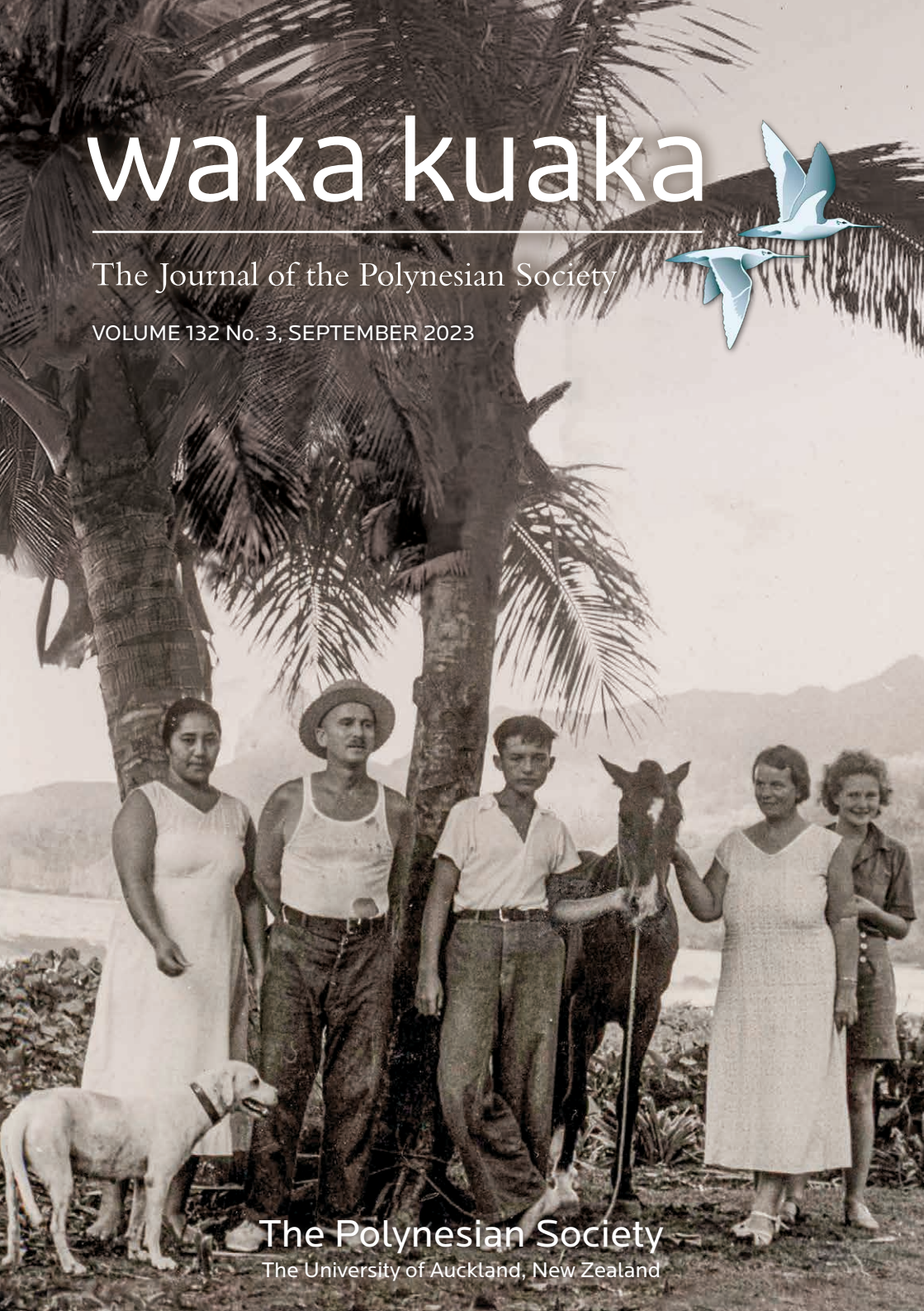
waka kuaka

The Journal of the Polynesian Society

VOLUME 132 No. 3, SEPTEMBER 2023



The Polynesian Society
The University of Auckland, New Zealand

waka kuaka

THE JOURNAL OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY

Volume 132 SEPTEMBER 2023 Number 3

Published quarterly by The Polynesian Society (Inc.),
Auckland, New Zealand

Cover image: Henry Lie and his family with Liv Heyerdahl, Puamau, 1937. Collection of Michael J. Koch. Photograph has been adapted for use on this cover.

Published in New Zealand by The Polynesian Society (Inc.)

Inquiries should be made to:

Secretary
jps@auckland.ac.nz
The Polynesian Society
c/- Pacific Studies, School of Social Sciences
Waipapa Taumata Rau The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019, Auckland

ISSN 2816-1599 (online)

Indexed in Scopus, Web of Science, Informit New Zealand Collection, Index New Zealand, Anthropology Plus, Academic Search Premier, Historical Abstracts, EBSCOhost, MLA International Bibliography, JSTOR, Current Contents (Social & Behavioral Sciences), ERIH PLUS.

AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND

Volume 132 SEPTEMBER 2023 Number 3

CONTENTS

E muamua ʻona ʻou faʻatulou atu ʻi le paʻia ma le mamalu lasilasi ʻua mafai ʻona oʻo iai lenei tusitusiga.

E fia ʻavea lenei avanoa ʻou te faʻatalofa atu ai ma le agaga faʻaaloalo, ʻi le paʻia ma le mamalu o le aofia.

Faʻafetai tele ʻi le Polynesian Society, mo lenei avanoa ua tatou fesilafaʻi ai, ʻi le lagi e mamā.

Mālō le soifua maua! Talofa lava and Warm Pacific Greetings!

Firstly, I would like to begin by humbly excusing myself to all those who are able to be together through this text.

I would like to take this opportunity to greet you, with humility and respect from my spirit. This greeting extends to all who reach this.

Thank you to the Polynesian Society for this opportunity that we are able to safely gather in clear skies.

Good health and greetings to you. Talofa lava and warm Pacific greetings!

This issue marks my first year with *Waka Kuaka The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, and the past 12 months have been a period of new directions and reimagining for the journal. As the new editor, it has been a time of learning, reflection, advocacy and collaboration. There have been many talanoa (conversations, sharing of ideas) with colleagues, peers and friends about the Polynesian Society and how we can both honour its history and move towards this new vision symbolised by our renaming of the journal in December 2022.

This reimagining of *Waka Kuaka* was realised in the previous double special issue (March–June 2023), which was edited alongside Dr Lisa Uperesa and showcased a number of emerging Pacific scholars and their work on Pacific research methodologies. It marked an exciting moment of growth and critical reflection in Pacific-led research. This issue further develops our new vision for *Waka Kuaka*, and we are excited to unveil the new feature of the Curatorium as an exclusive space for the gallery and museum sector in the Pacific, showcased in this journal alongside scholarship that is more traditionally aligned with *Waka Kuaka*.

The Curatorium is a collaboration between Dr Nina Tonga, Curator, Contemporary Art at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, and Dr Andrea Low, Associate Curator, Contemporary World at Tāmaki Paenga Hira Auckland War Memorial Museum. Together, they will coordinate this

feature twice yearly in *Waka Kuaka* to highlight critical discourses and scholarship in the gallery and museum sector. In this issue, they talanoa about their roles as Pacific curators and how curatorial activism features in their practices. They also highlight two collaborative projects between their respective museums and Pacific communities in Aotearoa New Zealand that have worked towards shaping collection and display practices in the sector. This exciting new feature in *Waka Kuaka* seeks to give space to people and ideas in Aotearoa and the wider Pacific about art, curation, museums and the significance of our cultural taonga (treasures).

Giacomo Nerici and Michael J. Koch also contribute an article on how meaning and value are created through a complex range of discourses, understandings, interpretations and actions—academic and traditional, written and oral, formal and informal—that they term "tiki talk" about the ʻIʻipona statues at Hivaʻoa in the Marquesas, which are of great traditional and spiritual importance. This article is a significant anthropological contribution, arguing that "the rediscovery of tradition should be understood as a hybrid product, conceived by both ʻenata/ʻenana (Indigenous people) and haoʻe (foreigners)" (p. 311). Next, Raphael Richter-Gravier surveys and analyses 30 traditional bird stories from Polynesia that feature themes of separation, competition or deception. This fascinating article focuses on traditional stories collected as part of Richter-Gravier's PhD work at Te Whare Wānanga o Ōtākou University of Otago and documents the significance of manu (birds) for Polynesians who explained their characteristics and behaviours in their oral histories transmitted over multiple generations.

We are fortunate to have Jo Anne Van Tilburg contribute a shorter communication expanding on an earlier piece published in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* in 2014 that corrects the misidentification of Te Hati Reŋa a Roŋo Puʻa, an important Rapanui elder.

Finally, in this issue we also have book reviews by Terava Kaʻanapu Casey of Bruno Saura's *A Fish Named Tahiti: Myths and Power in Ancient Polynesia*, Rowan Light of Bain Attwood's *"A Bloody Difficult Subject": Ruth Ross, te Tiriti o Waitangi and the Making of History* and Peter Sheppard of Patrick Vinton Kirch's edited volume *Talepakemalai: Lapita and Its Transformations in the Mussau Islands of Near Oceania*.

We are excited about how this issue of *Waka Kuaka The Journal of the Polynesian Society* both reaches back and strengthens the traditional offerings of the journal and develops our new direction. We are only at the beginning of our journey in new waters, and we hope our readers—both old and new—are excited to be part of our waka/vaka/vaʻa (canoe) charting the waves ahead of us.

Dr Marcia Leenen-Young
Editor

Terava Ka'anapu Casey (Kanaka Maoli and Mā'ohi) is a PhD candidate in the Department of History at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Her research on the histories of French Polynesia examines eighteenth- and nineteenth-century mobilities of Mā'ohi as examples of migration documented in oral traditions.

Michael J. Koch has done research in the Marquesas for more than three decades. He is currently editing the Karl von den Steinen's 1897 field notes as well working as a consultant for the Marquesas UNESCO World Heritage project. He is author of several book contributions and published *Kena, la légende du tatouage marquisien* (Tahiti, Haere Pō 2014) and *Fai, un mythe marquisien sans limites* (Tahiti, Haere Pō 2021).

Rowan Light is a historian, Lecturer at Waipapa Taumata Rau University of Auckland and Project Curator (New Zealand Wars) at Tāmaki Paenga Hira Auckland War Memorial Museum. He researches histories of remembrance and commemoration, focusing on how communities respond to war and conflict and how this is shaped by institutions such as memorials and museums. His first book, *Anzac Nations: The Legacy of Gallipoli in New Zealand and Australia, 1965–2015*, was published with Otago University Press in 2022. A follow-up publication, *Why Memory Matters: "Remembered Histories" and the Politics of the Shared Past*, is forthcoming in 2023 as part of the Bridget Williams Books Texts series.

Andrea Low is Associate Curator, Contemporary World at Tāmaki Paenga Hira Auckland War Memorial Museum, where she co-curated the permanent exhibition *Tāmaki Herenga Waka: Stories of Auckland*. Andrea traces her mo'oku'auhau (ancestry) to the ahupua'a (customary land divisions) of Kahana and Kualoa on the island of O'ahu, Hawai'i; to the village of Fasito'otai, Sāmoa; and to Tongareva/Penrhyn (Northern Cook Islands), Fanning Island/Tabuaeran (Kiribati) and Fiji. With ties to Ayr and Montrose in Scotland as well, the entanglements of history, colonialism, Indigeneity, biography and diaspora are central to her research interests. She is a frequent contributor of articles and exhibitions that trace histories of Pacific peoples in Tāmaki (Auckland) and the wider Pacific. Andrea is a Council member of the Polynesian Society and Book Review Editor for the Society's journal, *Waka Kuaka*. She is also on the advisory board of *Marinade: Aotearoa Journal of Moana Art* and a board member for Te Uru Waitākere Contemporary Gallery in Tāmaki.

Giacomo Nerici is a PhD candidate in Social and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Milano-Bicocca. His research interests initially focused on Indigenous claims and heritage among the Sami people (northern Norway). He is currently carrying out a doctoral project based on the UNESCO World Heritage List inscription campaign of the Marquesas Islands and the rediscovery of traditions as part of a cultural and artistic awakening in the islands. He has published several articles in academic journals and book chapters as well as the monograph *Sulle orme dei nostri antenati: Riappropriazioni culturali e usi del passato tra i Sami norvegesi* (Rome, CISU 2021).

Raphael Richter-Gravier holds a Diploma of Archivist-Paleographer (École nationale des chartes), a PhD in Māori Studies (University of Otago) and a PhD in Anthropology (University of French Polynesia). He completed a master's degree in French medieval history, and his doctoral research focused on Polynesian oral traditions. At the University of Otago, he completed research on te reo Māori (Māori language) revitalisation projects and on a project about cognition and emotion in Pacific languages. In the latter he used text analytics to build a database of mental state attributions in Pacific cultures to contribute to identifying the structure of and variation in mental state attributions across cultures. Raphael's research interests include Māori history, the history of Aotearoa New Zealand, Pacific ornithology and ethnozoology. Raphael currently works as a researcher in Māori–Crown relations.

Peter Sheppard is an Emeritus Professor of Anthropology, School of Social Sciences, Waipapa Taumata Rau University of Auckland, having joined the academic staff in 1992 and retired in 2021. He has conducted archaeological research in the Solomon Islands since 1989 when, as a postdoctoral fellow, he was sent by Roger Green to Malaita to locate sources of chert found in the Lapita sites of Temotu Province. Returning to the Solomon Islands in 1996 he began a series of projects with his students and colleagues that involved survey and excavation throughout the islands of the Western Province. In 2009 he turned to the eastern Solomons, where he carried out field studies on Santa Ana, followed by research on Santa Cruz in Temotu Province with reexcavation and dating of the SE-SZ-8 Lapita site originally excavated by Green. Much of this work is summarised in the first monograph-length survey of Solomon Island archaeology, *Archaeology of the Solomon Islands* (University of Otago Press, University of Hawai'i Press), which he published with Richard Walter in 2017. Peter is also Co-editor of the journal *Archaeology in Oceania* with Peter White.

Nina Tonga is an art historian and Curator of Contemporary Art at Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. She is from the villages of Vaini and Kolofo'ou in Tonga and was born and raised in Aotearoa New Zealand. She curated the acclaimed exhibitions *Pacific Sisters: Fashion Activists* (2018–2019) at Te Papa and *To Make Wrong/Right/Now* for the second international Honolulu Biennial (2019). Her solo exhibitions include projects by Lemi Ponifasio, Nike Savvas, Chiharu Shiota, Dame Robin White and Mataaho Collective. Her interdisciplinary PhD research (Art History, Waipapa Taumata Rau University of Auckland) focuses on the ways that Internet platforms have shaped and influenced contemporary art practices. Nina is a Council member of the Polynesian Society and serves on the editorial board of the *Pacific Arts Journal* and of *Artlink* magazine. She also serves as an advisor to the arts organization Hawai'i Contemporary.

Jo Anne Van Tilburg is an archaeologist, Director of the Easter Island Statue Project and Director of the UCLA Rock Art Archive, Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles.

"TIKI TALK": VOICES AND MEANINGS OF THE 'I'IPONA STATUES, HIVA'OA (MARQUESAS ISLANDS)

GIACOMO NERICI
University of Milano-Bicocca

MICHAEL J. KOCH
Independent Researcher

ABSTRACT: This paper aims to show how current knowledge concerning the tiki (sculptures) of the 'I'ipona me'ae (temple site), in Hiva'oa (Marquesas Islands), has been constructed on the basis of a constant flow of information and "talk" circulated over time. Encounters between locals and non-Marquesan specialists, sometimes resulting in differing stories or misunderstandings, have led to the affirmation of some cultural versions of history over others and have allowed certain individuals to legitimise themselves as "cultural bridge-makers" (passeurs culturels). Hidden for decades in vegetation and the subject of cultural loss and demonisation, the 'I'ipona me'ae was restored in the 1990s and more recently included with other areas in the Marquesas project for inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List. This marks a new attitude towards heritage that must be seen in connection with the process of Marquesan "cultural awakening" (since the 1980s) and the important role of archaeology in recovering ancient traditional places, but also within a broader tourist gaze and Western pop trends of commercialised "tiki images". This article focuses on the cultural contexts and protagonists that have influenced the production of local legends (ha'akakai) or stories as well as artistic and devotional attitudes towards the statues that have evolved. By exploring the liminal zones of encounter between native and foreign witnesses in both oral and written sources, we attempt to examine "tiki talk" and thus several negotiated, hybrid and often creative interpretations of the traditional past.

Keywords: Indigenous knowledge, cultural heritage, myth-making, passeurs culturels, anthropology of memory

---

> "But what about the South Seas paradise", I said, "What do you think about that?" He cracked a big smile and answered, "If you know what kind of soup the customers like, then of course you serve that soup." (Heyerdahl 1938, quoted in Melander 2020: 167)

The 'I'ipona me'ae (temple site), in the Puamau valley (Hiva'oa) (Fig. 1), was among those sites recently included in the Marquesas proposal deposited to UNESCO in January 2023 by the Comité national des Biens français du Patrimoine mondial (National Commission for French World Heritage

---

Nerici, Giacomo and Michael J. Koch, 2023. "Tiki talk": Voices and meanings of the 'I'ipona statues, Hiva'oa (Marquesas Islands). *Waka Kuaka: The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 132 (3): 287–320. https://doi.org/10.15286/jps.132.3.287-320

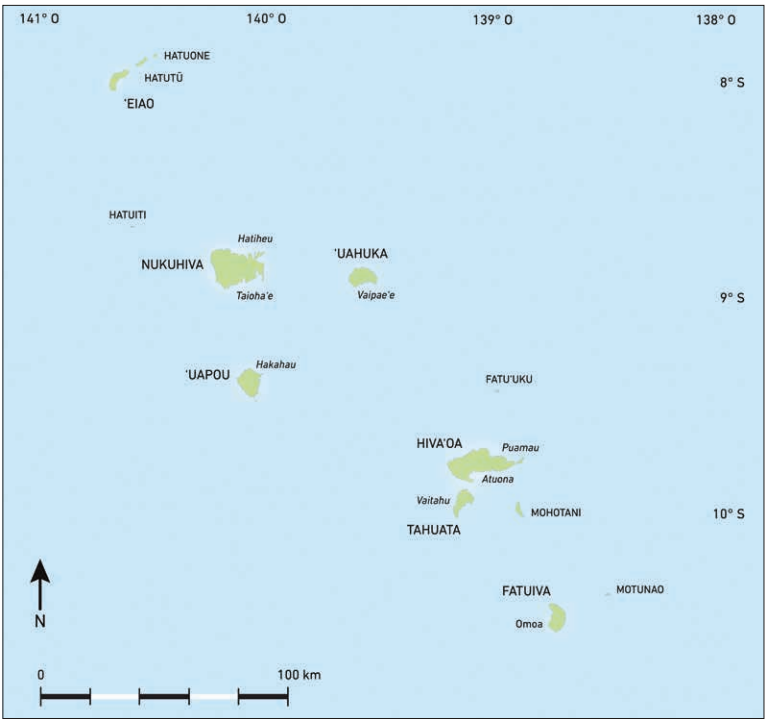


Figure 1. Te Henua ʻEnana (or Te Fenua ʻEnata)—the Marquesas. ©Takuʻua Services.

Assets) that is part of the French permanent delegation to UNESCO.[1] This attention to heritage within the UNESCO framework is merely the most recent chapter in a movement to promote Marquesan culture that began to flourish in the 1980s and 1990s as part of a cultural revival thanks to Matavaʻa o Te Fenua ʻEnata (the Marquesan Arts Festival). In 1991, for the third edition of the festival, at Hivaʻoa, the ʻIʻipona site was chosen for some of the events, and the site became the target of a restoration campaign promoted by the cultural association Motu Haka and financed by the French Polynesian government as well as the French state, the project serving as "affirmation of [Marquesans'] cultural identity through recognition of their archaeological heritage" (Ottino-Garanger 1996: 346). In this process of "cultural awakening", a renewed attention to the past has taken the form of an

institutional policy of heritage conservation as well as practices, discourses and interpretations of history interweaving oral versions with written ones produced over time by non-Marquesan observers and specialists. In other words, our aim is to historicise the circulation of content and information about the ʻIʻipona tiki (statues), which has often influenced in one way or another the constructed repertoires of both academics and local actors. In examining these aspects, we will also try to underline how these processes have been the basis of and continue to feed local legends (haʻakakai) as well as "talk", i.e., "discursive practices" (Obeyesekere 2005: 1), that reveal fanciful or imagined stories about tiki and their presumed historical and semantic origin. These discourses not only problematise the classic dialectic between written and oral traditions but also invite us to explore the grey zones—the borrowings, backgrounds and sometimes misunderstandings—on which local perceptions of heritage are created and then circulated. These repertoires suggest ways to reflect on how, faced with a context strongly marked by loss and oblivion, disciplines such as history, archaeology and ethnology become firmer anchors, forms of "scientific truths" to be adhered to in order to navigate through the vagueness of interpretations of the past. In considering such cross-references, we will try to underline how personal relations with scholars allowed some local informants to enrich their cultural knowledge and to earn recognition within the community as authoritative tradition-bearers. In addition to showing the research done by the various scholars who have been interested in the ʻIʻipona site, we will provide space for more organic versions of local history, questioning the context of their production. Contemporary attempts to make sense of the past cannot be addressed as the "invention of tradition" (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983) or as "self-conscious ideology" (Sahlins 1993: 4) but rather as deeply rooted and meaningful perceptions of the hybrid or impure relationship (Clifford 1988) that binds Indigenous people to foreigners.[2] In the folds of this connection, one can grasp and problematise the dynamics of forgetting and breaking with the past as well as the premises of and ways in which recovery of the past has taken place. Finally, by reflecting on the conservation, preservation and valorisation of the ʻIʻipona tiki, we will consider how these anthropomorphic images have spread into mass culture and pop fashion, a development that stands in stark contrast to attitudes of respect and sentimental and artistic connections to the history the tiki continue to embody. We will conclude by discussing how this case study is an attempt to show how the process of constructing knowledge is the outcome of a historical stratification of understandings, interpretations and actions that influence and sometimes conflict with each other while contributing to the complexity of historical meaning-making.

TIKI IN THE "FOREST" OF INTERPRETATIONS: HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS OF TRAVELLERS, ETHNOLOGISTS AND LOCALS

The ʻIʻipona meʻae (Fig. 2) is located at the foot of Toʻea peak in the Puamau valley in the western part of a great caldera, on a piece of land known to the locals as ʻO Toahonu. The structure consists of two large main terraces and two adjacent areas to the south and north (Chavaillon and Olivier 2007: 117–18; Ottino-Garanger 1996: 349). The meʻae owes its fame to the monumental tiki and other archaeological findings mentioned in written accounts and brought to light during the restoration in 1991. "Eight sculptures were initially known, with work carried out increasing this figure to eighteen, including five statues, ten heads and three fragments of sculptures, as well as a few petroglyphs" (Ottino-Garanger 1996: 358).

Among the earliest documents mentioning the land on which ʻIʻipona is located are letters written by the first Indigenous Hawaiian Christian minister and a pioneering missionary to the Marquesas, James Kekela or Kekelaokalani, who became the owner of the site and spent 46 years in the Puamau valley before returning to Hawaiʻi.[3]

The first description of the Puamau tiki appeared in 1895 in an article by English adventurer Frederick W. Christian, a field correspondent of the

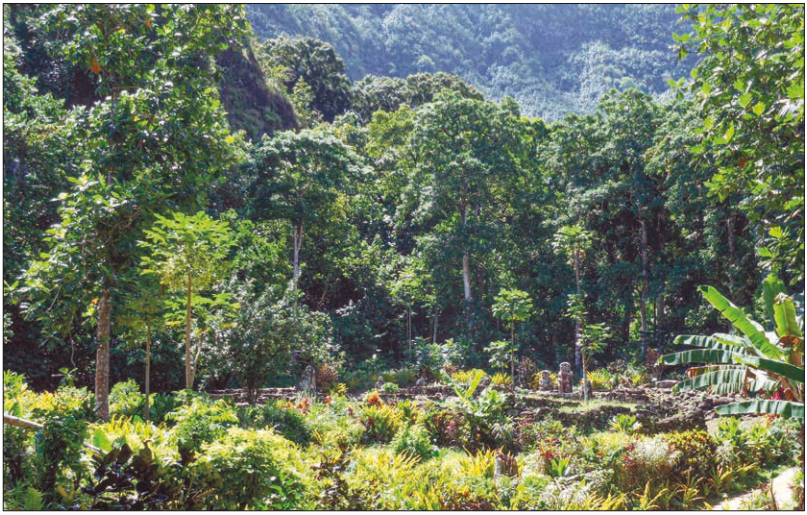


Figure 2. ʻIʻipona. Photograph by Michael J. Koch, 2011.

