
Pascale Bonnemère, *Le pandanus rouge. Corps, différence des sexes et parenté chez les Ankave-Anga (Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée)*

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Laurent Barry

- 1 S'EXPRIMANT sur un thème qui lui est cher, celui des études de parenté, Claude Lévi-Strauss a tenu récemment à marquer la place toute particulière qu'y tint ces dernières décennies l'ethnographie de la Nouvelle-Guinée¹. On peut difficilement ne pas souscrire à ce point de vue à la lecture d'études récentes où se dessinent maintes approches originales et fécondes sur le sujet. La très belle monographie que nous propose Pascale Bonnemère des Ankave-Anga – qu'il conviendrait d'ailleurs de rapprocher de celle, plus ancienne, d'Edward LiPuma sur les Maring² – illustre bien ce phénomène.
- 2 L'auteur s'intéresse au complexe liant les représentations du corps et de la personne, les rituels du cycle de vie, le système de parenté et la construction sociale de la différence des sexes (*gender*). Ce type de questionnement, apparu dès les années 60 (mais qui s'est surtout développé à la suite de la critique de J. A. Barnes³ et de la désaffection pour les modèles lignagers africains qui s'ensuivit), constitue à l'évidence un des apports essentiels de l'ethnographie néo-guinéenne au renouveau des études de parenté⁴.
- 3 Les Ankave (environ un millier de personnes vivant dans l'Est de l'État de Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée) appartiennent à l'ethnie Anga qui comprend environ 70 000 individus répartis en douze groupes linguistiques, et une trentaine de communautés (dont les « célèbres » Baruya étudiés par Maurice Godelier et Jean-Luc Lory). Ces dernières sont connues en particulier pour l'importance des initiations masculines et de la guerre, et l'absence des grands échanges cérémoniels qui caractérisent les sociétés à *big men* des

Western Highlands. Horticulteurs (patates douces, taro, canne à sucre, bananes, etc.), les Ankave pratiquent aussi la cueillette, notamment celle des fruits de cinq arbres saisonniers : l'arbre à pain (*Artocarpus atilis*), le pandanus « à noix » (*Pandanus julianetti*), l'okari nut (*Terminalia kaernbachii*), le *Pangium edule*, et surtout le pandanus rouge (*Pandanus conoideus*) (p. 43). L'élevage des porcs – relativement peu important – ne donne pas lieu aux grands échanges cérémoniels si typiques de la Nouvelle-Guinée. En revanche, les sauces que les Ankave confectionnent à partir des fruits des deux dernières espèces d'arbre semblent avoir ici, *mutatis mutandis*, des fonctions comparables. Distribuées « à grande échelle », elles occupent en tout cas un rôle rituel de premier plan dans leurs pratiques.

