“\textit{hun, ka, ox, lift}”: A Behind the Scenes Look at Rehousing 720 Plaster Casts

Catherine Cezeaux, 
Director of Finance and Administration

“\textit{hun, ka, ox (osh), lift}” or, to translate Yucatec Mayan, “1, 2, 3, lift” is often heard in the High Bay area of the 38 Oxford St. facility, a former particle accelerator, and is symbolic of the Peabody’s current undertaking to rehouse our invaluable plaster cast collection of a series of expeditions to Copán and other Mesoamerican sites between 1891 and 1895. During this period, Expedition members made paper molds of dozens of monuments and hieroglyphic inscriptions. These molds were brought to the museum by mule and ferry and were cast in plaster in the 1890s and 1900s. Since then, the casts have been stored in many different locations, first in the Peabody Museum and for the past several decades, in the aisles of the Museum’s Annex or in a large metal storage structure in the adjacent 38 Oxford St. facility. The casts preserve many details of the glyphs and carvings that have since eroded or been destroyed by looters or vandals. This summer, Harvard’s Faculty of Arts and Sciences (FAS) began planning a major renovation for the 38 Oxford St. facility and an upgrade of the conditions in the Annex. A major “obstacle” to this project was the plaster casts. Could we get them all out of the way by February 29, 2008. We were thrilled at the possibility...
of finally rehousing and conserving the casts as well as upgrading the environmental conditions of the Annex, but the deadline was a serious challenge.

Rehousing the 720 plaster casts has been a project involving much of the Museum. Cast project meetings often had fifteen or more people around the table, including staff from Conservation, Collections, the Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, Finance and Administration, Curators, and carpenters, as well as FAS Planning and Project Managers.

The first step was to design new housing for the casts that would help to preserve the casts well into the next century. The containers could not be made of wood (potential insect damage) or petrochemical products (off gassing). It had to be strong enough to support casts weighing up to 300 lbs., and it had to be rigid, because too much flex could cause the casts to crack when they were picked up. While the goal was for each cast to have its own shelf, the new housing materials also needed to be sturdy enough to stack if necessary. We needed to be able to customize the height to minimize expensive storage space and the sides had to be removable so that researchers and students could look at the casts from all angles without removing them from their housing. The final criterion was that the housing needed to be fast and easy to assemble to meet the February 29 deadline. After many prototypes and many conversations, we found a system that would work.

The project required documentation of every step. Conservators determined immediate stabilization and cleaning requirements and carefully created individualized future conservation plans for each cast. Collections staff photographed, measured, and weighed each cast, while the Corpus Director and other Mesoamerican specialists verified the identity of each cast and ensured that casts and any associated fragments from a given site were stored together. Box builders refined the rehousing process and designed structures for the larger 3D casts.

These casts have been used in teaching for over a century and continue to be a precious resource for scholars in this and many other countries. Rehousing casts is very different from protecting a row of books. They could not just be put in moving boxes and be taken away in a moving van. Educating Harvard Human Resources, Finance, and FAS Planning was also an important part of the project so that all parties understood the problems and issues to ensure appropriate staffing and financial resources. The museum staff also learned about the casts. Curators held information sessions showing slides of the major sites represented and explaining the geographical locations and physical ter-

Bob Ganong building a cast enclosure. Photo by David DeBono Schafer.

rain, highlights, carving style, hieroglyphic decipherments, and offered a basic lesson on the pronunciation of Maya names. The cast project team learned that Uxmal is next to Chichen Itzá and their casts should also be next to one another on the shelves, to be able to say Xcalumkin without twisting their tongues, and to count in Mayan as they worked to preserve a centuries old culture. “Hun, ka, ox, lift”!

These casts have been used in teaching for over a century and continue to be a precious resource for scholars in this and many other countries.
On July 9, 2007, Sir Ian Graham, founder and former director of the Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions (CMHI) Project, was awarded the Orden del Quetzal by the Guatemalan government in recognition of his tireless efforts to discover, preserve, record, and publish the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the ancient Maya. The Orden del Quetzal, established in 1973, is the highest honor bestowed by the Guatemalan government upon those individuals or organizations who, through humanitarian, civic, scientific, or artistic efforts, have benefited the nation of Guatemala in such a way as to merit particular acknowledgment. The award was conferred upon Ian by Chancellor Gert Rosenthal, the minister of foreign affairs, at a ceremony organized by Ian’s long-time friend and benefactor, Douglas Pilling of Guatemala. Ian was accompanied by his brother Robin Graham of England, Anatolio López, his long-time field assistant, of Guatemala, and Lucia Henderson (Harvard ’01) CMHI associate.

Ian was born in Campsey Ash, England in 1923. In 1942 he began studies in physics at Trinity College, Cambridge, leaving in 1943 to join the Royal Navy. After the War, he returned to his studies at Trinity College, Dublin, earning his bachelor’s degree in 1951 and spending the next years as a professional photographer.

When asked how he became interested in the Maya culture, Ian usually responds, “It all started with a love affair with a remarkable 1927 Rolls Royce.” After purchasing this Rolls Royce in England, Ian shipped it to the United States in 1958, planning to sell it in California, where the weather was deemed more favorable for Rolls Royce convertibles. Luckily for Maya archaeology, on his way through Texas, Ian took a detour into Mexico.

In Mexico City, he visited the old Museum of Anthropology, where, for the first time, he saw monuments sculpted by the ancient Maya. He found the mysterious, block-like designs that accompanied the scenes on these sculptures particularly interesting. Discovering that these symbols represented an as yet undeciphered writing system, Ian decided there was a need to draw and disseminate accurate reproductions to scholars so they might have a better chance at decipherment.

During the 1960s, Ian roamed Central America and Mexico, mapping sites and drawing and photographing their monuments. In 1964, he began work with Gordon Willey of the Peabody Museum, mapping the site of Seibal, Guatemala. In 1968, several distinguished leaders in the field, Dr. Ignacio Bernal, Mr. Stanton L. Catlin, Dr. Michael D. Coe, Dr. Gordon F. Ekholm, Dr. Luis Luján Muñoz, Dr. Floyd Lounsbury, Ms. Tatiana Proskouriakoff, Dr. Gordon R. Willey, and Dr. Stephen Williams enlisted Ian to initiate a five-year pilot project to record the inscriptions of the ancient Maya. The project received the support of Edgar H. Brenner, a Washington, D.C., lawyer of the Stella and Charles Gutman Foundation, and the National Endowment for the Humanities. By 1970, the Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions had become a permanent project within the Peabody Museum.

For over 40 years, Ian has worked to preserve Maya hieroglyphic inscriptions, often under the most trying conditions. Because of his careful recording of Maya inscriptions, his high standards for accuracy, and his emphasis on the distribution of his drawings, Ian is often credited with making the decipherment of the Maya hieroglyphic system possible.

Ian has worked in Belize, Mexico, and Guatemala, and has been a guiding force in the protection and preservation of sites and monuments across the Maya region. To date, the CMHI has produced eighteen volumes. In 2005, Ian retired from the project, which continues under the direction of Barbara Fash.

