The Journal
of the
Polynesian Society

VOLUME 130 No.3 SEPTEMBER 2021

THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY
THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND
NEW ZEALAND

THE JOURNAL OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY

Volume 130 SEPTEMBER 2021 Number 3

Editor
MELINDA S. ALLEN

Reviews Editor
PHYLLIS HERDA

Editorial Assistant
MONA-LYNN COURTEAU

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

Cover image: Robert Carl Suggs cleaning a stratigraphic section at the Ha‘atuatua site. Nuku Hiva Island (Marquesas Islands), in 1956. Photo courtesy Robert Suggs.

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

Copyright © 2021 by the Polynesian Society (Inc.)

Apart from any fair dealing for the purposes of private study, research, criticism, or review, as permitted under the Copyright Act, no part of this publication may be reproduced by any process without written permission.

Inquiries should be made to:

Secretary
jps@auckland.ac.nz
The Polynesian Society
c/- Anthropology, School of Social Sciences
University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019, Auckland

ISSN 0032-4000 (print)
ISSN 2230-5955 (online)

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

AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND

Volume 130 SEPTEMBER 2021 Number 3

CONTENTS

Notes and News 195

Articles

ADRIAN YOUNG, MARIA AMOAMO, MARTIN GIBBS,
ALEXANDER MAWYER, JOSHUA NASH,
TILLMAN NECHTMAN and PAULINE REYNOLDS
When Margins Are Centres: De-ranging Pitcairn Island's Place in Pacific Scholarship 197

LINDSAY NEILL and ELIZABETH TOLOKE
Lū Sipi: A Marker of Tongan Distinction 227

Shorter Communications

ATHOLL ANDERSON
Returning to the Hypothesis of Amerindian Settlement on Rapa Nui (Easter Island) 245

PATRICK V. KIRCH
Robert Carl Suggs and the Transformation of Pacific Archaeology: A Retrospective View 257

Reviews

Orange, Claudia: *The Treaty of Waitangi/Te Tiriti o Waitangi: An Illustrated History*. NICHOLAS JONES 267

Donaldson, Emily C.: *Working with the Ancestors: Mana and Place in the Marquesas Islands.* CHRISTOPHE SAND 269

Contributors to This Issue

Maria Amoamo (Te Whakatōhea) is a Senior Research Fellow in the School of Business at Otago University, New Zealand. Her research interests include cultural and indigenous tourism and sustainable development in small island states with publications exploring themes of imagery and identity, sovereignty and self-determination, and resilience and vulnerability.

Atholl Anderson is an Emeritus Professor, formerly on the staff of the Anthropology Department, University of Otago, and held the Chair of Prehistory in the Institute of Advanced Studies, Australian National University from 1993 to 2008. He has worked extensively in Oceanic archaeology, ethnohistory and palaeoenvironmental studies across the Indian and Pacific oceans from Madagascar to the Galápagos Islands. In retirement his research is mainly in southern New Zealand. He co-authored the multiple-award-winning *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History* with Judith Binney and Aroha Harris (Bridget William Books and Auckland War Memorial Museum, 2014).

Martin Gibbs is Professor of Australian Archaeology at the University of New England (Australia). Most of his work is on historical and maritime archaeology of the Australia-Pacific region, with recent major projects including the failed sixteenth-century Spanish colonies of the Solomon Islands and a reimagining of convict transportation to Australia as an industrial and colonising system.

Patrick Kirch is Chancellor's Professor Emeritus and Professor of the Graduate School at the University of California, Berkeley. He received his PhD from Yale University (1975) and has conducted extensive archaeological fieldwork throughout Melanesia and Polynesia over more than 50 years and published extensively on related topics. His honours include election to the US National Academy of Sciences, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Philosophical Society and the Australian Academy of the Humanities.

Alexander Mawyer is Associate Professor of Pacific Studies, Director of the University of Hawai'i's Center for Pacific Islands Studies, and Editor of *The Contemporary Pacific: A Journal of Island Affairs*. He has published on the semantics of natural kinds and landscape terms in Eastern Polynesian languages including forests and insular fresh waters, on biocultural indicators for linked human and ecological wellbeing, on Tahitian practices of marine resource governance and on issues of conservation and sovereignty.

Joshua Nash is an islophilic generalist. He was Associate Professor at Aarhus Institute of Advanced Studies, Denmark in 2018–2019 where he wrote about island languages and linguistics and architecture. He now is an Australian Research Council DECRA postdoctoral research fellow at the University of New England, Australia.

Tillman W. Nechtman is a Professor of History and Chair of the History Department at Skidmore College. He is a historian of Britain and its global empire. His research has focused on topics as wide-ranging as eighteenth-century British India and the nineteenth-century South Pacific. He has published in journals like *History Compass*, the *Journal of Eighteenth-Century Studies*, and the *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*. He has published two books with Cambridge University Press: *Nabobs: Empire and Identity in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (2010) and, most recently, *The Pretender of Pitcairn Island: Joshua W. Hill—The Man Who Would Be King Among the* Bounty *Mutineers* (2018).

Lindsay Neill is a senior lecturer in hospitality management at Auckland University of Technology in New Zealand. Lindsay's research interest lies in vernacular and popular culture, particularly food, Kiwi identity and materiality, gastronomy and the music and social influence of The Beatles. Lindsay has published widely on these topics. He is the co-author and author of several books, including the award-winning culinary text *The New Zealand Chef*.

Pauline Reynolds recently completed a PhD with creative practice about her foremothers who left Tahiti's shores in 1789 bound for Pitcairn Island aboard the *Bounty*. Her partnerships with curatorial teams around the world explore Polynesian barkcloths and the stories they reveal. She disseminates her research through publications and exhibitions and works with her island community reviving the art of tapa making.

Elizabeth Toloke is a recent graduate from the Auckland University of Technology's Master of Gastronomy programme. Her dissertation topic was on lū sipi and its place in Tongan culture. Elizabeth is keen to undertake further research in the Tongan food space not only as a research interest but also as a way to explore her own Tongan culture. Elizabeth has just enrolled at the University of Auckland to further her studies in a Graduate Diploma in Secondary Teaching.

Adrian Young is an assistant professor at Denison University, where he teaches European history and the history of science. His book project investigates interest in and uses made of Pitcairn and Norfolk Island by outside investigators across the last two centuries. He has recently published an article on hospitality in the history of anthropology and a chapter on the global circulation of "relics" from Pitcairn Island.

WHEN MARGINS ARE CENTRES: DE-RANGING PITCAIRN ISLAND'S PLACE IN PACIFIC SCHOLARSHIP

ADRIAN YOUNG
Denison University

MARIA AMOAMO
Te Whakatōhea
University of Otago

MARTIN GIBBS
University of New England

ALEXANDER MAWYER
University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

JOSHUA NASH
University of New England

TILLMAN NECHTMAN
Skidmore College

PAULINE REYNOLDS
University of New England

ABSTRACT: Pitcairn Island, settled in 1790 by nine mutineers of the British naval vessel *Bounty* and 19 settlers from Tupua'i, Huahine, Ra'iātea and Tahiti, has long maintained an ambiguous status in Pacific scholarship. On the one hand, its attachment to a storied moment in British history and its supposedly remote geographic location have granted it outsized attention. On the other, it has sometimes suffered a concomitant neglect, treated as peripheral to the primary concerns of Pacific studies. In this joint article, seven scholars of Pitcairn Island argue that the island's seemingly contradictory status as both central and marginal can be read as the result of disciplinary attentions and forgettings, a series of oublifications and focalisations. Moreover, metacritical attention to the ways the island has been made marginal or central to historical, sociocultural, political or regional discourses in turn reveals some of the structures and assumptions undergirding the disciplines engaged in the study of Oceania. Though Pitcairn Island, founded on mutiny and murder, is sometimes described as a space of derangement, we argue it is our own disciplines that are deranged through their study and use of an island that sits uneasily in the categories to which we have subjected it. Thus, we critique surprisingly recurrent notions that islands such as Pitcairn should ever be framed as pristine laboratory spaces or ready-made model systems. We conclude by positing the relevance of an alternative oceanic historicity that looks beyond the colonial archive to de-range supposed margins like Pitcairn Island.

Keywords: Pitcairn Island, Polynesia, HMS Bounty, marginality, derangement, linguistics, archaeology, history, island studies, historicities

Journal of the Polynesian Society, 2021, 130 (3): 197–226.
https://doi.org/10.15286/jps.130.3.197-226

Pitcairn Island, located over 500 kilometres east of Mangareva and 2,000 kilometres west of Rapa Nui, has almost universally been represented as lying at extreme margins of both Oceania and the world, deep in one of the most putatively remote regions of the Pacific. Its physical geography strikes most visitors as similarly inaccessible: “Nature has fortified the coast with powerful barriers, which render the island most difficult to access”, wrote one Victorian observer (Murray 1854). And yet, despite its supposed peripherality and impenetrability, Pitcairn Island has long occupied a starring role in the multi-century project of “foreign representations of Pacific Islands” (Jolly 2007). Famous as the ultimate home of nine of the HMAV *Bounty*’s mutineers and 19 settlers from Tupuaʻi, Huahine, Raʻiātea and Tahiti, Pitcairn’s resulting mixture of cultures—and its romantic attachment to Britain’s most famous naval mutiny—brought it persistent interest across the last two centuries. A 1964 manuscript about the island by New Zealand photographer Hardwicke Knight estimated that some 2,500 “scientific and romantic books and articles have been published on various aspects of the subject” (Knight 1964). The number has only grown since. The result is an island at once central and marginal, accessible and inaccessible, mysterious and universally known, eternally subject to myriad readings and framings.

Over the centuries, Pitcairn Island has become something like what French social theorist Lévi-Strauss once termed a floating signifier or zero symbol, “liable to take on any symbolic content whatever” (Lévi-Strauss 1987: 64). For Victorian missionaries, it was an Edenic example of Anglican purity (Belcher 1870; Murray 1854; Nechtman 2018). For early-twentieth-century eugenicists, it was a test case for racial admixture (Anderson 2012; Keith 1917; Shapiro 1936; Young 2020). For anthropologists and archaeologists, it was one of the last sites of expansion of the Polynesian cultural complex in the Eastern Pacific and a place where interisland interaction and exchange could be modelled (Collerson and Weisler 2007; Gathercole 1964; Heyerdahl and Skjölsvold 1965a, 1965b; Molle and Hermann 2018). For ecologists, it was an isolated environment where the human population dwindled and vanished, an ostensible lesson in “ecocide” (Diamond 1985, 1995, 2005). For linguists, it was a living laboratory for the study of contact languages and linguistic hybridity, a place to work out the definitions and boundaries of language itself (Källgård 1989; Mühlhäusler 2020; Nash 2018a; Ross and Moverley 1964). And for historians, it was the last chapter in a story of mutiny that occurred elsewhere, an outlying enigma largely separate from the broader narratives of Pacific history, even as for others it remained the very model of certain historical processes (Dening 1994; Diamond and Robinson 2010; Nordhoff and Hall 1934).

In much of the discourse surrounding Pitcairn Island, its marginality and exemplarity alike hinge on its appearance as a space of violence, trauma

and derangement. In journalistic and travel writing, Pitcairn emerges as an unruly “lost paradise” supposedly home to “mayhem” and “dark secrets” (Ball 1973; Birkett 1997; Marks 2009). In these accounts, the violence and trauma of the *Bounty* mutiny and the island’s early years, during which many of the community’s founders killed each other, rendered the island indelibly dystopian and fundamentally distinct from the wider world. Themes of derangement are particularly apparent in journalistic treatments of “Operation Unique” and the island’s notorious 2004 trials, in which six men were convicted of over 50 counts of sexual assault and other crimes against the island’s women and children (Oliver 2009). However, much of the broader writing on Pitcairn is also undergirded, tacitly or explicitly, by the notion that its violent and mutinous founding shaped it into an object singularly worthy of journalistic attention or scientific study. American anthropologist Harry Shapiro wrote in his famous 1936 monograph, *The Heritage of the Bounty*, that the mutiny and murder of the island’s early years “also created, as a by-product, a social and biological experiment of profound importance” (Shapiro 1936: 137–38).

This article, the joint work of seven scholars of Pitcairn Island from across the disciplines (roughly, anthropology, archaeology, British history, linguistics, material culture studies, tourism studies and the history of science), posits that *derangement* is indeed a useful notion, but perhaps not for understanding Pitcairn Island itself. Rather, derangement can be repurposed as a useful framework for making sense of the island’s varying treatments as marginal or exemplary in academic and writerly discourse. Literally speaking, to “derange” means to place “out of order”, and indeed, Pitcairn Island has so often served as a model because, for good or ill, in writing about and thinking with it, we academics have repeatedly positioned and repositioned it to suit our own ends, dragging it to or from the margins, *de-ranging* or *re-ranging* it to bring it closer to or further from our own concerns. Moreover, our quests to position the island as both exceptional and metonymic, marginal to the world and a model of it, have rendered Pitcairn Island a site that muddles and problematises our research as much as it provides answers, consistently prompting those who study it to question or reframe some of the basic assumptions and categories that motivate and guide work within their disciplines. A metahistorical account of the island as a lens that focalises, magnifies and makes visible our existing disciplinary obsessions shows us that it is not the island itself but rather our own academic models, methods and theory-driven fascination that have most often been the site of and subject to derangement.

Academics often deploy “derange” as a verb, to mean something vaguely synonymous with “trouble”, “complicate” or “problematise”. However, we lack a substantive theory of epistemological derangement. John Zammito’s

A Nice Derangement of Epistemes (2004) references Donald Davidson's ([1986] 2005) famous reference to a malapropism in Richard Brinsely Sheridan's *The Rivals* (1775), which showed that we need not follow the same rigid conventions of language in order to intelligibly understand each other. Zammito, however, was more interested in critiquing the science studies discourse of the late twentieth century than in tackling the subject of epistemic derangement per se. Rather, it is Johannes Fabian's reflexive critique of early anthropology (2000) that offers a more helpful point of departure. Through careful historical anthropology, Fabian shows that his own profession emerged as much from the deranged unreason of European explorers as it did from positivist rationalism, and indeed that it was only when proto-anthropologists jettisoned the latter in early field encounters that they were able to formulate new and productive knowledge. In what follows, we build on the notion that encounters between researchers and their subjects, particularly in the case of spaces construed as somehow marginal, can beget derangements conducive to disciplinary revaluations and reconfigurations.

Anna Tsing famously wrote that marginal spaces "are sites from which we see the instability of social categories" (1994: 279), and that is certainly true of epistemological categories born from the insular "margins". Across the disciplines, Pacific islands have long been forced into service as model spaces on account of their supposed marginality and isolation, appearing especially in Western discourse as sites for the generation of new ideas (Baldacchino 2007). As such, they are amenable to analysis as heterotopic critiques of the mainland (Foucault 1971), theory-machines (Galison 2004) or "truth spots" for the laboratory-like production of disciplined knowledge (Gieryn 2018). However, it is worth remembering that marginality is a constructed category; places like Pitcairn are not born insular, they are "islanded" (Sivasundaram 2012). By the same token, marginality is also fluid and relative. As Harms *et al*. write: "Remoteness is not simply a static condition found somewhere out there beyond the pale; rather, it is always being made, unmade, and transformed" (2014: 362). Indeed, building on Karrar and Mostowlansky's work (2018), it is perhaps best to understand marginality as a temporary assemblage, made, used and often abandoned for historically situated reasons.

Pitcairn Island thus invites us to think seriously about how disciplinary and historical structures have been subject to outsized attention, on the one hand, and myopic neglect, on the other, casting needed light on the reflective, critical and trans-disciplinary treatment of insular outliers and forgotten spaces in Pacific studies. We posit that Pitcairn Island has been subject to varying "focalisations" which, by virtue of what they centre and value, also served to produce elisions and forgettings as the island was

dragged into and out of the scholarly gaze, a process we describe below as one of oublification. Concomitant with this uncanny tension between what is focalised and what is oublified, we observe a history of derangements and rearrangements of our scholarly vision as brought to bear on Pitcairn as a model "model island". Below, we reflect upon some of Pitcairn Island's deployments and leveragings across and between disciplines, demonstrating some of the ways in which attention to the island reveals, reinforces or challenges scholarly assumptions: Pitcairn complicates our understanding of proximities, distances and interisland relations; it deranges our understanding of creolistics; it revises archaeology's notion of the island as a model system; it prompts a serious revision in our historical treatments of empire and decolonisation in the past and in the geopolitical present; it reminds us that cultural materialities like *tapa* 'barkcloth' can serve to reimagine critically needed historicities; and, perhaps most importantly, it compels us to rethink our reliance on and complicity in the construction of marginality as a concept in its own right.

PACIFIC MARGINALITY AND HISTORY'S OUBLIETTE

Pitcairn Island's marginality has a long and contingent history. Well before Oceania's land and seascapes were re-visioned by Europe as a peripheral and isolated outremer, they were imagined and experienced through local conceptions. In the case of a vast seaspace between the Pitcairn group and the Gambier archipelago, beginning around AD 1000 a network of ongoing encounter and exchange was vibrant enough to constitute an "interaction sphere" in which Mangareva held a "critical role" (Weisler 2004). As Molle and Hermann note (2018), it is now increasingly established that Pitcairn was inhabited by and regularly interacted with Mangareva and Mangarevans in a variety of culturally significant ways. However, as work in regional archaeology has also suggested, "[b]y western contact in the early seventeenth century, all islands in the Pitcairn group were abandoned, signalling a contraction of the sphere" (Weisler 2004: 57). That contraction is materially evident in the archaeological record, with various significant implications for regional history (Green and Weisler 2002; Walworth 2014; Weisler 1995) or ecological science (Conte and Kirch 2008; Kirch 1997; Rick *et al.* 2013). Moreover, the imposition of colonial frontiers threatened to render that closure permanent in the nineteenth century. Perhaps most notably with respect to our contemporary era, the advent of French nuclear testing during the 1960s imposed a regime of surveillance and isolation which seemed to cut off the islands from each other still further (Mawyer 2015).

And yet, this story of contraction and separation from former neighbours misses a fundamental point about the perdurance or even replication of relationships in the face of massive structural change. With our vision

distorted by the legacy and power of empire, one might see Pitcairn as British, the Gambier as French, both as marginal, remote colonies, and the ocean between them as an impermeable rupture opened up by the cartographic and bureaucratic violence of colonialism. But Pitcairn remained connected, even if those connections are too often elided: Pitcairn persisted as a site in Mangarevan culture history and oral traditions; Pitcairners and Mangarevans married across the nineteenth century and twentieth centuries; both islands contested rights to access and exploit nearby Henderson, Oeno and Ducie; interisland trade of fruits such as watermelons or other produce continued (Mawyer 2016). These imbrications intensely complicate the geosocial imaginary of Oceania, in which supposedly distant and, by colonial bureaus, bordered and distantiated, islands were understood to have relations with their respective metropoles, but not each other.

In part this summons to mind an old observation: giants cast long shadows. A key facet of the interpolation of Oceania's histories into global imaginaries and global histories has been the persistent dominance of a select few historical centres—Tahiti's storied relationships with (European) artists and novelists; Cook's death at Hawai'i; the founding of the Botany Bay colony on Australia's "fatal shore". Meanwhile, other islands have been cast in their shadows, coming into and out of view at particular moments. Pitcairn is notable both as a giant, at times monumentally in view, and as shadowed by the region's other behemoths, itself monumentally placed out of view or out of mind. Pitcairn's relationships with its nearest neighbour, Mangareva and the Gambier Islands, both prior to European encounters and arrivals (and departures) and after, summons this perspective. Queen Pomare IV, the last ruler of an independent Society Islands, once called the Gambier the lost islands, "*les îles oubliées*". And in some ways, her quip during the period of French colonial consolidation characterises not only the Gambier but their nearest neighbour, and other islands like it. Though Pitcairn would achieve a privileged status in anglophone and global imaginaries across the last two centuries, in administrative terms the British colonial office regarded Pitcairn as a burdensome *île oubliée* on the empire's far periphery, too far afield to effectively govern (Eshlemen 2011). The result was an island at once remembered and forgotten, celebrated in literature but beyond the range of administrative oversight (Nechtman 2018; Young 2016).

Oublification—a term we use to summon into view the interwoven historical processes of forgetting, eliding and enshadowing recalling Queen Pomare IV—is a helpful concept for understanding the tension between processes of focalisation on the one hand and processes of marginalisation and historical defocalisation on the other. Though related to historical amnesia, or similar terms which suggest the ways inconvenient or putatively minor historical facts are consigned to the scholarly dustbin as they are

overlooked or otherwise displaced, we use oublification to capture the constructed or even agentive processes by which pasts and their linkages to the dynamic present are dismissed. When historical or storied pasts-and-places are oublified, the result may be the kind of de-rangement we described above—as if they have been cast into an oubliette, a space beyond scholarly vision from which there seems to be no escape. Like Mangareva and the Gambier generally, Pitcairn was made to be seen in some ways, and made to be forgotten in others. Its supposed distance and isolation from its close neighbour, Mangareva, is a case in point, revealing precisely how constructed those notions are. Prior to contact with Europeans, both island groups together constituted a densely occupied centre of a large Oceanic world (Kirch and Kahn 2007; Weisler 2004). However, as some regional centres were focalised, other islands were marginalised. When the French leveraged or simply annexed all of what was to become French Polynesia beginning in the 1830s—and especially when, by the *fin de siècle*, the Third Republic achieved a sort of administrative focalisation on Tahiti—the Gambier became peripheral. Pitcairn Island and its three uninhabited outlier islands, a lone British colony suddenly stranded on the other side of a freshly inscribed colonial frontier, became one of the world's most distant places. It had been cast into the oubliette, de-ranged and placed out of sight.

However, if we look just beyond the limits of the colonial gaze, fixing our vision instead on interisland relations and "interaction spheres", the putative marginalisation and isolation (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2016) of Pitcairn sticks out like a hammered thumb. In the islands of the Eastern Pacific, sometimes referred to as "remote Oceania", many indigenous communities experienced their islands as *piko* or *pito* 'navels', which centred local worlds (Mawyer 2014) within a sea of islands (Hau'ofa 1993) connected by an active, expansive network of encounter and exchange. Across much of Polynesia, many islands are navels, or grounded centres from which elsewhereness is projected. From this point of view, what Weisler and Walter (2016: 370) call the "Mangareva–Pitcairn group" is a centre from which Tahiti is a remote elsewhere and Paris or London a distant margin. Interisland relations and interactions (Kirch 2007; Kirch *et al.* 2010) and the "existence of widespread interaction networks" push back or even invert the perspective of marginalisation. More recent studies, for instance, "offer new evidence for previously unsuspected patterns of exchange between Polynesian islands during pre-European times and put into question the idea of isolation" (Molle and Hermann 2018: 85). "Given that Mangareva was a gateway to remote archipelagos such as the Marquesas and the Society islands, the Pitcairn group was likely to be highly dependent on Mangareva for long-term survival. This dependency became even more critical after the interruption of long-distance voyaging and connections with the Marquesas" (p. 92).

