Dancing headdress frontlet representing dogfish shark, Tlingit, Northwest Coast. No. 64-30-10/1664. Loaned for Soft Gold exhibit.

Tambiah heads
Anthropology
Department

Professor Stanley J. Tambiah is the new chairman of the Department of Anthropology (1984-87). After teaching for many years at the University of Cambridge, where he was Lecturer in Anthropology, and Fellow of King's College, he joined the University of Chicago in 1973 as Professor of Anthropology. He came to Harvard in 1976. At

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Ancient China and its anthropological significance
KWANG-CHIHI CHANG

Kwang-chih Chang, a specialist in Chinese archaeology and prehistory is Professor of Anthropology at Harvard and Curator of East Asian Archaeology at the Peabody Museum. Born in Peking, Prof. Chang received his undergraduate education at National Taiwan University and earned the PhD degree from Harvard (1960). He is well known for his synthesis of Chinese prehistory and early historical archaeology and was among the first scholars responsible for the classification and chronologic scheme of Chinese Neolithic and early historic cultures.

Prof. Chang's specializations are in South China Neolithic archaeology and the study of the 18th-12th c. B.C. Shang civilization. A frequent contributor to scientific journals, he is the editor of Food in Chinese Culture, and the author of The Archaeology of Ancient China, Shang Civilization, and Art, Myth, and Ritual: The Path to Political Authority in Ancient China.

The study of how Chinese civilization originated is only now beginning to yield an adequate outline of the whole story, thanks to the intensive archaeological research in the last thirty-five years as well as to the traditional rich textual record. That story is not only of interest to sinologists but is full of implications of consequence to our understanding of ancient world history and its evolutionary principles.

As recently as fifty years ago students of ancient China and ancient Eurasia still were thinking of the emergence of ancient Chinese civilization in terms of a diffusion of some sort from the West, and in the ensuing decades much discussion and debate had focused on the question of whether or not the ancient Chinese civilization was indeed indigenous and pristine. Today, our concern has long gone beyond that simplistic question. Our interest now lies instead in discerning the characteristic pattern and dynamics of the civilization's origin and growth in China and in comparing them with those of other ancient civilizations for the sake of testing and generating universal theories of historical change.

What excites us today is the fact that when we compare the Chinese pattern and dynamics with many of our long-cherished "self-evident truths" concerning the origin of civilization, we find that they do not fit. And here lies the challenge.

To explain what is meant here we may begin by presenting a brief characterization of the first Chinese civilizations, of the Bronze Age from about 2200 to 500 B.C. It is important to affirm at the outset that the common markers of early civilizations — bronze metallurgy, writing, cities, state hierarchies, palatial structures, temples, and monumental art — and social stratification, sanctioned by law and by military force, that enabled the production of these markers, had emerged in force as the Bronze Age of China came into full swing. Here the Chinese civilization is no different from other civilizations of the ancient world. What is remarkable about the ancient Chinese civilization is its close relationship with shamanism, which gives the same markers their special meanings in this context.

In Art, Myth, and Ritual: The Path to Political Authority in Ancient China (Harvard University Press, 1983), I presented a hypothesis of the workings of ancient Chinese society to explain its civilization's manifestation. This hypothesis may be summarized in this very brief formula: The wealth that produced the civilization was itself the product of concentrated political power, and the acquisition of that power was accomplished through the accumulation of wealth. The key to this circular working of the ancient Chinese society was the monopoly of high shamanism, which enabled the rulers to gain critical access to divine and ancestral wisdom, the basis of their political authority. Most of the markers of the ancient civilization were in fact related centrally to this shamanism.

Figure 1. Incised scenes of ritual on a bronze cup of Eastern Chou period, approx. 400-200 B.C., in the collection of Shanghai Museum. Note the birds and trees at left. (From Wen-wu, 1961, No. 10).
Men and gods, animate and inanimate things, the living and the dead members of the clans — all of these beings existed in the ancient Chinese world side by side within the same universe, but that universe was layered and subdivided. The most important divisions were the Heaven and the Earth, and the ancient Chinese could be seen to be particularly preoccupied with the Heaven-Earth intercommunication. The shamans — religious personnel equipped with the power to engage in flights across the different layers of the universe with the help of the animals and by means of a whole range of shamanistic rituals and paraphernalia — were chiefly responsible for the Heaven-Earth communication. From Heaven the shamans and their agents brought to Earth music, poetry, and myths, but they also brought down wisdom and foreknowledge, which invested the rulers with the authority to speak, to guide, and to command.

To achieve their flights the shamans depended upon the aid of a system of objects and things. (As well as, presumably, incantations). There were sacred mountains, through which they ascended and descended. There were sacred trees, often depicted in art with birds perching on top, serving the same purpose (fig. 1). Divination was carried out through the animal bones and shells or with the help of yarrow sticks. Writing was prominently associated with divination: bone divination was recorded in the oracle bone inscriptions (fig. 2), and a manual of what was probably a yarrow stick counting system eventually evolved into the classic Book of Changes.

Animals were the main helpers of the ancient shamans, their images adorning the ritual vessels and weapons of bronze (fig. 3) and of other materials (fig. 4). Rituals at which the vessels were used were likely the occasions where the actual flights took place, and on these occasions other instruments for the flight also came into display: foods, drinks, music, dances, costumes and their appendages, and perhaps a little sexual flirtation. The shamans may on occasion work themselves into ecstasy, undoubtedly helped by imbibing alcohol.

One notices that the above shamanistic items include many of the markers of ancient civilization. Because these items induce authority, their possession invokes political power. Shamans were employed by the politically powerful, and in fact the king himself is known to possess shaman’s powers. When the road to Heaven was monopolized by the possessors of shamanistic powers, ancient art and ritual were the sources of political clout, and the accumulation of art and ritual objects was an instrument of social stratification. In this scenario, technology plays no crucial part; in fact, Bronze Age technology of food production remained the same as the prehistoric. The only break-through in this sphere — bronze metallurgy — was applied to politics in the form of ritual vessels and weapons.

This rise of civilization in ancient China associated with a differentiated access to the means of communication — instead of the means of production — was in essential ways at variance with our traditional wisdom pertaining to the rise of civilization. In the latter we associate that rise with such qualitative changes in culture and society as technological innovations in the form of metal implements and irrigation devices, cities in which merchants and craftsmen congregated, writing that served to

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Figure 2. Inscribed shoulderblade fragment left by Shang Dynasty diviners, about 1300 B.C. At left the underside shows a series of hollows, at the bottom of which heat was applied to produce the cracks on the upperside at right. The cracks were interpreted and writing was incised on the surface afterward. (Collection of Peabody Museum.)
record economic transactions that had become complex, and a political system increasingly based on territorial bonds and less and less on kinship. All together these new features boiled down to a new stage in human history in which an artificial civilization emerged to elevate the humans to a higher plane than that of our nature-bound barbarous ancestors:

We can see the process of the growth of a civilization as the gradual creation by man of a larger and more complex environment, not only in the natural field through increasing exploitation of a wider range of resources of the ecosystem, but also in the social and spiritual fields. And, whereas the savage hunter lives in an environment not so different in many ways from that of other animals, although enlarged already by the use of language and of a whole range of other artifacts in the culture, civilized man lives in an environment very much of his own creation.

Civilization, in this sense, is the self-made environment of man, which he had fashioned to insulate himself from the primeval environment of nature alone. (Colin Renfrew, The Emergence of Civilization, London: Methuen & Co., 1972, p. 11).

This concept of the first civilized society is fundamentally at odds with the ancient Chinese reality of a layered but interlinked world continuum, in which privileged humans and animals roamed about from one layer to another. The Chinese civilization in its outer appearance focused on those instruments that enabled this interpenetration. In many ways — among them the closeness to nature and to animals and the continuity of kinship to play a central part in human society being paramount — the first civilized society of China carried on many essential features of its savage and barbarous antecedents. Politics, it appears, rather than technology and trade, was the prime mover of the major societal transformation that resulted in the Chinese civilization.

How is this apparent lack of correspondence of China to the civilization stereotype to be resolved? No one is better equipped to tackle this problem than the anthropologists who can understand cultural differences as well as they understand cultural similarities, and who have access to many of the variations on the same civilizational theme. The outstanding contribution of Chinese Studies is that because of the clear and strong case China presents it compels us to ask the crucial question and to look again at the evidence. When we do so we find that the Chinese case is far from being unique but that it is repeated within many other ancient civilizations that we deal with.

Take, for example, the following statement about the Aztecs and contrast it with the above quotation from Renfrew:

The Mexica saw the relationship between their city [Tenochtitlan] and its environment as an integrated cosmological structure — an ordered universe within which the natural phenomena were regarded as intrinsically sacred, alive, and intimately relatable to the activities of man. This outlook contrasted with that of the Europeans, who saw cities as artifacts of civilization — places where religions and legal institutions sharply distinguished man’s identity from that of untamed nature. The Spanish friars and soldiers automatically placed themselves as human beings on a higher level than other forms of life in a hierarchy of Creation. But the Indians approached the phenomena of nature with a sense of participation: the universe was

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Scholars, symposia, and seminars

Department of Anthropology

**Prof. Thomas J. Barfield** participated in the Forum on Afghanistan sponsored by the State Department and the University of Nebraska at Omaha held in Wash., D.C. He delivered a paper entitled “Current Events in Afghanistan” at the Middle Eastern Studies Assoc. meetings in Chicago. Prof. Barfield will be the guest lecturer on the Peabody Museum’s trip to Pakistan and Northern India in May (see page 17).

