

anthro notes

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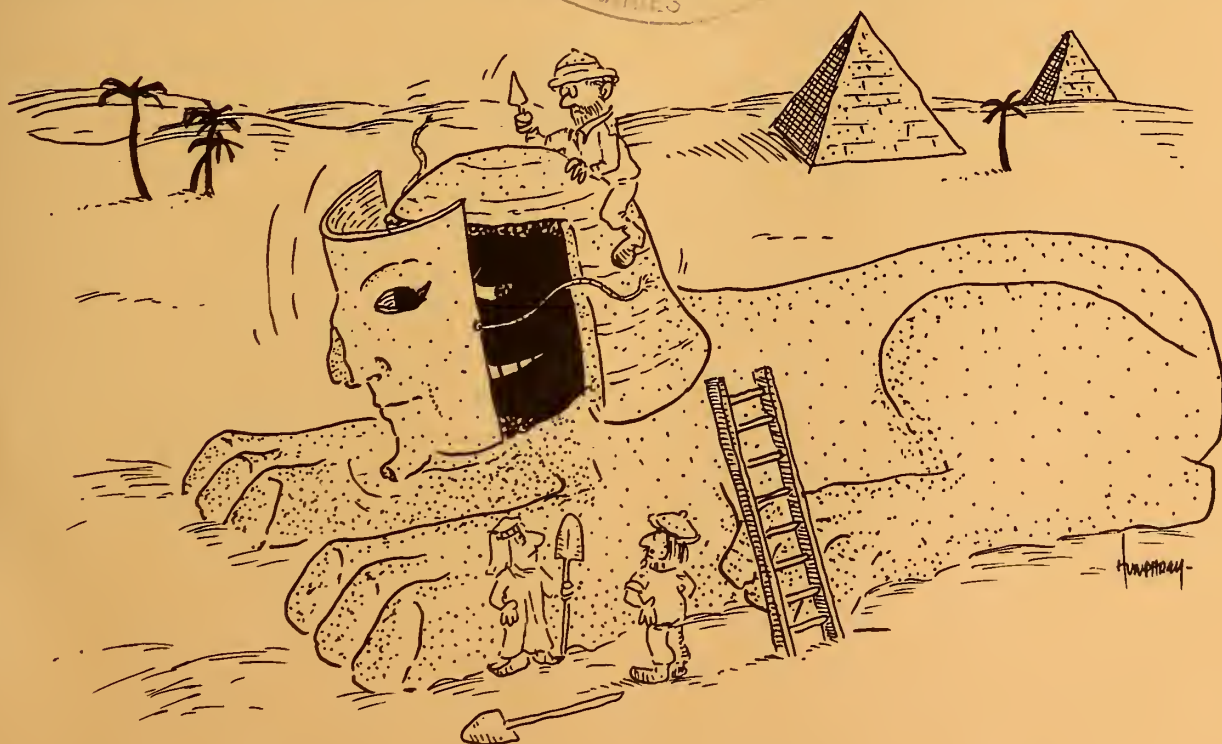
THE ROOTS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Who were the ancient Egyptians? Should the origins of their magnificent achievement be sought in the Middle East or in Africa? Were they themselves "White" or "Black"? These questions have been disputed by scholars since the beginnings of written history. Most recently, anthropological studies of human remains from northeast Africa, together with new archaeological evidence from Egypt and Nubia, offer us a new understanding of Egyptian origins in which Africa played the major role.

Africa and Egypt: Pre-1945 Views

Early writers described the Egyptians as dark-skinned and woolly-haired (Herodotus) with origins in or close ties to the ancient peoples and cultures of Ethiopia (Diodorus of Sicily, Strabo). In the 18th

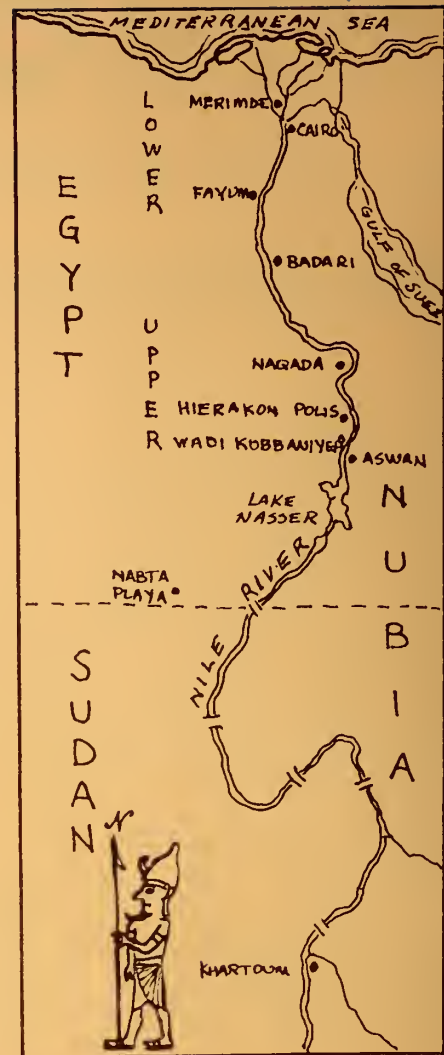
century ancient Egyptian civilization was "rediscovered" by travellers (and plunderers) from Europe, whose view of the ancient Egyptians was drawn largely from Egyptian art, in the absence of scientific archaeology or a code for deciphering hieroglyphic writing. After viewing the undamaged profile of the Sphinx, which the French author de Volney described as "Negro in all its features," he wrote: "Just think that this race of black men, today our slave and the object of our scorn, is the very race to which we owe our arts, sciences and even the use of speech! Just imagine, finally, that it is in the midst of peoples who call themselves the greatest friends of liberty and humanity that one has approved the most barbarous slavery and questioned whether black men have the same kind of intelligence as whites" (de Volney 1787:



74-77). As late as 1829, de Champollion, the decipherer of hieroglyphic writing, described a bas-relief in which the most "primitive" figure is a light-skinned, tattooed European barbarian wearing skin clothing, in contrast to the dark-skinned white-clad Egyptian described in the accompanying hieroglyphic legend as "the race of men par excellence."

