

and an M. A. degree in anthropology, San Francisco State University. In 2001 I received a Ph. D. in anthropology at U.C. Berkeley.²

Q. *Date and place of birth?*

A. Holla, Telemark, Norway, December 6th 1942.

ENDNOTES:

1. The term, Night Crawler, as known in the Marquesas, refers to young men who creep into houses in the middle of the night to consort with their girlfriends. Or, total strangers of the female sex.
2. Sidsel Millerstrom's book on her research in the Marquesas Islands will be published by the EIF in 2011. The title is *Te Henua 'Enana—The Island of Men. Rock Carvings and Settlement Patterns in the Marquesas Islands, French Polynesia*.

Easter Island Settlement Patterns in the Late Prehistoric and Protohistoric Periods, Bulletin 4, Easter Island Committee, International Fund for Monuments, Inc. 1976. by Patrick C. McCoy, is now available for purchase from the EIF.

This classic publication, concerns fieldwork on Easter Island in 1968-69 and is derived from McCoy's doctoral dissertation, "Settlement Patterns in the Last Prehistoric and Protohistoric Periods", Washington State University, 1973.

McCoy's survey resulted from a UNESCO report made by William Mulloy and Gonzalo Figueroa in 1966. Their premise was that, with increasing land use and consequent destruction of archaeological sites, there was an urgent need for intensive site surveys of the island. McCoy's surveyed a sizeable portion of the south end of the island: 4,873 acres between Rano Kau and the Vaihu region. He recorded 1,738 sites in five quadrangles, an impressive undertaking.

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REVIEWS

Rapa Nui: Iorana Te Ma'ohi. Dilemas estratégicos

Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Católica. 2009.
188 pages; black/white photographs plus line drawings.
Paper cover, 6 ½ x 9 ½ In Spanish. Price \$15.90
ISBN 978-956-14-1074-9

Review by Rolf Foerster and Riet Delsing

Rapa Nui: Iorana Te Ma'ohi is a surprising book, first of all because of its authorship. It brings together Rapanui leaders and intellectuals such as Pedro Pablo (Petero) Edmunds (ex-mayor), Enrique Pakarati (ex-governor), Cristián Madariaga (Rapanui language teacher and member of the Rapanui Language Academy), Julio Hotus (artist and "the person in charge of cultural management of the Municipality of Easter") and Chilean residents on the island (Ana María Arredondo, Marcela Berrios and Alejandro Bugueño). These islanders share the credit of writing the book with professors of the Catholic University, some of whom are also part of its maximum authorities, such as Carlos Williamson (vice-rector of the University), Gonzalo Edwards (Director of the Institute of Economics), and Ignacio Irrarázaval (Director of the Center of Public Policies).

Secondly, the book is surprising because of its subject matter: "strategic dilemmas". The authors think about "Easter Island's future" by clarifying its past, in order to define, from there, the challenges of today. Edmunds says in the prologue: "I had the intuition that the team of professors that have developed this book... would be the best one to collect the ideas and desires of many opinion leaders in Rapa Nui and to support us in their concretion". One might conclude from this quote that the authorities and intellectuals of the Catholic University assume a passive role in the writing of this text and only gather what already exists and, by doing so, "support" its materialization. One entranceway of what already exists for Edmunds is "the road that for a long time my ancestors have recommended me to follow" (his British, Chilean or Polynesian ancestors?). Another one of Edmunds' merits is that he is not only a natural leader on the island but is also capable of gathering goodwill amongst the Chilean elite (we should not forget that, besides the authorities of the Catholic University, he has public links with the mayors of Santiago's upscale neighborhoods, Providencia, Vitacura, Las Condes and with others, such as business tycoon Carlos Cardoen).

Thirdly, this book shows an appraisal of the Elders' Council whose position seems to coincide with the central thesis of the strategic dilemmas: "The challenge of this organization, as the continuation of the ancestral institutional structure, is to once more bring into harmony the living culture with the material culture, and to participate in the implementation of alliances with public, academic, scientific and

private sectors” (p.23). The book, read like this, is a pat on the backs of Petero Edmunds and Alberto Hotus (president of the Elders’ Council). This is why we ask ourselves if the editors are aware of today’s internal questioning of the Council by relevant sectors of the Rapanui community?

