Soft Gold: Captain Cook Discovers the Northwest Coast opened at the Peabody Museum in March. This Hamatsa Crooked-Beak Mask (Kwakiutl) was worn on a dancer's forehead and held in place by a strong harness. Early 20th c. No. 17-17-10/87202.

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John Webber, the Pacific Northwest, and the Peabody
IAN W. BROWN

Ian W. Brown is a Lecturer on Anthropology at Harvard and the Associate Curator of North American Collections at the Peabody Museum. He was born in Albany, New York in 1951 and educated at Harvard (B.A. Anthropology, 1973) and Brown University (MA, 1975, Ph.D., 1979).

The prime focus of Dr. Brown’s work has been the interaction between Native Americans and Western peoples in historic times. He was associated with the Lower Mississippi Survey of the Peabody Museum from 1977-1985 and has done considerable archaeological research in both Mississippi and Louisiana.

In addition to teaching the archaeology and history of the North American Indians, Dr. Brown was the curator of the Peabody Museum’s most recent exhibition, *Soft Gold: Captain Cook Discovers the North-west Coast*, and will be responsible for supervising the renovation of the Hall of the North American Indian.

On March 29, 1778 John Webber received his first view of the native inhabitants of America. As Captain James Cook’s vessel, the *Resolution*, sailed into Nootka Sound on the western shore of Vancouver Island, on board was a young man with a big job. As official artist for the expedition, it was Webber’s role to construct scientifically accurate drawings of scenes that would eventually be included in the final report of the voyage. Cook’s third expedition lasted four years (1776-1780) and visited such places as southern Australia, New Zealand, Tonga, Tahiti, the Hawaiian Islands, the Northwest Coast, Alaska, and Kamchatka.

Cook never lived to see its completion, as he was killed in Hawaii in February of 1779, but his young protegé returned to London with portfolio intact.

Webber created over 200 drawings during the third voyage and also amassed a significant collection of ethnological materials. The ethnological objects remained together as a unit, but the pictures were distributed widely. Through the agency of David I. Bushnell, Jr., the Peabody Museum is fortunate to have 13 Webber drawings in its holdings. These drawings are thought to have belonged originally to the British Admiralty. They later became the property of Sir William Campbell, the Governor of New Brunswick between 1831 and 1835. They passed to his descendents and, later, were purchased by Bushnell. Bushnell wrote a short article on these pictures in 1928 and, following his death in January of 1941, they came to the Peabody as part of the Bushnell Collection.

The objective of this essay is to make the Peabody community aware of these significant works in the Museum’s holdings, as well as to examine more closely the role of Webber in the historic third voyage.

John Webber (Johann Wäber) was born in London in 1751. His parents were Maria Quant, an English woman, and Abraham Wäber, a Swiss sculptor from Berne who had left his native land in 1747. At the age of six years John was sent to live with his aunt in Berne. From a very early age he exhibited artistic talents, so he was fortunate to serve his apprenticeship under the renowned painter, Johann Ludwig Aberli.

Webber continued his studies at the Académie Royale in Paris. For five years he learned various forms of painting and copper engraving, skills that would later serve him (and us) well.

Webber returned to London in 1775 and participated in an exhibition of paintings. Dr. Daniel Solander, a Swedish naturalist who had been on Cook’s first South Seas expedition, admired Webber’s work and offered him, by order of the British Admiralty, a position on another expedition that was in the process of being assembled (Henking 1978, pp. 25, 28). Webber officially joined Cook’s third expedition at Plymouth on July 5, 1776. Although there were other individuals on the voyage who had superb artistic talents (William Ellis and James Cleveley), Webber was the only official artist of the expedition and almost all the pictures of anthropological relevance were constructed by him (Kaeppler 1978, p. 18).

Webber’s assigned task was to depict everything of note that was observed during the voyage. It was understood from the beginning that his drawings were to supplement Cook’s written statements. Thus, he was hired as a “picture-recorder”, rather than as an artist who would bring his own creative ideas and romantic images to the scenes he drew. When one compares Webber’s pictures to Cook’s journal entries (Cook 1967), it is clear that Cook and Webber must have worked quite closely during the course of the voyage. Seldom are there discrepancies in the two records.

Both Cook and Webber sailed on the *Resolution*, a ship that supported 112 officers and men, and two supernumeraries (“Gentlemen & their Servants”). Webber fit into the supernumery category. The other ship on the voyage was the *Discovery*, captained by Charles Clerke. It was a smaller vessel, having carried only 80 officers and men, and two extras (Cook 1967, p. 3).

After having visited a number of islands in the South Pacific, including the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii), that were named in honor of the first lord of the Admiralty, Cook turned his vessels east and headed for “New Al-
bion’, or rather, the coast of America. He had explicit instructions as to what he was to do once he reached America. After putting into the first convenient port to replenish themselves with food and water, the ships were to proceed north to about the latitude of 65°. From there Cook was to search for rivers and inlets, ‘‘pointing towards Hudson’s or Baffin’s Bays’’.

Clearly, the elusive Northwest Passage remained a principal concern of the British Admiralty (Beaglehole 1967, pp. xxxii-lxviii). England also was concerned about the Spanish threat to the area, as both groups felt they possessed valid claims. As recent as 1774, two years before Cook’s last expedition began, Spain had strengthened its own claim to the Northwest Coast with the voyage of Juan Pérez.

The North American coast was initially sighted by Cook on March 7, 1778 (fig. 1). Winter was barely over in the area and the hail, sleet, and haze he encountered caused him to refer to his first landfall as Cape Foulweather. The first major landmark, however, was Cape Flattery, which he observed on March 22. He missed the Strait of Juan de Fuca, immediately to the north, because he sailed by it at night. As a result, he never realized that Vancouver Island was, indeed, an island.

On March 29th Cook sailed into Nootka Sound, which he originally christened ‘‘King Georges Sound’’. As his ships came to anchor, they were surrounded by numerous canoes that carried a ‘‘mild inoffensive people’’ who danced and shook bird-shaped rattles. Such welcoming ceremonies were the standard practice on the Northwest Coast. They generally accompanied potlatches and other feasts, and usually also involved lengthy orations. In later times these ceremonies tested the patience of men who had traveled halfway around the world to trade for furs, but Cook’s men were genuinely fascinated by the new and strange behavior that they witnessed (Gunther 1972, pp. 20, 22).

The people who greeted Cook are known to us as the Nootka. The Englishmen were surprised by their desire for iron, for which they were anxious to trade the skins that they carried with them. Whether from direct or indirect contact, the people of the Northwest Coast clearly were familiar with certain items of Western origin long before Cook’s arrival. The fact that they had an actual name for iron, as well as for other metal items, indicates that they were no strangers to the white man’s goods (Cook 1967, pp. 324-329).

Cook made a list of the various animal skins, which included bear, wolf, fox, deer, raccoon, polecat, and marten. The pelt that interested him most, however, was that of the sea otter, the ‘‘soft gold’’ of the fur trade. He realized its value and was aware of what it could mean to Great Britain economically (Cook 1967, pp. 296, 371-372). The Russians, of course, had already participated in the lucrative trade of the North Pacific for a quarter century, what with their operations in the Aleutian Islands, but following Cook, numerous traders of all nationalities descended on the Northwest Coast.

On March 31st, two days after he arrived in Nootka Sound, Cook found a safe harbor in what is now called Resolution Cove, located on the southeast portion of Bligh Island. Because of bad weather and the need for repairs, he ended up spending around four weeks in Nootka Sound. He and a group of his men started to explore their immediate surroundings on April 20th, and one of their major stops

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was at the Indian village in Friendly Cove. It was among the Yuquot people of Friendly Cove that Webber made his first drawings of North American scenes, "During the time I was at this village Mr. Webber who was with me, made drawings of every thing that was curious both within and without doors;" (Cook 1967, p. 306).

According to Cook, the dwellings of the Nootka were put close to the sea, because most of their food came from that source. He described the houses as being long, wide rectangular structures with flat roofs. Large planks formed the roofs and walls of the buildings. They were split from cedar logs by using bone or wooden wedges. To make the walls, the planks were arranged horizontally, each row having rested on top of the one below. Slender poles set vertically held the planks in place.

