

**Nuku Hiva 1825: ethnohistory of a Dutch-
Marquesan encounter and an art-historical
study of Marquesan material culture**

Volume I

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Abstract

This study explores the Dutch navy visit to the Marquesan island of Nuku Hiva (Polynesia) in May 1825. It consists of two interconnected parts: an ethnohistorical analysis and a material culture study. The first part examines the Dutch-Marquesan encounter. From written accounts and pictorial material, a narrative of the visit is presented. Encounters between Dutch and Marquesans are analysed and Marquesan agency is extrapolated. Topics explored are communication, diplomacy, boundaries and exchange, which are perceived as coping strategies from both sides for dealing with strangers effectively. Findings are placed in the context of existing studies on Marquesan ethnohistory and compared to other contemporary visits.

The second part of this thesis is concerned with Marquesan material culture, highlighting those objects associated with the Dutch voyage. A chronology of collectors and collecting of Marquesan objects between 1774 and the 1930s is followed by a comparative analysis of object types acquired during specific Pacific voyages and by European residents (1774-1840s). Two case studies are presented, both starting with Dutch observations and the objects they collected. The first examines stilt walking historically and the associated equipment, stilts and stilt steps. The second explores historical observations on ear adornment, followed by a comprehensive review of ear ornaments, in particular *pūtaiana* and *haakai*, to refine existing classifications.

This dissertation contributes in several ways to the existing knowledge of the Marquesas Islands. Ethnohistorically, the written records and images examined provide a new window on a particular foreign visit in the first half of the nineteenth century which, juxtaposed with other visits, adds nuanced insights on historical processes and Marquesan responses. Combined with the material collected, this research also contributes significantly to the understanding of developments in Marquesan art history, in particular with regard to identifying different styles and the ingenuity of Marquesan makers.

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*Uiteindelijk worden we allen bewijsmateriaal voor het bestaan
van het verleden.*

[In the end we all become evidence of the existence of the past.]

Jules Deelder

Preface

Not coming from a travelling background I have always been interested in faraway regions and loved to watch documentaries on other cultures on television and flipping through photobooks on other parts of the world. The Pacific was one of the regions I was interested in, which was particularly sparked by the TV series *Man on the Rim: The Peopling of the Pacific* presented by Professor Alan Thorne in the late-1980s. When I enrolled at the Radboud University (then Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen, the Netherlands), I found it difficult to choose. I had meant to do a first year in Cultural Anthropology and continue with Development Studies. However, because I enjoyed anthropology so much, I decided doing both at the same time. Another difficulty was the choosing of a region to specialise in. In the end I decided to concentrate on Native North America for Cultural Anthropology and on the Pacific region for Development Studies. Unfortunately time constraints meant that, after having finished my research into Native organisations in Vancouver (Canada) and having written my MA thesis on this topic, I had to postpone my intended research on tourism in Tonga. The postponement led to cancellation; I had found a job in a field I had become interested in during my research period in Vancouver in 1994, namely museums. During my stay there I made many joyful visits to the Museum of Anthropology at UBC. In order to get a better foundation in museum practices, I followed a MA in Museum Studies at the University of Leicester in 1999-2000. Afterwards I returned to the Netherlands and, apart from a holiday to New Zealand, continued working in Dutch museums.

For a number of years I concentrated on my museum work, but from around 2006 my husband and I started to look into travelling to the Pacific region, a region in which we had both been interested for a long time. Also within Europe we engaged in visiting exhibitions on the Pacific and especially on Polynesia. The opening of *Polynésie: arts et divinités 1760-1860* and the accompanying symposium in Musée du quai Branly in 2008 as well as meeting Marie-Noëlle Ottino-Garanger really kindled our passion. Later that year we made a memorable trip to Easter Island (Rapanui) and French Polynesia, in which especially the Marquesas Islands, where we also met Pierre Ottino-Garanger, captivated us. This led to more reading on the Marquesas and also on plans to return, which we, after a trip to the Cook Islands in 2010, did for the 2011 *Festival des Marquises* on Nuku Hiva. There we not only enjoyed the performances but also admired the work of many contemporary Marquesan artisans which led us to acquire a collection of wood and bone carvings.

Ever since finishing my MA's in Cultural Anthropology and Museum Studies I have always wanted to continue with a PhD. Choosing a subject was always the biggest difficulty being interested in many different topics, but then the Marquesas Islands came on my way and with a Dutch connection no less. These last seven years

have been an interesting journey, combining my work as curator in the Zeeuws Museum (Middelburg, the Netherlands) and being involved in making presentations and exhibitions on many different themes for a wider public, with specialist academic thinking and writing. The many travels involved in this research project to museums, museum storage rooms, archives, specialist libraries and special(ist) friends, as well as to the Marquesas, however, were a real joy. And not just for me, as I have a very interested and helpful travelling companion, who enjoyed the ride very much as well. Even though I hope to work on Marquesan art and material culture for many years to come, I am glad that this part of the journey is complete. No one said it would be easy, but that really is an understatement.

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Throughout this research project many institutions were visited or contacted. I would like to thank them and all the people who work there for their hospitality and assistance: American Museum of Natural History, British Museum, Bristol Museum & Art Gallery, Brooklyn Museum, Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, De ZB, Ethnologisches Museum, Field Museum, Floatscans, Gemeentearchief Amsterdam, Het Scheepvaartmuseum, Historisch Centrum Overijssel, Massachusetts Historical Society, Musée Boulogne-sur-Mer, Musée de Tahiti et des Îles-Te Fare Manaha, Musée des explorations du monde, Musée d'Ethnographie de Genève, Musée d'Ethnographie de Neuchâtel, Musée d'Histoire Naturelle de Lille, Musée d'Histoire Naturelle et d'Ethnographie de Colmar, Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac, Museum der Kulturen Basel, Museum Fünf Kontinente, Museum Kunst & Geschiedenis, Museum of Fine Arts, Museum Support Center, Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History, Museum Volkenkunde, Nantucket Historical Association, Nationaal Archief, National Archives of Estonia, National Maritime Museum, Naturalis, Nederlands Instituut voor Militaire Historie, New Bedford Whaling Museum, New-York Historical Society, Noord-Hollands Archief, Peabody Essex Museum, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Penn Museum, Philips Library of the Peabody Essex Museum, Pitt Rivers Museum, Regionaal Archief Zutphen, Royal Academy of Arts, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,

Trezoor, Tropenmuseum, Völkerkundemuseum der Universität Zürich and Wereldmuseum. Also a big thank you to all the, often unnamed, staff of organisations throughout the world who work tirelessly to make collection databases, archival material, books and articles available online. Your efforts are highly appreciated.

Besides institutions there are many people who in one way or another or in many ways have assisted, informed or otherwise contributed to this research project. Although there is a danger of unintentionally forgetting someone, I do want to thank the following people, listed alphabetically, personally: Adria Katz, Adrienne Kaeppler, Alessandre Pezzati, Alexandra Krueger, Alphonse Tioka Puhetini, Alvane Alvarado, Amelia Holmes, Andreas Isler, Angèle Martin, Anthony Meyer, Arjen Speksnijder, Barbara Watanabe, Beatrice Voirol, Ben Hunter, Bernard Ta'ata, Bertie Joan van Heuven, Bob Ketting, Carol Ivory, Carolin Binniger, Cathelijne Beckers, Catherine Robertson, Christopher Philipp, Cindy Zalm, Claire Prêtre, Claudine Alvarado, Damien Haturau, David Rhoads, David Verhulst, Deborah Kimitete, Delphine Rootuehine, Diana Zlatanovski, Dimitri Babakhin, Dorothea Deterts, Edwin Buijsen, Elena Govor, Els Verhey, Ester de Bruin, Finette Lemaire, George (Toti) Teikiehuupoko, Gerard Heerebout, Hélène Guiot, Hilke Thode-Arora, Jacklyn Lacey, Jacques Iakapo Pelleau, Jan Wiggers, Jean-André Assié, Jeremy Coote, Jeremy Uden, Jeroen Goud, Jill Hassell, John Cremers, Jordan Bersone, Kathryn Gunsch, Katrina Igglesden, Leon Homburg, Maia Nuku, Mareva Kuchinke, Marie-Laurence Bouvet, Marine Vallée, Mark Blackburn, Mark Bosselaers, Mark Procknik, Maurice Rootuehine, Max Roest, Meghan Bill, Michel Charleux, Michel Thieme, Nicholas Crowe, Nicholas Garnier, Nicholas Thomas, Oliver Schinz, Peter Poortvliet, Pieter Baas, Poro, Rachael Utting, Rachel Hand, Raymonde Falchetto, Reimar Schefold, René van der Haar, Roberta Colombo Dougoud, Samantha, Sebastien Falchetto, Sijbrand de Rooij, Sonja Wijs, Stéphanie Leclerc-Caffarel, Tara Hiquily, Teiki Huukena, Théano Jaillet, Tony Dumitru, Vicky van Bockhaven, Wilfrid Nassiet, Wonu Veys and Yvonne Katupa.

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Abbreviations

CURRENT INSTITUTIONS

AMNH	American Museum of Natural History (New York, USA)
BLM	Brooklyn Museum (New York, USA)
BM	British Museum (London, United Kingdom)
CUMAA	Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (United Kingdom)
EM	Ethnologisches Museum (Berlin, Germany)
HCO	Historisch Centrum Overijssel (Zwolle, the Netherlands)
HTIM	He'e Tai Inn Museum (Taiohae, Nuku Hiva, Marquesas Islands)
Kunstkamera	Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (St. Petersburg, Russia)
MAMSU	Museum of Anthropology of Moscow State University (Moscow, Russia)
MBSM	Musée de Boulogne sur Mer (France)
MEG	Musée d'Ethnographie de Genève (Switzerland)
MEM	Musée des explorations du monde (Cannes, France)
MEN	Musée d'Ethnographie de Neuchâtel (Switzerland)
MET	The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, USA)
MFA	Museum of Fine Arts (Boston, USA)
MFK	Museum Fünf Kontinente (Munich, Germany)
MHNEC	Musée d'Histoire Naturelle et d'Ethnographie de Colmar (France)
MHNL	Musée d'Histoire Naturelle de Lille (France)
MKB	Museum der Kulturen Basel (Basel, Switzerland)
MKG	Museum Kunst & Geschiedenis (Brussels, Belgium)
MOA	Museum of Anthropology (University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada)
MQB	Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac (Paris, France)
MTI	Musée de Tahiti et des Îles–Te Fare Manaha (Punaauia, Tahiti)
MV	Museum Volkenkunde (Leiden, the Netherlands), part of NMWC
NA	Nationaal Archief/National Archives (The Hague, the Netherlands)
NBWM	New Bedford Whaling Museum (New Bedford, USA)
NHA	Nantucket Historical Association
NMNH	National Museum of Natural History (Washington, USA)
NMWC	National Museum of World Cultures (the Netherlands)
PEM	Peabody Essex Museum (Salem MA, USA)
PM	Penn Museum (Philadelphia, USA)
PMAE	Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (Cambridge MA, USA)
PRM	Pitt Rivers Museum (Oxford, United Kingdom)

RV	see MV
SWM	Saffron Walden Museum (United Kingdom)
TM	Tropenmuseum (Amsterdam, the Netherlands), part of NMWC
VMZ	Völkerkundemuseum der Universität Zürich/Ethnographic Museum at the University of Zurich (Switzerland)
WM	Wereldmuseum (Rotterdam, the Netherlands), part of NMWC

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

BSEO	Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Océaniques
EU	Europe
LMS	London Missionary Society
MCC	Middelburgse Commercie Compagnie
MWO	Militaire Willemsorde [Military William Order]
OVOPW	Overijsselsche Vereeniging tot Ontwikkeling van Provinciale Welvaart
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
VOC	Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie [Dutch East India Company]
VORG	Vereeniging tot Beoefening van Overijsselsch Regt en Geschiedenis

Glossary¹

COMMON NAMES

àkatia/ànatia	person of property
etua	god, deity, deified ancestor
fau/hau	beach hibiscus (<i>Hibiscus tiliaceus</i>) (Mu-Liepmann & Milledrogues 2008:30)
hakāiki	chief, nowadays mayor
Havaiki	mythical place where the souls of the deceased stay
kaioi	adolescent society of male and female dancers and singers on koina
kikino	individual without land or power, of lower rank
koina uupua/ koika uupua	third memorial festival in honour of a deceased priest (Handy 1923:218)
koina/koika	feast, festival
kokuu	soapberry tree (<i>Sapindus saponaria</i>) whose black seeds are used in the making of ornaments
mā	fermented breadfruit paste in a conservation pit or container
mataèinaa	tribal group, nowadays population, district
mau	memorial feasts
meàe	sacred (often mortuary) place
meie	profane, non-tapu
miò	Oceanic rosewood (<i>Thespesia populnea</i>)
paepae	platform, stone terrace on which the traditional house is built
pekio	secondary husband
tapa	barkcloth
tapu	sacred, forbidden
tapuvae kake	stilt track (Tilesius 1828:162)
tauà	spiritual specialist/priest
Te Henua Ènana/ Te Fenua Ènata	Marquesas Islands
temanu	tamanu (<i>Calophyllum inophyllum</i>) (Mu-Liepmann & Milledrogues 2008:25)
tiki	god or deified ancestor; creator of sculpture and tattooing; image, drawing, tattoo
toa	chief warrior; ironwood (<i>Casuarina equisetifolia</i>)
tou	island walnut (<i>Cordia subcordata</i>) (Mu-Liepmann & Milledrogues

¹ The contents, unless otherwise stated, and spelling are based upon the website of the Académie Marquisienne (www.academiemarquisienne.com) and the glossaries in the exhibition catalogue of *Matahoata* (Ivory 2016a:302-3) and the publication *Marquesan Societies* by Thomas (1990: XIV-XV; see also 1.3.1.2).

2008:28)

tuhuka àaka pahu/	master drum maker (Handy 1923:144)
tuhuna àaka pahu	
tuhuka àvaika/	master fisher (Handy 1923:144)
tuhuna àvaika	
tuhuka òoko/	ceremonial specialist/priest, who presided over religious rites
tuhuna òono	
tuhuka pūtaiana/	master artisan who made pūtaiana ear ornaments (Handy
tuhuna pūtaiana	1923:144)
tuhuka vaeake/	master artisan who made stilts
tuhuna vaeake	
tuhuka/tuhuna	master artisan, specialist in a particular field

OBJECT NAMES

haakai/hakakai	(large) ear ornament generally made of whale ivory
hei kuà	headdress consisting of a coconut fibre band with red feathers
hoe	paddle
ipu oo	decorated skull (Govor <i>et al.</i> 2019:188-90)
ivi poo	cylindrical ornament made of a piece of bone
kouhau	large wooden ear ornament
maka	sling
mataku	spear (Govor <i>et al.</i> 2019:167-8)
òuoho	hair
paè kea/paè kaha	headdress consisting of a coconut fibre band with scales of mother-of-pearl and turtle shell
paè kou a èhi	headdress made of a palm leaf
pahu	drum
parahua	long paddle-shaped club
pavahina	white beard hair ornament (of an old man)
pēue èi/pēue koiò	headdress made of coconut fibres, dolphin teeth and glass beads
pēue kāvii	headdress made of black feathers formed into a crescent-shape, sometimes decorated with sperm whale teeth
pūihu/	nose flute
pū hukehuke	
pūtaiana/	shell ear ornament with a spur generally made from boar tusk,
pūtaiata	(human) bone or whale ivory
pūtoka/pūtona	shell trumpet
pūtupe	small shell trumpet (Suggs 1961:140)
taavaha	headdress consisting of a coconut fibre band with black tail

	feathers of a cock
tahi pōniu/ taki pōniu	chest ornament decorated with red seeds (<i>Abrus precatorius</i>)
tāhii	semi-circular fan
tāpī umi	headdress made of coconut fibre cords
tapuvae	stilt step
tete pōniu	headdress decorated with red seeds (<i>Abrus precatorius</i>)
toki (tuki pū)	axe/adze
tokotoko pioo/ tootoo pioo	chief's staff
too mata	memory aid
tuà/kihi	ornamental bundle of feathers of the tropicbird
uhi	mother-of-pearl shell chest ornament
uhikana	headdress consisting of a coconut fibre band with one or more round disks of mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell
ūu	club or mace (Crook <i>et al.</i> 1998:52)
uuhei	ear ornament made of tortoiseshell, dolphin teeth and glass beads
vaeake	stilt

Chapter 1

Introduction

On my second visit to the Marquesas Islands in December 2011, just after that year's quadrennial Festival des Marquises, a master carver told me that his encounter with the publications on Marquesan art by Karl von den Steinen (1925, 1928a/b) in the 1970s on Tahiti was a revelation for him and had made him take up carving. He was the first Marquesan who specifically expressed to me the inspiration he received from viewing the images of objects made by his ancestors, which in turn inspired me. In the following year I came across a publication written by Pieter Troost, who, serving on a Dutch navy ship, had visited the Marquesan island of Nuku Hiva in May 1825 (Troost 1829:172-260). I had not heard of this voyage before and started looking into it. Realising more writings about this navy visit might be found, combined with having identified a group of objects in the Tropenmuseum that might relate to the object plate in Troost's publication,² together comprised the second main motivation for embarking on this research project.

1.1 RESEARCH CONTEXT

The drive by Europeans, including the Dutch, and Americans to explore and to search for monetary gain and trade opportunities, and the spreading of religious beliefs and imperialistic inclinations left little room for thoughts on the impact of these intrusions on the places and communities they visited. The Marquesas Islands in the Pacific Ocean were first visited by Europeans in 1595, with a second visit in 1774 and many more from the 1790s onwards. The history of the Marquesas Islands has been the subject of several studies, most notably by Greg Denning (1980) and Nicholas Thomas (1990). The main sources for their historical studies, especially regarding the period before the French annexation in 1842, are the writings of scientists such as George Forster (1777) and Von Langsdorff (1812), ship captains and other crew members, such as Von Krusenstern (1811) and Porter (1815), and Europeans and Americans who stayed on the islands for varied lengths of time. The latter might have been missionaries, for example William Pascoe Crook (2007), or crew members who stayed or were left behind deliberately, such as Edward Robarts (1974). All of these sources are almost exclusively non-Marquesan voices, and most often these are either American, British or French. The information in these sources is quite varied and,

² Further research revealed that the Tropenmuseum objects had been collected by another crew member, Johan Christiaan van Haersolte (see 2.5.12 & 5.1.4).

especially in ship's logs, can be quite limited at times with just a few remarks about the Marquesas.

The Dutch navy visit to Nuku Hiva in May 1825, which is the focus of this thesis, is important because, although it was not a voyage with scientific intentions, information is available from several different sources, both published and unpublished. Although some of the literature, especially a travelogue by Pieter Troost (1829), has been mentioned before in the literature (e.g. in Steinen 1925, Denning 1980, Thomas 1990), it has not been properly studied.³ A few articles by Tengbergen, Willinck and Eeg, of which the last is mentioned in O'Reilly & Reitma (1967), also do not seem to have motivated anyone to do more in-depth research into the Dutch visit to Nuku Hiva.⁴ Further research into the navy voyage as a whole was undertaken by Poortvliet (1971) in his thesis written to complete his naval officer's training, and by historian Oosterling (1989) in the context of her PhD dissertation on a similar Dutch navy voyage which had left the Netherlands in 1823. Through these studies some of the manuscripts written by crew members, such as journals by Singendonck (1824-1825) and Willinck (1824-1826), were found in Dutch archives. Others were located via (archival) search engines and articles written about a crew member in online available local or regional historic society newsletters, such as Van Wageningen (1824-1827) and Valcke (1993) on Notebaert. The availability of writings by several authors makes it possible to make comparisons and to give a more balanced view of the Dutch navy visit than would have been possible with only one single source, although it means that discrepancies appear.

Writings are not the only sources of information that are available from the Dutch voyage. Like many visitors before and after them, the Dutch⁵ made drawings and collected objects during their stay in the Marquesas. As for the collecting of objects during voyages, Thomas observes (1991:140-1) that objects collected during early voyages in the Pacific, also by scientists, functioned often more as a kind of proof of having visited a faraway place, so in a sense as a souvenir, than as objects to be studied scientifically. This is not to state that these objects may not have served other purposes for the Pacific Islanders, such as a gift or a means to acquire goodwill or interesting foreign goods, which may also have been the case for the Marquesan objects acquired by the Dutch. Since the voyage did not have a particular scholarly goal, apart from doing systematic observations for purposes such as measuring latitude and longitude, declinations and hydrographic measurements, it is very likely that the Dutch saw these objects as curious souvenirs (Ministerie 1813-1900, 285;

³ Denning (1980:297) misidentifies Troost as the captain of the frigate *Maria Reigersberg*, which he was not. Also, Troost was not a navy officer, but a marine officer.

⁴ This is probably due to the fact that most of the writings are in Dutch.

⁵ Please note that I refer to all crew members of the Dutch navy ships as being Dutch, although not all of them were Dutch nationals. Almost 30% of the crew were born elsewhere (see Appendix B), which also includes some of the authors.

Oosterling 1989:154). Some of these objects found their way into museum collections where over the decades the connection to the Dutch navy voyage was lost.⁶ As part of this research this link has been restored for a number of objects.

The focus of this thesis being a Dutch navy voyage is not intended to present the Dutch as what Smith (2012:59) calls 'heroes'. This is explicitly not the intention of this research project. As this topic was little studied, and as a Dutch person with relatively easy access to Dutch sources, it seemed a logical subject to explore, but the focus has always been on the Marquesas and to contribute to Marquesan ethnohistory and art history.

1.1.1 Research questions

Why this research? Although many previous visits to the Marquesas Islands have been researched, most notably by Denning (1980), only a number of specific visits have received detailed investigation (e.g. Govor 2010). Besides this, the visit by the Dutch has hardly been studied. The fact that during the course of this research project ever more sources surfaced has made it possible to piece together as complete as possible an account of the Dutch visit. This account is then analysed in comparison to other visits also especially with regard to the interaction between the Dutch and Marquesans. Another element of this research is the connection of a number of objects in collections to the Dutch visit in 1825. Relating to previous research this means that another group of objects can be dated 'made before May 1825', contributing to historical understandings of Marquesan material culture. This is of significance because many Marquesan objects in both museum and private collections lack information regarding the dates and/or circumstances of when and how they left the Marquesas. From this field of Marquesan material culture two case studies of specific object groups have been selected, each with a direct connection to the Dutch navy visit. The central research question for this research project is:

What is the contribution of the Dutch navy visit of May 1825 to Nuku Hiva to existing knowledge regarding the ethnohistory and material culture of the Marquesas Islands?

The first part of this thesis deals with the accounts on paper, both writings and drawings, of Dutch crew members. In this the following questions are explored:

- What preconceptions did the Dutch bring with them?
- What are the differences and the similarities between the Dutch visit and others, in particular with regard to the 1820s?

⁶ The only object with a label specifically mentioning the connection to the Dutch navy voyage was exchanged by the Tropenmuseum with a dealer (see 5.1.4).

- What additional information on Marquesan history and culture can be derived from the available Dutch resources?
- What Marquesan agency can be revealed from the Dutch accounts?

In order to address these questions the Dutch sources are analysed to assess what they convey about the visit and about the people they encountered. The findings of this analysis are put next to the writings of explorers, traders, whalers and missionaries. To assess the particular contributions of the Dutch observations the findings are placed next to the scientific analyses of Marquesan ethnohistory and culture by Greg Denning (1980), Nicholas Thomas (1990), Elena Govor (2010) and others, as well as to studies regarding indigenous agency, such as Bronwen Douglas (1998; 2014a/b).

In the second part of this thesis the emphasis is on Marquesan material culture, with as the starting point the objects collected by Dutch crew members, their related writings and images. These lie at the core of the general chapter on Marquesan material culture and two case study chapters. The principal questions are:

- What is the significance of Marquesan objects connected with the Dutch navy voyage compared to Marquesan objects collected by others?
- What do the Dutch sources add to knowledge of the practice of stilt walking and on adornment for the ears?
- What developments, styles and types can be discerned in stilt walking equipment and ear ornaments?

To deal with these questions an inventory has been compiled of the Marquesan objects in Dutch, mainly museum, collections in order to assess their provenance, especially with regards to the Dutch navy voyage. Then the objects collected by the Dutch in May 1825 and the related source materials are compared to objects collected by and sources derived from others. For the assessing of styles, developments and types with regard to the case studies, the stilt walking equipment and ear ornaments are analysed in the context of earlier research. In both the general chapter and the case studies extensive references are made to publications on Marquesan material culture and art (Linton 1923; Steinen 1925, 1928a/b; Gell 1998; Ivory 1990; 1994; 1995; 2005; Govor & Thomas 2019 and others), exhibition catalogues which deal with the Marquesas Islands (Panoff 1995; Kjellgren & Ivory 2005; Bertheliet *et al.* 2008; Ivory 2016 and others) and (online) collection databases, as well as relevant historical sources which have also been used in the first part of this thesis.

1.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Given my central research question, ethnohistory and material culture are the underlying concepts of this research project. In this section these concepts are explored further. First ethnohistory and the related notions of encounters and agency are explored, followed by a discussion of material culture and material culture studies. As this research project's material culture study takes on an art-historical perspective and not an anthropological one, the history of study of Non-Western art is also dealt with. With each subject its relevance for this research project is discussed as well.

1.2.1 Ethnohistory, encounters and agency

The history of the encounter of the Dutch and Marquesans is the central topic of the first part of this thesis, but is also touched upon in several instances in the second part. One of the main sources of reference in relation to the Marquesas Islands is the ethnohistorical study by Dening (1980). In ethnohistory the disciplines of history and anthropology come together. This has not always been a meeting without problems, as traditionally history tended to be focussed on written accounts by Westerners and anthropology habitually tended to base their findings on direct and personal observations (Dening 1980:35-44; Harkin 2010). The field of ethnohistory found its origins in the 1950s in North America, in particular with regard to studies into native communities to validate their (land) claims against the American and Canadian governments. From a specific objective it evolved into a professional field in which several disciplines, history, anthropology, archaeology and linguistics, and including different research methods were combined (Harkin 2010; Carlson *et al.* 2018; Douglas & Di Rosa 2020). In 1966 Dening already explored how ethnohistory could be applied in the study of encounters in Polynesia and further developed his ideas. He rejected criticism regarding the fact that ethnohistory was only applied to traditional cultures as he saw ethnohistory as a way to study both 'primitive' and 'civilized' alike, especially in relation to contact situations (Dening 1991:356-57, 372; Douglas & Di Rosa 2020). As Dening (1980:44) formulates in his study of the Marquesas: 'Ethnohistory of culture contact requires the understanding and description of the meaning systems of the confronting cultures and the understanding of the processes by which cultural artefacts as products of cultural meaning systems are transferred and transformed from one cultural system to another.'

Douglas (1998:15) describes undertaking ethnohistory as 'doing a kind of decentred colonial history.' With this she indicates that written European sources of encounters with Pacific Islanders are very important in writing about the latter's historic narratives and that in order to be able to analyse the writings to extrapolate 'indigenous agency' and 'indigenous presence', one needs to know the writers and their backgrounds (Douglas 1998:15; 2014a:13-4). Next to writings, images made by voyagers relating to encounters are also relevant in this perspective, especially when

juxtaposed with the written sources, as they may contain instances of indigenous agency (Douglas 2014b:8, 23). From both writings and images, indigenous agency according to Douglas (2014b:20-1) can be filtered either directly, indirectly through cultural knowledge or as a 'countersign' hidden because of the ways in which foreigners observed and responded. These indications are seldom straightforward, as they are about what for the foreigners are unfamiliar situations and responses, and therefore difficult to reconstruct (Douglas 2014b:26). Encounters between indigenous people and foreigners were of various kinds; it was not necessarily a case of one always being stronger than the other and thus overpowering. Also the circumstances of encounters differed considerably from one encounter to another (2014a:13; 2014b:19).

Douglas (2014b:31) states that in ethnohistorical studies regarding the Pacific region, such as for example in the work by Denning (e.g. 1980, 1995), more attention to indigenous agency has been included than those in the wider field of ethnohistory. Other scientists in the field of the study of Pacific voyages who have incorporated the element of indigenous agency are, for example, Marshall Sahlins with regard to Cook's visits to Hawaii, Anne Salmond on among others Cook's encounters with Pacific Islanders and Māori responses and agency during encounters with foreigners (e.g. 1991; 1997; 2003), Serge Tcherkézoff (2008) about early encounters on Samoa, and Nicholas Thomas in a number of monographs (e.g. 1990, 1991, 1997). Nowadays the multifaceted way to examine the nature of encounters and to include references to indigenous agency is a well-established practice in studies on Pacific history and material culture (see e.g. Hooper 2016; Jacobs 2019); material culture studies being another field in which indigenous agency features (see next section). A particular way in which to explore particular encounters is what Douglas (2014b:32) refers to as a 'person-centred' approach. In this, personal relations between voyagers and indigenous persons are explored. With regard to the Marquesas Islands Elena Govor (2010) wrote a publication on the visit of the Krusenstern expedition to Nuku Hiva in 1804, a study which served as an important inspiration for this thesis, especially for the first part.

1.2.2 Material culture

The central topic of the second part of this thesis is a study of Marquesan material culture. Material culture is about physical objects, described by Pearce (2000:1) as 'produced by the human capacity to select elements of the natural world and transform them by constructed significance.' According to Tilley *et al.* (2006:1), the field of material culture studies finds its origins in anthropology and archaeology. From the nineteenth century to the 1920s studying and classifying of material culture formed an important part of anthropological theories, to be replaced thereafter by an emphasis on social, economic and political structures as a result of the emergence of

anthropological fieldwork. The study of Non-Western objects shifted to museums. After the 1960s material culture found its way back into anthropological research in among others focus on the use and role of objects within cultures. In archaeology the developments regarding the emphasis on material culture were initially focussed on identifying the originating groups and on the fabrication of objects. This shifted in the 1960s to the significance of material culture in the adjustment to natural surroundings and its role in socio-political adaptations (Buchli 2002b; Miller 2005; Tilley *et al.* 2006).

Before the emergence of a specialist field of material culture studies, the disciplines of archaeology and anthropology used each other's studies as background material to substantiate their own theories. Besides the two traditional disciplines, several other disciplines, such as linguistics, geography and economics, are linked within the field of material culture studies to study objects in the broadest sense of the word, including landscapes and architecture (e.g. Buchli 2002a; Hicks & Beaudry 2005; Pearce 1994; 2000; Tilley *et al.* 2006:1-3). Yonan (2011:232-8) notes that material culture studies and art history are not that well connected, despite the latter being implicitly about materiality. He is of the opinion that this is in part due to the different way in which the term material culture is used in both fields, and the reluctance of art historians to view 'high art' in the context of the more broadly conceived understanding of the term in the field of material culture studies, as well as a concentration on the visual representation of artworks.

Based on concepts regarding the roles of objects by Appadurai (1986) and Kopytoff (1986), the notion of object biographies has been developed (e.g. Byrne *et al.* 2011; Gosden and Marshall 1999; Hoskins 2006). Hoskins (2006:78) distinguishes two main approaches to object biographies in the field of material culture studies. The first type has ethnographic research at its base and researches the connections between objects and people and is mainly done by anthropologists. The second type starts with researching the objects historically or archaeologically, providing them with a historical context, which is primarily the object biography approach taken by archaeologists, historians and art historians. However, in many material culture studies it is not the materiality of the objects which is studied, but what they represent in a certain context, thus disregarding the agency of their physicality (e.g. Byrne *et al.* 2011; Yonan 2011). Yonan (2011:244) suggests that art history can provide guidance in this and states that objects have 'structural coherency' which functions on two levels. The first concerns the physical materials of which they are made and the second of how these are merged or changed into objects to 'allocate to them meanings that are culturally determined, inflected by context, and mutable over time and space.' Both the object biographies approach as described by Hoskins and the art-historical approach by Yonan are a point of departure for the case studies in the second part of this thesis, starting with a close analysis of the physical objects of a

specific type (stilt steps/stilts and ear ornaments) and the available historic references. As such it fits in with recent object-based studies regarding the Pacific region on, for example, Kiribati armour by Adams *et al.* (2018) and Fijian fibre skirts (liku) by Jacobs (2019). Unfortunately the only part which could not be included in the underlying research was the ethnographic aspect, which was not possible due to the Covid-19 pandemic (see 1.4).

Within art history the provenance of a work of art has been perceived as important. Inside the field of (museum) ethnographical collections this has generally been less significant, apart from perhaps a number of donations from particular donors. However, generally the names of benefactors were noted on inventory cards and later in databases. Museums and collections tend to be far more changeable than is often thought. This is emphasized in, for example, the recent study by Driver *et al.* (2021) and was noted earlier by Byrne *et al.* (2011:15), who propose that museums and similar organisations should be seen as 'processes', and collections as 'networks' or 'assemblages' in which different actors have been and are involved, such as museum curators, exhibition designers, collectors and creator/source communities (Byrne *et al.* 2011; Harrison *et al.* 2013). Regarding the latter, Torrence and Clarke (2011:32-3) assert that the idea that originating communities in colonial times were always mere passive actors in this process is no longer accepted. Although sometimes difficult to establish for lack of precise data, indigenous agency is explored within ethnographic (museum) collections in different ways, for example by directly involving descendants of creators (Knowles 2011) or by applying an object-centred methodology based on assemblages (Torrence & Clarke 2011). These assemblages are described by Harrison (2013:18-22) as similar to archaeological field sites in which the archaeological sensibility to first disassemble and secondly reassemble are paramount in understanding the objects and their structures. These assemblages do not necessarily have to be within an institution, but may also, depending on the scope of a research project, cross institutional lines and even borders.

The state of flux regarding museums has meant that over time information belonging to objects and collections may have become physically and cognitively separated from them. However, museum archives may still provide the means to reconnect provenance with an object or collection, in which outside sources might be of assistance as well. Within the study of Pacific material culture, Adrienne Kaeppler has been one of the first researchers to retrace objects collected in this region in a particular timeframe, namely those collected during the voyages of James Cook (1978; 2009; 2011). This endeavour has been followed by many other researchers, including Ivory in her PhD thesis about Marquesan art between 1774-1821 (1990). A recent large-scale research project with a similar approach in this respect was *Pacific Presences: Oceanic Art and European Museums* (2013-2018) chaired by the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (CUMAA), Cambridge, which had

as one of its main objectives, as described by Thomas (2018a:9): 'to connect artefacts with each other, particularly in re-assembling of collections made in certain times and places that had been dispersed among collectors and museums, across nations.' In addition, connections between objects and originating communities were actively explored. One of the works resulting from this project is Govor and Thomas's publication on the Marquesan objects collected during the Krusenstern expedition (2019). The current research project's material culture study (Chapter 5) in part builds on the latter publication, as the Marquesan objects connected to the Dutch voyage through museum and archival research form the common thread.⁷

1.2.3 Art history and anthropology

According to anthropologist Adriaan Gerbrands (1966:1), after the First World War the perception of Non-Western art changed from an art made by anonymous makers subordinate to sociocultural rules to works made by individuals. Although in anthropology there was a general theoretical shift from the 1920s onwards, away from the study of material culture in anthropology, this was not so for anthropologists working in a museum context. Already in 1927 Franz Boas (1955:155) mentions in his work *Primitive Art* that it is necessary to examine the artist to learn more about the history of art styles. Several researchers took this approach, such as Frans Olbrechts, who was influenced by Boas. He analysed Congolese styles of sculpture and had turned to fieldwork for the lack of available data with the objects in European collections (Gerbrands 1966:5-7; 1969:63-4).⁸ In the introduction to his book in which Olbrechts processes the results of his research trip, he mentions that one of the problems he wanted to address was the personality and technique of the artist (1946:18).⁹ Other researchers in the 1960s, while studying non-European art objects, also set out to identify individual makers. One of them was William Fagg, who in his study of African art objects identified artists, both recent ones, who were named and often still alive, as well as earlier makers identified from stylistic similarities in a corpus of works, including a number of the Benin Bronzes (1969:47-57). Regarding Native North American art, for instance, Bill Holm and Robin Wright have worked extensively on the attribution of objects to several Haida artists who were active between 1850 and the 1920s by combining rigorous study of stylistic features with an in-depth investigation into oral history and archival and (art) historical sources (Holm 1981; Wright 1998; 2001; 2009; 2015). With regard to the Pacific region some of the first research into works of individual artists was carried out in Arnhem Land,

⁷ An article on the preliminary results of this assemblage has been published in the aforementioned publication (Santen 2019).

⁸ With regard to Polynesia, Raymond Firth wrote an article on Māori carving, but although he looks at the position of carvers in society and the practice of carving, he takes the stand that innovations, so in a sense individuality, were not permitted (Firth 1925; Biebuyck 1969:7).

⁹ Petridis (2001:133-4) points to one of the main shortcomings of the approach taken by Olbrechts and others, namely the tendency to amalgamation of style and tribe.

northern Australia, by A.P. Elkin, Ronald Berndt and Catherine Berndt, who published a monograph on Aboriginal art in 1950 (Gerbrands 1969:65). Gerbrands conducted fieldwork in New Guinea in the early 1960s with the specific objective to study artists and their cultural environment. During his eight-month stay he acquired a large number of objects for the Museum Volkenkunde (MV) in Leiden while learning to distinguish the works of different wood carvers (Gerbrands 1969:66-70). Concerning woodcarving in New Zealand, Roger Neich (2001) conducted an extensive study of Ngāti Tarawhai artisans concentrating on, among others, the identification of individual carving styles. With the focus on looking at individual artists Anthony Forge notes that:

... there is a tendency to ignore the problems of the relationship between the individual and collective styles. It seems obvious from the evidence available that all art systems, no matter how tied up with ancestral sanction and ritual functions, provide both stylistic limits, culturally determined but capable of change through innovation, and at the same time considerable freedom in selection of elements and in stylistic variation available to the artist working within these limits. (1973: xv-xvi)

This apt notion regarding on the one hand individuality versus communality, and on the other hand limits versus artistic license, seems completely applicable in the study of Marquesan art.

In his study on Congolese sculpture Olbrechts (1946:29-35) recognises three types of stylistic characteristics: posture, proportions and details. These details have a broad range: from larger ones, such as the execution of the torso and the hairstyle, to smaller ones such as the shape of the hands, eyes, nose, mouth and ears. According to Petridis (2001) in an assessment of Olbrechts' methodology and subsequent research in this field, it was important that Olbrechts had differentiated between sculptural and decorative details in his stylistic research and that he had advocated for a broader perspective in the study of African art, including looking at the chronology and researching history and culture, but Petridis also notes that this was hardly followed by others. With regard to Native North American art, Holm (1981) ascribes artworks to six Haida artists based on stylistic characteristics such as facial features and formline - the curving lines which accentuate shapes - as well as on documentation, recognizing that when more information surfaces, this will lead to more precise or different attributions. This was demonstrated by Wright (1998) seventeen years later regarding the works ascribed to one of those six artists, which were in fact shown to have been made by two different artists. The possibility for this was already noted by Holm (1981:176), but was further researched by Wright by using newly available genealogical and historical information as well as by a further developed method of analysing stylistic details. In his endeavour to connect

unidentified carved objects with their possible makers Neich (2001:261-4, 323-7) considers side wall panels of Māori meeting houses, taking those of Houmaitawhiti, built in the mid-1870s, as an example. Of the sixteen panels he recognises a number of design elements in specific categories (face, nose, mouth, hands, leg and profile types) concluding that all side panels were presumably made by only two different carvers,¹⁰ one of whom working in two variant styles. Because of the availability of archival and genealogical sources as well as oral traditions, Neich is also able to name these Ngāti Tarawhai carvers.

Regarding art-historical research into the remnants of late gothic and renaissance sculpture in the Netherlands, Victor Schmidt (1994:10) mentions that one has to start with ordering these remnants according to style, place and time and that this requires connoisseurship, a visual memory, which is time-consuming to build up. However, besides stylistics Schmidt also stresses the importance of archival research to corroborate findings, so the number of attributions to a maker, school or workshop corresponds with the historical reality (Schmidt 1994:12-4). This is also endorsed by Jan Vansina (1984:92) who states that by looking at morphological and stylistic aspects to try to identify a workshop or a specific artist, the end result of this identification will most likely always be a probability rather than a certainty. Nevertheless this should not prevent one from undertaking this research. Petridis (2001:138), following Kasfir (1984:169), mentions that stylistic research provides the most convincing results when concentrating on one particular type of object, such as for example a particular type of mask. According to Petridis (2001:137-40) because of the later focus on the contextual meaning of African works of art, their materiality and stylistics have often been ignored.

Regarding the study of sculpted objects from the Marquesas, the works of two authors stand out. Ethnologist Karl von den Steinen published his three volumes on Marquesan art (1925, 1928a/b) which were based on fieldwork on the Marquesas Islands (1897-1898) and subsequent studies into objects in museum and private collections. His books show a broad range of Marquesan objects of which he describes their uses, based on both historical information and Marquesan informants, and especially their ornamentation. In the latter he combines his studies into iconography and mythology. Despite the fact that Von den Steinen mentions when some objects were collected, his work is mainly a-historical and lacks a perspective on historical changes, as was also noted by Ivory (1990:16-7). Members of the Bayard Dominick Expedition (1920-1921) also looked into Marquesan material culture (e.g. Handy 1923, Linton 1923), but apart from a publication on Marquesan art by Willowdean Chatterson Handy (1938) focused on iconography, they do not pay particular attention to stylistic and historical developments. The second prominent researcher to

¹⁰ According to Neich (2001:261), because of tapu restrictions one wall panel can only have been made by one particular carver, although it needs to be considered that a pupil may have assisted his master.

investigate Marquesan art is anthropologist Alfred Gell (1998:168-220), who in a chapter in his publication *Art and Agency* relates the ornamentation of objects and the transformations therein to social relations in the Marquesas. He based his research on Von den Steinen's publications, which made his analysis, though valuable, also somewhat limited with respect to a historical perspective. Gell, in an earlier study on Polynesian tattooing (1993:163-217), explores in his chapter on the Marquesas the iconography of tattoo motifs, in addition to the social and political function of tattooing. Both Von den Steinen's and Gell's publications present a wide variety of what can be considered Marquesan art. However, in doing so they tend to present all Marquesan art as being one style, Marquesan. When discussing stylistic differences, they mainly do so from an iconographic perspective. Far less attention is paid to the execution of stylistic details which may be indicators of substyles (regional, workshops, hands) within an over-arching 'Marquesan style', the illumination of which is one of the objectives of this research project's material culture study.

1.3 METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

This research project follows methodologically a multidisciplinary approach, combining historical, anthropological, geographical, museological and art-historical research methods. Most of these methods are used in both thesis parts and are grouped into three sections: archival and literature research, object research and conversations and explorations.

This PhD study has been executed part-time, next to an almost full-time job as a curator at the Zeeuws Museum, a regional culture historical museum situated in Middelburg, the Netherlands. It combines two parts of my work practice: broad historical perspectives and examining specific objects. Throughout the seven years it took to complete this research project, several shorter and longer periods of leave of absence were taken for study visits to museums¹¹, archives and libraries, both in the Netherlands and abroad, including a five-week study visit to the Marquesas and Tahiti in 2015 and a four-week study visit to the East Coast of the United States of America (USA) in 2017, as well as several longer and shorter periods in the last two years of this project to try to keep up momentum in writing. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, a five-week study visit in 2020 to the Marquesas and Tahiti had to be cancelled (see 1.4).

¹¹ Several museum storage rooms (e.g. PEM, PRM, American Museum of Natural History) could not be visited due to relocation of collections or other circumstances, so these collections could not be studied fully.

1.3.1 Archival and literature research

Archival research has been conducted in order to look for sources and background information on the navy voyage and to establish the provenance of objects in (museum) collections (see 1.3.2). Regarding the voyage, the official ships' logs have been studied, as well as related official documentation and crew lists (see Appendix B). The latter have been worked out to have reference names for further research, both for this study as well as for possible future investigations. Besides this, personal accounts and drawings of crew members were also identified and consulted. To this end archives in the Netherlands (Nationaal Archief, Het Scheepvaartmuseum, Historisch Centrum Overijssel, Regionaal Archief Zutphen) and Belgium (Trezoor, Kortrijk) have been visited. In addition to the Dutch navy voyage, logbooks of American, mainly whaling and some trading, ships known to have visited the Marquesas Islands prior to the 1850s were consulted during the USA study trip in 2017, in the following institutions: Phillips Library at the Peabody Essex Museum, Massachusetts Historical Society Research Library, New Bedford Whaling Museum Library and Reading Room¹² and Nantucket Historical Association Research Library.

Besides physical visits to archives an increasing amount of archival material is digitised and available online. Several archival institutions in the Netherlands provide a service whereby one can request an archival source to be digitised for free, if it has not been done yet and a couple of weeks later one receives the material, which is also then uploaded to the online database of the particular archive. This way several archival sources were consulted, among others from the Nationaal Archief, Noord-Hollands Archief, Scheepvaartmuseum, Regionaal Archief Zutphen and Gemeentearchief Amsterdam. Also genealogical online databases, such as www.wiewaswie.nl, have been consulted to trace and verify family connections. Apart from archival material, published sources regarding travelogues and other references to early visits to the Marquesas have also been consulted. Many of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century travel accounts have been digitised and are available online, for example via <https://books.google.nl/>, <https://gallica.bnf.fr> and <https://www.hathitrust.org/>.

1.3.1.1 Using sources

The first part of this thesis relies heavily on primary sources regarding the Dutch navy visit as well for other visits. Regarding the usefulness of these sources a number of considerations have to be taken into account when reading these texts. Thomas (1990:185-6) sums up a number of these, such as the literacy of the author, the length of the visit, the availability of an interpreter and the likelihood of something

¹² By now a considerable number of the whaling journals in this museum's collection have been digitized and have been made available online (https://whalinghistory.org/?s&db=A&t=L&nb=viewer_url - also includes Mystic Seaport Museum's logbooks).

being understood incorrectly or represented in such a way as to make it sound more interesting. He states that sources must be deemed reliable if made by a capable observer at an apt time, with no reason to assume discrepancies, although the descriptions will have been made from a Westerner's perspective. Tcherkézoff (2008:3-4) describes the methods he used to deal with this type of material in his study on encounters on Samoa. He started with making what he calls an internal analysis in which he separates descriptive parts from interpretive ones, followed by an ethnographic analysis in which he made use of secondary and later material, to arrive at an ethnohistory of early Samoan and European encounters. The methodology described by Tcherkézoff has been applied in this research project, but also taking into account Thomas's ideas on the reliability of witness accounts.

1.3.1.2 Translations

As most primary sources are in Dutch and some in French, translation has been required throughout this research project. Besides primary sources quite a number of other sources, both primary and secondary, are published in German or French. If English translations were available, the texts of these have been used for direct quotes. However, the original versions, if available and in a language I could read, were also consulted, as translated books tend to be abbreviated. In Appendix C the texts of the direct quotes have been recorded if the original language was not English. Principally all translated indented quotes have the addition 'Author's translation'. However, quotations in the main text of the Dutch sources and also from works of Von den Steinen, which are not available in English, do not have this addition, unless it is a translation which may be perceived as unexpected, such as a quote from Carol Ivory translated from French.

Besides translations, changes in language over time had to be overcome, as meanings of words do change over almost two centuries. For this some online dictionaries and encyclopaedia have been consulted, such as Eerste Nederlandse Systematisch Ingerichte Encyclopaedie (<https://www.ensie.nl/>), Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache (<http://www.dwds.de>) and Oxford English Dictionary and Thesaurus¹³ (<http://www.lexico.com>).

Words in the Marquesan language have been used throughout the thesis. Base reference for the Marquesan language is the grammar and dictionary published under the name of Monseigneur René Ildefonse Dordillon, a missionary and bishop on the Marquesas, but to which several other missionaries also contributed (Dordillon 1931; Hughes & Fischer 1998:xxxix-xxxii). Whenever possible Marquesan terms for certain common names and object types have been included. As references for these, the glossaries in the publication *Marquesan Societies* by Thomas (1990: XIV-XV) and the

¹³ The official full name is: Oxford English and Spanish Dictionary, Thesaurus, and Spanish to English Translator.

exhibition catalogue *Matahoata* (Ivory 2016a:302-3) have been used as guides. In the latter the present-day spelling of words as guided by the Académie Marquisienne (<http://www.academimarquisienne.com/>) has been followed. This approach has also been applied towards words absent here. A glossary of Marquesan terms used in this thesis is included (see p. xv).¹⁴

1.3.2 Object research

With regard to the material culture part of this thesis a number of visits to museums and museum storage rooms have been made. In the Netherlands, objects related to the Dutch navy visit have been reconnected with their collecting history. To be able to do this, almost all Marquesan objects in Dutch museum collections have been studied up close and in detail.¹⁵ Abroad, depending on the collections visited, either just the objects which figure in the case studies (stilts, stilt steps and ear ornaments) were studied or a more broader perspective was taken, especially when it was possible to view objects with a known, relatively early, collecting date and/or if possible to view similar objects to those collected by the Dutch. This broad view was also really helpful in building a visual memory of Marquesan objects. One of the events this research project benefitted from was the rich collection of objects on show in the 2016 exhibition in Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac (MQB) entitled *Matahoata: Arts et société aux îles marquises*. Besides this, several other exhibitions and permanent museum displays which included Marquesan objects were visited. A complete list of institutions visited for the purpose of this research has been included in Appendix A. Besides objects seen in museum storage rooms and displays, Marquesan material culture has also been studied in galleries and at art fairs as well as in auction and exhibition catalogues, relevant magazines and in online museum and auction databases.

Regarding the objects studied several object-based research techniques have been used. The basis for this research project's stylistic study is formal analysis (e.g. D'Alleva 2010:27-51). Detailed research forms have been compiled, specific forms for the case study objects and a general form for the other objects. This helped to methodically register general measurements and descriptions, including such aspects as colour and materials used, as well as more detailed ones relating to, for example, elements of ornamentation. Besides this, overview and detailed photos of the objects were made. Gathering information in this standardised way has made it possible to compare objects from different collections. In addition to the materiality of the objects, their registration details and provenance were also investigated, if available. To this

¹⁴ Following Jacobs (2021:324) and others, Marquesan words are not italicised to treat them similar to English.

¹⁵ Also some objects either in private collections or in inventories of dealers have been included in this study. Unfortunately objects in the Universiteitsmuseum, Groningen, were only identified in a late stage and could not be examined.

end the (digitised) documentation regarding the objects' provenance was studied and in a number of cases it was also possible to visit museum archives with this objective in mind. Within the material culture part of this thesis, developments (or lack thereof) in the Marquesan object corpus are explored, as well as specific developments within the corpus of a type of object.

What is only briefly touched upon in this thesis is the way in which objects are displayed in museums and shown in exhibition catalogues. Objects regularly tend to be displayed in such a way that the sculpted ornamentation is shown well, which is not necessarily the viewpoint from which they would have been used originally. The same applies to the information in databases; this has not been taken for granted, as there are several instances in which database information is incorrect or incomplete. This issue of reliability of museum documentation is something that could be explored in a separate article.

Within Western (ethnographic) museum traditions it is a common practice to use what are considered to be neutral terms for descriptions of objects and object types or categories. Having been trained in the museum profession it is like second nature for me to do this. However, I am aware that what is considered 'neutral' from a Western perspective is not necessarily unobjectionable from another point of view and also that it still involves a form of translation. The Western approach of striving towards objectivity and neutrality has been justifiably questioned as being distant and without sentiment (see e.g. Krmpotich & Somerville 2016). Besides, it is also questionable if the generic categories used are appropriate for in this case a Marquesan perspective. Although aware of these limitations, for the purpose of the material culture study of this research project the traditional Western museum approach using neutral or as objective as possible terms for descriptions and classifications has been maintained, as this for now still seems to be the most workable.

1.3.3 Conversations and explorations

Over the course of this research period often informal conversations with several specialists and interested parties have been held. Since first meeting in 2008, archaeologist Pierre Ottino-Garanger and ethnohistorian Marie-Noëlle Ottino-Garanger have been sharing their knowledge and understanding of Marquesan history and culture. We had several conversations on subjects such as historic places on the Marquesas, matters of language, French historic sources on material culture, the study of Marquesan objects including our visit together to the collections of MV (Leiden) and Tropenmuseum (Amsterdam) in May 2016, as well as advice on whom to contact on the Marquesas for the intended 2020 study visit (see 1.4). Art historian Carol Ivory is another scholar on the Marquesas with whom several conversations, both in person and through e-mail contact, have been held over the years since

meeting in 2011. In addition, conversations with experts on particular materials, such as whale ivory and wood analysis, have been conducted.

During a visit to Tahiti and the Marquesas in 2015 several contacts were initialised. A conversation with archaeologist Michel Charleux provided me with the idea on how to share the findings of this research with interested Marquesan people, namely the organising of presentations in the different communities, as he had done regarding his archaeological research on the Marquesan island Eiao. This idea was further developed in a conversation with Mareva Kuchinke, director of Communauté de Communes des îles Marquises (CODIM), who suggested giving workshops for artisans and students of the Centre d'Education aux Technologies Appropriées au Développement (CETAD). During the study visit in 2015 informal conversations also took place with a number of people including several artisans from whom was learned what they were interested in regarding historic Marquesan objects, which proved to be photos from all sides and measurements.¹⁶

During the stay on Nuku Hiva¹⁷ particular attention was also paid to the geographical and physical circumstances in and around Taiohae Bay, and the possible localisation of the exact spots relevant to the Dutch visit in May 1825 in Taiohae and Hakatea.

1.4 COVID-19 PANDEMIC

Like much in the world in the last year and half, this research project has been affected by the Covid-19 pandemic. This has meant that a number of intended visits to archives in Paris (Archives Nationales) and Rome (Archives Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary), and museums, especially the Musée d'Histoire Naturelle et d'Ethnographie de Colmar (MHNEC), could not be scheduled in time. The implication of this is that, for example, because of dissatisfaction with Chapter 5's original intended content, the comparative analysis of the material culture study in this chapter had to be built on information I had available, could access online or acquire digitally, as this part of my research was only developed during the pandemic. However, the most important impact on this research project has been the cancellation of the study visit which was planned for April/June 2020 and included a five-week stay on the Marquesas Islands and one week on Tahiti. During the visit to the Marquesas all six inhabited islands were to be visited and on each presentations would have been held to share information on the findings of this research project as well as to invite people to respond and reflect on the findings. Questions to be explored

¹⁶ Another useful thing learned was that the period around the quadrennial Festival des Marquises would not be the right moment for the next visit, as almost everyone will be busy beforehand and wants to relax afterwards.

¹⁷ In hindsight I should also have arranged to visit the Archives of the Diocese of Taiohae during this study visit.

would have been their opinions on my classifications, their views on detailing in sculpted objects and on symmetry in ornamentation, recognising different hands. Also the plan was to invite makers to look into the reconstructing of patina and objects. The latter is something that is done in carving contests on the Marquesas on a regular basis. To this end and with the cooperation of the National Museum of World Cultures (NMWC), 3D scans of three stilt steps and three ear ornaments had been made, as well as a 3D print of each object, so as to have an exact replica of a museum object available for handling (see figs. 1.1/1.2). Unfortunately, the Covid-19 pandemic prevented this part of the research project from taking place.

1.5 THESIS OUTLINE

This thesis consists of two interconnected parts. In the first part, Chapters 2 to 4, the ethnohistory of the Dutch-Marquesan encounter in May 1825 is explored. The second part, Chapters 5 to 7, deals with Marquesan material culture in relation to the Dutch voyage.

In Chapter 2 the context of the Dutch voyage and the visited archipelago are examined. Here a description of the Marquesas Islands and its people and a concise overview of previous and later visits by Westerners provide a framework for the circumstances around the visit of two Dutch navy ships to Nuku Hiva in 1825. This is followed by a sketch of earlier Dutch voyages to the Pacific and the circumstances leading up to this particular voyage. A final section presents the actors who provided the writings, drawings and/or collected objects which are at the core of this research project.

Chapter 3 first gives a brief chronological overview of the navy voyage from the start on leaving the Netherlands in August 1824 to the respective return of the two ships in September 1826 and November 1827. Then, extracted from the written accounts and available pictorial material, a partly chronological and partly thematically narrative of the Dutch visit to Nuku Hiva is presented. This narrative, written from the Dutch perspective, provides the context of the analysis of the encounters between Dutch and Marquesans in the next chapter.

In Chapter 4 elements of encounters between Dutch and Marquesans are examined by using the previous chapter's narrative. These elements are perceived as multiple aspects of coping strategies to deal with strangers effectively, both from the side of the Marquesans and the Dutch, who were on Nuku Hiva as uninvited guests. Explored are the topics of communication, diplomacy, boundaries and exchange, in which from the Dutch sources Marquesan agency is extrapolated. The extracted information is put into the perspective of ethnohistorical studies about Marquesan history and culture and compared to other visits around 1825.

Chapter 5 deals with the material culture of the Marquesas and focuses on the objects collected by the Dutch in May 1825. First a chronological overview of collectors and Marquesan objects collected between 1774-1930s is provided. This is followed by an analysis of types of object collected during the Dutch navy visit, which are compared to similar objects collected on specific voyages and by temporary European residents between 1774-1840s, while also taking account of which objects and object types are lacking. Then the production of objects is explored with attention to their makers, to tools used and to interisland exchange, followed by a concise discussion on the ornamentation of objects. To conclude, this chapter introduces the case studies which are dealt with in Chapters 6 and 7.

Starting with the Dutch perspective, Chapter 6 explores the practice of stilt walking and associated equipment. This is followed by a section on other available historical sources regarding this practice up until the 1840s. To this, additional findings of the first researchers in the Marquesas (1897-1921) are provided. The next part of the chapter deals with the equipment needed for stilt walking, starting with the collecting of stilts and stilt steps from the Marquesas and the Pacific region, followed by an overview of previous research on this topic. Consequently, the methods and procedures used in investigating stilts/stilt steps are described, followed by findings regarding complete stilts in general and by an elaborate formal analysis of the stilt steps themselves.

Chapter 7 on ear ornaments follows a similar pattern as Chapter 6, starting with the Dutch perspective, followed by other available historical sources on adornment of the ears and completed by a section on (whale) ivory, both up until the 1840s. Added to this are findings of the first researchers in the Marquesas (1897-1921) regarding ear ornaments. The second part of this chapter is devoted to the ear ornaments themselves, starting with the collecting of ear ornaments from the Marquesas/Pacific region. Previous research into Marquesan ear ornaments is then considered, followed by a comprehensive review of these objects, in particular those made of (whale) ivory and of shell in mainly European and American collections.

This thesis concludes in Chapter 8 where the main research findings are presented. Analysis of the writings and images made by the Dutch provides insight into the course of one specific foreign visit to the Marquesas at a particular time in Marquesan history, and into the processes of encounter at that time. The intention is that this study complements those of other encounters during the 1774-1840s period, enriching our understandings of historical processes as European influences increased. The section of the thesis that focuses on material culture adds to understandings of (art-)historical developments of Marquesan objects, in particular those related to stilt walking and the adornment of the ears.

PART I

ETHNOHISTORY OF A DUTCH-MARQUESAN ENCOUNTER

Chapter 2

Historical context of the Dutch navy visit to the Marquesas Islands

In May 1825 a Dutch navy expedition visited Taiohae Bay on the Marquesan island of Nuku Hiva. This chapter considers the background of the Dutch expedition and of the visited location, starting with a brief overview of the Marquesas Islands and its people and society as the Dutch would have encountered it. This is followed by a summary of foreign visitors to the Marquesas, from Mendaña de Neira in 1595 to the French appropriation in the 1840s. The underlying idea behind these two sections is to provide a framework to the circumstances the Dutch encountered when they arrived on Nuku Hiva.

The chapter continues from the Dutch perspective. First previous Dutch (exploratory) voyages are briefly considered, in particular those that crossed the Pacific Ocean. After this, the political milieu which led to the voyage is explored, as the mission was to visit the emerging countries in South America for trade-political reasons returning to the Netherlands via the colony of the Dutch East Indies (present-day Indonesia). A year before another navy ship had been sent on a similar mission. This voyage and politico-economic circumstances have been extensively researched by Oosterling (1989), whose study is the main source for this section.

The chapter concludes with an overview and short biographies of the crew members who have left behind writings, drawings and/or collected objects which relate to the Dutch navy voyage in general and to the visit to Nuku Hiva in particular.

2.1 THE MARQUESAS ISLANDS AND ITS PEOPLE

The following brief overview of the Marquesas Islands (Te Henua Ènana/Te Fenua Ènata in Marquesan) and its people and society until the early nineteenth century is based on archaeological research and historical studies. The latter have been compiled from mainly late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century non-Marquesan sources with analytical studies based upon these early accounts by Denning (1980) and Thomas (1990) as main publications.

The Marquesas Islands are situated in the tropics in the middle of the Pacific Ocean, just south of the equator in the southern hemisphere (fig. 2.1). The islands are of volcanic origin and have high ridges and peaks with deep valleys. According to Meyer (2016:30) the age of the islands ranges from 1.1 million (Fatu Iva) to ca. 5.5 million years (Eiao). The islands do not have barrier or coral reefs, which leaves the bays and cliffs exposed to the influence of the Pacific Ocean. The archipelago consists

of twelve islands of which the six largest are inhabited (fig. 2.3). The islands have a tropical climate with rainfall throughout the year, generally peaking in autumn (March-May). However, as stated by Ottino (2019:76), their physical structure causes great variations in precipitation in different parts of the islands. The leeward parts tend to be quite dry and the protected inland valleys are generally much wetter with abundant vegetation. Also, being near the equator brings about differences in rainfall and droughts from year to year.

The Marquesas Islands were settled by Polynesians most likely from western Polynesia (Tonga/Samoa region).¹⁸ Extensive archaeological research has been done into the dating of early settlement sites. Initially the first settlement was dated by Suggs (1961:179-81) at around 150 BCE to 100 CE. Although still part of an ongoing debate (see Allen & McAlister 2010:63; Molle 2011:33; Rolett 2016:83-4), the timeframe for the earliest settlement is at present established as being between 1000 and 1250 CE, with a possibility for this period starting around 800 CE.¹⁹ Six of the Marquesan islands, Nuku Hiva, Ua Huka, Ua Pou, Hiva Oa, Tahuata and Fatu Iva, were settled permanently, while others such as Eiao were probably only inhabited occasionally. The Polynesians brought most means of their subsistence with them, such as breadfruit, taro, banana, bamboo, paper mulberry and many other plants, but also pigs, dogs, chickens and rats. Most of these thrived²⁰ on the Marquesas because of the fertility of the soil and the tropical climate (Meyer 2016:31-2; Rolett 2016:83-4).

The staple food for the Marquesans was breadfruit, the daily foodstuff they depended upon year-round (fig. 2.4). According to Ottino (2019:80-1) there were four harvests a year. In order to preserve the breadfruit they developed a process of fermentation in specially dug pits (figs. 2.5a/b) which allowed them to keep the fermented breadfruit (*mā*) for a long period of time. Families had small breadfruit pits, but there were also larger communal pits, so there was still food available during droughts, when the harvest failed, although as Dening (1980:48) states, this did not always prevent the occurrence of famines. Pollock (1984:153) mentions that *mā* was often eaten mixed with some freshly prepared breadfruit. Ottino (2019:79-80) writes that Marquesans cultivated areas for trees and food crops, such as taro and yams, near to where they lived. These areas were often surrounded by stone walls to keep

¹⁸ Recent DNA research has revealed that in the Marquesan population strands of Native Central and South American DNA can be traced. These indicate that interaction between Native Americans and Polynesians must have existed around 1150-1200 AD. However, as Ioannidis *et al.* (2020:575, 577) state, it is not (yet) possible to establish if Polynesians either travelled to the Americas and back or if Native Americans came to the Marquesas Islands around that time.

¹⁹ After the peopling of eastern Polynesia the dispersed groups of people must have kept in contact with each other for at least a certain period of time, as indicated in oral traditions. There is not much concrete evidence to support this contact, apart from the distribution of some specific materials, such as obsidian and basalt, which have identifiable geographical characteristics. The Marquesan island of Eiao is, according to Charleux *et al.* (2014:75, 84-6), the source for a particular type of basalt used for making tools, such as adzes. It has been archaeologically found on different islands in eastern Polynesia, for example on Rarotonga (Cook Islands) as reported by McAlister *et al.* (2013:267) and Tubuai (Austral Islands, French Polynesia) as noticed by among others Hermann *et al.* (2012:80-3), 2000 to 2500 kilometres from its source.

²⁰ Only the Polynesian dog became extinct at some point according to Dening (1980:48) and Millerstrom (2004:144), most likely prior to the arrival of the first Europeans in 1595.

pigs and flood water out. Further away, often uphill and in drier areas, the soil was less extensively used, although there still may have been useful plants that needed less care. Next to pigs, the main available sources of animal protein were birds, bird eggs, fish and shellfish (Ottino 2019:81).

According to Denning (1980:45-6) and Ottino (2019:79-83) Marquesans lived in the many fertile valleys on the islands. Most did not live either directly on the coast or too far inland, as enemies could arrive from either direction. Most lived in small hamlets located close to their plantations. Their dwellings, made of wooden poles and covered with tree leaves, were situated on raised stone platforms (paepae), which were generally rectangular (figs. 2.6/2.8). Fishermen and chiefs' representatives lived closer to the coast where they met visitors from other communities, friend or enemy. Observation posts were built on the hills near the hamlets to spot enemies coming overland. According to Denning (1980:45-6), sacred areas, or me^{ae}, where priests or tau^a, looked after the interests of the dead and their spirits (figs. 2.9/2.11) were located deep in the valleys.

The tropical climate meant that Marquesans needed few garments. According to Crook (2007:53, 55-7), who resided on the Marquesas in 1797-1799, women wore a piece of barkcloth around their hips and a cloak of the same material around their shoulders. Around their heads they often wrapped a strip of barkcloth (fig. 2.12), something which at times was also done by men. The men often wore a loincloth made of barkcloth or sometimes only had a piece of string around the foreskin of their penis, without which, as Denning (1980:19) states, they considered themselves to be indecent. According to Ivory (2016b:114; 2016c:177; 2016d:182) war chiefs and other high-ranking persons would wear several types of ornaments: chest ornaments, such as wooden gorgets covered with seeds and head ornaments made of rooster's feathers, braided coconut fibres and a shell disc with turtle shell ornament (fig. 2.13). One of the most important forms of body decoration was tattooing, a highly ritualised practice. The status of a person, as M.N. Ottino-Garanger (2016:154-8) describes, determined the way and the extent to which someone was tattooed, with chiefs often being tattooed the most (fig. 2.14). Women of standing were also tattooed, but whereas men could be almost completely covered in tattoos, for women this was limited to hands and lower arms, feet/legs and around the mouth (fig. 2.15).

In the Marquesas the people living in a certain valley, as stated by Thomas (1990:20-2), formed a social group with one shared ancestor, comparable to a tribe. Such a group was called a mata^{ae}inaa in Marquesan. Sometimes this social group lived across multiple valleys and in some instances there were several social groups in one sizeable valley. In principle, every social group had a chief (hak^{ai}iki). However, in some cases several mata^{ae}inaa formed alliances under one hak^{ai}iki. According to Denning (1980:50-1) and Thomas (1990:30-4, 48) a chiefdom in the Marquesas differed considerably from a chiefdom generally in Oceania, although descent from deities and

primogeniture²¹ was also important for their being hakāiki and because of this they were considered highly tapu. One key difference in comparison to elsewhere in Oceania lay in the religious aspect, as in the Marquesas religion was primarily the domain of spiritual specialists and not of hakāiki. Secondly, hakāiki were not the owners of the land over which they had authority, apart from that to which they had personal rights.

Marquesan society was highly competitive and, as Thomas mentions (1990:97-8), different mataèinaa were often at war with each other. One reason for this rivalry and fighting may have been the need for victims, human sacrifices, to comply with specific religious requirements for which they held raids, which often led to retaliation. Another type of warfare was the destruction of an opponent's resources, such as breadfruit trees. Besides these relatively small-scale actions, larger battles also took place between rival parties. Often these only caused a few casualties on each side, but occasionally they resulted in complete annihilation. Therefore, within a mataèinaa there also was a military chief (toa), a function which, according to Thomas (1990:41) could coincide with that of hakāiki.

Thomas (1990:34-5) states that religious life centred around spiritual specialists of which two different ranks could be discerned: tuhuka òoko (also tuhuna oòno) and tauà. The former was the ceremonial specialist, who controlled rituals and declaimed chants and genealogies. This role, which was generally taught, was the exclusive domain of men. The second group of spiritual specialists, tauà, occupied themselves with specific devotional functions such as healing and making prophesies. Sometimes the position was inherited, but more often a person, male or female, was chosen by a particular deity (etua) to become a tauà. According to Thomas (1990:110-11, 114) the most powerful of them, especially those of a certain age, resided in solitude in meàe and could be considered etua. Tauà were particularly important for the well-being and prosperity of the mataèinaa or alliances thereof.

Marquesan religious beliefs, as was the case in general throughout eastern Polynesia, were dualistic; two worlds were distinguished: a visible (ao) and an invisible one (po). As stated by Ottino-Garanger *et al.* (2016:47), ao concerned daylight and the living, po the night and the gods and spiritual beings. The relationship between these worlds needed to be kept in balance and was guided by tapu. The living had to engage with etua for example to secure good harvests, for fabricating fishing nets, in fact for almost everything relating to their existence (Dening 1980:58-9, 88-93; Thomas 1990:68-9). Tapu could be both a condition and a prohibition, but as Hooper (2006:37) states it is a relative notion, not an absolute one. As Thomas (1990:69) describes, a person or a place could be permanently tapu, such as the hakāiki and

²¹ According to Dening (1980:50, 82) genealogical lines were considered from the moment of marriage, so even if the husband was not yet sexually mature, the first child born within the marriage was seen as his first child, although genetically this was not the case.

meàe were, or temporary tapu, as for example, tuhuka making fishing nets. Tapu could also be removed; a hakāiki could be temporarily made 'common' or meie for certain rituals. This was also done with tapu objects so they could be used by non-tapu people. What was of the utmost importance according to Thomas (1990:69-70) was that tapu was not unwittingly removed or returned to po. In this regard the physical openings of the human body were important, as through these tapu could be moved between ao and po.²²

As Denning (1980:73-4) and Thomas (1990:57-60, 74, 76, 79-80) describe, within Marquesan society several dimensions of social inequality existed, such as rank, landowning and gender. Those of chiefly status, closely related to ancestral chiefs, were of high status, as were spiritual specialists, particularly certain tauà; most other people were common (meie). However, among the commoners there were also great differences, ranging from wealthy landowners (àkatia) to landless servants (kikino). Even among the servants there was a division: some could become pekio (secondary husbands).²³ The concept of tapu also played an important part in social relations. Tapu was principally not absolute but relative, so men were tapu with regard to women, which meant for example that women were not allowed to eat with men, but most men were meie in relation to certain people, such as chiefs and spiritual specialists. Also, high-ranking women had fewer tapu restrictions than common women.

Feasting and celebrating were an integral part of Marquesan society. As Thomas (1990:89-91) describes, feasts (koïna) could differ considerably in size and importance. Some koïna were restricted to only a small group of participants, who often had the same level of tapu, while other koïna with a tapu character were of a much larger scale, although in this case women, apart from high ranking women, and male servants were excluded from attending. According to Denning (1980:127) the dancers and singers at koïna were made up of a group of specially selected and groomed adolescent girls and boys called a kaiōi. Denning (1980:57-8) states the reasons for organising koïna were often related to the start or finish of certain undertakings, for example going to war or the construction of a building or a canoe. Celebrations organised around transitional ceremonies for chiefly people and also commemorative festivals for high-ranking individuals or mau had, according to Thomas (1990:91-4), the highest significance and transcended the organiser's mataëinaa. Important persons from other, mostly allied, communities were invited and sometimes even a whole mataëinaa. By organising these large-scale events, organisers strengthened their position and status, because considerable resources were called upon to feed all the participants, which the receivers from elsewhere were expected to

²² For further literature on the notion of tapu see Shore (1989) and Ottino-Garanger *et al.* (2016).

²³ According to Thomas (1990:82) female pekio, so secondary wives, also existed, although these seldom feature in the available sources.

surpass in future feasts. One of the ways in which Marquesans waged war on other mataëinaa was, as Thomas (1990:97-8) mentions, by the destruction of food sources, such as breadfruit trees, which was a way of preventing the accumulation of resources necessary for feasting.

The Marquesas are often divided into a north-western and a south-eastern group of islands. According to Thomas (1990:1-2) this division is not rooted in Marquesan tradition, but the result of the order in which they were discovered by Europeans and Americans. Although the latter is indeed the case, according to Hughes and Fischer (1998: xxi), linguistically there is a basic difference between Northwest Marquesan and Southeast Marquesan.²⁴

2.2 FOREIGN VISITS TO THE MARQUESAS ISLANDS

After centuries of relative isolation, the Marquesas Islands were first visited by Europeans in 1595 (Dening 1980:9-11). A Spanish fleet under the command of Alvaro de Mendaña de Neira came across the south-eastern group on its way from South America in search of the Solomon Islands, and named the island group 'Las Marquesas de Mendoza', after the voyage's patron. The voyage and the stopover in the Marquesas were narrated by chief pilot Pedro Fernandez de Quiros (1904a:15-30; 1904b:149-52). On 21 July they sighted Fatu Iva and called it Magdalena. They did not land there but were met by many manned canoes. A number of people came aboard, but as the Spaniards thought they took too many liberties, they were scared away by a gunshot, fired in the air that injured one of them. This prompted the men in the canoes to threaten the Spaniards with lances and the hurling of slingshot. This subsequently led the Spaniards to shoot eight or nine Marquesans, including an old man with a long beard, and wound many more. Afterwards the Spaniards continued to explore the island group and as they approached Dominica or Hiva Oa, they were met by another group of men in canoes, who seemed to invite them ashore, but the prevailing winds prevented this. Following that, the Spaniards anchored on the west coast of the next island, Tahuata, which they named Santa Cristina. Once more they were approached by men in canoes, some of whom were killed by the Spaniards who felt threatened. This was a recurring theme when the Spaniards explored the land in search of fresh water, firewood and provisions, resulting in around 200 casualties among the bay's inhabitants in just over eight days. This first encounter with Europeans must have been truly traumatic for the Marquesans, although, as Dening

²⁴ Although generally speaking Marquesans constitute(d) one cultural group, according to Thomas (1990:105-8), slight differences existed between the islands, such as a more developed tapu system and a larger variation in economic wealth on Nuku Hiva than on the south-eastern islands.

(1980:11) states, no trace of these occurrences seem to have been left in the collective memory when the next European visitor arrived 180 years later.

During his second exploratory voyage James Cook visited the south-eastern group of the Marquesas Islands in 1774 (Cook 1777:298-304; Denning 1980:16-7). The expedition arrived at the natural harbour of Vaitahu, Tahuata (figs. 2.16/2.17), on 7 April with the main aim of finding fresh water and provisions, of which there was great need. Once more the ship was welcomed by men in canoes who brought fresh food-items with them for which they received iron nails and hatchets in return. Cook enforced what he perceived as fair trade by firing gunshots overhead and actually killing one person. A process of bartering continued both on water and on land throughout the four-day stay, always in the presence of armed guards. Much to the disappointment of the scientists aboard, the stay on the island was cut short after what Cook perceived as the spoiling of trade, when one crew member used red feathers from Tonga, unbeknown to the British as being highly valued by the Marquesans, to procure a large pig (Cook 1777:304; Forster 1777:32).

Whereas the voyagers mentioned above were only aware of the south-eastern group of islands (fig. 2.18), in the early 1790s several visitors came across the north-western group (Denning 1980:22-4, 95-6). In April 1791 James Ingraham (1810:20-4) of the American trade ship *Hope* was the first to deliver a written account of the sighting of the north-western group of the Marquesas, although he did not actually land on the islands. Two months later Etienne Marchand in the ship *Solide* (1790-1792), a French commercial expedition, after having visited Tahuata, at that time was thought to have been the first European to come across the north-western group (Claret de Fleurieu 1801:214-5; 219-46; fig. 2.19). Lieutenant Richard Hergest, commander of the HMS *Daedalus*, the supply ship for the Vancouver exploration of the northwest coast of North America, was also of the opinion of being there first at the end of March 1792 (Vancouver 1801:152-9; fig. 2.20). Captain Roberts (1835:241-6) of the trade ship *Jefferson* stayed on Tahuata for several months from November 1792 onwards, during which he learned from Tahuatans about the existence of the north-western islands. He later explored them before continuing to the northwest coast of North America. Only after returning home he learned that several Americans and Europeans had sighted these islands before him.

From the end of the 1790s onwards the number of ships visiting the Marquesas Islands, both European and American, increased considerably (Denning 1980:23, 115, 296, 302). This was in part due to increasing trade with China in particular and the west coast of North America, with many ships crossing the Pacific Ocean needing refreshments and searching for business opportunities. It is also then that the first missionary activities started, with William Pascoe Crook, who disembarked from the *Duff* at Tahuata in 1797 and stayed there and on Nuku Hiva for 19 months, keeping a detailed journal of his stay (Crook 2007; Denning 1980:95, 98-

109). Another person staying on the Marquesas for an extensive period and who recorded his stay, was Edward Robarts. He was one of many who left the ships they served on to live on the Marquesas (Dening 1980:109-15; Robarts 1974). Some of these beachcombers, as Dening (1980:129-30) refers to them, either integrated into Marquesan society or tried to survive on their own. Robarts was also one of the informers and intermediaries between the local population and members of the Russian explorative expedition of circumnavigation, generally known as the Krusenstern expedition. In May 1804 the Russians stayed for twelve days on Nuku Hiva, mainly in Taiohae Bay. Several expedition members, such as Von Krusenstern, Von Langsdorff and Lisiansky, published travelogues of the journey, while quite a number of others kept private journals providing a broad range of perspectives on the Russian visit as discussed by Govor (Dening 1980:112-13; Govor 2010; Krusenstern 1811a/b; 1813; 1814; Langsdorff 1812, 1817, 1818; Lisiansky 1814; Löwenstern 1803-1806; 2003; figs. 2.21/2.22).

According to Dening (1980:117) sandalwood was 'discovered' on the Marquesas by traders around 1805. This commodity delivered high profits in China, which resulted in an increase in the number of ships visiting the Marquesas. The ships stayed for longer periods in the islands and intentionally left crewmen behind to collect sandalwood. They tried to mobilise Marquesans for assistance as well (Dening 1980:115-22), for example: the American trade ship *Hunter* visited the Marquesas for a few days at the end of March 1811 and realising there was sandalwood available the ship returned in early November and stayed for over two months to collect the wood. On leaving the islands in January 1812, Captain Rogers left seven crew behind on Nuku Hiva to organise a further shipment of sandalwood, for which the *Hunter* returned six months later. What followed was another five months of cruising through the Marquesas to acquire even more sandalwood. By September 1812 another four trade ships arrived at the islands attracted by the prospect of profitable sandalwood (Dening 1980:116-17, 302; Child 1810-1815:35-6, 57-8, 75-83).

Although trading ships visiting the Marquesas probably had little regard for the impact of their visits on Marquesans, they generally were not actively involving themselves with internal Marquesan matters. However, in October 1813 American Navy Captain David Porter of the USS *Essex* arrived in Taiohae Bay, Nuku Hiva. He brought with him three British whaling ships, which he had taken captive in view of the war between America and Britain. Porter stayed for about six weeks and during this time he had a fortification and a small village with workshops and houses built at Taiohae (figs. 2.23/2.24) and participated in violent campaigns against inhabitants of other valleys, the Hapaa and the Taipi. On leaving on 9 December he left behind a small group of men and the three British whaling ships, which were eventually attacked by the bay's inhabitants (Dening 1980:26-31; Porter 1815; Thomas 1990:131-42).

Whalers also visited the Marquesas from the end of the eighteenth century onwards, predominantly American and British ships, increasing in number especially from the 1830s onwards according to Denning (1980:115, 130). The islands were well-known for fresh water, firewood and provisions, such as pigs, which could be exchanged for whale teeth (see also 7.2.2) and later muskets and ammunition. One of the most popular sites was the bay of Taiohae, which at times could become quite crowded. For example, when the American ship *Bengal* arrived on 4 March 1833, three whalers were already present. Five days later another whaling ship arrived and another just two days later (Russell 1832-1835). Captains sometimes decided to kidnap Marquesans in order to use them for ransom to get what they needed (see e.g. Chadwick 1835-1838). All these strangers' visits must have been serious intrusions into the lives of Marquesan people. The visits formed, for example, a strain on Marquesan food resources, such as on pigs. These were important for ritual feasting so trading them for foreign goods had implications for ritual obligations (Denning 1980:127-8).

