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Eighteen years before the past: The rodent record of the last 18 million years in Pakistan, 1973 to 1991

LAWRENCE J. FLYNN, Assistant Director

Lawrence J. Flynn, Research Associate in Biological Anthropology, was appointed Assistant Director in July, 1990. See page 6.

Fossil rats in the Peabody Museum? What has this got to do with anthropology? It has a lot to do with evolutionary biology, and where this concerns the evolution of primates, the relevance of rodents to anthropology becomes more apparent. This relationship is perhaps nowhere more intimate than in the fossil record of Pakistan, where Siwalik sedimentary deposits preserve the remains of large-bodied hominoid primates side-by-side with those of diverse rodents. During 18 years (1973-1981) field parties under the direction of David Pilbeam have studied the Siwaliks to develop a modern picture of the ancient faunas of which these animals were members.

"Siwaliks" is a term applied to the thick accumulation of layers of sediment shed from the Hindu Kush - Himalayan mountain front and preserving remains of terrestrial animals. The Himalayan mountain belt developed during the Cenozoic Era with subduction of the Indian Plate under the Eurasian Plate, but it was not until the latter part of that era (Miocene, Pliocene, and Pleistocene epochs) that the Indian Subcontinent became extensively emergent, with the dominant mode of sedimentation being terrestrial. As the terrestrial fossil record goes, the Siwaliks are exceptional because they include many fossiliferous horizons (time lines) in one area, spanning millions of years. Given certain ground rules for interpretation, this permits a direct historical reading of evolution and faunal change.

The Siwaliks are also important because they preserve fine remains of hominoids, the group of primates to which we, ourselves belong. Among the rich vertebrates known from the Siwaliks for over a century (Cautley, 1835), large hominoids have figured prominently (Pilgrim 1915, Pilbeam 1982). The most common, apparently time-successive species are assigned to *Sivapithecus* (Pilbeam 1986; Kelley and Pilbeam 1986; Kelley 1988) and are often considered related to the modern orang-utan (Ward and Pilbeam, 1983; Ward and Brown, 1986), but this issue is not settled (Pilbeam et al., 1990).

The Pilbeam research group is multidisciplinary in its approach to understanding Miocene hominoids as biological entities living with other animals in a real world. The project embraces many sciences that are not strictly anthropological, but are clearly relevant and further the goal of getting the most out of the available record. The result is synergistic: the combined historical construct has many more facets of information and provides a deeper understanding than the sum of knowledge gained from each subdiscipline in isolation. Our specialists are experts in stratigraphy, tectonics, taphonomy, paleontology, isotope chemistry, and geochronology. Paleomagnetic reversal stratigraphy is the geochronological tool that provides precise time control for the Siwalik sequence (Opdyke et al. 1979; Tauxe and Opdyke, 1982; Johnson et al. 1985; Flynn et al. 1990). The time embraced by the Siwalik deposits in the Potwar Plateau is the last 18 million years. It is a record of deposition that is continuous on the scale of 105 years (some rock representing each 100,000 years), and a record of fossil horizons that is nearly that dense.

Why Rats?

"Rats," of course is the vernacular for a vast array of small, warm, furry four-legged critters that more properly are called "rodents." The Rodentia are a separate, defined group on a par with the Primates, both being Orders of Mammalia. Rodents are by far the most diverse group of mammals and collectively account for a significant proportion of biomass. In any study of living ecological communities they play a significant role. In reconstructing the paleoecology of *Sivapithecus* they are equally important. They provide clues to the richness of the paleofauna, and the kind of habitat in which *Sivapithecus* lived. Rodents are, indeed, diverse — diverse in number of species and in adaptive types (arboreal, burrowing, grazing, seed-eating). The fossil record includes examples of all these. Some species are more abundant than others in nature, and so too in fossil sites, although perhaps for more than one reason. Abundance patterns may reveal interesting aspects in the fossil record, for example an increase in forest types might indicate the spread of that habitat. The pattern of retrieval of rare taxa may be informative: finding them may indicate good sampling of the fossil biota or special conditions in sites where found. On the scale of millions of years, taxa may be long term representatives of widespread or endemic populations, they may be immigrants from other zoogeographic provinces, or they may be temporary inhabitants. The study area may faithfully record the evolution of a group, or preserve tantalizing and confusing snapshots of history.

When concentrations of rodent fossils are found, all of these examples may be in evidence. Rodents, by their diversity, offer many avenues of
research: phylogeny, paleoecology, community analysis, biogeography, functional morphology. Because they are small, you can carry a lot of rodent teeth from the field or between museums in your pocket. When found in concentration, sample sizes can be quite good, adequate for assessing the range of natural variation within populations, or for comparing populations through time and measuring rate of change (or lack thereof) in features such as size.

**Early Finds**

Many fossil vertebrates are found by prospecting the surfaces of exposures, that is by paleontologists on the move. This fact leads to understandable underrepresentation of small mammals in collections made only by this means. Nonetheless, rodents, albeit mostly big ones like porcupines and bamboo rats, were found mid-19th century in the Indian Subcontinent. By the mid-20th century a few dozen specimens were known, mainly jaws of bamboo rats, but also remains of several other groups. Eighteen years ago when Pilbeam and his colleagues first saw the Potwar Siwaliks, they too found rodents in the same proportions. If one were to guess then, bamboo rats would have seemed to have been the dominant rodents of the Indian Subcontinent.

Then in 1974 a young man from Arizona brought a new technique to the Siwaliks. Louis Jacobs and his professor, Everett Lindsay, were interested in dating and better characterizing classic Siwalik faunas, and the most poorly sampled aspect of those faunas was the micromammal component. They applied Lindsay’s technique of screenwashing, which had been so successful in the western United States (Lindsay, 1972). Jacobs located the exact horizons where small bone was preserved, selectively sampled bulk quantities, soaked the sediment until it disaggregated, and sieved it by agitation through boxes with screen bottoms. The residue included bone and teeth - jewels to the fossil hunter.

This revolutionized micromammal studies in the Siwaliks and brought whole new dimensions for investigation to Pilbeam’s project. Jacobs (1978) showed that any of the Siwalik formations, even some of the very beds that produce hominoids, have the potential to produce micromammals. Among the bones and rocks in his screen boxes, glistered the shiny teeth that he sought. These represented mainly rodents, but also fish, frog, snake, lizard, insectivores, bats, tree shrews, prosimians, and almost anything else. The large bamboo rats were present, but a gratifying diversity of a half dozen other rodent families occurred as well. With size bias removed by this collecting technique, bamboo rats turned out to be a minor component in the rodent fauna - by far, the dominant rodents in the late Miocene turned out to be “rats” (Family Muridae).

**Faunas**

One of the initial goals in collecting Siwalik microfaunas was, of necessity, discovery. What were the small inhabitants of the Indian Subcontinent like? The rodents of the classic Miocene Siwaliks were extinct genera, but modern to the extent that all of the families are living. Muridae and Cricetidae (mouse and hamster are respective members) were diverse and common; Rhizomyidae and Sciuridae (bamboo rat and squirrel) were moderately diverse; Gliridae, Thryonomyidae and Ctenodactylidae (dormouse, cane rat and gundi) were uncommon and known by one or two species each. Many of these show affinity to living Asian taxa, but some present interesting biogeographic stories. For instance, the cane rats and gundis are strictly African today. The former were temporary invaders from Africa; the latter were of ancient Asian origin, but disappeared there by the later Cenozoic.

Thus it turns out that the Siwalik rodents were, by and large, Miocene versions of present Asian rodents with several African kinds thrown in, and a few rare surprises. At a finer level the interesting genera and species were mainly endemic to the Indian Subcontinent. There were a few shrews and hedgehogs as well, but no moles. Lagomorphs (bunnies and pikas) were also absent until the late Miocene. There were also lorises and tree shrews, both still present in southern Asia, and an archaic lower primate in the earlier part of the sequence.

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This was the assemblage associated with the Miocene *Sivapithecus*, which appeared abruptly in the Chinji Formation, about 12.5 million years ago. *Sivapithecus* took up residence in the Indian Subcontinent for about 5 million years and the small mammals help to show the nature of the biological community of which it was a part. We now have good small mammal samples from throughout the Potwar sequence dated at 18.3 to 5.5 million years ago. They provide a picture of Siwalik faunas of which *Sivapithecus* was a temporary member, from long before its introduction to long after its disappearance.

The density of sampling in time is on the order of several hundred thousand for micromammals. Recently John Barry et al. (1990) looked at micromammal change through time at half million year intervals with a 1987 data set. There were several holes in the Potwar record. Now our sampling is more complete and some intervals are well represented by several good localities. Jacobs et al. (1990) and Barry et al. (in press) use the small mammal record to examine how faunas change. There is considerable evolution and replacement of taxa, but no wholesale turnover. There are times of heightened origination or extinction of taxa, but these are not necessarily simultaneous with each other or across groups. These are important observations because they constitute one of the only direct data sources bearing on exactly how mammalian faunas change.

In the case of the middle Miocene Siwaliks, which may or may not be typical for other places and other times, the vertebrate fauna showed general inertia or stability through time, successive assemblages not differing much from previous ones. There was continual appearance and disappearance of taxa, but evidently community structure did not change radically. Relatively greater rates of appearances were related more to physical factors permitting immigration of species, such as lowered sea level (Barry et al. 1985), as opposed to climatic change or biotic interactions.

This picture changed somewhat in the later Miocene, around 7 million years ago. By this time rates of originations and extinctions were both elevated. The vertebrates suggest that climate was the important factor in this. *Sivapithecus*, tree shrews, lorises, dormice, arboreal squirrels disappeared; grazing antelope, rabbits, gerbils, grazing bamboo rats appeared. Paleocological implications are that arboreal habitat decreased while grasslands spread. We suspect that some trees and grasses were present throughout the Miocene, but that the grassland component spread with increasing aridity (Flynn and Jacobs 1982). Trees probably persisted along water courses and perhaps locally in some areas later than in the Potwar. The Pleistocene saw a different small mammal fauna, but there was no indication of cold conditions about 1.6 million years ago (Jacobs & Flynn, 1981).

A radically different microfauna preceded the classic Siwalik assemblages. Our oldest Potwar Plateau sites, in excess of 18 million years, preserve basically typical Siwalik forms but with a single rare rodent assignable to an extinct family. Southwest of this region, on the edge of Baluchistan, Pakistan, our colleague I.U. Cheema (Pakistan Museum of Natural History) and later Lindsay found older microsites composed entirely of archaic rodents. We have not yet reconstructed the details, but within the space of a few million years at the most, native rodent fauna experienced nearly 100% turnover at the species, genus and family level! This degree of change finds no parallel at any time anywhere else on the globe.