Contained within the Peabody Museum’s Bushnell Collection are two interior views of Nootka houses and three images of the Nootka themselves. From the house interior illustrated in fig. 2, one gets a sense of the massiveness of the construction. Heavy beams support the roof and, at the far end of the structure, a crossbeam is supported by two carved upright posts which the Indians called Acweeks. There is an interesting story relating to how this particular scene was created, as revealed in this 1783 letter written by Webber:

The officers were employed to explore the Bay whilst Capt. Cook and myself paid a visit to the Inhabitants. After having made a general view of their dwellings I sought for an inside which would furnish me with sufficient matter to convey a perfect Idea of the mode these people live in. Such was soon found; the people being employd in boiling their fish for a meal and seemingly appear’d without any displeasure at my being present, this is done by filling a wooden box with water and casting successively red hot stones into it, which so effectually answers the purpose that it instantaneously boils, when the fish are handed round to those present — While I was employ’d a man approach’d me with a large knife in one hand seemingly displeas’d when he observ’d I notic’d two representations of human figures which were plac’d at one end of the appartment carv’d on a plank, and of a Gigantic proportion: and painted after their custom. However I proceeded, & took as little notice of him as possible, which to prevent he soon provided himself with a Mat, and plac’d it in such a manner as to hinder my having any further a sight of them. Being certain of no future opportunity to finish my Drawing & the object too interesting for leaving unfinish’d, I considered a little bribery might have some effect, and accordingly made an offer of a button from my coat, which when of metal they are much pleas’d with, this instantly producd the desir’d effect, for the mat was remov’d and I left at liberty to proceed as before. scarcely had I seated myself and made a beginning, but he return’d & renew’d his former practice, till I had dispose of my buttons, after which time I found no opposition in my further employment.

Webber 1967, pp. 319-320

There is an incredible amount of ethnographic detail contained in fig. 2. Hanging from the ceiling are racks of dried fish, and a small rack of the same can be seen in the middle of the room. These fish are either being dried or roasted for immediate use. In the above quote Webber mentions the boiling of fish, an activity that is taking place in a wooden cooking box. A scatter of litter occurs on the floor, and to the left of the structure is a raised platform on which a number of people are sitting. Above them is an assortment of wooden boxes of various sizes, openwork carrying baskets, and matting bags, items that figured in daily household use.

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Scholars, symposia, and seminars

Department of Anthropology

Prof. Kwang-chih Chang organized a meeting in Venice on Early Chinese Civilization. He was awarded an Honorary Professorship from Shandong University, China, and a Distinguished Visiting Scholarship from Peking University. Prof. Chang recently completed a study of archaeological collections and sites in Shandong, and is doing research for a new edition of *The Archaeology of Ancient China* (previous editions appeared in 1963, 68, and 77).


Dr. Constantin Doukas, Visiting Scholar from the University of Athens, Greece, attended a three-week informal meeting at the Dept. of Paleontology and Stratigraphy, University of Utrecht, Holland, on the biostratigraphic problems of Neogene small mammals. "Paleontology versus Greek Mythology" was the title of a lecture given by Dr. Doukas at Regis College, Weston, Mass. In September of 1985 Dr. Doukas will begin a joint venture with Prof. David Pilbeam to study the fossil mammals from either old or new localities, the taphonomy and the stratigraphy on the island of Samos, Greece.

Prof. Peter Ellison recently returned from field work in the Ituri Forest of Zaire where he was studying the reproductive ecology of Efe pygmies and Lese horticulturalists as part of the Harvard Ituri Project which he co-directs with Prof. Irven DeVore. During his seven-month stay he collected biological samples from men and women for hormonal analysis and collected behavioral data pertaining to health, workload, nutritional status, mother-infant relationships, and spousal relationships. Prof. Ellison hopes "the data collected will help to elucidate the causes of the extremely low fertility in this area of Africa."

Prof. Byron Good presented a paper at the University of California, Los Angeles on "The Cultural Context of Diagnosis and Therapy: A View from Medical Anthropology." The paper was given at a workshop on Mental Health Research and Practice in Minority Communities: Development of Culturally Sensitive Training Programs sponsored by NIMH. He will present a paper entitled "Explanatory Models and Care-Seeking: A Critical Account," at the Second International Conference on Illness Behaviour, in Toronto in August.


Dr. Elizabeth A. Hart, Allston Burr Senior Tutor, presented a paper entitled "Political organization of the Chicama Valley, northern Peru," at the Midwestern Andean Conference. Dr. Hart, whose interest is in the archaeology and ethnohistory of Latin America, is concerned with the manner in which these two disciplines can provide complementary information about Indian societies. She has been involved in fieldwork in several different areas of Latin America including Mexico, Ecuador and Peru.

Prof. Emeritus William W. Howells attended Ancestors, an international congress on human fossils from all over the world held at the American Museum of Natural History in New York. At Taung 60, an international congress celebrating the 60th Anniversary of the announcement of the discovery of *Australopithecus* and the 92nd birthday of Raymond Dart, the finder, Prof. Howells presented a paper titled "Taung: A Mirror for American Anthropology." Prof. Howells was named Distinguished Scholar (honorary) by the University of Witwatersrand, and Foreign Associate by the Royal Society of South Africa. He visited the Anthropological Institute, University of Coimbra, Portugal, in February, 1985, to instruct and help start up a project of measurement and analysis of a large series of 19th century Portuguese crania of known individuals.

Prof. Glynn Isaac presented a paper entitled "Cutting and Carrying: Archaeology and the Emergence of the Genus Homo" at Oxford University. He spoke on "Early Stages in the Evolution of Human Behavior" at a Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Anthropology Department seminar, and he gave a lecture on "Sticks and Stones: aspects of early hominin adaptation" at the University of Georgia, Athens. Prof. Isaac is finishing a monograph on ten years of excavation and research at Koobi Fora, Lake Turkana, Kenya. He is also investigating bark as a possible food for early humans and how tool use would facilitate access to it.

Prof. Arthur Kleinman presented a paper entitled "Sources of Mental Illness in China" as the Hume lecture at Yale University. He also gave lectures at York University (95th anniversary of Norman Bethune's birth), Johns Hopkins Medical School, and Cornell Medical School. He was appointed to the North American Committee and the Welcome Medal Committee of the Royal Anthropological Institute, and Chairman of the Harvard Medical Society, Harvard Medical School 1984-85. *Symptoms and Society: Neuroasthenia and Depression in Chinese Culture*, published by Yale University Press, is the title of a recently completed book. Prof. Kleinman has begun a research study in India on anthropological and popularized aspects of tropical disease. He is completing a study with Dr. Byron Good on the ethology of chronic pain. The pro-

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ject, funded by the National Science Foundation, is a field study of chronic pain patients in Cambridge, Mass.

Prof. Dorinne Kondo presented a paper entitled “Creating an Identity: The Interplay of Gender and Class in Urban Japan” at the A.A.A. panel on Gender in East and Southeast Asia. At the American Academy of Arts and Sciences Conference on the Role of Culture in Industrial East Asia she spoke on “Concepts of Work in Urban Japan.” Prof. Kondo gave a series of lectures on her current research, gender, class, and construction of identity among workers in family enterprises in Japan, at the University of Chicago, University of Michigan, and in the East Asian Studies Lecture Series at Wheaton College.

Prof. C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky took part in a conference on Central Asia: One Culture Area held at the School of American Research in Santa Fe. He delivered a paper entitled “Mesopotamia, Central Asia and the Indus Valley, Culture and Boundary Areas.” Under his leadership a formal exchange program has been established in archaeology between the USA and the USSR. This summer Prof. Lamberg-Karlovsky will participate in an excavation with Soviet scholars at the Bronze Age site of Sarazm in Tajikistan, Soviet Central Asia, the first archaeological collaboration in this region in over 75 years.


Prof. Charles Lindholm has been participating in and organizing a colloquium on leadership at the Erikson Center in Cambridge, where he will present a paper called “Lovers and Leaders: the Anthropology of Romance and Charisma.” He reports that “I am continuing my research on idealized attachment relations cross-culturally, and have a couple of research assistants assiduously poring through the Human Relations Area Files looking for societies with indications of romantic love complexes in them.”

Prof. Robert Maddin gave an invited lecture entitled “Medieval Iron in Society” in Norberg, Sweden. A grant was awarded to Prof. Maddin from the American Philosophical Society to continue studies of metal objects from the 14thc. B.C. shipwreck off the coast of Kas, Turkey.

Prof. David Maybury-Lewis organized a conference sponsored by the Dept. of Anthropology and Cultural Survival on Tribal Societies and Ethnic Minorities in Southeast Asia. He is the editor (with Uri Almagor) of Dual Organization: A Study of Social and Symbolic Dualism (in press). Prof. Maybury-Lewis was the keynote speaker at a symposium on “Social Responsibility in World Economic Development” at Dartmouth College, and was Distinguished Lecturer at the Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas at Austin. He gave a lecture in memory of Erland Nordenskiold at the Gothenburg Ethnographic Museum in Sweden, as well as lectures at the Universities of Upsala and Gothenberg.

Prof. Sally Falk Moore was Organizer/Chair for the session on Transformation in Politics and Property at a meeting of the American Anthropological Association, and presented a paper entitled “Legislated Transformations: Central Government and Rural Life on Kilimanjaro.” Prof. Moore was named a member of the Board of Directors of the A.A.A. in 1984. In June, 1985 she will run a workshop in Brazzaville, Congo on the codification of “customary law.”

