

establish an ideal structure and then to deal with deviations from it (see p. 56, for example) rather than to integrate variations into the formal model.

Despite these reservations it is certainly valuable to have Forde's articles collected together as a general view of an unusual form of village organization. One hopes that the last bit of research on these people has not been carried out, and that future work can be done which will build on the basic and useful material presented here before social change revamps this complex society entirely.

*Ecology and Culture of the Pastoral Tuareg, with Particular Reference to the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr.* JOHANNES NICOLAISEN. (Nationalmuseets Skrifter Etnografisk Raekke, IX.) Copenhagen: The National Museum of Copenhagen, 1963. xi, 548 pp., appendixes, bibliography, 298 figures, glossary, list of authorities, Danish summary. n.p.

*Reviewed by* ROBERT F. MURPHY, *Columbia University*

Monographs in the grand style are few and far between in our time, and it is a pleasure to record one in this review. Johannes Nicolaisen's study of the Tuareg is an ethnographic classic, for it is, in my opinion, one of the finest works ever published on a pastoral society.

The Tuareg are one of the most intrinsically interesting groups known to anthropology, for they are at once the quintessence of the exotic—even their African neighbors think so—and the bearers of one of the more anomalous cultures in our ethnographic inventory. Travelers, explorers, and itinerant ethnologists have commented on them with wonder throughout our millennium and some of the principal problems in their social system were already noted by the 14th century. Much of the information collected by travelers, from Ibn Battutah and Leo Africanus to Barth and Rodd, has been both exciting and of inestimable value, and it is more the cause for surprise that so little attention has been given to them by professional anthropologists until very recent years. As an example of the hiatuses in our knowledge of the Tuareg, the first complete schedule and analysis of kinship terms was published only in 1959 (by Nicolaisen), revealing that the terminological system is essentially Iroquois. That this should be so is all the more reason for surprise, for the Tuareg prefer marriage with both cross and parallel cousins and have apparently done so for a very long time. Other questions raised by what we already knew of the Tuareg also demanded answers. How does, or did, a pastoral society maintain a system of matrilineal descent, especially when giving at least nominal adherence to Islamic law? And what peculiar accommodation to Islam would allow women to be accorded relatively high status while the men wear veils? These are not queries for just the desert buff or the Islamicist but are avenues of approach to basic questions as to what are the possible limits of structural variability and what are the requirements for compatibility between ideology and action systems.

Nicolaisen's researches have done much to fill in the gaps in our knowledge of the Tuareg through extensive, first-hand field work. During a period of approximately ten years, he spent three years in the field among the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer and the Hoggar and Air massifs with side trips to several other regions of Tuareg occupancy; his modest accounting of his credentials of experience in the desert conceals a saga. From his introductory remarks, we also learn that the author began his anthropological career through a season with the Lapps and historically oriented study in Copenhagen under Birket-Smith. After beginning his program of North African research, however, he entered into further study at the University of London, and both the Danish and the

British phases of his education are reflected in his theoretical interests and in the topics covered in this volume. The organizations of kinship and of politics occupy a large place in his work, but he places these considerations in an historic dimension, as he also does when he discusses material culture and economics.

It would be impossible to summarize the results of so comprehensive a volume, and I will restrict myself to an enumeration of some topics covered and a few of the more central conclusions. The corpus of the work is on the subjects of economics and social structure, although somewhat more extended treatment, if not emphasis, is given to the former. The reader is treated to a detailed description of animal husbandry, irrigation agriculture, hunting, collecting, and trade and their places in the total economic life of the various sectors of the Tuareg population; woven into the description is an excellent analysis of this activity as ecological adaptation. Students of pastoral societies will be grateful to the author for these sections, for the wealth and detail of data, apart from his analytic findings, will be invaluable for comparative research. Accompanying the economic data or interspersed within the sections on economy is a rich body of information on material culture—not enough to completely satisfy the systematic student of technology and material culture, but ample for the purposes of the work. On this subject, as well as several others, one may assume that Nicolaisen has the data for future volumes.

Since my own research among the southeastern Tuareg was in the area of social structure, I found the second part of the volume to be more immediately interesting, inasmuch as it deals with these more puzzling aspects of Tuareg culture. Nicolaisen analyzes the political relations between noble and vassal tribes and their meanings for kinship, territory, political office, and warfare. That his analysis is more coherent for the northern Tuareg than for the bulk of the population, which lives in the south Sahara and the Sahel, is a function of the breakdown of vassalage in the latter region and the generally greater variability in social structural forms there.