Polynesian Society of New Zealand. After collecting notes on the dialects of the western Pacific, he travelled to Tahiti and the Marquesas to do similar work (Christian 1910: 17–18). Christian had visited the valley three times and, in his book *Eastern Pacific Lands: Tahiti and the Marquesas Islands*, he described ʻIʻipona:

> Far up the valley, near the residence of the local queen, is an old sacred enclosure … a most interesting relic of a grey antiquity, within which, surrounded by a dense copse of coffee shrubs, planted of late years by Kekela, stand two giant stone figures, the statues of *Taka-Ii* and his wife *Fau-Poe*, a monarch of might, a grim warrior in days of yore, when the *Pahatai*, "People of the Beach", were a powerful clan, about the time of the great migration from Hiva-Oa to Tahuata Island by the sons of *Nuku*, some forty generations ago. To this very day natives secretly visit the spot to pay their respects to the departed hero, who still holds sway as a formidable local genius. (Christian 1910: 123)

Christian is therefore the first to mention the names of two tiki, pointing out that the representations of Takaʻiʻi (Taka-Ii),[4] a chief (hakāʻiki) or local warrior (toa), and his companion Faupoe (Fau-Poe) had been erected in a period when the clan he encountered, Paʻahatai (Pahatai), was powerful. This period was forty generations earlier and contemporary with the great migration to Tahuata of the sons of Nuku, one of the mythical characters of oral stories concerning the island of Hivaʻoa. Takaʻiʻi and Faupoe appear in the *Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary* by Edward Tregear (1891), a member of the Polynesian Society of New Zealand, which had commissioned and reviewed Christian's fieldwork. Tregear submitted notes and queries, as was customary in Victorian anthropology (Urry 1972, 1984), to Christian.[5] In a section of the appendix devoted to "Marquesan Genealogy", Tregear mentions 145 pairs of names of mythical descendants provided by Tahiatoho-tie, a chiefess of Hivaʻoa, collected by the surveyor-general in Hawaiʻi, William D. Alexander (Tregear 1891: 671–72).[6] This long sequence of 290 names was ordered in a binary manner according to sex beginning with Pupu (m) and Hoho (f). Among various cosmogonic figures that appear are "Tiki" (number 100), "Nuku" (134) and the pair "Ta-ka-ii" and "Fau-poe" (143). As Chave-Dartoen and Saura (2019: 95) remark, "[n]ot all Marquesan cosmic genealogies are so poetic or clearly elaborate. Some simply have a binary aspect, stringing together the names of cosmic entities, islands, gods and humans." However, Polynesian genealogical accounts, including simpler or more narrative Marquesan ones, such as Christian's (1895), "share a common structure in which the origins of the land, the deities and humankind are embedded in the wider story of how the world came to be" (Chave-Dartoen and Saura 2019: 92).

Christian himself mentions an ordered list obtained from Pahai and his

daughter Tia-Fai-Pue from the Hapatoni valley, which dates the settlement of the island of Tahuata back to the descendants of Nuku and Uia-ei. Confirming, like Tregear, that the name of the ancestral patriarch Nuku only comes 134th in the genealogical records of Hiva'oa, Christian thus stated that "one of the descendants (the ninth) from Nuku is Taka-Ii, the great demi-god and hero of Puamau Valley … from Tia-Fai-Pue's family record, and allowing … an antiquity of some 1,600 years, we pretty exactly fix the date of an important period in the history of the Southern Marquesas" (Christian 1895: 194–95). Moreover, beyond this attempt to date 'I'ipona he took the first photograph of Taka'i'i, which was published in the *New Zealand Graphic and Ladies' Journal* in 1895 and which probably inspired Paul Gauguin during a stopover in Auckland on his way to Tahiti. Indeed, the French painter visited the Auckland Museum and Art Gallery, where he drew some sketches of Māori art, among which one strongly resembles Taka'i'i (Nicholson 1995).

In 1896 Taka'i'i and another sculpture, Maki'itauapepe, were photographed (Fig. 3) and measured by German explorer, anthropologist and art collector Arthur Baessler. In his initial account of Maki'itauapepe he assumes that it is a stone representation of a woman giving birth:

> She is 1.75 m long, lies outstretched, holding her head bent back with her hands, and carries the child on her body as a 0.48 m high block, 2.20 m in circumference, who is already so disfigured that a Christian cross has been made out of its nose! Under the feet of the statues the block usually continues unhewn in order to be able to set this part of the statue into the ground; under

Figure 3. "Tiki Makii Taua Pepe, Hivaoa, Marquesas Inseln" (Baessler 1900: plate XX).

> the woman this part is missing, a sign that she has always lain down and has not fallen over by decrepitude. (Baessler 1900: 236)

The following year another German scholar paid a visit to the place and tried to gather information and insights about the various tiki in a more systematic way. During his six-month fieldwork in the Marquesas financed by the Royal Museum for Ethnology of Berlin (Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde), German psychiatrist and ethnologist Karl von den Steinen spent three weeks in Puamau, where he took an interest in the abandoned me‘ae and questioned the inhabitants about the history of the site and the names and meanings of the sculptures. In his quest for a more systematic assessment of local memory he was directed towards “the old leper Pihua, who lived nearby … [and] was considered the only living authority on the names of the sculptures” (Von den Steinen 1928a: 80). Although Von den Steinen did not provide other information on this influential informant, his notes show an attempt to contextualise the data collected in the field at a time when, as Sir James Frazer said, “descriptive and comparative ethnology had to be kept most rigidly apart” (quoted in Hyman 1962: 229).[7] As with Antonio from Von den Steinen’s stays in Mato Grosso in Brazil (1884 and 1887) and Tahia‘ote‘ani in the Marquesas, his collaborators are by no means anonymous figures (Trautmann-Waller 2021: 9). Von den Steinen reported the following story about the ‘I‘ipona tiki, told to him by Pihua:

> I was told that once three chiefs of the Naiki tribe, Maiauto, Te Eitafafa and Hakienui, had lived here in Iipona; the best known of them was Maiauto, whose wife’s name was Mauionae and whose son was Hahatevai. They got involved in a war with their western neighbours, captured the chief Tiuoo from Etuoho in the district of Hanapaaoa (mid-north coast) and consumed him as heana [human sacrifice]! But from Hanaupe and Moea in the SW came the avengers, the brothers Pahivai and Mataeiaha. They drove Maiauto and his Naiki people out of the place, who dispersed to Vaihoi, Atuona and the island of Uahuka. The victors made the place tapu [taboo]; they erected in memory a meae with two houses for the priests who lived there, and decorated the terraces with large stone tiki. (Von den Steinen 1928a: 77)

Apart from mentioning the two terraces of the me‘ae dedicated to the victorious tribes,[8] Von den Steinen counted eight sculptures, including statues and heads, and affirmed that each tiki had its own name, often related to that of the sculptor who made it. Examples are the 190 cm statue lying behind Taka‘i‘i (Christian’s Fau-poe), which he reported to be called Te Ana-ehuehu (Te Ana‘ehu‘ehu, dim cavern), and Te Haatoumahi-a-Naiki (Te Ha‘atoumahi a Naiki), also headless, which “would have been that of a tuhuka [master]” (p. 80). Moreover, according to his informant, the term Taka‘i‘i would mean “red with rage” because the population would have taken three full months

to drag the heavy block into place "working with all their strength" (p. 78). Von den Steinen also specifies that the tiki did not represent an etua (deified ancestor) or a warrior or demigod, which Christian had claimed evoked the "wars of Taka-Ii in East Hivaoa" (Christian 1895: 194–95). Not certain which tiki Christian was referring to when he spoke of Faupoe, Von den Steinen hypothesised that it was the headless tiki beside the latter, i.e., "Te Tovae-Noho-Ua [Te Tova'enoho'ua] … tropicbird-dwelling-hole" (p. 79). Furthermore, Pihua explained that the head with the open mouth was that of "Tiuoo [Tiuo'o], the chief of the Etuoho and the son of Etutete". Von den Steinen interprets its facial expression as one of a victim caught and roasted by the Naiki people (Von den Steinen 1928a: 80).

Finally, he attempted to describe Makii-Taua-Pepe (Maki'itauapepe),[9] "the strangest sculpture in the Marquesas, if not all of Polynesia", which is said to represent a woman dying in giving birth to O Poiti-E-Mai-Haaatua, a deified child. Considering the tiki's block as the child, Von den Steinen interpreted the flat carving on the lateral sides as the child's legs whose "crooked feet are turned inwards and upwards in the direction of the woman's face, indicating the head's position at birth" (p. 82). In addition to this, he assumed that another figure on the underside of the block was "a small tiki with raised arms and curved legs" and admitted that "if it were not for the legs in relief, one would think that the little tiki image was the child depicted in its proper birth position" (p. 82). This is why he challenged Baessler for his interpretation of the child's nose as a Christian cross and not as a part of the above-mentioned little tiki. However, according to Von den Steinen, the statue lying on the ground was not in its original vertical position. Despite Baessler's hypothesis and local talk about the woman in childbirth, through his remarks Von den Steinen contested this representation of Maki'itauapepe and revealed its contradictions. This interpretation shows how, despite the precision of his work, Von den Steinen gave credence to local narratives (probably heard by Pihua himself) and, through his writings, in turn influenced later explanations about the statue.

Von den Steinen's interest in "primitive art" (Boas 1930: 7–8) was combined with a historical approach towards data collected in the field, as it shows his attempt to date 'I'ipona on the basis of genealogies told by some of his collaborators. In counting back the number of generations since the time the brothers Pahivai and Matateiaha founded the me'ae he contested Christian's exaggerated claim and concluded "that even the cautious must decide to go back only to 1750, and that the bold must be modest in accepting the beginning of the eighteenth century" (Von den Steinen 1928a: 86).

This dating continues to stand almost unaltered, and Von den Steinen's version of the oral history constituted the most systematic frame of reference for many subsequent expeditions. After Von den Steinen's passage, 'I'ipona

was visited in 1920 by American anthropologist and archaeologist Ralph Linton and his colleague Edward S.C. Handy and his wife Willowdean, who were members of the Bayard Dominick Expedition, sent out by the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in Honolulu. After surveying the site and drawing a detailed plan of it, Linton stated that the complex may have been a me‘ae dedicated to funerary rituals and that the peak of To‘ea served for the final deposition of the bones, although structures for drying bodies (taha tupapa‘u) were never found (Linton 1925: 159). His collaborators also told him that “the mana [power] of this structure was so great that after the expulsion of the Naiki even the *ta’ua* [tau‘a, ritual specialist] of the Pahatais (the modern inhabitants) never dared to enter it, believing that such trespass would be punished by failure of the breadfruit crop” (p. 159). The state of abandonment in which the ruins were found was therefore linked to the inhabitants’ fear of the me‘ae. In particular, the mana was believed to remain strong in some of the body parts that had been removed from the statues, as Linton himself states in his text:

> Several figures in this site have been mutilated, and according to native informants the parts broken off and carried away were those in which the mana of the figures was supposed to reside. Thus, the heads of the figure on the edge of the terrace and the largest fallen figure are missing, while the curious female figure … and Takaii have each lost the left arm. (p. 163)

Beyond these interesting considerations we cannot further venture into the interpretation of these apparently iconoclastic actions. Furthermore, Linton collected new proper names for the tiki used by locals. The statue that Von den Steinen had transcribed as Te Tovae-Noho-Ua was referred to as Mahiauto, a Naiki chief, interpreted, according to him, as “the cook of Taka-Ii”. Despite this, according to another of his collaborators the latter was instead a pregnant woman, Petetamuimui (Petetamu‘imu‘i). Linton had also heard of Maki‘itauapepe to indicate the head of red tuff—very similar to Manuiota‘a transferred to the Berlin Museum—that his predecessor had christened Tiuoo. Nevertheless, for Linton, Tiuoo referred to the headless statue in basaltic trachyandesite (identical to that used for Maki‘itauapepe) that Pihua had told Von den Steinen was called Te-Haatoumahi-A-Naiki.

This apparent confusion is symptomatic of the loss of cultural knowledge concerning the statues. Due to this uncertainty about the past, there may have already been interpretative conflicts among the actors trying to cope with the oblivion of the local history. Evoking the possible history of the chiefdoms, Handy claims that “the Na-iki or some of them had, at a not very distant date, lived in Pua Ma’u, whence they were driven by the Pa’aha-tai, fleeing to Atu Ona” (Handy 1923: 27). Linton agrees with this point and reports that the tiki were not erected to commemorate the victory over the

Naiki because, as he was informed, "the largest *me'ae*, that of Oipona, was made by them" (Linton 1925: 159). Linton and Handy had probably come across informants who were in some way connected to Von den Steinen, as Handy reports, stating that a "text of the chants was copied by me from an original manuscript in the possession of Tahia-ti-'a-ko'e of Pua Ma'u, who had written this original from the dictation of her grandfather, Pihua, the last *tuhuna o'ono* [keeper of oral tradition] of Pua Ma'u" (Handy 1923: 316). Handy added that Pihua, in order to avoid certain loss, did his best to pass on his knowledge to his granddaughter, who learned to write at the Catholic mission school and sang funeral songs using the manuscript left by her grandfather. Another important informant at that time was Henry W. Lie (Fig. 4) (Handy 1923: 34; Linton 1925: 136), a Norwegian settler who a few years later served as an extremely valuable source for his more illustrious fellow countryman, Thor Heyerdahl, during the latter's visit to the valley with his companion, Liv, in 1937.

Lie had been cultivating copra for many years and, thanks to his passion for archaeology and local ethnology, his extensive book collection and his versatility in Marquesan dialects, by the time of Heyerdahl's visit he had already been an indispensable reference point for the Bayard Dominick Expedition. Although Heyerdahl in *Fatu Hiva: Back to Nature* (1974) had often depicted Lie as a man immersed in isolation and loneliness, his activity as a copra farmer allowed him to be "in regular contact with 'white men' every time the schooner from Tahiti stopped by … [giving him] the opportunity to meet any foreign visitors to the Marquesas Islands, including the Heyerdahls" (Melander 2020: 166). It can therefore be seen that by disembarking from his ship and settling in the Marquesas as a "beachcomber" he played, within the metaphorical framework of the "beach" (Dening 1980, 2004), a fundamental role in the construction of local discourses. By connecting distant worlds and accrediting his version of history within this "contact zone" (Clifford 1997; Pratt 1991), Lie legitimised himself as an authoritative holder of noteworthy knowledge. He can be thus considered as a passeur culturel (cultural bridge-maker) (Bénat Tachot and Gruzinski 2001; see also Aria 2007) for his ability to impart stories and interpretations thanks to his relationships with both the locals and white people.

Lie was described as an important influence for the Kon-Tiki theory because in 1937 he showed Heyerdahl images in one of his books of sculptures from the San Agustín site in Colombia (Heyerdahl 1974: 206–20; Melander 2020: 164) that resembled the tiki of 'I'ipona. These images inspired Heyerdahl to challenge the theory of East Polynesian settlement from the west and instead propose a possible migration from South America (Heyerdahl 1974: 210–20). This conjecture was the basis of the Kon-Tiki experiment, which consisted of sailing on a balsawood raft over 101 days

Figure 4. Henry Lie and his family with Liv Heyerdahl, Puamau, 1937. Collection of Michael J. Koch.

from the Peruvian coast to East Polynesia to prove that the islands may have been settled from the east instead of entirely from the west of the Pacific. The connections between the Marquesas and South America were investigated in 1956 by a team of archaeologists seeking to date ʻIʻipona in Puamau. During a one-week stay in Puamau, two members of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island and the East Pacific, Arne Skjølsvold and Gonzalo Figueroa García Huidobro, made a cast of Takaʻiʻi for the Kon-Tiki Museum in Oslo (Fig. 5) and fixed the left arm that had broken off of Makiʻitauapepe (Heyerdahl 1965). They also carried out excavations and, using charcoal samples, managed to date the occupation of the site to between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In addition, they attempted to compare the tiki with ones at the Paeke site in Taipivai valley on Nuku Hiva (Ferdon 1965), pointing out that for Fau-Poe/Tovae-Noho-Ua/ Mahiauto/Petetamuimui the powerful chest muscles resembled those of the statues of Nuku Hiva, which were "certainly female" (Heyerdahl 1965: 128). In Heyerdahl's opinion, "the fact that both sexes and four completely different names were attributed to this still standing image by the informants of three visitors within slightly more than a quarter of a century, clearly shows that little credulence is to be attached to the alleged knowledge of the monuments among the present dwellers in the valley" (Heyerdahl 1965: 128). The question of the sex of the tiki is a complex and problematic issue and has been interpreted according to criteria influenced over time by different discourses. It therefore remains

difficult to make gender assessments concerning the statues of ʻIʻipona, and to do so we must essentially rely on talk.

Another remark made by Heyerdahl was about the interpretation of the tiki according to their found position, as discussed above for the case of Makiʻitauapepe. In addition to underlining the conflicting records of Baessler and Von den Steinen concerning the different statues' set-up and pose, he also pointed out that "[t]he misleading information invented by the uninformed native population did not lessen the confusion" (p. 129). When Heyerdahl first saw this statue in 1937, he observed that people had forgotten the "woman giving birth" meaning because at that time it was posed on its block in a horizontal position. As a consequence, this representation became meaningless, as did the cultural practice mentioned by Henry Lie of pregnant women bringing offerings while kneeling in front of the statue (p. 132). Moreover, the engravings at its base, which Von den Steinen recognised as the legs of a deified child, were described by Heyerdahl as mammal figures. On account of Heyerdahl's hypothesis, these mammals were later believed to be llamas or felines (p. 134). Apart from these observations, the Norwegian expedition pointed out that the most artistically similar counterparts to the ʻIʻipona tiki were those of Nuku Hiva and Raʻivavae in French Polynesia. The Marquesan statues were also reminiscent of the monuments of Zacachún and Guayaquil in Ecuador and those of San Agustín in Colombia, thus

Figure 5. Members of the Norwegian expedition making a cast of Takaʻiʻi in 1956. Courtesy of Brigid Mulloy.

underlining a geographical continuity of anthropomorphic statue models between the Andes and Polynesia (p. 150).

For decades, local versions of history were intertwinings between local oral tradition and the interpretations of ethnologists or archaeologists as well as those of settlers, missionaries and other actors. Indeed, as Melander states, "the foundations of the scientific fields of ethnography, anthropology and for that matter archaeology can be said to rest in and originally depended on the writings, recordings and collections of travellers, initially exploration voyagers and later missionaries … even after the gentleman amateurs were replaced by professionals" (Melander 2020: 33).

Thanks to their "expert" knowledge, amateurs and specialists thus endorsed the voices of certain local people, allowing the latter to gain authority and consolidate their interpretations of the past. As we will now see, the recent restoration of 'I'ipona has allowed some individuals close to archaeologists to strengthen their role as cultural references and to be addressed as "keepers of the tradition". At the same time, we will try to highlight how the loss of historical knowledge about the tiki, already noted in the early sources, has shaped contemporary local talk. These discourses are characterised by a progressive ignorance of the social and symbolic context of their production, forcing the actors to partially reinvent the past to fill the "voids of history".

REEMERGING FROM OBLIVION: TIKI IN BETWEEN ARCHAEOLOGY, ORAL WITNESSES AND CONTEMPORARY BELIEFS

In 1991, for the third Matava'a o Te Fenua 'Enata, a project to restore 'I'ipona (Fig. 6) was led by French archaeologist Pierre Ottino-Garanger and historian Marie-Noëlle Ottino-Garanger, with the participation of Vohi Heita'a, at the time assistant mayor of the municipal section of Puamau, and a team of people from Motu'ua and Nāhoe valleys.[10] As part of the rediscovery of traditions, archaeology thus becomes a way to turn "mémoires de pierre" (stone memories) (Julien *et al.* 1996) into heritage through the inhabitants' involvement. Indeed, as Ottino-Garanger himself argues, "a restored site gives the satisfaction of being immediately 'readable', because it allows everyone to see a concrete result, an immediate usefulness of archaeological research, and encourages the population to better know, understand and safeguard their past" (Ottino-Garanger 1996: 347). With the foundation of the cultural association Motu Haka (1978) and the Matava'a o Te Fenua 'Enata festival (1987),[11] the study of housing structures and the enhancement of archaeological heritage have taken place alongside a rehabilitation of the past and an identity affirmation process (Ottino-Garanger 2014: 84). The restoration of cultural sites became an important opportunity to reconnect people with their past. In this sense, archaeology played a decisive role in

reconstructing, legitimising and shaping the existence of a piece of local heritage (Smith 2006: 41). Despite this renewed interest, for most of the older generation (people over 60 years of age) the past is still a source of pain and stigma that is difficult to face, whereas for others a respectful attitude towards the ancient ruins may support preserving them in a state of "voluntary abandonment" in the forest and experiencing them as social intimacy (Donaldson 2019). In this regard, Ottino-Garanger affirmed:

> The old fears, buried deep in our soul, resurfaced; we were warned! Caution, time and respect within our work were needed more than ever, for too radical a removal of Iipona, clumsy handling, and worse, shocks to and breakage of certain sculptures would certainly have had many consequences. If there were no incidents on the site we would then, in a way, be understood by the elders. (1996: 348)

Figure 6. Restoration of 'I'ipona in 1991. Courtesy of Direction de la culture et du patrimoine, Tahiti, No. 3 8256.

These points are interesting in order to understand the apparent degree of abandonment of the tiki after the Norwegian expedition and the fear that surrounded the statues. This feeling must be seen in connection with today's meaning of tapu, which has moved from being a permanent or temporary ban against manipulating a power (mana) considered socially dangerous or contaminating (Thomas 1990: 61–73) to indicating a general prohibition against entering into contact with the past and its manifestations. The nefarious consequences linked to the transgression of displacing certain objects or stepping over tapu places in the wild is at the core of stories people believe in and which influence their perception of heritage. Moreover, substantial discontinuity in terms of meanings of the past can be observed today in the prevalence of semantic or factual gaps in knowledge and in the many attempts to fill them by local interlocutors. As far as ʻIʻipona is concerned, the latter point is an example of "folk etymology—spontaneous inferences that speakers tend to suggest to explain the origin of a word in their own language, and which are often erroneous or unreliable" (Charpentier and François 2015: 84). Local actors use folk etymologies to decipher terms fallen into disuse and of which the content was lost. On the other hand, the presence of tapu can be found in anecdotes in which tiki are endowed with supernatural powers or are responsible for unexplained events, such as photographs in which they do not appear or accidents due to some disrespectful behaviour towards them.

One of the most authoritative voices to whom one can turn to learn about what the locals call tekao kakiu (talk about local history) is the aforementioned former assistant mayor of Puamau village, Vohi Heitaʻa, born in 1928. Vohi had said on several occasions[12] that "I didn't want to identify myself with the Paʻahatai because 'coffin of the sea' refers to something negative. Instead I wanted to link the valley to the Hakatao-o-te-Atea, the 'people who celebrated until dawn', who came after the Naiki" (Vohi Heitaʻa, pers. comm., 10 Nov. 2021). As evidence of the degree of cultural loss, it is difficult to verify, on the basis of Vohi's testimony and interpretation, whether Hakatao-o-te-Atea was really a tribe or rather a place name. Despite this confusion, it is due to him that the term is currently in circulation among the inhabitants of Puamau and is frequently used as the ancient name of the valley (Hakatao o Atea). Similarly, Vohi's assertion that the name Paʻahatai means coffin of the sea probably corresponds to an erroneous understanding that was later interpreted by joining the terms paʻaha (coffin) and tai (sea) to give sense to an expression of which the knowledge of its original and cultural background was unknown to him. Based on accounts Vohi heard in childhood of Timaukei, an elderly man from the nearby village of Pehina who died in 1945, Vohi then explained that Takaʻiʻi was cut out of a huge block of keʻetū (red tuff) from the Motonui valley and was "so heavy that

20,000 people carried it to where it is now". Although this disproportionate number of people is perhaps meant to evoke the weight of the effort, Vohi claims that Taka'i'i was the name of a toa (warrior) "companion of Makii-Taua-te-Pepe and father of Pepetamuimui and was so called because taka means bond while 'i'i means strength, so he represented the strength of the bond between the members of the tribe who sculpted him". Beyond this interesting attempt to explain the kinship of the tiki and the very meaning of the name Taka'i'i, Vohi recounted an episode during the Matava'a in 1991 when he was preparing two large Marquesan umu (earth ovens) to prove that the statue still retained a supernatural force or mana:

> That day it rained a lot, and every time the food was served on the tables, a tapatapa [proclamation] was made in honour to Taka'i'i … with his blessing the first two tables were served without any problems, but forgetting to thank him before the third, the tray spilled on the ground on the way and the rain stopped suddenly, as if the tiki had become angry. (Vohi Heita'a, pers. comm., 10 Nov. 2021)

The association of Taka'i'i's power with this exceptional event should not here be divorced from the simultaneous presence of the Christian faith, which, in the accounts of many local actors, coexists with a whole range of experiences related to the land, heritage sites and the world of spirits or ancestors (Donaldson 2019).

In this regard, Vohi admitted that "as a Christian believer I never thought I would witness and be convinced of Taka'i'i's power … because when I was a child, I was afraid of the invisible, and I did not visit the site because the tiki were on the ground". The man had in fact only heard stories about the me'ae in the 1930s and 1940s, and his fear of the statues overgrown by vegetation reflected the demonising connotations with which the Church, both Protestant and Catholic, had surrounded the traditional past. Vohi, like other inhabitants of the valley, claimed to have heard the place name 'I'ipona for the first time only with Ottino-Garanger's project to restore the site.[13] With his help, the head of the tiki Te Ha'atoumahi a Naiki/Manuiota'a was found in the nearby scree and, with Ottino-Garanger's approval, mounted on the statue. Nevertheless, in contrast to the desires of Vohi and others, Ottino-Garanger opposed unearthing the upper part of a broken red tuff statue set upside down in a pebble pavement (Fig. 7), saying that the arrangement is a sign of the major upheavals described in Von den Steinen's history of 'I'ipona. Vohi said, "Pierre Ottino told us that digging here would not be respectful of the history because the tiki is a warrior of the tribe to which the site of 'I'ipona belonged … a tribe mentioned by Steinen" (pers. comm., 10 Nov. 2021). On this point, Ottino-Garanger remarks that

> one of the names of this tiki is Maiauto, the name of one of the Naiki chiefs who started a war in which they were defeated. It is striking that out of five tiki, only the one that is broken bears the name of a defeated chief. This would explain both the fact that this tiki was older and broken voluntarily by the Marquesans themselves, the victors, and that it was left visible, exposed broken at the feet of Takaii, one of the prestigious ancestors of the new occupants of this land. (1996: 364)

This interpretation, which certainly influenced Vohi and others, was never confirmed by Von den Steinen or in later sources. This suggests that it was probably the archaeologist's conjecture inspired by Von den Steinen's version, which in circulating among locals had, through its scientific authority, provided local "heritage makers" (Lowenthal 1996) with elements to enrich their talk on their cultural history. This dynamic would thus underline Ottino-Garanger's role as a "passeur" who shared the contents of written records within the village community, allowing some individuals to acquire a certain authority in using these sources for constructing their own oral versions. In the hermeneutic circle of stories and meanings surrounding 'I'ipona, there has indeed been a constant exchange and flow of information over time between the so-called "written" and "oral" sources. Coping with gaps in knowledge involves an effort to salvage the "surviving religious remnants and shreds of mores set adrift" (Segalen [1975] 2001: 115) and to transform them into anchors linking the present to the past and thus filling the gaps left by cultural loss.