In the 19th and 20th centuries, scholars attempted to exclude African cultures and Africans themselves from the origins of Egyptian civilization. Within ten years of 1829, de Champollion's own brother attributed the achievements of ancient Egypt to a separate "race" of reddish-brown-skinned Moors, whom he considered a variant of the "White" race due to their straight hair. In the absence of any in-depth study of skeletal remains or mummies, this quickly became the dominant view. While Elliot Smith and the diffusionists of the early 20th century were attributing all "civilization," and indeed all invention to an original center in Egypt, the leading American Egyptologist J. H. Breasted argued that Egypt was racially and culturally part of the same sphere as the adjacent region of western Asia. To Breasted, Egypt was separated from "the teeming black world of Africa...by an impassable desert barrier...Thus isolated and at the same time unfitted by ages of tropical life for any effective intrusion among the White Race, the negro and negroid peoples remained without any influence on the development of early civilization" (1926:113).

The idea that ancient Egyptians owed nothing to Africa was reinforced by the view that the ancestors of most present-day populations of eastern and central Africa arrived in these regions within the last 2000 years. Their predecessors in the Nile headwaters area were ancestral primarily to Caucasians (L.S.B. Leakey 1935) or Kalahari bushmen (Woodward 1938). As a result, even if archaeology could show that the Egyptians had migrated down the Nile from its headwaters area, any "Black" contribution to their culture, or link to most of the present inhabitants of sub-Saharan Africa, could be discounted.



First Settlers and Farmers: 7000 - 5000 BC

From Khartoum in the Sudan, the Nile flows northward through increasingly arid desert hinterlands. Nubia, with its rocky landscape of gorges and cataracts gives way north of Aswan to the flatter floodplains of Upper Egypt, and, near modern Cairo, to Lower Egypt and the Nile delta region. The agricultural economy of ancient Egypt was based on wheat, barley, flax, date palms, cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, and donkeys. Only the latter was considered an indigenous African domesticate; the others, together with the idea of domestication itself, were thought to be Near Eastern imports, particularly since the earliest agricultural settlements in Lower Egypt appeared much later than their Near Eastern counterparts.

Recent archaeological work in Upper Egypt, the Sudanese Nile Valley, and Egypt's western desert has presented a different picture of Egyptian origins. Except for a few intermittently-occupied sites in the Nile Valley (e.g. Wadi Kubbaniyeh), northeast Africa was deserted during the severe drought corresponding to the last ice age, about 18,000 years ago.

The climate became much wetter as the ice age ended, beginning about 13,000 years ago and continuing to about 6,000 years ago (ca. 4,000 B.C.). While nomadic hunters and gatherers continued to exploit the wild resources of the Egyptian Nile Valley, signs of increasing sedentism appear in the Sudanese Nile Valley. The first African experiments with domestication may have occurred in the western desert. In Sudanese Nubia towards the beginnings of this period, around 9000 years ago (7000 BC), the dead were buried in collective cemeteries, suggesting a more sedentary existence. Many of the skeletons at one such cemetery (Jebel Sahaba) appear to have been killed with stone tools, implying a degree of organized violence or warfare not characteristic of sparse populations of nomadic hunter-gatherers (Wendorf 1968). At Khartoum and other sites in the Sudan, hunters of buffalo and a variety of other game built mud-plastered structures, fished with bone harpoons, and made pottery decorated with wavy lines, all suggesting some degree of sedentism.

Although no domesticated plants or animals are associated with the Nile Valley settlements during this time, domesticated cattle, presumably descended from local wild ancestors, have been identified at several sites in the oases and playa lakes of the western desert as early as 9000 years ago. That is about the same date as the earliest domesticated cattle in Europe or the Near East. Evidence of domesticated cattle at the Egyptian sites is based not only on minor differences in size and shape with the wild forms but also on the fact that the rest of the animal bones all come from animals smaller than a gazelle. If large animals such as cattle were present in their wild state, reason the authors, there would be more than one large species. This finding has been disputed by other scholars (see Clark and

Brandt 1984). By 8000 years ago, the large permanent village of Nabta Playa, with its stone-lined houses and storage pits, well-made pottery decorated in the Khartoum style, domesticated (six-row) barley grains and date palms, and a few bones of unquestionably domesticated cattle attest to the full development of a food-producing economy based on indigenous African domesticates.

Around 7500 to 6400 years ago, the desert climate was particularly humid and favorable to pastoral production. To the north, by 7000 years ago (ca. 5000 B.C.), domesticated sheep and goats, pigs, and emmer-wheat, none of which are native to Africa, together with domesticated cattle, dogs, cultivated barley, and flax formed the economic basis at the first villages north of Cairo in the Nile delta. The easternmost of these villages may have been in contact with Near Eastern early farmers, providing a route for the transmission of Near Eastern domesticates, which appear in the final stages of desert cultures to the South. Toward the end of this period, increasing drought may have forced the western desert pastoralists back to the Nile Valley, still occupied by hunting and gathering groups. This crowding and mingling of cultures may have precipitated the first settlements in the area of the Nile Valley south of Cairo, where Egyptian civilization actually arose.

Predynastic Egypt

During the predynastic period before the beginning of the First Dynasty (ca. 3100 B.C.), some of the most distinctive characteristics of Egyptian culture appeared in the area of Upper Egypt. These included hieroglyphs, an extraordinary emphasis on mortuary ritual including human and animal mummification, animal deification, maceheads as symbols of royal power, precious stone jars and cosmetics, and pharaonic kingship, in which the ruler as deity not only controls but also personifies the nation. Increasing cultural complexity is reflected in the emergence of differential access to wealth (social stratification); specialized manufacture of pottery, metals, and luxury goods; organized trade between regions; monumental architecture; irrigation

agriculture requiring centralized control; greater population densities; and regional conquest or political integration.