Marginality is a historically contingent and ever-changing category. And even in the case of "marginal" Pitcairn, complex neighbour relations persist in the shadows, deranging received colonial notions about its peripherality—just as they derange the conceptual model of "peripherality" within the disciplinary and interdisciplinary discourses around Oceania's island worlds. Perhaps a refocalisation of our vision not just of Pitcairn as a remote island, or even model isolate, but on the processes that have centred and decentred its proximities, intimacies and neighbour-relations would raise new and critical questions: How can we narrate the cultural and historical dynamics not just of the insular but of the archipelagic, and especially of islands such as Pitcairn that are multiply entangled, with oceanic connections near and far? How can we ensure that those connections that defy the rigid logic and structures of the (post)colonial order of things are not permanently cast into history's oubliette? And how have these historical fences come to shape the boundaries and contours, the sitedness, of our own research in the first place?

LINGUISTICS AND THE "PRISTINE" ISLAND

A critical examination of the history of linguistic research on Pitcairn Island amply evidences the processes of disciplinary and scholarly derangement we seek to bring into view. Linguistics has long construed the island's language, born from contact between English and Polynesian cultures and languages, as uniquely amenable to study. The language itself began its development with the initial 1788 Anglo-Polynesian encounter in Tahiti, gelled further when the nine *Bounty* mutineers and 19 Polynesians arrived on Pitcairn Island in 1790, and has evolved ever since. However, how to characterise the language that their descendants speak, and in particular how to parse out the relative influence of English and Polynesian, has been the subject of strident debate, and consequently Pitcairn Island has served as a persistent site of interest—one that perhaps reveals as much about the assumptions and obsessions of linguistics as it does about the nature of language itself. The earliest, most quoted and most well-known entry in that discourse is Alan Ross and Albert Moverley's *The Pitcairnese Language* (1964), followed by Anders Källgård's several publications (Källgård 1989, 1993, 1998). More recently Nash, one of this paper's co-authors, conducted three months of field work on the island in 2016 (Nash 2016a).

One of the fundamental ideas tussled with in Ross and Moverley's seminal 1964 work is the notion that Pitcairn Island is "pristine", a site where we can know the history and origin of words and language *better* than other places. That is due in no small part to the island's intense focalisation in other literatures, which purportedly produced a legible archive of the language's origins and development. It is also a notion that relies intensely on the idea

of Pitcairn as an extreme isolate, uncontaminated by ways of speaking in other places. The result is a kind of supposed linguistic laboratory: as Ross wrote in the book's preface, "One can witness the actual birth of a language and follow it through to the present day" (1964: 11). At the same time, "pristineness" is also a term freighted with racialised meanings; Pitcairn was already famously understood as hybrid and perhaps racially impure, especially in eugenic discourse—but here, for Ross, it ultimately implies a profound, even noble transparency and knowability.

Pristineness is a term that exposes the ways that contact language studies and creolistics, a nascent research discipline at that time Ross was working, produced and leveraged the marginalisation of places like Pitcairn Island. Indeed, we argue that Ross's depiction of Pitcairn and its language as laboratory-like, model-esque or exceptional reveals considerably more about the assumptions and aspirations of linguistics as an emerging academic discipline than it does about the island itself. Ascribing the notion of the pristine to Pitcairn is a marginalising act, one that de-ranges the island by dragging it to (or even beyond) the extreme periphery, while at the same time centring it squarely under an intense scholarly gaze. Ross wrote that a placename is pristine "if, and only if, we are cognisant of the actual act of its creation" (preface in Ross and Moverley 1958: 333). But in the case of Ross, we are cognisant of the actual act of the creation not of the language itself, which was accessible only through a fragmentary archive compiled mostly by outsiders, but rather of the birth of linguistic studies of the Pitcairn language. From that history, we can determine a great deal about how scholars might document and theorise about new languages and transform Pacific islands into distantiated or focalised truth spots.

While a professor of linguistics at Birmingham in the 1950s, Alan Strode Campbell Ross first stumbled upon the Pitcairn language in a decidedly de-ranged way, reading a decontextualised and to him un-understandable snippet sentence of Pitcairn in a newspaper account. His interest was immediately piqued, and he invited Albert W. Moverley, who served as a teacher on Pitcairn Island in the late 1940s, to collaborate with him as a graduate student and produce a study of the language. On the basis of that work, Ross (1958) introduced the concept of "pristine placenames", expanded by Nash (2012), and then, more famously, collaborated with a number of other scholars and amateur enthusiasts to publish *The Pitcairnese Language* (Ross and Moverley 1964). It contained much of Ross's thinking about the island as a kind of laboratory for studying contact languages, as well as a number of other chapters by additional authors (see Nash 2016b, 2018b). It ultimately amounted to a kind of wide-ranging edited collection of research about both Pitcairn and Norfolk Islands, taking in not only language

but history and sociology. Moverley himself had died early and unexpectedly before the book was finished, but Ross made his former pupil co-author.

It is striking that Ross himself never went to Pitcairn Island. Some of the other contributors to his volume had: Moverley was there as a primary school teacher, but at that point had no professional training in linguistics. Foundational Pacific historian H.E. Maude, who offered an historical essay, had visited in an administrative rather than scholarly capacity, but had documented a large number of placenames in a gazetteer (see Nash 2018b). Elwyn Flint, an Australian linguist, did conduct some fieldwork on Norfolk Island, where the Pitcairn-descended population speaks a sister language, but he never travelled to Pitcairn Island himself. Thus, Ross's work relied entirely on collaborators or material gleaned elsewhere to supply the raw material for his work, revealing, perhaps, the British academic's own insular and marginal geographic position. Indeed, linguistic knowledge from Pitcairn was notably de-ranged, dragged from its local context to a university half a world away in the form of tape recordings or published snippets of transcribed dialogue in travel accounts (Young 2016). As a text, *The Pitcairnese Language* is, thus, perhaps most revelatory of contact language linguistics at the moment of its formation, an archive of the globe-spanning relationships that made the study of places like Pitcairn possible—and at the same time a testament to the utter difficulty of studying a place that was ostensibly pristinely accessible.

In the ensuing decades, other linguists did conduct further work. But it, too, is revelatory of Pitcairn's utter limits as a truth spot. Much of the subsequent linguistic work on both Pitcairn Island and Norfolk Island came away not only with word lists, but with destabilising questions like "how do we even define what a language is?" Those following in Ross's and Flint's footsteps repeatedly disagreed about how to classify the Pitcairn language—was it a creole, a dialect, or a language in its own right or merely a cant designed to obscure knowledge from outsiders (Laycock 1989; Young 2016)? As attempts began to systematise and salvage it as an endangered language, orthography and indeed even the language's name and spelling themselves ("Pitkern" vs "Pitcairn" vs "Pitcairnese") abounded (Mühlhäusler 2020). Ultimately, Pitcairn muddies the waters a lot for a place where knowledge is supposed to be easier to create. The concept of the pristine à la Ross seems to befog and make fuzzy rather than make lucid or unambiguous.

And yet, Ross and those who followed him hardly came away with nothing. Ross reveals to us real threads hidden deep in the languaged stuff of Pitcairn. Eight decades of investigation into its grammar, lexicon, social and natural history, placenames and phonology and some textual analysis all hark back to a single yet volatile conclusion: Pitcairn *is* useful for linguists. We know something about the language and its history; we know how, when, by whom and for whom certain words and constructions were

brought into this way of speaking; and where we do not know, we suspect there are entrance points. But at the same time, Ross opened several cans of worms relevant to but possibly loathed by linguists. Both his work and subsequent linguistic investigation into Pitcairn's language revealed, as in the case of so many foundational studies in creolistics, the limitations of our own definitions and categorisation of language. Accordingly, a critical history of his work reveals the ways that the professional study of language has long relied on the marginalisation and focalisation of the spaces and people it studies—and at the same time the ways that linguistics has cast the messy, social, disciplinary work that produces its knowledge into the depths of the oubliette.

PITCAIRN AND THE EPHEMERAL SUBSTANCE OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL ANALOGY

When planning her archaeological expedition to Rapa Nui, Katherine Routledge listed Pitcairn among its possible stops with the simple note: "Has never been worked. Specially interesting" (Routledge n.d.). Yet despite its apparently obvious allure, the island has only been visited by professional archaeologists a handful of times—often by expeditions calling briefly on the way to or from Rapa Nui, including Routledge herself in 1915, Henri Lavachery in 1935 and Thor Heyerdahl in 1956. Substantial work is even sparser: a three-month survey by a University of Otago team headed by Peter Gathercole in 1964 and excavations focussed on *Bounty* and historic sites by Nigel Erskine and Martin Gibbs in 1998. However, what is especially striking is that despite—or perhaps because of—a paucity of systematic work on the island, Pitcairn appears frequently throughout archaeological discourse in more conjectural and analogic forms, especially as a model or potential point of comparison. In the absence of substantial archaeological material, the island has instead floated ephemerally through our scholarly visions of the Pacific past. We suggest that a survey of these uses and appearances reveals as much about the nature of archaeology itself as it does about the island's material heritage, helpfully deranging our understanding of the discipline by refocusing our attention to the power and prominence of the analogic in archaeological thought.

Archaeology is grounded in the idea that the human past is discernible through its detritus; that the materiality of past human activity encodes culture and economy, including both deliberate strategies for existence and inadvertent consequences. Archaeologists generally embrace the idea that this materiality both transcends and complements documentary and oral histories, potentially providing an independent "truth" against the limitations and ambiguities of these other narratives. However, while its concern with landscapes, sites and objects is in many respects a mechanism

for distinguishing the discipline from its cognates, its remove has never been an absolute, with archaeology seeing itself as much as a form of anthropology as of history. At the same time, this does not mean that it is insensitive to the non-corporeal and the cognitive, with these being as much drivers of past behaviour and culture as any prosaic economic or environmental forces. Perhaps more than most disciplines, archaeology is rife with internal tension thanks to a disciplinary "spectrum" that ranges from hard-nosed positivist science through to phenomenologists, bound only by its attachment to the physical.

To paraphrase a popular handbook aptly titled *Bluff Your Way in Archaeology* (Bahn 1989), archaeology is like the Devil's jigsaw puzzle, as you don't know how many pieces are missing, most of them are lost forever, you can't cheat and look at the picture, and it is a project that will never be finished. Weaving the literal fragments of the past into a whole narrative is often dependent on processes of analogy to better-known examples, as well as the abstraction of models. Accordingly, in the absence of substantial material evidence, Pitcairn comes into focus instead as a sort of imagined island laboratory, generating questions about its own past—but also hopefully providing insights which can be applied elsewhere, especially in the Pacific world. A large part of this is reliant on the juxtapositions of the island's pre-*Bounty* (and pre-historic) deeper past of Polynesian colonisation and abandonment with its second occupation (and temporary abandonment) by the people that arrived with *Bounty*.

Courtesy of Molle and Hermann's (2018) review there is no need to revisit the nature of Pitcairn Island's archaeological landscape, the sequence of research or the prosaic elements of sites. However, we can certainly highlight some of the themes of archaeological interest the site addresses. These include colonisation (the processes by which people move to and inhabit new places), adaptation and invention (how people change themselves and their environment), lifeways (economy and society), connection (trade, exchange, mobilities), contact between cultures (domination, resistance, hybridity) and collapse (and death and abandonment). However, an attention to these themes returns us to the question of what drives archaeological inquiry into Pitcairn—and especially to the potential for derangements of our disciplinary vision.

Archaeological analogy suggests that the island might be conducive as a model, or perhaps even a thought experiment, for the processes of Pacific island colonisation. The arrival of *Bounty*, with its complement of men, women, plants, animals and material culture, arguably provides us with insights applicable to the experiences of the original Polynesian immigrants, or indeed other Polynesian voyagers and colonists elsewhere. Of course, the reality is that for the Polynesian members of *Bounty*, the existing plant

resources and signs of the preceding occupation shifts the narrative from one of encounter with a "naïve" landscape to one of reactivation of existing and perceptible resources and systems (even if these were not evident to the European members of the group). Elsewhere, Gibbs and David Roe have suggested that we may even be able to derive insights into spiritual aspects of these processes of colonisation, and the crucial role of creating relationships with the non-corporeal inhabitants of a new place (2017). However, concerns over the dangers and fallacies of appropriating insights from one context into quasi-functionalist analogical frameworks for understanding a broader range of situations, especially those in a deeper past, have been raised by many others for decades (Lydon 2019; Wylie 1985).

On a somewhat safer analogical footing, for those with an interest in the European side of the *Bounty* story from which the main documentary evidence and perspective of these colonisation processes might be derived, Pitcairn might be read as a real-life "Swiss Family Robinson" where the ship provides a warehouse of homeland resources with a gradual process of "civilising" a landscape (cf. Erskine 2004). However, a critical reading of that characterisation of the island's second settlement, and our awareness of archaeology's fetishisation of the European colonial arrivals, instead prompts us to question the operating assumptions of archaeological analogy itself. Can the arrival of people with the *Bounty* truly be seen as either a Polynesian or European colonisation, or should it rightly stand as a very particular form of cultural hybrid, where engagements with landscape, place, architecture, object and practice all inhabited a negotiated space?

Pitcairn abets other analogies and conjectures, too. Can Pitcairn be viewed as a site for understanding the pragmatics of life, economy and connection on small islands? Much of the archaeological research has involved itself with analyses of when Pitcairn, usually bundled with Henderson Island, was occupied, the nature of its subsistence base, and cultural similarities and connectedness via migration and trade with other islands. For Heyerdahl, his 1956 Pitcairn excavations were done in hopes of finding support for his diffusionist models of the colonisation of the Pacific as originating from South America via Rapa Nui (Heyerdahl and Skjölsvold 1965a). Heyerdahl's hypothesis utterly contradicted all conventional thought and evidence on the Asian biological and cultural pedigree of the Pacific Islanders and, despite its fulsome rejection by the archaeological profession (Kirch 2000), has remained in the popular imagination as a significant and meaningful derangement of the Pacific narrative. To this end there is some irony that the most recent scholarship is once again exploring DNA evidence considering if not colonisation from South America then at least connections with it. The material from the Pitcairn archaeological assemblages, of which Heyerdahl's potentially remains the most substantial, does not appear to have played

a role as yet. For subsequent archaeological works it has been about the place of Pitcairn in a web of resource-sharing relationships with Henderson, Mangareva and ultimately the Marquesas (Molle and Hermann 2018).

Most dramatically, Pitcairn potentially acts as a model for abandonment. It is one of the "mystery" or "mysterious" Pacific islands which was vacated after centuries of occupation, with no obvious historical driver. Into this space comes Jared Diamond, who uses the archaeological insights into Pitcairn's demise to reason his way through external social and economic relationships. The 1856 relocation to Norfolk, prompted by the population of nearly 200 *Bounty* descendants outstripping the water supply, provides for him a double validation. Comparing the fate of the island's former inhabitants to a world facing anthropogenic climate change, Diamond writes: "The fates of the former populations of Pitcairn and Henderson are a metaphor for what may await all of us if we continue on our present course" (1995: 2).

Strikingly, Diamond's grand pronouncements about the fate of humanity, like all claims built from analogy or comparison to Pitcairn's past, are supported by very little material. For all of what has been framed above, the amount of actual archaeological investigation on Pitcairn has been passingly small: partial surveys of the landscape and sites, a few cubic metres of excavation, stories built on stories. The archaeological heart of Pitcairn still awaits. In the meantime, what we have perhaps uncovered instead are the structures and assumptions that guide the discipline's reasoning about and interest in the material past. Pitcairn Island is, for archaeology, at present most interesting as a site of reflection, an assemblage of our archaeological attentions and preoccupations.

JOSHUA HILL, COLONIAL OVERSIGHT, AND HISTORY WRITING AT THE ENDS OF EMPIRE

Perhaps most crucially of all, an attention to the ways we have varyingly turned our vision to or diverted our attentions from Pitcairn Island reveals a great deal about our understanding of the colonial past and postcolonial present. Among British historians, the analytical investigation of decolonisation has been rightly *au courant* these past decades. Those who have been drawn to the topic, however, have most often observed the process like tourists eagerly watching the calving of a glacier. It is the echoing crack and sublime swells of water that come from the break-up of large pieces of empire that seem to get the lion's share of attention. In a purportedly postcolonial world, we might do well to be awestruck as much by the 14 places that still happen to belong to the British Empire as we are by the free-floating icebergs left by the fast-paced ablation of Britain's once solid empire.

What is left of the British Empire today is, though, easy to miss, long subjected to diverse processes of oublification. Not big places at all, small icy growlers and bergy bits, 14 dots, really, though these overseas territories stretch around the globe in such a way that the sun, thanks to Pitcairn's persistence, *still* never sets on the British Empire. Small though the residual and contemporary parts of the British Empire may be, it is worth asking whether or not the perdurance of that thin, globe-encircling thread still has something to tell us about the nature of empire more broadly, reorienting our vision of the postcolonial. What should we make of the longevity of empire in a supposedly postcolonial world? How did Britain govern these places, and how did "empire" come to them in the first place? How might the history of "overseas territories" like Pitcairn derange narratives about imperialism and its ends?

The existence of postcolonial colonies seems to revise the historical narrative of the collapse of Euro-American imperialism since the end of the Second World War, and one might undertake to study any one—or all collectively—of the 14 contemporary Overseas Territories (OT) in an effort to come to terms with the erstwhile contradictions in the history here. It makes sense, though, to turn to Pitcairn in this quest in part because most of the oublified OTs are, in fact, islands, and because islands, as more than a few historians and theorists have argued, are definitionally small and isolated/insulated communities, "able to be held in the mind's eye and imagined as places of possibility and promise" (Edmond and Smith 2003: 2). Pitcairn Island makes an especially interesting case, for we might argue that London's colonisation of the island was the direct result of inattention, oublification and colonial neglect—the same sort of excessive inattention to small places that allows us to insist that our world is postcolonial when colonies are scattered all about us (Houbert 1986; Jacobs 1996).

The key to Pitcairn's place in all of this rests on the dual and competing definitions of the word "oversight". Most who are familiar with Pitcairn history will know of Joshua W. Hill, who famously arrived at Pitcairn in October 28, 1832, and who effectively wrested, for lack of a better word, the island from London's colonial control until he was removed by Captain Henry William Bruce of the HMS *Imogene* in 1837. Hill's *revolution* at Pitcairn, to borrow the word used by Mark Twain (1879), has all the makings of a "caper" story, and Hill has most often been written of alongside histories of other nineteenth-century filibusters, conmen and imposters. In these framings, Hill is portrayed as the most deranged figure in Pitcairn's long and deranged history, described often as a madman or a tyrant. Both images serve to minimise a much larger point—namely that one man had been able

to confound and confuse the network of nineteenth-century British imperial power so completely that few noticed his antics and nobody quite knew what to do about them for the better part of a decade.

Forget, for a moment, what this narrative tells us about Hill in his singularity. Focus instead on the systemic lessons we learn about Britain and its empire. Expansive? Powerful? Global? Yes. But, simultaneously, stretched. Inattentive. Disjointed. Joshua Hill was only able to seize control over Pitcairn Island from London because of London's oversight of, its failure to attend to, the small Pacific island. And that was Hill's point. In a series of documents and letters that he wrote both before and after his time as the illegitimate governor of Pitcairn Island, Joshua Hill insisted that the island was vital as part of a pearled necklace of islands, rocks and atolls that spanned the globe and allowed Britain to encompass the earth. But, if one does not attend to one's precious objects, others are wont to steal them, and Hill had said as much to anyone who would listen—the London Missionary Society, the Foreign Office, the domestic media and political contacts throughout British society. But, in order that it might function as a Pacific nodal point in this global imperial system, Pitcairn required oversight—special and directed attention.

Had Hill's seizure of power at the island not been proof enough of his claims that London was overlooking a valuable piece of imperial territory, an American whaler arrived at the island soon after Hill's removal in 1837. During the vessel's two-week anchorage at Pitcairn, the sailors harassed the island, forcing the island's men to defend the community at gunpoint. The "Hill imbroglio", as David Silverman has described this period, "brought home the vulnerable position of Pitcairn". More and more sailors were targeting the island. More and more visitors wanted to meet these celebrated islanders. And, the islanders had no army or navy to defend themselves from any outside abuse. They were "up for grabs" (Silverman 1967: 179). Moreover, it was not just physical danger that threatened Pitcairn. The islanders were so naïve. They had fallen for and been flimflammed by Joshua Hill. They needed more than London's benevolent neglect; what they required was a directed colonial connection with the imperial centre—its oversight.

These were the arguments that the islanders placed before Captain Russell Elliot of the HMS *Fly*, who arrived at Pitcairn on November 29, 1838. Captain Elliott had no official authority to engage in Pitcairnese politics, but he was so moved by the islanders' plea for help and colonial attention that he presented them with a Union Jack, declaring "you are now under the protection of the English flag" as he did so (Young [1894] 2003: 91). Officially, it would be the British Settlements Act of 1887 that annexed Pitcairn into Britain's colonial structure. For the islanders, though, it was Captain Elliott's declaration that rendered them British, for with the flag came

a written, if protean, constitution, a document that collected and organised pre-existing Pitcairnese laws and legal customs and added to them radical concepts like universal suffrage for both the island's men and its women as well as universal public education for the island's children.

The Pitcairn constitution merits investigation in its own right, but that is beyond the scope of this argument. What is at issue here is an apparent contradiction in the historical narrative of this much-storied island. Joshua Hill had insisted that London ought to pay more attention to Pitcairn as part of a global imperial system. London had not. So, Hill took it upon himself to demonstrate the significance of the small island by forcibly seizing it from London's control to govern it in a way that he felt it deserved. In pursuing his agenda as he did, Hill made two things obvious to the Pitcairn Islanders. First, they needed a more comprehensive form of government, and, second, they needed protection from without. Both of these needs were met by Elliott's proclamation and constitution—steps that corrected British oversight (oublification) of the island with British oversight (focalisation) of the island.

Though many historical accounts of Joshua Hill's "reign" at Pitcairn Island have framed him as a deranged tyrant, there may be reason to think that historians and other scholars of the colonial and postcolonial could benefit from an attention to him and his time at Adamstown. Is it possible that postcolonial scholarship, and the scholarly work on decolonisation, in particular, may suffer as a result of deeply embedded structural oublifications? Perhaps an attention to Pitcairn and other sites that sit uncomfortably at the margins of our major categories and grand narratives would helpfully disrupt and derange our received understanding of both empire and its dissolution in Oceania and beyond. We suggest that the uncanny perdurance of formal overseas territories in a postcolonial age should prompt us to re-examine our scholarly treatments of colonisation and decolonisation, demanding that we attend to the structural reasons sites of formal persistence so often seem to lie just beyond our vision. Indeed, perhaps their invisibility itself is an artefact of varying, historically situated forms of "oversight", with absent-minded imperialism (to borrow a notion from Seeley [1883] 1971) leading, ironically, not just to formal rule but also to absent-minded historical accounts of the same.

PITCAIRN'S PRESENT AND FUTURE AS A DERANGING SPACE IN ISLAND STUDIES

Just as crucially, the view from Pitcairn deranges our vision not only of the colonial past but of the postcolonial present and future. The seismic upheaval caused by Britain's withdrawal from the European Union has radiated novel and profound stresses across the Pacific, in many cases laying bare the underlying cracks, fissures and structures of our postcolonial world.

