A timely encounter:
19th c. photographs of Japan
by Melissa Banta

Before the invention of photography, the written and spoken word and artistic representation passed on the traditions of Japanese culture. The opening of Japan to international trade in 1854 and the Meiji Restoration in 1868 resulted in rapid modernization and profound cultural changes in Japanese life. At this time, the West brought with it the technology of photography ironically to record the traditions that were vanishing as a result of Western influence. By the turn of the century, Japan had evolved from an insular country to an industrialized power. Its photographic record from the mid-to-late 1800s thus represents a timely encounter with a culture.

The daguerreotype process heralded the beginning of photography in 1839. Technical innovations rapidly followed, making photography a less complicated science and more accessible to both

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The iron currencies of Southern Cameroon
JANE I. GUYER

Jane I. Guyer is Associate Professor of Anthropology at Harvard. She was born in Britain and took her undergraduate degree at the London School of Economics and Political Science in 1965. Her Ph.D. (1972) in Social Anthropology is from the University of Rochester, N.Y.

The main focus of her work has been the social organization and history of material life in Africa, with particular attention to agriculture. Her dissertation was on “The Social Organization of Traditional Farming” in the Western State of Nigeria. Her subsequent field research was in Southern Cameroon, where she studied women’s food farming in the hinterland of the capital city, Yaounde, from the early colonial period to the present. The present project is a new departure into another aspect of material life — exchange — in the period before colonial rule.

She has published a monograph on Family and Farm in Southern Cameroon, articles on colonial economic history, African agriculture, and women in African economies, and is editing a collection of case studies entitled Feeding African Cities: Studies in Regional Social History, International African Institute, Harvard University Press.

The renewed concern to integrate historical understanding into social anthropology is a challenge and a problem. The uneven quantity and quality of the historical record for many of the peoples amongst whom we work, particularly in Africa, was a powerful justification for limiting analysis to synchronic or evolutionary frameworks. The development of oral historical methods and the scouring of written sources has yielded greatly enriched understanding of pre-colonial state structures, the coastal trade, and other aspects of life which were squarely in the public domain. The history of basic institutions, however, such as production, local exchange, and the family, remains largely recalcitrant to these methods, and is especially silent on quantitative dimensions of social life: marriage rates, polygyny rates, farm sizes, productivity, and exchange values as they fluctuated over time. And yet the social history of Europe shows the enormous importance of studying these shifts for any understanding of the dynamics of social change.

The urgency of the problem provokes a new look at familiar sources and methods, to see whether they might not be brought together in new ways. The museum collections and photo archives constitute an invaluable resource in this regard. The artifacts and photographs, often exemplifying and depicting practises which have long since faded, can be brought together with oral historical and interview techniques with the purpose, not of using the social commentary to illuminate the object, but of using the object or image as an aid to eliciting the social commentary. During the early summer of 1984, I took a series of photographs of items in the Peabody Museum and photo archives to Southern Cameroon, to explore the topic of pre-colonial and early colonial exchange.

The central problem was to relate inter-regional trade to local exchange, including the transactions of marriage. One suspects, but has little data to demonstrate, that the “special purpose monies” described by anthropologists as regulating exchange within particular societies, interacted with the currencies which mediated the long distance exchange between regions, as described by historians. Over the long run, the local and the regional certainly inter-penetrated, since we know that local currencies changed over time as particular currency types diffused over extensive regions. Through the subject of currency systems, then, one might address, with some historical precision, a series of inter-related issues raised in the ethnographic literature: the control of value in non-centralized political systems and the power of different media of exchange to mobilize and transfer the greatest value in pre-colonial African systems, namely rights in people. It also offers a way of working beyond an ethnic framework, to regional distribution and the shifting geographical boundaries of exchange networks for different goods. These constituted the social frontiers over that period of vast demographic and cultural change, the African Iron Age.

The present case is a small building block towards a larger picture. It describes a type of currency which was obviously a direct product of the development of iron technology, and which seems to have characterized large areas of Central Africa. Unlike imported currencies, such as cowries in West Africa and iron hoe blanks in East and Southern Africa, the iron currencies of Central Africa were locally produced in a village context. But unlike other commodity currencies, such as textiles, they demanded highly specialized expertise and a certain level of group labor. It seems likely, therefore, that different currencies tended to be produced, controlled and distributed in different ways, and that the rapid shifts in currency use which are known to have occurred, were associated with important social change. The examples of currencies which exist in museums provide absolutely crucial informa-
tion on the forms, weights, quality of material, and possible denominations in these systems, without which the ethnographic reconstruction would be impossible.

The George Schwab collection from Southern Cameroon is one of the Peabody Museum's most exhaustive collections on a single region of Africa. Schwab was a missionary in the Bassa area from 1917 to 1940. He collected a wide variety, and many examples, of commonly used tools and materials from the whole of the southern region, amongst them, a quite large and varied collection of the indigenous iron currency of the Bulu-Beti-Fang ethno-linguistic group. The existence of this currency is well known from the historical ethnography. It is usually referred to by the term bikie, plural of ekie, meaning simply metal, or more precisely, iron. It was made locally and used primarily for the payment of bridewealth. Bikie could also be used to purchase food, barkcloth, medical and ritual services, crafts, livestock and to pay fines to religious associations. During the German colonial period bikie had an accepted exchange rate against the Deutchmark.

None of the written sources, however, indicates clearly such a variety of forms as the collection shows. There is a written record of a variety of linguistic terminology for bikie in different dialects — minsoe mi ngama, mekon, mimbas, bikwele — but the terms have never been unambiguously linked to differences in the objects themselves. The physical variations are quite interesting because they imply, not only differences in style, but different degrees of abstraction of the symbolic currency function from the nexus of material use, and different amounts of iron taken out of utilitarian use to perform symbolic exchange functions. All are based on the notion of a spearhead, but they differ in size and therefore amount of metal, in the care and expertise involved in their production, and in the potential of the finished article for any kind of immediate use other than exchange (Figure 1).

The kind of bikie most often depicted in the literature is the Ewondo/Bene bundle of roughly spear-shaped rods, of which the Schwab collection contains several examples, in two sizes. Some of the general characteristics of the iron currency will be worked out on this kind of bikie (mimbas), simply because both the collection and the historical ethnography are more complete for this case.

The bundle on the left contains about 30 bikie, between 13.5 cm. and 18.5 cm. in length, 1.7 cm. wide at the widest point, and weighs approximately 1.8 lb. (collected 1919-20). The bundle on the right contains about 50 bikie, between 10 cm. and 11.2 cm. in length, and 0.6 cm. in width, weighing about 0.75 lb. (Figure 2).

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Another bundle, collected in 1935, contains smaller bikie yet, with some pieces only 7 cm. long and very thin, and is therefore considerably lighter, at 0.7 lb. for a bundle of 92. (Figure 3). These pieces are clearly not usable for anything but symbolic purposes; they are roughly shaped, unsharpened and very small.

The amounts needed to make a bridewealth payment were quite large. The literature gives many exact examples, but their interpretation remains somewhat problematic because of differences of opinion about the meaning of archaic numerical terms. The numerical system seems to have applied primarily to bikie, the only item in material culture which had to be counted in large quantities. The key terms were etini (or letini in Eton), meaning twenty, ntet, meaning one hundred, and akuda, whose meaning is differentially interpreted as one thousand or ten thousand.

Two experts, Abbe Tsala (1956:43) and Philippe Laburthe-Tolra (1977:568), define akuda as ten thousand, the latter adding that akuda is tending to be applied more and more to one thousand, as an indigenous term for an amount otherwise known in pidgin as toasin. The other terms appear to be unambiguous; ntet has been assimilated to the modern metric system, and etini seems to have faded in use, in favor of mewom mebe, two tens. Even with the photographs of bundles of bikie to show to people, it is still difficult to have complete confidence that one understands informants’ use of numerical terms.

