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IN MEMORIAM

Bengt Emmerik Danielsson  July 6, 1921-July 3, 1997

The Swedish ethnographer and writer Bengt Danielsson passed away this summer after some years of illness. He and his wife, Marie-Thérèse, had their home on Tahiti in French Polynesia for around 40 years, but he returned to his native country to die. Now he rests in peace at Ostra Tollstad in the parish of Ostergötland, where he was born.

Bengt studied ethnography at Uppsala University and participated in a Swedish/Finnish expedition to the Amazon region in 1946-47. After this he went to Peru to continue his studies among the native peoples there. However, instead he volunteered to participate in the Kon-Tiki expedition in 1947. After this voyage he received scholarships and grants from universities in the United States which enabled him to return to Polynesia and the island of Raroia, in the Tuamotu archipelago, where the raft landed. First he went back to Peru to marry a young French girl, Marie-Thérèse, whom he met before the Kon-Tiki voyage. Together they studied daily life on Raroia during a period of 18 months. This resulted in his Ph.D. dissertation, Work and Life on Raroia, in 1955. He was interested particularly in sociological issues and the process of acculturation.

After Raroia, they moved to the Marquesas but in 1953 they settled on Papahue in the Paea district on Tahiti. In 1952 he became research assistant at the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, and from 1961 he acted as Swedish Honorary Consul in French Polynesia. In 1966 he was offered the position of director of the Museum of Ethnography in Stockholm where he stayed until 1971. When Bengt and Marie-Thérèse came back to Tahiti, they suffered a personal tragedy when their only child, their daughter Maruia, died at age twenty.

His interest in the past and present life in Polynesia never ceased and he was director and one of the creators of the Centre Cultural on Tahiti in 1972. Throughout the years he visited many islands in the Pacific and lectured and wrote books and articles about Polynesian issues, both of a scholarly and popular nature. Some of his popular books The Happy Island (1952), Love in the South Seas (1956), Forgotten Islands of the South Seas (1957), What happened on the Bounty (1962) have been translated into many languages. He wrote several books for children, which were filmed in the 1960s. He also did studies of Gauguin (1965) and Captain Cook (1993) and, in six extensive volumes, Le Memorial Polynésien, he recounts the history of Tahiti (1977-79).

He and his wife also protested strongly against nuclear testing performed by the French Government on the island of Moruroa in the Tuamotus. Together they wrote about this injustice in Moruroa mon Amor (1974). They organized protests and drew attention to this criminal deed and, as a consequence, Bengt was forced to resign as consul and was persecuted by the French government. In 1991 they received the Human Rights Award for this work.

Bengt was a collector of books and probably had the most extensive private library in the Pacific area, visited by many scholars and laymen over the years. This interest was apparent from the Kon-Tiki voyage where his only personal belongings were 73 ethnographical and sociological books.

Bengt will be remembered as a man with a passion for books and knowledge—paired with a good sense of humor, and also for his deep commitment about social issues, and fighting against injustices against the Polynesian peoples. Aroha nui, Bengt!

Helene Martinsson-Wallin and Paul Wallin

Kon-Tiki Museum
Hiva Rapanui: Ancient Song and Dance of Easter Island

Steven Roger Fischer, Ph.D.
Auckland, New Zealand

Rapanui, or Easter Island, the eastern apogee of prehistory's great Austronesian expansion, has surrendered only fragmentary and contradictory information about its ancient performing arts. Almost unique for all of Oceania is Rapanui's seeming lack of any musical instruments in ancient times (Philippi 1873:390; Brown 1924:203; Métraux 1940:354-5). Sugarcane, bone, and wood were available on Easter Island, yet the prehistoric Rapanui people apparently knew no flute, nose-flute, or even simple whistle. Gourds and shark-skins were to be had in plentiful supply; still, there was no Polynesian drum. Small sticks of bone and wood were easily obtainable everywhere on the island; however, the ancient Rapanui appear never to have possessed such mouth resonators like the Māori pākuru or Hawaiian 'ākekē.

In 1825 Beechey (1831:1:48) did witness on Rapanui a conch-shell trumpet; some later scholars assumed this to have been the ancient Polynesian pū. However, Beechey's conch-shell trumpet could only have been a recent import, evidently left there by one of the many whaling ships that visited Rapanui at the time; this is because the subtropical island's coastal waters have always been too cold to sustain such large gastropod mollusks that might furnish a pū. The "Pū o Hiro," a large volcanic stone on the island's eastern coast near ahu Mahattua, though often claimed to be a musical instrument, can only produce a sound through its internal cavities when the northwest wind is blowing.

The Rapanui kauaha 'horse's jawbone' is sometimes mentioned in the secondary literature as an "ancient" percussion instrument of Easter Island that, when dried by the elements, was struck against the earth or palm to generate two distinct sounds. Yet, like the conch, the kauaha surely had to be a recent import or invention: horses were not introduced to Easter Island, yet the prehistoric Rapanui people apparently knew no flute, nose-flute, or even simple whistle. Gourds and shark-skins were to be had in plentiful supply; still, there was no Polynesian drum. Small sticks of bone and wood were easily obtainable everywhere on the island; however, the ancient Rapanui appear never to have possessed such mouth resonators like the Māori pākuru or Hawaiian 'ākekē.

Rapanui music was vocal, which the "traditional" music on the island has remained up to the present day. It appears that, in premissionary Rapanui society, the musical accompaniment consisted almost exclusively of a sung rhythmic bass. However, even today — particularly with themes treating of the ahuakū 'spirits of the departed' or with riu 'ritual songs' — one still frequently marks the cadence by striking together small round ma'ea 'stones', sometimes with dramatic acceleration toward the end of the performance. Material accessories to public performances in premissionary times included, among other things, the wooden ua 'ceremonial staff' and rapa 'ceremonial dance paddle.'

In 1774 George Forster related how on Rapanui the youth "Maroowahai" (Mā Rua Hāi?) excitedly boarded James Cook's Resolution to chat with the Tahitian interpreter about nothing else but "heeva" — that is, hiva 'dancing and singing (simultaneously)." Old Rapanui hiva derived from Proto-Polynesian *siwa which meant 'to dance and sing (i.e., at the same time)' (POLLEX 1995). Throughout ancient Polynesia dancing and singing belonged together as an integral expression of the public franchise; both were never regarded so wholly independently of one another as one has ever been wont to do with Western dance and song. Reading in the oldest accounts of Rapanui song, one invariably also read of dancing; hearing of dancing, one also always heard of song. It was this age-old marriage of dance and song that the ancient Rapanui people meant with the single word hiva.

Certainly there were other words as well that described the action of dancing as distinct from that of singing: 'ate and haka, for example, were both recorded on Rapanui in the 1860s as meaning 'to dance' (Roussel 1908). However, 'ate was also a major song (i.e., poetic) genre. And the hakane'e was apparently the ancient Rapanui war song.

What is known today about ancient Rapanui hiva principally derives from the sparse and superficial accounts of the many early visitors to the island who possessed frustratingly dissimilar powers of observation and understanding. On the visit to Easter Island of the ship Surry on 24 March 1821, for example, Ship's Surgeon Edward Dobson (Mitchell Library, New South Wales, MS A 131) described how the Rapanui boarded and "ran about like madmen dancing, Singing & making all manner of Anticks, their attention hardly being engrossed for one moment upon the same thing. . . . They several times amused us with a Dance and Song, each of them taking his part as regular as possible which was far from being a disagreeable or disgusting Performance." In 1825 Captain Frederick Beechey (1831:1:45-6) of HMS Blossom hosted a young, pretty, and disarmingly unadorned "Nereid" in his ship's boat who " . . . commenced a song not altogether unharmonious." Whereupon:

As our party passed, the assemblage of females on the rock commenced a song, similar to that chanted by the lady in the boat, and accompanied it by extending their arms over their heads, beating their breasts, and performing a
variety of gestures which showed that our visit was acceptable, at least to that part of the community.

Two years later, in 1827, Hugh Cuming (Fischer 1991:304) recounted how, when the Rapanui were about to deliver up some wooden "idols" to their anchored British guests:

... the[y] set up a great Shout, lifting up the figure above their Heads several times, all joining in Chorus, and when upon delivery they would prop it against their brest [sic] several times. Although their Chorus was very boisterous it was not unmusical.

In 1830 young John Orlebar (1976:11) of HMS Seringapatam recounted the Rapanui's "joy at receiving presents, expressed by a rude awkward dance .... "

An early description of a Rapanui dance was offered by the Frenchman Du Petit-Thouars (1841:2:230) in 1838, who observed how the Rapanui:

... were dancing and performing a thousand antics which amused us greatly; they were very gay and of a very extraordinary mobility of action and thought .... Having engaged our company in dancing, [a girl] did not wait to be asked and she executed before us a greatly entertaining hopping minuet. This dance, as that of all the savage peoples, represented the most important drama of life.

The dance that Du Petit-Thouars later depicted in his published book about the voyage (see fig. 1) was, according to him, a "Hagana", a word otherwise unattested in the Old Rapanui language.

The first documented non-Rapanui resident of Easter Island, the Frenchman Joseph-Eugène Eyraud, witnessed a musical performance in 1864 in conjunction with the "hare hauij festival" (Eyraud 1866:66):

The houses finished, everyone gathered in groups, they positioned themselves in two lines, and they sang. What do they sing? Oh! I assure you that this poesy is very primitive and above all very little varied. The event that has struck the imagination the greatest is in general the object of the song .... Do not believe that they make up poems in these circumstances: they are content in simply repeating the affair, sometimes the word alone that expresses it, and they sing it in all the keys, from the beginning of the feast until the end.

Eyraud further observed with the pa'ina feast how "the people meet in groups, placing themselves in two files, and begin singing. The poetry is very primitive .... " Like Cuming in 1827, Eyraud also witnessed how the Rapanui took their wooden statuettes and held them up in the air "making several gestures and accompanying all of it with a sort of dance and with a meaningless song."

The Catholic priest Father Hippolyte Roussel, who arrived at Rapanui in 1866 with returning lay brother Eyraud, wrote that, "[The Rapanui] have several songs accompanied with cadenced gestures, exceedingly monotonous and exceedingly licentious" (Roussel 1926:464).

When the British man-of-war HMS Topaze called in 1868, Ship's Surgeon John Palmer (1870:173) was told by the French missionaries that:

In the winter (June, July), the large houses were built, and the people met for dancing, and held choral meetings, chanting songs, in which the same couplet was often repeated. These meetings were called Arcauti [hare hauij].

During the same visit, Paymaster Richard Sainthill (1870:450) noted:

... peculiar implements shaped like canoe paddles, but used only in their dances, and called 'rapa'. Occasionally [the Rapanui] would burst into a loud chant, in time to which they kept up a jumping dance, their arms working about, and the 'nua', a garment tied loosely across their shoulders, flying out from their naked bodies in the wind. The scene was sufficiently wild, and the eyes of some of them watched us with a droll expression, as if they thought they would rather surprise us.

Also of the landing party, Lieutenant Colin Dundas (1871:319) remarked on "the rapa or flat paddle ... with a blade at each end, flourished in their hands while dancing," and (p. 322) "a thing like a double paddle which they shake in the dance is also so called."

From the celebrated French writer Pierre Loti who, as the yet unknown Midshipman Julien Viaud, visited Rapanui in 1872, we have an extravagant fabrication of a purported
Figure 2. Pierre Loti’s fanciful depiction of a Rapanui feast in 1872, first published in Harper’s Weekly on April 26, 1873.

image-toppling (Viaud 1872/1899) (fig. 2):

At the marae, for example, there is no more discipline possible; it becomes a mad confusion of naval pea-jackets and tattooed flesh, a frenzy of movement and noise; the whole crowd mingles, presses, sings, howls, and dances...

More credible is perhaps Loti’s description of Rapanui singing:

... they all sing beating their hands as if they were making a dance rhythm. The women utter notes as soft and fluty as those of birds. The men sometimes make small falsetto voices, thin, quavering, and shrill. Sometimes they produce cavernous sounds like the roars of enraged wild animals. Their music is made of short and jerky phrases, ending in gloomy vocalizations descending in minor tones. They seem to express the surprise of being alive and also the sadness of life.

In 1882 the German Captain Wilhelm Geiseler (1883:40-1) wrote of Rapanui song being very cultivated:

It is... in three voices with a deep rumbling bass. They possess a large number of lovely songs, which sound very pleasant in the vowel-rich language even when performed in the Polynesian monotonic fashion. Besides the game, dance, and love songs there are also laments for the dead, for the dying, or wounded warriors. These chants distinguish themselves by their deep bass. During the same, one sits still with folded legs, one man is the choir leader and sets the key, as they usually set a sort of scale at the beginning of each song in order to affirm the clarity and harmony of the voices. With the game songs are added movements of the arms and legs, which are often very lively.

Geiseler further noted that Rapanui dance was different from that normally encountered on Polynesian islands, and described a dance that was apparently the “Hagana” that Du Petit-Thouars had observed on the island in 1838 (fig. 1):

Whereas in Samoa one usually rocks in the hips while sitting, making movements with the arms, here one stands on one leg and extends the other away from oneself with jerky kicks according to the uniform rhythm of the song.

These movements convinced Geiseler that the “so-called dances for amusement are mostly very lewd.” As a rule, a carved figure representing a woman was also moved “on one leg” by the choir leader to mark the rhythm of the dance.

Geiseler published three of the songs he heard: a kaikai ‘cat’s cradle song’ (traditional), a war song (traditional), and a love song with end rhyme (a recent creation). These were the first Rapanui songs to be published (Geiseler 1883:46-7).

On the eve of his departure from Rapanui in 1886, U.S. Naval Paymaster William Judah Thomson (1891:468-9) witnessed, at Vaihū on the island’s south coast, Rapanui’s “star performers.” Three Rapanui sat on the floor accompanying “their discordant voices by thumps upon a tom-tom improvised from old cracker-boxes...” The dances were performed by an old woman and a young girl who were wearing single loose garments and were barefooted, their ankles showing under the long garments. Over their head and shoulders they wore a white cotton cloak “which was sometimes spread open and occasionally made to hide the whole figure as they went through the various evolutions of the dance.” Thomson
detected no real skill or grace with the use of this mantle; it appeared to be identified only with one particular dance. It was soon discarded and replaced with “the small dancing-paddle or wand”—that is, the abbreviated version of a *rapa* resembling a modern pingpong paddle. These were usually held in each hand, though occasionally one and sometimes both were discarded. To portray characters, feather hats and similar ornaments were donned.

“Some of the dances are said to be of obscene tendencies,” Thomson wrote. However, on this evening he saw only dance-songs related to the achievements and exploits of ancestors in war, fishing, and love. The gestures, he noted, were “perfectly proper and modest.” Indeed, their movements and attitudes were “calculated to display the elegance and grace of the performers.” Thomson remarked on the conspicuous absence of any violent motion:

> There is no jumping or elaborate pirouettes, no extravagant contortions, and nothing that might be called a precision of step.

