
Raymond J. Lewis

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read other works by Martin Hengel¹ and Arnaldo Momigliano² to balance out the picture.

Bickerman's work is packed with insights that accomplished scholars could benefit from. It seems clear that there is much that needs discussion in this book. We can only regret that such discussion must go forward without the author, who had an unparalleled command of the problems involved.

William H. King

NOTES
3. Volume 3, 3-20
5. E.g. the relevant chapters from his Alien Wisdom. The Limits of Hellenization, Cambridge, 1971.


Grant McCall is an Australian educated American anthropologist, who did his doctoral dissertation on Easter Island or Rapanui. His first view of the island was from the window of a LAN-Chile Boeing 707 in 1972. He was a graduate student accompanied by his wife, Julia, and an infant son. They stayed from 1972 until 1974 and returned in 1985 to 1986. His research was supplemented by other short visits. Initially he was instructed to select one topic of interest and focus his research on that theme. Other advisors suggested starting with kinship and then looking into other aspects of Rapanui life. He chose the latter
course only to produce an engrossing account of various aspects of the life of the islanders. His topics include ten themes: 1) About Polynesia, 2) Ancient Days, 3) Trader slavery and colonialism, 4) Family and household, 5) How people make families, 6) What Rapanui believe, 7) Making an Islander living, 8) Islanders off the Island, 9) Relations with others, and 10) Afterthoughts.

McCall accepts the view that the people of Easter Island are of that group which migrated into the Pacific Ocean from Southeast Asia. He argues that most authorities are in agreement that four stages of migration from south China began about 6000 years B.P. The first stage took place between 4000 to 2000 B.C., the second from 2000 to 1000 B.C., the third from 1000 to 500 AD and the last from 500 until 1000 AD. As they went they settled over time the various islands in the area. As he aptly points out the islanders imported into Rapanui the Polynesian culture patterns just as they brought awls, axes, yams and taro sprouts at least as early as 500 AD. He noted that Captain James Cook's log books give us the first official record of Polynesian "customs and technology." Other reports of the region came from missionaries, usually the vanguard of colonial exploitation, and explorers who "arrogantly" assumed they discovered the South Seas. Then after a brief discussion of the romanticism associated with the Polynesian life style, there is a discussion of some of the literature, which according to McCall discloses more information about European/American beliefs than it does about the islanders.

Rapanui was first seen by the crew of a Dutch ship in 1722 on Easter Day thus giving the island its name--Easter Island. After the initial shock by both parties the Dutch felt confident enough to send an armed crew of 134 men ashore. The leader of the Dutch shore party, Cornelius Mens, was especially nervous as the Rapanui crowded around to touch the armor they were wearing and the guns they carried. In fear Mens fired into the crowd followed by the rest of the crew, killing approximately a dozen islanders. Nevertheless, the Rapanui traded food such as "sugar-cane, fowl, yams and bananas" for cloth and other trade goods. Captain Jacob Roggerveen and his crew did a short tour of the island and then departed in search of other islands. The Rapanui now knew they were not the only people in their universe, but many years would pass before other strangers arrived.
The Rapanui on the island after their initial landing had divided into two groups. Each group consisted of related clans. Their ceremonial center was the village of Orongo. On the North part of the island the Tu'uaro clans found sparse soil so they became the fishermen of Rapanui. The Hotuiti group lived on the best agricultural lands of Easter Island so they became the horticulturists for all. Rapanui at this time, also, had timber, obsidian, stone and red ochre with each resource falling into the hands of one clan or another. The clans were highly competitive yet they did intermarry. Thus it was that one man’s wife kept house for her brother’s enemy. This did mean the clans would invite their kin by marriage to attend their festivals at ceremonial centers called ahu. One of the cultural traits the Rapanui brought with them to their new home was the notion they should build raised platforms from which ceremonies could be conducted. These are the ahu. Stone carving was another trait brought among the cultural baggage.