In his historical ethnography of an Ewondo group, Laburthe-Tolra (1977) quotes amounts of up to 10,000 (akuda) as constituting a bridewealth, that is a hundred bundles of a hundred. Such a bridewealth would weigh at least 80-100 lbs. Other sources give amounts ranging from one to ‘many’ thousands. If one compares the total weights implied by these numbers with the weight of tools from the same date and region, it is clear that the currency system was taking substantial amounts of locally produced iron out of practical use. A Bene axe from the Schwab collection, complete with a relatively light wood handle, weighs 2.4 lbs (B-2169), a machete weighs 0.9 lbs (18-21-50/B2088), and the largest iron item, a hammer-cum-anvil, weighs 7.2 lbs (20-29-50/B-2126). One bridewealth therefore took enough iron to produce a fairly massive inventory of tools. The actual rate at which iron was being diverted from ‘practical’ use depends, of course, on the rate at which different iron items were used up and discarded. For the moment, it is simply worth noting that the amounts of iron in the currency system were not insignificant, and that metallurgical analysis of pieces in the museum collection suggests that the quality of iron in bikie was not inferior to the iron in the tools.

This observation needs elaboration and emphasis. Iron production in the Beti economic system potentially mobilized larger cooperative work groups than agriculture or hunting. Their work was not just devoted to expanded production, in the narrow sense of tools, but, in significant proportions, to expanded reproduction through the promotion of accumulative polygynous marriage. As in many African systems of marriage, the ‘original’ form is said to be sister exchange (or perhaps better, sibling exchange). A locally-produced currency provides the possibility for particularly enterprising, gifted or capable men to marry more wives than would be possible through sister exchange, and possibly even more than through bridewealth payment in livestock. Iron, wives and livestock are the items which elders refer to as akuma Beti, the true wealth of a noble and independent people.

One might comment further here, that the association found by Pierre de Maret between male symbolism and iron working in Central Africa (1980) may reflect not only literal physical resemblances between foundry and womb, bellows and male genitalia, and their extension to a general metaphors of procreation and death, but also the social fact that a certain, perhaps quite substantial, proportion of high quality output, produced by arduous group labor under the expert supervision of a smelter, was used to create marriages in those vast regions of Central Africa in which metal currencies were used for bridewealth.
Comparable calculations of amounts and weights of iron currency are less reliable for the other sub-groups of the Bulu-Beti-Fang. Eton bridewealth took considerably less metal, but probably considerably more work by the smith. The Schwab collection contains no examples of bikie from this far north, so the following information is based on fieldwork. Eton bikie were fully formed spearheads, finely worked, with a placing for the haft, and in all respects, ready to use. Bikie for exchange were limited to one particular type (iten'ge), without barbs; this kind of spear-head was not necessarily a favorite hunting weapon because it could fall out of the wound, but it could be used for hunting. A copy of such a spearhead, made from scrap iron, measured 14 cm., of which 4.8 cm. was blade, the rest being a placing for the haft.

As in the Bene area, bridewealth was negotiable, but twenty spearheads (letini) constituted an adequate payment. By comparison with the Bene bikie, the components of labor and raw material seem inversely related.

Finally, the Ntumu spearheads collected by Schwab in 1924 fall in a category between the other two with respect to the utilitarian-symbolic continuum. They are considerably larger and heavier than either of the others, with a leaf-shaped flat blade, and no placing for a haft. They range about 18-20 cm. in length, and 2.5-3.5 cm. in width; one example is a bundle of about twenty-five pieces, weighing 0.75 lb. (26-1-50/B-4274). Another bundle, in which the spearheads are broader, (up to 5.7 cm.), contains about 70-80 pieces and weighs 6.4 lbs. (Figure 4). If a bridewealth were only ten such bundles, in other words if akuda meant only one thousand, this would still be 64 lbs. of metal.

Unlike the case with Eton and Ewondo spears, the fungibility of Ntumu blades is unclear. A blade of very similar shape in the Smithsonian Institution Africa collection, said to be Mangbetu, is set into a short handle and obviously used. It is slightly bigger than the Ntumu blades, 30.5 cm. by 8 cm., but it also narrows less precipitously to the point, and therefore looks considerably stronger. It is

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Scholars, symposia, and seminars

Department of Anthropology

Dr. Tamotsu Aoki is a Visiting Scholar from the Faculty of Human Sciences at Osaka University. His current research interests include cosmology and social economic development in postwar Japan — with special reference to the role of the new religious ethic, and Buddhist ritual and the problem of state in Thailand, Sri Lanka and Japan. He is the author of Symbolicity of Ritual, 1984 (in Japanese) for which he was awarded the 1985 Cultural Prize by the Sunyory Scientific Foundation of Japan. Other publications include The Time in the Liminal Period, 1985, and Mt. Ontake Interpretation and the Work of Doc­
torship. He also gave a lecture entitled "All Things Considered" discussing research on a talking seal last Spring. He also gave a lecture entitled "In Search of Animal Intelligence: Evolution in the Sea and in the Trees" as part of the Lowell Lecture Series at the New England Aquarium in April 1985. He is co-author with Aaron Filler and Nick Anis of The Apple Thesaurus, Datamost Publishing Co., 1984.

Prof. Arthur Kleinman delivered a lecture entitled "The Task of Interpretation and the Work of Doctoring" at the University of Rochester. Other recent invited lec-
tures given by Prof. Kleinman include: "Social Sources of Human Misery" at Southern Methodist University and "Medicine and Health Care in China" at the Museum of Science in Boston. Forthcoming lectures to be given by Dr. Kleinman include "The Building of Psychiatry in China" at the AAA and "Anthropological and Cross-Cultural Aspects of Measuring Quality of Life in Cancer Patients" at a World Health Organization conference in Milan in December. In March 1986 he will deliver the Cecil and Ida Green Lecture at the University of British Columbia on "Social Origins of Distress and Disease." This academic year Prof. Kleinman will be Chairman of a committee of the Institute of Medicine, National Academy of Science to study pain and the disability system in America.

C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky and Philip Kohl (Ph.D. 1974) completed the first season of collaborative excavations with Soviet colleagues in Central Asia. Excavations were undertaken at the Bronze Age site of Sarazm and at Iron Age Nur Tepe in Tajikistan S.S.R. from July to September. Professor Lamberg-Karlovsky was recently appointed to the International Commission for the Scientific Study of Mankind (UNESCO).

Prof. Charles Lindholm gave a lecture entitled "Charisma and Idealization" at the Center for European Studies at Harvard in November. He is organizing a conference on "Muslims as Minorities" to be held at the Center for Middle East Studies and a colloquium on "The Concept of the Sell in South Asia" at Harvard. Prof. Lindholm is continuing to work on idealized attachment relations cross-culturally, and reports that "we have reached the stage of institutionalization" as student assistants have designed a T-shirt (with a world shaped like a heart) for the project!


Prof. Robert Maddin was invited to visit, consult and inspect the Conservation Department of the Krakow Museum, Krakow, Poland in May 1985. He continued field work on the Kas (Turkey) shipwreck during August 1985.

Dr. John F. Merkel's work during the summer included excavations at a Roman site at Stojnik, Servia, Yugoslavia. Dr. Paul Craddock (British Museum Research Laboratory) and Dr. Merkel are conducting the archeo-metallurgical investigation of lead and silver production at the site. Also during last summer, Dr. Merkel continued with sample collection of metal objects from the Early Bronze IV Period in Israel. This analytical work is now being completed.

Research on ancient metallurgy by Prof. Izumi Shimada and Dr. Merkel will be included in a forthcoming documentary TV series entitled "Out of the Fiery Furnace." Interviews were filmed at the Peabody on Oct. 3, 1985.

Prof. Pauline E. Peters was a member of the NAS (National Academy of Science) Panel (April 21-27) that organized an international conference on "Common Property Resource Management,"
Moore appointed GSAS Dean

Sally Falk Moore

Sally Moore, Professor of Anthropology, has been appointed Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at Harvard. A leading theorist in the field of anthropology and law, she was an attorney at the Nuremberg trials following World War II and is known for her research on African societies as well as comparative law.

Prof. Moore graduated from Barnard College and received the L.L.B. from Columbia Law School in 1945, then joined the prosecution staff at the Nuremberg trials after working with a Wall Street law firm. She returned to Columbia University to earn her doctorate in anthropology. Her dissertation, entitled Power and Property in Inca Peru, won the Ansley Prize, awarded to one Ph.D. candidate each year in Columbia’s Faculty of Political Science.

She began her fieldwork in Tanzania in 1968, seven years after the country gained independence. She has been able to watch the impact of socialism on the Chagga, a relatively prosperous tribe who grow coffee on the slopes of Kilimanjaro, and trace the changes in legal, kinship and social structures as the Chagga were absorbed into the modern world.