Indeed, if "Brexit constitutes the promise of a different future, and a different world order" (Adler-Nissen *et al.* 2017: 580), then it certainly prompts us to think even more critically about the common concerns and assumptions in island studies, and especially the ways islands share a world with newly riven and fragmented continents. Pitcairn is an especially conducive site, we argue, for thinking critically about new and emerging reconfigurations of boundaries, borders and dichotomies of core–periphery that unsettle, disrupt and de-range static tropes of island insularity, dependence and marginality (Amoamo 2019). Indeed, in the "new political reality" (Pugh 2017) of Britain's Overseas Territories vis-à-vis Brexit, Pitcairn's present and future as a space of deranged or deranging investigation merits substantial consideration. Consequently, Brexit futures open up an opportunity to reflect on how (island) spaces for new and emerging forms of solidarity and identity are created, reworked or closed (Anderson and Wilson 2018) as the majority of the OTs undergo some form of sociopolitical change (i.e., realignment) to their small island communities.

Here, we pose the notion of a "revisionary core–periphery" relationship as a disruptive and deranging factor of the postcolonial present, one that shows well the ways that metropolitan disruptions such as Brexit open up dependencies like Pitcairn Island to the world. Brexit has provoked a realignment of core–periphery relations, triggering the perceived need for OTs to operate collectively to safeguard their interests. Moves by OTs to seek alliances, strengthen regional and global networks and pursue self-determining strategies exemplify the revisionary core–periphery model and transformation from liminal/peripheral subjectivities to one of *communitas* (McConnell 2017). While Brexit has enlarged the biopolitical imaginary of the UK beyond the territorial border of the state (Harmer 2018) in negotiating the Brexit machinery, OTs have shown an ability to transform diplomatic practices through *rapid/active response* and engagement that seek to reduce the limitations posed by dependency on their parent state.

While wider possible impacts of Brexit for the OTs were rarely considered by the metropole leading up to and during the referendum period (reflecting past criticism of Britain's historical administrative oversight of the OTs), in recent decades the UK has sought to re-engage with the territories through various White Papers that "better reflected the nature of a post-colonial 'partnership'" (Clegg and Gold 2011: 6). For Pitcairn, the core–periphery relationship has been "re-ordered" into one of "generalised reciprocity" (Putnam 2000). The latter is the foundation of cooperative behaviour both within and amongst groups, while confidence, trust and transparency are fundamental principles for groups faced with challenges. This has led to substantial tourism diversification beyond Pitcairn's *Bounty* image to (re)imagine island place/space through eco/

astrotourism. Working with NGOs and environmental partners, the Pitcairn waters (some 800,000 km^2) are now designated a marine protected reserve, and in 2019 Pitcairn became the world's first island group to gain Dark Sky Sanctuary status with the Mata ki te Rangi (Eyes to the Sky) sanctuary. European Union funds have contributed to building a new museum and cultural and community centre including a tourist office, improved roads and upgraded telecommunications. Further funds may enable an alternative landing site for cruise ship passengers, a dedicated tender and vessel and improved transportation vehicles for sightseeing.

Likewise, the post-Brexit context illuminates how Pitcairn's continuing work with regional neighbours in French Polynesia as part of the Forum Island Countries' Office of the Chief Trade Adviser (OCTA) deranges its supposed marginality, isolation or peripherality. In some sense, the refocalised present looks remarkably like the past, with its overlapping interaction spheres between regional neighbours. This is echoed in the sentiment stated by the president of French Polynesia at the 2019 EU-OCTA meeting—"What unites us is more important than what separates us." Regional projects with Pacific EU/OTs have been initiated to combat climate change and biodiversity loss. Closer relations with Mangareva and Tahiti Tourism have been established to promote tourism and trade opportunities and to secure specialist medical care for Pitcairners in Papeete. Relations between such island groupings are not just socioeconomic: in the case of Pitcairn and Mangareva they reflect part of the kaleidoscopic history of interisland relations in "deep time" (Dening 2005), a longstanding history of local connection and exchange that we show above to be all too easily forgotten when our vision is deranged by the structuring violence of colonialism. Brexit has shown that dependent islands can be examined as viable examples for the re-ordering/*deranging* of the mainly dyadic relationship with the metropole. As such, islands like Pitcairn can and should be reimagined as sites of reciprocal power projection—a new model of metropole–periphery relations transformed by the postcolonial present.

* * *

Prophesy is difficult work, and it is exceptionally difficult to imagine a definitive future for Pitcairn Island. Many others have tried, usually in apocalyptic terms. Indeed, because British observers regarded Pitcairn as too small to support a colony of any meaningful size, the Crown twice forcibly migrated the entire population, once to Tahiti in 1831 and then to Norfolk Island in 1856. The moves were necessary, thought officials, to stave off a bleak Malthusian future brought on by overpopulation or insufficient resources. That the Pitcairners in both cases migrated back to their home in defiance of British expectations is suggestive of the ways that outsiders' visions of Pacific lives have long been deranged by their own assumptions.

The same perhaps remains true today, as one observer after another suggests an impending demographic crisis that will shut down the community for good; in 1988, John Connell reported that "virtually all those who have visited the island in the post-war years and recorded their impressions have commented that the future existence of the community was extremely doubtful" (p. 197). And yet, the island and its community persist.

Instead, the most interesting problem at hand is perhaps not why or when the Pitcairn Island community will collapse but why writers have so consistently expected it to fail across the better part of two centuries. We suggest that expectations of imminent disaster are an extreme instance of Pitcairn Island's persistent marginalisation; the Pitcairn Islanders, by a certain logic, have lived outside of the laws and boundaries of history for too long, and eventually the unstable structure must collapse back into reality. However, like an anomalous result that exceeds the bounds of "normal science" (Kuhn 1971), perhaps the uncanny perdurance of Pitcairn Island is as a useful object with which to muse instead on the underlying notions underpinning our conceptualisations of the Pacific, of islands and of history. As we noted at the outset, Pitcairn Island is all too often regarded as a space of easy discernment—pristine, laboratory-like, a readymade experiment, conducive to obvious analogy—but even so, it simultaneously haunts our scholarly imagination as a site where the anomalous and unknowable accumulate in abundance, testing our disciplinary assumptions as much as strengthening them, a metacritical "mystery island".

However, if we instead focalise our attentions on Pitcairn as a site where our scholarly and disciplinary obsessions have piled up en masse, we can begin to view the island not only as a lens through which to see the world more clearly but also as a sort of funhouse mirror, capturing our gaze and returning it to us. In our deranged reflection, we can perceive the persistence of material relations and cultural entanglements across imagined geopolitical boundaries; we can see how notions of "pristineness" inflected the foundational assumptions of creolistics; we can locate the analogous reasoning that undergirds so much of archaeological thought; we can see the failure of (the new) imperial history to account for the outlying and marginal cases that were, in retrospect, perhaps more revelatory of the logic of empire than we had heretofore realised. And, above all, at a present moment when long-time "centres" like Britain are fragmenting and breaking from the main to pursue their own peripheral insularity, an attention to Pitcairn prompts us to rethink the notion of the marginal itself.

Of course "marginality" is always relative; one person's margin is another's centre (Mawyer *et al.* 2020), especially as archipelagic relationships re-emerge in our postcolonial era, supplanting the colonial dyad of central metropole

and peripheral colony. The case of Pitcairn Island makes exceptionally clear that marginality of any kind is historical and contingent, made, unmade and remade through acts of attention and elision alike. Pitcairn Island was a spot held sacred from history, a navel of the world, an isolated outpost on the edge of empire, an *île oubliée* despite a sea of ink, a vital node in an interaction sphere that stretched across the Pacific and the better part of a millennium, and much else besides. Pitcairn was and remains a multivalent space, playing many roles and taking on many meanings depending on who is assigning them and in what circumstances. However, even if contested, we need not abandon marginality as an object or analytic; rather, we should attend seriously to its plasticity and multiplicity, understanding always the situated, historical reasons for which the island was made central or marginal within particular discourses or disciplines, remembered or neglected in particular contexts, alongside the enormously generative potential of starting with the essential centredness of every island community to itself. Otherwise, we risk too much forgetting altogether, neglecting to critically understand our own disciplines and abandoning too much to the abyssal depths of the oubliette.

PROVISIONING: OCEANIC HISTORICITIES AND ESCAPE FROM THE OUBLIETTE

And yet, critique is relatively easy. Identifying paths forward is considerably harder. Having arrived at an understanding of the manifold ways Pitcairn has been marginalised and focalised in our scholarship, it is worth musing here, at the end of our joint article, on ways that a metacritical attention to the island's derangements in extant scholarship can guide us out of the oubliette. Perhaps one path is to look beyond the traditional disciplinary constraints that have helped to make islands like Pitcairn marginal in the first place. In an influential article, Chris Ballard called for a turn toward broader, more reflexive and more encompassing "Oceanic historicities" that, "rather than displacing, or obviating the need for, conventional histories … serve to situate colonial and document-based histories within the broader array of possible histories" (Ballard 2014). Here, we therefore choose to close our review of Pitcairn's place in Pacific scholarship not only by engaging in the pro forma and somewhat deranged work of "concluding"—but also by narrating an alternative, de-marginalised history that exists not in the colonial archive but in its interstices, an act we see as something like "provisioning" for future voyages within the work of Pacific history or neighbourly fields.

History has long made text central to its method and epistemological assumptions, though in recent years the discipline has revived its interest in material culture and looked to "thing theory" in order to break beyond its traditional limitations and expand its definitions of the archival (Appadurai

1988; Daston 2007). In the case of Pitcairn, a rich textile tradition reveals histories of connection and identity that scholars long thought difficult or impossible to tell. Histories of Pitcairn island have most often centred on its men and rely on English-language sources. The story of the island's "neglected matriarchs" (Langdon 2000), their deep connections to the broader Pacific world, and the profound influence they brought to the island's culture are consigned to speculation, conjecture and elision, when told at all (Dening 1994). However, if we look beyond the diaries of ship captains and missionaries and instead follow the patterns and peregrinations of Pitcairn's tapa, we can narrate a very different history altogether. These cloths helpfully derange our textual- and andro-centric historical vision, revealing novel and necessary modes of historicity.

Just one month before her death, Mauatua (often called "Mainmast", "Isabella", or "wife of Fletcher Christian" in historical accounts) presented a large bundle of tapa to the captain of the visiting HMS *Curaçao*. It was 1841, and the islanders were suffering from a nasty strand of influenza introduced by a previous ship's visit. *Curaçao*'s surgeon was able to bring relief to some of the sick, but the virus was spreading like wildfire, and Mauatua was among those most affected (Lucas 1929: 44). By then Mauatua was very old—she had witnessed Cook's first arrival at Tahiti's shores—but had the presence of mind to ask the captain to pass the finely made cloth on to the widow of Peter Heywood, Christian's close friend from the *Bounty* days. The cloth was given to Frances Heywood on the captain's return to England. Sixteen years later, aware of her own mortality, Frances arranged her affairs and cut the bundle of cloth into small rectangles, distributing the pieces among friends and presenting one to Kew Gardens in London (Kew Gardens Reference EBC42960; Belcher 1870; Reynolds 2016).

Piecing this story together is in its own way a disruption, a derangement of the "*Bounty*" histories told and retold since the mutiny in 1789 and the discovery of the Anglo-Polynesian settlement in 1808. The way these histories have been constructed has marginalised the Polynesian men and women, negating the enormous agency they had on the turn of events post-mutiny. Pushing beyond the disciplinary limits and recentring the story on the island's emerging culture rather than European/Western preoccupations and projections is essential in any serious recounting of Pitcairn's history. The inclusion of material culture provides a wealth of resources, and reminds us that Pitcairn was part of a large global network for voyagers, whalers, sealers and others.

By the time of Mauatua's death, the women of Pitcairn had gifted hundreds of bundles of cloth, *tīputa* 'ponchos', *pāreu* 'sarongs' and *'ahufara* 'shawls' to those who visited. These acts of gifting replicated the Polynesian ritual of investiture that guaranteed *taio* 'bond-friendships', so well documented

by the first explorers to Tahiti, as a way to integrate a newcomer into the community with cloth made by elite women (D'Alleva 1997). These gifts, left out of most of the history books about early Pitcairn, highlight how historians and anthropologists have undervalued the significance of tapa, underestimated because women's art practices and gifts were perceived as less important than men's or than the relics from *Bounty*, for example (Weiner 1992).

The celebrated Pacific historian Henry Maude wrote that Mauatua and Teraura (the youngest of the Tahitian women to have arrived at Pitcairn) were "at least of *raatira* stock—the landed gentry—and thus not inferior in social position to their husbands … [but] [t]he remaining women were nondescripts of the Polynesian lower classes" (Maude 1964: 51). This position has been repeated by scholars over the years, with the notable exception of Robert Langdon (2000: 35). However, an awareness of Tahitian language and naming protocols shows us that the majority of the women's names contained indicators of nobility (Reynolds 2012: 1). Furthermore, the quality of cloths they made and the kinds of clothing they constructed for themselves and their children resemble those worn by the elite classes back home. In Tahiti clothing was used "to assert political power, social status, religion, wealth"; however, on Pitcairn it appears to be an expression of origins and artistic skills (D'Alleva 2005: 48).

Tapa is an epistemological site. It is a site of knowing and learning, where the transmission of identity and belonging can take place that embodies cultural understandings of history, genealogy and relationships (Koya 2013: 13). More widely, the Pitcairn cloths carry evidence of an ancient common origin with other tapa makers across the Pacific. Conversely, long after the barkcloth mallets fell silent around much of the missionised Pacific, Pitcairn women were still beating bark into cloth right up until they left for Norfolk Island in 1856, carrying on the age-old tradition oblivious of changes outside.

It is surprising how much Pitcairn tapa is held in museums—the largest amount by far is at the British Museum. The collection contains ʻahufara made from gauzy breadfruit bark, colourful tīputa, deep red-brown pāreu and large ivory-coloured sheets. In Tahitian, these are not merely artefacts, objects or things, but *taoʻa* 'treasures'. The taoʻa tell us many different stories: of the makers, of becoming gifts and of the voyages that transferred them to the other side of the globe. Another Mauatua fragment is on display in a glass "cabinet of curiosity" in the Enlightenment Gallery of the British Museum. The tag reads:

> *Tappa or Native cloth of Pitcairn Island made by Mainmast Christian the widow of Fletcher Christian the Mutineer of the Bounty. H. Porter. Dec 9th 1837.*

Millions of visitors walk past the fragment every year, and its presence among the thousands of other "curios" disrupts—not only the *Bounty* story (the tag's reference is to "Fletcher Christian" or "Mutineer of the *Bounty*") but also the Gallery's narrative of "curiosities"—and makes us *think* because the cloth was not made by Christian, but by Mauatua. Indeed, the museum has updated its online data with "Mauatua" as the maker (British Museum). Whatever way one views the tapa—as "ethnographic material culture", "relic", "object" or "artefact", or from a descendant's perspective as a treasured manifestation of one's ancestor/s or as the ancestor herself—there is dialogue to be had about dominant discourses and representations of the Other (Schorch 2020; Smith 1999; Young 2018). For descendants, tao'a like the Mauatua barkcloths represent genealogies/ancestry, or, more precisely, *papa tupuna* (Tahitian) and *kamfram* (Norfolk and Pitcairn languages). In this way, these objects derange the museum just as they derange our Euro-and-textual-centric histories; it becomes not only a site of Western conservation practices, research and representation but also a place where the tao'a, the maker and descendants are all connected, and where inspiration for creative projects and contemporary activations can be imagined (Reynolds 2018). The tapa, extracted from the Pacific and placed at the far periphery of Pitcairn's world, becomes a locus where knowledge, belonging and identity again converge, placing once marginalised and forgotten women like Mauatua at the centre of the story.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The germ of this paper was a session at the 2018 Pacific History Association Conference in Cambridge, titled "'Placing' Insiders, Outsiders, and the Microcosmic in Pacific Language and History," in which Nash, Nechtman, Mawyer and Young gave papers. Those four, in turn, published a chapter together in *L'Europa d'Oltremare* (Adriano Favole (ed.), Milan: Raffaello Cortina Editore, 2020), titled "'Oltremari' dell'Europa d'Oltremare: Pitcairn, Mangareva e le persistenti interazioni tra *isole dimenticate*", first written in English and then translated into Italian, which explored the persistence of contact between Pitcairn and Mangareva while also considering those islands' relationship to Europe and other "overseas" regions. Amoamo, Gibbs and Reynolds then joined to produce this larger, interdisciplinary piece examining Pitcairn's de-rangements in Pacific scholarship. The authors are grateful to this paper's anonymous reviewer, whose generous comments helped to improve its analytic footing. Young, in particular, is grateful to his six co-authors for embarking on this cross-disciplinary journey with him, and for their contributions to this article.

REFERENCES

Adler-Nissen, Rebecca, Charlotte Galpin and Ben Rosamond, 2017. Performing Brexit: How a post-Brexit world is imagined outside the United Kingdom. *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 19 (3): 573–91.

Amoamo, Maria, 2019. Brexit—threat or opportunity? Resilience and tourism in Britain's Island Territories. *Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment* 23 (3): 501–26.

Anderson, Ben and Helen F. Wilson, 2018. Everyday Brexits. *Area* 50 (2): 291–95.

Anderson, Warwick, 2012. Racial hybridity, physical anthropology, and human biology in the colonial laboratories of the United States. *Current Anthropology* 53 (S5, April 1): S95–S107.

Appadurai, Arjun, 1988. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge University Press.

Bahn, Paul G., 1989. *Bluff Your Way in Archaeology*. Horsham: Ravette Books.

Baldacchino, Godfrey, 2007. Islands as novelty sites. *Geographical Review* 97 (2): 165–74.

Ball, Ian M., 1973. *Pitcairn: Children of Mutiny*. New York: Little, Brown.

Ballard, Chris, 2014. Oceanic historicities. *The Contemporary Pacific* 26 (1): 96–124.

Belcher, Lady Diana Joliffe, 1870. *Mutineers of the Bounty and Their Descendants in Pitcairn and Norfolk Islands.* London: John Murray.

Birkett, Dea, 1997. *Serpent in Paradise*. New York: Anchor Books.

Clegg, Peter and Peter Gold, 2011. The UK Overseas Territories: A decade of progress and prosperity? *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 49 (1): 115–35.

Collerson, Kenneth D. and Marshall I. Weisler, 2007. Stone adze compositions and the extent of ancient Polynesian voyaging and trade. *Science* 317 (5846): 1907–11.

Connell, John, 1988. The end ever nigh: Contemporary population change on Pitcairn Island. *GeoJournal* 16 (2): 193–200.

Conte, Eric and Patrick V. Kirch, 2008. One thousand years of human environmental transformation in the Gambier Islands (French Polynesia). In G. Clark, F. Leach and S. O'Connor, *Islands of Inquiry: Colonisation, Seafaring and the Archaeology of Maritime Landscapes.* Terra Australis No. 29. Canberra: ANU Press, pp. 253–64.

D'Alleva, Anne, 1997. Shaping the Body Politic: Gender, Status, and Power in the Art of Eighteenth-Century Tahiti and the Society Islands. PhD thesis, Columbia University, New York.

——2005. Elite clothing and the social fabric of pre-colonial Tahiti. In S. Küchler and G. Were, *The Art of Clothing: A Pacific Experience*. London: Cavendish Publishing, pp. 47–60.

Daston, Lorraine (ed.), 2007. *Things That Talk: Object Lessons from Art and Science*. New York: Zone Books.

Davidson, Donald, 2005. A nice derangement of epitaphs (1986). In *Truth, Language, and History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 89–108.

Dening, Greg, 1994. *Mr Bligh's Bad Language: Passion, Power and Theatre on the Bounty*. Cambridge University Press.

——2005. Living in and with deep time: Public lecture, XII David Nichol Smith Conference, July 19, 2004. *Journal of Historical Sociology* 18 (4): 269–81.

Diamond, Jared, 1985. Human settlements: Why did the Polynesians abandon their mystery islands? *Nature* 317 (6040, October 31): 764.
——1995. Foreword: Introduction to the exploration of the Pitcairn Islands. *Biological Journal of the Linnean Society* 56 (1–2): 1–5.
——2005. *Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Survive.* New York: Penguin Books.
Diamond, Jared and James A. Robinson (eds), 2010. *Natural Experiments of History*. Harvard University Press.
Edmond, Rod and Vanessa Smith, 2003. Editors' introduction. In R. Edmond and V. Smith, *Islands in History and Representation*. London: Routledge, pp. 1–18.
Erskine, Nigel, 2004. The Historical Archaeology of Settlement at Pitcairn Island 1790–1856. PhD thesis, James Cook University, Townsville.
Eshleman, Michael O., 2011. A South Seas state of nature: The legal history of Pitcairn Island, 1790–1900. *UCLA Pacific Basin Law Journal* 29 (1): 1–35.
Fabian, Johannes, 2000. *Out of Our Minds: Reason and Madness in the Exploration of Central Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Fitzpatrick, Scott M., Victor D. Thompson, Aaron S. Poteate, Matthew F. Napolitano and Jon M. Erlandson, 2016. Marginalization of the margins: The importance of smaller islands in human prehistory. *Journal of Island and Coastal Archaeology* 11 (2): 155–70.
Foucault, Michel, 1971. *The Order of Things*. New York: Vintage Books.
Galison, Peter, 2004. *Einstein's Clocks, Poincaré's Maps: Empires of Time*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
Gathercole, Peter, 1964. Preliminary Report on Archaeological Fieldwork on Pitcairn Island January to March. University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand.
Gibbs, Martin and David Roe, 2017. Do you bring your gods with you or do you find them there waiting? Reconsidering the 1790 Polynesian colonisation of Pitcairn Island. *Journal of Australian Folklore* 31: 179–97.
Gieryn, Thomas F., 2018. *Truth-Spots: How Places Make People Believe*. University of Chicago Press.
Green, Robert and Marshall Weisler, 2002. The Mangarevan sequence and dating of the geographic expansion into Southeast Polynesia. *Asian Perspectives* 41 (2): 213–41.
Harmer, Nichola, 2018. Spaces of concern: Parliamentary discourse on Britain's Overseas Territories. *The Geographical Journal* 184 (4): 384–97.
Harms, Erik, Shafqat Hussain, Sasha Newell, Charles Piot, Louisa Schein, Sara Shneiderman, Terence Turner and Juan Zhang, 2014. Remote and edgy: New takes on old anthropological themes. *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 4 (1): 361–81.
Hau'ofa, Epeli, 1993. Our sea of islands. In E. Waddell, V. Naidu and E. Hau'ofa (eds), *A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands*. Suva: University of the South Pacific, pp. 2–17.
Heyerdahl, Thor and Arne Skjölsvold, 1965a. Notes on the archaeology of Pitcairn Island. In T. Heyerdahl and E.N. Ferdon, Jr. (eds), *Reports of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island and the East Pacific*, Vol. 2. Monographs of the School of American Research and the Kon-Tiki Museum No. 24, Part 2. Stockholm: Forum Publishing House, pp. 3–7.

——1965b. Artifacts collected on certain islands in eastern Polynesia. In T. Heyerdahl and E.N. Ferdon, Jr. (eds), *Reports of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island and the East Pacific*, Vol. 2. Monographs of the School of American Research and the Kon-Tiki Museum No. 24, Part 2. Stockholm: Forum Publishing House, pp. 155–68.