Awarded a MacArthur Foundation “genius grant” in 1981 and an honorary doctorate from Tulane University in 1998, Ian considers the Orden del Quetzal the greatest honor he has received. As he said in his acceptance speech, “I have always loved Guatemala. It was where all my work began… In my heart, I have always felt like a Petenero, and I have been...
Earlier this year, as part of the Museum’s long-term project to comprehensively catalog, repair, and house its ample collection of Mesoamerican plaster casts and moulds,1 a routine curatorial assessment of the cast of Tonina Monument 27 revealed some interesting and previously unknown details concerning the history of this important monument (Figure 1). Unlike many of the casts in our collections, the original monument remains in very good shape, having been protected from erosion, theft, and vandalism in the collections of the Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia in Mexico City since the early nineteenth century. Indeed, in this case, it is actually the cast that has suffered more damage than the original, a sizable fragment having broken off the left side (compare Figures 1 and 3). Nevertheless, the cast still preserves numerous glyphic and iconographic details that might easily have been lost forever had the original monument not been protected in a museum. Today, the cast arguably plays an even more vital role; it provides an invaluable record of the discovery and ultimate origins of this monument. In casting some light on the importance of this object, I hope also to lend support to the numerous excellent arguments made by Barbara Fash for the continued preservation of plaster casts in museum collections.2

The rediscovery of the cast is a story in itself. In 1996, a Harvard research team conducting an initial inventory of the Museum’s casts discovered a handwritten inscription on the back of the cast of Tonina Monument 27 (Figure 2). The lengthy and rather handsomely signed caption proved to have been drafted by Augustus Le Plongeon (1825–1908), an eccentric early explorer of Mexico and the Yucatan. The intriguing and previously unnoticed inscription was duly recorded in their notes, but its potential for answering some unresolved questions about Monument 27’s origins remained unexplored until quite recently. In early January of this year, the Cast Rehousing Project kindly brought the inscription to my attention as the cast was being cleaned and rehoused. Here is a transcription of the text:


The square brackets identify unclear or abraded letters, with the first two pairs occurring in the probable name of Captain Guillermo Dupaix,3 who undertook three separate research expeditions to Mexico in the years 1805–08. These trips notably included Palenque and Tonina, both in the modern Mexican state of Chiapas, which he visited in 18084. As seen in Figure 2, there is sufficient space in what survives of Dupaix’s name on the first line to support the reconstruction above.

Assuming for the moment that Augustus Le Plongeon was not simply in error with respect to his attribution of the monument to Guillermo Dupaix and the site of Palenque, we would appear to have something of a mystery on our hands, at least inasmuch as this block has long been identified as “Tonina Monument 27” and therefore assigned to the archaeological site of Tonina, Chiapas. Before weighing the impact of Le Plongeon’s inscription against this traditional identification, it will be useful to review the known history of the monument.

Prior to the discovery of Augustus Le Plongeon’s inscription, the earliest

Figure 1: Cast of Tonina Monument 27, front.

Figure 2: Cast of Tonina Monument 27, back, showing handwritten caption and signature by Augustus Le Plongeon, October 1880.
secure date that could be associated with Monument 27 was 1865, in which year Léon Méhélin made the first known drawing of the monument. Usefully, the drawing is identified as having been done at the “Musée de Mexico.” Unfortunately, the Museo Nacional itself preserves no acquisition record for Monument 27, but Méhélin’s drawing at least informs us that it was in its collections by the second half of the nineteenth century. How did it come to be there? And where did it come from?

In 1925, during their expedition to Tonina, in Mexico’s Ocosingo Valley, Chiapas, Frans Blom and Oliver La Farge made the important observation that “all of the monuments from the Ocosingo Valley are cut from a yellow, sandy limestone containing great quantities of foraminifera.” Because the monument drawn by Méhélin in the Museo Nacional was cut from precisely this kind of stone, Blom and La Farge felt justified in associating it with Tonina, designating it T-27 in their tabulation of monuments from the site. This designation has become standard, and the monument is now generally known as Tonina Monument 27.

Given Blom and La Farge’s rationale, Eric Taladoire has proposed that Monument 27 may have been removed from the site of Tonina by Ephraim G. Squier, who is known to have visited the area in 1852. Squier acquired various Precolumbian objets d’art in the vicinity of Tonina, including the famous ‘Squier jades,’ which he eventually donated to the American Museum of Natural History in New York. From at least the early 1980s, then, a Tonina origin of the monument has been assumed, and its discovery by Squier has seemed likely, if unconfirmed.

At this point, it should perhaps be noted that while Becquelin and Baudel at one time attributed Monument 27 to the Southwest of the main group of Tonina, they were clearly misled by a misplaced caption text in Blom and La Farge’s Tribes and Temples (1926–1927, II: 297) which in fact belongs to their discussion of Monument 22. Indeed, as discussed above, the original whereabouts of Monument 27 remains very much in question.

To return to Le Plongeon’s caption text, it would seem quite possible that Monument 27 was deposited in the Museo Nacional by Guillermo Dupaix shortly after his 1808 visit to Chiapas. But what are we to make of Le Plongeon’s assertion that Dupaix had found the stone in “the Ruins of Palenque” rather than at Tonina? To answer that question, it will be useful to consider some additional evidence provided by the text and imagery of Monument 27.

This monument represents the riser of a hieroglyphic stairway and clearly depicts a tied-up captive wearing a loincloth, paper streamers in his earlobes, and an elaborate headdress (Figure 3). Such imagery (known as “captive stairways”) was common in ancient Mesoamerica, providing a perpetual portrait of humiliation where prisoners of war could be trodden upon daily by their captors. The captive’s headdress is particularly distinctive, involving a spray of feathers, an encircling diadem, and the characteristic shell circlet or “goggle” of the Central Mexican Storm god Tlaloc. One of the key insignia of the Classic Maya priesthood, it probably identifies the captive as a fire priest or yajawk’akah.

The depicted captive’s name is given just above his head as K’awiil Mo’ (glyphic K’AWIIL-la mo-o), a name combining the lightning god, K’awiil, with the Maya word for “macaw.” On the captive’s thigh, two glyphs provide a title and place of origin, informing us that he is a ch’ok or “nobleman” from an otherwise unknown locale named Chaklib. The text ends at the captive’s feet with two glyphs indicating that he is “the captive of K’inich Baaknal Chahk,” a well-known king of Tonina, who reigned from A.D. 688 to 715. Intriguingly, on another panel recently uncovered at Tonina by Juan Yadeun (Figure 4), the captive K’awiil Mo’ reappears, his name indicated iconically in his headdress and in the third and fourth glyphs from the top of the left column (K’AWIIL-la MO’-o). As first recognized by Simon Martin, this crucial text records the capture of K’awiil Mo’ on October 4, A.D. 692 (9.13.0.10.3 3 Akbal 11 Ceh), the same day that K’inch Baaknal Chahk of Tonina bested the king of Palenque in battle. As also noted by Martin, this suggests that K’awiil Mo’, although a native of Chaklib, is likely to have been one of the Palenque king’s allies or subjects.

So where do these observations leave us in assessing Le Plongeon’s
inscription? To begin with, there can be little doubt that Monument 27 was commissioned at Tonina during the reign of K’inich Baaknal Chahk. Not only is the stone local to that area, but the content and style of the inscription make it virtually certain that it once pertained to a large group of monuments celebrating the military victories of the local dynasty. The most parsimonious explanation of these data is therefore that Le Plongeon was correct about Dupaix having removed the monument from Chiapas, but incorrect in attributing it to Palenque rather than Tonina. Nonetheless, the possibility that Monument 27 was indeed found at Palenque should not be completely discarded given what we have recently learned about the movement of monuments in antiquity. As Simon Martin observes, the incomplete and randomly articulated Naranjo Hieroglyphic Stairway is best inter-

terpreted as a Caracol monument that was disassembled and relocated to Naranjo in Late Classic times. At least one fragment of this stairway may even have ended up at the site of Ucanal. As a record of Naranjo’s military defeat, the stairway may have proved an irresistible target for desecration. Similarly, the prominent and disrespectful display of K’awiil Mo’ and perhaps other captives from or allied to Palenque, may quite conceivably have prompted the purloining of this block from the site of Tonina. To date, no other pieces of this erstwhile Tonina stairway have come to light, but it will be most interesting to see where companion pieces are found should they emerge in the future.