Scholars dispute the extent to which each of these features developed indigenously or was imported (or at least strongly influenced) through contacts with the Near East. Aside from the Near Eastern domesticates, which probably spread into Africa through intermediaries in the Nile delta region, there is very little evidence for direct contact between predynastic Upper Egypt and the Near East before the latter part of the predynastic period, ca. 3500 B.C., or even later. What is the evidence for the local development of cultural complexity before this date?

Four main stages of predynastic development have been recognized: Badarian (ca. 4400 to ca. 3800 B.C.), Amratian or Naqada I (ca. 3800 to 3500), Gerzean or Naqada II (ca. 3500 to ca. 3200), and protodynastic or Naqada III (ca. 3200 to 3100 B.C.). Even in the first stage, elaborate burials containing luxury goods from other African regions presage the cult of the dead and attest to differential wealth. Specialized manufacture of pottery, stone jars, and cosmetic palettes is also evident. While hammered copper could have come from the Near East, its absence in Lower Egypt suggests that both raw materials and techniques of manufacture may derive from African sources.

By the second stage (Amratian), incised marks foreshadowing hieroglyphic writing appear on some of the pots, and a few especially rich graves contained distinctive maceheads, later symbols of kingly power. As in the Badarian, Near Eastern origin is a possibility, but the lack of intervening links in Lower Egypt suggests local development.

The development of cultural complexity accelerates during Gerzean times, when a wall-painting in one of the largest brick-lined tombs depicts a ruler with a mace preparing to kill several bound captives (Hoffman 1988: 42). The earliest-known temple complexes also date from this time. On the pottery, painted red boats are often shown with standards on poles bearing

different signs, some identical with later hieroglyphic names of gods. Copper was cast into daggers and other tools, stone bowls and jewelry were made in a range of precious materials--alabaster, amethyst, gold, silver, ivory, lapis lazuli, and turquoise. Throughout early Egyptian history and prehistory most of these precious materials, except for lapis lazuli, came from the south, the Sudan, and, later, Ethiopia.

By the end of the Gerzean, Mesopotamian-type cylinder seals, wavy-handled pottery imported (or copied) from Palestine, and some artistic motifs such as a man holding the necks of two leaping animals suggest more direct or at least more extensive contact with the Near East. The final predynastic stage (Naqada III) was marked by the emergence of hieroglyphic writing; mummification, particularly of animals placed around royal burials; stone or brick tombs in a "Near Eastern" style; the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt; and the emergence of pharaonic rule. Although some scholars have emphasized the role of the Near East in the emergence of the Egyptian state, others have noted that the evidence for direct contact is still tenuous; manufactured objects from Upper Egypt have not been found in the Near East. Instead, the evidence points to indirect contact through an intermediary people in the Nile delta who traded their own pottery as far as the coast of Canaan, but who were independent both politically and culturally from the Gerzeans.

Direct relationships between predynastic Egypt and regions to the south are somewhat better documented. In Nubia, the "A-Group" peoples were closely linked to late predynastic and early dynastic Egyptians, as reflected in similar burial customs; imported pottery, copper objects, and stone palettes; linen clothing; and the economic base of cattle, sheep, goats, wheat, and barley. At one series of tombs in Nubia, representations of kings with captives and hieroglyphic signs suggest the conquest of Upper Egypt and possibly Libya by Nubia. Does this indicate that the concept of kingship that underlies pharaonic rule actually originated in Nubia (Williams

(continued on p.14)

TEACHER'S CORNER: SOUTHEAST ASIAN NEW YEAR CELEBRATIONS

[Editor's Note: Ang Robinson directs a new outreach project titled "New Americans--New Challenges" in the National Museum of Natural History's Education Office. The project's goal is to promote understanding and appreciation of cultural diversity between the American public and the newly arrived Southeast Asian refugees and immigrants in the greater Washington area.]

With more than a million Southeast Asian refugees and immigrants having settled in the United States since 1975, the American public has grown increasingly interested in the cultural heritage of these newcomers. Demographic change has prompted many school systems to develop educational materials on Southeast Asian history and cultures creating a better understanding of the cultural differences among students of South-east Asian heritage. This teaching activity describes how the Southeast Asian-American community, specifically the Cambodians, the Laos, and the Thais, celebrate New Year's Day and offers some suggestions for classroom activities.

The New Year's Celebration

The name of New Year's Day differs in each language. In Khmer, the Cambodian language, New Year's Day is called Col Chnam; in Laos, Boon Pee Mai, or the fifth month Boon; and in Thai, Wan Songkran, or the Water Festival. Col Chanm, Boon Pee Mai, and Wan Songkran are national holidays in Southeast Asia. They usually fall on April 13, when the sun leaves the sign of Pisces and enters the sign of Aries, according to astrologers. For centuries astrologers have been influenced by the Bramanic (Hindu) calculation, and they determine the length of the festivities. New Year's Day also marks the beginning of the rainy season, from April or May until the end of October, and the planting of rice after several months of hot, dry days. In upcountry Thailand, Wan Songkran is also an occasion for rain-invoking ceremonies if the reservoirs, ponds, and wells are dry and the sky offers no sign of rain.

City people generally celebrate the first day of the New Year while country people

welcome a new and happy year for at least three days. On the last day of the old year, and in preparation for the new, people clean out their houses to drive away any evil spirits, bad luck, or disaster that may have lingered over the year. The next day, actually the first day of the calendar new year, is a day of rest during which all work is forbidden. The following day is for the celebration of New Year's.

Col Chnam, Boon Pee Mai, and Wan Songkran are temple-centered ceremonies like many other religious holidays in Southeast Asia. While New Year's Day is a deeply religious holiday, it also is an occasion to integrate all kinds of activities involving food, games, and the arts, which may take place in town halls and in the open air.