Moore also is interested in using the sociological principles learned through the study of premodern societies to understand more complex legal systems. In the book Law as Process, published in 1978, Moore looked at both tribal and modern societies to explore the relationship between a culture’s formal legal system and its informal, self-enforcing codes.

She developed and chaired a Department of Anthropology at the University of Southern California, where she taught from 1965 through 1977. She also held the posts of Honorary Research Fellow at University College in London from 1973 through 1977; Visiting Professor at Yale University in 1975-76; and research associate at the University of Dar es Salaam in 1968-69, 1973-74, and 1979-80.

Prof. Moore and her husband, Cresap, are Co-Masters of Dunster House.

Visiting lecturers

During the academic year 1985-1986, scholars from the United States and abroad gave lectures to students and faculty of the Anthropology Department and at meetings of the Peabody Museum Association.

Dr. Wendy Ashmore of Rutgers University presented a lecture entitled “In Praise of Mayan Ceremonial Centers.” The title of an address by Prof. James Fox, Pro-

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professorial Fellow, Australian National University, was "Sleeping Sources of Power: Tomb Pilgrimage on Java." Dr. Julian Reade, Dept. of Western Asiatic Antiquities, The British Museum, spoke on "Tell Taya — A Third Millennium City in Northern Iraq." The title of a lecture by Giovanni Pettinato, Prof. of Assyriology, University of Rome was "New Contributions to the History of Ebla."

Dr. Elizabeth Schombucher of the University of Heidelberg spoke on "Equality and Flexibility in Maritime Adaptation: A South Asian Fishing Caste." Dr. Harry V. Merrick, Visiting Scholar at Harvard from the National Museums of Kenya, presented a lecture on "Obsidian Source Utilization in Eastern Africa." "State-Ethnic Group Relations in Nicaragua: Present Development" was the title of a lecture by Dr. Martin Diskin, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Four scholars addressed members of the Peabody Museum Association at a lecture series entitled "First People of the Northwest" held in October and November. Prof. Curtis M. Hinsley, Dept. of History, Colgate University, spoke on "The Northwest Coast Comes to Chicago: Anthropology and Entertainment at the World's Fair of 1893." Bill Holm, Prof. Emeritus of Art History at the Univ. of Washington in Seattle lectured on "Form and Freedom in Northwest Coast Indian Art. "Shamans and Noblemen: Art of the Northern Tlingit" was the title of a lecture by Aldona Jonaitis, Associate Professor of Art, S.U.N.Y. at Stonybrook, and William S. Laughlin. Professor of Ecology and Evolutionary Biology in the Dept. of Biobehavioral Sciences, Univ. of Connecticut lectured on "Russian Discovery of Alaska's Aleuts, Eskimos and Indians."

Tatiana Proskouriakoff, Honorary Curator of Maya Art at the Peabody Museum, died on August 30 in Watertown, Mass.

A nationally respected scholar, Proskouriakoff began her career in architecture and later developed as a writer, artist, anthropologist, and award-winning archaeologist. Her specialty was in Maya art, architecture, and hieroglyphic writing.

Born in Pomsk, Russia in 1909, she came to Philadelphia as a child. She received her B.S. in Architecture from Pennsylvania State College in 1930 and pursued graduate studies at the University of Pennsylvania. After taking a position on the archaeological staff of the Carnegie Institution in Washington, D.C., Proskouriakoff came to the Peabody Museum in 1958.

The author of numerous scientific articles and books, scholars credit Proskouriakoff's early research as the foundation for deciphering ancient Maya hieroglyphics. Her research, published in 1960, showed for the first time that inscriptions found on stone monuments in Guatemala and on Mexico's Yucatan Peninsula recorded events in the lives of historical figures.

Her studies of Maya art are considered classics among scholars of archaeology. An Album of Maya Architecture, published in 1946, illustrates reconstruction drawings of ancient Maya sites, and Classic Maya Sculpture, 1950, is a formal analysis of motifs that make up Maya art.

Miss Proskouriakoff's major work at the Peabody centered on the study of thousands of jades found in the sacred well of sacrifice at Chichén Itzá, Mexico. Proskouriakoff restored the jades and studied their inscriptions in preparing Jades from the Cenote of Sacrifice, Chichén Itzá, Yucatán for publication in 1975.

Miss Proskouriakoff received honorary degrees from Tulane University and Penn State University. In 1984 she was awarded the Order of Quetzal from the Government of Guatemala.
Rosemary A. Joyce, appointed Assistant Curator for pre-Columbian Archaeology in the Peabody Museum, is an archaeologist with interests in belief systems, social organization and their interaction, especially as reflected in material culture including ceramics. A cum laude graduate of Cornell University (1978), she received the Ph.D. from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in 1985. While preparing her dissertation, she taught introductory anthropology and seminars in the archaeology and ethnology of the Maya and in Mesoamerican ethnology, first at a community college and later at the University of Illinois. At the University of Illinois, she edited the Journal of the Steward Anthropological Society, and was in charge of management of the collections of the Anthropology Department for three years.

Her archaeological field work includes five seasons as part of the Proyecto Arqueologico Sula of the Honduran Institute of Anthropology and History, including 26 months of field work at her dissertation site, Cerro Palenque. This research, supported by the Tinker Foundation, a Fulbright-Continued on page 21

Thomas P. Rohlen is the Edwin O. Reischauer Visiting Professor of Japanese Studies in the Anthropology Department. Before coming to Harvard he was a research fellow at Stanford and a private consultant in international business and organizational change.

Prof. Rohlen is a graduate of Princeton (B.A. 1962) and earned the Ph.D. in Anthropology from the Univ. of Pennsylvania (1971). He was a Foreign Service officer in Japan from 1962-1965 and a member of the anthropology faculty at the Univ. of California, Santa Cruz from 1971-1979.

In the last few years Prof. Rohlen's interests have focused on both Japanese education and the workings of Japanese business. He has done extended field research in such locales as banks, high schools and factories and his latest book Japan's High Schools (1984) has won several awards including the prestigious Ohira Prize given in honor of the late Prime Minister.

He is currently writing a book comparing Mazda and Chrysler. Tentatively titled “A Tale of Two Turnarounds,” it is about how the two similar companies, both facing bankruptcy, were revived in different political, social and cultural-Continued on page 21

John Tomenchuk has accepted the inaugural Post-Doctoral Fellowship appointment with the Peabody Museum. A 1970 graduate of the University of Toronto, he received the M.A. (1973) and Ph.D. (1985) degrees from the University of Toronto. Prior to coming to Harvard, Dr. Tomenchuk was a research associate at the Royal Ontario Museum and taught at the University of Victoria and Wilfrid Laurier University.

An archaeologist with an engineering background, Dr. Tomenchuk's research interests include Near Eastern prehistory and paleoecology, spatial analysis, and stone tool manufacture and use. He has adopted an engineering approach to the study of chipped stone tool use, some of the unique features of which have been described in the conference proceedings volume Traces d'Utilisation sur les Outils Neolithiques du Proche Orient, edited by M.-C. Cauvin (1983).

Dr. Tomenchuk's research interests extend also into physical anthropology. In 1979 he co-authored a paper with Dr. John Mayhall which described a new technique which he devised to measure dental wear from casts of Igloolik-Continued on page 21

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The Indo-European origin of the concept of a democratic society

MASON HAMMOND

Mason Hammond, Pope Professor of the Latin Language and Literature, Emeritus in Harvard University, has had a long and distinguished career in the field of classics, particularly with Latin Literature, Roman history, and classical political theory. He joined the Harvard faculty in 1928, became Professor in 1946, Pope Professor in 1950, and retired in July 1973.

Born in Boston, he prepared at St. Mark’s School, and received the A.B. summa cum laude in Classics from Harvard in 1925 and became a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University from which he received the B.A. First Class honors in Literae Humaniores (1927) and the B. Litt (1930). He received an honorary Doctorate of Humane Letters for St. Bonaventure University, N.Y. in 1975.

Prof. Hammond is Trustee Emeritus of the American Academy in Rome, a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and a corresponding member of the German Archaeological Institute of America, the American Association of Rhodes Scholars, and the Association of Fulbright Scholars.