**Lineages**

A particularly interesting phenomenon among Siwalik rodents defies explanation at the moment. Given a record that is densely sampled through time, certain taxa can be seen to replace others, but why do they? Take the Family Muridae, which arose about 15 million years ago, for example. The early murid *Antemus* was common in 14 to 13 million year old faunas, but it was not until about 11 million years ago that murids began to displace another group of rodents, the Cricetidae, in numbers of individuals. Within two million years the Cricetidae declined to a rare group sporadically represented in the fossil record.

What happened? Was the replacement an artifact — the fall of one group completely unassociated with the rise of another? Were the murids simply more successful, either in a changing environment, or more directly, by virtue of some advantage? Murids do have a specialized chewing apparatus with respect to cricetids, but this hasn’t given them an advantage over cricetids at northern latitudes. Did individuals (and species) actively compete for resources and directly drive cricetid species to extinction? We do not presently know how to choose among these alternatives; it is perhaps no easier to do so for living organisms.

The phenomenon of replacement is seen at lower taxonomic levels as well. Species of the rhizomyid genus *Kanisamys* are time successive, but there is overlap of several hundred thousand years in the ranges of one pair. Abundance data may provide circumstantial evidence of competition; when one species appears it is rare, common when next encountered, and the sole *Kanisamys* in the next level. As these species were closely related, it is likely that they were eating the same thing, so it is tempting to envision the second species outcompeting the first, but it is possible that they occupied slightly different niches and could have coexisted indefinitely had conditions stayed the same. For the present we can not select between alternative explanations — the strength of the Siwalik record lies in exposing these puzzles and supplying more historical observations that *may provide* the evidence needed to eliminate possible scenarios.

Individual groups provide interesting case studies in evolution. Murids are characterized by a distinctive style of chewing and teeth with an extra row of cusps, a unique feature among rodents. The Siwaliks produce the oldest record of the family. Everett Lindsay is studying older rodents (15-
16 million years old) that show traces of this condition, pointing to the style of origin of this major group (a higher taxon) of mammals. At present it seems that the extra cusps appear in advance of the functional changes involved with a new mode of chewing.

Some groups, for example the gundi Sayimys, are conservative through time, showing little change other than moderate size increase over nearly ten million years. Others show complex patterns of diversification and rates of change. Bamboo rats originated in the early Miocene. Their early phase of evolution was conservative; species were long-lived and didn’t change much. Available evidence suggests that they were generalized in adaptation: not particularly modified for selective feeding or for burrowing. All of that changed in the late Miocene. By around 9 million years ago, two lineages were clearly in evidence, one with high crowned teeth for processing abrasive vegetation, and the other obviously on the road to a subterranean lifestyle. The latter group, rhizomyines related to living Asian bamboo rats, diversified and speciated rapidly (Flynn 1982), presumably as they invaded underground niches.

Burrowing is one lifestyle that leaves clear imprints on osteological remains. Limbs, of course, must be modified for digging, with certain muscles hypertrophied or shifted in position, and evidence of this is indicated by developed ridges of muscle insertion on the bone. Late Miocene armbones show this. Skull remains also leave telltale indications that rhizomyines had committed themselves to an underground lifestyle, a stable niche that they still exploit.

Rats, a reprise

Why rats? Well, for one thing (perhaps a major reason) they are fun — it is very rewarding to find a beautiful little jaw in the field, or to retrieve a handful of teeth from the wash. It is fun to sort through a treasure trove and see what kinds of animals are there, and have some expectation of finding a surprise.

Let’s not forget deeper scientific value. Small mammals give a fuller knowledge of community composition than can be gleaned from the large mammal record alone. They indicate paleoecology and paleoclimatic change. It is possible to build good samples of them and to compile a good temporal record. They thus lend themselves to quantification for evolutionary studies. Rodents are excellent subjects for examining rates of evolution, rate of change in morphology or in number of species within lineages. Because they are diverse, different groups can be compared to test whether they show simultaneous changes of similar degree.

Fossil small mammals are both fun and useful. They have proven to be important in evolutionary biology and have found a welcome home in the Peabody Museum.
New leadership at the Peabody

Barbara Isaac was appointed Assistant Director in July, 1990.

I was born in England long enough ago to remember the taste of bananas, before the outbreak of war in 1939 reduced the population of Britain to a diet in which the only culinary exotica were orange juice, cod liver oil - and the occasional package of chocolate powder from the U.S. In 1958 I graduated from Cambridge University with an Honors Degree in English and well-developed calf muscles from cycling up Castle Hill to Girton in first gear. A year teaching the English language in France, and two years at the Sheffield City Museum preceded a year at the Institute of Archaeology in London. While digging Mother Grundy's parlour in Derbyshire [a cave site], I had made the acquaintance of a young South African of Welsh descent who was reading Archaeology at my alma mater, and in 1962 I joined him at Olorgesailie, in the Gregory Rift, where he was working as Warden of Prehistoric Sites for the Coryndon Museum, Nairobi. We were married in 1962, celebrating with the first in a long line of parties, beer brewed in milk churns and fat

David Pilbeam, Henry Ford II Professor of the Social Sciences, and Associate Dean for Undergraduate Education, was appointed Director of the Peabody Museum in July, 1990. A native of England, Prof. Pilbeam was educated at Cambridge University (A.B. 1962) and Yale (Ph.D. 1967). From 1965-68 he was Demonstrator in Physical Anthropology and Acting Director (1967-68) of the Duckworth Laboratory of Physical Anthropology, Cambridge University. He returned to Yale in 1968 as Assistant Professor and was appointed Professor of Anthropology in 1974, and of Geology and Geophysics in 1975. He was Curator of Anthropology at Yale's Peabody Museum (1969-81) and served as Chairman of the Anthropology Department (1976-79.) Prof. Pilbeam joined the Harvard faculty as Professor of Anthropology in 1981.

A paleoanthropologist, Prof. Pilbeam's research interests include the evolution of Hominidae and Pongidae (apes), Neogene mammalian evolution, paleoecology, paleoclimatology, and the history of paleoanthropological ideas. He has done field work in Egypt (1964-65), Uganda (1967-68), Spain (1969-71), and Greece (1972). Current research Continued on next page

Dr. Lawrence J. Flynn was born in Cleveland and received his undergraduate education at Cleveland State University, earning the B.S. degree, Magna Cum Laude, in 1974. He did graduate work at the University of Arizona, and was granted the Ph.D. degree in 1981. His dissertation subject was the fossil record of a group of rodents from the same deposits in northern Pakistan that preserve a 13 to 7 million year old series of large primate fossils. The research was supported by the Siwalik Project of Prof. David Pilbeam and Dr. John Barry. This work formed the basis of a proposal to the National Science Foundation for 15 months of postdoctoral research in France. Returning from Paris in 1983, Dr. Flynn spent a summer doing research in the Peabody Museum on the Siwalik fossils. This was followed by a two year research program at the American Museum of Natural History in New York where he studied Chinese fossils and conducted a field project in China. In 1985 Dr. Flynn returned to the Peabody Museum as a research associate working with Prof. Pilbeam. In July 1990 he was appointed, with Barbara Isaac, Assistant Director of the Peabody Museum.
Pilbeam
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projects are ongoing in Pakistan and Cameroon.

Prof. Pilbeam is a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the American Anthropological Association, and a Correspondent of the Musee National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris. He has served as Scientific Advisor to the International Louis Leakey Memorial Institute in Nairobi, and Scientific Director for International Programs for the Study of Human Origins, for the government of Kenya. He is on the Advisory Council of the L.S.B. Leakey Foundation.

Prof. Pilbeam has delivered several distinguished lectures including the Silliman Lectures (Yale University, 1983), the Sigma Xi National Lectures (1984-5), and the American Anthropological Association Distinguished Lecture, 1985. He received the Prix International of the fondation Fyssen, Paris, in 1986. Prof. Pilbeam has published numerous articles in scientific journals and is the author of The Evolution of Man, Thames and Hudson, 1970, and The Ascent of Man, Macmillan, 1972.

It is a great pleasure to write in Symbols for the first time as Director of the Peabody Museum. This year has been very full, with many surprises — almost all of them nice ones. I inherited from C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky an outstanding staff, and collections storage facilities of generally high quality. Even our financial situation is, at least temporarily, in somewhat better shape than that of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, our new "parent". Last July 1st the Peabody was officially transferred from the Harvard Central Administration to the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. As far as daily life is concerned, this will have little impact on us, but overall I think it will prove beneficial in the long run. We have long played landlord to part of the Department of Anthropology (the other landlord being the awful William James Hall), and joining the department under the same administrative umbrella will make life easier.

As I noted, one of the pleasures of the job is being able to work with a first-rate staff. Soon after becoming director, we had to say goodbye to Richard Beauchamp, who had been a fine head conservator, and in the New Year Ian Brown moved on to an excellent academic position at the University of Alabama. We miss them both and wish them well. The two new half-time Assistant Directors are Larry Flynn and Barbara Isaac, and together with Austin Brennan (Assistant Director for Finance) and Barbara Wiberg (Administrator) have kept me sane.

We have all been kept very busy. We have worked on an intensive staff review which involves both an assessment of reasonable long-term staffing needs, and an equity review (that is, a determination of the fairness of current rates of pay). We now know that we need more staff, and that some current staff are underpaid. We have also continued a careful review of museum space and how it is used. We need to carefully assess our current situation before we can determine what the balance of future activities is likely to be. How much more of the department can find a home in the museum? What opportunities exist for the museum to develop more laboratory, office, and classroom space? What impact will this have on the exhibits program? The Faculty of Arts and Sciences faces a severe space shortage, so how we use our own space in the future is of considerable importance.

We are exploring ties with the other museums in the University Museums of Natural History: The Museum of Comparative Zoology, the Botanical Museum, and the Geological Museum. What particularly concerns us are public programs, in particular exhibits, education, and the shops, and finding all possible ways of making our currently separate efforts usefully more complementary.

