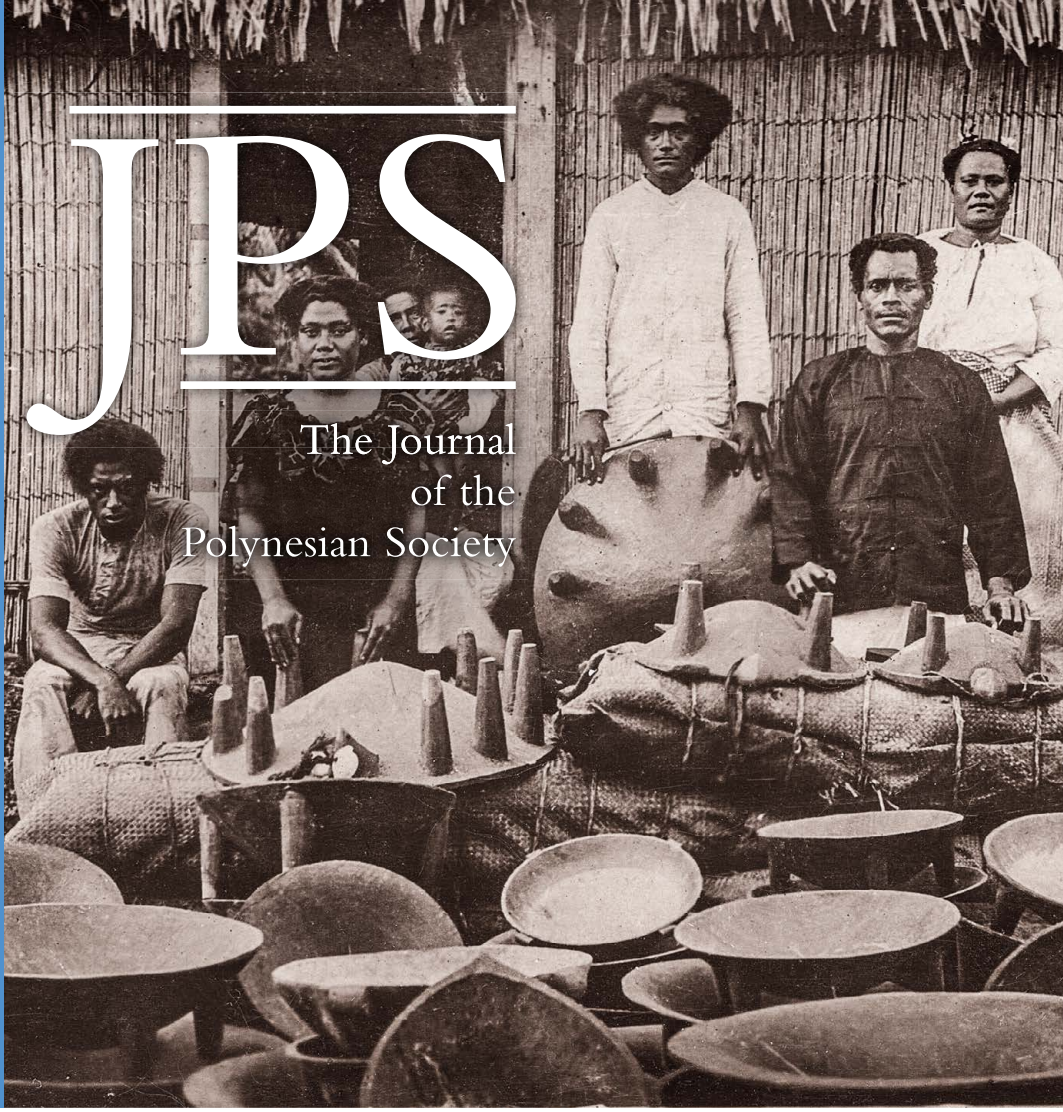

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Fijian, wooden kava bowls.
Photograph attributed to J.W. Waters which would
date the image to the late 19th or early 20th century.

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AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND

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The Elsdon Best Memorial Medal

The Council of the Polynesian Society considers possible recipients of this award at the end of each year, but does not make an award annually. "The Medal is for outstanding scholarly work on the New Zealand Māori. The research for which the Medal is awarded may be in the fields of Māori ethnology, social anthropology, archaeology, prehistory or linguistics." The Medal is normally presented at the Society's mid-year Annual General Meeting and the recipient is asked to present a paper on that occasion.

The Nayacakalou Medal

The intention and conditions of the award are as follows (as recorded in the Polynesian Society Council Minutes of November 1991):

> The Nayacakalou Medal honours the late Dr Rusiate Nayacakalou for his outstanding ethnological writing on Fijian and Polynesian society and culture. The Medal will be considered, but not necessarily awarded, annually for recent

significant publication on the Island Pacific relevant to the aims and purposes of the Polynesian Society and the interests and concerns of Dr Nayacakalou.

The recipient may be asked to present a paper on the occasion of receiving the Medal.

The Skinner Fund for Physical Anthropology, Archaeology and Ethnology

The Skinner Fund is sponsored jointly by the Royal Society of New Zealand, the Polynesian Society and the New Zealand Archaeological Association. Funds granted are in the range of $1000 and applications normally close at the end of March.

The purpose of the Fund is to promote the study of the history, art, culture, physical and social anthropology of the Māori and other Polynesian peoples, particularly through the recording, survey, excavation and scientific study of prehistoric and historic sites in New Zealand and the islands of Oceania. For further information, contact The Executive Officer, The Royal Society of New Zealand, P.O. Box 598, Wellington.

Te Rangi Hiroa Medal of the Royal Society of New Zealand

Te Rangi Hiroa, a.k.a. Sir Peter Buck, was a pioneer New Zealand social scientist. He qualified in medicine from the University of Otago in 1904 and practiced for 22 years, making major contributions to Māori health. After a brief period in Parliament, he embarked on a career in anthropology, undertaking research on Māori and Pacific cultures. His appointment to the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, as Director, and to Yale University, as a Professor of Anthropology, are testimony to the international recognition of his scholarly research and writing.

The Te Rangi Hiroa Medal was established by the Academy of the Royal Society of New Zealand in 1996, with the support of Ngāti Mutunga at Urenui, in memory of Te Rangi Hiroa to recognise excellence in the social sciences. It is awarded biennially in rotation in four areas of the social sciences to a researcher who, working within New Zealand, has undertaken work of great merit and has made an outstanding contribution towards the advancement of the particular area of social science.

Historical approaches to societal transformation and change: this includes appropriate contributions by archaeologists, physical and social anthropologists, historians of all sub-disciplines, and others using study of the past to elucidate important processes of change, whether in New Zealand or elsewhere.

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Medical anthropology: relationship between human behaviour, social life, and health within an anthropological context.

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BEYOND THE RIM: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF KAVA BOWLS FROM SAMOA, TONGA AND FIJI

VALENTIN BOISSONNAS
Haute École Arc Conservation-restauration

The consumption of an infusion made from the root of a pepper plant (*Piper mythysticum*), known as *kava* in Polynesia and its outliers, but as *qona/aqona/yaqona* in Fiji, has been intricately linked to political, religious and economic systems. The various shapes of mixing and drinking containers and the different ways in which the liquid was and is still consumed bear testimony to its importance and prolonged presence in the Pacific.

A comparative study of *kava/yaqona* bowls from Sāmoa, Tonga and Fiji is of interest as they often share common features and were part of a complex system of moving people and goods. Even though much has been written about those exchange systems (Aswani and Graves 1998, Barnes and Hunt 2005, Calvert 1858, Ferdon 1987, Gunson 1990, Kaeppler 1978, Sahlins 1985), little information has been gathered on *kava* bowls. The first Western Polynesian *kava* bowls to reach Europe were collected by James Cook and his men in Tonga between 1773 and 1777. The majority of bowls in museum collections, however, arrived in the mid and late 19th century, collected by seafarers, missionaries, explorers, colonial personnel, anthropologists and scientific expeditions. The general lack of documentation, however, gives us little indication of their origins and formal evolution. In the past this led to a general confusion where *kava* bowls were often rather randomly ascribed to Sāmoa, Tonga or Fiji. Attribution is further confounded by the presence of Sāmoan-derived hereditary carpentry specialists (*mātaisau*[1]) in Tonga, Lau and Fiji. The fact that many bowls were not made in the place where they were finally collected complicates the picture even more. The only typological classification of *yaqona* bowls was attempted by Laura Thompson while working in southern Lau (Thompson 1940: 187-88). It is based on field-collected oral information from Lauan carpenters of Sāmoan descent but does not take into account other bowl types from Western Polynesia.

This study tackles the problem by cross-referencing documented collection histories with bowl typologies. Initially, the collections of the British Museum (BM), the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (MAA) and Oxford's Pitt Rivers Museum (PRM) were studied in depth. Extending the survey further, bowls from museums in Europe, New Zealand and the United States were also included.[2]

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SĀMOAN *'UMETE* AND *TĀNOA 'AVA*

Sāmoan *kava* bowls were made from a variety of hardwoods and can be divided into oval or lenticular *'umete* and circular *tānoa 'ava*. Krämer mentions *ifilele* (*Intsia bijuga*—the Fijian *vesi* and Tongan *fehi*) and *pau* (*Sapota achras*) as the woods most commonly used (Krämer 1994 [II]: 244). Erskine (1853: 46) also mentions the use of *fetau* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*—the Fijian *dilo* and Tongan *feta'u*), a sacred tree that was also used in Tonga, the Society and Marquesas Islands for important objects such as bowls, canoes and headrests (Mu-Liepmann and Milledrogues 2008: 25). *Milo* (*Thespesia populnea*) and *toi* (*Alphitonia zizyphoides*) were other wood types also used for *kava* bowl making (Whistler 2000: 191, 205). The villages Falealupo and Asau on Savai'i were well known production centres for *'ava* bowls (Mallon 2002: 17).

Throughout their stylistic evolution Sāmoan *'umete* and *tānoa 'ava* have always retained a straight and upward pointing rim that is defined by the thickness of the bowls' wall. A particularly early *tānoa 'ava* was given in the 1880s to a German resident of Sāmoa, Dr Bernhard Funk. It came from the chiefly family of Senitima, his Sāmoan wife, who was a daughter of Chief Talea (Fig. 1). With a diameter of 28 cm it is of rather small size. The short legs and the trapezoidal lug shape are similar to bowl types that have been collected in Fiji. This relationship will be discussed more fully in the following sections.

The majority of *tānoa'ava* that entered predominantly German collections in the 1880s are of larger diameter (35-50 cm), metal tooled and invariably surrounded by a flat horizontal rim from which the interior abruptly falls away (Fig. 2 left). Their four legs are often less tapered and considerably longer than on old Sāmoan *tānoa'ava*, lifting the bottom of the bowl some 20 cm off the ground, giving it a somewhat suspended look when viewed from the side. Mack's assertion (Mack 1982: 246) that Sāmoan bowls can be recognised because they have their legs closer to the rim seems unlikely, as many Fijian bowls have similarly set legs.

Towards the end of the 19th century a new type of many-legged *tānoa'ava* started to be produced; they bear a striking resemblance to Sāmoan sub-circular big houses (*faletele*). According to Buck, the additional legs were the result of a growing tourism in Sāmoa. Tourists were charged according to leg number, which increases with the size of the bowl (Buck 1930: 150). Such many-legged Sāmoan bowls may have a distinctive small lip that extends the flat rim horizontally. The introduction of numerous legs left less space for the lug, which became a longer and narrower version of what has often been called a V-shaped lug. Rather than being rounded, the upper part of the legs, or even the entire legs, were sometimes squared. Responding to

Figure 1. An early and well-worn, possibly stone carved Sāmoan *tānoa ʻava* (Private collection).

the tourist traffic, 20th century bowls can have the flat rim area incised and filled with lime. These many-legged bowls came to be used for actual *ʻava* consumption by Sāmoans and replaced the older four-legged bowls by the end of the 19th century.

With lenticular *ʻumete* neither lug nor leg shape allows us to clearly distinguish them from Fijian or Tongan examples. The legs are tapered and rather than being fully rounded are sometimes keeled on the outside. They have a central ridge on their lower side running from tip to tip. Buck reported how in Savaiʻi legless lenticular bowls with flat bottoms were used for *ʻava* consumption (Buck 1930: 150).

Figure 2. (top): MVD 48685 (diameter 52.3 cm), a *tānoa ʻava* that was given by Chief Tamasese to the German consul Dr Oskar Stübel in the 1880s. It shows the clear distinction between the flat rim and sloping inner walls of this comparatively shallow bowl (photo S. Hooper). (bottom): TPTM FE011948 collected in 1875. It typifies the many-legged broadly rimmed *tānoa ʻava* that became popular in the late 19th century. Its stained bowl indicates the bowl was in use before being turned into a painted and non-functional tourist item.[3]

TONGAN *KUMETE KAVA* AND *TĀNO'A*

In Tonga both circular and lenticular *kava* bowls are generally referred to as *kumete kava*, the bowl used by the Tu'i Tonga however was called a *tāno'a* (Gifford 1929: 161). As in Sāmoa, *fehi* (*Intsia bijuga*) certainly was the most sought after hardwood for *kumete kava*. According to Whistler (1991: 31-119), both *feta'u* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*) and *tamanu* (*Calophyllum neo-ebudicum*) were also being used for making *kava* bowls, while *ngesi* (*Manilkara dissecta*), *kau* (*Burckella richii*), *manaui* (*Garuga floribunda*) and *mo'ota* (*Dysoxylum forsteri*) were other wood species out of which *kumete* for food preparation and presentation were fashioned.

Documented Tongan *kava* bowls are extremely rare. The only eight existing provenanced circular *kava* bowls were collected during the voyages of Captain James Cook, Alejandro Malaspina and Dumont d'Urville. They have diameters ranging from 37 to 72 cm and their heights range between 11 and 17 cm. Unlike their Sāmoans counterparts the rim area of Tongan bowls collected in the late 18th century exhibit a unique outward flare (Fig. 3).

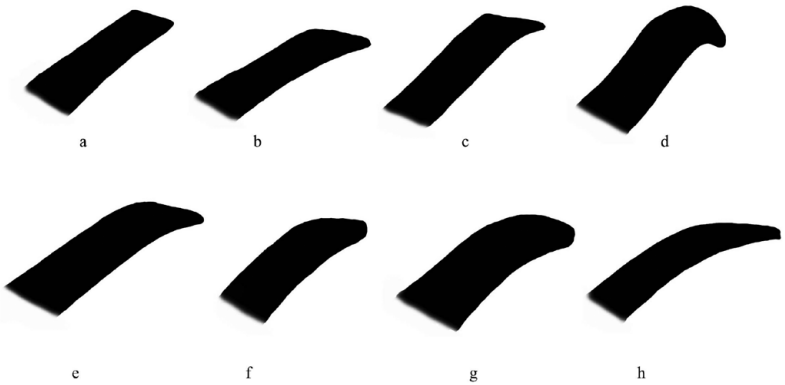

Figure 3. Rim cross-sections of the eight provenanced *kava* bowls collected in Tonga: (a) PRM 1886.1.1513 (diameter 42 cm) and (b) GAU Oz 409 (diameter 52 cm) were both collected by the Forsters in 1773/4. (c) BM Oc1971,05.1 (diameter 49 cm) was collected on Cook's second or third voyage. (d) BM OC1921,0205.1 (diameter 38 cm) was collected by James Ward in 1777. (e) MDA 13060 (diameter 72 cm) was collected by Malaspina in 1793. (f) MQB 72.84.347 (diameter 38 cm), (g) MQB 72.84.348 (diameter 45 cm) and (h) MQB 72.56.736 (diameter 38 cm) were all collected by d'Urville in 1827.

The first two specimens were collected by Johann and Georg Forster in 1773-74 and clearly show this tendency to extend the rim area (Figs 3a, b). The bowl collected by Midshipman James Ward on Cook's third voyage in 1777 (Fig. 3d) develops this feature giving the rim a curved wavelike shape. Curved rims can also be found on bowls collected by d'Urville 50 years later (Figs. 3f, g and h).

Cook described a very large bowl from which he was served *kava* in a plantain leaf cup (*pelu*) at Mu'a in 1777 during the mourning ritual for one of the sons of Tu'i Tonga Fatafehi Paulaho (Beaglehole 1967: 141).[4] The bowl held four to five gallons of liquid, the equivalent of around 20 litres. Given the size and occasion it might very well have been the Tu'i Tonga's *tāno'a.* During his stay in Tonga between 1806 and 1810, William Mariner also witnessed the use of large bowls during important ceremonies with diameters of up to 90 cm and depths of 30 cm (Martin 1827 [II]: 156). Such exceedingly big *kava* bowls were not produced in Tonga because of the lack of suitable big *fehi* trees. As will be discussed in the following section, they were the product of Lauan workshops on the island of Kabara.

Thomas Williams stated that Tongan *kumete kava* are lighter and prettier than Fijian *yaqona* bowls (Williams 1858: 78). Newell also insisted that Tongan bowls were lighter and had thinner walls than Fijian examples (Newell 1947: 373). This, however, cannot be confirmed, as Fijian bowls can be equally thin-walled and of similar weight. Actually, the weight depends not only on how much wood was removed during carving but also on the type of wood used. Bowls, such as the one given by Rātū Seru Cakobau, Vūnivalu of Bau, to Mrs Jeannie Wilson in 1855 (MAA Z3340) are much lighter than smaller Tongan *kumete kava* as they were carved in what is most likely a light-weight *damanu* (*Calophyllum neo-ebudicum*) wood.[5] One of d'Urville's bowls brought back from Tongatapu (MQB 72.84.348) weighs 3200 g, which is more than twice the average weight of a similarly sized Fijian bowl.

On Webber's original pencil drawing for the engraving by Sharp (Blackburn Collection, illustrated in Kaeppler 2010: 62), that was to figure in the Cook and King 1784 edition as Plate XX, the *tāno'a* is only roughly sketched and it is not surprising that in the subsequent engraving it looks like a large flat dish with stubby little feet. Feet length cannot be considered a reliable feature for discriminating Tongan from Fijian bowls. Those collected in Tonga in the late 18th century, however, have columnar rather than tapered legs, a feature only otherwise shared with some early Fijian *yaqona* bowls. The existence of three-legged bowls, as suggested by Anderson (Beaglehole 1967: 908), Collocott (1927: 27) and Newell (1947: 373), could not be confirmed in this study.

Two lenticular *kumete* were collected in Tonga by Cook. One is in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, another was formerly in the George Ortiz Collection. Their rims differ from Fijian or Sāmoan counterparts by having both the inner and outer walls of the bowl meeting in a pointed tip, rather than the inside wall ending in a rounded ellipse. Labillardière (1971 [1800], Plate 31) illustrates a lenticular *kumete* with an elliptical Fijian type rim. Even though the bowl was collected in Tonga, the rim shape suggests it may well have been imported from Fiji.[6]

Judging from the few *kava* bowls collected in Tonga it seems that by the late 18th century *kava* bowls with a distinctive extended horizontal or curved rim were in fashion.

LAUAN *TĀNOA* AND THE ISLAND OF KABARA

In the mid-18th century two master carver clans, originating from Manono Island in Samoa, were resettled under the patronage of the Tu'i Tonga in the island of Kabara where the best and largest *vesi* grew (Clunie 2013: 180, Hooper 1982: 54-57). This highly desirable and resistant hardwood was not only ideal for house and canoe construction, but also a preferred wood for war clubs, priestly oil dishes and *kava* bowls. The two *mātaisau* that came with their entourage were Lehā, who was the Tu'i Tonga's principle carpenter and canoe builder, and his junior kinsman Lemaki. Following the premature death of Lehā his clan moved back to Tonga. From that time onwards, Lemaki and his descendants were the dominant canoe builders and *kava* bowl producers in Kabara.

Very large *kava* bowls, such as those seen by Cook and Mariner, were products of Kabara. The variations in bowl cavities and rim profiles, however, indicate that other production centres existed besides Kabara. From Lau these bowls were exported to Fiji, Tonga and (via Tonga) to Sāmoa by Tongan navigators.[7] In Fiji this new bowl type became known as *tānoa*. The large

Figure 4. Two characteristic types of *tānoa* profiles encountered in the survey.

Figure 5. Three *tānoa* all collected in Fiji showing typological variations that are most likely the result of different workshops: (top) MAA Z3973 (diameter 57 cm) and (middle) MAA Z3984 (diameter 61 cm), both collected by Sir Arthur H. Gordon, have a curved extended rim but show differences in height and leg shape; (bottom) MAA Z30939 (diameter 57.5 cm) was collected by Walter Coote before 1882 and has a horizontally extended rim. (Photos by L. Carreau)

size of many of them (their diameters vary between 35 and 100 cm) and the particular treatment of the rim area serve to identify them.[8] The *tānoa* rim extends either horizontally or in a gentle curve. Both types can be seen as stylistic continuations of Tongan bowls collected in the late 18th century (Fig. 3). Some very large *tānoa* can have six or more legs. Thompson attributes this innovation to the Lemaki carpenters of Kabara (Thompson 1940: 188).

It is possible that *tānoa* profiles derive from the *tāno'a*, that originally was Tu'i Tonga's prerogative. With the waning influence of the Tu'i Tonga, the *tānoa* type could have become less sacred and more accessible to other chiefs. It is telling that when Laura Thompson in the 1930s interviewed Lemaki carvers in Kabara they insisted that the round and gracefully curved *tānoa* was the true *tānoa* (*tānoa ntchina* [*dina*]). All other forms were called *sesenitānoa* (errant versions) (Thompson 1940: 187). Unfortunately no written or drawn records exist that allow us to know which rim profile the *tāno'a* had.