Figure 7. Maiauto, the tiki mentioned by Ottino-Garanger and that is part of ongoing "tiki talk". Photograph by Giacomo Nerici, 2021.

On the plurality of accounts concerning the tiki, Rémi Santos, a retired teacher and tumu pure (deacon) in the Puamau Catholic parish (Fig. 8), pointed out that "although people say that Takaʻiʻi is a god, a warrior or an ancestor, it is hard to know because there are versions that you hear or you read in Steinen's book, so that you find yourself surrounded by a general jumble of stories" (Rémi Santos, pers. comm., 22 Nov. 2021). Nevertheless, Rémi reported a very detailed and complex version of the history of ʻIʻipona (similar to that given by Vohi, with a few differences), which he had received entirely from his stepfather, Teaʻiki Tohetiaatua, another of the elders who had worked with Ottino-Garanger and who later became an indispensable source for both the local community and scholars thanks to his knowledge. Teaʻiki had meticulously transcribed many haʻakakai ʻenana (Marquesan legends) he obtained from various informants throughout the archipelago and from texts he consulted at the diocese of Taiohae in Nuku Hiva. The following version of the local story must therefore be seen in the context of this mélange of sources, references and interpretations, which the storyteller reformulated to create a coherent and meaningful whole:

> Teaʻiki told me that this area today called ʻIʻipona was once inhabited by the Naiki tribe, while in the nearby valley of Motu Nui lived another tribe whose king was called Tehaumatua and whose queen was Avareipua. During a period of scarcity, the latter tribe asked the Naiki if they could settle in the Puamau valley, and they accepted. Tumu mei [breadfruit trees] were abundant in the area, so when harvest season arrived the two rulers asked the Naiki if they could help them. The Naiki allowed them to take the seeds and replant them where they had settled. At the end of the mei season, some hungry men decided to steal the Naiki's mā [fermented breadfruit paste], but when they reached the pits [ʻua mā] they were taken as prisoners. As a consequence, Tehaumatua and Avareipua decided to leave and resettle their tribe in Vaiʻoa, in a place called Matau. Unfortunately, the place had no water source, so the tribe was forced to negotiate a terrible deal with the local chief: they would have to exchange a child for a jug of water. The victims were then sacrificed and eaten by the Vaiʻoa tribe. Once the situation became unbearable they were forced to build rafts and leave, and then made it to Tuamotu, Hawaiʻi and Rapa Nui. Tehaumatua and Avareipua left for Easter Island, and that's why even today there are still place names that recall the Vaiʻoa land and tribe, as the Rapa Nui dancers at the Matavaʻa at Hivaʻoa told us … At the time they were hosted in Puamau, which was called Hakatao o Atea, "where the king Atea rested", they built Takaʻiʻi as a gift to thank the queen of the Naiki, Makiʻiveuhina, for the hospitality granted to them. To cut the large block of red keʻetū, a powerful tauʻa called Meihano made an anaunau [invocation] to support the people as they rolled it on logs to the place where it stands now. Later the Naiki went to war with the Etuoho tribe of Hanapaʻaʻoa and took their chief, Tiuoʻo, as prisoner. Seeking help from Tehaumatua and Avareipua, they discovered that they had left already the valley to settle in Vaiʻoa. The

> Naiki found themselves alone to face the Etuoho and their allies from the Mo‘ea and Hana‘upe valleys, together with the terrible warriors from the beach, the Pahatai. The Naiki were defeated in that war and forced to migrate first to Atu‘ona and then to Nuku Hiva, ‘Uapou and ‘Uahuka. The episode of war described by Steinen is more recent than the story about hunger and the theft of the mā. Here in ‘I‘ipona there were many breadfruit trees, but Pierre Ottino wanted to cut some of them down because he said that the roots would ruin the me‘ae. (Rémi Santos, pers. comm., 22 Nov. 2021)

According to Vohi the name of the tribe driven out by the Naiki was either Puapu‘u or Meaite, and, contrary to the story told by Rémi and Tea‘iki, this tribe settled in Vaihoi, where water and breadfruit were abundant. Moreover, Vohi affirms that after the tribal war, the Naiki moved away from Puamau to seek hospitality in Vaihoi, where the Puapu‘u/Meaite demanded they “exchange a child for a certain amount of water. Unable to survive for long, the Naiki were forced to build rafts and migrate to Rangiroa, Tautira or Rapa Nui” (Vohi Heita‘a, pers. comm., 10 Nov. 2021). Rémi and Tea‘iki’s version has the merit of linking this story of the Puapu‘u/Meaite tribe to that of the construction of Taka‘i‘i. If the reference to human effort recalls Vohi’s version (as well as Von den Steinen’s), the transportation of the red tuff block instead closely resembles the theories on the building of the moai (Rapa Nui’s monolithic human statues), perhaps suggesting an influence

Figure 8. Rémi Santos during a visit to ‘I‘ipona. Photograph by Giacomo Nerici, 2021.

from the Rapanui dancers who participated in the Matava'a in Puamau, as does the name Avareipua, an important ancestor in Rapanui genealogies. However, the legend reflects and gives insight into how the Marquesans dealt with periods of abundance and of famine that led to alliances, conflicts and even displacement of tribes both towards other valleys of the island and elsewhere. To give an account of this and to explain a link between the valleys of Puamau and Ta'a'oa, Tea'iki and Rémi recount a mythical version concerning the etymology of their most important sites:

> When the first Polynesian settlers arrived on the shores of Hiva'oa from the west, the first two sites they built were Upeke and 'I'ipona. At that time there were two queens, Upu of Momo'ei [an ancient name for Ta'a'oa] and Maki'iveuhina of Hakatao-o-Atea. Once Maki'iveuhina finished building the 'I'ipona me'ae and Upu the Upeke tohua [public feasting centre], a big meeting between the tribes was made to decide which of the two would be the "head", i.e., the man, and which would be the "feet", the woman. In order to establish this three challenges were organised on the me'ae of the Naiki. The first one was a hand-to-hand fight between the two best toa, the second was a magical duel between the most fearsome tau'a, and the third a shooting contest with the sling. The final victory of the Naiki allowed them to proclaim themselves as "the head', and therefore the male side, while Upeke represented the female side, that is, the "feet" of the island. Thanks to the new alliance between the two tribes, the site where the competitions took place was named 'I'ipona, meaning strength in unity. 'I'ipona, the man, ruled from then on over the woman, Upeke. From that day on 'I'ipona, from 'i'i, strength, and pona, union [strength of the union], is considered the father and Upeke, from ū, milk, and peke, maternal [mother's milk], the mother of all the paepae [stone house foundations] of Hiva'oa, who are their children. (Rémi Santos, pers. comm., 23 Nov. 2021)

In telling this ha'akakai Rémi is nevertheless aware of the borrowings and influences of the Christian religious framework, which have probably added layers of new meanings and changed its original plot. Indeed, according to his knowledge of the Holy Scriptures as deacon, "the legend resembles the passage of Ephesians 5:23 in the Bible, when Jesus admitted that 'the man shall be the head of the woman' " (pers. comm., 22 Nov. 2021). These telling remarks clearly show the strong impact of the Christian religion on local accounts and the way new elements have been embedded in the latter over the years. Despite this, this legend, amongst other mythological references, is at the heart of the decision to nominate the Ta'a'oa valley, with its vast complex of Upeke, as one of the archipelago's seven proposed cultural and natural areas for UNESCO World Heritage status. As we next show, this ongoing inscription process is part of a heritage-making strategy and a cultivation of tourism that is sometimes in contrast with artistic and sentimental ways of experiencing the statues.

THE ANCESTORS AND UNESCO: CONSERVING, REPRODUCING AND REINVENTING THE IMAGE OF TIKI TODAY

After the restoration in 1991, various surveys on the condition of the statues took place under the direction of the Tahiti-based SCP (Service de la culture et du patrimoine). In 2006 experts at the Laboratoire de Recherche des Monuments Historiques de France noted the critical state of conservation of the tiki and recommended building shelters over them in order to limit further damage (Sigaudo-Fourny and SCP 2006). Ten years later, two archaeologists (Tamara Maric and Belona Mou), with the agreement of the owners of the site, the Tissot family, erected the shelters "to limit erosion of the stone caused by exposure to the weather and the sun, stabilise the degree of humidity and thus stop the growth of lichens and mosses over their whole surface" (Sigaudo-Fourny and SCP 2016: 18). In 2018 new analyses of the sculptures were carried out by SMBR (Société méditerrannéenne de bâtiment et de rénovation) and the company Aslé Conseil. These led to conservation work with a biocide treatment to strengthen the most fragile areas of each tiki (Fig. 9). These measures are all part of a campaign to enhance the archaeological heritage "with the aim of inscribing 'I'ipona and other selected sites on the UNESCO World Heritage List" (Tamara Maric, pers. comm., 12 May 2021). Among them, the 'I'ipona me'ae is included according to criteria iii, iv and vi of the World Heritage Convention (1972) and above all for the monumentality of its tiki, the largest in French Polynesia. The inscription project includes the nomination of seven terrestrial and marine areas on the islands as mixed sites for their outstanding universal natural and cultural value.[14]

The UNESCO valorisation process represents the latest chapter in the interest taken in the conservation of this site since it was inscribed in 1952 on the list of the cultural heritage of the Établissements français de l'Océanie (renamed Polynésie française (French Polynesia) in 1957).[15] In the Marquesas Islands, among the various disciplines it was archaeology that played the greatest part in shaping the conception of heritage based on physical conservation, and this conviction became so locally embedded that sometimes "the remains of the past seem to exist only to be preserved" (DeSilvey 2017: 4). With the restoration of the complex in the 1990s and the various Matava'a festivals, its visibility has increased in terms of tourism, enabling the island municipality to attract an increasing number of visitors.[16] On the tourist market, 'I'ipona became known for the monumentality of its statues and the various stories told on site by local guides.

Beyond the uniqueness of the sculptures in Puamau, the presence of tiki in pop culture and tourism remains anchored in stereotypical figures of ancestors, heroes and divine beings belonging to a vague traditional past that has fascinated explorers, artists and writers in the West over centuries.

Figure 9. Maki'itauapepe after treatment for conservation, 2021. Courtesy of Direction de la culture et du patrimoine, Tahiti.

In addition to the accounts of Bougainville and Cook and the works of Melville, Stevenson and Gauguin, the image of the vahine (Polynesian woman) and the beachcomber as well as of tiki and moai became popular in the 1950s in the United States thanks to soldiers coming back from the Pacific at the end of World War II. Mythologised icons of idyllic beaches and the exoticism of native custom came to occupy a range of contexts and objects in a new "tiki style" (Kirsten 2014). From hotel décor to the invention of tiki-themed cocktails, clothing and musical repertoires in the 1950s, this highly commercialised trend was abandoned in the 1960s by the postwar baby boomer generation, and then resurrected in a mixture of nostalgia and pop interest in the 1990s. Beyond its affirmation in the West, in most Polynesian archipelagos in recent decades the tiki has become a symbol used in multiple artistic and touristic contexts, where the need to refer to a real or presumed tradition is entwined with commercial aspects. Thus in French Polynesia, and especially the Marquesas, since the 1980s, the

image of the tiki has (re)emerged on different supports, regaining impetus in sculpture (wood, stone and bone), appearing on tapa (barkcloth) and finally resurfacing in patu tiki (tattooing). "From a domain linked to the sacred in Polynesian cultures, the tiki is now part of a globalised system, mixing art, commerce, show, heritage ... and new generations are taking possession of it and turning it into a dynamic icon of Pacific cultures" (Guiot and Ottino-Garanger 2016: 31–32). Free of the restrictions or constraints associated with its representation in ancient social structure and the demonic connotations assigned to it by the Christian religion, this symbol is nowadays perceived, experienced and reinterpreted in the Marquesas, as elsewhere in the Pacific, according to the cultural and historical specificities of each context in which it appears. In other words, rather than being conceived as a "distinctive style" of pop fashion, as it is in North America and Europe, the tiki must in the Pacific be understood today as a "signifier" through which people can frame ideas and ties, claim attachments and express a personal view of the world. If in the West the tiki style merely reproduced an exotism and a latent sexual desire (White 2015: 565), the tiki was at the same time reborn in Oceania not only as a tourist or media icon but also as a source of inspiration for artists and craftspeople, as well as a symbolic connection to the ancestors.

An example of this artistic and sentimental approach to the ʻIʻipona tiki is the artist's biography for Maheatete Huhina, a sculptor from Puamau living in the nearby Nāhoe valley. In 2020 Maheatete created a wooden tiki post (Fig. 10) which was later installed in an open columned hall surrounded by 120 other columnal artworks from all over the world as part of STOA169,[17] a contemporary art project in Bavaria initiated by German painter Bernd Zimmer. Since his childhood, Maheatete wanted to become a sculptor like his grandfather and follow the footprints of his legendary ancestors from Puamau to establish a connection to their representations.

By emphasising respect for and an emotional attachment to the past, Maheatete's discourses and practices concerning tiki are different from those of mass culture and tourism as well as those of heritage conservation. Against such stereotyped representations from the consumer world the artist sets an intimate approach based on a "felt" bond with Takaʻiʻi: "I come here to ground myself, especially before making an important tiki ... what I do is lay my hands on the back of Takaʻiʻi to seek his support and experience his powerful mana which is still in him" (Maheatete Huhina, pers. comm., 22 Oct., 2021). Such a devotional attitude, which underlies informal heritage-building practices, does not aim to attain a philological reproposal of the past. Rather, it refers to vernacular and creative forms of commemoration, use and rediscovery of the past on the basis of values and needs that are "felt" and developed in the present (Lowenthal 1996). In this case, Maheatete's concept of mana maintains a sentimental tie to the past, and as a term, instead

Figure 10. Maheatete Huhina sculpting Motuhaiki for STOA169, 2020. Courtesy of Warren Huhina.

of being detached from Oceania in deterritorialised global culture mana "demands close attention to the chains of transmission and transformation that have shaped and reshaped what mana signifies and the values it both absorbs and manifests, including silence as well as speech, loss as well as gain, novelty as well as tradition" (Tomlinson and Tengan 2016: 16). The meanings of the concept of mana for Maheatete and his art could not be understood without the bond to heritage and the cultural intimacy with the tiki of 'I'ipona, which constitute a material and symbolic reference for his wooden or stone statues. Like other bearers of tradition and their versions of local history, Maheatete can be considered as a passeur culturel and a heritage maker. Indeed, by seeking inspiration in ancient statues he tries not only to connect himself with a symbolic and cultural past but also to create and perpetuate a living tradition. This living tradition is intertwined with the knowledge and expertise of historians, ethnologists and archaeologists, as it shows Maheatete's appreciation of Karl von den Steinen, "whose work that he bequeathed to us is priceless" (Maheatete Huhina, pers. comm., 22 Oct. 2021). For this reason, he decided to call his tiki in Bavaria Motuhaiki, a name inspired by a sculpture from Nāhoe collected by Von den Steinen (Von den Steinen 1928b: β C). Maheatete's Motuhaiki portrays the legendary builder

of the vaka hiva (oceangoing canoe) in a contemporary style, and represents a mélange of artistic abilities, scientific knowledge and Indigenous mythology.

Although Lowenthal (1996) proposed an irreconcilable divergence between the historian and heritage maker in the elaboration of knowledge, we have tried rather to suggest a constant overlapping of attitudes, postures and ways of examining and reappropriating the past between these two figures. Furthermore, in giving an account of the oral and written stories concerning the tiki of ʻIʻipona we have sought to show a continuous interweaving of history/archaeology and heritage. It is not merely a case of historians and archaeologists being dragged into the public sphere "as interpreters of a technical (i.e., non-political) and objective (i.e., non-rhetorical) view of the past only to find themselves 'competing' with other, vernacular arguments that claim devotional and subjective connections with [the tiki]" (Dei 2012: 183). Indeed, voyagers' and specialists' versions indicated the presence of "a few aspects of mythification, imprecision and heritage; and heritage, for its part, would have no value if it could not in some way link itself to a legitimate academic discourse" (Dei 2019: 28). Moreover, this overlapping or interweaving of registers and interpretations is reflected in a series of types of "tiki talk", i.e., discourses, fantasies and reinventions capable of articulating in new forms the remnants of local history and blurring the distinction between written and oral repertoires. In addition, they invite us to take into account misunderstandings, grey zones and dialogical planes (Obeyesekere 2005: 263–64) to understand the meanings of the local stories. Through these discursive levels, we have tried to underline that the construction of knowledge regarding the microhistory of ʻIʻipona is a slippery and controversial ground which nevertheless shows how the rediscovery of tradition should be understood as a hybrid product, conceived by both ʻenata/ʻenana (Indigenous people) and haoʻe (foreigners). The definitions and descriptions created by Western disciplines have participated in the realisation of this recovery through the restoration of the meʻae and the raising of its tiki and, at the same time, through the production of texts that have saved, selected and transmitted certain accounts collected over time by amateurs and scholars. The circulation of these accounts and the archaeological works have enabled some individuals to access content through which to give meaning to their versions and legitimise their role as passeurs culturels (Aria 2007; Bénat Tachot and Gruzinski 2001). By positioning themselves on the cultural crossroads, which we have here referred to as beaches (Dening 1980, 2004) or contact zones (Clifford 1997; Pratt 1991), local actors such as Pihua, Henry Lie and, more recently, Vohi Heitaʻa, Rémi Santos and Teaʻiki Tohetiaatua have demonstrated their ability to skilfully use multiple languages and symbolic universes, and to stitch the past to the present through a relationship established with discourses and practices of specialists. The perspectives and

contents coming from outside are thus "indigenised" by these protagonists of the "liminal areas", i.e., of that "complicated intercultural zone … where 'native' and 'stranger' play out their working misunderstandings in creolized languages" (Sahlins 1993: 13). If on the one hand the West has stimulated oblivion, demonising traditions and condemning them to irreversible loss, it has, on the other hand, nevertheless triggered the subsequent rehabilitation of the local past by providing the means, approaches and often knowledge to (re)establish relationships with the ancestors. Nevertheless, such recovery of the past inevitably involves challenging trends, stereotypical views and interpretive frameworks created by the hao'e who have participated together with the locals in producing over time new and different layers of "tiki talk".

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to dedicate this article to all Marquesan collaborators who took part in the fieldwork and to those who kindly shared images, tips and suggestions to improve our text. In particular, heartfelt thanks go to Lorenz Gonschor, Carol S. Ivory and the reviewers and entire team at *Waka Kuaka: The Journal of the Polynesian Society*.

NOTES

1. This article's opening section and more generally the entire article are the result of joint work. Paragraph 2 in particular is attributed to Michael J. Koch and paragraphs 3 and 4 to Giacomo Nerici. All translations in the article are ours.
2. Although our article calls into question some aspects of the Pacific debate on tradition (see Babadzan 1983, 1999; Hanson 1989; Jolly 1992; Jolly and Thomas 1992; Keesing 1989, 1993, 1996; Keesing and Tonkinson 1982; Lindstrom and White 1994; Linnekin 1983, 1985; Tabani 2002; Thomas 1992; Van der Grijp and Van Meijl 1993), it more specifically seeks to show how tradition is the result of discourses, practices and interpretations "constructed by many hands" (Aria 2007: 34) between foreigners and natives who recover, redefine and readapt each other's accounts. The encounter between scholars and certain collaborators, the interweaving of scientific knowledge and oral narratives, has generated both the forgetting and the recovery of the past, always reconceptualising tradition in relation to 'I'ipona according to the present.
3. His great-granddaughter Sarah Aeata married the Swiss Frédéric Numa Tissot in Atu'ona. They are ancestors of the site's present owners.
4. In this article, we preserve the spelling and transcription choices for the various tiki according to each author we cite. The different spellings of the names of tiki appearing below and sometimes next to each other is meant to be a way of giving an account of how the written sources have recorded, interpreted and transmitted them.

5. Edward Tregear was in fact a member of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain, and in that dictionary he had produced a monumental work on Polynesian dialects. By his own admission, however, that work "does not pretend to be a dictionary of Polynesian, but to present to the reader those Polynesian words which are related to the Maori dialect" (Tregear 1891: ix–x).
6. William DeWitt Alexander was an educator, author and linguist in the Kingdom of Hawai'i who probably received this list of names from his father, William Patterson Alexander, who had been a missionary in the Marquesas, or from Thomas Lawson, an English sailor who had deserted a whaling ship and settled among the natives in the Marquesas in 1842.
7. Karl von den Steinen developed an interest in ethnology during a voyage around the world (1879–1881) after meeting Adolf Bastian in Honolulu and then contributed, along with others, to the professionalisation of the discipline by attributing importance to the length of time spent in the field, learning languages and using cartography, drawing and photography (Trautmann-Waller 2021: 1). His extensive research in the Xingú region of Brazil (1884 and 1887) and his books (see Von den Steinen 1886, 1894) became classics of Americanist anthropology, and his assertion that the "Bororo were araras", i.e., tropical parrots, went on to influence Lucien Lévy-Bruhl's studies on the mental functions of traditional societies and Claude Lévi-Strauss's later studies on myths and on totemism.
8. Von den Steinen refers to the German words "tribe" (Stamm) and "clan" (Clan) synonymously (Von den Steinen 1925: 15). Here we use these expressions instead of the word "chiefdom", in accordance with the interpretations of his collaborators, who mainly translated 'ati as "people, tribe or group".
9. "Taua means priest or priestess; pepe means butterfly. For 'maki', it is perhaps compared to the Tahitian mairi, 'to fall or drop down from a high place'; it should also be mentioned that, according to popular belief, the souls of dead priests are embodied in large butterflies" (Von den Steinen 1928a: 81). A sculpture of the same design, smaller and broken, was found below Meiaute me'ae in Hane on the island of 'Ua Huka.
10. Representatives of the cultural association Motu Haka and the municipality of Hiva'oa also asked the archaeology department at the Centre polynésien des sciences humaines to undertake the restoration of the important tohua Upeke in the Ta'aoa valley (in the southeast of the island). This was carried out by French archaeologist Éric Conte.
11. It was with the Nuku Hiva edition of the festival (1999–2000) in particular that municipalities, associations and prominent intellectuals began to call for archaeological studies and interventions. Visible remains thus became the supports of memory and local identities, but also a means for teaching the younger generations to reclaim, rediscover and enhance their heritage, as was the case with those of Hatiheu Valley in Nuku Hiva (Ottino-Garanger 2006).
12. The interviews mentioned in this article were carried out by Giacomo Nerici during his fieldwork in the Marquesas Islands (May 2021–July 2022) as part of his PhD project in cultural and social anthropology at the University of Milano-Bicocca.

13. The site is referred to as "Jipona" by Baessler (1900: 235), while the spelling "Oipona" was adopted by Linton (1925: 159–63) and later by Heyerdahl. "Iipona" was used for the first time in written sources by Von den Steinen (1928a: 77) and, according to Heyerdahl (1965: 123), was also used by "the present population of the valley … and this may very likely be the original version". This passage shows that the name was already circulating and that its transmission has probably followed a discontinuous and nonlinear path up until today.
14. Unlike the concept of "cultural landscape" adopted for inscription of the Taputapuātea site in Raʻiātea (Society Islands) on the World Heritage List in 2017, the Marquesas rather sought to highlight an oceanic vision based on the holistic relationship between culture and nature. Consequently, the UNESCO-Marquesas file identifies seven clusters: Eiao and Hatutū; Nuku Hiva (Haʻatuatua Anaho Hatiheu, Tekao, Nuku Ataha Hakauʻi); ʻUa Pou (Hakaʻohoka, Hohoʻi, Motu ʻOa, Mokohe, Takae); ʻUa Huka (the coastal marine area only); Hiva ʻOa (Puamaʻu, Taʻaʻoa, Mount Temetiu); Tahuata (Mount Haʻaoiputeomo, Motopū); Fatu ʻUku; and Fatu Hiva (Hanavave, Touʻaouoho and Moʻunanui, Omoa), including a zone of three nautical miles around each of the islands.
15. By decree no. 865 a.p.a. 23 June 1952, site no. 135. Full text: "Arrêté no 865 a.p.a., portant classement, en sue de leur protection, de monuments et sites des Etablissements français de l'Océanie", *Journal Officiel*, 15 July 1952, no. 14, p. 287, under "Actes des institutions de la Polynésie française". https://lexpol.cloud.pf/LexpolAfficheTexte.php?texte=270638&idr=0&np=6
16. ʻIʻipona has, since the 1990s, been one of the major tourist attractions not only for Hivaʻoa but more generally for the archipelago. As evidence of the notoriety acquired by the site since its restoration, the cargo-passenger ship *Aranui 5*, the preferred means for touring the islands, makes a stop in the Puamau Valley. The *Aranui 5* currently runs 17 tours per year and generally carries 150 to 200 passengers, with a capacity for up to 230. Inaugurated in 1984, this ship brought the Marquesans face to face with the "tourist gaze" (Urry 1990), playing a decisive role in the overall process of artistic and cultural revival (Ivory 1999). Apart from the *Aranui 5*, smaller flows of tourists also reach Hivaʻoa by plane, staying on average a few days in one of Atuona guesthouses. Usually one day is devoted to visiting ʻIʻipona, which the island authorities promote as the most important tourist destination along with the monuments to Paul Gauguin and Jacques Brel.
17. Maheatete Huhina's artist biography for STOA169: https://stoa169.com/en/stoa/maheatete-huhina/

GLOSSARY

The terms included in this glossary are Marquesan unless otherwise stated.

anaunau	invocation
ʻati	people, tribe, group
ʻenata/ʻenana	human being, man, mankind, Indigenous

etua	deified ancestor, god
haʻakakai	myth, legend (see tekao kakiu)
haʻakakai ʻenana	Marquesan myths, legends
hakāʻiki	chief
haoʻe	foreigner
heana	human sacrifice
ʻiʻi	strength
keʻetū	red tuff
mā	fermented breadfruit paste
mana	power, supernatural force
meʻae	temple site
moai	monolithic human statues (Rapanui)
paʻaha	bier, coffin
passeur (culturel)	(cultural) bridge-maker (French)
paepae	stone house foundation
patu tiki	tattoo, tattooing
peke	maternal (according to local versions)
pona	knot, union
taha tupapaʻu	place for drying bodies
tai	sea, saltwater
taka	connection, bond
tapa	barkcloth
tapatapa	public declamation, proclamation
tapu	taboo
tauʻa	ritual specialist
tekao kakiu	stories referring to ancient times
tiki	image, statue, first man, lit. phallus
toa	warrior
tohua	public feasting centre
tuhuka	master, expert
tuhuna ʻoʻono	keeper of oral tradition
tumu mei	breadfruit tree (*Artocarpus altilis*)
tumu pure	deacon
ū	female breast (milk, according to local versions)
ʻua mā	storage pit for fermented breadfruit paste
umu	earth oven
vahine	Polynesian woman
vaka hiva	oceangoing canoe

REFERENCES

Aria, Matteo, 2007. *Cercando nel vuoto: La memoria perduta e ritrovata in Polinesia Francese*. Pisa: Pacini.