- 4 Mais le trait qui contribue sans doute le plus à singulariser la société ankave est le traitement social de la différence des sexes, sa construction du genre. Alors que la plupart des groupes du nord-est (Baruya, Sambia, Iqwaye, etc.) se signalent par une forte domination masculine et perçoivent les femmes comme des êtres potentiellement dangereux et polluants, les Ankave non seulement ignorent les pratiques rituelles homosexuelles, mais accordent aux femmes une place prépondérante dans leur conception de la génération et de la reproduction sociale. Pascale Bonnemère s'interroge sur les raisons de cette atténuation de la domination masculine et entend mettre ce phénomène en relation avec la valorisation des liens utérins et le rôle essentiel que joue la figure maternelle dans les représentations de la procréation.
- 5 Du point de vue typologique, on peut décrire la société ankave comme faisant montre d'une inflexion patrilinéaire assez nette. Le clan est ici désigné par le terme *me'ke'* («tronc»), et l'appartenance clanique semble définitivement acquise à la naissance, l'accueil d'un individu dans un groupe n'entraînant jamais de véritable changement d'affiliation. La transmission des terres est, elle aussi, largement agnatique (même si certains droits d'usage sur celles appartenant aux parents maternels sont possibles) et la résidence patrivirilocale.
- 6 Pourtant, en contrepoint de ce tableau, les notions d'identité « biologique » et de réglementation des interdits sexuels et matrimoniaux font la part belle au lien féminin. Pour les Ankave, par exemple, le fœtus est explicitement le résultat de la mixtion, dans la matrice, du sang maternel et du sperme paternel. Une fois que le mélange sperme-sang « a pris » (l'apport du l'un et de l'autre se faisant à part égale), l'issue se ferme et les menstrues restent bloquées afin d'assurer une fonction nutritive. Le sang maternel nourrit alors de façon exclusive le fœtus et forme son sang propre. D'autre part, une partie des aliments consommés par la mère se transformera également en sang et passera dans le corps de l'enfant. Le père n'intervient ainsi que durant la phase de la conception, tandis que l'apport maternel non seulement intervient durant cette phase, mais est ensuite le *seul* agent de la croissance fœtale.
- 7 La transmission du sang s'effectue donc exclusivement par voie utérine, et, par la suite, le lait maternel est censé augmenter encore la quantité de sang dans le corps du nourrisson (p. 145). Un homme et sa sœur sont de la sorte tous deux formés du même sang maternel, mais celle-ci sera seule apte à le transmettre à ses propres enfants (pp. 68, 147). Il s'ensuit que les enfants de la sœur d'une femme seront considérés en tous points comme sa propre progéniture (p. 144). Un terme spécifique, *amungen'*, signifiant « lait maternel » et « sein », désigne d'ailleurs spécifiquement les individus dont les grands-mères maternelles étaient sœurs (p. 145).

- 8 On appréciera tout particulièrement la correspondance que l'auteur établit entre le jeu des représentations de la personne, et l'utilisation par les Ankave des variétés végétales – voire minérales –, domaine où l'ethnographie de Pascale Bonnemère se fait remarquablement fine et précise. Les multiples usages du pandanus rouge et des cordylines *oxemexe* notamment, les interdits ou usages qui s'y rattachent dans des circonstances précises (accouchement, initiation des garçons, deuil, etc.) sont décrits avec un grand luxe de détails, jamais vains. Comme le souligne l'auteur, la patrilinéarité ankave ne s'exprime pas, *in fine*, par le jeu des substances corporelles, mais celui-ci témoigne en revanche des représentations propres à un autre registre, celui de « l'identité », et, par voie de conséquence, des interdits du « trop proche » et de l'incestueux.
- 9 Les interdits matrimoniaux s'énoncent ici en termes négatifs : au principe d'exogamie lignagère (qui prohibe tant le lignage du père que celui de la mère) s'ajoute l'impossibilité de répéter à la génération suivante un mariage dans un groupe avec lequel une alliance a déjà été conclue. Par ailleurs, tous les cousins germains (4^e degré civil) – croisés ou parallèles – sont prohibés (p. 80). Ces règles négatives sont énoncés par tous. Par contre, en ce qui concerne les cousins classificatoires au 6^e degré, les avis sont partagés. « Mais, en tout état de cause, il reste impossible pour un homme d'épouser la fille d'une cousine parallèle matrilatérale de sa mère, qu'il appelle *amungen'* » (p. 80). Cette structuration des interdits matrimoniaux permet aussi bien des mariages dans la consanguinité éloignée (6^e degré ou plus) que les redoublements dans l'affinité au sein d'une même génération, en particulier le mariage de deux frères avec deux sœurs (type d'union que Pascale Bonnemère érige au statut de règle positive d'alliance chez les Ankave) et l'échange des sœurs.
- 10 L'analyse des unions consanguines montre que si la règle d'exogamie lignagère est parfois transgressée – l'auteur mentionne plusieurs cas de mariage avec la cousine parallèle patrilatérale vraie ou classificatoire –, celle qui suppose la prohibition du mariage entre individus apparentés en ligne utérine ne l'est jamais. « On se trouve donc en face d'un système matrimonial où l'identité née des femmes semble plus forte – puisqu'elle interdit toute conjonction d'individus la partageant – que celle née des hommes, dont la conjonction est, sinon permise, du moins possible puisque parfois réalisée. Là encore, les discours sur le corps et les règles de mariage parlent d'une même voix » (p. 362).
- 11 Avec cette ethnographie, nous disposons d'une très belle illustration de la distinction opératoire qu'il est nécessaire d'établir entre deux règles généralement confondues : celle qui organise l'appartenance *sociale et institutionnelle* d'un individu à un groupe (du type lignage), et celle qui commande les représentations de l'*identité*, de la *proximité*, et, par là, des interdits sexuels ou matrimoniaux⁵. Si, « socialement » parlant, la société ankave peut légitimement être qualifiée de « patrilinéaire », avec toutes les restrictions qu'impose la complexité néo-guinéenne, ce sont en revanche les femmes qui apparaissent comme les vecteurs essentiels d'une identité commune. Les représentations du corps et des substances corporelles nous parlent donc bien dans ce cas – ce n'est peut-être pas toujours aussi évident dans d'autres contextes – d'identité, de « parenté », mais non de droit et de « filiation ».
- 12 C'est par la finesse de telles distinctions et par l'heureux mariage qu'il réalise de diverses approches que l'ouvrage de Pascale Bonnemère parvient à jeter une passerelle – elles sont encore fort rares – entre études de parenté et *gender studies* ; et c'est