Houbert, Jean, 1986. France in the Indian Ocean. *The Round Table* 75 (298): 145–66.

Jacobs, Jane M., 1996. *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City*. London: Routledge.

Jolly, Margaret, 2007. Imagining Oceania: Indigenous and foreign representations of a sea of islands. *The Contemporary Pacific* 19 (2): 508–45.

Källgård, Anders, unpublished manuscript [1989]. Aklen Gwen Bu'u You's Head [We are going to give you a bump on your head]: A study of Pitcairnese with special reference to vocabulary. University of Göteborg.

——1993. Present-day Pitcairnese. *English World-Wide* 14 (1): 71–114.

——1998. A Pitkern word list. In P. Mühlhäusler (ed.), *Papers in Pidgin and Creole Linguistics.* Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, pp. 107–71.

Karrar, Hasan H. and Till Mostowlansky, 2018. Assembling marginality in northern Pakistan. *Political Geography* 63 (March 1): 65–74.

Keith, Arthur, 1917. The physical characteristics of two Pitcairn Islanders. *Man* 17 (August): 121–31.

Kirch, Patrick V., 1997. Microcosmic histories: Island perspectives on "global" change. *American Anthropologist* 99 (1): 30–42.

——2000. *On the Roads to the Wind: An Archaeological History of the Pacific Islands Before European Contact*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

——2007. Three islands and an archipelago: Reciprocal interactions between humans and island ecosystems in Polynesia. *Earth and Environmental Science Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh* 98 (1): 85–99.

Kirch, Patrick V., Eric Conte, Warren Sharp and Cordelia Nickelsen, 2010. The Onemea site (Taravai Island, Mangareva) and the human colonization of southeastern Polynesia. *Archaeology in Oceania* 45 (2): 66–79.

Kirch, Patrick V. and Jennifer G. Kahn, 2007. Advances in Polynesian prehistory: A review and assessment of the past decade (1993–2004). *Journal of Archaeological Research* 15 (3): 191–238.

Knight, Hardwicke, 1964. Preface. Preliminary Report, 1, Papers of Hardwicke Knight, Hocken Library, University of Otago, MS-4118-107.

Koya, Cresantia Frances, 2013. Tapa Mo Tatau: An Exploration of Pacific Conceptions of ESD through a Study of Samoan and Tongan Heritage Arts. PhD thesis, University of the South Pacific, Suva.

Kuhn, Thomas S., 1971. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. 2nd ed. Vol. II: *Foundations of the Unity of Science 2*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press.

Langdon, Robert, 2000. "Dusky Damsels": Pitcairn Island's neglected matriarchs of the *Bounty* saga. *Journal of Pacific History* 35 (1): 29–47.

Laycock, Donald, 1989. The status of Pitcairn-Norfolk: Creole, dialect, or cant? In U. Ammon (ed.), *Status and Function of Languages and Language Varieties*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 608–29.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude, 1987. *Introduction to the Work of Marcel Mauss*. London: Routledge.

Lucas, Charles (ed.), 1929. *Pitcairn Island Register Book*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Lydon, Jane, 2019. Feeling for the deep past: Archaeological analogy and historical empathy. *Australian Archaeology* 85 (1): 2–14.
Marks, Kathy, 2009. *Lost Paradise: From Mutiny on the Bounty to a Modern-Day Legacy of Sexual Mayhem, the Dark Secrets of Pitcairn Island Revealed*. New York: Free Press.
Maude, Henry Evans, 1964. The history of Pitcairn Island. In A.S.C. Ross & A.W. Moverley (eds), *The Pitcairnese Language.* London: André Deutch, pp. 44–101.
Mawyer, Alexander, 2014. Oriented and disoriented space in the Gambier, French Polynesia. *Ethos* 42 (3): 277–301.
——2015. Wildlands, deserted bays and other bushy metaphors of Pacific place. In J.A. Bell, P. West and C. Filer (eds), *Tropical Forests of Oceania: Anthropological Perspectives*. Canberra: ANU Press, pp. 23–50.
——2016. Uncanny rights and the ambiguity of state authority in the Gambier Islands. In T. Bambridge (ed.), *The Rahui: Legal Pluralism in Polynesian Traditional Management of Resources and Territories*. Canberra: ANU Press, pp. 211–26.
Mawyer, Alexander, Adrian Young, Tillman Nechtman and Joshua Nash, 2020. 'Oltremari' dell'Europa d'Oltremare: Pitcairn, Mangareva e le persistenti interazioni tra *isole dimenticate*. In A. Favole (ed.), *L'Europa d'Oltremare. Culture, mobilità, ambienti*. Milan: Raffaello Cortina, pp. 93–110.
McConnell, Fiona, 2017. Liminal geopolitics: The subjectivity and spatiality of diplomacy at the margins. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 42 (1): 139–52.
Molle, Guillaume and Aymeric Hermann, 2018. Pitcairn before the mutineers: Revisiting the isolation of a Polynesian island. In S. Largeaud-Ortega (ed.), *The* Bounty *from the Beach: Cross-Cultural and Cross-Disciplinary Essays*. Canberra: ANU Press, pp. 67–93.
Mühlhäusler, Peter, 2020. *Pitkern-Norf'k: The Language of Pitcairn Island and Norfolk Island*. Dialects of English 17. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
Murray, Thomas Boyles, 1854. *The Home of the Mutineers*. Philadelphia: American Sunday-School Union.
Nash, Joshua, 2012. Pristine toponymy and embedded placenames on islands. *Names* 60 (3): 166–72.
——2016a. Is (the possibility of) unemployment a crime? A field note from Pitcairn Island. *Australian Folklore* 31: 151–54.
——2016b. Professor A.S.C. Ross on Pitcairnese and the pronunciation of "Pitcairn". *ANQ: A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes and Reviews* 29 (1): 32–35.
——2018a. Inside(r)-outside(r): Linguistics, sociology and the microterritoriality of maritime space on Pitcairn Island. *Journal of Territorial and Maritime Studies* 5 (2): 85–96.
——2018b. Placing Pitcairn Island placenaming historically: Professor A.S.C. Ross, Albert W. Moverley, Henry E. Maude, and the Pitcairnese language. *Pacific Asia Inquiry* 9 (1): 62–74.
Nechtman, Tillman, 2018. *The Pretender of Pitcairn Island: Joshua W. Hill—The Man Who Would Be King Among the* Bounty *Mutineers*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
Nordhoff, Charles and James Norman Hall, 1934. *Pitcairn's Island*. New York: Little, Brown.

Oliver, Dawn, 2009. *Justice, Legality and the Rule of Law: Lessons from the Pitcairn Prosecutions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Pugh, Jonathan, 2017. Resilience as new political reality. In R.W. Butler (ed.), *Tourism and Resilience*. Wallingford, Oxfordshire, UK: CABI, pp. 206–14.
Putnam, Robert D., 2000. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
Reynolds, Pauline, 2012. The forgotten women of the *Bounty* and their material heritage. In *Proceedings of the Māori & Pacific Textiles Symposium: Whatu Raranga a Kiwa, Understanding and Uniting Māori and Pacific Textiles*. Wellington: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, pp. 1–6.
——2016. *Tapa* cloths and beaters: Tradition, innovation and the agency of the *Bounty* women in shaping a new culture on Pitcairn Island from 1790 to 1850. *Textile History* 47 (2): 190–207.
——2018. Piecing together the past: Reflections on replicating an ancestral tiputa with contemporary fabrics. In L. Carreau, A. Clark, A. Jelinek, E. Lilje and N. Thomas (eds), *Pacific Presences: Oceanic Art and European Museums.* Vol. 2. Leiden: Sidestone Press, pp. 375–85.
Rick, Torben C., Patrick V. Kirch, Jon M. Erlandson and Scott M. Fitzpatrick, 2013. Archeology, deep history, and the human transformation of island ecosystems. *Anthropocene* 4: 33–45.
Ross, A.S.C., 1958. Notes on some "pristine" place-names of Pitcairn Island. In M. Cortés, A.G. Blanco and A. Tovar (eds), *Fifth International Congress of Toponymy and Anthroponymy: Proceedings and Transactions (Acta Salmanticensia: Filosofia y Letras, XI: 1–2*. Salamanca, pp. 333–37.
Ross, A.S.C. and A.W. Moverley, 1964. *The Pitcairnese Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Routledge, Katherine, n.d. [ca. 1910–1914]. Pacific Islands, anthropological note on. Loose notes, Archives of the Royal Geographical Society, WSR 4/1/1/1-3.
Schorch, Philipp, 2020. *Refocusing Ethnographic Museums Through Oceanic Lenses*. Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press.
Seeley, John Robert, [1883] 1971. *The Expansion of England*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Shapiro, Harry Lionel, 1936. *The Heritage of the Bounty: The Story of Pitcairn through Six Generations*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
Silverman, David, 1967. *Pitcairn Island*. New York: The World Publishing Company.
Sivasundaram, Sujit, 2013. *Islanded: Britain, Sri Lanka, and the Bounds of an Indian Ocean Colony*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Smith, Linda Tuhiwai, 1999. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Zed Books.
Tsing, Anna Lowenhaupt, 1994. From the margins. *Cultural Anthropology* 9 (3): 279–97.
Twain, Mark, 1992. The great revolution in Pitcairn (1879). In *Collected Tales, Sketches, Speeches, & Essays, 1852–1890*. New York: The Library of America, pp. 710–21.
Walworth, Mary, 2014. Eastern Polynesian: The linguistic evidence revisited. *Oceanic Linguistics* 53 (2): 256–72.
Weiner, Annette B., 1992. *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Weisler, Marshall I., 1995. Henderson Island prehistory: Colonization and extinction on a remote Polynesian island. *Biological Journal of the Linnean Society* 56: 377–404.

——2004. Contraction of the southeast Polynesian interaction sphere and resource depression on Temoe Atoll. *New Zealand Journal of Archaeology* 25 (January 1): 57–88.

Weisler, Marshall I. and Richard Walter, 2016. East Polynesian connectivity. In T. Hodos (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization.* Routledge, pp. 369–86.

Wylie, Alison, 1985. The reaction against analogy. *Sources in Archaeological Method and Theory* 8: 63–111.

Young, Adrian, 2016. Mutiny's Bounty: Pitcairn Islanders and the Making of a Natural Laboratory on the Edge of Britain's Pacific Empire. PhD dissertation, Princeton University.

——2018. *Bounty* relics: Trading in the legacy of myth and mutiny. In S. Largeaud-Ortega (ed.), *The Bounty from the Beach: Cross-Cultural and Cross-Disciplinary Essays*. Canberra: ANU Press, pp. 207–37.

——2020. Putting anthropology in its (hospitable) place: Harry Shapiro's fieldwork on Pitcairn Island, 1934–1935. *History and Anthropology* (published online May 22): 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1080/02757206.2020.1762591

Young, Rosalind Amelia, [1894] 2003. *Mutiny of the* Bounty *and Story of Pitcairn Island, 1790–1894*. Honolulu: University Press of the Pacific.

Zammito, John H., 2004. *A Nice Derangement of Epistemes: Post-Positivism in the Study of Science from Quine to Latour*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

AUTHOR CONTACT DETAILS

Corresponding Author: Adrian Young, Department of History, Denison University, 100 W. College St., Granville, Ohio 43023, USA. Email: younga@denison.edu

Alexander Mawyer, Center for Pacific Islands Studies, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, Honolulu, Hawai‘i, USA. Email: mawyer@hawaii.edu | https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9831-7633

Joshua Nash, University of New England, Armidale, NSW, Australia.
Email: jnash7@une.edu.au

Tillman W. Nechtman, History Department, Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs, New York, USA. Email: tnechtma@skidmore.edu

Maria Amoamo, School of Business, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand.
Email: maria.amoamo@otago.ac.nz

Martin Gibbs, University of New England, Armidale, NSW, Australia.
Email: mgibbs3@une.edu.au

Pauline Reynolds, University of New England, NSW, Australia.
Email: paulineesreynolds@gmail.com | https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7044-3670

LŪ SIPI: A MARKER OF TONGAN DISTINCTION

LINDSAY NEILL
Auckland University of Technology

ELIZABETH TOLOKE
Auckland University of Technology

ABSTRACT: In Tonga, traditional dishes like lū sipi—lamb or mutton drenched in coconut cream and baked in taro leaves—play a crucial role in sustaining cultural norms, affirming place and constructing identity. Consequently, lū sipi illuminates daily routines and the significance of being and becoming Tongan. For Tongans abroad, lū sipi provokes island memories and nostalgia. Considering lū sipi's importance both in Tonga and in Auckland, Aotearoa New Zealand, this paper explores lū sipi as a marker of Tongan distinction, using qualitative description, talanoa 'Pasifika research methodology' and thematic analysis. We interviewed two self-identifying Tongans and an academic expert on South Pacific Island culture, all based in Auckland. Their expertise and experiences, within our explorative research, provided a platform to understand lū sipi within Tongan culture, particularly its symbolic and actant properties. What our research reveals is that, despite its Tongan distinction, lū sipi reflects the dynamic nature of cultural change around food over both time and place. Within these considerations, our research explores the dynamic nature of food as an expression not only of the Tongan diaspora but of the dynamics of contemporary Tongan identity.

Keywords: lū sipi, Tongan identity, Tongan diaspora, food sharing, commensality, talanoa, Aotearoa New Zealand

---

Food and identity are linked domains. Brillat-Savarin ([1825] 2003), the godfather of gastronomy, recognised this in his oft-quoted aphorism, "Tell me what you eat, and I'll tell you who you are" (p. 22). Additionally, for Woodward (2007), food holds actancy. Within that notion people imbue food with meanings and emotions over and above its basic nutritional benefits. The Tongan dish *lū sipi* 'lamb or mutton wrapped in taro leaves' provides a unique way in which to research those domains.[1] Consequently, this explorative qualitative research paper considers the significance of lū sipi for Tongans in Tonga and in Auckland, Aotearoa New Zealand. Specifically, we illuminate how food change reflects not only new food norms but also concepts of being and becoming Tongan within considerations of time and place.

Journal of the Polynesian Society, 2021, 130 (3): 227–244.
https://doi.org//10.15286/jps.130.3.227-244

To understand the significance of lū sipi, our paper is structured in the following way. Firstly, we introduce lū sipi. Then, we consider recent and historically important research on the topic of food and identity and in particular studies related to Tongan foods. Those considerations lead into our conceptual framework and methodology. Following that, we present and introduce our three participants. Finally, we present our research findings, discussion and conclusion.

INTRODUCING LŪ SIPI

Lū sipi is made of *lū* 'taro' leaves that are wrapped around pieces of *sipi* 'lamb or mutton', with onions and sometimes tomatoes added, and then drenched and steamed/stewed in coconut cream (Fig. 1).

In Tonga, a traditional lū sipi is cooked in an *umu* 'earth oven'. However, in Auckland, many Tongans cook lū sipi in an electric oven and using convenience products such as canned coconut cream. Capozza (2003) and Oliver *et al.* (2010) noted that lū sipi is predominantly known as a Tongan dish, despite its prevalence in other Pacific Island regions as well. For many Tongans living in Tonga and in Aotearoa New Zealand, lū sipi is a favourite meal. As Fekete (2014) suggested, it connects the meanings and emotions shared between individuals and groups that help to explain how traditional foods come to represent people. In this way, lū sipi is also an actant (Woodward 2007), reflecting and incorporating aspects of Tongan identity, culture, memory and nostalgia, in the same ways that *faikava* 'the preparation and ceremonial consumption of kava' serves as a marker of identity, particularly for young Tongan males born and raised in Auckland (Fehoko 2014).

BACKGROUND

Pacific Island cultures and cuisines, while distinct, are interrelated. One way to gain insight into them is through the understanding of Pacific Island cookbooks. As Haden (2009) observed, "there have been very few Pacific-themed cookbooks of any authentic quality published [thus far]" (p. xv). Haden attributed that failure to the propensity of such cookbooks to feature cocktails and beach parties, themes that, he proposed, reflected the tourist imagination, not Pacific cuisine. Additionally, Haden claimed that the cuisines of the Pacific were ignored because of the dominating influence of western food culture within Pacific nations. Oliver *et al.* (2010) further observed that many Tongan traditions and customs were dying out because of western influence. These authors note that the introduction of many western foods, including cabin crackers, noodles, imported meats (including mutton flaps and turkey tails) and junk food, have contributed to a health crisis for many Pacific Island nations. It could be argued that the Pacific Islands have become a dumping ground for foods that are regarded as

Figure 1. Lū sipi: (top left) ingredients; (top right) portions; (middle left) with coconut cream; (middle right) wrapped in foil; (bottom) cooked and ready to eat. Photographs by E. Toloke, 2020.

seconds in neighbouring countries like New Zealand and Australia (Gewertz and Errington 2010). One outcome is that despite their high fat content and negative health impacts, lamb flaps are now considered "good eating" in many islands and have made their way into traditional dishes, as for example lū sipi (Capozza 2003). Notwithstanding health considerations, the views of Haden (2009) and Oliver *et al.* (2010) suggest that a lacuna exists within the literature in terms of Tongan and other Pacific cuisines, communities and cultures. In an effort to help fill that gap, our research contributes valuable and unique insights into lū sipi, a dish that is enjoyed by many Tongans.

As Brillat-Savarin's ([1825] 2003) aphorism alludes, food is a potent identifier. Many cultural groups construct their national identity through food. In this way, many foods sit within Billig's (1995) construct of "banal nationalism". Billig proposed that national identity is overtly and covertly supported by the concept of the banal and unquestioned acceptance of material items, like food, and their unquestioned association with national identity. Exemplifying Billig's theme are associations between food and nation that are regularly taken for granted. Supporting that position is Kincheloe's (2002) observation that McDonald's has become a beacon of aspirant, globalised and Americanised consumption. In similar ways, we propose that lū sipi has undergone similar symbolic and material dynamics reflecting Oliver *et al*.'s (2010) realisation of how dominating cultures, through food, can come to politically dominate indigenous and minority peoples.

However, like identity, all cuisines are dynamically constructed. Reflecting that, Yamamoto (2017) claimed that New Zealand's cuisine belonged to its migrants. Yet, before settler immigration, indigenous Māori cuisine was Aotearoa's norm. As Pollock (2017) realised, Māori ancestors brought their food crops and other staple items with them from central East Polynesia. In combination with adaptations to New Zealand's flora and fauna, Māori cuisine evolved to include a rich array of seafoods (*kai moana*), freshwater fish and eels, and native fungi, berries and nuts (Morris 2010). Traditional Māori cuisine changed after western contact, being influenced by a range of new ingredients, but some favoured foods persisted and are still important today.

Best exemplifying how Māori food changed under the influence of settler colonists and newly introduced ingredients is the way in which Māori adapted a dietary staple made from pollen of the *raupō* 'bulrush' (*Typha orientalis*): Māori bread, or *parāoa rēwena*, morphed from its authentic form, known as *pungapunga*, into a wheat-based form that is a popular speciality item today (Royal and Kaka-Scott 2014).

These considerations suggest that New Zealand's contemporary national cuisine holds a blended origin within the cuisines of indigenous Māori and Pākehā 'European settler colonists'. Yet, that view is a simplistic one.

Contributing to the discussion on the lack of an identifiable New Zealand or "Kiwi" cuisine and drawing on the work of Hage (1998), Harbottle (2000) and Heldke (2003), Morris (2010) observed that the acceptance by a dominant culture of the food of any minority group represents a metaphoric acceptance of that minority. For Morris, Māori food was not acceptable to Pākehā because Māori, consequent to their political activism, had a "spoilt identity" (p. 24) for many Pākehā. Consequently, Māori food was not acceptable within a Pākehā-dominant socio-cultural context. In these ways, Morris realised the political nature of food in Aotearoa New Zealand. Therefore, taking into consideration ideas about food and identity, and cognisant of Morris's position, it is unsurprising that the construction of a Kiwi/New Zealand cuisine remains a problematic work in progress.

As Haden (2009) observed, Tongan cuisine typically consists of fresh fruits, vegetables, taro, *'ufi* 'yams', taro leaves, fish and coconuts. Historically, in Tonga, fish was eaten more often than red meat because in general terms, red meat is a post-contact food item. However, as Oliver *et al.* (2010) observed, red meat in contemporary Tongan culture is rarely eaten during the week, but rather reserved for Sunday feasting. Oliver *et al.* (2010) cited two reasons for this: red meat's scarcity and its cost. Yet, as Haden and Oliver *et al.* realised, food in Tonga is linked to more than nutrition. As Haden suggested, food in Tonga reflects socio-cultural norms, respect, wealth, social status and hospitality. For Oliver *et al.* (2010), the agency of Tongan food reflected the relationship between the Tongan people and their land. That relationship is an important one since, as Haden observed, Tongan people depend on the land for basic resources and food. Reflecting that relationship, Tongan food is not a random selection of ingredients but rather a vehicle for Tongan culture and social connections. In that way, land in Tonga could be considered a treasure because it provides for the needs of Tongan people.

Tongan food symbolises the past by connecting Tongans to their ancestors through its preparation, consumption and sharing (Fekete 2014). According to Pollock (1992) and Tu'inukuafe (2019), food is the centrepiece of communal Tongan celebrations. In Tongan culture, constructs of family and social hierarchy are evidenced through food and, according to Bott (1981) and Fehoko (2014), denote hierarchies of being and becoming Tongan. Exemplifying that, within a Tongan household, the father holds the highest rank, and in recognition of that, food is usually served to him and to any elderly people first (Bott 1981). Yet the father's paramount status is contested. Reflecting that are considerations of the *fahu* 'father's eldest sister'. Kaeppler (1999) explains that fahu is an important concept in Tongan social relations. The concept of fahu derives from the Tongan social principle that sisters outrank their brothers and that the fahu's children hold rank over

her brothers' children. According to Bott (1981) the fahu holds the highest status. At celebrations, including birthdays, the fahu is usually seated at the front table. There, she is presented with cakes, gifts, money and sometimes the finest of mats (Bleakley 2002). According to Bott (1981), the fahu has "ritual mystical powers" (p. 18) over her brother's children. Consequently, in both informal and formal social situations, the fahu acts as matriarch. In those ways, the fahu is recognised, respected and honoured.

Although a father holds the highest rank within his household, when his sister is present, regardless of her age, she ranks higher than him. The children of the fahu and the *mehikitanga* 'a male's other sisters' also rank higher than the brothers' children (Kaeppler 1971). Consequently, it is within those considerations that the hierarchy of Tongan culture can be considered to be contested.

While contested, these hierarchies reflect a wider Tongan social pyramid (Fig. 2). That pyramid has the Tongan royal family at its apex. 'Ahio (2011) explains that traditional Tongan foods hold royal associations. Historically, royal foods were prestigious meals and products that non-royal Tongans were forbidden to consume. However, non-royal Tongans were permitted to grow the ingredients for those products for the royal household (Oliver *et al*.