Three articles were published by members of the Department of Anthropology and the Peabody Museum in the issues of Symbols for Spring/Fall, 1984, and Spring, 1985. These will hereafter be referred to simply as I and II followed by the page and column numbers. The three articles seek to revise the commonly accepted single stereotype for the emergence of civilization, based on Mesopotamian and Western primitive societies. This stereotype holds that all early civilizations emerged in accordance with a common conceptual pattern. Primitive nomadic hunting and food-gathering societies had already taken shape by the Neolithic period and therein they developed into settled communities getting their main food from agriculture and pasturing of domesticated animals. From such settled communities emerged primitive cities (Childe’s “urban revolution”), in which new technologies were devised to create a self-made environment for man, which would isolate him from the purely natural environment of his preceding existence. Such technologies were, besides agriculture and pasturage, weaving, metal working, writing, trade, and the like.

The three articles are by: Profs. K.C. Chang, “Ancient China and its anthropological significance,” I, pp. 2-4, 20-22; C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, “The Near Eastern ‘Breakout’ and the Mesopotamian Social Contract,” II, pp. 8-11, 23-24; and Gordon R. Willey, “Ancient Chinese-New World and Near Eastern Ideological Traditions: Some Observations,” II, pp. 14-17, 22-23. Chang argued that primitive Chinese civilization had a different conceptual pattern than that of the civilization of Mesopotamia which spread to the western world. In China, control was exercised by shamans, who had access to the threefold worlds of heaven, earth, and to a less degree the underworld. From this access they acquired divine guidance to inform rulers how to rule successfully. This conceptual pattern meant a main emphasis on art and ritual, as interpretations of shamanistic wisdom, and a neglect of technological advance (I, pp. 1-2). Chang contrasts this approach to that of Mesopotamian societies, which advanced by the improvement of the material aspects of life through new technologies, including irrigation, cities, markets, writing, etc. He also suggests that Mayan civilization seems to have been shaped by a similar shamanistic conceptual pattern. He suggests that this was because both the Chinese and the Mayan concepts derived from a common deep cultural community in Asia which dated back to the upper Paleolithic age (II, pp. 4 col. 2, 20 col. 2, 22 col. 1). He concludes that this difference between the Chinese and the Mesopotamian concepts of society suggests reappraising the traditional stereotype of the emergence of civilizations, as outlined above, by a renewed study of the basic, and, he thinks, differing, concepts which informed various primitive societies (I, p. 22 cols. 1-2).

Lamberg-Karlovsky argues in support of Chang’s thesis that Mesopotamian civilization represented a “‘breakout’” from the restrictions imposed on inventiveness by the shamanistic concept. The term “Mesopotamian” is used here instead of Lamberg-Karlovsky’s “Near Eastern” because many would consider the civilizations of which he speaks Middle Eastern

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and would restrict Near Eastern to countries bordering on the eastern Mediterranean and Aegean Seas. The "breakout" meant that alongside the temple, the palace acquired a separate, if not wholly independent, existence, which permitted technological advance without the restrictions imposed by religious concepts. However, Lamberg-Karlovsky holds that the main conceptual difference from shamanism lay not in the more inventive approach of Mesopotamian civilization to the material aspects of life but in the appearance at an early date in its royal pronouncements and its laws codes of the concept of the ruler's responsibility to show towards his subjects equity (or equality) and justice (or freedom), as expressed by the Old Babylonian terms misharum and andinarum (II, p. 9 col. 1). He goes on to maintain that this concept of government penetrated not only to Jewish political thought in the Old Testament but also to the legislation of Solon in Athens during the early sixth century B.C. (II, pp. 11 col. 2, 23 col. 2).

Willey's observations on the articles of Chang and Lamberg-Karlovsky enlarge on the "thematic" rather than the artistic or stylistic similarities between the Chinese and the Mayan representations of the continuum of heaven, earth, and the underworld. The Mayan ruler was, if not in his lifetime a god, certainly a divinely protected and inspired absolute ruler. Willey extends "Mayan" to cover the pre-Columbian New World and agrees with Chang that the resemblances between Chinese and New World political concepts long antedate any possible recent pre-Columbian contacts with Asia and went back to a remote Asiatic common past. He further supposes that Mesopotamian society in the period before that for which written pronouncements on equity and justice survive must have been monolithically politico-religious, as both those of China and the New World continued to be. How then, he asks, did the Mesopotamian "breakout" take place? He suggests that in Mesopotamia, open markets developed in which goods did not have to pass through the control of either temple or palace (II, p. 22 col. 3), and this freedom of exchange favored diversity of power between the civil and religious authorities. In the late New World society of the Aztecs, he finds traces of the development of open markets which do not seem to appear in the earlier, Mayan, civilization and never in the Incan. Also the late Aztec state shows concern about the division of authority between priests and king (II, 22 col. 3). The Incan empire, without open markets, remained fixed in the shamanistic concept of government. Willey concludes that the vitality of any political organization depends on the existence within it of counter-balancing bases of power, of political diversification rather than monolithic control, and that this conceptual contrast characterizes not only ancient but also modern political systems.

The following comments will support Chang's view, with which Lamberg-Karlovsky and Willey agree, that the traditional stereotype of the emergence of civilization must be reappraised in the light of consideration of other primitive societies. Essentially, though perhaps not intentionally, Chang posits only two conceptual patterns for primitive civilization, the Chinese, or shamanistic, shared with the New World, and the Mesopotamian, which Lamberg-Karlovsky argues spread through the Near East to Greece and hence is fundamental to the concept of early Western European civilization. But the present comments would argue that in fact the concepts of government in early Greece, though perhaps early subject to Near Eastern (rather than Mesopotamian) influences, were basically distinct and derived from an Indo-European background. If this be so, Chang's implicit two concepts should be enlarged to at least three and probably, as other primitive societies are studied, to more. Also the concepts which led to Greek democracy derived not from the Mesopotamian concept of equity and justice as displayed by the ruler but from an Indo-European concept of the ultimate authority of the assembly of arm-bearing males.

Naturally the difficulty of hazarding any view of the conceptual basis of an original Indo-European society is whether there ever was any one such society. Identification of Indo-European societies is basically linguistic, that a society spoke an Indo-European language. Clearly languages are readily transferable so that community of language is no proof of community of race or of concepts. The following comments are presented by one who is not an anthropological student of primitive societies but a classicist, and even more limitedly a Romanist. The comments will therefore confine themselves to the primitive societies of Greece and Rome, with some reference also to those of the Celts and Germans, i.e. to the Indo-European societies of Western Europe. Moreover no effort will be made to document the views expressed by bibliographical references; the views represent personal opinions.

It seems safe to say that what is known of the primitive societies of these four Indo-European peoples shows marked conceptual similarities between them. Most, of course, is known of primitive Greek society because of the Homeric epics, which probably date in roughly their present form from the late eighth century B.C. This presents the problem whether the society which they described descended reasonably directly from that of Mycenae, of some four centuries earlier, or was introduced by later invaders of Greece. On the evidence of tablets found at Pylos, the Mycenaeans spoke a primitive form of Greek but their society was strongly palace dominated and the palace seems to have concentrated in its own storehouse agricultural and other products. The Mycenaeans cities were overrun after 1000 B.C. by new Greek speaking peoples in what is usually called the Dorian invasion, but which probably also brought into Greece other tribes. Although the Homeric Iliad relates an expedition of Mycenaeans against the city of Troy, in northwest Asia Minor, the society described in the epic seems to differ markedly from that portrayed in the Pylos tablets. Various chiefs or kings were, indeed, united under a common leader, Agamemnon. But Agamemnon is subject not only to the criticism and often the opposition of a council of the other chiefs but also on occasion to those of an assembly of the whole army, i.e. of the arm-bearing males. This clearly

Continued on next page
Possibly a *comitium* or assembly hall for voters in the Roman Forum of Paestum, dating from after the town became a Latin colony in 273 B.C. If correctly identified, it was modeled on the very early *comitium* in the Roman Forum, which is now below ground, though it has been excavated. The voters stood on the steps of which one end of their curve is shown.

Athens: The *Pnyx*, a hill west of the Acropolis where the assembly (*ekklesia*) met. The meeting place was systematized c. 600 B.C. and this picture shows it in its final state of c. 330 B.C. The speakers' platform (*bema*) with steps behind it is in the right center, with the curved assembly area running diagonally left below it.

represents a primitive form of popular control of the chief, for which there is little or no evidence in the societies of China, and China and the New World are taken as a unit balancing Mesopotamia. A similar impression is given by the *Odyssey*, in which, after Odysseus has slaughtered the suitors of his wife, the Ithacans gather to discuss taking vengeance for his act. Relatives of the suitors persuade many to join in an attack on Odysseus and his family, so that Zeus and Athena have to intervene to stop the fray. The poem ends with Athena making a solemn covenant between the two parties, which presumably confirmed Odysseus in the rule but promised that there would be no punishment for the attack (*Od. XXIV lines 412-548*). In these comments it is assumed that the concept of a council of elders and of an assembly of arms-bearing males did not survive from Mycenaean times but was brought into Greece by the "Dorians."

