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Cover image: Sehuri Tave adzing the exterior of a *tamāvaka* hull at Sialeva Point on the Polynesian Outlier of Takū. Photograph by Richard Moyle.

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Award of the Nayacakalou Medal

The Nayacakalou Medal was presented to *Patrick Vinton Kirch*, Chancellor's Professor Emeritus at University of California, Berkeley, on 23 May 2018 at the Auckland War Memorial Museum. His public lecture, "Voices on the Wind, Traces in the Earth: Integrating Oral Narrative and Archaeology in Polynesian History", was delivered to a nearly full house, despite the inclement weather. The lecture was videotaped and also presented at the University of Otago in Dunedin, and a written version will appear in the September issue of the *JPS.* During his week-long visit Prof. Kirch gave generously of his time, meeting with graduate students at both universities and presenting a second seminar on his Mangarevan field studies to the University of Auckland's weekly Anthropology Research Seminar series. Special thanks is given to the School of Social Sciences, University of Auckland, who assisted with travel costs and to the Auckland War Memorial Museum who partnered with the Polynesian Society on his public lecture.

Contributors to this Issue

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Richard Moyle has spent more than a decade of fieldwork in Polynesia and Aboriginal Australia over the past half-century, producing music ethnographies, bilingual editions of oral tradition in three languages, and most recently an ongoing series of books on the Polynesian Outlier of Takū. Although formally retired, he holds an Honorary Research Chair in Pacific Studies at the University of Auckland and an Adjunct Chair at the Research Centre of Griffith University's Conservatorium of Music. He is a former *JPS* Editor and Honorary Life Member of the Polynesian Society.

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Michael Webb lectures in ethnomusicology and music education at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music, The University of Sydney. His article on Melanesian hymnody won the *Journal of Pacific History* best article prize for 2015.

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The Bruce Grandison Biggs Postgraduate Research Fellowship Trust Awards 2018
(Contributed by Emeritus Honorary Editor Judith Huntsman)

The Polynesian Society presented the inaugural awards of the Bruce Grandison Biggs Postgraduate Research Fellowship Trust (BGB Trust) at its 2018 Annual General Meeting to five postgraduate awardees (the sixth recipient was unable to attend). The notion of some kind of award for postgraduate research was first proposed as a new initiative of the Society in 2015, to mark its 125th year, and came to fruition in 2017.

The name of the Trust honours the late Professor Biggs who established the disciplines of both Māori Studies and Oceanic Linguistics at the University of Auckland and who trained at least two generations of scholars (too numerous to list). He was a staunch member of the Polynesian Society Council from the 1950s, and from 1979 to 1993 served as the Society's President. (For a generous account of Bruce's life, times and accomplishments, see his obituary by Andrew Pawley in the December 2000 *JPS*.)

That the awards support postgraduate research and consequently "promote scholarly study of past and present New Zealand Māori and other Pacific Island peoples and cultures" both echoes the aims of the Society and the mission that Bruce pursued in his scholarship and teaching. For the 2018 awards presentation Bruce's daughter Susan was present to congratulate the students and help present their certificates and checks. The following listing both honours the award recipients and notes their discipline, degree pursued and research topic:

- *Jacinta Forde*: for an Anthropology PhD on Māori fishing knowledge and practices,
- *Moeata Keil*: for a Sociology PhD on separated Pacific parents "doing family" in New Zealand,
- *Kim Moore*: for a History MA on Māori experiences in Royal NZ Navy after the Second World War,
- *Brittni Smith*: for a Linguistics MA on morphological features of the Naasioi language in Bougainville,
- *Michelle Thorp*: for an Anthropology MA on PNG experiences of wealth,
- *Edgar T.P.W. Wallace*: for a Health Science PhD on Māori perspectives regarding "informal caregivers".

Three awards were in support of research and three were to attend conferences and present research findings. The students will report on their accomplishments at the 2019 AGM, when the 2019 awards also will be presented.

The BGB Trust is drawing for its awards on income from funds conservatively invested: the more funds invested, the more awards. Donations to the Trust are tax deductible in New Zealand and the awards are restricted to postgraduate students at New Zealand tertiary institutions. For more information contact Judith Huntsman (j.huntsman@auckland.ac.nz) who is managing the BGB on behalf of the other Trustees and the Polynesian Society.

Clarification to Volume 127 (1)

In the March 2018 Special Issue, *Sāmoan Landscapes Through Time*, two articles describe archaeological geodatabases. We wish to clarify that there are two distinct databases, which have developed independently and with different aims and scope. Jackmond, Fonoti, and Tautunu describe and contribute to an archaeological geodatabase that is hosted by the Centre for Samoan Studies (CSS), National University of Samoa. A long-term goal of this database is to assist the Government of the Independent State of Samoa with heritage protection policies and legislation. Morrison, Rieth, DiNapoli and Cochrane describe a second archipelago-wide archaeological geodatabase, developed for the purposes of their research on settlement patterns and chronology, and the landscape distribution of portable artefacts. We apologise for any confusion and highlight the important contributions both initiatives are making to heritage management and research in the Sāmoan Archipelago.

JPS SPECIAL ISSUES

The *JPS* Special Issues, collected articles on particular topics, can be purchased separately from journal subscriptions. The most recent Special Issue is on Sāmoan Landscapes through Time (March 2018, Vol.127 No.1).

Recent issues include:

SĀMOAN LANDSCAPES THROUGH TIME (2018)

CEREMONIAL ARCHITECTURE IN EAST POLYNESIA: DEVELOPMENT AND VARIABILITY (2016)

GRAVE MATTERS IN OCEANIA (2016)

ON PACIFIC VOYAGING CANOES (2015)

EXTRAORDINARY POLYNESIAN WOMEN: WRITING THEIR STORIES (2014)

TABUA AND TAPUA: WHALE TEETH IN FIJI AND TONGA (2013)

COLONIAL GRIEVANCES, JUSTICE AND RECONCILIATION (2012)

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ORAL TRADITION AND THE CANOE ON TAKŪ

RICHARD MOYLE
University of Auckland

This essay examines the canoe on the Polynesian Outlier of Takū, both as an artefact enduring in memory and existing as an ongoing survival necessity. It is in part from the remembered canoe—mythologised, and vaunted in songs ancient and modern—that Takū take their self-identity and from the existing canoe that they enjoy ongoing vitality, for, without the canoe, Takū could not have been colonised, nor could contemporary life be sustained nor the future contemplated. In adopting this perspective, I rely principally on the evidence of oral tradition as spoken and sung, but refer where appropriate to the somewhat meagre historical printed record. I expand on the place of the canoe to identify elements of Takū society influenced by the manufacture and performance of this one artefact that occupies much of a man's time, and which is celebrated more frequently and enduringly than any other in the performing arts by the entire adult community.

The Oceanic canoe has long been the object of academic study, from voyaging to design and performance capacity (e.g., the summaries in Clunie 2015: 405–18; Di Piazza 2015: 454–56; Genz 2017; George 2017; Irwin and Flay 2015: 440–43), but published information from Takū itself is rare and confined largely to incidental descriptions of varying detail and accuracy, due largely to the very low incidence of resident-based research. As members of arguably the last remaining Polynesian society still practising traditional religion (Moyle 2018), Takū place high value on adherence to matters of precedent in manufacturing items of material culture, in ensuring conformity with the responsibilities inherent in social relationships, and in maintaining positive and productive contact with watchful ancestors. By its very nature, precedent is backward-looking, for which reason understanding and preservation of knowledge of the past is a core value entrusted to authority figures within the community. Takū frame their past as *tuai* 'old' when referring to the speaker's own past experience and *sāita mua* 'first period' when speaking of the traditional era, optionally followed by the emphatic *ilō*. The third and most chronologically distant era, identified by descriptive phrases such as *sāita nā aitu* 'period of the spirits' or *sāita nā aitu nnui* 'period of the great spirits', relates to the island's discovery and colonisation, a period before the first island-born humans.

The canoe features significantly in all three eras, but is remembered unevenly within the present community because of the nature of Takū cultural knowledge. Privileged memory of clan mythology is the prerogative of the

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male elders of Takū's five clans, aided where necessary by private consultation with knowledgeable age mates; the implied continuity of knowledge is applied through invocations as a counter to social discontinuities such as sickness, injury and death. Rising above even those lofty connections stands the figure of the island's *ariki*, Takū's supreme religious leader, who alone has the genealogical credentials to safely invoke the great spirit Pukena on behalf of the community in time of disasters of natural or epidemic form. Takū define an ancestor as a deceased family member who knew you—or at least saw you—while alive. Collective memory of canoes in the lives of family ancestors resides principally with the living male descendants, men whose personal knowledge of such matters depends in large part on their level of interest as evidenced by acts of initiative; a father may gladly impart family knowledge to a son but will await the son's request rather than offer the information outright. It is to such ancestors that a man calls while in his canoe to ensure fishing success both in the lagoon and on the open ocean. Current community canoe-building and canoe-sailing practice also relies on memory, the kind of memory that captures, retains and reproduces the family-based procedures and secrets of design and performance capabilities.

MYTHOLOGICAL PERIOD

By its nature, colonisation mythology embodies narratives of canoe voyaging, emphasising episodic travel and the details of crews and passengers rather than descriptions of the canoes themselves. Information on the colonisation myths and the role of canoes is fragmentary (e.g., Bladen 1961: 80–81; Elbert 1963), but Moir refers at length to several such accounts contained in the field notes of her fellow researcher Irwin Howard, summarising their canoe journeying (1989: 64–67):

> Each patriclan's myth relates that the group originated in Sopokana, a name that translates as 'the place where the sun rises' (the east). In the myth of the first patriline to be established on the atoll, its progenitor was a man named Takuu who set out on the journey from his home, an island also called Takuu, travelling first to the island of Ttuila to collect his two sons who would accompany him. (Three of the five myths cite Ttuila as the point of origin or the earliest way station, where key personnel joined the voyage.)
>
> Another patriline's ancestors, having left Ttuila, arrived at the island of Savaiki (cf. Savai'i) where they stayed long enough to carve a canoe, and to be given foodstuffs and a protective spear by the ariki of that land. They then travelled to Lotuma, where they lived for a time; the ariki of Lotuma gave this patriline's progenitor more provisions, including a magical sword, sacred charms, and ornaments now associated with the patriline.

> Upon leaving Lotuma the canoe came upon an island called Taputapu, lying between Lotuma and Savaiki; later it anchored at the island of Niua (a third patriline's myth also mentions these landings). Eventually the ancestors reached Luaniua (Ontong Java), then an uninhabited atoll, and there they left one of their party to found a settlement …. The canoe continued its voyage, discovering and establishing communities on the atolls of Takuu and Nukuria, returning to Savaiki to tell the ariki of these accomplishments, and making additional visits to Ontong Java and Nukuria before settling permanently on Takuu.
>
> In two cases, patriline myths relate that, having found Takuu, some ancestors traveled on to points further west (referred to as "the Melanesian islands" or "Buka"), from which they brought back taro to plant in their new land.
>
> The son of Takuu referred to as Tefuittuila … resided on the island of Ttuila until his father came to take him to seek a new land. Following the discovery of Takuu Atoll, his father sent him back to Ttuila to bring more swamp taro, coconuts, and people who would found new patrilines. On the return voyage, Ttuila established the totems and tapu [regalia] for his patrilineal descendants.

Takū was discovered and founded by ancestor spirits who arrived by canoe, and their names, the locations where they landed and the sequence of their arrivals continue to be known and relevant to contemporary social life. When recounting myths, for example, Takū routinely align the narrative with contemporary Takū society, assigning the current name of a clan elder to the relevant ancestor. The following translated extract, recorded from Nes Mōmoa in 1994, illustrates such connections: founding canoe names are linked to the elders of the five clans, Tenehu, Pūtahu, Kikiva, Kīpū and Avo, all in office at the time of the recording:

> The canoe *Vakaroa* belonged to Tenehu's ancestor, *Tāoa* belonged to Pūtahu's and Kikiva's ancestor, *Puraka* belonged to Kīpū's ancestor, and *Hakautu* belonged to Avo's ancestor. Those were the four founding canoes for this island. Those canoes brought the ancestors with them and saw this island as it was still emerging from below, rising like bubbles, together with heaped up sand to construct the dry land. After heaping it up in a dry pile, they dragged their canoes down to the water, and the land continued to rise up.

The canoe movements within the atoll's lagoon were commemorated by assigning names to specific locations where significant events occurred (e.g., Te Vakaroa is the name of an elongated rock outcrop in the lagoon, and Nā Marua Hakautu 'Hakautu's lagoon clearings' is an area offshore from Nukutoa Island).

Moir notes (above) that the initial colonisation was followed by voyages back to the points of departure to populate the new island with foodstuffs; as Nes related:

> They went and constructed a large garden in which to plant taro and giant taro. The giant taro was called *puraka*. They brought a single *puraka* and planted it in the garden. Then that canoe, *Tāoa*, went off again leaving the other canoes anchored here. *Tāoa* went off to bring back taro and yams, but on their return, they found nothing for themselves because the people had already divided the land [i.e., Takū Island] among themselves.

Although this account of the prevailing arrival sequence has not been not immune from challenge (Leeson 1967; Moir 1989: 95–96), the significance of *Tāoa*'s crew—and subsequent descendants—being absent for the land distribution, and other privileges, is founded on the principle of primacy of access, a widely expressed principle in Takū society. The occupants of the first founding canoe to arrive, *Hakautu*, claimed social supremacy, a position which, following a period of alternating chieftainship between two patrilines (Moyle 2007: 58), continues. The net result of the few published accounts and my own fieldwork is a patchwork of individual mythic episodes, varying widely in levels of detail across the five clans and not easily susceptible to chronologising, corroboration or rebuttal. Further, although founding canoes appear in several accounts, their mention with one exception occurs more or less in passing between more detailed narratives of events occurring at arrival points or waypoints. The exception relates to a round-trip journey by the canoe *Tāoa* to several island locations apparently located within West Polynesia (Moir 1989: 64–65; Moyle 2007: 259–60).

One contemporary character stands outside clan colonisation mythology, having no association with any of the four canoes or those on board. At an undefined period of time in the distant past, but one when Takū was inhabited by mythological creatures apparently unobserved by co-resident spirit and human ancestors, lived Hatuvave, shape-changing trickster supreme and bringer of fire to the island. The final episode of the myth, as recounted by Sēhuri Tave in 2000, illustrates the trickster's ingenuity with his canoe:

> Hatuvave then sailed off with his crew, who were all subsequently killed. He went alone to the sticky sea (*tai ppiri*), so sticky that he couldn't sail or paddle through it. He cut his canoe in half, placed one piece on the surface, then lifted the second piece in front, pulled up the first piece behind, and so on, and leapfrogged the pieces until he safely passed through, thence to the end of the world.

The assignment of canoe-related narratives to either the mythological or traditional eras is a matter of referential convenience but is also to some extent arbitrary since the division between the two is now blurred, if indeed it was ever distinct. Elbert notes (1963: 3), for example, "The oldest genealogy lists 18 generations of mortals descended from three generations of deities", and I myself recorded similarly divided lists. And one remarkable narrative, by Pūtahu E Lasi, listed the names of three captains of *Tāoa*, all human, together with a female crew member described as an *aitu.* Mythology records that at least some founding canoes brought to Takū the first humans, who coexisted with spirits and eventually produced human offspring, but it remains unclear whether one common Takū description of the former period as the "era of the spirits" is intended to represent an absolute distinction. More certain, and more widely believed, is the close symbiotic link between distant ancestors and other inhabitants of the natural world, even though the human or spirit nature of those ancestors remains unclear. The results of such links are, however, ongoing. As the *ariki* Avo explained:

> If the canoe became damaged, we—the *ariki*—were forbidden to eat the giant clam. When the canoe struck rough weather and was damaged, the *ariki* had an amulet for that situation. He tied the amulet to his foot, and that's why he is now forbidden to eat clam: because the clam drank the water from the bilge, the water could not rise high; it remained at the level where the amulet was tied to the *ariki*'s foot.

This and other similar eating bans pertain for some bird species, as Avo observed when describing voyages (*horau*) to neighbouring Nukumanu:

> Each time *Hakautu* went on a voyage, there was a bird, a tern. While the canoe was at sea, that bird always flew in front of their bow. If it flew in another different direction, the canoe had to follow it because that was the correct direction. If the canoe came to the deep sea without any sign of an island, then the tropicbird appeared. On the bird's arrival, it was already dark, and it remained with them. It came and cried to them, then flew away; it was just like a compass. If we were nearing an island, it would depart, and the tern took over, and if it flew in the other direction, crying, that meant our course was incorrect.

Takū society places high value on singing and dancing (see Moyle 2007), to the extent that the community of some 150 adults had more than 1,000 songs in their active repertoire during my fieldwork (1994–2010), and routinely spent 20 or more hours each week in semiformal singing and dancing. The two dances held in highest esteem—identified as such by the rarity of performance,

the protocols of eligible participants and the several amulets worn by each dancer to avoid personal disaster in the event of an error—were brought to Takū by canoe in the mythological era. Of these dances, the men's *paki* and *paronu*, only the origin of the former is known. As recounted by Nes Mōmoa (in abbreviated form):

> [The spirit leaders] each stayed in their houses and sang. And those canoes continued to sail and bring back songs. *Tāoa* went off, *Hakautu* went off, and brought back songs. The *paki* was brought here from Samoa. The canoe was anchored at the beach while the people on shore were singing, and somehow recorded the words and preserved it. There was the *paki* and the *paronu*, but nowadays nobody knows about the *paronu*—it's all lost. Only the *paki* itself is still known; the canoe visited Samoa, Taputapu, Ttuila, Tikopia, Māori. And that canoe sailed on her journey for six months, returning after another six months with the eastern trade wind. It sailed out for the six months of the westerly trade wind, and returned home six months later on the easterly trade wind.

As the spirits traversed the ocean to and from Takū, they occasionally composed—or overheard from other spirits and memorised—songs called *llū* (singular *lū*). Present performance of songs of this genre is limited to adults who sing them in public only at predetermined times after a local death (Moyle 2007: 189–97). Current understanding of the lyrics is sporadic: some are clearly narrative in their content whereas others are almost opaque, even to the singers, as the original frames of reference passed from living members. As Nes Mōmoa summarised:

> The *llū* were composed by spirits, composed on the ocean [i.e., during the voyage]. Spirits from that time composed about their voyages; people from that era didn't yet look human—the ones who voyaged on those canoes—but they captained them.

Although several *llū* relate to a specific incident while voyaging, a spoken explanation of the voyage as a whole may omit any reference to such an event, so that information on the one is not necessarily derivable, or confirmable, from the other. One example relates to a voyage of Hare Ata clan's mythical ancestors; the song is described as *te lū makavā* 'song of the dimensions', a reference to the canoe design, and the lyrics clearly depict potentially serious storm damage to the canoe:

Iāiē ko te makavā	Oh, the [canoe's] dimensions.
Ā ni tō mai e ko te horau i Nanoki, iāiē ko te makavā.	Brought here from the voyage from Nanoki, oh the dimensions.

Iāiē ko te makavā, ā ko te ā aku mō, ua aku mō hīaē.	The dimensions … [not understood].
Āiē ariki e ko te kiato ku hahati.	The *ariki* was told that the boom was about to snap.
Ā Sikitonu ka te kiato ku hati.	Sikitonu was told that the boom was about to snap.
Ā ko te ariki e ā ko te sua ku hahati.	The *ariki* was told that the starboard platform was about to snap.
Ā te Kanutu e ā ko te sua ku hati.	Te Kanutu [i.e., his other name] was told that the starboard platform was about to snap.
Ā ni tukua nau ki te sau nā ariki.	I was placed under the power of all the *ariki*.

The associated narrative, however, focuses on a quite separate incident:

> This *lū* is about a sailing canoe going from place to place. The canoe's name was *Hakautu*. The captain's job was to oversee the canoe, and he was respected as a captain. When the canoe was ready, it left and she sailed on and on. One man became ill and, before dying in mid-ocean, begged the captain to return his body to Takū, but Takū was far away, and he died. After he died, they buried him at sea. When discarding his body in the ocean, they attached an amulet. Only the body was abandoned in mid-ocean, but his spirit returned to Takū, even though it seemed that the spirit was reluctant to return: it seemed to want to get back on board and stay there.

The earliest accounts of sails, contained in the lyrics of *llū* songs and accompanying narratives, speak of them as woven; eight or more were routinely carried on board because of their propensity to tear in adverse wind conditions. Indeed, one myth, recounting the origin of the *laki* and *anake* winds, details such events; the following is an excerpt, as recounted by Parasei Pūō:

> Next day [the two mythical brothers] worked on their canoe. They worked until the canoe was complete, then made sails. They sewed their sails, and when they finished, there were eight of them.

Then they hoisted their first sail, and were on their way. They sailed on and on to the next place, and their first sail tore; they discarded it, hoisted the second one, and kept on sailing. They continued on until the second sail also tore. They discarded it and hoisted the third one. They kept on like that, until there were only two sails left.

> When only two sails remained, they said to each other, “Hey, there’s an island rising up over there.”
>
> They sailed over, but suddenly there was no island there. They passed over it. As they did so, they heard someone singing from the direction of the stern. They turned around and there was that same island, rising up from the stern. They shifted the sail position and returned to the place where it rose up. As they sailed towards it, it disappeared again, so they sailed back again to the same place. The name of that place was Manavio. Every time they sailed to that island, it kept on disappearing.
>
> Then their sail tore, and they hoisted another one. Then they said, “Hey, if we go to where it keeps on rising up, we shouldn’t just pass over it—we should stay on top of it.”
>
> So they hoisted their last sail. They sailed towards it and drifted on top of that place. There was nothing there, so they simply drifted over it.
>
> While they remained there, something rose up from below. It rose up, carrying their canoe with it. It carried their canoe up, and there were two women sitting on a finger of exposed rock. They were singing on top of the rock. They asked the men, “What are you two doing here?” [etc.]

It is thus largely through the medium of singing and dancing that Takū as a community celebrate links to the mythological past, albeit in a fragmentary manner. Consolidation of the fragments into coherent narratives remains the prerogative of clan elders, but the frequent references to the superior knowledge of past elders, combined with the likely loss of a significant amount of such information in a 19th-century epidemic (Moyle 2007: 25) and a certain lack of interest by some elders, indicate that oral sources are in decline. Although, as an artefact of colonisation and exploration, the canoe retains its centrality in contemporary accounts, a degree of blurring is apparent.

TRADITIONAL PERIOD

Founding canoe names appear to have been perpetuated into the traditional period and, although not susceptible to confirmation or rebuttal, are commonly used when referring to inter-island voyaging. The conventional understanding is that pairs of canoes sailed downwind from Takū during the six-month period of the northwesterly *laki* wind, after which they could return on the southeasterly *anake* wind. As with the somewhat tenuous distinction between mythology and prehistory, so too the boundary between traditional and historic is blurred, and indeed unimportant to many Takū. From having spoken on the topic of voyaging with a large proportion of resident men, and

also expatriates, it is fair to say that Nes's account of traditional voyaging, below, is typical of the scope of general understanding and level of detail that Takū residents possess: any former individualities are smoothed into generalisations, and the typical and the exceptional are merged into accounts now said to reflect common practice.

> Sometimes [voyagers] brought things with them, such as whale teeth, but they went on a [separate] canoe. The canoe used to store the teeth on board was *Taravati*; it was a companion canoe for *Hakautu*. Once on board that canoe, nobody could ask another person for something—it was forbidden. If you were hungry, you simply helped yourself. When we went and brought those things—the teeth—it was always on that canoe, and we returned on it. When we brought them on that canoe, along with the leader who divided them among the people from the island [of Takū]—some were for these families, others for those other families, to pay for women [as bride price]. When you married, you paid for your wife with it. The tooth was like money; that's how people on the island paid for their women, together with the complete back of a green turtle.
>
> Sometime later, the canoe went again on her voyage; *Hakautu* went and brought frigate bird bones and whale bones to use for tattooing women. They brought them from Samoa—they brought them for tattooing fish designs on their legs. They called it the tattooing comb. Those are what they brought from Samoa, and other islands—the combs.

Not all voyaging was plain sailing, so to speak. Avo outlined a reaction to extreme weather while at sea:

> If the canoe was at sea and the sea was rough, they put out an anchor rope about two metres long, but they would still remain anchored at that place [i.e., without any weight attached]. They stayed there for some time, then continued on the voyage. If the canoe then came ashore at Peilau, Liuaniua or Sekeiana, they had to cover the prow so nobody would see it; that's how *Hakautu* used to be on her voyaging.

Although no recorded account details the structure of a clan's mythological canoe, fragmentary information from several men suggests that it carried over into the traditional era. Some details of an ancient canoe type were noted by Parkinson (1999) after a visit in 1884. Models were routinely made by a few men as artefacts for sale from the 1960s (Fig. 1), although the source of the modellers' own information is not known, and the only known illustration (Haddon and Hornell 1991 [II]: 77) relies entirely on secondhand sources (Parkinson 1999; Sarfert and Damm 1931). When Andrew Cheyne visited the island in 1843 he observed "ten large canoes" approaching his vessel

(Shineberg 1971: 295); these could conceivably have been the community's entire fleet of voyaging canoes, although it seems unlikely and no details are provided. During his own visit, Parkinson saw such canoes in storage because of lack of manpower to crew them following a devastating epidemic, and provided the only firsthand description (1991: 235):

> Years ago, on my first visit to Tauu [*sic*], I saw big canoes lying in separate huts on the beach. Even at that time they could no longer be used by the diminished population because they were too heavy to be launched into the water, even with the combined strength of all the men. These canoes were up to 14 metres long and 1.5 metres deep, and were built from the keel upwards from planks laid side by side. Both fore and aft they had long steeply rising end pieces, carefully carved, and also at both ends a canopy which depicted roughly carved relief figures. Unfortunately, on this first visit I did not have enough time to take a photograph, but I was able to throw together rapidly the following drawing of one of the end pieces [Fig. 2]. When I paid a visit to Tauu several years later wind and weather had destroyed the canoes to such an extent that only small fragments remained. The natives said to me that earlier, people had sailed in these vessels far out to sea to catch *lavenga* (*Ruvettus*) [oilfish], and that large triangular mat sails were used. The drawing shows an oval plate at the upper end, hollowed out a little, like a dish; this served as a seat, according to the headman.

In the course of gathering information for a Takū dictionary (which was not published), Irwin Howard collected names for parts of the ancient canoe. Twenty years later, while I myself was compiling a dictionary (Moyle 2011a), I obtained a copy of Howard's manuscript and with permission included the terms he collected. During that same period, however, knowledge of virtually all of the terms had disappeared. Howard's information, with acknowledgements, is incorporated into the dictionary. Both sets of research illustrate the significance of detail in canoe design: Howard recorded 34 names of canoe parts for the *vaka hailā* sailing canoe, and I myself recorded a further 65 terms applicable to contemporary canoes.

Current names for the ancient canoe itself vary, some men calling it *vaka henua* 'traditional canoe' (lit. 'island canoe'), others by its mode of locomotion: *vaka hailā* 'sailing canoe' (lit. 'canoe using a sail'). As one man told me, *Te inoa te vaka henua e ttapa te henua nei* 'It's the name of the traditional canoe that identifies this island'. Nomenclature for the accompanying canoe is less clear, some calling it *vaka toko* (lit. 'poled canoe'), *vakahānota* 'fishing canoe' or *soa vaka* 'companion canoe'. As Nes Mōmoa summarised: "Some were cargo canoes—there were sailing canoes and cargo canoes. When the sailing canoes departed, the cargo canoes followed behind them, and when the sailing canoes returned, the cargo canoes accompanied them."

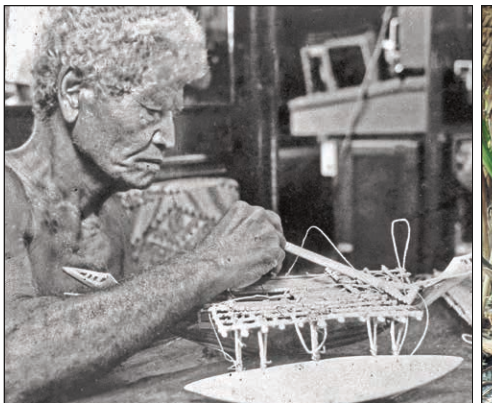

Figure 1. Models of the *vaka hailā* and their manufacturers. Left: Sante Tekapu. Photographer and date unknown; Right: Pūtahu E Lasi. Photograph by Hamish Macdonald, 2000.

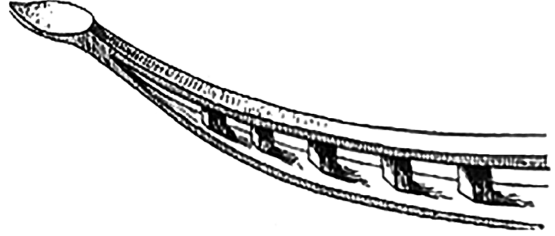

Figure 2. After Parkinson (1999: Fig. 90, p. 235).