Derek John Mulvaney, Visiting Professor of Australian Studies spoke on “Using Historical Records of Australian Hunter-gatherers” at the Hunter-Gatherers and History Conference held at the Peabody Museum in April. A recent publication by Prof. Mulvaney and J.H. Calaby is entitled ‘So Much That is New’ Baldwin Spencer, 1860-1929, A Biography, Melbourne University Press, 1985. “Art and Innovation in Prehistoric Australia” was the title of a lecture given by Prof. Mulvaney at the Peabody Museum. He also gave an invited lecture entitled “Australian Prehistory in the Eighties” at Pennsylvania State University, and departmental lectures/seminars at McGill University, Montreal; University of Kansas, Lawrence; University of Massachusetts/Amherst, Brandeis; and Boston University. Prof. Mulvaney has completed the draft of a book on an Australian Aboriginal cricket team which toured England in 1868. Although of interest in sporting history, this is also a study of race relations.

Prof. David Pilbeam was the Sigma Xi National Lecturer and spoke on “Human Origins Then and Now.” He gave a lecture on human origins as the Tate Lecturer at Southern Methodist University. In addition to his field projects in the Potwar Plateau, Pakistan, and the Rift Valley of Kenya, Prof. Pilbeam has begun a third field project in Cameroon, West Africa, in collaboration with Dr. Michel Brunet of the University of Poitiers in France. Funded by the National Science Foundation and the National Geographic Society, the project will run for at least three years. Prof. Pilbeam has been elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Prof. Parker Shipton attended an A.A.A. meeting in Denver and presented a paper entitled “Adjusting to Private Property and Farm Credit in Western Kenya.” At the Northeastern University Development Conference in Williamstown, Mass. he spoke on “Culture and Credit in Western Kenya.”

Prof. Stanley J. Tambiah spoke on “Buddhism and Society in Asia” at a conference on Religion and Materialism in the future of Asia” at the South Asian Institute, Columbia University. At the Berkeley-Harvard Conference on Comparative Ethics he read a paper on “The Buddhist conception of the arahant.” Prof. Tambiah was a discussant at a symposium entitled “The Division of Labour in Language and Society” at the A.A.A. meetings in Denver, and served as a member of the Visiting Committee that reported on the work of the School of Social Science, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton. He addressed the Human Rights Committee of the U.S. State Department in Washington, D.C. on “Ethnic Fratricide and the Dismantling of Democracy in Sri Lanka.” A forthcoming publication by Prof. Tam-
LeVine, and the Whittings, is nearing completion. Seven articles by research fellows on adolescent sexuality have been completed and four monographs on four field sites — Australia, Holman Island (an Eskimo site), Romania and Morocco are in final draft.

Prof. Gordon R. Willey chaired the conference and presented the summary at Dumbarton Oaks on The Southeastern Maya Zone. He also served as Chairman of Senior Fellows to the Precolumbian Program at Dumbarton Oaks for both the October 1984 and January 1985 meetings. Prof. Willey wrote an article for the 50th Anniversary volume of American Antiquity, on "Continuing Problems in New World Culture History." He is continuing work on the Seibal Excavation monograph series, and has just completed, with Peter Mathews, the editing of a volume on The Maya Early Classic Period, to be published at Albany, New York.

Prof. Stephen Williams and Dr. Jeffrey P. Brain are the authors of the recently published Lake George Monograph, Peabody Papers, Vol. 74. Prof. Williams has been named to the Board of Directors of The Archaeological Conservancy, a national conservation organization dedicated to preserving the remaining sites of prehistoric cultures. He addressed the Society for American Archaeology on the Conservancy’s work in May. Prof. Williams reports that the third field season of the Lower Mississippi Survey in the Boeuf Basin will get under way this Spring. On January 10, 1985 the LMS honored co-founders Philip Phillips and James B. Griffin on the 45th anniversary of the project.

Visiting Scholar Prof. Senshu Zhang is an Associate Research Fellow at the Institute of Vertebrate Palaeontology and Palaeoanthropology, Chinese Academy of Sciences, Peking. A paper entitled "Some Problems of Studying Palaeolithic Culture in China" was presented by Prof. Zhang to the Society of Chinese Archaeology and Society of Chinese Palaeontology in Zhengou and Peking. Published in Chinese, the following are some of Prof. Zhang’s major publications: A Study of Sinanthropus’ Lithic Artifacts at Choukoutien; The Palaeolithic Culture found in China; On Fulin Culture; Some Problems of the Upper Palaeolithic Culture in Southern China. Prof. Zhang has done field work in most of the provinces of China and discovered the first palaeolithic site found in the northeastern part of China. He is the first scholar in China to use the quantitative method to study palaeolithic assemblages.

Schoeninger joins faculty

Margaret J. Schoeninger

Margaret J. Schoeninger was appointed Assistant Professor of Anthropology with a primary appointment in the biological wing and a joint appointment in the archaeology wing. Prof. Schoeninger’s research interests emphasize the reconstruction of prehistoric human diet using the chemical and isotopic composition of human bone mineral and collagen.

Prof. Schoeninger earned a bachelor’s degree from the University of Florida (1970), and the Ph.D. (1980) degree in Anthropology from the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. Before coming to Harvard she held an NSF Postdoctoral Fellowship in the Department of Earth and Space Science at the University of California in Los Angeles and also taught Human Gross Anatomy in the Department of Cell Biology and Anatomy at The Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine.

Her field work includes collection of Paleocene/Eocene vertebrates in...
There is a long-abiding concern for ancient ruins in Western Civilization. Archaeologists excavate them, museums display their remnants, and scholars attempt to resurrect their past meaning. Greece and Italy are particularly enshrined, for it is from these lands we trace the cradle and growth of our own civilization. Given over to classical culture from our earliest youth, we remain hypnotized by the likes of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and Praxiteles. The resplendent Acropolis remains a perpetual reminder of that peculiarly Greek experiment, democracy; while nearby Rome remained home to those emperors we think of as "ruling the known world." How does this emphasis on the classical world square with our understanding of the roots of ancient civilization?

In the last issue of *Symbols* (Spring/Fall 1984), K. C. Chang introduced a provocative and insightful thesis, addressing a topic which concerned itself with no less than the origins and nature of Chinese Civilization. In his words, he suggested that: "This hypothesis may be summarized in this very brief formula: The wealth that produced the (Chinese) 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. . . . 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."

Thus, in Chang's view, central to the rise of civilization in China was the differential access to the means of communication between Heaven and Earth. 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.

In Chang's thesis one searches in vain for the traditional categories which anthropologists have utilized to construct the rise of civilization; namely, technological innovations, demographic pressures, mercantilism, writing, and the formation of states based on property rights, rather than kin bonds. He is, of course, fully aware that his hypothesis is "fundamentally at odds" with the traditional concepts of how the first civilized societies arose. Undaunted by the uniqueness of China's trajectory toward civilization, Chang goes on to challenge his Near Eastern colleagues to consider that:

From the confines of this vast (Chinese) cultural continuum, 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 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
features of many ancient civilizations and its characteristic of Mesopotamia are well known from the texts of ancient Mesopotamia, entailing different rulers from different city-states: King Entemena of Lagash (2404-2375 B.C.); Urukagina of Uruk (2351-2342 B.C.); Ur-Nammu of Uruk (2112-2095 B.C.); Lipit-Ishtar of Isin (1934-1924 B.C.); Hammurabi of Babylon (1792-1750 B.C.); and Nebuchadnezzar (1126-1105 B.C.) to mention but a few. Why were these Mesopotamian royal edicts issued to initiate social reforms of "freedom" and "equality"? The answer is complex and we can offer here only a thumbnail sketch.

Babylonian unity was predicated on the abstract notion of a divinely ordered cosmos which was, in turn, to be mirrored on earth by a structured social order. The earthly steward of the gods responsible for this social order was the King. Religious festivals were of vital importance to Mesopotamian political and economic life, and none was of greater importance than the New Year's (akidu) festival. The New Year's festival was a period for not only reaffirming the balanced order of the cosmos but for reconstituting an equilibrium within the social order. The New Year's celebrations afforded an occasion for the King to cancel all private debts and state taxes, punish corrupt administrators, free slaves, and fine or imprison avaricious merchants in the private sector; in short, to exercise those qualities that judged him to be a good earthly steward: equity and justice.

The royal decrees of misharum and andurarum, often pronounced over the New Year, were considered essential for sustaining the immutable nature of both the cosmic and social order. Ephraim Speiser, the distinguished Assyriologist/Archaeologist, pointed out over thirty years ago that "The independent function of a ruler, whether divine (in the cosmos) or

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The first known Sumerian "freedom" law (am.ar.gi) proclaiming debt cancellation and freedom from debt servitude. The tablet is dated to the reign of Entemena of the city-state of Lagash ca 2404-2375 B.C.

The Ziggurat of Ur built by Ur-Nammu (2112-2095 B.C.) is one of the largest preserved structures of Sumerian architecture. The Ziggurat is a stepped pyramid capped by a temple.
human (on earth) is confined to misharum; that is, just and equitable implementation." An understanding of the structure of Mesopotamian society is essential in comprehending why this was so.