Until the issue of space use within the museum is settled, our plans for permanent exhibits are "on hold". But we certainly want to have an exhibits program, so we are moving ahead with a series of temporary exhibits. An excellent exhibit of dioramas opened in March, and another on the Bushmen, to be curated by Professor Irven DeVore, is planned for the fall. Next year will be the 500th anniversary of the discovery by Europeans of the Americas and Professor Rosemary Joyce will be curating an appropriately reflective temporary exhibit. We also have provisional plans for further exhibits, including one on non-European art.

Most of our time this year has been devoted to repatriation: recent legislation requires museums to prepare inventories and lists of Native American remains and objects, prior to discussion and review with relevant Native American groups concerning possible return. We have established formal guidelines and procedures for complying with the new law, and we have a repatriations committee in the museum which includes four representatives of the Harvard and Boston Native American communities. We need to add more staff to deal with what is shaping up as a massive effort to document adequately all relevant objects, to determine their legal status, and to assess the extent to which they fall within the coverage of the legislation and are thereby liable for repatriation.

I have no idea what fraction of our collection is likely to be returned. I do know that over the next 5 to 10 years, the Peabody staff, appropriately enlarged, will be working very hard, with their usual efficiency, dedication, and tact, to deal with the remains and certain categories of objects with the respect they deserve.

This year, then, has been a very full and busy one for us, and next year promises no less.
Flynn, continued from page 5


Opdyke, N.D., E. Lindsay, G.D.


Subscription to SYMBOLS
*Symbols* is published once a year by the Peabody Museum and Department of Anthropology at Harvard. Subscription rate is $4.50.

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goats from the Maasai.

In Nairobi, I trained an African Schools Liaison Officer under a program funded by the Ford Foundation in what had now become the National Museum. I continued to assist my husband, Glynn, during the three years that we remained in Kenya, and afterwards when as a Professor of Anthropology at the University of California at Berkeley, he taught, ran a research lab and returned at regular intervals to work in Africa. In the years 1969-1981 I acted as a research assistant, editor, illustrator, office and field-camp manager at Berkeley (USA), Natron (Tanzania), Naivasha-Nakuru and Koobi Fora (Kenya). These were the golden years of research into the archaeology of human origins. New questions were being asked, new methods were being tested, new landrovers and new students were being broken in. Accompanying us during these years were two daughters, Ceri and Gwyna, who thereby gained a love of travel and excava-

tion that still haunts them.

In 1983, the family drove across the continent to Cambridge (US) and Harvard, where Glynn was to take up a chair in Old World Prehistory. We lived here for only two years before Glynn died in Japan from the multiple effects of tropical illnesses, leaving partly completed a major report on the archaeology of human origins from the field seasons 1970-1979 at Koobi Fora.

Since his death, I have undertaken the responsibility of editing the report, working with Glynn’s colleagues to produce a monograph for the Clarendon Press (Oxford) that is now nearing completion.

In 1986 I joined the Peabody Museum staff as co-ordinator in the Photographic Archives, learning about collections and copyright, photographers and photographed. Two years later, I was appointed to be in charge when Melissa Banta moved to Earthwatch. During this time, I edited *The Archaeology of Human Origins: Papers by Glynn Isaac* for Cambridge University Press, “The Peabody Museum: A Visual Catalogue of Artifacts”, being 600 transparencies in microfiche form for G.K. Hall, and the *Hall of the North American Indian*, the exhibition catalogue, with color plates by Hillel Burger and ethnographic comment by Ian Brown.

In 1990 when David Pilbeam asked me to assist in his new administration, I gladly accepted. Despite long hours, low salary, decaying premises, and a climate that is either too cold or too humid, I find the Peabody Museum a stimulating and friendly place in which to work, with a constant stream of local, national and international researchers interested in its magnificent collections and archives. I much look forward to the challenge of the sixth quarter of a century in the life of the oldest museum of archaeology and ethnology in the western hemisphere - a date which coincides with the opening of the sixth century since Columbus set foot on the far Atlantic shores. Such an accident of dates surely calls for a big celebration.
Repatriation: the new law and the Peabody Museum

BARBARA ISAAC

Barbara Isaac, Director of Photographic Archives, was appointed Assistant Director in July, 1990. See page 6.

On November 17, 1990, President Bush signed into law "The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act", as PL 101-601. This act mandates the return of certain items to Native Americans, makes illegal their being trafficked across state lines, and is specific about who is to control excavation. The Peabody Museum is mainly affected by the first of these three requirements. Five categories of items are implicated: human remains, associated funerary objects, unassociated funerary objects, sacred items, and items of cultural patrimony. Some parts of the law will need to be clarified during the actual process of repatriation, but the overall procedures are clear. For purposes of the law, definitions were given as follows:

Cultural affiliation: there is a relationship of shared group entity which can be reasonably traced historically or prehistorically between a present day Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization and an identifiable earlier group.

Associated funerary objects: objects that, as part of the death rite or ceremony of a culture, are reasonably believed to have been placed with individual human remains either at the time of death or later, where the remains are not in the possession or control of the Federal agency or museum and the objects can be identified by a preponderance of the evidence as related to specific individuals or families or to known human remains or, by a preponderance of the evidence, as having been removed from a specific burial site of an individual culturally affiliated with a particular Indian tribe.

Sacred objects: specific ceremonial objects which are needed by traditional Native American religious leaders for the practice of traditional Native American religions by their present day adherents.

Cultural patrimony: an object having ongoing historical, traditional, or cultural importance central to the Native American group or culture itself, rather than property owned by an individual Native American, and which, therefore, cannot be alienated, appropriated, or conveyed by an individual regardless of whether or not the individual is a member of the Indian tribe or Native American organization and such object shall have been considered inalienable by such Native American group at the time the object was separated from such group.

During the next five years, in consultation with tribal and religious leaders, the Peabody Museum is to make an inventory of its human remains and associated funerary objects, and over the next three years, the Museum is to make a written summary of the other three categories. The inventory and summary will be sent to groups of Native Americans to which the items are culturally affiliated by a preponderance of the evidence, and to a Committee set up by the Secretary of the Interior. The relevant groups may then request the return of any items on those lists. As regards human remains and associated funerary objects, return should take place, unless certain limited conditions have given right of possession to the Museum. Prof. David Pilbeam, Director of the Peabody Museum, has already taken the decision that all human remains of recent date affiliated to existing tribes should be returned. The archaeological collections will need to be researched to determine to which extent tribe they are affiliated, and whether they were excavated with the permission of that tribe.

Regarding the remaining three categories, unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects and objects of cultural patrimony, once the lists have been sent out, the groups related by cultural affiliation need to show that the particular items in which they are interested did indeed belong to them at a prior time and do match the definitions in the law. This having been shown, the Museum can then, if it wishes, attempt to show right of possession - in other words, it has title through either an individual owner in the case of some sacred objects, or through a group with power to alienate as in the case of other sacred objects and all objects of cultural patrimony and unassociated funerary objects.

Already, even before the act became law, there were numerous enquiries about the Museum's holdings, and visits by parties interested in pursuing the repatriation of human remains. Because of this, and a perceived need to inform the wider community, the

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Museum staff organized in December 1990, an open house for Harvard students and other Native Americans who were interested in knowing how the Peabody was intending to comply with the legislation. There is also a wider audience: in February the Museum was requested by the American Bar Association Commission on Opportunities for Minorities in the Profession to send a speaker to a panel on “Native American Burial Rights and Repatriation”. The other panelists were a lawyer for the Native American Rights Fund, Walter Echohawk, who had been active in getting the legislation passed, and a tribal attorney for the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes, Karen Atkinson, who was involved in the passage of a Montana repatriation law. The audience consisted of attorneys who might in the future be representing tribal groups, together with representatives from tribal museums. David Pilbeam asked if I would be willing to represent the Museum, in order to discuss how one museum (the Peabody) was dealing with the new legislation. Although the time allotted to each panelist was short, only twelve to fifteen minutes, much interest was generated, and it was an opportunity to establish contact with representatives from some of the larger tribes in the Northwest. What follows is the text of the address:

“The Peabody Museum is one of the oldest museums of archaeology and ethnology in the western hemisphere; it was founded one hundred and twenty five years ago in 1866. During these many years, the Museum has acquired large and varied collections; it has also been committed to maintaining them, and interpreting them with the aid of its extensive archives. These collections have come from Asia, Africa, Oceania, Europe, South and Central America, but most especially from North America.

In contrast to the venerable age of the institution, the administration is probably one of the youngest, in terms of service. The present Director took office only in July of 1990.

The past and present history of the Museum has affected our response to the new legislation (PL 101 601) - since it seemed to be imminent and inevitable, the staff is predominantly concerned with making it workable. The Director has declared, “The Museum will follow the law, but we intend to abide by the spirit as well as the letter”.

Nonetheless, there are difficulties. To start with four: the size of the collection and the archives, the size of the staff, and the budget - the first two are very large, the last two, too small. Altogether there are about two million items in the collections. Of these, about 850,000 are archaeological artifacts from North America, about 70,000 are ethnographic Native American items, and about 7,000 are remains of individuals from North America represented by perhaps one bone, or several, or occasionally a complete skeleton. Only a few hundred of these are of recent origin and not all are Indian.

In 1985 major renovation to the storage areas of the Museum had been completed. From 1983 onwards the staff in Collections Management, as well as organizing shelf contents, turned their attention to checking the newly ordered items against the catalogues. In other words, for the first time in memory they were able to start on a simple inventory of the total collections. To assist this process, a Documentation Officer was appointed in 1986 and a system of standardized cataloguing refined for inputting into a computerized database. At this point, for the problems inherent in inventoring a collection of this size to be appreciated, it is necessary to describe in simple terms the process of accession. It must be realized that we are not dealing with standardized boxes of goods in a store, each item is different and has a unique history, even when it is a sherd or a fragment of flaked stone.

As a collection comes into the Museum, it is given an accession number by the Registrar. The collection is then handed to the Collections Manager so that she, or her assistant, can give each item a catalogue number, which, with some exceptions, runs sequentially. This is how it happens today, with minor exceptions, but in the past, a catalogue number not infrequently referred to multiple items: two pots, or several arrows; and sometimes, when a catalogued piece had been separated into its constituent parts, which were then also numbered, the original number referred to nothing at all. At a later time, items might have been loaned out through unofficial channels for study, or for exhibit in other museums: the Registrar is presently engaged in the ongoing task of pursuing such escaped pieces. In addition, during the grand tidying up of the last twenty years, unnumbered pieces have been discovered and have now been properly accessioned.

