



The Freedom of the Human

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vironments are not that different, but the Kayapó both fish and hunt, hunting more than fishing.

Other transitional cases like the Kayapó may be found in the intermediate area between the Amazon and Central Brazil and serve as test cases. The Tapirapé, a Tupi-speaking group living near the banks of the Araguaia River, share several characteristics with the Gê, although lacking much of their social complexity. The Tapirapé came from a well-defined forest area farther west several centuries ago (Baldus 1970). They have age hierarchies, go on trek, and hunt (Wagley 1977), but they also fish, though this is not as important as hunting. Across the river, their neighbors, the Karajá of Bananal Island, choose only to fish.

These transitional cases show that environmental determinism operates only when protein sources require specialized devices for their capture. This would be the typical savannah-Gê case. When there is more than one protein source available, the culture may choose one of them (Xinguanos and Karajá) or all of them (Kayapó, Boróro, and Tapirapé). In a more diversified environment, the organization of culture will be much more dependent upon its own internal logic than on ecological constraints.

CONCLUSIONS

The absence of environmental pressures requiring specialization for protein capture in the Xingú has permitted a simplification of the social system of these indigenous groups. This simpler system, defined by the opposition of the sexes, can be viewed as a basic form of group organization among lowland South American Indians. More complex cultural forms, such as those of the Gê, may be understood as complications of these elementary structures by the addition of other criteria of organization, such as age stratification or the formation of descent groups.

To verify this hypothesis, the ethnographic sample will have to be enlarged. With the inclusion of other indigenous groups, I believe we will arrive at conclusions with important implications for South American ethnology:

- 1. Theories concerning the rationale for different degrees of complexity among indigenous groups, especially those that correlate geographic potential and food production, must be carefully scrutinized.
- 2. The main reason for different levels of sociocultural complexity stems from the necessity to specialize for protein capture and for warfare. The more diverse and plentiful the resources, the less complex and specialized the cultural institutions need be. It follows that the less diverse the ecological resources, the more complex the culture.
- 3. A new framework based on such organizational principles as age and sexual oppositions may be suggested to identify South American Indian social types. This framework takes into account the environmental backgrounds.
- 4. It can be suggested that population size does not determine the level of complexity of indigenous groups. Rather, population size is one consequence of the needs of corporate groups to capture protein and to defend their home territory.

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Vol. 20 • No. 3 • September 1979

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The Freedom of the Human

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"The Freedom of the Human" was the third in a series of conferences sponsored by the Institute of Human Values at Saint Mary's University. The objective of the series was to throw light on the interdependence of knowledge, values, and freedom. The first, "Beyond Relativism" (MacCormack and Erickson 1977), argued the universal intelligibility of the human; the second, "The Value of the Human" (MacCormack and Erickson 1978), sought to situate the value of the human in the context of that intelligibility, and the third explored the relationship between the value of the human so conceived and the development of ideas and institutions making for freedom.

The conferences were also designed to demonstrate that such problems can and should be explored by employing an interdisciplinary, cross-cultural, and comparative-historical approach, a methodology the epistemological implications of which have yet to be fully understood. Such understanding is, however, significantly advanced by actually experiencing the degree to which insights gained from disparate disciplines illuminate one another. In this sense, "the problem is the program and the method the message."

In the keynote address, John R. MacCormack, historian and director of the Institute, argued that the love of truth and justice is basic to the human but is an appetite that is developed or repressed societally. Throughout world history, personalities have emerged who have supported or opposed regimes or polities according to the extent to which they have nurtured or stunted this capacity. Since the reformers' choice of means was necessarily limited by the very principles they espoused, they often suffered short-range defeat; but because honesty and integrity have a natural attraction the quality of their actions was often subsequently recognized and had its due impact on the evolution of institutions making for freedom.

The papers developed this theme. Paul D. Hanson of the Harvard Divinity School discussed the significance of the creative tension which developed when the prophets of ancient Israel opposed its kings in the name of a higher law; Julia Ching of Yale (comparative philosophy) read a paper on the impact on the tyranny of the Ming and Manchu dynasties of the thought of the 17th-century reformer Huang Tsung Hsi; and the medievalist Arthur Monahan (Saint Mary's) explored the ideas of the 13th-century thinker John of Paris in relation to the limits which should be placed on the power of popes and kings, ideas which had an important influence on constitutional developments both in church and state.