The Mesopotamian temples represented the physical homes of their deities, where citizens believed presided a numinous spirit allowing for success in all human endeavor. All citizens within the city-states belonged to a particular temple as one would to a household. The temple "community" comprised a cross-section of the population: officials, priests, merchants, craftsmen, food-producers, slaves. It also assumed community responsibilities in maintaining social welfare for the care of the orphans, widows, the blind, and indigent citizens unable to care for themselves.

Under the patronage of temple deities, an enormous concentration of manpower was harnessed to produce both the goods and the agricultural surplus required by the growing city-state. The temple was the first institution to accumulate a substantial surplus capital. This was used, in turn, to build public works, undertake foreign trade, support military activity, and support the development of the crafts associated with the temple complex. As Igor M. Diakonoff, the Soviet Assyriologist has shown, the temple was the first institution of credit capital while the populations farming its lands acted as sharecroppers, forfeiting the land's productive surplus, the usus fructus, to the temple. Populations in the countryside not directly attached to the temples, the non-institutionalized sector, retained a simple subsistence economy.

Shamash, patron deity of justice and commerce, offered to Hammurabi the laws of the land much as did a later god to Moses. These early laws are of special interest in their recognition of both "acts of God" and social welfare. Debtors unable to make restitution because of crop failure due to natural events (i.e. — storms, droughts) and merchants suffering a theft of their loaned goods, or leasors of animals killed by predators had part or all of their debts waived. Appointed judges, witnesses, and prosecutors adjudicated the specific attributes of each case before rendering a decision. The early laws were strongly opposed to extortionate practices and clearly solicitous of debtors' problems. The earliest legal compilations do not add up to a legal philosophy, much less to an economic analysis, but they assuredly do show a strong commitment to protect the economically threatened and impoverished from the avaricious and powerful by explicitly penalizing individual and institutional economic abuses. These early laws were ad hoc rul-
ings (If this condition \( X \) prevails, then that punishment \( Y \) entails.) intended to extend the palace’s sway over the communal sector by alleviating the causes of the oppressed. The legal codes provided the bases for adjudicating tax liabilities, the duration and conditions of debt servitude, as well as the extent of personal liability of corrupt or incompetent officials, servants, doctors, etc. It is important to realize that the benevolence expressed in these legal codes masks the net effect and purpose of the laws, the very strengthening of the palace authority:

... that the strong might not oppress the weak, that justice might be dealt the orphan (and) widow . . .

I wrote my precious words on my stela . . .

to give justice to the oppressed . . . Let any oppressed man who has a cause come into the presence of the statue of me, the king of justice, and then read carefully my inscribed stela and hear my precious words, and may my stela make the case clear to him; may he understand his cause; may he set his mind at ease

(from the Laws of Hammurabi, translated by T.J. Meek)

The cognitive pediment upon which Mesopotamian kings stood required that they act on behalf of their subjects with equity and justice. The declaration of royal social decrees, misharum (equality) and anduranum (freedom) constituted the fundamental bases of the political contract uniting the responsibility of the rulers to the ruled.

In Mesopotamia kings were not absolute monarchs. They were subject to the discipline of the law and by that discipline were obligated to respect the rights of individuals. The law was conceived of as timeless and impersonal; the embodiment of cosmic truths (kinatu), Hammurabi states in the epilogue of his Code: ‘‘I, Hammurabi, the just king (sar misharum) to whom Shamash has granted (the perception of) truths (kinatim).’’ In practice royal power was held in check not only by the conception of law but by an assembly of elders as well as by the priesthood. Far from the common image of perceiving Mesopotamian kings as ‘‘oriental despots’’, it was their duty to be just, to make the laws function equitably, and to be subject to the law, rather than considered its source. In Mesopotamia the gods allowed for the freedom (Subarrum) of the people and if their king violated their individual rights, the gods threatened to turn his land over to an enemy.

The two Akkadian (Semitic) words, misharum and anduranum, already evident in early second millennium texts, appear as direct loan words in the Old Testament, attesting to the continuation of similar rights and responsibilities aligning the people and their King in mutual responsibilities. For example, in Isaiah 11:4-5, we read of a ruler’s responsibilities:

He shall not judge by what his eyes see, or decide by what his ears hear; but with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth: and he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked. Righteousness shall be the girdle of his waist and faithfulness the girdle of his loins.

In Genesis (18:19) Abraham, father of the land of Israel, is admonished by the deity: ‘‘For I have singled him out, that he may charge his children and his family after him to keep the way of the Lord by doing righteousness and justice.’’ The Solomonic prayer in Psalms 72:1-2 bears a strikingly similar message to that quoted above from the Code of Hammurabi: ‘‘O, God, give to the king your justice, to the king’s son your

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Detail of the relief from the top of the stela of the Code of Hammurabi.
Scholars, symposia, and seminars

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Wyoming, Pakistan, and India and also archaeological survey in southeastern Michigan. She has recently conducted a field project at Koobi Fora on the eastern shore of Lake Turkana in Kenya collecting a suite of animal skeletons representing several trophic levels. This research focuses on defining the parameters for several analytical methods now used in reconstructing prehistoric human diets. The ultimate goal is to apply these methods to archaeological and paleontological materials from the area around Lake Turkana.

Prof. Schoeninger’s current plans include the investigation of human dietary responses to the development of agriculture in several areas of the world. Specific areas include lowland Mesoamerica, the southeastern portion of the United States, and the Levantine and Zagros areas of the Old World. In addition, she is collaborating with several archaeologists on projects investigating the impact of European contact in the early Proto-Historic Period of North America on the diet of the original inhabitants.

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Visiting lecturers

During the academic year 1984–1985, 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.

Prof. Grant Hall, Member of the Rio Azul Project, University of Texas, presented a lecture entitled “The Early Classic Painted Tombs at Rio Azul, Guatemala.” The title of an address by Dr. Beth Wellman, Staff Scientist, Anthropological Services, New York State Museum, Albany, was “The Johns 3 Site: An Early Archaic Site in the Upper Susquehanna Valley, New York State.” Prof. Louis Dumont of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, spoke on “The Characteris-tics of German Ideology (before 1933).” The title of a lecture by Prof. Malcolm Ruel, Clare College, Cambridge, was "Icons, Indexical Symbols and Metaphorical Action: An Analysis of Some East African Rituals." Dr. William Dunham, Stanford University, spoke on "A Case Study in Biological and Cultural Evolution: Marital Diversity in Tibet." Ines Talamantez, Professor of Religious Studies, University of California, Santa Barbara, gave a seminar on "Isana Kleshde Gotal, Apache Girls’ Puberty Rite: The Role of Music in Structural Ceremonial Time." "What Did The Neandertals Eat for Dinner?: A critical review of found remains at Mousterian sites" was the title of a lecture by Dr. Esme Webb of the University of London, and currently a Fulbright Visiting Scholar at the Institute of Early Man, the University of Maine, Orono. Prof. Dean R. Snow, SUNY, Albany, spoke on "Settlement Patterns in the Central Mohawk Valley." "The Building and Administrative Archive of the Temple of Innana at Nippur During the Third Dynasty of Ur" was the title of a lecture by Dr. Richard Zetler of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago. Prof. Steven Mithen, Cambridge Univ., spoke on "Learning to forage: Information processing and decision making within Hunter-gatherer societies." "Mythological Metaphors and Historical Realities: Models of Transformation in Belauan Polity" was the title of a lecture by Prof. Richard Parme-tier, Smith College. Jeremy Sabloff, Overseas Visiting Fellow, St. John’s College and Professor of Anthropology, University of New Mexico spoke on "Recent Research on Ancient Maya Settlement and Community Patterns at the Site of Sayil, Puuc Region, Yucatan, Mexico." Prof. Don Rice, University of Chicago gave a seminar on "Some Thoughts on Pre-Columbian Mesoamerican Kingship: The Aztec Case." "‘The Anthropology of Hindu-Buddhist Relations’ was the title of a lecture by Dr. Todd Lewis, Columbia University. Prof. Warwick Bray, Institute of Archaeology, London, gave a seminar on "Archaeology and Landscape in Colombia." Dr. Jean Brown, formerly of the Institute of African Studies, Nairobi, spoke on "Kenya Pokot and Their Way of Life." 

'The Search for the Origins of Maya Civilization: Changing Course at the Crossroads’ was the title of a seminar given by Prof. Arthur Demarest, Vanderbilt University. Prof. William Kingery, MIT, gave a seminar on "Interrogations of Ceramic Artifacts." "Multidisciplinary Archaeology: Our Approach and Experience" was the title of a lecture by Prof. D.P. Agrawal, Physical Research Lab, Ahmedabad, India. Dr. David Jacobson, Brandeis University, gave a seminar on "Clarifying the Concept of Social Support." Dr. Paul Bahn, University of Liverpool, gave a lecture on "Paleolithic and Pack Animals in the Pyrenees." "Iconography of a Mesoamerican Royal Cult" was the title of a lecture given by Dr. Michael Coe of Yale University. Dr. Prudence Rice, University of Florida, Gainesville, spoke on "Ceramic Analysis and Archaeological Problems." "Archeometric Research at Brookhaven and the Operation of a Databank of Archaeological Ceramic Computations" was the title of a lecture by Dr. Garman Harbottle, Dept. of Chemistry, Brookhaven National Laboratory, Upton, New York. Dr. John Fleagle, SUNY, Stonybrook, spoke on "Early Anthropoid Evolution." 