The lower limbs seemed to play a part of secondary importance to the arms:

> The feet and hands are kept moving in unison with the slow, monotonous music, while the dancers endeavor to act out the words of the song by pantomime . . . . Soft swaying movements, a gentle turning away, timid glances, and startled gestures, gradually giving place to more rapturous passion, speak plainly enough the theme of the song.

Some dances were performed by men, Thomson added, and others by women: “… but the sexes rarely if ever dance together.”

In the first decade of the 20th century the Scots manager of the island’s sheep station introduced to the Rapanui people Scottish-style dancing, which apparently was popular up into the 1920s and was often performed before visitors as an example of “ancient Rapanui dancing.” (This has been documented on rare film footage.)

Nevertheless, during his 1912 sojourn on Rapanui the German Walter Knoche was fortunate still to be able to observe several ancient Easter Island dances. The *katenga* was perhaps the “Hagana” that had been witnessed by both Du Petit-Thouars in 1838 and Geiseler in 1882, in that it was (Knoche 1925:202):

> … a very obscene dance in which a file of men stand opposite a file of women. The dance consists of jumps on one foot with flexed knee. The bodies are turned alternately to one side and then to the other.

In a different dance that Knoche observed:

> The lower end [of the *ua* ‘ceremonial staff’] is jammed between the big toe and the second toe of the left foot, while the upper end is held by the left hand beneath the [ua’s] head and away from the body. The *ua* is rhythmically moved back and forth. The younger men and boys who possess *uos* in the form of a child’s toy hop about in the periphery on their right foot while they let their left foot swing back and forth at the knee.

This ancient Rapanui dance is reminiscent of the *pāhaka* of Nuku Hiva in the Marquesas (probably the original group homeland of the Rapanui people), which was performed by a group of men dancing on one foot around a number of women. But Knoche (ibid.) also observed:

> Similar to the Catega [sic], but much more monotonous and absolutely decent, is a dance in which the standing women form an inner semicircle, whereby they perform light movements with their hips while the men standing in front of them, without moving from the spot, kick alternate feet toward the ground.

The Swiss ethnologist Alfred Métraux (1940:360) later remarked that this latter dance could have been the modern Tahitian *hura*. However, it seems that Knoche did witness an ancient indigenous dance in 1912, since he himself added to the above report: “Very often of late the ‘Hula Hula’ is danced, that was introduced from Tahiti and was likewise strongly sexually inspired.”

The New Zealander Macmillan Brown (1924:201-2) found in 1923 that the Rapanui dances were “even more static than most of the Polynesian dances.” The most mobile form of dancing appeared to occur in file, whereby a woman was followed by a man in a long row, in the dance known as the *kaunga* for the paved strip in front of the *ahu*.

> They bob the body down with a bend of the knees as in the old-fashioned curtsey and, as they straighten up, hitch a few inches forward, the fingers all the time rapidly quivering; all to the singing of the older men and women who squat on either side.

Macmillan Brown also witnessed the *hokohoko*, the customary festive dance which consisted of a file of youths holding in both hands a *moko* ‘lizard carving’ or wooden head with outstretched arms, faced by a file of girls who swayed from side to side singing. At the *koro* feast he noted that the “spinning dance” was popular, in which two rows of youths and girls spun *mako* ‘tops’ as they sang a special song. Brown remarked that, as a rule, the singing was “monotonous, generally consisting in the repetition of a word or phrase.”

In 1934 Alfred Métraux (1940:359) believed he was witnessing “a modified form” of the *(katenga?)* dance that Du Petit-Thouars had seen in 1838 (fig. 1), which was now known as the *hupahupa* (also *upaupa*) and was very popular: “holding hands, couples would hop first on one foot then on the other”. Métraux’s informant Juan Tepano, who had also served as informant for Knoche and Brown, repeated his description of the *kaunga* dance to Métraux, who deduced that “it might well be the dominant feature of a special dance performed upon any occasion,” since Tepano gave the same description to all festive dances.

Tepano also demonstrated to Métraux (1940:361) how the men danced at a feast. He held a *rapa* and, with bent knees, turned and waved it “with extraordinary dexterity and swiftness.” Hereby Tepano explained that, of old, a *rapa* was held in each hand as the dancer advanced, jumping from one foot to the other. Other dancers, he said, held the *ua* (the scepter of office, not the *ua*) and “swung vigorously with the entire body.” Some men carried a wooden carving in each hand, which they “juggled as they sang and marched” toward the *ahu*. They were laden with pendants and other accoutrements, too, which they suddenly extended or held near the mouth or passed between the legs or pretended to spit on. On this occasion Métraux also observed the adaptation of the Tahitian *hura* that was performed for foreigners in the 1930s: “awkward and without artistic justification.”

In what pertains to Rapanui song, Métraux (1940:358) noted in 1934 that Sophia Hei and another woman of the island were conducting a singing school to which the young
Rapanui girls came twice weekly in order to practice for the Sunday mass. At the Catholic mass itself, similar to what Geiseler had observed in 1882, “The voice of the leader, who always starts the song, is heard quite distinctly above those of the other singers.” (This is still practiced today, at the end of the 20th century, with the voice of the elderly male choir leader Kiko Paté, perhaps shrill and effeminate in its timbre to Western ears, first setting the key and initial phrase then piping above all other voices in the Hangaroa church.)

In another matter, Métraux (ibid.) had also observed in 1934 that, “The few old songs which are still remembered are sung while sitting on the heels, and the measure is marked by the balancing of the body from one side to the other.” This is the traditional tuku riu squatting position for chanting that seemingly has been memorialized in stone in the celebrated Rapanui statue “Tuku Turi” unearthed on the southern slope of Rano Raraku by Arne Skjølsvold in 1955-56 (see Easter Island Studies, Fig. 67).

Only after Métraux had left Rapanui in 1935 was the sau-sau dance introduced to the island by visitors from Samoa. Today the term sau-sau, which is not Rapanui (the Rapanui language contains no s’s), is applied to every dance festival on the island. Strickly speaking it, too, is a hiva—in that it also combines dancing and singing. The sau-sau is both harmonic and elegant (fig. 3).

The cumulative weight of evidence appears to argue that Old Rapanui song, irrespective of the appearance of modern derivatives, was always sung in scanned meter—that is to say, it followed the ancient Polynesian “Rule of Six” or “Rule of Eight” and so forth. Hereby each “sense unit” of chanting/singing comprised no more than six or eight morae, with short vowels counting one mora and long vowels two morae. An example of the “Rule of Six,” with characteristic lengthening of the fifth mora, would be the first line of the famous Rapanui song that probably dates from the 1880s (accented for better comprehension): “Kā ungā te rōngō, kī ‘a Hīna Māngō.” In Western transcription this would yield with the “Rule of Six,” for example, six vowels to each half-line of written text; each full line of written text would then comprise two short “sense units” or twelve morae that often express two grammatical phrases.

Pierre Loti’s description of hearing on Rapanui in 1872 mens’ “small falsetto voices, thin, quavering, and shrill” is reminiscent of the exaggerated quaver that one hears in the song of many Polynesian islands. This type of singing is still practised on Easter Island today.

In the written sources the Old Rapanui song genres are a confusion of contradictions. A short description of most of the major, authentic, song genres follows, as well as these can be reconstructed and understood at the end of the 20th century.

Figure 3. The modern Rapanui sau-sau dance, a recent importation. (Photograph by Lino and Daniele Pellegrini)

Old Rapanui for ‘song’ in general was riu (also tai). Today on the island, any ritual song is known as a riu. To sing a riu was to ako (or ākō) the riu. If the riu was a monotonic recitation, then this was an akoako, as with Rapanui’s oldest known chant “E Timo te Akoako” that was composed around 1800 and learnt by the pubescent boys attending a rongorongo “school” as their first formal chant (Fischer 1994). (Rongorongo designates Rapanui’s unique premissionary script; see below.) To chant an akoako was to timo the akoako. Several of the following riu were in fact often monotonic akoako.

‘ate

This is the panegyric, eulogy, or praise of a person’s deeds. There was the ‘ate ‘atua, the praise of gods or the song of love or friendship. In 1934 Métraux (1940:355) was told by Juan Tepano that these were “solemn, had something to do with the gods, and were chanted during great feasts.” Englert (1938:19) described the ‘ate ‘atua as “the song in which pleasant and happy events of the past are recounted.” There was also the ‘ate manava mate (lit. ‘dead belly song/liver’), which was the common song of unrequited love. Englert (1938:19) was also informed that ‘ate meant ‘song’ in general.

The ‘ate is clearly the most important and most common of ancient Rapanui’s verse genres.

‘ēi

The ‘ēi was the satirical or jeering song, one of premissionary Rapanui’s most popular and dynamic literary genres. This could also be a koro ‘ēi when such a song was performed by a chorus. It seems likely that the famous Old Rapanui chant “E Timo te Akoako” was such a koro ‘ēi. In 1923 Brown (1924:203) was informed that the “āte hēr” (i.e., ‘ate ‘ēi) was “sung by men and women in the hokohoko dance.” This would perhaps allude to the predominately sexual character of the premissionary ‘ēi, since the hoko comprised the erotic genre. In 1934 Métraux (1940:356) was told that the ‘ēi were always considered “bad”—that is, sexually explicit. He wrote that Juan Tepano indicated:

... these songs were injurious and were directed against an unfaithful woman or against a girl who paid no attention to the love of some man. He said that they were sung by a group of men and women. The women squatted on their knees in front of the men who tramped the resonance box dug in the ground.

In 1936 Juan Tepano also said to Englert (1939:221) of the ‘ēi. Te me e he ‘ēi. he tai rakerake mo hakame ‘eme e. mo hakariri. mo haka e ete ‘o te manava (“The thing called ‘ēi. it’s a bad song for ridiculing a person, for making him mad, for getting him angry”). Englert (1948:305) added that if
persons became inimical to one another it was customary that they took their revenge by celebrating a koro that made use of "the famous song 'ei.'"

hakame'e or hakakākai

This was the war song, that was also known throughout most of Polynesia—in various linguistic manifestations—as the haka dance. Sometimes Rapanui informants called it the "Riuhaka-kaa-ka'i" (i.e., riuh hakakākai) (Estella 1921:89). Other times they said it was the 'ate hakakākai (Métroix 1940:355). In the 1860s this appears to have been known as the hakame'e (Roussel 1908:185). The lexical constant here is haka, the ancient inherited form. Brown (1924:202-3) was informed that the 'ate hakakākai was a "war song meant to work evil on the enemy." Felbermayer (1972:269) listed the war song as the tama'i, a recent Tahitian loan.

hakakio

The hakakio (lit. 'to repay the attention one has received in time of want') appears to incorporate the song of thanksgiving—that is, a public display for favors received. Nothing more is known of this particular genre.

hakaopo

Juan Tepano informed Engler (1939:218) that at a pa'ina festival one sang the koro hakaopo, or hakaopo chorus. Brown (1924:203) was told that the 'ate koro hakaopo was "sung by a row of young men and a row of young women when they were making the white straw hats (hauteatea) or dyeing the nua (mantle) half white, half red." Métroix (1940:355) was informed that the koro hakaopo was a "chant with a 'good' meaning ... characterized by the low, quiet tone in which it was sung." Since Old Rapanui hakaopo held the significance 'to chase away, to cause to flee,' one can only speculate that this song genre was perhaps originally a public charm to ward off impending evil.

hoko

Evidently this was the ancient erotic song, also called the hoko ria ('sung hoko'). Old Rapanui hoko held the meaning 'to sport, to play.' Unhappily, today nothing is known of its nature. It is possible that the hoko might simply be another name for the 'ei genre above, which was known to be exceedingly ribald.

ako hakaha'uru poki

Felbermayer (1972:268) cited this as the name of the traditional Rapanui lullaby. It literally means 'song for making children sleep.' Apparently no older, more traditional, Rapanui name for this popular ancient Polynesian genre has survived. Brown (1924:203) was told of the 'ate he reu, "a lullaby for the crying (reu) child."' However, *reu does not occur in the Rapanui language. Brown's variant is probably a recent derivation from Tahitian reureu ('comfortable').

kaikai

The kaikai, rhythmic songs that are sung to "cat's cradles" or string games, are the Rapanui manifestation of a highly specific poetic genre found in various forms not only throughout the Pacific but throughout the world (Blixen 1979:50; Sherman 1993). On premissionary Rapanui the kaikai, together with their corresponding cat's cradles, were not simple children's games: they were used, among other things, to teach or to produce a magic effect. The Old Rapanui word kaikai is full reduplication of kai meaning 'to recite.' In this context kaikai would originally have meant 'stories, tales, recitations.' Since the late 19th century, however, the Rapanui appear to have used the word only in conjunction with cat's cradles. He ako i te kaikai was evidently the proper expression that signified 'to sing the texts of the cat's cradles' (Engler 1938:16). The word kai itself embraces a veritable host of meanings throughout Polynesia relating to tales, manners of speech, narratives, fables, and much more.

The Rapanui string games and kaikai—though certainly not the figures and texts that one knows on the island today—arrived on the original canoe as part and parcel of the Marquesan settlers' most important baggage. The subject matter of those kaikai that have survived at least the last century—"chants for love, for the dead, for saving people from dying, for addressing noblemen, and for the multiplication of birds and fish" (Métroix 1940:390)—reveals that the kaikai texts comprise in actual fact not a separate verse genre as such, but embrace a wide spectrum of the subjects treated by the many oral traditions of the pre- and post-missionary Rapanui. The first published Rapanui song was a kaikai (Geiseler 1883:46). A number of still unpublished kaikai are included in Katherine Routledge's field notes (1914-15) and in Alfred Métroix's field notes (1934-35). The best collection of the oldest and properly edited kaikai texts is the superb study by Blixen (1979).

In addition to the above song genres, Rapanui also displays recently borrowed forms. Several of these have merged with, and become almost indistinguishable from, the ancient inherited traditions. The Tahitian ute is a sacred song or traditional ballad, usually sung to guitar music; to this Rapanui artists have invariably added their own words and gestures. The hā iipoipo comprises the Rapanui wedding song, customarily representing fathers who mourn the loss of a son; the name comes from Tahitian há 'a chant or prayer to save the poisoned' and Tahitian iopo 'marriage'. In the 1860s French missionaries introduced to the Rapanui people the European-Tahitian himene 'hymn', which has since been adapted and expanded by Rapanui artists to encompass any song relating to the island's history or to the legends of the 'ariki 'chiefs' or of other famous persons. The Rapanui himene is usually based on Western polyphony.