Babadzan, Alain, 1983. Kastom and nation-building in the South Pacific. In R. Guidieri, F. Pellizzi and S. Tambiah (eds), *Ethnicities and Nations: Processes of Interethnic Relations in Latin America, Southeast Asia and the Pacific*. Houston: Rothko Chapel, pp. 199–228.

——1999. Les politiques de la tradition: Identités culturelles et identités nationales dans le Pacifique. Special issue, *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 109 (2).

Baessler, Arthur, 1900. *Neue Südsee-Bilder*. Berlin: Georg Reimer. https://archive.org/details/neuesudseebilde00baesgoog

Bénat Tachot, Louise and Serge Gruzinski (eds), 2001. *Passeurs culturels: Mécanismes de metissage*. Paris: Presses universitaires de Marne-la-Vallée, Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme.

Boas, Franz, 1930. Obituary: Karl von den Steinen. *Science*, New Series, 71 (1827): 7–8. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.71.1827.7

Charpentier, Jean-Michel and Alexandre François, 2015. *Atlas linguistique de la Polynésie française/Linguistic Atlas of French Polynesia*. Puna'aiua: De Gruyter Mouton, Université de la Polynésie française. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110260359

Chavaillon, Catherine and Éric Olivier, 2005. Inventaire archéologique à Hiva Oa (Marquises). *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 120–121 (2005): 157–71. https://doi.org/10.4000/jso.444

——2007. *Le patrimoine archéologique de l'île de Hiva'oa (archipel des Marquises)*. Papeete: Ministère de la culture, Service de la culture et du patrimoine.

Chave-Dartoen, Sophie and Bruno Saura, 2019. Les généalogies polynésiennes, une mise en récit du monde sociocosmique, de son origine et de son ordre. *Cahiers de Littérature Orale* 84: 89–124. http://journals.openedition.org/clo/5383

Christian, Frederick William, 1895. Notes on the Marquesans. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 4 (3): 187–202. https://www.jstor.org/stable/20701386

——1910. *Eastern Pacific Lands: Tahiti and the Marquesas Islands*. London: Robert Scott. https://archive.org/details/easternpacificla00chri

Clifford, James, 1988. *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press.

——1997. Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century. Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press.

Dei, Fabio, 2012. *Antropologia culturale*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

——2019. Usi del passato e democratizzazione della memoria: il caso delle rievocazioni storiche. In A. Iuso (ed.), *Il senso della storia: Saperi diffusi e patrimonializzazione del passato*. Rome: CISU, pp. 15–36.

Dening, Gregory, 1980. *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land: Marquesas 1774–1880*. Chicago: Dorsey Press. https://archive.org/details/islandsbeachesdi00deni

——2004. *Beach Crossings: Voyaging across Times, Cultures, and Self*. Carlton, VIC: Miegunya Press/Melbourne University Publishing.

DeSilvey, Caitlin, 2017. *Curated Decay: Heritage beyond Saving*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Donaldson, Emily C., 2019. *Working with the Ancestors: Mana and Place in the Marquesas Islands*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Ferdon, Edwin, 1965. Report 9: Surface architecture of the site of Paeke, Taipi Valley, Nukuhiva. In T. Heyerdahl and E.N. Ferdon (eds), *Reports of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island and the East Pacific*. Vol. 2, *Miscellaneous Papers*. Santa Fe/Oslo: Monographs of the School of American Research/The Kon-Tiki Museum, pp. 117–22.

Guiot, Hélène and Marie-Noëlle Ottino-Garanger, 2016. *Tiki, Ti'i, Ki'i… Aux origines des Polynésiens*. Paris: Société des Océanistes.

Handy, Edward Smith Craighill, 1923. *The Native Culture in the Marquesas*. Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 9. Honolulu. https://archive.org/details/nativecultureinm00hand/mode/2up

Hanson, Allan, 1989. The making of the Maori: Culture invention and its logic. *American Anthropologist* 91 (4): 890–902. https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1989.91.4.02a00050

Heyerdahl, Thor, 1965. Report 10: The statues of the Oipona me'ae, with a comparative analysis of possibly related stone monuments. In T. Heyerdahl and E.N. Ferdon (eds), *Reports of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island and the East Pacific*. Vol. 2, *Miscellaneous Papers*. Santa Fe/Oslo: Monographs of the School of American Research/The Kon-Tiki Museum, pp. 123–54.

——1974. *Fatu Hiva: Back to Nature*. London: Allen & Unwin.

Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger (eds), 1983. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Hyman, Stanley Edgar, 1962. *The Tangled Bank: Darwin, Marx, Frazer and Freud as Imaginative Writers*. New York: Atheneum.

Ivory, Carol S., 1999. Art, tourism, and cultural revival in the Marquesas Islands. In R.B. Phillips and C.B. Steiner (eds), *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*. Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, pp. 316–33.

Jolly, Margaret, 1992. Specters of inauthenticity. *Contemporary Pacific* 4 (1): 42–72. http://hdl.handle.net/10125/8548

Jolly, Margaret and Nicholas Thomas (eds), 1992. The Politics of Tradition in the Pacific. Special issue, *Oceania* 62 (4). https://www.jstor.org/stable/i40014280

Julien, Michèle, Michel Orliac, Catherine Orliac, Bertrand Gérard, Anne Lavondès, Henri Lavondès and Claude Robineau (eds), 1996. *Mémoire de pierre, mémoire d'homme: Tradition et archéologie en Océanie. Hommage à José Garanger.* Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne.

Keesing, Roger M., 1989. Creating the past: Custom and identity in the contemporary Pacific. *Contemporary Pacific* 1 (1–2): 19–42. https://www.jstor.org/stable/23701891

——1993. Kastom re-examined. *Anthropological Forum* 6 (4): 587–96. https://doi.org/10.1080/00664677.1993.9967434

——1996. Class, culture, custom. In J. Friedman and J. Carrier (eds), *Melanesian Modernities*. Lund: Lund University Press, pp. 162–82.

Keesing, Roger M. and Robert Tonkinson (eds), 1982. Reinventing Traditional Culture: The Politics of Kastom in Island Melanesia. Special issue, *Mankind* 13 (4). https://doi.org/10.1111/apv.251009

Kirsten, Sven, 2014. *Tiki Pop: L'Amérique rêve son paradis polynésien*. Paris: Taschen.

Lindstrom, Lamont and Geoffrey M. White (eds), 1994. *Culture, Kastom, Tradition: Developing Cultural Policy in Melanesia*. Suva: University of the South Pacific.

Linnekin, Jocelyn, 1983. Defining tradition: Variations on the Hawaiian identity. *American Ethnologist* 10 (2): 241–52. https://doi.org/10.1525/ae.1983.10.2.02a00020

——1985. *Children of the Land: Exchange and Status in a Hawaiian Community*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Linton, Ralph, 1925. *Archaeology of the Marquesas Islands*. Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin No. 23. Honolulu. http://hbs.bishopmuseum.org/pubs-online/pdf/bull23.pdf

Lowenthal, David, 1996. *Possessed by the Past: The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. New York: The Free Press.

Melander, Victor, 2020. The Coming of the White Bearded Men: The Origin and Development of Thor Heyerdahl's Kon-Tiki Theory. PhD thesis, Australian National University, Canberra. https://doi.org/10.25911/5e96e30f77539

Nicholson, Bronwen, 1995. *Gauguin and Maori Art*. Auckland: Godwit.

Obeyesekere, Gananath, 2005. *Cannibal Talk: The Man-Eating Myth and Human Sacrifice in the South Seas*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ottino-Garanger, Pierre, 1996. Archéologie et restauration à Hiva Oa: Le "me'ae" Iipona de Puamau, aux îles Marquises. In M. Julien, M. Orliac, C. Orliac, B. Gérard, A. Lavondès, H. Lavondès and C. Robineau (eds), *Mémoire de pierre, mémoire d'homme: Tradition et archéologie en Océanie. Hommage à José Garanger*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, pp. 345–76. https://horizon.documentation.ird.fr/exl-doc/pleins_textes/divers09-03/010008131.pdf

——2006. *Archéologie chez les Taïpi: Hatiheu, un projet partagé aux îles Marquises*. Tahiti and Paris: Au Vent des Îles and IRD Éditions.

——2014. Archéologie partagée: Réappropriation des sites et renaissance culturelle aux îles Marquises. In J.-C. Galipaud and D. Guillaud (eds), *Une archéologie pour le développement*. Marseille: Éditions La Discussion, pp. 81–90.

Pratt, Mary Louise, 1991. Arts of the contact zone. *Profession* 1991: 33–40.

Sahlins, Marshall, 1993. Goodbye to *Tristes Tropes*: Ethnography in the context of modern world history. *Journal of Modern History* 65 (1): 1–25. https://doi.org/10.1086/244606

Segalen, Victor, [1975] 2001. Pensieri pagani. In *Saggio sull'esotismo. Un'estetica del diverso*, translated by Carmen Saggiomo. Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, pp. 109–24.

Sigaudo-Fourny, Alexandra and SCP, 2016. Opération de sauvegarde des grands tiki de Puamau. *Hiro'a* 103 (1 April): 16–21. https://www.hiroa.pf/2016/04/n103-operation-de-sauvegarde-des-grands-tiki-de-puamau/

Smith, Laurajane, 2006. *Uses of Heritage*. London; New York: Routledge.

Tabani, Marc Kurt, 2002. *Les Pouvoirs de la coutume à Vanuatu. Traditionalisme et édification nationale*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Thomas, Nicholas, 1990. *Marquesan Societies: Inequality and Political Transformation in Eastern Polynesia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

——1992. The inversion of tradition. *American Ethnologist* 19 (2): 213–32. https://doi.org/10.1525/ae.1992.19.2.02a00020

Tomlinson, Matt and Ty P. Kāwika Tengan (eds), 2016. *New Mana: Transformations of a Classic Concept in Pacific Languages and Cultures*. Canberra: ANU Press. http://doi.org/10.22459/NM.04.2016

Trautmann-Waller, Céline, 2021. Karl von den Steinen et les "explications des indigènes", de l'Amazonie aux îles Marquises. *Bérose—Encyclopédie internationale des histoires de l'anthropologie*. Paris, pp. 1–19. https://www.berose.fr/article2359.html

Tregear, Edward, 1891. *The Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary*. Wellington: Lyon and Blair. https://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-TreMaor.html

Urry, John, 1972. Notes & queries on anthropology and the development of field methods in British anthropology, 1870–1920. *Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*. London: The Institute, pp. 43–57.

——1984. A history of field methods. In R.F. Ellen (ed.), *Ethnographic Research: A Guide to General Conduct*. Association of Social Anthropologists Research Methods Series No. 1. London: Academic Press, pp. 35–61.

——1990. *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. London: SAGE.

Van der Grijp, Paul and Toon van Meijl (eds), 1993. Politics, Tradition and Change in the Pacific. Special issue, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 149 (4).

Von den Steinen, Karl, 1886. *Durch Central-Brasilien. Expedition zur Erforschung des Schingú im Jahre 1884*. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus. https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_o5siAQAAMAAJ

——1894. *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. Reiseschilderungen und Ergebnisse der zweiten Schingú-Expedition 1887–1888*. Berlin: Geographische Verlagsbuchhandlung von Dietrich Reimer. https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.32420

——1925. *Die Marquesaner und ihre Kunst, Band I, Tatauierung*. Berlin: D. Reimer.

——1928a. *Die Marquesaner und ihre Kunst, Band II, Plastik*. Berlin: D. Reimer.

——1928b. *Die Marquesaner und ihre Kunst, Band III, Die Sammlungen*. Berlin: D. Reimer.

White, Geoffrey, 2015. Review of *Tiki Pop: America Imagines Its Own Polynesian Paradise*, by Sven Kirsten. *The Contemporary Pacific* 27 (2): 560–65.

AUTHOR CONTACT DETAILS

Corresponding Author: Giacomo Nerici, Via Puccini 34, 57124, Livorno (LI), Italy.
giacomo.nerici@gmail.com | https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1129-6620

Michael J. Koch, B.P. 53087, Pirae 98761, Polynésie française.
takuuaservices@gmail.com | https://orcid.org/0009-0004-9446-4216

MANU DUALITY: SEPARATION, COMPETITION AND DECEPTION IN POLYNESIAN BIRD STORIES

RAPHAEL RICHTER-GRAVIER
Te Whare Wānanga o Ōtākou University of Otago

ABSTRACT: In Polynesian societies, people developed a deep knowledge of all feathered creatures and devised a great many stories about them. This article offers a summary and a comparative analysis of 30 traditional Polynesian narratives. These stories feature two birds (or a bird and another animal) that either part company, compete with each other or deceive one another. Of these 30 narratives, 12 originate in East Polynesia, 6 in West Polynesia and the other 12 in Polynesian Outliers. These stories show that birds elicited much interest in people, that their habits and behaviour were intimately familiar to Polynesians and that they were perceived as much more than a food source. Their beautiful colours had to be accounted for, their origin thus explained in a story. The same went for a peculiar behavioural or physical characteristic, a call or cry, a feeding or nesting habit. These traditions describe birds as not having always looked, sounded or behaved the way they do now: in all these aetiological narratives a particular event triggered a change in appearance, voice or behaviour that became permanent.

Keywords: oral traditions, Polynesian birds, aetiological narratives, animal stories, Polynesian mythology, ethnozoology

---

In all Polynesian societies, birds engaged the human imagination with their songs, colours and power of flight, especially because of the absence of large land mammals in Polynesia. Manu (birds in most Polynesian languages) were also very powerful symbols. They appear in traditional Polynesian stories in a variety of roles.

In this article, traditional stories are defined as stories that were, and in some cases still are, handed down, transmitted by word of mouth from generation to generation. Traditional Polynesian stories are not necessarily pre-European or from a very long time ago. They originated in Polynesian communities living in the thousand islands of East Polynesia, West Polynesia and the Polynesian Outliers.

Manu had already colonised Polynesia when *Homo sapiens* was barely leaving Africa. Fossil evidence suggests that most of the bird species present at first human contact in places such as Tonga, Aotearoa New Zealand and Hawai‘i had been present for more than 100,000 years (Steadman 2006: 448). Most of the avifauna of tropical Polynesia (excluding Hawai‘i) originated

---

Richter-Gravier, Raphael, 2023. Manu duality: Separation, competition and deception in Polynesian bird stories. *Waka Kuaka: The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 132 (3): 321–342. https://doi.org/10.15286/jps.132.3.321-342

in New Guinea, having dispersed over the widest expanse of water on the planet and colonised very remote islands up to 10,000 kilometres away from New Guinea. The cases of Aotearoa New Zealand and Hawai‘i differ in that their avifaunas are highly endemic and have different origins and evolutionary histories from those of the rest of Polynesia. The former seems to be of Australian origin, while Hawai‘i has land birds of American origin (Mitchell 1990: 123–24).

For my PhD research I compiled a corpus of 300 traditional Polynesian narratives that feature birds as dramatis personae. I analysed and compared these in order to identify the recurrent themes and motifs that run through them and to find out how Polynesians incorporated birds into their stories (Richter-Gravier 2019). Little had been written on the topic of birds in Polynesian oral narratives. Birds have tended to be studied without consideration of the stories told about them, mostly in the case of ornithologists, and anthropologists have tended to study Polynesian oral traditions without taking much note of the birds present in them.

I found most of these stories in published sources (from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, by ethnographers, anthropologists and linguists) and a few additional ones in manuscripts; I did not collect any of them firsthand. The first step was to locate bird-related narratives in Bacil Kirtley's *A Motif-Index of Traditional Polynesian Narratives*, published in 1971. However, Kirtley did not survey all the existing literature, and many Polynesian stories were published after 1971. Therefore, although Kirtley's motif-index was a highly valuable tool allowing me to locate many of the stories, numerous other publications had to be surveyed to find as many further narratives about birds as possible.

The corpus thus compiled shows that birds play a part in stories about the origin of the world and of humankind. They appear in many traditions as message-bearers sent by a deity to warn or advise humans, as guardians and protectors, or as cherished pets. They can also appear as giant man-eating birds.

Other narratives are purely "animal stories" without human characters. Of the 300 bird stories assembled in the corpus, 30 feature two birds (or a bird and another animal) in opposition to one another. They argue, compete or trick one another. In this article it will be argued that the primary function of these "animal stories" is not to inculcate moral values or merely to entertain. Rather than being didactic, they are aetiological—they account for and give meaning to the physical, vocal and behavioural characteristics of a given species. They demonstrate that Polynesian peoples developed their own sets of beliefs to explain a bird's behaviour and appearance. These explanations are, in my view, what makes these stories particularly interesting, because they provide insights into Polynesian peoples' ways of thinking. These narratives also show how birds can become "storytelling material".

STORIES OF OPPOSITION

Arguments about the Best Place to Live or the Best Food

Two Māori "parting-of-ways" stories featuring birds present an opposition between land and sea. In these stories, two animals argue about the best place to live and part ways because they cannot agree. These "survival" stories are about finding the safest place to live in order not to be killed and eaten by people.

In the first story, the koreke (New Zealand quail, *Coturnix novaezelandiae*) and the pakake (New Zealand fur seal, *Arctocephalus forsteri*) were friends (Beattie 1920a: XXIII, 5). The pakake wanted the koreke to go out to sea with it, but the bird wished to stay on land.[1] The pakake insisted and tried to leave, but the koreke tried to restrain him. The pakake then began to tangi (cry) and sang a lament about having to leave to avoid being killed and eaten. The pakake eventually went out to sea, and its friend stayed on shore and headed inland.

In the story of the toroa (albatross) and the kākāpō (*Strigops habroptila*), a seabird plays the part of the fur seal (Beattie 1920a: XXIII, 2). In this narrative as well, the toroa wanted the kākāpō to go out to sea with him, but the latter replied that they were better off on land. The toroa argued that they would be found and eaten if they stayed on land, while the kākāpō believed that this would happen if they went out to sea. So, they parted company.

The Māori story of the kiore (Polynesian rat, *Rattus exulans*) and the pōwhaitere (parakeet, *Cyanoramphus* sp.) differs from the previous two narratives in that one of the protagonists, the kiore, knows that it will be killed and eaten by people anyway—there is no hope for the poor kiore (Taylor 1855: 137). In a conversation between the two animals, the pōwhaitere told the kiore that they should climb up the trees to eat the fruit of the miro (brown pine, *Prumnopitys ferruginea*) and the kahikatea (white pine, *Dacrycarpus dacrydioides*). Parakeets are usually found high in the forest canopy, but they also often forage on the ground (Moon 1992: 183). The kiore replied that their numbers were declining because people twisted the necks of the pōwhaitere and snared the kiore. For Taylor, the "moral" of the story was that there is "no escape from man's power" (1855: 137). In another version (Best 1977: 356, 405), the kiore replied that it belonged to the ground ("nō raro nei au"), where people strangled it. The opposition is not between land and sea in this narrative, but between the ground and the treetops.

From the Tuamotu Archipelago (ʻAnā) comes a story in which the opposition is between two nesting habits (Torrente 2012: 71). The ngoio (brown noddy, *Anous stolidus*) asked the kīrarahu (white tern, *Gygis alba*) where she laid her eggs. The kīrarahu replied that she did not build a nest but rather laid eggs in the hollows in tree branches. The ngoio said that she made

a nest, so that when she laid eggs, the wind would not blow them away. The ngoio built her nest and laid her eggs, and the kīrarahu found a hollow in a tree branch and laid hers. This is what the two birds have done ever since.

Another Tuamotuan narrative tells of the argument between a bird and another animal, each predicting that the other will be killed and eaten by people (Henry 1928: 380–81). Unlike the previous narratives, they are not friends but siblings.[2] A moa (red junglefowl, *Gallus gallus*) and a tifai (turtle) had an argument: the tifai said that it will have more prestige because it will be sacred to the gods, whereas the moa will be eaten by women and children. The moa scornfully replied that it was the tifai that would be eaten; the bird would dive into the depths of the ocean and escape humans. At that moment, a man picked up the tifai and took it to the gods. The moa then tried to dive into the sea but was caught by a passing party of women and children, who took him home. This is how the moa became a domestic animal and a food source for women and children and the tifai a delicacy for the aristocracy. While the Māori stories explain why the pakake and the toroa parted company with their respective friends, the koreke and the kākāpō, this tradition describes how the moa became a domestic animal.

A different version of this Tuamotuan narrative is reminiscent of the Māori stories in that it too raises the question of whether the sea or the land is the best place to live. According to this second version (Seurat 1906: 125–26), a turtle swimming in the ocean urged a moa standing on the shore to come into the water, but the moa replied that the turtle should come ashore. The turtle refused because it did not want to have to eat tūtae (excrement), and the moa declined because he was reluctant to eat only rimu (seaweed). The turtle then told the moa that he is disreputable ("'aore ōu roʻo") whereas the turtle is esteemed ("e roʻo tōʻu"), being a tapu (sacred) animal. Thus, this story is about not just roʻo (renown) but also food. The moa thought that the best food could only be found on land, but for the turtle the best food was in the sea.

Another story about a bird not impressed by the food eaten by another animal comes from Mungiki/Bellona Island (Solomon Islands) (Kuschel 1975: 114–16). The taba (brown goshawk, *Accipiter fasciatus*), the mangibae (eastern osprey, *Pandion cristatus*) and the ngupe (Pacific imperial pigeon, *Ducula pacifica*) were brothers. The mangibae was the oldest, and for some informants the ngupe was in the middle and the taba the youngest, but for others the ngupe was the youngest. They came from the underworld, Tengaangonga. The taba went out for his food first, and came back with a string of snakes. The mangibae, not impressed by this choice, told his younger brother that the forest was full of ngupe, a much better food. He thus convinced the taba to eat his own brothers. The taba came back with a

string of ngupe, which he ate raw. He also ate the snakes. Then the mangibae went out for his food and came back with a string of parrotfish, which he ate raw. Since then, the brothers have been rivals, and mangibae have eaten fish, and taba, ngupe and snakes.

In a version collected in Mugaba/Rennell Island (Solomon Islands), the taba and the magibae are not brothers but friends, and there is no ngupe (Kirtley and Elbert 1973: 248–49). The two friends made their nest together. One day, they went separately to get their food. The taba went to the bush to catch birds, and the magibae went to the sea to catch fish. The magibae was first to return to the nest, with some fish, and waited for his friend. But when the taba came back with his catch of snakes and rats, the magibae found them so disgusting that he stamped on their nest and his fish and flew away. The two separated forever. According to the collectors of the story, the people of Mugaba had "a horror of rats and snakes". In this version the motif of the taba eating his own brother is absent; it focuses instead on the disgust triggered by the food brought back by the taba as an explanation for the separation.

A Mungiki narrative about the taghoa (Australian white ibis, *Threskiornis molucca*) explains the feeding habits of this bird: taghoa leave their perching tree in the morning and only come back in the evening (Kuschel 1975: 116–17). A female taghoa waited all day long in her tree for the male to return home. When she angrily reproached him for coming back so late, he retorted that he had been to the far end of the island. Since then, taghoa have been going out early in the morning and flying off a long way in search of food, only returning in the evening.

Races and Games of Hide-and-Seek

A variant of the story of the kākāpō and the toroa introduces a game of hide-and-seek: the two birds hold a contest to decide who will be the master of the land (Beattie 1920b: 72). This notion of competition is absent from the other version. In this version the birds agreed to take turns at hiding on a piece of open land with very little cover. The toroa hid first, but the kākāpō soon found him because of his very conspicuous white plumage. The toroa hid a second time, but again, before long, the kākāpō found him. Then the kākāpō hid; he covered his head with a piupiu (fern) and lay down on a bare patch of land. The toroa looked everywhere but could not find the kākāpō, until the latter laughed out loud, thus revealing his hiding place. The kākāpō hid a second time; he used the piupiu again so as not to be found. The toroa flew back and forth over the land but failed to discover him. Because of his failure, the toroa was banished to the ocean by the other birds, who considered him unfit to dwell on land. In this version, the toroa is clearly defeated, whereas in the other version he goes to sea of his own accord.

In another version of that story, the game of hide-and-seek played is not a contest to decide who will be the master of the land but a way to ascertain whose plumage provides better camouflage; it is again about being safe from people (Drummond 1910). The kākāpō and the mollymawk[3] became friends at a gathering of all the birds. The mollymawk suggested that they exchange places of residence, but the kākāpō, who did not like the idea very much, replied that the white and grey plumage of his friend would make him too conspicuous on land: unlike the kākāpō with his green plumage easily camouflaged in the foliage, the mollymawk would not be able to hide from his enemies. The mollymawk then suggested that they put it to the test by taking turns hiding. The mollymawk tried to hide, but the kākāpō could still see him. When the kākāpō hid, however, his friend looked for him for a long time, but in vain. The mollymawk then went out to sea, while the kākāpō remained on land.

