THE MOVEMENT OF THINGS

TRACING EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY POLYNESIAN ARTEFACTS FROM HMS *PANDORA*

THE MOVEMENT OF THINGS

TRACING EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY POLYNESIAN ARTEFACTS FROM HMS *PANDORA*

by

Jasmin Ii Sabai Günther (Guenther)

This thesis/dissertation is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, College of Arts, Society and Education, James Cook University

and to the

Faculty of Arts, Department of Anthropology, Aarhus University

March 2021

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Tracing the movements of the eighteenth-century Polynesian artefacts from HMS *Pandora* has been an incredible journey and a rewarding experience. There are many people I have to thank for accompanying me along the way and for contributing to the finalisation of the project; without them, this thesis would not have been possible.

First and foremost, I wish to express gratitude to my primary supervisors, Rosita Henry and Ton Otto. I always felt very lucky to have you by my side: your endless support, advice and generosity have greatly shaped this project and led to its completion. Thank you for guiding me, while also encouraging me to follow my own path. In addition, Cameron Warner and Chantal Knowles kindly agreed to join my supervisory team and provided me with valuable comments and suggestions. Indeed, I was very fortunate to be able to study at both James Cook University in Australia and Aarhus University in Denmark in a cotutelle arrangement.

When I left Germany and moved to Queensland, I was welcomed by many wonderful people. I became part of the Visual, Digital, Material Research Group at the Cairns Institute, which connected me to exceptional researchers and fellow PhD students. Jennifer Deger, in particular, has been a continuous source of inspiration and great mentor, whom I especially thank for helping me to place more trust in my creative abilities. Having started our respective journeys at around the same time, I found the best companions imaginable in Victoria Baskin Coffey and Matthew Buttacavoli; words cannot express how much your friendship, our research family and all the laughter have meant to me.

During the first year of my candidature, I spent much of my time at the Museum of Tropical Queensland in Townsville, where I was greatly supported in my work with the *Pandora* collection. I would like to thank Alison Mann and Sue Valis, in particular, for their helpfulness and guidance throughout the years. Later we were joined by Sophie Price, whose enthusiasm and assistance have significantly contributed to the realisation and success of the *Making Connections* exhibit. I am indebted to the Queensland Museum Network and the entire exhibition team; to me, the display was undoubtedly a high point of this journey. Moreover, I owe much to the previous research and writings about the *Pandora* collection by former employees of the museum, especially Peter Gesner and Peter Illidge.

The College of Arts, Society and Education and my office space at the university's Bebegu Yumba Campus in Townsville have provided me with an enjoyable work environment. I thank Simon Foale, Mike Wood and Florence Boulard for all their support and Maree Searston for patiently helping me cope with the administrative side of PhD life. Over the course of my candidature, I got to work alongside amazing colleagues, many of whom I consider my friends; their kind words of encouragement and the thought-provoking discussions during our lunch breaks have been invaluable.

My research, including my fieldwork in French Polynesia, was largely funded through a Postgraduate Research Scholarship (2016–2019) from James Cook University. I further thank the College of Arts, Society and Education for granting me additional financial aid through the MRF Competitive Funding Allocations both for the *Making Connections* exhibition project and the completion of this thesis. Aarhus University has also covered a part of my fieldwork and travel expenses, and I would like to thank everyone at the School of Culture and Society as well as the Moesgaard Museum for their hospitality and the opportunity to work and learn there. I want to specifically mention Mads Daugbjerg, Bodil Bjerring and Birgitte Højgaard.

Most importantly, I am indebted to the many people in French Polynesia, who have generously given so much of their time and kindly shared their stories and knowledge with me. The staff of the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles – Te Fare Manaha made me feel welcome from the very beginning of my stay at Tahiti. I thank the entire team, but especially former director Manouche Lehartel and current director, Miriama Bono. During this time, Vairea Teissier became a particularly dear colleague and friend, who inspired and pushed me to think differently. I was further aided by Moevai Caspar in my search for comparable objects within the museum's collections.

At the Centre des Métiers d'Art de la Polynésie française, I wish to thank director Viri Taimana, the professors – especially Jean-Daniel Tokainiua Devatine and Hihirau Vaitoare – and the students for the inspiring discussions and for allowing me to watch them make and create. Tokai kindly agreed to work on the *Making Connections* exhibition together, which was immensely enriched by his expertise and creativity. Indeed, I have to thank the many artists who were willing to talk to me about the *Pandora* collection as well as their art, because they have helped me to approach these eighteenth-century artefacts from a new angle. Here, I would like to name Hiro Ou Wen, who also generously contributed to the *Making Connections*

exhibition, as well as his daughter Orama Ou Wen, and Moïse Barnabas, Firmin Timau and Mataitai Tetuanui.

Over the course of my stay at Tahiti, I was invited by other institutions and people, whom I thank for their time and expert advice. I would like to particularly mention Chris Ballard, Eric Conte, Hélène Guiot, Aymeric Hermann, Tamara Maric and Guillaume Molle. Indeed, I wish to thank all the people, in Polynesia and beyond, who shared my interest in the *Pandora* collection and my excitement for the artefacts. Whenever I contacted a museum institution, university or individual researchers, I was met with an immediate readiness to help and I am enormously grateful for all the assistance I received in finding information and publications, and even individual catalogue cards or objects. Similarly, my requests for the use of the images shown in this thesis have been kindly granted by the respective authors and institutions. Furthermore, I would like to thank the kind people that have provided me with thoughtful and critical feedback as well as editorial corrections during the final stages of writing.

At last, I wish to highlight the people 'at home', without whom I could not have finalised this project either. 'Home', for me, is now stretched over many regions of this world and I could not be more grateful for the many people that have let me into their lives. In French Polynesia, I was incredibly fortunate to find and live with a wonderful family. I thank Manu, Élise, Tuhei, Ariipaea, Opeta and Mehiti as well as the extended family in Tahiti, Ra'iātea, Taha'a and Maupiti for welcoming me with open arms and for their generosity. *Merci beaucoup et māuruuru roa à vous tous en Polynésie – sans vous, cette recherche n'aurait pas été possible. Je n'oublierai jamais votre gentilesse et votre générosité*.

From the earliest stages of my studies, I have been supported by my parents, April and Mario. I thank them for their trust in my ability to find my own way, especially since they were sometimes unsure about what anthropologists actually do. My brother, Michael, has always been there to cheer me on and cheer me up; I am unable to express the importance of his presence in my life in a few words. I have to thank him, my parents and my friends in Germany for their patience and for forgiving me when visits, phone calls and messages became less frequent, as my thesis progressed. Luckily, I was also surrounded by great friends in Townsville, who – especially when I needed it most – took me out for a cup of coffee, a bite to eat, a walk or a camping trip. I thank Roderick for helping me find happiness in dancing and come out of my shell, whenever I hid away to write on my thesis for too long.

These acknowledgements are written in loving memory of Mémé Sophie. I was deeply saddened to learn that I would not be able to visit her again (or show her my finished thesis, as she had asked of me before we parted ways), but I will continue to treasure her gifts and the memories of her gentleness.

Lastly, I wish to dedicate this thesis to the unknown makers of the Polynesian artefacts recovered from *Pandora*'s wreck. I sometimes wonder if they imagined how many people would be connected across space and time through their creations and how many journeys and stories they would help set in motion.

STATEMENT OF THE CONTRIBUTION OF OTHERS

Nature of Assistance *Project Assistance*	**Contributor**
Supervision	Prof. Rosita Henry (JCU) Prof. Ton Otto (JCU/AU) A/Prof. Cameron Warner (AU) Chantal Knowles (formerly Queensland Museum)
Financial support (including stipend)	College of Arts, Society and Education (JCU) Graduate Research School (JCU) College of Arts (AU)
Research assistance and collaboration	The staff of the Museum of Tropical Queensland, especially Alison Mann, Sue Valis and Sophie Price Peter Gesner (formerly Queensland Museum Network) Peter Illidge (formerly Queensland Museum Network) The staff of the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles, especially Manouche Lehartel, Miriama Bono, Vairea Teissier, Tamara Maric, Tara Hiquily, Moevai Caspar, Mataitai Tetuanui The staff of the Direction de la Culture et du Patrimoine The staff of the Centre des Métiers d'Art de la Polynésie française, especially Jean-Daniel Tokainiua Devatine, Viri Taimana, Hihirau Vaitoare Hiro Ou Wen, Orama Ou Wen (Te Tavake Créations) Moïse Barnabas Firmin Timau Prof. Eric Conte (Université de la Polynésie française) Aymeric Hermann (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique/Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History) Guillaume Molle (Australian National University) Chris Ballard (Australian National University) Michelle Richards (Australian National University) Bethany Holland (Norfolk Island Museum) Nigel Erskine (formerly Australian National Maritime Museum) Hélène Guiot Alexandre Pinto Jean Tekura Mason (Museum Cook Islands/Cook Islands Library & Museum Society) Nicole Zornhagen, Isabel Kreuder (Institut für Ethnologie und Ethnologische Sammlung der Universität Göttingen) Dorothea Deterts (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin) Kathryn White (Peabody Essex Museum) Faye Belsey, Nicholas Crowe (Pitt Rivers Museum)
Intellectual support (incl. editorial support) during the final stages of writing	Prof. Rosita Henry (JCU) Prof. Ton Otto (JCU/AU) Jean-Daniel Tokainiua Devatine (CMA) Alison Mann, Maddy McAllister (MTQ/QM)
Translations of abstract	Aussie Translations

Provision of Figures	
Figures 3, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 31, 32	Queensland Museum Network (with permission)
Figures 5, 7	British Library (no known copyright restrictions)
Figures 6, 20, 33	(no known copyright restrictions)
Figure 15	Andy Mills (with permission)
Figure 21	Kon-Tiki Museum (with permission)
Figure 30	(copyright holders could not be identified or contacted)
Figure 27	Mataitai Tetuanui (with permission)
Figure 34	Musée de Tahiti et des Îles (with permission)
Figure 39	Diego Tamburini, Julie Adams (with permission)
Figure 40	Moïse Barnabas (with permission)
Figure 41	Élise Tuheiava (with permission)
Figure 43	Sophie Price (with permission)
Figure 44	Hiro Ou Wen (with permission)
Figure 45	Jean-Daniel Tokainiua Devatine (with permission)
Figure 51	Firmin Timau (with permission)

All other photographs were taken and provided by the author, Jasmin Günther.

Every reasonable effort has been made to gain permission and acknowledge the owners of copyright material. I would be pleased to hear from any copyright owner who has been omitted or incorrectly acknowledged.

ABSTRACTS (ENGLISH, DANISH, FRENCH)

The Movement of Things provides the first in-depth anthropological analysis of the Polynesian artefacts recovered from the wreck of HMS *Pandora*, which are today part of the Maritime Archaeology collections of the Queensland Museum Network. The thesis contributes to academic knowledge and debate by creatively developing a theoretical and methodological framework that highlights the interrelated perspectives of movement, mapping, materials and making. The engagement with the artefacts and the multiple relations they facilitate across time and space, further encouraged a critical reflection on collections and museums in general and to an exploration of how research and creative practice can bring out their relevance.

HMS *Pandora* sank in 1791 after a five-month search through Oceania for the mutineers of the *Bounty*. After the rediscovery of the ship in 1977, over six thousand objects were excavated from the wrecksite located on the outer Great Barrier Reef and transferred to the Museum of Tropical Queensland in Townsville, Australia. The assemblage included a small range of artefacts classified as Polynesian material culture, which proved that the European crew – like other visitors to the Pacific Ocean of their time – had engaged in collection activities during their voyage. To date, research on the objects has mainly been undertaken from an archaeological perspective with a strong focus on conservation science and reconstructing the past.

The anthropological theories and methods employed for this thesis have allowed a different kind of engagement with the Polynesian artefacts from HMS *Pandora*. Ethnographic research conducted in Tahiti facilitated the exchange of knowledge about them and discussions about their potential histories and value. The time spent in French Polynesia also drew attention to the presence of similar objects, leading to an exploration of the ways in which people in Oceania today relate to their dispersed cultural heritage in museums worldwide. Especially visible in the realm of art production, these objects and their makers set in motion a shift of focus: while the early stages of fieldwork were strongly influenced by the concept of mapping and the hope of finding stories directly related to *Pandora*, more space was gradually given to acts of making, as an understanding of their importance grew. This shift further led to a closer look at the very materials the objects were made from and raised awareness of the absences that go along with presences.

Given the limitations of what can be reconstructed about the past, this thesis advocates for a focus on the present significance and future potential of the artefacts. As part of this view and a responsibility felt towards the *Pandora* collection, an exhibition project was developed in collaboration with artists based in Tahiti with the aim of creating a more tangible link between the artefacts and people in Oceania. The conceptualisation and realisation of the exhibition *Making Connections – French Polynesia and the HMS Pandora Collection* and its potential role as a generator of new stories are discussed. The creation and telling of new stories are explored as alternative ways of engaging with museum objects and of bringing out their relevance.

The thesis draws on writings from anthropology, archaeology, history and museum studies. On the assumption that taking a closer look at the manifold movements of things grants a better understanding of objects and people, the Polynesian artefacts from HMS *Pandora* are traced through time and across space. Here, movement is understood as a focus and feature of both the theory and method that have informed this research. The aim is not only to better understand the objects' roles in the context of eighteenth-century encounters and cross-cultural exchanges, but to explore what relationships they are – and could be – part of today. Despite the inevitable loss of materials and knowledge with the sinking of the ship, the artefacts continue to exist and have the potential to make new connections.

Ultimately, this thesis explores the relationships between people and objects, as well as the roles that old artefacts hold today. Although generally confined to one place, the Polynesian artefacts recovered from *Pandora*'s wreck – similar to the many museum objects worldwide – are still able to connect to people and far-away places. As traces from the past, they allow us to attend to the histories attached to them; and even if they remain silent about certain things, they can continue to move people and inspire them. *The Movement of Things* thus highlights the importance of continuous acts of making as well as the potential of museum objects and the people that relate to them to always create new knowledge and new stories.

Tingenes bevægelse
Sporing af polynesiske artefakter fra det 18. århundrede fra HMS *Pandora*

RESUMÉ

Tingenes bevægelse (*The Movement of Things*) giver den første dybdegående antropologiske analyse af polynesiske artefakter, der er bjærget fra vraget HMS *Pandora*, som i dag er en del af de maritime arkæologiske samlinger i Queensland Museum Network. Afhandlingen bidrager til akademisk viden og debat ved kreativt at udvikle en teoretisk og metodologisk ramme, der fremhæver de indbyrdes forbundne perspektiver ved bevægelse, kortlægning, materialer og tilvirkning. Engagementet med artefakterne og de mange relationer, de formidler på tværs af tid og rum, tilskyndede yderligere til en kritisk reflektion om samlinger og museer generelt og til en undersøgelse af, hvordan forskning og kreativ praksis kan fremhæve deres betydning.

HMS *Pandora* sank i 1791 efter fem måneders søgning gennem Oceanien efter mytteristerne fra *Bounty*. Efter genopdagelsen af skibet i 1977, blev mere end seks tusinde genstande udgravet fra vragstedet, der er beliggende på det ydre Great Barrier Reef, og overført til Museum of Tropical Queensland i Townsville, Australien. Samlingen omfattede en lille udvalg af artefakter klassificeret som polynesisk kultur, som beviste, at den europæiske besætning – som andre besøgende i Stillehavet under denne tid – havde deltaget i indsamlingsaktiviteter under deres rejse. Hidtil er undersøgelsen af genstandene hovedsageligt blevet foretaget ud fra et arkæologisk perspektiv med overvejende fokus på bevaringsvidenskab og rekonstruktion af fortiden.

De antropologiske teorier og metoder, der anvendes til denne afhandling, har givet mulighed for en anden slags inddragelse af de polynesiske artefakter fra *Pandora*. Etnografisk forskning udført på Tahiti fremmede udvekslingen af viden om disse og diskussioner om deres potentielle historier og værdi. Tiden, der blev tilbragt i Fransk Polynesien, henledte også opmærksomheden på forekomsten af lignende genstande, hvilket førte til en udforskning af måderne, hvorpå mennesker i Oceanien i dag forholder sig til deres spredte kulturarv i museer verden over. Disse genstande og deres skabere, der er særligt synlige inden for kunstproduktion, igangsatte et fokusskift: mens feltarbejdet i starten var stærkt påvirket af kortlægningsbegrebet og håbet om at finde historier, der var direkte relateret til *Pandora*, blev der gradvist givet mere plads til genstandenes tilvirkning, efterhånden som forståelsen af

deres betydning voksede. Dette skift førte yderligere til et nærmere kig på selve materialerne, som genstandene er fremstillet af, og en øget bevidsthed om de fravær, der følger med forekomsterne.

Som følge af grænserne for, hvad der er muligt at rekonstruere om fortiden, argumenterer denne afhandling for at der lægges vægt på artefakternes nuværende betydning og deres fremtidige potentiale. Som en del af denne opfattelse og en ansvarsfølelse over for *Pandora*-samlingen, blev der udviklet et udstillingsprojekt i samarbejde med kunstnere hjemmehørende på Tahiti med formålet om at skabe en mere håndgribelig forbindelse mellem artefakterne og folket i Oceanien. Konceptualiseringen og virkeliggørelsen af udstillingen *Skabelsen af forbindelser – Fransk Polynesien og HMS Pandora-samlingen* (*Making Connections – French Polynesia and the HMS Pandora Collection)* og dens potentielle rolle som frembringer af nye historier diskuteres. Skabelsen og fortællingen af nye historier udforskes som alternative måder til at beskæftige sig med museumsgenstande og fremhæve deres betydning. Afhandlingen trækker på værker om antropologi, arkæologi, historie og museumsstudier. På antagelsen, at et nærmere kig på tingenes utallige bevægelser giver en bedre forståelse af genstande og mennesker, følges de polynesiske artefakter fra HMS *Pandora* gennem tid og rum. Her forstås bevægelse som et fokus og aspekt ved både teorien og metodologien, der har dannet informationsgrundlaget for denne undersøgelse. Målet er ikke kun bedre at forstå genstandenes rolle i forbindelse med tværkulturelle sammentræf og udvekslinger i det attende århundrede, men at undersøge, hvilke relationer de er – og kunne være – en del af i dag. På trods af uundgåelige tab af materialer og viden som resultat af skibets forlis består artefakterne endnu og har muligheden for at skabe nye forbindelser.

I sidste ende undersøger denne afhandling forholdene mellem mennesker og genstande, såvel som de roller, gamle artefakter har i dag. Selv om de i almindelighed er begrænset til et sted, kan de polynesiske artefakter bjærget fra *Pandora*s vrag – på samme måde som mange museumsgenstande verden over – stadig skabe forbindelse til mennesker og fjerntliggende steder. Som spor fra fortiden giver de os mulighed for at følge med i historierne knyttet til dem, og selv om de forholder sig tavse om visse ting, kan de stadig bevæge mennesker og inspirere dem. *Tingenes bevægelse* fremhæver således betydningen af den fortsatte tilvirkning samt potentialet for museumsgenstande og mennesker med tilknytning til dem, til altid at skabe ny viden og nye historier.

Le mouvement des objets
Une étude sur les artefacts polynésiens du XVIIIe siècle découverts sur le HMS *Pandora*

RÉSUMÉ

Le mouvement des objets (*The Movement of Things*) est la première analyse anthropologique approfondie des artefacts polynésiens récupérés sur l'épave du HMS *Pandora*, qui font aujourd'hui partie de la collection d'archéologie maritime du Queensland Museum Network. Cette thèse contribue à faire avancer les connaissances et le débat universitaire en mettant en place, de manière créative, un cadre théorique et méthodologique qui met en évidence l'interdépendance du mouvement, de la cartographie, des matériaux et de la fabrication. La découverte d'artefacts et l'étude des relations facilitées par ces objets dans le temps et l'espace ont encouragé une réflexion critique sur les collections et les musées en général, ainsi qu'une exploration de la manière dont la recherche et la pratique créative peuvent en souligner la pertinence.

Le HMS *Pandora* a sombré en 1791, après cinq mois de voyage à travers l'Océanie à la recherche des mutins du *Bounty*. À la redécouverte du navire en 1977, plus de six mille objets ont été extraits du site de l'épave situé sur la partie extérieure de la Grande Barrière de Corail, puis transférés au Museum of Tropical Queensland à Townsville, en Australie. Ce groupe d'objets comprenait une petite série d'artefacts appartenant à la culture matérielle polynésienne, qui prouve que l'équipage européen — comme les autres visiteurs de l'océan Pacifique de leur temps — avait mené des activités de collecte pendant son voyage. Jusqu'à présent, la recherche sur ces objets a surtout été menée dans une perspective archéologique, avec un accent particulier sur la science de la conservation et la reconstruction du passé.

Les théories et les méthodes anthropologiques utilisées dans cette thèse ont permis de considérer les artefacts polynésiens du *Pandora* sous un angle différent. Les recherches ethnographiques menées à Tahiti ont facilité l'échange de connaissances à leur sujet, ainsi que les discussions sur leur histoire et sur leur valeur potentielle. Les études menées en Polynésie française ont également permis d'attirer l'attention sur la présence d'objets similaires, ce qui a conduit à une exploration de la façon dont les habitants contemporains d'Océanie perçoivent à leur patrimoine culturel dispersé à travers les musées du monde entier. Particulièrement

visibles dans le domaine de la production artistique, ces objets et leurs créateurs ont amorcé un glissement de perspective : alors que les premières étapes du travail de terrain étaient fortement influencées par le concept de cartographie et l'espoir de trouver des histoires directement liées au *Pandora*, une plus grande place a été progressivement accordée à l'acte de fabrication de ces objets, à mesure que leur importance était avérée. Ce changement a également permis d'examiner de plus près les matériaux dont sont faits les objets et de prendre conscience des absences qui accompagnent les présences.

Étant donné les limites de ce qui peut être reconstruit sur le passé, cette thèse préconise de se concentrer sur l'importance actuelle et le potentiel futur de ces artefacts. Dans le cadre de cette vision et d'une responsabilité ressentie envers la collection *Pandora*, un projet d'exposition a été développé en collaboration avec des artistes basés à Tahiti dans le but de créer un lien plus tangible entre les artefacts et les habitants d'Océanie. La conceptualisation et la réalisation de l'exposition *Tisser des liens — La Polynésie française et la collection HMS Pandora* (*Making Connections — French Polynesia et la collection HMS Pandora*) et son rôle potentiel en tant que générateur de nouvelles histoires y sont abordés. La création et la narration de nouvelles histoires sont explorées comme des moyens alternatifs d'aborder les objets de musée et d'en faire ressortir la pertinence.

Cette thèse s'appuie sur des écrits issus de l'anthropologie, de l'archéologie, de l'histoire et des études muséales. En partant du postulat qu'un examen plus approfondi du mouvement des choses permet de mieux comprendre les objets et les personnes, les mouvements des artefacts polynésiens du HMS *Pandora* sont retracés dans le temps et dans l'espace. Ici, le mouvement est vu comme un point central et une caractéristique de la théorie et de la méthode qui ont inspiré cette recherche. L'objectif est non seulement de mieux comprendre le rôle des objets dans le contexte des rencontres et des échanges interculturels du XVIIIe siècle, mais aussi d'explorer les relations dont ils font partie aujourd'hui, et celles qui pourraient exister. Malgré la perte inévitable de matériaux et de connaissances suite au naufrage du navire, les artefacts continuent d'exister et ont le potentiel de créer de nouvelles connexions.

Enfin, cette thèse explore les relations entre les personnes et les objets, ainsi que le rôle que les anciens artefacts ont à jouer aujourd'hui. Bien qu'ils soient généralement confinés à un seul endroit, les artefacts polynésiens récupérés sur l'épave du *Pandora* — comme de nombreux autres objets de musée du monde entier — conservent la capacité de créer des liens avec des

personnes et des lieux éloignés. En tant que vestiges du passé, ils nous permettent de nous approprier les histoires qui leur sont rattachées ; et en dépit du silence qu'ils gardent sur certains aspects, ils continuent à émouvoir et à inspirer. *The Movement of Things* souligne ainsi l'importance des actes de fabrication continus ainsi que le potentiel des objets de musée et des personnes qui interagissent avec eux à toujours créer de nouvelles connaissances et de nouvelles histoires.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Please note the chapters with icons can be read in order; the reasons for this are explained in the introduction.

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

Figures 1 and 2. Photographs of traces in the sand and a hermit crab. Maupiti, January 2018.

INTRODUCTION

TRACING THINGS AND MAKING A MOVE

Upon landing on my host father's home island of Maupiti, I was taken for a walk around the *motu*, or islet. My companions, many of whom I called my Tahitian family by that time, were eager to show me around the place – a place that was so familiar to them and completely new to me. After our walk, we sat down at the beach, where I tried to take in as much of the scenery as possible. The sand was imprinted by a variety of traces and I started to imagine the people, dogs and waves that had left their marks (Figure 1). Soon, my attention was drawn to other, regularly occurring lines made up of tiny steps, which were winding through the sand and crossing each other to form a beautiful pattern. The source of these tracks was unidentifiable to me, and I asked what animal had created them. A few seconds later, a hermit crab was held up (Figure 2) and let loose, so I could see its traces as they were being made.

Following traces and movements had been an important and constant feature of my stay in French Polynesia and was, in fact, the very reason for my relocation to the Society Islands in the first place. I had come to conduct research on museum objects and learn more about a collection of eighteenth-century Polynesian artefacts recovered from the shipwreck of HMS *Pandora*.

THE STORY OF HMS PANDORA

In November 1790, the British vessel HMS *Pandora* was despatched to the South Pacific to search for the mutineers of the *Bounty*, whom the Admiralty wanted to see captured and brought back to England for trial. The beginning of the crew's mission was promising, as 14 of the 25 mutineers were arrested soon after *Pandora*'s arrival in Tahiti on 23 March 1791 (Gesner 2000b, 5). In contrast, the following five-month journey, which led the seamen through the major Polynesian Islands west of Tahiti, remained futile and it was decided to set a course home. Failing to find safe passage through the Great Barrier Reef, however, *Pandora* ran aground on a submerged reef on 28 August 1791 and sank off the Queensland coast. While the

surviving men reached a nearby sand cay and prepared themselves for a long and difficult journey home (ibid., 12), *Pandora* would rest there for 186 years.

The search for the ship, which was based on a thorough analysis of the available historical information and first-hand accounts of *Pandora*'s voyage and wreckage, was difficult due to the remote and challenging environment (Gesner 2016, 3). Upon discovery of the wreck[1] in November 1977, a survey was commissioned to positively identify it as that of *Pandora* and assess its significance as an archaeological site (Henderson 1980, 26; Henderson, Lyon and MacLeod 1983, 31). The investigation of the material traces retrieved from the bottom of the ocean was crucial for this process. A rudder pintle, for example, was marked with a series of dots punched onto the surface in the form of the number '24', which corresponded with the number of guns carried on HMS *Pandora*. The object further had the name 'FORBES' and a broad arrow embossed on it, indicating that it was the property of the British government (Gesner 2000b, 23). Archival information provided information about a William Forbes, who was supplying a large proportion of the copper items used at the shipbuilding yard in Deptford, where *Pandora* had been built (Henderson, Lyon and MacLeod 1983, 33–35; Gesner 2016, 5). Launched on 17 May 1779, she was one of a class of ten 24-gun ships built during the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783). After the war, HMS *Pandora* was laid up in the River Medway until she was selected for the mission to capture the *Bounty* mutineers, for which she was refitted at Chatham Dockyard during the early autumn of 1790 (Henderson, Lyon and MacLeod 1983, 33).

With the successful identification of the wreck, the *Pandora* collection was formally constituted and the objects' movement into the museum was set in motion. The six artefacts recovered in 1977 were transported to the Queensland Museum in Brisbane and subsequently accessioned into its Maritime Archaeology collection (Campbell and Gesner 2000, 147; Gesner 2016, 8). Although the wreck had clearly suffered disintegration since sinking, the assessment survey concluded that it had remained in good condition and even speculated that HMS *Pandora* might be the most intact and coherent eighteenth-century wreck in Australian waters (Henderson 1979; Gesner 2016, 5–6). It was suggested that the wreck and its contents – given careful excavation – could provide valuable information on the technological features of the vessel, shed light on the crew and life on board a British naval ship during that period and enable

[1] The wreck lies within Pandora Entrance approximately 5 km to the north-west of Moulter Cay, which is located about 140 km east-south-east of the tip of Cape York (Gesner 2000b, 20).

productive comparisons with contemporaneous voyages (Henderson 1980, 30). Over the course of the following two decades, nine seasons of excavation were realised and over six thousand objects were removed from the site. Eventually, the *Pandora* collection found its home at the Museum of Tropical Queensland (MTQ) in Townsville, Australia, where it is stored and partly presented today.

:::

Among the objects retrieved from *Pandora*'s wreck were parts of the ship, equipment, tools, instruments, personal belongings of members of the crew, natural history specimens as well as artefacts classified as Polynesian material culture (Gesner 2016). Due to the fact that the ship did not break up on the Great Barrier Reef but settled virtually intact into the seabed and was covered by sand, many objects remained in remarkable condition and more or less undisturbed in their original setting (Henderson, Lyon and MacLeod 1983, 31–32; Gesner 2000b, 23). The assemblage of Polynesian artefacts proved that the European crew had engaged in collection activities during their travels despite the rather unusual nature of the voyage. The objects were apparently considered worthwhile acquiring and keeping even though the additional cargo occupied space, which was always at a premium on a ship.

Despite these material presences, however, it must be emphasised that many of the materials and much of the knowledge once attached to the artefacts have been lost with the sinking of the ship and its long time underwater. Valuable insights about the excavated objects have been gained through previous research (see, for example, Campbell 1997; Campbell and Gesner 2000; Fallowfield 2001; Gesner 2016; Illidge 2002), but mainly from an archaeological perspective with a strong focus on conservation science and reconstructing the past. Drawing on anthropological theories and methods, this PhD project has enabled a different kind of engagement with the Polynesian objects within the *Pandora* collection[2], which yet needed to

[2] It is worth noting that my project only concerned the objects within the collection that were classified as Polynesian material culture. This categorisation is connected to the distinction between so-called 'natural curiosities' and 'artificial curiosities', which was prevalent in Europe at the time of *Pandora*'s voyage. The two catalogues about the *Pandora* collection published in the *Memoirs of the Queensland Museum* (2000, 2016) feature a category for 'Natural history specimens' and 'Polynesian Objects', respectively. The distinction is mainly based on whether an object shows evidence of modification by humans. 'Natural curiosities' would usually be unaltered and included shell, bird, fish, insect, plant and mineral specimens (Campbell and Gesner 2000, 135). Shells, in particular, are featured heavily in the *Pandora* collection, possibly because they were easy for crew members to collect and presented few storage problems (ibid.). Although categorisations are doubtful at times (What if shells, although not been visibly altered, were used as containers or drinking bowls?), they served as a welcome means to limit the objects to be researched to a manageable amount.

be reconnected to people and institutions in Polynesia itself. Previous publications acknowledged that they could only include preliminary discussions of the Polynesian artefacts (e.g. Campbell 1997), with research affected by a lack of staff at the museum and budget constraints. The articles further seemed to be mainly concerned with the objects' roles in the context of the cross-cultural exchanges and with identifying possible collectors among *Pandora*'s European crew. Although their acquisition and subsequent move on board the ship has undoubtedly been an important moment in their history, there are many other movements to trace.

My aim was not only to better understand the objects in the context of eighteenth-century encounters and exchange, but to explore what relationships they are part of today. Having outlived those who once made or collected them, the artefacts continue to have the potential to make new connections and move people, in every sense of the word. My project facilitated the exchange of knowledge about the Polynesian artefacts from HMS *Pandora* (with the help of photographs) with people in Polynesia itself. Long-term research I conducted in Tahiti from March 2017 to February 2018 enabled discussions about the objects' potential histories and value. I further hoped to find and map out stories directly related to *Pandora*'s journey and artefacts – something that the museum's staff, both former and present, seemed to be curious about as well. Admittedly, it was a faint hope.

HMS *Pandora* had remained underwater and away from human attention for a very long time. Although her story had encouraged people to go on a mission to find her wreck, the search was not necessarily targeted at finding Polynesian objects, specifically. The available historical documents, including the captain's and surgeon's first-hand accounts, mention the exchanges with the inhabitants on the islands visited but do not provide any detailed information, which could then be reconnected to the Polynesian artefacts excavated from the wreck. The objects themselves are partly degraded or incomplete; after 186 years underwater, only certain materials have survived. Apart from what were very likely components of a Tahitian mourner's costume, the artefacts belong to object groups that were fairly typical for a collection of Oceanic 'artificial curiosities' of that time: wooden clubs, stone adzes and pounders, fishing tackle made from shell and bone, amongst a few other things – things that could be considered 'mundane'.

I vividly remember the worry of one of my fellow PhD students upon hearing about my hope to find stories about the Polynesian objects from the *Pandora* collection. I had just presented

Figure 3. Photographs of some of the Polynesian artefacts from the *Pandora* collection, taken by the author in 2016 at the Museum of Tropical Queensland. Image courtesy of the Queensland Museum Network.

my research plan as part of a public seminar to pass the very first milestone of my PhD candidature and the audience was invited to ask questions. What if there are *no* stories? I thought that this was an interesting concern because, in my mind, there are *always* stories to tell, even if they are stories about loss. Sometimes, as was the case with my research on the *Pandora* collection, stories can also be found indirectly. Today, several years later, I would further add that there are *always new* stories that can be created with these old artefacts. I will get back to this point at the end of this introduction.

MOVING WITH THINGS

Apart from the search for stories about the *Pandora* collection, whose 'success' was on the line, I saw value in the research project, which was indeed characterised by multiple layers. Although a relatively small assemblage of roughly 270 Polynesian artefacts, there are many other objects like them – 'hidden away' in storage rooms of museums worldwide. How do these objects (still) work in the world? What kinds of relationships do they afford? What can (and needs) to be done with these artefacts? I was curious to learn about the potential values of this relatively small collection for people in Polynesia and understood the exchange of information about them as part of the responsibility felt towards the objects and people involved. As someone who has, since childhood, enjoyed going to museums and wondered about the treasures they exhibited, I was eager to explore these questions. I hoped that they could be of relevance not only in relation to the *Pandora* collection at the Museum of Tropical Queensland, but also to other objects that are held in museums today. Lastly, the engagement with the artefacts encouraged a discussion about how we think and write about objects, and how we research them. Both my theoretical and methodological approach towards the *Pandora* collection was characterised by the tracing of movements, as I set out to follow their trajectories through time and space. What can we learn from taking a closer look at the movement of things?

My research and approach were informed by writings from anthropology, archaeology, history and museum studies. In addition to incorporating discussion of relevant publications in each individual chapter, I discuss some fundamental ideas and concepts in this introductory chapter. As mentioned above, the collection of the Polynesian objects was a crucial moment, as it entailed their movement on board HMS *Pandora*, travels across the Pacific Ocean, sinking to

the bottom of the sea, and eventual excavation. Given the long history of anthropological research concerned with exchanges, this might be a good starting point. Indeed, Oceania has been a critical region in the development of theories of material culture (Bell and Geismar 2009, 4) and theories about property and gift exchange (Geismar 2013, 9).

Alongside Bronisław Malinowski's *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922), Marcel Mauss' *Essai sur le don* (1924; *The Gift*) was significant in establishing gift exchange and the exchange of commodities as a core concern of anthropological research. Written partly in response to Malinowski's work, Mauss famously examined the distinctions between differently organised societies through their exchange practices (Basu 2013, 377). In doing so, Mauss drew attention to the fact that things move with people, and that people move with things: "objects are bought and sold, stolen, gifted and traded by way of social relations, which at once are constituted by the very movement of things" (Henare 2005, 3). Tim Ingold, in his article 'On human correspondence' (2016), identifies Mauss' view of social life as characterised "not by solidity but by fluidity" (ibid., 10) and giving and receiving as the stimuli that keep it flowing. In his discussion, Ingold refers to a passage – an oceanic metaphor – in the *Essai sur le don*, which he describes as extraordinary and almost entirely overlooked:

> Mauss declared that to witness the totality of social phenomena is to see things as they really are: 'not merely ideas and rules, but also men and groups and their behaviours. *We see them in motion* as an engineer sees masses and systems, or as we observe octopuses and anemones in the sea' (Ingold 2016, 10, with reference to Mauss' *Essai sur le don*; emphasis added).

:::

With *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, Malinowski not only delineated a new model of research but also inspired generations of anthropologists to revisit his description of the *kula* exchange and reinterpret it to develop new theories of reciprocity, relationality, and value (Basu 2013, 377). Interestingly, Malinowski dismissed the study of material culture (ibid., 373) despite placing the transaction of things at the centre of his work. Particularly in the British tradition, the distinction between 'social' anthropology and its 'physical' counterpart, characterised by a rejection of materialist orientations, was prevalent and remained so for much of the twentieth century (Chua and Salmond 2012, 101). Although it was acknowledged that objects were an important component of social acts, such as exchange, and the encounters of fieldwork alike, they were mostly relegated to museums (Bell and Geismar 2009, 11–12). On the other hand, it

has been argued that Malinowski's stand might have been overstated: he considered a technical analysis of material culture in itself inadequate, as an object needs to be understood in its social context. In fact, Malinowski's account of the Trobriand canoe, or his later analysis of the construction of a yam storehouse in *Coral Gardens and Their Magic* (1935), might be regarded as exemplary studies in material culture of their period (Basu 2013, 373).

So, even if there was a reluctance to address the material world per se, anthropology was still implicitly engaged within processes of materialisation (Bell and Geismar 2009, 12) and it seems that the 'division of labour' has never been complete (Henare 2003, 56). Indeed, a very high number of artefacts was shipped back to Britain by anthropologists 'in the field', suggesting the importance given to objects and materials "in practice if not in theory" (ibid.) – and even Malinowski's *kula* valuables are now housed at museums[3] (ibid., 58). Like exchanges, the collection of objects classified as material culture as well as their analysis, mainly for museums, has been at the heart of anthropological studies since the early days of the discipline (Basu 2013, 371).

FROM ARTIFICIAL CURIOSITIES TO MUSEUM OBJECTS

Eighteenth-century explorations of Oceania were characterised by the wide-spread collection and displacement of objects. However, the *Pandora* artefacts parted ways with their kind, as their means of transport did not reach its intended destination but sank aground the ocean. While they would remain underwater for 186 years, many other 'curiosities' made their way to Europe and were subsequently donated, sold, auctioned and swapped until they found their current homes. Since collecting and museums are closely connected to each other (the latter would not exist without the former), many of them were presented to such institutions and entered their collections. As the decades passed, the objects experienced phases of neglect and (revived) interest, which were accompanied by various attributions and categorisations. Interestingly, the Polynesian objects from HMS *Pandora* – although separated from these developments and histories – took a very similar path again as they, too, found their way into a museum subsequent to their excavation.

[3] The objects are held in the British Museum, Museum Victoria in Australia and the Phoebe A. Hurst Museum of Anthropology at Berkeley (Henare 2003, 58; in reference to Young 2000).

Since *Pandora*'s journey and other contemporaneous voyages to the Pacific, the world has undoubtedly undergone many changes (see, for example, Hauser-Schäublin 1998, 11). The objects collected in eighteenth-century Oceania, however, have survived, and often in an almost unchanged condition. This is especially true for museum artefacts, which are expected to be preserved and therefore bound to strict regulations and conservation processes. As such, they bring the past into the present in an immediate way, while history has, at the same time, created a distance between them. Morphy and Hetherington talk of a 'breach in time' caused by the voyages of Cook and other navigators – who opened up the Pacific to European colonisation – due to which the Pacific collections apparently exist in two different temporal spaces: "a moment in real time when they were produced as part of the continuing Indigenous history of the region, and a moment in colonial time when they became assigned to a past that is disconnected from the present" (2009, 1–4). However, while the collected artefacts are often seen as providing a material representation of Oceanic people and cultures before European colonisation, they rather have to be understood as potential evidence of highly dynamic processes that already existed prior to the voyages. In consequence, the objects are not manifestations of an idealised unchanging 'Pacific Island material culture' (ibid., 7–8).

The artefacts only *appear* to have remained the same: over time and with every new epoch, attitudes and views of people have changed and with them the questions posed about these particular objects. They have been repeatedly recontextualised and have, despite their material stability, continuously 'changed' as well. Perspectives further multiplied as researchers have tried to capture the true complexity and a more complete picture of what took place at the time the objects were collected. The context shifted from Europe to the Pacific again and the artefacts – as well as the accompanying documents, which were largely written from only one side of the encounters – have become the centre of new, or further, relationships and negotiations. In this regard, museums may be seen as the sites of encounter and contestation surrounding the artefacts and collections they hold.

James Clifford (1997) has described museums as 'contact zones', a term coined by Marie Louise Pratt and defined by her as "the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict" (Pratt 1992, 6–7). Clifford's application of the term has since been debated (Schorch

2013, 68) and criticised (e.g. Boast 2011), but what is of interest here is a view of museums as places of collaborative but also contentious, ongoing relations. Thus, their collections consist of moving objects, "travelers, crossers – some strongly 'diasporic' with powerful, still very meaningful, ties elsewhere" (Clifford 1997, 213). Perhaps in contrast to a general perception as 'static', museum artefacts can potentially still go elsewhere, for example as objects on loan (temporary movement) or in the context of repatriation (permanent movement). In reality, however, their crossings are routinely blocked by budgets, curatorial control and other forms of restriction and are potentially conflictual. In fact, all activities connected to museums – including collecting, classifying and exhibiting – are representations that are never neutral but highly political.

Thus, objects can mean different things to different people. Over the course of time and with their movements from one place to another, Oceanic artefacts in museums (amongst other objects) have therefore been attributed various labels, such as 'gifts', 'artificial curiosities', 'scientific objects', 'museum objects', 'art', and so forth – their potential recontextualisations are manifold. What becomes apparent here is that objects are, despite their perceived passive materiality, constantly in motion. Fred Myers, focusing on Aboriginal dot paintings and their migration to and within transnational art markets, has described this in the following way:

> The metaphor of movement, however, can be misleading in the representation of what are, after all, sociocultural formulations of time-space. What do the paintings move between? It is surely not simply between locations of physical space. To say that it is movement 'between cultures' not only fails to be specific enough, but the spatialization suggests less of a change in context (meaning) than travel between reified, stable, or bounded entities somehow independent of people (2002, 236).

The movements of things, then, are not always or purely of a physical nature, but also occur in the form of recontextualisations – both consecutively and simultaneously. Instead of being in one state or another, it seems that they are "always in a state of becoming" (Gosden and Knowles 2001, 4). This is also true for the Polynesian artefacts from HMS *Pandora*, which have moved from the places of their origin to the bottom of the ocean and, eventually, to the Museum of Tropical Queensland in Townsville, Australia. Along the way, they have physically changed and were differently addressed, contextualised, valued and transformed.

In the highly influential *The Social Life of Things* (1986), Arjun Appadurai drew attention to "the ways in which the values and identities of objects might be radically transformed over

their lives" (Thomas 2018, 14) and applied an approach to things in which they, like humans, have social lives and life histories (Appadurai 1986, 3, 17). Since the appearance of this volume and especially Igor Kopytoff's seminal chapter 'The Cultural Biography of Things', the biographical perspective has been prominent. Although with focus on commodities, both Appadurai and Kopytoff viewed the status of an object as a commodity not as exhausting its biography but as situational and potentially changing. In this sense, "the term 'commodity' is used to refer to things that, at a certain phase in their careers and in a particular context, meet the requirements of commodity candidacy" (Appadurai 1986, 16). Kopytoff similarly proposed a model, in which objects may be moved both into and out of the commodity state, for example from an exchangeable commodity toward that of a singular individual. He pointed to two opposing tendencies, commoditization and singularisation, which can be identified in almost all biographies of things (Kopytoff 1986, 65). In consequence, Kopytoff showed that things are transformable and (potentially) acquire different values while moving through different contexts and that things, like people, can have multiple biographies.

Following Appadurai and Kopytoff, Monique Jeudy-Ballini and Bernard Juillerat wrote about the close connections between movement and (the fluctuation of) value in their introduction to *People and Things: Social Mediations in Oceania* (2002). With reference to Malinowski's description of the *kula* exchange, they understood the value of the circulating objects to be "enhanced *by their travels* through a particular social time and space": the genealogical history of the armbands and necklaces, for example, "gained depth *with each of their movements*" (Jeudy-Ballini and Juillerat 2002, 8; emphasis added). Understanding the mobility of things further calls for a closer look at the fact that a shift in context or place is followed by changes in their value (Hahn and Weiss 2013, 8–9). The fluctuating creations and transformations of value are complex, as it can be assigned or even denied to artefacts in the transactions between the different parties involved (Henry, Otto and Wood 2013, 34). Sometimes, people and their material products were and are sent along different trajectories, as Rosita Henry points out in her article 'Double Displacement: Indigenous Australians and Artefacts of the Wet Tropics' (2015). Displacement may make people and things mobile but can also lead to their containment and immobility; it can further involve the creation and reproduction of inequality alongside the processes of value transformation described (ibid., 2). Interestingly, it has been proven difficult to integrate the diverging positions into an encompassing theory of value (Otto

and Willerslev 2013), which has been both a central and controversial theme in the anthropological debate that can be traced back to Malinowski and Mauss, among others (Paini and Gnecchi-Ruscone 2017, 10; see also Graeber 2001).

The topic of value was of great interest to me during the early stages of my candidature and my initial research proposal included a question about the value transformations that were and are caused by the movements of the *Pandora* artefacts. While remnants of this question are still present in my thesis, following these specific objects eventually resulted in a move away from concerns about their value and down a different path. Similarly, discussions about the (potential) agency of things were a vital component of the early stages of my research but have, over time, moved further into the background. Nonetheless, they are important to consider, as they have undoubtedly influenced the way I perceive, think, and write about things.

THINKING AND WRITING ABOUT THINGS

Talking and writing about non-living entities is challenging, especially because we seem to lack an adequate language to describe them and the many phenomena they are a part of. Terms such as 'object' or 'material culture' are not universally defined and, in consequence, they have been widely debated across disciplines (Miller 2005, 8). What is problematic about these terms and their use, according to their critics, is not only the blurriness of their definitions but also the fact that they seem to imply a separation of a mental, immaterial 'innerworld' and a material 'outerworld' (Hahn 2005, 9). In order to avoid such connotations, there has recently been an increasing tendency to talk and write about 'things' instead (Jacobs 2011, 35).

Things cannot be observed in isolation because this would mean that they were only connected to each other – a scenario which, according to Bruno Latour (2007, 146), is even less likely than a notion of humans solely connected by social bonds. Latour, one of the primary developers of Actor-Network-Theory (ANT), is often referred to when speaking of overcoming the prevalent distinction between humans and non-humans (e.g. Miller 2005; Jacobs 2011). Interestingly, Latour himself argues that there is no need to a priori assume some false asymmetry between human intentional acts and a material world made up of causal connections. To him, some distinctions do not have to be overcome but simply ignored (2007, 130–31). Associated with this approach is the question whether things, like humans, possess agency – and if so, to what extent. Besides Latour's work, Alfred Gell's publications have been seminal in regard to this

field of study. In *Art and Agency*, which was published posthumously in 1998, Gell defied a categorisation of objects as 'art' based on aesthetics or meaning. Instead, he suggested a theory of art in which people or social actors could be replaced by (art) objects in certain situations, or differently put, in which (art) objects could be agents (1998, 5–6).

However, the relationship between things and agency is (or at least appears to be) quite complicated and continues to be debated. According to Latour, the main reason why things have been overlooked as potential actors is linked to a definition of agency as something intentional that people do 'with meaning' (2007, 123) or towards a specific aim. In contrast, Latour changes the emphasis towards a perspective, in which every thing that changes a given situation by making a difference is an agent. In this concept, intentionality is not a premise and agency is not located in either human 'subjects' or in non-human 'objects' but in hybrids. It is therefore the networks of agents and their relations with one another that are relevant (Miller 2005, 11). In these networks, agency is distributed indiscriminately across the assemblage of human and non-human hybrids, radically decentring both persons and things (Chua and Salmond 2012, 104).

Gell defined agents as "the source, the origin, of causal events, independently of the state of the physical universe" (1998, 16) and ascribed agency not only to human entities. He solved 'the problem of intentionality' by distinguishing between primary (human) agents with intentions and secondary agents that do not exist independently but in connection to specific (human) partners. Thus, he was interested in the relationships of what he called agents and patients, or social agents and recipients respectively (Gell 1998, 20–24). When Gell's or Latour's remarks are taken into account, the agency of things does not seem unreasonable. And although there has been debate on whether many authors have attributed too much power to the objects themselves – and consequently diminished the significance of individuals and systems that construct and imbue materials with value and meaning (Steiner 2001, in Hoskins 2006, 75) – the impact of the concept on the study of things cannot be denied. As Nicholas Thomas pointed out in his foreword to *Art and Agency*: "[f]or many scholars, and indeed in much common-sense thinking about art, it is axiomatic that art is a matter of meaning and communication. This book suggests that it is instead about *doing*" (1998, ix). Gell therefore pushed scholars to shift their attention to the social effects that objects produce instead of viewing them as metaphors, texts and symbols or dwelling on what they mean (Chua and Salmond 2012, 105; Bell 2017, 246).

Agency-oriented approaches featured prominently in the thesis that I wrote as part of my MA studies at the University of Göttingen, Germany. Home to parts of the Cook-Forster collection, my time at the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology was crucial for the development of my growing interest in artefacts from Oceania and a shift away from working with objects from South East Asia and, more specifically, Myanmar where my mother was born and raised[4]. My MA thesis focused on bark paintings and contemporary art from Papua New Guinea and their roles in acts of identity construction and representation. It was equally concerned with museum objects but informed more strongly by anthropological writings about art and agency. In many ways, my research on the *Pandora* collection can be understood as an extension of this work as well as a progression towards a stronger interest in movements themselves.

:::

Thinking and writings about the movement of things is, of course, nothing new. Appadurai dwelled on the importance of following the movements of things, as their various meanings are inscribed to them in their trajectories:

> For that we have to follow the things themselves, for their meanings are inscribed in their forms, their uses, their trajectories. It is only through the analysis of these trajectories that we can interpret the human transactions and calculations that enliven things. Thus, even though from a *theoretical* point of view human actors encode things with significance, from a *methodological* point of view it is the things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context (1986, 5; original emphasis).

Next to the introduction of concepts, such as 'tournaments of value' and 'the cultural biography of things' to the anthropological lexicon, *The Social Life of Things* was significant due to its methodological contribution (Chua and Salmond 2012, 102). Appadurai argued that it is important to follow the things themselves, because it is *in their movement* that they illuminate their human and social context. In doing so, he placed material objects at the centre of his ethnographic agenda (ibid.) and inspired discussions about the possibility that they might have multiple identities and complex biographies, just like humans.

Similarly, Kopytoff encouraged researchers to pose the same questions in regard to things as they would to people (Hoskins 2006, 75). Although the metaphor of life may have even

[4] However, it shall be noted that I have never lost interest in South East Asian material cultures and that my work at the Linden-Museum in Stuttgart from April 2014 to March 2016 was, in fact, based at the museum's Department of South East Asian arts.

contradicted his emphasis on commoditisation (Fontijn 2013, 193), the biographical approach became a widely adopted strategy for approaching things that allowed a much closer connection between materials and persons than previous terminology and helped to overcome a perception of objects as static and unchanging. Nevertheless, the metaphor did not remain without some criticism and over time other concepts were developed to overcome its perceived limitations (Joyce and Gillespie 2015, 10–11).

In their introduction to *Mobility, Meaning and the Transformations of Things* (2013), Hans Peter Hahn and Hadas Weiss, for example, instead suggest the term 'itineraries' in order to talk about things. They are sceptical of the biography metaphor because it implies a basic linearity (namely that of ageing) and because they understand it as only partially covering the actual range of objects and their roles. In their view, the term 'itinerary' highlights a mobile form of existence and is therefore better suited for describing the complex and non-linear character of an object's mobility and the subsequent changes in its contexts (ibid., 8). According to Hahn and Weiss, "the idea of an itinerary combines the pathways, stations and transitions of modern-day travellers, as prescribed, for example, in a flight schedule, with the much older idea of a particular path such as a pilgrimage, leading to the transformation of the traveller by successfully passing through discrete stages" (2013, 2).

David Fontijn, in the epilogue of the same volume, provides further thoughts on the subject matter and ponders the metaphors of biographies and itineraries. In his view, the metaphor of an itinerary, as adopted by the editors, offers a terminology that is "less one of meaning *shifts, steps, transformations* or *reversals*, but rather one that acknowledges stability or subtle changes" (Fontijn 2013, 183; original emphasis). Indeed, Hahn and Weiss offer a concept that recognises the possibility of long periods of inertness and stasis along a journey (2013, 8). Itineraries, then, might be more clearly referring to the quality of routes and paths, while the biography metaphor assigns things with the quality of human life, including birth and death. Fontijn states that "[a]nthropologists and archaeologists who have used the biography concept since Kopytoff may have given too much attention to the *agency* of the objects themselves, making the biography concept into something different from the way it was originally conceived" (2013, 187; original emphasis). Although he sees advantages in speaking of itineraries instead, he stresses the importance of likewise seeing the limitations of this concept. Emphasising itineraries, according to Fontijn, is an approach that is strongly focused on the

object. However, he replies, it is people "who do something with them, who push them forward on their route or leave them" (ibid.). In the end, Fontijn reflects on our apparent need to use metaphors to think and write about things. Good metaphors – such as Kopytoff's biographies "that first gave us the words to talk about this" (Fontijn 2013, 193) – tend to be remembered longer and seem to be more successful in suggesting new ways of engagement and pushing theoretical and methodological approaches to new realms.

Whether we write about objects as having biographies, agency or other qualities, we need to be very aware of the metaphors we use. It seems that we have not quite found the right language yet to express the complexities of things without making them too active or too passive (Gosden and Knowles 2001, 22–23) – a language that is attentive to the many paths along and through which people and materials move and connect. Clearly, there are a number of different theoretical approaches and much debate in relation to how objects should be understood and talked about. However, the above-mentioned contributions ultimately seem to share the assumption that a closer look at the movements of things grants a deeper understanding of both objects and people. Many of them raised awareness of the fact that things are embedded in a multitude of contexts – in the end, cultural artefacts are never inert (Hahn and Weiss 2013, 1). As will be demonstrated, such mobility can certainly be attributed to the eighteenth-century Polynesian artefacts from HMS *Pandora*.

ON MOVEMENT

In this thesis, I use of the term 'movement' to think and write about the phenomena in focus. Although Hahn and Weiss' remarks provoke reflection, I am not entirely convinced that the term 'itinerary' is better suited to highlight the complex and non-linear character of objects. Despite the authors' statements and reassurance that the mobility of things does not always follow a planned route, the term still invokes an image of something planned and relatively fixed, as it is often used in association with travel plans and schedules in our everyday language. Similarly, the term does not clearly refer to the recontextualisations of objects, which are part of their manifold movements: the idea of the transformation of the pilgrim, by successfully passing through discrete stages, does not immediately come to mind when hearing the term 'itinerary', nor is it easily transferred to the notion that things can move between different phases. While certainly describing a movement, the term does not, after all, seem to be 'mobile

enough'. Lastly, the authors state that the itinerary metaphor "fits quite well the objective" of their volume, "[p]rovided it is made clear that there are external powers (people) that drive a thing to move or stand still" (Hahn and Weiss 2013, 8). If such notes of clarification are necessary, the metaphor might not be a perfect fit. On the other hand, I share their concerns about the biography metaphor. Although its contributions to the field are clear, assigning objects with the quality of human life (and death) is problematic. However, this does not mean that objects cannot be 'life-giving', as will be demonstrated towards the end of this thesis.

