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Reciprocity and Hierarchy

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watch him day and night, and never to open the door of her hut lest he should escape. So she sat day and night, holding her son in her arms. The other Indians wondered why India never came out of her hut to dance, as before. Through a crack in the door they could see a shining light. They knocked and said, "Come out, India." But she would not open the door. Then they planned to catch her through her great love of dancing. They came with flutes and played before her hut. But she would not open the door. Finally they played the most beautiful dance tune of all (a tune that is known by name and played today). India laid her son on the floor and opened the door. Immediately a strong light rushed out of the door and up into the sky. Her son had become the sun. India in desperation flew up after the light, and became the moon, which is always running after the sun, but never catches him.

ELIZABETH KNOWLTON

NEW YORK, N. Y.

RECIPROCITY AND HIERARCHY

The 89th volume (March-April, 1943) of the excellent Brazilian review "Revista do Arquivo Municipal de São Paulo" contains new and important information on the structure of the dual system of the Bororo, which I wish to discuss briefly. This information appears in an article, *O exorcismo da caça, do peixe e das frutas entre os Bororo*, by Senhor Manuel Cruz. Senhor Cruz is not an anthropologist, but, as a resident for many years of Lageado and the surrounding region, he may be considered as one of our most reliable informants on Bororo life and customs.

Senhor Cruz's account of the food ritual of the Bororo does not add much to what we already knew from Frič and from Colbacchini,¹ but it throws a new light on some specific features of the moiety system. Senhor Cruz tells that the Bororo shaman (*bari*) offers food to the evil spirits (*maeréboe*) on behalf of the spirit's son, if the food was brought by a member of the *Tugare* moiety; and on behalf of the spirit's son-in-law (or grandson, since the kinship term *awaguédu* (Colbacchini *waguédo*) means both), if the food was brought by a member of the *Čera* moiety. He points out, however, that "the *Čerae* are treated as sons by the *bari* and the *Tugaregue* as son-in-law" (n. 1, p. 154). Thus the *bari* stands in the relation opposite to the members of both moieties to that of the *maeréboe*. Senhor Cruz does not comment on this fact, which can be only explained if the *bari* himself stands to the *maeréboe* in the relation of son to father. This interpretation is confirmed by Colbacchini who, in his own description of the food ritual, says that the *bari* calls the *bope* (the alternate name of the *maeréboe*) *i oga*, "my father."² In both cases then, the *bari* would belong to the *Tugare* moiety.

Now this is explicitly denied by Colbacchini who says in another chapter: "A *bari exeraeddo*, when addressing the Sun, who is *exeraedo*, will say *i eddoga*, 'my grandfather,' while a *tugaregueddo* will say *i ogwa*, 'my father.'³ He adds elsewhere: "Any man . . . may become a *bari*."⁴ On the other hand, the equivalence of the sun and of the *maeréboe*, i.e., the souls of the dead *baire*, seems a well established fact: "they are

¹ V. Frič and P. Radin, *Contributions to the Study of the Bororo Indians* (Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 36, 1906).

P. A. Colbacchini e P. C. Albisetti, *Os Boróros Orientais* (São Paulo 1942).

² Colbacchini, *loc. cit.*, p. 126.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 43. ⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 111.

the *baire* themselves (or else *maeréboe*) who, carrying an incandescent piece of metal on their head (*aro-meriurugo*) use it to heat men by looking down to the earth."⁵ Thus we have several corroborating evidences: the sun is *Čera*, the *maeréboe* is *Čera*, the *bari* calls the *maeréboe* "father," and the *maeréboe* and the *bari* stand accordingly in the opposite relationships of "father" and "grand-father" (or "father-in-law") towards the members of one and the other moieties respectively. Against these evidences there is the only discordant statement of Colbacchini that a *bari* may be either *Čera* or *Tugare*. If the latter is true, the whole picture becomes unintelligible (at least on the basis of the available information): for the *bope*, i.e., the souls of the dead *baire* collectively designated as *maeréboe*, should belong to the two moieties, and then what of the sun and of the moon who, as we know, are the *maeréboe* themselves, while undoubtedly belonging to the *Čera* moiety?⁶ If on the contrary, the *baire* were always *tugaregue* the whole system of appellations would become much clearer.