In their story members of the Hotuiti clans knew about the basalt near their village, which was perfect for carving. They did however, lack the ability to accurately do the ancestor carvings. They consulted a Tu'uaro sage who told them they would find the answer by looking down. On the way home one of the men had to urinate. As he looked down he realized the answer to the question was to carve the head and neck of the ancestor just like the “area around the glans of the penis!”

The Rapanui settlers began to adapt to the environment of their new island. They developed the pit method of cooking to conserve fuel because wood was the primary fuel. Over time the climate changed a bit and drought came more often, and the island was deforested, causing food shortages and violence. Fighting over food became so intense and the shortages so severe, they turned to cannibalism to survive. Obsidian used for tools became weapons and even the poles used to move the ancestor statues were converted to either firewood or spears. Kingship reverted to the war lords and the decision as to whom would be king was decided by an egg hunt, “Easter egg hunt!” The contestants stripped and had to swim to a nearby rookery to secure the eggs. The winning clan then usually had their war lord designated, King. This was the Orongo festival. In spite of all the problems the Tu'uaro and Hotuiti continued the custom of intermar-

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riages but remained separate groups. They maintained their mythology through the mnemonics children were taught so they could interpret the rongo-rongo boards. One last problem faced the Rapanui prior to being revisited by the outsiders. The Dutch had left considerable trade goods like cloth, beads, mirrors and other objects. The problem was how to determine the value of these goods to participate in the "interlocking systems of exchange." It was an intricate network of gift giving from all concerned but not knowing the value of the object led to distrust and suspicion of a lack of loyalty even among members of the same clan. This was the prevailing situation when the first of the Spanish arrived. Once regular contact was made, trade quickly developed. Then slavery and colonialism were introduced.

Trade was the first thing of major importance to the Europeans and the Rapanui. By the late eighteenth century Spanish power in the New World had been successfully challenged by several of the other European powers notably the Dutch, French and English. In 1770 Don Pedro Amat, who was the Viceroy of Peru, decided to launch a Spanish expedition into the waters of the Pacific. Captain Don Felipe Gonzales left Callao for the South Seas. He anchored in almost the same spot as the Dutch years earlier, but he was determined the relations with the natives would be peaceful. The eagerness of the Rapanui for friendly commerce and the desires of the Spaniards merged. The brightest dreams of the Rapanui were realized as the Spanish traded with them. The Spanish claimed the island then readily abandoned that claim later. In the interim the Rapanui discovered the principles of cultural borrowing. They quickly observed the European trade goods had definite advantages over many of the traditional items in daily use. European clothing, for example, afforded much better protection from the weather than their traditional bark cloth. Therefore, the Rapanui were able to exchange their fresh fruit and vegetables for trade goods from the foreign ships. A number of attempts were made to introduce European vegetables and meats to the island. The Europeans preferred chicken and would not trade for the local rats consumed by the Rapanui. In addition to the food the local wood carvings attracted the attention of the European visitors and a brisk trade developed. Of course the Rapanui also found the Europeans were very
much interested in their women, never seeming to have any on board their ships. A brisk trade developed between the islanders, exchanging the sexual favors of their women for desired trade goods. I might add this is a tourist thing, also. Unfortunately, trade, as profitable as it was, was replaced by a search for cheap labor by the mid nineteenth century. Peru was a close neighbor of Rapanui and like other newly free nations of South America it had abolished slavery once independent. At first the Peruvians imported many Chinese laborers, taking advantage of the Taiping Rebellion in South China, but in 1861 an Irishman, Byrne, visited Peru, suggesting that the labor starved nation should "recruit" labor from the Polynesian islands. Naturally, he pointed out they could in the course of their work be converted from Paganism to Catholicism. Byrne was granted a concession to bring in labor on short term contracts. He died during his first voyage of 1862, but the profits made on the initial venture stimulated his partners to further activities.