An assumption is that cargo canoes performed as well as sailing canoes in order to stay together during voyages, but Takū appear to have no information on the sailing characteristics of either craft. Using contemporary clan names as reference points, Takū identify the names of the ancient clan sailing canoes and their accompanying cargo canoes as:

Hare Ata clan: *Hakautu* and *Maraerae*
Hare Mania clan: *Te Puraka* and *Sukimarau*
Hare Māsani clan: *Matarākei* and *Purenakina*
Hare Nāoro clan: *Tāoa* and *Te Vaelani*
Hare Ania clan: *Te Vakaroa* [cargo canoe name not known]

Using stellar navigation to sail by day and night (see Chinnery 1897–1971: 77; Moyle 2003), canoes heading east from Takū followed a sequence of islands (*aturou*), all Polynesian Outliers—Nukumanu, Peilau, Sikeiana, Liuaniua, Taumako and Tikopia—although whether by making landfall at each or merely sighting and passing is not clear. Curiously, while on Nukumanu in 1984, Feinberg (1995:165) was told that canoes from Takū did not sail there, a claim not borne out by information given by Takū to Bassett in 1921 (1969: 106) and Chinnery in 1927 (1897–1971:77), and by the appearance in Takū genealogies of Nukumanu names three and four generations ago. Elsewhere (Moyle 2007: 22–30) I outline Takū understanding of traditional contact with other islands, summarised here in Table 1 (see also Fig. 3):

Table 1. Summary of contact with neighbouring Polynesian islands.

	Mythological era	Traditional era	19th century
Nukuria	Founding ancestor deposited there by canoe first visiting Takū		
Nukumanu		Waypoint en route to/ from Tikopia	Several drift arrivals, including Manauī, who taught a new fishing technique
Peilau		Waypoint en route to/ from Tikopia	Apuku, Takua drifted to Takū, introduced new fishing techniques and sets of *tuki* songs
Liuaniua	Founding ancestor deposited there; departure point for one canoe's discovery of Takū	Waypoint en route to/ from Tikopia	Drift canoes brought epidemic which decimated population
Sikaiana	Ancestral canoe visits	Waypoint en route to/ from Tikopia	
Tikopia	Ancestral canoe visits	Source of turmeric	
'Sāmoa'	Residence of several founding ancestors; ancestral canoe visits to obtain a dance; source of tattooing combs, food	Commonly suggested as land of origin	

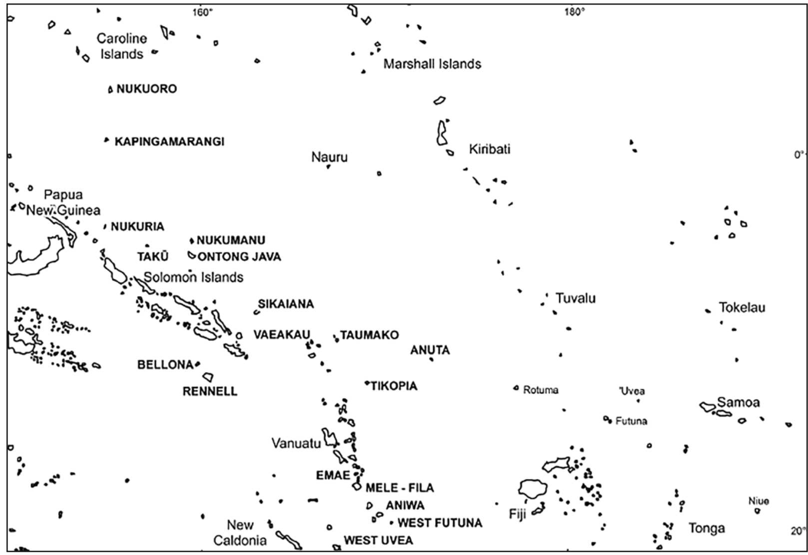

Figure 3. The Southwest Pacific, with Polynesian Outlier names capitalised (after Feinberg and Scaglion 2012, reproduced with permission).

With the exception of a myth in which Tikopia is a waypoint in the homeward voyage of the canoe *Tāoa* (Moyle 2007: 26), travel to that island was for the stated purpose of obtaining the highly valued turmeric, used in a variety of contexts on Takū itself (Firth 1939, 1940; Moyle 2018: 161–69). Narratives record that outward travel was via Nukumanu and Peilau, although only in song lyrics are details preserved. One *lū,* as recorded by Pōssiri Pōpī, commemorates such a round trip:

Tū e te laki hau akoe, ko taku vaka nei.	The west wind blows hard, here is my canoe.
[te hati] A vausia taku laki ē, ko taku vaka nei, ia usu iē.	[refrain] Give me a west wind, here is my canoe, *ia usu iē.*
Hau nau ki aruna ē,	So I can go "up" [i.e., to Tikopia],
[hakamau hua] Ko taku vaka nei, ia usu iē.	[refrain] Here is my canoe, *ia usu iē.*
A ni tokia ko tuahenua ē,	I arrived at the rear of the island,
A moea ko Sikeiana ē,	It was Sikeiana,

A ni tokia ko Tuamarama ē,	I arrived at Tuamarama,
A terekia tua te ākau nei ē,	I moved around the reef,
A terekia tua o tono ē,	I moved around the mangroves,
A terekia tua te henua ē,	I traversed the island,
A terekia tua Sāpai ē,	I traversed Sāpai,
A sura te mouna te henua ē,	The island's mountains appeared,
A tuku ki te atu hanohano ē,	I left it for the outward chain,
A sura te mouna Taumako ē,	Taumako's mountains appeared,
A tuku ki te atu hanohano ē,	I left it for the outward chain,
A rono te ariki te henua ē, ko te rena ni taria ma nei.	The chief received the news that the turmeric had been collected.
A rono te ariki Tikopia e, ako te hati nā ni saria maiē, ko taku vaka nei, ia usu iē.	Tikopia's chief received the news, of my canoe, that the turmeric had been collected, *ia usu iē.*
A moe Tupa mā ki Tikopia e, ia usu iē.	Tupa and the others were there on Tikopia, *ia usu iē.*

A further *lū* recounts a challenge, ritual or otherwise, on the arrival at Tikopia of the (unnamed) *ariki*'s cargo canoe *Taumaraerae*:

Ā iri ko te pū ka tū ki te noho tāua.	The trumpet blew towards our group [i.e., from the shore].
[hati] E ai taku roto ka vōvare, o aiē e iē.	[refrain] My anger was uncontrollable.
Ā iri ko Marae,	Then *Taumaraerae's* own trumpet sounded,
Aimu ē ni tani ki Aniti,	Aimu cried out to Aniti,
Aniti ni tani ki Aimu.	Aniti cried out to Aimu.
Ā ni puia e ko tai ki te marae.	[The canoe] was halted at the beach.
[hati] O ai taku vaka ko kā raka ku ravea, āiē	[refrain] My canoe almost passed it by, but it was discovered.
Ai saruru ke te mouna Tikopia aiē usu e iē.	I arrived at Tikopia's mountain, *iē.*
Ā tere mai te vaka ka tere lāoi,	The canoe had sailed in perfect conditions,
Ā tere mai ko Marae ka tere lāoi.	*Taumaraerae* had sailed in perfect conditions.

Ā tū i mua ma te nāsau,	But someone stood in the path with a spear,
Ā tū i mua ma te lorokua.	But someone stood in the path with a club.

In his own account of voyaging, Nes referred to the presence of non-Takū passengers on the canoe, although it is unclear whether the conveyance of such people constituted a reason for the voyages or was merely incidental, or whether such acts were common or rare:

> They sailed to islands such as Peilau, Liuaniua and Sāmoa. They sailed on those canoes, such as *Tāoa* and *Hakautu*, travelling to Nukumanu to collect people from Nukumanu and take them to Liuaniua, where they left them. They took people from Liuaniua and dropped them at Tikopia and Taumako. They travelled about between all those islands.

Like that from the mythological era, much information about traditional voyaging is patchy and contains no chronological anchors to land-based events on Takū or the other islands visited, but it is free from the other's sequence-based areas of dispute. Canoe captains were men possessing skills that present-day Takū can describe but not explain or emulate, a situation they commonly attribute to the greater strength of contact with ancestor spirits. As with the mythological past, so too here, events are recounted in *llū* songs, evoked in group performances whose lyrics are known but frequently not understood or understood differently because of the opacity of their allusions, but sung nonetheless in what all those present hope are error-free performances out of fear of retribution from ever-listening ancestral spirits. Parkinson (1999) does not state how many large sailing canoes he saw on the beach at Takū Island in 1884, but their sheer weight would certainly require large numbers of adults to haul each one up to its storage area, numbers simply not available after the epidemic. The demise of the *vaka henua* and *vaka toko* spelt the end of planked canoes (although for different reasons) in eventual favour of a solid-hull type which has lasted until the present.

HISTORIC PERIOD

Relatively few voyaging narratives can be dated with any degree of confidence to the past 150 years, and culture-bearers' knowledge after the epidemic was confined to the survivors who, at least in a photograph of the entire community possibly taken by Parkinson (Fig. 4), included none who were very young or very old. But at around that same time Takū were introduced to a new style of pelagic fishing and perhaps also a new style of canoe capable of going

out into the ocean; oral tradition relating to both the activity and the artefact abounds, particularly in the form of group songs. Of the many song genres in Takū's repertoire, *tuki* are the most numerous, two or more composed after each local death. The function of the *tuki* is worded succinctly—*ki ahu te tautai* 'to praise the master fisherman'—and each song focuses on one aspect of fishing: catching tuna (*sī*), catching sharks (*pakū*), catching oilfish (*hakasoro*), constructing a new canoe (*tīhuna*). Within the *tuki* genre, most are in praise of a successful tuna expedition.

The multi-rod *sī* technique for tuna fishing is said to have been introduced from Wuvulu Island in Manus via Nukuria while Takū's epidemic survivors were living on Kapeatu Island, and proved so popular that the old single-pole trolling method called *aro i le pā* 'paddling with a lure' was abandoned. The new technique—in which the five crew members live-bait with small reef fish (Fig. 5), then stand and flick rods out simultaneously—requires a canoe around nine metres long, and establishment of the name *vakasī* 'tuna-fishing canoe' suggests that a canoe of that size was introduced at the same time. Of the several prestige pelagic fish known to fishers, tuna occupy a special position, as evident in expeditions exclusively for that species after a local

Figure 4. The population of Takū after the epidemic. Photographer unknown; possibly Richard Parkinson.

death, seeking confirmation in the form of a good catch of the soul's successful arrival at the appropriate afterworld (Moyle 2007: 72). But regardless of the fish species caught, the canoe itself is called *vakasī.* When fishing for tuna, the five crew members occupy set positions. From bow to stern, these are crew member, fishing leader (*tautai*), live bait dispenser (*tanata te maunu*), second-in-command (*kausaki*) and crew member. (One clan reverses this sequence, for unknown reasons.) The smaller canoes, *huāvaka* or *tamāvaka*, appear to have co-existed with the *vaka hailā,* and were in common use throughout the fieldwork years; in 1998, for example, 52 of these canoes were in use, and at one point a further ten were simultaneously under construction. The sole difference in *vakasī* construction that men say they themselves have observed is limited to the material for its sails (see below).

As in earlier times, so too in the historic period, foreign canoe occupants brought songs to the island. Takū's large repertoire of *tuki* songs includes ten or more which relate memorable events on neighbouring Outliers and which are said to have been composed and taught by drifters from those islands (Moyle 2007: 246), including Nukumanu and Liuaniua (Bassett 1969: 106; Sarfert and Damm 1931: 501), bringing individuals who became influential

Figure 5. Women weave the long basket (left) in which bait fish are kept alive when fishing for tuna (right). Note the two leaf amulets attached to the basket struts to attract the target fish. Photograph by Richard Moyle.

in several areas. Manauī, who drifted from Nukumanu in a canoe now known to Takū as *Te Arohi*, was adopted into the family of the then *ariki* Telauika who, having no son of his own, passed the title on to him. Manauī is credited with the introduction of the *hakasoro* technique of nightfishing for the oilfish. Similarly, two brothers, Apuku and Takua, drifted from Peilau in *Ssakaina* and *Te Manumanu* respectively, and were adopted into separate clans. The brothers are credited with the introduction of the *kū* and *pakū* techniques of ocean fishing, because of which some believe they alone deserve the title *tautai te noho* 'clan master fishermen'. It is also believed that present knowledge of the phases of the moon derives from the drift arrival of Tevaru, a man from Liuaniua. By contrast, and unsung for praise or any other function, the drift arrival carrying possibly the greatest consequences was the discovery offshore in the mid-1800s of a cluster of canoes from Peilau tied together at the bows; of the occupants, all but a few women were dead. Takū offered hospitality to the survivors, evidently unaware that these women were carriers of the same smallpox virus that they had tried to evade in their home island. Takū's population plunged, ultimately reaching a mere 12 (Friederici 1912: 83).

THE CONTEMPORARY CANOE

Although Takū's oral tradition relating to the mythological and traditional past is in the private custody of individuals, that relating to the present is largely the diametric opposite, being in the public custody of groups. The activities of canoes in this fishing-dependent community are crafted into song, previously by each clan's specialist composer-poet but now by a wider spread of creative individuals, and performed for much of the 20 hours of weekly singing, dancing and drinking occurring during the fieldwork period. The intention is explicit: to acquaint the greatest number of people with the details of recent fishing successes.

The exception to the public knowledge of canoe exploits in fishing and racing lies in knowledge of the construction of canoe sails and hulls; indeed, such information is carefully restricted to individual families. By 1921, woven sails had been replaced by cotton (Bassett 1969: 105), replaced in turn by blue plastic bearing the initials of Bougainville Copper Limited, for which several Takū men once worked. A triangular shape is used, although precise dimensions may vary according to hull size and wind strength. Many men possess up to three sails, two for varying wind speed and one for racing. Although the mast base's position is fixed for any canoe, resting on the central outrigger pole, there is scope for variation in the mast height and sail size. To achieve a full billow in the wind, and thus maximise speed through the water, fabric for the sail's leech is cut curving slightly into the sail, whereas the other two sides are cut the opposite way. Variations in the extent and depth of the curves form a frequent topic of conversation among men, and more than a

little speculation as, for example, when one canoe in a race is clearly faster. Similar conversations focus on hull design. Some men claim their canoes are fastest under certain conditions, e.g., in a crosswind or tail wind, because of the cut of their sail and the design of the canoe hull, and indeed during the fieldwork period there were very few instances of a single canoe triumphing in a variety of weather conditions. Material for the mast is usually bamboo that happens to drift to the island, although poles from Bougainville were in steady demand when the island had relatively regular shipping. Canoe parts and canoe construction feature in *tuki* songs, as noted below.

As in the past, canoes of any size continue to be named. Five canoes, the *vakasī* of each clan elder, retained their names throughout the historical period and, according to oral tradition, long before. They are, respectively, *Te Amarua* (formerly *te noho i tua* group, now Hare Ata clan), *Tāoa* (formerly *te noho i tai* group, now Hare Mania clan), *Te Huaroto* (formerly *te noho i tokorau* group, now Hare Māsani), *Mauakena* (formerly *te noho i saupuku* group, now Hare Nāoro clan) and *Fauvaka* (formerly *te noho i loto* group, now Hare Ania clan). Any elder, and any man, may own a smaller canoe, freely named. The ownership, and therefore the name, of most canoes is known to resident adults, although a few had the name painted near the bow. A survey of *tamāvaka* canoe names in 2006 indicated a wide range of sources, both historical and contemporary, local and foreign. These can be grouped:

Nukuria (the Outlier closest to Takū and source of spouses for several generations):

Te Rekireki	A Nukuria term for a drifted log
Te Maehe	A Nukuria term for a type of canoe
Te Inaho Tāmaki	A personal name from Nukuria
Tuiatua	A personal name of Nukuria origin

Flora:

Te Ruturutu, Te Hetau and *Hukahuka* (tree types), and *Tiaravau* (the term for a drifting log)

Ancient canoe names:

Vaiano, Sinārutai, Marihau (a canoe which drifted here from Luaniua in the time of *te ariki* Telauika)

English origin:

3 ses (a transliteration of 'threes'), *Te Tingky* 'The Dinghy'. (Unusually, one of Takū's canoes in 1999 was caught up in the personal name avoidance practiced after a local death. The name of the deceased man, Kanu, was considered too close to the word 'canoe', so his family thereafter substituted *te vaka* 'the canoe'.)

Old personal and former canoe names:

> *Morona*, *Mauakena*, *Ahelo*, *Tuiatua*, *Marenahau*, *Haivelo*, *Takua*, *Hauvaka*, *Te Huaroto*, *Hakatautai*, *Simatara*, *Hakatautai*, *Hīmau.* (Names may derive from the fishing exploits of canoes, especially outstanding success, e.g., *Te Rima Nā Lau* '500', *Matahitu* '70', *Matasivo* '90', *Varu Nā Rau* '800', *Simata* '1,000'.)

In addition to carrying and perpetuating a clan name, canoes whose fishing exploits are celebrated in *tuki* songs (and there were more than 300 in the active repertoire during the fieldwork years) are always named in statements (and occasional exaggerations) of precise praise.

The association of the *vakasī* with ancestral spirits—their initial embodiment in amulets and their routinely invoked presence while at sea—imbues the canoe with an enduring value which continues after it rots or is otherwise unable to put to sea. Unlike the smaller canoes, which are routinely chopped up for firewood, an elder's *vakasī* hull is laid against the owner's house (Fig. 6) to supplement the concentration of ancestral presence within ritual sacra stored inside the building (Moyle 2018: 155–61).

Figure 6. The rotting remains of a *vakasī* beside its owner's house. Photograph by Richard Moyle.

CANOE CONSTRUCTION

Although canoe parts merit occasional mention in song lyrics, a more frequent nautical focus is on a canoe's sailing and fishing capability. However, the skills of constructing a canoe hull are formally acknowledged in a discrete category of praise song called *tuki tīhuna* 'praising the craftsman'. The praise embodied in the lyrics is, however, indirect, focussing more on the techniques of building and the resultant superior performance of the finished canoe. For example:

Tō iho te toki ki taku hare	Bring my adze from my house
Tō iho te toki ki Hareata	Bring the adze from Hare Ata
Aku mata tokatoka ki te lākau: ko nau se tama tihuna ē.	My eyes gaze at the log: I am a canoe builder.
Ni karana ko nau ki taku tama, vurusia tonu te lākau areha teretere ki ana murivaka.	I called on my son to turn the log properly, going around on the stern.
Ni karana Teata ki Tekaso, vurusia tonu te lākau areha teretere ki ana murivaka.	Teata called on Tekaso to turn the log properly, going around on the stern.
E taku vaka tā ki te noho a te mārama, hakaoti ai ko taku manava.	I built my canoe according to the stage of the moon, using my techniques.
E taku pinipini tā ki te noho a te mārama, hakaoti ai ko taku manava.	My canoe of *pinipini* wood was carved according to the stage of the moon, using my techniques.
E tū nau i tai a taku hare ni mamata nau ki taku vaka e teretere i te namo a taihare.	I stood at the beach by my house, watching my canoe sail along the beachfront.
E tū soko Peo i tai a Hare Ata ni mamata ko nau ki taku vaka e teretere i te namo a taihare.	Apeo stood alone at the beach by Hare Ata, watching my canoe sail along the beachfront.

More than for other kinds of songs, the creators of *tuki tīhuna* poetry make assumptions on several levels, including widespread awareness of the identity of the owners of named canoes and their relation to other named individuals (e.g., helpful grandparents, generous in-laws), and also techniques of canoe construction and sailing. During the fieldwork period, however, audience members present at some first public performances were observed asking one another for confirmation of their own first reactions. One such song, presented below as an example of the genre, spoke of two local practices, the first of which is adjustment to the vertical placement of the outrigger poles, by means of notches in the hull, to maximise performance under sail:

> The sequence of actions in attaching an outrigger to a new canoe hull, a group activity called *hauhau* 'lashing', is fixed. The first act is to locate the exact centre of the hull: a length of sennet cord the length of the hull is cut, folded in two then laid along the gunwale from each end in succession to first locate and then confirm the position. It is here that the *hōhoa* notch is cut to accommodate the central outrigger pole. The canoe owner places his thumb on the mark, the first joint bent inside, and the distance down of the thumb tip is marked, representing the depth of the rectangular notch. The process is repeated on the other side of the hull. Both notches are cut slightly shallower than the thumb mark, to allow for adjustment following sea trials, should this be necessary. The depth of notches for the other outrigger poles—two more for a *tamāvaka*, four more for a *vakasī*—are measured by eye. (Field notes)

The second practice is the resetting of the gaff while at sea to compensate for a change in wind speed or direction:

> Among the adjustments possible for a canoe under sail is the height above water of the gaff, and thence the sail itself. Several canoe masts have three marks (*hōuna*) near the top, consisting of sennit lashings a handspan apart indicating the point where the halyard is to be attached, and located by experiment to suit particular weather conditions, although they are used most regularly when racing either close to the wind, across or downwind. (Field notes)

Undaunted by the amount of technical information in its lyrics, the greatest of any I recorded, this particular song has been in the active repertoire for more than 40 years:

Īē, ko nau ni tipu ake ma taku tīhuna hoki,	*Īē*, I simply grew up having my skills.
Saere nau ma taku toki nei.	I set off with my adze.
Īē, Tautea ni tipu ake ma tana tīhuna.	*Īē*, [I,] Tautea, grew up having my skills.
Āīē, huri ake te lākau i taku ahana, uhuki nau te toki a taku tamana hoki.	*Āīē*, a log was at my beachfront, so I simply took hold of my father's adze.
Āīē, huri ake te ruturutu i tai a taku ahana, uhuki nau te paela ania Willie hoki.	*Āīē*, a *ruturutu* log was at my beachfront, so I took hold of Willie's curved adze.
Āīē, uru atu nau ki loto o māua hare, taratara kiā nau ta koe lā se māramara pēhea e tuku iho i te tua vaka hoki?	*Āīē*, as I entered our house, my darling said to me, "What type of skills are you using on the hull of the canoe?"

Āīē, uru atu Tautea ki māua hare, taratara mai Alapau kiā nau ta koe lā se tīhuna pēhea? Tēnei aki tatakai tō ia Willie hoki.	*Āīē*, as [I,] Tautea, entered our house, Alapau asked me, “What kind of expert are are you?” “That’s simply what I learnt from Willie” [I replied].
Āīē, tausua ko te henua ki te vaka e tauara sau ake nau te kini i katea, ko te Vaiano tuku atu nau ki te vasi taha, taku vaka tere ki te kaha e sokotasi, taku muri la e tū e hai matani hoki.	*Āīē*, people joked about the canoe which could sail into the wind (I had removed a little from the starboard side notch) when *Te Vaiano* was put onto its port side. My canoe used the first sail-setting mark, and it simply caught the wind.
Āīē, tausua ko Nukutoa ki te vaka e tauara sau ake nau te kini i katea, ko te Vaiano tuku atu nau kit e vasi amo, taku vaka terekina kaha e lua, taku muri la e tū hai matani hoki.	*Āīē*, the island joked about the canoe which could sail into the wind (I had removed a little from the starboard side notch) when *Te Vaiano* was put onto its port side. My canoe used the second sail-setting mark, and it simply caught the wind.

Audience tolerance of such detail in songs is, however, neither universal nor unlimited, and new compositions routinely attracted comments both favourable and adverse. For example, in 2000, at a rehearsal for the first public performance of a new *tuki tīhuna,* a singer criticised the composer to his face, saying future songs by him would likely be so detailed as to include his early morning bowel movements. The rehearsal broke up in disarray.

Prior to Emma Forsayth’s purchase of the atoll in 1886 (Moyle 2007: 34), Takū—and in particular, Takū Island—was forested, and larger trees could be felled and planks cut for making canoes. After the subsequent gift of part of the atoll to Emma’s niece, Phoebe Caulder, canoe-building was not possible, not just because of a shortage of manpower but also because Caulder ordered her imported workers to fell the trees on Takū Island to make way for a coconut plantation, forcing reliance on the chance drifting to the atoll of large logs for canoe hulls, a practice still active. (Similar dependence is reported from Liuaniua (Woodford 1916: 33) and Peilau and Nukumanu (Feinberg 1995: 162), and use of drift logs is reported from Kapingamarangi (Lieber 1994: 6).) Some elders resisted, and indeed refused to leave the island when the others were transferred to nearby Kapeatu Island, to live there in longhouses for almost 40 years. Trees around the remaining elders’ houses were spared—indeed, they are still visible—but too small in number for sustainable lumber. The several remaining *vaka hailā* rotted and were not replaced with similarly planked craft.

Until the 1990s it was the practice for a man to report to the *ariki* the discovery of a log on the reef or in the lagoon or washed up on shore, and for the *ariki* to determine its fate. As with many established practices, non-adherence renders the culprits vulnerable to supernatural retribution, as identified frequently but privately by *post hoc ergo propter hoc* rationalisation after a local death or injury. Once ownership is decided, the log is refloated on a high tide and walked to a point on the shore close to one of the canoe-building yards, where it is dragged up using ropes by a team of men, in a process called *ssoro te lākau* 'dragging the log'. The log's considerable weight is believed to be reduced by invocations made by the *ariki* to local spirits. Elsewhere (Moyle 2007: 91–92) I have presented the texts and translations of two *ssoro* invocations, last used in 1997. The occasion of the dragging is the first in a series of canoe-related activities where the likely existence of unknown but potentially dangerous spirits is acknowledged, and appropriate invocation made to known ancestors used as a counter-measure. Indirectly, such practices reflect the high value attached to the successful completion of a new canoe on this fishing-dependent atoll.

Figure 7. Congestion in the storage area at Sialeva Point. Photograph by Richard Moyle.

An informal canoe-building yard lies on the ocean side of Sialeva Point (Fig. 7), informal in that it is chosen for convenience, lying less than 30 metres from the beach where the finished canoe will be launched. Until the space demands for completed canoes to be stored at Tāloki Point became great, a further yard existed there, its place now taken by an area on the island's north coast. Construction of the hull is undertaken by one or more senior clan men, if not the discoverer of the log, and normally takes around two months of daily work (see Moyle 2011b). (If a log is large, two small canoes can be cut from it; in 1997, three entire *tamāvaka* were cut from one very large log, said to be a record.) The hull shape is sketched on the log, the keel uppermost, and the general outline adzed before measuring and discussion allow the sides to be roughly cut, the log turned over and the interior marked and initially excavated, using a curved-bladed adze for the finishing work (whose strokes remain faintly visible in the completed canoe). The outside is then revisited, some adzing so delicate that the shavings are thin to the point of translucence (Fig. 8). Occupying many days, the whole process is punctuated by frequent pauses for solitary deliberation and shared discussions.

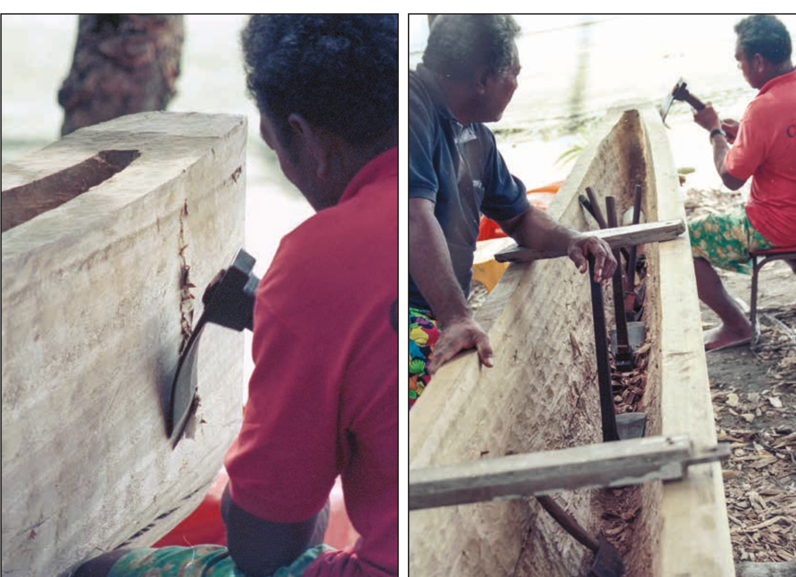

Figure 8 (left and right). Adzing the exterior of the hull. Note the collection of adzes at hand. Photographs by Richard Moyle.

Although no formal programme of apprenticeship exists, a young log-discoverer and future canoe owner may express an interest in learning the techniques, and attend for as long as daily family duties permit. Such are the numbers of new canoes under construction at any one time that most men can call on the services of at least one canoe builder within their own extended family, and there are no accounts of log ownership being abandoned for lack of available assistance. Metal adze blades have long replaced the former shell items, although Howard (1976) recorded the descriptive names of several types once in use (the names are reproduced in Moyle 2011a: 329). Although the general outline of a canoe hull is constant among Takū's canoes, deliberate variation may occur in the details as individual builders optionally experiment to improve performance both in itself and also in races against other canoes. Details (*sēkati*)—such as changes to hull symmetry or to the position on the keel where upward curving begins (*uhutana*)—are kept confidential but, if successful on the water, potentially form part of family or clan knowledge able to be passed to younger generations. The succession is, however, capable of subversion. Apeo was the *ariki* four generations before the present titleholder. While still a child (and therefore too young to learn canoe-building skills from his grandfather figure Teasi, a renowned builder), Teasi taught another man—Terupo—with instructions to pass the information on only to Apeo when the young man reached maturity. But Terupo passed on only part of this information to Apeo, saving the remainder for his own son, Marena. *Tuki tīhuna* songs referring to the log typically use the first-person perspective—that of the recently deceased fisherman whose skills are being celebrated by the performance. The care and attention to detail is further reflected in the large number of terms pertaining to parts of the canoe (Fig.9).

