

KUML



ÅRBOG FOR JYSK ARKÆOLOGISK SELSKAB
1957

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With Summaries in English
Mit deutschen Zusammenfassungen

UNIVERSITETSFORLAGET I AARHUS

1958

Forside:

Restaurering af jættestue i Tustrup
Restoration of passage grave at Tustrup

Redaktion:

P. V. GLOB

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by

Jysk Arkæologisk Selskab

Printed in Denmark

by

Aarhus Stiftsbogtrykkerie A/S

Clichéer:

Hammerschmidt - Århus

INDHOLD

<i>Johannes Brøndsted</i> : Erik Westerby	7
<i>P. Kjærum</i> : Storstensgrave ved Tustrup	9
<i>Knud A. Larsen</i> : Stenalderhuse på Knardrup Galgebakke	24
<i>Bent Sylvest</i> : En sværdskele fra ældre bronzealder	44
<i>C. J. Becker</i> : Førrømersk jernaldergrav fra Try skole i Vendsyssel	49
<i>Ad. Stender-Petersen</i> : Jordanes' beretning om Goternes udvandring	68
<i>Nils Lunn</i> : Træl – Tralle – Trælleborg	81
<i>Torkild Ramskou</i> : Stavgård og bautavi	86
<i>Johannes Nicolaisen</i> : Slaveri hos Tuaregerne i Sahara	91
<i>P. V. Glob</i> : Slangeofre i Bahraíns oldtidshovedstad	114
<i>T. G. Bibby</i> : Bahraíns oldtidshovedstad gennem 4000 år	128
<i>J. Læssøe</i> : En kileskrift fra Bahrain	164
<i>P. V. Glob</i> : Oldtidsfund i Qatar	167
Jysk Arkæologisk Selskab	179
<i>V. Gordon Childe</i> : Tilbageblik	180
<i>Ole Klindt-Jensen</i> : Seán P. Ó Ríordáin	188
<i>Stuart Piggott</i> : V. Gordon Childe og Seán Ó Ríordáin	190
<i>Wilhelm Holmqvist</i> : Nils Åberg	192

CONTENTS

<i>Johannes Brøndsted</i> : Erik Westerby	8
<i>P. Kjærum</i> : Megalithic tombs at Tustrup	22
<i>Knud A. Larsen</i> : Stone-Age houses on Knardrup Gallows Hill	41
<i>Bent Sylvest</i> : A scabbard from the Early Bronze Age	48
<i>C. J. Becker</i> : Ein vorrömisches Grab von Try, Amt Hjørring	64
<i>Ad. Stender-Petersen</i> : Jordanes' Bericht von der Auswanderung der Goten..	76
<i>Nils Lunn</i> : Træl – Tralle – Trælleborg	84
<i>Torkild Ramskou</i> : Stave-yard and sacred enclosure	89
<i>Johannes Nicolaisen</i> : Slavery among the Tuareg in the Sahara	107
<i>P. V. Glob</i> : Snake sacrifices in Bahrain's ancient capital	125
<i>T. G. Bibby</i> : The hundred-meter section	152
<i>J. Læssøe</i> : A cuneiform inscription from the island of Bahrain	165
<i>P. V. Glob</i> : Prehistoric discoveries in Qatar	175
Jysk Arkæologisk Selskab	179
<i>V. Gordon Childe</i> : Retrospect	180
<i>Ole Klindt-Jensen</i> : Seán P. Ó Ríordáin	188
<i>Stuart Piggott</i> : V. Gordon Childe and Seán P. Ó Ríordáin	190
<i>Wilhelm Holmqvist</i> : Nils Åberg	194

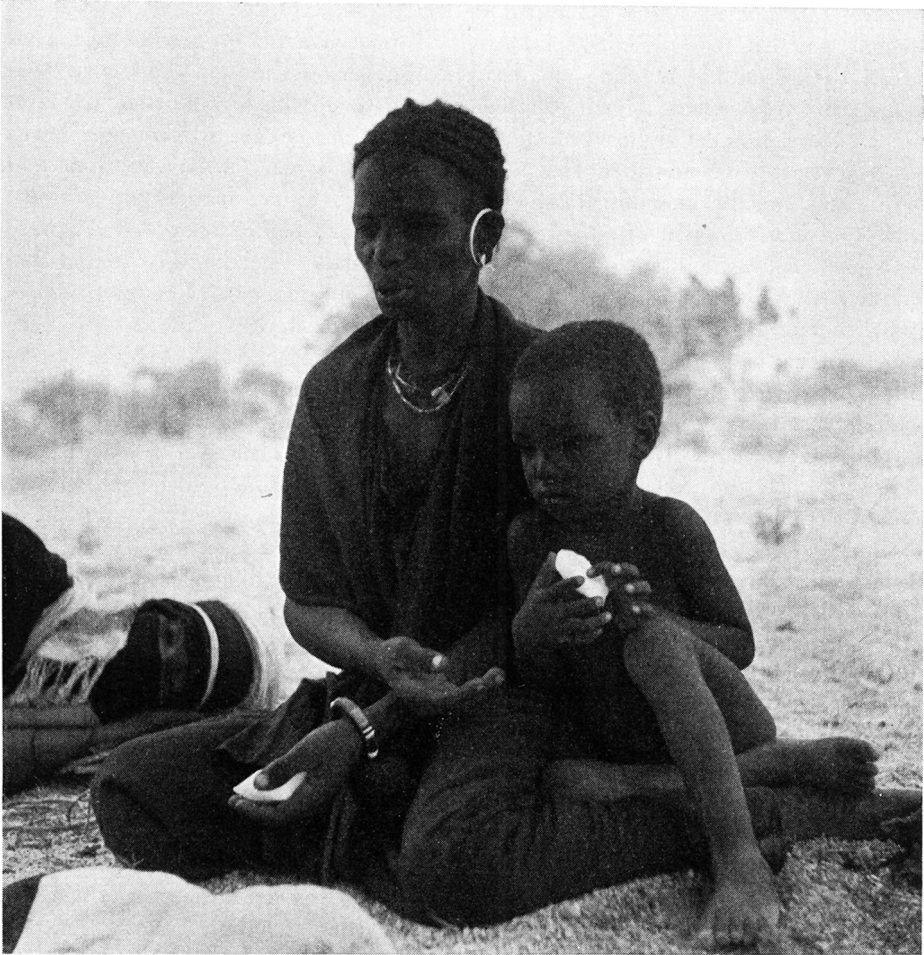


Fig. 1. Mor og søn. Slaver hos Tuaregerne i Air.
Mother and son. Slaves of the Tuareg in Air.

SLAVERI HOS TUAREGERNE I SAHARA

Foreløbig analyse af dets struktur

Af JOHANNES NICOLAISEN

Slaveriet er en institution af meget betydelig ælde. I Europa og Orienten har det været kendt saa langt tilbage i tid vor historiske viden rækker, og slaveri er eller har været en fast institution i andre fremmedartede kulturer rundt om paa kloden. Vi kan ikke fastsætte nogen bestemt tid for slaveriets oprindelse, som fortaber sig i den graa oldtid. Men i kulturhistorisk betydning kan vi dog

alligevel tale om slaveriets alder, thi det synes sikkert nok, at det ikke hører hjemme paa det mest primitive kulturtrin, hvor erhvervet er baseret paa jagt, fiskeri og indsamling af vilde planter. Egentligt slaveri har en økonomisk baggrund, som først synes at være til stede paa mere udviklede kulturtrin¹). Slaveriet er især almindeligt hos bofaste agerbrugsfolk, men det forekommer ogsaa hos de kvægavlende nomader. Hos mange hyrdefolk synes der imidlertid ikke at være nogen egentlig økonomisk baggrund for slaveri. Er der mangel paa arbejdskraft kan dette problem oftest løses ved et intimt arbejdsfællesskab mellem flere beslægtede enkelt-familjer, som da danner en saakaldt stor-familje. Denne metode anvendes overalt hos de hyrdefolk, som bebor Asiens og Afrikas tørre steppe- og ørken-omraader. Men for nogle af disse nomader er slaveriet ikke desto mindre af den største betydning, som det er tilfældet hos det lyshudede, berbiske hyrdefolk Tuaregerne i Sahara og savannelandet umiddelbart syd herfor. Som det ses af kortet (fig 2) inddeles Tuaregerne i flere hovedgrupper som delvis svarer til politiske forbund. Det er blandt Tuareger af grupperne Kel Ahaggar (I), Kel Ajjer (II) og Kel Air (III) jeg har foretaget mine undersøgelser over slaveriet og dets struktur.

Der er flere aarsager til, at det lønner sig at holde slaver hos Tuaregerne. De har flere forskellige slags husdyr (geder, faar, æsler, kameler, samt længst mod syd køer og ogsaa heste), og det er ikke altid muligt at lade disse dyr græsse inden for et og samme omraade, da de græsgange som er særligt egnede for een husdyrart tit er mindre egnede for en anden. Tuaregerne i Ahaggar Bjergene maa endda hyppigt lade deres kamelhjorde vogte paa græsgange, som ligger 500–600 kilometer borte fra de lejre, hvor de holder deres flokke af geder og faar. Dette skaber naturligvis et øget behov for arbejdskraft, men endnu vigtigere med hensyn hertil er det, at de tuaregiske ørkennomader slet ikke kan eksistere alene ved husdyravl. Udbyttet fra hjorden afhænger i aller højeste grad af de klimatiske forhold. I aar med rigelig nedbør og vel udviklede græsgange har nomaderne mange dyr, som giver meget mælk, hvoraf en del laves til smør og ost. Regn er imidlertid en saare sjælden vare i ørkenen, og hyppigt raader der den største armod i Tuaregernes nomadelejre. Fire aar ud af ti er simpelthen saa tørre, at der saa og sige fuldstændig mangler frisk græsning til dyrene, og under saadanne forhold har Tuaregerne ikke alene ingen mælk, men det hænder endog at en stor del af deres geder og faar dør af tørst og sult. Og selv med gunstige nedbørsforhold er det i regelen kun under en kortere periode af aaret, at Tuaregerne i Sahara kan leve udelukkende af deres hjerne. De behøver ogsaa hirse, hvede, dadler eller anden vegetabilsk føde, som da faas ved agerbrug og især ved karavanehandel for hvilken salt og andre ikke-nomadiske produkter spiller en stor rolle. De udstrakte handelstogter til oasebyer i det nordlige Sahara og til Sudans hirseavlende negerlandsbyer stiller store krav til arbejdskraft hos Tuaregerne.