In ʻUvea/Wallis Island, Niue and Mugaba, it is not two birds who play a game of hide-and-seek but a plover and a crab. They also race. In ʻUvea, one version of the story explains why there are many hermit crabs on the islet of Nukuhifala (off the east coast of the island), while another explains why the islet of Nukutapu (off the northeastern coast) belongs to the people of Alele. The first version (Burrows 1937: 165–67) has it that the kiu (Pacific golden plover, *Pluvialis fulva*, or ruddy turnstone, *Arenaria interpres*) accused the hermit crab (ʻuga) of being slow of foot, so the two fought. When the ʻuga pinched the leg of the kiu, the latter cried in agony, and the ʻuga declared itself the winner. The kiu then raced the polili (wandering tattler, *Tringa incana*). The ʻuga wanted to race the kiu but told him that they should sleep first. While the bird was sleeping, the ʻuga crawled out of its shell and began the race, and when the bird awakened, he saw the shell and, not suspecting that the ʻuga was gone, went back to sleep. The ʻuga thus won the race and told the assembly of kiu that they could not live at Nukuhifala, for it was the ruler there now. So, the kiu flew away to Nukuhione and Nukuteatea. To this day there are many ʻuga at Nukuhifala.

According to the second version (Mayer 1970–71: 130), the islet of Nukutapu was contested by the villages of Vaitupu and Alele. To settle the matter, it was decided to organise a race. The former village chose the kiu to race on their behalf, and the latter, the ʻuga. Vaitupu was to be the starting point and Nukutapu the finish. The two animals agreed to start the race at sunrise, but during the night the ʻuga crawled out of its shell and began to run. In the middle of the night the bird awakened, but he assumed that the ʻuga was still sleeping. At sunrise, the bird started racing, but it was too late. As he was about to reach the islet, the ʻuga, which was already there, told the bird to leave because Nukutapu now belonged to the people of Alele. Ashamed, the kiu flew away to Nukuteatea. For Mayer (1976: 159), this

story reflects the opposition between the villages of Vaitupu and Alele. It also explains why some motu (islets) have more kiu and others have more ‘uga.

In the Niuean version of that narrative, the hermit crab (ugamea) plays exactly the same trick on the poor kiu,[4] but the object of the race is different. They race not to a motu to claim its ownership (Niue has no motu) but to the ocean to ascertain who will own the water (Loeb 1926: 200–201). Because the ugamea wins the race, the sea becomes its home, and the defeated kiu has to rest on rocks. This version is thus reminiscent of the Māori “parting-of-ways” stories of the koreke/pakake and kākāpō/toroa in their opposition between land and sea, which does not appear in the Uvean versions. The difference, though, between the Niuean tradition and the Māori ones is that only the latter are about finding safety from humans.

In Mugaba, just as in the first Uvean version mentioned above, the race between the plover and the hermit crab is triggered by the bird’s remark that the crab walks like a weakling while the bird can fly strongly and to distant places (Kirtley and Elbert 1973: 252–53). The sibiu (greater sand plover, *Charadrius leschenaultii*) challenged the hermit crab (‘unga) to a race. The latter agreed but asked him to wait for it to get ready. The ‘unga went and asked its congeners for help. When it returned, they started the race. The sibiu flew off and the ‘unga stayed behind. He asked the ‘unga where it was, and it replied, “Here I am”. He continued to fly, repeated the question, got the same reply, and so on until he exhausted himself, fell down and died. The ‘unga then said, “You have died, you who challenged; I alone am living”, before eating the bird’s stomach. As Kirtley and Elbert explained, the ‘unga is a scavenger that “may be seen piled up in heaps on Rennellese beaches”, and it won the race “against a swift opponent by stationing its relatives, indistinguishable from itself in appearance, along the course to be run”. The outcome of the race is the death of the bird, again tricked by the ‘unga but in a different fashion from the Uvean and Niuean stories. This narrative is also less aetiological than the others as it does not explain why ‘unga live in a particular place and sibiu do not.

Another tradition, from Niue, again features a kiu and a crab playing a game of hide-and-seek, but in this instance, it is the bird that is the victor (Loeb 1926: 195). The uga (which is not the hermit crab but the coconut crab) hid first; before long the kiu spotted its claws and went to peck at it. Then the bird hid; the uga could hear his voice above but could not find him. Thus the reason why people cannot find these birds’ nests[5] is that the uga failed to find the kiu in the story. This story is thus clearly aetiological.

Two Māori narratives deal with a race between two species of bird. The first tradition accounts for the presence of one species and not the other on a particular group of islands; the second explains how a bird flew into the heavens, never to return. In Rakiura/Stewart Island, the kōkako (South

Island kōkako, *Callaeas cinereus*) and the tīeke (South Island saddleback, *Philesturnus carunculatus*) agreed to have a race to find out which bird flew faster (Beattie 1920a: XXIII, 3). The kōkako thought that he was leading but could hear his rival's whistle sounding ahead in the bush. Every time the tīeke heard the kōkako coming behind him, he flew ahead and whistled. The tīeke won the race and was recognised as the better flyer. Thus, he flew to the Tītī (Muttonbird) Islands, where he settled, while the kōkako remained in Rakiura. Unlike the kiu of 'Uvea, Niue and Mugaba, the kōkako is not tricked by his opponent—he is defeated because he is the slower flyer.

The second story is about a race between the hōkioi or hākuwai (possibly a snipe)[6] and the kāhu (swamp harrier, *Circus approximans*) (Grey 1872). The hōkioi was described as a bird resting on the mountain tops with black feathers tinged with yellow and green and some red ones on the top of his head. The hōkioi and the kāhu both claimed to be able to reach the heavens. As they were flying towards the heavens, they were assailed by the wind and clouds, so much so that the kāhu could not fly any higher, and so he called out "kei!" and flew back down. The hōkioi, however, continued his ascent, disappearing into the heavens. In another version (Best 1982: 564), the kāhu claimed that Hōkioi could not fly higher than the fernbird. Incensed, Hōkioi challenged the kāhu to a race to find out who could fly higher. When the kāhu saw a fern plain on fire, he flew down to prey on the animals escaping from the fire, but Hōkioi continued to fly to the heavens, and never returned to earth again.

These two Māori stories seem to be the only published Polynesian traditions about two birds racing one another. They may be all that remains of a multitude of Polynesian stories about bird races that were lost because they were never recorded and ceased to be transmitted orally through the generations.

STORIES OF TRICKERY

Elements of deception (on the part of the hermit crab) are apparent in some of the preceding stories. In many more traditional Polynesian narratives about birds trickery is the central motif.

Theft

Throughout Polynesia red was considered a sacred colour. According to a Māori tradition, the kākā (New Zealand kākā, *Nestor meridionalis*) was the only bird with red feathers (Beattie 1920a: XXIII, 3). The kākāriki (parakeet, *Cyanoramphus* sp.), longing for the kura (red feathers) of the kākā, offered to pick his kutu (lice). The kākā agreed, but after a time, when he was not looking, the kākāriki plucked all the red feathers from his head and flew away. The kākā called out "Whakahokia mai ōku raukura!" (give me back my red feathers!) and pursued the little thief, but could not catch

him. This is why the kākāriki has red feathers on his crown and the only red feathers the kākā can still boast are under his wings.

In another version the thief is the kākā and the victim is the kākāriki (Best 1982: 565). The kākā stole from the kākāriki his bright red plumage, procured in Motu-tapu, the sacred island of Tinirau, when he saw the admiration elicited by those red feathers. The kākā jeered at him to confuse him, plucked the coveted feathers, left the kākākiri his own feathers and fled.

In Rimatara (Austral Islands), the thief is another psittacine, the ʻura (Kuhl's lorikeet, *Vini kuhlii*). He steals not just the red feathers of the poor moho (spotless crake, *Porzana tabuensis*) but all his colourful feathers (Utia 2010). The moho was the most beautiful bird on the island with his multicoloured plumage. The ʻura, however, was grey and dull, and he became jealous of the moho, who was admired by all. He waited for the moho to take a nap, then stealthily moved towards the sleeping bird. He started by stealing the green feathers from his wings, then the yellow ones from his back, then the red from his chest and the blue from his head. However, as he was in the middle of taking the orange colour of his legs and about to take the red colour of his eyes, the moho felt the beak of the ʻura on his eyelid and was startled awake. Ashamed of having lost all his colours, the moho ran off to the marsh to hide. To this day the ʻura flies around showing off his beauty, whereas the moho only comes out at night. Thus, the story not only accounts for the colours of each bird but also explains why the moho is a secretive crepuscular bird,[7] quite unlike the ʻura.

In a Māori narrative, the thieving behaviour of a bird backfires on him to the point that he, and not the victim of the theft, goes into hiding (Best 1977: 323; 1982: 565–66). The kōkako (North Island kōkako, *Callaeas wilsoni*) wished he were as beautiful as the much-admired huia (*Heteralocha acutirostris*). Thus, he stole the bill and the plumage of a dead huia. But, instead of admiring him, the other birds all laughed and jeered at him, saying that although he tried to look like a huia, he was still a kōkako. This story may explain why the kōkako is "skulking in habit" (Moon 1992: 242).

A tradition from Kapingamarangi and Nukuoro (Federated States of Micronesia) accounts for a bird's entirely black plumage. Its colour does not result from theft but from his friend's refusal to paint him with other colours. In the Kapingamarangi version, the moeho (Micronesian starling, *Aplonis opaca*) suggested to the dala (spectacled tern, *Onychoprion lunatus*) that they beautify themselves (Elbert 1948: 127–28). The moeho painted his friend's feathers white using a mixture made of softened coral stones, and his head black using charcoal mixed with water. The dala was now hūmarie (pretty). Subsequently, the moeho asked the dala to paint him, so the dala painted him all black with the charcoal mixture. The dala then went away, refusing to add white spots to his friend's feathers despite his insistence,

saying that it was enough and would do. The moeho, however, found himself huaaitu (ugly), and complained that his children would be black just like him (for Elbert, this story shows the "dislike of being black"). In the Nukuoro version, the same bird (called moso) closed his eyes (Carroll 1980: 93). His friend (whose species is not mentioned) picked up the container of black paint and poured it over the entire body of the moso before flying away. When the moso opened his eyes and saw his body, he was not happy at all. He said that if his friend landed on the ground he would beat him up; the friend replied that if the moso flew up into the air he would beat him up. This story explains why the moeho/moso is black, but it may also account for the fact that this bird eats seabird eggs. For the Kapingamarangi and the Nukuoro the antagonism between the two species may originate in this episode. According to Reichel and Glass (1990), Micronesian starlings do eat seabird eggs. Whether the Kapingamarangi and the Nukuoro had observed this or not is unknown, but if they had, the story may explain the behaviour of the starling eating seabird eggs in retaliation for the tern's trickery.

In all the above narratives, a bird is tricked by another bird. From Mungiki comes a tradition in which the thief is an insect (Kuschel 1975: 111–13). The tuu (bronze ground dove, *Alopecoenas beccarii*) prised bark off trees every day, which he beat to make a loincloth. The noise greatly annoyed the tukutuku (bagworm moth). The tukutuku decided one day to find the source of this racket. When it arrived at the abode of the tuu, it saw the loincloth, put it on and stole it away. The tuu then chased the tukutuku to get his loincloth back, up and down a tree, but the tukutuku was faster because of its spinning thread, and the exhausted bird gave up. Since then, the tuu has been mourning the loss of his loincloth, weeping every day.[8] This narrative thus accounts for the plaintive call of this bird.

Finally, a bird tricks a fish in a tradition from Mugaba (Kirtley and Elbert 1973: 251). The baapenupenu (moustached treeswift, *Hemiprocne mystacea*) asked the huʻaaika (trevally) to give him its tail, in exchange for some of his feathers. The fish obliged him, but the bird took the tail and flew away without giving any feathers in return, and the fish went out to sea. The story explains why the baapenupenu has a forked tail like that of the huʻaaika. But in Pukapuka, it is the fish that steals the tail of a bird (Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1936: 31–32). The tavake mokomoko (white-tailed tropicbird, *Phaethon lepturus*) was perched on a coral rock in the lagoon. All the fish in the lagoon tried one after the other to pull out the bird's long tail feathers, even changing their colours to blend in with the colour of the sea, but each time the wary bird saw the fish approaching and flew off. The wūmoemoe (stareye parrotfish, *Calotomus carolinus*), changing its colour three times to match the various colours of coral formations in its environment, sneaked up to the bird unnoticed and managed to close its teeth around his tail

feathers. The tavake mokomoko managed to fly off, but not without its tail feathers still in the jaws of the wūmoemoe. This is why to this day the tavake mokomoko has a short tail compared with the tavake toto (red-tailed tropicbird, *Phaethon rubricauda*). The other fish grabbed the feathers from the wūmoemoe and inserted them in their fins and tails. This is why some species of fish have long fins or a long tail.

All these stories, which account for the colours of birds' plumages, their distinctive calls or tail shapes, result in anger, shame or sadness. Other narratives about trickery have more dramatic endings.

Harm and Death

One of the most widespread traditional Polynesian narratives about manu, versions of which have been collected in a few Polynesian Outliers and most areas of West Polynesia (but not in East Polynesia),[9] is that of the buff-banded rail (*Gallirallus philippensis*) and the Australasian swamphen (*Porphyrio melanotus*). The storyline differs slightly in each version, but some elements appear in most of them. One of the birds (usually the buff-banded rail) is tricked by the other into eating excrement. He takes revenge by convincing the other bird to lower his leg into a giant clam, which closes on him, trapping him. When the tide comes in, the poor bird either is saved just in time or drowns.

An East Futunan version, for instance, says that the veka (buff-banded rail) and the kalae (Australasian swamphen) went fishing on the reef (Moyse-Faurie 2010a). The kalae stepped further away to defecate and caught a fowl, whose feathers he used to "adorn" his excrement to make it look like a fowl. He then told the veka to stop fishing and go catch a fowl. The veka ran and found what he thought was a fowl, but in his struggle with it he got his eyes and body all covered with excrement. Wild with anger, he went and washed himself in the shoal. The kalae asked him to stop crying and forgive him, but when they went back to fish, the veka noticed a big vasua (clam shell). He persuaded the kalae to put his toe in it so they could take it away. The bird's leg got stuck as the clam shell closed. The veka ran back to the shore and urged the tide to come in because he had been humiliated by the kalae. The kalae implored the veka to throw down stones to protect him from the incoming tide and, crying, told him that he would surrender many of his own possessions to him. But the veka refused and again urged the tide to come in. When the water level reached his beak, the kalae again begged the veka, but to no avail. The tide came in, and the kalae drowned. The same bird (called manuāali'i) also dies in a Samoan version of the story which does not include the excrement-eating episode (Sierich 1904: 110). If the ve'a does not help his friend, it is not out of revenge but because he accuses him of being a fe'ai (savage) taro plantation raider.

In Niuean versions, the scatological element (eating faeces unintentionally) is present in a different form. The kulē (Australasian swamphen) decided one day that only he should eat sugarcane, bananas and taro, and the veka only excrement (Loeb 1926: 190–92; Morris 1919; Smith 1902: 101). Very angry with the kulē, the veka cast a charm causing the legs of the kulē to get stuck in the clam shell. It eventually opened again, but by then the legs of the kulē had become red and quite elongated from all his efforts to free himself, which explains the long red legs of the kulē to this day. The kulē then chased and caught the veka, whom he repeatedly struck on the head with a tree branch, splitting it open in several places. The marks are still visible today—the buff-banded rail's "crown, nape and eye stripe are chestnut-brown contrasting strongly with the greyish white eyebrow" (Watling 1982: 75).

A version collected in West ʻUvea (Loyalty Islands) is again about excrement, but it does not feature the revenge episode with the giant clam (Moyse-Faurie 2010b). The veka and the kalae lived together, roasting and eating tubers every day. One day, the veka left his friend for a moment, and when he returned he found that the kalae had eaten all the tubers. There was no food left for the poor veka. Thus, he had to go to the bush where the kalae had defecated after eating all the tubers and eat the excrement. Since then, kalae have been eating tubers, as well as sugarcane and bananas, which they steal from people's fields, whereas veka go to find their food where people defecate.

In Mungiki, the trickster is not a swamphen but another long-legged bird, the kangau (Pacific reef heron, *Egretta sacra*).[10] The victim of the scatological joke is the swamphen; buff-banded rails are indeed absent from the island. The beka (young Australasian swamphen) and the kangau were friends and would eat their food together (Kuschel 1975: 123–28). One day, when the beka was not looking, the kangau broke open his friend's ʻuhi (yam) that was being roasted, removed the mash and defecated into the ʻuhi. Then he put the two parts of the ʻuhi back together and ate the mash. When the beka returned, he noticed that the ʻuhi was split, but the kangau told him that it probably split because it was overcooked. The beka then ate his ʻuhi, and complained about the rotten and putrid taste; but the kangau said that his own ʻuhi tasted the same. When the beka had eaten the whole ʻuhi, the kangau told him that he had just tricked him into eating his faeces. The beka, very angry, chased the kangau, but he could not catch him, and so looked for a way to take revenge on him. After reconciling, they went to the sea together. The beka dived, found a haasua (giant clam) and removed its entrails with his nao (prodding stick). The kangau wanted some for himself and begged the beka to teach him how to do it. So, the beka told him that he just needed to lower his leg into the clam, twist it and pull up the entrails. When the kangau dived and found a clam, he put his leg inside, but the clam closed

up. He begged the beka for help, but the beka reminded him of his past trickery and flew away. Fish came along and swam around the clam, but it did not open. Eventually a turtle came and hit the clam, whose shell broke into pieces, freeing the leg of the kangau. In West Futuna (Vanuatu), the trickster is also a Pacific reef heron (matuku), but his victim is a veka, as in the Futunan, Niuean and West Uvean versions (Capell 1958: 152–57).

Some versions of this very widespread narrative are more aetiological than others. Some account for each bird's eating habits—buff-banded rails are omnivorous scavengers, and Australasian swamphens are infamous in West Polynesia and the Polynesian Outliers for raiding plantations.[11] Some account for their physical characteristics, such as the marks on the rail's head or the swamphen's long red legs. One may wonder whether the story sprang from people having actually observed birds with their legs stuck in a giant clam. Some versions are more humorous than others: the scatological element rendered the story very funny for its audience. In Mungiki, for instance, Kuschel (1975: 48) noted that "the audience is often eagerly waiting to hear famous, funny incidents like the reef heron tricking the young swamp hen into eating its feces".

There do not appear to be any similar narratives in East Polynesia. In Hawai'i, for example, the only trickster story featuring birds that has been published is that of the rat, the trickster, and the pueo (short-eared owl, *Asio flammeus*), the victim who gets revenge (Pukui and Green 1995: 51–53, 123–24). The kupua (supernatural being, culture hero) 'Iole (Polynesian rat, *Rattus exulans*) and Pueo lived in Kohala, on the island of Hawai'i. Pueo was a farmer who worked hard at night; 'Iole was lazy and kept stealing Pueo's 'uala (sweet potatoes). 'Iole dug a tunnel to reach Pueo's garden without being seen. When Pueo realised that most of his 'uala were gone, he was very angry with 'Iole, so he pecked a hole in the gourd that the human keeper had filled with water for 'Iole, but the man, seeing this, struck him with a stick and broke one of his legs. Pueo then called out to 'Io (Hawaiian hawk, *Buteo solitarius*) and told him what had happened. 'Io blamed Pueo for pecking the gourd, but Pueo cried and said that he was hungry because his 'uala had all been stolen. 'Io looked at the man and could not help Pueo because the man was stronger than him. When Pueo's leg was well again, he sought out an expert in rat shooting, and heard about the kupua Pikoi-a-ka-'alala from O'ahu. He went to O'ahu, befriended Pikoi, and told him about 'Iole's misdeeds. They sailed to Hilo, where, from the top of a hill, Pikoi shot an arrow that instantly killed the sleeping 'Iole in Kohala. This story may explain why owls hunt rats.

Finally, the following narrative from Aniwa (Vanuatu) may account for the antagonism between fowls (the trickster in the story) and crocodiles. It primarily explains why the latter are not found in Aniwa (Gardissat 2004:

255–56). This appears to be the only Polynesian tradition featuring both species.[12] In Aniwa, a little red hen was bored and wished to go to Tanna. She tricked all the crocodiles into forming a line between one island and the other, under the pretence of wanting to count how many crocodiles there were in Aniwa. She jumped along their backs all the way to Tanna, counting the crocodiles. As she got there, she started laughing and told them that they had been duped as her only intention had ever been to go to Tanna. However, she spoke too soon: the last crocodile on whose back she was still standing opened its mouth and pulled out all her tail feathers. Ashamed and looking ridiculous, the little hen ran to hide in the bush, crying. As for the crocodiles, angry at having been deceived, they all left the island to go and live further north.

CONCLUSION

The Polynesian Outliers account for 12 of the 30 stories in this article. Countless animal stories were collected in the Outliers, for instance in Kapingamarangi (Emory 1949: 231) and in Mungiki, from where no fewer than 110 animal stories were published by Kuschel (1975). Kirtley (1976: 218–19) argued that the Outliers were much richer in animal stories than other parts of Polynesia because they had been influenced by Micronesian and Melanesian traditions, which are rich in animal stories.[13] In Hawai‘i for instance, Beckwith (in Green and Beckwith 1926: 66–69) only knew one example of an animal trickster story (that of ‘Iole and Pueo). However, this may also be because the Outliers have received much ethnographic attention relative to their “modest” size, as Feinberg (1998: 3) pointed out, or because the collectors of the stories in some areas were not interested in animal stories as much as in other types of traditions (Kuschel 1975: XII, 1). The fact that the “general eastward trend through Melanesia, West Polynesia, and East Polynesia is one of reduced floral and faunal diversity at all taxonomic levels” (Steadman 2006: 41) may also explain the prevalence of animal stories, and bird stories in particular, in the Polynesian Outliers, since the fauna is more diverse there than in other parts of Polynesia.

What function did these stories serve in the Polynesian societies that kept them alive by word of mouth through the centuries? For Firth (1961: 6), in Tikopia traditional narratives form a “body of precedents for future action”, for they inculcate moral values, albeit indirectly, since “the incidents as narrated may imply that certain forms of action are right or wrong even as techniques”. According to Best (1924: 178), many Māori stories have a moral, and are didactic in that they convey to the young “various lessons”, such as “the undesirable effects of recklessness, boasting, self conceit, indolence, etc., and the necessity for cultivating such virtues as industry, respect for *tapu* etc.” (Best 1982: 560). Similarly, Elbert (1948: 61) argued

that in Kapingamarangi most of the traditions collected by the Bishop Museum party were "distinctly moral", the most frequent theme in them being the "importance of literally following instructions". Moyle (1981: 45–47) noted that in Sāmoa, fāgogo (stories interspersed with songs) depict "behavioural principles" and portray "immoral acts and themes" so as to "demonstrate what may be categorized as being moral".

However, the stories in this article are more aetiological than moral. They explain the origin of the physical characteristics of bird species and their behavioural traits (particularly their diet) or their habitat, as well as the cause of enmity between two given species. Polynesian bird traditions are thus explanatory or aetiological stories dealing with the establishment of the special characteristics of the bird protagonists rather than moral stories in the Aesopian tradition.

This article does not lay any claim to having gathered all available Polynesian bird stories about opposition and deception, but it does contain most of the published ones. More could be gathered. Feathered creatures have always inspired the human imagination—thus the place of the bird in the human mind is, in Polynesia as elsewhere, an almost inexhaustible subject of study.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge the Polynesian raconteurs who told the collectors these great stories. The research on which this article is based was undertaken with the financial support of the University of Otago and its School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies (Te Tumu), and of the Université de la Polynésie française and its Laboratoire EASTCO (Équipe d'Accueil Sociétés Traditionnelles et Contemporaines en Océanie). I am especially grateful to my primary PhD supervisor, Professor Michael Reilly (University of Otago), for all his guidance and his invaluable knowledge of Polynesian traditions, and to my two secondary supervisors, Dr Michelle Schaaf (University of Otago) and Professeur Bruno Saura (Université de la Polynésie française), for their support. I also wish to express my sincere thanks, for all their precious help and kind advice, to Frédéric Dichtel, Alistair Fox, Claire Moyse-Faurie and Koisimy Rudolph.

NOTES

1. In this article, the personal pronouns "he" and "she", the possessive adjectives "his" and "her" and the relative pronoun "who" are used to refer to birds, which may appear to be a departure from traditional English usage. The decision to use gendered pronouns and determiners seemed appropriate given that in many of these narratives birds actually exhibit human-like behaviour. It was also based on my desire to acknowledge the fact that birds are sentient beings. However,

the words "it" and "its" are used to refer to non-bird animal species (i.e., crabs, rats, fish, turtles and insects). The reason for this choice is to enable the reader to distinguish more easily between birds and non-bird animals in the stories. Since birds are the focus of this article, this seemed the best way to proceed. The classification and English names in this article are those adopted by Gill and Donsker (2017).