l'anthropologie du corps et de ses représentations qui lui en fournit les solides fondations.

NOTES

1. Claude Lévi-Strauss, « Postface », *L'Homme*, 2000, 154-155, n° spéc. : *Question de parenté* : 713-720.
 2. Edward LiPuma, *The Gift of Kinship. Structure and Practice in Maring Social Organization*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
 3. J. A. Barnes, « African Models in the New Guinea Highlands », *Man*, 1962, 62 : 5-9.
 4. Même si l'on ne peut plus soutenir, à la suite des travaux de Marilyn Strathern et de Françoise Héritier sur l'Europe et l'Afrique, et de ceux, plus récents, inspirés par l'école ethnosociologique de Chicago, de Cécilia Busby et de Lina M. Fruzzetti notamment, sur l'Inde, que ce questionnement soit encore l'apanage d'une aire culturelle en particulier.
 5. Distinction dont j'ai essayé de montrer ailleurs, et pour d'autres systèmes d'alliance, à quel point elle était cruciale (cf. L. B., « Les modes de composition de l'alliance. Le "mariage arabe" », *L'Homme*, 1998, 147 : 17-50, et « L'union endogame en Afrique et à Madagascar », *L'Homme*, 2000, 154-155, n° spéc. : *Question de parenté* : 67-100).
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AUTEUR

LAURENT BARRY

CNRS, Laboratoire d'anthropologie sociale, Paris.

REVIEWS

BONNEMÈRE, Pascale: *Le Pandanus Rouge: Corps, Différence des Sexes et Parenté chez les Ankave-Anga (Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée)*. Paris: CNRS Éditions. Editions de la Maison des Sciences de L'Homme, 1996. 426 pp. n.p. (paper).

ERIC SCHWIMMER
Laval University

Pascale Bonnemère is a member of the team studying the Anga people under Maurice Godelier at the Centre National de Recherche Scientifique, Paris. Some years ago, this school developed a particular role within the general analysis of symbolism and systems of knowledge. This book, a classical anthropological monograph of Malinowskian proportions, uses a theoretical framework very close to Godelier's, focusing on Ankave gender relations. These appear very different from those described by Godelier and others, being marked by warmth, affection and remarkably profound mutual understanding. As the only ethnographer thus far to have studied Angave society in depth from a female perspective, Bonnemère has seen much that was never seen before. Her documentation is subtle and prodigious.

The red pandanus of the title is classified as a feminine tree, prized because it is thought of as an alternative form of blood. Women drink it, notably during pregnancy. Men also drink it secretly, and it is used in secret male initiations; but they abstain from consuming it when their wives are pregnant, lest it harm the foetus. At all times, the genders are connected by some very physical telepathy, what one partner does inevitably affecting the other. The fact that men drink in secret, symbolically masculinising it, is part of Bonnemère's argument, which remains beneficially linked to Godelier's general theories.