The arrival of *tānoa* bowls in Fiji was immortalised by the naming of Tānoa, future Vūnivalu of Bau, who died in 1852 (Clunie 1986: 173). It is therefore likely that the *tānoa* was introduced to Viti Levu in the late 1700s, which coincides with the arrival of the Sāmoan derived *mātaisau* in Lau.

FIJIAN *YAQONA* BOWLS

Until the introduction of the Sāmoan/Tongan *kava* circle to eastern and north-eastern Fiji around AD 1000-1200 (Clunie in prep.) and its wider establishment in the 16th century (Best 2002, Marshall *et al*. 2000), the consumption of *yaqona* was reserved for priests (*bete*) and chiefs who consumed it as part of indigenous *būrau* rites during which gods were invoked and consulted. Unlike in Polynesia, where the fresh root was masticated, Fijian *yaqona* was grated and mixed in a bowl, filtered through a wooden or wickerwork funnel packed with a mesh of fern leaf and poured into a shallow drinking cup or dish. The liquid was then sucked from centre of the dish, sometimes through a tube that could be incorporated into the middle of the dish where the *yaqona* accumulated (see Plate 70, item 589b, Oldman 2004). Judging from reports of first-hand witnesses, *yaqona* was consumed at the end of the rite as an offering to god who had entered the worshipper (Clunie 1996: 14, Williams 1858: 225). The direct transfer from the dish to the invoked god inside the *bete,* without having to desecrate the *yaqona* by handling the dish, clearly showed its *tapu* character.[9]

Yaqona was also prepared and sucked from circular earth pits lined with *vudi plantain* (*Musa* species) or giant taro (*Alocasia macrorrhizos*) leaves (Clunie 1986: 169, 1996: 8; Lester 1941: 111-12).[10]

Circular, round-bottomed earthenware *yaqona* drinking bowls (*dariniyaqona* or *sedreniyaqona* in two different dialects[11]) appear in the

archaeological record from AD 1500 onwards (Marshall *et al*. 2000: 92).[12] Those examined in this study have a diameter of 25-35 cm and the raised rim can be decorated by circular lines and indentations or serrations.

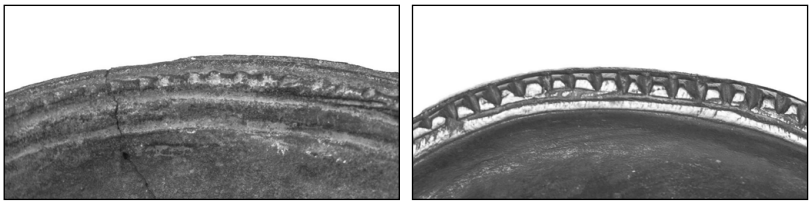

Figure 6. (left) Detail of the rim of a ceramic *dariniyaqona* (BM Oc, Fi.12) with the rim area decorated with two circular bands of which one has been indented. (right) A wooden *dariniyaqona* (PRM 1909.30.86V5) with a similarly carved, instead of indented, decoration.

The bowl surfaces are glazed by the application on the heated ceramic of *makadre* resin from the *dakua* tree (*Agathis vitiensis*). Nowadays, pottery *dariniyaqona* production only continues along the Sigatoka River. Nevertheless the bowls are still traded throughout Viti Levu and have recently been recorded in use among the Nasau of Ra Province (Cayrol-Baudrillart 1996-97: 44). *Dariniyaqona* can also be made of wood.[13] Their rim can be plain, but many have notched decorations similar to their clay homologues (Fig. 6). When not in use *dariniyaqona* are hung from a coir suspension cord that is either passed through two rim perforations or a lateral pierced suspension lug, a feature that is absent in *dari* used for domestic and cosmetic purposes.

Dariniyaqona need to be stabilised by the use of a plaited ring (*toqi*) that was occasionally made from *vesi* wood (see Herle and Carreau 2013: 41, Fig. 3.33). Other round-bottomed ceramics, such as *saqa* vessels used for water storage, were similarly stabilised.

Shallow oval or lenticular *bowls* with pointed ends were much used in Fiji and Lau, are generally under 30 cm long and are called *draunibaka* 'leaf-of-baka tree',[14] referring to the *baka* (*Ficus obliqua*) tree, which was considered sacred by Fijians since ancestor spirits inhabited them (Parham 1972: 138). *Draunibaka* often have four stubby *sucu* 'feet'; some three-legged ones can have a handle as illustrated by Lester (1941: 97, Plate IIB). Legless examples are sometimes referred to as *bavelo* 'dugout or canoe without outrigger'. Some *draunibaka*, often lacking legs, are deeper so the *yaqona* can be mixed in the bowl. The liquid is then drunk from small coconut cups (*bilo*), an innovation that was most likely introduced with the Tongan *kava* circle.

Figure 7. (top) A ceramic *dariniyaqona* with coir sennit suspension cord and notched rim, collected by Sir Arthur H. Gordon in the 1870s (BM Oc, Fi.12, diameter 24.5 cm). (bottom) A wooden example with four raised double lines on the rim area collected by Captain R. W. Stewart, R.E. in 1877 (MAA 1937.322, diameter 33 cm).

Larger circular and lenticular four-legged bowls with pointed ends are clearly distinguished from *draunibaka* by their size, which allows mixing of the *yaqona* in the bowl. Provenanced specimens were collected in Nadrogā in southwest Viti Levu, Bau in southeast Viti Levu and in the Lōmaiviti group. The length of those studied generally ranges from 30 to 50 cm, their width from 20 to 36 cm. Exceptionally large examples can have a length of up to 65 cm. Their underside is often decorated with two ridges that start from the pointed rim and taper off towards the centre. On some bowls the ridges run sideways away from each other when they reach the centre (a feature not recorded on *draunibaka*). If inspired by botanical forms, the origin of the shape of these bowls could be the seed pod of the tropical almond *tavola* (*Terminalia catappa*) which is common in the littoral and lowland forests of both Melanesia and Polynesia.

Figure 8. (left): A lenticular *draunibaka* with four feet and a central ridge on the underside collected by Anatole von Hügel in 1875 (MAA Z3475, photo L. Carreau). This item has no lateral lug and the suspension cord is passed through a perforation on one of the tips (length 41.5 cm). (right): The leaves of the *Ficus obliqua* (photo A. Lang, 2011).

The rims of these bowls are rarely notched. The legs are generally short and tapered with an oval cross-section. One large bowl, collected on the island of Ovalau by Anatole von Hügel in 1875, has the entire lower surface carved in relief. Another similarly adzed surface can be found on a circular bowl in the Fiji Museum (Clunie 1986: 94, 172). Such intricately adzed surfaces do not appear on later bowls and suggest that *yaqona* bowls were hung facing the wall so that the underside was visible and the inside protected from dust and dirt. The heavy black patina that has built up on the underside of many old bowls testifies to the presence of constantly burning fires in the living quarters (*vale)* or god houses (*burekalou)*.

Only few bowls have been collected in the western highlands of Viti Levu. They have a deep circular bowl, four elongated legs and diameters ranging from 25 to 35 cm (Fig. 10 left). The bowls are well finished and their rim decoration can be notched like ceramic and wooden *dariniyaqona*. The legs, however, can look surprisingly clumsy and do not seem to be part of a well-established canon. It is quite possible that they represent an early type of four-legged bowls that might have evolved out of wooden *dariniyaqona*. Given the likely presence of Sāmoan *mātaisau* in the region in the 16th century (Clunie 2013: 164), they could represent a marriage of legless *dariniyaqona* with four-legged early Sāmoan *tānoa ʻava* bowls. Heavy patination from handling, oils and smoke, as well as the use of stone carving tools, testify to the antiquity of some of these bowls.

Figure 9. (top and bottom left): An almost circular lenticular bowl with the underside ridge tapering off sideways (MAA Z3492, photo L. Carreau). (below right): The seed pods of a *Terminalia catappa* (photo C. Elevitch in Thomson, Evans and Evans 2006: 3).

Circular bowls with shorter legs and a similar or larger diameter have also been collected in coastal areas, although their exact origin is not known (Fig. 10 right). Unlike the highland bowls of western Viti Levu, they are shallower, have thinner walls and have more diversified lug and rim shapes. By the 1900s these bowls were called *tānoatavatava* to distinguish them from their lipped counterpart, the *tānoa*. *Tavatava* denotes a simple upwardly pointing rim.[15]

A separate class of bowls are *daveniyaqona* or *ibuburau* dishes that can have circular, humanoid or bird-shaped forms and sit on an elaborately carved stand. They are a purely Fijian development and intricately linked to the *būrau* way of *yaqona* consumption. (They will not be discussed further in this article.[16])

Turtle-shaped *yaqona* bowls were comparatively common on Viti Levu, particularly along the northeastern coast of Rā.[17] The depiction of a turtle associates these bowls with the zoomorphic *daveniyaqona* dishes (Clunie

Figure 10. (left): A *tānoatavatava*-type bowl collected from the western highlands of Vitilevu by Alfred Maudslay in 1875 (MAA Z3421, diameter 25 cm). The rim is notched and thick *yaqona* residues cover the inside wall (photo L. Carreau). (right): A larger, more standardised and possibly later *tānoatavatava*-type with notched rim decoration collected by Anatole von Hügel at the same time (MAA Z30106, diameter 48 cm).

1986: 175). The addition of four or more legs to some of them seems to be a later phenomenon, the early pieces all being legless in the Fijian *dariniyaqona* tradition. A paramount example was collected by James Calvert in 1886 (MMA Z3972, Fig. 11). Both the large size (97 cm) and the *tānoa* style rim suggest that it is of Lauan origin and quite possibly from Kabara. The carving is rather simple and there is no evidence of *yaqona* use. The popularity of turtle bowls as early as the 19th century is illustrated by a four-legged example that Augustin Krämer collected in 1895 in Apia, Sāmoa (Krämer 1994 [II]: 245, Fig. 73). With growing tourism turtle-shaped bowls became increasingly popular and smaller sized ones are still being made for sale today.

The study of Fijian *yaqona* bowl profiles clearly shows that bowls with an extended rim area are a more recent development that can be dated to the 18th century. All other Fijian bowl types have a rim that is defined by the thickness of the bowl's wall, as illustrated in Figure 12. Even though the rim area can be decorated by adding notches or, as found on some examples, by an additional raised band below the outer rim area, it is essentially directed upwards. Occasional circular burnt-in depressions in the upper rim area of bowls should not be considered decorations but represent a tally system of their various keepers.[18]

Figure 11. (top): MAA 1937.321, a turtle-shaped *yaqona* bowl given by Rātū Seru Cakobau to Captain R.W. Stewart, R.E. c. 1876 (64 cm from head to back flippers). The plaited hibiscus cord is passed through a perforation of the right front flipper as such bowls have no lateral lug. (bottom left): MAA Z3972, the large four legged turtle-shaped *tānoa* (97 cm from head to tail) collected by James Calvert, probably in 1886, and subsequently in the collections of W.D. Webster and von Hügel (photos L. Carreau).

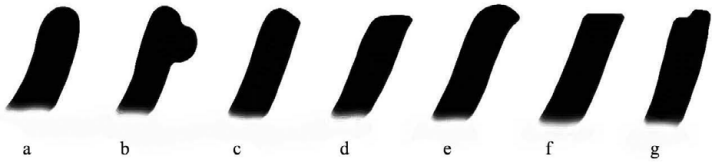

Figure 12. Rim profiles found on *dariniyaqona*, *daveniyaqona*, *draunibaka* and *tānoatavatava*. The first one is frequently found on bowls from the Viti Levu highlands and can be notched, the second is a less frequent type with a raised band encircling the rim. The last example corresponds to the *tānoatavatava* represented on the right of Figure 10.

SUSPENSION LUG SHAPES

As previously mentioned, most Fijian and Western Polynesian *yaqona*/*kava* bowls are fitted with a suspension lug that allows the bowl to be hung on the wall by a plaited coir cord, the inside being kept dust and soot free. As these bowls were used to communicate with ancestor spirits and gods, they were considered *tapu* to all but their dedicated holders, necessitating circumspect and respectful treatment and storage.

In Fiji the lug is generally called *mata* 'eye, face, front of something'; in Lau the name is *daliga* 'ear' or *sau*, the latter also designates the white cowrie shells that can be attached to the coir cord. Both *mata* and *sau* also refer to something that is perforated. In Tonga the lug is referred to more prosaically as *taunga* 'hanger'. The evolution of the suspension cord into an elaborately plaited sacred cord (*wātabu* or *wā ni tānoa*) embellished with white *bulidina* (*Ovula ovum*) shells, a symbol of godliness, is a Fijian innovation and was first documented at Bau in 1838 by Dumont d'Urville (Clunie 1986: 172).

The great number of provenanced *yaqona* bowls collected in Fiji allows a more thorough study than the fewer and mostly later examples collected in Sāmoa, not to speak of the very few Tongan ones. Similar to rim profiles, Fijian *mata* types are a mixture of indigenous as well as imported and transformed forms from different periods of contact with West Polynesian *mātaisau*.[19]

Fijian *mata* can be traced back to very simple square or trapezoid forms, sometimes notched in two or more places. They bear a strong resemblance to the *salue* 'knobs' that ran down the middle of the fore and after deck covers of plank-built Sāmoan *va'aalo* 'bonito fishing canoes', where they were used to attach egg cowries (*pule*) (see Haddon and Hornell 1975 [1936]: 236, Fig. 166). It is conceivable that in Fiji twin-notched *mata* of this type evolved into an M-shaped form (Fig. 13, left column). On some later and large, many-legged *tānoa* bowls from Kabara the side bars are detached and have almost turned into legs. The side bars can also be absent, leaving just the middle part that has been described by Thompson as a V-shaped lug (Thompson 1940: 187). The term V-shaped lug, however, might more properly apply to a form that lacks vertical sides (Fig. 13, middle column).

Semi-circular lugs, like the lowest two in the central column of Figure 13, could have evolved out of V-shaped lugs or vice-versa. More intriguing is their close resemblance to the perforated leads (*sau*, Tongan *hau*) through which the running stay of the Micronesian rigged Tongan/Fijian sailing canoes (such as the *kalia/drua* or the *hamatafua/camakau*) was passed (see Haddon and Hornell 1975 [1936]: 308, Fig. 225).[20] These particular vessels were built by the Lemaki in Lau as a replacement for the older sailing canoes such as the Polynesian-rigged *tongiaki*, which in lacking running stays had no need of *sau*. This would date this particular shape to the late 18th century. Since

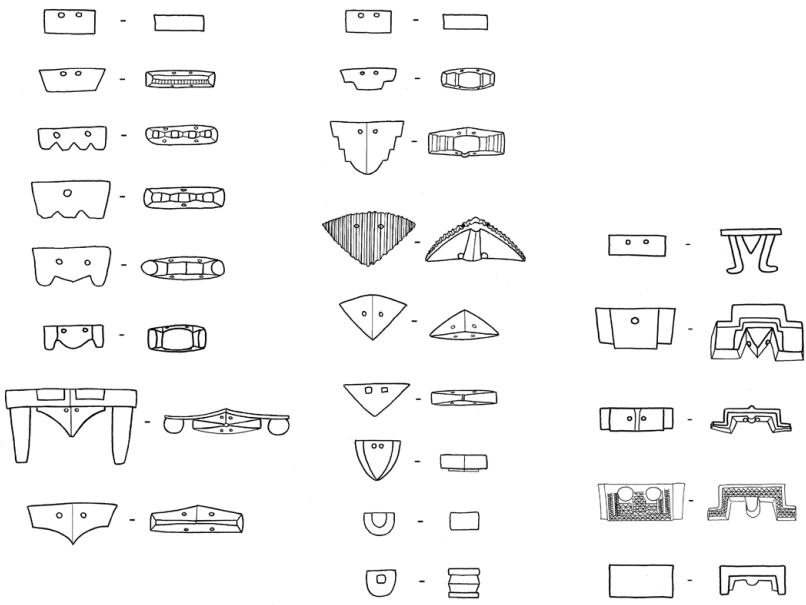

Figure 13. *Mata* types recorded on *yaqona* bowls collected in Fiji. (left): A possible evolution of the M-shaped lug (frontal and top view). The last type is still produced today on Fijian *yaqona* bowls. (centre): A possible evolution of the V-shaped lug. The bottom two examples are semi-circular lugs. (right): The adhering M-shaped lug. The first one was collected on Ovalau Island by Anatole von Hügel, the fourth was a present from Rātū Seru Cakobau to Mrs Jeannie Wilson, wife of the Rev. William Wilson, in 1855 and has a unique *tavatava* decoration.

it occurs only on very few bowls it seems that this lug shape was quickly replaced by the M-shaped type. A purely Fijian variant form of the M-shaped lug is illustrated in the right column of Figure 13. Rather than facing outward, it faces downward clinging to the underside of the bowl, forming a decorative feature visible when the bowl is hanging on the wall.

When comparing lugs of Sāmoan *tānoa ʻava* with their Fijian counterparts, it must be remembered that the majority were collected in the late 19th century, whereas some Fijian *yaqona* bowls were evidently made in the 18th century. The early bowl collected by Funk (Fig. 14 left) has a trapezoidal lug similar to Fijian types and its association with Sāmoan *va ʻaalo* bonito fishing canoes could make it a Sāmoan type that was subsequently transferred to

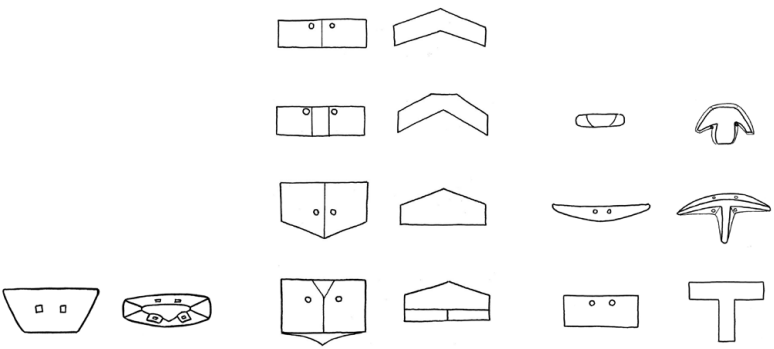

Figure 14. (left): The suspension lug of the Funk bowl shares strong resemblance with Fijian trapezoidal lugs. (centre): Metal carved suspension lug types from four-legged and flat-rimmed Sāmoan bowls collected between 1880 and 1906. The second one with cut-off chevron is absent in the Fijian corpus. (right): T-shaped suspension lug types: The first lug is from a Fijian *draunibaka,* the second from a small *tānoatavatava*, both collected in 1875. The lowest is from a flat-rimmed Samoan *tānoa ʻava* collected before 1889.

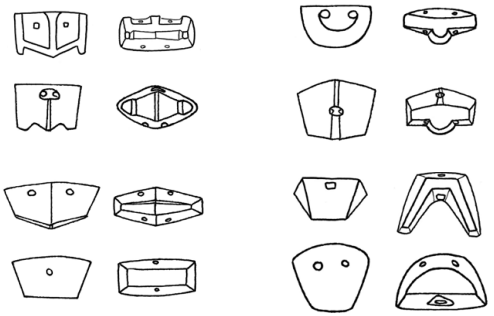

Figure 15. Lug shapes from *kumete kava* collected in Tonga. (left):The first two (BM Oc 1971,05.1, PRM 1886.1.1513) were collected in Tonga during Cook's second voyage in 1773. The third (MDA 13060) was collected at Vavaʻu by Malaspina in 1793 and the fourth (MQB 72.56.736) by d'Urville in 1827. (right): BM Oc 1921.0205.1 was collected in 1777 by James Ward, the one below (MQB 72.84.347) by d'Urville in 1827. Both have a T-shaped cross-section. The third (GAU Oz 409) was collected by Georg Forster in 1773 and bears strong resemblance to the Sāmoan lug type with cut-off chevron illustrated in Figure 14. The fourth (MQB 72.84.348) represents a unique type on an exceptionally heavy and roughly hewn bowl collected by d'Urville in 1827.

Fiji. The absence of M-type lugs on Sāmoan bowls reinforces the suggestion that they are a purely Fijian, Lauan or Tongan development. Larger 19th century Sāmoan bowls with a flat rim are metal-carved and their lugs are more geometric and stylised (Fig. 14 middle). Their sides are vertical and some have a cut-off tip of the chevron, a feature that is absent in the Fijian corpus. T-shaped Sāmoan lugs clearly relate to the more fluid T-shaped lugs of some older Fijian bowls (Fig. 14 right).

The small number of provenanced Tongan *kumete kava* makes it impossible to get a representative sample of lug shapes comparable to those of Fijian and Sāmoan bowls. Many show both Fijian and/or Sāmoan influences, such as the M-type lug, chevroned fronts as well as trapezoidal or semi-circular shapes.

* * *

In comparison with clubs, ornaments and sculptural carvings in wood or ivory, the study of West Polynesian *kava* and Fijian *yaqona* bowls has remained marginal; studies have mostly concentrated on *kava/yaqona* circle protocols and procedures. Reading carefully through 19th century sources it becomes clear that newly carved bowls were considered commodities that could be freely exchanged, whereas older bowls, which reflected their keepers' histories and provided a means to communicate with ancestor spirits and gods, were treasured items that could only be exchanged under exceptional circumstances. Many bowls still retain notches or marks that testify to the many important occasions in which they were used and to the various generations of their keepers. The paramount importance of such bowls and of their exchange is illustrated by those that were given as highly prized valuables to the representatives of the new colonial powers by Fijian and Sāmoan chiefs.