Acknowledgements
I would like to thank the Cast Rehousing Project Team. Their interest and assistance were invaluable.

Notes
7. Blom and La Farge, Tribes, 2:269.
8. Ibid. 2:296–97, fig. 252.
10. Mathews, Corpus, 6.1:8
15. Ibid.
19. Mary Miller and Simon Martin, Courtly Art of the Ancient Maya (London, 2004), 185
NEW IN 2008–2009

STORIED WALLS: MURALS OF THE AMERICAS
Opens March 13, 2008

Throughout time and around the world, people have adorned the walls of their homes, palaces, tombs, temples, and government buildings with painted scenes and designs. From cave paintings to the Neolithic shrines of Çatalhüyük, Turkey, to the Sistine Chapel, to the contemporary works of Diego Rivera or graffiti art, artists have transformed blank architectural canvases into engaging, evocative works of art, through the application of color, pattern, and figure. While murals may serve as simple decoration, they are often highly symbolic, making visible a people’s religious, political, and cultural beliefs, their histories and values.

Storied Walls explores the spectacular wall paintings from the ancestral Hopi village kivas of Awatovi in Arizona; San Bartolo and Bonampak in Guatemala and Mexico respectively, and the Moche huacas of northern Peru. The artists and artisans who adorned these walls left stunning visual accounts of some of the most significant and enduring stories of their times—stories that insist upon being read, even now, centuries after their creation. The original art works remain for the most part in situ. Storied Walls uses the photographs and drawings of archaeologists and artists, models, and fragments of original murals to examine the meanings and social uses of murals within the Pueblo, Maya, and Moche cultures; the history of their discoveries and investigations by affiliates of the Peabody Museum and others; and ongoing efforts to preserve, restore, and interpret these fragile painted surfaces.

FRAGILE MEMORIES: IMAGES OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND COMMUNITY, COPÁN, 1891–1900
Opens June 4, 2008

The Peabody Museum recently completed a two-year project of digitizing its collection of over 10,000 nineteenth-century glass-plate negatives. The earliest images in this amazing and unique collection were taken at Copán, Honduras, during the museum’s pioneering archaeological expeditions to the site.

The Copán glass-plate images weave together a wealth of archaeological information with a visual narrative about the budding town and archaeologists’ interactions with the local community. As the excavations unfold before our eyes, so too do scenes of the Copán community emerge. Who are the people in these images? To recover what lingering memories survive of the people and places still echoing their names the exhibition’s curator, along with Harvard students, interviewed members of the Copán community to reconnect this lost history with the images. Studying the overlapping events of the expedition fieldwork and the founding of the modern town allow us to reflect on how archaeologists and communities shape each others’ lives.

Fragile Memories highlights the changed nature of archaeological practices as well as how the images are utilized to advance ongoing study and recording of the hieroglyphic inscriptions at Copán, especially its world-renowned Hieroglyphic Stairway text.
To most of us, the dense concentrations of people, economic goods and services, and power that we term “cities” seem quite natural, a perfectly logical way of spatially organizing ourselves. Even those of us who do not live in a city can readily identify with the nearest one, whether it is because we read a newspaper printed there or that is where we go when we need to fly somewhere, go to a concert, or petition the government. Over the long stretch of human existence, however, cities are a recent phenomenon. They represent a radical change from our previous existence as small groups of foragers and hunters, or small villages of subsistence farmers.

Cities appear to have developed independently in several regions of the New and Old Worlds, but their earliest appearance was in the Near East, where archaeologists have given Uruk the title of “world’s first city.” Today, Uruk is an abandoned group of sandy mounds in the deserts of southern Iraq (southern Mesopotamia), but around 3100 B.C. it was an enormous city of perhaps as many as 50,000 persons, covering 250 hectares (618 acres). From here, the idea of the city spread throughout the Near East and beyond. As a result of its association with the mythical king Gilgamesh and the boastful building inscriptions of later rulers, the creation of Uruk and its successor cities has been attributed, implicitly or explicitly, to the acts of strong-willed and powerful individuals.

Recent research in northeastern Syria (northern Mesopotamia) has now challenged this scenario. Tell Brak is a 40 meter high artificial mound in the midst of a vast agricultural plain, its bulk having formed over at least four millennia of continuous settlement. Under the direction of David and Joan Oates, the British School of Archaeology in Iraq has been digging at Tell Brak since 1976, but only in recent years have they reached the deeply buried, earliest levels of the city (ca. 4200–3400 B.C.). In these levels, they have recovered all of the signs of social complexity that we associate with early cities: monumental architecture, specialized tool-making, mass production of pottery, exotic materials imported from afar, and objects clearly designed to mark their possessor as a socially prestigious individual.

The Harvard component of the Tell Brak project has focused on the question of the size and population of the ancient city. How large was the city at the time that these signs of social complexity were first appearing? Arriving at an estimate of the spatial extent of an ancient city is impossible through excavation alone. At the typical rate (about 300 m² uncovered per field season), it would take literally thousands of years to excavate the entire site. While traces of stone architecture on the surface of some sites—Maya cities, for example—allow archaeologists to map houses without excavation, the architecture of Brak was entirely mud brick and long since eroded into a low-mounded surface; detailed mapping is only possible via excavation.

My colleague Philip Karsgaard of the University of Edinburgh and I decided to tackle the distribution of the ancient population by mapping something that they

Archaeologists collecting surface artifacts from Tell Brak’s lower town. The central mound in the background is entirely artificial, the product of over 4,000 years of continuous human settlement. Today Brak’s outer city hosts agricultural fields and sheep pasturelands.
produced in great quantity, household debris. Throughout Mesopotamian history, house interiors were kept rather spotless, but exterior spaces were considered fair game for dumping the fragments of that broken dish or the remains of last night's meal. The position of these artifacts then is a general indicator of the location of households. Conveniently for archaeologists, this debris is often brought to the surface by erosion, wind deflation, and modern agriculture (most of Tell Brak is today beneath wheat and barley fields).

Given this situation, Phil and I, along with Fahid Jumaa and Shilan Ramadan of the University of Damascus, made controlled collections of surface artifacts at regular intervals across the site but avoiding excavations on the central mound. We were guided by handheld Global Positioning System (GPS) receivers to calculate our exact position on the earth's surface.

Ultimately, we made 963 collections and examined over 55,000 potsherds. Many of these potsherds are “diagnostic” of a particular chronological period, meaning that some attribute (painted decoration, manufacturing technique, or rim shape) had a limited chronological lifespan. For example, at the time of Brak’s maximum urban expansion (ca. 3900 to 3400 B.C.), its inhabitants used pottery characterized by orange-red surfaces, coarse pieces of chaff and sand as tempering material, and the general carelessness of manufacture that comes with mass production (proving that some aspects of daily life did not improve in an urban setting).

