

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

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



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

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

Review by Grant McCall, Sydney, Australia

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Whilst Montecino's sources are strong in the anthropology of food, some of the historical materials appear to have been taken from existing, more popular texts. For example, the retelling of the Angata rebellion is done entirely from Routledge's account, with no attention paid to the very detailed and well-researched Van Tilburg (2003) or the more philosophical Castro Flores (2006), although the latter is cited in the bibliography.

But, I do not want to be too critical of this innovative work. I wish a bit more attention had been paid to the accuracy of dates, instead of just accepting what informants said. One element that I felt was lacking is an appreciation of just how inventive the Rapanui are, in the past and in the present. Multiple influences bombard the little island, but people stick to what they know and have respect for it. As they changed their ancient religion from the stone figures (*moai*) to the ordeal of the birdman and, then, to Christianity in various forms, so they adapted their cuisine to what was available, combining and recombining their fresh ingredients in ways that suited them. Now that the Rapanui are free to bring whatever influences they wish to their island, small supermarkets and a variety of other commercial enterprises sell goods from Chile, but also Polynesia, imported using the only way to get to the island by air: LAN, the Chilean airline.

The earth oven (*umu*) is a rarity, except for tourists, but cooktop pots still boil meat, fish and vegetables; Chilean fried bread (*sopaipillas*) came from the metropole, whilst sashimi reveals the Japanese influence. There even is "fast food" and limited take away as tourist and local alike delight in the resources of the island along with the imports.

Food as display is practiced by the prominent families of the island in the form of taking over the running of religious festivals where anyone who stops by at the family compound is offered food and drink (non-alcoholic, usually) as part of a cycle throughout the year, surprising tourists with local hospitality. Who does what and when is detailed on pages 214-215, on public display. These feasts generally, but not always, focus on the ancient oven for the cooking of the food, as Montecino notes in her concluding paragraphs.

The delight many Rapanui have for food and cooking is evident in Chapter IV, with extensive quotes from informants about how and why they cook and eat as they do.

REFERENCES

- Castro Flores, N. 2006. *El diablo, dios y la profetisa. Evangelización y milenarismo en Rapa Nui 1864-1914*. Rapa Nui: Rapanui Press/Museum Store. [Not to be missed is the superb "Cantata Rapanui" composed and played by Julio Hotus and Silvia Abarca on an accompanying CD, an astonishing feat of invention and composition].
- Van Tilburg, J. 2003. *Among Stone Giants. The Life of Katherine Routledge and her Remarkable Expedition to Easter Island*. New York: Scribner.

Archaeological Investigations of Marae Structures in Huahine, Society Islands, French Polynesia. Report and discussions

Paul Wallin and Reidar Solsvik.
Review by Georgia Lee

BAR International Series 2091 .2010.176 pages.
Illustrated throughout with maps, plans, drawings, and photographs. Includes contributions by James Coil; Fiona Petchey, Alan Hogg and D. Hood
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Archaeological Investigations of Marae Structures... is based on new fieldwork carried out on Huahine, French Polynesia, in 2001-2004. The work is within the framework of the project "Local Development and Regional Interactions: The Huahine Archaeological Project". It is in collaboration with the Kon-Tiki Museum and the Ethnographic Museum (Oslo); the Service de la Culture et du Patrimoine, Pape'ete; the Norwegian Research Council; and the Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

Huahine has seen much archaeological research in the past, mostly by Dr Yosihiko Sinoto; Wallin and Solsvik's work is a continuation of that, and their focus is on the question of the age of *marae* in Central East Polynesia.

According to the authors, *marae* complexes were built for multiple uses. They sort out two main phases: a Late Phase (megalithic stone structures used by paramount leaders; and Earlier Phases, used at family and lineage levels. Dating was conducted on charcoal from *marae* on the Windward Islands in order to control for wider context.

The authors study the changes in *marae* over time, both natural and cultural, how the structures were located in the landscape, and aspects of extended uses and modern alterations. The maps, plan drawings, profiles, drawn details, and photographs are excellent and numerous, making it easy to follow the excavation processes. The illustrations are clear and understandable with good descriptions on the dating of stone structures.

Wallin and Solsvik make some excellent points concerning restorations/reconstructions, and change. They cite Sinoto's careful reconstructions that stabilized sites but kept original shapes, and thus preserved lost prehistoric phases. Efforts by others often include "interpretation" that changes the shape of the structure (p. 104). The authors propose that only stabilization and slight restoration should be done on an original site. If a "reconstruction" is desired, then a copy or a model should be built elsewhere (such as at a museum) rather than make interpretative experiments on original structures. To combine features from a site can turn the whole *marae* into a "time-machine" with different chronological phases within the same structure (p. 105). [Sadly, we have seen that done too often on Rapa Nui *ahu!*].