Rapanui's unique rongorongo artefacts, which are incised with Oceania's only known script predating the 20th century, were also sung/chanted aloud in public performances. The erect reader-singer, holding the incised tablet or staff in both hands, would sway back and forth to mark the rhythm of the respective chanted inscription. Evidently a local elaboration from the end of the 18th century after the Rapanui had been compelled to witness the Spaniards' document of annexation in 1770, the rongorongo texts might also have contained some of the above mentioned song genres. The 25 surviving rongorongo artefacts predominantly comprise, however, highly abbreviated, repetitive, creation chants or cosmogonies (Fischer 1995a,b). One calendrical text has also been identified (Barthel 1958:242-7); however, the phonetic statement of this calendrical text remains unknown.
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The entire population of Easter Island (approximately 2500 people) lives today in Hanga Roa, the capital and only city. Two-thirds of the inhabitants are from autochthonous lineage; the remaining residents and visitors are considered to be estrangeros (foreigners) and come mostly from the Conti (an abbreviation of continente) that is, Chile, which has become a metonymy of the outside world in the natives’ mind. In February 1995 I was one of those foreigners. My goal here is to recall basic geographic and historic information about the island and to comment upon my stay among the friendly people I met there.

Faithful to its etymology, Easter Island is located almost 2000 km away from the nearest inhabited place (i.e., Pitcairn Island), becoming the most isolated human haven in the world. Indeed the Latin word insula (etymological root for island in English, isla in Spanish, ile in French, etc.) refers precisely to the portions of land that are isolated in relation to continents. Geographically speaking, Easter belongs to the archipelago of Polynesia; however since 1888 it has been integrated into the political map of the Republic of Chile. Astonishing megalithic construction—the famous moai and ahu—along with their hieroglyphic writing make this beautiful island one of the most important archaeological sites of South America.

According to oral tradition, Easter Island’s history starts in the fifth century AD. Departing 3200 km northwest, from the archipelago of the Marquesas, the maori king Hotu Matu’a and his followers founded the first human settlement. Natural isolation lead the following generations to believe there were no others on the surface of the earth. Hence the origin of the two primitive names of the place: Te Pito o te Henua (navel of the world) and Rapa Nui (Great Island).

Rivalry between groups known as the Long Ears and Short Ears and the following tribal wars were probably due to land dispute resulting from the critical relationship between man and space. With many of its monuments damaged or even destroyed during warfare, Rapa Nui’s society was in decline when the island first entered Occidental history and geography: on April 5, 1722, Easter Day, Dutch Admiral Jacob Roggeveen and his crew, who left the Dutch island of Texel toward the Terra Australis, were the first Western people to set foot on Te Pito o te Henua—which was to be known thereafter as Easter Island.

In 1770, Rapa Nui was claimed by the Spanish Crown—pioneer in exploring the world’s great ocean by sailing through Tierra del Fuego—and named San Carlos. Spain did not pursue interest in the island; she was too occupied with revolts and wars. In the following decades, Rapa Nui’s history is characterized by the visits of ships from different countries such as Great Britain, France, Russia and the United States. As it happened with other Pacific islands, the arrival of the West had disastrous consequences: progressive devastation of fauna and flora, and enslavement of the indigenous. The Peruvian slave raid of 1862 alone led to a nearly complete annihilation of the Rapanui people.

Are the statues emerging from the earth or is the earth swallowing the statues?

Summoned by the French priests in Valparaiso with the mission of preaching the Gospel to the natives, Brother Eugène Eyraud (now in the process of beatification) landed in January 1864. He described the Rapanui:

“These people are tall, strong and well built. Their features resemble far more the European type than those of the other islands of Oceania. Among all the Polynesians, they resemble the Marquesans the most. Their complexion, although a little copper-colored, does not differ much from the hue of the European, and a great number are even completely white.”

The courageous missionary encountered intense difficulties, arising from the fact that the population seemed to develop no religious rituals. Communication was a challenge, since he was not proficient in the autochthonous idiom thus could not reach the level of abstraction required for transmitting concepts of theological character. On the other hands, the islanders were well acquainted with the idea of soul immortality and that of a creator god (Makemake) and this favored the acceptance of the Christian doctrine. By Eyraud’s death in 1868, all the natives had been baptized.

Today, Catholic religion is syncretic in Easter Island. Liturgical hymns are based upon Rapanui oral traditions and the church images evoke facial features of their ancestors. José Miguel Ramírez Aliaga, the archaeologist responsible for the Rapa Nui National Park, told me this reflects the ancient social system of clan divisions: even today each native knows...
the portion of the land that once belonged to his original clan. Rivalries from the past are strong on the island. Penetrating into a territory formerly belonging to enemies requires permission from the spirits that dominate it. If it is denied, the islander should withdraw for trespassing is *tapu*, upsetting the spirits can cause serious retaliations, such as accident, illness or even death. *Los espíritus molestan*, people still say.

Moai, where are you looking at?

Victorious in the War of the Pacific (1879-1884) against Peru and Bolivia, Chile annexed Rapa Nui with the aim of expanding its frontiers and withholding a naval station on the trade route between South America and East Asia. Chilean efforts toward colonization were fruitless, thus lands were partly sold or leased to a wool company run by a Valparaíso businessman, Enrique Merlet. These holdings were acquired in the 20th century by the Chilean branch of the Scottish S. Williamson & Company (CEPID) which controlled the island until 1953 when the Chilean Navy took over.

In the 1960s, the Chilean government provided important improvements for the quality of life such as medical care, basic schooling, potable water, and electricity. Connected by air with Santiago and Tahiti since 1967, Rapa Nui has proved to be a profitable tourist attraction. In fact, from that time on, tourism has become the main economic activity for the people.

Following in the steps of Brother Eyraud, Don Ramiro Estevez, the late vicar, wanted to establish a Pastoral Plan in Easter Island. He believed tourism has a negative effect on Rapa Nui society: consumerism, promiscuity, alcoholism, and the use of drugs are some of the results of contact between islanders and tourists in the last decades. Don Ramiro believed these problems were aggravated during and after the filming of Warner Brothers’ 

Rapa Nui. Although its proposal of an archaeological approach is explicit, the reality portrayed—based upon Hollywood clichés—presents a distorted idea of both the culture and the history of the island (for more details about the film, see the article by James Hynes, *RNJ* 8(4) 1994: 111-115).

Intermarriage with foreigners, especially British, Chilean, French, German, Italian, North American, Tahitian and Tuamotuan, created ethnic transformations in the native population. It is thus controversial to speak nowadays of “authentic islanders” in Rapa Nui. As Sr Ramírez points out, the term *indígena rapa nui* is not clearly defined in Chilean legislation. This jeopardizes the cultural identity of a society as well as that of all other pre-Columbian people who still live within Chilean borders, the ethnic groups Mapuche and Aymara and the communities Kawashkar, Yamana, Atacameña, Colla and Quechua. The crucial point is expressed in the second article of the Ley *Indígena*, edited in 1993 by the Special Commission for Indigenous Peoples, where there is too large a range for interpreting the kinship level necessary to be considered *indígena*. As Ramírez states, this law may have serious consequences, such as the attempt to forge ethnic identity in order to obtain the benefits granted by the Chilean government, such as financial facilities and land donation.

Dedicated to the preservation of the culture of her people, the islander teacher Viki Haoa Cardinali teaches Rapanui language and literature at the Liceo Lorenzo Baeza Vega. One of the results of her beautiful work is the book *He Pata ‘u-Ta ‘u o Te Ga Poki* (Poem of the Children) which contains poetry by Rapa Nui’s boys and girls and which was composed for an annual literary competition. The poem *He Moai* (The Statue) by David Menezes Salvo, was awarded the second prize in 1991. Three of its verses struck me in their eloquence:

*Te Moai, a he koe ka ki mai i te parauti ‘a! E hia ‘a ‘amu e ai ro ‘a i a koe, mo ‘a ‘amu mai ki i a matou! E te Moai, ki he koe e u’i ena?* [Moai, when will you tell me the truth? How many stories do you have to tell us? Moai, where are you looking at?]

Disco Toroko: a hybrid feature of Rapa Nui culture today

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About One Glyph of *kohau rongorongo*

*Irina K. Fedorova, St Petersburg*

*Kohau rongorongo* studies began early in the 19th century but the first fundamental work devoted solely to the Rapanui script appeared only in 1958, in the book by German scientist, Thomas S. Barthel (*Grundlagen zur Entzifferung der Osterinsschrift*) in which the author published the results of his research conducted between 1953-56. In spite of the fact that Barthel remained firm on his original point of view on the character of the Rapanui script (a proto-script as stated by N. N. Miklouko-Maklay but in “telegraphic” style), his work until now is the basis for the study of Easter Island texts.

In Barthel’s book there are all the materials needed for scientific decipherment: *rongorongo* grapheme catalogue, copies of all preserved hieroglyphic texts, the numeral transcription index (concordances) of signs and their ligatures in different texts, “Metoro’s readings” from the materials of Archbishop T. Jaussen (preserved in the archives of SSCC, Rome), and also Barthel’s own conclusions and reflections.

Forty years have passed since the publication by Barthel and, of course, some of his materials and documents need definition and correction. These may be made in the new edition of his book.

In spite of some imperfections, the corpus of graphemes includes not only simple signs but composite ligatures that serve to assist in deciphering, especially as there is no other more exact catalog.

Perhaps the creation of a new catalog is not necessary for the corpus of texts may be extended by new finds. Moreover, to invent new numbers for well-known scientific graphemes (as are made by our deciphering dilettante S.V. Rjabchikov) only confuses things and serves to muddy the waters.

The corpus of graphemes published by Barthel includes all known signs from the hieroglyphic texts. It’s scheme is so convenient (cf. with periodical system of chemical elements by D. Mendeleev) that we can easily introduce amendments. Each decipherer can make corrections in the glyphs’ system, keeping their numeration according to Barthel. The author of this article made a large number of corrections in Barthel’s catalogue without changing the numeration. Following the advice of Y.V. Knorozov, a zero (“0”) was added before every sign of the first 99 glyphs for more unity and to avoid mistakes (for example, 001, 002, etc.).

However this author found and proposes to introduce into the catalogue one glyph, not taken into account by Barthel. It is a vertical line so common on the Santiago Staff text. At times we find it is also on other *kohau rongorongo* texts in ligatures with other signs.

S.R. Fischer (1995a, b) designates it as a dividing line between groups of glyphs but I propose to determine it as sign #000 and include it as a more simple glyph at the beginning of the catalogue and before #001. I suppose this sign #000 represented a vertical or inclined line that can be read as *ta* (*PPN* tā, *PMP* tak (?) according to S.H. Elbert and M.K. Pukui) with possible translation in ancient Rapanui “to cut” (cf. Rap., Tah. tā- “to beat, strike, tattoo, draw, write”; Tong., Sam. tā- “to strike, beat, hit, cut down”; Mao. tā- “to strike, beat, cut down”).

The evidence that vertical lines are not dividing elements, but rather a real glyph, is in its use on the tablet “Ika” from Madrid, a copy of which was kindly sent to me by F. Mellén Blanco for researching. On that tablet, the vertical line passed across some signs indicates that the line is part of the glyphs ligature. Glyph 000 (*ta*) enters frequently in ligature with glyph 022; 022-000 (*oka-ta*) “[He] dig- [he] cut”. This reading of signs 000 and 022 was verified in all cases of their use in *kohau rongorongo* texts and is based on the vocabulary of Rapanui and other Polynesian languages. I will show this reading of sign 000 and 022 on one fragment of the Santiago Staff (J4). It is this that Fischer (1995a, b) uses as an example of proof of his view of the semantic of vertical lines as dividing signs in text J and other *kohau rongorongo* tablets.

The reading and translation proposed by me in the published texts P and Q from MAE-Kunstkammer (1995) proves, I think, that *kohau rongorongo* tablets are really texts of Rapanui songs in the ancient Rapanui language and the researchers ought not interpret the texts but search for more adequate reading and precise translation of every sign. Texts on tablets are hieroglyphic by their very character, so one simple sign corresponds to one simple element in the Rapanui language—a morpheme or syllable, as in each hieroglyphic system. For example, a simple glyph 076 (*ure*) cannot transmit the whole set of expression “*ki'ai ki roto ki*”, as Fischer proposes. There are also some signs (as determinatives) without a reading and signs which introduce another sign. (cf. catalog of signs in Fedorova’s work).

The following page contains Fedorova’s translation of J3 and J4.

References


The word order of this translation follows the Rapanui text.

| J3... | 245 | nga | [he] cut | J4 | ...
|-------|-----|-----|--------|----|-----
| J4:   | 003 | kihi| [a sugar cane] | kihi | 006/055 700 | mau? | ika/uhi |
|       |     |     | V001   | (ka) | [a fruit/Ure, | [he] took (a plant) | [a plant/yam |
|       |     |     | moa    | moa<moa>, | ure |    |   |
|       |     |     | [He] cut [yam] | 000 | [a fruit/Ure, |    |   |
|       |     |     | ta     |       | V071 | 076 | rau,    |
|       |     |     | [he] cut | [a sweet potato] | 010 | 079 | rau,    |
|       |     |     | nga=   | =more | [a fruit/Ure, |    | [a] fruit/Ure |
|       |     |     | [he] cut | [a sweet potato] | 076 | 079 | rau,    |
|       |     |     | + tonga | ure | V148 (070+) |    | [a] fruit/Ure |
|       |     |     | [he] dig | [a fruit/Ure, | 003 |       | [a] fruit/Ure |
|       |     |     +079 | [a sugar-cane] | kihi [and] | 499 |       | [a] fruit/Ure |
|       |     |     | hau    | moe, | [yam] | taha, |
|       |     |     | hau [and] | moe, |       |   |
|       |     |     + mau | ure | [a] fruit/Ure | [a] plant [a top | [a] plant/yam |
|       |     |     [he] took | [a] fruit/Ure | [taro] vai | [a] plant/yam |   |
|       |     |     000 | rau | rau | rau, [yam] | taha, |
|       |     |     | [he] cut | [a sweet potato] | 002 | 076 | rau | taha |
|       |     |     | +079 | haka=hau | 522 | V726 (021 | [a] fruit [taro] |
|       |     |     | more | rau | 002 | 076 | rau | rau, [a] fruit [taro] |
|       |     |     | [he] plucked | rapa | 076 | 076 | 010 | rau, [a] fruit Ure, |
|       |     |     | +064 | rapa | 076 | 076 | 010 | [he] cut [a sweet potato] |
|       |     |     | tonga | rau | V079 (059+ | 076 | 010 | hau |
|       |     |     | [he] gathered | rapa | [a] plant [a top |         |   | [he] cut [a sweet potato] |
|       |     |     | [ariki] paka, | rau | 531 | V726 (021 | [a] fruit [taro] |
|       |     |     | +006 | tunga | 531 | 076 | rau |                    |
|       |     |     | mau |    | hina +[the] off shoots |   |
|       |     |     | [he] took [taro] | rapa | V532 |         | [he] gathered |
|       |     |     | V720+ | [a] fruit/Ure, | tonga hina | offshoots, tonga gathered |   |
|       |     |     | V245 | pakia/paka | [he] gathered |   |
|       |     |     | nga= 064 | gathered | 071 | 071 | rau |
|       |     |     | [noho] | fruits | 076 | 071 | rau |
|       |     |     | [of the sweet potato] | rau | 076 | 071 | rau |
|       |     |     | rau | rau | rau |   |   |
|       |     |     | [he] took | rau |   |   |   |   |
Seasonality of Marriages on Easter Island

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Introduction

Throughout time, man’s activities are distributed in periodic cycles. These vary according to the economic model and environmental conditions, as well as cultural and religious beliefs. In modern societies, public festivities, holiday periods and social ceremonies also contribute to such cycles.