Museum curators and staff

According to Melissa Banta, Director of the Photographic Archives Department, many museums across the country are computerizing information about their collections and attempting to develop data information systems which can be shared. The Art and Architecture Thesaurus, the Getty Museum’s Art History Information Program, is developing a comprehensive thesaurus of terms which museums can use to describe their collections. Compilers of the thesaurus have consulted with the Peabody Museum about terms and classifications relating to anthropological subjects.

Another cooperative project involves the Peabody Museum and
the Museum of the American Indian in New York. The latter has received funding from NEH to computerize information about its photographic collections and will use the list of terms and classifications for anthropological subjects developed by the Photographic Archives Department at the Peabody Museum.

The National Endowment for the Humanities has awarded the Peabody Museum a Planning Grant for the Hall of the North American Indian. The grant will permit the Peabody to invite a number of anthropologists from around the country to select objects and detail the thematic elements for the forthcoming permanent exhibition on the American Indian. Dr. Ian W. Brown, who will be the curator of this major installation said, "The awarding of this grant reflects national recognition of the truly significant resources of the Peabody Museum."

Color photographs of the famous glass flowers (Botanical Museum, Harvard) by Peabody Museum photographer Hillel Burger are on exhibition at The Harvard Club of Boston.

Dr. Clemency Chase Coggins, Associate in Pre-Columbian Art, is co-author of Maya: Treasures of an Ancient Civilization, (Abrams, 1985), an essay on Maya iconography, and commentary on objects in the Peabody Museum and Dumbarton Oaks collections, as well as on nearly 100 excavated objects from Guatemala and Belize. A lecture titled "The Cenote of Sacrifice at Chichen Itza, Yucatan, Mexico" was given at the Minnesota Museum of Science. Dr. Coggins will present a paper titled "Chichen Itza and the Toltec" at the First International Colloquium of Mayanists, Mexico City, in August. She is currently working on Artifacts from the Cenote of Sacrifice: Textiles, wood, pottery, stone, bone, shell, copal, and other vegetable materials, Peabody Museum Memoir X:3.

**NORTHWEST COAST CRUISE**

"In the Wake of Captain Cook" will follow the route taken by Captain James Cook on his explorations to the Northwest Coast in 1778. Co-sponsored by the Peabody Museum and the Harvard Alumni Association the cruise, scheduled for Spring 1986, will visit one of the most spectacular shorelines of the world — the Northwest Coasts of Canada and Alaska. We will go to Victoria and Nootka Sound, and view the Indian village at Yuquot Point depicted in the magnificent drawings of John Webber. At Ketchikan, "salmon capital of the world," the Indian heritage of Alaska is preserved in the world’s largest collection of totem poles. Sitka, with its colorful Russian and Indian past; the massive glaciers; Misty Fjords National Monument with cliffs higher than Yosemite; and the beautiful city of Valdez, popularly titled "Little Switzerland of the North" — are but a few of the natural and cultural wonders on this specially designed itinerary. Dr. Ian Brown, a member of the Anthropology Department at Harvard and Curator of North American Collections at the Peabody Museum will be guest lecturer.

**Hunter-Gatherer Workshop**

Glynn Ll. Isaac

John Mulvaney began his career as a historian and moved to expand his research and scholarship to encompass many aspects of prehistory and the study of Australian aborigines. Taking advantage of his presence as a Visiting Professor in the Peabody Museum/Anthropology Department community, the American School of Prehistoric Research at the Peabody Museum decided to sponsor a workshop that would explore what ethnographers and archaeologists can learn from historical studies relating to hunter-gatherers and vice versa.

Carmel Schrire of Rutgers University and Glynn Isaac worked with John Mulvaney to arrange and organize the meeting.

Hunter-gatherers are a classical category in anthropology, and in both scholarly and popular imagination, they stand for the primaeval condition of humanity. However, because all hunter-gatherer societies have been without writing, most of our organized knowledge of the peoples who belong in this category comes either from the ethnographic research or from archaeology... and yet hunter-gatherers enter into the fringes of history. They appear fleetingly and as rather shadowy figures in early travellers’ and settlers’ accounts and in the margins of history books.

Recognizing this, various questions arise: Might one see other uncharted aspects of the hunter-gatherer category from a careful look at historical materials, fragmentary though they be? Might historians, anthropologists, and archaeologists gain insight into aspects of both Western and indigenous societies from the thoughtful scrutiny of contact records? Might we perhaps acquire a more critical understanding of the limitations of the category ‘hunter-gatherers’ from such joint comparative historical-anthropological studies?

Invitations were issued to a broad range of historians, ethnographers, and archaeologists who are based within reasonable travel distance of Cambridge.

The scholars assembled on April 13 and 14 — some 23 from out of town, 5 from other institutions in Greater Boston, and 18 from Harvard. The group reviewed examples and discussed and argued about issues. Material considered included, amongst other areas, Australia, New England, the Kalahari and South Africa, Malaya, Alaska, Labrador, and the Columbia Plateau.

Continued on last page
Ancient Chinese — New World and Near Eastern Ideological Traditions: Some Observations
GORDON R. WILLEY

Gordon R. Willey was born in Iowa and educated at the Univ. of Arizona (A.B. 1935, A.M. 1936) and Columbia Univ. (Ph.D. 1942). He is Senior Professor in Anthropology at Harvard and Bowditch Professor Emeritus of Central American and Mexican Archaeology.

Before coming to Harvard (in 1950) he led several archaeological expeditions in Peru and Panama under the sponsorship of the Smithsonian Institution.

Prof. Willey is the recipient of many awards, including the Viking Fund Medal, Order of the Quetzal of Guatemala, Gold Medal for Distinguished Archaeological Achievement, Archaeological Institute of America, A.V. Kidder Medal for Archaeology, and the Huxley Medal, Royal Anthropological Institute. He holds honorary degrees from Cambridge Univ., the Univ. of Arizona, and the Univ. of New Mexico.

A Maya archaeologist, his research interests concern settlement patterns and the nature of process in the rise of civilization. He has excavated in Arizona, Georgia, Louisiana, Florida, Peru, Panama, Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Mexico.


In the preceding issue of Symbols (Spring/Fall 1984), K.C. Chang set forth some views on the rise of ancient Chinese and New World civilizations, making the point that these Chinese-New World developments contrast in important ways with what has for a long time been considered the “orthodox”, or Near Eastern, profile of civilizational growth. Now, in this current issue of the same journal, my other colleague, C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, has responded by defining what he believes to be the crucial difference between the two. I have read both statements with interest, and I should like to add my observations to theirs about this important historical and anthropological matter.

Both Chang and Lamberg-Karlovsky focus their attention upon ideological traditions or patterns. In so doing, they do not ignore the demographic and technological contexts of that condition which historians, archaeologists, and anthropologists have called civilization, but it is the thesis of both that within the confines of these contexts there were basic philosophical ideas about the relationships of men and gods within the sociopolitical order that structured the growth of civilization and that did this in fundamentally different ways.

It is obvious that the ideological heart, or world-view, of any civilization is an elusive concept, and this is especially so when we attempt to approach it from an archaeological perspective. It is also obvious that none of us can claim to be a “world archaeologist”. We are each imbedded — perhaps “submerged” would be the more appropriate term — in our own geographically and culturally defined fields of the discipline. Nevertheless, it is evident that my colleagues feel that it is occasionally worthwhile to “come up” from the deep waters of their own particular studies and to take a look at broad questions such as the one they have raised in their dialogue; and I join them in this feeling.

In describing China’s first civilization of the Bronze Age (ca. 2200-500 B.C.) Chang lists all of the standard criteria of the civilizational concept. They are essentially those summarized by V. Gordon Childe a good many years ago: cities, writing, bronze metallurgy, state hierarchies, palaces, temples, monumental art, evidences of social stratification. The list is a familiar one. These are the achievements made possible, although not necessarily inevitable, by a successful food producing economy and by sizable population numbers and concentrations. Within such a technological and demographic setting Chinese civilization arose through the accumulation of wealth and power, each reinforcing and increasing the other in a circular relationship. By a monopoly of high shamanistic the ruling class had critical and sole access to divine and ancestral wisdom, the ultimate basis of all political authority. The universe was visualized as a layered structure of heavens and earth, of gods and men, the dead and the living; and the powerful shamans or priests were the only ones who could communicate with all layers. These shamanistic communications, or flights, were envisaged in a setting of sacred mountains and trees and were expedited by sacred animals and by divinations involving oracle bones, writing, ritual vessels, and other precious or sacred objects. It is crucial to Chang’s thesis that these shamanistic leaders held power by means of these communications with the gods rather than that they simply controlled the means of economic production. Indeed, in his view, this economic control was a circumstance resulting from their
role as mediators between heaven and earth. Such a world view was the mainspring in the rise of Chinese civilization, and it continued as its driving force, whatever the fortunes of war or the waxings and wanings of empires, down to the beginnings of the 20th century.