All this means that, for an accurate inventory, each entry into the catalogue has to be checked against an item on the shelf, and all shelf items have to be checked against the catalogue. With a collection the size of the Peabody’s, the staff also have to do a simple inventory of the remaining collections in order to identify those types of items for which the legislation only requires a written summary, otherwise they cannot be sure that nothing has been missed or misidentified, in itself a likely possibility, since over the years, terminology and tribal names have changed and recognition has become more refined through scholarship. Moreover, to pull out complete listings by tribal group, for several hundred tribes, is eventually easier when certain key data are computerized than when done manually.

When a collection is accessed by the Registrar, an archival accession file is created, into which is placed information on where and from whom a piece was collected, correspondence and subsequent research reports and letters associated with transactions. In addition, documents such as excavation notes, field records and diaries, maps and other field data, are placed into the Central Archives. There are over twenty rooms of archival materials, presently in charge of the Collections Manager.

This raises the question of the staff: already overworked before the issue of repatriation became a reality, they are quite unable to fulfill the new
requirements if they are to continue to curate the collections appropriately and make them adequately available to the growing numbers of incoming researchers. Already several of the staff work late hours and into the weekends.

These constraints demand the implementation of a program that will allow for the Museum to comply with the requirements of the legislation in addition to carrying out its normal functions. Therefore, last year, the Director constituted a committee from Museum staff members in order to discuss the language and the meaning of the bill, and on the basis of the understanding acquired to consider further planning. In January of this year, the Committee was widened to include Jeffrey Hamley, the Director of the Harvard Native American Program, and Angela Gonzales, a representative chosen by Harvard Native American students from amongst themselves. It is also hoped that the Commissioner on Indian affairs in Massachusetts and the Director of the Boston Indian Council will either attend meetings or send alternates. The committee will meet six to nine times a year as needed; it will receive reports from Museum department heads, and it will discuss current procedures and problems with a view to advising the Director and Museum staff, if this is deemed necessary.

Already two recommendations have been made: the first is that a new computer be purchased. This is needed because the capacity of the present one, a DEC VAX 11/730, which was acquired secondhand five years ago, is now seriously overloaded. The second recommendation is for the appointment of a systems analyst for one year, to advise on and install a new system compatible with the one now in use, with minimum interruption to the computerization of the inventory presently underway. During the coming year, the committee would like to see two more data inputters hired, and two persons to work on the shelf inventory. All four of these must have some knowledge of Native American culture, as they will need to make an initial verification of their own accuracy. In about a year’s time, we hope to advertise for an archaeological curatorial associate and an ethno­graphic curatorial associate, in order to resolve problems of identity and definition arising out of the inventory process, to present the final summaries and inventories, and to research the archives if further evidence of tribal affiliation and right of possession is needed. In addition an archivist is badly needed, in order to curate the extensive archives and to monitor their increasing use by museum personnel and others. We hope to fund this position through a grant recently submitted by the Collections Department to the National Historical Publications and Records commission.

The Museum would need the new computer, the systems analyst and the archivist under any circumstances, but the other positions arise out of a need to comply with the new legislation, and we therefore hope that federal funding, as authorized in PL 101-601 will indeed be available.

Continued on next page
There are two remaining areas of concern, both relating to matters outside the Museum but which are directly relevant to the way in which the legislation is implemented. Firstly, for consultation during the inventory process, and afterwards, whom do we address? The Peabody has already received more than one inquiry about the same items. It would be best if each tribe could reach internal consensus, if possible, as to who will be its contact and spokesperson, and exactly which interests and policy that spokesperson represents. Since under the law museums are not to be held responsible for mistaken returns, the groups need to be sure that their cultural heritage comes into hands which they deem appropriate.

Secondly, it would help the process if each group were to be as clear as possible on the specifics of its history and geography. What do the tribal members hold as centrally important to their culture? What are the particular sacred items needed by traditional religious leaders? Although the claims made so far have been limited, some concern has been expressed that the categories of sacred items and items of cultural patrimony will be liberal extended. Sacredness is a particularly difficult concept in that what is sacred often may not be described. George Horsecapture has referred to sacredness as "a fine morning dew that settles upon everything". He continues "in this vast Indian world, this sacred moisture condensed into pools concentrating power into certain objects." I remember as a child in England, the first time my father showed me a dewpond. He told me that it had been made by people now forgotten, and that however dry the year, the pond always held water. Because of this personal experience, I can comprehend Horsecapture's imagery of sacredness, but for the purposes of repatriation, this imagery has to be translated into an understanding that transcends cultural boundaries.

There are challenges both for the museums and the Indians in this act. For the museums there will be the extensive labor of inventory building, and the verification of shelf items against lists. But for the Indians the verification will be on what is central to their culture, and what is sacred. This is a spiritual verification, and much more demanding of integrity and clarity of vision. The tribal visitors who have come to the Peabody are impressive in their dignity and sense of purpose, and the staff is privileged to have this opportunity to work with them.

Since this talk was given in Seattle, there have been more tribal visitors as well as inquiries by letter and telephone. The Museum staff is hoping that once the committee required by the legislation is established, and guidelines are published by the Secretary of the Interior, some of the questions raised by PL 101-601 will be clarified. In the meantime, cultural items on which the record has been established as clear, and which should be restored, will be offered to the affiliated groups without further delay.

The Peabody Museum and Department of Anthropology will host the Annual Meeting of the L.S.B. Leakey Foundation, October 10-12, 1991. A highlight of the meeting will be an all-day symposium on Saturday, October 12, on “Current Issues in Human Origins Research.” Invited participants include: Prof. John Fleagle (S.U.N.Y., Stonybrook) on new fossils of the earliest primates; Prof. Richard Wrangham on great apes research; Prof. Ofir Bar-Yosef on the 100,000 years when Neanderthals and Homo sapiens lived contemporaneously; and Prof. Kristen Hawkes (Univ. of Utah) on new studies on contemporary hunter-gatherer groups. The symposium will be followed by a banquet and presentation of the first L.S.B. Leakey Prize of $25,000 for “Multidisciplinary Research on Ape and Human Evolution.” Board Chairman Gordon P. Getty will preside. The symposium and banquet will be open to the public by subscription; watch the Harvard Gazette for further details.
Peabody Museum Exhibitions
Lea McChesney, Administrator of Collections

"Worlds in Miniature, Worlds Apart: Dioramas, Models, and Mannequins in Peabody Museum Exhibits" reviews the ways in which certain kinds of exhibit elements ("Worlds in Miniature") were manufactured and used in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the Peabody Museum and asks how anthropology at that time perceived and represented "Worlds Apart." The exhibit was organized through the collaborative work of members of the Museum's staff and of the Department of Anthropology, including former Assistant Director and Associate Curator of North American Collections Ian W. Brown; Administrator of Exhibitions Lea S. McChesney; Assistant Professor Robert W. Preucel; Exhibit Designer Richard V. Riccio; Master's of Divinity candidate and exhibit staff member Susan A. M. Shumaker; and Peabody Professor Stephen Williams. It features eleven North American house models, seven archaeological site models, four ethnographic dioramas, including one (lent by the Claflin family of Belmont, MA) depicting the Department of Anthropology. The exhibit will be on view for approximately one year.

"Cayoni: Traditional Creek Wood Carving" presents twelve carvings by Cayoni, one of the sole practitioners of traditional Creek wood carver. Included in the exhibit is an eight foot halipatki, or alligator spear, and the artist's tools, which are hand-fashioned. Better known to many by his English name, Joseph Johns, Cayoni is the Peabody Museum Building Manager and has been Artist-in-Residence at the Peabody Museum for the past fifteen years and was the first recipient of the Folklore and Ethnic Arts Fellowship from the Massachusetts Council on the Arts and Humanities (1988). Preparing the exhibit, which was researched by Susan Shumaker, designed by Richard Riccio, and coordinated by Lea McChesney.

The temporary exhibition, "Art, Architecture and Power in Mesoamerica," is a collaborative project of the Peabody Museum and the Heritage Plantation of Sandwich. The exhibit presents some of the finest examples of the Peabody Museum's extensive Maya and Olmec archaeological holdings, featuring approximately 100 objects which range from stone sculpture and scaled watercolor copies of temple mural paintings to jade beads and stone cherts. Curated by Rosemary A. Joyce, Associate Professor of Anthropology and Associate Curator of PreColumbian Archaeology, the exhibit explores the use of art and architecture to create and reinforce political power in Mesoamerica. Richard Riccio, Peabody Museum Designer, designed the exhibit, which was coordinated and produced by numerous individuals of the Peabody Museum staff. The exhibit is on view at the Heritage Plantation for the 1991 public season, from May 12 through October 13, and will be installed at the Peabody Museum in 1992.

In the fall of 1991 the Peabody Museum plans to present an exhibition on the Bushmen, a foraging people living in the Kalahari Desert on southern Africa. Entitled "The Proper People," a gloss of the !Kung San peoples' own description of themselves, this exhibit will feature over 150 ethnographic and archaeological items from the collections of the Peabody Museum and on loan from Professor Irven DeVore, Chairman of Harvard University's Department of Anthropology, and Dr. John Yellen, Archaeology Program Officer of the National Science Foundation and a graduate of the Department of Anthropology. Professor DeVore is curating the exhibit and is assisted by Allan Maca, a graduate student in the Department of Anthropology. The exhibit will portray a comprehensive view of the Bushmen from prehistory to the present based on continuing research sponsored by the Peabody Museum during this century. Drawing on the extensive photographic collections of AnthroPhoto, a nonprofit service making anthropological images from around the world available worldwide, and including an audio-visual presentation made from original field recordings, the exhibit will explore the many dimensions of Bushman life in the twentieth century.
Tasmolian Culture refers to the people who lived along the shores of the northern Black Sea and southern Russia; the regionally distinctive cultures. The research has identified a number of people of whom Herodotus wrote and others, recent archaeological evidence from central Kazakhstan; the Tagar existence both textual and archaeological. They existed, both nomadic and agrarian, and carved in wood. They are the first Eurasian nomads of whom there is evidence. They had the most widely distributed culture in antiquity. From the 6th to the 3rd century B.C., they flourished across the vast landscape from eastern Siberia to the Danube River. Herodotus, writing in the 5th century B.C., referred to them as the Scythians. He said they called themselves the Scythians. They lacked writing, but linguists have established, based on an abundance of Greek and Near Eastern inscriptions about them, including personal, group, and place names, that the Scythians spoke an Iranian language, one of a group belonging to the Indo-European family of languages.