Seasonal movement includes the variations produced in births, marriages and deaths during the year (Henry 1983). These are long-lasting movements. There is no doubt that there are close relations between birth and nuptial rates. In historical demography, the nuptial rate probably has been the main birth rate regulating element. In this sense, the seasonality of marriages is considered as a good estimate of a populations’ behavior (Livi-Bacci 1993).

Easter Island, called Rapa Nui by its inhabitants, is situated in the middle of the Pacific Ocean, 3,700 km from the Chilean mainland and more than 2,000 km from the nearest inhabited land (Pitcairn Island). Its location was an important geographical obstacle for, until the airport’s construction in 1967, an annual ship was the only communication between the island and the Chilean mainland (Boutilier 1992). Rapa Nui is situated at 27° S latitude, thus the seasons are opposite to those in the Northern Hemisphere. December, January and February correspond to the southern summer, and seasons are defined in these dates:

- Spring: from September 21st to December 20th.
- Summer: from December 21st to March 20th.
- Autumn: from March 21st to June 20th.
- Winter: from June 21st to September 20th.

The aim of this work is to study the distribution of marriages celebrated in Easter Island along the annual cycle, and to estimate its possible relationship with some factors such as religious celebrations, high or low economic activity periods, harvest and fishing times, as well as social ceremonies and cultural functions.

If none of these factors had an influence on marriages’ seasonality, the number of marriages would be distributed at random along the year as might have been expected. However, the results obtained studying Easter Island’s population during a period of 69 years prove differently.

Material and Methods

The basic unit of this study is marriage, defined as the union between the two sexes who legalize their relationship in a civil or canonical way.

Civil and church registers in Rapa Nui have been used as an information source. The reason for studying both registers is in order to see if the couples legalized their relationship in either a civil or a religious way, or both ways. It must be considered that Christianization in the island took place at the end of 19th century when the first missionaries arrived (Routledge 1919).

Data in the civil register begins in 1914 and documents dating from 1886 exist in the church registers, although these do not exist as registers’ books until 1937. However, as explained below, the following periods are considered for this work:


Despite the existence of some record books of 1914 and 1915, the detailed civil register really begins in 1916. In that year, 43 marriages were registered, all of them during July and August and on the same dates. Marriages were recorded at intervals of fifteen minutes. Thus, all matrimony registered before 1917 have been eliminated from this study because they represent marriages celebrated in preceding years and were not recorded previously due to the non-existence of the register (fig.1).

Concerning the church register, from 1886 to 1936, all marriages are recorded on specific days of given years. Thus, if they were included in the study of seasonality, some methodological errors would be introduced (fig.1). During 1914-1985, 508 civil marriages were registered in Easter Island and in the period 1886-1985, 531 canonical unions were recorded (table 1).

Fig. 1 represents all marriages recorded in both registers. The two higher peaks correspond to those years when marriages started to be recorded, independent of the date of their celebration.

During the first part of 20th century, many couples were recorded in both registers with their hispanicized surname (for example, Chávez is the Spanish form of the Rapanui name, Teave). Some years later, mainly from the 1960s on, those couples who wished it were recorded again with their original surname. In all these cases, the date of the new inscription together with the original date of the marriage celebration were registered. Duplicates have been removed from the study.

After these previous considerations, the total number of...
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<td>76</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>508</td>
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</table>

Table 1. Marriages in civil and church registers in Rapa Nui since 1886 until 1985.

marriages used for the seasonality study is 463 in the civil register and 382 in the church one (table 1).

First of all, a global study was undertaken. The airport construction at the end of the 1960s released the population from its isolation and made a greater migratory movement in both directions far easier, as well as facilitating the arrival of tourists. Thus, two periods are considered (1917-1970 and 1971-1985) in order to examine if the possible social and economic changes that have taken place on the island have affected marriages.

Regarding the distribution of marriages along time, groups of five years have been taken to avoid aleatory concentrations due to the reduced size of the sample.

The seasonality of marriages is studied using a coefficient which represents the relative values of the studied variable during the months of the year. In this work, the coefficient of Henry (1974) has been used. To calculate the monthly coefficients, the total values of the studied period are summed up and divided by the number of days of the specific month. All twelve quotients obtained are summed up and the total reduced to 1200. In February, the mean number of days of this month during the whole studied period is considered due to its variability. For periods of at least ten years, the average number of days in February varies from 28.2 to 28.3 (Henry 1983) and the mean value considered is 28.25 because the error is insignificant.

If there were no seasonality, the number of marriages expected for each month would be 100 (figs. 2, 3). Upper values represent a higher trend than is expected for the marriage celebration. In the same way, lower values indicate a lesser trend than expected if marriages were celebrated at random, with no seasonal correlation.

The hypothesis proposed is to see whether or not there is the absence or presence of seasonality in marriages. In order to achieve this, a \( \chi^2 \) test has been used. This is a good estimator, although there can be small deviations.

Results

Regarding seasonality of marriages for the period studied, the minimum number appears in November (fig.2). In the opposite way, in the canonical register, despite the fact that the minimum in November is also observed (fig.3), marriages are distributed at random more or less during the year. The \( \chi^2 \) value for the civil register is 7.09 with p<0.05 and for the church register is 11.14 with p<0.01 (table 2).

With the aim of observing if the arrival of immigrants (mainly from the Chilean mainland) and if the construction of the airport in 1967 had an effect on marriages patterns, two periods are considered, before and after 1970 (tables 3 and 4). In both cases, \( \chi^2 \) values for the second period (1970-1985) are not significant, but they are in the first period. Results are shown in figs. 4 and 5.

If monthly marriage distribution is considered by
Table 2. Number of marriages in months and Henry's

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<td>November</td>
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<td>December</td>
<td>37.00</td>
<td>114.20</td>
<td>37.00</td>
<td>114.20</td>
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<td>TOTAL</td>
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\[ \chi^2 = 13.39 \quad p < 0.01 \quad \chi^2 = 3.21 \quad n = 3.21 \quad \text{no sig.} \]


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<td>S.C.</td>
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\[ \chi^2 = 34.78 \quad p < 0.001 \quad \chi^2 = 2.25 \quad n = 3.25 \quad \text{no sig.} \]


Table 5. Monthly distribution of marriages by decades in civil register from 1917 on.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>MONTHS</th>
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<th>26-35</th>
<th>36-45</th>
<th>46-55</th>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>May</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>June</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>August</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>October</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 13.39 \quad p < 0.01 \quad \chi^2 = 4.32 \quad \text{no sig.} \]

Table 6. Monthly distribution of marriages by decades in church register from 1917 on.

Discussion

Data for this study were obtained in the Civil Register Office and in the Church of Santa Cruz in Hanga Roa. Despite of the small size of the sample, it was predictable due to the few inhabitants that live in the island. In order to minimize the errors that could show up during the data analysis, they have been gathered in classes, reducing random influence.

Some limitations appear when these hypotheses must be supported in bibliographic references because not enough has been written about aspects of Easter Island other than archaeology. The existence of ancient books is also scarce; thus, oral
were compiled and filed in chronological order, starting with the oldest. The older the data, the more information was lacking. In most of them, only the year of the marriage appeared, as well as notations such as "before 1886".

After these considerations, the study of the graph begins in 1917, the year when the civil marriages start to be registered the same day of their celebration. Comparing both registers, civil and canonical, an almost total parallel along the year in both can be observed in the graph (fig. 1), starting to slightly disappear from 1970 onward. It could be explained because the couples celebrated a canonical marriage and the same day (or some day before or after) they were married in a civil ceremony. In the same way, the number of legal unions increases along with time.

The increase in the number of marriages is linked to an increase of the birth rate, as well as a larger immigrant movement. At the end of last century, the Rapanui population was less than a few hundred people (Metraux 1941). A census in the 1980s counted almost three thousand inhabitants. At
this moment, an important inflexion point took place in Rapanui society. At the end of the 1960s, Mataveri’s airport was created (Santa Coloma 1995), considerably improving communications between the island and the mainland. Up to that point, the only link with the mainland, almost 4,000 km away, was by an annual ship (Porteous 1981), which increased in frequency to twice a year from the beginning of the 1970s until now. Air transport meant a greater migratory movement, mainly migratory, due to the creation of new jobs which, for the most part, are occupied by Chilean civil service.

Thus, one question concerns the decrease of the parallel between civil and canonical marriages; is it random or is it due to a social change in customs, favoured by an increase of mixed (mostly Rapanui-Chilean) marriages?

Another aspect is the existence of several unformalized unions that obviously are not reflected in any register. Some unpublished studies made by the author point out that living-together relationships have increased since the end of the 1960s; thus the records reflect a high proportion of the formalized unions.

With regard to seasonality of marriages, if whole periods are considered, a remarkable minimum is shown in both registers for November (figs. 2 and 3). Tables 5 and 6 indicate that only three civil marriages and two canonical ones were celebrated in November between 1946 and 1975. Specifically, there are long periods in which no marriages occurred in November (from 1955 to 1970 in a civil way and from 1946 to 1970 in a canonical way), a fact that doesn’t occur in other months. What is it that causes the month of November to be less likely time for a Rapanui to marry?

A possible hypothesis could be the relation between the date of the arrival of the annual ship to the island and some social or economic activities derived from that arrival. It must be pointed out that until halfway through the 1960s, wool was the main exported article for the Rapanui. The arrival of the ship was an important event for the population because of food supplies and other goods, such as clothes and tobacco. In exchange, wool was loaded for shipment to the mainland. In the same way, this link was used for arriving or leaving personnel, including governmental, religious and military.

At the beginning of the 1970s, the ship from Valparaíso to Easter Island began to be biennial, which is the present frequency. However, this fact is less important because once the airport was constructed, the island was connected to the mainland by a weekly air-shuttle. In this way, ships were replaced by planes as the main mean for consumer goods import, mainly non-existent foods on the island, thus the arrival of the ship has become a much less important social event.

Some sources hint that a possible association between the scarcity of marriages in November and the celebration of a traditional ceremony called tangata-manu (bird-man) exists. This ancient tradition took place during September and October, a time when all inhabitants were occupied in its preparation, performances and celebrations. So after such festivities, November was an austere month, and December became a more favourable time for marriage. In the same way, during December and January, taro, yams, and cashew crops (vegetable products of their diet) were abundant, as was fishing, a decisive factor in their diet.

Considering the whole period, the results point out the presence of seasonality (table 2). If the sample is divided into two periods, before and after 1970, no seasonality component is shown after 1970 in both registers (tables 3 and 4; figs. 4 and 5), indicating that marriages are distributed randomly through the year. However, the \( \chi^2 \) test shows the presence of seasonality before 1970 in both registers.

If a monthly marriage distribution is considered (fig. 6), a minimum in November is followed by a maximum in December. Considering that the twelve months of the year have the same probability to be chosen for marriage, this could represent those marriages of December plus ones that were not celebrated in November.

It would be very interesting to undertake additional research on this subject in order to understand more of the socio-cultural features in Rapanui’s population. There are large gaps in some related fields of study that could reveal important data about Rapanui’s social organization and changes from their well-rooted traditions to changes brought by tourism.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the late Father Ramiro Estévez, priest of the Church of Santa Cruz of Hanga Roa (in 1994) for the facilities provided for the study of canonical register. I’m grateful for permission to study all available unclassified documents, and their valued content which was essential for this work. I recall his wise advice and relaxed talks which helped me to know and better understand Rapanui’s culture. In the same way, I want to thank Ema Tuki, in charge of the Civil Register Office, for the assistance given to consult the existing records. Her inestimable cooperation was very useful. I can’t forget Dr. Paul Bahn, who made his private library accessible to me and provided facilities for the consultation of numerous books and articles.

References


Moai Sightings

Moai sightings are coming in from all over, suggesting that the statues have become a popular icon on a worldwide basis. From newspaper and magazine ads to goofy miniature golf courses, the most recent reports include the following:

California

Sharp-eyed Rapanuiphile, Suzanne Williams of North Hollywood, spotted a mysterious moai in (of all places) the Forest Lawn Cemetery Museum in Glendale. The 3-foot head of a statue, named “Henry” is said to have come from Easter Island and “… was found in a fishing boat where it had been used as ballast for generations.” A nearby sign offers the following text: “… named for Henry Wendt, who assisted Dr Hubert Eaton in obtaining the figure from Easter Island.” If any of our readers can provide a lead on either Henry, Hubert, or the statue, please let us know. Several things are curious: the carving, which shows protruding fat lips and a bulbous nose; the size, which would be rather too large for ballast; and the identification of the collectors. Docents at the museum were unable to provide any clues.

Florida

A special “moai sighting” was made by another Rapanuiphile, Marks Hinton, of Houston, Texas. The statue is in a goofy golf course in Key West, Florida, making it the southern-most moai in the continental U.S. (Key West is 85 miles further south than Brownsville, Texas). Hinton says that the next question is to find the most northern, eastern and western relatives of this little moai.

South Wales, England

A moai carved from wood has been sighted near Ogmore Castle in Glamorgan in South Wales (between Cardiff and Swansea). Rapanuiphile Brian Cox found this unexplained example—and noted the beginnings of a second one nearby.

Maryland

The “Easter Island mini Golf Course”, located on the way to the Boardwalk in Ocean City, also sports moai figures. “The big head”, as it is called, stands at attention, accompanied by Kaitlyn and Karleigh Swales. This statue head is only one of some dozen at the golf course which is also decorated with various birdman figures. Thanks to Valerie Young for capturing this lumpy version of our beloved statues.

What’s New in Polynesia

Hawaii

A slack key contest held in the gardens of the Bishop Museum in mid-August provided a great photo-op for Rapanuiphile Bud Henry. From a straight-on view, the cameraman seems to be perched on the head of the cement moai replica that graces the museum gardens. The formerly-distinguished moai head was replicated from one at Tongariki but has now turned into Kermit-the-moai since the addition of the “bug-eyes”.

• A US Senate bill seeks to make Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians) an “Indian Tribe”, a domestic dependent nation and Federal Wards, according to Dr Kekuni Blaisdell of Ka Pakaukau. Blaisdell stated that “wardship” violates Kanaka Maoli rights to self-determination, and that the Senate bill is not only contradictory within itself but is also ambiguous.

Pacific News Bulletin 12(6)
• Small island nations complained at the UN Earth Summit in June that they are becoming the first victims of global warming. The five-day 173-nation conference noted a lack of progress since the Earth Summit in Rio in 1992. Small island nations, including the Maldives, Cyprus, Caribbean States and Pacific archipelagos say their survival is threatened by rising sea levels that are expected to increase some 30 to 100 cm in the next century, as the warming trend continues. Some smaller islands have been abandoned; on Nukuoro, taro patches were inundated with sea water that ruined the harvest. 