2. The fowl and the turtle were born in Havaiki-te-a-raro of the same parents, according to a tradition from ʻAnā (Emory 1947: 62).
3. In Aotearoa New Zealand, *mollymawk* is the usual term for some smaller species of albatross.
4. Whereas in ʻUvea *kiu* can designate both the Pacific golden plover (*Pluvialis fulva*) and the ruddy turnstone (*Arenaria interpres*), in Niue *kiu* only designates the former; ruddy turnstones are named *fulimaka* in Niuean.
5. Pacific golden plovers are migratory birds that breed in the Arctic tundra. A Fijian proverb says that something may be as hard to find as the egg of that bird (Watling 1982: 150).
6. Tennyson and Martinson (2006: 92) noted that the tutukiwi (South Island snipe, *Coenocorypha iredalei*) became extinct in 1964: "The species flew rarely in daytime, though would do so if sufficiently alarmed. A capable flier, its eerie, nocturnal, aerial display is thought to have been the basis of the mythical celestial bird Hakawai … Some of the South Island snipe's surviving relatives fly high into the air, give a brief whistling call, then descend at speed, making their tail feathers vibrate which produces a roaring noise like a jet."
7. In Tahitian, as a noun *meho* is the spotless crake, and as a verb it means "to be hiding, or seeking a refuge among the bushes, as fugitives in war time" (Davies 1851: 142).
8. The call of the tuu is a "long monotonous series of deep flat *hoop-hoop-* notes" (Dutson 2011: 311).
9. This may be because no species of *Porphyrio* seems to have lived prehistorically in tropical East Polynesia, apart from *Porphyrio paepae*, an extinct species of swamphen whose bones were discovered by David W. Steadman in archaeological sites in the Marquesas Islands (Hiva Oa and Tahuata) in 1986–87 (Steadman 2006: 105–6).
10. A variant from Mugaba has a much smaller bird, a maghighape (Rennell fantail, *Rhipidura rennelliana*), playing the part of the kangau (Kirtley and Elbert 1973: 242–43).
11. Many an ethnographer and anthropologist has noted the Polynesians' dislike of swamphens because these birds feed on bananas, yam and taro and can wreak havoc on their plantations, for instance Davenport (1968: 143) in Taumako (Duff Islands) and Elbert and Monberg (1965: 134) in Mugaba.
12. In the Polynesian culture area, saltwater crocodiles (*Crocodylus porosus*) are only found on some Outliers.
13. For instance, Nemi traditions (Grande Terre, New Caledonia) include many animal stories. In an example featuring birds, the bwaaolee (whistling kite, *Haliastur sphenurus*) and the bwek (flying fox) decided one day to build a house, but the bird kept flying about and did no work at all. The bwek did not make a door,

because the entrance was on the roof. At night, when the rain and the wind came, the bird got very cold. He begged the bwek to let him in, but it replied that he should just keep flying about. He cried behind the house; his friend made a fire and went to sleep. The bwaaolee died of cold (Ozanne-Rivierre 1979a: 160–67). In another Nemi story, another raptor falls victim to a smaller bird: the khiny (white-breasted woodswallow, *Artamus leucorynchus*) played tricks on the deny (swamp harrier, *Circus approximans*), so much so that the deny died (Ozanne-Rivierre 1979b: 53–65).

GLOSSARY

baapenupenu	moustached treeswift (Rennellese)
beka	young Australasian swamphen (Rennellese)
bwaaolee	whistling kite (Nemi)
bwek	flying fox (Nemi)
dala	spectacled tern (Kapingamarangi)
deny	swamp harrier (Nemi)
fāgogo	stories interspersed with songs (Samoan)
fe‘ai	savage (Samoan)
fulimaka	ruddy turnstone (Niuean)
haasua	giant clam (Tridacna) (Rennellese)
hākuwai	a snipe? (Māori)
hōkioi	a snipe? (Māori)
hu‘aaika	trevally (Rennellese)
huaaitu	ugly (Kapingamarangi)
hūmarie	pretty (Kapingamarangi)
‘io	Hawaiian hawk (Hawaiian)
‘iole	Polynesian rat (Hawaiian)
kahikatea	white pine (Māori)
kāhu	swamp harrier (Māori)
kākā	New Zealand kākā (Māori)
kākāriki	parakeet (Māori)
kalae	Australasian swamphen (East Futunan, West Uvean)
kangau	Pacific reef heron (Rennellese)
khiny	white-breasted woodswallow (Nemi)
kiore	Polynesian rat (Māori)
kīrarahu	white tern (Tuamotuan)
kiu	Pacific golden plover or ruddy turnstone (East Uvean); Pacific golden plover (Niuean)
kōkako	South Island kōkako or North Island kōkako (Māori)
koreke	New Zealand quail (Māori)
kulē	Australasian swamphen (Niuean)

kupua	supernatural being, culture hero (Hawaiian)
kura	red feathers (Māori)
kutu	lice (Māori)
maghighape	Rennell fantail (Rennellese)
mangibae/magibae	eastern osprey (Rennellese)
manu	bird (most Polynesian languages)
manuāali‘i	Australasian swamphen (Samoan)
matuku	Pacific reef heron (West Futunan)
meho	spotless crake (Tahitian)
miro	brown pine (Māori)
moa	red junglefowl (Tuamotuan)
moeho	Micronesian starling (Kapingamarangi)
moho	spotless crake (Austral)
moso	Micronesian starling (Nukuoro)
motu	islet (East Uvean)
nao	prodding stick (Rennellese)
ngoio	brown noddy (Tuamotuan)
ngupe	Pacific imperial pigeon (Rennellese)
pakake	New Zealand fur seal (Māori)
piupiu	fern (Māori)
polili	wandering tattler (East Uvean)
pōwhaitere	parakeet (Māori)
pueo	short-eared owl (Hawaiian)
rimu	seaweed (Tuamotuan)
ro‘o	renown (Tuamotuan)
sibiu	greater sand plover (Rennellese)
taba	brown goshawk (Rennellese)
taghoa	Australian white ibis (Rennellese)
tangi	to cry (Māori)
tapu	sacred (Tuamotuan)
tavake mokomoko	white-tailed tropicbird (Pukapukan)
tavake toto	red-tailed tropicbird (Pukapukan)
tīeke	South Island saddleback (Māori)
tifai	turtle (Tuamotuan)
toroa	albatross (Māori)
tukutuku	bagworm moth (Rennellese)
tūtae	excrement (Tuamotuan)
tutukiwi	South Island snipe (Māori)
tuu	bronze ground dove (Rennellese)
‘uala	sweet potato (Hawaiian)

ʻuga	hermit crab (East Uvean)
uga	coconut crab (Niuean)
ugamea	hermit crab (Niuean)
ʻuhi	yam (Rennellese)
ʻunga	hermit crab (Rennellese)
ʻura	Kuhl's lorikeet (Austral)
vasua	clam shell (East Futunan)
veʻa	buff-banded rail (Samoan)
veka	buff-banded rail (East Futunan, Niuean, West Uvean, West Futunan)
wūmoemoe	stareye parrotfish (Pukapukan)

REFERENCES

Beaglehole, Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, 1936. Myths, stories, and chants from Pukapuka. Unpublished manuscript. Bernice P. Bishop Museum Library, Honolulu.

Beattie, Herries, 1920a. The Maori in Murihiku. Hocken Library, Dunedin. MS-0181/002.

——1920b. Nature-lore of the Southern Maori. *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* 52: 53–77. https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/periodicals/TPRSNZ1920-52.2.9.1.13

Best, Elsdon, 1924. *The Maori*, vol. 1. Wellington: Board of Maori Ethnological Research. https://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Bes01Maor.html

——1977. *Forest Lore of the Maori*. Dominion Museum Bulletin 14. Wellington: E.C. Keating, Government Printer. https://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-BesFore.html

——1982. *Maori Religion and Mythology, Part 2*. Dominion Museum Bulletin 11. Wellington: P. D. Hasselberg, Government Printer. https://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Bes02Reli.html

Burrows, Edwin G., 1937. *Ethnology of Uvea (Wallis Island)*. Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 145. Honolulu. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.31822025861980

Capell, Arthur, 1958. *The Culture and Language of Futuna and Aniwa, New Hebrides*. Oceania Linguistic Monographs 5. Sydney: University of Sydney. https://archive.org/details/culturelanguageo0000cape

Carroll, Raymonde, 1980. *Nukuoro Stories*. Vol. I, *Nukuoro Texts*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Davenport, William, 1968. Social organization notes on the northern Santa Cruz Islands: The Duff Islands (Taumako). *Baessler-Archiv* 16: 137–206.

[Davies, John], 1851. *A Tahitian and English Dictionary*. Tahiti: London Missionary Society's Press. https://archive.org/details/tahitianenglishd00davirich

Drummond, James, 1910. Nature notes: The Maoris and the birds. *New Zealand Herald*, 28 May, XLVII (14381), Supplement. https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZH19100528.2.117.51

Dutson, Guy, 2011. *Birds of Melanesia: Bismarcks, Solomons, Vanuatu, and New Caledonia*. Princeton Field Guides. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Elbert, Samuel H., 1948. *Grammar and Comparative Study of the Language of Kapingamarangi, Texts, and Word Lists.* Washington: National Academy of Sciences/National Research Council.

Elbert, Samuel H. and Torben Monberg, 1965. *From the Two Canoes: Oral Traditions of Rennell and Bellona*. Language and Culture of Rennell and Bellona Islands, Vol. 1. Copenhagen/Honolulu: Danish National Museum/University of Hawaii Press. https://doi.org/10.1515/9780824884970

Emory, Kenneth P., 1947. *Tuamotuan Religious Structures and Ceremonies.* Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 191. Honolulu. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015023272340

——1949. Myths and tales from Kapingamarangi, a Polynesian inhabited island in Micronesia. *Journal of American Folklore* 62 (245): 230–39. https://doi.org/10.2307/537199

Feinberg, Richard, 1998. *Oral Traditions of Anuta, a Polynesian Outlier in the Solomon Islands*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/auckland/detail.action?docID=272422

Firth, Raymond, 1961. *History and Traditions of Tikopia*. Wellington: The Polynesian Society.

Gardissat, Paul, 2004. *Nabanga: Une anthologie illustrée de la littérature orale du Vanuatu*. Port Vila: Conseil Culturel National du Vanuatu.

Gill, Frank B. and David Donsker (eds), 2017. IOC World Bird List, version 7.2. http://www.worldbirdnames.org/ioc-lists/master-list-2/

Green, Laura S. and Martha W. Beckwith, 1926. *Folk-tales from Hawaii*. Poughkeepsie, NY: Vassar College.

Grey, George, 1872. Description of the extinct gigantic bird of prey Hokioi. *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* 5: 435. https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/periodicals/TPRSNZ1872-5.2.7.1.16

Henry, Teuira, 1928. *Ancient Tahiti*. Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 48. Honolulu. https://anaite.upf.pf/items/show/1725#

Kirtley, Bacil F., 1971. *A Motif-Index of Traditional Polynesian Narratives*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvp2n3hb

——1976. Some extra-oceanic affinities of Polynesian narratives. In A.L. Kaeppler and H.A. Nimmo (eds), *Directions in Pacific Traditional Literature: Essays in Honor of Katharine Luomala.* Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, pp. 217–39. https://archive.org/details/directionsinpaci00luom

Kirtley, Bacil F. and Samuel H. Elbert, 1973. Animal tales from Rennell and Bellona. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 82 (3): 241–65. https://www.jstor.org/stable/20704931

Kuschel, Rolf, 1975. *Animal Stories from Bellona Island (Mungiki)*. Language and Culture of Rennell and Bellona Islands, Vol. 4. Copenhagen: National Museum of Denmark. http://www.bellona.dk/pdf/booksonsceen/rk/animal_stories/animal_stories.pdf

Loeb, Edwin M., 1926. *History and Traditions of Niue.* Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 32. Honolulu. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.b3125088

Mayer, Raymond, 1970–71. 200 légendes de Wallis et Futuna. Unpublished manuscript, held at University of Hawai‘i at Manoa Library.

——1976. *Les transformations de la tradition narrative à l'île Wallis (Uvea)*. Publications de la Société des Océanistes No. 38. Paris.
Mitchell, Andrew, 1990. *A Fragile Paradise: Nature and Man in the Pacific*. London: Fontana/Collins.
Moon, Geoff, 1992. *A Field Guide to New Zealand Birds*. Auckland: Reed.
Morris, G.N., 1919. Niuē folk-lore. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 28 (112): 226–28. https://www.jstor.org/stable/20701753
Moyle, Richard M., 1981. *Fāgogo: Fables from Samoa in Samoan and English*. Auckland: Auckland University Press/Oxford University Press.
Moyse-Faurie, Claire, 2010a. Le râle et la poule sultane. Futunien Corpus, Pangloss Collection, LACITO–CNRS. https://doi.org/10.24397/pangloss-0005103
——2010b. The rail and the swamp hen. Fagauvea Corpus, Pangloss Collection, LACITO–CNRS. https://doi.org/10.24397/pangloss-0005012
Ozanne-Rivierre, Françoise, 1979a. *Textes nemi (Nouvelle-Calédonie).* Vol. 1, *Kavatch et Tendo*. Paris: SELAF.
——1979b. *Textes nemi (Nouvelle-Calédonie).* Vol. 2, *Bas-Coulna et Haut-Coulna*. Paris: SELAF.
Pukui, Mary Kawena and Laura S. Green, 1995. *Folktales of Hawai'i: He mau ka'ao Hawai'i*. Bernice P. Bishop Museum Special Publication No. 87. Honolulu.
Reichel, James D. and Philip O. Glass, 1990. Micronesian Starling predation on seabird eggs. *Emu* 90 (2): 135–36. https://doi.org/10.1071/MU9900135
Richter-Gravier, Raphael, 2019. Manu Narratives of Polynesia: A Comparative Study of Birds in 300 Traditional Polynesian Stories. PhD thesis, University of Otago, Dunedin, and Université de la Polynésie française, Tahiti. https://ourarchive.otago.ac.nz/handle/10523/9739
Seurat, Léon Gaston, 1906. Légendes des Paumotou. *Revue des traditions populaires* 21 (3): 125–31. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6139942h/f13.item
Sierich, F. Otto, 1904. Samoanische Märchen. *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* 16: 88–110. https://archive.org/details/international16inte
Smith, Stephenson Percy, 1902. Niuē Island, and its people. Part I. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 11 (2): 80–106. https://www.jstor.org/stable/20701635
Steadman, David W., 2006. *Extinction and Biogeography of Tropical Pacific Birds*. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press.
Taylor, Richard, 1855. *Te Ika a Maui, or New Zealand and Its Inhabitants*. London: Wertheim & MacIntosh. https://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-TayTeik.html
Tennyson, Alan and Paul Martinson, 2006. *Extinct Birds of New Zealand*. Wellington: Te Papa Press.
Torrente, Frédéric, 2012. *Buveurs de mers, mangeurs de terres: Histoire des guerriers d'Anaa, atoll des Tuamotu*. Pape'ete: Te Pito o te Fenua.
Utia, Puara, 2010. La légende du *'ura*. *Bulletin de la Société des études océaniennes* 319: 34–35. https://anaite.upf.pf/items/show/1839
Watling, Dick, 1982. *Birds of Fiji, Tonga and Samoa*. Wellington: Millwood Press.

AUTHOR CONTACT DETAILS

Raphael Richter-Gravier, N402A/28 Torrens Terrace, Mt Cook, Wellington 6011, New Zealand. rrg2@pm.me

SHORTER COMMUNICATION

TE HATI REŋA A ROŋO PU‘A: ONE IDENTIFIED RAPANUI MAN AND ANOTHER YET UNKNOWN

JO ANNE VAN TILBURG
University of California, Los Angeles

ABSTRACT: This shorter communication reviews a previous discussion (December 2014 issue) of an unidentified “dancing Rapanui man” and offers a definitive identification of him as Te Hati Reŋa a Roŋo Pu‘a, an elder historically important to Rapa Nui (Easter Island). The vivid dance performance created and presented by Te Hati Reŋa a Roŋo Pu‘a when a “doorpost” was given or sold to American visitors aboard the *Carnegie* anchored at Rapa Nui in late 1916 highlights his active role in the preservation of cultural memory through art. An as yet unidentified man, likely Rapanui based upon his forehead tattoo, was previously identified as Te Hati Reŋa a Roŋo Pu‘a. This identity is withdrawn, and the man, certainly photographed by the Mana Expedition and perhaps while subsequently visiting Mangareva, remains to be identified.

Keywords: Rapa Nui, identity, performance art

In an earlier issue of this journal I explored a brief chapter in the life story of a colourful nameless “dancing Rapanui man” (Van Tilburg 2014). This communication updates the record but raises a new question.

The “dancing Rapanui man” first came to my attention in a collection of photographs in the archives of the Carnegie Institution for Science, Earth and Planets Laboratory (previously Carnegie Institution of Washington, Department of Terrestrial Magnetism) (Van Tilburg 2014: 389; Fig. 1). The collection depicts events during six cruises of the brigantine yacht *Carnegie*, an American research vessel under the command of Captain James P. Ault, US Navy. The first of two brief calls at Rapa Nui by the *Carnegie* took place between arrival 24 December 1916 and departure 2 January 1917. Most of the crew went ashore on Christmas Day and officers attended a reception at the home of Ignacio Vives Solar, a Chilean teacher, administrator and collector who often brokered sales of art and artefacts to visitors (Van Tilburg 2014: 390). Rapa Nui was annexed by Chile in 1888, and in 1916 Vives Solar was only one of several resident colonials.

Van Tilburg, Jo Anne, 2023. Te Hati Reŋa a Roŋo Pu‘a: One identified Rapanui man and another yet unknown. *Waka Kuaka: The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 132 (3): 343–352. https://doi.org/10.15286/jps.132.3.343-352

Figure 1. Rapanui man identified here as Te Hati Reŋa a Roŋo Pu'a (Buenaventura or Ventura), with the Oroŋo "doorpost" in right foreground. Carnegie Institution for Science.

The sources employed here, in addition to the seminal source of Katherine Routledge's field notes written during the Mana Expedition to Easter Island, 1914–15, were consulted during research conducted from 2015 to the present with the assistance of the Easter Island Statue Project (EISP) research team. In preparing a forthcoming publication describing EISP mapping and excavations in Rano Raraku we audited genealogical data (Hotus y Otros 2007); reviewed three private collections having Routledge photographs; returned to records of the museum objects personally examined with Rapanui artist Cristián Arévalo Pakarati and the late Adrienne L. Kaeppler; consulted photographic collections now online in museums and having duplicates of photographs held by the Carnegie Institution Library (including the Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago de Chile);[1] revisited Rapanui literature outside of our major focus;[2] and exchanged views and information with knowledgeable colleagues, including especially Rapanui historian Cristián Moreno Pakarati. As a consequence, new information on the identity of the "dancing Rapanui man" emerged.

ONE IDENTIFIED RAPANUI MAN

The unnamed "dancing Rapanui man" is actually "Fati" or "Hati" as referred to in Katherine Routledge's Rapa Nui fieldnotes (RGS/WKR), 1914–1915 and, specifically, a partial list of photographic portraits taken during the Mana Expedition to Easter Island. He is Te Hati Reŋa a Roŋo Pu'a[3] (Buenaventura or Ventura). Te Hati Reŋa a Roŋo Pu'a was born in Omohi of a subordinate line (fourth son) of the Marama "tribe" (mata), a lineage group that occupied distinct territories in Tu'u, the western, higher-ranked of the island's two sociopolitical regions. He was an eighth-generation descendant of a man named Tahai, the line's founder. In 1927 his age was estimated by a Chilean official at around 70 years, making him around 57 when the Mana Expedition was on the island. Te Hati Reŋa a Roŋo Pu'a died just before ethnographer Alfred Métraux (1940) arrived in 1934 and long before linguist Thomas Barthel (1978) arrived in 1957. He should not be confused with another famous Rapanui man named Pua Ara Hoa (Barthel 1978: 288; Fischer 1997: 113–14). Members of the modern Fati family are respected as knowledgeable sources of Rapanui oral traditions and toponymic history, and honoured elders among them have consulted with international scientists in many fields.[4]

As I reported, the "dancing Rapanui man" (Hati Reŋa) wore a feather headdress and body paint in the photo. The carved and painted object he held is regarded as a rapa or "dance paddle" (due to its size) but is unusual in its shape and painted in the manner of a few larger objects of authority ('ao). An example of an unpainted rapa (6846) is in the British Museum (Van Tilburg 1994: 120). A painted 'ao (129,749) in the Smithsonian Institution was collected by the USS *Mohican* in 1886. Crewmen of HMS *Topaze* in 1868 reported that rapa were used in improvised dancing and an 'ao was held aloft by an important man who led the procession that removed the basalt statue known as Hoa Hakananai'a from Oroŋo.

The stone objects displayed along the path where Hati Reŋa danced were traded or sold to the *Carnegie* crew. One of them (the egg-shaped stone) is presumed lost. The recarved foundation stone (paeŋa) is one of two "doorposts" removed by the Routledges from each side of the entrance to the Oroŋo building wherein the statue Hoa Hakananai'a was found in 1868 by Lt. Matthew James Harrison, Royal Navy, a crew member on the *Topaze*. The "dance paddle" is shown in the hand of an unidentified man who may have been a resident colonial. He was photographed aboard ship (presumably the *Carnegie*), and the paddle may have been sold or traded at that time. It has not been located as yet in any collection examined.

ANOTHER YET UNKNOWN

In my previous article I included a photographic portrait from the Paul Postle Collection of Routledge photographs (Fig. 2). It depicts an unnamed man with a forehead tattoo of two horizontal lines made up of evenly spaced dots adjoining at the hairline a curved vertical line, also of dots. The tattoo is typical Rapanui (Kaeppler and Van Tilburg 2018). Behind the man is a thick, textured backdrop cloth that is the same used in all known portraits of Rapanui people made at Mataveri by the Mana Expedition to Easter Island (Routledge 1919: fig. 83). I once thought that he and the "dancing Rapanui man" were one and the same. Here, I withdraw that conclusion.

In the Dwyer/Grocott private collection of Routledge materials there is a glass slide of the same tattooed man sitting in a garden with two other unnamed men (Fig. 3). The slide is contained in a fitted box with multiple others, mostly dealing with subsequent visits by the Routledges to the Austral

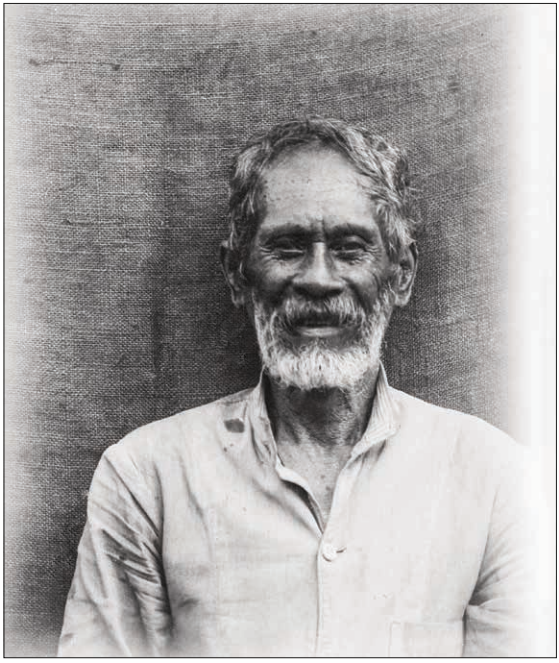


Figure 2. Portrait of an unidentified man with a Rapanui forehead tattoo. Mana Expedition to Easter Island, 1914–1915. Paul Postle Photographic Collection.

Islands and Mangareva, 1921 (Van Tilburg 2003: 209–11). A third private collection, which I am currently examining, is extensive, and I cannot at this point rule out that additional photos may come to light since, as is well known, the Routledge papers were widely scattered both before and after the death of William Scoresby Routledge in 1939.

The unnamed man of interest in the group of three men wears an open-collared, light-coloured shirt with the second button missing that is the same as that worn by the man in the portrait. Moreover, the forehead tattoos on both men are the same. Next to him in the grass is a straw hat of the type bought in Peru by Routledge and given to many of the Rapanui people who worked with the Mana Expedition. The other seated man holds an unbound sheaf of papers and is nicely dressed but barefoot. When this photo was shared with Cristián Moreno Pakarati we concurred that the names for all three men were unknown.

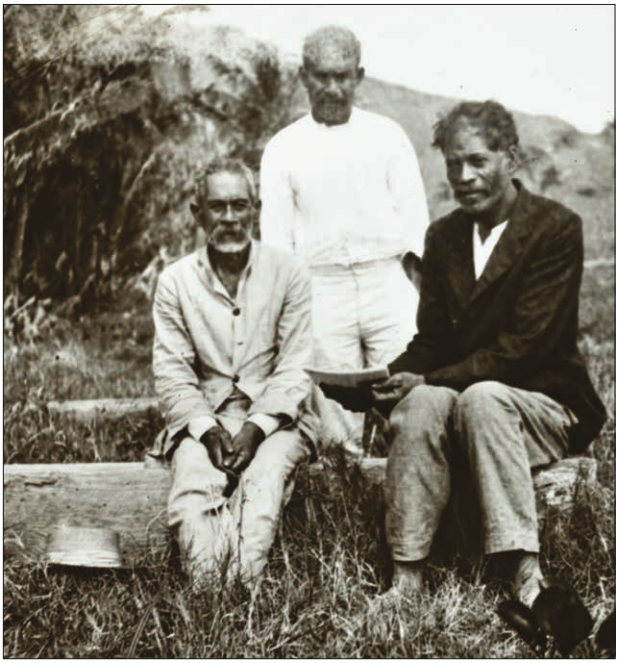


Figure 3. Unnamed man (left) with the same Rapanui tattoo and wearing the same shirt as the man in Figure 2 (above), seated with two other unnamed men in a garden. Mana Expedition to Easter Island, 1914–1915. Dwyer/Grocott Photographic Collection.

To conclude, a photo I previously published in this journal shows a "dancing Rapanui man" who is identified here as Te Hati Reŋa a Roŋo Pu'a. I sourced two of three stone objects arrayed next to him to those purchased by, or presented to, officers of the American research vessel *Carnegie*. Both are basaltic foundation stones (paeŋa), and both were collected by the Mana Expedition after the HMS *Topaze* removed the statue Hoa Hakananai'a from a building known as Taúra reŋa at Oroŋo, where they acted as "doorposts" (Van Tilburg 2006). Finally, two photos of a man with a Rapanui-type forehead tattoo were described. Figure 2 is a portrait taken in precisely the same manner as others at the Mataveri headquarters of the Mana Expedition to Easter Island. Figure 3 is a photo of three unnamed men taken outdoors in a garden including banana plants and, in the background, a steep slope. It includes the same man having the same forehead tattoo and wearing the same shirt as in Figure 2.