She is well aware of the snares of the interpretative method: the tendency of the investigator to give more attention to terms than to relations, to time than to space, and to draw too rigid lines between body and spirit. Not inclined to epistemological argument, she mostly remedies the difficulties by habitually confronting her intuitions with a tightly woven web of Ankave logic. In order to clinch her argument about gender telepathy inspiring food taboos, she argues that in a first pregnancy the husband not only avoids red pandanus but also a particular marsupial whose fur becomes reddish brown at the very moment that the first fruits of pandanus cultivars appear. Moreover, even if a youth breaks some initiation rules because of quarrels with his affines, he is still stopped from drinking red pandanus sauce because this would harm the foetus.

Bonnemère's monograph has a comparative perspective throughout, keeping systematically to the corpus of the 12 Anga language groups. This is the only study so far devoted to the Southern Anga, all other major ethnographies dealing with the Northern tribes (Baruya, Iqwaye, Jeghuje, Sambia). The Southern Anga do not have

ritual homosexuality, an obsession with aggressive warfare or a radical devalorisation of women. The monograph's explorations of the profound divergences between Ankave and North Anga ideology and practice are starting points for Bonnemère's major discoveries.

Thus, during the first stage of initiation, the boys' mothers are secluded together in a house which they never leave, just as the boys cannot leave their own enclosure. In the last stage of initiation, when the novice's wife is expecting his first child, he and the expectant mother, in separate enclosures, simultaneously undergo analogous, although different, ritual privations. Both wear the same sort of barkcloth cape, and their food restrictions are similar. As initiation proceeds, women's ritual behaviour changes accordingly. Siblings and maternal uncles also experience certain ordeals faced by the novice.

Bonnemère is aware that this ethos is very different from that supposed to be set up by the Baruya and the Sambia, admitting that she cannot yet fully explain the deep divergences. The same problem of divergences in an apparently fairly homogeneous culture arose in studies of the Orokaiva, with Iteanu and myself arriving at quite different models of the cultures of almost contiguous villages. It may well be that the Anga scholars have not considered the full explanatory force of certain ecological and demographic facts they have described in detail. Can the obsession with warfare in certain Melanesian groups be explained by high population density and pressure of resources?

Meggitt has argued, on sound grounds, that expansionary warfare is rare in the region. Yet, migrations and new settlements are frequent. Such movements are multidirectional, but, before peace was established in the region, certain regions sent out more settlers than they adopted, while others received more than they sent out. Thus, the Mount Lamington Orokaiva sent out more settlers, whereas the Binandere were mostly on the receiving side. Between these extremes were the dwellers on the riverine flats, studied by Iteanu, who received about the same number as they sent out. It would seem that the Anga can be subdivided into the same three demographic categories, in as much as the Sambia, Baruya and Iqwaye set up colonies around their boundaries. According to Bonnemère, the people who descended as low as Sinde, rarely returned to the mountains. The Ankave were in an intermediate position, not only geographically, but also in respect of the balance between received and expelled population.

The demographic role of ecosystems such as are found among the Binandere or below Sinde is tragic and not often explored by ethnographers, as they are not pleasant places to study. But there is documentary evidence that one way in which the Australian administration got rid of unwanted patrol officers was by sending them to those areas which serve as high morbidity and mortality population sumps. Such sumps maintain population balance within ethnic groups such as Orokaiva and Anga.

In this light, the heterogeneity of such cultures becomes easier to understand. Although the origin stories of such populations may be of dubious antiquity, it may be significant that the origins are always close to the most powerful tribes, in the mountains, and that settlement of the low-lying areas is depicted as more recent. In

some ways, then, colonising tribes may have created a dominant ethos of which other, more recent tribal cultures may, in a sense, be derivatives. As the populations of the latter are less numerous, some complexities associated with size may be less developed there. Yet, the intermediary and ecologically most precarious local cultures may still be of great symbolic complexity. Their features are not predictable, not determined by the ecological constraints of the habitat. The fear of women and the ritual homosexuality of North Anga culture may not remain eufunctional when transferred to low population habitats where patterns of bellicosity become less rewarding.