Fourthly, it is also surprising that the book pays no attention to the long history of “mainland diagnoses” of Rapa Nui and their failures (each decade has produced “visionaries” who propose different solutions to the “problem of Easter”). For that reason one would expect some kind of overview of this bitter history. Besides, there is also an implicit and major lack of sensibility for the historic role of the “local powers”: the Municipality of Easter (born out of an internal “revolution” in the mid-1960s) and the Development Commission (a result of the struggles around the Indigenous Law of 1993). Both agencies have been part, through the people in charge during the last several years, in the gestation of the “Special statute for the governance and administration of the territory of Easter Island”, which, when implemented, could mark a before and an after in the relationship between the Chilean state and Rapa Nui. It calls the attention then that in the “strategic dilemmas” nothing has been said about this process in which Petero Edmunds, Alberto Hotus and Enrique Pakarati have played a relevant role.

In the fifth place, the above allows us to sustain that this is a “baroque” text, in the sense that the parts are united, but in a contradictory way. Here are two examples. In the chapter dedicated to culture (in which Julio Hotus participated) we are told that the people in charge of this “area” planned to do a survey in order to gather “current and trustworthy information about knowledge of the history of the island of Rapa Nui and of current versions of myths and legends, as well as of traditional forms of artistic expressions” (p.67). One could think that the community would happily answer this survey, if we keep in mind what Edmunds stated in the prologue: “the road that my ancestors have recommended me to follow”. Nevertheless what happened was what has happened so many times: “Unfortunately some adverse causes hampered the application of the survey, so we could not carry out our plan”. This attitude is explained by the “natural resistance to supply information” and “by the lack of confidence in the eventual subsequent use of the survey”. If this is the case, how could the book in general have been conceived? How could it “make a general diagnosis of all the relevant dilemmas” at the center of which is “the preservation and valuation” of the archaeological patrimony and the “living culture”? How could they give an account of the “living culture” if the people in charge of the research were not able to do the survey? Undoubtedly we are in the presence of a game of distraction: the Rapanui are aware of the value their culture has for foreigners, but when the latter want to reify it in “surveys” they fear that by doing so the “living” of their culture “dies” (by which they add a new value to the living culture, namely resistance).

A second example: the rejection of the Rapanui community and the Elders’ Council to the sale of land to Chilean

mainlanders is common knowledge, since this would mean, amongst other things, their definite settlement on the island. Nevertheless, in Chapter 4, Edwards, Pakarati and Williamson sustain that: “the fact that land cannot be sold to natural or legal persons from outside the island, limits strongly the rights of the Rapanui. The possibility to sell is often times what gives things value. Since the Rapanui cannot sell, except for on restricted terms, they have to give up a part of the value of their properties” (p.121). This also has other “serious” consequences: a series of limitations for “the development of productive activities related to tourism, hotels, restaurants and generally to touristic infrastructure” (p. 121), and this also “effects” “the production of crops necessary for the satisfaction of consumer needs of the Rapanui population and the tourists” (p.122). In this matter, the Elders’ Council shows more wisdom than the outstanding members of the Catholic University. They are clearly aware of the fact that the fictionalization of land as if it were a commodity to which everybody has access (via the market) can leave them excluded from it (this was the case with the Mapuche); they also know that here “their sovereignty” is at risk, or in the terms of the Council “the legitimate ownership of the Rapanui people of the insular territory”. For this reason the proposed road of the “auctions”, allowing “to assign the profits of the sale to the community itself”, to give the signal “that they belong to everybody” (p.124) is absurd and incoherent. On top of all this the authors seem to be ignorant of the dreadful results of the sale of land to foreigners in Hawai’i and other Pacific islands.

This double rejection of the community – to the reification of its culture and to the fictionalization of its land as a commodity – is exactly what has given value to Rapanui culture and its land /territory, and has marked its difference.

In the sixth place, it is unusual that the professors of the Catholic University have not shown the least interest in Catholicism on Rapa Nui and its multiple expressions, that for decades have marked their culture (since their “conversion” in the 1860s). Does this not form part of their living cultural patrimony? Why were they blind to this reality? Where did the professors of the Catholic University go on Sunday mornings? Didn’t they go to mass? If they would have attended, they undoubtedly would have been astonished: There is the community, the same one that in 1914 opposed itself, via its catechizer Angata, to the Exploitation Company of Easter Island (which considered itself to be the legitimate owner of 14,000 hectares of the island).

Lastly, it is incomprehensible that a book which has as goal to analyze the “strategic dilemmas” does not openly discuss the tensions that exist in Rapa Nui today, such as: 1. Between mainland Chileans and Rapanui. The migration of mainlanders to the island has been strongly criticized, especially during the last several months, which – in view of the visit of several high level governmental commissions – has been extensively covered in the Chilean press. The result of Rapanui protests, such as a three day occupation of the Mataverí airport in August 2009, has been that there now is a

proposal in place for a change in the Chilean Constitution which will regulate migration to the island. The issue is not that easy, since some mainlanders have been living on the island for many years and feel part of it. 2. Within the community itself. Nothing is being said about the division of the Elders' Council in 1994 and the creation of the Rapanui Parliament that, in the last decade, even though it is a "minority" has put the predicaments of autonomy and the Special Statute in the center of the debate. There is also no mention of the connection between the Chilean political party system and the internal reality of the island.