Each household prepares food that is brought to the Buddhist temple either the evening before or the morning of New Year's to serve to the monks. Food offerings are a way of "making a merit" or performing a good deed (or Boon). After the monks eat the food, they chant and offer a blessing to the people, who receive this blessing in a wai (pronounced "y") position, with the palms of the hands pressed together, to show their respect to the monks. In the temple, men and women sit with both knees folded closely to their bodies, their feet directed away from monks and Buddha images as a sign of respect. Men also have the option of sitting cross-legged.



Besides food, people donate money, which is another way of "making a merit." They also bring flowers, incense sticks and candles, which they light in front of the Buddha images and make New Year's wishes. Buddha images are housed year round in the vihara, a central structure on the temple grounds, and for New Year's are placed in a small pavilion on an altar where they are accessible to the worshippers. In some places, Buddha images are carried in a procession through the streets.

The temple ceremony includes the sprinkling of flower scented water, blessed by the monks during the food-offering ceremony, over the Buddha images to cleanse them. The people form a line, and as they sprinkle water over the Buddhas, they make a wish asking for good health, a bright future, and happiness and prosperity for themselves and their families.

Another temple rite is the building of sand mountains, which can vary in size from a quite small to several feet high, and there are different beliefs associated with them. Some people believe that the number of grains of sand are equivalent to the number of years they will live or the amount of money they will make. The sand also has a practical use. The monks can build new construction on the temple grounds. Big silver bowls often are used to heap sand into little mounds to build a structure resembling a "chedi" or "stupa" (a large cone-shaped religious structure). In Southeast Asia, small stupas or chedis are also built along sandy river banks where temples and homes are located. These small sand mountains may be decorated with coins, strips of cloth, flowers, and paper flags, depicting an animal symbol from the Chinese zodiac.

Su-Kwan is an important element of the Lao/Northeastern Thai New Year's celebration. "Su" means "to invite" and "Kwan" refers to "the soul." Su-Wan is usually held on the third day of the festival when people visit respected figures of the community as well as relatives and friends who live outside the village. It is also a time for young people to ask their elders for forgiveness for any wrongdoing they might have done in the past year and for blessings for the year ahead. The host prepares a flower arrangement over which large numbers of white strings are draped. The family invites Moh pon, the blesser, the most knowledgeable member of the community, to lead the Su-Kwan

ceremony. Moh pon will chant a few magical formulas to chase away sickness, pain, suffering, and evil spirits and to beckon good spirits to return to the souls of the ceremony participants. Next is the blessing of the white strings. The Moh Pon makes a knot with a piece of string to symbolize a successful return of the soul. Then he ties the string around the wrist of a person to be honored by the family. The person who has been blessed should keep the string on for at least three consecutive days for good luck.

Evening is a time fun, games, and entertainment. People gather at the temple or town hall to enjoy traditional and folk dances, music, and drama after travelling through the streets sprinkling water on one another and eating and drinking and singing and dancing from village to village.

Most Southeast Asian-American communities have condensed their traditional three-day celebration of New Year's to one day to accommodate life in their new home.

Suggested Classroom Activities:

1. Research project. Group three to four students together. Each group chooses a Southeast Asian country and researches its geography, climate, ethnic groups, holidays and festivals. Then each group presents its findings to the class.

2. Interview a cultural specialist. Invite, a cultural representative to the classroom (a parent or student may be willing to participate). The following questions may be helpful:

a. Who in the community celebrates New Year's Day? (Consider age groups, clergy, and laity.) What are their roles? Are there some groups in the Southeast Asian community that do not celebrate the holiday?

b. What are the elements (religious and non-religious, crafts, foods, games and entertainment) of the celebration?

c. Where and when does the celebration take place?

d. How is knowledge and understanding of the celebration passed on in the family? In the community? How involved are parents, community, and religious organizations in passing on traditions such as the New Year's celebration? (Betty Belanus, SI Office of Folklife Programs, contributed to this activity.)

3. Class visit to a Buddhist temple.
4. Class or school organize a Southeast Asian New Year's celebration.
5. Food Preparation and Carving. Prepare a special Southeast Asian dish such as the following Laos recipe for Chicken Lap (Lap Kai), by Amorn Ker, or carve carrot flowers, instructions below by Nit Malikul.

Chicken Lap

1 lb. skinned boneless chicken, diced
 1/2 lb. chicken livers (opt.), diced
 1/2 lb. chicken gizzards (opt.), diced
 3 cloves garlic, sliced
 2 tbsp. chopped red onion
 4 tsp. anchovy sauce (if omit, use more fish sauce or salt to taste)
 2 tsp. fish sauce
 2 tsp. ground dried red chilies
 2 tbsp. dried galanga, finely chopped after soaking in hot water for one hour
 4 tbsp. lime juice
 1/2 tsp. salt
 2 tbsp. brown rice powder

For garnish:

4 tbsp. chopped scallion
 2 c. mint leaves
 1/2 c. coriander leaves

Brown chicken without oil for 2-3 minutes. In a separate pan, brown chicken livers and gizzards until cooked. Place the cooked chicken in a bowl and allow to cool for 5 minutes. Season meat with remainder of ingredients and mix well. Add brown rice and garnish. This dish goes well with lettuce, green beans, cucumbers, and radishes. Makes two to four servings.

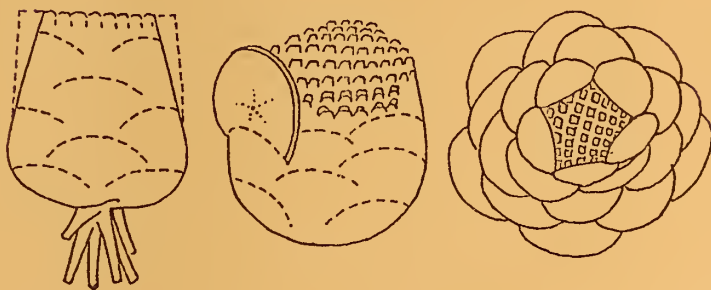
Carrot Flowers

Needed: One large straight carrot
 One medium straight carrot
 One paring knife
 One curved knife

Steps:

1. Peel carrots; cut off about 3" from the stem end of the medium sized carrot.
2. Carve around the cut edge of the carrot to make it slightly tapered and round.
3. Across the cut end, cut small wedges about 1/8 inch apart at right angles to each other.

