with this makes some of the references clearer. In part of the *Auto*, there is a *cantiga do pavão* in which, according to Barroso, 'os dansadores bailam, abrindo os braços e fingindo voar' (1949:169, 192).

The *Secretário*, who is the second son of the *Rei do Congo*, sings 'pouha a laranja no chão, tico, tico' and the Chorus adds 'vêa pavão, deixa voar'. The *Secretário* then replies: 'Quando meu bem fôr embora, eu não fico, eu não fico'.

xiv) Girls form a *roda* and mark time like soldiers.

Marcha soldado  
cabeça de papel,  
se não marchar direito  
vai preso no quartel,  
O quartel pegou fogo  
o Francisco deu sinal  
acuda, acuda,  
a bandeira nacional.108 (I3)

xv) Girls form a *roda*, which may revolve or remain static.

Fui no Tororô  
beber água e não achei,  
encontrei bela morena  
que no Tororô deixei.  
Aproveite minha gente  
que a noite não é nada,  
se não dormir agora  
dormirei de madrugada.109 (I3)

xvi) Girls form a *roda* which may revolve or remain static.

O vapor do Cachoeira110  
não navega mais no mar,

110 For mention of this steamer see Chapter 2.5. Spix and Martius (1938:167) mention that the first steam boats were under construction in Bahia when they were there in 1819, but were not quite ready. The service has more recently been discontinued. Rozende records the same *cantiga* in 1906 however, (1906:50) so não navega mais must refer to a breakdown. Cf. also Cayumi 1967:113; Martins 1959:320-321.
This *roda* has been much popularised, and several recordings have been made. It nevertheless appears to have originated as a *cantiga de roda*.

xvii) Girls form a *roda*, which may revolve or remain static.

**Eu plantei caninha verde**
**su plantei caninha verde**
na pontá do seu nariz\(^{112}\),
mal plantado ou bem plantado
**eu plantei aonde eu quis.**
Ai cana verde, ai cana verde
cana do canavial\(^{113}\). \((C6)\)

xviii) Girls form a *roda*, which may revolve or remain static.

Se esta rua, se esta rua fosse minha
eu mandava, eu mandava ladrilhar,
com pedrinhas, com pedrinhas de brilhantes
para meu, para meu bem passear.

Nesta rua, nesta rua tem um bosque
que se chama, que se chama, solitário,
dentro dele, dentro dele mora um príncipe
que roubou, que roubou meu coração.

Se eu roubei, se eu roubei meu coração
tu roubaste, tu roubaste o meu também,
se eu te dei, se eu te dei o meu amor
é porque, é porque te quero bem\(^{114}\). \((I22)\)

M. Andrade has traced this *roda* to Portuguese origins (1959:1, 233) which starts:

'Se Lisboa fosse minha,
eu mandava ladríá...'.

It is now very well-known all over Brazil\(^{115}\).

\(^{111}\) The *búzio* or conch is commonly blown to indicate the arrival of fish on the beach, or of the departure of a *saveiro* or similar small boat. What is clearly suggested here is that since the steamer is out of service, those wanting to sail should go by *saveiro* or canoe.

\(^{112}\) Normal stress falls on initial *o*.


\(^{114}\) Cf. Amaral 1971:39; Piazza 1960:41; Lira n/d:142; Ramos 1954:91; Braga 1948:161 (with a curious change: 'nesta rua tem um bode, que se chama escuridão').

\(^{115}\) Bandeira alludes to this popular *cantiga* in *Flauta de Papel* 1957:118.
9.5 Additional verses

These verse may be included in any cantigas de roda in which players are required to tirar versos. The first two are used specifically to encourage further contributions of verses, when the roda is becoming velha (i.e. many verses have been sung and girls cannot contribute more) or when contributions appear to have been one-sided.

1) Esta roda já está velha
'ta boa de se arremendar,
com um pedaço de pano novo
uma agulha e um dedal. (C15)

2) Minha gente me ajuda
não me deixem eu cantar só,
ja me dei o céu da boca
e um dentinho do queixo. (S19)

3) Coqueiro seco
romba mas não cai,
a moça que se casa
não namora mais. (C15)

4) Coqueiro novo
não balança mais,
a moça que se casa
não namora mais. (S11)

5) Sacudi papel pra cima
no meio virou açucena,
meu coração só padece
por gente da cor morena. (C4)

6) Sacudi papel pra cima
nos arcos se despedaçou,
despedaçado se veja
quem o meu amor tomou. (I13)

7) Joguei meu lenço pra cima
pra pegar peixinho dourado,
ão peguei peixinho dourado
mas peguei meu namorado. (I11)

8) Sacudi meu lenço branco
na parede do mercado,
não me caso com a moça
que viva do alugado. (S16)

116 opiee (1973 [2]:114), note a similar device.
117 Normal stress falls on initial gi.
ix) Minha mãe não quer que use
mas agora vou usar,
um lacinho de fita verde
no jeitinho de namorar. (S17)

x) Lá detrás da minha casa
tem um caminho que vai pro céu,
quem quiser sentar comigo vai na loja e compra um véu. (C1)

xi) Lá detrás da minha casa
tem duas cadeiras de vidro,
uma senta meu cunhado
em outra senta meu marido. (C1)

xii) Lá detrás da minha casa
tem um pé de papaconha,
tira folha e lava o rosto
desnudado sem vergonha. (C10)

xiii) Lá vem a lua saindo
por detrás de uma barroca,
ainda vem falar comigo
cara de perua choça. (I7)

xiv) Lá vem a lua saindo
por detrás de um pano fino,
a moça que tem vergonha
não namora com menino. (S4)

xv) Lá vem a lua saindo
por detrás de um caldeirão,
não é lua, não é nada
é um velho sem calção. (I11)

xvi) Lá vem a lua saindo
por detrás da cacarola,
não é lua, não é nada
é uma velha sem calçola. (C8)

xvii) Lá vem a lua saindo
redonda como um botão,
não é lua, não é nada
é os olhos de João. (C9)

xviii) Lá em cima daquela serra
passa boi, passa boiada,
também passam as morenhas
dos cabelos cachemados. (C7)

119 The green ribbon is a traditional love token in Spain
and Portugal; similarly the giving of a handkerchief.
See Lope de Vega, El Caballero de Olmedo, 1, 571.

120 Ser tar presumably has the sense of casar here. Assentar
may mean to settle down, to fit in with.

121 Papaconha = ipecacuanha.

122 Popular confusion of singular and plural.
xix) Lá vão pela mar afora, 
duas sementinhas pretas, 
quando dois se querem bem 
nunca falta quem se meta. (I4)

xx) Eu de lá e tu de cá 
o rio passa no meio, 
tu de cá dá um suspiro 
e eu de lá suspiro e meio. (I10)

xxi) Quem aquela que vem lá 
salta aqui, salta por lá, 
ão Maria não é outra 
barriga de samburá. (C3)

xxii) Minha sogra me xingou 
caco de torrar miséria, 
ou tenho nada com minha sogra 
só tenho com o filho dela.123. (C15)

xxiii) Bate bate sapatinha 
na portá do deputado124, 
também batem meus olhinhos 
quando vê rapaz casado. (C1)

xxiv) Jurití quando avoa 
bate com papo na areia, 
moça branca toma banho 
e as negrinhas se lameiam. (I19)

xxv) Você me chama de preta 
eu sou a preta faceira, 
você peça bem a Deus 
que esta pretinha te queira. (C8)

xxvi) Acendi fogo sem ter lenha 
cozinho sem ter panela125, 
acabou tudo quanto eu tinha 
um rouxinho cor de canela. (I2)

xxvii) Se João fosse farinha126 
n minha boca não ia, 
se João fosse aliança 
do meu dedo não saí. (I9)

xxviii) As estrelas do céu correm 
eu também quero correr, 
elas correm atrás da lua 
e eu atrás do bem querer. (I1)

123 For a discussion of a sogra in the Portuguese 
Cancioneiro, see Paço 1965.
124 Stress falls naturally on initial o.
125 This type of nonsense rhyme is very popular in 
126 Any name may be substituted.
xxix) Letra B é meu anel
letra N é meu anelão,
letra D são as correntes
que prendeu meu coração. (I3)

xxx) Sentadinha no capim
molhadinha de suor,
escrevendo uma cartinha
pra mandar à letra G. (I2)

xxxi) De que serve um pingo d'água
dentro de um barreiro fundo,
de que serve te amar
você amando a todo mundo? (S10)

xxxii) Da Bahia me mandaram
um presente do canudo,
uma velha descascada
e um velho com casca e tudo. (S5)

xxxiii) Quero bem ao meu amor
por duas coisas que ele tem,
tem a boca pequenina
não fala mal de ninguém. (S13)

xxxiv) Eu fui na Espanha
buscar o meu chapéu,
azul e branco
da cor daquele céu. (I12)

xxxv) Meu amor não era este
nem a este eu quero bem,
'tou amando a esta beata
enquanto meu amor vem. (S13)

xxxvi) Quem me dora ver agora
quem eu vi ontem a esta hora,
tocou água no meu copo
deu adeus e foi embora. (S8)

xxxvii) Datatinha quando nasce
esparrama pelo chão,
Mamãezinha quando dorme
bota a mão no coração. (I5)

xxxviii) Cajusira pequeno
carrapetinho de flor,
eu também sou pequeninha
carrapetinha de amor. (C2)

127 Girls usually use their parents' initials in the first
two lines, and their boyfriend's in the third. As
frequently occurs, singular subjects and plural verb
are confused.

128 Any letter may be substituted. C12 gave a version
which substituted the more delicate sereno and moreno
for suor and letra G.

A rhyme often used to finish any cantiga is as follows:

xxxix) Palma, palma, palma,
pé, pé, pé,
roda, roda, roda,
caranguejo peixe é.

Caranguejo não é peixe
Caranguejo peixe é
Caranguejo só é peixe
na vazante do mar131. (s2)

9.6 Concluding remarks

The cantigas de roda transcribed above fall into almost exactly the same categories as those recorded by Gomme in Britain nearly one hundred years ago (1898:472). Their characteristics bear some resemblance to those of the English nursery rhyme, as described by the Opies (1973[2]:2) but they are less extravagant than such English rhymes as The Cow Jumped over the Moon; the rose and the carnation are personified, a monkey learns by rote on a school bench and a lizard goes to hear Mass, but their subjects are generally more rooted in the everyday world and less in the realms of fantasy. Violence is virtually absent132. Like English rhymes, however, they oscillate between nonsense verses in which hardly two words together make sense (9.2 xviii), xix)) and others in which lively incidents are keenly drawn (9.2 xii), 9.3 xx) and many others, including most versos). These features are no doubt to be found in such rhymes outside Europe, but the kiss-in-the-ring marriage and courtship games found in the Recôncavo today (approximately the first thirteen cantigas of 9.2) are peculiarly European and appear

132 Cf. such English rhymes as Oranges and Lemons with its chorus of 'Here comes a hopper to chop off your head'; the image of the farmer's wife cutting off the mice's tails with her carving knife etc.
to have remained popular while they have declined in many parts of Europe and the United States. The decorous abraços and handshakes conform to Peninsular Catholic tradition, set against the words and actions of the far more overtly sexual round games, songs and dances recorded by Béart in West Africa (1955:629-634). The embigada and provocative remexa remain from the African rodas, and other African elements have been incorporated in a rather diluted form: a fondness for clapping and stamping for example and the occasional inclusion of samba steps when girls are required to dance with each other. In the Recôncavo in particular, popular sambas de roda have been taken over by children, who cease to regard them as such and now consider them as cantigas de roda alongside their more Portuguese counterparts; most of these may be distinguished by frequent repetition in chorus of a word or phrase, or by the inclusion of words like sinhá or iaiá, or references in verses to the charms of a preta, all characteristic of samba de roda.

An improvised roda with a refrain well-known in Portugal may therefore become 'nationalised' by the inclusion of verses of an exclusively Brazilian character.

Apart from borrowing from the samba de roda of adults children have also adopted rhymes from popular autôs, both Portuguese (e.g. A Nau Catarineta) and Brazilian (e.g. Bumba-meu-boi) and the rhymes remain in the playground long after the autôs have ceased to be performed. Whether these rhymes

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133 For a study of development and change in kissing games see Sutton Smith 1959[2],189-211.
134 This is not to say that clapping does not commonly accompany rodas in Portugal, but in this case African rhythms are more often adopted.
135 It must of course be recognised at the same time, that samba de roda is in itself a mestizo product.
existed in their own right before being incorporated into the autos or whether the reverse process took place is not always clear; certainly the same pattern of borrowing and adapting took place in Europe with rhymes entering the nursery, and vice versa, from mummers' plays. This explains much of the fragmentary nature of some of the verses and accounts for many obscure references, further complicated by children's own failure to understand references, or simply by their ignoring them where the words themselves or the tune provide sufficient interest, which leads to a superimposition or mingling of other verses and refrains from other sources.

It is clear in many cases, especially with kiss-in-the-ring rodas and those where a choice of partner is involved, that these were originally rodas performed by adults or adolescents of both sexes; children often pay no heed to the gender indicated in the verses (as is the case in English, even though gender is less obvious in the English language) and girls' sweethearts may prove to be male or female. This type of roda tends only to be played by

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137 Cf. Gomme (898:493). This type of amusement was popular in Britain until the last century. Gomme describes rodas which "consist of one person going round the assembled circle with a handkerchief and choosing another of the opposite sex, after saying a nominy or form of set words... A chase follows, with the capture of the girl, and the giving and receiving of a kiss in the circle. This was a method of choosing sweethearts which prevailed until quite a late period at country festivals and fairs, but at an earlier period was a serious function. It is still customary on Easter and Whit Monday for this game to be played on village greens."
very small children in Britain now, but teenage girls may still participate in the Recôncavo and most informants were between seven and thirteen.

In form, the intercalated verses follow the metre and generally, the rhyme scheme of popular Spanish and Portuguese poetry (abab, abab) and many make use of set introductions, sometimes whole couplets, which usually terminate in a word which is easily rhymed in a second couplet. This is obviously an aid in improvisation, where children do make up verses, and like all such formulaic phrases, an aid in memorising other verses. Elsewhere, singers draw on the desafio tradition, which is of great antiquity in Europe and Classical Greece. It is also known in Africa, where it was introduced by the Arabs. These desafios stem from the jeux-partis or tensione of mediaeval France and the tenções of Portugal, best described by Braga:

[outras cantigas fazem os trocadores, que chamã
tenções, porque son fytas por maneiras de razón que hau aja contra outro en quaes diga que por bem têver na prima cobra et o outro responda-lhe na outra dizendo o contrayro. Estas podem fazer d'amor ou d'amiço ou d'escarnho, ou de mal dizer, pero que devem de ser de meo. E destas podem fazer quantas cobras (copias) quiseren, fazendo cada húua a sua parte.'

Cascudo, in his definition of the desafio (1962:275) states that they are 'parte de improviso e parte decorada', in the same way as many of the verses given above. This mixing often produces curious results; the first and second couplet of a quatrains may bear no relation to one another.

139 Teófilo Braga in Era Nova, Lisbon 1881:414-420, quoted by Cascudo 1962:275. I have been unable to trace a copy of Era Nova in this country; this passage is transcribed verbatim from Cascudo including parentheses and italics.
or may contrast amorous longing with unexpected coarseness.
In improvised cantigas, where there is not a fixed sequence
of verses, there may be a similar jumbling of themes, but
they usually alternate between the amorous and the ridiculous
or vulgar (e.g. §. 3 iv), xiii), xvi).

The ambiente of the majority of these verses is
essentially domestic, as Freyre has noted (1962:270–272) and
as the Opies have pointed out in the case of English nursery
rhymes (1973[2]:25). Imagery too, is fairly circumscribed;
the citrus fruit of Peninsular imagery found throughout the
Cancioneros/Cancioneiros of Spain and Portugal appears often,
the act of throwing fruit or flowers being symbolic of
amorous declaration. In these verses, the limão does not
appear to connote bitterness or rejection as it often does in
Spanish lyrical poetry, and children quoting these verses are
quite unaware of the import of the images they are using.

The carnation and the rose, also long associated with love
in poetry and what is popularly termed 'the language of
flowers', also recur frequently, especially the white
carnation to which a string of superstitious amorous practices
are attached. References to birds, most often the dove,
which again has amorous connotations, are almost more
frequent than allusions to flowers and fruit; birds are
sometimes employed metaphorically and sometimes addressed
directly or alluded to through reference to their best-known
characteristics.

Verses reproaching recalcitrant lovers, again common in
Spanish and Portuguese lyrical poetry recur quite often, some

140 There is a popular saying in Brazil: 'Quem dá o limão,
are explicitly abusive, others verge on coarse humour (see 9.3 xi, xv, xvi, 9.5 xv, xvi, xxxi, xxxii).

In general then, we may conclude that in content and very largely in form these cantigas de roda owe more to the Peninsular tradition than any other. Apart from the chroniclers' accounts of Tupinambá Indians dancing in rodas, we know very little more about them, and still less about the content of any songs that may have accompanied these dances. The scant studies that have been made (Siqueira 1951; Valle 1936; Almeida 1942) of Amerindian influences on contemporary cantigas rely heavily on flimsy assertions of nasalised sounds proving Tupi influence. The tunes to which these cantigas are sung are also clearly European for the most part; others derive from samba de roda which in itself is a mingling of Portuguese and African folk dance and song. Like the samba, and like American jazz, which is neither purely African nor purely European, the cantigas of the Recôncavo (and most of Brazil for that matter) are a product of the intermarriage of two cultures, with one or two exceptions like Teresinha de Jesus and Margarida em seu Castelo. Andrade points to Ciranda, Cirandinha as a typical example of this process of transformation or acculturation: 'sem ser propriamente original, já é necessariamente nacional.'

Cascudo assures us that 'não há dúvida de que pouco na roda infantil é especificamente nacional' (1962:663) but that 'a força de se cantar e ouvir, abrasileiram-se muitos desses cantos e são tão nossos como se nascidos no Brasil' (1962:662).

142 Quoted by Cascudo 1962:662.
10.1 Introductory remarks

A number of acting games have already been recorded (see above Chapter 7.3), some of which consist of singing accompanied by actions (e.g. Fu Sou Rica, Rica, Rica) and others in which a dialogue is spoken and acted out (e.g. As Melancias). A further category may be formed consisting of short pieces in which the sung dialogue is of prime importance and the actions have become mere stylisations and serve little purpose other than to amplify the meaning of the words. Again, they are loosely termed 'games' since they are lacking in formal organisation, but I have applied the same criterion here as in Chapter 7 and elsewhere in presenting them as brincadeiras. They are short plays or sketches, perhaps most akin, in our own tradition, to mummers' plays. They constitute, however, to varying degrees, a considerable part of children's recreational activities; especially among girls, who, as we have seen before, tend to show a preference for more complex games and pastimes, and have an ability to retain many verses in their heads. Many of these sketches are rehearsed and directed by teachers for school performances and saints' days celebrations etc., but they are nevertheless well-known outside school and often incorporated into unorganised play, and for this reason I have included them here. In all the texts cited

1 See above - Chapters 3 and 9, particularly.
below, the words were known by heart by the informants, who either acted/sang out the sketches with friends or were able to recite all the parts themselves. CII and one or two teachers and girls kept notebooks with the words written down, but I have not quoted from these.

They stem from popular Portuguese traditions: the sung ballad the xácaras and the representação popular, and are generally exemplary sketches in the mumming tradition. Many of the ballads and narrative poems declaimed in public to mediaeval audiences came in time to be gathered into Romanceiros (Sp. Romanceros) and these in turn were taken to South America and underwent very little radical change. From this tradition come Dom Jorge e Juliana, Helena e o Cego and fragments of others (e.g. Meça da Varanda). A larger number originate from popular plays (variously referred to as representações populares, comédias, dramas and bailadas). Again some of these are Portuguese in origin (A Florista, Na Passagem de um Hilo) while others are purely Brazilian in setting and idiom (A linda Tapuia, Chego do Rocado). Others are fragments of, or borrowings from, bailes pastoris.

These pastoris are essentially associated with Christmas, though this meaning has come to be lost and/or ignored in the extracts which follow, which are more often connected with S. João festivities than Christmas. The

2 Cf. Gomme 1898:530. For a definition of the xácaras see Garrett 1963:1, 170 "na xácaras prevalece a forma dramática, diz o poeta pouco, às vezes nada- falam os seus personagens muito'. See also Gallop 1936:215-229; Ribeiro and Rodrigues 1951; Barros 1948.


4 Vasconcellos (1890-1892:235-236) however, notes a popular Portuguese xácaras: Linda pastorinha, which is very similar in form and theme, suggesting simply a transposing of the original Portuguese xácaras to a Brazilian setting.

5 See Morais Filho, Ott, Prado and Querino 1957.
Bailes pastoriles go back to the earliest Christian traditions of setting up a crib and re-enacting the adoration of the child Jesus. Originally performed in churches, they became, in Mediterranean countries, an outdoor spectacle conforming to the popular tendency in Southern Europe to combine the religious and the profane. It is in this mundane form that the auto (the forerunner of the baile pastoril) was found in sixteenth century Spain and Portugal and no doubt Gil Vicente drew on contemporary popular versions for some of his autos. Thus it was that they were taken to Brazil and employed originally by the Jesuits as a catechising device.

Eventually a ban was laid on the performance of such profanities even in front of churches and their nature became increasingly secular. From autos, they became known as bailes and as their religious significance decreased, so the more light-hearted, sometimes lascivious vein predominated. From the adoration of the Child Jesus, the focal point of interest shifted to amorous affairs between

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6 Auto Pastoril Castelhana, Auto da Sibila Cassandra, Auto dos Quatro Tempos etc.
7 Ott 1957[1]:182.
shepherds and shepherdesses.

Ternos and roisados derive from the same cycle, but are usually shorter than bailes pastoris and come at the end of the Christmas festivities. They have already been mentioned briefly above (Chapter 7.3) and will be dealt with in their own right in Chapter 14.

10.2 Love and courtship

These little dramas are best grouped according to theme, and I shall first discuss those connected with love and courtship. A variety of different attitudes and aspects are expressed, from the carefree, casual encounter of lovers in Na Passagem de um Rio para Lisboa to the deception and subsequent revenge of Juliana in Dom Jorge e Juliana. In between these two extremes are dramatisations of parental opposition to courtship and to the activities of young people in general (Quero ir ao Baile, Menina da Varanda), then there is parental advice in the light of hard-won experience (Mãezinha Vou ao Baile), the rejection of suitors (Dona Grinalda, A Linda Tapula), light-hearted slanging matches (A Florista) and the comic antics of middle-aged and elderly lovers (Mestre Pintor, O Vendedor de Camarão). An ironical tone predominates in many of them, as opposed to the rather grim moral pointed by Dom Jorge e Juliana. When performed

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8 Ctt 1957 [1]:186. Ott goes on to comment: 'E a mesma mentalidade que se reflecte em muitos azulejos portugueses, do século XVIII, existentes em conventos e igrejas baianas, onde é comum vemos anjos trocarem de asas com os cupidos.' See also M. Andrade 1959:1,344-383. He too comments (353): 'A profanidade é sensível, num sensualismo enegdurado e balofo, cheirando a festa do colégio.' This is exactly what it has reverted to in many cases.
as Comédias Joaninas etc. children often dress up to play the parts, always emphasising eccentricities, deformities and caboclo speech. Negatives are generally accompanied by the shaking of a finger or the head, invitations by a beckoning finger.

I shall deal first with those dialogues of a more light-hearted nature, proceeding to those which recount disappointment, culminating in the tragic Dom Jorge e Juliana.

a) Na Passagem de um Rio para Lisboa

The first line of this drama indicates clearly its Portuguese origin. It is often sung at São João. There are two characters, a boy and a girl. As it is sung, each couplet is repeated.

**Na passagem de um rio para Lisboa**

Encontrei uma moreninha catita e boa,
E minha moreninha do meu bem querer,
Me diga o seu nome que eu quero saber.

**Eu não tenho nome nem sou catita**

Sou uma moreninha da mais bonita,
Se gostou de mim, peça ao papai
Se ele der o sim, casai, casai.

**Eu não peço não, que ele me nega,**

Se eu fugir contigo ele nos pega.

Os dois entre beijos e abraços e aperto de mão. (I3)

At this point the couple embrace.

b) A Florista

This is similar in type, but includes a series of mutual insults which are a cause of great hilarity. The

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10 Caboclo: (of speech), 'rustic, heavily accented'.
11 I was unable to trace the original word which the modern slang curtição had replaced.
two versions collected differ only in the nature of the
isults. Once again each couplet is repeated:

Flor: Eu como florista
flor es estou vendendo,
Moco: Venha cá, morena,
que por ti estou morrendo.
Flor: Se tu queres flores
passa-me um testão,
Moco: Eu não quero flores,
eu quero seu coração.
Flor: Olha esse menino
como ele me acha,
olha a cara dele
que parece 'ma bolacha.
Moco: E seu coração
que parece um bolacha.
Os: Vamos fazer as pazes
Dois: vamos dar a mão, (shaking hands)
foi por brincadeira
mas não foi de coração. (I4)

c) O vendedor de Camarão

The elderly jealous lover with a young wife, and the
middle-aged woman (often a widow) in search of a paramour
have always been the subject of popular mirth and ribaldry.
The next two sung dialogues portray both. The vendedor de
Camarão is an old street vendor, common in the streets of
Bahia, the mocca witty and flirtatious:

Moco: O negro velho, quanto é o camarão?
Velho: Cada tigela costa um testão.
O negro mais barato, se você casar comigo.
Moco: Se negro velho casar comigo, negro velho dorme
no chão.

12 A common confusion between tu and vocá (2nd and 3rd
person forms). Tu is rare in Brazil except in the
South, and in prayers, poems etc. This is again
indicative of Portuuguese origins.
13 Testão: a Brazilian coin, formerly 100 reis, now 10
centavos.
14 C1's variant of these insults:
Flor: Cara de panela, focinho de leitão.
Moco: Olha o seu nariz, que parece um lampião.
15 A further confusion of 2nd and 3rd person forms:
teu and seu.
16 NI J445.1, 445.2.
17 Shortened form of negro: generally a term of endearment
in the Nordeste, and often applied to whites as well as
blacks.
Velho: O minha nega vamos nos casar assim mesmo.
Moca: Eu moça a passear, nego velho a espiar,
     eu moça a dormir na casa, nego velho dorme
     eu moça a namorar, e nego velho a ciumar. (S4)

Although the negro and nega are typically bahiano terms of endearment, the theme is probably Portuguese again.

Vasconcellos (1882:224-225) refers to a Portuguese Maravilhas do Velho and gives part of the text, which is very similar to the Bahia version above:

Se eu casar contigo, velho
Made ser com tal contracto
Eu dormir na cama molle
E tu no solho co'o gato.

d) Mestre Pintor

Here there are three characters, the painter with his permanent grimace, the maid and the quarentona dona da casa, superficially devoted to the memory of her deceased husband, but with other intentions in mind. The clumsy maid, (a empregada) with her fala caipira (rustic speech) is another stock comic character. Each phrase is repeated twice.

Mestre P: Tum, tum, tum (as if rapping at door)
Dona: Quem bate nesta porta?18
Mestre P: Sou Mestre Pintor, Mestre Pintor da boca torta.
Dona: Mestre Pintor pode entrar e se sentar,
     mandei te chamar para minha casinha sair.
Mestre P: O minha Sinhá19 diga a Senhora como quer
     se quer de tinta fina forradinha de papel.
Dona: A sala eu quero de dois cupidos
     para me lembrar do meu finado meu marido.
Mestre P: O minha Sinhá diga a escada como quer,
     se quer de tinta fina forradinha com papel.
Dona: A escada eu quero de dois garranchos,
     para não subir homem velho de tamancos.
Mestre P: Minha Sinhá diga a cozinha como quer,
     se quer de tinta fina forradinha de papel.
Dona: A cozinha eu quero de bananeira,
     para alegrar aquela pobre cozinheira.

18 Typical romance opening. For a more fragmented variant see Pinto 1911:51-52.
19 Sinhá: corruption of Senhora, common in negro and bahiano speech.
Mestre P: Minha Sinhá diga o quarto como quer,
se quer de tinta fina forradinha de papel.

Dona: O quarto quero bem bonitinho,
para achar um lindo viuvinho.

(to maid): O nega vá buscar café com pão torrado,
para dar Mestre Pintor que veio pintar nosso sobrado.

Empreg.: Minha Sinhá já mandei buscar café,
a xícara quebrou, eu trouxe na culé.

Dona: O nega descarada semvergonha
você quebrou a xícara vai para maconha.

(Mestre Pintor and the Dona da casa now go out saying:)
Os dois: Agora vamos para a varanda,
desenhar dois pássaros voando. (I23)

e) Dona Grinalda

The rejection of a suitor by a demure damsel is another fairly common theme in popular literature and song. Dona Grinalda and the drama which follows are two examples of this. Dona Grinalda conforming to Portuguese tradition, and A Linda Taruia being more Brazilian in character.

Voca: Valha-me Nossa Senhora
meu Santo Antonio protetor,
tirai este homem aqui
este homem é um iludidor;
se vós tirais depressa
uma promessa eu vós dou. (I4)

1) A Linda Tapuia

Tapuia is a term used to designate any caboclo or
Indian woman of pure non-Tupi stock or of mestica descent, and
the following dialogue forms part of a nineteenth century
modinha as recorded elsewhere by Figueiredo Filho (1966:36).
Andrade also records a romance of this name from Ceará
(Figueiredo Filho’s version also being cearense) on the same
theme but with fairly different words (1946:64-65), and it is
probable that it originates from this northern part of Brazil.
Popular like so many others at São João, it takes the form of
a series of persuasive enticements by the suitor, and their
repeated rejection by the beautiful Indian girl. All the
lines spoken by the Tapuia are repeated twice.

25 An ex-voto in thanks for favours received. The practice
of making or giving promessas (vows) which are later
pagadas (fulfilled) is common in Brazil. See Cascudo
1902:623-625. St. Antony is one of the most popular
saints in Portugal and Brazil, and is particularly
associated with young girls.

26 As clarified by Edelweiss 1947:3, ‘Taputo é termo do
Norte, sinônimo de índio manco, caboclo, mas não de
tapuia. Este é um coletivo que enfeixava tôdas as
tribos não tupis. A diferença é grande e não admite
corrupções.’

brasileira nasceu da influência do sudanês e do banto
na vida nacional: – é o samba no seu subtítulo perfeito
e acabado, – adoração, súplica etc.; substituída a
divindade pela mulher...’

The African influence is no doubt there, but the
original modo of which modinha is the diminutive, is
the oldest type of Portuguese song. The modinha
developed in Portugal in the eighteenth century, and
a distinction was soon made between modinhas portuguesas
and modinhas brasileiras. For a fuller account see
Cascudo 1902:484-486; Andrade 1930.
Homem: O linda tapuia que andas fazendo nas matas tão frias por este sertão? As matas tão frias, tão frias e feias não queira tão moça morrer de sezão.

Tapuia: Não quero carinho, na mata eu nasci, se de mim não gostas, não venhas aqui.

Homem: O linda tapuia se queres uma saia, rendada de ouro e um lindo rubi, tapuia o seu corpo é lindo e bem feito só fica mal feito vestindo algodão.

Tapuia: Não quero carinho, sou moça roceira, só trabalho aqui, com minhas roupas grossiras.

Homem: O linda tapuia vamos pr'um porto, tomar um conforto; três latas de doce e dois copos de vinho.

Tapuia: Não quero carinho, sou uma pobre tapuia, não bebo no copo, só bebo na culá.

Homem: O linda tapuia se queres um sapato de couro, fíveia de ouro e um lindo rubi.

Tapuia: Não quero carinho, o seu ouro é falso, meus pés não se cansam, e ando descalço.

Homem: O linda tapuia vamos pra cidade, podendo tão moça morar na cidade.

Tapuia: Não quero carinho, sou moça do mato, Deus manda que a vida contente se passe. (C10)

Breaks in the rhythm and rhyme, and occasional missing lines show that this is only a fragment of a rather longer dialogue, with a number of additional improvisations by the singer.

g) Vou ao baile/A mãe e a filha

There now come the dialogues in which parental opposition thwarts lovers' designs and prohibits their meetings; again a standard theme, but developed in slightly different ways. Each couplet is repeated twice.

28 III substituted Cacador for Homem.
Filha: Mãezinha vou ao baile,
que o mocinho me chamou.

Mãe: Minha filha deixa disto,
que seu pai já reclamou.

Filha: Papai não pode zangar,
que ele também teve amor.

Mãe: Minha filha deixa disto,
sua idade não permite amor.

Filha: A senhora mamãezinha,
com dez anos se casou.

Mãe: Me casei com dez anos,
eu já estou arrependida.

Filha: Eu caso não me arrependo,
coisa boa ó ter marido. (sulkily, swaggering)

Mãe: Afocinha em meus pés,
e o castigo que lhe deu.

Filha: Perdoe me mamãezinha,
nunca mais farei assim (C1)

h) Papai Quero Id ao Baile

Similar to the preceding drama, this is also sung
with the repetition of each couplet twice.

Moca: Papai quero ir ao baile,
preciso de um vestido;
aquele que o senhor me deu
já está velho e está rompido.

Pai: Minha filha eu não dou
porque estou desempregado,
as caixeiras lá da loja
não me vendem mais fiado.

Moca: (resolutely and with defiance)
Se o senhor não me der
vou pedir ao primo Juca,
ainda ontem lá na sala
ele me deu uma beijoca.

Pai: (Kneeling and crossing himself)
Credo cruz ava Maria
que pecado tão mal feito,
vou cortar os seus cabelos
e vou botá-la no convento.

Moca: No convento que eu quero
que estou longe do papai,
se não casar com o primo Juca
casarei com outro rapaz. (65)

i) Moca da Varanda

In this drama two namorados defy the paternal refusal
of the girl's hand and slope. Couplets are repeated as before.
This is certainly of Portuguese origin, although the above song is probably only a fragment of some longer narrative, since the *Moça da Varanda* is a stock character in many parts of Portugal.²⁹

J) Dom Jorge e Juliana

One of the best-known drama games in various regions of Brazil and one of the oldest, is *Dom Jorge e Juliana*. There are three characters: the mother, Juliana, the deceived and vengeful noiva and Dom Jorge, the unfaithful suitor, who suffers at Juliana's hand for his infidelity. Each couplet is repeated.

²⁹ Cascudo 1939:17: "Nas tradições populares, em prosa ou verso, encontramos em todos os países um ciclo dedicado à mulher inteligente, astuciosa e arguta, vencendo pela agilidade mental...[amongst whom is the] Moça da varanda dos contos portugueses da ilha de S. Miguel, de Famalicão, de Minho e Algarve."


³¹ Known in Spain and Portugal as the *Romance de Moriana* or *Veneno de Moriana*. See Monández Pidal 1953:1, 133, 2, 80, 210; Vasconcellos 1960:104-112.
Não: Que tu tens, Juliana, que está triste a chorar?

Jul.: Foi por causa de Dom Jorge que com outra vai casar.

Mãe: Lá vem, lá vem Seu Dom Jorge, montado no seu cavalo.

Jor.: Dom dia, ô Juliana como tu tens passado?

Jul.: Espera ai Seu Dom Jorge que vou lá no sobrado, apanhar um cálice com vinho que pr'ó Senhor foi guardado.

(Julianna gives him the cup of wine)

Jor.: O que tu trouxes Juliana? neste cálice com vinho? Estou com as vistas escuras e não enxergo o caminho.