Despite all our surprises, some chapters, especially chapters 1 and 5, about Archaeology (written by Andrea Seelenfreund) and Sustainable Development, Energy and Environment (by Alejandro Bugueño, Sebastián Irrázaval, Francisco Meza and Enzo Sauma) make a correct and rigorous analysis of the current situation. These sections constitute a contribution to Rapanui studies and to the so-necessary reflections about development strategies for the island. The scarce production of texts about Rapa Nui in the Spanish language make this book an important source of consultation for the Spanish-speaking world.



Fuegos, hornos y donaciones.
Alimentación y cultura en Rapa Nui.
Un ensayo antropológico.

Sonia Montecino Aguirre
Santiago: Editorial Catalonia. 2010. 256 pages.
ISBN 978-956-324-053-5

Review by Grant McCall, Sydney, Australia

"Fires, ovens and gifts: Food and culture in Rapanui. An anthropological essay" is the translation of the title and that just about wraps up what the book is about.

The author, whose portrait on the cover seems to be channelling the novelist Isabel Allende, provides a serious study of the fusion cuisine of Rapanui, starting from a Polynesia base and forced through repressive commercial exploitation, until at last the Islanders were able not only to move from their own village, but also from their own island.

The book was described to me as a "cook book" and there is a section of 39 sketchy recipes if one wishes to reproduce the dishes mentioned in the text.

The study is divided into four chapters plus the recipes and a bibliography on food anthropology (largely in Spanish) with a hundred references. There are pages of design to separate the sections and 54 photographs, 36 of which are in colour, beginning on p. 155. The black and white are historical photographs from Katherine Routledge's book and a few other published and archive sources.

The text begins with the usual focus on the archaeology, an island apparently abandoned by its population, with nary a soul in sight of the camera lens. After page 155, though, peo-

ple are much more prominent, revealing Montecino's sources by name and what they contributed. I assume that those named in the narrative were aware that their real names were going to be used?

This is the first study concentrating on Rapanui food habits. Whilst other publications mention food, it is left in the background and unanalysed: Montecino seeks to remedy that neglect. Before proceeding to her own investigations, the author combs her sources, picking out references to food and dining. Inevitably, there is a discussion of Rapanui cannibalism that will not please some Islanders, in spite of the boasts of their ancestors to outsiders in the past about the practice: the cannibal native is a threatening motif in the European encounter with First Nations. Rousseau found the "noble savage" amongst the Caribe, until he discovered that they were cannibals!

In the discussion of the first Chilean contact, the misunderstanding between Chileans and Rapanui begins with the supposition that the place could become a productive farm, producing tropical products. This early misunderstanding persists today. Rapanui is sub-tropical. The business partners of John Brander and Alexander Salmon and the Catholic Bishop Tepano Jaussen and Jean-Baptiste Onesime Dutrou-Bornier had the insight to view the island as a place where European products could be produced and sold in the tropical Oceanic territories. So, Dutrou-Bornier grew grapes to produce wine, sheep for their wool and mutton, pigs for their fat in pre-petroleum days and a variety of fruit and vegetables that he sought to sell to the middle classes of Pape'ete, at least. Chilean potential entrepreneurs over the decades of the closed island (1888 to 1966) dreamed of coffee, bananas, sugar cane and other similar products growing in a place where production always was going to be too small. Before 1888, Rapanui looked westwards; after, their vision was forced to distant Chile. Unfortunately, Chateau Dutrou-Bornier never made it to the bottle, nor did his plans to become as he joked "King of Rapanui"; far too many people have taken that jest as his true statement of intent.

One of the great unjust accusations thrown at the Rapanui over the twentieth century is that they "stole" from the foreigner-owned ranch, especially sheep. Many male Islanders report the great sport of capturing a lamb for the cooking pot. I am not trying to soft pedal what the Rapanui did: they did take sheep from the ranch for their own consumption. But could that not be seen as the Islanders extracting payment for the use of their land? Fact is, the Rapanui received none of the profits from the aptly named "Exploiting Company of Easter Island" (Compañía Explotadora Isla de Pascua). Moreover, the Islanders were confined to a narrow patch of land, so fishing was limited. Perhaps the worst memory some older Rapanui had when I did my first interviews: they remembered how sheep and pig carcasses were thrown into the sea after their wool and fat had been harvested. Whilst the Rapanui starved in their imposed pen, fresh meat was being wasted daily. Is it stealing to take something that is going to be thrown away anyhow?