Some captains tried to legitimately contract labor but other merely waited for the Rapanui to swim out to the ship. Once there they were lured below deck until it was full. Then the hatches were battened and the ship hastened to Peru where they were sold as contract laborers. A variety of other means were used to entrap the locals so it only took about the visit of a dozen ships before the number willing or unwilling to go to Peru was depleted. Then the Rapanui warriors took to their arsenal and killed the Peruvian slavers as eagerly as heretofore they had killed each other. This contact taught the Rapanui a valuable lesson about the Europeans. They could not stand up to their firepower and they also came in contact with other Pacific Islanders, who were brought to Rapanui which was used as a staging area before final shipment to Callao. In Peru they also met their remote kinfolk working in the homes and fields of the Peruvian hacendados. Most important they learned that by observation they would analyze European actions and then use this knowledge to their own advantage. By 1863 the dozen or so survivors out of 1500 were returned to their home island thanks to the French. It was a French warship which returned the repatriates to their homes and they also introduced Catholicism to the island. At the same time the new religion was introduced
European diseases like smallpox appeared. Soon the island only had about 1000 survivors and they were starving. Food supplied by the missionaries provided the incentives for conversion at that time. It did not take long for the two rival clan groups to ally themselves with opposing Frenchmen and start a three year stint of warfare anew. This was the period of French dominance on the island and it was to leave a lasting impression. In fact some of the survivors sent to Tahiti to work and those left at home petitioned France for annexation, but the French were never serious about the idea. Finally came the Chileans. The War of the Pacific, 1879-1884, left Chile completely victorious in the region with a superior armed force and the largest navy in the Pacific. However, the only island left in the Pacific for the new power to seize was nearby Rapanui. In 1888 there was a flag raising ceremony, claiming the island for Chile. It was largely through the efforts of Captain Policarpo Toro Hurtado, who inflamed Chile's colonial aspiration to annex Rapanui. So far we have explored the outside world and its relationships with the Rapanui, but now it is time to look into the internal situations on the island.

Rapanui in today's world dress in Chilean clothing, often speak Spanish, and live in what would appear to be "poor but promising" suburbs of any contemporary nation. Behind the facade is a distinct group with its own language and culture, separating them from their Chilean counterparts. Currently their homes are of concrete with steel supports and many have flush toilets, gas or electric stoves and the kitchen often is tiled in an Italian style. A variety of home styles exist on the island ranging from the concrete homes just described to wood plank homes or prefabricates imported from Chile. Regardless of the modern or less elaborate traditional home the Rapanui family and relatives are all taina.

Within the taina, which can refer to another family member or a friend, is the nuclear family. Each male has a bride selected for him by his parents from a family in the rival clan. Normally, he will marry the young woman and start his family. The first born son is referred to as the "Shadow of the King." The general belief is that the father's sperm is most potent with the first offspring and it is hoped it will be a male. Female children are not rejected and many women even acquire positions of authority with the taina.
All children are carefully tended and they are constantly reminded of the gifts their parents have given to them. This giving is a generalized reciprocity, which is repaid when the parents are old. When a young man reaches the age for marriage he will petition the family for a plot of land on which to build a home for his future family. Family and friends join him to construct the house and their gift of labor is duly noted for the future repayment in kind.

Food giving and receiving in the Rapanui context is an important way of expressing kinship and/or friendship. There is an elaborate system for distribution of food on ceremonial occasions to indicate the closeness of the relationship. If one does not receive what he/she considers their share they will sulk until placated. Only when offered a more acceptable portion will the offended person reenter the group. The favorite foods for sharing are an oily, smelly fish, the nanue and lamb. The feeling of rejection sometimes caused by this situation can and does lead to feuds over an extended period of time.

Sex is not as rigid as in most Eurocentered societies. There is ample opportunity for both sexes to experiment even when parents are concerned. The major concern is that a couple with kin close enough for the relationship to be labeled incestuous will develop a permanent relationship. Incest is a major taboo. The recitation of family lineages is designed to point out to the younger generation who is too close for marriage. In spite of this it does happen but the Rapanui are not happy about it. It also happens that young women become pregnant from their experiments. The child is integrated into the household and not labeled a bastard as in the West. All Rapanui expect to marry, although many today marry outsiders.