De slaver som idag findes blandt Tuaregerne er negre som nedstammer fra slaver røvet fra fjendtlige stammer i Sudan eller købt paa slavemarkederne samme sted før den franske erobring af landet ved aarhundredskiftet. Dengang var Tuaregerne ikke alene slave-ejere, men ogsaa slavehandlere, som førte mængder af slaver fra Sudan til det nordlige Sahara's oaser. »Dengang«, siger Tuaregerne, »handlede vi med slaver paa samme maade, som vi nu handler med

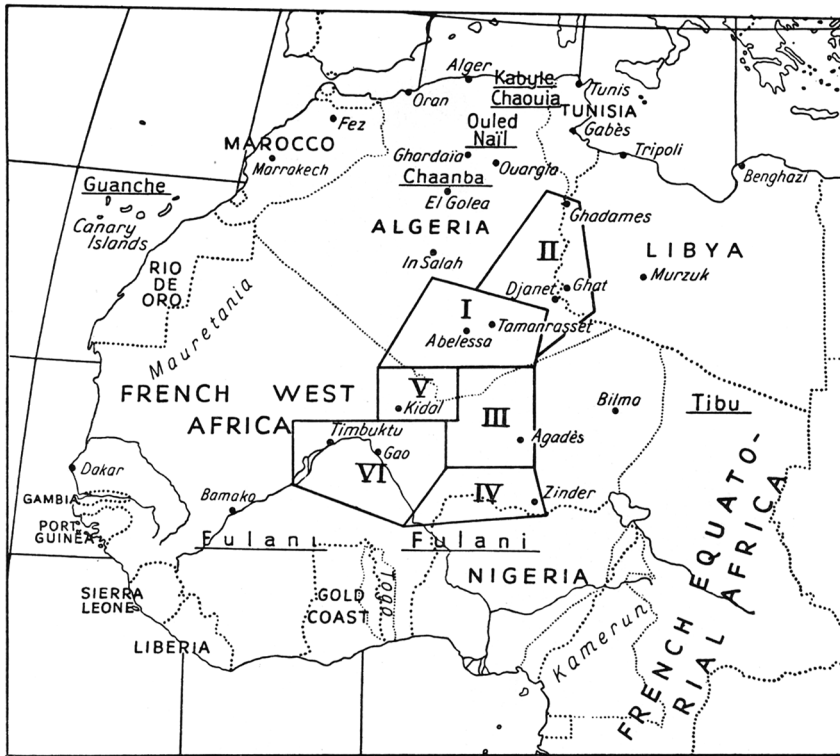


Fig. 2. Kort over Nordvest-Afrika med angivelse af Tuaregernes udbredelsesomraade: I Ahaggar Tuaregerne, II Ajjer Tuaregerne, III Air Tuaregerne, IV Kel Geres Tuaregerne, V Adrar-n-Iforas Tuaregerne, VI Iullemmeden Tuaregerne. — Navne paa enkelte andre folkestammer er understreget.

Map of North-west Africa, showing the extension of the Tuareg: I, the Ahaggar Tuareg; II, the Ajjer Tuareg; III, the Air Tuareg; IV, the Kel Geres Tuareg; V, the Adrar-n-Iforas Tuareg; VI, the Iullemmeden Tuareg. Names of certain other peoples are underlined.

geder«, og der er i den ældre litteratur om Sahara eksempler paa, at dette ingenlunde er en overdrivelse. Slavehandelen var tidligere af overordentlig stor betydning for Saharas nomader. Saaledes kan det nævnes, at den berømte arabiske geograf Ibn Batutah paa en rejse gennem Sahara i det 14. aarhundrede slog følge med en karavane, som medførte ikke mindre end 600 slavinder²⁾, og i litteraturen fra det 19. aarhundrede finder vi lignende beretninger om Tuaregernes foretagsomhed som slavehandlere³⁾. Skønt der blev sørget for, at slaverne, som for det meste var unge mennesker, ved karavanernes afgang fra Sudan var i god foderstand, saa bukkede dog mange af dem under paa rejsen gennem ørkenen. Tabet kunde være stort, men handelen var dog lønnende, idet der kunde gøres en fortjeneste paa 200–500% pr. slave. En stor del af disse slaver blev solgt til Arabere og Berbere i Atlaslandene og de lige syd herfor liggende oaser, hvor der nu mange steder som et resultat af slavehandelen findes en overvejende negroid befolkning, men mange slaver blev ogsaa videresolgt til Ægypt-

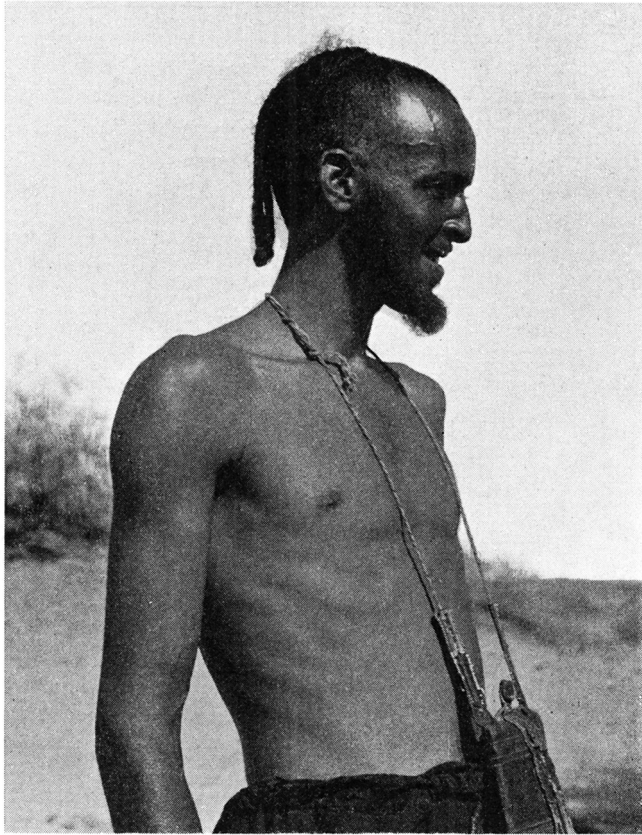


Fig. 3. Lyshudet Tuareg fra Ahaggar. Voksne Tuareger lader sig kun sjældent se uden en mere fuldstændig dragt, der dækker overkroppen, og et slør som skjuler munden og nederste del af ansigtet. Normalt ser man da hverken fuldskægget eller det flettede nakkehaar.

Light-skinned Tuareg from Ahaggar. Adult Tuareg only rarely allow themselves to be seen without a more complete garb, covering the upper part of the body, and a veil, covering the mouth and the lower part of the face. Normally, therefore, neither the beard nor the pigtails can be seen.

ten og Tyrkiet. En overordentlig afskyelig gren af slavehandelen var handelen med eunukker, der blev anvendt som haremsvogtere overalt i den islamiske verden. Efterspørgslen var stor og prisen høj. Nogle steder i Sudan – i særdeleshed hos Mossi- og Bornu-folkene – blev de sundeste slavedrenge derfor i almindelighed kastreret, og det er anslaaet, at mindre end 10 % af dem overlevede operationen⁴).

Handelen med eunukker var en direkte følge af Islams indførelse til Nord-Afrika, og med Islam tog slavehandelen i det hele taget et umaadeligt opsving. Arabere, Tuareger og andre islamiske folk i Afrika har vel som slavehandlere begaaet lige saa uhyggelige grusomheder som deres kristne europæiske kolleger. Men hos de islamiske folk var selve slaveriet sædvanligvis af en helt anden ka-

rakter end det europæisk-amerikanske plantage- og industrislaveri. Tuaregerne var som slavehandlere i fortiden ikke ligefrem blødsødne, men helt anderledes optraadte de over for de slaver, som levede iblandt dem og havde antaget tuaregisk sprog og levevis. Hos Tuaregerne er, til dels paa grund af fransk indflydelse, mange slaver nu frigivne. I det sydlige Tuaregland lever de som uafhængige agerbrugere eller nomader organiseret i klaner paa nogenlunde samme maade som deres tidligere herrer Tuaregerne. I Ahaggar lever mange frigivne slaver som agerbrugere i oaserne. De er i almindelighed henvist til at dyrke markerne for Tuaregerne, som er jordens egentlige ejere, efter en kontrakt som levner det halve udbytte for dyrkeren, den anden halvdel for ejeren. Men sidstnævnte maa betale sin dyrker levnedsmidler for seks maaneder, halvdelen af det nødvendige sædekorn samt visse andre afgifter. For ganske faa aar siden var forholdet imidlertid det, at dyrkeren kun fik en femtedel af afgrøden. Disse negerbønder i Saharas oaser er økonomisk, men ikke egentlig politisk afhængig af de Tuareger de arbejder for. Helt anderledes forholder det sig med det store antal af egentlige slaver, som endnu findes blandt Tuaregerne i Ahaggar. Ifølge en statistisk opgørelse foretaget 1941-46 er der i Ahaggar 4.611 lyshudede Tuareger og 1.642 negerslaver, som lever i Tuaregernes nomadelejr⁵). En Tuareglejr bestaar

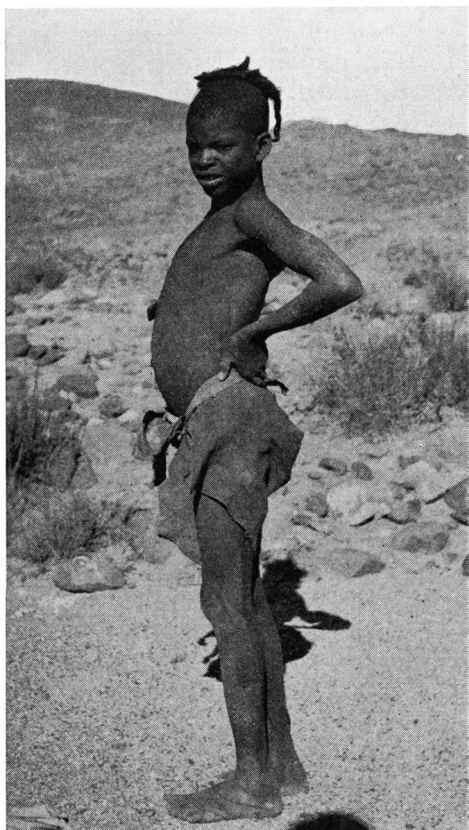


Fig. 4. Slavedreng kun iført lændeklæde af gedeskind, som ogsaa bæres almindeligt af drenge i nogle Tuaregklaner. Som hos Tuaregerne er haaret afraget fortil, mens nakkehaaret er flettet til trods for at det krøllede haar ikke er velegnet til denne form for frisur. (Ahaggar).