Interestingly, Rosemary Joyce and Susan Gillespie, in their introduction to *Things in Motion: Object Itineraries in Anthropological Practice* (2015), describe how the phrase 'things in motion' was used to translate the otherwise preferred 'object itineraries' in order to label the two seminars from which the volume had derived. The School for Advanced Research short seminar held in Santa Fe from 8–9 May 2012 was titled 'Things in Motion: Object Histories, Biographies, and Itineraries' and reunited speakers from a 2010 American Anthropological Association symposium of the same name (Joyce and Gillespie 2015, 3). Exploring movement as "a fundamental capacity of things" (ibid.) and discussing the circulation of materials in archaeological and museum contexts, the participants proposed to complement the biography metaphor with the 'more complex' itinerary concept. Indeed, the contributors of the book, which comprises a collection of articles that place movement at the centre of their work, apply the biography concept as well as 'itineraries'. Joyce and Gillespie admit that their understanding of an itinerary may be fragmented and filled with gaps, however, and explain that their decision to 'translate' the title was made "to advocate for a broader engagement with the mobility of things of all kinds" (ibid., 4).

Instead of applying the metaphors of life, biographies or itineraries to approach the *Pandora* collection, I stick to the term 'movement'. It is intriguing that so many scholars have placed objects and their movements at the centre of their research and yet opted for a different word to label their approach. Perhaps, 'movement' is too broad, too blatant or too overused. However, I see its openness as an advantage. In its simplicity, the term caters to the fact that things move in a variety of ways, and that we can be moved by them – both physically and mentally. The related verb, 'to move', can be and is frequently used in both the active and passive voice. We move and shape the materials and objects around us, but we are also moved by them, for example, with the help of means of transport. At the same time, 'movement' can

equally refer to the things that are moved by us and the things that move on their own, such as *Pandora*'s wreck and its contents that were moved by the waves of the sea and degraded over time. Yet, their ability to move and be moved does not define them but is understood to be just one of their features. As stated above in connection to Fred Myers' work, movements do not always imply physical movements either and can be a useful term to describe their many recontextualisations. On an emotional level, we can be moved by things too.

Margaret Jolly, for example, similarly considered a variety of movements in her article *Moving Objects: Reflections on Oceanic Collections* (2016). In the article, she followed artefacts from the Cook-Forster collection held in Göttingen, as they temporarily moved back to Oceania: first to the Honolulu Academy of Arts from 23 February to 14 May 2006 and then to the National Museum in Canberra from 1 July to 10 September 2006 (Jolly 2016, 286). She considered these objects as 'moving' in three dimensions: (1) in the physical sense, (2) in the way they move humans, and (3) in the sense of the changing contexts of their display (ibid., 281-282). Furthermore, she acknowledges that she too will be moving between different places.

The term 'movement', therefore, leaves room for the many ways in which things move (us). At the same time, it neatly connects to the rich body of work of anthropological research and writing about objects, including the discussions about a potential agency of things. In my research for this thesis, movements have been a distinct focus and feature of both my theory and method. Indeed, I was moved by the *Pandora* collection in many ways. Most visibly, the artefacts made me relocate to French Polynesia to conduct long-term research on Tahiti. This was, in fact, not planned from the beginning of my PhD journey – instead, I had applied to the program with a different research proposal that would have taken me back to Papua New Guinea. A few days prior to my arrival in Townsville, however, my supervisor Rosita Henry suggested to take a look at the *Pandora* collection at the Museum of Tropical Queensland before making a final decision on my project. This decision was entirely up to me and I could have returned to PNG, but there was something about these Polynesian artefacts recovered from a shipwreck that intrigued me. I knew that a shift in focus would not be an easy task, but when I learned about the fact that the collection had not yet been researched by an anthropologist or reconnected to Polynesia, I quickly made up my mind. In some ways, the artefacts seemed to be in waiting and I felt excited to be able to help set them in motion.

:::

The island of Tahiti was not only important for *Pandora*'s history but for many voyages to and in Oceania that occurred during the eighteenth century. With contemporaneous collections (more or less) accessible in museums worldwide and with the majority of the Polynesian artefacts from *Pandora*'s wreck very likely of Tahitian origin, Tahiti was, from the very beginning of this project, considered to be the best choice to start my journey. Initially, a multi-sited research project was planned to trace the movements of *Pandora*, with shorter stays anticipated in French Polynesia, Tonga and Fiji. Following connections lies at the heart of designing multi-sited research (Marcus 1995, 97). But the plan changed over time – as plans often do – and, after the first few months in Tahiti, I decided to stay with the approval of my supervisory team. Despite my efforts to expand on my basic knowledge of the French language prior to fieldwork, I needed time to become fluent and confident enough to conduct interviews in French. Furthermore, attempts to contact the Tongan National Museum/Cultural Centre, which seemed to have been permanently closed at the time of my research, and the Fiji Museum to arrange a visit remained unsuccessful. I considered museums to be suitable first points of contact because of their employees' expertise in the material cultures and arts of Oceania and because the institutions very likely held objects comparable to the artefacts from HMS *Pandora*. Furthermore, I was able to approach the staff via email prior to my travels.

Staying in Tahiti enabled close contacts with the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles – Te Fare Manaha, one of the largest museum institutions in Oceania. Although I arrived at a time of transition for the museum, both former director Manouche Lehartel and new director Miriama Bono kindly invited me to conduct research at the museum, search for comparable objects and ask questions about the Polynesian artefacts from HMS *Pandora*, which the museum's staff took a keen interest in themselves. Being able to learn about Tahitian cultural heritage from the experts at the museum was invaluable. From there, contacts with other institutions on the island were made, namely the Service de la Culture et du Patrimoine (now the Direction de la Culture et du Patrimoine), the Archaeology department at the Université de Polynésie Française and the Centre des Métiers d'Art de la Polynésie Française (CMA). The prolonged stay further opened up the opportunity to visit local sites, markets and galleries, and to speak to a variety of people and form close relationships. Interestingly, it was my German passport that facilitated my extended movements in this space.

After struggling to find suitable, long-term accommodation in the early stages of my stay in Tahiti, I was given the opportunity to settle in with a family in Paea. Previously, I had lived in a guesthouse in Puna'auia, which I was unable to afford for a long period of time, and with an elderly couple in Arue, whom I met through a friend. Although well-populated and considered central, Arue proved to be difficult, because transport to and from Puna'auia (where the museum is located) by bus could not be undertaken in a timely manner.

My host family in Paea has strong ties not only to Maupiti, but also to the islands of Ra'iātea and Taha'a, which I was fortunate enough to visit during my time in French Polynesia. These travels enabled me to at least catch a glimpse of some of the other Society Islands, which were often described to me as being very different from Tahiti. Still, I spotted familiar shapes and objects, though in slightly different settings, which allowed me to gain further insights valuable to my research.

WHAT LIES AHEAD

Through the interviews conducted in Tahiti and an engagement with comparable collections, additional contextual information about the artefacts from the *Pandora* collection could be gathered and yet the initial hope to find and map out stories directly related to the objects or HMS *Pandora* herself remained unfulfilled. On the other hand, the time spent in French Polynesia drew attention to the presence of similar objects and shapes, especially in the realm of art production. Following the objects' lead, I took a closer look at contemporary art production on the islands and visited the CMA, local arts and crafts fairs as well as (dance) performances more frequently. Over time and in discussion with my interlocutors, I myself started to engage in activities of making, curious to learn how to work with various materials. This closer look and engagement helped me to gain a better understanding of the *Pandora* collection and I decided that it was important to give materials more space in my project and the resulting thesis.

Recently, materials have come to the fore in anthropological writing and research more strongly. Tim Ingold, in particular, has advocated that we "*take materials seriously*, since it is from them that everything is made" (2007, 14; original emphasis). His statement can be read as a critical response to the growing number of anthropological and archaeological publications that deal with materiality and material culture, but, according to Ingold, "have

hardly anything to say about *materials*" (2007a, 1; original emphasis). The danger lies in seeing only a 'world of solid objects', in which materials are 'locked up' in things and their flux is stilled (ibid., 11).

Ingold's processual view and relational approach have been widely adopted and have spawned research projects on creativity, skill, place and movement (Chua and Salmond 2012, 106). For me, Ingold's work has been useful and inspirational, as he continues to put movement forward as a theoretical concept. In the preface of his book *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description*, he lists 'the primacy of movement' as one of the themes he found himself returning to again and again (2011, xii). Another theme was that of making or, rather, "what it means to make things" (ibid.). A vivid example that highlights the importance of learning how to make is the work of Amiria Henare, who, as a student in New Zealand, was instructed in the techniques of Maori cloak weaving. Over the course of her subsequent doctoral research, for which she travelled to several Scottish museums to view old Maori cloaks in their collections, she noticed how her own practice and experience of weaving has enabled "a particular way of regarding the cloaks, an awareness of the skill that produced such fine threads and knots, the complex mathematical designs of the taniko borders" (Henare 2003, 61). She further describes how she was able to appreciate the kinds of knowledge deployed by the makers and trace the movements of the weaver's hands, "embodied in the fabric of the cloak and therefore available to us long after the weaver had died" (ibid.).

In *Making: Anthropology, archaeology, art and architecture*, Ingold addresses the problem of processes of making that appear to be "swallowed up in objects made" (2013, 7) and the overwhelming focus on finished objects within the studies of material culture. By taking materials seriously and working practically *with* them – for example, through learning how to make baskets out of willow with his students (ibid., 22) –, a different kind of engagement and "a more powerful procedure of discovery" (Ingold 2007a, 3) seem possible. Interestingly, Ingold states that to "describe the properties of materials is to tell the stories of what happens to them as they flow, mix and mutate" (ibid., 14); storytelling is also one of the above-mentioned themes.

:::

Paired with the four major object groups present within the *Pandora* collection (clubs, pounders and adze blades, fishing tackle and Tahitian mourner's costume components), I have

placed in this thesis a focus on the materials of wood, stone, nacre and plant fibre. Taking a closer look at these materials and artefacts has enabled me to explore a variety of related phenomena and themes, including the role of the past in the present, the implications of absences as well as the tensions that are often attached to museum objects. My discussion is informed by events, people, things and places encountered during my research and during my time in French Polynesia, in particular. I call these four chapters 'mobile' in opposition to the four 'fixed' chapters (1, 2, 7 and 8) of this thesis. For this reason, the latter are not named Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6 but have icons instead of numbers, representing – in abstract form – the different materials and object groups on which they focus. I understand them as mobile, because these four chapters can be read in any order. I hope that, in this way, the very structure of the thesis itself can reflect the concepts and ideas that lie at the core of my research. Furthermore, different people may be drawn to different objects and materials, as were my research partners in Polynesia. Here, you, the reader, are encouraged to follow your personal interests and initial impulses and make your own connections with the Polynesian artefacts from the *Pandora c*ollection.

For an overview of the historical background of the collection, Chapter 2 discusses the story of HMS *Pandora*'s journey in greater detail and draws comparisons to contemporaneous voyages. It places a particular focus on the cross-cultural encounters and exchanges, which were highly affected by the contrasting cosmologies and values of both Europeans and Polynesians. This period of time was characterised by the extraction of a high number of Polynesian objects from the region and their subsequent movement into European museums.

Chapter ◑ takes a closer look at the excavation of *Pandora*'s wreck and the transformation of its contents into museum objects. I demonstrate how typical processes occurring in museums, including conservation, classification and cataloguing, have altered the artefacts' abilities to move through time and across space. Special attention is given to the Polynesian artefacts recovered from the wreck and especially to nine more or less well-preserved wooden clubs, which are very likely of Tongan origin. Ultimately, although enclosed in a museum, the objects may be able to connect to different places (again).

Chapter ◒ discusses the Polynesian stone objects within the *Pandora* collection, namely pounders and adze blades, as traces of the past. Due to their specific physical features, stones can be extremely durable and potentially accompany humans for long periods of time. As such,

they are popular objects of research (especially for archaeologists) and are often valued for their abilities to tell us something about the past. Because the artefacts from HMS *Pandora* continue to exist today, they enable us to attend to the stories that they tell and address the mysteries that are attached to them. While limitations of reconstructing the past must be acknowledged, comparable objects present today indicate that old artefacts – and especially their shapes and forms – still play a role in contemporary creation and continue to move and inspire people.

Mapping, or *mapping out*, is not only of importance in regard to the potential stories attached to the objects. HMS *Pandora*'s journey has been translated to a two-dimensional map and her wreck was excavated with the help of a grid system to correlate the ship's construction plan with the positions of the excavated artefacts at the site. As will be demonstrated, the identification and categorisation of the objects may also be understood as a form of mapping. In Chapter ○ , acts of moving, mapping and knowing (in) the world is discussed through an engagement with the Polynesian fishhooks and bonito lures recovered from HMS *Pandora* as well as the material mother of pearl. The making of certain objects, including reproductions of what is identified as Polynesian material culture or heritage, is examined as a potential way of reclaiming space and creating landmarks of orientation, position and identity. I discuss how my own focus shifted gradually from mapping to making, as I became more and more aware of the limitations of what can possibly be reconstructed about the objects' past and stories about *Pandora* could not be found. At the same time, I acknowledged their close relationship: mapping is always an active process of making and making can entail the orientation and positioning of the self, usually in a landscape and in relation to others sharing that space. As such, they focus both inward and outward, and connect the past, present and future.

Chapter ⦶ attends not only to the presences within the *Pandora* collection, but also to the absences of both materials and knowledge. By taking a closer look at Tahitian mourner's costumes, which were worn on the occasion of the funeral of a high-ranking person in the Society Islands and considered to be one of the most elaborate and extraordinary 'curiosities' of their time, the importance of plant fibres – which are largely absent from the collection due to the wreck's long time underwater – is unravelled. From the beginning of my research, I had focused on tracing the Polynesian artefacts and materials from the collection that were visible to me. Yet, in ancient Tahitian society, cords touched every realm of the living and were

presented as links and connections in both the physical and the metaphorical sense: they served as a link between the past and the present and continue to do so today. Indeed, contemporary artists often choose to work with what are considered 'old' materials, including plant fibres, stone, wood and mother of pearl, and engage with old artefacts, usually through museum collections and publications.

While exploring the ways in which people in Oceania today relate to their dispersed cultural heritage in museums worldwide, I learned about the importance of continuous acts of making. In discussion with artists based in Tahiti, the idea of a collaborative exhibition project arose as part of a responsibility felt towards the *Pandora* collection and the wish to enable the creation of a more tangible link with people in Oceania. Chapter 7 documents the conceptualisation and realisation of the exhibition *Making Connections – French Polynesia and the HMS Pandora Collection*, facilitated through two shorter, subsequent visits to French Polynesia (July to September 2018; December 2018 to February 2019), which was on display at the Museum of Tropical Queensland from 2 August to 1 December 2019. The exhibition included artworks that were created in direct connection and dialogue with the artefacts from HMS *Pandora*, and more specifically the shell fishhooks and bonito lure components within the collection. In the end, I learned that the creation and telling of new stories could be a potential, more fruitful approach to these old artefacts. Considering the large number of dispersed objects in museums worldwide, this thesis therefore also has become a means to advocate for things 'without a story'. Museum objects have to be put in motion to be able to generate and gather stories, even if it means that unexpected things may happen.

Although I arrived in French Polynesia with a research design and plan, I was willing to be open towards 'straying' from the path and following the people and things to where they led me. In doing so, I became engaged in both acts of tracing as well as trace-making. In 'Relations and Products: Dilemmas of Reciprocity in Fieldwork' (2013), Barbara Glowczewski, Ton Otto and Rosita Henry discuss the responsibility of researchers as well as the roles that our research products play, as they not only shape the "the relationships we develop through fieldwork but also take on a life of their own beyond the fields of their original production" (ibid., 122). I hope that my work and the traces that I leave will be positive for the people and things involved and that they may help strengthen connections and spur further movements.

LEAVING A TRACE

This project as well as the resulting exhibition and thesis were not only influenced by the above-mentioned theoretical and methodological framework, but also by the many different connections, (chance) encounters and experiences made over the course of this research, especially during my time in French Polynesia. According to Franca Tamisari, stories of exit are not as popular as the ones of entry into the field in the anthropological literature (2005, 49). Yet, I would like to speak about leaving Tahiti – which was difficult for me and accompanied by many emotions – and about what followed by sharing an image I took during a trip to the Papeno'o Valley (Figure 4). To me, the photograph also complements the images of the traces in the sand and the hermit crab shown at the beginning of this introduction. On Tahiti, orientating oneself is greatly facilitated by the topographic features of the island: one either looks at the ocean or at the mountains.

A short while into my stay in Tahiti, I had decided to participate in a guided tour through the Papeno'o Valley. I wondered about the quieter, uninhabited interior of the island and I was curious about the experiences a tourist might get when visiting the island. The tour started in the northern part of the island, led through Papeno'o and the mountainous interior of Tahiti and ended on the southern end of the island, in Mataiea. Our means of transport were several 4WD vehicles, but we stopped along the way to be given the opportunity to walk around and take a closer look at the environment. During these stops, our tour guide provided information about the area, including its geology and history. At the first halt, which appeared to be the end of the well-maintained road, we were welcomed by a man, who was introduced as another guide. Meanwhile, I had noticed an arrangement of stones, placed on a few of the larger rocks. The stones were of a variety of sizes and colours; some of them were put upright and other were stacked on top of each other. When I asked about the stones, the man was identified as the person responsible for the arrangement: he explained that people may do this when entering a place, marking their arrival. A few days before my departure from Tahiti, I returned to see the valley for one last time.

Although I was unable to gather any further information on this practice, the stones and the photos continued to linger with me; even as I left French Polynesia to spend a semester at Aarhus University in Denmark. After four weeks, I still had the impression that I had not fully arrived, as I struggled with adjusting to this new and different space. I felt disoriented and that,

while my body had moved from one place to another, my mind had yet to catch up. Writing about these feelings and posting a photo from the Papeno'o Valley on social media, one of my supervisors suggested that it might help to place a stone at the door of my accommodation in Aarhus. However, I must admit that I never did because I did not feel ready. Confronted with thoughts and discussions about what I would write about now that I had left French Polynesia, I had moments of doubts, and the responsibility and pressure of writing about these old Polynesian artefacts and their histories weighed heavily upon me. With time, however, I began to understand my uneasiness as a strong encouragement for further reflection. There would always be things that I could never know. On the other hand, I was just as certain that there were *some* things I had learned and some stories I could help tell – and eventually I felt equipped to write about them. Notwithstanding the comparatively short amount of time spent in Tahiti and the fact that I, for most of my life, had been in motion elsewhere, my passion for the research on the *Pandora* collection and Tahitian culture as well as the experiences gathered were genuine and valid. I continued to reflect on the importance of (continuous) movements in and through a/this space. To me, the stones symbolise, like markers on a map and points of orientation, a way of acknowledging my stay. As I am sitting in my office in Townsville and writing this thesis, months removed from fieldwork, I may finally feel ready to mark not only my arrival, but also my departure and my passing through. With the hope, that I do right by the many people, places and objects connected to this research, I hereby place down a stone.

Figure 4. Stones the Papeno'o Valley. Tahiti, January 2018.

Figure 5. “Natives of Otaheite trading with Captain Cook.” British Library digitised image from "The Voyages of Captain James Cook. Illustrated ... With an appendix, giving an account of the present condition of the South Sea Islands, &c", 1852, London: John Tallis. In the British Library’s catalogue: 000772649 (physical copy) and 014807868 (digitised copy). No known copyright restrictions.

CHAPTER 2

ENCOUNTERS, EXCHANGES, EXTRACTION

When HMS *Pandora* set sail in Portsmouth on the south coast of England on 7 November 1790 and started what would become her last voyage, the objectives of her crew were clear: to recapture the *Bounty* and bring the men that were responsible for the mutiny back for trial and punishment (Gesner 2000a, 6). HM Armed Vessel *Bounty* had made her way to Tahiti under the command of William Bligh, who had sailed with James Cook on the last of his voyages of discovery in the Pacific (1776–79), with the order to gather breadfruit trees for Britain's West Indies sugar plantations. While waiting five months for the seedlings to become mature enough to be taken on board, many of the seamen had formed close bonds with Tahitian women, from whom they had to part when the *Bounty* made sail again on 4 April 1789. Only three weeks later, the master's mate, Fletcher Christian, and other crew members, frustrated with their captain's harsh discipline and longing for the lives and relationships they had left behind in Tahiti, seized control of the ship and set William Bligh and eighteen loyalists adrift in the ship's open launch. Despite the difficulties arising from this situation, Bligh managed to bring the 7-metre boat through the Torres Strait to safety on Timor (Henderson, Lyon and MacLeod 1983, 28–29)[5]. When his report of the mutiny and the loss of the ship reached England, the Admiralty decided that an exemplary punishment was necessary and dispatched HMS *Pandora* to the South Pacific. Only later did speculations about Bligh's behaviour as the mutineers' reason for what was regarded as an act of piracy surface.

Captain Edward Edwards, an experienced officer and a strict disciplinarian, was chosen to command HMS *Pandora*. Like Bligh, he has been subjected to severe criticism: Sir Basil Thomson, for example, took a dim view of Edwards' conduct of the expedition in his introduction to the *Voyage of HMS Pandora*, stating that Edwards was "almost the worst man that could have been chosen" (1915, 4), without any imagination beyond the limits of his profession. However, the Admiralty evidently regarded Edwards as a suitable candidate for the task, perhaps precisely because he followed the Royal Navy's rules and had no interest beyond

[5] The story of the *Bounty* has been discussed in numerous publications. See, for example, Greg Dening (1989, 1992) and Sylvie Largeaud-Ortega (2018).

what was asked of him (Rawson 1963, 11–12). There is evidence that suggests that Edwards had been fair and reasonable when it came to exercising the responsibilities of his command and, in George Hamilton's narrative, the surgeon's good opinion of his captain is evident (Gesner 2016, 33). In fact, even Thomson acknowledged that "Edwards had the qualities of his defects. If he treated his prisoners harshly, he prevented them from contaminating his crew, and brought the majority of them home alive through all the perils of shipwreck and famine" (1915, 5). His strong criticism of *Pandora*'s captain was, perhaps, rooted in regrets over what he thought to be a missed opportunity, "[f]or with a different commander, the voyage would have been one of the most important in the history of South Sea discovery" (ibid., 4). In contrast to his opinion about Edwards' account of the voyage (which he likened to a logbook, 'in style and colour'), Thomson pointed out Hamilton's book – published at Berwick in 1793 – as "valuable as a commentary on Edwards' somewhat meagre report" (ibid., 6). Other primary sources available include the ship's log, published journals, memoranda, accounts and letters written by midshipman David Renouard and by two of the *Bounty* mutineers, Peter Heywood and James Morrison[6] (Gesner 2000b, 4). Thanks to these accounts, the chronology and sequence of events of *Pandora*'s last voyage can be gathered. Indeed, knowing which places were visited by the crew was crucial to the possible identification and interpretation of the objects recovered from her wreck.

Captain Edwards' instructions were clear and explicit. He was directed to round Cape Horn and to steer directly for Tahiti, where it was thought the mutineers might be found (because the mutineers were reported to have cried "Huzza for Otaheite!"). If he did not find them there, he was to visit the other Society Islands and the other major island groups west of Tahiti. He was then to proceed through Endeavor Straits for his return to England, keeping the changes of the monsoons in mind. The changes were to occur from around May to November, making a passing through the Straits after the month of September or beginning of October difficult, if not impossible. In the case that he was able to capture the mutineers, he was to keep them closely confined to prevent any possibility of their escaping. If he found the *Bounty*, he was to

[6] It is noteworthy that Rawson (1963, 36-38) suggests that the *Journal* of James Morrison was written up several years after the events described with Bligh's account of the mutiny and Hamilton's *Voyage Round the World* at hand, while still acknowledging the journal as a valuable account, especially in regard to Morrison's writings about Tahitian manners and customs at that time.

navigate the vessel back to England, furnishing her with the crew, stores and provisions necessary to do so (Rawson 1963, 4–5; Gesner 2016, 331–333).

The unusual nature of *Pandora*'s voyage required changes to be made to the ship. In order to refit and re-supply the *Bounty* in the event the vessel was retaken, she needed to provide space for additional stores and spare fittings and was heavily laden with provisions. George Hamilton, the surgeon of HMS *Pandora*, described the situation on board the ship with a metaphor, comparing the crew to weevils, who first had to eat a hole in their bread to make a space for themselves (1915, 92; Gesner 2000b, 4). A frigate of *Pandora*'s size could hold a crew of 160 men, yet news reporting of the voyage mentioned that the crew would only consist of 140 men – a smaller complement of selected men, who were 'best qualified' for the mission (Gesner 2016, 26). In fact, there are entries for 135 crew in HMS *Pandora*'s records, yet upon departure from England there were 134 men on board[7]. Peter Gesner (2016, 53) provides a tentative investigation into the nationalities of the crew, based on individual surnames: 90 Englishmen, 25 Scots (including eight Orcadians), ten Irishmen, three Welshmen and probably six men of 'other nationalities', possibly including at least three Germans and one Scandinavian. With the exception of purser Gregory Bentham, who had been clerk to Captain Charles Clerke on James Cook's third voyage of exploration, and third lieutenant Thomas Hayward, none of *Pandora*'s crew had been to Oceania before. Hayward had been one of the *Bounty*'s former midshipmen and was undoubtedly thought to be of great assistance in the search for the mutineers, as he personally knew them and would be able to identify them. He was also thought to be able to as an interpreter (ibid., 26–27) and was familiar with Tahitian waters (Rawson 1963, 6).

Having left Portsmouth, *Pandora*'s crew took the shorter route to the South Pacific around Cape Horn, via Tenerife and Rio de Janeiro and, on 4 March 1791, Easter Island was sighted. Unbeknownst to Captain Edwards, Fletcher Christian and his followers had found their hiding

[7] *Pandora*'s crew consisted of the captain, first lieutenant, second lieutenant, third lieutenant, captain's clerk, lieutenant's yeoman, master, master's mates (4), quartermasters (4), quartermasters' mates (4), surgeon, surgeon's mate, purser, purser's steward, midshipmen (7), boatswain (bosun), bosun's mates (2), coxwain, caulker, carpenter, carpenter's mate, carpenter's crew (2), gunner, gunner's yeoman, gunner's mate, quarter gunners (4), sailmaker's mate, sailmaker's crew, master at arms, corporal, armourer, armourer's mates (2), cooper, cook, able seamen (62), ordinary seamen (11), and landsmen (6). In addition to the 134 men, the records show an entry for a 'widow's man', explaining the number 135. This extra 'person' was a bogus person carried on the ship's books for charitable purposes. These wages were paid into a benevolent fund to assist widows and children of men who died at sea or were killed on His Majesty's service (see Chapter 3 in Gesner 2016, also for a detailed discussion of the crew).

place, was within a short distance. However, the whereabouts of the mutineers on Pitcairn Island would remain unknown until 1808, when the crew of *Topaz* arrived at the then wrongly charted island by chance (Gesner 2016, 28–29). Being on a different course, *Pandora*'s crew passed several other islands on their way and recorded them in the log, but because exploration and cartography were not a priority, Edwards ignored them and continued directly to their prescribed destination, Tahiti (Gesner 2000b, 5).

On 23 March 1791, HMS *Pandora* anchored in Matavai Bay on the north coast of the island. The beginning of the crew's mission was promising, as 14 of the 25 mutineers were arrested soon after their arrival. Joseph Coleman, Richard Skinner, George Stewart and Peter Heywood gave themselves up within a few hours; they were joined by Michael Byrne, the *Bounty*'s near-blind fiddler, two days later. From the prisoners and inhabitants of the island, Edwards learned that eleven other men of the *Bounty*'s crew had remained at Tahiti: two of them, Charles Churchill and Matthew Thompson, were dead, and nine were somewhere on the coast in a schooner that they had built (Rawson 1963, 51). By coincidence, James Morrison, Charles Norman and Thomas Ellison had left Tahiti only one day before *Pandora*'s arrival in a boat (named *Resolution* by Morrison, later renamed *Matavai*), which they had built during their 20-month-stay on the island. However, the boat soon returned to Tahiti, as the men experienced problems, and on hearing about the arrival of a British naval vessel, decided to surrender. On their way to Matavai Bay, the three men ran into a shore party led by *Pandora*'s second lieutenant, Robert Corner, at Papara (Edwards 1915, 33); they were brought to the ship as prisoners and immediately put in irons. The remaining six mutineers present on the island at the time (Thomas McIntosh, William Muspratt, Thomas Burkett, John Millward, Henry Hillbrandt and John Sumner) fled into the mountains in a last attempt to avoid capture – knowing that their end was certain, if captured and found guilty – but were eventually found (Gesner 2016, 29). Notably, *Pandora*'s crew was aided by Tahitians in their search, of which some accompanied Corner's party to Papara; this assistance was given by Tu-nui-ea-i-te-atua-i-Tarahoi Vaira'atoa Taina, also known as Tu (Edwards 1915, 32). Like some of his predecessors, *Pandora*'s captain had ranged himself on the side of the chief of Matavai (Rawson 1963, 53), who he described as 'the old Otoo, or king'.

The prisoners, often labelled as 'pirates', were locked away in a makeshift prison, referred to as 'Pandora's Box' by its inmates, which Edwards had ordered to be built on the ship's quarter deck. At first, the prisoners were allowed visits by their Tahitian wives, children and friends, but eventually Edwards put a stop to this when he started to suspect that the prisoners may be plotting their escape (Gesner 2016, 30–31). In addition, he could not ignore the worry that his own men might be attracted to the life on the island and – like the *Bounty* mutineers before them – try to remain there (Rawson 1963, 65). Edwards interrogated the prisoners and interviewed a number of Tahitian leaders in the hope of learning about the whereabouts of the other fugitives and the *Bounty*; he also had the journals of Stewart and Heywood at hand, which were found in their sea chests and confiscated. It was learned that Fletcher Christian, eight fellow crew members[8] and several Tahitians had left Matavai Bay on board the *Bounty* in September 1789 for an unknown destination (Edwards 1915, 38). However, Edwards was not able to gather any specific information on their location and decided to act on his orders.

On 8 May 1791, HMS *Pandora* made sail for the Northern Society Islands on the first stage of a three-month search of the major Polynesian Islands west of Tahiti, namely the Cook Islands, the Union Islands (Tokelau), the Navigator Islands, now known as Samoa, as well as the Friendly Islands, which are today part of the Kingdom of Tonga (Gesner 1998, 17–18; Gesner 2000a, 9). However, the search for the *Bounty* and the other mutineers remained unsuccessful and by the beginning of August – after nine months out from England, the loss of twelve men and two boats that had become separated from HMS *Pandora* during storms, and with supplies on board running low – it was decided to set a course home. Yet, the ship would never make it back to England: passing Wallis, Rotuma ('discovered' and named Grenville's Island by Edwards) and Vanikoro Island[9], the seamen reached the Great Barrier Reef but failed to find a safe passage and, on 28 August 1791, HMS *Pandora* ran aground on a submerged reef. Although

[8] These men were Edward Young, Matthew Quintall, William M'Koy, Alexander Smith, John Williams, Isaac Martin, William Brown and John Mills.

[9] On 13 August 1791, *Pandora*'s crew sighted what is today known as Vanikoro Island in the Solomon Islands. Hamilton described the island and assumed that it was inhabited because rising smoke had been spotted. Edwards did not send out a shore party to investigate; perhaps, because he may have thought that the *Bounty* mutineers would not try to draw attention to themselves (Gesner 2016, 35). Yet, it is possible that the fires were lit as signals by survivors of the French explorer La Pérouse's expedition. Edwards has been criticised for not sending a boat out to Vanikoro; however, it has to be kept in mind that, at the time of *Pandora*'s departure from England, La Pérouse's ships may have been regarded as overdue but not as 'mysteriously missing' (Gesner 2016, 35).

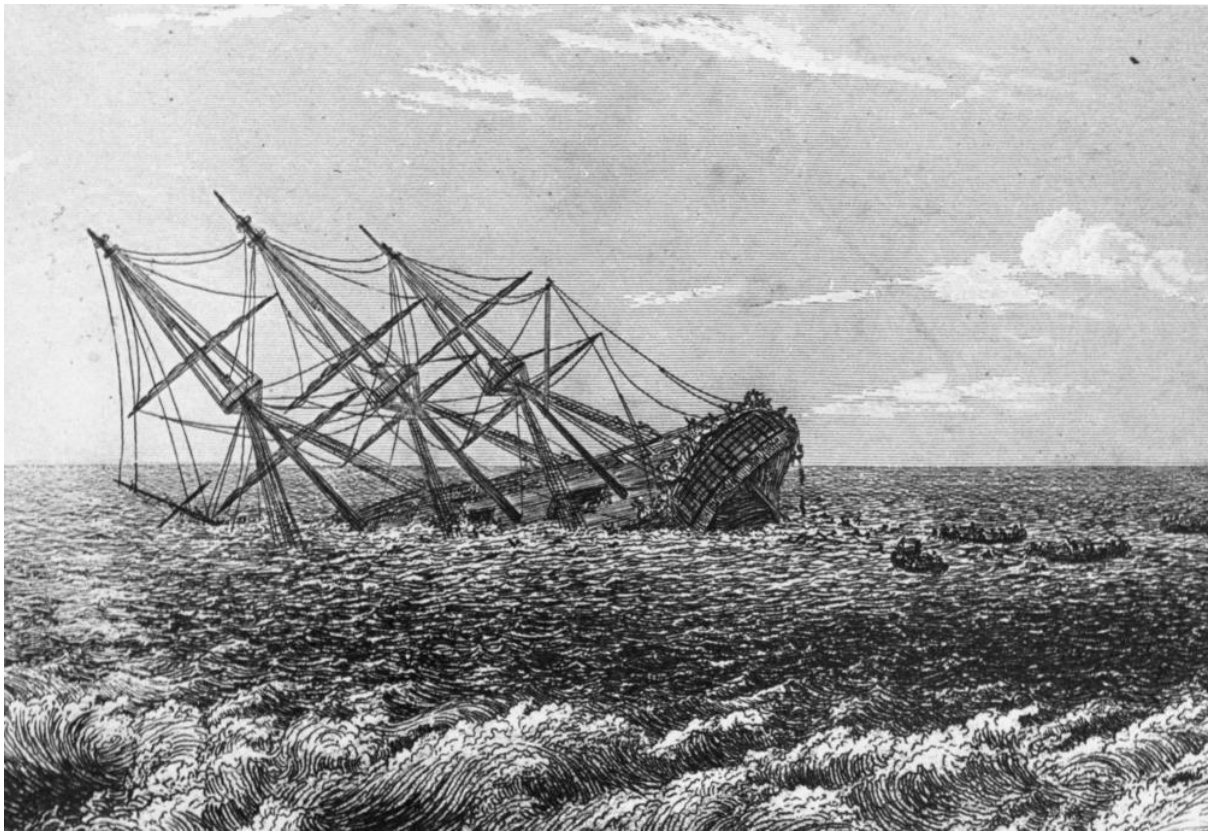


Figure 6. "HMS Pandora in the act of foundering." Etching by Robert Batty (1789–1848), from an original sketch by Peter Heywood (1772–1831). Originally published in *The Eventful History of the Mutiny and Piratical Seizure of HMS Bounty: Its Causes and Consequences* by Sir John Barrow, 1831, London: John Murray. Public domain.

the crew battled a whole night to avert further damage, it eventually became clear that she could not be saved, and Edwards gave the order to abandon ship (Gesner 1998, 20). While the survivors – 89 of the crew and 10 mutineers – escaped to a nearby sand cay and prepared themselves for a long and difficult journey home (Henderson, Lyon and MacLeod 1983, 29–31), *Pandora* sank off the Queensland coast and would rest there for 186 years.

ENCOUNTERS

By the time of *Pandora*'s arrival at Matavai Bay in 1791, Tahiti's inhabitants had seen many foreign ships come and go, as Europeans had traversed the region frequently since the 1760s. Indeed, Oceania had been opened up to European navigation during the sixteenth century, but many of the islands could not be precisely located again during subsequent expeditions, as the procedures for taking bearing measurements lacked standardisation (Raj 2000, 83). Although acknowledging the many other voyages undertaken by Europeans, Asians and Pacific Islanders, I will focus on eighteenth-century vessels despatched by the British and French and their entanglements with Oceania and the island of Tahiti, in particular.

European voyages to the Pacific of that time were generally guided by two theoretical assumptions: the existence of the Northwest Passage, which would enable travels around or through the North American continent, and that of the southern continent Terra Australis, which was thought to act as a counterbalance to the land masses of the northern hemisphere. If discovered, the Northwest Passage was thought to provide a more direct route to the Far East, while Terra Australis was imagined to be a source of yet more wealth (Raj 2000, 83). In consequence, the European exploration of Oceania in the latter half of the eighteenth century, which is usually presented as part of the Enlightenment's quest for pure knowledge, can also be set against the background of a competition "between western European states to dominate the world" (ibid., 79). This competition was characterised by some degree of cooperation between the rivals – for example, the Dutch *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*'s port of Batavia (present-day Jakarta) had been a staging post for many European expeditions to the Pacific since the seventeenth century – but also espionage, the withholding of information and even the circulation of false maps. The secret instructions the ships' commanders sailed with, therefore, not only guided their encounters with the Oceanic islands and their inhabitants, but

also often included directions to obtain as much information about other nation's endeavours, resources and defences (ibid., 86–91).

From a European perspective, it might be tempting to see the inhabitants of the Pacific islands as passive and static recipients of these visits. Yet, Oceanic people used the ocean for their own purposes and maintained various relationships with each other over great distances. In fact, the story of Oceanic people's movement and dwelling in this region is a long one, stretching back thousands of years, whereas the story of Western presence there is short (Lansdown 2006, 1–4). In light of their achievements, Steven Hooper wrote that "it would be easy to claim that the Polynesians of that era were the greatest open-ocean voyagers the world has ever known" (2006, 21). On the other hand, there is little doubt that the region was changed in fundamental ways within only one hundred years, as the Europeans pushed forward, moved into and in the region and shifted the borders of their maps. By 1860, every part of the region was locked into relations with European powers (ibid., 15–21).

For the island of Tahiti, matters had started in 1764 with the voyage of John Byron in the frigate HMS *Dolphin*, which would become the first flagship to circumnavigate the world twice. Almost immediately after her first circumnavigation and return to England in 1766, she set sail again; this time under the command of Samuel Wallis, who would 'discover' Tahiti (which he named King George the Third's Island) and other Pacific islands during his journey. The voyage of HMS *Dolphin* – accompanied by HMS *Swallow* commanded by Captain Philip Carteret but parted from her shortly after sailing through the Strait of Magellan – had been Britain's latest attempt to find the southern continent (Raj 2000, 79). The ship's arrival at Tahiti was a turning point: although news of meeting Captain Byron and his crew had most likely been passed on from the Tuamotu Islands, for the inhabitants of Tahiti, the men of HMS *Dolphin* were the first non-Pacific people they encountered (Hooper 2006, 49; Newell 2010, 28). Looking at the tall, single-hulled vessel, they must have been reminded of a prophecy made by the priest Vaita in the 1750s, declaring the arrival of a different kind of people, 'the glorious children of Te Tumu'. Coming up on a canoe without an outrigger, the land would be taken by them and the old rules destroyed (Salmond 2009, 458).

Moving northward up the coast of Tahiti in search of a sheltered anchorage, *Dolphin*'s crew eventually sighted Matavai Bay, which was a large bay protected by a partly exposed reef with a clear entrance on the northwest edge of the island (Newell 2010, 29). When the men arrived,

they were weakened by a variety of illnesses and they were desperate for fresh water and food (Turnbull 2009, 43). When travelling in Oceania, the Europeans were not in a very strong position: they were vastly outnumbered and vulnerable. In addition, Pacific voyages of that time could take two or three years, and their provisions often did not last the distance, which made finding a safe place to take on fresh food and water crucial for survival (Newell 2010, 26–27). Moving through oceans and lands that were not their own, however, their encounters and attempts to trade were often marked by misunderstandings and conflict, further complicated by language barriers and differing world views. Indeed, as described in great details elsewhere (e.g. in Salmond 2009 and Newell 2010), the meeting between the crew of the Dolphin and the inhabitants of Tahiti was shaped by violence: shortly after HMS *Dolphin*'s arrival at Matavai Bay, an armed conflict ensued, during which many Tahitians were killed.

Two days after the conflict, *Dolphin*'s officers set foot on the beach and planted a flagpole, raising the English jack to 'take the island' in the name of King George Ill (Newell 2010, 33). In response, pigs were paddled out to the ship, where it was gestured to the sailors to pull the animals on board. The Tahitians refused to accept anything in exchange and, upon returning to the beach, two elders went to the pole, lowered the pennant, carefully folded it up and carried it away[10] (Salmond 2009, 60). The next morning, the Matavai war fleet gathered in the bay and a large group of men were seen on the shore carrying the flag. Wallis was alarmed and, in response, ordered his men to fire into the fleet and the crowds. To repair the relationship with these unpredictable and potentially dangerous visitors, the Tahitians presented the British with gifts that they would normally give to their gods to appease them (Newell 2010, 33–34). Several animals, fruits and *tapa* (barkcloth) were laid out on the beach and a lieutenant went to pick up what he and his countrymen valued the most: the food. He left the other gifts behind and rowed back to the ship, yet the Tahitians would not pick them up. Instead, they continued to wave plantain branches until another boat was sent out and the barkcloth collected; only then could they see that the exchange had been properly enacted and the gift of appeasement as well as a bond of obligation accepted. According to Newell (ibid.), it was from this point that an exchange relationship between both parties was established.

[10] The red pennant would later be sewn onto the *maro 'ura*, a feathered sash or 'girdle', which was "the most potent embodiment of temporal and sacred power in the Society Islands" (Newell 2010, 33).

As will be unravelled throughout this chapter, the (exchange) relationships between the Europeans and Tahitians were affected by differing worldviews and conceptions of how encounters, exchanges and extraction should unfold, which led to frustrations and conflict. Wallis, for example, tried to set up a system for managing the trade with the Tahitians, indicating designated areas not to be crossed without permission and allowing only certain people to be their providers of food, hence alienating other parties. As a result, some of the higher-ranking chiefs boycotted the exchanges, for example by refusing to send any goods from their districts or by encouraging local traders to sell inferior produce. Wallis' attempt to control the market thus failed and the situation was only improved when Purea, who was one of the island's most influential women, arrived from the southern district of Papara. She saw the possibilities that the visitors afforded and took the strategic step of establishing an exchange relationship with Wallis, making him a *taio* and consequently binding him and his crew to her and her family. Assuming that she was the queen of the island, Wallis accepted Purea's gifts and friendship and cemented their relationship by giving her gifts in return (Newell 2010, 34). As described by Jenny Newell in her book *Trading Nature: Tahitians, Europeans and Ecological Exchange* (2010), the *taio* system in the Society Islands offered a possibility of integrating people from other islands into the fabric of local society. By this means, not only gifts, names and genealogies were exchanged, but also identities partially merged. On the other hand, *taio* were expected to support one another and to share each other's possessions; gaining a better understanding of *taio* relationships and their conceptualisation was crucial for later interpretations of the cross-cultural encounters that unfolded. For the European visitors, the system offered entry point into the Society Islands' life and enabled individuals on both sides of the encounter to position themselves – in relation to one another and to third parties. Indeed, not only captains and chiefs engaged in such bonds, but other parts of the crews did as well (ibid., 34–35). *Taio* were also mentioned by George Hamilton in his account of HMS *Pandora*'s voyage (1915, 109, 110; note that Hamilton spells the word 'Tyo').

Among the Tahitians, some people especially benefited from this new and changing environment: next to Purea, the Pōmares, a chiefly lineage of the northern districts of Pare and 'Arue capitalised on the foreign visitors and the opportunities that they brought with them. The Pōmares eventually won control over all of Tahiti-nui ('Big Tahiti', the main part of the island, as distinct from the peninsula, 'Little Tahiti', Tahiti-iti or Ta'iarapu), and later the island as a

whole (Newell 2010, 16). Over the course of the continuous and intensifying encounters between Europeans and Tahitians, many *taio* relationships came into existence. The bond formed between Tutaha and Captain Cook in 1769, for example, strengthened the community's involvement with the European visitors – and, as a result, their material possessions – for an extended period of time. On the other side of the cultural divide, the responsibility and at least some significance of being a *taio* must have been recognised (Newell 2010, 35; Salmond 2009, 33), although their relationships were certainly equally subject to misunderstandings and misconceptions.

In April 1768, Tahiti received its next European visitors, when *Boudeuse* and *Étoile* arrived at the Hitia'a region on the east side of the island, just nine months after HMS *Dolphin*'s departure. While the inhabitants of the island had heard from their neighbours in Matavai Bay about this kind of visitor, Captain Louis Antoine de Bougainville assumed that he was the first European to reach the place and took possession of the land in the name of his king (Newell 2010, 38). Famously, Bougainville named Tahiti '*Nouvelle Cythere*', as he found it suiting his imagination of the birthplace of Venus/Aphrodite, the goddess of love. The overall picture that he would present of the island was that of 'the true Utopia'. However, despite the enthusiasm, the French did not immediately follow up with other voyages to Tahiti and, in fact, there would be no further visits until scientific expedition of Jules S. C. Dumont d'Urville reached the island in May 1823 (ibid., 39–40).

In England, on the other hand, plans to send out another mission to the Pacific Ocean were already in the making, when Wallis returned in 1768. The aim of this mission was to observe the transit of the planet Venus across the face of the sun – a rare astronomical event that would enable astronomers to calculate the distance of the earth from the sun, if accurately timed. Because of the news of the discovery' of Tahiti and its welcoming and nourishing environment, the island was considered to be the perfect site for this undertaking (Newell 2010, 40). The *Endeavour* expedition, commanded by James Cook, set sail in 1768 and was despatched to not only record the transit of Venus, but also to make observations of natural history (led by 25-year-old Joseph Banks) and continue the search for the great southern continent – it would be the first of three extensive voyages of exploration (1768–71, 1772–75 and 1776–79). These voyages, in particular, "were to change, from both European and Polynesian perspectives, the landscape and seascape of the Pacific for ever" (Hooper 2006, 51). They have been the subject

Table 1. List of European vessels visiting Tahiti between 1767 and 1791.[11]

Year	**Ship**	**Commanded by**	**Nationality**
1767 (June-July)	HMS *Dolphin*	Samuel Wallis	British
1768 (April)	*La Boudeuse*, accompanied by *L'Étoile*	Louis Antoine de Bougainville (chief of expedition), Nicolas Pierre Duclos-Guyot, François Chenard de la Giraudais	French
1769 (April-July)	HMS *Endeavour* (also known as HM Bark *Endeavour*)	James Cook	British
1772 (November-December)	*Águila*	Domingo de Bonechea	Spanish
1773 (August-September)	HMS *Resolution,* accompanied by HMS *Adventure*	James Cook, Tobias Furneaux	British
1774 (April to May)	HMS *Resolution*	James Cook	British
1774-5	*Águila,* accompanied by *Júpiter*	Domingo de Bonechea, Tomás Gayangos	Spanish
1777 (August-September)	HMS *Resolution*, accompanied by HMS *Discovery*	James Cook, Charles Clerke	British
There followed an interval of eleven years without any European visit to Tahiti.			
1788 (July)	*Lady Penrhyn* (transport)	William Cropton Sever	British
1788 (October) – 1789 (April)	HM Armed Vessel *Bounty* (also known as HMS *Bounty*)	William Bligh	British
1789 (June, and again in September)	*Bounty*	Fletcher Christian	British
1789 (August-September)	*Mercury* (brig)	John Henry Cox	British
1791 (March-May)	**HMS *Pandora***	**Edward Edwards**	British

[11] I compiled this list with the help of the following references: Hīroa 1945, 16–26; Rawson 1963, 14–15; Oliver 1974.

of numerous books and studies and have also generated a range of first-hand accounts. *Endeavour* first came to anchor in Matavai Bay on 12 April 1769 (Turnbull 2009, 42) and remained at Tahiti for almost three months. The crew's visit was characterised by a new kind of interaction and a growth of mutual knowledge, exemplified by the recording of hundreds of basic Tahitian terms and attempts to communicate (Thomas 2003, 78).

Although the accounts and stories generated by Cook's voyages need to be understood as products of their time and of specific individuals, they allow a close look at the encounters and exchanges between Cook's men and the inhabitants of the islands they encountered as well as a comparison to HMS *Pandora*'s story. Indeed, Captain Edwards' and surgeon Hamilton's accounts make reference to the European voyages to the Pacific prior to their own and especially Cook's voyages. Although it has to be kept in mind that these are representations of only one side of the encounter (Oliver 1974, 5), we know from these historical accounts that there were multiple reasons for barter and that the spectrum of giving and taking between the European seamen and the inhabitants of the Pacific islands was extremely wide (Hauser-Schäublin 1998, 25). Material products and their exchange were one of the most important threads that brought and bound the European visitors and Oceanic people together – just as much as they highlighted their differences (Gascoigne 2007, 98). Ultimately, the encounters between the Europeans and the inhabitants of the islands they visited were certainly ambiguous and confusing to every party involved and "entailed both friendship and exploitation, reciprocity and imposition, shared understanding and misrepresentation" (Thomas 2003, xxxiii).

COSMOLOGIES CONTRASTED

As has been mentioned above, the various meetings described were strongly shaped by the different worldviews of each party involved. At the same time, there must have been structures within the societies and people encountered that were recognised as comparable, even though at least some of the complexities were certainly missed. Like the Tahitians, for example, both the English and French were from hierarchical societies (Newell 2010, 36–37).

Tahitians, who called themselves Mā'ohi (Maohi), generally lived in family-based households and under the direction of a chief (*ari'i*) and, possibly, a paramount leader (*ari'i rahi*). Chiefs were *ra'a* (sacred), and their *mana* (sacred power, might, influence, force) was could be traced

back through generations to the gods. To secure their political power as well as the well-being of their people, *ari'i* managed their resources and the exchanges that took place under their authority, for example, by means of a formal restriction – a *rahui* – on the consumption of specific resources for a certain period of time. After the mid-eighteenth century, such *rahui* were also put in place to control the use of food while European visitors stayed on the island (Newell 2010, 47–48).

Below the *ari'i* were men and women of noble birth (*teuteu*), a class of landowners (*ra'iatira*), a class of high-status warriors and highly skilled specialists, as well as the commoners (*manahune*), who made up the primary workforce. Some of the Society Islands further supported the *'arioi*, an aristocratic society devoted to the god 'Oro (ibid., 37–38; see also Beaglehole 1974, 175–176). Religion was closely connected to politics, economics and social life and the success of any endeavour was considered to be dependent on the kind of relationship that a person was able to maintain with the gods. Establishing and carefully preserving a functioning exchange relationship was understood to be "[t]he principal way for humans to obtain divine favour" (Hooper 2006, 32). The Mā'ohi's worldview was characterised by a distinction between the world of the living (*ao*) and the world of the dead (*pō*). For Tahitians, exchanges not only occurred between them and their own people or the foreign visitors that started to come to their islands, but also between the living and entities of other realms (Newell 2010, 81).

In many ways, "the Europeans fitted neatly into this gift economy" (Salmond 2009, 308). However, there were also the pervasive contrasting views of the exchange partners, especially in regard to how they conceptualised the land(scape) and what it produced. While the Tahitians were offended by the taking of fruits, the fishing in privately owned locations or the cutting of trees without permission (Newell 2010, 13), the European visitors thought of many of the things that the islands and sea provided as free to use and not belonging to anyone (Gascoigne 2007, 88). While doing so, they did not seem concerned about any damages or offenses that they might cause, such as trespassing in places that were *tapu* (prohibited, restricted, sacred), further souring relations.

For Newell, "[t]he fundamental difference between the perceptions of the two groups was that for Maohi the world of the living was changing, active, and fluid in essence, while Europeans held a more rigid, tightly classified view of the 'natural world'" (2010, 59), which, by the late

eighteenth century, had become a separate entity for England's growing urban working and middle classes, an 'objective landscape' (ibid., 61). The Tahitians' and Europeans' cosmologies shaped how they moved within and interacted with their own landscapes and how they responded to other environments, including the inhabitants they encountered. Perhaps unsurprisingly then, exchanges were likewise conceptualised differently by the parties involved.

EXCHANGES

As the Europeans continued to traverse the Pacific Ocean, they would, over time, learn that the worlds they encountered diverged widely from their own. While gifts, to them, were clearly distinguished from items used in a market economy, the Polynesian practice of gift-giving and trading was generally not as clear (Newell 2010, 11). The idea that contacts between two people should be cemented by the exchange of gifts was deeply embedded in many Pacific societies and was both an indication of status and the tribute that status demanded – values that the British had difficulty grasping. The captains of the European ships were often affronted by the 'forwardness' of the chiefs asking for presents and the Tahitians were equally frustrated when their requests were denied. James Morrison, after living on the island for months following the *Bounty* mutiny, stated that Tahitians considered it "no disgrace for a Man to be poor ... but to be Rich and Covetous is a disgrace to Human Nature" (in Newell 2010, 11). Similarly, George Hamilton's report of 27 March 1791 – shortly after HMS *Pandora*'s arrival at Tahiti – illustrates how this sometimes became apparent to the visitors themselves:

> The English are allowed by the rest of the world, and I believe with some degree of justice, to be a generous, charitable people; but the Otaheiteans could not help bestowing the most contemptuous word in their language upon us, which is, Peery, or Stingy (1915, 109).

The European seamen's preoccupation with payment must have often appeared ungenerous to the Pacific islanders (Gascoigne 2007, 84–86) and, more importantly, signalled an unwillingness to enter fully into a relationship with them (Newell 2010, 12).

Although water and food supplies were the main concern for the ships' crews, natural history specimens and ethnographic objects from the islands they visited, which were often labelled as 'artificial curiosities' in the eighteenth century, were also high in demand. This was already

the case during Wallis' stay in Tahiti (Salmond 2009, 83–84). However, it was especially during Cook's voyages of discovery and exploration that the documentation of the islands and the collection of artefacts and specimens became prominent activities. Above all, the scientifically minded men on these missions, such as Joseph Banks or Johann Reinhold Forster and his son Georg, proved to be avid traders and collectors. For the botanical and faunal species as well as local artefacts that entered the vessels, nails, cloth, buttons, mirrors and almost any other thing available on board moved out of the ships in exchange. Cook was often forced to restrict or even prohibit this hunt and passion for collecting in order to prevent crew members from extracting nails from the ship's timbers for use in trade (Hooper 2006, 24). However, his rather pragmatic orders and regulations, which were a reflection of his priority to ensure the procurement of sufficient supplies, were repeatedly relaxed over the course of the three journeys.

The second half of the eighteenth century, then, coincided not only with the beginnings of European voyaging but also with widespread collecting. Although "the acquisition, retention and high valuation of exotic, strange and/or old things is a human trait which has manifested itself all over the world" (Hooper 2006, 48), this era gave rise to a particularly widespread displacement of things – and Polynesian objects obtained quite a prominent role in this story. Cook's journals, in particular, stimulated great interest in 'the South Seas' and burst the region into European consciousness as an intriguing, exotic place. In consequence, a flourishing market emerged and collecting became a well-established activity for everyone on board the vessels, including *Pandora*, as even the ordinary seamen must have been aware of the value of such souvenirs at home (Dening 1992, 171; in Campbell 1997, 6). Captain Edwards, upon his return to England in 1792, appears to have made a claim of £500 with the Navy Board for the estimated value of 'personal possessions lost with the ship', which included £200 for loss of 'productions or curiosities [collected] at different places during the voyage' (Edwards' Papers, Adm. MS180, in Gesner 2016, 54–55).