Years ago the children learned all they needed to know from observing and helping their parents in the daily chores. It is very different now. In the early years of this century the young whose parents could afford to do so sent their children to Chile to be educated there. This meant they became Spanish speaking Chileans, while continuing with Rapanui traditions. Now there is a school on the island so it is no longer necessary for the very young to travel to Chile for a rudimentary education. The unfortunate part of the current educational pattern in that many of those Rapanui,
who gain a technical education in Chile, find it difficult to adapt to island life after they return. In the first place they have no opportunity to practice their newly won skills and have acculturated to Chilean behavior patterns, which leaves them as "strangers in a strange land." This phenomenon is not confined to the Rapanui as I have observed it in other southern nations. Through all this the Rapanui have adapted to a variety of new situations.

The Rapanui like all other human groups have developed an ideology designed to explain their lives. They arrived on a virgin island full of natural resources. Over the years the environment changed as did their beliefs. The large stone Makemake deity with large eyes to see and help them gradually disappeared and now the center is the belief that senior ancestors watch over and protect them. Higher gods do exist who are responsible for events beyond family control. They still believe in curses and when an individual dies they search for the one responsible for the curse which caused the death. All individuals possess the power to curse others, although there is no set formula for cursing. The curse is not something taken lightly as there are consequences to be paid in the form of a counter-curse. Dreams are important too and most predict the future or are messages from the ancestors. Dreams like natural phenomena suffer from the lack of an organized priesthood. There is not authority to interpret so each individual must do his own. While many of these beliefs remain, the bulk of the population has converted to Christianity.

The French began the process of conversion by bringing a priest from the Sacred Heart Congregation to the island. His efforts and his successors had their ups and down, but after the Chileans took control of the island, it was not long before most were Roman Catholic. This does not mean traditional beliefs have been discarded, but rather many are incorporated into Catholicism. Other religious faiths have tried to gain a hold on the island and are still trying. A Pentecostal minister and his wife have a chapel on Rapanui in an isolated area, and his efforts at conversion are not well received. He and his wife must earn their living from secular incomes as cobbler and seamstress. The Baha'is and Mormons have had missionaries on the island, meeting with initial warmth and friendship until they press for con-
versions. As a result Catholicism today remains the majority religion on Rapanui.

Today the people of Rapanui have moved from an economic system based on barter, which is trading of goods of known value, over to a system of general purpose money. This is a cash economy and all understand the value of the currency and how much of it it may take to purchase any particular item desired. Nevertheless, labor is organized around the family as much as possible. Land is the critical productive element and all work the land. All are primary producers in that they raise food such as yams, sweet potatoes, and bananas as traditional crops. Under Chilean influence they also grow onions, carrots, lettuce, tomatoes and cabbage. A few even have coffee trees or chili plants. Children work with their parents. A few chickens are raised; they are white ones. Pigs and cattle are raised along with goats for the meat on special occasions. Yet most of the beef and pork consumed comes frozen from Chile. The entire family labors at subsistence agriculture as there is very little surplus for sale. The land used is worked by family and the children work with the clear notion of receiving an inheritance. In reality this inheritance is often no more than a few carving tools or the social contacts developed by the father for the son's future use. By necessity those who farm also fish and those who fish farm. The fishermen usually have outboard motors on their boats and the tuna and lobster they catch is sold for cash to the tourist hotels.

Tourism involves much of the Rapanui's time and effort. The carvers work for the trade. If they learn a cruise ship is coming they get to work to have a supply of carving ready for sale. The fishermen sell their tuna and lobsters to the tourist hotels or private homes with tourist rooms for rent. A large number of homes have one or two rooms reserved for the tourist trade. This is often a prime factor when a newly wed couple build their home. Generally, the tourist trade is owned by outsiders which is to say Chileans, but one hotel is locally owned. Aside from this the other major source of money is the government.

A government job which offers a steady income is prized highly in spite of the fact the best jobs are held by mainland Chileans. Even the Cold War brought government money to the island. Chile authorized the United States to build a satellite
tracking system on a remote island near Rapanui. It even enlarged the airport so large transport planes could bring in needed supplies. From these foreigners the Rapanui were able to earn considerable money. Even ships from the USSR visited the island.