**Dr. Garth Bawden** presented a paper on his “Recent Field Research in Moquegua, Southern Peru” at the annual Northeast Conference of Andean Archaeology and Ethnohistory in New York. “The social role of Moche decorated ceramics” was the topic of a paper delivered at the Liberal Arts School, Virginia Commonwealth Univ., Richmond.

**Dr. Ian W. Brown** was elected to the Executive Committee of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference. “The excavation of protohistoric sites in the Natchez Bluffs region, Mississippi: An update” was the title of a paper given at that Conference’s annual meetings in Columbia, S.C. Dr. Brown is the author of *Natchez Indian Archaeology: Culture Change and Stability in the Lower Mississippi Valley*, Miss. Dept. of Archives and History, Archaeological Report No. 15, Jackson, Miss. Dr. Brown was recently appointed Associate Curator of North American Collections at the Peabody Museum (see page 16).

**Prof. Kwang-chih Chang** served on the Panel on Humanities and Social Sciences of the Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People’s Republic of China. He is a member of the Steering Committee for the CSCPRC Conference on Chinese Prehistory and Ancient History and Models and Generalizations to be held in Boston. Prof. Chang received a Guggenheim Fellowship for 1984-85.

**Dr. Jason W. Clay** took part in discussions on Human Rights Violations in Uganda held in Wash., D.C. He was a participant in the International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, also held in Wash., D.C. Dr. Clay is the editor of *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, and authored Cultural Survival Occasional Paper no. 77 entitled *The Eviction of Banyaruanda — The Story Behind the Refugee Crisis in Southwest Uganda*.

**Dr. Terrence Deacon** presented a paper at the Wellesley College Biology Colloquium entitled “The Evolution of Cortical Circuity and the Uniqueness of the Human Brain.” In cooperation with the Boston Aquarium and the Whaling Museum, Friday Harbor, Washington, Dr. Deacon has been collecting and examining the brains of a variety of marine mammals for research on early mammalian brain evolution. He was in Iceland during the summer to collect and examine brains of a number of species of whales. Dr. Deacon served as a consultant for the PBS Series Nova, and for a new series on human origins being produced by the Canadian Broadcasting Corp.

**Prof. B. Irven DeVore** gave a lecture on “Sociobiology: A New Paradigm for the Behavioral Sciences” sponsored by the Dept. of Anthropology and the Yerkes Primate Center, Emory Univ., Atlanta. “On the Origins and Consequences of Sexual Reproduction” was the title of a lecture given at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Cambridge. Prof. DeVore presented a lecture entitled “Human Nature in Evolutionary Perspective” at the opening of “Ancestors,” an exhibit at the American Museum of Natural History, New York.

**Prof. Byron Good** presented a review of the cross-cultural evidence on anxiety disorders for a major National Institute of Mental Health conference on Anxiety and the Anxiety Disorders. He presented a paper on “Stress discourse in American and Iranian Culture” at a NIMH meeting on Medical Anthropology: Implications for Stress Prevention among Culturally Different Populations.

**William W. Howells, Prof. Emeritus**, chaired a session at the 4th Congress of European Anthropologists held in Florence. He is the co-editor, with G.N. Van Vark, of *Multivariate Statistical Methods in Physical Anthropology: A Review of Recent Advances and Current Developments*.

**Prof. Glynn Ll. Isaac** gave a lecture entitled “The First Clubs — archaeological evidence for the beginnings of tool use, central place foraging and information interchange” at the Leakey Foundation Symposium to honor Dr. Mary Leakey held in Nairobi. He was co-organizer of the 1985 Gordon Conference on Diet and Human Evolution, Centura, Calif. Part of Prof. Isaac’s investigation of the importance of bark and tubers as potential foods for early hominids (to which access was gained by the use of stone tools) involved taking quantitative measures of the harvesting of wild tubers among the Hadza of Northern Tanzania. “Some hillside had as much as a ton of tubers per hectare! Skilled Hadza women were routinely collecting 5 to 10 kilos in two or three hours of digging and one morning one woman got 20 kg.,” he reports. “Clearly these wild tubers, growing in a semi-arid environment, may have practical importance as famine relief food as well as academic interest as potential food of evolving pre-agricultural hominids.” Glynn and Barbara Isaac visited Prof. DeVore’s Ituri Research Project in the heart of the Central African tropical forest. They helped map camp sites recently abandoned by Bambuti (Pygmy) forager-hunters, and helped with the test excavations at two sites. This is the first archaeological work done in the center of the forest and preliminary results imply the existence of Iron Age and Stone Age layers.

**Prof. Arthur Kleinman** presented a paper at a Conference on International Issues in Psycho-Oncology, Memorial Sloan Kettering Cancer Center in New York, entitled “A Cross-Cultural Perspective on Death, Loss and Grief.” Prof. Kleinman was a Distinguished Visiting Scholar at the University of Adelaide, Australia and delivered the Flory Lecture on “Health Care — Continued on next page
sequences of Bereavement." He gave the keynote address, "Culture and Somatic Complaints: the Study of Illness Meanings" at the First International Conference on Social and Clinical Aspects of Illness Behavior held in Adelaide. Prof. Kleinman was elected to the Institute of Medicine of the National Academy.

Prof. Dorinne Kondo presented a paper on "Circles of Attachment, The Domains of Work and Family in Japanese Small Scale Enterprise" at the Conference on The Family in Urban Asia at Cornell Univ. The title of a lecture given at Yale was "Self and Society in Japan." At the Hamilton College East Asian Studies Lecture Series she delivered a paper entitled "Creating an Ideal Self."

Prof. C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky gave a lecture entitled "The Process of Colonization and the Proto-Elamites" at the Univ. of Montreal. A paper presented at the Univ. of Arizona was "Literacy, Economy and the Urban Process Between Mesopotamia and the Indus." During his sabbatical leave Prof. Lamberg-Karlovsky gave the following lectures: "Death in Dilmun" at a Conference on The Past and Present of Bahrain, Bahrain; "The Economic Structure of Mesopotamia in the Third Millennium" at a conference in Rome on Eurasia: One World; "Recent Advances in the Archaeology of the Persian/Arabian Gulf" at the National Museum, New Delhi; and "The World Economy of the Third Millennium in the Ancient Near East," the Israel Museum and the Institute of Archaeology, Jerusalem. Prof. Lamberg-Karlovsky was guest lecturer on a 3 week Harvard Alumni Assoc. cruise/tour called From the Arabian Sea to the Mediterranean: Civilizations in Transition. Visits to the Institute of Archaeology, Soviet Academy of Sciences in Moscow and Leningrad concluded with an agreement for continued USA/USSR archaeological symposia, individual research exchanges, and the development of collaborative archaeological field programs.

Prof. Mark Leighton presented a paper on "Models of foraging and hominin diets" at the Gordon Conference in Ventura, Calif. "Food resources and comparative social systems of hornbills" was the title of a paper delivered at the American Society of Zoologists meetings in Philadelphia. A lecture at the American Association for the Advancement of Science meetings, New York, was "Ecological effects of drought and fire in East Borneo Rain Forests." Prof. Leighton was doing field work in Indonesia during July and August. He revisited a former research site in East Kalimantan (Borneo), and established a new research site in West Kalimantan for a project on primate behavior and community ecology in the tropical rain forest. Prof. Leighton was appointed a Research Associate of the Univ. of Washington Primate Center.

Prof. Charles Lindholm was a discussant at a Columbia Univ. Conference on Contemporary Pakistan dealing with Afghan refugees.

Prof. David Maybury-Lewis did field work among the Sherente Indians of Central Brazil during the summer, completing his re-study of tribal peoples whom he first investigated more than twenty years ago. In order to determine how it may best assist the Indian cause in Brazil, the Ford Foundation invited Prof. Maybury-Lewis to travel throughout that country and report on the present situation and future prospects of Indian and pro-Indian organizations. The title of a paper presented at a conference on Anthropology and Advocacy in Canada was "Not so strange advocacy: anthropology at the service of ethnic groups." At a Conference on native people and economic developments in Mexico City, Prof. Maybury-Lewis gave a paper entitled "Brazilian Indianist policy: some lessons from the Shavante project." Prof. Maybury-Lewis is working on Millennium, an anthropological film series for television being planned under the auspices of Cultural Survival, Inc. In addition, he recently obtained a grant from the Tinker Foundation for the support of Cultural Survival's research on the problem of tribal peoples and ethnic minorities, including his own forthcoming work on the second conquest of the Americas. Prof. Maybury-Lewis was the (contributing) editor of The Prospects for Plural Society, Proceedings of the American Ethnological Society (1982).

Prof. Robert Maddin took part in the excavation of a late 15th-early 14th c. B.C. shipwreck off the coast of Kas, Turkey, and is studying copper and tin samples recovered. He also surveyed metallurgical smelting sites in Sardinia, a Sardinia, Harvard and the Univ. of Penn. project. He delivered a lecture entitled "The Status of Chinese Archaeometallurgy" at a Symposium on Early Technology in China at the AAAS Annual Meeting in New York City. At a symposium held by the Comite pour la Siderurgie Anceinne in Belfast, Northern Ireland, Prof. Maddin delivered a lecture on "The Craft of the Blacksmith." A special lecture at the Ulster Museum was entitled "The Blacksmith's Art at the Beginning of the Iron Age in the Eastern Mediterranean."