By plotting the distribution of diagnostic potsherds on a map, the spatial patterning of Brak’s urban genesis unfolded. Prior to 4200 B.C., a village existed under the central mound. As yet we know nothing of its size and characteristics because it is so deeply buried, but enough stray sherds have been found on the site to establish its presence. Brak’s urban explosion began around 4200 B.C., but not in the way we anticipated. Rather than expanding outward from its pre-urban core, the city produced satellite settlements of 200–300 persons that appeared in a halo around the central mound. These satellites were too close to be considered separate settlements, but they seem to have been placed to maintain spatial separation from the central settlement and from each other. Between 4200 and 3900 B.C., Brak was a city of 55 hectares (136 acres) and perhaps 5,000–10,000 persons, a time when few of its neighbors exceeded 3 hectares.

Through time, these satellites expanded inward toward the core, and grew together to form a near-continuous corona of settlement. At the same time, the increase in artifact density suggests that more people were living in even more cramped conditions. By 3400 B.C., Brak had grown to at least 130 hectares (321 acres) and probably over 20,000 persons. On present evidence, it was the largest settlement in the Near East at the time. Brak’s urban institutions continued to develop; around this time, the famous Eye Temple was constructed, so named because it contained hundreds of tiny alabaster idols with disproportionately large eyes.

At the end of the fourth millennium B.C., perhaps at the same time that Uruk was expanding (around 3100 B.C.), the extensive outer settlement area was abandoned for reasons that remain unknown to us. Those who remained retreated up onto the central mound, which continued to grow upwards into the 40m artificial hill visible today. Brak continued to be settled in later times and was for a time the capital of a large kingdom, but it never regained its great scale.

We can derive two major conclusions from Brak’s early urban history. The first concerns the primacy of southern Mesopotamian cities such as Uruk. It is incontrovertible that after 3100 B.C., southern Mesopotamia hosted a dense network of city-states unmatched elsewhere in the Near East; it now appears certain, however, that urbanism developed simultaneously, if not slightly earlier, at Tell Brak in northern Mesopotamia. This conclusion stands on present evidence, because we do not have comparable information about the earliest history of Uruk and other southern cities. The southern cities were ultimately the most durable, but
The Peabody Museum holds extensive collections from the African continent, amounting to 31,000 items from West, East, central, and southern Africa. These are divided into three categories: archeological finds, 9,000; paper, photographic, and film archives, 6,000; and ethnographic objects, 16,000. All these holdings are actively called upon to service educational goals for students and researchers, as well as to capture and sustain public interest in Africa and its diverse societies. This essay provides an overview of the largest of the three above categories: ethnographic objects, mainly in wood, fabric, or metal.

Acquisition Practices
The Peabody Museum was founded by an endowment from George Peabody, a generous American philanthropist, in 1866. Even before there was a building, the Trustees of the Museum sought to form collections. Local scientific societies, such as the Boston Marine Society and the Boston Athenaeum among others, responded by presenting many objects in their collections that no longer fit their mission. The closing of the privately owned Boston Museum resulted in another large donation in 1899, including objects from various regions of Africa. Among the weapons, bead necklaces, and ivory horns, an early Asante stool 49 cm in height stands out for its elegant woodcarving. The three posts supporting the curved seat show carved designs that indicate the rank of the owner in the Asante court bureaucracy.

From its founding, the Peabody Museum also sponsored scientific expeditions; their findings in photographs and objects have provided the major part of Peabody’s collections.

Most of the holdings from Africa at the Peabody Museum derive from research expeditions sponsored by scholars in natural history or anthropology departments at Harvard. The Peabody’s efforts to collect directly from Africa began in the early twentieth century. The first curator for Africa, Oric Bates (1914 –d.1918), conducted archeological research in North Africa and other regions, and donated artifacts from those expeditions to the Museum. He also raised funds from private sources for the acquisition of several African works from W. O. Oldman, a famed London dealer, including examples of now world-famous cast-bronze heads and plaques from the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Benin court (the Edo people), located at present in southern Nigeria (see bottom of page 12).

There are many factors that influence a museum’s goals for collections. Until the 1950s, the curatorial goal for ethnological museums was to acquire evidence in objects and techniques from people living outside of European traditions that would illustrate their pre-industrial ways of life. Peabody collections that resulted from scholarly expeditions to Africa before 1950 include many ceramic pots, baskets, weapons, musical instruments, and implements for fishing, hunting, canoeing, making and decorating clothing, divination, and body ornamentation. These materials characterize the Peabody’s three largest regional collections: from peoples of the Uganda-Rwanda-Burundi region of East Africa; from several ethnic groups in the Cameroon region bordering central Africa; and from diverse language groups in northeastern Liberia in West Africa.

When Arthur Loveridge, a herpetologist from the Museum of Comparative Zoology, adjacent to the Peabody Museum, planned a trip to East Africa in the thirties, the Peabody Director expressed interest in “a collection... which represents the ordinary day to day life and customs of the people.” (Letter from D. Scott 12/11/33, p. 2). Through Loveridge’s several trips, the Peabody acquired over 4,000 objects from the Bantu-speaking peoples...
in the Uganda-Rwanda-Burundi region of East Africa. The second large set of acquisitions came from Dr. George Schwab who began collecting in 1918 for the Peabody Museum as a student in the Department of Anthropology and continued with a research associate appointment from the Museum, while serving as a medical missionary in southern Cameroon for the next twenty years. In 1920, he shipped to the Museum a collection of 719 pieces and, in 1928, an additional 1,032 objects. In the early days of his service, he noted that his Presbyterian mission was situated in “a most neglected corner of the world,” but, by the late thirties, numerous European traders were supplying him with materials. In a letter to Peabody Director Donald Scott, (April 5, 1938), Schwab identified his recent suppliers as nine Greeks, four Frenchmen, men from two English firms, and one Spaniard. Unfortunately, he reported, they could provide no answers to his questions beyond the basic use of the objects. Altogether, Schwab’s sales and donations up to 1937 amounted to 3,436 works, drawn from a dozen ethnic peoples inhabiting the major regions of Cameroon, and included an outstanding pair of sculptures from neighboring Gabon (bottom of p. 13).

In 1926, Schwab obtained a leave to accept a special commission from the Firestone Rubber Company to assess the people of the northeastern interior of Liberia as potential labor resources for the new rubber plantation being established by Firestone further south. Along with that task, Schwab received a research appointment from the Peabody Museum, to seek ethnographic information during his Liberian travels with the aim of writing a survey ethnography of the diverse language groups of the northeastern region.

On Schwab’s trip, in 1928, he met another medical missionary, Dr. George Harley, living at Ganta, among the Mano people in Northeast Liberia. At Schwab’s recommendation, the Peabody asked Dr. Harley, who had studied ethnography as part of his training, to collect evidence of the way of life and rituals in that remote, densely forested region. In spite of an intensely busy schedule serving hun-

**Benin Plaque**

Figurative images cast onto bronze rectangular plaques decorated the pillared passageways through the vast court of the Benin kingdom. These pictorial plaques proclaimed the riches and powers of the ruling court. At the same time, the expensive material, elaborate craft and imposing figures created an unbridgeable distance between the visiting viewer and the royals who possessed these remarkable objects.

The Peabody plaque—approximately 19 x 11 inches and dating from the sixteenth to the early seventeenth century—displays an elaborately outfitted and armed chief flanked by two warrior aides. Above these warriors are sketched the heads of two Portuguese men, referring to the mercenaries hired by Benin rulers to help expand their kingdom. Protection here is promised by both the splendor of the costumes and the abundance of weapons, both material and magical. In addition, producing the fine visual details in this complex casting technique is an extraordinary artistic achievement.