This study set out to identify factors that might help differentiate *kava* and *yaqona* bowls made in various production centres in Western Polynesia and Fiji. Thorough analysis of more than one hundred provenanced bowls revealed various features that can contribute to understanding their evolution and distribution. The most important single feature proved to be the rim form, followed by the suspension lug. By weaving together the strings of archaeological evidence, colonial history, collection histories and bowl typologies, a fascinating picture emerges that sheds light on dynamic evolutionary changes that effected *kava*/*yaqona* bowl production across Western Polynesia and Fiji between the mid-18th and late 19th centuries.

Kava and its consumption were most likely introduced to Polynesia from Vanuatu via Viti Levu where it evolved and became an integral part of indigenous *būrau* rites. Because *yaqona* was prepared and consumed

individually in accordance with Melanesian-derived practices, *būrau* bowls tended to be small. In fact many wooden ones were carved without legs, again suggesting their Melanesian heritage; they mimick pottery *yaqona* bowls which were seated upon a plaited ring-stand. The early presence of Sāmoan-derived carvers in Fiji in the 16th century in the wake of Tu'i Tonga's stay there (Clunie 2013: 164) could explain the introduction of legged bowls and in particular a new type which in due course came to be called *tānoatavatava*. Its distinctive trapezoidal lug bears strong resemblance to lugs of early Sāmoan *tānoa 'ava* bowls as well as elements of Sāmoan fishing canoes, both produced by the same group of craftsmen. This lug type might very well have then evolved into the M-type that can be found on 18th and 19th century Fijian and Tongan bowls.

Tongan tradition relates the introduction of the *kava*-circle to the reign of the 10th Tu'i Tonga, therefore approximately to the 12th or 13th century (Gifford 1929: 156). The organisation of the Tongan *kava*-circle suggests a Sāmoan origin, as does the ritualised and formal part of the ceremony which continued to be handled by ceremonial specialists of Sāmoan descent (*matāpule,* known as *tūlāfale* in Sāmoa). The Samoans, as outsiders and worshippers of their own "foreign" gods, were not bound by local taboos and were allowed physical contact with high-ranking chiefs. The rims of Tongan *kava* bowls collected during Cook's, Malaspina's and d'Urville's voyages are similar to four-legged Fijian and Sāmoan bowls but, in a uniquely Tongan way, show a tendency to extend and open the rim either horizontally or in a gentle wavelike curve.

In the late 1700s a new and often much larger bowl with a more exaggerated rim began to be produced in Lau by Sāmoan-derived *mātaitoga* that were under the patronage of Tui Nayau, the Rokosau of Lau. One of them, the Lemaki, became the driving force behind the production of this new bowl type on the island of Kabara. Drawing its name (and possibly shape) from the Tu'i Tonga's *tāno'a*, it became to be known as the *tānoa*. Its extended rim can be regarded as a stylistic progression of the Tongan bowl type used in the late 18th century. With the island's renowned stands of high quality *vesi* wood, the Lemaki also specialised in making a revolutionary new type of voyaging canoe (*kaliā/drua*). The semi-circular lugs of some *tānoa* bear a strong resemblance to the perforated leads through which the running stay of these sailing canoes was passed, which could date them to the late 18th century. Sāmoan craftsmanship can also be seen in repairs on old *tānoa* in which cracks have been prevented from spreading, or degraded parts were replaced by new fragments. These restorations were done using the Sāmoan oblique drilling and concealed binding technique which was also used to lash the planks of wooden canoe hulls together.[21]

From Lau *tānoa* were dispersed throughout Western Polynesia by Tongan seafarers. *Tānoa* thus became part of the intricate exchange system between Tonga, Fiji and Sāmoa that involved the exchange and redistribution of valuables such as red feathers, mats, pottery, weapons, head rests, coconut oil and sandalwood. Their dispersal was further facilitated by the intermarriage of high ranking Fijian, Tongan and Sāmoan lineages. Yet, from early travel accounts we know that in Viti Levu and Vanua Levu *tānoa* remained a rare commodity throughout the 19th century.

In Fiji, indigenous *būrau* rites endured after the introduction of the Tongan-derived *yaqona*-circle in the 16th century; both ceremonies found their particular place in Fijian society. With the evangelisation, led by missionaries in the 19th century, *būrau* paraphernalia, including *yaqona* bowls, became objects associated with "false gods" and were mostly abandoned. Ironically they were replaced in the Christian Mass by a chalice that bears strong resemblance to priestly *daveniyaqona*. Unlike *būrau*, the *kava* circle was actively promoted in Fiji by its governor Sir Arthur H. Gordon because it supported his system of indirect rule of the Fijian population through hereditary and government-appointed chiefs. Today the use of *yaqona/kava* remains an important and integral part of Fijian, Tongan and Sāmoan society, and is consumed not only during chiefly rituals and ceremonies but also on more informal social occasions.

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NOTES

1. *Mātaisau* were hereditary carpentry specialists of mostly Sāmoan-derivation that were attached to the service of particular high chiefs. Some, such as Lehā who is mentioned later in the text, were also *matāpule*, highly skilled ceremonial attendants of Sāmoan descent that were in charge of the preparation and distribution of *kava* in the Tongan *kava* ceremony.

2. A total of 102 provenanced *kava* bowls from the three UK collections and the Musée du Quai Branly (MQB) in Paris were photographed, measured and inspected in the museums. Other examples from the following collections were studied only from photographs: Maidstone Museum, Kent; Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin; Museum für Völkerkunde, Dresden (MVD); Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden; Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg; Georg August Universität, Göttingen (GAU); Grassi Museum für Völkerkunde, Leipzig; Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna; National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institute, Washington; Fiji Museum, Suva; Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu; Mark and Carolyn Blackburn Collection, Honolulu; Te Papa Tongarewa Museum (TPTM), Wellington. In this paper objects from museum collections are labelled with the initials of the respective museum and the object number.
3. *Tanoa fai'ava* (kava bowl), Courtesy of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Registration number FE 011948. This *tānoa'ava* was given to Jaffa Solomon in 1875 and was in possession of the Solomon family of Asquith Avenue, Auckland until it was acquired by Te Papa at auction in 2006.
4. Both in Tonga and Fiji disposable folded plantain leaf cups were always used in rituals in which spirits were supplicated, as in the instance of the early morning *kava/yaqona* service. More durable and often personalised coconut shell cups were used in more casual/social drinking sessions. When such cups were in short supply, plantain leaf cups could be made on the spot.
5. Even though this remarkable bowl was collected in Bau, it is not impossible that it originated in Tonga.
6. In the same illustration a Fijian ceramic *saqā* vessel is depicted in its net bag, a container that was often used to store the water for mixing the *kava*. Labillardière mentions it as a Fijian import that was of much better quality than the crude Tongan ceramics (Labillardière 1971 [1800]: 350). This said, we lack evidence that ceramics were actually being produced in Tonga at the time.
7. In his journal of 1844 Thomas Williams mentions that newly made *kava* bowls from Lau were being traded by Tongan sailors for red parrot feathers with the people from Nasea in Taveuni (Henderson 1931: 239-40). Nowadays *tānoa* bowls are still produced in Lau and are traded throughout the archipelago. In Ra they are considered particularly valuable as they are not produced locally and have to be imported (Cayrol-Baudrillart 1996-97: 44).
8. Exceptional bowls, like the one Rātū Seru Cakobau, Vūnivalu of Bau, presented to Commodore Sir William Wiseman in 1865 (BM Oc.9076), were cut from a tree with a diameter exceeding 130 cm.
9. These *būrau* ceremonies had much in common with the indigenous *gi*/*gea*/*maloku* sucking cultures of northern and central Vanuatu where fully initiated men invoked ancestor spirits in a similar way (Clunie, in prep.).
10. Earth pit preparation has not entirely disappeared. In 2000 Françoise Caryol-Baudrillart witnessed such an event among the Nasau people for the reactivation of an ancient ritual site. The *yaqona* was prepared in the plantain leaf-lined earth pit and was drunk from cups (Cayrol-Baudrillart, in prep.).

11. For reasons of clarity only the name *dari* will be used in this paper when referring to the *dari/sedre* bowl type. The suffix '*niyaqona*' specifies that the bowl is actually used for *yaqona* consumption and not as a food bowl.
12 The simultaneous appearance in the archaeological record of *dari*, *saqā* 'water jars' and chiefly/godly stone-faced *yavu* 'mounds' indicates that by 1500 the Western Polynesian *kava*-ring and its association with chiefly houses and god-houses was established in Fiji (Clunie, in prep.). It is quite possible that wooden *yaqona* bowls were simultaneously in use but have not survived burial conditions.
13. Ceramic *dari* are often referred to as *dariqele*, which literally means 'clay *dari*', whereas wooden ones are referred to as *darikau*, meaning 'wooden *dari*' (Clunie, pers. comm.).
14. In an inventory label (MMA Z3492) Anatole von Hügel wrote that "this particular form is styled the *dra ni baka*, the banyan leaf". The difference in spelling is a matter of dialect. Larger deeper lenticular bowls can also be called *draunibaka*. In Lau such bowl types are nowadays often used for domestic purposes and termed *vakalofau*.
15. The arrival of four legged circular bowls in Fiji brought with them a variety of names. In areas of stronger and sustained Tongan influence they kept their Tongan/West Polynesian names such as *kumete*. In other parts of Fiji indigenous names of bowls were used as for example *dari*/*dare*/*sedre* (from pottery and wooden bowls), *dave* (from *būrau* bowls) or *tākona* (from food mixing bowls) (Clunie pers. comm.).
16. For a discussion of these bowls refer to Clunie 1996: 3-18 and Clunie and Herle 2003: 101-110.
17. Information collected from the inventory card of MAA Z3459 written by Anatole von Hügel.
18. Traditional evidence maintains that these marks (as well as individual or small series of bold triangular notches cut out of the rim) are "death marks" commemorating the passing of individual owners/keepers. While hardly a precise dating mechanism, such marks accordingly provide some insight into the age of particular bowls at the time they were collected (Clunie pers. comm.).
19. Strictly speaking the term *mātaisau* applied exclusively to the descendants of immigrant carpenters who traced their origins back to the god Rokola. The latter arrived with the great god Degei, whom Clunie (in prep.) identifies with the Tu'i Tonga and his stay in Fiji in the 16th century. Sāmoan-derived carpenters, such as the Lemaki, who were transferred from Tonga to Fiji in the 18th century, or the Jafau who arrived in the 1840s, were termed *mātaitoga* (Tongan carpenters) in Fiji.
20. These semi-circular lugs also bear a close resemblance with ivory or whalebone beads of Tongan origins that were used in necklaces or as ear ornaments. Like *kava* bowls these were produced by specialists belonging to the clans of canoe builders. The origin of this shape could be the *pulekula* shell itself, a highly *tapu* heirloom orange cowry brought from Sāmoa, venerated by the Lemaki as a *tupua* 'ancestor/forbear' that embodied the Sāmoan goddess Lehalevao (Lyth, note 22 in Clunie 2013: 180).

21. The Samoan-style plank joining technique was first described in 1773 by Forster (Hoare 1982, [III]: 398). It resulted in a flush outside and a coir-bound inside joint as illustrated by Williams (1858: 74). This technique was used to restore a natural defect in the rim of bowl MAA Z3973 collected by Sir Arthur H. Gordon in Fiji. Beneath the rim of some bowls their carver left a rounded ridge that extends down the outside. It has been suggested that these helped the *kava* maker to feel the orientation of the bowl. In reality these were actually left by the carver to secure an incipient crack which might otherwise run and split the bowl asunder. In one of d'Urville's *kumete kava* (MQB 72.56.736) this ridge is pierced in two areas and reinforced with coir lashing to prevent an existing crack from developing further.

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ABSTRACT

The article presents a detailed comparative study of *kava* mixing bowls associated with the cultural complex of the West Polynesian *kava*-circle and its Fijian *yaqona*-circle offshoot. By cross-referencing archaeological evidence, documented collection histories and bowl typologies a clearer picture emerges of the centres where the bowls were produced and the formal evolution of these vessels, and also illustrates in a unique way how different groups of people and goods moved and were moved around Western Polynesia in the 18th and 19th century.

Keywords: *kava* bowls, *yaqona* bowls, museum collections, Fiji, Samoa, Tonga, West Polynesian interaction

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LOST AND FOUND: HOA HAKANANAI‘A AND THE ORONGO “DOORPOST”

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This article is designed to make two related arguments. The first establishes the original provenance of the Orongo “doorpost” as a *paenga* ‘basalt foundation stone’ incorporated into a high-status, elliptical house with a thatched superstructure (*hare paenga* or *hare vaka*). The *paenga* was subsequently re-purposed and re-carved by adding an anthropomorphic face and then re-positioned at the entrance of a stone house at Orongo. Collected in 1914 by the Mana Expedition and then either left behind or taken from their stores, perhaps during the “native rising”, it was later placed in front of the island’s main colonial residence before its probable sale to a second collector aboard the *Carnegie* in 1916. The second argument is that the altered situations of the “doorpost” and the basalt statue known as Hoa Hakananai‘a, itself re-positioned from an as yet unknown ceremonial site (*ahu*) to the interior of the same Orongo house before being collected by H.M.S. *Topaze* in 1868, removed both objects from their traditional contexts but did not necessarily alter their value to the Rapanui community.

HOA HAKANANAI‘A[1]

On 4 November 1868 Lt William Metcalf Lang and Dr Charles Bailey Greenfield of H.M.S. *Topaze* discovered and then—with the substantial aid of their shipmates, resident missionaries, colonials and nearly all members of what was then a small Rapanui community—collected Hoa Hakananai‘a from the ceremonial village of Orongo, Rano Kau, Rapa Nui. The statue was standing upright, buried to its shoulders and with its back to the door of an elliptical stone building called Taura renga or Ko Tau Re Renga O Miru.[2] It faced northwest, away from the sea and towards the hereditary lands of the Miru, the highest-ranked social group (*mata*).[3] The Miru were centred at Anakena, produced the island’s paramount chief (*ariki mau*) and dominated the island’s western and northwestern geographical regions ([Ko] Tuu).

Skilfully executed in fine-grained, dark gray basalt of a type visually similar to that found at Rano Kau, the statue is a faithful rendition of a Rano Raraku style variant in dimensions, form and design attributes. It is idiosyncratic, however, in two ways: a suite of bas-relief elements is carved on its dorsal side, and it was secondarily placed in a unique location. The resultant interaction of artefact and site creates a forceful alteration of Rapanui

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viewers' perception and, I claim, a purposeful change in *moai* function. There is no certain evidence that Hoa Hakananai'a was ever on a ceremonial platform (*ahu*), but this is not to say that it had not been.[4] Hoa Hakananai'a departed Rapa Nui with an impromptu Rapanui ceremony but as a trade commodity and, ultimately, became a museum object. No matter how much Hoa Hakananai'a resembles countless other *moai* once upright on *ahu*, the statue's "social life" and "cultural biography" are unique among the 1,442 stone sculptural objects we have documented for Rapa Nui.[5]

THE ORONGO "DOORPOST"

On 10 June 1914 Katherine Routledge of the Mana Expedition to Easter Island (assisted by William Scoresby Routledge, Frank T. Green and Rapanui consultants: Antonio Haoa, Carlos "Charlie" Teao Tori and an unnamed "boy") collected an object she described as the Orongo "doorpost". It was found "lying about" near the "house of the image" (that is, the house known as Taura renga in which Hoa Hakananai'a had been found partially buried). Routledge believed it had once been upright at the entrance to the building.[6]

The Orongo "Doorpost" Described

The *paenga* is carved of smooth, dark gray to black basalt which appears to be of the Rano Kau type (Fig. 1). It is 81.28 cm tall and 20.32 cm wide at the base. It is slightly bevelled back from the midpoint. On the back are four post holes of varying sizes and depths and averaging 6.35 cm in diameter. All are smooth, with worn edges and slightly discoloured, gray interiors suggesting that the *paenga* was actually used as a foundation stone. There is a very distinct line of discolouration along the entire length of the *paenga* that was created by the soil when the piece was earlier installed at the entrance to the Carnegie Institution (see below). There is no line of discolouration at the base; its upright position as a "doorpost" is thus not unequivocally supported.[7]

The carved face consists of two oval eyes, a nose that incorporates the brow ridge, and an open mouth. The eyes and nose detail are typical of Makemake carvings, most of which appear to be of rather recent manufacture and some (such as those in Rano Raraku) are certainly historic. It also has tracings of the cheek pouches under the eyes that are typical of *tangata manu* 'bird man' and other woodcarvings. It somewhat resembles Monument 1 at Orongo and has commonalities with many other objects, including the Motu Nui "boundary statue", a re-carved torso in Rano Raraku, a broken basalt "post" set upright in a small pavement, and a carving recently excavated in Rano Raraku (www.eisp.org). [8]

Figure 1. Two views of the 'Orongo "doorpost" (CI-WDC-001), 2006. © Michael J. Colella. Easter Island Statue Project.

Collection and Loss of the Orongo "Doorpost" [9]

While the population consisted of only about 250 people in 1914, it is probable that some Rapanui had witnessed the collecting forays of the English in 1868 and, in 1886, an American expedition. In addition, in 1914 there were two sophisticated colonials on the island who knew the value of trade objects and artefacts: Henry Percy Edmunds and Ignacío Vives Solar.

One week after landing the Routledges began an industrious preliminary collecting sweep throughout the island. They announced their eagerness to barter and nearly everyone was interested. Katherine Routledge's main ethnographic consultants traded information rather than objects, but certain resident colonial and Rapanui names in her field notes are repeatedly associated with bartered goods. Among them are the "Frenchman" (Vicente "Varta" Pont), Juan Tepano, Nicholas Pakarati Urepotahi and "Parapina".[10]

The Routledges were not generous people by nature and drove hard bargains. They traded cloth, paint, coal, sugar, clothing, cigarettes, blankets and other sundry goods for dozens of "curios", "statuettes", "paddles", human crania and bones. Some objects were deemed "fakes" and rejected. Scoresby was not rigorous in his task of labelling, cataloguing and crating and the Routledges were unwilling to pay for objects discovered by workmen during excavations. Workmen were given a daily wage and artefacts were deemed Expedition property.

Katherine Routledge came armed with photos of Hoa Hakananai'a and other museum objects, and she showed them to her Rapanui consultants. Survey began at Orongo almost immediately upon arrival and excavations continued sporadically throughout nearly the entire time the Expedition was on the island. Every building at Orongo was explored, cleared and mapped, and many were "dug".[11]

The Orongo "doorpost" and a companion "doorpost" were found on 2 June.[12] Routledge recognised that originally they had been foundation stones in a *hare paenga* before being "converted into doorposts for the house of the image".[13] The Orongo "doorpost" was removed and whitewashed in order to bring out the carved features and secure good photographs (Fig. 2).[14]

On Wednesday, 10 June, the Routledges, Frank T. Green, Antonio Haoa and Carlos Teao Tori "got off whitewash door post" [removed the whitewash from the "doorpost"?]. On Tuesday, 23 June, Routledge "sent up Henry McClean, Carlos Teao Tori and Antonio Haoa [and] brought down doorpost". The next day "Henry & Antonio fetched" a third object, a "round stone from Orongo".[15] The precise original location of the "round stone" is not known, but it was probably inside or associated with building No. 11.

It is highly probable that Rapanui workmen reported every object removed from Orongo to friends or family. Gossip was widespread, and many people resented the Routledges' highhanded manner in all things. Some were angry that they were not paid for artefacts and other objects taken from Orongo.

The "native rising" described so vividly by Routledge in *The Mystery of Easter Island* (1919) had deep causal roots and harsh political repercussions. The first inkling of trouble was on 16 June, when Routledge discovered her stores had been broken into. While she lists many things taken, she does not note the loss of the Orongo "doorpost".

The rebellion then burst fully into the open on 30 June, just six days after the Routledges had removed the last of the three objects (the round stone) and while they were still excavating at Orongo. It forced them to move from Mataveri across the island to their Camp Hotu Iti near Rano Raraku. While the underlying cause of the uprising was embedded in years of privation, unfair treatment and resentment of colonial management, the match that lit the fuse

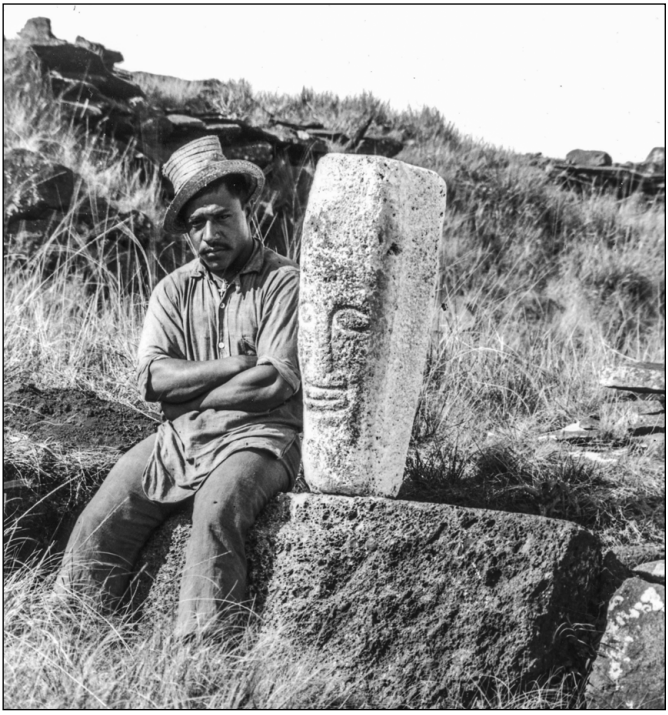

Figure 2. Rapanui man and Orongo whitewashed "doorpost", June 1914. The British Museum.

was the Mana Expedition's vast quantities of food and supplies, their showy display of wealth, their stiff-necked unwillingness to negotiate for objects collected and, I submit, their removal of the Orongo "doorpost" and other objects. Supporting evidence for that opinion includes the fact that Carlos Teao Tori was fired by W. Scoresby Routledge just before the rebellion and was a central ringleader of it.