(Julianna takes off her cloak and throws it over Dom Jorge)

Mãe: Morreu, morreu Seu Dom Jorge, morreu o tudo acabou; não se gozou com minha filha e nem com outra gozou.

Jul.: Dom Jorge eu só te peço quando for para o céu, leve a capela e traga o meu véu. (I1)

The theme allies it to a whole cycle of similar romances and stories and it would appear, by comparison with fuller versions, that Dom Jorge has become the suitor of Julianna's sister.

Carolina Vasconcellos sets it among 'todos os romances em que uma cunhada ciumenta mata o noivo da irmã, seu próprio mais desleal amante' which in turn 'formam um conjunto, que não é somente comum à Península ou ao Meio Dia de Europa, mas também a quase todo continente europeu - nacionalidades arianas e turanianas'. Names differ slightly in the numerous variants, but the majority open with the same dialogue between Julianna and her mother, and queries

32 Seu: popular northeastern form of Senhor.
33 NII:K2232.
34 Quoted by Lima 1959 [1]:8.
as to the cause of her sadness. In several versions the suitor is Rei Dom Jorge. Menéndez Pidal (1973:11, 82) attributes it to the Judeo-Spanish <i>Romancero</i> and traces it back to at least the first half of the sixteenth century in Spain. A fragment of the Spanish text given by Menéndez Pidal and a twentieth century Portuguese version collected by Vasconcellos in fieldwork may now be set against each other and the Brazilian version to show the extremely close similarities which persist:

**Portuguese version**

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' - Tu que tens, Juliana? — Passas a vida a chorar.
 - Eu nada, ó minha mãe, — o D. Jorge vai casar.

Já 'li vom o D. Jorge — no seu cavalo assentado.
 - Deus te guarde, Juliana, — no tua tear a trabalhar.

- Tenho ouvido dizer — que o D. Jorge vai casar...

Espere, D. Jorge, espere, — que eu vou ao sobrado
Buscar um copo do vinho — que p'rá Senhor tenho guardado.

- Valha-me Deus, Juliana, — que fizeste ao teu vinho?

Inda agora o bebi, — já não onxerço o caminho,
Venha papel, venha tinta, — venha quem sabe escrever,
Que eu quero deixar escrito — com que se pagar o bem querer.

Venha papel, venha tinta, — também um escrivão,
Que eu quero deixar escrito — o pago que as mulheres dão.
Coitadinha da minha amada, — pensará que 'inda sou vivo.

- Também minha mãe pensou — que tu casavas comigo.

Suspire, D. Jorge, suspire, — acabe de suspirar,
Que eu tenho muito dinheiro — p'ra sua morte pagar.'


**Spanish version** *(fragment)*

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'Moriana, Moriana,
¿qué me diste en este vino,
que por las riendas le tengo
y no veo al mi recino?

Moriana, en el cercado,
¿qué me diste en este trago,
que por las riendas le tengo
y no veo al mi cavallo? '

(Collected in Spain — area not specified. Menéndez Pidal: 1973:11, 82)

The highlight of this little act for the children is of course D. Jorge's death, which is usually portrayed in
dramatic cinema fashion and with much writhing and groaning. Little attention was paid to the words and there were no comments on Juliana's behaviour.

10.3 Married life

We now come to a series of dramatic dialogues based on married life. These fall into three types: those in which a tiff takes place and is made up or not at the end; those portraying deception and infidelity on the part of one of the partners, and those dealing with homicide, and violence. Certain caricatures are clear: the bossy wife, the henpecked husband, the helpless petty official etc.

The first three examples to be dealt with here undoubtedly belong to the representação popular category: the audience is often addressed directly, the characters, usually elderly couples, belong to the baile pastoril tradition. The very opening of the first, *Boa Noite Meus Senhores* is characteristic of the baile pastoril.

a) *Boa Noite Meus Senhores*

There are two characters, an old man and an old woman, who pretend to be arguing, gesticulating wildly. Couplets are repeated, as before.

Velho: *Boa noite meus senhores,*

eu acabo de chegar,

escondido da velha

que está perto pra chegar.

Velha: Vá pra casa Seu Manduco,

deixa de ser tão vadio,

se não foras agora

arrumo as trouxas

e vou pro Rio.

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25 Filho, Ott, Prado and Querino 1957.
26 Manuel > Manu > Manuca > Manduco.
Volho: Não vou, não vou, não vou, quero ver você mandar.
Volha: Se não fores agora fujo com outro rapaz 37.
Volho: Não vá não, minha velhinha, que seu velhinho já vai, guarde bem este segredo e não conte pra seus pais.
Volha: Este velho é um trouxa 38 cara de carneiro macho.
Volho: Meus senhores, minha senhora queiram todos desculpar, que a briga de velho e velha ninguém pode atrapalhar. (14)

b) Maricota dos Rabichos

This and the next drama derive their humour from the yokel characters who speak or sing with exaggerated caipira accents and are clumsy and clownish. Maricota also starts with an argument and ends with a reconciliation.

There are two characters, Maricota and Vicente.

Vicente: Maricota dos Rabichos 39 nunca vi cabelo assim, isso é trança ou é palha muito seco de capim?
Maricota: Seu Vicente falador eu não sei se é de fato, mas bonito é meu cabelo ou se é seu pé de pato 40.
Vicente: O menina deixa disso pois eu não sou falador, o meu pé é muito grande porque sou um caçador.
Maricota: Seu Vicente caçador onde está sua valentia, de quem fugiu de uma onça lá no mato no outro dia?
Vicente: Para meu pé não elhes, não, vem depressa ser meu pai, ele é grande, mas garante que serve pra dançar.
Os dois: Minha gente até a logo vamos contente brincar, sempre fomos bons amigos não precisa duvidar. (S6)

37 Humour again derived from the theme of elderly and middle-aged lovers.
38 Trouxa, ‘dopo doit’, macho, ‘sheep without horns’. Macho also has the figurative sense of misanthropic.
39 Maria > Marinha > Marica > Mariquinha > Maricota.
40 Pé de pato ‘extremely flat-footed’. 
c) Madalena

Maricota is often sung at São João festivities, as is Madalena, which again has two yokels for its principal characters. The couplets are repeated twice.

**Homem:** Minha vida é uma vida aperriada, que eu vivo lastimado todo dia, me casei com a tal da Madalena, que pelo vestido me aperreia todo o dia.

**Madal:** Seu Preclaro me dá logo meu vestido que eu quero com ele passar, se viu que era liso e sem dinheiro para que quis comigo se casar?

**Homem:** Quando eu me zango Dona Cobra eu mostro o pau, ainda bem eu não falei, você chegou, você morre cainana desgraçada você morre se mordendo e eu não dou.

**Madal:** Seu Preclaro se o senhor não me der eu arranco essa barba de guaiaba, eu arrumo os cacarecos e vou-me embora porque já tenho namorado em Paraíba.

**Homem:** Paciência, paciência Madalena, quando eu prometo um dou doz; tenha pena do seu velho minha nega que se acha ajoelhado em seus pés.

**Madal:** Te levanta te levanta dos meus pés, eu não te quero nem pra ser meu criado.

**Homem:** Tenha pena do seu velho minha nega, que se acha por aqui envergonhado.

**Madal:** Este velho é um velho enxorido, e metido a um velho guarniceiro.

**Homem:** Paciência Madalena, paciência, eu sou velho mas porém tenho dinheiro.

**Dois:** Agora mesmo vamos dançar um maxixe que é pra poder a nossa mágua se acabar, meus senhores que estão nesta plataia dão licença pra nós dois se retirar. (C6)

d) Marido Vá na Feira

This comédia, like so many others, is popular at São João. There are two characters, husband and wife.

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41 Popular saying: 'quando eu mato a cobra, eu mostro o pau' meaning that when a person says something he proves the truth of it. Similar to English: 'to have the courage of one's convictions'.

42 Cainana: an extremely poisonous snake. Often used figuratively in the sense of a venomous person.

43 Popular confusion of singular and plural.
Mulher: Marido vá na feira,
      vá comprar feijão.
Marido: Mulher eu já lhe disse,
       que não tenho um tostão.
Mulher: Eu não quero saber
       você tem que comprar,
       se não tinha dinheiro
       pra que quis casar?
       Marido vá na loja
       vá comprar uma meia.
Marido: Mulher, você de meia
       fica muito feia.
Mulher: Eu não quero saber
       tem que comprar,
       se não tinha dinheiro
       pra que quis casar?
       Marido vá na loja
       vá comprar uma saia,
Marido: Mulher, você de saia
       os outros lhe dá vaia.
Mulher: Eu não quero saber
       você tem que comprar,
       se não tinha dinheiro
       pra que quis casar?
       Marido vá na feira
       vá comprar batata,
Marido: Mulher eu já lhe disse,
       que te dou uma tapa.
Mulher: Eu não quero saber
       você tem que comprar,
       se não tinha dinheiro
       pra que quis casar?
       Marido vá na feira,
       vá comprar um coco.
Marido: Mulher eu já te disse,
       que te dou um soco.
Mulher: Eu não quero saber
       você tem que comprar,
       se não tinha dinheiro
       porque quis casar? (I4)

With skilful improvisation, the list can continue, or the
husband may actually carry out his threat and make as if to
beat his wife, at which stage the comédia degenerates into
a chase.

4) Maria Chiquinha

This is a tale of infidelity and trickery: Maria
tries to persuade her husband that his eyes are deceiving
him at every turn, a theme popular in the folk ballads of many countries. S1 thought that this version was probably of known authorship and had been produced commercially on record, but since the same theme is treated so similarly in Peninsular romances I have thought it worthwhile to include it, particularly as the children who performed it considered it part of a single cycle of folk dramas. Again, the characters are caboclo and speak with thick accents.

**Genaro:** Que você foi fazer no mato Maria Chiquinha? Que você foi fazer no ma-a-to?

**Maria:** Eu fui no mato buscar lenha, Genaro meu bem; eu fui no mato buscar lenha.

**Genaro:** Quem foi que 'tava lá com você, Maria Chiquinha? Quem foi que 'tava lá com você-ô-ô?

**Maria:** Foi a filha de Sra Dona, Genaro meu bem; foi a filha de Sra Dona, Gena-a-aro.

**Genaro:** Eu nunca vi mulher do culote, Maria Chiquinha, eu nunca vi mulher de culo-o-ote.

**Maria:** Era a saia dela amarrada nas pernas, Genaro meu bem, era a saia dela amarrada nas pe-o-ornas.

**Genaro:** Eu nunca vi mulher de bico-o-odo.

**Maria:** É que ela 'tava comendo jamelão, Genaro meu bem, é que ela 'tava comendo jamelão-ão-ão.

**Genaro:** No mes de setembro não dá jamelão, Maria Chiquinha, no mes de setembro não dá jamelão-ão-ão.

**Maria:** Foi umas que deu fora do tempo Genaro meu bem, foi umas que deu fora do tempo Gena-a-aro.

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**44 MI K1518.1.**
Genaro: Vá buscar um que eu quero ver Maria Chiquinha, vá buscar um que eu quero ver-o-o-o-o.

Maria: Os passarinhos comaram tudo Genaro meu bem, os passarinhos comaram tu-u-udo.

Genaro: Eu vou cortar sua cabeça Maria Chiquinha, eu vou cortar sua cabe-o-oça.

Maria: Que você vai fazer com os restos Genaro meu bem? Que você vai fazer com os re-o-o-estos? (I3)

Genaro then tries to chase Maria to cut off her head, but Maria has several 'allies' who until now have been in hiding and who come out at this point and create a general confusion and thus prevent Genaro from carrying out his revenge, and to all intents and purposes the game becomes a form of tag for those playing. The long dialogue build-up and eventual chase puts it in much the same category as games like Lobo (see above Chapter 4.2). Querino gives an account of a similar little dialogue in a popular dance (1938:287):

'A "Maria Caxuxa" era dança igual à antecedente (Lundu da Marru) nos movimentos e diversidade da música, e então cantavam:

'Maria Caxuxa com quem dormes tú?
Durmo com um gato, que faz miu,
Maria Caxuxa, quem é teu amor?
Um soldadinho, que toca tambor'.

Obviously the form of this drama bears little relation to the romances, but the theme and development, the series of questions and false answers, are all to be found in the traditional D. Filomena (Vasconcellos 1958:447-459) in which D. Filomena (names vary) is seduced by a knight while her husband is away, and at an inopportune and unexpected moment her husband returns.
Estando nestas razões - o seu marido chegou
- De quem é aquele cavalo - que na loja relinchou?
- É tou, é marido, - que meu pai te 1o mandou.
- Pois mandar, mandaria, - mas nunca o costumou.
- De quem é aquele capote - que tem d'ouro o cabeção?
- É tou, é meu marido, - que to dera teu irmão.
- De quem é aquele chapeu - que d'ouro tem o cordão?
- É tou, é meu marido, - que to mandou meu irmão.
- De quem é aquela espada - que tem d'ouro o bainhão?
- É tua, é meu marido, - espeta-ma no coração.
- É quem é aquele mancebo - que na casa ressonou?
- É o meu irmão Alonso - que de malta se anhou.
- É tou Alonso não é - que de o enterrar venho eu.

(Vascoconcellos 1958:449)

The theme of the punished adulteress finds its expression in Spanish in Blanca asis, senhora mia, más que no el rayo del sol which appeared in El Cancionero de Amberes in 1550. Menéndez Pidal takes it back to the thirteenth century in origin, to a fabliau:

'Que con muy parecidos incidentes y palabras se canta en Francia del Norte y del Sur, en la alta Italia y en Cataluña, contiene una serie de preguntas hechas por el marido, el padre o el hermano a la mujer sorprendida con su amante, preguntas reiteradas con propósito cómico pues las burdas respuestas de la mujer satisfacen al preguntando.'

However, Menéndez Pidal points out that the tone of the Spanish and Portuguese versions is tragic rather than comic, from which we may conclude that the 'rustic'

Brazilian version combines the two trends: it is a comedy with a potentially tragic ending, if we raise it to its highest level:

'sólo en la versión española Blanca asis, senora mia,...propagada a Portugal y Cataluña, las preguntas del marido, aunque recordando de lejos todavía su origen burlesco, toman un sesgo fulminó y condenatorio, convirtiendo la canción cómica, de sal gorda, en un romance altamente trágico' (1953:1, 331-332)

45 Italics in quoted texts are as in the original.
46 Menéndez Pidal 1953:2,176.
f) Chego do Roçado

The tragi-comic note is sounded again in this example: the exigent and violent husband returns home tired after a day's work in the fields, argues with his wife, kills her and is brought before the delegado by his mother-in-law. The delegado is surprisingly nonchalant about the whole business and merely sends the man out of town.

Marido: Chego do roçado
  o sol era tão quente,
  quando chego em casa
  encontro nova gente,
  O mulher ingrata
  bota meu jantar,

Mulher: Você chegou
  com sua danação,
  vêlte pro roçado
  não tem janta não.

(The husband then shoots her, crooking a finger and making the appropriate pistol-shot sound)

Marido: O minha sogra
  eu matei Maria,
  pela falsidade
  que ela me fazia,

Sogra: Você matou Maria
  foi de mal criado,
  agora 'ta bom de ir
  ao delegado.

Marido: O Seu delegado
  eu matei Maria,
  pela falsidade
  que ela me fazia.

Delegado: Você matou Maria
  não tem nada não,
  pegue seus filhinhos
  vá para o sortão.

Marido: Quando chegar lá
  tornarei a casar,
  se a mulher for falsa
  eu tornarei a matar. (C3)

A slightly different and less complete variant runs as follows:

Marido: Laranja doce
  abacaxi do norte,
  cãssei-me com a mineira
  mas não tive sorte,
  Vou pra roça
  fui trabalhar,
  meu coração me disse
  que não fosse lá,
Voltei para casa
com o punhal na mão,
dei duas punhaladas
ela caiu no chão.
Primeira sogra
que morava perto,
venha ver a sua filha
e consolar seu neto.

Sogra: (furious)
Coração do cão,
abandonasse ela
mas não matava não.
Deixa de choro.
coração enganador.

Marido: Eu matei ela
tornarei a casar,
se a outra me for falsa
tornarei a matar. (C9)

This variant is considerably more fragmented and the motive for the killing is only suggested in the last passage by
Sou a outra me for falsa, while in the version which appears first there is the suggestion of possible infidelity at the beginning: 'Quando chego em casa,
conкро nova gente'

providing the jealous husband with a motive for his action.

Again the characters belong to the baile pastoril/reisado tradition; the homicidal husband appears in the Reisado do
26 do Vale 47 accompanied this time by a cooperative wife who is an accomplice in crime and bribes a somewhat corrupt
local delorado. Costa presents another variant from
Pernambuco: the characters and the theme are the same, the husband, wife, mother-in-law and delegado, only the actual words are different (1907:426-428). Lima has a much abbreviated version which does not include the murder or any of the subsequent events, although the opening is almost identical, classed as a Tomada 48 and collected in the state

48 A generic name for various folk melodies (Lima 1966:288).
of São Paulo (1968:288-289). To the children, again, much of the enjoyment lies in the mime; there is a great deal of fist-shaking on the part of the mother-in-law, the husband is exaggeratedly brutal, the wife dies in the most dramatic fashion. Parts are easily found for other children as weeping 'children' who trail around behind the mother-in-law.

10.4 Borrowings from Romances and Bailes Pastoris

a) A Cigana

This and the drama which follows are clear borrowings from the baile pastoril tradition. A Cigana draws on a typical baile pastoril character, the gypsy woman, and her familiarity is increased by the fact that there are a great many gypsies in the Recôncavo area; they are often to be seen in markets and in the streets, offering to tell fortunes and selling cheap goods.

Cigana: Vou ler a buena dicha quer saber a tua sorte, se serás feliz na vida ou se está perto da morte. Com muito pouco dinheiro gastas somente um tostão, eu direi a tua sorte, bem na palminha da mão. Ai ai eu direi a tua sorte, ai ai bem, na palminha da mão (C9)

49 See Mello 1922:1627; Barroso 1949:102-103; in the Auto das Pastorinhas one character is a Cigana who has come all the way from Egypt to adore the Child. During the auto she holds out a tambourine for people to put money in to pay her expenses. "He swears she will not deceive anyone but will tell the truth if her palm is crossed with silver. The figure of the Cigana in popular Christmas festivities is discussed on p. 112.

50 This Spanish expression seems to have come into Portuguese directly in this sense without being translated. It exists in Portugal in this form of, Vasconcellos 1382:1304.
b) Bailada das Flores

Four, five or more take part. Each girl has the name of a flower, usually cravo, rosa, bonina, dália or lírio. A graceful little dance, based on a slow hop and step movement is performed by each girl as she steps out of the line and introduces herself:

Cravo: Eu sou o cravo
mais perfumoso
de todos os beija-flores.
Lu sou o cravo
cheio de elegância,
que representa
o jardim de infância.51

All: (refrain)
Bailada das flores
são horas ditosas,
perfume de flores
sorriso do rosa,
que lá nas alturas
de um mundo feliz,
por esta ventura
no céu nos bendiz.

Now a rosa steps out of line:

Rosa: Eu sou a rosa encarnada
que vai ao pé da aurora,
que vai cair sorridente
nos pés de Nossa Senhora.

The refrain is sung by all after each of these introductions and all the other flowers introduce themselves in the same way:

Dália: Eu sou a dália
simples, singela....

Bonina: Eu a bonina
que à fonte inclina,... (I23)

A slightly different version, but incorporating the same gestures, runs as follows:

All: Lu vou chamar
as minhas companheiras,
com elas é que faço
todas minhas brincadeiras.

Rhyme obviously altered and contrived to suit a school display.
Rosn: Eu que sou a rosa
que no jardim vou sair, vou sair,
vou à procura do cravo
que anda me perseguindo, perseguindo.

All: Eu vou chamar etc.

Saudade: Eu que sou a saudade
que do jardim vou sair, vou sair;
vou à procura da dália
que anda me perseguindo, perseguindo.

All: Eu vou chamar etc.

Girassol: Eu que sou o girassol
que do jardim vou sair, vou sair;
vou à procura do lírio
que anda me perseguindo, perseguindo.

(120)
The dance goes on like this according to the number of girls representing flowers. The real meaning of the baile pastoril has been forgotten here. In the original autos the flowers all come together to worship the infant Jesus and are usually accompanied by pastoras. In these abbreviated versions all the interest is centred on the flowers themselves and they are generally considered more typical of spring festivals and São João than Christmas.

c) Helena e o Cego

A dialogue game which is as well-known as Dom Jorge e Juliana and yet which does not seem to fit into any of the above categories: courtship, married life, or the baile pastoril tradition, is Helena e o Cego. This again belongs

52 The rose and the carnation are linked in a great many songs (see Chapter 9.3 xx). The cravo is invariably associated with the male element and the rosa with the female. In the Baile das Flores (Cabula, Salvador) quoted by Ott (1957 [1]1200) the symbolism is made clearer: the rose refers to the carnation as 'Meu cavaleiro sem par' and the carnation: 'Sou forte, sou rei das flores...respeito as damas, Sou em tudo cavaleiro'. The rose is 'ruinha e senhora', and represents love and anguish: 'Sou o símbolo da vida/Que tem dores e carinhos'.

53 For other bailes pastoris on this theme of a more complete nature, see Prado 1957: 99-108; Barroso 1949: 139ff., Auto da Perfia das Flores.
to European tradition and more than one researcher has traced its origin to Scotland. It is a tale of deception, abduction and (implied) rape, and once again, for those who play, a chasing game, in that the tale culminates in a pursuit. The three characters are a blind man, Helena or Ana and her mother.

*Cora*: (knocking at door) Tum, tum, tum.

*Não*: Quem bate ali?

*Cora*: Tum, tum, tum.

*Não*: Quem bate ali?

*Cora*: Eu sou o cagulho que venho a pedir.

*Não*: Vai Helena lá no armazém, buscar pão com vinho pra dar ao cagulho.

*Cora*: Não quero pão tampoco seu vinho, eu quero a Helena pra me ensinar o caminho.

*Helena*: Adeus minha casa adeus meu jardim, adeus minha mãe adeus minha família.

(Helena goes out with the blind man towards the forest. When they reach the forest, the truth is revealed.)

*Cora*: Eu não sou cego, não.

(Helena runs off shouting for her mother with the blind man in hot pursuit.) (II)

Vasconcellos records a number of Portuguese variants (1960: 91–103) and although they are quite short on the whole a comparison between any one of them and the more fragmented Recôncavo version above will serve to show the pattern of the story in its entirety:

54 This is also a familiar motif in folk-tales: seduction by posing as a beggar; MT K1315.10.

55 Lima 1959 [1]321 he believes the ballad to have been spread by sailors from Glasgow and Aberdeen, Garrett 1963:13, 1871 he believes the story to originate from two Scots ballads written by James V.

56 For other Portuguese versions, see Cliveira 1905:113-115 and a reconstructed version by Garrett 1963:13, 191-192. A long Brazilian version from Pernambuco is given by Costa 1907:340: *Um caminho*. See also Boiteux 1944: 24-25.
In a number of variants, the beggar reveals his true identity (prince or king) at the end:

"Eu já vejo terras,
Também corte minha
Anda p'ir'o palácio
E sorás rainha."

(Collected in the Algarve by Oliveira 1905:113)

This bears out Lima and Garrett's theories about James V (of Scotland)'s authorship to a certain extent, which they base on Percy's introduction to The Gaberlunyie Man - A Scottish Song (1886:2; 67-68):

"Tradition informs us that the author of this song was King James V of Scotland. This prince (whose character for wit and libertinism bears a great resemblance to that of his gay successor, Charles II) was noted for strolling about his dominions in disguise, (sc. of a tinker, beggar etc...) and for his frequent gallantries with country girls. Two adventures of this kind he hath celebrated with his own pen, viz. in this ballad of The Gaberlunyie Man; and in another intitled The Jolly Beggar."

However, the discrepancies between the tales are considerable: in The Gaberlunzie Man, the Goodwife’s daughter and the tinker plot their elopement together, the tinker having deceived the mother into letting him into the house, and there is no question of betrayal by the mother, or unwillingness on the part of the daughter. In the Jolly Beggar, the daughter allows herself to be seduced in her own house by a man she assumes to be ‘some gentleman, at least the Laird of Brodie’, but whom she is disappointed to identify as a beggar. The beggar, however, then produces a fat purse to pay ‘the nurice-fee’ and rides off to join his ‘four-and-twenty belted knights’. At no point is the beggar said to be blind, but it is quite possible that the tale became fused with another already in existence in the Iberian peninsula, and that Helena e o Cego represents a fusion of the two.

10.5 Concluding remarks

These dramas, the way in which they are learned, performed and passed on, are in most respects similar to those acting games discussed in Chapter 7, and most of the concluding remarks made there may equally well be applied to this chapter. Again there is a mingling of mediaeval and anachronistic with contemporary and colloquial and evidence of considerable ability to memorise quite long pieces of verse. The fact that these are sung dialogues and dramas no doubt contributes towards memorising and certainly makes them more popular among children. As will

58 Herd 1870:2, 26-27.
be observed, the examples given above are drawn almost exclusively from children in Itaparica, Cachoeira and the poorer parts of Salvador: the children to whom I spoke in private schools had only a very scant knowledge of the dramas and considered them folklore rather than a living part of their own play habits. This illustrates on a small scale what is true of the transmission of most popular literature: the educated classes have written material at their disposal, the poorer, illiterate and less well-educated classes are dependant on public declamations and recitals, and while the transmission of poems and mumming sketches may not always be accurate it has a vividness not always present in written works. Menéndez Pidal comments: 'La última transformación de un romance y su último éxito es el llegar a convertirse en un juego de niños.' (1953:10, 385). Nevertheless, I question the likelihood of these dramas surviving another generation: even in poorer homes there are often televisions or access to neighbours' televisions which sap watchers' natural resourcefulness in improvising entertainment, and television is introducing a very different type of popular culture which tends to make the type of folk drama discussed above look antiquated and rustic in a society where urban progress and technology have become ideals. The majority of children in the

As mentioned in Chapter 1.3 the Brazilians are particularly concerned with the study and dissemination of their national folklore, and so-called 'folkloric' dances and songs are often taught in school music and dance classes especially in more exclusive and expensive schools. So while an English child of seven to ten would probably not be familiar with the term folklore, a Brazilian child would be well-acquainted with it, and with these particular connotations.
Recôncavo now go to primary school and learn to read at least newspapers, comics and so on, and the MOBRAL scheme has done much to improve the level of adult literacy. All these factors suggest that these dramas are likely to disappear from everyday activity, either completely or to be semi-fossilised as peças folclóricas put on principally for the benefit of tourists.

MOBRAL: Movimento Brasileiro de Alfabetização, a government-sponsored scheme involving volunteers and paid workers working in rural and poorer urban areas to teach illiterates to read and write, producing simply-presented publications and attempting to follow up those who successfully graduate from their courses. Instruction is free.
CHAPTER II
PLAYING WITH LANGUAGE

11.1 Introductory remarks

This chapter deals principally with the ways in which children play with language, rhyming it, creating images and puns and stretching it to the point of nonsense, for their own amusement. It is not a dialectological survey of children's language in the Recôncavo although peculiarities of dialect or abnormal usage will be pointed out in footnotes; nor is it a linguistic study of speech patterns, but rather a compilation of colloquialisms, catch phrases, tests of linguistic dexterity, epithets, rhymes and parodies popular among children. It corresponds in content approximately to the first ten chapters of the Opies' study (1973 [1]) with the exception of their Chapter 7 (Topical Rhymes), there being a notable absence of such rhymes in the Recôncavo, and Chapter 5 (Riddles). Riddles are dealt with separately in Chapter 12 below, for while children are still playing with language when they riddle, I have felt it worthwhile to devote a whole chapter to them since they are so popular amongst children of all classes, and because of the very ingenious word play involved in many of them. This compensates in a large measure for the paucity of witty verses and word plays which, as the Opies' work testifies, are so rich and so widely disseminated among British schoolchildren.

As the Opies found in Britain, children's oral rhymes, broadly speaking, divide themselves into two categories:
'those which are essential to the regulation of their games and their relationships with each other; and there are those, seemingly almost as necessary to them, which are mere expressions of exuberance, a discordant symphony of jingles, slogans, nonsense verses, tongue-twisters, macabre rhymes, popular songs, parodies, joke rhymes and improper verses.' (1973 [1]:17)

The first category has already been examined in the foregoing chapters (especially Chapter 3), the second now follows.

Rhymes for beginning and ending stories (11.2 below) are not included by the Opies and indeed such rhymes seem virtually unknown in Britain. I have included them here since they have much in common with other popular children's rhymes; notably little or no sense, unexpected lapses into vulgarity, a marked rhythm and, generally, rhyme. These and other characteristics of children's oral language will be further discussed at the end of the chapter.

11.2 *Rhymes for beginning and ending stories*¹

These are, on the whole, short nonsense rhymes. Where informants have given slight variations only, these are shown in parentheses and in these cases, both informants' code numbers are given at the bottom.

(i) Era um dia
    um dia foi
    quem não tem cavalo
    monta no boi. (C1)

(ii) Entrou pelo pé do pato
saiu pelo pé (pelo cu) do pinto.
Rei meu senhor
que me conte cinco². (S7, I2)

(iii) Entrei por uma porta
sai pela outra
quem quiser
que conte outra? (C4)

(iv) Era uma vez
uma vaca (gata) Vitória
deu um peido (pum)
acabou a estória³. (C1, C12)

(v) Vitória, Vitória,
acabou-se a história. (I1)

(vi) Dom ba-la-la
a estória acabou. (S2)

11.3 **Tongue-twisters**

Children have two types of tongue-twisters: one based on alliteration and/or assonance, or simply the length of the words, and the other designed to trick the innocent reciter to say vulgar words or swear-words inadvertently when attempting to repeat the phrase faster. The latter type are given in section 11.7 (Self-Incrimination Traps), while alliterative and assonantal tongue-twisters are given below.

1. Uma aranha, dentro do jarro
nem o jarro arranha a aranha
nem a aranha arranha o jarro. (I8)

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² The nonsensical pé do pato and the cow who deu um peido in iv) may possibly be explained by confusion through homophony with pede, third person singular of the present tense of the verb pedir (to ask for). Several rhymes end with requests for another story to be told, and an original line containing the word pede may have been altered in repetition to pé de/pé do or peido and then other modifications introduced into the line to fit in with peido etc., thus changing the sense completely. Cf. Lindolfo Gomes, quoted by Cascudo 1971: 495.

³ Cf. Andrade 1969:191: 'Era uma vez uma vaca amarela, quem falar primeiro come a bosta dela'.

⁴ See also 11.5 j), Fits of Temper, example v).
11.4 Greetings and farewells

The rhyming 'see you later, alligator' and 'in a while, crocodile' type of repartee still common among British children has its equivalent in Brazil with a similar emphasis on rhyme and almost total lack of meaning, and it is this very combination of nonsense and easily-chanted rhyme that seems most to appeal to children.

(i) — O que há de novo?
    — Muita galinha e pouco ovo. (S1)

(ii) — Bom dia, flor do dia. (S1)

(iii) — Como vai, vai bem?
    — Muito bem, pendurado no trem. (I2)

(iv) — Tudo azul com seu peru?5 (I2)

(v) — Tudo joia com sua boia?6 (I2)

(vi) — Como vai, vai bem?
    — Veio a pé, ou de trem? (S18)

(vii) — Bom dia, cara de cotia. (S2)

(viii) — Bom dia, como vai sua tia?
    — Vai bem, viajou de trem. (C6)

(ix) — Como vai, vai bem
    vai de ônibus ou de trem? (S2)

(x) — Eu vou ali
    volto já
    vou buscar
    maracujá. (S1)

(xi) — Vou-me já...
    mas volto logo7. (I10)

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5 *Seu peru* has no sense here other than *você*.
6 *Seu boia*, like *seu peru*, simply stands for *você*.
7 *Double entendre* is intended here: *vou jantar/*vou-me já*. 
11.5 **Juvenile Correctives**

In the same way as British children, Brazilians taunt their fellows for minor failings with heavy sarcasm, and sometimes threaten unpleasant consequences for such offenders as nail-biters. Common taunts are listed below, according to the 'offender' involved.

a) **Nose-picking**
   
i) Está limando o salão? (S1)
   
ii) Vai haver baile hoje? Está limando a salão. (S2)
   
iii) Está fazendo pão e limando o salão. (I2)
   
iv) Tira o dedo do nariz, chafariz. (C1)

b) **Nail-biting**
   
i) Está roendo ugha? Vá botar no cocô de cachorro! (S4)

c) **Obstructing the view**
   
i) Seu pai é vidraceiro? (S1)
   
ii) Sai da frente, que você não é transparente. (C2)
   
iii) Sai da frente, filho de vidraceiro. (S1)
   
iv) Tomou chá de vidro? (C1)
   
v) Sai da frente, espelho sem aço. (I2)
   
vi) Anjo não tem costas, mas tem educação. (S2)

d) **Queue-jumping**

When children are getting in line in the school playground a taunting rhyme is chanted at the teacher's 'pet'

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8 Rhyme is, once again, more important than sense.
9 Very close to the English 'Your father wasn't a glazier' (Opies 1973 [1]:47).
(first to obey the instruction to get into line) or the queue-jumper, if he moves and slips into the middle of the line. Thus corrected, he is similarly taunted (line 2) and even if he retreats to the end, there is no escape:

i) Quem vai na frente, come cocô de gente quem vai no meio, come cocô de coelho quem vai atrás, come cocô de rapaz. (S1)

e) Gaping

i) Fecha a boca, pra não entrar mosca. (S7)

ii) Boca calada, não entra mosca. (C1)

iii) Está babando. (C3)

f) Butting in on conversations and games

Children who persistently eavesdrop and then butt in on conversations are rebuked with:

i) A conversa ainda não chegou na cozinha. (I2)

ii) A conversa ainda não chegou no chiqueiro. (I1)

while those who hang over the shoulder of a player in a card or board game or try to participate without invitation are greeted with:

iii) Peru de fora não dá palpite. (I2)

g) Busybodies, perpetual questioners

i) Quem muito quer saber mexerico quer fazer. (I14)

h) Boys with flies undone

A variety of quips may be directed at a boy who appears with his flies undone:

10 Peru has the sense of onlooker in colloquial language. This is the same here.
1) **Flatulence**

Breaking wind *(soltar pum)* is another popular subject for jeers which range from simple accusations such as i) and ii) to more complex *versinholos* such as iii).

i) José (or any name) comeu carneça! (S1)

ii) Pum, que fedê (♂ fedor) de cocô! (S4)

iii) Incendiou um paiol de pólvora as ondas do mar escurceu *(sic)* de um pedão que José (or any name) deu. (I18)

Other remarks are designed to trap the offending party into admitting responsibility:

iv) Olha a mão para ver se está vermelha *(the first child who looks at his or her hand is then greeted with:)*

Mão vermelha dai saiu! (I1)

and a similar taunt is:

v) Quem fez, ‘tá com uma pena na cabeça. (S2)

the child's immediate reaction being to put his hand to his head to grope for the imaginary incriminating feather.