The Ankave (population 1,000) are an intermediary culture of the heterogeneous Anga. Bonnemère demonstrates that they developed their own distinct symbolic universe, ethnohistory and system of social relations and ritual. The record remains incomplete, as she recognises, but the parts selected for analysis are very solid, very well documented, revealing a symbolic system full of silences, invisible forces and deceptive appearances demystified with undoubted authority. In some respects, this study sets a new standard for the description of the region.

CROCOMBE, Ron: *The Pacific Islands and the USA*. Suva & Honolulu: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific & Pacific Islands Development Center, East-West Center, 1995. xxx + 418 pp. apps, bib., chronology, figs, ind., maps, photos, tables. n.p. (paper).

FALEOMAVAEGA, Emi F. H.: *Navigating the Future: A Samoan Perspective on US-Pacific Relations*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 1995. xxiv + 146 pp. app., ind., map, plates, tables. n.p.

MELANI ANAE
University of Auckland

The reader should not be deceived by Ron Crocombe's declared aim of highlighting "the main trends and issues over the full spectrum of relations" (p. xiii) between the Pacific Islands and the U.S. It is apparent that he is primarily concerned with the Asian "energy system" (military power, trade and investment, personnel, media, missions, education, ideology and fashions) encroaching on the Pacific. This is relentlessly implied. Crocombe apologetically, and unconvincingly, ascribes shifting U.S. policies not to "any 'grand design' or coordinated strategy of the U.S. government" but to a mere tendency to further particular interests while "proclaiming rhetoric of serving other people" (p. xiv). Acknowledging the connection between declining U.S. influence in this region and the collapse of the U.S.S.R., Crocombe holds these reasons to be overshadowed by the "relative growth of the Asian Northeast energy systems" (pp. xiv, xxx). It is unsurprising that "[a] book on the Pacific Islands and Asia is in preparation" (p. xxix).

Crocombe begins with an overview of the past 200 years. He documents U.S. expansion, and, building on that expansion, considers material relations, including the shift in emphasis from goods to services. He also examines financial flows in

Evan address a similarly intensive state intervention: Lee Kuan Yew's 1983 mandate that educated Singaporean women produce more children. The authors expose the underlying patriarchal bias of the edict. The state always presumed a patriarch's presence, even nostalgically reminiscing about past polygynous households of ethnic Chinese.

In the third section on repression in urban cultures and transcultural effects of late capitalism, Siapno tells us about a Filipina feminist's novel, *Dekada '70*. The author manipulates her implied audience "into either uncritically identifying with the heroine, Amanda, or arrogantly judging her for not being more revolutionary" (p. 234). "The novel," says Siapno, "is about class and social formations . . . and the conflicts between [elite] women" and the poor women who work for them (p. 233). Mills also addresses problems of alienation in the workplace, describing giant wooden phalluses erected at northeastern Thai village gates to ward off "widow ghost disease." Panic over widow ghosts began after a series of migrant workers mysteriously died in their sleep. Like devil images in Bolivian tin mines, the widow ghosts and the distracting phalluses reveal "an explicit critique of the transformation of household and gender relations by capitalist modes of production . . . and ambivalence in popular experiences of modernity" (p. 268). Similarly, Margold demonstrates how subalterns—migrant men from Ilocos, Philippines—respond to their experience as workers in the Mideast. Gulf employers treat them as "tools," "slaves," and "dogs" (p. 274). Men fear homosexual rape, mutilation, and alienation. Upon their return home, the men never talk of their experiences, even if they profit financially, and despite the fact that recounting experiences would increase their prestige. "The experience of desexualization and dehumanization" leads men to withdraw from community and traditional avenues for prestige (p. 292).

The chapters are uniformly of high quality and they hold together effectively as an ensemble. I highly recommend this book to gender theorists and specialists in Southeast Asia, for it is well written, theoretically innovative, and ethnographically provocative.