The interesting article of Senhor Cruz calls for another comment. From what we know of the moiety system of the Bororo it is clear that the moieties are bound to exchange reciprocal services in feasts, funerals, initiation rituals, etc. But at the same time, as it occurs in Assam⁷ and elsewhere, there is a definite relation of subordination between the moieties: the *Čerae*, to whom the two chiefs of the Bororo village always belong, and who possess the best ornaments, are "superior" to the *Tugaregue*. Colbacchini's informant emphatically denied that the usual meaning of those words: "strong," and "weak," could be attached to the names of the moieties.⁸ On the contrary, the Bororo of the Rio Vermelho were positive of the fact that *Čera* meant "weak" when I visited them in 1936.⁹ This fits well with the "unequal" names of the moieties among other South American tribes: "Younger" and "Elder" among the Tupi-Kawahib, "Good" and "Bad" among the Tereno, etc. . . . Among the Bororo, however, an apparent contradiction results from the fact that the "Superior" moiety would be at the same time the "Weak," and the "Inferior" the "Strong." This can perhaps be explained through the use of the kinship terms reported by Cruz and by Colbacchini: if an exogamous moiety claims as its own the cultural heroes and the supernatural beings of the tribe, and thus conquers a political and cultural supremacy over the other moiety, it results immediately, in a matrilineal system where patrilineal filiation follows the pattern of alternate generations, that the members of this moiety will become removed from their male ancestors one degree farther than the members of the opposite moiety. If the Sun and the Moon, and the heroes *Bakororo* and *Itubore*, belong to the *Čera* moiety, they can only be the "grandfathers" of the *Čerae* men, while becoming the "fathers" of the dethroned *Tugaregue*. These, in turn, become the "elders" of the ruling *Čerae*. A perhaps one-sided analysis of the dual organization has too often put the emphasis on the principle of reciprocity as its main cause and result. It is well to remember that the moiety system can express, not only mechanisms of reciprocity but also relations of subordination. But, even in these relations

⁵ *Loc. cit.*, p. 97.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 196-197.

⁷ J. K. Bose, *Social Organization of the Aimol Kukis, and Dual Organization in Assam* (Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta, vol. 25, 1934).

⁸ Colbacchini, *loc. cit.*, p. 30.

⁹ C. Lévi-Strauss, *Contribution à l'étude de l'organisation sociale des Indiens Bororo* (Journal de la Société des Americanistes de Paris, 2, 1936).

of subordination, the principle of reciprocity is at work; for the subordination itself is reciprocal: the priority which is gained by one moiety on one level is lost to the opposite moiety on the other. Political primacy has to be paid at the price of a subordinate place in the system of generations.

It is possible that the system of multiple pairs of moieties, cross-cutting one another, typical of the dual organization in South America (and not at all comparable to the Australian systems, since in the first ones never more than one pair of moieties act as marriage classes) should be explained as an attempt to surmount the contradiction resulting from these opposite consequences. There are numerous indications that the present relations between the *Čera* and *Tugare* moieties of the Bororo are not very ancient.¹⁰ Whatever it may be, it is not this system, but the secondary pattern of the "Upstream" and "Downstream" moieties of the São Lourenço,¹¹ probably corresponding to something similar on the Rio das Garças,¹² which seems to have the more numerous equivalents inside and outside the cultural area: I mean the many "Upper"—and—"Lower" systems connected with East and West, which, among the Bororo, correspond the more closely to the metaphysical ideas, and of which new evidences have just been brought to light by Lowie.¹³ Therein should be sought the core of dual organization in South America.

CLAUDE LÉVI-STRAUSS

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

TWO GAMES FROM AFRICA

For the past three years I have been collecting material for a comparative study of the guessing-game "How Many Horns Has the Buck?" which is the "Bucca Bucca" mentioned by Petronius.¹ During this period I have carried on an extensive correspondence with folklorists, archivists, collectors, and other interested persons in all the European countries with the exception of Rumania and Lithuania, with folklorists and other scholars in Japan and China, in Australia and New Zealand, in South and Central America, and with missionaries in all parts of Africa. As was to be expected, many of these correspondents were unable to find any versions of "How Many Horns?" still current in their respective countries, and frequently they tried to make amends by sending me texts and descriptions of other games, sometimes analogues and sometimes games of an entirely different type. Two of these I present here.

Both of these games were contributed by Rev. Lyndon Harries, of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, Newala, Lindi, T. T. The first is a game played by Makua children, who call it *Kikote nno, kilye nno* ("Let me refuse here—let me eat here").

¹⁰ Colbacchini, *loc. cit.*, pp. 30, 136.

¹¹ C. Lévi-Strauss, *loc. cit.*

¹² Colbacchini, *loc. cit.*, pp. 31, 35, 95.

¹³ R. H. Lowie, *A Note on the Social Life of the Northern Kayapó* (AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, 4, vol. 45, 1943).

¹ I have already published two short papers on the subject: *A Roman Game and Its Survival on Four Continents* (*Classical Philology*, XXXVIII, 2), 134-137; and *The 'Kille anđe bøl Game of India* (*Southern Folklore Quarterly*, VII, 3), 149-152. A third and longer article (40 pp.) will appear in the next number of *Bealoideas*, journal of the Irish Folklore Commission.