On a remote atoll where fish constitutes the staple food, it is unsurprising that the object of a man's greatest pride is his canoe: more songs are composed and sung and more dances are choreographed and performed in enduring praise of canoe exploits than any other topic. And, although Takū society is egalitarian, exceptions are permitted, and most of those involve canoes. In a temporary and controlled departure from the normal authority of men over their wives, Takū organise occasional competitions involving men and women from either one or both parts of the village. Most competitions incorporate smaller canoes for either sailing around a predetermined course inside the lagoon (Fig. 10) or catching the most fish within a set time frame. The former are called *taki*; the latter are *tuata* and may optionally include fishermen's wives. The year 1994 was a highlight for Takū's canoe owners, with large numbers of crew on hand, large numbers of seaworthy craft, favourable winds and a brief abundance of material goods on the island for use as prizes. In the course of three months, four races were held, featuring 18, 22, 26 and

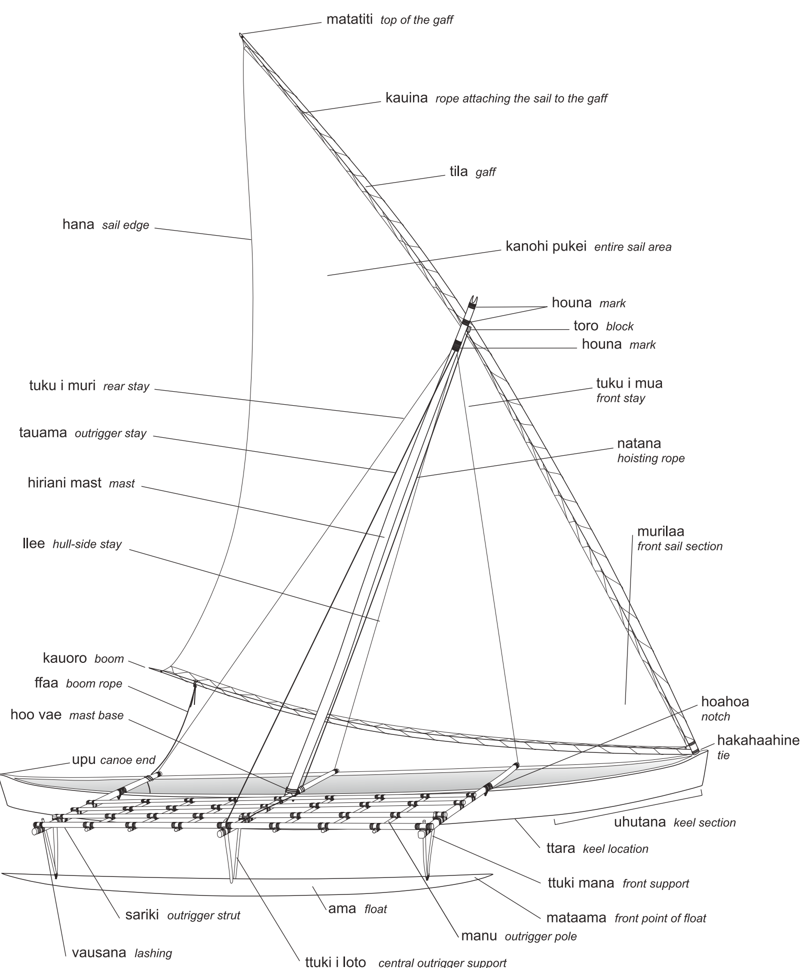

Figure 9. Principal parts of a Takū canoe (from Moyle 2011a: 58).

Figure 10. The start of a canoe race. Photograph by Richard Moyle.

23 canoes respectively (see also Moyle 2014). By 2007, however, of the seven intact hulls in the storage areas, only four or five craft were seaworthy, and racing itself using the large canoes had stopped; by 2010 that number had dropped further. (Most recently, canoe building has reportedly ceased in favour of fibreglass monohulls called *mona*, and these are not raced.) Despite the popularity of the races in the recent past, however, they are not the subject of songs.

The canoe may be the only item of Takū material culture incorporated into metaphorical speech. An expression relates to Nukutoa Island lying next to the larger Takū Island, in much the same way that a canoe float lies next to the hull. As the *ariki* Avo explained to me, *Takū rā ko te vaka, Nukutoa rā ko te ama, arā e ttapa i te henua nei ma ko Te Amarua—Nukutoa.* 'Takū [Island] is the canoe, Nukutoa [Island] is the float, and so we call this island—Nukutoa—the Second Float'. There is also a more or less straight line of rock on a raised reef outcrop between the southern point of Nukutoa and the northern point of Takū Island where people commonly walk en route to and from their gardens. One man, Apava, had no canoe of his own (relying on others to find fish for his family: atypical, but he was something of a recluse). Because Apava was obliged to walk to and from his garden on Takū, this line was privately called "Apava's canoe".

* * *

Takū's collective memory identifies two types of canoe that present residents have never seen—those of the founding ancestors and those of the traditional era—oral accounts of the one emphasising voyaging alone and of the other additionally detailing its captains' many skills. Of those skills, men say that although they understand the mechanics of particular actions taken at sea, particularly in times of danger, they can only surmise the existence of intimate links with supportive ancestors in animal or other form on a level unachievable for themselves. In both oral tradition and contemporary practice, Takū men invoke the ancestral presence for reasons of protection and productivity, both of which apply to canoe usage: safety of the vessel and its crew during travel or during bad weather, and a bountiful catch of target fish. Thus, although the means of achieving sea-based goals have changed, the general purposes have not, sustaining in part a sense of continuity and connection with the past that accompanies an enduring affection for the handmade, family-made artefact which, in some instances, retains the name of its former iterations. Such affection progresses into the arena of socially acceptable exaggeration when the fishing exploits of a single man are transformed through specially composed songs into group confirmations of idealised life sung by all the men, and potentially remain in the active repertoire beyond the composer's lifetime. Even in the finely focused lyrics of such songs, however, the canoe—always named—receives equal credit for the catch.

The arrival of the *vakasī* following the exit of the *vaka hailā* illustrates Takū's willingness and ability to adapt, in this case through the exigencies of feeding a remnant community with pelagic fish and the ability to exploit an introduced and superior catching method. Other forms of enduring adaptation relate to small changes privately made in hull and sail design alongside, of course, the many operational decisions about tactics a canoe owner makes each time he puts to sea.

General recognition of the skills of canoe builders and crews, bolstered by opportunities for immediate celebration in feasting and enduring praise in song, and by further opportunities for individual recognition and material rewards resulting from occasional competitive fishing or racing—all these arise from the sustained presence of large numbers of seaworthy canoes, which in turn reflect the high dependence on the canoe for the community's economic sustainability. As recorded in oral tradition as the material object that provided Takū with its first instance of the principle of primacy of access as instigating and controlling social privilege, the canoe's influence in that parallel plane has remained effective throughout the period of habitation.

To adapt the title of Lieber's (1994) book, use of the canoe provides indeed "more than a living". That said, the recent reduction in wooden canoe numbers and substitution of fibreglass paddle-only craft have the potential to bring about social as well as economic changes.

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NOTE

1. Raymond Firth (pers. comm. 27 July 2000) believed he had no information on such voyaging to Tikopia or of an *ariki* of that name, and suggested that the place names in this particular song might have been the result of "creative imagination rather than historical record". There is, of course, no way of telling.

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ABSTRACT

The article examines how Takū position the canoe in their understanding of the past and exploit it to achieve temporary individual prominence within an otherwise egalitarian society. The canoe on Takū exists in two spheres of reference: in the collective memory of two bygone eras preserved largely in fragmented mythology and ancient song lyrics, and as the item of contemporary material culture crucially involved in the economic life of the small community, whose fishing exploits and the skills of its builders and crews fill the lyrics of hundreds of songs in the active repertoire. The dearth of published information on Takū generally and its canoes in particular is offset by the strength of its oral tradition, which recounts and interprets the activities of two canoe types revered but never seen, as well as two more currently in use. As arguably the last location where Polynesian religion is still practiced as the norm, it is also possible to examine the roles of ritual and belief in the canoe's prominence, in particular the connections between voyagers, builders and ancestor spirits. In unequivocal statements most frequently formalised in song lyrics, creators and users of a canoe can be successful, let alone achieve enduring fame, only if they know and use the appropriate invocations, acknowledging as they do so the social force of precedent. At least in part, the ongoing significance of the canoe, particularly the manner in which it is used, depends on maintenance of such precedent.

Keywords: Takū, canoes, canoe songs (*tuki*), oral tradition, mythology, Polynesian Outlier, Polynesian religion, voyaging

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THE "BLACK PACIFIC" AND DECOLONISATION IN MELANESIA: PERFORMING *NÉGRITUDE* AND *INDIGÈNITUDE*

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In the 19th century Melanesians were pejoratively labelled black by European maritime explorers (*mela* = black; *nesia* = islands).[1] Emerging scholarship on the Black Pacific (Shilliam 2015; Solis 2015a, 2015b; Swan [as interviewed by Blain 2016]), a parallel to Paul Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic* (1993), focuses on historical and contemporary identifications and articulations ("affinities, affiliations and collaborations" [Solis 2015b: 358]) between Oceanian and African diasporic peoples, cultures and politics based upon shared Otherness to colonial occupiers.[2] The essay that follows contributes to this work by presenting a perspective from Melanesia. It attempts to demonstrate that over time, encounters with Atlantic-based notions of Black Power and *négritude,* that is, the identity politics associated with Black consciousness, as well as global discourses of Indigenousness, contributed to the production of popular forms of counter-colonial expression, one of the most significant—although underexplored—of which is music. Encounters with such ideas and expressions occurred person-to-person, sometimes through an intermediary, and also through various kinds of text, often in the form of recorded music, for example. The impact of each type and specific instance is of course unique, and context dependent.

"Come Independence Come", by the late New Ireland singer-songwriter Phillip Lamasisi Yayii, is probably Papua New Guinea's (PNG) earliest decolonisation song, and was released commercially in 1975, the year in which PNG became independent. Lyrically, the song asks:

> Can't you leave us alone?
> Why must you pester us?
> We have our values that we all are proud of
> So pack yourself and leave us alone. (Webb 1993: 44–45)

Besides expressing a strong desire to shake free of European colonial influence, the lyrics mention pride in local "values". Yayii appears to have

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been alluding to a kind of cultural or multi-ethnic nationalism in the song, an inchoate "Melanesian Way" (Kabutaulaka 1994: 71). Around a decade later, Tony Subam, a founding member of the PNG pan-traditional fusion band Sanguma—modelled in part on the British Afro-Caribbean group Osibisa (Crowdy 2016: 3; Matbob 2013) and the Latin rock band Santana—released the song "Indonesia, Leave Our People Alone", which expressed solidarity among Melanesians in the struggle against the Indonesian occupation of West Papua (Webb 1993: 64). At almost the same time, Freddy Fesaitu of the Fijian reggae band Rootstrata composed "Brother Kanaki" in support of independence in New Caledonia (or Kanaky, as it is known by Melanesians) (Webb and Webb-Gannon 2016: 67), which was written as a kind of response to the 1985 song "Frère Kanak", by the Kanak anti-colonial band Yata (on which, more below).

In the years that followed, Melanesian and Melanesian-descended musicians made significant contributions to expressions of pride in regional Indigenous heritage and rights: Papua New Guineans Ben Hakalitz and Buruka Tau, for example, became members of the renowned Australian Aboriginal rock and pop band Yothu Yindi, and recently Eddie Elias (also from PNG) and Australian South Sea Islander Georgia Corowa joined Aboriginal musician Xavier Rudd's reggae band, The United Nations. Another Australian South Sea Islander musician, Ziggy Ramo Fatnowna, began his 2016 track "Black Thoughts" by rapping: "Black lives matter / that's the subject matter / tell you to climb then they burn down your ladder". The PNG (now Australian) "future soul" singer Ngaiire Joseph's modern "origin and rebirth" story is told in the song and music video "Once" (Fuamoli 2015); the song made a prominent national Australian radio list of the most popular music of 2016. "Koiki", the Torres Strait Island rapper Mau Power's 2017 song, opens with a conch-shell signal and the distinctive Torres Strait Island drum-and-rattles dance rhythm, followed by the voice of a female newscaster intoning: "The civil rights movement swept across Australia in the 1970s / many people fought for their basic human rights"; thus, it establishes the context for a musical celebration of Eddie Koiki Mabo, the esteemed Indigenous land rights campaigner.

Woven through these various musical expressions is a thread that links a Melanesian *négritude* (Lawson 1997: 16) with what James Clifford termed *indigènitude* (2013: 15). Tracing that thread, as we do in this paper, uncovers a narrative of popularly articulated Indigenous agency, one that has been "largely lost in the historiography of the decolonisation of Melanesia" (Gardner and Waters 2013: 115). We are speaking here of *négritude* in two senses: in the first case, a tightly connected Francophone intellectual tradition

represented most clearly by the poet-politicians Aimé Césaire of Martinique and Léopold Sédar Senghor of Senegal, who communicated their ideology in literary form and worked to institutionalise it in the arena of formal, postcolonial state-building (Burton 1996). This version of *négritude* was introduced to Melanesia in the late 1960s, through university classes and other means, as will be seen. However, in the colonial era not many Melanesians had access to a university education, and secondary school teachers were predominantly European and unlikely to encourage the expression of subversive ideas. Nonetheless, a more demotic sense of *négritude* (perhaps better styled simply as "negritude") came to have a pronounced role in the region. This second instance of negritude was a global sense of Black Pride that drew on Pan-African, Anglophone postcolonialism and American Black Power, as well as on the Francophone movement. Our study adds to the larger body of knowledge about how this second kind of negritude took shape, by focusing on the interplay between formal, institutional actors and what we might call, following Antonio Gramsci, "organic intellectuals" (Forgacs 1988: 304). These organic intellectuals, who provided much of the popular discourse of both *négritude* and *indigénitude*, took as their primary tool the African diasporic musical traditions that were increasingly becoming a global argot for such work. It is perhaps no surprise that this political philosophy would have found its way to the Melanesian people in musical form, for in a region where the faculty of hearing is highly valued, music was already a vital form of popular expression. In fact, it became a foundational element of a new postcolonial expressive culture (Bensignor 2013; Crowdy 2016; Hayward 2012; Jourdan 1995; Webb 1993).[3]

As already intimated, expressions of Melanesian *négritude* and *indigènitude* find common ground in links with and allusions to Black transnationalism.[4] They overlap in their address of the social-psychological state that W.E.B. Du Bois (1903) called double consciousness. Du Bois famously described double consciousness in *The Souls of Black Folk* as "a peculiar sensation … this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity" (Du Bois 1903: 3). A kind of "two-ness", in which the ever-present knowledge that one is not simply one's self but is also someone else's Other, has the capacity to alienate Black people from both white worlds and blackness; nonetheless Du Bois saw double consciousness as something not uniformly debilitating. To have it was also, in his description, to be "gifted with second-sight in this American world" (Du Bois 1903: 3). While Du Bois initially saw double consciousness as a peculiar result of the chattel slavery of Africans in the new world, as Paul Gilroy notes, he came

to view it as "a means to animate a dream of global co-operation among peoples of colour" (1993: 126). Indeed, his vision specifically linked his pan-African vision of "a common history … a common disaster, and … one long memory" with the people of Asia and "into the South Seas" (Du Bois 1940, quoted in Gilroy 1993: 126).

In Melanesia the development of double consciousness, of seeing a black self through the eyes of a white Other resulted from colonisation (Moore 2005), and sorting it out has been part of the long-term process of the divesting of colonial power. John Kasaipwalova, the Trobriand Islands (PNG) writer and black activist, was aware of this in the early 1970s:

> It is a fact in Niugini that black men when placed in the presence of whites, feel inferior, confused, and consequently look up to white men for guidance, reassurance, and even the definition of their cultural identity. This inferiority complex … is a dialectical product of an aggressive system of colonial behaviour and exploitation by the white executed either consciously or unconsciously. Because of this state of inferiority confusion, black man mistrust himself [*sic*] and shows a positive lack of confidence in his fellow men. Given this general picture it is then not untrue to assert that this is the psychological basis for disunity among black people in Niugini. (John Kasaipwalova, quoted in Nelson 1972: 184)[5]

In the struggle against this internalisation of inferiority, from the earliest years of contact, Melanesians adopted and adapted the cultural resources of others through acts of mimesis, trying them on like a costume, as it were, "as a conscious attempt to seize the power of the person or thing being mimicked" (Carr 2014: 10). *Négritude* is but one example, and in various parts of Melanesia its influence came to inform not only language and writing, but art, music and fashion as well.

Tracing the rise of Melanesian *négritude* and its subsequent alignment with a Melanesian *indigènitude*, both key "performed" modes of identity that were developed in order to ameliorate the psychologically alienating impact of colonialism, this essay is organised into two sections, both of which in various ways highlight music. The first of these, spanning the late 1700s to World War II, surveys preconditions in the formation of Melanesian Black identity. The second more detailed section charts the articulation of Black and Indigenous empowerment through what we discern to be two waves of decolonisation consciousness in the region: the period of the 1960s to the 1980s, and a renewed movement that dates from around 2010.[6]

PART ONE: THE BLACK PACIFIC IN MELANESIA

Maritime Beginnings

The history of cultural exchange between Pacific Islanders and African Americans began in the late 1700s when Hawaiians, African Americans and other African-descended peoples laboured together in the whaling industry and contributed to the development of sea shanty singing (Carr 2014: 56).[7] Recent work in creolistics has identified substantial structural similarities between Atlantic and Pacific English lexifier creoles. Among other reasons, this is attributable to the fact that

> during the critical years of Pacific Creole formation in the 19th century, a considerable number of people who spoke Atlantic English lexifier creoles (such as African and African descended mariners and beachcombers) were present on islands throughout the Pacific and that a significant number of Pacific Islanders were integrated into both the Pacific and the Atlantic shipping and trading networks. (Faraclas *et al*. 2012: 150)

From the early 1840s, hundreds of men from Melanesia's island and coastal villages left their homes to work in the sandalwood trade in New Caledonia and Vanuatu. Melanesian seamen gained a special reputation for their skill, Loyalty Islanders (Kanaky/New Caledonia) in particular, who apparently had a "love of wandering" (Chappell 1997: 91; see also Howe 1977: 15).

In the second half of the 19th century, African American performance culture—initially through the distorted filter of blackface minstrelsy—became popular in Australia and New Zealand (Miller 2009: 128–29; Waterhouse 1990) and the surrounding waters. The late 1850s minstrel song "Old Cabin Home" by T. Paine, for example, is mentioned as being a favourite of a "half-caste Samoan" sailor working on a labour recruiting ship in Vanuatu waters in the late 19th century (Cromar 1935: 58). After the 1852 publication of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* which drew public attention to the evils of slavery, there was considerable enthusiasm among the Australian public for "Tommer" plays, the irony of which, given Australia's entanglement at the time in its own slave-like labour recruitment, is noted by Melissa Bellanta (2014). "Black face entertainment in Australia", writes Benjamin Miller (2009: 93–94), "reinforced and disseminated myths that justified dispossession, enslavement, oppression and murder of Aboriginal people and communities", a statement that applies equally to the South Sea or "black" Islanders working in Australia.

In operation between 1848 and 1904, this recruitment program involved the transportation of more than 60,000 Islander men, women and children to New South Wales and Queensland (predominantly from what are now the Solomon

Islands and Vanuatu) as indentured labourers in the pastoral, agricultural and maritime industries. Conditions were harsh and wages in excess of 30 million dollars in current terms were withheld from these workers (Moore 2015a, 2015b). Given this history, the appeal for the Australian descendants of those Melanesian labourers (known as Australian South Sea Islanders) of global Black politics and cultural expressions with which they later came to identify (see Webb-Gannon and Webb, forthcoming) is understandable.

Black Entertainment

Following the American Civil War and the abolition of slavery in the United States, which were critical events in the evolution of Black Atlantic consciousness, African American performance troupes including former slaves and their direct descendants began touring the Pacific. Among the most notable of these was Frederick J. Loudin's Fisk Jubilee Singers (FJS), who performed Jubilee songs (spirituals) in Australia and New Zealand from 1886 to 1889. Despite Australia's racist treatment of its own Indigenous black peoples, the FJS, whose song lyrics focused on slavery, redemption and freedom, were given a warm reception around the country (Bellanta 2014; Serroff and Abbott 2002).

While in Australia Loudin announced plans for FJS performances in Melanesia:

> Mr. Loudin has a project in view of active benevolence in the Southern Seas. When the tour of the singers is finished in Australia, he intends to visit Fiji, the New Hebrides, and possibly New Guinea, with the object of singing to the natives. He firmly believes that under the auspices of the missionaries, with whom he proposes to communicate, such a tour would be productive of great good. It would not be undertaken with the view of any monetary gain, and he thinks it would form a fitting close to his visit here. (*The Queenslander*, 22 October 1887)

Clearly Loudin believed the considerable musical accomplishments of his FJS would contribute to uplift initiatives in the region; nevertheless, for reasons unknown the tour of these islands did not eventuate.

Missionaries actively circulated the Jubilee songs, however. As early as 1877 on the small island of Nguna to the north of Efate, Vanuatu, the missionary Peter Milne translated "Angels Hovering Round" into the local language (Don 1927: 171; see also Miller 1978: 174), and in 2010 one of us (Webb) recorded Johnnymark of the Maskelyne Islands, who was well into his 90s at the time, singing an English version of the song. In 1888, even as the FJS were touring Australia and New Zealand, missionaries in PNG commented that the singing of a church congregation near Port Moresby "resembled that of the Jubilee singers" (quoted in King 1909: 263).

In 1895, a missionary working on Dobu Island (PNG) wrote: "the hymn that has taken the people to-day is [the Jubilee song] 'Turn back Pharaoh's army—*Hallelujah*'—a very lively tune" (Billing 1930: 75). In 1892 "Angels Hovering Round" was also translated into the Dobu language (Tinney 1892–1902). These anecdotes indicate something of the appeal of Black Atlantic Jubilee song form in Melanesia at the time, and of the way missionaries viewed Islanders: as being "like negroes", as one put it (Nottage 1988: 130). Interestingly, by the 1930s, a locally devised modern entertainment form known as Salvesen (or Salvesen Ami), based on missionary-taught Jubilee songs (as well as Sankey gospel hymns) and customary dance movements had become popular in the southeast Malakula area of Vanuatu (Webb 2011).

In the Torres Strait Islands in the last decades of the 19th century, the pearl-shell and *bêche-de-mer* industries brought Islander pearl divers, many of whom were coerced into labour and treated callously (Loos 1980), into contact with black West Indians and African Americans (Solis 2015a: 303). Maritime and port encounters were prime occasions for musical exchanges and led, in northern Australia, to the development of an Australian form of minstrelsy, and later, blues. According to the distinguished Indigenous rights activist Eddie Mabo, new songs began to be composed in the Torres Strait Islands in the 1950s that "were similar to African-American songs and eventually replaced European music in the dance halls at Thursday Island and other islands with large populations" (Mabo 2005: 49).

The ancestry of Indigenous Australian jazz and blues singer Georgia Lee is interesting in this context: her grandfather was from the West Indies and her grandmother from the Loyalty Islands (New Caledonia), while her father was born in the Torres Strait Islands around 1877 (Neuenfeldt 2015: 205). Lee, who sang jazz and blues to entertain African American troops in Cairns, Australia, during World War II, used music to raise awareness of racial discrimination against Australian Indigenous peoples. In 1949, she made explicit links between the situation in Australia and racial discrimination in the US by singing "Strange Fruit", a song about the lynching of African Americans around the turn of the 20th century that was made famous by Billie Holiday (Neuenfeldt 2015: 208).

Culture contact between Melanesians and Africans and African-descended peoples can be understood as very early stirrings of what is now being referred to as the Black Pacific. Such contacts were being made as Melanesians were being drawn into a wider world through the activities of Christian missions and the labour trade. At this time, some Melanesians at least, including those who were denigrated for their phenotypic blackness, became aware of the existence of other black peoples, and possibly also the comparative freedom the latter enjoyed, which would later become a source of considerable empowerment for Melanesians.

Military Meetings

Approximately 200,000 African American military personnel served in East Asia and the South Pacific from 1942 to 1945 (Lindstrom and White 1990: 27). Seeing black and white servicemen working in co-operation was consciousness-raising for Melanesians (Banivanua Mar 2016: 128; Chappell 2005: 303). In the words of Solomon Islander Jonathan Fifi'i, who in 1942 was a sergeant in the Solomon Islands Labour Corps: "We saw from the way other black people lived, when they came during the war, that we were being treated like dirt. They were being treated as equals" (1989: 136).[8] Bonding between Islanders and African American military personnel was facilitated through cultural exchange. One image in the photographic study *Island Encounters: Black and White Memories of the Pacific War* shows Solomon Islanders teaching African American Seabees how to make thatch shading (Lindstrom and White 1990: 21), while another depicts African American soldiers bartering with Solomon Islanders for betel nut (1990: 22). In turn, Americans, including black personnel, introduced new music genres to Melanesians including blues, jive and swing (Webb 2005: 289), at a time when Black Atlantic music styles were rapidly challenging the global dominance of European folk, religious and art-derived music forms (Small 1998: 4).

John Guise, who became PNG's first Governor-General, wrote of the camaraderie between Melanesians and African American troops: "It made us think that the brown and black person were just as good as the white people [*sic*]" (Nelson 1982: 173). Witnessing the relatively high status of black American troops was also a factor in the establishment of the Maasina Rule movement that emerged in 1944 in Solomon Islands, which advocated the end of British occupation and self-determination (Matsuda 2012: 296; Akin 2013). Through the sharing of music, dance, philosophy, food, betel nut, survival skills and friendship, Melanesians and African Americans enriched each other culturally. Mimesis of Atlantic blackness enhanced Melanesians' awareness of their double consciousness and prepared the way for the development of a Melanesian *négritude* and later, *indigènitude*, locating Melanesian self-determination struggles such as the Maasina Rule movement within an emerging Black Pacific identity.

PART TWO: DECOLONISATION IN MELANESIA

The First Wave—Melanesian Négritude

The German scholar Ulli Beier and his English-born artist wife, Georgina Beier, were catalysts in the development of a Black Pacific in Melanesia in the 1960s. Having taught at the University of Ibadan in Nigeria, the Beiers taught African anti-colonialist ideologies to aspiring artists and politicians in Papua New Guinea and fostered a *négritude*-focussed arts movement (Dawrs

2009: 10–20). Developed in France in the 1930s by African and Antillean students in Paris who opposed colonialism, *négritude* both drew from and inspired Black consciousness movements around the world. Melanesian elites embraced the movement in the 1960s as a philosophy compatible with the decolonisation processes taking place in their own region, one that celebrated the blackness of Melanesia's Indigenous peoples *and* the connections they were able to forge with other decolonised black peoples and cultures around the world.[9] *Négritude* highlighted for Melanesians their double consciousness and presented possible avenues for asserting agency by bringing awareness of the ways in which other black people had fought for political independence and decolonisation of the mind.

Even as the Beiers mentored students at the University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG) and others keen to connect with the "global ferment of the late 1960s" Melanesian leaders were being drawn towards expressions of Black consciousness (Banivanua Mar 2016: 185) as a result of their own Black Atlantic travels. Michael Somare, who in 1975 became PNG's first Prime Minister, visited decolonised Ghana in the late 1960s and commented: "Many of the African politicians, civil servants and academics we met clearly thought that we had not been fighting hard enough for our independence … I made up my mind that, next time, Papua New Guinea would show a more progressive face to our African friends" (quoted in Chappell 2005: 204). Papua New Guinean civil servant and intellectual Albert Maori Kiki was also inspired by community development initiatives in Nigeria (Chappell 2005: 306), and during travels to Australia in 1969 tapped into the Black consciousness mood prevalent among Black Aboriginal activists (Banivanua Mar 2016: 183). In a series of newspaper articles published in the late 1970s, Papua New Guinean politician, jurist and philosopher Bernard Narokobi sought to articulate a "Melanesian Way" that connected Melanesian cultures to a forward-looking Melanesian nationalism, a philosophy that according to Ton Otto (1997: 60) resembled the *négritude* movement of the 1930s to 1950s by virtue of its regional, Indigenous, anti-colonial and spiritual focus.

New Caledonians also found *négritude* compelling (Chappell 2005: 310). The Kanak activist, politician and intellectual Nidoïsh Naisseline argued in his master's thesis that Kanak youths who had migrated from the Loyalty Islands to Nouméa were "doubly marginalized, from their home society and from settler-dominated Noumea" (Chappell 2010: 52–53). Through his leadership of the Kanak independence movement (upon his return from study in Paris in the early 1970s he founded the anti-colonial Foulards Rouges group) and in his role in forming the Palika pro-independence party, Naisseline aimed to combat double consciousness. He worked to dismantle the "colonial system [that] attains its goal [in] that it animalizes the colonized and the latter accepts

his inferiority and hates himself" (Naisseline, quoted in Chappell 2010: 51). Naisseline "drew inspiration from Aimé Césaire's *négritude* poetry and the Black Panthers' demands" (Chappell 2010: 52; see also Topping 1977: 8).

In 1974, Walter Lini, who became Vanuatu's founding Prime Minister and whose left-leaning views were influenced by the political philosophies of the African American abolitionist Frederick Douglass and the African socialist Julius Nyerere (Premdas 1987: 109–11), stopped over at the United Nations in New York on his return from the sixth Pan-African Congress in Tanzania. There he met Pauulu Brown, a Black Power activist and engineer from Bermuda. On Lini's invitation, Brown came to Vanuatu and advised on independence policies (Banivanua Mar 2016: 198–99). Ni-Vanuatu were receptive to Brown's Black Power politics in relation to their ancestors' mistreatment in the South Sea Island labour trade era, 1848–1904. At a well-attended talk at Lelepa during his 1974 visit to Vanuatu, Pauulu Brown linked "Islanders' history of Blackbirding in the Pacific to the enslavement of Africans, connecting deep local memories to an international story" (Banivanua Mar 2016: 200).