***Le pandanus rouge: Corps, différence des sexes et parenté chez les Ankave-Anga.* PASCALE BONNEMÈRE. Paris: CNRS-Éditions, Éditions de la maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1996. 426 pp., figures, maps, color plates, bibliography, index.**

LISETTE JOSEPHIDES
University of Minnesota

Pascale Bonnemère has produced a big book on kinship, gender, and life-cycle rituals among the Ankave-Anga of Papua New Guinea. Her ethnographic exposition never loses sight of the bigger Anga picture, made familiar by the writings of Maurice Godelier and Gilbert Herdt. In a constant tacking back and forth, her account proceeds by differentiating itself from those works on northern Anga groups. Three major differences distinguish

the Ankave from their neighbors: the absence of female initiation, the absence of ritualized homosexuality, and marriage by bridewealth instead of sister exchange.

Although bridewealth is associated with Highland societies where ceremonial exchange produces politically powerful "big men," the Ankave follow the Anga pattern of "great men" who are charged with particular duties but revert to ordinary status at normal times. Specializations are not a function of divisions of labor and do not affect relations between persons, expressing, rather, individuals' interests and aptitudes. This ethic goes with a recognition of complementarity and the symmetry of tasks, as opposed to systematic devaluation of the tasks of one sex. Nonetheless, the principal form of inequality remains that between men and women. Polygyny is largely a function of the levirate, not particularly valorized except insofar as it enables the production of a greater quantity of food for the community and visitors.

Rather than embark on a direct investigation of the relations among kinship, initiations, and male domination, Bonnemère takes physical substances as the carriers of meaning. Thus her theory of conception becomes tied to an analysis of the incompatibility of two corporeal states, life and death, symbolized by red pandanus (fluid blood) and areca nuts (dry blood). The intriguing question she addresses is that of how local theories of substance underlie—and undergird—initiation practices, aspects of kinship, and the relative esteem in which women are held. In myths we encounter bearded, hot women cooking food in the folds of their groins, until contact with water makes them cool and wet—and less polluting. Pandanus juice, a cold substance possibly previously associated with masculinity, now becomes associated with menstrual blood. At initiation boys swallow this juice, a practice that Bonnemère describes as at once ingesting the feminine and expelling maternal blood by replacing it with the masculinized blood of the pandanus. Pandanus juice is "masculinized" precisely because its association with menstrual blood is hidden. But its function as a replacement for female substance is also hidden: initiates' imitation of pregnant women and the defeminization of substances that make boys grow are closely guarded secrets. Following the pattern of intricate rituals and symbolisms of neighboring groups, Ankave men enact rituals to rid themselves of female influences (while denying they are doing so) by using substances whose secretly ambiguous nature could achieve no such ridding. The Ankave at least acknowledge the mother's part in procreation. In contrast with other Anga groups, they believe that the mother's blood develops the fetus, while the father's semen is harmful rather than necessary to its growth (the father contributes the spirit, an unelaborated concept in the book).

Bonnemère traces the operations that actualize the differences between the Baruya and the Sambia on the one hand and the Ankave on the other. In the former case male initiation constitutes the place where men's domination over women is both reproduced and legitimated; in the latter case asymmetry is maintained but not legitimated. In the

former case the denial of women's role in the gestation of the fetus is accompanied by ritualized homosexual practices; in the latter, the growth of the fetus is the woman's affair, and the transformation of boys into men is effected by a reappropriated female substance. What is at issue in both cases is women's role in the reproduction of individuals. On this depends the degree of respect that men accord to women and the degree of domination they exercise over them. Moreover, because Ankave myths show men's acquisition of feminine powers as a dispossession but not as a violent theft, the violence associated with theft has no place in the daily maintenance of Ankave male domination. Female initiations among the northern groups, by contrast, reinforce subordination by making women enact scenarios of their inferiority.

In another theoretically suggestive move Bonnemère eschews causal relations for "homology": certain beliefs or ideologies (such as representations of the body and ideas around procreation and growth) "go with" certain social relations, practices, and rituals, so that one can imagine historical circumstances—a system of Lévi-Straussian structural transformations—in which such cultural differences could have come about within "ethnic" Anga. Her discussion of personal names—which for boys follow bilateral principles and for girls unilateral ones that express the ideology of patrilineality and descent—can provide an argument here. Men's names refer to distant ancestors at crucial historical junctures when, following violent conflict, a fugitive clan needed to establish alliances with autochthonous groups. Thus men's names can be seen as testaments to a time when affinal rela-

tions—and therefore women—were central to the establishment of displaced clans. Women's names, in contrast, are inscribed as a sort of a mnemonic, marking the clans that are to receive bridewealth. Women's names affirm the principle of patrilineality in a society where the mode by which persons are physically constituted does not display this principle.