In Britain, individuals like Joseph Banks or organisations, notably the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquarians, had a share in overseas travels in terms of formal patronages or more casual arrangements whereby one or several of the seamen would purchase objects for them. Possibly due to the very clear objective of *Pandora*'s punitive mission, no documented evidence for such an agreement relating to her case has been found (yet). However, Fallowfield (2001,

23–24) suggests that interested parties would have presumably approached members of the crew on an unofficial level with both general and specific requests, once the intention for a voyage had been made public. It is known, for example, that *Pandora*'s purser Gregory Bentham, who had been a clerk on HMS *Discovery* during Cook's third voyage, was an associate of Joseph Banks (Campbell and Gesner 2000, 126-127); therefore, he might have received instructions on what he should bring home. But even for those seamen without a predefined clientele, there remained the prospect of financial advantages to be gained from a growing and receptive market. Another motivation for personal collecting might have been the procurement of souvenirs as visible proof of the extensive travel to remote places (Hooper 2006, 25–27).

Exchange involves the movement of artefacts and materials in both directions and, of course, it was not only the European participants who were curious about the others' possessions. Just like their counterparts, Polynesians were selectively interested in what the visitors had to offer and used the market also for their own ends. Local chiefs, for example, sought to strengthen their power by the use of the foreign objects (Gascoigne 2007, 99). Although, unfortunately not very detailed in regard to the objects collected, Edwards' and Hamilton's accounts of *Pandora*'s voyage provide us with examples of encounters and various kinds of exchange relationships and, therefore, movements of things. For example, Hamilton's report of 10 May 1791 concerns visits to 'Ulitea' and 'Otaha' (Ra'iātea and Taha'a of the Society Islands), where the crew "interchanged presents with the natives" (1915, 122). On 18 June 1791, he mentions that they were "trading a whole day with the natives" on Chatham's Island (Savai'i, Samoa) and that their exchange partners "seemed fair and honourable in their dealings" (ibid., 129). In a rare instance, in Hamilton's entry of 19 May 1791, a collected object is described in detail: "Here [at 'Whytutakee', Aitutaki, in the Cook Islands] we purchased from the natives a spear of most exquisite workmanship. It was nine feet long, and cut in the form of a Gothic spire, all its ornaments being executed in a kind of alto relievo; which, from the slow progress they made with stone tools, must have been the labour of a man's whole life" (ibid., 123)[12].

On both sides of the encounter, there were also objects that were not intended to enter into exchanges, or at least not for what was offered for them. During Cook's voyages, it happened on many occasions that the inhabitants of the islands tried to lay hands on specific goods in a

[12] Unfortunately, this spear is not among the objects retrieved from *Pandora*'s wreck as of today.

way which, from a European perspective, amounted to theft. This interpretation was based on lack of familiarity on the part of the visitors and their understanding of Oceanic concepts of gift exchange. What was considered 'theft' by the Europeans may have been legitimate in the eyes of the taker who felt they were entitled to the good – in return for what was taken from them or for what they intended to give in the future (Hauser-Schäublin 1998, 20; Gascoigne 2007, 86–88). Testing the visitors' boundaries by taking from them very likely also played a role in processes that located "these strangers in a hierarchy of relative power and status" (Gascoigne 2007, 90) and that possibly enabled the 'thief' to acquire some of the visitors' power, spirit or *mana* through their material possessions.

Such misconceptions had great potential to put a strain on cross-cultural relations – or, at least, to take one or both of the parties involved by surprise. For example, on one occasion, when a party "was sent on shore to cut wood for fuel, and grass for the sheep", HMS *Pandora*'s crew learned that the inhabitants of the island "would not permit a blade of grass to be cut till they were paid for it" (Hamilton 1915, 134). Similarly, the relationship between Joseph Banks and his *taio* Tepau was occasionally soured by differing conceptions of what was to be given and taken. On one occasion, Tepau took some nails and Banks expressed that he was inclined to forgive his friend and forget the incident, if the objects were returned. From the Tahitians' point of view, however, a *taio* had a right to his friend's possessions and keeping them was regarded as greedy and selfish. Tepau had given Banks gifts and felt insulted by the accusation of theft and refusal to share; he and his family moved back to Pare that night (Salmond 2009, 168–169).

Several examples of 'theft' were described by *Pandora*'s captain and surgeon. In this regard, the people of Anamooka (Nomuka) in the Kingdom of Tonga, which were known as the Friendly Islands due to the extraordinary reception Cook had experienced during his first visit in 1773, seemingly stood out to them as "the most daring set of robbers in the South Seas", even leading Hamilton to conclude that "the name of Friendly Isles is a perfect misnomer" (1915, 132). According to Edwards' account of 28 July 1791, some of these tense situations even involved the application of force:

> Lt. Corner, who commanded the watering and wooding parties on shore, received a blow on the head and was robbed of a curiosity he had bought and held in his hand, and with which the thief was making off. Lt. Corner shot the thief in the back, and he fell to the ground; at the same instant the natives attempted to take axes and a saw from the

> wooding party, and actually got off with two axes, one by force and the other by stealth, but they did not succeed in getting the saw. Two muskets were fired at the thieves, yet it was supposed that they were not hurt, but we are told that the other man died of his wound (1915, 60).

When informed about this incident[13], the principal chief, who was dining with the captain on board HMS *Pandora* at that time, got agitated and intended to leave the ship immediately. But Edwards prevented him from doing so, seemingly wanting to calm the waves but also wait until one of his boats would return and tell their version of the story. When he eventually shared the information he had received with the chief, he made his opinion on the matter clear:

> I told the chief that the Lieutenant had been struck, and that he and his party had been robbed of several things, and that I was very glad that the thief had been shot, and that I should shoot every person who attempted to rob us, but that no other person except the thief should be hurt by us on that account (1915, 61).

Other measures were mentioned by Hamilton in his account, who described the punishment of a woman, a "beautiful young creature, who lived at the Observatory with one of our young gentlemen, [who had] slipped out of bed from him in the night, and stole all his linen" (Hamilton 1915, 111), by shaving one of her eyebrows and half off the hair off her head. Prior to the travels of *Pandora*, the punishment of 'thieves' had likewise been a feature of Cook's journeys and, over the years, the latter had become quite sensitive to what he viewed as potential threats to his authority. By the third voyage, Cook was prepared to go to any lengths and even apply extreme measures, such as cutting off ears or and inflicting other wounds that would permanently mark the 'convict'. Gradually, he began to suspect that the chiefs were often behind such thefts (Gascoigne 2007, 90–92). This led to Cook's frustration given that he and his crew depended on good relationships with them in order to obtain what they needed, above all food supplies. In consequence, some 'thefts' had to be overlooked. Edwards also found himself in a position where he "did not think it proper to carry things to extremities" (1915, 52) when things had been taken from them without their consent. At that point of time, *Pandora*'s crew was in Tonga and had lost one of their boats; Edwards feared "that too much rigour might operate to the

[13] Please note that there seems to be a discrepancy between Edwards' and Hamilton's accounts. While Hamilton's description of the crew's return to Anamooka at the end of July is fairly short, he mentioned the following, strikingly similar incident for 30 June: "The watering party shared the same fate; and notwithstanding a guard of armed men were sent to protect the others whilst on that duty, the natives were continually harassing them, and committing depredations. One of them came behind Lt. Corner, and made a blow at him with his club, which luckily missed his head, and only stunned him in the back of the neck; and, while in that state, snatched his handkerchief from him; but Mr. Corner recovering before the thief got out of sight, levelled his piece and shot him dead" (1915, 134–135).

disadvantage of the tender should she arrive at the island in our absence" (ibid.). Ultimately, a resentment about stolen goods could generally not be strong enough to stand in the way of a continuous and flourishing trade (Gascoigne 2007, 93).

VALUES CONTRASTED

The intense exchange relations between the European seamen and the Pacific islanders taught them much about each other's systems of value (Morphy and Hetherington 2009, 1). Because many Pacific societies did take interest in objects that the European visitors had to offer, their ships were laden accordingly. The number of nails, cramps, hatchets and axes that Cook took along, must have been enormous and we know from Hamilton's account that, at the sight of Easter Island on 4 March 1791, *Pandora*'s forges were set to work and "the armourers were busily employed in making knives and iron work to trade with the savages" (1915, 101).

But as early as Cook's voyages, the European visitors were repeatedly met with inflation – a sign of both how much they actually depended on provisions and how quickly their local exchange partners recognised the worth of their resources (Hauser-Schäublin 1998, 14–15). Over the years and with intensifying relations, both sides of the encounter got a better understanding of each other's terms of trade, which was continuously re-negotiated and changed as a consequence. For example, during Cook's first voyage, metal objects were sought after due to their scarcity, but by the third voyage, the Europeans had devalued their own goods by bringing great quantities of what they thought their Oceanic exchange partner wanted (Gascoigne 2007, 97).

On the other hand, unfamiliar objects did not invariably tempt the inhabitants of the islands. Even iron, which the Europeans perceived as being much desired by the people of Oceania, did not always rank among the most valued goods, at least not "to such an extent that they would surrender their own valuable property for it" (Thomas 1991). Instead, the voyagers soon discovered that many of their exchange partners preferred the goods they had collected in other parts of Oceania. Red feathers from Tongatapu, in particular, were so highly appreciated (especially in Ra'iātea, the centre for the worship of 'Oro) that they acquired a 'money-like' character in Cook's transactions with the inhabitants of a number of islands (Hauser-Schäublin 1998, 16; Gascoigne 2007, 94–95). Why they were so highly regarded is not entirely clear, but Oliver states that the feathers were needed for a variety of purposes and "underlying all these

Figure 7. "A Maori bartering a crayfish with an English naval officer." Watercolour, 1769. Image taken from Drawings illustrative of Captain Cook's First Voyage, 1768–1771. British Library, no known copyright restrictions.

The artist of this artwork is thought to be Tupaia, while the naval officer depicted might be Joseph Banks (Hooper 2006, 24).

uses was the belief that feathers were highly valued by the spirits themselves" (Henry 1928, 339, in Oliver 1974, 75). Furthermore, it is suggested that the god Ta'aroa himself, by far the most powerful and versatile of *atua* and often understood to be the creator of all things, was originally covered with feathers (Oliver 1974, 56). Lissant Bolton (2009, 87) similarly describes the feathers as highly valued in Polynesia for their association with the gods and red as a colour that was widely regarded as sacred. According to Hamilton's account of HMS *Pandora*'s stay at Tahiti, "[t]here was a custom which had prevailed for a long time, to present the god with all red feathers that could be procured" (1915, 107). These precious objects even allowed Cook and his crew to eventually procure not only one, but several mourner's costumes from Tahiti (discussed in Chapter ⏀), which ranked among the most valued things for Europeans and Polynesians alike (Turnbull 2009, 51). However, by the third voyage, the seamen discovered that the flooding of this small market had inevitably led to inflation as well (Hauser-Schäublin 1998, 16).

Cook's attitude towards the objects collected during his journeys was rather ambiguous and he did not attribute value as such to every 'curiosity' (ibid., 20). He did, however, value those ethnographic objects that were presented to him as special gifts on the occasion of festivities or meetings with local dignitaries, as he took particular care to establish and maintain good relations with the higher-ranking members of the societies they encountered (Thomas 1991, 90). Edwards likewise strived to establish good relationships: in his report, he frequently described how he invited the respective chiefs of the district or region they visited on board HMS *Pandora* and gave them various gifts.

Indeed, not all encounters occurred on the beach (D'Arcy 2006, 136). *Pandora* and the other European vessels were not only facilitators of movement that brought things from one Pacific island to another (or beyond) but also very sites of encounters and exchange. This was, in fact, also true for the movement of people. Some Society Islanders – most notably Tupaia (c.1725–1770) on the *Endeavour*, Ahutoru (c.1733–1771) with Bougainville and Ma'i (c.1753–c.1780); also known as Omai) with Cook on his second expedition to Oceania – travelled on British and French ships around the Pacific and, in some instances, visited Europe (Newell 2010, 7). A Tahitian identified as 'Oediddee' by Captain Edwards likewise took the opportunity to travel on board *Pandora*: having expressed the wish to go to Ra'iātea and Bora Bora, he was taken on board before the crew left Tahiti on 8 May 1791; Edwards thought that he would be useful as

a guide (1915, 38). In Huahine, Oediddee accompanied the landing party, but was not seen again the next morning when *Pandora* made sail and steered for Ra'iātea. George Hamilton had a few more words to say about Oediddee ('Oedidy' in his account), who had accompanied Tu on a visit to Captain Edwards at the end of March and whom he recognised as "a chief particularly noticed by Captain Cook"[14] (1915, 102–103). During their stay at Tahiti, Oediddee helped *Pandora*'s crew in their search for the mutineers of the *Bounty* that had stayed on the island as a guide, although, as Hamilton noted, he "expressed great horror at the act he was going to commit, in betraying his friend, being Tyo to one of them" (ibid., 110).

Anthropologists and ethnohistorians have been addressing the active engagement between Oceanic peoples and Europeans since the 1980s (Newell 2010, 6). In previous writings, the introduction of European material artefacts had generally been seen and presented in negative terms, as they were understood to be "emblematic of the disintegration of indigenous cultures in the face of imperial expansion" (Thomas 1991, 2). Pacific historians focused on instances of rapid change since contact with the European visitors from the 1770s onward, usually emphasising Western influences as the main reasons behind the transformation of the Oceanic communities and potentially exaggerating their impact. As demonstrated above, the people encountered were just as curious about where the strangers and their goods came from and applied flexible, opportunistic strategies to cope with this, at times, uncertain world and control the forces from beyond the horizon by every means available (D'Arcy 2006, 2, 13). Oceanic people were, therefore, neither passive nor helpless, but were dealing with the foreign visitors also on their own terms.

As Nicholas Thomas has warned, we need to be cautious of generalisations and "wary of seeing islanders as engaged in trading away their island's resources because of an irresistible captivation with frivolous European things" (Newell 2010, 43). The items traded for were often made of materials otherwise unobtainable on the islands or practical objects that were similar

[14] It can be assumed that this was the same man depicted in an engraving – titled 'O-Hedidee' – by William Hodges, who accompanied Cook on his second voyage as a draughtsman. An engraving by J. Caldwell (after Hodges) can be found in Forster 2000, 223.
Georg Forster described how he met a "very handsome youth, about seven-teen years of age, who went by them name of O-Hedeedee" (2000, 222–223) when the crew anchored at Ra'iātea in September 1773. Forster introduced the Tahitian to Cook, who granted his request to travel with them on board HMS *Resolution*. According to Beaglehole (1974, 346), the young man was called Hitihiti, but also known as 'Odiddy'. Upon Cook's return to Tahiti on his third voyage, Hitihiti came to see the crew "to pay his respects" (ibid., 552).

to the Tahitians' own tools and objects (ibid., 40–41; see also Thomas 1991, 87). In general, it can be assumed that the European visitors were valued for whatever could be assimilated into Tahitian culture, not for what might change it (Newbury 1980, 14). Cook understood that Polynesians befriended Europeans in part for the objects and materials that they could get from them, just as he fostered good relationships with them to obtain food, amongst other things (Thomas 2003, 230).

Therefore, not only the Europeans made judgments about the value of the objects involved in the exchanges. Apart from assessments about their usefulness or whether they could replace local materials or not, (some of) the foreigners' goods apparently had a prestige value, as they could attest to a relationship with their former owners (Hauser-Schäublin 1998, 17–18). To the Mā'ohi, for example, the many gifts handed to Pōmare I / Tu by the Europeans must have added to his already existing high rank, as they provided him with the resources to acquire the loyalty, or at least neutrality, of other chiefs (Oliver 1974, 1250). The visitors' firearms were especially feared, and, at times, they were used to assist in local wars. Yet, it was not necessarily Cook's nails, knives and axes that chiefs like Tu really needed: "What they were trying to collect, control and assimilate was rather his name, his image and an idea of his prestige" (Thomas 2003, 230). On the other hand, it has to be acknowledged that the Oceanic people's ability to make use or divert the impact of the intensifying meetings and exchanges with the Europeans was not the same everywhere or for everyone. Over time, many "found it progressively more difficult to cope with cultural and political forces beyond their control" and "there have been occasions when the impact of strangers has been fatal indeed" (Lansdown 2006, 19).

By taking a closer look at the complexities involved and unravelling the mutuality of agency on both sides of the encounter, the above-mentioned authors stressed that neither the Europeans nor the Oceanic people involved had a monopoly on action or authority and that they both were, in fundamental ways, changed by one another (Newell 2010, 6). As has been demonstrated, exchanges were crucial to these processes and "gave shape to the social life of both groups" (ibid., 10). At the same time, the encounters and exchanges – like the ones discussed above – always need to be contextualised and situated historically, when interpreted. But in doing so "one should be cautious in judging retrospectively the different cultural values which obtained in these transactions in the Pacific more than two centuries ago" (Hooper 2006, 24).

Undoubtedly, objects and their movements played an important role in these encounters and accompanying negotiations. In his work *Entangled Objects* (1991), Nicholas Thomas has demonstrated that trade, gift exchange and the appropriation of things by both European and Oceanic societies are highly complex issues. In consequence, it might be impossible to categorise or clearly define the artefacts in focus, for example as 'pure' gifts or commodities. Instead, each object might have, to a varying degree, incorporated something of a variety of aspects. One of the central ideas of Thomas' work is indeed that "objects are not what they were made to be but what they have become" (1991, 4).

EXTRACTION

In December 1777, Cook sailed away and left the Society Islands behind to embark on a search for the Northwest Passage. He would never return, as he was killed on the beach of Kealakekua Bay in Hawai'i a bit over a year later. In Tahiti, people must have been puzzled when, for a decade, no more tall, single-hulled vessels appeared over the horizon and no more Polynesians sailed to places far away. Some Tahitians, and particularly those who had gained most from their *taio* relationships with the European visitors, were left bereft and in potentially vulnerable positions. Simultaneously, many must have felt relief because the temporary extraction of the ships and foreigners they carried signified that they neither had to fight nor appease these powerful others, who took away food and materials and left diseases behind (Salmond 2009, 454).

After Cook's final visit to Tahiti in 1778, European ships stopped coming and, without warning, eleven years passed without sighting any visitors like them. Because of the American War of Independence and the French Revolution, European attentions during the 1780s were drawn to other places. Then, in October 1788 (three months after the convict transporter *Lady Penrhyn* left Tahiti), Captain Bligh and his crew arrived aboard the *Bounty* (Newell 2010, 54). Following the movements of the eighteenth-century European voyages to Oceania, including the people and objects involved, has opened up discussions about both the extraction and the insertion of things. The noun 'extraction' has many meanings and uses, such as in chemistry and mathematics, but in regard to this thesis, it is of particular interest that it can imply a removal, a separation, an uprooting, an act of drawing out, taking out, pulling out – usually with force and by much effort. Despite the wreckage of HMS *Pandora*, most of the crew and some of

Figure 8. Breadfruit tree. Tahiti, 2017.

Figure 9. Artwork dedicated to Tupaia in the Paofai Gardens in Pape'ete. Tahiti, July 2018.

the *Bounty* mutineers were extracted from Oceania and returned to England: four of the prisoners (George Stewart, Richard Skinner, John Sumner and Henry Hillbrandt) did not survive the wrecking and died with 31 of *Pandora*'s crew. The remaining 89 seamen and ten prisoners managed to save themselves (Gesner 2016, 39–40) and, in four open boats, they set off for Timor, which they sighted on 13 September 1791 after twelve days in the Arafura Sea and fifteen days after the wreckage. On 7 November 1791, one year after HMS *Pandora*'s departure from England, they reached Batavia and eventually England (Gesner 2016, 46); there, the prisoners' trials were held in HMS *Duke* at Portsmouth in September 1792. While Charles Norman, Joseph Coleman, Thomas McIntosh, and Michael Byrne were acquitted (Bligh had vouched for their innocence), the court found Peter Heywood, James Morrison, Thomas Ellison, Thomas Burkett, John Millward and William Muspratt guilty of mutiny as charged and placed them under sentence of death. However, Muspratt appealed and was cleared on a technicality nearly one year later, while Heywood and Morrison were eventually pardoned and released (Rawson 1963, 142; Gesner 2016, 49).

As mentioned before, many other ships had come and gone before *Pandora* and both Europeans and Tahitians had moved and crossed the boundaries of their respective homes, memories and images of the places seen and people met travelling with them. Nails were extracted from the hulls of the European ships and inserted into the material cultures of the islands visited. Likewise, a large amount of other materials and objects, as well as ideas and knowledge, moved in both directions across the cultural divide. Although this thesis is primarily concerned with the exchange and collection of objects, it shall be noted that the European visitors wanted to not only to take plants and animals away from the island, but that they wanted to leave their own behind. In *Trading Nature*, Newell drew attention to these stories of ecological exchange and the movement of plants and animals. They, too, had social, cultural, economic, and political implications as well as the potential to permanently harm the environments involved (2010, 13). Undoubtedly, the European visitors left their marks on the island's landscape and people, often with the intention for future provisioning for their already imagined return journeys (ibid., 7). Although Tahitians regulated the introduction of new ecological elements and the heightened levels of consumption (ibid. 18–19), changes were visible to and described by the returning European seamen. While Cook looked at Tahiti with excitement upon first sight, the *Endeavour*'s third lieutenant John Gore, who had previously

sailed these waters with Captain Wallis, was disconcerted, because, in his eyes, everything had changed since *Dolphin*'s departure (Salmond 2009, 143).

These impressions made their way back to Europe and, by the 1790s, concerns about what the Europeans saw as a loss of innocence and purity were being raised. While the realities of the changing Tahitian environment, including the integration of European objects, were described in the seamen's accounts, however, the experimenting with and integration of European materials and styles in Oceania was rarely depicted in the artworks of that time. Paintings and drawings of Tahiti created during the eighteenth century avoided representing Mā'ohi with anything but Tahitian ornaments or objects. Artists, like John Webber and William Hodges, wanted to capture what they thought to be the 'true nature' of the island and its inhabitants – an idealised version that did not leave room for any evidence of change that their own presence in Oceania may have caused (Newell 2010, 51). These idyllic paintings inspired European intellectuals and Tahiti entered the realms of mythology (Salmond 2009, 452).

Preceding the imaginings extracted from Polynesia were the images that the European seamen themselves had brought with them on their travels. Their references to Cythera, Aphrodite and Venus, according to Salmond, demonstrate that they saw the people and places they visited through "a haze of their own enchantments" (2009, 21). Banks, for example, was reminded of the Greeks and Romans upon seeing Tahiti, calling it 'Arcadia' after the home of the Greek god Pan. Cook, in contrast, was largely unmoved by such fantasies (Salmond 2009, 147). Interestingly, although often inaccurate in their understanding of local names, Banks later learned that the island was called 'Otaheite' (Tahiti) and, alongside Cook, referred to it by its proper name from that point in time onwards (Salmond 2009, 154). Naming, as will be further unravelled in Chapter ○, can be a tool in order to exercise power over others through the establishment and control of boundaries, for example through mapping and regulating of spaces. Some of these names have been more long-lasting than others. For instance, the term Polynesia, from Greek *poly* ('many') and *nēsos* ('island'), was first coined by Charles de Brasses in his *Histoire des Navigations aux Terres Australes* of 1756 (Hooper 2006, 15) and originally referred to all the islands in the Pacific. With Jules Dumont D'Urville and his proposition of classifying the so-called South Seas into the three regions of Polynesia, Melanesia ('black islands') and Micronesia ('small islands') in the 1830s, the term came into regular use. Yet, although historical, linguistic and cultural connections between Polynesians are evident, it

cannot easily be assumed that one can identify and demarcate a homogenous 'Polynesian culture'. Like any other region in the world, Polynesia's boundaries are not definite but fluid.

Among *Pandora*'s crew, it was the surgeon George Hamilton who stood out as an educated writer and keen observer of the places and societies encountered. His account of the voyage included, amongst others, remarks on and descriptions of people, clothing, housing, religion, warfare and agriculture. Often, his choice of words indicate a romantic view of Tahiti, in particular (1915, 108–109):

> This may well be called the Cytheria of the southern hemisphere, not only from the beauty and elegance of the women, but their being so deeply versed in, and so passionately fond of the Eleusinian mysteries; and what poetic fiction has painted of Eden, or Arcadia, is here realized, where the earth without tillage produces both food and cloathing, the trees loaded with the richest of fruit, the carpet of nature spread with the most odoriferous flowers, and the fair ones ever willing to fill your arms with love.

In this utopia, people like Tu and his two wives were living in "the most perfect harmony" (ibid., 103) and human nature appeared to him "in more amiable colours, and the soul of man, free from the gripping hand of want, acts with a liberality and bounty that does honour to his God" (ibid., 109). Hamilton also felt that the inhabitants of Tahiti would have been 'happy', or in a more desirable position, if they would have never been visited by Europeans, stating that they have only received diseases and gunpowder in return for their hospitality (ibid., 117). Upon departure from the island, he expressed his belief that this was "the first time that an Englishman got up his anchor, at the remotest part of the globe, with a heavy heart, to go home to his own country" (ibid., 119). In contrast, when steering away from the Society Islands and moving westwards in May 1791, he noted that "Here nature begins to assume a ruder aspect" (ibid., 123).

Thomas (1991, 129) pointed out that the evaluations of Oceanic societies by the British and French were often ambiguous and conflicted, as observations of 'barbaric practices' were acknowledged alongside 'elements of civilisation'. In addition, discriminations were made between certain populations, such as between the inhabitants of what the Europeans named Polynesia, Melanesia and Australia. Hamilton, for example, distinguished between "the gentle and polished Otaheitean" and "the savage and cannibal Feegee" (1915, 112). Often, the degree to which Europeans recognised the natural environment to be used and modified by its inhabitants played a role in their evaluations. Objects were usually included in such

assessments, for example, if the absence of 'adequate' tools was understood as a lack of means of 'properly' transforming the landscape (Thomas 1991, 126, 147).

Once extracted from the islands and taken to Europe, the Oceanic objects attested to journeys to remote places and expressed something about the people who produced them. The practice of collecting substantiated not only substantiated the descriptions and imaginings of these places, however, but also relations of knowledge and power (Thomas 1991, 141). It is worth noting that the European visitors, did not seem to make systematic efforts in their collection activities or attach much importance to the singular histories of specific objects (ibid., 151). Here, another meaning of the word 'extract' is worth mentioning: a short passage, for example taken from a text, film, or piece of music. In a way, the Europeans short visits to the islands and the things they took from them may likewise be understood as a short passage and (solely) a glimpse.

In some respects, the objects helped the Europeans to map the world they encountered. In stark contrast, HMS *Pandora* would remain underwater for 186 years and, in many ways, 'fall off the map' for Europeans and Tahitians alike, while the world around her – landscapes, humans, things – continued to move and changed considerably. European ships came to Tahiti with increasing frequency. Notably, William Bligh returned in April 1792 on HMS *Providence*[15] and, this time, successfully extracted breadfruit plantings from the island. Then, the arrival of *Duff* on 4 March 1797 at Matavai Bay changed what had essentially been a flow of short-term visitors to the region (except for the *Bounty* mutineers and a few others). She brought Protestant missionaries and a new kind of contact between the Tahitians and Europeans and radical change (Oliver 1974, 3–4). Tahiti would remain deeply influenced by the work of the London Missionary Society, even after it had become French by name (Newbury 1980, 129).

At the time of *Duff*'s arrival, Pōmare II was about sixteen or seventeen years old. He would, in a later stage of his life, turn away from the gods of his ancestors and convert to Christianity (Oliver 1974, 1339). His father, Tu, had gradually established his ascendancy over the whole island and eventually became Pōmare I, thus extending his and his family's power over the entire island (Rawson 1963, 35). While George Vancouver was at Tahiti, he was informed that

[15] See, for example, Douglas Oliver's *Return to Tahiti. Bligh's Second Breadfruit Voyage* (1988) for more information.

young Pōmare II was not only 'king' of Tahiti-Mo'orea, but also 'supreme sovereign' of Huahine, and that he would eventually succeed to such offices in Ra'iātea and Taha'a as well (Oliver 1974[16], 1277, 1314). In 1821, Pōmare II died from alcohol-related causes (another insertion by the Europeans) and was succeeded by his son Teri'itari'a, or Pōmare III, who passed in 1827, after he fell ill with dysentery. His sister 'Aimata Pōmare IV Vahine-o-Punuatera'itua assumed the position and reigned, at least officially, for fifty years. As the French extended their power over the region, they declared a protectorate over Tahiti (to allow Catholic missionaries to work undisturbed) in 1842; this installment was carried out under martial law and in the face of active rebellion. The Tahitians fought against the French until 1847 but were eventually subdued. Queen 'Aimata was relegated and reduced to a figurehead, eventually ending the reign of the Pōmares. Her son, Teri'i Tari'a Te-rā-tane Pōmare V, was forced to cede his kingdom to France in 1880 (Rawson 1963, 35; Newell 2010, 130). The entanglements of Tahiti and its neighbouring islands with France became more complex over the course of the twentieth century, culminating in the creation of an overseas territory for the French nation state and, in 1957, a change of the islands' name to *Polynésie Française* (French Polynesia). Today, France, including its overseas territories, is home to approximately 65,000 Pacific objects under the care of over 110 institutions (Carreau 2018, 81). Interestingly, French collections are small in number in comparison to other colonial powers in Europe, such as Britain (ibid.).

Encounters, exchanges and extractions have been demonstrated to be key aspects of movements. In exploring the early European voyagers in the Pacific, and the various transactions between them and the inhabitants they encountered, my aim has been to gain a better understanding of the Polynesian artefacts from HMS *Pandora* and provide a foundation for the chapters ahead.

[16] *Volume 3: Rise of the Pomares* of Oliver's extensive work provides a detailed discussion of this part of Tahiti's history.

Figure 10. Point Venus at Matavai Bay. Tahiti, July 2018.

Figure 11. Discovery of wooden artefacts at the *Pandora* wreck site during the 1996 excavation, captured by photographer Gary Cranitch. In the foreground, object MA4853 and one of the Polynesian clubs, MA4852, are clearly visible.

CHAPTER ◑

TIME, SPACE, A SHIP AND THE MUSEUM

Ships, like HMS *Pandora*, are peculiar objects. Perhaps because of their size, they often do not seem to be looked at 'as objects', but are rather discussed in regard to other qualities, such as their capacity to move people and things across space and over water. The sea – commonly viewed and understood to be an inherently mobile space – makes the demarcation of fixed boundaries practically impossible, thereby limiting human agency to shape it as a habitat (Rankin and Collins 2017, 226–227). On the ship, humans could at least, if not inhabit the oceans, connect to far-away places and open the world to different endeavours and their imagination. Michel Foucault, in his discussion of 'other spaces', highlighted that "the boat has not only been for our civilization, from the sixteenth century until the present, the great instrument of economic development (…), but has been simultaneously the greatest reserve of the imagination" (1986, 27). He further drew attention to the image of the boat as "a floating piece of space, a place without a place, that exists by itself, that is closed in on itself and at the same time is given over to the infinity of the sea", concluding that it was "the heterotopia *par excellence*" (ibid.).

Heterotopias are both physical objects actualised in space as well as windows into an alternative world, giving them imaginative *and* material qualities (Rankin and Collins 2017, 226), which distinguishes them from utopias. They have the capacity to establish new structures and to disrupt the systems they exist in relation to; indeed, the heterotopia "begins to function at full capacity when men arrive at a sort of absolute break with their traditional time" (Foucault 1986, 26). Jonathan Rankin and Francis Collins, who applied Foucault's heterotopia – in combination with Manuel DeLanda's interpretation of Deleuze and Guattari's concept of assemblages – to the cruise ship, observed that land-based norms of time and space were suspended or reordered while at sea, partly "due to the ocean's radically different materiality" (2017, 227). Notably, they understood the ship to be not only an object, but also a process (ibid., 224).

The concept of heterotopia was first articulated in Foucault's *Des Espaces Autres* (*Of Other Spaces*), which was the basis of a lecture given to a group of architectural students in 1967[17] and proposed new ideas and ways of thinking about space, in particular. Foucault suggested that he may, above all, live in the epoch of space. In contrast to the nineteenth century, whose great obsession was history, the present was rather characterised by simultaneity, juxtaposition, 'the near and far', 'the side-by-side', and the dispersed. In this view, experiences of the world were "less that of a long life developing through time than that of a network that connects points and intersects with its own skein" (1986, 22).

Yet, Foucault acknowledged the 'fatal intersection' of space and time, for example when presenting the museum as another example of a heterotopia. Here, "all times, all epochs, all forms, all tastes" are accumulated and enclosed in one place. As such, they embody "the idea of constituting a place of all times that is itself outside of time" and "an indefinite accumulation of time in an immobile place" (1986, 26). Therefore, and quite fittingly, Foucault not only mentioned ships in his discussion of heterotopic sites, but also museums. Despite its fragmentary and rather sketchy nature, the work is inspiring, stimulating thoughts and reflection on ships and museums as well as issues of time and space – everything that is at the centre of the following chapter.

When the *Pandora* artefacts moved from the ship into a museum, events and processes unfolded that transformed them into museum objects and, as will be demonstrated, altered their abilities to move through time and across space. Although these processes, which included conservation, classification and cataloguing, affected the *Pandora* collection as a whole, special attention will continue to be given to the Polynesian artefacts recovered from the wreck and especially nine more or less well-preserved clubs, which were crafted from wood.

□

Wood is an interesting material and its involvement with humans' lives and histories indeed worth a closer look. The wood an object was crafted from may tell about people's connections with place and movements in space, for example when the tree species is foreign to the

[17] The manuscript was never reviewed for publication by Foucault and is therefore not considered to be part of the official corpus of his work. It was made available to the public in 1984 for an exhibition in Berlin, shortly before his death (Foucault 1986, 22).

artefact's place of collection or finding. Densities of objects and materials may further reveal centres of social gravity and areas in which people were intimately involved with the world in contrast to areas that were relatively unused (Gosden 1994, 18). Living trees are used to track time, as they continue to form new cells, arranged in concentric circles. These annual growth rings are not only indicators of the tree's age, but also of strong winds, light deficiency, seasons of dryness, forest fires and insect infestation. Ancient wood and wood charcoal can be used for radiocarbon dating (e.g. Hogg et al. 2006; Burley et al. 2015; Ostapkowicz et al. 2017) – a method for determining the age of an object that utilises the properties of radiocarbon (an isotope of carbon) present in organic materials – to learn more about a distant past. Indeed, there have been many advances in measurement techniques, of which at least a few can be called revolutionary, as they have reset chronological knowledge with substantive consequence (Burley et al. 2015, 1). Archaeologist Chris Gosden (1994, 15) described radiocarbon dating as an orientating device of equal importance to the archaeologist as that of longitude to the sailor on a ship[18]. According to Gosden, humans have particular ways of both creating and binding time. Because we move *with* time (or, put differently, because time passes incessantly as we move), it is "the crucial element in all human activities" (1994, 7). In consequence, there is no such thing as an isolated act, as every act performed is stretched across time (ibid., 15). As time passes, things are subject to change – this is true for anyone and anything, although to varying degrees and at different speeds. For HMS *Pandora* and the objects she carried across the Pacific Ocean, sinking to the bottom of the sea arguably resulted in a deceleration of their movement in space, however never completely bringing them to a halt.

Although *Pandora*'s wooden hull seemingly did not break up on the reef, but settled into the seabed and was gradually covered by layers of sediment (which acted as a preservation medium), 186 years underwater had a significant effect on the wreck and its contents. Over time, the exposed upper levels of the vessel began to disintegrate and gradually collapse due to the effects of marine borer activity and water motion, causing heavy durable objects to sink vertically into the sand below (Henderson 1980, 26; Gesner 2016, 6). Rankin and Collins speak of the ocean as 'one enormous engine of decay' in their discussion of the cruise ship, "stripping ships of paint, rusting their bodies and eventually disassembling them completely" (2017,

[18] Advocating for rehumanising time and space against the construction of abstract schemes, however, Gosden (1994) also warns that they both have the same dangers: one form of time measurement provided by radiometric means should not be mistaken for all forms of time.

239). Unlike modern cruise ships, eighteenth century vessels were predominantly built from wood – a material that is also, although differently, affected by the ocean's constant wave motion and long-term submersion in saltwater.

OUT OF THE WATER AND INTO THE MUSEUM

After long periods underwater, bacterial action causes the degradation of cell wall components in all wood, as water-soluble substances (such as starch, sugar and mineral salts) are leached from the waterlogged material. Over time, cellulose in the cell walls disintegrates, leaving only a lignin to support the wood, which will eventually start to break down too. As a result, spaces between the cells increase and the wood becomes more porous (Hamilton 1999). Interestingly, objects will retain their shape as long as they are submerged in water: once a critical point is passed, the material reaches an equilibrium and will stop to rapidly deteriorate. Additional years in this environment are therefore considered less dangerous than the process of pulling the artefacts out of the water (personal comment, Sue Valis).

For the wooden artefacts that were to be retrieved from *Pandora*'s wreck, it would therefore be the moment of being removed from the ocean after such a long period of time that was a particularly crucial and potentially dangerous one. Deterioration and rapid change can be set in motion again if the materials are exposed to air untreated. The surface tension created by drying and evaporation of the excess water of a waterlogged wooden object causes its weakened cell walls to collapse, resulting in irreversible damage, such as shrinkage, distortion and cracking (Hamilton 1999). This kind of damage would arguably make any artefact a less valuable museum object. Preserving the state of the artefacts through conservation treatment, therefore, became a significant part of their movement into the museum. As has been mentioned in the introduction, for HMS *Pandora* and the artefacts, things started to move more rapidly (again) with the discovery of the wreck in November 1977.

After the wreck was positively identified to be that of *Pandora*, its management became the responsibility of the Queensland Museum in 1982. During the same year, a Maritime Archaeology section was formally set up at the museum, with the appointment of Ron Coleman as curator, followed by the establishment of two additional full-time maritime archaeology positions in 1986. The section planned and organised several major excavations at *Pandora*'s

wreck between 1983 and 1999 (Henderson, Lyon and MacLeod 1983, 31; Gesner 1998, 29), labelled Pandora Project Stage 1 and Stage 2.[19]

After the first three expeditions in 1983, 1984 and 1986, a significant shortfall in funding temporarily ruled out continuation of excavation and the Queensland Museum's next expedition was therefore not realised until January 1993. Subsequently, the staff had to reassess the feasibility of the retrieval, conservation and display of *Pandora*'s wreck (Gesner 2016, 9–10). The review considered the international cultural significance of the wreck (however not specifically mentioning the Polynesian objects) "as well as its socio-economic potential and cultural significance as a museum object" (ibid., 10). Although it was suggested that an exhibit of the artefacts might be less impressive without the hull and some concerns were raised about the wreck's fate when left on the seafloor, it was ultimately decided that compelling reasons for raising the hull – an expensive undertaking with an estimated cost of at least $50 million – did not exist. Instead, future excavations were to concentrate on what was inside the wreck and the recovery of artefacts lying within the covering sediment layer; this option was estimated to cost $2.51 million[20] (ibid.). Over the course of the following expeditions, thousands of artefacts made their way into the museum, while the largest object of them all, *Pandora* herself, remained on the bottom of the sea.

Curator Peter Gesner was tasked with drafting a plan that would comprise five seasons of excavation, with a duration of roughly six weeks each, to be carried out by a multi-skilled team. After the 1995 expedition, which was conducted as a 'rehearsal', the so-called Pandora Project Stage 2 proposed these five marine archaeological expeditions in 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999 and 2000. By the end of the 1999 expedition, approximately 205 m^3 of the estimated total amount of sediment cover had been excavated, which equals 35% excavated to date (Gesner 2016, 7–8), as the 1999 season remained the last. The tenth expedition had been scheduled for the beginning of 2000 but was postponed and eventually cancelled, because there were doubts about whether this last expedition could be carried out on the same scale as the previous ones.

[19] Detailed reports of the Pandora Project Stage 1 and Stage 2 can be found in Campbell and Gesner 2000 and Gesner 2016, respectively.

[20] The review's conclusions resulted in the commitment of the Queensland government to provide additional resources to enable further work at the wrecksite. A subsidy of $1 million was promised as an incentive for the museum to establish the Pandora Foundation to raise additional funds ($2 million) for the purpose of excavating more of *Pandora*'s contents; the foundation was established in 1995 by members of the Townsville business community (Gesner 2016, 17).

These concerns were mainly raised by Gesner and based on his evaluation that funds and human resources for the adequate management of the *Pandora* collection were secure for the short-term only. In addition, objects from previous fieldwork were still awaiting or undergoing their conservation treatment at that time (Gesner 2016, 148–149).

After nine seasons of excavation, HMS *Pandora* has provided an artefact collection of 6,562 object records[21] (Mann 2001, 1). All artefacts in the collection were allocated a permanent, unique registration number with a Maritime Archaeology (MA) prefix[22] and thereby accessioned into the collection. It was one of the first crucial steps towards their transformation and their movement into the museum, which needed them to remain intact and preserved.

∞

Artefact preservation is important to consider when the recovery of material (e.g. from a marine archaeological site, such as *Pandora*'s wreck) and the movement of objects into a museum is planned. Next to collecting, researching and exhibiting, it is one of the key areas of responsibility of a museum institution and mainly comprises the field of conservation: the process of documentation, analysis, cleaning, and stabilisation of an object in order to protect it. Although an object may undergo both conservation and restoration (i.e. the repair of damaged objects and the replacement of parts that have been lost), the former usually has priority over the latter in a museum context. Because most artefacts would perish without conservation, it is considered essential for their safe study, interpretation and exhibition as well as the preservation of historic data for present and future generations (Hamilton 1999). For the *Pandora* artefacts, conservation already commenced on the seabed. Once uncovered and recorded in place, they were secured and lifted to the surface to be registered and prepared for further transport. Because of the dangers that the materials are exposed to when they are

[21] Please note that, due to the sub-numbers, the record numbers do not reflect the actual number of objects accessioned into the collection (Gesner 2016, 151).

[22] Generally, each individual artefact and discrete cluster of artefacts was given a single MA number. If a group of artefacts was found concealed in a concretion (the build up of marine encrustations, dependent upon the material composition of the artefact and accompanying environmental conditions) or another artefact, the original MA number was retained, and each separate item was further assigned a sub-number. Likewise, broken artefacts were given one MA number and each piece given a part number (Gesner 2016, 151).

removed from the ocean, all objects were kept moist or fully immersed in seawater until they could be transferred from the expedition support vessel to a vehicle to be transported to the conservation laboratory (Gesner 2016, 124; 147–148). For the earlier expeditions, the objects' movement required road transport across 1,360 km to the Queensland Museum in Brisbane; by 1999, however, the objects could be loaded from the support vessel in Townsville and directly relocated to the conservation laboratory and wet storage facility at the Museum of Tropical Queensland (Gesner 2016, 124).

Different types of materials (e.g. organic, inorganic) require different conservation techniques. Although there are many approaches to the conservation of wood or organic objects, the basic stabilisation process can be divided into three stages: (a) cleaning and documentation, (b) consolidation and/or desalination, and (c) drying (Hamilton 1999). The incorrect treatment of an organic object will result in damage caused by internal drying stresses and, ultimately, in the loss of its original shape. This damage usually entails the cracking, warping or collapse of the original surface due to which the objects may become "useless as diagnostic or display specimens" (ibid.). Wooden objects that were submerged in saltwater for considerable time are especially challenging: they often appear well-preserved but are of a very fragile nature due to the above-mentioned degradation of their cell wall components.

A number of treatments can be applied to counter these processes and to conserve the objects, but they generally involve (1) the incorporation of a material into the wood that will consolidate and support its structure while the water is being removed and (2) the removal of the excess water through a method that will prevent any shrinkage or distortion (Hamilton 1999). Accordingly, the conservation of the wooden *Pandora* objects was undertaken in the following way: the objects were gently washed and brushed under running deionised water and then placed in a vat containing a solution of synthetic polymer called Polyethylene Glycol (PEG) and solvent (such as water or alcohol), which slowly permeates the wood and replaces the bound water by osmotic diffusion. This process can take up to several weeks, months or even years, depending on the object and its condition, size and species of the wood. Afterwards, the objects were frozen and vacuum freeze-dried (VFD) – a procedure that involves the conversion of water from its frozen state into a gaseous phase and helps avoid drying stresses and damage. Once dry, any solidified, excess PEG visible on the surface was mechanically cleaned.

Figure 12. MA4743 (detail). A close-up of a wooden artefact recovered from *Pandora*'s wreck during the Queensland Museum's excavation season of 1996. Photograph by the author. Image courtesy of the Queensland Museum Network.

In contrast to Tongan clubs from the 1770s, which were often only engraved on their heads with simple bands of incised hatching, grids, and triangles (Mills 2018, 251), later specimens demonstrated an intensification of engravings and an increase of more complex figurative ideograms, in particular (ibid.).
The decorative elements on MA4743 include an incised panel with two human figures standing next to each other. This motif seems to be quite common, yet an interpretation of the design – as with the other motifs found on the clubs – is limited. Churchill (1917), in connection to other, similar engravings, proposed that the figure with the arc above its head is wearing a head ornament and is holding a club in one hand and a two-pronged weapon in the other hand, while the second figure is carrying missile clubs. Because of Churchill's interpretations, these two figures are often referred to as 'two warriors' or 'figures holding weapons' (e.g. Campbell 1997). According to Adrienne Kaeppler, however, the arc represents a feathered headdress, which could only be worn by the highest chiefs. This particular figure could therefore depict the semi-divine, supreme chief Tu'i Tonga himself and the person next to him is not holding missile clubs, but carries two fans (Weener 2007, 452–453; Kaeppler 2008, 132).

The aim of the treatment is to retain the objects' shapes and preserve them. If successful, the artefacts will appear to have remained the same as they were prior to the waterlogging (personal comment, Sue Valis). Meanwhile, their internal structure has been completely transformed through the conservation process and intervention, as the wood has been reinforced and stabilised with the Polyethylene Glycol, which slowly permeated the wood and replaced the bound water. Through this treatment and the permanent curation in climate and temperature-controlled environments within the museum, the 'life expectancy' of the artefacts has been prolonged. According to Donny L. Hamilton's *Methods of Conserving Archaeological Material from Underwater Sites* (1999), the preservation of "the physical integrity and diagnostic attributes of the object being conserved is of utmost importance", speaking to a perception of a desired state of museum objects and a 'natural appearance' of things, which is not to be altered in order to provide information and value for scientific research.

Although a simplification, the mere physicality of the museum object – extended through conservation and control – delivers a promise of stability, capable of suggesting a stable, unambiguous world (Lidchi 1997, 162). As such, they can be viewed as pristine material embodiments and documents of the past, which are frequently presented as authentic representations of a specific place, time, people, or culture (Knowles 2013, 229). As addressed in Chapter 1, the artefacts seem to have transcended time and place as well as the changes that have occurred while they were kept within the museum and exist in two different temporal spaces (Morphy and Hetherington 2009). Preserved intact and protected for future generations (Alivizatou 2012, 16), they bring the past into the present in an immediate way, while history has, at the same time, created a distance between them. The objects seem 'frozen' in time and almost 'stuck' – this seems to be another typical feature of the artefacts' transformation into museum objects.

As for the Polynesian artefacts recovered from HMS *Pandora*'s wreck, tracing their movements prior to the sinking of the vessel would turn out to be much more complicated than following their entry into the museum. Nonetheless, their mere presence not only evoked excitement among the excavation teams and museum staff, but also images of past encounters and exchanges between *Pandora*'s crew and the inhabitants of the islands they visited. Ron Coleman, discussing the recovery of several modified tiger cowrie shells during the course of

the 1983 field season, stated that the "realization that the shells represented items collected by crew-members of the *Pandora* set in motion a whole train of specific enquiry" (1988, 41). Similarly, the nine wooden clubs recovered during the expeditions in 1986 (MA1351, MA1394, MA1395.1, MA1395.2) and in 1996 (MA4743, MA4809, MA4810, MA4822, MA4852) sparked curiosity and initiated an exploration of their story. While the clubs recovered in 1986 were visibly marked by their time underwater and in a degraded condition, the five clubs retrieved during the 1996 excavation appeared very well-preserved. Featuring different kinds of decorative elements – including geometrical designs, such as zigzag motifs, as well as schematised human and animal figures – the clubs were quickly identified to be of Polynesian origin. Found in a bundle, it was suggested that the five clubs had been kept together, stowed in the cabin for the voyage to England. In their search for a possible collector, the museum's staff used a special kind of mapping device: a grid system.

XYZ

The *Pandora* wreck site was excavated using a grid system of two metre squares. The position of each artefact was noted *in situ* and the data later transferred to a record sheet as well as into a computer program. In this way, the objects' place of discovery could be converted into X, Y and Z coordinates. In the subsequently published *Pandora* catalogues, either these coordinates or the grid number of an artefact's location within the wreck would be provided (Gesner 2016, 122).[23] The grid system was a helpful mapping device and was crucial for later research and interpretation by the museum's staff. Through correlation of their position within the wreck with information from archival sources and especially the ship's construction plans, it was hoped that artefacts' locations at the time of sinking could be pinpointed and that they potentially could be ascribed to specific individuals.

As mentioned above, the five clubs recovered during the 1996 expedition (MA4743, MA4809, MA4810, MA4822, MA4852) were found together in an area covered by the grids labelled 87

[23] Please note that, during the excavations, divers used a water dredge (which works in a similar fashion to a vacuum cleaner) to remove sediment, which was directed to a spoil heap. Although the operators were careful not to accidentally dredge up artefacts with the sediment, sometimes objects were 'sucked up' by the dredge before measurements to determine their exact location could be recorded (Gesner 2016, 122). After their dives, the excavators spent some time looking through the associated spoil heap to check if any artefacts had been caught in the dredge. Items recovered from a spoil heap were identified in records with the suffix 'Sph' and corresponding grid number on the field registration sheets (e.g. '90Sph'). If the grid number was uncertain, it was followed by a question mark (ibid.)

and 89. Thin fragments of timber found in very close proximity to the clubs at the time of excavation indicated that they may have been bundled together and kept in a wooden storage case (Campbell 1997, 7). Interestingly, the cluster of clubs recovered from *Pandora* during the 1986 season (MA1351, MA1394, MA1395.1, MA1395.2) were found in grid 70, which lies adjacent to grid 89, resulting in a high concentration of these types of artefacts in one area. In addition, several adzes, pounders, fishing tackle and other objects of Polynesian manufacture were found in close proximity to the clubs, stimulating ideas and the possibility of a principal collector of 'artificial curiosities' on board the ship (Fallowfield 2001, 21). Due to a name stamp bearing the letters 'LARKAN' in mirror image (MA4694) found in association with the cluster, this collector was suggested to be First Lieutenant John Larkan. Grids 87 and 89 indeed coincided with the second starboard cabin on the lower deck, which was most likely occupied by Larkan and Second Lieutenant Robert Corner. Although the discovery of Larkan's name stamp can be regarded as persuasive evidence to support the theory that he (or one of the other lieutenants) was the owner of this specific object assemblage, however, the disintegration of the ship and movements of materials over time must be taken into consideration. According to Gesner, "[i]t is possible that personal possessions from the wardroom or even some objects from the warrant officers' cabins, located along the portside of the lower deck and assigned to the purser, Gregory Bentham, the Master, George Passmore, or to the Surgeon, George Hamilton, may well have intruded into the object clusters found on top of starboard lower deck planking in grid 70 or in grids 87 and 89" (2016, 129).

The possibility of objects' movements after the sinking of the ship is indeed an important factor to bear in mind when interpreting their locations within the wreck. While artefacts from the lower and platform decks were presumed to have remained relatively undisturbed and buried within the spaces they were located at during the time of *Pandora*'s wreckage, things were different for other parts of the ship. It appears that, over time, objects from the upper deck had dropped down almost vertically inside the wreck as a result of failing deck beams and decking (Gesner 2016, 6). Lighter items that were more receptive to water movement probably tumbled onto the seafloor to either side of the hull remains, where they were later buried by accumulating sediments. Other objects may have been swept away further by currents and waves or under the hull, where they likely became trapped before the stern collapsed on top of them (ibid.).

Fallowfield (2001, 20–21) further suggested that a high concentration of artefacts of the same type in one single space – as was the case with the wooden clubs – might indicate that they were close to their original location. Generally, a "hierarchy of allocated space" (ibid., 21) would have affected the extent to which individual crew members were able to acquire and, more importantly, store collections of souvenirs during their journey, even though it can be assumed that all of the seamen at some point had contact with the inhabitants of the various Pacific islands visited. The captain, as the highest-ranking person on the ship, resided in enclosed compartments covering about a sixth of the upper deck and owned his own storage (Captain Edwards storeroom would have coincided with grid 90). While the other officers also owned cabins and storerooms (about half the size of that of the captain), the only space a midshipman had to call his own was inside his chest. However, Gesner (2016, 130) pointed out that storage spaces normally reserved for the captain and the lieutenants were very likely given up by them due to the special nature of *Pandora*'s voyage. Because of the large number of additional fittings, stores and provisions the ship was carrying, the situation on board was crowded and one of very limited space. Indeed, surgeon George Hamilton observed that "every officer's cabin, the Captain's not excepted, [was] being filled with provisions and stores" (1915, 92).
Notably, Polynesian artefacts – including fishing tackle, adze blades and pounders – were not only retrieved from the stern area, where the officer's cabins and storage spaces were situated, but from the bow area of the ship as well. These finds indicated that collecting activities were not only conducted "by people of education and substance" (Gesner 2016, 356–7), i.e. the higher-ranking officers, but also by other members of the crew who were equally interested in such 'artificial curiosities' (ibid., 142). Although the additional cargo occupied space, which was at a premium on the vessel and therefore extremely valuable, these objects were apparently considered worthwhile collecting and keeping by the majority of – if not all – men on board HMS *Pandora*.

FITTING IN AND FILLING OUT

Although the identity of the collector of the Polynesian clubs as well as the specific reasons for their acquisition remain speculative, processes of classification were certainly involved. Intrinsically linked to being human (Bowker and Star 1999, 1), we spend large parts of daily lives with classification work, which is usually tied to knowledge about what will be useful at

Figure 13. Some of the Polynesian bonito lures components from the HMS *Pandora* collection in the process of being unpacked to be photographed. Museum of Tropical Queensland, 2016. Photograph by the author. Image courtesy of the Queensland Museum Network.

any given moment. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (1994, 2) understand classification as a mirror of humans' thoughts and perceptions – and collecting as its material embodiment. Although opportunity or chance must have played a role in the collection of the *Pandora* clubs as well, it shall be noted here that the relatively large number of specimens suggests that the selection of the clubs, as an object group, was not random. The clubs show range and yet enough similarities to depict a 'style' (i.e. of eighteenth-century Tongan clubs), hinting at the possibility that there was an objective to collect these artefacts, specifically. These processes of classification and selection may have been influenced by artefacts that had been collected during Cook's voyages and were brought back to England prior to *Pandora*'s voyage, as comparable Tongan clubs are present within the Cook-Forster collection[24].