                  Pacific News Bulletin, 12(6)

Fiji

KAVA IS BECOMING A MAJOR pharmaceutical drug in Germany and the United States. Kava extract, tablets, and chewable kava are available in many parts of the world and are used as an anti-anxiety drug like Valium or for a muscle-relaxant, but without side effects. Kava growing is a big industry in Fiji, estimated at $100 million annually. People on the Big Island of Hawaii are turning to kava growing as an alternative to the sugar industry. Some negative impacts have been noted, for example, the clearing of land for kava plantations in Pohnpei caused environmental damage to watersheds and has deposited silt on coral reefs.

While the plant is native only to the Pacific, others are trying to obtain kava for plantations elsewhere. It is expected that, as the export market expands, there will be an upward trend in kava prices for local drinkers.

University of the South Pacific Bulletin, June 1997

Niue

WINNER OF THE 1997 POLYNESIAN LITERARY COMPETITION whose theme area was the island of Niue, is Samoa Tongakilo. A 52 year-old woman writer from Namou, Makefu, on Niue, she authored the poem “Ko e Motu, Maka-ha-Polinesia” (“The Island, Rock-of-Polynesia”), a beautiful and emotive panegyrical to her island home. Her poem, in Niuean with an accompanying English translation, was unanimously judged the winner for 1997 by the two adjudicators, the Honorable Atapana Siakimotu, Consul General for Niue in Auckland, and Dr Wolfgang Sperlich, of the Niue Dictionary Project, and by the two permanent moderators, Dr H.G.A. Hughes of Wales and Dr Steven R. Fischer of New Zealand. Samoa Tongakilo wins a Certificate of Award and NZ $250. The winning poem will be published shortly in the journal, Rongorongo Studies. The annual Polynesian Literary Competition is sponsored by the Institute of Polynesian Languages and Literatures, Auckland, New Zealand.

Marshall Islands

THE SIGNING OF A NUCLEAR WASTE disposal feasibility study agreement between the Marshall Islands and a United States firm, B&W Nuclear Environmental Services, Inc., has been strongly condemned by the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Trade.

It is claimed that B&W took advantage of uninformed officials who signed an agreement on behalf of the government. Arguments against a nuclear dump in the islands include the projected climate change that will affect low-lying coral atolls, as well as danger from cyclones.

Pacific News Bulletin 12(6)

Pitcairn Islands

MEMBERS OF THE WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT International Ltd. team are carrying out a rat eradication project on Pitcairn, Oeno and Ducie Islands and they also made bait trials on Henderson. Pitcairners had been informed that feral cats must be destroyed or they would prey on the Grey Warbler once the rats were gone. They were relieved to hear they could keep their pet cats.

Lines were cut through scrub and forest so that bait could be placed every 25 meters and this was done as a first application (there will be two). So far, it seems effective as dead rats were being seen.

Only Pitcairn Island has the Pacific rat, a relic of the original Polynesian occupation. Other rat species have not manage to get ashore as they seem to gain access to islands via wharves or sheltered moorings. Rats are not only a source of disease but they compete with man for food and also have a disastrous effect on the natural environment, causing the extinction of many bird species. Islands are particularly vulnerable. New poisons and improved technology make it possible to remove rats from even large islands. In New Zealand alone, some 20-30 islands have been cleared of rats. The program is financed by the Overseas Development Administration and Worldwide Fund for Nature (U.K.)

Some of the benefits of eradication include houses and fields free from rodents, safety of seabirds, and better regrowth in some plants. If feral cats are also removed and pet cats controlled, seabirds may recolonize some parts of the island. Perhaps it will be possible to re-introduce lost species such as the dove and parakeet, etc.

What's New in Hangaroa

• DATES HAVE BEEN ANNOUNCED for the 1998 Tapati festival: January 30-February 14. This is the first time the festival has been planned for a two week span of time.

• HANGAROA HAS ITS OWN NEWSPAPER! Te Rapa Nui, “The Gazette of Easter Island” is the name of a new paper to which you now can subscribe. Issued four times a year, the most recent issue is 8 pages, some in color. Text is in English as well as Spanish. The paper is under the direction of Juan Soler Bolt and edited by Caroline Hotu Hey. For subscriptions, send checks payable to “ Editorial Te Rapa Nui”, Correo, Isla de Pascua, Chile. Price is $10 US. [It is not clear, but apparently checks on a US bank are acceptable].

Te Rapa Nui is intended to become a small light radiating Te Pito o te Henua . . . outwards” and oriented toward the social progress of the island and its people. The current issue has articles on the recent festival in Samoa, the National Park, and the arrival of the King of Spain. Let’s support this effort!

• A FEW RECENT AND FAMOUS VISITORS to RAPA NUI include the Norwegian explorer, Thor Heyerdahl, who made a visit to the island as part of a documentary about the investigations he began in 1955.
Japanese Prince Hitachi and his wife stayed three days on the island as part of their tour to Chile. The Japanese government has donated US$2 million to conserve the patrimony of Rapa Nui.

*El Mercurio de Santiago, 29 September 1997*

- **According to El Mercurio de Valparaiso,** 18 October 1997, the City Council of Hanga Roa has petitioned for the removal of Mayor Pedro Edmunds Paoa "for notable abandonment of responsibilities" and "multiple irregularities and arbitrary administration of the municipality." The petition was presented before the Electoral Tribunal at Valparaiso by Antonio Oneto, attorney representing Alberto Hotus, Marcelo Pont, Claudio Cristino, Enrique Pakarati, and Rodrigo Norambuena.

- **A recent communication from the island expressed anxiety over the problem of mixing alcohol and drinking.** Young islanders are increasingly involved in nasty accidents that are drinking-related. One such casualty recently resulted in the amputation of a leg. Those who are caught up in drinking episodes are generally young, out of school, and unemployed. Older residents complain of brawls and other transgressions, and voice concern that tourists will be offended or antagonized.

- **A fire that recently burned over 50 hectares at Rano Kau volcano and blazed for three days is said to have started from the slash-and-burn practice of islanders who periodically set fire to the grassland.** It has been suggested by CONAF that grazing areas on the island be limited in order to avoid damage to the cultural patrimony of the island. At least three distinct places separated by 500 to 1000 meters show indications of intentional fires set to burn off dry grass and thus promote new vegetation for grazing animals. The fire entered the crater at three sectors. Last July, 500 saplings of mako'i were planted there, thanks to a grant from PNUD, a UN program of development. The news report was not clear as to whether or not these small trees survived.

CONAF chief, J.M. Ramirez, said that a strong wind, scarcity of water, and limited personnel hampered efforts. He noted that because islanders do not have access to other land for grazing their animals, they use National Park land. Governor Hey said that blame for the fire cannot be placed as yet, but that everyone should protect the environment and the ecology.

*El Mercurio de Santiago, 14 September 1997*

- **Special walking tours of Easter Island are being plugged on the Chilean mainland; advertisements suggest hiking as a way to see the island.** Getting around on bicycle is also being touted. The Chilean press (El Mercurio de Valparaiso) points out that one can get to know Isla de Pascua by auto in a couple of days but, on a bike, the adventure "can be metaphysical". In case you can't guess, the news items gives ten reasons why one should bike on Easter Island: (1) the road is "the destiny" and time unimportant; (2) the road acquires a significance of its own; (3) there is satisfaction in arriving at one's destiny; (4) one can talk with locals; (5) the bumpiness connects one to the land; (6) one can reach places a car cannot; (7) at day's end one feels well; (8) biking removes stress; (9) a broken bike can be repaired but not a broken car; and (10) it implies a life that is "chaste and pure."

(Bikes are a recent phenomena on the island, seen only in the past few years; the ruts that formerly served for roads were hardly the stuff for bicycles. But now roads are improved and bikes are becoming more common. However, that track around the north coast has to be an acid test.)

- **Lights are being installed at the soccer field.** Floodlights, placed on 60 foot towers, will light up the entire area, presumably for night games.

- **An Earthwatch team,** under the direction of Dr Christopher Stevenson, has discovered a large number of sites inland from Ahu Heki'i (La Perouse Bay). Among these are a number of basalt quarries and reduction areas where toki were being manufactured. They also identified large repositories of raw material for the making of toki but are not sure at this time where these boulders came from. We hope to have a full report in our next issue of RNJ.

**News from the Easter Island Foundation**

- The Biblioteca Mulloy in Viña del Mar now can be reached via email: BiMulloy@intelchile.net

- Mr. Enrique Klein, son of the late Otto Klein (1901-1986), who in 1947 founded the highly regarded School of Decoration at the Santa Maria University of Valparaiso, has generously donated nearly a hundred books and articles from Prof. Klein's personal library to the Biblioteca Mulloy in Viña del Mar, Chile. Several of the books, long out-of-print, were not in the Mulloy Library and are an extremely valuable addition to the collection. There are also original drawings and photographs made by Prof. Klein in the preparation of his classic book, "La Iconografía de la Isla de Pascua". Mr. Klein kindly donated other valuable books, as well as artifacts, both from the continent and from Rapa Nui, to the Fonck Museo de Arqueología.

The Foundation is extremely grateful and thanks Mr. Klein profusely for his generosity.

- The EIF welcomes two new members of the Board of Directors: Brigid Mulloy and Mark Blackburn, both of Hawai'i.

**Report on the South Seas Symposium**

The opening reception of the South Seas Symposium was held at the Hilton Hotel in Albuquerque where participants and guests were greeted by Barbara Hinton, President of the Easter Island Foundation, and Governor Jacobo Hey Paoa, of Easter Island. Rapa Nui wood carvings were presented with thanks to Mary Dell Lucas and her staff at Far Horizons who were in charge of logistics for the conference.

Guests at the opening ceremonies were enchanted by talented Mahani Teave (Chavez) who entertained with several selections on the piano. A gifted Rapanui, 14-year old Mahani
is realizing her dream of becoming Easter Island’s first concert pianist. She is the recipient of a Roberto Bravo Foundation Scholarship and attends the Conservatorio de Musica, Universidad de Austral in Valdivia. Since 1994, Mahani has enchanted the public by performing top-level solo concerts, and is known in Chile as the “Pianista Pascuense”. She is unique for no one else from the island has ever become a pianist. Mahani’s friends and teachers are trying to obtain a concert piano for her. Anyone wishing to help out, may contact the Easter Island Foundation.

Following Mahani’s presentation, conference attendees were treated to a spirited performance of Rapanui music and dance by Jimmy Crossan and his dance team who had traveled to the conference from the island.

Governor Hey presented EIF President Barbara Hinton with a kava kava, and she responded with some of the EIF’s most recent publications. Hey also gave carvings to Albuquerque’s Mayor, Martin Chavez, and Guillermo Anguita, Chilean Embassy Chief of Staff.

EIF President Hinton presented Dr Thor Heyerdahl with a book, in thanks for donating the proceeds of his public lecture to the EIF to help pay travel expenses for students and scholars who attended the South Seas conference.

The papers presented at the conference spanned a wide variety of subjects from rongorongo and linguistics to lithic technology and settlement patterns to art. Two-hundred and forty-three persons attended the sessions, and sixty-eight papers were presented. The presented papers will be published in a single volume, and will be available from the Easter Island Foundation after January 1, 1998.

A power outage left conference participants temporarily in the dark. According to the theory that anything that CAN go wrong, will go wrong, a massive power outage on campus blew all the electrical circuits in several of the University of New Mexico buildings, including the lecture halls where the conference papers were being presented, and word came down that these could not be repaired for a week. Comments were made to the effect that someone must have brought along an aku-aku from the island. A shift to nearby auditoriums was made and the conference proceeded smoothly.

The final party featured several performances including a spirited local Hispanic dance group and a performance by Paloma Hucke of Easter Island. The Rapa Nui dance group (shown here) headed by Jimmy Crossan electrified the audience with some exuberant (and sexy) Polynesian dancing.

The museum reception and the exhibit of contemporary Easter Island wood carving was a highlight of the conference. The exhibit, Ingrained Images brought together Rapa Nui carvings, photographs of the island and its people--including images of Tapati festivals, and a video made by guest curator Joan Seaver Kurze who organized the show. The exhibition also showcased Mark Blackburn’s special collection of historic photographs and artifacts.

The reception featured Rapanui dancers who entertained with chant, kai-kai and body painting.

The American Airlines raffle was won by Katie Rorrer of the anthropology department of the University of Oregon. Governor Hey also donated a case of pisco for part of the raffle, and these gift bottles delighted those who won them: the pisco was in special commemorative moai-shaped green bottles complete with pukao cap.

More than 300 people, both conference attendees as well as local residents, attended Thor Heyerdahl’s public lecture which was held on the UNM campus.

A resolution was approved in regard to conservation, following the session titled “Lithic Resources and Use of Stone in Oceania”:

—Given the internationally-recognized importance of cultural resources in stone represented on Rapanui (Easter Island) and their rapid deterioration due to environmental factors, land-use practices, and impacts from tourism:

—It is Resolved:

That the participants of the Fourth International Easter Island Conference (South Seas Symposium) encourage and request that the Republic of Chile, UNESCO, and other international organizations improve funding to conserve the island’s World Heritage cultural resources.

One area in specific requiring attention is researching the application of appropriate chemical treatments to the stone images and other exposed stone artifacts.

This Resolution was approved in Plenary Session of the Conference on 8 August 1997.
TALKING TURKEY IN ALBUQUERQUE:
A FEW OBSERVATIONS ON THE 1997 CONFERENCE

Paul G. Bahn

THE 4th INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE concerning Easter Island (following Hanga Roa 1984, Frankfurt 1989 and Laramie 1993) took place in Albuquerque, New Mexico, from August 5 to 10, under the title “South Seas Symposium: Easter Island in the Pacific Context”, and can be counted a great success, having attracted over 200 participants from about 18 countries and every continent. Although, as at Laramie, the vast majority of those present were from the USA, it was again gratifying to see how many Rapanui—dignitaries, scholars, artisans and entertainers—were able to make the journey, often at their own expense. It is also safe to say that, with only a very few exceptions, every major researcher currently active in the field of Easter Island studies was present or represented. The quality of the event was due in large measure to the organizing skills of the Easter Island Foundation (Barbara Hinton, Georgia Lee & co), Far Horizons (Mary Dell Lucas and company) and, for the academic program, Christopher Stevenson, who was addressed in a recent fax from French colleagues as “Dear Christ”—do they know something we don’t?

The sessions were held initially in the Woodward Hall of the University of New Mexico, but had to be moved to the Geology Department after a massive power failure on the first afternoon, caused perhaps by some angry witch’s curse, blacked out the chosen venue for the duration. One result of this was that we were located even further from the already remote room allotted to book and art sales. Curiously, there seemed to be little or no interest in the event on the part of the local media, or even the university. Where was the equivalent of the Laramie Daily Boomerang which gave such strong coverage to the previous congress?