DISCUSSION

In this shorter communication I have followed my earlier, incomplete attempt to link one unidentified Rapanui man to the history of his island through multiple lines of evidence treated as "enacted archives" (van Dommelen 2002: 129). Insights gained through the generosity of private collectors and interested colleagues corrects and expands the existing record. The "dancing Rapanui man" is identified as Te Hati Reŋa a Roŋo Pu'a. A second man, considered to be Rapanui based on his forehead tattoo, his clothing and the collection provenance, was previously thought by me to be the "dancing Rapanui man". That identification is withdrawn and a new quest to determine the identity of the second man is underway.

Te Hati Reŋa a Roŋo Pu'a and his community lived within a complex colonial matrix amid nuanced memories of the past. Performance art such as that witnessed by the crew of the *Carnegie* is one way of accessing (or creating) versions of the past. Today the embellished Oroŋo "doorpost" collected by the Mana Expedition to Easter Island is found in the Carnegie Institution for Science and Hoa Hakananai'a stands in the British Museum. Time and distance continue to separate the Rapanui community from these and other treasured objects. Yet, I argue that Te Hati Reŋa a Roŋo Pu'a metaphorically reclaimed the "doorpost" through performance art that enlivened memories of the past.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks to Alice Hom and Shannon Billimore for research and manuscript editing. The late Adrienne L. Kaeppler enriched this research with her insights, and Grant McCall clarified physical details of the Vives Solar

residence as the site of Hati Reŋa's performance. Thanks to Shaun J. Hardy, archivist at the Geophysical Library, Carnegie Institution for Science, for research assistance. Alberto Hotus Chávez is always a font of wisdom and a devoted curator of genealogical detail. Cristián Moreno Pakarati compared photos of the still unnamed Rapanui man with known images of Hati Reŋa, providing the proper rendering of his name. Finally, thanks to the editorial staff of *Waka Kuaka* for their patience and an anonymous reviewer for helpful comments.

NOTES

1. One of the better photos of Te Hati Reŋa a Roŋo Pu'a can be found at the Archives of the Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago de Chile: Número de Inventario: PFA418; Descripción: Retrato de una familia pascuense. El hombre anciano de la izquierda es Buenaventura Hati Renga Pua (1851–1933); Autor: No Identificado.
2. This literature included Barthel (1978: 297), Foerster *et al*. (2014: 157), Hotus y Otros (2007: 269–70) and Štambuk (2010: 96, quoting Zorobabel Fati).
3. Rendering of the nasal velar [ŋ] (e.g., renga/reŋa and rongo/roŋo) varies in English and Spanish language publications. Hotus y Otros (2007: 269) does not include such renderings. Du Feu (1996) prefers *reŋa* and *roŋo*. Englert (1978: 261) gives *Taúra reŋa* for the building and, by extension, confirms *reŋa*.
4. Te Hati Reŋa a Roŋo Pu'a was the ancestor of famed consultant José Fati Púa Rakei and Zorobabel Fati Teao. Members of this esteemed family have generously shared their knowledge within their community for the benefit of international researchers, including myself.

GLOSSARY

The terms included in this glossary are Rapanui unless otherwise stated.

'ao	wooden double-bladed ceremonial paddle, anthropomorphised male, ~180 cm long, sometimes painted
mata	(lit.) eye; kin group defined as clan or tribe
paeŋa	cut and dressed basalt blocks
rapa	wooden double-bladed "dance paddle", anthropomorphised male, typically 50–80 cm long, sometimes painted

REFERENCES

Barthel, Thomas S., 1978. *The Eighth Land: The Polynesian Discovery and Settlement of Easter Island*. Translated by A. Martin. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.

Du Feu, Veronica, 1996. *Rapanui: A Descriptive Grammar*. London: Routledge.

Englert, Sebastián. 1978. *Idioma rapanui: Gramática y diccionario del antiguo idioma de la Isla de Pascua*. Santiago: Universidad de Chile.

Fischer, Steven Roger, 1997. *Rongorongo: The Easter Island Script: History, Traditions, Texts*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Foerster, Rolf, Jimena Ramírez and Cristián Moreno Pakarati, 2014. *Cartografía y conflicto en Rapa Nui, 1888–2014*. Rapa Nui: Rapanui Press.

Hotus Chávez, Alberto, y Otros (Consejo de Ancianos Rapanui), 2007. *Te mau hatu o Rapa Nui: Los soberanos de Rapa Nui: Pasado, presente y futuro de Rapa Nui*. 2nd edition. Santiago: Editorial Emisión, Centro de Estudios Políticos Latinoamericanos Simón Bolívar.

Kaeppler, Adrienne L. and Jo Anne Van Tilburg, 2018. *The Iconic Tattooed Man of Easter Island*. Hangaroa, Rapa Nui: Mana Press.

Métraux, Alfred, 1940. *Ethnology of Easter Island*. Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 160. Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu.

Routledge, Katherine S., 1919. *The Mystery of Easter Island: The Story of an Expedition*. London: Sifton, Praed, & Co.

Štambuk, Patricia, 2010. *Rongo: La historia oculta de Isla de Pascua*. Santiago: Pehuén Editores.

van Dommelen, Peter 2002. Ambiguous matters: Colonialism and local identities in Punic Sardinia. In C.L. Lyons and J.K. Papadopoulos (eds), *The Archaeology of Colonialism*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, pp. 121–50.

Van Tilburg, Jo Anne, 1994. *Easter Island: Archaeology, Ecology and Culture*. London: British Museum Press.

——2003. *Among Stone Giants: The Life of Katherine Routledge and Her Remarkable Expedition to Easter Island*. New York: Lisa Drew Books, Scribner.

——2006. *Remote Possibilities: Hoa Hakananai'a and HMS* Topaze *on Rapa Nui*. British Museum Press Research Paper 158. British Museum Press, London.

——2014. Lost and found: Hoa Hakananai'a and the 'Orongo "doorpost". *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 123 (4): 383–98. https://doi.org/10.15286/jps.123.4.383-397

Unpublished Sources:

Carnegie Institution for Science, Archives of the Earth and Planets Laboratory (previously Carnegie Institution of Washington, Department of Terrestrial Magnetism) (www.dtm.ciw.edu): James Percy Ault Papers 1904–1957 (Bulk 1904–1925).
Series 1: Correspondence Box 3, Folder 6.
Series 2: Carnegie cruise IV and V, 1916–20, C762–C1292, Box #A7 Nos. C888–906, 909–930, pages 68–74, 76–86.
Series 4: Journals 1908–1926, Box 16, Folder 3.
Series 5: Photos and Albums, Box #21, 100–0088 to 100–0091, Box #22, Folders 3 & 8.

Dwyer/Grocott Photographic Collection: The Mana Expedition to Easter Island. Copies of selected photographs on file, Easter Island Statue Project Database (www.eisp.org).

Paul Postle Photographic Collection: Katherine and William Scoresby Routledge Images of Africa and Easter Island. Copies of selected photographs on file, Easter Island Statue Project Database (www.eisp.org).

RGS/WKR Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers) Archives: The Routledge Collection, including the Mana Expedition to Easter Island Papers, together with some papers concerning WSR's expedition to cross the John Crow Mountains, Jamaica: Subcategory Diary. This collection is also known as 402/WSR (www.a2a.pro.gov.uk); see Van Tilburg (2003) for a catalogue list of assets at that time.

AUTHOR CONTACT DETAILS

Jo Anne Van Tilburg, Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles, A210 Fowler Building, 151006, Los Angeles, California 90095–1510, USA. jvantil@g.ucla.edu

CURATORIUM

CURATORIUM: AN INTRODUCTION

NINA TONGA
Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

ANDREA LOW
Tāmaki Paenga Hira Auckland War Memorial Museum

Keywords: Pacific collections, co-collecting, curating, exhibitions, Indigenous communities, curatorial activism, decolonisation, talanoa, PCAP

Waka Kuaka is a rich repository for scholarship on Pacific arts and culture. Throughout its history, scholars, including museum professionals, have shared their museum-collection-based research in this publication. Curatorium builds on this long-standing tradition as a dedicated feature that will focus on scholarship that emerges from the gallery and museum sector in the Pacific. The feature will be coordinated by Dr Nina Tonga and Dr Andrea Low.

We have titled this regular feature Curatorium to pick up on a common advisory model used across our sector to bring together diverse curatorial, disciplinary and leadership expertise. Following this model, we aim for the Curatorium feature to create a curatorium of Pacific museum practitioners that give insight into how Pacific peoples are shaping museum collections and the museum sector. The Curatorium will introduce readers to the vast network of practitioners across the Pacific including curators, conservators, collection managers, public programme specialists and directors. It will also be a space for critical dialogue on the offerings of museums and galleries across the region and the ongoing challenges of cultural representation and display.

For our first feature we share a talanoa (conversation, sharing of ideas) between us both where we reflect on our practices as museum curators. We consider how our work is informed by our experiences as Pacific women and as members of our respective Pacific communities. We explore the concept of curatorial activism and how it manifests in our curatorial practice. In addition to our own work, we also highlight visionary projects such as the

Tonga, Nina and Andrea Low, 2023. Curatorium: An introduction. *Waka Kuaka: The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 132 (3): 353–370. https://doi.org/10.15286/jps.132.3.353-370

Pacific Collection Access Project at Auckland Museum and the series of co-collecting projects at Te Papa that enlist Pacific communities to take an active role in shaping the development and interpretation of Pacific museum collections. Below is an abridged and edited version of our talanoa that we offer as the beginnings of the Curatorium.

Andrea:

Aloha mai kākou [hello everyone]. I'm Associate Curator, Contemporary World, and I'm in the Human History department at Auckland Museum. When I first started there, I was Project Curator Pacific on what's called a permanent exhibition, called *Tāmaki Herenga Waka*, and I curated the Pacific content for the exhibition. Permanent in this case means a 10-year exhibition timeline.

After that, I shifted into acting Curator Pacific, and then recently I became a Contemporary World curator. I continuously ask myself what contemporary means, and I answer it in lots of different ways through the acquisition of different types of measina [treasures]—you could almost say I curate entanglements because of how people negotiate their place in the world, through diaspora, gender, Indigeneity, for example—they are just some of the vectors that determine identity, which I see as continuously emerging. While I work in the World Collection, I don't exclude the Pacific because I know that world very well.

So, what about you? What's your role at Te Papa now?

Nina:

Mālō e lelei [hello]. I'm the Curator of Contemporary Art at Te Papa. In terms of my pathway to this role I was hired initially as the Curator of Pacific Cultures and after several years moved into the art team as Curator of Pacific Art. Across all these curatorial roles, I've been able to focus on the Pacific. In terms of my current role as Curator of Contemporary Art, I have brought a specific Pacific focus to the job for the first time in its history. I'm also the first Pacific person to hold this role.

Te Papa is our national museum, and we are a bicultural institution. I work in the Collection and Research directorate of Te Papa and I am part of the Art curatorial team. Our directorate also has curators of Natural History, New Zealand History, Pacific Cultures and Mātauranga Māori. So, Art at Te Papa sits alongside all those disciplines and exists within a broader museum offering.

Now I am one of two Pacific curators at Te Papa. The other Pacific curator is Dr Sean Mallon, Senior Curator of Pacific Cultures. At Te Papa there has been a long history of Pacific curators and museum professionals working across the museum in other areas such as conservation and collection management.

As Pacific women, I believe our roles as museum curators can at times differ from our non-Pacific curatorial colleagues. Would you agree?

Andrea:

Yes, I think we both have a sense of obligation to our communities and to represent communities and collections that, institutionally, have relegated Pacific lives and told stories through collections that are culturally averaging. Each Pacific curator that comes along disrupts that in their own way—sometimes just through being Pacific in a museum context! The notion of curatorial activism comes to mind as we find ways to decolonise museum experience for both our collections and our communities.

What do you think about that term?

Nina:

I truly believe that curating is political. You and I, and in fact all curators, have political views. They influence what you collect, how you curate and what you say about something. What I like about curatorial activism is it is an empowering concept that recognises your agency as a curator.

Curatorial activism in an art context I often associate with the writings of curator and scholar Maura Reilly. One aspect of her definition of curatorial activism is to centre the practices and artists that are often sidelined in mainstream history or culture. I think finding ways to do that in a practical sense as a curator is the challenge. How do you be an activist within the museum space?

Curatorially, one of the ways I've been able to do that is through exhibition making and centring Pasifika art histories. These art histories are very well known to you and I, but within the broader art history of Aotearoa, they are often sidelined. So, for me, curatorial activism is taking that history and placing it in the centre, placing it in our national museum. I believe it is a way of recognising the work of Pacific artists that has shaped art and culture in this country.

The retrospective exhibition of the Pacific Sisters collective, *Pacific Sisters: Fashion Activists* (2018–2019) is an example of my curatorial activism. The

exhibition recognised the national impact of the Pacific Sisters collective, whose groundbreaking art practice brought the lives of a generation of urban New Zealand–born Pacific peoples into the mainstream spotlight. Their fashion activism of the 1990s was highly influential in repositioning Pacific people to be seen as style icons for the first time. The exhibition also highlighted the widespread influence they had on art, fashion, music, graphic design and photography in Aotearoa. The exhibition was about celebrating and centring this art history.

So, for me, curatorial activism occurs in every part of our work and perhaps most visibly in our exhibition making. How does curatorial activism manifest in your practice?

Andrea:

One of the ways in which I approached that notion of curatorial activism is through an exhibition space in the museum called Case 100. We are doing yearly change-outs in the case around the mid-December point when we install new work, which we have done twice so far. My thinking around the case itself is that, as you know, as readers may know, the museum is built in the neoclassical architectural style. At the front of the museum are two galleries, Pacific Masterpieces and Pacific Lifeways, two of the most popular galleries that we have as far as visitor numbers go, but they are each linked by corridors to another gallery that is structurally at the heart of the museum: Māori Court. The corridors have become a focus for me in that they divide and link important spaces. It also conjures for me the idea of the museum as a kind of body, and the corridors are interstitial spaces that connect massive stories of the Pacific and Indigenous Aotearoa.

Case 100 sits in one of the corridors—you look one way and see Pacific Masterpieces and if you look the other way, there is Māori Court West. My intention is to use Case 100 as a place to emphasise a dialogue between these spaces. The first show that I curated was with Rowan Panther, an artist and lace maker who works with muka [prepared flax fibre], which is a taonga Māori [Māori treasure]. Rowan has Samoan, Irish and New Zealand heritage. Case 100 was a space for her to show how she navigates her place as a person who is not Indigenous to Aotearoa but also, from my perspective, for a wider conversation to be generated about who we are (Figs 1, 2).

In addition, I wanted to place contemporary work in there to address the sense that Pacific visitors have at times, which is that the cultures that we are looking at in the Pacific Lifeways and Pacific Masterpieces galleries are located in the past. Whereas someone like Rowan is not only in conversation with materials that are held in the collection and ways and processes and concepts that are prevalent in our collections, but she's also creating work that

Figure 1. *A Triad of Safekeeping* (2021) by Rowan Panther in Case 100. Photo courtesy of Tāmaki Paenga Hira Auckland War Memorial Museum (2021.36.1-3).

Figure 2. One of three lace pieces that make up Rowan Panther's *A Triad of Safekeeping* (2021). Materials: muka (prepared from harakeke (New Zealand flax)), wood, sterling silver. Tāmaki Paenga Hira Auckland War Memorial Museum: 2021.36.2. Photo courtesy of the artist.

is a contemplation of those things, and it is not a finite or closed conversation. It's an open-ended one and something that I plan to do as much as I can within Case 100 and other spaces in the museum so that we can continue to generate and multiply subjectivities about colonialism, about belonging, identity and the ways that makers navigate these issues.

One of the things that is present in our collections, but not confronted, is the notion of discontinuity. My intention is to highlight those discontinuities, because there are many objects in our collection that have taken knowledge away from the communities that they've come from. There is a need to address the gaps and create continuities where they've been ruptured.

I would like audiences to be able to think about the placement of Rowan's work and what relationships and histories her works evoke through the materials, forms and processes, but also the relationship with the past as it is represented in the structure of the museum.

The way that she draws on her heritages may encourage others to think about their place in Aotearoa as well. Rowan's use of muka is in a sense a question: What does it mean to be from here but not Indigenous to this place? What is belonging? Each of the taonga in our collections is contemporaneous, in and of its time. Rowan speaks to that. We are not located in the past—we are still here.

Nina:

I like that we are both talking about specific artists in the museum. That leads me to ask you about the role of Pacific communities in the museum. What role do Pacific communities play in your work at Auckland Museum?

Andrea:

That brings to mind for me a project you would have heard of, the Pacific Collection Access Project or PCAP. It was a project initiated by Curator Pacific Fuli Pereira, with a team made up of largely Pacific staff at the museum. It involved looking at our Pacific collections and inviting community members, community knowledge holders, to address some of the issues that have arisen around the collection, disconnection from community most importantly, but also to invite communities in and establish relationships. By inviting knowledge holders into the museum, we were able to host them and communities to enable people to feel connected to their treasures. PCAP also drew on the expertise of our communities to help expand on the understandings of materials, naming makers in some situations, adding locations, correcting misnamed material or correcting

usage details, trying to build up a sense of the history and the knowledge and epistemologies and ontologies that emanate from the measina in the collection and creating continuities not only in the stories of the treasures in the collection but continuity between the museum and communities.

PCAP made a remarkable transformation both to our collections and the museum's relationships to communities. I think it's had a ripple effect for other collections around the world as well. So, there's a lot to be thankful for in terms of the innovation and initiative shown in this project.

What about Te Papa? Do you do something similar?

Nina:

At Te Papa we were interested in the PCAP project because it acknowledged the need to draw on the expertise of our community. Curatorially, we have expertise in particular subjects, and while that is deep knowledge, it is not encyclopaedic, and we often draw on external subject experts and community knowledge holders.

PCAP really affirmed for us that we were not alone in terms of our aspirations to share our curatorial authority with our Pacific communities. At the same time as PCAP, we were starting to create collaborative projects that were focused on building our collection in partnership with our Pacific communities.

From 2016, we started to develop a co-collecting methodology through co-collecting projects that focused on building our Pacific Cultures collection. For our co-collecting projects we collaborated with Pacific communities who became co-collectors for the museum. For each project we provided training, resources and support for our co-collectors; however, the choices about what would be collected was entirely up to them. To encourage our co-collectors to take curatorial authority, we asked that they design and name their respective co-collecting projects and, for some projects, what their title would be.

To date we have completed five co-collecting projects around the Pacific including in Guåhan (Guam), Hawai'i and Tokelau (Fig. 3). I led the Tonga co-collecting project with Tongan communities in Auckland.

There were many learnings from each co-collecting project. Perhaps one that stands out is how integral relationship management is to our work as curators. What became obvious through the course of the project that I led was that we were not just building a collection; rather, we were building and nurturing relationships between our communities and the museum. A

Figure 3. Meaalofa Faleasiu, weaver from Fakaofo, Tokelau, 2017. Photo by Michael O'Neill. Courtesy of Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (106196).

Figure 4. Elisapeta Fononga, youth agent for Project 83: Small Things Matter. Photo by Amanda Rogers, 2019. Courtesy of Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.

lot of our co-collectors had preconceived notions of the museum and of what museums value. One of the goals of the project was to find ways to empower our co-collectors to see themselves as valued by our museum. We had to work hard at this and rethink everything from how we train our co-collectors and how the project would operate in terms of timing and the tasks associated with acquisition such as registration. I'm very proud that for the Tongan youth co-collecting project Project 83: Small Things Matter, the narratives written by our self-defined youth agents from Sir Edmund Hillary Collegiate are included in the catalogue records of the objects they collected. Many of the objects expanded our collection, such as Elisapeta Fononga's uniform from Toby's Seafood, where she held a part-time job during her final year at high school (Fig. 4). The humble cap and hoodie jumper embodies Elisapeta's sacrifice for her family and is our very first representation of the working life of a Tongan high school student.

For us co-collecting is a methodology that we're continually developing through each co-collecting project. It's also important to note that we are not the first project of this kind. We were inspired by the Vanuatu Cultural Centre and their Fieldworker Network programme that has been going since the 1970s. So, this idea of Pacific people having agency in archives and museum work to create collections and meaningful histories is alive and well in the Pacific.

We are seeing more Pacific concepts and philosophies employed in the museum space. Do you see this in your museum?

Andrea:

Yes, I do. We have concepts like teu le vā [nurturing relationships] underpinning relationships in the museum. We have Olivia Taouma, whose role is Pule Le Vā,[1] and we have a Pacific Advisory Group. Repatriations are ongoing. Community engagement is ongoing with concepts and structures like Te Aho Mutunga Kore, a textiles and fibre centre created within the museum, with curators Kahu Te Kanawa and Fuli Pereira leading it.

Representation is key in these transformational moments. Without the innovation and the sense of support we feel from increased Māori and Pacific staffing it would be much more difficult to develop such projects. Allies are important too, of course—Angela Davis talks about representation rather than diversity, for example, but also the importance for representation to be transformational. There are ways for us to help shepherd staff into our museums and to change and challenge the infrastructure to allow for that to happen.

Figure 5. Pare tō (hat made from processed kāka‘o) from Mangaia, Cook Islands, ca. 1957. Materials: kāka‘o (fernland reed, *Miscanthus floridulus*). Tāmaki Paenga Hira Auckland War Memorial Museum (958088, 958114). Photos courtesy of Jimmy Ma‘ia‘i.

One of the things I've acquired recently for Auckland Museum is a collection of 27 pare [hats] (Fig. 5) that were collected by an anthropologist, Donald Marshall, in 1957 when he was working on the island of Mangaia in the Cook Islands. Marshall's descendants have asked for them to come to the museum, so their guardianship has been gifted to us, in a way, and what we can do in the meantime is knowledge repatriation. We can take excellent photographs to share with the source community, we can conserve the hats, describe them, make them available for any visitors that come in both online and in person and develop relationships with communities in Mangaia, a process that is in motion through our connections to the Mangaian History and Cultural Society. When we alerted people on Mangaia that the collection existed and was being donated to the museum, it sparked important research by the society to retrieve information from knowledge holders who still knew how the reed—kāka'o—that the pare are made from was gathered and processed. Plantation forestry has destroyed the habitat of kāka'o, and loss of habitat has an impact on epistemologies.

These materials are integral to what creates community, and the notion of textiles as community. We are in a position to help conserve and assist with the revival of those Indigenous knowledges that are represented in the pare from Mangaia, through the collection. That's one example of how we can privilege Indigenous perspectives in our acquisitions and hold something for future generations and consult with communities about the future of their collections.

Do you see yourself in a position like that?

Nina:

While listening to you describe your work with the Mangaian pare, a word that keeps coming to my mind is kaitiaki [guardian]. As curators, we are the kaitiaki of collections for our communities. From my experience, one of the key responsibilities of being a curator of Pacific collections is creating access for our communities. This has given me a relational perspective on our collections as being connected to much bigger networks of peoples. So, while we are charged with the care of our collection, we also need to care for the many communities that are directly connected to them.

This relational perspective informs my curatorial work at Te Papa. Within our bicultural institution, we apply the principle of mana taonga, which at its core is the recognition of enduring spiritual and cultural relationships between taonga and iwi [tribe], hapū [sub-tribe] and whānau [peoples who share common ancestry].[2] Mana taonga as a guiding principle has allowed us to Indigenise our practice as Pacific curators. This has included facilitating

cultural protocols and ceremonies within our museum activities as well as using Indigenous terms and Pacific language in our work. The principle of mana taonga has also embedded an understanding in the museum that Pacific communities play an active role in informing how we care for, display and interpret our collection. For my exhibition *Tīvaevae: Out of the Glory Box* (2017) (Fig. 6), we worked with local vainetini [women's sewing groups] in Wellington to create a video that captured the process and symbolism of making tīvaevae [Cook Island quilts]. We also worked with members of the Cook Island community to develop exhibition labels in the Cook Islands language.

I think another interesting perspective we bring to our roles as Pacific curators is that we are members of the community we are charged to represent in the museum. In saying that, our community and familial networks are integral to our work; however, this also means that as curators we must navigate the dynamics of cultural life and cultural politics. It is a privilege and responsibility to be able to do this, and part of our value in the museum is defined by how our communities see and engage with us.

Figure 6. Installation view of *Tīvaevae: Out of the Glory Box*, 2017. Photo by Kate Whitley. Courtesy of Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.

Andrea:

Yeah. Those senses of obligation and respect and service are integral to having the privileged positions that we have in museums. One of the things that we often say to the Pacific team and say to one another when we're not feeling it about giving a public talk or something similar is a reminder to one another that "it's not about you". It's about something bigger than you, and you can't ever let that go. It doesn't matter what specific position you hold within a museum or gallery. It is an obligation that you carry and you have to serve. I'm not really interested in a job that doesn't have that dimension either. It's something that brings meaning and connection. You know that you're part of a long line of people, and my whakapapa, mo'oku'auhau, gafa [all words for ancestry] gives my job, my role at the museum meaning.

I love to do what I do even though I never imagined myself working in a museum. I thought that I would be an artist after I left art school. I never thought that when I finished my studies I would find my dream job, but it gives meaning to all of my research that came before this in both art and ethnomusicology. I also get to play a part in creating a scaffold for other people to come through. Providing access, however, is still the most important thing.

The numbers of Pacific people in museums now is really starting to have an impact on the way that museums have been considered, what the place of museums is in relationship to specific audiences, that it was often seen as a preserve of histories that were not ours, that told stories about the Pacific that came from colonial perspectives. The burgeoning numbers of Pacific people involved in museums, in art galleries in Aotearoa is really changing that understanding. The museum is still founded on colonial infrastructures, but I see all of us working for our communities and working hard on behalf of the histories that the materials in our collection represent. Returning to the idea of curatorial activism, these are spaces in which radical work is taking place, and while I've spoken of burgeoning numbers, it's still a political act to be a person of colour, a Pacific person in a museum.

Nina:

I agree. I think that we're in a place of growth in terms of Pacific peoples in the gallery and museum sector. If we look at Aotearoa as an example there has been a steady growth of Pacific art curators over the last decade, with several now holding key curatorial positions in regional art galleries. In museums, projects such as PCAP and co-collecting have also played an important role in training and developing new Pacific museum professionals. I think growing our numbers is going to be an ongoing challenge for all of us.