Prof. Sally Falk Moore gave a paper entitled "Planned Interventions" at a Yale Seminar on African Studies. She organized and chaired "Recent Research on Politics and Law," at a session of the American Anthropological Association annual meeting. She was a participant in an international conference, sponsored by the Indo-U.S. Sub-Commission on Education and Culture, on Law and Social Change at the Fletcher School, Tufts Univ.. Prof. Moore spent a month in Africa making contacts for future research projects. She was named an Honorary Research Fellow in the Dept. of Anthropology, University College, Univ. of London, and elected a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. A forthcoming book entitled Social Facts and Fabrications: Customary Law on Kilimanjaro 1880-1980 will be published by Cambridge Univ. Press. Prof. Moore and her husband are Co-Masters of Dunster House at Harvard.

Prof. David Pilbeam delivered a paper at the AAAS annual meeting in New York on "Molecules, organisms and evolution." The title of a paper given at the opening of "Ancestors" at the American Museum of National History, New York was "Patterns of Hominid Evolution." "Human Origin Research" was the title of the Terry Lecture Prof. Pilbeam gave at Washington Univ.. Prof. Pilbeam was guest lecturer, with Prof. Isaac
on the Peabody Museum's trip to East Africa in May (see article and song!) by Sue Lonoff, page 19).

Prof. Pauline E. Peters is organizing with Prof. Jane Guyer a workshop sponsored by the Social Science Research Council/American Council of Learned Societies on "Conceptualizing the Household: Issues of Theory, Method and Application" to be held at Harvard this Fall with participants from Africa, Europe and the United States. "Household Management in southern Africa: Crops, Cattle, and Wage Labour" was the title of a paper presented at the Joint Rockefeller Foundation - Ford Foundation Conference held in Bellagio, Italy. Prof. Peters gave a seminar at the African Studies Center, Boston University entitled "Struggles over water, struggles over meaning: Cattle, water and the state in southern Africa." She also gave a lecture at Cornell School of Agriculture on "Woman and African Development." Prof. Peters spent three months traveling in Africa visiting universities and research centers to discuss current and future social research on rural economies.

Prof. Izumi Shimada carried out a month-long survey of ancient copper mines on the North Coast of Peru, part of a multi-year, interdisciplinary research project on the prehispanic copper-alloy industry in Batan Grande. Prof. Shimada is co-editor of a forthcoming book entitled *Andean Civilization and Ecology*, Univ. of Tokyo Press (American distribution through Univ. of Columbia Press).

Prof. Stanley Tambiah was co-organizer of and delivered a paper on "The Sinhalese-Tamil Ethnic Conflicts in Sri Lanka", a Colloquium on Ethnicity and Natives held at Rothko Chapel, Houston. "Rituals, Symbols and Performance: New Perspectives in Cultural Analysis" was the title of a paper given at Brown Univ. in the Charles Colver Lectureship Series. Prof. Tambiah delivered the Lewis Henry Morgan Lectures (four) at Rochester Univ. on the topic: "Magic, Science, Religion and the question of Rationality." A paper presented at the Berkeley-Harvard Conference on Comparative Ethics at Berkeley was "The Buddhist Arhat: Classical Paradigm and Modern Thai Manifestations." Prof. Tambiah is the author of a recently published book: *The Buddhist Saints of the Forest and the Cult of Amulets, A Study in Charisma, Hagiography, Sectarianism and Millennial Buddhism*, Cambridge Univ. Press.


Prof. Gordon R. Willey received an Honorary Doctor of Letters from the Univ. of New Mexico. He was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society.

Prof. Stephen Williams participated in two regional conferences on Lower Mississippi Valley Archaeology: at the Wickliffe (Kentucky) Ceramic Conference he moderated one session and gave a presentation in another. At the Mid-South Conference (Pinson, Tenn.) he gave the summary presentation: "A View From The Lower Valley." Prof. Williams traveled to Rwanda, Tanzania and Kenya on a trip sponsored by the Peabody Museum.

__New appointments__

Byron Good was appointed Assistant Professor of Medical Anthropology in the Department of Social Medicine and Health Policy of Harvard Medical School and Lecturer in the Department of Anthropology. He is also a Consultant to the Department of Medicine at the Massachusetts General Hospital. He came to Harvard in 1983, after teaching for seven years in the Department of Psychiatry at the University of California, Davis. His research and teaching interests focus on medical and psychiatric anthropology and cross-cultural psychiatry, especially in Iran and the United States.

Prof. Good holds a B.D. from Harvard Divinity School (1969), where he studied comparative religions, and a Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of Chicago (1977). He conducted research in a Turkish-speaking provincial town in Iran from 1972 to 1974, and returned as a World Health Organization consultant in 1975 and 1976. During his years in California, he continued his research on Iranian culture, working with Iranian immigrants and psychiatric patients, focusing on the role of cultural meanings in the experience and expression of emotion and psychiatric disorders. This work has resulted in a number of publications on the semantic structure of medical discourse in Iranian culture.

Prof. Good has also conducted research, in cooperation with his wife (Mary-Jo DelVecchio Good, a sociologist at Harvard) in several community and clinical settings in the United States. He worked with three spiritualist healers and brought them into a "cultural consultation clinic" in the Psychiatry Department at Davis. He conducted a large study from 1980 to 1983 on the culture of rural medicine in nor-

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The structure of violence among the Swat Pukhtun
CHARLES T. LINDHOLM

Charles T. Lindholm is Assistant Professor of Anthropology and Social Studies at Harvard. A graduate of Columbia College he received the PhD degree from Columbia Univ. (1979). Before joining the faculty at Harvard he taught at Barnard and Columbia in the Anthropology Dept.

Prof. Lindholm has travelled extensively in Afghanistan, Pakistan and India, and conducted field research among the Pukhtun in the Swat Valley of Pakistan. A book entitled Generosity and Jealousy: The Swat Pukhtun of Northern Pakistan resulted from his fieldwork in the area. Prof. Lindholm’s current research concerns the comparison of social organization of two frontier regions: The Great Wall area of North China and the frontiers of traditional Middle Eastern and North African states.

Violence is usually associated with chaos and disorder, but in the context of Middle Eastern tribal systems, it is violence that gives structure. Nowhere is this seeming paradox more evident than in Swat, Northern Pakistan, where I did my fieldwork. The Pukhtun tribesmen who dominate this isolated mountain valley have highly articulated relations of violence that serve to give order in an environment of constant struggle and competition.

Swat itself is a fertile region, producing double crops of wheat, corn and rice in its irrigated fields, but high population density and a social structure lacking in internal hierarchy combine to exacerbate internal hostility. This hostility, however, is not directed aimlessly. It varies according to the particular kinship relationship that is involved. For instance, within the nuclear family husbands and wives confront one another in a continuous struggle for dominance. Women, as incoming wives, seek to retain their lineage honor and control their new household. For men, the task is to subdue the wife or, failing that, to humiliate her. The husband has the trump card in this struggle, since he can take a second wife, thereby shaming the first and all her lineage. The woman’s response may be violent, since she is not allowed divorce. Fighting, abuse, and the covert use of magical spells are the weapons a woman uses against her rival. Should she fail to drive out her co-wife, she may vindicate herself by poisoning her husband, and men with two wives who die of ‘cholera’ are often rumored to have been murdered.

The men, on the other hand, are permitted and encouraged to beat their wives regularly. Only if bones are broken is a woman allowed to flee to her family, and even then she must return to her husband after a year or so. Outright murder of wives, however, is uncommon, since her lineage would be obliged to avenge her death, except if she has been sexually promiscuous, in which case her own lineage will repudiate her, and even kill her themselves.

Violence in the nuclear family is not limited to husband and wife. Fathers, sons, and brothers have relations of enmity, despite the formal respect and service offered by juniors to seniors. As is typical in patrilineal society, brothers are rivals for the father’s land, and squabble among themselves and with the father for a share. These conflicts rarely end in murder since a man’s father and brothers are his most certain allies in any clash with more distant relatives, and it would be self-defeating to kill them. One man in recent memory did kill his brother. The motive was greed for the brother’s wealth and lust for the brother’s wife, both of which he inherited after the murder was accomplished. He was safe from revenge, since he was himself the murdered man’s closest relative. But without allies he was unable to protect his gains, and a local strong man deprived him of both his property and his wife, and drove him from the village.

Killings of fathers and sons are more frequent than killings of brothers. Most of these killings are over property, though sexual jealousy and seduction of wives within the extended family can also cause murder. In one instance during fieldwork, a landlord shot and killed his son because the young man had refused to give a share of his rice harvest to the killer’s mother, the victim’s own grandmother. The wife of the dead man asked that the killer be prosecuted, but her brothers-in-law pressed her to drop the case, which she was obliged to do.

Violence within the family seems to be of two distinct types: that directed against wives, and that directed against agnates. The former is part of a larger pattern of enmity between lineages which is acted out, in part, between husband and wife, and which may end in feud if the wife is killed without sufficient cause. The latter derives from rivalry within the family over property and women. It may also escalate to murder, but does not involve revenge, since the killing has been committed by the closest possible agnate.

The next, and most violent, relationship is between close paternal cousins. Of the seventeen killings I recorded during fieldwork, seven were of these cousins. In addition, there were any number of fights which ended short of killing or serious injury. The tension between paternal cousins is so great that the kinship term, tarbur, is synonymous with ‘enemy’. This hostile relationship springs from disputes over land of the common grandfather. The holdings of cousins are adjacent, and each will try to push back...
the holdings of the other by trickery or force. For instance, one cousin walked to his field on a pathway which verged on the plot of his tarbur. There was a simmering dispute over the width of this narrow path which ended in a gunfight and the death of one man.