Slave boy wearing only a loincloth of goat-skin, which is also the clothing normally borne by boys in some Tuareg clans. Like the Tuareg his hair is shaved in front and plaited into pig-tails behind, despite the fact that his fuzzy hair is not well suited to this hair-style. (Ahaggar).

hyppigt af nogle faa telte beboet af en storfamilje der udgør en ko-operativ enhed, som det allerede er omtalt. Hvert telthold har sine slaver, som kan tilhøre enten husbonden eller hustruen. Der er personlig ejendomsret til slaver, men deres arbejdskraft kommer alle husholdets medlemmer til gode. Følgende eksempel fra en Tuareglejr omfattende 15 individer fordelt paa fire telte i Ahaggar kan illustrere et almindeligt slavehold hos Tuaregerne:

Telte	Slaver	Ejer
I.	1 voksen mand, 1 voksen kvinde	husbond
II.	1 voksen mand	husbond
III.	1 dreng	husbond
IV.	1 voksen mand	husbond
	2 voksne kvinder, 1 dreng	hustru

Slaverne er altsaa deres herres ejendom; de kan nu ikke længere gøres til genstand for handel, men selv i før-europæisk tid var det ikke almindeligt at sælge slaver fra ens egen lejr. Slaverne nedarves stadig inden for en og samme familje, og det har ind til for faa aar siden været skik og brug, at en slavinde udgjorde en del af brudeprisen. Dette kan maaske trods alt tages som et tegn paa, at slaverne ikke behandles særlig godt hos Tuaregerne, og der er da ogsaa eksempel paa, at slaver straffes korporligt. Dette kan indtræffe den dag i dag, idet det forholder sig saadan, at visse forseelser, som af de lyshudede Tuareger sones med bøder af kvæg, for slavernes vedkommende kan straffes med pisk efter ordre fra Tuaregernes øverste høvding kaldet Amenokalen. Det er imidlertid sjældent, at slaverne straffes paa denne maade af deres egne herrer. I de to aar jeg har opholdt mig blandt Tuaregerne har jeg saaledes kun iagttaget et eneste tilfælde af korporlig afstraffelse, og da i meget mild form.

Der er flere grunde til, at Tuaregerne saa at sige aldrig straffer deres slaver, og en meget interessant skik kan her anføres fra Ahaggar-Tuaregerne. Her har en slave i tilfælde af, at han udsættes for daarlig behandling, altid haft mulighed for at skifte herre, og saadan forholder det sig ogsaa i nutiden. Den maade, han gør sig fri for sin gamle herre paa er da følgende: Naar han ser en ridekamel hørende til en Tuareg han gerne vil underkaste sig, saa løber han hen til den og skærer et stykke af dens ene øre. Som en følge af dette er kamelejeren forpligtiget til at tage slaven til sig, mens dennes egentlige og oprindelige ejer ikke kan gøre krav paa at faa sin slave igen. Denne skik kan vel synes ejendommelig, men det er en symbolsk handling med en dybere mening: at skære et stykke af øret paa en anden mands kamel er at skade den, og en Tuareg er ansvarlig for sin slaves handling. Den »skyldige« slave tilfalder derfor kamel-ejeren som en »erstatning« for den »skadede«, der er øvet mod hans kamel, og slavens oprindelige ejer er tvunget til at betale denne »erstatning«. Det er yderst vanærende for en Tuareg at miste sin slave paa denne maade, mens det for den nye herre er en stor hæder. Han vil derfor tage vel imod sin nye slave, give ham klæder og en kamel med sadel, og der vil blive et godt forhold mellem herre og slave.

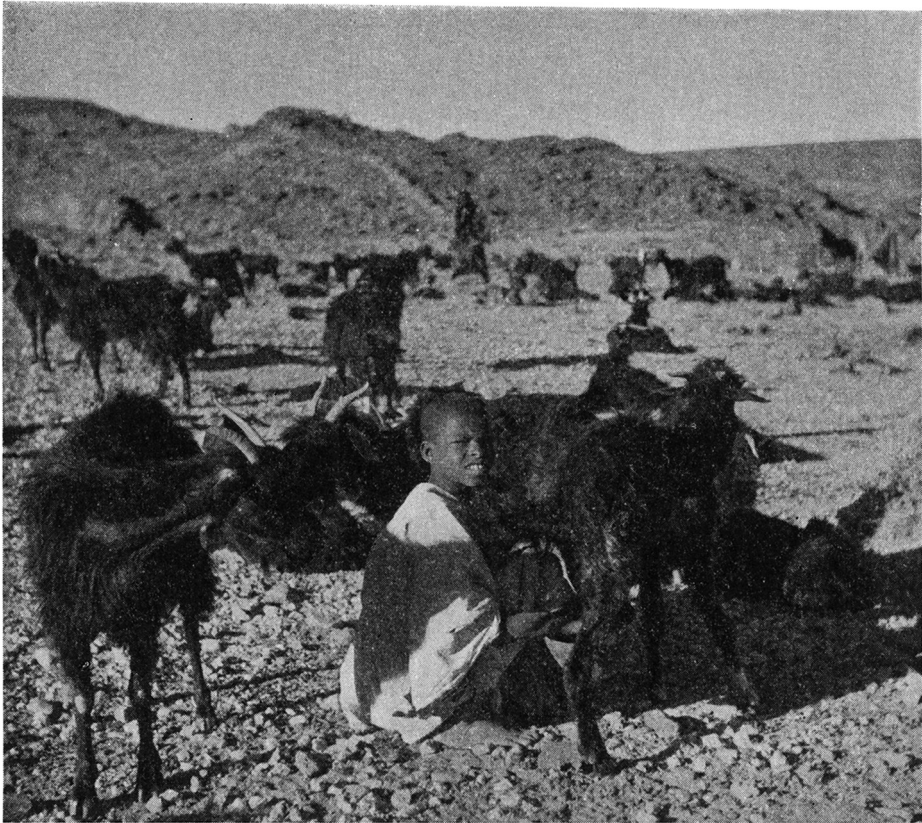


Fig. 5. Slavedreng malker geder – et arbejde som normalt udføres af kvinder. Malkeskaalen holdes i venstre haand, og der malkes med højre haand, mens gedens venstre bagben fasholdes under højre overarm. (Ahaggar).

Slave boy milking goats – a task which is normally performed by women. The milking bowl is held in the left hand, and the milking is done with the right hand, while the goat's left hind leg is held fast beneath the right upper arm. (Ahaggar).

I det tilfælde at en slave uden videre løber bort, vil han altid blive krævet tilbage igen af sin herre. Men den øverste høvding Amenokalen kan dog gribe ind til slavens fordel, hvis han erfarer, at den bortløbne slave har været dårligt behandlet og er dårligt klædt. Saaledes er der da visse regler, som bidrager til at skabe nogenlunde gode kaar for slaverne. De spiser vel kun undtagelsesvis sammen med deres herrer, og de bor som regel ikke i telte, men i aabne vindskjul eller solskærme. I det store og hele er der dog kun ringe forskel paa Tuaregers og slavers levevis, og de bærer nogenlunde ens klæder og smykker. Slaverne er ogsaa vaabenføre mænd, som i gamle dage da kvægrøveri og krig saa at sige udgjorde en del af Tuaregernes erhverv, tit ledsagede deres herrer paa krigstogter. Hvis en Tuaregfamilje har tilstrækkelig mange slaver, saa udfører disse ikke alene meget af det grovere husholdningsarbejde, men de røgter ogsaa kvæghjordene; og som hyrder har de ofte en meget indflydelsesrig stilling, da de er mere for-

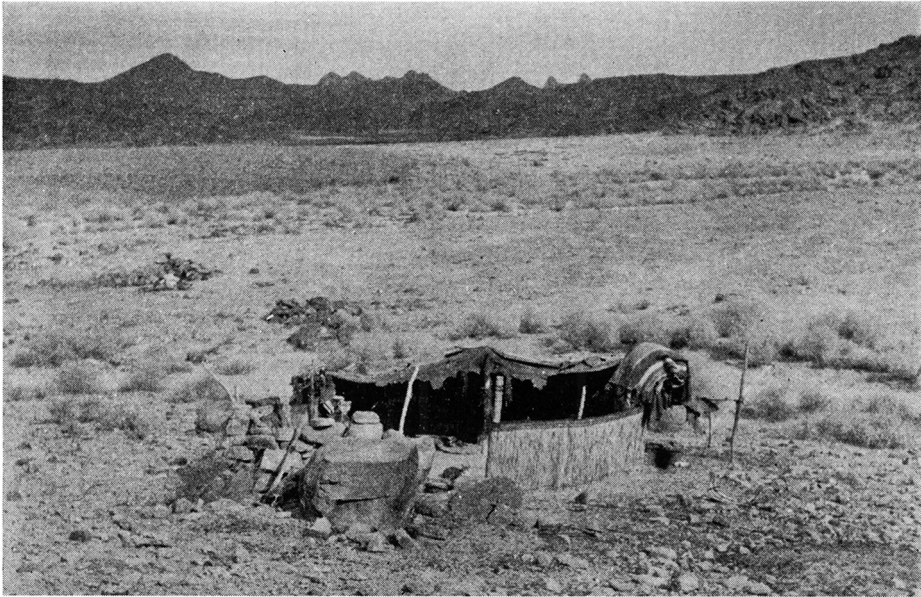


Fig. 6. Telt med dug af afhaaret, rødfarvet gedeskind, som er den almindelige boligform for Tuaregerne i Ahaggar. Det er omgivet af en stråmätte samt i dette tilfælde en tørstensmur, der tjener som ly mod den kolde vinter-vind.