W. Scoresby Routledge donated a substantial number of objects to such institutions as the British Museum and the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, but the exact provenance of donated objects is rarely given.[16] For example, a white painted stone (also whitewashed?) with a birdman figure in low relief was collected at Orongo (BM 1920.56.1). This is of obvious interest, but is it the "large figured stone [raised] for photographing" near Complex A on 6 June or the "sculptured stone N. end of village & house 32" dug out on 22 June?

Rediscovery of the Orongo "doorpost": Carnegie on Rapa Nui, 24 Dec. 1916—2 Jan. 1917

Sixteen months after the departure of the Mana Expedition, the American research vessel *Carnegie* under the command of Captain J.P. Ault arrived at Easter Island. Sailing from San Francisco in November 1916, *Carnegie* was on Cruise IV of an elaborate mission to make a magnetic survey of the globe that began in 1905 and continued to 1921 (covering 291,595 statute miles). After arriving on Easter Island at 3:00 pm on Christmas Eve Captain Ault

> …went ashore with the two white residents [Subdeligado Maritimo Ignacio Vives Solar and Ranch Manager Henry Percy Edmunds]. Had tea, sliced pineapple, pineapple preserve, cold roast pig. Gov. was making preparations to celebrate Xmas eve. Loading shells with powder & a fuse. Meat and taro being roasted in the ground, buried with hot stones. People dressed in anything and nothing, very democratic.[17]

Ault's men established a magnetic station and obtained declination readings. Ault explored the island in company with Vives Solar and "the Italian". They climbed down into Ana Te Pau; rode out to Tongariki and collected "numerous skulls with curious geometric designs carved on the foreheads, indicating that they had been chiefs"; then also explored Orongo and Rano Raraku, where they photographed remnants of Routledge excavations.[18]

On 25 December Ault and the "entire party" celebrated Christmas at a *curanto* 'feast' given in their honour. In a series of photographs on file with the Carnegie Institution, Department of Terrestrial Magnetism, documenting that celebration, we discovered both the Orongo "doorpost" and the round stone said to have been removed by the Routledges in three images. In the first, a Rapanui man in a feather headdress is energetically performing with an unusual dance paddle (*'ao*) for the benefit of a crowd of people in front of a house (Fig. 3). The Orongo "doorpost" is standing upright to the man's left and a round or oval stone is upright just behind him. The second image depicts a detail of the Orongo "doorpost" upright in the garden (Fig. 4), and the third is a postcard made from a posed photograph of an unnamed man and a group of Rapanui children with the Orongo "doorpost" (Fig. 5).[19] The man is Ignacio Vives Solar, who probably brokered the sale of the objects.

The dancing Rapanui man turned up within months of our archival Carnegie research in a previously unknown photographic portrait taken at Mataveri by someone in the Mana Expedition (Fig. 6). The only possible conclusion is that the Rapanui man knew the Routledges and, because of his age and apparent importance in the community, was probably among Katherine's Rapanui consultants (*korohua)*.[20] Further, I speculate that he may have had

Figure 3. Dancing Rapanui man, 1916-1917. Orongo "doorpost" (CI-WDC-001) in right foreground and round or oval stone (CI-WDC-003) in right background. Carnegie Institute of Washington, D.C., Department of Terrestrial Magnetism.

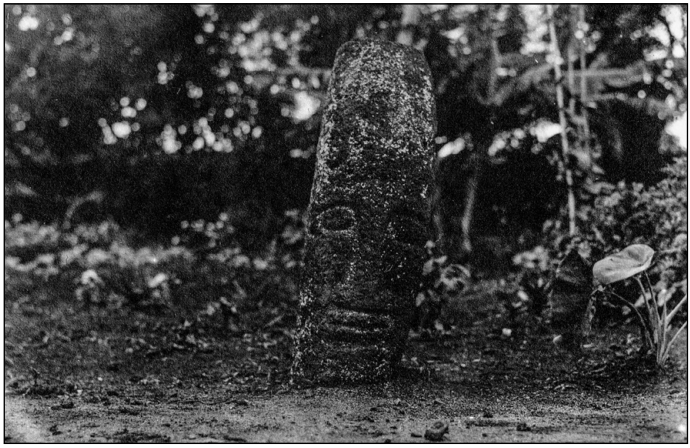

Figure 4. Orongo "doorpost" (CI-WDC-001) upright in garden, Rapa Nui, 1916-1917. Note traces of whitewash. Carnegie Institute of Washington, D.C., Department of Terrestrial Magnetism.

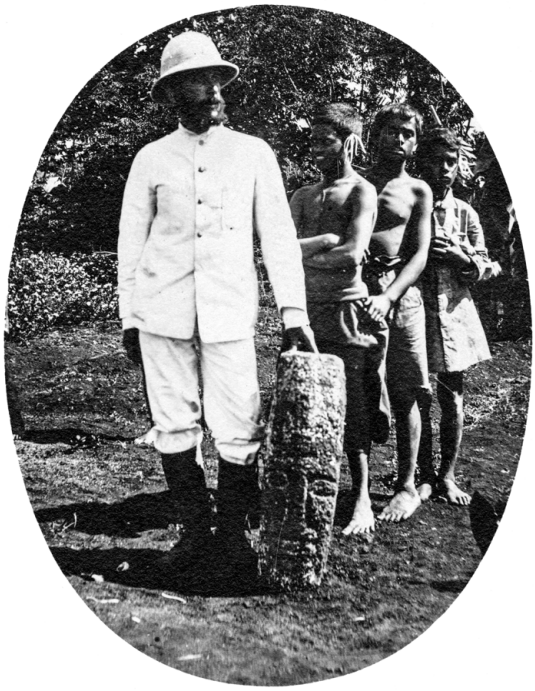

Figure 5. Ignacío Vives Solar and Rapanui children with Orongo "doorpost" (CI-WDC-001), 1916-1917. Carnegie Institute of Washington, D.C., Department of Terrestrial Magnetism.

a proprietary interest in the Orongo "doorpost" and its companion pieces and ask the questions: Did the Routledges simply leave the Orongo "doorpost" and other objects behind or were they "repatriated" by the Rapanui during the "native rising"? If the latter, was the dancing Rapanui man involved?

Returning to the *Carnegie*'s visit: on New Year's Eve the islanders were invited to tour the vessel.[21] The unusual *'ao* brandished by the dancing Rapanui man and an *ua* were among objects traded while on board. Trade throughout the crew's stay on the island was brisk and the Americans were generous.

> Small images, made to imitate the huge statues for which the island is famous, and other curios were traded for any articles of clothing which could be spared. Some of the trades were: one good image for two pots of paint; one

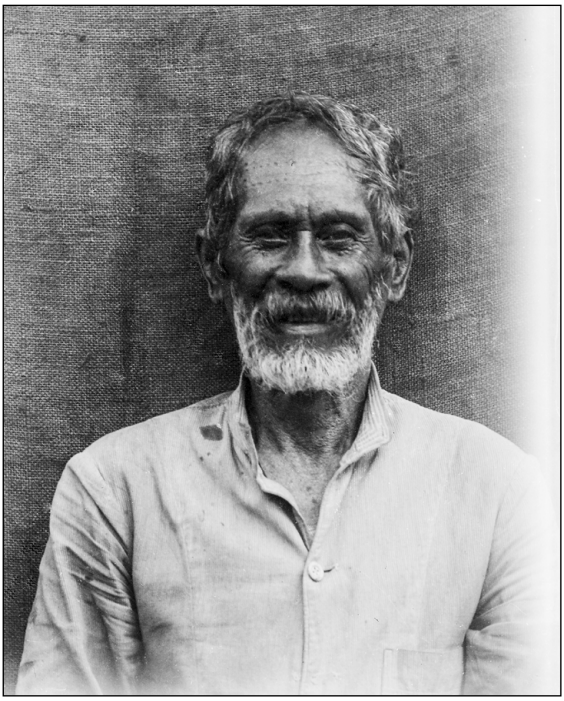

Figure 6. Portrait of Rapanui man who is the same as the dancing man in Figure 3. Mana Expedition to Easter Island, 1914-15. Paul Postle Collection [PPC].

> image not quite so old for one pair of trousers;… one small image for one shirt, and the shirt must be that worn by the trader, as the native thus feels sure he is getting a good article. One man on board had to change shirts three times in an afternoon.[22]

The *Carnegie* visit to Rapa Nui was brief and Captain Ault wrote to his wife Mamie on departure:

> I find that my stay on Easter Island was rather tiring. A good deal of horseback riding in company with a Chileno [Vives Solar] constantly straining to understand & speak Spanish & to keep things going smartly was quite tiring & we are well away & into the work again.[23]

According to Shaun J. Hardy, Librarian at the Carnegie Institution of Washington, Mr William Key, now a facilities engineer who was a gardener there in the 1980s, remembers the Orongo "doorpost" "outside with another" in 1983, where they were placed on either side of the entrance to the building.[24] They were on a slight slope and parallel to the stairs. Interestingly, the "doorpost" provenance may have been communicated to Ault as oral history, thus suggesting the outdoor placement of the two objects at the Carnegie Institution.

At an unknown date before or during remodelling of the building in 1989, the Orongo "doorpost" was moved inside the building, where we recorded it in 2006. Its companion "doorpost" is apparently lost. There is no record of the round stone being in the Carnegie Collection.

* * *

This short article has brought together myriad strands of a long story that began in 1868 and ends in Washington, D.C. in 2006. It tracks the Orongo "doorpost" as an artefact collected and then either left behind by the Mana Expedition or taken from their stores. Subsequently, it was displayed in front of the Island's main colonial residence, where it became the object of performance ritual conducted by an as yet unnamed leader of the Rapanui community during its probable sale to a second collector aboard the *Carnegie.*

I argue that the "doorpost" first functioned as a foundation stone in the *hare paenga* of a high-status Miru person. It was re-carved by adding a Makemake face, the patron god of the Miru, and then re-purposed for an unknown length of time as the "doorpost" to Taura renga, the ceremonial building in which Hoa Hakananai'a was placed after it had been removed from an unknown site probably also related to the Miru. Both objects, in their separate situations, functioned in association with hierarchical rank and visualised social bonds until they transitioned to the realm of curios and museum objects. They were collected during a "liminal" (Turner 1969: 96) time in Rapanui history, when social bonds were tenuous, status was altered, order was dictated by a colonial presence and the continuity of tradition was uncertain. I regard the performance of the dancing Rapanui man in front of the colonial manager's house as an attempt to create or reinforce community by re-assimilating the "doorpost" as an object of traditional status and value before it was, once again, separated from its context and removed from Rapa Nui forever.[25]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This article is an edited version of a paper I delivered in 2010 at Gotland, Sweden, during the *VII International Conference on Easter Island and the Pacific: Migration, Identity, and Cultural Heritage*. It does not include related scientific investigations my colleagues and I have subsequently conducted on the basalt statue known as Hoa Hanakanai'a and three other statues in another museum. Those data and observations are included in an article currently in preparation.

The many persons and institutions supporting my research into the history of Hoa Hakanana'a are acknowledged elsewhere (Van Tilburg 1992, 2003, 2006). The support of the British Museum staff, including Lissant Bolton, Jenny Newell, Jill Hasell and Natasha Smith (2007), is especially appreciated. The central research upon which this paper is based was accomplished during two visits to the Carnegie Institution of Washington in 2006, the initial one by Van Tilburg and the second by Alice Hom. Special thanks to Shaun J. Hardy, Archivist, Geophysical Library, Carnegie Institution of Washington for his help and to that institution for the reproduction of images. Follow-up research was conducted by Hom at the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in 2007.

Thanks are owed to Paul Postle, who graciously shared with us his discovery of Routledge images, and to the archivists of the Edmunds/Bryan Collection, 1904-29, Pacific Collection, University of Hawai'i at Manoa. Thanks also to Grant McCall for his comments on the identity of the "dancing Rapanui man" and to Charlie Love for sharing photographs of the Orongo "doorpost" taken by our mutual friend, the late Bob Alexander.

NOTES

1. The statue is known as 1869 10-5.1 (2.42 m tall) in the British Museum collection and BM-LON-001 in the EISP inventory (Van Tilburg 1992, 2006: 33-40, images 21, 22, 60). See *Unpublished Sources Cited* for details of acronyms and collection information.
2. Van Tilburg 2006: 35; building No. 11, Complex B, Orongo (Routledge 1919, 1920; designated R-13 by Ferdon, Jr. 1961: 250; Mulloy 1975). Routledge (RGS WKR 4/3/2) got the impression from Gabriel Revahiva that the name "Taura renga" was applied to the statue and Ko Tau Re Renga O Miru to the building, but later Routledge changed her mind (Van Tilburg 2003: 289, n.128).
3. A sketch of the statue *in situ* was made by Lt Matthew James Harrison and was thought to have been lost. Dorota Starzecka discovered it in British Museum files and it was first published by Van Tilburg (2006: 35, image 57).
4. Carved eye sockets, such as those present on Hoa Hakananai'a, are uncontested indicators that *moai* were once upright on *ahu*—possibly Complex A, Orongo.
5. "Social life" was coined for the "cultural biographies" that artefacts or objects may have or acquire (Appadurai 1986).
6. RGS/WKR 4/9; Routledge 1919: 259, Fig. 107.
7. It was not upright in the Mataveri garden for long; no discolouration can be expected and none is present.

8. Van Tilburg 2001: 30-31, 2006: 22, image 28b; for the "post" see www.eisp.org
9. Routledge 1919, Van Tilburg 2003. Less than one generation after the removal of Hoa Hakananai'a, the crew of U.S.S. *Mohican*, in search of a statue similar to that collected by H.M.S. *Topaze*, removed a *moai* and a *moai* head
10. Tepano sold Routledge the "boundary statue" from Motu Nui (PR-OXF-001); he or someone else may have carved it for that purpose. Jean-Baptiste Onèsime Dutrou-Bornier (Pitopito) was the French captain of *Aorai* and arrived at Rapa Nui in March, 1868. He was, essentially, a privateer who became John Brander's ranch manager on Rapa Nui until his despotic ways resulted in his murder in 1876.
11. Routledge herself worked in Orongo buildings 1-7, 9, 10-12, 14, 16-21 and 44.
12. The Orongo "doorpost" is CI-WDC-001 in the EISP inventory; its companion "doorpost" is CI-WDC-002. Routledge 1919: 259, Fig. 107; Van Tilburg 2003: 288 citing RGS WKR 4/9.
13. This quote and those following dealing with Orongo and the "doorpost" are from RGS/WKR 4/9.
14. Another version of the upright, whitewashed "doorpost" photo posed with an unnamed Rapanui "boy" is in the collection of Bernice P. Bishop Museum. The caption *verso* reads: "…carved slab on Orongo; Easter Island. Brought down to Matoveri [*sic*] by the Routledges but left behind by them. It was one of the door posts to one of the stone houses. It is white-washed to show the carving." Details of digging up both images are very interesting.
15. EISP inventory CI-WDC-003.
16. The Routledges had a large "home museum", but no catalogue of objects in that collection has as yet come to light. The catalogue kept by WSR on the island is incomplete and inadequate.
17. CI-WDC. Series 7, Box 16, Folder 3. The digital copies of 193 photos in their collection are on file, EISP. Photos show that the women and girls wore cotton shift dresses, cotton stockings and good shoes, some of which had been delivered by mainland charities during the Mana Expedition stay. The men wore military issue and fedoras. Perky straw hats purchased in Argentina and given out in quantity by the Routledges were worn by both sexes.
18. Ault 1922: 26 Dec. to Rano Raraku; 27 Dec. to Orongo; 28 Dec. "horseback ride to Italian's house. Visited caves"; 30 Dec. Rano Raraku. The skull with designs is included in a paper my colleagues and I are working on in which all known decorated skulls are described.
19. Probably Percy Edmunds; a copy or similar version of the second photo is in the files of Bernice P. Bishop Museum [BPB].
20. The identity of the Rapanui man has not been established with certainty, but Grant McCall (pers. comm. 2007) suggested that it may be Gabriel Revahiva, whom Routledge (RGS/WKR) calls "Kapiera" (or versions thereof). This identification is highly probable as Routledge (RGS/WKR 4/3/2) discussed the name "Taura renga" with Gabriel Revahiva (Van Tilburg 2006: 64, n. 146); see n. 2 above.
21. Ault 1922; 26, 31 Dec. "natives on board".
22. Ault 1922.

23. Ault to "My Dearly Beloved Wife" 3 Jan. 1917 (CI-WDC).
24. A stone the general shape and colour of the Orongo "doorpost", but without discernable carved features, can be seen at the right of the entrance in a blurry colour snapshot without attribution in the Carnegie files. R.P. "Bob" Alexander saw the Orongo "doorpost" in that location in 1985 (C. Love, pers. comm. 2007 and 3 photos). Alexander and I shared a research interest in Hoa Hakananai'a; our correspondence is on file with EISP (B07). He did not mention the Carnegie files or the Orongo "doorpost", and there is no evidence of which I am aware that, when he saw it, he recognised it for what it was.
25. A tangential postscript on the *Carnegie* and Commander Ault: The ship visited Rapa Nui again, 6-12 December 1928, on her last voyage. The six days were spent at anchor in Cook Bay and 13 hours of magnetic observations were made on shore. J. Hartland Paul (who spent one full day ashore) wrote:

> Today only about three hundred apathetic natives with their domestic animals manage to scratch out a living between the boulders, in soil that will not even grow the coconut. Furthermore, water is scarce, for the coarse volcanic soil is so porous that the forty-inch rainfall is lost at once. (Paul 1932: 162)

At Vaihu he reported finding: "…a collection of skeletons with bones intact, and a pile of old skulls… one of them had the chiselled markings supposed to be the sign of a chief" (Paul 1932: 171).

One year later, on December 29, 1929, *Carnegie* exploded in Apia, Samoa, and Commander J.P. Ault died en route to the hospital.

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BPB Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum of Polynesian Ethnology and Natural History (Bishop Museum), Honolulu, Hawai'i (www.bishopmuseum.org). About 150 negatives and/or photographs by Henry Percy Edmunds.

CI-WDC Carnegie Institution of Washington, Department of Terrestrial Magnetism Archives (www.dtm.ciw.edu): James Percy Ault Papers 1904-1957 (Bulk 1904-1929).
Series 1: Correspondence Box 3, Folder 6.
Series 2: *Carnegie* Cruise IV & V, 1916-20, C762-C1292, Box # A7 Nos. C888-906, 909-930, pages 68-74M, 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 & 7.

EISP Easter Island Statue Project (www.eisp.org) Image Database, External Collections Database. See also Box 07, Correspondence, JVT/R.P. "Bob" Alexander.

PPC Paul Postle Photographic Collection: Katherine and William Scoresby Routledge Images of Africa and Easter Island. [Copies of some photographs on file, Easter Island Statue Project.]

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 collections is also known as 402/WSR (www.a2a.pro.gov.uk). See Van Tilburg 2003 for full list.]

UHM [Henry Percy] Edmunds/Bryan Collection, Pacific Collection, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 1904-1929 (www.libweb.hawaii.edu/digicoll/rapanui).

ABSTRACT

The provenance of the Orongo "doorpost" before its removal from Rapa Nui in 1917 is established relative to the collection history of the basalt statue Hoa Hakananai'a, removed in 1868. Both objects were collected from the same secondary site context at Orongo during a "liminal" period in Rapanui history, when traditional social bonds were tenuous and colonials and collectors regarded Rapanui objects as curios or trade objects. Impromptu Rapanui performances reinforced community identity and re-assimilated both objects into an innovated context before they were removed from Rapa Nui forever.

Keywords: Rapa Nui, Orongo, Hoa Hakananai'a, liminal model, ritual performance

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A TONGAN *TAPUA* IN THE PITT RIVERS MUSEUM: HISTORIOGRAPHICAL NOTES AND CURATORIAL REFLECTIONS

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In a recent contribution to this journal about *tapua*—"polished ivory shrines" of Tongan gods—Fergus Clunie (2013) illustrates and briefly discusses an example in the collections of the University of Oxford's Pitt Rivers Museum (hereafter PRM; see Figs 1 and 2).[1] Clunie discusses the PRM *tapua* in the context of the lack of reference to such objects in the early voyage literature, noting how "with the exception of one tenuously provenanced Cook voyage specimen in the Pitt Rivers Museum, *tapua* were evidently not encountered by 18th century visitors" (Clunie 2013: 165). This "tenuous" provenance is expanded upon in the figure caption, which was compiled by Clunie from information provided in the entry for the object in the PRM's electronic database: "this sperm whale tooth *tapua* with twisted bast card was initially attributed to New Zealand and bore a Cook voyage provenance when transferred from the Ashmolean Museum to the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1886. The provenance remains unproven, however" (Clunie 2013: 166).[2]

It was not part of Clunie's remit to provide a comprehensive account of the documentation of the *tapua* in the PRM's collections. Given its potential significance, however, I provide here a fuller account of the information provided in the PRM's records. Moreover, thanks to the recent discovery of a collection of manuscript notebooks and draft catalogues at the Ashmolean, I am also able to add to the historic documentation provided in the current database entry. As will become clear, however, in effect my account comprises a "deconstruction" of the records in order to show how *nothing* is known about the object's history before its arrival in Oxford at an unknown date. Indeed, this is one of those cases where it would have been easier for all concerned if my curatorial predecessors—at the Ashmolean and the PRM—had *not* attempted to provide a provenance; for almost everything they recorded about the provenance and history of the *tapua* should be set aside.