The society of primitive Rome, that of the Latins who were probably the first of the Italic, Indo-European speaking tribes to occupy Italy after 1000 B.C., is known only from much later literary accounts and from primitive concepts which the conservative Latins preserved into the period when their society found literary attestation. Nevertheless, the record suggests that the society comprised a chief, a council of elders or heads of families, and an assembly of arms-bearing males. The position of chief, or king, tended, as probably in Homer, to be hereditary but not necessarily so, and a new chief had to be accepted by the assembly. While the chief himself had certain religious functions and was subject to the advice, and even veto, of priests who claimed to interpret the will of the gods by omens, there is no suggestion that the rule was theocratic or that the religious control was shamanistic.

The societies of the primitive Celts and Germans are known from writers of the late first century B.C. or the first century A.D., chiefly Caesar and Tacitus. By then, both Celts and Germans had been in contact with Greeks and Romans, the Celts in Gaul and the Germans along the Rhine. Their own traditions have been preserved only in much later literary redactions. Nevertheless it looks as though their societies were conceptually like the Greek and Roman, with a tribal organization in which there was a chief, but that he was subject to the control both of a council of elders and of an assembly of arms-bearing males. Thus it is reasonable
to assume that all four went back to a common Indo-European social organization which preceded the separation of these four peoples and their movement into Western Europe. Whether the same could be said of other Indo-European societies — those in Asia Minor or of the Persians or the ‘‘Aryans’’ of India — would require more specialized familiarity with these societies than the author has.

These comments have suggested that the origin of the democratic concept of society did not reach Greece from contact with the Near East or Mesopotamia, where equity and justice were the gift of the ruler, not a right of the ruled, but stemmed from an Indo-European concept of a social organization in which sovereignty might almost be said to rest not with the chief but with the council of elders and the assembly of arms-bearing males. The Indo-European societies of Western Europe, even that of Greece, were far from democratic in any modern sense. But modern democratic theory derives both from the social organization of these four Indo-European peoples and from the expression thereof in the writings of Greeks and Romans. Thus to the two types of social concepts held by the Indo-European peoples of Western Europe. And undoubtedly similar analysis of other societies would add to these three.

There perhaps is material here for an interdisciplinary conference organized by the Department of Anthropology and the Peabody Museum; one which even might prove suitable for an issue of Daedalus, the publication of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

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professionals and amateurs. With the establishment of treaty ports for foreigners and as the technology became more widely accepted, commercial and amateur photography began to flourish by the 1860s in Japan where Americans, Europeans, and Japanese operated studios. Eliphalet Brown of Philadelphia was the official photographer of Commodore Perry’s mission in 1854, and his daguerreotypes were copied by lithographers for official reports of the expedition. In the 1860s, J. G. Gower, an English diplomatic aide and photographer, published Views of Japan. Felix Beato, a naturalized English subject born in Venice, operated a studio out of Yokohama. He created a standard that influenced the work of photographers who followed him. Rather than conveying a purely Westernized conception of Japanese culture, Beato’s beautifully composed scenes and landscapes reflect his sensitivity to the Japanese aesthetic; in the tradition of Japanese woodblock art, he had Japanese artisans meticulously hand-color his photographs. Baron von Stillfried, an Austrian nobleman, bought out Beato’s studio in 1877. Stillfried expressed himself primarily through the creation of dramatic and simply composed portraits. Stillfried’s studio was taken over in 1885 by one of his apprentices, Kusakabe Kimbei who also worked in portraiture. Ogawa Isshin ranks as one of the most prominent Japanese society photographers successfully pursuing scientific, art, and commercial photography concurrently. Lack of documentation for these collections makes accurate identification of subject matter, date, and photographer difficult to ascertain. In some cases, photographers like Stillfried took over a predecessor’s studio and stock. Photographs that have mounts bearing the Stillfried imprint, for example, may have been printed from negatives shot earlier by Beato.

The camera arrived as unrest, a failing government, and foreign pressures to open the country to the West set the stage for sweeping changes that were to affect the course of subsequent Japanese history and culture. While some nineteenth-century images depict Western innovations that began to emerge, on the whole commercial photography did not accurately represent the rapid modernization that took place. Instead, contemporary photographers sensed the necessity to record the disappearing traditional Japanese culture exposing the oriental ‘‘mystique’’ to the West, where photography of foreign lands and peoples had become a popular commodity. Commercial images portrayed a wide spectrum of Japanese life including native ‘‘types’’, occupations, daily activities, landscapes, as well as unusual and exotic subjects. Unlike much Western photographic interpretation of foreign cultures during the nineteenth century, these images attest to a style distinct to Japanese photography; the Japanese themselves seemed to maintain their own identity in front of the camera.

Many photographers during this period used the dry-plate process in which manufactured glass plate negatives could be purchased already sensitized. Most images were produced as albumen prints in which albumen (egg white) secured the image on the surface of the paper rather than in the fibers of the paper itself. Albumen prints exhibited a beautiful, glossy, grainless appearance and were chemically toned to a rich brown image color. Japanese artisans lavished great care in hand-coloring the photographs, using minute brushes to paint in the smallest detail and spending many hours to complete one print. Almost all commercial photographers in Japan carried out this tradition, applying varying degrees of subtlety and color tones. Western markets distributed the prints in a variety of sizes and forms — single images, bound albums, cartes-de-visite (visiting cards), stereographs, et al.

The Peabody Museum houses in its Photographic Archives a collection of over 300 hand-colored nineteenth-century albumen prints made in Japan. The majority of the collection was given to the museum by Mary Lothrop on behalf of her uncle William Sturgis Bigelow (1850-1926) who collected the prints. A graduate of Harvard Medical School, Bigelow practiced medicine at Massachusetts General Hospital and was an instructor of surgery at Harvard Medical School. In the early 1880s he traveled in Japan where he acquired an extensive collection of art. Later his gift of over 26,000 artifacts to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts laid the foundation for their renowned Japanese and Chinese collections. During his travels to the East, Bigelow immersed himself in the

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Young woman asked to pose by photographer. Note Western rings and bracelet. From the studio of Baron von Stillfried. #N31104: H14991.

Blind masseur holding pipe, which he blows into to make his availability known. From the studios of Baron von Stillfried. #N31063: H15032.

Samurai dressed in armor. From the studio of Baron von Stillfried. #N31105: H15058.

Kabuki actor playing maid in the play “Maid of the Dojo Temple” (Musume Dojoji), in her true form as a serpent. #N31103: H15198.
study of Buddhism, participating in a priest's regular educational course of study. In 1908 he received from the Emperor of Japan the Order of the Rising Sun with rank of commander.

Bigelow's donation to the Peabody Museum represents a fine collection of nineteenth-century Japanese images. The photographs show little signs of fading and are in excellent condition after the passage of a century of time. Many of the prints have positive identification verifying that they come from Baron von Stillfried's studio. Visitors to the archives are drawn to the collection for many reasons, inspired and intrigued perhaps by the delicate and subtle hand-coloring, beautiful landscapes, compelling portraits, record of vanished significance, the Peabody Museum Archives, Peabody Museum, 11 Divinity Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138 Phone: 617-495-3329.

Gunter, continued from page 5

difficult to imagine that the Ntumu blades were anything but fragile as tools or weapons.

The Smithsonian collection also contains Fang iron currency from Gabon, which is clearly symbolic and resembles the Bene bundles in size, although the shape is broader at the tip.

The pattern of distribution shown on the map in Figure 1 suggests that currencies circulated within quite defined regions, larger than clan territories, but considerably more restricted than either the longer distance trade routes of the end of the nineteenth century or the ethno-linguistic boundaries of the Bulu-Beti-Fang group as a whole. The varying quantities of metal in the kinds of bikie, and the different possibilities for fungibility from use to exchange in the four regions, raises the question of variability in the social processes of production and control. These internal and external dynamics were of central concern in the fieldwork. Let me simply describe here the use of the photographs in the field, and outline some overall conclusions about the place of iron currencies in local and regional exchange.