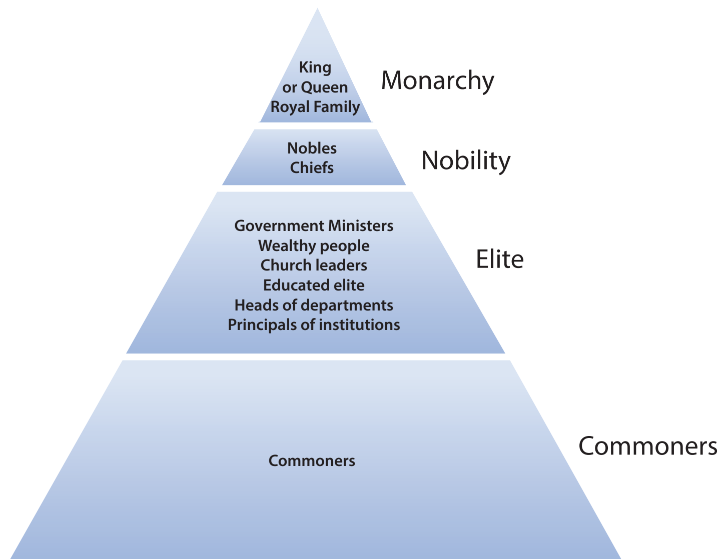

Figure 2. The Tongan social hierarchy. From Kalavite (2010).

2010). According to Tu'inukuafe (2019), royal foods included *tunu puaka* 'roasted pig', 'ufi and some seafoods. The royal food hierarchy lasted until 1875, when King George Tupou I eliminated the class system (Tu'inukuafe 2019). That change allowed the people of Tonga to grow and consume "royal food". Consequently, royal foods such as 'ufi and tunu puaka came to represent wealth and prestige. *Puaka* 'pig' sits at the apex of the Tongan protein hierarchy and is the ultimate symbol of wealth in Tongan feasts, festivals and rituals (Treagus 2010).

As Gifford (1929) explained, ancestral Tongans sacrificed puaka to please the gods. Beaglehole and Beaglehole ([1938] 1971) proposed that pigs were key to understanding and appreciating Tonga's indigenous economy. Furthermore, these authors observed that preparing and cooking a tunu puaka was a male-dominated activity symbolising masculinity and the ability of Tongan men to provide for others.

Today, while still considered prestigious, puaka is commonly consumed as a part of contemporary Tongan food culture (Tu'inukuafe 2019). In concluding our background discussion, we note that several themes have emerged as being important within Tongan culture. These include considerations of history, the remembering of ancestors, the importance of the royal family, and how a hierarchy of being and becoming Tongan is evidenced in contemporary and everyday Tongan life. Consequently, exploring lū sipi not only considers these domains but also provides rich research data illuminating the material importance of food within Tongan society and culture, both in Tonga and in Auckland.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

We approached our research using a qualitative descriptive paradigm (Sandelowski 2000) and a constructionist world view (Berger and Luckmann 1966; Blumer 1969; Mead 1934). Those positions are complementary. Sandelowski's qualitative description emphasises the world view and voice of participants while a constructionist world view avers that people create their own worlds in order to understand and negotiate them. Within that amalgam, and in consideration of our participants' subjective experiences and notions of objects as social actants (Woodward 2007), we recognised Blumer's (1969) position that:

> (1) individuals act based on the meanings objects have for them, (2) interaction occurs within a particular social and cultural context in which physical and social objects (persons), as well as situations, must be defined or categorized based on individual meanings, (3) meanings emerge from interactions with other individuals and with society, and (4) meanings are continuously created and recreated through interpreting processes during interaction with others. (p. 932)

We interviewed our three participants for approximately one and a half hours each. We recorded and then transcribed our interviews. From that process we distilled our data using thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006; Guest *et al.* 2012; Vaismoradi *et al.* 2013). Key to our use of this technique were the themes that emerged from our participants' narratives. Those themes formed the base of our research findings.

Transcending our method was our use of *talanoa* 'extended conversation' within our open-ended conversations with our participants. According to Vaioleti (2006), talanoa is delineated within considerations of *tala* 'to tell' and *noa* 'without concealment' (p. 1). Vaioleti indicates that in essence talanoa refers to the talking around the intended topic within wider conversations that eventually get to the intended topic. However, and within that consideration, Vaioleti proposes that talanoa's effectiveness in research could be compromised by issues of validity. Yet, as Vaioleti also observed, validity denotes the socio-temporal positioning of participants not only within researcher use of talanoa but within almost all qualitative methodologies.

Talanoa promotes conversations that include storytelling and/or gossiping (Fehoko 2014). Consequently, as researchers we fostered generalised yet meaningful conversations with our participants, rather than beginning our relationship with them in conversations about our research. In that way, our participant relationships were initially about relationship building. From that relationship we then introduced our research in gradual conversations. Our approach reflected Prescott's (2008) suggestion that talanoa promotes relationship building between participants and researchers. Additionally, our use of talanoa reflected Farrelly and Nabobo-Baba's (2014) key recommendation that generalised conversations precede focus upon the research topic. While the talanoa approach extended the length of our conversation times with participants, it provided greater depth and understanding about lū sipi and its place on Tongan culture. Table 1 details our participants and their areas of expertise.

Table 1. Participants and their areas of expertise.

Participant	Area of expertise	Age	Gender
Soane Pasi	Chef, Tongan	44	Male
Associate Professor Tracy Berno	Pasifika-specialist academic, non-Tongan	57	Female
'Amanaki Toloke	Keen home cook, Tongan	54	Male

Our participant blend facilitated both an "emic" and "etic" (Jary and Jary 2000: 182) research perspective that generated meaningful understandings of lū sipi. Our realisations of emic and etic straddled the internal dialogue of being Tongan, with the external realities that our participants faced as Tongans living in Aotearoa New Zealand. Additionally, and in consideration of the explorative nature of our research, we believed that our three participants, within their varied backgrounds, provided for our research a unique and valuable insight into lū sipi. Our research and participant narratives provide a starting point for future research exploring lū sipi and Tongan food culture. Additionally, we note that one of our participants, ʻAmanaki Toloke, is the father of one of our paper's authors. That relationship benefitted our research in multiple ways. For our second author, his input realised a way in which she came to a deeper understanding and appreciation of her own Tonganness. While those realisations sit outside the scope of our paper, they reflect in meaningful ways how research work impacts researchers in both personal and positive ways.

FINDINGS

Our talanoa, transcription and thematic analysis yielded nine sub-themes that we grouped into three primary themes (see Table 2). Herein we sequentially work through those themes, illuminating them with participant commentary.

Table 2: Nine sub-themes grouped into three primary themes.

Primary theme	Sub-themes
Identity	Family values Memories Ways of life
Metaphor for being Tongan	History Tradition Social ranking
Tongan food culture	Commensality Delicacy Contemporary cuisine

Identity: Family Values, Memories and Way of Life

Our participants connected lū sipi with Tongan identity. This was evidenced within their considerations of family values, memories and ways of life.

Inherent to those themes were feelings of belonging and togetherness highlighted by the presence of family and friends. As Associate Prof. Berno remarked:

> So *palusami* [Fijian term for lū sipi] and the whole *umu*/*lovo* [Tongan/Fijian for 'earth oven'] thing reminds me of those days with the gang. It is nostalgic, happy memories with friends and community. It is sort of, people outside of the Pacific think of it just PIs [Pacific Islanders]. They don't realise that there is a lot of different blood in the Pacific and it reminds me of that, the intermingling of the cultures, and everyone is into it. So, it has a lot of good memories for me.

Echoing that, but within the family setting, Soane remembered that "in Tonga, lū sipi is a family deal—everyone is into it." 'Amanaki added his childhood experiences in Tonga: "When you're a kid the best memories are with lū sipi. Not only is it about the taste but I remember all the good times and who my friends were at the time." Soane remarked:

> Lū sipi doesn't just bring togetherness but connects you with others that crave and love lū sipi. Let's face it, in Tonga we are still in some way making food like how our ancestors did in the olden days.

In those ways, our participants agreed, lū sipi's preparation and consumption was characterised by ideas of sharing and togetherness. Adding to these ideas were their considerations of how lū sipi spanned their past and present experiences. For them lū sipi was dynamic. Yet, lū sipi was firmly grounded in memory, nostalgia and history. Reflecting that, 'Amanaki associated lū sipi with his father, Solomone Toloke:

> I associate lū sipi with the memory of my dad. The way my dad cooks the lū sipi. When we start the fire in the umu then he would barbecue the sipi on the umu. So he barbecues the sipi and then he cuts it, then puts it in the lū.

Similarly, Soane reminisced how his "grandma craved for lū sipi at a very old age. We would take food to her wherever she was. It is common to all Tongans to make lū sipi on Sunday afternoons." Soane's link between lū sipi and Sundays was echoed by our other participants, as 'Amanaki shared: "At boarding school in Tonga, Sunday is the best day for all students at the school. Why? Because on Sundays they allow our parents to bring food. Most parents bring lū sipi. Every household in Tonga, after church on Sunday they have lū sipi for their meal."

Consequently, lū sipi was realised in holistic and dynamic ways. 'Amanaki commented:

> Lū sipi in Tonga is a way of life. Lū sipi connects with Tonga. So, to me lū sipi is a way of living. It ties up to family values and culture. For example, I can read something about cheese in Italy and that in some way view their culture. So, to me, lū sipi is a way of life or a style that ties up with the family and generation. My grandparents, but as far as I remember, my grandparents prepared lū sipi the same.

Unsurprisingly, Soane remarked that "lū sipi just helps me understand Tongans' way of life, especially when gathering foods and also the making of it, like when we do an umu." Thus, lū sipi conveyed family feelings of sharing and care that, on Sundays, transcended the distance of boarding school. Those emotions were bound up with wider considerations of family history. Consequently, in ways that 'Amanaki and Soane illuminated, lū sipi can be viewed as a metaphorical lens focusing on notions of knowledge and history reflecting the Tongan way of life, particularly considerations of family values and culture that reflect cultural characteristics of caring and sharing. While Soane reflected on the meaning of lū sipi in Tonga, 'Amanaki commented on lū sipi in New Zealand. He recounted:

> In Tonga, there are so many things you need to do and gather to make lū. The only thing you buy is the sipi. Also, in Tonga we cook under ground, so the weather plays a part in making lū. In New Zealand, when using an [electric] oven, it is the same from January to December—there is no change. All ingredients are bought from the shop, and you use a commercial oven.

For 'Amanaki and Soane, lū sipi was part of the Tongan way of life and diaspora through the activities of gathering and preparing lū sipi. For them, those experiences changed with location. In New Zealand, things like aluminium foil and electric ovens were conveniences that made the preparation time and cooking of lū sipi shorter and less labour intensive. That contrasted with the time it took to prepare and cook lū sipi in Tonga. Aotearoa New Zealand's comparatively unpredictable weather was another differentiating factor that was mitigated by electric ovens indoors. In contrast, an umu required a sunny day and many physical steps to prepare. Consequently, preparing and cooking lū sipi the traditional Tongan way reinforced participants' roles and allowed time for extended conversations, gossip and bonding. In turn, these activities reinforced participants' understandings of being and becoming Tongan in deeper ways than an Aotearoa New Zealand lū sipi experience might. As Associate Prof. Berno claimed, making an umu or palusami takes about 20 people. This suggests that lū sipi has become an integral factor reinforcing constructs of family, family values and collective themes of Tongan identity that, in turn, support memories and ideas about Tongan culinary history.

Metaphor for Being Tongan: History, Tradition and Social Ranking

For our participants, lū sipi denoted Tonganness within their considerations of becoming Tongan, specifically in connection with Tongan history, tradition and social ranking. Consequently, it became apparent that our participants perceived lū sipi symbolically. That perception realised lu sipi as an essential material marker of Tongan culture and identity in both Tonga and Aotearoa New Zealand. For our participants, those constructs were linked with the Tongan royal family. As ‘Amanaki stated, “I believe that the royals were the ones who ate lū sipi first. They were the only ones who had access to overseas ingredients [like lamb].” Here, ‘Amanaki identified a top-down model of taste and consumption within Tongan society and culture. ‘Amanaki further observed: “In Tongan culture there are ranks: there are the commoners or the people, the nobles, and the king.” That hierarchy was also evidenced in language, as ‘Amanaki explained in reference to the Tongan verb “to eat”:

> In Tongan culture there are different words for many verbs including “eat”. A different word is used by the commoners, the nobles and for the king/royal monarch. They all interpret the same meaning, ‘put food in your mouth’ or eat. In Tongan language *kai* is the word for commoners, for nobles it is *ilo* and for the king or royalty is *taumafa*. However, they all mean the same thing.

For ‘Amanaki, that hierarchy extended to Aotearoa New Zealand. He recollected:

> For example, Auckland has four main parts: Manukau, Auckland City, the North Shore, and the West. Transferring that to Tonga, we would all have a responsibility to the king. For example, let us say that the people living in Manukau would provide the royals’ seafood. Auckland City residents would have a different responsibility to the king, perhaps supplying yam. West Aucklanders might provide the king’s kava. In those ways, the commoners support the monarchy, often with food common to their regions.

Soane contributed the view that lū sipi “connects us to our ancestors; they have always cooked with what they have on hand.” Associate Prof. Berno described lū sipi as symbolically connecting Tongan people and Pacific culture to considerations of ancestors, traditions and history. As she advised:

> Lū sipi is steeped in history, tradition and culture. It changes from family to family, village to village and country to country, but it is that common thread across the countries that is literally grounded in the ingredients because the ingredients come from the soil, sunshine, water and air.

Soane remarked that "even though sipi isn't a food that is truly Tongan, lū and *niu* ['coconut'] are the two that connects us with our ancestors because we use it today and it is something that they used back then." Soane acknowledged that sipi is an imported product in Tonga. However, he realised that lū and niu are authentic Tongan ingredients that are used today and have been used throughout Tongan culinary and social history. Encapsulating that view, Associate Prof. Berno contributed the observation that "food is a gateway to culture."

Tongan Food Culture: Commensality, Delicacy and Contemporary Cuisine

Our participants discussed forms of commensality, ritual and delicacy related to lū sipi. Sharing is a seminal construct in Tongan culture. For 'Amanaki, lū sipi, commensality and relaxation were synonymously linked to the Sabbath. As 'Amanaki explained, "Every household in Tonga, culture-wise, especially on Sundays, lū sipi along with other foods are cooked and often shared with neighbours." However, the rituals of sharing and preparing lū sipi were mediated by place. He continued by stating: "We use the banana leaves to wrap it and there is a different taste and the moist of the lū when you make it using more natural resources. Here in New Zealand, we use aluminium foil. Then, there is a difference in taste." Nonetheless, whether lū sipi was prepared and served in Tonga or in Auckland, sharing was key to the dish's enjoyment.

Soane and 'Amanaki were worried that lū sipi's authenticity was compromised because of the Tongan diaspora. Additionally, sipi is an introduced food in Tonga but has become Tongan as globalised forces create glocalised and contemporary food expressions of authentic and traditional fare. As Associate Prof. Berno remarked, "The meat part of lū sipi to me is more of a contemporary part of Pacific cuisine. That could be said for most meats within Pacific cuisines. Meat [use] is something that has evolved over time within Pacific cuisines."

Soane and 'Amanaki concurred, respectively noting that "we all know that sipi was brought into Tonga" and that "sipi was an imported food." In that regard, while sipi is not indigenous to Tonga, it has over time become synonymous with lū sipi. Reflecting that view, 'Amanaki recounted, "In my generation sipi was there but I don't know about the generations before me." Soane added:

> In my generation sipi was the cheapest meat available in Tonga. Even though it was cheap, it tasted good. However, I was surprised when I went back to Tonga and found that the price of sipi was more expensive than chicken. I guess that's because everybody is raving about it, so therefore it becomes more expensive, supply and demand.

* * *

On the basis of the research presented here, we propose that lū sipi reflects Tongan national identity in ways that are congruent with Billig's (1995) banal nationalism and Corvo's (2016) link between food and cultural identity. We further link this view with two other scholarly positions. The first is Chevalier's (2018) suggestion that the ingredients people use in their preparation of cultural foods denote their self-identification. Consequently, the positions of Billig, Corvo and Chevalier resonate with Woodward's (2007) constructs of material culture and actancy because those authors identify key ways in which food holds symbolic meanings. Combined, these positions suggest that lū sipi is not just a dish that provides sustenance but one that reflects and incorporates wider dimensions of Tongan culture, as well as themes of identity, globalisation and glocalisation and the memories and nostalgia that many Tongans have come to associate with lū sipi.

In these ways, lū sipi provides a platform for storytelling and reminiscing within the collective nature of being and becoming Tongan. Consequently, lū sipi can be "read" in holistic and dynamic ways reflecting the changing identity of Tongans in Tonga and in Aotearoa New Zealand. These dynamics position lū sipi within notions of authenticity and tradition versus change and newness. Consequently, being and becoming Tongan has been transformed within considerations of New Zealandness. While lū sipi in Aotearoa New Zealand still reflects affirmations of Tonganness within notions of Tongan history, knowledge, ways of life, family values, culture, caring and sharing, these are reconstructed within considerations of climate and technology. Notwithstanding that, within lū sipi's "reconstruction", Tongan identity is shaped in new ways. New Zealand's influence on lū sipi, considering the emphasis on convenience foods, different culinary equipment and the impact of climate, means that while lū sipi still brings people together (Tuʻinukuafe 2019), that togetherness reflects ongoing adaption. Consequently the "etic and emic" (Jary and Jary 2000: 182) considerations of lū sipi are affected, because of the dish's shorter preparation and cooking time relative to location. These factors reflect that for many Tongans living in Aotearoa New Zealand, lū sipi connotes less sharing, less communal contact, less commensality and an erosion of the traditional roles of preparing and serving lū sipi. However, countering those factors are considerations that the various suburbs of Auckland could be considered to be Tongan communities that promote and contribute toward the maintenance of identity and tradition for Tongans. In those ways, lū sipi remains a marker of Tongan distinction reflecting how notions of globalisation and glocalisation and the dynamic nature of changing identity have impacted Tongans in Aotearoa New Zealand and in Tonga.

NOTE

1. Sāmoa and Fiji have dishes similar to lū sipi, *luau* in the former and *palusami* in the latter.

REFERENCES

‘Ahio, Litiuingi Lose, 2011. Vaevae Manava: Context and Perception of Food Security for Tongan Mothers and Health Workers. Master’s thesis, Auckland University of Technology, Auckland. http://hdl.handle.net/10292/3487

Beaglehole, E. and P. Beaglehole, [1938] 1971. *Ethnology of Pukapuka*. New York: Kraus Reprint Company.

Berger, Peter L. and Thomas Luckmann, 1966. *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. New York: Doubleday.

Billig, Michael, 1995. *Banal Nationalism*. London: SAGE.

Bleakley, Clare, 2002. Women of the new millennium: Tongan women determine their development direction. *The Contemporary Pacific* 14 (1): 134–47.

Blumer, Herbert, 1969. *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bott, Elizabeth, 1981. Power and rank in the Kingdom of Tonga. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 90 (1): 7–81.

Braun, Virginia and Victoria Clarke, 2006. Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3 (2): 77–101.

Brillat-Savarin, Jean Anthelme, [1825] 2003. *The Physiology of Taste.* A. Drayton (trans.). London: Penguin Books.

Capozza, Korey, 2003. Rumblings from the world of food: The Polynesian Big Mac. *Gastronomica* 3 (4): 1. https://doi.org/10.1525/gfc.2003.3.4.1

Chevalier, Natacha, 2018. Iconic dishes, culture and identity: The Christmas pudding and its hundred years’ journey in the USA, Australia, New Zealand and India. *Food, Culture & Society* 21 (3): 367–83.

Corvo, Paolo, 2016. *Food Culture, Consumption and Society*. Berlin: Springer.

Farrelly, Trisia and Unaisi Nabobo-Baba, 2014. *Talanoa* as empathic apprenticeship. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 55 (3): 319–30. https://doi.org/10.1111/apv.12060

Fehoko, Edmond Samuel, 2014. *Pukepuke Fonua*: An Exploratory Study on the *Faikava* as an Identity Marker for New Zealand-Born Tongan Males in Auckland, New Zealand. Master’s thesis, Auckland University of Technology, Auckland. http://hdl.handle.net/10292/7723

Fekete, Emily, 2014. “I know I’m home when I have one”: The cultural significance of the Garbage Plate of Rochester, NY. *Material Culture* 46 (1): 25–43.

Gewertz, Deborah and Frederick Errington, 2010. *Cheap Meat: Flap Food Nations in the Pacific Islands*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gifford, Edward Winslow, 1929. *Tongan Society*. Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

Guest, Greg, Kathleen M. MacQueen and Emily E. Namey, 2012. *Applied Thematic Analysis*. London: SAGE.

Haden, Roger, 2009. *Food Culture in the Pacific Islands*. Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Press.

Hage, Ghassan, 1998. *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society*. Sydney: Pluto Press.
Harbottle, Lynn, 2000. *Food for Health, Food for Wealth: The Performance of Ethnic and Gender Identities by Iranian Settlers in Britain*. New York: Berghahn Books.
Heldke, Lisa Maree, 2003. *Exotic Appetites: Ruminations of a Food Adventurer*. New York: Routledge.
Jary, David and Julia Jary, 2000. *Sociology*. Glasgow: Collins.
Kaeppler, Adrienne L., 1971. Eighteenth century Tonga: New interpretations of Tongan society and material culture at the time of Captain Cook. *Man* 6 (2): 204–20. https://doi.org/10.2307/2798262
——1999. *Kie hingoa*: Mats of power, rank, prestige and history. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 108 (2): 168–232.
Kalavite, Telesia, 2010. Fononga ‘A Fakahalafononga: Tongan Students’ Journey to Academic Achievement in New Zealand Tertiary Education. PhD thesis, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand. https://hdl.handle.net/10289/4159
Kincheloe, Joe L., 2002. *The Sign of the Burger: McDonald’s and the Culture of Power*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
Mead, George Herbert, 1934. *Mind, Self, and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Morris, Carolyn, 2010. The politics of palatability: On the absence of Māori restaurants. *Food, Culture & Society* 13 (1): 5–28. https://doi.org/10.2752/175174410X12549021367983
Oliver, Robert, Tracy Berno and Shiri Ram, 2010. *Me‘a Kai: The Food and Flavours of the South Pacific*. Auckland: Random House.
Pollock, Nancy J., 2017. Diversification of foods and their values: Pacific foodscapes. In E. Gnecchi-Ruscone and A. Paini (eds), *Tides of Innovation in Oceania: Value, Materiality and Place*. Canberra: ANU Press, pp. 261–94.
——1992. *These Roots Remain: Food Habits in Islands of the Central and Eastern Pacific since Western Contact*. Laie, HI: Institute for Polynesian Studies.
Prescott, Semisi M., 2008. Using talanoa in Pacific business research in New Zealand: Experiences with Tongan entrepreneurs. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples* 4 (1): 127–48. https://doi.org/10.1177/117718010800400111
Royal, Charles and Jenny Kaka-Scott, 2014. Māori foods—kai Māori. https://teara.govt.nz/en/maori-foods-kai-maori
Sandelowski, Margarete, 2000. Whatever happened to qualitative description? *Research in Nursing & Health* 23 (4): 334–40. https://doi.org/10.1002/1098-240X(200008)23:4<334::AID-NUR9>3.0.CO;2-G
Treagus, M., 2010. Pu‘aka Tonga. *M/C Journal* 13 (5). https://doi.org/10.5204/mcj.287
Tu‘inukuafe, Hulu-Tungua M.M., 2019. M-learning about Tongan Food: A Concept of a Culture-Specific App for Learning about Tongan Food Culture. Master’s thesis, Auckland University of Technology, Auckland. http://hdl.handle.net/10292/12591
Vaioleti, Timote M., 2006. Talanoa research methodology: A developing position on Pacific research. *Waikato Journal of Education* 12: 21–34. http://www.wje.org.nz/index.php/WJE/article/view/296/310

Vaismoradi, Mojtaba, Hannele Turunen and Terese Bondas, 2013. Content analysis and thematic analysis: Implications for conducting a qualitative descriptive study. *Nursing & Health Sciences* 15 (3): 398–405. https://doi.org/10.1111/nhs.12048

Woodward, Ian, 2007. *Understanding Material Culture*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Yamamoto, Beng See, 2017. The Construction of Contemporary Cuisine—A Case Study. Master's dissertation, Auckland University of Technology, Auckland. http://hdl.handle.net/10292/11020

AUTHOR CONTACT DETAILS

Corresponding Author: Lindsay Neill, School of Hospitality and Tourism, Auckland University of Technology, 55 Wellesley Street East, Auckland 1010, New Zealand. Email: lindsay.neill@aut.ac.nz | https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1479-6938

Elizabeth Toloke, Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand. Email: elizabethtoloke.ma2020@gmail.com

SHORTER COMMUNICATIONS

RETURNING TO THE HYPOTHESIS OF AMERINDIAN SETTLEMENT ON RAPA NUI (EASTER ISLAND)

ATHOLL ANDERSON
Kā Waimaero | Ngāi Tahu Research Centre, University of Canterbury
Australian National University

ABSTRACT: The hypothesis of Rapa Nui (Easter Island) colonisation by Amerindian voyagers has been largely dismissed archaeologically since the mid-twentieth-century controversy generated by Thor Heyerdahl's *American Indians in the Pacific*. The orthodox hypothesis today is that Rapa Nui was settled exclusively by Polynesians who, however, brought the sweet potato and a few other items from South America by return voyaging. This view is challenged by recent evidence that widespread admixture of Amerindian and East Polynesian DNA in East Polynesia, dated to the twelfth to fourteenth century AD, could represent Amerindian landfalls. Reconsideration, here, of putative Amerindian archaeological remains on Rapa Nui—notably the façade of the ceremonial platform known as Ahu Tahiri, circular stone structures known as tupa, and birdman motifs—in the light of recent, largely contextual, research also appears to offer more support for the hypothesis than hitherto. However, the argument is heavily constrained by the long absence of systematic analytical research designed to test such indications, perhaps because marginalising the Amerindian hypothesis suits archaeological perspectives on both sides of the southeast Pacific. The purpose of this review is to encourage new research on the archaeological material in question.