Geoffrey C. Bowker and Susan Leigh Star defined classification as "a spatial, temporal or spatio-temporal segmentation of the world" (1999, 10), connecting these processes back to time and space. Hannah Turner, with reference to the same quote, speaks of classification systems as sets of 'boxes' into which things can conceptually be 'put' (2016, 165). Because there will always be things that do and that do not fit into these boxes, thoughts on how one piece will 'fit' with another, from a large range of reasons about what 'fit' means, are frequently implicit in collecting processes (Pearce 1995, 255). In consequence, a pattern exists in the mind of the collector, perpetually modified and revised as new pieces are taken into the collection, while others are dismissed or even discarded. Processes of collecting structure the lateral axis of space by defining notions of 'here' and 'there' as well as the vertical dimension of time through their ability to help create the notions of 'now' and 'then'. Together, they form "the three-dimensional lattice-work through which we make sense of ourselves and the world in which we find ourselves" (ibid.).

Interestingly, Johannes Fabian applies a similar image in his work *Time and the Other*: "a system of coordinates in which all possible knowledge could be placed" (1983, 8). According to Fabian, visualisation and spatialisation as points of departure for a theory and presentation of knowledge, including maps, diagrams, trees, tables, and even museums, were particularly well suited to the description of other cultures, which were often considered "supremely 'synchronic' objects" (ibid., 121). In his examination of how contemporary anthropology uses time to create distance and constitute its own object, he also discusses the topos of travel and

[24] The Cook-Forster Collection can be explored online: https://www.nma.gov.au/explore/features/cook_forster.

eighteenth-century European voyagers. With reference to a remark by the French explorer La Pérouse, that "the modern navigators only have one objective when they describe the customs of new peoples: to complete the history of man", Fabian took a closer look at the verb 'to complete'. In La Pérouse's observation, the word seemed to signify a belief in the fulfillment of human destiny achieved through travel as a means to the self-realisation of man. However, the verb further has another meaning, which is arguably more literal and methodological: that of 'filling out'. Following along these lines, the exercise of knowledge can be translated as the completion, or filling, of spaces in a table or the identification and labelling of points in a system of coordinates (1983, 8). Within the museum, the processes of categorisation and 'filling out' are usually most clearly visible in the form of catalogues, which represent another important mapping and ordering device.

Increasingly, museums' commitment to the conservation of artefacts has entailed the long-term preservation of the information or data attached to them as well (Turner 2016, 163). All museums need effective and appropriate documentation of the objects in their care, as it is the basis for both the physical and the intellectual information control of the museum objects. Moreover, the organisation and the quality of the information stored within the museum information system is directly related to its usability, including for future research (Mann 2001, 27): standardising the terminology used for documentation makes it possible to retrieve and share data more effectively. In this way, classifications, categories and databases may indeed be understood as maps for (future) others to use and to orientate themselves while working with the collection. However, these processes have also been questioned by scholars and (creator) communities because such modes of ordering do not always map onto their own or other people's understandings of the world. This is complicated by the fact that "the inner workings of these systems are often made invisible" (Turner 2016, 163). It must therefore be acknowledged that catalogues, as systems of classification, necessarily organise data to make information retrievable and useful but are also "powerful ordering mechanisms that structure what is known and what can be known about objects" (ibid., 173).

□

The *Pandora* collection was first presented in the *Illustrated Catalogue of Artefacts Excavated from the HMS Pandora Wreck site Excavations 1977–1995*, which was compiled by Janet Campbell and Peter Gesner and published in 2000 as a report on the Pandora Project Stage 1.

The catalogue gave an overview over the artefacts retrieved from *Pandora*'s wreck during the first five seasons of excavation (1983, 1984, 1986, 1993 and 1995) and further included the objects collected in 1977 and the exploratory assessment survey of 1979 (MA numbers 1–9). According to Alison Mann (2001, 10), only minimal curatorial interpretation had been accomplished on the collection as a whole prior to this publication. However, Campbell and Gesner acknowledged in the introduction of the catalogue that the analysis was still in an early stage and, more specifically, that many of the objects had not yet been researched and were simply described and illustrated (Campbell and Gesner 2000, 54). Indeed, for many of the objects, drawings and photographs (showing the entire object, with scale) were provided, as the artefacts were presented in tables and, occasionally, accompanied by informative texts (e.g. on specific object groups).

The objects were categorised into eleven groups, based on the classification scheme employed by the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam to order the artefacts found in the shipwreck of *Hollandia* (1743). The catalogue's categories were the following: the ship, ship's furniture and fittings, weapons and accessories, tools and instruments, domestic equipment, utensils and accessories, clothing and accessories, Polynesian objects, natural history specimens, miscellaneous objects, and unidentified objects. Alison Mann (2001), who took part in some of the excavations on HMS *Pandora*'s wreck and is now Collections Manager at the Museum of Tropical Queensland, addressed these issues in her investigation of the classification scheme applied to the *Pandora* collection, in which she analysed the artefact identification and collection documentation for accuracy and consistency and presented a revised version of the scheme.

The transfer of the entire collection from the Queensland Museum in Brisbane to its permanent home at the Museum of Tropical Queensland in Townsville necessitated a review of collection management practices. Although only 40% of the collection excavated after 1996 had been processed at the time of Mann's research, it had become apparent that aspects of the artefact documentation and application of the classification methodology were problematic (2001, 1–2). Mann identified inconsistencies in the past documentation of information relating to artefacts within the collection database and issues relating to the language used to describe structural elements of the scheme. Because an approved list of terms (authority list, collection thesaurus, lexicon) was absent from the process of documentation of the *Pandora* collection,

there was no consistency in regard to what terms were used to describe objects. Furthermore, some of the terms used were too obscure or specific and other times artefacts have been mislabeled altogether (Mann 2001, 49). In consequence, key word searches and the retrieval of information were hindered and the potential for a comparative analysis both within the collection and with other collections greatly diminished (ibid., 35, 45).

As mentioned above, within the museum, the construction and use of an artefact classification scheme highly impacts its management; the allocation of objects to categories is usually done through the process of artefact typology. A classification scheme is therefore never an arbitrary structure, but the result of prior theoretical assumptions and the interaction between attributes of the objects to be organised (however, this does not mean that the selection of an attribute for use in any classification process cannot be considered arbitrary). Depending on the research questions or the focus of the collection, these attributes can vary – an example of an attribute as the basis for a catalogue could be the objects' material types (Mann 2001, 15). Yet, museum collections are often very complex entities and material type constitutes only one aspect of diversity.

Campbell and Gesner chose 'function' as the guiding classification attribute for the *Illustrated Catalogue*. In her interrogation of this system, Mann (2001, 54) came to the conclusion that the 'Polynesian Objects' and the 'Natural History Specimens' subject headings were problematic, because they could not be defined as broad categories of objects related by function – instead, they were an inventory of a specific group of objects. As a solution, Mann proposed a revised scheme, in which the subject heading 'Polynesian Objects' was changed according to the objects' functional determination. Considering that the artefacts were collected by the European seamen as 'artificial curiosities', she proposes the description 'Communication artefacts / trade exchange or ceremonial' (ibid., 63). As an alternative, she mentioned the possibility of identifying the various artefacts' functions within their 'original contexts' and ascribe them to the respective categories within the classification scheme, moving the stone pounders, for example, into the group with the other domestic food preparation implements.

The aim was to achieve the goal through refinement of the system rather than major reconstruction. Indeed, the second option would have made further research on the material cultures of eighteenth-century Polynesia necessary and, very likely, entailed a high degree of speculation. As will be discussed in the next section of this chapter, the usage of most of the

Figure 14. Alison Mann holding a Polynesian stone pounder (later allocated identification number MA7954, recovered during the expedition season of 1998). Photographs by Brian Richards. © 1998 Queensland Museum. Image courtesy of the Queensland Museum Network.

Encrustation or layers covering the artefacts were not removed in the field but treated after safe transportation of the objects to the laboratory. Because these layers can conceal underlying details and/or be considered aesthetically displeasing, they are usually mechanically deconcreted (with the help of chisels of various sizes). This seems to have been the case with the majority of the *Pandora* stone artefacts (mainly pounders and adze blades). The condition report of MA1143, for example, features photographs showing that the artefact was (heavily) covered in concretions; these were later mechanically removed. In other cases, the removal may be considered unjustifiable, as parts of the original object may be destroyed in the process. Pounder MA8220 still has visible encrustations, especially on its handle – probably for this very reason. On the other hand, some concretions may have been left intact (especially if many specimens of an object group were available, e.g. the stone adzes) to demonstrate how the artefacts have been affected by their underwater environment.

Polynesian artefacts is left ambiguous (a pounder, for example, may not be a food preparation implement after all, but an object of prestige or something solely made for the purpose of trade and exchange) and is therefore difficult to assign to one single, functional category. Related information was very likely never sought by the European seamen – and even if such knowledge would have been acquired, it does not seem to have survived the ship's wreckage and long time underwater. Agreeing with Mann, a clear focus on the Polynesian artefacts as objects of communication and exchange (including gift giving) might be the best solution, because, among the many potential roles, this may be considered the most certain.

In Peter Gesner's catalogue of 2016, which presented the findings of Stage 2 of the *Pandora* excavations conducted between 1996 and 2000, Mann's critique and proposal for revision seems to have been taken into account. While the overall structure and the first major categories presented in the 2000 catalogue have remained more or less the same (apart from the movement or addition of sub-groups and a slightly differing order of these sub-groups), 'Polynesian material culture' and 'Natural history specimens' appear as subheadings only. At the same time, however, they are not clearly labelled as 'Communication artefacts / trade exchange or ceremonial' either and still do not seem to fit neatly into the classification scheme. Perhaps, the struggle of what to do with the Polynesian artefacts, in particular, was the result of a focus on other aspects of the collection.

Other publications and work on the collection by the museum's staff included very detailed research, however with a clear interest in the story of HMS *Pandora*, her connection to the *Bounty*, *Pandora*'s crew, details of the social fabric and daily life of the sailors, and an in-depth analysis of first-hand accounts. For example, Ron Coleman and later Peter Gesner took on the time-consuming task of carefully and meticulously transcribing the ship's logbook and attempts were made at reaching out to distant relatives in the United Kingdom (e.g. of Captain Edwards). In addition, the conservation science of *Pandora*'s wreck and contents appeared to have been given a prominent position in the discussions of the collection. The articles specifically aimed at interpreting the Polynesian artefacts recovered from the wreck comprised Janet Campbell's preliminary discussion of the wooden clubs (1997), Tom Fallowfield's paper on the fishing tackle recovered during the excavation seasons 1983–1996 (2001) as well as Peter Illidge's article on the Tahitian mourner's costume components (2002). Of course, the potential time and space given to the Polynesian artefacts and their research was

affected by lack of staff and budget constraints, which is a common problem in museums. Peter Gesner, in a similar fashion to the note in the first catalogue, stated that the report on the Pandora Project Stage 2 should likewise be understood as "a progress update rather than the final word on the *Pandora* collection" and the collection "a 'living' and changing entity" (2016, 1). The difficult thing about catalogues is, however, that change does not seem to occur easily. Hannah Turner, in her discussion of how information about the anthropological collections at the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History was computerised in the 1970s, noted that mistakes were rarely fixed when catalogue cards were transcribed into the computer system. Furthermore, information got 'stuck' to the record and was preserved – for better or worse – because it was decided that the catalogue cards should be digitised as well and attached to their respective system entries. Museum records can therefore be viewed as possessing an 'as is' authority, made even more durable by their transfer into the computing software (Turner 2016, 169, 173).

Within the *Pandora* catalogues, the tables listing the wooden clubs comprise several artefacts, whose inclusion into the object group and tables may be considered questionable, especially since a category for 'unidentified objects' existed. The clubs include a number of wooden fragments and while some of these fragments do feature the shape (e.g. MA7947) or surface decoration (e.g. MA7853.1) to justify their inclusion, it is unclear why, for example, fragments such as MA7971.1 or MA7971.2 were included. In addition, artefact MA4853 was listed as a club, although enough evidence for this categorisation could not be provided. This object, in particular, was repeatedly and often immediately pointed out as 'peculiar' and 'different' from the other artefacts within the object group during conversations and exchanges with interlocutors. The wooden artefact with a length of 111 centimetres, which is tapering to a blunt finish on one end and features two carved prongs on the other, remains unidentified to this date; however, the caption in the *Pandora* catalogue reads "war club or ceremonial club?" (2016, 271). It is assumed that it was included in the list, because it was found in close proximity and association with the Polynesian clubs (MA4853 can be seen next to MA4852 in Figure 11).

Another noticeable object that was categorised as a club was MA4821 ('sword-shaped club'). In a recent article by Andy Mills (2018), this very artefact from the *Pandora* collection was mentioned: discussing the collections made during the voyage of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux (1791–

1794), the author addressed the apparent shift in major styles in Tongan and Fijian sculptural works at that time, with a focus on form and engraving. Found on Tongatapu in 1793, these objects were collected less than two years after *Pandora*'s crew had traversed the region. They demonstrate a strong bias towards weaponry and especially Tongan clubs, which was the case for "all eighteenth-century collections of Pacific material culture" (Mills 2018, 247). Already a key export in the regional economy, the intensive sale of these clubs to the European visitors had become a normality (ibid.). Identifying transitional styles and a transformation in carving in this period, Mills elaborates on a rare type of clubs collected during the voyage, which reflected the cross-cultural encounters, exchanges and influence: the *mata*, which he defines as "hardwood Tongan copies of European swords and knives" (ibid., 248). Only a handful of such objects exist in museums today (MA4821 from HMS *Pandora* being one of them) and half of these examples were collected in the early 1790s. Because of their rarity, Mills suggests that this was a short-lived type of club, made obsolete by the Fijian sandalwood boom from 1801–1816 and the establishment of Christian missions in Tonga from 1824 onwards, which came along with a stable supply of iron blades (ibid.).

THE WOODEN CLUBS FROM HMS PANDORA

Based on their stylistic features, the wooden clubs were soon identified by the museum's staff and consulted experts to be most likely of Tongan origin. The two available catalogues of the *Pandora* collection (Campbell and Gesner 2000; Gesner 2016) and Janet Campbell's article (1997) with a preliminary examination of the five clubs recovered from the shipwreck in 1996 offered descriptions and attempts at a classification in addition to providing the objects' dimensions, the grid in which they were found and their current location within the storage space of the MTQ. In order to classify the clubs, the typologies presented by William Churchill in *Club Types of Nuclear Polynesia* (1917) and by Keith St Cartmail in *The Art of Tonga* (1997) were taken as a reference. St Cartmail distinguished between ten types (I–X)[25], of which three are covered by the nine clubs within the *Pandora* collection.

[25] The ten types include (I) the short throwing club (*kolo*), (II) the pole club (*povai*) with a flared rounded head, (III) a variation of the pole club with a flattened top to the clubhead, (IV) the club with a diamond-sectioned flat-topped head sometimes referred to as a 'coconut-stalk' club (*apa'apai*), (V) a club similar to type IV but with a head that is more spatulate and rounded at the upper end like a paddle club and (VI) the paddle club (*moungalaulau*) with its rounded upper end (St Cartmail 1997, 128). Types VII to X are much rarer and will not be discussed here; they can be found in St Cartmail 1997, 131–133.

In 2009, Andy Mills published his typology based on his doctoral research project, which involved the study of museum collections and 253 clubs spanning the period from 1773 through to 2004 (Mills 2009, 20). Although generally known in recent times by the term *pōvai*, Mills uses the term *'akau*, because the clubs were known as *'akau* (stave), *'akau tā* (striking stave) or *'akau tau* (war stave) during their period of active, practical use, which was roughly until the 1870s (Mills 2009, 7). Mills presents fourteen *'akau* families (A–N) in his typology, of which families A, B and C are relevant for the following discussion of the *Pandora* clubs[26].

Family A comprises tapering paddle clubs, which represented the commonest class of *'akau* in Mills' study. In regard to median principal dimensions, they were the longest *'akau* family and often featured finely carved decoration and one, two, or as many as seven, raised 'collars' on the upper halves. Mills considers *pakipaki* to be a more reliable term for these clubs than *mo'ungalaulau,* which was applied by St Cartmail (Type VI), and strongly advocates its general use (2009, 23). Families B and C cover tapering rhomboidal-sectioned (also called diamond-sectioned) *'akau* with a flat or slightly concave head terminal that further distinguishes them from the arched or rounded point of the *pakipaki*. They are sometimes referred to as 'coconut-stalk' clubs, although their shape is understood to represent the actual coconut leaf midrib rather than the stalk (ibid., 24; St Cartmail 1997, 128–29). The clubs in these families are widely documented to have been termed *apa'apai*, which is also the term St Cartmail applied in his typology (Type IV). Mills proposes a division of *apa'apai* into two families due to "a range of formal, dimensional, decorative and chronological differences" (2009, 24–25), however acknowledging the lack of historical evidence for a Tongan distinction along the same lines. Collectively, the clubs within the two *apa'apai* families make up 32 percent of the *'akau* sampled by Mills – more than the *pakipaki*. With respect to median length, they represent the middle ground of *'akau* dimensions (ibid.).

Although I can only briefly analyse the objects here and therefore discuss them with reservation, it seems that the *Pandora* clubs fit quite neatly into the above-mentioned typologies. Having the signature diamond-sectioned head, MA1351, MA1395.1 and MA4810

[26] The other families presented by Mills (2009) are: (D) cylindrical and collarless pole clubs (*pōvai*), (E) lenticular *'akau*, (F) short throwing clubs (*kolo*), (G) arch-necked *'akau*, which are a secondary class of paddle club, (H) bossed *'akau*, (I) a third, less common class of paddle clubs (*culacula-kinikini*), (J and K) stellate and polygonal *'akau*, which are rare, (L) fan-shaped *'akau*, which are extremely rare, (M) another rare, single-type class of weapon found in collections of Fijian and Tongan material alike (*pukepuke*; *bulibuli* in Fijian) and (N) foregoing, wooden knives termed *mata*.

can be classified as *apa'apai* (Mills' Families B and C, St Cartmail's Type IV), while MA1394, MA1395.2[27], MA4743 and MA4809 share the prominent characteristics of *pakipaki* paddle clubs (Mills' Family A, St Cartmail's Type VI). MA4822, on the other hand, is described as a so-called 'modified coconut stalk' type in the *Pandora* catalogue. Gesner refers to St Cartmail's Type V and an "intermediate style between the '*apa'apai*' and the 'paddle' club, with features of both types, e.g. the carved parallel bands of the '*apa'apai*' and the rounded 'paddle' club head" (2016, 271). This type seems to correspond with Mills' Type A3, *pakipaki* with several collars on their upper halves, of which most display the relievio carved 'eyes' (Mills 2009, 23–24). This striking characteristic is shared by MA4822 as well as MA4852, which is also described as a modified coconut-stalk club in Campbell's article (1997, 4) but not in the *Pandora* catalogue. Instead, Gesner states that the latter is a St Cartmail Type VI. However, considering the similarities between MA4822 and MA4852 as well as their similarities with depicted modified *apa'apai* (e.g. in St Cartmail 1997, 130), it seems more likely that MA4852 belongs to this category of club as well.

Although a potential ceremonial role is addressed, in both *Pandora* artefact catalogues (2000, 2016), the clubs are labelled as 'war clubs'[28]. However, eighteenth-century *'akau* could be found in a wide range of cultural contexts: apart from their use in warfare, they touched the realms of sport, dance and religion. Furthermore, they were part of the material possessions of the chiefly class, whose male members were the only persons entitled to carry them in peacetime, and outside of the sporting arena (Mills 2009, 7, 12). Mills concludes that the *'akau* was an important performative sign and closely connected to (chiefly) male identity as well as competitive behaviour and success. The clubs, through combative use and by association with persons of great *mana* were able to acquire *mana* personhood themselves (ibid., 17; Kaeppler 2008, 132). The high level of decorative complexity of *'akau* not only reflects their labour-intensive manufacture, but also their significance to the people that made and used them (Mills 2009, 7).

The wood of the *Pandora* clubs has been identified macroscopically as *Casuarina equisetifolia*, also known as ironwood. These trees can be found throughout the Asia-Pacific region and are also native to Tonga, Fiji and Samoa; their very heavy and dense wood was most commonly

[27] However, MA1394 and MA1395.2 show signs of significant deterioration, which makes their categorisation more difficult and tentative.

[28] Possibly because they are often discussed as such in the literature, including in more recent publications.

used in club manufacture in the eighteenth century and is considered almost indestructible (Churchill 1917, 106; Wood 1932, 87; De Vere Bailey 1947, 5). Interestingly, it was believed that the god Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a – father of the first Tu'i Tonga, 'Aho'eitu – climbed down from the sky on a *toa* (*Casuarina*) tree (Kaeppler 1998, 200; Kaeppler 2008, 87). The Tu'i Tonga was the highest ranking of the paramount titles (Herda and Lythberg 2014, 282) and Tongan chiefly houses traced their origin to 'Aho'eitu.

Prior to the introduction of iron into Tongan society, the cutting and carving of the wood were undertaken with the help of stone adzes in various sizes, while the surface decoration was accomplished using shark's teeth (Churchill 1917, 8). Interestingly, the iron tools traded to the Tongans during Cook's second voyage stimulated a flourishing of the art of carving, and by the third voyage the incising of wooden objects such as clubs was noticeably different (Kaeppler 1998, 195). Mills also mentioned the widespread use of imported iron gravers on Tongatapu by 1793 in his discussion of the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collection, "revealing how rapidly *tufunga* [artisans] had taken advantage of new tools" (ibid., 250). At the time of *Pandora*'s visit to the islands, both techniques were therefore present, and the clubs collected could have been decorated with either implement.

Among the early European visitors to Oceania, Tongan clubs were especially favoured items and highly sought after, well into the nineteenth century (Gesner 2016, 325); it seems that there was something special about these wooden clubs. Indeed, *'akau* comprise roughly 20 percent of the Polynesian artefacts collected on Cook's voyages and are "the single most numerous class of documented 18th century Polynesian artwork" (Mills 2009, 7; with reference to Kaeppler 1978, 238). This fact may hint at their ubiquitous and alienable status in Tongan society, but also, perhaps more strongly, to the interests of the European visitors to the islands and the contemporaneous European market for 'artificial curiosities' with its apparent demand for non-Western weapons (Mills 2009, 7). Yet, while the voyagers and collectors commented on the clubs' decorations and use, information concerning the meaning of their intricate designs was apparently not gathered and remains scarce (Weener 2007, 451). The meanings and iconography of Tongan club designs are therefore obscure; however, it is speculated that they may have been connected to tattoo, matting and barkcloth designs – all forms of surface marking and wrapping (Hooper 2006, 266; with reference to Mills 2003). While many of the clubs collected still exist in museums and private collections today, a large

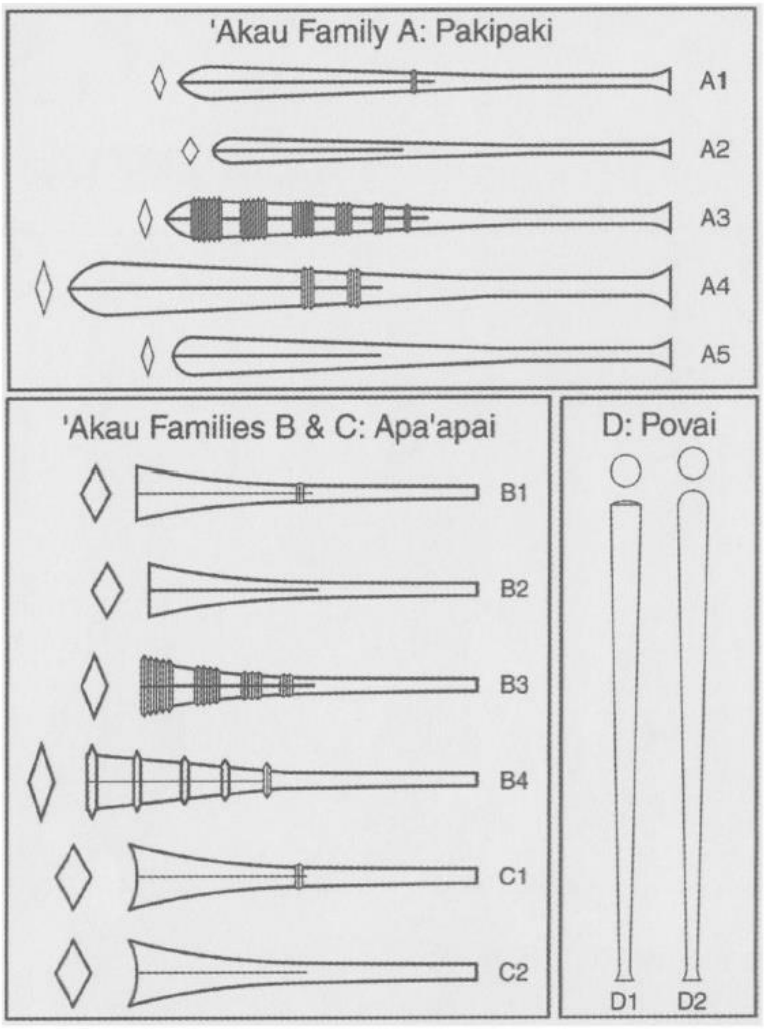


Figure 15. "'Akau Families A-D." From "'Akau Tau: Contextualising Tongan War-Clubs" by Andy Mills, 2009, *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 118, no. 1, p. 21. Image courtesy of Andy Mills.

percentage have lost the association they once had with a particular voyage, time, place and people (Kaeppler 1978, 238; in Campbell 1997, 5).

All of the *Pandora* clubs were most probably collected during the crew's visit to the Tongan Island groups of Vava'u, Ha'apai and Tongatapu between 29 June 1791 and 2 August 1791 – or in Samoan waters (Campbell 1997, 1). Indeed, it is possible that that the *Pandora* clubs, while of Tongan origin, were collected at another location in Polynesia, as inter-island exchanges were prevalent before the arrival of Europeans in the region. The connections between the West Polynesian archipelagos of Tonga, Sāmoa and Fiji before the arrival of the first European visitors to the Pacific has been well documented through genealogical, linguistic, ethnographic and archaeological evidence (Barnes and Hunt 2005, 227). Kaeppler, in particular, researched the social relations involved in the movement of and ideas about objects through an analysis of exchange patters in goods and spouses between Tonga, Sāmoa and Fiji (1978, 246). Barnes and Hunt (2005), who analysed Samoan oral traditions to investigate Sāmoa's pre-contact connections to Tonga, Fiji and other islands of the Pacific, came to the conclusion that there appeared to be a high degree of interaction between Sāmoa, Tonga and Fiji in pre-contact times. According to Mills, Tongans exported weapons to Sāmoa and Fiji from at least the sixteenth century and imported weapons from both archipelagoes, with a mutual influence of these three carving traditions visible and identifiable in each (2018, 247).

In contrast to all these possible movements, which admittedly remain uncertain for the *Pandora* clubs, things changed dramatically with the artefacts' transformation into museum objects. Once settled into a storage or exhibition space, movements out of the museum, and even within it, hardly ever occur.

OBJECTS PUT IN PLACE

The permanent exhibition for the display of the *Pandora* collection ('Pandora Gallery') was part of the rebuilding of the Museum of Tropical Queensland (MTQ) in Townsville as the Queensland Museum's North Queensland campus. With the discovery of the wreck and the decision to store and present the collection to Townsville, things had started to move in the museum and the city – HMS *Pandora* was expected to tell a great story and become an even greater attraction. Funded by the government of Queensland, which allocated $20 million to the Queensland Museum following the success of the Pandora Foundation's local $2.1 million

fundraising campaign in greater Townsville, the new galleries were scheduled to be finalised by June 2000. In this way, they would be open just in time to be an attraction in North Queensland for (international) visitors to the 2000 Olympic Games in Sydney. The curatorial input to their development was provided by the same core team members usually participating in fieldwork[29] (Gesner 2016, 148).

The Pandora Gallery, which covers a space of 685m^2, has a strong focus on the ship's history (including the connection to the *Bounty*), journey through Oceania, and the crew (including subsequent careers), life on board the ship and the wreckage. Furthermore, the curators took a reflexive approach, presenting aspects of the archaeological work at the wreck site, such as the established grid system, as well as the conservation of the retrieved artefacts and their safe keeping in the museum's storage room. In contrast to these parts of the exhibition, the space given to the Polynesian artefacts seems little (two and a half showcases, next to half a shelf dedicated to the so-called 'natural curiosities', i.e. shells, collected by the seamen), although it must be taken into consideration that they only comprise roughly 270 objects and therefore a relatively small percentage of the collection.

On display are mainly artefacts made from stone (adze blades, pounders) and shell (trumpet, bracelet, fishing tackle components), accompanied by minimal information about their contexts prior to the point of their collection and movement on board the ship. Instead, the texts on the labels focus on the crew's engagement in 'curiosity collecting' in exchange for objects such as metal tools, nails and glass beads as well as the importance of the collection due its pre-1791 dating. Overall, the Polynesian artefacts seem to be viewed and presented in light of the exchanges and collection, rather than the function in their local contexts. Similarly, the text on the Tongan clubs only briefly touches on their usage "in battle and for ceremonial purposes", while emphasising Lieutenant Larkan as their collector. According to the panel, the clubs were to be placed on display after their conservation treatment; however, this has not been realised to date.

□

[29] At the time, this team comprised permanent full-time staff Peter Gesner, Warren Delaney and Jessica Turner as well as temporary contract staff funded through the Pandora Foundation, Janet Campbell, Vivienne Moran, Bill Jeffery and Alison Mann (Gesner 2016, 148).

Occasionally, museum objects do leave the museum temporarily, if they have been chosen to be exhibited elsewhere, allowing them to make connections to other places. This was indeed the case for some of the Polynesian artefacts within the *Pandora* collection. The proposal for the Queensland Museum's travelling exhibition *Pandora – Anatomy of a Shipwreck*, for example, included a few of the Polynesian objects within its list of 57 display items. Comparable to the display within the Pandora Gallery, these were mainly made from stone (pounder, adze blades) and shell (fishhook, conch shell, adze blades, armband, parts of necklaces, and shell components of a Tahitian mourner's costume).

While these objects returned to the Museum of Tropical Queensland in a relatively short amount of time, one of the Polynesian artefacts left its storage space for the long term: in late 2012, one of the five Polynesian stone pounders recovered from the *Pandora*'s wreck, MA4138, was taken to the Norfolk Island. The loan had been arranged in connection to the Norfolk Island Museum's 25th anniversary in 2013, for which the museum's staff planned to display "objects that will have special significance and meaning to the Norfolk Island community"[30]. This community includes descendants of the *Bounty*'s crew (who relocated from Pitcairn Island), connecting Norfolk Island to *Pandora*'s story. The pounder was therefore presented as "a very special loan" due to "its special connection to Norfolk's foremothers and fathers", with the possibility that some of the Polynesian artefacts within the collection may have been confiscated possessions of the mutineers.

Likewise, the label attached to the display of MA4138 at the Norfolk Island Museum states that the pounder "provides a tangible link between the mutineers who stayed behind in Tahiti and were subsequently captured, and those that sailed on to find freedom on Pitcairn Island and become the forefathers of many on Norfolk today". Both the museum's blog article and the label further mention that the pounder was associated with and may have belonged to George Stewart (drowned during the wreckage) or Peter Heywood (returned to England and eventually pardoned, alongside James Morrison), very likely to emphasise these connections, i.e. the Norfolk Islander's connection to the *Bounty* story and their Polynesian ancestry[31]. In 2014, it was incorporated into the permanent display of *Mutiny of the Bounty story* at the Pier

[30] https://norfolkislandmuseum.blogspot.com/2012/11/a-very-speical-loan.html. With much thanks to Bethany Holland from the Norfolk Island Museum for providing me with information on the pounder's movement to Norfolk Island and for pointing out the link the article.

[31] I thank both Ewen McPhee and Nigel Erskine for their valuable hints, ideas and comments in regard to the *Pandora* pounder at the Norfolk Island Museum.

Store's ground level and has had loan extensions ever since to enable it to remain on display at the museum; the current loan period extends to 2021. In a personal comment and discussion about the stone pounder at the Norfolk Island Museum and why it may have been chosen over the other artefacts, former director Nigel Erskine, suggested that the museum did not offer a stabilised environment and was therefore not suitable for objects that required particular and regulated conditions, like those made from wood. This durability, as a special and appreciated quality of stones, is discussed in Chapter ◒ .

It is worth pointing out the differences between materials here and the fact that the materials, from which the artefacts were crafted, influenced not only the processes of collecting, classifying, categorising, but also their conservation treatment and subsequent movements in space. The wooden clubs seem to fall into an interesting place within the range of Polynesian artefacts recovered from HMS *Pandora*, filling a space 'in-between'. Unlike other, more fragile materials, which have dissolved during the artefacts' long time underwater (see Chapter ⓵), they were successfully recovered from the wreck and suitable for a transformation into museum objects, often times with a remarkably good and stable appearance. On the other hand, the submersion in saltwater has affected them more than the objects made from stone or shell, as it weakened their internal cell structure. Even after conservation treatment, they are not considered to embody the same kind of durability, making it difficult for them to move out of the museum again, once entered. Their transformation into museum objects has given them the possibility of infinite movement through time, but greatly diminished their movements across space.

Put in place, the objects were categorised and 'put in boxes', which, in some ways, rendered them immobile too, as museum records rarely change. On the other hand, with classification, catalogues and knowledge, there is also movement, as the artefacts and the information attached to them can be retrieved and actively be worked with. The computerisation of museum records, accessibility of collection catalogues and digital images further enable the distribution of the objects and their presence in multiple places and times at once. In its migrations, knowledge is always reshaped, as its substance invariably changes as it moves through space (from culture to culture) and time (from generation to generation). Something is always lost in translation, but something new is invariably created, making the process both destructive and constructive (Silverman 2015, 3–4) and catalogues – as information

infrastructures – not only descriptive but generative (Turner 2016, 171). In consequence, "[m]useum records are also increasingly seen as sites where knowledge is produced not just recorded" (ibid., 163). Because the museums construct and maintain the places in which the gathered information is stored, manipulated and found, collection management systems are 'excellent bases' from which to exercise power and control (Beltrame and Jungen 2013, 753). Moreover, they can lead to contestation and criticism, for example in regard to their compatibility with other knowledge systems and the highly controversial topic of digital repatriation (Were 2015, 155).

Here, it is also important to keep in mind that digital heritage technologies can generate issues of ownership, access and control, as they connect to broader audiences (Otto and Hardy 2016, 118). Now often available and accessible online, museum catalogue records can be examined as a first point of encounter between objects and the wider public or specific communities (Turner 2016, 163). On the other hand, digital technologies can connect people and things that are located in different, far-way places (Were 2015, 155). Their transformation into digital data can, then, potentially ensure wide access on the internet, extending their reach and creating new possibilities for their use and relevance for people, who partly define their distinct identity in relation them (Otto and Hardy 2016, 119).

In case of the Polynesian artefacts from HMS *Pandora*, collection catalogues are retrievable online and for free. In addition, I photographed all objects classified as Polynesian material culture[32] prior to my departure to French Polynesia to facilitate discussions with my interlocutors and to prepare an updated catalogue for a wider circulation of the artefacts at a later point in time. Likewise, the photographs were useful when discussing the objects with experts worldwide via email. Even if no specific information could be added to help contextualise the clubs, it became clear that people were fascinated by how well preserved they seemed and were particularly interested in the incised patterns and potential knowledge attached to them. The wood, permeated with PEG, has become something different entirely – in digital form and in digital space, the clubs, their shapes and their patterns move on.

[32] All objects of the *Pandora* collection were photographed as soon as possible after their recovery, but not all images could be retrieved or were considered useful for the purposes of this research.

MATERIALS ON THE MOVE

In opposition to the concept of museums as 'ahistorical time capsules' that put an end to the 'social lives' of the objects within their collections, Amiria Henare argues that the mobility of museum objects across space is "restricted precisely *in order to enhance their ability to move through time* (2005, 9; emphasis in the original). Because they are "kept to hold something of the past for present and future generations" (ibid.), the museum's responsibility and care for them includes preservation and conservation treatment. The latter keeps the objects 'alive', enabling them to possibly continue travelling the world in time, generating and perpetuating social ties (Henare 2005, 8–9). Unlike an understanding of museum objects as things "removed from other times and other places, [which] are neatly labelled, catalogued and packed away out of sight, rarely displayed and infrequently studied" (Byrne et al. 2011, 4), Henare hold a more optimistic view. She emphasises the potential of the continuous existence of these artefacts, which "attract scholars, descendants, artists, curators and other people who come to study them, draw inspiration from their forms, conserve their substance and observe them on display" (2005, 9).

Yet, at least for the majority of the Polynesian artefacts from HMS *Pandora* and the wooden clubs, in particular, actual movements out of the museum do not seem realistic, although they continue to have the potential to establish and maintain meaningful ties elsewhere, as described in Clifford's idea of museum objects as travellers and crossers (1997, 213; addressed in Chapter 1). Indeed, apart from the stone pounder MA4138, which moved to the Norfolk Island Museum as a permanent loan, the ties to the Oceanic Islands appear very loose. The only other connection was the movement of several stoneware jars as objects on loan to the Fiji Museum[33] in Suva in connection to the celebration of the Bi-Centenary of the 'European discovery' of the island of Rotuma (now a dependency of Fiji) by Captain Edwards on 9 August 1991. To this day, none of the Polynesian artefacts from the *Pandora* collection have made their way back to a probable place of origin (or departure) in Oceania.

As has been demonstrated in this chapter, the *Pandora* artefacts' abilities to move have been dramatically altered by their transformation into museum objects. In exchange, however, they have been given 'life forever' – potentially opening up the possibility for new connections to be

[33] Unfortunately, additional documents or information could not be gathered – for example, by contacting the Fiji Museum – but the above-mentioned objects were in Fiji at the time of my candidature.

made. In Chapter 7, a possible way for the generation and perpetuation of meaningful ties between the Polynesian artefacts and people outside the museum, especially in Polynesia itself, will be explored. This approach focuses on the creation of new stories rather than the investigation of past events: the Polynesian artefacts from HMS *Pandora* can be classified based on their physical attributes or their roles as exchange objects, as they have been collected and have made their way on board a European vessel. But, as is discussed in Chapter ◒, there are limitations to our ability to reconstruct the past, especially in the case of *Pandora*'s history. An alternative, then, might be to consider which new stories can (instead) be told with the help of these artefacts. As we have followed their movement from the ship into the museum, the processes that put them in place and transformed them into worthy museum objects – including classification, cataloguing, and conservation – were unravelled. Although enclosed in "an immobile place" (Foucault 1986, 26), they may be able to connect to far-away places (again), as if they were back on the ship, and open the world to different endeavours and imagination.

Figure 16. MA1395.1 (detail). The effects of the club's long time underwater are visible. Photograph by the author. Image courtesy of the Queensland Museum Network.

Figure 17. A stone pounder given to the author as a gift by her host mother's aunt, whom the author called Mémé (the familial term for grandmother), on a visit to Ra'iātea at the end of October 2017.

CHAPTER 34

STORIES OF STONES

« E Parauparau Te Ôfa'i »
L'énigme depuis les temps anciens très lointains, protégeait en silence ses secrets
je n'ai point de bouche, point d'oreille, point de langue.
Et lorsque la lumière apparaîtra de l'ombre de la nuit, le mystère s'éclaircira,
je suis, empreinte de la terre, empreinte de la femme,
empreinte des ancêtres, empreinte d'alerte, empreinte de la mer.
Je me dévoilerai alors, pierre, pierre que je suis, conteuse d'histoires.[35]
[Jacky Bryant, 2018]

Stones have neither mouths nor ears. Nevertheless, while incapable of speech, they continue to reveal the stories imprinted on them by their environment and its inhabitants, throughout the ages and into the present and emerging future. During the *heiva* season of 2018, the *marae* 'Ārahurahu in the commune of Paea became the venue of five performances by the group Hitireva. More than 120 dancers, actors, musicians, singers, and orators attracted both locals and tourists to the shows, which were widely covered by the national media and quickly sold out. Under the leadership of troupe director and choreographer Kehaulani Chanquy[36], the artists presented *E Parauparau Te Ôfa'i*. The Tahitian word *'ōfa'i* means stone or rock, whereas the term *parau* seems to have multiple meanings and translates to words, speech, stories or even memories. Interestingly, the title, or rather language, does not make clear whether this is a story told *about* or *by* the stones, which is equally ambivalent in the English 'the words/stories *of* stones' and the French or German translations of it.

[34] Please note that parts of this chapter have been included in the article "The Past, Present and Future Values of the Polynesian Stone Adzes and Pounders Collected on the 'Pandora'" (2019, *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* 29, no. 1), co-written with Michelle Richards (ANU).

[35] Because an official translation of the text into English does not seem to have been released, the original version in French is presented here. The text is written from the perspective of the stone, which states that it has neither mouth (*bouche*) nor ear (*oreille*), but has been imprinted by its environment, including humans. In the last line, it reveals itself as the teller of stories (*conteuse d'histoires* [the French word for stone used here – *pierre* – is feminine]).

[36] I thank Kehaulani Chanquy for kindly reading over my text concerning Hitireva's performance.

Playwright Jacky Bryant chose an abstract theme instead of relying on a legend or a political claim, which are usually the subject of dance performances, to bring to the foreground what he and Kehaulani Chanquy described as somewhat neglected today[37]. The play was broken up into several parts, each supported by a different narration, song, dance, costumes and properties. Over the course of the performance, examples were shown of how Polynesians in former times have appropriated the natural resource and what roles the stones played in their daily social and ceremonial lives. These included the construction of the *marae*, places of religious character, as well as the use of stones in a particular fishing technique (*la pêche aux cailloux*) and the finding of sacred petroglyphs in the form of turtles. However, the very first scene was dedicated to a much smaller object: the pounder, or *penu*, as they are called in Tahitian. Even before the audience caught sight of the dancers, who hid behind the trees surrounding the *marae* and approached the central stone structures slowly, the sound of stone hitting stone was to be heard. It resembled the noise produced during the fabrication of a *penu*, echoing from the valley. Then, the dancers showed how the pounders were used in the making of a mash made from breadfruit or taro as well as the preparation of herbal medicine, while the singers conveyed the same story through song and the orator through speech.

Even though I did not understand the actual words of the song and speech in the Tahitian language, I was able to follow the story and meaning of this particular scene due to my work with the Polynesian artefacts from HMS *Pandora*. Getting to know the collection and the individual objects heightened my sensitivity towards certain types of things, including stone pounders, whose presence would strike me repeatedly during my stay in French Polynesia. As will be unravelled and discussed throughout this chapter, pounders are very visible. In consequence, the performance by Hitireva was 'readable' for most, if not all, members of the audience, whether they were capable of understanding Tahitian or not. People were able to connect to the theme and, by and large, the stones did not seem neglected at all. Perhaps, Kehaulani Chanquy and Jacky Bryant were referring to changes the material and objects underwent since the *marae* stopped being places of worship to gods and stones were omnipresent in the realms of both the sacred and the profane, as tools, as weapons, as allies in the making of food and medicine and many other aspects of everyday life. According to the press surrounding the performance, Chanquy and Bryant wanted to highlight the crucial role

[37] http://www.hiroa.pf/2018/07/n130-hitireva-fait-vibrer-les-pierres-au-marae-arahurahu.

of stones in past lives and let the stones continue to resonate with people in the present. Due to the specific characteristics of the material, stones can be extremely durable and potentially accompany humans for long periods. Over time, people and the environment can leave their traces on the stones and stones can become traces of these actions and movements themselves. This does not mean, however, that they were or are immune to changes in form, use and meaning. The *marae* 'Ārahurahu can be understood as such a trace, as well as the stone pounders and adzes recovered from the wreck of *Pandora*, whose movements will be the focus of this chapter.

MATERIALS THROUGH TIME AND SPACE

In eighteenth-century Oceania, objects of everyday life, such as pounders, catered to the needs of people and made use of the resources provided by their natural environment. On the high islands, such as Tahiti, volcanic rock[38] was an important material for the fabrication of tools and other objects. The Musée de Tahiti et des Îles' publication on the history of the museum and its collections identifies the island of Maupiti, the Papeno'o Valley of Tahiti and 'Eiao in the Marquesas as sources of stone, from which specialised artists created "the most beautiful tools" (2001, 55) and specifically mentions adze blades and pounders in this context. The basalt and trachyte of these quarries were said to be of particularly fine grain and a solid, dark grey or black colour. In their function as tools, pounders were essential for the preparation of mashed fruit and vegetable staple foods and medicine, as presented by Hitireva in their performance on the *marae* 'Ārahurahu. The mashes, mainly from taro or the fruits of the breadfruit tree (*'uru*), were produced through beating on wooden pounding tables or platforms, whereas medicine (*ra'au*) was made with the help of smaller *penu* and a mortar to grind or crush the ingredients. Across the five archipelagos, pounders were omnipresent but fabricated from different materials, depending on the natural resources of the various islands and atolls:

[38] The *Encyclopédie de la Polynésie* states basalt, dolerite (diabase), phonolite and trachyte as material used for the fabrication of stone tools (Orliac 1986, 9) and Mu-Liepmann and Milledrogues identify Maupiti as a source of fine-grained dolerite (2008, 19). In geology, dolerite is classified as subvolcanic rock and therefore an intrusive igneous rock, unlike basalt, phonolite and trachyte, which are extrusive igneous rocks. The terms 'igneous' or 'magmatic rocks' would consider both types. However, the literature on Polynesian stone tools and museum databases often state 'volcanic rock' or specifically 'basaltic stone' or 'basalt' as material from which the artefacts were made. This is very likely, as extrusive igneous rocks are formed at the earth crust's surface and are therefore more easily accessible.

volcanic rock in the Society Islands, the Marquesas, the Gambier Islands and Rapa Iti, coral in the Austral and Gambier Islands, and wood in the Tuamotus. Each archipelago, and sometimes even individual islands, developed distinctive forms (Mu-Liepmann and Milledrogues 2008, 113).

The second group of stone objects in focus here are adzes, which were called *to'i* in the Society Islands and *toki* in the Marquesas, Tuamotus and Gambier Islands (Musée de Tahiti et des Îles 2001, 56). They were the most common tools for woodworking before the introduction of metal axes by the European voyagers and therefore essential for building and construction, for example of houses or canoes, but also the sculpting of smaller objects. The blades of the adzes, which were hafted to a wooden handle with the help of plaited vegetable fibres, were made from stone or, where volcanic rock did not occur naturally, from corals and shells of molluscs. Similar to pounders, distinct shapes of (stone) adze blades have emerged across Oceania. Furthermore, adzes came in different sizes and forms according to their respective functions in the various stages of the manufacturing process. It can be assumed that larger tools were utilised for rough work on wood and even softer stones, whereas smaller specimen were needed for sculpting and finishing touches.

In the *Manners and Customs of South Sea Islands* section of his *Endeavour* journal (1769), Joseph Banks mentions stone adzes in relation to the work of joiners, carpenters and stonecutters. They were part of "a sufficient set of tools for building a house and furnishing it with boats" in addition to "a chisel or gouge made of a human bone, a file or rasp of Coral, skin of Sting rays, and coral sand to polish with". According to Banks, some adzes intended for felling[39] weighed three or four pounds (1.36-1.85 kilograms) and others of "not so many ounces" were used for carving, e.g. of "figures stuck about their canoes". Captain James Cook, on the other hand, stated that adzes for felling weighed 2.7 to 3.6 kilograms (Guiot 2001, 10) in contrast to 200–220 grams for sculpting tools. Perhaps these variations in description can be taken as indication that, in general, our knowledge of both the uses of adzes as well as their fabrication from the raw material is very limited (Lavondès 1976, 74; Mu-Liepmann and Milledrogues 2008, 19).

[39] It shall be mentioned here that some scholars question whether adzes can be used for felling trees and such doubts have been part of personal discussions I had throughout my research. Nevertheless, felling is often stated to be a function of adzes in the literature, in both eighteenth-century accounts of European voyagers as well as publications that are more recent. These publications consider cutting down a tree using an adze as a possibility, however acknowledging the labour and patience that is necessary to do so.

Figures 18 and 19. The *marae* Ta'ata in the commune of Paea in Tahiti. In 1925, a first site map and description of what are actually three *marae* were undertaken by archaeologist K. P. Emory from the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Hawai'i. According to the Hiro'a journal (March 2011), the *marae* was in a very poor condition then. Only the stone elements of the complex have survived, while the wooden ones have disappeared. Excavations and restoration processes were undertaken between 1973 and 2011 by various archaeologists (José Garanger, Eric Conte, amongst others) from different institutions (Centre national de la recherche scientifique, CNRS; Office de la recherche scientifique et technique outre-mer, ORSTOM; Archaeology Department of French Polynesia). During these processes, stones were moved and put back together. Research revealed several modifications of the *marae* over time and a lengthy occupation. Today, the *marae* belongs to the state and is under the supervision of the Direction de la Culture et du Patrimoine. Multiple panels were set up to inform visitors about the history of the *marae,* including the excavations, which also uncovered stone pounders and adzes.

Records of the oral traditions of pre-contact Oceania are scarce and the European voyagers, collectors and writers seemed to focus more on the finished products rather than objects in the different stages of their making. This is suggested in the *Encyclopédie de la Polynésie* (Orliac 1986, 9), a reference work comprising nine books about life in French Polynesia in the past and present, which nevertheless included a theoretical description of the production of adzes in its detailed discussion of this object group in image and text (ibid., 14). According to this description, stones that were considered suitable were extracted from quarries or collected in riverbeds, as rocks that have travelled down a river were the most durable parts of the rock and potentially already of the approximate size of the object to be made. A blade was shaped through percussion, by hitting the stone with another stone and marching around its edges to cause the surplus material to break off. Specialised knowledge of the raw material was certainly helpful, if not necessary, to flake the stone in a controlled way and to prevent it from breaking. Yet, oral traditions seem to rest mute in regard to this stage of fabrication, only referring to the very beginning of the process (i.e. the choice of material) as well as the final polishing, which was undertaken with the help of corals or sand and water. This way of polishing is recalled in a chant of canoe builders, cited by Teuira Henry (1847–1915), whose writings on the history of Tahiti were mainly based on her reconstruction of a manuscript by her maternal grandfather, English missionary John Muggridge Orsmond, who lived from 1784 to 1856. They were posthumously published by the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum of Hawai'i as the book *Ancient Tahiti* in 1928 and translated into French in 1951 under the title *Tahiti aux temps anciens.* Like the *Encyclopédie de la Polynésie* (1986), the book is considered a reference work and can be found in libraries and households in Tahiti today. However, as discussed with the title of Hitireva's performance at the beginning of this chapter, translations from one language to another can be challenging and are not without flaws. In *Tahiti aux temps anciens* (1962, 153–154), the French word *hache* was used as a translation for the Tahitian *to'i*. However, *hache* means axe in English. Axes differ from adzes in the way they are hafted: the cutting edge of the axe blade is hafted parallel to the longitudinal axis of the handle, whereas the cutting edge of the adze blade is perpendicular to the handle. Because the artefacts in focus here belong to the second category, a slightly altered version of the chant (Guiot 2001, 8–9) with the translation of *to'i* as *herminette*, meaning adze, is cited here:

Va prendre l'herminette	Go and take hold of the adze[40]
Dans l'ouverture de Havai'i[41]	In the aperture in Havai'i
Veille qu'elle soit sortie enchantée	Hold, that it be taken out enchanted
Rendue légère, qu'elle fasse des étincelles	Made light; that it may produce sparks
En faisant des travaux divers	In doing varied work.
Elle est aiguisée avec du sable fin,	It is whetted with fine sand;
Polie avec du sable à gros grains,	Made smooth with loose-grained sand;
Fixée sur un manche solide de miro sacré.	It is set in a firm handle of sacred miro,
Fixée avec de la corde de Tane à plusieurs fils.	United with many-stranded sennit of Tane.
L'herminette deviendra sacrée	The adze will become sacred
Dans la corde brillante de l'artisan	In the brilliant[42] sennit of the artisan,
Qui touche et tient lieu d'une ceinture pour l'herminette	Which touches and holds as a girdle for the adze
Pour le manche de l'herminette	For the handle of the adze,
Le dos de l'herminette	The back of the adze,
Pour faire un, l'herminette et le manche,	To make one the adze and the handle,
Pour rendre légère l'herminette	To make light the adze,
Pour consacrer l'herminette	To consecrate the adze,
Pour mettre en mouvement l'herminette,	To impel the adze,
Pour compléter l'herminette	To complete the adze,
Pour donner de la puissance à l'herminette.	To give power to the adze.

Several things can be extracted from the text, apart from learning about the polishing process of the stone blade with sand. We get to know that not only the living played a role in the making of the adze, but also the gods. Furthermore, both the materials, such as the wood from the portia tree (*Thespesia populnea; miro*) used for the handle, as well as the object itself can be considered sacred. They were given a certain force or power, which were necessary for a tool to be effective, particularly when something for the gods or a chief was to be created. Henry mentions the chant in relation to an act called 'putting the adze to sleep' (*ha'amoe ra'a to'i*) in order to prepare it for the felling of a tree for the construction of a canoe. The canoe makers would put their adzes in a niche on their *marae* and recounted the chant above to call upon the gods Tane, Ta'ere, Te Fatu and Ta'aroa. Afterwards they held a ceremony, ate and rested. The next morning, each man took his tool, dipped it into ocean water and recited another chant –

[40] This English version was found in Robert D. Craig's *Handbook of Polynesian Mythology* (2004, 78-79), citing Teuira Henry. As in the French equivalent, the word 'axe' was used, which I have replaced here with the word 'adze'.

[41] Havai'i, or Hawaiki, is said to be the original home of the Polynesians and it remains for many Polynesians a 'sacred island'. It is uncertain whether it is a real, physical island, or a mythical place; however, many associate it with Ra'iātea in the Society Islands and the grand *marae* Taputapuātea on the south eastern coast of the island, which is believed to be the centre of the 'Polynesian Triangle' by some.

[42] The French word 'brilliant(e)' could also be translated differently and refer to the visual qualities of an/the object, e.g. 'shiny' or 'bright'.

this time to 'awaken' the adze. Only then were they ready to make their way to the site of the felling and able to commence their work after further prayers and offerings to the gods by the *tahu'a* (Guiot 2001, 9). T*ahu'a* were individuals with specialised knowledge and skills, for example in the field of medicine, constructing, building and fishing (Henry 1962, 161), and were responsible for holding rituals on the *marae* to ensure that every human endeavour was harmonised with and authorised by the gods. There are various translations used for the word *tahu'a*: creators, specialists, or priests. In the eighteenth century, life on the Society Islands was structured by the belief in and worship of multiple deities as well as a complex chiefdom system, which was considered to be one of the most stratified in East Polynesia (Maric 2016, 239). Taking a closer look at the social organisation before the arrival of the first Europeans in the area enables a better understanding of the material creations by the Polynesians of that time (Musée de Tahiti et des Îles 2001, 35). The chiefs (*ari'i*) and the *tahu'a,* in agreement with the gods, initiated the majority of these creations and along the lines of these high members of society, materials, knowledge and rights were transmitted from generation to generation. In fact, *marae* were not only dedicated to specific deities, but also connected to the lineages that were said to have built them. The complexes served different social levels and purposes and were of a variety of architectural types. However, they usually consisted of numerous stone and wood structures surrounded by boundaries, which marked the sacred space. In consequence, the stones received a sacred status themselves.

Henry identified three types of marae of public importance: (1) the grand Taputapuātea on Ra'iātea as the only international *marae*, (2) national *marae*, which were the most important of the island, and (3) local *marae* within the islands' various districts. Moreover, there were five types of domestic importance: the family or ancestor *marae*, the social *marae* for genealogical solidarity as well as *marae* for doctors, canoe builders and fishermen, respectively[43] (Gerard 1974, 221; Henry 1962, 126). Their main function was to enable interaction between the world of the living and the world of the ancestors and gods. Interestingly, *marae* were not immune to change despite their size, the relative stability of the stone structures and the sacredness of the space. A change of belief and worship or socio-political order through a new chief potentially caused the moving of the ceremonial centre and the construction of a new *marae*. In the Society Islands, a major socio-political transformation

[43] Likely, *marae* for other specialists existed as well.