The offender has a number of verbal defence mechanisms at his disposal for shifting the guilt:

vi) Foi o gato que miou. (I1)

vii) Quem primeiro sentiu, dai saiu. (S1)

viii) A galinha que canta pôs o ovo. (S2)

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12 *Evem* is derived from *lê vem* 'here comes...'
j) Fits of Temper

Children who display a show of temper are provoked further by such chanted taunts as:

i) Queim tiver raiva de mim
   e não possa se vingar,
   bote a corda no pescoço
   e me dé, que eu vou puxar. (S1)

ii) 'Tá raiva de mim?
    bem me importa!
    Bata a cara na porta
    até ficar torta. (S1)

iii) Atrás da minha casa
    tem um pé de sapotí,
    caia a boca minha gente
    deixa o cachorro later. (S4)

iv) Os cães ladram e a caravana passa. (C4)

v) Se liga me ligasse eu
   ligara liga,
   liga não me liga
   eu também não ligo liga
   amarelo espapuçado! (I1)

11.6 Tricks inflicting pain

A number of these traps involve catching a child unawares or diverting his attention deliberately in order to land a well-placed blow. A number are based on the following question and answer formula:

i) - Você viu João?
   - Que João?
   - Aquelle que te deu o bofetão! (I16)

where the unsuspecting party receives a blow by way of answer to his question15. The other variety involves inveigling one child to look up or down or to one side, and, this done, giving him a blow on the part of the body.

13 i), ii) and iii) may also be used as verses in cantigas de roda.
14 Ligar (v) 'to join in, get involved in, and also to attach importance to, to bother about, to be turned on by'. Ligar (n) 'alliance, affair'.
exposed: a slap on the back if he bends over, a sharp blow under the chin if he looks up, a pull on the ear if he looks sideways, or, in the case of iv), a kiss, which is included in this category although it does not inflict pain: simply because children include it among these pranks themselves. These are accompanied by rhymes, the first line of which is intended to divert the child’s attention, and the second line of which is recited as the blow is dealt and generally has no meaning in itself but simply rhymes with the first line.

ii) Olhe pro chão... seu caixão! (I2)

iii) Olhe pra lata... sua batata! (310)

iv) Olhe pro lado... seu namorado! (C10)

v) Olhe pro cóu... seu chapéu! (I1)

vi) Olhe pra janela... sua capela! (I2)

vii) Olhe pra rua... mãe nua! (I4)

viii) Olhe pra a porta... sua mãe mortal! (I10)

11.7 Self-incrimination traps

These traps are again based on catching a child unawares, but here the trap is purely verbal: the child finds himself saying swear-words unawares or making ridiculous, and usually vulgar or sexually suggestive statements. One series involves one child telling another to add a suffix to every word he or she says and repeating it in this form. All start innocently and end by trapping
the other child. In each case given here, the ending to be added to each word is given first, followed by a few sample words, and the 'funny' meaning of the eventual trap word is given in parenthesis.

i) -guê:
mesa, mesa-guê; cadeira, cadeira-guê; livro, livro-guê; jacã, jacã-guê; (já caiguê < já caguei, 'I have just defecated'). (16)

ii) -rida
sofa, sofa-rida; cadeira, cadeira-rida; porta, porta-rida, estopa, estopa-rida (estou parida, 'I have just given birth'). (35)

iii) -de sete facadas
carro, carro de sete facadas; forro, forro de sete facadas; morro, morro de sete facadas (Morro de sete facadas, 'I'm dying of seven stab wounds'). (16)16

Other traps involve the ever-accelerated repetition of tongue-twisters. The lines to be repeated are given below, and the likely trap fallen into is given in parenthesis.

iv) Lá vai o velho Félix
com velho folo nas costas
(tanto fede o velho Félix
como fede o velho felo). (16)17

v) Sol capim e canela (C13)
(socca a pica nela).

vi) Só capim canela (I1)
(socca a pica nela).

vii) Patos correndo, cordão encolhendo (S1)
(pato escorrendo, culhões encolhendo).

viii) Macaco mico meu (I3)
(macaco mo' comeu)18.

16 Morro 'a hill', being used in the first case as a substantive and in the second as the first person singular present of the verb morrer 'to die'.
18 Younger children are amused by the literal meaning of this; comer however, has a secondary sense in vulgar slang and means 'to have sexual intercourse'.

...
11.8 Names

The majority of the most common Christian names are incorporated into short verses which children may chant at each other as taunts. A number of common surnames, (Fonseca, Gouveia, Correia, Pereira) are also ridiculed in the same way. Examples are listed below with Christian name rhymes first, and surname rhymes following on. Those given were considered by the informants who supplied them to be 'standard' rhymes on certain names, although obviously countless others can be invented by imaginative children with an ability to improvise.

i) João, cabeça de mamão. (S1)

ii) Manuel, cabeça de papel. (S1)

iii) Pedro Piroca
  nariz de taboca,
  vendeu a mulher
  por dez reis de pipoca. (S1)

iv) Raimunda
  feia de cara
  boa de bunda. (I6)

v) Paulinho sem pau
  é linho,
  Paulinho sem linho
  é pau,
  tirando o pau de Paulinho
  Paulinho fica sem pau20 (C1)

vi) Margarida,
    não 'tá prenha nem parida. (I2)

vii) José
    tira o bicho de pé
    pra tomar com café. (14)

viii) Zé peruqueté
    tira o bicho de pé
    pra tomar com café21. (C2)

ix) Vadico pinico22. (S2)

19 Piroca 'bald', and also (vulg.) 'penis'.
20 Pau 'wood', and also (vulg.) 'penis'.
21 Zé is the common abbreviation of José.
22 Vadico is the common abbreviation of Cevaldo.
11.9 Approval and disapproval

There is no clear line to be drawn between colloquialisms and slang used by adults and those expressions used by children, and no equivalent of such specifically juvenile English terms as, for instance, 'goody goody gumdrops'. Television plays a large part in spreading these terms, the majority of which are carioca slang. Approval is most generally expressed by hoje, bacana, bacaninha, ótimo, legal, genial, tudo azul, porreza, occasionally qualified by the addition of paca used adjectivally to mean very, instead of the usual word muito, and placed after the adjective of approval rather than before, where muito would normally stand: e.g. ele é boa, paca. Disapproval is expressed by chato, porre, droga, cacete, cafune, which may be related to people or things: e.g. ele é uma pessoa porre or é coisa porre, while two further words, cação and baco-moco may only be used in connection with people, the latter generally having the sense of fuddy-duddy.

23 Carioca (n. and adj.), 'from Rio de Janeiro'.
Epithets (including substantives and derisive adjectives) and terms of abuse in common use are listed below. The nearest equivalent English term is given first.

i) Fatty

balofa (I2), balofona (C1), bolofofo (C1), baleia (I19), Moby Dick (S1), bicha gorda (C1), batata (I2), saco de batata (S21), jamanta (S2)

ii) Lanky

vara pau (S1), vara de tirar cajú (C1), espanador da lua (S1), girafa (C1), grandalhão (C1), pau de mangue (I2), varetão (S2), vareta bambu vestido (C14).

iii) Tich

toco de amarrar jegue (I2), pinica na manta (S1), tampa de binga (C4), tampinha (C12), baixote (S2), espolota (S8), sorelepo (S10).

iv) Weakling

frangote (I2), frouxo (C1), Tarzan depois da gripe (I1).

v) Big Head

cabeça de cearenses (I1), cabeça de navio (S1), cabeça de nós todos (S19), cabeça de nordestino (I21), cabeça de arroaba navio (S20), cabeça de ovo (I1), cabeça chata (S2).

vi) Frizzy Hair

cabelo de arame (S1), cabeça de Bombril (I1), pichaco (S2), pixauim (S2), carapincha (S13).

25 Espolota and sorelepo are not really pejorative terms: they mean small but lively and energetic.

26 Big Head in the sense of physically large, rather than the figurative sense of conceited.

27 Ceará is a state in the north east of Brazil. The cearenses are proverbial all over Brazil for their large heads and low foreheads. Cf. cabeça de nordestino.

28 It will be noted that a comparatively large number of epithets and adjectives relate to hair type and to big or droopy lips: all negroid characteristics. Although miscegenation has led to comparative racial harmony in Brazil and although Afro hairstyles are enjoying a fashionable vogue at present, 'white' or light mulato features are still considered desirable and cabelo bom is still straight hair and cabelo ruim is frizzy hair. Many girls with kinky negroid hair spend hours trying to straighten it for special occasions. See Vianna 1973: 140-143; Hutchinson (1963:27ff.); Zimmermann (1963:93ff.) who have all made detailed studies of the enormous number of subdivisions employed in classifying colour and physical attributes in different areas of Brazil.

vii) Big Mouth
boca de solapa (I1), boca de arçapão (alçapão) (C1), boca de beringela (I1), boca do sapo (S14), beinudo (C1).

viii) Droopy Lips
boca mole (S1), beinão (S1), beixo de banha (C1), beixo de esfrião batata (C1), 200g. de beixo (C1), beixo de arroja (C8), beicola (C12), bico (I14).

ix) Toothless
boca de chupa ovo (S1), boca de trave (S19), boca de tatu (I1), banguela30 (S2).

x) Pockmarked
beixugento (S2), vaca malhada (I1), cara de ferrugem (I1), coceirente (C1).

xi) Spotty
lixa número zero (S1), beixigoso (I2), encaracolado (C14), espinhento (I1), cara de ralo (C8).

xii) Freckly
enferrujado (I1), pintado (I2), sarapintado (S1), cara com ovos de perú (I9), banha de peneira (S5).

xiii) Cross-eyed
olho p'ra venta (S1), olho p'ro cu (S1), zarolho (C1), caolho (I11), pau reveso (S18), olho reveso (S18), instalação errada (S20), instalação trocada (I18).

xiv) Wrinkled
cara de maracujá de caveta (C1), maracujá murcha (S1), cara murcha (S10).

xv) Ugly
cara de limão azedo (C1), cara de quem está chupando tamarindo (S1).

xvi) Thin-legged
cambito (S1), graveto (S2), sabia (S7), perna de passarinho (I1), perna de pau (C1), perna de girafa (C1), perna de palito (I7), perna de saracura (I18), perna de saracura do brejo (S17).

xvii) Fat-legged
pernas troncadas (I1)

30 This term is derived from the name of a tribe of Portuguese West Africa, the Benguelas, many of whose members were shipped as slaves to Brazil. It was the custom of this tribe to knock out their children's front teeth. (See Taylor 1970:94).
xviii) Long-legged

mandiocão (C1), cangalha (I1)

xix) Silent

túmulo (S1), mumia (S20), boca de siri (C1)

xx) Stammerer

gago (I1)

11.11 Unpopular children: jeers

Apart from these nicknames and epithets, there is an arsenal of taunts and jeers levelled at children for specific characteristics. Very occasionally these refer to the colour of the child, and while it is sometimes the white who is praised and the black who is ridiculed, in other cases it is the reverse, as in the rather crude example given by S1:

1) Nega, seu cu tem manteiga
Branca, seu cu tem pelanca. (S1)

Otherwise jeers and taunts may be approximately divided into the following categories, following again the Opies' classification and terminology: Spoilsports, Dafties and Dunces, Copycats, Swankpots, Noisy Parkers, Cowards, Cry-Babies, Sneaks, Crawlers and Bullies.

ii) Spoilsports

pé frio (I1), maçã (C1), puritano (S1), enjoada (S2).

iii) Dafties and Dunces

burro (I1), ameba (I1), abestalhado (C8), besta (S1), bobo-lelê (S1), palerma (I8), leso (I12), ôtário (S2), bocó (S2), Pedro Bó (S2).

iv) Copycats

pesca (I1), tabolinha (I2), pescador (S2).

31 Long-legged is here intended in a pejorative sense.
32 Cangalha generally implies bandy as well as long legs.
v) **Swanknots**

- 'tá com Deus na barriga? (S1)
- engoliu o rei, foi? (S14)
- 'tá com o rei na pança? (C4)
- é tão besta, mas não tem merda no cu pra cagar! (S4)
- ganhou na loteria? (I1)
- virou ouro? (I1)
- você é um amaneirado/affectado (C1)
- está com rei na barriga? (S2)

vi) **Nosey Parkers**

- quem muito quer saber mexerico quer fazer (I1)

vii) **Cowards**

- michuruco (I1), fraco (I1), maricas (S1), corrão (S1), afrescalhado (I9), chião (I11), frangote (C6), fraco (C5), banana (C13).

viii) **Cry-Babies**

- manteiga derretida (I1), não-me-toques (I1), dengoso (I1), chorão (S1), criado com vô (S1), munhoso (S12), moleirão (S21).

ix) **Sneaks**

- fuxiqueiro (S1), leva-e-traz (I1), cagdete (I1)
- fofoqueiro (C3), corrêlo (S13), linguarudo (S13), reporter (S15), xerêta (C14), enxerido (C2).

x) **Crawlers**

- peixinho (da professora) (S2), C.D.F. (cu-de-ferro) (I1), C.D.A.I. (cu-de-açu-inoxidável) (S1), fi-fi (S2), puxa-saco (S5), bobê Johnson (S16)

xi) **Bullies**

- porradeiro (S1), caceteiro (C7), gallo de campina (S19), canção de fogo (C10), esporreteado (I2), machão (I8).

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34 Also given as a taunt for the perpetual questioner.  
See 11.5 g) i) above.
35 Derived from alcagdete 'a procurer'.
36 Johnson and Johnson's baby products portray a cherub-like smiling baby.
11.12 Parody

Amongst some older children I was able to find the occasional parody of a popular (i.e. 'pop') or nationalistic song, but few seemed to be currently in vogue in more than one school, and they were rather individual compositions. Younger children would sometimes take just a line from the refrain of a well-known popular song and invent a ridiculous or 'funny' second line themselves, but I shall not list the countless improvisations of this type. A popular song by Roberto Carlos, Tudo mais vai pro inferno was adapted in the following manner by I1, and known by most of her schoolfriends and a number of children in Cachoeira. It is sung to the original tune:

1) De que vale o livro
se eu não gosto de estudar,
na hora da prova
tenho alguém a me ensinar;
tenho a ciência
no meu pensamento,
a geografia
que é todo meu tormento;
tenho português
copiado no caderno,
e que a matemática vai pro inferno. (I1)

S1 sang the following adaptation of the Nino da Independência:

11) Japões tem quatro filhos
todos quatro aleijadinhos:
um é cego
o outro é surdo,
outro é perneta
e o outro é mudinho. (S1)37

while I6 knew an adaptation of Eu te amo meu Brasil:

37 Japanese immigrants make up a considerable proportion of the Brazilian population in São Paulo and the South, but are not numerous in the Recôncavo.
A maconha no Brasil foi liberada
até o Presidente já fumou,
agora eu vou ficar na minha
dando minhas puxadinhas
com o governador;
vá pra pôrra meu Brasil, vá pra pôrra. (16)

Some verses carried a suggestion of impropriety but
were in fact quite innocent in the same way as a number of
riddles to be cited later (see below, Chapter 12):

iv') Lu quero fu, eu quero fu-
eu quero futuramente,
tirar uma fo, tirar uma fo-
tirar uma fotografia,
chupando pi, chupando pi-
chupando pitangamente. (514)

v) Quero-te fu, quero-te fu-
quero-te futuramente
dar-te uma fo, dar-te uma fo-
dar-te uma fotografia
do meu cará, do meu cará-
do meu caráter bondoso. (51)

11.13 Code of oral legislation

While the Êpies devote a sizeable section of their
book (1973 [1]:121-153) to this subject, I propose to deal
only with the way in which children strike bargains with
one another and the way in which undesirable duties (or
roles in games) are avoided through the use of recognised
formulae, these being the only categories of oral
legislation about which informants were able to provide
any data. Here children are not strictly 'playing' with
language, as in the preceding sections, but they are
moulding it, adapting it and creating peculiar connotations,
as we shall see. There appeared to be no complex formulae
or oral legislation governing swapping and gaining

38 Ficar/estar na de alguém 'to be happy, to be "doing
possessions and the other similar practices detailed by the C. pies; there was no equivalent for example, for such English expressions as 'fains' or 'baga', the nearest similar expression being quem pagar é dono (whoever gets hold of it keeps it), probably closer to 'findings, keepings' than 'baga'. By oral legislation I mean the set of unwritten laws laid down by children amongst themselves and surprisingly rigorously adhered to; just as the rules of games are known, kept and respected, so outside organised games, children respect another set of laws of their own making, in which certain terms must be used, certain gestures and declarations respected.

a) Bargain-making

The 'ritual declaration', in the C. pies' term, governing such a large area of children's relationships with one another has a number of manifestations in Brazil. Most examples are to be found in connection with bargain-making and, more specifically, in establishing the right to lay claim to any desirable possession, especially food, the partner in the bargain may have come by. In some places, the initial 'contract' is called tatá or tató (12). It is agreed that if a friend has something in his or her hand the first child is permitted to take it if they call tatá or tató, hitting the partner's hand at the same time; as an

39 (ordem de vez (order of precedence in games etc.) is often established by playing Figurinhas. No oral formulaic are attached to this, but a pile of cigarette cards, or coloured cardboard cut-outs are placed face-down on the floor and players bet on the number they can turn over with one blow of the palm. The points scored by accurate bets determine the order of precedence,
essential accompaniment (I2, c3), but only if the 'contract' exists in the first place.

In the case of meu e meu, a similar 'contract' is formally proposed: vaces colar (contrator) meu e meu a meu nô, and made valid by linking little fingers. On beginning to eat, for example, a child may declare meu nô in which case nobody else can lay claim to any of what he is eating, but if he fails to do this after entering into the 'contract' he is obliged to say meu e meu and hand over whatever morsel the other partner requests.

The action of linking little fingers seems to be remarkably widespread. The Spies (1973 [1]:130-131) comment on it and similar customs at some length, noting that it was common among British schoolchildren in the nineteenth century and yet known as far afield as Smyrna in Asia Minor as a ritual attached by girls to the making of pledges. They further quote Lady Percy's 'Indeeds I'll break thy little finger Harrye, if thou wilt not tol me true' (Henry IV, Part I, 2, iii). Simons has traced the same custom in Nigeria where it is known as [njidik ndicha] (place and remove) and which he describes as:

'A game played among friends, who become members by making the kahi gesture, which consists in interlocking the small fingers of the right hand and then pulling them apart. If a member of the game comes to another member's home while he is eating and draws a circle around the plate of food, the newcomer is entitled to eat everything on the plate.... The game can also be played with property and results in frequent quarrels' (1958:33).

Children who fail to respect the 'contract', or who are too mean to give away any part of what they are eating even in the absence of any pre-established 'contract' may be threatened or taunted in various ways:
1) Meu e seu esmola para São Serafim, quem não me deu fica assim. (I2)

(the last line is accompanied by a gesture imitating the movement of a withered hand)

ii) Quem come e não me convida carrapato tira a vida. (S2)

or he may be gently persuaded:

iii) Quem me dá a ponta, de mim não faz conta quem me dá o meio, de mim tem receio, quem me dá o pé, meu amigo é. (S1)

b) Avoidance of unpopular tasks and roles

Avoidance of unpopular tasks precipitates a round of elimination in which, as in Britain, the last to speak is the one to whom the task falls. This is also common as a preliminary to such games as picula (see Chapter 4.2), where, if no dip is employed, all the players try to avoid being o que pega. The first to eliminate himself shouts primeiro, the second, segundo, the third, terceirão and so on.

Related to this is another practice which often accompanies the end of an evening's play, or the end of school, when any group of children is disbanding. One child runs after another and hits her or him on the shoulder or arm and shouts leve a minha. Those who are caught in this way have to pass on the tapa and hit another child in the same way.

40 São Serafim (St. Seraphim of Sarov): a Russian mystic, born in 1759. After ordination he lived in the most primitive conditions as a hermit and recluse, and is known for spiritual and physical cures, especially of rheumatism, possibly explaining the last line here. See Attwater 1975:305.

41 Ponta here refers to the end of a piece of corn on the cob, to which this rhyme specifically relates.
11:14 **Concluding remarks**

It is clear from the foregoing examples that children derive enjoyment from playing with language in much the same way as they enjoy playing with certain toys, or with chalk or pencils and a smooth surface on which they can create a picture. Like clay which can be moulded into rough models, language is malleable and the possibilities and combinations afforded by twisting it this way and that are inexhaustible. The acquisition of language is a skill parallel to the acquisition and development of motor activities, and as children are keen to show off their prowess in running, jumping and performing acrobatic feats, so they are keen to demonstrate their linguistic prowess, to their peers and to adults. This explains, I believe, to a large degree, the nonsense element in these rhymes and phrases: words are rhymed and jumbled for fun, because the sound or rhythm makes an appeal, just as a horse may be painted blue or a dog pink in a child's picture, where the visual appeal outweighs any rational urge to reproduce the material world accurately. It is this predominance of sensory appeal which underlies another common trait in the foregoing phrases: their dependence on rhythm and rhyme, which have a powerful musical appeal. Rhythm and rhyme, characteristic of all oral literature, also make them more easily memorised and transmitted.

On another level however, paradoxically, certain words are valued for their intrinsic meaning in addition to, or irrespective of their sound. This is particularly the case if the name rhymes in 11.8 are studied it will be observed that children mix up innocent, but ridiculous verses (ii, vii, x) with others which are highly suggestively (iv, v, xi), rhyme being the common denominator in this case.
case with vulgar words, and here the appeal is that of the illicit: children enjoy shocking their peers and occasionally adults, with their use of taboo words, even though younger children are often unaware of the literal meaning of what they are saying. From older children and adults they learn that certain words are not considered polite or acceptable and these words thus acquire additional value and can be relied upon to produce giggles from other children when spoken. Older children, aware of the meaning, may derive a slightly different type of enjoyment from the recitation of such phrases and rhymes, as in the case of 11.7 viii) which can be understood in two ways.

Children draw the components for their linguistic playthings from a wide and varied field. The natural world, not surprisingly, provides many images (see especially 11.10) snatches of cantiras de roda may be intercalated into taunts (11.5 j) i, ii, iii), cinema characters like Moby Dick and Tarzan drawn in (11.10, i, iv) and commercial products exploited as in the case of Bowbril and Johnson's baby goods (11.10, vi; 11.11, x). Other curious flights of imagination portray tall children as moon-dusters or poles for knocking down the cashew fruit (11.10, ii), spotty faces as fine sandpaper (11.10, xi) and teachers' pets as having stainless-steel-bums (11.11, x).

There is little that is subtle about this kind of play with words. Rhymes and epithets are candid and often incisive, and rarely very witty. Skill in riddling is equally a test of imaginative dexterity, but riddles are a great deal more complex, compressed and necessarily more subtle, as will be seen in the examples which follow in Chapter 12.
CHAPTER 12
RIDDLES

12.1 Introductory remarks

The antiquity and distribution of riddles worldwide has been studied by a number of scholars, and although I have been unable to trace any riddles of Amerindian origin, riddles are, and have long been, a popular source of amusement in West Africa. Ramos comments that

"As adivinhas constituem outra forma de literatura anónima muito disseminada na África negra. Em Angola,..., estas enigmas são chamados [jionsonongo] e nelas, diz Ladislau Batalha "passam os filhos de Angola noites inteiras ao pé do lume". (1935:240)

while Béart (1955:751ff.) gives a series of examples from Dahomey, Togo, Senegal, The Ivory Coast, French Guinea, Sudan and the Upper Volta. However, it is virtually impossible to draw any kind of dividing line and classify one type of riddle as essentially African in inspiration and all previous researchers have been vague on this point. Ramos admits the difficulty in determining the degree of influence and concludes weakly

"As formulas usadas, o ritual que acompanha as questões, a ingenuidade de umas adivinhas ao lado satyrico de outras, tudo isso está a indicar o dedo africano." (ibid., 1242).

Cascudo simply states that in Brazil

"As adivinhações africanas têm presença, embora mínimas ou inteiramente diluídas,..." (1962:13)

while Puckett, writing of the riddles popular among negroes in the Southern United States, is similarly imprecise:

1 See especially Taylor 1936, 1939, 1951; Stith-Thompson 1934, J. Lehmann-Nitsche 1911.
'while I have located no direct African survivals, there are some built according to the very common African plan of guessing the simile used, while others approach the form, apparently more common to European peoples, of deciphering the partial description,' (1920:152).

He goes on to cite a few examples, 'listing those which seem to have a more African turn first', the fourth of which is:

'white sends white to drive white out of white? (Answer: a white man sends a white boy to drive a white cow out of a white cotton patch)'

although this conforms to a European type of which many examples are available in riddle collections. Zimmermann (1963:90) goes on further than suggesting a possible African origin for a number of the riddles to be found in the North-easternsertão, and even within Africa itself the problem of origin arises and the polygenesis versus dissemination debate remains open. The riddles printed by Díart are 'inédites à ma connaissance' (1955:752), yet even here some riddles reproduce others known in Europe almost word for word when translated. There is then, a shortage of published material available for comparison, and even Taylor in his exhaustive researches can only lament

'although ethnologists tell us that African natives sit for hours telling riddles, they have not collected a correspondingly large amount of texts,' (1951:3).

In attempting to compare the riddles collected in the present study with riddles of indigenous Brazilian origin, the problem becomes even greater, and it is debatable whether any Indian riddles have ever existed. Taylor quotes the widely-held belief that:

3 upies 1973 [1]:74; WH H583.
'riddles are said to be unknown to certain peoples, notably Jews, Chinese and American Indians,' (ibid. 13)

but goes on to stress that these assertions need critical examination. Lehmann-Nitsche (1927:139-142) commenting on a number of Indian riddle collections from all over South America, queries the originality of supposedly Amerindian riddles, which for the most part reproduce themes and types of Iberian procedence, even though they may have been translated into Quechua, Guarani or other Indian languages. He concludes that it is impossible to assert that any of the Indian riddles in question predate the Conquista.

There is no shortage of comparative material, however, as far as European riddles are concerned, especially in Romance languages. Certain characteristic devices are favoured by different linguistic groups, one of the most striking Romance devices being the use of a series of assertions and contradictions juxtaposed to present a seemingly unfathomable paradox. Others are undoubtedly parodies or imperfect imitations of spells and question-answer sequences such as las doce palabras returneadas, of wide diffusion in Asia and Europe. Taylor (1951:4) draws attention to the fact that in European riddling the themes of riddles are to be found almost exclusively in the vicinity of the farmer's house with household tools and utensils as favourite themes. The selection of farmyard and domestic animals is curious: chickens and eggs are particularly popular, so are cows and milk, and, for some reason, the earthworm, and although dogs and horses are often used

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4 See Espinosa 1930:390-413.
metaphorically as part of the clue, they are very rarely found as the answer to riddles. Cats and mice, on the other hand are virtually never used in either way. Allusions to wild animals are rare, despite the popularity of wolves, bears, foxes and storks in folk stories, and fruit and vegetables are not often chosen as themes, though some are more commonly included than others (ibid.15). The thistle is popular while the rose is rarely included. Taylor comes back to the constant recurrence of riddles describing domestic activities and concludes that

'Provisionally, at least, we can say that modern European traditional riddles deal with the objects in a woman's world or a world seen from the windows of a house.' (ibid:5).

How far these traits are characteristic of modern Brazilian riddles will be discussed at the end of the chapter.

Many riddles, of course, depend purely on language for their effect, and are untranslatable, hinging on puns or other word plays with a significance peculiar to Portuguese. Elsewhere riddles may appear more confusing than they are even intended to, due to errors in oral transmission. Riddlers who reproduce a riddle heard elsewhere may fail to do so correctly, and may themselves fail to grasp the importance of the comparison on which the riddle rests. The comparison may then degenerate into vagueness and obscurity, aggravated by the addition of superfluous or incongruous details or the omission of significant clues. One conventional introductory or concluding formula may be substituted for another.

Riddles are now a schoolroom commonplace and no longer specifically associated with particular times of the year, although in Europe and West Africa they were, and in some cases still are, associated with the sowing of seed and with harvest time. Their popularity among children will be discussed in 12.3.

12.2 Classification of riddles

Given that a division into African, Indian and European types is impossible, it remains to classify the riddles collected in order to draw conclusions about the types currently enjoying the greatest popularity. Lehmann-Nitsche, as a collector of South American riddles, has devised a large number of categories from the anthropomorphic to the erotic and Taylor bases his system of classification on this, grouping riddles according to the way in which unlike objects, people and animals are compared; i.e., he does not classify them according to answer but rather according to metaphor. This is probably the most satisfactory form of division and arrangement in a work of the size and detail of Taylor's (1951). Elsewhere, more simply, he divides riddles broadly into two groups:

'we find two chief varieties of these [riddles]: questions that give the hearer enough information to guess the answer and questions that require the possession of special information that is not supplied in the question.' (1949:15).

He goes on to label these two varieties as 'descriptive...

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7 Lehmann-Nitsche 1927:139-140.
8 In this work Taylor brings together existing small collections of English riddles, combined with original material, and arranges them systematically with copious reference to foreign parallels.
riddles or riddles in the strict sense' and 'shrewd questions', what a German would call *Wissenfragen*. Stith-Thompson, in cataloguing riddles as they occur in tales, ballads, myths etc., divides them as follows: riddles of the superlative, riddles of comparison, of distance, of weight and measures, of numbers, of value, metaphorical riddles, riddles of explanation, riddles based on unusual circumstances, riddles based on the Bible and on legend, and other miscellaneous riddles.

While many of the examples given below could be classified according to these schemes, overlapping between one and the other would certainly be involved and other categories would have to be omitted altogether where no riddle was collected conforming to that classification. I have therefore preferred to follow the Opies' basic division into True Riddles (12.4), in which

'some creature or object is described in an intentionally obscure manner; the solution fitting all the characteristics of the description in question, and usually resolving a paradox' (1973 [1]174)10,

Rhyming Riddles (12.5), Punning Riddles (12.6), Conundrums (12.7), Wellerisms (12.8), and Catch Riddles (12.9) where

'the person is as it were tricked into thinking that he is being asked a conundrum, and that an ingenious or far-fetched answer is expected of him. The answer, however, turns out to be not a complicated play on words, but the simple truth stated in an ignominiously humdrum manner' (ibid.174).

In addition to this I have added a section entitled Complex Riddles (12.10) which does not appear in the Opies'

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classification scheme but contains riddles of the type included by them in their section entitled The Fun of Riddling. I have included additional subdivisions of my own within these categories, grouping together riddles relating to a) natural objects and phenomena, b) people and parts of the body, c) animals, birds, fish and insects, d) flowers, fruit, vegetables and food, e) inanimate objects and f) abstract subjects, in each case basing the classification on the answer and not on the metaphor employed as in Taylor's scheme. A certain overlapping of categories is inevitable in any classification of this type, so punning riddles may also be true riddles, and catch riddles may depend on puns.

Common riddle moulds, of the type described by Taylor and Lehmann-Nitsche will stand out clearly from within these groups: several are in the form of a biography (12.4 a) iii, c) viii, 12.5 d) i, ii,) and there is more than one based on the common paradox 'the more you take away the larger it gets'. The 'two legs sat on three legs' riddle, which has countless variants in Europe, also has a Brazilian equivalent (12.4 b) iii). Riddlers are intentionally misleading, and as in the case of Self-incrimination Traps (see above Chapter 11.7) may often try to lead those attempting to find a solution to the riddle to blurt out an obscenity which the riddler may later use as a weapon of mockery against the child unfortunate enough to utter it. This is a universal characteristic of riddles and this riddle type is common enough:
'Riddles suggest many kinds of false answer. They may make entirely innocent comparisons of an object to an animal, person or thing. They may verge on the obscene...'
(Taylor 1949:4)

These apparently obscene riddles are classified separately by Taylor (1951: nos. 1739-1749)\textsuperscript{11}, but any close comparison here is hindered by his supplying only the answers (which are innocent) and none of the crude or suggestive clues. Riddles of this type are included below (clues and answers) and are classified as before according to answer (see especially 12.5 f) i, 12.6 d) i, e) xii, xiii, xxv).

12.3 Method of collecting riddles

Principal informants (I3, I4, C1, C3 and S1 in this case) supplied a number of riddles they knew by heart and were asked to collect other riddles from friends. All those riddles given by them personally or collected by them bear the code number of the principal informant. Children in schools and families in Itaparica, Salvador and Cacheoeira were all asked to note down a number of their favourite or best-known riddles and all those who contributed directly in this way have been given code numbers. Almost every child interviewed was able to give at least two riddles, but in cases where two or more children gave the same riddle, only the code number of the first informant appears. There was much duplication of riddles and 12.4 a) iv, v, b) x, c) vi, d) iii, e) vi; 12.5 d) ii, iii; 12.6 d) viii, e) xxvii seemed to be particularly popular at the time of collection. Children were unaware that some of those which to them were

\textsuperscript{11} As with references to the Stith-Thompson Motif Index, references to riddles in Taylor (1951 only) are to numbers not pages.
the latest craze were in fact riddles of the greatest antiquity and widest global dissemination (12.4 a) iv, b) x, c) vi, d) iii, e) x, xiii; 12.5 d) ii, e), iv; 12.6 e) vii.) although other riddles were of apparently modern or purely personal invention. Reference to African, Peninsular and other European equivalents is given where relevant in footnotes, to show the extent of dissemination.

Riddles in many languages invariably start with some kind of formula and almost all Brazilian riddles start a que é (o) que é (even though the following sentence may be grammatically impossible following this). Some children were in fact quite unfamiliar with the term adivinha, adivinhe, but all responded when they were asked whether they knew um o que é o que é. This formula is indicated in the examples, where applicable, by three dots (...). Other riddles conforming to a formulaic beginning or ending popular at the time were sûmulo riddles and anecdotes ending with qual é o moral da estória? both of which are included in 12.7 (Conundrums).

12.4 True riddles

Many riddles of this type appear to present a striking paradox (a) i and ii), while others give straightforward descriptions (a) iii). Another type (a) iv) deceives the listener by describing the abstract in terms of the concrete.

13 For other Brazilian riddle collections see especially Lima 1947 (263 riddles from São Paulo); Boiteux 1944 (Sta. Catarina); Molo 1948; Cascudo 1962:13-16, 1971: 297, 580-596.
or the inanimate in terms of the animate (e) xx1).

a) Natural objects and phenomena

i) ...
no fogo não queima
mas queima na água?
(cal) (17)

ii) ...
quando maior
menos se ve?
(a escuridão) 15 (I8)

iii) ...
que nasce verde
fica amarelo
o morre preto?
(babú) 16 (C1)

iv) ...
que cai na água
não molha?
(sembra) 17 (I3)

v) ...
quê cai em pé
o corre deitado?
 chuva) (I4)

15 Cf. Taylor 1951: nos. 1690-1697. This riddle is common in Spain and Spanish America and belongs to the general category of 'The more one takes away, the larger it becomes'.

16 Cf. Taylor 1951: nos. 668, 1559. This type of 'colour change' riddle is also widely disseminated, in Europe and Africa. No. 1559 is an African riddle about the palm (colours here are white, black and red) and no. 668 is a Jamaican riddle about coffee.

17 Cf. Rodríguez Marín 1951: 302, no. 890: 'Qué cosa es cosa, que entra en el agua, y no se moja,
No es sol ni luna, ni cosa ninguna'.
Cf. also Castañón 1961:569: 'Una señorita muy enseñoritada, que se mete en río, y non sal moyada'; Taylor 1951: no. 165; Lima (1947) also gives a variant of this riddle, while Taylor (1936:86-90) devotes a whole article to it. He attempts to show that the original answer was sun rather than shadow, thus providing a clear link between this and the other common answer to the riddle (a pregnant animal) for 'just such metaphors as we find in this riddle were used in the Middle Ages to explain the miracle of the Virgin Mary's purity. As the sun passes through glass without breaking it, so Mary became a mother and yet remained a Virgin' (89).
b) **People and parts of the body**

1) **...**

qual o empregado
que não deseja ser patrão?
(o guia do cego) (I3)

ii) **...**

que tem três pernas
o anda?
(velho andando com uma bengala) (S13)

iii) **...**

gurupé de dois pés
foi tanger gurupé de quatro pés
que estava comendo gurupé de um pé?
(homem que foi tanger uma vaca que comia um pé de bananeira) (I18)

iv) **...**

que eu tenho,
você tem?
o Adão não teve?
(umbigo) (C1)

v) **...**

que a mulher deve ao homem
e não pagá?
(uma costela) (I3)

vi) **...**

que todos tem uma para frente
o duas para trás?
(barriga) (C1)

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18 Cf. Taylor 1951:nos. 461, 11761. This deceptively simple riddle is clearly a fragment of the famous riddle of the Sphinx.