Bonnemère retains and redefines the idea of a "culture area." Although the variations between the linguistic groups are "nuances," they add up to substantial differences through which she constructs a map of cultural transformations. Grasping how different aspects of social reality articulate with each other becomes the objective of a comparative anthropology of the Anga. Thus the book is an invaluable contribution to the ethnography of the area, providing rich information, developing important methodological and theoretical questions, and taking the study of kinship in a new direction. It could have been shorter, with no violence to its achievement.

Inevitably, some interests are left unsatisfied. In this study of structures, articulations, and transformations there is little about people's motivations; we find no enactments of events that show women enjoying respect or equality and no gender differentiations enacted in daily relations. Also absent is any mention of the effects of modernity. At times Bonnemère's distancing style is puzzling, as if she had not been there to observe what girls wore but must report on informants' discrepant statements. But she writes with a seriousness, meticulousness, commitment, and sensitivity that prepare us to look forward to further accounts that will satisfy these interests and more.

across the Pacific, while Alison Kay, Jane Calerini and Ron Amundson all investigate various ways in which Darwinian naturalists made use of biogeographic thinking to analyse the distribution of species across the Pacific. Part two ('Exchange networks and the organisation of research') contains a most useful essay by Janet Garber that reminds us that Darwin spent less than two years in the Pacific (p. 169) but 'extended his brief sojourn for forty five years' by an extensive correspondence with Pacific residents (p. 191). Pauline Payne's paper on the Adelaide Botanic Gardens contains one of only two examples I could find of actual experiments on Pacific materials, in this case field trials of exotic and economically useful plants to see if they would flourish in the South Australian environment (p. 247). Part three ('Natives, colonials, and anthropologists') describes an intriguing paradox. Missionaries, the supposed enemies of Darwinism in the second half of the 19th century, turn out to have been central to the new science of anthropology in the Pacific. Niel Gunson notes that 'far from being hostile to evolutionary views, as some historians have supposed, Evangelicals were often in the forefront of the scientific advance' (p.293) and that many of the ethnographers in the field were missionaries. Indeed, as depicted in this volume, the missionaries come across as far less objectionable figures than some of the rather nasty Social Darwinists — depicted in Part four ('Social Darwinisms') by Barry Butcher and John Stenhouse — who looked with evident satisfaction at the disappearance of indigenous Pacific peoples and rather hoped to hurry along what they regarded as a 'natural' process. However, Social Darwinism was sufficiently vague and flexible to suit a variety of political stances from the conservative to the laissez faire to the socialist, as John Laurent shows.

Henrika Kuklick's essay on the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to the Torres Strait (1898) theorises some of the issues raised by other essays in the volume. In particular Kuklick deals with the difference between the field and the laboratory. She notes that for the members of the expedition the field offered a superior place for psychological research since in 'the controlled conditions of European laboratories, cultural factors were ignored', and they could only be determined if psychologists 'took their laboratory practice into the field' (p.339). Kuklick goes on to call fieldwork a 'fetish' and an 'essential stage in an anthropologist's career' (p.340). Fieldwork, fetishistic or otherwise, was indeed essential to all the scientists depicted in this volume; whether it was Darwin himself collecting finches in the Galapagos, Wallace acquiring 100,000 specimens in the Malay Archipelago (p.87), or a gardener in Christchurch, New Zealand, answering Darwin's questions about the pollination of native plants before the introduction of the honey bee (p.181). MacLeod and Rehbock and the University of Hawai'i Press continue with this volume their important work of encouraging and augmenting scholarship on science in the Pacific and anyone with an interest in 19th century Pacific history will find much in these essays that will repay the reading.

RICHARD SORRENSON

Le Pandanus Rouge. By Pascale Bonnemère. Paris, Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1996. 426pp, bibliog., index, figs, illus., maps. ISBN 2271053889.