Whereas whaling ships generally tended to be transient, 'visitors' with a more permanent residency in mind, namely missionaries, started to arrive again from the 1820s onwards. According to Thomas (1990:144) a Tahitian mission was established in 1825. Davies (1961:286-8) mentions it was based on Tahuata in February of that year but that the missionaries returned to Tahiti within ten months. A second attempt was made a year later, as stated by Denning (1980:172-3), when four Tahitian missionaries were sent with their families and settled on Tahuata and Ua Pou, although the stations were abandoned in 1828 and 1831 respectively.²⁵ In the 1830s other missionary activities followed. Denning (1980:170) describes American missionaries from Hawai'i being sent to Taiohae in 1832 which prompted the London Missionary Society (LMS) to send missionaries as well. However, when they arrived in the Marquesas, the American missionaries had already returned to Hawai'i.²⁶ Thomas (1990:3) reports that after a few earlier attempts the LMS established a mission post in Vaitahu on Tahuata in 1834, which was abandoned again in 1841. In 1838 a French Catholic order, the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, also opened a mission station on Tahuata, quickly spreading their activities to other islands (Thomas 1990:3-4). In May 1842 the French under the command of Rear-Admiral Du Petit-Thouars took possession of the Marquesas Islands. Garrisons were stationed on two islands, Tahuata (in Vaitahu) and Nuku Hiva (in Taiohae), enforcing this claim, which resulted in several violent conflicts between French and Marquesans

²⁵ According to Denning (1980:173) David Darling of the LMS brought the surviving Tahitian missionary and the other's widow back to Tahiti in 1831.

²⁶ From 1853 onwards Hawaiian missionaries were stationed on Fatu Iva and later also on Hiva Oa, Tahuata and Ua Pou (Denning 1980:171; Thomas 1990:4).

(Denning 1980:205-6; Thomas 1990:158-61). Despite the annexation British and American whaling ships continued visiting the Marquesas (Denning 1980:219, 245).

Since the 1825 Dutch navy visit to the Marquesas is the main topic of this part of the thesis, it is appropriate to mention that some Dutchmen had been crew members of visiting ships prior to 1825. Robarts (1974:130) mentions hearing Dutch being spoken aboard Von Krusenstern's ship in 1804. Similarly, Denning (1980:116-7) refers to a Dutchman called Peter Cox or Cocks, who had left the American ship *Albatross*. Cox had befriended another beachcomber, James Wilson, and helped him collecting sandalwood on Nuku Hiva. When the *Hunter* arrived on Nuku Hiva in March 1811, Cox told its captain that he had been on the island for about nine months. He was still on Nuku Hiva when the *Hunter* returned for a third time in August 1812 and then joined this ship's crew (Child 1810-1815:36, 57, 76).

After the first foreign visit in 1595 and the second almost 180 years later, from the 1790s onwards the Marquesas Islands were regularly visited by European and American trading, military and whaling ships, most staying only briefly, although some 'beachcombers' resided in the archipelago for a considerable period of time. The May 1825 Dutch navy visit took place after the Krusenstern expedition, the sandalwood traders and Porter's visit (1804-1813), but before more regular visits by whaling ships and permanent missionary activity (from the 1830s onwards). However, the Dutch navy voyage certainly was not the first Dutch ship to cross the Pacific Ocean, as will be discussed next.

2.3 PREVIOUS DUTCH (EXPLORATORY) VOYAGES THROUGH THE PACIFIC

Trade and shipping have always been the most important pillars of Dutch economy. By the end of the sixteenth century there was a growing interest in taking over the Portuguese trade in spices from Southeast Asia. To do this necessitated discovering sea routes to present-day Indonesia. This led to the first Dutch exploratory voyage to Asia in 1595-1597, paid for by a group of Amsterdam merchants organised in the *Compagnie van Verre*. This voyage explored the route around Cape of Good Hope and consequently several of these privately funded voyages following the same route were undertaken (Brink 1996:14-5; Paesie & Kempe 2012:11-2; Roeper & Wildeman [1993]:52-64). However, several voyages around that time searched for an alternative route via South America, with the additional advantage that these offered the opportunity to frustrate the Spanish by trying to take their richly laden galleons. In 1598 five ships of the *Magellaanse Compagnie* left Rotterdam to try and reach Southeast Asia via the Strait of Magellan. Only two ships managed to cross the Pacific Ocean; the *Trouw* reached the Moluccas and the *Liefde* ended up in Japan. A year

later the same company sent another expedition via the same route. This time four ships left of which three actually crossed the Pacific Ocean to reach Southeast Asia (Paesie & Kempe 2012:12-3; Roeper & Wildeman [1993]:78-85).

In 1602 the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* [Dutch East India Company]²⁷ (VOC) was established. The Dutch government granted the VOC exclusive rights for shipping around the Cape of Good Hope as well as via the Strait of Magellan (Roeper & Wildeman [1993]:64-5). This meant that no other Dutch trading ships could use these two routes; other companies had to try and find alternative routes. One of these was the voyage undertaken by Schouten and Le Maire for the *Australische of Zuidzee Compagnie* (1615-1617). This expedition discovered two alternative routes around South America, namely via Le Maire Strait and around Cape Horn, and visited islands in the Tuamotu Archipelago, several Tongan islands, the Futuna Islands and the coastal area of New Guinea. However, the search for *Terra Australis Incognita*, one of the voyage's missions, was unsuccessful (Brink 1996:15-8; Paesie & Kempe 2012:13-5; Roeper & Wildeman [1993]:97-103). Another attempt to discover this unlocated territory was the voyage by Abel Tasman. In 1642 two VOC-ships left Batavia for a voyage that would take them as the first known Europeans to Tasmania and New Zealand and then northwards to Tonga and the Solomon Islands (Brink 1996:19-20; Roeper & Wildeman [1993]:129-36; Tasman 2006:7-9, 19-27).

In the eighteenth century a renewed interest in the search for *Terra Australis* and its possible economic value was, according to Van Gelder (2012:164-70), sparked by the Roggeveen brothers, who had promised their father to realise his dream of discovery. First, they contacted the newly established *Middelburgse Commercie Compagnie* (MCC) which was looking for new trade possibilities. However, the MCC was not interested in their proposition, so the brothers approached another trading company, the *West-Indische Compagnie*, which funded the voyage. The expedition was commissioned to explore and trade and possibly take possession of lands not inhabited by Europeans. Three ships under the command of Jacob Roggeveen left the Netherlands in 1721. They reached the Pacific Ocean via Cape Horn and arrived at Easter Island or Rapa Nui on Easter Sunday, 5 April 1722, being the first Europeans to visit this island. Through the Tuamotu Archipelago, where one ship was lost, they continued via Tonga and Samoa. However, *Terra Australis* remained elusive. Moreover, the two remaining ships were compelled to choose a route back home via VOC territory and both ships were consequently confiscated by the VOC (Gelder 2012:164-70, 198-270; Paesie & Kempe 2012:28-30), a fate that had also befallen Schouten and Le Maire over a century earlier. As described by Paesie & Kempe (2012:34-7, 45-57) the MCC also sent an expedition to the Pacific Ocean in 1724. This voyage's goal, however, was to reach the Spanish gold and silver mines on South America's west

²⁷ Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie literally means United East India Company, but the company is generally known in English as Dutch East India Company.

coast. The voyage ended badly, as did a similar voyage that had left Amsterdam around the same time.

2.4 BACKGROUND OF THE NAVY VOYAGE

By the end of the eighteenth century the Dutch economy, which was mainly based on overseas trade, showed the first signs of a slow decline, especially regarding the monopoly position of the VOC. The occupation of the Netherlands by the French in 1795 accelerated this process (Wintle 2000:75). This was especially true for shipping. As Oosterling (1989:41) states, a yearly average of 4.180 ships calling at Dutch harbours between 1785-1789 declined to 2.713 in 1797 and only 15 in 1811. Trade and most of the economy, more or less came to a standstill.

After Napoleon's defeat in Leipzig, Prince William VI (1772-1843) was appointed sovereign prince of the Netherlands in 1813, and proclaimed King William I two years later. He started looking for ways to revive the collapsed economy. One measure he initiated was the foundation of the *Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij* [Dutch Trade Association] in 1824. The association's goals were to support national trade and emerging industry against strong, mainly British, competition (Oosterling 1989:49, 51). King William I considered South America to be a possible cure for the struggling Dutch economy and a way to show off the independence of the Dutch state (Oosterling 1989:55-7). With this in mind two navy expeditions to South America were organised, of which the second is the focus of this thesis.

In September 1823 a Dutch navy ship, the corvette *Lynx*, commanded by Isaac Petrus Marie Willinck, had been sent on a fact-finding mission to South America with regard to trade possibilities (Oosterling 1989:96). However, even before Willinck's first message about his encounters in South America was received, the Dutch government decided that in view of the emerging South American states a second expedition was advisable to establish the first political and trade contacts (Oosterling 1989:150-1). Less than a year after the departure of the *Lynx* two other Dutch navy ships, the frigate *Maria Reigersberg*²⁸ and the corvette *Pollux*, left the Netherlands (Oosterling 1989:155).²⁹

For the second expedition two experienced navy officers were selected: Captain Fredrik Coertzen became the commander of the *Maria Reigersberg* and the *Pollux* was commanded by Commander Christiaan Eeg. Both ships had extra crew on board to supplement the navy in the Dutch East Indies (Oosterling 1989:152; Stamboeken 1813-1940a). The *Maria Reigersberg* had a crew of 293, which is 43 more than the

²⁸ Occasionally the name *Maria Reigersbergen* is also used in archives and literature to refer to this ship.

²⁹ In 1826-1829 another Dutch voyage to South America with the same objective was undertaken by the merchant ship *Wilhelmina en Maria*, led by Lieutenant commander Jacobus Boelen, who had been granted leave by the Dutch navy to undertake this voyage. Boelen visited several South American states and continued to Hawai'i, China and the Philippines (Boelen 1835-1836; Stamboeken 1813-1940a, 11).

standard number, and the *Pollux* had 183 men of whom 33 were extra (Stamboeken 1814-1824; 1824-1829; 1814-1830a/b). The extra crew meant that the ships were crowded and fewer provisions could be stocked. Although the officers were mainly Dutch nationals, quite a few of the lower ranks were foreigners, just like on other Dutch navy ships at the time, among others from several German states, Sweden, Italy and even the United States of America (see Appendix B).³⁰

Besides the political and trade tasks, the expedition members were ordered to make scientific observations, such as measuring latitude and longitude, declinations and hydrographic measurements. To this end both ships were fitted with many of the newest available instruments. Several officers on each ship had to make these observations simultaneously in order to use the data collected to make improvements to the available charts (Oosterling 1989:154). Although in earlier centuries the Dutch had been renowned chart makers, this position had declined by the mid-eighteenth century. Therefore, nineteenth-century Dutch navy ships were generally equipped with charts and atlases from France and Britain. For this expedition most charts were British, with one of the most important maps, especially for the second half of the voyage, Arrowsmith's map of the South Pacific (reprint of 1822) (Oosterling 1989:90-3). The British maps made Coertzen decide to choose the Greenwich meridian as the standard meridian for the voyage, several years before this became the general rule in the Dutch navy (Coertzen 1826:9; Oosterling 1989:87, 158).

Apart from the instruments, charts and atlases, and because the route around Cape Horn to the Pacific Ocean was less known to the Dutch than the one around Cape of Good Hope to East Asia, the ships were recommended to be equipped with several travelogues and instructed to meticulously observe and critically compare their experiences with those of earlier travellers (Ministerie 1813-1900, 285; Oosterling 1989:93). Many travel books written by well-known explorers had been translated into Dutch from, among others, English, French and German. It is not exactly known which publications were officially supplied, but according to a list by Coertzen books by the following authors were preferred: Von Krusenstern, Vancouver, La Pérouse and Bruni d'Entrecasteaux (Ministerie 1813-1900, 285). Next to these preferred books, several officers brought their own private books. One of the most notable, especially in view of the Marquesas Islands, was David Porter's journal (1815; 1822). This publication was available on both ships, since both Eeg (1824-1827:[170]) and Singendonck (1824-1825:[27]) refer to it.³¹ Eeg (1824-1827:[169, 173, 177]) also refers to a volume of Von Langsdorff's travelogue (1818) from which the wordlist was used. Another crew member, Van Haersolte (1824-1834:28-12-1825), mentions in a letter to his parents that he had acquired the four volumes of Von Krusenstern's travels

³⁰ Of the two ships 72% of the crew were born in the Netherlands, 20.2% were born in one of the German states and 7.8% were born elsewhere (see Appendix B).

³¹ To the author's knowledge Porter's journal has not been translated into Dutch.

around the world in the sale of the estates of two fellow officers who had passed away. The availability of published travelogues on board means that the Dutch had an impression of what to expect during the voyage in general and the visit to Nuku Hiva in particular.

2.5 THE ACTORS OF THE DUTCH NAVY VOYAGE

This section presents an overview of the crew members whose writings, images and/or collections of objects relating to the Nuku Hiva visit are explored in this thesis. As Denning (1991:372), Douglas (1998:15) and Thomas (1990:185-6) recommend, to be able to assess the historical sources left by visitors one needs to know their backgrounds. Many crew members, especially the naval officers, kept journals of some kind during the voyage although relatively few of these written accounts seem to have survived. Most of the preserved texts deal with the whole trip, but some focus on particular topics, such as sea currents and distances, or describe the stay on Nuku Hiva. Texts in some form or other have been made by (in order of date of birth) Fredrik Coertzen, Christiaan Eeg, Pieter Troost, Hendrik Franco Tengbergen, Gerhard Willinck, Joannes Augustinus Notebaert, Willem Carel Singendonck, Jacob van Wageningen, Willem Anne de Constant Rebecque and Johan Christiaan van Haersolte, who, apart from a clerk, all were officers. In the subsections below a brief introduction to each of these people is provided and their writing discussed. Also, other possible sources of information about the Dutch voyage, particularly in connection to the stay on Nuku Hiva, have been added, such as drawings and collected objects. No written documents are known to have survived from two crew members discussed, namely Johan Frederik Kist and Adrianus Cosijn. However, both collected some objects which are now in a museum collection. Another person, Quirijn Maurits Rudolph Ver Huell, was not a crew member, but nevertheless made book illustrations related to the voyage.

Most actors have a military background in common. They often joined the navy, army or marines early in their lives. The older ones had often served in the French army or navy during the French occupation of the Netherlands (1795-1813). None of the writers received any higher education or academic training besides their training as military officers. However, in their narratives the individual authors show knowledge of previous visits to the Marquesas and mention those narrators by name. Von Krusenstern and Porter are referred to in particular and, to a lesser extent, Von Langsdorff.

During the course of this research project a number of extra sources came to light, which provided additional perspectives on the 1825 Dutch visit. There were at least two more accounts. One handwritten source by an unknown hand was used by

Poortvliet (1971) for his unpublished thesis.³² Also, Officer Andreas Charles van Braam Houckgeest ([1856]:50) in his autobiography refers to a journal written during the 1824-1826 voyage. Unfortunately the whereabouts of both manuscripts are unknown, so their potential additional information could not be included in this research.³³

2.5.1 Fredrik Coertzen (1771-1832)

The expedition's leader was born in the town of Waldeck (in present-day Germany). In 1788 he started his career in the Dutch navy as a steersman's apprentice and gradually climbed through the ranks being promoted to the rank of captain on 1 January 1822 (Stamboeken 1795-1813a/e; Stamboeken 1813-1940a, 12). According to Oosterling (1989:152) there was no particular reason for Coertzen's appointment to lead the expedition, other than his solid, unblemished service record and the fact that he was due for reappointment.

As the *Maria Reigersberg's* commanding officer, Coertzen (1826) kept a ship's journal, an extract of which is kept in the Dutch National Archives. During the voyage Coertzen became severely ill several times, which meant he had to hand over temporarily the expedition's command to the *Pollux'* commanding officer Christiaan Eeg. One such period was during the stay on Nuku Hiva. Van Haersolte mentions in one of his letters home, that Coertzen had not been on deck since they left Valparaiso (1824-1834:09-1825). Therefore, only one and a half pages of Coertzen's ship's journal extract is about the stay on Nuku Hiva and for further information he refers to his substitute's journal (Coertzen 1826:37).

2.5.2 Christiaan Eeg (1774-1832)

The expedition's second in command was born in Rotterdam. He did not start his career in the Dutch navy straightaway. Before he was appointed lieutenant commander in 1796, Eeg had already served for eight years in the merchant navy. After six years he returned to the merchant navy, but then re-joined the navy in 1808 and remained in the navy's employ thereafter. In 1816 he was involved in the *Bombardment of Algiers*, a joint Anglo-Dutch military action, for which he was decorated as knight of the *Militaire Willemsorde* [Military William Order] (MWO). A year

³² Poortvliet (1971:46) lists the anonymous manuscript as follows: *Verhaal ener Reis uit de Nederlanden na de Kust van Guinee Rio de La Plata en rond Kaap Hoorn langs de kust van Chilië [sic] en Peru en vervolgens over de Grote Oceaan Zuidzee naar de Nederlandsche bezittingen in Oost Indien. In de Jahre 1824, 1825, 1826* [Narrative of a Journey from the Netherlands to the coast of Guinee Rio de la Plata and round Cape Horn along the coast of Chile and Peru and subsequently across the Great Ocean South sea to the Dutch possessions in the East Indies. In the Years 1824, 1825, 1826]. The journal was in possession of A.G. Runeman, captain of military police.

³³ Some writings from other crew members are known. In notes on his naval career, Engelbert George van der Plaat ([1856]) mentions staying on Nuku Hiva, but does not provide details. In a biography on Herman Hendrik Timotheus Coops only references to Troost's publication are included (Coops 2015). Besides, it is probable that more travelogues or letters still exist, and not necessarily from higher ranking crew members, as a study by Van Gelder (1997) on the writings of Germans in service of the VOC shows.

later he was appointed commander, the rank at which he took command of the *Pollux* in 1824 (Stamboeken 1795-1813a/e; Stamboeken 1813-1940a, 14). Oosterling (1989:152) states that, as in Coertzen's case, there was no particular reason for Eeg's appointment, although it can be assumed that the MWO might have played a role in the decision.

Due to the illness of Captain Coertzen, Commander Eeg had to take the lead several times during the voyage, both in navigation and doing the honours at ports of call. Because he led the Dutch stay on Nuku Hiva, Eeg's official ship's journal has about sixteen pages covering the twelve-day stay in Taiohae, whereas normally an average day takes up one-third of a page.³⁴ In his journal Eeg (1824-1827:[165-82]) describes the actions the Dutch undertook and their dealings with Nuku Hivans, regularly comparing his observations with what he had read in the accounts written by previous visitors to the Marquesas.

During his lifetime Eeg had been a member of the Society of Arts & Sciences of the province of Utrecht (Amesz 1832). Perhaps this is why the information Eeg had gathered, as well as the scientific observations made by his officers, found their way into a publication by J.F.L. Schröder (1837a/b). This professor at a college in Utrecht and president of the examination board of naval officers wrote two accounts in his publication on matters concerning the art of navigation in which he used material gathered by Eeg, one about the geographical length of *Nederlands Eiland* and the other about currents. Unfortunately, neither of these articles have any information about dealings with Nuku Hivans.

2.5.3 Pieter Troost (1790/1-1846)

Born in Rotterdam, Troost probably joined the French army during the French occupation of the Netherlands, although no records have been found to confirm this. It is certain that in 1813 Troost was in the Dutch army as a *fourier* or quartermaster-sergeant. During this time he took part in the minor battle of the blockade of Condé during the Napoleonic wars. From the army he transferred to the Marine Corps, which he joined as a sergeant in 1817 in Rotterdam. He quickly went through the ranks and was a lieutenant commander by 1823. At this rank Troost joined the navy voyage as the commander of the detachment of marines in 1824 (Stamboeken 1813-1940b; 1814-1906).

After his return to the Netherlands in September 1826, there seems to be a five-year gap in Troost's service record, during which time he wrote and published his book *Aanteekeningen gehouden op eene reis om de wereld met het Fregat de Maria Reigersberg en de Korvet de Pollux in de Jaren 1824, 1825, en 1826 met platen* [Notes made on a voyage around the world with the Frigate *Maria Reigersberg* and the

³⁴ The 447 pages counting ship's journal of the *Pollux* runs from August 1824 to November 1827, in total about three years and three months, so ca. 1185 days.

Corvette *Pollux* in the Years 1824, 1825 and 1826 with plates] (fig. 2.25). The book consists of eighteen chapters, which narrate his complete voyage from a few months before the departure in August 1824 until his return to Rotterdam in October 1826.

Troost has a rather lengthy style of writing and is very elaborate in his descriptions of situations and natural surroundings. He did not claim his book to be a complete travel journal, since he felt he lacked the required knowledge, especially with regard to naval matters such as navigating and keeping track of geographical positions, as he was not a navy officer (Troost 1829: V-VIII). It is doubtful if Troost kept a proper journal during the voyage itself; he seems to have written from memory as for example, he got several dates wrong. Throughout his book Troost shows a high awareness of the cultures he came across during the voyage, for example he remarks about people's customs on the Gold Coast [present-day Ghana]: 'Every people has its own way and choice to amuse themselves ... We Dutch too think like this about our [habits], although a foreigner probably may be of a different opinion' (Troost:1829:40). He could also be quite negative about people's outward appearances, customs and, what he regards as, lack of decency and Christian faith. Of Nuku Hivans he notes for example: 'These cannibals unfortunately lack any religion; they have neither moral nor religious laws and rules ...' (Troost 1829:225).

Two chapters of the book are almost exclusively dedicated to Nuku Hiva. In these Troost (1829:177-260) describes numerous visits ashore, often accompanied by a native man and a stranded Tahitian, who acted as an interpreter. Troost describes a broad range of topics and interests and mentions that he collected some Marquesan objects, which are depicted in the book. The native man was drawn by an officer friend, a 'S.....' (Troost 1829:250), which might refer to Lieutenant Singendonck. However, there are some discrepancies between Singendonck's writings and those of Troost, which make this deduction less plausible. Besides, the plates in the book are drawn after returning home by a naval officer, Q.M.R. Ver Huell, who did not take part in the journey (see 2.5.13).

Several reviewers of the book were pleased that finally a narrative of the navy voyage was published, although they would have expected it to come from one of the ships' commanders or another high-ranking naval officer. In general the reviewers were positive, but deemed Troost somewhat lengthy at times, especially in his descriptions of nature and some conversations. Also they think it obvious that Troost was not a naval officer, but since he has already declared this at the start of the book, they did not hold this against him (Anonymous 1829:644-9; Anonymous 1830a:315-24; Anonymous 1830b:2).

Troost's publication includes a list of subscribers, including Captain Fredrik Coertzen, Commander - then Captain - Christiaan Eeg, and fellow crew member Lieutenant Commander Jan Frans Adolf Coertzen. Their thoughts on the book's contents and whether they (dis)agreed with it, are unknown. However, another crew

member, Johan Christiaan van Haersolte (1824-1834:11-09-1830), writes in a letter to his parents that he thought the book was similar to children's literature and also states: 'Those who do not know Mr Troost will find some good qualities in the book, but those who know him soon descry hypocrisy.' Unfortunately, Van Haersolte did not refer to anything in particular, which makes it difficult to make use of his criticism. Gerhard Willinck (1835:253) refers to Troost's publication, but refrains from sharing his opinion.

2.5.4 Johan Frederik Kist (1794-1849)

Kist was born in Middelburg. Just before his fourteenth birthday he became a student at the Kadetten Instituut [Cadets' Institute]. In 1809 he was briefly detached to one of the schooners which were despatched to ward off the British during the *Walcheren Expedition*. Afterwards he was first stationed on a naval training ship followed by a position on an active navy ship in 1810. By the time Kist was posted on the *Maria Reigersberg*, he had been promoted to the rank of lieutenant commander and stayed in the navy for the rest of his life (Stamboeken 1813-1940a, 18).

So far, no writings by Kist have been located. However, a Commander Kist donated a pair of ear ornaments to the *Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden* [Royal Cabinet of Rarities], a collection which was transferred to the MV (Leiden) in 1883. The most likely person this donation concerns, is Johan Frederik Kist. He was promoted to commander in 1833 and to captain in 1842; Kist must have made his donation between these two dates (MV-Archives; Stamboeken 1813-1940a, 18).

2.5.5 Hendrik Franco Tengbergen (1795-1876)

Born in Doesburg, Tengbergen started his navy career in the Cadets' Institute of the navy when he was just twelve years old. Three years later he was placed on a navy ship for the first time. Tengbergen stayed in the navy all his working life, apart from the period between 1814 and 1818 during which he fulfilled his conscription. As a lieutenant commander he was appointed second-in-command on the *Pollux* for the duration of the voyage to the East Indies (Stamboeken 1795-1813c; 1795-1813d; 1813-1940a, 27).

On the voyage Tengbergen, together with Lieutenant Commander Herman Hendrik Timotheus Coops of the *Maria Reigersberg*, Willem Anne de Constant Rebecque (see 2.5.11) and two longboats full of men, were the only crew members to have visited another bay on Nuku Hiva besides Taiohae, namely Hakatea. He published an article about this trip in which he also made geographical observations and more general remarks about the Nuku Hivans (Tengbergen 1832:179-90). Tengbergen was also responsible for the official chart made of the atoll Nui (in present-day Tuvalu), which the Dutch named *Nederlands Eiland* because they thought they were the 'discoverers' of this island (Tengbergen n.d.; see 3.1). In memory of this

Tengbergen had a carved coconut cup made, which was mounted in silver and is currently in a private collection in the Netherlands (figs. 2.26a/b).

2.5.6 Gerhard Willinck (1795-1849)

Willinck was born in Zutphen. He joined the navy as an aspirant cadet in 1810 and started his service straightaway serving on active ships. In 1822, as a lieutenant, he received a MWO knighthood for his services in the second expedition to Palembang on Sumatra in the Dutch East Indies in 1821. By the time Willinck was posted on the *Pollux* he had been promoted to lieutenant commander (Stamboeken 1813-1940a, 29).

Willinck's private ship's journal has survived and is kept in the regional archive in Zutphen. In this journal Willinck made meticulous notes on the course of the ship, longitude, latitude and weather conditions and made some schematic maps and drawings of coast lines (1824-1826). His writing style is very matter of fact; he did not relate much about personal observations and contacts with Nuku Hivans.

Willinck's elder brother, Commander Isaac Petrus Marie Willinck, had made the first voyage around Cape Horn a year earlier with the *Lynx*. He had kept a diary and had been preparing it for publication when he passed away in 1835. His younger brother finished the publication later that year (I.P.M. Willinck 1835). At the end of his brother's account Willinck added an article about his voyage with the *Pollux* (G. Willinck 1835:227-59). Although maritime observations prevail, Willinck intersperses some descriptions of a more personal nature, including some from the stay on Nuku Hiva.

2.5.7 Joannes Augustinus (Jean) Notebaert (1799-1843)

Notebaert was born in Deerlijk (in present-day Belgium). His first military experiences were as a conscript soldier between 1818-1823. Conscripted apparently did not take up all his time, because he managed to pass his exam for rural surgeon³⁵ with the medical commission in Bruges (in present-day Belgium). Five months after the expiration of his conscription he also passed the exam of rural obstetrician for the same committee. Debt was probably the reason Notebaert applied for a surgeon's position with the Dutch navy in 1824. After passing the entrance examination he was stationed as a surgeon third class on the *Maria Reigersberg*. During the voyage he wrote letters to his parents, which are kept at Trezor, Kortrijk (Belgium). In one of these letters he covers just over two pages on the visit to Nuku Hiva (Notebaert:24-07-1825; Stamboeken 1813-1940a, 22; 1816-1825, 56; Valcke 1993:156-82).

³⁵ According to Gourdin and Schepers (2017:1012) the medical profession in the early part of the nineteenth century had several grades of medical doctors; Notebaert as a rural surgeon had one of the lower grades and did not have a university education.

2.5.8 Willem Carel Singendonck (1801-1874)

Born in the city of Nijmegen Singendonck esquire joined the navy as a naval cadet. In 1815 his first journey brought him to the West Indies. Just before his twenty-third birthday he was stationed on the *Maria Reigersberg*. By that time he held the rank of lieutenant (Stamboeken 1813-1940a, 25).

An unpublished manuscript about the voyage around Cape Horn (fig. 2.27) written by Singendonck has survived, currently kept in the Archives of the Scheepvaartmuseum [National Maritime Museum] in Amsterdam (1824-1825).³⁶ Of the 38 written pages about one third deal with the stay on Nuku Hiva. Singendonck writes a number of observations about the people, their customs and physique, comparing them with writings from other explorers such as Von Krusenstern and Porter (Singendonck 1824-1825). The front and back of the manuscript contain some small sketches of the ship and a few persons. However, in his text he also mentions that he made a drawing of a tattooed man, but unfortunately this sketch is no longer part of the manuscript.

Although Singendonck does not mention it in his journal, he must have acquired a number of objects, which he bequeathed to his family. In 1877 a nephew of Singendonck donated these to the Koloniaal Museum in Haarlem (Koloniaal 1877; Koloniaal 1877-1791:[8]). Only one of these objects, a shell trumpet, can still be accounted for and is currently in the Wereldmuseum's collection (WM) in Rotterdam.

2.5.9 Jacob van Wageningen (1805-1881)

Born in Dordrecht, Van Wageningen was a full orphan by the age of sixteen. Within two years two of his guardians had also passed away, which prompted a third to steer Van Wageningen towards the navy at the relatively late age of eighteen (Wageningen 2021a:41). He started his service immediately serving on active navy ships as a naval cadet. The *Pollux* was probably the second ship he was stationed on and on 1 January 1826, he was promoted to midshipman (Stamboeken 1823; 1824-1829).

During the voyage Van Wageningen must have kept both a ship's log and a travelogue (Wageningen 2021a:42). The whereabouts of both these manuscripts are unknown, they may still be in the possession of the Van Wageningen Family. However, in 1913 one of his granddaughters made a typed transcript of the travelogue.³⁷ The pages concerning Nuku Hiva (originally ca. nine handwritten pages) and *Nederlands Eiland* (originally ca. six handwritten pages) were made available for this research and information about other parts of the voyage is included in a series of articles,

³⁶ Besides this manuscript, two other unpublished manuscripts by Singendonck are kept in the same archive. One deals with a voyage to the Mediterranean in 1828-1829 and the other with a voyage to the coast of Guinea and to Surinam eight years later.

³⁷ Personal communication J.A.M. van Wageningen via e-mail 23-02-2021.

published in a local historical magazine (Wageningen 2021a/b). Van Wageningen's travelogue contains a number of candid observations.

2.5.10 Adrianus Cosijn (1806-1887)

Cosijn was born in Gouda. Precisely when he joined the navy is unknown, but his name appears on the muster-roll of the *Maria Reigersberg*. Unlike the expedition members previously mentioned, Cosijn was not a military man but a civilian who worked in the capacity of (senior) clerk (Stamboeken 1814-1824). So far none of his writings have been found. However, MV (Leiden) holds a small group of objects that can be connected to him. It includes six objects from the Marquesas: a pair of ear ornaments, a stilt step, a chest ornament, a head ornament and a sling, as well as a decorated coconut powder flask (figs. 2.28a/c). These objects were donated to the museum in 1905 by two of his daughters, who also donated a drawing entitled 'Versierselen te Noahiva 1825' [Adornments on Noahiva 1825] showing thirteen types of objects (MV n.d.; fig. 2.29).

2.5.11 Willem Anne baron de Constant Rebecque (1807-1862)

De Constant Rebecque was born in Berlin (in present-day Germany). At that time his father was military governor to the Prince of Orange (1792-1849), later King William II, who became the newborn's godfather. When De Constant Rebecque reached the age of fourteen, he was appointed as a naval cadet at the military school in Delft. On 1 July 1824, he achieved the rank of midshipman and received his first active station on the *Pollux* (Aa 1858:676; 1878:202; Stamboeken 1813-1940a, 12).

De Constant Rebecque started writing a personal diary in July 1824 and continued doing this until the end of his life. Interestingly he wrote in French, although this does not necessarily seem to be the language in which he was most prolific. Perhaps he did this to practice this language, since not much French would have been spoken aboard. However, he probably corresponded with his relatives in French, since he received letters from his parents and sister in this language.³⁸ Nineteen pages of his diary are devoted to the stay on Nuku Hiva and contain several descriptions of actions the Dutch undertook on Nuku Hiva. It is clear from his writings that he was a keen observer. Besides keeping a diary he also made a number of relatively small drawings during the voyage, most showing land or seascapes. The diaries and the albums in which his drawings have been glued, are kept in the Dutch National Archives (The Hague) (Constant Rebecque 1819-1828a/b, 1824-1828).³⁹

³⁸ His father was a native of the French-speaking part of Switzerland and his mother was Dutch. Also French was the language used by the Dutch upper classes.

³⁹ One image from the period on Nuku Hiva has been removed from the album.

2.5.12 Johan Christiaan baron van Haersolte (1809-1881)

One of the most prolific writers of the voyage was Johan Christiaan van Haersolte, born in Zwolle. He joined the navy just after his fourteenth birthday as an aspirant cadet and started his service straightaway serving on active navy ships. The *Maria Reigersberg* was the second ship he was stationed on, having been promoted to naval cadet and later during the voyage, on 1 January 1826, to midshipman (Stamboeken 1813-1940a 4, 16).

During the voyage on the *Maria Reigersberg* Van Haersolte must have spent quite some time writing. He kept a private ship's journal, wrote several long letters home and wrote a travelogue. He also made several drawings of people, landscapes and maps. All these sources are currently kept in the Historisch Centrum Overijssel (HCO) in Zwolle (Haersolte 1824-1826a/b; 1824-1834). The archives also include several copies of the letters and travelogue, some of which are written in a different hand. In both letters and travelogue Van Haersolte wrote several pages on the stay in Taiohae. Perhaps due to his youth, his remarks are often brief but also quite direct. His drawings show a naturalistic style and include the, so far, first-known sketch of historic Nuku Hivan stilt walkers. In one of his letters home Van Haersolte mentions acquiring a number of objects from Nuku Hiva. He donated these to the *Overijsselsche vereeniging tot Ontwikkeling van Provinciale Welvaart* in 1852 at the latest (OVOWP 1852:12-3). Most of these objects are presently in the collection of the Tropenmuseum (Amsterdam).

2.5.13 Quirijn Maurits Rudolph Ver Huell (1787-1860)

This naval officer did not take part in the Dutch navy expedition. At the time this voyage took place, he was stationed at the *Rijks Marinewerf* [State Naval Dockyard] in Rotterdam. Nevertheless, he played a role in the images from the voyage, since he drew the plates for Troost's publication. Ver Huell was an amateur artist and had made drawings during his voyages to Brazil (1807-1809) and the Dutch East Indies (1815-1819). He used these in travelogues about his own voyages (Bervoets 1996:111; Graaf 1957:262, 266-71; Troost 1829). Of the seven plates Ver Huell made for Troost's travelogue, four are related to the stay at Nuku Hiva. One plate presents an overview of Taiohae Bay, an image which depicts a rather generic tropical landscape, with which Ver Huell was familiar from his travels to the East (fig. 2.30). Another shows two different types of Marquesan dwelling (fig. 2.31). A third shows a group of objects, six Marquesan objects and two from Nui, which were presumably collected by Troost (fig. 2.32). The fourth presents a Marquesan man (fig. 2.33), which is an image that has been reproduced in several publications, among others in books by Von den Steinen (1925:144) and Ottino-Garanger (1998:68, 125). It is unknown on whose drawings the plates by Ver Huell are based and to date the originals have not been located.

2.6 RÉSUMÉ

In this chapter the context of the Dutch navy visit to the Marquesas Islands in May 1825 has been explored from different angles. Firstly, a brief overview of the Marquesas Islands, its inhabitants and their society has been presented, to provide an image of the situation the Dutch encountered on their visit. This was followed by a concise section on foreign visits to the islands, from the earliest known in 1595 to the period of the French annexation in the 1840s. As we shall see in the next chapter, several visits prior to 1825 provided information on which the Dutch relied during their visit.

This particular voyage was not the first Dutch voyage to cross the Pacific Ocean, as was briefly discussed in the section on earlier Dutch exploratory voyages - for which trading was the main incentive. As such, the 1824-1826 Dutch navy voyage was a continuation of these expeditions, for which the seeking of trade opportunities with emerging South American states was the main goal. The navy expedition was made up of the frigate *Maria Reigersberg*, commanded by Captain Coertzen, and the corvette *Pollux*, commanded by Commander Eeg, manned by a total of 476 crew. Twelve of them, mainly military officers, left behind writings, drawings and/or collected objects in relation to the 1825 visit to Nuku Hiva, which are at the core of this thesis. To assess these sources, as recommended by Denning (1991:372), Douglas (1998:15) and Thomas (1990:185-6), the background of each actor has been sketched, as well as information provided on the nature of the available material connected with them. The writings of ten of these actors, which differ considerably in range, from passages in a letter home to two book chapters, form the basis for the next two chapters on the narrative of the Dutch visit and analysis of the Dutch-Marquesan encounter.

Chapter 3

Dutch navy visit to Nuku Hiva 1825

As outlined in the previous chapter many foreign ships and men had visited the Marquesas Islands prior to the visit of the Dutch in May 1825 and several written accounts of these visits have survived. The Dutch were acquainted with some of these, in particular with the published travelogues by Von Krusenstern (1811a/b), Von Langsdorff (1812, 1818) and Porter (1815, 1822, 1823). For their part the Dutch also left behind a variety of written sources. Chapters 3 and 4 are based on these writings and associated images provided with these travelogues, ship's journals, diaries and letters home that have been identified so far. Some of the Dutch sources have been published, written for a wider audience and are to some extent dramatised, especially Troost's publication, while others have a more private character or have been written for reasons of accountability to superiors. The latter two sources are often more direct and possibly contain less contextual information from other sources, apart from those mentioned above, which were added at a later date.

The writers were introduced in the last section of the previous chapter. They were all military officers. The two ships' commanders, Coertzen and Eeg, were both in their early to mid-fifties and were responsible for the official records of the voyage. Since Eeg had command during the visit on Nuku Hiva, his report is far more elaborate than Coertzen's. Next were three lieutenant commanders, namely Troost, Tengbergen and Willinck. Troost was commander of the marines, stationed on the *Maria Reigersberg*, and was in his mid-thirties. Both Tengbergen and Willinck, posted on the *Pollux*, were around 30 years of age. In their mid-twenties were Surgeon Notebaert and Lieutenant Singendonck, both stationed on the *Maria Reigersberg*. The three youngest actors were Naval Cadet Van Wageningen (20), Midshipman De Constant Rebecque (18) and Naval Cadet Van Haersolte (16), the first two based on the *Pollux* and the third on the *Maria Reigersberg*.

Although of different ranks, the actors will probably have been privy to the same information, they will presumably all have shared their meals at the officers' tables of their respective ships when they were not otherwise occupied, for example with sentry duties. The fact that the Dutch were on Nuku Hiva as part of a navy voyage means that, although they were relatively free when not on duty, they did not have the leisurely time some visitors had, such as Johan Adam Graaner, a retired Swedish major who had taken passage in Valparaiso on the British ship *Rebecca*.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ The British brigantine *Rebecca* was commanded by Arent Schuyler de Peyster. After the stay on Nuku Hiva the *Rebecca* continued its voyage east and consequently was the first known European ship to

Graaner arrived on Nuku Hiva on 27 April 1819 and only stayed for six days. He spent most of his time, including the nights, ashore as a guest of beachcomber George Ross⁴¹ (Åkerrén 1983:34, 36, 42). Despite his short stay Graaner managed to record quite a lot of information in his diary, not just from his own observations, but especially from his interpreter Ross. The fact that the Dutch actors had work duties and lacked an accomplished interpreter such as Ross means that there are limitations to the available sources, for example the fact that the Dutch mainly describe what they see and provide their own interpretations of their observations.

Central to this chapter is the narrative of the voyage and visit as described by the Dutch. This narrative, having a Dutch perspective, provides the context of the analysis of the encounters between Dutch and Marquesans in the next chapter. The current chapter starts with an outline of the complete Dutch navy voyage around the world. The ports of call before and immediately after the stopover on Nuku Hiva are touched upon. This section is followed by a narrative of the Dutch visit to the Marquesan island of Nuku Hiva extracted from their written and pictorial sources. Please note that for the first section of this chapter the main sources are those by Oosterling (1989) and Poortvliet (1971) and the official accounts of the voyage by Coertzen and Eeg. The second section of the chapter mentions the accounts of De Constant Rebecque, Eeg, Van Haersolte, Singendonck and Troost more often than other writers, because their writings are far richer and more diverse in information, than those of Coertzen, Notebaert, Tengbergen, Van Wageningen and Willinck, which are touched upon occasionally.

3.1 OUTLINE OF THE VOYAGE (1824-1826/1827)

On Monday 23 August 1824 two Dutch navy ships, the frigate *Maria Reigersberg* and the corvette *Pollux*, left the roadstead of Texel (fig. 3.1) in the north of the Netherlands for the East Indies via South America. A last minute extra stop at St. George d'Elmina (fig. 3.2) on the Gold Coast (present-day Ghana) was ordered, where they arrived on 13 October 1824. Eleven days later they left the West African settlement and headed for Montevideo, in present-day Uruguay, arriving there on 7 December. The *Pollux* travelled on to Buenos Aires, returning to Montevideo at the end of the month. Having finished their trade negotiations and acquisition of provisions both ships departed early January 1825 to round Cape Horn, which was passed on 3 February in rough weather (fig. 3.3). The ships lost sight of one another and arrived a day after each

encounter the atolls Funafuti and Nukufetau (both part of present-day Tuvalu) in May 1819 (Maude 1968:115).

⁴¹ According to Denning, George Ross was an American stationed on the Marquesas to assist in the collecting of sandalwood in 1813. He stayed until 1822, when he joined the American trading ship *Roscoe*.

other in Valparaiso,⁴² Chile, in late February (fig. 3.4). After three weeks they left for Chorrillos Bay near Lima, Peru, arriving on 30 March. While there, in discussing the next leg of the journey, Coertzen and Eeg decided that, due to the large crew on board, it would be advisable to plan a stopover on their final route to the Dutch East Indies. Port Anna Maria, present-day Taiohae, on Nuku Hiva was chosen as a rendezvous point (Eeg 1824-1827:[14-148]; Coertzen 1826:9-35; Oosterling 1989:154-8; Poortvliet 1971:11-33).

On 10 April 1825 the expedition left Valparaiso and neared the Marquesas Islands just over a month later on 13 May, staying there until 26 May. The stop on Nuku Hiva is discussed in the next section. After leaving Nuku Hiva they set sail west towards the Dutch East Indies. Along the way, on 14 June 1825, they encountered an atoll, which they thought was unknown to European and American travellers. They named the atoll *Nederlands Eiland* (figs. 3.5/3.10) and took possession of it for the Dutch Crown (Eeg 1824-1827:[148-66, 198]; Coertzen 1826:35-6, 38-42; Oosterling 1989:158-9; Poortvliet 1971:33-4; Troost 1829:177-8, 260-6, 272).⁴³ This claim to Nui was never ratified. Both Coertzen and Eeg sent a sloop to explore the atoll. In his travelogue Troost included the official reports of each of the sloops written by Lieutenant Commanders Muller and Van der Plaats. Both describe how they headed towards the shore where around 300 men and women had assembled on the northern part of the island. The Dutch did not actually land, but close to shore they invited the islanders to come towards the sloops, which some did. Some exchange of foodstuffs and objects took place and some warning shots were fired, after which the sloops returned to their ships (Troost 1829:266-8, 269-82). By that evening the *Maria Reigersberg* and *Pollux* had already resumed their voyage to the Moluccas. It was another difficult passage, with several bouts of calm. The slowness meant that water needed to be rationed and a lot of crew members started to suffer from scurvy and some crew passed away. The ships finally arrived on the Moluccan island of Ambon (fig. 3.11) in early August. The sick were taken to the hospital to recuperate, although some were too weak and died. After a two-week stay on Ambon both ships set sail again for the two-week voyage to Surabaya (fig. 3.12) on the island of Java (Eeg 1824-1827:[198-227]; Coertzen 1826:42-9; Oosterling 1989:159; Poortvliet 1971:36-41; Troost 1829:285-93, 296-7, 309).

⁴² In Valparaiso the Dutch encountered the British frigate HMS *Blonde* commanded by Lord Byron which carried the deceased king and queen of Hawai'i, who had passed away during a visit to England (Troost 1829:115).

⁴³ The Dutch were mistaken; the atoll Nui had already been visited by Mendaña de Neira in 1568 (Broeze 1975:36; Chambers & Munro 1980:170-1; Oosterling 1989:158). According to Maude (1959:299-300; 1968:55-8), he named the island Isla de Jesus. Interestingly, Van Haersolte (1824-1834:09-1825) mentions in a letter home that they had considered the island to be Isla de Jesus, but this was dismissed because of the great differences in latitude and longitude. Eeg (1824-1827:[198]) also contemplates the possibility that Mendaña de Neira got the coordinates wrong. As Chamber and Munro (1980:170) state, chronometers only came to be in use from the late eighteenth century onwards, which meant that several of the islands in present-day Tuvalu were misplaced on many maps.

The *Java War* (1825-1830) had just started between the Javanese under the command of Prince Diponegoro and the Dutch colonial government. Many crewmen from the *Maria Reigersberg* and the *Pollux*, both marines and seamen, were brought into action to fight against the Javanese insurgents near Semarang. In January 1826 both ships returned to Surabaya where their ways parted. The *Pollux* stayed in the Dutch East Indies to supplement the navy ships in the region. The *Maria Reigersberg* went straight back to the Netherlands, after necessary repairs had been made. On 5 June she left Batavia (present-day Jakarta), arriving at Texel on 25 September 1826. The *Pollux* left the Dutch East Indies on 1 April 1827 to return home and almost perished along the way due to severe storms. An emergency stop was made for repairs in Port Louis (fig. 3.13) on Mauritius. Despite this misfortune the *Pollux* managed to arrive back in the Netherlands on 30 November 1827 (Eeg 1824-1827:[227-44, 338-445]; Coertzen 1826:49-79; Oosterling 1989:159; Poortvliet 1971:41-5; Schröder 1837:434; Troost 1829:311, 314-20, 340-1, 356-9, 363, 375).

3.2 VISIT TO NUKU HIVA

As mentioned above, before leaving the west coast of South America the two commanders decided to make a stopover en route to the Dutch East Indies. As Captain Coertzen was ill during a considerable part of the voyage, Commander Eeg was in charge of the expedition, including while visiting the Marquesas Islands. On 13 May the island of Saint Dominica, now called Hiva Oa, was spotted on the horizon and later that day Hoods Island (Fatu Uku) was detected. The next day first Riou (Ua Huka) and later Nukuhiwa (Nuku Hiva) came into view (Eeg 1824-1827:[166, 181-2]; Coertzen 1826:36; Oosterling 1989:157-8; Poortvliet 1971:34; Troost 1829:177-8; figs. 3.14, 3.16). The Dutch had chosen Taiohae on Nuku Hiva as their stopover destination, probably based on the travelogues by Von Krusenstern (1811b), Von Langsdorff (1818) and Porter (1815), which provided them with information on the local situation.

This section explores the visit of the Dutch to Taiohae on the Marquesan island of Nuku Hiva in May 1825. The narrative is extracted from their written and pictorial sources and is structured partly chronologically, highlighting events that can be pinpointed to a certain date (arrival, delegations ashore, the weather, visit to Hakatea and departure), and partly thematically concerning occurrences and observations that are recurrent themes throughout the Dutch sources: a Tahitian, activities undertaken by the Dutch, Nuku Hivans aboard the ships and the Dutch ashore, a Nuku Hivan man named Poopie, remarks on outer appearances and tattooing and on the eating of human flesh. It is important to note that the narrative below is solely derived from

Dutch sources and conveys an all-male perspective as Dutch navy ships only had male crew.⁴⁴

3.2.1 Arrival

On Sunday 15 May 1825, just after 2pm the *Pollux*, followed by the *Maria Reigersberg*, entered Port Anna Maria (fig. 3.17), as Taiohae on Nuku Hiva was then known to most foreign visitors. On entering the bay three writers mention seeing a couple of men, '... two natives ... who seemed to be completely naked' according to Singendonck (1824-1825:[26]), De Constant Rebecque (1824-1828:[4]) mentions 'Two perfectly naked savages' and Troost (1829:179) speaks of 'three completely naked men, one of whom had a piece of matting around his body', the latter showing naked to be a relative concept. These men made a loud signalling sound by pressing their left arm to their side with the hand on the chest and slapping with their right hand on the inside of the elbow. Troost (1829:179) situated this sighting high on one of the rocks near the bay's entrance and Singendonck (1824-1825:[26-7]) at the eastern islet of Matauapuna at the entrance to the bay.

The *Pollux* anchored in the middle of the bay⁴⁵ with the *Maria Reigersberg* on its starboard side (figs. 3.18/3.19). The Dutch saw a few people on the shore, some of whom might have been armed with pikes, and a white flag hoisted on one of the dwellings near the beach. Commander Eeg decided to raise a white flag into the mizzenmast, which gesture was followed by the *Maria Reigersberg*. Then several Nuku Hivans arrived in canoes and a few others, mostly women, swam to both ships and climbed, hesitantly at first, aboard (Coertzen 1826:38; Eeg 1824-1827:[167-8]; Haersolte 1824-1826b:[21]; Notebaert:24-07-1825; Troost 1829:180; Van Wageningen 1824-1827:62). While swimming some held a stick to which a piece of barkcloth was bound to keep it dry (fig. 3.15). Once aboard they draped the barkcloth around their bodies (Constant Rebecque 1824-1828:4-5; Haersolte 1824-1834:09-1825; Troost 1829:181-2). They were soon followed by others. Singendonck (1824-1825:[27]) mentions that the Nuku Hivan men all had some tattoos and that the crew had to prevent too many Nuku Hivans from coming aboard. He also observes that they seemed to be quite familiar with Europeans, which somewhat surprised the Dutch.

3.2.2 Small delegation ashore

On 16 May Eeg sent a delegation ashore consisting of a couple of officers and 25 armed men to find watering places and to identify someone in charge. De Constant Rebecque was one of its participants. He describes how they landed on a sandy beach

⁴⁴ According to Wallace (2005:275), the first white women and children, family members of American missionaries, arrived on Nuku Hiva in 1833.

⁴⁵ The bay of Taiohae is at its widest point about 1,300 metres wide and measures ca. 2,000 metres in length.

in the north-eastern part of the bay and were immediately surrounded by a number of Nuku Hivan men and women. Most men had some tattoos, the women had at most a hand or a foot tattooed (see 3.2.9). They were generally unarmed, although some were carrying long poles. Among the first men they encountered, a couple were more tattooed and seemed to have a certain rank as they held a pole with 'a small wig made of the hair of their enemy' on the top.⁴⁶ The number of people around the delegation grew and made a lot of noise. The Dutch walked along the shore towards what seemed to be a village in search of the leader, some Nuku Hivans taking the hands of Dutchmen to follow them. Here the Dutch delegation met someone who spoke a few words of English. From him the Dutch understood that the actual leader was a small child and someone else was his regent. They were taken to this man's house. De Constant Rebecque describes the regent as a tall, heavily tattooed man (see 3.2.9). After this brief meeting the Dutch climbed the mound on which Porter had built his fort, before returning to the *Pollux* (Constant Rebecque 1824-1828:[5-9]). Despite the fact De Constant Rebecque was clearly of the opinion that they had found the regent of the chief, Eeg (1824-1827:[169]) states in his ship's log that the mission had been unsuccessful.

3.2.3 Tahitian man

During the small delegation's visit ashore, a man from Tahiti had come to the *Pollux* in a canoe and offered to act as their interpreter. He showed Commander Eeg letters of recommendation from American whaling ships' captains whom he had helped with acquiring fresh water and firewood. Eeg (1824-1827:[169]) states that some of these letters were good, but others were less favourable. Willinck writes that it was obvious that the Tahitian did not understand their content, because the letter he was shown contained words to the effect of its holder being the worst person on the island, who was the cause of four men who had gone ashore being brutally murdered (G. Willinck 1835:250-1). De Constant Rebecque (1824-1828:[10]) also indicates that the Tahitian could not read, because he showed a letter in which the captain of a Danish merchant ship testified he was the cause of the loss of a longboat and its crew. Besides the bad references, which were not in the Tahitian's favour, Eeg (1824-1827:[169]) was also of the opinion that his command of the English language was too limited to be of use and since there were no other Europeans who could interpret, the Dutch consequently had to rely on the list of words in Von Langsdorff's first volume. So the services of the Tahitian as an interpreter were not used on the *Pollux*.

The Tahitian also presented himself on the *Maria Reigersberg*, probably on the same day as his visit to the *Pollux*, since Van Haersolte (1824-1826b:[21, 26]) mentions that he had seen a man wearing a jacket and a straw-hat among the people

⁴⁶ These must have been what are generally referred to as chiefs' staffs or tokotoko pioo (see 5.2.5).

gathered on the coast when the ships arrived, and that this Tahitian came aboard the following day. Both Van Haersolte and Troost (1829:191-2) mention that it was fortunate that the Tahitian had presented himself, since he spoke in broken English, so they could communicate with him. Singendonck seems to have been the only one on the *Maria Reigersberg* who had seen the certificates from American ships about the assistance this man had provided. Singendonck did not comment on their contents, but just like Eeg was of the opinion that the Tahitian's English was too poor to be of use (Singendonck 1824-1825:[27]). Troost appears to have been unaware of the ambivalence towards the Tahitian, who according to him was called Roebel or Roebèl. Troost refers to him quite often and seems to have met him on several occasions, also in dealings with a Nuku Hivan man called Poopie Troost spent quite some time with (Troost 1829:191-2, 223, 225; see 3.2.8).

Opinions differ considerably about how the Tahitian came to live on Nuku Hiva. Van Haersolte (1824-1826b:[26]) states that he had lived in North America for a period of time and, at his own request, had been brought to Nuku Hiva by an English ship, probably to be of assistance to American and British South Sea whaling vessels. According to Troost (1829:191), he had been left behind by a group of fishermen from Tahiti, because he was too late to join them on their return journey. Notebaert (24-07-1825) had a completely different idea and thought that the Tahitian was a missionary.

Prior to their arrival the Dutch were already aware of several previous visits to the Marquesas, in particular those of Von Krusenstern and Porter. However, the letters of recommendation that were shown by the Tahitian made them realise that quite a number of ships had visited Nuku Hiva. As Singendonck (1824-1825:[27]) puts it:

'... we saw that the island was visited almost every year and at the latest in 1824 in which year the last certificate was written. Therefore, we could not presume that the sight of our ship and all of us was something that was completely unfamiliar for them, though we were the first Dutchmen who came here ...'⁴⁷ (Author's translation)

Several writers mention that the lack of a (proper) interpreter and their relatively short stay meant their observations were rather brief. How the Dutch and Nuku Hivans communicated with one another will be touched upon briefly in the sections below and discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

3.2.4 Large delegation ashore

On Thursday 17 May Commanders Eeg and Geesteranus organised a large delegation for an official visit hoping to find the chief of this part of the island. The delegation

⁴⁷ Singendonck is mistaken here; some Dutchmen had already been on the Marquesas and also specifically in Taiohae (see 2.2).

included some officers from both ships, a large detachment of marines and armed men, a hundred in total, and all the musicians from the *Maria Reigersberg* (Eeg 1824-1827:[170]; Coertzen 1826:37), who played, according to Van Haersolte (1824-1834:09-1825), a Turkish drum, cymbals, a trumpet, two horns, three clarinets, a flute and a triangle.⁴⁸ On arrival on shore they went in marching order with the officers in front and Troost, as the commander of the men, immediately behind them. Surrounded by more than 700 Nuku Hivan men and women, the Dutchmen marched along the beach and into a wood of coconut trees for about fifteen minutes and to the beat of a marching tune. During this march Eeg was approached by a man, who according to Eeg only differed in appearance because of being 'slightly more tattooed' than the other men and who indicated that he was the chief. The troop marched on until they arrived at a large square with polished stones which Eeg thought must be some kind of meeting place. This shady meeting place was slightly raised and surrounded by a wall about 60cm high, made of stacked stones (Eeg 1824-1827:[170]; Haersolte 1824-1826b:[25]; Troost 1829:183-5). Eeg (1824-1827:[170]) writes:

'As soon as we approached the square an elderly man came towards me who took me by the hand and led me to the largest stone, where I had to seat myself, the chief sat down next to me and another chief also settled down and [they] tried to keep away the flies of which there are a huge number and who troubled us a lot with a kind of fan made from coconut fibres...' (Author's translation)

The officers joined Eeg, while the men, tired from the short march in the blazing sun, sat elsewhere on the wall. The commander let the musicians play. The actions of the drummers were especially enjoyed by the large crowd of merry Nuku Hivans who surrounded the square. The louder the sound, the more they preferred it. After a while the Nuku Hivans realised the Dutchmen were thirsty and immediately a couple of boys climbed into the trees and dropped many coconuts, which were opened and served (Constant Rebecque 1824-1828:[10-1]; Eeg 1824-1827:[170]; Troost 1829:185-6).

Eeg (1824-1827:[170-1]) mentions that he tried to learn more about the political situation on the island from the two chiefs. Using Von Langsdorff's word list he understood that one of them was chief of the eastern part of the Taiohae valley and the other, chief of the western part. He also understood that they were regents for a descendant of, among others, Kiatonui, who was still too young to reign himself. Eeg asked to see this descendant who was a boy of about three years old. Singendonck (1824-1825:[32]) mentions that the child was carefully guarded and raised by what he perceived to be the most eminent people. After Eeg placed some decorations around the boy's neck, he was taken away again. A slight discrepancy: Troost situated this

⁴⁸ A slight discrepancy: in an earlier letter home Van Haersolte (1824-1834:08-1824) mentions a trombone instead of a triangle.

acknowledgement of the boy-chief at the landing site, just prior to returning to the ships. Eeg gave the two adult chiefs an axe and a knife each, with which he notes they were unimpressed. According to Eeg they preferred the brandy which he had also brought (Eeg 1824-1827:[171]; Troost 1829:200-1).

After about two hours on the meeting square the party marched back to the shoreline. At the request of the chiefs the marines gave a couple of salvos of their firearms on the beach. Troost ordered his men to aim in the direction of the sea. He mentions that he had trouble to keep the Nuku Hivans, who remained standing in front of the firing platoon, away from the firearms, but luckily was able to convince them of the danger (Troost 1829:190-1). Eeg (1824-1827:[171]) comments that the Nuku Hivans on hearing the shots did not flinch at all, not even the women. Troost (1829:190-1), on the other hand, notes that they were afraid when they heard the first shots, but that they grew accustomed to them fairly quickly. They were disappointed when the firing stopped and indicated they wanted the Dutch to join them against their enemies. After this display of arms, the Dutch returned to their ships. According to Van Haersolte (1824-1834:09-1825) the whole trip had lasted about three hours. It is interesting to note that in his chapters about the visit to Nuku Hiva, Troost completely omits to refer to the fact that the Nuku Hivans were familiar with firearms. We can only guess why; it may have been either the writer's choice, or the publisher's to make the Nuku Hivans seem less familiar with visitors. Other Dutch writers, especially Eeg, Singendonck and Van Haersolte, who wrote either for their employer or for family and friends, did not make this omission.

3.2.5 Dutch activities

Although several writers showed an interest in the island and its inhabitants, it is quite obvious that the Dutch followed their own routine. They originally planned the stopover to replenish their water supply and as a rendezvous point if the ships were separated. During their stay in Taiohae they acquired provisions and made repairs to among others the rigging, and some officers were involved in scientific observations.

On 17 May, Eeg (1824-1827:[169-70]) sent men ashore to the watering place, taking with them a tent for shelter and to have their meals in. The chosen watering place was located at the north-western side of the bay next to a stream.⁴⁹ They raised the Dutch flag on top of the tent. As long as the Dutch were there, collecting water and cutting firewood, the area was guarded by armed men, a corporal and four guards according to De Constant Rebecque (1824-1828:[10-11]) and six to eight armed men as reported by Van Wageningen (1824-1827:63). The *Maria Reigersberg* chose a watering place next to a stream on the eastern side of the bay, south of the hill on

⁴⁹ Comparing Willinck's map (fig. 3.18) and De Constant Rebecque's drawing (fig. 3.17) with contemporary maps and images of Taiohae this watering place was probably in the locality Paahatea.

which Porter had built his fort.⁵⁰ They also erected a tent and guards were put in place making sure the watering place would not be contaminated by Nuku Hivans. This area was more difficult to reach than the *Pollux's* watering place. The heavy surf meant the sloops had to stay some distance from the shore, so water barrels had to be brought to land and, once filled, returned to the sloop manually. At both locations Nuku Hivans assisted with moving the water barrels and getting them back aboard the ships (Constant Rebecque 1824-1828:[10-1]; Eeg 1824-1827:[178]; Singendonck 1824-1825:[37-8]; Troost 1829:199-200; G. Willinck 1835:249; fig. 3.20). Van Wageningen (1824-1827:63-4) specifically mentions that at their watering place they were always in the company of many Nuku Hivans, some of them women who were perceived as being difficult for taking too many liberties. Willinck is the only one who mentions that officers had to be present to prevent Dutch crewmen getting into fights with Nuku Hivans (G. Willinck 1835:249).

Several astronomical instruments were carefully brought ashore through the turbulent surf. These were kept under guard in the tent at the *Pollux's* site. Lieutenant Commander Tengbergen in particular took measurements regarding longitude and latitude to test the different types of instruments, which was only possible on three days (Eeg 1824-1827:[172-3]; Tengbergen 1832:187). According to Eeg (1824-1827:[172]) this was due to weather conditions (see 3.2.11). None of the writers mention Nuku Hivans being interested in these instruments which may be because they were kept out of sight.

Apart from fresh water the Dutch also needed fresh provisions. From the published accounts of previous visitors they knew that iron tools were good objects for bartering. Therefore on leaving South America, both commanders had ordered the ships' blacksmiths to make iron tools, such as axes, saws, knives and scissors to use in the exchange for supplies (Eeg 1824-1827:[173]; Coertzen 1826:37). However, once on Nuku Hiva, they were startled that iron and iron tools were no longer as valuable as before which they attributed to the whaling vessels that regularly visited the island for provisions. As Singendonck (1824-1825:[28]) relates, the Dutch were surprised that the Nuku Hivans now wanted gunpowder for exchange. When Porter stayed on the island twelve years earlier they had not had any firearms, however, due to the influx of weapons since Porter's stay in 1813, Nuku Hivans had become more interested in firearms and gunpowder.

Tengbergen (1832:189-90) wonders if the diminished interest in iron objects was due to the high expectations the islanders had for just a small amount of this deadly powder, which put the receiver in high spirits. Willinck (1824-1826:[111]) states that the Nuku Hivans indicated they wanted to use gunpowder for tattooing,

⁵⁰ Comparing Willinck's map (fig. 3.18) with Porter's map (fig. 2.24) and contemporary maps and images of Taiohae this watering place was most likely in the part of the bay called Akapehi at Kuvea (beach) at the estuary of the Vainaho.

but he was also aware that Nuku Hivans had firearms. Oddly enough Van Wageningen (1824-1827:63) mentions that the Dutch were unaware what the gunpowder was for, because only one Nuku Hivan had an old and rusted rifle, so he thought it likely that they used the powder for tattooing.

The Dutch did not exchange firearms with the Nuku Hivans, but they did trade unusable gunpowder when bartering. Singendonck mentions another potential object for exchange, namely whale teeth but unfortunately the Dutch had no prior knowledge of the value Nuku Hivans attributed to this material, especially as it would have been easy to acquire in the South American coastal harbours where many whaling vessels anchored. Despite this, the Dutch still managed to acquire considerable provisions: just over 150 pigs, ca. 150 cocks and hens and vegetable products, such as coconuts, bananas and breadfruit (Singendonck 1824-1825:[28, 31]; Eeg 1824-1827:[173, 178]; Coertzen 1826:37). Details about the exchange between Nuku Hivans and Dutch are provided in the next chapter.

Besides acquiring pigs through exchange the Dutch sometimes hunted these themselves. De Constant Rebecque (1824-1828:[11]) mentions for example that they caught some pigs before returning to the *Pollux* after the parade on 17 May. Interestingly Eeg (1824-1827:[178]) states that there were so many pigs around that sometimes Nuku Hivans asked the Dutch to shoot them, but at other times pig hunting was not accepted by Nuku Hivans. De Constant Rebecque (1824-1828:[16]) relates that the first couple of days Nuku Hivans kept pigs away from the Dutch by chasing them into the forest. Troost (1829:203-4) describes an incident when he and three other officers went into the woods to hunt pigs and Nuku Hivans did not oppose them, but deliberately scared away the boar by yelling and clapping (see 4.3.2). The crew of the *Maria Reigersberg* pulled a fishing net through the bay a few times, which according to Eeg (1824-1827:[176]) only contained some small fish. However, Troost (1829:249) mentions that the fishing net also contained a number of crabs which the Dutch were not interested in, but Nuku Hivans enjoyed the discarded delicacy.

While anchored in Taiohae Bay, usual navy protocols continued to be followed and although obvious to the Dutch, these surprised the Nuku Hivans. Van Haersolte (1824-1826b:[21]) describes that Nuku Hivan men stayed on board until sunset and were amazed by the music played after the parade. Notebaert (24-07-1825) also relates an event concerning music being played, namely when Commander Eeg came aboard the *Maria Reigersberg*, which also surprised Nuku Hivans present.

3.2.6 Nuku Hivans aboard the ships

During their stay in Taiohae both ships regularly received Nuku Hivan visitors, who came out of curiosity or with provisions (Singendonck 1824-1825:[27]), and also helped with bringing aboard pigs and water barrels and assisted with other jobs (Eeg 1824-1827:[175]). Each day the white flag was raised in the morning and lowered at

sunset after the music following the daily parade on board. According to Van Haersolte (1824-1826b:[22]), the officer of the watch then declared the ship taboo (see 4.3.3) and all Nuku Hivans left, apart from the girls and women who were allowed to spend the night aboard to have sex with the sailors and marines, and probably with some of the officers, although not mentioned in their writings. Troost (1829:181-2) mentions that they swam to the ships. Eeg (1824-1827:[169]), however, states that the girls and women had not stayed aboard the first night and that they seldom swam to the ships around sunset. However, if sloops were sent ashore near the watering places, they generally returned with 30 to 40 women and girls. A discrepancy with Eeg: according to De Constant Rebecque (1824-1828:[5]) they were not allowed to stay on the *Pollux* on the first evening. Van Wageningen (1824-1827:68) relates an event when the women who wanted to visit the ship on the last sloop of the day, all climbed in on the same side, making the sloop tilt and take on water. When emptied eighteen to twenty women climbed in again to come aboard.

Eeg (1824-1827:[169]) called these girls 'unfortunate beings', because he was shocked that some of the girls were very young. He also mentions that prior to arrival on the island he had ordered the physician to check the ship's crew for venereal diseases and those who were infected or who had recovered from a disease, were put under guard during the night, to prevent the spreading of these diseases. However, this precaution was in vain, as noted by Van Wageningen (1824-1827:67) disease was already spreading.

After the Dutch parade ashore (see 3.2.4) Eeg and two chiefs had lunch aboard the *Pollux*. He remarks that they seemed to enjoy the meal and nothing in his saloon appeared to be new to them. One chief was very interested in the firearms and ship's guns and Eeg (1824-1827:[171-2]) says that the other chief was mainly interested in drinking and that his colleague indicated that he was a drunk. From the moment the chiefs boarded more Nuku Hivans came to the ship and lots of provisions and pigs were supplied. Eeg (1824-1827:[172]) continues:

'... daily they [the chiefs] came aboard and stayed then to my weariness for hours in my saloon sitting or lying, so that I had them sometimes refused by the sentry; next they called at the officers, [or] they went ... with the cooks, where they licked clean the casseroles or pans.' (Author's translation)

Troost (1829:225-6) and Van Haersolte (1824-1826b:[29]) also mention both chiefs being guests at the officer's table on the *Maria Reigersberg* several times. According to Troost (1829:225), they were joined by the Tahitian and by a Nuku Hivan man named Poopie (see 3.2.8), with whom he had some kind of rapport.

3.2.7 Dutch ashore

When the work on the *Pollux* was done, Eeg (1824-1827:[173]) let some seamen, marines and petty officers go ashore to enjoy themselves. This must also have happened on the other ship, since Van Haersolte (1824-1834:09-1825) says that when he was off duty, he went swimming with two other young fellow officers near the watering place of the *Maria Reigersberg*. Eeg (1824-1827:[173, 175]) mentions that the absence of pubs ensured the men always returned to the ship on time and that, when ashore they would often be accompanied by several Nuku Hivans, who were very friendly and would get coconuts from the trees when the Dutch became thirsty. Most of these Dutchmen were, just like the Nuku Hivans, unarmed and Eeg (1824-1827:[175]) did not know of any altercations, but realised this might have been due to the fact that the Nuku Hivans were apprehensive of the large number of Dutchmen⁵¹ and their strong firepower. Troost and Willinck shared this opinion (Troost 1829:240; G. Willinck 1835:249).

While ashore some officers had noted that a number of rifles were present in several houses, some of them in quite good condition. However, according to Van Haersolte (1824-1834:09-1825) most firearms were incomplete; part of the fire mechanism was lacking and pieces of flintlock missing. Eeg (1824-1827:[173]) relates that a Nuku Hivan brought a firearm aboard that was in bad condition and that his steward had found a keg of about 25 pounds of gunpowder in a dwelling. Eeg (1824-1827:[173]) expresses that the Nuku Hivans might do more harm to themselves with the gunpowder and firearms than to their enemies. This is endorsed by Van Haersolte (1824-1834:09-1825) in one of his letters home:

'However, they did not really understand the effects of the gunpowder, because if they had received a handful or more, they put this in a coconut and if it rained or not, they did not cover it, also they put it often near a fire or smoked a pipe close by...' (Author's translation).

Singendonck (1824-1825:[28-9]) thought it inhumane that whalers traded firearms for supplies, because it could cause havoc amongst a people who were at war with one another most of the time.⁵²

3.2.8 Poopie

Troost often mentions a Nuku Hivan man with whom he had become friendly and whose name probably was Poopie. Interestingly, no other writers refer to this man. Troost (1829:251) describes Poopie as one of the most heavily tattooed persons

⁵¹ When the Dutch ships arrived in Taiohae they still had a total of 453 crew on board (see Appendix B).

⁵² Their concerns were not unfounded, as Dening (1974:27) describes that there are shocking stories of Marquesan fighting men who went to battlefields with firearms loaded with far too much gunpowder and that apart from the shooters themselves not many enemies were injured. He also mentions that the loud noise of firing a gun was probably deemed more important than its actual use as a weapon.

amongst his people and estimates that he was over six feet tall and in his mid-thirties. One of Troost's friends made a drawing of Poopie, but 'as he could not sit still without moving' he constantly wanted to see what the portraitist was doing. Poopie seemed pleased with the way in which the artist had captured 'the lines, figures and other adornments cut into his skin' (Troost 1829:225).

Troost states that he regularly talked with Poopie, using the Tahitian, Roebèl, as interpreter. Apparently Poopie would wait on shore whenever Troost left the ship to meet up with him and would give him small presents, such as coconuts, but would not take anything in return. On one occasion aboard, Troost let him wear a shirt and white trousers and then showed him a mirror. Poopie 'looked at the reflection of his face and stature ... and the officers standing around him with signs of a high state of astonishment.' (Troost 1829:223). Troost also relates that he once miscalculated the distance from the sloop to the shore and was taken by the surf, quickly losing consciousness as he could not swim. Poopie saw this happening and dived after him, rescuing Troost from drowning (1829:222-4, 250).

One day when Troost came ashore with another officer, Poopie beckoned them to follow him to his dwelling. The two officers followed him through difficult wooded terrain with lots of brooks and small streams to cross. At one point they thought they had lost Poopie and were afraid they had been led astray. However, he had just gone to fetch a piglet which Troost did not want to accept. This upset Poopie and to prevent things from escalating, Troost started to laugh and using gestures instead of words, he asked Poopie to have the pig brought to the ship. The walk continued until the two officers reached Poopie's home, a hut where five people were present, one of whom was Poopie's seven year old child who was severely ill. When Troost asked to see Poopie's wife, he said 'Matti!, Matti!' and indicated they should follow him. He took them to a closed hut and on a trestle about five foot high lay Poopie's embalmed wife, wrapped in pieces of barkcloth. Troost thought the mats on the floor were where Poopie and his son slept. Poopie then took Troost and his fellow officer back to the beachfront. On the walk back they came across a kind of cemetery [meàe] where he asked Poopie for a skull. About an hour and a half after returning aboard Poopie stealthily followed with a fine skull. Troost concludes that Poopie must have stolen it (1829:227-33). It is unclear why he was so interested in acquiring a skull and if any of the other Dutchmen collected human remains.

Two days before the Dutch left Nuku Hiva, Troost received a club from Poopie. Troost had drawn an image in the sand of a club he had seen in Porter's journal, to show Poopie what he was interested in and just a few days later some islanders in canoes visited the *Maria Reigersberg* and brought the club aboard. Several crew members tried in vain to acquire it from them, but they wanted to give it to 'Poopie', as Troost was called by them, after an exchange of names. When he heard their voices, Troost came on deck and received the club from Poopie, who said 'Typhies! Typhies!',

from which Troost concluded that the club must have been booty from the Taipi.⁵³ In return, Troost gave Poopie an old uniform jacket and white linen trousers. Troost allegedly also received from Poopie, as shown on a plate in his book (fig. 2.32), a head ornament and a breast ornament, both decorated with seeds, a leg ornament with small shells, a sling and a ceremonial staff. When the ships were about to leave Poopie was still on board and according to Troost (1829:256-7) he became very sad and started to cry and did not want to leave the ship. Eventually he left the *Maria Reigersberg*, swam ashore and then stood watching the ship leave Taiohae Bay.

3.2.9 Tattooing and appearance

Of all writers Singendonck provides the most detail about the appearance of the men in Taiohae Bay, describing them as being 'well-proportioned, large in stature, well-muscled' and considering them to be good-looking with lively eyes and snow-white teeth (1824-1825:[27-28]). Their skin was brown, becoming darker with age. Out of curiosity he measured one of the tall, though not the tallest, man as being 'six feet and four inches according to the Rhineland standard', or almost 199cm⁵⁴ (Singendonck 1824-1825:[35]). Troost (1829:198) mentions that the average height of both men and women was five and a half to six feet. The Dutch also gave general descriptions about their clothing. Eeg (1824-1827:[174]) mentions that men only wore loincloths and occasionally one wore a kind of mat around the shoulders and Troost (1829:192, 195, 244) states that one chief wore a woven mat this way, but that many men were naked, apart from having their foreskin tied with a piece of string. Similar remarks were made regarding women's garments. For example Singendonck (1824-1825:[35]) mentions that women wore a piece of barkcloth wrapped in different styles around the body and Eeg (1824-1827:[174]) describes that women wore white or yellow barkcloth made from the paper mulberry tree, which was wrapped around the waist and hung down to the knees. Some also mention the ornaments they saw Nuku Hivans wearing, but without specifying the circumstances of the persons described or if certain things were worn at specific occasions. Eeg (1824-1827:[174]) observes, for example, 'their ornaments [of men] consist of a neck ring with red beans, knobs in their ears made from white shells, a boar tusk on the chest, sometimes, though very rarely, the head was adorned with cock's feather's, although most had nothing.' De Constant Rebecque is one of the few who realises that certain ornaments, such as a head ornament with red beans or the red bean chest ornament were only worn by certain people, who he believes must be important because they were more tattooed (1824-1828:[16]).

Tattooing is one of the few cultural practices with which most early visitors to the Marquesas were fascinated. Having read books from previous visitors to these

⁵³ Troost must have received an ūu, as this is the type of club which is depicted in Porter (1815: after p. 36).

⁵⁴ A Rhineland foot measures 31.39cm and a Rhineland inch 2.616cm, so the Nuku Hivan must have been 198.804cm tall.

islands none of the writers were surprised to observe this practice. Eeg (1824-1827:[174]) named it their most important form of body decoration. The Dutch knew that the number of tattoos a person had, might depend on his or her social status and their age. With the men, Singendonck (1824-1825:[32]) states, tattooing started after boyhood and could continue until someone was forty to fifty years old. Some of the elder men were almost completely covered in tattoos which made their skin much darker and, as Singendonck (1824-1825:[32]) puts it 'gave them a more cruel and fiercer appearance than nature has given them.' Eeg (1824-1827:[174-5]) notes that not all adults and youths were tattooed, indeed those with the lowest status were not tattooed at all. De Constant Rebecque (1824-1828:[13]) mentions that among the elder men he noticed that some were tattooed differently to others and he thought these men might be priests.

Singendonck was really interested in tattooing and wrote more extensively about this practice. He describes how tattooing was only done by masters, who were paid a certain number of pigs in accordance with the complexity and scale of the design. This explained why only the most affluent could afford many tattoos. Singendonck witnessed a tattoo session when he entered a dwelling (fig. 3.22) where the person tattooed was held down by a few men to ensure he would not move while the tattooist was at work. First the tattooist drew the design with paint made from burned coconuts⁵⁵ mixed with water. Then he used an adze-like tool, made from a piece of bone tied to a bamboo stick, and ticked on it with a stick to puncture the skin. When the design was complete, the ruptured skin was rubbed with the same dye. This caused swelling, but once dry there were no scars and the figures were neatly shown in a bluish black colour (Singendonck 1824-1825:[32-3]). Troost (1829:196) remarks that the swelling took several days to heal but no soothing remedy was applied, and concluded that a newly tattooed person must be in severe pain for quite some time.

Many different tattoo motifs were described with higher status men often having a very even design of figures over their bodies. Troost (1829:195) thinks these looked like cuirasses and leg armour.⁵⁶ Singendonck (1824-1825:[32-3]) states that the designs were well chosen and followed the joints. Other men were described as having just some figures, such as sharks, chickens, cocks, (flying) fish and other animals. Van Haersolte (1824-1834:09-1825) thought that the war chiefs had a rooster on their breast and other brave men a shark. Troost (1829:195-6) opines that the image of a shark showed how afraid Nuku Hivans were of them. Facial tattoos

⁵⁵ Singendonck is incorrect: burned coconut is not used as tattooing pigment, but the fatty soot which remains from burning nuts of the candlenut tree [*Aleurites moluccana*] (Ottino-Garanger & Ottino-Garanger, 1998:56).

⁵⁶ The notion of tattooing as armour is also explored by Gell (1993:188-93, 217) and Thomas (1995:102-10), figuratively connecting the images tattooed on the body with social-ranking, political standing and spiritual safeguard.

were least favoured by among others Troost (1829:195), for example a tattooed eyelid or broad stripes criss-crossed over the face. As Eeg (1824-1827:[175]) puts it: 'the latter gives some of these otherwise so handsome people a horrible appearance.' The women had fewer tattoos and Van Haersolte (1824-1834:09-1825) describes some features of female facial tattoos: 'most have four blue stripes over their lips, starting in the mouth at the gums ending outside near the chin and others have a blue stripe over their face as if a ribbon has been tied across.' Troost (1829:196) mentions that women had their arms tattooed with short thin lines from the fingers to just beneath the shoulder. Eeg (1824-1827:[175]) indicates that these designs started at the top of the fingers to somewhere above the wrist and looked like gloves. Some women also had bands tattooed around their arms. Both Van Haersolte (1824-1834:09-1825) and Notebaert (24-07-1825) commented on the evenness of the tattoos.

Apart from descriptions of tattoos and tattooing some images of tattooed men were made. Singendonck (1824-1825:[33]) mentions that he had drawn a Nuku Hivan and took great care to render his tattoos, but unfortunately the whereabouts of this drawing are unknown. An image of a Nuku Hivan man is included in Troost's publication which he claims represents Poopie (Troost 1829:250-1; see 3.2.8/fig. 2.33). The engraving in black and white was created by naval officer Quirijn Ver Huell who did not participate in the Dutch voyage. Whose drawing the image is based on is unknown, so it is unclear how much of this drawing is the interpretation of someone who did not see the actual person. The image shows a standing man holding a long paddle-shaped club in his right hand with his left hand pointed towards the left. In the lower background a vague tropical landscape has been depicted. The man's head is turned halfway to the right, showing his left ear which holds a small knob. His hair is tied up in a top knot and he has a beard. He wears a necklace of unidentifiable roundish shaped pieces threaded together. His only clothing is a loincloth and he is tattooed all over his body, including his face. This ornamentation consists mainly of bands of parallel lines on head, arms and feet, circular parallel lines on the chest, with solid tattooed surfaces on the upper and lower chest. On his abdomen are parallel vertical lines and chevrons. His legs show different sets of parallel lines in circular, chevron and square shapes. Van Haersolte's journal also contains an image of a tattooed man (fig. 3.23), drawn in pencil and watercolour, showing a standing man holding the basis of a long unfinished club with his left arm with his right arm pointed towards the lower right. His right leg is stretched sideways and his left leg is bent. In the left lower background is a vague tropical landscape. This man's head is turned halfway to the right as well, showing his left ear which holds what looks like a shell ear ornament with a pin towards the back. His black hair is tied up in a topknot. He wears a necklace of what seems to be orange cone shaped pandanus seeds strung together. His only piece of clothing is a loincloth. Apart from his feet he is tattooed over his whole body, including his face which has several broad bands across his face

and some shorter diagonal lines. His arms have bands of parallel lines some of which are semi-circular continuing onto his chest. On his abdomen are two shark-like shapes. His legs show different sets of parallel lines in square and chevron shapes. He is a light shade of brown with dark grey tattoo motifs. As there are similarities between the two images, especially in hairstyle, tattoo motifs and necklace, it is possible that both images depict the same man.