FIRST PHASE—ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, 1870s–1880s

In 1884 Edward Evans, underkeeper at the Ashmolean Museum from 1879, was given the task of compiling a comprehensive manuscript catalogue of the Ashmolean's "anthropological" collections in preparation for their transfer to the University Museum, where they were to join the newly arrived

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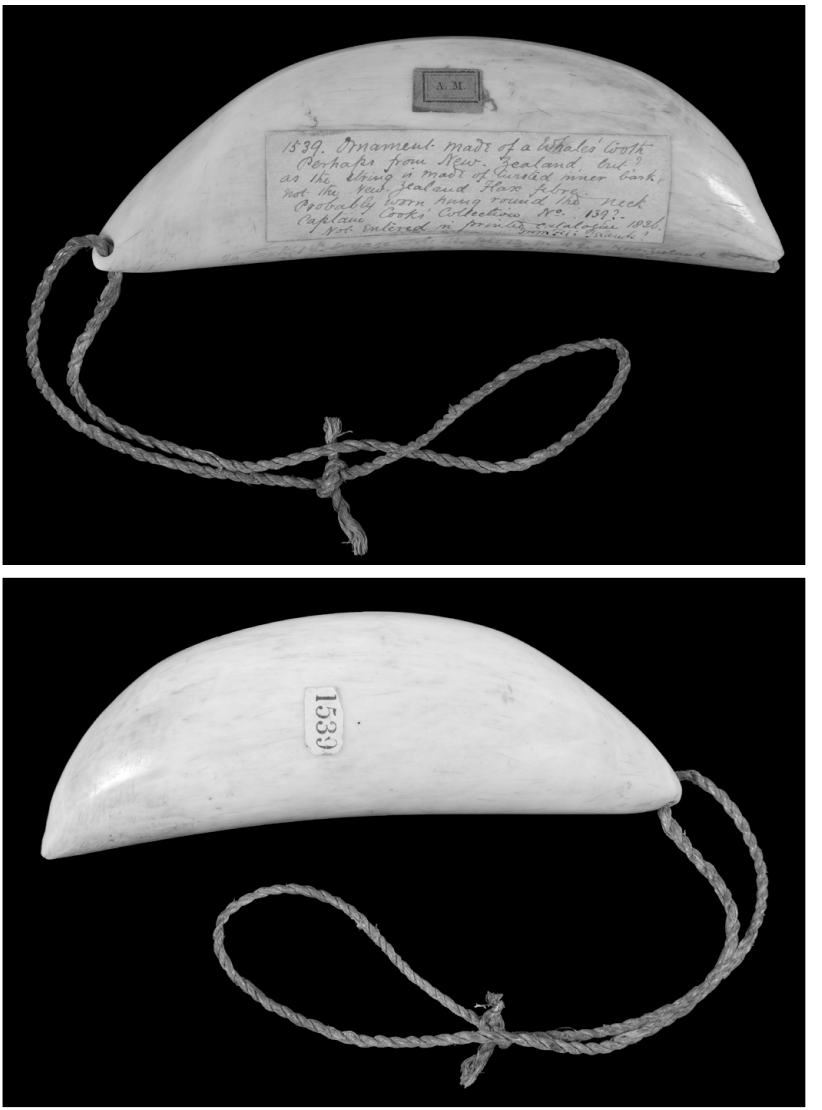


Figures 1 and 2. The *tapua* in the collections of the PRM (1886.1.1539); sperm whale tooth and hibiscus fibre, 135 mm long; from a photograph taken for the PRM by Malcolm Osman. Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

Pitt Rivers Collection (now the PRM). Drawing on the inventories, notes and labels of his predecessor George Augustus Rowell, as well as his own research, Evans compiled a detailed set of catalogue entries in two manuscript volumes preserved at the PRM,[3] and also prepared detailed labels that he pasted on to the objects themselves. It is not yet clear exactly what Evans's working methods were, but they certainly involved detailed examination of each object, careful checking of the Ashmolean's records, and close reading of some of the relevant voyage and related literature.[4]

It is by no means clear how much credit for Evans's catalogue should be given to Rowell. Evans clearly drew on Rowell's work, but we are a long way from unpicking who was responsible for each piece of information or interpretation. Indeed, since first compiling these "historiographical notes and curatorial reflections" I have been able to trace references to the *tapua* through the collection of Rowell's and Evans's working notebooks and draft catalogues that were discovered recently at the Ashmolean. I am still some way from fully understanding these, their chronology, and authorship;[5] and, given their complexity, it may be some time before it proves possible to add the information contained in them to the entries in the PRM's electronic database. Nevertheless, in the interests of completeness, I provide here an account of the entries for the *tapua* that I have been able to locate.

What appears to be the first and thus "original" entry is in what seems to be Rowell's hand in an undated and untitled soft-bound notebook. It reads:

> 182 A whale's tooth, reduced in size & polished, used as an ornament by New Zealanders. It is somewhat of a | rounded | crescent shape with the concave side rather flat; | at | one point is a small hole, and there has been one at the other, but now broken off. It probably was suspended from the points across the throat. Length 5½ inches, diameter in the middle 1½ inch. Capt Cooks collection

The insertions "rounded" and "at" appear to be in the same hand and contemporaneous. The entry contains no evidence for the provenancing of the object to New Zealand or to "Capt Cooks collection".

The second entry is in an undated, leather-bound volume, the front cover of which is tooled "Ashmolean Museum. Polynesian Collection Catalogue No. II Pt. 2"; the title page reads "Ashmolean Museum Catalogue of Articles from Polynesia, New Zealand and Australia Part II". It appears to have begun as a "fair" copy of Rowell's "original" entry, perhaps in the hand of a Mr Bailey whom, we know from Rowell (see Rowell and Parker 1879: 8), was employed to assist in this work.

> 182 A whale's tooth, reduced & [*sic*] size and polished, used as an ornament by New Zealanders. It is somewhat of a rounded crescent shape with the concave side rather flat; at one point is a small hole, and there has been one

> at the other, but now broken off. It probably was suspended from the points, across the throat. Length 5½ inches, diameter in the middle [illegible] inch. Captn Cook's Collection. Duncan Catalogue 1836. p. 184. No. 195 (?).

Again, no evidence is provided for the provenancing of the object to New Zealand or to "Capt Cooks collection". Rowell (or conceivably Bailey) has, however, tentatively identified the object as being that listed as No. 195 on page 184 of the "Catalogue, 1836"; that is, the catalogue of the Ashmolean collection compiled by the then keeper Philip Bury Duncan. That entry reads "Shell ornament.—Otaheite" (Ashmolean 1836: 184). It seems unlikely that whale tooth would have been taken for shell, but it has not yet been possible to demonstrate that any surviving object can be definitively associated with that object, so it is at least possible that the *tapua* was thought in 1836 to match the entry for a shell ornament from Tahiti.[6]

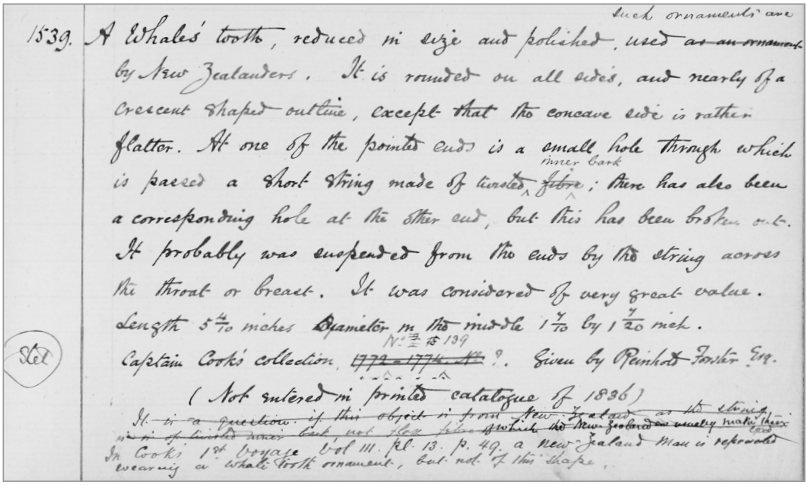
This entry was then amended, by Evans, either at one time or at different moments in time to read:

> 1539. A whale's tooth, reduced in size and polished, used as an ornament by New Zealanders. It is of a rounded crescent shape form, except that the concave side is rather flatter of the two; at one end is a small hole through which is passed a cord, and there has been a corresponding hole at the other end which is now broken out. It probably was suspended from the ends by the string across the throat or breast. Length 5⁴⁄₁₀ inches, diameter in the middle 1⁷⁄₁₀ by 1⁷⁄₂₀ inch. Captn. Cook's Collection. 1772–74. No (?) Probably not entered in the Duncan Catalogue 1836. Apparently from Tahiti.

Again, no evidence is given for the suggested New Zealand provenance, or for assigning it to "Captn. Cook's Collection", though for the first time the dates of the second voyage are given. Evans has, however, seemingly dismissed the possibility that the 1836 entry for a "Shell ornament.—Otaheite" is relevant; although—confusingly—he appears to have accepted the suggestion of a Tahitian provenance.

This entry appears to be what was drawn on by Evans in compiling the fair-copy manuscript catalogue of the Ashmolean's anthropological collection that survives at the PRM. As it stands today (see Fig. 3), it contains a number of inserts and deletions, all of which appear to be in Evans's hand but not all of which are necessarily contemporaneous. Originally, the entry appears to have read as follows:[7]

> 1539. A Whales' tooth, reduced in size and polished, used as an ornament by New Zealanders. It is rounded on all sides, and nearly of a crescent shaped outline, except that the concave side is rather flatter. At one of the pointed ends is a small hole through which is passed a short string made of twisted


1539. A Whale's tooth, reduced in size and polished, used as an ornament by New Zealanders. It is rounded on all sides, and nearly of a crescent shaped outline, except that the concave side is rather flatter. At one of the pointed ends is a small hole through which is passed a short string made of twisted inner bark; there has also been a corresponding hole at the other end, but this has been broken out. It probably was suspended from the ends by the string across the throat or breast. It was considered of very great value. Length 5 4/10 inches Diameter in the middle 1 7/10 by 1 7/20 inch. Captain Cook's collection, 1772–1774. No. ?. Given by Reinhold Forster Esq.

(Not entered in printed catalogue of 1836)

It is a question if this object is from New Zealand as the string is of twisted inner bark, not flax fibre of which the New Zealanders usually make their cord.

In Cook's 1st Voyage Vol III. Pl. 13. p. 49. a New Zealand Man is represented wearing a whale tooth ornament, but not of this shape.

Figure 3. Edward Evans's entry for the *tapua* on page 257 of volume 2 of the "List of Anthropological Objects Transferred from the Ashmolean to the Pitt Rivers Museum"; PRM, Catalogues; from a photograph taken for the PRM by Malcolm Osman. Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

> fibre; there has also been a corresponding hole at the other end, but this has been broken out. It probably was suspended from the ends by the string across the throat or breast. It was considered of very great value. Length 5⅘10 inches Diameter in the middle 1⅞10 by 1⅞20 inch. Captain Cook's collection, 1772–1774. No. ?. Given by Reinhold Forster, Esq. (Not entered in printed catalogue of 1836)

Having compiled the entry, Evans seems to have had a number of second thoughts. Most interestingly, he expresses doubts as to the tooth's New Zealand provenance, appending below the original entry:

> It is a question if this object is from New Zealand as the string is of twisted inner bark, not flax fibre of which the New Zealanders usually make their cord.

By this stage in the project, apparently, Evans had come to know—from his reading and from the objects he had already catalogued—that "New Zealanders" generally used flax (i.e., *harakeke*; *Phormium tenax*, New Zealand flax) to produce fibre (*muka*) to make their cord. It was apparently at this moment in Evans's "engagement" with the tooth that he wrote the label that remains affixed to it (Fig. 4):

1539. Ornament made of a Whales' tooth. Perhaps from New Zealand, but ? as the string is made of twisted inner bark, not the New Zealand flax fibre. Probably worn hung round the neck. Captain Cook's Collection No. 139? Not entered in printed catalogue 1836.

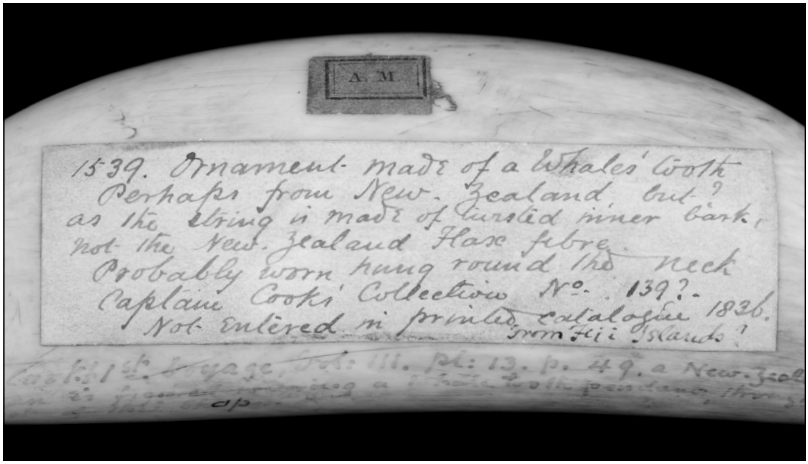


Figure 4. Close-up of the label on the *tapua* in the collections of the PRM (1886.1.1539); from a photograph taken for the PRM by Malcolm Osman. Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

The number "139" with its question mark *may* have been added later (it is difficult to tell), but it *appears* to have been written at the same time as the main part of the label.

Evans then appears to overcome his doubts about the New Zealand provenance. He strikes through the words he had added to the catalogue entry: "It is a question if this object is from New Zealand as the string is of twisted inner bark, not flax fibre of which the New Zealanders usually make their cord") and adds: "In Cook's 1st Voyage Vol III. pl. 13. p. 49. a New Zealand man is represented wearing a whale tooth ornament, but not of this shape." Presumably at the same time, he adds almost identical wording to the surface of the tooth, below the label (Fig. 5): "In Cook's 1st voyage, vol. iii. pl. 13. p. 49, a New Zealand man is figured wearing a whale tooth ornament, though not of this shape."

As will be appreciated, Evans's description of the physical characteristics of the *tapua* is detailed and accurate. Both his provenancing of the tooth

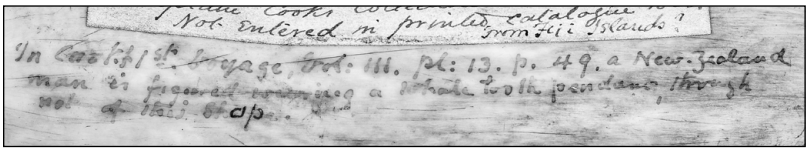


Figure 5. Close-up of the inscription below the label on the *tapua* in the collections of the PRM (1886.1.1539); from a photograph taken for the PRM by Malcolm Osman. Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

to New Zealand and his assertion that it forms part of "Captain Cook's Collection…. Given by Reinhold Forster, Esq.", however, warrant close attention. I take the provenancing to New Zealand first.

Given his final comment—"In Cook's 1st Voyage Vol. III, pl. 13. p. 49. a New Zealand man is represented wearing a whale tooth ornament, but not of this shape"—it would appear that it is on the basis of this image that Evans provenances the tooth to New Zealand. The reference, of course, is to the famous plate of "The head of New Zealander, with a comb in his hair, an ornament of green stone in his ear, and another of a fish's tooth round his neck" in John Hawkesworth's *Account of the Voyages* (Fig. 6).[8] Truth be told, the "fish's tooth" in the illustration—a Māori *rei puta*—bears little resemblance to the *tapua*. Apparently, however, Evans's identification of the tooth as a Māori ornament did not depend on the illustration, or at least not on the illustration alone. For in his manuscript "Notes from Captain Cook's Voyages", Evans draws on the following passage in Hawkesworth to note "|Seals and| Sea-lions' teeth fashioned into an ornament like a bodkin and worn by the natives at their breast, and highly valued":[9]

> … there are indeed seals upon the coast, and we once saw a sea lion, but we imagine they are seldom caught, for though we saw some of their teeth which were fashioned into an ornament like a bodkin and worn by the natives at their breast, and highly valued, we saw none of their skins. (Hawkesworth 1773 [III]: 34)

Here presumably is the authority for Evans's words "used as an ornament by New Zealanders" (later amended to "such ornaments are used by New Zealanders", presumably to reflect the doubt that had crept in as to the object's provenance) and for his "It was considered of very great value", a comment that does not appear in the earlier entries. Clearly, the "fish's tooth" in the illustration in Hawkesworth has a different shape to that of the *tapua*—it is, as Evans notes, "not of this shape"; moreover, it has three holes at one end,

Figure 6. *The head of a New Zealander, with a comb in his hair, an ornament of green stone in his ear, and another of a fish's tooth round his neck*. From a copy in the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford (shelfmark 900 s. 5 [v. 3]), of the second edition of Hawkesworth's *An Account of the Voyages Undertaken by the Order of His Present Majesty for Making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere*… (London, 1773) (see Hawkesworth 1773 [III]: plate 13, facing page 49). Copyright, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford

rather than the single hole at either end. Evans thus reasonably concludes, as Rowell had before him: "It probably was suspended from the ends by the string across the throat or breast. It was considered of very great value."

What is puzzling is that, taken together, the reference and image in Hawkesworth seem to have been regarded by Evans as sufficient to overcome the negative evidence provided by the fact that the cord is not made of flax fibre and that the tooth in the image and the tooth he was cataloguing look very different. As Clunie notes, however: "*tapua* were evidently not encountered by 18th-century visitors" to Tonga. Thus, Evans's readings of the Cook-voyage literature could not be expected to lead him to any other conclusion. Convinced, as he was, that the tooth was part of "Captain Cook's collection…. Given by Reinhold Forster, Esq." he was quite reasonably led to the conclusion that the tooth was a Māori ornament. Altogether, therefore, it is unsurprising that Evans concluded that the object was from New Zealand.

Evans appears to have been convinced that the tooth was from "Captain Cook's collection". By this he meant that it was from the Cook-voyage collection, then at the Ashmolean, commonly known as the Forster Collection; that is, the collection given to the University of Oxford by Johann Reinhold Forster and his son Johann George Adam Forster in 1776 soon after returning from accompanying Cook on the *Resolution* on his second famous voyage of 1772–1775. Evans knew very well that the collection came from Forster, but knew little about him. Evans also knew that what he called "Captain Cook's collection" was numbered. He had already come across objects bearing small paper labels bearing numbers. The tooth did not bear such a label at the time Evans catalogued it, but he seems to have assumed that it had borne such a label in the past and for a moment to have made an educated guess that it was numbered "15" or a three-figure number beginning "15…". This suggestion was deleted, however, and the alternative suggestion made that it was number "139". We know from the next entry in Evans's catalogue that a label bearing the number "139" had come off an object and that it was not clear from which object it had come.[10] Evans thought it might have come off the tooth, but also considered the possibility that it had come off the object given the Ashmolean number "1540" (now PRM object 1886.1.1540), which we now know to be the case.

What Evans did not know was that these numbered labels had been affixed to the objects by the Forsters and that they referred to a numbered list entitled "Catalogue of Curiosities sent to Oxford" that the Forsters supplied when they gave the collection to the University in January 1776 (see, for example, Coote *et al*. 2000). For some reason, by the time Evans was working on the collection the list had been mislaid (it was not to be "rediscovered" and made use of until 1969; see below). If Evans had had access to the list, he would

have seen that No. 139 was bracketed by the Forsters with No. 140, referring to two ornaments from the Marquesas Islands (which survive at the PRM as 1886.1.1540 and 1886.1.1541); and he would also have seen that there was no entry in the Forster list that could be interpreted as referring to the tooth.

It is not clear why Evans was seemingly convinced that the tooth was part of "Captain Cook's collection". He does not record the presence of any other label, and duly notes that the tooth does not appear to have been included in the Ashmolean's catalogue of 1836, where at least some of "Captain Cook's collection" was listed. One is inclined to wonder if it was merely as a result of his close reading of Hawkesworth that he determined that the tooth had been collected on Cook's voyages. Without the discovery of further documentary evidence, it is unlikely that we will ever know for sure quite why Evans came to the conclusions he did. What is clear now is that the evidence he used was spurious, that the tooth is certainly not Māori work, and that there is no reason whatsoever to believe that it was collected on one of Cook's voyages.[11]

Finally, Evans himself seems to have had second, or third or fourth, thoughts. At the very bottom of the label on the object (Fig. 4), in what is clearly Evans's hand, are the words "From Fiji Islands?". The *tapua* is known to have been physically transferred from the Ashmolean to the University Museum on 19 April 1886, so Evans must have added this tentative provenance before then. What he had read or seen—in a publication or "in the flesh"—that led him to this possibility is not known. A *tabua* was to arrive in Oxford in the summer of 1885 as part of the Pitt Rivers Collection (1884.74.8), but given how long it took for the collection to be unpacked and displayed (see Petch 2007), it seems unlikely that he saw it, but perhaps he did—or perhaps someone else suggested the provenance to him. Of course, there could have been examples in private collections in Oxford, including that of Henry Nottidge Moseley, Linacre Professor of Human and Comparative Anatomy at Oxford from 1881, who had served as naturalist on the *Challenger* expedition of 1876 and had made collections in Fiji.[12] Unfortunately, for the next 111 years, the PRM's documentation of the object was founded not on what was written on the label on the object but on what was written in the entry in Evans's catalogue, to which he did *not* add the tentative Fijian provenance.