Among the Pukhtun, no man is recognized as the superior to any other, and in particular, no tarbur will suffer his cousin to dominate him. A man whose cousin has become wealthy and powerful will feel pressure to pick a fight with him to display his own power and fearlessness. The most devastating feud while I was in Swat was caused by just such a manifestation of pride. It began with a boy’s refusal to let his less affluent second cousin play soccer with him. This insult led to a fight which spread to the boys’ fathers. At least three men were killed, and the fields of both families were sold for weapons or left fallow as the remaining men struggled to eliminate their rivals.

Unlike other Middle Eastern tribal groups, the Pukhtun have little notion of group responsibility. Retaliation is directed against specific persons and their immediate agnates (women are never objects of vengeance). Men will wait many years to take revenge on a particular individual. A saying illustrates this: “A Pukhtun took revenge after 100 years and said ‘I took it quickly’”. As an example, a man whose father had been killed thirty years ago shot the killer while the old man was lying helpless and near death in a hospital bed. From this history, it is evident that the act of vengeance itself need not involve daring. Rather, it may be accomplished by stealth and betrayal. What is important is that revenge be taken. Courage is not so much in the killing as it is in the willingness to suffer the consequences for the sake of cleansing one’s honor.

Among elite Pukhtun, such as the men involved in the feud referred to above, insults must be avenged and the fighting carried to its bitter conclusion. For this reason, these lineages try to avoid situations that could start fighting. In consequence, this society, which is ordered by the threat of violence, is actually one of extreme courteousness. Insult, harassment, and anger are far less common than in many supposedly ‘peaceful’ societies, since the result of hostile action is automatic and frightening retaliation. As an axiom goes, “he who does not return a blow for a pinch is not Pukhtun”.

Outsiders, who are jealous of a leading family, will sometimes try to precipitate a feud between tarbur in order to bring about their ruin. In my village hostility between powerful tarbur escalated when one man’s valuable fruit orchard was cut down overnight. The people waited anxiously to see what the outcome would be, but after consultation with his brothers the owner of the trees decided to do nothing. “Thank Allah, I have
many enemies," he told me. "They would like to see me destroyed in a fight with my tarbur. Perhaps these enemies cut down my trees." This case illustrates the repeated motif of third party manipulation in Swati politics.

Rivalry between the close cousins and the focusing of revenge on individuals and nuclear families rather than on larger groups limits the range of blood feud in Swat. Other forms of violence, however, do involve more inclusive groups.

All Swati villages are divided into neighborhoods (palao). A very small village may have only one palao, but most have three. Two of the palao are usually larger and stronger than the third. Each neighborhood in turn is subdivided into tul, or wards, also often three in number. These wards are dominated by and named after a leader who, with his close relatives and clients, heads a faction which must be represented in the village council. The tul is in a neighborhood, though in opposition, can join together in action against another palao. Of course, all is not peaceful within the tul, as tarbur compete with one another for leadership and prestige. The village political organization is therefore perhaps best conceived as small circles of patrilineal kin, residing close to one another, and acting together in opposition to other circles of the same scale.

Within the village violent political action is always possible but rarely occurs. A murder, whatever the cause, leads to revenge. Political alliances drop away and the affair becomes one of feud to the death between two nuclear families. Much more likely in village politics was exile. Should one tul become overwhelmingly powerful, their disgruntled rivals might flee the village to find refuge with a nearby ally. The refugees would encourage their hosts to plan warfare on their home village in hopes of humbling their proud opponents.

Exile, while sometimes lengthy, was almost always impermanent. The exiled party was never totally accepted by its hosts on the grounds that "a man who would betray his own kin would certainly betray us as well." Furthermore, the exiles had no rights in land in their host's territory, while their claim to land within their own village continued in force. Eventually, the exiles would tire of living on charity and return home to claim their patrimony. Sometimes they had to return as supplicants, but more often they were invited back by their tarbur in order to strengthen the manpower of the village. Occasionally, the exiles returned as members of an invading army and used the power of their new position to settle old grievances.

Violence between villages varies according to the genealogical distance between them. Villages which are closely related have a ritualized form of warfare which formerly occurred at the end of Ramadan, the Muslim month of fasting. Young men from the villages would meet in a field to fight with slingshots. There were always a number of injuries and sometimes a death. No revenge was taken for fatalities, since they were seen as accidental.

Fighting with more distantly related villages was considerably more violent and was known by the Pukhtun themselves as jang, or warfare. It was to these more distant villages, who could wage real war, that exiles fled. Fatalities in jang could be high as allies and bodyguards were rallied for attacks on enemy strongholds. But these deaths also did not entail revenge, or even lasting enmity. Conversely, killings committed by turncoats who had joined the enemy were avenged. In the last great inter-village war (around 1900) one man from my village joined the opposition. With his help, the enemy group managed to occupy the village, and the traitor killed two of his tarbur's men and destroyed some of his property. Later, with the aid of allies and defectors, the village managed to expel the conquerors, once again balancing the regional distribution of power. The exile was obliged to return home and permit two of his sons to be killed in compensation for his acts. He then rejoined the village council and retained a position of influence. It is significant that this man's erstwhile allies were not held responsible for deaths which occurred in this war. Also noteworthy is the matter-of-fact Swati
The Peabody Museum at home and on the road
LEA S. McCHELSEY
Administrator of Exhibits and Director of Collection-Sharing

Recognizing its obligation to properly house and care for its renowned anthropological collections, beginning in 1980 the Peabody Museum launched an extensive renovation of its storage areas to provide the most up-to-date environment for collections care, including the installation of a fully-equipped conservation laboratory. Construction over the past three years necessitated the closing of the major galleries for temporary storage of the relocated objects.

While the museum’s galleries were temporarily closed, however, the Peabody instituted a large-scale loan program through collection-sharing to allow its collections to be seen nationwide. Under the Collection-Sharing Program, the Peabody collaborates with other museums to develop exhibits focusing on its collections which then travel to sites across the country and Canada. This innovative program has been in successful operation for over four years, enabling the museum to maintain an active exhibition program bringing the Peabody’s collections to literally millions of the general public.

During the renovation construction and completion of object storage, Peabody staff have been actively planning a new program of exhibition excellence. As the museum has addressed storage problems, so it is now confronting the display of its collections with the reinstallation of its permanent exhibition halls and the active use of its first floor rotating gallery. The Hemenway Gallery of the American Southwest on the second floor of the Museum, and the Oceanic Gallery on the fourth floor, from which one can view the newly renovated African storage area through a window-wall, have recently been reopened. The next priority of the Museum is to begin a long-range program of exhibition intended to present the research and teaching function of the museum in a format that conveys the rich resources of our collections, their artistic and educational value, and their ability to inspire curiosity and enthusiasm for the range and diversity of human endeavor in both the novice and the specialist alike.

New installations at the Museum will benefit from our internal efforts and will utilize the most up-to-date methods, as we have done with our collections care work. The need for new exhibitions has been reinforced by the Collection-Sharing Program, which has enabled us to benefit from professional collaboration in exhibit production. As we reopen our galleries in-house, we will begin to renew our public programs to increase our attendance, drawing on the success of expanded familiarity with the museum and its collections developed through the Collection-Sharing Program.

The exhibitions described below are currently underway through Collection-Sharing:

Northwest Native America Cultures: Study-Storage Project. 20 objects from the North American Collections. The Children’s Museum, Boston, March 1981 – 1985. Artifacts from the Peabody collections are incorporated into an existing study-storage facility to augment a high-quality collection of contemporary Northwest Native items.

Soft Gold: The Fur Trade & Cultural Exchange on the Northwest Coast of America. 143 objects and 13 drawings from the North American Collection. The Oakland Museum, Oakland, CA, 6/84 - 9/84. Rare early artifacts from the Peabody’s renowned Northwest Coast collections, accompanied by original 18th century drawings illustrate themes of cultural contact, trade, and native artistic traditions.

Cenote of Sacrifice: Maya Treasures from the Sacred Well at Chichen Itza. Approximately 300 objects from the Central American Collection. The Science Museum of Minnesota, St. Paul, 10/84 - 3/85; subsequent travel through 1987: Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago; Houston Museum of Natural Science, Houston; Royal Ontario Museum, Ontario. The objects featured in the exhibit include gold, jade, copper, wood, ceramics, and textiles, and were dredged from the Sacred Well at Chichen Itza, a Maya-Toltec trade capital in the Yucatan Peninsula.


We are also planning two other exhibitions under the Program to open in 1986: The Woven Word: Ancient Peruvian Textiles, and The Peabody Institute.
Chilkat Blanket, 19th c. No. 20-09-10/87563. Loaned for Soft Gold exhibit.

Bottleneck basket (left), Panamint Shoshone, Calif. c. 1900. No. 07-22-10/72169. Coiled jar, Western Eskimo, Kuskokwim region, 1906-7. No. 29-26-10/98412. Loaned for From the tree where the bark grows.