**Shoowa Textile**

A small, plush embroidered textile woven of palm-leaf fiber, approximately 25” x 14,” showing a perfection of stitching, a balance of light and dark, and a composition that combines strict structure with free variation in design, raises this example to a superb work of art. In addition to the maker’s fine sense of balance in design, the skillful execution is built on a craft practiced by women of the small Shoowa region, at the northern rim of the former Kuba kingdom, near the Kasai River in Central Africa.

Designs on Shoowa textiles are usually artistic recastings of leopard skin patterns. A visual reference to the leopard, seen as the most powerful creature of the forest, these textiles are worn to indicate prestigious status, over the shoulder or lying in front of an official. Families acquire a great stock of them to display at the funeral ceremonies of their distinguished elders, and many accompany the deceased in the grave to carry his or her high status into the spirit world.


Shoowa textile. Collected by Oric Bates. PM 17-41-50/B2047.
in the deep forest, Harley agreed, partly because of his keen interest in boys’ initiation rituals among the Mano people, which included the use of masking. With a research appointment from the Peabody Museum, Harley’s collecting efforts from 1930 to 1948 resulted in the third important African collection at the Peabody. Harley added 2,386 objects mainly from the Mano, Dan, and Kran peoples in northern and eastern Liberia.

The unusual aspect of Harley’s collection is that, along with pottery, basketry, useful implements, plants, and medicines, it includes 414 facemasks, some of frightening aspect, others more refined (see below). Only men wore these masks in various rituals, mainly during the boys’ multi-year initiation period. Harley’s notes on the objects, and his two essays on the use of masks, published by the Peabody, provide the basic information about these protracted rituals among the Mano (1941, 1950). His second essay “Masks as Agents of Social Control” (1950) also offered a practical rationale for the deliberately frightening role of the masked figures during the initiation rituals. On the local and international scene, that essay stimulated a great deal of scholarly research into African masking among other West African peoples, efforts that led to an improved understanding of the interaction between spiritual and social discipline in small autonomous villages.

continued on p. 14

Liberian Masks
A pair of face masks from northeast Liberia (Figure 8), are worn by men to manifest spirits of the ancestors and the forest, the two great sources of fertility. Heads of prosperous kin groups in a village invite these powerful spirits into the human community prior to the next planting season to participate in festivities honoring them. Normally invisible, spirits are neuter forces, but, to communicate in the human realm, they take on a visible form. Wearing a bulky fiber costume, they appear different in material and shape from human bodily form, but by adopting a facemask, they project a semblance of human features.

Typically, as in these two Liberian masks, one displays enlarged, fierce features, considered “masculine” in style; the other with more delicate features is said to look “like a woman.”

The performers’ behavior accords with their facial appearance: for the masculine character, vigorous dancing, display of weapons, and rhetorical speeches; more gentle crowd-control, dancing, and singing by the feminine form is less suggestive of forceful action.

Reliquary Figures
The pair of male and female figures were protective guardians of a container of ancestral bones among the Fang people in the present state of Gabon. The statues are approximately 20 inches in height, carved in wood and stained a dense black. Although only the upper body remains for both figures, the tension of each pose, the alternating swelling and contraction of the carved limbs, and the aggressive facial expressions create an impressive image of threatening, protective powers sought by the elders.


Liberian Masks
A pair of face masks from northeast Liberia (Figure 8), are worn by men to manifest spirits of the ancestors and the forest, the two great sources of fertility. Heads of prosperous kin groups in a village invite these powerful spirits into the human community prior to the next planting season to participate in festivities honoring them. Normally invisible, spirits are neuter forces, but, to communicate in the human realm, they take on a visible form. Wearing a bulky fiber costume, they appear different in material and shape from human bodily form, but by adopting a facemask, they project a semblance of human features.

Typically, as in these two Liberian masks, one displays enlarged, fierce features, considered “masculine” in style; the other with more delicate features is said to look “like a woman.”

The performers’ behavior accords with their facial appearance: for the masculine character, vigorous dancing, display of weapons, and rhetorical speeches; more gentle crowd-control, dancing, and singing by the feminine form is less suggestive of forceful action.

Reliquary Figures
The pair of male and female figures were protective guardians of a container of ancestral bones among the Fang people in the present state of Gabon. The statues are approximately 20 inches in height, carved in wood and stained a dense black. Although only the upper body remains for both figures, the tension of each pose, the alternating swelling and contraction of the carved limbs, and the aggressive facial expressions create an impressive image of threatening, protective powers sought by the elders.

Male and Female guardian figures, Gabon. Collected by George Schwab. PM 30-2-50/B4973-B4974.
The Marshalls concentrate on their collecting. PM 2001.29.2.99.

**Changing Goals**

During the 1950s, African peoples openly struggled toward independence from colonial authorities and modernization. This larger social and political scene also changed the direction of scholarly interest and the nature of museum collecting. The formation of independent African states led to a shift in scholarly research from preindustrial lifeways to political and social issues, such as political parties and modernization, with a resulting decline in the collecting of material objects from Africa.

Independence in the 1960s also coincided with increased public interest in the sculptural and other arts of Africa. This is quickly reflected in subsequent Peabody acquisitions of wooden sculpture from travelers, former Peace Corps members, or U.S. officials with educational or technical assignments, mainly in Anglophone areas of Liberia or Nigeria.

Another powerful factor that contributed to a decline in the collecting of material objects was a radical change in scholarly methods of investigation. Laurence and Lorna Marshall began a new kind of reportage during their Southwest Africa Expedition in the 1950s. They and their son John, a filmmaker, sought to document the way of life of the nomadic peoples of Namibia not simply by ethnographic reports and collecting the few material means used by these hunter-gatherers, but rather by focusing on the social and spiritual activities of the people with abundant camera work. (Laurence K. and Lorna J. Marshall Collection, PM 2001.29, 2003.36). Their expedition results were harbingers of the powerful attraction of film as a detailed and vivid approach to documenting the lives of people in Africa. Their visual materials added a stimulus to the burgeoning field of visual anthropology. The Marshalls were followed in 1965 by the work of filmmaker Robert Gardner among the Fulani nomads in northwestern Nigeria.

Although the Peabody’s collecting interests had been weighted toward ethnographic description of other peoples’ ways of life, some of their acquisitions included objects that became recognized internationally as outstanding works of art. Because of their high artistic quality, these objects from Central and West Africa attracted careful research so that much is documented of their original use.

**New Directions**

From this brief overview of the Peabody collectors and collections, one readily perceives the kinds of knowledge scholars have sought: first, facing a mass of collected material objects, scholars developed classifications, such as diverse typological series by form or chronology. A question, like Harley’s: “what are the objects for?” led to investigation of usage and function of objects in society, a productive approach practiced in anthropological field research until the 1950s.

Since the 1970s, both anthropologists and art historians have pursued a number of directions in African research. The increasing popularity of African art in college courses and among the public has inspired scholars and students to seek what anthropologists call “thick description,” to penetrate multiple layers of thought and action. For example, it is rewarding to explore the careers of artisans and artists, to discover the people’s own identification of imagery, and to film and record music within performance contexts. Using multiple techniques like language learning, filming, audio recording, oral history, and historical documents, researchers strive for a multi-vocal approach to understand what people think about their products and experiences.

Scholars often collaborate with the people they study in seeking explanations for symbolism in ritual forms, the role of material objects in healing, how people declare their identity through signs and objects, and how the value of objects and ritual action changes over time or in new contexts. This kind of collaborative research has enriched our understanding of the practical and imaginative life of the peoples whose products are held in the Peabody Museum.