4. From the other side, the thick end of the medium carrot and the largest end of the large carrot, cut five sets of five of five thin slices each (a total of 25) for petals of graded sizes in uniform thickness and arrange them in proper order.
5. Using the curved knife and starting from the top (as shown in the sketch), cut the carrot in 5 half-moon cuts (not straight) for each of five rows, alternating the positions with each row. This will give you a total of 25 cuts in all.
6. The five cuts in each row must be evenly spaced and must be as near to each other as possible so as not to show the bare stem when the petals are arranged in rows.
7. As each row of cuts is completed, the petals must be inserted (by using the knife to open the cut) before making the next row of cuts.
8. After all the layers have been arranged, immerse the flower in water for about 10 minutes. During that time, all the petals will take on their natural curved shape.



Further Reading:

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ANOTHER MAASAI STORY

[Editor's Note: Naomi Kipury, a Ph.D. candidate in anthropology at Temple University, is a Maasai woman. The unique perspective of anthropology is a holistic and cross-cultural view, and a central "rite-of-passage" for anthropology students is immersion in another culture through fieldwork. This experience gives a more detached perspective on one's own and other cultures. How is this experience defined for the anthropologist of non-Western origin? Has such a person already gained a perspective on cultural differences through exposure to non-Western and Western cultures? Why is it important to encourage students of different backgrounds to enter this discipline? In this article, Ms. Kipury, currently a pre-doctoral Fellow at the Smithsonian Institution, presents her unique views relevant to these issues. (ASB)]

I was born and raised in a village known as Ilbibil (Anglicized as Bissel), located in Kajiado district in Kenya, one of the two Maasai districts. Ilbibil was and still is such a small place that everyone knows everyone else and social relations are very personal. Because of this, I grew up not always quite knowing who was and who was not a relative. Although Ilbibil is the meeting place of two major Maasai groups called iloshon (sections), Ilmatapato and Ilpurko, the separation was not always clear. My inability to identify my relatives was made even more difficult by the fact that my parents belong to these separate iloshon, in effect making everyone a relative to some degree or other.

As I grew older and learned to distinguish the various kinship categories, the many "relations" began to fall into place. In our little town, other social relationships also included Ethiopian, Somali, and Asian families who had been trading in the area for many years and who seemed to be part of the community. Cultural heterogeneity was an integral part of my experience growing up.

Although Ilbibil is a small village, it is not isolated from national and international affairs. Tanzania's border lies only 30 miles away, and the highway connecting the capital cities of Kenya and Tanzania runs between our home and the school, which was opened in 1951 by the colonial governor. Less than twenty

miles away sits the police headquarters and the government administration and less than 200 yards from our home stands the village church, with its strong stone walls, symbolizing the religious persuasion into which the Maasai were inducted. The church was allegedly built single-handedly by an Anglican priest who was determined, like others before him, to wipe out "paganism" among the Maasai. But judging from records of church attendance and villagers' comments, the physical strength and architectural tastes of the priest/builder more impressed our people than the spiritual message he tried to convey.

Early Education

When I was about 6, I attended Ilbibil primary, the only school in the area. The idea of going to school was extremely exciting to me, mainly because my elder sister was already



"ACTUALLY, HIS SERMONS STINK... BUT HE'S SURE HANDY WITH TOOLS."

attending as were other "big" girls, but also because it was an adventure, something out of the ordinary. In those days [the late 1950's], the colonial government forced children to attend school through the establishment of a quota system. Each district and location supplied a given number of children to the newly constructed government school. It was the responsibility of the newly appointed chiefs and headmen to locate prospective students to fill the quotas. Teachers were equally as difficult to induct into this new educational process. Only a very good excuse would relieve them of this wage employment. As can be expected, there was always a severe shortage of teachers.

In filling the student quota, chiefs and headmen ensured that their own children and those of their friends and clansmen were not selected. This gave special relevance to clans, sub-clans, and any other indigenous social divisions as people attempted to evade the new system. Animosity suddenly shrouded our own little community following the establishment of the school house. My story was different, however. Since my father already had been coerced into attending school, he was determined to send his children as well. Thus, unlike our friends, who were able to stay away from school, we could never dream of doing so. Actually, I was absolutely elated at the opportunity to attend school and could not understand why my grandmother cried and why the majority in my community considered school such a dreaded place. I was yet to be inducted into the horrors of the school experience.

At the age of about 7, I travelled by car to the first all-girl's school in the district at Kajiado, the administrative headquarters. The headmistress was a dedicated and talented South African missionary who spoke our language so well that she even composed songs in Maa. She was affectionately nicknamed "mother of girls." Despite what seemed like fine living conditions, boarding school was a miserable experience to most of us and entirely different from anything we were accustomed to.

The food, for instance, consisting of vegetables, maize, beans, and ugali (made from maize meal), was strange to most of us. Only two or three of us had ever tasted any

vegetables. Cabbage and carrots, over-boiled in the typically English style, were quite unpalatable. As essentially cattle pastoralists, the Maasai primarily subsist on milk and on occasion meat. We are popularly known to exist on blood, however, consumption of it occurs only during very hard times or during convalescence. Since we all were from a pastoral community, where milk was our only food, lack of it was interpreted by us and by our folk as either starvation or malnutrition, and, at times, as both. Once during a drought, boiled maize was our only sustenance, and since most of us did not eat it, we often went hungry.