Largely, though not exclusively, nomadic, the Scythians were horse breeders. They shared a common material culture of equestrian equipment, weapons, felt production, art, and an elaborate burial mound tradition. Their justly famous “animal style” works of art were cast of metal and carved in wood. They are the first Eurasian nomads of whom there exists both textual and archaeological evidence.

Although classical authors identified different tribes of Scythians: Sauromatae, Issedones, Massagetae, and others, recent archaeological research has identified a number of regionally distinctive cultures. The people of whom Herodotus wrote lived along the shores of the northern Black Sea and southern Russia; the Tasmolian Culture refers to the people of central Kazakhstan; the Tagar Culture to dwellers of the Minusinsk plain of Siberia; and the Pazyryk Culture to the inhabitants of the Altai Mountains. Together these interrelated, ethnically unified cultures of the Eurasian steppe form the Scythian world.

Central to a discussion of the Scythians is the specific location of their homeland. Herodotus, who wrote about this in greater detail than any other classical author, believed they had migrated to the northern Black Sea from distant Asia. An identical view was later echoed by Diodorus. But from which part of Asia? Soviet archaeologists hotly debate this issue and over the past few decades have excavated numerous burial mounds of general Scythian identity from the Caucasus to Siberia. These scholars are divided into two schools of thought. One view argues that the original homeland did not lie further east than the Volga or Ural basin. Another view, supported by a number of vocal advocates, and strengthened by recent discoveries, supports eastern Kazakhstan and the mountains of the Altai, Tuva as the Scythian homeland.

Archaeological research and the evidence from classical and Near Eastern texts handsomely complement our understanding of the Scythian world. We can construct an outline of Scythian society from these convergent lines of evidence. We know that tribal confederations included both nomadic and agricultural communities, and that the nomadic tribes enjoyed greater power. It was from the nomadic tribes that the “royal Scythians” emerged. Herodotus wrote of their accumulation of great wealth, obtained, in part, by demands of heavy tribute from sedentary populations.

Scythian mythology, as reconstructed by scholars, divided Scythian society into three estates: a military aristocracy; the priests, shamans, and soothsayers; and the farmers and cattle-breeders. Tradition derives this tripartite division from the distinctive roles of the three sons of Targita -ius, the mythological (?) founder-ancestor of the Scythians. Each of the three estates had a corresponding sacred attribute: the warriors’ symbol was the bow; the priests’, the cup; and the commoners’, the yoke and plow. The dominant position of the military aristocracy is reflected in the emphasis placed on them in the written texts and from archaeological excavations of their extraordinarily lavish tombs.

The most visible archaeological monument left by the Scythians is the burial mound, or kurgan. Grave goods recovered from kurgans provide the principal source for our knowledge of Scythian material culture. Known from the Danube to the Altai, kurgans are artificial earthen barrows raised above subterannean timber-lined tombs and covered by a mound of undressed stone boulders. They varied greatly in size, indicating the social status of the deceased. The so-called “royal kurgans” reached enormous propor-
The Chertomlyk Kurgan, along the lower Dnieper River in southern Russia, was more than 19 meters high and 330 meters in circumference. The giant kurgans have consistently attracted the attention of archaeologists, for it is within them that one recovers the spectacular remains of the Scythian nobility. In recent years, however, Soviet archaeologists have excavated hundreds of ordinary burials in order to better understand the full dimension of Scythian life. Objects found in these graves are far less varied and precious than those in noblemen's tombs, although, significantly, the categories are the same. Ordinary male graves contained spears, short swords, and three-edged arrowheads of bronze. Women's graves contained simple personal ornaments and toilet articles; earrings, bracelets, finger rings, necklaces, and mirrors. Vessels of gold and silver in tombs of the nobility were replaced by ceramic vessels in the graves of commoners. The tombs of the powerful contained the sacrificed bodies of both servants and horses. Women often led men in war and attained great power and wealth, according to Herodotus. Gold-rich tombs of females, adorned with textile hangings, jewelry, and silk clothing have been excavated. In some of the richer kurgans, chieftains were interred with funeral wagons and carts, ones doubtless identical to those Herodotus reports were used to transport the body of a dead chief throughout the territories which he once ruled. Although Herodotus did not speculate about why this ceremonial journey, which often took weeks, occurred, ethnohistorical evidence suggests it was both to inform subjects of the leader's death, and to initiate the process of choosing a successor.

The Scythians best known to us inhabited the coastal regions of the Black Sea. It was here that Greek colonies and Scythians maintained close commercial and economic links from the 6th to the 3rd centuries B.C. Herodotus' ethnographic descriptions of these Scyths are so accurate, virtually mirrored by recent archaeological research, that many scholars believe he visited these Greek colonies and had a first hand acquaintance with the Scythians. Scythia provided the Greeks with agricultural products, raw materials (especially gold), and slaves. One recalls the Greek legend of Jason and the Argonauts in pursuit of the Golden Fleece. Fleece was used to collect gold particles from mineral-rich rivers. Scythian nobles benefited from this trade and accumulated considerable wealth. The Greek craftsmen took into account the tastes and demands of the Scythian nobles and produced luxury goods specifically intended for sale in Scythia. The result was a distinctive Graeco-Scythian art whose numerous objects continue to be found in rich tombs throughout the Caucasus and southern Russia. [These objects are displayed in the dazzling “Gold Rooms” of the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad.]

Less well known to classicists, historians, and archaeologists is the Scythian world of the distant eastern regions of Kazakhstan and the Altai Mountains. Sensational discoveries made in the last ten years, still little known in the west, have offered a dramatic new understanding of the importance and complexity of this distant Scythian world.

This past summer my wife and I had the unparalleled opportunity to

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travel to the Altai Mountains in Siberia, as guests of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. We traveled over 2000 miles, by helicopter, visiting numerous archaeological sites in the Altai Mountains, sites which have been inaccessible to western archaeologists for decades. The highlight of this trip involved visits to the ongoing excavation of the Kurgan of Ak-Alaxa (White River). This kurgan is being excavated by a team of archaeologists led by Dr. Natalya Polocmak of the Institute of Archaeology, Novosibirsk. It is located on the Beltek Plateau in the Otok Region of the Altai Mountains, less than 25 miles from the Chinese border. The spectacularly beautiful setting of the plateau is complemented by the utter remoteness of its setting. (All supplies are delivered to the archaeological camp by helicopter.) The excavation of Ak-Alaxa adds an important dimension to the emerging centrality of this distant region of the Scythian world. From the air one can see hundreds of kurgans in the Otok region, ranging in size from well over 50 meters in diameter, to smaller ones such as Ak-Alaxa.

Before discussing the Kurgan of Ak-Alaxa, I shall briefly discuss the results derived from recent archaeological excavations in the Scythian world of Middle Asia. Two recent discoveries of exceptional importance are the kurgans excavated in eastern Kazakhstan. One, located in the Chilikta Valley and dated to the 7th-6th century B.C., is among one of the earliest Scythian kurgans on the Asian steppes. Small gold plates, attached to clothing, depicting figures of panthers, wild boar, birds of prey, and deer are nearly identical to those recovered from kurgans in south Russia. The other discovery is the now famous Issyk Kurgan near Alma Ata, dating to a slightly later period, 4th or 3rd century B.C. This tomb contained the remains of a local chieftain and was distinguished by the recovery of his entire ceremonial raiment. His clothing was adorned with thousands of stamped gold plates decorated in the "animal style", while his head-dress was decorated with gold figurines of various animals, horses' heads, and miniature arrows.

The most remarkable of all recently excavated Scythian tombs is the Arzhan Kurgan in the Tuva Mountains of Middle Asia, bordering northwestern Mongolia. The stone mound covering the tomb measured 120 meters in diameter. The grave, plundered in antiquity, was believed to contain a chieftain and his large retinue. The burial catacomb beneath the mound consisted of 70 log cabins radiating from a large central structure. Nearly 100 separate chambers were excavated inside and between these log cabins. The monumental nature of the burial architecture, the extraordinary quantity and quality of the superbly crafted objects that survived the plunder, and the number of sacrificed horses, approximately 160, attest to the wealth and power of the deceased. Soviet archaeologists believe this was the tomb of a paramount chief whose subordinate chieftains were sacrificed to accompany him in the next world.

The argument favoring a Central Asian origin of the Scythians has been richly fueled by the discovery of the Arzhan Kurgan. Proponents believe this kurgan provides the definitive answer to the location of the Scythian homeland. The final publication of this discovery is awaited. From reports to date it is evident that much of the material culture and funerary ritual differs from that of the Scythians along the Black Sea. Equally self-evident, however, are the clear similarities in the "animal style" art and the horse trappings which tie the Arzhan Kurgan to those in the Caucasus and south Russia.

The Arzhan Kurgan also has close affinities to the Pazyryk Kurgans in the Altai Mountains. The Pazyryk Kurgans hold a special place in our understanding of the Scythian world as they contain more comprehensive information than the monuments of other regions. This is due to the particular climatic conditions that characterize the Altai. The timber "houses" which contained the deceased were constructed underground, dug into lenses of permafrost. Following internment all the objects placed in the timber house Graves were subject to a freezing environment, embedding them in ice. This resulted in the complete preservation of all objects made of wood, leather, and cloth, materials which normally do not survive the archaeological record. The famous Pazyryk Kurgans, excavated in the 1950's by Academicians Rudenko and Griaznov, were the first, and until this summer the only, ice-preserved kurgans excavated. In the Pazyryk Kurgans utensils of ornamented wood, the clothes of the dead, felt and nap carpets (the oldest known in the world), Chinese silk embroideries, bridles and saddles of leather, and the four-wheeled cart which carried the deceased chieftain were all recovered in an excellent state of preservation. Even the intricate tattoo patterns, which decorated the bodies of the deceased, were fully preserved. [The materials from the Pazyryk tombs are, like the gold from the Scythian burials of the Pontic Steppes, placed on exhibit in special rooms in the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad. As these rooms, particularly the rooms containing the Pazyryk materials, are frequently and inexplicably closed, it is advisable to make prior arrangements for their viewing.]