Tent formed of goatskins, with hair removed and coloured red, the normal living quarters of the Tuareg in Ahaggar. It is surrounded by a straw mat, and in this case by a dry-stone wall, which gives protection against the cold winds of winter.

trolige med de enkelte dyrs pleje, end Tuaregerne selv er det. Til alt dette kan føjes endnu et træk af særlig interesse. Hos de lyshudede Tuareger forholder det sig saadan, at hver klan besidder en ganske bestemt part af et dyr, saaledes at fra et slagtet dyr een klan har ret til en del af ryggen, en anden til hjertet, en tredje til leveren o. s. v. Slaverne har her rettigheder af samme art, idet de besidder hal-sen og nogle steder ogsaa halen og fødderne. Af et slagtet dyr maa disse dele altid gives til slaverne.

Slaverne er altsaa ikke helt retsløse, men dog har de almindelige arveretslige regler for dem ingen gyldighed. Hvis en slave har et godt forhold til sin herre, vil denne i aarets løb give ham et vist antal geder som personlig ejendom – han kan for eksempel slagte dem eller sælge dem, hvis han finder det for godt. Men naar en slave dør, kan hans børn ikke arve hans hjord eller andre af hans besiddelser. Alt tilfalder da hans herre.

For rigtigt at forstaa dette og mange andre forhold knyttet til slaveriet hos Tuaregerne vil det nu være nødvendigt kort at omtale det tuaregiske slægtskabs-system, som giver slaveriet en egen struktur. Der er hos Tuaregerne ganske bestemte regler for, hvordan man skal opføre sig over for ens slægtninge, som inddeles i nogle faa kategorier. Hver enkelt kategori indeholder saavel nære som fjerne slægtninge, som ikke desto mindre alle betegnes ved et og samme ord. For eksempel har betegnelserne far og mor en langt videre betydning end i vort eget

samfund. Tuaregerne kan som far og mor omtale alle følgende personer: forældrene og deres søskende samt de sidstes ægtefæller, bedsteforældrene og forældrenes fætre og kusiner eller saa at sige alle slægtninge af ældre generationer. En undtagelse fra denne regel danner mors brødre og andre i moderlinjen beslægtede personer. De kaldes alle for morbrødre, hvilket for Tuaregerne er naturligt, da arvefølgen hos dem paa visse punkter følger moderlinjen og ikke som hos os faderlinjen.

Over for alle de personer, som betegnes far og mor, skal der udvises respekt og lydighed, og det samme gælder ogsaa over for alle ældre søskende samt en hel række slægtninge af ens egen generation, som ligeledes kaldes ældre søskende. Fars brødres børn og mors søstres børn – altsaa de slægtninge vi kalder parallel-søskendebørn – er enten ens ældre eller yngre søskende. De saakaldte kryds-søskendebørn – d. v. s. børn af fars søstre og mors brødre – er derimod ikke ens søskende. De betegnes med ordet *ibobah* (hunkøn, *tibobah*), og der er imellem dem et ejendommeligt forhold, som i litteraturen almindeligvis betegnes »joking relationship«, d. v. s. et drilleforhold. Kryds-søskendebørn driller til staidighed hinanden paa grov og uforskammet maade, men de tager alle uforskamtheder med smil og latter, thi gør de ikke det, sætter de deres omdømme som ordentlige mennesker paa spil. Kryds-søskendebørn anses for de



Fig. 7. Solskærm bygget af grene og græs. Det er en almindelig bolig for slaverne i Ahaggar, og den er størstedelen af aaret mere hensigtsmæssig end Tuaregernes skindtelte.

Sun-shade built of branches and grass. It is the normal living quarters for slaves in Ahaggar and for the greater part of the year it is more suitable to the climate than the skin tents of the Tuareg.

helt ideelle ægtefæller, men naar et ægteskab mellem dem først er bragt i stand, saa ophører drillerierne. Derimod vedbliver der at være et drilleforhold til ens ægtefælles søskende, som nu, foruden at være ens kryds-søskendebørn, ogsaa er ens svogre og svigerinder; og der er drilleforhold til svogre og svigerinder selv i de tilfælde, hvor de ikke er ens kryds-søskendebørn. Mellem svigerforældre og svigerbørn er der derimod et undvigelsesforhold, som i særdeleshed overholdes strengt mellem svigerfar og svigerdatter, og mellem svigermor og svigersøn. Saaledes vil en mand altid undgaa sin svigermor og aldrig spise eller tale i hendes nærhed, ligesom hun ogsaa til stadighed vil undgaa svigersønnen.

Drilleri og undvigelse synes at være to sider af samme sag, idet begge adfærdsformer tjener til at mindske spænding og konflikter mellem grupper eller familjer, som gifter sig ind i hinanden. Det er indlysende, at muligheden for konflikter mindskes, naar folk undgaar hinanden, men i denne henseende er drillerier et lige saa virkningsfuldt middel, thi naar alt er tilladt i retningen af grovheder og uforskammetheder – tyveri indbefattet – saa kan der ikke opstaa uoverensstemmelser. Drilleri eller undvigelse er da heller ikke forbundet med ondsindethed eller fjendskab. Tværtimod er begge forhold ledsaget af venskabsfølelser og hyppig udveksling af gaver, som i det tilfælde, hvor personer undviger hinanden maa overrækkes af tredje mand⁶). I hvert fald nogle Tuareger er klar over den ensartede funktion af de iøvrigt udadtil saa forskellige adfærdsformer som drilleri og undvigelse. Begge optræder ogsaa som konflikthindrende institutioner i forholdet mellem Tuaregklaner inden for et og samme politiske forbund. Interessant er det især, at der mellem klaner hørende til forskellige soci-

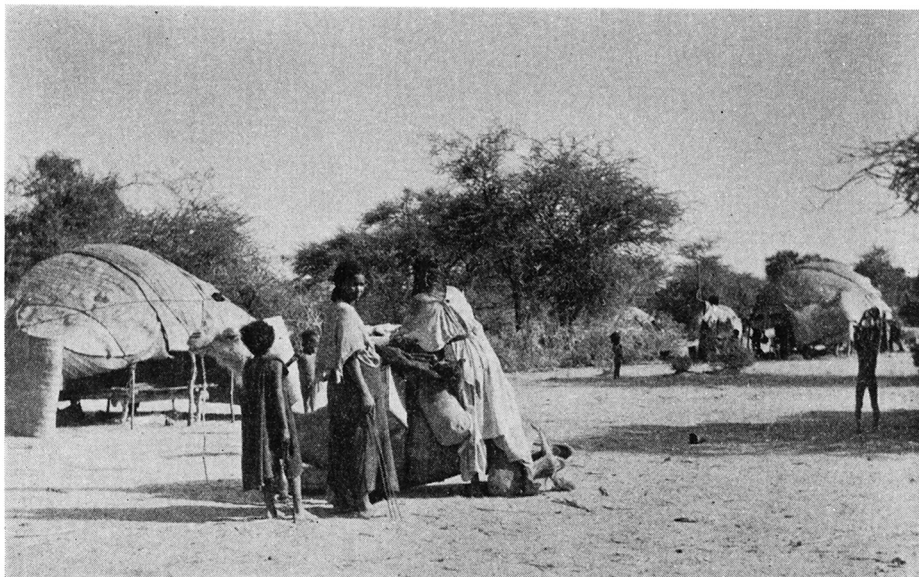


Fig. 8. Lejr hos Air Tuaregerne, hvor den almindelige bolig er en flyttelig hytte bestaaende af et skelet af krumme buer dækket med maatter.

Camp of the Air Tuareg, in which the normal living quarters consist of moveable huts comprising a skeleton of curved wood covered with mats.



Fig 9. Solskærm bygget af slaver i Air efter samme princip som ovennævnte hytte. Kalebasserne paa stativet i midten tjener til opbevaring af mælk og smør – de anbringes over jorden af hensyn til de talrige termitter. Den staaende slavinde er kun iført et bomulds-skørt og smykker, hvilket undertiden udgør kvindernes eneste dragt i disse egne.

Sun-shade built by slaves in Air on the same principle as the huts previously mentioned. The calabashes on the stand in the centre of the picture are used for holding milk and butter – they are placed above ground-level on account of the numerous termites. The standing slave girl is only wearing a cotton skirt and ornaments, which sometimes in these areas form the sole dress of the women.

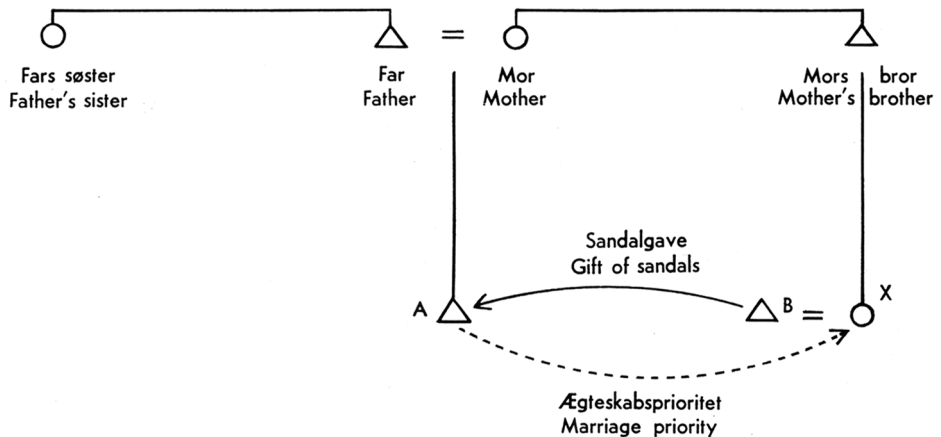
ale klasser hyppigt er et drilleforhold nøjagtigt som mellem kryds-søskendebørn eller svogre og svigerinder.