– before the arrival of the Europeans – resulted from the introduction of the god 'Oro, who was associated with fertility, peace and war (Maric 2016, 241–3). The shift from devotion to Tane to the worship of 'Oro brought "with it fighting and human sacrifices" and a time during which "marae became fearful places" (Salmond 2009, 26). As the cult of 'Oro spread, Taputapuātea became the centre of an extensive voyaging network. Generally, *marae* seemed to play crucial roles in the movements of people, objects and materials[44]. In similar manner, they were able to bind things to their sacred grounds and put them into (periods of) immobility.

○

Archaeological work on *marae* sites, such as the *marae* Ta'ata in the commune of Paea in Tahiti (Figures 18 and 19), often revealed pounders and adzes, usually gathered in a pit close to the stone structures. An explanation for finding these objects is that the tools, unlike the adzes put to sleep and awoken again, were not allowed to be taken away once they had entered the space of a *marae*, which was *tapu* (personal comment, Guillaume Molle). Pounders may have been used during ceremonies and rituals, for example, when making medicine or preparing food offerings for the gods and ancestors. Adzes were required for certain wood carving activities on the *marae*, such as the making of *ti'i* or a canoe. After having fulfilled their purpose, they were buried, so that they and the *mana* attached to them would not leave the space of the *marae*. Other things, belonging to the gods and therefore of great value and untouchable, were stored on national *marae* in the *fare ia manaha*, the house of hidden treasures. Chiefs were also likely to keep objects of prestige on their *marae* and fine examples of pounders and adzes could have been among them, as not all members of these object groups were considered merely tools. Some pounders and adzes of premium material and workmanship were specifically made for high-ranking members of the society and became symbols of (their) power and prestige, preserved over generations (Mu-Liepmann and Milledrogues 2008, 113; Hermann 2016, 206). Sometimes it was decided to give these objects away to create or strengthen bonds with other chiefs: both materials and finished products were part of inter-island exchanges and could have been found far from the places of their extraction or making, while in various stages of finalisation and completeness.

[44] In fact, the commencement of a new *marae* started with the taking of a stone from an old *marae* and moving it to the new location. These stones were called *haoa* (see http://www.arapo.org.pf/corpus/2/2-4247.htm). I thank Tamara Maric for pointing the term out to me.

When the first European voyagers arrived, they entered these exchange systems and we know from their accounts and the collections they gathered, that stone pounders and adzes were among the objects exchanged. The tools were a central element of the material cultures of pre-contact Oceania (Hermann 2016, 206), objects from everyday life that "repeatedly turned up among the gifts of the Maohi" (Krüger 1998, 147), alongside fishing implements, barkcloth and household items, in particular. One of artist Sydney Parkinson's drawings from the *Endeavour* voyage depicts 'various instruments and utensils of the natives of Otaheite and the adjacent islands' and features an adze and a pounder with a three-pronged handle among the objects made from stone, wood, shell, bone, plant fibres, and feathers.

According to Newell, most museums, no matter how small the collection, will have fishhooks, adzes and food pounders (2009, 3). On the one hand, these objects were relatively small and easy to store on a ship where space was scarce. On the other hand, the Polynesian exchange partners possibly thought of them as less difficult to give away or as the appropriate offering to the person in front of them, for example when a chief sought to establish good relations with the captain of the ship. However, whether they were used and perceived as tools, ceremonial objects or objects of prestige before and after the moments of their passing from one person to the next (and whether they were understood as such by all parties) depended on the situation and the individuals involved. If such information has not survived, the materials may remain as the sole traces of these past encounters.

While the objects were to be preserved and continue to exist (almost) unchanged in museum institutions distant from the places they originated from, material cultures in Polynesia were transformed through the contacts with the voyagers, merchants and missionaries from afar and the things they brought with them. Prominent examples include metal axes, which quickly replaced tools made from stone. Whereas the volcanic rock quickly blunted after repeated use, metal overcame the problem of having to sharpen the blades often and was seen as much more efficient. Notably, there seemed to be a stronger interest in the blades than the complete axes, as accounts of the removal of the metal and its hafting to wooden handles as adzes attest: in his entry from 6 June 1769, Banks wrote about how an "Iron tool made in the shape of the Indian adzes" excited his curiosity. Much later, Ralph Linton, who worked in the Marquesas in the 1920s, noted that the inhabitants of the islands had not used adzes made from stone for many years, but tools of metal in a form comparable to the ones made from stone (Mu-Liepmann and

Figure 20. "Various Instruments, & Utensils, of the Natives of Otaheite, & of the adjacent Islands". From *A journal of a voyage to the South Seas, in his Majesty's ship the Endeavour* by Sydney Parkinson, 1784, Plate 13. Samuel Grimm; W. Darling. No known copyright restrictions.

Milledrogues 2008, 38). Bigger changes came with the missionaries, however, as previous beliefs and the rituals and practices connected to them were banned or lost their importance and influence. After the adoption of Christianity[45], *marae* were abandoned or destroyed (Maric 2016, 244). In this transformed world, old deities, chiefs and *tahu'a* were no longer responsible for the creation of the (material) environment and many objects and symbols were stripped of their meaning, value and power. With the harsh conditions following the depopulation of the Polynesian islands due to epidemics and wars, knowledge was further attenuated with the passing of senior people that formerly guaranteed the continuation of traditions (Gerard 1974, 217).

Despite everything, some *marae* still stand today and likewise certain artefacts have survived. Considering that decades have passed since the above-mentioned events and that the material cultures of the Polynesia of that time were largely based on things of a perishable nature, objects made from stone have gained particular importance as traces of these bygone times. Thanks to the durability of the material, they appear as constants or landmarks for the inhabitants of the islands and provide chronological and geographical evidence. As such, they have awakened interest among researchers and especially archaeologists. Adzes are considered especially useful since they are frequently found and display an unusually wide range of forms (Figueroa and Sanchez 1965, 169).

THE ARCHAEOLOGIST'S STONE

Polynesian stone adzes have been the subject of scholarly writings for over 100 years. Archaeologist Paul L. Cleghorn wrote an historical review of these studies up to the point of the publication of his article in 1984. In the review, he traced the development of ideas regarding Polynesian adzes over time, from material culture studies to cultural history and technological studies. Earliest writings relied mainly on museum collections and the first-hand accounts available and were descriptive in nature. With the help of detailed measurements and line drawings of the adzes, island-group-specific typologies based on their formal characteristics were established. From the 1940s to the 1970s, this typological method was employed for classification purposes as well as the tracing of local development of adze forms over time and

[45] Initiated by the *Duff*'s arrival at Tahiti on 4 March 1797 and established through the 'conversion' of Pōmare II a few years later (Oliver 1974, 1288; 1339).

the movements between islands. H. D. Skinner, who had made a first attempt at a Polynesian-wide typology in 1938 (based on a study of adzes from Aotearoa New Zealand as well as from collections of other parts of Polynesia), started to question whether certain adze forms had developed within Polynesia or originated from other areas (see also Skinner 1943). His work influenced Roger Duff's classificatory and distributional studies (e.g. 1945, 1959), whose typology would become one of the most influential in the field. Developed over a number of publications in the 1940s and 1950s, he grouped adzes into formal types based on their cross-section form, plan shape, and presence or absence of a tang, and then compared the geographical areas represented. However, Duff's system became the subject of criticism over the years, as some deemed the types as poorly defined and the boundaries between them as unclear (Shipton et al. 2016, 371). Yet, the Duff typology does show practical strengths and is still applied today. Others used the system as the basis for their own, revised typologies, such as Figueroa and Sanchez (1965), who refined the varieties of the different types, or Shipton et al. (2016), who also highlighted technological and functional features of the adzes.

In 1968, K. P. Emory published his study of distribution and culture-historical relationships in East Polynesia as revealed through adzes. In this work, Emory included materials from radiocarbon-dated archaeological sites, thus adding some chronological analysis for the first time (Cleghorn 1984, 406). However, many of these researchers, including Duff, amassed the data for their work from museum collections, which potentially came with insufficient or even incorrect information, depending on the individuals who acquired them and the objects' subsequent itineraries and handling in the museum institution. Most importantly, the location of collection of the artefact could have differed from the place of its making and therefore relying on the documentation of provenance possibly led to wrong conclusions within the typologies. Through inter-island exchanges prevalent before the first European voyagers started to trade in Oceania as well, objects have been moving around. Furthermore, as has been discussed in Chapter 2, Oceanic people were highly mobile and, as they moved, took ideas and knowledge with them, possibly shaping materials along their paths and adopting, passing on or mixing different styles and types of objects and material culture (Flexner 2016, 176).

Well-known centres of fabrication showed a widespread distribution of their products: for example, the Maupiti pounder could be found in the Cook Islands, and exchanges between the Marquesas and the Society Islands via the Tuamotus had diffused the pounders of the Tahiti

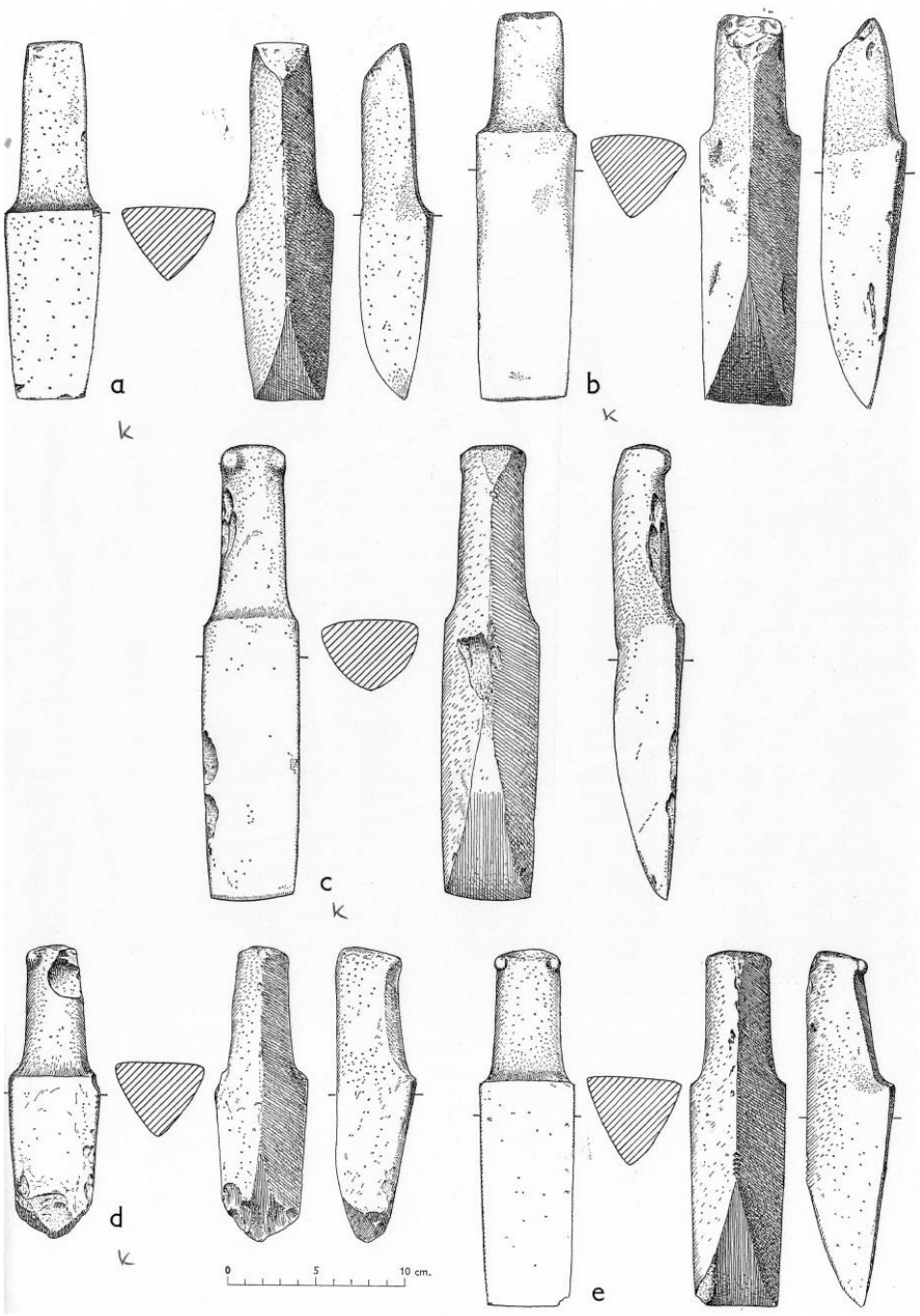


Figure 21. "Raivavae adzes Type 3-A." Illustration found in Figueroa and Sanchez (1965), Appendix C (p. 223ff.), Fig. 66. Image courtesy of the Kon-Tiki Museum.

Other, smaller adzes were also part of this variety. The types (1-6) were based on Duff's system and feature several varieties (e.g. 1-A, 1-B, 1-C, etc.). Figueroa and Sanchez assign Type 3-A to the Chathams, New Zealand, the Southern Cooks, the Societies, the Tuamotus, the Australs, Pitcairn, the Marquesas, and Hawaii (1965, 194). They comprise of tanged adzes with a triangular cross-section.

type with its three prongs. These forms have influenced local styles, while they may have changed into something (slightly) different at the 'original' places of their making. In light of this, critics remarked that the choice of characteristics and measurements (and how these were taken), which functioned as the foundation of an adze typology, seemed rather subjective. Shipton et al. (2016, 362) raised the question whether classification is an exercise of discovery or creativity, while acknowledging that, above all, typologies remain a useful basic tool for the communication of descriptive information. A different kind of criticism aimed at the fact that typological studies placed great emphasis on finished products and paid only little attention to the manufacturing processes of the artefacts, if at all. Perhaps as a response to this, a few scholars turned to experimental investigations and technological analyses, addressing manufacturing techniques as well as the uses of adzes as tools with their own specific and complex manufacturing behaviour in greater detail.

At the end of his article, Cleghorn expressed the need for distributional research. He suggested the study of raw materials extracted from different quarries across island groups and the test of adze materials in relation to these samples to determine routes of exchange and trade. With new technology, this idea gained new impetus and, over the past two decades, geochemical analyses of volcanic rocks developed, and sourcing of Polynesian adzes became a major focus of archaeological research (Molle and Hermann 2018, 85). In some cases, imported artefacts or materials are very apparent: one such example was the discovery of basalt adzes and food pounders on coral islands in the Tuamotus (Emory 1975, 20–21, 100–108), where volcanic rock does not occur naturally. On high islands, such imports are less apparent and in both cases identifying the actual geological source locations only became possible through these new compositional studies involving X-ray fluorescence (XRF), electron microprobe analysis, and petrography (Rolett 2002, 182). By using non-destructive pXRF analysis, researchers can look at the geochemical composition of a rock and compare it to existing archaeological datasets, such as the international GEOROC database, to locate its geological origin. Even though these datasets are still in the process of being established and critical questions surrounding the precision of the pXRF analysis have emerged, being able to gain new insights on the sources of objects has revolutionised the way archaeologists approach them (Richards 2019). They gave new impulses to questions about the extent of ancient Polynesian voyaging and trade, whether artefacts like adzes and pounders were possibly exchanged as prestige objects and whether

specialist artisans in discrete locations produced these objects. The trace element and isotope chemistries of a stone adze recovered from the Tuamotu Archipelago, for instance, revealed a rock source from Kaho'olawe Island in Hawai'i rather than a provenance from central Polynesia, supporting oral histories that mention voyaging from Hawai'i to Tahiti and back via the Tuamotus – an open ocean voyage of several thousand kilometres. Other adzes collected on the Tuamotus showed origins in the Marquesas, Austral and Society Islands, and the Pitcairn Group; further substantiating the theory that trade was widespread within East Polynesia (Collerson and Weisler 2007, 1907) and offering new evidence for patterns of exchange between Polynesian islands in pre-European times (Molle and Hermann 2018, 85).

A slightly different research focus was taken by Kahn et al. (2013), who applied X-ray fluorescence geochemical analysis to adzes from the 'Opunohu Valley in Mo'orea to investigate the scale of raw material procurement, adze production, and usage within the Society Island archipelago. The analysis showed that 30% of the artefacts were derived from sources outside of the boundaries of Mo'orean chiefdoms, which indicated that, while a large percentage of the stone tools used in the area were indeed manufactured from local source rock, there were also significant amounts of imported raw materials or finished adzes (2013, 1201). The authors showed that artefacts sourced to Mo'orea were commonly recovered from domestic structures, such as sleeping houses and cooking areas, or agricultural complexes (67%) and less commonly from specialised or ritual structures (33%). However, the inverse was true for artefacts sourced to off-island locales, where 63% were recovered in sites with ritual functions (*marae*, shrines) or specialised functions (craft production, priests' activities, feasting, and community use). Because these sites were usually reserved for the high-ranking elites of society, Kahn et al. suggest that some of these adzes derived from gift exchanges between Mo'orea and ruling elites in Tahiti and the Leeward Islands (2013, 1194), very likely serving as a form of prestige good and not mere tools and a means to solidify alliances across islands. Some Polynesian adzes are extremely elaborate, further suggesting manufacture by specialists and a role in symbolic or ceremonial contexts. Similar assumptions were made about stone pounders, to which the same methods were applied over the years, although by far not to the same extent. Their material, form and style, and especially the shape of their handles, were subject to analyses and typologies (e.g. Garanger 1967), nourished by the idea that classic types

for specific regions could be identified. Today, pounders, or rather the material they are made from, are also the focus of geochemical analysis and research.

○

In the end, every approach has its limitations, however, and certain problems remain (for now, at least). Sourcing the geological origin of a stone artefact, for example, cannot tell us whether finished products or solely the raw material were imported, or what type was locally 'accepted'. According to Shipton et al. (2016, 361), the final form of an adze is determined by the interplay of four factors: (1) the original form of the raw material and its flaking properties, (2) the manufacturing methods, (3) the intended function of the adze, and (4) the culturally determined ideas about the objects. The same could be said about any other artefact, including pounders. If ethnographic records and voices of the past, our research methods as well as our overall knowledge are limited, however, what can we consider as certain? Objects (or object designs) can travel with or without their makers and the knowledge about what they are and where they come from may be lost or transformed along the way. At a certain point, we run into what James L. Flexner called a great limitation of archaeology and many other historical sciences: the problem of equifinality, meaning "the situation in which multiple historical explanations are equally plausible for observed phenomena in the present" (2016, 176). Perhaps, for this very reason, Rosemary Joyce prefers the word 'trace' as an alternative to the for her problematic 'data' or 'evidence' in discussions of the archaeological process, reminding us that "the thing itself is *part* of what interests us" (2015, 185). I turned to the term due to its manifold definitions, of which some fall in line with my research in an illuminating fashion: the noun can mean 'a track by the passage of a person, animal, or object' or 'a surviving mark, sign, or evidence of the former existence, influence, or action'. The verb may describe going back in history, following a course or a trail (also in the sense of making one's way), but also to ascertain by investigation, to make a plan or a map, to draw or to put down in writing.[46]

Arguably, the problem of equifinality is particularly present when researching a shipwreck collection, where the majority of documentation has been lost. In fact, when talking about my work on the *Pandora* artefacts and conducting anthropological research in French Polynesia today, I was sometimes confronted with probing questions. Why talk to people in the present

[46] https://www.dictionary.com/browse/trace.

about objects from the past? Apart from the strong belief that we can always strive to learn more about these artefacts and fill in our knowledge gaps (while accepting that certain things will remain mysteries), the reason for my research lies in the fact that these objects *continue to exist* today. Preserved in the museum, they have not only afforded various relationships in the past and over the course of time but do so in the present. Their permanent presence opens up multiple possibilities for connections with and between museum staff, researchers, the public (visitors) and members of creator communities.

STORIES UN/TOLD

The Polynesian stone artefacts recovered from the wreck of HMS *Pandora* can be divided into two broader categories: pounders (5) and adze blades (26).[47] The blades were recovered as individual pieces, that is, not complete hafted adzes consisting of a blade and a wooden handle – either because they were collected (or stored) as such or because the fibres that were once holding them together have dissolved during the ship's 186 years under water. Specimens were found during five different expedition seasons (1986, 1996, 1997, 1998, and 1999). Most blades were excavated from the stern section, where the captain's and officers' quarters were situated, but a few were found in the bow area, where the 'ordinary sailors' had their space. According to the condition reports available, the post-excavation conservation treatment of an adze blade usually consisted of mechanically removing concretion and cleaning the object, followed by stages of washing (in tap water, panacide, distilled water), rinsing and drying. The published artefact catalogues of the *Pandora* collection include a basic description of the object, its measurements, the number of the grid in which it was found, and, in most cases, an image. Based on a geological report, the descriptions may give further information about the type of stone and make statements about whether the material is fine-grained and shows evidence of flaking (e.g. Campbell and Gesner 2000, 127). With additional descriptions on the form of the blade and tang, i.e. to what degree it is arched, sometimes further assumptions were made, for example about a possible semi-finished state of the object. Gesner (2016, 267) writes that "the majority of Tahitian adze blades recovered from *Pandora*'s wreck are significantly different in

[47] It is noteworthy that an additional four artefacts are identified as adze blades in the MTQ's database. These objects are not included in the discussion because they are made from shell (*Tridacna maxima*). As such, they are most certainly not from the Society Islands, where basalt was the preferred material for the fabrication of tools (see above). Interlocutors suggested the Tuamotus as a possible region of origin.

Figure 22. MA7638. Photograph by the author. Image courtesy of the Queensland Museum Network.

While most adze blades from the *Pandora* collection were mechanically cleaned during their conservation treatment, the marine deposits on MA7638 are still present. Interlocutors in Tahiti understood these additional layers as part of the objects' unique history, which included an extended period of time underwater.

Despite the deposits, the shape of the adze blade – with its elevated tang – is recognisable and can be assigned to Type 3-A of Figueroa and Sanchez' typology (1965). It shall be noted here that the object is resting on its blade, which would face 'upward', if the blade was hafted to a handle.

shape and are a smaller size or apparently have not been finished; this applies especially to their tangs, which do not have the prominent arched elevation (e.g. MA4521, MA4618 and MA8189)". Although the Tahitian origin, where they are known as *to'i*, is not mentioned again in the individual descriptions of the artefacts, it is plausible to assume such a provenance considering the relatively long period of time *Pandora*'s crew – and the *Bounty* mutineers – spent on the island.

Table 2 is a list of the 26 *Pandora* adze blades with indication of their length and weight, as well as the year of their excavation (expedition season) and the grid they were found in. As a result of a collaboration with archaeologist Michelle Richards (ANU), who analysed the *Pandora* stone artefacts with portable x-ray fluorescence (pXRF) in October 2018, Michelle and I attempted to assign the individual blades to the adze types according to Duff as well as Figueroa and Sanchez (1965), despite and with the above-mentioned limitations of such categorisations in mind. The pXRF data is still being interpreted, but hopefully exact statements about the geological origin of the basalt can be made to stimulate further discussions about the objects' movements in the near future. All in all, 22 adze blades will be discussed here. Four objects are not included for the following reasons: MA7857 was not available for inspection, as it is stored at an off-site location; MA8519 was identified as a broken tang and not a complete adze blade; MA6273, which is much smaller than the other objects and different in shape, is very likely a chisel and not an adze. MA7799 remained a mystery throughout the research, sticking out to interlocutors as 'unlike the others' due to its shape, size and colour, yet no further information on the object could be gained.

Apart from MA1311 and MA4618, which were assigned to types 3-E and 3-H respectively, it was agreed that all blades were type 3-A. At first sight, this might be surprising considering that the blades slightly differ in length, width, thickness and even shape. The smallest of the adzes (MA4812) is 10.5 cm long and weighs 0.15 kg, while the largest (MA4927) has a length of 28 cm and a weight of 2 kg. However, despite these differences, they all share the main features of type 3-A: the arched elevation of the tang and the triangular cross-section. These are even visible underneath layers of marine deposits that were not mechanically removed (MA7638, MA8236), and among the adzes with a less developed arch pointed out by Gesner. According to Figueroa and Sanchez (1965, 194), this type was found in the Chathams, New Zealand, the Southern Cooks, the Societies, the Tuamotus, the Australs, Pitcairn, the Marquesas

Table 2. List of the stone adze blades recovered from the wreck of HMS *Pandora.*

	Artefact	Expedition	Grid	Length	Weight	Adze types
1	MA1123 (e)	1986	X = 15.3, Y =6.7 > 66 (?)	25.5 cm	1.45 kg	3-A
2	MA1159 (e)		not recorded	24 / 25 cm	1.5 kg	3-A
3	MA1186 (e)		X = 15.7, Y = 7.7 > 66 (?)	19.7 cm	0.6 kg	3-A
4	MA1311 (e)		X = 15.7, Y = 8.6 > 68 (?)	14 cm	0.35 kg	3-E
5	MA1387 (e)		X = 15.3, Y = 8.2 > 68 (?)	17.9 cm	0.65 kg	3-A
6	MA1563		X = 15.9, Y = 9.4 > 70 (?)	11.2 cm	0.2 kg	3-A (tang broken off?)
7	MA4506	1996	89	24.3 cm	1.45 kg	3-A
8	MA4520 (e)		87	15.4 cm	0.4 kg	3-A
9	MA4521 (e)		88	14 cm	0.4 kg	3-A (unfinished?)
10	MA4618 (e)		87	11.3 cm	0.2 kg	3-H
11	MA4762 (e)		89	12.4 cm	0.2 kg	3-A
12	MA4812 (e)		88	10.5 cm	0.15 kg	3-A
13	MA4876 (e)		87	18.5 cm	0.6 kg	3-A
14	MA4910 (e)		89	11.7 cm	0.2 kg	3-A
15	MA4927 (e)		not recorded	28 cm	2 kg	3-A
16	MA6273	1997	not recorded	4.3 cm	0.05 kg	chisel (?)
17	MA7638	1998	91	28 cm	1.6 kg	3-A
18	MA7721		92	22.3 cm	0.95 kg	3-A
19	MA7799		92	7.3 cm	0.1 kg	
20	MA7857		92	11.9 cm		[at off-site location]
21	MA8134		94	18.5 cm	0.7 kg	3-A
22	MA8189		183	13.8 cm	0.35 kg	3-A (unfinished?)
23	MA8236		Sph*	19.5 / 20 cm	0.85 kg	3-A
24	MA8270		185	19 cm	0.7 kg	3-A
25	MA8519	1999 (?)	107	8 cm	0.15 kg	Adze blade fragment, broken tang (?)
26	MA8914	1999	Sph	13.5 cm	0.35 kg	3-A (used and sharpened back?)

* Sph = spoil heap (see Footnote 19 for further explanation).

and Hawai'i and comprised of tanged adzes with a triangular cross-section (Figure 21). Of these island groups, *Pandora* visited the Society Islands and the Southern Cooks (Aitutaki and Palmerston Island) during its voyage. Having assigned the majority of the adze blades to type 3-A therefore supports the hypothesis that these artefacts originated in Tahiti. Interlocutors in French Polynesia took the very same distinct features of the objects, and even typologies, as points of reference and most agreed that the majority of the adzes looked as if they were from the Society Islands. However, while museum staff, archaeologists and other researchers wanted to take a closer look at the adze blades, others quickly clicked through the images, only hinting at what they considered very familiar (e.g. polished, A-3 type adze blade MA1123) or completely unfamiliar (MA7799). Interestingly, the opposite was true for the pounders, to which more time and attention was given. The pounder MA4724, in particular, was often pointed out as a remarkably beautiful specimen. Like MA1143, it was always labelled as a 'Maupiti type', distinct by the T-shape and length of the handles. Although good and detailed photographs of MA4138 were not available, because the object is on permanent loan and display at the Norfolk Museum, and its handle – although also quite long – is not curved but straight, interlocutors named it a Maupiti type pounder as well.

MA8820 is presumed to be of the 'Tahiti type', characterised by handles with upright prongs at each end and a raised rib over its centre, although the area is largely covered by marine deposits that were not removed from the object after excavation. Lastly, MA7954 could be assigned to neither the Maupiti nor the Tahiti type, yet were still thought to originate from the Society Islands. What seemed very clear to interlocutors in Tahiti was not mentioned in the QM catalogues or database. However, indications of an assumed provenance of the pounders from Tahiti, similar to the adzes, are present. The description of MA4724 includes the information that pounders were known as *penu* in Tahitian, stating Stephen Hooper's *Pacific Encounters* with an image and description of a food pounder similar to *Pandora*'s MA4724 as a reference, but does not mention that the pounder in Hooper's publication was "probably a product of Maupiti" (2006, 186). Furthermore, the QM catalogues label the artefacts as 'poi pounders' referring to the preparation of *poi*, "a starchy Tahitian pudding made from pounded breadfruit, taro or bananas, matured by fermentation" (Gesner 2016, 273). However, *poi* is the Hawaiian word for the dish, which was an important food staple across Polynesia, and should not be confused with the Tahitian *po'e* or the Marquesan *popoi*. Interestingly, an old conservation

condition report for MA1143 (then PAN1143), which was apparently on loan to the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich from 19.04.89 and 03.10.89, described the object as a "Ground stone pounder used for preparation of PO-POI (Silverthorne Type 1)". For one reason or another, the term 'poi pounder' has been used in later condition reports, e.g. for MA4138 and MA7954, and found its way into the catalogues and the everyday language of the museum's staff. Having said this, an origin in Hawai'i or the Marquesas Islands is unlikely, both because *Pandora*'s crew never visited these island groups and because Hawaiian and Marquesan pounders each have their unique characteristics, differing from what seems to universally be considered objects from the Society Islands. Although, again, we can never be one hundred percent certain about the provenance of these artefacts, the available evidence (or traces) point to the Society Islands, which is why the Tahitian word '*penu'* will be applied here. Otherwise, I am in favour of the use of more generic terms in museums databases and catalogues ('pounder'), which is generally promoted by the MTQ's staff as well (Mann 2001).

○

Considering the specific mission of *Pandora*'s crew and the small amount of space on board, which are reflected in the relatively small size of the majority of the items collected and recovered from the wreck, the pounders stick out as ranking among the larger and heavier Polynesian artefacts recovered (apart from the wooden clubs). MA4724, for example, weighs 3.72 kg at a height of 17.2 cm. Perhaps, for this reason, three of the five pounders were found in the stern section of the ship, where Captain Edwards and the officers had their quarters and storage space. It may be noted that these three pounders – MA1143, MA4724 and MA7954 – were all of the Maupiti type. The Tahiti type MA8220, on the other hand, was excavated from the bow section of the ship with the 'ordinary sailors' quarters; for MA4138, a grid number was not recorded. Today, three pounders are on display to the public: MA4138 in the Norfolk Island Museum and MA1143 and MA4724 in the Pandora Gallery at the MTQ. As discussed in Chapter ◑, the Polynesian artefacts only make up a small proportion of the *Pandora* objects exhibited in the Gallery, but among them, the stone artefacts feature prominently (especially the adze blades, of which five from 1986 expedition and eight from 1996 expedition were on display). The retrievable condition reports further suggest that the stone objects were often chosen to function as objects on loan in temporary exhibitions elsewhere, probably due to the fact that

MA1143 Society Islands; stone; H 15.8 cm.

MA4724 Society Islands; stone; H 17.2 cm.

MA7954 Society Islands; stone; H 15 cm.

MA8220 Society Islands; stone; H 18 cm.

Figures 23–26. Stone pounders within the *Pandora* collection. Photographs by the author. Image courtesy of the Queensland Museum Network.

there were multiple examples in the collection and because of the material's properties useful for travelling and moving, namely the robustness of the stone. As already mentioned, most museums with Polynesian collections will have adzes and food pounders and, indeed, none of my discussion partners ended up being surprised about the fact that stone pounders and adze blades were among the Polynesian artefacts excavated from *Pandora*'s wreck.

Within the old permanent exhibition of the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles, two showcases were dedicated to adzes: one displaying blades from various parts of French Polynesia and the other specimens, or 'types', from other parts of Oceania[48]. Likewise, pounders featured prominently in the second exhibition room, with several examples for each of the five island groups on display. The showcases made the widespread use of very similar objects visible while, at the same time, drawing attention to the variety of shapes and materials (stone, coral, wood) in use. Adzes and pounders are categorised as tools in the database and make up a large proportion of the museum's collections: 2909 entries for adzes ('*herminette*') were found in the database, whereas 600 pounders ('*pilon*') were registered. Therefore, a high number of objects for comparison were available and the museum's staff (and visitors) had plenty of examples to refer to.

Although many of my discussion partners had heard about HMS *Pandora*, its voyage to Tahiti and its role in the capturing of the *Bounty* mutineers, no one knew about the excavated artefacts stored in a museum in Australia. They were excited to learn about what they considered to be a very old collection and see photographs of the objects, often remarking how well they were preserved. However, over the course of the discussions, it became clear that different people connected differently to the various artefacts, usually showing more interest in specific objects groups or individual objects over others. In line with the overall theme of this chapter, the following discussion will take a closer look at the reactions towards stone adzes and pounders within the *Pandora* collection.

[48] Labelled as being from the Society Islands (3), the Tuamotus (3), the Austral Islands (4), the Marquesas Islands (4), the Gambier Islands and Mangareva (5), New Caledonia (2), Fiji (2), the Marquesas Islands (11), Tahiti (12), the Cook Islands (1), Hawai'i (1), Aotearoa New Zealand (1), Pitcairn Island (1) and Rapa Nui (1).

TRACES OF THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

One common question by interlocutors was whether the Polynesian artefacts within the *Pandora* collection showed signs of usage and, here, several obstacles came to the foreground. Firstly, problems arose with the availability of photographs only, which were taken in a specific way, under specific lighting, etc. and therefore potentially distorted certain features of the objects (colour, size), were not taken 'from the right angle' or were not detailed/close enough. For some, this became a source of great frustration and the reason for not being able to make definite statements about the artefacts. Secondly, traces on the objects could be read and interpreted differently or, as a direct consequence of the first remark, not at all. Determining whether the *Pandora* pounders had been used by examination of the artefacts' bases turned out to be a difficult undertaking, especially when the objects were once covered in concretion that was mechanically removed by the museum's conservation team (see condition reports and attached photographic evidence). Conclusions were drawn tentatively, for example, that only MA8820 is showing signs of usage. This stands in contrast to what is written in Campbell and Gesner, where it is stated that MA1143 and MA4138 show "evidence of use-wear (…) demonstrated by pitting in the base" (2000, 130).

What is interesting is the motivation behind the question and the attempt to search for visible signs on the material: to understand whether the objects were used as tools or rather as objects of prestige, in which case they would show no trace of pounding movements (or woodworking with the adze blades). Similar to – or as – a researcher and archaeologist, many sought to learn about the past of the objects. However, there was also a curiosity about more recent traces, such as the marine deposits that are still attached some of the stone artefacts. This was particularly inquired about in relation to pounder MA8220, whose handle is covered in the light coloured and partly shimmery deposits, which present a stark contrast to the dark grey of the stone. Having suggested that the risk of removing parts of the object in the process may have been too high, their presence was no longer questioned. To the contrary, it was acknowledged that the current state of the artefact was a result of its history. Interestingly, the marine deposits fit well into a specific category of traces, discussed by Tim Ingold in his work on lines. According to him, traces – which he identifies as one of two major classes of lines next to threads – can, in most cases, be distinguished by being reductive or additive, defining them as "any enduring mark left *in* or *on* a solid surface by a continuous movement" (2007b, 43;

emphasis added). Marine deposits added an extra layer to the *Pandora* pounders and adzes due to the objects' time underwater; however, many of them were then removed during the conservation process the artefacts underwent during their transformation into (presentable) museum objects.

Over time, people on Tahiti learned about my interest in these objects and would draw my attention to certain newspaper articles, journals, arts and crafts fairs, galleries and other places and people. It became very clear that similar objects not only exist in the museum or other displays to be representatives of a (distant) past but are visible in other realms of everyday life in French Polynesia today. *Penu*, especially, can be found in many households, where they usually serve as decoration, but are sometimes used for the preparation of certain foods or grinding herbs. They are, therefore, actively being made and often so in a shape similar to 'older models'. Eric Conte, who made the fabrication of *penu* on Maupiti the focus of a 1981 publication, described the making of a pounder as something that appears to be both an investigation as well as an actualisation of the past (Conte 1981, 870–871). With the working of the stone and the fabrication of a pounder, which he called a 'recent rediscovery', estimating the ceasing of the 'tradition' at the end of the nineteenth or beginning of the twentieth century to be picked up again sometime after 1970, the artists enter into a dialogue with their ancestors. Conte interpreted these actions as a refuge in the past, perhaps vis-à-vis a world that is otherwise constantly changing.

In his speculations about the future of contemporary arts in the Pacific, Philip J.C. Dark stated that old forms can function as national emblems (2002, 34) and it can be argued that this is the case for the 'Maupiti style' *penu*, in particular. The distinct form of the T-shape pounders can be spotted as tattoos on skin or imprinted on cloth (T-Shirts, *pāreu*, etc.), amongst other things. In these instances, they usually represent the island of Maupiti and the families attached to it; the *penu* even features as the central emblem of the island's flag and I came across the shape of the pounder many times during my own visit to Maupiti. Yet, the pounder has clearly gone beyond the space of the westernmost volcanic high island in the Society archipelago – it can, for example, be found as registration device on the 10,000 CFP franc banknotes. Miriama Bono, the director of the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles since April 2017, named *penu* as an example of an object that has become emblematic of Polynesian culture. Perhaps unsurprisingly then, pounders are very visible in Tahiti's realm of art, i.e. markets and galleries, which are mainly,

although not exclusively, aimed at tourists. This is also true for otherwise seldom encountered adzes as well as other objects closely resembling eighteenth and nineteenth century Polynesian artefacts[49]. Some of these objects were made with high resemblance to the original work or 'model' (however, this does not mean in the same fashion, i.e. with the same tools), while others have taken other forms, were crafted from different materials, and were made for different purposes. These processes of continuity and change fittingly correspond to Dark's other points about the developments of Pacific arts, namely that the 'the old' and 'the new' would be found compatibly side by side and that new forms of expressions would emerge, which differ from the old but do not transcend the style (2002, 34).

What all of the artworks – whether they were conceptualised as reproductions or creative works – have in common, though, is some degree of engagement with the past. In my discussions with various artists, it was frequently noted that they found inspiration in what their ancestors had brought into existence. For some, this resulted in reproductions and, for others, in the creation of something new and unique, yet rooted in what was identified to be their Polynesian culture and history. To engage with this culture and history, artists would often turn to old publications and museum collections – both at the local Musée de Tahiti et des Îles and elsewhere. Miriama Bono emphasised the educational role of the museum for both tourists and locals (school children visit the museum at least once) and confirmed that its collections served as a potential source of inspiration for contemporary artists.

With a focus on the flourishing arts of Tahiti, Karen Stevenson (1993) investigated the role of museums in present-day Pacific society. Considering the potential of the arts as a medium for identity construction and the reiteration of 'traditional uniqueness', people (re-)evaluate their histories and traditions, possibly choosing to renew them and, thus, giving them relevance in contemporary society. Stevenson identifies museums as playing a vital role in contemporary art traditions as a source of information. As such, they can become tools for documentation and research and not only for (Western) scholars, but also for an active engagement of (Oceanic)

[49] Interestingly, however, adzes and pounders seem to have taken slightly different paths: whereas pounders often closely resemble older forms, adzes were noticeably hafted in another way. Some interlocutors saw the reason for this development in a loss of knowledge, having resulted in the hafting of the blades 'the wrong way round'. I wondered whether an explanation can be found in the depiction of adzes in (museum) catalogues: similar to the *Pandora* objects, adze blades exist as loose pieces and are then photographed as such. Laying them down on the even surface, which would be the part upturned when hafted, is the easiest position for taking a picture (see also my photographs of the *Pandora* adze blades).

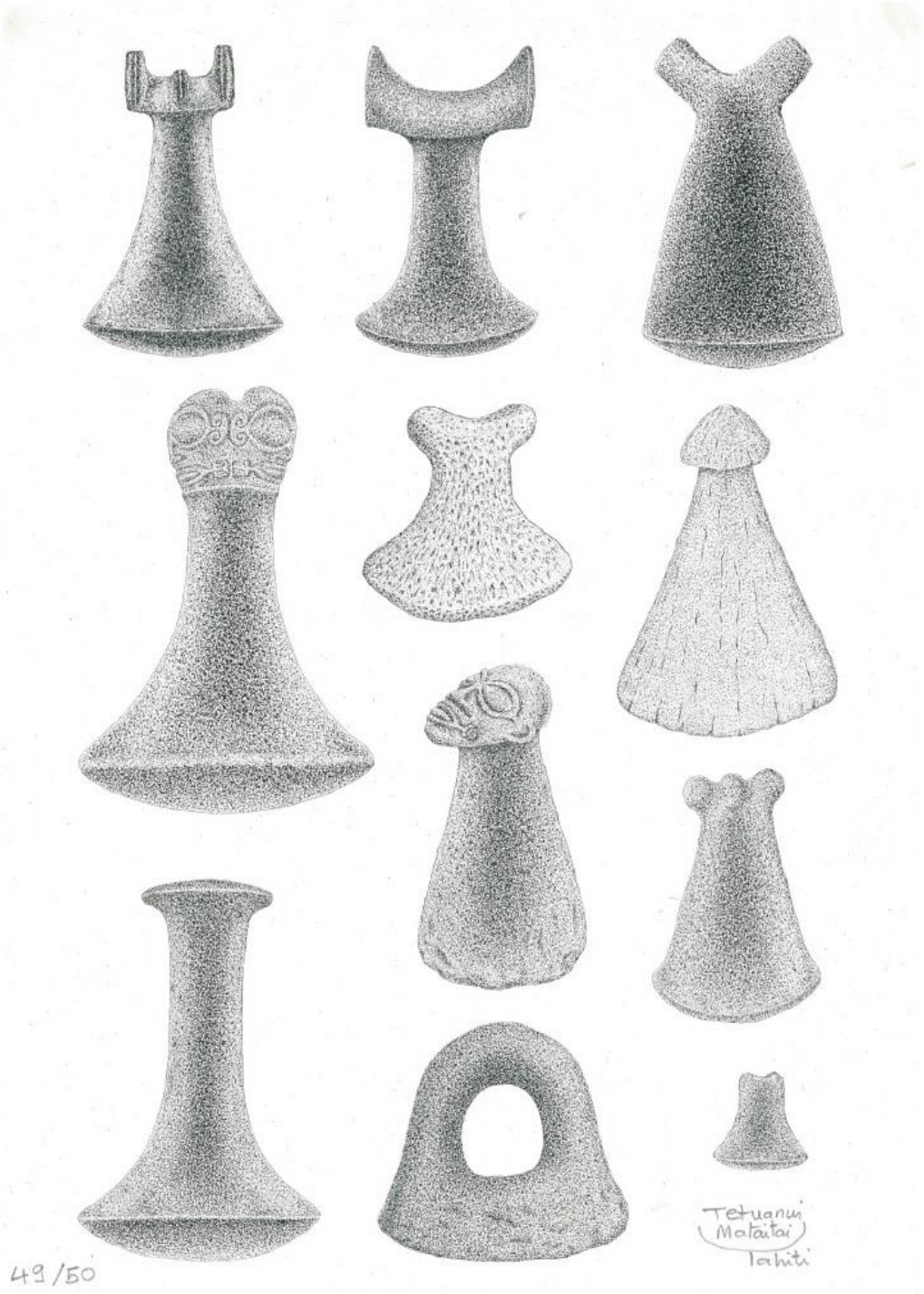


Figure 27. Polynesian stone pounders. Print of a limited edition of drawings by artist and employee of the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles, Mataitai Tetuanui. © Mataitai Tetuanui.

The artist took the pounders of the permanent exhibition of the museum, which is now closed and to be reworked, as models. The majority of the 'original objects' was made from stone, but there are also examples made from wood and coral visible. The pounders show a variety of 'styles', with the Maupiti and Tahiti type among them, namely from French Polynesia's five archipelagos (the Society Islands, the Marquesas, the Tuamotus, the Gambier Islands, the Austral Islands) as well as Hawai'i.

people with their pasts (1993, 74–75). Similar to how we, who conduct research on HMS *Pandora* collection and comparable (museum) objects, value old artefacts for their potential to tell us something about the past, people in Polynesia turn to them in order to learn more about their histories. They are tangible links to the ancestors and, perhaps, to a time before contact with the Europeans changed the material cultures and life on the islands. As noted by Hooper (2006, 20), people are reclaiming and re-engaging with their pasts in many ways, partly through (old) objects, which is why the preservation of artefacts is very important to some. Perhaps, reproductions of such artefacts can be understood as a form of preservation and a way of making things visible that are often stored in museums far away.

In fact, reproductions of museum artefacts are among the first objects visitors see upon arrival at Tahiti's airport in the commune of Faa'a. Next to a recently opened exhibition (2018) by the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles in the arrival area of the international terminal, a showcase titled *Clin d'oeil sur l'art des 5 archipels* and *Journey in the art of the 5 archipelagoes* in the hall of the airport is visible and accessible to anyone. As the title suggests, the display accentuates artworks chosen to represent the five archipelagoes that make up French Polynesia, similar to the approach taken by the museum. These artworks are reproductions made in 2011 by students of the Centre des Métiers d'Art de la Polynésie française (CMA) in Pape'ete under the supervision of the art school's professors. Object labels written in Tahitian, French and English give information about the original artefacts, which may be as old as 200 years or more and are now part of museum collections in Great Britain, France, Germany, New Zealand, the United States of America, as well as French Polynesia's very own museum, the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles. The display not only celebrates the arts of Oceania and artefacts that today rest in places far from where they were created, but also allows for both locals and foreigners to relate to the objects and highlights the (already) existing connections between Polynesia and other parts of the world. Wooden 'anthropomorphic statues' (*tiki* in the Marquesas, *ti'i* in the Society and Austral Islands), each related to a specific deity, feature prominently in the display. Well-known examples are the representations of the deity A'a from the island of Rurutu and of the Mangarevan deity Rao. The original works from the beginning of the nineteenth century (or earlier) are today kept in the British Museum and the Musée du Quai Branly, respectively. Otherwise, the exhibit consists of domestic containers (*'ūmete*) from the Society and Austral Islands, a round dish (*kipo*) and a serving dish (*tanoa*) from the Marquesas and wooden seats

from the Society and Austral Islands (*pārahira'a*) and the Tuamotus (*nohoga*). The section for the Society archipelago, which displays the highest number of objects, further includes a god image made from wood encased in plaited coir (*t*o'*o*) as well as a stone pounder. The *penu* (MTI, inventory number: 2004.10.31) was, according to its label text, a "pestle from the island of Maupiti sculpted in basalt and used for culinary or medicinal preparations". According to Tokai Devatine, anthropologist, artist and professor of Polynesian history and societies at the CMA, engaging with their history and reproducing old artefacts is part of the student's curriculum at the institution, which, like the museum, plays an important role in French Polynesia's cultural sector. The CMA provides formal education to those who wish to learn about the local arts and crafts and practice them, especially the art of sculpting (mainly wood) and engraving (nacre). After having learned 'the base', i.e. Polynesia's arts and cultural heritage, the students can "go on and create" (personal comment, Tokainiua Devatine).

The above-mentioned examples of the presence of certain objects in Tahiti today show that people are actively engaging with the objects made by their ancestors, including those that are today stored and presented in museums, often elsewhere. They are visible in everyday life, whether they are reproductions in an exhibition display, objects on sale at arts and crafts fairs or otherwise influencing and inspiring the people of present-day Polynesia and their arts. Over the course of my stay in French Polynesia, I began to pay attention to certain types of objects and started to see things differently: my focus shifted from trying to map things out to paying closer attention to an active engagement with traces from the past *in creation*. In the process of making (and using), people not only find refuge in the past vis-à-vis a world that is constantly changing but also reclaim (public) spaces and set landmarks for present and future generations. This (additive) *trace-making* is, of course, not exclusive to the (re)production of art objects. Yet, examples are plentiful in this realm, which arguably subsists on high visibility and exposure. The gardens of the Assembly of French Polynesia, for instance, feature several large wooden sculptures, which are reproductions of *ti*'*i* and *tiki*, some of which were already discussed in regard to the CMA's airport showcase. One of them in particular, the deity A'a from the island of Rurutu, would frequently cross my path and was also identified by Miriama Bono as one of the objects held overseas that many emotions were attached to.

According to James Snead, moving through a landscape is a process of engagement, during which relationships with landmarks are reaffirmed. Differing associations come with them for

different people and therefore context includes not only the many features of the physical environment, but also the cultural knowledge required to interpret such a setting (2009, 44). If present (and future) generations of French Polynesia's inhabitants are continuously educated about and exposed to the arts of their ancestors and to what is considered to be the foundation of their cultures and identities, then they will be familiarised with them over time and make and feel a connection. Traces can be made, read, interpreted, understood and related to. They can become landmarks of orientation, which may be considered particularly important in a landscape that is strongly influenced by outside forces. Of course, such traces are not immune to changes over time and differ from situation to situation, and person to person. Certain features may be emphasised over others and knowledge may be lost or even erased through power differences. These issues are further discussed in Chapter ○ .

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, some *marae* still stand today despite drastic processes of change. They have gained new meaning and importance as landmarks and traces of the past and have become subject to excavation and restoration, as well as appreciation. The *marae* 'Ārahurahu in the commune of Paea is an example, as dancers, actors, musicians, singers, orators and spectators gather during the yearly *heiva* season performances. In July 2017, the grand *marae* complex of Taputapuātea on Ra'iātea gained international recognition with its approved status as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. Shortly prior to this date, the double-hulled voyaging canoes Hōkūle'a[50] and Hikianalia visited the site in April 2017, "returning two sacred stones to the *marae* that were given to the crew when the canoes last visited Taputapuātea in 2014 to launch the Mālama Honua Worldwide Voyage"[51]. According to the project's website, not only a promise to sail around the world was fulfilled, but also the connections between people within Polynesia strengthened. *Marae* are playing crucial roles in the movements of people and things again. Other traces from the past can have similar effects, as we attend to the stories that they tell or try to solve the mysteries that are attached to them. In the end, stones may remain silent about certain things, and yet they can move people and inspire – to research, to voyage, to dance, to create and to make.

[50] Hōkūle'a was launched on 8 March 1975 by the Polynesian Voyaging Society, which is based in Honolulu, Hawai'i. The canoe is perhaps best known for her Hawai'i to Tahiti voyage in 1976, which was completed with exclusively Polynesian navigation techniques.

[51] http://www.hokulea.com/hokulea-update-return-to-taputapuatea/.

Figure 28. A large crowd welcomed the voyaging canoes Hōkūle'a and Hikianalia at Point Venus in April 2017, before the vessels continued their journey to the grand *marae* complex of Taputapuātea on Ra'iātea.

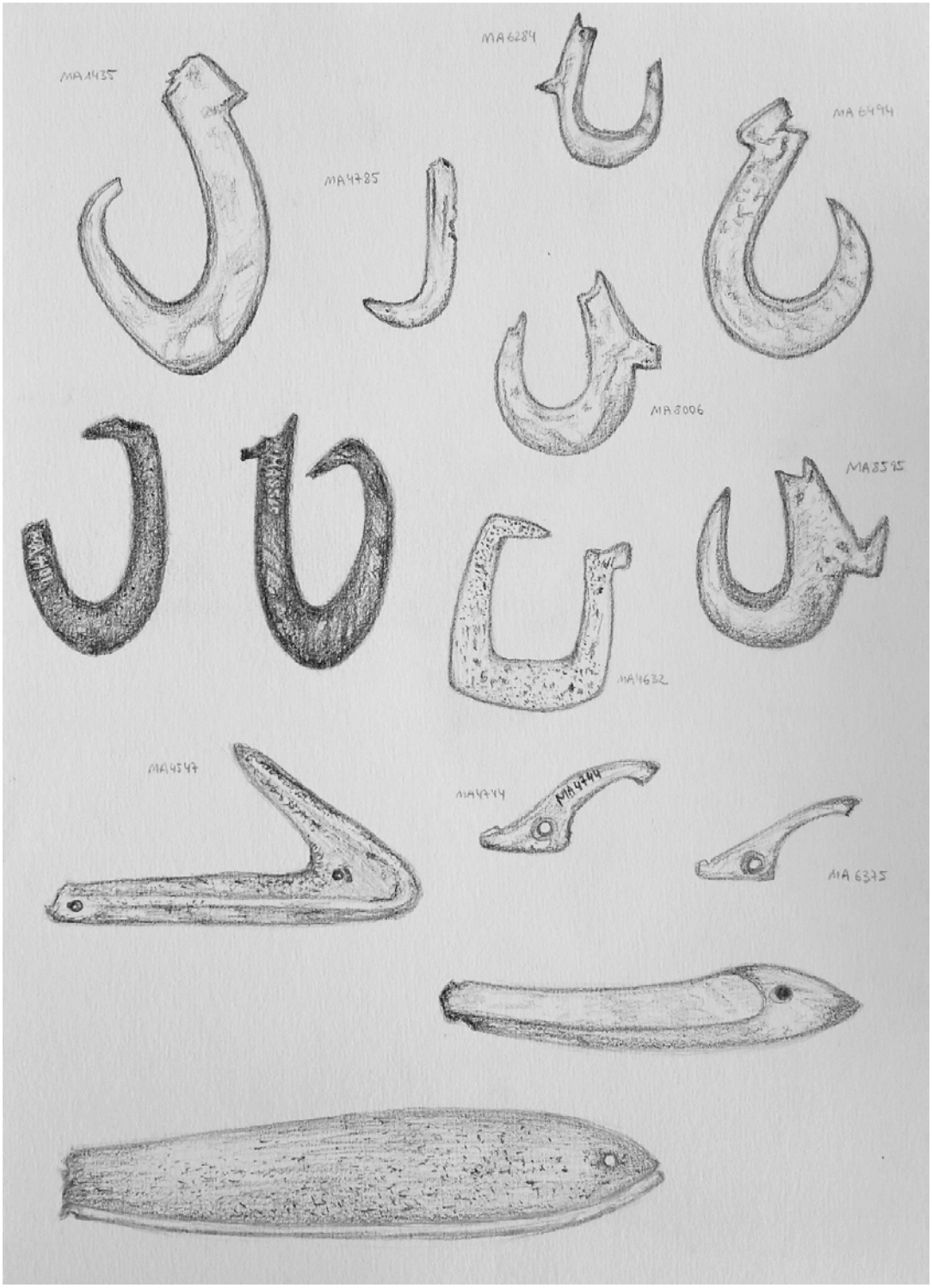


Figure 29. Drawings of fishhooks and bonito lure components recovered from the wreck of HMS *Pandora*. These pages of objects groups were useful in discussions with interlocutors and in getting to know the objects.