19 Cf. Taylor 1951:nos. 461, 462. This belongs to the widely-known 'two legs sat on three legs' type, and is most similar to no. 462 in Taylor's collection, which is about a milkmaid sitting on a stool. The Opies (1973 [2]:268 no. 302) trace this riddle back to Bede's *Flores*: 'Vidi bipedam super tripodem sedentem: cecidit bipos, quin corrupt tripes!'. They also give German and English examples dating back to 1600. There are also certain similarities between this riddle and those of the 6adin riddle type which depict, for example, a man with a falcon riding on horseback in terms of a single monster with multiple limbs and organs (see Taylor 1951:nos. 48-55). Cf. 12.4 c) vii below. I have been unable to trace the word *gurupé* in dictionaries; S1 suggests it is simply a nonsense word. Cf. Gomes 1951:215; 11742.
vii) ... que está dentro da meia
  e fora do sapato?
  (tornezele)20  (I3)

viii) ... que nasce fino,
  cresce fino
  e morre fino?
  (cabelo)  (C1)

ix) ... que Deus dá o primeiro e o segundo
  e o terceiro, quem quiser compra?
  (dentes)  (I3)

x) ... que não tem inverno, nem verão
  sempre ela está molhada?
  (a boca)21  (I3)

xi) ... uma cerca de pau-a-pique
  com a vaca laranja dentro?
  (os dentes e a língua)22  (S15)

xii) ... dois irmãos juntos
    e nenhum vão o outro?
    (os olhos)23  (C3)

xiii) ... que o pobre joga fora
    e o rico guarda?
    (muco nasal)24  (I18)

20 The most common form of footwear in this area is
  the tamancos; a kind of wooden-soled clog which is open
  at the back; the heel would therefore be left bare.

21 Cf. Taylor 1951: no.1150; this riddle is common in
  Arab countries as well as in Europe. For an African
  version, see Déart 1955:754: 'Ma fille est toujours
  mouillée' (Dahomey). See also Castañón 1961:567: 'Una
  señora muy ensenora, que llueve, que no llueve, siempre
  'está mojá'. Cf. 12.5 b) iii below.

22 Cf. Taylor 1951: nos.499-501 (in this case the teeth
  and tongue are seen as white and red cattle: a widely-
  disseminated riddle). Nos.1149 and 1151 describe the
  teeth as a fence, and this image is common in Africa
  as well as Europe.


24 Cf. Taylor 1951: no.1724. The allusion is to the rich
  man's handkerchief.
c) Animals, birds, fish and insects

i) ... que antes de ser já era?
(pescado)25 (I4)

ii) ... que antes de nascor já está trabalhando?
(pinto)26 (I3)

iii) ... que anda com os pés pela cabeça?
(piolho) (C1)

iv) ... que anda acima do cóu?
(piolho)27 (Sl)

v) ... que o boi tem e não é dele?
(a marca do dono) (C1)

vi) ... quatro na lama quatro na cama dois parafusos e um que abana?
(vaca)28 (C3)

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25 The solution to this riddle depends on the play on pescado which as a noun is the name of a type of white fish, and is also the past participle of the verb pescar, to fish.


27 Céu here indicating not the sky, but céu da boca 'the roof of the mouth'.

28 Cf. Taylor 1951:1476-1494. This riddle is found principally in Europe and Asia, and although Taylor gives one Afrikaans version it is presumably of European origin, for he states elsewhere (1949:5): 'an English cow riddle of worldwide currency. African parallels alone seem to be lacking.' The English version given by Taylor runs:

'Two lookers, two crookers, two fly-flappers,
Four walkers, four hang-downers and one switchabout'.

According to Tupper (quoted by the Osías together with many European and Scandinavian analogues (1973 [2]:397, no. 488)) this is a 'world riddle' which can be 'traced for thousands of years through the traditions of every people'.

For other European variants see: Rodríguez Marín 1951:1, 321-324; Cascudo 1971:380; Vasconcellos 1882:180; Castañon 1961:564; 11743.

In the Brazilian version above the first line represents hooves, the second, udders, the third, horns and the fourth, the tail.
vii) ...
gurupé de quatro pés
correndo atrás de gurupé
de um pé?
(cachorro correndo atrás de um
pé de árvore) 29 (S6)

d) Flowers, fruit, vegetables and food

Eggs, traditionally popular in this context, are
certainly the most common subject for riddles in this
group. According to the examples given by Béart, they
seem to be equally popular in West Africa 30.

i) ...
que nasce antes de crescer
quando nasce, não cresce mais?
(ovo) 31 (I3)

ii) ...
que se pode usar melhor
depois de quebrado?
(ovo) (C1)

iii) ...
uma igrejinha
sem porta e sem janela?
(ovo) 32 (S4)

iv) ...
uma lagoa amarela?
(gema de ovo) 33 (S18)

v) ...
quê se planta bôla
o colhe chifre?
(quiabo) (C3)

vi) ...
qual a fruta cuja árvore
é sobrenome?
(pera) (I2)

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29 Cf. Taylor 1951: no. 1476 para. 4; 1583.1; Cascudo 1971: 590.
30 Béart 1955: 757-758, especially no. 27: 'Une case habitée
sans porte ni fenêtre' (Dahomey).
32 Cf. Taylor 1951: no. 1132; Rodríguez Marín 1951: 1, 210
no. 274: 'Una iglesia blanca sin puerta ni tranca, no
entra nella luz ninguna, ni de sol ni de luna'; Cascudo
1971: 537.
33 This is probably a fragment of a slightly longer riddle,
describing the white of the egg in another metaphor.
vii)...
qual a fruta
que tem as sementes por fora?
(morango) (I7)

e) Inanimate objects

i)...
uma garga branca
dentro da agua
que não bebe agua?
(navio) (I3)

ii)...
que tem o pé redondo
e um rastro comprido?
(carro) (I3)

iii)...
que vai e vem
e nunca sai de lugar?
(porta) (S1)

iv)...
quando uma minha
todas minhas?
(a telha) (I3)

v)...
tem quatro pés
mas não anda,
tem braço
mas não tem mão,
tem costa
mas não tem pescoço?
(cadeira) (I3)

34 Cf. Cascudo 1971:298; Romero 1954:2, 699. From a comparison with Cascudo and Romero's versions it would appear that I3's version is rather jumbled. Romero's reads: 'Gargas brancas, na campos verdes, Com o bico nàgua, Horrondo a sede.'

35 Cf. Taylor 1951:no.127.


vi) ... um homem baixinho com a mão nas cadeiras? (urinal)38 (I4)

vii) ... qual o sobrenome que racha lenha? (machado) (I4)

viii) ... que nasce grande e morre pequeno? (lapis) (S10)

ix) ... que comunica mas não é telefone, televisão, rádio nem radiola? (carta) (S4)

x) que cai no chão e não quebra? (papel)39 (I4)

xi) ... um homem baixinho todo bexiguento? (dedal)40 (I3)

xii) ... tem perna mas não tem pé, tem pescoço mas não tem cabeça, tem braço mas não tem mão? (cruz)41 (I4)

xiii) ... quem faz, faz para vender, quem compra, não usa, e quem usa, não ve? (caixão de defunto)42 (I4)

38 Cf. Taylor 1951: nos. 552a, 552b.
39 Cf. Taylor 1951: nos. 1192 and 1192n. This riddle is particularly popular in the Near East, and there are similar African variants having a leaf for their solution in place of paper. See also Cascudo 1962:15.
40 Cf. Taylor 1951:no.576. There are several Spanish variants of this riddle, and Russian equivalents use the same image.
41 Cf. Taylor 1951:no.48 para.4; Lima 1947.
42 Cf. Taylor 1951: nos. 1728-1737. This riddle seems to be particularly popular all over Latin America, but is of some antiquity and European in origin. Cf. Gouveia 1926: 111: 'Celui qui la fait n'en a besoin, celui qui la fait faire ne la veut pour soi, et celui pour qui est faite ne s'en soucie' (France). See also Rodríguez Marín 1951: 1, 368; Lima 1947; Boiteux 1944:151; 1878.
xiv) ... quem faz, não entra, e quem não faz, entra? (cova de defunto) 43 (I8)

xv) ... qual a roupa que a mulher usa e o marido não ve? (a de luto) 44 (I7)

xvi) ... seis mortos estirados, cinco trabalhando, e três ou quatro afinando? (violão) 45 (S14)

xvii) ... uma cova bem cavada com dez mortos estendidos, passando cinco por cima cada um dá um gemido? (viola) 46 (I3)

xviii) ... que se atira na terra e põe nos ares? (fogue) (C3)

xix) ... que sube alegre e desce triste? (fogue) (C3)

xx) de que é que se pode encher um barril para que fique mais leve? (furos) 47 (I7)

f) Abstract subjects

i) ... que você pode perder ses nunca ter possuido? (o caminho de casa) (I8)

ii) ... que quanto mais se perde mais se tem? (sono) 48 (S1)

43 Cf. Taylor 1951: nos. 1733-1737. The answer is often a coffin.
44 Cf. Taylor 1951: no. 1728.
47 Cf. Taylor 1951: no. 1691.
48 Cf. Taylor 1951: no. 1691.
12.5 Rhyming riddles

There are less riddles to be found in this group although in the case of many riddles classified in other categories the original rhyme has probably been lost in the course of repetition by misunderstanding of words and errors in pronunciation and the individual modifications which children are so fond of introducing. In the case of a) below, a companion of I3's insisted that the second line was not fruto no cacho (cacho meaning a bunch or cluster) but fruto no casco (casco being a shell or skin), sense thus being preserved but rhyme lost.

a) Natural objects and phenomena

i) ...
alta torre, bonito penacho,
água nos frutos e fruto no cacho?
(coqueiro)\(^{49}\) (I3)

ii) ...
quê é bonito sem ter cor
 e saboroso sem ter sabor?
(água) (C1)

iii) ...
não tem pernas, mesmo assim
não há mais andarilho,
não tem braços, e onde mexe
deixa tudo num sarilho?
(o vento)\(^{50}\) (C1)

b) People and parts of the body

i) meu tio tem um irmão
que não é meu tio não,
o que é que é então?
(pai) (I4)

ii) ...
uma cerquinha de bom parecer
não há carpina: que saiba fazer?
(dentes)\(^{51}\) (I17)

\(^{49}\) Cf. Taylor 1951:no. 1072.
\(^{50}\) Cf. Taylor 1951:no. 260 para.9.
\(^{51}\) Cf. Taylor 1951:no. 1150.
iii) ... entre trinta e duas pedrinhas brancas
esta uma encantada;
quê faça sol
sempre está molhada?
(a língua)52 (S1)

iv) ... alta torre, lindas janelas
abrem e fecham
sem ninguém tocar nelas?
(olhos)53 (S1)

c) Animals, birds, fish and insects

i) ...
sei rico, pimpão o ligeiro,
carrega a espora
mas não sou cavalheiro?
(galo)54 (I4)

d) Flowers, fruit, vegetables and food

i) ...
nas folhas verdes nasci,
nas folhas verdes me criei,
para dar luz ao mundo
por muitos tormentos passei?
(mamona)55 (S1)

ii) ...
nasci na água,
nas águas me criei,
se me tirar da água
na água morrerrei?
(sal)56 (I3)

52 Cf. Taylor 1951:nos. 497-510 especially no. 497 para 5, and no. 1150 para 3, where an African variant is given. It is more common for the tongue to be described as an animal surrounded by stones or a fence.
53 Cf. Taylor 1951:no. 1144.
54 Cf. Taylor 1951:no. 539.
55 Cf. Taylor 1951:nos. 674-678: this is typical of many riddles of a biographical or autobiographical nature which describe passing through torture or suffering. S1's riddle also includes an image suggestive of Christ's Passion. The most common English riddle of this type describes the manufacture of a quill pen.
56 Cf. Taylor 1951:no. 1008. This riddle is common in India and the Levant and also in parts of Africa. It belongs to a wider category based on the notion of begetting and killing closely associated with one another.
iii) ...  
uma caixinha de bom parecer  
não há carpinteiro que saiba fazer?  
(amendoim)57 (S12)

iv) ...  
deis irmãos no parecer:  
uma se come,  
e o outro  
caça o que comer?  
(jaca e jacaré) (S17)

v) ...  
uma velhinha com tranquinha no pó  
passa que passa é,  
ques não adivinhar  
burro é.  
(passa de comer)58 (S12)

e) Inanimos objectos

1) ...  
que é redondo como pandeiro  
o alto como coqueiro?  
(cisterna)59 (S11)

ii) ...  
uma moça prenha na janela,  
o homem passa, desemprenha ela?  
(moringa)60 (19)

iii) ...  
gordinho gordinho,  
baixinho baixinho,  
com a mão na cintura  
pedindo bolinho?  
(pinico)61 (14)

57 Cf. Taylor 1951:no.1187 (Taylor’s riddles include the idea of a box, but not a carpenter). It is cast in exactly the same mould as b) ii above, p.345. This riddle is particularly well-known throughout Brazil; see Boiteux 1944:50; Pelligrini 1973:314; Gouveia 1926:110; Oliveira 1948:63; Melo 1950:197; Romero 1954:11, 59, 2, 699; Cascudo 1971:297.

58 Cf. Cascudo 1971:590: I came across few riddles of this type, in which the answer is in fact given in the clue, although they are common elsewhere.

59 Huge round water tanks on tall concrete pillars are a familiar sight on the Recôncavo skyline.

60 Cf. Taylor 1951:no.240 para.9.

61 This riddle is an example of a reversal of the usual pattern of suggestive riddle/innocent answer. Here the riddle is quite innocent, while the answer is unexpectedly crude!
iv) ... 
compro uma capa para andar,
com a capa eu não ando,
tiro a capa para andar?
(piño) 62 (I4)

v) ... 
torto por natureza,
mato por devoção;
se der comida eu mato
se não der, não mato não?
(anzol) 63 (I16)

vi) ... 
que se faz de torto
e se veste de morto,
para pegar os vivos
que andam soltos?
(anzol) 63 (C1)

f) Abstract subjects

i) Menina, vamos pra cama,
fazer o que Deus mandou,
ajuntar pelo com pelo
menina dentro ficou,
(dormir) 64 (I16)

ii) ... 
se você da
fica com ela,
se não da
fica sem ela?
(amizade) (I7)

An almost identical Spanish version is given by Rodríguez Marín 1951:1, 275:
'Me pongo la capa para bailar, me quito la capa para bailar, yo no puedo bailar sin la capa, y con capa no puedo bailar'.

63 Cf. Taylor 1951:no. 828 para. 4.

64 Cf. Taylor 1951:nos. 1416-1419. This highly suggestive type of riddle seems to be common in many areas; the Lithuanian 'hair next hair, stomach next stomach, something in the middle sticks out' (man and horses ploughing or drawing cart) (no. 1416 para. 7), or the English 'a naked one slips into a furry one' (hand in glove).

In I16's example, the riddle depends on the pun on menina, 'child, girl' and also 'pupil of the eye'. Menina as used in the first line is purely vocative. I6's alternative variant substituted polo for pele in both cases; an allusion to the eyelashes.

The same type of jest was popular in English seventeenth and early eighteenth century songbooks. See for example D'Urfey's 'Pills to Purge Melancholy', six volumes of many ballads and songs, published in London in 1710.
12.6 Running riddles

The Čpies (1973 [1]:78) give a number of examples of riddles of this type in which verbal duplicity implies animate movement in an inanimate object (a)i, b)iii below) and others in which the verb is used in a legitimate but misleading sense. Similarly, inanimate objects are made to possess living members in substantive puns (d)iii and vii below). Others involve play on one or two words in such a way as to become tongue-twisters in their own right (d)x below) or, like f)i in the preceding section (12.5) are deliberately suggestive (d)i, iif, e)xii, xiii, xxv below). The answer to some riddles is composed of two words joined together to create a pun (c)i, f)ii), while a great many depend on verbs with a multiplicity of meanings in different contexts, such as passar, correr, tirar (d)x, e)iii, xxvi below).

a) Natural objects and phenomena

i) ... 
   qual a estrela
   que não brilha no céu?
   (estrela do mar)65 (C1)

ii) ... 
   que tem a boca maior do mundo?
   (a boca da noite)66 (I3)

b) People and parts of the body

i) ... 
   que vive sempre casando
   e fica sempre solteiro?
   (padre) (I3)

---

65 Estrela do mar 'starfish'.
66 Boca da noite 'dusk'.
iii) ... quais as camaradas que passam o dia a bater-se, e não fazem mal uns aos outros? (os dentes) 68 (C1)

iv) ... qual a parte do peixe que trazemos no rosto? (espinha) (C1)

v) ... quando está em pé está doitado, e quando está doitado está em pé? (o pé) (S15)

c) Animals, birds, fish and insects

i) ... qual o animal que valia muito? (javali) 69 (I7)

ii) ... qual o pássaro que pertence à Igreja Católica? (cardeal) (S4)

d) Flowers, fruit, vegetables and food

i) ... que entra duro e cheiroso é sai mole, fedendo e pingando? (mandioca) 70 (I3)

ii) ... que é duro quando se bota na água e fica mole e babando? (mandioca) (I19) (macarrão) (S11)

---

67 Cf. Gomes 1951:208. Cf also the use of céu in 12.4 c)iv.
68 Cf. Taylor 1951:no.966 para.6 (a Basuto riddle).
69 i.e. já valí (valer 'to be worth').
70 Cf. Taylor 1951:no.1448. Again, this conforms to a widely known riddle pattern, which Taylor categorises as 'Stiff (dry) Slack (wet)'. Mandioca or common cassava is used to produce a flour made from the cassava tuber which is soaked, wrung, toasted and milled. It is one of the staple foods of this part of Brazil.
iii)...
que tem cabeça e não é gente,
tem dente e não morde?
(alho)71 (I8)

iv)...
à mãe é mansa
e a filha é brava?
(pimenta)72 (I3)

v)...
a mãe é verde
da filha é encarnada,
a mãe é mansa
e a filha é danada?
(pimentão e pimentinha)73 (C1)

vi)...
que dá um pulo
e se veste da noiva?
(pipoca) (I2)

vii)...
que tem olho
mas não enxerga,
tem pé
mas não anda?
(cana) (I2)

viii)...
que tem coroa
mas não é rei,
tem escama
mas não é peixe?
(abacaxi)74 (I3)

ix)...
qual a fruta
que se usa nos vestidos?
(manga) (C1)

x)...
que se passasse, não passava,
mas como não passou, passou.
(fruta da jaca)75 (I1c)

71 He also knew a rhyming version of this riddle in which não morde was substituted by não é pente. Cf. Taylor 1931:50, 272-299.
72 Cf. Casado 1971:583; Lima 1947. Pimentão 'capsicum, sweet pepper'; pimenta, pimentinha 'hot, chilli pepper'.
75 Based on the two meanings of passar 'to pass by' and 'to go off, rot'; i.e., if someone had gone past (the fruit), it would not have been allowed to go off, but as nobody did go past, it went bad.
xi) ...
qual a flor
que nos traz recordação?
(saudado) (C1)

e) Inanimate objects

i) ...
foi feita para andar
mas não anda?
(estrada) (I4)

ii) ...
qual a rosa
que não tem cheiro?
(rosa dos ventos) (S4)

iii) ...
quero a comida
mas não come?
(mosca) (I4)

iv) ...
que não tem dedos,
tem anéis
o corre sem pés?
(cortina) (I14)

v) ...
que bate no mato
mas não bate em casa?
(machado) (I11)

vi) ...
que trabalha
com a mão dentro da boca?
(pilão) (I7)

vii) ...
quero pela casa toda
o depois fica no canto?
(vassoura) (SS) (S6)

viii) ...
quero comprar para comer
mas não se come?
(prato) (I3)

ix) ...
quero bico mas não bica,
tem asa mas não voa?
(bule) (S7)

---

76 Rosa dos ventos 'weathervane'.
... que tem bico mas não pia?
(bule) (S8)

xi) ...
qual a guarda
que só anda de preto?
(guarda-chuva) (I3)

xii) ...
que a moça para usar,
abre as pernas?
(óculos) (C1)

xiii) ...
que seja moça ou mulher,
para usar tem que abrir as pernas?
(mísse) (I3)

xiv) ...
que se corta mas não se come?
(baralho)

xv) ...
que fala sem ter boca
e caminha sem ter pés?
(carta)79 (C3)

xvi) ...
que anda de capa dentro de casa,
tem folhas e não é planta?
(livro)80 (S12)

xvii) ...
que só trabalha apanhando?
(preço)80 (S12)

xviii) ...
qual o cabelo
que não cresce?
(cabelo do relógio)81 (C2)

xix) ...
que a filha bate na mãe?
(sino) (S3)

xx) ...
quanto mais apanha,
mais alegre fica?
(sino) (S9)

---

79 Cf. Taylor 1951 nos 260 para 17, 760.
80 Cf. Taylor 1951 no 760.
81 Apanhar in its intransitive use has the meaning of to take a beating.
82 Cabelo do relógio 'hairspring'.
xxi) ... 
que quando entra em casa 
fica com a bunda fora?
(botão)83 (C1)

xxii) ... 
que enche a casa 
mas não enche a mão?
(botão) {C3}

xxiii) ... 
somos diversos irmãos 
moramos num arruado, 
quando um de nós erra 
todos vamos errados?
(botão)84 (C1)

xxiv) ... 
que vesto toda a gente 
mas sempre anda despida?
(agulha)85 (I7)

xxv) ... 
que lambeu lambeu 
e no cu meteu?
(linha e agulha)86 (I12)

xxvi) ... 
que você nunca poderá ter 
enquanto não lhe for tirado?
(sua foto) (I8)

xxvii) ... 
que quanto mais de tirar 
mais se tem?
(fotos) (I7)

xxviii) ... 
que nos tiram 
antes de recebermos?
(fotos) (C1)

83 Casa de botão, 'buttonhole'.
85 Cf. Opies 1973 [2]; 323; Taylor 1951: no. 531 para 2. This riddle seems to be particularly common in Eastern Europe: Taylor gives variants from Serbia, Armenia and Greece as well as an Arab one, all of which contrast dressing the world with going naked oneself.
86 This erotically suggestive riddle is explained by the fact that ou is a vulgar synonym for fundo, which has the secondary meaning of the needle's eye.
355

12.7 Conundrums

These seemed rather less popular than the simple punning riddles, although several of them relied on puns and double puns in their answer. Cúmulo riddles and anecdotes ending with qual é o moral da estória are less easily classified than the shorter riddles, but have been included in the existing categories, although this is necessarily a rather loose grouping.

a) Natural objects and phenomena

No riddles recorded.

b) People and parts of the body

i) ...
que entra no mundo da lua
mas não é maluco?
(astronauta) (I4)

---

87 Cf. Taylor 1951:no, 984 n.
88 i.e. sar jeep (pronounced [zipi]).
89 I have classified as conundrums those riddles which are of an equivalent type to those thus classified by the Opies (1973 [1]:79-81). The majority are based on puns or word mutilation. As these examples show, the type and phrasing of the question distinguishes them from other riddles.
1) Qual é a diferença que tem a mulher para a cobra? (é que a mulher faz a rodilha para botar na cabeça e a cobra faz para botar a cabeça em cima)  

3) Qual é a diferença entre o poste e a mulher? (é que o poste dá a luz em cima e a mulher dá a luz em baixo.)  

4) Qual é a diferença entre a garrafa e a mulher? (a garrafa a gente enche para tapar, a mulher tapa para encher.)  

5) Qual é a diferença entre um cabo e um pinico furado? (é que o pinico furado deve ser soldado, e o cabo já foi soldado)  

6) Qual é a diferença entre o cadáver de um preto e o de um branco encontrados sob uma ruina? (o branco estava só, e o preto segurando um rádio portátil.)  

7) Qual é a diferença entre um branco e um negro correndo? (é que o negro é ladrão e o branco é atleta.)  

8) Qual é a diferença entre o purgante e o soldado? (o purgante solta e o soldado prende)  

9) Qual é o cúmulo da mulher magra? (Aquele que é levada para a Maternidade depois que engole um caroço de azeitona.)  

10) Qual é o cúmulo do homem magro? (Aquele que veste pijama de uma listra só.)  

11) Um grupo de homens estava da água tomando banho de rio, então resolveram sair da água e ficar nas margens todos com a bunda para cima e a cabeça para baixo. Qual é o moral da estória? (eles pertencem à grande cruzada.)  

12) Um negro ia andando pela rua e de vez em quando parava, baixava as calças e botava a bunda para cima. Qual é o moral da estória? (O negro fazia propaganda do filme O Escudo Negro.)  

13) Um homem viajava de trem - em cada estação que o trem parava ele descia, pegava palito de fósforo e medía toda a área da estação. Qual é o moral da estória? (Pausa para medir estação.)  

Rodilha in the first instance here refers to the tight rolled circle of padded material women put on their heads when carrying heavy objects.

Cruzada (the close homophone of cruzada) is used by children as a collective form of cu.

When spoken quickly, what is heard is paua (vulg. 'penis') pra medi/s/taco i.e.: meditação.
xiv) Alguns siris estavam tentando subir numa rocha enquanto a maré enchia e as ondas batiam na rocha. O primeiro começou a subir, veio uma onda e derrubou; o segundo também foi derrubado pelas ondas... O último siri conseguiu subir a rocha. Qual é o moral da estória?
(Siri por último, siri melhor)93 (S12)

c) Animals, birds, fish and insects

i) ...
qual a ave
que sou a última sílaba
não exagera nada?
(cegonha) (I3)

ii) Qual é a diferença entre o navio e a tartaruga?
(o navio anda de casco para baixo e a tartaruga
de casco para cima.) (S1)

d) Flowers, fruit, vegetables and food

i) ...
geni caiu do pé
o fez pupo?
(genipapo)94 (I3)

ii) ...
que tem oito letras,
e tirando quatro
fica o número oito?
(biscoito). (I3)

iii) ...
galinha choca
o cachorro late?
(chocolate)95 (S16)

e) Inanimate objects

i) ...
qual a palavra
que contém 'o',
mas ao ser pronunciada
o 'o' não fica?
(ocorre)96 (I7)

93 Siri is homophonous with se ri: punning the well-known saying 'Quem ri por último (or se ri) ri melhor.
95 Chocar 'to brood, to incubate eggs'.
96 i.e. 'o' corre, the 'o' runs away.
ii) ...
   o galo tem crista
   e a planta está na leira?
   (cristaleira) (I15)

iii) ...
   sou barra, não sou do dia,
   sou rica em cabedal,
   junta barra com rica
   veja em que vem dar?
   (barrica) (C3)

f) Abstract subjects

i) Qual é o cúmulo da ligeireza?
   (trancar a gaveta e jogar a chave dentro.) (S1)

ii) Qual é o cúmulo da distração?
   (comer o guardanapo e limpar a boca com o bife.) (C3)

iii) Qual é o cúmulo da preguiça?
    (deitar mais cedo para acordar mais tarde.) (S1)

12.8 WELLERISMAS

a) Natural objects and phenomena

No riddles recorded.

b) People and parts of the body

i) Sabe o que disse uma pulga para outra?
   (Vou trocar para um cachorro zero quilômetro
    porque este está ficando muito velho.) (S1)

ii) Sabe o que o bêbedo disse quando descobriu que
    estava abrindo a porta com o charuto?
    (Será que eu fumei a chave?) (C4)

iii) Sabe o que disse a menina dos olhos para a
    sobrancelha quando o nariz sangrou a primeira
    vez?
    (Fiquei mocinha.) (S1)

c) Animals, birds, fish and insects

i) Sabe o que a mula disse para o mulo?
   (É o cúmulo.)97 (S1)

97 The pun intended here is é o cu, mulo.
ii) Sabe o que a formiga disse para o elefante? (Estes, vez você não me pegou)98 (I2)

iii) Sabe o que o elefante disse para a formiga? (Sou grande mas delicado)99 (S1)

iv) Sabe o que o elefante disse para a formiga? (Cresça e apareça) (I1)

d) Flowers, fruit, vegetables and food

No riddles recorded.

e) Inanimate objects

i) Sabe o que o prego disse para o martelo? (Me bate)100 (S1)

f) Abstract subjects

No riddles recorded.

12.9 Catch riddles

a) Natural objects and phenomena

i) Onde cresceu a primeira rosa? (no chão) (I8)

ii) Porque a floresta é virgem? (porque o vento é fresco) (S1)

iii) Porque no Brasil chove? (porque Cabral descobriu e não tornou a cobrir) (C1)

98 Piadas (jokes) and stories in which this pair (ant and elephant) occur are very common in Brazil. They invariably have highly suggestive sexual connotations, and may be basically very crude. 'Eles representam extremos casos de relações sexuais com grandes diferenças de tamanho entre macho e fêmea' (S1).

99 This phrase, like c) iv) which follows, was very common in popular speech at the time.

100 Bater 'to beat', but also (vulg.) slang, 'to fornicate'.
b) People and parts of the body

i) Porque Dom Pedro usava suspensol\textsuperscript{101} na guerra? (por modo da calça cair) (I8)

ii) Onde é que a mulher tem o cabelo mais duro?\textsuperscript{102} (na África) (I4)

iii) Qual é o mês em que a mulher fala menos? (fevereiro porque tem 28 ou 29 dias) (S1)

iv) Quatro romanos e um inglês num ônibus. Qual é o nome da mulher? (Ivone) (S1)

c) Animals, birds, fish and insects

i) Porque o boi baba? (porque não sabe cuspir) (I8)

ii) Porque o cachorro entrou na igreja? (porque encontrou a porta aberta) (I8)

iii) Quando o pato bota ovo, o ovo desce ou sobe? (nem desce nem sobe, que pato não põe ovo) (S4)

iv) Qual é a semelhança entre um elefante e uma formiga?
- É que nenhum dos dois sobe na parede.
- Nas a formiga sobe.
- A que eu estava falando é aleijada. (S3)

d) Flowers, fruit, vegetables and food.

No riddles recorded.

e) Inanimate objects

i) ... 
que você tem, 
quê eu não tenho, 
e todos tem dois? 
(a letra 'o') (I4)

ii) ... 
que está no centro do ovo? 
(a letra 'v') (I3)

\textsuperscript{101} Suspensório is the correct word; suspensol is a popular corruption.

\textsuperscript{102} Cabelo duro, 'wiry, kinky hair'. Body hair is clearly suggested here.
iii) ...  
que tem asa e não voa,  
tom bico mas não bica,  
e fica em baixo da cama?  
(this generally elicits the response não sei  
and the reply comes: bulé. This is countered  
by an indignant o bulé não fica em baixo da  
cama which the riddler in turn crushes with  
an unchallengeable o bulé é meu e eu boto  
onde quiser) (S16)

f) Abstract subjects

1) - Qual é a diferença entre o carro,  
o navio e o esmola?  
- O carro anda na terra, o navio no mar....  
- E a esmola?  
- Não tenho agora. (I6)

12.10 Complex riddles

The six riddles which follow, with the possible  
exception of 0)1, are of a slightly more complex nature  
involving more skillful composition, containing carefully  
sustained images and presenting a complete picture to be  
deciphered,

a) Natural objects and phenomena

i) Não pai tem dinheiro  
que não pode contar,  
minha mãe tem lençol  
que não pode dobrar;  
o que sou?  
(sol, estrelas, céu e lua)103 (I13)

b) People and parts of the body

No riddles recorded.

103 Cf. Taylor 1951: nos, 1224–1225; he entitles this category  
'Cloth cannot be folded; money cannot be counted' and  
comments: 'These two elements are combined so often that  
the result may be considered as a riddle in its own right';  
Lima 1947: 'um lençol muito grande, que não se pode  
dobrar; uma porção de dinheiro, que não se pode contar,  
um queijo muito duro que não se pode cortar' (céu,  
estrelas, lua): 11720.
c) Animals, birds, fish and insects

i) Por uma floresta
piando passa uma dama,
bem formosa em seu vestido bem bordado
com obras muito curiosas;
nes caído nem cortado,
sem saia nem manto,
ão mostra ponta de pé
e a sua natureza por muitas vezes
espana a quem de repente ve.
Com que é?
(cobra)104 (I3)

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d) Flowers, fruit, vegetables and food

No riddles recorded.

e) Inanimate objects

i) ... 
cã-cã-bã-dã-né?
(um carro, seis bois e dois negros)105 (C1)

ii) ... 
seu feito de folha
meu manto é de papel,
meus irmãos usam um anel;
todos me pegam pelo meio,
ão sou bonito nem feio,
e me desface no ar,
às vezes sei consolar?
(cigarro) (I3)

f) Abstract subjects

i) ... 
que tem uma segunda bem feita,
com uma terça em uma quarta dentro,
uma quinta bem florada,
com a cesta e um sabão dentro?
(os dias da semana) (I4)

104 Cf. Taylor 1951: no. 1466a. Taylor gives riddles with similar clues, but the answer is rarely a snake except in Spain and Latin America.
11) ... 
meu princípio foi cinza, 
de minha vida ninguém se espanta, 
de sête irmãs que eu tinha 
uma só virou santa? 
(sexta-feira santa)106 (I3)

12.11 Concluding remarks

The majority of the foregoing riddles conform to the types described by Taylor (see 12.1 above), employing themes and metaphors well-known in Europe: countless common household objects are described from needles, thimbles and buttons to chamberpots and mortars, and parts of the body, especially the head and facial area, are frequently alluded to. There are no cats, mice or horses (although there is a mule) and only one dog. A cockerel, chicks and eggs all figure in the riddles, and although the cow is described there are no riddles about milk. The flea is described twice, and the ant and the elephant who are invariably found together in Brazilian children's anecdotes and adult jokes appear in several conundrums. There are three mentions of wild animals: a boar, an alligator and a snake, but what is perhaps most striking is the absence of any topical or even 'modern' theme or simile. The only indications that these riddles belong to the twentieth century are the inclusion of a car, photographs and an astronaut amongst the themes, and the mention of television and radio in a couple of others; otherwise children draw on traditional themes and traditional forms of expression. Certain conundrums,

106 Although sexta-feira santa was the answer given by I3, it should clearly be nemana santa in order to make complete sense. Cf. Cascudo 1971:586; Taylor 1951:no. 983 (here there are seven sons rather than sisters).
especially in the *cícule* riddles and *moral da estória* anecdotes are less traditional both in form and content, but were acknowledged to be a 'craze' at the time, while Taylor and other scholars cited have been able to provide African variants for some of the riddles, even these have had Indo-European or Semitic parallels as well, and so no riddle recorded can be said to be of clearly African origin, though a great many can be identified as European. Although riddles are equally popular with both sexes, boys appear to have felt no urge to improvise or invent new riddles with trains, aeroplanes and satellites as their themes (although these are important in their make-believe games and are popular themes as reading-matter or television programmes) and girls have not worked in heroes of pop culture or electro-domestic appliances, so while contemporary riddles remain based on, largely, 'the objects in a woman's world, or a world seen from the windows of a house', it is a virtually timeless world and a house with no definite geographical situation.