Efter denne oversigt af Tuaregernes slægtskabsforhold kan vi nu omsider vende tilbage til slavernes stilling, thi i forholdet mellem slaverne og deres herrer finder vi i virkeligheden mange analogier til de regler som gælder for opførsel mellem egentlige slægtninge. D. v. s. at der mellem slaver og herrer er en art fiktivt slægtskabsforhold. Saaledes staar f. eks. en meget ung slave og hans ældre herre i nogenlunde samme forhold til hinanden som far og søn. Den unge slave maa adlyde enhver tænkelig ordre givet af den meget ældre herre, som han skylder al mulig respekt. Den unge slave kan da heller ikke gifte sig uden sin herres tilladelse, ligesom en mand altid maa have sin fars tilladelse til ægteskab hos Tuaregerne. Til gengæld vil faderen i almindelighed hjælpe sin søn med betaling

af brudeprisen, som omfatter fra en til syv kameler alt efter den sociale klasse den tilkommende hører til. En Tuareg vil da ogsaa i overensstemmelse med sit fiktive slægtsskabsforhold til sin slave-søn hjælpe denne med betaling af brudeprisen, som dog kun sjældent omfatter mere end tre-fire geder. Brudeprisen vil da blive betalt til den Tuareg, som ejer slavinde-bruden. Naar en slave er sin herres fiktive søn vil hans kone blive herrens »svigerdatter« og der vil da blive en art undvigelse mellem dem i overensstemmelse med de ovenfor nævnte slægtsskabsregler. Og dette undvigelsesforhold vil ogsaa gælde for den paagældende slavinde og hendes mands herres søskende og forældre, thi ifølge det klassifikatoriske princip regner Tuaregerne ogsaa de egentlige svigerforældres søskende og forældre som svigerforældre, der skal undgaas.

I hvor vid udstrækning disse regler for opførsel mellem slægtninge overføres paa forholdet mellem Tuareger og slaver kan illustreres ved følgende eksempel: Blandt Tuaregerne er de ideelle ægtefæller som omtalt kryds-søskendebørn, og det anses for særligt hensigtsmæssigt, at en mand gifter sig med sin mors brors datter. Gifter han sig imidlertid med en kvinde, som ikke er hans mors brors datter, maa han eller en af hans brødre give et par sandaler til den mand, som har en slags førsteret til ægteskab med hende, som det er vist i diagrammet (I) nedenfor (eks. A). I analogi med denne skik maa en slave ved sit ægteskab give et par sandaler til sin kones herres søsters søn, da denne har en slags ægteskabsprioritet til sin morbrors slavedøtre (eks. B).

Eks. A



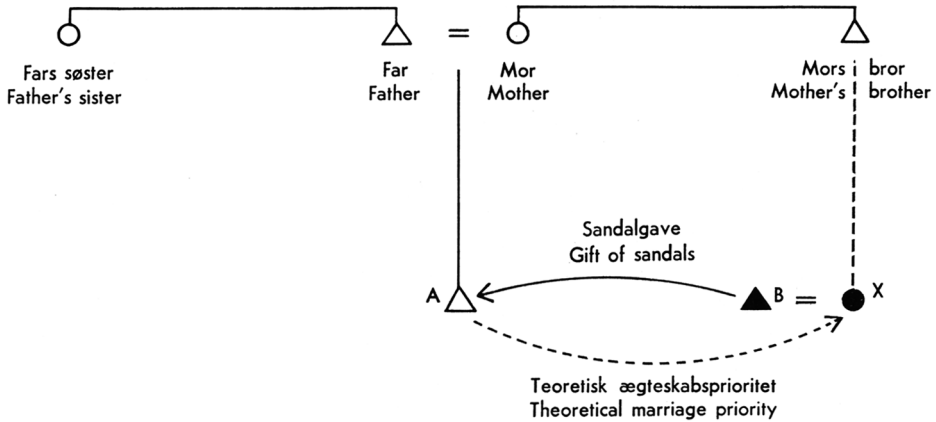
Tuaregen A har en slags førsteret til ægteskab med sin mors brors datter X, som imidlertid gifter sig med B, der ikke har nogen særlig rettighed til ægteskab med X. Under bryllups-ceremonien maa B eller en af hans brødre da give et par sandaler til A.

Signaturforklaring til Eks. A & B:

Cirkler betegner kvinder, trekanter mænd saaledes at de aabne figurer angiver lyshudede Tuareger, de lukkede (sorte) negerslaver. Disse tegn forbundet med vandrette streger angiver søskendeforhold, mens de forbundet med lodrette streger betegner forholdet forældre-børn; er

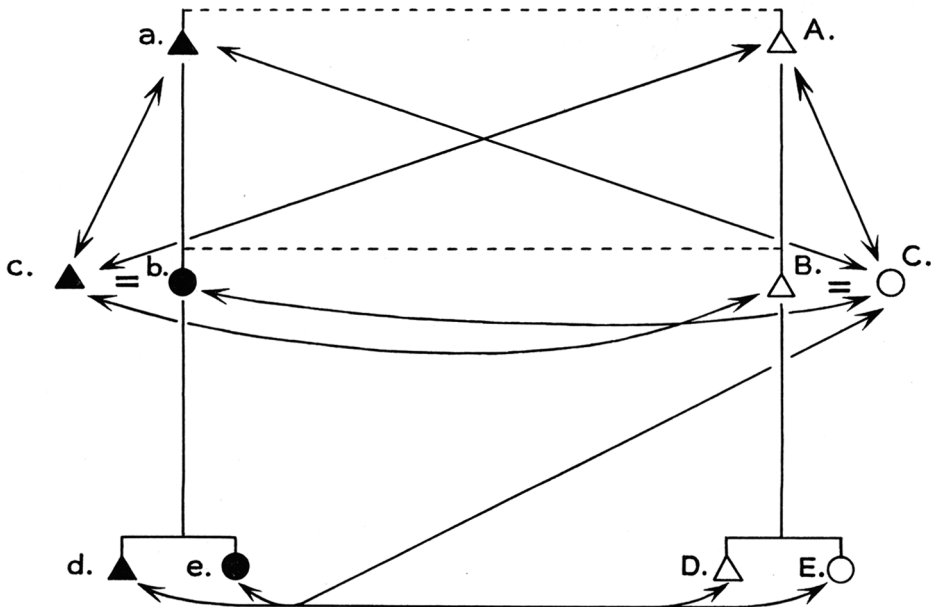
disse linjer punkterede angives hermed et fiktivt slægtskabsforhold mellem lyshudede Tuareger og negerslaver. Lighedstegn mellem trekant og cirkel betegner ægteskab. Udgangspunktet for en betragtning og sammenligning af de to diagrammer er manden (trekanten) A.

Eks. B



Slavinden X tilhører A's morbror og er dennes fiktive datter; hun anses derfor ogsaa som A's mors brors datter, og A har følgelig ægteskabsprioritet til X. Som slavinde vil X imidlertid gifte sig med en slave B, men A modtager sandalgaven, som om X var hans virkelige mors brors datter.

Diagram I.



Eksempel paa slaveriets struktur baseret paa slægtskabssystemet, som det er forklaret i teksten. Pilene angiver gensidige drilleforhold og undvigelsesforhold. Hvor intet særligt er anført er der et respektforhold til ældre generation.

Diagram II.

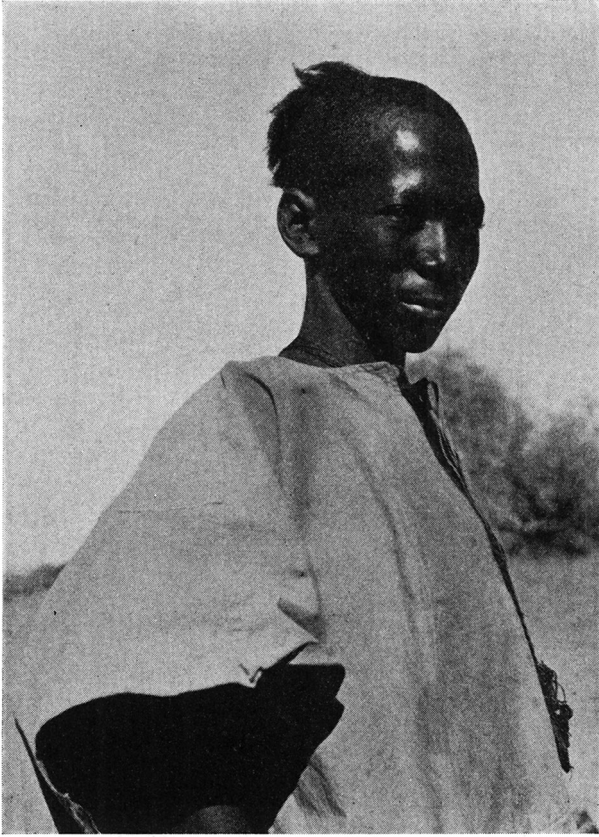


Fig 10. Ung mand fra oasen Djanet ved grænsen til Libyen. Befolkningen er her dels negroid, dels europid eller blandet. De bofaste folk i Djanet kan dog uanset deres racepræg være slave-ejere, og der er ogsaa andre steder i det vidtstrakte Tuaregomraade eksempler paa, at negerfolk besidder neger-slaver.

Young man from the oasis of Djanet on the Libyan border. The population here is partly negroid, and partly europid or mixed. The people settled in Djanet can, however, despite their racial appearance, be owners of slaves, while there are also in other parts of the widespread Tuareg area examples of negroes owning negro slaves.

Omstaaende eksempler paa de almindelige slægtskabsreglers gyldighed for forholdet mellem Tuaregerne og deres slaver er hentet fra Ahaggar og Ajjer Tuaregerne. Sandalgave-skikken forekommer ikke hos Air-Tuaregerne, men fra disse kan der anføres andre eksempler, som klart viser, hvorledes slaveriets struktur er baseret paa slægtskabs-systemet. Jeg henviser her til omstaaende diagram (II) tegnet paa grundlag af oplysninger, givet mig af en gammel Air-Tuareg (A. i diagrammet), idet jeg i stedet for at benytte personnavne betegner slaver og Tuareger ved bogstaver.