Keywords: Rapa Nui (Easter Island), Amerindians, genetic admixture, ahu (ceremonial platform), tupa structures, birdman motifs, seafaring

---

Questioning assumptions fundamental to the archaeology of early East Polynesian colonisation can be productive, as in Andrew Sharp's (1956) challenge to the traditionalist foundations of writing about Polynesian voyaging which prompted experimental voyaging and the development of alternative hypotheses. It can also be unproductive, as in Thor Heyerdahl's (1952) challenge to the archaeological assumption of East Polynesian isolation from Amerindian colonisation. His vision of ancient Europeans (Heyerdahl 1978) carrying high civilisation through the Americas and into the eastern Pacific met with adamantine rejection by Oceanic scholars. Yet within that

Journal of the Polynesian Society, 2021, 130 (3): 245–256.
https://doi.org/10.15286/jps.130.3.245-256

hyper-diffusionist *context* was archaeological *content* comparing monumental architecture in Andean America and Rapa Nui (Easter Island), a topic discussed repeatedly from at least 1870 (e.g., Dixon 1932; Emory 1933; Palmer 1870; Skinner 1955; Suggs 1960; see also Holton 2004; Melander 2020). Heyerdahl's perspective on it persuaded few, but there was tacit acceptance that the Amerindian hypothesis remained in consideration (Melander 2020: 229–33). In fact, although later extended and elaborated (Heyerdahl 1998; Heyerdahl and Ferdon 1961; Heyerdahl *et al.* 1995) it has, with few exceptions (e.g., Anderson *et al.* 2007; Martinsson-Wallin 1994), been largely overlooked since.

One reason was that continuing fieldwork on Rapa Nui showed the initial colonists were Polynesians, rather than of Tiwanakan (Andean, AD 400–1100) culture. Only Polynesian artefacts and Pacific rat (*Rattus exulans*) bones occurred in the oldest sites (Golson 1965; Skjølsvold 1994), and initial colonisation has been radiocarbon dated to AD 1150–1280 (DiNapoli *et al*. 2020). Those data, among others, reinforced an hypothesis of exclusive Polynesian habitation in which Amerindian influence is restricted almost entirely to the sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) and attributed to the agency of Polynesian seafaring (e.g., Green 2005; Irwin 2011; Métraux 1940).

Recent research on East Polynesian human DNA, however, challenges the residential exclusivity of that model. Genome-wide variation indicates admixture of Amerindian and Polynesian DNA in the Societies, Marquesas, Tuamotus and Gambiers around AD 1200 and in Rapa Nui about AD 1380 (Ioannidis *et al.* 2020). Similar genetic admixture in Rapa Nui was earlier estimated at AD 1280–1495 (Moreno-Mayar *et al.* 2014) and AD 1340 (Thorsby 2016). It is possible that Amerindians were fetched in Polynesian canoes, or that Polynesians sojourned long enough in South America to produce children of mixed descent, but the dispersal in East Polynesia of a restricted source of DNA from Colombia-Ecuador, and its probable first occurrence in the Marquesas, at the same latitude as Ecuador, but where the only feasible voyaging route is westward, led Ioannidis *et al*. (2020) to favour the Amerindian voyaging option, and Wallin (2020) to suggest a separate and later Amerindian arrival on Rapa Nui.

These results invite renewed consideration of whether putatively Amerindian cultural remains on Rapa Nui reproduced observations by voyaging Polynesians or represent direct Amerindian craftmanship. The issue has received little systematic analysis of similarity between East Polynesian and Amerindian types or styles. As a stimulus to further such research, focused on the archaeological remains rather than the historical controversy, current evidence about the relative likelihood of Amerindian construction, initially outlined in Anderson *et al*. (2007), is brought up to date here for three Rapa Nui items in contention: the Ahu Tahiri (also known as Ahu Vinapu 1) façade, *tupa* 'circular stone structures' and birdman petroglyphs. Their transfer by alternative maritime technologies is also discussed briefly.

POSSIBLE AMERINDIAN MATERIAL CULTURE

Ahu Tahiri Façade

In 1774, Johann Forster wrote that *ahu* 'ceremonial platforms' at Vinapu, Easter Island, were constructed "as regularly & as finely as can be done by a Nation even with good tools" (Hoare 1982: 468–69). Ahu Tahiri has attracted repeated interest because it has a seaward façade that recalls Amerindian architecture. Contrary to earlier notions of Tiwanakan inspiration, however, Ahu Tahiri can now be seen to exhibit many characteristics of high-status walls of the Inca state period, AD 1400–1532. These are as follows: (1) construction in the coursed, encased style of fine masonry found in early Inca perimeter walls (Hyslop 1990), (2) slight curvature in plan shape with rounded corners, features notable in outlying Inca regions (Hyslop 1990), (3) basalt blocks that are precisely fitted and rectangular or trapezoidal in shape (Protzen and Nair 1997), (4) blocks laid in Inca "quasi-courses" in which the height of a single course is never perfectly uniform, and no line of joints is strictly horizontal (Nair and Protzen 2015; Protzen and Nair 1997), (5) pillowfacing (convex curvature to outer face of the stone) on the blocks with chamfering to emphasise the pattern of joints (Hyslop 1990) and (6) some large blocks having corner cutouts fitted with shaped blocks (Protzen and Nair 1997).

In addition, one block has a shaped boss, an Inca feature. Contrary to Golson's (1965: 56) contrast between "the solid, cyclopean masonry of Peru and the veneer-like use of slab facings on Easter Island" (based on Skinner 1955), the Ahu Tahiri stone thickness (0.5–0.7 m) in the façade overlaps the usual Inca range of 0.65–1.0 m. The Ahu Tahiri wall batter of 12° is also within Inca standards of 3°–15° (Hyslop 1990). Although understandably lacking sockets to secure blocks with metal cramps, the facing stones and construction of the Ahu Tahiri façade are strikingly similar to Inca examples, and the point is emphasised by an absence of comparable evidence from elsewhere in East Polynesia. It should be noted that Inca and Polynesian methods of shaping blocks were the same, by pounding with stone hammers, so new techniques were not required.

Is the structure, however, of Inca age? The two Vinapu ahu were built on a surface bearing charred remains of the original forest for which palm nuts dating AD 1280–1410 at 2 sigma (Ua-19463 at 610 ± 40 BP; Ua-19464 at 605 ± 45 BP: Martinsson-Wallin 2004: 8) provide a secure but approximate *terminus post quem* (Martinsson-Wallin 2004; Martinsson-Wallin *et al.* 2013). Unidentified charcoal from above the Ahu Tahiri ramp (Mulloy 1961: 160) offers an uncertain *terminus ante quem* about the sixteenth century. Ahu Tahiri, therefore, was probably built during the Inca state period (AD 1400–1532) or slightly earlier, and the fidelity of complex architectural detail suggests Inca craftsmanship. If of that age, it was made after the arrival

of Polynesians and their own ceremonial structures. It is quite possible that Ahu Tahiri is younger than Vinapu 2, as Golson (1965) argued, and that the Ahu Tahiri façade was built over an earlier ceremonial structure.

Tupa

On Rapa Nui, 27 circular structures of piled stone, each 3–7 m in diameter and constituting "a slab-roofed masonry tower with a very small and generally square entryway near the ground on one side" (Heyerdahl 1961: 517), are called *tupa*. Variation in size, form and functions does not clearly separate some tupa from *hare moa* 'hen houses' and elliptical stone buildings (Ferdon 1961: fig. 88 c–f; Ferdon 2000). There are no clear dates on tupa and their functions are uncertain. By late historical consensus, they were turtle watchtowers, yet few are well positioned for marine observation, and they seldom have formed access to the roof (Heyerdahl 1961: 517–19; Métraux 1940: 189). An astronomical role has been proposed (Edwards and Edwards 2013: 186), but it does not explain the internal architecture of tupa, in which a narrow passage through thick walls leads to an interior chamber of informally corbelled stone. The chamber was suited only to occasional shelter, and Ferdon (1961: 331) noted a general absence of domestic fire pits.

Observations in 1774 could suggest a mortuary function. Europeans were allowed into the residential longhouses but not into smaller stone structures; "the natives always denied us admittance into these places" (George Forster in Thomas and Berghof 2000: 307). These included tupa which may have been tabooed as the larger sites of surface burial, a common mode represented on Rapa Nui by numerous small stone mounds. There was human bone throughout the interior deposit of one tupa, and an "isolated tomb" at Vinapu (Mulloy 1961), with the internal structure of a tupa, contained an extended burial. Tupa and hare moa have been proposed as burial sites (Heyerdahl 1997; Ferdon 2000), and in East Polynesian languages *tupa* has mortuary connotations, including *tūpāpaku* as the common Māori word for 'corpse'.

In the northern Andes, the similar-sounding *chullpa*, meaning "containers in which they placed their dead" (Morales *et al.* 2013: 2394), referred to structures, dated twelfth to seventeenth century, made for communal above-ground burial (Stanish 2012). Late Andean chullpa, AD 1450–1550, were often of dressed stone, but earlier, AD 1100–1450, they were relatively rudimentary: circular, domed structures, 3–5 m in diameter, of undressed stone surrounding a chamber accessed through a narrow entrance and passage (Hyslop 1977). Chullpa were tombs associated with ancestor veneration and served as territorial markers (Bongers *et al*. 2012; Epstein and Toyne 2016). In construction and probable functions, therefore, tupa are very similar to early chullpa, and they have no parallel elsewhere in East Polynesia. An Amerindian introduction is possible.

Birdman Petroglyphs

Birdman motifs are widely spread globally, but in different forms. The few birdmen identified in East Polynesian rock art outside Rapa Nui have bird heads with extended limbs lacking fingers and toes, and some Māori examples show feathered wings. There are crouching human figures in Māori rock art and, rarely, in Hawaiian, and some are paired back-to-back (Lee 1997). The almost 500 figures recorded on Rapa Nui have different features. Mainly in bas-relief, they are shown sitting with elbows and knees together, and with long, hooked beaks and gular pouches, characteristics of frigatebirds. The eyes are huge and circular, generally with a pupil shown (Lee 1992: 65–74), and the limbs often have five-digit fingers and toes. Many birdmen are shown face-to-face in pairs joined at the feet, hands or beak. Some hold a round object in their hands, possibly a ceremonial egg—the traditional interpretation. Birdman petroglyphs were made into the nineteenth

Figure 1. Top left: Late prehistoric Ecuadorian bead (after Shaffer 1985, fig. 6, masked men talking). Top right: Facing pair of birdmen (after Lee 1992, fig. 4.42). Centre: Spindle whorl from Puna Island (Anderson *et al*. 2007, Fig. 7.5). Bottom left: Ecuadorian figure holding round object (after Shaffer 1985, fig. A-1). Bottom right: Birdman holding round object (after Lee 1992, fig. 4.48).

century (Lee *et al.* 2015–2016), but how early they began is unknown. At ‘Orongo, where 86 percent of birdmen occur, the earliest houses date AD 1540–1600 (Lee 1992; Robinson and Stevenson 2017; Rull *et al.* 2018), but undated birdman petroglyphs on rock faces nearby and elsewhere could be older, including incised depictions partially erased by those in bas-relief.

Whereas there are few similarities of Rapa Nui birdmen with others in East Polynesia, there are more with those in Ecuador-Peru. A spindle whorl from Puna Island, Ecuador, has birdmen, possibly with incipient gular pouches, placed face-to-face in the Rapa Nui style. Examination of hundreds of spindle whorls in Ecuadorian and Peruvian museum collections (Anderson *et al.* 2014) failed to find a duplicate. However, seabirds, jaguars or caimans sitting alone or in facing pairs, with hands and feet, large, circular eyes, and sometimes holding a round object, traits common to Rapa Nui, are shown on spindle whorls and ceramic pots (Fig. 1). These are mainly of the Manteño-Guancavilca culture of coastal Ecuador, dating AD 1100–1530, although they also occur in earlier Guangala contexts (Ricaurte 1993; Shaffer 1985). There are similarities as well in the birdman frescoes of Túcume (Heyerdahl *et al.* 1995). As the cluster of shared traits is younger in Rapa Nui, it could have been an Amerindian introduction.

Amerindian Seafaring

Speculation about Polynesian return voyaging to South America has relied upon traditionalist perspectives that overestimate the capabilities of Polynesian seafaring (Anderson 2017) and underestimate those of Amerindian balsa rafts (Anderson *et al*. 2007; Emanuel 2013). With America lying upwind against prevailing easterlies, wind reversals infrequent and the windward ability of Polynesian voyaging canoes uncertain (Irwin 2011: 250), direct passages were unlikely, except by chance. Even the mid-latitude downwind route to Chile would have been “immensely difficult” (Finney 1994: 283). Furthermore, if sailing technology existed in the rudimentary form observed in southeast Polynesia in the eighteenth century (Anderson 2017), then long-distance passages were virtually impossible. Conversely, simulated downwind drifting by raft from Ecuador-Peru to Polynesia has a very high rate of success (Montenegro *et al*. 2008) and has been proven successful in practice by more than 20 passages on experimental sailing rafts (Anderson *et al.* 2007).

Spanish observations in 1526 described large balsa rafts propelled by crescentic cotton sails and steered by *guara* ‘daggerboards’ carrying cargo of up to 25 tonnes on long offshore passages (Sandweiss and Reid 2016: 315–17). Historical records describe them beating to windward at 4–5 knots (Heyerdahl 1955: 252–57). Engineering analysis of these data concluded that balsa rafts were 6–11 m long with a cargo capacity of 10–30 tonnes. The green balsa logs, with lashings pulled into them for protection,

remained buoyant for many months, and rafts could make several long passages in a year before re-fitting (Dewan and Hosler 2008: 36). In capacity and performance, then, Amerindian balsa rafts were at least the equal of Polynesian double canoes.

A disjunct distribution of early metallurgy between Ecuador and Mexico indicates that rafting by direct oceanic passages rather than serial coastal stages was in place by 500 BC (Hosler 2009). The measured distance was about 3,000 km (Sandweiss and Reid 2016), but sailing distances were much longer on the windward leg south and comparable to those, 3,500–5,000 km, from Ecuador to Polynesia. Whether they returned or not, balsa rafts could have made repeated landfalls in East Polynesia from the thirteenth to sixteenth century. Exploration westward might have increased as coastal traders in Ecuador-Peru were displaced from the maritime network when it came under Inca control AD 1430–1460 (Marsh *et al.* 2017).

* * *

Observed stylistic traits of some items of Rapa Nui material culture lack comparable evidence from elsewhere in East Polynesia but resemble traits of cognate items in late prehistoric Ecuador-Peru. It is implausible that such items emerged independently (Métraux 1940: 289–91) in the Polynesian island nearest to existing sources in South America. It is unlikely that multiple, intricate resemblances in material culture were reproduced in Rapa Nui from memory after fleeting Polynesian–Amerindian contact, especially if that occurred during the East Polynesian exploratory phase, AD 900–1100 (Anderson *et al*. 2019), several centuries before currently estimated ages of Amerindian influence.

The Ahu Tahiri (Ahu Vinapu 1) façade, dating earliest to AD 1300–1440, suggests Inca stonework AD 1400–1532; tupa, undated, resemble Andean chullpa AD 1100–1450; and birdman petroglyphs, beginning sixteenth century or earlier, resemble similar figures in coastal Ecuador AD 1100–1530. Conjecturally, a narrower age of Amerindian arrival could be suggested as AD 1350–1450, a period in which cultural introductions to Rapa Nui from Inca age sources, human DNA admixture, and arrival and transfer of sweet potato across East Polynesia (Anderson and Petchey 2020) appear to overlap.

As Amerindian DNA was widely dispersed elsewhere in East Polynesia about AD 1200, two phases of Amerindian arrival could be implied, with the later phase more influential in some respects. For example, chronological research on monumental ahu shows that they began earlier (AD 1300–1400) on Rapa Nui than in the Society Islands, AD 1400–1600 (Martinsson-Wallin *et al.* 2013), suggesting dispersal of this ceremonial type from the east and begging the question of what else might have been transferred.

It is essential to acknowledge that this review of the venerable Amerindian hypothesis rests upon precariously few and generalised chronological data, little comparative consideration of functional and ceremonial contexts, and merely qualitative impressions of stylistic similarity in material culture. Scarcity of precise chronology and an absence of quantitative analyses using large, paired and out-group samples of the artefact types and styles in question is not the result, however, of only scholarly neglect. Rather, it also reflects a longstanding unwillingness on both sides of the southeast Pacific to systematise research on a problem, long tainted by controversy, that lies between them. It has been too convenient to mutually accept the Polynesian return-seafaring solution in which South American prehistory is able to concede minimal cultural leakage (Kehoe 2003; Seelenfreund 2019), and East Polynesian prehistory to minimise Amerindian contact (Green 2005). Particularly wilful in this is long-standing aversion to evidence of the relative ease with which large balsa rafts could have sailed to East Polynesia.

My conclusion is that there is enough in the fragmentary data described here to question at least the completeness of the orthodox model of exclusively Polynesian contact with South America, and if—to paraphrase a well-known saw—we keep looking for our (explanatory) keys only under the same (East Polynesian) streetlight, the matter will not be resolved. As continuing to let the Amerindian hypothesis lie has not caused it to wither away, it needs to be taken seriously and the archaeological material in discussion here subjected to comparative analytical research.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks to Kā Waimaero and the Ngāi Tahu Fund for support of the Ecuador-Peru museum study, 2014, and to Helene Martinsson-Wallin, Karen Stothert, Paul Wallin and Snr Benjamin Rosales, for their collegiality in fieldwork and discussion. Figure by Lloyd Creative.

REFERENCES

Anderson, A.J., 2017. Changing perspectives upon Māori colonisation voyaging. *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand* 47 (3): 222–31.

Anderson, A.J., E. Conte, I. Smith and K. Szabó, 2019. New excavations at Fa‘ahia (Huahine, Society Islands) and chronologies of colonization in central East Polynesia. *Journal of Pacific Archaeology* 10 (1): 1–14.

Anderson, A.J. and F. Petchey, 2020. The transfer of kūmara (*Ipomoea batatas*) from East to South Polynesia and its dispersal in New Zealand. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 129 (4): 351–82.

Anderson, A.J., H. Martinsson-Wallin and K. Stothert, 2007. Ecuadorian sailing rafts and oceanic landfalls. In A.J. Anderson, K. Green and B.F. Leach (eds), *Vastly Ingenious: The Archaeology of Pacific Material Culture*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press, pp. 117–33.

——2014. Notes and images from research in Ecuadorian and north Peruvian museums. Unpublished.

Bongers, J., E. Arkush and M. Harrower, 2012. Landscapes of death: GIS-based analyses of chullpas in the western Lake Titicaca basin. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 39 (6): 1687–93.

Dewan, L. and D. Hosler, 2008. Ancient maritime trade on balsa rafts: An engineering analysis. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 64 (1): 19–40.

DiNapoli, R., T. Rieth, C. Lipo and T. Hunt, 2020. Tempo of "collapse": A model-based approach to the case of Rapa Nui (Easter Island). *Journal of Archaeological Science* 116. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jas.2020.105094

Dixon, Roland B., 1932. The problem of the sweet potato in Polynesia. *American Anthropologist* 34 (1): 40–66.

Edwards, E. and A. Edwards, 2013. *When the Universe Was an Island*. Hanga Roa: Hangaroa Press.

Emanuel, J., 2012. Crown jewel of the fleet: Design, construction and use of the seagoing balsa of the pre-Columbian Andean coast. *Proceedings of the 13th International Symposium on Boat and Ship Archaeology (ISBSA 13)*, Amsterdam, Netherlands, 8–12 October 2012. http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:HUL.instrepos:24013725

Emory, K.P., 1933. *Stone Remains in the Society Islands*. Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 116. Honolulu.

Epstein, L. and J.M. Toyne, 2016. When space is limited: A spatial exploration of pre-Hispanic Chachapoya mortuary and ritual microlandscape. In A.J. Osterholtz (ed.), *Theoretical Approaches to Analysis and Interpretation of Commingled Human Remains*. Switzerland: Springer, pp. 97–124.

Ferdon, E., Jr, 1961. Easter Island house types. In T. Heyerdahl and E. Ferdon (eds), *Archaeology of Easter Island*. Vol. 1 of *Reports of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island and the East Pacific*. Monographs of the School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico. Stockholm: Forum, pp. 329–38.

——2000. Stone chicken coops on Easter Island. In P. Wallin and H. Martinsson-Wallin (eds), *Essays in Honour of Arne Skjølsvold: 75 Years*. Kon-Tiki Museum Occasional Papers 5, Oslo, pp. 37–43.