School was further made difficult by rules we thought unnecessarily strict. For instance, two girls were not allowed to sleep in the same bed, yet for most of us, sleeping in one's own bed was a new experience. We found sleeping alone cold and scary, and so most of us often broke the rules to sleep with friends. Picking berries near the school during the weekends was also not allowed. For these reasons, and because we were homesick, we held crying sessions every evening during the first weeks of school. Cultural differences made home more interesting than school, and so, many girls ran away with hopes they would not be recaptured, as often happened.

On Becoming an Anthropologist

I was one of the four of the original 80 girls at the school who went on to high school in Kajiado, and, later, to the University of Nairobi. I survived the drop-out rate because I felt I was too far entrenched to quit, so I continued. I am certainly glad to be literate, unlike my mother who never got the chance. Not all that we learned in school, however, was relevant to my education, just as not all that our community had to offer was irrelevant. After years in the "culture" of boarding school, away from my family and community, I felt somewhat alienated from my own culture and sure that I had missed out on a great deal of valuable knowledge. Perhaps my decision to become an anthropologist was partly influenced by my desire to investigate my own society. I found I had a particular interest in social change, the transformations that have been taking place at different levels of society, and how people have reacted to them. These became the focus of my interests in graduate school. In particular, I am examining the complexities

of class and gender during the transition from pre-colonial times to the present.

Culture Change Among the Maasai

A discussion of change among the Maasai might sound like a contradiction in terms, since we are often perceived as conservative and impervious to change. In earlier anthropological literature we would have epitomized the concept of the "noble savage." However, the Maasai, like everyone else, have experienced an incredible amount of change that has affected every aspect of their lives. Change as we know it is part and parcel of human survival.

The most pronounced changes to have taken place over the past twenty years are economic, political, and social. The early encounters with colonialism have led to expropriation of land through treaties similar to those signed with the American Indians. In subsequent years, commercialization of land and livestock have led to further economic constraints.

Politically, the Maasai like other small Third World societies have been incorporated into modern states and the world system, whose ideology is radically different from their own. How do we gauge the effect of these transformations within the family level? Although all of these processes have been deeply felt by all levels of society and by all categories of people, the manner in which women have been affected has not been adequately covered in the anthropological literature, partly because of the andro-centric biases of earlier studies. I hope my study and those of others, who are now addressing this issue, will bridge that gap by focusing on women within the total system in which they operate both historically and culturally.

As members of a pastoral society, women "traditionally" had significant control over the herds and the household economy. While men may have controlled the exchange of livestock mainly for the elaboration of affinal and other ties, women controlled the products of the stock and were primarily responsible for feeding the household. At marriage a woman received a certain portion of the household herd, which remained under her jurisdiction throughout the marriage. A portion of this stock she allotted for her son's inheritance. As managers of the production and distribution of the milk and

staple products, women played an important role in ensuring the productivity of the herds for sustenance and for future redistribution. Only through negotiation could any livestock under their jurisdiction be disposed of, loaned out, or sold.

Since colonialism, our pastoral economy and consumption primarily of dairy products, and hence women's economic role, within the household and community, have been undermined by changes that have significantly affected relations between people and among people, their land and their animals. The commercialization of agriculture, for instance, has led to environmental over-use from the reduction and degradation of our rangelands, necessitating the herding of stock to more widely dispersed areas in search of water and grass. While the mobility of herders has increased, the mobility of women with children attending primary day school has been restricted, so that they are often separated both from the men and from the herds which usually provide their sustenance.

The commercialization of livestock has led to a shift in the focus of pastoral production, from milk to meat products. Since meat production requires the calves to be kept with the mother for a longer period, the availability of milk for family consumption or exchange is reduced. Not only does this reduce women's economic importance, so have the more recent development policies that have tended to create a new role for the male "head-of-household" as property-owner and tax-payer. This new system does not accommodate the shared "ownership" of livestock within the household or the differential control of livestock products. The denial of women's traditional residual rights in the cattle of marriage-exchange and sons' inheritance has reduced their productive role still further, and has fostered economic dependence. Increasingly, women are finding it difficult to feed their households, and, men, often separated from wives and children, are similarly unable to devote adequate means to household sustenance, partly because of economic constraints but also because they lack the cultural training as providers of the daily food.

(continued on. p.13)

SUMMER FIELDWORK OPPORTUNITIES

Are you looking for adventure, discovery, and learning this summer? Become a member of an archeological excavation team, a scientific expedition, or a field program in the United States or abroad. With a little research you might be surprised at the opportunities available to you even within your own community. As teachers you can share your findings with your students. Many programs take young people 16 years of age or older.

Anthropology departments of local universities and colleges, state historic preservation offices, and state archeological societies often engage in local archeological excavations and frequently accept volunteers with no previous fieldwork experience. The Archaeological Institute of America (AIA) offers a listing of state archeologists associated with the national organization as part of its yearly field school listing for the U.S. and abroad (\$6.00 for members, \$8.00 for non-members). Write: AIA, 675 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, MA 02215, or call 617-353-9361. Archaeology magazine, published by the AIA, features an archeology travel guide to sites open to the public in the Old World (March/April issue) and the New World (May/June issue). A field school listing is also available from the American Anthropological Association for \$4.50 for members and \$6.00 for non-members. Write: AAA, 1703 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009 or call (202) 232-8800.

For a comprehensive listing of fieldwork opportunities in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area, the Smithsonian Institution's Department of Anthropology distributes A Guide to Resources on Local Archeology and Indian History. For a copy of this free guide, write: Public Information Office, Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 20560; or call (202) 357-1592.

There are several organizations that offer volunteer public participation in worldwide research expeditions in various scientific disciplines. Many of these organizations, listed below, are non-profit and donations can be treated as tax-deductible contributions.

University Research Expeditions Program
University of California, Desk K-15,
Berkeley, CA 94720
(415) 642-6586.

