font que refléter la pensée et les attitudes, majorité démographique et électorale oblige!

Par ailleurs, d'autres contributions peuvent être considérées de nature anthropologique, même si elles ne sont pas l'oeuvre d'anthropologues patentés. Il s'agit de celles de Chamberlin et des deux seuls auteurs autochtones de l'ouvrage, Larocque et Venne. Dans son texte traitant de culture et d'anarchie, le premier utilise une approche de type anthropologique pour démontrer que lors de la signature des traités au siècle dernier, les Amérindiens comme les représentants du gouvernement avaient le souci d'adopter un cadre politique permettant aux uns et aux autres de vivre en coexistence pacifique dans les territoires ancestraux d'une part, de colonisation d'autre part. Quant à Larocque et Venne, la tradition est au centre de leurs articles. Dans le premier cas, l'auteur dénonce la fabrication artificielle d'une tradition amérindienne homogénéisée et tronquée, sinon pour justifier du moins pour minimiser la responsabilité d'abuseurs sexuels et de personnes violentes, généralement des hommes. L'auteur s'élève en particulier contre certaines sentences renvoyant trop rapidement les coupables dans leur milieu. Dans le texte de Venne, la tradition orale des Cris de l'ouest est utilisée pour expliquer quel contenu leurs leaders politiques voulaient donner au Traité 6 lors des longues discussions ayant précédé sa signature et quel était le statut de ces leaders.

La majorité des textes font référence aux principaux jugements de cours qui ont marqué la jurisprudence en matière de droits aborigènes y compris ceux du juge Marshall aux États-Unis et, au Canada, celui de la St. Catharine's Milling and Lumber Company, ainsi que Calder, Guérin, Sparrow, Baker Lake, Delgamuukw, etc. Les articles de Bell et Ash et de McNeil en sont de bons exemples. Par ailleurs, dans les études de cas sur les Traités 6 et 9 et de Niagara, le contexte général et des événements historiques particuliers sont évoqués en détail pour expliquer que les droits aborigènes sont des droits complets, de pleine propriété foncière et touchant tous les aspects de la vie sociale, et que les objectifs des leaders autochtones dans la conclusion de traités étaient tout autres que la cession de terres contre de simples droits d'usufruit.

Aussi, les préoccupations des autochtones exprimées verbalement devraient être prises en compte dans l'application des traités au même titre que les clauses écrites que les négociateurs autochtones n'ont pu vérifier parce qu'ils ne pouvaient les lire. Est-ce à dire que les traités seraient à réécrire dans des termes plus conformes à leur esprit d'alors? Les auteurs ne vont pas jusque là, mais tous soulignent la nécessité d'établir de nouveaux rapports sur les bases de l'égalité et du respect de la différence entre autochtones et non-autochtones. Dans leur article-conclusion, Ash et Zlotkin n'identifient pas de façon précise des moyens pour y parvenir. Il est clair, cependant, que des changements idéologiques majeurs devront s'effectuer à la fois chez les décideurs politiques, les juristes et l'ensemble de la population canadienne. Ceux-ci s'avèrent probablement encore plus nécessaires que les changements constitutionnels et législatifs réclamés par les autochtones.

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Janet Hoskins (ed.), *Headhunting and the Social Imagination in Southeast Asia,*, U.S. $16.95 (paper), U.S. $45.00 (cloth).

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The gruesome practice that has come to be known as headhunting has for a long time attracted both popular and anthropological attention. Southeast Asia is of course one of the classical loci of the custom. While acknowledging the work of Downs, McKinley, the Rosaldos, and other predecessors who have analyzed Southeast Asian headhunting comparatively or in particular ethnographic settings, the editor describes the present volume as the first collection of essays to address the topic in a specific regional context. The reference to Southeast Asia in the title is however misleading. Of the seven essays that follow the editor's introduction, all deal with Austronesian-speaking societies of Insular Southeast Asia (four in Indonesia, and one each in Brunei, the Philippines and Malaysian Borneo). No attention is given to mainland Southeast Asia and very little reference is made to the considerable literature on headhunting as practised among non-Austronesian upland groups inhabiting this region.

This is not to suggest that Insular Southeast Asia forms a distinct unity in regard to headhunting. Indeed the several cases explored in this volume show that it does not, even in terms of the inclusive definition provided by the editor. Hoskins defines headhunting as "an organized, coherent form of violence in which the severed head is given a specific ritual meaning and the act of headtaking is consecrated and commemorated in some form" (p. 2). Taking heads of slain enemies as mere trophies (or proof of killing) would therefore not qualify. At the same time, the definition is sufficiently broad to collapse some previous distinctions. For example, headhunters need not preserve or "collect" heads (as the by now ethnographically famous Ilongot, for example, do not). Nor, evidently, does the acquisition of heads have to be a major purpose of violent encounters in which enemy heads are severed. All that is required is that the head somehow be ritually treated or employed. Yet because the definitional onus is shifted to the perennially problematic concept of "ritual," the boundaries of headhunting remain unclear, and some readers will still be left wondering what might and what might not count as an instance.