As museum practitioners a lot of our research feeds our exhibitions and collection work but may not find its way into publications. I often say a lot of our research is "in the doing", and so I hope that with Curatorium we have a regular place to document our work, whether it is about exhibitions or conservation projects.

What are you looking forward to with this new feature Curatorium*?*

Andrea:

One of the things that I'm really inspired by is the ability to foreground different people that are working in our sector and the kinds of work that they're doing there. For example, Leone Samu Tui has been working at Auckland Museum as Documentary Heritage Curator Pacific, and she's worked on a collaborative project with the Centre for Pacific Languages, where they've produced a series of booklets and online resources for families wanting information about caring for their measina at home. So that might be tapa [decorated barkcloth], it might be photographs or family papers. The booklets are available in 11 different languages. Projects like this are so inspiring.

The Curatorium will be a place to highlight the people and the projects that make a difference for our communities.

What about you, Nina?

Nina:

I'm really looking forward to opening our collections through Curatorium and to highlight the cultural material research of museums across the Pacific. I'm also interested in sharing stories from museum collections that have been surfaced by curators, collection managers or conservators.

Through our future contributors I hope that we profile the work and research of a large network of Pacific museum professionals. I also want to show the wide range of people who access and engage with museum collections. We have lots of visitors that are researchers and academics, but increasingly we see artists engaging with our collections. Artists have a wonderful way of looking at the materiality of museum objects, and this might inspire ways of making that could also be featured here.

Andrea:

Rowan Panther said to me at one point that she sees some of the work in the adornment section, for example, in specific collections as being made by kindred spirits, and that that's something that can be easily forgotten, that there's this collapsing of time and methods and histories in the way that artists relate to different materials and the collections, that they are not looking at a historical object—they are looking at something that's made by a practitioner, just like them.

And the expertise that a practitioner like Chris Charteris, for example, brings to his practice is, as you know, incredible, so I like those kinds of conversations that we can highlight through this, through the potential of this curatorium.

Nina:

In closing, I hope that Curatorium becomes a place to put our thoughts, and a space where we can debate too. I'm hopeful that we create a dialogue that spans the Pacific, and we gain insights from museum researchers and practitioners from across the region.

KO WAI MĀUA?

Andrea Low is Associate Curator, Contemporary World at Auckland War Memorial Museum, where she co-curated the permanent exhibition *Tāmaki Herenga Waka: Stories of Auckland*. Andrea traces her moʻokuʻauhau to the ahupuaʻa (customary land divisions) of Kahana and Kualoa on the island of Oʻahu, Hawaiʻi; to the village of Fasitoʻotai, in Sāmoa; and to Tongareva/Penrhyn (Northern Cook Islands), Fanning Island/Tabuaeran (Kiribati) and Fiji. With ties to Ayr and Montrose in Scotland as well, the entanglements of history, colonialism, Indigeneity, biography and diaspora are central to her research interests. She is a frequent contributor of articles and exhibitions that trace histories of Pacific peoples in Tāmaki (Auckland) and the wider Pacific. Andrea is a council member of the Polynesian Society and Book Review Editor for the Society's journal, *Waka Kuaka*. She is also on the advisory board of *Marinade: Aotearoa Journal of Moana Art* and a board member for Te Uru Waitākere Contemporary Gallery in Tāmaki.

Nina Tonga is an art historian and Curator of Contemporary Art at Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. She is from the villages of Vaini and Kolofo'ou in Tonga and was born and raised in Aotearoa New Zealand. She curated the acclaimed exhibitions *Pacific Sisters: Fashion Activists* (2018–2019) at Te Papa and *To Make Wrong/Right/Now* for the second international Honolulu Biennial (2019). Her solo exhibitions include projects by Lemi Ponifasio, Nike Savvas, Chiharu Shiota, Dame Robin White and Mataaho Collective. Her interdisciplinary PhD research (Art History, Waipapa Taumata Rau University of Auckland) focuses on the ways that Internet platforms have shaped and influenced contemporary art practices. Nina is a council member of the Polynesian Society and serves on the editorial board of the *Pacific Arts Journal* and *Artlink* magazine. She also serves as an advisor to the arts organization Hawai'i Contemporary.

NOTES

1. The title Pule le Vā was created for the museum and gifted to Olivia Taouma by Pakilau Manase, then chair of the Pacific Advisory Group at the museum. "The words 'pule' and 'vā' individually hold deep meanings in their own right for many Pasifika cultures, especially for Tonga and Sāmoa. Pule means to have dominion or authority over someone or something; vā is the sacred space that relates or defines people or things. Together, Pule le Vā means one who has authority over the Pasifika spaces or realms of the Museum in this context" (Olivia Taouma, pers. comm., 22 Aug. 2023).
2. In 1992 Te Papa's board endorsed the concept of mana taonga following the recommendation of Ngā Kaiwawao, the Māori advisory group to the Te Papa board. Broadly speaking, the concept as practised by Te Papa recognises the enduring spiritual and cultural connections of taonga with their people through whakapapa. The concept of mana taonga as defined by Te Papa is central in laying the foundation for Māori participation and involvement in Te Papa.

GLOSSARY

ahupuaʻa	customary land division (Hawaiian)
aloha mai kākou	hello everyone (Hawaiian)
gafa	ancestry (Samoan)
harakeke	New Zealand flax (*Phormium tenax*)
hapū	subtribe (New Zealand Māori)
iwi	tribe (New Zealand Māori)
kaitiaki	guardian (New Zealand Māori)
kākaʻo	fernland reed (Cook Islands Māori) (*Miscanthus floridulus*)
ko wai māua?	who are we (two)? (New Zealand Māori)
mālō e lelei	hello (Tongan)
mana taonga	A concept defined and practised by Te Papa that recognises the spiritual and cultural connections of taonga with their people through whakapapa (New Zealand Māori)
measina	treasures (Samoan)
moʻokuʻauhau	ancestry (Hawaiian)
muka	prepared flax fibre (New Zealand Māori)
pare	hat (Cook Islands Māori)
pare tō	hat made from processed kākaʻo (Cook Islands Māori)
talanoa	conversation, sharing of ideas (Tongan, Samoan)
taonga	treasure (New Zealand Māori)
tapa	decorated barkcloth (many Pacific languages)
teu le vā	nurturing relationships (Samoan)
tīvaevae	Cook Island quilt (Cook Islands Māori)
vainetini	women's sewing groups (Cook Islands Māori)
whakapapa	ancestry (New Zealand Māori)
whānau	a collective of people that share common ancestry; extended family (New Zealand Māori)

REVIEWS

SAURA, Bruno: *A Fish Named Tahiti: Myths and Power in Ancient Polynesia (Tahiti, Ra'iātea, Hawai'i, Aotearoa New Zealand).* Translated by Lorenz Gonschor. Puna'auia: Maison des Sciences de l'Homme du Pacifique, 2021. 306 pp., ack., biblio., concl., orthog. style, trans. note. US$20.00 (softcover).

TERAVA KA'ANAPU CASEY
University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

A Fish Named Tahiti: Myths and Power in Ancient Polynesia, by Bruno Saura, centres on the origin story of Tahiti, with a young maiden named Terehe who lived at Opoa, Ra'iātea, long ago. In the story, she made the mistake of swimming in a river near her home during a time deemed sacred for religious ceremonies by/for the gods. Offended by the transgression, the gods drowned Terehe and allowed a giant eel to come and devour her body. Terehe's grandmother Mou'aha'a witnessed all that transpired after she went looking for Terehe and traced her to the river, just in time to see the eel consume her. But the story of Terehe does not end there. Terehe's spirit in turn possessed the eel, which thrashed about, grew to wondrous size and formed into a great fish of the land. It was so big that it was said that the head was at Opoa and the tail extended far out to 'Uporu (Taha'a). Burying itself deep in the earth, Terehe, now a giant eel-fish, rooted herself in the land and took control of part of the island, becoming what we now call Tahiti. Turahunui, artisan of the god Ta'aroa, was the only one to take pity on Terehe after what happened to her. He guided Tahiti eastward and it swam away as the great fish that settled where it now rests in the sea.

Saura argues that over time, the various interpretations of Tahiti's origin story as a great fish that broke away from Ra'iātea are analogies for the political domination by the Leeward Islands, specifically Ra'iātea, over Tahiti, as he looks to challenge the supremacy of Ra'iātea as the ancient and mythological homeland of Havai'i/Hawaiki. Furthermore, the interpretations of Terehe's story created competing interpretations that not only romanticised Ra'iātea as the original homeland but also positioned Tahiti as commoner and therefore inferior. Saura points to theologian Turo a Raapoto's analysis of Terehe's story, where Tahiti was destined to "never have a strong identity outside of a relationship with another entity", and that "Tahiti would fundamentally be a fish, a prey" (p. 143). Through Raapoto, Terehe's story explains the political domination of Tahiti by others, a reasoning for French annexation that perhaps to Raapoto seemed inevitable.

Saura also addresses the value of engaging oral traditions. He argues that the way chants, songs and stories were sought after, recorded, printed and circulated in Mā'ohi Nui (French Polynesia's archipelagos) and beyond is not benign. When these stories were first collected, they reflected certain values of the society at that time as a living memory. When they were finally published and disseminated, often far from Tahiti, they also took on the values of editors, publishers, institutions and others who had motivations such as producing salvage ethnographies and authentic original stories. These are very different ways of engaging memory, and the distance in time and space involved in preserving oral traditions are historical challenges that Saura uses to discuss the difficulties in unravelling what these stories revealed about the past, present and future. Historicising the different layers of analysis for the texts themselves, as well as the stories in those texts, reveals how oral traditions were deployed to privilege certain historical narratives over others. The politicisation of oral traditions has real stakes in claims of power and authority both then and now, where the various interpretations of Terehe's story over time have influenced our understanding of Tahiti as it exists relationally to its neighbours.

By problematising and politicising E.S. Handy's, Te Rangihiroa's, Jean-Marius Raapoto's and Turo a Raapoto's (and others') interpretations of the story, Saura moves the focus from Tahiti's complicated relationship with Ra'iātea to an ancient rivalry between Ra'iātea and Borabora. In doing this, Saura decentres Ra'iātea as the ancient mythological homeland Hawaiki/Havai'i. He provides compelling evidence for a stronger argument that Borabora should be considered the birthplace of the region's most ancient sacred marae, Vai'otaha, as well as of the place of origin for the 'Oro religion and *'arioi* sect, chiefly lineages and the chiefly symbols of the *maro 'ura* and *maro tea* feather girdles, which challenges the religious and political authority of the Taputapuātea marae in Ra'iātea.

Additionally, to build his own interpretations of Terehe's story, Saura includes long-standing academic practices rooted in Tahiti's reo Tahiti linguistic circles of debate, suggestion and comparison around the multiple meanings of words and appropriate usages of each, as well as their synonyms, and whether abbreviated words were used to imply another meaning. The deep comparative analysis work he does to bring together different versions and perspectives of the Tahiti origin story, even contrasting their timeline of events, and then examining how those events shaped our understanding of Tahiti over time, are effective methodologies for engaging oral traditions from Mā'ohi Nui.

https://doi.org/10.15286/jps.132.3.371-372

ATTWOOD, Bain: *"A Bloody Difficult Subject": Ruth Ross, te Tiriti o Waitangi and the Making of History*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2023. 288 pp., abbr., ack., appendix, author bio., biblio., illus., index., map, notes. NZ$59.99 (hardcover).

ROWAN LIGHT
Waipapa Taumata Rau University of Auckland

What is the role of history-writing in our contested uses of the past? This is the simple question that underpins Bain Attwood's *"A Bloody Difficult Subject": Ruth Ross, te Tiriti o Waitangi and the Making of History*. The answer, as Attwood shows, is complicated. His response is threefold, indicated in the book's title, which relates three interlocking sections. First, history is personal, as demonstrated through the career of historian Ruth Ross and her seminal article on the texts and translations of te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Treaty of Waitangi), published in 1972 in the *New Zealand Journal of History* (Ross 1972). Second, the impact of Ross's article on New Zealanders' debates about the colonial past in the late 1970s and 1980s evokes the *public* life of history. The personal and political are drawn together in the final section, which theorises explicitly about the discipline of history as a driving force for national mythmaking and "sharing histories".

Although a leading trans-Tasman historian of colonialism, Attwood has written *"A Bloody Difficult Subject"* for a general audience. This makes sense. Ross's article is one of the most famous ever published by the *New Zealand Journal of History* (and a key reading moment for many an undergraduate history student, myself included), in which she advanced a now familiar textual analysis: te Tiriti, signed by the overwhelming majority of rangatira (chiefs) in 1840, should be taken as the primary text, with the English treaty as a secondary translation. Attwood traces Ross's personal travails in researching, presenting and, ultimately, publishing her argument. He shows that Ross did not simply give a new public emphasis to the Māori text but that, in her personal commitment to the rules of the historical discipline, she disavowed the possibility of any definitive meaning or interpretation being drawn from the chaotic and muddled documents. On the one hand, Ross's article was like dynamite that exploded encrusted mythologies of the Treaty as a romantic token of ideal race relations, a boon to a new generation of Māori activists such as Ngā Tamatoa (Attwood shows how the meanings of the Treaty reflect political and cultural needs). Conversely, in reviewing revisionist trends in New Zealand history-writing—revisiting arguments by legal historian Andrew Sharp, for example—Attwood, ultimately, sees Ross's legacy as having been overtaken by new forms of public mythologising and her key arguments ignored or warped by later historians.

Attwood's various lines of argument land with mixed effect. One suspects the sections may each have originated as respective journal articles that, in a book publication, begin to appear a bit stretched. While he offers insights into the experience of women historians in the postwar university, and we learn something of the character of Ross, or the attributes Attwood most admires in her, the narrative lacks the finesse of a fully fleshed biography. Although he shows a deft understanding of the public currents of te Tiriti, he fails to do justice to the work of Māori scholarship (Nepia Mahuika and Sir Tipene O'Regan are the only Māori historians who feature in the book's extensive bibliography). In this way, he risks downplaying Māori historical consciousness about te Tiriti. Did Māori really not appreciate the Māori language version of the Treaty until Ross's intervention, as Attwood seems to suggest?

In the book's wider schema, Ross becomes an object of ventriloquism, as Attwood advances pointed critiques of Treaty historians such as Claudia Orange, Michael Belgrave and Ned Fletcher. The testiness of these latter sections also blunt Attwood's constructive input (one of the ironies here is that Attwood, in seeking to come to Ross's defence, has simply co-opted her for his own argument in much the way he charges his professional adversaries).

Histories of te Tiriti and the Treaty, thanks to the political process of the Waitangi Tribunal, have centred 1840 (and thus Ross's work) as a kind of foundational hinge of New Zealand's national mythology. In many ways, this has narrowed the field of historical inquiry into a more legalistic forum than Ross might have envisioned in 1972. Yet, most New Zealand–based academics would recognise that history-writing now contends with the post-settlement landscape and its vast archive of tribal memories, evoking stories of grief and survival. The crisis of narratives, of which Ross was a harbinger, has hardly been solved, but scholars must contend with the relationships of interpretation offered in the collective worlds of hapū (subtribes) and iwi (tribes).

Although these flaws do not negate the important contribution of this book, especially when taken as part of the cut-and-thrust of academic history, it is worth emphasising that a degree of intellectual humility is necessary for constructive public debate. This isn't easy; the contested past is, indeed, bloody difficult. Historians need to resist the temptation, in tearing down one golden calf, to propel New Zealanders towards *another* national resolution *through* another kind of history-writing. Instead, we need to become comfortable with sitting across a plurality of interpretations of the past, in the gaps between histories and memories, between texts and translations, as we head into shared and uncertain futures.

References Cited:

Ross, R.M., 1972. Te Tiriti o Waitangi: Texts and translations. *New Zealand Journal of History* 6 (2): 129–57.

https://doi.org/10.15286/jps.132.3.373-374

KIRCH, Patrick Vinton (ed.): *Talepakemalai: Lapita and Its Transformations in the Mussau Islands of Near Oceania*. Monumenta Archaeologica 47. Los Angeles: UCLA Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2021. xxvi + 558 pp., abbr., ack., biblio., figs., index, contribs., pref., refs., tables. US$120.00/$72.00 (hardcover/e-book).

PETER SHEPPARD
Waipapa Taumata Rau University of Auckland

The origins of this impressive volume can be found in the Pacific Science Conference held in Dunedin in 1983. Following on from the success in the early 1970s of the Southeast Solomons Culture History Project, a large-scale multidisciplinary project led by Roger Green and Douglas Yen that had discovered and dated the initial movement of Lapita into Remote Oceania, plans were made at the conference to investigate the apparent homeland of Lapita in the Bismarck Archipelago. Led by Jim Allen, the Lapita Homeland Project created 19 separate research projects across the Bismarck Archipelago to investigate a series of questions concerning the origins and potential development of Lapita, which at that time were very poorly known. Patrick Kirch, who had worked with Green in the Southeast Solomons project, was assigned the Mussau Group on the northeast margins of the Bismarck Archipelago. Through fieldwork in 1985, 1986 and 1988, he and his team were able to survey eight islands of the group. A series of excavations on these islands included extensive excavation of the very large site of Talepakemalai (ECA), which provided almost unique anaerobic conditions, preserving organic materials and the wealth of archaeological data reported in this volume.

The Lapita Homeland Project effectively created the first comprehensive prehistory of the Bismarck Archipelago, but importantly, it was also responsible for the training of a new generation of archaeologists. In the Mussau Group team members involved in fieldwork and/or data analysis included Terry Hunt, Marshall Weisler, Melinda Allen, Dana Leposky, Virginia Butler, Nick Araho and more recently Scarlett Chiu. All of them have gone on to make their mark in Pacific prehistory, and many contributed chapters to this volume.

As Kirch describes in his overview of Lapita in Chapter 1, the Mussau research revolved around a series of questions or topics arising from the understanding of Lapita in the early 1980s. In the years following the fieldwork, a series of analytical papers, a monograph and theses derived from the Mussau data wrestled with these issues. The topics included the origins and chronology of Lapita development, patterns of material distribution potentially reflecting trade and exchange, the nature of Lapita economic adaptation, the character of Lapita society and the transformation and relations of Lapita at the end of the ceramic sequence or Lapita period. The contents of this volume, and available online supplementary files,[1]

pull together much of this work and provide some summary conclusions, the overall context of fieldwork and data summaries for those looking for comparative data. This is the most comprehensive report of a Lapita project we have to date, although Kirch's (1997) *The Lapita Peoples* provides a general overview. The only other significant data-rich study that focused on Lapita is that by Christophe Sand (2010) for his New Caledonian work in *Lapita calédonien: Archéologie d'un premier peuplement insulaire océanien*.

The question of origins and chronology has been particularly important in the Mussau work as it has provided some of the earliest Lapita dates. Following chapters dealing with the regional physical and cultural setting and describing the excavations, Chapter 5 provides a detailed analysis of the 75 radiocarbon dates from the excavations. This includes a suite of recent AMS dates and Bayesian analysis of the chronological sequences. The question of how old Lapita in the Bismarcks is has been somewhat contentious. Kirch concludes that the oldest settlement is at the small EHB site on Emananus Island, where were found very fine dentate stamped pottery and an elaborate suite of pot forms sitting at the bottom of the ceramic seriation, reported in Chapter 11 by Kirch and Chui. Unfortunately, there are no charcoal dates from this site and only four shell dates, including one AMS date, which have been calibrated with a marine correction created from samples from sites on nearby Eloaua Island (ECA, ECB). The date range produced by these four dates at 1 sigma is 3881–3525 and 3691–3335 BP and not occupied later than 3350 BP. This result will most likely be debated with comparison made to dates on other sites with similar ceramic styles which are undoubtably old. What these results do strongly support, however, is the argument that Lapita arrives in the Bismarck Archipelago fully formed with no local developmental sequence, at least not in Mussau.

One of the analytical benefits of working in the Bismarcks is the presence in New Britain and the Admiralty Islands of extensive deposits of high-quality obsidian, which have been exploited since the Pleistocene. Lapita people would appear to have found this material almost immediately, as it appears in quantity in the sites of the region and was transported from this homeland into the earliest sites of Remote Oceania. Characterising and sourcing obsidian has been one of the most successful methodological developments in Lapita archaeology. Roger Green very quickly established that both New Britain and Admiralties obsidian was transported into the Reef/Santa Cruz sites, indicating either direct connections to both source regions or to sites exploiting them both. Sourcing of the Talepakemalai obsidian by Allen (Chapter 14) and Ross-Sheppard (Chapter 15) shows that the majority of samples comes from the nearest source in the Admiralties, 275 km directly to the west; however, a significant percentage comes from the Willaumez

Peninsula on New Britain 430 km to the south, indicating high degrees of mobility. Ross-Sheppard argues, based on the variable quality of some of the obsidian, that its distribution is a function of patterns of social interaction and not purely of economic demand. This pattern of high mobility is also shown by the results of ceramic temper analysis by Dickinson (Chapter 17), which shows what is an atypical pattern for Lapita sites of great diversity in tempers, indicating contacts into all neighbouring islands to the south and west to the Admiralties, but not into the New Britain obsidian source region. A similar diversity is also found in the lithic manuports studied by Dickinson in Chapter 17.

The nature of the Lapita subsistence economy has been the source of some debate, especially during the expansion period in Remote Oceania. It is generally understood that the Lapita economy included domesticated plants and animals, which facilitated initial movement from origins in Southeast Asia and settlement of the comparatively depauperate islands of Remote Oceania. The Mussau data makes very significant contributions to our knowledge as the anaerobic preservation at Talepakemalai provides unique data on the exploitation of plants. Domesticated dogs, pigs and chickens are present in the faunal assemblage (Chapter 6) but make up a comparatively small presence. The focus seems to be on collecting easily harvested wild resources, especially sea turtles, which were likely found on nesting beaches, netting near-shore fish such as parrotfish and emperor fish (Chapter 7) feeding on or near the reef, and collecting large amounts of bivalves and gastropods (Chapter 8) from the reef and in the extensive lagoons that encompass Emananus and Eloaua. The abundant preserved plant remains include a number of probable domesticates including *Canarium* and coconut shell (Chapter 9) as well as a variety of wild food and industrial plant species, suggesting an important arboriculture. Unfortunately, the flesh of domesticated tubers such as taro or breadfruit is not preserved; however, the shell tool assemblage includes large numbers of scrapers, including distinctive cowrie-shell peelers (Chapter 13) historically used in the peeling of taro and breadfruit.

The nature of Lapita society has been a source of considerable speculation. The Mussau data confirms a settlement pattern of small hamlets with perhaps one or two structures and considerably larger sites like that at Talepakemalai where we have evidence of stilt structures over the intertidal zone. The elaborate pottery design and forms, which are here reported and illustrated in great detail (Chapter 11), suggests a rich symbolic and ritual life. Considerable effort has been made at Talepakemalai in the manufacture of a great range of shell rings and perforated shell units that we now know, from work at the Teouma burials in Vanuatu, to have been worn as components of composite anklets. Kirch has argued that these materials

may have been manufactured at Talepakemalai for trade as part of the long-range trade network which included obsidian and ceramics. Whether this is trade or exchange or simply markers of social interaction, it is certainly true that the people of Mussau were very highly mobile out on the northeast edge of Melanesia and fully capable of sailing down the Solomon chain and returning using the seasonal north–south winds. We now know, from recent genetic and archaeological evidence, that this movement involved a leapfrog expansion across the main Solomons (unfortunately not illustrated in Figure 1)—possibly the sort of sudden long-range expansion that originally brought Lapita to the Bismarck Archipelago.

This volume is an extraordinarily rich source of data for those interested in the culture history of Mussau and in Lapita archaeology. It provides a detailed picture of the nature of those who went on, perhaps from Mussau, to settle Remote Oceania.

Note:

1. Supplementary online material can be accessed here: https://dig.ucla.edu/talepakemalai/.

References Cited:

Kirch, Patrick Vinton, 1997. *The Lapita Peoples: Ancestors of the Oceanic World*. Cambridge: Blackwell.

Sand, Christophe, 2010. *Lapita calédonien: Archéologie d'un premier peuplement insulaire océanien*. Paris: Société des Océanistes.

https://doi.org/10.15286/jps.132.3.375-378

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED *

July to September 2023

EVANS, Jeff: *Ngātokimatawhaorua: The Biography of a Waka.* Auckland: Massey University Press, 2023. 264 pp., ack., app., gloss., index, notes. NZ$50.00 (hardcover).

* The inclusion of a publication in this list neither assumes nor precludes its subsequent review.

Postal Addresses: Office of the Polynesian Society
Pacific Studies, Te Wānanga o Waipapa: School of Māori Studies and Pacific Studies, The University of Auckland,
Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142,
New Zealand

email: jps@auckland.ac.nz
The Polynesian Society webpage:
https://www.thepolynesiansociety.org

Information for authors

Since 1892, *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* has been a major forum for the discussion of cultural and social aspects of the past and present lives and cultures of New Zealand Māori and all other peoples of Pacific/Oceanic heritage, including those of Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia. The Editors welcome submissions of manuscripts in the areas of archaeology, biological and medical anthropology, cultural/social anthropology, ethnomusicology, material culture studies and art history, ethnology, history, linguistics, political studies, indigenous law and sociology. The *Journal* especially encourages manuscripts that cross-cut disciplinary boundaries and are likely to be of broad interest.

Manuscripts are peer-reviewed by academic readers before publication is considered. Before submitting a manuscript, authors should consult The Polynesian Society website for style and format guidelines. For all information, go to the page: https://thepolynesiansociety.org/jps/index.php/JPS/about and under SUBMISSIONS click on the link entitled *Author Guidelines*.

Submissions must be made online at www.thepolynesiansociety.org. To make an online submission an author must first register as an author and then log in.

The views expressed by contributors are their own. In publishing them, neither the Editor/s nor the Society necessarily endorses them.