But this ancient Chinese conception of the universe, of the relationships of rulers to gods and to subjects was, as Chang states:

... 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 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 humans to a higher plane than that of our nature-bound barbarous ancestors.

This was the "orthodox", or Near Eastern, scenario for civilization's rise, and, as Chang goes on to say, it eventually resulted in:

... a cosmology that emphasized the separate existence of gods, granted them creative powers, and promoted 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."

Why the fundamental difference between China and the Near East? How did Near Eastern civilization "breakout" from what seems to be a more monolithic social and political order?

Lamberg-Karlovsky has taken off from this question of the "breakout". He begins by setting aside Chang's listing of Near Eastern or Mesopotamian traits — metallurgical technology, irrigation, writing, territoriality, a cosmology of distinctive gods, temples, and palaces. These, Lamberg-Karlovsky says, are features of many ancient civilizations; indeed, China, itself, as Chang has noted, has most of them. To Lamberg-Karlovsky, the significant difference in the Near East, the "breakout" that occurred there, was the "structuring of political ideology," an ideology "vastly" (emphasis L-K.) different from that of ancient China. It was an ideology that had emerged from the Mesopotamian city-states with their dual nodes of authority in the temples and the palaces. Implicit in this divided authority between temple and palace, between priest and king, was tension and reciprocal action, a balancing of power. There was a divine cosmos of the heavens, understood and interpreted by the priests; this cosmos was reflected on earth by a structured social order; and the King was the steward of the gods, appointed by and responsible to them, charged with overseeing the earth's social and political order. The temple institutions had great power; they incorporated all strata of society and amassed great capital; but there were constraints put upon their power by the King, just as he, in turn, was constrained by them. The King was under a mandate of heaven to rule justly, allowing prescribed degrees of freedom (andurarum) to his subjects and adjudicating among them with equality or equity (misharum). Edicts proclaiming this kind of a just Near Eastern universe, and specifying all kinds of matters therein, were issued by the Kings from the third millennium down through the second millennium B.C., the "Laws of Hammurabi" being the best popularly known example. This ideological tradition of andurarum and misharum was handed down from these Mesopotamian third and second millennium beginnings through early Judaic and Christian times; it became a part of the heritage of the Classical World; and it has continued in the mainstream of Western thought. However much honored in the breach rather than in fact, this Near Eastern ideological legacy has been an undeniable force in world history. It stands in strong contrast to the monolithic Chinese world view.
A Maya ruler with a ceremonial bar. A manifestation of Itzam Na is seen emerging from open jaws at each end of the bar. From a carved lintel at the Classic Maya site of Yaxchilan, Chiapas, Mexico. Such a representation is characteristic of the close association of Maya kings, or ruler, with the deity, Itzam Na. (After Spinden, 1913, fig. 62.)

which Chang has outlined, a view which sees all power and authority residing in a single set of rulers, or a single ruler, who had sole access to supernatural wisdom, both sacred and secular.

These formulations, as posed by Chang and Lamberg-Karlovsky open up questions of both a culture-historical and general evolutionary nature. Chang is fascinated by the similarities between certain early Chinese and New World traits, images, and thought patterns. The Chinese concept of a layered universe, encompassing heavens and earth, is reminiscent of Maya cosmology with its steps or levels of the heavens, the earth, and the underworld. Iconographic themes are held in common. Thus, the “tree-of-life” concept, with the sacred bird perched at its top, is known to both Chinese and Maya art, as are the jaguar or tiger, in its many manifestations, and a dragon or saurian-like creature, the latter being the representation of the principal Maya deity, Itzam Na. It should be stressed that these are thematic, not stylistic, similarities.

There are also similarities in political, or politico-religious, concepts between ancient China and the Maya and Mesoamerica. Maya rulers were divinely appointed. The Halac Uinic, or ruler, as we know from Yucatecan ethnohistoric accounts, had both secular and religious powers. He was a priest “in charge of idols” as well as the one in charge of human sacrifice. These powers were hereditary. Often he was assisted by a high priest who was a brother or other close relative, but the early Spanish accounts leave little doubt but that secular power was derived from divine sanctions. The hieroglyphic inscriptions and the iconography of the earlier Classic Period stelae confirm these Maya attitudes about rulers and their sacred powers. The personages on stelae, identified as specific rulers of city-states, are bedecked with Itzam Na paraphernalia — headdresses, the ceremonial bar with its two serpent or saurian heads, and the mankin sceptre or little god-headed figurine with a snake’s leg, held by the ruler in his hand. All of this identifies the personage with the deities. He may not be a god-on-earth; the god’s status may be reserved for him only after his death; but, as Sir Eric Thompson has put it, he ruled by “divine right”, and there is no evidence of any counter-balancing power within the chiefdom or state that could have held him in check.

In viewing both the Chinese and the Maya data, Chang has referred to a “Chinese-Maya” pattern of politico-religious ideology. How wide-spread was this pattern, and what were its derivations? To begin with, I think that the term “Chinese-New World” might be more apt than “Chinese-Maya”. Within Mesoamerica alone, the ab-
solutist, god-connected nature of rulership characterized other nations as well as the Maya; and in Peru the Inca state was notable for its monolithic political structure presided over by a ruler who was considered "a Son of the Sun". But can the Chinese data be related to the New World data on an historically-related, diffusional basis? While agreeing with Chang that there are some very interesting Chinese-American parallels in artistic themes and cosmological and political concepts, I doubt that we are dealing with the results of diffusion on any very late Precolumbian time level. I think it more likely that what we are seeing are independent expressions deriving out of an ancient Paleolthic mythological base.

But the more interesting question rising out of Chang's "Chinese-Maya", or "Chinese-New World", pattern of political ideology is not a diffusional one but one of a cultural evolutionary nature. Was this pattern, this world view that derived all earthly power from a shaman's, a priest's, or a king's private communication with the gods, essentially universal at one time, a time or a stage in which complex societies and states arose? Did this ideology precede that of andurarum and misharum in the Near East? There are implications that Chang may think so in his use of the term "breakout". It suggests a throwing off of the shackles of an old ideological order, a radical departure from a pattern in which China, the New World, and many other places were to share in their rise to civilization. With this "breakout" the Near East went on to a different, and a new, way of thinking that restructured the relationships of gods, rulers, and men.

Looked at in this way, we are led to pursue the argument by inquiring into the nature of Near Eastern civilization before the "freedom" and "equity" "breakout". We know that civilization and the city-state were in existence in Mesopotamia by 3000 B.C. and that this had been preceded by complex or chiefly societies going back to 5000-6000 B.C. How far back can the "freedom" and "equity" pattern be pushed? Lamberg-Karlovsky traces it to some of the cuneiform texts of the time of King Entemena (2404-2375 B.C.). Prior to that the record is uncertain. But in keeping with my evolutionary surmise, it is at least reasonable to suppose that a more monolithic politico-religious ideology, one like that of the Chinese-New World pattern, prevailed in the Near East in earlier times.

The Classic Maya ruler, Bird-Jaguar, as depicted on a stela carving at Yaxchilan. In interviewing prisoners, he holds the manikin scepter, a symbol of royal and divine authority, in his other hand. (After Thompson, 1973.)

Let us explore the evolutionary perspective still further by looking at the sweep of human history with this issue of political ideology in mind. One might expect that simple or non-complex societies operated with a substantial degree of "freedom" and "equity". Such egalitarianism would have been dictated by circumstances of demography, technology, and subsistence pursuits. As the demographic-technological context of a society became more complex, social and political complexity also increased so that by the developmental level of a high chiefdom a certain political absolutism, bolstered by divine sanctions, was possible if not highly likely. Such absolutism must have been reinforced in those situations where chiefdoms became states. It is at this point, in the ancient Near East, that a change, or what we have called a "breakout", took place. A new pattern developed that, while not entirely free from divine sanctions, offered what might be thought of as more "liberal", or at least potentially-liberating, elements in the relationships of the rulers to the ruled. This new pattern was the beginning of a tradition that persisted through Near Eastern, Classical, Mediterranean, and Western European civilizations. But it by no means became universal. As we have noted, China and the native civilizations in the New World seem to have been out of its orbit. Ancient Egypt, geographically close to the Near East and certainly in diffusional communication with it, maintained the old absolutist course. The Egyptian Pharaoh was a god, descended from gods, and under no constraints to promulgate laws of "freedom" and "equity" comparable to those issued by his Babylonian contemporaries.