Melanesian *négritude* was communicated through the arts as well as in politics. Developments at the elite level, such as in literature—poetry, plays, novels—and art, have been well-documented. Less well known, however, are popular expressions, including dance and music, which as intimated at the beginning of this article had the potential to reach a wider local audience. In 1977, for example, Richard Talonga, a founding member of the Aboriginal Islander Dance Theatre (AIDT) performing group and a "Blackbirder" descendant of South Sea Island labourers in Queensland, toured to Nigeria with three members of that group to perform in the World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture (Robinson 2000: 110). In the same year, members of the AIDT toured to Tahiti, New Caledonia and Papua New Guinea.

In the mid-1970s, Goroka Teacher's College (now the University of Goroka) (PNG) staged performances of the 1974 South African musical theatre work *Ipi Tombi*, and took it on tour to other major PNG centres. The formation of the pan-traditional fusion band Sanguma at the Creative Arts Centre (CAC) in Port Moresby, PNG, in 1977, was clearly related to the *negritude* ideas circulating at UPNG at the time (Crowdy 2016: 16–19), since it involved the nurturing of pride in and knowledge of local traditions. But it also involved a nascent *indigènitude*, through its concern over the loss of local music diversity in the face of rapid social and cultural change (Crowdy 2016: 22, 26). Expatriate CAC lecturers worked with students as they developed a new kind of local music, one that was not merely imitative of foreign forms (Crowdy 2016: 21–22, 34–35). The Black and ethnic pride bands Osibisa and Santana were among the few well-known models for such an idea.

One of the most striking musical realisations of Black consciousness in the region came from West Papua in the 1970s and 1980s, by way of that territory's renowned rock-reggae fusion band, the Black Brothers. Formed in 1974, the band expressed its anti-colonial Black Power politics, most obviously through its name, style and stance. Band members sported Afro hairstyles, berets, black leather jackets and sunglasses, and posed with their fists raised, thus making "direct reference to racial pride and political solidarity of the seventies Afro-American tradition [which] to Jakarta … might as well have been 'Black Panthers'" (Pickell 2002: 225). We have discussed elsewhere the Black Brothers' musical links to the Nigerian percussionist Babatunde Olatunji and the Latin rock band Santana (Webb and Webb–Gannon 2016: 66–67). The band's sound contained obvious political and musical affinities with the music of the above-mentioned British Afro-Caribbean Black pride band, Osibisa, which formed in 1969. This can be clearly heard in that band's 1971 song "Survival", and in the Black Brothers' song "Huembelo" of the late 1970s (Black Brothers, n.d.). By 1980, however, the Black Brothers had turned towards the Black Atlantic styles of reggae and disco, as well as sentimental pop styles familiar to their fans in Indonesia. In keeping with their opposition to the Indonesian occupation of West Papua, in the 1980s the band self-exiled to PNG, and later, Vanuatu. The Black Brothers' songs were popular across Melanesia in the 1980s, and some of these called for West Papuan independence. Their activism extended to concern for the environment across the Pacific Islands in those years, which can be discerned from their songs "Nuclear Waste" (2010a) and "Pacific Must Be Free" (2010b).

There was both musical and political cross-fertilisation between the Black Brothers and Sanguma at the time. While in Holland in 1982, the Black Brothers recorded the Sanguma song "Yalikoe" (retitled "Jalikoe"), having heard it during a tour of PNG in 1979 (Crowdy 2016: 48). The record cover iconography (Black Brothers 1994) promoted the band as clearly West Papuan and Indigenous, which strongly suggests the influence of Sanguma. As noted at the outset, shortly afterwards Sanguma member Tony Subam recorded a reggae song promoting West Papuan independence in which he lyrically compared Indonesian occupation of West Papua with apartheid in South Africa.

Another band formed in the 1980s, Black Sweet, some of whose members came from the Melanesian Kei Islands of Maluku, also became popular in West Papua. Visually, Black Sweet combined the Black Power and Indigenous elements of the Black Brothers' earlier and later styles. Black Sweet included former members the Black Brothers and yet another popular political band, the Black Papas. "Papas" is a pun as well as an acronym for Papua Pasifik Selatan (South Pacific Papua), which links Papua to the Pacific rather than

Asia and so conveys the band's anti-colonial stance (Pickell 2002: 225). The Black power image and anti-colonial messages of this cluster of bands—which included a further two, one actually named Black Power and another, Black Family (Pace Bro 2017)—are clear evidence that Black consciousness and connections to Black Atlantic aesthetics had by the 1970s become a major source of inspiration in the arts-inspired Melanesian decolonisation movements of the time.

In 1984, the Australian Aboriginal reggae song "Black Boy" by Coloured Stone became popular across the Pacific Islands. Its message of Black pride invigorated many Melanesians: "Black boy / black boy / the colour of your skin is your pride and joy". According to the band's songwriter, Bunna Lawrie, "In New Caledonia it resonated so much with radio listeners that the local station listed Coloured Stone at number one and Michael Jackson at number two" (Cacetta 2017). In comparing Coloured Stone to Michael Jackson, Lawrie was not merely pointing out parallels between Melanesia and the Black Atlantic. He was both delighted and gratified that Melanesians had found a "local" Black pride song ultimately more appealing than a Michael Jackson global "megahit". Here, Black Pacific sentiment was found to be an antidote to Melanesian alienation from the self, allowing the internal identity rift that Du Bois identified as double consciousness to flourish into the global alliance of black and brown people that he saw as its radical possibility.

Colonisation (and its legacy) has been both deeply felt and deeply resented in Melanesia. This is clearly conveyed by the New Ireland (PNG) man[10] interviewed in Dennis O'Rourke's 1982 film, *Shark Callers of Kontu*:

> First the Germans came to rule us. [German administrator] Boluminski […] gave a big stick to his police-boys, and they took over our lives. Their [white] officers would say, "Teach the Kanakas a lesson. Cane them and beat them until they understand who is the boss". Then the English took over. If we tried to approach them, they would say, "Clear off!" Their behaviour was uncivilised. They trained some of our people to speak English and do their work, and so the pattern was set forever. The Japanese came to fight but they didn't do so well. They lost, and the Australians took over. We were confused by what you all [the whites] were doing to us. All the time officials were telling us what to do. It's still the same today. Little has changed—now it's our own people who boss us. (Transcribed from the film subtitles)

In the view of this villager, the abuses of power under the colonial system became part of its legacy. To recall Kasaipwalova's words (quoted above), "black man mistrust himself [*sic*] and shows a positive lack of confidence in his fellow men" (Nelson 1972: 184).

Decades on, politics at the nation-state level are considered a "relatively insignificant abstraction" (Solis 2012: 87) for many people in Melanesia, possibly as a result of a kind of expectation fatigue. Also, in Tarcisius Kabutaulaka's view, the "Melanesian Way" that Bernard Narokobi articulated through print media "to the majority of people … meant little or nothing" (1994: 71). To the extent that they engaged aspects of the *négritude* movement, Melanesian politicians and writers between the 1960s and 1980s attempted to connect Melanesian elites with the global Black Power and decolonisation movements, but these were slow to reach those living outside urban areas. Music went some way towards filling this role, and the impact at the time of the ideas and mood of Black and ethnic pride promoted by the bands Sanguma and (in particular) the Black Brothers should not be underestimated.

A Second Wave—Melanesian Indigènitude

In the years following the political independence of Fiji (1970), PNG (1975), Solomon Islands (1978) and Vanuatu (1980), the impact and influence of Melanesian *négritude* began to lessen as the new countries established their own political, economic and social-cultural rhythms and a general mood of optimism prevailed, albeit briefly. But the continuing occupation of West Papua and New Caledonia was unsettling. Throughout the 1980s, political and cultural leaders of these territories worked steadily in their attempts to disturb and dislodge the colonial presence, to strive for their right to self-determination. Around this time, Gardner and Waters note, "the new discourse of globalization" gained credence, and from the outside the extent of sovereignty in the new Melanesian states began to be questioned (2013: 116).

Indigenous agency shifted towards what James Clifford has termed *indigènitude* (2013: 16). This was already apparent at the beginning of the 1980s in the music and self-representational aesthetics of the Black Brothers and Sanguma, as we have pointed out. "Like *negritude*", writes Clifford, "*indigènitude* is a vision of liberation and cultural difference that challenges, or at least redirects, the modernizing agendas of nation-states and transnational capitalism" (2013: 16). He continues:

> *Indigènitude* is less a coherent ideology than a concatenation of sources and projects. It operates at multiple scales: local traditions (kinship, language renewal, subsistence hunting, protection of sacred sites); national agendas and symbols (Hawai‘ian sovereignty, Mayan politics in Guatemala, Maori mobilizations in Aotearoa/New Zealand); and transnational activism ("Red Power" from the global sixties, or today's social movements around cultural values, the environment, and identity, movements often allied with NGOs). (Clifford 2013: 16)

Amidst the volatile anti-colonial climate in New Caledonia of the mid-1980s, in Montravel, the so-called Melanesian city located on the outskirts of Nouméa, Théo Menango and Kanak musicians from various parts of the country founded the band Yata. The name is back slang (word play where words are spoken as though spelled backwards) for the Kanak chief Ataï, who in 1878 led an organised uprising against the French. As Menango explains:

> We chose this name because he [Ataï] is a forefather, and at the same time, everybody was talking about Karl Marx, and other famous people in the world. We felt that it was necessary to show that we are descended from our grandfathers who were symbolic figures in the history of our country. It is a duty of remembrance to immortalise such figures. (Menango n.d., translated from French)[11]

Out of identification with the Black Pride movement in the United States, Yata promoted a new musical fusion of soul, funk, disco and the local guitar idiom.[12] According to Menango, "at the time we didn't realise that [our album was] being produced by Jean-Marie Tjibaou through the OCSTK, the Kanak Cultural, Scientific and Technical Office" (Menango 2016).

As a young priest in the late 1960s, Tjibaou, who went on to become one of Melanesia's greatest independence leaders, had worked with youth in Montravel, during which time he became aware of the great need to foster pride in Kanak culture (Théophile Menango, interview with Michael Webb, 1 December 2017, Nouméa). Later (in the 1980s), with the encouragement of the ethnomusicologist Jean-Michel Beaudet, Tjibaou and several other Kanak leaders envisioned the formation of what might be called an *indigènitude* musicology, one not unrelated to that conceived by the Senegalese poet and statesman Léopold Senghor's "*négritude* musicology" as outlined by Tsitsi Jaji (2014: 66–110). Through workshops, they encouraged the fusion of the style elements and political stance of reggae with the traditional "tchap" rhythm and sound of the Indigenous leaf parcel and bark clapper idiophones and other customary instruments, in the creation of a new style of music that became known as *kaneka.*

One Kanak musician described *kaneka* as "the modernisation of the ancestors' *pilou* [traditional dance] adapted to our time" (quoted in Ammann 1998: 12). As Emmanuel Tjibaou (Jean-Marie's son) explains,

> The groups of the first wave of *kaneka* deal essentially with identity claims: accession to sovereignty, recognition, the need to say who we are, not only Kanak, but to say that we are of such a village, that one speaks such language, etc. They also speak of "colonial justice": many people were imprisoned during the Events [the bitter resistance struggle of the 1980s]; the justice of the day was strongly in favour of the power in place. (Bensignor 2013: 19, translated from French)

On this second point, many *kaneka* songs in the 1980s and 1990s commemorated resistance leaders such as Eloi Machoro and Tjibaou who lost their lives in the struggle. In the lyrics of their song "Kaneka", Krysband declared, "kaneka is our reggae" (Ammann 1998: 19). In the new millennium *kaneka* songs began to focus on topics celebrating aspects of Indigenous identity.

The rise of *indigènitude* worldwide in the 1980s and 1990s has been associated with neo-liberal reforms that "compromised the viability of indigenous communities and undermined their relationship with the state" (Anderson 2011: 107). In New Caledonia and West Papua, the performance of *indigènitude* might also have been guided by a desire to develop decolonisation strategies that drew strength from local ideas and cultural commonalities. Although the intention of Melanesian *négritude* was to positively reconceptualise the blackness that had been central to Melanesian double consciousness, it was nevertheless Atlantic-oriented, and hinged on connections to outsiders, that is, Black Atlantic political activists, philosophers and artists. Problematically for Kanaks and West Papuans, by the 1980s Black Atlantic activists and the Black Pacific leaders of independent PNG, Fiji, Vanuatu and Solomon Islands became less concerned with the political independence of remaining colonies. Hence with the diminishing of wider Black support, Kanaks and West Papuans turned inward to Indigenous heritage and customs in their address of continuing colonialism and neo-colonialism.

For Clifford, *indigènitude* is "performed" (Clifford 2013: 16). Jean-Marie Tjibaou, mentioned above, organised the Melanesia 2000 festival in 1975 to put New Caledonia's Indigenous cultures on display as a means to foster Kanak pride and bolster confidence in local living heritage. Tjibaou hoped to convince Kanaks that colonialism and double consciousness had not been fatal to their culture and ultimate wellbeing. He wrote:

> If Kanaké's ancestors returned in the year 2000, they would recognise the man by his name. They would recognise his system of ritual, his genealogies, the structure of his customs, his language, even though impoverished, his humour, in a word the way he lives his life, as he has through history. (Tjibaou 2005:31)

Similarly, in West Papua the independence leader and ethnologist Arnold Ap collected and archived songs and performances from Indigenous groups across West Papua in order to protect them from systematic eradication (Elmslie and Webb-Gannon 2012), as well as assert West Papuan cultural vitality and agency. In the absence of weapons, West Papuans resisted with culture (Glazebrook 2006; Rayfiel 2007). Tragically, both leaders were assassinated: Tjibaou in 1989 by a disaffected member of the independence movement, and Ap in 1984 by Indonesian military personnel.

Musicians elsewhere in Melanesia also began to perform *indigènitude*; the popularity on the global world music festival circuit of the Narasirato Pan Pipers of Malaita, Solomon Islands, is but one prominent example. Following the Pacific War musicians in the Western Solomons experimented with new instruments and tunings (Topurua 1996), which resulted in the establishment of a so-called bamboo band tradition (Webb 2014). Founded in the early 1990s, the Narasirato Pan Pipers later had an Asia-Pacific "top ten" hit with the song "My Culture Is My Life",[13] a lively two-chord piece stamped out on bamboo bass tubes and blown on pantrumpets and panpipes, with the addition of traditional percussion and vocals. One of the ensemble's few songs sung in English, the lyrics include the following lines:

> My culture is my reality […] / Let's say "Be careful or you lose your culture" / 'Cause it's your life and identity / It protects your path towards your future (now) / […] Identify your culture / It's your virtue and value / Your life / Your reality. (Narasirato Pan Pipers 2007)

In his subsequent career as a solo performer, former member Charles Maimarosia, who sang the lead vocal on "My Culture", claims to have "found a unique bridge between ancestral pan pipe music [and] Blues tunes" (Maimarosia, n.d.).[14] The meaning of "Blues" here is not immediately obvious—Maimarosia describes 'Are 'Are panpipes as being constructed to play the "blues scale" and "jazz scale"—but there are two mutually compatible ways of thinking about it. The first is to note that terms like blues and jazz have travelled globally somewhat independently of the relatively fixed meanings they have in their culture of origin, and so for instance, the term "jazz" came to describe a range of forward-looking bands featuring horns in Francophone West and Central Africa, such as T.P.O.K. Jazz in the Congo and Bembeya Jazz in Guinea. At the same time, it is notable that in the popular bamboo band music that emerged in the Solomon Islands after World War II there is a strong presence of "boogie woogie" bass patterns which sound very much like the blues-based popular songs African American GIs would have listened to when they were present in Melanesia. Whatever Maimarosia means by "Blues" more specifically, he is certainly connecting himself with Black Atlantic popular music.

Over the decades Indigenous-led movements in New Caledonia and West Papua kept independence hopes alive, and by 2010 a renewed Pacific Island *indigènitude* and a re-inspired Pacific *négritude* had become almost indistinguishable. This new wave of counter-colonial sentiment, or Pacific renaissance (Dateline Pacific 2016; Mackley-Crump 2015; Newton-Cain 2016) has raised the issue of decolonisation, in West Papua at least, to top priority status among key Pacific Island political and non-governmental

organisations. The momentum driving this most recent surge in identity politics in the Pacific derives, we believe, from a new sense of Melanesian grassroots empowerment enabled by digital networking, reengagement with the symbolism of the post-war Black Power movement and the strategic deployment of the "symbolic repertoire" of *indigènitude* ("'the sacred', 'Mother Earth', 'shamanism', sovereignty', the wisdom of 'elders', stewardship of 'the land'" [Clifford 2013: 16]).

In Melanesia in the 1980s, *négritude* intermingled with an inchoate *indigènitude* in the music and style of the Black Brothers, as discussed above. In this second wave of Pacific anti-colonial sentiment, the Black Sistaz, a vocal trio comprising the daughters of that band's vocalist and guitarist August Rumwaropen, Petra, Lea and Rosa, are maintaining their father's vision for a free West Papua. They cite as a source of inspiration women leaders of the Black Power movement of the 1970s, including the former US Black Panther Elaine Brown (Heine 2017). In the image on their website homepage, they appear dressed in black and prominently display pig's-tusk necklaces, while posing with their fists raised, Black-Panther style (Black Sistaz 2016). The Black Sistaz' repertoire includes traditional songs from West Papua, such as those collected by Arnold Ap. It is worth noting that several groups committed to keeping Ap's archive in circulation label themselves "Black": Black Paradise based in Jayapura, West Papua, and Black Orchid in Melbourne, Australia.

Powes Parkop, Governor of PNG's National Capital District, brought the surviving members of the Black Brothers and also the Black Sistaz to Port Moresby in 2016, for the 41st anniversary of national independence celebrations. At a press conference for the event, manager Andy Ayamiseba stated: "Black Brothers is more than a music—it's a movement" (EMTV Online 2016). Across Melanesia, the Black Brothers and Black Sistaz have become a multivalent "performance" celebration of Black and Indigenous power and identity, promoting the cause of decolonisation in Melanesia.

This so-called Pacific renaissance has involved the revival of Black Power politics, and while links with the Black Atlantic are still evident they are no longer dominant in its unfolding. Robbie Shilliam's statement concerning Aotearoa/New Zealand applies more widely, including to Melanesia. He writes that we have "witnessed a subtle shift from identifying with Blackness to inhabiting Blackness on indigenous grounds" (Shilliam 2015: 107). The Pacific renaissance is marked by Pacific Islanders' merging of Black Atlantic cultural components and Black consciousness with Indigenous cultures for their own decolonisation purposes. The Black Atlantic has been "Pasifika-ised" through an increasing focus in particular on Melanesia's self-determination movements, in West Papua especially.

This is illustrated in the way prominent Pacific Island musicians, including the band Te Vaka, have supported the West Papua independence movement. Andrew Faleatua's 2015 song "To the West"[15] combines elements of Black Atlantic and Polynesian musical styles. A soul-gospel ballad, it is sung with emotion over a beat based on a sampled Sāmoan traditional rhythm; other sound signifiers of Pacific Island *indigènitude* in the recording include a conch shell. The lyrics contain the lines:

> Can you see the broken dreams / To the west to the West Papua
> The tears of blood raining down / To the west to the West Papua
> Lest we forget the blood of our own line / Lest we forget all the roots of the tree
> Lest we forget we wail when the ocean cries / Lest we forget Pasifika yeah.
> (Faleatua 2015)

The first two lines refer to broken dreams of independence and the brutal physical treatment and murder of West Papuan dissenters by Indonesian soldiers. In the second pair, Faleatua defines Pasifika to include West Papuan Melanesians, who he considers "our own line", roots of one Pacific tree and people of one ocean.

Social media, in addition to arts media, has enhanced Melanesian Black agency. In the past, West Papuans have been blocked by an Indonesian Government media ban from disseminating news of the atrocities being carried out against them. Facebook, YouTube and Twitter, however, have nullified Indonesia's ban on international media and enabled West Papuans to join a global Black consciousness movement at the same time as publicising their own.

Lyrically, the song "Free West Papua (Unity Riddim) Solwara System"[16] by the Fijian musician Wilo Usuramo points to role of new media in alerting the outside world to what is happening in West Papua. It begins with what sounds like an inversion of the opening line of the Australian Aboriginal band Yothu Yindi's major hit "Treaty" (1991):

> Say we see it upon da news and we heard it upon the radio / Read about it on Facebook Indonesia being the crook / Politicians telling lies but their soldiers' selfies tell no lie / See dem walking with dem smiles as if we the world are blind / But we can see all the killings done in West Papua / Innocent people with the right to live rise up West Papua (rise up rise up). (Usuramo 2015)

The word "Riddim" in the title relays that it is a reggae song, and "Solwara System" is a play on the *wansolwara* (Melanesian pidgin, 'one or the same ocean') unity concept and on the notion of a Jamaican sound system, the public broadcasting of the latest popular recordings. Usuramo delivers his

lyrics in a kind of patwa, which is common in Melanesian roots reggae songs, particularly those from Vanuatu. This excerpt is mostly self-explanatory; however, the reference to soldiers' selfies alludes to a case where Indonesian soldiers posed next to the mutilated body of a West Papuan man. The image was leaked and widely circulated via the Internet in order to draw attention to such human rights abuses as were clearly taking place.

All around Melanesia, too, civil society has been organising in support of West Papuan independence, and since 2010, literally dozens of protest songs advocating a "Free West Papua" have been produced by non–West Papuan Melanesians as a symbol of solidarity and circulated via YouTube, Facebook and SoundCloud. The majority of these songs are in the Black Atlantic genres of reggae and hip hop, but the content of the songs is Melanesian, relying on tropes such as *wantok* (Melanesian pidgin for 'one talk', speakers of the same language) and *wansolwara* to unite Melanesians in support of West Papua (Webb-Gannon and Webb, forthcoming).

The Indigenous Melanesian concept of *wansolwara* has become the call rallying the entire Pacific Islands region behind West Papua as a new Black power movement, and in shaping the Black Pacific not as a Black Atlantic counterpoint but rather an endogenous movement with longstanding Atlantic articulations. In 2014, the late Pacific poet and scholar Teresia Teaiwa attended a gathering of artists, academics and activists in PNG that was titled the Madang Wansolwara Dance 2014. It was called a "dance" rather than a "conference" due to its creative focus and structure. Interestingly, for the workshop a song known to all the attendees was required, and the Solomon Islands hit from the late 1950s, "Wokabaoti long Saenataone" (Walkabout in Chinatown), which has been widely covered over the years in versions from Fiji to West Papua, was selected. The original lyrics convey "love for and fear of an urban life-style", which many found "exciting and threatening" at the same time (Jourdan 1995: 142). New song lyrics in Tok Pisin in support of West Papuan independence were composed to replace the original lyrics in Solomon Islands Pijin (Fig. 1). A new Black version of the original Indigenous song was the result, one that involved a switch in the pidgin language used.

The point of the event, according to Teaiwa, was to "re-ignite a movement of solidarity across the Pacific", particularly in relation to decolonisation issues (Fightback 2014). The *wansolwara* movement "really fills a gap", Teaiwa reflected, "that was left when the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific (NFIP) movement fell into inertia in the late 1990s and early 2000s" (Fightback 2014). The Wansolwara Dance inspired Teaiwa to continue building awareness in New Zealand that West Papua was under colonial occupation (Fightback 2014).

Original chorus	Translation
Tingting baek long iu	Thoughts go back to you
Lusim hom long taem	Left home long ago
Tu yia ova mi no lukim iu	It's over two years since I've seen you
Tasawai mi no laekim iu	That's why I don't love you
Man i karangge hed i lusim mani	A confused man who fritters money away

New chorus	Translation
Morning Star sanap strong	Morning Star* stand firm
Yumi kam wantaim yu	Let us go forward with you
Sainim lait na yumi go	Shining the light as we go
Yumi wokabaut i go	Let us be on the move
Yumi wansolwara yumi wanpela	We are from the same ocean we are one people
	* The West Papua flag

Figure 1. Comparison of Wokabaoti long Saenataone (Walkabout in Chinatown) lyrics with those for the Wansolwara Dance song, Walkabout, Long Madang Town (2014).

* * *

The Solomon Islands reggae band Jah Roots sang in its 2008 song "Blackman's Culture"[17]: "If you won't respect your colour / then you will not respect your culture" (Jah Roots 2008). For Jah Roots, being Black and Indigenous is part of a whole: black because Melanesian, Black because the music is roots reggae, and Indigenous because of the emphasis on local culture, with traditional seed rattles prominent in the musical mix. Herein lies the significance of Melanesian *indigènitude* for the Black Pacific, we have argued. Melanesians were made to believe that their blackness was undesirable, and this led to a sense of double consciousness. From the mid-19th century Melanesians became aware of the agency of Atlantic black people, and some attempted to appropriate this through mimesis, which included the adoption of Black Atlantic music styles. Music has remained a connecting line in the pursuit of decolonisation, an emotional balm in battling double consciousness. For the Australian South Sea Islander hip hop group Impossible Odds, Black Atlantic music's value in identity terms

is inestimable. In the song and video "Everything", Fred Leone raps such childhood recollections as "Singing in the bath Bob Marley, Charlie Pride", and Georgia Corowa sings of growing up "strumming on your own guitar / thinking you were B.B. King / some big jazz star" (Impossible Odds 2011).[18]

As a result of meeting African American servicemen during the Pacific War and learning of the impact of the Civil Rights and Black Power movements in the USA, as well as the decolonisation of Africa and the Caribbean, Melanesian artists and politicians alike were invigorated and emboldened by Atlantic Blackness. Following the independence of Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu, the interest in Black consciousness–inspired politics waned, however. The intellectual elites who had espoused them became caught up in running the newly independent governments and supporting institutions of the four young states. The *négritude* movement failed to make a deep impact at the popular level.

Négritude nevertheless lived on to inform the performance of *indigènitude,* which led to the rise of the *kaneka* sound in New Caledonia around 1990, and since 2010 in the stream of local reggae and hip hop songs demanding a free West Papua (Webb-Gannon and Webb, forthcoming). With Melanesians' expanding connectedness and digital citizenship, *négritude* has increasingly become an activist philosophy of the people, where it is merged with *indigènitude* in Facebook groups such as "Black Pacific" (n.d.) and "We Bleed Black and Red" (n.d.), collectives which support West Papuan self-determination. Since around 2010, *négritude* (with *indigènitude*) has fuelled a grassroots Melanesian movement and a Pacific renaissance in support of decolonisation in West Papua and other anti-colonial causes including protection of the environment.

Melanesians do not experience blackness and indigeneity as mutually exclusive categories but rather as "modalities of identity formation" that are "mutually entangled" (Anderson 2009: 21, 22). At various points historically, *négritude* and *indigènitude* have proven to be valuable resources in Melanesians' protracted and ongoing struggle against colonisation and its long shadow. It is worth noting here that in many ways, despite their distinct terminology, *négritude* and *indigènitude* spring from the same epistemological mould—namely from a sense that the autochthonous black or brown self can offer the base for an integrated, holistic identity. In this regard both are opposed to the other major Francophone postcolonial epistemology, *créolité*, which asserts that the Black cultures of the Atlantic world have the capacity to become universal, to represent what Glissant calls the "*tout-monde*" because of their inherently multiple perspectives, their incorporation of doubleness (Camal 2012; Martin 2008; Griffiths 2014).

Moving between *négritude* and *indigènitude*, by contrast, Melanesians have made music that indicates a global, if not universal, culture and politics that stems from linked particularities rather than from merging into the *tout-monde*. From the 1980s in particular, they have drawn strength from these performed modes to heal the challenges posed by the double consciousness they inherited as a result of being designated the "black islanders". Working to invert the intended meanings of that racial construct, they have helped shape an emerging Black Pacific.

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NOTES

1. Bronwen Douglas writes that the French navigator Dumont d'Urville's "demeaning racial stereotype of Melanesians was significantly shaped by experiences in Vanikoro" in the Santa Cruz group of islands in the Solomon Islands in 1828, when his party was repeatedly intimidated by local armed men (Douglas 2010: 17). Since colonising West Papua in 1962, Indonesia has perpetuated the denigration of that territory's Melanesian population.
2. Throughout the paper we employ the lowercase /b/ to refer to the pejorative labelling of Melanesians according to various shades of phenotypic "blackness", and the uppercase /B/ to indicate political-cultural Blackness.
3. See Gilroy (1993: 74–75). The role of music and of organic intellectuals in spreading discourses of *négritude* is not limited to Melanesia. Writing in the journal *Africa Today* in 1967, W.A. Jeanpierre (1967: 10) pointed to soul music as "la negritude des sources", that is, negritude at its roots.
4. Space constraints preclude us from exploring here the ways *négritude* and *indigènitude* relate to the Melanesian notion of *kastom.* Anthropologists see Narokobi's "Melanesian Way" (referred to below) as an early and not particularly sophisticated form of *kastom* discourse (Lindstrom 2008: 165). As Lindstrom explains, "Kastom was, and is, a rhetoric based on the selected recognition of some, though not all, elements of what anthropologists like to call 'culture'. It is not the same thing as culture, at least in the anthropological sense of this" (Lindstrom 2008: 165). The song "My Culture Is My Life" by Narasirato Pan Pipers of the Solomon Islands, discussed below, is perhaps an example of the overlap between *indigènitude* and *kastom*, although it is possible that the song was prompted as much by the band's interactions with musicians and audiences

at international festivals as it was from local reflections. To reiterate, our focus in this paper is on Melanesian links with Black transnationalism. Absent from our account as well is how the developments we discuss fit with Melanesian expressions of Christianity, although we are aware that there are significant intersections (see for example Webb 2015).