CHAPTER ◯

MOVING, MAPPING, MAKING

Getting to know the *Pandora* collection in the early stages of research and preparing for the discussions about them entailed not only the taking of photographs of every single object, but also drawing most of them. Taking my time with the artefacts in this way undoubtedly helped with becoming more sensitive towards their specific features and orientating myself in what initially seemed to be an ocean of things. Based on the Museum of Tropical Queensland's database, the *Pandora* collection catalogues and previous research on the artefacts, I decided to compile sheets for the various object groups, an example being the fishhooks (with exemplary lure components at the bottom of the page) seen in Figure 29. By trying to stay true to the artefacts' forms and scale and paying close attention to the qualities of the materials they were made from, I hoped to represent them well enough to give a first impression and allow for tentative remarks and comparisons by the people I showed them to. I knew that such categorisations can be problematic, but in the end the advantages outweighed these concerns: the drawings turned out to be a good entry point for discussion, easy to carry around and a way to show multiple objects at once instead of having to show many single photographs on a laptop or phone. On request, the latter could be shown on a different occasion and when more time was given. Moreover, the paper sheets gave opportunity to point out things that did not 'fit', meaning artefacts that were not perceived as like the others on the object group sheet.

Indeed, drawing was part of the original research undertaken on the *Pandora* collection while and after the objects entered the museum, as evidenced by the many sketches accompanying the catalogues and some of the artefact sheets. Mapping, or *mapping out*, seemed to be of even greater importance, as *Pandora*'s journey was translated to a two-dimensional map and the ship's wreck was excavated with the help of a grid system to correlate it with HMS *Pandora*'s construction plan and potentially make assumptions about the objects excavated based on their location. Furthermore, their identification and categorisation may be understood as a form of mapping, as they were assigned to different locations based on their shape and form, similar to the pounders and adzes discussed in Chapter ◒.

Both drawing and mapping were vital components of the European eighteenth-century voyages in Oceania. Especially during Cook's first voyage, activities such as observing, charting, sketching, collecting and botanising (Eckstein and Schwarz 2019, 4) were important components of the crew's mission of exploration. Cook continued to systematically explore the Pacific and accurately charted many islands as well as the East coast of Australia and the outliers of the Northwest Passage and, in doing so, "completed in broad outline the great imperial vision of science mapping the entire world" (Turnbull 2000a, 57). Arguably, one of the most interesting charts that came to life during Cook's journeys was an artefact that became to be known as 'Tupaia's map'. Writings about it crossed my path several times during my research, as news about its unlocking by Potsdam University (Germany) researchers Lars Eckstein and Anja Schwarz were widely circulated and the respective link[52] was sent to me by colleagues in French Polynesia and elsewhere. In their follow-up essay, Eckstein and Schwarz described the chart as being "among the most important artefacts to have come from late 18th-century European–Indigenous encounters in the South Pacific region" and "an important cornerstone for Oceania's political and cultural Renaissance" (2019, 1–2). Drawing partly on archival material that has been largely overlooked and based on some critical interventions and inspirations by other researchers, the authors not only offer to narrate the story of the artefact, but also to develop a conclusive interpretation of the chart as a whole, making it readable in its entirety for the first time (ibid., 3).

ONE SHEET OF PAPER, DIFFERENT KINDS OF KNOWING

Tupaia, a *tahu'a*, was born in the mid-1720s on Ra'iātea and was part of a high-ranking family as well as a long line of master navigators. He was educated in a wide range of fields and must have travelled greatly within and beyond the Society Islands – probably as a member of the *arioi* society linked to the *marae* Taputapuātea (Eckstein and Schwarz 2019, 4–5). Around 1760, when Ra'iātea was invaded by warriors from Pora Pora (Bora Bora), Tupaia escaped to exile on Tahiti, where he established himself as *tahu'a* of the 'Oro cult and political advisor of the rulers of Faa'a and Papara. By the time Cook arrived in 1769, Tupaia remained a respected political figure and made himself indispensable as a translator between the Tahitians and the

[52] https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/101871481/legendary-map-of-pacific-by-james-cooks-tahitian-navigator-tupaia-finally-unlocked (2018)

European visitors. When Cook decided to leave Tahiti, Tupaia joined the *Endeavour*'s crew with his disciple Taiato and safely navigated the vessel through the Society Islands and south to Rurutu in the Austral group. In Aotearoa New Zealand, he facilitated the communication and exchanges between the Europeans and the Māori, and it was only upon their arrival in Australia that his capacities as translator ended. Unfortunately, both Tupaia and Taiato died in Batavia on the *Endeavour*'s return voyage to England (ibid.).

Although no chart drawn by Tupaia's own hands has survived or been found to this date, Eckstein and Schwarz (2019, 6) argue that its original designs and a rough chronology of its production can be reconstructed with the help of three different copies of Tupaia's map and surviving island lists: (1) the copy rediscovered by John C. Beaglehole in the papers of Joseph Banks in the early 1950s, which is today held in the collections of the British Library, (2) Johann Reinhold Forster's interpretation of the document for the publication of his observations made during Cook's second voyage and (3) a copy that has survived in a letter from Georg Forster to his publisher Karl Philipp Spener in September 1776 (ibid., 6–10). While Johann Reinhold Forster's chart needs to be read with caution, because he distorted its layout to a significant degree and added islands or (mis-)identified others based on European 'discoveries', Eckstein and Schwarz are certain that Georg Forster's map is a faithful reproduction of the layout of the chart that was lent to the Forsters. Drawing on the corresponding island names as recorded in Johann Reinhold Forster's unpublished document 'Insularium Maris Pacifici or a Catalogue of the Isles in the South-Sea with the Names of the Natives' of 1774, the authors note that the 47 islands in the list precisely match the number of islands that Captain Cook and his crew had not yet seen themselves when they sailed in the Society group and Austral Islands in 1769. In contrast, the remaining twelve islands depicted on the chart were known to the seamen, as they had visited them before. Eckstein and Schwarz therefore come to the conclusion that these islands were not placed on the map by Tupaia himself but had been drawn by the Europeans (roughly in Mercator projection) before they asked Tupaia to add other islands he claimed to know (2019, 12).

Interestingly, not a word was written about the drafting of the famous chart and, in fact, Cook seemed to have had little to say about Tupaia and his activities on board the *Endeavour* (Di Piazza and Pearthree 2007, 321). However, Tupaia had joined the crew under Banks' patronage and lodged among the officers, scientists and draughtsmen, which placed him at the

centre of (European) knowledge production about Oceania for the duration of the voyage (Eckstein and Schwarz 2019, 5). Studying cartography, painting and drawing, he became involved in what Eckstein and Schwarz view as collaborative, cross-cultural communication processes. Images and maps – or rather, the making thereof – apparently played a crucial role in these conservations, as they enabled both sides to exchange knowledge without (fluently) speaking the language of the other. For example, evidence suggests that Tupaia drew and made watercolours in conversation with artist Sydney Parkinson and that he participated in a cartographic project with the aim of detailing the passages, harbours and districts of the Society Islands (ibid.).

Despite all efforts of communication, however, Tupaia's map had proven itself difficult to 'read' for most of its (academic) history. Struggles with identifying the islands and understanding their locations had gone so far as to igniting a debate about whether ancient Polynesians had indeed been able to carry out purposeful navigation across Oceania (Di Piazza and Pearthree 2007, 324). On Tupaia's chart, many islands and even archipelagos seem to be misplaced when looking at them with eyes attuned to other kinds of maps. Yet, Eckstein and Schwarz remind us how artificial the Western approach to modelling geographical space actually is, as it flattens out the spherical shape of the earth and seemingly objectifies and fixes the world in two-dimensional representations (2019, 29). In contrast, the authors write, Oceanic navigation did not abstract the world from the traveller. In the 2018 online news article on the researchers' work, it is stated that Polynesians imagined a world where people did not move, but the world constantly moved around them. In this view, if you know your bearings, "the sea will throw out the island from the horizon and bring it to you". In their 2019 article, the authors put it the following way:

> the geographic centre of navigational orientation was inevitably the navigator and the voyaging canoe, which was imagined as fixed, surrounded by an animate world of ocean, sea life, wind, current, sun, stars, planets, and ultimately islands. Wayfinding in this system crucially depended on precise information about the situational bearing of target islands, to be constantly reconfigured in the process of voyaging by closely observing the stars at night, the course of the sun in daytime, and the directions of wind and swell, by observing the wake for current drift and leeway and a range of other factors. (...) The concomitant star and sun courses for purposeful island to island travel were remembered not visually, that is in the form of compasses or maps, but through narrative (Eckstein and Schwarz 2019, 30–31).

In other words, in Tupaia's map, two differing kinds of knowing and understanding the world – or as the authors put it: the different worldings of European and Oceanic geography – came together on one sheet of paper, stressing the importance of taking a closer look at the context of the making of any map. This crucial point as been highlighted in other research on the chart and Eckstein and Schwarz draw on three previously published writings, in particular: the works of Ben Finney, David Turnbull as well as Anne Di Piazza and Erik Pearthree.

Ben Finney, who engaged in archival research as well as experimental voyaging in close collaboration with Oceanic navigators, encouraged viewers to assess Tupaia's map within the context of pre-contact Oceanic wayfinding practices (Eckstein and Schwarz 2019, 2). This practice was based on a different kind of moving: an orientation and course setting in relation to the sea and the sky, meaning the stars at night and the sun at daytime, the patterns of ocean swells as well as the sight of birds. This kind of moving required another kind of map, which encoded different features from the earth than the cartographic charts most use today: cognitive maps without physical representations while at sea. Even the famous Marshall Islands stick charts – which Finney described as a significant contribution to the history of cartography – were not taken on board the canoes. They were used for teaching purposes or as mnemonic aids to be consulted before a voyage (Finney 1998, 443), similar to the making of traces in the sand. In regard to Tupaia's chart, Finney assumed that the Europeans did not properly understand Tahitian directional terms, "perhaps for south and north and reversed them in drawing the chart and interpreting Tupaia's directions" (1998, 448), and therefore misplaced many of the islands unknown to them on the chart. Despite the supposed impossibility of identifying many of the islands depicted and their apparent misplacement, Finney concluded that "Tupaia had a wide, if inexact, knowledge of islands spread over forty degrees of longitude and twenty degrees of latitude, an oceanic realm larger than that of the continental United States" (ibid., 446).

David Turnbull understood Tupaia's chart as a unique 'knowledge assemblage' because it was the result of an act translation that articulated both European and Oceanic systems of map- and worldmaking (Eckstein and Schwarz 2019, 3). To him, the chart was therefore an interesting document representing an encounter of different knowledge traditions and perhaps a medium of knowledge exchange, as he noted that Cook asked Tupaia to draw a chart of the islands in the Pacific but did not ask Tupaia *how* he navigated. Turnbull understood the Polynesian

navigational system as essentially strategic and performative, meaning that it was not concerned with the use of a set of fixed techniques, rules, charts or calculations, but with learning and applying a set of open-ended practices that enabled the traveller to assess and react with the appropriate strategies to handle uncertainty and any particular circumstance (Turnbull 2000a, 69–71).

Anne Di Piazza and Erik Pearthree not only encouraged readers to acknowledge distinct Oceanic ways of knowing and navigating, but to abandon the idea that Tupaia's chart followed exclusively European mapping conventions (Eckstein and Schwarz 2019, 2–3). They believed that it may best be interpreted as an attempt made by Tupaia to teach Cook and his officers the directions to surrounding islands. Instead of understanding it as a failure to solve the problem of converting his view of the Ocean into a two-dimensional map, Di Piazza and Pearthree argued that this document is not a map at all, nor a representation of Cartesian space. It was rather a 'mosaic' of subject-centred sailing directions to other islands drawn on paper, comparable to those made by master navigators tracing lines in the sand to instruct their pupils (2007, 321, 324). What the unravelling of the chart highlighted were the difficulties of understanding and sharing of knowledge on both sides of the encounter: Cook believed that Tupaia was drawing a map and remained fixed in his understanding of what that meant, while Tupaia seemingly tried to go beyond his traditional system of representation, yet reading islands radiating out from different centres instead of seeing them on a grid (Di Piazza and Pearthree 2007, 336).

According to Eckstein and Schwarz, there is little doubt that Tupaia understood how the Europeans had set up the chart for him, as he would have gained insights into their mapmaking conventions during his time on the *Endeavour* (2019, 32). Yet, he evidently made the deliberate decision to take a different approach – not, presumably, for reasons of incomprehension, but because the European cartographic model was incompatible with his own navigational knowledge, and, ultimately, Oceanic worldview. While the differing geographical knowledge systems could be worked out in the act of sailing together, things were very different when producing a map (ibid., 29). Eckstein and Schwarz (2019, 27–29) therefore argue that Tupaia invented a completely new system. For these purposes, he requested the word *avatea* to be placed at the heart of the map, thereby shifting north from the top of the map to its centre. In consequence, north would no longer be independent of one's position on the map and every

island would become a centre in its own right, from which a canoe could depart on its voyaging path. Here, *avatea* – which is generally translated as 'noon' – marked the noon position of the sun. This is especially interesting because the sun at noon was used in Polynesian navigation, but would have been considered a relatively imprecise category of observation that needed to be confirmed with the help of further, more reliable specifications. Eckstein and Schwarz come to the conclusion that Tupaia almost certainly used it regardless, because he must have recognised noon as an important category in Cook's system of navigation. Every day at around mid-day, the officers and seamen of the *Endeavour* were to report on deck and the ship's coordinate position were measured. Given the elaborate rituals attached to *avatea*, Tupaia perhaps assumed that his European discussion partners understood this category best (ibid., 33–35).

With Tupaia's chart at hand, the reader is invited to abandon their "abstracted bird eye's perspective and to situate themselves in Tupaia's three-dimensional sea of islands" (Eckstein and Schwarz (2019, 32). From there, they then need to take the following bearings: to the north, located in the map's centre marked by the word *avatea*, and to the following island on a defined voyaging route; it is the angle between the two that sets the course.

MAPPING

Tupaia's map shows that his conception of the relation between traveller and world and his strategies of orientation were different from how Cook moved in and mapped his surroundings. It reveals the great distances between the Polynesian and European perceptions of Oceania but also shows that "both Polynesians and Europeans could, occasionally, be drawn into the other's ways of imagining the place" (Thomas 1997, 20).

Stewart and Strathern draw attention to the fact that "[c]ultural knowledge gained from living within a social landscape determines the pictures that people construct" (2003, 2–3). An important aspect of wayfinding and a key to understanding Tupaia's map is that, in his narrative geography, distance was not a function of space, but of time: it was measured in days or, rather, nights of travel, and was therefore dependent on the experience of the voyage itself, amongst other factors (Eckstein and Schwarz 2019, 36). For example, in the region that Tupaia drew on his map, the trade winds blow very consistently from the east and would have made travels to the west typically much shorter. For this reason, the spatial distance between the

islands on the map is, at best, only giving a rough indication of the distance between them. Notably, Tupaia's perspective seemed to be more interested in emphasising landmarks, passes and ports rather than capturing the geographic outlines of the islands in a way that followed the representational logic of European cartography (ibid., 37). However, in their discussion and interpretation of the chart, Eckstein and Schwarz make clear that their access to Tupaia's knowledge is limited and I wish to do the same, extending this notion to all the parties involved. Indeed, although moving in the same physical space, no two people will paint the same landscape since no two people will mentally see the same images or be able to reproduce them in the same way; there is no one absolute landscape (Hirsch 1995, 23). People's involvement in and with the world is always situated as taking place from a point of view and therefore both experiences and descriptions of any place are always incomplete and ambiguous (Tilley 2006, 27). Mind and body are inseparable in this process, as sight, sound, smell and touch as well as the emotions attached to what is perceived are all taking part. Barbara Bender (2006, 303) puts it in the following way:

> The same place at the same moment will be experienced differently by different people; the same place, at different moments, will be experienced differently by the same person; the same person may even, at a given moment, hold conflicting feelings about a place. When, in addition, one considers the variable effects of historical and cultural particularity, the permutations on how people interact with place and landscape are almost unending, and the possibilities for disagreement about, and contest over, landscape are equally so.

Because 'the world out there' is perceived and understood through human consciousness and active involvement, it is open to many understandings. In fact, 'out there' is misleading, as the environment is "a contextual horizon of perceptions, providing both a foreground and a background in which people feel themselves to be living in their world" (Stewart and Strathern 2003, 4). Although often thought of in terms of 'nature', the term landscape may equally apply to any site (urban, rural, etc.), as they are all moulded by human actions and perceptions.

James Snead (2009, 44) emphasised the symbolism associated with places and how it is experienced through constant movement. Moving through a landscape is a process of engagement and, over time, the experience becomes more complex and laden with meaning. Landmarks, i.e. recognisable natural or artificial features (which are also important for navigation) that can usually be seen from a distance and enable someone to establish their

location, often play a crucial role in the process. Travellers reaffirm relationships with those landmarks, and whatever associations come with them, as they go. Similarly, the knowledge we have of our surroundings is shaped and deepened, as we move through them again and again. According to Ingold, this occurs "in the passage from place to place and the changing horizons along the way" (2007b, 87–88), which bears an interesting resemblance to the art of wayfinding.

Considering the different ways of moving in, perceiving and knowing the world, it is plausible that people map their surroundings differently as well. Because of the variety of knowledges (Turnbull 2000b, 1), they can take a variety of different (material) forms and they can be pictorial or verbal, temporary or permanent. Drawing on Howard Morphy's work (1989), Bender discusses the example of Yolngu bark paintings, which are topographic maps, mythological maps, maps of sacred knowledge, and maps of social relationships at one and the same time. As such, they offer a more open and polysemic understanding of people's relationship to the land. With a particular interest in the connections between moving, knowing and mapping, it is worth mentioning that the paintings' symbolism and the associated rituals are forms of specific knowledge restricted to the initiated and, therefore, "part of the way in which people create and sustain status and identity" (2006, 309).

In contrast, the lines and traces scratched in sand for wayfinding instructions are short-lived, as is the retracing of steps in narrative or the gesturing with hands and fingers. In his work on *Lines*, Tim Ingold (2007b, 84) states that, in fact, the immediate contexts of production have scarcely survived for the majority of maps. These are usually contexts of storytelling in which people describe the journeys they have made, often with the purpose of providing directions so that others can follow along the same paths. Here, Ingold raises attention to another important aspect of maps: the fact that they are the result of journeys already and actually made. Giving the example of a sketch map[53] to find the way to his house, he points out that the lines on the sketch map are not only the lines of movement, but more specifically of prior movements, which indicate the paths to follow for the unknowing, first-time traveller. However, once that particular journey is successfully made, it is unlikely to be forgotten. In consequence, the map may become useless, as the visitor *knows* the way from the first

[53] Ingold illustrates the differences between cartographic maps and sketch maps and continues to discuss two related knowledge systems – of occupation and habitation – which he understands as being fundamentally different (2007, 84–88).

successful journey onwards. With this in mind, mapping comes to the fore as a future-oriented process – not only a representation of knowledge, but also a transfer of knowledge to others in order to follow and find their way.

In conclusion, mapping is closely connected to a knowing of the world and moving in it. In drawing a map, both a movement or a journey as well as the perception and understanding of landmarks of orientation come to the fore. The latter usually requires specific (cultural) knowledge to interpret the setting. People can 'read' a (certain) map or landscape and fail to read others. Tupaia's map is a striking example, because it makes two such different ways of knowing visible on one sheet of paper, challenging readers to get a better understanding of both and expanding their (world) view. In order to deepen this discussion, the following section will describe another form of moving in and knowing the world and tie in with a specific object group from the *Pandora* collection, namely the fishing tackle, as well as a specific material, mother of pearl.

FISHING AS A FORM OF KNOWING THE WORLD

Deep knowledge of the ways to move on the ocean was not only crucial in regard to travel between islands, but also in relation to another important part of everyday life in Oceania: fishing. Especially in the most eastern parts of the region, where animal life was scarce (and/or regarded as ritual food), fish were an important source of protein in an otherwise heavily plant-based diet (Reinman 1967, 99). Considering the significance of successfully obtaining seafood, it is not surprising that every conceivable method of doing so was employed, namely taking by hand, netting, trapping, noosing, spearing, harpooning, and angling. The latter gave rise to the fabrication and use of a large variety of fishhooks and lures, which shall be the objects at the centre of this chapter.

Sparking great curiosity among the earliest European visitors, Oceanic fishing implements made their ways on board the ships and eventually into museum collections in great numbers. Jenny Newell (2009, 3) names fishhooks as the third object group, next to adzes and pounders, to be found in most museums. Furthermore, fishing equipment was often among the artefact remains found in archaeological sites and has therefore a long history as subject of research, especially in attempts to reconstruct the past, establish relative chronology and trace the migratory movements of both people and objects. Because the various islands or island groups

of the region have developed distinct forms of hooks and lures, archaeologist and other researchers have worked on typologies for fishhooks as they have for adzes or pounders. Some anthropologists and ethnographers, especially of the twentieth century, have also published detailed books and articles, of which many have become seminal reference works for anyone interested in Oceanic fishing and the related equipment. Harry Beasley (1928), for example, has written an extensive and detailed work on fishhooks in Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia with many illustrations, which is still consulted as a standard work up to this day and was referred to several times during my time in French Polynesia. The eighteenth and nineteenth century museum artefacts and collections, which are often at the focus of these publications, offer a large number of objects for comparison in order to make certain statements about the fishing tackle within the *Pandora* collection, although tentative.

Taking such a comparative approach, Tom Fallowfield (2001) has written a detailed paper about the implements recovered from the wreck of HMS *Pandora* between 1983 and 1996, linking the objects to similar ones and therefore identifying possible places of origin, while at the same time reminding the reader that fishhooks and lures were trade items between islands. His discussion, however, did not include the objects found during the last three expeditions (1997, 1998, 1999), which make up half of the total number in this object group. In fact, fishing implements make up the largest object group within the *Pandora* collection numerically, with 100 of the roughly 270 artefacts categorised as Polynesian material culture having been identified as fishhooks or components of bonito lures or octopus lures[54]. Most of these objects were fabricated from mother of pearl and other shell material, but some implements made of bone, wood and coconut shell have also been found. Considering that collecting was not part of *Pandora*'s punitive mission and that space on board the ship was scarce, it is likely that these objects were among the more popular items to acquire due to their small size.

It must be mentioned that only individual pieces and components of fishing tackle were recovered from the wreck of HMS *Pandora*. Due to the ship's long time under water, fine materials in association with the Polynesian artefacts, such as the plant fibres that were holding the components together, did not survive. The collection catalogue by Janet Campbell and Peter Gesner (2000) categorised these individual pieces in the following way: (1) fishhooks, (2) two component fishhooks (made up of a shank and a hook/point), (3) three

[54] The large amount of fishing equipment within the *Pandora* collection was striking to me, but did not surprise and of my interlocutors in French Polynesia, such as the staff of the MTI.

component fishhooks (made up of a shank, a facing plate and a hook/point) and (4) octopus lure components. The later publication, which comprises all of the excavated objects (Gesner 2016), has three tables for the fishing implements: lures, hooks and octopus lures. As will be discussed later and is described in the catalogues, the two and three component fishhooks are in fact bonito lures (also known as spinners), which seem to fall under a different term in other works on fishing in Oceania. Sinoto (1991) distinguishes between (a) one-piece hooks made from a single piece of material, (b) two-piece hooks made of two separate pieces of material lashed together at their bases, as well as (c) composite hooks and lures. Sinoto's classification corresponds with the one used by Anne Lavondès (1976), who distinguishes between (a) *hameçons élémentaires simples,* (b) *hameçons élémentaires composés* and (c) *hameçons spéciaux composés*. Categories (a) and (b) used by Sinoto and Lavondès would therefore fall under category (1) in the MTQ/QM catalogue, while category (c) would comprise categories (2), (3) and (4). We must therefore pay attention to the fact that the bonito lures are labelled as 'two component fish hooks' in Campbell and Gesner (2000) but fall under 'composite hooks and lures'/'*hameçons spéciaux composes*' in Sinoto and Lavondès, respectively (and not under 'two-piece hooks', as one may assume by their label). All of these categories are represented in the *Pandora* collection. However, in-depth discussions of the individual simple fishhooks (a), the large wooden hook MA8721 (b) as well as the octopus lures and Tongan bonito lures (c) have yet to be considered in an updated catalogue. The focus of this chapter will be on the East Polynesian bonito lures after a few short and general remarks about Oceanic simple fishhooks.

Anell (1955, 115–116) identified the following three important form-criteria for the simple fishhooks: Firstly, the general shape of the hook, of which there seem to be three different main types, namely round hook, v- and u-shaped hooks. The u-shape is the most common type to be found in Oceania and especially Polynesia. However, a round shape seems to be the dominant form among Tahitian hooks. Secondly, fishhooks can be distinguished by the elaboration intended to make the catch more secure: incurving points and barbs. Incurving points appear to be a typical Polynesian feature, with barbs less common. Interestingly, catching fish with hooks provided with incurving point is undertaken in a different manner from European angling with barbed hooks. Nordhoff (1930, 156) emphasised that "When the fisherman using

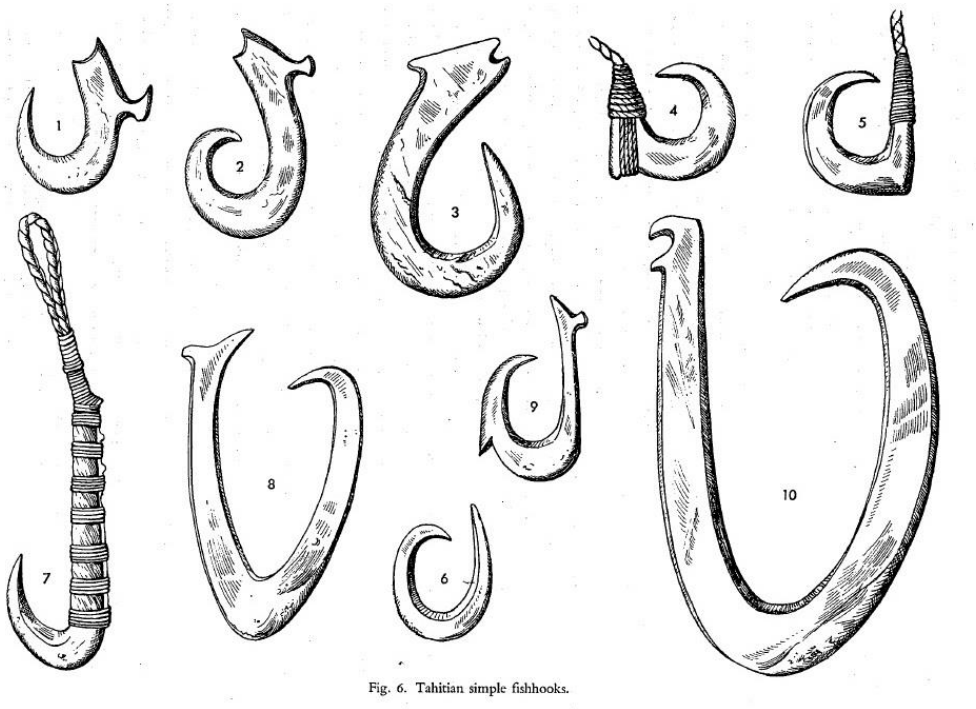


Fig. 6. Tahitian simple fishhooks.

Figure 30. "Tahitian simple fishhooks." From *Contribution to the History of Fishing in the Southern Seas* by Bengt Anell, 1955, p. 103.[55]

[55] Every reasonable effort has been made to gain permission and acknowledge the owners of copyright material; however, contacts of individuals or institutions (e.g. the publishing house) could not be identified. I would be pleased to hear from any copyright owner who has been omitted or incorrectly acknowledged.

a European hook 'gets a bite', he strikes to set the point and barb in the fish's mouth. With the native hook, on the other hand, one must never strike; a steady gentle tension is kept on the line and the fish allowed to hook itself". Another difference is that, in Oceania, the bait is never, as in Europe, spitted on the point of the hook, but tied to the latter (Anell 1955, 120). Lastly, varying forms of line attachment exist. In a number of specimens, a peg can be found on the outside, while other hooks have a notch in the edge of the top of the shank. Sinoto draws attention to the importance of the form of the fishhook heads in the attempt to develop a typology.

Looking at the trajectory of HMS *Pandora* through Polynesia for an indication of where the collected simple fishhooks may have originated, it is important to note that, in central western Polynesia (Samoa, Tonga, Uvea; Futuna and Niue), there do not seem to be any simple fishhooks. It is speculated that the western Polynesians abandoned their use in favour of bonito lures and other kinds of tackle (Anell 1955, 96). Indeed, when showing the photographs of the fishhooks from *Pandora*'s wreck to interlocutors in French Polynesia, most of them – and, in particular, the shell hooks – were considered to be of Tahitian and therefore eastern Polynesian origin.

Figure 30 shows examples of Tahitian simple fishhooks made from mother of pearl and similarities with the *Pandora* hooks made from the same material (esp. MA1435, MA6494, MA8006, MA8595) are visible. In consideration of the comparatively long stay of the ship's crew on Tahiti and the possibility that objects were confiscated from the captured *Bounty* mutineers, this seems highly probable. Discussion partners, especially from Tahiti itself, were curious about whether any information on the application of the individual fishhooks had survived and some were wondering if the European crew had acquired the knowledge of some Polynesian fishing techniques to make of good use of them while at sea. Perhaps these questions and the disappointment upon hearing that further documentation and information had not survived can be seen as a reflection of the value put on existing accounts, especially from the eighteenth century when rapid changes were arguably still only starting to take shape. Indeed, many of the above-mentioned works from the twentieth century stress that giving an accurate account of the Tahitian modes of fishing with simple hooks is not possible. Anell (1955, 100) states that there is "no connection between the preserved hook-types and the descriptions of the actual fishing methods" and that this lack is felt all over Polynesia, "though

nowhere so strikingly as on Tahiti". This may be understood as quite astounding considering the central role of the island in the shared histories of Polynesians and Europeans and the fact that a large variety of first-hand accounts from the eighteenth century about the region has been preserved. As is noted by Beasley (1928, 38), who remarks on the almost bewildering number of hook forms in the Society archipelago, "a better account of the native conditions has been preserved of this than any other group in the Pacific" because Tahiti was one of the earliest and best-known places of refreshment for the early voyagers. However, in regard to fishing, Nordhoff (1930, 139) goes so far as to say that most of these old accounts of the Society Group by explorers and missionaries (naming Wallis, Cook, Bougainville, Bligh, Ellis, amongst others) provide "nothing of value concerning fishing off-shore" and are "superficial and inaccurate, for they had more important things to occupy their minds". Whether the existing accounts are inaccurate or not cannot be judged here. Yet, what is clear is that documentation of these hooks and how they were used is limited: specific hooks were not described in these old sources and, while in newer publications, descriptions and reproductions of various types of hooks exist (usually based on work with museum collections), almost nothing is known as to the way in which they were used, "since for at least a century all fishing has been done with metal hooks" (Anell 1955, 100).

Still, a few tentative, general remarks about fishing in Oceania can be made. The various hooks (and lures) were apparently highly specialised and directed against individual fish, which meant that employing them against larger fish was generally more profitable; these larger species were nearly always inhabitants of the deeper offshore waters (Reinman 1967, 117). Fishing outside the reef and within the lagoon very likely generated differing fishing techniques and tackle used. However, in both habitats, the use of most fishing implements was confined to the shallowest water level, the upper part of the surface layer[56].

Despite the limitations of eighteenth-century accounts, some things can be learned from them – even if only that the European seamen showed great interest in the Oceanic hooks and lures

[56] Discussing the roles of men and women in regard to fishing can only be done superficially here and, in fact, as Chapman (1987, 270) remarks, the literature on this subject matter is scarce. Basic differences identified by the author pertained to the fishing tackle employed as well as the spatial restrictions that affected women's movements, in particular. Women seemed to rarely go beyond the reef but stayed within the reef flats and lagoons, where they used their hands, nets, basket traps, sticks (for probing for octopus), and occasionally a simple hook and line. Men, on the other hand, used a more complex variety of hooks and lines, traps, nets, and spears, as well as canoes. Certain types of fishing were almost entirely confined to men, especially if they involved the catching of high-status fish, such as bonito or tuna, or an element of sport or ceremony (ibid.).

and especially their fabrication. Joseph Banks, for example, gave a description of the manufacture of a shell hook in the *Manners and Customs of South Sea Islands* section of his *Endeavour* journal (1769): "The shell is first cut by the edge of another shell into square pieces: these are shaped with files of coral. A hole is then bored in the middle by a drill (which is simply any stone that may chance to have a sharp corner in it), tied to the handle of a cane. This is turned in the hand like a chocolate mill, until the hole is made; the file then comes into the hole and completes the hook. The manner of making them is very simple, and every fisherman makes them for himself". Captain James Wilson of the *Duff* stated:

> "The ingenuity of all their works, considering the tools they possess, is marvellous. Their cloth, clubs, fishing implements, canoes, houses, all display great skill: their mourning dresses, their war head-dress and breast-plates, show remarkable taste: their adjustment of the different parts, the exact symmetry, the nicety of the joining, are admirable: and it is astonishing how they can with such ease and quickness drill holes in a pearl-shell with a shark's tooth, and so fine as not to admit the point of a common pin" (1799, 330).

Apparent in these quotes is how highly most of the voyagers thought of the hooks used by the people in Oceania, testifying to their excellence. Discussing the variety of fishing techniques and tackle in the Society Islands, Ellis wrote that "[i]n no part of the world, perhaps, are the inhabitants better fishermen" (1831, 145). Likewise speaking of the Society Islands, Bougainville noted: "It is amazing with how much art their fishing tackle is contrived; their hooks are made of mother-of-pearl, as neatly wrought as if they were made by the help of our tools (…)" (1967, 258).

In these remarks, one particular material comes to the fore: mother of pearl, also known as nacre. Technology is, of course, dependent on the available raw materials both for the product and for the tools needed to make them. The materials from which hooks and lures are made must fulfill several requirements. They must be strong enough to hook and hold fish of the target species, workable with available tools and be present in the reasonably immediate surroundings in sufficient quantity (Fallowfield 2001, 10). As discussed earlier, these were mainly wood, stone, coral, shell, bone, and teeth in eighteenth-century Oceania. The large variety of different forms and shapes of the hooks can certainly be understood as resulting not only from knowledge about the specific ways to attract different type of fish, but also the individual features and characteristics of the materials themselves. The material that was used

also had an effect on the ultimate form of the hook (Anell 1955, 115ff.). For example, v-shaped hooks were extremely rare in Oceania, a circumstance that is probably grounded in the fact that hooks with the base forming an acute angle must have been more fragile than those with rounded base, especially if the material was shell[57]. For this reason, hooks made from mother of pearl almost invariably feature a rounded base and only very seldomly have a barb. In the case of fishing equipment, both the specific properties of the materials in use and the environment that had to respond to the resulting object played a key role in the process of its making, especially in times when successfully catching fish was crucial to people's diets and securing a living. Nacre, and particularly its colour, was therefore chosen carefully and depended on the fish species one wanted to attract and the waters one fished in. Similarly, a bonito lure's specific features were of great importance – the quality, colour and shininess of the nacre as well as the refinedness of the fisherman's workmanship and his skill to handle the fishing implement when out on the ocean – all resulting in how the lure moves in the water and how successful it is in attracting the wanted fish. In consequence, good fishing tackle was highly valued and may have been passed down as an heirloom from one generation to the next (Fallowfield 2001, 24; in reference to Nordhoff 1930). Below, I explore further the form-giving characteristics of the material mother of pearl and the high specialisation of Oceanic fishing tackle based on deep knowledge of the environment shall be further explored by focusing on East Polynesian bonito lures.

A SUCCESSFUL DESIGN

As mentioned above, among the objects recovered from *Pandora*'s wreck are several fishhook shanks made from nacre, the inner shell layer of some molluscs also known as mother of pearl. In this case, the nacre was obtained from the black-lip pearl oyster (*Pinctada margaritifera*), which is also known and valued for its ability to produce pearls. By comparison with similar artefacts, it can be assumed that they were components of fishing lures for trolling bonito, attached to a shell or bone hook point. The bonito is a medium-sized fish of up to one metre in length common in tropical waters throughout the world that belongs to the same family (*Scombridae*) as tunas and mackerels. According to Anne Lavondès (1971), former director of

[57] V-shaped hooks of coconut shell are, however, known, e.g. from Tokelau, which is also an assumed provenance for the two coconut shell fishhooks recovered from the *Pandora*'s wreck.

the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles, catching bonito was one of the most important forms of fishing on the open sea (*en haute mer*; in contrast to fishing in the lagoon) in Polynesia. The bonito's flesh is rich and nourishing and is eaten in three ways: raw, broiled over the coals and baked in a ground oven (Nordhoff 1930, 255).

The two photographs (Figures 31 and 32) show the shell point hook MA4744 (L 4.5 cm, W 1.2 cm, H 0.4 cm) and the shell shank MA4779 (L 9.3 cm, W 1.7 cm, H 1.9 cm). Normally, fine plaited cords made of vegetable fibre made up an integral part of these object assemblages. They held the individual pieces together and helped maintain their form and fulfill their purpose, that is, to resemble small fish when moving in the water that will attract the much larger predatory fish. Comparisons with contemporaneous objects can enable the viewer of the individual components to picture them as complete and in what was very likely their state of being at the time they were collected and entered the ship. Interestingly, only two hook points – both made from shell – are present in the *Pandora* collection vis-à-vis 43 shanks (plus one to six unknown, one missing, four fragments) and MA4779 and MA4744 presumably did not form a complete bonito lure together. There is the possibility that shanks and hooks were collected individually, but this does not seem likely. As already mentioned, even in their complete form, fishing implements are relatively small in size and therefore not much space would be gained from collecting the shanks only.

Bonito lures were not only common in French Polynesia, but across Oceania, though in slightly varying forms[58]. The Tongan variant, for example, differs both in size and construction from the East Polynesian bonito lures. They are larger and not made up of two, but three components: a (whale) bone shank attached to a thin shell facing plate as well as a barbed point, usually made from turtle shell. Specimens of the first two have also been recovered from HMS *Pandora*'s wreck and are described as being of "the classic Tongan style used for catching bonito" in the 2000 artefact catalogue by Campbell and Gesner, with reference to Kaeppler (1978, 235) and Hauser-Schäublin [Köhler, Rehr and Krüger] (1998, 322). Differences among the two-component lures are far more nuanced, however, and a provenance therefore often more difficult to determine. However, a place of origin can be identified for complete lures by the shape of the hook point, the type of lashing holding the components together, the sites of

[58] See, for example, Hīroa (1930) for a discussion of Samoan bonito lures. Called *pa'atu* (*pa*, hook; '*atu*, bonito), Hīroa described these objects as composite two-piece hooks with a shell shank and a turtle shell point. At the time, they were "still in common use and is made and lashed with the old technique except for the implements used" (ibid., 497-8).

Figure 31 and 32. Bonito lure components MA4744 (hook point) and MA4779 (shank) retrieved from HMS *Pandora*'s wreck. Both objects were crafted from the nacre of *Pinctada margaritifera*. Photographs by the author. Image courtesy of the Queensland Museum Network.

the holes for the lashings, the method of attachment of the snood, as well as the materials used for cordage and tackle (Fallowfield 2001, referencing Beasley 1928 and Anell 1955). Yet, many of these identifying features are not present within the *Pandora* collection due to the objects' long time underwater and the loss of (certain) materials; in consequence, only a limited classification is possible. Looking at the two *Pandora* shell hook points and comparing them to drawings and photographs of well documented and researched objects, it is very likely that they are of Tahitian origin due to the prolongation of the base away from the point (where the lower lashing is secured) and because their point bases feature only one hole each. In contrast, the point-base of a specimen of the Marquesan type, for example, would have two holes (Anell 1955, 174).

Tahitian bonito lures are comparatively large, as a rule over 10 cm, but varying between 7 and 15 cm, and their shanks are always made from mother of pearl. In the Society Islands, bonito lures are called '*aviti*, whereas the generic term in other parts of Oceania as *pa.* Figure 3 shows a sketch of a bonito lure from the Society Islands; shanks (I) and points (II) were recovered from *Pandora*'s wreck.

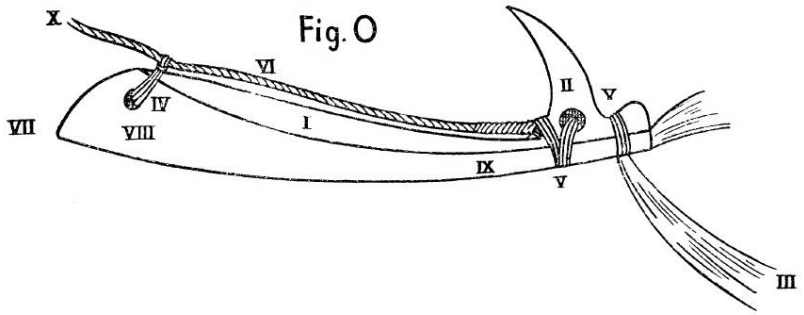
The lines and the cords that held the composite bonito lures together were often made from twisted fibres obtained from the *rō'ā* plant (*Pipturus argenteus*), making the lure stable and at the same time flexible enough in its movements to function as intended. The lures are intended to be used without a bait, because they *are* the bait: the form of the shank and the shininess of the mother of pearl imitate a small fish and therefore the bonito's prey. For this reason, the lures were supposed to lie and move almost horizontally in the water. Bristles or hair from animals (hog, horse or dog) were attached to the end with the hook, "somewhat to resemble the tail of a fish" (Beasley 1928, 43), aided with the necessary stability and added further movements to attract the bonito. The lures were used with a rod (usually made of native bamboo), to which three, four, and sometimes even five, hooks are attached. The longer the rod, the more the bonito will strike at its hook, being further from the canoe (Nordhoff 1930, 247–248). The publication *Le Polynésien et La Mer*, which accompanied a special exhibition of the same name at the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles[59], gives further insight into how the fishing tackle in focus here was applied: passing the reef, the fishermen, in their canoes, would be guided by birds to the shoals of fish. After the line is cast, the lure has to be moved via the

[59] The special exhibition discussed how Polynesians lived in their environment, with a special focus on the ocean, including themes such as migration, navigation and, of course, fishing.

extension of the rod with great care and skill, maintained almost horizontally and conducted to move quickly and zigzag ways. As soon as the bonito has taken the bait, it is pulled into the canoe and separated from the lure, which is cast into the sea again and again, as long as there are fish nearby (Lavondès 1971, 32).

Charles Nordhoff, who wrote his *Notes on the off-shore fishing of the Society Islands* (1930) after eight years of living and fishing in the Society Islands, gives a detailed account of the various aspects of bonito fishing at the beginning of the twentieth century and draws further attention to the skill of the fishermen. According to him (1930, 140), "it seems likely that in former times, as to-day, these kinds of fishing were carried on by men of a decidedly superior type – men who knew the weather, the winds, the stars, and all the lore of their calling". It was also in this close observation and knowledge of their immediate environment that they understood that the time for bonito fishing, which was generally carried out from the middle of October until sometime in June (Anell 1955, 176), had come. The change of season was indicated to them by the flowering of the sword grass, the presence of a scattering of small mullet in the shallows alongshore, as well as the behaviour of the sea birds outside the reef (Nordhoff 1930, 249), proving that their knowing was not confined to the ocean alone. Furthermore, fishing for bonito demanded exceptional stamina, as it took hard paddling to enter a school of the fish, which usually moved quickly and erratically in pursuit of the shoals of fry that they preyed on. Successive fish, weighing around ten kg each, were then hooked and boated as fast as possible. A beginner could land a dozen bonito, many of which had to be disengaged from the hook by hand, whereas an adept fisherman was said to be able to pull "out of the water fifty fish and landed forty-five of them without touching a hook" (1930, 245).

Yet, successfully boating the maximum number of fish in the available time was not based on the skill and stamina of the fisherman alone – the selection of the right bonito lure was of profound importance. Indeed, the fisherman did not just use any tackle but carefully chose the appropriate ones among a large collection of lures according to a number of different factors, such as the time of year, the sea state, the quality of the light, and the fry being fed upon. Similar to what has been discussed in regard to wayfinding at the beginning of this chapter, all of these factors were relational and constantly changing, making it crucial to be able to (quickly) perceive and understand the various clues, adapt and select the fishing tackle that will lead to success. Even though chosen by an expert fisherman, Nordhoff writes (1930, 243), "Often, out



Bonito-hook from Society Islands.

I—Shank.	VI—Snood.
II—Point.	VII—Nose.
III—Hackle.	VIII—*Roiha*.
IV—Fore lashing.	IX—*Maunu*.
V-V—Rear lashings.	X—Line.

(Four-fifths actual size).

Figure 33. "Bonito-hook from Society Islands." Sketch of a bonito lure from the Society Islands, including terminology of lure components. From "Notes on the off-shore fishing of the Society Islands" by Charles Nordhoff, *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 39.2, no. 154, 1930, p. 163. No known copyright restrictions.

of a dozen hooks available aboard a canoe, there will be only one at which the fish will strike freely". The coloration of the mother of pearl used for the shank was considered critical – if it was not of the precise shade suited to the conditions, the fish would not bite. Sceptical in the beginning, Nordhoff goes on to say, that after the eight years, he was convinced that the bonito distinguished between the various shading of the shank colours and their 'texture', and that one hook could prove satisfactory one day and another the next (1930, 242). He concluded that the matter of colour constitutes a small science by itself, further claiming that "an accomplished fly-fisherman in Europe or America does not carry in his head one-half the store of practical knowledge a bonito-fisherman uses every day" (1930, 233). This included knowing the names of the different stages in the life of the fish as much as the various kinds of shell in the region (which were local varieties of *Pinctada margaritifera*) and their various shades (1930, 241).

The iridescence of nacre is a product of its composition, which Sandra Revolon explains in the following way: "superposed thin layers of aragonite and conchiolin are bonded to ionized water molecules and reflect light rays; depending on the refraction angle of the light, this causes certain colours to appear or disappear" (Revolon 2018, 34). The material was at the heart of Revolon's research among the Owa in the Solomon Islands, who create specific objects with inlayed nacre pieces that allow them to attract invisible beings and appropriate these beings' capacity to act on the world (i.e. their *mana*) (2018, 35). Due to their iridescence and because they are beautiful according to the criteria defined by the ancestors, the objects can function as lures (*pa'a*, the same word used to designate the blue sardine eaten by bonitos) once placed within the ritual context (ibid., 38); the objects and, more specifically, the nacre therefore embody affordance. Interestingly, the inlayed nacre pieces are references to the skin of bonitos (and their brilliance).

Considering the importance of the mother of pearl as a component of East Polynesian bonito lures, it may not be a surprise that the shank was "the only really valuable part" (Nordhoff 1930, 240) in the fisherman's eyes. Generally, an old and successful bonito lure was almost beyond price for its utilitarian value and for the high amount of *mana* it had acquired over time in the catching of countless fish. Such lures were, according to Nordhoff (1930, 244–245), neither given away nor sold and could therefore only be obtained by theft. When discussing the topic at the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles, I was likewise explained that there was no price for

good fishing tackle and that its success was, in fact, the reason for why the basic design was common across Oceania and remained almost unchanged over time and is still being used up to this day. Confirming that the shape of fishhooks and lures and especially the colour of the mother of pearl was carefully chosen in relation to the target species and where one fished, this highly specialised tackle was understood to be the result of great observation and knowledge on the part of the peoples of Oceania[60].

The permanent exhibition of the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles displayed several examples of complete bonito lures; interestingly, the lures were presented vertically here (Figure 34). In general, a large showcase at the museum was dedicated to fishing and fishing implements of mainly French Polynesia, but also other parts of Oceania. Similar to maps, the aim of these displays is to preserve existing knowledge and to transfer it to present and future generations. While it was admittedly difficult for me to find fishermen utilising such lures in Tahiti, I was constantly told that they exist, especially on the other, smaller islands. As cheaper and ready-to-use options are easily available on Tahiti, however, my sole encounter with bonito lures made from nacre outside the museum occurred in a store for fishing equipment in Pape'ete, where I spotted them in the shop window due to their resemblance to the *Pandora* artefacts. Yet, the hooks were made from metal and the vegetable fibre was replaced by threads of synthetic fibres. The lures were sold for 6500 French Pacific Francs (roughly 55 € or 85 AUD), which was up to ten times the monetary value of (other) fishing tackle offered. I was told that the lures had been given to the store owners by a retired fisherman and were the last of their kind to be sold in the shop (Figure 35). Here, they were perceived to be of greater interest to tourists to buy as souvenirs than to people wanting to use them for fishing. Interestingly, the situation might have been very similar in eighteenth-century Polynesia, as the hooks and lures recovered from HMS *Pandora*'s wreck were potentially collected as souvenirs also, although some of my interlocutors in Tahiti raised questions as to whether the seamen might have tried to apply Polynesian fishing techniques themselves. Such inquiries seemed to stem from a desire to not only learn about the objects themselves, but also about how they were used, indicating that (acquiring) knowledge is closely connected to moving, making and using. The absence of such knowledge, which is the case with many museum collections and objects, is thematised in Chapter ⏀.

[60] Indeed, Nordhoff assumed that the first place of the "most highly specialized of fish-hooks in the Central Pacific Ocean" (1930, 233) belonged to the Polynesian bonito lures.

Returning to the bonito lures, traces of continuity and change unfold by closely looking at them and the materials they were/are made from. They are examples of transforming environments and the incorporation of both new materials and knowledge resulting from these changes. Iron, in particular, has been widely discussed in regard to the eighteenth-century encounters between the people of Oceania and the European seamen. Because metal was appropriated soon after the arrival of the first Europeans, metal hooks were fashioned and used by Polynesian from the eighteenth century onwards. Drawing on the voyage of Spanish explorer Captain Domingo de Boenechea, Beasley states: "In spite, however, of the excellency of the native-made articles, European hooks of metal were much in demand, for in the account of Boenechea's visit to Tahiti in December 1772, he mentions this demand, and tells how one Chief, even at this early date, had obtained from some unknown source a large iron nail, with which he had fashioned and unbarbed hook" (1928, 38). He was overjoyed, the narrative says, to receive four large nails as a gift, upon which he placed great value.

This means, that *Pandora*'s crew could have potentially had the chance to collect bonito lures with metal hooks; however, none were recovered from the wreck. Perhaps such lures were not considered worthwhile collecting, even if seen by and available to the seamen, due to prevalent ideas and anxieties about authenticity. According to Steven Hooper (2006, 28–29), there was, for a long time, "a misguided notion separating authentic and inauthentic Polynesian works of art, usually couched in terms of whether something was 'pre-contact' and made with stone tools (authentic), or made for 'sale' and not for indigenous ritual purposes (inauthentic)". Presenting several examples, he concludes that a great majority of things collected were made specifically for 'sale' (or rather, exchange) and places the construct of a 'pristine/pre-contact/authentic' Polynesia within the realm of a European imagination. According to him, the material of the tool has little to do with authenticity, but with the speed of manufacture, which certainly is a reason for people to utilise machines when working with wood, stone and nacre today.

Indeed, the contemporary artists I encountered during my stay on Tahiti placed (critical) questions about their use of electrical machines in the realm of certain imaginations about the islands, which were not necessarily based in the physical realities of life in French Polynesia today. Over time, manufacturing methods have been modified and adapted to the new conditions (Lavondès 1976, 528). Bonito lures with metal hook points and nylon cords are just

Figure 34. Display of fishing tackle in the permanent exhibition of the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles in 2018. Photograph by the author. Image courtesy of the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles.

Figure 35. Bonito lures on sale at a store for fishing equipment in Pape'ete. Tahiti, 2018.

as much an aspect of these realities, as are ready-to-use fishing tackle and any other engagement with what may be understood and labelled as old and new, or local and imported, materials. They are all part of the environment of present-day French Polynesia, although they are not necessarily perceived and conceptualised in the same way.

Although bonito lures with shell shanks still play a role in fishing activities, this does not seem to be the case with shell fishhooks. The latter have, similar to adzes and pounders, instead found their way into the realm of art, both in the forms of reproductions and by being incorporated into other contemporary creations. Certain shapes, such as the Tahitian model mentioned above, have become emblematic and are frequently reproduced, for example in the form of necklaces. As such, they can serve as an expression of identity and certain imaginings of place, time and community. In both cases, mother of pearl seems to be a popular material to use, as it not only resilient and beautiful, but also considered a local material and therefore suitable to represent the islands to locals and tourists alike.

MAKING LANDSCAPES AND IDENTITIES

Both the changes of physical space that have occurred in French Polynesia especially since the eighteenth century as well as the various imaginings that were part of people's encounters are also a focus in Miriam Kahn's book *Tahiti beyond the Postcard – Power, Place, and Everyday Life* (2011). In her discussion of the creation and maintenance of a myth surrounding the island(s) and the ways in which both locals and Westerners imagine and experience 'Tahiti', Kahn employs a theoretical lens of place. For Tahitians, she writes, as for most Pacific Islanders, their identities are deeply rooted in their land, *te fenua ma'ohi* (Kahn 2004, 289; Kahn 2011, 4). The sense of home has a particularly strong hold to many – Tupaia, for example, was able to point out the direction of Tahiti at any point of his voyage on the *Endeavour* (Eckstein and Schwarz 2019, 34).

Land is alive with meaning, as topographical features map the movements of ancestors that connect today's inhabitants to their past (Kahn 2011, 62–65). However, the lived reality of Tahitians today includes a 250-year-long colonial relationship between France and French Polynesia, which has undoubtedly changed the landscape of the islands in many ways. History leaves its traces in the landscape and in colonial situations, in particular, "space is constantly erased and redesigned as territory is invaded, land possessed, borders established or

obliterated, terrain altered, and new names assigned to places, creating a new geography in the process" (ibid., 31). In the case of French Polynesia, these rapid changes and reorganisation of space became especially observable in the capital of Pape'ete. After Tahiti became a French colony in 1880, immigration from France (and elsewhere) increased dramatically and Pape'ete began to serve important colonial functions for France and its street plan and building architecture became "increasingly French" (Kahn 2011, 45–46). Interestingly, although Tahiti has been radically transformed, it is the idyllic images of Tahiti that propelled French Polynesia's tourism industry[61], which is the main source of foreign exchange for the territory today. In consequence, the production of imagery that reinforces and validates 'the myth of Tahiti' is critically important to the economy of French Polynesia (ibid., 77).

The exercise of power over others is often expressed through the naming, mapping and regulating of spaces; some examples have been addressed in Chapter 2. Maps, like other representations always have edges, which means that some things "are on the margins (or even off the map altogether)" (Holloway and Hubbard 2001, 169). On the other hand, the establishment of boundaries and control over what behaviours are considered acceptable within these spaces may give rise to resistance, for example, through bodily practices, including movements or the refusal thereof (Kahn 2011, 181, 183). In reference to Barbara Bender, Christopher Tilley describes landscapes as contested and actively (re-) worked by people according to their circumstances and agendas; as such, they are "always in process" (2006, 7). In the making and remaking of ideas about place, history is continuously involved (Stewart and Strathern 2003, 3–4). Drawing on a variety of publications by other researchers and writers, Chris Ballard writes about the connection between Oceanic landscapes, seascapes, people and their histories in the following way:

> It is a well-worn truism to observe that vernacular histories in the Pacific are intensely grounded in landscapes, and that the names for the land and sea are closely entwined with those of people in such a way that the two summon forth memories of each other: people are remembered through places, and places through the people that emerged from, lived in, or passed through them (2014a, 105).

In this discussion, Ballard (ibid.) further highlights Hau'ofa's 'famous dictum': "We cannot read our histories without knowing how to read our landscapes (and seascapes)" (2008, 73).

[61] Kahn puts the dreams and fantasies in stark contrast to the nightmares and destruction caused by France's nuclear testing program, which was relocated from Algeria to French Polynesia in the early 1960s and led to conflicts with the Tahitian population, who saw their land threatened (Kahn 2011, 61, 68–69).