Textiles from the Collections of the Peabody Museum and Dumbarton Oaks with the American Federation of Arts, and Native American Games with the Children's Museum in Boston. Both exhibitions will receive national tours. We continue to lend extensively to other important national exhibitions which are not part of the Collection-Sharing Program:

Mimbres Pottery: Ancient Art of the American Southwest. 22 objects from the North American Collection. Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, 7/1/84 - 8/26/84; University Gallery, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, 12/16/84 - 2/10/85; Colorado Historical Society, Denver, 3/10/85 - 5/5/85; Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, 6/2/85 - 7/28/85; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 9/1/85 - 10/31/85. Organized by The American Federation of Arts. These vessels, painted with a broad range of distinctive geometric and figurative images, are representative of the remarkable artistic achievements of this ancient pueblo culture.


The exhibition focuses upon the Woodlands region of North America, from the Late Archaic period, beginning at approximately 3000 B.C. to terminal Mississippian times, 1550 A.D.


The exhibit will constitute the most comprehensive survey of Maya art ever assembled, using objects of the highest quality selected from museums in the United States, Canada, Mexico, Guatemala, and Belize.

Our in-house exhibition plans are even more active and ambitious than our loan exhibition plans. The foremost priority is to provide a new installation for the Hall of the North American Indian. To advance this goal, the Peabody has just appointed a new Associate Curator of North American Collections, Dr. Ian W. Brown (see p. 16). Dr. Brown's chief responsibility is to plan this massive undertaking, bringing together a group of the foremost North American specialists to consult and provide the ap-
propriate information for the presentation and interpretation of our native American material. We project an exhibition opening in 1987, and anticipate an exciting three years in achieving this goal.

This installation is illustrative of the long-range exhibit plans of the museum, which will eventually include the re-installation of at least three permanent exhibit halls in addition to the Hall of the North American Indian: a new MesoAmerican Hall, a new African/Oceanic Hall, and either a new installation on European archaeology or Early Man.

We have planned a series of temporary exhibits over the next three to five years. These include: an in-house installation of Soft Gold: The Fur Trade & Cultural Exchange on the Northwest Coast of America which has recently toured so successfully through the Collection-Sharing Program. We also plan an exhibition on the uses of photography in the various subfields of anthropology, from the founding of the discipline to the present day. From Site to Sight: Photography in the Service of Anthropology explores the strengths and limitations of the photographic medium in scientific contexts which attempt to understand the parameters of human activity through time. We have submitted a major grant to the National Endowment for the Humanities for exhibit funding. An exhibition marking the centennial anniversary of the Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition, 1886 - 1894, which pioneered the field of American archaeology, would open at the Peabody Museum as part of Harvard's 350th Anniversary Celebration and subsequently tour through the Southwest, visiting institutions representing areas explored by the expedition in 1887 - 1888. In addition, several graduate students have expressed interest in developing an exhibit on the Peabody's Mecklenberg Collection, one of the finest European bronze age collections extant. The exhibit would draw from their research and that of the Department of Anthropology faculty, notably Professor Peter S. Wells.

These are only a few of the suggestions that are being discussed and evaluated as we develop our 5-year plan for Peabody exhibition. We invite you to keep in touch, to watch us, and to support us as we enter this exciting new era.

Gold masks, Chichen Itza, A.D. 900-1100. No. 10-71-20/c7691 AH. Loaned for Cenote of Sacrifice exhibit.

The Governor General's Vision: the Philippine Islands from 1898 to 1913, at the Carpenter Center, Harvard. Curated by Melissa Banta, Director of Photographic Archives at the Peabody Museum, the exhibit includes prints from a collection of over 7,500 photographs given to the Peabody by William Cameron Forbes, Governor General of the Philippines in the early 1900s.

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northern California, which included a survey of 1100 patients in primary care clinics, an ethnographic study of a small community in Mendocino County, and intensive research with a number of physicians in the communities studied. This research was designed to study the medical culture of rural American communities and the role of physicians in managing psychological and social problems of their patients.

Prof. Good has currently begun research on the conflicting perspectives and forms of discourse of research physicians and clinicians at the MGH.

Prof. Good is Deputy Editor of *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry*. He is co-editor with Prof. Kleinman of *Culture and Depression: Studies in the Anthropology and Cross-Cultural Psychiatry of Affect and Disorder*, forthcoming from the University of California Press. He is also editing a book, with Mary-Jo Good, on *Discourses on Person, Affect and Healing in the Middle East*. And he is writing a book on symbolic and interpretive theory in medical and psychiatric anthropology.

**Pauline Peters** has been appointed Asst. Prof. of Anthropology and Associate in the Harvard Institute for International Development. She took her BA (1960) in Romance Languages and Literature, Univ. College of Cardiff, Univ. of Wales, and holds a postgraduate diploma (1962) in Social Administration from the London School of Economics and Political Science. She earned the MA (1978) and PhD (1983) degrees in Anthropology from Boston University.

Prof. Peters began her academic career doing sociological research in Uganda (1962-4) and following a brief hiatus to take care of her young children, returned to research and teaching in Malawi (1969-74). Her interest in social anthropology emerged from the experience of living and teaching in east and central Africa. Prof. Peters returned to full-time education in 1975 when, coming to America, she was awarded a scholarship by the African Studies Centre at Boston University to pursue a doctorate in social anthropology.

Prof. Peters did fieldwork for 15 months in Botswana, studying the history and organization of groups of cattle-owners who jointly owned and managed deep boreholes. The research focused on the place of these groups in the wider social and political structures, the interactions among patterns of resource use, political hierarchies and bases of group identity, and the relation between changing practices of land use and transformations in the meanings assigned to rights in land and persons.

Prof. Peters' present research interests emerge out of her dissertation and fieldwork experience: the socio-cultural transformations in systems of land holding and land rights and in the forms and bases of exchange among agricultural and agro-pastoral groups in central and southern Africa; changes in the structure and organization of family and kin groups in processes of agricultural commercialization; theories of gender with particular reference both to our cross-cultural understanding of ranking systems and conceptions of power, and to the theory and practice of social change and policy interventions.

**Parker Shipton**, a social anthropologist, was appointed in 1984 as Instructor in the Department of Anthropology and Research Assistant in the Harvard Institute for International Development. A summa cum laude graduate of Cornell University (1975), he received the M.Litt. degree at Oxford University (1979), where he was a Marshall Scholar, and he is a Ph.D. candidate in social anthropology at Cambridge University.

Primarily interested in East Africa, Mr. Shipton has also conducted research on the social significance of foods and patterns in inter-household exchange in the Colombian Andes. He has carried out a comparative study on the organization of land tenure in densely and sparsely settled agricultural communities in western Kenya and northwestern Tanzania, observing correspondences between agrarian systems and forms of kinship and political organization. This work earned him the Curl Prize of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland in 1981. Having conducted two years of field work in western Kenya, he is now engaged in the analysis of the socio-cultural adjustments of small-scale farmers, mainly Luo-speaking, into a national program of land privatization. He is also comparing the effects of public- and
private-sector schemes that have heightened the involvement of these farmers in the market economy by the provision of credit, and assessing linkages between land tenure and credit in the formal and informal economies. More broadly, he is interested in integrating anthropological perspectives into the analysis of international rural development attempts.

**Visiting professors**

Triloki N. Madan is Visiting Professor of Anthropology at Harvard. He was educated at the Kashmir and Lucknow Universities in India and at the Australian National University from where he obtained his doctorate in social anthropology in 1960. He has held teaching appointments at the Lucknow and Karnatak Universities and at the School of Oriental and African Studies (University of London), and is currently on the faculty of the Institute of Economic Growth (University of Delhi). He was George Miller Visiting Professor of Anthropology and Asian Studies at the University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, in 1971-72 and Directeur d'Etudes Associe at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, in 1982. From 1978 to 1981 he was the chief executive of the Indian Council of Social Science Research, and from 1979 to 1981 Vice-President of the International Federation of Social Science Organizations. He was a consultant to UNESCO (1975-78) and member of the Advisory Committee on Medical Research (South-East Asia Region), WHO (1981-1984).

Prof. Madan's research interests have been mainly in the areas of kinship, religion, cultural pluralism, and modern occupations (particularly the medical profession). His book *Family and Kinship: A Study of the Pandits of Rural Kashmir* (1965, 2nd ed. forthcoming) is considered a major contribution in its field. His other publications include *An Introduction to Social Anthropology* (11th impression, 1984), *Doctors and Society: Three Asian Case Studies* (1980), and *Culture and Development* (1983). He has edited several volumes of papers including *Encounter and Experience: Personal Accounts of Fieldwork* (1974) and *Way of Life: King, Householder, Renouncer: Essays in Honour of Louis Dumont* (1982). He has also published a large number of articles and essays in professional journals, books and encyclopedias. Currently he is working on the theory and practice of secularization.

Since 1967 Prof. Madan has been editor of the prestigious journal *Contributions to Indian Sociology* which was founded by Louis Dumont. Under his editorship the journal has become a notable forum for the publication of sociological and social anthropological studies on India in particular and South Asia generally. He is also the Regional Editor for Asia of *Social Science and Medicine*.

Prof. Madan's work has won recognition in India and abroad. He was named the Indian Universities Grants Commission National Lecturer in Social Anthropology in 1975-76, and was an invited speaker at the 104th annual meeting of the American Ethnological Society (1982) and at the centennial symposium of the Kokugakuin University of Japan (1983).