3.2.10 Eating human flesh

Another cultural practice foreign visitors were fascinated with, and afraid of, was the practice of Marquesans eating human flesh, although as Denig (1980:248-9) states it is often difficult to separate fact from fiction. The Dutch were no exception and Eeg enquired of the chiefs who visited him regularly if they ate human flesh which they denied, but indicated that their enemies, the Taipi, did indeed eat their prisoners' flesh. However, Eeg (1824-1827:[176-7]) had heard a Nuku Hivan at the watering place state that when they imprisoned their enemies, they killed and ate them. De Constant Rebecque (1824-1828:15) relates how such a message was told to him: 'They were showing us by unequivocal signs that they were eating the typis [Taipi],_ (typi matté ky ky, motakil) by biting their arm was their response.' Several stories were told by the Tahitian, Roebèl. Van Haersolte (1824-1834:09-1825) thought that the Nuku Hivans preferred human flesh to pork and normally only ate their enemies but would eat their fellows during a famine. Van Wageningen (1824-1827:62), Notebaert (24-07-1825) and De Constant Rebecque (1824-1828:[10]) were told that Von Krusenstern's interpreter Robarts was taken and eaten by the Taipi. The latter was also told that this had happened to two other Europeans too, but he wonders if it were not actually people of this valley who had eaten them. Notebaert (24-07-1825) mentions that the Tahitian, although he thought he was a missionary, liked to eat human flesh just as much as the Nuku Hivans. Troost spoke with Roebèl about eating human flesh and learned that it was not eaten regularly. The affectionate way Roebèl could talk about the sweet taste of human flesh made Troost shiver (1829:213-4). Singendonck seems not to have spoken with Roebèl, but in his journal he considers the writings of Von Krusenstern, Von Langsdorff and Porter on this topic. He describes the Nuku Hivans as mild and kind people and thought the first two writers were wrong in assuming that their men would eat their own women and children in case of famine; only enemies were at risk of being eaten (Singendonck 1824-1825:37). Van Wageningen (1824-1827:65) reports that he saw human skulls hanging by their hair underneath the roof in several dwellings.

Gory interest and disgust of being with a people in the habit of eating other human beings made the Dutch feel on edge. This was especially the case if they were few in number, thus highly outnumbered and completely surrounded by Nuku Hivans. Troost (1829:238-40) mentions a couple of incidents when this happened and they

feared for their lives. In hindsight he thought their firepower had made the Nuku Hivans fearful of killing and eating them, since none of the crew met with any harm during their stay.

3.2.11 Weather conditions

Being a navy voyage the crew were trained to record weather conditions, as such it is unsurprising that this practice continued while being moored in Taiohae. During their stay it rained every day, often with downpours, and especially at night sea and land winds were alternating (Eeg 1824-1827:[178]; Tengbergen 1832:186). Eeg (1824-1827:[178-9]) mentions that the thermometer, situated on deck in the shade, generally gave temperatures of 30 to 32 degrees Celsius, but during heavy rain it dropped to 26 degrees. Van Haersolte (1824-1834:09-1825) says that because of all the rainfall waterfalls appeared, sometimes as many as twenty, presenting a nice view (fig. 3.21). A particularly noteworthy day regarding weather conditions, referred to in most accounts, was Thursday 19 May: an enormous cloudburst with thunder and lightning. So much rain was flowing down the mountains with such force that the streams swelled over, tripling in size. Large trees, such as coconut and breadfruit, were uprooted, as well as some dwellings, and flushed away by the water. By the time the rain stopped the bay was covered in brushwood and trees, with animals such as mice and rats in them (Constant Rebecque 1824-1828:16; Eeg 1824-1827:[179]; Haersolte 1824-1834:09-1825; Notebaert:24-07-1825; Singendonck 1824-1825:[34]; Tengbergen 1832:186; Troost 1829:237; Van Wageningen 1824-1827:64-5). Van Wageningen (1824-1827:64) says that he went ashore early on the stormy day, although he places this event on 20 May, and walked quite far into one of the valleys, presumably with one or more comrades. They were overtaken by the storm and the heavy rains had made their firearms unusable. Troost (1829:238) mentions that some floating trees were picked up by crewmen and chopped up for firewood. Troost and Eeg (1824-1827:[179]) both refer to the fact that two Nuku Hivans had died, being swept away into the bay by the force of the water. Van Wageningen (1824-1827:65) mentions that the body of one Nuku Hivan washed up ashore the next day.

3.2.12 Trip to Hakatea

On Monday 23 May, Eeg sent a large armed sloop, led by Lieutenant Commanders Coops and Tengbergen, to another bay on the south coast of Nuku Hiva, which Von Krusenstern had called Tschitschagoff and Porter named Lewis Bay, to investigate whether it would be suitable for warships (Eeg 1824-1827:[180]).⁵⁷ This trip seems to

⁵⁷ There are two discrepancies in the different sources: Firstly, De Constant Rebecque mentions that the trip took place on 24 May, but Eeg, Tengbergen, Troost and Willinck state that the trip took place on 23 May 1825. Secondly, in his article Tengbergen mentions that they went with two sloops, however, Eeg, De Constant Rebecque and Troost mention that only one longboat was sent (Eeg 1824-1827:[180]; Constant Rebecque 1824-1828:[19]; Willinck 1824-1826:[113]; Tengbergen 1832:183; Troost 1829:255).

have been instigated mainly by the fact that previous visitors had done this before and that Eeg wanted to have these observations checked. The sloop left around 5am and took over two hours to row to the bay of Hakatea (figs. 3.24/3.25). Before going ashore they gauged the depth of the bay in several places and established the type of soil and its suitability for anchoring. They then turned their attention to the shore and noticed a freshwater stream and a sandy beach on which it was easy to land. They also noted two valleys in this bay, the western one was inhabited, but the eastern one was uninhabited and would therefore be a good site for a workshop, because it could be secured with a cannon (Constant Rebecque 1824-1828:19; Tengbergen 1832:183-5).

The longboat landed on the eastern beach and the crew walked along a path to the western bay to meet the valley's inhabitants, some of whom had already come to the longboat. The number of Nuku Hivans around them grew steadily, offering produce, such as bananas, coconuts and chickens, and, according to De Constant Rebecque (1824-1828:19), clubs, pikes and ornaments, such as necklaces,⁵⁸ which they exchanged for iron and gunpowder. The Dutch estimated the inhabitants to total about a sixth of those of Taiohae and therefore concluded that provisions available here would be proportionally less than in Taiohae. Around 3pm the longboat started its return journey, which took around three hours due to rowing against the swell (Constant Rebecque 1824-1828:19; Tengbergen 1832:183-5).

3.2.13 Departure

Although repairs on the *Pollux* and necessary provisions were already completed on 21 May, the work on the *Maria Reigersberg* took a few days longer. On Wednesday 25 May those repairs were also finished and both ships started preparing to leave for their onward journey. De Constant Rebecque (1824-1828:[21-2]) mentions that in order to stop all dealings with the Nuku Hivans, imitating Von Krusenstern, Commander Eeg fired a cannon and raised a red flag to declare the *Pollux* taboo. However, the *Maria Reigersberg* did not immediately do the same which made the Nuku Hivans turn their attention completely to that ship. Van Wageningen (1824-1827:67-8) mentions that on this last evening about 40 women, who were used to visiting the ship on the last sloop, swam to the *Pollux*, but were not allowed to board. At 9am on Thursday 26 May both ships left Taiohae, leaving behind a Brazilian seaman, John Gonsalvi, who after several previous attempts in other ports of call, finally managed to desert (Eeg 1824-1827:[181-2]; Stamboeken 1824-1829; Willinck 1824-1826:[115]; G. Willinck 1835:251).

The three youngest writers are the only ones to mention seeing canoes arriving from elsewhere when the Dutch ships left the bay of Taiohae. Van Haersolte mentions seeing a few canoes in his travelogue, and in his ship's journal states seeing at least

⁵⁸ No objects have been connected to this particular encounter.

twenty. He thought these must be Taipi coming to steal objects the Dutch had exchanged with people in Taiohae (1824-1826a:[21]; 1824-1826b:[26]). De Constant Rebecque mentions seeing five or six canoes which he thought came from another island (1824-1828:[22]). Van Wageningen (1824-1827:67-8) states that on leaving the bay, they encountered nine canoes sailing towards the island each holding eight to twelve armed men.

3.3 CONCLUSION

A narrative of occurrences during the Dutch stay on Nuku Hiva has been reconstructed. None of the writers is exhaustive but put together their accounts complement one another, making it possible to describe the stay in detail. To place this visit in the context of other visits, Denning in his 1980 study of Marquesan history describes a pattern to European and American visits based on an extensive investigation of ships' journals and travelogues. On arrival, ships were approached by a beachcomber who offered to act as an intermediary or, when none was present, the ships' captains would endeavour to locate the leader among the Marquesans approaching in canoes. Women followed swimming and, if allowed, came aboard to have sex with the men. For security reasons, only Marquesan women were usually allowed to stay on board during the night. Unless the captain was afraid his men might run away, crew members were generally allowed to go ashore, although not many were keen to do this. Exchange for provisions was in the hands of captains, who would also engage with and entertain the chiefly class. Once provisions, water and firewood were stocked, exchanged for foreign and often second-hand goods, the ships departed without, from a European perspective, leaving any unfinished business with the Marquesans (Denning 1980:122-4). As has been seen, the visit of the Dutch broadly follows this sequence of events. The Dutch were mainly concerned with acquiring fresh water and provisions and also with repairing their ships. Actions undertaken by them, such as delegations ashore as well as receiving visitors aboard, were all activities associated with these ends. The Dutch, and also the Nuku Hivans, tried to regulate their mutual dealings and the circumstances under which they took place. This will be further explored in the next chapter.

As the Dutch mainly relied on information from previous accounts, such as those by Von Krusenstern (1811b), Von Langsdorff (1818) and Porter (1815), in addition to their own observations, not many previously unknown aspects of life in Taiohae in the 1820s were described. Some aspects of Marquesan culture, such as tattooing and cannibalism, captivated them, but what they write about these practices does not provide new information. However, new insights are provided by the two images of a tattooed Marquesan man. In the case of the drawing by Van Haersolte, the image itself was discovered during this research project, adding a new image to the

existing limited pictorial corpus. In the case of the print in Troost's book, which has been reproduced several times (e.g. Steinen 1925:144; Ottino-Garanger 1998:68, 125), new contextual information regarding the image's maker has been uncovered.

One topic on which most visitors to the Marquesas make only brief comments in their ship's journals and travelogues is weather conditions (e.g. Dodge 1940:384-90; Paulding 1831:46, 71). Generally, weather is referenced when inconveniences are experienced, such as Shillibeer (1817:62) mentioning heavy rains making a hill track almost impassable and Porter (1815:99) describing heavy downpours during the Taipi campaign (see also 2.2), which had made it difficult to keep firearms and gunpowder dry. The extraordinary weather conditions the Dutch experienced on 19 May 1825, a cloudburst followed by extreme flooding of streams, must have made a big impression on them, as it was described by most writers. Flooding as a result of heavy rains must have occurred frequently but does not seem to have been recorded often by early visitors, although a similar occurrence resulting in the loss of Marquesan lives, which had happened sometime before 1797, was mentioned by Crook (2007:96) regarding Vaitahu on Tahuata.

Following the examples of the 1804 Krusenstern expedition and Porter's 1813 visit, the Dutch also undertook an expedition to Hakatea. The daytrip to Hakatea seems to have passed without serious incident, just as one made by Lieutenant Hiram Paulding of the schooner *Dolphin* four months later (1831:61-4). This situation was quite different the following year when the Russian ship *Krotky* commanded by Ferdinand von Wrangel anchored in Hakatea Bay in April 1826 for a couple of days. After an initially friendly encounter tension arose because the Nuku Hivans were only interested in guns and gunpowder in exchange for provisions. As the Russians were unwilling to exchange these, and possibly because they held a priest hostage,⁵⁹ the Nuku Hivans attacked them using firearms, killing four Russians, which led to more violence on both sides. According to a few beachcombers, similar incidents had happened in Hakatea and elsewhere on Nuku Hiva in the previous two years (Govor 2010:263-8). The violence during this Russian-Marquesan encounter, and other encounters around the same time mentioned by the beachcombers, is in sharp contrast to the narrative of the Dutch visit described in this chapter, which presents as complete a view as possible, from their own perspective. This narrative provides the background to the analysis of the Dutch-Marquesan encounters discussed in the next chapter, one feature of which is the conflict avoiding strategies which were employed by both Dutch and Nuku Hivans.

⁵⁹ Govor (2010:268) mentions that the hostage taking was not mentioned in Wrangel's publication, but that this is mentioned in the ship's log.

Chapter 4

Analysis of the Dutch-Marquesan encounter on Nuku Hiva

The previous chapter shows that there were many occasions on which Dutch and Marquesans interacted during the former's visit in May 1825. For the Dutch, the stopover on Nuku Hiva was a deliberate choice inspired by the necessity to acquire fresh water because extra crew on board both ships meant insufficient water could be stored for a non-stop crossing from South America to the Dutch East Indies. They were aware of previous visits to the Marquesas Islands through available travelogues, so had some idea of what to expect. However, the most recent information was probably Porter's journal (1815), whose experiences dated from a decade earlier. On arriving on Nuku Hiva, the Dutch did not have access to European interpreters, as both Porter and Krusenstern had, so they had to figure out how to deal with the local people by themselves, relying heavily on the published experiences of previous visitors. The unexpected arrival of two Dutch ships meant the inhabitants of Taiohae Bay suddenly had to deal with many uninvited guests. They had to identify ways in which to deal with these men so that no harm would come to them and to acquire desirable objects and materials, which they knew from experience foreign ships usually brought with them.

Both sides had to develop strategies to cope with these strangers in effective ways in order to achieve their own objectives. From the Dutch sources three main elements of coping strategies can be discerned: communication, diplomacy and boundaries. A fourth element, which can also be an objective in itself, is exchange. These four components are explored in this chapter. Communication concerns the ways in which the Dutch and Marquesans conveyed information between each other. Diplomacy, a way to avoid conflict, is about the relationships between high-ranking individuals from both sides. The section on boundaries deals with the physical and figurative limits that were set by the Dutch and the Marquesans. Exchange deals with objects and materials changing hands from one party to another. The chosen elements are not just relevant for the Dutch visit but also apply to the experiences and writings of other foreign visits to the Marquesas.

In this chapter elements from the narrative in the previous chapter are examined and specific instances from Dutch sources have been added. The extracted information is put into the perspective of ethnohistorical studies about Marquesan history and culture and is compared with other visits and visitors in the decades before and after the Dutch visit. The available sources are all from the Dutch, from which Marquesan agency can be extrapolated by interrogating the situations

described. By reading the Dutch texts not just literally but also by what Douglas (1998:162) refers to as 'creative ... reading' and Denning (1991:369) as 'critical reading', Dutch preconceptions and misunderstandings can be identified and possible Marquesan perspectives inferred.

4.1 COMMUNICATION

Language is one of the most important ways of communication between people. Of all the many languages spoken aboard the Dutch ships, Marquesan, or any other Polynesian language, was not among them. Similarly, there does not seem to have been someone available who was fluent in speaking a common language that was understood by the Dutch among the people present in Taiohae, although some Nuku Hivans used a few English terms, picked up from earlier foreign visits. However, information was transmitted, either implicitly by actions or directly via some form of communication. In this section the ways in which both Dutch and Nuku Hivans communicated with each other are discussed. First the ambivalent role of the Tahitian and his (non-)position as an interpreter is explored, followed by a section on the Dutch learning some Marquesan words (or sounds), partly helped by an available word list. Finally, communication without using words or language is considered. Given the short stay of the Dutch, communication in the sense of imparting or exchanging information takes place in a relatively superficial way. It appears that not much in-depth cultural or social information was shared or understood.

4.1.1 The (lack of an) interpreter

When the Dutch arrived in Taiohae no Westerner came forward who could act as an interpreter, as they knew had been the case during the visits of Von Krusenstern in 1804 and Porter in 1813. According to Denning Westerners who remained on the Marquesas for some time and mastered the Marquesan language to a certain extent, would often act as intermediaries between the crews of European and American ships and Marquesans and they would come forward as soon as a ship entered the bay (1980:110, 122). A day after the arrival of the Dutch a Tahitian man presented himself to both Dutch ships (see 3.2.3). However, the officers in charge thought his proficiency in English was insufficient to be of any use. Eeg (1824-1827:[173]) indicates that the Tahitian 'was no more civilised than' Nuku Hivans, clearly showing his prejudice against non-Europeans. Only Troost, and to a lesser extent Van Haersolte, seem to have had dealings with the Tahitian as an interpreter of sorts. However, most officers appear to have rejected the Tahitian's offer. The role of the Tahitian in Marquesan society is unclear as he does not seem to have been put forward as an interpreter by the two chiefs either, whereas during other visits some foreigners who lived in Taiohae,

and who acted as interpreters, were part of a chief's retinue (e.g. Paulding 1831:70; Robarts 1974).

The Dutch had several ideas about how the Tahitian came to be on Nuku Hiva. A combination of Van Haersolte's and Troost's ideas seems to come together in the writings of Graaner, the Swede who was a passenger on the British ship *Rebecca*. When he visited Taiohae in 1819 he met four Tahitians, two of whom spoke some English, who had been left there by an American sandalwood trader and who hoped to return home with a ship bound for Tahiti (Åkerrén 1983:34, 38). Could one of them perhaps have been the Tahitian left behind by his fellow countrymen, as mentioned by Troost (1829:191)? Notebaert's suggestion of the Tahitian being a missionary seems less likely, since the 1825 Tahitian mission was established on Tahuata.

Just six weeks after the Dutch left, the American trade ship *Endeavour* visited Taiohae for just two days. In his concise ship's log Captain Gillis did not mention having encountered anyone who spoke English (Dodge 1940:385). However, on 30 September 1825, four months after the Dutch visit, the USS *Dolphin* arrived in Taiohae to a very different situation. Paulding (1831:47) mentions that among the *Dolphin's* first visitors were two English sailors, runaways from whaling ships, who had been on the Marquesas for some time, although how long remains unclear, and could speak Marquesan. One may have been beachcomber and interpreter William Morrison, who, according to Denning (1980:138-9), arrived on Nuku Hiva in 1822 and died there in 1833 (Wallace 2005:282-4). Paulding states that both Englishmen lived with a chief and were much respected. They were accompanied by a Nuku Hivan man from Taiohae, who called himself John Luxon, and a Tahitian. Both had allegedly worked on whale ships and spoke some English (Paulding 1831:47, 50, 70). The Tahitian is probably the same person met by the Dutch, although Paulding mentions another way in which he came to be on Nuku Hiva. The others were probably not present in Taiohae in May 1825. The question remains why, if these Englishmen and John Luxon were already on Nuku Hiva, they were not in Taiohae at that time. Hypothetically it is possible that they were among the men in canoes seen by Van Haersolte, De Constant Rebecque and Van Wageningen when the Dutch left the bay of Taiohae.

4.1.2 Learning Marquesan words

The unavailability of an acceptable interpreter meant the Dutch and the Nuku Hivans had to use other means of communication. One useful tool for the Dutch was the word list published in Von Langsdorff's travelogue (1818). Both Eeg and Willinck considered it to be relatively limited in number of terms, but nevertheless helpful (Eeg 1824:169; G. Willinck 1835:251). Singendonck (1824-1825:[34]) says that although time was insufficient to learn the language, there were a couple of words that one could pick up, because the Nuku Hivans used them frequently, such as 'motakie', which he describes

as meaning lovely or beautiful. He also notes the word 'mattie', which means dead or death, which he knew was similar to the Malay word for death.⁶⁰ In his journal Singendonck includes a list of sixteen words gathered during his stay (1824-1825:[34]; see Appendix D). They relate mostly to practical dealings, such as words for animals and a few concepts. Troost included a slightly more elaborate list of 25 words in his travelogue, which he states he compiled with the Tahitian's help in providing him with an English translation (1829:234-5; see Appendix D). Comparing both lists with the extensive one in the Dutch version of Von Langsdorff's publication (1818:284-95), which was available on board, there are too many differences to assume that Singendonck and Troost simply copied elements from this. It is therefore very likely that they compiled these lists themselves. Whereas Von Langsdorff assembled his word list from a scientific perspective, both Dutchmen seem to have started it mainly out of curiosity and perhaps for practical reasons. The value of these word lists from a linguistic viewpoint is limited, although several words can be related to present-day Marquesan. However, they give an impression of how the Dutch tried to understand Marquesan in order to communicate.

Some of the words mentioned by both Singendonck and Troost are also related by others, in particular Van Haersolte and De Constant Rebecque. One word is 'motaki(e)', which Nuku Hivans used a lot for everything they liked according to Van Haersolte (1824-1826b:[21-2]). Something similar is mentioned by other visitors, such as Von Langsdorff (1817:353, 355; 1818:287) who specifies that 'mei tahi-mitaki' stands for something 'good' or 'this is good', and Porter (1815:49-50) who mentions that 'Motakee' covers, depending on the tone of voice, several degrees of 'good'. Another Marquesan word that figures regularly in Dutch writings is the word for dead or death, often in connection with their enemies the Taipi, as in the example Van Haersolte relates: '... if they now came to us with pigs their cries were either tokkie [toki], tokkie, that is an axe, or Pou Pou tijpie [Taipi], Mattie, Mattie, which meant gunpowder to kill Tijpjes [Taipi]' (1824-1834:09-1825). De Constant Rebecque (1824-1828:[14]) provides a similar phrase Nuku Hivans used while pointing at their firearms 'Typi [Taipi] Matte. Pou!' as if they wanted to involve the Dutch in fighting their enemies. As these examples show, not many words were necessary to understand one another. At first glance these short sentences resemble a young child's way of expressing him- or herself, which may have been the way the Dutch perceived it. However, from their perspective, Nuku Hivans must have realised that it was useless to use more words, since most foreigners would not understand them. Therefore, the inhabitants of Taiohae must have had similar thoughts about the Dutch. Troost tried to teach Nuku Hivans a few Dutch words, namely 'ja' [yes] and 'nee' [no], but to his surprise even the chiefs had forgotten them the following day (1829:234). He

⁶⁰ Prior to this voyage Singendonck had already been in the Dutch East Indies, when he served on the brig *Irene*, on which he took part in the *Palembang War* (1819-1821) (Meis 1841:122-3).

completely overlooked the fact that there was no incentive for Nuku Hivans to want to learn these exotic words.

4.1.3 Non-verbal communication

The arrival of the Dutch in the bay of Taiohae does not completely follow the 'rhythm' of a visit as Dening (1980:122) describes it, since no canoes approached them or people swam to them as soon as they anchored. However, Nuku Hivans must have been aware the Dutch were approaching, as men were signalling at the entrance to the bay (see 3.2.1). People in the bay must also have been aware but maybe the watchmen also let them know that the approaching ships were different from those that had visited before, they had a large crew on board and were heavily armed. Although perhaps unaware of this, the Dutch in their large navy vessels were conveying a message of power, which may have been the reason Nuku Hivans kept their distance and waited ashore to see what these strangers were going to do. The Nuku Hivans had hoisted a white flag on one of the dwellings near the beach. Shillibeer (1817:35) mentions that on arrival of HMS *Briton* nine years earlier, the inhabitants of Taiohae had fled fearing that Porter might be returning to punish them for killing some of the men he had left behind. Realising the ship was from a different country, they returned to the shore.

It was not until a white flag was raised on both Dutch ships that Nuku Hivans started approaching (see 3.2.1). Throughout their stay this raising of the white flag was repeated every day and showed Nuku Hivans when they were welcome aboard (see 3.2.6). At the end of the stay a red flag was used declaring that a ship no longer wished to receive Nuku Hivans (see 3.2.13). The Dutch were not the only foreign visitors to use white and red flags this way, as according to Dening this was commonly used by ship's captains for communicating messages of being welcome or not to a ship (1980:51).

Some other forms of non-verbal communication were mentioned by Troost. For example, Nuku Hivans used twigs to show how many pigs were available for exchange (1829:240). Troost and the Nuku Hivan man he befriended would communicate with one another by making gestures (1829:228). Once Troost drew an image in the sand of a war club he had seen depicted in Porter's book, to show Poopie he wanted to acquire such a weapon (1829:258; fig. 4.1). Another way of communicating without words, especially used to de-escalate a situation both by Dutch and Nuku Hivans, was laughter. Troost gave an example of each. After the large Dutch delegation had gone ashore (3.2.4) and was seated at the meeting place, a couple of beer glasses were seen being hidden by a Nuku Hivan man. When one of the Dutch gestured that he wanted them back, the Nuku Hivan did so without hesitation, but at the same time started laughing loudly as if he had meant it to be a joke (Troost 1829:189). And although the Dutch did not perceive it as a jest, it may have been intended to be one by the Nuku

Hivan in question. A situation in which Troost used laughter himself to diminish tension, was when Poopie offered him a piglet which he initially did not want to accept (1829:228).

Apart from the use of flags and gestures, these ways of non-verbal communication are rarely related in other narratives, whereas they must undoubtedly have been used by many foreign visitors. It is thanks to Troost's elaborate style of writing that these examples can be explored. However, not all Dutch thought as positively as Troost. Willinck was more cautious and indicates it was wise to be prudent, since one misunderstanding caused by miscommunication could lead to hostilities, which was exactly why officers should be present at the watering places to prevent crewmen fighting with Nuku Hivans (G. Willinck 1835:249). Or as Denning phrased it eloquently: 'Gestures on the beach were liable to be misread. Sometimes the misreading led to death, sometimes merely to discomfort, always to confusion' (1980:104).

4.2 DIPLOMACY

Diplomacy is called upon when representatives of different nations meet to ensure that friendly relations are established and unnecessary conflict is avoided. The visit of the Dutch navy vessels to Nuku Hiva was to some extent, treated as a formal visit to a foreign nation. The ships' commanders were instructed to behave as representatives of the Netherlands, which obliged them to follow certain procedures on Nuku Hiva, just as they had while visiting South American nations (Ministerie 1813-1900, 286). Therefore, while on Nuku Hiva they applied, or at least tried to apply, as many rules of diplomatic etiquette as they saw fit. In this section the ways in which acts of diplomacy were deployed are considered. Firstly, paying respect to the local ruler is examined. This was part of the Dutch protocol, but first the leader had to be identified. Similarly, Nuku Hivans were trying to figure out who was highest in rank among this large group of visitors. This might have been slightly confusing for the Nuku Hivans, because due to the expedition leader's illness, the commander of the smaller vessel was in charge. As the Dutch initially were unable to identify the leader of Taiohae, Commander Eeg decided to organise a military parade hoping the local leader would present himself. This official presentation is discussed next. Finally, dealings between Dutch and Nuku Hivan high-ranking individuals are reflected upon.

4.2.1 Searching for the leader

Denning (1980:122) states that generally on arrival of a ship when no Westerner came forward, visitors tended to search for the chief in canoes that came towards the ship. In the Dutch case that does not seem to have happened, although some canoes came to meet them. It remains unclear whether any high-ranking Nuku Hivans were among

those who visited both ships, or perhaps the commanders did not look for potential candidates or were unable to distinguish high-ranking individuals. As the Dutch felt obliged to establish contact with the leader of Taiohae, they made several attempts to do so, firstly with the small delegation ashore on 16 May (see 3.2.2) and secondly with the larger delegation on 17 May (see 3.2.4). Perhaps the Dutch, or their leading officers, were unable to recognise the highest in rank, since De Constant Rebecque (1824-1828:[5-9]), who was part of the small delegation, mentions seeing men with what were probably chiefs' staffs among the Nuku Hivans surrounding them and that they had met one of the regents of the chief on this same trip. It was only on the visit with the larger delegation that Commander Eeg (1824-1827:[170-1]) felt he had found the leaders: two chiefs, one governing the eastern part of the bay, the other the western part, who together ruled for a child, a descendant of Kiatonui. Actually it was not Eeg who found the leaders, but one of the Nuku Hivan chiefs found him. Eeg must have been at the front of the parade and was probably wearing the most ostentatious outfit of the Dutch present, which to a Nuku Hivan would have been a clear sign that he was the leader. The Nuku Hivan chief approached Eeg and indicated that he was one of the leaders, showing that Nuku Hivans were actively searching for the Dutch chief too.

The names of the two chiefs, assumed to rule as regents for the little boy, were not mentioned by the Dutch. Eeg (1824-1827:[176]) specifically relates that he was unable to learn their names, so it is difficult to identify them. The chief of Taiohae who figured in reports from the Krusenstern expedition and in Porter's book, was Kiatonui. According to Denning (1980:82-3) he had passed away around 1818, although this probably happened later, since Graaner was told that Kiatonui was old and weak in April 1819 (Åkerrén 1983:46). If Kiatonui was the same elderly person a French captain in service of the Peruvian navy, Lafond de Lurcy, met in 1822 and called Kéa-Toï, then he must have passed away in that year (1844:30, 51). After Kiatonui's death his grandson Pakouteie⁶¹ probably became the main chief, but this changed after Pakouteie's first son, Temoana, was born in 1821. Temoana was considered very special because of his kinship lines from both his father's and mother's side. From that moment on his father and some relatives from Hapaa became regents. The protected child the Dutch saw, must have been this great-grandson of Kiatonui, Temoana. This brought Eeg (1824-1827:[171]) to the conclusion that chieftainship was hereditary. In a sense, Eeg was right, since according to Thomas (1990:28-9, 33-5) genealogical links to deities and being first-born were important in defining a person's rank as chief in Marquesan society, although the power of a chief was not as absolute

⁶¹ Åkerrén (1983:36-7) mentions that Johan Adam Graaner was told by interpreter George Ross in 1819 that the chief of Taiohae was called Manoha and that he was the grandson of Kiatonui, which could mean that Pakouteie and Manoha are one and the same person. However, Graaner also relates that this Manoha was devoid of tattoos, which seems to make it unlikely that this is the same person that was met by the Dutch.

here as elsewhere in Polynesia, or as Eeg would have understood it to be. It is unclear if the Dutch understanding of the socio-political situation in Taiohae in 1825 was correct. It is also unknown if the two regent-chiefs the Dutch met were indeed Temoana's father and the relative of Hapaa. Also unclear is whether one of the chiefs might have been Chief Kappe who Paulding (1831:60) met just over four months later or indeed the Chief Haape who the American missionaries from Hawai'i met in 1833 (Wallace 2005:268, 276).

4.2.2 Official presentation

The aplomb of a military procession with which the Dutch presented themselves to Nuku Hivans in their effort to identify a leader seems rather extravagant (see 3.2.4), even though Denning states (1980:224) that 'Navy men always crossed the beach with ceremony, always understood their presence had larger meaning ...'. Although Porter's expedition held a parade, most visiting ships did not. On arrival Porter (1815:19-21) prevented some white men, one of whom was the aforementioned James Wilson, from coming aboard, which he regretted immediately as the Nuku Hivans also returned ashore. Porter then went ashore with four boats full of marines and held some kind of parade with an arms drill under the beat of a drum. Paulding (1831:36) also relates that in Comptroller's Bay they paraded their armed men aboard to show their military prowess, which greatly amused the Hapaa. It is unsurprising that these performances were done by navy vessels, but the Dutch held a much more elaborate parade with an arms drill at the specific request of one of the chiefs. Possibly the next time such a large-scale presentation was held within the Marquesas would have been during the official French annexation of the islands led by Rear-Admiral Du Petit-Thouars in Vaitahu, Tahuata, in May 1842 (Denning 1980:205-6).

So why would the Dutch have held this parade and what would Nuku Hivans have thought about this behaviour? Perhaps the Dutch wanted to show their military prowess, although the arms exercise at the end was not originally planned; it fulfilled a request from one of the chiefs. When they arrived, the Dutch did not give salute shots from one of the ship's guns as they had done on previous occasions at the South American coast ports. There is no mention in any Dutch report about why this regular part of navy protocol was skipped, but the captain may have thought Nuku Hivans were not familiar with firearms and ship's guns and did not want to frighten them. Another possible reason for organising this parade may have been to acknowledge the leader of the bay, hoping that such a ceremony would be appreciated and encourage the leader to meet the Dutch. For the Nuku Hivans, this large group of uniformed men marching ashore must have been quite strange, perhaps even a bit frightening at first, especially considering that such a display may have reminded them of the show warriors gave on a battlefield prior to engagement with the enemy, as for example described by Crook (2007:93). However, the Nuku Hivans must not have felt so

threatened that they would carry obvious arms, such as war clubs, pikes or even firearms, since the Dutch noticed they hardly saw any Nuku Hivans with weapons. The Dutch marching as the music played may well have relieved possible tensions. Marquesans may have thought it peculiar that it was the Dutch, being the 'guests', who provided the entertainment, although they may have also perceived it as a gift.

The exact location of the Dutch parade is unclear, as the shoreline of the bay of Taiohae is kilometres long and there are several spots where there were beaches or flat stretches of land which are no longer present.⁶² Also there was a considerable stretch of land between the two ships' watering places. They may have landed on the same spot as the small delegation a day earlier, at the north-eastern part of the bay, close to where the Krusenstern expedition landed. The meeting place or *tohua* they marched to, may well have been the *tohua* in the middle of the bay close to where Kiatonui used to have his residence and where nowadays the Catholic cathedral is situated (Govor 2010:171; Porter 1815, fig. 2.24). Graaner gave a description of a *tohua* that may have been this meeting place: 'All of a sudden the previously dense forest gave way to an open space, or square, with two tiers of seats along the north and west sides occupied by several hundred natives of both sexes' (1983:41).

4.2.3 Relations with high-ranking individuals

Although not many specifics are found in the Dutch writings, some encounters between persons of rank are reported. Eeg for example, took the two chiefs aboard after the parade and dined with them (1824-1827:[171-2]). During the Dutch visit they returned several times to eat with the officers of the *Pollux*. According to Troost (1829:225-6) they also joined the officer's dining table on the *Maria Reigersberg* regularly. The Tahitian and Poopie were often present too. While Dening (1980:124) states this was part of the captain's social responsibilities, this may well have been perceived as a responsibility by the Nuku Hivan chiefs too, a hypothesis supported by the fact that they often brought gifts with them (see 4.4.1).

One particular woman of high rank was noted by both Singendonck (1824-1825:[32]) and Troost (1829:201), who attracted their attention because she was constantly surrounded by other people. They describe her as being beautiful, though rather corpulent. Both thought her to be one of the wives of the former chief Kiatonui. Troost describes an incident near the tent at one of the watering places, which happened three or four days after the Dutch delegation came ashore:

'... while she in company of a few women and girls seemed to amuse herself on a walk. It was apparent that they were all her subordinates, because she was treated by them with the utmost esteem and reverence. We were told that she was *tabu*, that is to say, holy.' (Troost 1829:201) (Author's translation)

⁶² Personal communication Pierre Ottino-Garanger, Paris, 12-09-2015.

The group approached the watering place and the woman regarded the outside of the tent from all sides with signs of surprise. She was invited inside by Troost and two other officers, but declined the offer. For about half an hour the woman and her company enjoyed themselves watching the supply of water casks and how they were put aboard the longboat. Then after she had graciously received some small gifts from Troost and his comrades, the whole group left. This woman was Paetini⁶³, who according to Denig (1980:81) was a grandchild of Kiatonui, born in 1798, the first-born daughter of his first-born daughter. Paetini had a house at the foot of Tuhiva, the mount on which Porter had built his fort. The watering place of the *Maria Reigersberg* was near her house, which makes it likely that she was the high-positioned person both Singendonck and Troost observed.

The *Pollux's* watering place also had among its many visitors a most distinguished guest, as related by Van Wageningen (1824-1827:63-4), when one day the boy-chief was carried into the tent on the shoulders of one of his guardians. Together they sat in the middle of the tent for over three hours after which Temoana climbed off his guardian's shoulders and walked around the tent. It is unclear if the Dutch offered any presents to these guests. Whereas the visit of Paetini and her entourage to the *Maria Reigersberg's* watering place was probably caused by curiosity, it is unclear if this was also the case with Temoana and his guardian. Perhaps it was seen by the guardian as part of an educational training to come into contact with foreigners and being in the presence of non-Marquesans.

Poopie is a Nuku Hivan only described by Troost (see 3.2.8). It is unclear if this person really existed or if it was an imaginary figure used by Troost in his writing as a fictional friend in which several Nuku Hivans he met may have been merged. So far the same person has not been identified in any other report. Although it is impossible to prove if Poopie was real or fictional, there are several elements in the details about Poopie that can be analysed. Starting with his name: the word Poopie, as one writes it literally in Dutch, would in Marquesan nowadays probably be written as popi. The meaning of the word (or one of its meanings) according to Dordillon (1931:331) is widow or widower. This ties in with Troost's information about him, Poopie was indeed a widower. The description Troost (1829:229-31) gives of the way his deceased wife was covered in layers of barkcloth and placed on a bier in a dwelling, confirms this. Poopie and his son slept next to the bier. Just six years earlier Graaner was told of this practice by beachcomber George Ross and also mentions having seen a deceased person laid out (Åkerrén 1983:49-50). However, it seems unlikely that Poopie was still aboard the *Maria Reigersberg* when they were about to depart. This would have been against military protocol and seems to have been a deliberate dramatisation of his

⁶³ Personal communication Carol Ivory, Paris, 12-04-2015.

story for publication purposes. The same is possibly true for Troost's remark that Poopie stood watching as the *Maria Reigersberg* left the bay (1829:256-7).

In addition to the roles of the chiefs and Paetini the Dutch were aware that there were more layers to be identified in Taiohae's society. Singendonck (1824-1825:[31]) mentions, for example, thinking that the women who often came aboard were of a lower status than those living further inland. Eeg (1824-1827:[174]) states that when the delegation had gone ashore and lots of Nuku Hivans had gathered, among the crowd there were several women who seemed to him of higher rank than those who came aboard. This was probably an accurate observation, because, as Dening (1980:127) mentions, although some girls would have been of the kaioi society, most were probably kikino. Perhaps influenced by reading Von Langsdorff (1818:188) and Von Krusenstern (1811b:245), Eeg (1824-1827:[175]) is also aware that a number of Nuku Hivan men and women were not tattooed at all, which he ascribes to their lower status. This is actually a noteworthy observation, because most visitors generally describe Marquesans as being tattooed and only mention the fact that some were more tattooed than others but omit saying that some were not tattooed at all.

4.3 BOUNDARIES

Boundaries are asserted to control the movement or actions of individuals and groups of people. For the Dutch to be able to deal with being in an unknown territory with little knowledge of the local language, they felt compelled to set limits to the areas and times of contact with the local population. Following examples from earlier travellers they created deliberate boundaries on the ships as well as ashore. Firstly, the boundaries on the ships are explored, followed by those on land set by both Dutch and Nuku Hivans. Thirdly the notion of taboo (tapu) is considered, as the Dutch got a very rudimentary idea of this concept from travelogues, which they tried to explore further while in Taiohae. Finally, a mechanism that may have been at work to prevent the crossing of boundaries, namely anxiety, is dealt with.

4.3.1 On the ships

The Dutch used flags to indicate boundaries on the ships (see 3.2.6 and 4.1.3). When the white flag was up, Nuku Hivans were welcome aboard. Although there must have been restrictions of where Nuku Hivans were allowed to go, hardly any information about this is available. It would be interesting to learn if Nuku Hivan men were willing to go below decks, which would have created the possibility that a woman might be above their heads, which was a breach of tapu. Singendonck (1824-1825:[27]) and Notebaert (24-07-1825) both mention they sometimes had to prevent too many Nuku Hivans coming aboard. Regarding the visits of the chiefs, Eeg relates that he sometimes had them barred from entering his saloon (1824-1827:[172]). Only Troost

(1829:204-5) indicates that Nuku Hivans were only allowed aboard at certain times of day, but this is not an impression gained from other writers.

At sunset the white flag was lowered and all Nuku Hivan males had to leave but women were allowed to spend the night aboard to have sexual intercourse with the crew. Commander Eeg imposed an extra 'boundary' in addition to the ship's general regulations for some crewmen. In order to prevent the spreading of venereal diseases amongst Nuku Hivans, all men likely to transmit such a disease were put in detention at night (Eeg 1824-1827:[169]). It is unknown whether this 'boundary' was applied on the *Maria Reigersberg* as well. Eeg's precaution seems to have been an old-fashioned example of scrupulousness, which according to Denning (1980:126) had not survived into the nineteenth century.

4.3.2 On the land

The Dutch chose two watering places, where tents were erected for the guards for shelter and eating. Willinck describes how during mealtime he closed the tent using a tree as a barrier, thus making the tent off limits to any approaching Nuku Hivans avoiding their curiosity and preventing them from removing Dutch weaponry (G. Willinck 1835:249-50). This seems to be the only land area where the Dutch created a boundary. From other visits there are examples where areas are declared off limits by making a circle around an activity. Paulding, who also visited Nuku Hiva in 1825, relates that when their sailing master had to take measurements on land he created a circle to keep the Nuku Hivans away and that in another instance workmen ashore did the same (1831:38-9, 55).

The Nuku Hivans do not seem to have opposed the Dutch claiming the water places or the many Dutchmen wandering about who freely entered their dwellings. It may have been that Nuku Hivans had set certain boundaries, but that these were not recognised by the Dutch or not enforced. Singendonck mentions entering a dwelling where tattooing took place (see 3.2.9). Such places, as Von Langsdorff (1817:112-3) mentions, were generally made tapu and supposed to be entered only by a select group, which makes it likely that Singendonck inadvertently violated this boundary. However, there was one line the Dutch were not allowed to cross which concerned their pigs. The Dutch thought they were wild boar roaming freely, apparently no one's property to be hunted at will. Troost (1829:203-4) tried to do so with three other officers but met with resistance. De Constant Rebecque (1824-1828:[11, 16]) also mentions they had caught some on 17 May and on another occasion had shot some more. However, he also states that during the first days they did not see many pigs, because Nuku Hivans had driven them away. This was also Troost's experience: Nuku Hivans did not oppose the hunters but scared away the pigs with loud yelling and wild clapping. Perhaps Troost and his companions were crossing into an area considered tapu where hunting was prohibited, or it may be the case that these pigs were not

allowed to be hunted because they were either tapu or had tusks valuable to Nuku Hivans. Although not much information about keeping pigs and identifying ownership is available, Dening (1980:210) mentions an instance described by missionary Darling on Tahuata in 1835, where a hog was kept for eight years for the occasion of a commemorative feast (mau) for the father of a chief's wife and was thus tapu. Thomas (1990:151; 1991:95, 121) states that a herd of pigs would probably have been kept for the occasion of a particular mau, which suggests that Marquesans were well able to identify individual pigs.

4.3.3 Tapu

As Dening (1980:51) states, the concept of taboo or tapu in Marquesan was widely known among visitors to Polynesian islands. The Dutch were no exception, having read about this in travelogues. Following is a description of how they perceived tapu and came across it. Troost (1829:201, 226, 233-4) writes most about this concept mentioning he learned about aspects of tapu from the Tahitian Roebèl. Besides the highly placed woman who he was told was tapu or holy (see 4.2.3), other people could also be tapu and were treated accordingly with much esteem. Over the whole island different tribes had plots of land, small or large, that were tapu and therefore were never entered, making them rugged sanctuaries for birds, insects and wild boars. Certain animals were tapu and thus never killed, or if killed accidentally, were not eaten. The same was true of some other foods. Several crew members mention that pork was considered tapu for women. It is unlikely that they learned this from Nuku Hivans, but probably had this information and several other notions concerning tapu, from, among others, Von Langsdorff's travelogue (Constant Rebecque 1824-1828:[13-4]; Singendonck 1824-1825:[34, 36]).

Troost (1829:236-7) notices another form of tapu himself: men did not like their heads being touched and were appalled if someone did this and reacted as if the person touching them wanted to harm them. Eeg (1824-1827:[177]) mentions that although they had not been able to learn much about Nuku Hivan religious practices, he noticed that tapu had some sort of power. For example, he relates that when a Nuku Hivan got in the way on the quarterdeck, the Dutch would call out 'Tahboe', which would make him leave, but soon return. De Constant Rebecque (1824-1828:[13]) mentions that a group of Dutchmen tested the power of tapu by making a crate, on which a Nuku Hivan had sat next to them, tapu after he got up. Afterwards the Nuku Hivan refused to sit on it again. On 25 May Commander Eeg raised a red flag while firing one of the ship's guns making the ship tapu, thus following Von Krusenstern's example for whose dealings Eeg had a preference according to De Constant Rebecque (1824-1828:[21-2]). This made all the Nuku Hivans leave the ship. Eeg concluded rather sceptically: 'However, I believe that the [gun]shot had more to do with this, than the taboo declaration' (1824-1827:[177]). This may well have been the

case, since this was probably the first (and probably only) ship's gunshot fired by the Dutch, although Eeg may also have underestimated the power of the red flag. Sceptical or not, the Dutch clearly used their limited understanding of tapu for their own benefit, in particular to create boundaries wherever they thought fit.

What can also be gleaned from this is that the Dutch interpreted tapu according to their own Christian concepts. As such they thought it could mean holy, it could be a restriction and/or a prohibition and that it could be applied to (heads of) people, places and types of food. Their superficial grasp of this Polynesian concept is similar to what Paulding observed four months later (1831:39, 45, 49, 55, 65-6). Their remarks and perceptions are equal to what others had experienced and how others used it for their own purposes. What the Dutch and other visitors failed to realise was that a breach of tapu would cause an imbalance between the world of the living and the world of the gods and could have mortal consequences for the Marquesan transgressor (Dening 1980:51-2; see also 2.1).

4.3.4 Uneasiness

It appears that the Dutch visit seems to have been without any incidents or conflicts, although one situation at the *Pollux* watering place might have got out of control when a Nuku Hivan man ignored the barrier closing off the tent. Willinck describes this event as follows. This bold man (Willinck calls him a 'frontline warrior') walked into the tent holding a calabash with red seeds (probably *Abrus precatorius* seeds) which he offered for sale. When Willinck's intentional low offer of two nails, and a moment later just one, was not received well, the Nuku Hivan grabbed his sling in a threatening gesture. This prompted Willinck to give him a hard blow in the face, making the Nuku Hivan stumble and retreat. A large group of Nuku Hivans at the scene laughed about this occurrence, but a few showed indignation, which was not at all surprising since the head is considered tapu by Marquesans (G. Willinck 1835:249-50). It is interesting that Willinck, who had explicitly raised his concern for his crew's behaviour towards Nuku Hivans, had actually teetered on the brink of a serious escalation of which he seems to have been totally unaware. This occurrence could easily have evolved into a deadly conflict. It may be the case that the massive firepower of the Dutch, to which Willinck also refers, was what tipped the balance towards the Dutch. It must be considered that, although 23 men had either passed away or deserted prior to the arrival of the Dutch in Taiohae, with a total of 453 there was still an enormous number of both crew (see Appendix B) and firearms aboard their ships. Comparing this to a whaling vessel which had perhaps 20 to 36 men aboard (see Whaling Crew List Database, https://www.whalingmuseum.org/online_exhibits/crewlist/) the crew on both Dutch ships was considerably larger, even if several whaling vessels would have visited the bay simultaneously.

Several authors report that the Marquesan tendency to what they considered was stealing, mentioned by previous visitors, seemed to have been completely gone. Eeg (1824-1827:[175-6]) puts forward an experience told by Commander Geesteranus of the *Maria Reigersberg* about two marines who fell from the sloop in the surf near their watering place and had lost their sabres. Nuku Hivans found them and brought them to their chief, who immediately sent them to the frigate. A similar incident had taken place at the *Pollux's* watering place. Eeg had one exception to the absence of thievery which was the women who came aboard every night and who sometimes tried to take away light items of clothing the following morning, but were usually prevented from doing so by the provost. De Constant Rebecque (1824-1828:[15]) reports that if the women succeeded in taking away linen items, they were generally returned later. Another time a crew member had forgotten some laundry near the watering place which was also returned to the *Pollux*. De Constant Rebecque suspects that the returning of items was led by fear of repercussions from the Dutch and perhaps also anticipation of being rewarded. Troost was more negative about Nuku Hivans in general regarding thieving and claims they were prone to steal, but refrained from giving any examples. His attitude seems to contradict the story above about the two marines, his subordinates, who lost their sabres. Besides, Troost thought Nuku Hivans did not just steal from visitors, but also from one another and that this made them very suspicious of each other (1829:208-9). It is questionable whether what the Dutch would have perceived as stealing, taking someone else's property without consent, was considered in the same way by Marquesans. Were the women stealing the clothing or did they, having a different value system from the Dutch, think they had a right to these things as part of a reciprocal relationship? Or were they perhaps just having fun and testing to see if they could get away with it? Maybe their past experiences warned Nuku Hivans that taking visitors' possessions was unwise or even unsafe and could have repercussions.

Perhaps Nuku Hivans were apprehensive of the Dutch due to their high number and weapons, but the reverse was also true: the Dutch were afraid of the Nuku Hivans, in particular because of their practice of cannibalism (see 3.2.10). Nuku Hivans must have been aware of this and used it as a way of keeping the Dutch on their toes by showing them in a graphic way that they would eat human flesh and by indicating that people the Dutch had read about in travelogues, had been eaten. Eeg (1824-1827:[169-70]) mentions for example that they understood that Kiatonui had been eaten by the Taipi, with whom they were still at war. From this Eeg also concluded that the same fate '... had also befallen the priest [(fig. 4.2)], when they saw his portrait in Porter's work, they recognised him immediately and shouted *Matti Matti*' (Eeg 1824-1827:[170]). However, many Dutchmen still went ashore, not just as part of their duties, but also for relaxation. According to Denning (1980:124), this was not always the case, as many sailors were reluctant to go ashore, being fearful of the

Marquesans, and that captains were afraid of losing men, something which Eeg was not concerned about at all at this specific stop. In a sense the fear between the Nuku Hivans and the Dutch may well have been the instrument which ensured both sides avoided conflict.

4.4 EXCHANGE

Exchange is the process of acquiring one type of goods in return for another. In the Dutch-Marquesan encounter it played an important role. For the Dutch the visit was deliberate, instigated by the need for stock replenishment. For Nuku Hivans the visit was forced upon them; they received uninvited guests, but treated them as guests anyway, with whom relationships had to be maintained. Firstly, exchange to maintain relations between Marquesans and Dutch is dealt with. Secondly, the exchange of goods is explored as most of the time the Dutch wanted to acquire provisions from Nuku Hivans, who for their part tried to obtain foreign objects that they desired. To conclude this section, and this chapter, the exchange undertaken for the acquiring of Marquesan objects, which Nuku Hivans were willing to part with, is investigated.

4.4.1 Maintaining relationships

As an act of diplomacy during their first meeting, Commander Eeg presented the two chiefs with an axe and a knife each, gifts which he said they were not too impressed with. Eeg (1824-1827:[171]) mentions that they preferred the brandy which according to Denning (1980:124) was a courtesy offered to chiefs in general. On a visit to the *Pollux* one of the chiefs presented Eeg with a large pig, weighing about 75 to 80 pounds, for which Eeg gifted him a large axe and a saw in return. On another occasion the chiefs brought a head ornament and a number of coconuts. Unfortunately, this ornament is not described further, because it would have been interesting to know what type of head ornament the chiefs considered to be an appropriate gift. In return, Eeg gave them a couple of yards of white cotton, which the chiefs immediately used as loincloths (Eeg 1824-1827:[172]). These examples show how both parties used the exchange of objects to sustain their relationship in acknowledgement of their mutual positions, which, according to Denning (1980:84), was a custom among Marquesan chiefs.

In his account Troost (1829:223-4, 232-3, 257-9) reports several instances involving the exchange of objects with Poopie, such as a war club, a chief's staff, a human skull and several ornaments, some of which Troost had requested (see 3.2.8). Poopie also gave him coconuts and a piglet, for which he often chose not to accept return gifts. Only in the case of the war club Troost mentions handing over an old uniform jacket and white linen trousers in return. Troost (1829:224) describes one

instance when Poopie brought a number of coconuts and other foodstuffs for the officer's dining table.

Besides these individual relationships which, particularly for Eeg and the two Nuku Hivan chiefs, involved a kind of formal exchange, a large group of Nuku Hivans helped with tasks, such as getting water casks aboard, for which they probably received small presents in return. Similarly, the women who stayed aboard at night were probably given small items for their services. The Dutch perceived the small presents they gave as being mere trinkets, but Van Haersolte (1824-1826a:[26]) states: 'No matter how little we ourselves esteemed those things which we gave them in exchange, for them, however, they represented a great value ...'. This is not surprising when considering that most of the women and girls aboard the Dutch ships at night may well have been kikino and therefore contact with foreigners provided the opportunity to acquire possessions which would otherwise be out of reach according to Dening (1980:127). The same may also be true for kikino men, who helped with chores.

One particular form of exchange, which was a very important means of building social relationships for Nuku Hivans, was the exchange of names with which, as Dening (1980:155, 283) describes, also came the transfer of appropriate rights and responsibilities. Such a mechanism made it possible for a number of beachcombers to settle themselves into a certain position within Marquesan society. However, this deeper meaning was totally lost on the Dutch and it was just seen as some kind of game. This was Troost's perception of his name exchange with Poopie (1829:221). Van Haersolte (1824-1826b:[26, 29]) thought name exchange was a sign of friendship, mentioning that it happened aboard the *Maria Reigersberg* with some of the main chiefs.

In addition to formal individual relationships, there were also more casual contacts. The Dutch sometimes gave Nuku Hivans small objects out of curiosity to see what they would do with them. Troost (1829:187) mentions that the officers had collected a stock of small things to give as presents or use for exchange, such as nails, staples, iron and copper rings, and for more important persons objects such as small scissors, clasp knives and tokens. On one occasion he gave a chief some coins and tokens. Van Haersolte (1824-1826b:[29]) describes how the victualler, Johannes Lodewijk Beekel, gave one of the chiefs two pipes and a pound of tobacco, which prompted the chief to put a pipe in the hole in each of his earlobes and wore them with pride. Troost (1829:205-6) also describes how crew members would throw small objects from the ship into the water to see how Nuku Hivans, who often swam around the ships, would skilfully retrieve them. On the surface this may look like the Dutch were just making fun of the Nuku Hivans, which they probably were as well. The Nuku Hivans from their perspective, may not have been concerned about this, as they were acquiring these small desirable objects and having fun at the same time, as may be

inferred from Troost's description of such an occurrence when a swimmer recovered an object and '... showed it to us with a triumphant exclamation and loud laughter (1829:206).'

4.4.2 Exchanging goods

Being familiar with the Krusenstern expedition's accounts, both Coertzen and Eeg ordered their blacksmiths aboard their ships to make iron tools after leaving the Peruvian coast. The axes, saws and other small iron items were meant to be used for bartering for provisions (Eeg 1824-1827:[173]; Coertzen 1826:37). What they had not considered was that iron tools were not as highly esteemed as they had expected. As Thomas (1991:97-8) observes, only a limited number of, for example, axes were useful to the community, as Marquesans did not need them for cultivating crops and only used them for less frequent activities, such as house and canoe building.

The Dutch did not bring any whale teeth since, as Singendonck (1824-1825:[31]) states, they were unaware of their value to Marquesans, but which would have been abundantly available in the South American ports visited prior to their arrival on Nuku Hiva. It is interesting that the Dutch did not know this, since Porter, whose book was read by most writers, details explicitly the desire for whale teeth.

The Dutch soon realised that iron tools were less desired by Nuku Hivans who were far more interested in firearms and gunpowder. Singendonck (1824-1825:[28]) relates that Nuku Hivans used the English words so the Dutch would understand what they meant. This interest in guns and gunpowder was, according to Thomas (1991:100-1, 121), a direct result of Porter's actions in 1813, and competed with the essential requirement for pigs destined for commemorative feasts. Singendonck (1824-1825:[29]) states that the Dutch refused to exchange firearms, but offered, allegedly unusable, gunpowder and bullets. Being a navy ship the Dutch were probably not at liberty to hand over parts of their inventory. Four months later, Paulding, who was also stationed on a navy vessel, had the same problem; he could not exchange firearms for pigs either. He offered pieces of flint and musket balls instead, but in his case the Taipi chief was not interested (Paulding 1831:31, 37-8). It is interesting that this chief did not want these, since for Taiohae Van Haersolte (1824-1834:09-1825) notes that many firearms he had observed were lacking their flints.

Despite this diminished interest in iron tools and the Dutch only wanting to use gunpowder and not firearms for exchange, Nuku Hivans were still willing to exchange a considerable quantity of provisions. The bartering for supplies really took off after the delegation went ashore and the two chiefs had accompanied Commander Eeg to the *Pollux* (see 3.2.4). Most of it seems to have taken place at the meeting place visited by the delegation, at least Troost (1829:203, 241) hints at this, although perhaps the beachfront would have been a more obvious location. After a deal Nuku Hivans would drive the pigs to the landing place, where they would bind and carry

them through the surf and throw them into the longboat. Few writers precisely detail how many animals the Dutch acquired. Van Haersolte (1824-1834:09-1825) was probably rather optimistic in his letter home, stating they obtained over 400 pigs. He also mentions that Nuku Hivans were not very generous with chickens, especially not with cocks, since they used their feathers for head ornaments for war chiefs. Willinck (1835:248) indicates that the number of poultry was relatively small, but Coertzen (1826:37) states they received a large number of chickens, which may mean that there was a difference in the numbers reaching each ship.

The most reliable data can probably be derived from Eeg (1824-1827:[178]) who mentions acquiring just over 150, mostly large, pigs in total for both ships. He also gives the number of about 150 roosters and hens, stating that both ships' pens were well stocked. Besides animals the ships were also supplied with vegetable products, such as coconuts, bananas, breadfruit and papaya. Eeg (1824-1827:[176]) mentions that Nuku Hivans did not offer many breadfruit, since these were supposedly not yet ripe. However, it is also possible that they did not want to part with too many breadfruit, because they needed those themselves. Fish was never offered to the Dutch, which Eeg thought was surprising (1824-1827:176).

Writers did not specify what was exchanged for what, apart from that pigs were paid for mainly with large axes and gunpowder. Singendonck (1824-1825:[29]) specifically mentions that ultimately Nuku Hivans only wanted to exchange pigs for gunpowder. Van Haersolte (1824-1834:09-1825; 1824-1826b:[22]) states that for a handful of gunpowder they could acquire a small pig of about 10 pounds, that four or five bullets were enough to buy a fat pig, and that one received 30 to 40 coconuts for an axe. Van Wageningen (1824-1827:63) mentions that initially for a small axe two to three pigs could be acquired, but later they only wanted gunpowder, a handful of which secured a large pig. On one occasion one chief rowed to the *Pollux* bringing twelve pigs exchanging them for three pounds of gunpowder.

Vegetable provisions were generally exchanged for small iron tools, pieces of iron and textile, bottles and other small items (Constant Rebecque 1824-1828:[5]; Singendonck 1824-1825:[29]; Van Wageningen 1824-1827:62-3). Eeg (1824-1827:[176]) adds some remarkable items for exchange, namely ship's biscuits and bacon. One can only wonder what Nuku Hivans must have thought of these flavours. Van Wageningen (1824-1827:66) states that women particularly liked studs and buttons with anchors on them. Contrary to several other voyages as described by Dening (1980:124), everyone aboard the Dutch ships was allowed to exchange with Nuku Hivans, not just a few officers. Troost (1829:187) tells how sailors and marines, having heard stories about acquiring interesting things, had saved up trinkets such as coarse beads and buttons, for which they mostly obtained coconuts. Thomas (1991:98) observes that 'trifles' were similarly perceived by the Marquesans, which

would explain the exchanging of their 'trifles', coconuts, for Dutch trinkets. Van Wageningen (1824-1827:64) had probably stepped out of line, as he relates that on a walk deep into a valley (see 3.2.11) he had exchanged his bullets and cartridges for fruit and other small items. Apart from firearms and gunpowder the Nuku Hivans did not seem to be specifically interested in other items that the Dutch brought with them. As related above by Van Haersolte, the Nuku Hivans seemed to be pleased with any object, however small or insignificant to the Dutch. At the same time certain items, such as pigs, were only available for specific objects, mainly gunpowder. The Nuku Hivans who were in the position to exchange pigs and expected firearms or gunpowder for them, were very likely not the same persons as those who were content with receiving just any small foreign object.

From the exchanges taking place between Nuku Hivans and the Dutch it is surprising to learn that a large number of pigs was made available without receiving firearms, especially considering the huge cultural importance of pigs for Marquesans (Dening 1980:117; Thomas 1990:131-32; 1991:95). In July 1825, less than two months after the Dutch had left, Captain Gillis of the trade ship *Endeavour* visited Taiohae and found pigs were scarce, acquiring only seven or eight in exchange for gunpowder. As no more pigs were available, he left a day later for Comptroller's Bay (Dodge 1940:385). Just two months later, Paulding was also in Taiohae and mentions that the only pig they acquired in the Marquesas was one he received from Chief Kappe whom he had visited here (1831:60). This is quite remarkable, as there were up to four interpreters present during Paulding's visit, while the Dutch had none.

Why so many pigs for the Dutch and so few for the other two known consecutive visits? We can only hypothesise as to the reasons. Once the Dutch left resources were possibly depleted, although several Dutchmen report on the huge number of pigs (Eeg 1824-1827:[177-8]; Haersolte 1824-1826b:[25]; Singendonck 1824-1825:[29]; Tengbergen 1832:188). Another explanation could be that the inhabitants of Taiohae were preparing for a specific koina, when, as Dening relates, it was difficult for ships' captains to obtain pigs and other tapu food, unless they brought something that was deemed highly valuable to Marquesans (1980:117). Perhaps Nuku Hivans were in fact preparing for a commemorative feast, as some Dutch saw Marquesan men walking on stilts (see Chapter 6). Paulding (1831:52-5, 59-60) writes about singing and dancing on the beach, which he saw as something Nuku Hivans did as part of their custom to honour the presence of his American ship, but which may have been rehearsals for a forthcoming koina or mau. Perhaps even in commemoration of the father of Chief Kappe, who had died six months earlier and whose coffin he had seen at Kappe's place. Even so, it remains unclear why Nuku Hivans were prepared to provide the Dutch with so many pigs for just large axes and gunpowder, especially as they might have been preparing for a mau. Was it the large number and firepower of the Dutch, their unusual parade ashore, probably never seen

before or was it something else altogether? Unfortunately, this question remains unresolved.

4.4.3 Exchange for objects

As Dening (1980:271) mentions many visitors to the Marquesas collected objects as mementoes of their stay. The Dutch were no exception. Apart from the objects they received from Nuku Hivans as gifts, such as the head ornament a chief presented to Eeg and the objects Poopie gave to Troost, other Dutchmen acquired objects through exchange. There are few entries about this, although Singendonck describes how he acquired an object from a Nuku Hivan man in exchange for an old shaving knife: '[He] was so pleased with this valuable piece he had acquired that he showed his joy by hopping and dancing and immediately he had to use his knife by shaving the head of one of his countrymen bald' (1824-1825:[36]). Unfortunately, Singendonck does not describe the object(s) he acquired in exchange. De Constant Rebecque (1824-1828:[20]) mentions that they had exchanged many ornaments, such as necklaces, and weapons, such as clubs and pikes, with the inhabitants of Hakatea Bay, for iron and gunpowder. It is unclear if the Dutch asked for these objects or if the Nuku Hivans offered them. It is also unclear if De Constant Rebecque acquired objects himself. Van Haersolte (1824-1826b:[25]) reports in his travelogue that the Dutch obtained some head, ear and neck ornaments, signal horns, stilts, slings, pikes and clubs from Nuku Hivans. In one of his letters home he writes about pieces he had amassed himself: '... 2 neck rings, 2 head ornaments, 2 pair of ear ornaments, 2 trumpet shells which they use for trumpets and several other things, including 2 slings, very neatly plaited' (Haersolte 1824-1834:19-11-1825). The question remains whether Nuku Hivans offered these objects or if Van Haersolte asked for them and what kind of objects he offered in return or when and where these exchanges took place. Apart from Troost, who specifically asked Poopie for certain objects, none of the writers state any intention to acquire Marquesan objects, their reasons for doing so and the circumstances surrounding these exchanges. It is also unclear if many Dutch were trying to acquire Marquesan objects, as was the case with the Krusenstern expedition 21 years earlier. According to Shemelin (in Govor 2019a:44) there were so many expedition members who wanted to obtain objects, that some Nuku Hivans started to offer 'rarities' in order to exchange them for interesting foreign objects. Perhaps the bold Nuku Hivan who defied Willinck was also trying something different when he offered Willinck red seeds for exchange (G. Willinck 1835:250; see 4.3.4).

During their stay in Taiohae the Dutch noticed very few Marquesan weapons. Only Singendonck (1824-1825:[33]) mentions having seen some weapons and ornaments used in warfare hanging on the walls of dwellings. Others did not mention seeing Marquesan weaponry at all, apart from some pikes on arrival and some chiefs' staffs, strictly speaking not a weapon, which were observed by several Dutchmen

(Constant Rebecque 1824-1828:[6]; Eeg (1824-1827:[175]). It is unclear if the Dutch saw the sling as a dangerous weapon, as several writers describe and comment on the dexterity of Nuku Hivans in using them (Singendonck 1824-1825:[31-2]; Troost 1829:194; see 5.2.5). Eeg states that only on the last day of their stay they were offered some pikes and war clubs (1824-1827:[176]). This indicates that Nuku Hivans were very able to read the signs when ships were about to leave, with fresh water no longer being stored and tents at watering places being removed. The Dutch were not the only ones to be offered specific objects for exchange at this late stage. For example, according to Wallace (2005:265-6) in April 1834, one of the American missionary's wives, a Mrs. Armstrong, acquired some objects from Nuku Hivans, such as clubs and spears, just prior to her departure from Taiohae, whereas before they had refused to exchange these with her. It remains unclear what motivated Nuku Hivans to wait until the Dutch ships were about to depart before they started offering certain objects that were apparently not offered earlier. During visits several decades earlier these types of objects were available throughout the period of the stay, as described by Govor (2019a:40-4), in relation to both the visit by Cook in 1774 and Von Krusenstern in 1804. Would the late presentation in 1825 have to do with changed ideas among Nuku Hivans in relation to the nature of objects such as weapons? Weapons were status objects with a high cultural meaning and thus reserved for warriors and chiefly men. Exchanging them at the last moment perhaps meant that they were less likely to fall into the wrong (Marquesan) hands? Or were these weapons looted from enemies of the people of Taiohae, as was probably the case with the war club Poopie gave to Troost, and would it heighten the status of the person who was able to exchange it? Or had previous experience proved to Nuku Hivans that the last moment before departure was the moment for the most favourable exchange of objects?

4.5 RÉSUMÉ

In this chapter different elements of the Dutch-Marquesan encounter in May 1825 have been examined by using the previous chapter's narrative, to which specific instances from the Dutch writings have been added. These elements - communication, diplomacy, boundaries and exchange - are presented as multiple aspects of coping strategies deployed to deal with strangers effectively, both from the Dutch side, who were on Nuku Hiva as uninvited guests, and from the Marquesan side. Following Douglas (e.g. 2014b:20-1), the Dutch sources have been used to extrapolate indigenous, Marquesan, agency. In addition, the information from the Dutch writings has been compared with ethnohistorical studies of the Marquesas (e.g. Denning 1980; Thomas 1990) and with writings by other visitors around the same time (e.g. Åkerrén 1983; Dodge 1940; Paulding 1831).

The first element explored is communication. Although the Dutch had probably expected that an interpreter would be available for communication with the Nuku Hivans, no obvious intermediary came forward. The only person who presented himself as such was a Tahitian, but he was dismissed by most of the Dutch because of the unfavourable letters of recommendation, his alleged insufficient mastering of the English language and his ethnicity. Interestingly, the position of the Tahitian must have been rather ambivalent as he was not put forward by the Nuku Hivan leaders either. This meant the Dutch used the word list from Von Langsdorff (1818) and also learned to understand some Marquesan words or short expressions. Besides this, methods of non-verbal communication were used by both sides, such as flags, sticks for counting, gestures and laughter.

Secondly, the area of diplomacy has been analysed, starting with the search for the 'leader', not just by the Dutch, but also by the Marquesans. To this end, the Dutch held an official presentation, which might be perceived as a showing of military prowess, but also a way to acknowledge local leadership. Only after the parade and the subsequent visit of the Nuku Hivan chiefs to the *Pollux* did exchange for provisions start in earnest.

Boundaries is the third element discussed. Flags in particular were used by the Dutch to indicate when Nuku Hivans were allowed aboard and when not. Ashore the Dutch guarded the watering places, which seems to have been the only physical boundary established by them on land. Marquesans will also have had boundaries which were not recognised by the Dutch, but they did not enforce them. In case of their pigs, the Marquesans chose to scare away the pigs instead of opposing the Dutch when they tried to hunt them. The Dutch had read about tapu and understood this concept in their Christian tradition. The large number of men and their firepower must have meant the Nuku Hivans tried to avoid conflict. The Dutch on the other hand feared the Nuku Hivans for their practice of cannibalism and Nuku Hivans appeared willing to exploit this fear.

Lastly, the area of exchange has been explored. Leaders from both sides presented each other with gifts as part of acts of diplomacy and as such these exchanges served as ways to maintain their relationship. Besides, Nuku Hivans who helped with tasks received small gifts in return. To acquire provisions the Dutch brought iron tools, but Nuku Hivans were more interested in guns and gunpowder. As the Dutch were not at liberty to exchange guns, they mainly used gunpowder in acquiring the large number of about 150 pigs. Marquesan objects were acquired by several crew members. Apart from the gifts received by Eeg and Troost, it is unknown if Nuku Hivans offered these objects spontaneously, apart from weapons at the end of the stay, or if the Dutch asked for these objects. The Dutch sources do not specify what was exchanged for what. Only Van Haersolte lists objects he acquired. His and some Marquesan objects collected by a few other crew members have been located in

Dutch (museum) collections as part of this research project. These form the starting point for the material culture study in the second part of this thesis.

PART II

ART-HISTORICAL STUDY OF MARQUESAN MATERIAL CULTURE

Chapter 5

Marquesan Material Culture: Continuity and Change

Objects created by Marquesans have been collected during many voyages to the Marquesas and are now in museums and private collections throughout the world. However, there is often little information about their specific journeys within and from the islands to their final destinations. Also with transfers between collections often information is lost. Of the Marquesan part of these objects' histories even less is known. This chapter considers the material culture of the Marquesas in (museum) collections. At its core are the objects collected by the Dutch in May 1825, which are placed in a wider context of Marquesan material culture.

The notion behind this chapter is connected with Thomas's remark regarding two recent exhibitions on Marquesan art in the Metropolitan Museum in 2005 and in Musée du quai Branly in 2016:

Though this attribution ['19th century'] was probably correct for most if not all of the artefacts shown, its implications are confusing. Were these works therefore not representative of Marquesan art, before the nineteenth century, or before European contact? What chronology of contact would be relevant, and would enable understanding of Marquesan art's development over time? Did reference to the '19th century' imply that older, eighteenth century works would have been different? (Thomas 2019b:104)

It is this lack of more precise information which I want to address in this Marquesan material culture study. Often only the date on which objects entered museum and private collections is known. This may have been in the 1850s but could just as well have been in the 1930s or 1980s. Between the 1790s-1840s, many European and American trading and whaling ships visited with crew members often obtaining objects from the islands as souvenirs or as items to sell back home, and the provenance of these objects is frequently lost. This meant that when shown in an exhibition they are often given a general reference, say, nineteenth century. However, as a result of recent projects, including the comprehensive research into the collections connected with the Krusenstern expedition (Govor & Thomas 2019) and the growing interest in provenance research, for an increasing number of objects it is now known when they were collected, either in situ or elsewhere. One of the main ideas behind this and the following two chapters, is that in comparing objects with a known collection date, developments in Marquesan material culture may be discerned and that the dated objects could possibly contribute to the placing in time of the undated ones.

This chapter will give an overview of the collected Marquesan material culture, starting with the second voyage of James Cook and ending with the collecting voyages in the 1930s. The emphasis is on European and American visitors and on where the objects collected are now. Although the first section considers the period between 1774-1840s, from the perspective of collecting in the Marquesas, it is interesting to investigate further into more recent times, as later collectors sometimes acquired early material, or at least thought they did, as well as contemporary material which will be discussed in section 5.3. This section will only briefly touch upon the objects collected, as more information on them will be provided in the next section.

The second section contains an analysis of the objects collected during the Dutch navy visit in May 1825, both individually and as a group. These are compared with objects collected both before and after this visit, encompassing the period 1774-1840s. The reason for choosing this start date is that the first known collections of Marquesan objects were made in 1774. The end date, 1840s, is a bit more arbitrary, but is likely the period during which most of the collected objects were still being used by Marquesans at that time. However, the annexation by the French in 1842 and the growing influence of Catholic missionaries from the 1840s onwards brought about many changes.

The third section explores the manufacture of the objects, paying attention to the makers of the objects, the tools they used and subsequent trade of objects within the Marquesas. This is followed by a section on the ornamentation of objects in general. The chapter ends with an introduction to two case studies: Chapter 6 on stilt steps and Chapter 7 on ear ornaments.

5.1 OBJECTS COLLECTED IN THE MARQUESAS

This section will provide a chronological overview of the history of collected material culture from the Marquesas Islands. Its aim is to give a broad résumé and shed some light on the different backgrounds of collecting, such as during explorative, trade, whaling and specific voyages and on those collectors who stayed for longer. It also examines how the objects came into the collections they are in today. It starts with the explorative voyages of James Cook and Adam von Krusenstern and ends with travellers during the 1930s, showing the continuing interest in obtaining Marquesan objects. The focus is on those narratives relating to groups of objects collected at or around the same time and/or that were donated to one or more institutions and can be accounted for today.

5.1.1 Second Voyage of James Cook

The oldest known objects collected were obtained on Tahuata in the south-eastern group during Cook's second voyage. The expedition arrived at Vaitahu on 7 April 1774

and left four days later (Cook 1777:298-9, 305; Forster 1777:6-8, 32). Cook's journal contains the first known images of Marquesans and their objects (figs. 2.12/2.13 & 5.1). Anthropologist Adrienne Kaeppler did extensive research into the objects collected during Cook's three voyages. Her book *Artificial Curiosities* lists the known objects from this voyage (Kaeppler 1978:165-8), which still stands with a few minor exceptions, mainly because of other cultural attributions. The Pitt Rivers Museum (PRM) holds twelve objects donated by German naturalists Johann Reinhold Forster and George Forster to the Ashmolean Museum in 1776 which were subsequently transferred to the PRM in 1886 (Coote 2015b:80-8, 98, 102; <http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/cookvoyages/index.php/en/the-objects.html>). For the ethnological collection of Göttingen University (Germany), Professor Johann Friedrich Blumenbach was the driving force in obtaining a substantial collection of objects from Cook's voyages. Two large acquisitions form the basis of the present-day Cook/Forster Collection: in 1782 from a London dealer, Humphrey, and in 1799 from the estate of Johan Reinhold Forster (Urban 1998:61-75). A total of 11 objects are Marquesan (Hauser-Schäublin 1998b:324-6). Naturalist Anders Sparrman donated four objects to the cabinet of the Swedish Royal Academy of Science in 1799, which are now in the Etnografiska museet in Stockholm (Söderström 1939:12, 13, 19-20). In 1922 the CUMAA received a Marquesan headband which can be connected to the Leverian Museum (Tanner 1999:37; Kaeppler 2011:154). The collection of the British Museum (BM), London, contains two objects which are probably from the second Cook voyage. The first is a sling ornamented with an ivi poo and hair decorations, which was drawn by Sarah Stone in the Leverian Museum but arrived in the collection later. The second object is an unadorned ùu club, which is possibly the one depicted in fig. 5.1 (Kaeppler 1978:168; McKinney 2012:42, 117-8; Thomas 2019b:106). Surgeon James Patten donated a headdress and a gorget to Trinity College Dublin in 1777, now in the National Museum of Ireland (Freeman 1949:16; Hand 2015:123-4, 175; Ivory 1990:113, 150; Kaeppler 1978:166). Lastly, the South African Museum, Cape Town, holds a headdress which probably arrived at the Cape in 1775 (Ivory 1990:113, 150; Kaeppler 1978:166).

5.1.2 Krusenstern expedition

In May 1804 the first Russian expedition of circumnavigation, generally known as the Krusenstern expedition, stayed for twelve days in the north-western group on Nuku Hiva, mainly in Taiohae Bay. Several expedition members, including Captains Adam von Krusenstern and Urey Lisiansky, official Nikolai Rezanov and naturalists Georg von Langsdorff and Wilhelm Tilesius, were involved in acquiring objects either for themselves or for the Russian state. Some of these collections are well-known, such as the Von Langsdorff collection in the Museum Fünf Kontinente (MFK), Munich (Germany) and the Horner collection in the Ethnographic Museum at the University of

Zurich (VMZ; Switzerland). Some objects in the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) collection, St. Petersburg (Russia), are widely known too, especially through Karl von den Steinen's work (1925/1928). However, the expedition gathered far more objects, many of which can still be identified in collections today, as shown by the research project on the Krusenstern expedition's material culture, led by Elena Govor and Nicholas Thomas. This project resulted in the publication *Tiki: Marquesan Art and the Krusenstern Expedition* (2019) in which the items related to the expedition, including visual representations of them, were presented. A considerable part of this corpus can be found in Russian and Estonian collections. Thomas (2019a:13) describes the collected material as 'broadly representative', as it contains a comprehensive variety of objects with different uses.

The Kunstkamera and the Museum of Anthropology of Moscow State University (MAMSU) in Russia hold the largest collections. Both have a wide range of different object types, body ornaments (i.e. ear ornaments), utensils, weapons, stilts/stilt steps and pieces of barkcloth or tapa. Kunstkamera has 41 objects, including nine tapa cloths, and MAMSU has 69 objects, including 49 tapa cloths. The objects in the Kunstkamera were collected by Von Krusenstern, Lisiansky, Tilesius and Captain-Lieutenant Povalishin. Most were originally donated to the Admiralty Museum and were transferred to the Kunstkamera in 1828. The expedition's Marquesan objects in MAMSU were all collected by Lisiansky, who originally donated them to a Russian aristocrat. The Museum of the History of Religion in St. Petersburg and the Museum of Medical History of Moscow University and the State Museum of History, Moscow, each have one object, respectively a statue, a decorated skull and a tapa cloth (Govor 2019b:49-72; Govor *et al.* 2019:113-209).

In Estonia the expedition's collections are in the Estonian History Museum (EHM) in Tallinn and the Estonian National Museum (ENM) in Tartu. The EHM holds 23 objects collected by ship's surgeon Karl Espenberg and Hermann Karl von Friederici, although neither of these collections ended up here directly. EHM's collection consists of body ornaments, utensils, a paddle, slings, musical instruments and tapa cloth. The 21 objects in the ENM were collected by Von Krusenstern who originally donated them to the Learned Estonian Society, from where they were transferred to the ENM in 1923. The collection consists of body ornaments (i.e. ear ornaments), utensils, including a lidded bowl, stilt steps and a tapa cloth (Govor 2019b:49-72; Govor *et al.* 2019:113-209).

The collection made by naturalist Johann Kaspar Horner comprises 33 objects. After his death in 1834 they became part of the Swiss Society of National Antiquities' collection and eventually ended up in the VMZ. The collection consists of body ornaments (i.e. ear ornaments), utensils, stilt steps, a tattoo instrument and tapa cloth. Several museums in Germany hold objects from the Krusenstern collection. The largest group of seventeen objects is in the MFK, donated by Von Langsdorff in 1821

to the Bavarian state (Appel 2004:289-90), consisting of ear ornaments, fans, fishhooks, stilt steps, pieces of tapa cloth and a bone ornament (*ivi poo*). Von Langsdorff also donated a decorated skull to the ethnological collection of the Göttingen University. The same was done by Espenberg, who also had a cast taken from another decorated skull in his possession. The Grassi Ethnographical Museum in Leipzig holds a small group of objects which were donated by Tilesius, consisting of a hair ornament (*pavahina*), two paddle-shaped clubs and a stilt step. Tilesius was also the collector of a girl's skull which is now in the Institute of Anatomy, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in Bonn (Germany). Finally, the MV in Leiden, the Netherlands, holds two pieces of fishing gear and seven pieces of tapa cloth which came into the collection through Philipp von Siebold, but the field collector of these objects is unknown (Govor 2019b:49-72; Govor *et al.* 2019:113-209).