Gender relations are paramount throughout this ethnography of an Eastern Highlands New Guinea society. Red pandanus as a symbol of menstrual and post-natal blood has strong female connotations; it contrasts with sugar cane and certain small animals which are strong masculine symbols. Bonnemère demonstrates the importance of red pandanus as the pre-eminent substance that permeates Anka theories of conception, growth and maturation of human beings. The body, she argues, is considered to be the mode of expression of relations between individuals and diverse social units. Red pandanus, sugar cane and other local plant and animal materials signify the essence of gender relations, particularly in their ritual usages. The sexes are considered complementary (p.389).

The Ankave, one of the Anga tribes of the Eastern New Guinea Highlands, are contrasted throughout this text with several neighbouring Anga tribes, such as Baruya and Sambia, that have already been widely reported in the historical and anthropological literature. The author traces the Ankave history of settlement on the fringes of the Highlands in order to provide background for detailed explanation of relations between the two genders according to social units, the formation of conjugal families and the interpretation of exchange cycles. But the past is kept secret from women (p.375) as is the meaning of key rituals, particularly male initiations. Ankave differ notably from the northern Anga tribes in the absence of any ritualised homosexuality. The author develops the different areas of gendered knowledge which are the personal expertise of certain individuals, as well as more generalised areas of knowledge for women about birth and the world of small children. For men, initiations are the prime focus of knowledge passed down over time.

The formation and maintenance of gendered bodies is an essential part of the author's argument for the complementarity of the sexes. She shows how in their myths and food tabus Ankave believe that bodies are conceptualised around the mingling of blood and semen. The telling of such myths links present day kin groups to the ancestors.

Women's bodies are regarded today as cold and soft, while men's bodies are hot and hard, having acquired heat formerly controlled by women. Red pandanus is symbolic of menstrual and uterine blood, thus is forbidden to men because it is regarded as dangerous. But at male initiations, when the septum of young boys is pierced, the juice and grains of red pandanus (the blood of femininity) feature to mark the transition of sons away from the world of females into the strong world of males, as warriors. In a sense, the author argues, the boys are also reborn into the world of men. And female initiations impress on young women the necessity and legitimation of their subordination to males (p.378). The Ankave share the importance of initiations with the northern Anga tribes but differ notably in that the tribe Bonnemère studied gives strong recognition to the importance of women in the reproduction of individuals, both female and male.

This ethnography is a welcome addition to the range of literature on differences in gender beliefs between the many social groups in the New Guinea Highlands. How the diversity of relations has developed between genders over relatively limited geographical areas and over time are interesting questions that this new ethnography raises. This text is thus a useful addition both to our understanding of diverse social arrangements in New Guinea societies, as well as to the gender literature. It is to be hoped Bonnemère publishes several papers in English so that further comparisons can be drawn beyond the ones she makes throughout this French text.

NANCY J. POLLOCK

Nga Tohuwhenua Mai Te Rangi: A New Zealand Archaeology in Aerial Photographs. By Kevin Jones. Wellington, Victoria University Press, 1994. 294pp, 160 b/w, 24 col. photos, photo. credits, gloss., notes, refs, index. ISBN 0864732686. \$NZ39.95.

Of the landscapes of the South Pacific, it is perhaps New Zealand's that lends itself most readily to the development of an aerial archaeology. The massive earthworks associated with *pā* settlements and fortifications, the visible traces of field systems, and the minimal or low vegetation cover over much of the North Island in particular, combine to present an unusual degree of archaeological visibility. This book marks the first attempt to review the use of aerial photography in New Zealand archaeology and the author, Kevin Jones, has assembled a remarkable collection of photographic images that cannot fail to capture the attention of both lay and professional readers.

A brief introduction to the use of aerial photography in archaeology sketches the development of aerial photography in New Zealand archaeology from 1947 and introduces the reader to basic concepts such as the distinction between vertical and oblique photography, and features such as soil marks and crop marks. The first of three parts addresses sites of Māori origin, discussing the relationship between settlement pattern and landform, before turning to more detailed consider-