First, a brief note on the human factor. Informants such as Metso and Enama (Figures 5 and 6) were well over seventy years old, and have the very poor eyesight characteristic of the populations in onchocerciasis-endemic areas. Use of the photographs had to be combined with verbal descriptions in some cases, simply because they could not make out the details. With this proviso, however, the photographs performed two important functions. The first was the obvious one, that they fixed the topic of conversation in unambiguous terms.

Secondly, people's responses revealed their level of expertise on the topic very quickly. For example, Metso Elias is the son of a famous blacksmith, Ngoa Asse, who died in 1973, at the age it is said, of 120. People in a village about 20 km. away spontaneously mentioned him, over ten years after his death, as the pre-eminent blacksmith in the whole area. Metso was the only expert interviewed who recognized all the types of bikie, and could place them geographically, down into the Ntumu area, about 150 km. away. Enama Michel by contrast, was far more knowledgeable about inter-group exchange between the Western Eton and the Bassa, than about the production of metal goods within the area. Other elders, highly knowledgeable on other aspects of culture, often knew about only one or other aspect of the metal currency system: payments and prices for goods and services, sources of ore, and so on. Differential recognition of the items and the terms for them therefore provided some guide to differential areas of knowledge. It is worth noting that many people only one generation younger who attended the interviews said that they were hearing some of the historical accounts and even some of the terminology for the first time.

The patchiness of older people's knowledge is partly a function of their age at the time that bikie went into demise; this seems to have been a fairly rapid process in the immediate post-World War I period, at exactly the time at which the Schwab collection was made. But it also reflects the degree to which pre-colonial Beti expertise was specialized. This, in turn, lends circumstantial evidence to one of the findings, namely that in the late nineteenth century bikie mediated a whole range of local exchanges, including payment for specialist goods and services as well as bridewealth, much more than they facilitated inter-regional trade. Currency type, bridewealth marriage, the exchange of specialist services and dialect may describe fairly discrete social and economic regions, regions integrated by exchange rather than by genealogical charter or ecological circumcision.

In such local systems, access to wealth was not as tightly controlled by the elders as gerontocratic models of social organization would suggest. There were ways for other men to get a share of the iron produced at the smelt, and to earn it through personal prowess, whether in physical strength and dexterity, intellectual or oratorical gifts, or musical and artistic achievements.

The corollary is that exchange across regional boundaries was generally mediated in other ways than through currency, and therefore set up other internal dynamics. Enama described the alliance system through which the Beyembassa sub-group of the Eton more or less monopolized the growing salt trade between the northern Eton and the Bassa, who were intermediaries with the sources on the coast. Important headmen of the two groups ex-

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changed sisters, without bridewealth, to establish ties of affinity. These relationships guaranteed equality and safe passage in trade, salt going in one direction and mainly livestock in the other. Within the Eton area the distribution of the salt was carried out through clientage and relationships of inequality, also cemented by marriage. The Beyembassa demanded bridewealth for their daughters, but took wives from clients, without payment, in return for access to salt. By virtue of the salt monopoly, wealth of all kinds could accumulate far faster than the internal exchange system, based on currency, could allow.

Marriage without bridewealth was therefore associated with the egalitarian relations of sister-exchange, and with the inequalities of monopoly control of valuable trade items. Bikie marriage was associated with a competitive struggle to accumulate. All three modes coexisted in the Beti exchange system, the emphasis shifting from one to the other over space and time. The material base and social implications of this kind of change must surely depend on the kind of currency, its origin (imported, or home-produced), its fungibility, and the rate of loss from the system. Changes in currency use and in marriage are mutually implicated in Africa, and perhaps thereby constitute indicators of political shifts in the flexible, mobile and competitive social systems characteristic of the Iron Age and the Bantu Expansion.

A final note on the Schwab collection: one mysterious item collected in 1937 is a set of five huge spear-points, attached between two sticks, said to be "an imitation" of old iron money (Figure 7). They are 27 cm. long, the five together weighing 1.8 lbs., heavy, blunt, the neck between blade and haft decoratively twisted in a way totally unremissentive of other bikie or other spearheads and blades. They were purchased at a fair in Yaoundé, the capital city. According to Metso, this fair was the last occasion for which native iron was smelted by the old techniques. It had been about ten years since his father, Ngor Asse, had last smelted iron, but the colonial chief requisitioned a special batch for the administrative exposition. Besides perhaps reflecting some personal artistic agenda of the smith, these dramatically odd bikie seem to indicate both past and future. They can be seen as a final flourish on an ancient technology in rapid demise. But their exaggerated size, set free from convention, also reminds one that the pre-colonial currency system was a powerful institution, whose values, pried away from the indigenous politics of the pursuit of akuma, still mark many aspects of rural domestic life.

Acknowledgments.

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On theories of order and justice in the development of civilization

DAVID H.P. MAYBURY-LEWIS

David Maybury-Lewis was born in Hyderabad, Pakistan and grew up in England. He received his bachelor’s degree from Cambridge University and his doctorate in social anthropology from Oxford. He is currently Professor of Anthropology at Harvard, where he has taught since 1960. He served as Chairman of the Department of Anthropology from 1973 to 1981.

Prof. Maybury-Lewis is an expert on the Indian peoples of lowland South America. He directed the Harvard-Central Brazil Project which resulted in a series of monographs that broke new ground in South American ethnology. He has also been engaged for many years on research into the effects of development of tribal peoples and ethnic groups. He is President of Cultural Survival, an organization he founded in 1972 to analyze these processes and develop ways in which underprivileged ethnic groups could have a say in their own futures. He has a continuing interest in Brazil, where he has studied the elites of the state of Pernambuco as well as taught at various universities and co-founded the post-graduate program in social anthropology in Rio de Janeiro.


These comments are prompted by a recent discussion in Symbols between my colleagues K.C. Chang, C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky and Gordon Willey. Chang suggested that the rulers of ancient Chinese society acquired power and wealth, each sustaining the other, through their "monopoly of high shamanism which enabled (them) to gain critical access to divine and ancestral wisdom, the basis of their political authority." (Chang Symbols Spring/Fall 1984:2). He further argued that this derivation of wealth and power from spiritual authority was not unique to China, but could be found in MesoAmerica as well. He concluded from this that in the "Maya-China continuum" the rise of civilization had been fundamentally different from our conventional wisdom about how civilizations develop. Our view, he suggested, was generalized from Western civilization, whose characteristics are derived from the special circumstances of the ancient Near Eastern civilizations from which it emerged. It remained to be explained then how the Near Eastern civilizations had broken out of the preceding pattern, which probably resembled the Maya-China continuum.

Lamberg-Karlovsky suggested that the "break-out" was not due to technological innovations, but rather to the development of a political ideology that was "vastly different from that of ancient China". Mesopotamia, for most of its three thousand year history, consisted of city states that were rarely united into an empire. In the cities there was constant tension between the rival powers of temple and palace. The tenuous unity of Mesopotamia was marked by the royal decrees of misharum and andurum that at intervals proclaimed freedom and equality throughout the king's domains. These decrees were usually pronounced during the New Year's festival that reaffirmed the order of the cosmos and reconstituted the equilibrium of society so that it mirrored the cosmic balance. The decrees, pronounced by the king in his role as the earthly steward of the gods, were considered essential for the maintenance of both cosmic and social orders (Symbols Spring 1985:9).

Lamberg-Karlovsky emphasized that the kings of Mesopotamia were not absolute monarchs. They were the arbiters of timeless and impersonal law, handed down by the gods, and which they flouted at their own risk, for the gods could punish and dethrone kings who disobeyed it. He saw in this social contract between the rulers and the ruled, through which the king guarantees the liberty and equality of his subjects, the leitmotiv of the political ideology that led to the Near Eastern breakout and subsequently influenced the development of Western civilization.

Willey then pointed out that Chang's Maya-China continuum could well be called the Chinese-New World pattern, since its characteristics were shared by MesoAmerican societies other than the Maya and by the Inca empire. He suggested that the Near Eastern departure from this common civilizational substratum might be due to markets. It was their emergence and development that provided the social diversification necessary for the sharing of power, Continued on next page

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so that absolute monarchy gave way to royal rule under law, with its concomitant checks and balances (Symbols Spring 1985).