5.1.3 Salem-based voyages

The Peabody Essex Museum (PEM) in Salem (USA) holds a substantial group of relatively early Marquesan objects. They came into the museum's collection through one of its predecessors, the East India Marine Society Museum, and were collected on voyages made from Salem. Around 1800 Salem was one of the most important overseas trade harbours in the USA. The East India Marine Society was an exclusive trade and social society of which only Salem ship owners, their representatives on board and captains who actually crossed the Indian Ocean and/or the Pacific could be members. At its foundation in 1799 one of the society's objectives was to create a museum for natural and manmade objects. Members were asked to keep journals during their travels and to record navigational information and details about the peoples they encountered on their travels. They were also instructed to make acquisitions for the society's museum (Hellmich 1996:69-70; Lindgren 1995:181-82; Schwartz 2020:8-10).

Between 1800-1830 the society received a substantial number of Marquesan objects, of which 73 can still be identified. These include fourteen (of the original nineteen) objects, among which are four fans, four slings and two chiefs' staffs, donated in 1802 by ship-owner Clifford Crowninshield and Captain Mayhew Folger, probably collected by the latter on the Marquesas in 1801 (Denig 1980:114, 296; Dodge 1939; Hellmich 1996:71; Malloy 2000:65). Captain Nathaniel Page visited the islands several times in the years 1815-1816 and upon his return donated at least nineteen objects, including four ear ornaments, two stilt steps, an *ùu* club and a paddle-shaped club (Denig 1980:297; Dodge 1939; Ward 1968:178-9). Another benefactor was Captain Benjamin Vanderford who visited the Marquesas at least three times, in 1818, 1821 and 1822, and made several donations between 1818-1826 including an *ùu* club, a feather headdress, five hair ornaments and three pieces of tapa (Denig 1980:297; Dodge 1939; Hellmich 1996:71). Several other captains

donated objects, although it is unclear if they visited the Marquesas themselves: Israel Williams, William Richardson, Thomas Bowditch and John Collins (Dodge 1939; Malloy 2000:67-8). The donors' names have not been recorded for some objects. Three Marquesan ùu clubs were sent as part of a larger donation to the museum from Mauritius in 1802 by a crew member of a British convict ship, John Fitzpatrick Jeffrie (Dodge 1939:29-30; Hellmich 1996:72). How, where and when he had acquired the objects is unknown. There are some discrepancies in the paper trail regarding these clubs as the accompanying letter does not mention the three clubs specifically, although two Tahitian clubs and a Tahitian war spear are mentioned, so this could be an identification mistake (Dodge 1941:260-1). However, in the society's 1821 catalogue a total of four Marquesan war clubs are mentioned to have been donated by Jeffrie (depicted in Hellmich 1996:72). This of course could also have been a typographical error, since at the time of the publication the museum should already have received an ùu club from Vanderford, which is not mentioned. The current collection holds six more objects which were possibly collected prior to 1810. In 1919 Stephen Willard Philips donated a drum, feather headdress, three feather ornaments and a bone ornament. He was a Salem lawyer heavily involved in the enlargement of the Pacific collection in the Peabody Museum of Salem, with which the society's museum had merged (Dodge 1939; Hellmich 1996:78). Unfortunately, it is unclear why Philips thought the objects were collected prior to 1810.⁶⁴

5.1.4 Dutch voyage

Several objects acquired by Dutch crew members can still be found in present-day collections (see Appendix E). Van Haersolte (1824-1834:19-11-1825) mentions in letters home that he obtained objects from Nuku Hiva, some of which he donated to a regional society in Zwolle, the Overijsselsche Vereeniging tot Ontwikkeling van Provinciale Welvaart (OVOPW), in 1852 and the remainder probably sometime later, as they are not mentioned in the 1852 catalogue (OVOWP 1852:12-3; Schmeltz 1892:33, 39, 40). A chest ornament (TM-1322-210) and a head ornament (TM-1322-212) have no direct connection with Van Haersolte in Schmeltz's publication (1892:33; accidentally placed under the heading 'New Guinea'). However, it is very likely that these were also collected by Van Haersolte, since the objects came from the OVOPW and these types of object were mentioned in his letters home. Most of the Van Haersolte objects are presently in the Tropenmuseum collection,⁶⁵ Amsterdam, apart

⁶⁴ The answer to this question can possibly be retrieved from the extensive archive of the Peabody Essex Museum, which unfortunately could not be consulted for this research project.

⁶⁵ The OVOPW's collection was transferred to another organisation in Zwolle, the Vereeniging tot Beoefening van Overijsselsch Regt en Geschiedenis (VORG). The VORG gave the OVOWP's collection on loan to the TM on 9 May 1939. Part of the collection (serial number 4847) was bought by the TM in 1982, the remainder was donated in 1983, keeping their 1939 serial number 1322 (VORG 1976-1994; TM Archives).

from two stilt steps which were exchanged in 1991 with a dealer and are now in a private collection (TM Archives).

The MV collection, Leiden, holds objects from several different sources. Commander Kist donated a pair of ear ornaments to the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden (Royal Cabinet of Rarities), a collection which was transferred to the MV in 1883. It is likely Commander Kist is Lieutenant Commander Johan Frederik Kist, who was stationed on the *Maria Reigersberg*, and was promoted to commander in 1833 and to captain in 1842. Kist probably made his donation between these dates (Stamboeken 1813-1940c, 331; Stamboeken 1813-1940a, 18). In 1883 a paddle-shaped club was donated to the MV by the Ministry of the Navy. In a catalogue of the Navy Models Room Obreen (1858:171) describes it as originating from the inhabitants of 'Nukahiwa', brought back on the *Maria Reigersberg* in 1825. In August 1885 the MV acquired a pair of stilt steps in the auction of G. Theod. Bom & Zoon, Amsterdam. Van Haersolte made a precise drawing of one of these stilt steps with his travelogue (Haersolte 1824-1826a). In 1905 two of Adrianus Cosijn's daughters donated a group of objects to the MV, which included six Marquesan objects and one other related to the Dutch voyage, as well as a drawing showing thirteen types of Marquesan objects, four of which were included in the donation (MV n.d.; fig. 2.29).⁶⁶ It is unclear whether all the depicted objects were originally collected by Cosijn.

In June 1877 Johan Henri Singendonck donated several objects to the Koloniaal Museum in Haarlem, which were from the estate of his uncle Willem Carel Singendonck and described as 'Armour of a native chief of the Marquesas Islands' (Koloniaal 1877). The museum inventory lists four different items: a shell trumpet, two neck ornaments, two ear ornaments and, based on the question mark in the inventory after the third number '2', two unknown objects. The shell trumpet was exchanged with the ethnographic museum in Rotterdam in 1902 (Koloniaal 1877-1791:[8]) and is still in the WM collection today. It is the only Singendonck object with known whereabouts.

Some other objects in Dutch museum collections may have been collected during the 1825 voyage, but this cannot yet be substantiated.⁶⁷ Also the object plate in Troost's travelogue shows six Marquesan objects and two from Nui, presumably collected by him (fig. 2.32). None of these have been located so far, although there are

⁶⁶ Also in 1905 Adrianus Cosijn's daughters donated his naturalia collection from the East and West Indies to the Royal Museum of Natural History, now Naturalis, in Leiden (Engel 1986:63). According to curator Jeroen Goud this collection consists mainly of shells for which the find location is generally unknown and none can be connected specifically to the Marquesas Islands (personal communication 28-06-2021).

⁶⁷ Possible additional objects can be found in the Tropenmuseum. Two stilt steps and an undecorated ùu club were transferred from the Koloniaal Museum in Haarlem, which were studied by Von den Steinen in 1906. They had already been in the collection for many years, but the acquisition details are unknown (Koloniaal 1907:148-9). Other objects could be the stilt step donated to the OVOWP by Baron Mr. L.A.J.W. Sloet van de Beele (TM-1322-252; OVOWP 1852:12; Schmeltz 1892:40) and an adze donated to the OVOWP by an unknown donor. Van Haersolte could be the donor, but does not specifically mention it (TM-1322-255; Haersolte 1824-1834:19-11-1825; Schmeltz 1892:40). Appendix F contains an overview of Marquesan objects in Dutch museum collections besides those collected on Nuku Hiva in May 1825.

some similarities with objects collected by both Van Haersolte and Cosijn. The identified objects collected by the Dutch crew members are presented in Appendix E. These will be discussed in more detail and in relation to other collections later in this chapter.

5.1.5 Missionaries of the London Missionary Society

In 2017 the Museum of Anthropology (MOA) at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver (Canada) acquired a donation from descendants of Reverend George Stallworthy, who was a missionary for the LMS on the Marquesas Islands, based on the island of Tahuata between 1834-1841. The gift included a headdress with turtle shell and shell plaques, a large shell trumpet and two pipes. When the objects arrived at the museum six ear ornaments were attached to a piece of cardboard with some explanatory information, as was the case with two tattoo implements (MOA [2017]). The BM also holds a small collection of Marquesan objects, including a prow ornament and an ūu club, from the LMS. It is unclear who collected these objects, but, according to McKinney (2012:58), it was probably either David Darling on Tahuata or Robert Thomson on Nuku Hiva. The objects were acquired from the LMS in 1911 and were on loan to the BM from 1890.

5.1.6 Around the Pacific

It was common for Marquesan objects to surface elsewhere throughout the Pacific region during the nineteenth century. The National Museum of Natural History (NMNH) in Washington D.C. (USA), for example, holds several such objects collected by the United States Exploring Expedition between 1838-1842. However, this expedition did not visit the Marquesas, so the objects must have been obtained elsewhere, probably Tahiti or Hawai'i. In 1841 Frédéric (Fritz) Favarger, a native of Neuchâtel, Switzerland, but based in Valparaiso, Chile, donated a large collection of objects from the South Pacific to the scientific society in his hometown (now kept at the Musée d'Ethnographie de Neuchâtel (MEN)). Most originate from the Marquesas Islands (Société 1846:7; MEN-Archives). There is no evidence that Favarger ever visited the Marquesas or any other Pacific Islands, so he may well have amassed the collection from the numerous ships that harboured at Valparaiso.

5.1.7 French voyages and residency

Prior to French occupation in 1842, several French explorers and traders visited the islands and collected objects. However, no collections have so far been identified from the earliest known French visitors, Etienne Marchand in 1791 and Camille de Roquefeuil in 1817. The last French explorative voyage of this era was undertaken by Jules Sébastien César Dumont d'Urville between 1837-1840. The Marquesas Islands were visited in 1838, when several crew members collected material which is currently

dispersed in different French museums. In her article on Pacific collections in French Museums, Carreau (2018:81) explains it is difficult to identify Pacific objects due to this wide dispersal and to the uncertainties and unrest following the French Revolution (1789), as well as the lack of suitable museums for ethnographic collections. This was only overcome in 1878, when the Musée du Trocadéro in Paris was founded. Prior to this, senior naval officers donated the objects acquired during their voyages either to the Louvre's Naval Museum or the Natural History Museum, both in Paris, or to their benefactors. Local museums and societies were often the recipients of the objects collected by more junior naval staff (Carreau 2018:81-2, 92-3).

One of the higher-ranking officers who donated a sizeable collection to the Louvre's Naval Museum was Captain Jean-Benoît-Amadée Collet. Between 1842-1844 Collet was the first supreme commander of the Marquesas Islands after the French annexation by Rear-Admiral Du Petit-Thouars. On his return to France Collet donated approximately 50 Marquesan objects, including body ornaments (i.e. ear ornaments), fans, stilt steps and pieces of tapa cloth. Via several transfers to different institutions these are now reassembled in the MQB, although some objects from the original donation have not been accounted for. However, a few objects have also been added, including an ù club which Collet received from War Chief Pakoko (Inventaire Louis Philippe; Ivory *et al.* 2016:127; MQB-database). It seems that Collet did not donate these last objects to the Naval Museum, but to another institution, as their accession numbers differ.⁶⁸

A subordinate of Collet, Second Lieutenant Jean Daniel Alphonse Rohr, stayed on the Marquesas for thirty-one months, learned Marquesan, and befriended islanders. He acquired several objects which he donated to his home-town Colmar in 1845. Although some have been lost over the years, ca. 60 objects can still be identified in the collection of the MHNEC, Colmar, and include body ornaments (i.e. ear ornaments), weapons, musical instruments, a wooden figure and a stone figure (Jehl 1969:28-33; Sears 1993; 2002:120-7; MHNEC-database). According to Sears (2002:125) Rohr either bought them from chiefs or received them as gifts and most objects were acquired from War Chief Pakoko. However, information regarding their original owners seems to have become detached from the objects.

These are just two of the many groups of objects which found their way into French museums having been gathered by French officials, both military and civil. To give another example: the Musée Hébreu in Rochefort and the MQB both hold objects collected by Pierre-Alphonse Lesson, who visited with Dumont d'Urville, and headed the medical service in the Marquesas and Society Islands from 1843 to 1849 (Carreau 2018:99; MQB-database; Stefani n.d.:1-2, 6-7). In the same period French journalist

⁶⁸ The objects mentioned in the Inventaire Louis Philippe have accession numbers starting with 72.84 and 71.1909, the club and a few other objects have accession numbers starting with 72.53.

Edmond de Ginoux de La Coche also visited the Marquesas several times and acquired a collection which is now in the Musée des explorations du monde (MEM) in Cannes (Ginoux 2010; see sections 6.2.1 & 7.2.1). Another example is First Lieutenant Henri Jouan, who resided on the Marquesas from 1853 to 1856 as the representative of France. He donated a group of objects to the National History Museum in Cherbourg (now Muséum Emmanuel Liais) (Bailleul 2001:97-8; Lavondés 1976:185).

5.1.8 1870s-1890s

From the 1870s onwards other scholars/collectors started making voyages around the Pacific, which in contrast to many earlier expeditions, had a salvage ethnographic character. Emerging and revitalised museums in Europe and North America were looking for ways in which to add to existing collections or establish new collections of ethnographical materials from around the globe. Especially as was suggested by Cole (1995:50) for the Northwest Coast there was 'the realization that civilization was rapidly destroying the subject of that interest.' Either for institutions or for their own private collections these (professional) travellers undertook trips to the Pacific islands and many called at the Marquesas. During their stay of, generally, three to four weeks, they visited several islands, where they often acquired a considerable number of objects. One of the first was American naturalist Charles David Voy, who visited in 1874 and collected among others statues, stilt steps, ear ornaments and fan handles, both old and contemporary objects. His collection was acquired by William Pepper who donated it to the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (now Penn Museum (PM)) in 1891 (Coote 2015a:306, 311-2; Ivory 1990:71, 198; 2011b:327; PM-Archives; Pilsbry & Vanatta 1905:291; Rosenheck 2019). According to Coote (2015a:311-2), there is also a group of Marquesan objects collected by Voy in the California Academy of Sciences. In 1884 Swedish archaeologist and anthropologist Knut Hjalmar Stolpe called at the Marquesas with the Swedish Vanadis expedition to collect material for the national museum in Stockholm (Culin 1906:150-1; Ivory 1995:21; Söderström 1939:19). For British writer Robert Louis Stevenson this was the first group of islands visited during his travels through the Pacific which started in 1888. He disappointed the first Marquesans he met for not wanting to trade for their objects (Stevenson 1896:6-7). During his five and a half weeks' stay he nevertheless acquired several objects, which were probably gifts, such as a wooden arm with tattoo motifs and a carved bone fan handle. These objects were acquired by the PEM in 1915 (Dodge 1939:1, 2, 8, 17, 24; Hellmich 1996:78; Stevenson 1896:18). German ethnologist Arthur Baessler visited in May/June 1896 as part of a longer voyage through Eastern Polynesia and subsequently made donations to several German museums (Baessler 1896:463-464; Sauer 1953) and to the MV, Leiden, where the majority of his gift consists mainly of contemporary objects and only a few older ones. These are just a few examples of travellers to the Marquesas Islands and the wider

Pacific region in the last decades of the nineteenth century, who, perhaps apart from Stevenson, specifically visited to acquire objects for private or institutional collections, which can still be found in American and European museums today. What they collected often is a mixture of older and contemporary objects.

5.1.9 Karl von den Steinen (1855-1929)

Familiar with his compatriot Baessler's relatively short visit, Karl von den Steinen chose the Marquesas as the destination for a research trip in 1897-1898. His main mission was to collect objects for the Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde, now Ethnologisches Museum (EM), Berlin, which only had a very small Marquesan collection deemed insufficient for research purposes. Besides collecting objects for the Berlin museum, he also collected oral traditions from elderly Marquesans, writing down what he heard phonetically and using translators to help him understand what had been said. In the course of his six months' stay in the islands he also learned to understand and speak Marquesan. With regard to obtaining objects for the Berlin museum collection, he wrote in the preface of his trilogy *Die Marquesaner und Ihre Kunst* that he was 50 years too late and had only been able to acquire a few really old objects for the museum by visiting every village to probe for objects (Steinen 1898:491-499; 1925: Vorwort; 1988: XV-XVII). Von den Steinen acquired about 500 objects in total⁶⁹ and, for some, information is available about the way in which he acquired them. Sometimes the acquisition method is questionable, especially from a present-day perspective, for example:

One of the most valuable pieces in the collection is an artistically carved turtle [shell] fishhook with three figures, one of which represents a Maui. Remnants of human hair sit in the braiding. I had to set heaven and hell in motion, use the bishop's help against the chief family's tough resistance, so that this unique piece would be sold to me. The undoubtedly ancient fishhook, not [even] 10 cm long, was in all seriousness considered to be the real fishhook of Maui, with whom he had fished the island "Tonaeva", this is Tongarewa, from the depths of the sea, and the attached hair as that of the sun god, that Maui cut off after throwing the noose over his neck. In this case, fortunately, I was able to refute people with their own tradition, according to which Maui threw his fishhook against the firmament, where it had become the constellation of Scorpio; in this way I was able to shake the belief in the relic and achieve its sale (Steinen 1898:501) (Author's translation).

⁶⁹ Although Thomas mentions a total of about 550 objects (2019a:13), curator Dorothea Deterts provided the following numbers for Von den Steinen's donation: 486 (1899 research collection) and 55 (1928 private collection, includes some objects from other Pacific areas) (personal communication via e-mail 24/25-06-2020). His private collection contained objects acquired in Europe after his stay on the Marquesas (Steinen 1928a: III). A number of about 500 objects collected in 1897-1898 in the Marquesas seems therefore a more likely total.

It is clear from this approach that Von den Steinen did not seem to care at all that the object in question was clearly a treasured family heirloom, which they actually wanted to keep for themselves. After his return, he kept on collecting objects in Europe, so his books on Marquesan art also contain objects from his later private collection and from many other (museum) collections. In 1928 he donated his private collection to the Berlin museum (Steinen 1928a:III).

5.1.10 1900-1940

In the early twentieth century the Marquesas were visited by several collectors who acquired objects from mainly archaeological sites as well as relatively modern objects. Polish adventurer and business man André Krajewski travelled the South Pacific between 1908-1913. Unfortunately hardly any information about his 1908 expedition is to be found; however, it is clear that he assembled a substantial collection of mainly Marquesan objects, which was presented at the international conference of ethnography in Neuchâtel, Switzerland, in 1914. The collection consists of sculpted stone objects, some with acquisition dates 1908 or 1909, some weapons, body ornaments and wooden and coconut objects, both ornamented and unadorned, many of which were relatively modern or contemporary objects. Because of the outbreak of the First World War the collection remained in Neuchâtel and after the war the MEN was offered the collection for sale. Because the museum could not meet the asking price, part of the collection was sold at auction. Objects from the Krajewski collection can also be found in the Musée d'Ethnographie de Genève (MEG), the Museum der Kulturen (MKB) in Basel, and, through dealer William Oldman, in the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa in Wellington (Mallon & Hutton 2013:119; MEN-Archives; Oldman 1940:62, 64; O'Reilly & Teissier 1975:296-7).

In 1920-1921 the Marquesas were visited by members of the American Bayard Dominick Expedition, who conducted archaeological and anthropological research (see sections 6.2.2 and 7.2.3), and also collected objects (Ivory 2011b:329). In particular, expedition member Ralph Linton collected a considerable number of objects, such as containers, weapons, musical instruments, and items of personal adornment, which he donated to the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in Hawai'i.⁷⁰

Swiss travellers Theo Meier and Lucas Staehelin-von Mandach made a trip around the world together but when and for how long they visited the Marquesas is unknown. They acquired a lot of material from what must have been grave sites, which was probably illegally obtained. They sold their collection, also containing several contemporary and some older objects, to the Museum für Völkerkunde (now MKB) in Basel (Switzerland) in 1932-1933 (Cladders 2015:18; MKB Archives). Meier and Staehelin-von Mandach also donated a small group of Marquesan objects, including two parts of statues, to the museum in Tahiti (BSEO 1933:175). This may

⁷⁰ Personal communication Carol Ivory via e-mail 13/15-01-2022.

have been a condition of the French Polynesian authorities to enable them to export the rest of the objects to Basel.

In 1934 the French ethnological expedition La Korrigane visited the Marquesas and objects acquired during this visit have found their way into the collection of the MQB, although with just fourteen objects it is a small group compared to the hundreds of objects from the Pacific.

Norwegian adventurer Thor Heyerdahl and his wife stayed for eighteen months on Fatu Iva in 1937-1938. During their stay, Heyerdahl gathered a collection of objects which he sold to the Brooklyn Museum (BLM), New York, in 1942. These objects were mainly surface finds and finds of 'treasure hunt' excavations, as Melander describes them (2019:388). Besides these archaeological objects, the purchase also contained some other objects, such as a women's headdress with dolphin teeth and glass beads, a complete hair costume, and a large shell trumpet, which had been kept hidden, that Heyerdahl acquired in 1937 from someone named Kaimoko in Atuona on Hiva Oa (BLM-website; Melander 2019:388-9).

5.2 ANALYSIS OF OBJECTS COLLECTED BY THE DUTCH AND OTHER VISITORS 1774-1844

The starting point for this material culture study is the objects collected by the Dutch in 1825, representing several types of objects which are discussed below. They are placed in a broader context of collected Marquesan material culture between 1774-1844. To provide a framework, a chart has been compiled showing what kind of objects were obtained by the visitors per voyage/stay and which can still be located today (see Table 5.1). As the basis for the chart the categories by Govor *et al.* (2019:113-211) have been used. In some instances, it was felt appropriate to alter the sequence of the objects, for example ear ornaments have been placed before chest and neck ornaments and objects worn on the body or directly concerning the body have been placed before objects that are carried. A few categories or subcategories have been added for object types that are not present in the Krusenstern collections. Before discussing the object types, it must be stressed that the chosen categories are situated in the Western (ethnographic) museum tradition in which the general tendency is to describe objects in what are perceived to be neutral or objective terms. The categories chosen are not necessarily relevant for Marquesans in, for example, the 1770s or 1820s. However, there is very limited knowledge of what a certain type of object meant for Marquesans or how they would have described it themselves. To illustrate: several collections contain a type of head ornament generally referred to in the literature as *tete pōniu* (e.g. Kjellgren 2005b:70). This ornament is made of a semi-circular piece of

	Cook 1774 ⁷¹	Salem 1800-1810 ⁷²	Krusenstern 1804	Salem 1815-1830 ⁷³	Dutch 1825	LMS 1834-1841 ⁷⁴	Favarger >1841 ⁷⁵	Collet 1842-1843 ⁷⁶	Rohr 1842-1844 ⁷⁷
Head ornaments									
Headdress (taavaha)			1					1	1
Headdress (hei kuà)			1					1	
Headdress (uhikana)	4	1	1						
Headdress (tete pōniu)		1	1		2			2	1
Headdress (paè kea/paè kaha)						1		1	1
Headdress (tāpī uma)	1			1					
Headdress (pēue kāvii)								3	1
Headdress (paè kou a èhi)								1	
Other types of headdresses	5						4/5		
Feather headdr. ornament (tuà)				1		2	2	3	1
Ear ornaments									
Shell ear ornament	1		15		6	4	4		4
Wooden ear ornament			4					4	2
Whale-tooth ear ornament			2	2	2	7			2
Turtle shell ear ornament				2					
Chest and neck ornaments									
Chest ornament (tahi pōniu)	4	2	4		2				
Shell chest ornament (uhi)					1				4
Boar tusk neck ornament			4						1
Large pendant neck ornament	5	1	6			1			
Other necklaces			2	3					2
Other (body) ornaments									
Ornament made with white beard hair (pavahina)	[1] ⁷⁸		1	1		1		1	1
Ornaments made with dark hair, seeds or shells (mainly for upper arm, wrist or ankle)	2		1	2	1	2		6	3
Hair ornament (thin strings)		1		2 ⁷⁹		4		1	
Other arm ornaments									2
Bone/shell ornament (parts)			5	3 ⁸⁰					
Feather ornament (undefined)	1								

⁷¹ Numbers derived from Kaepler 1978:165-168, Söderström 1939:20, Hauser-Schäublin 1998b:324-26, Tanner 1999:37, Freeman 1949:7, 16.

⁷² Numbers derived from Dodge 1939. Two shell chest ornaments (see Dodge 1939:6, plate VIII) have not been included, as these are probably not from the Marquesas, but likely originate from the Cook Islands.

⁷³ Numbers derived from Dodge 1939.

⁷⁴ Numbers derived from McKinney 2012:142-5, 161 and MOA's online database (<http://collection-online.moa.ubc.ca/> - last consulted 21-09-2020). The former lists one more object, a belt, which does not seem to be Marquesan and has therefore been excluded. The latter lists twelve more items as (possibly) originating from the Marquesas, which do not seem to be Marquesan and therefore have not been included.

⁷⁵ There are a few inconsistencies in number of objects between the original donation list and a later inventory in the MEN-Archives, for which no explanation has been found yet.

⁷⁶ Based on a transcribed inventory of the Musée de Marine du Louvre (Inventaire Louis Philippe) received from Marie-Noëlle Ottino-Garanger and correlated with the MQB online database (<http://collections.quaibrantly.fr/>, last consulted on 19-05-2020). Two axes, two chiefs' staffs and an ūu club present in the online database are not in the original list, but mention Collet as their source. These probably came through another institution (see 5.1.7, footnote 68). Therefore quote marks have been placed around the numbers of these objects. The club and one of the chiefs' staffs are included in the Matahoata exhibition catalogue (Ivory *et al.* 2016:127, 163, 164).

⁷⁷ This list is based on objects observed in the MHNEC in Colmar in 2009 and/or in the Matahoata exhibition in MQB in 2016. Further information was provided by Claire Prêtre (MHNEC-database; Jehl 1969; Sears 1993). An image of an old inventory in Sears (1993: between 8-9) mentions a pair of stilts originally also part of the donation. Von den Steinen includes images of one stilt step (1928a:134, 249).

⁷⁸ The sling in the BM (ObjectID Oc1977,Q.9) has a pavahina and an ivi poo attached (Ivory 1990:162, 165).

⁷⁹ Including one donated before 1821 by an unknown source.

⁸⁰ Donated before 1821 by an unknown source.

	Cook 1774 ⁷¹	Salem 1800-1810 ⁷²	Krusenstern 1804	Salem 1815-1830 ⁷³	Dutch 1825	LMS 1834-1841 ⁷⁴	Favarger >1841 ⁷⁵	Collet 1842-1843 ⁷⁶	Rohr 1842-1844 ⁷⁷
Tattooing tools			1			2			
Fans									
Square fans			6						
Semi-circular fans (tāhii)	4	4	8			1		3	2
Weapons / ceremonial objects									
War clubs (ūu)	1	4 ⁸¹	1 ⁸²	2		1	1	'1'	1+1
Paddle-shaped clubs (parahua)	1	1	3	5 ⁸³	1		5		1
Other clubs									1
Chiefs' staffs (tokotoko pioo)		3	2	1			1	'2'	1
Small chief's staff								1	
Spears (mataku)			1						3
Slings (maka)	1	5	7		2				1
Slingshot									6
Stilt walking equipment									
Stilts (vaeake)			2				2		
Stilt steps (tapuvae)			12	2	5		6/10	4	
Musical instruments									
Shell trumpet (pūtoka)	1	1	2		1	1		1	1
Small shell trumpet (pūtupe)					1				
Nose flute (pūihu)						2			1
Drum (pahu)									1
Figures									
Bone ornament (ivi poo)	[1]		1		[1]				
Wooden figure			1						1
Stone figure									1
Skulls as artefacts (ipu oo)			5						2
Utensils									
Calabashes and other vessels		1	4			2	2/3		2
Cordage			5			6			
Stone axes (toki)			2					'2'	2
Needles	2								
Fishing tackle									
Paddles (hoe)		1	5				7		
Simple pearl shell fishhooks		5	9					2	
Composite fishhooks		4	5	3					
Ritual fishhooks							1		
Harpoons and fishing lines			3						2
Canoes									
Prow ornaments						1	1		1
Canoe model				1					
Cloth and tapa		2	90	3				4	3
Tapa beater									1
Tobacco pipes						2			

Table 5.1 Types of objects collected on the Marquesas between 1774-1844

⁸¹ Including one donated in 1803 by an unknown source.

⁸² Kunstkamera holds two ūu clubs, likely collected in 1804, but provenance to the Krusenstern voyage can be identified for only one. At least two other ūu clubs must have been collected (Govor *et al.* 2019:164-5).

⁸³ This includes four donated prior to 1826 by an unknown source.

calabash bordered with natural coloured and dark brown plaited hibiscus fibres which run into a cord on both sides, and adorned with *Abrus precatorius* seeds set in resin at the front. One could assume that the use of the red seeds was significant, since red was considered a tapu colour. As such, this type of headdress would possibly have been described differently by a person who was in a position to wear it as opposed to an individual who was not. But the significance, if any, of the other materials remains unclear, as does the shape of the head ornament. Although aware of the limitations of Western categorisation, this seems the most practical approach for the purpose of this section.

The objects listed prior to the Dutch voyage in 1825 contain the comprehensive collections of the Cook (1774) and Krusenstern (1804) expeditions, as well as objects collected during voyages by Salem traders and whalers. The latter have been divided into two date groups: 1800-1810 and 1815-1830. Including the Dutch voyage in 1825, all these individual visits were relatively short, so the period for collecting objects was also limited. The post-Dutch visits mentioned in the table present a selection of known comprehensive collections over time. In three of the four cases it concerns collectors who were on the Marquesas (or one of the islands) for a longer period and who probably assembled their collections over a longer period. This is also true for the Favarger collection, even though it was built in Valparaiso, Chile. Regarding French collectors, others could also have been chosen, however, the choice was made because of prior engagement (Rohr collection) and/or the availability of a combination of archival material and online museum database of these collections. Obviously, there are limits to the chart, as well as to the corpus of Marquesan material culture known to have been collected during this period. It only contains objects that Marquesans were willing to exchange with the many foreigners who visited their islands and in which visitors were interested. Objects which can no longer be located have been excluded from the table. Also, the table cannot show what was not collected at all or what was not collected during the voyages/stays discussed. This matter is dealt with later in this chapter.

5.2.1 Head ornaments

The table shows that many different types of head ornaments were popular objects, some of which were collected over the whole period, while others are represented only in shorter periods. The Dutch collected two tete pōniu head ornaments (figs. 5.2/5.3) but unfortunately only the one in the MV has some *Abrus precatorius* seeds left. Both Troost's book and Cosijn's drawing include an image of a tete pōniu (figs. 2.29, 2.32). From 1800 onwards, similar head ornaments were collected by several visitors and in 1842 Radiguet made a drawing of a warrior wearing one of these tete pōniu as part of an elaborate composite head ornament, which also included another type of headdress of tall black chicken feathers (taavaha), a bundle of feathers of the tropicbird (tuà) and

an ornament made of old men's beard (pavahina) (Bihouée 2008:70-1; Meyer 2008a:66; 2008b:74-5; fig. 5.4).

The taavaha previously mentioned was first collected in 1804 and then in the 1840s (fig. 5.5). Although this type of head ornament is described by Van Haersolte (1824-1826a [25-6]) as 'a bundle of [rooster's] feathers more than 3 feet in circumference and over a half foot thick' to which Singendonck (1824-1825:[29]) added 'which they ... braid together with the fibres of the coconut', it does not seem to have been collected by the Dutch. The same is true for a headdress named hei kuà, which is made using shorter orange chicken feathers (fig. 5.6). A headdress mentioned in the table and only collected between 1774 and 1804 is the uhikana (fig. 5.7). This headdress is recognisable by its large pearl shell disc with turtle shell decoration fixed to the front, sometimes there are two of these disc ornaments attached next to each other. There are later examples of this headdress which were probably made until the twentieth century (Steinen 1928a:167-72; Ivory 2005b:65-6). A head ornament consisting of a bundle of black chicken feathers tied together with coconut fibres ending in long braids on which small whale teeth were strung is called a pēue kāvii (fig. 5.8). Collet and Rohr are the only ones in this table who collected a total of four of these headdresses. Another headdress, called paè kea (fig. 5.9), consists of slightly curved plaques of carved turtle shell alternated with curved pieces of white shell. The first one was collected by Stallworthy of the LMS between 1834 and 1841, although the type is already described by Crook in his account of 1797-1799 (2007:58). It was still made for trade until much later (see 5.3). What all these headdresses have in common, from taavaha to paè kea, is that they all have a headband of plaited coconut fibres to which the decoration is either attached or interwoven. Some other types of headdress from 1774 consist mainly of bands (possibly the decorations were lost) or are headbands with small drop-shaped shells, as is the case in the Favarger collection. Another type, completely made of coconut fibres, is the tāpī uma (fig. 5.11) which consists of stiff tresses of twined fibres plaited together. One was collected in 1774 and another in 1815 (Salem). A very simple headdress made of a woven palm leaf is the paè kou a èhi which, according to Crook (2007:93), was only worn by priests on Tahuata, but on Nuku Hiva also by other high-ranked individuals and even by commoners during ceremonies. Only one was collected by Collet (fig. 5.10). One final object in relation to head ornaments is the aforementioned bundle of tropicbird's feathers (tuà; fig. 5.12). The first one in the table was collected in 1823 and is now in Salem. Apart from the Dutch, of whom Cosijn depicted one (fig. 2.29), these feather ornaments were collected until at least the 1840s.

5.2.2 Ear ornaments

Different types of ear ornaments were collected throughout the period 1774-1840s. This object group is the central theme of Chapter 7.

5.2.3 Chest and neck ornaments

The table shows that most of the ornaments worn on the chest were collected up until the visit of the Dutch in 1825. One of these is often referred to as a gorget (tahi pōniu) (Kjellgren 2005a:53). Singendonck (1824-1825:[31-2]) describes it as a ring collar in the shape of a horseshoe made from the wood of a breadfruit tree on which red seeds were glued. The Dutch collected two, but regrettably only the one in the MV has some red *Abrus precatorius* seeds set in resin left. This is possibly also the one featured in Cosijn's drawing (fig. 2.29). Two variations of this type of chest ornament exist: those where the U-shaped wood is made of smaller pieces of wood strung together on two cords (fig. 5.15) or those where the U-shape consists of one piece of wood (figs. 5.13/5.14). Although the former type seems to have been collected more often, the two collected by the Dutch are of the latter variation as is the one depicted in Troost (fig. 2.32). In the second variation there are two patterns of red seeds discernible, those which have bands consisting of two rows of seeds, like the ones drawn and collected by the Dutch, and those completely covered with seeds on the front and at the back around the edge. Interestingly Missionary Crook states that the gorget depicted in Cook's object plate is incorrect, since according to him the 'Wooden part ... is not slit at the edge' (Crook 2007:58). The table shows that tahi pōniu were only collected between 1774-1825. Although it may have been collected after 1825, this chest ornament does not seem to figure in any of the known drawings made of Marquesans after this date.

A chest ornament first collected by the Dutch is a large shell disc ornament (uhi). It is a natural mother-of-pearl shell with a man-made hole through which a small piece of plaited coconut cord is inserted (fig. 5.16). Rohr collected four of these ornaments between 1842-1844. They must have been attached to some type of necklace possibly in a similar manner to the one worn by the tattooed man drawn by Max Radiguet in 1842 (fig. 5.4).

A neck ornament that seems to have only been collected in 1804 consists of woven coconut cordage with boar tusks strung over its entire length (see Govor *et al.* 2019:126). Pendant necklaces were mainly collected between 1774 and 1804 and though probably not collected by the Dutch, one of these was described by Singendonck (1824-1825:[31]) as consisting of a highly polished whale tooth with an opening at its thickest part through which a cord is strung and for which, if a whale tooth was unavailable, boar tusks were used. The cord mentioned by Singendonck was probably made of woven and twined coconut cordage covered with a layer of hibiscus fibres with one or two pendants. Apart from one or two whale teeth or boar tusks, shells in the shape of a whale tooth were used as pendants (fig. 5.17). Stallworthy of the LMS collected the only later example of a pendant necklace (fig. 5.18).

A few other types of necklace have been collected, consisting of shells or dolphin teeth strung on a piece of cord or small strings of braided hair with a piece of shell as pendant.

5.2.4 Other (body) ornaments

Human hair (*ouoho*) is a common material used in several types of ornaments, most of which are mainly, but not exclusively, worn on the body. According to Singendonck (1824-1825:[32]) the hair ornaments worn around the wrists and ankles were made from the hair of slain enemies. This begs the question about the foundation for his remark, since hair of an enemy will not have looked that different from any Nuku Hivan's hair. He may have understood this from a Nuku Hivan or from the Tahitian via limited ways of communication, but it is more likely that he read it in one of the travelogues of earlier visitors. Cook (1777:310) mentions similar ornaments but does not refer to the provenance of the hair. George Forster (1777:16) refers to them adding those worn around the knees and waist suggesting that they may have been 'worn in remembrance of their dead relations, and therefore looked upon with some veneration; or else they may be the spoils of their enemies, worn as the honourable testimonies of victory.' Krusenstern (1813:180) notes that hair was used to ornament weapons, but does not refer to hair being used in body ornamentation. Von Langsdorff (1817:171-3) notes the same, but also observes that men wore a type of hair ornament on their backs, which he calls *hopemoa*, made from the hair of their wives. Many years later, Handy (1923:282-3) mentions that for the different types of hair ornaments both the hair of living relatives as well as that of enemies was used. He also explained that before being used, the cut hair was curled using heat by a specialist (*tuhuka*).

The hair ornaments themselves mainly consist of a thick braided coconut cord to which bundles of dark brown human hair are attached with the bottom parts wrapped in coconut fibres (fig. 5.19). Due to their size the ones mentioned in the table would mainly have been used for the wrist, upper arm and ankles. These objects were collected throughout 1774-1840s. Collet's objects include one larger hair ornament that was probably worn around the waist or on the shoulders. The Dutch collected one very similar ornament, however, it does not have human hair, but bundles of tiny shells instead (fig. 5.20). Apart from this, it is constructed in the same way. This shell ornament is the only known example of its kind and seems to be the same as that depicted in Cosijn's drawing (fig. 2.29). It is also similar to the one in Troost's object plate (fig. 2.32), although he describes it as having boar tusks as well as shells (Troost 1829:193). The LMS collection contains two ornaments, collected by Stallworthy, made in a similar fashion.⁸⁴ However, in this case the hair is replaced by large round black seeds (*kokuu*; fig. 5.21), which were used in ornaments like these more often.

⁸⁴ One of these ornaments has disintegrated and has been placed into the Beaty Biodiversity Museum at UBC (MOA [2017]:13).

Another type of hair ornament already mentioned is the pavahina, consisting of tufts of white or whitened grey beard hair, the ends of which are wrapped in coconut fibre bindings that are tied together (Crook *et al.* 1998:44; Crook 2007:58; Ivory 2005a:28; Govor *et al.* 2019:141; fig. 5.22). As mentioned above, they could be used in composite headdresses, but were also applied to other objects, such as slings, chief staffs and shell trumpets. They were collected from the second Cook voyage onwards and were probably made until at least the late nineteenth century. In the account of his stay in 1888, Stevenson mentions plumes of old men's beards, as he refers to pavahina, several times. He acquired some himself and hired a specialist artisan (tuhuka) called Mapiao, to have them plaited into a wreath. This Marquesan had a large white beard of which he was very protective, because it was considered a valuable asset (Stevenson 1896:33, 84, 106, 124-8, 142, 146).

5.2.5 Weapons and ceremonial staffs

Only one type of percussive weapon collected by the Dutch can still be located today, a long paddle-shaped club (parahua)⁸⁵ (fig. 5.23). These were collected between 1774-1840s and are long poles with a paddle-shaped top, usually at least 240cm long. Another type of war club, the ùu, was mentioned by Troost as having been given to him and is depicted in his publication's object plate (1829:257-59; fig. 2.32). They were collected throughout the period 1774-1840s, but none can be identified in known collections from the Dutch voyage (figs. 5.24a/b). According to Ivory (1994:53) it was the single most collected Marquesan object type, and although some ùu clubs have surfaced since then, this research has shown that they may be outnumbered by stilt steps.⁸⁶ While the Dutch saw spears or pikes and Cosijn drew one (fig. 2.29), the only ones that can still be located are those from the Krusenstern expedition and Rohr (Govor *et al.* 2019:168; Rozina 1963:111). It is a type of weapon which both Crook (2007:84) and Robarts (1974:79-80) mention being used in warfare. For an undoubtedly much-used weapon, it is remarkable that these objects do not seem to have been collected very often. Graaner, who was on Nuku Hiva in 1819, gave the following description of this weapon:

'Their weapons nowadays consist of lances or spears of coconut wood or of iron wood, pointed at both ends and about fourteen or fifteen feet long with a diameter of an inch at their thickest. Although untipped (with metal), when thrown with strength these can penetrate the softer types of wood, such as the trunks of plantain trees, etc.' (Åkerrén 1983:45-6).

⁸⁵ The Marquesan name of parahua for this type of club is, among others, to be found in Dordillon (1931:311). However, in the dictionary compiled by Crook *et al.* (1998:27) it is listed as 'káoù [kã'au, 'ãkau]', seemingly corresponding with the name Tilesius recorded, namely 'akãau' (in Govor *et al.* 2019:164).

⁸⁶ In her publication Ivory (1994:53) records 284 ùu of which 85% are traditional clubs and the remainder are of the type made from the late nineteenth century onwards. Through personal communication Carol Ivory at present gives the conservative estimate of ùu at 300 (e-mail 30 April 2021). As part of this research 398 stilt steps have been found, including 13 which are still attached to stilt poles and 20 which have probably been made in the second half of the nineteenth century at the earliest (see 6.3.2).

The length Graaener gives for these spears is considerably longer than the ones collected by Krusenstern and Rohr, which measure 270cm and 263cm respectively (Rozina 1963:112; Sears 1993:13).

Several visitors comment on the Marquesans being very skilful in using the sling (*maka*). Singendonck (1824-1825:[31-2]) describes that Nuku Hivans could 'sling stones the size of a chicken egg with a remarkable force and speed to inflict dangerous wounds to their enemies' and that 'they carry a net around the waist filled with stones to use with the sling.' Troost (1829:194) mentions that Nuku Hivans were very willing to demonstrate their prowess in using the sling, for example, by 'hitting and shredding a designated fruit from the breadfruit tree' and he compares this to the Dutch firearms target practice. According to the table, slings were collected throughout 1774-1840s. The Dutch collected two plain ones and Troost has depicted one in his book as well (figs.5.25/5.26, 2.32). Most *maka* are plain, made of braided, twined and plaited coconut fibres, but some are adorned with an *ivi poo* and tufts of hair, such as the one in the Cook collection in the BM. Only Rohr collected not just a sling but also some slingshot.

A chief's staff (*tokotoko pioo*) is a wooden pole about 150cm to 200cm long, slightly tapered at the bottom, with a knob of curled dark hair at the top fastened to the staff with plaited coconut fibre bindings, which functions as a decorative finial (fig. 5.27). De Constant Rebecque mentions seeing these poles (see 3.2.2). Both Troost's object plate and Cosijn's drawing (figs. 2.29, 2.32) contain an image of a chief's staff, neither of which can be located, so it is unconfirmed whether this object type was actually collected by the Dutch. According to the table, chiefs' staffs were collected between 1800-1840s. As with hair ornaments in 5.2.4 the hair on top of these is often described as being from a defeated enemy but may just as well have been hair from a relative.

5.2.6 Stilt walking equipment

Stilt steps were collected between 1804-1840s and two pairs of complete stilts were collected by Von Krusenstern in 1804 and Favarger before 1841. This object group is the central theme of Chapter 6.

5.2.7 Musical instruments

The Dutch collected two musical instruments: a small and a large shell trumpet. The small trumpet horn (*pūtupe*) is made of a red helmet shell (*Cypraecassis rufa*) (Linton 1923:405, Plate LXXXII; Suggs 1961:140) with the top cut off, so it functions as a trumpet (fig. 5.28). It has no decoration or attachments and is the only one collected within the table's date range. Van Wageningen (1824-1827:67) is probably referring to a similar trumpet when he says it 'makes a shrill sound in two tones either with the

hand open or closed.' Far more popular among visitors was the large trumpet shell (pūtoka), which features in several collections. Singendonck (1824-1825:[32]) describes it as 'a large Triton horn, in the top end of which they make a hole and then by blowing in here, make a very loud noise ...; this horn is decorated with human hair and carved human bones' which was used for signalling by warriors. Singendonck does not mention that he acquired a pūtoka (fig. 5.29). They are made from a giant trumpet shell (*Charonia tritonis*), generally decorated with coconut cordage, hair ornaments and often ivi poo. Cosijn includes one decorated with hair in his drawing (fig. 2.29). Another type of musical instrument only collected in the 1830s-1840s, was the bamboo nose flute (pū ihu/pū hukehuke; fig. 5.30). Rohr collected the only drum (pahu) in my sample (Table 5.1), consisting of a hollowed out log covered with sharkskin and decorated with coconut fibre cordage (fig. 5.31).

5.2.8 Objects not collected by the Dutch

Several object types were collected in considerable numbers between 1774-1840s but not by the Dutch. For example tapa, which was particularly collected by members of the Krusenstern expedition (figs. 5.32a/b); however, the table shows only one tapa beater, collected in the 1840s. Similarly, utensils such as Marquesan containers were obtained in small numbers from 1800 onwards, often made of calabash or wood. LMS missionaries collected a wooden elongated bowl with a head shaped handle which was probably used for kava (fig. 5.33). Rohr collected a very specific container made of plaited plant fibre and covered with tapa which was used for preserving feathers and feather ornaments (fig. 5.34). Other utensils, such as cordage and adzes, one of which was depicted by Cosijn (fig. 2.29), were collected by several visitors between 1804-1840s, although needles were only collected in 1774.

Fishhooks are described but were not collected by the Dutch. Troost (1829:253) admires the work that went into making them out of tough shells, estimating it may take up to a week to make one of about two inches long. Singendonck (1824-1825:[33]) comments on their use with glittering mother-of-pearl instead of bait. Fishhooks were collected by Salem ships and the Krusenstern expedition (fig. 5.35). The latter and Rohr also collected a few pieces of fishing tackle. However, the only ritual fishhook found its way to Valparaiso and was included in the donation of Favarger to the MEN (figs. 5.36a/b). These three collecting parties were also the only ones to obtain paddles (hoe), which have a characteristic knob at the end of the blade (figs. 5.37a/c).

Although tattooing was widely discussed by visitors only a few tattooing tools were collected (figs. 5.38a/b). Another group of objects lacking in the Dutch context is fans, although Eeg (1824-1827:[170]) mentions them being used by the two chiefs to keep away the flies (see 3.2.4), De Constant Rebecque (1824-1828:[16]) comments on 'the handles of the fans carved with strange figures' and one figures in Cosijn's

drawing (fig. 2.29). However, semi-circular shaped fans (tāhii) were very popular between 1774-1840s. They usually have wooden handles. The ones from Cook's voyage all have plain handles. Of the fans in Salem, all collected in 1802, two have plain handles and two have ornamented handles. The Krusenstern expedition collected eight tāhii, of which one has an ornamented bone handle, and also six simple diamond-shaped fans (figs. 5.39 & 5.41). The one collected by LMS missionaries has an ornamented handle (fig. 5.40). The three tāhii in Collet's collection all have decorated wooden handles.

Figures and figurines were only sparsely collected. Both a sling collected by Cook (BM) and the large trumpet shell collected by the Dutch (WM; fig. 5.29) have an ivi poo attached to them. The Krusenstern expedition obtained a wooden statue and an ivi poo (fig. 5.42) as single objects. Forty years later Rohr acquired the second wooden statue (fig. 5.43). The Krusenstern expedition and Rohr were also the only ones from the group analysed to collect skulls worn as trophies from battles (ipu oo; fig. 5.44). Although Troost (1829:232-3) mentions that he acquired a Marquesan skull, I was unable so far to locate this object. Between 1834-1840s three collecting parties obtained a wooden prow ornament of a sitting tiki figure (fig. 5.45). One of the Salem voyages collected a miniature canoe model, which was donated by Nathaniel Page in 1817 (Dodge 1939:18. Plate III (E.5,024)).

One final object type is tobacco pipes, of which two decorated wooden ones were collected by Stallworthy of the LMS. Marquesans adopted the practice of pipe-smoking and growing tobacco from visitors and artisans started making pipes. These probably originally consisted of a bowl and separate stem but were later made from one piece of wood (fig. 5.46). Until the Stallworthy pipes surfaced, it was thought that these wooden pipes were a late nineteenth-century invention (Kjellgren 2005c:90-1).

5.2.9 Objects not in the table

Apart from the objects not collected by the Dutch, but collected by others in Table 5.1, some objects do not feature at all. One object type known to have been collected before 1850, is a memory aid (too mata), generally a cylindrical object made from knotted coconut rope to which knotted cords are tied. They were used by priests (tuhuka öoko) as a mnemonic device for reciting and teaching genealogies, songs and histories. One was collected by Gaston de Roquemaurel between 1842-1846 (Leclerc-Caffarel 2013:129-30; Panoff 1995:129; Steinen 1928a:64; Thomas 1990:34). There is an image of another memory figure in the 1815 edition of Porter's travelogue (see fig. 5.47 'Typee God'; also Hooper 2020:120-1), who also made a concise overview of the objects in Marquesan households:

Their furniture consists of matts of a superior workmanship, calabashes, baskets, kava cups, formed of the cocoa-nut, and cradles for their children hollowed out of a log and

made with great neatness, some small chests also hollowed out of a solid piece with covers to them, wooden bowls and stands calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats cannot get on them. Their plumes and other articles of value, which would otherwise be injured by the rats, are suspended in baskets from the roofs of their houses, by lines passing through the bottom of an inverted calabash, to prevent those animals from descending them. Agricultural implements consist only of sharp stakes for digging the ground ... (Porter 1815:121).

Most of the objects mentioned above were rarely collected by visitors prior to the 1840s, with the exception of plumes and a few containers. Objects such as a children's cradle and stands to hang objects on for protection, do not seem to have been collected at all. Porter also mentions a few simple instruments used for enhancing one's personal appearance, such as shark's teeth for shaving - though sharp pieces of iron were preferred when available - and shells to pluck out hair (Porter 1815:123-4); neither seem to have been collected. One can hypothesise about other objects missing from Table 5.1, for example equipment for harvesting breadfruit, pōpoi pounders or tools such as the saw depicted by Cosijn (fig. 2.29).⁸⁷

Travelogues and journals provide very little information about why certain objects were collected and others were not. It is likely that visitors were interested in the more ornamented objects and perhaps did not consider other, plainer or household objects. Alternatively, it may have to do with what Marquesans presented to their visitors which was dependant on what they were willing to exchange. As seen in 4.4.3 this may also depend on timing during a visit, for example, weapons were only offered at the last moment in both 1825 and 1834. It is also possible that Marquesans did not consider some objects, such as household goods, as being of interest to visitors.

5.2.10 Ceremonial objects

Most of the objects collected by the Dutch and other collectors in 1774-1840s had ceremonial or ritual associations, such as chiefs' regalia, warriors' weapons and stilt steps. The main exception seems to be the sling, which may have been something used by all Marquesan males, apart from slings adorned with ivi poo and hair ornaments. Ivory (2016:115) summarises the general characteristics of the objects most widely collected: 'This Polynesian art was mainly created for high-ranking individuals: adorning their bodies and indicating their status, especially in the context of ceremonies and feasts that marked particular moments in their lives ...' (Author's translation). This notion has implications for those with whom objects were

⁸⁷ Although some of these objects may not have been collected at all, for those that are made of sturdy materials, such as thick shells and stone: these have come to light in archaeological excavations (see e.g. Suggs 1961). Also, in 1920-21 Linton (1923) made a comprehensive overview of Marquesan material culture, although his and the writings of his colleague Handy, are, as mentioned by Denning (1980:278-83) and Ivory (1990:19-21), lacking in historical perspective.

exchanged, namely individuals with some rank who possessed them, and possibly also for those who originally made these objects. Besides, in the case of the Dutch, most objects that can still be connected to the voyage were acquired by higher ranked individuals, specifically officers and a clerk, and not by common sailors.

5.3 MAKING OBJECTS

Most of the objects discussed in the previous section will have been made by men. Tapa cloth is one of the main exceptions and was generally made by women, apart from cloth 'for sacred purposes' according to Crook (2007:52). With regard to men, Porter states:

... they are all artificers, and as they have but few wants they are perfect in the knowledge necessary to supply them. To be sure there are certain professional trades, which they are not all so perfect in, such as tattooing, and the manufacturing of ornaments for the ears; for those objects there are men who devote their whole attention to render themselves perfect ... (1815:121).

The specialist artisans Porter describes were probably those who made most of the objects with a ritual association. These artisans were called *tuhuka*.⁸⁸ Each type of object had its own specialist, such as *tuhuka pūtaiana* (maker of *pūtaiana* ear ornaments) or *tuhuka āaka pahu* (drum maker). However, one person may have been a specialist in more than one field (Crook 2007:52; Handy 1923:143-4). To become a *tuhuka* one had to show talent for learning and acquiring the necessary skills. Someone either learned from a close relative, such as one's father or uncle, or became an assistant to a specialist. The latter was only possible for young men of certain rank, since the specialist needed to be rewarded for the teaching, which was not an option for men of lower status (Handy 1923:144; Thomas 1990:211).

During his nineteenth-month stay in 1797-1799, Missionary William Crook made several remarks regarding *tuhuka* and the circumstances surrounding their work:

Particular persons who are noted for their Ingenuity, & called *Tuhunas* [*tuhuna*]^[89], are employed by others to make their ornaments, utensils and weapons, & are entertained by them at their houses, while employed for their service. (Crook 2007:52)

⁸⁸ The term *tuhuka* is not just reserved for specialist artisans, but for any specialist, such as a master fisher (*tuhuka āvaika*) or a religious specialist/priest (e.g. *tuhuka ōoko*) (Handy 1923:143-144; Thomas 1990:34).

⁸⁹ Square brackets and italics in original quote.

Paiuevebu [Peuivipu]⁹⁰ [of Hoata Valley in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva] ... is a Priest, and an ingenious man, skilled in making ornaments, but not employed as a Tuhuna by others, on account of his Rank. (Crook 2007:133)

To these [tapu] houses, the men retire ... when at work upon their Weapons, Ornaments, Drums, &c; & remain in a peculiar tabbu [tapu] state, according to the occasion, for a space of time, extending from a single day to a fortnight. (Crook 2007:68)

It is clear that master artisans undertook assignments to make certain objects while the client provided hospitality. This was standard practice in Polynesia and also included gift-giving as a means of honouring and paying the tuhuka. Crook also mentions someone who was clearly an expert, but because of his rank, could not work as a master artisan which Crook attributes to his rank as a priest. However, Peuivipu was also the brother of Kiatonui's mother, which may have further elevated his rank (Thomas 1990:42). Crook also clearly indicates the restricted conditions surrounding the creation of objects, by mentioning the taboo situation in which makers operated.

There are few direct references in historical sources to the actual making of objects, apart from tapa production. Robarts details cordage making:

The old men frequently nurses [*sic*] the children, and at intervals makes [*sic*] line out of the thread of old coco nut husk neatly platted [*sic*]. This they make of different sorts—some for working of fans, spears, war spades, Battle axes, etc., fastening their houses and sewing or laceing [*sic*] their canoes. (Robarts 1974:260)

Robarts also writes that old men also make slings and spears (Robarts 1974:78). It is unclear if these elderly men were specialists or whether the making of cordage out of coconut fibres, slings and spears was just a useful task for any old man. Porter makes several interesting observations regarding the tools they used:

In the manufacturing of whales' teeth into earrings, pearl shells into fish-hooks, and, indeed, in the working of all kind of shells, bone, and ivory, a piece of iron hoop for a saw, and some sand and coral rock, are their only implements. The iron hoop is used with sand, without being notched, in the manner that our stonecutters cut their slabs, and the coral serves to give them a polish. The same tools, with the addition of a *tokay* [*toki*] ..., are employed in the formation of their spears, war clubs, coffins, cradles, and their various household utensils. Before the introduction of iron, sharks' teeth were used for saws, and a kind of stone adze supplied the place of the iron tokay, and, indeed, the attachment for stone tools is now so great, that many prefer them to iron. I have frequently seen them throw aside a hatchet, and make use of a sharp stone to cut down small trees, sharpen stakes ... (Porter 1815:126)

⁹⁰ Square brackets in original quote.

Porter describes how only a few utensils are used in the process of making all kinds of objects and that sometimes adzes with stone blades are preferred above iron blades. Crook (2007:80) mentions that although Marquesans could handle large axes with great power, they actually preferred to use the adze. Moreover, he mentions that they converted iron tools for use as adzes. Troost witnesses the making and maintenance of stone tools:

By grinding two hard stones joined together, between which wet sand is applied, they sharpen useful axes; still other stones are made into a kind of hammers; they also grind rather thick stones with tough patience to the thinness and sharpness of knives that scrape and cut wood, horn, etc. This type of stone has the toughest and strongest quality, so that it can be sharpened to a point and is suitable for punching or drilling holes through thick wood of a soft substance with patience. (Troost 1829:251-2)
(Author's translation)

From what Troost describes it is clear that stone for tools, such as axes, hammers, knives and drilling tools, was still very much in use for producing all kinds of goods in 1825. Considering Porter's remark regarding the iron hatchet, it is possible that stone blades were actually preferred for certain types of work.

5.3.1 Interisland trade

Regular contact was maintained within the island groups as well as between the north-western and south-eastern group, among others regarding the exchange of objects and skills. Crook (2007:95) states that tuhuka travelled between the islands, for example a specialist from Fatu Iva, Houó [Houo] or Touó [Too],⁹¹ who came to Tahuata to make ornaments for a chief. He notes that the tuhuka 'was treated with great respect' and was not held accountable by the chief for a possible liaison with his wife because of his standing 'being considered too respectful to admit of his suffering on the Account' (Crook 2007:102). Another method of acquiring desirable objects from elsewhere was trade or exchange, which meant there had to be something that one could use for trade. Turmeric was grown in the north-western group on Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou and was used in ground form as perfume and also as a colourant for body oil and tapa, thus much sought after in the south-eastern group. Crook (2007:126) describes how people from Tahuata visited Ua Pou to acquire it 'in exchange for Ornaments & Hogs.' Robarts mentions how the trade winds at the end of the year were used for intergroup exchange. He relates a trip he made from Nuku Hiva to Hiva Oa and Tahuata taking with him several loaves of baked turmeric (Robarts 1974:148-51). According to Crook (2007:130) this was a specialty from the Muaka Valley on Nuku Hiva also used to produce an orange colour. Robarts states that:

⁹¹ Although Denning's transcription of Crook's writings treats this tuhuka as two different persons, it is likely that this is the same master artisan, who was either named Houo or Too (Crook 2007:95, 102).

This perfume is so precious among the Windward Isles that they will part with anything to purchase it viz., Fine large canoes, live hogs, stone adzes, Large Calibashes with carved wooden covers, neat wooden bowls, chests made out of one solid piece of timber neatly carved, spears, war spades, cloth, Large Bandages. (Robarts 1974:261)

From his description of this trade, some authors concluded that sculpted objects possibly also went one way, from the south-eastern to the north-western group (Thomas 2019a:12-13; Govor 2019a:40). However, it seems unlikely that this would apply to all objects sculpted from wood, bone and other materials. There may have been some objects from a certain maker or certain source materials which were in high demand, such as basalt from the island of Eiao, which was quarried there by Nuku Hivans and prepared by them on Nuku Hiva. From there it was exchanged with other islands (Charleux *et al.* 2014:86; Handy 1923:23; Linton 1925:107; Rolett *et al.* 1997:146; McAlister 2011:414). Other examples were related by Graaner, who in 1819 learned from George Ross, a beachcomber, that plaited fans with handles made from (human) bone or sandalwood were not made on Nuku Hiva, but on Ua Pou and that the making of barkcloth from paper mulberry was forbidden by priests on Nuku Hiva and therefore they had to acquire this material from Hiva Oa (Åkerrén 1983:48-9, 53). The reason for this prohibition and how long it lasted for, is unfortunately lacking, although two of the Dutch writers observe the making of barkcloth made from paper mulberry in May 1825 (Singendonck 1824-1825:[35]; Troost 1829:242-4).

In his article on ùu clubs, Thomas (2018b:87) agrees with Kaeppler that the club in the BM, collected in 1774, was in fact a predecessor of the later finely decorated ones. However, this begs the question, why this unadorned club would already have the shape with the three knobs, which in later examples are tiki heads. It is a war club, made to be used to strike. One wonders what use the three knobs had, if they do not have a ritual meaning. The structure of the club without the knobs is just as lethal. It seems unlikely these knobs already featured as if just waiting for visitors to arrive with metal to trade. Thomas also suggests that because of their great outer similarities ùu clubs must have been created by 'one tuhuna, or more likely a school or workshop' in one place and that others may have subsequently copied the shape and appearance, and thinks it more likely these clubs continued to be made in just one or two places (Thomas 2018b:88). However, there is nothing to suggest artisanship or talent was not present on all the islands. One of the first Catholic missionaries, Father Mathias Gracia, who was mainly based on Nuku Hiva, made many observations during his residency between 1838-1842. In a letter to his religious home base in Europe Gracia makes the following striking observation:

It should also be noted that where there is no foreign ship, there is more real industry, more fine arts, and this is so for a very simple reason: where ships go, the savages expect from them small trifles; in those places where, on the contrary, never landed a ship loaded with these superfluities, necessity, the mother of industry, subsequently the taste for perfection, brought those little arts of refinement that can be found even in cannibals. (Gracia 1843:150) (Author's translation)

This suggests that the making of objects was more of a general activity and not one just centred in a few locations and that in places that received a lot of visitors, the refinement in production of objects lagged behind those made in places that received fewer foreign visitors. Alongside (interisland) trade, objects were also dispersed between different tribes by gift giving, in settlement of disputes and as a result of plunder.

5.3.2 Later developments

Several authors, including Denning (1980:287), Ivory (2011b:325-8) and Von den Steinen (1928a:214, 216-7), believe that by the end of the 1840s a break in the artisanal production of objects occurred. This was due to the declining population and changes in the societal and cultural environment, following the French occupation and the rising influence of mainly Catholic missionaries, who opposed traditional rituals and objects associated with them. Artisanal production probably only resurfaced from the early 1870s. However, when one compares the objects from the late nineteenth century to earlier ones, there is a break in style which could only be caused by disruption in the transmission of artisanal skills, especially the working of wood, bone and ivory. Few old examples were left to aid with making new objects. As Von den Steinen states: 'Most of the valuable objects had long been kidnapped by foreign visitors, so that there was not even an authentic template [in 1897-1898]' (1928a:217).⁹² In field collections made from the 1870s onwards these modern-style objects are overly represented (see 5.1.8/5.1.10). One of the main characteristics of the 'modern' style is surface coverings in low relief of patterns that resemble tattoo motifs. Von den Steinen notes that when he arrived in the south-eastern Marquesas in 1897, the production of objects was well-established with carvers producing wooden walking sticks and tureens. In his later research Von den Steinen came across a walking stick from around 1880 in a Brazilian collection, with an inscription referring to Omoa on Fatu Iva (Steinen 1928a:216; Steinen 1928b: δE). He also remarks that the inhabitants would not visit the old sites but offered him newly made stone tiki statues as if they were old (Steinen 1925: Vorwort). Of all the makers Von den Steinen must have met, he only mentions one by name: the carver Kofiutete, who lived on Fatu Iva and made crown-like headdresses (paè kea), for French officials, gendarmes and

⁹² Von den Steinen himself was one of the 'kidnappers' of the few remaining objects.

others (Steinen 1928a:20). Although many visitors after the 1870s collected these newly made objects, hardly any of them wrote detailed observations about the way the carvers worked, their ideas behind the making of the objects or how and why they came to make them. Most likely these makers responded to a growing demand for objects to sell to visitors, as Ivory has argued (2001:314, 2005a:35; 2011b:328-30). The names of the makers were rarely noted. The interest was in the acquiring of the objects and not in the people behind them. There are only a few photos of makers available (figs. 5.48/5.49). The more recent late nineteenth-century makers are almost just as elusive as their ancestors are.

5.3.3 Researching makers and styles

In an article she published after finishing her dissertation entitled 'Marquesan Art in the Early Contact Period, 1774-1821', Carol Ivory (1993:68-9) set out several research goals and themes for further research:

1. Setting out a base reference for Marquesan art of the first continuous period of contact with Europeans (1774-1821);
2. To chronicle the changes in Marquesan art from this contact to the present;
3. To distinguish specific localised art styles;
4. To identify distinct makers.

These points are useful for assessing the possibilities for research into the making of objects regarding styles and makers. However, a few additional remarks have to be made. Concerning point 1, Ivory takes 1774 as the starting point. Clearly, she is aware of Mendaña de Neira's 1595 visit, but no known collections were made during this event. Whether this visit had any lasting impact on Marquesan material culture is difficult to ascertain, as Thomas highlights (2019b:104-5). However, it is necessary to keep this in mind when assessing Marquesan art in a historical perspective. The end date of 1821 is also 'somewhat arbitrary', as Ivory explains (1993:68, 73). The period for the base line of Marquesan art encompasses 47 years, which is quite a long period, especially considering the increasing number of European and American visits from the late eighteenth century onwards. It is also necessary to make more distinctions in Marquesan material culture in general, especially regarding specific groups of objects. As shown in Table 5.1 certain types of objects are known to have been collected over a longer timeframe. In some cases changes occur in the outer appearance of these objects, while others collected in the 1840s are remarkably similar to ones collected much earlier. Therefore, with regard to Ivory's point 2, it would be useful to do this for types of objects and not just in general terms. Concerning her points 3 and 4, previous sections show that very little information has survived about the makers of Marquesan objects, either earlier or more recent. Also, where and when items were collected is known for only a limited number of objects and even if the exact collecting location is known, it is uncertain if an object was actually made there or perhaps elsewhere.

Therefore, it is probably impossible to name artists or even groups of artists or workshops or to pinpoint styles to a particular location.⁹³ However, when looking at objects, especially carved ones, several styles are discernible. To a certain extent these styles may have been present at the same moment in time, alternatively these styles may have developed from each other. Since her 1993 article, Ivory's research focussed on early ùu clubs as well as late nineteenth century ones, and on the general development of Marquesan art from the 1870s to present-day (see Ivory 1994; 1995; 1999; 2001; 2011b; 2016b). Her article on early ùu clubs is an exemplary study of how to look in detail at the differences and similarities in (the decoration of) this type of club (Ivory 1994). Without sufficient information relating to the objects, the objects themselves must be our main research source for getting closer to their makers and to advance Marquesan art history, as Thomas attempts in his article on ùu clubs (Thomas 2018b:79-88).

Research into groups of particular types of objects could benefit the further development of Marquesan art history in several ways. Taking the ones for which at least a collecting date is known could help considering the many objects in (museum) collections with an unknown origin or field collection date. One thing to remember here, is that although one looks for similarities, too many of these should also raise the question whether all objects are genuine. Could there be copies or forgeries made by non-Marquesans among them? Additionally, some of the later collected objects obtained in the Marquesas resemble objects collected much earlier. These could have been old heirlooms or objects made to resemble older objects. Meticulous research should be able to show if objects show signs of wear, which one would expect to find with old family heirlooms. If it was a newly made object, does this really matter? Probably not, because it would still be interesting to compare newer objects with older ones, for example to compare the techniques used to make them. And if objects had indeed been kept as heirlooms, it would be interesting to be able to study which types of object it concerns. The object research should not just include a small group of a certain of object, but as many as possible, including broken ones. Often in museum exhibitions and catalogues the same objects resurface time and again. Although this is an obvious thing to do from an aesthetic point of view, from an object research point of view it is less helpful.

5.4 OBJECTS AND ORNAMENTATION

Marquesan objects are often described as being instantly recognisable because of their distinguishable shape and ornamentation. However, with respect to the types of objects in Table 5.1, several do not have discernible ornamentation; indeed some are

⁹³ Perhaps in future scientific methods may be used in establishing the exact origin of the materials, although this still does not tell us where and when an object was actually made.

devoid of any ornamentation, even if they are finished. Others are decorated with materials such as feathers, braided (and sometimes coloured) coconut fibres and *Abrus precatorius* seeds. With these types of object there is only a limited way in which to further classify them. One can look at their shape, size and construction. Regarding construction, one should always keep in mind that the present state of an object may not represent its original construction. There are, for example, a few tahi pōniu chest ornaments (still) completely covered with *Abrus precatorius* seeds, while most examples have hardly any seeds left. In this case it is possible that the former were reassembled at a later date. Objects that have discernible ornamentation are generally sculpted out of wood, bone, (whale) ivory, shell, turtle shell and stone. In some cases, the whole object is decorated, while in others only parts or areas are ornamented.

The ornamentation of Marquesan objects consists mainly of anthropomorphic figures widely referred to as tiki and other iconographic motifs. According to Ivory (2005:27) these humanoid figures 'functioned to honor and please the gods (etua), the most important of whom were deified ancestors.' The term 'tiki' was first published in a dictionary compiled by Crook *et al.* in 1799: 'tigge' [tiki NW, ti'i SE] punctures, figures, images' (1998:48). Tiki actually has a broad range of meanings both as a figure and as a creative action, as is shown in this entry in Dordillon's dictionary: 'Tiki (name of the first man they made a god). Idol, carved statue, sculpture, sculpted, sculpt, draw, paint, drawing, painting, tattoo, shape. To create by talking about men and organised beings ...' (Dordillon 1931:384; Govor & Thomas 2019:7) (Author's translation). As a figure on sculpted objects, tiki has the following characteristic features: an oversized head with large round to almond-shaped eyes, a flat broad nose and a wide mouth showing the tongue between the lips. Tiki tend to have squat bodies, often with the hands on the belly and slightly flexed knees and most are sculpted without genitals. The head, particularly the face and eyes, are most important and stand for tiki as a whole (De Bergh-Ottino 2008:188-90; Ivory 2005a:28-35). While tiki is used to describe the figures, they actually represent deities or deified ancestors. Porter provides an interesting description:

Besides the gods at the burying-place, or morai [meàe], for so it is called by them, they have their household gods, as well as small gods, which are hung round their necks, generally made of human bones, and others, which are carved on the handles of their fans, on their stilts, their canes, and more particularly on their war clubs ... (Porter 1815:118).

Which particular etua (deities or deified ancestors) are represented in the objects cannot be identified, since this information was not transferred with them. Besides tiki, certain objects, such as parts of ear ornaments and simple ivi poo are decorated with two or more ridges, the significance of which has not yet been identified. Other

elements of Marquesan iconography, which are also closely related to tattoo motifs and petroglyphs, found on sculpted objects, are symbolic motifs of significant animals, such as lizards, turtles and sharks, and geometric motifs representing natural occurrences, such as waves, the universe and creation (De Bergh-Ottino 2008:185-94; Gell 1993; Ivory 2005a:31-5; see figs. 5.50/5.51 for examples).

This is only a brief account on Marquesan iconography as an in-depth analysis of this topic is outside the scope of this research. More elaborate studies on this have been published by Karl von den Steinen (1925, 1928a/b) and Alfred Gell (1993). Von den Steinen (1928a:219-29, 235-47) recognises a main style of Marquesan art and a later style. Using mythology, he sees it as his main personal goal 'to unravel the secrets of a very unusual and enigmatic ornamentation' (Steinen 1925:Vorwort). He focuses on the relations between different motifs and on their appearances. Gell (1998:216-20) reflects on the role of motifs and figures in relation to social structures and on their close resemblance.

The shapes of figures on carved objects were generally determined by the function of the object and sometimes by the physical limitations of the materials used (see 7.3.8 for an example). Regarding the function of different objects: sculpted tiki on, for example, fan handles have quite a different shape from the ones on stilt steps (compare figs. 5.40 & 6.23a/h). It is not just the sizes of the tiki figures that differ, but their complete shape. The main Marquesan characteristics of large head, eyes and mouth remain, but in comparison the body is far more compact on a fan handle with less protruding limbs, making it more comfortable to hold. It is also possible that the makers of fan handles and stilt steps were different *tuhuka*. Comparing a group of objects, stilt steps or fan handles, several differences in execution can be discerned. It is these distinctions which help to identify different groups of makers and/or styles. These are not found in the use of a certain Marquesan iconographical detail, but more in their execution, since a sculptor will have made deliberate decisions about the outward appearance of a figure. So, when comparing similar objects, it is important to not only look at the shape of figures and the chosen iconography, but also at how these elements are executed and how these form part of the object.

5.5 INTRODUCING THE OBJECT CASE STUDIES

The next two chapters examine two types of object in detail. Both groups of objects, stilt steps (Chapter 6) and ear ornaments (Chapter 7), seem to have been particularly influenced by contacts with European and American visitors. Moreover, both these object types were discussed, collected and drawn by the Dutch visitors of 1825. The case studies will not just consider the isolated (museum) objects but also their use in the Marquesan context. The latter is based on what can be filtered from historic sources. For the study of stilt steps the emphasis is on the analysis of the different

groups that can be discerned within the corpus researched, in particular regarding their overall shape and ornamentation. For the ear ornaments the perspective is somewhat broader. The types of ear ornaments made of shell, boar tusks, (human) bone and/or whale ivory, generally referred to as pūtaiana/pūtaiata and haakai/hakakai, are examined.⁹⁴ The aim is that by looking at these types of object in more detail, these chapters will contribute to Marquesan art history and stimulate future in-depth research.

⁹⁴ For each type of ear ornament there are two variants of the Marquesan name; the first name mentioned is commonly used in literature and will be used from here on.

Chapter 6

Walking on stilts: on stilts and stilt steps (case study 1)

Stilt walking must have been a highly developed practice on the Marquesas Islands about which not many specifics are known. This chapter considers stilt walking and the associated equipment, stilts in general and stilt steps in particular which are to be found in many museum and private collections. A close study of these objects is warranted, considering the large number which can still be located as well as how many must have been made in the past, but also considering the limited amount of research which has been done on them. The choice for this topic is prompted by reports of stilt walking and of stilt steps during the Dutch navy visit in 1825. Crew members wrote about the practice, made drawings in relation to stilt walking and collected stilt steps. The observations made and objects collected are the topic of the first section. This is followed by a section on the available historical sources regarding the practice of stilt walking. The period considered ranges from the earliest accounts of visitors to the Marquesas and of temporary residents up until the 1840s, when the islands were annexed by the French. Added to this are findings of the first researchers in the Marquesas, who paid attention to the practice and have added information to the relatively small body of knowledge that was published before then. The latter part of this chapter is devoted to an examination of the equipment needed: complete stilts and stilt steps. This starts with evidence of the collecting of stilt steps from the Marquesas and the wider Pacific region. Next, previous research into Marquesan material culture in relation to stilts and stilt steps is considered, followed by a comprehensive review of these objects in mainly European and American collections.

6.1 THE DUTCH AND STILT WALKING

During their stay on Nuku Hiva in May 1825 stilt walking was witnessed by several crew members, a practice with which they would have been familiar from the Netherlands (fig. 6.1). Only those stationed on the *Maria Reigersberg* describe the practice which could mean that the stilt walkers were close to their watering place on the eastern side of the bay, which was some distance from the *Pollux's* watering place. From their accounts it is evident the Dutch just described what they saw. Troost provides an elaborate description in which he focuses on the natural surroundings:

In woods, between gorges, streams, swamps, etc., are for humans dangerous animals ... when they have to go past these places, ... they did not always come prepared with a means of protection. This simple and cleverly thought of tool consists of a pair of stilts

made by themselves, of which some of their foot supports or clamps are, for their doing, neatly worked on, reaching at least seven feet high above the ground. They use these stilts to walk between the dwellings, where numerous of the most dangerous forest animals, probably snakes, adders or scorpions reside ... so cannot harm them. (Troost 1829:253-4) (Author's translation)

Troost's account about the necessity of stilt walking to avoid dangerous animals seems to be solely based on his own conjecture. He did not know the land and envisioned all kinds of natural hazards such as dangerous wildlife, which is not to be found on the Marquesas, in an attempt to make his story more interesting, a common practice in travelogues. So, although he witnessed stilt walking, he evidently did not understand its meaning. Singendonck (1824-1825:[36]), while brief, seems to have grasped more, writing in his personal travelogue: 'Among their amusements they have ... to dance or chase each other on stilts; these stilts [stilt steps] are made of black wood, and on these a human shape is worked out. ... the foot rest [is] almost one and a half foot long and [these] are tied to a bamboo stick when they are used.' He assumed the pole was a length of bamboo because Marquesans used light-coloured wood for stilt pole sticks.

Van Haersolte (1824-1826a:[15]) does not mention stilt walking in his travelogue, but does refer to stilts: 'We have exchanged some of their ... stilts ...'. However, he made a small sketch (fig. 6.2) showing three stilt walkers, which is the only known historical image of Marquesans actually walking on stilts. On the reverse he notes: 'An inhabitant of Noahiwa Pacific Ocean; walking on stilts through and across small streams' (Haersolte 1824-1826a: loose page). The way in which he drew the lines makes it very likely that he made the sketch quickly, while witnessing stilt walkers in action, so it was probably drawn on Nuku Hiva in May 1825. The stilt walker at the front seems to wear some sort of headdress and a loincloth. He stands in a challenging pose with his legs apart and his hands at the top of his stilt poles at waist height. The two figures in the background are even more sketchy, seemingly engaged in some kind of tackling manoeuvre, with the figure on the left bending the top of his body forward as if he is about to shift his weight from one leg to another.⁹⁵ Van Haersolte also made a detailed drawing of a stilt step (fig. 6.3), with a large side-front view and smaller back and front views. Underneath he wrote: 'Stilt of Noahiwa that is bound on a stick or bamboo' (Haersolte 1824-1826a: loose page). This stilt step has two figures back-to-back with their hands on their bellies, standing on a platform or corbel with a wide figurehead underneath. The stilt step in Van Haersolte's drawing is very similar to one of a pair in the MV collection, Leiden (fig. 6.4), the only difference being that the design of the body carving of one figure seems to have been swapped with one on the other stilt step. This second stilt step also has two back-to-back

⁹⁵ In December 2011 the author witnessed a stilt walking performance by a group from Ua Huka at the site of Hatiheu, Nuku Hiva, during the 8ème Festival des Marquises *Matavaa o te Henua Enana*.

figures, but the one on the right has his head turned towards the front. The museum bought these stilt steps at auction in Amsterdam in 1885 from an undisclosed source. Because of their close resemblance to the drawing which is directly related to the Dutch voyage, it is likely that they were collected on Nuku Hiva by one of the Dutch crew in May 1825. Van Haersolte also acquired two stilt steps, both of which also have two standing figures each (fig. 6.5). In one case the two figures are back-to-back, both looking sideways with their hands on their bellies, standing on a platform which transforms into a small horizontally placed figure under the right figure. The other stilt step has two figures with the one on the left placed sideways and the one on the right facing the front. Both figures have their right hands on their bellies, with their left arm up, and stand on a platform with a wide figurehead underneath, similar to that in the drawing. A fifth stilt step was collected by Cosijn (fig. 6.6) and is a more common single figure with both hands on its belly. However, it has a rather atypical overall slightly crooked appearance. Cosijn also included an image of a stilt step in his drawing (fig. 2.29). Further discussion of these and other stilt steps can be found in section 6.3.

The value of the Dutch writings on stilt walking is rather limited, although it is significant that they saw Marquesans walking on stilts, which is supported by the small sketch of the three stilt walkers by Van Haersolte. The stilt steps which can be connected to the voyage, and have a known collecting date, can possibly contribute to placing similar undated stilt steps in a temporal sequence.

6.2 HISTORICAL REFERENCES ON STILT WALKING

Historical accounts regarding stilts, stilt steps and stilt walking, are limited. In this section the available references, including images, regarding the practice and equipment have been gathered and are presented initially as full quotes and, to avoid duplication, parts of quotes, after which the contents are discussed. First the references, and lack thereof, until the early part of the French annexation are dealt with, followed by a section on the findings of the first researchers, Karl von den Steinen in 1897-1898 and members of the Bayard Dominick expedition in 1920-1921.