An inevitable question must follow. What brought about the Near Eastern "breakout", that change from divinely sanctioned absolutism to a rule in which there were some counter-balancing forces in opposition to the royal prerogatives? Clearly, questions of causality are notoriously difficult to answer. As we turn to the material contexts of Near Eastern and Chinese civilizations, as described by Lamberg-Karlovsky and Chang, or to those of the native American civilizations to which Chang and I have both alluded, we do not see great differences. Cities, temples, palaces, great artistic monuments, writing, metallurgy, and the various clues to hierarchical governmental organization and social class distinctions - these are present in all of them. Yet the Near Eastern context appears to have been a "forcing bed", in some manner or another, of a remarkable new ideology while the others were not. Why? Looking at the New World data, I will venture one observation which may, or may
As we hove up the Anchor, all the Canoes in the Cove assembled together and sung us a parting song, flourishing the Saws, Swords, hatchets and other things they had got from us. One man was mounted on a stage of loose boards supported by the Indians nearest it, and danced to the Singing, with different masks on; at one time resembling a man, and at others a bird or beast.

Burney 1967, p. 307

The masks that Burney mentioned are called transformation masks. The Peabody has a number of these extraordinary objects in its Northwest Coast collection, some of which are on display in the current Soft Gold exhibition.

Fig. 4. A Man of Nootka Sound.
No. 41-72-10/496.

Upon leaving Nootka Sound, Cook got caught in a terrible storm. He did not approach land again until he was in the vicinity of Prince of Wales Island. On May 2nd he sailed into Sitka Sound, a location that eventually would become famous as the principal Russian outpost in North Pacific waters. Here Cook recorded a remarkable volcanic cone that he called Mount Edgcombe, in honor of an influential British statesman. John Gore, 1st lieutenant of the Resolution, gave it an unofficial name, but certainly a more appropriate one: “Mount Beautiful” (Gore 1967, p. 336).

After leaving Sitka Sound, the expedition proceeded along the coast passing Mount Fairweather, Yakutat Bay, and Mount Saint Elias, as well as numerous glaciers of astonishing magnitude and beauty. On May 12th Cook was at the entrance to Prince William Sound, which he originally called Sandwich Sound. The final appellation came from George III’s third son, William Henry (1765-1837), who later became William IV. Cook entered the sound in order to do some repair work on the Resolution. He remained there for eight days. It was in Prince William Sound that Cook and his crew once again had direct contact with native populations. Several groups of different cultural stock visited him, as Prince William Sound was a meeting ground for Tlingit, Eyak, Athapascans, and Chugach Eskimos. The type of vessel he described, however, was an Eskimo umiak (Cook 1967, pp. 345-346).

The habitations in Prince William Sound must have either been located away from the shore or in some protected cove, because they were not observed by the members of the expedition. There are two Webber drawings in the Bushnell collection that relate to Prince William Sound, both of which are of male inhabitants. One is depicted in fig. 5. Cook was amazed by the amount of facial adornment among the natives of Prince William Sound, “... I have nowhere seen Indians that take more pains to ornament, or rather disfigure themselves, than these people” (Cook 1967, p. 350). Both men and women pierced the cartilage in their noses and drew within it a bone or some beads. They also hung strings of beads or bones from their ears. Men typically had short beards that were covered with strings of the same. These strings were attached to a labret that projected through a large slit beneath the lower lip, sometimes, “so large as to admit the tongue which I have seen them thrust through, which happened to be the case when it was first discovered by one of the Seamen, who called out there was a man with two mouths and indeed it does not look unlike it” (Cook 1967, p. 350).

The expedition left Prince William Sound on May 20th and sailed southwest along the coast of the Kenai Peninsula. After having sighted Kodiak Island on May 24th,
Fig. 3. A Woman of Nootka Sound. No. 41-72-10/498.

Fig. 5. A Man of Prince Williams Sound. No. 41-72-10/501.

Fig. 6. A Man of Oonalaschka. No. 41-72-10/503.

Fig. 7. A Woman of Oonalaschka. No. 41-72-10/504.
Cook turned north toward the inlet that now bears his name. His purpose was to find a short-cut to the Bering Sea that would save some time. Time was in very short supply. If Cook was to succeed in his objective of finding a water passage across the Arctic, he had to do so before the onset of the formidable Arctic winter. The ships got caught in some rough weather as they sailed up the inlet and, so, they ended up spending a total of 11 “wasted” days in this exploration. A passage was not forthcoming, but the venture was not totally wasted as they did secure some valuable ethnographic information. Cook observed that the people there were the same as those he had seen in Prince William Sound (Eskimos).

There is a certain amount of irony in how Cook Inlet received its name. Cook left this body of water blank on his map, although John Gore’s (1967, p. 362) own name for it, “The Gulf of Good Hope”, gives an indication of what was expected of it. Despite the fact that Cook habitually named places after his officers or after influential men in Great Britain, he quite modestly never named a geographical feature for himself (Gunther 1972, p. 188). Only after the expedition did this location inherit the name Cook’s River, only to be changed to Cook Inlet in 1794 by George Vancouver. The irony lies in the fact that this inlet is probably one of the last places on earth that Cook would have appreciated having his name.

The fiasco in Cook Inlet delayed the expedition and began to create serious doubts as to whether a Northwest Passage (in this case a Northeast Passage) would be found. However, Cook still had his instructions, so he headed south along the Alaska Peninsula looking for a break in the terrain, as well as for the Russians, who knew were somewhere in the area. Evidence for Russian activity turned up at Unga, one of the Shumagin Islands. At this location on June 19th some natives came out to the ships with a document that was written in Russian. Cook finally found a passage into the Bering Sea on the 28th of June, but because of thick fog and a contrary wind, he took his vessels into a safe harbor for several days. The harbor was called “Samgoonoodha” (Later, English Bay), the island “Oonalaschka” (Unalaska), and the inhabitants “Oonalaschkans” (Aleuts). These people had a great desire to trade their furs for tobacco, a luxury they were accustomed to receiving from the Russians. Cook visited the small village that was located nearby and Webber accompanied him to make some pictorial records.

There are five Unalaskan scenes in the Bushnell Collection. Two are of the inhabitants (figs. 6 and 7), two are views of village life (the same scene drawn twice with subtle changes) (fig. 8), and one is the interior of an Aleut house (fig. 9). From Cook’s description (1967, p. 459), as well as from early ethnological collections, we know that Aleut men wore clothing that was made out of the skins of sea-birds, most commonly the tufted puffin. The feathers were worn against the skin. On top of this they wore a water-resistant garment of seal or sea-lion intestines, which had a hood to draw it over the head. According to William Laughlin (1980, pp. 55-56), it was necessary to use the skins of 40 tufted puffins and 25 cormorants to make one full-length parka for a man. Women wore such outfits when in boats, but their land costume consisted of a frock made out of a sealskin.

Neither sex used paint to decorate their faces, as was typical of the Prince William Sound inhabitants, but Cook noted the practice of tattooing among the women and the occurrence of labrets. Only the women commonly had the labrets inserted while he was among them. Cook was particularly fascinated by the hats worn by the men:

some of them wear boots and all of them a kind of oval snouted Cap made of wood, with a rim to admit the head: these are dyed with green and other Colours, and round the long bristles of some sea animal [walrus] on which are strung glass beads, and on the front is a small image or two made out of bone.

Cook 1967, pp. 459-460

The “oval snouted caps” actually served as sunshades. They were typical among the Aleuts as well as among the Eskimos of the southwest Alaska coast around the mouth of the Kuskokwim River.

Although Cook seems to have been interested in the Aleut themselves, one receives the distinct impression that he did not care too much for their abodes. Webber, however, must have spent a considerable amount of time around and within their houses (figs. 8 and 9). Cook likens the semisubterranean houses of the Aleut to a “dung hill”. After digging a large oblong square hole in the ground to a depth of about two feet, a framework of driftwood comprised the walls and roof. This framework was then covered with grass and, finally, with a layer of earth. There were two openings in the roofs of the houses observed by Cook and Webber. Both openings admitted light and one also served as an entrance to the structure. A notched post or ladder was the usual means of descent. Separate apartments for each family were ar-
ranged around the sides of the structure and the residents slept and worked within concave trenches. The middle of the house served as a receptacle for debris, as well as for the urine trough which was used to cure leather (Cook 1967, pp. 460-461).

The expedition left Unalaska on July 2nd to travel north in search of a water route east. Three months later Cook returned to Unalaska, having explored the west Alaska coast up to and beyond the Bering Strait as far north as 70° 44'. At this latitude he encountered a permanent ice barrier that drove him south. A Webber drawing in the Bushnell Collection that shows the Resolution and Discovery plowing through the ice floes, is a vivid reminder of how close the expedition came to disaster. At the end of October Cook set his sights for Hawaii and left behind him the fascinating people of the North Pacific.

On October 7, 1780 the third expedition came to an end, but Webber’s role in it was far from completed. He had made over 200 drawings during the voyage, but most of the originals were quite large and unwieldy. The engravers who were given the task of illustrating the official report of the voyage required smaller replicas of the drawings, so Webber spent the following months copying his work at a smaller scale. Sixty-four of his pictures were copper-engraved and used in the British Admiralty’s published document, A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean (Cook and King 1784). Following the publication of this four volume work, Webber received the rights to his pictures and, at his own expense, etched 16 scenes from the South Seas and the North Pacific coast for a publication that appeared posthumously (Webber 1808).