107 See also Bundes 1964:113-120 for a discussion of Yoruba Wellerman and tongue-twisters.
13.1 Introductory remarks

I am including at this point a category which does not figure in the Opies' work (1973 [1]), but which I feel is important in the context of the Recôncavo, simply on account of the very existence and popularity of a large body of popular lyrical verse, all the more striking since it has no parallel amongst British children. Although it is only a fairly isolated example of children's use and appreciation of language in written form and a category from which boys, and girls under the age of about eleven, are excluded, it shows considerable sensibility towards poetic language on the part of adolescent girls, and underlines their role in the continued transmission of popular poetry. Some of the verses transcribed below were known by heart, particularly those which were often incorporated into cantigas de roda, but the majority were simply passed round in notebooks from one girl to another and copied down.

Schoolchildren throughout the world adopt the habit of inscribing their possessions with their names, often accompanied by drawings and verses generally termed ex-libris by folklorists1. Often these merely state the owner's name in a verse and beg the finder to return it should it become lost, but in Brazil this has become extended and whole pages may be covered with ornately decorated versinhos or

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1 For other examples from Brazil and Chile, see Gomes 1951: 297; Plath 1969:274-277, respectively.
pensamentos² (with no apparent objection on the part of teachers) or a special exercise book may be kept for a collection of versinhos generally of a highly sentimental nature and often interspersed with the texts of the latest 'hit' songs carefully copied from record magazines. Nevertheless, many of the versinhos are traditional and of considerable antiquity and a good number figure in Portuguese collections of trovas and quadrinhas populares. Others are the invention of schoolgirls themselves, and a mixture of traditional and newly-written trovas are published in profusion in cheap magazines like Capricho and Sérgio Gato³ from which they are assiduously copied. Except in cases where Brazilian compilers of collections have given detailed references or where trovas figure in Portuguese or Spanish collections, it is virtually impossible to trace their origin, and even in the case of printed collections of 'popular' material, many verses prove to be of erudite or literary origin. Where such attributions have been made, indication will be given in the text or footnotes.

Generally the popular trova is to be distinguished from the literary trova by its verse form (see Chapter 9.1, 9.6.). In most of the versinhos below, the rhyme scheme is abcb, the remainder being abab, with a very small proportion having abac. Rhyme often depends on the omission of a pluralising 's': this is consistent with popular pronunciation in the Recôncavo. As in the cantigas, love is the predominant

² These are the terms used by schoolgirls to designate short quatrains and slightly longer poems indiscriminately. The term otherwise used for the popular quatrain is trova or quadra/quadrinha.

³ These publications are fotoneselas with film news and gossip and the words of pop songs.
theme, although some *versinhos* are of a humorous nature or are connected with school and school activities. Many themes and images well-known in the traditional lyrical poetry of the Iberian peninsula recur: the garden and the rose are frequently used metaphorically, as are birds and certain fruits, especially lemons. Occasionally there are more unusual images like that of the pillow lace in 13.3 e) (i). Love is often described in terms of fire and flames, and the inevitable association of suffering and love, of pain and ecstasy, is the underlying theme of many of the verses. The power of beautiful eyes to wound, familiar in the earliest Galician and Spanish poetry, recurs in several verses, and others rely on well-known paradoxes and contrasts: the further away the lover goes, the closer he becomes in his beloved's heart; the longer the waiting and separation, the greater the ultimate felicity. Other verses are based on the antithesis of life and death, while dreams (especially those in which the impossible occurs) are incorporated elsewhere. *Saudade*, the theme of so much Portuguese love poetry of both folk and literary origins, is the leit-motif in some seven or eight *versinhos*: inseparable from love, it is linked both to happy recollections and to nostalgic longing.

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4 Cf. Lewis 1958:75.
5 For other collections of *quadras* and *trovas*, see: Peixoto 1944; Romero 1954:12, 531-649; Cardoso 1921; Pellegrini 1973; Oliveira 1948:150ff.; Gomes 1951:297, 219-240; Costa 1907; Silva 1926:102-119; Lira 1952:52ff.; Monte 1957:62-63; Cabral 31-12-1884: 420-422; Brandão 1951 [2]:14-17 (Brazil); Basto 1926; Vasconcelos 1882:215ff. (Portugal); Amades 1951:196-204 (Cataluña); Rodríguez Marín 1951:2 (Spain).
In imagery, then, and in their use of antithesis and paradox, their theme and form, the majority of these versinhos are in the Peninsular tradition. Syntactical and grammatical errors are common in these schoolgirl transcriptions and where they have been copied from exercise books rather than from dictation, I have left these errors (e.g. 13.3 f) i) verse 2). It is also common for the first two lines to have little or no connection with the second two (e.g. 13.3 f) xxxv); 13.3 c) ii)), the result of repeated improvisation and faulty oral transmission.

Some of the verses, especially those connected with school activities, are not in quatrain form or are composed of a number of quatrains making up a short poem, but as they were classed together indiscriminately by informants as versinhos or pensamentos and followed consecutively in the exercise book collections, I have included them here in the same way.

As we have seen in the cantigos de roda, a great many versinhos of this type are incorporated in singing games. Those given in Chapter 9 are not repeated here, although several of them figured in the exercise book collections. Other quadras are not connected with cantigos de roda but have their origins in the practice of sending billets doux, especially in thesertão and interior regions of Brazil.

This practice has virtually died out now with the improvements in communications, the growth of more permissive behaviour on the part of parents towards their daughters and daughters' boyfriends, and with the spread of literacy, although local scribes still play a fairly important part in the life of interior towns. In the nineteenth century
and earlier in this century scribes were employed to send crudely illustrated notes or versinhos between lovers, a practice known in some areas as o correio eleante. Nedéiros examines this practice of sending chaves do coracão, which were simply little folded notes, in some detail (1954: 26-29) examining the use of initials (cf. 13.3 f) xxii, xxiii) and the etiquette pertaining to this type of correspondence.

The examples given here are divided fairly loosely into categories as follows:

13.2 Ex-libris (identification etc.)
13.3 Verses about love and the joys of love
   a) associating love with flowers and using floral imagery;
   b) using images associated with flight;
   c) using images associated with the sea, and associating love with the sea in other ways;
   d) using images associated with school and study;
   e) using other images;
   f) miscellaneous versinhos.
13.4 Verses expressing contempt and jealousy
13.5 Verses about sorrow and disappointed love
   a) using images associated with the sea;
   b) using other images;
   c) verbal conceits;
   d) miscellaneous versinhos.
13.6 Humorous verses
13.7 Vulgar verses

There is considerable discrepancy in the length of these various sections, of necessity, since more verses use floral imagery than nautical imagery, for example, and there are

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6 Cf. Oliveira 1948 i150.
7 Cf. Araújo 1964 [1]:327.
few vulgar verses in relation to verses about pure love.
None of the examples collected in 13.5 used images connected
with flowers or with flight, so these sections are absent,
although there are several verses of this type in 13.3.

13.2 Ex-libria

i) Meu nome é Iraci (or any name)
que na pia foi selado,
meu sobrenome é Ribeiro
que do meu pai foi tirado. (I3)

ii) Este caderno é um presente
tom o perfume de flor,
nela você encontrará
a sua mensagem de amor. (I1)

iii) As vezes não sei que faço
nas folhas do meu caderno,
mas toda linha que traço
são linhas do meu enterro. (I1)

13.3 Verses about love and the joys of love

a)

i) Eu gosto da rosa branca
que nasceu no meu jardim,
eu gosto da sua mãe
que criou você para mim. (S7)

ii) As rosas também se amam
do jardim para o deserto,
também se ama de longe
não podendo amar de perto. (I1)

8 The confusion of singular and plural nouns in the
last two verses is typical of these schoolgirl
transcriptions.

9 Praise of the mother who bore the loved one is
characteristic of much Peninsular love poetry;
see Rodríguez Marín 1951:2, nos. 1079-1090.

10 Cf. Pelligrini 1973:302:
'Alicrim também se muda
do sertão para o deserto
eu também amo de longe
quando não poço de perto.'
Cf. also Romero 1954:2, no. 541; Torner 1966:49.
iii) Carícias audaciosas
afagos sem terem fim,
se tuas mãos fossem rosas
era o meu corpo um jardim. (C5)

iv) A tua mão carinhosa
quando me vem afagar,
lembrá a ternura da rosa
desabrochando ao luar. (I6)

v) Roseira me dá uma rosa
craveiro me dá um botão,
meu amor me dá um beijo
que eu te dou meu coração. (S17)

vi) Roseira dá-me uma rosa,
craveiro dá-me um botão,
em troca do meu afeto,
dar-te-ei meu coração. (S2)

vii) Meu amor deu-me uma rosa
como lembrança de amor,
ú não posso pensar em meu amor
que não lembre uma flor. (I3)

11. Cf. Peixoto 1944:316; Cabral 20-3-1884:219 (variants from São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, Portugal and the Azores); Costa 1907:1618-619 (variants from São Paulo and Portugal: 'o figueirão dá-me um figo'). This is one of the best-known quadras all over Brazil and is frequently sung in cantigas de roda. Bandeira picks it out as one of the childhood verses which most influenced him: 'O meu primeiro contacto com a poesia sob a forma de versos terá sido provavelmente em contos de fadas, em histórias de carochinha... Aos versos dos contos de carochinha devo juntar os das cantigas de roda, algumas das quais sempre me encantaram, como "Roseira, dá-me uma rosa", "O anel que tu me deste", "Bão, balalão, senhor capitão", "Mas para que tanto sofrimento", "Palo destas porque am utilizei em poemas". (1966:10)

Cf. Evocação do Recife:

"us meninos gritavam:
Coelho sai!
Não sai!
A distância as vozes macias das meninas politonavam:
Roseira dá-me uma rosa
Craveiro dá-me um botão!"

The reference to 'coelho sai' is to the game of Veadinho; see above Chapter 6.4.
viii) Atirei um limão verde
lá na torre de Belém,
deu no cravo, deu na rosa
deu no peito do meu bem. (12)

ix) Lá atrás da minha casa
tem um pó de violeta
de tanto pensar em tí
de roxo ficou preta. (C1)

x) Lá atrás da minha casa
tem um pó de cataponga,
pois os cabelos do meu bem
chearam a água de colônia. (C1)

xi) Pergunta qual a flor
mais bela do meu jardim,
porque perguntas amor
se estais diante de mim? (I5)

xii) Sou jardineiro perfeito
pois no jardim da amizade,
quanto pianto amor perfeito
deixo sempre uma saudade. (13)

b)

i) O amor chega sem aviso
sem mesmo a gente esperar,
vem nas asas de um sorriso
o fecha de um olhar. (I2)

ii) Voa, voa retratinho,
por este mundo sem fim,
vá dizer a José (or any name)
que nunca se esqueça de mim. (I6)

iii) Meu coração foi voando
dentro do teu foi cair,
sentindo as asas quebradas
de lá não pôde sair. (I9)

12 Cf. Pellegrini 1973:303 (variant from Alagoas); Romero 1954:12, no. 68 (variant from Sergipe); Tornier 1966:87-88; Rodríguez Marín 1951:12, nos. 2292-2294. It is not clear here whether the lemon is supposed to indicate an amorous rejection, as is usually the case in traditional Peninsular lyrical poetry, or whether it is simply a declaration of love, as Romero’s version suggests. Cascudo comments (1962:424): “O ato de jogar frutas ou flores em alguém é, quase universalmente, um símbolo de declaração amorosa. O limão, laranja ou maçã (especialmente esta na Itália) são as frutas preferidas”.

13 Saudade is also the name of a flower (Scabiosa atropurpurea).
c)  

1) Amo-te mais cada dia  
   longe de ti quem sou eu,  
   sou como a concha vazia  
   de quem o mar se encheu. (C5)

11) Por baixo da água é limo  
    por cima do limo é peixe,  
    fulano não se preocupe  
    que por outro não te deixe. (S4)

111) Um laço branco aboiou  
     sobre as ondas do mar,  
     vejo fulano acarindo  
     a querer me beijar. (I6)

d)

1) Os teus olhos de veludo  
   brilham com esplendor,  
   são os meus livros de estudos  
   na faculdade do amor. (I3)

11) A saudade é calculada  
    por algarismo também,  
    distância multiplicada  
    pelo fator de querer bem. (I6)

111) Alegria + somada  
     tristeza = diminuída  
     dor ÷ dividida  
     felicidade × multiplicada. (S10)

1v) A saudade não é verbo  
    que se possa conjugar,  
    é um substantivo feminino  
    só quem ama pode classificar. (C1)

In addition to these traditional quadras, several exercise books contained rather longer verses and complete poems such as the following:

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14 The first couplet here has little connection with the second, and the b-b rhyme is careless. This again is characteristic of many popular quadras.

15 The image of Cupid as professor and young girls as his students recurs frequently in popular Peninsular poetry. Cf. Rodríguez Marín 1951:2, nos. 2188-2197.


17 Nb. the use of mathematical symbols. Verses of this type are not recited, only written down.
v) **Nosso amor de colegial**

É das histórias a mais bela
é a ciência natural:
sendo sabatina dos sonhos
para você, e conjunção temporal,
entre nós verbo de ligação
'Nosso amor de colegial'.

Amor que descobre tudo
na mais perfeita equação,
amor que se faz de seus beijos
as notas de aprovação,
no diâmetro da boca
mede a própria sensação.

O abraço, geometria dos gestos,
o beijo, declínio sem igual,
as palavras, idioma eloquente,
voz recíproca ideal,
e complemento direto
'Nosso amor de colegial'. (I3)

vi) **O Segredo**

A aula havia começado:
- Levante-se
diz o professor à aluna;
- Queira conjugar o verbo amar
no preterito perfeito do indicativo.

Nervosa, diz a menina:
- Eu amei
- diz no futuro do presente —
- pálida de medo respondeu:
- Eu amarei.

- Diz no presente do indicativo
Ela chorando respondeu:
- Eu te amo professor.

Se eu governasse os seus olhos
haveria de ser assim,
fechados para as outras
abertos só para mim. (I3)

vii) **O segredo da aluna**

- Avante!, diz sorrindo o professor,
- Presente do indicativo do verbo amar;
e a aluna sem querer falar de amor
nervosa, diz-lhe — não sei conjugar.

18 *Sabatina,* 'a Saturday morning exercise'. Saturday was traditionally the day on which teachers tested their pupils' tables.
- Não creio, mas estou de bom humor e não quero obrigá-te a confessar, sou mestre, não sou confessor, em uma análise vou-te experimentar.

- Escrava: o professor anda alguma, onde está o sujeito da oração? Ela nervosa, diz
- Está oculto no meu coração. (I5)

e)

1) Se o amor fosse alfineto,
o que dessa alfinetada
tu ficavas furradinho
como renda de almofada. 19. (II)

ii) Olhos castanhos faceiros
olhos de estranha escção,
são dois punhais pequenos
que ferem meu coração. 20. (II)

iii) Dizem que o amor é um crime
meu Deus, que hei de fazer?
Desde que sou um criminoso
heia de amor-te até morrer. (I3)

iv) Dizem que o beijar é pecado
oh! pecado horroroso,
como Deus foi fazer
um pecado tão gostoso? (I3)

v) O primeiro beijo dado
entre o medo e escção,
tem no gosto de pecado
a certeza do perdão. (I9)

f)

i) Aluguel

Aluga-se um coração
a rapaz bem comportado,
que seja bem bonitinho
e que não seja casado.

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19 Renda de almofada, 'pillow or bobbin lace', very commonly seen in parts of Portugal and northeast Brazil, especially Ceará. See Ramos and Ramos 1948;4 Wetherell 1860;81. For other quads based on this image, see Peixoto 1944:103, 251.

20 The image of eyes seen as daggers is common in traditional Peninsular lyrical poetry. See Rodríguez Marín 1951:2, nos.1935-1944, 2489.
As condições do aluguel
é um pouco desastrada,
mas como é o primeiro inquilino
quero um beijo de entrada.21

Nem quero um beijo falso
nem dado com rancor,
quero um beijo simples
e dado com muito amor. (I3)

ii) Para dizer a verdade
tudo que sou vem de ti,
toda esta felicidade
começou quando te vi. (I1)

iii) Se você chegasse agora
o meu Deus que bom seria,
mandava a tristeza embora
e a saudade mataria. (C5)

iv) Tudo que eu tenho na vida
cabe bem na minha mão,
o teu retrato cortado
em forma de coração. (C5)

v) Quem tem amor escondido
nas dobras do coração,
pode perder o sentido
mas nunca perde a ilusão. (I9)

vi) Felicidade meu bem
e tudo que a gente sente,
quando se gosta de alguém
que também gosta da gente. (I9)

vii) Eu busco a felicidade,
única mente porque
quero por toda humildade
dá-la inteirinha a você. (I9)

viii) No mundo nada supera
a sensação de valor,
de alguns minutos de espera
por um momento de amor. (I9)

ix) Quando os lábios não se tocam
no momento da partida,
são sempre os olhos que trocam
o beijo da despedida. (I6)

t) Não posso viver sozinha
sem sentir o teu calor,
pois só recebo carinho
de você meu grande amor. (I6)

21 Note the popular use of a singular verb with a plural subject in the first couplet, common in Recôncavo speech. The terms used in this versinho are all borrowed from the language of tenancy contracts and newspaper advertisements. **Entrada** means a down payment in a tenancy or hire purchase agreement.
xi) Não quero falar contigo
   eu juro a todo momento,
   mas quando falo contigo
   esqueço meu juramento. (I2)

xii) Queres saber doce amado
    o que é saudade na vida,
    é uma metade afastada
    de outra metade querida. (I3)

xiii) Enquanto o mundo for mundo
      enquanto eu nele existir,
      só deixarei de te amar
      quando dele eu partir. (I3)

xiv) Fulano nome adorado
    nome da minha afeição,
    fulano es tu que me ama
    a você deí meu coração. (S4)

xv) No mundo de estradas vastas
    caminho que não tem fim,
    quanto mais tu te afastas
    mais estás perto de mim. (S4)

xvi) Mata-me, tira-me a vida
     tudo podes fazer,
     mas eu deixar de amar-te
     só Deus tem este poder. (C1)

xvii) Não há palavra nenhuma
      maior que a saudade,
      estas sete letras resumem
      amor e felicidade. (C1)

xviii) Quem ama sofre muito
       quem não ama sofre também,
       mas eu prefiro sofrer amando
       do que não amar a ninguém. (C1)

xix) Namorei teus olhos claros
    teus sorrisos espossei,
    vivíamos dias tão raras
    que até no céu me julguei. (C1)

xx) Os olhos dos namorados
    têm um certo não sei que,
    que escondem com mil cuidados
    o que tudo mundo ve. (C5)

xxi) Quando passeias pela estrada
    acendendo mil desejos,
    atrás de ti vai deixando
    um doce cheiro de beijos. (C5)
xxii) Escolhi no ABC a letrinha mais mimosa, encontrei a letra C (or any letter) dentro de um botão de rosa. (I1)

xxiii) A primeira letra que amei foi a letra da minha afeto, amei a letra .. trago no meu coração. (I1)

xxiv) Passa fingindo não ver-me passo como indiferente, só ela sabe o que eu sinto só eu sei o que ele sente. (I5)

xxv) O coração que é vencido quase sempre tem razão, e a razão que sempre vence nunca teve coração. (C1)

xxvi) Fulano quando me beija beija com tanta paixão, que chega a sentir na boca o gosto do coração. (C5)

xxvii) Meu amor quando eu te abraço eu disfruito o seu carinho, sinto o amor nos teus braços nos prender devagarzinho. (I6)

xxviii) Amar é sempre mistura de sentimento e desejo, trazendo a gente a ventura de unir as almas num beijo. (I2)

xxix) Eu quisera ter dez filhos quinze, vinte, trinta ou cem, com tanto que os meus filhos fossem teus filhos também. (C5)

xxx) A viagem mais feliz é ir bem devagarzinho do teu queixo até o nariz e parar no meio do caminho. (I1)

xxx) Eu queria ser uma lágrima para em teus olhos nascer, percorrer tua face e em tua boca morrer. (C1)

xxxii) Eu queria ser copo, seu copo eu queria ser, para beijar os seus lábios quando foste água beber. (C

24 Cf. Rodríguez Marín 1951:2, no. 2758
xxxiii) Vai vai cartinha,  
por este mundo sem fim,  
vai dizer aquele ingrato  
que não se esqueça de mim. (S4)

xxxiv) Se o teu  
fosse o meu  
seriamos  
es um só  (I2)

xxxv) Tenho um loncinho branco  
pintadinho de madres,  
se eu não casar contigo  
morrerei de uma vez. (S1)

13.4 Verses expressing contempt and jealousy

i) No tempo que te amava  
rompi matos e espinho,  
hoje pago dinheiro  
pra não ver seu focinho. (I1)

ii) Pois deixa que eu te responda  
que nada sois nem és nada,  
Deus fez a terra redonda  
e muita gente quadrada. (I6)

iii) O homem  
nasce sorindo,  
vive iludindo,  
morre fingindo. (I2)

iv) Morena dos olhos pretos  
namoro com teu olhar,  
quando tu olhas pra outro  
são facadas que me dão. (C5)

13.5 Verses about sorrow and disappointed love

a)

i) A maré está vazando  
os touquinhos estão fora,  
está me dando a saudado  
de quem hoje foi embora. (I9)

27 Quadrada, as in English slang, 'square'.
As aves perdem as penas
os peixes perdem as escamas,
e eu perdeo o meu tempo
amando a quem não me ama. (I9)

Sonhei que o gelo queimava,
sonhei que o fogo gelava,
sonhei coisas impossíveis,
sonhei que você me amava. (I5)

A saudade é uma criança
que ninguém pode com ela,
now bem saí pela porta
torna a entrar pela janela. (C1)

Esta vida mesmo é um drama
entre o homem e a mulher,
a que não quero me chama
a quem amo mais não me quer. (II)

Tu fingiste que me amaste
eu fingi que acreditei,
foste tu que me enganaste
ou fui eu que te enganei? (I9)

Com pena peguei na pena
com pena de te escrever,
a pena saiu da mão
com pena de não lhe ver. (C4)

Quando nos terminamos
eu procurei te esquecer,
mas eu sou tão esquecida
que esqueci do te esquecer. (I2)

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29 Cf., Silva 1926:103; Costa 1907:619. In older versions penas with the meaning of pen is spelt with a double n.
According to Costa this verse was popular in the nineteenth century from Rio Grande do Sul to Pernambuco and he quotes a Recife newspaper (Guaia Nacional) of 1848 which used the verse by way of political satire, 'chasqueando o presidente da província Herculano Ferreira Penna'. Braga's Cancioneiro Popular records a number of Portuguese versões, and Banto (1926:19) records a similar Portuguese quatra based on the same word play:
'Se os passarinhos vendesssem as penas
as penas que Deus lhe deu
eu também vendia as minhas
que ninguém tem mais do que eu.'
Romero gives three variants from Sorgipo (1954:2, no.69).
Cf., also Dias 1971:4, 50.
30 Cf., Rodríguez Marín 1951:2, nos.1709, 1714, 1731, 1732, 1733, 2514.
d)  

i) Você ama Jesus  
que morreu por tanta gente,  
porque não a mim  
que morre por ti somente? (I9)  

ii) Eu sei meu destino  
viver neste mundo assim,  
procurando até encontrar  
alguém que goste de mim. (I1)  

iii) Não quero mais relatar  
o meu grande sofrimento,  
iminha vida acabará  
contigo no pensamento. (I1)  

iv) Recebi tua cartinha  
amas, confesso não gostei  
pois nela de volta vinha  
o beijo que te mandei. (I9)  

v) É triste amar alguém  
e por este ser desprezado,  
e saber que este amor  
amou outra e é amado. (I1)  

vi) Errado é o provérbio  
'Quem espera sempre alcança',  
de tanto esperar por você  
já perdi a esperança. (I3)  

vii) Não posso ouvir o seu nome  
nunca mais quero te ver,  
passo a vida pensando  
a forma de te esquecer. (S21)  

viii) Já vai morrendo o dia  
hoje ainda não te vi,  
o dia que não te vejo  
ó dia que não vvi. (C5)  

ix) Você disse que o tiro mata  
o tiro não mata ninguém,  
o tiro que mata nos mata  
ó desprezo de alguém. (S17)  

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Brandão (1951 [2]:17) attributes this quadra to erudite authorship and says it was written by Augusto Gil, a Portuguese poet, whose original version runs:  
'Amas a Nosso Senhor  
que morreu por toda gente  
só a mim é que não amas  
que morre por ti somente'.  
See also Cardoso 1921.ixii; Peixoto 1944:316.
x) Amar é sorrir chorando
chorar sorrindo desejos,
de ver a dor soluçando
crucificada nos beijos. (I3)

xi) Quem dentro do peito encerra
o amor, guarda sempre a chama,
quanto mais ama, mais sofre
quanto mais sofre, mais ama. (S17)

xii) E o coração quase explode
de tanto bater na dor,
when se ama e não pode
dizer que se tem amor. (I5)

xiii) O fogo quando se apaga
nas cinzas deixa calor;
o amor quando se vai
no coração deixa a dor. (I10)

xiv) Se saudades matassem
muita gente morreria,
eu seria a primeira
que ame levaria. (I14)

xv) Neste mundo tudo passa
amor, ciúmes, paixão,
só não passa a saudade
que trago no coração. (I14)

13.6 Humorous verses

i) A mulher do antiquário
tem sempre o amor garantido,
quanto mais o amor envelhece
mais dela costa o marido. (I5)

ii) Mulher de cova na face
ao beijar ela tem cautela,
vão para cova esquecida
os beijos que deixa nela. (G10)

iii) O beijo do americano
este sim, eu tenho fé,
as mulheres viram homens
e os homens viram mulher.

O beijo do italiano
tem gosto de macarrão,
italiano quando beija
espuma que nem sabão.

O beijo do brasileiro
tem gostinho diferente,
o brasileiro quando beija
deixa tonta muita gente. (I9)

32 Mulher is commonly pronounced muiá in the Recôncavo;
the rhyme is thus preserved.
iv) Santo Antonio padroeiro
que já casou tanta gente,
só ele morreu solteiro
ô santinho inteligente. (I1)

v) Certa moça confidente
dizem isto baixinho,
se beijo tostasse a gente
ou era, nega, um tiquinho. (C6)

vi) Tão exquisito eu acho
seus vestidos minha prima,
são altos demais em baixo
e curtos demais em cima. (S5)

vii) Sentou-se na dentadura
e deu um grito de horror,
pois dera uma mordedura
no seu próprio posterior. (C6)

viii) A prova de história

Hoje na prova de história
Senhores, que confusão!
Fiz 'Crito de Ipiranga'
como sendo 'abdicação'.

Troquei 'Nassau' por 'Usório'
'Caxias' por 'Cabral',
fiz depois os 'holandeses'
invadirem 'Portugal'.

Também de 'D. Pedro I'
fiz 'D. Pedro II' o pai,
e pus as 'capitanias'
na 'guerra' do Paraguai'.

Com os 'índios e inconfidentes'
foi muito pior o angú,
fiz 'Tiradentes' cacique
e enforquei 'Caramuru'.

Só me resta uma esperança
neste tremendo revés,
que o mestre também se enganou
e em vez de 'zero' me de 'dez'. (I3)

33 St. Antony in Portugal and Brazil is the patron saint
of young girls in search of a noivo. See Cascudo 1962:
52-55; and below Chapter 14.7.
For other rhymes alluding to devotion to St. Antony in
the same cause, see Rodríguez Marín 1951:2, nos. 2066-2069;
Torner 1966:360-362.
13.7 Vulgar verses

i) Menina dos olhos verdes
sobrancelha de veludo,
entre suas pernas
tem um bicho cabeludo. (I8)

ii) O cachorro quando late
no buraco do taty,
bota espuma pela boca
e chocolate pelo cu. (C6)

13.8 Concluding remarks

The versinhos cited above exemplify a very arbitrary mixing of traditional lyrical poetry and virtual doggerel, but copied and embellished with an equal degree of care and affection by a great many of the girls whose exercise books I studied. The texts of pop songs, which I have not transcribed, were also interspersed with these versinhos. The passion for making a neat copy may be fostered by the continued practice in schools of giving copywork as an exercise, especially where teachers are in short supply, and it is noticeable that the majority of exercise books collected were in Cachoeira and Itaparica where pupils belonged to lower socio-economic groups. This renders all the more striking the contrast between girls' preference for verses dealing with idealised love often expressed in delicate metaphors and the realities of the life they lead and may expect to lead after they leave school.

For many girls, the copying of these verses is little more than an exercise in writing; each page may appear to be in a different hand as they try out different styles, a practice which seems to be common among most young adolescents seeking to assert themselves in, amongst other
things, their handwriting. Hence the indiscriminate jumbling of poetry and pop songs in those cases. Other girls, however, picked out verses which were more traditional in form and expression as their preferences and tended to reject the rest. The same girls, however, knew little or nothing of the major Portuguese language poets or dismissed poetry as just another dull subject on the school curriculum. In seeking to explain this discrepancy, it should be remembered that the oral tradition of popular poetry has tended to be preserved longer in Spain and Portugal (and consequently Latin America) than in Britain, even if it is now principally upheld by children in the form of cantigas de roda and various sung dialogues. In written form too, folk poetry has long been preserved as a living tradition in the form of literatura de cordel and although less and less trovadores are now declaiming their work in market places as well as printing and distributing folhetos, the latter are still sold cheaply all over the Reconcavo. Ten or fifteen years ago, before radio and television became the normal means of news transmission, people in interior areas were often dependent on these verse accounts of everyday events and so illiterate older people are still used to hearing this type of verse read aloud, in the same way as ballads in the Middle Ages, and those who can read

Cheap pamphlets containing verses composed by trovadores (lit. troubadours) on a variety of subjects, from well-known historical romances and battles to topical new items and political scandals. Cf. chapbooks in Britain, plegas sueltos in Spain. They are strung up or pegged on to a cord in markets and other public places where they are displayed for sale, hence de cordel. Trovadores still occasionally read their work aloud. See Curran 1973; Cascudo 1953.
may often have first learned from deciphering these folhetos in the absence of any other reading material.

Trovadores put their stamp on their own, or borrowed, compositions by the use of acrostics, by incorporating their own name in their verses or by handmade woodcuts on the cover. Schoolgirls follow this practice, closely aligned to the universally widespread children's tradition of inscribing possessions with peculiar identifying marks.

Thus schoolgirls identify themselves with an idealised world and a mode of expression far removed from their everyday environment, in the same way as they pore over fotografíeis and regularly watch telenovelas (where they have access to a television), in which the characters and settings are similarly idealised and glamourised, but are designed to offer endless possibilities for self-identification. They form part of a fantasy world to which adolescent girls and adults, particularly women, in the lower socio-economic groups are especially drawn. In this, as in games, girls are attracted to the imaginative, fictitious and fantastic, while boys' interests lie in the real world about them and in the acquisition and development of physical skills.

35 Television serials broadcast at peak viewing times, often very novelettish in character.
CHAPTER 14

CHILDREN'S CALENDAR: OCCASIONAL CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS

14.1 Introductory remarks

In using the term Children's calendar I mean to list in chronological order the principal festivals and events of the year in so far as they affect children. The majority of these are religious festivals (Epiphany, Shrove Tuesday, Holy Saturday and certain saints' days) at least in origin, and of these the feasts of São João and SS. Cosme e Damião will be treated in the fullest detail since these are the feasts which are most enjoyed by children and which have almost come to be seen as 'children's festivals' by adults. SS. Cosme e Damião are considered children's saints in north-east Brazil, and are invoked as their patrons. Other festivals are of amore adult nature, but where certain practices and customs have marked them out as interesting or exciting to children, I have included them. The sections, therefore, are necessarily somewhat disproportionate in length since children are involved in far more activities in the case of the festival of SS. Cosme e Damião than they are, for example, on the feast of Santa Bárbara, and I have felt it necessary to describe these in some detail.

While the two festivals mentioned above constitute the principal red-letter days in the children's calendar, Holy Saturday, with the burning of Judas, comes a close third. Christmas occupies a less important position,

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1 I have omitted the Government-instituted Dia da Criança (12 October), and the Dia dos Namorados (12 June) similar to our St. Valentine's day, when older children send each other cards and messages.
certainly by comparison with its celebration in Europe. It should also be noted that a number of these Christian festivals correspond to festivals in the Candomblé calendar, chiefly due to the assimilation of Catholic saints and Candomblé prixés, as already explained (see above Chapter 2.6c). The most notable of these is the feast of SS. Cosme e Damião which is the festival of the Ibeji, or Twins, in Candomblé. The feast of Santa Bárbara also corresponds to the feast of Yansan in Candomblé, and it is perhaps for this reason that these two feasts have come to occupy such a position of importance in the festive calendar, while in Europe they are relatively minor. Santa Bárbara's feast is also important in that it marks the beginning of a virtually unbroken festive season in Bahia, starting as it does on her feast day on 4 December and continuing with the feast of Nossa Senhora da Conceição (Oxun in Candomblé) on 8 December, Santa Luzia on 13, then Christmas, the feast of Nosso Senhor do Bomfim (Caixá in Candomblé) extending over a few days and ending on the second Sunday in January. On 2 February the wholly African feast of Yemanjá is celebrated in Bahia, after which it is soon Carnaval, which starts on the Saturday before Ash Wednesday and ends on the night of Shrove Tuesday. Given that 4 December is the beginning of the festive season and that the festivities of Christmas and the Epiphany form part of a larger cycle, it seems appropriate to start the children's calendar at this point rather than on 1 January. Occasional customs not regulated by the calendar, half-beliefs and superstitions connected with them and with other practices and events, will be discussed later in the chapter.
14.2 The Feast of St. Barbara

In Salvador itself this feast is marked by a Mass in the Igreja da Nossa Senhora do Rôzário, in the Pelourinho, popularly known as Nossa Senhora dos Pretos. After the Mass, the statue of Santa Bárbara is borne on a litter through the streets on the shoulders of some eight or ten men, bedecked with flowers and followed by a retinue of other statues of saints. The procession is accompanied by a brass band. Santa Bárbara is surrounded by red flowers and red is the predominant colour of the clothes, scarves and jewellery of adults and children in the procession, red being the colour of Yansan and the colour worn by her devotees in Candomblé. The statue is frequently addressed by those in the crowd as Yansan. The procession ascends the Pelourinho and makes its way via the fire station (Santa Bárbara being the patron saint of firemen) and the Mercado de Santa Bárbara slowly back to the Igreja da Nossa Senhora do Rosário.