The discussion has to this point focused on the cosmologies and social theories of different civilizations, on their ideas of the relationship between cosmic and social order and their efforts to maintain equilibrium in both. This is what prompts me to enter the debate, for my recent work on societies that show an overriding commitment to dualism at the systemic level in their cosmologies or social institutions has shown that this too results from a striving for equilibrium.

The systematic use of polarities is widespread in human cosmology and philosophy. It is also frequently used to bifurcate societies into complementary and antithetical halves or "moieties." Moiety systems, especially exogamous ones that divide entire societies into intermarrying halves, are such a strikingly exotic form of social organization that they have attracted a great deal of anthropological attention. Yet recent research has shown that they are not a class of phenomena that it is useful to isolate for analysis (Maybury-Lewis and Almagor Dual Organization, in press). Their character and meaning is everywhere determined by the wider conceptual and social systems of which they form part. Moieties are simply one possible way of institutionalizing a rigorously binary way of looking at the whole scheme of things.

A comparative study of societies which make systematic use of binary cosmologies, binary social classifications and binary social arrangements shows that they are all concerned with the maintenance of cosmic and social equilibrium. They may feel that there is an immutable order in the grand scheme of things, but this is a cosmic equilibrium which offers small consolation to human beings, for humans are vulnerable to conflicting forces that could unbalance their individual and social lives in the short run. They therefore use their binary systems as a means of controlling the forces of chaos and conflict and maintaining a dynamic tension both in the cosmos and in their social lives.
These conclusions concerning the significance of dual organization are drawn from contemporary ethnographic studies of relatively small-scale societies in North and South America, East Africa, Indonesia, Melanesia and Australia. Yet we know that such systems were also found in earlier and much larger empires. Frankfort argues (Kingship and the Gods pp 19-22) that in ancient Egypt the Pharaoh had to be styled as King of Upper and Lower Egypt for cosmological and philosophical, rather than for historical or geographical reasons. "The dualistic forms of Egyptian Kingship," he wrote, "did not result from historical incidents. They embody the peculiarly Egyptian thought that a totality comprises opposites." The Pharaoh was not only known as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, but also as Horus-and-Seth, thus embodying the gods whose implacable hostility to each other was the very symbol of conflict. He therefore contained within himself, and thus reconciled the twin poles of opposition itself.

This idea that a totality is made up of the synthesis of opposites is not, as Frankfort thought, a peculiarly Egyptian idea. On the contrary, it is the essence of dual organization, the incidence of which is virtually world wide. There is some evidence that early Chinese communities were organized along dualistic lines, reflecting the organization both of the cosmos and the state (Chang "Some dualistic phenomena in Shang Society," Journal of Asian Studies 24, 1964). Similarly, the Inca empire and its constituent communities, particularly the capital city of Cuzco, were divided between the Hanan (Upper) and Hurin (Lower) moieties, a social antithesis that corresponded to an opposition in the Incaic cosmology.

Dual organization is thus a kind of world view that links the social order with the cosmic order. It is a theory of equilibrium which, if put into practice, attempts to maintain social peace by modelling it on cosmic harmony. In relatively small societies, that are not subject to the central authority of a state, the effect of dual organization is to guarantee justice, since it constrains the social system within the parameters of cosmic equilibrium.

This delicate balance is threatened by state formation, unless the rulers themselves subscribe to the theory and put some form of it into practice. This, I suggest, is what happened in ancient China, ancient Egypt and the Inca empire. The absolutism of their rulers has to be seen in context. These ancient empires were organized along dualistic lines and ruled by divine kings, who linked human society with the cosmos while mediating in their persons the contending forces that could wreak havoc on earth.

The passage from dual organization in a tribal society to an empire ordered on dualistic principles is, however, accompanied by important changes other than the obvious ones of the greater size and diversity of the imperial polity. In a small scale society the theory and practice of dual organization acts as a restraint. It prevents the society temporarily (and such temporary stages can last for hundreds of years) from transforming itself. In an empire, the ideology is no longer sufficient restraint. It has to be supported by force. We are therefore dealing with the passage from a controlling ideology to an ideology backed up by control.

It seems to me that the essential difference between the Mesopotamian empire and those of early China or Incaic Peru lies in this element of control. Lamberg-Karlovský wrote of the seminal importance of the social contract between the king and his subjects in Mesopotamia. It could be argued that there was a similar understanding between the Pharaoh or the Inca and his people. Yet the Pharaoh and the Inca exercised sufficient control over their empires to prevent any successful challenge being made to their divinity. The situation in Mesopotamia was different. As Lamberg-Karlovski pointed out, Mesopotamia infrequently achieved any unity superordinate to its city states. The king who ruled over the shifting empire did not therefore claim divinity. He was the steward of the gods on earth and liable to suffer their punishment in the form of defeat and dethronement if he disobeyed their laws, an idea that would have been unthinkable in the other empires we have discussed.

What we see taking place in Mesopotamia, then, is the beginning of a long process of secularization in which the political realm is progressively detached from the cosmological. Originally, societies were thought to be governed by the principles obtaining throughout the cosmos. Such ideas became the official ideology of the state in empires ruled by divine kings. Even a diarchic ideology, such as the famous opposition between Mitra and Varuna analyzed by Dumézil (Mitra-Varuna 1948), still deals with the synthesis of cosmic oppositions and the earthly consequences of it. As soon as it is admitted however that social harmony depends on a balance between sacred and secular principles, then the stage is set for a struggle between their respective protagonists.

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Bororo village plan

Central Brazilian village.

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I assume that rulers insist on their divine right to rule whenever they can. Roman emperors proclaimed themselves gods when there was a great deal of secularism and cynicism among their subjects, but their divinity was neither as effective nor as durable as that of the Pharaohs. Nor did his insistence on the divine right of kings save Charles I of England from being beheaded. It all comes back to control. The divine rulers of the early empires governed people who for the most part believed in their divinity and for the rest could be coerced. Secularization and the dilution of royal power that went with it started in a region where that power could not in any case be despottically exercised.

Why not? Willey suggested that markets served to diversify wealth and power and that their weak development (or absence, as in the Inca empire) could account for the concentration of politico-religious power. It seems to me that this is a critically important feature of the systems we are discussing, but that it could as well be a symptom as a cause. Presumably the remarkable absence of markets in Incaic Peru was not due to lack of know-how or commercial skill, but rather to the fact that the economic life of the empire was organized from the top down in such a way as to exclude them, and the rulers had the power to enforce the system.

I find myself therefore in the curious position of seeming to search for a more material explanation of the Near Eastern break-out than those implicitly or explicitly advanced by my archaeological colleagues Chang and Lamberg-Karlovsky. I am persuaded by Chang's analysis of early China that there are indeed marked differences between the development of this civilization and that of the west, which call into question some of the conventional views of how civilizations develop. I am also persuaded by Lamberg-Karlovsky's discussion of just how Mesopotamia differed from the Chinese-Middle American continuum. I am still uncertain though as to why the break-out took place in the Near East with such momentous consequences for us all. If I am right in thinking that it may have been simply because Mesopotamian rulers had not the power to back up either their divinity or their despotic rule, this merely leads to another question. What were the peculiar circumstances of this region that enabled it to exercise imperial influence, without the absolute powers that were successfully claimed by rulers in other parts of the world? The answer to this question may bring back into the discussion the material circumstances that I, like Willey, am seeking; not, of course, to the exclusion of the ideological considerations that were so ably set forth by my colleagues, but to be used in conjunction with them.

New appointments

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Rosemary A. Joyce

Hays Dissertation Fellowship, and the Organization of American States, result in the survey, mapping and excavation of the largest single community of the pre-Columbian Ulua Valley. The findings, presented in a series of articles in press, redefined the understanding of relations with the Maya Lowlands, documenting little direct contact with the site of Copan and an unprecedented interaction with the western Maya Lowlands in the Terminal Classic Period.

Dr. Joyce's current research includes continuation of study of ceramics from the Ulua Valley, including important largely unpublished collections in the Peabody Museum. This research addresses the relationship between the evolution of ceramic complexes in the Ulua Valley and of social organization during the Classic Period. She is also co-organizer of a proposed symposium for the 1986 meetings of the Society for American Archaeology focused on concepts of rulership in pre-Columbian Mesoamerica, and is developing a study of iconography of bloodletting in the Mesoamerican Formative Period with her symposium co-organizer, Dr. Susan Gillespie of Illinois State University.