The Rapanui enjoy travel. In modern times the majority of adults have all visited Chile, but now their numbers are scattered all over the world. Harry Easter was the first islander to travel overseas. His English sea captain took him to London in the late nineteenth century and he finally returned to tell his story. The following travelers left the island unwilling for the most part. In the aftermath of the independence movement Peru abolished slavery and were in desperate need of labor. They were taken against their will for the most part. In Peru they were sold as indentured servants on the auction block and ill used. About 12 were repatriated within a year. The rest died of overwork and diseases. Later in 1871 about 250 Rapanui went to Tahiti to work for the missionaries. Diseases almost wiped them out as well and the 25 survivors bought land from the missionaries, laying the basis for later land claims by relatives.

Back on Rapanui some Chileans laid claims to all land in Rapanui and began sheep ranching. They were extremely abusive of the islanders, but the entire project fell through when they were unable to validate the claim to all the land. The ranchers discouraged off island travel as they wanted to monopolize the local labor. By the 1930s all ships visiting the island had to search their holds for stowaways. After the ranchers left the Chilean navy assumed control of the island during World War I, and they forbade travel as well. During these years, an elementary school was established on the island and the first teacher was the wife of the Naval Governor. Later Catholic Nuns took over the task. Toward the middle of the 1950s the Chilean authorities relaxed their travel ban and permitted the people to move freely.

The first to leave Rapanui were adult males who had decided to enter the Chilean armed forces. Others went to Valparaiso and Santiago for work in the factories and to go into business. Presently, most of those in Chile are there to get a technical education and they often remain in the country so they can practice their profession. These outside contacts mean cross cultural marriages. Most marry Chilean women and like most marriages some
are stable and others are not.

A few have maintained their contact with Tahiti. Some go to claim their ancestral land there but they do find stark contrast between their homeland and Tahiti. They find Tahiti to be fertile and can not understand why the locals have not retained control of their land. Others are Francophiles and send their children to the schools in Tahiti. They see the acquisition of the French language and other subjects as valuable for the future. They are constantly trying to maximize their economic opportunities. Curiously enough the contacts with Tahiti have led to a greater appreciation of Chile in spite of the 1940's and 1950's when the Chilean military grossly abused the Rapanui.

Outside contacts have brought other changes to Rapanui. Improved transportation has brought cheap alcoholic beverages and alcoholism has now become a problem. The young, sober Rapanui have difficulty tolerating their drunken relatives. The cash economy is slowly creating a class society with some having more spending money than others. Even the Cold War caused increased world contacts. The Chilean military has been there for a long time but at the height of the Cold War conflict American and Soviet armed forces have visited the island. The Americans have vastly improved the airport so supplies could be air lifted into the island. The Americans also denigrated the Chileans in favor of the Rapanui in passing out cigarettes and other trade items. Still, most islanders are glad to be part of Chile. One listed four reasons: 1) the Chileans are rarely racist, 2) Chile is relatively small making Rapanui visible to the country, 3) Chile is nearby, and 4) Rapanui is a colony of a nation that has experienced colonialism itself. We can observe the Rapanui have had to adjust to many other peoples.

The Rapanui generally have tried to maintain as much of their traditional culture as possible. McCall starts by describing how people decide who is one of them and who is not. The division of the sexes is a most obvious one as it is based on differences in hair styles, clothing, and learned behavior patterns. This is true even in our current society. He observed that societal leaders emphasize difference when there is competition for resources and the leaders have a vested interest in maintaining those differences. Belonging to the group for most Europeans and for North
American society means use of ancestry as the basis of group identity. This is why racism is so prevalent in our society. Fortunately, for the Rapanui the Chileans like most Latin Americans use behavior rather than skin color to determine group membership. Generally, it is not your appearance which determines group membership and acceptance but behavior and manners.

Over the years the Rapanui have adapted to the French, the English and the Chileans. France left the island early but the English with Chilean help introduced sheep ranching to the island. They have imitated the behavior patterns of all who controlled the island. Now they own the island but lease it to the Chileans, which makes everyone content. The Rapanui are usually fluent in Spanish, including the slang. Their cultural survival is in danger as a result of the many outside marriages.