6.2.1 References until the 1840s

The first European visitors, Mendaña de Neira in July/August 1595 and Cook in April 1774 (e.g. Cook 1777, Quiros 1904a/b), made no mention of stilt walking. The first reference is found in an account of the voyage by Captain Etienne Marchand on the *Solide* (1790-1792), which visited the Marquesas, mainly Tahuata, from 13 to 21 June 1791, as written by Claret de Fleurieu:

The care that they take to build their houses on stone platforms, which raise them to a certain elevation above the ground, has already indicated that their island must be exposed to inundations; and the use which they make of stilts, confirms this opinion. These stilts, to which the English voyagers appear not to have paid attention, are contrived in a manner which announces that the inundations are not regular, but vary in their height: and want, which is the parent of industry, has suggested to the inhabitants of Santa Christina [Tahuata] a method as simple as it is ingenious, by which this help, that is necessary to them for keeping up a communication with each other in the rainy season, may be employed equally as well in the highest waters, as in the lowest. For this purpose, each stilt is composed of two pieces⁹⁶: the one, of hard wood and of a single piece, may be called the step; the other is a pole of light wood, more or less long, according to the stature of the person who is to make use of it. The step is eleven or twelve inches in length, an inch and a half in thickness; and its breadth, which is four inches at the top, is reduced to half an inch at the bottom. The hind part is hollowed out like a gutter or scupper, in order to be applied against the pole, as a check or sish is, in sea-terms, applied against a mast; and it is fastened to the pole at the height required by that of the waters, by sennit or lashings of cocoa-nut bass [sic]: the upper lashing passes through an oblong hole, pierced in the thickness of the step; and the lower one embraces, with several turns, the thin part, and confines it against the pole. The projecting part, which I should call the clog, and on which the foot is to rest crosswise, bends upwards as it branches from the pole; this clog is an inch and a half in thickness; and its shape is nearly that of the prow of a ship, or of a *rostrum*, or, if the reader please, that of a truncated nautilus. The under part of this sort of shell is slightly striated throughout its whole surface, and the striæ commence from the two sides in order to join in the lower part on the middle, and there form a continued web; its upper surface is almost flat for receiving the foot, and it is in like manner ornamented with striæ of no great depth, which form regular series of salient angles and of re-entering angles. The clog is supported by a bust: of a human figure in the attitude of a Cariatides, wrought in a grotesque manner, which greatly resembles a support of the Egyptian kind; it has below it a second figure of the same kind, but smaller, the head of which is placed below the breasts of the large one; the hands of the latter are placed flat on the stomach, and its body is terminated by a long sheath, in order to form the lower and pointed part of the step. The arms, as well as the other parts of the body of the two figures, are angularly striated, like the upper face of the clog. The natives of Santa Christina make a very dexterous use of their stilts, and would, in a race, dispute the palm with our most experienced herdsmen in stalking with theirs over the heaths of Bordeaux. The pains taken by the former in ornamenting with sculpture those which they have invented, may prove that they set on them a great value; for this work, executed on a very hard wood with the sort of tools which they employ, must cost them much trouble, and require a very considerable portion of time:

⁹⁶ Original footnote in citation: 'Captain Chanal brought to France the piece which I have named the *step*, and from which I have made the description that is here given. The reduced figure of it may be seen in Plate II [fig. 6.7]. It may afford an idea of the nature of their sculpture.'

besides, they are seen amusing themselves in keeping up the habit of walking with stilt; this exercise enters into their games, and constitutes a part of their Gymnastics.

Their tools, rude as they are, inadequate as they would be in the hand of one of our workmen, their fishing implements, which differ little from ours, and the various utensils, the articles of furniture, the garments, the dresses in use among them, all announce intelligence and industry in the men by whom they were invented, and in those by whom they are fabricated (1801:178-81).

This exercise [making music and dancing] is not the only one that occupies their idleness: running on stilts is to them another kind of amusement... (1801:186).

Claret de Fleurieu's detailed description of the construction and ornamentation of a complete stilt and stilt step and the accompanying, first recorded, image of a Marquesan stilt step (fig. 6.7), provide a proper picture of this type of object and the skill that went into making it, from which he concludes it must have been a valued object.⁹⁷ Although he is correct in thinking that stilt walking features in their games, as comes to the fore later, his assumption that their main use was connected to flooding is incorrect.

Around the time of Marchand's visit, several other ships visited, both European and American, such as the *Hope* in April 1791, HMS *Daedalus* in March/April 1792, the *Jefferson* in November 1792/March 1793 and the *Duff* in June 1797, but no comments about stilt walking were made (Ingraham 1810; Roberts 1835; Vancouver 1801; Wilson 1799). Even in the elaborate account of his nineteen-month stay on the Marquesas, missionary William Pascoe Crook, who disembarked from the *Duff* at Tahuata in June 1797, only makes one remark: 'They have the practice of walking in stilts', which he categorises under the term 'amusements' (2007:82).

Thirteen years after Marchand, the second recorded observations regarding stilts were made by members of the Krusenstern expedition, who stayed in Taiohae on Nuku Hiva for twelve days in May 1804. Naturalist Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff made several references:

The interior of the houses is very clean ... it is divided by rafters into two unequal parts: in the first, which is the smallest, there is nothing but the stone pavement to be seen; but the other is strewn over with grass, over which straw mats are laid ... The walls are hung round with domestic utensils, such as calabashes of different sizes, cocoa-nut shells, fishing-nets, lances, slings, stilts, battle-axes, hatchets, sundry ornaments, drums, and a variety of other articles. (1813:128-9)

⁹⁷ In a published lecture Nicholas Thomas mentions in referring to the caption that the image is of a pair of stilts and not just of one (2015:10). Although the caption gives the plural, elsewhere Claret de Fleurieu, both in the French and English versions of the travelogue, mentions that Captain Chanal brought one stilt step ('the piece') (1798:188; 1801:178).

... The best runners on stilts, who perform at the public dancing festivals, are tabooed for three days before; they do not, in consequence, go out, are well fed, and have no intercourse with their wives. This is probably with a view to increasing their strength. (1813:136)

It seems as if the people of Nukahiwa, and the same may be said with regard to many other uncivilized nations, mean to represent in their panto-mimic dances most of the common actions of life, as fishing, slinging stones, running on stilts, swimming, and the like. (1813:158)

Next to dancing, one of the favourite amusements among these people is running on stilts, and perhaps no nation upon earth can do this with so much dexterity as the inhabitants of Washington's Islands. At their great public festivals they run in this way for wagers, in which each tries to cross the other, and throw him down; if this be accomplished, the person thrown becomes the laughing-stock of the whole company. We were the more astonished at the dexterity shewn by them as they run on the dancing-place, which, being paved with smooth stones, must greatly increase the difficulty: children are thoroughly habituated to this exercise, even by the time they are eight or ten years old. Pleasure seems to be the principal object of it; or, if it should be alleged that the frequency of inundations, and the necessity of keeping up an intercourse with each other, has led them to it, I answer, that people who always go naked, and are swimming about all day long, have no great reason to be afraid of wetting their feet, and cannot therefore make use of such a means of keeping them dry from necessity. (1813:168-9)

As the above shows, Von Langsdorff was unsure about the significance of stilt walking. He notes that the best stilt walkers during public festivals were tapu, but alternatively he deems the practice mainly to be an amusement on which bets were laid. He also mentions that the main objective during a festival was to tackle one's opponent and that stilt walking was learned from an early age. Besides his own observations, he must have gathered most of this information from one or both of the Europeans who lived on Nuku Hiva at the time, Frenchman Joseph Kabris and Englishman Edward Robarts. The German version of Von Langsdorff's travelogue also includes an object plate showing a complete pair of stilts (fig. 6.8). His colleague Wilhelm Tilesius also remarks about stilt walking in his unpublished travel journal. According to Govor *et al.* (2019:173), Tilesius observes that stilt steps were adorned with 'almost the same figures as you see on their Morais [meàe]' and that he writes about stilt steps having an arrangement of two or three figures, whereas the ones collected on the voyage generally have one main figure, sometimes with a smaller secondary figure. In a later work Tilesius further theorises on the designs found in tattoos and on stilts and other objects. He criticises Von Langsdorff for underestimating the meaning of tattoo motifs

and for not having compared them with the images depicted on objects (Govor *et al.* 2019:173; Tilesius 1828:154), explaining his understanding of tattoo symbols as follows:

The overview and comparison of the decorations on the war canoes, war clubs, paddles and stilts with the tattoos of the Nuckahiwer [Nuku Hivans] depicted by me, taught me of the perfect match of these figures. The Etuas [etua] on the stilts, on the beak of the war canoes, and on the war clubs, all had the same drawing and figure as those on the thighs of the priests and leaders, and like the heads of the carved corpse monuments on the Morais [meàe]. I realised from this that the symbolic meaning of these images must extend not only to the distinction of the ... important ones, but also to the commons, and even to their weapons, that these would be symbolic documents of facts, received benefits, delights, festivities, and table partnerships, where to counter services would have to be provided, and that these symbolic documents would as it were be regarded as prescriptions and proofs of duty. (Tilesius 1828:164-5) (Author's translation)

Tilesius also identifies a tattoo motif relating to stilt walking:

Whoever takes the most part in these joys makes himself committed through the image of the gymnastic area ... or the image of the stilt walk, Tapubai kake [tapuvae kake] ..., or the dance floor, ..., which he has tattooed on his skin, to take part as a collaborator on the next occasion and the dancers add the ... dance jewellery, as a sign of participation in joy and dance; they are not only depicted on the skin, but also on stilts ... (fig. 6.9; Tilesius 1828:162) (Author's translation)

Govor *et al.* (2019:173) relate the stilt track tattoo motif to the actual building of the place on which stilt walking occurred. However, in relation to the dancers, who were also performers, it seems more likely that Tilesius uses the German phrase 'am nächsten Baue als Mitarbeiter Antheil zu nehmen' [to take part as a collaborator on the next building/occasion] in a figurative way (1828:162). Therefore, the stilt track motif identified by Tilesius seems more likely to have been associated with the stilt walkers rather than the builders of the stilt walking site.

Other participants, Commanders Von Krusenstern (1811a/b, 1813) and Lisiansky (1814) and Lieutenant Von Löwenstern (2003), made no mention of stilt walking in their (published) travelogues of the Russian expedition, although in the atlas accompanying Von Krusenstern's travelogue, a Marquesan man holding a pair of stilts is depicted on a plate of a meàe on Nuku Hiva (fig. 6.10). The fact that the artist, Tilesius, situates this scene on a sacred place is significant, as it shows that he connected the use of stilt steps with a ritualised environment. As for the appearance of the stilts in the image: the poles seem rather thin and the stilt steps are positioned rather low.

Surprisingly, Robarts, who stayed from 1798 to 1806, makes no reference to the practice of stilt walking and related objects in his detailed Marquesan journal (1974), although he must have been aware of it.

The third publication referring to stilt walking was written by American Navy Captain David Porter. He stayed on Nuku Hiva for about six weeks between October to December 1813, primarily in Taiohae, and beachcomber James Wilson was his interpreter. Porter made several observations about the outward appearance of stilt steps, especially regarding images on them:

... the stone god may serve as the model of perfection for all the sculptures of the Island, as their household gods, their ornaments for the handles of their fans, their stilts, and, in fact every representation of the figure of a man is made on the same plan. (Porter 1815:114)

Besides the gods at the burying-place, or morai [meàe], ... they have their household gods, as well as small gods, which are hung round their necks, generally made of human bones, and others, which are carved on the handles of their fans, on their stilts, their canes, and more particularly on their war clubs; but those gods are not held in any estimation, they are sold, exchanged, and given away with the same indifference as any other object, and indeed the most precious relic, the skulls and other bones of their relations, are disposed of with equal indifference. (Porter 1815:118)

Although Porter is aware that the figures used on stilt steps represented *etua*, he is undoubtedly unimpressed with the apparent ease with which they were handled and exchanged. From his travelogue it is obvious that he was well acquainted with the publication on Marchand's voyage:

In his description of their stilts, he [Claret de Fleurieu] is very minute and accurate, and equally incorrect in his conjectures as to their use; he supposes them intended for the purpose of fording the streams, which he believes are occasioned by the frequent inundations to which he thinks the island is liable: I can assure Mr. Fleurien [*sic*] that they are used only for amusement. Can it be supposed, for a moment, that a nation of people who are amphibious, who are one half of their time in the water, who are in the habit of bathing at almost every stream, who are almost destitute of clothing and perfectly naked from the upper part of the thighs downwards, should fall on so ridiculous an expedient for crossing the insignificant rivulets of an island, whose circumference does not exceed twenty leagues, rivulets which the greater part of the year are nearly dry, and at all times barely afford sufficient water for a ship?

They are used, as I before observed, solely for amusement; they enter into their gymnastic exercises, they run with them, and endeavour to trip one another. They are curiously wrought, and as Mr. Fleurien [*sic*] wrote his description of those of the island of St. Christiana [*sic*], with a pair of stilts before him, and as the description answers

exactly to those of Nooaheevah (Madison's Island) I take the liberty of using the words of that elegant writer. [See quote earlier in this section for the text.] (Porter 1815:127-8)

Besides the long quotation from Claret de Fleurieu's book, Porter's publication of 1815 also contains an image of a stilt step based on the one in that book (fig. 6.11). The 1822 edition shows an image of two other stilt steps (fig. 6.12). It is notable that, although Porter realises that the images on the stilt steps were similar to those of gods, he does not think they were highly regarded and is, like Von Langsdorff, of the opinion that stilt walking was solely for amusement.

About eight months after Porter's stay, HMS *Briton* visited the Marquesas and stayed for three weeks (14 August to 2 September 1814) mainly in Taiohae Bay, where James Wilson once more acted as interpreter, and concluded the stay with a brief visit to Tahuata. In his account of this British navy voyage, Lieutenant of Royal Marines John Shillibeer made one reference to stilts:

Every family have also a deity of their own, taken from an illustrious relative whom they suppose has from his virtue, or great actions, become an Eatōōa [etua]. To him they dedicate images cut out of wood, and although the figures are uncouthly represented, they are very ingenious. These are sacred, and principally used for the tops of crutches, or stilts, as they are superstitious enough to suppose, that when they rest on these images they will be secure from injury; and if by accident they are unfortunate enough to stumble, it is seldom they live long afterwards; for if the Priest cannot satisfactorily appease the anger of the Tutelar Eatōōa [etua], they fancy they labor under his displeasure, and with an unequalled resignation and calmness starve themselves to death. (1817:39-40)

Shillibeer's is the first published account suggesting that images on stilt steps had a religious connotation and were meant for the protection of stilt walkers, something Tilesius only published ten years later. It is also noteworthy that although he refers to Marquesan forms of entertainment, 'dancing, swimming, and wrestling; throwing their javelins, and slinging stones', he does not include stilt walking (Shillibeer 1817:50-1).

At the end of 1817 the French merchant navy ship *Le Bordelais* commanded by Camille de Roquefeuil arrived for a two-month stay. In his published travelogue De Roquefeuil made no mention of stilt walking (1823a/c). In 1822 Lafond de Lurcy visited the Marquesas⁹⁸ and in his lengthy account he makes a few references to stilt walking, but there is no evidence suggesting he actually witnessed the practice (1844:27, 39). This is endorsed by Thomas (1990:186), who states that Lafond de Lurcy had embellished his writings with those of others, which he must have done regarding stilt walking as well.

⁹⁸ It is unclear from his travelogue when exactly in 1822 Lafond de Lurcy was on the Marquesas and for how long. He visited Tahuata and Nuku Hiva.

Besides the Dutch, two other ships with published accounts visited in 1825: Captain James D. Gillis of the *Endeavour* for two weeks in July (Dodge 1940:382-92) and Lieutenant Hiram Paulding of the schooner *Dolphin* for just over a week in September/October (Paulding 1831). However, neither of these accounts mention stilt walking. The same is true for the extensive journal by Charles Samuel Stewart, chaplain of the USS *Vincennes*, who stayed for about two weeks in July/August 1829. Nor does the travelogue by the then Captain Abel Du Petit-Thouars (1841), who commanded the French navy expedition of the *Venus*, which visited in August 1838. Only a couple of days after the *Venus* left, the Marquesas were visited by another French expedition commanded by Captain Jules Dumont d'Urville with the *Astrolabe* and *Zélée*. The extensive journal he published on the voyage is equally devoid of any mention of stilt walking or its equipment (1842a/b).

Frenchman Father Mathias Gracia was one of the first Catholic missionaries in the Marquesas. During his stay from 1838 to 1842, he made numerous observations, which he wrote as letters and published after his return to Paris in 1843. In this publication on Marquesan culture only one reference to stilt walking can be found:

... shall I give you the details of all their games and their pleasures? ... among those of the children, especially those of the stilts: they have ones so well carved and representing so well the figures of their gods, that they deserve to be placed in the cabinet of curiosities. On these stilts, which raise them by three or four feet, they engage in combats, and great is the laughter which accompanies the fall of the clumsy... (Gracia 1843:96) (Author's translation)

Gracia clearly connects stilt walking solely to a children's game, something which Edmond de Ginoux de La Coche also considers it to be. This French journalist travelled to Tahiti via the Marquesas in 1843 and re-visited the Marquesas Islands on multiple occasions until he left the area in 1848.⁹⁹ He preferred the Marquesas to Tahiti because of the simplicity of life there and learned to speak Marquesan (Ginoux 2001:18-23). In 1866 he compiled an annotated catalogue of objects he collected during his stay in French Polynesia, in which he makes the following references to stilt walking:

Tapouvaé [tapuvae] means sacred foot, probably because of the tiki forming a caryatid, because stilts in the Marquesas Islands are only used for warrior games. ... Stilts have no use whatsoever on these islands, also one rarely sees the stilt step attached to its pole, especially since the games in which warriors like to make themselves taller are pretty much abandoned today. I have not seen them once.

⁹⁹ Edmond de Ginoux de La Coche (1811-1870) started a newspaper on Tahiti in 1844, which was banned a year later. After this, he went back to France to return to the Marquesas/Tahiti again in 1847, leaving for good in September 1848 (Ginoux 2001:18-23).

To make oneself taller is a joy for the child, who aspires to pass for a man; in his turn, the man who measures life with the eyes of the body more than with those of the intelligence, would be happy to add a cubit to his height; hence the invention of stilts in countries where the nature of the soil does not make a law of this means of locomotion, and as the Marquesans have come to find it childish to hoist themselves thus on wooden legs, they gave it up.

... The sixteen Tapouvaés [tapuvae] which appear in my collection were collected by me only as an object of art, as specimens of Kanaque culture, and it is from this point of view that they should be examined. (Ginoux 2001:190-1) (Author's translation)

Although De Ginoux de La Coche recognises stilt walking on the Marquesas as a practice for warriors, he considers it to be almost completely discontinued by the mid-1840s. He attributes this to a growing awareness that making oneself taller by using stilts is childish, unable to imagine any other reason for using stilts on the Marquesas. It is interesting to note that he understands 'Tapouvaé' [tapuvae] to mean 'sacred foot', whereas this is generally translated as stilt step, but he ascribes this solely to the use of a tiki as a central supporting figure of the stilt step.

According to Dening (1980:276) several French officials stationed on the Marquesas in the second half of the nineteenth century, military and civilian, published accounts on the Marquesas Islands and its people. However, stilt walking does not seem to feature in these writings. The same is true for most of the publications by French Catholic missionaries during this period. In Dordillon's dictionary there are only two entries regarding the practice: tapuvae meaning 'stilt step' and 'vae ake' [vaeake] meaning 'god of those walking on stilts' (1931:365, 434). The only missionary to record remarks on stilt walking and its significance was Father Pierre Chaulet, who lived and worked on the Marquesas from 1858 to 1912. His unpublished notes which feature in the next section are kept in the Catholic Mission Archives in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva and in his congregation's central archives in Rome.¹⁰⁰

6.2.2 Field research 1897-1921

As discussed in section 5.1.8, from the 1870s onwards scholars and collectors started to visit the Marquesas with the intention of collecting objects for institutional or private collections. They often also visited other archipelagos in the Pacific, staying only a few weeks in one particular group. It was not until the end of the nineteenth century that the first scientific fieldwork was undertaken. One of the first fieldworkers on the islands was German ethnologist Karl von den Steinen (see also section 5.1.9). Sent by the Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin to acquire a collection of Marquesan artefacts, he stayed from August 1897 to February 1898. Besides

¹⁰⁰ It was the author's intention to visit the diocese archives in Taiohae in the Spring of 2020, but due to the Covid-19 pandemic this visit had to be cancelled. Unfortunately, it was not possible to visit the archives in Rome for the same reason.

collecting objects and information about their meaning and use, he also gathered information about cultural practices, such as tattooing and religion. His informants were often older people, who remembered the days prior to French colonisation, when they were children or adolescents (Steinen 1898:491-9; 1925: Vorwort; 1988: XV-XVII). In his series on Marquesan art, regarding the practice of stilt walking he writes:

The stilt of the matua, the common mortal, was raw and artless, as the model a T 10 [(fig. 6.14)], which was manufactured for me in Aakapa, Nuk. [Nuku Hiva], shows: on a pole of about 1.90 m long, a step with double wrapping of coconut string is fixed at a height of about 60 cm. The stilts of the chiefs, on the other hand, were richly ornamented, and especially the footrests were adorned with a peculiar tiki sculpture, a characteristic of the Marquesas. They were often given to the dead as treasure. The only old specimen^[101] I have found on the islands, comes from the graves in the cliffs of Atuona. ...

About the details of the fight I have received the following information. Of two runners one tries to kick against the other's stilt with one stilt and knock it away to make the opponent fall. One should not go straight, but in an arc towards the side of the opponent, should also, if one is close enough, yield a little and then hit. The playing method is such that at the beginning A sets a stilt almost to the ground and makes small uplifts: B strikes at the moment when A's stilt is high. This, however, is used to feint: A seeks to lure B to the blow by a small uplift, and suddenly lifts his stilt unexpectedly at the moment of impact, so that the slamming stilt flies into the air.

In former times, the villages challenged each other to compete, and then it happened that whole series of opponents simultaneously went against each other with stilts. In the Pohu saga a single fight is described. ... Dordillon lists vaeake as the god of the stilt-runners (vae foot, ake kind of hard wood). I have noted as vaeake the name of a very high stilt, in which the footrest was more than head height, as was used on Nukuhiva.

The pole is called "toko" (support), the footrest "tapuvae (sole) toko". (1928a:60)
(Author's translation)

Otu, a woman from Puamau, Hiva Oa, told him the Pohu saga¹⁰² to which Von den Steinen refers. Pohu was a boy who left his parents taking with him a basket with his twelve elder siblings, all of whom were stunted god's children. His eldest brother, Umauma, had a voice and guided Pohu on their journey (Steinen 1934:33-4). The story contains several references to stilts and fighting with them. Most informative is the part in which Umauma told Pohu how to fight with stilts:

¹⁰¹ Von den Steinen does not include an image of this particular stilt step in his 1928 publications and the stilt step is unfortunately not present in the list of stilts and stilt steps in the collection of the EM which was provided by curator Dorothea Deterts (personal communication via e-mail 29-04-2019).

¹⁰² Handy (1971:114-5) in his book on Marquesan myths also refers to Pohu.

'Do not step directly towards your opponent! You must go so that you can look at him over your shoulder!. ... When he comes close to you, step back slightly, then hit him and he will fall to the ground!' (Steinen/Terrell 1988:46)

Von den Steinen gives a comprehensive account of how fighting on stilts was actually supposed to take place and not just about individual combats, but also group challenges. It is remarkable that he mentions that only chiefs' stilts were highly decorated. Although it is likely that stilt walking was done by a designated group of men using richly ornamented stilts and stilt steps, it is unclear if all these men would have been considered chiefs. Von den Steinen's description of stilts with footrests at head height may have to be taken with some caution; perhaps his informants were still quite young when they witnessed stilt walking. Another noteworthy point is that he mentions that stilt steps were deposited as grave gifts. In a published lecture, Von den Steinen mentions discussing with Marquesans the fact that grave goods were not literally taken by the deceased to Hawai'i [Havaiki], as they were still present near their skeletons (Steinen 1898:496).

The next scholarly group of fieldworkers to work on the Marquesas were members of the American Bayard Dominick expedition in 1920-1921 which sent out teams for archaeological and anthropological research in Polynesia, including one to the Marquesas Islands. Edward S. Craighill Handy and Ralph Linton were among the expedition members. In 1923 Handy published his research results on Marquesan culture, based on information acquired from Catholic and Protestant missionaries, French residents and many Marquesans, who, with few exceptions, remain anonymous (1923:3-4). The publication includes several references to stilt walking in which he used notes made by Father Pierre Chaulet years earlier:

According to Pere Pierre ... three great types of festivals were celebrated in honor of deceased priests. The first was the *ko'ika oke*, the second, the *ko'ika vaihopu*, and the third, the *ko'ika u'upua* [koina uupua]. These were given at different periods following the death [of a priest].

... It is my understanding that memorial feasts did not come at fixed intervals but were regulated by the necessity for awaiting seasons of plenty. On all these occasions offerings were made at the tomb and at the sacred place of the local god and the sacred place was bedecked. If the man whose death was celebrated were of sufficiently high class, only chiefs were allowed to partake of the feast. (Handy 1923:216-7)

The third of the memorial festivals described by Pere Pierre ... was the *ko'ika u'upua* [koina uupua], which was, according to this writer, a repetition of the *ko'ika vaihopu*, except for the feature of stilt walking. One informant at Atu Ona [Atuona, Hiva Oa] told me that sports, especially stilt walking, characterized particularly the *ko'ika*

u'upua. Champions of different tribes challenged each other, meeting in combat on the dance area and attempting to kill one another. These sports were considered very *tapu*, women not being allowed on the feast place until after they were finished. (Handy 1923:218)

Handy was the first to publish a direct connection between stilt walking and a particular memorial feast, *koina uupua*, the third festival commemorating a priest. He does not specify if this priest would have been a ceremonial specialist (*tuhuka òono*) or a spiritual specialist (*tauà*) or if this festival would have been held for either class of priest, although he does mention *tauà* memorial feasts being organised years after the priest's demise (Handy 1923:228).

Handy also made a number of references to stilt walking under the heading of sports and games in which he referred to, among others, Von Langsdorff. Only remarks with additional information are presented here:

The form of stilts (*vaeake* or *tapu vae*; *hoki* on Ua Huka, *titoko* on Ua Pou) is shown in the accompanying sketch ... [(compare fig. 6.13)]. The stilts with the elaborately carved foot-rests were undoubtedly those used ceremonially. Anciently stilts were made of *mi'o* [*miò*] or *casuarina* [*toa*] by professional stiltmakers (*tuhuna vaeake*). ... Those used for play by boys were doubtless made of *fan* [*fau*], as are the stilts that boys amuse themselves with today — the foot-rests of these consist of a notched piece of wood lashed to the shaft [(compare fig. 6.14)]. ...

The use of stilts was strictly forbidden to women. Contests between champions of tribes constituted the central feature of one of the great memorial feasts for the dead ... A woman who had witnessed such a contest described the men of the opposing parties as filing into the dance area in two long lines. ...

Boys today do a sort of dance on stilts, standing alternately on one and then the other foot and clapping the upper and lower ends of the free shaft against the ends of that holding the weight. I have been told that in the ancient days men used to be able to turn a sommersault [*sic*], rotating the body heels-over-head. The shafts of the stilts were always held in the hand, never bound to the legs. (Handy 1923:297)

In his descriptions, Handy mixes information about the past and present. According to him ornate stilts were historically made by specialist *tuhuka* from Oceanic rosewood (*miò*) or ironwood (*toa*) and used ceremonially. He is also of the opinion that earlier boys' stilts were probably made of Beach Hibiscus (*fau*) as were the ones used in the 1920s. It is interesting that Handy refers to stilt walking still being practised during his stay, although it was considered a boys' game by then, something which Gracia had deemed it to be eighty years earlier. Just like Von den Steinen, Handy learned about the way in which groups used to confront each other on stilts and adds a reference to the agility of Marquesan stilt walkers in the past being able to make acrobatic movements on stilts. A final point which Handy was the first to explicitly

mention, is that women were not allowed to use stilts, which fits within the tapu rules. What he does not mention is a possible reason, as according to Chaulet, transgression of this rule could cause drought and famine.¹⁰³

In his study on Marquesan material culture Ralph Linton (1923:386) provides an overview on the appearance of stilt walking equipment, a topic which is dealt with in the next section. Besides this, Linton describes how walking on stilts was done in the past and how boys were still doing this in the 1920s:

... The stilts were used in the ordinary European way, the instep of the foot resting against the shaft. The upper end of the shaft was grasped in the hand and lifted at each step.

The ancient Marquesans are said to have been unusually expert stilt walkers, running races over smooth pavements and engaging in knocking down contests. Native boys now engage in these contests. The antagonists face one another and, balancing on one stilt, extend the other stilt and make a quick swinging blow at the bottom of the enemy's stilt, recovering instantly. The sport continues until one or the other falls. (Linton 1923:387)

His account is in accordance with what Von Langsdorff and Von den Steinen in the Pohnu saga present about how combat on stilts took place. Both in his publication on material culture and in a comparative ethnological study of Polynesian and Micronesian cultures under the heading Games, Linton refers to the occurrence of stilt walking in Polynesia:

In view of the mountainous nature of the country, and the lack of soft or even level ground, it seems impossible that stilts could have been developed locally. They were used in Hawaii, the Society Islands and New Zealand, but do not appear to have been used in Samoa or Tonga. It seems safe, therefore, to consider them as a feature of the marginal, as opposed to the western Polynesian culture. (Linton 1923:387)

Stilt walking was an important sport in the Marquesas and New Zealand, and was practised to some extent in Hawaii and the Society group, but seems to have been unknown elsewhere. The stilts were shaped much like modern European ones, with steps made from separate pieces of wood and long shafts which were held in the hand ... (Linton 1926:133)

It is quite interesting that Linton mentions stilt walking featuring in other outlying Polynesian regions. Other writers also mention this, such as Best (1925:82) and Taylor (1855:174) for New Zealand, Culin (1899:216) for Hawai'i, Percy Smith (1902:217) for Niue and Hiroa (1944:260) for the Cook Islands. Whereas generally related as a form of

¹⁰³ Information received from Marie-Noëlle Ottino-Garanger (personal communication by e-mail 10-03-2020) and attributed to Chaulet's 1873 manuscript, page 172.

amusement mainly for children, Hiroa (1932:196) describes how, during fighting games on the Cook Islands, opponents tried to force each other to the ground by striking stilt against stilt, which resembles the descriptions of Marquesan stilt combat. Another example of the use of stilts that Hiroa mentions is a stilt dance performed by young men during festivals in Vaipae on Aitutaki, one of the Cook Islands, in which they would show how steady and strong they were. This rhythmic stilt dance was accompanied by percussion instruments (Hiroa 1927:329-30; 1944:260).¹⁰⁴

It is unclear whether the practice was developed in each region individually or if it was introduced through external contacts, for example, by the many Polynesians serving on European and American ships in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. However, apart from Hiroa's description of the dance on Aitutaki, it seems that stilt walking as a ceremonial or ritual practice only developed on the Marquesas. Why Linton is of the opinion that stilt walking could not have originated in the Marquesas remains unclear, as his argument that these islands have hardly any flat surfaces is unconvincing.

6.2.3 Discussion

Although not mentioned by Mendaña de Neira or Cook, the sophistication of the stilt step depicted in Claret de Fleurieu and the available descriptions, particularly from the Krusenstern expedition members, make it very likely that stilt walking was a well-established practice in the Marquesas. One can only guess at why it was not noted before 1791, although Chaulet's account of stilt walking being a particularity of the third memorial feast for a religious specialist (in Handy 1923:218) would mean that stilt walking was only occasionally practiced. Or as Thomas mentions for competitive behaviour in relation to feasting in general:

Detailed descriptions of competitions at particular *koina* or *mau* do not appear in the sources, but this absence does not indicate that such competitions were not significant social processes. As the number of people likely to be commemorated within any one valley would probably have only numbered three or four, such events would have been quite rare. (Thomas 1990:96)

Considering that the number of religious specialists was an even smaller category of people to be commemorated, it is perhaps unsurprising that stilt walking was only occasionally witnessed by visitors. Including the Dutch visit in 1825, only five instances have been recorded, one of which was situated on Tahuata (Marchand visit June 1791) and the others on Nuku Hiva (Krusenstern May 1804, Porter October-December 1813, Shillibeer August 1814 and the Dutch May 1825). Of the Dutch visit

¹⁰⁴ Hiroa saw the fact that stilts on the Cook Islands were quite simple and unornamented as the reason why no early stilts were collected from here (1944:260).

it is even known in which part of Taiohae Bay stilt walking was seen. The infrequency of the practice may well be the reason why so few visitors mention it in their accounts. Unfortunately, no accounts from contemporary Marquesans have survived, which means there is a complete lack of indigenous perspective on this matter. Even the accounts of those non-native visitors who stayed for longer during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries who experienced Marquesan culture, such as William Crook and Edward Robarts, provide very little information or none at all. One could even argue that it is doubtful if any of the writers witnessed stilt walking taking place in the ritual context or just as a training.

The above analysis leaves many questions unanswered. Questions regarding the practice itself, such as: By whom was stilt walking practised? Probably only by men, but what were the deciding factors in who was chosen and/or allowed to participate? From the sources it is known that stilt walking was a competitive action, both between two individuals and between groups of combatants possibly from different mataëinaa, the main objective being the tackling of the opponent(s). The figures of etua on the stilt steps provided protection against injury to the stilt walker. The writers will probably only have seen individuals exercising stilt walking and not the actual ritual performance. When did the practice cease forming part of a ritual feast? Denning (1980:235) thought that stilt walking was one of the first practices abandoned, although he could not have been aware of the fact that it had been observed as late as 1825, as the information from the Dutch sources only came to light as part of this research. One could argue that evangelisation must have been one of the main factors in the decline of stilt walking as a ritual practice, although it clearly continued to be a game for boys.

Other questions relate to the making of stilts and stilt steps. Who made them? Handy claims they were made by tuhuka vaeake, professional stilt makers. However, this tells us very little about who those people were or their names. Perhaps stilt steps were made for ceremonial use by professional artisans, but does this necessarily mean that all stilt steps were made by them? Finally, where were the stilts and stilt steps actually made? Unfortunately, most of these questions cannot be answered at present due to lack of available information.

6.3 STILT WALKING EQUIPMENT

From the historical evidence of stilt walking, the focus now turns to the equipment: stilts in general and stilt steps in particular. Firstly, to reiterate: What is a stilt? A stilt consists of a wooden pole with a support for the foot to enable the user to walk above the ground. In the Marquesas this support or stilt step consists of a single elongated piece of wood, with a curved shaped top for holding the foot. The lower part of this support is used for stabilising the stilt step. To create the stilt, the stilt step is

attached to a pole using a length of braided coconut cord binding it halfway and at the tip. Between the pole and the stilt step a piece of tapa was often placed to provide more consolidation (fig. 6.15). The stabilising part of the stilt step is usually decorated with one or two base figures and sometimes smaller secondary figures. The outside of the curved shape, and often also its inside, are decorated with lines and geometric patterns.

Although stilt steps survive in large numbers in collections, relatively little research has been done on them. In this section the early history of stilt (step) collecting will be explored, followed by the research conducted into Marquesan stilt steps thus far. Next a description of the methods and procedures used in investigating stilts/stilt steps will be related, followed by the findings regarding the relatively small number of complete stilts. Finally, a thorough analysis of stilt steps and a proposed grouping of these objects will be presented.

6.3.1 Collecting stilts and stilt steps

Due to their ornamental qualities stilt steps were, and still are, quite collectable. They feature in museums and private collections and regularly appear in ethnographic art galleries and Oceanic art auctions. No specific information is available about the exchange of stilts and stilt steps by Marquesans with foreigners, nor why they were prepared to do this. Perhaps because stilt walking was only practised at rare and specific occasions meant such items could be missed, especially after the event had taken place and was unlikely to occur again for some time. Only for relatively few pieces it is known when and where these were collected and by whom.¹⁰⁵ This means that for many stilt steps only their accession date into a private or museum collection is available. The earliest record for the acquisition of a stilt/stilt step on the Marquesas Islands coincides with the earliest known historical references: second in command of the trade ship *Solide*, Prosper Chanal brought from Tahuata in 1791, the stilt Claret de Fleurieu had depicted in the account of the Marchand voyage (fig. 6.7). It is unknown if any other stilts/stilt steps were acquired during this voyage, just as the present location of the depicted stilt is unknown. However, there are a number of stilts and stilt steps for which a collection date is known as well as their present location.

The first group of twelve stilt steps and two complete stilts which can currently be accounted for in several institutions in Russia, Estonia, Germany and Switzerland, are those collected by members of the Krusenstern expedition on Nuku Hiva in May 1804 (see 5.1.2; Govor *et al.* 2019:172-79; figs. 6.16/6.19). The PEM in Salem (USA) holds two stilt steps donated by Captain Nathaniel Page in 1817 to the East India Marine Society (see 5.1.3). From the Dutch voyage, five stilt steps collected on Nuku

¹⁰⁵ As already comes to the fore in the previous chapter the same is true for many other types of objects, so stilt steps are not unique in this respect.

Hiva can be identified: three in the MV in Leiden and two in a Dutch private collection (see 5.1.4 & 6.1). The NMNH in Washington (USA) has a stilt step that was acquired by Captain John Henry Aulick of the USS *Vincennes* in 1835. Both the BM in London and the MQB in Paris hold two stilt steps each, collected on the Marquesas in 1838 by members of the French navy expedition of the *Venus* under command of Abel Du Petit-Thouars.

In her dissertation on early Marquesan material culture (1774-1821) Carol Ivory included three footrests from the collection of the PRM, Oxford, which were collected by Captain Edward Lawson, a ship's master and owner of whaling ships. He was thought to have collected them between 1800-1820 (Ivory 1990:196). However, Janet West, a researcher at the Scott Polar Research Institute in Cambridge, has identified Edward Lawson as being active in the Pacific region almost two decades later, from 1819 to 1840. The stilt steps were only donated to the museum in 1936 (PRM-database; Petch n.d.). Whether Lawson actually collected them on the Marquesas is unknown. It was common for Marquesan objects to surface elsewhere in the Pacific region in the nineteenth century. The NMNH, for example, holds three stilt steps collected by the United States Exploring Expedition between 1838-1842. As this expedition did not visit the Marquesas, the objects must have been collected elsewhere, most likely Tahiti or Hawai'i. The BLM also holds a stilt step that was probably collected by this expedition. The large donation Chile-based Swiss Frédéric Favarger made to the MEN in Neuchâtel, Switzerland, in 1841 included two complete stilts and ten stilt steps (see 5.1.6; Mémoires 1846:7; MEN-Archives), which he probably acquired in Valparaiso. French officers and administrators from 1842 onwards also assembled collections, for example, Collet and Rohr collected stilt steps, but undoubtedly so did many others (see 5.1.7). Of those collected by Collet four can be identified in the MQB, the two collected by Rohr are missing.¹⁰⁶ Of the sixteen stilt steps acquired by De Ginoux de La Coche (see 6.2.1), fourteen can be located in the MEM collection in Cannes, France.

6.3.2 Object study

As part of this research, eighteen museums in the Netherlands, United Kingdom, USA, France, Switzerland and Germany were visited. In some instances stilts and stilt steps were on display, in which case an as detailed as possible examination was made considering the restrictions. In three museums in the USA, France and Belgium only objects on display could be studied. In total 120 stilt steps and eight complete stilts were examined in detail and 19 stilt steps and two stilts were investigated from outside the display case, making a total of 139 stilt steps and ten stilts (see Appendix G). To put this into perspective of the total corpus that still exists: so far 385 stilt

¹⁰⁶ See Table 5.1, footnote 77.

steps and thirteen complete stilts¹⁰⁷ have been located by studying online museum and auction databases, literature and gallery visits (mainly during the yearly *Parcours des Mondes*, Paris). This raises the following, probably unanswerable, questions about how many were actually made, how many were taken from the Marquesas and how many of those historically made still survive?

For the detailed object research, forms for complete stilts and stilt steps were created to methodically register both general measurements and detailed descriptions. The latter relate to the figure(s) on the stilt steps. Additionally, overview and detailed photos of the objects were made together with short videos of stilt steps to record details that might be unclear in photos. Registration information was also examined, particularly regarding provenance. Those objects which were only studied from literature, brief gallery visits and online databases, were also included in this object study, on condition that sufficient data was available, such as, clear photos preferably from different viewpoints and general measurements. However, these objects were cautiously considered, as photos can be deceptive and measurements imprecise.

One of the main surprising outcomes of this stilt (step) study is the great variety of discernible styles present in the corpus. The differences are far greater than had been anticipated which raises questions about the implications of such variety and how to do them justice.

6.3.3 Framing the research

Although stilt steps and stilts feature in a number of publications, little in-depth research has been done on them, with one notable exception: the work by Karl von den Steinen. Based on a study of 52 stilt steps, he made a classification of five different main types, which have three different modes of construction (Steinen 1928a:250-2). Firstly, he discerns three types, all constructed with one tier with one main figure:

- Stehtiki [Standing tiki]: This figure has a standing position and either has his hands on his belly or his chin and has either defined feet or a foot plate.
- Karyatide [Caryatid]: This standing figure holds both arms up alongside its head; the arms are not defined but form a kind of arm plate.
- Klettertiki [Climbing tiki]: This figure has its face, back and buttocks facing the front, holding its arms upwards alongside the head and has either bent legs or horizontal straight legs.

The second mode of construction he distinguished has two tiers with two main figures, one above the other. This category only has one type: on top is a large 'climbing' figure, with the arms raised alongside the head, and below is a smaller standing figure holding its belly. The climbing figure either has bent legs or horizontal straight legs

¹⁰⁷ See footnote 86.

and the standing figure is either a 'common' figure or a figure with an elongated face, which Von den Steinen (1928a:131-2) refers to as a 'Tiki nasua'.

The third mode also has two figures, but these are next to one another. Of this category he discerns one type: Ehepaar [Married couple], which he divides into two subtypes:

- Ehepaar A [Married couple A] with headbands and their backs towards each other, holding their bellies.
- Ehepaar B [Married couple B] with round heads, who are standing with their backs at an angle towards each other. They either hold their belly or are lifting their (right) arm. They have a corbel figurehead underneath. (Steinen 1928a:250-2)

Von den Steinen (1928a:220-1) names this type of construction a Married couple, because he says it always clearly depicts a man and a woman. Overarching this division in construction he also recognises three arm positions on the figures: Armheber [arm lifters], Bauchhalter [belly holders] and Kinnstützer [chin supporters] (Steinen 1928a:251).

His typologies are only useful to a certain extent in understanding stilt steps. They help to understand the different shapes the ornamentation of a stilt step can have, but alternatively they may suggest a uniformity which is not always present. For example, placing two climbing figures side by side, it quickly becomes apparent that apart from the fact that the figures are in the same position, stylistically they do not have much in common (figs. 6.20a/d). Von den Steinen seems to have been looking for different shapes selectively, because he included certain objects from one institution and omitted others, as for example, with the BM collection. When compared to this research project's considerably larger sample the proportions are distributed quite differently, as is shown in Table 6.1.

Construction type	Von den Steinen	Van Santen
One tier/one figure: Standing tiki	58.8 %	83.9 %
One tier/one figure: Caryatid	5.9 %	2 %
One tier/one figure: Climbing tiki	13.7 %	3.4 %
Two tiers of one figure	13.7 %	6 %
One tier/two figures: Married couple A	1.9 %	0.7 %
One tier/two figures: Married couple B	5.8 %	4 %

Table 6.1 Percentages in construction type per sample of researched stilt steps

Several inferences can be drawn from the table, the most obvious being that stilt steps with a single standing figure are by far the most common, even more so than Von den Steinen's selection suggests. From this it follows that other types are rarer, with Married couples A and Caryatid being the rarest.

The previous paragraph followed Von den Steinen's classification. However, consideration should be given to some of his classifications. Firstly, the term Caryatid he uses for a standing figure with its arms up, does not seem to be very well chosen. According to the Oxford Dictionary a caryatid is 'a stone carving of a draped female figure, used as a pillar to support the entablature of a Greek or Greek-style building.' The male version of a caryatid is called an atlas. If the figure is perceived on a stilt step as a column, then all the main figures on stilt steps are in effect caryatids (or atlantes), something which was already noted by Claret de Fleurieu (1801:180; see 6.2.1). Therefore it does not seem an appropriate term for one particular type of figure. In this case it would be preferable to use the more neutral term of standing figure with raised arms. Secondly, Von den Steinen used the term Climbing tiki for a figure showing his back while having his face to the front. This anatomically impossible position does not so much present a figure climbing, but as interpreted by Ivory (2017:149), is a figure that shows his backside, thus insulting one's opponent. 'Figure turned backwards' would better reflect this type of figure. Lastly, the naming and division of the Married couples stilt steps need to be addressed. Von den Steinen (1928a:220-1) uses this term because according to him one figure is clearly male and the other is not. However, whereas on the stilt step of this type he collected, one figure has male genitals, others in the MV collection, for example, do not and the fine decoration on the lower body suggest it is unlikely that these have been removed. Therefore, a more neutral term for this construction type, such as one tier with two figures, would be more appropriate. Von den Steinen also identifies two types of Married couples, but of one type only one specimen has surfaced so far. Accordingly, it seems appropriate to put the two variations together in one type.

Besides Von den Steinen's classification, there is one more to consider. In his article on forged Marquesan stilt steps, Robin J. Watt (1982:54, 56), made his own typology recognising single figure steps (type 1) and multiple figure steps (type 2). Among the single figures he includes the arm position but mistakes the positioning of the figure turned backwards for a kneeling figure. However, processing the different arm shapes for the standing single figure seems useful. His second type, the multiple figure steps, referring to any group of two or more figures seems less precise. Considering Von den Steinen categories and Watt's type 1 subdivisions the following construction typology has been compiled, shown in Table 6.2.

In addition to their shapes, Von den Steinen also discussed in detail the ornamentation on stilt steps in particular and art objects, including the human body, in general (see 1928a:123-36, 254-5). This topic was later taken up by Alfred Gell in his publication *Art and Agency* in which he related the ornaments to social relations between Marquesans (1998:168-220). Regarding stilt steps, Gell (1998:205-8) particularly looked upon them as being protective additions to a perilous game, a notion also reported by Shillibeer (see 6.2.1), and on how the designs could be used to

support the athlete. Both Von den Steinen's and Gell's work give a broad range of what can be considered Marquesan art. However, they pay little attention to its historical development and the different styles that exist. Although a number of unknown factors regarding stilts and stilt steps remain, the hypothesis of this case study is that by investigating a large corpus of these objects, it should be possible to distinguish certain styles and, possibly, developments.

Construction types Von den Steinen (1928a)	Construction types Watt (1982)	Construction types Van Santen
One tier/single figure: Standing tiki (I)..... 58.8%	Single figure with hands on stomach (1a)	Single standing figure with hands on belly (A1)79.9%
	Single figure with one hand raised to chin/mouth (1d)	Single standing figure with one hand on chin/mouth and other on belly (A2) 4%
One tier/single figure: Caryatid (II)..... 5.9%	Single figure with arms extended upwards (1b)	Single standing figure with raised arms (A3) 2%
One tier/single figure: Climbing tiki (III)..... 13.7%	Single figure (1c)	Single figure turned backwards (A4) 3.4%
Two tiers of one figure (IV) 13.7%	Multiple figures (2)	Two tiers of one figure (B) 6%
One tier/two figures: Married couple A (Va) 1.9%		One tier with two figures (C) 4.7%
One tier/two figures: Married couple B (Vb) 5.8%		

Table 6.2 Construction type names of main figures on stilt steps by Von den Steinen and Watt and proposed names by Van Santen with percentages of each type in the corpora of Von den Steinen and Van Santen

6.3.4 Complete stilts

The small group totalling thirteen complete stilts, of which ten have been studied, will be treated first. Details of the stilt steps will be discussed in the next section.

Complete stilts can be found in the BM, London (2 pairs), MQB, Paris (1 pair), Musée d'Histoire Naturelle de Lille (MHNL), Lille (1 pair), MEN, Neuchâtel (1 pair), Kunstkamera, St. Petersburg (1 pair; Govor *et al.* 2019:174-5) and Saffron Walden Museum (SWM, 1 stilt; Hooper 2006:104; Pole 1987:9).

Stilt poles are made of a light yellowish coloured wood, which probably led to some early visitors reporting them being made of bamboo. This light wood has generally become slightly darker over time and is probably from the Beach Hibiscus (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*) and its surface occasionally has small round bumps. The length of the poles varies from 175cm to 202cm. The stilt in the SWM only measures 134cm, which probably means that it was shortened at some stage. The diameter of the poles varies between ca. 5cm to 6cm, although one is only 4.3cm. Most have a slightly narrower grip (4cm to 5cm) at the top of the pole, which measures between 28cm to

32cm in length. One pair from the BM has slightly pointed bottoms, the others are flat.

Three pairs (MQB, BM, MHNL) have ornamented poles, the other five stilts are plain. The decorated poles have carvings in low relief in broad bands with diamond and circle shapes and smaller bands with a block pattern or zigzag lines, between the grip and the stilt step. In each case the wood of the relief is a different shade to the non-carved part. On the BM stilts, the wood is darker on the low part of the carving than the uncarved part. This is reversed on those at the MQB and the MHNL. The parts of the poles at the MHNL that are supposed to be seen are darker overall.

On all poles the stilt step is fastened with lengths of braided coconut fibres, which are placed in regular bands of weft binding behind the figure and point of the stilt step. These bands can be separate or linked to one another. The cord is mostly a natural orange brown, but one pair at the BM (ObjectID Oc.207.a) has a combination of natural and dark brown cord. Sometimes small pieces of wood were put between the pole and the bindings, probably as wedges to give stability. The stilts at the BM, MQB and MHNL have light-coloured barkcloth around the pole at the height of the stilt step. Underneath the barkcloth of the MHNL ones, some pieces of dried leaves were visible.

In all cases it is difficult to tell if the stilt steps and poles originally belonged together. As for the pairs of stilts, the figures on the stilt poles and/or on the stilt steps may be an indicator, especially if they look similar, although this should be treated with caution (see next section). The height of the stilt step on the pole could be another sign. Of those that have been measured, the height of the foot support was between 78.5cm to 83.5cm and differed only between 0.5cm to 1cm per pair (both BM pairs and the MHNL pair). The only exception was the pair from MEN with one foot support at 81.7cm and the other at 72.4cm, which makes it unlikely that the stilts could have been used this way, suggesting either it is not a pair or the binding is not original. It is difficult to be sure whether the binding of the stilt steps to the poles is original or if it is still in the original position; perhaps it has been rebound since it left the Marquesas. The only pair that looks completely untouched is from the MHNL, although the collection manager confirmed that the ends of the braided cord have been treated with an adhesive by a conservator, to prevent them from becoming loose.

6.3.5 Stilt steps

As previously mentioned, a stilt step consists of a single elongated piece of wood, with a top that has a curved shape for holding the foot and a tip for stabilising. The foot support is generally curved, although some have a more angular form. The back of the stilt is often slightly concave to fit the stilt pole. At its extreme the tip of the stilt sometimes has a notch which may have helped in fixing the stilt step to the pole. However, most stilt steps do not have this notch, even those which are attached to poles. The outer part of the top of the stilt step, situated above the figure(s), is often

perceived as being a headdress resembling a specific feathered headdress called a taavaha (Ginoux 2001:190; Ivory 2017:148). As discussed in 6.3.3, stilt steps either have one or two main figures, to which one or more smaller secondary figures are sometimes added, for example as a console. However, the majority of stilt steps have only one main figure. The sizes of the stilt steps vary. The smallest in the corpus examined is only 27.8cm high, 5cm wide and 9cm deep¹⁰⁸ and the tallest is 47cm high, 9.8cm wide and ca. 13cm deep.¹⁰⁹ The majority are between 33cm and 40cm high, 6cm to 8cm wide and 9.5cm to 11.5cm deep.

Stilt steps are made of wood which often has a dark patina. The type of wood is seldom specified in museum object records. In literature it is sometimes stated that they are made of ironwood (toa; *Casuarina equisetifolia*), see for example Ivory (2005e:98; 2017:148). Ironwood is a dense wood and although some stilt steps are quite heavy, others are comparatively light in weight, which makes it likely that different species of wood were used, as Govor *et al.* (2019:174) state. This also corresponds with this research's findings, that underneath the patina the original colour of the wood is either light reddish or light yellowish, as can be seen in damaged places. Besides ironwood (toa), stilt steps could have been made from Oceanic rosewood (miò; *Thespesia populnea*), Tamanu (temanu; *Calophyllum inophyllum*), Island walnut (tou; *Cordia subcordata*) and possibly also Beach Hibiscus (fau; *Hibiscus tiliaceus*). These are all species which, according to Mu-Liepmann and Milledrogues (2008:25-33), already grew on the Marquesas in the eighteenth century and were used by carvers. Occasionally non-tropic woods might also have been used, possibly remnants from European and American ship repairs.¹¹⁰

No botanical tests are known to have been carried out on stilt steps,¹¹¹ which makes it difficult to theorise about the significance of the type of wood used. For this case study the possibility of having the wood of a few stilt steps analysed by a wood anatomist was explored. But as the samples needed to measure about 5mm x 5mm x 5mm minimally, this was unfortunately not feasible. However, non-intrusive methods of analysis are being developed, and it is very likely that in a few years' time it will be possible to scan an object the size of a stilt step in a MicroCT scanner.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ The Voy collection (PM) contains one even smaller stilt step (27.6cm high, 3.6cm wide and 6.5cm deep), which is most likely a later example.

¹⁰⁹ The tall one was tied to a stilt pole, therefore the depth was difficult to measure.

¹¹⁰ The two stilt steps from the Dutch voyage now in a private collection are probably made from a non-Marquesan type of wood.

¹¹¹ Watt (1982:57-8) mentions that it was not possible to have the wood properly analysed, because it would have meant damaging the objects. Orliac (1986a/b) reports on the microscopic analysis of six Marquesan wooden objects (statues and carved house posts) in the collection of Musée de l'Homme (now in MQB) that were made of Breadfruit (*Artocarpus altilis*), Oceanic rosewood (*Thespesia populnea*), Island walnut (*Cordia subcordata*) and ironwood (*Casuarina equisetifolia*).

¹¹² As a part of a test, wood anatomist Prof. dr. Pieter Baas of the National Herbarium of the Netherlands, assisted by research technician Bertie Joan van Heuven of the Naturalis Biodiversity Centre, Leiden, looked into the results of scans made with a MicroCT scanner of a small modern object from the Marquesas Islands made out of Oceanic rosewood and together with partners of the InsideWood project (see <https://insidewood.lib.ncsu.edu>) concluded that this method of determination worked for this type of wood. Currently the main hurdle is the cost involved as the scanning of a small section takes up to several days on very specialist (and expensive) equipment (personal communication Baas and Van Heuven via e-mail)

Most stilt step surfaces have a brown to dark brown appearance or patina, which was probably applied deliberately as a finish, not unlike the finish of an ūu club. In rare examples an extra accent has been given by removing a bit of the patina, for example, to accentuate the eyelids. Apart from this, few additional materials have been observed. Two stilt steps in the MFK, Munich, and two in the MHNL,¹¹³ Lille, have coloured accents of eyes, lips and/or headband. One of the MHNL stilt steps has eyes inlaid with mother-of-pearl, which is quite remarkable as this type of inlay is, in contrast to Māori and Hawaiian woodwork, not a common Marquesan characteristic. These are the only stilt steps from this study that have materials other than wood and patina applied on them, apart from one in the BM that has a loincloth made of tapa, which could be a later addition.

Apart from the colour differences in patina, there are some which are very shiny, while others are quite matt. At least some of this difference in outward appearance will have occurred after the stilt steps left the Marquesas. A few look as if they have been varnished and others have become quite dirty judging, for example, by the white spots covering them which is probably spider excrement.

A considerable number of stilt steps show signs of damage, such as cracks and dents. A wide crack situated in the horizontal part of the foot support, often running into the figure below is common. The cracks and dents may have been caused by use, for example torsional stress, or have resulted from using a piece of unseasoned or poor quality wood. However, some damage might just as easily have happened after the stilt step left the Marquesas, with perhaps a small crack becoming considerable due to different climatological circumstances. On a small number of figures the male genital organ seems to have been intentionally, completely or partly removed.

At first glance one stilt step may look very similar to another. However, when comparing several more closely, many differences emerge: in proportions, execution and ornamentation (see for example figs. 6.21/6.24). Or as Thomas (2019b:103) noted: '... if your eyes have sought to unravel the mind-boggling variety of subtle variations across a genre such as that of the stilt step, the tapuvae, you can only be profoundly impressed by the skill and dexterity of the artists who created these remarkable works.' Apart from size, the most distinctive characteristic in which stilt steps differ is the main figure. The positioning of the figure ranges from a reasonably upright figure beneath the step itself to a more forward leaning figure, whose head merges with the curving on the side of the step. In most cases the space behind the main figure is hollowed out for securing binding cords to the pole. Figure 6.25 shows

September 2019-February 2020). Another possibility to determine the wood species was discussed with Dr. Arjen Speksnijder, Head of Laboratories of the Naturalis Biodiversity Centre: DNA analysis of the wood for which only a tiny sample of wood is necessary, but to be cost-effective one test run needs to contain 96 samples (personal communication December 2019).

¹¹³ These two stilt steps are part of stilts.

an image of the most common type of stilt step figure with its distinguishing features. The figure's head is the most distinctive part and often disproportionately large, on average ca. 36% of the total size of the figure. The eyes are generally large and almost circular, often with a slight horizontal ridge running across the middle. The ridges of the eye sockets are well-defined, with a broad, flat nose and a wide mouth, often with ridged markings to the lips. The ears can either be engraved or in relief. Some figures have a neatly defined lower part of the head, but for most the head continues straight into the neck. Most main figures have ornamentation over the whole of their bodies, some with intricate motifs, while others just have parallel lines. The body ornamentation seems to evoke the idea of being tattooed, although an abundance of parallel lines does not feature in Marquesan tattooing. In addition to the surface ornamentation of the figure, the stilt top is always engraved, mostly with diagonal lines which start from the centre. For quite a few stilt steps the foot platform is ornamented with geometric motifs and lines and on a few the lower shaft is also engraved.

6.3.6 Pairs of stilt steps

In several collections stilt steps are identified as being pairs. Obviously two were always needed in order to use them. From a Western perspective it might be assumed that a 'pair' would be identical, or at least symmetrical, and probably be made by the same maker. However, in a Marquesan context this may not necessarily have been the case. In Marquesan culture there seems to be conflicting evidence about the idea of symmetry. If we look at *ùu* clubs, symmetry appears to be one of the leading principles, however, this was often not the case in facial tattooing. Therefore, it is difficult to establish whether a pair of stilt steps needed to be identical for Marquesans. Thomas states regarding pairs in collections: '... the pieces will be similar but subtly different, often in the detail of the diagonal surface decoration rather than the most obvious form' (2015:33). To highlight possible subtle differences, two stilt steps listed as a pair are compared (figs. 6.26a/d) and on brief inspection both seem quite similar: both have standing figures with their hands on their bellies and both have a brown to dark brown glossy patina. However, on closer inspection a number of differences can be distinguished, apart from the obvious one, that one figure wears a barkcloth loincloth:

- figure A stands more straight than B
- in profile A has an ascending and B a square chin
- in profile A has square and B round shoulders
- their mouths are different in shape
- A has a parabolic and B a straight nose bridge

There are also differences in body decoration and motifs, such as A having a cheek ornament and B just parallel lines. Some other pairs of stilt steps still attached to poles show similar differences to those mentioned above. However, this is not always the case as there are three complete pairs of stilts which have quite different main figures on the step. Those in the MEN have completely different standing figures, even though both have their hands on their bellies: one is faceless and has a short, rounded body without decoration, while the other is a more common type of figure with body decoration. The stilt steps of the second pair in the BM have two completely different figures: one has a figure turned backwards with a figurehead underneath and the other a common standing figure. The same is true of the MQB pair: one stilt step has a common type A1, while the other is a type B (two tiers of one figure) with a figure turned backwards above and a small standing figure below. Whereas the poles of the stilts in both MEN and the BM are unadorned, the MQB pair of poles are similarly decorated. Could this be another indication that a pair can be quite different while still being a pair?

6.3.7 Grouping stilt steps

Although the studies by Von den Steinen and Gell (see 6.3.3) touch upon the topic of stilt steps, these are less useful for furthering research into the different historical art styles. The reason for this is that both authors are looking at Marquesan art as a whole. They acknowledge that different artists were involved in the creating of the objects, but their focus is on explaining Marquesan art as a 'collective' style, to use Forge's wording (see 1.2.3). The objective of my object study is to try to uncover individual or group (sub)styles. Following among others Olbrechts (1946), Holm (1981), Wright (1998; 2001; 2009; 2015) and Neich (2001) regarding their endeavours to identify individual artists and workshops (see 1.2.3), a maker would have been able to produce different forms of, in this case, stilt steps, but would have a certain discernible carving style. The same is probably also true with respect to the amount and type of ornamentation and its distribution on the stilt step. The geometric and anthropomorphic detailing that is applied to the stilt steps consists of common Marquesan motifs used on other types of objects and in tattooing, so it is less likely that the use of a certain motif is a sole feature of a certain maker, workshop or tradition. Thus, it is not the type of motif but its execution that can define a certain maker. It should also be considered that who made decisions about what ornamentation to apply to a certain stilt step is unknown. Was it the carver himself or the person who commissioned it or a combination of both? When comparing stilt steps with another ornate type of widely collected wooden object, the *ùu*, the outer appearance of the latter seems to have been much more subjected to protocols. Although *ùu* differ in size, their overall shape and general appearance are very similar

with, in comparison to stilt steps, relatively minor differences in the detailing. Or as Govor *et al.* state 'Although structurally uniform, it seems that stilt steps, more than any other artefact, provided an avenue for a variety of artistic implementations' (2019:173). The question about who the makers were of the stilt steps that are now in collections overseas should also not be overlooked. Were all stilt steps made by *tuhuka vaeake* or were some perhaps made by non-specialists? If the latter was the case this could explain why some within the corpus were relatively crudely carved and lack the refinement associated with Marquesan carving (compare for example figs. 6.27/6.28). The situation may be not unlike the case of the Austral Islands 'paddles': the earlier ones were made by specialist carvers, but because of their desirability as an export-item between 1821-1842 the production of these 'paddles' increased exponentially, while gradually the quality of the carvings decreased, suggesting the later ones were made by less experienced carvers (Richards 2012:141-45; fig. 6.29).

Taking Thomas' remark regarding the large amount of variation into account, this study examined the differences and commonalities of stilt steps, to try to divide them into groups. In order to visually compare them per stilt step, an A4 page was printed with two images of the same object: the front view and the left-hand side view, in proportion of their actual length (ca. 56.5%). This way the different stilt steps could be juxtaposed with each other, both in relation to their formal properties and relative size. Differences in colour and patina were disregarded in relation to this formal analysis. The wide range of outer appearances of stilt steps and the apparent looser protocols which led to this, made it complicated to group them. A number of diagnostic features have been formulated in order to facilitate this analysis:

1. General shape of the stilt step
2. Proportion of the main figure(s) in comparison to the complete stilt step
3. Shape and posture of the main figure(s)
4. Transition of top of figure to top of stilt step
5. Proportion of main figure(s) and components (head, body, arms, legs)
6. Execution and positioning of the ornamentation
7. Detailing in the ornamentation

The initial aim was to try to order the stilt steps into groups that could have been made by the same (group of) maker(s), based on these diagnostic features, especially the first three. Although it is possible to make small groups of stilt steps which look very similar overall and in the execution of the figure(s), and look as if coming from the same hand or at least from closely related hands, each group only accounts for between two and five objects. On making the groups larger, the selections became less convincing, so this way of grouping was unsatisfactory as it left far more singles than grouped ones.

Having been advised to concentrate on one element, the images were looked at anew and, perhaps unsurprisingly given the emphasis to the head in Marquesan art expressions, the shape and relative size of the head is one of the first defining characteristics. There are several different head shapes discernible in the main figures. To get a clearer view, trace drawings were made of both front and side views of the heads and from them the following groups could be discerned:

- A. Short slightly curved head
- B. Long slightly curved head
- C. Strongly tapered head
- D. Short narrow slightly tapered head
- E. Short broad slightly tapered head
- F. Long tapered head
- G. Tubular head
- H. Angular head

Organising the main figures according to head shape offers a way to manage the wide variety of versions of the main figures. Another way of organising stilt steps according to main figures, to be applied to main standing figures (types A1/A3), is to look at the side profile of the body shape. From the front, the shape of the main figures are very similar with relatively angular shoulders and rounded hips. However, looking from the side profile many more differences are distinguishable, which lead to the following groups:

- A. Round body shape
 - a. plump
 - b. medium
 - c. slender
 - d. relatively pointy belly
- B. Angular upper body and rounded lower body shape
 - a. plump
 - b. medium
 - c. slender
- C. Angular body shape
 - a. medium
 - b. slender

By looking at the different head and body shapes, similarities and differences become obvious. Whether a certain shape of head or body can be linked to a certain group of makers and/or period is (yet) uncertain, but only by looking closer can a start be made towards recognising certain traditions in the forms of figures in Marquesan art styles regarding stilt steps. However, this still requires examining the execution of the carved objects. Besides the group of stilt steps of construction type C (one tier with

two main figures; see next section), probably made by a workshop or closely related makers, only one other convincing group can be distinguished based on the corpus. These single standing figures (construction types A1 & A3) have, besides a similar head shape (A) and side body shape (Ac), one other common element: their ears. Main figures generally have a double or single spiral ear carved in the figure's head or slightly protruding bumps in which a double spiral ear has been carved. However, there is a group with round protruding ears, most of which belong to the convincing group mentioned above (figs. 6.30a/i). Although its whereabouts are unknown, one of the stilt steps depicted in Porter's 1822 publication, also seems to belong to this group (Porter 1822: between 124-5; fig. 6.12, nos. 1 & 3). It may well be that by widening the research scope to include a larger number of stilt steps, it will be possible to distinguish more and/or slightly larger convincing groups.

6.3.8 Historical developments?

The available data on collecting stilt steps is finite; details about when and where they were collected in the Marquesas are only available for a limited number of objects studied, which does not allow for an informed comparison. However, a number of general remarks can be made. The stilt steps collected by the Krusenstern expedition in 1804 tend to be relatively slender in their overall execution (Govor *et al.* 2019:174-9). As for the head shapes, the only types that do not seem to be present are the long tapered and the angular ones. It is most conspicuous that of the stilt steps collected by the Dutch in 1825, four of the five are of construction type C (one tier with two figures), which seem to have been made by closely related makers. Besides these four, so far only four of a similar construction have been identified (EM, MEG, Weltmuseum Vienna and Binoche et Giquello auction, Paris, 19 May 2016, lot 52), none of which has a field collection date. Of these eight stilt steps, three¹¹⁴ were already studied by Von den Steinen (1928a:252-3), who states that these three must have been made by the same *Künstlerkreis* [circle of artists].

Apart from the type just described, most of the studied corpus of stilt steps collected up until 1842 are of the single standing figure type with three exceptions: the one with the single figure turned backwards from the Krusenstern expedition (figs. 6.20c/d), one ornamented with a figure with an exceptionally long face collected by Aulick in 1835 (figs. 6.31a/b) and an elaborate type B (two tiers of one figure) with a figure turned backwards on top, adorned with four smaller figures and two faces, and below a figure with an elongated face, collected by the United States Exploring Expedition in 1838-1842 (figs. 6.32a/b). Though not closely studied within this project more stilt steps with less typical figures are known to have been collected before 1850, such as the one attached to a pole in SWM which is a standing figure with an extra

¹¹⁴ One in Leiden, collected by the Dutch, one in Vienna and one in Von den Steinen's private collection, which is now in the EM in Berlin,

pair of legs on his head, donated to the museum in 1835 (Hooper 2006:104; Pole 1987:9) and several stilt steps in the MEM in Cannes, collected by De Ginoux de La Coche between 1843-1848: four with main standing figures and small figures underneath and one main figure with an elongated face similar to Von den Steinen's 'Tiki nasua' (Ivory 2016a:150; MEM-database¹¹⁵).

During a study visit to the MQB in May 2018, a stilt step was examined which resembles the one collected by Chanal with two figures above one another as depicted in Claret de Fleurieu's travelogue (fig. 6.7). Although several examples of stilt steps with two tiers of one figure with the top one turned backwards exist, so far this is the only known one with the top figure showing both upper and lower parts of the legs, that bend at the knee (fig. 6.33). At that time the author was unaware that Nicholas Thomas had come to the same conclusion more than three years earlier. The stilt step was acquired from an American dealer by a predecessor of the MQB in 1968. According to an old label on the back, it had been collected by Lieutenant Dundas of HMS *Topaze*, which visited the Marquesas in 1867. Thomas (2015:33-5; 2018b:84; 2019b:107) surmises that the MQB stilt step and the one collected in 1791 must have been made by the same maker, because of details such as both figures having well-defined elbows, not present in others with the same configuration. He concludes that the former must therefore have been kept safe for decades, possibly as a family heirloom. When comparing the depicted and the Dundas stilt step, besides several similarities, a number of differences can be discerned, for example, the lower part of the bottom figure being different and the shape of the top figure's head; the depicted one has a square, slightly roundish, head and the other's is more rectangular in shape. Also, the depicted one's upper body is shorter and more slender and the arms of the bottom figure of the Dundas stilt step are at a considerably sharper angle. The positioning of the top figure under the top of the stilt step is straighter with the depicted one, whereas the Dundas stilt step stands slightly towards the fore, more in line with the curving of the top. These differences seem to make it unlikely that both stilt steps were made by the same maker. They could just as easily have been caused by differences in interpretation between the original stilt step, the drawing and the book print, but there is no way of telling, since the original Chanal stilt step has not (yet) surfaced. Other explanations are also possible, as another tuhuka might have been aware of the Chanal stilt step before it left the area and may have carved it in his own style. Another possibility is that a later Marquesan artisan saw the print of the Chanal stilt step in a travelogue, either Claret de Fleurieu's or Porter's 1815 edition,¹¹⁶ and made a copy in his own style. The Dundas stilt step may have been made around the same time as the Chanal one, although its physical condition seems to suggest

¹¹⁵ Information provided by director-curator Théano Jaillet (personal communication via e-mail 22-09-2021). One stilt step collected by De Ginoux de La Coche was studied in the Matahoata exhibition (MQB) in 2016.

¹¹⁶ The Dutch, for example, showed at least one image from Porter's journal to Marquesans (see 4.3.4).

that it was made later. The Dundas stilt step has several of what are probably shrinkage cracks, rather than usage cracks, but its general appearance is intact. This raises the question, why a stilt step kept for over seventy years would show hardly any signs of use given that stilt walking was still being practised, at least in the first half of this period.

6.3.9 Made to trade?

During the course of this research project almost 400 stilt steps have been identified in public and private collections and undoubtedly more exist. It is therefore one of the most collected carved wooden Marquesan objects. Its apparent popularity with foreign visitors raises the question whether the collected stilt steps were all made for use (and were used) in ritual practices or just for exchange with foreign visitors? Assuming stilt walking only occurred on relatively rare occasions, it remains unclear how many men, and possibly boys, of a particular mataëinaa, would have been involved in this activity and perhaps also from one or more other mataëinaa. For such events perhaps many stilt steps would have been required. After the memorial festival (koina uupua), they would probably not have been needed for some time and may have been kept as wall decorations, as was observed by Von Langsdorff (1813:128-9) in 1804, until the next memorial feast. However, used stilt steps were probably exchanged with foreign visitors, and new ones made for the next stilt walking event. It is also likely that some were made specifically with exchange in mind, as there are several examples in collections that are relatively intact and undamaged, in other words: unused. One would expect those used during what must have been rather a rough game, to show traces thereof. There are also a few in collections uncharacteristically lacking refinement (see 6.3.7), which may point to their having been made by non-specialist makers, not for ritual use, but made specifically for exchange with foreign visitors. Additionally, those carved from the early 1870s onwards (see 5.3.2) tend to be quite slender and possibly lack sufficient strength for real use in stilt walking and were probably also made for exchange purposes, perhaps even on commission (figs. 6.34a/b).¹¹⁷

6.3.10 Conclusion

Considering that few visitors to the Marquesas comment on stilt walking being practised, it is notable that almost 400 stilt steps can presently be identified in museum and private collections. Despite this considerable number, surprisingly little research has been conducted into them. As part of this case study just over a third (37.4%) of the total corpus of stilt steps has been studied in person. The main

¹¹⁷ Besides objects possibly made for trade by Marquesans, a few apparently Marquesan stilt steps in public collections have been identified as having been made by Englishman James Edward Little (Watt 1982; collection information Field Museum, personal communication Christopher Philipp via e-mail March 2017). Unfortunately, it was not possible to include them in this research project.

previous in-depth research into this object category was conducted by Von den Steinen (1928a). As part of his research he studied 52 stilt steps, for which he developed a classification of construction types (Steinen 1928a:250-2). Based on his classification and with additional insights from Watt (1982:54, 56), an updated typology using more neutral terms has been compiled (see Table 6.2). Comparing Von den Steinen's numbers per construction type with those in the present study shows that single standing figures (types A1/A3) are even more common than Von den Steinen recorded. However, these typologies are only useful to a certain extent in understanding the great variety in stilt steps. They help us to understand the different shapes and outward appearances of stilt steps, but at the same time they suggest a uniformity which is often not present.

Besides composing a typology, Von den Steinen also studied in detail the ornamentation on stilt steps as part of his aim to understand and explain Marquesan art (see 1928a:123-36, 254-5). Based on Von den Steinen's study, Gell (1998:205-8) also looked into ornamentation of stilt steps and its role within the practice of stilt walking. Both authors consider Marquesan art as having one collective style and pay little attention to differences within the general Marquesan style and to developments over time. However, this case study shows that although at first glance stilt steps may look very similar to one another, when they are examined more closely, many differences emerge. These differences are to be found in their proportions, execution and ornamentation, which suggest that many different hands are likely to have been involved in making them. One of the objectives of this study was to try to uncover individual or group (sub)styles. This type of research has seldom been done with regard to Marquesan material culture, apart from a study of ùu clubs by Ivory (1994). However, studies of this kind have been undertaken in other regions of the world, in particular with regard to African artists and workshops (Olbrechts 1946; Fagg 1948, 1963, 1969; Vansina 1984), Haida artists from North America (Holm 1981, Wright 1998; 2001; 2009; 2015) and Māori artists from New Zealand (Neich 2001). These studies have provided insights that have assisted in the analysis of the corpus of stilt steps.

Accordingly, a number of diagnostic features were defined and used to analyse the corpus of 149 stilt steps. Prior to this analysis the expectations were that using this methodology the corpus would reveal several clearly identifiable style groups. However, one of the main findings of this study has been that this was not the case. A great variety of features and stylistic characteristics was discerned, suggesting that many different makers and/or workshops were responsible for the corpus. Few distinctive groups were apparent, and a large number of 'single' steps remained that could not be closely associated on stylistic grounds with other steps. Extrapolation to the total corpus of steps, including those not examined directly, indicates that this pattern continues and that only a minority of steps can be placed in stylistic

groupings with more than just a few members. In the present corpus of 149 stilt steps, only two slightly larger groups were discernible. The first group largely coincides with construction type C (one tier with two figures) and comprises among others four stilt steps collected by the Dutch in 1825. A second identified group has short, slightly curved heads (head shape A), round slender bodies (body shape Ac) and protruding ears as another recognisable characteristic. The methodology of comparing a range of diagnostic features in order to establish stylistic similarities and differences, although needing further development, seems the most likely way forward to discern separate (groups of) makers within the corpus of stilt steps, and to do justice to the creativity of their, regrettably unknown, makers.

Chapter 7

Adorning the ears: on ear ornaments (case study 2)

This chapter examines the practice of adorning the ears and associated ornaments: ear ornaments in general and those made of whale ivory and/or shell in particular. Many museum and private collections contain Marquesan ear ornaments. Decorating the ears is remarked upon by several Dutch crew in their accounts on their visit to Nuku Hiva in May 1825. Besides written references, some drawings of ear ornaments were made and several were collected. These observations and objects are the topic of the first part of this chapter. The second part considers other historical sources, starting with a section on ornamentation of the ear, followed by a section on one of the materials used for ear ornaments, namely (whale) ivory. For both sections the period considered starts with the earliest accounts of visitors and temporary residents ending in the 1840s, when the islands were annexed by the French, and for whale ivory in the 1830s, as from then on whaling activities increased considerably, which meant that whale teeth became more readily available. The findings of the first researchers in the Marquesas, paying attention to ear ornaments and adding to the then existing body of knowledge, are discussed next. The third part of this chapter is devoted to the actual ear ornaments, starting with evidence of their collection from the Marquesas and wider Pacific region. Then previous research into Marquesan material culture in relation to ear ornaments is considered, followed by a comprehensive review of ear ornaments, in particular composite ones made with shell and those made of (whale) ivory, mainly in European and American collections. The chapter concludes with a suggested historical development of composite ear ornaments and those completely made of whale ivory or shell.

7.1 THE DUTCH ON ORNAMENTS FOR THE EARS AND WHALE IVORY

Several Dutch crew members who visited Taiohae on Nuku Hiva in May 1825 wrote about the adornment of ears. Troost (1829) surprisingly does not mention them, or any other ornament for that matter. Although the Nuku Hivan depicted in his book wears one (fig. 2.32), the image does not provide enough information to be able to say much about it. Singendonck writes in his personal travelogue: '... they [women] have no decorations except in the ears, which consist of a piece of black wood which is polished smooth, and at the ends is set with mother-of-pearl' (1824-1825:[31]). It is not quite clear what type of ear ornament Singendonck's description refers to. The closest that comes to mind is an S-shaped ornament that was probably made of turtle

shell. Singendonck must have collected two ear ornaments, as his nephew donated them to the Koloniaal Museum in Haarlem in 1877. It is unlikely that these would have been the same type of ornaments as he described, as their description suggests the donated ones would have been worn by a chief. Unfortunately, the present whereabouts of these objects are unknown (see 5.1.4). Van Wageningen (1824-1827:66-7) seems to have been particularly interested in foreign objects used as ear ornaments as he observes the following: '... the women ... put them [buttons] in their ears ... in their ears they [men] wear very well carved little horns[,] they all have their earlobes pierced and many have large holes in them, usually when they received a nail or a cigar, they put it through their ears', although he also noted ear ornaments with a spur at the back, to which his remark on 'little horns' most likely refers. In his ship's journal Commander Eeg (1824-1827:[174]) mentions '... their [men's] jewellery consists of ... knobs in the ears made of white shells' and that 'Among the women ... decorations were very rarely seen.' Regarding ornaments worn by those he perceived to be important persons (see also 3.2.9), De Constant Rebecque (1824-1828:[16]) notes: 'They wear through the holes which they have in their ears and which are very large, pigs teeth at the end of which is a white shell.' This must be the same type as the ones precisely described by Van Haersolte (1824-1834:09-1825) in a letter to his parents:

... the ear decoration consists of a flat ground shell, in which they put a kind of cork and in this cork they have a wild pig's tooth, the length of a little finger, in the earlobe they have a small hole through which they then put the tooth into which they insert a small pin to prevent it from falling. Some, especially among the Ladies, wear pieces of lacquer^[118] or a piece of rolled up tin or iron in it. (Author's translation)

Van Haersolte will probably have had the composite shell ear ornament at hand when writing the passage above (figs. 7.1a/b).¹¹⁹ He gives a clear description of the way in which this type of ear ornament was fastened to the ear, but what he describes as being cork was most likely soft wood covered with a mixture of resin and sawdust (see 7.3.4). The Nuku Hivan man Van Haersolte drew also seems to wear a similar ear ornament (fig. 7.2). One detail that needs clarification: Van Haersolte and others literally talk about 'pigs' teeth', but they probably meant boar tusks, which are much larger in size than normal pigs' teeth.

Apart from the composite type collected by Van Haersolte two more pairs of composite shell ear ornaments were collected by the Dutch, one each by Kist and Cosijn (see 5.1.4; figs. 7.3/7.4a/b). The latter also made a small, detailed drawing of what is probably one of the ear ornaments he collected (fig. 7.5). Cosijn made two small drawings of another type, namely large wooden ear ornaments (see next section;

¹¹⁸ The word lacquer ('lak' in Dutch) seems an odd description of what Van Haersolte must have observed. Unfortunately, it is unclear what he means by this, possibly turtle shell.

¹¹⁹ Regrettably one of the pins has gone missing over the years.

fig. 7.6). Van Haersolte also collected a pair of exceptionally small whale tooth ear ornaments (fig. 7.7). Neither of these two ear ornament types feature in the Dutch narratives, although whale teeth and their importance for Marquesans are mentioned by two crew members. De Constant Rebecque (1824-1828:[15-16]) relates: 'Their ornament[s] consist of teeth of ... (whales) to which they place a great value.' Similarly, Singendonck (1824-1825:[31]) comments on the high value that both men and women place on whale teeth (see 5.2.3).