5. See also Tjibaou (2005: 23–24).
6. In the second section we concentrate on the two remaining settler states in Melanesia, New Caledonia and West Papua. For details pertaining to the situation in the former Melanesian colonies, see Webb and Webb-Gannon (forthcoming).
7. On James Cook's second Pacific voyage, the ship *Resolution* included a black man, James Tobias Swilley, who was servant to the ship's carpenter. He was, however, among the crewmen of that ship that were killed in New Zealand in December 1773, before Cook sailed through Melanesian waters.
8. According to Lawson (2015), this was at a time when black Francophone intellectuals elsewhere were beginning to distance themselves from the movement due to mounting perceptions of its elitism and essentialism.
9. Narokobi's "Melanesian Way" could also be considered an early iteration of Melanesian *indigènitude,* given its appeal to Melanesian traditional ways of life as the values foundation of new Melanesian nation-states.
10. The man is not named in the film.
11. It appears that Menango had come under the influence of the Kanak priest Fr. Apollinaire, who in a thesis completed in Paris as part of post-graduate study proposed Ataï "as a hero and model for the Melanesian people" (Waddell 2008: 57).
12. In part, the band built on the earlier recordings of the early Kanak "protest singer" Jean-Pierre Swan, who had been studying in France at the time of the 1968 student riots. Swan stated in an interview that upon his return from France, he introduced the Afro hairdo and elements of what he called the "beatnik" style to young Kanaks (Jean-Pierre Swan, interview with Michael Webb, 1 December 2017, Nouméa).
13. "My Culture Is My Life" by Narasirato Pan Pipers can be heard on Spotify.
14. Maimarosia's recent solo album is titled *'Are'are*, after the name of his language and cultural group.
15. "To the West" by Andrew Faleatua can be heard on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UVhAZoFB3LM
16. "Free West Papua (Unity Riddim) Solwara System" by Wilo Usuramo can be heard on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ytC9Q1aYTM0
17. "Blackman's Culture" by Jah Roots can be heard on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DEBL8Yrolrg
18. "Everything" by Impossible Odds can be heard on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AWBsBPG1nxU

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ABSTRACT

In the 19th century Melanesians were pejoratively labelled black by European maritime explorers (*mela* = black; *nesia* = islands). Emerging scholarship on the Black Pacific focuses on historical and contemporary identifications and articulations between Oceanian and African diasporic peoples, cultures and politics based upon shared Otherness to colonial occupiers. This essay contributes to such scholarship by presenting a perspective from Melanesia with a focus on music, a popular form of countercolonial expression. It examines in two broad phases person-to-person and person-to-text encounters with Atlantic-based notions of Black Power and *négritude.* The Pacific War serves as a dividing line and turning point, during and following which such encounters began to intensify. The discussion links these African diasporic intellectual traditions/discourses/epistemologies with that of *indigènitude*, that is, performed global expressions of Indigenousness, through allusions to Black transnationalism and the ways both movements address the "inferiority confusion" that arose from experiences of colonisation. It demonstrates how in the last 35 years in particular, Melanesians have worked to invert the demeaning intention of their colonial racial construction and, in the process, have helped to create what may now be thought of as the Black Pacific.

Keywords: Black Pacific, Melanesia, *indigènitude*, *négritude*, decolonisation, popular music

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PERFORMING CULTURAL HERITAGE WITH *TĪFAIFAI*, TAHITIAN "QUILTS"

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People of the Society Islands, as well as of other islands in what is today French Polynesia, began creating piecework and appliqué textiles from imported Western cloth sometime in the early to mid-19th century. *Tīfaifai*, an indigenous word widely used for the textiles, have been continuously created ever since.[1] Research into *tīfaifai* (de Chazeaux and Frémy 2012; Grand 2012; Hammond 1986a, 1986b, 2014, 2015; O'Reilly 1959) and other textile traditions of Eastern Polynesia, most notably Hawaiian quilts called *kapa apana* (Akana 1981; Arthur 2010a, 2010b; Brandon and Woodard 2003; Hammond 1986a; Serrao *et al*. 2007) and Cook Islands *tivaevae* (Hammond 1986a; Herda 2002, 2011; Küchler and Eimke 2009; Rongotea 2001),[2] reveals both similarities and differences between *tīfaifai* and those traditions.[3] The diversity and special character of the traditions are embedded within unique histories.

In this article, I focus on contemporary appliqué *tīfaifai* of French Polynesia, arguing that their increasingly important role in conveying islanders' pride in Polynesian culture and identity is manifested in the ways that *tīfaifai* publicly perform *le patrimoine* or *faufa'a tupuna* (French and indigenous language terms, respectively, for heritage).[4] Drawing upon new materialist theory, performance studies and visual display concepts, I discuss ways in which *tīfaifai* help to transmit and modify culture across time and space, shape social relationships and influence people's constructions of Mā'ohi (indigenous people of French Polynesia) cultural identities. Insights from the performative turn in anthropology and folklore studies, many of which address identity expression (Bauman 1989; Conquergood 1989; Fine and Speer 1992; Smith 2011; Turner 1986), fit well with the ideas of new materialism theory (Gell 1998; Latour 2005; Miller 2005; Schouwenburg 2015; Storey 2017) that foregrounds the agency of things. Asserting that performance theory opens up all forms of expressive culture, including textile arts, to performance inquiry, Conquergood has written, "A performance perspective emphasizes the experiential, processual, creative, actor-oriented constructions of culture" (1992: 211).[5]

A central tenet of new materialism theory is that as actants (anything that can modify other actors, whether people or things), things are co-constitutive with people who may interact with them in myriad ways (Barad 2007; Dant

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1999; Miller 1987; Schweitzer and Zerdy 2014). Dant asserts that objects "*extend human action and mediate meanings* between humans", and clarifies that "objects are shaped by a culture which defines what certain types of things can *do*" (1999: 13; italics in original). Things are part of networks of relations and, thus, co-shape social worlds. Embedded in the larger social and cultural relationships with the people who create them, display them, see them, photograph them, buy them, bestow them upon others and otherwise engage with them, *tīfaifai* are, to borrow Schouwenburg's words, "produced and productive, generated and generative" (2015: 65). Since *tīfaifai* meanings are not fixed in any given moment, *tīfaifai*, like other objects, are "constructed and interpreted according to particular contexts and circumstances" (Kerlogue 2004: viii). This means that they are embedded in many social and cultural relationships both within French Polynesia and beyond as they persist in constant negotiation with other actants (including people). As part of a continuous and vibrant tradition that spans more than 150 years*, tīfaifai* are constantly generating and being generated by the circumstances associated with a wide range of societal changes. This leads individual *tīfaifai*, like other things, to have individual cultural biographies (Appadurai 1986; Kopytoff 1986; Martinson 2014), and for all *tīfaifai*, as a culturally recognised category of things, to have a collective cultural biography that reveals their interactions with various shifting contextual circumstances in society over time.

The ever-changing and developing biographical history of *tīfaifai* is one which has had a co-constitutive impact on me in my many years of thinking and writing about *tīfaifai* themselves and the people who make them. Beginning in the 1970s when I first embarked on research into *tīfaifai*, I began a relationship that has recently deepened as a result of returning to French Polynesia to learn of changes over the intervening decades. My first encounter with *tīfaifai* in the mid-1970s was through the only scholarly article that had been written about the subject (O'Reilly 1959). In 1978, when I embarked on a year of fieldwork to learn about *tīfaifai* and other regional forms of Polynesian "quilts",[6] I was not surprised, after reading O'Reilly's work, to find that most *tīfaifai* were locked away in chests and armoires in people's homes, removed to be draped over a guest's bed or displayed on furniture, beds and walls in homes for holidays when the presence of many visitors turned people's homes into a more public setting. *Tīfaifai* were typically not for daily use. The cost of materials and the large amount of time necessary for completing a hand-sewn *tīfaifai* were significant aspects of their value. *Tīfaifai* were not created for the maker(s) themselves. They were given as special gifts, especially for family members' rites of passage such as birthdays and weddings (some families also used them to wrap the

deceased). Sometimes people incorporated *tīfaifai* into temporary structures for gatherings associated with a rite of passage. They were also bestowed upon esteemed people in recognition of their contributions and services or given to others on special occasions such as a departure. In these situations, people often wrapped *tīfaifai* around one or more of the recipient(s).There were some church bazaars where *tīfaifai* were sold in either a completed state or, as in the case of some appliqué-style *tīfaifai*, in a basted, less expensive form. The purchaser could then finish sewing the *tīfaifai* before giving it as a gift. I saw an exposition of *tīfaifai* in Pape‘ete, Tahiti, during the 1970s when I was in French Polynesia, and then, as now, some *tīfaifai* that were on display could be purchased.

The proliferation of *tīfaifai* in public venues that I encountered when I returned to French Polynesia for short periods of time in 2010 and 2014, and six months respectively in 2013 and 2017, initially astonished me since many who discussed *tīfaifai* with me in 1977–78 predicted that the textiles' creation seemed doomed. This opinion was based on an increasing number of younger women seeking employment outside the home who also expressed a disinterest in spending time making *tīfaifai*. When I first returned after thirty years, much had changed. Rather than having to seek out individuals at home to discuss their views about *tīfaifai* and asking to see a household's *tīfaifai*, I was able to connect with the organisation Te Api Nui O Te Tifaifai (The Renewal of Tīfaifai), created in 1997–98 with the sole mission of "promoting, preserving and protecting" *tīfaifai*. The Service de l'Artisanat Traditionnel de Polynésie française (Government Office for Traditional Arts and Crafts of French Polynesia), founded in 1984, was another important source of information and connection. Through these two organisations, I met and interviewed women who had travelled abroad with their *tīfaifai* to international expositions. In 2011 I travelled to California to meet with members of Te Api Nui O Te Tifaifai who attended the International Pacific Festival of Quilts and displayed some of their *tīfaifai* at the de Young Museum of San Francisco. I attended Te Api Nui O Te Tifaifai's two-week salons of *tīfaifai* held in Pape‘ete, Tahiti, in 2013 and 2014. During the salons, I had conversations with many of the artisans and their visitors. I attended a number of events in which *tīfaifai* were displayed, and I saw photos of *tīfaifai* in local media of newspapers, magazines and television. Most revelatory of changes in *tīfaifai* creation and use was the frequency with which *tīfaifai* were displayed in public places. It quickly became apparent that *tīfaifai* were playing key performative roles in communicating ideas of cultural heritage that encompassed not only the cultural legacy of *tīfaifai* themselves but also, more broadly, ideas about cultural legacy and heritage as a whole.

While former traditions remain strong, such as bestowing *tīfaifai* on family members for rites of passage and decorating the home for special occasions (with some households displaying *tīfaifai* in homes on a more frequent basis), the role that *tīfaifai* play in the present has greatly expanded past practices of using *tīfaifai* in public arenas. Over the past 40 years, the textiles have increasingly figured in the changing circumstances of islanders, and today they often perform in public venues as visible expressions of Mā'ohi cultural heritage and identity. In political and cultural events, contests to commemorate public anniversaries, and expositions both in French Polynesia and abroad, *tīfaifai* are prominently and proudly displayed. Some are permanently hung in public buildings; others are displayed for varying lengths of time in temporary or permanent structures in the islands. Some *tīfaifai* are transported abroad by their creators to be shown in international textile exhibitions. Some are gifted or sold to international museums and other institutions that place them in gallery settings. In public demonstrations of *tīfaifai* creation and in public ceremonies of giving *tīfaifai* to notable people through the ritual of wrapping the honoured person, *tīfaifai* extend and expand upon past practices that have long been associated with the textiles. The new and enlarged performative modes of display are augmented by the proliferation of public images of *tīfaifai* through print and digital media. The contemporary performative role of *tīfaifai*, to employ Clifford's use of the term "indigenous articulation", demonstrates the various ways in which material culture can be combined with local needs, events and practices. As Clifford states, "[t]raditions articulate, selectively remember and connect pasts and presents" (2001: 475). Contemporary public *tīfaifai* displays and uses simultaneously reference past understandings associated with *tīfaifai*, even as they transform the social environment through innovative and strategic performances that shape contemporary meanings about *tīfaifai*, Mā'ohi cultural heritage and islander identities. Social, economic and political influences have all impacted indigenous French Polynesians' ideas of cultural heritage, and these are creatively articulated in the performative, public roles of *tīfaifai* in French Polynesia.

This article is divided into two interrelated parts. In the first, I describe and discuss various public contexts in which contemporary *tīfaifai* perform heritage. Using the display of objects in museums as an example, Kerlogue notes that the role of displayed things can be seen as "analogous to that of an actor [and] their time in an exhibition as a stage performance" (2004: viii). As actants themselves in interaction with *tīfaifai*, people who make, display, give, receive or otherwise interact with *tīfaifai* in public events and places are themselves engaged in performative acts. The decisions and acts of those who are involved in the displays of *tīfaifai* are, to borrow from Kerlogue's

performative analysis (2004: 3), engaged in the cultural constructs of social practices. In some contexts, the creators of *tīfaifai* are expected to explain the intended messages they intend *tīfaifai* to convey. The co-constitutive acts of *tīfaifai* creating artisan identities and artisans creating *tīfaifai* meanings are easily detected in these circumstances. Artisans' public performances of creating *tīfaifai* in some venues constitute another way in which *tīfaifai* and people are co-constitutive of one another. However, other performances are equally rich and may involve a wide range of people's motivations, emotions and actions. For example, *tīfaifai* may impact people by eliciting feelings of pride, sparking memories, inducing nostalgia, inspiring creativity, fuelling imaginaries of the past and present, or any combination of these and other outcomes.

In the second part of the article, I present highlights from the biography of *tīfaifai* that illustrate the co-constitutive nature of societal, economic and political changes within the textile tradition of *tīfaifai*. By contextualising the "life story" of *tīfaifai* within the actions of people, government policies, economic circumstances and other impactful phenomena, I hope to present a background to reasons that cultural heritage is being extensively performed with *tīfaifai* in French Polynesia today.

PUBLIC PERFORMANCES

Expositions and Contests

The most numerous venues for *tīfaifai* performance of islanders' cultural heritage are expositions and contests, often with the two performance forms combined. Every year since its founding, the organisation Te Api Nui O Te Tifaifai has mounted a combined exhibition and competition called Salon du Tīfaifai. The two-week event takes place in rooms within governmental buildings, usually in the *mairie* 'city hall' of French Polynesia's capital, Pape'ete, Tahiti. Anyone from French Polynesia who belongs to an artisan organisation and submits a hand-sewn *tīfaifai* that conforms to a given year's theme may participate and compete for a cash prize. The themed *tīfaifai* are fully displayed as hangings, and prizes are awarded at the end of the salon period (Fig. 1).While the main activity of the salon is for participants to sell completed or basted *tīfaifai*, the display of the themed *tīfaifai* is the most important performative aspect of the event. Attendees to the salon view the themed *tīfaifai*, and people may see images of the salon on television and in newspapers. As Varutti (2015: 1042) notes, visual display and performance constitute one of the four important strategies and discourses for artisans to engage in the act of "crafting heritage", and she asserts that making material culture visible in display is "a recurrent strategy deployed by artisans to communicate value and authenticity".

Figure 1. Some of the thematic *tīfaifai* with *'ape* designs hang on a wall in the Pape'ete town hall during the 2013 Salon du Tīfaifai. Assorted finished and basted *tīfaifai* of different sizes and with various designs and colours are displayed on the tables. Photograph by the author.

Another annual setting for the performance of *tīfaifai* is that of the Heiva Rima'ī, an artisans' event held in July. During the two-week fair, artisans show and sell handwork made from materials regarded as traditional—shells, pearls, pandanus, coconut, wood and cloth.[7] Competitions centre on creatively addressing an annual theme which typically celebrates the island environment, the traditional way of life, islanders' skills and knowledge or some combination of these subjects. Many plants long associated with utilitarian and aesthetic purposes have inspired themes that celebrate environmental resources and islanders' extensive knowledge of ways to use them. Past themes have included "Medicinal Trees", "Fruits from Under the Ground" (i.e., tubers) and "The Season of Abundance". Other themes have been "Birds and Flowers" and "Fishing". Participants sometimes hang a *tīfaifai* that features thematic content as a decorative element of their booth.

The *tīfaifai* contest of the Heiva Rima'ī consists of a small team or a pair of people who are presented with fabric to fashion an appliqué *tīfaifai* to the basted stage. Tables are provided for the artisans to use as they design

the upper layer of the *tīfaifai*, either using a pattern they have brought or drawing freehand on the fabric. The design layer is cut out, placed on the background fabric, pinned and finally basted. At the end of the allotted time over a two-day period, the competitors' work is judged by a group of older women knowledgeable about *tīfaifai.* They assess each team's creation in terms of the criteria of an appropriate design for the theme and the *tīfaifai*'s artistic merits. One of the artisans of each team provides an explanation for the choice of elements within the design. For example, at the 2013 Heiva Rima'ī contest with the theme "The Many Values of the Coconut Tree", Elvina Beauvilain explained the *tīfaifai* that she and her partner created. It featured two coconut trees and other elements such as sprouting coconuts, coconut frond baskets and a house with a coconut-leaf roof. Expounding on the many uses of the coconut tree may be regarded as a "private performance" for the jury members only, but the actual construction of a *tīfaifai* to its basted stage is a performance that anyone attending the Heiva Rima'ī can view.

Other such performances of fashioning *tīfaifai* are often associated with contests, as, for example, a competition held in Pape'ete in 2010 to celebrate the capital's 120th anniversary. Organisers called for *tīfaifai* designs that would honour the city's name (which translates to 'Water Basket') and reference a story, legend or historical event associated with Pape'ete's springs, pools or rivers in its design. The winning entry depicted the pool where Queen Aimata Pōmare IV bathed. The queen's face and hair appeared in the centre, and the pool was surrounded by birds, leaves, ferns and flowers known to have existed during her lifetime (1813–1877).

Whether a contest allows for artisans to create a *tīfaifai* before the contest is convened (as for the *tīfaifai* salons of Te Api Nui O Te Tifaifai) or includes the actual process of completing steps in its creation as spectators watch, the contest *tīfaifai* are always hung for a specified period of time so that they may be viewed and admired. Performing as actants, the displayed *tīfaifai* communicate the vitality of the *tīfaifai* tradition, themes associated with Polynesian values, the ongoing significance of *tīfaifai* as Polynesian art and the public role of *tīfaifai* as heritage objects. Their display, and the display of those making the *tīfaifai*, if that is part of a competition, may encourage people to make *tīfaifai* themselves.

Designs and Motifs

Since *tīfaifai* have been created for over 150 years, any *tīfaifai* is part of the *tīfaifai* tradition and may project a message of the persistence of the tradition for those who know something of the history of *tīfaifai*. A single *tīfaifai*, then, can perform a role of referencing all *tīfaifai*. The choice of motifs for specific *tīfaifai* is also a means of relaying messages about cultural heritage,

the history of changes to the *tīfaifai* tradition, and specific practices and things associated with Māʻohi cultural heritage. I turn now to a consideration of motifs on appliqué *tīfaifai*, since much of the performative role of *tīfaifai* is centred in makers' choices of motifs and other design elements.

Several years after its founding, Te Api Nui O Te Tifaifai adopted a practice that has strengthened *tīfaifai* messages about cultural patrimony on two fronts. Every other year, the organisation's designated theme for the contest-entry *tīfaifai* is one of the older, "classic" *tīfaifai* designs, regarded as traditional, that were prevalent in earlier decades. This is done, as the organisation's president Béatrice Legayic explained to me, in order to protect and encourage the ongoing creation of former *tīfaifai* designs (pers. comm., 14 March 2013). In 2011, the theme "Tifaifai d'antan" (*Tīfaifai* of Yore) could be addressed by salon participants by using the motifs of royal crowns (symbols of the Tahitian Pōmare Dynasty), handheld fans such as those island women make and use at church services, or hanging oil lamps of the kind seen in early Christian churches in the islands. The designated 2013 salon theme was a reproduction of older *tīfaifai* with an *ʻape* design; *ʻape* plants are part of a group of plants that have been used for various purposes. The theme for 2015 was the design "Te Moemoeā nō Iotefa" (Joseph's Dream), a biblical design incorporating symbols of the famous dream: stars, moons and sheaves of wheat. In an interview for an article entitled "Tifaifai, Treasure of Polynesian Heritage", in *Hiroʻa, Journal d'informations culturelles* (2015), Legayic stated: "It is a biblical theme which reminds us that the *tīfaifai*, in the past, were used in a precise way, for important events. During religious celebrations, they were, for example, in a prominent place in the church". In 2017 the theme for a classic design was a head garland (*hei*) made of *maire*, a kind of fern that grows in many valleys. *Maire hei* are still worn for festive occasions.

As these stipulated motifs demonstrate, by using older designs, contemporary *tīfaifai* can perform what *tīfaifai* makers of the past thought worthy of depicting. The textiles simultaneously pay homage to older *tīfaifai* and to those who made and used them. Such contemporary *tīfaifai* embody ideas, values and references that are reinvoked by being recreated and represented. For example, the *tiare Tahiti* 'Tahitian flower' design incorporates the fragrant white flower that is indigenous to the Society Islands and considered French Polynesia's "national" flower.[8] Older *tīfaifai* designs with this flower often included motifs of both buds and open flowers arranged to resemble the circular *hei* 'neck or head garland' made from the flowers and worn by islanders in the past, as well as today, for a variety of occasions. The connotations associated with the flower, transferred to the design on a *tīfaifai*, also include wearing an individual *tiare Tahiti* behind the left or right ear to denote a wearer's romantic relationship status and the use of the flowers to scent coconut oil, used on the body and hair.

Older *tīfaifai* designs are created by folding the top, appliqué layer of material into fourths and then cutting the design to reveal a rotational, four-part symmetrical design that is sewn to the backing fabric. The different colours chosen for the top design layer and the backing layer are typically contrastive (such as red on white, white on green, or red on yellow). However, some *tīfaifai* creators take advantage of the increased colour choices now available and may even use two shades of the same colour. Te Api Nui O Te Tifaifai does not require that creators use vintage fabric or sew lengths of cloth together to achieve the correct size for the top and bottom layers of the textile, as was once necessary. In other words, although older designs are featured every other year in the Salon as a way to honour their creation in the past and preserve their memory, current practices demonstrate that even "old-style" *tīfaifai* can be modified within the continuous tradition of *tīfaifai*-making as a whole.

Other contemporary *tīfaifai*, including the themed *tīfaifai* of Te Api Nui O Te Tifaifai's contests on alternate years to the traditional designs, often draw upon the pictorial aspects of what are called *tableau tīfaifai* (Hammond 2015). This style typically displays a scene made from different pieces of cloth of various colours appliquéd to a background cloth. The pieces are shaped to resemble what they depict, and colour choices are often made with realism in mind. Unlike the rotational, four-part symmetrical designs of older-style textiles, *tableau tīfaifai* motifs may be asymmetrical and usually have a top-to-bottom orientation to "read" the design.

From their prominent emergence in the 1980s, when artisan leaders challenged *tīfaifai* makers to create new work by requiring conformity to a theme or encouraged creators to devise new subject matter, *tableau* (or *création*) *tīfaifai* have facilitated more narrative work. These kinds of appliqué *tīfaifai* contrast with those with older designs, a majority of which depicted only one kind of flower or plant. It should be noted, however, that some precedents existed for the storytelling function of many contemporary *tīfaifai* in some of the older-style appliqué designs. Examples include "Joseph's Dream", performing a message of islanders' embrace of Christianity as well as the biblical story; the *tiare ʻapetahi* flower design, linked with a legend of two lovers who were separated; and the *tiare Tahiti* flower with its many associations with islanders' celebrations.

What is especially noteworthy about many of the newer motifs of *tableau*-style appliqué *tīfaifai* is that they express ideas about islanders' cultural heritage. Many scenes depict the close relationship of Polynesians to their environment and its resources, those elements that are increasingly being recognised worldwide as societies' environmental or natural patrimony. For example, some early themes of the Te Api Nui O Te Tifaifai salons that inspired the creation of *tableau tīfaifai* included "The Riches of the Sea",

"The Valleys" and "The Birds of My Island" (Fig. 2). Other *tableau tīfaifai*, whether created for the salon or not, show former or ongoing distinctively Polynesian activities and objects associated with cultural heritage. *Tableau tīfaifai* frequently display iconic cultural items such as outrigger canoes and houses constructed from natural materials, as well as cultural activities such as fishing, making music and fashioning flower garlands. A distinctive *tīfaifai* created by the renowned artisan Aline Amaru performs as a reflexive statement about the significance of *tīfaifai* and *tīfaifai* creators. The *tableau*-style *tīfaifai* depicts Amaru herself sewing a *tīfaifai*. In another *tīfaifai* by Amaru, royalty of the Tahitian Pōmare Dynasty (1788–1880) are depicted (Fig. 3). This *tīfaifai*, now owned by the Queensland Art Gallery, was declared "*un patrimoine*" (a legacy object) by one of the staff of the Government Office of Traditional Arts and Crafts during a conversation I had with personnel about *tīfaifai* and cultural heritage (pers. comm., 19 April 2013).

Figure 2. A *tīfaifai* created by Virginie Biret with birds of Tahiti hangs in the reception area of the Pape'ete residence provided to French High Commissioners when they serve in French Polynesia. Photograph by the author, 2013.

In 2014 the Salon du Tīfaifai featured competition *tīfaifai* based on whatever participants wished to create. Many of the *tīfaifai* were identifiably linked with cultural heritage understandings, but even some that on first viewing might have seemed to have little to do with cultural heritage were linked with the past. For example, Elsa Tahi explained her *tīfaifai* with three horses by referring to ways horses figured in islanders' past lives as forms of transportation and entertainment through horse races (pers. comm., 29 April 2014).

Figure 3. A *Tīfaifai* by Aline Amaru , La Famille Pomare (Pa'oti style) 1991, Queensland Art Gallery Collection. This *tableau*-style *tīfaifai* depicts the rulers of the Pōmare Dynasty and was inspired by a woodcut by Jean- François Favre. Symmetrical *nana'o* cut-out designs are worked into the top layer of fabric and serve as a frame for the central area that display the royal figures, their titles and years of their lives. Photograph courtesy of QAGOMA.

Benjamin Rangivaru, one of the few men who has exhibited his work in the Salon, designed a *tīfaifai* that his mother hand-sewed. It portrayed Te Ariki Munanui, the legendary king or chief of Hao in the Tuamotu Islands, the island of origin for Rangivaru and members of his family. On various days during the Salon, renditions of the legend of the chief were recounted to me, to the jury and to a television crew reporting on the Salon. Rangivaru named the different figures in the design for me and told me of their relationships to Te Ariki Munanui. He also explained why he depicted the giant chief as kneeling, an action which raised dust and sent birds flying upwards, as depicted on the *tīfaifai*. When a local television crew filmed Rangivaru's *tīfaifai*, Riakina Teikipupuni, his mother, broke into a song about the chief in her indigenous language of the Tuamotu Islands.[9] On another occasion, two of Rangivaru's relatives came to see the *tīfaifai* and brought a guitar with them. They, Rangivaru and his mother sang two songs about the chief that detailed his exploits. Later, Rangivaru told me that the first song was about the hero becoming a king and the second was a song of a battle that the hero and his warriors waged (pers. comm., 30 April 2014). In these instances, the performance of the *tīfaifai* sparked human performances of songs related to the *tīfaifai*'s subject matter.

Émilienne Wohler's *tīfaifai* of four environmental elements—fire, air, water and earth—took first prize in the 2014 Salon. Since Wohler embroidered the names of the elements in French and depicted the elements themselves as female Polynesian figures, she combined Western and Polynesian influences shaping islanders' lives. The four figures, one in each quadrant, dominate the *tīfaifai*, thereby emphasising and celebrating Polynesian mythological figures and legends. In her account of the different aspects of her *tīfaifai*, she explained connections among the elements as a cycle. In my fieldnotes of 26 April 2014, I described her account:

> She pointed out that each female figure was holding something. Air is Vahine Tāhirihiri ('Fan Woman', legendary on the island of Tahiti) and she holds a fan. The wind fans the flames of the fire. The fire figure holds aloft a flame and water puts out the fire. Water, represented by the mermaid-like creature (*mokorea* or *meherio*), is holding a pearl. Water allows the earth (shown as a tree holding a sprouting coconut) to give life. She said the cycle can also be understood in terms of a life cycle. She spoke of the little rocks at the end of the hair filaments of the fire figure as a kind of lava called Pele's tears (Pele is the volcano goddess associated with the Hawaiian Islands).

Not all recent innovations in *tīfaifai* designs and motifs are tied to a *tableau* style of *tīfaifai.* In 1997, the Tamarii artisan couple from the Marquesas Islands introduced a new appliqué design based on Marquesan carving designs (Hammond 2014: 60). Drawing upon her husband's carving designs executed

in wood and stone, Emma Tamarii "translated" them into cloth. From the beginning, some *tīfaifai nana'o* 'sculpted *tīfaifai*' have been made by folding the design layer of cloth in fourths, in the manner of traditional appliqué designs. Other *nana'o* designs are juxtaposed with pictorial *tableau* elements as seen in Amaru's Pōmare family *tīfaifai* (Fig. 3). The cross-reference of one expressive medium to another artistic form underlined the celebration of many Mā'ohi visual forms of expressive culture as part of cultural heritage in the latter part of the 21st century. *Tīfaifai nana'o* quickly gained popularity with other *tīfaifai* artisans and probably provided some of the impetus for more motifs in *tableau tīfaifai* of carved sculptures, wooden bowls and drums—objects historically associated with male artisans.