SECOND PHASE—PITT RIVERS MUSEUM, 1944–2014

Subsequent attempts by the curatorial staff of the PRM to catalogue the tooth were bedevilled by two problems: the continuing lack of access to the Forsters' list and the fact that repeated entries were made for the tooth without it being seen. If it had been seen, my predecessors would surely have recognised its similarity to Fijian *tabua*; and, if they did not, Evans's words 'From Fiji Islands?' should have led them in that direction.

Thus, when in the summer of 1944 the then Curator of the PRM, T.K. Penniman, produced a brief-entry version of Evans's catalogue to serve as a retrospective accessions register for the material that had been transferred from the Ashmolean in 1886, his entry took the following form (Fig. 7):[13]

> 1539. ?NEW ZEALAND, ?MAORI. Pared & polished whale's tooth, fat crescent shape, round section, hole at each end, one broken, and fibre cord in one hole. ?Aurei, i.e, ornament for fastening cloak. Not seen. Capt. Cook coll. no. 139. Reinhold Forster.

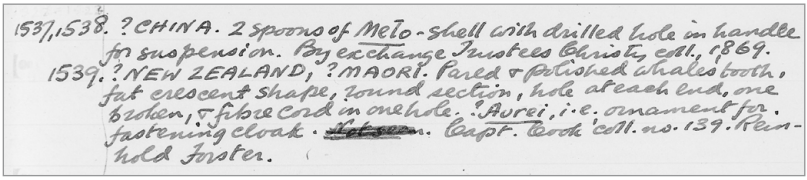

1537,1538. ?CHINA. 2 spoons of Melo-shell with drilled hole in handle for suspension. By exchange Trustees Christy, coll., 1869.
1539. ?NEW ZEALAND, ?MAORI. Pared & polished whales tooth, fat crescent shape, round section, hole at each end, one broken, & fibre cord in one hole. ?Aurei, i.e. ornament for fastening cloak. [illegible]. Capt. Cook coll. no. 139. Reinhold Forster.

Figure 7. T.K. Penniman's entry for the *tapua* in the retrospectively compiled accessions register for the objects transferred from the Ashmolean to the PRM in the 1880s; from a photograph taken for the PRM by Malcolm Osman. Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

As can be seen, Penniman follows Evans's description and his tentative provenance. Drawing on his own knowledge, he also suggests that it might be a bodkin or *aurei*. This entry, in turn, was copied more or less verbatim when, also in 1944, entries for the object were drawn up on cards for inclusion in the "geographical/cultural" and "typological" card indexes. On the relevant cards—filed respectively under "Polynesia, New Zealand, Unlocalized, Ornaments, Aurei" and "Clothing, Accessories, Fastenings, Oceania, Polynesia, New Zealand Maori"—the tooth was detailed as follows (Fig. 8):

> Ashmole 131 Capt. Cook ?NEW ZEALAND ?MAORI A.M. 1539. Pared and polished whale's tooth, fat crescent shape, round section, hole at each end, one broken, and fibre cord in one hole. ?Aurei, i.e. ornament for fastening cloak. Not seen. Capt. Cook coll. 139. Reinhold Forster.

Māori specialists will be surprised by the suggestion that such a large tooth might have been thought to be an *aurei* or cloak fastener, but it is clear from all these entries that at the time they were composed the tooth had not been seen (though the dimensions recorded by Evans should perhaps have been enough to make it clear that the tooth was far too big to be an *aurei*).

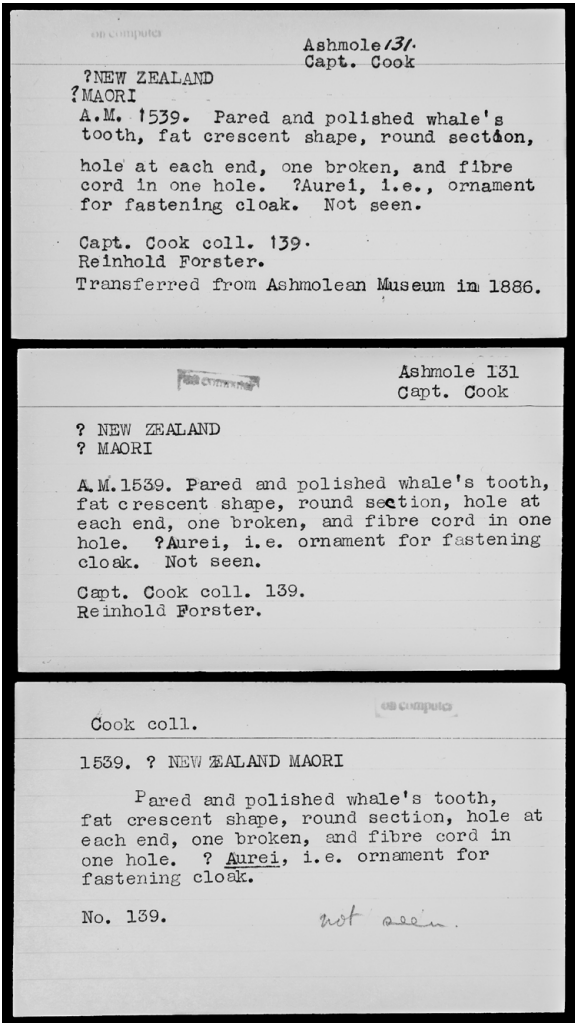


Figure 8. Three cards from the PRM's card index system bearing information about the *tapua* (top, the card from the geographically/culturally filed drawers; middle, the card from the typologically filed drawers; bottom, the "Cook-collection" card); from a photograph taken for the PRM by Malcolm Osman. Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

Virtually the same information was also recorded on an index card in the "Ornaments" section of the special "Capt. Cook Collection By Subjects" drawer, compiled by Penniman's colleague Beatrice Blackwood in 1955–56 (see Penniman 1957: 656; Fig. 8):

> Cook coll. 1539. ? NEW ZEALAND MAORI Pared and polished whale's tooth, fat crescent shape, round section, hole at each end, one broken, and fibre cord in one hole. ? Aurei, i.e. ornament for fastening cloak. No. 139. [Added in pencil: "not seen".]

From the time of its transfer in 1886, therefore, the tooth was recorded as (possibly) Māori and, from 1944, as (possibly) an *aurei* or clothes fastener. So matters stood until the late 1960s when Peter Gathercole, newly appointed lecturer in ethnology at the PRM, set about researching the Forster Collection for a special exhibition.[14] Gathercole was not yet an expert on Polynesian material culture, but he knew enough to be able to dismiss the idea that the tooth was Māori. No doubt the newly discovered "Catalogue of Curiosities sent to Oxford" was carefully consulted, just in case there was an entry that could be taken to refer to a *tabua*-like object.[15] Finding that there was not, and presumably after consulting with Adrienne Kaeppler, who in 1968 had made a thorough study of the Tongan objects in the Forster Collection (see Kaeppler 1971), Gathercole concluded that the tooth was not from the Forster Collection, and thus not from Cook's voyages.

When in March 1997 he worked with Nicolette Meister and the present author on a project to improve and enhance the documentation of the Forster Collection (see Coote *et al*. 1999), Gathercole confirmed his earlier conclusion. It was at this stage that an entry for the tooth was first created in the PRM's electronic database. As part of this process, all previous references to the tooth in the PRM's records were transcribed into the entry. Importantly, Evans's label was also transcribed. At this point, for the first time, his tentative suggestion of a Fijian provenance—"From Fiji Islands?"—was recorded. Confirmed by Gathercole, "Fiji" became the provenance recorded in the database.

So matters stood until the tooth was examined by Steven Hooper in December 2011 and Clunie himself in July 2013. The provenancing of the tooth to Fiji meant that its database entry was one of those retrieved by Hooper in preparation for one of his research trips to the PRM as part of the "Fijian Arts" project, for which the PRM was a project partner.[16] On examining it in December 2011 he identified it as a Fijian *tabua* and suggested that the cord was not coir as had previously been recorded in the database entry, but "reddened hibiscus";[17] he also suggested that it was "likely to be early 19th century". Following up Hooper's visit, Clunie identified it as a Tongan *tapua*, noting "It is small and those tend to be oldest". Soon after, of course, Hooper

and Clunie completed work on their pair of complementary articles on Fijian and Tongan whale teeth published in the *JPS* (Clunie 2013, Hooper 2013).

OTHER POSSIBLE HISTORIES

So where does this leave things? I have no reason to disagree with Clunie's identification of the object as a Tongan *tapua*, nor with his suggestion that it is "old". However, it is clear that there is absolutely no reason to reiterate a possible Cook-voyage provenance. Indeed, the suggestion of a Cook-voyage provenance has no firmer basis than does the suggestion that the *tapua* is a Māori cloak-fastener! It is important for the PRM to continue to include Evans's notes and all later records in its electronic database entry, but it is also important that future researchers are not seduced by the name "Cook". That it was once suggested, or believed even, that the *tapua* was part of the Forster Cook-voyage collection is part of the *tapua*'s history, but a part that needs to be properly understood. Museum curators and collections-oriented researchers quite understandably get excited at the prospect of making interesting discoveries, such as identifying objects that were collected on Cook's voyages. I have done so myself, as reported in these pages recently (see Coote and Uden 2013). It is rather less exciting demonstrating that an object was *not* collected on one of Cook's voyages, though this may be no less important an outcome.

As for when it was collected, where, and by whom we know nothing. It may have arrived at the Ashmolean as part of an identifiable collection or as a single-item donation—but we may never know who gave it or when. This is, of course, a disappointing situation; especially when compared with the situation at the PRM's "sister" museum in Cambridge, the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (MAA), where a *tapua* in its collection (Z 5887) is extraordinarily well documented (see Clunie 2013: 192-94, Clunie 2014). Not only is it known who collected the *tapua* in Cambridge, where, and when—Quaker Daniel Wheeler at a Wesleyan gathering on the Tongan island of Lifuka in 1836—but it is also known with which god it is associated—Aloalo, the weather and fertility god of the Tongan island groups of Haʻapai and Vavaʻu. It seems unlikely that it will ever be known who collected the *tapua* in the PRM's collections, where and when, or with which god it was associated; it will probably remain one of those that, as Clunie movingly puts it, "lie in unmarked graves in Fijian collections" (Clunie 2013: 161). However, the chances of making progress in establishing a provenance are increased immeasurably by setting aside the supposed, tenuous, Cook-voyage provenance; at least, we now know we need to look elsewhere for clues to its history.

It seems most likely that it was "collected" by a missionary, so it may be that a key piece of evidence lies in a missionary account or unpublished

correspondence. Starting at the other end, however, as I am most qualified to do, with the records in Oxford, there are three ex-Ashmolean, now-PRM collections that stand out as possible sources for the *tapua*: a collection of Pacific and Alaskan material from the voyage of HMS *Blossom* (1825–1828), donated in the late 1820s or early 1830s; a collection of Fijian material, purchased in 1867; and a collection of general "ethnographic" material, purchased in 1878. All three collections are worthy of further investigation, though all I am able to do here is raise them—in chronological order—as possible sources for the *tapua* and invite further research.

Beechey Collection from HMS Blossom *(1825–1828)*

The collection from the voyage of HMS *Blossom* (1825–1828) was given to the Ashmolean by the voyage commander Frederick William Beechey (1796–1856), but seemingly without documentation, or at least none that survives. It is not known when Beechey donated the collection, but it must have been before 1836 when a number of items from the collection were listed in the printed catalogue of that date (Ashmolean 1836: 183 ff.). The Polynesian portion of the collection has not yet been studied in any detail,[18] though a kava bowl (1886.1.1366) made in Ra'ivavae but apparently acquired by Beechey in Tahiti in March/April 1826 has been published recently (Hooper 2006: 209, cat. 175; Richards 2012: 132, fig. xix; Whitby n.d. [2012]: 61), as has a coconut fibre helmet (1886.1.1529) of uncertain provenance (Richards 2012: 203, fig. 4). The helmet is similar to examples in the collections of the Bishop Museum (C2848 and C2849), provenanced by Te Rangi Hiroa (1944: 83-86) to the Cook Islands. Like other objects in the Beechey Collection this bears a label, said by Evans to be in Beechey's hand, identifying it as Tongan: "War Helmet of Tongataboo. Friendly Islands". There are also two clubs said to be from Tonga, one of which (1886.1.1499), once bore a label in Beechey's hand reading "Club of Tongataboo Friendly Islands", and a spear (1886.1.1511) bearing a label, again said to be in Beechey's hand, reading "Spear of Tongataboo presented by Captain Beechey". The *Blossom* did not visit Tonga on its voyage of 1825–1828 (Beechey 1831). However, it appears that Beechey acquired a number of pieces from locations other than where they were made, so it must be at least possible that Beechey acquired the *tapua* in Tahiti, or somewhere else in the Pacific, and gave it to the Ashmolean.

"Figi" Collection (Purchased 1867)

In 1867 the Ashmolean purchased a collection of Fijian material that, according to surviving documentation, had been collected "at the Figi or Cannibal Islands by an old Resident among the Savages". The collection was accompanied by a three-page handwritten list that was pasted into the

Ashmolean's letter-book. There is no reference in the list to anything that could conceivably be a *tapua*.[19] However, it is quite possible that the list was not comprehensive and that the *tapua* was an unlisted part of the collection.

Ramsden Collection (Purchased 1878)
In 1878 the Ashmolean purchased the "Ramsden Collection", comprising some 270 ethnographic objects.[20] Little work has been done on the Ramsden collection and little is known about it. The collection appears to have been formed by Robert Ramsden (1784–1865) and/or his grandson Robert Henry Ramsden (1845–1874) of Carlton Hall, Carlton-in-Lindrick, near Worksop in Nottinghamshire. There are around 100 Pacific pieces in the collection at the PRM, 70 of which are from Polynesia, of which ten or so are from Tonga. The majority of the objects identified as being from Tonga are clubs, though there is also a barkcloth printing tablet (1886.1.1679) and a wooden bucket covered with coconut-fibre and shell beads (1886.1.1331). The Ramsden Collection was shuffled back and forth between the Ashmolean, the University Museum and (eventually) the Pitt Rivers in the 1880s, and some documentation may have been lost. It is thus possible that the *tapua* formed part of the collection, though—as with the Beechey and "Figi" collections—there is no evidence that it did.

* * *

Some readers may wonder at the point of devoting some 8,000 words to demonstrating how little is known about the history and provenance of a single Polynesian object held in a museum collection on the other side of the world. The important point, surely, is that—thanks to Clunie—the object is now identified as a Tongan *tapua*. That is certainly how it is now described in the PRM's database, where full details of Clunie's article and a summary of his account of *tapua* in general are given. Of course, Evans's suggestion—followed by Penniman and his colleagues at the PRM—that it is a Māori ornament continues to have its place in the museum's electronic database entry, as does the re-provenancing of the object to Fiji—tentatively by Evans on the object's label and later by Gathercole and, subsequently, Hooper.[21] Moreover, when this article is published a reference to it and a summary of its argument will be added to the entry. Just as the scattered references to *tapua* in the missionary and related literature require the exegesis of a 21st-century expert, so the inscriptions, labels and catalogue entries of 19th-century underkeepers need the exegesis of a 21st-century curator. Paradoxically, it seems that all these words are needed to free the object from its apparently rich but in fact impoverished documentation.

As already mentioned, in 1996–1997 the entries in Evans's catalogue relating to known or possible Cook-voyage objects were transcribed into the PRM's computerised database by Nicolette Meister. All other relevant information held by the PRM was reviewed by Gathercole, Meister and myself and then added, suitably annotated, to the database. Thus, on 14 March 1997 the Māori provenance was set aside in favour of Fiji:

> According to Peter Gathercole this ornament is definitely not from New Zealand, but is most likely from Fiji. Peter also stated that this ornament is not part of the Forster collection from Cook's 2nd voyage, and probably could not be associated with any of Cook's voyages.[22]

I had thought that this statement would be enough to divert later researchers from focusing on the formerly asserted Cook-voyage provenance that lingers in the database entry. I am, however, grateful to Clunie for highlighting it; in doing so he has provoked me into investigating and reflecting on the process by which Evans arrived at his entry for the *tapua* and the texts that he wrote on the label and on the object itself. There are some 2,800 entries in Evans's catalogue, relating to some 3,700 objects, of which some 450 are provenanced to Polynesia. They may not all require as much exegesis as that given here, but there is certainly no shortage of work to be done to make the PRM's records for its early collections—including those from Polynesia—as useful and transparent as possible.

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I am grateful to my PRM colleagues Madeleine Ding, Andrew Hughes, Malcolm Osman and Jeremy Uden for their help in documenting and photographing the *tapua*, and to Alison Roberts for providing me with access to the recently discovered notebooks and draft catalogues at the Ashmolean Museum. In preparing this account, I have drawn on earlier work on the Forster Collection and its history that was made possible by a series of grants from the Hulme University Fund (1995), the South Eastern Museums Service (1996), the Jerwood/MGC Cataloguing Grants Scheme 1997–1998 (supported by the Museums & Galleries Commission, the Jerwood Foundation, and the Department for Culture, Media and Sport), and the Innovation Awards Scheme of the Arts and Humanities Research Board (2001; award number B/IA/AN4817/APN13726). Much of this work was carried out with former PRM colleagues Nicolette Meister and Jenny Peck, and with the late Peter Gathercole. I have also drawn on work carried out by my colleague Alison Petch for the "Scoping" project (see note 5), funded by a grant from the John Fell Fund (2012–2013). I am grateful to Steven Hooper for his advice and suggestions, to Fergus Clunie for drawing the PRM *tapua* to scholarly attention and for his suggestions, and to two anonymous reviewers for their comments.

NOTES

1. For authoritative accounts of Tongan *tapua* and related Fijian *tabua*, including those of the *tabuabuli* form that are physically indistinguishable from Tongan *tapua*, see the paired articles by Fergus Clunie and Steven Hooper in the June 2013 issue of the *JPS.* For useful summary accounts, see Clunie 2014, Hooper 2014. As will become clear, my concern is with the later history of this particular object and its documentation, rather than its original status and significance, further discussion of which I leave to Clunie and other regional specialists.
2. For the online version of the PRM's fully searchable, regularly updated and increasingly illustrated database, go to <http://objects.prm.ox.ac.uk>. The entry for the present object may be accessed directly at <http://objects.prm.ox.ac.uk/pages/PRMUID25910.html>.
3. "List of Anthropological Objects Transferred from the Ashmolean to the Pitt Rivers' Museum" (2 vols) (compiled by Edward Evans, 1884–1886); University of Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum, Catalogues. For a transcription, see MacGregor 2000: 255-413.
4. Evans's catalogue entries include frequent reference to relevant passages in the voyage literature and comparative examples in other, published collections. For example, his entries for Polynesian objects include references to William Ellis's *Polynesian Researches* (see for example, Ellis 1829), J.G. Wood's *The Natural History of Man* (see Wood 1868) and the catalogue of the Mayer Collection (Gatty 1879–1882). It is not known how much Evans might have drawn from Rowell's earlier work, but Evans's own notes on his reading of "Cook's voyages" survive at the PRM (see note 9).
5. For brief discussions of the work of Evans and his controversial predecessor Rowell, see Ovenell 1986: 230 ff., MacGregor 2000: 255. A full account would need to deal with the newly discovered notebooks and manuscript catalogues (Antiquities, AMS 52), the extensive contemporary correspondence—some of which was privately printed (see for example, Rowell and Parker 1879), and the papers of the late R.F. Ovenell, author of a history of the Ashmolean (University of Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Department of Antiquities, Archives of Ashmolean Staff Members). For further details, transcriptions of key texts, etc., go to <http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/sma/>, the website of the project "The Invention of Museum Anthropology, 1850–1920: Scoping the Local Material Resources for an Intellectual History of a Global Discipline", and follow the links.
6. It seems more likely that the entry refers to one of the two Marquesan ornaments made from shell in imitation of whale tooth in the Forster collection from Cook's second voyage (Forster 139, 140; 1886.1.1540, 1886.1.1541).
7. As note 3, Vol. 2, p. 257; MacGregor 2000: 399.
8. I have yet to establish whether the particular copy of "Cook's Voyages" Evans consulted can be identified. Given that he gives the reference to the image as "p. 49", however, we can deduce that he was using a copy of the second edition (Hawkesworth 1773; see Beddie 1970: 122, item 650) in which each volume had its own pagination. The image published in Hawkesworth is from an engraving,

based on a version ascribed to John James Barralet, of Sydney Parkinson's pen-and-wash drawing *Portrait of a New Zeland Man* (thought to be Te Kuukuu, the son of a chief of the Bay of Islands); see Joppien and Smith 1985: 184-85, cat. nos 1.125-1.127A.