The Ak-Alaxa Kurgan, excavated this past summer, is of the classical Pazyryk type. The astonishing preservation is the direct result of recovering the objects from the ice. The kurgan was 17 meters in diameter. A ring of large boulders defined its outer circumference while slightly smaller boulders were heaped in the center to form a low mound. The permafrost begins at a depth of 2.0 meters. The entirety of the timber "house", containing two larch tree coffins, was dug into the permafrost. The grave-house was almost 3 meters square and consisted of single logs placed atop each other. The corners of the structure were carefully interlocked by a notching of the joists. The flat roof of the structure consisted of two rows of logs spanning the distance between the walls. The grave contained two lidded coffins, one larger than the other, constructed of single logs whose inner cores had been hollowed out. The coffins were
encased in solid ice. After thawing, it was determined that they contained the bodies of a man and woman. Wooden and ceramic vessels were also recovered within the tomb. To the northwest of the timber structure, and lying outside the house-grave, six sacrificed horses were recovered. The color of the horses, chestnut and black, was easily determined from their carefully braided tails. Two wooden saddles were uncovered, and an astonishing array of felt, decorated with designs of griffins, stylized fish, various types of birds, winged horses, and geometric patterns in red, yellow, white, blue and grey. Of particular interest are the dozens of carved wooden objects, in the shape of mythological animals and geometric forms, which were attached to the leather and felt trappings of the horses. The cheekpieces were made of carved wood, and the attached bits of twisted iron rods. The contents of the entire kurgan were given initial conservation treatment in the field and then transported, by helicopter, to Novosibirsk for further preservation.

The Beltek Plateau is above the timber line. The logs for constructing the house grave, as well as the mound of stone boulders covering the kurgan, had to be transported to the burial site. On present evidence this would require a transport of approximately 50 kilometers for the logs and 15 kilometers for the boulders. In addition, if the climatic conditions at the time of constructing the kurgan were the same as today, and there is no compelling reason to believe otherwise, the people who built the subterranean grave faced the very formidable task of melting over 16 square meters of permafrost to a depth of almost 1.5 meters. There is absolutely no indication as to why this beautiful but desolate plateau was chosen as a burial site. Clearly labor costs and efficiency were factors unrelated to the decision. Perhaps the presumed permanence of burying in the permafrost motivated the decision to intern so many in the high Altai.

The excavator, Dr. Polocmak, dates the Ak-Alaxa Kurgan to the 5th/4th century B.C. Thus, in date and material remains the Ak-Alaxa closely parallels Pazyryk, which is 250 kilometers distant. The unplundered tomb of Ak-Alaxa offers a splendid opportunity to reconstruct an arrested moment in time. With virtually all of its contents perfectly preserved, one will be able to resurrect the full ritual and panorama of a chieftain’s burial. There are dozens of such tombs, both larger and smaller, in the immediate vicinity of Ak-Alaxa. They offer a dramatic insight into the arts and crafts of the Scythian world and give clear evidence of the power and wealth which the elite members of that society were able to attain. The excavation of kurgans is, however, simply not enough, tempting as they are for the splendid materials which they contain. We shall never have an archaeologically complete picture of the Scythian world until equal attention is given to the excavation of settlements. This is fully recognized by Academician Anatoly Derev’anko.
the immensely capable and energetic Director of the Institute of Archaeology in Novosibirsk. His future plans include undertaking an extensive survey which will, for the first time, map not only the kurgans within selected areas of the Altai, but record all prehistoric settlements. With the creation of this archaeological map, recording the presence of sites of all different periods, an informed decision can be made in the selection of a settlement to be excavated.

Lastly, what happened to the Scythians? What caused their disappearance from so vast a geographical expanse and so dominant a position, for almost 500 years, on the Eurasian steppes? The internal causes for their decline, whatever they might have been, are simply not understood. This is but one reason why the excavation of settlements is essential, for settlements offer information which burials do not provide.

The external factors which brought about the demise of at least a part of the Scythian world are more clearly comprehended. Classical sources recorded the devastating defeat inflicted upon the Black Sea Scythians by Philip of Macedon in 339 B.C. Atheas, a Scythian king, was killed in battle at the age of 90. This catastrophe was followed by an even greater one. In the 2nd century B.C., the Sarmatians advanced into southern Russia and the Pontic regions and devastated Scythia. Diodorus writes that the Sarmatians massacred the local Scythian population and turned the country into a desert. Although Hippocrates identified the Sarmatians and Scythians as the same people, Herodotus places the Sarmatians on the eastern boundary of Scythia, beyond the Don, and specifically states that they were not Scythians. Such is the ethnic confusion in the identity of the principal players on the Eurasian steppes. One must admit that ethnic identity in this vast region confused not only the ancient Greeks but continues to confound the modern world. Whatever their ethnic identity, the Sarmatians appear to have supplanted the Scyths in the plains of south Russia, and remained the dominant power there until the Gothic and Hunnish invasions in the 5th century A.D.

The defeat of the Scythians by Philip of Macedon and their subsequent devastation at the hands of the Sarmatians may offer an understanding for the demise of the Scythians inhabiting southern Russia. But what happened to the eastern Scythian world, those distant cousins inhabiting Kazakhstan, the Pamir, Altai and Tuva Mountains? How did the collapse of the western Scythians affect relations in the distant east? Was the destruction of the western Scythians related to the disappearance from the historical stage of the entire Scythian world? We still lack even a first approximation of an answer to these questions.

The Scythians, at different times either confronting or aligning themselves with the major kingdoms and empires of the Greeks, Macedonians, Persians, Medes, Assyrians, and Urartians, even went so far as to be involved in raiding distant Egypt and China. Though their riches were acquired through military conquest and the ruthless subjugation of settled populations, the wealth of artistic objects left by the Scythians can only be described as magnificent.

The population of the Eurasian steppes has changed many times since the Scythians, more than two thousand years ago, were its unrivalled overlords. There is much to contemplate, in fact, in the recognition that no peoples living in the steppe belts of Eurasia today can be regarded as their direct descendants.

In the summer of 1991, with the experience gained from the Ak-Alaxa excavation, we will return to the High Altai to begin excavating one of the region's largest Scythian kurgans. In addition to the excavation, we will undertake an extensive archaeological survey to locate settlements in the area. The settlement survey will be the focus of the Harvard/Peabody involvement in a multi-national research program with Russian, Japanese, and American archaeologists working together, for the first time, in Siberia.
I am grateful for the opportunity of including additional photos and drawings of the material recovered from last summer's excavation at the Ak-Alaxa Kurgan. This material arrived after the completion of my essay. The illustrations, published here for the first time, were just recently delivered to me by Academician Valery Alexeev, Director of the Institute of Archaeology in Moscow, who is a Visiting Professor this summer at Harvard. It is a small sampling of the creative art recovered from the kurgan and adds substantially to our understanding of the cultural diversity that characterized these nomadic horsemen whom we call "Scythians."

Fig. 1. Wooden house and interior tomb and coffins of Ak-Alaxa Kurgan.
Fig. 2. Disposition of burials and contents of the tombs.

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<td>III  Wooden quiver fragments</td>
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</tr>
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<td>V  Textile</td>
<td>V  Wooden buttons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI  Sword</td>
<td>VI  Felt shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII  Dagger</td>
<td>VII  Wooden buckle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII  Felt fragment of dress</td>
<td>VIII  Wooden quiver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX  Felt hat</td>
<td>IX  Collar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X  Small wooden horses attached to hat</td>
<td>X  Arrowheads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI  Wood interior of felt hat</td>
<td>XI  Arrowshafts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII  Fragment of above</td>
<td>XII  Textile trousers fragments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII  Wooden pillow</td>
<td>XIII  Conical decoration for peak of hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV  Collar (metal?)</td>
<td>XIV  Small wooden horses attached to hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV  Fragments of felt shoes</td>
<td>XV  Wooden elk attached to hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI  Fragments of wooden bow</td>
<td>XVI  Wooden pillow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVII  Earrings</td>
<td>XVII  Bronze mirror</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>XVIII  Fragments of wooden bowl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>XIX  Leather fragment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 3. Carved wooden decoration for interior of coffin 1. (See Fig. 2, object II).

Fig. 4. Bridle ornaments consisting of leather strapping, wooden ornaments suspended from leather, bone (cheekpiece), and iron (bit).
Fig. 5. Saddle blanket of red and white colored felt.

Fig. 6. One of several bone ornaments decorating body of female in coffin 2.

Fig. 7. Carved bone ornament sewn on clothing in coffin 2.

Fig. 8. Carved wooden ornament placed on forehead of one of the horses buried in the kurgan.

Fig. 9. One of several carved wooden ornaments decorating interior of coffin 1.
Fig. 10. Ornaments of bone, wood and bronze decorating the burial.

Fig. 11. Horses buried outside of room chamber containing the two coffins. I-IV: objects of felt; a, d, g: saddles; 1-9: placement of the nine horses.

Fig. 12. Skull of one of the chestnut horses from the kurgan.
Prof. Kwang-Chih Chang was awarded an Honorary Doctor of Social Science degree from the Chinese University of Hong Kong in October, 1990. He gave the Fu Suenien Memorial Lectures in Taipei in July. Prof. Chang signed an agreement in Beijing, on behalf of the Peabody Museum, with the Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Sciences, for a collaborative research project (1990-94) entitled “The Archaeological Investigation of Early Shang Civilization of Ancient China.” An advance group of geoarchaeologists went to China in the fall of 1990, and archaeological fieldwork is expected to begin in the summer of 1991. Recent books by Prof. Chang include Anthropological Studies of the Taiwan Area: Accomplishments and Projects (co-editor), Dept. of Anthropology, National Taiwan Univ., Taipei, 1989; The Chinese Bronze Age, Vol. II (in Chinese), Sanlian Book Publ. Co., Beijing, 1990; and Selected Archaeological Writings of Li Chi (co-editor), in Chinese, Cultural Relics Publ. House, Beijing, 1990.

Kenneth M. George, a cultural anthropologist, has been appointed Assistant Professor of Anthropology at Harvard. In addition to a Ph.D. in Anthropology from the University of Michigan (1989), he holds degrees in Folklore (M.A. University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1978) and English (B.A., Tufts University, 1975). Before coming to Harvard, Prof. George held a Hunting Fellowship at the University of Michigan Institute for Advanced Studies in Princeton, and taught in the Anthropology Department at Emory University.