Earthwatch
680 Mount Auburn St., Box 403, Watertown, MA
02172. (617) 926-8200
(Earthwatch has a special scholarship program for teachers)

International Research Expeditions
140 University Dr.
Menlo Park, CA 94024
(415) 323-4228

Foundation for Field Research
787 South Grade Rd.
Alpine, CA 92001-0380
(619) 445-9264

CEDAM International
(CEDAM stands for Conservation, Education,
Diving, Archeology, Museums)
Fox Road, Croton-on-Hudson, NY 10520
(914) 271-5365

Below is a selected list of organizations that offer fieldwork experience in the United States and abroad:



Crow Canyon Archaeological Center is a non-profit institution specializing in Southwestern archeological research and education. The following programs introduce participants to archeological field methods, laboratory techniques, and excavation. The Adult Research Seminars, consisting of week long sessions, are conducted from May 28 to October 14. The High School Field School takes place from June 18 to July 15; applications should be mailed in ASAP. The Teachers' Workshop, conducted from July 23 to July 29, offers recertification credit. Write or call: Crow Canyon Archaeological Center, 23390 County Road K, Cortez, CO 81321; (800) 422-8975.

Flowerdew Hundred Foundation offers a summer institute for college and university educators in The Historical Archaeology of European Expansion 1550-1700, from June 25 to July 30. Participants will examine the similarities and differences of the English, Spanish, and French colonial endeavors in the eastern U. S. and the Dutch in South Africa. James Deetz and Ivor Noel Hume are among the distinguished faculty. Stipends will be awarded. Early application is suggested. Write or call: Flowerdew Hundred Foundation, 1617 Flowerdew Hundred Rd., Hopewell, VA 23860; (804) 541-8897/8938.

Human Origins and Prehistory in Kenya: The Koobi Fora Field School, offered by Harvard University Summer School and the National Museums of Kenya, introduces the wealth of paleoanthropological evidence at Koobi Fora and field methods in early man research. The field school consists of two six-week training sessions (June 8-July 19 and July 26-September 5). Write: Dr. Harry V. Merrick, Koobi Fora Field School, Harvard Summer School, 20 Garden St., Cambridge, MA 02138, or call (203) 481-0674. **Note:** A three-week seminar for teachers in 1990 at Koobi Fora to consist of lectures, demonstrations, and site visits is under consideration. If interested, write to Dr. Merrick at the above address.

Cahokia Mounds Field School, sponsored by Southern Illinois University, will concentrate this season on excavating the central plaza. The first session, June 19-30, is for college credit only; the second, July 10-21, is for non-credit and anyone age 16 or over may apply. For more information, write or call George Holley, Ph.D., Contract Archeology Program, Box 1451, South-

ern Illinois University, Edwardsville, IL 62026; (618) 692-2059.

Parsons School of Design offers two anthropology-related programs this summer for students and teachers. Paleolithic Art and Archaeology of the Dordogne, a two week course (July 29 to August 14), involves visits to about twenty decorated caves and five Paleolithic living sites under archaeological investigation. Parsons in West Africa offers programs in the Ivory Coast (July 8 to August 2) and Mali (August 5 to August 26). In the Ivory Coast explore the traditions in ceramics, fiber arts and metal-smithing, or the history of traditional African art and architecture through visits to traditional villages. In Mali learn about the great trading centers and medieval empires. Write or call: Parsons School of Design, Office of Special Programs, 66 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011; (212) 741-8975. Early application is advised.

Center for American Archeology, Kampsville Archeological Center conducts educational research programs for junior and senior high school students, college students and the non-professional, and separate workshops for teachers. Write: Admissions Office, Kampsville Archeological Center, Kampsville, IL 62053, or call (618) 653-4395.

Northwestern University's Ethnographic Field School (June 19-August 2) offers students of all disciplines an opportunity to experience another culture. Students design their own independent research project to learn about the Navajo or Hispanic cultures in New Mexico and Arizona. Write or call Professor Oswald Werner, Department of Anthropology, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL 60201; (312) 491-5402 or (312) 328-4012 evenings.

Science Museums of Charlotte, Inc. sponsors Field Archaeology in San Salvador, Bahamas. National Geographic concludes, from excavations by Dr. Charles Hoffman (Northern Arizona University), director of this program, that Samana Cay, not San Salvador, is where Columbus first landed. Join in the excavation of a Lucayan Indian site dating to the time of Columbus that last year yielded Indian and European artifacts. Three field sessions: (June 2-13, June 12-24, and July 2 to July 18). Registration deadline is April 30. Write or

call: Jerry Reynolds, Discovery Place, 301 North Tryon St., Charlotte, NC 28202; (704) 372-6261.

Smithsonian Research Expeditions offers qualified individuals, 18 years or older, an opportunity to work for two weeks alongside Smithsonian researchers in various scientific areas including archeology and anthropology. Describe and photograph the Crow Fair (August 15-22) in Billings, Montana in the expedition The Legacy of the Horse in Crow Culture. Write or call: Smithsonian Associate Research Expedition Program, 3945 Quad, Washington, DC 20560; (202) 357-1350.

Smithsonian National Associates Travel Program offers travel opportunities around the world; several anthropology-related programs are: Pueblo Indians of the Rio Grande Valley (July 9-16); Southwest Indians (May 4-14 and August 24-September 3); Sojourn in Tucson (April 1-8 and 15-22); Black Hills and Crow Fair (August 16-25); and Kentucky/Appalachia (September 16-23). Write or call: Smithsonian National Associates Travel Program, 3045 Quad, Washington, DC 20560; (202) 357-4700.

Archaeological Rescue Inc., an affiliate of the Anthropology and Education Sections, Milwaukee Public Museum, is conducting summer field schools at Sheboygan Marsh in Sheboygan County, Wisconsin where evidence of human occupation dates back to 8000 B.C. Weekly and daily sessions are scheduled for educators, students, families, and adults. No experience is necessary. For more information, call (414) 352-2515.