Similar Catholic processions take place in the smaller towns of the Recôncavo, and in the terreiros, festas are held simultaneously in honour of Yansan, differing only from those of the capital in a greater or lesser degree of lavishness. In Cachoeira, children chant:

- Santa Bárbara virgem,
dos cabelos louros,
a morada dela
é na pedra do ouro. (C10)

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2 Attwater (1975:57) recounts the legend of St. Barbara, who was put to death by her father Dioscurus after she had become a Christian. He was straightaway struck by lightning and reduced to ashes. She is therefore connected with lightning and fire in Christian mythology, as is her African counterpart, Yansan, goddess of the thunderbolt.
as the statue passes by, or, referring to an apparently miraculous local intervention by Santa Bárbara:

-Estava na ladeira
sem poder descer,
chamei por Santa Bárbara
ela veio me valer.  (C2)

In some homes where Santa Bárbara (or Yansan) is the patroness of the mother, or has shown favour on one of the children, altars are built in the main room in her honour, and children take pride in helping to make the altar as elaborate as possible, as they might a Christmas tree. The centrepiece is usually a cheap coloured picture of Santa Bárbara with crown and sword (as she is most commonly represented in Brazil), surrounded with candles and branches (usually of pitanga) and often accompanied by sacrificial offerings in earthenware bowls proper to the Yansan of Candomblé. Apart from helping to set up these altars, the chief enjoyment for the children in this festival and in those saints’ feasts which follow until Carnaval, consists in the excitement of following the procession, adding home-made percussion to the brass band, and being dressed up. I do not propose to deal separately with the feasts of Nossa Senhora da Conceição and Nosso Senhor do Bomfim, or even the non-Christian Yemanjá, as they are similar as far as children’s involvement is concerned, although the feast of Bomfim may bring with it the additional excitement of offering a wax limb or organ to Nosso Senhor do Bomfim as an ex-voto in thanksgiving for his intercession in the successful cure or recuperation of a close friend or relative who has been dangerously ill. The festa de Yemanjá

3 Pitanga, Eugenia uniflora
involves the giving of presents às aguas (Yemanjá being the goddess of salt water) when children may accompany their parents and go out in small boats with presents for Yemanjá which are thrown into the water (or else left on the shore at ebb tide). These presents consist chiefly of combs and ribbons, perfume and soap, Yemanjá's vanity and love of beauty being well known as attributes.

14.3 The Christmas Cycle

a) Natal

This festival is celebrated in totally European fashion, with Christmas trees, Father Christmas (Papai Noel), imitation snow, carols, and turkey, which is generally eaten on the night of Christmas Eve, before the traditional Missa do Galo at midnight. Presents are also opened on Christmas Eve. The Portuguese Catholic tradition has predominated in this case, and immigrants from a number of other European countries have brought and perpetuated their own customs. On account of the familiarity of these customs to the average reader, I will not detail them here, except for a mention of the presépio or laninhas (cribs) which children help to decorate and in which they take enormous pride. The size and magnificence of these cribs, which far outstrip their European counterparts, are frequently in inverse proportion to the wealth and status of the family. In many smaller towns of the interior, the most highly esteemed cribs occupied the whole front room of several small houses I visited, while the already cramped family
was relegated to the back quarters until after the Epiphany. Most cribs represent the conventional figures of Mary, J Jesus and Joseph and animals in the stable, in statue form or cut out of cardboard and crudely painted, although many include the cut-out figures of more topical heroes, notably American astronauts, pop singers and Pelé, side by side with the Magi.

In the Recôncavo, however, as in other parts of Brazil, Christmas should be seen as part of a larger cycle of festivals, from which it cannot be picked out and described apart. The bailes pastoris traditional on Christmas Eve and afterwards are all part of this cycle, and the days between 24 December and 6 January are traditionally the time for these and for reisados and ternos.

b) Festa do Reis

The reisados relate directly to the feast of the Epiphany, and like the Amaualdos in Spain or Pedidos de Reis in Portugal, are not dissimilar to the Scottish tradition of guising. They involve groups of players going round the houses in the neighbourhood asking for alms in exchange for the entertainment they provide. This practice is still maintained in some places. The bailes pastoris strictly relate to Christmas itself and to the Adoration of the Shepherds, and are representations rather than a form of busking, as the reisados are, but strict divisions are not adhered to, and for children today the

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two fall into a single category of Christmastide dramatic representations. The bailes pastoris are gradually disappearing in Salvador as a spontaneous folk phenomenon and are coming under the direction of such bodies as the Ministry of Tourism, although children are the principal performers and, as in the case of pantomimes in Britain at this time of year, make up a large part of the audience. In smaller communities they tend to be organised by the local schoolmistress and, being less rehearsed, allow the children rather more scope for their own improvisation.

As noted above (Chapter 10.1), the baile pastoril is derived from the Iberian pastoril, and later auto pastoril, which began as a sacred dramatic representation centred around the crib in churches. Profane elements gradually crept in until the religious element became secondary to the secular and spectacular. To this, the African influence then came to be added and the auto moved even further away from its sacred origins and changed even in name from auto to baile. Utt comments:

"os enredos destas peças também revelam a mentalidade leviana, futil e lascivia do século XVIII, sendo o tema predominante, não a adoração do Menino Jesus e sim os amores entre pastores e pastoras, vendedoras de frutas, flores e pães, e soldados, marujos, estudantes e morinhos..." (1957 [1]:186)

This suggestive, rather vulgar, pantomime-like element is reinforced with a number of stock comic characters who recur in type, if not in name, in countless pastoris and reisados.

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6 "A véspera de Reis na Bahia é um corolário da noite de Natal. São irmãs quanto à origem, diferindo na vida de relação" (Morais Filho in Festas e Tradições Populares do Brasil quoted by Cascudo 1971:244).
8 A further denomination common in the Northeast is Jornada. See Cascudo 1962:575.
9 For the texts of a number of bailes pastoris and terno from Salvador see Utt 1957 [2]:115-156.
and often some semi-fabulous creature as well. Words and music may be of known and published authorship and composition or else anonymous or the fruit of countless improvisations on an originally published text. C11, a retired head teacher in São Felix, had several exercise nooks full of verses and dramatic dialogues, some of which she had made up herself. Musical accompaniment usually consists of tambourines, guitars and ukeleles with additional percussion often consisting of improvised instruments. Although the principal instruments are played by adults, the pastorias and reisados have now generally become the province of children, and in the gradual process of evolution have degenerated from serious and sacred representations to light-hearted profanities verging on musical pantomime.

14.4 Carnival

Carnival (Carnaval) is as much an adult festival as one for children; adults and children alike dress up, wear masks and go out into the streets para pular, or para brincar, (to jump, to play). Friends and neighbours often form blocos, and in the capital (Salvador), the principal blocos have ceased to be improvisations involving groups of friends, and considerable sums of money change hands between adults to facilitate admission to one or another fashionable bloco. A great deal of the enjoyment of

10 For definition of this term see Cascudo 1962:115: 'No vocabulario do carnaval é um grupo com indumentária uniforme tendo um hino-marcha, composto para o folguedo, o que se exibe nos três dias da folia, cantando qualquer cantiga popular. O bloco usa a mesma fantasia ou a muda em cada dia...'
Carnaval for children lies in the constant noise, now usually provided by contraptions known as Trios Eléctricos (highly-amplified groups which tour the streets mounted on lorries decorated like floats and armed with a battery of loudspeakers), and authorised clowning. The following extract in fact describes the Entrudo gordo in Lisbon in the 1820s, but the same scenes are enacted in small towns of the Recôncavo and in many bairros of Salvador today:

'the frolics of the Carnival consist in throwing hair powder and water in each others' faces and over their clothes; and pelting the passengers in the streets with oranges, eggs and many other missiles besides throwing buckets of water on them' 12.

14.5 1st of April

April Fool's Day (Dia dos Bobos/Primeiro de Abril), requires little commentary, as pranks and practical jokes are played in exactly the same way as in Britain and France (Poisson d'Avril). It would appear that such pranks are also traditional in Portugal on this day, while the Spanish tradition of playing jokes on the day of the Holy Innocents (28 December) is unknown in Brazil. The unsuspecting party who falls prey to the joke is taunted with the chant:

- Caiu, caiu, caiu no primeiro de abril (S1).

11 The name is of relatively recent introduction in Brazil and dates from the middle of the nineteenth century, according to Cascudo (1967:22). It replaces the Português de Entrudo. The nature of the Portuguese Entrudo gordo and its evolution and development in Brazil is traced by Cascudo (1967:22-27). Gallop (1936: 105-114) gives an account of the Portuguese Carnaval.


13 Dias 1967:6, 70.
The highlight of the end of Lent for children in rural districts and poorer barrios is Holy Saturday, rather than Easter Sunday with its confectionery eggs which are known only to children from higher socio-economic backgrounds. The Coseira do Judas (Judas-Burning) of Holy Saturday (Sábado de Alcalua) has its closest British equivalent, in physical terms, in Guy Fawkes Night, although this is obviously very different in origins and cannot be associated with the pre-Christian solstitial and equinoctial fires like the Coseira do Judas or the Fallas de Valencia which fall at this time of year close to the vernal equinox. Turner, however, records an isolated incidence of Judas-burning in Britain, in a particular area of South Liverpool in dealing with the 'curious custom' of 'the Judas Penny'. He describes how children collect materials to make a Judas guy which is hoisted on a pole and after begging with the guy round the neighbourhood, he is burned at 11 a.m. on Good Friday (as opposed to Holy Saturday). However, Turner believes the custom to be of Iberian origin:

14 Frazer compares practices such as the burning of Judas figures in Europe, the lighting of bonfires at Easter and the pagan notion of 'new fire' with the Catholic practice of extinguishing all the lights in the churches on Easter Eve and then making new fire, followed by the lighting of the great Paschal candle which is then used to rekindle all the extinguished lights in the church. (1971:604-808)

15 Taylor, however, has evidence of this practice in English tradition and quotes from Hereford and Cornwall (1923:182-183). In Cornwall the figure was called Jack o'Lent and was drawn through the streets at the beginning of Lent.

16 Cf. a similar account quoted by Taylor 1923:164-165. In Spain the straw effigy is called al despensero (ibid.:167). Judas is not the only figure to be thus insulted. Taylor points out that 'occasionally the effigy is called the "Ostermann", the Wandering Jew, Winter, or Death...The original figure is doubtless to be seen in the personification of Death and Winter' (ibid.:161).
I was told the idea originated many years ago when the old Spanish sailing ships docked and discharged their cargoes of wines and citrus fruits etc., in the South End docks, and if the ship was in dock on Good Friday morning the sailors used to flog a dummy round the decks and pitch him overboard. This was said to represent Judas doing penance for betraying Our Lord." (1954;47)

Cascudo certainly testifies to its great popularity throughout the Iberian peninsula and traces the process of syncretism between pagan and Christian rites before the Queima ever reached Brazil:

'Certamente o Judas queimado é uma personalização das forças do mal e constituirá vestígio dos cultos agrários, espalhados pelo mundo... para obter os melhores resultados nos trabalhos do campo... Queimava-se um manequim representando o deus da vegetação. Pela magia simpática, o fogo é o sol, e o processo se destinava a garantir às árvores, as plantações o calor e a luz indispensáveis, submetendo a figura ao poder das chamas." (1962:406)

Popular since the early days of Portuguese colonisation the Judas-burning ceremonies were witnessed by a number of foreign travellers to Brazil, most of whom comment on the satirical and political implications involved.17 Kidder and Fletcher mention having seen a Judas-burning (1857;154) and Wetherell, who gives a more detailed account comments that:

'Effigies are frequently dressed in imitation of some obnoxious individual. During the height of the slave trade, I am told that one of these figures was remarkably well got up as an English naval officer, and was intended to represent Captain Christie, of H.M.S Rose." (1860:84-85)

This practice of making guys as clear caricatures of unpopular citizens appears to have been common: Freyre makes further reference to the practice (1948:33) and quotes the

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17 Social and political (as far as the latter is permissible) satire are also characteristic of the Valencian Fallas.
account of an Englishman in Rio, a certain Walsh (ibid., 54-55) in which he describes how effigies of himself and his wife were burned as Judas figures because they, as Protestants, did not contribute to the *comemoração da aleluia* festival along with the neighbours in the street. Debret, whose account predates the English and American ones quoted above, makes mention of the extreme concern of the authorities with regard to the burning of effigies of leading statesmen and military officials; and for some time after the arrival of the Portuguese Court in Brazil, the practice was banned altogether.\(^{18}\)

In the Recôncavo today, groups or *bairroas* generally combine to make a Judas guy, although in accounts of the practice in other areas (Coaró, for example)\(^{19}\) every household has a guy of its own. Judas-burning has been generally banned in city centres on account of the fire risk. The Judas is invariably white, and made of rags stuffed with straw and waste paper, with gunpowder inserted in strategic places so that the guy explodes and revolves as it burns.\(^{20}\) More ambitious artists make a papier mâché face in a clay mould, and the Judas invariably holds a cigar (also filled with gunpowder) to his mouth in one hand. He is hung up on a lamp-post or on a cross-shaped frame (*avião*) any time after midnight on Good Friday, and before

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18 Debret’s account of his *Voyage Pittoresque et Historique au Brésil* 1834-39 is quoted by Cascudo (in Portuguese translation) 1971:78-80.

19 Lima 1959 [2]:111 quoting Gustavo Barroso’s account in *Coração de Menino* (Rio 1939); Figueirêdo Filho 1962:86; Barroso 1923:298-301.

20 Lima (1959[2]:28-38) gives a number of photographs of typical Judas guys, all of them white.
the figure is burned on the Saturday, the Testamento do Judas is read out. This is generally in verse, and the work of 'o poeta da cidade' (the local bard) (usually an adult) and is the subject of great hilarity, as the will makes over a series of increasingly undesirable legacies to all the important or notorious people of the vicinity, from local officials to petty criminals, scandalmongers, cuckold, bullies and cowards, in a discourse peppered with satire, sarcasm and irony. To the man with no jacket, or an aged and patched jacket, is left Judas' jacket, to a person who has had cause to be ashamed recently, is left Judas' vergonha, or, to quote an example of more incisive criticism:

'O dinheiro do meu crime
que recebi na bolsinhan
muito embora alguma lastima
é do Jorge da lojinha.'

Maldadores (maulers, threshers) then move in and beat the guy and he is lit at the extremities so that he burns, revolves and explodes until he is totally consumed by the fire. Only the guy burns, no bonfire is lit underneath. CT's written account of the Queima is transcribed verbatim below:

'sábado de aleluia, esse dia é o queima do Juda
(sic); ele só queima a meia noite, antes disso o dono que faz o Juda, pede dinheiro nas casas e no Comércio, para colaborar; esse dinheiro ele faz leilão, e as coisas para enfeitar o Juda. Antes de queimar o Juda, tem banda música, isso espera

23 Thrashing is also common in Italy. In Alsace, the Rhineland and Bavaria, the effigy is 'hammered'. See Taylor 1924:167, 174.
de queimar o malvado do Juda. Ele é feito assim como um tipo de bopeço, bem grande, agora dentro dele coloca bastante bombas pelo corpo todo depois veste uniforme completo; quando ele já está pronto, na hora de queimar enfia na ponta do pau para ficar bem seguro depois pega um arame e coloca de uma ponta a outra, faz um avião, essas espadas são fogos também, que a gente toca em São João; preparando isso tudo, ainda tem de ler o testamento dele, assim: *O Juda morreu, não teve o que deixar* deixou uma camisa velha, para fulano gozar... ai vai dizendo varias coisas como sapato velho, gravata velha, e repetindo essa frase que está marcada com uma *; meia noite em ponto o Juda já está enfiado para morrer, pega o fogo e coloca no avião, ele sai por cima do arame encosta no pé do Juda, ele começa a girar, o avião torna, volta para o seu lugar, depois segue de novo. Toca fogo na perna, ai começa (a) estourar e saindo fogos de todas cores, e assim por diante. O avião fica de vaivém pagando tudo aos pouquinhos e estourando por ultimo a cabeça. (C1)

When this description of the preparation for the Queima is set against that of Debret (Cascudo 1971:78-80; Lima 1959 [2]:10) it will be seen that the custom has undergone little change in the last 150 years.

14.7 The Feast of St. Antony

The feast of Santo Antonio on 13 June is the immediate precursor to that of São João, one of the best known and most popular festivals of the year, and all the practices associated with a noite de São João are begun in a small way on the feast of Santo Antonio.

Santo Antonio has been referred to colloquially as pau para toda obra (Jack of All Trades) partly due to the popular confusion between St. Antony the hermit (born in 251 in Egypt), the St. Antony of Flaubert's Tentation de

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24 For a very full comparative account of Judas-burning ceremonies, in Europe and South America, see Taylor 1923:159-186, and for a further detailed account of A Malhacão in Brazil, see Lima 1971:37-58.

Saint Antony, characterised by self-denial, chastity and immense wisdom, and the Portuguese St. Antony of Padua (born in 1195 in Lisbon) who is the familiar santinho of the ecclesiastical statues, carrying the child Jesus and a lily. June 13 is in fact the feast of St. Antony of Padua, while that of St. Antony the hermit is 17 January.

Oliveira quotes a sermon of Padre Vieira's listing with undisguised cynicism Santo Antonio's many and varied roles as intercessor:

"se vos adoece o filho, Santo Antonio; se vos foge o escravo, Santo Antonio; se mandais a encomenda, Santo Antonio; se esperais o retorno, Santo Antonio; se requereis o despacho, Santo Antonio, se aguardais a sentenca, Santo Antonio, se perdeis a menor mudeza de vossa casa, Santo Antonio; e talvez, se quereis os bens alheios, Santo Antonio."

(1948:92)

However, what Santo Antonio is chiefly known for today and which Vieira does not allude to directly, is that he is the patron saint of marriage (with which São João is also linked). Through a series of confusions in the popular association of ideas, Santo Antonio is at once the patron of marriage and of lost things. Reducing these confusions to the simplest level, he comes to be associated with lost things through French, and through an error based on homophony; St. Antony is of course in French Saint Antoine de Pave or Pavie (Padua) which sounds almost the same as Saint Antoine d'Épaves (lost objects, strays, waifs, unclaimed property). In Brazil, as we have seen suggested by Vieira, he was invoked to find lost slaves and hence comes to be seen as one who catches and, figuratively, binds. By extension, he is seen as one who...

27 For an account of Santo Antonio’s particular popularity in Bahia, see Freyre 1959:53-54.
who finds and binds partners in marriage. The cord of his habit with which he is depicted hence takes on a new symbolic significance and while the gulf is deep between his unsaintly function as slave-catcher and advocate of bondage and that of procurer of husbands, it is bridged by the symbolism of knots and cords, semantically and visually associated with marriage.

A number of practices on his feast day are associated with this view of Santo Antonio. Girls who want a husband may take a statue of Santo Antonio and hold him upside down in a glass of water or cachaca threatening to keep him in this humiliating position until their request is granted, saying:

- Meu Santo Antonio querido
  meu santo de carne e ossos,
  se tu não me der marido
  não tiro você do poço. (I5)

Another rhyme runs:

- Santo Antonio eu vos peço agora
  para na vida sempre ter consolação,
  é que vos me mande um noivo sem demora
  para tirar-me do maldito barricão.
  Boto pintura quando eu quero passar
  solto os cabelos na frente e faço um pimpão,
  ando na rua toda faceira
  mas não há jeito de sair do barricão. (C7)

These practices seem to be confined entirely to girls (and, obviously, those about and above fourteen years of age) although younger sisters and friends look on with interest and conduct imitative ceremonies of their own. Boys do not invoke the assistance of Santo Antonio in finding a noiva. (C1)

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Conversely they may fazer uma promessa which must be pagada when the saint grants their wish. This may consist of prayers to be said, a difficult task to be accomplished, or an offering involving a financial outlay.
14.6 St. John's Eve

While the burning of Judas may be seen to be associated with Easter fires, the 'new fire' celebrating the end of winter (in the northern hemisphere) and the incorporating of pagan practices into Christian tradition, the bonfires of St. John's Eve (23 June) continue the pre-Christian practice of lighting fires at the summer solstice, well-known throughout Europe and the Muslim world.

As we have seen, the festival dates back to pre-Christian times in the Old World and has been celebrated in Brazil since the earliest days of colonisation. As in the case of many superficially Christian festivals replacing long-established pagan rites, there is a notable discrepancy between the known character of the saint and the manner in which he is commemorated, as Cascudo points out:

"Pregador de alta moral, áspero, intolerante, ascético, São João é festejado com as alegrias transbordantes de um deus amável e dionisiaco, com farta alimentação, músicas, danças, bebidas e uma marcada tendência sexual nas comemorações populares, adivinhações pelo casamento, banhos coletivos pela madrugada, prognósticos do futuro, anúncio da morte no curso do ano próximo."

(1962:392)

Early chroniclers bear witness to the fact that, for these very reasons, the festas de São João were popular amongst the indigenous population, and like the Christmas reisados the Jesuits adapted them to suit their catechising purpose.

The Jesuit Fernão Cardim, in 1583, writing of the three Christian festivals most appreciated and celebrated by the Indians, says:

The noite de São João in the Recôncavo is surrounded with a folklore of its own; special food and drink is prepared and consumed, balões (kite-lanterns) are made, lit and launched, bonfires are built, and in some areas, the practice of jumping the fire is continued. A whole series of divinatory practices, songs and dances are associated with the night of 23 June. (81)

Traditional dishes prepared on this night are canjica (made with grated green corn, coconut milk, sugar and cinnamon), bolo de aipim or carimã (made from a manioc paste left to dry in the sun), milho verde (corn on the cob) and well-known regional dishes such as vatapã, sãó, xinxim de galinha and caruru. Cachaca is not the traditional accompaniment to these dishes, as it is on other occasions, but rather home-made licores, prepared from fruits like the genipapo (genipapo, Genipa americana), maracujá (passion fruit, Passiflora), pitanga. Homes are decorated with branches of pitanga and sugar cane and, in outlying districts, fires are built outside the doorways of each house. In towns these have now been prohibited on account

30 Quoted by Cascudo 1962:392, Capelas, 'wreaths of flowers worn by merrymakers'.

31 Pitanga is also frequently used as a decoration in poorer homes at Christmas and other festivals and is considered to bring good luck.
of the fire risk and possible damage to electric cables, as have the balões, and so fires are generally built on available patches of waste ground, as often happens on Guy Fawkes Night in Britain. If families do not build their own fire they may at least light a candle in the window or in the doorway. Almost every family still makes a balão from coloured tissue paper, with a wick inside. The wick is soaked in inflammable liquid and, after dark, once the wick has been lit and the balloon filled with hot air, it is released to bob in the sky until the wick is spent (S12).

There is considerable scope for the imagination in the construction of these balões, and though the majority tend to be conventionally shaped, Ott records how, before they were banned from city centres, balões were made in the shape of nuns, pigs and weird monsters (1955:159). Children are often dressed up in caipira (peasant) costume, or appear as gipsies, particularly if there are to be dances, like the quadrilha (C11). After dark, the foguiras (bonfires) are lit, and families and friends gather round them to sing traditional músicas de São João, eat, dance and fazer adivinhanção (divinations) (S21). Many of these músicas allude to a number of popular beliefs about São João, which we shall first examine.

São João is supposed to remain asleep during his feast day, and according to popular belief, if he is awoken, he

32 For a clear account of the type of quadrilha popular in rural Brazil, see Lima 1971:87–88.
33 This is not the same type of adivinhanção as was discussed in the foregoing chapter on riddles, as will be apparent from discussion in the text.
will be unable to resist the temptation of coming down from heaven to join the merrymakers with their bright fires and revelry on earth, and if he descends from heaven, the world will be consumed by fire (I3). Others say that St. Elizabeth allows her son to sleep until the feast of SS. Peter and Paul (29 June) when he is awoken by the noise of fireworks but not tempted to descend to earth as he would be on his own feast day, bringing the fatal conflagration (I9, C6, C7). It explained the lighting of fires by reference to a legend in which Elizabeth and the Virgin Mary pre-arranged a signal to give notice of the birth of their babies: whichever baby arrived first, the mother would light a fire on the top of the nearest hill to inform the other. From these beliefs stem the references in the mísicas to awakening, or not awakening, São João, shouting out his name to attract his attention and so on. João is seen as a saint assuring fertility and prosperity (and in this he is linked to Santo Antonio), through his connection with fire and the pre-Christian connotations of fire as an element of fecundity and of purity and as an agent driving out hunger and misery. Ashes from the fire of São João are powerful in curing ills. Passing through the fire, whether as a proof of mystical or divine powers, or as part of an initiation rite, is a phenomenon common to many religions in many parts of the world, and this is still practised in

According to Almeida (1946:130) however, the refrains of acorda João in mísicas are designed to wake João, and derive from an Andaluz legend according to which the Lord allowed the saint to sleep for three days to avoid the noise of festas in heaven (June thunder), but let him be woken at midnight on 23 June.


some areas at São João, when the flames have burned low, the act being symbolical rather than any kind of test of endurance. Young people hoping to marry jump over the fire together, or married people wanting children do the same, and, more rarely now, compadres do fogo are established. The two future compadres stand on opposite sides of the fire and jump across it, crossing each other in mid-flight, a total of three times, saying each time:

- São Pedro, São Paulo
- São Felipe, São Tiago,
- Juro por Deus (Juro por São João)
- Que fulano de tal
- E meu compadre/é minha comadre. (c7)

They then come together and embrace.

a) Adivinhações

The many other practices connected with a festa de São João are recorded in some detail by Cascudo (1962:392-394) and are commented on by a number of foreign travellers to Brazil. Maria Graham, in 1824, writes in her journal:

'This is the eve of St. John's, whereon the maidens of Brazil practise some of the same rites as those of Scotland do at Hallowe'en, to ascertain the fate or their loves. They burn nuts together; they put their hands, blindfold, on a table, with the letters of the alphabet; and practise many a simple conjuration.' (1824:253)

Burton (1869:1, 147-149) discusses the 'fiery fête' in more detail and traces its connection with the feast of Baal.

What Maria Graham witnessed was typical of the adivinhações practised by girls. The most common current

40 See also Costa 1907:179-183; Figueirêdo Filho 1962:88.
adivinhançães I collected are given below:

i) Take a piece of string and wrap it round your finger and tie three knots in it for three wishes. Cut the rest off and on the night of São João throw this leftover piece in the fire and you should dream that night of your future husband. (C7)

ii) Whatever you eat on the night of São João, put a little aside for the saint on a new plate which has never been used before; bless the food beside the fire and put it beside your bed that night with a fork laid ready for São João, and you will dream of your future husband coming to eat it. (C8)

iii) When three girls live in one house, to see which one will marry first, make three bolos de pirão (manioc cakes), one representing each girl. Each girl puts her cake in a different place: one at the front door, one in the middle of the house, and one at the back door. One cake will disappear in the night; and the girl it represents will be the first to marry. (I2)

iv) At midnight, girls should take a new knife and put it in the fire with a request to know the first letter of their lover's name. They then stick the knife into the trunk of a banana tree and go home without looking back. On returning in the morning, the appropriate letter should have imprinted itself on the knife. (I3)

v) Girls should write a number of letters on scraps of paper, then cut the paper so that there is only one letter on each piece of paper. The papers should then be rolled up tight and put into a glass of water. The glass should then be held over the fire for a minute and left overnight. The first piece of paper to have risen to the surface in the morning should be unravelled to show the first letter of the lover's name. (C1)

41 Cf. Burton 1869:1, 149 for similar beliefs associated with SS. Brigid, Andrew and Thomas, and see Keats: 'They told her how, upon St. Agnes' Eve, Young virgins might have visions of delight, And soft adorings from their loves receive Upon the honey'd middle of the night, If ceremonies due they did aright;' (Eve of St. Agnes, 6, vv. 46-50).

vi) Girls take a mouthful of water and keep it in the mouth and then hide behind the door until they hear any passer-by mention a man's name. That is then the name of the man they will marry. (11)

b) Folcuedos e brincadeiras

Another popular practice associated with São João is climbing the Pau de Sebo (see Chapter 5.3). Sack races are also common, and children invariably play Quebra-Pote (as they sometimes do at Christmas), although this requires the organisation of adults or older children. A thin earthenware pot is hung up on a branch, generally filled with small presents or sweets. A second pot filled with water is hung next to it. One child is blindfolded, turned round several times and given a stick. The child then has to find the pots and try to break one or both of them with the stick, while the other children run in to pick up the sweets or else scatter to escape a dousing. C1's written account, which is transcribed verbatim below, involves three pots:

you definir o que significa o quebra pote; compra tres pote de barro, um coloca queimado laranja, e o outro bota um gato vivo e o outro bota agua; agora depois pega um menino, coloca um pano no rosto e da um pau para o menino segurar. Roda o menino e ele sai batendo o pau, em vao, ate quebrar o pote.' (C1) 44

The latter description allies this to the practice known as gato no pote described by Cascudo (1962:344; 1967:30) which is, according to him, of Portuguese origin. Cascudo connects it with the European practice of burning cats:

'...cerimônicas europeias em que o gato era enforcado,

44 Also played on the occasion of the feast of SS. Cosme e Damião.
queimado vivo, como lembrança do castigo às bruxas do sabbate, ainda comuns em Portugal, Espanha, França etc...'
(1962:144), but which did not reach Brazil in that form. However, the fact that there is not always a cat involved in the Brazilian quebra-pote, and that sweets etc., are sometimes used to fill the pote, may provide a link between this practice and a Hindu custom which may possibly have reached Brazil via the Portuguese, and which is connected with one of the chief religious festivals of the year, the feast of the birth of Shri Krishna, of which E.H. Forster gives a clear description in A Passage to India:

'It was their duty to play various games to amuse the newly born God... they hung from the roof of the temple, in a net, a great black earthenware jar, which was painted here and there with red, and wreathed with dried figs. Now came a rousing sport. Springing up, they struck the jar with their sticks. It cracked, broke, and a mass of greasy rice and milk poured on to their faces.' (1949:301-302)

In Forster's account, the contents of the jar constitute a 'divine mess' a kind of manna with which all fed one another and

'there was no quarrelling, owing to the nature of the gift, for blessed is the man who confers it on another, he imitates God.' (ibid.:302)

c) Fogueiras e Pirotécnica

The bonfires, like those at Guy Fawkes, are accompanied by fireworks, and have been, in Brazil, since the eighteenth century (having been brought from China to Europe by the Portuguese at the end of the sixteenth century). Nuno Marques Pereira, writing in Salvador in 1733, bears witness to the already-established popularity of fireworks:

45 Quoted by Casacade 1967:30.
‘os excessos das festas de São João Batista,
tanto pelo grande gasto de pólvora, que se
fazia nos tiros das espingardas, e foguetes,
desde as vésperas até o dia do santo, que já
não havia quem se atrevesse a andar pelas
ruas, pelo risco do fogo, e mortes, que
tinham acontecido,!

and Wetherell (1860:23) writes of similar dangers from
fireworks in Bahia in 1848. Burton comments:

‘you are deafened with the ridiculous rockets,
and the meliques or niggerlings make the
streets unpleasant by throwing “foot seekers”
(buscapedas) or squibs, which do their best to
injure your legs.’ (1869:1,149)

d) Músicas

References to a number of these practices and beliefs
will be seen in the transcriptions of músicas which follow
and in these cases no further annotations will be made.

i) Venha cá meu balãozinho
diga onde você vai.
- Vou subindo, vou subindo
vou pra casa do meu pai.
- Já, ha ha (laughing) mas que tolice
nunca vi balão ter pai,
ifique queto neste canto
que daqui você não sai. (S12)

ii) Tem tanta fogueria
tem tanta balão
tem tanta brincadeira,
todo mundo no terreiro
faz adivinhação,
Meu São João, eu não,
eu não tenho alegria
só porque não veio, não veio
quem tanto eu queria.
Joguei a faca
no tronco da bananeira
não gostei da brincadeira
Santo Antonio me enganou. (S16)

iii) Olho para o céu
vejo um balão,
olho para o terreiro
vejo um fogueirão.
Olho para um canto
vejo um garrafão,
me encho de cachaca
wou gritar ‘São João’. (I15)
iv) O, viva São João
como ele é bonitinho,
trazendo no braço
o seu carneirinho. (I20)

v) Eu hoje estou pagando fogo, fogo, fogo
vamos fazer animação na festa,
São João só presta puxando fogo
é hora de saltar balão superquantão. (I21)

vi) Cai cai balão,
 você não deve de subir,
 quem corre muito
 quando cai vai se ferir;
cai cai balão,
cai cai balão
 aqui na minha mão (na rua do Sertão) (na rua do Sabão)
não cai não, não cai não, não cai não. (I22)(C11)(C8)

vii) Toda a gente vai pular
 vai dançar e cantar,
ao redor lá da fogueira
 queremos brincar.
Santo Antonio, Santo Antonio
 é de nossa devoção,
 festejamos a São Pedro
 logo após o São João.
Toda a gente vai pular
 vai dançar etc....
Sobe sabe balãozinho
brinquedinho de salão,
 queimaremos estrelinhas
 em louvor a São João.
Toda a gente vai pular
 vai dançar etc.... (S14)

viii) Tem jenipapo, tem canjica, ca, ca,
tem licor tem sim, tem licor tem sim,
lá na festa do arraial,
que festa bonita é São João.
Nicolau toca sanfona
dentro do caramanchão,
Rosinha dança com Juca
Jumara com Janjú,
Não deixo quo esta bomba
 estoure na minha mão. (I23)

ix) São João esta dormindo
 não acorda não,
dá-me cravos e rosas
 e manjericao.
Se São João acobesse
que era hoje o seu dia,
descia do céu à terra
 com prazer e alegria. (C1)
x) Pula a foguêira iaia
pula a foguêira idio
cuidado para não se queimar,
oiha que a foguêira
já queimou o meu amor. (S5)

xi) Acorda São João,
vamos pular foguêira
o soltar balêano,
a noite de São João
é noite de adivinhação;
todos acendem sua foguêira
com prazer no coração,
um salão enfeitado,
com rosas melíndrosas,
vamos festear
a noite misteriosa 46. (C2)

e) Dancas

The dance most associated with the noite de São João in suburban and rural districts is the quadrilha, which in the nineteenth century, freshly imported from France, enjoyed a great vogue in the best society 47, and which has gradually become proletarianised until it is now restricted to performance by children in country districts at the time of the festas juninas 48. Quite ignorant of its origins in the ballrooms of France, children are dressed up in peasant costume to perform what is generally considered to be a folk dance. The arrasta-pé derives from a common origin and is also based on the French quadrille, according to Almeida:

'o exemplo vindo do alto tinha de proliferar e por toda parte se dansava, nas casas modestas, en assustados e arrasta-pés, nas domingueiras dos clubes de arrabalde.'

(1942:154)49

46 Miseriosa on account of the adivinhações. For other verses see Lima 1971:193-100.
47 It was already common in Brazil by 1837 according to Costa (1907:225). See also Cascudo 1962:208.
48 See Rodrigues 1973:22: 'a quadrilha de tal modo se aclimatou, tornou-se tão nacional que virou dança típica e "caipira", Não tinha exigências e qualquer chão lhe servia...'
49 Assustado, arrasta-pé and chôro (a further denomination) are all synonymous. For the derivation of the term chôro see Cascudo 1962:208.
Partners are usually arranged in sets of three, with lavish bowing and curtsey ing at the beginning and ending of each part. There are five parts and orders are shouted out by a further participant who has no partner and does not dance. He or she is known as the marcante. Various different steps are danced, and the five parts usually end in a galope. Other variations include o túnel (where one couple makes arches and the others all pass underneath as in Três Três Passaré), a chuva (dancers lift their hands above their heads to make 'umbrellas'), a castinha de flores, caminho da roca, a grande roda, a conquista, o marimbondo and o jardim de flores, some of which bear some resemblance to the original French variations, (la chaîne, la corbeille etc.) and others of which are of purely Brazilian invention (C11). Músicas given for the quadrilha follow below:

1) É hora é hora, é hora de pular
é hora da quadrilha;
vamos ver sair luar,
vamos todos direitinho,
para não fazer surtão;
a cabeça enfeitadinha
dando 'viva São João'. (I22)

ii) O bota aqui o bota aqui
o seu pésinho
o seu pésinho bem juntinho ao meu
o bota aqui, o bota aqui
o seu pésinho,
o seu pésinho bem juntinho ao meu;
agora que estamos juntos
dá-me um abraço e um beijinho. (C3)

51 At this point the two partners are facing each other, one beating his foot gently on the ground beside his partner's.
52 At this point they take each other's arms and go round in a circle.
14.9 The feast of SS. Cosmas and Damian

The celebration of the feast of SS. Cosma e Damiano on 27 September is a clear example of religious syncretism combining as it does a Catholic saint's day and the worship of an African Twin-god of fecundity.