Despite dedicated scholarly attention to African works and culture in the past, many objects in the Peabody’s extensive holdings are not as yet investigated. The recent variety of research questions makes the Peabody’s collections of great interest. Items that did not produce illumination under earlier dominant methods now light up under the new diversity of interests. A case in point is a large round two-part basket in the Peabody’s collection, from the Nyanja people, at the southern end of the long Lake Nyasa in Malawi, East Africa. Acquired from an estate in the very late Victorian era, each part, upper and lower, measures 21 cm x 47 cm x 50.1 cm; each half displays on its vertical bark walls a row of incised and painted scenes depicting male and female figures clothed in stylish Victorian-era formal dress, holding objects in their hands that look like fans or African fire fanners, and apparently proceeding in a dance line.
Formerly, visitors seeing it in storage were amused. Even while admiring the lively images, they dismissed the object as “inauthentic,” because of the mixture of imagery, and because large, human figures shown in action were not known to occur on East African containers. At present, the two-part basket, acquired from the widow of Joseph Ropes in 1917, is an appealing object for research within the current fascination with hybridity: that is, what happens in the close encounter between two cultures; what is accepted or rejected; how are forms re-formed in the process, and what was the historical context that fostered this early hybrid?

The study of objects within the frames of documentary, historical, and on-site research as ways of understanding the lives of others in the world has proven illuminating; and it is widely acknowledged that such study stimulates also insights into the researcher’s own society. Even though, following these professional methods, scholars have produced numerous satisfying contributions to this quest for understanding, another generation emerges with new questions, or new ways of analysis that inspire them to explore objects and their context afresh. That investigative process is one of the fascinating, up-to-date attractions in studying Peabody collections and following Peabody interpretive exhibitions.


AFRICAN COLLECTIONS IN THE CLASSROOM

The African collections are among the most heavily used collections at the Peabody Museum, reflecting their very high quality and research value. As a center for object-based learning at Harvard, the Peabody Museum partners with faculty and students in teaching from its world-class collections. During FY 2007, hundreds of members of the Harvard community (including faculty, undergraduate, and graduate students) visited the Museum’s African collections, for research or class tours and discussion.

The Peabody Museum actively encourages students and faculty to use the collections for teaching and research. Faculty select objects for use in the classroom or assign students a group of objects for research. Similarly, students study objects that relate to their coursework on a wide range of topics. For example, for her 2006 senior thesis, Anne Austin researched Egyptian mummified animals in the Peabody’s archeological holdings. Faculty who focus on African topics have worked with Peabody curators to develop teaching displays composed of African objects that illustrate key points in their courses. Students may also access collections when preparing for exams. At the Museum, students can view and study actual objects, rather than rely solely on notes, pictures, and slides.

The Peabody also supports internship programs during the academic year and the summer session. In 2007, eleven Harvard students participated in the summer internship session. Interns train in curation, registration, conservation, and other specialized fields. When the Peabody is preparing for an exhibition, interns are directly involved in research and other tasks. Recently, conservation interns assisted on a Konor cape, masks from the Bayaka and Mano peoples, and on plant-fiber basketry hats from Central Africa.

Last fall, the Peabody partnered with Suzanne Blier, professor of the History of Art and Architecture, to create nine course-based exhibits of African arts in its teaching gallery: Masquerades: Costume, Performance, Dance; Design and Domestic Arts; Textiles; Divination; Surface treatment: Oil, Color, and Decoration; Artists and Art Patronage; Body Arts and Invention: Regalia and Jewelry; Animal Portrayals, and Iconography and Bronze Casting. Each semester brings new and exciting collaborations with faculty and students across the campus. These partnerships in learning are vital to our museum mission.

For information on how to access the collections for teaching or research, please contact: pmresrch@fas.harvard.edu.
The Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology is hosting its first student-curated exhibition this summer in conjunction with the student organization Native Americans at Harvard College (NAHC) REMIX: Indigenous Identities in the 21st Century.

“I’m a sheep in wolf’s clothing, a wolf in shepherd’s skin, messaging through smoke signals, satellite, and medicine,” Native American DJ and rapper Quese IMC comments on the recontextualization of Native American youth identity in the modern world. Through words, actions, and art, the youth of Native America today must find a balance between old and new; empowered by influences from within their own communities and the world outside, they have “remixed” their identities to reflect their unique cultural heritage. Modern Native American youth identity is rooted in the past, rather than buried by it. REMIX features the works of four visual artists—Doug Miles (San Carlos Apache), Ryan Red Corn (Osage), Courtney Leonard (Shinnecock), and Bunky Echo-Hawk (Pawnee and Yakama)—and rapper Quese IMC, who have embraced this ethos, transforming traditional materials, ideas and iconography into powerful contemporary art.

Bunky Echo-Hawk (Pawnee/Yakama) is a “proACTIVE ARTist,” using his art to address issues facing Native American nations and to fund Native American businesses and nonprofits. He is the co-founder of a nonprofit group, NVISION, which challenges Native youth to develop leadership skills through multi-media and art. His art explores the tension between native identity and modern culture.

Courtney Leonard (Shinnecock) explores memory and language through her personal narrative as a woman from the Shinnecock Indian Nation of Long Island, New York. She believes that tradition is not stagnant and that the past strengthens the present. Much of her work incorporates the old with the new and confronts the stereotypes and misappropriations of Indigenous identity by popular media.

Doug Miles (San Carlos Apache) grew up on the San Carlos Indian Reservation, home of Geronimo and the Apache nation. A social worker and a painter, his art fuses these two interests. Most famous for putting his images on skateboards, Miles uses a variety of media to convey his message to Native American youth, dispelling negative stereotypes and helping them come to grips with their heritage.

Ryan Red Corn (Osage) spent his childhood on the Osage Reservation and is active in his community, promoting art exhibits and protests that highlight and explore issues of Native American identity. He attended the University of Kansas and received a B.F.A in graphic design and uses those skills to create politically charged T-shirts with an unapologetic style, crafted to shatter public perception of Native Americans.

Quese IMC (Pawnee/Seminole) Marcus “Quese” Frejo grew up listening with his brother to rap music. Inspired by such artists as Run DMC and Public Enemy, he started to develop his own music and perform it at rap battles and concerts and has opened for artists Snoop Dogg, Tyrese, Petey Pablo, Ludacris, and others. He interviews Native Americans to bring their stories into his music and maintain an oral history of their lives and experiences. His music encourages youth to recover their native languages.

This exhibition was installed in conjunction with the Fifth Ivy Native Council Conference, of the same name, which took place at Harvard University, April 3–6, 2008. The conference explored current conceptions of “being Indian” and what effect “living in two worlds” has on Native American youth today. The exhibition was curated by Kelsey Leonard, Tanner Amdur-Clark, LeRenzo Tolbert-Malcom, and Caitlin Young, members of Native Americans at Harvard College on behalf of the Ivy Native Council.

Native Americans at Harvard College
Native Americans at Harvard College (NAHC) seeks to provide social, intellectual and cultural activities for both

Continued on page 22
Students and scholars of the Maya civilization have always been in a race against time to record, study, and preserve the incredibly rich material heritage of the Ancient Maya culture that once thrived in the lowlands of Mexico, Guatemala, Belize, and Honduras; a history that impresses and fascinates scholars, amateurs, and general public alike. Elaborately carved monuments and building façades in particular are increasingly vulnerable to the deteriorating environmental conditions, neglect, vandalism, and looting. With so many factors contributing to the ongoing destruction of ancient Maya art, researchers must seek out the most advanced and efficient recording and conservation techniques to aid them to preserve both information and artifact.