Finney, B., 1994. *Voyage of Rediscovery: A Cultural Odyssey through Polynesia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Golson, J., 1965. Thor Heyerdahl and the prehistory of Easter Island. *Oceania* 36 (1): 38–83.

Green, R.C., 2005. Sweet potato transfers in Polynesian prehistory. In C. Ballard, P. Brown, R.M. Bourke and T. Harwood (eds), *The Sweet Potato in Oceania: A Reappraisal*. Sydney: Oceania Publications, pp. 43–62.

Heyerdahl, T., 1952. *American Indians in the Pacific.* London: Allen & Unwin.

——1955. The balsa raft in aboriginal navigation off Peru and Ecuador. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 11 (3): 251–64.

——1961. General discussion. In T. Heyerdahl & E. Ferdon (eds), *Archaeology of Easter Island*. Vol. 1 of *Reports of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island and the East Pacific*. Monographs of the School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico. Stockholm: Forum, pp. 493–526.

——1978. *Early Man and the Ocean: The Beginning of Navigation and Seaborne Civilizations.* London: Allen & Unwin.
——1997. A reappraisal of Alfred Metraux's search for extra-island parallels to Easter Island culture elements. *Rapa Nui Journal* 11 (1): 12–20.
——1998. The common occurrence of the birdman cult and the double-bladed *ao* paddle on Easter Island and in prehistoric Tucume. In C. Stevenson, G. Lee and F. Morin (eds), *Easter Island in Pacific Context: South Seas Symposium.* Los Osos: Easter Island Foundation, pp. 178–84.
Heyerdahl, T. and E.N. Ferdon Jr (eds), 1961. *Archaeology of Easter Island.* Vol. 1 of *Reports of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island and the East Pacific*. Monographs of the School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico. Stockholm: Forum.
Heyerdahl, T., D. Sandweiss and A. Narváez, 1995. *Pyramids of Túcume: The Quest for Peru's Forgotten City*. London: Thames and Hudson.
Hoare, M.E. (ed.), 1982. *The* Resolution *Journal of Johann Reinhold Forster, 1772–1775.* London: The Hakluyt Society.
Holton, G., 2004. Heyerdahl's Kon Tiki theory and the denial of the indigenous past. *Anthropological Forum* 14 (2): 163–81.
Hosler, D., 2009. West Mexican metallurgy: Revisited and revised. *Journal of World Prehistory* 22: 185–212.
Hyslop, J., 1977. Chulpas of the Lupaca zone of the Peruvian high plateau. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 4 (2): 149–70.
——1990. *Inka Settlement Planning*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
Ioannidis, A.G., J. Blanco-Portillo, K. Sandoval, E. Hagelberg, J.F. Miquel-Poblete, J.V. Moreno-Mayar, J.E. Rodríguez-Rodríguez *et al*., 2020. Native American gene flow into Polynesia predating Easter Island settlement. *Nature* 583 (7817): 572–77.
Irwin, G.J., 2011. Sailing from Polynesia to the Americas. In T.L. Jones, A.A. Storey, E.A. Matisoo-Smith and J.M. Ramírez-Aliaga (eds), *Polynesians in America: Pre-Columbian Contacts with the New World*. Lanham, MD: Altamira Press, pp. 247–62.
Kehoe, A.B., 2003. The fringe of American archaeology: Transoceanic and transcontinental contacts in prehistoric America. *Journal of Scientific Exploration* 17 (1): 19–36.
Lee, G., 1992. *Rock Art of Easter Island*. Monumenta Archaeologica 17. Los Angeles: University of California.
——1997. Petroglyph motif distribution in East Polynesia. *Rapa Nui Journal* 11 (1): 5–9.
Lee, G., P. Horley, P. Bahn, S.H. Cardinali, L.G. Nualart and N.C. Hucke, 2015–2016. Secondary applications of rock art at coastal sites of Easter Island (Rapa Nui). *Almogaren* 46–47: 157–209.
Marsh, E.J., R. Kidd, D. Ogburn and V. Durán, 2017. Dating the expansion of the Inca empire: Bayesian models from Ecuador and Argentina. *Radiocarbon* 59 (1): 117–40.
Martinsson-Wallin, H., 1994. *Ahu—the ceremonial stone structures of Easter Island.* AUN 19. Uppsala: Societas Archaeologica Upsaliensis.

——2004. Archaeological excavation at Vinapu (Rapa Nui). *Rapa Nui Journal* 18 (1): 7–9.

Martinsson-Wallin, H., P. Wallin, A. Anderson and R. Solsvik, 2013. Chronogeographic variation in initial East Polynesian construction of monumental ceremonial sites. *Journal of Island and Coastal Archaeology* 8 (3): 405–21.

Melander, V., 2020. The Coming of the White Bearded Men: The Origin and Development of Thor Heyerdahl's Kon-Tiki Theory. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Australian National University.

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

Montenegro, A., C. Avis and A. Weaver, 2008. Modeling the prehistoric arrival of the sweet potato in Polynesia. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 35 (2): 355–67.

Morales, M.S., A.E. Nielsen and R. Villalba, 2013. First dendroarchaeological dates of prehistoric contexts in South America: Chullpas in the Central Andes. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 40 (5): 2393–401.

Moreno-Mayar, J.V., S. Rasmussen, A. Seguin-Orlando, M. Rasmussen, M. Liang, S.T. Flam, B.A. Lie *et al.*, 2014. Genome-wide ancestry patterns in Rapanui suggest pre-European admixture with Native Americans. *Current Biology* 24 (21): 2518–25.

Mulloy, W., 1961. The ceremonial center of Vinapu. In T. Heyerdahl and E. Ferdon (eds), *Archaeology of Easter Island*. Vol. 1 of *Reports of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island and the East Pacific*. Monographs of the School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico. Stockholm: Forum, pp. 93–180.

Nair, S. and J.-P. Protzen, 2015. The Inka built environment. In I. Shimada (ed.), *The Inka Empire: A Multidisciplinary Approach.* Austin: University of Texas Press, pp. 215–31.

Palmer, J.L., 1870. A visit to Easter Island, or Rapa Nui, in 1868. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 40: 167–81.

Protzen, J.-P. and S. Nair, 1997. Who taught the Inca stonemasons their skills? A comparison of Tiahuanaco and Inca cut-stone masonry. *Journal of the Society of Andean Studies* 56 (2): 146–67.

Ricaurte, L., 1993. *Diseños Prehispanicos del Ecuador.* Guayaquil: Gráficas San Pablo.

Robinson, T. and C.M. Stevenson, 2017. The cult of the birdman: Religious change at 'Orongo, Rapa Nui (Easter Island). *Journal of Pacific Archaeology* 8 (2): 88–102.

Rull, V., E. Montoya, I. Seco, N. Cañellas-Boltà, S. Giralt, O. Margalef, S. Pla-Rabes, W. D'Andrea, R. Bradley and A. Sáez, 2018 (4 April). CLAFS, a holistic climatic-ecological-anthropogenic hypothesis on Easter Island's deforestation and cultural change: Proposals and testing prospects. *Frontiers in Ecology and Evolution* 6. https://doi.org/10.3389/fevo.2018.00032

Sandweiss, D.H. and D.A. Reid, 2016. Negotiated subjugation: Maritime trade and the incorporation of Chincha into the Inca empire. *Journal of Island and Coastal Archaeology* 11 (3): 311–25.

Seelenfreund, A., 2019. Ancient ocean crossings: Reconsidering the case for contacts with the pre-Columbian Americas. *Journal of Pacific History* 54 (2): 285–87.

Shaffer, F.W., 1985. *Motivos Indígenas del Antiguo Ecuador*. Quito: Abya-Yala.

Sharp, A., 1956. *Ancient Voyagers in the Pacific*. Wellington: The Polynesian Society.
Skinner, H.D., 1955. Easter Island masonry. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 64 (3): 292–94.
Skjølsvold, A. (ed.), 1994. *Archaeological Investigations at Anakena, Easter Island*. Kon-Tiki Museum Occasional Papers 3. Oslo.
Stanish, C., 2012. Above-ground tombs in the circum-Titicaca basin. In A. Vranich, E. Klarich and C. Stanish (eds), *Advances in Titicaca Basin Archaeology III.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, pp. 203–20.
Suggs, R.C., 1960. *The Island Civilizations of Polynesia*. New York: New American Library.
Thomas, N. and O. Berghof (eds), 2000. *A Voyage Round the World: George Forster*. Vol. I. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
Thorsby, E., 2016 (14 October). Genetic evidence for a contribution of Native Americans to the early settlement of Rapa Nui (Easter Island). *Frontiers in Evolution and Ecology* 4. https://doi.org/10.3389/fevo.2016.00118
Wallin, P., 2020. Native South Americans reached Polynesia early. *Nature* 583: 524–25.

AUTHOR CONTACT DETAILS

Atholl Anderson, 174 O'Dwyers Road, RD3, Blenheim 7273, New Zealand.
Email: atholl.anderson@anu.edu.au

ROBERT CARL SUGGS AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF PACIFIC ARCHAEOLOGY: A RETROSPECTIVE VIEW

PATRICK V. KIRCH
University of Hawai‘i, Mānoa

ABSTRACT: The 1950s were a pivotal era in Polynesian archaeology, with the beginnings of stratigraphic excavations and application of radiocarbon dating. Robert Carl Suggs played a key role with his seminal work on Nuku Hiva in the Marquesas Islands. Suggs's use of artefact seriation, and his focus on architecture along with portable artefacts, were key methodological contributions. Unlike other contemporaries, Suggs brought a holistic anthropological perspective to his interpretations of culture change. Even though the chronology he proposed for Marquesan prehistory has been revised, his sequence of cultural periods remains relevant to current discussions of the Polynesian past.

Keywords: Robert C. Suggs, Polynesian archaeology, history of archaeology, seriation, culture history, Polynesian origins

---

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, archaeological research in Polynesia and elsewhere in the Pacific was almost exclusively limited to surface survey and mapping of stone architecture; finding no pottery and lacking any means of direct dating, archaeologists despaired of constructing an independent chronology. Instead, indigenous genealogies and oral traditions provided the bases for estimating the time depth of Polynesian settlement. Building upon the foundations laid by Churchill (1911), Fornander (1878), Smith (1921) and others, ethnologists such as Handy (1930a, 1930b) and Hīroa (1938) interpreted Polynesian history in terms of a succession of migrations, each "wave" introducing distinct sets of cultural traits. Only Burrows (1938) offered an alternative model, in which the differences between Western and Eastern Polynesian cultures resulted from internal processes of cultural change and differentiation over time, but he too based his theory on ethnographic rather than archaeological evidence.

All this would change dramatically during the decade of the 1950s, a pivotal era in Polynesian archaeology. The decade opened with the release of Roger Duff's seminal monograph on the "moa hunter culture" of New Zealand, based on his excavations at Wairau Bar (Duff 1950). In 1951, Edward Gifford of Berkeley published the results of his 1947 expedition to Fiji, outlining a stratigraphic succession of ceramic styles (Gifford 1951); Gifford would soon report a radiocarbon date—one of the first

Journal of the Polynesian Society, 2021, 130 (3): 257–266.
https://doi.org/10.15286/jps.130.3.257-266

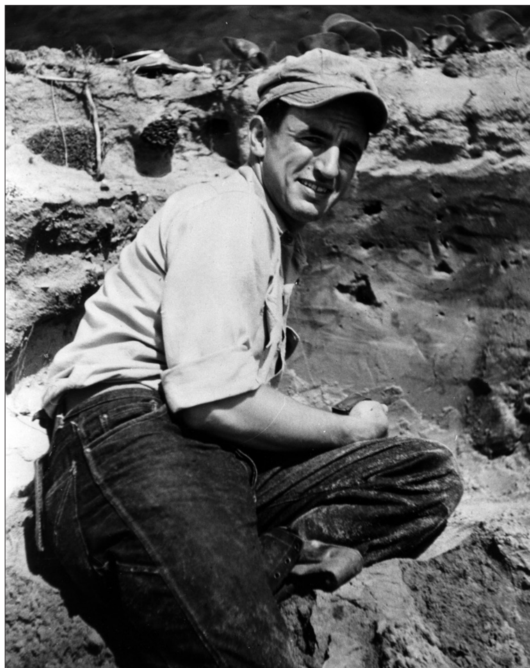

Figure 1. Robert Carl Suggs cleaning a stratigraphic section at the Ha‘atuatua site. Nuku Hiva Island, in 1956. (Photo courtesy Robert Suggs)

from the Pacific—of 950 ± 300 from site 17 on Viti Levu (Gifford 1952). Encouraged by these results, Gifford turned to New Caledonia in 1952, where he uncovered a ceramic sequence that included at its base what would soon come to be known as “Lapita” pottery (Gifford and Shutler 1956). On the western margins of the Pacific, Alexander Spoehr’s fieldwork in the Marianas Islands likewise demonstrated the potential of systematic excavations, augmented by ceramic seriation and radiocarbon dating, to develop cultural chronologies (Spoehr 1957). Although their results would not be published until the end of the decade, Emory and his students in Hawai‘i had also commenced a program of excavations, and were likewise availing themselves of the revolutionary new tool of radiocarbon dating (Emory *et al*. 1959; Sinoto 1959).

The intellectual excitement generated by these advances was palpable, encouraging other scholars and institutions to look to the Pacific as a new

field for archaeological research. Among these was New York's American Museum of Natural History, where Harry L. Shapiro held the position of Curator and Chairman of the Department of Anthropology. Shapiro, who had conducted physical anthropological research in Polynesia, saw the new opportunities for archaeological research and organised a short expedition to the Marquesas in 1956 (Shapiro 1958). Accompanying Shapiro was a young veteran of the US Marine Corps and Columbia University graduate student, Robert Carl Suggs.[1] The 1956 reconnaissance was sufficiently productive that Shapiro arranged funding for Suggs to return to Nuku Hiva Island for a year's fieldwork in 1957, the basis for Suggs's doctoral dissertation at Columbia, published soon thereafter as a monograph by the American Museum (Suggs 1961).

Although Suggs's foray into Polynesian archaeology was relatively brief (he soon left academia for a career as a military analyst), his influence on the field of Pacific archaeology was substantial, including not only his contribution to Marquesan prehistory but the first major synthesis of Polynesian culture history using archaeology in combination with emerging data from the allied fields of historical linguistics and physical anthropology (Suggs 1960a). He also published a popular account of his Marquesan expedition, a children's book about Polynesia, and a study of Marquesan sexual behaviour (Suggs 1962a, 1962b, 1966). In this article, I look retrospectively at Suggs's impact on Polynesian archaeology and prehistory during this pivotal era, with emphasis on his theoretical and methodological orientations and on his holistic anthropological approach to Polynesian culture history.

SUGGS'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO METHOD AND THEORY

Suggs explicitly rejected what he called the "traditionalist" approach to Polynesian prehistory, based on "comparative studies of the abundant oral traditions of the various island groups or through studies of the distribution of traits or trait complexes" (1961: 11; see also Suggs 1960b). Rather, his approach was fundamentally based on the material evidence obtained through stratigraphic excavation, with the chronological succession of cultural "periods" determined through the use of artefact seriation augmented by radiocarbon dating (1961: 19). Yet Suggs was also thoroughly grounded in the "four-field", holistic anthropology of the mid-twentieth century; he was consequently open to drawing upon research from other subfields such as linguistics and cultural anthropology in his interpretations of cultural change (see below).

While some of Suggs's excavation practices might seem outdated today (such as the use of five-foot squares, digging primarily with shovels rather than trowels, and screening through coarse ¼-inch mesh), other aspects of

his methodology were more advanced than those of his contemporaries. In particular, Suggs emphasised the importance of digging by "natural stratigraphic levels" rather than by "arbitrary levels" (although the latter were resorted to when natural strata were not evident; Suggs 1961: 17). In this respect his procedures were an improvement over those of both Gifford and Emory, who applied the University of California's system of excavation by artificial six-inch levels, completely disregarding natural stratigraphy (Heizer 1949; see Kirch 1997 for further discussion of Gifford's methods).

A cornerstone of Suggs's approach was the application of "historical typology" to the artefact assemblages he recovered through excavation, and the use of the resulting typology for seriation, so as to order his site assemblages chronologically. Although Suggs availed himself of radiocarbon dating, the method was still expensive, with dates accompanied by large error margins (ranging from ± 100 to ± 180 years in the case of the Nuku Hiva dates; 1961: 20, table 1). Radiocarbon dates were obtained from just four of the more than twenty sites that Suggs excavated. Seriation of artefact types was therefore essential to placing all of these sites into a coherent chronological framework.

Suggs was well aware of the debates regarding artefact classification and "typology" that were ongoing in North American archaeology at the time (e.g., Willey and Phillips 1958); he likely was also influenced by interactions with James A. Ford, a master of ceramic typology and seriation at the American Museum, where Suggs worked up his Nuku Hiva collections. Indeed, Suggs references Ford's seriations in the Lower Mississippi Valley and the Viru Valley of Peru as examples of the "historical type" concept. Lacking other than a handful of potsherds from Nuku Hiva, however, Suggs turned to fishhooks, coral files and adzes as the main artefact categories for which he developed his "historical types".

It is evident from Suggs's discussion of "typology" (1961: 17–19) that his method was not that of *classification* (either in the sense of paradigmatic or of taxonomic classification) but rather that of *grouping* (see Dunnell 1971). That is to say, through an ad hoc process of trial and error, Suggs grouped and regrouped sets of artefacts until he arrived at sets of fishhooks or coral files that exhibited patterns of temporal change. "Trial types of fishhooks and coral files were established", after which the frequencies of these types were arranged to see if the resulting order of sites matched that provided by the key radiocarbon dates (1961: 18). The method worked, as such grouping often does, although it had the drawback of not being replicable to other sites or assemblages. In this regard Suggs's fishhook "types" are quite different from the fishhook classification developed at the same time for Hawaiian collections by Emory *et al*. (1959). Nonetheless, Suggs's application of typology and seriation was an important and novel contribution to Polynesian archaeology.

A second important methodological contribution was the integration of architectural styles into this chronological sequence. Whereas contemporaries such as Duff in New Zealand or Emory in Hawai‘i were focused almost exclusively on portable artefacts to define cultural periods or sequences, Suggs regarded non-portable architecture as an important aspect of culture change. Even though many of these sites, such as *tohua* ‘dance platforms’, *paepae* ‘house platforms’ and fortifications, did not yield extensive arrays of fishhooks or other artefacts as did the coastal dune sites and rockshelters, Suggs devoted considerable effort to their excavation. Consequently, temporal changes in architecture, such as the development of the “transitional paepae” and the “megalithic paepae” figured prominently in Suggs’s interpretation of Marquesan culture history, allowing him to infer processes of social and political change.

It is also informative to note what Suggs did *not* do in his Marquesan fieldwork. A glaring omission was the lack of any zooarchaeological analysis of faunal remains. Although he mentions the presence of vertebrate and invertebrate remains in his sites (his coastal sites and rockshelters were undoubtedly rich in such materials), and evidently collected such fauna (1961: 17), the only data presented in his monograph are the presence/absence of pig, dog, rat and cat bones by site (1961: 195). Suggs was not alone in this regard; Spoehr (1957) in the Marianas, and the Norwegian Expedition archaeologists on Rapa Nui (Heyerdahl and Ferdon 1961), also largely neglected faunal remains. Gifford, in contrast, went to great lengths to have zoological specialists identify and analyse both vertebrate and invertebrate materials from his Fijian and New Caledonian excavations. Given the presence of numerous specialist zoology curators at the American Museum who could have aided him in identifications, it is surprising that Suggs did not make more of an effort to glean economic information from his faunal remains.

A second omission from Suggs’s methodology was that of a “settlement pattern” approach, which was then emerging in North American archaeology, largely at Harvard University under the direction of Gordon Willey (1956). While Suggs reports a variety of site types in his Nuku Hiva monograph and emphasised changes in architectural styles in his analysis of the Marquesan cultural sequence, the distribution and spatial organisation of sites over the landscape was not part of his research strategy. It was thus not until Willey’s student Roger C. Green began work on Mo‘orea Island in 1960 (also under the aegis of Harry Shapiro and the American Museum) that the settlement pattern approach was introduced to Polynesia (Green 1961). This difference in approach may be more reflective of the mentoring that Suggs received at Columbia (primarily under Shapiro) than of any intentional neglect of the new settlement pattern paradigm.

SUGGS'S INTERPRETATIONS OF MARQUESAN AND POLYNESIAN CULTURE HISTORY

Turning from Suggs's methodology to his interpretations of Marquesan prehistory similarly sheds light on this critical period in the history of Polynesian and Pacific archaeology. As with other fieldworkers in the 1950s, one of Suggs's main objectives was to determine the timing of initial settlement of the Marquesas, as well as the homeland from which the first settlers originated. While most scholars of the time accepted that Polynesian origins lay in the western Pacific, whether this had been via migration routes through Micronesia or Melanesia was debated (Hiroa 1938). Moreover, Thor Heyerdahl's arguments for an American origin of the original populations in Eastern Polynesia (Heyerdahl 1952), popularised by the *Kon-Tiki* voyage, had thrown the older theories into question. The Norwegian Archaeological Expedition, concurrent with Suggs's own Marquesan fieldwork, was organised by Heyerdahl in an effort to prove his theory.

Suggs reviewed the radiocarbon dates from the Ha'atuatua site NHaa 1 in the context of the limited number of other Polynesian dated sites then available, including Wairau Bar in New Zealand (Duff 1950), South Point Dune Site in Hawai'i (Emory *et al*. 1959), Vailele in Sāmoa (Golson 1961), and from sites in the western Pacific (Fiji, New Caledonia and the Marianas)—ultimately advancing the case for initial settlement of the Marquesas around 150 BC. In hindsight, it is evident that Suggs's two earliest dates (of 1910 ± 180 and 2080 ± 150 BP) were not accurate indications of initial Polynesian arrival; most likely, the dated samples were of old driftwood, with substantial "in-built age". (Suggs's other two dates from Ha'atuatua, of 1090 ± 180 and 1270 ± 150 BP, more accurately reflect the true age of initial Marquesan settlement.) In those pioneering days of radiocarbon dating, however, the dates seemed reasonable, especially in light of Suggs's discovery of pottery and adze types that appeared to demonstrate a link between Sāmoa (where Golson had also uncovered pottery at Vailele dating to the first century AD) and the Marquesas.

Bringing to his argument evidence from the seminal linguistic work of Grace (1959) on "Malayo-Polynesian" (Austronesian) languages, Suggs proceeded to outline what he called "a broad picture" of the expansion of Austronesian-speaking peoples into the Pacific:

> By at least 2000 B.C. the islands east of the Philippines had already been penetrated and settled by exploring groups moving eastward. The Melanesian islands on the western fringes of the Polynesian triangle were settled by 1000 B.C. or earlier. Sometime, possibly in the middle of the first millennium B.C., the Western Polynesian islands were settled. By the second century B.C. one settlement had definitely been established in Eastern Polynesia, in the Marquesas Islands. (1961: 176)

With the exception of that final claim for Marquesan settlement by the second century BC, this scenario has proved to be remarkably prescient. In addition, Suggs pointed specifically to the pottery uncovered by Gifford at Site 13, Lapita, and its similarities to pottery in Fiji and Tonga, tentatively suggesting that both New Caledonia and Fiji were settled by 1000 BC. Once again, a remarkably accurate prediction.