Southwestern Archaeology Workshop for Teachers (June 6 to July 6), sponsored by the Anthropology Department, Northern Arizona University, is an introductory course for teachers. Includes excavation at Elden Pueblo (an 11th - 13th century Sinagua site near Flagstaff) and trips to various archeological sites. In addition, the Elden Pueblo Project sponsors several public programs such as week-long day camps for 4th to 6th graders and 7th to 9th graders, Arizona Archaeological Society (amateurs) certification programs, and the Family Camp Excavation Program. For more information on the teacher workshop and on the various public programs, write or call Dr. Carl Phagan, Anthropology Department, Box 15200, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ 86011; (602) 523-3180/7431/3038.

("Maasai," continued from p.10)

I do not believe that my society is unique nor are the changes Maasai women are experiencing. Therefore, I hope that my study will be a contribution to scientific discourse and to the manner in which peoples like my own are adapting to economic, political, and social changes. Anthropology is sometimes considered a Western system of thought that grew out of imperialism, but I do not believe that it should be condemned to stay so. If anything, the discipline should be able to provide tools with which to conceptualize culture change in transitional societies. To be able to do this, and for the sake of its own survival, the discipline has had to adapt. The contribution of Third World students could certainly enrich the discipline even further.

References for further reading:

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("Egypt," continued from p.4)

1980)? Or, did Egyptian influence and, eventually, their rule travel south, along with their carved and painted objects (Adams 1985)?

On the basis of the archaeological evidence from the Egyptian predynastic period, no case can be made for large-scale invasion from the Near East. Even the evidence for direct contact could also be interpreted as indirect trade through intermediaries in the Delta. The main elements of the Egyptian state appear to have developed locally and to have involved extensive contact with other African peoples.

"White" or "Black"

The physical appearance of the ancient Egyptians is based on two types of evidence: 1) indirect evidence from Egyptian art and contemporary accounts of ancient Greek or Roman authors, and 2) direct evidence from skeletal remains and mummies. The indirect evidence, summarized by the Senegalese scholar Cheik Anta Diop (1974), suggests that ancient Egyptians were darker-skinned (often depicting themselves in dark red) than Europeans, and that some of them had projecting lower faces, thick lips, broad noses, and woolly hair often styled in ways still in use south of the Sahara. Diop's examination of a mummy revealed a considerable degree of melanin, within the range of peoples considered "Black" today, particularly those living in and on the edges of the Sahara. Other mummies examined have shown a range of hair-colors and textures--blond to dark brown and straight to woolly.

Most of the direct evidence, however, is in the form of skeletal remains, particularly those from predynastic times. While some authors point to alveolar prognathism (projecting lower face), short broad faces, long narrow skulls, broad nasal apertures, and long gracile limbs as "Negroid" characteristics, most physical anthropologists agree that there are no skeletal characteristics that unequivocally diagnose "Negroid" ancestry. One author

argued that if the above characteristics were applied to ancient English skeletons, a third of them would be designated as "Negroid." A further factor underlying the lack of diagnostic skeletal features is the difficulty in assigning living individuals to one and only one "race," particularly in the very area we are discussing. While people differ in appearance around the globe as a result of historic migrations and adaptation to prevailing climates, the very mobility of humans from their remotest beginnings and their propensity to intermarry has resulted in considerable overlap in characteristics between even distant populations, to say nothing of adjoining ones. There is no line on the map where everybody on one side belongs to a relatively homogenous "Black" race, and everyone on the other to a homogenous "White" group. In living peoples, such designations are often underlaid by cultural or ethnic identity rather than physical characteristics.

Another factor that has confused the issue in the past is the evolution of the human face, which has taken place since the invention of agriculture. With less stress on the chewing muscles, teeth are smaller, lower faces smaller and less projecting, and brow ridges and muscle attachments less prominent. Since many contemporary Europeans have relatively large brow ridges and faces, ancient skeletal populations of Africa were considered "White" ancestors, and modern east Africans were seen as recent immigrants from a very restricted area of west Africa. G. P. Rightmire (in Clark and Brandt 1984) and L. Schepartz (1987 Ph.D thesis) have demonstrated conclusively that the east African populations of the final ice age shared most anatomical features with such modern East African groups as the Maasai, Turkana, Nuer and other tall linear peoples.

A study by G. Armelagos and others (in Clark and Brandt, 1984) asks a more interesting question. Were the people who lived in Nubia during predynastic and dynastic Egyptian times different from the people who live there now? Based on a comparison of different Nubian populations through time, the authors conclude that the apparent "intrusion" of individuals with smaller, less projecting faces and brows, and more gracile skeletons is due to a

combination of reduced chewing stress and greater nutritional stress. The latter resulted from a lack of some important human nutrients, particularly iron, in the diets of early agriculturalists and led to dietary deficiency diseases such as anemias. In addition, through examining features such as dental cusp patterns, which more truly reflect genetic inheritance and are little affected by diet or chewing stress, Armelagos and others have shown that the ancient Nubians were the ancestors of the modern Nubians. A similar conclusion applies to the skeletal remains from Upper Egypt (Greene 1972). Although movement up and down the Nile created a varied population, the intensity of this movement was not greater in the past, nor did it overwhelm the genetic "signature" of the indigenous Nile Valley peoples. The ancient Egyptians, who varied considerably in appearance both within single cemeteries and over the long reach of their civilization, did not resemble the Senegalese or Ghanaians as much as they resemble their own descendants particularly in their heartland south of Cairo in Upper Egypt.

Ancient Egyptians were then neither "Black" nor "White" but highly varied from north to south and physically intermediate between the geographically adjacent peoples of the Near East and their sub-Saharan neighbors to the south. As Africans, they were certainly in contact with emerging states to the east, first adopting from them some of their domesticates and later other inventions such as bronze metallurgy. But the basic achievements of ancient Egypt--the initial domestication of cattle and barley; the manufacture of fine pottery, jewelry and precious stone vessels; the special emphasis on mortuary rituals; and the invention of hieroglyphic writing--developed from African roots. If Williams is correct, even pharaonic kingship may have originated in Nubia and spread north, rather than the reverse.

Alison S. Brooks

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