7.2 HISTORICAL REFERENCES ON EAR DECORATING

Many historical accounts have references concerning ear ornamentation. These often involve just short remarks, like those of the Dutch above, although a more elaborate account is given in a few cases. In this section first the references, including images, are reviewed up to the early period of the French annexation. This is followed by a section on historical references of whale ivory in the Marquesan context. Most recorded observations are from visitors who only stayed for a brief period. Finally, additional information provided by the first researchers between 1897-1921 is considered.

7.2.1 References until 1840s

The first references regarding ear ornaments date from the second European visit to the Marquesan island of Santa Christina [Tahuata], which was made during the second voyage of James Cook in April 1774. Scientist George Forster (1777:15-6) provides the following description of a pair of ear ornaments: 'In their ears they sometimes placed two flat pieces of a light wood, of an oval shape, about three inches long, covering the whole ear, and painted them white with lime.' His father, scientist Johann Reinhold Forster (1782:491), mentions that these ear ornaments were painted 'with a white clay or lime white'. Captain Cook (1777:310) states of the Marquesans '... I did not see any with ear-rings; and yet all of them had their ears pierced.' His publication, however, contains a portrait of hakāiki Honu, who is wearing a pair of the wooden ear ornaments similar to those described by the Forsters (fig. 2.12).

Claret de Fleurieu, chronicler of the Marchand voyage (1790-1792), also relates a few observations that were made by crew members during their stay on Tahuata in 1791:

Although all, in general, both men and women, have their ears pierced, none were seen to wear pendants habitually: but the holes of three or four lines¹²⁰ in diameter which

¹²⁰ The original French text mentions 'trois ou quatre lignes' (Claret de Fleurieu 1798:163). A *ligne* or Paris line measures 2.2558291mm, so the holes in the ears must have been ca. 7mm to 9mm in diameter.

they make in them, appear intended to receive accidentally the articles on which they set the greatest value. (1801:154-5)

Although their [women's] ears are pierced like those of the men, very few are seen with pendants; but they suspend in them all the European trifles that are capable of being adapted to that purpose. (1801:161)

Nails at first excited their wishes; they would have nothing but nails in exchange: and it was not because they were acquainted with their utility and employment, for the only use that they made of them, was to wear them as ear-pendants, or suspended, by way of ornament, to their neck or their waist ... (1801:190)

It is interesting to note that between 1774 and 1791 the wearing of bespoke ear ornaments was apparently not (yet) a common practice, even though both men and women had pierced ears, or at least it was not a common practice in Vaitahu, the bay on Tahuata visited by both Cook and Marchand. As for the iron nails: it is highly unlikely that the recipients of nails had no knowledge about the use of these iron implements, as they would have been familiar with them from Cook's visit. The large wooden ear ornaments which were noted during the latter visit do not figure in Claret de Fleurieu's account.

Missionary William Crook, who stayed for nineteen months during 1797-1799, describes several types of ear ornaments in his elaborate account:

The lower part of the ears is perforated, as if for ear-rings; but the hole is made larger. Into this, the rib of a Cocoa Nut leaf is thrust; one end of which is fastened in the Cap, or hair, after passing through a hole in a bone, to which is attached a flat Oval Ornament, made of a Sperm Whale's Tooth, cut cross-wise. These project perpendicularly from the Ears; the longest diameter of the Oval being parallel to the side of the head. Similar Ornaments are also made of Purou Wood [*purau*]²¹ [121], whitened with Chalk, or Pipe Clay. The fastening to the Wooden Ornaments, is divided, to admit the edge of the ear through it; the hole of the ear being brought beyond the outer side of the fastening, & a Cocoa nut rib passed through the ear, to secure the Ornament ...

A piece of thick tortoise-shell, or of cocoa nut shell, cut into a crooked form, like the handle of a grind stone, about 21 [*sic*] Inches in length, & an eighth of an inch square in thickness, is sometimes stuck through the ear, with the appendage of several porpoise²³ [122] teeth attached to it. Sometimes a pearl Shell, fastened to a reed is the only ornament of the ears; & sometimes only a flower is stuck into them: whether fragrant, as that of the bua [*pua*, *Fagraea berteriana*], or of the teá-e [*tia'e*, *Gardenia*

¹²¹ Original footnote in citation: 21 *Hibiscus tiliaceus*. *Purau* is a Tahitian term. The author later uses the Marquesan term *fau*.

¹²² Original footnote in citation: 23 The author uses the term "porpoise", but probably means dolphin.

taitensis] (Tahitean Teaire [*tiare*]); or merely beautiful. as the Goute [*koute*, *Hibiscus rosa-sinensis*], *Nettae* [*netae*, *Erythrina variegata*], & a sort of Lilly. (2007:58-9)¹²³

Crook mentions the four main types of Marquesan ear ornaments found in many collections today, and he is the first to record some of them. The large wooden ear ornaments were still in use twenty-five years after Cook's visit and for the first time an explanation is given of how this type of ear ornament is fastened. He is the first to mention ear ornaments made of whale teeth and to explain how these were worn, as well as describing an ear ornament made of turtle shell or coconut shell and decorated with dolphin teeth. So far in museum collections of the latter only ones made from turtle shell have been identified. The size of this type of ear ornament as 21 inches is doubtlessly incorrect and may well be a misprint, since known examples tend to be about 2 inches (ca. 5cm) long. The last type of ear ornament described is somewhat puzzling, as this may refer to those with a front made from a cone shell with a spur at the back. However, cone shells do not have mother-of-pearl, which one would expect from a shell that is described as a pearl shell.

In a dictionary compiled by Crook *et al.* three Marquesan words for types of ear ornaments have been included:

hekkaki ... [haakai] ... ornaments of shell or ivory for the ears (1998:22)

kofâou ... [kouhau] ... also an ornament for the ears made from the wood of the faou [fau] (1998:29)

ouhwe ... [uuhei] ... an Ornament for the Ears made of Cocoanutt Shell or Tortoiseshell, to which the small teeth of fish are fixed (1998:38).

Most noteworthy about these Marquesan names is the fact that both ear ornaments made of shell and those made of ivory must have shared the same common name at the end of the eighteenth century.

Several members of the Krusenstern expedition of 1804 provide some information regarding ear ornaments. Von Krusenstern made a reference to a certain type of ear ornament:

... they adorn their ears with large white muscles [*sic*] of a circular form, filled with a hard substance like sand, to which a perforated boar's tooth is affixed for the purpose of fastening it to the ear; a small wooden peg that passes through the tooth, serving as a clasp to prevent its falling out. (1813:157-8)

¹²³ Apart from the square bracketed footnote numbers and *sic*, all square brackets and italics are in the original text.

The substance described as being sand is actually a wooden material to fixate the spur in the shell cap, covered with a layer of sawdust in resin (see 7.3.4), which may give the appearance of hard sand. Another expedition member, naturalist Von Langsdorff, also made some observations:

Holes are made in the ears so large, that a body of three or four lines^[124] in diameter may be run through it. A muscle-shell [*sic*] of an ounce weight, to which is fastened the fang of a hog somewhat polished, or a light oval piece of bread-fruit wood, is the great ear ornament. Large iron nails, a little wooden stick about two inches long, and various other trifles, are also stuck into the ears. (1813:170-1)

The ear ornaments Von Langsdorff describes are composite ear ornaments and the large wooden ear ornaments which were also mentioned by previous visitors. The German version of Von Langsdorff's travelogue includes an object plate in which, among the displayed objects, a complete pair of composite ear ornaments is shown (fig. 7.8). Urey Lisiansky (1814:85), commander of the expedition's second ship, the *Neva*, makes a specific remark in his travelogue about the piercing in women's ears: 'It is astonishing that women, who are in all countries so fond of beautifying their persons, do not tatoo [*sic*] themselves here; except with a few lines on the lips, round the perforation in the ears, and on the hands.' The Russian version of his travelogue contains an object plate showing three types of ear ornament: a pair of shell ear ornaments, a pair of large wooden ones and a pair of small ones (see fig. 2.1b/d in Govor 2019:56). Several images in the travelogues of the expedition show images of Nuku Hivans wearing, mostly composite, ear ornaments (figs. 7.9/7.11) and they also feature in drawings by several expedition members, such as those made by Von Löwenstern (figs. 7.12/7.13). Naturalist Tilesius, notes in both his sketch book and his unpublished journal that the Marquesan name connected with shell ear ornaments was 'Putāyāta', and according to Govor *et al.* (2019:133) he identified the round shell parts as belonging to a type of sea snail called *Conus marmoreus*.¹²⁵

Several expedition members saw composite ear ornaments, consisting of shell and another material as a spur, as well as the large wooden ear ornaments. Surprisingly, none refer to ear ornaments made from whale teeth, which were already in use by the end of the eighteenth century as they were described by Crook (see above). Perhaps this was due to this type of ear ornament only being used for very specific occasions at that time. One of the informers of the Russian expedition, the Englishman Edward Robarts, who stayed on the Marquesas from 1798 to 1806, only mentions ear ornaments once in his journal. In regard to the dance costume of women during funerary rites, Robarts (1974:59) states: 'Their ears is [*sic*] decorated with

¹²⁴ See footnote 121; presumably Von Langsdorff refers to the same measuring unit, so 7mm to 9mm.

¹²⁵ The exact species according to Govor *et al.* (2019:133) is *Conus marmoreus suffusus*.

sperm whales teeth cutt in two and polished.' He also remarked regarding ears and tattooing: 'The females are tattoo'd on the lips, ears, shoulders, elbows, hands & feet, and on the small of the Back.' (1974:250).

Porter, who stayed on Nuku Hiva for about one and a half months in 1813, provides several concise descriptions of the outer appearance of Nuku Hivans in relation to ear ornaments:

Each [of the ornamented men] held in his hand a handsome white fan, and had large tufts of human hair bound round the wrist, their ancles [*sic*] and loins, with large white oval ornaments, apparently intended as false ears, and large shells and whales' teeth hung round their necks. (1815:12)

They [warriors] wore a cloak, sometimes of red cloth, but more frequently of a white paper cloth, formed of the bark of a tree, thrown not inelegantly over the shoulders, with large round or oval ornaments in their ears, formed of whales' teeth, ivory, or a kind of soft and light wood, whitened with chalk. From their neck suspended a whale's tooth, or highly polished shell ... (1815:27)

Their [women's] ornaments consist of beads strung round their necks, and circular pieces of ivory or whale's teeth attached to their ears. They have also another species of ornament tastily formed of a dark kind of wood, which receives a high polish; it is fashioned something in the form of the letter Z, has its ends tipped with the mother of pearl, and is otherwise ornamented with beads and small teeth. (1815:65)

I inquired the subject of it [a song], and was informed by Wilson that it was the history of the loves of a young man and a young woman of their valley: they sung their mutual attachment, and the praises of their beauty; described with raptures the handsome beads and whales' teeth earrings with which she was bedecked, and the large whale's tooth which hung from his neck. (1815:87)

Porter mentions three types of ear ornaments: the large wooden ones, those completely made of whale teeth and the crooked ones which Crook also wrote about.

Interestingly, while the wooden ones are according to Porter only worn by men, he states that the whale teeth ear ornaments were worn both by men and women. His travelogue contains an image of a warrior with a wooden ear ornament and an image of a single wooden ear ornament (figs. 7.14/7.15). However, it does not include images of (wearers of) ear ornaments made of whale teeth. His image of the composite ear ornament is most likely the first depiction of one with a spur decorated with small tiki figures (fig. 7.16). Porter's account also contains two images of Marquesans probably wearing similar composite ear ornaments (figs. 7.17/7.18), especially the fronts of Taawattaa's, which have a shell-like appearance. The S-shaped ear ornaments refer to

the ones made from a curved strip of turtle shell - Porter, probably erroneously, thought this to be wood, although they could perhaps have been made from coconut shell as was suggested by Crook - and are decorated with dolphin teeth among other things, and worn by women. One of Porter's object plates in the first edition of his travelogue shows the first known image of such an ear ornament (fig. 7.19).

Another point of interest in Porter's writings is that he makes a puzzling distinction between 'ivory' and whale teeth, about who is allowed to wear what specific type of material:

... the strange infatuation of this people for this strange ornament [whale tooth], which is worn suspended to the neck, and sometimes is cut to form ornaments to the ears. ... Ivory is worn by the lower and poorer classes, made into the form of whales' teeth, and as ear ornaments, while the whales' teeth [*sic*] is worn only by persons of rank and wealth. (1815:25)

Porter does not specify the origin of the ivory and may have been unaware of the fact that whale teeth are also a type of ivory. The distinction between elephant and whale ivory was quite important to Marquesans (see 7.2.2).

Regarding the making of ear ornaments Porter also makes several interesting observations:

To be sure there are certain professional trades, which they are not all so perfect in, such as tattooing, and the manufacturing of ornaments for the ears; for those objects there are men who devote their whole attention to render themselves perfect. (1815:121)

In the manufacturing of whales' teeth into earrings, pearl shells into fish-hooks, and, indeed, in the working of all kind of shells, bone, and ivory, a piece of iron hoop for a saw, and some sand and coral rock, are their only implements. The iron hoop is used with sand, without being notched, in the manner that our stonecutters cut their slabs, and the coral serves to give them a polish. (1815:126)

He recognises specialist trades among the Marquesans, including makers of ear ornaments and describes their tools and their application, which is quite unusual.

Lieutenant Shillibeer, who visited the Marquesas as crew member of the HMS *Briton* in 1814, mentions that: 'They [Marquesans] are excessively fond of ear ornaments, the men making theirs from sea shells, or a light wood, which by the application of an earth, becomes beautifully white. The women prefer flowers, and which at all seasons are to be found' (Shillibeer 1817:46). The frontispiece of his book shows an image of a Marquesan chief wearing the wooden ear ornaments Shillibeer describes (fig. 7.20). Two remarks stand out in the quote above. Firstly, Shillibeer seems to suggest that ear ornaments were worn by a lot of men and secondly that

women tended to wear flowers instead of ear ornaments, not even the S-shaped ones which were only worn by women according to Porter. This omission may be due to the fact that Shillibeer was only on the Marquesas for a short time, during which perhaps there were no special events, since De Roquefeuil, captain of the French navy ship *Le Bordelais*, who stayed for two months in 1817/1818, mentions: 'They [women] have also, for particular occasions, necklaces of seals' teeth, and ear-rings made of whale's teeth. The largest are the handsomest; they are some above two inches in diameter, but those usually worn are not above half that size' (Roquefeuil 1823c:55). In the French version of his travelogue De Roquefeuil adds:

They are less ear ornaments than false perpendicular ears to those given by nature. They are made to hold by means of two small spurs, of which the one above, the smallest, is fixed to the ornament and crosses the cartilage of the ear, the other larger one crosses both the lobe and the adornment. They are retained by means of a needle which passes through these spurs between the head and the ear. Men also wear this ornament. (1823a:305) (Author's translation)

The description of the fastening of the ear ornament is a bit puzzling. The way this is described seems to correspond more to the large wooden ear ornaments with two spurs than with those completely made of a whale tooth, the latter having only one spur. However, other writers mention that the large wooden ear ornaments were only worn by men. Another practice De Roquefeuil remarks upon in relation to adorning the ears, as also noted by Lisiansky: 'The women, in general, tattoo only the hands and feet, but there are some that have a circle on the lobe of the ear, in the middle of which is the hole for the ear-ring' (1823c:55-6).

In 1819 Graaner made a six-day stop-over in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva, as a passenger on the British merchant ship *Rebecca* (Åkerrén 1983:34-5). He noted a few things about ear ornaments, which he may have learned from beachcomber George Ross, who had also been De Roquefeuil's informant:

They [men] also have many ear ornaments, the most common being a large disc of bone with a pin an inch long protruding from the middle of the back that is stuck through the earlobe. (Åkerrén 1983:48)

They [women] use many types of ear ornaments, but mostly the same elongated bone discs as the men ... (Åkerrén 1983:51)

So Graaner was of the opinion that both men and women wore different types of ear ornaments and also that they both wore ones consisting of a large oval-shaped disc at the front with a spur on the back, inserted through the ear. However, his observations may have been influenced by him being in Taiohae during a feast (see also 4.2.2). The

fact that he described this disc as being made from bone, was probably because he may not have seen one up-close.

The same year as the Dutch navy visit, Lieutenant Paulding of the schooner *Dolphin* visited the Marquesas from 26 September to 5 October 1825, anchoring in several bays on Nuku Hiva. In his travelogue Paulding (1831:46) describes how, on leaving Comptroller's Bay: 'He [a chief from Happah] then stripped himself of his neck and ear ornaments, which consisted of two white pieces of polished shell and a carved image of bone, and presenting them to me as a token of his regard, plunged into the water ...'. The carved bone image was probably part of a spur attached to the back of the shell. He also noted that 'But few ornaments were worn by either sex. The women frequently had no other ornament than a small flower, stuck through a slit in their ears' (Paulding 1831:68). This is yet another observation that women did not wear ear ornaments and men did, though not often.

From 27 July to 13 August 1829 Chaplain Charles Samuel Stewart of the *USS Vincennes* visited several bays on Nuku Hiva. In his travelogue he mentions a few encounters with men wearing ear ornaments:

His [of Haapé, the guardian of Temoana] only ornaments were a pair of ear-rings neatly carved from a whale's tooth. (Stewart 1833:204)

In his ears he [Piaroro, a chief of rank from Hapaa] wore ornaments of ivory, beautifully carved and polished; contrasting strongly in their whiteness with the jet black of his hair. (Stewart 1833:219-20)

In their ears, and entirely concealing them, they [two warriors] wore ornaments of light wood, whitened with pipe clay. They are perfectly flat in front, something in the shape of the natural ear, but much larger, and are fastened by running a long projection on the hind part, through slits made in the ears, for receiving such ornaments. Strings of whale's teeth hung around their necks ... (Stewart 1833:223)

The two types of ear ornaments he describes are those completely made of a whale tooth and the large wooden ones. Particularly interesting is that Stewart did not just describe them, but actually seems appreciative of the workmanship that went into making them.

Ship surgeon and biologist Frederick Debell Bennett, from the British whaling ship *Tuscan*, stayed for about a week at the beginning of March 1835, particularly on Tahuata. In his book he provides a detailed description of a composite ear ornament:

An ear-ornament, worn by both sexes, and called *taiana*, consists of the posterior third of an univalve shell; it is circular, about three inches in circumference, highly polished, and of a dead white colour; its hollow (filled with the resin and wood of the bread-fruit

tree) receives an ivory stem, carved with human figures in relief. One of these ornaments is worn on each side [of] the head; the stem being passed through the lobe of the ear, and the white polished shell projecting forwards. (Bennett 1840:311-2)

A few things in this quote are interesting to note. Firstly, Bennett mentions that composite ear ornaments were worn by both sexes. Secondly, he gives some details about their comparative size: a circumference of ca. 3 inches (= 7.62cm), which means that the ornaments he saw, would have had a diameter of ca. 2.5cm. Thirdly, after Von Krusenstern and Van Haersolte, Bennett is probably the first to establish the likely materials used for the filling of the shell front, namely breadfruit wood and resin. Fourthly, he is also the first to clearly describe ivory spurs to be decorated with figures, although it is unfortunate that, especially because of his interest in whales, he did not specify which type of ivory was used for the spur.

From 25 August to 3 September 1838 the French expedition ships *Astrolabe* and *Zélée* stayed on Nuku Hiva. The expedition's commander, Dumont d'Urville, published an extensive journal of the voyage. In his notes he also incorporated long quotes from fellow expedition members, among which were Captain Charles Jacquinot (*Zélée*) and first Lieutenants Gaston de Roquemaurel (*Astrolabe*) and Eugène du Bouzet (*Zélée*). The journal mentions two instances in which an expedition member wanted to trade a razorblade for a pair of ear ornaments, one of these instances being:

These savages, as earrings, wore small pieces of whale or pig bones, worked in a rather delicate manner and sometimes adorned with small carved human heads. Mr. Roquemaurel had brought a slightly worn razor, to try to exchange it for one of these objects. ... At first he [Moë, an informant who spoke some English] seemed to consent; but when he had the razor in his hands, he considered it with a grimace indicating contempt in the highest degree, then he returned it with disdain to its owner ... Then after a few minutes he asked for it again as if to examine it again; after having tried to obtain it for only one of his pendant earrings, he ended up delivering them both; but not without having developed a very remarkable trading talent... (Dumont d'Urville 1842a:229-30) (Author's translation)

Apart from this bartering process several officers gave short descriptions of ear ornaments, such as De Roquemaurel: 'These [men's ears] were decorated with a kind of pendants made with a shell and a carved fish tooth' (Dumont d'Urville 1842a:445). Jacquinot elaborates further:

All [the men] have the ear lobes widely pierced so as to accommodate an ornament formed by a large pig's tooth, the anterior end of which is fixed to the flat base and rounded with a white cone. The posterior end, adorned with a sculpted human figure, rises behind the ear. (Dumont d'Urville 1842b:268) (Author's translation)

Du Bouzet also gives an interesting description, adding another layer:

His ears [of a handsome young man] were decorated with bases of small rounded and polished cones, on the inside of it was fixed by a kind of glue, a carved pig's tooth, representing Atoua or God. This ornament, although a little large, fixed in the tube of the ear by a small wooden peg which crossed the tooth... (Dumont d'Urville 1842b:277) (Author's translation)

All four officers describe composite ear ornaments worn by men. Apart from De Roquemaurel, and just like Bennett, they added another layer, namely that the spurs of the ear ornaments had adornments: small human heads, a human figure and a religious representation. The *Atlas pittoresque* accompanying the travelogue, contains several portraits of Nuku Hivan males wearing composite ear ornaments (figs. 7.21/7.22).

In describing the outfit of a chief, Captain Charles Jacquinot refers to the large wooden ear ornaments: 'The ordinary ear ornaments were replaced by two small white painted boards, elongated, oval, placed in front of the ears and enlarging the figure' (Dumont d'Urville 1842b:269). A portrait of a chief wearing these ear ornaments is included in the pictorial atlas (fig. 7.23). A larger funerary scene by the artist Ernest Goupil (fig. 7.24), which may well have been an imaginary reconstruction, also shows Marquesan men with their regalia, including ear ornaments. The men either seem to wear large wooden or composite ear ornaments. None of them wears the large whale tooth ear ornaments described by previous authors and neither were these mentioned by any of the expedition members. Another notable matter is that no mention is made of any women wearing ear ornaments and in the only image in the pictorial atlas of a Marquesan woman with an ornament in the ear, this ornament is a flower (fig. 7.22).

One of the first Catholic missionaries in the Marquesas, Father Mathias Gracia, wrote down many observations he made during his residency between 1838-1842 in letters which were published in 1843. Besides a few sketchy remarks regarding ear ornaments, he makes the following interesting observation with regard to human sacrifices and the piercing of ears:

One day, for example, a victim was sacrificed because the ears of a young princess were about to be pierced for her first earrings; a seemingly extravagant end for such a sacrifice; but there was another aim there, that of dedicating this chief's daughter to a higher veneration, or already a priestess herself, and in their minds, destined for a great role. (Gracia 1843:66-7) (Author's translation)

This is the first time that ear piercing, a necessary act before ear ornaments can be worn, is mentioned at all. In this particular case it was part of a ritual, but

unfortunately, it is not clear if Gracia was of the opinion that ear piercing was always part of a ritual or if this was an exceptional case (see 7.2.3).

French journalist De Ginoux de la Coche visited the Marquesas several times between 1843-1848 and collected a considerable number of objects, including ear ornaments. In a catalogue he compiled in 1866, he makes several observations not mentioned earlier. With the wooden ear ornaments, which he calls 'Kouhaou' [kouhau], he remarks that they were worn on days of combat or feast. He also notes that these: '... make his [a warrior's] tattoos stand out, and thereby making his appearance more formidable' (Ginoux 2001:82). He also mentions that this ear ornament was made 'entirely from a single piece of wood', although his explanation for this 'Not yet knowing how to assemble two or more parts of a whole', seems quite unlikely (Ginoux 2001:82). Referring to whale tooth ear ornaments, he (2001:174-5) observes that these 'luxury ornaments' were worn by both sexes on feast days and that they were 'held in place by a small peg planted in the sperm whale tooth behind the ear.' De Ginoux de la Coche (2001:174) also remarks that they 'amaze Europeans with their weight and the diameter of the pin inserted in the hole made in the earlobe', but as he explains by referring to examples from other cultures: 'The pierced earlobe can be extended considerably ... and it is strong enough to bear a weight greater than that of the Nuku Hivan Hakaé [haakai]' (Ginoux 2001:175-7). The third type of ear ornaments he (2001:175) remarks upon are 'Poutaüana-Kétou [pūtaiana¹²⁶], everyday ear ornaments for men and for women, part sperm whale ivory, part shell (speckled cone).' On these 'A fine sculpture representing a Tiki, domestic genius, adorns the less visible end' (Ginoux 2001:175). He collected ten pairs of this type, one pair of which was completely made of shell, which is the first reference to this specific type of pūtaiana (see 7.3.5).

7.2.2 Historical references to (whale) ivory until the 1830s

Whale teeth were highly valued within Marquesan society (Dening 1980:117; Thomas 1990:133). The influx of whale teeth as a result of European and American visitors had a profound influence on the development of ear ornaments. This warrants a closer look at the most notable historical sources regarding whale teeth in relation to the Marquesas Islands.

Although not directly mentioning whale teeth, scientist George Forster (1777:16) makes the following observation during his stay on Tahuata in 1774: 'Those who were not possessed of this glaring ornament [a chest ornament tahi pōniu], at least wore a string round the neck, and fastened it to a piece of shell, which was cut and polished in the shape of a large tooth.' Although Forster does not specifically mention whale teeth, it is very likely that these 'teeth' had the shape of a whale tooth,

¹²⁶ According to Jacques Pelleau (personal communication via e-mail 11-09-2021) 'Kétou' probably stands for the Marquesan verb ketu which means to push/lever.

since several of these shell 'whale teeth' were collected on the voyage (fig. 7.25). Besides, they are also found archaeologically (Suggs 1961:136-7; fig. 7.26).

Missionary Crook (2007:70) made the following observations during his stay between 1797-1799: '... Whales are sometimes driven on the coast, & caught. Their teeth are esteemed so valuable, that they will part with any thing, in exchange for them. A shoal of Sperm Whales has been seen near the Islands ...'. This means that, although it did not happen often, Marquesans were familiar with whale teeth prior to the arrival of whaling and other trading ships. One such whaling ship was the *Leviathen* commanded by Clark which called at the Marquesas Islands in October 1805 and was met by Edward Robarts, who wrote the following about this encounter:

Capt Clark informd me he was in want of refreshment, wood & water. The teeth of sperm whales are of great value. They make ornaments of them ... He shewed me several. I told him I would procure a good stock of hogs for them. I chose out two for myself: the rest I reservd for trade. (Robarts 1974:143)

The fact that Robarts chose two whale teeth for his own future use and used the others for acquiring pigs, shows whale teeth being used as objects of value in exchange. This was also noted by supercargo Isaac Iselin (n.d.:39) of the *Maryland*, who stayed on the Marquesas, mainly on Tahuata, for three weeks in 1805: '... they will not part with them [pigs] except for whale teeth, of which we have none.' In 1813 Porter was also aware of the desirability of whale teeth:

The object of the greatest value at this as well as all the other islands of this group, is whales' teeth: this I had understood while I was on shore, and knowing that there were several of them on board the frigate, I determined if possible, to secure the whole of them at any price, as I had been informed that hogs, the only animal food on the island, could be procured for no other article. I succeeded in procuring nearly all on board, by paying for them at the rate of one dollar each; but few of them were of a sufficient size to make them of much value. ... No jewel, however valuable, is half so much esteemed in Europe or America, as is a whale's tooth here; ... Some idea may be formed of the value in which they are held by the natives, when it is known that a ship of three hundred tons burthen, may be loaded with sandal-wood at this island, and the only object of trade necessary to procure it, is ten whales' teeth of a large size. (1815:25)

Since Porter's ship was a navy ship, not a whaling ship, only a limited number of whale teeth were on board. His account supports the idea that whale teeth functioned as valuable exchange material. However, Porter also shows that not just any whale tooth sufficed, they needed to possess a certain quality and size. Whale teeth were also used as a diplomatic gift, as demonstrated in Porter's narrative:

... then invited him [Kiatonui] below, where nothing whatever excited his attention, until I showed him some whales' teeth. This roused the old man from his lethargy, and he would not be satisfied, until I had permitted him to handle, to measure, and count them over and over, which seemed to afford him infinite pleasure. After he had done this repeatedly, I put them away; and shortly afterwards asked him if he had seen any thing in the ship that pleased him; if he did to name it, and it should be his: he told me he had seen nothing which had pleased him so much as one of the small whales' teeth; which, on his describing, I took out and gave to him: this he carefully wrapped up in one of the turns of his clout; begging me not to inform any person that he had about him an article of so much value ... (Porter 1815:28)

Since Kiatonui was the main chief in Taiohae Bay, where Porter's ships were anchored, he was obviously an important person to befriend.

During his two-month stay on the Marquesas in 1817, De Roquefeuil learned the following about a Captain Rogers:

In 1810 he procured above 260 tons [of sandalwood] in exchange for goods, the primitive worth of which was about 1000 piastres, composed of hatchets and other utensils, and some whale's teeth which happened to be on board, one of which was then worth three or four tons. He ... returned for a second cargo ... This time he had ivory, which he fashioned on board into the form of whale's teeth, not having been able to procure them in sufficient quantities. This fraud produced him a large profit; but the natives soon discovered it, and cannot now be deceived by it ... Whale's teeth are not valued, unless they are of the enormous size of three fingers' breadth in diameter. The teeth of the black fish [pilot whale, orca and other dolphins] and seals are also of some value when they are strong and well sorted. (Roquefeuil 1823c:52-3)

Most likely this account was related to him by beachcomber Ross, who resided on the Marquesas at the time. The ivory mentioned was probably elephant ivory and not from another (sea) mammal, because Asian elephant ivory was readily available in China where traders sold their sandalwood. Although at first glance elephant ivory and ivory of sperm whale teeth may look very similar, if one is familiar with one of the materials, the differences between the types of ivory are relatively easy to discern. Whaling ships in the first half of the nineteenth century mainly hunted sperm whales, although other species of toothed whales would also have been caught, such as pilot and killer whales.

Graaner, who briefly visited Taiohae in 1819, gave a very precise account of the possible worth of a whale tooth on the Marquesas: 'The most highly prized adornment for the neck is a well-polished whale's tooth hung on a cord and the exchange price for such an ornament is usually a box of sandalwood worth \$4,500!' (Åkerrén 1983:48).

That the value of whale teeth for Marquesans changed over time, is described by ship Surgeon Bennett, who noted about his stay in 1835: 'In exchange for their

commodities, the people alone require and value muskets and ammunition, hardware, tobacco, and Sperm Whales' teeth; though the value of the last-named article of traffic has been much diminished by the increased number of South-Seamen visiting this island' (Bennett 1840:339). This is not to suggest that whale teeth were no longer traded with Marquesans, they probably still would have been. However, their relative worth had decreased, which may also mean that their role as a status symbol had diminished.

7.2.3 Field research 1897-1921

As discussed in sections 5.1.8 and 6.2.2, the first scientific fieldwork on the islands was undertaken at the end of the nineteenth century. Von den Steinen, one of the first fieldworkers, stayed on the Marquesas from August 1897 to February 1898 to obtain Marquesan objects for the ethnological museum in Berlin for which he also gathered information on their uses and meanings (see also 5.1.9). In his publications on Marquesan art he focuses on the representations of a specific type of composite ear ornament (see 7.3.3).

Adding to information regarding whales already mentioned by Crook, Von den Steinen provides further details: 'They [whale teeth] came from the most powerful living monster that the islanders knew and that they could not kill themselves, that is, stranded animals - hence "Hanapaáoa" on the north coast of Hiva Oa, the Whale Bay - or were acquired through barter' (Steinen 1928a:22). Even though whales, particularly sperm whales, must have been abundant, the stranding of a whale may not have occurred very often, which explains why whale teeth were considered so valuable.

Another piece of information Von den Steinen collected concerns the affixing of the whale tooth ear ornament to the ear:

To my surprise, when I was shown how the jewellery had been worn before, the thick thorn did not stick through the hole in the earlobe! Rather, the disc was placed in front of the ear so that the earlobe came to rest in the angle between its rear surface and the thorn; then the earlobe was sharply bent back and the vertical wooden stick, the latch, inserted from above and behind the ear hole, whereupon it immediately passed the hole in the thorn. To prevent the jewellery from falling off, the rod ends protruding from the top of the ear hole and below from the pin hole must be wrapped around the head and pin with figure eight times. With this type of attachment, the entire outer surface of the thorn decorated with a tiki, is in view, it is fixed inwards. (Steinen 1928a:24) (Author's translation)

This relatively complicated method of securing the ornament to the ear, is doable, but does not sound like the most comfortable way to wear this rather heavy object (see also fig. 7.27).

Von den Steinen was able to acquire four whale tooth ear ornaments during his stay: 'I was able to purchase two pairs of large earplugs on the islands. One, VI 15779 [(fig. 7.29)], from Hanaupe Hiv. [Hiva Oa], belonging to a woman Tetuaatuoho, came from her ancestor (tupuna kakiu) Mahuetee; I received the second pair, VI 15780 [(fig. 7.30)], in Hapatone, Tah. [Tahuata]' (Steinen 1928a:24). It is very unusual to know the name of a former owner/wearer of an ear ornament; so far, no others have been found.

The following remark makes it plausible that Von den Steinen was acquainted with Father Chaulet: 'To the venerable P. Chaulet, I owe the note that for the [turtle shell] earrings you could also help yourself with a strip of pigskin parched in the sunshine. Parchment earrings!' (Steinen 1928a:26). This suggests that it is something that Chaulet witnessed, as he lived on the Marquesas from 1858 to 1912. This would mean that the S-shaped ear ornaments would still have been worn until at least 1858.

The American Bayard Dominick expedition sent out research teams consisting of anthropologists and archaeologists in 1920-1921, including Handy and Linton. In 1923 Handy published a study on Marquesan culture, based on information from missionaries, foreign residents and Marquesan people. From Handy's findings the additional information regarding ear ornaments and the practices surrounding them is considered. On the rituals surrounding the piercing of the ears he writes:

When boys and girls were between the ages of six and ten years, their ears were pierced. Mr. Linton was told that the piercing of the ears of boys was done at the same time as the cutting of the foreskin. According to one informant, the rite was performed on many girls at a time in a sacred part of the dance area (probably at the same time that the rite was performed on the daughter of the tribal chief). It was necessary that the operation be performed on sacred ground because of the sacredness of blood. Another informant said that it was only when the ears of a chief's son or daughter were pierced that it was done on the tribal feast place. Other children were merely taken, without public ceremony, to some sacred place where the ears were pierced, after which there was a feast at the dwelling. ... Following the public piercing of the ears of a chief's child came the *ko'ina oka puaina* (ear piercing feast) consisting of a feast, the singing of a kind of song called *uta* ... and the dancing of the *haka pahaka* ...

The operation was performed by a *tuhuna* skilled in the practice. He used a carved piercer made of the bone of some ancestor [(see for examples fig. 7.28)], or of tortoiseshell ... On Ua Pou, the hands of the *tuhuna* who performed this operation were tapu for five or six days after the operation, during which time he lived at the expense of his employer. (Handy 1923:91)

This is the first comprehensive description about the piercing of ears in general, adding information to the short remark by Gracia eighty years earlier of a specific ear-

piercing ritual. Besides the specialist who performed the piercing of the ears, the actual ear ornaments were made by another specialist. Handy gives a list with specialisms, which include: '[TUHUNA] PU TAIANA. Maker of *pu taiana* ear ornaments' (Handy 1923:144). Handy also provides a detailed overview of types of ear ornaments and their wearers:

Large plaques of pearl-shell or of wood colored white with clay were sometimes worn in front of the ears, standing out at right angles to the head and held by a band that ran over the head. (1923:128)

Ear ornaments, the general name for which was *okaoka*, were worn by both men and women. The more valuable types (*hakakai*, *taiana*) were among the most coveted of possessions—they were family heirlooms.

The piercing of the lobe of the ear, an operation called *oka* or *tui i te puaina* ...

Both men and women wore *ha'akai* or *hakakai*, ear ornaments carved of whale's teeth ... The large end was worn in front of the ear. A band passing over the head held the *hakakai* in place.. The ear ornaments were sometimes made of wood in imitation of the genuine type. The enormous plaques of wood whitened with clay worn on either side of the cheek, described by early visitors, would appear to be exaggerated examples of these imitations. Variant forms of the *hakakai* were the great pearl shell plaques worn before the ear ..., and what Krusenstern ... describes as "large shells filled with some hard substance to which a perforated boar's tooth was fixed."

Small ornaments (*taiana*, *taiata*, *pu taiana*) were carved out of leg or arm bones of ancestors ... These were worn exclusively by women and girls, and were inherited in the female line.

Another woman's ornament was the *omuo* or *komuo*, carved of hog's tusks. The button (*puiiu*) which held the ornament in place, consisted of the operculum of a shell fish and was worn in front of the ear. What is apparently a simple form of this is pictured by Caillot ... Small rolls of white cloth called *koufau* were frequently worn in the holes in the ear lobes [*sic*] when ornaments were not being worn, in order to keep the hole distended. No evidence was found of exaggerated enlargement of the lobe. *Tape'a puaina*, *tuha maka*, *tohemaka uuhe*, *pohei*, and *tumau puaiika* are additional terms for ear ornaments given by Dordillon ... Descriptive translations are not given for these but it is probable that they are variant terms for the types described above. Other terms are *haruai* and *euhe*. (1923:286, 289)

Handy mentions several interesting new pieces of information. For example, he notes that certain ear ornaments were considered to be family heirlooms and that a particular group were only worn by women and were handed down the female line. However, some of Handy's remarks raise questions. For example, what are the pearl shell plaques that were worn before the ear? It seems strange to use this reference for the composite shell ear ornaments, which are generally about 2.5cm to 3.5cm in diameter. No other known ear ornament seems to fit this description. It is also

peculiar that Handy supposes the large wooden ear ornaments to be imitations of the large whale tooth ones, whereas it is likely that their development was actually the other way around or, at least, that one is not a substitute for the other but more an addition. Handy also mentions that *okaoka* is the general term for ear ornaments. It is unclear what he bases this on, since Dordillon's dictionary mentions that *okaoka* are ear ornaments (Dordillon 1931:288). Interestingly the word *okaoka* also features in Crook *et al.* (1998:38), referring to: 'to pick, to introduce an instrument into a hole, also used obscenely.' Von den Steinen refers to *okaoka* as the name of a specific type of ear ornament (see 7.3.7). The additional names of ear ornaments Handy lists, for which no examples are known, are not very helpful. Handy must have used the 1904 edition of Dordillon's dictionary, as other ear ornament terms feature in the 1931 edition, which was available for this research project. These provide no specific details either to tie them to particular types of ornaments. The example in Caillot's publication Handy refers to, will be discussed in 7.3.7.

In his publication on Marquesan material culture Linton distinguishes ear ornaments worn by women and men. Regarding the S-shaped ear ornaments used by women he (1923:430) observes that the 'narrow strip of tortoise shell ... was softened by heat and bent into shape.' He also describes how they were worn: 'The long projecting end of the strip was thrust through the lobe of the ear, the body of the ornament hanging below with the toothed portion to the rear' (Linton 1923:430). He also describes another type of women's ear ornament:

The *taiana* is made of two pieces, a cap and a body. The cap, called *puiu*, is made from some white shell, probably *Tridacna*, and has on the inner side a cylindrical cavity about one-fourth of an inch deep. The sides of this cavity are lined with a thin layer of pith or soft wood. The body consists of a thin strip of human bone whose inner end is finished with a short cylindrical shank cut to accurately fit the cavity ... The rest of the body is decorated with highly conventionalized human figures. ... Ornaments of this sort were worn with carved portion projecting horizontally behind the ear, the cap ... resting against the front of the ear lobe.

The bone of which they were made is said to have been obtained from dead relatives ...

According to an informant in Fatu Hiva women sometimes wore ornaments similar to the *taiana*, but made from a boar's tusk instead of human bone. (Linton 1923:430)

The above is a precise description of a different type of composite ear ornament not mentioned earlier.

According to Linton whale tooth ear ornaments were the most important type worn by men, which is interesting as Handy notes above that they were worn by both

sexes. Linton describes a few interesting details for them such as the side of the undecorated oval disc having 'two broad shallow grooves around the edge' and that although these were generally made from one piece of whale tooth, sometimes 'the spur is made from a separate piece of ivory' which is 'held in place by small plugs of wood and ivory which pass through holes drilled diagonally through both disc and spur' (Linton 1923:431). Because of the smooth finishing of the ends of these plugs Linton (1923:431) concludes that this fixation is meant to be permanent. He also refers to other types of male ear ornaments, the wooden ones and the earlier described shell composite type, but only by quoting earlier visitors to the Marquesas.

Linton (1923:432) recognises that there were ear ornaments worn by women and men, such as those for keeping 'open freshly perforated holes in the ears' and what he calls 'intermediate' ear ornaments placed in between '*taiana* and *haakai* types.' From the examples in museum collections that he refers to, he seems to describe several ear ornaments that could be considered to be the earlier shell composite ones, but without him realising this. Linton was also of the opinion that 'Marquesan [ear] ornaments made of bone, shell and ivory are ... a local development' and considers 'The peculiar practice of placing the most highly decorated part ... behind the ear' as 'almost unique' (Linton 1923:432).

7.2.4 Résumé

Several developments in decorating the ears can be discerned from the historical accounts. The earliest accounts date from 1774 and relate to the large lightweight wooden ear ornaments made of a flat piece of whitewashed wood with two spurs at the back. They are repeatedly recorded by visitors throughout the period considered. There seems to be a general agreement that they were worn by men of a chiefly rank and probably not on a daily basis. Only the later field researchers consider these to be substitutes for whale tooth ear ornaments. In 1799 Crook *et al.* (1998:29) are the first to provide a Marquesan name for this type of ear ornament, '*kofáou*', and in the 1840s De Ginoux de la Coche (2001:82) names them '*Kouhaou*', resembling the spelling of *kouhau* which is currently used.

Composite shell ear ornaments are first mentioned in the accounts of missionary Crook relating to the period 1797-1799 but must already have been in use in 1774 (see 7.3.1). Over time the spur came to be made of other materials such as boar tusks and whale ivory. The spur also progressively became decorated with one or more figures of which the one in Porter (fig. 7.16) is the first-known depicted, as was also noted by Von den Steinen (1928a:137). Closest to the present-day name of *pūtaiana* used for this type of ear ornament is the name '*Putayāta*' noted by naturalist Tilesius in 1804 (in Govor *et al.* 2019:133) and later De Ginoux de la Coche (2001:175) uses the name '*Poutaūana-Kétou*'. With the name '*hekkaki*' Crook *et al.* (1998:22) refer to both ear ornaments made with shell and with ivory in 1799, which is closer to the

present-day term (haakai) for the next category of ear ornaments generally made of whale tooth, and therefore raises the question whether terminology has changed over (a short) time or if there are different perspectives on the name.

The ear ornament completely made from a (large) tooth of a sperm whale was already observed by Crook during his stay between 1797-1799. From the earliest accounts it can be deduced that this type of ear ornament was worn by both sexes during feasts (koina) (see 2.1). It is only Linton who specifically mentions that this was an ornament exclusively worn by men. These days such ear ornaments are referred to as haakai which is quite close to the name Crook *et al.* provide in 1799. During the 1840s De Ginoux de la Coche (2001:174-5) notes the name 'Hakaé' for this type.

The final main type mentioned by Crook between 1797-1799 is the S-shaped ornament made of a strip of predominantly turtle shell adorned with dolphin teeth and later also with glass beads, which was uniquely worn by women. Crook *et al.* (1998:38) provide the name 'ouhwe' for this type of ear ornament and in Dordillon's dictionary (1931:432) the name 'uuhe' is given. At present the common name for this type is uuhei.

In the earliest recordings regarding the adornment of the ears in 1774, both men and women were observed having pierced earlobes, but hardly anyone was seen wearing ear ornaments. Although not all accounts agree on this, possibly due to the particular timing of a specific visit, until the 1840s the predominant opinion was that women normally did not wear anything in their ears, apart from sometimes a flower or an object acquired from a visitor. Men seem to have been wearing ear ornaments more regularly much earlier, although it remains unclear if this was the case for men in general or just for men of some rank. However, the fact that pierced earlobes were prevalent, suggests that wearing ear ornaments must already have been a common practice in 1774, but likely reserved for special occasions.

7.3 EAR ORNAMENTS

The ear ornaments described in the previous section are also the four main types distinguished within wider literature on Marquesan material culture (see e.g. Panoff 1995:50, 51, 110, 11; Kjellgren 2005a:53; Ivory & Kjellgren 2005:74-5; Ivory 2005c/d:76-80; Hooper 2006:159; Meyer 2008c/d:76-85; Hiura 2008; Mu-Liepmann 2016b:205-7; Hiquily & Vieille-Ramseyer 2017:210-13; Vieille-Ramseyer 2017a/c:166-69, 179-80). This section will examine the collecting of ear ornaments and the object study, in which pūtaiana and haakai in particular will be discussed.

7.3.1 Collecting ear ornaments

The relatively small sizes of ear ornaments and their adornments has made them interesting objects to collect, certainly the larger and more ornamented ones. They

appear in museum and private collections and are regularly offered for sale in galleries and auctions of Oceanic art. However, relatively few have information about when and where they were collected in the Marquesas Islands and by whom. Below an overview is provided of the ear ornaments that have a known collection date in the Marquesas or have a museum accession date prior to 1850.

The first known collected ear ornament is in the PRM which was collected during Cook's visit to Tahuata in 1774 (see 5.1.1).¹²⁷ It is a composite ear ornament with a shell front and a wooden spur at the back (fig. 7.31). Also related to this visit are the oldest depicted ear ornaments, large wooden ones, worn by Chief Honu (fig. 2.12). Several members of the Krusenstern expedition collected ear ornaments on Nuku Hiva in May 1804 and 21 of these can be located today. They include fifteen composite ear ornaments, consisting of a shell front and spurs of various materials (bird's beak, bone and whale ivory), some of which are incomplete, four large wooden ear ornaments and two small ones made completely of whale ivory. These can be located in museums in Russia, Estonia, Switzerland and Germany (see 5.1.2; Govor *et al.* 2019:133-140; figs. 7.32/7.33). The PEM in Salem (USA) holds two pairs of ear ornaments probably collected on the Marquesas by Page in 1815 which he donated to the East India Marine Society in 1817 (see 5.1.3; Dodge 1939:13-14; Hellmich 1996:69-72; Ivory 1990:160). Both pairs, haakai and uuhei, are the oldest of their type known to be collected. The Musée de Boulogne sur Mer (MBSM, France) holds a pair of composite shell ear ornaments with bone spurs (fig. 7.34) donated by artist Alexandre Isidore Leroy de Barde in 1825. De Barde lived in London from 1792 to ca. 1814 and made drawings of natural history specimens in the Leverian Museum (Boulay 1990:29-30; Kaeppler 2011:31). It is likely that he acquired these objects in London. From the Dutch voyage of 1825 four pairs of ear ornaments can be identified: two pairs each in the MV in Leiden and the TM in Amsterdam (see 5.1.4 & 7.1; figs. 7.1a/b, 7.3, 7.4a/b, 7.7).

Between 1834-1841 LMS missionaries collected ear ornaments on Tahuata and possibly also on Nuku Hiva, of which eleven, seven made of whale tooth and four (parts of) composite ear ornaments, can be located in museums in Canada and the United Kingdom (see 5.1.5; fig. 7.35). Swiss collector Favarger donated four composite shell ear ornaments to the MEN in Neuchâtel (Switzerland) in 1841. He probably collected his objects in Valparaiso (see 5.1.6; Mémoires 1846:7; MEN-Archives). The New Bedford Whaling Museum (NBWM, USA) acquired the collections of the Kendall Whaling Museum in 2001. In 1997 the latter had bought a large whale tooth ear ornament from the Hurst Gallery in Cambridge (MA, USA), ascribed to have been

¹²⁷ I am grateful to Jeremy Coote for bringing this object to my attention. Mu-Liepmann (2016a:210) mentions a pair of pūtaiana in the collection of the MQB (ObjectID 71.1887.31.38.1/2; see fig. 7.69) which used to be part of the collection of Prince Roland Bonaparte and was supposedly collected during Cook's visit in 1774. However, this claim is not substantiated and because of their ornamented spurs they seem unlikely to have been made prior to the nineteenth century.

collected by Dumont d'Urville in 1838.¹²⁸ In 1842 the BM received a donation of a pair of composite ear ornaments (ObjectID Oc1842,1210.123.a-b) from naval officer Edward Belcher, who visited Nuku Hiva for ten days in January 1840 (Belcher 1843:351-363; McKinney 2012:43-45,154; fig. 7.36). From 1842 onwards French administrators and officers also collected Marquesan objects when stationed on the islands. Two of them were Collet and Rohr who both acquired ear ornaments (see 5.1.7; fig. 7.37). Collet acquired four kouhau between 1842 and 1843 and Rohr acquired two kouhau as well and four shell and two whale tooth ornaments between 1842-1844.¹²⁹ In 1923 the CUMAA acquired two ear ornaments completely made from shell through Louis Colville Gray Clarke, which were acquired by Baron Anatole von Hügel at the Steven's Sale and had reportedly been collected by a French missionary on the Marquesas in 1845 (CUMAA-database; figs. 7.38a/c). These are among the first of this type to have been collected, together with the one collected by De Ginoux de la Coche (2001:175) between 1843-1848 and also possibly the four collected by Rohr. The MHNL holds a collection donated to the city of Lille by Alphonse Moillet in 1850, which contains three composite shell and two large whale tooth ear ornaments, although it is not known when and where they were collected on the Marquesas.

7.3.2 Object study

The emphasis in this object study is on ear ornaments made with whale ivory and/or shell; other types have only been studied when present in collections visited. As part of this research, 24 museums in the Netherlands, United Kingdom, USA, France Switzerland, Belgium, Germany and French Polynesia have been visited. In a few instances some of these objects were on display, in which case as detailed as possible an examination was made considering the restrictions. In total 196 ear ornaments and parts of them were investigated in detail and 68 others or parts of them from outside the display case (see Appendix H). Furthermore, analysis took place of ear ornaments in online museum and auction databases, literature and gallery visits (mainly during the yearly *Parcours des Mondes* in Paris and *The European Fine Art Fair* (TEFAF) in Maastricht). It has emerged that a large number are to be found in various collections around the world, which makes it necessary to concentrate on particular details, such as a specific variance or provenance.

For the detailed object research, a form was compiled to methodically register both general measurements and more detailed descriptions. The latter relates to the figure(s) on the ear ornaments when present. In addition, overview and detailed photos were made of the objects and their weights were recorded. Registration information

¹²⁸ The object was offered via Bonham's (auction 23-06-1992, lot 206) but was unsold, and after some subsequent sales, acquired by the Hurst Gallery in 1996 (NBWM-Archives).

¹²⁹ As it was not possible to visit this museum and, apart from the kouhau, no images of the ear ornaments are available, it is unfortunately not possible to provide more specifics.

was also examined, particularly regarding the provenance of the objects. Those objects which could only be studied from literature, brief gallery visits and online databases, have been assessed with more caution.

It was very useful to note that several collections contain parts of ear ornaments, slightly damaged ones or, for the composite ones, no longer completely assembled objects. Although perhaps less interesting for public display, from a research point of view they are quite helpful, since these objects provide a better insight into how they were made.

7.3.3 Framing the research

Although ear ornaments feature in several publications, not much in-depth research has been done into them. When they have been studied more extensively, the emphasis has been predominantly on the meaning of the figures and the narrative they provide (e.g. Steinen 1928a:136-148; Gell 1998:211-214; Hiura 2008). Von den Steinen (1928a:136-48) was particularly interested in composite shell ear ornaments with ornamented spurs. Those spurs, decorated with three or more figures, he groups into two categories:

- Indifferente Kameraden [Indifferent comrades]: The figures are situated next to/behind each other, but do not seem to interact.
- Tiki mit Beziehungen untereinander [Tiki having relationships with each other]: The figures interact with each other.

Of the second group he distinguishes four different variants:

- I. Umarmung [Embrace]: Two figures holding hands (fig. 7.50).
- II. Zungenkuss [French kiss]: Two figures kissing with tongue contact.
- III. Niederkunft [Childbirth]: A figure giving birth surrounded by helpers (figs. 7.49a/b).
- IV. Die Mädchenschaukel [Girls swing]: Two figures holding a 'swing' between them with a number of heads on top and/or below (figs. 7.33, 7.48).

According to Von den Steinen variant III was only worn by women. Of variant IV he recognises several subvariants which all relate to stages in a saga on Akau and the daughters of Pahuatiti (Steinen 1928a:140-8). This is just a brief overview of his iconographic typology of composite shell ear ornaments, as this topic, which is extensively discussed by Von den Steinen, is outside the scope of this research.

The objective of my object study is to examine ear ornaments from a construction point of view and what can be inferred from this. Von den Steinen focuses on this topic in his study on Marquesan art by paying attention to the different shapes and types of ear ornaments (Steinen 1928a:23-6, 136-7, 260-2). Regarding their construction Von den Steinen (1928a:260-2) recognises two main types of ear ornaments:

- A. Zusammengesetzt [Composite]
- B. Einfach [Simple]

In group A he places the ones with (relatively) plain spurs, mentioning several which were collected by the Krusenstern expedition in 1804, as well as newer ones in which he includes the ones with ornamented spurs discussed above. Of the latter he notes that most of these ear ornaments have solid caps. Group B covers ear ornaments made out of one piece of material, in order of what he considers their importance: whale tooth, boar tusk/tooth, shell and wood. The last he describes as being a substitute for other materials. Von den Steinen divides B in two subgroups:

- 1. Kleine Pflöcke [Small knobs] or okaoka, made of whale teeth or shell, having a similarly shaped knob at the front as group A.
- 2. Große Diskuspflöcke [Large disc knobs] made out of a whale tooth.

Von den Steinen seems less interested in category B2, as he thinks these are far less decorative as they generally only have one figure on the side.

In addition to Von den Steinen's elaborate study, insights from other researchers, such as Linton (1923), Handy (1923), Ivory (1990), Ivory & Kjellgren (2005), Ivory (2005c/d), Hooper (2006) and Thomas (2019b), have added useful viewpoints for the analysis of haakai and pūtaiana in this research.

7.3.4 Composite ear ornaments - pūtaiana

As explained earlier, composite ear ornaments consist of a shell cap which was worn in front of the ear with a spur attached at the back, which was inserted through a hole in the earlobe. In closely studying these ear ornaments and their associated parts, some differences can be discerned, for example, regarding their outward appearance, the materials they are made from, and the way in which they are attached to the ear. So, within pūtaiana a number of varieties can be distinguished from which a typology has been developed. The first defining factor is the cap type and the second, the shape and ornamentation of the spur (see Table 7.1).

Starting with the caps: although all are made of shell, different types of shell have been used. Cap type 1 is hollow and made of the posterior end of a cone shell. The cap front is slightly convex following the shape of the cone, on the side of which two shallow grooves have been carved, and the outside of the cap is smoothly polished (figs. 7.39a/b). The caps differ in size, from 1.5cm to 4.4cm in diameter and 1.2cm to 2.2cm in depth. The caps of a pair of unusually large pūtaiana acquired by Tilesius in 1804 are 6.3cm in diameter and ca. 2.3cm in depth (see Govor *et al.* 2019:133, 135). Inside, the caps are hollow and filled with a substance to hold the spur securely (figs. 7.39c & 7.40a/b). During the research visit to the MFK, restorer Carolin Binnerger studied some fillings under a microscope concluding that the filling material has a wood structure covered with a thin layer of resin mixed with sawdust to provide a

smooth finish, thus confirming Bennett's observation from 1840, apart from determining their origin as breadfruit (see 7.2.1). The spurs would probably have been inserted when the wood filling was still fresh. After drying, perhaps also with the aid of resin, the spur was fastened inside the cap. Occasionally a spur needed some extra support: with some ear ornaments a small pin is inserted transversely through the cap's side (see fig. 7.34).

The spurs of cap type 1 pūtaiana can be made of different materials. The earliest one, collected in 1774, has a spur made of wood (fig. 7.31). A similar ear ornament with a wooden spur but without an acquisition date is in the BM collection (fig. 7.41). In both cases the spur and the cap filling are made out of one piece of wood. The ear ornaments collected in 1804 contained spurs made of four different materials: bone, bird's beak, boar tusk and whale ivory. These spurs are plain or only decorated with a small notch (see figs. 7.32/7.33). The spurs of the cap type 1 pūtaiana collected later seem to have been made from either boar tusks or whale ivory, the former being the most common (see for example figs. 7.1, 7.4 & 7.37). These spurs are generally ornamented with two figures; one at the tip and one halfway (see 7.3.8.). The length of the protruding part of spurs of pūtaiana type 1 varies from ca. 3.4cm to 5.8cm.

The cap type 2 is solid and carved from a thick piece of shell material, such as the lip of a helmet shell. The front cap centre is often slightly pointed; there are also two shallow grooves on its side and the exterior is smoothly polished (figs. 7.42/7.43). From front to back the cap is (strongly) tapered. In comparison with type 1, type 2 tends to have a relatively small diameter, 1.3cm to 2cm, but a relatively greater depth, 1.1cm to 2.2cm. A hole is carved at the back of the cap to hold the spur. Depending on the spur type these holes differ in size. The holes are occasionally filled with resin and/or a thin strip of wood to fasten the spur. Sometimes a spur had extra support, by a small pin inserted transversely through the cap's side (fig. 7.44). However, with this cap type not all spurs, especially relatively flat ones, are permanently attached to the front. The spurs of pūtaiana type 2 are either roundish and made of boar tusk, whale tooth ornamented with two or three figures, or flat and made of whale ivory or (human) bone¹³⁰ with at least three or four figures, sometimes more (figs. 7.45, 7.48, 7.49). The MQB collection holds an unfinished flat whale tooth spur, which shows a stage in the making process (fig. 7.46). The protruding parts of spurs of pūtaiana type 2 ornaments measure ca. 2.7cm to 4.2cm in length.

With both cap types the overall colour of the material is white, although sometimes some brownish spots are noticeable, which is a feature of the shell

¹³⁰ Among others Linton (see 7.2.3) states that the bone used is human bone from ancestors. However, many museum databases do not specify what kind of bone the ear ornament is composed of and this author is unable to identify human bone from other types of animal bone, which is why the general denominator, bone, is used.

material. Pūtaiana type 1 are the oldest type of composite ear ornaments to be collected. Of the pūtaiana type 2 within the corpus studied the earliest dated one with a roundish spur was donated to the MEN by Favarger in 1841 (fig. 7.47) and the earliest ones with a flat spur were collected by Voy on the Marquesas in 1874, which are in the PM (fig. 7.49a/b).

Pūtaiana type 1 were worn with the spur inserted through a hole in the earlobe. According to several observers this hole was between 7mm to 9mm wide, although these needed to be slightly bigger for some ear ornaments. In the spur a vertical hole, ca. 3mm to 4mm in diameter, has been made about 5mm to 15mm from the back of the cap. When the spur is inserted through the ear, a wooden pin is pushed through the vertical hole at the back to attach the ornament to the ear. Some of the pūtaiana type 2 ear ornaments were worn in a similar way. However, there are also spurs of this type without a vertical hole (compare figs. 7.47/7.48). The ornaments with the relatively flat spurs seem to have been worn by persons with smaller holes in the ears. The reason for this supposition is that the part of these spurs which is inserted in the cap is only ca. 4mm to 5mm wide and the caps of these ear ornaments tend to be relatively easy to remove.

PŪTAIANA		shell cap	spur	earliest-known example
type	subtype			
1	a	hollow	plainish wood, bone, boar tusk, whale tooth (or bird's beak) ¹³¹	Collected in 1774 by the Forsters (fig. 7.31)
1	b	hollow	ornamented boar tusk or whale tooth	Depicted in Porter (1815; fig. 5.47); collected in 1825 by the Dutch (figs. 7.1a/b, 7.4a/b)
2	a	solid	roundish ornamented boar tusk or whale tooth	Donated in 1841 by Favarger (figs. 7.47a/c)
2	b	solid	flat ornamented whale tooth or (human) bone	Collected in 1874 by C.D. Voy (figs. 7.49a/b)
3		made out of one piece of solid shell		Collected in 1792/1793 by Hewett (plain; figs. 7.50a/b) / Collected in 1845 by French missionaries (decorated; figs. 7.38a/c) ¹³²

Table 7.1 Types of (composite) shell ear ornaments - pūtaiana and the earliest known depicted, collected or donated examples in the corpus

¹³¹ Only in the collection of Kunstkamera in St. Petersburg (Russia) are examples of pūtaiana with bird's beak spurs, which institution has not been visited as part of this study.

¹³² Possibly Ginoux collected a pair of pūtaiana type 3 earlier (see 7.2.1), as he visited the Marquesas several times between 1843 and 1848. One of these pūtaiana can be identified in the collection of the MEM (ObjectID 2009.0.511; information provided by director-curator Théano Jaillet via e-mail 22-09-2021).

7.3.5 Shell ear ornaments - pūtaiana

One more type of ear ornament usually referred to as pūtaiana, is not a composite ear ornament, but one completely made from one solid piece of shell, probably the same shell as used for a type 2 cap. In shape they resemble some of the pūtaiana type 2 with a roundish spur and they are generally decorated with two or three figures (figs. 7.50a/b), although there is also an example with a plain spur in the BM collection, which is described by McKinney (2012:135) as being an ear piercer. However, as also Govor *et al.* (2019:134) mention, this is most likely an ear ornament (fig. 7.51). These solid shell ear ornaments, pūtaiana type 3 (see Table 7.1), are relatively small, with a front of 1.2cm to 1.9cm in diameter and a total length of 3.8cm to 5cm.

7.3.6 Large ear ornaments made of whale tooth - haakai

Large ear ornaments made from whale tooth are usually referred to as haakai. The front of the ornament consists of an oval-shaped disc which may be slightly convex and the side of the disc has two carved shallow grooves, but apart from this, it follows the outline of the whale tooth (fig. 7.52). The front of the disc sometimes shows the end of the tooth's root canal, which is occasionally filled in (fig. 7.53). Overall, the surfaces of haakai are smoothly polished. The spur is either positioned in the middle or, especially with the largest haakai, just off centre at the bottom part at the back of the disc, either to the left or right, depending on the ear it was meant for. The spurs of the majority of the haakai have one figure on its side. There are a few which are more ornamented, while others do not have any embellishment (figs. 7.54/7.57).

Most haakai are made in one piece. However, ca. 20% of the corpus of haakai consist of two parts, with the spur inserted as a separate element in the oval-shaped disc. In these cases, the spur is often attached by a small pin transversely inserted through the side of the disc (figs. 7.57a,c). Apart from this, composite and single haakai tend to be similar in shape and size, with a few exceptions, such as one example in the MEN collection which has an odd separate pin, probably made because the original pin had broken off (figs. 7.58a/b). Another unusual composite haakai is in the PM (figs. 7.59a/b) with at least the disc made from elephant ivory. The Bristol Museum & Art Gallery holds a pair of composite haakai, made completely from elephant ivory, which were donated by whaleship owner Benjamin Rotch between 1824 and 1831, possibly collected between 1800-1815 (figs. 7.60a/b).¹³³ The collection of the MKB contains several ear ornaments from archaeological settings and among these are the remnants of a haakai made from elephant ivory (compare figs. 7.61a/b).

In order to affix the ornament to the ear, the spur has a vertical hole (4/5mm across) at a distance of between 5mm to 15mm from the disc, through which a fastening pin is inserted. Haakai differ considerably in size and weight. Of about 50

¹³³ The existence of these haakai was related by Postgraduate researcher Rachael Utting, who provided the information (personal communication via e-mail 21-05-2021, 06-07-2021).

complete haakai measured, the height varies between 1.9cm to 8.1cm and the total length between 4cm to 9.6cm. The smallest haakai weighs 9.9 grams, the heaviest 209.4 grams. The figures on the haakai tend to be relatively small, so despite the thickness of the spur, insertion through a relatively large hole in the earlobe is feasible and as for their weight: as described by Handy (see 7.2.3) a band over the head was used to support their weight.

7.3.7 Small ear ornaments made of whale ivory - okaoka and others

Besides haakai, several other ear ornaments are made solely from whale ivory. Some may have been meant as haakai but have a relatively small and odd shape or are damaged because they have been buried or placed in a cave for a considerable period of time so the original shape is difficult to discern. In other cases, it seems to concern a different type of ear ornament altogether. Three main types are distinguishable, all made from a single piece of whale ivory. Only a few examples of each of these types have been accounted for so far.

The first type is described by Von den Steinen (1928a:261) as a okaoka (see 7.2.3 for this term), who collected five examples on Tahuata and Hiva Oa. It has a small round disc, slightly convex at the front with two shallow grooves on its side. The spur is slightly round and tapers towards the end (fig. 7.62). MQB has five examples of this ear ornament and another two were observed in the He'e Tai Inn Museum (HTIM) in Taiohae in November 2015, while others from archaeological contexts, some with a slightly slanted pin, can be found in MKB and BLM (fig. 7.63). The ornament to which Handy refers in Caillot's publication, although difficult to tell from the black-and-white photo, seems to be an okaoka combined with a simple ivi poo (Caillot 1909:Plate LXVII; fig. 7.64). The measurements of the ones in MQB are as follows: total length 3.5cm to 4cm with disc diameters of 1.2cm to 1.4cm.

Two examples of another type of ear ornament were observed in the HTIM, so far not seen elsewhere. Basically it is the same as the okaoka, but with a longer, thinner, slightly curved spur (fig. 7.65). Including these as a particular type of ear ornament is prompted by the appearance of another similar ear ornament on a portrait of a Marquesan (fig. 7.66).

The third small type of ear ornament made from whale ivory has the same outward appearance as a pūtaiana type 1, apart from it being made from one piece of whale ivory. A pair of these were on display in the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles–Te Fare Manaha (MTI) in December 2015 (figs. 7.67a/b). Another pair is in the MOA collection, which came with a handwritten card by Stallworthy naming them 'Hakakai' [haakai], although they look more like pūtaiana than haakai (fig. 7.35, top left).

To conclude this section, the BM collection contains one single ear ornament which is very similar to a pūtaiana type 3 one, but smaller in size and made from

whale ivory (fig. 7.68). To have just one example does not justify calling it another type, but there may be more examples which are still unidentified.

7.3.8 Decorations on ear ornaments

Interestingly most of the previous research into ear ornaments focuses on the figures with which most spurs are ornamented and were worn at the back, and not on the shell caps or ivory discs which show in front of the earlobe. So the latter were the most prominent visual parts of the ornaments when worn. A common element on both disc and cap is the two shallow grooves present around the sides which were also described by Linton (see 7.2.3). They resemble the two grooves often found on simple *ivi poo* (fig. 7.64). Von den Steinen (1928a:260-1) is of the opinion that the grooves are a natural phenomenon of the shell used for the hollow shell cap and that these are imitated in solid shell caps. However, the exterior of the shells used, *Conus marmoreus suffusus*, is smooth. The reason for the recurrent application of these grooves or an explanation for their meaning have not been found, but this modification must have been considered important as it involves extra work and patience to achieve this result.

Apart from the earliest pūtaiana type 1 and some haakai, most spurs are decorated, mainly with anthropomorphic figures or sometimes only their heads, although iconographic motifs and some zoomorphic figures, such as lizards and turtles, also occur. Spurs with single figures tend to have an anthropomorphic figure either on the outward facing side or on the tip and those with two figures generally have one each at the outward side and the tip. Spurs having more than two figures usually have a sequence of connected figures and parts of figures on the outward facing side, which is the common type of ornamentation on the flat spurs of pūtaiana type 2b. However, of both haakai and pūtaiana type 1b there are a few examples with a more elaborate ornamentation consisting of three or more figures, composed of anthropomorphic figures, figureheads and/or iconographic motifs, but these tend to be unconnected. Most single anthropomorphic figures have a squatting posture with their hands on their bellies, although some have one hand towards the chin, both arms raised or even a whole figure turned backwards. There is large variation in figures, from protruding out of the spur to being part of the spur as a bas-relief, especially those on the side of the spur. Within the single anthropomorphic figures there is a broad range in their outward appearance, from having elongated to roundish heads and from being quite detailed to undefined. In a number of cases this is due to wear which has smoothed the surface. Sometimes parts of figures on tips are missing, especially their heads. Of those ear ornaments originating from archaeological contexts, the surface has eroded and their colour degraded into a brownish grey (figs. 7.73a/b). Most finely carved figures are found on pūtaiana type 1b, although some on haakai are also very detailed (compare figs. 7.69, 7.72 & 7.70, 7.71). The figures on

pūtaiana type 2b, especially on those spurs made of bone, tend to be rather angularly carved and less smoothly finished (compare for example figs. 7.45 & 7.74).

So how is a spur made from a boar tusk decorated? Spurs tend to be slightly curved towards the head of a wearer, so a spur of a left ear ornament is curved slightly to the left, a right spur slightly to the right. Boar tusk spurs use the natural curve of the tusk. A cross-section of a boar tusk has the shape of an isosceles triangle. When the spur has a figure at the tip it often has a slightly distorted appearance, due to the relatively small width of the tusk. The legs are sometimes not or not fully completed due to insufficient material at that part of the tusk (figs. 7.75a/f). Often part of the tusk's outer layer shows in some places on the spur.

Although the corpus of this study comprises 264 (parts of) ear ornaments, only those belonging to specific types could possibly be further analysed in order to group them into different Marquesan art styles and/or (groups of) makers. These types are haakai and pūtaiana types 2a and 2b, as these have ornamental details on the spurs which could be compared. However, this stylistic analysis has not been attempted here for reasons of space and because there is only a limited number in the corpus. With a larger group of a specific object type, such an analysis could very well lead to the identification of distinctive groups.

7.3.9 Conclusion

Most early visitors and researchers agree that the large wooden ear ornaments known as kouhau were worn by men and the turtle shell ones known as uuhei (fig. 7.76) by women exclusively. However, this unanimity is somewhat lacking with respect to those made of shell and whale tooth. As part of this research, a corpus of 264 (parts of) ear ornaments mainly made of shell, whale ivory and boar tusk was studied in detail and combined with historical evidence. This led to a number of findings. Firstly, most large (whale) ivory ear ornaments or haakai show few signs of wear, which indicates that they were not used intensively, if at all. This corresponds with the observations described in section 7.2 about them being only worn on special occasions. It remains possible that some examples were created to supply a demand for carvings by foreign visitors. Generally, they are made out of one whale tooth, although in some cases the disc and spur are separate pieces. Of the latter, a few are made of elephant ivory. These large (whale) ivory ear ornaments correspond with Von den Steinen's category B2 (1928a:261-2).

In the literature there are different approaches to the classification of composite ear ornaments with shell caps. Von den Steinen categorises them all as one group (A), whereas Linton (1923:430) and Handy (1923:286) divide them into two different types: haakai - those with filled-in caps - and (pū)taiana - those with solid shell caps. Although some scholars have followed the latter categorisation (Ivory & Kjellgren 2005:74-5; Ivory 2005c:76-9), Von den Steinen's grouping is applied more

often (see for example Meyer 2008b:76-83; Mu-Liepmann 2016b:205-7; Hiquily & Vieille-Ramseyer 2017:210-3; Vieille-Ramseyer 2017a/c:166-9, 179-80) and has also been employed and further expanded in this study.

When studying the composite shell ear ornaments (*pūtaiana*), it was noted that the different observations in the historical sources may in part be due to the wide range of types in the corpus. Accordingly, as a frame of reference a typology has been developed to address this variety. Collection data have been added to put these types into a historical context. The increasing availability of collection data, including those of the Dutch in this study, has made this possible and as such builds upon earlier research in this respect by Ivory (1990:158-9, 228) and others.

In the proposed framework, two main types are distinguished, each having two subtypes (see Table 7.1). *Pūtaiana* type 1 have a hollow cone shell cap filled with a wood substance. The early examples, *pūtaiana* type 1a, have a spur made of various materials with hardly any decoration. The ornamentation of spurs on *pūtaiana* type 1b seems to have been a development starting around 1800, as was also suggested by Ivory (1990:240) and Thomas (2019b:106-7). The image in Porter's travelogue suggests this may have been well-established by 1813 and the earliest ones with ornamented spurs still to be found in a museum collection are those collected by the Dutch in 1825. *Pūtaiana* type 2 have a solid shell cap, the first example of this type in a museum collection was donated by Favarger in 1841 and has the roundish type 2a spur. This type 2a may well be a transitional variety between types 1b and 2b. The earliest flat spur belonging to a *pūtaiana* type 2b seems to be one collected by Voy in 1874. Initially *pūtaiana* appear to have been solely worn by men, but from the 1840s female wearers were being observed. The hypothesis of this study is that this broadening of gender-defined use coincides with the development of *pūtaiana* type 2.

Following others (e.g. Hiquily & Vieille-Ramseyer 2017:211), and in contrast to Von den Steinen's categorisation, this study places ear ornaments completely made of a solid piece of shell also in the *pūtaiana* typology as type 3, forming a distinctive group of objects, often relatively small, but showing similar outward appearances to the composite *pūtaiana*.

Many *pūtaiana* show signs of having been worn by discoloration on the back, especially around the tip, clearly identifying whether an ornament was worn in the right or left ear. As mentioned above, this is less often the case with *haakai*, although some smaller ones, for example those collected by Van Haersolte, do show signs of having been worn more frequently. With respect to several very elaborate *haakai*, it is doubtful if they have been worn at all; they may well have been made with foreign visitors in mind (figs. 7.70/7.71).¹³⁴ Considering the way in which shell and whale

¹³⁴ It is likely that some *haakai* were also made by non-Marquesan makers in Europe. However, precise information on this is lacking, as Carol Ivory explains in a lecture on Marquesan fakes and forgeries delivered on 9 February 2012 (see <https://youtu.be/7bqqIjRaO-0>, last consulted 18-08-2021).

tooth ornaments were worn, with the smoothly polished ivory discs or the shell caps positioned to the front, so next to the face, it remains unclear which part of the ornament was most important to Marquesans, or indeed if they made this distinction.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

In this study the Dutch navy visit to the Marquesan island of Nuku Hiva in May 1825 has been explored. It is based on the written, pictorial and collected legacy of twelve crew members aboard two Dutch ships, *Maria Reigersberg* and *Pollux*, and assesses their contribution to existing knowledge regarding the ethnohistory and material culture of the Marquesas Islands.

The first part of the thesis covered the visit to Taiohae on Nuku Hiva. The Dutch decided on this stopover based on favourable descriptions of Taiohae in the travelogues by Von Krusenstern, Von Langsdorff and Porter following their visits in 1804 and 1813. These reports also formed the basis of Dutch expectations about their own visit. They knew of certain cultural practices, such as tattooing and cannibalism, and about rivalry with neighbouring valleys. They expected the people of Taiohae to have an obvious leader and that most likely interpreters would be available. They presumed little had changed since Porter's 1813 visit and thought that, for example, metal tools would (still) be highly valued.

In contrast to other visits in the decades around 1825, the Dutch arrived on two fully armed ships with a considerable number (453) of crew aboard, far more than the crew of a whaling ship, or even several together. Like other ships, the Dutch came primarily to acquire fresh water and provisions. On their arrival they had hoped to have someone available to act as an interpreter to interact with the Marquesans, which was not the case. Navy ships visited in an official capacity as representatives of a nation. However, the Dutch took this role perhaps a step further by sending a formal delegation ashore, including a military display, in their search for the leader. Perhaps this was why the Dutch were able to acquire a considerable number of pigs - animals of high cultural importance - and poultry, even without having an interpreter and without exchanging firearms, which had become the preferred exchange item for pigs following Porter's 1813 visit, as noted by Denning (1980:117) and Thomas (1990:131-2; 1991:95). However, there may also have been other reasons, such as the large military presence, or perhaps other special circumstances on the Marquesans' side, of which the Dutch were unaware.

The main contribution of the Dutch visit to research on Marquesan history and art history lies in the fact that there are written and pictorial accounts from ten different crew members. These provide different perspectives from which a narrative of events over the twelve-day visit has been reconstructed, as well as of several specific

topics, such as Marquesans aboard, Dutch ashore and outer appearances, which various actors commented on. The lack of an interpreter and their short stay meant that not much new in-depth information on Marquesan culture was acquired, but the images made by crew members add significantly to existing knowledge, especially the stilt walker sketch by Van Haersolte (see below). Also, the descriptions of certain high-ranking individuals, who were unnamed by the Dutch, nevertheless make them recognisable and refer to historically noteworthy persons, Paetini and Temoana, descendants of Kiatonui, who was chief in Taiohae during the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century. Two others surface, especially in Troost's account: a Nuku Hivan named Poopie, who may or may not have been an imaginary person, and a Tahitian, who according to Troost is called Roebel or Roebèl, the latter to whom several other Dutch writers have referred, and who may have been the same person also mentioned by other visitors to Nuku Hiva.

Although relatively limited cultural information can be extrapolated from the various Dutch accounts, when combined they provide a fairly complete picture of the visit and the encounters that took place, precisely because of the availability of different viewpoints. Apart from visits with a more scientific objective, often only one account with one perspective is known from European and American visits. The different reports on the 1825 visit, though all from the Dutch, provide a broad range of descriptions of events and encounters from which, to use Douglas's concepts on this topic, Marquesan agency has been assessed by analysing the events described and comparing them with existing knowledge on Marquesan culture (Douglas 2014b:19-26).

The encounters between the Dutch and the Marquesans show different coping strategies on both sides in areas of communication, diplomacy, boundaries and exchange. It has been shown that Nuku Hivans followed the practice of foreign visitors in using flags, such as the white flag raised ashore on a dwelling, and the alternating white and red flags raised on the ships, to understand when it was permitted to board the ships and when not. Just as the Dutch were searching for 'the leader', Marquesan dignitaries also searched for those in command and both sides followed a certain protocol to assert each other's authority. Both sides seemed resolute on avoiding conflict, with Nuku Hivans not forcefully opposing liberties taken by the Dutch on entering dwellings or trying to hunt pigs, instead scaring the pigs away. Overall, Marquesans appeared to have been very willing to help with all kinds of chores, probably expecting to be rewarded in return, as had been the case during many previous foreign visits. However, although forthcoming towards the Dutch, Marquesans actively regulated access to certain goods, such as pigs, only making them available after the official meeting between the leaders of both sides, and only offering their weapons for exchange to the Dutch just prior to their departure.

By placing the study of this specific visit in the context of Marquesan ethnohistorical studies of Dening (1980), Thomas (1990, 1991) and others, and in the wider field of Polynesian contact studies, a number of interesting parallels as well as discrepancies have been remarked upon. The Dutch visit broadly follows the 'rhythm' of a visit of Westerners to this Polynesian island as Dening describes (1980:122-4). Although the course of the visit was mainly led by (the needs of) the Dutch, as shown, the Marquesans played an active role in the occurrences during this visit. Regarding the Pacific region, Douglas (2014a:13; 2014b:19) observes that the power balance in encounters between indigenous people and foreigners in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries could vary considerably. In this particular case, the balance of power probably resided with the Dutch due to their large military presence, although they did not enforce it.

If more sources relating to the Dutch visit surface, this will provide further material from which Marquesan agency can be extrapolated. During this research, references have been found to two additional written accounts that could not (yet) be located. To be of assistance in future research, the complete crew lists of the two Dutch ships have been included in Appendix B, as it is likely that more accounts exist, in the Netherlands or abroad, written by other crew members.

The second part of this thesis dealt with some of the earliest documented and collected Marquesan material culture, for which the objects collected by Dutch crew members, as well as their related writings and images, form the basis. Marquesan objects were collected during many foreign visits and were dispersed across the globe, ending up in museums and private collections. Many of these objects lack provenance information and often only the date of acquisition by a museum is known. However, gradually the field collection dates and circumstances of an increasing number of objects can be retraced from archival and other sources. In this regard, the assemblage of 24 objects which have now been connected to the Dutch visit is of significance for the study of Marquesan material culture. After the objects collected on the second Cook voyage in 1774 and on the Krusenstern expedition in 1804, this is chronologically the third defined group of objects that have a secure field collection date. Objects in the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem were collected over a longer period (1800-1830) by several parties and probably from different locations. It is important to keep in mind that, although the Dutch collected in Taiohae and possibly also in Hakatea, this does not necessarily mean that these objects were produced in these locations, as it is known that trade between different valleys on islands and between different islands took place, as well as that objects were sometimes acquired as booty. However, the dated objects provide the opportunity to compare them to other dated (groups of) objects and investigate changes and similarities over time. For this, a first step has been made in Table 5.1 to provide insight into the collecting of certain types of objects

over a longer period (1774-1840s). Looking at specific object groups, some show considerable changes over time, such as ear ornaments, while others remain relatively unchanged, such as body ornaments made from braided coconut cords and human hair. In the latter case, some show a continuation of the same construction method, but with the application of different materials, such as tiny shells or kokuu seeds instead of hair. In other instances, for example with semi-circular fans (tāhii), the construction method and material of the blade remain very similar over time, whereas fan handles change considerably from plain to richly ornamented. This analysis can be taken further in future research projects, by adding objects/object groups collected on other visits, as well as by further analysis within object groups.