Places, then, are not only spatial but also temporal (Tilley 2006, 21). In times of change, landscape can serve as a marker of continuity with the past well as a promise for the future (Stewart and Strathern 2003, 4). Because places are relatively closed and can appear stable, they further have the potential to act as a resource for forging identities, although this stability arguably becomes less credible as immediate surroundings transform. Especially when these changes are perceived as threats, people may defend a notion of a place more strongly, as they wish to find a refuge. According to Tilley, "[t]his almost inevitably results in nostalgic imaginings of how these landscapes and places should appear" (2006, 13). Because identities tend to be imagined or situated in a setting, landscapes and places do not simply be and become, but often require careful planning and follow a design, which might entail restoration or reconstruction. In the same manner, identifying with place does not just happen; instead, it is through work and repeated acts that relations between people and places are established and maintained (ibid., 14). The *marae* mentioned in Chapter ◒ might be considered a good example of this.

Scholars increasingly look at how people make a place for themselves and how they relate to unfamiliar or even hostile worlds. Emily Donaldson, for instance, writes about such turbulent landscapes in her article *Place, Destabilized: Ambivalent Heritage, Community and Colonialism in the Marquesas Islands* (2018). Questioning whether "affirming, supportive place-making occur[s] in uncomfortable or painful spaces" (ibid. 69), the author challenges "the notion that ancestral lands are a natural source of cultural affirmation" (ibid. 70). She argues that, in the Marquesas Islands, fear and uncertainty about the past and such lands have resulted in an ambivalence: they cause discomfort but still serve as a foundation for a shared identity (2018, 70). Here the dual nature of places comes to the fore, as they can create a sense of belonging, while also alienating if they are (or become) unfamiliar. Because people are creating a sense of self and belonging by moving along familiar paths (Bender 2006, 307), the active making and shaping of these paths can become crucial, especially in times and spaces of change and particularly when this change is imposed by others. Considering that "[t]hings and places are active agents of identity" (Tilley 2006, 17), the possibility of identification through material references is important in these processes.

I argue here that the making of certain objects (such as reproductions of what is identified as Polynesian material culture or heritage) and the use of certain materials (such as materials that

Figure 36. Representation (reproduction) of the deity A'a from the island of Rurutu in the gardens of the Assembly of French Polynesia. The artwork is based on the sculpture Oc,LMS.19, which is part of the British Museum collections. Tahiti, September 2018.

are considered local, including mother of pearl) might offer a way to reclaim place. The objects and materials can become landmarks of orientation and position, both maintaining local identities and representing these to 'the other'. Indeed, an essential part of the process of both mapping and making self and social identity is non-verbal. Meredith Wilson and Bruno David (2002) focus on the making and marking of place and draw on what Bradley (1997) termed 'signing the land'. This process of inscribing place can occur both through physical marks – such as rock-art, as discussed by Wilson and David (2002, 6) – and through a social engagement that anchors people in place. Landscapes, like identities, are always in-the-making.

Over the course of my stay in French Polynesia, my focus gradually shifted from mapping to making, as I learned about the importance of continuous acts of making in discussions with my interlocutors. At the same time, I had to acknowledge their close relationship: mapping is always an active process of making and making can entail the orientation and positioning of the self, usually in a landscape and in relation to others sharing that space. As such, they are focusing inward and outward. They are closely connected to moving in and knowing the world and are both future-oriented processes, while informed by the past and anchored in the present.

Figure 37. Necklaces, including one with a fishhook pendant, on sale at the Marché de Pape'ete (Municipal Market). Tahiti, September 2017.

Figure 38. A bundle of plaited coconut fibres – a keepsake held dear by the author's host mother Élise, whose mother made the cord. The photograph was taken on Tahiti in January 2018.

CHAPTER ⏀

ON ABSENCES, MAKING A CORD AND TYING THINGS TOGETHER

Some of the smallest and most delicate artefacts recovered from HMS *Pandora*'s wreck were over thirty rectangular-shaped objects made from mother of pearl. These shell slivers of only 2-4 millimeters in width and up to 3.3 centimeters in length had been cut from the nacre of *Pinctada* molluscs and featured two holes, one on each end, indicating that they had been tied to something. Although a few of the slivers were broken, it was quickly presumed that they had once been part of the same object assemblage. In combination with several larger modified shells and 37 discs made from coconut husk[62] – oval and round in shape with a length of up to 4 centimeters and also featuring two holes on opposite ends (if not partly deteriorated) – the artefacts were soon to be believed to be components of a Tahitian mourner's costume, arousing great interest among the museum's staff and researchers involved. These costumes, called *heva tupapa'u* in Tahitian, were worn on the occasion of the funeral of a high-ranking person in the Society Islands and considered to be one of the most elaborate and extraordinary 'curiosities' of their time. They were known to be very difficult to obtain, raising questions about how such a costume would have made its way on board *Pandora*, considering the crew's punitive mission and relatively short time on Tahiti and surrounding islands. Peter Illidge, who was working at the MTQ as a maritime archaeologist and also participated in some of the excavations of the wreck, has written an insightful ten-page-article (2002) on the assemblage, in which he addressed these questions and matched the individual recovered pieces to the different parts of the garment. Even though they only made up a very small fraction of a complete costume, they presented enough material to piece the puzzle together.

Conversely, the majority of the assemblage has not yet been discovered or, rather, has not survived the poor environment for organic materials, in particular (Gesner 2016, 279). Indeed, most of the structural parts of Tahitian mourner's costumes were made of barkcloth (*tapa*) and

[62] The first shell slivers were found during the 1986 excavation season, others in 1997. The majority of the coconut discs was recovered during the 1996 expedition and the larger modified shells from grids 87-90 during the 1996 expedition.

the various components were held together with the help of plant fibre cords, of which none have been found in direct association with HMS *Pandora*'s Polynesian artefacts. For the very same reason, the bonito lures discussed in Chapter ◯ , for example, were not excavated as composite, complete artefacts; instead, the shell shanks and hooks were recovered as individual, loose items.

In pre-contact Polynesia, joining objects together – from tools to houses, from canoes to fishing tackle, from clothes to ornaments, and even sacred objects – was accomplished with the help of cords made from various plant fibres, which, in consequence, were of great importance in all aspects of everyday life. Because the quantity needed was so great, both men and women spent most of their spare waking hours twisting, plaiting and braiding to produce objects made from plant fibres or to have the material readily available. The making of these cords was not simply a set of techniques for the production of utilitarian objects, but an art, as well as a collection of traditions and a link that united the people of Oceania. At the same time, plaiting and braiding was understood to be a means for the transmission of knowledge to the younger generations. This knowledge was not only concerned with practical skill, but also with the recording of people's history, including genealogies and legends, in which the sacred cord was also a recurring theme (Cauchois 2013, 8–11). In fact, cords made from plant fibres often played a role in Polynesian mythology, connecting humans with each other, their environment and, perhaps most importantly, the gods (Musée de Tahiti et des Îles 2000, 9, 35). Similarly, plant fibres formed a link between life and death. They not only accompanied Polynesians in their everyday life, but also through the numerous plaited elements, such as mats and fine cords that were used in funerary rites, for example, facilitating the transition from one state to the other and accompanying the dead to their final resting place (Cauchois 2013, 91).

To me, however, grasping an understanding of the great importance of plant fibres and cords proved to be a winding path than a straight line. It took me some time to *see* them. From the beginning of my research, I had focused on tracing the Polynesian artefacts and materials from the *Pandora* collection that were visible to me (as described in Chapter ◒): I concentrated on wooden clubs, shell fishhooks, stone pounders and adze blades and followed their trajectories through time and space. Yet, none of the roughly 270 artefacts that made me move all the way to French Polynesia were cords. In both the physical and metaphorical sense, cords seemed to have dissolved: with the sinking of the ship and its long time underwater, plant fibres

decomposed when HMS *Pandora* 'fell off the map' (Chapter 2) and was forgotten about by many.

With the loss of lives, documents and stories, much knowledge about the artefacts from *Pandora*'s wreck was lost. In this way, the dissolved cords draw attention to the loss of materials and knowledge and to artefacts that may have been collected but did not survive the wreck's time underwater or objects that may have never been handed over to the crew in the first place. In short, they draw attention to what is absent from the *Pandora* collection. Moreover, the absence of (the) artefacts from Polynesia may evoke a feeling of loss and the wish to have them repatriated, i.e. permanently returned – a highly political issue under long-lasting debate in museums and creator communities worldwide.

In recent years, more and more (anthropological) research has been undertaken in this field of study, demonstrating that absences can have just as much effect on people's lives as material presences. *An Anthropology of Absence: Materializations of Transcendence and Loss* is arguably the most influential publication to this day, looking at a variety of cases from phantom pains to the destruction of buildings – "all things that have been obliterated, lost, missing or missed, or that have not yet materialized" (Bille, Hastrup and Sørensen 2010, 3-4). Here, absences are identified as cultural, physical and social phenomena that shape people's conceptualisations of themselves and the world they relate to in powerful ways. Often intertwined with feelings of loss and longing, people seem to seek ways to 'fill in the gaps': of particular interest here is the notion that absent elements can be articulated and materialised, for example through narratives, enactments of the past as well as imaginations and visualisations of the future (ibid.). Furthermore, absences, like presences, can be traced and therefore mapped out, located and followed. Morgan Meyer reflects on the polysemic nature of the words 'trace' and 'tracing' and the usefulness of the approach, stating that "tracing is a movement that is always following and 'behind' its object and therefore unable to capture it fully; and, finally, a trace is something that points to something that is incomplete, something that once was" (2012, 107).

So, this chapter is dedicated to the absent. With the help of plant fibre cords as well as the pearl shell slivers and coconut discs recovered from HMS *Pandora*'s wreck, several kinds of absences will be unravelled: the absence of materials and knowledge as well as the absence of certain objects from French Polynesia today. Lastly, examples of how absences are articulated and materialised will be addressed, specifically through the (re)production of art and the

repatriation of museum artefacts. I will start to follow these absences through a discussion of Tahitian mourner's costumes.

'THE GREATEST GIFT THAT ONE COULD GIVE TO ANOTHER'

As indicated by the name commonly used to describe them, Tahitian mourner's costumes were associated with the funerary rites initiated after the death of a high-ranking member of pre-contact Tahitian society[63]. They were worn by the chief mourner leading these ceremonies, which were also known as *heva* or *heva tupapa'u* in Tahitian ('mourning for the corpse'). Accompanied by an armed group of young men, the *nevaneva* ('bewildered', 'crazy', 'mad'), the chief mourner would roam around the village of the deceased person, threatening anyone crossing their path. He was equipped with clappers (*tete*) made from pearl shell – often described as 'castanets' by the Europeans (e.g. Bougainville 1772, 270) – to announce his arrival and a staff with shark's teeth (*paeho*), causing others to flee in fear as he drew near (Tamburini, Cartwright and Adams 2020). This period of mourning and procession could last for more than a month. Henry (1928, 294) believed that it might have continued for as long as three months, depending on the status of the deceased. Indeed, the resources required for the ceremony, including access to an expensive mourning dress, were probably outside the reach of any but society's highest-ranking families. Oliver (1974, 505–506) concluded that the ceremony lasted as long as the relatives wanted or were able to pay and feed the chief mourner and his assistants. Te Rangi Hīroa, on the other hand, stated that the procession ended when neighbouring people decided that it had lasted long enough and sought to overpower the party in a hand-to-hand fight (1943).

There was considerable variation amongst the literature regarding all aspects of these rites, such as the relationship between the chief mourner and the deceased, drawing attention to the lack of surviving first-hand accounts and the limitations presented by the fact that these accounts were largely written from the European side of the encounter. Interpretations of the ceremonies are, in consequence, difficult and tentative. One of the first experiences by a European with the Tahitian mourner's costumes and associated ceremonies was that of Joseph

[63] Of all literature available, there is no reference to the existence or use of a mourning costume outside the Society Islands (Illidge 2002, 70).

Banks, who also presented an extensive written account after his travels with the *Endeavour*[64]. When his *taio* Tepau acted as the chief mourner in a procession to mark the death of a high-ranking old woman, Banks was so impressed by the costume and the ceremony that he asked to take part as a *nevaneva*, to which Tepau agreed (Salmond 2009, 178–179; Turnbull 2009, 49). Although he assumed that his grasp of the Tahitian language did not enable the kinds of inquiries that would fully explain the rites, he believed that the performance – which was supposed to honour the deceased – provided a vent for the sorrow and anger of the bereaved. All the rampaging, clapping and chasing away may also, or may rather, have been intended to ensure that the dangerous spirit of a high-ranking person did quit the vicinity of their home and the living and undertook its proper journey to the afterworld (Thomas 2003, 71–73).

According to Te Rangi Hīroa, the public demonstration of grief, which often included acts of violence self-inflicted or inflicted against others, was common throughout Polynesia and the higher the rank of the deceased, the greater was the demonstration (1943). The wearing of something particular to symbolise the mourning for the dead was another trait shared among the people of Oceania, although occurring in various forms. In his words, the Tahitian mourner's costume and the associated ceremony were the local form in which both the violence and a material symbol for mourning found expression in a more elaborate form than elsewhere in Polynesia.

Although both first-hand materials (accounts and drawings) as well as the surviving specimen in museums suggest that there was no uniformity to the costumes[65], there are enough similarities to give a general description of these complex assemblages[66]. As indicated in Figure

[64] There was a description of a mourning ceremony and the associated costume in Bougainville's account of his 1766—68 circumnavigation (Plischke 1931, 9-10). Wallis did not mention a mourner's costume.

[65] For example, the coloration of the pearl shells could differ (white, dark or a combination of the two) and the use of tortoiseshell did not seem to be universally applied. Some costumes feature feather tassels, while other do not (although the reason for this may be that they have been lost or deteriorated over time). And while the costumes in London, Oxford, Exeter, Florence, Göttingen, Berlin and Hawai'i all feature five pearl shells on their crescent-shaped wooden chest pieces, some drawings show up to twelve pearl shells (the drawing assigned to Mai, for example, depicts ten shells).

[66] The main references used here are Plischke 1931, Hīroa 1943, Krüger 1998, Illidge 2002 as well as Tamburini, Cartwright and Adams 2020. Plischke includes a comparison of (first-hand) accounts, mainly by Cook, Bougainville, Forster, Parkinson, Henry, Vancouver, Moerenhout and Ellis. Oliver (1974, 502 ff.) gives a detailed description as well, mainly referring to Morrison's account. Descriptions slightly vary according to the costume(s) taken as a reference (e.g the British Museum costume in Tamburini, Cartwright and Adams 2020).

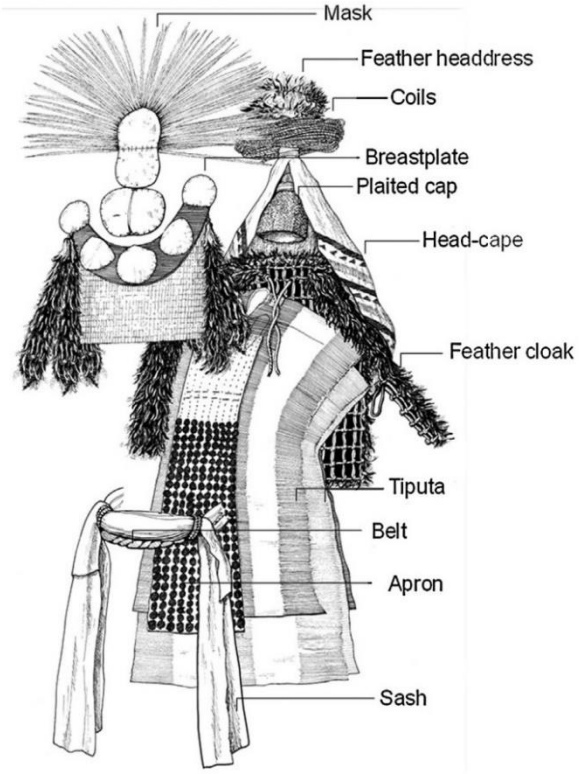


Figure 39. An illustration indicating the various parts of the Tahitian mourner's costume from the British Museum's collection (Oc,TAH.78). From "The scientific study of the materials used to create the Tahitian mourner's costume in the British Museum collection" by Diego Tamburini, Caroline R. Cartwright and Julie Adams, *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 42, 2020, p. 264. Illustrator: Claire Thorne. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Image courtesy of Diego Tamburini and Julie Adams.

In his discussion of the *Pandora* collection, Illidge (2002, 71) included a similar illustration. He identified the following five object groups present within the collection as components of a mourner's costume: (1) pearl shell slivers, (2) whole pearl shells from either face mask, breast plate or perhaps a set of clappers, (3) coconut discs, (4) shark's teeth, probably from the shark-toothed club and (5) headdress or tops of breast plate (see also Gesner 2016, 279).

39, most of the structural parts of the costumes were made from barkcloth[67] (*tapa*, *'ahu*). Two ponchos (*tiputa*) covered the body and the front featured a barkcloth apron, which was reinforced with a section of plaited matting, onto which the coconut discs were sewn in seven vertical rows ('*ahu*-'*aipu,* according to Salmond 2009, 179). As suggested by the specimens excavated from *Pandora*'s wreck, these discs were usually round or oval. However, from other examples, we know that the shape could vary and include trapezoids, rectangles and jagged discs (Illidge 2002, 67); some costumes also featured oval pieces of the leopard cowry shell (e.g. the Göttingen costume). The various elements were held together with a sash and belt made of bark cloth wrapped around a plant fibre cord. In addition, the costume featured a bark cloth hood and cape as well as a cloak of dark feathers – black man-of-war bird/frigate feathers and greyish-black pigeon or cock feathers are mentioned in different sources – tied in bundles and attached to a fibre netting base (Tamburini, Cartwright and Adams 2020).

A particularly interesting feature of the costume is the mask-like face covering (*parae*), as it is one of the very few masks from Polynesia – if not the only pre-contact Polynesian mask – known to this day. It consisted of two mother-of-pearl shells, joined to one another, covering the face with only a small slit for the right eye. Krüger (1998, 154–5) considered this component to be one of the more precious aspects of the assemblage and, at least according to Salmond (2009, 178–9), the entire costume was named after the *parae*, possibly emphasising its importance and high value. In her retelling and interpretation of Bank's observation and participation in the mourning ceremony (ibid.), Tepau's mask is described as consisting of one black and one white pearl shell, representing the dark world of the spirits (*po*) and the bright world of people (*ao*), respectively. The head piece was completed by a brow ornament made from reddish-brown pieces of mussel shell[68] (*Pinna nobilis*), to which a star-formed wreath of tailfeathers from a tropical bird (taxonomic family *Phaethontidae*) was attached, which radiated out from the headpiece.

Underneath the mask was a curved wooden board (*pautu*), painted black, onto which several large pearl shells (usually five) were attached. Although not a component of every surviving specimen, some costumes featured several feather tassels of dark green feathers (probably

[67] A watercolour of a heva being worn – the bright colours shown on the apron were once thought to be unrealistic. However, the barkcloth find did indeed show traces of yellow and red dyes. https://blog.britishmuseum.org/reimagining-a-tahitian-mourning-costume/.

[68] Some costumes seem to feature pearl shell or tortoise shell instead.

from the 'green pigeon'; see Parkinson 1773, 70) bound to the ends of this crescent-shaped piece of wood. Below, hung the '*ahu-parau*, the shimmering array of hundreds of iridescent pearl shell slivers ("over 2,500 mother-of-pearl slivers", "altogether 1,700 narrow strips") stitched together in rows, held together with loose, movable strings. The '*ahu-parau* is often described as the most valuable and most effective part of the Tahitian mourner's costume, especially when "[c]onsidering the labor and time needed to make this jewel-like ornament using only bone or stone implements, the great value of such a breast apron becomes quite understandable" (Rozina 1978, 9). Even the earliest European visitors displayed an admiration of the artistry and understanding of its value in their accounts, such as Georg Forster, who thought that it was natural that these objects were highly valued, because they were made from the most precious materials and with great diligence and skill (Plischke 1931, 11).

Indeed, there is little doubt that, at the time of eighteenth-century European exploration in the Pacific, Tahitian mourner's costumes held extremely high value to both Polynesians and European visitors alike. Apart from their spiritual value to the Polynesians, there was the material value: many components were rare, expensive and labour intensive. Over thirty pearl shells were required for a single costume and had to be traded in from as far as the Tuamotus Islands, with each costing as much as one hog. The artisans would have had a daunting task, cutting out hundreds of shell slivers with the help of their tools made from stone, shell and bone. The feather components of each costume also required considerable expense and effort, as the amount of man-of-war and pigeon feathers needed was enormous. For the tropic birds' tail feathers, a man had to be lowered over the sea cliffs where the birds were known to be nesting in order to grab at the unfortunate bird's tail, which made it a risky procedure (Ferdon 1981, 170; Oliver 1974, 138, 213–214).

It is not surprising that, to Europeans, mourning costumes were considered "the greatest gift that one could give to another" (Ferdon 1981, 172; see also Illidge 2002, 68–69). Banks, after his first-hand experience of the mourner's costume, later wrote in a more systematic account of the cultures of the Society Islands that it was 'a dress so extraordinary that I question whether words can give a tolerable Idea of it' (Thomas 2003, 71–73). His description of the ceremony was to capture the imagination of many and the mourner's costume was to become "one of the most widely circulating images of Tahitian life in Europe during the last third of the eighteenth century" (Turnbull 2009, 49).

Although Banks desperately attempted to purchase a specimen, he was unable to – it seemed that the European objects were not valuable enough to give away such a costume in exchange. Only upon Cook's second voyage (1772–1775) were the visitors stocked with just the right trade goods to collect as many as ten of these pieces: red feathers from Tonga (Krüger 1998, 149; Turnbull 2009, 52). Furthermore, Tu's father Hapai presented both Captain Cook and Johann Forster with mourner's costumes before HMS *Resolution* got ready to leave the Tahiti, knowing how highly the Europeans prized them (Salmond 2009, 308, 310). Yet, the mourner's costumes and associated practices disappeared shortly after the first contact with the Europeans and especially with the advancement of Christianity between 1797 and 1810. Unlike the excitement they had sparked among the European visitors, they received no further mention during the following years (Krüger 1998, 156; in reference to Henry 1928, 294).

Because they were so difficult to obtain, had ceased to be used and made quickly after first contact with the Europeans and their fragility, these costumes are very rare and still highly valued. Indeed, it is due to these characteristics that there has only been little scientific investigation of the materials used to create and decorate the various components of Tahitian mourner's costumes[69] (Tamburini, Cartwright and Adams 2020). Today, only six complete surviving mourner's costumes seem to exist: at the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Hawai'i, the British Museum in London (Oc.TAH.78), the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford (1886.1.1637), the Museo di Storia Naturale di Firenze (Florence), the Ethnological Museum in Berlin (VI 45128) and within the Ethnological Collections of the University of Göttingen (Oz 1522). In regard to these complete examples, often only Honolulu, London, Oxford, and Florence are mentioned (with the specimens in London and Florence said to be the most complete); however, Krüger states that the costume in Göttingen may be considered a complete specimen too[70]. The

[69] Recently, Tamburini, Cartwright and Adams (2020) published findings of their research on the British Museum's costume, which had been put on display for the first time in over forty years on the occasion of the 250th anniversary of Captain Cook's first voyage of exploration. The conservation assessment of the costume provided an opportunity to undertake scientific analyses and to provide answers to questions about what types of barkcloth, pigment and dyes had been used to create it. The results confirmed the usage of local sources of materials, such as paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*) and coconut (*Cocos nucifera*) fibres, *Pandanus sp.* leaves, Pacific rosewood (*Thespesia populnea*), red ochre, carbon black, turmeric (*Curcuma longa*), the *noni* (*Morinda citrifolia*) dye and an unknown reddish/black dye (ibid., 266).

[70] Collector Humphrey had acquired an almost complete mourning dress from the second voyage; however, upon selling his museum in 1779, he divided it up into five pieces, and may have perhaps re-acquired these in order to complete the later Göttingen example (Krüger 1998, 154). Plischke (1931, 2) also describes the costume as particularly valuable and rare due to its completeness: „Zu den seltensten Stücken in dieser, wegen ihrer Vollständigkeit wenigstens außer England einzigen Sammlung, gehört ein großer Traueranzug des ersten Leidtragenden von Tahiti."

costume in Berlin, which was acquired by art dealer Arthur Speyer, is thought to date back to Bougainville's global circumnavigation (1766–1769), although this could not be confirmed without doubt (email correspondence with curator Dorothea Deterts). If true, however, this would very likely make it the oldest specimen, as the other mourner's costumes listed above have a Cook or Cook/Forster provenance (second or third voyage) and were therefore collected after 1772.

Adrienne Kaeppler (1978, 122) further states that parts of costumes can be found in collections in St. Petersburg, Sydney, Wellington, and Berne. Not mentioned are the costume at the Scottish Museums Perth Museum & Art Gallery collected by Perth-born doctor David Ramsay, who sailed to Australia as a ship's surgeon and settled there and who donated his collection to the Perth Literary and Antiquarian Society in 1842 as well as the specimen at the Royal Albert Memorial Museum in Exeter (E1777), most likely collected by Francis Godolphin Bond, who accompanied his uncle, Captain Bligh, as First Lieutenant of the Providence in 1791 (Allan 1995, 45).

The mourner's costume in the collections of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in Hawai'i is the only complete specimen within Oceania today. Next to the above-mentioned components at the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles, only the Te Papa Tongarewa Museum in Wellington, Aotearoa New Zealand, seems to hold parts of a Tahitian mourner's costume (chest apron *ahu parau* FE000336/1 and headdress *parae* FE000336/2). The latter are thought to derive from one of the at least ten costumes brought back from Cook's second voyage, given by Joseph Banks to the collector William Bullock and purchased by Charles Winn at the sale of Bullock's Museum in 1819. The items were then kept by the Winn family until they were donated to the New Zealand government by Winn's grandson, Lord St. Oswald, in 1912[71]. The Australian Museum in Sydney has an example of the shell breast ornament component (H000149).

| | |

As for the Tahitian mourner's costume from HMS *Pandora*, things are – for the above-mentioned reasons – (more) difficult to reconstruct. The acquirer and origin of the mourner's costume are not known, but speculations can be made. Since the vast majority of the excavated objects assigned to the costume was found in grids 87–90, it is safe to assume that it was kept

[71] See also Mallon and Hutton 2013 for information on the East Polynesia collection at the Te Papa Tongarewa; the costume is discussed on page 110.

within the storage space for Captain Edwards and the lieutenants. Interestingly, a Tahitian mourner's costume was neither mentioned in the captain's journal nor in surgeon George Hamilton's account of the voyage. Although both Edwards and Hamilton, in general, did not write about the Polynesian artefacts brought on board *Pandora* in any detail, it can still be considered unusual that the purchase or reception of such a costume was not mentioned, as these acquisitions were labelled extraordinary by previous European visitors to the Society Islands. Campbell and Gesner (2000, 126) identified purser Gregory Bentham as someone with a special interest in the collection of 'artificial curiosities', especially since he was a close associate of Joseph Banks and had previously collected for him on other voyages. On the other hand, the costume may have been among the possessions of one of the captured *Bounty* mutineers, whose belongings were confiscated by *Pandora*'s officers. In his account, Edwards states that he took possession of "the pirates' chests" and their journals. Illidge suggests the mutineer Charles Churchill, in particular, as a possible acquirer because he had become a close friend of one of Tahiti's upper district chiefs and had inherited the chief's position, power, and possessions after the latter's death (Illidge 2002, 70-71; in reference to Edwards 1915, 110). However, it is possible that the costume had been in the possession of the mutineers much longer: Plischke (1931, 14–15) mentioned that, on 27 March 1789, William Bligh had been given two Tahitian mourner's costumes as a gift for King George of England during his visit to Tahiti. With the mutiny on the *Bounty* one month later, the objects most likely stayed on board and accompanied the mutineers on their travels to Tupua'i and then back to Tahiti. Yet, the fate of these costumes remains unknown and they could have been taken with Fletcher Christian and his party to the ship's last destination, Pitcairn Island, or were traded away or even destroyed.

The mystery of *Pandora's* Tahitian mourner's costume was a great point of discussion in Tahiti. While interlocutors did not seem to be surprised to find adze blades, pounders and fishhooks in the collection, the costume components sparked interest and curiosity. How did it get on a vessel that was on a punitive mission and not on one of exploration and collection? Despite the relatively small amount of associated materials recovered from *Pandora*'s wreck, no one raised doubt concerning the theory that there had indeed been a mourner's costume on the ship. The reason for this confidence was rooted in the presence of the very small and delicate pearl shell slivers: this specific type of objects is apparently not known to have been produced for any

other kind of costume or object (assemblage). However, after a look at the photographs, the artefacts and materials moved into the background. Most interlocutors (especially at the museum) were more curious to learn whether the mourner's costume and associated rites were mentioned in the available first-hand accounts, seemingly in the hope of finding lost or new knowledge and information, for example on the specific methods of the slivers' manufacture.

In regard to the above-mentioned question, some interlocutors likewise raised the idea that the costume might have been a confiscated possession of one of the captured *Bounty* mutineers. One of the museum's staff members singled out James Morrison, in particular, as a potential keeper of such an object due to the considerable amount of time he had spent in Tahiti and the relationships he had established (evidenced in his detailed account of his stay and journey). In contrast, one of the curators did not think that the garment was confiscated, holding the belief that the European seamen would have had no trouble acquiring a costume. A market for natural and artificial 'curiosities' had long been established by 1791 and, according to him, "the Europeans could have everything they wanted" or were given lavish gifts. Of particular interest was the strong distinction he made between objects that were valuable and objects that were sacred. In his opinion, the Tahitian mourner's costume belonged to the first, but not to the second category – and it was the sacred objects that were difficult to obtain. On the other hand, objects could have been purposefully 'deconsecrated' or specifically made for exchanges, rather than ritual.

In fact, the artefacts excavated from *Pandora*'s wreck to date do not suggest – though with reservations – that the crew acquired objects that were considered sacred by their Polynesian exchange partners. Looking at the composition of the collection, a Tahitian mourner's costume would arguably have been the most valuable Polynesian artefact on board. Here, the attention is drawn to what is present and absent in the *Pandora* collection. A comparison with other contemporaneous collections as well as the collections and former permanent exhibition of the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles will help unravel these presences and absences. The analysis also gives an idea of which materials and objects were and are understood to be part of the rich material cultures of the islands in the past and the present.

PRESENCES | ABSENCES

Jenny Newell, who carried out a survey of Society Islands collections in museums worldwide and expected a high number of objects to be in France and Britain, located the largest number in Tahiti itself. According to her findings, the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles has some 7,000 items[72], compared to the next largest collection, of a little over 1,500 in Britain (2009, 2). Founded in 1974 (Carreau 2018, 117), collecting had already begun in 1917 with the Société des Études Océanienne, and the institution has successfully continued to secure the return of objects to the island through donations and purchases, with the support of the French government (Newell 2009, 5; Musée de Tahiti et des Îles 2001). The museum is one of the key institutions within French Polynesia's cultural sector and a place of knowledge and its transmission to both locals and tourists alike.

Currently, the museum is undergoing "a period of radical change with the redevelopment of its buildings and galleries" (Carreau 2018, 117). Since September 2018, the Musée de Tahiti's permanent exhibition is therefore closed, as the old building was taken down and a new one is in the process of being constructed (scheduled to be opened in 2022). According to the director of the museum, Miriama Bono[73], the new museum had been anticipated for ten years and will feature a complete restructuring of the exhibition space. In contrast to the old permanent exhibition, which was organised thematically, the new space will be organised by region, representing the five archipelagos of French Polynesia with the exception of 'fishing', 'navigation' and 'history' receiving separate sections of their own. Ultimately, 'French Polynesia' is a relatively 'new concept', according to Bono, whereas there are differences and distinct cultural characteristics to each of the archipelagos, which should be highlighted. The new museum will be built on the same grounds, whose significance was pointed out to me repeatedly by staff members. In the past, the terrain of 4.5 hectare at the Pointe des Pêcheurs in the commune of Puna'auia was an important religious and sacred site of a *marae*, Taputapuātea. Some believe it is the exact same place or close to the location where Captain

[72] As in most museums, if not all, it can be difficult to give exact numbers because one identification number might comprise multiple objects (similar to the MA numbers and *Pandora* artefacts). In mid-2017, the database had 18,500 object entries for the entirety of the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles' collections. Please note that an inventory of the collections has been undertaken since my stay at the museum. In consequence, the database has been updated and information and numbers may vary from what is described here. According to Carreau (2018, 117), the museum cares for over 15,000 archaeological, ethnographical and artistic objects.

[73] The interview with Miriama Bono referenced here was conducted in September 2018.

James Cook observed a human sacrifice ceremony in 1777 during his final voyage. Another connection to the *marae* is reflected in the Tahitian name of the museum, Te Fare Manaha, which was the term given to the 'houses of hidden treasures' of a *marae*. Both Anne Lavondès' extensive three-volume-work *La culture matérielle en Polynésie et les collections du Musée de Tahiti et des Îles* (1976) and the permanent exhibition of the museum give a comprehensive presentation and discussion of the museum's collections as well as a basis for a comparison and an analysis of what is present and absent within the *Pandora*'s collection. The permanent exhibit was greatly shaped by Lavondès herself, who was director of the museum from 1976 to 1983; her catalogue of the museum's collections is still in frequent use by the staff and other researchers since its publication in 1976. *Volume 1* comprises of tools (including adzes, polishing stones and drills), canoes, tapa/wickerwork/cords, and everything concerning the construction of housing. *Volume 2* includes objects used for the preparation and consumption of food (cleavers and other knives, [coconut] graters, pounders, bowls, etc.), ornaments (including headdresses, rings, ear jewellery, necklaces, bracelets), fishing implements (hooks, lures, traps, harpoons), as well as agricultural tools. Lastly, *Volume 3* discusses weapons (including spears, clubs, sling stones), games and other pastimes, musical instruments (incl. drums and flutes), funerary objects, other diverse objects and, finally, objects related to 'religion and magic', such as *ti*'*i* / *tiki* and *to*'*o*.

The old permanent exhibition covered an area of four large rooms and was organised thematically (Musée de Tahiti et des Îles 2001, 25–27), displaying roughly 850 objects altogether[74]. The first room was devoted to the natural environment of the islands and atolls, the migration of their inhabitants as well as the evolution and diffusion of the Polynesian languages. The second room addressed (ancient) Polynesian culture, tools, basketwork, tattooing, adornment, as well as 'objects of everyday life' related to habitation, alimentation, navigation, fishing and agriculture. In the centre of the third room, which was dedicated to the social and religious life on the islands (in the past), a stone platform with several *ti*'*i* or *tiki* made of wood or stone was built. The platform was surrounded by various showcases presenting objects of prestige, games and leisure, combat and war, as well as *to*'*o,* which were

[74] Most of the objects seem to be from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with the oldest – artefacts recovered from an archaeological site on the island of Huahine assumed to be dating back to the 1400s. Many of the objects on display have a Hooper collection provenance (see also Phelps 1976) with artefacts thought to date back to the eighteenth century.

pointed out to me as having been the most sacred objects in the pre-contact Society Islands. One showcase covered the significance of death in Polynesian societies and the elaborate mourning ceremonies for individuals of high rank. Despite having components of a Tahitian mourner's costume in their collections (including an apron made of the pearl shell slivers similar to the ones found at *Pandora*'s wreck site), these objects were not on display due to their fragility. In the fourth and last room, the more recent history of French Polynesia was addressed, including the arrival of the first European voyagers and missionaries, the rise and fall of the Pōmare dynasty, the immigration of workers from East Asia, particularly China, and the impact on the local economy. The relationship with the French (government) made up a comparatively small part of the exhibition and mainly consisted of a photomontage dedicated to the Polynesian soldiers who fought during World War II.

Although numerous individuals have worked for the institution – and therefore on the collections, exhibitions, database, publications, and so forth – since its establishment, José Garanger and Anne Lavondès were specifically mentioned as responsible for "*les parties théoriques concernant l'archéologie préhistorique et l'ethnologie*". The number of objects presented in each section of the exhibition varied: the highest number related to fishing tackle and tools (especially adzes and pounders), whereas many fewer symbols of prestige, ceremonial or sacred objects were on display. This accords with the ratio between the various object groups of the *Pandora* collection as well as the composition of other collections. For instance, Honolulu's Bishop Museum has 544 items from the Society Islands, which includes 181 adze blades, 84 pounders, 31 fishing tools, and only 4 *to'o* (Newell 2009, 3), which were considered sacred. A comprehensive catalogue and analysis of all Society Islands collections held in museums worldwide still needs to become reality, making it difficult – however not impossible – to discuss these objects and object groups. A good start was presented by Peter Gathercole and Alison Clarke, who prepared a survey of Oceanic collections in museums in the United Kingdom and the Irish Republic in 1979 for a UNESCO project, in which the various artefacts were assigned to 74 different categories and, where appropriate, sub-categories[75]. The *Pandora* collection covers seven of these categories: adzes, pounders, fishing, clubs

[75] On a side note, it shall be mentioned that the 'Other' category of the survey includes fakes, objects made for export, metal and other post-contact objects next to objects of uncertain provenance and odd, insignificant or indeterminate objects.

(however, the clubs are of Tongan origin and not from the Society Islands), musical instruments (shell trumpets), personal ornaments, and ceremonial objects (mourning).

Perhaps due to the wreck's long time under water or because they were not obtained during the crew's voyage, certain materials and objects stand out as missing from the collection. Many of these objects were made from organic materials, including human hair and feathers. In most Polynesian societies, feathers (red, yellow or black) were associated with power, divinity and fertility, which is why there were often incorporated in the fabrication of ornaments – impressive examples of such objects were the *taumi* (pectoral ornament) and the *fau*[76] (headdress) (Alevêque 2018, 1–2). Anything made from hair was certainly highly valued as well, such as the *tamau*, headdresses made of plaited skeins of human hair[77]. Furthermore, fibre arts, although fragile, were often highly portable, and are thus represented in large quantities in European and American museums, as great quantities of *tapa*, in particular, were presented to the early visitors in rolls or as part of ceremonial wrappings or presentation of other gifts (Küchler and Were 2005, 35). Interestingly, even samples of plaited plant fibre cords were collected, as is visible in the Cook Forster collection (e.g. Oz376[78]), amongst others.

Another type of object absent from the *Pandora* collection, which deserves special attention, were the sacred *to'o*. Similar to the Tahitian mourner's costumes and many other objects of pre-contact Tahiti, these objects ceased to be made with the Christianisation of the region shortly after first contact with the European visitors, since it entailed the disappearance of local beliefs and associated rites. Next to descriptions of these rites, the effigies themselves are the only material evidence that remains today (Babadzan 2003, 25). *To'o* comprised of a piece of wood (*'aito*) with an elongated shape, like a club or a stick, covered in layers of barkcloth and decorated with feathers of various colours (Küchler and Were 2005, 79–80), but mainly red feathers (*'ura*). Thought to be among the most sacred objects of ancient Tahitian society, the *to'o* was wrapped in a tight binding of coconut fibre cordage (*'aha*) (Cauchois 2013, 87–88). Although usually associated with the worship of the god 'Oro, it would be inaccurate to see these effigies as being exclusively dedicated to the cult of this deity rather than objects that played a central part in pre-contact Tahitian religion in general (Babadzan 2003, 28). Control over them by the chiefs was essential to the system of social rank and political power (Küchler

[76] See Stevenson and Hooper 2007 for a discussion of *fau*.

[77] See D'Alleva 1997 as well as Coote and Uden 2013 for more information.

[78] https://www.nma.gov.au/explore/features/cook_forster/objects/cord_oz367.

1999, 149). Even though the European visitors felt that these objects were unfit to represent even pagan deities, the Tahitian political system revolved around the possession of the *to'o* and rival districts fought bitterly over them. For, by presiding over ceremonies of the investiture of chiefs, they attested to the paramount chief's genealogical relations with the principal deity. A great number of these images existed, each owned by a family, a lineage, a clan, a district, and even a whole island, and were usually kept in a *marae* (Babadzan 2003, 26).

According to Babadzan, without its wrappings, the *to*'*o* is just a piece of wood or, to put it differently, a *to*'*o* without its wrappings is unthinkable: its wrappings are not simply an addition but a constitutive part of the object. The loss of the wrappings only occurred in very particular situations: when the *to'o* was defiled by enemy warriors in the course of war or when it was retired from ritual usage because of its decayed physical condition. A *to*'*o* that had accidentally lost its wrappings was perceived as an image lacking divine presence (*unuhi*) (Babadzan 2003, 30). There was, however, one particular instance where these wrappings were deliberately removed: the *pa*'*iatua* rite, which involved the renewal of the sacred cords and feathers of which the effigy was made. Although translated to 'the assembly and undressing of the gods' in other sources (e.g. Henry 1928, 157), Alain Babadzan (2003, 31) states that this translation is not entirely correct. According to him, the term means 'the wrapping of the gods', from *pa'i*: wrapping, clothing and *atua*: god(s). As its name implies, the ceremony focused on the wrapping of the gods, that is, on the ritualised removal of the gods' old coverings that were then replaced with new wrappings. Oliver was the first scholar to attempt an analysis of the *pa'iatua* in *Ancient Tahitian Society* (1974), but it is Babadzan's exposition that is arguably the most detailed and comprehensive[79].

For the *pa*'*iatua*, *to*'*o* were taken in a nocturnal procession to the *fare ia manaha* at the national *marae*[80], the sacred platform on which the principal *to*'*o* was erected and where the ceremony was to be performed. The highest-ranking priest attended to the principal *to*'*o* and the lesser priests to the other *to*'*o*. In fact, because the ceremony was so *tapu*, "only *tahu'a* were permitted to witness the *pa*'*i—atua* and live" (Henry 1928, 157; in Babadzan 2003, 31). As the old coverings of the *to*'*o* were removed and the wrappings renewed, their (red) feathers were

[79] Unfortunately, this chapter does not leave room for a detailed description of the ceremony. See Babadzan 2003 for a detailed description and Babadzan 1981 for the French original.

[80] It shall be noted here that Henry (1928, 157) stated that this ceremony occurred on the national *marae*, yet de Bovis (1978, 60) suggested that these ceremonies could take place in many *marae*.

exchanged: old feathers from the principal effigy were distributed to the lesser effigies in exchange for new ones and these new feathers, in turn, would be distributed after they have been in contact with the principal effigy for some time (Babadzan 2003, 36–38). The exchange, in consequence, provided the means by which *mana* was transferred from the principal god to the many lesser gods, giving physical proof of both their connection and the established hierarchy. Furthermore, the *pa'iatua* was not only a regular and formal expression of the correlation between the ranked polity of images, but also the social rank among human beings (Küchler 1999, 149). The rite displayed some striking parallels with the treatment of corpses[81], which involved wrapping the corpse in quantities of precious cloth and sometimes red feathers, depending on the status of the deceased (Babadzan 2003, 38). Tahitians regarded the condition of the corporeal envelope as a condition of life[82]: the presence of the spirit depended upon the outward appearance of its receptacle. In certain respects, funerary rites and the *pa'iatua* shared a common objective, which was to deny the physical disappearance of the corpse and to use all possible means to secure the spirit's renewed habitation. And yet, the *to'o* was a corpse unlike any other, for time works differently upon it: it rotted (and produced relics, i.e. the feathers), but – unlike the human body of a deceased – it was also restored and reappeared before the people, ever the same. The *to'o* affirmed the stability and continuity of an endless source of *mana*, which could be accessed and captured by humans through performing the *pa'iatua*; the divinity was brought down to humanity (Babadzan 2003, 42–44). The wrappings – which can be regarded as a veil or a screen – existed to be removed, and conversely, to emphasise the process of covering up and concealing a *thing*. Babadzan speculates that what is ultimately revealed by undressing the *to'o* is the absence of a representational form. He points to Polynesian creation chants, which portray the god or principle responsible for the creation of the universe as an *absence*: for at the origin of all created things is the uncreated and at the origin of form is formlessness (Babadzan 2003, 36).

[81] See Oliver (1974, 498 ff.) for treatment of the dead/bodies and mourning. Worth a look is also Alfred Gell's *Wrapping in Images* (1993), in which Gell discusses the human being as a series of wrappings (1993, 125). The book is mainly concerned with the art of tattooing in Polynesia; however, there are interesting connections made to wrappings in general. Please note that Gell is continuously misspelling Maohi as 'Moahi'.

[82] In fact, Tahitians used to mock the first missionaries when they came to pester them with their Christian theory of resurrection. One missionary thought to note two arguments presented to refute Christian dogma: "They held that the dead might not return to life for two reasons: 1) though many have died none have revived, from which they infer that there is no resurrection; 2) they are decomposed and therefore dirty, so they argue that it would be impossible" (Babadzan 2003, 43, in reference to Oliver 1974, 488; emphasis added).

In central and eastern Polynesia, many ritual sculptures were clothed and their wrappings removed and renewed through rites (Colchester 2003, 8). It was believed that gods were able to occupy carved, woven or wrapped objects, which, in turn, were imbued with *mana* (Küchler and Were 2005, 17–18); the *to'o* are a striking example of this concept. Their tight binding of coconut fibre cordage facilitated the endeavour: they not only constituted a passive container for the divine power, but actively bound it up (Ingold 2007b, 62).

Generally, "[t]he binding of the cord has resonances across the Pacific" (Küchler and Were 2005, 79), in which a whole range of (body) arts, including diverse forms of coverings, wrappings and clothing[83] made from a variety of plant fibres, were involved (Colchester 2003, 6). Susanne Küchler has researched and discussed these arts extensively, for example in her seminal article *Binding in the Pacific* (1999) on the techniques and underlying notion of knotting and looping[84] or in *Pacific Pattern* (2005) on cordage and basketry, written with Graeme Were. In their work, Küchler and Were state that "[p]atterns produced by fibres are the most neglected of all" (2005, 7), largely because their production is usually carried out by and therefore associated with women[85], and because fibres often deteriorate rapidly. The deterioration of objects and cultural artefacts, in particular, is habitually understood in a negative vein, as the loss of materials and physical integrity is, for the most part, equated with parallel loss of (cultural) knowledge. In other words, for the object to function as a bearer of information and memory, it must be held in perpetuity in a state of protected stasis (DeSilvey 2006, 318). This not only opens up a discussion about museum objects, which are specifically preserved to fulfil this function (ibid., 326; see also Chapter ◑), but may also allow parallels with the Tahitian conceptualisation of the condition of the corporeal envelope as a condition of life. On the other hand, recognising the natural vulnerability of plant materials may "prompt new debates on the intentionalities of materials and their place in shaping our future" (Were 2019, 185). In the increasingly intensifying debate surrounding sustainability, for example, the eventual deterioration of organic materials stands in a positive light, as more and more Pacific

[83] For a more detailed discussion of clothing in the Pacific, see Colchester 2003.

[84] Küchler describes the difference between looping and knotting in the following way: while the former results in "an expandable mesh which draws attention visually and conceptually to the threaded string and its continuous run", the latter creates "a planar surface which covers the knot" (1999, 147). Therefore, the knot – in contrast to the loop – is only visible when unravelled and draws both visually and conceptually attention to a negative, absent space (ibid.).

[85] Please note that the making of sennit, however, was traditionally the work of older men (Price 1979, 13).

Island nations are banning (single-use) plastic bags due to the negative impact on the environment and promote the use of baskets made from plant fibres.

Even though cords will continue to be the focus of this chapter, basketry – as another fibre-based technique applied across Oceania – shall briefly be mentioned here. Both designs in cordage (string-based) and basketry (lattice-based) are far from merely utilitarian and have not only played an important role in people's lives in the past, but continue to do so in the present. Amongst other materials, Cauchois (2013) lists the following materials as the most widely used (in French Polynesia) today: *Pandanus tectorius var. tectorius* (*fara*), *Pandanus tectorius* var. *laevis* (*pae'ore*), *Cocos nucifera* (*ha'ari*, *niu*) and specifically *ni'au* (leaves) and *nape* (fibre from the husks), *Shizostachyum glaucifolium* / a species of bamboo ('ohe, '*ofe*), *Hibiscus tiliaceus* (*pūrau*, *fau*), *Pipturus argenteus* (*rō'ā*), *Ananas comosus* / pineapple as well as new / imported materials.

Any weaving, binding, knotting, plaiting, rubbing and stamping of patterns using natural fibres is "richly symbolic of the renewal and the reproduction of life" (Küchler and Were 2005, 7) and serves to translate and visualise notions of heritage, history, memory and ideas of time and space. They thereby carry ideas fundamental to Oceanic societies, which is considered to be particularly true, if not exclusive, to fibres from local plant resources. As Were has pointed out, materials give form to stories and memories (2019, 175) and the twisting, weaving and stitching of plant fibres and strips seem to provide an especially useful medium for the managing of relations to the past and present due to their sensory and tactile qualities. Basketry, with its limited size (length in product), is a type of media that somewhat stands in an interesting contrast to cordage, which has implications of the ongoing and the unlimited[86]. The latter, therefore, has the unique potential to link different beings and things (Küchler and Were 2005, 7, 78–79).

PRESERVING THE CORD

In 2000, the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles organised an exhibition solely dedicated to the art of plaiting, twisting and braiding with plant fibres. The accompanying publication *Natira'a: Le tressage, un lien entre passé & présent* likewise addressed the various uses of the material, such

[86] To be more precise, Küchler and Were explain that living things are "wrapped in a lattice of interlaced fronds in order to harness and protect the life contained within (2005, 10), while 'dead' things are bound with cords.

as for house and canoe building, the fabrication of tools, fishing tackle, weapons, toys, instruments, clothes, adornment, objects of prestige, as well as ceremonial and sacred objects. The cords touched every realm of the living and were presented as '*lien*' – ties, bonds, links and connections – in both the physical and the metaphorical sense. As the title of the exhibition suggested, they served as a link between the past and the present and continue to do so today, as the craft and the knowledge attached to it were and are passed down from one generation to the next, even though they might have been transformed, taken different forms and entered new realms. Cords, as connectors, are good to think with.

Although mainly referring to the umbilical cord, it is worthwhile turning to Tahitian literature and, more specifically, the poem *Fero* ('The Cord') by Henri Hiro (1944–1990), who was a poet, orator, writer, dramatist, filmmaker, pastor, and political activist. After having spent some time in France to attend the seminary in Montpellier**,** he began to question both Christianity and the status of Tahitians as colonised people, subsequently directing his energy towards the eradicating of what he understood to be Tahitians' blind acceptance of colonial exploitation. He focused on rekindling with Tahitian land, language and knowledge, thus reclaiming Maohi identity – both a restorative act and an act of resistance, because it stressed the vast differences between European and Maohi ways of thinking, knowing, and theorising about the world and one's place in it (Kahn 2011, 20–22).

Discussing Hiro's poetry, Miriam Kahn explains that the planting of the placenta and umbilical cord in the ground after the birth of a child is an important Polynesian custom (2011, 23–24). She interprets the placenta – whose Tahitian name *pu fenua* translates to 'core/heart/essence of the earth' – as the origin of life, a point of anchorage and the source of nourishment. The umbilical cord, then, is the transmitter of life (and knowledge), a symbol for attachment and belonging. The belief that the placenta is the 'flourishing source' and that the umbilical cord is the connection to one's culture is visible in the poem *Fero* (Hiro 2004, 41; in Kahn 2011, 25):

FERO
E fero e, fero e, fero e!
E fero anaʻe na i te taura o te iho tumu!
Ei hono vai tamau no te mau uʻi.
E nanaʻo e, nanaʻo e, nanaʻo e!
E nanaʻo manava anaʻe na i te hiroʻa tumu maʻohi,
ʻei te tau faʻaara no e mau ui.
Maeva! Maeva hua i te taura maʻohi!
Manava huʻa ia ʻoutou e to teie nahoʻa tini, i roto i te arofa tupuna ra!

Manava hua i te farereiraa!
Haere ra!
Haere e ʻia vai a ra!
E ʻia vai a!

THE CORD
Attach, attach, attach ourselves!
Attach firmly to our traditions!
Create a cord in which our children can wrap themselves.
Tattoo, tattoo, tattoo ourselves!
Tattoo our souls with the imprint of Maʻohi culture,
As a sign of future promise for the coming generations.
Greetings! And welcome, oh Maʻohi people!
Embrace the love of our ancestors!
Our souls rejoice at this reunion!
Now go!
Yes, go,
But always preserve the cord!

Besides the interesting connections to wrappings [of the body], including tattooing, it is the call to embrace the love of the ancestors and firmly attach to the traditions that is emphasised here. People create cords in which their children can wrap themselves, connecting the past, present and future. These cords must be preserved, as one finds oneself confused and adrift, if letting them go (Kahn 2011, 26).

| | |

Thinking through this strong symbolic feature of (plant fibre) cords and grasping a sense of their importance, for me, started with learning how to retrieve coconut fibres from their husks after encountering the artist Moïse in October 2017:

Meeting Moïse was not planned. Like many other things that have happened to me over the course of my stay in French Polynesia, our coming together was nothing I had imagined prior to the encounter. Strangely enough, I had visited the municipal market of Pape'ete multiple times before without ever taking notice of him. Perhaps, because I always felt uneasy in the busy crowds of the market and quickly moved my body through the locals and tourists, who looked at the many stalls stocked with fish, vegetables, fruits, flowers or arts and crafts. On the quieter second floor of the building, small shops and galleries sell artworks in different quality and at various price ranges. Here, I spotted Moïse one day, sitting by his desk next to one of the boutiques and plaiting a cord. Maybe this was another reason for why I never noticed him before: his work is a very silent one.

Figure 40. Meeting artist Moïse at the Marché de Pape'ete. Tahiti, October 2017.

Since my arrival on Tahiti, I had visited several arts and crafts fairs, shops and galleries and often noticed people working on new products, while sitting next to their booth and waiting for potential buyers to arrive and lay an eye upon their work. The sound of the machines used to engrave nacre, bone or wood is buzzing and can be heard from a few metres away. But not here. Seemingly ignoring the noise of the busy market around us entirely, Moïse worked with his strands of plant fibre in utter tranquillity. I walked up to him and asked him whether I could watch him for a little while. His hands stopped moving, as he looked up, smiled and invited me to sit down.

Pointing to one of the bundles of coir placed on his workstation, he told me that he prefers retrieving his material from the coconuts when they are still green, because their light-coloured fibres are more beautiful and therefore more suitable for the fabrication of jewellery. Coconut fibre, also called coir, is thick, strong, has high abrasion resistance, and is one of the few natural fibres (relatively) resistant to damage by saltwater. The whitish or light brown coir fibres harvested from coconuts before they are ripe are smoother and finer, but also weaker. However, both types of coir are generally elastic enough to be bent, twisted and pulled without breaking, which makes them a useful material.

Moïse makes most of the plant fibre parts of the necklaces and bracelets sold at the shop and asked me whether I had already looked at them. I had, noticing that they were elaborately made. He seemed to be satisfied and continued moving: he held the individual strands in such a way that they are slightly spaced apart, then twisting one of them around the other, moving it downwards, then upwards through the loop he had created, tightening the result by pulling it towards his body. He had fixed one end of the cord around his toe, needing both of his hands to work with the fibres. A plait or braid is a pattern formed by multiple interlacing strands of flexible materials, such as textile yarns, wire, hair or, in this case, coconut fibres. In French, the noun tressage *and the verb* tresser *are used, for which the English translation can be either plait(ing) or braid(ing). I would later learn that the two words are used interchangeably by some, while others seem to refer to more tubular-shaped outcomes of the process as braids, and flat ones as plaits. I was intrigued by the technique Moïse applied and took a close look to trace the movements of both his hands and the fibres, one creating and the other becoming something new.*

"If you want to learn it, I could show you", he said and added that he has been teaching the art of plaiting and braiding for years. Coincidentally, he had just received a large number of green

coconuts and wanted to process them on the weekend; he invited me to come along and show me how to retrieve the fibres from the coconuts.