Her dissertation, entitled Hanging without a Rope: The Politics of Representation in Colonial and Post-Colonial Karoland, received the Horace H. Rackham Distinguished Dissertation Award from the University of Michigan. A revised version is forthcoming from the Princeton University Press. Based on three years’ field work (1983-1985) among the Karo Bataks, a kinship-based highland society in North Sumatra, Indonesia, this work is a cultural and political history of Malay language and society in the Batak highlands. As an ethnographer, George has explored the role of social relations in local political processes in the context of regional development projects and global economic forces. His research includes a study of the effectiveness of development initiatives, and he has contributed to the understanding of Batak society through original ethnographic research.

Mary Margaret Steedly has been appointed Assistant Professor of Anthropology. A social anthropologist, Ms. Steedly graduated from the University of North Carolina at Greensboro (1968), and received an M.A. in Folklore from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (1979) and a Ph.D. in Anthropology from the University of Michigan (1989). Before coming to Harvard, Prof. Steedly held a one-year appointment at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Princeton, and taught in the Anthropology Department at Emory University.

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Prof. Emeritus William W. Howells is the author of Skull Shapes and the Map, Peabody Museum Papers, Vol. 79, 1990. This is a culminating report on measurement data of skulls, in samples from all parts of the world, gathered by Prof. and Mrs. Howells on major trips in 1965 and 1969, and on a number of other occasions. It is the first statistical examination of all 28 series of skulls of different populations studied by Prof. Howells, and defines the scope of variation, which turns out not to be great, in modern peoples. Prof. Howells' ongoing research includes further studies of cranial data to provide methods of finding the probable affiliation of an individual skull, especially those from prehistoric periods.

Assoc. Prof. Rosemary Joyce was an invited participant in a symposium held in Denver on "The Central Americans and Their Neighbors" sponsored by the Center for Central American Art and Archaeology, Univ. of Colorado, Boulder, and the Denver Museum of Natural History. Prof. Joyce's research interests include the study of pre-Columbian culture history, focusing on the indigenous peoples of the Americas. She has conducted fieldwork in various regions, including Mexico, Guatemala, and Peru, and has contributed to the understanding of prehistoric societies through her publications and presentations.

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Joyce gave a paper entitled “Precolumbian art of the Maya periphery: the Ulua polychrome tradition of Honduras.” At a Dept. of Archaeology, Univ. of Calgary conference she presented a paper on “Ideology in action: Classic Maya ritual practice.” She delivered two papers, “The construction of gender in Classic Maya monuments,” and “Ethnicity and architecture: reflections from southern Mesoamerica” at the annual meetings of the A.A.A. in New Orleans. “Archaeology beyond the Maya frontier” was the title of a lecture given at the Fitchburg (Mass.) Art Museum. Prof. Joyce is senior coauthor, with R. Edging, K. Lorenz, and S. Gillespie, of “Olmeck bloodletting, an iconographic study”, The Sixth Palenque Round Table, 1986, recently published by the Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Okla. Cerro Palenque: An Archaeological Ethnography will be published in June 1991 by the Univ. of Texas Press. In the summer of 1990, Prof. Joyce continued her archaeological fieldwork in Yoro, Honduras, the Proyecto Arqueologico Cataguan y Oloman. During this second season she undertook excavations at six sites, exploring ballcourts and documenting occupation from the Middle Formative through the Terminal Classic periods, ca. 400 B.C. - A.D. 1000.

Prof. Arthur Kleinman was a Visiting Professor at the Institute of Social Anthropology, Univ. of Norway in June, 1990. In January, 1991, he gave a series of lectures on medical anthropology at the Ecole de Hautes Etudes en Science Sociale in Paris. Prof. Kleinman is the director of a post-doctoral training program at the Harvard Medical School for social scientists and physicians (four in 1990-91) from Kenya and Tanzania. Participants will learn medical anthropology research approaches that can be applied to health and social problems in East Africa. Prof. Kleinman is also collaborating on research on schizophrenia in China and Taiwan, and planning a research project on trauma with his colleagues in a MacArthur Foundation group investigating Society-Mind-Body Interactions.

Prof. David Maybury-Lewis is the author of O Selvagem e O inocente published by the Univ. of Campinas Press, Brazil, 1990. “Becoming Indian in Lowland South America”, in Imagenes Interethnicas en el Nuevo Mundo: Interpretaciones Contemporaneas, will be published soon. “The unflattering mirror: images of Indians or portraits of Brazil?” in Nation-States and Indians in Latin America will be published this year. Prof. Maybury-Lewis was the keynote speaker at a conference on “Anthropology, Development and Human Rights” at the Univ. of Campinas, and gave the keynote address at the Brazilian Anthropological Association meetings in Florianopolis, Brazil, in April, 1990. He is completing preparations for a television series, “Millennium: Tribal Wisdom and the Modern World”, and working on a book based on the series. Prof. Maybury-Lewis founded, effective as of January 1, 1991, the Research Center for Cultural Survival, the research arm of Cultural Survival, Inc., of which he is president.

Richard H. Meadow, Senior Lecturer, Dept. of Anthropology and Director, Zooarchaeology Laboratory, was the co-organizer of a workshop on the analysis of incremental structures in teeth (for investigating seasonality and kill-off patterns), at the Vth International Congress of the International Council on Archaeozoology (ICAZ), Smithsonian Institution in May, 1990. He gave a presentation of osteological evidence for sheep breeding in ancient Mesopotamia at the Sumerian Agriculture Group conference on Sheep and Goat in Ancient Mesopotamia held in Barcelona in July, 1990. A progress report on his on-going research on faunal remains was presented at a conference on Excavation at Harappa (Pakistan) held at the Univ. of California, Berkeley, in July. At the Society for Harappan Studies meeting in Sharon, Conn., August, 1990, Dr. Meadow reported on current archaeological research at the site of Nausharo in Pakistan. He participated, with C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky and Fredrik Hiebert, doctoral candidate, Dept. of Anthropology, Harvard, in the International Field Seminar on the Central Asian Bronze Age held in Margiana, Turkmenistan S.S.R. in October, 1990. Dr. Meadow discussed current research at Harappa at the East Coast Chowder and Marching Society (a group of Near Eastern archaeologists originally from eastern institutions) in Chicago in November, 1990. He was a discussant at a symposium on Ethnoarchaeology and Technological Studies in South Asia at the 19th Annual Conference on South Asia, Madison, Wisconsin, in November. “Mammal teeth and seasonality - some new approaches to material in the Near East,” was the title of the paper co-authored with Daniel Lieberman, doctoral candidate, Dept. of Anthropology, Harvard, presented to the Mammal Society, London, in November. Recent publications by Dr. Meadow include: Equids in the Ancient World, II, edited with H.-P. Uerpmann, Beihafte zum Tubinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe A, Nr. 19/2. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichen; “Prehistoric Wild Sheep and Sheep Domestication on the Eastern Margin of the Middle East,” in Animal Domestication and its Cultural Context: Essays in Honor of Dexter Perkins and Pat Daly, P.J. Crabtree, D.V. Campana, K. Ryan, eds., University Museum, Univ. of Pennsylvania, M.A.S.C.A., Philadelphia, 1990; “Computer image enhancement and analysis of cementum increments as applied to teeth of Gazella gazella (with D. Lieberman and Assoc. Prof. T.W. Deacon), Jour. of Archaeological Science 17:5; and “The Tell Abu Duwari Fauna” in E.C. Stone, “The Tell Abu Duwari Project, Iraq, 1987,” Jour. of Field Archaeology 17:2. In February and March 1990, Dr. Meadow conducted fieldwork at the sites of Mehrgarh and Nausharo (Baluchistan) with the French Archaeological Mission to Pakistan, and at Harappa (in the Punjab) with the Berkeley project. In June he was in Turkey supervising the investigations of Hitomi Hongo, doctoral candidate, Dept. of Anthropology, Harvard, on faunal remains from the Japanese excavations at Kaman Kale Huyuk. 
Anticipated fieldwork in Pakistan in February and March, 1991, at the sites of Mehrgarh, Nausharo, Harappa, and Taxila, were cancelled due to the Persian Gulf War.

Prof. Sally Falk Moore presented a paper on “Inflicting harm righteously: an African case,” at a symposium at the Max Planck Institute, Frankfurt, Germany, in June, 1990. She participated in a Workshop on Institutional Issues in Tenure Change in Africa at the Land Tenure Center, Madison, Wisconsin, in October.


Ass’t. Prof. Robert Preucel has two new books coming out this spring. The first is entitled Seasonal Circulation and Dual Residence in the American Southwest: A Prehistoric Example from the Pajarito Plateau, New Mexico. The book is a revised version of his doctoral dissertation at UCLA and has been published in Garland Press’s new series on Outstanding Dissertations on the Evolution of North American Indians, edited by David Hurst Thomas. The second is entitled Processual and Postprocessual Archaeologies: Multiple Ways of Knowing the Past. This volume includes the proceedings of the 1989 Visiting Scholars Conference on “The Processual/Postprocessual Debate” which was held at Southern Illinois Univ., Carbondale. The volume, due in March, will be published by the Center for Archaeological Investigations. Last fall Prof. Preucel attended two professional conferences, the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium on “Collecting the Precolumbian Past,” and the 17th Annual Communal Studies Conference at Hancock Shaker Village on “The Individual in Community.” The latter conference is related to his research at Brook Farm, a 19th century utopian community in West Roxbury, Mass. He and Dr. Steven Pendry will deliver a joint paper on Brook Farm at the Society for American Archaeology meetings in April. They will continue their excavations this summer sponsored by the Harvard Summer School.


Dr. Shipton presented papers entitled “Food, money and human commodities in Western Kenya,” and “The cultural economy of Gambian savings cycles,” at the annual meeting of the African Studies Assoc. held in Baltimore in November, 1990. At the Land Tenure Center in Madison, Wisconsin, he delivered a paper on “Descent, residence, and affinity: principles of access to land in East Africa.” “Cultural perspectives on African famines,” was the title of a presentation at Brown Univ. for the World Hunger Program, April, 1990. Dr. Shipton is currently working on two volumes, Debts and Trespasses: Luo Finance and the Culture of Development, to be published by Cornell Univ. Press, and Private Property and the limits of Individualism in Africa.

Ass’t. Prof. Mary Margaret Steedly (see new appointments, pg. 19) delivered a paper entitled “The play of pretext: a love song for Workers’ Day, 1963,” in the panel “Tracking the Continued on next page

Prof. Nikolaas van der Merwe delivered a paper on “Isotopic tracing of prehistoric diets,” at the February, 1990 meetings of the Amer. Assoc. for the Advancement of Science, New Orleans. “Isotopic source tracing of elephant ivory,” was the title of a paper given at the International Congress of Zoorarchaeology, Wash., D.C. in May. The title of his banquet speech at the Canadian Assoc. of Physical Anthropologists in Banff, Alberta, in November was “Confessions of an itinerant isotopist.”