Despite the emphasis placed on "ritual meaning," the contributors give surprisingly little attention to particular

headhunting rituals or the symbolism of heads. In fact the only chapter that includes a comprehensive description of such rites is De Raedt's essay on the Buaya of northern Luzon, though the essays by Metcalf and George deal with aspects of headhunting ritual in particular cultural contexts. In contrast, most contributions devote much attention to narrative uses of the idea of headhunting. Kenneth George construes differing local interpretations of a headhunting song from Sulawesi as reflecting differences in the internal social condition of two local communities, while Allen Maxwell employs epic poetry to demonstrate the use of severed heads as symbols of subjugation in Brunei state formation and expansion. Focussing on the "victim's perspective," Tsing similarly explores "stories of headhunting," showing how men among the Meratus of Borneo—always the targets rather than perpetrators of external violence—employ tales of supposedly dangerous encounters with outsiders in order to depict themselves as brave survivors and thus lay claim to or maintain internal positions of leadership. Contrasting West and East Sumba, Hoskins's own contribution too deals with headhunting as a sort of rhetorical device. Drawing mostly on Kruyt's essay of 1922 and her own field materials from the western domain of Kodi, Hoskins argues that whereas eastern Sumbanese locate the practice in an expired historical past, people in western Sumba—who have raised one headhunter to the status of an Indonesian national hero—treat headhunting, or at least the possibility of its continued practice, as part of a living "heritage."

"Possibility" is the operative term throughout much of the volume insofar as emphasis is placed less on culturally ordained acts of severing heads than on the idea. This in turn illuminates the term "social imagination," which is juxtaposed to headhunting in the book's title. By now well-established in the lexicon of postmodernism (where most things it seems are attributed to the unconstrained "play" of imaginative individuals), what is particularly interesting in the present context is the way several contributors employ the concept of imagination as a means of combining discussion of indigenous headhunting—as actually carried out by some (though by no means all) Insular Southeast Asian communities—and a rather more modern phenomenon latterly described as headhunting rumours.

Whereas indigenous headhunting is now of course prohibited by national governments, the rumours are encountered at present in most if not all parts of Indonesia and insular Malaysia. Periodically giving rise to epidemic "scares" or "panics," the rumours ironically—and with remarkable consistency from place to place—represent the imaginary headhunters not as hostile neighbouring groups or traditional enemies, but as agents of the state and international development, and (formerly) as European colonials, who require severed heads to advance modern construction projects. As their association with modernity and modernization might lead one to expect, even white tourists—as well as anthropologists—can nowadays come under suspicion in this regard. Previously described in a series of papers in *Oceania* (see Drake, 1989; Forth, 1991), this widespread phenomenon is directly addressed in three chapters (by Maxwell, Tsing, and Metcalf) as well as in the editor's introduction. Tsing, who provides a substantial account of a "scare" she witnessed among the Meratus, construes the rumours as ways local communities define themselves in opposition to the state and as "victims of development." In a similar vein, Hoskins (borrowing a phrase from Taussig) characterizes the stories as part of a "culture of state terror," thus alluding to the pressure that such communities experience to conform to national government plans for economic development and modernization.

Despite an evident literary attraction of juxtaposing this topic with indigenous headhunting, however, treating rumours of European and state-sponsored headhunting with actual headhunting practice in a single analytical framework is a questionable procedure. Implicitly countering Drake's interpretation (which curiously he does not cite), Metcalf suggests that the idea of modern state sponsored headhunters does not arise as a simple inversion of local practice, whereby former hunters now become the hunted, but probably originates instead from outside the region, and possibly from China. (Here he draws on Haddon (1901), whose early report is also utilized by Drake.) Consistent with this—or at any rate with its evident character as a widely and rapidly diffusing idea—is the circumstance that the Southeast Asian rumour has as much currency among people who were not themselves headhunters as those who were (a point illustrated, especially in regard to "construction headhunting," in Forth [1991]). Without meaning to defend the currently controversial Indonesian government or others promoting rapid economic development, one might also ask whether all Indonesians have been as negatively affected, or "victimized," by the process as interpretations advanced by Tsing and others would suggest. However the rumours are to be explained, placing them under the same rubric as traditional headhunting obscures an important difference. Simply stated, real Southeast Asian headhunters did indeed cut off heads, while those accused in the modern rumours, it may safely be assumed, do not. Even if they did, there is the further question of whether this would be a "ritual" activity as Hoskins's definition requires.