The papers given covered a wide spectrum, from linguistics to body decoration, from craniometry and DNA to stone tools, and they were arranged in sessions which some sadist had decreed should begin at 8 a.m. every day. So many papers were presented that, as at Laramie, sessions ran concurrently on a couple of days, making it impossible to attend everything. All were limited to 20 minutes except that—again, as at Laramie—Thor Heyerdahl was given far longer (or did it just seem that way?).

As I said in my Laramie report (RNJ 7 (3), Sept. 1993, p. 46), one readily acknowledges Heyerdahl’s seminal contributions in this field, which probably lie at the roots of most participants’ interest in the subject, including my own. Once again, as at Laramie, he was the only person to give an evening talk to the public, and one must salute his generosity in donating the proceeds from this lecture to help with the transportation costs of less affluent delegates. Incidentally, the flyer advertising his talk claimed that he “electrified the world with reports from the Kon Tiki, his reed boat expedition from Chile to Easter Island”—some mistake, surely?

Conversely, his approach to the subject is still something like a game of “snap” with objects and motifs taken out of time and context, and then subjectively judged for similarity. This is the case, for example, with the notorious Túcumec clay frieze, where Heyerdahl’s ability to read whatever he wants (reed boats, cabins, circular eggs) into highly ambiguous designs leaves one totally non-plussed.

Moreover, after reading Heyerdahl’s contemptuous dismissal of John Flenley’s dating evidence for reeds being on the island for at least 30,000 years (RNJ 11(1), March, p.19), and after witnessing their public exchange of views on this matter at Albuquerque, one is left utterly speechless by Heyerdahl’s frequent public appeals for open-mindedness, which ring somewhat hollow—indeed, they remind one of Madonna singing about virginity....

Perhaps the most amazing moment among many came at the end of Heyerdahl’s evening talk to around 300 members of the paying public, when a belligerent and vociferous Rapanui, Terai Hucke Atan, shouted two very good questions from the back of the hall—i.e. why, if the theory of Peruvian origins was correct, there was no maize on Easter Island and why he, Atan, could not make himself understood in Peru!

Heyerdahl’s reply, which caused not a few jaws to plummet to the ground, was that the South Americans had been Polynesian-speaking before the Incas wiped them out. Polite words fail me, unfortunately, at this point.

On a more positive note Steve Fischer paid a fulsome warts-and-all tribute to the recently deceased Thomas Barthel, while Helene Martinsson-Wallin noted the passing of Bengt Danielsson on this, the 50th anniversary of the Kon Tiki expedition. There were some notable highlights in the program — for example, Fischer’s presentation of his discovery of cosmogonies in most rongorongo texts; Douglas Owsley’s graphic and eye-opening account of traumas in Easter Island human skeletal material; Grant McCall’s tour de force about islanders who left Rapanui, through force or choice; and a chance to see Catherine Ortliac’s excellent video about the Toromiro project. Other noteworthy events included an opening recital by the extremely gifted pianist Mahani Teave, only 14 years old; Joan Seaver Kurze’s stunning exhibition of island carvings at the Maxwell Museum; and several shows by the Jimmy Crossan dance troupe, especially their last at the closing banquet in Mountainair.

Unlike in Laramie, however, there was no truly outstanding group of papers, and no new theory was put forward — unless one counts McCall’s view, already mentioned in RNJ 11 (3) p.112, that the island was the centre of a trading empire between Polynesia and South America, which one can only assume is decidedly tongue-in-cheek. The overall impression is that we are in a phase of consolidation and re-assessment; and indeed Patrick Chapman and George Gill—two of the leading proponents of the “Laramie hypothesis” (see RNJ 7 (3), p. 47)—seem to be shifting position, with Chapman now leaning heavily towards the Tuamotus as a point of origin, and
Gill emphasising that the supposedly Amerindian discrete cranial traits may in fact prove to exist elsewhere, as analyses are expanded to other areas of the Pacific and beyond. Similarly, John Flenley and myself are happy to incorporate not only David Steadman's data of faunal extinction but also McCall's "Little Ice Age hypothesis" into the model of environmental destruction.

The crucial problem which remains—and which must become a top priority for organisers of the next conference—is that of the need for translation into Spanish. This was already noted in Laramie (RNJ 7 (3), p. 45), but since simultaneous translation is prohibitively expensive, and since no registrants ticked the relevant box on the application form, nothing was done this time—with the result that, once again, the islanders present could understand little of what was being said, and some felt slighted and ignored. Once again, the conference was about them, not for them.

If simultaneous translation proves too expensive the next time, some other solution will be needed—such as allowing five minutes at the end of each presentation for a summary to be read in Spanish (or in English for papers in Spanish). It was also widely felt that questions and discussion should occur after each paper rather than be delayed till the end of a full session. This might entail longer slots for each paper, and/or more concurrent sessions—but not necessarily. On the basis of both Laramie and Albuquerque, I would suggest that papers could easily be limited to a 15 minute presentation—after all, one should be able to convey the gist of a problem and of one’s results in that time, bearing in mind that the audience are not all specialists and are not interested in minutiae and detailed figures, which can be left to the published version.

Several papers at Albuquerque were intensely boring for this very reason, and should have been simplified, shortened or actually turned down. Session organisers could perhaps be more ruthless in future admissions, maintaining academic excellence without sacrificing general interest. There is certainly a case to be made for a more rigorous selection procedure which would, for example, have weeded out the unedifying and sycophantic hagiography that was presented on the last morning and which contributed nothing to a supposedly scientific conference.

In short, we need good papers which are relevant and new; we need speakers who do not put everyone to sleep (in my opinion, papers should never be read out if this can be avoided); but above all, we need some means of making future meetings bilingual in order fully to integrate and honour, and to avoid alienating, the inhabitants of the island which lies at the centre of our enterprise and our endeavours.

This was the last such conference of the century, but these events have already become a tradition, and will certainly continue well into the next century, as the spirit of international scholarly cooperation and multidisciplinary debate that makes them so enjoyable and valuable is maintained and expanded.

**Letters to the Editor**

Dear Editor,

I would like to respond to the International News item that you included in the June RNJ (Vol. 11, 2) regarding the Christie’s sale of the van Lier collection. First of all, as a serious private collector of Polynesian art in the United States, I would like to correct some items in this report. To start with, the van Lier collection did have some wonderful objects but the strength was in the New Guinea and related material and certainly not in the Polynesian objects. The Easter Island material in his collection was very late and was nothing more than island trade curios of the last 19th and 20th century—and decadent at best. If the pieces had been of the 18th or early 19th century, the figurative sculpture would have attracted serious interest and brought in excess of well over $100,000 each. But instead these pieces were purchased by new collectors or novices who had not carefully studied the material culture of Easter Island. The staff, which sold for the reported $1,200, was of this late curio period; had it been an authentic object of the late 18th or early 19th century it would have sold in excess of $50,000.

The Solomon Islands' shield again had problems in the respect that it may be the last one to ever come on the market, hence the $180,000 price, but it attracted very little support from the European and American trade as it was, in the opinion of most knowledgeable experts, a rather weak example and certainly the most uninteresting of the known surviving pieces as to iconography and inlay form.

In my opinion, one of the few truly Oceanic-related masterworks in the sale was the superb Dyak bowl, representing the best in Dyak art. This piece sold for many times its high estimate and was sold to a well-known Austrian collector with great taste.

In your report it is stated that "never before have such prices been paid for ethnographic treasures." This is false: Christie's, Sothebys, Phillips, and Bonhams have sold Oceanic objects for considerably more money than the items in the van Lier collection.

In closing, I would like to say that traditional objects from Polynesia are very rare and when excellent examples appear on the market (which is very seldom these days) the prices continue to escalate. For example, a really great *moai kavakava* of the 18th century would bring well over $300,000 today. At the peak of the market in 1990/1991, a *rapa* paddle from Easter Island was sold to a private French collector for the equivalent of $440,000. So the objects and prices in the van Lier collection were, for the most part, not so great after all!

Mark Blackburn, Hilo, Hawaii.

Dear Editor,

Jo Anne Van Tilburg adds another important contribution to how the giant stone statues of Easter Island were transported, as reported in RNJ 10(4), 1996. I have a few questions, however. Van Tilburg states that, in her computer simulation, statue 01/53 ("reference *moai*") was moved in a supine position on a "simple sledge" constructed of two nonparallel wood beams (logs), 5 meters long and 10 cm in diameter. It appears to me that a much larger log than 10 cm diameter would be required to move the ten ton *moai*. She states, "The beams which add no appreciable weight to the transport task are held in place by the weight of the statue..."
alone." Why would the two large beams be so described when they are large enough to be runners of the sledge? There is no binding affixing the *moai* to the beams. Without binding together the two essential elements, the *moai* and the sledge, no forward movement could be made. The two nonparallel beams would only be pulled out from under the *moai*. It is possible to improve upon the sledge by adapting the following: abandon the nonparallel beams; move them to a parallel position wide enough to support the statue. The beams will be the runners for the sledge which is now ready to be pulled to its destination.

Another question concerns the supine position of the statue, and bringing it to the back of the *ahu* at Akivi. Akivi is one of the very few *ahu* that could possibly take a statue from its back side. Nearly all other *ahu* have high stone sea walls, many meters in height (Vinapu, Ra'ai, Heki'i, Anakena, Tongariki, etc.) and several of these are directly on the coastal rocks. It would not be possible to raise a statue on them from the back. Thus her "reference" *moai* is poorly selected if she wants to show how a typical statue could be raised.

Robert R. Koll, *Afijic*, Mexico

**Dear Editor,**

The Russian ethnologist, Irina K. Fedorova (RNJ 10:57-9; 1996b; 1997) has interpreted the *rongorongo* inscriptions on the sheet by the native Tomenika, on the Madrid fish figure, on the New York birdman figure, and on three fragments of the Tahua tablet as "records of magic agricultural formulae" (RNJ 9:73-6).

All the translated texts are too similar and do not contain the names of the deities Haua and Makemake nor of the other deities connected with the agricultural cult. Moreover, there are no mythological features in these texts. A new point of view does not coincide with the previous interpretation. Dr Fedorova has read two glyphs as *[taro]* *vai*, *[taro]* *rapa* (the two varieties) in the Tahua record (Ab 6); on the other hand, the same glyphs have been read as the ghost's name, Vai Rapa "The Bright Water" on a *moai* *pa'apa'a* figure (Fedorova 1982:39). I believe that the obtained results witness that the reconstructed ancient culture differs radically from the authentic Easter Island one.

Now I would like to mention my view on the *rongorongo*. I use my personal classification and reading of the glyphs (Rjabchikov 1987:362-3; 1993:23). The sun god Makemake is represented as a mask or face in Easter Island rock art (Métroix 1940:313), and the term *mata* (face/eyes) is presented in the place names Mataveri and Mata Ngarau, associated with the birdman cult (Rjabchikov 1996a:142). So it is natural to find the big-eyed glyph 60 (*mata* (face/eyes) as the first of the string of hieroglyphs engraved on the breast of the birdman figure known as text X. Besides, the two big-eyed images were distinguished in the string figure *Mata nui, Mata iti* (Rjabchikov 1996b:17). Then in text X, the two frigate birds 44 *Taha* are depicted as a separate fragment, and the vulvaform glyph 1 *Tiki* also precedes the other signs in another separate fragment (Rjabchikov 1996c:27). These records correspond to a *Tahua* tablet's inscription (Rjabchikov 1987:361, 365). The Atan manuscript (Heyerdahl 1965, fig.114) contains, in particular, two glyphs with the native Marama's reading as *ko koro e rere tau raa* 'The feast of the sunrise' (Kondratov 1965:413). Indeed, these glyphs read 62 44 *Too Taha* 'Makemake takes', hence it is a variant of the archaic magic formula 'Take for Haua, for Makemake' for cooking of food (Métraux 1940:313). The two segments of the Santiago staff have the similar sense. The first line of the staff includes the glyphs 62 1 62 61 *Too Tiki too Hina* *Tiki* (Makemake) takes, *Hina* (Haua) takes", and the third line has the following: 21 29 25 *koro hua*, (compare Margarevean *akakorukoru* 'to fill the mouth up entirely with food' and Rapanui *hua* 'fruit', and nearby there are the words 62 64 102 4 63 *Too Mea atua kapa* "The god Makemake (lit. The Red-the-god-the Bird) *Kapakapa* takes". Again one can try to study the Atan manuscript with Marama's readings (Heyerdahl 1965:fig 116): there are three glyphs denoting the expression *vekeveke korua* 'two dragonflies' (Kondratov 1965:414); this translation resulted from consideration of the modern Rapanui vocabulary. These glyphs read 6-44 25 *hata hua* 'a fruit grows' (compare Maori *whata* 'to elevate') and are a symbol of plant growth. Actually Rapanui *vekeveke* signifies 'banana flower' and *kora* corresponds to Mangareva *akakorukoru*. The successful interpretation of Marama's list bears a resemblance to the native's reports (Routledge 1919:252-3): "the words were new, but the letters were old" [Tomenika] and the "same picture, but other words" [Kopiera].

So my decipherment correlates with the Rapanui beliefs. I insist that only the formal analysis of the texts can give correct results. The main mistake of Dr Fedorova as well as my other opponents is the using of the so-called "readings" of an Easter Islander, Metoro, as a base of the decipherment of the mysterious writing.

Sergei V. Rjabchikov, Krasnodar, Russia

I think the "phallus" glyphs 102 were inserted in the original texts during the copyings, as special "magic" symbols.

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**REVIEWS**

A review of two French productions about Rapanui by Grant McCall

University of New South Wales

Easter Island. The interactive discovery of a legendary island

Paris, Les Éditions numériques, 1996. FF 149

Corinne Raybaud. L’île de Pâques de 1862 à 1888, 26 années de Diaspora Pascuane en Océanie Orientale


Imagine seeing Kiko on your computer screen, or Mundo Edwards speaking French, or photographs of houses, gardens and so on; all from Rapanui and all on a CD ROM, the newest publishing technology.

We are used to viewing encyclopaedias of varying quality, dictionaries and other reference works on CD ROM, even novels and, of course, the ubiquitous games. But a CD ROM on the Pacific? That’s unusual!

Juniper Films (Sydney) published last year the very attractive Pacifica: A cultural voyage, which is a companion to their television series (now video collection) and book. It contains a game to grab student interest and a variety of video clips, derived from the videos. But a CD on a single island? I believe that Rapanui has the honour to be the first Pacific Island to have a CD entirely to itself, and a very stylish, versatile product it is too. The disk itself is a “hybrid”, which means you can pop it into the CD ROM drive of most Windows or Macintosh computers and it will play. As well, the text, whilst based in French, appears in Spanish and English as well, with the narration automatically coming in those languages.

Readers of the Rapa Nui Journal will find nothing new to them in this reference work, but it is attractively packaged. We know Esperanza Pakarati, but now we can see her sing, and “la la” a couple of old Rapanui words her mother (Amelia Tepano) taught her, but she has forgotten. There is a section on common words in Rapanui, spoken also by Esperanza.