“Isotopes and prehistoric diets” was the title of a Royal Society symposium held in London, February 1991. He organized a panel on light stable isotopes in natural and social sciences, at the A.A.A.S. meetings held in Washington, D.C. in February, 1991. Recent publications by Prof. van der Merwe include: “Source-area determination of elephant ivory by isotopic analysis,” in Nature, 346, August 1990; and “Change in carbon isotope ratios in the late Permian recorded in therapsid tooth apatite,” with J.F. Thackeray, et al., Nature, 347. Prof. van der Merwe and a group of isotope chemists and game rangers have developed a method to track ivory to its source. Widely reported in the national and international media, the technique allows authorities to identify locations at which elephant kills have occurred. Analyses of both worked (carved) and unworked ivory reveal the precise diet of an animal and the rainfall and geological age of its habitats; this is then matched against a database of known elephant areas. It is hoped that increased policing at identified areas will decrease, perhaps eliminate, illegal poaching of this endangered animal. During the summer of 1990 Prof. van der Merwe collected samples of ivory and rhinoceros horn in the desert of northern Namibia for further source tracing.


Brodwitz Prof. Emeritus Gordon R. Willey attended ceremonies in Les Eyzies, France, in connection with the dedication of the Abri Pataud Museum by the French government, in honor of the late Prof. Hallam L. Movius. He was a discussant at a conference on art and iconography of the Maya Preclassic held in Berkeley. Prof. Willey was the guest lecturer at the Univ. of Arizona on the occasion of that university’s 75th anniversary of the Dept. of Anthropology. He delivered a public lecture on “Maya Archaeology” and gave a seminar on “Horizontal integration and regional diversity: an alternating process in the rise of civilization.” Prof. Willey is the general editor of the fourth and concluding volume of the Excavations at Seibal series, Peabody Memoirs, Vol. 17, Dec., 1990. He is currently preparing a third edition of A History of American Archaeology, in collaboration with Jeremy A. Sabloff.

**Museum curators and staff**

Dr. Marie Jeanne (Monni) Adams, Associate in African and Oceanic Ethnology, was the recipient of a Fulbright Research Award for fieldwork in art and anthropology among the We-speaking people of western Ivory Coast from Sept. 1988-June 1989. She is currently writing a book based on this research. Recent publications by Dr. Adams include: “Beyond Symmetry in African Design,” African Arts 23:1, 1989; and “African Art Studies from an Art Historical Perspective,” Africa Studies Review 32:2, 1989. “Formal Public Titles for We Women,” “Girls’ Initiation among the We in Canton Boo, Cote d’Ivoire,” and “To Deny Death; funerals among the We, Cote d’Ivoire” are forthcoming articles.

Dr. Lane Anderson Beck, Research Assistant, received the Ph.D. degree from Northwestern Univ. in June, 1990. Her dissertation was entitled “Redefining Copan: A Regional Analysis of Mortuary Patterns in ‘Southern Hopewell’.” Dr. Beck is the coordinator for the renovation of the Peabody Museum’s osteology collection. She designed and directed the renovation of a new storage facility, is supervising the inventory of the collection, and with Diane Zorich, Administrator, Documentation Department, is working on a computer program for dealing with the human remains in the museum. Dr. Beck has delivered a number of scholarly papers at scientific meetings including: “Human DNA recovery from ancient bone,” with S.R. Williams and J.L. Longmire, A.A.A., 1990, and “Mortuary practices and ethnic boundaries in Southeastern North America, A.A.A., 1990. Dr. Beck was co-organizer, with M. N. Geselowitz, of a symposium on Ethnic Identity, Symbolism, and the Archaeological Record, at the A.A.A. meetings in 1990. She organized a symposium on Regional Mortuary Analyses for the Soc. of Amer. Archaeology meetings, 1991, and will deliver a paper on “Regional cults and ethnic boundaries in ‘Southern Hopewell’.”
Dr. Lawrence J. Flynn, Assistant Director, Peabody Museum, and Research Associate in Biological Anthropology, gave a paper entitled “Late Neogene faunal stability in North China” at the 4th International Congress of Systematic and Evolutionary Biology, Univ. of Maryland, July, 1990. “The Yushe Chronofauna: faunal stability in the Pliocene of North China” was the title of a paper delivered at the 50th annual Society of Vertebrate Paleontology meetings held in Lawrence, Kansas, October, 1990. Recent publications by Dr. Flynn include: “Additional fossil rodents from the Siwalik beds of India,” Lawrence J. Flynn et al., Proc. Konink. Nederl., Akad. Wetensch (B) 93, 1990; “Key biostratigraphic events in the Siwalik sequence,” with John C. Barry, in European Neogene Mammal Chronology, NATO ASI ser. A: Life Sciences, 1990; “The Siwaliks of Pakistan: Time and faunas in a Miocene terrestrial setting,” with David Pilbeam et al., in Geology 98, 1990; and “Preliminary analysis of Miocene small mammals from Pasalar, Turkey,” with L.L. Jacobs, in Human Evolution 19, 1990. Dr. Flynn was doing fieldwork in 5-10 million year old fossil deposits in Pakistan in January when the Gulf War forced his return to the U.S.

T. Rose Holdcraft, Acting Head Conservator, attended a conference on the Meaning of Structure (Andean textiles) at the Brooklyn Museum of Art, May, 1990. She is the recipient of a Samuel H. Kress Foundation Conservation Fellowship and will pursue research on plant fiber use in ethnographic artifacts.

Barbara Isaac, Assistant Director, Peabody Museum, and Director of Photo Archives, is the editor of the exhibition catalogue, Hall of the North American Indian, Peabody Museum Press/Harvard Univ. Press, 1990. The catalogue won an award from the Printing Industries of America, Inc. Mrs. Isaac organized the production of an exhibition poster, postcards, and a set of six slides of artifacts from the Lewis and Clark Exhibit in conjunction with the April 1990 opening of the new Hall of the North American Indian. In September Mrs. Isaac travelled to Lincoln, Nebraska with over 200 artifacts which the Peabody Museum has returned to the Omaha tribe. The items were collected more than 100 years ago by Alice Fletcher, an anthropologist associated with the Peabody Museum.

Dr. David Killick, Research Assistant, gave a paper entitled “Variation in African iron-smelting practice: implications for the study of prehistoric iron technology” at a Symposium on Paleometallurgie et cultures, in Belfort, France, in November, 1990. Dr. Killick is doing research with Nicholas David, Univ. of Calgary, on the recent iron smelting technologies of northern Cameroon, and will undertake fieldwork, with Susan McIntosh of Rice Univ., on ironworking in the Senegal River Valley, West Africa in 1991.


Sanders delivers first Willey Lecture

The first Gordon R. Willey Visiting Lecture was given by Prof. William T. Sanders in October, 1990. The lectureship is endowed by Prof. Richard Leventhal (A.B. 1974, Ph.D. 1979), Dept. of Anthropology, U.C.L.A., in honor of his mentor.

Prof. Sanders received his undergraduate (A.B. 1949) and graduate (Ph.D. 1957) education at Harvard. He is Evan Pugh Distinguished Professor in Anthropology at Pennsylvania State Univ. Prof. Sanders has directed research throughout Mesoamerica, including major investigations of the Teotihuacan Valley, Kaminaljuyu, and Copan. He was awarded the A.V. Kidder Medal for Achievement in Mesoamerican Archaeology in 1980 by the American Anthropological Association. Major publications by Prof. Sanders include Mesoamerica: The Evolution of a Civilization, The Basin of Mexico: Ecological Processes in the Evolution of a Civilization, and numerous other books and articles dealing with the ecological context of the evolution of complex cultures in Mesoamerica.

While in Cambridge Prof. Sanders gave a departmental colloquium on “The emics and etics of power in 8th century Copan, a study of ranking and stratification among the Classic Maya,” and a public lecture entitled “Spanish impact on the native peoples and cultures of Mexico in the 16th century: an ecological perspective.”

Steedley, continued from page 19

Karo involvement in shifting local rivalries and colonial power-plays, Islamic expansion, Christian missionizing, nationalist politics, revolutionary anti-colonial action, cash-crop introduction and urban migration—all refracted through the experiences of Karo men and women who now find themselves on the margins of a group self-identified as insistently “progressive” as well as proudly “traditional.” This study focuses on the work and lives of urban Karo spirit mediums, on the dilemmas of their profession as well as the entertainments of their public performances. Sympathetically reflecting on the sense of historical out-of-placeness that these men and women describe metaphorically as “hanging without a rope,” the narrative takes shape around their various stories of adventures and encounters on the volcanic slopes of Mount Sibayak, a borderland site where bandits, traders and spirits can meet.

Prof. Steedly’s primary theoretical orientations are in contemporary critical theory and feminist studies of
narrative, representation and language. She is currently examining
gendered dimensions of Karo
storytelling practice, and her future
research plans include a study of Karo
women's stories of their experiences
during the mass evacuations and
guerrilla warfare of the Indonesian
Revolution, and a broad examination
of spirit possession and the discourse
of selfhood.

Steedley,
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first, to link aesthetic and rhetorical
practices to the tension and flux of
social experience; and second, to
ground ethnolinguistics and ethno-
graphic description in a theory of
translation.

George,
continued from page 19
one is killed. No one takes a real head.
The only headhunt to take place is the
one depicted in ritual song and
drama, genres that are key to the
ideological control of history and
tradition, and thus, to the reproduc-
tion of the community and its political
order. The self-conscious ways in
which these villagers 'stage' a
headhunt for me raise some funda-
mental questions about the aesthetic
mediation of violence.” At present,
Prof. George is taking some of this
work and shaping it into a book-
length manuscript. Shorter pieces
have appeared (or will soon appear)
in the Journal of American Folklore
(on writing and ritual song perfor-
mances), the Journal of Asian
Studies (on history, exchange, and violence),
and an anthology on ritual violence in
insular Southeast Asia (on history,
allegory, and songs from a headhunt).

Prof. George will return to Indone-
sia in the summer of 1991 to conduct
research and to serve as lecturer for a
tour of Java, Bali, and Sulawesi
sponsored by the Peabody Museum
Association.

Martha Lamberg-Karlovsky is the
Editor of Symbols.