The problem was placed in a more contemporary setting by Jessie L. Brown of the Hampton Institute, who spoke on the ideas, actions, and impact of Martin Luther King, and Gordon Zahn of Boston University (sociology), who discussed the life, death, and subsequent unlikely fame of the Austrian Catholic peasant Franz Jaegerstätter, who—against the advice of church authorities—refused on grounds of conscience to serve in the German army in World War II and was executed by the Nazis. The final paper was presented by Yuri Glazov of Dalhousie University, who was himself expelled from the Soviet Academy of Sciences as a political dissident. He spoke on religious faith and political dissent in the Soviet Union.

A concluding summary and commentary on the interaction of the three conferences was delivered by anthropologist Laura Thompson, a director of the Institute.

During the discussions, one panel member argued that self-sacrifice was not enough; one must be willing not only to die, but to kill for freedom. This raised a number of questions which were not resclved: Is the value of the human compatible with violent revolution or tyrannicide? Is the use of terroristic means in the pursuit of freedom ultimately self-defeating? Another problem which deserves systematic exploration is the instrumental use of values by holders of power to inhibit or destroy freedom and the role played in this process by the divorce of knowledge from human values. This, in turn, underlines the importance of making further progress on the fundamental epistemological problem.

The papers of the conferences are being published in the three issues of *Humanitas* (Institute of Man, Duquesne University, Pittsburgh, Pa.) for 1979. Anthropologists interested in joining the Institute or following its activities should write the Director, Institute of Human Values, Saint Mary's University, Halifax, N.S., Canada B3H 3C3.

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Excavations at Corinthian Kenchreai

by Robert Scranton

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Excavations at Kenchreai, the eastern port of ancient Corinth on the Saronic Gulf about 4 km south of the eastern end of the Corinth Canal, were conducted during five seasons from 1963 through 1968 by the University of Chicago and Indiana University for the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Certain technical assistance was provided by the Corning Museum of Glass and the Greek Archaeological Service. Investigations were made around the perimeter of the clearly visible harbor, both on land and in the sea and with the aid of air surveys.

Among the discoveries, those of outstanding interest were made in a now-submerged open-air room just offshore at the southwestern end of the harbor, in a mass of debris occasioned by a disastrous earthquake in A.D. 375. Of this material one category consisted in representatives—some nearly complete, some fragmentary—of 87 panels, remaining from what had once been 124, of opus sectile mosaic (technically similar to marquetry) done in glass, of which the largest had originally been nearly 2.00 m by 1.25 m. The panels, slabs of a kind of plaster to one face of which the glass had been affixed, were found packed in wooden crates stacked along the walls of the room. The inference has been that they were made in Egypt, sent to Kenchreai by ship, and unloaded for temporary storage in the room, where they were spoiled during the course of the earthquake and attendant storms. The subject matter of these panels included Nilotic scenes with flowers and birds; maritime panoramas with harbors, ships, fishermen, and fish; portraits of Hellenic sages, including Homer and Plato; divine or mythic figures; formal geometric patterns; and others. The indications are that they had been intended to cover the walls of colonnades lining a ceremonial passage to the sea in a sanctuary of Isis of which the room in which they were found was a part. Although preserved to a remarkable extent by the manner in which they had been packed and stacked, the panels have suffered seriously both physically and chemically from various circumstances, and fully effective treatment for their preservation has yet to be found.

Another category was found in the fill covering the panels, including many pieces of wooden furniture veneered with tortoise shell or ivory, which in turn had been engraved with various figures and patterns. With this were many fragments of carved ivory and bone, chiefly miniature architectural forms—bases and capitals of columns, archivolts, and moldings of various kinds. Several chairs of the curule type are preserved, one or two nearly complete; the carved bone and ivory has been thought to have adorned a chest or lectern. All this apparently remains from debris left by the earthquake.

With this were found quantities of building materials, such as half-finished architectural marble work and polishing tools, apparently pertaining to a program of structural activity on the site—probably the same for which the mosaic panels had been ordered—interrupted by the earthquake.

More generally, these things, found in association with coins and lamps, document closely the earthquake of A.D. 375 and assist in the elucidation of other seismic and eustatic phenomena marking the history of the site. Investigation elsewhere within and around the harbor has brought further light to understanding of the history of the place, most significantly leading to the conclusion that the harbor explored was a late (Roman) addition to the facilities of the port, the original and main harbor having occupied a large area now inland and seen as a flat alluvial plain covered with orchards. This, however, was not investigated by excavation, nor were certain areas on high ground to the north where surface indications evidence heavy ancient habitation. Otherwise, the evidence, uneven and for some periods very slight, suggests that the fortunes of the community from the 7th century B.C. through the Byzantine period paralleled closely those of Corinth itself.

Indications varying in completeness and reliability suggest that the arrangements of the harbor community throughout Roman times were remarkably similar to those of a small Aegean harbor town today: along the north side an open square or *plateia* on which faced a simple stoa; taverns and shops along

654