The Peabody Museum of Harvard University is one of several institutions leading such efforts for the ancient Maya heritage. For more than four decades, the Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions (CMHI) has set the standard for photographing, drawing, and publishing Maya monuments. The Museum also houses extensive archives of earlier photographs and drawings including Teobert Maler’s glass-plate negatives, Carnegie Institution files, and hundreds of plaster casts of carved Maya stelae, altars, lintels, and panels. Such copies, made decades ago, preserve a record of objects that have since been lost or damaged.

Preserving a record of ancient Maya sculpture has posed a special challenge. Photography and drawing have been the methods of choice. Both, however, are inherently limited in their ability to record and (re)present three-dimensional objects. Even multiple stereo photographs of the same monument at different angles cannot capture all the details of these complex sculptures from all angles under all lighting conditions. The CMHI partially overcame this problem by relying on as many stereo pairs and photographs as possible to create final line drawings. As accurate and professional they might be, the Corpus line drawings are only informed interpretations of the original objects.

The only certain solution to preserving all the three-dimensional information of a piece has been to make a mold and, from that, a cast. The method poses several problems: the process of making a mold can damage the surface of the original, and, once made, the molds and the plaster casts have to be stored and maintained. The experience of the Peabody and other museums with large collections of molds and casts suggests that proper storage and conservation of these large, fragile, and bulky objects poses a huge challenge.

Looking always to new technologies for potential solutions to these problems, in 1998, the Peabody Museum tested a 3-D laser scanning system on a section of the Hieroglyphic Stairway on exhibit at the museum. The tests were part of a collaborative effort with the Honduran government to find a solution for replicating the Hieroglyphic Stairway at the UNESCO archaeological site of Copán, Honduras. The Stairway, a 64-step monument with the longest inscription in the New World has been deteriorating at an alarming rate. As soon as digital three-dimensional scanning technology became available to cultural heritage application, the Peabody Museum was keen to test it for applicability to problems of Maya monument preservation. Digital scanning has several advantages over creating plaster replicas: the recording process does not require direct contact with the object, therefore avoiding further damage; it is easier and cheaper to store, move, share, and study digital data; and it is still possible to make a full physical replica from the digital model, if desired.

The first trials of digital scanning equipment in the Peabody Museum in late 1990s, however, showed that the scanning process was very slow and all

---

Staff from the Harvard News Office accompanied Museum researchers to Yaxchilan and prepared multiple reports from the field published in the Harvard Gazette and available online at http://www.hno.harvard.edu/multimedia/specials/yaxchilan/index.html.
but impossible under field conditions. The equipment was expensive and bulky, and the processing of the raw digital data was incredibly complicated.

Nearly ten years after those first trials, the CMHI decided to find out if 3-D scanning hardware and software had improved enough to make scanning Maya monuments a viable alternative to plaster casts and photographs. After considering several 3-D scanners using different technologies and software, the CMHI chose the optical digitizing system triTOS made by Breuckmann, GmbH (Germany) as the most viable option: it was portable and could be powered by a generator; it could scan an area of 600 mm in diagonal at one time, and individual scans were assembled in real time. In addition to the 3-D topographical data, triTOS recorded the color of the scanned surface, another point in its favor. And finally, the system had already successfully completed one field test. The Smithsonian Conservation Institute had used triTOS in the field in a project documenting Mongolian “Deer stones” (http://www.si.edu/mci/english/research/conservation/deer_stones.html). The Peabody performed a preliminary test in February 2007, using the Smithsonian’s equipment, on a plaster cast of a Classic Maya panel from Palenque stored at the Smithsonian Conservation Institute with good results and determined to test the equipment in the field.

In April 2007, a multinational team led by Barbara Fash, CMHI director, embarked on a five-day scanning trip to the ancient Maya site of Yaxchilan, Mexico, with equipment loaned by the Breuckmann company. Yaxchilan was chosen for its remote location, complex topography, hot and humid climate, and the presence of a variety of monument types, including stelae, altars, ball court markers,

The principal challenge proved to be daylight. …On a bright, sunny day, outside of shaded areas, the scanner became “blind,” and shading had to be improvised.

Top left: Alex Tokovinine and Albert Daveltshin carrying the equipment to the top of Structure 33.
Top right: Alex Tokovinine scanning Stela 11.
Above: Alvin Powell and Reina Flores helping out with tarps for scanning Lintel 29. Photos by Justin Ide, courtesy Harvard News Office.
hieroglyphic steps, lintels, statues, and carved and painted stuccoes. It was an ideal place to determine if the equipment could cope with rough environmental conditions and hard-to-scan objects. The team scanned the accessible sections of Stela 11, one of the ball court markers, one of the lintels of Structure 10, part of ‘stalagmite’ Stela 31, Step VII of the Hieroglyphic Stairway 2, and carved stucco decoration from the interior of Structure 21.

The test was highly successful overall. The triTOS produced high-resolution 3-D models of monuments, which could be seen in either grayscale or color. The effort was not without its challenges, however. The principal challenge proved to be daylight. The triTOS projector was designed to work with a 100-watt halogen lamp. On a bright, sunny day, outside of shaded areas, the scanner became “blind,” and shading had to be improvised. Scanning at night would have been ideal, but the logistics and provisions needed for an overnight stay at an archaeological site, poses a different set of challenges and was not attempted on this short trip. A second problem was the alignment of successive area scans of large objects. Alignment of the scanned sections became progressively more time-consuming because of the increasing size of the data set.

The success of the Yaxchilan field test opens the possibility of acquiring triTOS or a similar scanner and beginning a long-term scanning project as part of the CMHI effort to record and preserve the ancient Maya cultural heritage. If the scanning project is able to move forward, the CMHI hopes to begin scanning the Hieroglyphic Stairway at Copán in August 2008.
Old Methods, New Methods: All Still Offer Something Valuable

The new 3-D scanning technology adds another method to the two traditional recording methods of Maya monuments. Shown here is Step VII of Structure 33 at Yaxchilan as a standard photograph (Ian Graham), a line drawing (Ian Graham), and a 3-D scan (Alexandre Tokovinine and Vicky Karas).

Conventional photographs (a) remain the fastest, easiest, and most cost-effective way to record a monument and its carvings. Drawings (b) clarify details obscured by lighting or the condition of the monument. The new 3-D technologies (c) allow for a detailed photographic record, but also the manipulation of the lighting direction on the object. This raking light enables epigraphers to see details of the glyphs on the computer screen that may be difficult to see with the naked eye and in compromised field conditions. The resulting virtual model can also be reproduced as a solid replica.

While all these technologies are valuable tools for researchers, they still do not replace the need for field checks and the tactile interaction with the carvings.
Asad Ali Ahmed has been appointed assistant professor in the Department of Anthropology. He received the Ph.D. in sociocultural anthropology in 2005 from the University of Chicago. Ahmed’s current research centers on secularism and religion, language and the law, colonial and post-colonial studies, ethnography of the state, identities and surveillance, and South Asia.

Peter Ellison, John Cowles Professor of Anthropology, was awarded the distinction of Fellow by the American Association for the Advancement of Science

Duana Fullwiley has been appointed assistant professor in the Department of Anthropology. Fullwiley received her Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley and the University of California, San Francisco in 2002 with a joint degree in medical anthropology. Her current research is based on multi-sited ethnography, on how global and historical notions of health, disease, race, and power yield biological consequences that bear present definitions of what it means to be human. Fullwiley’s geographical areas of interest include France, Senegal, and the U.S. Fullwiley’s publications include “From Discriminate Biopower to Everyday Biopolitics: Views on Sickle Cell Testing in Dakar,” Medical Anthropology 23.22 (2004) 157–94; and “Contingencies of Illness: the Cultural Politics of Sickle Cell Trait Suffering in Senegal” in La drépanocytose: Regards croisés sur une maladie orpheline, Agnès Lainé, ed., Paris: Karthala, 2004.