Display Sites: Special Events and Permanent Placements

An illustration of the innovative ways that *tīfaifai* may be used to invoke the past and foreground cultural heritage occurred in Pape'ete in April 2017, when *Hine*, a Tahiti-based magazine for women, hosted an evening themed "Belle Époque" to coincide with the Festival Hōho'a Nui, an exhibition of photography in large format. In addition to a style show of clothing reminiscent of island dresses worn during the 1940s to the 1970s, a photo scene was arranged for female guests to pose in the vintage-replica dresses they were encouraged to wear. There they could be photographed seated in an ornate, carved love seat and later receive a mock cover of the magazine featuring their image. A beautiful traditional appliqué *tīfaifai* with a floral design was hung on the wall behind the loveseat to complete the emulated historical scene. For many locals, this arrangement could call to mind a well-known 1930s photograph of Queen Marau, wife of Pōmare V, last ruling monarch of Tahiti, seated before a *tīfaifai* hung behind her chair (see Hammond 2014: 47). Then, as now, a displayed *tīfaifai* behind a person could convey an identity linked to island culture and the prestige of owning such a valuable and treasured object. However, the *Hine* "photo studio" with a borrowed *tīfaifai* for the posers emphasised the nostalgic imaginary of a past period in the islands' history.

Another example of the performative role of *tīfaifai* in a specific context that clearly referenced cultural legacy in general and *tīfaifai* specifically may be cited in a 2013 contest centred on schoolchildren's performance of *'ōrero*, traditional oratory in indigenous Reo Mā'ohi (the language previously refereed to as Tahitian). Two *tīfaifai* were hung at the back of a stage where the children, dressed in costumes as Mā'ohi forbearers, delivered memorised short speeches as part of educational programming intended to revitalise or introduce indigenous language learning to island youth. The stage itself was decorated with items associated with Polynesian culture such as pandanus hats, shell necklaces, wooden sculptures and drums. Given their size and placement, two *tīfaifai* hung at the back of the stage were prominent features

Figure 4. *Tīfaifai* decorate the back of a stage at an *'orero* 'oratory' competition for youth held in Paea, Tahiti, in 2013. Photograph courtesy of Caroline Valentin.

of the performances (Fig. 4). Juxtaposed with other Polynesian objects, the *tīfaifai* were part of the cultural legacy the whole event celebrated. In addition, the designs on the *tīfaifai* evoked the traditional in two ways. One *tīfaifai* was made in the "classic" style of an appliquéd floral design. The other, of the newer *tableau* style, presented a grouping of motifs representing such traditional artefacts as a warrior's spear, a *ti'i* 'humanoid carving', a *tu'i* or *penu* 'stone beater for making the food called *poi*', a drum and a canoe paddle. The prominent display of both *tīfaifai* (which could perhaps be further interpreted as a nod to both female and male participants in the programme since flowers are especially associated with femininity and the objects of the other *tīfaifai* with masculinity) were part of the message of tradition being passed to the younger generation.

Since women have always been the main creators of *tīfaifai,*[10] the textiles can communicate much about their makers' identities as women, as well as societal expectations and developments that involve women in Tahitian society (see Hammond 1986b). *Tīfaifai* are sometimes used as a backdrop for beauty contests or hung in a setting where beauty contest competitors are

photographed. Colourful and associated with the womanly arts of beautifying the home and creating gifts for kin that emphasise familial ties, the *tīfaifai* serve as symbols of long-established feminine roles in the culture. The presence of the textiles simultaneously reinforces the identity of the candidates as young women connected to and proud of their culture.

The many miniature appliqué *tīfaifai* that are framed and hung along the corridors of the maternity ward of Tahiti's very modern hospital may be interpreted as signalling cultural heritage and the role of women as mothers (Figs 5a and 5b). As one woman explained to me, for her, the small, decorative textiles called to mind the once more common practice of a woman creating a *tīfaifai* for her unborn child during her nine-month pregnancy (pers. comm., 14 March 2017). Placed within the modern maternity ward, the miniature *tīfaifai* may also transmit a message about cultural heritage and cultural continuity: despite changes in society, cultural identity and knowledge of

Figures 5a and 5b. The two miniature *tīfaifai* pictured here (measuring 58 cm × 68 cm in their frames) are among more than 25 miniature *tīfaifai* of different designs and colours that hang in the halls of the maternity ward of the Ta'one Hospital in Pirae, Tahiti. The *tīfaifai* on the left presents the *tiare 'apetahi* design which, for many islanders, evokes a well-known legend of two lovers from the island of Ra'iātea, the only place where the flower grows. The *tīfaifai* on the right features turtles and dolphins. Marine animals, associated with Mā'ohi culture and environment, have been incorporated into *tīfaifai* designs much more frequently in recent decades than in the past. Photograph by the author, 2017.

cultural values are essential for future generations.

Performance of cultural heritage is enacted through other *tīfaifai* hung in public or semi-public places, as, for example, the beautiful floral-design *tīfaifai* displayed behind the main desk of the library of the University of the South Pacific (Fig. 6). In that location, the *tīfaifai* can play the actant role of signalling messages about the artistic achievements of Polynesians, their creativity, their love of natural beauty and their pride in their culture. Given the many associations of *tīfaifai* with the past, particularly in their roles as gifts to family members and objects of great value to bestow on others, the prominently displayed *tīfaifai* is capable of evoking many nostalgic and identification-with-place emotions. Situated where all will see it, the *tīfaifai* may even be said to "brand" the institution as Polynesian.

A broad message of Polynesian cultural heritage is also established in other contexts where *tīfaifai* are displayed. More specific and nuanced understandings depend on context and associations that viewers may bring

Figure 6. A *tīfaifai* with a hibiscus (*'aute*) design is hung in the library of the University of the South Pacific, Tahiti. Photograph by the author, 2013.

to the presence of displayed *tīfaifai*. For example, several *tīfaifai* grace the walls of reception areas in the Pape'ete home established for all the French High Commissioners who reside in the capital of French Polynesia during their tenure (see Fig. 2). Visitors to the French High Commissioner's home may be reminded of the cultural legacy of *tīfaifai*, the birds who live in the islands (depicted on a *tableau*-style *tīfaifai*) and the generosity of Mā'ohi to non-islanders (labels that appear next to the *tīfaifai* explain their gift status).

In the annual March celebrations of the 1797 arrival of missionaries from the London Missionary Society, members of the Mā'ohi Protestant Church in Pape'ete display *tīfaifai* in an arena where speeches, songs and dances are performed. Press coverage of the event often includes images of the impressive textiles. Participants in the religious celebration may connect the historical arrival of cloth and *tīfaifai* creation with Christian influences, but, as with other interactions with *tīfaifai* is a wide range of contexts, individual ideas proliferate. One participant in the 2013 celebration, for example, told me that the *tīfaifai*, which were mostly of the traditional style with floral designs, served to remind participants of the beauty of the earth, a theme used in the event's programme that year (pers. comm., 5 March 2013).

Messages imparted by *tīfaifai* displayed in photographs may also be linked with ideas of cultural heritage. In a 2016 publicity photograph promoting 28 November as Polynesian Language Day, the visual juxtaposition of the hosts of *Fare Mā'ohi*, a television programme conducted in Reo Mā'ohi, stood in front of a *tīfaifai*. The image served to emphasise both the language and the textiles as elements of Mā'ohi cultural legacy (*Air Tahiti Magazine* 2016).

As symbols of Mā'ohi cultural heritage, *tīfaifai* are potent political statements about identity that can operate outside of French Polynesia. *Tīfaifai* have been displayed at venues where touring French Polynesian dance groups perform, given to French Polynesian sister cities and donated as political presents to museums. In 2013, for example, two *tīfaifai* by Emma Tamarii, one of the most highly acclaimed *tīfaifai* makers of French Polynesia, were included among the items that President Flosse took to Paris to donate to the Musée du quai Branly (Quai Branly Museum) as representative of the superior artisanal work of the people of French Polynesia. The Pōmare Family *tableau*-style *tīfaifai*, previously mentioned, is owned by the Queensland Art Gallery, and the British Museum in London owns two Tahitian *tīfaifai*. When *tīfaifai* are included in museum holdings outside of French Polynesia, they simultaneously perform the legacy of a rich textile tradition and convey something of Polynesian cultural identities. When *tīfaifai* are exhibited in international quilt expositions, they can impart the same messages.

People Performing with Tīfaifai

Sometimes direct human interaction with a *tīfaifai* is part of the performance of cultural heritage. One of the most significant and early ways in which *tīfaifai* replaced an important ritual use of barkcloth, the indigenous fabric made by islanders, was in the presentation of a *tīfaifai* to an honoured recipient by wrapping it around the recipient. Just as islanders once enveloped European explorers in barkcloth, today they encircle high-status people and those honoured for special contributions and achievements with a gift *tīfaifai* (de Chazeaux and Frémy 2012; Hammond 1986a) (Fig. 7). *Tīfaifai* bestowed on dignitaries and others carry a heightened message of pride in cultural traditions and Polynesian identities, as well as a personal message for a recipient. When a young Mā'ohi woman won an international title in tae kwon do in 2013, for example, she was honoured for her achievement by the French Polynesian President who bestowed a *tīfaifai* upon her that was wrapped around her body. Couples are sometimes enveloped together in a *tīfaifai* as part of their wedding celebration. In any wrapping scenario,

Figure 7. A *tīfaifai* is wrapped around Ericka Bareights, the French Minister of Overseas Territories who administers all French territories outside of France, on the occasion of her visit to the Tuamotu atoll of Ahe in 2017. Photograph courtesy of Marie Guitton.

the joyful interaction of donors and recipients is part of the performative aspect. The ongoing public display of *tīfaifai* in this manner derives much of its power from the fact that it links the present with both the pre-contact and post-contact pasts.[11]

As discussed earlier, a well-known historical practice is that of reserving *tīfaifai* for use on beds, other furniture and walls of a home for special events or holidays when guests are expected; they are also placed on an overnight guest's bed as a way to respect a visitor. Children learn that family members are not to sit on *tīfaifai* when the textiles are brought out on such occasions; only an honoured guest can sit on a *tīfaifai*. Therefore, in July 2017, when a divan was covered with a *tīfaifai* and placed at one end of the public performance area where awards were announced for the year's annual Heiva celebration of dances and song performances, an expectation was generated that someone would be invited to sit on the *tīfaifai*. Coco Hotahota, the highly esteemed and ageing director of the dance troupe Temaeva, accompanied by two of his closest friends, was summoned to sit on the *tīfaifai* to hear praise for his decades of artistic contributions.

Yet another performative, public role in which people directly engage with a *tīfaifai* and *tīfaifai* maker(s) is in the demonstration of making *tīfaifai*. Occasions for demonstrations are sometimes linked with contests, as previously discussed. These contests not only highlight creators' savoir-faire but also, since onlookers can watch the entire process, may encourage others to create *tīfaifai* themselves or at least purchase a basted one to complete. Occasionally, demonstrations of creating an appliqué *tīfaifai* occur at Salon du Tīfaifai and in the sellers' area of the Tahiti Tourisme building or at other Tahiti Tourisme events.

Other occasions and venues are more pointedly planned with the objective of teaching others how they can carry on a time-honoured tradition. Schoolchildren are sometimes introduced to *tīfaifai*-making as part of their cultural heritage curriculum (Fig. 8), and adults, as well, have been given opportunities in conjunction with cultural heritage days held at the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles (Museum of Tahiti and the Islands). The demonstrations are sometimes expanded into opportunities for children and adults to perform steps of making a *tīfaifai* with someone guiding them.

A final example of a performative role with an interactive component comes from a "beauty contest" for older women. In June 2013, a Miss Mama Contest for older women was held in Vaitape, Bora Bora. The rules required that each of the eight contestants present something for a talent section. Most women danced, but one woman, with the aid of her granddaughter, created a *tableau vivant* 'living scene' in which she sat on a large rattan chair sewing a *tīfaifai* as her grandchild stroked the grandmother's cheek lovingly. The

Figure 8. Elementary schoolchildren from École Tuterai Tāne watch a young woman working on a *tīfaifai* as part of a training program under the guidance of renowned *tīfaifai* creator Emma Tamarii. The children's visit was part of the Heritage Week programme for their school. Photograph by the author, 2013.

local and mostly older audience knew exactly how to interpret this scene: the *tīfaifai* was being created to bestow upon the granddaughter at some future date. In a perfect act of art imitating life (the *tīfaifai* on the stage might well be the *tīfaifai* intended for the girl's future marriage), the scene communicated the vitality of an ongoing tradition (Fig. 9).

Most of the performances of *tīfaifai* discussed to this point are primarily for local audiences. The Salon du Tīfaifai attracts many people from France who are living in the islands for a few years, but the presence of tourists is rare. However, tourism does provide two scenarios for *tīfaifai* to perform as cultural-legacy icons. Some small, family-run hotels use *tīfaifai* to decorate guest rooms or common living spaces to add to the Polynesian ambiance of their establishments. Publications promoting tourism in the islands may also report on *tīfaifai* as part of Polynesian culture. In 2013, for example, Air Tahiti featured information about Raivavae in the Austral Islands in their in-flight publication. On the magazine's cover was a photograph of Clarisse Paulin, the owner of a newly opened pension who is also a celebrated creator of *tīfaifai*. In the article, she is shown with the pension's bungalows

Figure 9. One of the contestants of the 2013 Miss Mama contest in Vaitape, Bora Bora, stages a *tableau vivant* or living picture as her talent contribution. She sews a *tīfaifai* as her granddaughter looks on appreciatively. Photograph courtesy of François Bossavit, Loisirs Photo Vidéo.

and the several striking *tīfaifai* she made to adorn guests' beds. Welcoming and honouring guests by placing a *tīfaifai* on their beds is an adaptation of a historical family practice within the islands. Extended to tourism, the gesture is one that references and extends a traditional custom, as well as providing Polynesian ambiance for visitors. In contrast, large hotels with many guests forgo placing *tīfaifai* on beds but sometimes hang one or two on foyer walls as decoration. Large hotels may also offer guests a workshop or demonstration of how to make a *tīfaifai* in a weekly round of activities that may include lessons on how to dance, how to create a flower garland or how to weave something from pandanus leaves and other activities associated with Polynesian cultural heritage.

With the advent of destination weddings, French Polynesian tourism's creation of "traditional" Tahitian weddings for tourists, begun in the 1990s, provides yet another context in which *tīfaifai* represent cultural heritage. Based on local practices of wrapping a newly married couple together in a *tīfaifai* during the festivities of a marriage ceremony,[12] tourists who purchase certain wedding packages may also be enveloped in a *tīfaifai* (Hammond 2017).

A CULTURAL BIOGRAPHY OF *TĪFAIFAI*

> … it remains vital to relate the life of things, in one way or another, to the ways in which people give meaning to them. (Van Binsbergen 2005:19)

Since *tīfaifai*, like other objects, have agency, they may usefully be considered as having "lives" (Appadurai 1986; Kopytoff 1986). As has been asserted with respect to objects in general, the concreteness of *tīfaifai* at any time "emerges as a momentary point in a spectrum of making, use and dissembling that constitutes their biographies, their social lives" (Bell and Geismar 2009: 6). A biographical approach that takes into account a "succession of uses and recontextualizations of things" (Thomas 1991: 28), whether applied to a single thing or a category of things, may be examined with questions such as: What recognisable stages or ages define things' "lives"? What marks these stages and how do things change over their lifespans? I am bolstered in my contemplation of the biography of *tīfaifai* by the fact that Jerry Biret, the son of the renowned *tīfaifai* maker Virginie Biret, told me about the way in which he and his mother had presented the story of *tīfaifai* and its evolving nature to attendees of an international quilt conference in Canada (pers. comm., 29 May 2013). The mother and son took several *tīfaifai* with them to show as they explained how *tīfaifai* had changed over the decades in terms of methods of construction, popular styles, variation in sizes, motifs, colour selection and other visible changes.

In what follows, I discuss what I consider to be three significant stages in the lifespan of *tīfaifai* as a genre of islanders' material culture. Although I include some information about the ways in which the textiles' appearance has changed (for more detailed information see de Chazeaux and Frémy 2012; Hammond 2014, 2015), I discuss those and other changes in the context of ways in which the social, economic and political changes in the islands of Eastern Polynesia have affected and continue to affect how islanders use and value *tīfaifai* in public spaces and events tied to a discourse of cultural heritage. Owing to the co-constitutive nature of people and the textiles, *tīfaifai* have shaped people's thinking, actions and identities at the same time that societal changes have influenced the ways that people constitute *tīfaifai* within profound changes of the last century and a half.

From Origins to the 1970s

In his 1991 book *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture and Colonialism in the Pacific*, Nicholas Thomas wrote of the interest that Pacific Islanders and Europeans who encountered one another in the 18th and 19th centuries had for particular objects associated with each other's cultures. Western cloth and Western clothing were among the gifts bestowed or goods traded by Westerners with indigenous people. Polynesians welcomed and

appreciated Western cloth for its colours, printed designs and durability. Küchler *et al.* (2005: 84) have also suggested that islanders were inspired by Western cloth's luminosity and sought to capture a special efficacy they considered it to have.

For their part, Europeans received large quantities of indigenous barkcloth as gifts from the elite of Tahiti. Scholars aboard Cook's voyages of scientific exploration recorded information about the indigenous fabric's appearance, manufacture and uses, and, since European explorers were given barkcloth, often in large quantities, some was transported to Europe as objects of scientific interest or items of "curiosity". Notable among Westerners' early observations was the fact that women of high rank took as much pride in making barkcloth as those of lower social levels, and members of the chiefly class commandeered the greatest quantities of barkcloth of the best quality. As in other areas of Polynesia, the finest barkcloth in the Society Islands was strongly associated with sanctity and was a symbol of wealth and prestige (Rose 1971; Tcherkézoff 2003, 2004). Islanders' practices of wrapping god figures and deceased members of chiefly rank in barkcloth was noted, and some of the officers on ships were honoured by being wrapped in barkcloth.

In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, both barkcloth and Western cloth existed in the Society Islands. As D'Alleva (2005) has noted, islanders' clothing sometimes combined the two. However, the manufacture of barkcloth slowed, and by the middle of the 19th century it was no longer being produced (Koojiman 1988: 22), owing to such factors as the advantages of Western cloth's durability, the prestige value of Western cloth, the destruction of wooden sculptures clothed in barkcloth and the association of Western cloth with Christianity.

Quilts, prized articles of domesticity introduced into the Pacific by Christian missionaries and likely spread, in some cases, to other Polynesian islands by Christian converts (Herda 2011: 65), inspired islanders in the Tuamotu Islands, the Austral Islands and the Society Islands to create quilt-like textiles from Western cloth. While these textiles shared much in common with Western quilts and fulfilled missionaries' expectations of useful feminine work and adornment of homes, they differed in form (lacking batting and quilting stitches), and their creation blended former barkcloth-work patterns and some ritual uses of barkcloth with the cachet of imported cloth and Western quilts.

There is no documentation to definitively establish piecework *tīfaifai*, made by sewing many geometrically shaped pieces of fabric together to create designs, as preceding appliqué *tīfaifai*. This is, however, a widely held opinion among people in the Society Islands and is bolstered by a translation of the word *tīfaifai*, usually translated as 'to patch repeatedly', since the word has a long history as a generic term to refer to both piecework (*tīfaifai pū*) and appliqué styles (*tīfaifai pā'oti*). Joining small pieces of cloth to

create a textile was probably the first, or at least primary, style of *tīfaifai*.[13] Appliqué *tīfaifai*, made by cutting out designs to be placed on a background of contrastive coloured cloth, may have been created nearly as early as the piecework style or soon thereafter. Over time, the piecework style has been created far less often, especially in the Society Islands, primarily owing to the time-intensive labour for completing such textiles.[14]

Accounts and photos of *tīfaifai* from the 19th and early 20th centuries confirm a long history of prestige associated with *tīfaifai.* In some ways, the textiles extended important uses of barkcloth as gifts and as bed coverings. Utilised as decoration in homes for Christian holidays and in other structures for gatherings and weddings (Cumming 1877; Cuzent 1860), *tīfaifai* also instigated some transformations in the social environment. As articles of value to be displayed in photographs with people (O'Reilly 1975), for example, they participated in the construction of new social circumstances. These elements constituted early innovations in the *tīfaifai* tradition.

As a syncretic form combining elements of both Western and Polynesian textile traditions, it is not surprising that islanders incorporated novel designs associated with things and places outside of their region, indicating an early tendency in the life of *tīfaifai* to embrace the new. Cuzent (1860) remarked on Prussian, Russian and French imperial eagle designs that she saw on *tīfaifai* in 1858. Lovina Chapman, the daughter of a sea captain, brought Hawaiian quilts to the Society Islands in 1899 (possibly the first time these textile "cousins" were viewed by Mā'ohi) which, according to Hututu Salmon, created great interest (O'Reilly 1959: 167).

In his 1959 work, O'Reilly discussed the ongoing importance of *tīfaifai* to islanders. The combined meanings of value attached to *tīfaifai* as prestigious articles associated with Christianity and Western quilts (and the ways in which they extended aspects of barkcloth creation and use) undoubtedly contributed to the ongoing popularity and significance of *tīfaifai.* Like Westerners writing in the 19th and early 20th centuries, O'Reilly reported mid-20th century on the ongoing use of *tīfaifai* to adorn houses for special occasions, to serve as decoration during celebrations and to be bestowed as gifts. He also noted the kinds of motifs popular for appliqué *tīfaifai*, the most prevalent style in the Society Islands in mid-20th century (as it continues to be today). He cited many floral and plant motifs connected with the island environment, but he also discussed motifs not associated with the islands' setting, such as a Louis XVI basket or the Cross of Lorraine (O'Reilly 1959: 170). Some of the designs for the piecework style of *tīfaifai* were, he argued, personal adaptations of tapestry popular from the Second Empire period of France (1959: 172). Contests for creating innovative designs for *tīfaifai* encouraged what has since become a strong, ongoing element within the *tīfaifai* biography—that of a constant encouragement to innovate.

In 1977–78, during my own early research on *tīfaifai*, many people told me about the importance of bestowing *tīfaifai* on family members and esteemed others, and I saw the continued presence of *tīfaifai* as decorations inside homes for New Year's festivities and in the construction of a temporary wedding feast house. I also saw parade floats to celebrate the French national holiday (Bastille Day) that were decorated by women from the Austral Islands with their piecework-style *tīfaifai* (Hammond 1986a). Most of the designs of Society Islands appliqué *tīfaifai* I saw were variations on the floral and plant designs mentioned by O'Reilly. Garlands of *tiare Tahiti* flower designs were very common. Some motifs were of peacocks or objects such as hanging lamps and fans. I also saw a few *tīfaifai* with mermaids and those with symbols of Joseph's Dream. In short, much of what I witnessed in the late 1970s varied little from what I had read of *tīfaifai* makers and *tīfaifai* in O'Reilly's 1959 publication. However, in Pape'ete, I heard of and visited the workspace of a woman who had started a small cottage industry of machine-sewn *tīfaifai* to sell. She employed a handful of young women, including some of her daughters.

The first 120-year span in the biography of *tīfaifai*, for which very little documentation exists, can perhaps best be characterised as innovatively combining elements of the past with the changing circumstances brought about through the interactions of islanders with Western explorers, traders and missionaries. *Tīfaifai* were seemingly appreciated for the ways in which they combined values and some uses of indigenous barkcloth with introduced Western cloth and quilts. They were highly valued products employed for a variety of purposes, some associated with public appearances as decoration and gifts, but the vast majority associated with the domestic sphere of creating and gifting *tīfaifai* for important rites of passage and decorating the home for guests, particularly for Christian holidays.[15] While women (and some men) made both piecework-style and appliqué-style *tīfaifai* in many of French Polynesia's islands, in the Society Islands the appliqué style was predominant by the 1950s if not earlier.

The 1980s to 2000

In contrast to the first two-thirds of *tīfaifai*'s documented history, the 20-year period of *tīfaifai* from the 1980s to 2000 may be characterised as one of extensive changes, owing to major economic, political and socio-cultural factors affecting French Polynesia. The impetus for many of those changes can be traced to the events of the 1960s and 1970s; therefore, a few facts leading up to the 20-year period provide information about the ways in which different influences combined.

In its dominating role as coloniser, France positioned itself to make decisions that were to eventually affect all islanders and residents of the

five archipelagos that became French Polynesia. In the mid-1960s, France's decision to undertake nuclear tests in the Tuamotu Archipelago led to profound changes. The tests, conducted between 1966 and 1996, brought an influx of French military personnel and their families to French Polynesia. Infrastructural changes needed for the "urban-military complex" (Finney 1979) generated jobs, and Pape'ete, Tahiti, the largest city of French Polynesia, began to attract people living on other islands of French Polynesia who sought wage labour and an urbanised way of life. Consumerism increased, not only because there were more goods and services but also because many people from other islands had no ancestral lands to cultivate on Tahiti.

The amplified presence of the French military, the highly controversial nuclear tests, a growing resentment of French-imposed rules and regulations, and the political actions of other Pacific Islanders once colonised by European nations all contributed to intensified political dissent and strife in French Polynesia. With the support of Greenpeace and other international organisations, islanders' protests of the nuclear tests preceded France's decision to grant limited autonomy to French Polynesia in 1977, increased in 1984. In 2003, French Polynesia became an overseas collectivity of the French Republic and the following year was granted administrative autonomy.

Alongside the turbulent political events of the mid-1960s and the 1970s, a renaissance of indigenous Mā'ohi culture began to emerge, led by a number of Tahitian intellectuals who sought to ensure continuation of their Polynesian language and to resurrect various cultural practices such as tattooing, a practice abandoned under the influence of Christianity (Saura 2008: 59). Other cultural revitalisation actions in the Pacific also inspired islanders of French Polynesia. In 1976, for example, the *Hokule'a*, a recreated Polynesian voyaging canoe, sailed from Hawai'i to Tahiti with traditional navigational techniques. Noteworthy milestones in French Polynesia included the 1974 establishment of the Académie tahitienne (Tahitian Academy), later named Fare Vāna'a (a Reo Mā'ohi name meaning 'house of oration or discourse') to safeguard and promote the indigenous language; the 1977 establishment of the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles, also called Te Fare Manaha; and the 1981 date when Reo Mā'ohi began to be taught in schools. In 1985, a year after French Polynesia received limited autonomy, the annual festival of dancing, singing and sports, formerly celebrated as France's national holiday, received the name Heiva, a renaming that emphasised the celebration as a Polynesian event and signalled the growing expression of pride in Polynesian identity.

In an interesting synchronistic effect with what was occurring in French Polynesia, the 1960s in France were also associated with a rural-to-urban shift in population. This, in turn, resulted in an expanded understanding of what constituted cultural heritage (Poirrier 2003). France's heritage consciousness began as early as the 1800s, but it was narrowly defined and

primarily centred on the preservation of monuments. However, in the 1960s under André Malraux, France's first Minister of Cultural Affairs, a general inventory of France's monuments was accompanied by an accounting of artistic treasures. The inventory, undertaken by hundreds of local voluntary workers, resulted in an expanded and broadened view of what should be counted as part of heritage. In the late 1970s under the government's Ministry of Culture and Communications, an understanding of heritage emphasised a close interrelationship between past and present and opened heritage to an ethnological approach that included local practices, skills and objects.

The new approach, later adopted by the French Polynesian government in congruence with the enlarged view in France, strengthened incentives to retrieve and practice some past traditions. In contrast to reintroduced cultural practices of the mid to late 20th century in French Polynesia, the creation and use of *tīfaifai* did not have to be resurrected as a cultural form. Some *tīfaifai* expositions and contests were staged before the 1980s, often in conjunction with the July festivities established in 1881 to celebrate the French national holiday, but the increased emphasis on artisan activities beginning in the 1980s ushered in an era of artisan centres and more competitions in crafts, including *tīfaifai*. The emphasis on cultural heritage also supported efforts to recognise the skills and knowledge needed for creating *tīfaifai*, as well as the significant roles *tīfaifai* had always played in Mā'ohi culture. Including *tīfaifai* in the discourse of *le patrimoine* or *faufa'a tupuna* helped to affirm the significance of the creation and use of the textiles in terms of Polynesian identity and cultural pride.

Some of the most profound changes for Tahiti during the latter part of the 20th century—ones that impacted other islands of French Polynesia as well—strengthened a continuation of the *tīfaifai* tradition, albeit with changes (Hammond 2014). In the challenging economic milieu of increased wage labour and population growth in Pape'ete, the global economic crisis of 1987 and an economic downturn that accompanied French withdrawal of the nuclear testing programme, many islanders sought new sources of revenue. Alongside the ongoing creation of other arts and crafts, many of which were attractive to tourists, more islanders turned to selling *tīfaifai* to other islanders and those continental French living in the islands for several years. For some women, this became part of a strategy for their families' economic well-being (Langevin 1990: 92). The commercialisation of *tīfaifai* in the latter part of the 20th century led to more machine-sewn *tīfaifai*, sometimes with simplified designs to reduce sewing time. In turn, the increased sale of local *tīfaifai* to islanders and mainland French led to importations of commercially produced *tīfaifai*-inspired textiles made in factories in Southeast Asia. These were sold at much lower prices than locally made *tīfaifai*.

Influenced by all these changes, three significant developments can be noted in the biography of *tīfaifai*, all of which were strengthened by the growing cultural heritage discourse occurring in French Polynesia. The three developments cast *tīfaifai* in a stronger public, performative role to celebrate and safeguard *tīfaifai* made in French Polynesia, and all three developments were supported by the French Polynesian government. As Dicks points out, "[t]hrough display sites, people can ensure their own traditions continue, ones which might otherwise be lost, by educating people about them" (2003: 13).