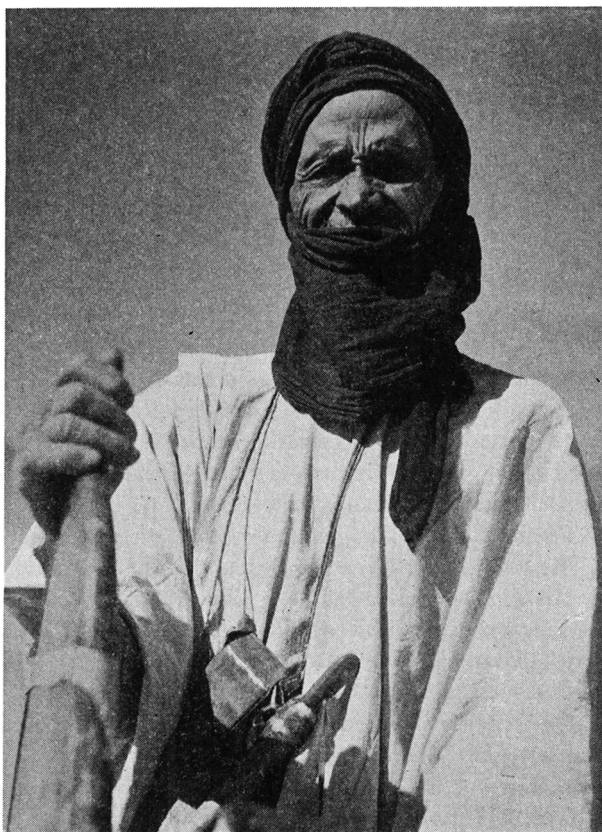
Diagrammet (II) skal forstaas paa følgende maade: Tuaregen A. ejer en jævnaldrende slave a, og paa grund af den ringe aldersforskel staar de i nogenlunde samme forhold til hinanden som brødre. A har en søn B som er jævnaldrende med a's datter, slavinden b, og forholdet mellem b og B bliver da nogenlunde som mellem broder og søster. B og b skal begge optræde med respekt over for A og a. B har derimod et drilleforhold til b's mand, slaven c, da de er »svogre«, medens b har drillerier med B's kone, Tuaregkvinden C, da de er »svigerinder«. I den yngste generation finder vi, at d-e og D-E er hinandens kryds-søskendebørn, idet de nedstammer fra »broder« og »søster«, og der er

derfor imellem dem et drilleforhold. D-E skal udvise respekt over for alle an- givne personer af ældre generation. Det samme gælder med en enkelt undta- gelse for slavebørnene d-e, som har et drilleforhold til Tuaregkvinden C. Dette er i overensstemmelse med det forhold, at hos mange Tuareger i Air eksisterer der et drilleforhold til mors brors kone. Slavebørnene d-e har B som deres fiktive morbror og der er følgelig drillerier mellem dem og B's kone C.

De i diagrammerne (I & II) anførte eksempler paa fiktive slægtskabsfor- hold mellem Tuareger og slaver vilde ikke være helt konsekvente, hvis der var absolut forbud mod ægteskab mellem det lyshudede herrefolk og deres sorte undersaatte. Det er der da heller ikke, men egentlige lovformelige ægteskaber af denne art er ret sjældne. Mere almindeligt forekommer det, at en Tuareg holder en slavinde som konkubine, hvorimod en slave vist nok aldrig aaben- lyst kan have et forhold til en lyshudet Tuaregkvinde. Men ægteskab mellem Tuareger og slavinder er altsaa tilladt. Det er dog saadan, at en mand ikke kan gifte sig med eller staa i forhold til hvilken som helst slavinde. Der er hos Tuaregerne ganske bestemte regler for hvilke kvindelige slægtninge en mand kan gifte sig med, hvilke han ikke bør gifte sig med, og hvilke han absolut aldrig kan ægte. Det er for eksempel hos Tuaregerne ikke anset passende for en mand

Fig. 11. Tilsløret mand hørende til de saakaldte *iborelliten*, d. v. s. blandinger mellem lyshudede Tuareger og negerslaver. Da disse folk paa mødrene side i regelen nedstammer fra slavinder, burde de efter de moderrettslige regler selv høre til slavekasten. Hyp- pigst har de dog en fri stilling og anses som følge af personlige egenskaber og faderens prestige undertiden for at være egentlige Tuareger (Ahaggar).

Veiled man belonging to the so-called *iborelliten*, i. e. crosses between the light-skinned Tuareg and negro slaves. As these people normally are descended on the mother's side from slave women they should themselves, by the normal rules of maternal suc- cession, belong to the slave caste. Most frequently, however, they are free, and sometimes, as a result of personal qualities and the father's prestige, they are regarded as true Tuareg. (Ahaggar).



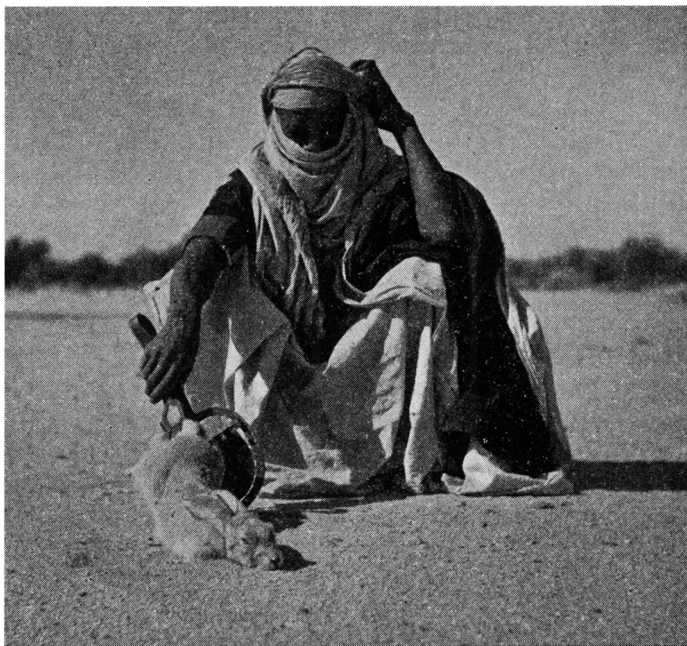


Fig. 12. Mand af den bofaste, agerdyrkende kaste kaldet Haratiner. Denne kaste omfatter overvejende mørkhudede folk, hvoraf størstedelen er oprindelige slaver, mens andre er indvandret fra Touat og Tidikelt nord for Ahaggar. Medlemmer af denne kaste er ligesom mange slaver ivrige fældejægere. De jager især harer, til hvilke de nu fortrinsvis bruger europæiske vildtsakse.

Man of the settled agricultural caste called Haratin. This caste consists preponderantly of dark-skinned people, the greater part of whom were originally slaves, while others are immigrants from Touat and Tidikelt north of Ahaggar. Members of this caste are, like many slaves, keen trappers. They hunt in particular hares, for which they now for the most part employ European traps.

efter sin hustrus død eller efter skilsmisse at ægte saadanne kvinder, som er hans svigermødre eller svigerinder, og der er absolut forbud mod ægteskab af døtre, egentlige søsterdøtre og svigerdøtre. Nogle af disse regler om ægteskabsforbud overføres ogsaa paa de tilsvarende fiktive slægtninge blandt slaverne.

Det fiktive slægtskabsforhold mellem Tuareger og slaver bidrager i høj grad til at opretholde et nogenlunde gnidningsløst forhold mellem parterne. Det forholder sig saadan, at en Tuareg har den yderste myndighed over sine meget unge slaver og slavinder, mens dette ikke er tilfældet, hvis de er meget ældre end han selv. En gammel slave vil nok arbejde for sin meget yngre herre, men han vil ikke blive givet egentlige ordrer, og hans herre kan for eksempel ikke bede ham om vand at drikke. Naar forholdet mellem herrer og slaver er et slægtskabsforhold som mellem brødre eller som mellem far og søn, saa er det tilsyneladende ogsaa i overensstemmelse hermed, at Tuaregerne arver deres slavers ejendom. For arv af ejendom gælder nemlig hos Tuaregerne den regel, at børn, søskende eller forældre er ens nærmeste arvinger.

Det hævdes undertiden i litteraturen, at slaverne staar helt uden for samfundet. Dette holder imidlertid, som vi har set, ikke stik for slaveriet hos Tuaregerne. Gennem det klassifikatoriske slægtskabs-system gøres slaverne til en integrerende del ikke blot af samfundet, men af selve familien, og det er dette forhold som er det karakteristiske for slaveriet hos Tuaregerne. Da slaverne hører til samfundet og familien, saa er det kun naturligt, at de ogsaa rent politisk hører sammen med den klan eller klasse, hvortil deres herrer hører. Er der drilleforhold eller undvigelse mellem to Tuaregklaner, saa gælder det samme for slaverne hørende til disse to klaner.

Slaverne har gennem slægtskabs-systemet deres faste plads i samfundets struktur hos Tuaregerne, og dette synes ogsaa at gælde for slaver hos andre primitive folk som for eksempel de kvægavlende Fulber (Fulani) i det vestlige Sudan. Da samfunds-strukturen og slægtskabs-systemet hos primitive folk imidlertid kan optræde i mangfoldige former, saa kan man ikke uden videre tage Tuaregernes forhold til deres slaver som et almindeligt eksempel paa saakaldt primitivt slaveri. Det kan derimod tjene til belysning af hvorledes primitivt slaveri faar en strukturel udformning under indflydelse af den sociale struktur hos det herskende folk.

Slavery among the Tuareg in the Sahara.

A preliminary analysis of its structure.

Slavery is an institution of very considerable age. In Europe and the Orient it has been common for as far back as known history reaches, while slavery is, or has been, a recognised institution in other indigenous cultures throughout the world. We can fix no date to the beginning of slavery, which is lost in the mists of antiquity. Nevertheless, we can from a culture-historical viewpoint talk of the age of slavery, as it seems fairly certain that it does not belong naturally to the most primitive cultural stage, where livelihood is based on hunting, fishing and the collection of wild plants. True slavery has an economic basis which first appears to be found in the more developed cultural stages¹). Slavery is in particular common among settled agricultural peoples, but it also occurs among the pastoral nomads. Among many pastoral peoples, however, there does not appear to be any real economic basis for slavery. If there is a shortage of labour that problem can often be solved by intimate co-operation of several related individual families, which then form a so-called domestic group. This method is adopted everywhere among the pastoral peoples who inhabit the dry areas of steppe and desert in Asia and Africa. But for some of these nomads slavery is none the less of the highest importance, as it is in the case of the Tuareg, the light-skinned Berber pastoralists inhabiting the Sahara and the savanna immediately to its south. As will be seen from the map (fig. 2) the Tuareg are divided into several main groups partly corresponding to political alliances. It is among the Tuareg of the groups Kel Ahaggar (I), Kel Ajjer (II) and Kel Air (III) that I have carried out my investigations into slavery and its structure.