9. Edward Evans, "Notes from Captain Cook's Three Voyages", circa 1886, 31 pp.; University of Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum, Manuscript Collections, Pitt Rivers Museum Papers, Box 3, Item 3, folio 9.
10. As note 3, Vol. 2, p. 259; see the record for 1886.1.1540 at <http://objects.prm.ox.ac.uk/pages/PRMUID25911.html>.
11. Evans was also led by his work on the *tapua* to suggest that what we now know to be an Inuit tobacco-box in the Beechey collection (1886.1.716) might be a Māori ornament; as note 3, Vol. 1, p. 216, Vol. 2, opp. p. 259. There is not room here to enter any further into this intriguing documentary cul-de-sac.
12. Surprisingly little attention has yet been given to the collections made on the *Challenger* voyage; for a brief account, see Coote 2015.
13. "Objects transferred from the Ashmolean Museum to the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1886 or later"; University of Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum, Catalogues, Collections I. Note that this register was compiled from Evans's manuscript catalogue and not from an examination of the objects themselves, though it seems that many of the entries were in due course also checked against the objects, except where they could not be found at the time—hence, in this case, "Not seen".
14. For an account of the background to the exhibition, see Coote 2005.
15. For the finder's account of the rediscovery of the Forsters' manuscript, see Kaeppler 1972; see also Coote *et al*. 2000.
16. For information about "Fijian Art: Political Power, Sacred Value, Social Transformation and Collecting Since the 18th Century", visit the project website at <http://www.fijianart.sru.uea.ac.uk>.
17. Following microscopic examination, my colleague Jeremy Uden confirms that the fibre cord is made of hibiscus.
18. The Alaskan material has been published; see Bockstoce 1977.
19. "Catalogue of Curiosities and Very Old Carved War Clubs &c &c Col[l]-ected at the Figi or Cannibal Islands by an old Resident among the Savages" (compiled 1867); University of Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AMS 16(1). For a transcription, see MacGregor 2000: 253. The identity of the donor of the collection remains unknown and the collection unpublished.
20. The Ramdsen Collection has received little attention within the Museum or elsewhere, and as a result little is known about it. The collection appears to have been numbered and perhaps to have been accompanied by a list. The individual objects in the collection were catalogued by Evans. In addition, a separate manuscript catalogue is held at the PRM: "Ramsden coll. Bought by Ashmolean in 1878. Transferred to Pitt Rivers Museum 1886—"; University of Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum, Catalogues, Collections VIII. The PRM also holds a photocopy of another manuscript "Catalogue", kindly supplied by Hermione Waterfield in October 2005, though it is not yet clear how it relates to the collection held at the PRM. Steven Hooper tells me that some objects from the Ramsden Family

Collection were sold at Christies in March 1972 and that he has heard that there may be a catalogue of the collection in private hands. There is also a collection of Ramdsen family papers in the Nottinghamshire Archives (DD/2500, "Ramsden Family of Carlton in Lindrick"). In other words, there is a lot of work to be done.

21. As previously indicated, it is not obvious to me how or when it will be possible to incorporate into the PRM's database all the entries in the recently discovered notebooks and draft catalogues at the Ashmolean. This would be a logistically complex and time-consuming project for which, despite its undoubted importance, there is no obvious source of funding.
22. See the "Research Notes" section for the entry for the object at <http://objects.prm.ox.ac.uk/pages/PRMUID25910.html>.

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ABSTRACT

In a recent account, in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, of Tongan *tapua*—"polished ivory shrines"—Fergus Clunie refers to an example in the University of Oxford's Pitt Rivers Museum as being "tenuously provenanced" to Cook's voyages. A detailed discussion of the *tapua*'s documentation is provided to demonstrate how this "tenuous" provenance has no basis in fact, before other possible histories are considered.

Keywords: Tonga, *tapua*, whale teeth, museum collections, documentation.

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SHORTER COMMUNICATION

THE DIRECT ESTIMATION OF MĀORI VITAL RATES FOR RUAPUKE ISLAND, 1844-1845 AND 1850-1885

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Māori vital rates were not officially collected in New Zealand until 1913 (Pool 1977).There are few direct estimates of such rates—birth rates, death rates, infant mortality rates—before that date. The two available estimates show birth and death rates both at 32 per 1000 for the South Island for 1868-1874, and birth and death rates of 35 and 31 per 1000 respectively for Mangonui in 1878-1879 (Pool 1977: 111-13). Furthermore, the record holds no direct 19th century estimation of Maori infant mortality, little information on cause of death for Maori and no consideration of birth and death rates over a lengthy period of time.

This article takes advantage of an unusual collection of data on Māori births and deaths from the island of Ruapuke from 1844, when its collector the Reverend Johann Friedrich Heinrich Wohlers arrived on the island, to 1885, when he died. Wohlers' (n.d. [a], n.d. [b]) registers allow direct calculation of birth and death rates, infant mortality rates and of age at death, and permit a breakdown of vital rates by sex. In addition they also allow some consideration of cause of death. This exercise in historical demography adds significantly to the small body of knowledge on Māori vital rates in the 19th century and thus has implications for understanding Maori population dynamics during that period.

RUAPUKE: DEMOGRAPHIC HISTORY CIRCA 1820-1844

Ruapuke is a small island of about 16 square kilometres in size, situated in the eastern reaches of Foveaux Strait, which separates the south of the South Island of New Zealand from Stewart Island. An archaeological survey indicates prehistoric Māori occupation (Coutts and Jurisich 1972). Near contemporary evidence indicates that it was settled in numbers by Ngāi Tahu arriving from the north sometime in 1818 or 1819 (Boultbee in Starke 1986: 107). The Ruapuke populations seem to have grown rapidly from settlement, due to its contemporary advantages in addressing possible Māori military threats from the north, in offering a strategic position in relation to

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the mutton birding islands further south, and in allowing ready access to trading opportunities offered by the presence of European sealers and whalers in Foveaux Strait. In 1827 John Boultbee reported one settlement, with 60 huts and "a good many natives" on the island (Boultbee in Starke 1986: 60-61). While Boultbee did not note any further settlements, in 1823 Captain Edwardson had earlier recorded six houses in a small settlement in Henrietta Bay (Anderson 1986: 45). The Ruapuke village was the largest settlement Boultbee reported in Foveaux Strait. Allowing between four to eight people over 60-66 huts gives a total Ruapuke Island population in 1827 of 240-530 people. Equally, if the 180 men observed by Boultbee (Starke 1986: 99) at a *tangi* were predominantly from Ruapuke, using a figure of 3.4 people per man taken from the first Ruapuke census in 1844 as a multiplier, an island population figure of 500-600 in 1827 is possible.

There is also evidence of a severe epidemic before 1844: "The measles are said to have killed large numbers of people at one time" (Wohlers n.d. [b]: Report 3). This is almost certainly the measles epidemic of 1835 which was widespread across southern Ngāi Tahu territory (Anderson 1998: 193, Evison 1993: 85-86). By the time of the first precise population estimates in 1844, the island had 197 Maori living on it. The population was distributed across seven or possibly eight small villages: Waiotakariri, Tauatemaku, Ruapuke, Awatuiau, Toti, Taeroahue, Kirikiri and Te Onepanau (Coutts and Jurisich 1972: 6). This measles epidemic may have been a prime cause of the population decline on Ruapuke from 240-600 people in the late 1820s to about 200 people in 1844.

In the 19th century, Ruapuke was a predominantly Māori community. In 1844 Bishop Selwyn reported only two Europeans living there (Selwyn's Journal, Appendix J in Howard 1940: 381). As such, it was unlike many of the other Foveaux Strait settlements which had mixed populations of male European sealers and whalers, partnered with Māori women (Anderson 1991, 1998).

DATA

Data on births and deaths on Ruapuke was collected by Wohlers between 1844 and 1885 during his time on the island as a missionary with the North German Missionary Society. While the Ruapuke population was small, starting at 197 in 1844 and falling to just 14 in 1881, Wohler's intimate knowledge of a small population, developed over a long period of time, would have contributed to the accuracy of the undertaking. Undercounting—always a problem in direct estimation—is consequently not likely to be a significant issue.

Almost all the original individual records from the 1844 to 1849 period were unfortunately lost in a fire in 1850. However, aggregate birth and death data for 1844 and 1845, as reported by Wohlers to the North German

Missionary Society, have survived and the reports have been transcribed and translated into English (Natusch 1969, Wohlers n.d. [b]). Individual name, age and sex data also survives on six deaths from 1845, and sex (male), approximate age (youths) and cause of death (drowning) are known for a further three of the 1845 deaths from Wohlers' reports and another account. These deaths appear to be the drowning of three young Ruapuke men, who were working for surveyor Edward Jollie, near the Clutha River. Jollie mentions one of these young men was about 19 years old (Jollie n.d.). The cause and approximate age at death of a further drowning (the chief Tuhawaiki in 1844) is also well-known (Hall-Jones 1943).

In this study, the 1850 to 1861 birth data was based on baptisms of those born during those dates. Where both baptism and birth records can be compared, there was very little baptism outside the year following birth for years. Even then, such baptisms could readily be captured as births in the year that birth occurred, since Wohlers included age or date of birth with each of his baptisms. From 1862 births were taken directly from the Ruapuke register of inhabitants.

Deaths from 1850 to 1885 were taken from the death register. There was one death added from birth records, a case of neonatal mortality.

Only those whose abode was listed as Ruapuke and who were recorded as wholly or partly Māori were included in the births and deaths.

Many of the dead had an exact age listed. However, older people were often described as being "about" an age. These people were coded as being exactly that age. Others had an age range attributed to them. These people were coded at the mid-point of the range. Finally, others were described as "old" or "very old" at death. These people were all coded as being on average 70 years of age at death, the oldest directly attributed age at death (N=20, women, men=10). Coding these people as dying at five years younger or older respectively had an effect on average age at death of +/-0.8 years. The three "youths" who Wohlers reports drowned are, following Jollie above, coded as 19 years old.

Wohlers noted the mobility of the Ruapuke population, probably related to seasonal hunting and gathering and socialising patterns: "They don't reside here all the time, but a large number of them go now and then to Stewarts Island and other shores of this region" (Wohlers n.d.[b]: Report 3). In addition, he drew some cautions about the accuracy of his first attempts to collect births and deaths in 1844: "Probably some children are counted amongst the births who are more than one year old and probably several deaths have been forgotten" (Wohlers MS. n.d. [b]: Report 3).

Total base island population data for 1844 and 1846 was taken from Wohlers' reports in the Alexander Turnbull Library (Wohlers n.d. [b]) and for 1852, 1861, 1864, 1868, 1874, 1878, 1881 and 1891 from official documents

(Maori Censuses 1874, 1878, 1881, 1891; Mackay 1873). Population was log-linearly interpolated for the intervening years.

Given that Wohlers was the official registrar, it is almost certain he was also the primary source of this official population information, again giving the data a greater degree of consistency.

Interestingly, the census data in this largely Māori settlement do not show any evidence of an excess of adult men, with adult women being absent via marriage to Europeans, a demographic pattern that Anderson (1991, 1998) notes as typifying southern South Island Māori communities in the second half of the 19th century. Indeed, the number of adult males on Ruapuke is typically fewer than adult females: 58:67 in 1844, 38:40 in 1852, 30:36 in 1861; 14:17 in 1874, 6:9 in 1878 and 5:5 in 1881. This excess of adult Māori females in the area had also been recognised earlier by John Boultbee, who noted that "this may be owing to the wars which thin the number of men" (Boultbee in Strake 1986: 102). Boating accidents or a greater tendency for males to be geographically mobile are possible alternative explanations for missing adult males. In addition, Anderson's suggestion that Wohlers recorded "a decline in the female population on Ruapuke from 200 to 130 in only seven years" from 1846 to 1852 because of a loss of Māori women to European partners seems to confuse the female population decline with that of Ruapuke as a whole (Anderson 1998: 194).

RESULTS

There were 111 births and 139 deaths in total on Ruapuke over the period 1844-1845 and 1850-1885. The crude birth rate over the entire 1844-1845 and 1850-1885 period was 37 per thousand. The crude death rate was 47 per thousand.

In the two years between 1844 and 1845 there were 17 births and 33 deaths, a net loss of 16 people. In the 35 years between 1850 and 1885 there were 94 births and 106 deaths, a net loss of 12 people. The birth and death rates for 1844-1845 were 44 and 85 per thousand, giving an average annual rate of natural increase of -4.1 percent. For 1850-1885 birth and death rates were 36 and 41 per thousand respectively, giving an average annual rate of natural increase of -0.5 percent. Hence, over the period of the registers, much of the natural decrease was concentrated in the short 1844-45 period, and was mainly because of an elevated death rate.

The distribution of age at deaths, by sex, and as a total is shown in Table 1. The average age at death of the population, where there was an age estimate available, was 29.0 years (N=116). The average female age at death was 24.8 years (N=59), much lower than that of males at 33.8 years (N=56). There was one death almost immediately after birth with no sex recorded. Using a

Mann Whitney test for non-normally distributed samples, the nine year age difference at death by sex was statistically significant at a 5 percent level (U=2.01). Considering age at death for those over age 20, the difference between male and female average ages was much smaller at 3.3 years, being 51.1 years for men and 47.8 years for women. This difference was not statistically significant.

Table 1. Ruapuke Māori deaths by sex and by age: 1844-45 and 1850-1885.

Age	Female deaths	Male deaths	Total Deaths
One year or less	12	5	18
1-4	6	4	10
5-9	7	4	11
10-14	5	4	9
15-19	2	7	9
20-29	9	8	17
30-39	3	4	7
40-49	4	2	6
50-59	1	2	3
60+	10	16	26
TOTAL	59	56	116

There were 94 births for which infant mortality could be examined; 44 of these births were male, 49 were female and one had no sex attributed. There were 18 infant deaths: 12 female, five male and one of undetermined sex. Infant mortality as a whole was 191 per thousand. The female infant mortality rate was 245 per thousand, over double that of males at 114 per thousand. Not only that, female infants who died had shorter infancies. The average female infant who died lived for 120 days, while the average male infant who died lived for 220 days. The data indicate that neo-natal mortality (one month or less) was five infants (four females, one sex undetermined), while post-neonatal mortality (more than one month to a year) was 13 infants (eight females, five males).

Table 2. Cause of death 1845 and 1850-1885.

Cause of death	Number of deaths	% share of all deaths
Old age	19	17.3%
"Illness" or variant	19	17.3%
"Consumption" or variant	17	15.5%
Other, unique cause	13	11.8%
Drowning	10	9.1%
"Decline" or variant	8	7.3%
Influenza	6	5.5%
Whooping cough	3	2.7%
Measles	2	1.8%
Bronchitis	2	1.8%
Dropsy	2	1.8%
Fever	2	1.8%
Inflammation of the chest	2	1.8%
Inflammatory fever	2	1.8%
Weakness	2	1.8%
TOTAL	109	100%

Cause of death information is available for 109 people. Table 2 provides the information on main causes of death. Often the information provided on the cause of death is very vague, with cause described as "old age", "illness" or "decline" or similar. All drowning was male, comprising an extraordinary 17.9 percent of male deaths. Most drowning was a consequence of boating accidents. There are no female deaths from childbirth. Nor are there any reports of deaths due to infanticide. Only one violent death was recorded—a suicide of a woman as an apparent consequence of the accidental death of a child in her care.

DISCUSSION

The analysis of the Ruapuke data adds considerably to very limited information on directly estimated Māori vital rates in the second half of the 19th century. However, all discussion below must be caveated by the small numbers and nationally non-representative nature of the data.

The overall birth rate of 37 per thousand is higher than that for the South Island of 32 and Mangonui (in the North Island) of 35 per thousand measured during the same period. Death rates in Ruapuke are also considerably higher than for those two areas: 47 per thousand, compared to 32 and 31 respectively. The figures for the other two areas are more likely to be affected by under-enumeration than is the Ruapuke data.

The Ruapuke data also show much higher mortality in the 1840s than thereafter, suggesting significant health improvements from the 1840s compared to the 1850-1885 period.

At 194 per thousand, infant mortality on Ruapuke between 1850 and 1885 is much less than the 500 per thousand suggested by Hamlin (1842) as characteristic of the Māori population in the late 1830s and early 1840s, again suggesting a considerable improvement in life chances for Māori in the second half of the 19th century.

The lower average female age of death found in Ruapuke, driven by higher female mortality during childhood and especially infancy, is consistent with (i) considerably higher ratios of male to female children than predicted by normal birth ratios observed in Māori regional and national censuses of the 19th century (Chapple 2000, 2005) and (ii) lower estimated chances of survival of Māori girls in later 19th century Māori life tables (Pool and Cheung 2003, Statistics New Zealand 2006). The fact that girls were more likely to die than boys, who are well known to be biologically weaker, strongly implicates Māori social processes as the cause of excessive girl deaths (Anderson 1998; Chapple 2000, 2005; Houghton 1996; Thomson 1859; and see McKee 1984 for a wider discussion of social biases against female children leading to their excessive mortality). However, the extent to which the higher death rates of Māori female infants are a consequence of conscious, sex-selective infanticide cannot be resolved by the data.

The cause of death data, limited though it is, is a unique data set for 19th century Māori. It reinforces the importance of tuberculosis—consumption—for 19th century Māori mortality. Additionally, almost certainly much of the "illness" and "decline" is unattributed tuberculosis. Somewhat more surprisingly, it suggests the largely unacknowledged importance of drowning for analysis of Māori male mortality—a classic mortality accident hump for young men. Māori were largely a coastal people and long distance travel by

water was a feature of life, as was food gathering in seas, rivers and lakes. Hence exposure to risks of drowning was high. The nature of the sexual division of labour regarding food gathering, and the greater geographical mobility of prime age males, meant that they were more exposed to boating risks. A caveat here is that the elevated rate of drowning on Ruapuke may be due to the unusually risky waters of Foveaux Strait. However, it should be noted that four of the ten drownings occurred further up the east coast of the South Island, not in the Strait, and another involved a young boy drowning in a well. Hence drowning is a plausible candidate for some of the overall excess of adult females over males observed in the Ruapuke data. Additionally, drowning of adult Māori males may have been an important but previously unacknowledged push factor for southern Ngāi Tahu women in the region to seek European husbands.

The data suggest a population with a reasonably strong birth rate but a high basal death rate across most of the life cycle owing to endemic tuberculosis, combined with time-variant bursts of viral and bacterial epidemic disease—such as measles, influenza and whooping cough—predominantly killing children.

This pattern is likely to be different from that of the period before the 1840s, when there was neither much less acquired or genetically selected disease immunity at any age, nor much community experience of dealing with the challenges posed by mass all-ages sickness. Hence, earlier, these modern childhood diseases would have killed more widely across the age span and at higher rates.

Given 40 years of virtually continuous contact with European shipping largely out of eastern Australia, a local collection hub for both European and Asian origin diseases, by 1844 these microbes and viruses were no longer highly destructive "virgin soil" epidemics. Acquired immunity, genetic selection and social adaptations could cushion their impact.

A further difference is likely to have been in the possibly declining virulence of tuberculosis. Socio-economic disruption and warfare was more common in the region before 1844 and this is a factor known to exacerbate death rates from tuberculosis (Dubos and Dubos 1987). Additionally, in the earlier half of the 19th century violence probably directly accounted for a significant proportion of deaths. A considerable number of violent deaths are mentioned by Boultbee during his short sojourn in the region during the mid-1820s, for example.

The Ruapuke data suggest the importance of drowning as a cause of death and that those drowned were typically prime aged males, and likely to be temporally bunched, owing to the loss of crewed boats or canoes.

Lastly, it is worth mentioning that the Reverend Wohlers made some strong published claims regarding the relationship of births to deaths on Ruapuke.

These include: "I found when I kept an exact register of births and deaths that there was only one birth to three or four deaths" (Wohlers 1895: 125) and "when I arrived amongst the Maoris in 1844 I found the death rate so high that there was only one birth to three or four deaths" (Wohlers 1895: 204). While Wohlers' data do show population decline, the ratios of births to deaths approach a maximum of one birth to two deaths in the 1844-1845 period and generally average much less than this. Wohlers' stylised pronouncements do not match his own data: the Ruapuke population was more robust than he portrays.

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ABSTRACT

Vital rates and cause of death for Māori on the island of Ruapuke are examined for the period 1844 to 1885. Natural decline is evident over the period, but is lower for later years. Infant mortality is higher for females. Cause of death data suggests the importance of both tuberculosis and periodic childhood epidemics for general mortality, as well as drowning for adult males.

Keywords: Māori, Ruapuke, 19th century, vital rates, mortality

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REVIEWS

Jakubowska, Zuzanna: *Still More to Discover. Easter Island in an Unknown Manuscript by the Forsters from 18th Century / Wciąż odkrywana. Wyspa Wielkanocna w nieznanym rękopisie Forsterów z XVIII wieku*. Warsaw: Museum of the History of Polish Popular Movement and Institute of Iberian and Ibero-American Studies, University of Warsaw, 2014. 213 pp., illustrations, n.p., soft cover.

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In 2010, during routine cataloguing, a previously unknown French-language manuscript authored by Johann Reinhold Forster and relating his visit to Easter Island during the second Cook voyage was discovered in the collections of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow (Chrobak 2010). It was a few years before the news of this startling discovery reached Zuzanna Jakubowska, an Easter Island scholar at the University of Warsaw. She broke the news to the professional world with an article containing the transcription, a translation into English and some initial analysis of that text (Jakubowska 2013a). Now, with *Still More to Discover* we have a monograph dedicated to this unexpected discovery of a new primary source from Cook's second voyage.