Thomas P. Rohlen

environments and how they compare today. A study of relationships in crisis and also of national differences in industrial organization, it carries significant messages for those interested in the rising economic competition between the two countries.

Prof. Rohlen's professional interests include extending anthropological analyses to modern organizations and to agencies of socialization in modern societies. His future plans include a study of Japanese science and one of preschool learning.

John Tomenchuk

Eskimos. The paper was published in The American Journal of Physical Anthropology and has stimulated considerable international interest.

During his stay at the Peabody Museum, Dr. Tomenchuk will be developing microcomputer software for at least two types of microcomputers. The purpose of the software is to reduce the data recording and computation time involved in the use of his particular use-wear approach.

Peabody Museum Association

You are invited to join the Peabody Museum Association. As a member of the PMA, you will be part of both a famous teaching and research institution dedicated to the study of man and culture and a Museum whose unique collections include works of primitive art and archaeology from all over the world. PMA members are friends of the Museum and support it with their annual membership. Members are invited to exhibition openings, receptions, special events, lectures, films, and so forth. They enjoy special privileges at the Tozzer Library and a discount on Museum publications and at the Peabody Museum Shop. Membership includes a subscription to Symbols. Categories of membership are: Student ($15), Individual ($20), Family ($30), Contributing ($50), Sustaining ($100 or more), Fellow ($500 or more).
Glynn Isaac died on October 5th after a fierce battle with an as yet undiagnosed fever. He was 47. His death leaves a gaping hole in the field of palaeolithic archaeology and the study of human evolution, both in the profession at large and within the Department and Museum. We have lost a wonderful friend as well as a close colleague and teacher. Personally, I find his death less comprehensible, less acceptable, with each day.

Glynn's work spanned an enormous range. His deep knowledge of the human archaeological and fossil records, of primate and human behavior, and of geology, palaeontology, and palaeoecology could without hyperbole be described as unmatched. He was co-director, with Richard Leakey, of the Koobi Fora Research Project. He is perhaps best known for his ideas about early hominid social behavior, especially the role of food sharing, and more recently for his concern with the evolution of human diet. But his interests were so wide and his intellect so keen that there were few issues in palaeoanthropology on which he did not have an informed and insightful opinion. His breadth, sharpness, and vision; his personal qualities of integrity, fairness, humor, and plain good sense; and his charisma as a teacher were reflected in the range of research questions pursued by his students: traditional archaeological projects, issues of lithic technology, and of site formation, and a fascinating and expanding range of actualistic studies in the living world of today.

His later years were increasingly marked by invitations to give distinguished and prestigious lectures. When one representative of "the field" was needed, more often than not it would be Glynn. Glynn also had a profound influence on the structure of the field. He was a founder member of FROM (Foundation for Research into the Origins of Man), recently merged with the L.S.B. Leakey Foundation. He was an active member of the excited young group that planned the four broad research programs within IPSHO (International Program for the Study of Human Origins). Both on and off the NSF Anthropology Program panel he was a leader in shaping wide ranging research and funding strategies within palaeoanthropology. And most recently he drafted part of the anthropology portion of a National Research Council document on the Social Sciences and education.

Glynn was born in South Africa, the son of two distinguished botanists. He was one of identical twins. (One always knew when Rhys was around because "Glynn" wouldn't return one's 'hello')! His early interests in archaeology and evolution became integrated in a deep involvement in the study of human behavioral evolution through the archaeological record. After a first degree in zoology and geology he left South Africa on a four year Cambridge fellowship to read palaeolithic archaeology for a second bachelor's degree. We met for the first time at Cambridge, in the shower at Peterhouse, in late September 1959; muddy, tired, thirsty - both of us relatively unsuccessful cross-country runners.

While at Cambridge Glynn also met Anne Barbara Miller, as he put it, "at the bottom of an archaeological hole in Derbyshire." They were married soon after, and have shared not only food ever since.

After two years at Cambridge, Glynn was surprised and delighted to be offered an appointment in Kenya by Dr. Louis Leakey. Instead of writing a dissertation on European prehistory, Glynn remained an Africanist. He and Barbara spent much of the following four years at the beautiful rift valley stone age site of Olorgesailie. In 1966, after a year at Cambridge dissertation writing, the growing Isaac family moved to Berkeley. Glynn was an increasingly critical participant there in the growth of a superb interdisciplinary program in archaeology, palaeontology, and geology.

Glynn and I had maintained personal and professional contacts over the years, and had long talked of eventually being together to build "the" program. In 1983 that happened. Glynn moved here two years after I moved from Yale. It is only moderate hubris to claim that we were indeed, with our other colleagues, building "the" program!

Now he is dead. Programs are unimportant. I have lost a dear friend; an exasperating, lovable, over-active, driving force, the like of which one so rarely sees. We shall, of course, recover. But it will never be quite the same again.

What more is there to say? For an epitaph I can think of nothing better than what Oliver Cromwell's servant said of him, over three hundred years ago, when that great man died: "A larger soul has seldom dwelt in a house of clay."

David Pilbeam
Report from the field
by Charles Lincoln, graduate student in Anthropology

We finally have permission to excavate here at Chichén Itzá, after one season of "planning-phase reconnaissance" and one season of mapping. We have been doing sample excavations only, and have continued detailed mapping, in the southern sector of the site, popularly called "Old Chichén." Of course, the truth is that Old Chichén is no older than "New Chichén," it's just a "suburban residential" zone, though still including various temples and civil-administrative buildings. We have been focusing on comparing the various terrace-platforms on which most structures are built and on dating those platforms. We have funds from the National Geographic Society and private sponsorship, as well as the Peabody Museum, which has also supplied some of the survey equipment.

Harvard has had an interest in Chichén Itzá for almost a hundred years, ever since Charles P. Bowditch and Alfred M. Tozzer supported American Consul Edward Herbert Thompson, who owned the Hacienda Chichén Itzá at the time, in his researches at Chichén Itzá, most famously the dredging of the Sacred Cenote. Alfred M. Tozzer was interested in Chichén Itzá for the better part of his career, as Peabody Memoirs 11 and 12 elegantly attest. His students, including George C. Vaillant and Samuel K. Lothrop, worked at the site and published major studies of its history and artifacts. Vaillant's 1927 doctoral dissertation was largely based on his own excavations in Old Chichén (which revealed even so long ago that Old Chichén was the same age as New Chichén), and was also the first in a long line of Harvard Ph.D. dissertations on ceramic sequences in the Maya area. Lothrop wrote Peabody Memoir 10-1 on the metal artifacts from the Cenote of Sacrifice. Of course, the originator and director of the Carnegie Institution of Washington Chichén Itzá Project (1923-1937) was also a famous Harvard man, graduated from the Peabody Museum: Sylvanus Griswold Morley (B.A. 1904, M.A. 1908). More recently Tatiana Proskouriakoff wrote Memoir 10-2 on the Chichén Itzá Cenote Jades, and Clemency Coggins is writing Memoir 10-3 on the other artifacts from the Cenote. Another Harvard graduate and last student of Tozzer's, David H. Kelley, made the initial steps in the decipherment of the hieroglyphic inscriptions at Chichén Itzá, including the first phonetic reading of the name of any ancient Maya ruler: Kakupacal. In short, although ours is a new project, Harvard at Chichén Itzá is old news.

IN THE WAKE OF CAPTAIN COOK
Journey to the Northwest Coast
June 28 - July 17, 1986
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology
and the Harvard Alumni Association

Museum curators and staff

A number of scholars have come to the Peabody Museum to consult with Dr. Ian W. Brown on material selection and documentation for the planned renovation of the Hall of the North American Indian. They include: Dr. Bruce J. Bourque, Main State Museum; Prof. Bill Holm, Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum; Dr. Margot Liberty, Trail End Historic Center, Wyoming; Dr. James W. Van Stone, Field Museum, Chicago; and Dr. Joe Ben Wheat, Univ. of Colorado, Boulder.

Lea S. McChesney, Administrator of Exhibitions, gave a lecture on "Changing American Indian Craft Traditions: Hopi history through Hopi Pottery" at the Rochester Museum and Science Center in March. She was chair and moderator for "From a Ripple to a Wave? Collection-Sharing in the New Century," at the annual meetings of the American Association of Museums held in Detroit in June.