There are several reasons making it profitable for the Tuareg to hold slaves. They have several different sorts of domestic animals (goats, sheep, donkeys, camels, and in the extreme south cattle and horses), and it is not always possible for these animals all to graze on the same area, as the grazing grounds particularly suited to one type of animal are frequently unsuitable for another. The Tuareg in the Ahaggar Mountains must even frequently keep their herds of camels on grazing grounds which lie 500-600 kilometers distant

from the camps where they keep their flocks of sheeps and goats. This naturally increases the demand for labour, but of even greater importance in this respect is the fact that the Tuareg nomads of the desert cannot exist at all on a basis of pastoralism alone. The produce of the herds and flocks is in the highest possible degree dependent upon climatical conditions. In years with abundant rainfall and well-grown pasturage the nomads will possess many beasts, which will give plentiful milk, some of which is made into butter and cheese. Rain is, however, a very scarce commodity in the desert, and frequently extreme poverty reigns in the camps of the pastoral Tuareg. Four years out of ten are simply so dry that fresh grazing practically speaking cannot be provided for the animals, and at such times not only do the Tuareg have no milk but it can often occur that a large proportion of their sheep and goats die of hunger and thirst. And even in periods of plentiful rainfall it is normally only during a small part of the year that the Tuareg of the Sahara can live exclusively upon their flocks and herds. They require in addition millet, wheat, dates or other vegetable foods, and these they obtain by cultivation, and in particular by caravan trade in which a considerable role is played by salt. The extensive trading expeditions to the oases of the northern Sahara and to the millet-producing negro villages of the Sudan make great demands upon the labour force available to the Tuareg.

The slaves found today among the Tuareg are negroes descended from slaves captured from hostile tribes in the Sudan or bought in the slave markets in that area before the conquest of the country by France about the turn of the century. At that time the Tuareg were not only slave-owners but also slave-dealers, bringing large numbers of slaves from the Sudan to the oases of the northern Sahara. "Then," say the Tuareg, "we traded in slaves in the same way as we now trade in goats," and in the earlier literature about the Sahara there are examples to show that this is in no way an exaggeration. In earlier times the slave trade was of extreme importance to the nomads of the Sahara. It may thus be recalled that the famous Arab geographer Ibn Batutah, on a journey through the Sahara in the 14th century, joined a caravan carrying no fewer than 600 slave-girls²), while in 19th century literature we find similar accounts of the business efficiency of the Tuareg as slavetraders³). Although care was taken that the slaves, most of them young men and women, were in good condition when the caravans left the Sudan, nevertheless many of them succumbed to the desert journey. The loss could be considerable, but the trade was none the less remunerative, as a profit of 200-500 % could be made on each slave. A great part of these slaves was sold to the Arabs and Berbers in the Atlas region and in the oases lying immediately to the south, where in many places a largely negroid population is now to be found as a result of the slave trade, but many slaves were also traded onward to Egypt and to Turkey. A particularly loathsome branch of the slave trade was the trade in eunuchs, who were used as harem guards throughout the Islamic world. The demand was large and prices high. In some regions in the Sudan - particularly among the Mossi and Bornu peoples - the healthiest of the boy slaves were therefore as a general rule castrated. It has been estimated that less than 10 % of them survived the operation⁴).

The trade in eunuchs was a direct consequence of the introduction of Islam into North Africa, and Islam brought a vast increase to the scope of the slave trade in general. Arabs, Tuareg and other Islamic peoples in Africa have undoubtedly as slave-dealers been responsible for cruelties, as have their Christian European colleagues. But the actual practice of slavery was normally of a totally different character among Islamic peoples from that of the plantation and industrial slavery of Europe and America. As slavetraders the Tuareg were in the past far from tenderhearted, but they behaved completely differently towards the slaves who actually lived among them and who had adopted the Tuareg speech and way of life. Among the Tuareg many slaves, partly as a result of French influence, are now manumitted. In the southern Tuareg countries they live as independent agriculturists, or as nomads organised into clans in somewhat the same way as their former Tuareg masters. In Ahaggar many freed slaves live as cultivators in the oases. They are normally under the necessity of cultivating the fields for the Tuareg, who are the actual owners of the land, in accordance with a contract which gives half the yield to the cultivator and

the other half to the owner. But the latter is required to pay his cultivator foodstuff for six months, half the requirements of seed corn, and certain other expenses. It is not many years, however, since the rule was that the cultivator only received a fifth part of the yield. These negro farmers in the oases of the Sahara are economically, but not actually politically, dependant upon the Tuareg for whom they work. The case is, however, completely different with the large number of actual slaves which is still to be found among the Tuareg in Ahaggar. According to a census taken in 1941-46 there are in Ahaggar 4,611 light-skinned Tuareg and 1,642 negro slaves, living in the camps of the Tuareg⁵). A Tuareg camp often consists of some few tents, inhabited by a domestic group which forms an economic unit in the manner already described. Each tent has its own slaves, which may belong either to the husband or the wife. Ownership of slaves is personal, but their work benefits all members of the household. The following example from a Tuareg camp, comprising 15 individuals spread over four tents in Ahaggar, serves to illustrate an ordinary group of slaves among the Tuareg:

Tent	Slaves	Owner
I	1 grown man, 1 grown woman	Husband
II	1 grown man	Husband
III	1 boy	Husband
IV	1 grown man	Husband
	2 grown women, 1 boy	Wife

Slaves are thus their owners' property; they can no longer nowadays be traded, but even in pre-European days it was never usual to sell slaves out of ones own camp. The slaves are still inherited within one and the same family, and until a few years ago it was the custom for a slavegirl to form part of the bride-price. This may perhaps, despite everything, be taken as an indication that slaves are not conspicuously well treated among the Tuareg, and there are also examples of corporal punishment of slaves. This may occur even today, the rule being that certain misdemeanours which the light-skinned Tuareg atone for by paying a fine of domestic animals may be punished in the case of slaves by a flogging, on the orders of the senior chief to the Tuareg, who is called the Amenokal. It is, however, rare for a slave to be punished in this way by his own master. In the two years during which I have lived among the Tuareg I have, for example, only noted a single instance of corporal punishment, and that in a very mild form.

There are several reasons why the Tuareg practically speaking never punish their slaves, and a very interesting custom among the Ahaggar Tuareg may here be adduced. Here, if a slave is badly treated, he has always the recourse of changing masters, a system which is still in operation to this day. The means of obtaining his freedom from his former master is as follows: When he sees a riding camel belonging to a Tuareg whose slave he wishes to be, he runs up to it and cuts a piece from one of its ears. In consequence of this the owner of the camel is obliged to take possession of the slave, whose actual and original owner can no longer make any claim to recover his slave. This custom may appear remarkable, but it is in fact a symbolical action with a deeper significance: to cut a piece from the ear of another man's camel is to damage it, and a Tuareg is responsible for the actions of his slave. The "guilty" slave therefore falls to the lot of the owner of the camel as a "compensation" for the "damage" done to his beast, and the original owner of the slave is forced to pay this "compensation". It is an extreme loss of prestige for a Tuareg to lose his slave in this way, just as it is a great mark of honour for the new master, who will receive his new slave with favour and give him clothes and a camel with saddle; there will thus be an excellent relationship between master and slave.

In cases where a slave simply runs away his master will always demand him back again. But the senior chieftain, the Amenokal, may intervene on behalf of the slave, if he learns that the runaway slave has been badly treated or is badly clothed. There are thus certain

rules which serve to promote reasonably good conditions for the slaves. They eat, however, only under exceptional circumstances together with their masters, and they normally live, not in tents but in open windcreens or shades from the sun. In general, though, there is little difference between the way of life of the Tuareg and their slaves, and they wear fairly similar clothes and ornaments. The slaves also bear weapons, and in the old days, when cattle-raiding and warfare formed, as it were, a part of the economy of the Tuareg, they often accompanied their masters on raids. If a Tuareg family owns a sufficiently large number of slaves they will often not only carry out much of the heavier household work but will also watch over the flocks and herds; and as herdsmen they have often a position of considerable influence, as they are better acquainted with the care of the various types of animals than the Tuareg are themselves. To all this may be added a custom of particular interest. Among the light-skinned Tuareg each clan owns a particular portion of a beast, so that from a slaughtered beast one clan is entitled to a portion of the back, another to the heart, a third to the liver, and so on. The slaves have similar rights in such cases, being entitled to the neck and in some regions also to the tail and the feet. When a beast is slaughtered these portions must always be given to the slaves.

The slaves are thus not completely without rights. Nevertheless the ordinary rules of inheritance do not apply to them. If a slave has a good relationship with his master the latter will, in the course of the years, give him a certain number of goats as his personal possession – which he may, for example, slaughter or sell as he wishes. But when a slave dies his children cannot inherit his flocks or any other of his possessions. Everything then will become the property of his master.