Kelly Askwe, Melissa Caldwell, and Yuson Jung organized a double panel at the 2007 AAA meetings in Washington, D.C., titled “Intimate Engagements with Difference, (In)equality, and Justice: Working through the Looking Glass of Michael Herzfeld’s Contributions to Critical Ethnography.”

Arthur Kleinman, who is on leave in the 2007–2008 academic year, delivered the S. C. Fan Memorial Lecture to the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Hong Kong and was a keynote lecturer at the celebration of the 80th anniversary of the Shanghai Medical University. Also in October, Kleinman was made an honorary professor at Fudan University (Shanghai) and co-director of the Harvard-Fudan/Fudan-Harvard Medical Anthropology Collaborative Research Center. In early November, he participated in a conference organized at the University of Stockholm on European responses to his work on social suffering; and later in November he became Cleveringa Professor at University of Leiden (The Netherlands) for 2007, and presented the Cleveringa Address to the faculty of the University. Kleinman co-edited a special issue of the Journal of Infectious Disease on Pandemic Flu; and his essay on “Catastrophe and Caregiving,” which inaugurated a new series on the medical humanities, was featured on the cover of The Lancet. Kleinman was appointed a member of the Council at the National Institutes of Health, Bethesda, Maryland.


Jason Ur conducted a pilot field survey season on the banks of the Tigris River near Diyarbakir,

Continued on page 23

FIRST CITIES continued from p. 10

we must consider urbanism to have had multiple centers of initial development within the Near East.

Our second conclusion concerns the social and political processes underlying Brak’s growth. The careful maintenance of space between the early satellites and the city’s central mound suggests to us a corresponding social space, and probably the deliberate expression of autonomy through distance. Yet at the same time, the inhabitants of the satellites were clearly part of Brak. Contrary to the idea that early cities were the product of powerful men and coercive political power, this spatial pattern suggests to us that Brak emerged though a bottom-up process. Immigrants may have flocked into Brak’s satellites for their own reasons, perhaps because the growing city offered economic advantages, or maybe for less functional, more ideological reasons related to the growth of temple institutions such as the one seen later at the Eye Temple. Far from being the intentional result of centralized decision-making, urbanism might have been the unintentional outcome of many hundreds of individuals and families deciding for their own reasons that Brak was where they should be.

References:
IAN GRAHAM continued from p. 4

most fortunate, in my life, to have worked with such honorable and intelligent people.” We, in turn, have been very fortunate to have Ian—a gentleman, a scholar, an adventurer, and a perfectionist—working in our midst. As Chancellor Rosenthal so aptly put it, Ian’s life and work have not only benefited Guatemala, but have improved the world at large.

Contributed by Lucia Henderson and Barbara Fash.

“RE MIX” continued from p. 16

Native students at Harvard and for other interested members of the Harvard community. NAHC works to educate the Harvard campus about Native issues and debunk popular misconceptions of Natives through our activities and events. Native Americans at Harvard College is the only Native American undergraduate club at Harvard. NAHC has existed under several names, and is one of the six oldest ethnic/cultural organizations at Harvard College.

Ivy Native Council

The Ivy Native Council (INC) is a student organization comprising Native American representatives from the Ivy League and numerous other institutions of higher learning. INC is an opportunity for Native American undergraduates and graduates in the Ivy League to network as well as to garner broad-based and consistent institutional support for all INC member student organizations across their diverse campuses. INC is dedicated to: raising awareness and discussing Native American issues in its collegiate and local communities; recognizing, supporting, and instituting culturally relevant curricula; establishing a support system for Native American students in Ivy universities; and providing organization members with information for scholarships, internships, and career opportunities. In collaboration with the Harvard University Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology as well as Native Americans at Harvard College this exhibition commemorates and celebrates the 5th Annual Ivy Native Council Conference, “RE MIX: Indigenous Identities in the 21st Century.” REMIX is installed in conjunction with the Fifth Ivy Native Council Conference being held at Harvard University, April 3–6, 2008. The conference will explore current day conceptions of “being Indian” and what effect “living in two worlds” has on Native American youth today. The primary goal of the conference is to facilitate discussions leading to productive collaborative efforts among INC student leaders across their respective various schools and disciplines, Native American program staff, local Native nation delegates, as well as Harvard Community members.

Symbols is published once a year by the Peabody Museum and the Department of Anthropology at Harvard. The yearly subscription rate is $4.50. Please make checks payable to: “Symbols—Peabody Museum” and send to:

Peabody Museum
Harvard University
11 Divinity Avenue
Cambridge, MA 02138.
Peabody Press Rockefeller Volume
Nominated for Book Prize

Michael Rockefeller New Guinea
Photographs, 1961 by Kevin Bubriski
with a Forward by Robert Gardner is a
finalist in ForeWord Magazine’s Book
of the Year Award for 2007. Nearly
1,600 books were entered in 61 cate-
gories. ForeWord Magazine’s Book of
the Year Awards were established to
bring increased attention from librari-
ans and booksellers to the literary
achievements of independent publish-
ers and their authors. Gold, Silver, and
Bronze winners, as well as Editor’s
Choice Prizes for Fiction and
Nonfiction will be announced at a
special program at BookExpo America
at the Los Angeles Convention Center
in Los Angeles on May 30.

NEWS AND NOTES continued from p. 21

southeastern Turkey, with the goal of mapping agricultural
settlement and pastoral nomad land use since the Neo-
lithic. The team identified twenty-seven places of interest,
from the upper Paleolithic to the Medieval period. A larger
team of Harvard faculty and students from Anthropology
and Classics will return this June.

Obituaries

Hillel S. Burger, head of the Photographic Studios of the
Peabody Museum from 1971 to 2003 (?) died on October
20, 2007. Major Peabody publications featuring Hillel
Burger photographs include Hall of the North American
Indian, Encounters with the Americas, The Glass Flowers at
Harvard, and most recently A Noble Pursuit: The Duchess of
Mecklenburg’s Collection from Iron Age Slovenia and Feeding
the Ancestors: Tlingit Carved Horn Spoons.

David Maybury-Lewis, Henderson Professor of Anthro-
pology Emeritus at Harvard University, died on December
2, 2007 at the age of 78. Maybury-Lewis was an eminent
scholar of Amazonia, an enthusiastic teacher and mentor to
generations of students, and an untiring advocate for
indigenous peoples around the world. In 1972 he founded
Cultural Survival, an international organization to support
and promote the voices and rights of indigenous groups.
He received his Ph.D. from Oxford in 1956, joined the
Harvard faculty in 1960, and served several terms as
Chair of the Department of Anthropology between 1971
and 1981.

Stine Rossel, a graduate student in the Department of
Anthropology at Harvard, died in an accident while on a
hike with her husband Brian Wood on October 21, 2007.
Rossel, 32, died a month short of when she was due to
receive her doctorate in archaeology. She had been working
as an assistant professor at the University of Copenhagen in
her native Denmark.
COMING JULY 15, 2008

From Nation to Nation: Examining Lewis and Clark's Indian Collection

Closing September 5, 2008

Feeding the Ancestors: Tlingit Carved Horn Spoons from the Northwest

COMING 2009

Wiyopiyata: Lakota Images of the Contested West