There are remarkably few errors on the disk, given its considerable complexity. The map calls a “hanga” a “harga”, but we know what it is. Whilst the images and information are authentic, for some reason the French authors have chosen Tamure music instead of Rapanui for some bridging bits. Too bad.

The disk is devised into three sections: Historical background, Exploration (the main sites) and Discovery. The latter section looks at life on the island today and includes some tourism and travel information. All the main sections are illustrated.

In the “Discovery” section, there are four sections, the first being “Life on the island” with high quality photographs, the story of the toromiro and short photographic essays on gardens and houses. Here is where the Rapanui language section is located along with a mysterious “Ceremonial music” presentation which is somewhat discordant. The section closes with “practical information”, including a multi-lingual bibliography.

Anyone interested in Rapanui will find this French product a treat and a joy: Les Éditions Numériques are to be congratulated for the high standard of graphic design and reproduction. Further details may be obtained by visiting their website: <http://www.lvi-press.com>. My copy was only FF198, including postage to Australia, which is very reasonable for such a diverse quality product.

Corinne Raybaud’s L’île sacrifiée, however, is not a quality product in terms of its production. I was unable to purchase a copy from the publishers in Tahiti, and resorted to that excellent mail order source for French material on the Pacific, Jean-Louis Boglio, in Australia. According to Boglio, each copy of L’île sacrifiée is pasted together slightly differently and with a slightly different cut of the paper. One of the two illustrations appears on the cover and between pages 72 and 73; the other is between pages 148 and 149. Both seem to have been done with a photocopier and are contemporary photographs of Rapanui young men in full dance paint. There
is a map of Rapanui after the title page, photocopied, retouched by hand and unsourced, and one of the Pacific just after the table of contents similarly confected.

_L'île sacrifiée_ seems to be a transformation of the author’s 1993 doctoral thesis at the University of Paris X, Nanterre. The thesis is given as having 425 pages, whereas the published book just hits 225 pages. It follows the theme that the island was sacrificed to the greed of outsiders.

As outlined on the back cover, the island was sacrificed to Peruvian economic interests, then to the “evangelical fervour” of missionaries, followed by personal interests of agricultural developers and, lastly, to Chilean expansionism. Each of these four episodes forms a section of her text, the whole ending with a conclusion, epilogue and some appendices, mainly about the Peruvian episode and taken from, I think, _Le messager de Tahiti_, the official journal of the colonial government there in the last century. The period covered is 1862 to 1888.

The author’s bibliography is slight (16 entries) and quirky. It does not include books she credits herself with on the dust jacket: _French Oceanic Territories from 1914 to 1918, Easter Island from 1722 to 1888_ or the “numerous articles” she claims to have published. Harry Maude is there, but so is Stephan Chauvet. Vergara is a good source, from which Raybaud translates slabs of text and there is Porteous. There also are missionary sources and Putigny’s fanciful novel about Dutrou-Bornier. The author’s listing of archival sources is impressive and includes some of the newspaper articles she came across. There are two private archives consulted that were unknown to me: Lord Alexandre Dunbar (Scotland) for the private correspondence of John Brander and one Manuel Diaz Gonzalez (Santiago de Chile) “who has more than 4000 documents about Rapanui”. Many more sources are cited in the body of the text, even though they don’t make it into the bibliography proper.

Raybaud should be judged, though, on how well she has exploited her sources in Tahiti, where she has been resident, the book tells us, since 1972. The first part summarises in French Maude’s material about the Peruvian episode, drawing also on French sources published in Tahiti. As the coverage is very thorough and appears for the first time in a French published source, this gives value to the book, although citations to the original sources are few.

The next part, on the missionaries, follows Mouly very closely, telling the story of the tragic Eyraud and the forceful Roussel. As far as I can see, the Rome Archives and Mouly are the main sources here. I see no obvious reference to archives in Papeete, in which there are several references to Rapanui residents in Papeete. The circumstances of Pamata’i and the episodes with Father Celestin, are missing.

The final section is the annexation of Rapanui by Chile in 1888, as part of a grand colonial plan. This section begins with considerable detail of Dutrou-Bornier’s life (pp. 130-165), and here Territorial Archives in Papeete seem to come into play including the French developer’s activities whilst sailing around those islands. What is not highlighted is that it was only Dutrou-Bornier who realised how Rapanui could be commercially developed: as a place for boutique agriculture, with an eye to the market in Tahiti. The basis for coming to this conclusion is found easily in books by Henri Mager, cited by Raybaud for other purposes. This is a pity for this third section is the most original in the book, with clear archive and literature references. This investigation of Dutrou-Bornier’s motives, though, is the first serious study of this influential man, even resorting to French metropolitan archival sources rarely tapped by Pacific historians.

After Dutrou-Bornier, the author turns her attentions to John Brander very briefly, before considering brief biographies of some bizarre 19th century French adventurers in South America.

The dredging of French sources clearly is Raybaud’s strong point. When it comes to the annexation of Rapanui by Chile, there is a scant ten pages, derivative from French sources. The author cannot decide whether the Chilean protagonist is Polycarpo or Policarpo Toro and alternates the spelling. Raybaud is mistaken when she writes in her Epilogue that “the island [Easter Island] fell into oblivion”; The Williamson Balfour exploitation of the island was very profitable, or they would not have stayed for over half a century. What fell into oblivion were the Rapanui themselves, as sheep roammed and Islanders were confined to pens.

So, with such detail, what can we say about Madame Raybaud’s effort? As I mentioned above, the third part of _L’île sacrifiée_ is by far the more professionally researched and written. It more resembles a scholarly piece of work, whilst the preceding parts are derived from existing sources in the main. In that respect, the book is similar to other books by French authors about the colony that got away (See Grant McCall, “French images of Rapanui (Easter Island)”, _Journal of the Polynesian Society_ 104 (2) 1995): 181-194).

But, given her two decades of residence in Tahiti, where is the fruit of that? Given she had access to the personal correspondence of John Brander, where is the detail? And, where is the fruit of Señor Manuel Diaz Gonzalez’s more than 4,000 documents? These sources are not evident in _L’île sacrifiée_. Also, curiously absent is Patricia Anguita’s MA thesis from 1986 ( _La migration rapanui vers Tahiti et Mangareva, 1871-1920_). This thesis, which takes up some of the ground covered by Raybaud, but in an original and scholarly fashion, was supervised by Pierre-Yves Toullelan, whom the author of _L’île sacrifiée_ says she consulted. Toullelan, a very enthusiastic scholar, would have mentioned Anguita and he has a copy of the work in his personal library. One can hardly say that Raybaud rushed into print, which she and her husband themselves produced.

Still, sifting through the material, _L’île sacrifiée_ is worthwhile consulting for the historical material it does cite. It is a shame, though, that her clever theme of “sacrifice” was not carried through the text in the imaginative way that gallic academic writing can often do. It would have provided a focus for the work and given it more impact. Instead, chronology and a few personalities organise the text and provide its flow. In the bibliography, there are references to a few French texts on French colonialism, but there are only a few contextualising remarks about how the Rapanui episode fits into that broader picture. As Raybaud takes outsider ambition as the motivating force in her analysis, I would have thought that French government policy might have come into her analysis more.
Archaeological Investigations on Easter Island.

Maunga Tari: an Upland Agricultural Complex
by Christopher M. Stevenson
Easter Island Foundation 1997 $26

Review by Paul G. Bahn

Chris Stevenson is a freak in Easter Island studies. Over the years it seems to have become “de rigueur” that any archaeological investigations on the island should be published only after long delays, or, better still, not published at all. Yet Stevenson persists in publishing regular reports every year on his Earthwatch projects on the island. He is also perverse in other ways; for whereas most researchers have tended to focus on the more obvious, spectacular features of Rapa Nui’s past, the statues and platforms which are relatively easy to study and attract media coverage, Stevenson chooses to zero in on far more modest traces of human occupation — minor domestic sites, or small upland structures where there is little to be found, but which nevertheless do a great deal to flesh out the somewhat lopsided picture we have of the original islanders’ life, based as it is primarily on knowledge of major structures, ritual complexes and cave-sites. And not content with this, he has also pioneered obsidian dating on the island, a major contribution in itself, and in this monograph on some of his excavations he also presents use-wear analysis of obsidian pieces.

This book is not an easy read — it is an exemplary excavation report, with all the humdrum detail that requires — but it opens with a valuable account of the different phases of the island’s settlement system, combining archaeological, environmental and social data into an admirable synthesis. Indeed, Stevenson’s perversity knows no bounds, for he then presents a series of hypotheses against which excavation results can be tested in order to evaluate the settlement system model. This man simply has no respect for the traditions of Rapa Nui archaeology — and we should all be deeply grateful to him for that.

Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos Handbook
by Michael Buckley
Moon Travel Handbooks, PO Box 2040, Chico, CA 95927 $18.95

Review by Kay Kenady Sanger

When I received this book to review, I asked my husband, who spent the better part of 1967 in Vietnam writing about the war for the United States Army, if he would like to read the book and write the piece. “Are you kidding?” he asked incredulously. “I can’t imagine going there as a tourist and I have no desire to learn about it either.” In his role as an information specialist, he spent some time flying around the country, writing news releases about Army advisors. He saw Vietnam’s green beauty, marred by bombings, fires, and huge military complexes. His photos feature men in camouflage uniforms and rows of U.S. aircraft lined up on long asphalt strips.

Later I found him perusing the book with some amazement. The area where he was based in the Central Highlands is now attracting tourists with tours to Montagnard villages and tea and rubber plantations. Clearly, as the book’s author, Michael Buckley endeavors to explain in nearly 400 pages about Vietnam, the country has made great strides in its tourism infrastructure since the Americans left nearly 25 years ago.

Battlefields have been turned into tourist attractions (christened “Cong World” by one Western reporter) and it’s now possible to cruise down the Mekong Delta on a cargo boat or tour the rain forests by mountain bike with jeep support. Even the “Hanoi Hilton,” the infamous prison where American POWs were interned, has been rebuilt as a bonafide 22-story hotel and convention center.

Buckley covers the three major countries of Indochina—Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos—in his 700 page guide. The region has become more easily accessible to American travelers only since the 1994 lifting of the U.S. trade embargo and the recent normalization of relations between Laos, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam and China. Tourists may now travel between these countries using roads that follow the old Ho Chi Minh Trail. (Note: the July 1997 coup in Cambodia may upset this picture of diplomatic harmony).

Buckley’s candid style is typical of Moon Travel Handbooks. This is not a promotional guide in any respect. He honestly rates some hotels as “bleflag” and offers useful advice on such serious topics as how to avoid land mines and malaria. He serves up detailed route suggestions for bicycle, motorcycle, boat, and walking tours in all three countries and includes more than 100 easy-to-read maps. Charts and special topographic sidebars offer short explanations of a wide variety of cultural attractions and history, such as the “The Lost Kingdom of Champa” and the “Betel Nut Chewers.” And he tantalizes the reader with suggestions for adventure travel: caving, whitewater rafting, kayaking, and elephant trekking. The bulk of the book covers travel in Vietnam. Chapters on each of the major cities and the surrounding countryside detail the sights, accommodations, food (from pho to pizza), nightlife, shopping, and getting around. He readily admits that local authorities tend to overrate some of the country’s attractions; many sites that formerly were splendid have since become casualties of the war. For example, the heavily promoted “beautiful Royal Citadel City of Hue” was almost completely destroyed by fighting in 1986.

Buckley’s tongue-in-cheek style makes for some amusing reading. One sidebar examines the question of which distinct ethnic tribe, the camera-toting “Homo ektachromo” or the Red Zao women hawking their embroidered wares, is the most astonishing to each other. In another section he admonishes readers to be wary of drug dealers who work with authorities to have drug-buying travelers arrested as a “fundraising venture.”

The last third of the book focuses on Cambodia and Laos, which also have been devastated by decades of fighting. Current problems with the Khmer Rouge, corrupt government troops, and an overabundance of land mines advise extreme caution for would-be travelers to Cambodia. In fact, Buckley suggests only a handful of places in Cambodia that are considered reasonably safe for tourists. The author suggests that “remaining a bipod is easy if you are alert to potential dangers . . . and stay on well-trodden trails.” A trip to Cambodia is definitely for the adventurous and maybe the foolhardy.
Of course, a major reason to brave a trip to Cambodia is
the recently re-opened Archaeological Park at Angkor. Buckley
describes the 200 square km complex of temples, tombs, and
palaces in a ten-page segment and recommends tourists spend
at least a week to explore it all. However, a week of
fighting off the vividly-described one-legged beggars and
homeless children, no matter how splendid the ruins, doesn’t
sound like much of a vacation.

Laos is summed up by Buckley in less than 100 pages. He
leaves the reader with no illusions about the difficulty of
traveling there unless as a member of a high-paying tour
group. In a country of scarce cultural sites, Buckley suggest
the traveler shift focus to concentrate on meeting the hill tribe
people, visiting markets, and shopping in small villages. He
 candidly rates the fabled Plain of Jars as a “dud,” although the
flight there in a light Chinese aircraft “does wonders for your
heart rate.”

Throughout the book, Buckley presents touring Indochina as a
grand adventure. The traveler who uses this useful guide and
remains flexible may be rewarded with a serendipitous and raw
adventure of the kind seldom encountered in the late 20th
century. Even my husband admitted, after reading this detailed
and witty guide, that there might be some good reasons to revisit
Vietnam, but it’s still not at the top of his list.

Marquesas Islands
by Hideaki Sato and Yoshihiko H. Sinoto

Published by Hiroshi Shimonaka, Heibonsha Limited,
1996. 5-16-19 Himonya, Meguro-ku, Tokyo 152, Japan
Text in Japanese and English.

Review by Emily Ross Mulloy

This is primarily a book of exquisite photographs made
during a voyage which the author and artist made in 1995 to
the Marquesas Islands, French Polynesia, on the cargo-
passenger ship, Aranui. Dr. Sinoto, Senior Anthropologist of
the Bishop Museum, led the tour, which was made up primar­
ily of people from Hawai’i, including a group Pa Kui a Lua
which has been working to revive ancient Hawaiian martial
arts, and which demonstrated these for the Marquesans at
many of their stops. Another participant was Sato, a well-
known photographer from Japan who specializes in photog­
raphing people and nature in their interaction in remote
regions of the world.

The six Marquesan islands and the villages on each
provided a rich variety of subjects for Sato’s camera, ranging
from spectacular mountain scenery, seascapes, archaeological
sites, villages, birds, animals, flowers, fruits and food, and,
above all, people. Sinoto’s text provides the historical back­
ground from the ‘discovery’ by Mendanha in 1595 to visits by
Cook, Melville, and Gauguin and, finally, to his own expe­
rience doing archaeological work since 1963, and pointing out
changes in life style of the islanders over the past thirty years.
He concludes with a discussion of his theories on East Polynes­
ian settlement which involve dispersal from the Southern
Marquesas to Hawai’i, Mangareva, and Rapa Nui; later, from
the Northern group to Tahiti, the Australis, the Cooks, and
eventually New Zealand. Unfortunately, no doubt to save as
much room as possible for photos, the English text is printed
in such small type that one needs a magnifying glass to read it.