The book contains a foreword by Jeremy Coote, Curator and Joint Head of Collections at the Pitt Rivers Museum, and an introduction by Christopher Vorbrich, a biographer of the Forsters. The main text of the book is composed of three parts. In the first we are presented with facsimile of the original hand written document "*Mémoire Sur Waïhou, ou L'Isle de Pâques*" (Treatise on Waihu or Easter Island) and its transcription into printed font followed by its translation into both English and Polish. The second part consists of a formal analysis of the text, its authorship and relation to other of the Forsters' texts, and the addressee, the King of Prussia, Frederick the Great. The third part is the Polish version of the above. Thus the book should be considered bilingual, with all text available in either Polish or English. French readers might also be interested in the book for the original text.

The manuscript itself comprises 33 pages, including a language comparison table and five illustrations (some known from other sources and some new). Given that the author has recently completed a book whose stated goal is the translation and analysis of all primary sources from 18th century expeditions to Easter Island (Jakubowska 2013b), she is in the perfect position to analyse the current document. According to Jakubowska's analysis, the document, which is not dated, was probably written around the year 1779 and its supposed recipient was Frederick the Great, King of Prussia. The possible motivation for the composition of the manuscript might have been as an incentive of sorts for the King to bail out Johann Forster from an English prison and offer him a professorship in the University of Halle. The manuscript would have been written either as a thank you note for this act if it was composed afterwards or

as a type of persuasion to help Johann Forster achieve favours from King Frederick if the manuscript was written before the bailout.

Although the author of the document is stated to be Johann Reinhold Forster himself, the handwriting is nothing like his. Both the handwriting and the literary style of some parts of the manuscript clearly point to Georg Forster as the actual author. This ambiguity in authorship is well known from other works by the Forsters.

The manuscript contains observations on the geology, nature and ethnography of Easter Island. The information in the *Mémoire* gives more detailed observations of Easter Island than other published works by the Forsters: the *Voyage* (Forster 1777) and the *Journal* (Hoare 1982). While it is very similar in content to *Observations* (Forster 1996 [1778]), in many small details *Mémoire* and *Observations* differ from each other. For example, *Mémoire* seems to be the only document from Cook's voyages, or even the only document from all 18th century expeditions, where the author claims to have actually seen the stone quarries where the *moai* figures were made. This and other new details will undoubtedly spur further interest and analysis beyond what has already been provided by Jakubowska. For example, the table of equivalence of the "South Sea Languages" presented in *Mémoire* contains the same glosses as those already known from a similar table in Forster's *Observations* but, while in the latter case the words are written in phonetic notation natural to English, in the former they are rewritten to convey the right sound to the French reader. As such we are given a unique observation of Pacific languages as they were spoken in the 18th century.

Also the presence of high quality facsimiles of the original document gives the book the rank of a real primary source. All scholars of Easter Island will be interested in the presented contents. The book is also a new and invaluable source for all those interested in Cook's voyages. Finally the *Mémoire* manuscript is not only a travel account, but also an anthropological and philosophical treatise. Thus it presents a unique window into a mind of the era of Enlightenment.

Praise is due to Jakubowska for bringing *Mémoire Sur Waïhou, ou L'Isle de Pâques* to the world's attention in such a comprehensive way. This book is highly recommended to all students of Easter Island and Cook's voyages because, as we have seen over and over again, there is still much more to discover.

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Nicole, Robert: *Disturbing History: Resistance in Early Colonial Fiji*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010. 328 pp., illustrations. US$52.00 (hardcover).

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Robert Nicole writes a compelling and engaging book on the resistance to colonial rule in the interior region of Fiji from a grass roots level. This book has been successfully adapted from Nicole's PhD thesis, although some parts may be a little too theoretical for a non-academic audience. The chapters are well written and easy to follow for any person who has an interest in this topic.

Nicole challenges the idea that all indigenous Fijians were accepting of their country becoming a British colony. He states that he wanted to "highlight a number of alternative dates, events, and characters that seldom if ever get a mention in our conversations about the past" (p. 13). In doing so, he discusses a number of resisting strategies of not only the indigenous population but also the Indian population who opposed the colonial administrations ambition of not only establishing European political domination but, more importantly, creating an economically viable colony. In Chapters 1 to 4 the author examines larger organised resistance events and movements, including some that are relatively unknown. This provides the reader with background information on the structures of country's politics and economics as well as its peoples' involvement with traditional and introduced religions.

By examining the Colo War of 1876 Nicole begins to give the reader an understanding of some of the key characteristics of Fijian society before British colonisation. This is followed by consideration of the oracle priest Navosavakadura and the Tuka Movement, providing ample evidence that Fijians were not passive, and did not easily fall under colonial rule. This was an important movement as elements of it were incorporated into the Viti Kabani (Fiji Company) of 1913. From 1900 to 1903 New Zealand began what came to be known as the Movement for Federation in an attempt to annex Fiji. Nicole shows that although there appeared to be a lot of support from Fijians for this movement, in reality, the people used this as a way to express their discontent with the current government. Nicole states that the Viti Kabani, which was established in 1913, was to be the greatest challenge to the colonial administration of that time and it was described as "a powerful example of unarmed resistance" (p.70). He then explores the organised plantation protests of the indentured Indian labourers, beginning with Governor Gordon's policy of introducing Indian indentured labourers to work on the plantations. Nicole then describes how

the poor working and living conditions of the indentured Indian population led to a number of organised protests, in an effort to combat the inhumane treatment they received on the plantations.

The remainder of the book, Chapters 5 through 7, is dedicated to exploring and discussing everyday resistance in ordinary lives. Nicole starts with Fijian resistance and how people from within the villages resisted colonial administration, especially objecting to the surveying of land and having to pay tax. He also examines the resistance of the people against their chiefs who, in some areas, were in compliance with the colonial administration. The majority of the resistance from within the villages was non-violent. This passive resistance included:

> …grumbling about their chiefs, the transformation of the ancient *luveniwai* ritual into a subversive pastime by village youths, ongoing tax evasion, village absenteeism, the boycott of the registration of land titles, the manipulation of religious rivalries by villagers to evade communal obligations, and the use of education as a means to break free from the cycle of chiefly exaction, tax work, and agricultural labour (p. 128).

Each of these activities is discussed with explanations on how they were used, the effect they had on the village and the response of the colonial administration.

Details of the everyday resistance of the Indian indentured labourers on plantations are described, including physical and violent resistance as well as the more passive resistance. For example, Nicole describes how workers attacked some overseers and plantation managers when they were ill-treated to a breaking point And how some labourers used evasion of work, absenteeism, desertion, sabotage and petitions as forms of passive resistance, or what Nicole has described as "weapons of the weak" (p. 159). The final chapter is a fascinating exploration of the everyday resistance by women. This is an area that was difficult for Nicole to research as there are no individual accounts recorded by either indigenous Fijian or Indian women. Instead Nicole intensively researched individual actions that the Colonial Secretary's Office was notified about and through generalised reports where women, who required special attention, were discussed in a broad context. He provides discussions on women who resisted being chattels and under the control of men in a number of ways, including using European laws of divorce and leaving Fijian husbands for European men, until the laws were amended and women were imprisoned if they left their husbands and abandoned their duties, refused to marry, and did not fulfil marital conjugal obligations. Drawing on his research findings, Nicole has discussed each of these forms of resistance by both indigenous Fijian and Indian women.

This book is well written, coherent and has a logical flow that makes it an easy and pleasurable read. Nicole's use of maps provides the reader with an understanding of the areas that he is describing and explaining. He has also included some interesting historical photos. It is a pleasure to read a history of Fiji that delves into areas that have been little researched and give a different perspective of colonial administration in Fiji. I highly recommend this book for all scholars of the Pacific Islands as an addition to their bookshelf.

Sissons, Jeffrey: *The Polynesian Iconoclasm: Religious Revolution and the Seasonality of Power*. New York: Berghahn, 2014. 170 pp., appendix, biblio., illustrations, index, US$85.00/£53.00 (hardback).

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Historical anthropology has been a particularly productive field of scholarship in Polynesia. Scholars such as Marshall Sahlins, Roger Green, Greg Dening, Valerio Valeri and Patrick Kirch have made ample use of historical, ethnographic and archaeological evidence from the region to understand the complex relationships between history, structure and agency. Jeffrey Sissons' new book adds another valuable perspective to this rich tradition in his exploration of the "Polynesian iconoclasm", a series of religious upheavals that took place on islands across the region beginning with Mo'orea and the Society Islands in 1815, later paralleled in Hawai'i and the southern Cook Islands. Reverberations from these events would inflect religious practice across the 19th century. Central to Sissons' argument is his introduction of the term "rituopraxis". Rituopraxis builds on Marshall Sahlins' concept of mythopraxis but prioritises "the structure of practice over the structure of myth" to understand the behaviour of historical actors (p. 3). For his understanding of practice as it relates to rituopraxis, Sissons draws on Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*, which has become something of a requisite signifier for anthropologists working to understand the relationship of everyday action and experience to historical change. The near-ubiquity of *habitus* in historical anthropology reflects something of a consensus in the discipline about the importance of everyday dispositions or habits and human agency for understanding sometimes dramatic historical events. Sissons makes a compelling argument that both chiefly and commoner *habitus*, as expressed in everyday action and ritual innovation, was central to the historical events he explores in this book. For Polynesian people, historical change was structured by cosmological beliefs, as well as the everyday dispositions that shaped their actions in relation to mythological and ritual structures.

With the theoretical background in place, Sissons turns to an annual cycle of ritual life which will be familiar to scholars of Polynesia: the seasonal division of time as related to the position of the constellation Pleiades. Sissons describes "Pleiades above" as a time of "*communitas*", marked by rites called *matahiti* in Tahitian and *makahiki* in Hawaiian (it is presumed a similar term would have existed for the Cook Islands, but it is not known). Pleiades above was marked as a season of games, dancing, tribute collection and a general relaxation of social *mores*. In contrast, "Pleiades below" saw the re-establishment of hierarchy and the rule of law, and the return of the gods, marked in Tahiti by a rite called *pa'iatua* or god-wrapping, during which the images of 'Oro and Tane were renewed, and in Hawai'i by the re-opening of the *luakini* or war temples associated with the god Ku. Polynesian societies thus divided their year into two seasons: one of relative egalitarianism and freedom, Pleiades above, and one of hierarchy and strict enforcement of rules, Pleiades below. This cycle was vital to the annual renewal of *mana*, the power of the gods that brought life to Polynesian societies each year.

This structure of annual renewal was not without historical dynamism before the arrival of Europeans in the Pacific. However, historical anthropologists in the region have long acknowledged that European contacts were often associated with major historical events shaped by the mythopraxis or rituopraxis of Polynesian people, what Sahlins termed the "structure of the conjuncture". Again Sissons acknowledges that he is building on Sahlins' work when addressing the central historical problem of the book, which concerns the apparent abandonment of indigenous religion in the Society Islands, Hawai'i and the southern Cook Islands over a relatively short span of decades in the early to mid-1800s, followed by a period of intense church-building. Sissons begins with the island of Mo'orea, and the would-be king Pomare, where he sees the first of this series of "Polynesian iconoclasms". Pomare had ambitions of becoming paramount of the Society Islands and Tahiti, and was attempting to use a strategy of alliances with priests who served the god 'Oro to advance his goals. Eventually, an alliance with the foreign god Jehovah provided an opportunity to succeed where the 'Oro strategy had not. The outcome was the burning of religious images, and the abandonment of the *marae* in a series of dramatic ritual challenges to the old order beginning in 1815, a pattern which quickly spread from Mo'orea to neighbouring Tahiti, Ra'iatea and Huahine. Similar patterns would follow in Hawai'i, with the breaking of *kapu* in 1819, and in the southern Cook Islands in 1823. These iconoclasms are interpreted as innovative kinds of Pleiades above rituals, where the old order was being challenged, even overthrown, but still following Polynesian rituopraxis. These iconoclasms were followed by a series of monumental church-building events in these islands, the largest of which was Pomare's—over 700 feet in length and including 133 windows and 29 doors. Sissons identifies this and other church-building events with the re-establishment of order during Pleiades below. Later challenges and popular resistance to the new order reflected the persistence of Pleiades above as a structuring element of rituopraxis for Polynesians.

Sissons makes a compelling argument for the structuring of historical iconoclasms in Polynesian terms. The historical and ethnographic details of the book are impressive and convincing, especially regarding the arguments made about the relationships between *habitus*, rituopraxis and historical change. That said: this book can in many ways be seen as providing a framework to be built upon, rather than the last word for understanding religious change in the colonial Pacific. One aspect of this line of research that could be expanded is a more intimate look at the lives of the missionaries who played a supporting role in the dramatic Polynesian iconoclasms. How did missionary *habitus* work with and shape Polynesian chiefly relationships to the Judeo-Christian God? Examining this would not take away from the centrality of Polynesian rituopraxis in shaping history, but it would enrich our understanding of what may have been close relationships between Polynesian chiefs and European men of God. A second line of research that could be beneficially expanded includes a closer look at the materiality of religious architecture and artefacts in shaping these interactions. Sissons hints at this in this book and his other work, but more engagement with Polynesian archaeology would provide a plethora of information to better understand the material dimensions of rituopraxis diachronically. Surveys of ritual architecture throughout the region can tell us about the longer-term trajectories of transformations of rituopraxis in Polynesia, the variability of temple structures and aspects of ritual behaviour not recorded in historical or ethnographic sources.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED*

September 2014 to December 2014

Brison, Karen J.: *Children, Social Class, and Education: Shifting Identities in Fiji*. New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2014. 202 pp., bib., illustrations, index, notes. Price: US$ 55.00 (hardback).

Charlot, John: *A Kumulipo of Hawai'i: Comments on Lines 1-615 of the Origin Chant*. Collectanea Instituti Anthropos, vol. 47. Sankt Augustin, Germany: Academia Verlag, 2014. 173 pp., appendix, index. n.p.

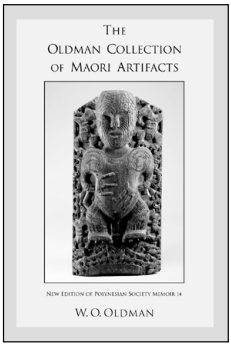
* The inclusion of a publication in this list neither assumes nor precludes its subsequent review.

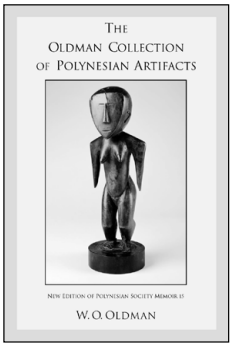
The Oldman Catalogue of Maori Artifacts and The Oldman Catalogue of Polynesian Artifacts

The catalogues originally prepared by W.O. Oldman, the collector, and published and then reprinted by The Polynesian Society as Memoirs 14 and 15 have long been out-of-print. The original texts and plates of the new editions have been enhanced and corrected while retaining the flavour of the original. An introductory essay and finder-list have been added by Roger Neich and Janet Davidson. The volumes not only provide an overview of the collection, but also include essays on the history of the collections and listings of the items by their present location.

Available from:
The Polynesian Society,
c/- Māori Studies, The University of Auckland,
Private Bag 92019, Auckland. Email: jps@auckland.ac.nz

The Oldman Collection of Maori Artifacts, by W.O. Oldman. 2004 edition edited by J. Huntsman and R. Neich .
88 + xxliv text pp., 104 plates.
The catalogue illustrates and describes the Maori artifacts purchased by the New Zealand Government in 1948 from W.O. Oldman, arguably the foremost British collector of Oceanic artifacts in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Most of the Māori items are now in the Museum of New Zealand/Te Papa Tongarewa in Wellington, but a substantial number are located in other New Zealand museums.
NZ $30 plus postage and packing
ISBN: 0-908940-05-X





The Oldman Collection of Polynesian Artifacts, by W.O. Oldman. 2004 edition edited by J. Huntsman and R. Neich .
130 + xxliv text pp., 138 plates.
The catalogue illustrates and describes the Polynesian artifacts purchased by the New Zealand Government in 1948 from W.O. Oldman, arguably the foremost British collector of Oceanic artifacts in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Most items in the collection were divided between the four major New Zealand museums (Wellington, Auckland, Canterbury and Otago), but a substantial number were allotted to provincial museums.
NZ $35 plus postage and packing
ISBN: 0-908940-06-8

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY

The publications listed below are available to members of the Polynesian Society (at a 20 percent discount, plus postage and packing), and to non-members (at the prices listed, plus postage and packing) from the Society's office: Department of Māori Studies, University of Auckland, Private Bag 92012, Auckland. All prices are in NZ$.

Some Memoirs are also available from: The University Press of Hawai'i, 2840 Kolowalu Street, Honolulu, Hawai'i 96822, U.S.A., who handle North American and other overseas sales to non-members. The prices given here do not apply to such sales.

MĀORI TEXTS

1. NGATA, A.T. and Pei TE HURINUI, *Ngā Mōteatea* (Part 1). New Edition of 1958 edition, 2004. xxxviii + 464 pp., two audio CDs, genealogies. 2004. Price $69.99 (hardback).
2. NGATA, A.T. and Pei TE HURINUI, *Ngā Mōteatea* (Part 2). New Edition of 1961 edition. xxxviii + 425 pp., two audio CDs, genealogies. 2005. Price $69.99 (hardback).
3. NGATA, A.T. and Pei TE HURINUI, *Ngā Mōteatea* (Part 3). New Edition of 1970 edition. xlii + 660 pp., audio CD, genealogies. 2006. Price $69.99 (hardback).
4. NGATA, A.T. and Hirini Moko MEAD, *Ngā Mōteatea* (Part 4). New Edition of 1991 edition with English translation. xviii + 380 pp., two audio CDs, genealogies. 2007. Price $69.99 (hardback).

MEMOIR SERIES

14. OLDMAN, W.O., *The Oldman Collection of Maori Artifacts*. New Edition with introductory essay by Roger Neich and Janet Davidson, and finder list. 192pp., including 104 plates. 2004. Price $30.
15. OLDMAN, W.O., *The Oldman Collection of Polynesian Artifacts*. New Edition with introductory essay by Roger Neich and Janet Davidson, and finder list. 268pp., including 138 plates. 2004. Price $35.
37. DE BRES, Pieter H., *Religion in Atene: Religious Associations and the Urban Maori*. 95pp. 1971. Price $4.10.
38. MEAD, S.M., Lawrence BIRKS, Helen BIRKS, and Elizabeth SHAW, *The Lapita Pottery Style of Fiji and Its Associations*. 98pp. 1975. Price $7.00.
39. FINNEY, Ben R. (comp.), *Pacific Navigation and Voyaging*. 148pp. 1975. Price $8.00.

41. McLEAN, Mervyn,. *An Annotated Bibliography of Oceanic Music and Dance*. 252pp. 1977, with 74pp. 1981 Supplement. Price $12.30.

43. BLUST, Robert, *The Proto-Oceanic Palatals*. 183+x pp. 1978. Price $12.00.

45. HOOPER, Antony and Judith HUNTSMAN (eds), *Transformations of Polynesian Culture*. 226+viii pp. 1985. Price $35.00.

47. SIIKALA, Jukka. *'Akatokamanāva. Myth, History and Society in the South Cook Islands*. 153+xi pp. 1991. Price $29.95.

49. SORRENSON, M. P. K., *Manifest Duty: The Polynesian Society Over 100 Years*. 160pp. 1992. Price $32.50.

50. BROWN, DOROTHY (comp.), *Centennial Index 1892-1991*. 279pp. 1993. Price $30.00.

51. TE ARIKI TARA 'ARE, *History and Traditions of Rarotonga.* Translated by S.Percy Smith. Edited by Richard Walter and Rangi Moeka'a. 216pp., genealogies and song texts. 2000. Price $70.00.

52. REILLY, Michael P.J., *War and Succession in Mangaia—from Mamae's Texts.* 112pp., geneaologies and maps. 2003. Price $16.00.

53. BIGGS, Bruce Grandison, *Kimihia te Mea Ngaro: Seek That Which is Lost.* 80pp. figs. 2006. Price $30.00.

54. REILLY, Michael P.J., *Ancestral Voices from Mangaia: A History of the Ancient Gods and Chiefs*. xiv + 330 pp., maps, drawings, genealogies, index. 2009. Price $40.00.

55. TE HURINUI, Pei, *King Pōtatau: An Account of the Life of Pōtatau Te Wherowhero the First Māori King*. 303 + xiv pp., figs, genealogies, indexes, maps. 2010. (Available to members of the Society only at $40.00.)

56. McRAE, Jane, *Ngā Mōteatea: An Introduction / He Kupu Arataki*. Māori translation by Hēni Jacobs. 158 pp., biblio., figs, notes, song texts. 2011. (Available to members of the Society only at $28.00.)

MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS

TOKELAU DICTIONARY. lii + 503 pp. Price: $35.00.

INCEST PROHIBITIONS IN MICRONESIA AND POLYNESIA: Special Issue, June 1976. 155pp. Price $12.00.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS IN THE STUDY OF THE ARTS OF OCEANIA: from *Special Issue*, June 1981. 70pp. Price $4.00.

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EXTRAORDINARY POLYNESIAN WOMEN: WRITING THEIR STORIES. Special Issue, June 2014. 230 pp. Price $15.00.

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BACK ISSUES OF THE JOURNAL AVAILABLE

THE SOCIETY holds copies of most issues from Volume 76 (1967) onwards. Some copies of issues from earlier volumes are available, or become available from time to time. Orders and inquiries should be directed to the Assistant Secretary, Polynesian Society, af-jps@auckland.ac.nz, Department of Māori Studies, The University of Auckland, Private Bag 92019, Auckland, New Zealand.

Prices per issue are as follows (exclusive of the *Special Issues* above):
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