The first major development occurred in the 1980s when some of the leaders of women artisans' cooperatives began to challenge *tīfaifai* makers to create new work. Since many contest themes encouraged the creation of pictorial scenes, the colourful *tableau*-style *tīfaifai* came into being. As detailed earlier, many of the themes associated with expositions and contests have highlighted what are considered traditional aspects of island life, whether in the form of resources, cultural practices or both. Older *tīfaifai* designs are now frequently regarded as a way of remembering and honouring the cultural heritage of the *tīfaifai* tradition itself.

The second major development, the 1997 exposition of *tīfaifai* entitled *Un siècle de tifaifai* (A Century of *Tīfaifai*), was a watershed event. The third major development was the creation of Te Api Nui O Te Tifaifai, built on the momentum of emphasising *tīfaifai* as cultural heritage objects. Both the second and third developments resulted in what may be described as consciously shaped heritage stances, cast within what Fienup-Riordan calls "conscious culture" (2000: 167) and Appadurai calls "culturalism" (1996: 14–15). Such heritage actions are often performed in both old and new public contexts as a response to demands and changes originating both inside and outside of indigenous communities. They may serve to mediate new circumstances and support communities' unique identities.

Documentation exists for some public displays of *tīfaifai* in contests, church bazaars and sale exhibitions for decades before the annual artisan competitions established in the 1980s as part of the Heiva Rima'ī, previously discussed, and the creation of the 1997 exposition *Un siècle de tifaifai* (de Chazeaux and Frémy 2012; Hammond 1986; O'Reilly 1959). However, the 1997 event, mounted by the French Polynesian government's Ministry of the Economy and of Artisans, in collaboration with Tahiti i te Rima Rau (a committee of traditional artisans), put *tīfaifai* squarely before the public as treasured objects and a designated part of French Polynesian cultural heritage. The attention to the longevity of the *tīfaifai* tradition in the exhibit's collection (a few of the textiles dated to the 19th century and others represented the decades up through the 1990s) and the inclusion of both piecework- and appliqué-style *tīfaifai* signalled a historical, museum-

like retrospective. Some of the exhibited textiles were family heirlooms that had never been publicly viewed, a notable component of the exposition since many *tīfaifai* patterns were not (and are still not) shared outside of families. The familial aspect of the exhibit conveyed a message that the treasures of *tīfaifai* were a part of not only family patrimonies but of the society's cultural heritage at large. Also significant was the fact that the *tīfaifai* were not for sale, conveying the message of the collection as a public heritage to be appreciated and acknowledged.

The exhibit was followed with a book, *Tifaifai: The Tahitian Patchwork*, which featured some of the exhibit's *tīfaifai*. Referring to the anticipated book in 1997, Georges Puchon, the Minister of the Economy and of Artisans, declared, "Thanks to this work, we can say that we are going to safeguard this cultural heritage which remains so living and creative" (Durocher 1997: 26). In the book's introduction, written by Gloaguen and Chin Foo, *tīfaifai* are identified as a family heritage that is "the memory and the expression of a feminine cultural identity". The authors also observe that "[a]s a substantial source of income today, the tifaifai must remain an original adornment item made with taste and perfection. It would be wise to protect it like other art creations" (Gloaguen and Chin Foo n.d.: 7).

The book's text was written in French, English and Japanese. The three languages highlighted the fact that *tīfaifai* were not only attracting interest among French citizens living in France or those who came to the islands but also gaining a widening international following, especially among Japanese. In addition to including the specific names of the *tīfaifai* designs (usually in both Reo Mā'ohi and French), the book included large colour photographs and information regarding each *tīfaifai*'s design, age and other details. At the back of the large-format paperback, a pattern for creating a traditional appliqué *tīfaifai* was included, as well as a list of contacts for readers who wished to find *tīfaifai* in the islands.

The creation of Te Api Nui O Te Tifaifai, the third significant development for *tīfaifai*'s role in *le patrimoine*, was largely triggered by an increasing threat of imported *tīfaifai* undermining islanders' economic efforts to supplement their income by making the textiles, as well as the recognition that factory-produced, machine-sewn *tīfaifai* could lead to a deterioration in the quality of local *tīfaifai*. Organisers of Te Api Nui O Te Tifaifai created the association devoted specifically to *tīfaifai* and borrowed the French Polynesian government's mantra of promoting, protecting and valuing cultural items and practices—in this case, locally made *tīfaifai.*

The most visible work of Te Api Nui O Te Tifaifai since the organisation's inception has been their annual two-week salon. Early in the organisation's existence, the members decided to purchase a particularly fine *tīfaifai* entered

into the contest each year in order to establish what they refer to as their Patrimoine Collection (Fig. 10). Some of the collection is displayed for special occasions. In 2013, for example, several were mounted for the first Festival of Traditional Artisanship. Others were hung at the 2013 Salon du *Tīfaifai* in commemoration of the association's 15th anniversary. Some have travelled with members of Te Api Nui O Tifaifai to expositions outside of French Polynesia. It is the organisation's plan to safeguard the collection for the public's education and the possibility of a future permanent place to house them.

The 1980s to the year 2000 were a significant stage in the biography of *tīfaifai,* primarily due to the events that led to foregrounding *tīfaifai* as part of islanders' cultural heritage. The social, economic and political changes that ushered in islanders' efforts to secure greater political autonomy from France, achieve economic viability and embrace cultural revitalisation were factors that influenced *tīfaifai*'s emerging role as cultural heritage objects. In this capacity, individual *tīfaifai* and *tīfaifai* that are primarily associated with the private, domestic realm are considered to be part of people's cultural heritage, as illustrated by the remarks of two staff members of the Government Office of Traditional Arts and Crafts as recorded in my fieldnotes for 23 April 2013:

Figure 10. The hanging *tīfaifai* are part of Te Api Nui O Te Tifaifai's Patrimoine Collection, exhibited here in 2013 at the first Festival of Traditional Arts. Unlike the folded *tīfaifai* on the tables, the *tīfaifai* of the heritage collection are not for sale. Photograph by the author.

> "It [a heritage object] is something of the ancestors and something to pass to future generations. It is like a jewel, very precious. If there is not a perpetuation of tradition, it will rupture." To illustrate this, she [the staff member] asserted that she will pass on her *tīfaifai* to her children as *patrimoine*. To my question of whether someone can create a *patrimoine* object today, the response was a definite affirmative. As illustration, another one of the staff members said that if one did not have such things in the family before, one could create them now. This suggests that cultural heritage is associated with certain practices and phenomena that have existed in the past, but that new manifestations of behaviours and things are not only acceptable but desirable in order to keep a tradition alive.

More visibly than *tīfaifai* kept in homes, *tīfaifai* in the 1980s to 2000 were taking a larger role as items of cultural heritage in public displays. In this capacity, they began performing cultural heritage of the *tīfaifai* tradition itself, and, by extension, cultural heritage as a whole, often through specific *tīfaifai* motifs.

2000 to The Present

As the present century began, *tīfaifai*'s public performative roles increasingly encapsulated messages about cultural heritage, a development that reflects Brett's (1996: 8–9) assertion about the ways in which people may strive to recover a sense of the past and re-establish values and revitalisation practices in the wake of major changes in their society that have eroded former ways of life and traditions. People's agency, often in combination with the agency of things, may be used to recall and rearticulate the past as part of identity politics. As concrete objects, *tīfaifai*, like other textile traditions, are historical records that "capture diverse or distinctive cultural traditions and thereby serve collectively to help present the past" (Warren 2000: 68). Within the process of conscious culture or culturalism, *tīfaifai* performances in public spaces and events have coincided with other culturalism developments, such as the 2001 reintroduced fire-walking ritual that has become an annual event on Tahiti and staged reenactments of chiefly rites on Marae 'Ārahurahu in Paea, Tahiti, developed in the first two decades of the 21st century.[16]

Acknowledging that the connection between heritage and identity is well established (Smith 2006: 48), Smith (2011: 80) has also observed that "[h]eritage is a cultural process or performance that is engaged with the construction and reconstruction of cultural identity, memory, sense of place and belonging". According to her, memory is an important constitutive element of identity formation that can be particularly powerful as it "takes root" in the concrete (2006: 60). Yet the "concrete" is not unchanging. Wettstein (2016: 391) points out that a "'manifestation of identity' in material culture and performative events should not be understood as a fixed, static state, but can be seen as a process in permanent flux".

In 2010, when I returned to French Polynesia to learn of changes in *tīfaifai* creation and use, some of the special purposes that linked *tīfaifai* with specific barkcloth traditions, such as wrapping honoured recipients in a *tīfaifai*, were ongoing, but often consciously contextualised within the discourse of cultural heritage. This is particularly evident in tourists' "traditional" Tahitian weddings with a *tīfaifai* wrapping. There were also new venues for the textiles, as detailed in the first part of this article, and an enlarged emphasis on promoting the skills of *tīfaifai*-making to ensure the continuance of an established tradition. The French Polynesian government's support of *tīfaifai* expositions, pedagogical projects with *tīfaifai* and the gifting of *tīfaifai* to organisations outside of the islands has bolstered and contributed to the cultural heritage discourse.

An increase in media coverage about *tīfaifai* creation and use has also contributed to an expanded performative role of *tīfaifai* in cultural-heritage discourse. The monthly French Polynesian government publication, *Hiro'a, Journal d'informations culturelles,* has featured several articles about *tīfaifai*. In 2012, two books were published in Tahiti about *tīfaifai* and *tīfaifai* artisans (de Chazeaux and Frémy 2012; Grand 2012) that have contributed to *tīfaifai*'s association with cultural heritage.

Tīfaifai mounted temporarily or permanently for public display are largely seen by island residents, not only people of Mā'ohi descent but people of other ethnicities living in French Polynesia as well. French people from continental France who move to French Polynesia for several years in conjunction with jobs are exposed to *tīfaifai* in local media and may see *tīfaifai* in expositions and other contexts. They often develop an interest in the textiles and are knowledgeable about the great value placed on *tīfaifai* by people of indigenous descent. According to *tīfaifai* makers, French people from mainland France are the main purchasers of *tableau*-style *tīfaifai* that incorporate subject matter of traditional island lifeways and island resources. Many people from mainland France purchase *tīfaifai* to take home as souvenirs of their sojourns in French Polynesia and to give to family and friends.

Some residents in the islands who are not indigenous have learned to make *tīfaifai* or buy basted *tīfaifai* which they complete. Michèle de Chazeaux and Marie-Noëlle Frémy, residents of Tahiti and authors of *Le Tifaifai* (2012), told me that during the years when the French military presence was strong, many wives of soldiers wanted to learn to make *tīfaifai.* Their interest contributed to the general revitalisation of interest in *tīfaifai* among locals (pers. comm., 20 February 2013). In a sense, therefore, *tīfaifai* have come to be regarded as part of a cultural heritage which all residents may share.

Tourists, on the other hand, who typically visit for two weeks or less, may never see *tīfaifai* unless they stay at a hotel displaying the textiles, attend an exposition during their trip, encounter images of *tīfaifai* in the media or go to Tiki Village on Mo'orea where various arts are demonstrated. However,

a very recent development may ensure that most visitors can see a *tīfaifai* during their visit. In March 2018, a new display of "*objets du patrimoine polynésien*" (Polynesian heritage objects) (*Hiro'a, Journal d'informations culturelles* 2018), including a magnificent red and white traditional appliqué *tīfaifai* with a breadfruit design, was placed in the arrival area at the Tahiti airport. Miriama Bono, Director of the Museum of Tahiti and the Islands, is quoted in the *Hiro'a* publication as stating, "The idea is to show the evolution of heritage with a dynamic and contemporary vision" (*Hiro'a, Journal d'informations culturelles* 2018).

Tīfaifai makers repeatedly told me that tourists do not purchase *tīfaifai*, even if they see them being sold in an exposition. Although this may be partly due to a lack of exposure and knowledge of the significance of *tīfaifai* to islanders, the artisans also attribute it to the expense associated with *tīfaifai* (especially those hand-sewn) and the textiles' size and weight. Thus, unlike many arts that have experienced a revival based on societies' tourism, *tīfaifai*'s efflorescence in the present period has *not* been driven by tourism. There are, however, people from around the world who connect with *tīfaifai* artisans and order from them. Some of these connections are made in person; others are negotiated over the internet.

That *tīfaifai* are regarded as part of *le patrimoine* and communicate that message beyond the boundaries of French Polynesia may be witnessed in the acquisition of *tīfaifai* for international museum collections and in the depiction of *tīfaifai* on several postage stamps issued by the French Polynesian government and on the websites of some *tīfaifai* makers. While such phenomena instruct others outside of the islands about a link between cultural heritage and *tīfaifai*, it is common knowledge within the islands that *tīfaifai* have *always* been cherished. The skills and the textiles themselves have been literally handed down from one generation to another and interpersonal relationships celebrated with *tīfaifai* bestowed as gifts. The co-constitutive elements of *tīfaifai* and indigenous islanders continue to manifest themselves in how highly people value the textiles, the renown bestowed upon expert makers for their artistic talents and fine sewing skills, and the deep emotion communicated between those who give and those who receive *tīfaifai*.

In the period of 2000 to 2018, *tīfaifai* have "taken centre stage" in public places and events as cultural heritage objects linked with cultural identities. Building upon the foundational three events of the late 1990s—1) the theme-driven *tīfaifai* competitions that ushered in *tableau*-style *tīfaifai*, 2) the *Un siècle de tifaifai* exhibit which definitively rendered *tīfaifai* as cultural legacy objects (thereby identifying creators in the co-constitutive roles as cultural heritage creators), and 3) the establishment of Te Api Nui O Te Tifaifai, the association that emphasises *tīfaifai* as part of islanders' cultural heritage—*tīfaifai* makers and *tīfaifai* themselves continue to co-construct each other within the cultural heritage discourse.

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From the origins of *tīfaifai*, involving adoption of Western cloth and selected aspects of both Western quilts and Mā'ohi barkcloth traditions, to the first creations of *tīfaifai* motifs that expressed islanders' celebration of their environments as well as ideas and objects acquired from abroad, to the more recent innovations of selling *tīfaifai* and creating *tableau*-style *tīfaifai*, changes in the *tīfaifai* tradition are a result of islanders' choices and decisions made in response to social, economic and political changes. The ways in which traditions persist by combining old and new have been articulated by many scholars including Clifford (2001), D'Alleva (2005), Hermann (2011), Kaeppler (2008) and Stevenson (1990, 2002). Despite all of *tīfaifai*'s ties to the past, innovation has always permeated the *tīfaifai* tradition. However, the changes of the past 40 years in French Polynesia have resulted in islanders actively shaping some practices in the *tīfaifai* tradition that are consciously crafted assertions of Polynesian pride and identity expressed through cultural heritage. Over the past eight years, many islanders have told me that it is necessary for *tīfaifai* to change, progress and develop. They use the French word *évoluer* (to evolve, to change), pointing out that, like society itself which is undergoing transformations, the *tīfaifai* tradition should be expected to change. The new and the old are often combined though *tīfaifai*, ultimately forging a message that the past, present and future are all connected.

Just as people have constituted *tīfaifai*, so too have *tīfaifai* shared a role in shaping islanders' identities. Dicks (2003: 126) notes that "heritage displays offer a space for the intertwining of public, exhibitionary space and private, biographical space". The retention of some elements of *tīfaifai*'s past and the commitment to being open to future change is part of a widely held islander view of the contemporary *tīfaifai* tradition. Benjamin Rangivaru, one of the exposition participants in the 2014 Salon du Tīfaifai, told me that he never repeats a design he makes, a practice increasingly shared by many *tīfaifai* artisans today. Reflecting on present and future changes within the *tīfaifai* tradition, Rangivaru asserted that to retain the symbolic nature of *tīfaifai*, "You have to return to your own culture and all the meanings of handicraft, social relations, and heritage that you want to transmit to children. … The work of *tīfaifai* is not superficial. It's connected to my culture, to my personality, to my origins, to my language and to my identity. It is a heritage." At another point in our conversation, Rangivaru stated, "For me, *tīfaifai* is culture and identity. I am still reflecting on it. It is our roots and our culture. It has a symbolic signification. *Tīfaifai* is the symbol of true social relations because before [in its early history], *tīfaifai* was not made alone. A second signification is that the *tīfaifai* unites: for example, in the envelopment of a

couple in marriage" (pers. comm., 30 April 2014). Rangivaru's statement exemplifies Miller's observations about the ways in which the things that people make make people (2005: 38). His comments also illustrate "the vitality of material forms and how things embody, inculcate and represent people's ways of thinking about the world" (Bell and Geismar 2009: 4).

Given the significance of *tīfaifai* within the larger discourse of cultural heritage in French Polynesia, it is ironic that the way in which islanders understand the *tīfaifai* tradition as wholly authentic and integral to their cultural heritage is in contradiction to the absence of *tīfaifai* in many books that feature what their authors identify as traditional Pacific arts.[17] This is presumably because *tīfaifai* are not cultural objects that can be traced to a "pure" tradition predating Western contact and because *tīfaifai* incorporate cloth manufactured outside of the islands that was introduced by Westerners. For islanders, the concepts of threat and risk for *tīfaifai* are not about needing to preserve specific past practices of *tīfaifai* (for example, in terms of sewing widths of fabric to create a textile of desired dimensions). Rather, they centre on allowing *tīfaifai* to evolve with the times and preventing the usurpation of locally made *tīfaifai*, particularly hand-sewn textiles, by machine-sewn and mass-produced *tīfaifai* created in Southeast Asia. As islanders sometimes pointed out to me, the imported textiles cannot embody the same spirit as those created by islanders who know the rich and varied meanings that *tīfaifai* convey.

From the time they were first created, *tīfaifai* have been an integral part of the lives of islanders in French Polynesia. As a vernacular art form, anyone, including men, could make *tīfaifai*. For many people, the textiles are still primarily associated with the home and expressive of familial ties, but over the past 30 to 40 years, *tīfaifai* have increasingly expanded their roles in public spaces and events. As detailed in this article, most of the places and events where *tīfaifai* are displayed are ones that are primarily associated with locals, a clear indication that *tīfaifai* are very meaningful to islanders. By framing older "classic" designs of *tīfaifai* as part of a cultural legacy that should be preserved, promoted and protected, sometimes through contemporary replications, and, at the same time, forwarding the more narrative *tableau*-style *tīfaifai* as part of an ongoing tradition, one in which creators often choose to fashion scenes depicting islanders' past ways of life, legends and valued island resources, the *tīfaifai* cultural heritage discourse becomes all inclusive. Even those designs that are not associated with the Polynesian past (e.g., a *tīfaifai* made to look like a postage stamp featuring a cherry tree design, the "at" symbol @, or a design based on a greeting card with a picture of swans) can be incorporated into a *tīfaifai* tradition of cultural legacy because they exist as *tīfaifai*. As Clifford (2001: 475) has pointed out, "[t]raditions articulate, selectively remember and connect pasts and presents".

The increased public role of the textiles in discourses of cultural heritage, I have argued, is linked to the biography of *tīfaifai* as a tradition. It is a history that includes the entwinement of *tīfaifai* with such societal changes as the augmented numbers of French citizens from mainland France living in the islands; the urbanisation and economic changes that ushered in more waged labour jobs; the political impact of France's nuclear tests in French Polynesia; the Polynesian cultural renaissance, greatly supported by the French Polynesian government, with its emphasis on arts and crafts, music, dance and indigenous language; the influence of French heritage policies; the establishment of an organisation devoted exclusively to *tīfaifai*; and globalisation forces such as less expensive imported *tīfaifai* made outside of the islands.

Recognising the co-constitutive nature of *tīfaifai* with the people who create them and others involved with *tīfaifai* in various capacities reveals that "[m]eanings are not in the materiality of things, but rather in how things are constructed as meaningful in social practices of representation" (Storey 2017: 18). There is, as Storey (2017: 17) observes, "a simultaneous entanglement of meaning, materiality and social practice". In French Polynesia, *tīfaifai* now enact many roles in the discourse of cultural heritage: celebrating Polynesian cultural continuity, including the intangible heritage practices of honouring people by wrapping them in *tīfaifai* and passing on knowledge and skills for making *tīfaifai*; communicating information about cultural values and expectations; shaping cultural identities; commemorating historical events; and relaying information about Polynesian ways of life. Individual *tīfaifai* or collections of *tīfaifai* placed on permanent or temporary public display often perform several of these roles at once. The proud assertion of a unique past supports islanders' present efforts to claim and assert a strong Polynesian identity.

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NOTES

1. The word *tīfaifai* is used as both a singular and a plural in this paper. In the indigenous language of Tahiti, an article preceding the word specifies whether it is singular or plural.
2. See also information on Tongan quilts in Herda 1999, 2000 and Austral Islands *'iripiti* and *tīfaifai* in Hammond 1986a.
3. All of the Eastern Polynesian quilt and quilt-like textile traditions have connections to the indigenous barkcloth traditions that preceded the introduction of Western cloth into the islands. Barkcloth (called *'ahu* or *tapa* in the Society Islands) was made extensively throughout Polynesia prior to European arrivals and is still created in Western Polynesia. Many scholars have remarked on the historical division, originating in the 19th century, between Western Polynesian societies which never abandoned the creation of barkcloth, even as they adopted Western cloth, and Eastern Polynesian societies which did. It should be noted that there is a revival of barkcloth, made in small quantities, in some of the islands of Eastern Polynesia today.
4. The more common use of the French term stems from France's influence on ideology about cultural heritage in French Polynesia, as well as the fact that islanders learn French in school and that French is widely used, especially in Tahiti where many cultural heritage events occur.
5. Performance analyses have been applied to other textile traditions such as the Hmong refugee *pa ndau* textiles and the US AIDS quilts.
6. Conventionally, quilts are defined as having a middle batting layer between an upper design surface and a lower backing layer, and quilting stitches secure all three layers together.
7. Although the cloth is imported, anything made from it is included in the general category of the traditional in the Heiva Rima'ī. Cloth (typically in the form of clothing) manufactured outside the islands was first introduced with the European voyages of discovery of the 18th century.
8. The Society Islands (of which Tahiti is one island) and the other four archipelagos of French Polynesia are an overseas collectivity of France, and islanders born in French Polynesia are French citizens.
9. See Polynésie la 1ère, "*16e salon du tifaifai de l'imagination et des couleurs*", YouTube video, 1:19 (starting at 59 s), published 30 April 2014, accessed 29 April 2018, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O6vP8kOF2iQ.
10. Some men have also made *tīfaifai*; O'Reilly wrote of one in his 1959 article. In my trips to French Polynesia in the 2000s, I noted that many more men were involved in *tīfaifai* creation than there were in the late 1970s, and they usually created designs that female relatives sewed. People accounted for this by saying that more people were now dependent on some income from making and selling *tīfaifai.*
11. Tcherkézoff (2004: 165) argues that Polynesians' wrapping of visitors in early contact encounters were actions that recognised the status of the other and, at the same time, were a way to envelop and incorporate whatever sacred powers the stranger possessed.

12. While *tīfaifai* are still important wedding presents for couples in Tahiti, fewer couples are wrapped in *tīfaifai* these days according to many islanders.
13. Remnants from the clothing that islanders were encouraged to make and wear, following directives of Christian missionaries in the 19th century, may have been used for some early piecework *tīfaifai*. Striking colour contrasts in both piecework and appliqué styles could be achieved through the use of solid colours as opposed to used remnants of printed cloth. *Tīfaifai* made from new cloth would also have suited the ways in which *tīfaifai* substituted for the high-quality barkcloth made and used for special purposes. See de Chazeaux and Frémy's (2012: 33–39) work for a compilation of early accounts and descriptions of *tīfaifai*.
14. Only once has the piecework style of *tīfaifai* been designated as the type of *tīfaifai* necessary to qualify for participating in Te Api Nui O Te Tifaifai's annual Salon du Tīfaifai.
15. *Tīfaifai* owned by households might also be employed for decoration for some public gatherings.
16. The first reenactment took place in 1954 following the reconstruction of Marae ʻĀrahurahu.
17. In Dinéty's 2012 *Patrimoines polynésiens*, for example, there is no mention of *tīfaifai*, although pandanus weaving, sculpture, tattooing and pearl culture are discussed.

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ABSTRACT

Tīfaifai, the visually striking piecework and appliqué textiles (sometimes referred to as quilts) that islanders of Tahiti and other locations in French Polynesia have created for over 150 years, are increasingly part of a public cultural heritage discourse. Focusing on appliqué *tīfaifai*, the most popular form in the Society Islands for many decades, I examine the contemporary role of *tīfaifai* in conveying messages of cultural heritage in public places and events. My analysis draws from new materialism theory, performance studies and visual display concepts. As actants, *tīfaifai* have agency and are co-constitutive with people who may interact with them in various ways. A variety of performative contexts in which *tīfaifai* are displayed and used reveal the breadth of messages that are conveyed which reinforce and expand aspects of Māʻohi cultural heritage and identity. A biographical approach to *tīfaifai* as a form of material culture is included to illustrate the ways in which the actions of people, government policies, economic circumstances and other impactful phenomena have led to the contemporary role of *tīfaifai* as both objects and symbols of cultural heritage. This study aids in understanding how cultural heritage may be understood and performed by local communities through the medium of a continuous, evolving textile tradition.

Keywords: tīfaifai, Tahiti, cultural heritage, *patrimoine*, identity, new materialism theory, performance, textile traditions, quilts

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REVIEWS

COOTE, Jeremy (ed.): *Cook-Voyage Collections of 'Artificial Curiosities' in Britain and Ireland, 1771–2015*. MEG Occasional Paper, No. 5. Oxford: Museum Ethnographers Group, 2015. 300 pp., £10.00 (members), £15.00 (non-members) (softcover).

IRA JACKNIS

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The collections, artefacts as well as natural history, gathered by Captain James Cook on his three voyages (1768–71, 1772–75, 1776–79) have become a kind of incunabula for museum ethnography, particularly in Great Britain. That this has occurred at all, in the face of the dispersal and destruction of so much of Cook's original collections, is both unexpected and admirable. Most of this was due to the dogged research of Adrienne Kaeppler, then a curator at Honolulu's Bernice P. Bishop Museum, who took up the challenge in the late 1960s. Her effort to discover all of the extant Cook-related collections culminated in her magisterial study of 1978, which all now realise was just the beginning. Joining Kaeppler in this pioneering effort was Cambridge archaeologist Peter Gathercole (1929–2010), to whom this volume is dedicated.

What Kaeppler began in her *"Artificial Curiosities*" (1978) has now resulted in a veritable flood of Cook books, most of them accompanying exhibitions. Given the historical significance of the Cook voyages, almost all of this scholarship has focused on the Pacific Basin. We have several overviews: Kaeppler (2009) and Hauser-Schäublin and Krüger (1998), both drawing upon the excellent Johann Reinhold and Georg Forster collection in Göttingen, Germany. As well, there are more specialised studies from different parts of the region: Hetherington and Morphy (2009) from Australia (which was also based on a display of the Forster collection), and Barnett and Nicandri (2015) dealing with the Northwest Coast of Canada and Alaska, as well as a related book, which includes Cook artefacts (Hooper 2006).

Among the most recent studies are a lavishly illustrated, large-format volume devoted to the Cambridge collection (Thomas 2016), another on the collections of Joseph Banks, the naturalist for the first Cook voyage (Chambers 2016), and a new exhibit catalogue from the National Maritime Museum of Britain on Cook's life, career and historical memory (McAleer and Rigby 2017).

In contrast to some of the other Cook literature, this book deals only with the Cook collections in Great Britain and Ireland: in London, Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, Edinburgh and Newcastle. While the collections in the first three cities have long been known and studied, those in the latter three are less familiar. The essays published here actually had their origin in 2005, with discussions among the group of researchers investigating the Cook collections. The long time that it has taken for this project to come to fruition was due to the inevitable movement of authors to new jobs and countries, as well as a continual expansion of research. Once planned as a special issue of a journal, these essays are now published as an Occasional Paper of the Museum Ethnographers Group.

The quality of the seven chapters is especially high, each from a major Cook scholar who has managed to find new facts and insights in a field where one would have imagined that we had exhausted what could be discovered in the relatively limited sources. On the one hand we find a continuation of historical methodologies, most often and successfully combing artefact, pictorial and textual sources. A more recent development, applying to museum anthropology in general, has been the increased collaboration with source communities, descendants of those peoples who first encountered Cook. This movement has spread from the Māori to almost every population in the Pacific with a Cook connection.

Following Jeremy Coote's useful introduction, Jennifer Newell offers a fascinating case study in museum anthropology, exploring the Cook collections at the British Museum. Focusing on its exhibition history, she contrasts the great public enthusiasm for the collections with the museum's persistent disinterest in them, until recently. Amiria Salmond summarises the Cambridge collection, consisting of more than 250 Cook objects, with the largest documented collection of objects from the First Voyage. Drawing upon her own important research on the collection (Henare 2005), she summarises the major collections, according to their diverse proveniences. She notes that much of the analysis of the collection has been devoted to textual or pictorial sources rather than the artefacts themselves. In calling for the reconnection of these objects with their source communities, Salmond also notes the complexities, and often, failures of such efforts. Like Newell in her essay, Jeremy Coote discusses what has been done to the Cook collections at Oxford, in the Ashmolean as well as the Pitt Rivers museums, since they have arrived. Like Salmond, Coote explains how modern conservation tools have been used for the close analysis of historical materials and techniques. The Oxford collections have benefitted from their generally good documentation and long-term exhibition, now presented in an excellent, comprehensive website (https://www.prm.ox.ac.uk/cook).