According to Catholic hagiography, Cosmas and Damian have long been invoked as the patron saints of physicians and called 'the holy moneyless ones', as they are supposed to be twin brothers who practised medicine without charging fees, although there appears to be little historical evidence that they were in fact twins. Martyred in 287 under the persecution of the Emperor Diocletian in Syria, little else is known about them historically, despite the wealth of legends which have sprung up around their cult since the fifth century when it began to be propagated.

From the earliest times, the cult of Cosmas and Damian was closely connected with the heathen cult of the Dioscuri, the twin sons of Zeus, to such an extent that efforts were made at one time to prove that Cosmas and Damian had never existed as Christian martyrs, although these were not successful.

53 To a certain extent it also perpetuates indigenous beliefs in the powers of mythical Twins revered by the Tupinambá. See Métraux 1928 (2)131-43.
However, it is the fact that they are believed to be twins which provides the essential link in associating them with powerful divinities in other religions, twin worship, fear of twins and countless taboos relating to twins and their parents having been widespread long before the cult of the Dioscuri.\(^5^5\)

The first Portuguese colonisers carried with them to Brazil the cult of the twin saints, whose protection on voyages and as physician-saints was often invoked to keep off disease and decimating epidemics in a new and, for many, totally unfamiliar climate. Their particular powers in childbirth, particularly of a multiple nature, were also designed to endear them to early settlers as 'household saints'.\(^5^6\) As early as 1530 a church was built in their honour in Iguaracú (Pernambuco) by Duarte Coelho\(^5^7\) and their similarities with the African Twin-god or gods led to their early acceptance by the first slaves and to their assimilation into the African religious calendar as synonymous with the African Twins or mabaca as they are often popularly known in what Bastide terms: 'simbiose tão estreita que hoje é difícil distinguir a parte pròpriamente africana da parte européia, nos costumes populares.' (1961:256). It is this association with the African mabaca or Ibeji\(^5^8\), so closely associated with fecundity and the birth and rearing of twins that has brought Cosme e Damião to be connected with


\(^5^6\) Cosme e Damião are also associated with diseases of a sexual nature and are invoked to cure them. See Cascudo 1962:247.

\(^5^7\) Bastide 1961:255.

\(^5^8\) Ibeji is a Sudanese term (Cascudo 1962:247) which was brought by slaves of jaje-nagô origin. Mababa is in fairly common usage in the north east of Brazil, meaning twins.
children and which has led to their feast day becoming a **festa das crianças**. As physicians and Christian martyrs there appears to be nothing which marks them out as the patrons of children and although in statuary they appear in adult dress they tend to be diminutive figures often with childlike expressions painted on their faces. While statues of certain African gods have been preserved (Exú, Yemanjá, although the latter has undergone a process of Europeanization both in Nigeria and Brazil and acquired blonde hair and fair skin) others exist only in the form of their Catholic counterparts (Santa Bárbara - Yansan, São Jorge - Oxossi) and this is the case with the Ibeji. In Cuba, however, the opposite has happened, and under the name Jimaguas, the idol(s) representing twin gods has/have been preserved, as Fernando Ortiz describes, in *Los Negros Brujos*:

'Dos Jimaguas o mellizos... son dos muñecos tascamente construídos de madera, a veces pintados de negro (color de su raza) y con un vestido de tela roja. Ciertos brujos suelen atar a los dos Jimaguas con un cordel, sin duda para expresar más gráficamente su carácter de gemelos. Los Jimaguas no han sido catolizados, ni, por lo tanto, representados por imágenes católicas..."59

Ortiz draws attention to the uniting of the figures by a cord and while the two figures remain identical but separate in Brazil they are invariably referred to in the singular: São Cosme e Damião or Dois-dois, followed by a third-person singular verb or pronoun 60. They are sometimes accompanied however, even in Catholic statues, by a third, much smaller

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59 Quoted by Casado 1962:366. See also Ramos 1940:385-386.
60 Cf. Bastide 1961:256. Harris (1903:14) gives an example of a European occurrence of this usage.
figure, to whom reference is made in many of the songs. This third element is known as Doú, and he is explained in various ways: he represents a third child born singly after the birth of twins (C2); he is the son of Cosme o Damião (the two necessarily being seen as one saint in this instance) (I14), or the brother of the Dois-dois, or Doú may be the name given to each of the Dois-dois as an affectionate name in place of Cosme o Damião (C8). This explanation seems likely if one considers that the practice of conferring names similar in sound or sense on twins has been practised throughout the world for centuries but the most acceptable explanation is given by Bastide (1961:261-263) who refers back to A.D. Ellis's study (The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave-Coast of West Africa) where he explains that Doú is a little monkey consecrated to the Òbeji: 'chama-se Edou Dudu o Edun orikun e por isso um dos dois gêmeos se chama Edou ou Edoun.' (1961:261).

From this origin, however, Edou has undergone a transformation, in Dahia at least: 'este Edou se transforma num "guardião" dos gêmeos' conforming to the explanation given by various other informants (I2, I7, S21) that Doú is there to look after Cosme e Damião, who are only children and could easily come to harm.

a) Peditórios

Throughout the month of September children go round the streets and make door-to-door collections (peditórios)

61 Cf. Carneiro 1936:44.
62 Andrade 1963:142.
64 For a discussion of the Dioscuri as a triad see Harris 1903:52-54.
for Cosme e Damião, to defray the costs of having a Mass said on their feast day (and in fact to contribute towards the general expenses involved in organising a party in their honour). In some cases, not a Mass but a reza (formal communal prayers) is organised in a private house, and this is obviously a considerably cheaper way of paying suitable homage to the saints. C2 always held a reza in her house, consisting of the recitation of one Paternoster, one Kyrie, one Salve Regina, and a final Blessing, with a pause in the middle to incense the room.

Collecting boxes are made from cardboard boxes covered with crêpe paper and decorated with leaves or cut-out paper with either a small statue or a picture of Cosme e Damião affixed to the top. Similar collecting boxes are seen in the days preceding other festivals, notably that of Santa Bárbara, when caruru may also be offered. The giving of the caruru is, to Candomblé devotees, an obrigação, or ritual offering in cases where thanksgiving must be made for some favour received from the Twins and although these obrigações are generally confined to the parents or close relatives of twins, others may make the offering in thanksgiving for a long-awaited pregnancy, the safe delivery of a child, or deliverance (especially of a child) from disease or accident. However, the practice has transcended Candomblé circles and is often viewed as an annual offering.

Although the system of collecting before a festival has clear Portuguese antecedents, Bastide suggests there may also be an African tradition underlying this practice (1961:257). The feast of Cosmas and Damian is 27 September, and although this is officially the day for the giving of caruru etc. they are commonly offered both before and after this date.
(in a Christian sense) by parents of children in higher socio-economic groups and in lower-income non-Candomblé households who have been similarly succoured by Cosme e Damião and who adhere to much of the ritual practised by Candomblé devotees in respect of dress, order of eating and other requirements, but who would otherwise shrink from association with Afro-Brazilian cults. Couples who have had twins trocam statues of Cosme e Damião: an altar may be made especially to accommodate these, and friends may bring presents for the altar on 27 September, especially money, for like Santo Antonio, Cosme e Damião are finders of lost things, but it is the custom to offer them a coin first as a token of payment for finding the object, ironical in view of the fact that according to legend the physician brothers shunned payment for their services. The statues may be bought simply as a kind of charm, on much the same level as people buy a St. Christopher to put in the car. According to popular belief, when Cosme e Damião are in the house no epidemics can enter because according to Tavares, they are proof against

66 Cf. Tavares (1961:144) who comments that even rich families beg for alms for Cosme e Damião 'symbolically', and who equates them with Santo Antonio and São João in terms of popularity. Cf. also Ott (1955:177) who speaks of the 'santos médicos árabes que pelos candomblézeiros bahianos foram transformados quasi em divindades africanas, aos quais, mesmo em casas da alta sociedade, se oferecem pratos de caruru e outras comidas africanas'.

67 Trocam in this instance is synonymous with compram and forms part of the ritual vocabulary of Candomblé. The idea of exchange is very important in Candomblé. See Lima 1946:14; Araújo 1959:148, 1961:93, 99, 145; 191; Oliveira 1948:87; Pierson 1951:149.

68 This again may be an extension of the African idea of troca.
'feitiço, bruxaria, mau olhado e espinhela caída' (1961:145) (evil spells, witchcraft, the evil eye and fallen sternum, the latter being a non-existent but popularly accepted complaint)69.

b) Festa de large

Although this is generally a private domestic celebration, in some parts of the Recôncavo it is elevated to the level of a public festival, almost a mini-Carnaval extending over several days. CI provided a written eye-witness account of the festivities in Canhoboeira, which I have edited slightly to reduce its length, but otherwise transcribed verbatim:

"foi no dia 26, 27, 28, 29 que começou a festinha, três dias de novenas. Primeiro, dia das crianças, segundo dia dos pessoais do bairro, terceiro dia dos juizes da festa70. No dia 28 de setembro, quando terminou a novea teve samba de roda, capoeira, uma iaô71 armou uma barraca, aquela curtição, com sarapatel72, batida de limão, Brahma chopp, guaraná, churrasco73 e aquels som. Quando terminou a brincadeira, as crianças, moças e rapazes ajudaram embandeirar o largo, colocar palha de coqueiro; a prefeitura mandou capinar, colocar as cambellas; quer dizer cordão de lâmpadas. Agora no mesmo dia 28 que foi sábado ficaram até 2 horas da madrugada ajudando o Padre Roque74, o juiz e a juiza, arrumar a igreja.... pela tarde (dia 29) teve a procissão com vários andores: São Roque, Santa Bárbara, Santa Rita, Nossa Senhora das Graças; Coração de Jesus, por

69 In some non-Candomblé households a caruru doce may be prepared consisting of sweet cakes etc., rather than the African ritual food of the Iboji. For other ritual practices see Ramos 1940:378.
70 Juiz da festa, 'a sponsor'. Usually a person of some prestige in the community and able to contribute financially towards the proceedings.
71 Iaô, Candomblé initiate just emerging from the confinement in which she is kept during initiation.
72 Sarapatel, 'a dish made of sheep's or pig's viscera and blood', very popular in Bahia.
73 Batida de limão, 'a drink made with cachaca and lemon juice'; Brahma Chopp, 'Brazilian draught beer'; churrasco, 'barbecued food'.
74 The local parish priest.
Último a imagem de São Cosme Damião, todo enfeitado de flores artificiais. Depois ouve a festa do largo; samba de roda, afóxê, capoeira, Filarmonica Minerva Cachoeirana. Depois foi dividido o gostoso caruru, foi legal mesmo. Quando na 2ª feira que foi no dia 30 de setembro, teve o quebra pote, corrida do saco, o teve o terno de transa fita. (C1)

c) Caruru

The caruru prepared on the feast of Cosme e Damião is of Sudanese origin and consists largely of *guiabo* (okra) chopped up and washed and dried to remove the viscous matter. Other ingredients are crushed nuts, dried shrimps, onion, coriander and lemon juice with *dendê* oil. It may be served with rice, *farofa* (fried manioc meal), chicken, popcorn, *acaraje* (a kind of spicy doughnut made with black-eye beans reduced to a paste and fried in *dendê* oil), coconut and fried bananas as side dishes. C2 always put aside some wine, honey (also closely associated with all ritual offerings to the Ibeji) and water and a little bowl containing a little caruru and one whole *guiabo* for the Dois-dois and I22 did the same although she was not, like C2, a Candomblé devotee. Seven *guiabos* should be left whole and placed at random in one of the plates when the caruru is served to the adults. Where the caruru is not given as a personal obricação on an annual basis, the person who finds the seven *guiabos* in his

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75 Note C1's use of the singular *São*.
76 *Afóxê* 'a negro rancho often performed at Carnaval'. See Cascudo 1962:118.
77 The local band.
78 *Terno de transa fita* 'dancing round the maypole'. Cf. Upi 1963:41239.
79 Cascudo 1962:190; Carneiro 1936:45.
80 The food was taken in after 24 hours and given to the children or else left for three days and then left on the (tidal) river bank in the incoming tide: a common practice with offerings to orixás.
or her plate has to take upon himself the obligation to offer a caruru in return the following year. A portion sufficient for seven children is set aside in an almuidar (large earthenware bowl, commonly used for Candomblé offerings) and this is known as the caruru dos meninos, caruru das crianças, or caruru dos pequenos. This must be eaten before the adults and older children are invited to partake and the seven youngest children present are called and are seated on the floor around the almuidar which serves, as among Arabs, as a common plate. The Dois-dois are then called on to come and partake and to join in the celebrations, the dona/dona da festa calling out Vem cá Dois-dois several times. The children must eat out of the almuidar with their hands. While they are eating, songs are sung by the adults and older children standing round, and these continue after the children have finished eating. The children should be dressed in white, and when they have finished eating it is customary (but not always practised) for them to wipe their hands on their clothes and then rise and change before the rest of the party continues. The almuidar is then uplifted and carried to the altar or little shrine where the statue of Cosme e Damião has been placed and thanks are rendered to the saints. In terreiros and the houses of some Candomblé devotees, the almuidar is taken to the paje (sanctuary).

There follows the caruru dos grandes which is not

81 Bastide insists (1961:258) 'o número de crianças participantes não pode ser inferior a sete, que é o algarismo dos gêmeos.' C2 however, permitted three, seven, fourteen or twenty-one children to partake. In some cases the caruru dos meninos also contains honey.
subject to any particular ritual, after which there may be dancing and further singing. *Samba de roda* (a dance of African origin, danced in a roda) is popular at the end of such a *festa*. Songs sung at the end of *reza* during and after the eating of the *caruru* and accompanying *samba de roda* are given below.

d) *Músicas*

First come a series of short verses calling the saints to the *festas*, or alluding to the saints’ desire to be feasted:

i) *Cosme e Damião*,

 quer, quer, quer,
 farofa de azeite 
 e acaca com molho. (I1)

ii) *Cosme e Damião*, cadê Dou?

*Cosme e Damião* vem comer seu *caruru*. (I15)

iii) *Cosme e Damião*, sua casa cheia de meninos para comer seu *caruru*.

*Cosme e Damião*, vai chegando meninos para comer seu *caruru*. (I12)

iv) *Cosme e Damião* vem comer seu *caruru*,

isto é de todo ano fazer *caruru* pra tú. (C2)

v) Quem me dá de comer também come

Quem me dá de beber também bebe. (C3)

vi) Meu anel de pedra verde

que eu perdi no mar azul,

quem achou

foi Dou,

com que eu pago a ele

com prato de *caruru*. (C1)

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82 *Cosme e Damião* are honoured in different ways in other parts of Brazil. See Bastide 1961:259-263. Similar celebrations take place in some parts of the Recôncavo on the occasion of the feast of SS. Crispin and Crispinian (25 October).

83 For a detailed description and history of this dance see Cascudo 1962:675-677.

84 Manioc flour lightly fried in dendê oil and a cake made of rice or maize flour and cooked in banana leaves.
vii) Cosme e Damião, venha ver, Dois-dois,  
Cosme e Damião, venha ver, Doú,  
Cosme e Damião, venha ver, Dois-dois,  
Cosme e Damião, venha ver, Doú.  
Cosme e Damião é dois-dois  
Cosme e Damião é dois leal. (C9)

viii) Cosme e Damião,  
ô cadê Doú?  
Está tirando rosa  
a na roseira de Ogun85. (C10)

ix) Dois-dois de ouro vem cá,  
 quem 'ta dormindo acorda,  
 quem 'ta dormindo é Doú,  
levanta Doú pra comer caruru. (C1)

When the children have finished the caruru and the alguidar  
is lifted up, a cloth is passed underneath it and all the  
children hold the cloth as the bowl is carried away and  
they sing:

x) Vamos levantar  
o cruzoiro de Jesus,  
no céu, no céu  
no céu a santa cruz  
Viva São Cosme, viva! (I1)

The caruru dos meninos finished, and the child-saints fed,  
songs are sung which make reference to Cosme e Damião  
wanting to dance and play and enjoy themselves:

xi) São Cosme mandou fazer  
sua camisinha azul,  
no dia da festa dele  
São Cosme quer caruru,  
Vadia Cosme, vadia  
-tou vadiando na areia. (I1)

xii) É de um a um  
ê de dois a dois,  
ja comi seu caruru  
ja comi seu vataná,  
agora quero ver:  
o salão para vadiar. (I20)

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85 For connections between Doú and the orixá Ogun,  
See Bastide 1961:260-262.
Cada sua camisinha, Duó,
está jogando bola.
Cada sua camisinha, Duó,
está jogando bola.
*Cosminho e Damião,
*Cosminho e Damião.
Cada sua camisinha, Duó,
está jogando bola.
Cada sua camisinha, Duó,
está jogando bola. (C9)

Ainda vou em Candeias,
para ver dois-dois vadiar,
os anjos brincar na areia
sereia brincar no mar.
Batem palmas, sereia no mar,
* dois-dois, eles querem vadiar. (C10)

Cosmo Damião, ele veio se-divertir:
acenda a luz ai & mãe
deita no peji,
deita no peji. (C1)

São Cosme é menino vadio
vem fazer seu brinquedinho,
no terreiro de Mamãe
no terreiro de Mamãe. (C1)

Other songs refer to the child-like qualities of the saints
and to their legendary exploits at sea:

Luvi São Cosme
na beira d'água,
comendo arroz
e bebendo água. (I1)

Cosme e Damião
a sua casa cheira,
cheira a cravo e rosa
e botão de laranjeira. (I1)

Cosme e Damião
cadê Ógun, Ógun, Ógun?
foi passear
no cavalo de Duó. (I7)

Cosme é viajero
que viaja pelo mar,
a barca virou
virou deixa virar. (I13)

86 Town in the Recôncavo.
87 A reference to the statues of the saints in the sanctuary.
88 The last two lines of this verse are reminiscent of a
popular cantiga de roda and are probably the result of
individual improvisation. There appear to be no references
to Cosmas and Damian as seasoned travellers or sailors in
the Christian legend, despite constant references to them
as such in these verses. The Dioscuri (and the Aqvins,
the Twins of the Indian Nir-Veda) however, are savours
from the sea (see Harris 1903:101).
xxi) Vou perguntar dois-dois
se ele é real,
se ele bebe sangue
nas ondas do mar.

A resposta eu dou
quando eu voltar,
eu vou tomar meu banho
não posso demorar.

Dois-dois viajero
viaja no mar,
oiha a barca virou
dois-dois quer nadar.(C2)

xxii) Segura o leme marinheiro
pra dois-dois viajero viajar,
segura o leme marinheiro
pra dois-dois viajero viajar. (C1)

xxiii) Seu senhor São Cosme
de bela coroa,
pelo amor de Deus São Cosme
não me deixe à toa. (C1)

xxiv) São Cosme, São Cosme
Damião sois vós,
pedindo e rolando
a Jesus por nós,
Eu fui no jardim
escolher uma flor
pedindo esmola
que Cosme mandou. (C10)

xxv) Cosme e Damião
sua espada está no mar,
em baixo de uma pedra:
só Deus é quem vai tirar. (C9)

14.10 occasional customs and beliefs

I now propose to discuss what may be loosely termed
superstitions, beliefs and half-beliefs (the dividing line
being impossible to draw in the case of children), sayings
and 'rituals' connected with the weather and with such
events as the losing of teeth.

While a number of the beliefs to be discussed below

89 This is particularly obscure; C2 herself was unable to
explain the references in the first two lines, and I have
been unable in this case, and in (xxv) to elucidate them.
are merely childish superstition, others are rooted in beliefs firmly held by parents and other adults in the community. Belief in the power of the evil eye (o mau olhado), for example, is widespread among children of lower socio-economic groups, and whereas British children, and some of those in higher socio-economic groups in the Recôncavo, may foster a half-belief in ghosts, nourished in infancy on fairy-tales and later on 'supernatural' thrillers, for many children in the Recôncavo, the spirit world is closely linked to the world in which they live and they may regularly see members of the family and close acquaintances possessed by spirits. Many of these spirits are literally household names and are to be revered and placated through a number of rites in which children copy their parents. The close links between play and religious observance have already been mentioned (see Chapter 1). To detail all these quasi-religious practices falls outwith the scope of this study but links with religious ritual will be seen in some of the commonest manifestations of childish half-belief.

Other aspects of half-belief, such as upending a broom behind the door to be rid of unwelcome visitors, are common both to adults and children, as are sayings connected with popular meteorology, but as in all cases of folk belief it is virtually impossible to draw a dividing line at any given age in relation to a specific practice.

14.11 Omens and superstitious practices

A number of common beliefs and practices are listed below in alphabetical order relating to the object or occurrence on which they are centred,
i) Rooms must be turned upside down behind the door in order to get rid of unwelcome guests. They must only be used by one person at a time (i.e., whoever starts sweeping the house must finish and not pass the broom to someone else or the other will 'get her luck'.

ii) Crossed arms and legs are unlucky.

iii) Double bananas when found must be wrapped up like a present and given to someone. If that person guesses he has been given a banana before opening the parcel, nothing further happens, but if he opens it expecting a pleasant surprise and then finds the banana, he is obliged to give a 'real' present to the giver.

iv) Eggs which are felt to be burning are a sign that one is being spoken ill of. The 'victim' must therefore bite her dress/his shirt so that the ill-speaker will bite his tongue.

v) Itching hands may be interpreted in two ways: if it is the right hand, money is likely to be received shortly; if the left, money is going to have to be spent.

vi) Itching feet signify impending illness or death among family or friends.

vii) Mirrors can be dangerous. When a person is seen speaking to himself in front of a mirror, he is said to be speaking to the Gân. A broken mirror may bring the breaker seven years of misfortune.

viii) Caws are an omen of bad luck.

ix) Peppers can also be bad omens. If a hot pepper is dropped or deliberately thrown on the floor, bows will be started in the house.

x) Pine which are found in the street and picked up bring good luck.

xi) Right feet must be put first on entering a house for the first time. A request made in church will be granted if the person who makes it has entered the church on his right foot.

90 Cf. Cascudo 1958:71. He adds a further saying warning that a broom should always be kept upright, also heard in the Recôncavo: 'vassoura deitada é desgraça chacanda'.

91 This is a belief stemming from the etiquette practised in Candomblé cult houses.


93 Hot peppers are associated in Candomblé with Exu, an irascible and ambivalent god, who may be invoked to cause trouble.

94 Cf. also Freyre 1963:165 and Cascudo 1971:54.
xii) Salt is lucky when spilt on the table. (16)
Salt spilt on the floor and then trodden on, however, is a sign of impending rows within a household. (S1)

xiii) Scissors keep off the mau olhado if left open. (C3)
However, if left open during storms they attract forked lightning and are therefore dangerous. (S1)

xiv) Shadows must be avoided. If you tread on another person’s shadow, you will die. (S1)

xv) Sneezing is greeted with one of the following remarks to grant protection to the sneezor:
Saúde (S1), Deus te salve (S1, I1), Deus que te dé água de batismo (C1)95,
of the following remarks:
Atichim dominé, homem pequeno é ladrão de chuva
(< mulher) (S1); Espirro de rato é sinal de chuva
(S1, I1).

xvi) Stumbling should be followed by the words não dou, não dou96. (I6)

14.12 Sayings and practices connected with the weather

a) Chuva

Children in Brazil sing a rhyme similar to 'rain, rain, go away' when it rains. There are a number of variants:

1) Santa Clara clareou97
 São Domingos iluminou98;
vai a chuva, vem o sol
pra enxugar o meu lençol.
O lençol não é meu
fui Maria quem me dou,
vai a chuva e vem o sol
pra enxugar o meu lençol99. (S1)

Children sometimes cut out a string of paper dolls and hang

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95 This is principally for babies and those as yet unbaptised.
96 I can find no reasonable explanation for this practice.
97 See Cascudo 1962:221: 'Pela confusão verbal é Santa Clara a dissipadora dos neveiros. Para o Brasil mandou Portugal a crendice velha'.
98 Iluminar < alumiar, folk etymology from iluminar.
then in the rain outside the house. This it is believed, will send the rain away. A number of other practices and beliefs are associated with rain. In areas of the Northeast where drought is common, rain is prayed for in October, but if the chuva de São Francisco does not come on 4 October, then the chuva de São Simão is bound to come on 28 October:

ii) São Simão
todos faltam, ele não. (S1)
The Recôncavo, strictly speaking, lies beyond the drought area which is further inland, but the rhyme was disseminated throughout the state. A similar rhyme promises January rains:

iii) Chuvas de janeiro
tardam mas não faltam. (S1)
and other forecast weather from day to day:

iv) Céu pedrente,
chuva, vento
ou mudança de tempo. (S1)

v) Nuvem vermelha no sortão,
mulher velha no fogo. (I2)
the latter indicating cold, wet weather ahead. Other predictions may sometimes be made based on the weather:

vi) Sol e chuva, casamento de viúva,
chuva e sol, casamento de espanhol. (S2)
When it is raining hard, children say:

vii) São Pedro está com o mijador aberto. (C10)
viii) São Pedro tomou muita cerveja. (I1)

b) Vento

Other rhymes are associated with the wind. When the weather is still and sultry, children sing:
14.13 Savings and practices connected with the moon

A number of rhymes are associated with the moon.

Games were, and often still are, played by moonlight, after the heat and labour of the day, and the moon is generally addressed as mãe or madrinha. This curious practice of including the moon as madrinha in the extended family unit appears to stem from an animistic belief that the moon would protect any child dedicated to her, thought whether this is an indigenous, European or African practice is not clear.

One ethnographer, Braga, refers to the practice in Minas.

Gerais of offering children to the moon:

'para que a criança se desenvolva normalmente, as "comadres" mineiras tomam nos braços seus afilhadinhos recém-nascidos e os oferecem à lua, num movimento de vaivém.' (1948:52)

The most common rhyme or parleenda sung by children when the moon is full is:

1) Lua, abenção Mamãe lua,  
me dá carne com farinha,  
pra eu dar a minha gatinha  
que 'tá presa na cozinha. (I6)

100 See Cascudo 1962:430. 'Para o povo, São Lourenço é o guardião dos ventos. Nas horas de estio, diz-se comumente no sertão do Brasil, por três vezes em voz alta: "São Lourenço! Golte o ventol" Identicamente a tradição, vinda de Espanha e Portugal, estende ao santo o poder de dirigir a chuva'.

101 Mungunza, 'hominy with milk, sugar and cinnamon'.

102 Cf. the English Boys and Girls come out to Play, the Moon it shines as bright as Day. The moonlit evenings are also playtimes in West Africa; see Simmons 1958:26.


104 Cascudo (1962:431-432) suggests that the act of 'presenting' children to the moon may be a reminiscence of the cult of Diana-Lucina.
or

ii) Abençães Mamão lua,
me dá carne com farinha
pra dar minha vozinha (galinha, pintinhos)
que está presa na cozinha. (C2) (C12) (S21) 105

However, in spite of these feminine attributes, it is a man
in the moon that is to be seen when the moon is full. In
Brazil children do not see the round grinning face that
British children see, but St. George killing the dragon:
'São Jorge 'ta na lua'. (I13) 106

14.14 Sayings and practices connected with teeth coming out.

A number of rituals are associated with this
transitional stage of childhood: the tooth, having come out,
must be kept and taken outside. The child repeats three
times:

1) Mourão, mourão,
toma esse dente podre
e me dá meu são. (I3)

and the tooth is then thrown on the roof. That this is of
Peninsular origin is clear from the numerous Portuguese
variants found and although Mourão, mourão is the most
common first line in Brazil, I was unable to find it in
published Portuguese variants, where it is generally Em
leuver de São João 107. However, the mourão is obviously
Portuguese in origin, with its sense of bogeyman derived
from Mouro, and dating from the time of constant wars with
the Moors. Other Portuguese variants begin Telhado telhadão
and Palheirinha, palheirô 108 but otherwise run almost
exactly the same as that given by I3.

106 Cf. 'Cuxxi brinca na lua'. As we have already seen,
Cuxxi is the African god syncretised with St. George.
107 Gouveia 1926:25; Vasconcellos 1882:205.
108 Vasconcellos 1906:3, 223.
Adolescent girls in particular adhere to various ‘codes’ by which romantic attachments may be assessed. I gave the following list of significant signals of love and disdain used by herself and her friends:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Portuguese Expression</th>
<th>Portuguese Meaning</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beijo na boca</td>
<td>amor</td>
<td>kiss the mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beijo no rosto</td>
<td>amizade</td>
<td>kiss the cheek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beijo na testa</td>
<td>respeito</td>
<td>kiss the forehead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beijo no ouvido</td>
<td>encontro</td>
<td>kiss the ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beijo no pescoço</td>
<td>paixão</td>
<td>kiss the neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pisar no pé</td>
<td>pedir um beijo</td>
<td>step on the foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apertar a mão</td>
<td>ciúmes</td>
<td>squeeze the hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mão na cintura</td>
<td>despezo</td>
<td>hand on the waist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relógio virado</td>
<td>compromisso</td>
<td>watch turned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>passar a mão no rosto</td>
<td>quero falar contigo</td>
<td>pass hand on the face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>passar a mão no cabelo</td>
<td>apaixonado por ti</td>
<td>pass hand on the hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>passar a mão no pescoço</td>
<td>quero-te</td>
<td>pass hand on the neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piscar o olho esquerdo</td>
<td>amo-te</td>
<td>blink the left eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piscar o olho direito</td>
<td>quero casar</td>
<td>blink the right eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>passar a mão na boca</td>
<td>amo-te muito</td>
<td>pass hand on the mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morder os lábios</td>
<td>não sei o que fazer</td>
<td>bite the lips</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abrir o palétó</td>
<td>quero abraçar</td>
<td>open the lips</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14.16 Concluding remarks

The festivals and customs described above show once again a mingling of elements from different cultures: superficially Portuguese and influenced by Catholicism in the main, but with strong African undercurrents and possible indigenous contributions, since we know from the missionaries’ accounts that the Indians were soon introduced to the whole gamut of popular Catholic festivals which they appeared to adopt almost as their own.

While canções and sung dialogue games have so far appeared to be almost exclusively feminine activities, some fifty per cent of boys to whom I spoke were able to supply músicas de São João and músicas de São Cosme e Damião which they knew by heart, especially the former. Divinatory practices connected with the festa de São João were, however,
restricted to girls.

The practices referred to in section 10 are also a feminine concern. Boys were aware of their existence but paid little heed to them by comparison with girls. Girls also tell each others' fortunes\textsuperscript{109} exchange confidències (often in the form of written answers to personal questions listed in exercise books and passed round in class); boys, while not apparently interested in fortune telling may confide in each other, but would not dream of committing such remarks to paper and creating a semi-organised practice in the same way as girls.

In general terms, the play activities of children in the Recôncavo are very similar to those of their counterparts in Europe. The oldest and most traditional games (Cabra cega, Pedrinhas, Macaca, Três, Três Passaré) and songs are amongst the most popular today, as are well-worn riddles and oft-repeated quatrains of popular poetry. At the same time, however, game 'fashions' have to a large extent followed those of Europe, the United States and elsewhere: hoops and top games have declined in popularity, while ball and skipping games have augmented correspondingly¹; temps or seasons when certain games were played traditionally are no longer observed. The reasons for the popularity and retention of one and the waning and disappearance of another are by no means easy to analyse. As Sutton-Smith comments in the case of New Zealand games:

'The reason for children's likes and dislikes, therefore, may rest instead in those intangible qualities of rhythm, rhyme and melody which distinguish one game from another....If the success of singing games depends upon such intangible qualities as rhythm, rhyme and melody, then their success is as difficult to analyse as that of a "hit" tune. Thus we may enumerate the reasons why young children should like a game; its organization must be comprehensible to them, its themes must be relevant to their experience, its relationships must mirror their psychological understanding; but we cannot determine merely from these criteria whether or not in its total impact it will finally appeal to them'. (1959 [1]:31)

Children's conservatism is striking. They display a jealous regard for the rules of the game², and make only

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¹ Cf. Upie 1963-64:239.
minor alterations to structure and even words. Certain practices of a ritual character in the course of games are also preserved intact, as the spies noted in the case of British games. The practices they list as examples are all to be found in the games recorded in the Recôncavo, so I feel it relevant to quote the passage in full.

'Even more revealing, perhaps, than the age of games, is the persistence of certain practices during the games. The custom of turning round a blindfold player three times before allowing him to begin chasing seems already to have been standard practice in the seventeenth century. The quaint notion that a player becomes “warm” when nearing the object he is seeking was doubtless old when Silas Wegg adopted it (Our Mutual Friend, III, vi). The stratagem of making players choose one of two objects, such as an “orange” or a “lemon”, to decide which side they shall take in a pulling match, was almost certainly employed by the Elizabethans. The rule that a special word and finger-sign shall give a player respite in a game appears to be a legacy of the age of chivalry. The convention that the player who does worst in a game shall be punished, rather than that he who does best shall be rewarded, has an almost continuous history stretching from classical antiquity. And the ritual confirmation that a player has been caught, by crowning him or by tapping him three times...was mentioned by Cromek in his Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song in 1810...and is also the rule — as are other of these conventions — amongst children in France, Germany, Austria, Italy, and the United States'. (1969:7-8)

To this list, Brazil may be added.

Certain allowances are made for circumstantial changes in environment when games travel from one continent to another: a barqueiro may become a vaqueiro on transition from coast or river bank to the north eastern sortêo of Brazil; allusions to fruits and flowers common in Europe may be changed to those more familiar in tropical surroundings, although this is not true in every case.3 There is generally

3 Cf. Sutton-Smith 1959 [1]:161: 'Children do conserve group traditions, yet constantly and surely they whittle away at the edges of these traditions, altering them to suit their own ever-changing needs'.
very little 'modernising' of games: chaser and caught may
borrow from the American cinema and become temporarily
cowboy and Indian or represent popular television heroes,
but these are superficial modifications. Again this seems
to be a universal feature of children's play:

'The contents of the games may have changed (yester-
day's bandits may be today's spacemen) but the creative
exercise of the imagination remains a primary function
of play...when we observe modern children in their
day-by-day play, we notice that a great proportion of
their time is spent in playing their own unorganised, 4
variants or original adaptations of the major sports'.
Symbols from Christian mythology are preserved in many games,
heaven and hell and angels and devils are as real in the
playground as prison, the enemy camp and cops and robbers.
The anachronistic character of such marriage games as A Bala
Condesa is not apparent to children when they play, yet in
their imitative play they will reproduce faithfully the
domestic customs of their own society. Once learned,
accepted and consecrated by use and repetition, there is no
questioning. No child could offer a satisfactory explanation
of the terms chicote queimado or cabra cera, although they
were amongst the most played games, nor had it ever occurred
to them to wonder. The insults hurled at the mando in the
game of Fitas were similarly puzzling to me, but of no
consequence to the children involved in playing the game.
This easy transition between the mal and the fantasy world
is everywhere apparent in children's play: they are masters
of 'that willing suspension of disbelief'.

A similar facility may be observed in their use of
language and in the constant oscillation between the use of

4 Sutton-Smith 1959 [1]:160-161.
precise formulae on the one hand, and improvised utterances or nonsense words which are acceptable currency on the other. Both types may come together in counting-out formulae, which may consist of nonsense words: children may not be able to explain what they are saying, but within the context of the game it is important that they use these exact words. Any deviation from such established practice constitutes disrespect or transgression of the rules. This insistence on correct performance/recitation reinforces the close links between game and ritual, play, magic and worship pointed out by Huizinga.