With respect to the settlement of the Marquesas and Eastern Polynesia, Suggs directly challenged the then-recent thesis of Andrew Sharp (1956) that the Polynesian islands had been settled mainly by "accidental" voyages rather than as a result of intentionally navigated voyages. Decades before the experimental voyages of the *Hōkūle'a* and other replicated canoes were to stimulate a rethinking of Polynesian "wayfinding", Suggs argued from archaeological evidence that the initial settlers of the Marquesas arrived via "well-equipped expeditions" carrying with them domesticated plants and animals (1961: 180). "[A]lthough the ultimate destination of the migration may not have been foreseen, the expedition was apparently quite well conceived and planned" (1961: 181).

Having addressed the fundamental questions of the timing and origin of the first settlers to the Marquesas, Suggs then turned his attention to "the culture history of the Marquesas as reconstructed from the archaeological remains" (1961: 181). It is in this regard that Suggs's work stands out as particularly innovative when compared to that of his contemporaries. Whereas Gifford, Spoehr and Emory were content to confine their reconstructions of "culture history" to sequences of changes in artefact styles, Suggs's goal was to write an *anthropological* account of Marquesan cultural development over time. Thus, he writes: "The periods of Marquesan prehistory were established on the basis of four factors: socio-political organisation, settlement patterns, economic base, and technology, to the extent that these can be inferred from the archaeological data" (1961: 21). Suggs explicitly rejected an approach in which temporal periods were defined on "a technological history", opting instead for "a developmental terminology based on socio-political, demographical, economic, and technological factors" (1961: 21). His Marquesan culture history was thus defined by the following periods: Settlement (150 BC to AD 100), Developmental (AD 100 to 1100), Expansion (AD 1100 to 1400), Classic (AD 1400 to 1790) and Historic (post-AD 1790). Although subsequent revisions to the radiocarbon-based chronology of the archipelago have required a shortening of the time scale (especially a shortening of the Developmental Period), it is noteworthy that subsequent generations of archaeologists working in the Marquesas have found it useful to retain the period sequence (e.g., Allen 2004).

It is beyond my scope in this brief essay to fully parse Suggs's arguments regarding the development of Marquesan society; however, a few points deserve mention. One is Suggs's engagement with the theory of Polynesian

"status rivalry" that had been initially outlined by Irving Goldman (1957), an example of how Suggs brought anthropological theory to bear in his interpretation of Marquesan culture history. In the archaeological record of the Classic Period, Suggs saw evidence for marked "status and prestige differences", for example in ornaments and in elaborate architecture. "The ostentatious facades and the poorly built rear portions of these imposing [megalithic paepae] can have no other meaning" (1961: 185). But Suggs went beyond Goldman to draw a causal chain between prestige rivalry, demography and resource limitation:

> The cause of the intense prestige rivalry may be seen in the relation of the population to the habitable land. As the population increased beyond the point at which all possible ecological niches became filled, intergroup conflicts over land would have increased. … The need to acquire and hold the land necessary for existence and to increase the areas held to accommodate population increases intensified to an extreme the rivalry apparently present in most Polynesian societies. (1961: 185–86)

This is not to suggest that Suggs merely borrowed anthropological theory unquestioningly. Indeed, he specifically took issue with the hypothesis presented by Marshall Sahlins (1958) that "ramage" type social organisations in Polynesia emerged where resources were too scattered to be exploited by single households. While acknowledging that Sahlins's model had "great interpretive value", Suggs averred that "the Marquesas may also be added to the exceptions to his hypothetical relationship" (1961: 189).

* * *

In retrospect, some six decades after his seminal work was published, Robert Carl Suggs occupies a fascinating cusp point in the history of Pacific archaeology, indeed in the larger history of archaeological theory and practice. While his methods were firmly anchored in the "culture historical" paradigm of North American archaeology as advocated by mentors such as James A. Ford, for example using ad hoc typology and seriation as key tools, Suggs differed from those mentors and other contemporaries in his broad, holistic vision of an anthropological archaeology (even before that term had come into use). A year before Binford (1962) published his famous "archaeology as anthropology" polemic, Suggs had advanced sophisticated interpretations of Marquesan and Polynesian prehistory that drew upon theories of sociopolitical processes (status rivalry), economic factors (resource limitation) and demographic change; he was not afraid to venture beyond the limited models of technological change that characterised most archaeological interpretations of his time. In this respect, Suggs anticipated much of what would become core tenets of the "New Archaeology".

For his own reasons, Suggs chose not to continue in the field of Polynesian archaeology.[2] One can only speculate as to what further contributions he might have made had he kept his hand in the game. Regardless, during the pivotal years of the late 1950s, Suggs's contributions helped to transform Pacific archaeology in ways that continue to resonate to this day.

NOTES

1. Robert Carl Suggs was born 24 February 1932 and passed away 17 April 2021. I had the pleasure of meeting Suggs in the mid-1990s when he and his wife, Rae, visited Berkeley, California. He was engaging and personable; I recall that we talked long into the evening about the Marquesas and Polynesian archaeology.
2. The late Prof. Irving Rouse told me many years ago that after Suggs completed his PhD at Columbia, Yale University attempted to recruit him to the Anthropology faculty. Rouse claimed that Suggs declined the offer on the grounds that he was able to earn a substantially higher salary using his well-known linguistic talents translating Soviet military intelligence, this being the era of the Cold War.

REFERENCES

Allen, M.S., 2004. Revisiting and revising Marquesan culture history: New archaeological investigations at Anaho Bay, Nuku Hiva Island. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 113 (2): 143–96.

Binford, L.R., 1962. Archaeology as anthropology. *American Antiquity* 28 (2): 217–25.

Burrows, E.G., 1938. *Western Polynesia: A Study in Cultural Differentiation*. Ethnological Studies No. 7. Gothenburg.

Churchill, W., 1911. *The Polynesian Wanderings*. Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication 134. Washington, DC.

Duff, R., 1950. *The Moa Hunter Period of Maori Culture*. 2nd edition. Wellington: Government Printer.

Dunnell, R., 1971. *Systematics in Prehistory*. New York: The Free Press.

Emory, K.P., W.J. Bonk and Y.H. Sinoto, 1959. *Hawaiian Archaeology: Fishhooks.* Bernice P. Bishop Museum Special Publication 47. Honolulu.

Fornander, A., 1878. *An Account of the Polynesian Race*. London: Trubner.

Gifford, E.W., 1951. *Archaeological Excavations in Fiji.* Anthropological Records 13 (3): 189–288. Berkeley: University of California Press.

——1952. A carbon-14 date from Fiji. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 61 (3 & 4): 327.

Gifford, E.W. and D. Shutler, Jr., 1956. *Archaeological Excavations in New Caledonia*. Anthropological Records 18 (1): 1–125. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Goldman, I., 1957. Variations in Polynesian social organization. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 66 (4): 374–90.

Golson, J., 1961. Report on New Zealand, Western Polynesia, New Caledonia, and Fiji. *Asian Perspectives* 5 (2): 166–80.

Grace, G.W., 1959. *The Position of the Polynesian Languages within the Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) Language Family*. International Journal of American Linguistics, Memoir 16.

Green, R.C., 1961. Moorea archaeology: A preliminary report. *Man* 61: 169–73.

Handy, E.S.C., 1930a. The problem of Polynesian origins. *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Occasional Papers* 9: 1–27.
——1930b. *History and Culture in the Society Islands*. Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 79. Honolulu.
Heizer, R., 1949. *A Manual of Archaeological Field Methods*. Milbrae, CA: The National Press.
Heyerdahl, T., 1952. *American Indians in the Pacific: The Theory Behind the Kon-Tiki Expedition*. London: Allen and Unwin.
Heyerdahl, T. and E.N. Ferdon, Jr. (eds), 1961. *Reports of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island and the East Pacific.* Vol. 1, *Archaeology of Easter Island*. Monographs of the School of American Research 24 (1). Santa Fe.
Hiroa, T.R. (P.H. Buck), 1938. *Vikings of the Sunrise.* New York: Frederick Stokes Co.
Kirch, P.V., 1997. Introduction: E. W. Gifford, New Caledonia, and Oceanic prehistory. *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers* 82: 1–17.
Sahlins, M., 1958. *Social Stratification in Polynesia*. Seattle: American Ethnological Society.
Shapiro, H.L. 1958. Les Îles Marquises I and II. *Natural History* 67 (4–5).
Sharp, A., 1956. *Ancient Voyagers in the Pacific*. Wellington: The Polynesian Society.
Smith, S.P., 1921. *Hawaiki: The Original Home of the Maori, With a Sketch of Polynesian History*. Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs.
Spoehr, A., 1957. *Marianas Prehistory: Archaeological Survey and Excavations on Saipan, Tinian, and Rota*. Fieldiana: Anthropology 48. Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History.
Suggs, R.C., 1960a. *The Island Civilizations of Polynesia*. New York: Mentor Books.
——1960b. Historical traditions and archaeology in Polynesia. *American Anthropologist* 62 (5): 764–73.
——1961. *Archaeology of Nuku Hiva, Marquesas Islands, French Polynesia*. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History 49, Part 1. New York.
——1962a. *The Hidden Worlds of Polynesia*: *The Chronicle of an Archaeological Expedition to Nuku Hiva in the Marquesas Islands*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World.
——1962b. *Lords of the Blue Pacific*. Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society.
——1966. *Marquesan Sexual Behavior: An Anthropological Study of Polynesian Practices.* New York: Harcourt-Brace.
Willey, G. (ed.), 1956. *Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the New World*. Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology No. 23. New York.
Willey, G.R. and P. Phillips, 1958. *Method and Theory in American Archaeology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

AUTHOR CONTACT DETAILS

Patrick V. Kirch, Department of Anthropology, University of Hawai‘i, Mānoa, Honolulu, Hawai‘i 96822, USA. Email: kirch@hawaii.edu | https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4264-6689

REVIEWS

ORANGE, Claudia: *The Treaty of Waitangi/Te Tiriti o Waitangi: An Illustrated History*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2021. 488 pp., biblio., illus., index. NZ$49.99 (softcover).

NICHOLAS JONES
University of Auckland

Claudia Orange's *The Treaty of Waitangi/Te Tiriti o Waitangi: An Illustrated History* is an eloquently written social history that brings to light the history of the Treaty of Waitangi and its impact on Aotearoa New Zealand's development as a nation. This second illustrated version builds upon Orange's earlier editions (*The Treaty of Waitingi* first appeared in 1987) to highlight the continued importance of the Treaty in Aotearoa's history and society. Chronologically ordered, the reader is taken through the historical events that led to the forming and signing of the Treaty and the impact of the Treaty on both Pākehā 'New Zealand European' and Māori communities up to 2020. Written in an accessible manner, this digestible text is suitable for a wide range of reading levels and will be of interest to academics and non-academics alike.

Unlike many texts that discuss the Treaty, *The Treaty of Waitangi/Te Tiriti o Waitangi: An Illustrated History* does not fall into the pitfall of confining the history of the Treaty to the immediate pre-signing circumstances and post-signing history. Rather, Orange draws from and intertwines pre-Treaty historical events to explain the basis for subsequent colonial justification of British sovereignty over the whole of Aotearoa. As she notes, William Hobson, while believing that the *rangatira* 'chiefs' of the North Island ceded sovereignty by signing the Treaty, felt himself justified in claiming British sovereignty over the South Island and Stewart Island as well, on the assumption that James Cook had "discovered" these islands (p. 50). The interweaving of historical events and colonial ideologies that ultimately came to shape the actualisation, implementation and effect of the Treaty is consistently upheld throughout the book and presents one of its greatest strengths.

Orange also emphasises the pivotal role *wāhine* 'women' played in Treaty processes, both as signatories, such as Rangitopeora, and in progressing Māori Treaty rights and interests, such as Whina Cooper and Tariana Turia. This is further underscored by the well-balanced incorporation of images of women and men throughout the book. Indeed, images have been well employed with captions adding valuable social detail and further historical contextualisation beyond the main body of text. Additionally, unlike Orange's previous editions, which featured monochrome images, this third edition makes use of a vast array of colour images, bringing history to life.

Although Orange attempts to present a balanced overall analysis of the history of the Treaty, opportunities have been missed to frame understandings and conceptualisations from a *te ao Māori* 'Māori worldview' perspective. While clearly

distinguishing between the Treaty of Waitangi and Te Tiriti o Waitangi, there is a tendency to default to English terminology after introducing comparative te reo Māori 'Maori language' translations in other instances. Moreover, nuanced understanding of the essential role of *whenua* 'land' and *moana* 'sea' as a base from which Māori draw a sense of *tūrangawaewae* 'a place to stand, a sense of identity' was also missed. This is particularly evident in chapter three, "A Matter of Mana—1840 to 1870", in which Māori retention of whenua is framed as being important simply because of their "associated resources" (p. 69).

Orange's revised chapter nine, "New Century, New Challenges—2000 to 2008", and newly included chapter ten, "National Years—2008 to 2017", discuss some of the most prominent issues facing the Treaty settlement process. This is especially evident in chapter nine's new subsection, "Iwi Criticisms of the Settlement Process", which provides invaluable commentary on how the settlement process is problematic for Māori. As Orange explains, many *hapū* 'subtribes' believe the Crown is unable to meet "the aspirations of all the groups involved in any claim" (p. 294) due to their preference to deal with "large natural groupings" (p. 294) such as *iwi* 'tribal' bodies. Building on this, chapter ten underscores the flaws in rushing Treaty settlement negotiation processes. Orange comments upon the incredible demand timeframes put on iwi who do not have access to the same funding or support networks as the Crown (p.350). Due to the immense number of hapū that constitute some iwi and some hapū opposition to some Crown-recognised mandates, consensus and resolution take a significant amount of time. Consequently, as Orange stresses, fast-paced settlement negotiations like those attempted with Ngā Puhi "did not produce effective outcomes" (p. 353).

A particularly enjoyable new addition, chapter eleven, "Building New Bridges", underscores the vital role of the public in building fruitful Māori–Crown relationships and hints at how Treaty settlements and meaningful partnership will benefit Aotearoa. This benefit includes iwi regional development (p. 367). To achieve this, emphasis has been placed on the need for developing Aotearoa's national consciousness and public attitude in understanding "the extent of change" (p. 368) for both signatory partners. Orange maintains that this development is crucial for a shift in mindset and attitudes of both politicians and the public in order to "grasp the revolutionary changes that are now taking place—and for the country to build on them" (p. 370). Orange highlights many endeavours that have sought to address this. These include the growing use of te reo Māori, restoration of te reo place names, and the 2019 New Zealand History Teachers' Association petition to centre Aotearoa's history in the school curriculum by 2022 (pp. 371–72). This civic development is postulated to negate rash decisions that come to negatively affect this relationship (p. 370).

While overall being well-balanced in drawing upon both Māori and Pākehā written sources, integrating more community voices would have been welcome. Interview material used has largely centred on the voices of prominent individuals involved in Treaty negotiations, and those in governmental positions. These voices include those of Christopher Finlayson, Sir Michael Cullen, Dr Briar Gordon, and Kiritapu Allen, resulting in the dominance of government-centric voices. Integrating community voices, such as those of iwi and hapū leaders, would bring to light nuanced understandings of contested history—such as the circumstances

surrounding the execution of Maketū (p. 63). Furthermore, such community voices would contribute towards a more vivid depiction of the impact of Treaty policies on Māori communities at the local level.

Notwithstanding, this omittance does not detract from the overall relevance of *The Treaty of Waitangi/Te Tiriti o Waitangi: An Illustrated History*. This new edition is an important contribution to the scholarship on Aotearoa's history. It provides a comprehensive foundation in understanding the Treaty and its impact in both historic and contemporary contexts. In light of ongoing national conversations, this well-researched, historically interwoven narrative is essential reading for anyone interested in Aotearoa's history and is a valuable addition to every New Zealander's bookshelf.

https://doi.org/10.15286/jps.130.3.267-269

DONALDSON, Emily C.: *Working with the Ancestors: Mana and Place in the Marquesas Islands*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2019. 280 pp., biblio., illus., maps, notes. US$30.00 (softcover).

CHRISTOPHE SAND
French National Research Institute for Sustainable Development (IRD-Noumea), New Caledonia

"One of my primary research goals was to go into the woods as frequently, and with as many different people, as possible in order to understand how Marquesans view, value, and use their heritage and the land" (p. xvii). Emily C. Donaldson's book puts forward a deep dive into the complexities of indigenous approaches to "heritage" in Pacific Island communities, by presenting a detailed study on the Marquesas Islands. The author has a two-decade-long relationship with the archipelago and is fluent in both Marquesan and French. This allowed her, although her primary training is in archaeology, to carry out her study with a defined anthropological scope, by interviewing about 350 people on the six inhabited islands. The small island of Tahuata was the main focus of her endeavour. The whole work is, evidently, organised around the question "What does heritage mean to you?" (p. xviii)—a challenging topic for the Pacific where the term "heritage" is multifaceted, encompassing culture and nature, past and present, the visible and the invisible. The Marquesas region, with its distinctive characteristics, has been the subject of a campaign for over three decades for it to be recognised as a World Heritage Site, compelling the local communities to become familiar with UNESCO's approach to historic places. The book is divided into six chapters, following a foreword, a long preface and an introduction. After the conclusion, a set of four appendices, a glossary, a large set of notes and a reference list round out the book.

The introduction sets the scene by highlighting the apparent conflict between an indigenous approach to the land, seen as a living landscape embodying the ancestors' power or *mana*, and a more Western and academic approach, which the author defines as a form of colonial territorialisation. Donaldson makes clear from the start how the "UNESCO project" is used by the Islanders for what she calls "tacit resistance

as they move to advance certain political, economic, and cultural interests through Marquesan heritage" (p. 11). To understand how these different topics interrelate, the second half of the introduction presents a concise history of the archipelago, the devastating consequences of massive depopulation in the nineteenth century and the cultural revitalisation efforts of recent decades (see also Appendix B).

Chapter One introduces the archipelago, in both geographical and cultural terms, underlining the importance of invisible and spiritual elements in approaching Marquesan landscapes. Perceptions of *tapu* 'sacred' and *mana* 'power, prestige, authority' in relation to former *paepae* 'stone platforms' (typically domestic), *me'ae* 'sacred site, temple' or other built structures visible in the bush appear from the study to be negotiated mainly through an individual approach, linked to family connections to places. The complexities of land tenure are discussed in Chapter Two, showing the profound impact of changes to the land rights of families made under missionary and colonial rule. Depopulation broke the natural transmission of knowledge about boundaries and reshaped land divisions, Christian superstition fostered fear around traditional tapu, and departures to Tahiti of family members led to multiple joint ownerships of property, putting land use into a permanent state of stress.

Chapter Three, "Marquesan Engagements with Place and the Past", is certainly one of the most enlightening parts of the book. It proposes a realistic and honest perspective of the present approach to the invisible in Marquesan communities. Far from some of the idealised anthropological and archaeological studies that still appear in the literature, the author presents the disruption of knowledge about the past and the landscape experienced over the last two centuries by the ancestors of the present-day Islanders. This led to profound trauma for some of the elders, while others internalised the missionary idea that the precolonial past was a brutal and chaotic "dark age". More importantly, the chapter stresses how Islanders have preserved the link with the invisible through different spiritual approaches. This was achieved by reconceptualising the fearsome elements of invisible power and the potency of specific sites in mediating between traditional and Christian beliefs. Individual approaches to mana and tapu produce a diversity of behaviours, with some families completely avoiding working near old historic sites, others paying respect to the sites but still planting on them, and still others of the opinion that the ruins must be physically destroyed.

Chapter Four presents a study of the economic significance of the land for the livelihoods of the Marquesans. The island economy is composed of subsistence activities (informal market) and cash production (formal market), and while the archipelago is isolated from the main economic centre, Tahiti, modernity is slowly changing the paradigm, with parents pushing their children to remain in school for as long as possible. This leads to a break in the connection with the land, fostering a drop in the copra and planting economy and the rise of new uses of family property for cash, one focus being on cultural tourism. This topic is discussed in Chapter Five, the author choosing to build her analysis around issues related to the UNESCO nomination. Her summary highlights the mistrust expressed by most of the Islanders interviewed towards the overall World Heritage nomination project. This mistrust is related to questions of identity and resistance to global heritage policies and objectives, based especially on a feeling of potential dispossession of landownership and on the local desire to claim the Marquesas' cultural distinctiveness from Tahiti.

The overly long process of finalising the UNESCO file has also led over the last decade to even the most enthusiastic Marquesans doubting a positive outcome.

The final chapter aims to illustrate the difficulty of preserving the sustainability of heritage projects and the imbalance between cultural revival and pride and everyday constraints in site maintenance. The author discusses, through a series of examples, the need to accept that "[i]ndigenizing the concepts of sustainability and heritage preservation in the Marquesas might also require an acceptance of intentional loss and the need to forget certain sites in order to move forward" (p. 164). The short conclusion draws from the numerous interviews a desire to return to the sacredness of the land for Marquesans and the need to include in preservation efforts not only the material remains of heritage places but also the invisible and the specific trauma that colonial history has wrought upon present-day Islanders.

Working with the Ancestors is a pleasant book to read, full of lively anecdotes and excerpts of interviews, bringing humanity to the topic and avoiding academic jargon. The photographic illustrations, while not numerous, are informative, as are the five diagrams that summarise key elements in graphic form. The author analyses the topic of heritage as it is understood, expressed and lived by the Marquesan Islanders, with its local characteristics and ambiguities. This was probably one of the project's most difficult challenges, as she makes it explicit from the start that her position as an archaeologist prompted people in the community to present a positive view on heritage. Being fluent in both Marquesan and French certainly helped Donaldson avoid agreeable answers in the interviews and capture the subtle differences in personal approach between individuals. By systematically reminding the reader of the context of the pre-contact and colonial history witnessed by the Islanders, the author disentangles the complexities of the archipelago's case. Endemic violence and wars, depopulation, harsh Christianisation, the recent exodus of family members, resistance against Tahitian cultural homogenisation, schooling and the shift to the cash economy as well as the invisible but ever-present forces of mana, tapu and ancestors' spirits all influence the Islanders' present-day perception of and relation to historic places. The book also makes clear that generational differences are at play, older people approaching the paepae sites more warily than do younger activists. On a global scale, the study highlights a number of themes that arise in the UNESCO World Heritage approach to indigenous understandings of place in an increasing number of regions across the globe. It especially shows how, in a colonial setting where administration, Tahitian politics and the expertise of outsiders are seen as invasive policies, "heritage" is used by local communities as a tool for pursuing other objectives.

Nearly 25 years after it was initiated, the UNESCO file for the Marquesas is yet to be finalised. This book offers a unique analysis of the project's complexities and provides some keys to moving forward in the right direction. It is an important read for all those working on heritage matters in the Pacific. In addition to professionals, the audience of French Polynesian Islanders will be interested in the outcomes of Donaldson's work, and the author should consider a translation of this study into French—the only colonial language understood both by the Marquesans and by the other Polynesians in Tahiti, the Tuamotus and the other French Polynesian archipelagos.

https://doi.org/10.15286/jps.130.3.269-271