Derek John Mulvaney was named Visiting Professor of Australian Studies at Harvard for 1984-85. A scholar of prehistoric archaeology, he will teach in the Anthropology Department. Prof. Mulvaney earned BA and MA degrees from the Univ. of Melbourne and BA, MA and PhD degrees from Cambridge University. He was a Senior Lecturer in History at the Univ. of Melbourne before joining the faculty at Australian National University, Canberra in 1953 as Senior Fellow in Prehistory. He was appointed Professor of Prehistory in the Faculty of Arts at ANU in 1971. He has undertaken archaeological fieldwork throughout Australia and in eastern Indonesia and was the first person to offer courses in Australian and Pacific region prehistory at an Australian university. His excavations at Kenniff Cave, Queensland in 1962 resulted in the first radiocarbon dates from a stratified and systematically excavated site to produce dates older than 10,000 BP (Before Present). The Kenniff Cave site was later shown to go back to 19,000 BP.

Prof. Mulvaney was associated with discoveries at Lake Mungo, a former Pleistocene lake, which have documented the settlement of Australia back some 40,000 years. Finds include a 26,000 year old cremation burial, the world's oldest evidence for that burial rite.

Over the last decade Prof. Mulvaney has been closely associated with moves to improve cultural and environmental conservation in Australia. He served as Chairman of the Council of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. He also served for a Federal government committee of inquiry on Museums and National Collections and chaired the section concerned with Aboriginal matters. The result has been the foundation of a National Museum of Australia, which will have major input from Aboriginal peoples during planning stages. For six years, Prof. Mulvaney served on the Australian Heritage Commission, a Federal Authority formed in 1976 to compile a Register of the National Heritage. He represented Australia in Paris in 1977 when the criteria were drawn up at UNESCO for registering places on the World Heritage List.

The recipient of many distinguished awards and honors, he was awarded the Royal Honour of CMG (Companion of St. Michael and St. George) for his contribution to education in Australia. He is a Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy, a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and a Fellow of the Australian Academy of Humanities.

A prolific writer, Prof. Mulvaney has published over ninety excavation reports and articles on historical and archaeological subjects. Among the books authored by Prof. Mulvaney are: *The Prehistory of Australia* (Prager, 1969; Penguin Books, 1975, the first book published on that subject), *Aboriginal Man and Environment in Australia* (ANU Press, 1971), and *Aboriginal Prehistory* (Nelson, Melbourne, 1975). He has in press *Continued on next page*
a comprehensive biography of Sir Baldwin Spencer, the influential anthropologist of Aboriginal Australia around the turn of the century. He is currently writing a revision of Cricket Walkabout: the Australian Aboriginal Cricketers in England (Melbourne, 1967) — about the first team of cricket players from Australia to compete in England.

Visiting lecturers

During the academic year 1983-1984, a number of scholars from the United States and abroad gave lectures to students and faculty of the Anthropology Department and at meetings of the Peabody Museum Association. Dr. LoSchiavo, Director of Archaeology for Northern Sardinia presented a lecture entitled “The Foreign Relations of Nuragic Sardinia.” The title of an address by Prof. William Y. Adams, Univ. of Kentucky, to the Peabody Museum Association was “Nubia: Corridor to Africa.” Prof. and Mrs. Adams gave a seminar on “Excavations at Qasr Ibrim, An Egyptian Frontier Fortress in Nubia.” Prof. Marilyn Strathern, Cambridge University, spoke on “Exploitation: an Issue in the Anthropological Analysis of Gender Relations.” The title of a lecture by Prof. Sylvia Yanagisako of Stanford University was “Mixed Metaphors: Native and Anthropological Models of Gender and Kinship Domains.”

Prof. June Nash, Department of Anthropology, CUNY, spoke at a seminar on “Segmentation of the Labor Force in U.S. Industry: A Case Study.” Prof. J.V.S. Megaw, Flinders University of South Australia gave a lecture on “Dot and Circle: Politics and Paradox in the Transitional Art of the Australian Western Desert.” “Cadbury Castle and the Legend of Camelot” was the subject of a lecture by Prof. Leslie Alcock, University of Glasgow, Scotland. Prof. Annette Weiner, New York University, spoke on Forgotten Wealth: Women’s Production in the Pacific.”

“Carbon and Nitrogen Isotopes as Indicators of Ancient Dietary Patterns” was the title of a seminar given by Dr. Michael deNiro, Dept. of Earth and Planetary Sciences, UCLA. Dr. Margaret J. Schoeninger of the Department of Cell Biology and Anatomy of the Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine spoke on “Diet Reconstruction Based Upon Composition of Bone.” Prof. Judith P. Irvine, Brandeis University gave a talk about “The Linguistic Expression of Social Status.” David N. Keightley, Prof. of History, Berkeley, gave a seminar on “Life and Death in the Chinese Neolithic and Early Bronze Age (ca. 5000-1000 B.C.).” “The Ideology of Law” was the title of a lecture by Laura Nader, Prof. of Anthropology at Berkeley.

Dr. Ruth Schmidt, Visiting Scholar at the University of Wisconsin spoke about “Land and Culture in Kohistan, North Pakistan.” Dr. John Comaroff, Dept. of Anthropology, University of Chicago, gave a lecture on “Of Totemism and Ethnicity: Consciousness, Practice, and the Structure of Inequality.” Dr. Richard Kurin, Southern Illinois Univ. spoke at a seminar on “Indigenous Agronomics: Implications and Consequences for Agricultural Development in Pakistan.” Dr. Ian Hodder, Univ. of Cambridge, England spoke on “Post-processual Archaeology.” Prof. Mathew W. Stolper, Univ. of Chicago gave a lecture entitled “Provincial Entrepreneurs and Imperial Politicians in Late Achaemenid Babylonia.” Prof. Alan Sandstrom, Associate Prof. of Anthropology, Indiana University and Purdue spoke about “Paper Cult Figures of Mexico.”

Prof. Henry Wright, Univ. of Michigan gave a lecture on “Ancient Imerina: New Research on Central Madagascan State Development.” Dr. Robert Hecht of the World Bank spoke on “The Transformation of Lineage Production in the Southern Ivory Coast 1920-1960.” Dr. James Kus, Dept. of Geography, California State Univ., Fresno, spoke on “Recent Research on Irrigation Agriculture of the Pre-Hispanic North Coast of Peru.” Prof. Gordon Brotherston, Univ. of Essex gave a talk on “Chronology in the Native Texts of Meso-America.” “European Trade Goods from 17th Century Native Cemeteries” was the title of a lecture by Prof. William Turnbaugh.

Museum curators and staff

Brown appointed

Ian W. Brown

Ian W. Brown, the newly appointed Associate Curator of North American Collections, will be responsible for supervising the renovation of the Hall of the North American Indian exhibit. The theme of this new permanent installation will be culture change and continuity in native North American lifeways.

Dr. Brown was born in Albany, New York in 1951. He did his undergraduate training in anthropology at Harvard (1973) and
received his MA and PhD degrees from Brown University in 1975 and 1979. Since 1971 Dr. Brown has been associated with the Lower Mississippi Survey of the Peabody Museum. He has done considerable archaeological research in both Mississippi and Louisiana, the prime focus of his work being the interaction between Native Americans and Western peoples in historic times. In 1978 Dr. Brown was employed by the Peabody Museum to conduct surveys and excavations on and around Avery Island, Louisiana, the home of Tabasco Sauce. Two books and several articles resulted from the analysis of this work.

Since 1980 Dr. Brown has served as a Lecturer in the Department of Anthropology and as a Research Associate to Professor Williams on the Lower Mississippi Survey. In addition to teaching a course on the archaeology and history of the North American Indians in the General Education offerings, he has had an important role in the Anthropology Department’s tutorial program, having served as Archaeology Wing Tutor in 1983-84.

Dr. Clemency Coggins is the author of *Cenote of Sacrifice: Maya Treasurers from the Sacred Well at Chichen Itza*, a catalogue for a major traveling exhibition of Maya artifacts from the Peabody Museum. She gave a paper entitled “Decorated Ceramics at Copan and Quirigua in Their Relation to Other Classic Maya Regions: A Pot Can Look at a King” at the Conference of Southeastern Maya Regions held at Dumbarton Oaks, Wash., DC. Dr. Coggins is a member of the U.S. Cultural Property Advisory committee.

The MacArthur Foundation has announced the award of a Prize Fellowship to Peter Mathews, a researcher on the Maya hieroglyphic project. A native of Canberra, Australia, Mr. Mathews earned a BA in archaeology at the Univ. of Calgary, Canada, where he studied under Prof. David Keeley (Harvard BA, PhD), the last student to work with the late Maya scholar Prof. Alfred M. Tozzer. Mr. Mathews is a PhD candidate in Anthropology at Yale and is writing his dissertation on the inscriptions from Yaxchilan, a site in southern Mexico. He came to the Peabody Museum in 1979 to work with Ian Graham — a 1981 MacArthur Prize winner. Mathews has been working on the Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, recording and publishing texts and doing analytical studies of Maya writing.

Richard H. Meadow (Zooarchaeology Laboratory, Peabody Museum) attended a colloquium held at the University of Amsterdam on the use of computers in the analysis of animal remains from archaeological sites and presented a paper on “The long-term storage and dissemination of computer-based archaeozoological data”. He also gave invited lectures at the Institute of Archaeology, University of Amsterdam titled “Pre- and proto-historic animal exploitation in the Greater Indus Valley” and at the University of Groningen on “The evidence for early animal domestication from Mehrgarh, Pakistan”. While in Europe, he traveled to Tubingen, West Germany where, working with Hans-Peter Uerpmann, he completed editing the first volume of *Equids in the Ancient World* to be published in 1985 by the Tübinger Atlas of the Middle East.