As in the case of songs and sung games, it is almost impossible to lay a finger on a single reason why certain jingles, formulae, epithets or sayings should appeal to children. In the formulae which are an integral part of games and in the verses and quips which they make up for their own amusement, rhyme and rhythm are important features. So too are the occasional lapses into vulgarity, the inclusion of taboo words and the mangling of familiar terms. In studying children's language one must be aware of two different currents: the language of their sung games and sketches, lullabies, and to a large extent, riddles, which stems from adult games or compositions, and the spontaneous, improvised language of the playground which undergoes more rapid transmission and transition. The former are less subject to change, and although they are passed from child to child, they are also handed down by grandparents and parents to the new generation, and may therefore be preserved.

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5 Huizinga 1949:1-27.
unchanged over a number of decades. Aside from the oral transmission process, *cantigas de roda*, lullabies and a number of riddles have been collected and written down in the last hundred years, and have thus been 'frozen' in the form in which they were recorded. Verses of a more improvised character, and the rules and lore which form an integral part of most games are the children's own province and pass directly from one child to another. Even here, a further subdivision may be made, defined thus by the Opies:

'Two distinct streams of oral lore flow into the unending river of schoolchild chant and chatter, and these two streams are as different from each other as slang and dialect. The slangy superficial lore of comic songs, jokes, catch phrases, fashionable adjectives, slick nicknames and crazes, in short that noise which is usually the first that is encountered in playground and street, spreads everywhere but, generally speaking, is transitory. The dialectal lore flows more quietly, but deeper; it is the language of children's darker doings; playing truant, giving warning, sneaking, swearing, snivelling, tormenting and fighting'. (1973 [1:14)

In the *gibborish* formulae of dips, in the sealing of 'contracts' and other such lore and in the intricate regulation of games in which players are 'poisoned', 'baptised' and sent off to 'brood on their eggs', linguistic oddities may be preserved, while in epithets, jeers and in jokes language behaves like a living organism, constantly developing, multiplying and manifesting itself in different ways.

Alterations made to songs and games in the process of oral transmission are not always intentional, however, and allowance must be made for discrepancies attributable to the failings of memory and idiosyncracies of pronunciation when

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comparing those recorded during fieldwork with earlier versions or published accounts. This process too is a continuous one, which leads inevitably to the development of 'new' songs and dialogues ultimately unrecognisable when set beside earlier versions. Draga comments:

'Ele comum verificarmos o encurtamento da peça por eliminação de estâncias, a troca de textos e de melodias, e a reunião de dois ou mais dêles para constituírem um novo todo, que a seguir irá desembocar-se o, posteriormente, fornecer elementos para novos aglomerados'. (1948:51)

Sexual divisions are fairly clearly marked in play activities. Boys' games tend to be rougher and more aggressive and to be based on the display of physical prowess, and while this is no doubt true of young males in every society it is accentuated in Brazil by the cult of machismo which encourages young men to display their virile qualities from an early age. Football too, has been elevated almost to cult status in Brazil, and is inextricably bound up with the concept of machismo; hence its popularity as a game amongst boys of every age and class almost to the exclusion of other play activities. I found that when boys were asked why they did not play clapping games or participate in such feminine pastimes as rodas and Pedrinhas they answered in disparaging tones that those were only girls' games, with the clear implication that they considered such activities inferior. Boys' games are less complex in structure and less leader-orientated; as a result boys show less concern for involved preliminaries such as counting-out, which, in the case of girls, often takes as long as the playing of the game itself, and is clearly as important and as enjoyable as the eventual game. Smaller boys participate,
as I have mentioned, but in general the language of counting-out formulae etc. may be taken to be the invention of girls. Boys' games consist largely of setting trials for themselves and others, to be accomplished successfully: girls' lay less emphasis on individual prowess, with notable exceptions like Macaca, Pedrinhas and marble games (which are played by both sexes). Clearly a great many inferences could be drawn from this early division of roles, and from girls' preferences for games based on a leader + subordinates pattern, set against the self-assertive type of boys'. In the social context of the Recôncavo and of the various indigenous and African societies with which I have been concerned, it is not surprising that it should be set game patterns reproduce, or anticipate, the patterns of adult society. Again, in all these societies, the chief concern of young women is the finding of a marriage partner and the rearing of children: a large proportion of girls' games faithfully mirror this in their allusions to love, courtship and marriage, and their concern over children lost, found, bartered or exchanged, punished or rewarded. The domestic atmosphere extends into songs, poetry and riddles (although the latter, admittedly, are popular with boys too). The type of imitative play indulged in is almost entirely governed by sex, but also, as we shall see, by social class.

Where education is limited, children tend to go on playing certain games until a later age, while their more sophisticated, better-educated counterparts have long since abandoned the same activities and dismissed them as 'childish'.

This is particularly true of such games as Chicote queimado, Carneirinho and other rodas, Três, Três Passaré, Pedrinhas, Macaca, marble games and cantigas de roda. In Ituparica and rural areas children of fourteen and fifteen were still sometimes at primary school and very unlikely to proceed to secondary education, and their play activities reflected the fact that they had not 'gone up' to secondary school.

Amongst private school children in Salvador and some children in State secondary education elsewhere, games were played at more or less the same age as in Europe and the United States (where equivalent games existed), but the difference in rural areas and amongst older primary school children was quite marked. A similar process of transition is noted by the Opies and by Sutton-Smith in historical terms, recording the differences in game preferences of children over a century, according to age; over a longer period the same process may be traced in the transformation of adult games into children's games. In the Recôncavo, however, it may be seen in operation, and there is little doubt that education is the catalyst affecting children's preferences.

Younger children and older, less-educated ones (as described above) tended to be somewhat more conservative

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9 Opies 1969:14: 'Today in an increasingly integrated society, children become self-conscious about games they play on their own more quickly than they used to do. They discard them two, and even three years earlier than they did in the days before the introduction of organised sport'. Sutton-Smith 1959 [1]:51 'practically all the old games have slipped down the age scale...Play objects and toys are, on the whole, of a more artificial, commercial nature...Singing games are no longer played by teenage girls; they are restricted to the girls of seven, eight and nine years...Most of the game rhymes of yesterday were attached to the slow-moving singing games. Today the most important rhymes are used by the girls in their active skipping and ball-bouncing games'. See also 1959 [2]:204-210.
and more bound by rules and formulae in their play. The same features were apparent in their use of language: they tended to use more formal types of teasing rhyme rather than impromptu word-plays and verbal quips.

In most games of speed and skill, tests of strength and reflex control, and in children's fondness for quips and riddles, little distinction is apparent in terms of social class. In other spheres, however, it is more marked: children from higher socio-economic backgrounds (and consequently better-educated) showed a liking for intellectually taxing games (e.g. guessing games like *cuatro letras*) while ignoring the practice, so common in lower socio-economic groups, of adorning exercise books with copied versinhos. Rather than playing the complex, individually-organised playground games, they indicated a preference for purchased games like Monopoly and Scrabble and described favourite play activities as 'doing ballet' and riding bicycles. They participated very little in sung dialogue games of the *representação popular* type, except where these were organised by teachers as *peças folclóricas* in accordance with the recommendations of such bodies as the Congresso de Folclore Brasileiro (see Chapter 1.3).

Similarly, *capoeira*, which persists as a form of duelling amongst lower socio-economic groups and which is a playground and street activity, has become a gymnasium or ballet class activity among their social superiors. Again, the

11 Cf. Foster's remarks on folk culture and the importance of recognising a symbiotic relationship between folk and non-folk. He points out that the direction of culture flow is not only outward and downward, from city to country and from upper to lower class, but rather a circular phenomenon (1955:169).
evolutionary process may be seen in action, synchronically instead of diachronically. I have shown how education affects the ages at which children play certain games: so too social status determines whether others are part of everyday playground activity or are condemned to a slow death in the dressing-up box of the school green room.

In their imitative play, children of higher socio-economic groups also reflect, as one might expect, their own social environment. They play at being mothers, but less at being companhias, for although the compagnia system operates at all levels it is of less consequence in higher socio-economic groups, and extended family groups are spread over a much wider geographical area; in poorer areas most neighbours are likely to be related in some way through compagnia while in more prosperous urban suburbs they are not, and the gathering of companhias is not a familiar everyday event. Only children in lower socio-economic groups play at Candomblé: children from higher groups are likely never to have attended a terreiro. Class attitudes towards African-based ritual are somewhat ambivalent: adults in higher socio-economic groups tend to dissociate themselves from the practices and festivals of the cult house, and are often vehement in their criticism of such survivals as pagan and backward; on the other hand, most bahianos support, participate in or at least condone such African-inspired festivals as the Feast of Yemanjá (2 February) and may even prepare caruru for their children in honour of the mabaza (Cosmas and Damian) in September. Out in the open, the colourful contribution of Africa seems to be accepted; within...
the confines of the cult house it is frequently despised and mistrusted by outsiders.

As I pointed out in the first chapter, little bibliography is available for the study of indigenous games in Brazil. Nevertheless, comparison where possible with the games of other Amerindian peoples and the overwhelming evidence of the perpetuation of European play traditions are sufficient to show that little of Indian origin remains in the Recôncavo today. As the early missionary chroniclers have testified (see Chapter 2), Indian children's play tended to be functional and served a positive educative purpose in preparing boys as hunters and girls as mothers and housekeepers. Similar play was no doubt common in many African tribes for which records do not exist, and in as far as play of this kind still exists today, indigenous or African tribal traditions may be said to have been preserved. To some extent the animal lore of the Indian has survived, although this is more apparent in the folktales and legends commonly told to children which are not discussed in the present study: it is only really evident otherwise in allusions to the Bicho, Caimara etc. in lullabies, which also incorporate bogeymen of African origin like the Zambi and the European Cuca.

It must be borne in mind that the Indians were not long in retreating from the coast towards the sertão and interior, and numerically the African population of the Recôncavo was greater over some 300 years. In the physical appearance of the people of the area today, African features

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are far more commonly observed than those of the indigenous peoples. In establishing the extent of African influence, however, lack of bibliography is to some extent an impediment, and although there is considerably more than for similar Amerindian studies, it is generally fairly recent and includes much ludic activity introduced by European colonists which has overlaid or replaced existing native games. The problem is rather one of verifying the tribal origins of the African immigrants to Brazil, which, as I have shown in Chapter 2, is now virtually impossible. Only a general comparison with West African games and lore can therefore be drawn in the absence of more specific data as to the origins of the earliest slave settlers in the Recôncavo.

There do not appear to be any games of exclusively African origin played in the Recôncavo today. What is apparent is an incorporation of certain African elements into European play: the adoption of the ambigada in rode games is the most obvious, or the use of African dance steps and clapping rhythms. What is perhaps more striking is the notable absence of a number of games described by Béart, Griaule and Brewster, well-known in West Africa and indeed other parts of the African continent and unknown today in Brazil. The most famous of these is mancala (from Arabic mankal'ah) termed 'the national game of Africa' by Culin in 1896 and known among the Bantu and a number of Nigerian tribes, and also in the New World. Herskovits

15 Quoted by Herskovits 1929:122. Awélé is the same game.
16 Sanderson 1913:726-736; Simmons 1958:130.
records it as played amongst the Bush Negroes of Surinam (1929:122) and Béart says of it in 1955:

'L'avèlé a naturellement gagné l'Amérique avec la traite des Noirs. Le souvenir en est resté vivace sous des noms parents d'adjì, adjì au Brésil, à cause des traditions érotériques qui s'y attaquent, encore que Pierre Verger m'ait assuré que le jeu est à peu près complètement abandonné, chassé par les dominos'. (1955:484)

By 1967, Verger had clearly convinced him of its disappearance:

'les noirs du Brésil ont réservé le jeu à douze cases (avèlé), leur vrai jeu national, au culto, et adopté comme jeu profane les dominos'. (1967:217)

Certainly I never saw children playing at any game resembling mancala and even dominos tended to be restricted to older children and adults. Nevertheless, the disappearance seems to be fairly recent and is no doubt due to social pressures: the European domino game being seen as more socially acceptable while mancala was no doubt tinged with recollections of slavery. In accounting for its disappearance, the enormous influx of European immigrants in the last hundred years since Abolition should be remembered, as this was no doubt a contributory factor. How far the terminology of mancala has been preserved in marble games in the notion of 'eating up' and 'poisoning' other players and how far such terminology belongs originally to marble games, I have been unable to establish, but there is certainly a close parallel.

It is such parallels which often account for the apparent disappearance of African (and possibly indigenous) games: comparison with play activities documented by Béart shows that parallels and correspondences are numerous and a
process of syncretism no doubt similar to that undergone by African religion and European Catholicism has taken place. As I pointed out in Chapter 2, correspondences were established between African deities and Catholic saints, who became fused in worship under an overlaying mantle of European Catholicism. A similar fusion appears to have taken place with games. African slaves no doubt recognised many of their own games played by children of European settlers and needed to make little more than a linguistic adjustment. Otherwise, the African immigrant appears simply to have adopted the habits of his European masters, as Newell noted in the United States:

'The superior culture comes in contact with inferior, the former itself but little affected, remolds the latter... with habits of play, the principle holds; thus in America, the African, even where in great majority, has abandoned his native custom to accept that of his white masters. In this manner negroes adopt old English rounds, which they repeat with every variation of accuracy, from perfect correctness to unintelligible confusion'. (1963:xvi)

There is no doubt that some play activities and game practices are international in character: the throwing of dice and stones in casting lots (which may later develop into a game like Pedrinhas), counting-out and three-in-a-row type games are all overlaid with Portuguese terminology and rhymes in the case of Brazil, but have the same skeletal form underneath.

The principal influence on play activities has indubitably been that of European missionaries and teachers; from the Portuguese, Jesuit-educated teacher-chaplains of the

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the casas grandes to the French nuns and American Presbyterians of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Aboriginal forms of expression were early suppressed or transmuted by the Jesuit fathers to conform to Portuguese tradition, and they concentrated their catechising and 'civilising' on children. The Tupi language was diluted by the contriving of the lingua geral of the Jesuits. It is hardly surprising that little has remained. Where children of African slaves and their descendants were educated with the sons of their white masters, or played together on plantation estates, the will of the future overlords appears to have predominated, or the overseeing eye of the teacher-chaplain guided even spontaneous play along European lines.

The demographic and social changes over the last hundred years are perhaps the most significant of all. African immigration stopped in 1888 with Abolition, and freed slaves and mulatos looked towards their social superiors, the well-off European immigrants, for a model. In the nineteenth century, the fashion for everything European and particularly French, impinged on children's play, and this was further reinforced by a flood of European immigrants at the beginning of the Republic. Education and immigration have together produced a homogenisation in play activities, songs and language, and although this study is based in the Recôncavo, the great majority of games etc. are to be found all over Brazil.

19 Cf. Ott 1955:163: 'as canções infantis apresentam poucos aspectos puramente regionais, certamente devida à influência niveladora de educadores estrangeiros e da escola em geral'.

20 Cf. Ott 1955:159: 'no que diz respeito aos divertimentos de meninas, creio que também será difícil mencionar alguma coisa, exclusivamente regional, a não ser pequenas variações na letra, ou na melodia das canções infantis que facilmente variam de um para outro lugar'.
The process of levelling and homogenising continues, accelerated by improved communications and education programmes and also by television. Without wishing to subscribe to the same misconception as many over-earnest folklorists that traditional children's games are on the verge of extinction, I do feel that many are likely to disappear in the next twenty years: either because children are attracted towards a different type of play by the media or because their play activities and games are seized on by organised bodies desirous of promoting 'folk culture', remodelled, polished and embellished, and produced in order to create instant local colour. I mean of course many of the sung sketches and dialogue games already cast off by the higher socio-economic groups. Thebasic chasing, racing and duelling games seem to be less subject to change or external influence, as do many games of skill which have remained little changed in the preceding centuries. Cantigas de roda, although they have been widely collected and published in book form, seem to have the same semi-sacred quality as the English nursery rhyme and are also less subject to modification. Basic lore and language will no doubt remain much the same, coloured by crazes and passing fashions in slang transmitted by television and through the playground. Calendar events of children's own perpetuation, such as April Fool's Day are likely to continue indefinitely; others such as big religious festivals belong equally to the adult calendar and their continuance or

21 Cf. Chapter 1.3 and see Opies 1969:vii-viii.
22 Opies 1973 [1]:2.
disappearance will be determined by adult behaviour and events external to the children's play world. Children depend on adults for the continuance of such practices as Judas-burning and the provision of caruru dos meninos, while in inventing and executing April Fools' Day pranks they are self-sufficient. Certain superstitions and occasional practices will no doubt be affected by changes in adult behaviour and mores in the same way, others will be fostered and perpetuated by children for their own enigmatic reasons long after they have been forgotten by adults.
APPENDIX 1
TERMINOLOGY EMPLOYED IN GAMES

Anjo bom
In the game of Pitas, one of two 'angels' who 'buy' children to take to 'heaven' or 'hell'. See Anjo mal, Pitas.

Anjo mal
As above, but this time the 'bad man'. See Pitas.

Arco
In the game of Pedrinhas, an arch formed by placing thumb and index finger nail down on the floor. Stones are passed under this arch.

Ás
In the game of Cochicho no Rei, the Ace in the pack of playing cards, in this case personified. See Dama, Duque, Rei, Valets.

Daleado
In the game of the same name, designates a player who is out because he or she has been hit by the ball.

Eater na Porta
In the game of Esquenta Mão, the placing of one player's hands on another's face and hands, sometimes accompanied by the action of knocking at a door.

Datizado
In marble games, a player who has succeeded in shooting marbles into the first hole on the set course, is said to be 'baptised'.

Boca de Veneno
In marble games, the name given to a hole scooped in the ground which players aim for once they have completed the set course once; if they succeed in shooting the marble into this 'poisoned' hole, their marble becomes 'poisonous' and can 'kill' others. See veneno.

Bolo
In the games of Esquenta Mão and Boca de Forno used with the double sense of a 'cake' and a 'slap'.

(De) Brincadeira
In marble games, players decide beforehand whether to play Ás veras or de brincadeira. In the first case, the loser or losers must forfeit marbles to the winner; in the latter, they pay a forfeit but do not lose their marbles. See Ás veras.
Drincadeira de roda

The name given to any game played in circular formation; it may be simply a song with mime (Cantiga de roda) or a more complex game like Chicote Queimado or Carneirinho.

Cabra cega

In the game of the same name, the child playing the 'blind man'.

Cacique

In the game of the same name, the person chosen to play this role, whose identity must be guessed by another player sent out of the room.

Cair de santo

In play imitative of Candomblé rites children pretend to fall into a trance state and feign spirit possession.

Calça meia

In the game of Ovinho, a 'torture' in which one player runs his nails up another's shins. See Castigo, Lira radio, Parte Cuquinha, Passa-norte.

Campo

In various games, a defined territory adopted by a team or individual player.

Cancela

In the game of Pedrinhas, similar to Arco (see above), an arch made between the thumb and third finger crossed over the index, stones are passed through this arch with the other hand.

Cantiga de ninar

A lullaby.

Cantiga de roda

A song sung in circle formation. In the game of Pedrinhas, the act of throwing one stone in the air and simultaneously picking up three of the four others which have been scattered on the ground beforehand.

Caracol

In hopscotch games, a snail-shaped circular diagram drawn on the ground.

Casa

In hopscotch games, a square drawn on a diagram and named or numbered. In the game of Pontinhos, a rectangle traced on paper round a set of three numbers guessed correctly. See Ficar casa.

Cascudo

In bamba cascudo a beating on the head.

Castelo

Name given to a metal top from a Coca-Cola or Fanta bottle used in a number of games in place of stones or marbles, especially Triângulo, on account of its crenellated edge.
Castigo

Céu

In the game of Ovinha, a punishment or 'torture' to be undergone by players who are caught. See Calça Neia, Lixa rádio, Parte Caquinha, Passa ponte.

In hopscotch games, the name often given to the top square, or the last reached in a diagram. In the game of Fitas, the abode of the Anjo bom (see above), where half the children find themselves at the end of the game. Similarly in the game of Céu ou Inferno children who resist the temptation to laugh at funny faces find themselves in 'heaven' at the end of the game. In some versions of Três, Três Passaré, children also find themselves in 'heaven' at the end of the game having made a blind choice between objects representing 'heaven' and 'hell' during the game. See Formigueira, Inferno, Purpurária.

Dama

Descansar

In the game of Cochicho no Rei, the Queen in a pack of playing cards, here personified. See As, Duque, Valle, Rei.

Dono/a da brincadeira

In hopscotch games, children are allowed to 'rest' in squares they have appropriated (casas fechadas). See Casa, fechar casa.

Dono da macaca

In hopscotch games, the first player to finish the course successfully. This player is then entitled to choose the next game played or continue with hopscotch. Similar to dono da brincadeira above.

Drama

(Also draminha, dim.) A short play or sketch, usually accompanied by sung or spoken words. Usually of folk origin, akin to plays in the mumming tradition.

Duque

In the game of Cochicho no Rei, the 2 in a pack of cards, here personified. See also As, Dama, Rei, Valle.
In the game of Pedrinhas, players decide beforehand whether they will play duro or mole (i.e., hard or easy). If duro, players must pick up all the other stones scattered on the ground at once while throwing the last stone in the air. Having swept up all these stones they must then catch the one in the air before it falls to the ground. See Mole. To fly a kite.

In hopscotch games, the players turn their backs on the diagram and throw a stone, banana skin etc., over their shoulders in an attempt to land it in a square. If they are successful and it lands squarely without touching any of the lines, they may appropriate that square. See Fechar casa.

In the game of Ponga, to succeed in placing three stones in a straight line, horizontally, vertically or diagonally across the diagram.

In hopscotch games, to appropriate a square of the diagram, usually by initialling it, or leaving some personal possession on the ground. A player who has appropriated a square may then 'rest' in that square, and land on two feet in it instead of one.

In the game of Pontinhas, to trace a rectangle round a set of three numbers guessed correctly. See Casa.

In the game of Céu ou Inferno, the ultimate destination of some of the players. Players in some versions divide between 'heaven' and 'hell', in others, 'purgatory' is added, and in one case, Formigueira was a fourth; here the dead were said to be eaten by ants, rather than consumed by fire in 'hell'. See Céu, Inferno, Purgatorio.

In various games, a weakling or a coward. Used particularly by boys, especially in rougher Baba games.

In games of hiding and seeking, players helping the seekers call out comments to guide them: they are 'Cold' when they are far from the hidden object, 'Hot' when close. See Quente.
Galinha choca

In various games, indicates a player is 'out'. Used particularly in the game of *Você Viu o jutinho por ai?*

Inferno

In the game of *Gau ou Inferno*, children who are unable to resist the temptation to laugh may find themselves in 'hell' at the end of the game. See also *Cau*, *Foralguêira*, *Purgatório*.

Similarly, in the game of *Fitas*, children taken away by the *Anjo mal* find themselves in 'hell' at the end of the game. See *Anjo mal*.

Ladrão

In the game of *Ladrão e Policia*, the 'thief' who is chased by the police. In the game of *Pedrinhas*, in the variation known as *Capitão*, a move which involves throwing one stone in the air and picking up four others previously scattered on the ground in a single scoop, before catching the first stone.

Lambe-lambe

In the game of *Pedrinhas*, the last to finish. This is a taunt sometimes also levelled at slow eaters.

Liga rádio

In the game of *Vinho*, a 'torture' in which one player 'turns on the radio' by twisting the ear of another. See *Calça meia*, *Castigo*, *Parte cuquinha*, *Jasen ponte*.

Lobo

In the game of the same name, and occasionally in general chasing games, the 'Wolf'; ultimately the pursuer of all the other players.

Luna

In hopscotch games, the name sometimes given to the top square, instead of *Cau*. See *Cau*.

Macaco/Macuquinho

In hopscotch games, the player hopping round the diagram.

Mãe

In various games, the leader or player of a principal role: cf. *dona da brincadeira*. More specifically, in acting and dialogue games, the player acting in the role of mother, with a number of imaginary children.

Não de uma/duas/três

In the game of *Pedrinhas*, the terms applied to the action of picking up one, two or three stones in a single scoop while throwing another stone in the air and catching it before it falls to the ground. They are alternative terms for *Capitão*, *Ladrão*, *Rei* and *Soldado*.
Mão de dedos

In the game of Pedrinhas, the action of collecting stones between the outspread fingers of one hand while another stone is thrown in the air, as above.

Mão de passar por dois

In the game of Pedrinhas, the action of passing stones through an arch made by the index and third fingers while throwing another stone in the air, as above.

Mão de murinho

In the game of Pedrinhas, the action of passing stones over a 'wall' made with one hand resting on its side on the ground, while throwing another stone in the air, as above.

Mão de pontos

In the game of Pedrinhas, the action of catching stones thrown in the air on the outstretched back of the hand, without letting any fall off.

Marcante

In the quadrilha or square dance, the 'marker' who calls out the steps and moves to the dancers.

Matar

In various games, the incapacitating of opponents, especially Pelando, where a ball thrown at an opponent is said to 'kill' him if he is touched. The terminology of 'killing' is also widely used in marble games. See Pelando, Veneno.

Mole

In the game of Picula, the variation known as Pedrinha: when touched by another player, the child caught must stiffen and remain immobile, but when 'released', becomes 'soft' and may run around again. See Pau duro. In the game of Pedrinhas, an easier way of playing, in which players may scoop up stones one at a time while another is thrown in the air, instead of attempting to pick all up at once. See Iauro.

Morrer dentro

In marble games, a marble struck by the 'poison' marble (veneno) in a hole, is said to 'die inside'.

Morrer fora

In marble games, a marble struck by the 'poison' marble in between holes, is said to 'die outside'.

Morrer pagão

In marble games, a marble struck by the 'poison' marble before it is batizado is said to 'die a heathen'. See Batizado, Veneno. See Morrer dentro, Morrer fora above, also Boca de Veneno.
Morte
In the game of Morte ou Vivo, players are ordered to act 'dead' or 'alive'. When the order is 'dead' they must squat down and remain immobile. See Vivo.

Farlenda
A rhyme or saying.

Parte cuquinha
In the game of Ivinho, a 'torture' involving a 'brain-splitting' blow on the head. See Calca meia, Castigo, Liga rário, Passa ponte.

Passa ponte
In the game of Ivinho, a 'torture' involving one player passing under the legs of another and being beaten from above as he passes. See Calca meia, Castigo, Liga rário, Parte cuquinha.

Pau duro
In Piculá games, the variation known as Doringa; players when touched by the catcher are required to stiffen 'like legs' and remain immobile when touched, until 'released' by a touch from another player. See Male.

Pegador
In all chasing games, the person who is 'on', and the one set to chase and catch the others.

Pensamento
The name given to the popular verses and quatrains (quadrinhas, versinhos, trovaz) inscribed by girls in school exercise books. The name pensamento is misleading since they are not generally of original composition. See Quadrinha, Trova, Versinho.

Picula
In the game of the same name and in related games like Piculado and Econdo-econdo, the 'home' or safe place which players attempt to reach before being caught or seen, as the case may be.

Piculado
In the game of the same name, also known as Econdo-econdo, the word shouted out by the player who succeeds in reaching the picula (see above) without being seen or caught. This cry is sometimes replaced by 'Uma, dois, três, salvo eu'.

Prenda
In various games including Jogo de Prendas, a forfeit. A personal possession or item of clothing is generally surrendered by all players at the start of the game; those may have to be redeemed by their owners performing certain actions at the command of others at the end of the game.
Primerão
In various games, the nearest equivalent to English 'bags'. A player wishing to be first to do anything may shout Primerão, and if he is the first to do so, his wish is respected. See Segundo, Terceiro.

Prisão
In various chasing and catching games, the 'prison' or place where players who have been caught are made to stand, out of the game.

Purgatório
In the game of Céu ou Inferno, children who are unable to resist the temptation to laugh may find themselves in 'hell' or 'purgatory' at the end of the game. See Céu, Farsaigueira, Inferno.

Quadrinha
A popular quatrain included as verses in Cantigas do Roda, or written down in exercise books, and called variously Pensamento, Trova, Versinho.

Quente
In games of hiding and seeking, players helping the seekers call out comments to guide them; they are 'hot' when close. See Frio. In the game of Cochicho no Rei, the king in a pack of playing cards, here personified. See A, Dama, Duque, Valeta. In the game of Pedrinhas, the variation known as Capitão, the action of throwing one stone in the air and picking up one of several stones previously scattered on the ground. The stone thrown in the air must be caught before it falls to the ground.

Rezar
In games imitative of Afro-Brazilian rituals, the recitation of a 'prayer' over a child pretending to be a patient, in order to cure him or her of an imaginary ailment.

Samba de roda
A dance of African origin, danced in circular formation and accompanied by music and singing. It is associated particularly with the state of Bahia.

Saquinho
In the game of Pedrinhas, a small bag filled with sand or tiny pebbles or beans, and used in preference to stones.
Segundão

In various games, after one player has shouted Primeiro as an indication that he wishes to be the first, another may shout Segundo as an indication that he wishes to be second. See Primeiro, Terceirão.

Soldado

In the game of jecrinhas, the variation known as Capitão, the action of throwing one stone in the air and picking up two stones together before catching the first again. This is repeated so that a total of four stones are picked up.

Terceirão

In various games, after players have shouted Primeiro and Segundo respectively, a player wishing to be third may shout Terceirão. See Primeiro, Segundo.

Tirar versos

In the singing of Cantigas de Roda, the practice of each participant singing a verse (either already known to her or improvised) which is then followed by a refrain sung in chorus. A different girl is then called upon to tirar um verso and so on.

Tomar passo

In games imitative of Afro-Brazilian ritual, the practice of giving a 'blessing' to imaginary worshippers before they leave. This is accompanied by clapping, light slapping of the 'worshippers' and other gestures imitative of adult practice.

Trova

A popular verse, also termed by informants, somewhat indiscriminately, versinho, quadrilha.

Valeta

In the game of Coelhinhos no Rei, the Knave in a pack of playing cards, here personified. See As, Dama, Duque, Rei.

Veneno

In marble games, the name given to a marble which has been accurately shot into the Boca de veneno; it becomes 'poisonous' and may then 'kill' (i.e. eliminate from the game) any other marbles it touches. See Boca de veneno, Morrer dentro, Morrer fora, Morrer papa.
As veras

In marble games, players decide beforehand whether to play As
veras or de brincadeira. In the former case the loser(s)
must forfeit marbles to the
winner. See De brincadeira.

Versinho

A popular verse, usually a
quatrain; included in Cantigas
de Meda (see above, Tirar versos),
or inscribed in exercise books
by girls, and termed variously
quadrinha, trova, pensamento.

Vivo

In the game of Morto ou Vivo,
players are ordered to act
'dead' or 'alive'. When the
order is vivo they must remain
stiffly erect, as opposed to
squatting down, which is what
they must do when the order is
merto. See Morto.
APPENDIX 2

GAME NAMES WITH CHAPTER REFERENCE

Ajuda (4.2)
Altinha (6.3)
Amaralinhda (4.5)
Anelozinho (6.5)
Baba Cascudo (4.5)
Baba Maluco (5.3)
Baba da Pancada (5.3)
Baba Quadrado (4.5)
Baleado (4.3)
Bandeirinha (4.3)
Barquinho (6.5)
Barra Mantiga (4.3)
Batatinha Frita (4.5)
Bela Condessa (7.3)
Bigo (4.5)
Boca de Forno (4.5)
Botuno (4.5)
Briga de Galo (5.2)
Eule na Ded (8.7)
Cabra Cega (4.2)
Caciquê (6.5)
Cadeia (4.3)
Cai no Poço (6.5)
Candomblé (7.2)
Cantigas de Roda (9.0)
Capitão (4.5)
Capoeira (5.2)
Cara ou Coroa (3.4)
Carneirinho (5.4)
Castanha (4.5)
Cavalo de Guerra (5.2)
Céu ou Inferno (6.4)
Chicote Queimado (4.2)
Chiculatinha (4.4)
Chinelinho (6.3)
Cobrinhda (6.3)
Comadres (7.2)
Confidências (6.5)
Cordão (6.5)
Coroinha (6.3)
Lurinho (4.2)
Esconde-esconde (4.4)
Esconde-Cipó (4.4)
Esconde-Pauzinho (4.4)
Escrava (6.5)
Esporre-Gato (5.3)
Esquenta-Mão (8.7)
Eu Sou Rico, Rico, Rico (7.3)
| Fitas (6.5)                      |
| Fogo (6.3)                      |
| Forca (6.5)                     |
| Fórmulas de Escolha/Sorteio (3.0) |
| Futebol de Mesa (4.5)           |
| Galinha Gorda (4.5)             |
| Garrafa (4.2)                   |
| Gata Parida (5.3)               |
| Gato Comeu (6.7)                |
| Girifó (4.2)                    |
| Golpe (5.3)                     |
| Guarda-Chuva (6.4)              |
| Guê (4.5)                       |
| Guê (4.3)                       |
| Hora (6.3)                      |
| Índio e Artista (4.2)           |
| Jogo de Número (4.3)            |
| Jogo da Velha (4.5)             |
| Ladrão e Polícia (4.2)           |
| Lobo (4.2)                      |
| Macaca (4.5)                    |
| Mães (7.2)                      |
| Mamãe Posso Ir? (4.5)           |
| Mamãe Venha me Buscar (7.3)     |
| Mamifero, Ave ou Peixe? (4.5)   |
| Melancias (7.3)                 |
| Meus (6.3)                      |
| Meu Chapéu Tem Três Pontas (6.4) |
| Meu Pai Matou Um Porco (6.4)    |
| Morto ou Vivo (6.4)             |
| Mulher Pega Homem (4.2)         |
| Murrinho (4.2)                  |
| Cvingho (5.3)                   |
| Papagaio (5.2)                  |
| Par ou Ímpar (3.4)              |
| Pari-Gata (5.3)                 |
| Passa Noi (6.3)                 |
| Peu de Sebo (5.3, 14.7)         |
| Pauzinhos (3.4)                 |
| Pedrinhas (4.5)                 |
| Pega Ladrão (4.2)               |
| Pega Sério (6.4)                |
| Picula (4.2)                    |
| Picula de Esconder (4.4)        |
| Piculada (4.4)                  |
| Pimentinha ou Pimentão? (6.4)   |
| Ponga (4.5)                     |
| Pontinhos (4.5)                 |
| Premias (6.5)                   |
| Pular de Corda (6.3)            |
| Quando Eu Fui Para A Bahia (6.5) |
| Quatro Cantinhos (4.3)          |
| Quatro Letras (6.5)             |
Quebra-Pote (14,7)
Queda de Braço (5,2)
Queda Francesa (5,2)
Rabo de Gato (7,3)
Sabugo (5,2)
Salto Mortal (6,3)
Simpatia (6,5)
Toco (6,4)
Três Buracos (4,5)
Três Marins (4,5)
Três, Três Passará (4,3)
Triângulo (4,5)
Túnel (4,3)
Veadinho (6,4)
Vendedor de Farinha (5,3)
Viradinha (6,4)
Você Viu o Ratinho? (4,2)
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<td>IBECG</td>
<td>Instituto Brasileiro de Educação Ciência e Cultura</td>
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<td>JAF</td>
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<td>JAI</td>
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<td>Luso-Brazilian Review</td>
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<td>MLN</td>
<td>Modern Language Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>RAMSP</td>
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<td>RINGDA</td>
<td>Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico da Bahia</td>
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**Other abbreviations**

- **n/d**: no date of publication given
- **n/p**: no place of publication given
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