It is accepted that a woman who marries will go to live with her husband and his family. Often the daughter is offered land so as to induce her and the husband to return to the island. Those who do return often have difficulty adapting to the Rapanui customs. They find it impossible to exist on the island without the support and help of the local people, who equate shared behavior with trust. Friends must and should help friends. The Rapanui visit but do not come to the point immediately. They approach the house quietly and do not talk until eye contact has been made. Then it takes time for the real reason for the visit to emerge. Once done, eye contact is broken and the visitor leaves with downcast eyes. It is not easy for an outsider to become a Rapanui.

McCall's afterthoughts deal largely with events after his research was completed. He believes his Australian university connection and English wife helped him gain insight into the Rapanui culture. As an American many suspected he was a spy for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). He arrived on the island with permission of the Salvadore Allende's socialist government, which was in power. He observed the many Chileans who suffered from an ailment he referred to as "islanditis." In reality, he was describing culture shock and one of the features of it was the futile search for violent Rapanui revolution from the local people.

Revolution, when it did come, was from the right under
General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte on September 11, 1973. A number of Rapanui on the mainland were abused and at least one woman was raped by the right wing soldiers. Rapanui was placed under martial law, which was nothing new as they had been living under military control since Chile took possession of the island. The locals disliked the military, but had been governed by their kind for many years. Odd as it may sound they fared far better materially under Pinochet than Allende. Pinochet visited the island three times and one of his first acts was to restore private property rights, which coincided with Rapanui desires.

The military government did stop tourism and caused considerable economic hardship as they devaluated the currency. Inflation and the high cost of imported goods hurt. At the same time there was considerable construction done. A new city hall was built and the military built numerous installations for the armed forces. The hospital planned by the Allende government was actually built and the latest medical equipment was installed. Now the military government is gone and the Rapanui continue their life with the addition of many motorized vehicles, and they continue to hold title to their land. Most dramatic of all is the increased number of outside spouses and the Rapanui credit this to their fear of incest. A Hollywood movie was even shot on the island entitled, “Rapa Nui.” No local stars were created and only a few received small roles in the film. McCall read the script but did not think it had much merit due to its inaccuracies. Now Chilean radio and television is everywhere, advancing the Chileanization of the Rapanui. In 1984 Sergio Rapu, a local, became the Governor of the island. The author believes there will not be another Chilean in that post, but it will go to other Rapanui.

Conclusions

Grant McCall’s ethnography of Easter Island or Rapanui was interesting to read. His use of modern anthropological techniques added much to the subject. It highlighted the realization that in our times the anthropologists must study contemporary society as few, if any, real primitives are out there for them to study. The only criticism I would have of the book is its organization. Topics in one chapter are only given passing reference in another where they are relevant, and often one theme may be found scattered
over a number of pages. It is up to the reader to assemble them into a coherent whole.

Raymond J. Lewis


This is a collection of articles, including at least two by ISCSC members, addressing the perspective indicated in the title. The range is certainly worldwide, covering East Asian, South Asian, Islamic, Byzantine, Latin American and Western Civilizations.

The articles themselves are interesting enough, mostly intelligible to the civilizationist layman, most of them coming to conclusions that address the relevance of Weberian theory to the case in question. For instance Joseph Tamney asserts that textbooks in Singapore are inconsistent in presenting Confucianism because even modernized Confucianism undercuts economic development, thus affirming Weber's assessment of the impact of Confucianism on the Far East. And Donald Nielsen notes the relevance of Weber's observations on the unique conditions that provided the contexts of the Western Industrial Revolution, since other contexts, such as those which surrounded the development of Russian sectarianism, might be expected to produce other outcomes.

The editor introduces the crucial elements of Weberian theory he believes are being tested, summarizing Weber's concepts of social relationships and of ethics. He writes that social relationships concern particularly the transmission of belief in supernatural powers through leaders to lay people; ethics concern the reconciliation of perfect deity with imperfect humankind and the idea of achieving salvation. He then summarizes how he believes each article illustrates some aspect of Weberian theory.

The articles investigate a variety of cases, some extending