Lea S. McCchesney, Administrator of Exhibitions, was the Peabody Museum representative to the National Endowment for the Humanities Colloquium on Anthropology and Archaeology Museums, held in Tucson. Sponsored by the American Association of Museums, participants met to evaluate collections concerns and recommend priorities to federal agencies.

**PAKISTAN and NORTHERN INDIA**

A trip sponsored by the Peabody Museum will visit Northern Pakistan where the world’s most famous mountain ranges, the Himalayas, Karakorams, and the Hindu Kush come together — an area of spectacular scenery and fascinating history. We will go to the Khyber Pass, Peshawar, Chitrál, Gilgit, and the Kingdoms of Swat and Hunza — for centuries witness to commerce, migrations and invasions. Among the archaeological sites included on the tour will be Mohenjo-daro, after years of excavation one of the most remarkable cities of the ancient world, and Taxila, the capital of Gandhara and a center of learning, philosophy and art. In Northern India we will travel through the Vale of Kashmir and stay on luxurious houseboats in Srinagar. Sightseeing in Delhi and the Taj Mahal under a full moon will conclude this extraordinary itinerary. Harvard anthropologist Prof. Thomas Barfield, a Central Asian scholar, will accompany the tour as guest lecturer.

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During the summer (June 26 - July 22), the Peabody Museum sponsored an Anthropological Safari to East Africa. Leading the group were Professors Glynn Isaac and David Pilbeam. They were accompanied by their wives, Barbara Isaac and Maryellen Ruvolo, Professor Stephen Williams, and several enthusiastic amateurs.

The tone of the expedition was established within twenty-four hours; unsobered by the tragic loss of Professor Williams’ luggage, the amateurs swapped risqué gorilla jokes throughout the first day’s layover in Brussels. Still, they were eager to learn, and their leaders met the challenge with resourcefulness and patience.

In informal evening lectures, Professors Pilbeam and Isaac offered basic information on primate behavior, the African rift valley, strata, hominids, and fossil remains. Practical lessons followed as the travellers advanced, cameras in hand, through game parks in Rwanda, Tanzania, and Kenya, and through sites at Olduvai, Olorgasailie, Lake Magadi, and Koobi Fora. In the mountain jungles of Ruhengiri Park, they crouched inches away from silverback gorillas; in a morning’s drive through the Ngorongoro Crater, they saw seventeen species of mammals. Other highpoints of the trip were the discovery of a shattered skull in Akagera Park; the sight (in Olorgasailie) of hundreds of large hand-axes, made 400,000 years ago; a private tour of the Nairobi Museum vaults, conducted by Richard Leakey; a conference with the new U.S. Ambassador to Kenya; and horror stories on various subjects, generously contributed by Donald Turner, who organized the itinerary and accompanied the party through Rwanda.

As the weeks passed, the questions of the amateurs became increasingly sophisticated. Discussions of australopithecines and brain size did not replace discussions of food and shopping; however, they were nearly as common. Ultimately, the majority felt that they had gained information on the genesis of mankind without...
impairing the fossil record or their sense of humor. They had also had the trip of a lifetime.

Plans for a reunion have been launched, and Professors Pilbeam and Isaacs have been entreated to run a comparable excursion in two years. Meanwhile, among the remains of this trip, the following fragment has emerged. It is to be sung to the tune of Gilbert and Sullivan’s ‘‘I am the Very Model of a Modern Major General.’’

*Sue Lonoff is Preceptor in Expository Writing at Harvard.*

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I am the very model of a Peabody Safarian,
I’ve travelled with my tripod through the jungles quite malarian,
I’ve scrambled round the gulleys of the famous gorge at Olduvai,
And battled rather bravely with the predatory tsetse fly.
I’ve brandished my binoculars at lionesses large and bold,
I’ve even taken showers where the water’s running brown and cold.
I’ve primed up on the primates and I’m loaded down with fossil lore;
When I get back to Harvard I shall be the most colossal bore —
[Chorus]

When she gets back to Harvard she will be the most colossal bore,
When she gets back to Harvard she will be the most colossal bore,
When she gets back to Harvard she will be the most colossal-lossal bore —
Then I can read a chart about the chert deposits in the rift,
Or calculate the clothing I must barter for a Maasai gift:
In short, in anthropology or matters more vulgarian
I am the very model of a Peabody Safarian.

[Chorus]

In short, in anthropology or matters more vulgarian
She is the very model of a Peabody Safarian!

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I. I know the great gorilla’s not a man-eating barbarian,
For I have seen the silver-back, that gentle vegetarian,
I’ve aimed my nimble Nikon at a heaving hippopotamus
And slithered through the underbrush upon my trusty bottomus.
I’ve jounced along Rwandan roads and Tanzanian mountain-tops,
I’ve learned to use the bushes for those all-essential comfort stops,
On teeth and jaws and vertebrae, I’m teeming with momentous news,
Entirely unprejudiced by Pilbeam’s or by Isaac’s views —
[Chorus]

Entirely unprejudiced by Pilbeam’s or by Isaac’s views,
Entirely unprejudiced by Pilbeam’s or by Isaac’s views,
Entirely unprejudiced by Pilbeam’s or by Isaac’s-Isaac’s views —
Then I can tell a pot-shard from a flint-chip or a cutting tool
And differentiate between an eland’s and a dyk-dyk’s stool:
In short, in anthropology or matters more vulgarian,
I am the very model of a Peabody Safarian.

[Chorus]

In short, in anthropology or matters more vulgarian,
She is the very model of a Peabody Safarian!

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II. While roaming through Nairobi, I’ve emerged unscathed from shopping dens
With striped kikois (so suitable for modern homo sapiens),
I’ve memorized impressive terms like ‘‘boisei’’ and ‘‘masseter,’’
And chatted off-the-record with America’s ambassador.
I’ve fished at Koobi Fora, where the crocodile is often seen,
And stumbled over strata from the Plio- and the Pleistocene.
Within the Leakey Institute I’ve gazed on crania small and grand;
Regard me with respect, for I have shaken Richard Leakey’s hand —
[Chorus]

Regard her with respect for she has shaken Richard Leakey’s hand,
Regard her with respect for she has shaken Richard Leakey’s hand,
Regard her with respect for she has shaken Richard Leakey’s- Leakey’s hand —
By querying those scientists, at labs and sites and restaurants,
I’ve plumbed the deepest mysteries of hominids and research grants,
And so, in anthropology or matters more vulgarian,
I am the very model of a Peabody Safarian.

[Chorus]

And so, in anthropology or matters more vulgarian,
She is the very model of a Peabody Safarian!

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Lyrics by Sue Lonoff
Harvard he has served as Wing Chairman of Social Anthropology, as a member of the Faculty Council, and on many committees of study.

Professor Tambiah has done extensive field work in Sri Lanka and Thailand. He has a strong regional interest in South and Southeast Asia, and his theoretical concerns range widely over the fields of religion and ritual, politics and economy, and their interrelationships. In his anthropological research and writings he tries to incorporate and integrate Indological and historical materials. His major writings include: *Buddhism and the Spirit Cults in Northeast Thailand* (1970); *Bridewealth and Dowry* (with Jack Goody) (1973); *World Conqueror and World Renouncer, A Study of Religion and Polity in Thailand Against a Historical Background* (1976); and *The Buddhist Saints of the Forest and the Cult of Amulets, A Study in Charisma, Hagiography, Sectarianism and Millennial Buddhism* (1984).

Professor Tambiah has been awarded the Curl Bequest Prize (1974) and the Rivers Memorial Lecture Medal (1973) by the Royal Anthropology Institute. He received a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1981-82, and was elected a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1981. He has delivered several named lectures which include: the Malinowski Memorial Lecture, London School of Economics, 1968; the Radcliffe Brown Memorial Lecture, British Academy, 1979; the Radhakrishnan Memorial Lectures, Oxford University, 1982; the Kingsley Martin Memorial Lecture, Cambridge University, 1982; and the Lewis Henry Morgan Memorial Lectures, Rochester University, 1984.

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**Martha Lamberg-Karlovsky is the Editor of Symbols.**

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Ancient China and its anthropological significance

Continued from page 4

Figure 4. Truly a microscopic symbol of ancient Chinese cosmology and ritual, the jade tsung, such as the one shown here (excavated in 1982 in Ch'ang-chou, Kiangsu, from a Liang-chu Culture site, c. late 3rd millennium B.C.), represents the Heaven-Earth communication act in a nutshell: the round portion was Heaven, and the square portion Earth. They were penetrated and brought together by an *axis mundi* (the shaft of the jade, which was perhaps the essence of the sacred mountains), shown with the shaman's animal agents. (From K'ao-ku, 1984, No. 2.)


The Aztec-Spanish contrast echoes the China-stereotype contrast we mentioned earlier. In fact, most if not all of the essential characteristics of the ancient civilization we listed above for China are seen again in ancient Mesoamerican civilizations. In the classic Maya civilization of the first millennium, we find, not the outcome of a major technological breakthrough, but another highly stratified society in which politics and ritual played decisive transformative roles. We see a stratified universe with the bird-perched cosmic tree and religious personnel interlinking the Upper, Middle, and Lower Worlds (fig. 5). We find the use of writing primarily for purposes of politics and ritual. We find that kinship was again intertwined with politics, and that ancestors were venerated. We also find an art in which animals served as messengers interlinking the different worlds.