Turning to those more obscure collections, Rachel Hand reprises the new research devoted to the Cook collections of Trinity College, at the National Museum of Ireland in Dublin. In great detail, she considers how much more has become known, and how much still needs to be known, about these collections since Kaeppler's original research. Echoing Hand's essay, Dale Idiens and Chantal Knowles explain that until quite recently the Cook provenience of collections at National Museums Scotland in Edinburgh was poorly understood. Even more obscure are the collections in northeast England discussed by Leslie Jessop. As a case study in the more obscure fortunes of Cook objects, in contrast to the larger and better-documented collections in London, Cambridge or Oxford, Jessop applies clever historical detective work in order to identify her Newcastle corpus. She appends a special analysis of a group of Māori pendants, now in the Bowes Museum in Barnard Castle, County Durham. To conclude, Adrienne Kaeppler returns to her original research, considering what we now know of the late 18th- to early 19th-century collectors, dealers and museums through whose hands the Cook collection passed.

While by no means elaborate, the book's paperback format is well executed, with coated paper stock allowing good reproduction for the many black-and-white illustrations. Their subjects include museum artefacts, historic and recent gallery installations, historical illustrations of people and manuscripts, and contemporary

scenes of interaction with these historic collections. Throughout, there are extensive notes and references (usefully appended at the end of each essay, to facilitate reproduction). Most chapters include appendices listing the relevant Cook artefacts at each institution. As Coote points out (p. 5), this is a scholarly tradition of Cook studies that stems from the work of both Kaeppler and Gathercole, in which one presents maximum documentation of one's research, thus laying the foundation for future research. Surely this approach is a response to the tremendous loss of documentation suffered by these collections over the centuries.

Scholars of the Cook voyages and of his ethnographic collections in general will want to acquire this detailed and engaging volume.

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James Cook: The Voyages, exhibition curated by William Frame and Laura Walker, British Library, London, 27 April–28 August 2018.

FRAME, William and Laura Walker (Curators), *James Cook: The Voyages*, exhibition, British Library, 2018, 224 pp, 140 illustrations, £25 (paperback).

RICHARD WOLFE
Auckland War Memorial Museum

On 26 August 1768 James Cook's *Endeavour* sailed from Plymouth on the first of his three voyages to the Pacific. Two hundred and fifty years later a British Library exhibition tells the story and examines the legacy of those expeditions. In addition to journals and maps, mostly drawn from the Library's own rich resources, this exhibition includes one of the largest—if not *the* largest—collections of original artworks associated with Cook's voyages to have been displayed together at one time. As explained here, these documents—which show history "as it is being made"—are "not neutral" but reflect the perspectives of their creators, most of whom were of course European. To provide balance they are both supplemented and complemented by the inclusion of current views on Cook, presented in a series of short videos shown continuously. In one of these, David Attenborough hails Cook as "the greatest seagoing explorer of all time, in terms of how far he travelled and what he discovered". But his voyages are the source of much debate; as Nicholas Thomas points out, they were "controversial from the start", while Anne Salmond suggests that Cook himself "had doubts about the virtues of the imperial enterprise".

The primary focus of *James Cook: The Voyages* are the documents and records produced by European explorers, rather than the Pacific cultural material they encountered. There is however a small number of such objects; the New Zealand section includes a *hei-tiki* 'neck pendant with carved abstract human figure' (British Museum) collected at Queen Charlotte Sound and given by Cook to King George III, and a *pūtōrino* 'flute' and *wahaika* 'short club of wood or whalebone' (both Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology, Cambridge). The exhibition also features several well-known paintings of the main protagonists: Sir Joshua Reynolds's *Portrait of Sir Joseph Banks, Bt.* (1771–73), John Webber's *James Cook* (1776) and William Parry's *Omai (Mai), Sir Joseph Banks and Daniel Charles Solander* (c. 1775–76), all from the National Portrait Gallery, London, and an early undated self-portrait by botanical artist Sydney Parkinson (Natural History Museum, London).

The exhibition covers Cook's three voyages in strict chronological sequence. Partitions between the various spaces are painted light grey or oceanic blue, echoing the carpet, and their upper sections are shaped to suggest rugged Pacific topography. A section on the Enlightenment sets the scene, illustrating how science, trade and national identity intermingled in late 18th-century Britain, and the types of ideas that were taken to the Pacific. Shown here is botanist Joseph Banks's own copy of a book illustrating the 24 classes of plants in the Linnaean system, and specimens he collected on the *Endeavour* voyage. The scientific process is documented by a sample

of blue morning glory (Natural History Museum, London) from Australia, alongside Parkinson's preliminary painting, the finished artwork (later painted in Britain by John Miller) and Solander's catalogue description (Natural History Museum, London) of the same plant.

Cook's cartographic skills—evident in his 1759 chart of the St Lawrence River and the approach to Québec—qualified him to take the *Endeavour* into uncharted waters. Attenborough further describes Cook as "the great revealer of the Pacific", a claim supported by several highly detailed surveys of Tahiti and New Zealand, among them the first chart of the latter. The exhibition also includes original written accounts by Cook and other mariners, recording their first hand observations of the Pacific, and a broad selection of works by artists on all three voyages. The first of these was Alexander Buchan, who documented the *Endeavour*'s visits to Rio de Janeiro and Tierra del Fuego, but died at Tahiti on 17 April 1769 following a seizure. Thereafter the responsibility for painting landscapes and portraits was assumed by Parkinson, who is especially well represented in this exhibition. His landmark pair of Māori portraits from 1769, including one identified as Otegoowgoow, son of a Bay of Islands chief, are remarkable early records of facial tattoo (*moko*) and traditional Māori ornaments such as the whale-tooth *rei puta* neck ornament, *hei-tiki* and ear pendant. Equally impressive is Parkinson's painting of three Māori decorated paddles, while his versatility is demonstrated by natural history subjects such as his *Pilot Fish* and *Shark* (Natural History Museum, London), and one of the first European images of the kangaroo. Finnish naturalist Herman Spöring, who also sailed on the *Endeavour*, drew *The Head of a Canoe*, a highly detailed and dimensioned elevation capturing the intricacies of Māori carving patterns. But like Parkinson, Spöring did not make it back to Britain; the two of them died of fever in late January 1771 on the journey across the Indian Ocean.

A unique feature of this exhibition is a collection of drawings by Tupaia, a Tahitian high priest and navigator, who effectively became one of the scientific party on the *Endeavour*. While these works by Tupaia had been exhibited individually before, here they are shown together for the first time. They include a c.1769–70 chart of the islands of the South Pacific, sometimes attributed to Cook and thought to be a near-contemporary copy of an original. Based on information provided by Tupaia, it represents traditional Polynesian knowledge expressed in a European form. Drawings by Tupaia show various aspects of Tahitian life, including dancing and musical performances—supported by a flute and drum exhibited nearby—and a diagrammatic depiction of a *marae* 'temple or shrine'. Recently attributed to Tupaia is his only known drawing of New Zealand, from 1769, a Polynesian interpretation of an early and tentative act of commerce between Joseph Banks and a Māori. In this frequently reproduced image the botanist is offered a lobster in exchange for what is probably a piece of cloth.

An alternative view on Tupaia's contribution to the *Endeavour* voyage is voiced by cultural historian Anne Iranui McGuire: "To our people he was the chief …. the captain of that boat". Māori culture adviser Victor Walker claims Tupaia brought "integrity and dignity" to the meeting between the two cultures, and museum curator

Figure 1. Drawing featured in British Library exhibition (cropped), illustrative of materials from Captain Cook's first voyage, 1768 -1770. This watercolour, depicting four Aroi musicians, is attributed to Tahitian navigator-priest, Tupaia. Additional detail at https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/musicians-of-tahiti

Jody Wylie suggests there may have been a happier outcome had the Tahitian come ashore on the East Coast, for Cook may have then had cause to name the locality Enlightenment Bay rather than Poverty Bay.

Pacific exploration was a hallmark of the European Enlightenment, while another was the fascination for "curiosities". Perhaps the most curious item in this exhibition is a map, published in 1771, on which Cook subsequently pencilled the *Endeavour*'s route across the Pacific. His meandering line was then "fixed" with a coating of skimmed milk, preserving it for posterity. Other small gems in this exhibition include a book of Pacific barkcloth samples, published in London in 1787, and an exquisite engraving of a polar bear based on a drawing produced by John Webber on the third voyage.

An enthusiastic David Attenborough describes the works produced by William Hodges, official artist on the second voyage, as "the most exciting episode in Western painting". Certainly, a collection of Hodges's panoramic drawings from Tahiti are a highlight of this exhibition, and a spectacular personal response to an unfamiliar and exotic world. His 1774 records of Matavai Bay and Tahitian war canoes, for example, depict various types of vessels, with their ornate prows, set against rugged volcanic backdrops. Along with Georg Forster, Hodges also painted several highly evocative images of the *Resolution* and *Adventure* dwarfed by icebergs in the Southern Ocean, capturing the meteorological phenomenon known as "the blink of the ice". These otherworldly experiences were later immortalised in Samuel Taylor Coleridge's *Rime of the Ancient Mariner*:

The ice was here, the ice was there,
The ice was all around …

The introduction to Cook's third voyage notes that there was already disquiet in Britain, at least, on the impact of Europeans on the Pacific. A satirical poem, *An Historic Epistle, &c.*, referred to those who:

Crossed o'er the seas, to ravage distant realms,
And ruin thousands worthier than themselves.

During this voyage Cook returned to New Zealand, where Webber's paintings included a fortified Māori settlement (*The Hippah*) and a portrait of Kahura, a Ngāti Kuia and Rangitāne chief, both at Queen Charlotte Sound, 1777. The expedition later went in search of the elusive Northwest Passage, enabling Webber to record the inhabitants of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands. En route the *Resolution* and *Discovery* are believed to be the first European ships to visit Hawai'i, where in 1779 Webber produced the panoramic watercolour, *A View of Kealakekua Bay*, seen from offshore and dominated by the dark form of the rugged hinterland. Rather ominously, this bay would shortly be the scene of Cook's death, on 14 February.

Figure 2. *View of the Harbour of Huaheine* by John Webber, 1777. From the British Library's online press release.

The various points of view presented in the videos throughout this exhibition remind us that the impact of the arrival of Europeans in the Pacific was dramatic and wide-ranging, from the slaughter of the whale and seal populations to the devastating effect of the introduction of exotic species. New Zealand artist Nick Tupara acknowledges the existence of a "tension" among Māori people about Cook's voyages and how they are told, but also expresses gratitude for the explorers' written records. Similarly, Anne Iranui McGuire notes that those records have "validated" the oral histories she learned from her great-grandparents. In Australia, memorials honouring Cook have become the focus of protests, and Queensland artist Arone Meeks likens one such monument—on Possession Island, where in late August 1770 Cook claimed the whole eastern coast of the country for George III—to "a tombstone or grave marker". But Aboriginal community liaison officer Dean Kelly suggests there is little to be gained by blaming people of past events, and we should instead "accept what's happened, recognise it, respect it, and draw from that for our future". As Nicholas Thomas observes, "Neither side was ever the same again after these encounters."

Accompanying the exhibition is a substantial and richly illustrated publication by William Frame and Laura Walker, the British Library's Head of Modern Archives and Manuscripts and Lead Curator of Modern Archives respectively. Like the exhibition

Figure 3 (left). Collared lory (*Phigys solitarius*) from Fiji, 1875, on loan from University Museum of Zoology, Cambridge © Jon Ellis. Figure 4 (right). Mouth parts of a squid, specimen from first voyage © Royal College of Surgeons. From the British Library's online press release.

the book takes a chronological approach, tackling each of Cook's voyages in the form of a series of short essays, such as "Tupaia", "Aotearoa", "The Transit of Venus", "The Properties of Ice" and "The Last Visit to New Zealand". Each of these operate as extended captions for the adjacent illustrations, most of which are documents and artworks drawn from the Library's own collection.

While the stated aim of the authors is to document how 18th-century European ideas about non-European cultures shaped the story of Cook's voyages, they do not "endorse" those ideas. Similarly, there is no attempt to tell a new story or present new information about the voyages. Instead, as presented here the original documents and sources allow their authors and artists to speak for themselves, and the reader can therefore examine those voyages "as they took place" and from the perspective of those who were directly involved. Today, original records of Cook's voyages are likely to be of interest as much for the light they shed on Pacific societies at the time of early European contact as for what they reveal of European exploration. And while understandings and interpretations of those early and frequently traumatic contacts will surely evolve and be modified over time, the original historic sources—such as are recorded and discussed here—will remain the same.

Several of the videos in the exhibition enable individuals to express concerns about the impact of European contact on Pacific peoples. But as this book demonstrates, by early 1773 and during the second voyage, Cook had his own reservations. Following the drunken behaviour of his crew during celebrations of George III's birthday at Queen Charlotte Sound, Cook wrote in his journal that the introduction by Europeans of vices only served to disturb the "happy tranquillity" of indigenous people. If anyone doubted this assertion he countered: "[L]et him tell me what the Natives of the whole extent of America have gained by the commerce they have had with Europeans."

Cook was hardly the first European to venture into the South Pacific—he was preceded by Magellan by nearly 250 years—but prior to his voyages that region was primarily "an imagined space" to Europeans (p. 29). Cook succeeded in filling in the blank spaces on maps which, along with published accounts, would later both guide and attract an increasing number of Europeans to the wider Pacific. Colonisation and settlement began with a vengeance in the mid-19th century, and the authors suggest that the extent to which this "systematic … intervention" was due to Cook is "a subject that is both complex and deeply contested". However, they concede that Cook's voyages will probably always be viewed as "a symbolic starting point" for the changes visitors brought to the Pacific (p. 218).

Tupaia features prominently in this publication, along with generous reproductions of seven drawings which were attributed to him in the 1990s and previously thought to have been by Banks. The significance of Tupaia's contribution to European exploration of the Pacific is not understated; the authors describe his arrival in Aotearoa on the *Endeavour* and his ability to speak to the people he encountered in a common language as "an extraordinary moment in world history" (p. 58).

Following a number of Cook bicentennial events which began in 1969, this collection of material from the resources of the British Library may qualify as the first substantial exhibition to mark the next milestone, the 250th anniversary, a period which extends from 2018 to 2030. As the authors suggest, this lengthy time frame should allow ample opportunity for the further examination of those three trail-blazing expeditions to the Pacific, their legacy and their relevance (p. 13).

FRIMIGACCI, Daniel: *Archéologie de 'Uvea Mama'o*. Nouméa: Institut d'archéologie de la Nouvelle-Calédonie et du Pacifique, Collection: Traces, No. 1., 2017. 398 pp., appendices, biblio., illus. CFP 4,995/NZ$71 (softcover).

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This monograph synthesises 20 years of field research carried out on 'Uvea, the main island of the French territory of Wallis and Futuna, by archaeologist Daniel Frimigacci (CNRS) and a team composed of ethnologist Bernard Vienne (IRD), Christophe Sand (IANCP), Jean-Pierre Siorat (Musée de Nouvelle-Calédonie), Frédérique Valentin and Maurice Hardy (CNRS). While authorship of this volume is slightly misleading at first (the front cover presents Frimigacci as the sole author while the title page shows Sand as a co-author and the aforementioned colleagues as contributors), an explanation is provided in the Foreword/*Avertissement* sections. Here, Sand describes his role in the production and edition of the volume, with the assistance of several IANCP staff members. This book can therefore be viewed as an effort to share a comprehensive collection of unpublished fieldwork data collected on 'Uvea between 1982 and 1997.

In its search for lines of convergence between archaeological data and Polynesian oral traditions, this work is very much in line with the French tradition of ethnoarchaeology in the Pacific, exemplified by the seminal work of Guiart and Garanger on the Retoka burials and oral traditions in Central Vanuatu (Garanger 1972; Guiart 1973). However, unlike Frimigacci's book on Futuna that incorporates more oral histories (Frimigacci and Vienne 1990), the ethno-historical data offered here provides specific information on the use and function of certain places and on the identity of individuals said to be buried in monumental mounds. Related genealogies, chants and legends can be found in other publications by the same author (Frimigacci *et al*. 1995; Vienne and Frimigacci 2006) and in earlier ethnographic works on the island (Henquel 1910; Burrows 1937).

The volume opens with a summary of the mythological cosmology in Western Polynesia, followed by an overview of the archaeological evidence on the peopling of the western Pacific. The organisation of the introduction in this way offers the traditional Polynesian perspective alongside the western, scientific point of view on the origins and social order of said Polynesian populations. Following this composite introduction are four primary sections, the first two of which represent the core of the volume in that they correspond to two steps of field research: 1) exhaustive survey of the island; and 2) excavations of selected sites. The first part presents a well-documented inventory and mapping of more than 300 sites. Each entry offers a concise description of archaeological features as well as related oral traditions and toponyms. The listing is organised both geographically and by topic (material culture, burials, roads, water management sites, fortifications, legendary places, domestic sites, etc.), which makes it easy to search. The second part, the longest, reports on multiple excavations carried out in five key sites (Utupoa, 'Utuleve/Mālamatangata, Kalāfilia, Talietumu and Atuvalu) and presents site plans, details of stratigraphy and general counts of artefacts. The third part presents a global typology for ceramic and

lithic assemblages. A classification of monumental burial mounds is also proposed, with direct connections made with oral traditions that provide the name and status of each buried individual. The fourth part is a synthesis of the chrono-cultural framework, which is essentially the same as previously published (Frimigacci 2000). Four periods are defined based on a variety of criteria. Distinctive ceramic types are used to distinguish a 2,000-year-long 'Utuleve period (1000 BC–AD 1000) from the subsequent Atuvalu period (AD 1000–1400), while later periods are defined by the construction of fortifications between AD 1400 and 1500 and the establishment of a late "kingship system" closely related to the elites of the Tongan empire from AD 1500 onwards. A short conclusion follows, in which the author offers a depiction of Oceanic ancestral societies. The volume closes with appendices that provide further documentation on the location of archaeological sites and on complementary excavations. This includes a very useful contribution by Valentin and Sand on the Petania burials, which leads to the description of funerary practices and ornaments not described in oral traditions. While this study has already been published elsewhere (Sand *et al*. 2006), it is presented here in greater detail and therefore fits with the general attempt to present an exhaustive version of the available data for 'Uvea.

While the volume is undoubtedly a major contribution in its comprehensive description of over 15 years of fieldwork and in the wealth of data and illustrations that it provides, the reader should be aware of possible discrepancies in the interpretations of the data. In section one, toponyms have been literally translated, but the interpretations of the translations, relative to the culture and environment, are without reference to specific sources or informants. In section four, the historical reconstruction is presented as a straightforward interpretation that is, in fact, based on some assumptions and is rather debateable. First, the small amount and limited resolution of radiocarbon dates does not lend to such an extensive interpretation. Second, there is a general lack of consideration for more recent literature (no citation post-2007) that deals with the chronological milestones of the Lapita arrival and the beginning of the Polynesian period in the region. The presented chronology is controversial according to even Sand himself (see Sand 2000). Finally, in the Conclusion, the author makes several claims that cannot be based on the archaeological data presented. In particular, the author makes bold statements concerning practices of cannibalism, clothing made of human skin, and the use of pigs by seafarers to locate islands that must be assumed to be the author's own personal opinion.

In sum, this richly illustrated book represents a comprehensive report of the archaeological research achieved on 'Uvea since 1982. The wealth of detail regarding the mapping of each site, the stratigraphy and distribution of excavated features, and the collection of line drawings representing artefact collections makes *Archéologie de 'Uvea Mama'o* a useful compilation of clearly presented data. In spite of a few far-fetched assertions and some very personal interpretations, this volume is one that belongs in every library with a shelf dedicated to the origin of Polynesian societies.

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VEYS, Fanny Wonu: *Unwrapping Tongan Barkcloth: Encounters, Creativity and Female Agency*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017. 277 pp., biblio., illus., index, notes. US$130.00 (cloth).

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In the introduction to this interdisciplinary art-historical, historical and ethnographic monograph on Tongan barkcloth (*ngatu*), F.W. Veys cites a broad range of methodological influences, from the formal analysis of archaeological assemblages to Pacific anthropology's material turn over the last four decades, and the autobiographical, discourse-oriented *talanoa* research methodology that has arisen in Pacific-based scholarship over the last ten years. She observes that such a methodological hybridity is particularly suited to the participant observation and informal interviews characteristic of art practice's documentation in Tonga, and also ameliorates the epistemological limitations of western academia's hierarchisation of sensory data—enabling an interpretive multi-sensory plurality central to the book's latter parts. This is a particularly welcome dimension of the book, as it leads Veys into her own *talanoa* on coming to the research topic of *ngatu*, a mature iteration of the central socialising role that textiles have played over four generations of female relationships in her own family. This reflexive, person-centred approach equally

situates the text within wider modes of feminist ethnographic writing. It is to the author's credit that *Unwrapping Tongan Barkcloth* negotiates and reconciles the inevitable tensions between these diverse interpretive approaches so deftly; the reader simply experiences an effortless synthesis.

The book is structured into three parts, entitled *Encounters* (Chapters 1–3), *Creativity* (Chapters 4–5) and *Female Agency* (Chapters 6–7) respectively. This structure, she explains, imposes a chronological and thematic order on the book's narrative. In truth, however, these three guiding themes are interwoven throughout. The narrative arc of this fine, accessible monograph does not simply lead us from the first astonished historical descriptions of the Dutch navigators Schouten and Le Maire in 1616, through the impact of 19th-century Christian mission on dressways and cloth production, to a discussion of *ngatu* materialising a multi-sensory Tonganness in the royal ceremonies of modern Nuku'alofa, and the diasporic communities of the 21st century—although it certainly does all this admirably. Nor does the book merely provide a timely synthesis of recent archaeological and genetic findings on paper-mulberry barkcloth's ancient technological and genetic origins in Asia; a concise and clear description of modern *ngatu* manufacture, adding ethnographic details and correcting inaccuracies in earlier accounts; as well as a clear art-historical discussion of *ngatu*'s shifting style and its transformation from a ubiquitous household commodity into the ceremonial treasure it is today, offering a perceptive analysis of the much-discussed *koloa* concept into the bargain. In fact, and largely due to the self-conscious investment of authorial presence in the text, Veys skilfully guides the reader on an educational journey from *ngatu*'s opaque cultural illegibility to naïve eyes—by countless entertaining turns historical, analytical and anecdotal—into a territory where we ourselves can internalise the shifting historical currents and multi-sensory richness of this remarkable art form. To do this with such facility and clarity is very admirable.

Speaking aesthetically, the main text is a very readable 170 well-set pages. The book is attractively bound and lavishly furnished with fine images. As well as 20 monochrome figures mixing historical voyage images with her own photographs, diagrams and tables, Veys includes 32 colour plates: 7 richly detailing the operational sequences of modern cloth manufacture and pigment production; 13 detailing the key stylistic variations of *ngatu* identified during her extensive survey of the world's museum collections; and 12 further ethnographic images of barkcloth in the ceremonial and economic contexts she analyses in the book's later chapters. These colour images are full of insight and visually gorgeous, and show Veys to be as skilled a photographer as an anthropologist and historian. Mark Gunning's three maps are also clear, appropriately scaled and attractive. Of course, fine works have been published on the cultural centrality of Tongan barkcloth in the past. However, here Veys has achieved a carefully balanced monograph weaving together ethnography, history, art history and women's studies into a sophisticated, up-to-date, compelling and eminently readable whole. Without doubt, it ought to find its way onto the shelves of any scholar or academic library keen to keep up with the very best new studies of Pacific art and material culture, anthropology, gender or cultural history. It is a fine example of each.

WALTER, Richard and Peter Sheppard: *Archaeology of the Solomon Islands*. Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2017. 194 pp., illus., index, maps, photos, tables. NZ$50.00 (paper).

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The Solomon Islands archipelago has long occupied an uncomfortably liminal position in Pacific archaeology, widely seen to be of great significance but suffering from a scarcity of information and lack of synthesis. Despite the early successes of the Southeast Solomon Islands Culture History project led by Roger Green and Douglas Yen, and other regionally restricted surveys, the archipelago as a whole has received comparatively less archaeological attention than Papua New Guinea and its offshore territories and most other Pacific island groups – a problem because the geographical position of the archipelago at the cusp of Near and Remote Oceania means that its archaeological record should connect the history of those regions and be crucial for understanding the spatio-temporal patterns, limits and motivations of human expansion into the wider Pacific.

This state of affairs has improved over the last 25 years partly due to a sustained series of research programmes led by, and branching out from, the efforts of Peter Sheppard and Richard Walter (and these, initially at least, were continuations of Green's and others' earlier work). The publication of their *Archaeology of the Solomon Islands* is a testament to the progress that has been made in filling important knowledge gaps so that a broader culture-historical account of the archipelago is possible. Readers will discover that many gaps and loose ends remain, and there are some anomalous characteristics of the archaeological record that challenge expectations and will no doubt fuel debate for some time. But, as a whole, the book is an important waypoint that takes stock of what we now know and sets out key issues that will occupy research in the future.

The region covered by the book includes all of the modern Solomon Islands nation-state, but adds Bougainville and Buka as part of the main archipelago. This encompasses an incredibly diverse range of islands, many with quite distinct cultural sequences, particularly at the margins where island histories connect as closely to Papua New Guinea, Micronesia, Vanuatu and Polynesia as to the central Solomons chain. Chapters 1 and 2 outline this cultural geography, reviewing modern patterns of linguistic affinity and social interaction to define what are effectively culture areas structured by geographic propinquity and settlement history. It is not possible to develop a truly synthetic overview given this diversity, so the book summarises evidence according to broad time periods, providing local cultural phase sequences determined by previous researchers when available (a history of research is provided in Chapter 3), but resisting blending these into a new whole.

Chapter 4 summarises evidence from Wickler's excavations at the Kilu cave site on Buka for Pleistocene occupation of the Solomon Islands starting at 29,000 BP, and discusses mid-Holocene developments based on David Roe's findings from the Poha and Vura valleys on Guadalcanal and less well-known palaeoenvironmental records

from New Georgia. The Vatuluma Posovi cave site on Guadalcanal is a key data point for the mid-Holocene in the Solomons, and the authors make minor adjustments to its occupation chronology—most significantly arguing for a later start to the sequence, at 4200 BP rather than the usually accepted 6400 BP. It is a change of unknown significance since, as the authors point out, the period is severely underrepresented in the archaeological record, and most evidence is "weak and equivocal" (p. 51). This situation does not greatly improve until we get to the record of the last 3,000 years, and it is this more recent period that occupies most of the book.

Chapter 5 "The Austronesian Expansion" is an account of the evidence for, and debates about, the arrival of the Lapita cultural complex and its descendants in the Solomon Islands. To all practical purposes this is (for better and for worse) all about the presence and absence, stylistic affinities and dating of pottery. Conventional models treat the Lapita phenomenon as a population expansion that proceeded stepwise from the Bismarck Archipelago at 3500–3300 BP eastward into Remote Oceania, reaching every island group as far as Sāmoa by 2800 BP. Archaeologists in the Solomon Islands, however, have not found any early Lapita pottery: the Guadalcanal sequence remains wholly aceramic despite the occurrence of sites of Lapita age; surveys in the New Georgia region by Sheppard and Walter, and their doctoral student Matt Felgate, found late- and post-Lapita pottery sites dating to 2700–2000 BP, but no early Lapita. For some the latter finds offer tantalising hope that more surveys will eventually produce early Lapita sites, but for Walter and Sheppard their results indicate that early Lapita migration skirted the main body of the Solomons. They review and defend their "leapfrog" model here, pointing out strong evidence for direct connections between the Reef Islands/Santa Cruz Lapita sites and the Bismarck Archipelago, and demonstrating that much more pottery-focused survey has taken place than is widely assumed, increasing their confidence that the apparent absence is real rather than sampling error.

Chapter 6 is a wide-ranging summary of the archaeological record of the last 2,000 years, beginning with post-Lapita ceramic sequences in Buka and Bougainville before moving on to the aceramic central Solomons and the post-Lapita Reef Islands/ Santa Cruz and their connections to surrounding Polynesian Outliers. The thematic focus of the chapter is on the processes governing the origins of cultural diversity in the region, arguing again for a simple model of divergence from common origins structured by the geography of least-effort interaction patterns (p. 130). They allow that inputs from outside sources (e.g., Polynesian arrivals) or regional expansions might overlie this general trend, causing some complexity.

Up until this point the book focuses heavily on matters of culture history and phase sequencing—getting the chronology right, and understanding cultural relationships via artefact affinities. It is only in Chapter 7 that attention turns to political economy, social structure and cultural practice, in a case study of the late-period Roviana chiefdom and its influence in the Western Solomons. I am extremely biased here, since my own work in the Solomons focuses on this material, but the chapter is an exemplary model for a modern Pacific archaeology. The research brings local communities and their traditions into dialogue with archaeological data, methods and theories to develop a rich account of processes governing socio-cultural change. It is a chapter that may

also prove to have the widest appeal for the generalist reader, since it looks up from the minutiae of radiocarbon chronologies and ceramic sequences to address broader anthropological themes.

This is a very well-produced book in a highly legible format, and it contains a much greater wealth of attractive colour figures than is indicated by its price point. It will serve as a useful textbook for advanced courses in Pacific archaeology and an essential reference for all those interested in the long-term history of the western Pacific. Specialists may already be familiar with some of the debates regarding ceramic sequences in the region, but the volume collects information from many disparate sources in a coherent and easily digestible form. In scope, detail and depth this is a benchmark publication that will hopefully inspire publication of similar volumes for other island archipelagos in the Pacific.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED*

January to May 2018

Belgrave, Michael: *Dancing with the King: The Rise and Fall of the King Country, 1864–1885*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2017. 452 pp., biblio., index, maps, notes. NZ$65.00 (cloth).

Golson, Jack, Tim Denham, Philip Hughes, Pamela Swadling and John Muke (eds): *Ten Thousand Years of Cultivation at Kuk Swamp in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea*. Terra Australis 46. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2017. 512 pp., biblio., illus., notes. AU$75.00 (softcover).

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

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