As more fully described elsewhere in the literature, the modern rumours are grounded in a belief that builders of roads, bridges and the like, require human heads specifically in order to lend strength and durability to their projects. It was this aspect of the representation that lead Drake and others to connect it with indigenous "construction sacrifice." Curiously, this specific aspect receives little attention from contributors to this volume, perhaps because it instances a kind of local motivation (perhaps "ritual," perhaps not) which has frequently—and not incorrectly—been rejected as an adequate explanation for traditional headhunting. Yet it cannot be denied that traditional practitioners have often rationalized headhunting with reference to some perceived benefit it brings to the individual or the community (e.g., increased fertility, averting misfortune, suspension of mourning). As Met-

calf shows in his analysis of Berawan mortuary ritual, such local motivations do make sense of the practice, but only in local contexts and in respect of specific cultural configurations; so that there can indeed be no general "explanation" of headhunting—in Insular Southeast Asia or anywhere else.

Hoskins also adverts to specific features of ritual in her comparison of West and East Sumba. Although several binary contrasts invoked by this author appear to be overdrawn and based on insufficient evidence (particularly for eastern Sumba), it is nevertheless interesting how she links the respect with which the severed head is treated in the eastern region with the objective of warfare involving head-taking as a transformation of enemies into members of the victor's domain. In contrast, the disrespect shown to enemy heads by the western Sumbanese is related to the contrasting military aim of defending one's own territory against outsiders. Similar attention to specific aspects of customary treatments of severed heads might have strengthened McWilliam's otherwise excellent demonstration of the importance of the control of war ritual in 19th-century microstate formation on Timor. In this case one wonders whether some sort of war ritual without enemy heads might not have done just as well, since the specific cultural value west Timorese place on severed heads (associated, according to Schulte Nordholt (1971: 350), with "smanaf," or "vital force," and serving as a means of incorporating the victim's spirit into the community's *nono*, or store of fertility) is not mentioned as a significant factor by this author.

The foregoing remarks may suggest that, contrary to indications that traditional headhunting and modern headhunting rumours are disconnected phenomena, the two might yet be reunited by reference to the similar benefits (fertility, vitality, durability) ascribed to the acquisition and use of human heads by perpetrators and the targets of rumours respectively. Yet it would seem that rather more is to be gained by treating the two topics separately, and in quite different comparative frameworks. While anthropologists may understandably sympathize with the subject status of the perpetrators (just as many may feel uncomfortable with the publicity given to actual headhunting in Western colonial representations of the "savage"), the rumours should be recognized for what they are: palpable fictions and symbolic forms of aggression that are better compared with more widespread phenomena such as witchcraft accusations, popular conspiracy theories, beliefs in surgical organ theft and even—in ways Metcalf briefly indicates—certain aspects of millenarian movements.

Apart from issues noted above, the several essays included in the volume concern themselves with other recurrent themes, linking headhunting with slavery and trade, political symbolism, gender and human sacrifice. There is certainly enough here to draw the interest of Southeast Asianists and other anthropologists interested in a variety of topics, quite apart from headhunting. Whether the book isolates anything particularly distinctive to the region (as its title might suggest it should) is however doubtful. I am also not sure that it tells us very much more about the activity of headhunting, as distinct from the contexts in which it—or stories about it—occur. For the present reviewer a major value of most contributions is the way they suggest alternative possibilities for dealing with the material they address.

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Non seulement ce livre est-il beau et agréable à parcourir mais son contenu témoigne d'une réflexion fine qui dépasse amplement le thème annoncé par le titre de l'ouvrage, soit la cartographie indigène de la Nouvelle Espagne et les cartes des Relations Géographiques. Ce travail, qui est en fait une version publiée de la thèse de doctorat de Barbara E. Mundy, est un essai sur la rencontre de deux mondes, une anthropologie du contact entre l'Espagne et le Mexique. Dans ce contexte, la cartographie indigène de la Nouvelle Espagne du XVIe siècle est un support qui se prête particulièrement bien à cette réflexion.

Avant d'élaborer sur les qualités de ce travail, il convient de préciser certains termes et de présenter la démarche de l'auteure. Les Relations Géographiques de la Nouvelle Espagne (1578-1581) sont l'aboutissement d'une politique élaborée par la couronne d'Espagne dont le but officiel visé était la production d'une chronique-atlas des diverses colonies de la Nouvelle Espagne. Parmi les 50 questions formulées par Lopez de Velasco dans le questionnaire des Relations Géographiques, au moins onze demandaient des informations écrites sur la géographie et les items 10, 42 et 47 requéraient explicitement des cartes. Ces dernières sont le point de départ du travail de Barbara E. Mundy : son corpus comprend 69 cartes cataloguées dans l'annexe A. Neuf cartes connues