How do we account for the many similarities — some fundamental, others of detail — between ancient China and ancient Mesoamerica? It is tempting to appeal to diffusion or trans-Pacific contacts, but such contacts if any can only be sporadic and intermittent and cannot account for the broad similarity of the pattern of societal growth. Besides, the Mesoamerican pattern is not at all unique, and elements of it are found all over the New World. For some time Peter T. Furst has addressed the issue of a shamanistic substratum of the civilization of both the New World and part of the Old World. In Joseph Campbell’s recent book, *The Way of the*
Animal Powers (Volume 1 of the Historical Atlas of World Mythology, London: Summerfield Press, 1983), he has gathered enough evidence to present a comprehensive picture showing how the ancestral Indians on crossing Beringia during the last glacial period had carried with them a system of shamanistic cosmology and rituals that had its roots in the Upper Palaeolithic substratum of the Old World. Accordingly, the ancient Chinese pattern and the ancient Mesoamerican pattern were both derived from the unfolding of a common deep cultural heritage. They point to a cultural continuum of many thousands of years, within which a civilized state eventually came out of a transformative process, in various times and various places, not in the man-nature realm of technology but in the man-man realm of politics.

From the confines of this vast cultural continuum (which we will call, here, the Maya-China continuum, realizing that the continuum goes back to long before Maya or China), European civiliza­tion and its Oriental precedents achieved a significant breakout. For reasons that only my colleagues in Near Eastern Studies can speculate, the ancient inhabitants of Mesopotamia of the late fourth millennium B.C. underwent a transformative process, which too resulted in a civilized state, that nevertheless involved a wholly new set of changes: technology in the form of metal tools and irrigation canals; large-scale spatial movements of resources in the form of various trades; cuneiform inscriptions and their prehistoric antecedents used primarily to facilitate economic transactions; territorial societies prevailing over the original clans and lineages in importance in the regulation of interpersonal behavior; and, finally, a cosmology that emphasized the separate existence of gods, granted them creative powers, and promoted

Continued on next page
powerful temples independent of the state. Since these are the changes that were carried into, and further developed by, the historical civilizations of the West, and since modern social theorists took off from the Western historical experience, these factors of change became enshrined as the universal elements of a civilization stereotype.

For both the idea of a Maya-China continuum and the idea of a Near Eastern breakout, I will depend on my colleagues who specialize in these other areas for confirmation or modification, but the mere possibility of a new world paradigm for the beginning of civilization carries important implications for the social scientists. If these ideas are valid, the modernization of the developing world of today may be seen as an effort — definitely belated and possibly not yet thought through — on the part of the rest of the world to catch up with the West in a fundamental realignment of cosmology as well as in technology after a bifurcation more than 5,000 years old. For the anthropologists particularly, the reminder that many of our conventional wisdoms pertaining to the pattern and dynamics of our civilization had in fact been based upon the unique experience of a single — albeit great — civilization can only mean one thing obviously, that is, any universal theories of society must be generated from within the Maya-China continuum as well as from within the history of the West. Ironically, the historical paradigm that is the official doctrine to explain Chinese history is none other than Marxism, one of the many social theories that have been constructed on the Western experience alone. It is time that more studies be made of the so-called Asiatic mode of production, but not as a study of an established doctrine but as a study of cross-cultural history.

In this brief communication I am not trying to advocate the importance of Chinese Studies. It is important, but this has long been realized. What the recent studies of ancient China are once again reminding us as anthropologists are the absolute necessity of studying our culture in all its variations if we are to attempt to formulate universal theories, and also the absolute necessity of studying cultures both past and present in order to understand either. An integrated anthropology — one, for example, that incorporates the studies of the cosmology and rituals of the Paleolithic hunters, all of the ancient civilizations, and modern shamanism — is still our instrument to probe into ourselves.

PEABODY PUBLICATIONS

Since the last Symbols announcement of books by Department and Museum scholars (Fall 1981), a number of works by Harvard anthropologists have been published by the Peabody Museum:


Hallam L. Movius, Jr., general editor, Excavation of the Abri Pataud, Les Eyzies (Dordogne): The Perigordian VI (Level 3) Assemblage, by Harvey M. Bricker and Nicholas David, American School of Prehistoric Research Bulletin No. 34.

Ian Graham, Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, Volume 1, Part 2, Yaxchilan.

Peter Mathews, Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, Volume 3, Part 1, Tonina.

Philip Phillips and James A. Brown, Pre-Columbian Shell Engravings from the Craig Mound at Spiro, Oklahoma, Paperback Part 2, Peabody Museum Press. This completes the publication phase of the project, consisting of six limited edition volumes and two paperback volumes (Part 1 reproduces limited edition volumes I, II, III, and Part 2 reproduces volumes IV, V, VI).

Doris Stone, editor, Pre-Columbian Plant Migration, Paper Vol. 76.


Historic Hopi Ceramics, by Edwin L. Wade and Lea S. McChesney, first published in 1981, was reprinted in April 1984, and RES, journal of anthropology and aesthetics, Francesco Pellizzi, editor, is now in its sixth issue.

In press at the Peabody Museum are:

Ian Graham and Eric von Euw, Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, Volume 5, Part 2; Xultun, La Honradez, Uaxactun.


Hallam L. Movius, Jr., general editor, Excavation of the Abri Pataud Les Eyzies (Dordogne): The Noaillan (Level 4) Assemblages and the Noaillan Culture in Western Europe, by Nicholas David, American School of Prehistoric Research Bulletin No. 37.

Robert E. Smith, A Ceramic Sequence from the Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacan, Mexico, Paper Vol. 75.

Gordon R. Willey, general editor, Excavations at Seibal, Department of Petersen, Guatemala: Peripheral Survey and Excavation: Settlement and Community Patterns, by Gair Tourtellot III, Memoir Vol. 16.


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attitude toward betrayal. The exile’s treachery was seen locally merely as a political ploy which failed and not as anything morally repugnant. This attitude is simply a realistic acceptance of the individualism characteristic of Swati politics.

Large-scale wars seem generally to have been generated by the demands of exiles. Men who had killed a tarbur or women who had shamed their families would flee to the protection of a powerful family, which was obliged to take them in by the Pukhtun code of honor. If this refuge was violated by enemies of the refugee, then the host might become involved in a feud with people quite distant from him. Of course, political leaders could manipulate such situations to further their own reputations. Ambitious and courageous men with aptitudes for strategy favored warfare since it increased their local authority and prestige. The role of the protector is itself ambiguous and malleable. He can choose to stress his place as mediator between the refugee and his pursuers and try to work out a settlement, or he can use the exile’s complaints to justify beginning a war. But the host’s maneuvers are also limited by cultural demands upon his honor, and a man who is reluctant to fight will be compelled to do so if a person under his protection is attacked.

The rewards of war at this level were primarily in the realm of renown. Certainly there were material benefits of success, and Swati elders recall plundering the fields of defeated villages. But homes were never ransacked, and men forced into exile left their valuables in the sacrosanct care of local holy men with the full expectation of returning to claim them. Rather than wealth, the winner’s prize was the carved columns of the loser’s men’s house, which were carried proudly away as emblems of victory. Victorious warriors did not expect to retain conquered territory, since their very success meant that allies would defect, join the defeated group, and rebalance the system. The end result of the several intervillage wars recorded was a ‘great name’ for the war leaders, but no apparent increase in their land holdings.

This is not to suggest that land pressure and warfare do not go together. In fact, fighting presently occurring in Swat between landlords and tenants is directly related to rivalry over land. Increasing population and a new class awareness have led to a novel form of warfare. Battles, formerly fought for lineage pride and prestige, are now fought by workers seeking to claim the land they work as their own. How widespread this form of violence will be in the future remains to be seen.

Continued on next page
Another type of warfare, now no longer found, was between regions. It was caused once again by an exiled group asking the intervention of an external third party to regain their position. In this case, the third party was not simply another village, but the neighboring district of Dir, ruled by a hereditary king and closely related genealogically to the Swat Pukhtun. Dir would join the exiles, but was not content to merely redress the balance of power. The Ruler of Dir wished to annex Swat, and would attempt to levy taxes and confiscate wealth. The Pukhtun remember these periodic invasions as times of extreme scarcity and hunger. Eventually, Dir’s invasion would lead to unity of all the Swatis, who banded together on the principle of genealogical alliance to expel the outsider. This same principle of unification was also utilized in wars against Sikh, Moghul, and British colonial expansion, proving remarkably effective in each instance.

A final type of war, also destructive, involved expansion rather than defense. For structural reasons, the social organization of Swat tends to expand at the expense of its less well organized neighbors. The Pukhtun of Swat defeated their weaker neighbors to the north, but this expansion ceased in the mid-1800s as harsh terrain, the lack of booty, and the ferocity of resistance all combined to defeat the Pukhtun armies. These wars of aggression were led by strong men anxious to raise their personal prestige. They were temporarily able to unite fighting men of many different lineages in loose alliances brought together for the sake of conquest. This form of secular leadership contrasts sharply with leadership in wars of defense, which usually arose from religious groups, and which relied upon charismatic exhortations to encourage the warriors.

Violence in Swat, it is evident, is highly structured along several lines: the stress on revenge, the utilization of types of mediators and leaders, the scale of genealogical distance, all combine to differentiate types of violence at various levels. Behind this structuring of violence lies the Swati social order which is based in the relatively autonomous nuclear family with-

in the structure of the lineage system. Cohesion is maintained, in this highly flexible and egalitarian ethos, by ties of blood and revenge obligations.

The Peabody on the road
See page 11.