In order properly to understand this and many other circumstances connected with slavery among the Tuareg it will now be necessary to give a short outline of the Tuareg kinship system, which gives to slavery an unique structure. Among the Tuareg there are very definite rules laying down how one should behave towards ones relatives, who are divided into a very few categories. Each category includes both close and distant relatives who are nevertheless all called by a single name. For example, the designations “father” and “mother” have a much wider significance than in our own society. The Tuareg can refer to all the following persons as “father” and “mother”: parents, parents’ brothers and sisters, the wives and husbands of parents’ brothers and sisters, grandparents, parents’ cousins and practically speaking all relations of ascendent generations. Brothers of the mother and certain other persons of the mother’s family form an exception to this rule. They are all called “mother’s brothers”, which is natural to the Tuareg, among whom succession often follows the maternal line and not, as with us, the paternal. Towards all the people addressed or referred to as “father” and “mother” respect and obedience must be shown and the same respect is also the due of all elder brothers and sisters, as well as a whole series of relations of ones own generation – who are also called “elder brothers” or “elder sisters”. Father’s brothers’ children, and mother’s sisters’ children – in other words the relatives whom we call parallel-cousins – are either ones elder or ones younger brothers and sisters. The so-called cross-cousins – i. e. children of ones father’s sister or mother’s brother – on the other hand are not ones brothers and sisters. They are described with the word *ibobah* (fem. *tibobah*), and between them is a remarkable relationship, normally termed in the literature on the subject a “joking relationship”. Cross-cousins continually tease each other in a most impudent and gross manner, but all teasing and insolence is received with smiles and laughter, as to do otherwise would be to risk losing ones reputation as a decent person. Cross-cousins are regarded as the ideal marriage partners, but teasing between them ceases as soon as a marriage has been arranged. On the other hand the joking relationship remains towards the brothers and sisters of the husband or wife, who now, in addition to being cross-cousins, are also brothers and sisters-in-law; there will moreover always be a joking relationship towards brothers and sisters-in-law even in the cases where they are not cross-cousins. Between parents-in-law and children-in-law on the contrary, there is a relationship of avoidance, which is particularly strictly observed between father-in-law and daughter-in-law, and between mother-in-law and son-in-law. A man will thus always avoid his mother-in-law, never speaking or eating in her vicinity, while she will in turn consistently avoid her son-in-law.

Joking and avoidance appear to be two facets of the same custom, in so far as both lines of conduct serve to reduce strain and conflicts between groups or families which intermarry. It is obvious that the possibilities for conflict are reduced when the parties avoid one another, but to this end joking is just as effective a means, as, when any sort of grossness or insult – including theft – is permissible, it is impossible for disagreement to arise. Nor are joking or avoidance found associated with malice or enmity. On the contrary both relationships are accompanied by feelings of friendship and frequent exchange of gifts which, in cases where people are required to avoid one another, must be conveyed by a third party⁶). Some Tuareg at least see clearly the identical function of such outwardly different modes of conduct as joking and avoidance. Both are also found as customs for preventing conflict in relations between different Tuareg clans within one and the same political alliance. It is particularly interesting to find that between clans belonging to different social classes there is frequently a joking relationship of exactly the same character as between cross-cousins or brothers and sisters-in-law.

After this survey of the Tuareg kinship-system we may now at last return to the position of the slaves, as the relationship between the slaves and their masters shows in actual fact many analogies with the rules governing conduct between actual relatives. In other words, between slaves and masters there is a type of fictive kinship-bond. Thus a very young slave and an older master, for example, have much the same relationship to each other as father and son. The young slave must obey every imaginable order given by the much older master, and owes him all possible respect. Nor may the young slave marry without his master's permission, in the same way as a man must always, among the Tuareg, have his father's permission to marry. In return the father will normally help his son in payment of the bride-price, which will amount to from one to seven camels, dependant upon the social class to which the prospective bride belongs. Similarly a Tuareg will, in accordance with his fictive relationship to his slave-son, assist the latter with payment of the bride-price, which, however, will only rarely amount to more than three or four goats. The bride-price will in this case be paid to the Tuareg who owns the slavegirl-bride. Where a slave is his master's fictive son his wife will be the master's "daughter-in-law", and there will be a degree of avoidance between them, in agreement with the rules of kinship behaviour described above. And this relationship of avoidance will also apply between the slave-girl and her husband's master's brothers, sisters and parents, as by the classificatory principle the Tuareg also count the brothers, sisters and parents of the true parents-in-law as themselves parents-in-law, who must be avoided.

The extent to which these rules for conduct between relatives are transferred to conduct between Tuareg and slaves may be illustrated by the following example: Among the Tuareg the ideal marriage-partners are, as related above, cross-cousins, and it is considered particularly appropriate for a man to marry his mother's brother's daughter. If, however, he marries a woman who is not his mother's brother's daughter, then he, or one of his brothers, gives a pair of sandals to the man who has this, as it were, first priority for marriage with her, as is shown in diagram I above (example A). In analogy with this custom, a slave on marriage must give a pair of sandals to his wife's master's sister's son, as he has a sort of marriage-priority towards his mother's brother's slave-daughter (example B).

The above examples of the application of the ordinary rules of kinship behaviour to relations between the Tuareg and their slaves are taken from the Ahaggar and Ajjer Tuareg. Among the Air Tuareg the custom of giving sandals is not found, but other examples can be adduced from the customs of this group to show clearly how the structure of slavery is based upon the kinship system. I here refer the reader to the diagram above (II), drawn up on a basis of information given to me by an old man of the Air Tuareg (A in the diagram). Slaves and Tuareg are denoted by letters, instead of personal names being used.

The diagram (II) is to be understood as follows: The Tuareg A owns a slave a of his own age, and, because the difference in age is only slight, their relationship to each other is that of brothers. A has a son B, who is of the same age as a's daughter, the slavegirl b, and the relationship between b and B is therefore approximately that of sister and brother. Both B and b must conduct themselves respectfully towards both A and a. On the

other hand, B has a joking relationship towards b's husband, the slave c, as they are "brothers-in-law", while the slavegirl b teases B's wife, the Tuareg woman C, as they are "sisters-in-law". In the youngest generation we find that d-e and D-E are each other's cross-cousins, as they are the children of a "brother" and a "sister", and there is therefore a joking relationship between them. D-E must show respect towards all persons here named of an older generation. The same is true of the slave-children d-e, with the single exception that they have a joking relationship to the Tuareg woman C. This is in agreement with the fact that among many of the Tuareg in Air there is a joking relationship with one's mother's brother's wife. B is the fictive mother's brother of the slave-children d-e, and there is therefore a joking relationship between them and B's wife C.

The examples given in diagrams I and II of the fictive kinship ties between Tuareg and slaves would not be completely consistent if there was an absolute prohibition of marriage between the light-skinned masters and their black servants. There is in fact no prohibition, though actual legal marriages of that nature are quite rare. It more often occurs that a Tuareg keeps a slavegirl as a concubine, whereas a male slave can apparently never openly have an affair with a light-skinned Tuareg woman. But marriage between Tuareg and female slaves is permissible. It is however the case that a man may not marry any slavegirl. Among the Tuareg there are very definite rules regulating which female relatives a man may marry, which he should not marry, and which he under no circumstances may marry. Thus, for example, it is not considered proper for a man, after his wife's death or divorce, to marry a woman classified as his mother-in-law or sister-in-law, and there is an absolute prohibition of marriage with daughters, actual sisters' daughters and daughters-in-law. Some of these rules governing permissible marriages are also transferred to corresponding fictive relatives among the slaves.

The fictive kinship ties between Tuareg and slaves contributes much towards preventing friction between the two classes. It results in the Tuareg having absolute authority over his very young slaves of both sexes, whereas that is not the case if they are much older than he is. An old slave will, of course, work for a much younger master, but he will not be given actual orders, and his master cannot, for example, ask him for water to drink. When the rules of conduct between masters and slaves correspond to those between brothers or between father and son, it is apparently in accord with these rules that the Tuareg inherit the property of their slaves. For children, brothers and sisters, and parents are the closest in line of inheritance.

The literature sometimes claims that the slaves are completely excluded from participation in the society. This, as we have seen, does not apply to slavery among the Tuareg. The classificatory kinship system makes the slaves an integrated part, not only of the society, but also of the actual family, and it is this integration which is characteristic of slavery among the Tuareg. As the slaves belong to the society and the family, it is only natural that they also politically belong to the clan to which their masters belong. If there is a joking relationship or a relationship of avoidance between two Tuareg clans, the same rule will apply to slaves belonging to these two clans.

Through the kinship system the slaves have a defined position within the social structure of the Tuareg, and this appears also to be true of slaves among other primitive peoples, as for example the pastoral Fulani in the western Sudan. As, however, social structure and kinship systems can take a variety of forms among primitive peoples, the relation of the Tuareg to their slaves cannot a priori be taken as a normal example of so-called primitive slavery. It can, however, serve to illustrate how primitive slavery assumes a structural form under the influence of the social structure of the ruling people.

Johannes Nicolaisen.

NOTER

¹⁾ Kaj Birket-Smith: *Kulturens Veje*. København 1948. p. 404. ²⁾ Ibn Batutah: *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*. IV. Paris. 1858. p. 445. ³⁾ Oplysninger om tuaregisk slavehandel i før-europæisk tid forefindes bl. a. hos James Richardson: *Travels in the Great Desert of Sahara*. I-II. London 1848. ⁴⁾ E. W. Bowill: *Caravans of the Old Sahara*. Oxford University Press 1933. p. 257. ⁵⁾ Jean Malaurie: *Touareg et noirs au Hoggar*. Aspects de la situation actuelle. I: *Annales (Économies - Sociétés - Civilisations)*. T. 8, no. 3. Paris 1953. p. 338-346. ⁶⁾ Om den sociale funktion af drillerier og undvigelsesforhold se A. R. Radcliffe-Brown: *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*. London 1952. p. 90 ff. & Johannes Nicolaisen: *Slægt og Samfund hos Tuaregerne*. I: Kaj Birket-Smith: *Menneskets mangfoldighed*. København 1957.

DIAGRAM I.

The Tuareg A has a sort of first-priority to marriage with his mother's brother's daughter X, who, however, marries B, who has no especial right to marry X. During the marriage ceremony B or one of his brother's must thus give a pair of sandals to A.

The slavegirl X belongs to A's mother's brother and is the latter's fictive daughter; she is therefore regarded as A's mother's brother's daughter, and A accordingly has first-priority to marriage with X. As a slavegirl, however, X will marry the slave B, but A will receive the gift of sandals, just as though X were his actual mother's brother's daughter.

Explanation of symbols in examples A and B: Circles stand for women and triangles for men; the white symbols for the light-skinned Tuareg and the black for negro slaves. Horizontal lines between these symbols betoken brother and sister-relationships, and vertical lines parent-children relationships. Dotted lines stand for a fictive relationship between light-skinned Tuareg and negro slaves. An equals-sign between triangle and circle denotes marriage. The point of origin for consideration and comparison of the two diagrams is the man (triangle) A.

DIAGRAM II.

Example of the basing of the structure of slavery upon the kinship system, as explained in the text. Arrows denote mutual joking relationship and avoidance relationship. Where nothing to the contrary is expressed the relationship of younger to older generation is one of respect.