This book is highly recommended. If you haven’t been
to the Marquesas, it will whet your appetite; if you have been
there, it will simulate nostalgia. Having made the same trip in
April 1997 (luckily with both Sato and Sinoto aboard again) I
recognized many familiar faces and places. A few years ago
the two visited Rapa Nui. Perhaps they will produce a similar
book based on that visit!

Religion and Language of Easter Island.
An Ethnolinguistic Analysis of Religious Key Words
of Rapa Nui in Their Austronesian Context
Annette Bierbach and Horst Cain, 1996
Baessler-Archiv, Beiträge zur Völkerkunde, Neue Folge Beih­
unknown. ISBN 3-496-02576-X.

Reviewed by Steven Roger Fischer, Ph.D.

Published on behalf of the Museum of Ethnology,
Berlin, and financially assisted by the Deutsche Forschungs­
gemeinschaft, this impressive scholarly tome—in large,
double-columned, A-4 format—represents the finest mono­
graph on Rapanui ethnolinguistics to grace the scholar’s shelf.
A cornucopia of ethnolinguistic data from throughout the
Austronesian realm, Bierbach and Cain’s profound study
affords the first truly professional investigation into the histor­
ical roots of Easter Island’s spiritual beliefs as revealed
through the indigenous Polynesian language of Rapanui.
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tion into the historical roots of Easter Island’s spiritual beliefs as revealed
through the indigenous Polynesian language of Rapanui.
Based solidly on the strict canons of modern European posi­
tivism, it nonetheless exploits these to also indict the hitherto
“Eurocentric bias” of earlier scholars who, according to the
authors, have ever failed to recognize the true essence of
ancient Pacific religious concepts.

Annette Bierbach and Horst Cain are internationally
recognized Polynesian ethnolinguists. They have authored, or
collaborated on, several seminal studies that have principally
dealt with the historical religious beliefs of various Polynesian
communities, in particular those of Samoa (Cain 1979). Their
Pacific field work in the 1970s and 1980s—in Western
Samoa, the Society Islands, Mangareva, the Marquesas, the
Tuamotus, Raratonga, Aotearoa, Fiji, and Tonga—eventually
led the authors to Rapanui, whose unique position among
Polynesian communities inspired Bierbach and Cain to elabo­
rate a project at whose heart lay the investigation of “the
spiritual background of Easter Island culture in its Polynesian
context” (p. vii). In time, the wealth of information they
gathered there compelled them to widen their scope to Aus­
ronesian dimension.

The monograph is quite breathtaking for the volume of
its ethnolinguistic documentation. Essentially, modern Polynes­
ian ethnolinguistics was pioneered only one generation ago:
it was the eminent Finnish linguist Aarne Koskinen
(1960, 1963, 1967, 1968, 1969, and 1977) who was the first
professional scholar to apply the post-war methodology of the
new discipline of ethnolinguistics—the science which treats
the distinctive characteristics of races and peoples through
language—to commonly shared concepts in the approxi­
mately forty distinct tongues of Polynesia. Here Koskinen addressed Rapanui only peripherally. Using Koskinen's methodology, however, Thomas S. Barthel (1960, 1961, 1964, 1974, and 1982) of Tübingen, Germany, essayed, also in the 1960s and 1970s, the first tentative forays into exclusively Rapanui ethnolinguistics. With Bierbach and Cain's epochal new study, the ethnolinguistic investigation of ancient Rapanui culture has, at last, "come of age," at least in what pertains to the intersection of the island's religion and language.

Their English-language monograph is beautifully written and admirably edited (no mean task for two native German speakers), richly documented, and eloquently structured in such a way as to demonstrate to all, expert and layperson alike, "that a survey and thorough analysis of the magico-religious terminology of Rapanui are essential for an adequate understanding of Polynesian thinking, beliefs and attitudes towards reality" (p. vii). In this, Bierbach and Cain address the "language-bound ideology" of the Pacific area, which they believe most cultural anthropologists, for not being linguists, fail to understand. Their arguments in this vein make compelling reading, especially as they furnish page after page of exhaustive evidence—"We decided to err on the side of pedantry"—in order to validate their investigation of "the ideological aspect of Polynesian/Pacific culture" primordially articulated through language" (p. viii).

Varying in length from five to forty pages, each chapter of the monograph, enriched with copious footnotes, reads like a prescription for Polynesian magico-religious revelation: "Akuaku or Ghost", "Vārū or Ghost", "Treatment of Corpse", "Koro-'Oromatua-Kaumatua, Old Person or Ghost", "Tūpāpaku, Corpse and Ghost", "Kuhane, Soul or Ghost", "Atua, Elder, Ancestor and Ghost", "Mo'ai Ma'ea - Atinga Ora ... Stone Statues [etc.]", and "Magical and Religious Functionaries". Concluding these exceptionally well documented chapters is a four-page summary—"The linguistic analysis of the Rapa Nui terms for numerous beings ... revealed these phenomena to be the so-called spirits of the dead" (p. 151)—followed by an excellent fifteen-page bibliography and a detailed and helpful "Index of Austronesian Words and Names" (pp. 171-81).

In regard to the scholarly substance of Bierbach and Cain's presentation, I am almost embarrassed to admit that I can find nothing of primary concern to fault (which is, after all, the duty of the review critic). Minor objections to speculated etymologies that defy known diachronic processes, such as positing Rapanui mo'ai 'statue, statuette' as the reflex of Marquesan mokai (the expected Rapanui reflex should be *mokai or *mongai, not mo'ai), lie beyond the scope of this brief review. Indeed, the sheer volume of their presentation of evidence—from throughout the Austronesian world—is simply overwhelming (such as their linguistic documentation of the words 'atau and matu'a on pages 69-88). That the authors use this evidence in conjunction with a properly implemented, and "religiously" observed, scientific method leads them, in most instances, to mature and rational conclusions, whose finer points of interpretation will doubtless engage many generations of scholars to come. Throughout their work, Bierbach and Cain maintain a commendably rational, critical, and mature posture toward their complicated and, at times, even convoluted subject matter. Perhaps only their expressed intolerance of linguistically disabled colleagues, and of cultural anthropologists in general, might better have been couched in kinder language.

The format of the book, in double columns, is attractive and facilitates reading. Its editing has been superb. However, there are the odd barbs here and there. On page 151, for example, one reads the nonsensical phrase "of which they and obviously made use" and one also finds "categorically" for "categorically". And in the "Table of Contents" (p. vi) the "Summary" is listed as being on page "152" instead of the correct "151"; "Literature Cited" as "156" instead of "155"; and "Index" as "172" instead of "171". These are evidently post-page proof changes beyond the authors' own control. Otherwise, the monograph is refreshingly accurate and impeccably presentable.

Religion and Language of Easter Island is, it must be owned, a milestone—both in Rapanui ethnolinguistics and in our understanding of ancient Polynesian religious terms and concepts. For this reason I wholeheartedly recommend it to anyone concerned not only with ancient Rapanui society but also with premissionary Polynesian culture in general. The gifted scholar can, should the "numinous beings" be favorable, expect to attain to perhaps one magnum opus in his or her lifetime. This splendid tome is Annette Bierbach's and Horst Cain's.

References
Rapa Nui Music and Natural Sound
Original Recordings by Jorg Hertel
P.O. Box 310, D-09028, Chemnitz, Germany
Reviewed by Kaye Shrinker

At the South Seas Symposium, New Mexico, August 1997, I had the opportunity to purchase the excellent CD, Rapa Nui Music and Natural Sound. Immediately I put it on my stereo, saying (to myself), this better be worth 25 bucks! It is.

OK, my motivation was to have a good recording of the Rapanui’s version of a Catholic service (my initial reaction to their service was that Christianity is supposed to be a happy religion, and finally one group of people have figured it out). I was delighted with this track of the recording; it was exactly as I remember the service.

Every other track was equally splendid in its faithful preservation of the vibrant sounds of the island. I especially appreciated the excellent mix of sounds ranging from a cappella voices to pounding surf, to that wonderful old accordion. For this traveler, it was a wistful, nostalgic 74 minute journey to that radiant patch in the Pacific.

This is a recording of the rhythms of the unaffected island, the ring of authentic voices, and the melodic tone of terrific folks going about the business of life. For travelers who wish to mix sound with their reams of Easter Island photos and videos, the CD is a “must buy.”

Fa’a Samoa--the Samoan Way... between conch shell and disco. A portrait of Western Samoa at the end of the twentieth century. Revised Edition 1997
Ad and Lucia Linkels
Mundo Etnico Foundation
Sibeliussstraat 707, 5011 JR Tilburg, The Netherlands

Fa’a Samoa accompanies the CD by the same name and is based on three field trips to Samoa in 1979, 1982 and 1986. The book (95 pages) includes 110 b/w photographs and was first published in 1995. This edition is revised and updated. Part 1 provides general information on Samoan culture; Part 2 focuses on music and dance.

Fa’a Samoa (the book and the CD) can be ordered in the USA from Arholie, 10341 San Pablo Ave., El Cerrito CA 94530; or from Myriah’s Polynesian Bazaar, 10700 E. Walnut Drive, Centralia, MO 65240; phone: (573) 682-5520. ISBN 90-72840-10-0.

Kimi Ma’ara: Rapa Nui Island Music
by Ben Paoa, 1997.

Kimi Ma’ara is a new CD of contemporary Rapa Nui songs. It can be ordered in the U.S. from Tiito Paoa, 2264 Montair, Long Beach, CA 90815; (562) 498-6934. $20 including shipping and handling.

PUBLICATIONS

Le Bulletin du Cercle d’Etudes sur l’île de Pâques et la Polynésie. No. 10, October 1996. Délegation de la Polynésie Française à Paris, 28, boulevard Saint-Germain, 75005, Paris. The subscription for this bulletin is 250.00 Francs or US $60 for six issues and specialized papers. Email: hlb@ppm.u-psud.fr


Kadath: Chroniques des civilisations disparues, No. 88, 1997. This issue contains three items about Easter Island. Les tentatives de datation de la statuaire pascuane, by Arne Skjolsvold; Une tentative de déplacement d’un moai by Pavel Pavel; and Transport à l’horizontale ou à la verticale? by Ivan Verheyden. Kadath, 6 boulevard Saint-Michel; B-1150 Bruxelles, België.


Pitcairn Miscellany, The Miscellany is a monthly newspaper of Pitcairn Island. Address: Pitcairn Miscellany, South Pacific Ocean, via New Zealand.


Rongorongo Studies, 1997. Vol. 7(2). Edited by Steven Roger Fischer. P.O. Box 6965, Wellesley St., Auckland 1, New Zealand. Email: rongonz@iconz.co.nz. The current issue contains E. Hovdhaugen (The Position of Samoan in the Polynesian Language Family), and A. Bierbach and H. Cain (Tangaroa: Another Final Demystification).


The University of the South Pacific Bulletin, No. 30(29); Suva, Fiji. USP is the regional University serving Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Niue, Solomon Islands, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu and Western Samoa.

CONFERENCES

Islands V, The International Small Islands Association Conference will be held on the island of Mauritius (Indian Ocean) from July 2-5, 1998. ISISA is a non-profit independent organization which encourages free scholarly discussion on small island-related matters. Islands V is sponsored by the University of Mauritius, the Mauritius Institute of Education, Mahatma Gandhi Institute and the Tertiary Education Commission.

The major theme is “Small Islands in the Third Millennium: Problems and Prospects of Island Living.” There will be five symposia and six workshops, ranging from social and cultural issues to environmental problems and networking.


Fee includes conference sessions, airport transfers, 6 nights hotel (per person); lunches; reception, Cultural Evening, and Conference dinner. Contact person: Grant McCall at the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, University of New South Wales. Fax (61+2) 9312-7859; Email: <g.mccall@unsw.edu.au> or see the ISISA website: <http://www.arts.unsw.edu.au/Centres/SouthPacific/ISISA.html>


The IX Pacific Science Inter-Congress, “Sustainable Development in the Pacific: Conservation, Population, Resources, and Environment.” December 1998, Taipei, Taiwan. Information can be had by contacting Prof. Chang-Hung Chou, Institute of Botany, Academia Sinica, 128 Sec.2; Yuan-Chiu Road, Taipei, Taiwan, China; email: <chou@gate.sinica.ed.tw>

XIX Pacific Science Congress, June 1999. University of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia. Contact Dr William O’Sullivan, The University of New South Wales, Sydney 2052, Australia. Email: <W.OSullivan@unsw.edu.au>

STOP THE PRESS! The famed Kon Tiki raft of explorer Thor Heyerdahl, on display in the Kon-Tiki Museum, Oslo, Norway, was used as a film location for a recent Danish pornographic flick. On a slow day at the museum, the film crew slipped in, roped off the room, and filmed the featured ‘actors’ aardvarking on the raft. The footage was shot before the staff at the museum were aware of the activities taking place on the deck of the venerable Kon Tiki.

Danish newspapers and magazines published x-rated photographs which we wish we could share with our readers. Although the images are a tad grainy, it is clear that the actors are not playing leap-frog.

A Rapanuiophile who wishes to remain anonymous created a limerick for this momentous happening:

A couple who liked their sex freaky Went to Oslo’s Musée Kon Tiki. ‘Mongst the reeds of totora They played games from Gomorrah Deciphered by L.S.B. Leakey.

Sketch by John Robinson
THE EASTER ISLAND FOUNDATION

One of the goals of the Easter Island Foundation is to establish a library on Easter Island. A temporary Library is established at the Museum Sociedad Fonck in Viña del Mar, Chile (since 1993). In addition to supporting the Library, the Foundation donates books and materials for Rapanui students to continue their education and has established a scholarship fund to assist qualified Rapanui students. Please join us in these important endeavors.

For further information, contact Barbara Hinton, Foundation President,
49 Briar Hollow Lane #1705, Houston, TX 77027;
Fax: (713) 627-2773; Phone (713) 627-2779; email: moalcu@aol.com
In South America: William Liller, Casilla 437, Viña del Mar, Chile;
Fax: (56) 32-830284; email: 73050.1330@Compuserve.com

Don't miss the Easter Island web page at http://www.netaxs.com/~trance/rapanui.html

The Foundation supports a publication series, with all proceeds benefiting the Foundation


Also available through the EIF:

• *Adventures in Easter Island*. Juan Grau, 1994. Ediciones OIKOS, Chile. $25. Note: This is a book for children.

Shipping and handling within the US and Canada: $5.00; each additional book, add $1.00. California residents add 7.25% sales tax. Overseas airmail is extra; please inquire.
We accept Visa and Mastercard; please include expiration date.
Allow 2-4 weeks delivery time. For books, bulk orders, book information, or *Rapa Nui Journal*, contact

Easter Island Foundation, PO Box 6774, Los Osos, CA 93412, USA
Fax: (805) 534-9301; email: rapanui@compuserve.com