Nicolaisen gives detailed treatment to the conundrum of Tuareg matrilineality and its workings. Typologically, Tuareg descent does not conform to our usual models of matrilineal systems, for marriage tends to be endogamic to descent groups as well as within the cousin category. Moreover, inheritance is according to Koranic rule and is accordingly restricted to the patriline. This does not result in double descent, for the rule of inheritance of wealth does not produce bounded units, and descent, per se, was only matrilineal. The author notes that matrilineality is best preserved among the northern Tuareg groups, where it is closely connected to the still functioning traditional political arrangements between noble tribes and their vassals. He characterizes some of the southern groups as patrilineal and others as bilateral, though all of them were possibly formerly matrilineal. This is confirmed by my own research among the southeastern Tuareg, who are generally bilateral but give every evidence of recent matrilineality.

The question of matrilineality among a pastoral, Moslem group that speaks a language closely related to Berber immediately evokes inquiry into how they got that way, an exercise that is congenial to the author's historical bent. He reviews Murdock's theory that the Tuareg were formerly patrilineal but adopted matrilineal descent after their displacement into the Sahara in order to preserve their purity of race in intercaste marriages. This thesis is properly rejected, for matrilineality would seem from all evidence to be very ancient among the Tuareg and part of their social structure before they were pushed south and west by Arab invasions. I would add to this the speculation that one can best interpret the historical significance of Tuareg matrilineality in struc-

tural terms. From this view, the Tuareg were matrilineal at the time of the Hilalian invasion of North Africa in the 11th century, and the differences in modes of descent between them and the Arabs impeded or blocked the grafting of Tuareg groups into the Arab patrilineages. This was a common process in the Arabization of other Berber groups in the area, and Tuareg matrilineality served to maintain the identity and boundaries of the society.

I could note certain differences between my data and those of Nicolaisen, but I believe that most of these arise from the greater impact of social change among the Tuareg bordering upon the Sudan. Through all these differences, however, one sees certain continuities in the high position of women, endogamic marriages, matrilineal institutions, both functioning and vestigial, Iroquois kinship, veiling of men, Islam and Koranic inheritance, and an economy that is much the same throughout the vast area of the south Sahara desert.

The general reader in anthropology will find this monograph and its subjects to be fascinating; it is indispensable to the student of the Near East and of Africa. Beyond this, the book has the quality and flavor of the anthropological study, par excellence. I will quote one passage from his discussion of his own field work (p. 3):

The situation was now very difficult as my two camels left at Afarak died and I was too short of money to buy a new animal. My financial problems were rather acute and were solved only by the very kind and resolute help rendered me by Professor Daryll Forde of University College, London. I was thus able to continue my studies for another six months. I hired a house in Agadez where I could work peacefully, and bought a fine riding camel in order to be able to visit Tuareg camps in the vicinity.

These words should be brought to the attention of any graduate student who fails to see a clear distinction between sociology and anthropology.

*La Vie matérielle des noirs réfugiés Boni et des Indiens Wayana du Haut-Maroni (Guyane Française): Agriculture, économie et habitat.* JEAN HURAUULT. Paris: Office de la recherche scientifique et technique outremer, 1965. xviii, 142 pp., bibliography, 13 figures, 8 photographs, 19 plates, 18 tables. n.p. (paper).

Reviewed by AUDREY BUTT, *University of Oxford*

This is a comparative study of the economy and material culture of three groups of people of different ethnic origins, living along the banks of the Maroni River of Surinam and French Guiana.

The Boni Bush Negroes are one group; they are a people of African origin and culture who escaped from slavery and set up house in a South American tropical forest environment. As Dr. Hurault's research shows, they adjusted to their surroundings with conspicuous success.

The second group is the Wayana Indians, an indigenous, Carib-speaking people from N.E. Brazil, now living mainly in the Upper Maroni basin. Any threat to their well-being, Dr. Hurault emphasizes, derives not from their standard of living but from vulnerability to introduced disease.

These two tribal populations are his main concern but there is also a third group, comprising several hundred West Indian Creoles who were attracted to the area by possibilities of gold mining, rubber gathering, and wage labor. Unlike the Boni and Wayana they are not flourishing and some are having to emigrate.

In a book full of interesting material a particularly valuable contribution is the study of the effects of the leaf cutting ant on the cultivation systems of the Boni and