In this study, two types of objects have been investigated in detail, stilt steps and ear ornaments. In both cases, the Dutch information has been presented, followed by scrutiny of historical sources and detailed object analysis. Both object groups have been studied by previous researchers. Von den Steinen's study on Marquesan art (1925, 1928a/b) provided the basic frameworks for analysis of these object types. His extensive work covers a broad range of mainly sculpted objects, which he scrutinises in particular with respect to their ornamentation and their purported meaning. Based on Von den Steinen's corpus of a number of object groups, including stilt steps and ear ornaments, Gell (1998) explores the significance and transformation of ornamentation and the connection of these with social relations. In this Gell, like Von den Steinen, considers Marquesan art as having one collective style even while recognising that the objects were made by individual artists. So, while highly instructive to further understand Marquesan art and iconography, their work is less helpful in identifying historical developments and individual/group (sub)styles. In her art-historical study into early Marquesan material culture, Ivory (1990) created a valuable baseline from which historical sequences can be further developed. The research goals she formulated in a later article are useful in furthering the investigative process into Marquesan art history (Ivory 1993:68-9).

Researching (sub)styles, as suggested by Petridis (2001:138) regarding African art history, provides the most convincing results when limited to a specific type of object. However, this kind of stylistic art-historical research has hardly been done with regard to Marquesan material culture, apart from Ivory's study (1994). For other regions similar and instructive studies have been undertaken, which have been used as examples for this study. With regard to African artists and workshops several researchers, such as Olbrechts (1946), Fagg (1948, 1963, 1969) and Vansina (1984), on Haida artists from North America Holm (1981) and Wright (1998; 2001; 2009; 2015) and Neich (2001) on Māori artists from New Zealand were very informative in developing ideas and methodology. The most important difference with the Marquesan case is that in most of these research projects either the artists were still alive or in

living memory, and/or secondary sources, such as archival materials, were available, such as for example is the case with Neich's study into makers of Māori side wall panels. No similar reference material is available for the Marquesas. Moreover, most studies mentioned above mainly look at objects made after the 1850s or even twentieth century objects. However, what the studies also have in common is that an important part of the attributing of objects to certain makers is based on the formal and stylistic analysis of the art works by considering a specific number of features relevant for a particular art tradition. For example, Wright (1998) uses this method to differentiate between art works made by two Haida artists, earlier thought to have been made by one. In order to use this methodology one first has to build a visual memory of a material cultural tradition to understand the commonalities within. Next, one starts to analyse a specific object type by formulating diagnostic features in order to be able to discern similarities and differences between (parts of) objects which may be markers to identify different (groups of) makers and/or substyles within a corpus.

Given the lack of information about makers and production locations, it will probably remain unfeasible to name specific artists or workshops or pinpoint styles to a particular location within the Marquesas. This does not mean that it is impossible to advance Marquesan art history: the objects themselves need to be scrutinised more closely to identify common features, as several styles are distinguishable, especially, but not exclusively, with carved objects.

When the Dutch witnessed Marquesan men walking on stilts, it was only the fifth recorded sighting of this practice since its first observation in 1791. It is even known in which part of Taiohae Bay the Dutch saw it being practised. The sketch of men walking on stilts by Van Haersolte is the first known visual representation of the practice. This sighting by the Dutch means that the practice continued longer than Denning (1980:235) anticipated. According to Chaulet (in Handy 1923:218) stilt walking was a competitive game associated with a specific memorial feast for a religious specialist, a rare occurrence. Although references to stilt walking occur in recorded Marquesan oral history, it is doubtful if any of the limited number of foreign observers writing about the practice ever witnessed it in its ritual context. They probably just saw men training for a contest.

Given that recorded observations of stilt walking are rare, it is notable that the number of stilt steps still in existence is as high as it is. However, this is perhaps less remarkable considering that foreigners were looking for interesting and easily transportable souvenirs, so stilt steps with their decorative carved figures were attractive objects. It is likely that some stilt steps were created purely with exchange in mind, similar to the case of the Austral Island 'paddles' (1820s-1840s) as discussed by Richards (2012:141-5). This would also tie in with the fact that, although stilt steps were in principle made by professional artisans or *tuhuka*, some seem to have been

made by unskilled makers. For those made exclusively for exchange, without a ritual purpose, this perhaps did not matter.

In his work on Marquesan art, Von den Steinen (1928a:250-2) developed a classification of stilt steps which has been used, together with insights taken from Watt (1982), as the basis for a new analysis using more neutral terms (see Table 6.2). As Von den Steinen observed and this study has further endorsed, the type of stilt step with a single main figure is by far the most common, especially the variant with hands on the abdomen. Although composition is a useful way to assess the large variation in stilt steps, it is not necessarily helpful in determining different styles. At first glance, single main figure stilt steps look quite similar when observed from the front, while in profile and on closer inspection more differences can be discerned.

The aim of this object study was to identify groups of stilt steps made by the same or closely related makers or workshops, based on analysis of certain diagnostic features. However, due to the unexpected great variety found in the corpus of 149 steps studied, only a few groups, generally composed of two to four examples, could be identified with confidence. There are many single examples that cannot be grouped with others because of variances in one or more key diagnostic features. If the corpus is extended, the small groups might be enlarged and some 'singles' would probably start to form groups. But the fact that a substantial corpus of 149 examples did not fall into several clearly defined groups poses questions for the researcher. The bewildering number of differences in stilt step details suggests that they were made by many different (groups of) makers and not just by a few specialist workshops. Of course, it is possible that an individual carver could have a repertoire of different styles that he chose to deploy at different times. But most artists, in any culture, have identifiable stylistic traits that someone with experience can identify through careful examination. One is led to conclude that stilt step making, in the first part of the nineteenth century at least, was a widespread activity in the Marquesas Islands, probably undertaken because of internal ritual requirements as well as external demand.

So far, two relatively convincing and slightly larger groups have been identified: a group of six type A with slender figures and round protruding ears, and a group of eight type C (one tier of two main figures) - of which four were collected by the Dutch in 1825. This method of examining diagnostic features, not in the sense of iconography, but as a way of looking at stylistic differences, although needing further development and refinement, seems the most likely way forward when trying to distinguish separate (groups of) makers and allow greater understanding of Marquesan art history.

Whereas stilt walking is only sporadically mentioned in accounts of late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century visitors, brief references to ear adornments feature in many

travelogues. The Dutch are no exception. From the earliest records of 1774 onwards, both men and women were reported to have pierced earlobes. Reviewing observations on adorning the ears, there seems to be a gradual shift from only a few high-ranking men wearing ear ornaments, to most men and some women wearing them, and to reports in the 1840s of both men and women generally wearing them. The types of ear ornaments described by visitors are large wooden ones (*kouhau*), worn by men, turtle shell ornaments (*uuhei*), worn by women, those mostly made from whale ivory (*haakai*), worn either by men or women, and composite shell ear ornaments (*pūtaiana*). Especially later opinions differ on who wore the last type, which is probably due to indiscriminate use of the term *pūtaiana* for a broad range of similar ear ornaments.

When examining *pūtaiana* closely, it is apparent there are two different types of shell caps, hollow and solid, as well as different types of spurs, for which a typology has been formulated (see Table 7.1). The earliest examples, *pūtaiana* type 1a, have a hollow shell cap and (almost) unadorned spur. From the early 1800s composite ear ornaments with an ornamented spur, *pūtaiana* type 1b, were being developed, most likely due to the availability of precision metal tools. The earliest surviving examples of this type were collected by the Dutch in 1825. Composite ear ornaments with a solid shell cap, *pūtaiana* type 2, were probably developed later; the first example arrived in a museum collection in 1841 and has the roundish type 2a spur. The first collected flat spur, type 2b, is dated 1874. The shift in observations of women wearing *pūtaiana* may well have coincided with the shift in cap form.

Regarding ear ornaments made completely of whale ivory (*haakai*) this study has revealed that there is a broad range in size, with a pair collected by the Dutch being among the smaller ones encountered during this study. The latter may have been worn on a daily basis, whereas the large ones were most likely only worn on special occasions by both sexes, either high-ranking or fulfilling a certain role in rituals.

What this case study has shown is that a common name used for a particular group of objects may imply a uniformity which, by critical reading of both sources and objects, reveals more differences in use and execution than previously assumed. This type of analysis could also be implemented elsewhere in similar situations when information on the use of objects is ambiguous.

Object research based on close visual inspection, which has been used in this research, has its limitations as to the conclusions that can be drawn. In the near future it is very likely that technology will be able to assist and add extra data. It is to be expected that further developments will be made in the field of materials' research, so that in time it should be possible, within relatively affordable means, to determine wood types, to localise origins and to date more specifically. Another technological

development lies in the field of scanning. Although it is impractical to bring all stilt steps together physically, digitally this is already possible with 2D images. However, it would be interesting to have more 3D scans made, to allow better comparison. In future this technology will most likely become less costly, making it possible to use in research projects. This method would of course also work for other types of (carved) objects, not necessarily from the Marquesas, leading both to answers and also to new questions.

This study of the Dutch visit to Nuku Hiva in 1825 contributes in several ways to existing knowledge of the Marquesas Islands. Ethnohistorically, the writings and images provide a broad window on a particular foreign visit in the first half of the nineteenth century which, juxtaposed with other visits, adds nuanced insights into historical processes and Marquesan responses. In addition, examination of objects collected during the voyage has provided the basis for a comprehensive study of Marquesan material culture, notably stilt steps and ear ornaments, which are placed in their cultural and historical contexts, contributing to more refined understandings of innovation and of the ingenuity of Marquesan makers.

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¹³⁷ The owner intends to donate the manuscript to the Regionaal Archief Dordrecht in the future.

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Appendix A Research related visits¹³⁸

Visit	Location	Date
Nationaal Archief	The Hague, the Netherlands	Several visits in 2014, 2015, 2020 & 2021
Historisch Centrum Overijssel	Zwolle, the Netherlands	12-08-2014
Regionaal Archief Zutphen	Zutphen, the Netherlands	13-08-2014
Het Scheepvaartmuseum - library & archives	Amsterdam, the Netherlands	23-10-2014
Tapa Colloquium ¹³⁹	Tahiti, French Polynesia	November 2014
Salon des Marquises ¹⁴⁰	Tahiti, French Polynesia	November 2014
Musée de Tahiti et des Îles-Te Fare Manaha - museum & storage	Tahiti, French Polynesia	26-11-2015, 22-12-2015
Salon des Marquises ¹⁴¹	Tahiti, French Polynesia	28/29-11-2015
Visits to the bays of Taiohae and Hakatea, Salle patrimoine Hatiheu, He'e Tai Inn Museum and several artisans	Nuku Hiva, Marquesas Islands, French Polynesia	01-12 t/m 11-12-2015
10ème Festival des arts des îles Marquises Matavaa o te Fenua Enata ¹⁴²	Hiva Oa, Marquesas Islands, French Polynesia	11-12 t/m 21-12-2015
Exhibition Matahoata, Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac - opening & symposium	Paris, France	11/12-04-2016
Museum Volkenkunde - storage & museum	's-Gravenzande, the Netherlands	11/12-05-2016
Tropenmuseum - storage	Amsterdam, the Netherlands	13-05-2016
Exhibition Matahoata, Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac	Paris, France	22-07-2016
Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology - storage	Cambridge, United Kingdom	18-10-2016
Musée Boulogne-sur-Mer - museum	Boulogne-sur-Mer, France	03-12-2016
British Museum - storage	London, United Kingdom	08/09-12-2016
Pitt Rivers Museum - research centre	Oxford, United Kingdom	31-05-2017
Museum Fünf Kontinente - storage	München, Germany	08-06-2017
Philips Library of the Peabody Essex Museum	Peabody (MA), USA	17/18-08-2017
Massachusetts Historical Society - library & archives	Boston (MA), USA	19-08-2017
Museum of Fine Arts - museum & storage	Boston (MA), USA	19 & 21-08-2017

¹³⁸ Prior to the start of this research project a number of visits relevant for this study had already been made, which were of use because as a museum curator it is my habit to photograph museum displays either from an exposition point of view or from the view of the displayed objects. This concerns visits to museums in Brussels (2008), Colmar (2009), Rotterdam (2010), Berlin (2010, 2012) and Lille (2013) and to the Tropenmuseum storage rooms (2013).

¹³⁹ Organised by the Association Tapa du Pacifique and the Délégation de Wallis et Futuna en Polynésie française.

¹⁴⁰ Organised by the Fédération Te Tuhuka O te Henua Enana.

¹⁴¹ Organised by the Fédération Te Tuhuka O te Henua Enana.

¹⁴² Organised by the Fédération culturelle «MOTU HAKA O TE FENUA ENATA».

Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology - museum & storage	Harvard (MA), USA	22-08-2017
New Bedford Whaling Museum - museum, storage, library & archives	New Bedford (MA), USA	23-08-2017
Nantucket Historical Association - museum storage	Nantucket (MA), USA	24-08-2017
Nantucket Historical Association - library	Nantucket (MA), USA	24/25-08-2017
The Metropolitan Museum of Art - museum & storage	New York (NY), USA	29-08-2017
American Museum of Natural History - museum	New York (NY), USA	30-08-2017
Brooklyn Museum - storage	Brooklyn (NY), USA	31-08-2017
Penn Museum - museum storage	Philadelphia (PN), USA	05/06-09-2017
Museum Support Center, Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History	Suitland (MD), USA	08-09-2017
Musée d'Ethnographie de Genève - museum & storage	Geneva, Switzerland	21/22-11-2017
Museum Kunst & Geschiedenis - museum	Brussels, Belgium	03-01-2018
Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac - museum, storage & library	Paris, France	15/17-05-2018
Anthropology Library and Research Centre, British Museum	London, United Kingdom	04-06-2018
Musée d'Ethnographie Neuchâtel, - museum & storage	Neuchâtel, Switzerland	18/19-06-2018
Völkerkundemuseum der Universität Zürich - storage	Schlieren, Switzerland	20-06-2018
Museum der Kulturen Basel - museum, storage & archives	Basel, Switzerland	21/22-06-2018
Presentation Pacific Encounters, National Maritime Museum	Greenwich, United Kingdom	03-12-2018
Exhibition Oceania, Royal Academy of Arts	London, United Kingdom	04-12-2018
Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology - storage	Cambridge, United Kingdom	06-12-2018
Musée d'Histoire Naturelle de Lille - storage	Lille, France	14-05-2019
Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac - archives & library	Paris, France	27-06-2019
Exhibition Oceania, Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac	Paris, France	28/29-06-2019
Trezoor erfgoeddepot	Kortrijk, Belgium	17-07-2019
Tropenmuseum - storage	Amsterdam, the Netherlands	26-07-2019
Museum Volkenkunde - storage	's-Gravenzande, the Netherlands	07-08-2019
Wereldmuseum - storage	Rotterdam, the Netherlands	15-10-2019
Nederlands Instituut voor Militaire Historie	The Hague, the Netherlands	20-07-2021
Museum Volkenkunde - storage	Leiden, the Netherlands	03-08-2021

Appendix B Crew Lists

The lists below are taken from the muster rolls of the frigate *Maria Reigersberg* and the corvette *Pollux* kept in the Dutch National Archives (Stamboeken 1813-1940c/d). The names, places of birth and positions have been directly transcribed, including any spelling mistakes. Between round brackets the countries of origin have been added to the places of birth. In some cases it is unclear if the country mentioned is indeed the correct country, since some of the place names are either misspelled or old-fashioned. When this is the case a question mark has been added to the country name. Of some countries the political borders have changed over time. In principal the political entity at the moment of departure has been given to which the present-day name has been added. The only exception to this is the German Confederation; unless otherwise stated all crew members with this reference come from parts that are now situated in present-day Germany. Concerning someone's position, the equivalent in English has been added in square brackets when possible; not all (historic) positions in the Dutch navy have an exact British equivalent. The information of the crew members who either died or deserted prior to the arrival at Nuku Hiva in May 1825 have been italicised in both lists.

Crew of the *Maria Reigersberg*

On departure (23 August 1824) the *Maria Reigersberg* had 293 men on board. The ship returned to The Netherlands on 28 September 1826. Unless otherwise stated a crew member returned on this date.

Name	Place of birth	Position	Deceased/deserted/ transferred
Pieter Jacobus van Acker	Vlissingen (The Netherlands)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	
Christoph Martin Ackerman	Koningsbergen (German Confederation; in present-day Russia)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> on 21 February 1826.
Jan Albertus	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen [Ship boy]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> at the end of September 1825.
Friedrich Albrecht	Wismaar (German Confederation)	Matroos 1e klasse [Leading seaman]	Died on 24 October 1825 in hospital in Samarang.
Christophel Heinrich Baders	Gottingen (in Saxon) (German Confederation)	Sergeant [Sergeant]	
Hendrik Joseph Baekelandt	Flarselao (in West Vlaanderen) (The Netherlands, in present-day Belgium)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> at the end of September 1825.
Hermanus Bakker	Enkhuizen (The Netherlands)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	
Jan Joggen Barij	Hamburg (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	
Johans (Johannes) Lodewijk Beekel	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Schrijver 3e klasse / Schrijver & Victualiement [Senior clerk 3rd class / Senior clerk & Victualler]	Placed with the command head office on 15 October 1825.

Jan Ignatius Daniel Beelaerts van Blokland	Utrecht (The Netherlands)	Buitengewoon Adelborst / Adelborst 2 klasse / Adelborst 1e klasse [Aspirant naval cadet / Naval cadet / Midshipman]	
Hermans Christn Berckenkamp	Abbekerk (The Netherlands)	Opperstuurman [Senior helmsman]	
Gottfried Berger	Koethen (in Saxon) (German Confederation)	Marinier 1e klasse [Marine 1st class]	
Casper Beudeker	Buiksloot (The Netherlands)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	
Luitjens Willems Bijl	Hamburg (German Confederation)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	Died on 8 December 1824.
Jacobus Binks	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Victualymeester / Schrijver en Victualiemeester 3e klasse) [Victualler / Senior clerk and Victualler 3rd class]	Placed on ship <i>Dolphijn</i> on 15 October 1825.
Engelbert Bitter	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Korporaal [Corporal]	
Pieter Bliemer	Haarlem (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	
Engel Blommen	Mons (in West Vlaanderen) (The Netherlands, in present-day Belgium)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> at the end of September 1825.
Wilhelm Boecker	Wismar (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Frans Boelhouwer	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse / Matroos 1e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman / Leading seaman]	
Hendrik Bolbrink	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	
Pieter Herman ^s Bolk	Enkhuizen (The Netherlands)	Stuurmansleerling [Helmsman's apprentice]	
Jacob Bonte	Estin-Peu (bij Mons) (The Netherlands, in present-day Belgium)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Andreas Charles van Braam Houckgeest	(United Kingdom)	Buitengewoon luitenant / Luitenant 2e klasse [Aspirant lieutenant / Lieutenant]	Placed in Dutch navy depot / on ship <i>Dageraad</i> on 15 May 1826.
Hans Breckwolddt H.stz:	Blankenesse (German Confederation)	Matroos 1e klasse [Leading seaman]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> in February 1826.

Petrus Johannes Brinkman	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen / Matroos 3e klasse [Ship boy / Junior seaman]	
Pieter Brooksmidt	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	2e Timmerman [2nd Carpenter]	
John Brown	Newyork (USA)	Kwartiermeester van de barkas / 1e Schiemansmaat [Quartermaster of the longboat / 1st Boatswain rigging's mate]	
Joannes Cornelis Jacobus van der Brugge	Middelburg (The Netherlands)	Pijper [Piper]	
Hinrich Brummerhof	Hamburg (German Confederation)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	Died on 16 August 1826 in Surabaya.
Cornelis Hubertus de Bruyn	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	Died on 18 September 1825 on Amboina.
Johannes Peter Buchen	's Hagen (German Confederation)	Schoolm: & Ziekentrooster [Schoolmaster & Spiritual counsellor for the sick]	
Ernst Joseph Cartiaux	Goddin (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Rasmus Christenson	Stavaner (in Noorwegen) (Norway)	Matroos 1e klasse [Leading seaman]	Died on 27 October 1825.
Francois Joseph de Clercq	Dyksmuide (The Netherlands, in present-day Belgium)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	
Fredrik Coertzen	Waldeck (German Confederation)	Kapitein Kommandant [Captain Commander]	
George Fredrik Coertzen	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Kapiteinszoontje / Matroos 1e klasse / Matroos 3e klasse [Captain's son / Leading seaman / Junior seaman]	
Herman Hend ^k Thimoth ^s Coops	Doetichem (The Netherlands)	Luitenant 1e klasse [Lieutenant commander]	Placed on ship Javaan at the end of September 1825.
Adrianus Cosijn	Gouda (The Netherlands)	Klerk / Adjunct Schrijver [Junior clerk / Clerk]	
Jan Willem Coster	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen [Ship boy]	
Henrij Debaisieur	Rhum (in Hanover) (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Died on 29 March 1826.
<i>Pieter Deerenberg</i>	<i>Amsterdam (The Netherlands)</i>	<i>Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]</i>	<i>Deserted on 6 January 1825 in Montevideo.</i>

<i>Christoffel Coenrd Dekker</i>	<i>Spaak (The Netherlands)</i>	<i>Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]</i>	<i>Deserted on 14 March 1825 in Valparaiso.</i>
Matthias Delsman	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen / Matroos 3e klasse [Ship boy / Junior seaman]	
Pascal Joseph Demarteaux	Olne (Prov. Luik) (The Netherlands, in present-day Belgium)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	
François Joseph Denelle	Namen (The Netherlands, in present-day Belgium)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Dirk Deterd	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	
Pieter Dibbetz	Den Uithoorn (The Netherlands)	Adelborst 1e klasse / buitengewoon luitenant 2e klasse [Midshipman / Aspirant lieutenant]	Placed on <i>Bellona</i> on 16 March 1826.
Jan Willem Diederich	Overijssel (te Enschede) (The Netherlands)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	Died on 9 November 1825.
Jurianus van Driel	Dordrecht (The Netherlands)	Bottelier [Steward]	
Hendrik Duijm	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Stuurmansleerling [Helmsman's apprentice]	
François Dumont	Doornik (The Netherlands, in present-day Belgium)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> at the end of September 1825.
Jacob Friedrich Durr	Sanstadt (in Wurtenburg) (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse / Scheerder [Junior seaman / Barber]	
Gerrit Dwars	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Petrus Cornelis van Eck	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> at the end of September 1825.
Mattheus Eeltjens	Waalwijk (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Placed in Dutch navy depot in May 1826.
Willem Eggers	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Koksmaat [Cook's mate]	
Jacob (Joannes Jacobus) Elvink (Elfering)	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Korporaal [Corporal]	
Daniel Etteveld	Alkmaar (The Netherlands)	Marinier 3e klasse / Marinier 2e klasse / Marinier 1e klasse [Marine 3rd class / Marine 2nd class / Marine 1st class]	

Franz Etzel	Henfeld (by Frankfort a/M) (German Confederation)	Marinier 3e klasse / Marinier 2e klasse [Marine 3rd class / Marine 2nd class]	Died on 15 June 1826.
Arie Adrianus Louis Evers	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	
Johan Hendrik Francke	's Hertogenbosch (The Netherlands)	Matroos 1e klasse [Leading seaman]	
Zverus Pieter Gaarenstroom	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Hendrie Ganander	Verge (in Zweden) (Sweden)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	Returned on <i>Pollux</i> on 30 November 1827.
Willem Alberts Geesteranus	Delft (The Netherlands)	Kapitein Luitenant Officier [Commander Officer]	
Henr ^s Anistatius Germans	Harlingen (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse / Matroos 1e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman / Leading seaman]	
Frederich Gerrekens	Rahden (German Confederation)	Matroos 1e klasse [Leading seaman]	
Louis Gevaerts	Meerlbeek (in. O. Vlaanderen) (The Netherlands, in present-day Belgium)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Salomon Goldschmidt	Weitersweiler (in Beijeren) (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Died on 9 October 1825 in Samarang.
<i>Cornelis de Graaf</i>	<i>ter Schellingen</i> (The Netherlands)	<i>Matroos 1e klasse</i> <i>[Leading seaman]</i>	<i>Deserted on 7 April 1825 in Chorrillos.</i>
Andries Joseph le Grand	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 2e klasse / Matroos 1e klasse [Able seaman / Leading seaman]	
Pierre de Greef	Beersen (The Netherlands)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	
Daniel Grensteen van Lingen	Veendam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Died on 16 May 1826 on <i>Pollux</i> .
Jan Siewerts de Groot	Veendam bij Groningen (The Netherlands)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	Died on 3 August 1825 in Amboina.
Hendrik Ferdinand Guichard	Beek (bij Maastricht) (The Netherlands)	Luitenant 2e klasse / Luitenant 1e klasse [Lieutenant / Lieutenant commander]	Died on 6 November 1825.
Jacobus de Haan	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Johannes Petrus de Haan	Leiden (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen / Matroos 3e klasse [Ship boy / Junior seaman]	
Adam Haas	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	

Johan Christiaan van Haersolte	Zwolle (The Netherlands)	Buitengewoon Adelborst / Adelborst 2 klasse / Adelborst 1e klasse [Aspirant naval cadet / Naval cadet / Midshipman]	
James Haims	London (United Kingdom)	Marinier 3e klasse / Marinier 2e klasse [Marine 3rd class / Marine 2nd class]	Died on 21 March 1826 in Surabaya.
Pierre Hainaut	Mons (The Netherlands, in present-day Belgium)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Died on 20 October 1825.
Johannes Hansman	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	Died on 14 March 1826.
Hendrik Adrianus Harbers	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	
Johannes Hardenberg	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	Adelborst 2 klasse / Adelborst 1e klasse [Naval cadet / Midshipman]	Placed in Dutch navy depot on 4 June 1826.
Jan Hartman	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen / Matroos 3e klasse [Ship boy / Junior seaman]	
Gerrit Jan van Hassel	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	
Leonardus Heetwinkel	Vlaardingen (The Netherlands)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	Died on 6 January 1825.
Willem Hendriks	Deventer (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	
Jan Hendriks	Reedonck (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> in March 1826.
Harmen Heuvelsland	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Johan Heinrich Hoffmann	Remnitz (in Mecklenburg) (German Confederation)	Matroos 1e klasse [Leading seaman]	
John Holm	Olmea (Zweeden) (Sweden)	Matroos 1e klasse [Leading seaman]	Returned on <i>Pollux</i> on 30 November 1827.
Tijge Pedersen Holth	Krageried (Norway?)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Died on 13 December 1825.
Pieter Christiaan Holtkamp	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> on 3 March 1826.
Jan Herman Homan	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 2e klasse / Matroos 1e klasse [Able seaman / Leading seaman]	

Jan Baptiste Hoogaarts	Brussel (The Netherlands, in present-day Belgium)	Marinier 3e klasse / Marinier 2e klasse [Marine 3rd class / Marine 2nd class]	
Charles Hooghe	Koolkerk (The Netherlands, in present-day Belgium)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Placed on ship <i>Komeet</i> on 3 March 1826.
Klaas Hulst	Baffeloo (bij Groningen) (The Netherlands)	Matroos 1e klasse / Kwartiermeester / Kwartiermeester van de Barkas [Leading seaman / Quartermaster / Quartermaster of the longboat]	
Izak Hutte	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse / Matroos 1e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman / Leading seaman]	
Niels Julius Ingmand	Koppenhagen (Denmark)	Matroos 1e klasse [Leading seaman]	
Elko Jacobs	Delfzijl (The Netherlands)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	Died on 15 August 1826.
Jacobus Jacobze	boven Haarlem (te Bloemendaal) (The Netherlands)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	Died on 15 December 1825.
Gerrit Jans	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen / Matroos 3e klasse [Ship boy / Junior seaman]	
Jan Jansen	Gottenburg (in Zweeden) (Sweden)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	Deserted in June 1826.
Johannes Janssen	Nymegen (The Netherlands)	Marinier 3e klasse / Marinier 2e klasse [Marine 3rd class / Marine 2nd class]	
Joh ^s Petrus Jonckers	Geertruidenberg (The Netherlands)	Tamboer [Drummer]	
Hendrik Sierds de Jong	Hindeloopen (The Netherlands)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	Died on 9 March 1826.
Willem de Jong	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	
Antonius Jorissen	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen / Matroos 3e klasse [Ship boy / Junior seaman]	
Jorg Jurgenson	Koningsbergen (German Confederation; in present-day Russia)	Schieman [Boatswain rigging]	
Gerrit Jurriaans	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	

Cornelius Kaleshoek	Vlaardingen (The Netherlands)	Bootsman / Schipper [Boatswain / Skipper]	
Jan Kamerhoven	Haarlem (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	
Johannes Klazen van Kammen	Dragten (in Vriesland) (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen [Ship boy]	Died on 15 January 1825.
Johannes Willem van Kampen	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Johannes Kappelhoff	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Marinier 3e klasse / Marinier 2e klasse / Marinier 1e klasse [Marine 3rd class / Marine 2nd class / Marine 1st class]	
Johan Heinrich Christof Kassen	(in Hanover) te Harbarresen (German Confederation)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	
Johannes Kemps	Geldrop (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Petrus Kersten	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	
Johan Fredrik Kist	Leijden (The Netherlands)	Luitenant 1e klasse [Lieutenant commander]	Placed in Depot Melampus at the end of September 1825.
<i>Wilhelm Klostermaijer</i>	<i>Wismar (in Mecklenburg) (German Confederation)</i>	<i>Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]</i>	<i>Deserted on 3 January 1825 in Montevideo.</i>
Hermanus Koops	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Petrus Kopper	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Konstabel [Gunner]	
Josephus Johannes Korst	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	Marinier 2e klasse / Marinier 1e klasse [Marine 2nd class / Marine 1st class]	
Pieter de Koster	Middelburg (The Netherlands)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	Died on 8 November 1825.
Casper Hendrik Koster	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Kwartiermeester / 1e Bootsmansmaat [Quartermaster / 1st Boatswain's mate]	
Klaas Kouseband	Alkmaar (The Netherlands)	Marinier 3e klasse / Marinier 2e klasse [Marine 3rd class / Marine 2nd class]	
Hermanus Kraaij	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	
Johan Hendrik Kraamer	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Botteliersmaat [Steward's mate]	
Johan Adam Kraus	Oppenheim (German Confederation)	Provoost [Provost marshall]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> in March 1826.

Willem Kruijger	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	
Jan Giesen Kuijken	Pilsum (German Confederation)	Matroos 1e klasse [Leading seaman]	
Johan Frans Kulouw	Stettin (German Confederation; in present-day Poland)	Kwartiermeester van de barkas / Bootsman [Quartermaster of the longboat / Boatswain]	
Dirk Hendrik Lange	Weesp (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen [Ship boy]	Died on 23 December 1825.
Johannes Lans	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> at the end of February 1826.
Heinrich Lassen	Lubeck (German Confederation)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	Died on 23 December 1825.
Albert Last	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Officiersjongen / Matroos 3e klasse [Officers' boy / Junior seaman]	
Jean Joseph Latour	Diegem (The Netherlands, in present-day Belgium)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	Died on 28 July 1825.
Joseph Ledler	Beyeren (te Redenbach) (German Confederation)	Marinier 3e klasse / Marinier 2e klasse [Marine 3rd class / Marine 2nd class]	
Jan Martin van Leeuwen	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	
Peter Lemeke	Lubeck (German Confederation)	Matroos 1e klasse [Leading seaman]	
<i>Jacob Lenroth</i>	<i>Helsenfeur (in Zweeden)</i> <i>(Sweden)</i>	<i>Matroos 1e klasse</i> <i>[Leading seaman]</i>	<i>Drowned on 21</i> <i>March 1825 in the</i> <i>Pacific.</i>
David Leupen	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Officiersjongen [Officers'boy]	
Pieter Lindeloo	Medemblik (The Netherlands)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	Died on 13 July 1825.
Christiaan Hendrik Linke	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	Died on 19 January 1826 in Surabaya.
Anton Litz	Coblentz (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	
Nicholaas Lont	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen / Matroos 3e klasse [Ship boy / Junior seaman]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> on 3 March 1826.
Isaac Lonzie	Leyden (The Netherlands)	Marinier 3e klasse / Marinier 2e klasse [Marine 3rd class / Marine 2nd class]	

Jurgen Hendrik Looman	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	
Pieter Looman	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen / Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Ship boy / Junior seaman / Able seaman]	
Adrianus van Manen	Leeuwarden (The Netherlands)	Zieke Opp ^s Maj. [1st Orderly]	
Johan Meijer	Wismar in Mecklenburg (German Confederation)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	
Johan Binnedict Meijer	Offenbach (in Hanau) (German Confederation)	Hofmeester [Steward]	Discharged at the end of May 1826.
August Meijer	Martenhage (bij Kier Hassen) (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> at the end of February 1826.
Peter Mellmann	Minden (German Confederation)	1e Smit [1st Smith]	
Karel Lodewijk Merckx	Herelsbergen (in Vlaanderen) (The Netherlands, in present-day Belgium)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> at the end of September 1825.
Gerrit Mes	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> in March 1826.
Joh ^s Wilko du Mesnil de l'Estrille	Vlissingen (The Netherlands)	Buitengewoon luitenant / Luitenant 2e klasse [Aspirant lieutenant / Lieutenant]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> at the end of September 1825.
<i>Jan Metzelaar</i>	<i>Meppel</i> (The Netherlands)	<i>Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse</i> [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	<i>Died on 20 November 1824.</i>
Gottfried Mitchle	Teltrnacht (?) (German Confederation)	Bakker / Officierskok / Kajuitskok [Baker / Officers' cook / Captain's cook]	
Henrich Molderhauer	Hamburg (German Confederation)	Matroos 1e klasse [Leading seaman]	Died on 8 November 1825.
Jan Mols	Minorka (Spain)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Petter Morris	Newyork (in America) (USA)	Bootsman [Boatswain]	Died on 15 November 1825.
Jean François La Motte	Luik (The Netherlands, in present-day Belgium)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Died on 10 september 1825.
Johannes Mulder	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Pider Mullder	Bergen (Norway)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	Drowned on 15 April 1826.
Carl Fredrik Muller	Wick (op 't Eiland Ficht) (German Confederation)	Konstabel Maj. [1st Gunner]	
Johannes Petrus Muller	Den Briel (The Netherlands)	Luitenant 1e klasse [Lieutenant commander]	

Jacobus Nak	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen / Officiersjongen [Ship boy / Officers' boy]	
Jacobus Franciscus Navaare	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Officiersjongen / Matroos 3e klasse [Officers'boy / Junior seaman]	
Carl Christiaan Nicolai	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Theodore Niedt	Luxemburg (Luxemburg)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Bernard Nielsen	Westerwemmelhög (in Zweden) (Sweden)	Matroos 1e klasse [Leading seaman]	
Harm Jurgens Niewold	Wagenberg (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Hendrik Arnoldus Nijgh	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	Konstabelsmaat / Scheepsklerk [Gunner's mate / Ship's junior clerk]	Placed in Dutch navy depot on 4 April 1826.
Ole Andreas Nilsen	Bragnes (Norway?)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	
<i>Franc^s Johans^s Nora</i>	<i>Amsterdam (The Netherlands)</i>	<i>Officiersjongen [Officers' boy]</i>	<i>Drowned on 18 April 1825.</i>
Jean Augustin Notebaert	Deerlijk (The Netherlands, in present-day Belgium)	Chirurgijn 3e klasse [Surgeon 3rd class]	
Justus Alexander Gustav Oehlberg	Tiesenthal (in Hessen) (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Returned on <i>Pollux</i> on 30 November 1827.
Matth ^u Herm ⁿ Teodor van Ogten	Duinkerken (France)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	
Hendrik Oijens	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen / Officiersjongen [Ship boy / Officers'boy]	
Suren Olsen	Drontheim (in (Noorwegen) (Norway)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	Died on 8 July 1825.
Izak Oprel	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	Korporaal [Corporal]	
John Nicolaas Otto	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 1e klasse [Leading seaman]	
Pieter Franciscus Outenmaartens	Ostende (The Netherlands, in present-day Belgium)	Matroos 1e klasse [Leading seaman]	Died on 24 December 1825.
Cornelis van der Paardt	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	

Jacobus Panke	Duizel (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	Placed on ship <i>Komeet</i> on 18 March 1826.
Johannes Jacobus Paroi	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse / Matroos 1e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman / Leading seaman]	
Hendrik Pelk	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Bruno Peters Janssen	Sillenstede (in Oldenburg) (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Andries Pettersen	Drintheim (Norway?)	Matroos 1e klasse [Leading seaman]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> in February 1826.
Johan Hendrik Pfauth	Wijlheim (in Würthembergsche) (German Confederation)	Scheepskok [Ship's cook]	
Carl Augusts Friedh Pflinger	Hamburg (German Confederation)	Scheepsjongen / Matroos 3e klasse [Ship boy / Junior seaman]	
Laurent Pied Boeuf	Yperen (The Netherlands, in present-day Belgium)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Anthonie van der Plas	Leijden (The Netherlands)	Adjunct schrijver [Clerk]	Placed on ship <i>Bellona</i> on 6 April 1826.
Jan Pos	Utrecht (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse / Matroos 1e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman / Leading seaman]	
Jan Post	Vlieland (The Netherlands)	Konstabelsmaat [Gunner's mate]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> on 10 March 1826.
Albert Propper	Rostok (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Returned on <i>Pollux</i> on 30 November 1827.
Hendrik Propper/Proppen	Solingen (German Confederation)	Matroos 1e klasse [Leading seaman]	Returned on <i>Pollux</i> on 30 November 1827.
Johan Gottfried Rauhe	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Schilder [Painter]	
David Redeman	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 2e klasse / Matroos 1e klasse [Able seaman / Leading seaman]	
Jan Reeser	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	
Hermanus Richter	Zwolle (The Netherlands)	Matroos 1e klasse / Kwartiermeester [Leading seaman / Quartermaster]	

Petrus Cornelius Rietstap	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 2e klasse / Matroos 1e klasse [Able seaman / Leading seaman]	
Jan Rink	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Adelborst 1e klasse / Buitengewoon Luitenant 2e klasse [Midshipman / Aspirant lieutenant]	Placed on ship <i>Lynx</i> at the end of September 1825.
Hendrik Robert	Hagenau (bij Straatsburg) (France)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	
Jacob Franciscs Alexander Roels	Ostende (The Netherlands, in present-day Belgium)	Matroos 1e klasse / Opperzeilmaker [Leading seaman / Upper sailmaker]	
Johann Anton Rolfes	Oldenburg (German Confederation)	Matroos 1e klasse / 2e Timmerman [Leading seaman / 2nd Carpenter]	Returned on <i>Pollux</i> on 30 November 1827.
Johannes Ruijngaard	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Johan Wilhelm de Ruijter	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Christian Saegert	Carlshamm (Sweden)	Kwartiermeester Kapitein Chalip [Quartermaster sloop's captain]	
Johan Willem Sager	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen / Matroos 3e klasse [Ship boy / Junior seaman]	
Jean Etienne Joseph Salmers	Luik (The Netherlands, in present-day Belgium)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Christian Friedrich Herrmann Schacht	Wismar / By Mecklenburg (German Confederation)	Matroos 1e klasse [Leading seaman]	
Johan Christoph Scheller	Armstadt (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	
Line van Schepdal	Brussel (The Netherlands, in present-day Belgium)	Tambour [Drummer]	
Ciriacus Schleiermacher	Leimfeld bij Hessen (German Confederation)	Scheepsjongen [Ship boy]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> at the end of September 1825.
Heinrich Schmidt	Megchelen (The Netherlands, in present-day Belgium)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	Died on 3 October 1825.
Pieter Scholaert	Oudenaarden (in West- Vlaanderen) (The Netherlands, in present-day Belgium)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	

Lourens Schoonderbeek	Nijkerk (in Gelderland) (The Netherlands)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	
Jan Jacob Schröder	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Placed on <i>Pollux</i> on 15 May 1826.
Jan Schultz	Zutphen (The Netherlands)	Marinier 2e klasse [Marine 2nd class]	
Jan Hendrik Schuurkamp	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen / Officiersjongen / Matroos 3e klasse [Ship boy / Officers' boy / Junior seaman]	
Valentin Sebastian	Dreijzen (in Beieren) (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	Died on 06 November 1825 in Samarang.
<i>Ernst Segniz</i>	<i>Bautzen (in Saxon)</i> (German Confederation)	<i>Marinier 3e klasse</i> [Marine 3rd class]	<i>Died on 11 February 1825.</i>
Christoph Siemon	Freidenthal (bij Hamburg) (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Charles Simons	Nienof (in West Vlaanderen) (The Netherlands, in present-day Belgium)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> at the end of September 1825.
Willem Carel Singendonck	Nijmegen (The Netherlands)	Luitenant 2e klasse [Lieutenant]	
Pieter Slingers	Heuthalle (The Netherlands, in present-day Belgium)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Placed with the colonial navy at Samarang at the end of September 1825.
Marselis Abraham de Smidt van Roijen	Vlissingen (The Netherlands)	Luitenant 1e klasse [Lieutenant commander]	Died on 22 December 1825.
Johannes Smits	St. Thomas (Colony of Denmark, present-day American Virgin Islands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Jan Smits	Leiden (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen / Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Ship boy / Junior seaman / Able seaman]	
Barend Sonnenberg	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	1e Kuiper [1st Cooper]	
Joachim Antoon Sonneschein	Lubeck (German Confederation)	Marinier 1e klasse [Marine 1st class]	
<i>Josephus Sorge</i>	<i>Rudeshemie (in Nassau)</i> (German Confederation)	<i>Matroos 3e klasse</i> [Junior seaman]	<i>Died on 2 November 1824.</i>
Joannes Speijn	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Anton Stadler	Pinen (in Hessen) (German Confederation)	Marinier 2e klasse / Marinier 1e klasse [Marine 2nd class / Marine 1st class]	

Hendrik Cornelissen Steenbergen	Harderwijk (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen / Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Ship boy / Junior seaman / Able seaman]	
Erick Steenmann	Wisbu (in Gothland) (Sweden)	Matroos 2e klasse / Matroos 1e klasse [Able seaman / Leading seaman]	Died on 1 March 1826 in Surabaya.
Jacob Heinrich Wilhelm Stender	Hamburg (German Confederation)	Matroos 1e klasse [Leading seaman]	Placed on Pollux in May 1826 and deserted on 5 August 1827 in Port Louis, Mauritius
David Sterken	Dordrecht (The Netherlands)	Matroos 1e klasse [Leading seaman]	Died on 10 August 1825.
Karel Friederich Stoeckert	Wahren (in Meckelenburg) (German Confederation)	Marinier 3e klasse / Marinier 2e klasse [Marine 3rd class / Marine 2nd class]	
Daniel Fredrik Stoll	Brielle (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Jacques Henrij Swaving	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen / Matroos 3e klasse [Ship boy / Junior seaman]	Died on 12 May 1826.
Jan Philip Tambour	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	
Hendrik Harmen Teinstra	Schiermonnikoog (The Netherlands)	Matroos 2e klasse / Matroos 1e klasse [Able seaman / Leading seaman]	
Jacobus Hendricus Teutscher	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
William Thompson	Newyork (USA)	Matroos 1e klasse [Leading seaman]	
Casper Thuijs	Maastricht (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	
Johan Martin Thumm	Württemberg (te Altenburg) (German Confederation)	Marinier 3e klasse / Marinier 2e klasse [Marine 3rd class / Marine 2nd class]	
Johann Tiemonsch	Coblentz (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	Died on 17 October 1825.
Eldert Tijs (or Theis)	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> in February 1826.
Hendrik Tilleman	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Chirurgijn Major 2e rang [Surgeon Major 2nd rank]	
Pieter Tilmann	Hamburg (German Confederation)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	Died on 26 October 1825.

Dirk Timmer	Groningen (The Netherlands)	Matroos 1e klasse [Leading seaman]	
Gerrit Abels Toxopeus	Heveskes (bij Delfzijl) (The Netherlands)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	Placed on ship <i>Komeet</i> on 3 March 1826.
<i>Michael Heinrich Trilfritz</i>	<i>Wismar (German Confederation)</i>	<i>Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]</i>	<i>Died on 8 November 1824.</i>
Pieter Troost	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	Luitenant 1e klasse [Lieutenant commander]	
Bastiaan den Uijl	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	Marinier 3e klasse / Marinier 2e klasse [Marine 3rd class / Marine 2nd class]	
Gotlieb Wilhelm Ulmann	Marburg (in Hessen) (German Confederation)	Scheerder / Hofmeester [Barber / Steward]	
Lauwrens Arij Vedders	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	Korporaal / Marinier 3e klasse [Corporal / Marine 3rd class]	
Arie Veenkrap	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	
Hendrik Velsberg	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	Adelborst 2 klasse / Adelborst 1e klasse) [Naval cadet / Midshipman]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> at the end of September 1825.
Chrisorius Veranneman	Yperen (The Netherlands, in present-day Belgium)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Returned on <i>Pollux</i> on 30 November 1827.
Paulus Verhage	Vlaardingen (The Netherlands)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	
Pieter Jacobus Verhulle	Lillebeeke (The Netherlands, in present-day Belgium)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	
Christian Vestge	Langensalz (in Saxen) (German Confederation)	Marinier 3e klasse / Marinier 2e klasse [Marine 3rd class / Marine 2nd class]	
Pieter van der Vlerk	Haarlem (The Netherlands)	Marinier 3e klasse / Marinier 2e klasse [Marine 3rd class / Marine 2nd class]	
Mathijs Volman	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Marinier 3e klasse / Marinier 2e klasse [Marine 3rd class / Marine 2nd class]	
Cornelis van der Vooren	Haarlem (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen / Matroos 3e klasse [Ship boy / Junior seaman]	
Johannis Hendrikus Vos	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Oppertimmerman [Upper carpenter]	

Lucas de Vries	Leeuwarden (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen / Matroos 3e klasse [Ship boy / Junior seaman]	
Cornelis Vrijland	Schiedam (The Netherlands)	Marinier 3e klasse / Marinier 2e klasse [Marine 3rd class / Marine 2nd class]	
Cornelis de Waal	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Sergeant [Sergeant]	
Lambertus Marinus de Waal	Utrecht (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen / Officiersjongen [Ship boy / Officers' boy]	
Petrus van Waarden	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	
Fred ^k Wilhelm Wattenberg	Lippe (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	
Pieter Weeken	Haarlem (The Netherlands)	Bootsmansmaat [Boatswain's mate]	Died on 8 November 1825.
Christiaan Wegewijs	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen / Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Ship boy / Junior seaman / Able seaman]	
Jean Henri Weidemann	Kelsa (in Hessen) (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	
Heinrich Frans Weitenbach	Begau (German Confederation)	Matroos 2e klasse / Bakker [Able seaman / Baker]	
Cornelis van Westerloo	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	Died on 7 October 1825.
Johannes Paulus Wieman	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Fredrik Wieseman	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Opperzeilmaker [Upper sailmaker]	Placed in Dutch navy depot on 4 June 1826.
Silicien Wilkien	Montigi de L'Ange (Prov Stominonius) (France)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> at the end of September 1825.
Pieter Herman ^s Willems	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	
Evert Willemsen	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> on 21 February 1826.
Jan Wilms	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 1e klasse / Konstabelsmaat [Leading seaman / Gunner's mate]	
Cornelis Johannes Witjes	Wageningen (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen [Ship boy]	

Gerrit Woudenberg	Deventer (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Gijsbert Wouwenberg	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> at the end of February 1826.
<i>Abel Zeeman</i>	<i>Veendam</i> (The Netherlands)	<i>Matroos 1e klasse</i> [Leading seaman]	<i>Deserted on 7 April</i> <i>1825 in Chorrillos.</i>
<i>Jan de Zeeuw</i>	<i>Vlaardingen</i> (The Netherlands)	<i>Matroos 2e klasse</i> [Able seaman]	<i>Died on 13 November</i> <i>1824.</i>

Crew of the *Pollux*

On departure (23 August 1824) the *Pollux* had 183 men on board. The ship returned to The Netherlands on 30 November 1827. Unless otherwise stated a crew member returned on this date.

Name	Place of birth	Position	Deceased/deserted/ transferred
Joannes Wilhelmus Aalders	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 1e klasse [Leading seaman]	Died on 1 July 1827 in Indonesian waters.
Hendrik Fredrik Agterman	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 2e klasse / Matroos 1e klasse / Kwartiermeester [Able seaman / Leading seaman / Quartermaster]	
<i>Pieter Andries</i>	<i>Stokholm</i> (Sweden)	<i>Matroos 1e klasse</i> [Leading seaman]	<i>Deserted on 20 March</i> <i>1825 in Valparaiso.</i>
Abraham Apon	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Fredrich Arnolt alias Ditmer	Wenen (Austria)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Carl Gustaf Askan	Louisa (in Zweden) (Sweden)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	
Teunis Bakelaar	Goede Reede (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Johan Barth	Oberbaltzheim (German Confederation)	Marinier 2e klasse [Marine 2nd class]	Died on 18 December 1825 near Java on a British ship on which he was seconded.
Johannes van den Berg	Schoonhoven (The Netherlands)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	
August Lodewijk Berger	Hanover (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Henrich Adolph Berke	Ohrsen (in het Lipsche) (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Christiaan Blüm	Chauron (bij Bern) (Switzerland)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> at the end of September 1825.
Johann Gotlieb Bonn�	Oldenburg (German Confederation)	1e Smid [1st Smith]	Died on 14 September 1825 on the roadstead of Saramang.
Matthijs Bont�	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	1e Kuiper [1st Cooper]	Died on 20 November 1827 on board on the Atlantic.

Christian Friedrich Ludewig Bornemann	Ampt Diepenau (in Hanover) (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	Died on 9 October 1825 in Samarang.
Henry Jean Joseph van Braekel	Antwerpen (The Netherlands, in present-day Belgium)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> at the end of September 1825.
Gerrit Lodewijk Benjamin Bredies	Deventer (The Netherlands)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	Died on 2 May 1826 in Surabaya.
Frans de Bres	Vlissingen (The Netherlands)	Officiersjongen [Officers' boy]	
Jacobus Breukelmans	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
<i>Jacob Egbert Brink</i>	<i>Groningen</i> (The Netherlands)	<i>Matroos 1e klasse</i> [Leading seaman]	<i>Deserted on 22 December 1824 in Buenos Aires.</i>
Martinus Arnoldus Brouwer	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	Deserted on 5 August 1827 in Port Louis, Mauritius
<i>Joseph Brükel</i>	<i>Ottenau in Baden</i> (German Confederation)	<i>Matroos 3e klasse</i> [Junior seaman]	<i>Deserted on 20 March 1825 in Valparaiso.</i>
Christoffel de Bruyn	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Willem Buys	Zaandam (The Netherlands)	2e Zeilmaker [2nd Sailmaker]	
Jan Chiappé	Genua (Piedmont-Sardinia, present-day Italy)	Hofmeester [Steward]	
Jan Frans Adolf Coertzen	den Helder (The Netherlands)	Luitenant 2e Klasse [Lieutenant]	Placed on the <i>Maria Reijgersberg</i> on 18 April 1826.
Francois Joseph Coignie	Oostende (The Netherlands, in present-day Belgium)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	
Pieter Lodewijk Conod	Alkmaar (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Died on 12 June 1827 on board.
Willem de Constant Rebecque	Berlin (German Confederation)	Adelborst 1e klasse / Buitengewoon luitenant [Midshipman / Aspirant lieutenant]	
Johannes Jacobus Cornelissen	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	Died on 7 November 1826 on board near Java.
Jan Coxen	Danzig (German Confederation; in present-day Poland)	Provoost [Provost marshal]	
Henrich Crede	Freysa bij Ziegen (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Hen ^d Joseph de Crock	Stuivertjes (in Vlaanderen) (The Netherlands, in present-day Belgium)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> at the end of September 1825.

Cornelis Degemans	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen / Matroos 3e klasse [Ship boy / Junior seaman]	
Dirk Delleman	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Willem van Dijk	IJsselmonde (The Netherlands)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	Placed in Dutch navy depot at the end of March 1827.
Abraham van Domburg	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	Koksmaat / Scheepskok [Cook's mate / Ship's cook]	
Abraham Dreef	Katwijk aan Zee (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Hendrik Lodewyk Drussel	Maintz (German Confederation)	Matroos 2e klasse / Matroos 1e klasse [Able seaman / Leading seaman]	
Adrianus van Dyk	Reenen (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse - Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman - Able seaman]	
Christiaan Eeg	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	Kapitein luitenant [Commander]	
Christiaan Eeg Cz	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse / Kapiteinszootje [Junior seaman / Captain's son]	
Hendrik van Ekeren	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Johannes Frans Ernst	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	Korporaal [Corporal]	
Joseph Fabré	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 1e klasse [Leading seaman]	
Heinrich Christiean Fäcks	Rensburg in het Holsteinsche (German Confederation)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	
Riewert Fredricksen	Fuhr in Holstein (German Confederation)	Opperstuurman [Senior helmsman]	
<i>Leonardus Gelenus Johannes Gaillard</i>	<i>'s-Gravenhage (The Netherlands)</i>	<i>Scheepsklerk [Ship's junior clerk]</i>	<i>Died on 24 November 1824.</i>
<i>Hendrik Gerritsen</i>	<i>Raalte (The Netherlands)</i>	<i>Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]</i>	<i>Died on 29 November 1824 on board.</i>
Jacob de Geus	Dordrecht (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Died on 9 January 1826 in Surabaya.
Nels Gustaaf Gilljam	Hudigwaal (in Zweeden) (Sweden)	2e Schiemansmaat [2nd Boatswain rigging's mate]	Died on 12 November 1825 on board in Samarang.
Pieter Goedhart	Nieuwer Amstel (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Drowned on 30 June 1827.
Ludwig Golzer	Muurbach in Beyeren (German Confederation)	Marinier 2e klasse [Marine 2nd class]	
John Gonsalvi	Villanova in Braziliën (Brazil)	Matroos 1e klasse [Leading seaman]	Deserted on 26 May 1825 in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva.

Christiaan Heinrich Grawe	Dethmold in het vorstendom Lippe (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Louis Carel van Groen	Brielle (The Netherlands)	Adelborst 2e klasse / Adelborst 1e klass [Naval cadet / Midshipman]	Died on 18 March 1826 on the roadstead of Grisjée.
Antonie Barthelemi Groenings	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	Tamboer [Drummer]	Deserted on 7 August 1827 in Port Louis, Mauritius.
Johannes Cornelis de Haas	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Christiaan Habig	Nijmegen (The Netherlands)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	
Hendrik Hagenhuizen	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	Died on 11 October 1825 near Samarang.
Fredrik Hansen	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Carl Joachim Häsler	Hamburg (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Placed in Dutch navy depot at the end of March 1827.
Anthonie Johannes Heeger	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	Died on 13 January 1826.
Johannes Gijsbertus van Hees	Brielle (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Drowned on 30 June 1827.
Johan Hege	Elsfleth (German Confederation)	Matroos 1e klasse [Leading seaman]	
Steeven Heister	Diezen (German Confederation)	Sergeant [Sergeant]	
Johann Fried ^h Christ ⁿ Held	Eiden (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Ludwig Held	Hochtenbach in het Hertogdom Nassau (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Haajo Riwardi Hemmega	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Died on 13 April 1826 in hospital in Surabaya.
Peco Hennunen	Wisbu (in Gothland) (German Confederation; in present-day Poland)	Matroos 1e klasse [Leading seaman]	
Coenraad Hessing	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	
Johannis van Heusden	Dordrecht (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen [Ship boy]	Deserted on 23 September 1825 in Samarang.
Abraham van Hilten	Haarlem (The Netherlands)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	Deserted on 7 August 1827 in Port Louis, Mauritius.
Martinus Homberg	Dordrecht (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Joseph Houtsager	Leiden (The Netherlands)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	

Pieter Huikman	Haarlem (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse / Ziekenoppasser Majoor [Junior seaman / 1st Orderly]	
Anthony Christiaan Jager	's-Gravenhage (The Netherlands)	Stuurmansleerling [Helmsman's apprentice]	Placed in Dutch navy depot at the end of March 1827.
Jan Jansen	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Dionisius Jong	Leiden (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> at the end of September 1825.
Laurentius Jung	Kiderich in het Nassausche (German Confederation)	Matroos 1e klasse [Leading seaman]	Died on 31 March 1826 in hospital in Surabaya.
Johann Heinricl Kangieser	Grebestein (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Stoffel Fredrik Kastent	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 1e klasse [Leading seaman]	
Gerrebrant Kerstans	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen [Ship boy]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> at the end of September 1825.
Roelof Kist	Zwartsluis (The Netherlands)	Schieman / Bootsman [Boatswain rigging / Boatswain]	Died on 16 December 1826 in hospital in Surabaya.
Bastiaan Klaassie	's Hage (The Netherlands)	Marinier 2e klasse [Marine 2nd class]	
Joannem van Kleef	Haarlem (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Johannis Koene	Leyden (The Netherlands)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	
Johannes Kok	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen [Ship boy]	
Nicolaas Kord	E(p)ternach (Luxemburg)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	Died on 25 October 1825 in hospital in Samarang
Cornelis Kroon	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	Died on 16 December 1825 in the highlands of Java.
Johan Peter Kunzler	Nekarau in Baden (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	Died on 1 December 1825 in Surabaya
<i>Jan van der Laan</i>	<i>Amsterdam</i> <i>(The Netherlands)</i>	<i>Matroos 2e klasse</i> <i>[Able seaman]</i>	<i>Deserted in 6 April</i> <i>1825 in Chorrillos.</i>
Matheus Lämle	Elsene in Baden (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Johannes Henricus Lammers	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen [Ship boy]	
Wilhelm Lang	Graubach in Wurtenberg (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Jacques Langens	Mechelen (The Netherlands, in present-day Belgium)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	Died on 8 December 1825 in hospital in Surabaya

Johannes Linden	Zandvliet (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> at the end of September 1825.
Pieter Lambertus Luijks	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	Officiersjongen [Officers' boy]	
Jan Baptist Maes	Brussel (The Netherlands, in present-day Belgium)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	Died on 1 January 1826 in the highlands of Java.
Carl Johan de Maré	Zweden (Jongkoping) (Sweden)	Konstabel Major [1st Gunner]	
Henry Louis Margré Gansneb genaamd Tengnagel	Zwolle (The Netherlands)	Buitengewoon adelborst / Adelborst 2e klasse / Adelborst 1e klasse [Aspirant cadet / Naval cadet / Midshipman]	Died on 8 August 1827 on board.
<i>Johannis Jacobus Meewes</i>	<i>Amsterdam (The Netherlands)</i>	<i>Scheepsjongen [Ship boy]</i>	<i>Died on 14 December 1824 on board in Buenos Aires.</i>
Hendrik Ferdinand Meijer	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	
Karel August Meijer	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	Schoolmeester [Schoolmaster]	Died on 9 June 1827 on board in the Indian Ocean.
Willem Meijer	Stadtloon (in Munsterland) (German Confederation)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	
Johannes Michael Meulmans	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Kleermaker [Tailor]	
Willem Meyer	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	
Wiebe Mijnders	Enkhuizen (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> at the end of September 1825.
Cornelis de Mooij	Nieuwerkerk in Duiveland (The Netherlands)	Chirurgijn 2e klasse [Surgeon 2nd class]	
Hendrik Mulder	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse / Matroos 2e klasse [Junior seaman / Able seaman]	
Johann Carl Joseph Muller	Wollmetz in Pruisen (German Confederation)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	
Johannes Nestelrode	Gouda (The Netherlands)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	
Jan van Niesen	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 1e klasse [Leading seaman]	
Jacobus Nijboer	Elburg (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Deserted on 23 September 1825 in Samarang.
Johannes van Nistendaal	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> at the end of September 1825.
Abraham Notebaard	Breskens (The Netherlands)	Scheerder [Barber]	

Pieter Ogreen	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Heinrich Ortmann	Oldenburg (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Deserted on 3 August 1827 in Port Louis, Mauritius.
Georg Pai	Surche in Wurtemberg (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Jan Perwitz	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Died on 13 September 1825 on the roadstead of Samarang.
Adam Piekee	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 1e klasse/2e Bootsmanmaat [Leading seaman/2nd Boatswain's mate]	
Andries Piou	's-Gravenhage (The Netherlands)	Officierskok [Officers' cook]	
Engelbert George van der Plaat	Hulst (The Netherlands)	Luitenant 1 Klasse [Lieutenant commander]	Placed in Dutch navy depot at the end of September 1825 and on the <i>Maria Reigersberg</i> on 1 April 1826.
Jan Poggio	Turin in Piemont (Piedmont-Sardinia, present-day Italy)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Berend Polman	Giesdorf (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> at the end of September 1825.
Gerrit Ponsen	Dordrecht (The Netherlands)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	
Johannis Franciscus Puls	s-Hertogenbosch (The Netherlands)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	
<i>Pieter Pulstrom</i>	<i>Gamlecarleby (Russia, in present-day Finland)</i>	<i>Matroos 1e klasse [Leading seaman]</i>	<i>Deserted on 20 March 1825 in Valparaiso.</i>
Johannes Petrus Raap	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	Schoenmaker [Shoemaker]	
Pieter de Radder	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Konstabelsmaat [Gunner's mate]	
Johannes van Rechteren	Hellevoetsluis (The Netherlands)	Matroos 2e klasse / Matroos 1e klasse [Able seaman / Leading seaman]	
Danker Jan Rengers	Leeuwarden (The Netherlands)	Luitenant 2e Klasse / Luitenant 1e Klasse [Lieutenant / Lieutenant commander]	
Johan Leonhardt Riecker	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Scheepjongen [Ship boy]	Died on 24 May 1826 on board.
Martinus Riegen Sr	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Chirurgijn 3e klasse [Surgeon 3rd class]	
Dirk Jacobus Rogé	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Scheepjongen [Ship boy]	

Johannes Jozef Ferdinand Röhn	's-Gravenhage (The Netherlands)	Adjunkt-Schrijver / Schrijver & Victualiemeester 3e klasse [Clerk / Senior clerk & Victualler 3rd class]	Placed on ship <i>Arend</i> at the end of October 1826.
Simon le Roij	Bergen (The Netherlands)	Korporaal [Corporal]	Died on 15 October 1825 near Samarang.
Jan la Rondelle	Tieux (The Netherlands, in present-day Belgium)	Marinier 2e klasse [Marine 2nd class]	
<i>Willem Fredrik Ronkers</i>	<i>Amsterdam (The Netherlands)</i>	<i>2e Timmerman [2nd Carpenter]</i>	<i>Deserted in December 1824 in Buenos Aires.</i>
Johannes Rutten	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Francois Schaaffs	Middelburg (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen [Ship boy]	
Petrus Everhardus Schaaffs	Venlo (The Netherlands)	Scheepskok [Ship's cook]	Died on 13 March 1826 in Surabaya.
Fredrik Jacobus Scheffer	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen [Ship boy]	
Johan Schmit	Fischersdorf in het Holsteinsche (German Confederation)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	Deserted on 5 August 1827 in Port Louis, Mauritius.
Johannes Schneider	Marburg in Hessen (German Confederation)	Scheepsjongen / Matroos 3e klasse [Ship boy / Junior seaman]	
Hendrik Schoenmakers	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen / Matroos 3e klasse [Ship boy / Junior seaman]	
Jetse Siebe Schrieder	Oldehave (The Netherlands)	Marinier 2e klasse [Marine 2nd class]	
Petrus Piebes Sepma	Wouzend (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen / Matroos 3e klasse / Stuurmansleering [Ship boy / Junior seaman / Helmsman's apprentice]	
Arnoldus Siemons	Zevenbergen (The Netherlands)	Schilder [Painter]	
Jacobus Siemons	Rotterdam (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen [Ship boy]	
Piebe Petrus Sipma	Wouwend in Vriesland (The Netherlands)	Kwartiermeester [Quartermaster]	
Johannis Cornelis Sloets	Delft (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen [Ship boy]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> at the end of September 1825.
Johan Cornelis Smit Hz	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Schieman [Boatswain rigging]	
Frans Songman	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Died on 7 February 1826 in Surakarta.
Pieter Johannes Steenkist	Deventer (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Died on 13 December 1825 in Ngawie

Christoffel van Steeteren	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Marinier 3e klasse [Marine 3rd class]	Drowned on 6 January 1826 in the highlands of Java.
Frederik Stokkelman	Bergen op Zoom (The Netherlands)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	
Pieter Straatsen	St. George d'Elmina (Gold Coast, present-day Ghana)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> at the end of September 1825.
Joseph Talhoven	Maastricht (The Netherlands)	2e Bootsmansmaat / Bootsman [2nd Boatswain's mate / Boatswain]	
Hendrick Franco Tengbergen	Doesburg (The Netherlands)	Luitenant 1 Klasse / Eerste officier [Lieutenant commander / First officer]	Placed on ship <i>Arend</i> on 18 November 1826.
Harmen Teunissen	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	3e Timmerman [3rd Carpenter]	
Johan Michael Trapp	Fartenheim bij Maintz (German Confederation)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Barent Valkenburg	's-Gravenhage (The Netherlands)	Botteliersmaat / 2e Schiemansmaat [Steward's mate / 2nd Boatswain's mate]	
<i>Hendrik Koops van der Veen</i>	<i>Veendam</i> (The Netherlands)	<i>Matroos 2e klasse</i> <i>[Able seaman]</i>	<i>Drowned on 13 February 1825 in the Pacific.</i>
Arnoldus Vels	Arnhem (The Netherlands)	Scheerder [Barber]	Died on 16 December 1826 in hospital in Surabaya.
Johannes Verhoef	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen / Matroos 3e klasse [Ship boy / Junior seaman]	
Gerrit Vis	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	
Willem Visser	Oterbeek bij Alkmaar (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Died on 11 December 1825 in Ngawie in the highlands of Java.
Leendert Visser Leendertzoon	Schiedam (The Netherlands)	Schrijver en Viktualiemeester [Senior clerk and Victualler]	
Abraham Jacob Voet	Zutphen (The Netherlands)	Buitengewoon luitenant 2e klasse / luitenant 2e klasse [Aspirant lieutenant / Lieutenant]	
Johannes de Vos	Goeré (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen [Ship boy]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> at the end of September 1825.
Leonard Johan de Vriese	Groningen (The Netherlands)	Luitenant 1e klasse [Lieutenant commander]	
Jacob van Wageningen DZ	Dordrecht (The Netherlands)	Adelborst 2e klasse / Adelborst 1e klass [Naval cadet / Midshipman]	

Pieter Anton Oetjes van Warren Pancras Clifford, jr	Utrecht (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen [Ship boy]	Placed in colonial navy depot on 14 August 1826.
Alexander Gijsbert Wilhelmus Wepster	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Scheepsjongen / Matroos 3e klasse [Ship boy / Junior seaman]	
Arie van de Wereld	Heenvliet (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	Placed on ship <i>Javaan</i> at the end of September 1825.
Johannes Lodowikus Wichman	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Matroos 2e klasse [Able seaman]	Died on 19 June 1827 on board.
Willem van Wijk	Amsterdam (The Netherlands)	Kwartiermeester [Quartermaster]	Died on 2 January 1826 in hospital in Surabaya.
Gerhard Willinck	Zutphen (The Netherlands)	Luitenant 1e klasse [Lieutenant commander]	Placed on ship <i>Euridices</i> at the end of September 1825.
Jacob Wupper	Hamburg (German Confederation)	Matroos 1e klasse [Leading seaman]	Deserted on 3 August 1827 in Port Louis, Mauritius.
Willem Coenraad Wust	Utrecht (The Netherlands)	Matroos 3e klasse [Junior seaman]	
Aart van Zijl	Hoorn (The Netherlands)	Bottelier [Steward]	
Gerbrand Zoetelief	Texel (The Netherlands)	2e Stuurman [2nd Helmsman]	

Appendix C Original texts

Chapter 2

p. 39

Ieder volk heeft zijne eigene wijze en keuze van zich te vermaken ... Ook wij Nederlanders denken dus over de onze [gewoonten], schoon welligt een buitenlander er anders over mogt oordeelen. (Troost 1829:40)

p. 39

Deze kannibalen missen ongelukkig alle godsdienst; zij hebben noch zedelijke,. noch godsdienstige, wetten en voorschriften ... (Troost 1829:225)

p. 40

Die den heer Troost niet kent zal nog eenige goede hoedanigheden in het boek vinden, maar die dezelve kent ontwaard spoedig veinzerij. (Haersolte 1824-1834:11-09-1830 in: Haersolte 2007b:92)

Chapter 3

p. 51

... twee inboorlingen ... welke geheel naakt schenen te zijn (Singendonck 1824-1825:[26-7])

p. 51

Deux sauvages parfaitement nuds (Constant Rebecque 1824-1828:[4])

p. 51

... drie geheel naakte menschen, een van welke slechts een stuk eener mat had om het lijf hangen. (Troost 1829:179)

p. 52

une petite perruque faite des cheveux de leur ennemi (Constant Rebecque 1824-1828:[6])

p. 53

... wij zagen dat dit Eiland bijna alle jaaren was bezogt geworden tot 1824 toe in welk jaar het laatste bewijs geschreven was. Derhalven konden wij niet veronderstellen dat het gezigd van ons schip en van ons allen, iets geheel vreemd voor hunne zoude zijn, doch wij waren de eerste Hollanders welke alhier aankwamen ... (Singendonck 1824-1825:[27])

p. 54

wat sterker getatueerd (Eeg 1824-1827:[170])

p. 54

Zodra wij dit plein naderde kwam een oud man na mij toe die mij bij de hand nam en mij na de groote steen geleide, alwaar ik moest plaats nemen, het opperhoofd plaatste zig naast mij, en een ander opperhoofd zette zig mede bij ons en deden hun best om de vliegen die daar ontzettend veel zijn, en ons verbazend kwelde met een soort van wajer uit kokosvezels gemaakt van mij af te houden... (Eeg 1824-1827:[170])

p. 58

ongelukkigigen wezens (Eeg 1824-1827:[169])

p. 58

... dagelijks kwaamen zij vervolgens aan boord en bleven dan tot mijn verveeling geheele uren in de kajuit zitten of leggen, zo dat ik hun in 't vervolg somtijds, door de schildwagt liet afwijzen; dan vervoegde zij zich bij de officieren, ... [of] gingen zij ... bij de koks, alwaar zij de kasserollen of pannen uitlikte. (Eeg 1824-1827:[172])

p. 59

Zij kenden evenwel toch niet al te goed de uitwerking van het kruid, want als zij een handvol of meer gekregen hadden deden zij het in een kokosnoot en of het regende of niet zij dekte het niet toe; ook zetten zij het dikwijls bij een vuurtje of rookten er een pijpje bij ... (Haersolte 1824-1834:09-1825)

p. 60

uit hoofde hij niet stil en onbewegelijk kon zitten (Troost 1829:225)

p. 60

de in zijne huid gesnedene strepen, figuren en verdere versieringen, op het afbeeldsel gebragt (Troost 1829:225)

p. 60

bezag de weërkaatsing van zijn gelaat en gestalte ... en de om hem heen staande officieren, met teekenen der hoogstgespannen verwondering. (Troost 1829:223)

p. 61

welgemaakt groot van gestalte, sterk gespierd (Singendonck 1824-1825:[27])

p. 61

6 voeten en vier duimen, rijnlandsche maat (Singendonck 1824-1825:[35])

p. 61

hunne sieraden [van mannen] bestaan in een krans van roode boonen om den hals, knoppen in de ooren uit witte schelpen gemaakt, een varkenstand op de borst, somwijlen dog zeer zelden het hoofd met haanevederen opgetooid, dog verre weg de meeste hadden niets. (Eeg 1824-1827:[174])

p. 62

geeft hun een veel wreder, en woester aanzien dan hetgeen hun door de natuur is gegeven. (Singendonck 1824-1825:[32])

p. 63

welke laatste sommige van deeze anders zo schoone menschen, een afschuwelijk aanzien geeft (Eeg 1824-1827:[175])

p. 63

... de meesten hebben 4 blaauwe strepen over hunne lippen, beginnende in de mond bij het tandvleesch, eindigende buiten bij de kin en anderen hebben eene blaauwe streep over hun gezicht, net of er een lint dwars over heen gebonden is. (Haersolte 1824-1834:09-1825)

p. 64

Ils nous montraient par des signes non équivoque qu'ils mangeaient les typis [Taipi],_ (typi matté ky ky, motaki!) en se mordant le bras était leur réponse. (Constant Rebecque 1824-1828:[15])

Chapter 4

p. 70

'niet beschaafder was dan' (Eeg 1824-1827:[173])

p. 72

... als zij nu met varkens bij ons kwamen was hun geschreeuw: of tokkie, tokkie, dat is een bijl, of Pou Pou tijpie, Mattie, Mattie, dat beteekende kruid om Tijpjes te vermoorden. (Haersolte 1824-1834:09-1825)

p. 77

...terwijl zij zich in gezelschap van eenige vrouwen en meisjes op eene wandeling scheen te vermaken. Het bleek duidelijk genoeg, dat die alle haar ondergeschikt waren, daar zij met teekenen van het diepst ontzag en eerbied door haar werd behandeld. Ons werd verhaald, dat zij *tabo*, dat is te zeggen, heilig was. (Troost 1829:201)

p. 81

Ik geloof egter dat het schot, daar meer de oorzaak van was als de enkele tahboe verklaring. (Eeg 1824-1827:[177])

p. 82

voorvechter (G. Willinck 1835:250)

p. 83

... dit [was] ook het geval [met] den priester, toen zij in 't werk van Porter het Portret van den zelve zagen, herkende zij hem dadelijk en riepen Matti Matti. (Eeg 1824-1827:[170])

p. 85

Hoe gering wij ook die dingen achtten welke wij hun in ruiling gaven waren dezelve echter bij hun in grootte waarde... (Haersolte 1824-1826a:[26])

p. 86

... met een triomferenden uitroep en luid gelach werd het ons vertoond. (Troost 1829:206)

p. 89

[Hij] was zoo verblijd dit kostbaar stuk in zijn bezit te zien dat hij door dansen en springen zijne vreugde te kennen gaf en dadelijk moest hij gebruik van dit mes maken door een zijner landslieden, het hoofd kaal te scheeren. (Singendonck 1824-1825:[36])

p. 89

... 2 hals kragen, 2 hoofdciersels, 2 paar oorciersels, 2 horens welke zij voor trompetten gebruiken en verscheidene andere zaken, waaronder ook 2 slingers, zeer net gevlochten. (Haersolte 1824-1834:19-11-1825)

Chapter 5

p. 101

Wapenrusting van een inlandsch hoofd der Markiezen eilanden (Koloniaal 1877)

p. 105

Eins der kostbarsten Stücke der Sammlung ist eine kunstvoll geschnitzte Schildpatt-Angel mit drei Figuren, deren eine Maui darstellt. Reste menschlichen Haars sitzen in der Umflechtung. Ich musste Himmel und Hölle in Bewegung setzen, die Hülfe des Bischofs gegen den zähen Widerstand der Häuptlingsfamilie in Anspruch nehmen, damit mir dieses Unikum verkauft werde. Die zweifellos uralte Angel nämlich, nicht 10 cm lang, galt in allem Ernst als die echte Angel¹⁴³ Maui's, mit der er die Insel „Tonaeva“, d. i. Tongarewa aus den Tiefen des Meeres gefischt hatte, und das anhaftende Haar als das des Sonnengottes, das Maui abschnitt, nachdem er ihm die

¹⁴³ The word 'Angel' is nowadays used for a complete fishing rod, but previously it was also used for the fishhook (see also <https://www.dwds.de/wb/Angel#1> and <https://www.dwds.de/wb/dwb2/angel>).

Schlinge über den Hals geworfen hatte. In diesem Fall konnte ich die Leute glücklicherweise mit ihrer eigenen Tradition widerlegen, die besagt, dass Maui seine Angel gegen das Firmament geschleudert habe, wo sie das Sternbild des Skorpions geworden sei; so vermochte ich den Glauben an die Reliquie zu erschüttern und ihren Verkauf zu erreichen. (Steinen 1898:501)

p. 111

een bosch [hanen]veren van meer dan 3 voeten in den omtrek en ruim 1/2 V[oe]t dikte. (Haersolte 1824-1826a:[25-6])

p. 111

welke zij ... met de vezelen der kokosnoot te samen vlechten (Singendonck 1824-1825:[29])

p. 115

slingers waarmede zij met eene verwonderlijken kragt en snelheid, steenen van de groote van een kippen ei weten te werpen en aldus hunne vijanden gevaarlijke wonden toe brengen. (Singendonck 1824-1825:[31])

p. 115

hebben zij nog aan hun midden een net hangen, twelk met steenen gevuld is welke zij om met de slinger geworpen te worden. (Singendonck 1824-1825:[32])

p. 115

aangewezen vrucht ... van den broodboom aan flarden werd geslingerd (Troost 1829:194)

p. 115-6

een schel geluid geven en door dezelve met de hand open of digt te laten twee toonen geven (Wageningen 1824-1827:67)

p. 116

eene groote Tritons hoorn, in wiens boven einde zij een gat maken en dan door hier in te blazen, een zeer hard geluid maken ...; deze hoorn is verciert met menschenhaar en uitgewerkte menschen beenderen (Singendonck 1824-1825:[32])

p. 116

des éventail dont la manche est taillé de figures bizarres (Constant Rebecque 1824-1828:[16])

p. 118

Cet art polynésien était majoritairement créé pour les individus de haut rang: orner leur corps et indiquer leur statut, tout particulièrement dans le cadre des cérémonies et des festins qui marquaient des moments particuliers de leur vie... (Ivory 2016:115)

p. 121

Door het sterk schuren van twee op elkander gevoegde harde steenen, waar tusschen nat zand wordt gebragt, slijpen zij bruikbare bijlen; weder andere steenen worden tot eene soort van hamers gebragt; ook slijpen zij met een taai geduld tamelijk dikke steenen tot de dunheid en scherpte van messen waarmede hout, hoorn, enz. wordt geschraapt en gesneden. Deze steensoort heeft de taaiste en tevens stevigste hoedanigheid, zoodat zij puntig scherp kan geslepen worden en geschikt wordt, om met geduld daarmede gaten door zwaar hout van eene zachte zelfstandigheid te slaan of te boren. (Troost 1829:251-2)

p. 123

Il est encore à remarquer que là où il ne va pas de navire étranger, il y a plus de véritable industrie, plus d'arts fins, et cela par une raison toute simple: là où vont quelques navires, les sauvages attendent d'eux ces menues bagatelles; là au contraire

où n'aborda jamais navire chargé de ces superfluités, la nécessité, mère de l'industrie, puis le goût du perfectionnement, amenaient ces petits arts de raffinement qu'on peut trouver jusque chez les anthropophages. (Gracia 1843:150)

p. 123

Längst waren die meisten wertvollen Objekte von fremden Besuchern entführt worden, so daß man nicht einmal über authentische Vorlagen verfügte. (Steinen 1928a:217)

p. 126

Tiki (nom du premier homme dont ils font un dieu). Idole, statue sculptée, sculpture, sculpté, sculpter, dessiner, peindre, dessin, peinture, tatouage, façonner. Créer en parlant des hommes et des êtres organisés... (Dordillon 1931:384)

p. 127

... die Geheimnisse einer ganz ungewöhnlichen und rätselhaften Ornamentik aufzuklären. (Steinen 1925:Vorwort)

Chapter 6

pp. 129-30

In de bosschen, tusschen de bergkloven, beken, moerassen, enz. onthouden zich voor den mensch gevaarlijke dieren ... wanneer zij, welke de plaats en, waar zich deze dieren ophouden, moeten voorbijgegaan, niet altijd op een middel ter beveiliging bedacht waren. Dit eenvoudig en schrander uitgedacht, middel bestaat in een paar door henzelven vervaardigde stelten, waarvan bij sommigen de voetsteunsels of klampen, welken, naar hun doen zeer aardig bewerkt zijn, ten minste zeven voeten hoog boven den grond reiken. Van deze stelten bedienen zij zich, en loopen tusschen de verblijven door, waarin eene menigte der gevaarlijkste boschgedierten, waarschijnlijk slangen, adders of scorpioenen, aanwezig is ... doch geen nadeel kunnen toebrengen. (Troost 1829:253-4)

p. 130

Onder hunne vermaken hebben zij ... op stelten te dansen of elkander na te zitten; deze stelten [stelvoetsteunen] zijn van zwart hout gemaakt, en op dezelve is een menschelijke gedaante uitgewerkt. ... het voetstuk [is] bijna anderhalve voet lang en [deze] worden aan bamboesen stokken wanneer zij gebruikt worden, vast gebonden. (Singendonck 1824-1825:[36])

p. 130

Wij hebben, eenige hunner ... stelten ... ingeruild (Haersolte 1824-1826a:[15])

p. 130

Een inwoner van Noahiwa Stille Zuidzee; op stelten de kleine stroomen door en overlopende (Haersolte 1824-1826a: loose page)

p. 130

Stelt van Noahiwa die aan een stok of bamboes word gebonden (Haersolte 1824-1826a: loose page)

p. 135

Die Uebersicht und Vergleichung der Verzierungen auf den Kriegspiroken, Streitkeulen, Ruderschaufeln und Stelzen mit den Tätowirungen der von mir abgebildeten Nuckahiwer, belehrten mich von der vollkommenen Uebereinstimmung dieser Figuren. Die Etuas auf den Stelzen, am Schnabel der Kriegspiroken und auf den Streitkeulen, hatten ganz dieselbe Zeichnung und Figur, wie die auf den Schenkeln der Priester und Anführer, und wie die Köpfe der ausgeschnitzten Leichendenkmäler auf den Morais. Ich erkannte daraus, daß die symbolische Bedeutung dieser Bilder sich nicht bloß auf die Auszeichnung der ... Vornehmen,

sondern auch auf die Gemeinen, und sogar auch auf ihre Waffen erstrecken müsse, daß es symbolische Dokumente von Thatsachen, empfangenen Wohlthaten, Schmaußereien, Festlichkeiten und Tischgenossenschaften wären, wogegen gewisse Gegendienste geleistet werden müssen, und daß also diese symbolischen Documente gleichsam als Verschreibungen und Beweise von Dienstpflicht ... anzusehen wären. (Tilesius 1828:164-5)

p. 135

Wer nun am meisten an diesen Freuden Theil nimmt, macht sich durch das Bild der Area gymnastica ... oder durch das Bild der Stelzenbahn, Tapubai kake ..., oder des Tanzplatzes, Weha kake ..., welches er sich auf die Haut tätowiren läßt, verbindlich, am nächsten Baue als Mitarbeiter Antheil zu nehmen, und die Tänzer fetzen noch die ... den Tanzschmuck, als Zeichen der Theilnahme an Freude und Tanz hinzu; sie sind nicht bloß auf der Haut, sondern auch auf Stelzen abgebildet ... (Tilesius 1828:162)

p. 138

... vous donnerai-je le détail de tous leurs jeux et de leurs plaisirs? ... parmi ceux des enfants, celui surtout des échasses: ils en ont de si bien ciselées et représentant si bien les figures de leurs dieux, qu'elles mériteraient de tenir place dans le cabinet des curieux. Sur ces échasses, qui les élèvent de trois et quatre pieds, ils se livrent des combats, et grand est le rire qui accompagne la chute des maladroits ... (Gracia 1843:96)

pp. 138-9

Tapouvaé signifie pied sacré, probablement à cause du tiki faisant cariatide, car les échasses, aux Iles Marquises, ne servent qu'à des jeux guerriers. ... Les échasses n'ont aucune sorte d'utilité dans ces îles, aussi voit-on rarement l'étrier attaché à son montant, d'autant plus que les jeux dans lesquels les guerriers se plaisent à se grandir sont à peu près abandonnés aujourd'hui. Je ne les ai pas vus une seule fois.