Webber and two of his friends took a long sojourn in Italy in 1787. They also visited Berne, which Webber had not seen since his youth. He drew many beautiful scenes of Italy, Switzerland, England, and Wales in the last years of his life. These pictures were well-received and resulted in his election to the Royal Academy at London. Webber died shortly after receiving this honor. His health had been weakened from the long sea voyage and he was not strong enough to combat a long illness he contracted in 1792. On April 29, 1793, at the young age of 43, John Webber died in his London home. He died a wealthy man, but without descendents (Henking 1978, p. 29).

The ethnological materials in Webber’s possession had already been taken care of, however. At some time between 1787 and 1791 the objects had been given to the Library in Berne. Although his ethnological materials amounted to only about 100 pieces, which is small compared with other Cook voyage collections, its importance rests in its being kept together. Most of the Cook voyage collections were split up and distributed to various museums. Webber’s ethnological collection in Berne is also significant in that it is basically comprised of standard utilitarian items. Whereas the major collectors, like Cook, received the best there was (ornate ceremonial items like rattles and wooden images), the greater part of the North Pacific coast materials in the Webber Collection are bows and arrows, harpoons, clothing, and the like. Webber was far too busy making his

Fig. 9. Interior of a Dwelling at Oonalaschka. No. 41-72-10/505.

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Webber, John, Views in the South Seas from Drawings by the Late James [sic] Webber, Draftsman on Board the Resolution . . . 1776-1780. London. 1808.


Willey
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not, be pertinent to the question. I suggest that the institution of the open market, a place for the free exchange of goods, or at least some goods, may have been a factor favoring diversity of power. We know that such markets existed in the Aztec state where, despite the fact that they were to a degree integrated with imperial trading policies, they allowed for some free trading. There are archaeological evidences from the earlier Central Mexican Teotihuacan civilization (A.D. 100-700) that the market was of great importance then also. Here, in Central Mexico, it is also of interest to note that the Aztecs were at least concerned with the problem of the separation of church and state. True, the last reigning Aztec Emperor, Motecuzuma II supervised both religious and secular matters, but the rituals which surrounded him in performing these two roles suggests that the matter of divided authority within the state may have been one of concern. In contrast, the Maya city-states, in which the open market may not have been so thoroughly developed, seem more firmly within the pattern of church-state unity. And ancient Peru, culminating in the Inca empire, which had no open markets whatsoever, seems even more fixed in the absolutist ideological tradition. In this connection, Geoffrey Conrad's description of the Inca system of "split inheritance", with huge estates dedicated to the cults of dead rulers and their retainers, has an Egyptian quality to it, reminiscent of similar holdings of dead Pharaohs (see Geoffrey W. Conrad and Arthur A. Demarest, Religion and Empire, the Dynamics of
Aztec and Inca Expansionism, 1984). Is the market a factor in economic and political diversity? When we ask this question we must emphasize the great importance of the Near Eastern temple markets, institutions separate from palace and King.

As a final speculative comment, it seems to me that the potential for diversity, the presence of counter-balancing bases of power within the society, is the crux of the difference between what we have described as the Chinese- New World absolutist model and the Near Eastern ideological tradition that began with the “breakout”. To continue with these expansive views of human history, and as we look around us now in the modern world, I think we can appreciate that we are not only concerned with the ancient past, nor are we talking of inevitable stages of political development. The struggle between monolithic control and political diversification of power is almost as old as the first complex social orders and the earliest state formations, but it still continues. What I have said here has its roots in the archaeological past, but its implications extend beyond this. I admit to it being a biased statement, and as any reader can see, I am sympathetic to the “breakout”.

46:17) are but a few examples. The ideological resemblance between the older Babylonian social decrees and the social laws of the Old Testament are striking and fundamental.

Solon, the great reformer of Sixth Century Athens, is often credited with laying the foundation for democracy. His social reforms, the seisachtheia, were enacted at a time when J. B. Bury states, “the wealthy few were becoming wealthier and greedier, the small proprietors were becoming landless, and the landless freemen were becoming slaves.” Solon’s social reforms precisely mirror those of the misharum acts, from which many scholars believe they were inspired. Thus, Solon’s reforms cancelled debts, freed debtors from enslavement, returned mortgaged lands to their owners, and rescued the free labourer from bondage. These social reforms became a point of departure for binding legislation and law in much the same manner as Nehemiah’s reforms did in ancient Israel and Hammurabi’s in Babylon. The seisachtheia, meaning “shook off their burdens,” is in its literal sense identical to the phrase used in ancient Israel where with the declaration of misharum the “burden” of debt was released. The Greek term seisachtheia is known only from Solon’s reforms and the term had to be explained to the audience when mentioning it. Over seventy years ago it had already been suggested by C. F. Lehmann-Haupt that the reforms of Solon were introduced from the Near East. Solon’s reforms turned into binding laws and became the foundation for comprehensive legislation in precisely the same manner that Nehemiah’s reforms (Chapter 5) did in ancient Israel and the misharum decrees in Mesopotamia. The important point is that the declaration of those social reforms served as a point of departure for the codification of law. In doing so, they served as the foundation for the social contract between the rulers and ruled, between different classes and ideally without prejudice as to sex, nationality, or religious belief.

Barrington Moore, in his lucid Injustice: The Social Basis of Obedience and Revolt, expresses the notion for a universal need of consensus in the nature of political rights and obligations that govern rulers and their subjects. This consensus must be based upon reciprocity: “Obligations are accepted but should be reciprocal in nature; for the obligations of the subject there should be corresponding obligations for the ruler; and the whole should re-bound to the benefit of the community” (emphasis added).

This adaptive strategy characterized the ideal behavior, all too often abrogated in practice, but nevertheless an ever-present ideology that governed the temples and palaces of the most ancient Near East and through its later Judaeo-Christian synthesis offered a cornerstone to Western Civilization’s concepts of freedom and democracy.

Archaeologists burdened by their occupational hazard with a materialist bias have too frequently concentrated upon economic forces (see p. 2) as being the principal determinant of cultural evolution. Jürgen Habermas, in Knowledge and Human Interests, persuasively argues that “moral obligations” rather than economic forces have prompted or permitted the successive re-orderings of economic relationships associated with the evolution of civilizations. It is in the dialectics of the moral life” that Habermas finds the “normative structures” of everyday life: “The development of these normative structures (moral obligations) is the pace-maker of social evolution, for new organizational principles of social organization mean new forms of social integration; and the latter, in turn, make it possible to implement available productive forces, or to generate new ones, as well as making possible a heightening of social complexity.”

The “moral obligations” imposed on rulers for constituting freedom, equity and justice are as old as the ancient palaces and temples of the Near East. Such “moral” concepts continued to receive affirmation whether in the Acropolis of democratic Athens, the Magna Carta of King John, or the principles of Liberté, Égalité, and Fraternité of the French Revolution. As certain as these concepts are pivotal to Western Civilization, they are foreign to the political ideology of ancient Egypt, China, and India.

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righteousness, that he may judge your people rightly, your weak ones justly.”

As the Lord will come to judge the earth, so also the King, his living steward, is exhorted: “with righteousness shall he judge the world, and the people with equity.” (Psalms 98:9). Examples of social edicts, the pronouncement of misharum by leaders, abound in the Old Testament: the proclamation of “liberty throughout the land and the return of all possessions to families” (Leviticus 25:10; the manumission of slaves (Jeremiah 34:8), the freeing of prisoners (Isaiah 61:1), and the establishment of regulations pertaining to real estate and inheritance which bind the King and his people (Ezekiel
Whether or not one agrees with Louis Althusser’s insistence on the permanence of ideological illusion the moral equilibrium, real or imagined, between the rulers and the ruled within Western Civilization has rested on the fulcrum of *andurarum* and *misharum*, “freedom” and “equality”; concepts uniquely formulated in, and fundamental to, the “significant breakout” of the ancient Near East.

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**Hunter-Gatherers**

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It was agreed that the category “Hunter-Gatherers” encouraged simplistic notions of long-term isolated survivors of Pleistocene ways of life, and the meeting agreed that whatever people said, by hunter-gatherers they actually meant “people who get an important proportion of their food by gathering and hunting.”

The historical materials introduced showed something of the extent to which hunter-gatherer societies showed flexibility and adaptability in the face of contact with new social and economic influences. It became clear that one should suspect that in very many cases pervasive adjustments and innovations had occurred by the time ethnographers arrived on the scene. These were not timeless and unchanging societies. Nonetheless, given appropriate critical sense, archaeologists and anthropologists can learn a great deal about systems of human life that involve relatively low population density, mobility, and feeding oneself without farming. Historians, for their part, stand to learn a good deal — not only about hunter-gatherers, but also about the characteristics of the literate societies that impinged on them as reflected in their actions and attitudes.

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This bronze head, mutilated in antiquity, was recovered from Nineveh and is believed to be a portrait of Sargon of Agade. Sargon’s conquests led to the first Semitic empire in Mesopotamia, 2334-2112 B.C. Ht. 36.6 cms.