Se grandir artificiellement est une joie pour l'enfant, qui aspire à passer pour un homme; à son tour, l'homme qui mesure la vie avec les yeux du corps plus que par ceux de l'intelligence, serait heureux d'ajouter une coudée à sa taille; de là l'invention des échasses dans les pays où la nature du sol ne fait pas une loi de ce moyen de locomotion, et comme les Marquisans [*sic*] en sont venus à trouver puéril de se hisser ainsi sur des jambes de bois, ils y ont renoncé.

... Les seize Tapouvaés qui figurent dans ma collection n'ont été recueillis par moi qu'à titre d'objet d'art, comme spécimens de culture kanaque, et c'est à ce point de vue qu'il convient de les examiner. (Ginoux 2001:190-1)

p. 139

dieu de ceux qui vont avec des béquilles (Dordillon 1931:434)

p. 140

Die Stelze des matua, des gewöhnlichen Sterblichen, war roh und kunstlos, wie das für mich in Aakapa, Nuk. gefertigte Modell α T 10 zeigt: an einer etwa 1,90 m langen Stange ist in Höhe von etwa 60 cm ein Trittstück mit doppelter Umwicklung von Kokosschnur befestigt. Die Stelzen der Häuptlinge dagegen waren reich ornamentiert, namentlich waren die Trittstücke, mit einer eigenartigen Tikiskulptur ... verziert, ein Charaktergeräth der [*sic*] Marquesas. Sie wurden als Kostbarkeitvielfach [*sic*] den Toten mitgegeben. So stammt das einzige alte Exemplar, das ich auf den Inseln noch gefunden habe, von den Gräbern an den Felswänden Atuonas. ...

Über Einzelheiten des Kampfes habe ich folgende Angaben erhalten. Von zwei Läufern sucht der eine mit einer Stelze gegen eine Stelze des andern zu treten und sie wegzuschlagen, damit der Gegner zu Fall kommt. Man soll nicht geradewegs, sondern im Bogen von der Seite auf den Gegner losgehen, soll ferner, wenn man genügend nahe ist, ein wenig zurückweichen und dann treffen. Die Spielweise ist derart, daß A bei Beginn eine Stelze bis fast auf die Erde niederläßt und kleine Hebungen macht: B schlägt in dem Augenblick zu, wenn A's Stelze hoch ist. Dies wird aber zu Finten benutzt: A sucht durch eine kleine Hebung B zum Schlag zu verlocken und hebt seine

Stelze in dem Augenblick des Schlages plötzlich über Erwarten hoch, so daß die zuschlagende Stelze in die Luft fliegt.

In früheren Zeiten forderten sich die Ortschaften gegenseitig zum Wettkampf heraus, und dann kam es vor, daß ganze Reihen von Gegnern gleichzeitig mit den Stelzen gegeneinander losgingen. In der Pohu-Sage wird ein Einzelkampf geschildert. ... Dordillon verzeichnet vaeake als Gott der Stelzenläufer (vae Fuß, ake sorte d'arbre très dur) Ich habe als vaeake den Namen einer sehr hohen Stelze notiert, bei der sich der Tritt in mehr als Kopfhöhe befand, und die man in Nukuhiva gebrauchte.

Die Stange heißt „toko“ (Stütze), das Trittstück „tapuvae (Sohle) toko“. (Steinen 1928a:60)

Chapter 7

p. 165

... voor het overige hebben zij [vrouwen] geen versiersels dan in de ooren hetwelk bestaat, in een stukje zwart hout t'welk glad gepolijst is, en aan de einden met paarlenmoer is omzet. (Singendonck 1824-1825:[31])

p. 166

... de vrouwen ... die [knoopen] in de ooren ... in de ooren dragen zij [mannen] zeer wel gesneden hoorntjes[,] de oorlellen hebben zij allen doorboort en voelen die er zeer groote gaten in hebben, gewoonlijk wanneer zij een spijker of sigaar kregen, staken zij die door het oor (Van Wageningen 1824-1827:66-7)

p. 166

... hunne sieraden [van mannen] bestaan in ... knoppen in de ooren uit witte schelpen gemaakt (Eeg 1824-1827:[174])

p. 166

Bij de vrouwen ... zag men zeer zelden versierselen (Eeg 1824-1827:[174])

p. 166

Ils portent dans des trous qu'ils ont avec oreilles et qui sont très grands[,] des dent de porcs au bout des quels est un coquillage blanc. (Constant Rebecque 1824-1828:[16])

p. 166

... het oorciersel bestaat uit eene plat afgeslepen schelp, in de welke zij een soort van kurk stoppen, en in deze kurk hebben zij eene wilde varkenstand, ter lengte van een pink, zij hebben zoo een gering gaatje in 't lelletje van 't oor dat zij er dan die tand in steken er een pennetje in stekende door de tand heen, ten einde het uitvallen te beletten. Sommigen, vooral onder de Dames, dragen er stukken lak in, of een stukje operold blik of ijzer. (Van Haersolte 1824-1834:09-1825)

p. 167

Leur ornement[s] consistent en de dents de ... (walvissen) auxquels ils mettent un grand prix. (Constant Rebecque 1824-1828:[15-16])

p. 173

Ce sont moins des pendants [sic.] d'oreilles que des oreilles postiches perpendiculaires à celles que donne la nature. On les fait tenir au moyen de deux petites chevilles, dont celle d'en-haut, la plus petite, est fixée à l'ornement et traverse le cartilage de l'oreille, l'autre plus grosse traverse et le lobe et la parure. Elles sont retenues au moyen d'une brochette ou épingle qui passe dans ces chevilles entre la tête et l'oreille. Les hommes portent aussi cet ornement. (De Roquefeuil 1823a:305)

p. 175

Ces sauvages, en guise de pendants d'oreilles, portaient des petits morceaux d'ossements de baleine ou de cochon, travaillés d'une manière assez délicate et

quelquefois ornés de petites têtes humaines sculptées. M. Roquemaurel avait apporté un rasoir un peu usé, pour essayer de l'échanger contre un de ces objets. ... Il [Moë] parut d'abord y consentir; mais quand il eut le rasoir dans les mains , il le considéra en faisant une grimace indiquant le mépris au plus haut degré, puis il le rendit avec dédain à son propriétaire ... Puis au bout de quelques minutes il le redemanda comme pour l'examiner de nouveau; après avoir tenté de l'obtenir pour un seul de ses pendants d'oreilles, il finit par les livrer tous deux; mais non sans avoir développé un talent de négoce bien remarquable... (Dumont d'Urville 1842a:229-30)

p. 175

Celles-ci étaient ornées d'une sorte de pendants faits avec un coquillage et une dent de poisson sculptée. (Dumont d'Urville 1842a:445)

p. 175

Tous [les hommes] ont les lobes des oreilles largement percés de manière à y loger un ornement formé d'une grosse dent de porc dont l'extrémité antérieure est fixée à la base plate et arrondie d'un cône blanc. L'extrémité postérieure, ornée d'une figure humaine sculptée, se relève derrière l'oreille. (Dumont d'Urville 1842b:268)

pp. 176

Ses oreilles [d' un beau jeune homme] étaient ornées de bases de petits cônes arrondis et polis, à l'intérieur desquelles était fixée par une espèce de ciment, une dent de cochon sculptée, représentant l'Atoua ou Dieu. Cet ornement quoiqu'un peu gros, fixé dans le tube de l'oreille par une petite cheville en bois qui traversait la dent... (Dumont d'Urville 1842b:277)

p. 176

Les ornements d'oreilles ordinaires furent remplacés par deux petites planchettes peintes en blanc, allongées, ovales, placées devant les oreilles et élargissant la figure. (Dumont d'Urville 1842b:269)

p. 176

Un jour, par exemple, on immolait une victime, parce qu'on allait percer les oreilles d'une jeune princesse , pour y mettre les premiers pendants d'oreille; fin bien extravagante en apparence d'un pareil sacrifice ; mais il y avait là un autre but, celui de consacrer à une plus haute vénération cette fille de chef, ou déjà prêtresse elle-même , et destinée dans leur idée à un grand rôle. (Gracia 1843:66-7)

p. 177

... de faire ressortir son [du guerrier] tatouage, et par là de rendre son aspect plus redoutable. (Ginoux 2001:82)

p. 177

en entier d'une seule pièce de bois (Ginoux 2001:82)

p. 177

Ne sachant encore assembler deux ou plusieurs parties d'un tout (Ginoux 2001:82)

p. 177

ornements de luxe (Ginoux 2001:174)

p. 177

tenu en place par une petite cheville plantée dans la dent de cachalot derrière l'oreille (Ginoux 2001:175)

p. 177

étonnent les Européens par leur poids et le diamètre de la cheville introduite dans le trou fait au lobe de l'oreille (Ginoux 2001:174)

p. 177

Le lobe de l'oreille percé est susceptible d'acquérir en extension un développement considérable ... et il est assez résistant pour supporter un poids supérieur à celui de l'Hakaé noukou-hivien. (Ginoux 2001:175)

p. 177

Poutaūana-Kétou, ornements d'oreilles de tous les jours, pour homme et pour femme, mi-partie en ivoire de cachalot, mi-partie en coquillage (cône moucheté) (Ginoux 2001:175)

p. 177

Une fine sculpture représentant un Tiki, génie domestique, orne l'extrémité la moins apparente (Ginoux 2001:175)

p. 180

Sie [Pottwalzähnen] entstammten dem mächtigsten lebenden Ungeheuer, das die Insulaner kannten, und das sie selbst nicht zu erlegen vermochten, also gestrandeten Tieren — daher „Hanapaäoa“ an der Nordküste von Hivaoa, die Walfischbai“ — oder waren im Tauschhandel erworben. (Steinen 1928a:22)

p. 180

Zu meiner Verwunderung wurde, als ich mir zeigen ließ, wie der Schmuck vordem getragen worden sei, der dicke Dorn gar nicht durch das Loch im Ohrläppchen hindurchgesteckt! Vielmehr wurde der Diskus dicht vor das Ohr gelegt, so daß das Ohrläppchen in den Winkel zwischen seine hintere Fläche und den Dorn zu liegen kam; alsdann wurde das Ohrläppchen scharf nach hinten zurückgebogen und das senkrechte Holzstäbchen, der Riegel, von oben und hinten in das Ohrloch eingeschoben, worauf er sofort das Loch im Dorn passierte. Damit der Schmuck nicht herunterfalle, mußten die beiden — oben aus dem Ohrloch und unten aus dem Dornloch — vortretenden Stäbchenenden mit Achtertouren innen zwischen Kopf und Dorn umschlungen werden. Bei dieser Art der Befestigung liegt die ganze mit einem Tiki verzierte Außenfläche des Dorns frei vor Augen, er ist nach innen fixiert. (Steinen 1928a:24)

p. 181

Zwei Paar der großen Ohrplöcke habe ich auf den Inseln erwerben können. Das eine, VI 15779, aus Hanaupe Hiv., einer Frau Tetuaatuoho gehörig, stammte von ihrem Urahn (tupuna kakiu) Mahuete; das zweite Paar, VI 15780, erhielt ich in Hapatone, Tah. (Steinen 1928a:24)

p. 181

Dem ehrwürdigen P. Chaulet, verdanke ich die Notiz, daß man sich für die [Schildpatt] Ohrspange auch mit einem Streifen im Sonnenschein gedörrter Schweinshaut zu behelfen wußte. Pergamentohrringe! (Steinen 1928a:26)

Appendix D Word lists¹⁴⁴

Word list by Singendonck (1824-1825:[34])

Marquesan (Langsdorff)	Dutch	English
Etoea	sterren of alle boven natuurlijke wezens	stars or all supernatural beings
Eppa	wagt wat of aanstonds	wait a moment or in a little while
wohennie	een vrouw	a woman
wohanna	een man	a man
arikie	de verhevene klasse	the superior class
mattie	dood, pijn enz	death, pain etc.
Taaitaai	een geschenk	a gift
Kaikaai	eten	food
Moa	een kip	a chicken
Pekinini / Etiti	klein	small
Mahine	de maand	a month
Poehie	een geweer	a gun
Motakie	schoon mooi enz	lovely beautiful etc.
Manoe	een vogel	a bird
Pouarka	een varken	a pig
Tokie	een bijl	an axe

Word list compiled by Troost (1829:234-5)

NUKAHIWA'SCH.	NEDERDUITSCH.	ENGLISH
Titie Pipie.	Kleinooden.	Valuables
Kaai Kaai.	Eten.	Food
Puorki.	Varken.	Pig
Bako.	Tabak.	Tobacco
Ikan.	Visch.	Fish
Kiwa.	Kogel.	Bullet
Tokie.	Bijl.	Axe
Moa.	Kippen.	Chickens
Mano.	Vogels.	Birds
Ariki.	Opperhoofd.	Chief
Muee.	Broodvrucht.	Breadfruit
Hiagga.	Vuur.	Fire
Matti Matti.	Dood.	Dead
Matta.	Oog.	Eye
Bimaay.	Kom bij mij.	Come to me
Wohennie.	Meisje.	Girl
Pikeninie.	Klein.	Small
Moraie.	Begraafplaats.	Cemetery
Tahbu.	Heilig, of iets tot eenig gebruik verboden.	Holy or forbidden to be used
Koré.	Neen.	No
Kava.	Sterke drank.	Spirits
Viekava.	Zeker water.	Safe water
Motakki.	Alles wat naar den zin is.	Everything that is to one's liking
Enata.	Man.	Man
Tschiabu.	Gordel.	Belt

¹⁴⁴ Translations in English by author.

Appendix E Marquesan objects collected by the Dutch in 1825

The table below is based on information from the database and archives of the National Museum of World Cultures (Museum Volkenkunde, Tropenmuseum and Wereldmuseum; inventory numbers starting with RV-, TM- and WM-). Additional information has placed under 'Object history / notes'.

ObjectID	Object description	Acquisition date	Acquisition source	Object history / notes
RV-1474-12	Pair of pūtaiana ear ornaments	1905	Ms H.L. & Ms E.M. Cosijn ¹⁴⁵	Collected by their father Adrianus Cosijn.
RV-1474-13	Stilt step (tapuvae)	1905	Ms H.L. & Ms E.M. Cosijn	see above
RV-1474-15	Sling (maka)	1905	Ms H.L. & Ms E.M. Cosijn	see above
RV-1474-16	Chest ornament (tahi pōniu) made of breadfruit wood, adorned with Abrus precatorius seeds (only a few left)	1905	Ms H.L. & Ms E.M. Cosijn	see above
RV-1474-17	Headdress (tete pōniu) made of calabash and plaited hibiscus fibres, adorned with Abrus precatorius seeds (only a few left)	1905	Ms H.L. & Ms E.M. Cosijn	see above
RV-351-24	Paddle-shaped club (parahua)	1883	Ministry of the Navy	Collector unknown.
RV-360-7180	Pair of pūtaiana ear ornaments	1883	Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden	Donated by Johan Frederik Kist to the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden (Royal Cabinet of Rarities) between 1833 and 1842.
RV-501-4	Pair of stilt steps (tapuvae)	1885	G. Theod. Bom & Zoon (auctioneer)	Connection based on drawing by Van Haersolte (see fig. 6.3).
Private collection (previous ObjectIDs TM-1322-250/-251)	Pair of stilt steps (tapuvae)		TM	Donated by Johan Christiaan van Haersolte to the Overijsselsche Vereeniging tot Ontwikkeling van Provinciale Welvaart (OVOPW) before 1852 (OVOWP 1852:12), later transferred to the Vereeniging tot Beoefening van Overijsselsch Regt en Geschiedenis (VORG). From the VORG the objects were transferred to the TM, from which they were deaccessioned in 1991.

¹⁴⁵ They also donated a powder flask with decorations of among others the Roman gods Neptune and Mercury and the word 'NOEAHIWA' (see figs. 2.27a/c).

TM-1322-248	Pair of pūtaiana ear ornaments (one pin missing)	1983	VORG	Donated by Johan Christiaan van Haersolte to the OVOPW before 1881 (Schmeltz 1892:39), later transferred to the VORG.
TM-1322-254	Small shell trumpet (pūtupe)	1983	VORG	Donated by Johan Christiaan van Haersolte to the OVOPW before 1852 (OVOWP 1852:12), later transferred to the VORG.
TM-4847-14 (previous ObjectID. TM-1322-247)	Pair of haakai ear ornaments	1982	VORG	Donated by Johan Christiaan van Haersolte to the OVOPW before 1881 (Schmeltz 1892:39), later transferred to the VORG.
TM-4847-21 (previous ObjectID. TM-1322-253)	Sling (maka)	1982	VORG	Donated by Johan Christiaan van Haersolte to the OVOPW before 1852 (OVOWP 1852:13), later transferred to the VORG.
TM-4847-24 (previous ObjectID. TM-1322-249)	Leg or arm ornament made of braided coconut fibres and small shells	1982	VORG	Donated by Johan Christiaan van Haersolte to the Overijsselsche Vereeniging tot Ontwikkeling van Provinciale Welvaart (OVOPW) before 1852 (OVOWP 1852:13), later transferred to the VORG.
TM-4847-8 (previous ObjectID. TM-1322-243)	Shell chest ornament	1982	VORG	Donated by Johan Christiaan van Haersolte to the OVOPW before 1881 (Schmeltz 1892:39), later transferred to the VORG.
TM-1322-210	Chest ornament (tahi pōniu) made of breadfruit wood, originally adorned with Abrus precatorius seeds (none are left)	1983	VORG	Probably donated by Johan Christiaan van Haersolte to OVOPW; Object is placed under heading 'New Guinea' in Schmeltz (1892:33). Later transferred to the VORG.
TM-1322-212	Headdress (tete pōniu) made of calabash and plaited hibiscus fibres, originally adorned with Abrus precatorius seeds (none are left)	1983	VORG	see above
WM-10585	Shell trumpet (pūtoka)	1902	Koloniaal Museum	Collected by Willem Carel Singendonck and in 1877 donated by his nephew Johan Henri Singendonck to the Koloniaal Museum in Haarlem.

Appendix F Other Marquesan objects in Dutch museum collections

The table below is based on information from the database and archives of the National Museum of World Cultures (Museum Volkenkunde, Tropenmuseum and Wereldmuseum; ObjectIDs starting with RV-, TM- and WM-) and the Universiteitsmuseum Groningen (ObjectIDs starting with VB).¹⁴⁶ Additional information has been placed under 'Object history / notes'.

N.B. Please note that studied stilt steps and ear ornaments in Dutch collections are included in Appendices G and H.

ObjectID / institution	Object description	Acquisition date	Acquisition source	Object history / notes	Examined
RV-1-100	Piece of white barkcloth	1837	Jhr. Ph.F.B. von Siebold	Collected on Krusenstern expedition in 1804 (Effert 2008:303; Govor et al. 2019:208).	X
RV-1-101	Piece of barkcloth	1837	see above	see above	X
RV-1-102	Piece of white barkcloth	1837	see above	see above	X
RV-1-104	Piece of yellowish barkcloth	1837	see above	see above	X
RV-1-105	Piece of yellowish barkcloth	1837	see above	Collected on Krusenstern expedition in 1804 (Effert 2008:303; Govor et al. 2019:209).	X
RV-1-106	Coconut husk sheeth	1837	see above	see above	X
RV-1-108	Mat woven of pandanus strips	1837	see above	see above	X
RV-1-111	Fishing line on reel	1837	see above	Collected on Krusenstern expedition in 1804 (Effert 2008:303; Govor et al. 2019:162).	X
RV-1-113	Composite fish hook with fishing line	1837	see above	Collected on Krusenstern expedition in 1804 (Effert 2008:303; Govor et al. 2019:161).	X
RV-1212-1	Pearlshell fish hook	1899	unknown		X
RV-1229-166	Wooden canoe (model)	1899	Prof. dr. A. Baessler	Collected by Baessler who visited the Marquesas in May/June 1896 (see 5.1.8)	X
RV-1229-167	Bowl made of temanu	1899	see above	Collected by Baessler who visited the Marquesas in May/June 1896 (see 5.1.8). The bowl was collected on Hiva Oa.	
RV-1229-168	Decorated bowl made of Oceanic rosewood	1899	see above	Collected by Baessler who visited the Marquesas in May/June 1896 (see 5.1.8). The bowl was collected on Fatu Iva.	X

¹⁴⁶ Information regarding VB-numbers is based on information provided by Vincy Kleian via e-mail on 30-06-2021 and on Arnoldus-Schröder (1998:80). The Universiteitsmuseum also holds a shell and turtle shell decoration for a head ornament (inv.nr VB 2511) of which no images are available. The description could also refer to similar ornaments from the Solomon Islands, which is why it has not been included in this table.

RV-1229-169	Arm ornament made of human hair and coconut fibres	1899	Prof. dr A. Baessler	see above	X
RV-1229-170	Arm ornament made of human hair and coconut fibres	1899	see above	see above	X
RV-1229-171	Arm ornament made of human hair and coconut fibres	1899	see above	see above	X
RV-1229-174	Stone axe blade	1899	see above	see above	X
RV-1229-175	Stone axe blade	1899	see above	see above	X
RV-1229-181	Ornament (pavahina) made of white beard hair and coconut fibres	1899	see above	see above	X
RV-1229-182	Ornament (pavahina) made of white beard hair and coconut fibres	1899	see above	see above	X
RV-1229-183	Ornament (pavahina) made of white beard hair and coconut fibres	1899	see above	see above	X
RV-1229-184	Ornament (pavahina) made of white beard hair and coconut fibres	1899	see above	see above	X
RV-1229-185	Ornament (pavahina) made of white beard hair and coconut fibres	1899	see above	see above	X
RV-1229-186	Ornament (pavahina) made of white beard hair and coconut fibres	1899	see above	see above	X
RV-1229-187	Ornament (pavahina) made of white beard hair and coconut fibres	1899	see above	see above	X
RV-1229-191	Knife made out of a <i>Cypraea mauritiana</i> shell	1899	see above	see above	X
RV-1229-202	Bone ornament (ivi poo)	1899	see above	see above	X
RV-1229-203	Paddle (hoe)	1899	see above	Collected by Baessler who visited the Marquesas in May/June 1896 (see 5.1.8). The paddle was collected on Hiva Oa.	X
RV-1229-204	Paddle (hoe)	1899	see above	see above	X
RV-1229-205	Barkcloth beater	1899	Prof. dr A. Baessler	Collected by Baessler who visited the Marquesas in May/June 1896 (see 5.1.8)	X
RV-1229-206	Decorated wooden bowl	1899	see above	see above)	X
RV-1229-207	Wooden bowl	1899	see above	see above	X
RV-1229-208	Oval-shaped decorated wooden bowl with lid	1899	see above	see above	X

RV-1229-209	Head ornament (pēue èi/pēue koiò) made of coconut fibres, dolphin teeth and glass beads	1899	see above	see above	on show
RV-1229-226	Piece of white barkcloth	1899	see above	see above	
RV-1229-227	War club (ùu)	1899	see above	see above	X
RV-253-26	Paddle-shaped club (parahua)	1880	Charles Jamrach	Jamrach was a dealer in London.	X
RV-265-161	Arm ornament made of black feathers and coconut fibres	1881	Museum Godeffroy	Former museum in Hamburg.	X
RV-265-53	Two arm ornaments made of human hair and coconut fibres	1881	see above	see above	X
RV-265-59	Headdress (taavaha) made of black feathers and coconut fibres	1881	see above	see above	on show
RV-2782-41	Decorated bowl made of part of a human skull	1949	Edgar Beer	Beer was a dealer in Brussels (Belgium).	X
RV-2782-42	Rubbing stone	1949	see above	see above	X
RV-2782-5	Stone pipe bowl	1949	see above	see above	X
RV-356-1	Ornament (pavahina) made of white beard hair and coconut fibres	1882	Museum Godeffroy	Former museum in Hamburg.	X
RV-356-4	Feather headdress ornament (tuà)	1882	see above	see above.	X
RV-360-5212	War club (ùu)	1883	Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden	Donated by Mr. Van Lansbergen, Dutch consul in Bogota, Colombia, to the Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden [Royal Cabinet of Rarities] in 1840 as a club originating of the 'Andaquis' from the source region of the Orinoco, South America (Museum archive; Archief [1832-1876])	X
RV-360-7136	Semi-circular fan (tāhii) with unadorned bone handle	1883	see above		X
RV-360-8178	Paddle-shaped club (parahua)	1883	see above		X
RV-427-37	Piece of white barkcloth	1884	Balfort		X
RV-5004-1	Semi-circular fan (tāhii) with ornamented wooden handle	1978	Dealer in Amsterdam		X
RV-5715-2391	Wooden statue made by Rogatien Puhtini on (Taiohae, Nuku Hiva) in 1982	1992	Dr. M.E. Houtzager	Museum director and collector of among others folk art	X

RV-5884-130	Ornamented wooden fan handle	1997	Prof. dr. A.A. Gerbrands		X
RV-61-46	Paddle-shaped club (parahua)	1865	Erven Prof. C. Blume		X
RV-74-3	Paddle	1869	Christy Collection		X
RV-74-4	Semi-circular fan (tāhii) without handle	1869	see above		X
RV-756-3	War club (ūu)	1889	L. Yvan	Yvan was a dealer in Paris (France).	on show
RV-947-1	Adze blade	1893	Dr. H.F.C. ten Kate		X
TM-A-1643	War club (ūu)	1921	Natura Artis Magistra	Object originates from the Christy collection.	X
TM-A-1916	Paddle-shaped club (parahua)	1921	see above	see above	X
TM-A-827	Chief's staff (tokotoko pioo)	1921	see above	see above	X
TM-H-3045	War club (ūu)	1926	Koloniaal Museum Haarlem	Object was studied by Karl von den Steinen in the Koloniaal Museum (Haarlem) in 1906, but then it was already in the collection for quite some time. The acquisition date and source are unknown.	X
WM-31492	Bone ornament (ivi poo)	1951	E. Beer	This is most likely Edgar Beer, who was a dealer in Brussels (Belgium).	on show (2010)
WM-31565	War club (ūu)	1952	W.F.C. Ohly	Most likely William Ohly, who was a dealer in London and who established the Abbey Art Centre. ¹⁴⁷	on show (2010)
WM-32613	Basalt pestle	1953	Abbey Art Centre & Museum	see above	
VB 424	Stone adze blade	1968	Prof. dr T.P. van Baaren	Acquired by Van Baaren from Gallery Lemaire in 1950-1955.	
VB 672	Tiki figure (cast)	1968	see above	Acquired by Van Baaren from the Musée du Louvre, Paris (France)	
VB 1267	Stilt step	1968	see above		

¹⁴⁷ See <https://www.jacksonsart.com/blog/2016/09/07/abbey-celebrates-70-years-summer-exhibition-open-studios/>.

Appendix G Marquesan stilt steps studied

Institution	ObjectID	Constr. type Van Santen ¹⁴⁸	Secondary figures present	Date collected on the Marquesas	Date collected else-where (in/around Pacific)	Date first mentioned in collection EU/USA	Acquisition source/notes	In display case	Total height (cm)	Total width (cm)	Total depth (cm)	Total height main figure(s) (cm)	Height head main figure(s) (cm)
AMNH	ST-5120	A1				1891-1893	Appleton Sturgis	X					
AMNH	ST-5121	A1				1891-1893	see above	X					
AMNH	ST-5122	C				1891-1893	see above	X					
BLM	37.2981P Aa	A1			1838-1842?	1848?	New-York Historical Society; possibly collected during the Wilkes Expedition by Nathan Sturges Jarvis		34.0	6.8	10.7	15.0	5.5
BLM	37.2981P Ab	A1			1838-1842?	1848?	see above		33.9	7.3	11.0	16.2	5.9
BLM	56.6.106	B				1939-1953	Arturo and Paul Peralta-Ramos; acquired by their mother Millicent A. Rogers from dealer Julius Carlebach		39.5	6.7	10.7	15.4 /6.1	5.5 /2.2
BLM	56.6.22	B				1939-1953	see above		36.0	6.8	10.6	11.3 /8.0	5.1 /3.3
BM	Oc,+206 6	A1	X			1884	A.W. Franks; collected by Robert Henry Soden Smith.		44.5	7.8	11.8	16.0	6.6
BM	Oc,+206 7	A1				1884	see above		37.1	6.6	11.3	15.5	6.2
BM	Oc,+206 8	A2	X			1884	see above		44.2	8.0	11.5	16.6	6.8
BM	Oc,+534 9	A1		1838		1891	A.W. Franks; expedition of the 'Venus' (du Petit Thouars) [1836-1839], collected in 1838 by interpreter De Marlin ¹⁴⁹		35.6	7.3	10.8	16.9	6.1
BM	Oc,+535 0	A1	X	1838		1891	see above		35.4	8.2	11.2	15.7	6.5
BM	Oc.207.a	A1*				1860-1869	Henry Christy		47.0	9.8	13.0	17.7	6.5
BM	Oc.207.b	A1*				1860-1869	see above		40.1	9.6	13.8	16.0	5.9
BM	Oc.208.a	A4*				1860-1869	see above		35.3	7.0	12.0	17.8	7.0
BM	Oc.208.b	A1*				1860-1869	see above		35.5	6.8	10.3	16.0	6.3

¹⁴⁸ See Table 6.2; stilt steps with an asterisk are part of complete stilts.

¹⁴⁹ This was the father of the person from whom Franks acquired stilt steps Oc,+5349 and Oc,+5350.

BM	Oc.95	A4	X			1860-1869	see above		39.4	7.7	9.7	11.5	5.0
BM	Oc.96	A1				1860-1869	see above		35.8	7.0	10.2	17.5	6.9
BM	Oc1878, 1101.587	A1	X			1878	A.W.H. Meyrick; ex-collection Samuel Rush Meyrick		36.5	6.3	9.4	15.5	4.7
BM	Oc1904,-.260	A1				1904	Ellen Higgins; part of Oceanic collection from Turvey Abbey ¹⁵⁰		41.0	7.4	9.4	16.5	6.4
BM	Oc1904,-.261	A1				1904	see above		35.0	7.0	10.7	14.6	6.0
BM	Oc1904,-.262	A3	X			1904	see above		35.5	7.1	9.4	11.6	5.4
BM	Oc1904,-.263	A4	X			1904	see above		36.5	6.1	10.9	12.6	4.9
BM	Oc1944, 02.694	A1				1944	Irene Marguerite Beasley; acquired from the Blackmore Museum, Salisbury, by Harry Geoffrey Beasley		38.2	7.9	10.8	16.0	6.3
BM	Oc1944, 02.695	A1				1944	see above		38.7	7.8	9.8	16.2	5.7
CUMAA	1978.17	A1				1978	Robert S. Newall		32.9	7.0	11.2	15.5	6.0
EM ¹⁵¹	EM-VI 42486	A1				1928	Karl von den Steinen	X					
EM	EM-VI 42489	C	X			1928	see above	X					
EM	EM-VI 42529	A4	X			1930	Arthur Max Heinrich Speyer	X					
MBSM	988.3.177	A1				1877	L. Yvan	X					
MBSM	988.3.178	A2				1877	see above	X					
MEG	173	A3							31.5	6.6	10.1	14.3	4.2
MEG	174	A1							30.3	6.3	10.3	14.0	4.5
MEG	8936	A1							35.0	7.0	9.9	16.0	6.0
MEG	9804	A1				1923	Albert Reverdin	X					
MEG	9805	C	X			1923	see above	X					
MEG	K000118	A1							33.8	7.5	10.8	16.1	5.4
MEG	K000119	A1							34.5	7.6	10.6	16.5	5.6
MEM	2008.0.328	A1	X	1843-1848			Collected by Edmond de Ginoux de La Coche	X					
MEN	83.7.9	A1				1983	CSPL		40.5	7.9	11.3	17.3	5.7
MEN	V.186	A1*			1825-1840?	1841	Frédéric Favarger		38.5	7.0	9.5	14.1	5.5
MEN	V.187	A1*			1825-1840?	1841	see above		36.7	7.6	10.8	17.2	6.1
MEN	V.188	B	X		1825-1840?	1841	see above		38.9	7.4	11.4	11.2 /8.8	5.9 /5.7
MEN	V.189	A1			1825-1840?	1841	see above		37.0	7.3	11.1	15.2	6.0
MEN	V.190	A1			1825-1840?	1841	see above		37.6	7.7	10.9	15.8	7.0

¹⁵⁰ The first acquisition plans stemmed from 1890.

¹⁵¹ The stilt steps from the EM were studied prior to the start of this PhD research project.

MEN	V.191	A1			1825-1840?	1841	see above		38.4	8.1	11.8	18.1	6.6
MEN	V.192	A1			1825-1840?	1841	see above	X					
MEN	V.193	A1			1825-1840?	1841	see above		40.0	7.0	10.4	14.6	5.9
MEN	V.194	A1			1825-1840?	1841	see above		35.6	7.4	11.5	17.0	5.9
MEN	V.195	A1			1825-1840?	1841	see above		41.1	8.1	10.7	16.0	5.7
MEN	V.196	A1			1825-1840?	1841	see above		31.3	5.8	9.8	13.5	5.2
MEN	V.197	A1			1825-1840?	1841	see above		33.4	5.9	9.1	13.3	4.3
MEN	V.46	B	X		1908-1913?	1915	André Krajewski		43.5	6.8	10.4	13.9 /7.5	5.5 /4.8
MEN	V.47	B	X		1908-1913?	1915	see above		43.3	6.5	12.0	14.0 /8.6	6.6 /2.9
MFA	1.992.418	A1				1987	William and Bertha Teel; acquired from Galerie Alain Schoffel	X					
MFA	2.016.396	A1				1977	Eric and Esther Fortess; acquired by his parents, Leo and Lillian Fortess, from Sotheby's		33.0	6.3	10.2	16.2	5.4
MFK	186	A1		1804 (Nuku Hiva)		1821	Bavarian State; collected by Georg Heinrich Langsdorff		28.8	5.1	8.6	15.0	5.1
MFK	187	A1		1804 (Nuku Hiva)		1821	see above		27.8	5.0	9.0	13.8	4.4
MFK	188	A4		1804 (Nuku Hiva)		1821	see above		31.9	5.9	8.4	13.0	5.4
MFK	L.883	A1	X		1826-1829? India?	1841	Bavarian State; collected by Christophe-Augustin Lamare-Picquot		37.2	7.1	10.3	14.7	5.5
MFK	L.885	A1			1826-1829? India?	1841	see above		37.2	7.1	9.8	16.0	6.8
MFK	L.886	A1	X		1826-1829? India?	1841	see above		36.2	7.3	10.3	14.0	5.9
MHNL	990.2.11 05-1	A1*		(Nuku Hiva?)		1912	Ville de Lille		40.5	8.5	11.5	14.5	5.0
MHNL	990.2.11 05-2	A1*		(Nuku Hiva?)		1912	see above		40.8	7.6	11.0	18.3	6.0
MHNL	990.2.12 99.1	A3				1850	Ville de Lille, donated by Moillet		32.5	7.0	10.6	16.0	5.5
MHNL	990.2.12 99.2	A1				1850	see above		39.5	8.2	10.5	17.8	6.5
MHNL	990.2.13 00.1	A1				1912	Ville de Lille		32.8	6.8	10.8	15.6	6.2
MHNL	990.2.13 00.2	A1				1912	see above		34.0	7.5	11.5	16.1	5.8
MKB	Vc 1511	A1				1980	Dr.med. August Meyer-Gass		35.0	7.8	10.8	16.0	6.4
MKB	Vc 162	A1				1930	Antiquar Samuel Buser-Knöll		36.5	6.9	10.3	15.7	5.6
MKB	Vc 163	A1				1930	see above		37.6	7.1	10.1	17.2	6.5

MKB	Vc 232	A1			1908?	Etienne Loppé		36.0	7.8	11.0	17.5	5.8
MKB	Vc 233	A1			1908?	see above		34.7	6.9	11.0	16.5	6.2
MKG	ET.966	A2	X		1896	?	X					
MKG	ET.967	A1			1896	?	X					
MQB	71.1878. 1.64.1Oc	A1		1877?	1878	Alphonse Pinart		35.1	7.4	10.9	16.2	5.8
MQB	71.1878. 1.64.2Oc	A1		1877?	1878	see above		34.6	7.9	10.8	18.5	5.5
MQB	71.1885. 15.1	A1			1885	Dr. A. Lesson		29.2	4.9	8.6	14.2	4.9
MQB	71.1885. 15.2	A1			1885	see above		32.9	6.0	10.3	14.6	4.6
MQB	71.1887. 31.4	A1			1887	Prince Roland Bonaparte		34.6	6.8	10.4	18.5	7.4
MQB	71.1887. 31.5	A1			1887	see above		35.7	6.6	9.8	17.5	6.6
MQB	71.1887. 31.6.1	A1*			1887	Prince Roland Bonaparte; acquired from the collection Bertin (see fig. 6.13)	X					
MQB	71.1887. 31.6.2	B*			1887	see above	X					
MQB	71.1930. 29.323	A1			1930	Previous collection Stephen Chauvet	X					
MQB	71.1930. 44.12	A1		1838	1930	Collected on the voyage of La Venus; donated by Abel Aubert du Petit-Thouars		30.3	5.9	9.8	14.8	5.2
MQB	71.1930. 44.13	A1		1838	1930	see above	X					
MQB	71.1934. 33.522O cD	A1			1869?	Cabinet des Curiosités et d'Objets d'Art de la Bibliothèque Publique de la Ville de Versailles		40.6	8.4	12.4	19.9	8.6
MQB	71.1942. 26.1	A1			1942	Pierre Naville		35.2	7.1	10.7	15.9	5.7
MQB	71.1945. 10.1	A1			1945	Robert Gérard		38.6	8.3	12.3	18.6	6.5
MQB	71.1990. 171.9 Oc	B			1990	Michel & Louise Leiris; previous collection Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler		38.6	6.6	9.4	13.0 / 10.7	5.8 / 3.9
MQB	72.1968. 6.1	B		1867?	1968	Merton Simpson Gallery; collected by Lieut. C.M. Dundas		34.1	6.1	11.1	14.1 / 9.5	5.0 / 3.5
MQB	72.65.15 2	A1				Previous collection Maurice Piroutet (1874-1939)		37.5	7.2	11.6	16.7	5.5
MQB	72.84.24 2.1	A1		1842?	1844	Musée de la Marine; donated by Jean-Benoît Amédée Collet		28.1	5.3	9.4	12.8	4.9
MQB	72.84.24 2.2	A1		1842?	1844	see above		28.3	5.1	8.6	13.4	5.8
MQB	72.84.24 3.1	A1		1842?	1844	see above		37.8	7.0	10.4	17.1	7.0
MQB	72.84.24 3.2	A1		1842?	1844	see above		36.4	6.7	9.6	17	7.0

MQB	72.84.24 4.1	A1					Vicomte d'Hauterive		31.7	7.1	11.5	17.1	5.9
MQB	72.84.24 4.2	A1					see above		34.8	7.0	11.2	17.2	5.4
MQB	72.84.42 4	A1	X				Previous affiliation Musée d'archéologie nationale		33.7	7.8	11.5	16.9	5.9
MTI	5687	A1				1976	Drouot	X					
MV	RV- 1474-13	A1		1825 (Nuku Hiva)		1905	Collected by Adrianus Cosijn ¹⁵²		30.5	6.6	10.6	12.5	5.3
MV	RV-23- 2 ¹⁵³	A1	X			1843	A.F.H. van de Poel	X	38.5	7.2	11.5	17.0	6.2
MV	RV-23-3	A1	X			1843	see above		34.1	7.8	12.6	18.0	6.2
MV	RV-360- 7231	A1				1883	Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden		33.5	6.3	10.8	13.7	3.9
MV	RV-360- 7232	A1				1883	see above		30.5	6.3	11.1	12.6	4.3
MV	RV-360- 7233	A1				1883	see above		40.8	7.6	11.6	18.7	7.2
MV	RV-454- 1	A2				1884	K. Hoogeveen		34.5	7.1	11.4	14.9	5.8
MV	RV-454- 2	A1				1884	see above		39.6	7.2	12.5	17.3	6.1
MV	RV-501- 4A/-01	C	X	1825 (Nuku Hiva)		1885	G. Theod. Bom & Zoon (auctioneer) ¹⁵⁴		31.4	6.1	10.5	11.1 / 10.9	3.4 / 3.2
MV	RV-501- 4B/02	C	X	1825 (Nuku Hiva)		1885	see above		32.1	6.3	10.7	11.0 / 11.2	3.3 / 3.4
NMNH	E003791	A1			1838- 1842	1858	United States Exploring Expedition		32.3	6.4	10.4	15.5	4.5
NMNH	E003792	B	X		1838- 1842	1858	see above; possibly collected by T. Budd		39.3	7.5	12.2	11.7 / 10.9	4.9 / 7.7
NMNH	E003793	A1			1838- 1842	1858	United States Exploring Expedition		34.7	5.3	10.8	16.6	6.6
NMNH	E005346	A1	X	1835 (Nuku Hiva?)		(1837) 1867	John Varden; collected by John Henry Aulick (US Vincennes)		40.5	7.4	12.1	21.7	10.2
NMNH	E386784 -01	A1				1948	Georgetown University		32.6	6.2	10.8	16.7	5.3
NMNH	E386784 -02	A1				1948	see above		35.6	6.5	11.5	17.1	5.0
PM	18016A	A1		1874		1891	William Pepper; collected by Charles D. Voy		37.3	8.7	10.4	16.1	6.0
PM	18016B	A1		1874		1891	see above		38.4	7.9	11.6	19	6.5
PM	18016C	A1		1874		1891	see above		40.4	8.0	11	15.5	6.0
PM	18016D	A1		1874		1891	see above		40.9	6.6	11.3	13.5	4.5
PM	18016E	A1		1874		1891	see above		27.6	3.6	6.5	13.2	4.5
PM	18016F	A1		1874		1891	see above		28.0	4.5	7.6	12.9	4.5
PM	29-93-26	A1				1929	George Byron Gordon (1870-1927)		33.3	7.5	10.5	15.1	5.4

¹⁵² For further details see Appendix E.

¹⁵³ Measurements taken from printed 3D model (see fig. 1.1).

¹⁵⁴ For further details see Appendix E.

PM	87-43-129	A1				1987	American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia		36.2	6.9	10.0	18.5	6.4
PM	P2550	A1				1911	W.A. Oldman		32.8	7.4	11.4	15.8	6.7
PM	P3227	A1				1912	see above		37.7	6.7	8.6	17.0	6.0
PM	P5045	A1	X			1926	John Quinn (1870-1924)		37.1	6.7	9.4	15.5	5.6
PM	P5046	A1				1926	see above		35.0	6.9	11.2	20.2	5.1
PM	P5047	A1				1926	see above		31.0	6.3	10.0	15.2	5.0
PMAE	96-20-70/4822 4.1	A1		(Hiva Oa)		1896	George Agassiz; possibly collected by him on the Marquesas Islands		27.9	7.2	10.2	13.7	6.2
PMAE	96-20-70/4822 4.2	A1		(Hiva Oa)		1896	see above		32.9	6.0	11.1	13.5	4.9
PMAE	99-12-70/5358 4	A1				1899	Heirs of David Kimball/Boston Museum collection		35.2	7.3	11.9	18.1	6.3
PMAE	99-12-70/5358 5	A2	X			1899	see above		35.7	7.0	10.2	15.7	6.0
Private collection		C	X	1825 (Nuku Hiva)			Collected by Johan Christiaan van Haersolte ¹⁵⁵		31.4	6.1	9.8	11.0 / 10.5	3.6 / 3.0
Private collection		C	X	1825 (Nuku Hiva)			see above		32.7	6.5	9.8	12.0 / 11.6	3.5 / 3.9
Private collection		A1			1847?	2019	Collected by Captain Frégate Eugène Brunet Monthélie		31.0	7.0	10.8	15.4	5.9
Private collection		A1				2002	Baron Frederic (Freddy) Rolin (1919-2001) of Grez-Doiceau, Belgium		38.5	8.0	11.5	17.5	5.0
PRM	1886.1.1 272	A1				1828	Ashmolean Museum; acquired from John Lechmere Esq., Steeple Aston, UK		35.9	7.0	10.8	16.8	4.8
PRM	1936.26. 6	A2			1819-1840?	1936	Charles Miskin Laing; collected by Edward Lawson		35.0	6.4	11.3	18.2	5.4
PRM	1936.26. 7	A1			1819-1840?	1936	see above		34.7	6.4	9.8	17.0	4.8
PRM	1936.26. 8	A1			1819-1840?	1936	see above		37.3	6.6	11.4	18.0	6.1
TM	TM-1322-252	A1				1852	VORG/donated by L.A.J.W. Sloet van de Beele to OVOWP		31.3	5.2	9.4	16.0	5.5
TM	TM-A-1644b	A1				1874	Christy collection		36.9	7.1	9.9	17.6	5.7
TM	TM-H-3043a	A1				1906	Koloniaal Museum Haarlem ¹⁵⁶		35.6	6.7	10.6	16.5	4.8
TM	TM-H-3043b	A1	X			1906	see above		37.9	5.8	10.5	17.8	5.5

¹⁵⁵ For further details see Appendix E.

¹⁵⁶ Stilt steps TM-H-3043a & -b were studied by Von den Steinen in 1906. Then they were already in the Koloniaal Museum's collection for quite some time. The acquisition date and source are unknown (Koloniaal 1907:148-9).

VMZ	471	A1	1804 (Nuku Hiva)		1888	Antiquarische Gesellschaft Zürich; collected by Johann Caspar Horner		36.8	7.6	11.0	15.5	4.3
VMZ	472	A1	1804 (Nuku Hiva)		1888	see above		33.7	6.8	11.7	14.4	5.3
VMZ	10312	A1				Han Coray; <u>incomplete stilt step</u>		<u>25.9</u>	6.8	10.3	14.1	6.0
WM	32614	A1			1953	Abbey Art Centre (and Museum), New Barnet, UK		32.6	7.1	10.6	16.7	6.3

Appendix H Marquesan ear ornaments studied

Institution	ObjectID	Type ¹⁵⁷	Incomplete	Archaeological context	No. of spur figures	Date collected on the Marquesas	Date collected elsewhere (in / around Pacific)	Date first mentioned in collection EU/USA	Acquisition source/notes	In display case	Cap PT2/3: diam./depth or Cap PT1/Disc: height/width/depth (cm)	Length visible spur (cm) ¹⁵⁸	Total length (cm)	Weight (gr)
AMNH	80.0/8738 A+B	PT2B			2+			1935	Templeton Crocker	X				
AMNH	80.0/8739 A	PT2A	X					1935	see above	X				
AMNH	80.0/8740 A+B	PT2B			3+			1935	see above	X				
AMNH	80.1/1682	HAAKAI			1			1952	Nelson A. Rockefeller	X				
AMNH	ST/ 5132	HAAKAI			1			1891-1893	Appleton Sturgis	X				
AMNH	ST/ 5133	HAAKAI			1			1891-1893	see above	X				
AMNH	ST/ 5136L	PT2A			3			1891-1893	see above	X				
AMNH	ST/ 5136R	PT2A			3			1891-1893	see above	X				
AMNH	ST/ 5138	PT2B			2+			1891-1893	see above	X				
BLM	42.211.24	OTHER		X		1937-1938		1942	Thor Heyerdahl ¹⁵⁹		Ø1.3/ D1.2	2.1	3.3	3.5
BLM	42.211.25	OTHER		X		1937-1938		1942	see above		Ø1.1/ D1.1	2.0	3.1	3.1
BLM	42.211.38	PT1	X	X		1937-1938		1942	see above		2.6/2.1			8.1
BLM	42.211.39	PT1	X	X		1937-1938		1942	see above		2.9/2.7 /2.1			13.7
BLM	42.211.40	PT1	X	X		1937-1938		1942	see above		2.5/1.5			5.1
BLM	42.211.41	PT2	X	X		1937-1938		1942	see above		1.9/1.7			7.6
BLM	42.211.42	PT1	X	X		1937-1938		1942	see above		2.1/1.7			5.1
BLM	42.211.43	PT1	X	X		1937-1938		1942	see above		2.9/2.6 /1.5			8.8
BLM	42.211.44	PT2	X	X		1937-1938		1942	see above		1.5/1.4			4.9
BLM	42.211.45	PT2	X	X		1937-1938		1942	see above		1.8/1.5			5.2
BLM	42.211.46	PT2	X	X		1937-1938		1942	see above		2.0/1.9			9.1
BLM	42.211.47	PT2	X	X		1937-1938		1942	see above		2.0/1.8			10.1
BLM	42.211.48	PT2	X	X		1937-1938		1942	see above		1.4/1.1			1.6

¹⁵⁷ The abbreviation PT stands for pūtaiana and the number/letter refer to Table 7.1.

¹⁵⁸ Of pūtaiana with loose spurs and for spurs of incomplete pūtaiana, the length of the part protruding from the cap - or, if recognizable, the part that would protrude from the cap if it was available - is provided.

¹⁵⁹ Heyerdahl probably took these from Fatu Hiva (see 5.1.10).

BLM	42.211.49	PT2	X	X		1937-1938		1942	see above		1.5/1.1			2.1
BLM	42.211.51	HAAKAI	X	X		1937-1938		1942	see above		4.3/3.5 /1.9			32.4
BLM	42.211.11 5a	PT2A	X	X	3	1937-1938		1942	see above			3.0	4.0	4.2
BLM	42.211.11 5b	PT2A	X	X	3	1937-1938		1942	see above			3.4	4.4	5.1
BLM	42.211.11 7	PT2B	X	X	6/ 7	1937-1938		1942	see above			3.1	3.7	3.7
BLM	42.211.12 1	HAAKAI		X		1937-1938		1942	see above		3.4/2.8 /1.7	4.3	6.0	24.4
BLM	42.211.xx x	PT1B?	X	X		1937-1938		1942	see above				5.0	6.6
BLM	X2000- 234b	PT2A	X	X	3	1937-1938		1942	see above			4.0	4.8	3.7
BLM	X2000- 323-1	PT1B?	X	X	1	1937-1938		1942	see above				4.8	4.9
BLM	X2000- 323-2	PT1B?	X	X	2	1937-1938		1942	see above				5.2	4.8
BLM	X2000- 323-3	PT1B?	X	X	2	1937-1938		1942	see above				5.4	5.2
BLM	X2000- 323-9	PT1B?	X	X	2	1937-1938		1942	see above				4.2	7.3
BM	Oc,+3275	HAAKAI			1			1886	A.W. Franks		6.6/5.0 /1.9	5.2	7.1	124.7
BM	Oc,+3276	HAAKAI			1			1874	(Stephen?) Isaacson / A.W. Franks		6.7/4.9 /3.0	6.5	9.5	136.0
BM	Oc,+592. a	PT2B			4/ 5	1875?	1875?	1878	Sir Wyville Thomas of H.M.S. Challenger		1.7/1.5	3.5	5.0	
BM	Oc,+592. b	PT2B			3/ 4	1875?	1875?	1878	see above		1.7/1.4	3.9	5.3	
BM	Oc,VAN.4 00	PT3			0	1792- 1793		1891	George Goodman Hewett		1.2/1.0	3.6	4.6	
BM	Oc.1297	PT2A?	X		2			1860- 1869	Henry Christy			2.7	3.3	
BM	Oc.4380	HAAKAI			0			1867	Wareham/ A.W. Franks		-	-	-	-
BM	Oc.4381	HAAKAI			0			1867	see above		3.4/2.5 /1.5	2.7	4.2	21.6
BM	Oc.4382	HAAKAI			0			1867	see above		2.8/2.1 /1.5	2.9	4.4	15.8
BM	Oc.4574	PT1B			2			1868	A.W. Franks		2.0/1.8 /1.7	3.7	5.4	
BM	Oc.7279.a	HAAKAI			1			1871	Alfred W. Hirt/ A.W. Franks		7.6/4.7 /2.7	5.8	8.3	160.0
BM	Oc.7279. b	HAAKAI			1			1871	see above		7.5/4.8 /2.8	5.7	8.2	177.8
BM	Oc1842,1 210.123.a	PT1B	X		2	1840		1842	Edward Belcher			ca. 0.9	4.9	
BM	Oc1842,1 210.123.b	PT1B			2	1840		1842	see above		2.8/2.6 /1.6	3.9	5.2	
BM	Oc1929,1 111.1	PT2B			4/ 5			1929	Capt Edward Louis Gruning		1.6/1.7	3.9	5.6	
BM	Oc1929,1 111.2	PT2B			2/ 3			1929	see above		1.6/1.6	3.4	5.0	
BM	Oc1931,1 118.77	PT2B	X		6/ 7			1931	Alban Head			3.2	3.8	

BM	Oc1931,1 118.79.a	HAAKAI			1			1931	see above		8.1/5.1 /2.5	6.6	9.0	168.4
BM	Oc1931,1 118.79.b	HAAKAI			1			1931	see above		7.9/5.1 /2.3	5.9	8.1	165.2
BM	Oc1954,0 6.407	OTHER			2			1937	Wellcome Museum, possibly from C. de Mortillet		Ø1.2/ D.0.9	2.0	2.9	
BM	Oc1980,Q .1057	HAAKAI			0			1874	(Stephen?) Isaacson/ A.W. Franks		2.7/2.0 /1.7	3.0	4.7	18.9
BM	Oc1980,Q .1058	HAAKAI			1			1874	see above		2.4/2.0 /1.5	3.0	4.4	15.2
BM	Oc1980,Q .1060.a?	HAAKAI			0			1980	LMS		-	-	-	-
BM	Oc1980,Q .1060.b?	HAAKAI			0			1980	see above		-	-	-	-
BM	Oc1980,Q .1060.c?	HAAKAI			0			1980	see above		-	-	-	-
BM	Oc1980,Q .1064	PT1A			0			1980	unknown		3.4/3.0 /1.7	5.6	7.3	
BM	Oc1982,Q .674	HAAKAI			0			1980	LMS					
CUMA A	1923.114 B	PT3			2	1845		1923	Baron Anatole von Hügel		1.5/1.5	2.3	3.8	
CUMA A	1923.114 C	PT3			2	1845		1923	see above		1.4/1.2	2.8	4.0	
CUMA A	33.555	PT2B			8			1933	Moyses Museum, Bury St Edmunds		1.5/1.5	3.8	5.3	
CUMA A	E 1898.21	PT2A			3			1898	William Downing Webster		1.7/1.4	4.1	5.5	
HTIM	96-3-003	HAAKAI		X	1			1996	?	X				
HTIM	sn1	HAAKAI		X	1				?	X				
HTIM	sn2	HAAKAI	X	X	1				?	X				
HTIM	99-03- 077-01	OTHER		X				1988- 1999?	?	X				
HTIM	99-03- 077-02	OTHER		X				1988- 1999?	?	X				
HTIM	ET25	OTHER		X					?	X				
HTIM	ET29	OTHER		X					?	X				
MBSM	176a	PT1A						1825	Alexandre Isidore Leroy de Barde (1777-1829)	X				
MBSM	176b	PT1A						1825	see above	X				
MBSM	384	HAAKAI			1			1877	L. Yvan	X				
MBSM	385	HAAKAI			1			1877	see above	X				
MEG	008104	PT2A	X		4			1920	MEN (André Krajewski?)	X				
MEG	008105	PT2A			3			1920	see above	X				
MEG	014743	PT2B			6/ 7			1935	René Gouzy	X				
MEG	041789- 01	HAAKAI			1			1981	Émile Chambon (1905-1993)	X				
MEG	041789- 02	HAAKAI			1			1981	see above	X				
MEG	K000949	PT2A	X		3			1881	Godefroy Lunel	X				
MEG	K000950	PT2A			3			1881	see above	X				

MEG	008110	UUHEI					1920	MEN (André Krajewski?)	X				
MEG	008111	UUHEI					1920	see above		H7.0/ W3.7/ D3.0			
MEG	Ethoc 056042	UUHEI						unknown	X				
MEN	V.21	PT1B			2	1825- 1840?	1841	Frédéric Favarger		2.7/2.9 /1.8	3.8	5.6	19.9
MEN	V.22	PT1B			2	1825- 1840?	1841	see above		2.6/2.7 /1.5	4.0	5.4	15.8
MEN	V.25	PT1B			1	1825- 1840?	1841	see above		2.1/1.9 /1.8	3.4	5.1	12.2
MEN	V.26	PT2A			3	1825- 1840?	1841	see above		1.7/2.0	3.0	5.0	10.6
MEN	V.7a	HAAKAI			1	1908- 1913?	1915	André Krajewski	X				
MEN	V.7b ¹⁶⁰	HAAKAI			1	1908- 1913?	1915	see above	X		6.3	7.8	22.4
MEN	V.8	PT2B	X		6/ 7	1908- 1913?	1915	see above			3.6	4.0	ca. 3.5
MET	1979.206. 1639a	HAAKAI			1		1979	Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection	X				
MET	1979.206. 1639b	HAAKAI			1		1979	see above	X				
MFK	50-30-7a	HAAKAI			1		1951	Arthur Speyer, Bodenburg		6.9/4.4 /2.7	6.8	9.5	147.3
MFK	50-30-7b	HAAKAI			1		1951	see above		7.8/4.9 /2.8	6.2	8.9	169.2
MFK	J11	PT1A			1	1804	1880	Bavarian State; collected by Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff		4.2/3.7 /1.8	5.7	7.5	35.3
MFK	J12	PT1	X		0	1804	1880	see above		3.8/3.6 /1.9			23.8
MFK	J13	PT1	X		0	1804	1880	see above		3.6/3.4 /2.0			21.5
MFK	J147	PT1	X		0	1804	1880	see above		3.6/3.2 /1.1			21.5
MHNL	990.2.122 7	HAAKAI					1900	Barrois		ca. 8.3/ 3.5/1.5	ca. 6.5	ca. 8.0	
MHNL	990.2.205 1.1	PT1B			1		1850?	A. Moillet		ca. 3.5/ 2.0	ca. 3.2	ca. 5.2	
MHNL	990.2.205 1.2	PT1B			1		1850?	see above		ca. 3.3/ 1.7	ca. 4.3	ca. 6.0	
MHNL	990.2.205 2.1	HAAKAI			1		1850?	see above		ca. 9.0/ 6.5/3.0	ca. 7.0	ca. 10	
MHNL	990.2.205 2.2	HAAKAI			1		1850?	see above		ca. 9.0/ 7.0/3.1	ca. 6.9	ca. 10	
MHNL	990.2.206 7	PT1B	X		2		1850?	A. Moillet?			ca. 3.8	ca. 4.5	
MHNL	NNBA- 6105-1	KOUHAU						unknown		ca. 14.5 /8.0 /0.5	ca. 8.0	ca. 8.5	
MHNL	NNBA- 6105-2	KOUHAU	X					unknown		ca. 9.5/ 8.0/0.5	ca. 8.0	ca. 8.5	
MKB	Vc 68a	UUHEI				1908- 1913?	1915	André Krajewski (via MEN 1919)		H6.6/ W3.0/ D2.8			

¹⁶⁰ The detached spur is kept in the storage rooms; its measurements are in italics.

MKB	Vc 68b	UUHEI					1908-1913?	1915	see above		H6.5/ W5.4/ D2.2			
MKB	Vc 70	PT2A	X		3		1908-1913?	1915	see above			3.1	4.0	4.4
MKB	Vc 71	PT2B	X		3		1908-1913?	1915	see above			ca. 3.5	4.2	3.9
MKB	Vc 72	PT2B	X		4/ 5		1908-1913?	1915	see above			ca. 3.8	4.2	3.5
MKB	Vc 450	UUHEI				1930-1933?		1933-1934	Theo Meier & Lucas Staehelin, Basel		H8.4/ W3.9/ D2.1			
MKB	Vc 451	OTHER				1930-1933? ¹⁶¹		1933-1934	see above		Ø1.6/ D1.1	2.9	4.0	14.4
MKB	Vc 452	OTHER				1930-1933?		1933-1934	see above		Ø1.6/ D0.9	2.6	3.5	5.6
MKB	Vc 454	HAAKAI	X	X		1930-1933?		1933-1934	see above		7.9/4.6 /2.5	4.8	7.3	115.2
MKB	Vc 620	HAAKAI		X		1930-1933?		1933-1934	see above		4.9/4.7 /2.1	3.8	5.9	70.6
MKB	Vc 622	HAAKAI		X		1930-1933?		1933-1934	see above		2.9/2/ 1/1.2	3.5	4.7	14.7
MKB	Vc 623	HAAKAI		X	1	1930-1933?		1933-1934	see above		2.4/2.1 /1.4	3.4	4.8	17.0
MKB	Vc 624	HAAKAI	X	X		1930-1933?		1933-1934	see above		4.0/3.5 /0.9			16.5
MKB	Vc 625	HAAKAI	X	X		1930-1933?		1933-1934	see above		4.1/3.5 /0.8			14.5
MKB	Vc 734	HAAKAI			1			1933	A. Vayson de Pradenne, Paris		7.2/5.1 /2.6	6.9	9.2	145.5
MKB	Vc 1221	OTHER		X	0	1930-1933?		1933-1934	Theo Meier & Lucas Staehelin, Basel		Ø1.8/ D1.1	3.0	4.1	9.2
MKB	Vc 1223	PT2B	X	X	1	1930-1933?		1933-1934	see above				2.1	0.8
MKB	Vc 1224	PT2B	X	X	?	1930-1933?		1933-1934	see above				3.8	1.0
MKB	Vc 1225	PT2	X	X		1930-1933?		1933-1934	see above		1.7/1.5			6.2
MKB	Vc 1226	PT2A	X	X	3	1930-1933?		1933-1934	see above			0.6	4.0	2.8
MKB	Vc 1227	PT2	X	X		1930-1933?		1933-1934	see above		1.8/1.6			
MKB	Vc 1228	PT2A	X	X	4	1930-1933?		1933-1934	see above			ca. 4.2	4.8	4.1
MKB	Vc 1229	PT2	X	X		1930-1933?		1933-1934	see above		1.9/1.5			
MKB	Vc 1242	PT1B	X	X	2	1930-1933?		1933-1934	see above			4.4	5.3	5.0
MKB	Vc 1243	PT1B	X	X	1	1930-1933?		1933-1934	see above				4.9	5
MKB	Vc 1244	PT1B	X	X	2	1930-1933?		1933-1934	see above				4.9	5.1
MKB	Vc 1248	PT1	X	X		1930-1933?		1933-1934	see above		3.0/2.9 /2.1			13.7
MKB	Vc 1249	PT1	X	X		1930-1933?		1933-1934	see above		1.5/1.4 /1.6			7.9

¹⁶¹ MKB Objects Vc 451, Vc 452 and Vc 454 were collected in Hanaiapa, Hiva Oa.

MKB	Vc 1432	PT2	X	X		1930-1933?		1933-1934	see above		1.8/1.5			7.6
MKB	Vc 1433	HAAKAI		X		1930-1933?		1933-1934	see above		2.6/2.0 /1.3	3.5	4.8	15.0
MKB	Vc 1434	HAAKAI		X		1930-1933?		1933-1934	see above		1.9/1.4 /1.6	2.8	4.4	8.3
MKG	ET.35.5.4 3	HAAKAI		X	1			1935	unknown	X				
MKG	ET.47.75- 1	PT2A			3			1947	unknown	X				
MKG	ET.47.75- 2	PT2B			3			1947	unknown	X				
MQB	70.2012.2 6.1.1	UUHEI						2012	Alphonse Long	X				
MQB	70.2012.2 6.1.2	UUHEI						2012	see above	X				
MQB	71.1887.3 1.31	HAAKAI			1			1887	Prince Roland Bonaparte		6.8/4.9 /2.2	6.0	8.1	134.0
MQB	71.1887.3 1.32	HAAKAI			1			1887	see above	X				
MQB	71.1887.3 1.33	HAAKAI			1			1887	see above	X				
MQB	71.1887.3 1.34.1	HAAKAI			1			1887	see above	X				
MQB	71.1887.3 1.34.2	HAAKAI			1			1887	see above		6.4/4.3 /2.8	6.0	8.5	120.9
MQB	71.1887.3 1.35	OTHER			0			1887	see above	X				
MQB	71.1887.3 1.36.1	OTHER			0			1887	see above		1.2/1.2	2.5	3.7	4.6
MQB	71.1887.3 1.36.2	OTHER			0			1887	see above		1.2/1.3	2.2	3.5	4.3
MQB	71.1887.3 1.37	OTHER			0			1887	see above		1.4/1.3	2.7	4.0	6.0
MQB	71.1887.3 1.38.1	PT1B			2			1887	Prince Roland Bonaparte; Cook? ¹⁶²	X				
MQB	71.1887.3 1.38.2	PT1B			4			1887	see above	X				
MQB	71.1887.3 1.39	PT1B?	X		3			1887	Prince Roland Bonaparte	X				
MQB	71.1887.3 1.40	PT1B			3			1887	see above	X				
MQB	71.1887.3 1.41	PT1B?	X		3			1887	see above	X				
MQB	71.1887.3 1.42	PT1B			3			1887	see above	X				
MQB	71.1887.3 1.43	PT1B			2			1887	see above	X				
MQB	71.1887.3 1.44-1	PT3			2			1887	see above		1.9/1.6	3.4	5.0	17.5
MQB	71.1887.3 1.44-2	PT3			2			1887	see above		1.9/1.6	3.3	4.8	18.4
MQB	71.1900.5 .1.1-2	PT2A			3			1900	Musée de l'Homme; Musée national d'histoire naturelle		1.8/1.4	4.0	5.4	10.3
MQB	71.1900.5 .2.1-2 ¹⁶³	PT2A			2			1900	see above	X	<i>1.7/1.1</i>			5.3
MQB	71.1900.5 .3.1-2	PT2B			3			1900	see above		1.9/1.6	3.2	4.8	8.3

¹⁶² See footnote 127.

¹⁶³ The loose cap is kept in the storage rooms; its measurements are in italics.

MQB	71.1900.5 .4	PT3			2			1900	see above	X				
MQB	71.1909.1 9.10.1 Oc D	PT3			3			1909	Musée de l'Homme; Musée de Marine du Louvre; Le Goaran de Tromelin		1.8/1.4	3.2	4.5	13.7
MQB	71.1909.1 9.10.2 Oc D	PT3			3			1909	see above		1.8/1.5	3.0	4.5	13.4
MQB	71.1909.1 9.22.1 Oc D	KOUHAU							Musée de l'Homme; Musée de la Marine; donated by Jean-Benoît Amédée Collet	X				
MQB	71.1909.1 9.22.2 Oc D	KOUHAU							see above	X				
MQB	71.1930.2 2.3	UUHEI						1930	Paul Nordmann/ Louis Rollin		H6.7/ W7.0/ D2.7			17.7
MQB	71.1930.2 2.4	PT2B	X		2?			1930	see above				4.0	3.6
MQB	71.1930.2 2.5	HAAKAI						1930	see above		2.2/1.7 /1.2	3.0	4.0	9.9
MQB	71.1930.5 0.53.1-2	HAAKAI		X	1			1930	Louis Rollin		5.0/3.2 /2.6	5.8	8.1	76.7
MQB	71.1933.4 4.2	HAAKAI		X	1			1933	Siméon Delmas		6.1/4.8 /2.2	6.2	8.2	111.7
MQB	71.1938.1 96.1	PT2B	X		6?			1938	Mr Charlier	X				
MQB	71.1939.8 1.11	HAAKAI		X	0			1939	Jeanine Boucher		6.4/3.8 /2.5	6.1	8.4	100.1
MQB	71.1949.4 1.3	PT2B			6/ 7	(Fatu Hiva)		1949	Mme de Rocheprise; ancienne collection Eugène Caillot	X				
MQB	71.1949.4 1.4	OTHER			0			1949	Mme de Rocheprice		1.2/1.2	2.3	3.5	4.8
MQB	71.1950.3 0.529	HAAKAI			4			1950	Henri-Paul Vayson de Pradenne	X				
MQB	71.1960.1 12.2.1	PT2A			2			1960	Musée de l'Homme		1.5/1.3	2.8	4.1	7.6
MQB	71.1960.1 12.2.2	PT2A			2			1960	see above	X				
MQB	71.1963.2 2.3	PT2B?	X		6/ 7	(Nuku Hiva)		1963	see above	X				
MQB	72.1965.5 .1-1	PT2B			6/ 7			1965	Musée national des arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie	X				
MQB	72.1965.5 .1.1	PT2B	X		6/ 7			1965	see above			3.8	4.5	Total incl.
MQB	72.1965.5 .1.2	PT2B	X		6/ 7			1965	see above			3.8	4.5	band: 16.8
MQB	72.1965.5 .2	PT2A	X		3			1965	see above				4.3	3.2

MQB	72.1970.7 .1	PT2A			2			1970	see above	X				
MQB	72.1970.7 .2	PT2A			3			1970	see above	X				
MQB	72.84.227 .1	KOUHAU							Musée national des arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie; Musée d'archéologie nationale; donated by Jean-Benoît Amédée Collet		17.5/ 9.4/0.4	6.2	6.6	13.7
MQB	72.84.227 .2	KOUHAU							see above		17.6/ 9.1/0.4	5.1	5.5	12.1
MTI	298	HAAKAI		X	1			?	Musée de Pape'ete		7.3/4.6 /ca. 2.8	ca. 5.6	8.4	151
MTI	299	HAAKAI		X	1			?	see above		7.0/4.5 /ca. 2.5	ca. 5.0	7.5	126.2
MTI	300	HAAKAI		X	0			?	see above		6.4/4.7 /ca. 2.3	ca. 4.5	6.8	115
MTI	301	HAAKAI			1			?	see above		4.0/3.6 /ca. 1.5	ca. 4.2	5.7	37.4
MTI	572	HAAKAI		X	1			1948	M. Georges Spitz		7.2/4.7 /ca. 2.4	ca. 6.1	9.5	166.8
MTI	80.04.30	OTHER			3			1980	James Hooper	X				
MTI	80.08.05	OTHER			1			1980	see above	X				
MTI	80.08.06	HAAKAI			1			1980	K.A. Webster, 1947; James Hooper		6.6/4.9 /ca. 2.6	ca. 5.9	9.3	163.1
MTI	80.08.07	HAAKAI			1			1980	see above		5.4/4.0 /ca. 1.9	ca. 4.0	5.9	69.9
MTI	81.05.83	HAAKAI			1			1981	Yoshi Sinoto, Hawaii		5.7/4.2 /ca. 1.7	ca. 5.4	7.1	75.3
MTI	81.10.01	HAAKAI			2			1981	?		5.7/4.6 /ca. 2.0	ca. 5.3	7.3	91.7
MTI	D2010.4. 5	HAAKAI	X	X	0			2010	?		2.7/2.1 /ca. 1.8	ca. 3.0	4.8	13.2
MV	RV-1474- 12-01	PT1B			2	1825		1905	Collected by Adrianus Cosijn ¹⁶⁴		3.0/2.6 /1.6	4.5	6.1	25.4
MV	RV-1474- 12-02	PT1B			2	1825		1905	see above		3.0/2.8 /1.9	4.5	6.4	26.1
MV	RV-2668- 3039	PT1B	X		2			1920	Natura Artis Magistra				5	7.3
MV	RV-2668- 3040	PT1B	X		2			1920	see above				4.8	6.8
MV	RV-356- 2a	PT2B			2			1882	Museum Godeffroy		1.5/1.5	3.6	5.1	Total incl.
MV	RV-356- 2b	PT2B			2			1882	see above		1.5/1.7	2.9	4.6	band: 25.7
MV	RV-356- 3a	UUHEI						1882	see above		L6.0/ W4.0			12.9
MV	RV-356- 3b	UUHEI						1882	see above		L7.0/ W4.0			11.8

¹⁶⁴ For further details see Appendix E.

MV	RV-360-7180-01	PT1A/B		1	1825		1833-1842/1883	Collected by Johan Frederik Kist ¹⁶⁵		2.1/1.8 /1.6	3.8	5.4	10.4
MV	RV-360-7180-02	PT1A/B		1	1825		1833-1842/1883	see above		2.0/2.0 /1.3	3.8	5.1	11.0
MV	RV-524-63	HAAKAI		4			1885	L. Yvan	X				
MV	RV-524-64	HAAKAI		2			1885	see above		7.9/5.7 /3.0	6.4	8.9	209.4
MV	RV-569-3_01	PT2B		6/7			1886	see above	X				
MV	RV-569-3_02	PT2B		4/5			1886	see above	X				
NBWM	2000.22.2	HAAKAI		1			2000	Hurst Gallery, Cambridge MA		6.4/4.4 /1.6	6.3	7.9	108.8
NBWM	2001.100.1971	HAAKAI		1			2001		X				
NBWM	2001.100.2245	HAAKAI		1	1834-1840 (1838?)		1997	Admiral Dumont d'Urville; Hurst Gallery, Cambridge MA		8.0/4.4 /2.5	6.5	9.0	157.6
NMNH	405681	HAAKAI		1			1966	Morton D. May		6.7/5.0 /2.7	5.2	7.7	154.1
PM	18005A	HAAKAI		4	1874?		1891	William Pepper; collected by Charles D. Voy		6.0/4.0 /2.6	5.6	8.0	125.5
PM	18005B	HAAKAI		1	1874?		1891	see above		6.6/4.9 /2.5	6.7	9.0	147.4
PM	18005C	HAAKAI		1	1874?		1891	see above		7.3/5.8 /2.2	7.4	9.6	-
PM	18005D	HAAKAI		3	1874?		1891	see above		6.1/4.7 /2.7	6.8	9.2	125.8
PM	18005E	HAAKAI		1	1874?		1891	see above		6.7/4.3 /2.0	6.1	8.1	125.9
PM	18005F	HAAKAI		1	1874?		1891	see above		6.9/5.2 /2.8	5.6	8.2	173.1
PM	18023K	PT2B	X	4	1874?		1891	see above			3.9	4.7	3.4
PM	18023L	PT2B	X	X? 4	1874?		1891	see above			4.1	4.9	3.7
PM	18023M	PT2	X		1874?		1891	see above		1.8/1.7			8.1
PM	18023N	PT2	X		1874?		1891	see above		1.8/1.7			8.0
PM	18023O	PT2	X		1874?		1891	see above		1.7/1.7			7.0
PM	18023P	PT2	X		1874?		1891	see above		1.5/1.2			5.5
PM	18023Q	PT2	X		1874?		1891	see above		1.4/1.7			6.3
PM	18023R	PT2	X		1874?		1891	see above		1.4/1.5			4.3
PMAE	10-38-70/76390	PT2B		6/7			1910				4.0	4.8	10.9
PMAE	10-38-70/76390.1	PT2B		6/7			1910	George Osgood Jr.			4.0	4.8	10.4
PMAE	10-38-70/76391	PT1B?	X	3			1910				4.2	5.2	4.5
PMAE	10-38-70/76391.1	PT1B?	X	1			1910				4.0	4.7	4.2

¹⁶⁵ For further details see Appendix E.

PMAE	10-38-70/76392	PT2B	X		8		1910				3.4	4.2	3.2
PMAE	10-38-70/76392.1	PT1B?	X		3		1910					5.6	6.3
Private collection	134	HAAKAI			1		(2015)	Previous collection Pierre Vérité, Paris		5.7/4.3 /ca. 2.0	ca. 5.9	7.9	83.5
Private collection	986	HAAKAI			1		(2015)	see above		6.0/4.1 /ca. 3.0	ca. 6.2	9.2	103.2
PRM	1884.84.38	PT1B			2		1874	Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt Rivers		4.4/4.0 /2.4	4.5	6.9	43.6
PRM	1884.84.39	PT2A			3		1874	see above		1.8/2.0	3.5	5.5	12.3
PRM	1884.84.40	PT2A			3		1874	see above		1.9/2.2	3.9	6.1	13.3
PRM	1884.84.41	HAAKAI			0		1881	see above		6.1/4.2 /2.1	5.2	7.3	87.3
PRM	1884.84.42	HAAKAI			0		1881	see above		6.8/4.6 /2.9	6.5	9.4	125.5
PRM	1886.1.707	PT1A			0	1774	1776	Ashmolean Museum; collected by Johann Reinhold Forster and George Forster		3.3/2.9 /1.9	5.5	7.4	20.8
PRM	1918.42.29	PT1B			2		1918	Henry Balfour		3.3/2.2	4.5	6.7	23.2
PRM	1923.87.34	PT2B	X		3	1860-1908?	1908	Charles Smith			3.6	4.4	4.3
PRM	1972.6.5.1	PT2A			3		1972	Canonesses of St Augustine via D.M. Rogers, Bodleian Library		1.8/1.5	3.5	5.0	14.8
PRM	1972.6.5.2	PT2A			3		1972	see above		1.8/1.9	3.3	4.9	13.5
TM	TM-1322-248a	PT1B			2	1825	1892	Collected by Johan Christiaan van Haersolte ¹⁶⁶		3.1/2.9 /1.2	ca. 4.8	ca. 6.0	20.7
TM	TM-1322-248b	PT1B?	X		0	1825	1892	see above		3.0/2.8 /1.7			14.2
TM	TM-4847-14a	HAAKAI			0	1825	1892	see above		3.7/2.9 /1.6	4.2	5.8	31.1
TM	TM-4847-14b	HAAKAI			1	1825	1892	see above		3.7/2.8 /1.5	4.3	5.8	29.8
VMZ	02319a	PT1A			0	1804 (Nuku Hiva)	1888	Antiquarische Gesellschaft Zürich; collected by Johann Caspar Horner		4.2/4.2 /2.5	5.4	7.8	43.0

¹⁶⁶ For further details see Appendix E.

VMZ	02319b	PT1A			1	1804 (Nuku Hiva)		1888	see above		4.0/3.7 /2.1	5.8	7.7	34.8
VMZ	09416	HAAKAI			1			1936	Arthur Speyer, Berlin		6.8/4.6 /2.4	6.5	8.9	148.9
VMZ	11181a	PT2B			11			?	see above		1.3/1.8	3.3	5.1	6.8
VMZ	11181b	PT2B			11			?	see above		1.4/1.6	3.5	5.1	7.6
VMZ	11776	PT1B			2			?	Edgar de Beer, Brussel		2.3/2.1 /1.4	3.7	5.1	13.4