The following Sunday morning, I received the promised phone call. He was already in the middle of working and that I could join him at Mahana Park, if I wanted to. Close to what I called my Tahitian home in the commune of Paea, I quickly packed my things and went to the beach, where a rhythmic sound led me to Moïse. He was sitting by the water on a rock, surrounded by a large amount of coconuts, of which some were still intact, and others broken apart. Coir is the fibrous material found between the hard, internal shell and the outer coat of a coconut, meaning that the actual seed in which you find the coconut water and the meat remains untouched. Moïse had chosen another rock nearby as a subsurface for beating the coconut husks with a large piece of wood to loosen the material. He took the fibres into one of his hands and picked up a comb with the other. Repeatedly dipping the bundle in the ocean water, he started to brush the strands, first using a larger, then a smaller comb. When the individual strands were completely separated from one another, he pulled out one single string and used it to tie the rest of the bundle together; I remembered these bundles from his desk at the boutique.

As we continued to talk about his work over the course of the day, his hands barely stopped moving: they opened the outer shell of the coconuts, tore each of them into four pieces, beat them until they were soft enough to separate the brown fibres from the green shell, continued to beat and loosen the strings, washed them in the ocean water and used the combs to separate them. The bundles of fibres were then placed on one the larger rocks with a flat surface and their light brown stood in stark contrast to the dark colour of the stone. "Now they only need to dry", he explained and picked up another coconut. The cycle started anew.

TYING THINGS TOGETHER

Why was Moïse beating coconut fibres, washing, combing, binding, twisting, plaiting and braiding with such patience? Like others practicing the craft today, Moïse does not plait cords to lash materials and objects together for the same reasons as his ancestors did; he makes necklaces and bracelets to sell them as jewellery, for which he creates elaborate patterns. Today, other materials, such as cords made from nylon, have replaced what was formerly joined together with plant fibre strings (for example the bonito lures discussed in Chapter ◯), while plant fibres have predominantly moved into the realm of art.

With the dramatic changes that the islands and especially Tahiti have experienced since the arrival of the first European visitors, the arts have transformed as well. These transformations may be considered a response to the changing material environment, ways of living and interactions with 'the outside world' and the need to find new ways to express new ideas (Price 1979, 121). In light of the very complex relationship with the French nation state, the 1970s had become the time of a cultural revival in opposition to a previous identity crisis. The art market, which developed into an important sector at Tahiti from the 1980s onwards (Cauchois 2013, 147), arguably became a space not only for the expression of ideas, but also for the negotiation of relationships and display of identities. As such, the art market was also an arena to evaluations of materials as either authentic or not authentic: natural, traditional or 'old' materials, like beaten bark strips and woven plant fibre, were often seen as 'markers of authenticity', while metals, cloth and anything perceived to be connected to Western forms were generally not as highly favoured by the tourist (and, in consequence, the maker, who wishes to sell his or her art). In fact, such thoughts and preoccupations can still be observed among Western collectors today (Küchler and Were 2005, 39).

Graeme Were (2019, 3; following Shove et al. 2007) discusses the impact of new materials, competing materials and the idea of 'co-productivity' among local and so-called Western materials, such as plastic. As the world changes, material identities (and their values) are constantly shifting, because the perception of them and their uses are continuously redefined (ibid., 13). The aesthetic and biophysical properties of materials are subject to comparisons to other types of available materials and objects and, ultimately, their success (or failure) will be based on these properties and their affordances, performance and potential (Were 2019, 177). Moïse contemplated on the decline of hand-plaited cords in favour of other materials and the use of machines, in particular, during our conversation. In his opinion, the younger generation did not have the patience anymore to put in the work that plant fibres required. According to Cauchois (2013, 152-3), there are indeed fewer and fewer people learning the art and she mentions the fabrication of *nape*, especially, as a technique in danger of being forgotten. On the other hand, Küchler and Were (2005, 59) point out that fibre cordage has remained a widely used medium in Oceania despite the existence of machine-manufactured, ready-to-use-options that can easily be bought in stores. Overall, 'new' materials have not undermined the

importance of plants and plant fibres in Pacific design (ibid., 102), hinting at both the continuous use and revitalisation of 'old' materials.

Interestingly, although working with what is considered to be an 'old' material, Moïse placed great importance on the idea that people need to continuously create something new (to sell their artwork), which was very likely a statement concerning his elaborate jewellery designs rather than to the coconut fibre he used. In his words, the present generation has to create 'in a forward direction', whereas the ancestors' works remain 'in what is behind' (however acknowledging their contribution). In contrast, many of the artists I met over the course of my stay in French Polynesia were involved in making reproductions of old artefacts, inspired by what their ancestors had brought into existence. As discussed in Chapters ◒ and ○, the past and present are closely intertwined and instead of solely moving or creating 'in a forward direction', it seems that many in French Polynesia still connect to 'what is behind'. Meanwhile, people not only look to the past to understand their lives and circumstances in the present, but also to determine their future course of action: "humans walk into the future facing backward" (Brumfiel 2003, 207; in reference to Chanock 1985, 15).

In dialogue with their ancestors, people in Oceania do not only engage with objects and materials, but actively make, create and work with them. This can involve 'new' materials and technologies, which enable innovative narratives to be crafted (Meskell 2010, 212), as much as the (re)claiming of 'old' materials and taking control of natural resources to make claims to innovation and intellectual property (Were 2019, 13). Perhaps, this can be compared to the revival of tattooing and dancing in Tahiti in light of the political conditions of French foreign rule (Krüger 1998, 170). Graeme Were, who conducted research on the pandanus palm in the Nalik-speaking area of New Ireland, Papua New Guinea, observed that the region has seen a thriving cultural revival movement in the past few years, in which Nalik women have once again begun to produce barkcloth. In connection to this, material knowledge was sought after and highly valued among the Nalik (2019, 52, 55). Lissant Bolton, who was also working on, or rather with, pandanus, likewise experienced that what was most valued among her research partners in Vanuatu were the possession and demonstration of knowledge. When the women looked at the photographs of pandanus fabrics in museum collections that Bolton had brought with her, they were generally not interested in establishing the provenance of the fabrics but more so in the technical details of the plaiting (1997, 25–27). Similarly, my interlocutors had

looked for signs of fabrication and usage while looking at the photographs of the *Pandora* artefacts, in addition to their inquiries about surviving information in the first-hand accounts. This preoccupation with and importance of knowledge of how things were made (in the past) may be a way to not let go of the cord, as in Hiro's poem. Moreover, it may not only be about preserving the cord, but also thickening and securing it. The presence of (certain) materials and objects may enable the transmission of knowledge and experience just as much as it anchors connections to place and to other beings (Were 2019, 176). In this way, they may give a sense of identity and stability in the world, especially when the world appears to be made up of very thin or loose strings. Asked about specific objects or materials that she considers to be deeply connected to (French) Polynesian culture, Miriama Bono named 'anything that is fragile' (e.g. *tapa*) – amongst a few other things, such as pounders made from stone – despite the fact that a transmission of and with them is complicated by their fragility. This is indeed indicated by their presence in museum collections, publications, art and everyday life, as well as the ongoing engagement and creation and search for related techniques and knowledge.

MOVING FORWARD | LOOKING BACK

Engagement with the past and old artefacts (especially from the pre-contact era) is often undertaken, and sometimes only possible, through museum collections and publications, as much of what is understood to be part of French Polynesia's cultural heritage is physically distant. The concern with this heritage has brought about a reconsideration of the role of museums – especially in Europe – in relation to the materials and objects that they hold (Hooper 2006, 73). Indeed, Newell (2009, 5) found that only few Society Islanders have visited international collections: next to the presence of a good local collection, travel expenses reduce the likelihood of a trip being made. Also, museum collections often remain obscure, making it difficult to locate objects, as published catalogues are scarce and online databases often only affordable to larger museum institutions.

Despite its extensive collections, the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles is not in possession of a complete mourner's costume, but of various components, including the apron fashioned from the small pearl shell slivers ('*ahu parau*, dated to the eighteenth century or earlier, Hooper collection, 78.03.52). However, the object had not been on display for a long time because it was considered too fragile to be presented and installed in the exhibition permanently. Asked

Figure 41. Élise at the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles, weaving with leaves of coconut trees. Tahiti, September 2018.

about specific objects displaced in the past that still evoke emotions in people in French Polynesia today, Miriama Bono answered that there certainly are, naming specifically the representation of A'a[87] at the British Museum and Tahitian mourner's costumes. Interestingly, the age of the objects did not make a difference in her evaluation, deeming 'the older, the more value' to be a European concept. More important to her was the fact whether the objects were very rare or sacred, although stating that she has to be pragmatic in the light of the "many things out there". The absence of A'a or a Tahitian mourner's costume was nonetheless an open wound of a certain kind.

Both A'a and Tahitian mourner's costumes are indeed not only heavily featured in publications, but also in discussions surrounding the repatriation of museum objects to French Polynesia. For example, the *Tahiti Pacifique* (No 400, February 2019, '*Faut-il rapatrier nos biens culturels*?') showed these and other objects from the British Museum, in particular, while discussing arguments for and against a return to the islands. Others seem to take a different view in acceptance of the physical absence of such artefacts from French Polynesia, understanding them as cross-cultural connectors, such as the website *Welcome Tahiti,* which presents the Tahitian mourner's costume in Göttingen as an 'ambassador' to Germany from Polynesia[88]. Interestingly, not all things seem to be equal in this debate: while some specific things are met with symbolic and emotional attachments, others seem to go without nostalgia and longing (Meskell 2010, 207). In the case of the *Pandora* artefacts, questions about a potential return to Polynesia were never raised. Although the reasons were difficult for me to pinpoint and assess, I speculated that the lack of materials and knowledge from the collection potentially made it less valuable or attractive. Most of the objects had fallen apart and were fragmented or incomplete (such as the Tahitian mourner's costume) and none of them were identified to be sacred. Furthermore, the Queensland Museum Network had financed the excavations, which seemed to be accepted as a reason for the objects being held at the Museum of Tropical Queensland today. Instead, people were satisfied with receiving photographs of the artefacts (and a catalogue was requested as highly desirable).

[87] Perhaps only one type of many that did not survive the Christianisation of the islands, this particular statue was taken by the missionaries from Rurutu to Ra'iātea in 1821 and was later sent to their headquarters in London. The sculpture is said to represent A'a, the supreme god of Rurutu, although some identify it also as the creator god Ta'aroa (Craig 2004, 124).

[88] https://welcome-tahiti.com/costume-du-chef-des-deuilleurs-ambassadeur-de-la-polynesie-a-gottingen-en-allemagne/?v=6cc98ba2045f.

Whenever discussions surrounding the repatriation of museum objects arise, however, they generally point to strong emotions towards the physical absence of these objects and a feeling of loss – emotions that cannot always be erased or changed through 'digital repatriation'. Yet, not all hope seems to be lost and there are exceptions to the rules. One example is the Tahitian 'feather girdle' (*maro* '*ura*) that has recently been identified by researcher Guillaume Alevêque to be the *maro* '*ura* made from the flag that Captain Samuel Wallis (or more accurately his second lieutenant) had raised on the beach of Matavai Bay in 1767. Today stored at the Musée du Quai Branly – Jacques Chirac in Paris, the object will make its move to Tahiti for the reopening of the new museum building, tying time (the first encounter in 1767 and the present) and space (Europe and Polynesia) together in a unique way[89]. While discussions of pre-Christian Tahitian society tend to highlight the significance of these red, feathered girdles as ranking among the more precious and rarest objects, it is interesting to note that, in the 1920s, the LMS missionaries did not seem to care much about *maro 'ura* in their collecting activities[90]. Indeed, today research on this type of object is restricted to historical documents, because all known examples seemed to have disappeared during the early nineteenth century (Alevêque 2018, 1–2). It is noteworthy that the *maro* '*ura* at the Musée du Quai Branly, according to Alevêque, had remained unnoticed because of its deteriorated state and because it only represents a small part of the original object, making it difficult to recognise.

Absences are closely linked to political processes (Bille, Hastrup and Sørensen 2010, 12), as questions surrounding ownership are debated and even shut down by some institutions. Objects find themselves the focus of ethical and political discourse about what they were in the past, about what happened to them, about what is happening to them now, and about who has rights in relation to them. In the past, they were important as strategic gifts and in the present, they are important as strategic possessions in addition to their power to inspire continuous acts of creation (Hooper 2006, 73). Indeed, absence can be extremely productive (Meskell 2010, 207) and longing, as a symptom of it, can become an important driving force for taking action (Bille, Hastrup and Sørensen 2010, 4). As the repatriation of A'a and a (complete) mourner's costume, for example, appear highly unlikely, we can observe articulations and

[89] https://www.tahiti-infos.com/Le-Maro-Ura-bientot-de-retour-a-Tahiti_a185189.html; https://www.presidence.pf/le-maro-ura-bientot-de-retour-a-tahiti/.

[90] This stands in stark contrast to the treatment of A'a, the image from Rurutu, for which the missionaries held a special ceremony by which they transformed this 'archetypal idol' into a missionary trophy (Alevêque 2018, 12).

materialisations of their absence in a different realm. Both examples are frequently reproduced in art and displayed in French Polynesia, potentially filling in the gaps.

In fact, Tahiti's engagement with Tahitian mourner's costumes has a long history. Rock engravings at Vaiote[91] or Te Pari, south of Tautira (described by Garanger and discussed in Emory 1988), with petroglyphs representing the mask and head-dress of a chief mourner speak to this fact. Arguably, it is within the realm of the arts, however, where they are particularly visible as a continuous source of inspiration today – to artists inside and outside French Polynesia alike. French designer Jean-Paul Gaultier, for example, presented a top with 1,500 slivers made from mother-of-pearl in his Haute Couture Spring Summer collection of the year 2000 as well as a skirt made of mother-of-pearl shells, worn over a wedding dress in the fashion show's finale. The latter was created in the ateliers Prokop and Fauura Créations and the former with the help of artist Hiro Ou Wen of Te Tavake Créations[92]. Hiro Ou Wen – a former employee of the Musée de Tahiti, who became a full-time artist specialising in the art of nacre – was also the creator of two reproductions of complete mourner's costumes, of which one has since left French Polynesia and was moved to Japan, although Ou Wen had initially planned to gift it to the Musée de Tahiti. The other piece was sold to Robert Wan and is on display at the Musée de la Perle in Pape'ete. In order to create these replica, the artist had travelled to Hawai'i to visit the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, whose specimen became the model for his reproductions.

Here it becomes clear that absences and loss do not always have to lead to mourning or nostalgia (only), but that they can bring forward new creations, innovations and strategies "to reimagine oneself, one's community and its practices" (Meskell 2010, 212). Perhaps there is hope for the *Pandora* artefacts, then, whose physical cords have dissolved and metaphorical threads have become thin. Even though the former cannot be replaced and the individual pieces not lashed to one another again (because they are museum objects that are to be preserved and not altered), threads can be picked up and tied together in the metaphorical sense through continuous research and discussions, engagement and creations, especially in Polynesia itself. Bonds can be thickened and strengthened, as there are material presences to relate to, old connections to be traced and new ones to be followed.

[91] I thank Chris Ballard for pointing the rock engravings out to me.

[92] Fashion blog, 2000, by Hedda Schupak. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4p4l9MOSr-E.

Figure 42. Learning how to retrieve the fibres from coconuts at the beach in Puna'auia. Tahiti, October 2017.

Figure 43. Artwork (detail) created by Tokainiua Devatine for the *Making Connections* exhibition (August–December 2019) at the Museum of Tropical Queensland in Townsville. Photograph by Sophie Price. Image courtesy of the Queensland Museum Network.

CHAPTER 7

[Exhibition] MAKING CONNECTIONS – FRENCH POLYNESIA & THE HMS PANDORA COLLECTION

One of the most vivid memories from my second research stay in Tahiti is tied to a conversation I had with Jean-Daniel Tokainiua (Tokai) Devatine at the Centre des Métiers d'Art (CMA) in Pape'ete. The meeting was an extension of several previous exchanges and mainly concerned Tokai's thoughts on how the past persists in the present, the continuation and 'growth' of cultures – and trees.

The involvement of trees with human lives and histories has been addressed in Chapter ◑, which traced the movement of artefacts from HMS *Pandora* into the museum sphere. Here, they served as an intriguing metaphor, as Tokai contemplated the relationship between French Polynesia's cultural heritage, including the museum objects dispersed around the globe, and contemporary creations of art. As an artist, anthropologist and professor of Polynesian history and societies himself, Tokai had many interesting opinions on the themes connected to my research and a lot of knowledge to share.

During a visit and tour around the CMA on 12 September 2018, Tokai showed me a room full of artworks created by both students and teachers, which had been presented at previous exhibitions. One of these works was a metal object, whose shape I could recognise as that of a tapa beater. In the past, these implements were needed for the fabrication of barkcloth ('*ahu*) and were usually carved from pieces of the heavy hardwood *toa* or '*aito* (*Casuarina equisetifolia*), which is the same wood that was used to craft the Tongan clubs found at *Pandora*'s wreck site. The tapa beater made from metal, then, can serve as a means to interrogate both the past and the present. According to Tokai, in a world where metal is prevalent and 3D printing possible, 'the old' has become strange enough to stimulate curiosity again. What was the object created for?

Although knowledge about artefacts and their usage may have faded since life on the islands dramatically changed, people have finally started to engage with and to reclaim the role of (these) objects. This is where creating becomes important in a society, Tokai tells me; it is what

allows the latter to regenerate, similar to the leaves on a tree. When one makes a sculpture, he continued, one works with what has become the dead part of the tree, the perfect wood that was carved out and will be fixed and shaped into a final and definite form. Cultural heritage, then, can be considered to be that old wood of the tree, the stem, while contemporary creation is what surrounds it. Indeed, it is the more delicate elements – the sapwood, the twigs and the leaves – through which all the energy flows, keeping the tree alive and allowing it to grow. In this way, Tokai concludes, contemporary art is not only a form of modern expression, but also the chance for traditional culture to persist. In symbiosis, they nourish each other.

To me, the tree, as a living and growing organism, served as a powerful metaphor for the relationship between old artefacts and new creations and would linger in my memory long after this day. The conversation encouraged me to think about the possibility of realising an exhibition within the frame of my PhD studies more concretely. Having learned about the importance of making during my time in Tahiti, I understood that 'something more' could (and should) be done with the Polynesian artefacts from the *Pandora* collection, especially since most of them were kept away in a storage room and hardly engaged with by the public. Indeed, from the very beginning of my research, it was important to me to see the artefacts connected with people in Polynesia, in particular. I wanted to facilitate the creation of a more tangible link between the HMS *Pandora* collection and French Polynesia, and so the idea of a collaborative exhibition came to life.

While I had spoken to Tokai and other artists about the possibility of such a project (towards the end of my first stay in Tahiti), a formal proposal needed to be made and, ultimately, accepted by the Museum of Tropical Queensland. Luckily, the museum's staff was very supportive, and a small exhibition space was made available from August to December 2019: the so-called 'bulkhead' consisted of one showcase with a length of 4.5 metres and was located within the museum's foyer. The exhibit was set to celebrate the rich cultural heritage and contemporary art practices of Oceania and explore how people in the present relate to objects from the past and the *Pandora* collection. It was hoped that the materials and artworks on display, of which some would be created specifically for the exhibition, could shed new light on the museum's collection and connect people across time and space.

Making and giving space to contemporary artworks and artists in museums is, of course, not a new invention. My invitation to the artists needs to be understood in the light of a wider

movement and discussion among museum anthropologists and professionals, which have spurred a vast range of practices, projects, interactions and collaborations between artists, museum-based researchers and museum objects. Nanette Snoep, discussing the progressive strengthening of links between anthropology museums and artistic production in her *Suggestions for a Post-Museum* (2020), considers the museum "not just as a repository for scientific production, but also for artistic production" (p. 333). While the museum can offer interesting materials to an artist, the artist might be better skilled at communicating ethnographic findings (ibid.). Collaborations of various kinds are, for example, key to many of the encounters between art and anthropology presented in the volume *Anthropology and Art Practice* (2013), edited by Arnd Schneider and Christopher Wright. Apart from the desire to explore and critically engage anthropologically with the practices of contemporary artists, these encounters approach creativity itself, as it is employed in the collaborations and the production of outcomes, "whether those are artworks or anthropological representations of one kind or another" (2013, 1).

As mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, the affinity between art and anthropology has been discussed by many authors, especially since the mid-1990s (Sansi 2015, 2). Many of these accounts of the relationships between art and anthropology focus on their roles in colonial and postcolonial regimes, as they are always rooted in both history and politics (Schneider and Wright 2013, 6). Indeed, the use of words like participation and collaboration are, from an anthropological viewpoint, "charged forms of rhetoric" (ibid., 11) and have been subject to scrutiny and debates about ethical considerations and responsibilities. The degree of criticism was (and is) often tied to how the viewers of artworks or their co-producers were perceived to be or actually involved in their creation process.

Art, anthropology, museums and curation are closely intertwined. Art and curation, for example, are variously seen as ways to rethink anthropological practice, and vice versa (Tinius and Macdonald 2019). At the same time, the task of ethnography may also be reimagined as a process of aesthetic production (Murphy 2018, 97). Both the artist and the ethnographer play pivotal roles in observing and pushing on social forms in pursuit of their work (ibid., 101); this intervention can entail a very small scale of interaction: "little pushes that go against an anxiously dormant impulse for 'objectivity' in the everyday intimacies of fieldwork, when ethnographers move together co-presently with their interlocutors" (ibid., 97). Of course, as

Keith Murphy acknowledged in his article in *Between Matter and Method* (2018), an "ethnographer's very presence is almost always an intervention in an otherwise ongoing lifeworld" (ibid., 102) in itself, considering that anthropologists are rarely asked to show up, observe and practice in the first place. According to Murphy, humans are continuously intervening in each other's lives and none of these interventions are ever neutral.

CONNECTING AND CURATING

Over the course of my first stay in Tahiti, I had the chance to meet many talented artists, who were equally inspiring. When the idea of a collaborative exhibition project first began to take form, I hoped to be able to work with many of these artists but quickly understood that the display would be shaped by its tight budget and the limited space available. In addition, some initial conversations and ties did not come to fruition due to time constraints and other commitments on part of the artists or diverging ideas in regard to the exhibit itself (e.g. a project featuring multiple artists instead of a solo exhibition). Other artists were difficult to get in contact with altogether.

In the end, Tokai and Hiro Ou Wen, founder of Te Tavake Créations and a former employee of the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles, kindly agreed to work with me on the project and create new artworks in dialogue with the eighteenth-century Polynesian artefacts recovered from *Pandora*'s wreck. Hiro is a renowned artist, especially due to his jewellery made from mother of pearl (including the elaborate crowns for the winners of the annual Miss Tahiti beauty pageants). I had first contacted him during my first research stay, after seeing his reproduction of a Tahitian mourner's costume exhibited at the Musée de la Perle.

For the exhibition project, I visited Tokai and Hiro at the CMA and Hiro's atelier in Puna'auia, respectively, where we discussed the Polynesian artefacts from the *Pandora* collection (again) with the help of the photos I had taken. I did not make any prior suggestions as to which objects or materials to work with and let the artists lead the way. As with my other interview, I was curious to learn what objects my interlocutors would be drawn to. Coincidentally and independently of each other, both Tokai and Hiro made the decision to focus on the fishing tackle within the collection and create an artwork from mother of pearl. For Tokai, the reasons for working with these objects and this particular material were multiple: apart from their ability to link the past and the present, they had "the best potential to evoke a new story"

(personal comment, February 2021). To him, mother of pearl has alluring and poetic qualities. In addition, the choice of this material was also a practical one, as it facilitated great flexibility in regard to the creation of pieces in various sizes and shapes for an exhibition space and display case that he had to adapt to, and because the objects were small and easy to travel with. Considering the small amount of space for both objects and labels (texts), Tokai's and Hiro's choices provided a welcome opportunity for me to narrow the field. Their works were to be shown alongside a few purchased items, for which a second showcase could be negotiated and was made available by the MTQ, where Sophie Price had joined the team as an assistant curator.

At the same time, it was of great importance to me to make space for reflexivity, as only a small glimpse into the world of art and material culture of French Polynesia could be presented. Contemporary Oceanic art is diverse, innovative, and constantly changing and its creation is tied to a thriving and vibrant industry. One of the texts within the exhibition therefore acknowledged that many artists, objects, and materials were unable to be included in this display but are just as valuable in representing the art and culture of this amazing region. Furthermore, I wanted to emphasise that my work with the *Pandora* collection had shaped both my fieldwork in French Polynesia as well as the resulting exhibition. The project had a clear focus on certain types of objects and materials and was also influenced by what I did (and did not) perceive and by the relationships that were formed over the course of my stay. The objects I had chosen for the display are an example of this: I bought them because I saw a resemblance – a connection with the artefacts from HMS *Pandora*, such as the material they were made of.

Finding a suitable title for the display took time, but in the end, I proposed 'Making Connections' because it enabled a discussion on multiple levels. Firstly, it highlighted the connections made by the artists, who kindly agreed to create something new in dialogue with the artefacts. Secondly, it referred to the connections that I, as a researcher and curator, made.

◊

Three necklaces with pendants made from the nacre of *Pinctada margaritifera* were on display in the *Making Connections* exhibition. Their acquisition, which occurred during my third and last PhD-related stay in Tahiti from December 2018 to February 2019, was possible thanks to

additional funding[93] provided by James Cook University as well the generosity of Hiro and Tokai, who did not ask for any reimbursement for their contributions to the exhibition project. The first necklace, which I purchased at the boutique Fauura Créations located on the second floor of the Municipal Market in Pape'ete (*Marché de Pape'ete*), caught my eye because it featured a miniature bonito lure centered on the pendant. Notably, a shark's tooth was used to represent the lure's hook point, while the shell shank, bristles and plant fibre cordage – although smaller in size – shared a high resemblance to an actual bonito lure. This central element was placed in front of several pieces of cut and polished mother of pearl, reminiscent of the adorning neck ornaments collected during Cook's voyages and other contemporaneous creations. The necklace was made by artist Marc Bouteau, whose works often seem to be inspired by eighteenth century Polynesian material culture, including pounders, adzes, fishing tackle and Tahitian mourner's costumes.

The second item acquired for the exhibition was an artwork I had spotted at the Centre des Métiers d'Art, where many works of former and current students are on display and on sale. One of these students was Yoam Barff, who crafted the necklace. It features a whole, polished *Pinctada* shell, to which two small elements made from bone (bovine) were joined, which serve as attachment points for the cordage (synthetic fibres). They were of particular interest to me because their shape reminded me of the stone pounders recovered from *Pandora*'s wreck. Here, it shall be noted that the objects may have taken a path that was not necessarily intended for them by the artists themselves.

The third piece was a necklace with a large fishhook pendant made by Hiro, which I had spotted at Te Tavake's boutique in Pape'ete. In my eyes, it was a beautiful example for how specific forms (Polynesian fishhooks) and materials (nacre) had shifted into the realm of art – themes that I had discussed with Hiro and other artists many times over the course of my field research. Mentioned in Chapter ○ , pendants in the form of fishhooks (usually made from pearl shell or bone) are very popular today and are potentially tied to expressions of identity and a felt connection to the Polynesian islands. Unlike most necklaces with such pendants, however, Hiro's piece stands out due to the large size of the hook, especially considering that it is made from one piece of shell (*Pinctada margaritifera*); its shape resembles some of the fishhook forms present within the *Pandora* collection.

[93] 2018 CASE MRF Competitive Funding Allocations.

Figure 44. Hiro Ou Wen at his atelier in Puna'auia, cutting fishhooks from the mother of pearl of a black-lip pearl oyster (*Pinctada margaritifera*). Tahiti, January 2019.

As described in Chapter ◒, reproductions of historic objects are an example of how the past persists in the present. In addition, many other forms of contemporary creation – like the necklaces seen here – are also visibly inspired by the region's history and cultural heritage.

CREATING NEW STORIES WITH OLD ARTEFACTS

For the *Making Connections* exhibition, Hiro decided to make several fishhooks, which can be categorised as reproductions, as they resemble the forms of Polynesian fishhooks documented from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including those within the *Pandora* collection. These barbless hook shapes can also be compared to the 'Tahitian simple fishhooks made from mother of pearl' depicted and described by Anell (1955, 103; see Figure 30) and are generally connected to the Society Islands and the island of Tahiti, in particular. They are sometimes labelled 'Tahitian' or 'Eastern Polynesian' types, which mainly comprise hooks made from mother of pearl featuring a rounded base and only very seldom a barb. Having worked with similar objects over the course of his career – and especially during his time as an employee at the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles – Hiro only briefly looked at the photographs of the *Pandora* fishhooks and chose to start his work without further consulting them. Similar to a sketch map, which is no longer of use once the way is known, the photographs were of no further importance for the making of the reproductions (Figure 44).

Three of Hiro's five reproductions were cut from mother of pearl and strung on pineapple (*Ananas comosus*) fibre. In addition, Hiro created two hooks using bone (bovine) as material. These were strung to synthetic fibres serving as cords to wear them as necklaces – quite popular among visitors to arts and crafts fairs and both tourists and locals, Hiro explained. Although I had initially planned to incorporate these two pieces into the exhibition to demonstrate how fishhook forms have shifted into the realm of art, they did not end up making it into the final display (unlike the reproductions made from shell). Because the space available was very limited, it soon became clear that not all objects I had brought back from Tahiti could be shown. Considering that nacre had emerged as the material in focus due to Hiro's and Tokai's choice to create something new in dialogue with *Pandora*'s shell fishing tackle, I decided to give preference to the artworks crafted from the very same material. The hooks

made from bone were therefore not included, but directly transferred into the MTQ's storage space.

As discussed in Chapter ◯ , mother of pearl, or nacre, is an important natural resource in Polynesia. Only certain molluscs, like the black-lip pearl oyster (*Pinctada margaritifera*), have this iridescent inner shell layer, which is not only shiny and very beautiful, but also quite resilient. Many of the Polynesian artefacts recovered from *Pandora*'s wreck were crafted from this material. Today, thousands of registered artists in French Polynesia practice a variety of art forms and continue to incorporate local materials, including mother of pearl, in their work. Because this specific material would play a crucial role in the exhibit, it was decided to show shells of the black-lip pearl oyster *Pinctada margaritifera*, including an unworked shell (E40898) and a polished mother of pearl shell (E40897), both bought at Tahiti's Municipal Market. Next to these two objects, another polished mother of pearl shell was on display, which featured engraved motifs (E40899). I had seen this particular shell at the stall of Te Tavake Créations (Hiro's atelier) during one of my many visits to arts and crafts fairs on the island and decided to incorporate it to speak about the processing and working with the material today. The accompanying label stated: "Celebrated as a key local material, artworks and ornaments made from mother of pearl are very popular both among locals and tourists. Electronic machines have made the cutting and polishing of the shell a less time-consuming process and enabled artists to engrave the material, often with local motifs" (*Making Connections* exhibition text, 2019).

In the past, access to oysters was limited as they needed to be harvested from coral reefs. Today, they are commonly grown in aquaculture, especially in the Tuamotu Archipelago and the Gambier Islands. The oysters are valued due to their ability to produce pearls, which have become French Polynesia's top export earner. For artists working with this particular material, the pearl farms also serve as suppliers of mother of pearl in great quantity. Its mesmerising visual qualities made it the perfect material for the creation of prestigious objects, such as necklaces, and tools, such as fishhooks.

◊

Because both Hiro and Tokai had chosen to connect to the artefacts from HMS *Pandora* through engagement with the fishing tackle present in the collection and by creating artworks made

from mother of pearl, it was not only important to speak about this specific material and its relation to contemporary creations of art, but also about the art of fishing.

In Chapter ◯ , I referred to the fact that fish have always been a staple food for the inhabitants of Oceania and that, consequently, good fishing tackle was of great value. Fishhooks were highly specialised and were made in a variety of sizes and shapes, depending on the fish they were intended for and the waters they were used in. Their manufacture was intrinsically linked to people's deep knowledge of their environment. Fishhooks were also used as exchange items and were avidly collected by the first European visitors to the islands. Indeed, fishing implements – hooks and lures – make up the largest group of objects among the Polynesian *Pandora* artefacts.

However, while Hiro seemed to be more drawn to the simple fishhooks within the collection, Tokai placed his attention on the many shell shanks recovered from the wreck. These objects were components of bonito lures, attached to a shell or bone hook point. When suspended in water, the lures resemble small fish moving in the water and attract the predatory bonito fish. During my time in French Polynesia, I was often told that these particular lures were still in use and sometimes people would show me examples in their possession – this was not the case with simple fishhooks. Occasionally, I would even spot comparable bonito lures in fishing equipment stores and, before leaving Tahiti, I decided to buy one at a store in Pape'ete. It fascinated me that the lures resembled the ones I knew from *Pandora* and other older museum collections; their shape had hardly changed over time. And, while metal is used for the points and synthetic fibres have replaced the plant fibre cords, the shanks are still made from mother of pearl – reflecting the valued qualities of the material. I chose to include this lure in the *Making Connections* exhibition and it was, ultimately, integrated into the collections of the MTQ (under the identification number E40896).

Although Tokai's initial concept for his artwork saw it placed over the entirety of the 'bulkhead', Hiro's three fishhooks and the bonito lure needed to be installed within the same showcase due to the limited space of the display. Furthermore, all of these objects were considered to be better presented when suspended from the showcase ceiling (the other showcase was a table display case). In the end, this created a neat division between the purchased objects and those specifically made for the exhibit, with the only exception being the bonito lure. Hung in-between the three simple fishhook reproductions (to the left) and

Tokai's artwork (to the right), however, the lure turned out be well placed. There, it allowed the viewer to make connections between the lure, the hooks and the text on the art of fishing (left) as well as between the individual pieces of mother of pearl of Tokai's installation, which was visibly inspired by the lures.

On its opening day, the *Making Connections* exhibition comprised two showcases (the 'bulkhead' and, opposite of it, a table display case), presenting ten objects and an art installation. The accompanying larger text labels covered the following themes: (1) the introduction, (2) 'The art of fishing', (3) contemporary art at the CMA, (4) 'Bringing the past into the present' and 'The material: mother of pearl' and, lastly, (5) some more words on the project. The interiors of the showcases as well as the freestanding display banners with the texts were coloured in different shades of blue, associated with the colours of the ocean, where the fish and *Pinctada* molluscs could be found and fishing tackle came into use. The graphic design, which was created by James Bell, further included different patterns for the backgrounds of the various texts: (1) a map, (2) fish, (3) palm tree leaves, (4) shell patterns and (5) waves, respectively.

MOVEMENT IN THE MUSEUM

As mentioned above, Tokai was drawn to the many shell shanks within the *Pandora* collection (they spoke to him, he said, as we looked at the digital catalogue of the collection) and chose to create an art installation that consisted of dozens of pieces of mother of pearl, closely – and yet not necessarily fully – resembling the shanks of Polynesian bonito lures. When discussing his ideas and drawing a sketch of his art installation, Tokai explained that he envisioned that not all of the pieces would clearly look like fishing tackle because it was important to him to leave room for interpretation. The viewers should be encouraged to approach the artwork and take a closer look at its individual components, while also being given the possibility to wonder, interpret and actively engage.

The pieces of shell were to be hung inside the showcase in a way that would give the impression that they were moving, or on the move. Like the objects that had been exchanged and collected and sailed across the Pacific Ocean on board HMS *Pandora*, these shells were not to be at a standstill, but rather represent a continuous journey. According to Tokai, the shanks further recalled past voyages of the people of Oceania, through which things, ideas, shapes and forms,

Figure 45. A view of the second showcase within the *Making Connections* exhibition, August–December 2019, Museum of Tropical Queensland. Photograph by the author. Image courtesy of the Queensland Museum Network.

as well as knowledge travelled great distances. Unlike simple fishhooks, which can often be connected to a specific region or even an island due to relatively distinct 'styles', bonito lures can be found across Oceania with only minor variation in form and size (apart from the larger, three-component lures from Tonga, perhaps). This posed particular challenges for the identification of the lures' provenance, especially because the shanks had been recovered as individual pieces: as mentioned in Chapter ⓵, the plant fibre cords holding the composite lures together had dissolved over the course of the wreck's 186 under water. The shanks were therefore separated from the hook points, which potentially could have helped to distinguish the fishing tackle. Reflecting this in his artwork, Tokai understood the bonito lures and especially the shell shanks as things that connect the people of Oceania, highlighting their similarities and shared histories. His artwork, then, can be viewed in the light of making connections through time and space.

It shall be noted here that Tokai had a very clear vision of how he wanted his artwork to look and be installed and that he was very involved in the decision-making processes regarding the 'bulkhead' showcase. He made suggestions about the placement of his work, the choice of colour for the background of the display case, the lighting and the way the individual pieces were to be hung. In the end, the display was – like all museum exhibitions – not only a meeting place of objects and people, but also compromise. Still, I believe that Tokai was satisfied with the final outcome, as he approved of the display, texts and accompanying video about his work. When Tokai kindly agreed to collaborate on the project, he and I decided to document as much of the process and creation of the artwork as possible. For this reason, we not only filmed our discussions about his ideas and plans for the installation, but also the initial stages of its creation. For the exhibition, I edited a video from the footage (filmed on 4 and 5 February 2019), which was set to a limit of five minutes according to the museum's guidelines. With the frame of the display and its likely audience in mind, the video was very focused on giving a concrete idea of Tokai's vision and showing how the material was selected and worked. Indeed, Tokai placed great emphasis on the importance of the choice of materials: The mother of pearl needs to be of a certain thickness and its colour of the right shade. In many ways like a fisherman, whose profound knowledge of the material allows him to fabricate effective tackle and catch fish successfully, Tokai relies on the same knowledge to lure people in with his artwork:

> The choice of material is crucial. There are criteria, which are very precise. There are reflections underwater playing with the nacre, its colour. It is recognised enough by the fish for the lure to attract them. So, if we talk of a visual piece, there are inevitably specific characteristics of interest and, if you are in an artistic space, you are equally in need of the same competence and knowledge[94] (interview, 5 February 2019).

Once the perfect shells for the purposes of this artwork were selected, Tokai marked the desired shapes to be cut out. The processes of cutting and polishing are generally undertaken with the help of machines at the CMA, as they enable a much faster processing of the material. The video ended with Tokai holding a cut and polished piece of mother of pearl into the camera – the first of many to come. Here, Tokai drew attention to the complexities of materials and objects and to the importance of looking at them closely, as one may find a whole (new) world behind each one of them:

> By watching, you learn and understand. Students really had to develop a particular way of observing. It is not just an object. There is a whole universe behind it. A way of being, learning, passing on, and so forth. Afterwards comes the technique. But the whole process already started with the choice of the nacre. You had to dive for it, gather it, amongst many other things. It's complex (ibid.).

Even from the smallest and seemingly mundane things, such as the shank of a bonito lure, one can learn about ways of being, knowing, seeing and creating. Tokai's statement that, in the end, an object is hardly ever just an object resonated strongly with me and encouraged me to make this the final part of the video for the exhibition.

Similar to Pierre Lemonnier and his fascination with Ankave eel traps described in his book *Mundane Objects* (2012, 54), I have to admit that I developed a deep fascination with Polynesian bonito lures over time – despite the fact that, "[b]y definition, anthropologists are supposed to control their ethnocentric feelings" (ibid.). Admittedly, this came as a surprise to me. Born and raised in a German city far from the ocean and without any experiences with catching fish prior to my arrival in French Polynesia, I had found it particularly difficult to relate to the fishing tackle within the *Pandora* collection at the very beginning of my PhD project. And yet, as I spent time with these 'mundane' objects and continued to learn about them, I became more and more intrigued.

[94] The translations from French to English were made by me but approved by Tokai prior to the release of the video.

To Lemonnier, the traps demonstrated that the Ankave had a particular interest in eels (2012, 56) and that "what *has* to be understood is an indivisible mixture of ritual, myth, and technical action" (ibid.; emphasis in the original). The traps are so 'neat', or 'strange', that some, notably the late Alfred Gell, with whom Lemonnier corresponded after Gell had read a previous publication of his on these artefacts, asked "whether they might be pieces of art and should be moved from the dusty shelves of ethnographic museums into art galleries" (ibid.). Chris Ballard, in a review of *Mundane Objects*, addresses Lemonnier's discussion of what materials can achieve that words alone cannot (and other questions). It seems that objects – and artefacts, in particular – are "qualitatively distinct from other forms of social production in terms of their capacity to 'assemble' and communicate different registers of inference" (Ballard 2014b, 511).

Roger Sansi (2015, 46), equally concerned with both traps and Alfred Gell's work, unravels the shift from understanding art in terms of representation to address it in terms of action in his book *Art, Anthropology and the Gift* and, more specifically, in his chapter 'Traps and Devices'. Commenting on reactions to the *ART/artifact* exhibition of 1988 at the Center for African Art in New York, in which a Zande hunting net was displayed, Gell asked why traps should be seen just as artefacts and not as artworks (Sansi 2015, 51; in reference to Gell 1996). Gell argued that the traps were not only of beautiful and imaginative manufacture, showing the craft of the hunter, but also complex case studies. Hunters and trap makers have to know their prey very well in order to construct devices that are sufficiently effective. In consequence, the traps are models of both their creators and their victims, the prey animal, and binds these two protagonists together, aligning them in time and space (ibid.). In this way, the traps could indeed be seen as putting the viewer in touch with 'higher realities', as artworks are supposed to do according to a definition Gell was debating. Any refusal would be grounded in a quite narrow understanding of what could be a meaningful object and Gell's answer was clear: any object can tell a story (Sansi 2015, 50–51).

◊

During one of our meetings, Tokai elaborated on the reasons for participating in the project: he wanted to see the different elements – the old and the new, cultural heritage and contemporary creation – enter into dialogue in one place. According to him, the research on

the history of the *Pandora* objects (and other Polynesian artefacts in museums, for that matter) and the pursuit of knowledge about them is important, but it is equally crucial to see what "the people of Oceania say about these materials, these objects today". He stressed that he enjoyed the engagement with these old, recovered artefacts and to be given the space to create and connect. Moreover, conceptualising the many pieces of mother of pearl as if they were in motion not only seemed to be aimed at moving the visitor with the artwork, but the museum as well. Almost defying a final and definite form, it could potentially unsettle what Tokai often perceived to be a rather static display of (Oceanic) objects in museums.

Taking the previous discussion with Tokai about the importance of contemporary creation for the preservation and continuation of cultural heritage into account, the creation of the art installation may further be understood as an extension of his ancestors' voyages. Indeed, with the support and funding from the CMA led by director Viri Taimana, Tokai travelled to Townsville at the end of July 2019 and personally set up his art installation at the MTQ.

Tokai often spoke of not only looking at the past or the present, but the future as well. In this light, making and creating is also about leaving (tangible) traces for future generations (interview, 5 February 2019). In an interview with the local journal Hiro'a of 2017 about the CMA's exhibition *Manava 2*, he had said something similar: when creating, one has an effect on the world and leaves a trace. This is as true for Polynesians today as it was for their ancestors and objects in museums can be considered as traces that the ancestors have left behind. However, each epoch has its own forms of expression. Interestingly, the exhibition, which was presented at the Musée de Tahiti, featured, amongst other artworks, the *tapa* beater made from metal.

"Today (as in the past), a vision of Polynesia needs to be constantly revitalised – otherwise the culture is dead"[95] – speaking about this philosophy to his students and the public, Tokai encourages continuous creation as both tracing and trace making. This notion can be tied back to the chapters on stones and plant fibres, in which museum objects as traces of the past that have the power to move and inspire people in the present as well as the concept of the preservation of the cord, i.e. the islands and their cultural heritage, have been discussed.

[95] «En créant, tu interviens et tu t'inscris dans le monde. Le Polynésien d'aujourd'hui laisse des traces, tout comme ses ancêtres. Les objets du Musée sont les traces les plus anciennes que l'on ait, et il s'agit d'objets qui traduisent l'art de vivre. C'est une expression contemporaine de l'époque. (…) Il faut redonner une vision de la Polynésie, sinon la culture est morte.» http://www.hiroa.pf/2017/05/n116-lart-contemporain-sinvite-au-musee-de-tahiti-et-des-iles/ [October 2020]

In the chapter on mother of pearl – in which I described my shift of focus from mapping to making – it was argued that the making of certain objects and the use of certain materials can become a way of reclaiming space. Perhaps, contemporary creations and Tokai's artwork, in particular, can be viewed in this light. Having left a trace, they also left a mark on the map for future generations to orientate themselves.

WHY MAKING MATTERS

In the chapter on wood, I demonstrated how the *Pandora* artefacts' abilities to move were dramatically altered by their transformation into museum objects. In exchange, however, their 'life expectancy' was extended and the possibility for new connections to be made was opened up. Here, a possible way for the generation and perpetuation of meaningful ties between the artefacts and people outside the museum, especially in Polynesia itself, was explored. This approach focused on the creation of new stories rather than the investigation of past events: the Polynesian artefacts from HMS *Pandora* can be classified based on their physical attributes or their roles as exchange objects, but there are limitations in our ability to reconstruct the past.

An alternative, then, might be to consider the new stories that can (instead) be told with the help of these artefacts, as they continue to exist and therefore have the potential to inspire people today. The *Making Connections* exhibition provided an opportunity to do this. Although enclosed in "an immobile place" (Foucault 1986, 26), they have connected to far-away places (again), as if they were back on the ship, and opened the world to different endeavours and imagination. Ideally, they have also become something that can be viewed as an extension of the ancestors' voyages or compared to the delicate parts of the tree, which nourish it.

Of course, the question remains whether new stories will continue to be created with the *Pandora* artefacts. *Making Connections – French Polynesia and the HMS Pandora Collection* remained on display at the MTQ from 2 August to 1 December 2019 and was then taken down. All artworks ultimately found their way into the collections of the MTQ and were moved into the museum's storage rooms, which can be viewed as a restriction of movement. For the many pieces of shell that Tokai had installed in the showcase, it may mean that they will never be seen by the public again, as a reconstruction seems impossible. In addition, no artefacts from the *Pandora* collection were incorporated into the exhibition due to the limited space and their

Figures 46–49. Screenshots of the video accompanying the *Making Connections* exhibition, shown at the Museum of Tropical Queensland, August–December 2019. The footage was filmed and edited by the author in February 2019 and approved by artist Tokainiua Devatine (incl. the translations of the interviews from French into English by the author) prior to its release.


It is not just an object.

higher demands for regulated and climate-controlled spaces. In this sense, their range of physical movements was not expanded by the exhibition. On the other hand, it is hoped that we succeeded in connecting the collection and French Polynesia in a meaningful way – and that visitors might look at the objects from a slightly different perspective now[96].

Since the display has been taken down, parts of the exhibition have shifted into the digital realm through images and social media posts. In addition, the MTQ is in the process of setting up a permanent digital home for the exhibit on the museum's website. Yet, Tokai's artwork was particularly difficult to photograph and capture in its entirety, diminishing its chances of being experienced again. These chances would have been heightened, if Tokai had taken the many pieces of mother of pearl with him to hang them up again somewhere else, in another exhibition. However, Tokai gifted the artwork to the MTQ after museum's staff expressed an interest in keeping the artwork. To me, the need to keep and preserve on part of the museum represented a blocking of movement of the artwork, but presumably Tokai did not share the same feelings. While he could have chosen to create an object, Tokai decided to make an installation, despite its ephemeral nature. At least for a short amount of time, he was able to claim space at the museum and leave a trace. The artwork, whether in the showcase or the storeroom would maintain a connection and, in this way, Tokai's gift may have already fulfilled its purpose: establishing a relationship.

The notion of the gift was also central to the above-mentioned work between Roger Sansi and the artists he collaborated with. Many of these artists were not actually interested in 'art' itself, but in the things one can do with art (2015, 2). They took a keen interest in the social sciences and especially anthropology, and Sansi noted that some of them indeed had a university degree in Anthropology and that Marcel Mauss' *The Gift* was considered particularly influential. Witnessing the emergence of a generation of artists who defined their work as social practice, Sansi described the artists as "less interested in art as a form of self-expression than in working in public spaces and on specific sites, developing research with social groups, and addressing questions of immediate political relevance" (ibid.). His fieldwork in anthropology and art therefore led to the (re)discovery of the 'gift' as a form of exchange dedicated to the construction of social relations rather than the mere production of objects. According to Sansi, anthropologists and artists have, in the gift, "encountered the proof and promise of a different

[96] Please note that visitor feedback was not formally collected.

form of life" (2015, 162), hinting at the possibility of imaginings, alternatives and new distributions.

VOYAGING THROUGH THE COLLECTION

Here, I want to return to Tokai's statement that the creation of contemporary artworks is also a continuation of the ancestors' voyage and discuss this notion as a(nother) driving force and interesting concept. Anthropologist Halena Kapuni-Reynolds, in his article *Voyaging through the Oceanic Collection at the Denver Museum of Nature & Science*, uses "the concepts of (re)discovery and wayfinding as material culture research methods" (2018, 1) and presents the first in-depth study of and a 'voyage' through the Oceanic Collection at the DMNS. Born on Hawai'i Island, Kapuni-Reynolds works extensively with the museum community in Hawai'i and researches the ways that Hawaiian identity and traditions are expressed in the contemporary times. In line with other applications of metaphors associated with voyaging (and canoes, the primary instrument of voyaging in the Pacific) within a museum context, Kapuni-Reynolds elaborates on the suitability of this term for such research. As a young child and as a student, he was exposed to the history of Hawaiian voyaging and the role that voyaging played in propagating a sense of pride among Kanaka Maoli to learn their traditions, language, and history (2018, 3). In addition, voyaging was understood to be important in revitalization projects to (re)connect Hawai'i to other island groups and a tradition that can be found across Oceania. Like Tokai, Kapuni-Reynolds highlights the interconnections shared across Pacific cultures. He does so in reference to Hau'ofa (1994), whose 'sea of islands' concept he understands "as a way to offer an alternative and hopeful vision of the Pacific that works against the fatalist image of the region as a place limited in size and bound to a dystopic future" (2018, 3). Drawing on another example addressed in this thesis – the voyages of the double-hulled sailing canoes Hōkūle'a and Hikianalia – Kapuni-Reynolds further supports the usage of the term 'voyaging', because it speaks not only to the region's rich heritage but also to the global relevance of voyaging today. Lastly, the concept continues to serve as contemporary metaphor to describe the realities of Pacific Islanders living at home and abroad. Kapuni-Reynolds (2018, 3) concludes that voyaging is a useful way for framing the ways in which people 'travel' through collections both physically (e.g. handling objects, navigating through museum storerooms) and intellectually (e.g. research, mental mapping of museum spaces, making connections between

objects and collectors). In this sense, the staff at the MTQ, Tokai, myself and others have been voyaging through the *Pandora* collection as well.

Tied to this notion of voyaging as well as the revival of Pacific voyaging traditions is the term 'discovery'. According to Kapuni-Reynolds, these revitalisation processes have been labelled 'voyages of discovery' within the Hawaiian context. Likewise, he continues, do voyages take place when objects and their histories are (re)discovered within museums. These (re)discoveries can refer to the search for further information about the objects or the ways in which "indigenous people 'rediscover' the primary sources (objects, photographs, documents, recordings, and so on) that were created by their ancestors and are stored in museums" (Kapuni-Reynolds 2018, 4). Considering the Oceanic Collection at the DMNS "a place where deep histories of contact, connectivity, and change are rearticulated anew" (2018, 18), Kapuni-Reynolds is advocating for the accessibility of the collection (to researchers) and the continuous establishment of relationships with members of the diasporic Pacific Islander community living in Colorado (2018, 19) as well as the merging of indigenous ways of knowing (i.e. Pacific conceptions of voyaging) and Western modes of knowledge production (2018, 4; in reference to Silverman 2015).

In his MA thesis *Curating Ali'i Collections: Responsibility, Sensibility, and Contextualization in Hawai'i-based Museums* (2015), Kapuni-Reynolds had previously examined the ways in which Hawaiian chiefly (*ali'i*) collections are cared for at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in Honolulu and the Lyman House Memorial Museum in Hilo. In his view, the genealogies (*mo'okū'auhau*) and stories (*mo'olelo*) are still honoured and preserved within the walls of museums, despite the fact that the *ali'i* are no longer a visible social class in Hawai'i (2015, ii). His recommendations for the Bishop Museum included collaborations with Kanaka Maoli communities as well as the continuation of having performances in its Hawaiian Hall (2015, 269). The recommendations for the Lyman Museum similarly included the learning from the communities of Hawai'i Island as well as the incorporation of "new voices and contemporary artwork" (2015, 269–272). These new (multiple) voices may be incorporated through consultation and collaboration but also through the acquisition and display of contemporary art by Hawaiian artists. According to Kapuni-Reynolds, "providing space for contemporary works dissolves temporal distinctions and highlights the dynamic relationships between the

present and the past" (2015, 272) and enables the presentation of Hawaiian culture as a living and thriving entity.

◊

Being encouraged to think about the use of the term 'voyaging' in regard to my own and other people's work on the *Pandora* collection was inspiring, especially because any voyage is also a movement. Here, I want to return to the connections between moving in and knowing the world and tie them together with my discussion of the classificatory work undertaken in museums, in particular. David Turnbull, whose work I addressed previously, describes the relationship between knowing and travelling in the following way.

> The elements of the system are accessed through a dynamic three-dimensional matrix as well as being set or boxed within one another. There is a sense in which all knowing is like travelling, like a journey between the parts of a matrix. (…) In this way, narratives can be seen as journeys and journeys as narratives, and hence metaphors are the spatial component that enables one to travel through knowledge (Turnbull 1991, 34–35).

Notably, Turnbull introduces 'narratives' to the discussion. Referring to this very same quote and interpreting the matrix as paths of coming and going, as people make their way from place to place, Tim Ingold comes to the conclusion that "knowledge is integrated not by fitting isolated particulars encountered here and there into categorical frameworks of ever wider generality, but by moving around in an environment" (2011, 160). At this point, Ingold makes an interesting distinction between what he calls classificatory knowledge and storied knowledge.

In classification, as has been discussed in Chapter ◑ , every element is slotted into place. This process usually occurs on the basis of attributes that are given quite independently of the context in which it is encountered and of its relations with the things that surround it (Ingold 2011, 160). In a story, by contrast, it is precisely by this context and these relations that every element is identified and positioned. For this reason, according to Ingold, stories draw together what classifications split apart. In the storied world, things do not exist but occur and bind up in another's story upon meeting (every such binding is a place or topic). In this world of movement and becoming, in which anything enfolds within its constitution the history of relations that have brought it there, the nature of things can only be understood by attending to their relations, or in other words, by telling their stories (ibid., 160–161). As a result, it is "in

the art of storytelling, not in the power of classification, that the key to human knowledgeability – and therefore to culture – ultimately resides" (2011, 164).

Perhaps, then, the creation and telling of new stories might be a more fruitful approach to old artefacts and the *Pandora* collection, in particular. This focus, I argue, can provide an alternative way for members of creator communities, artists, anthropologists, curators and visitors to engage with museum objects and, hopefully, make voyages through collections and (re)discoveries. In light of this, the *Making Connections* exhibition may be understood as such a story that aimed to tie people and places together and connect the past, the present and the future. Although ephemeral, the traces are there and made tangible through documentation. As Tokai has emphasised, even the smallest and most delicate parts of the tree contribute to its growth and help to keep it alive.

In her article *Coming together differently: art, anthropology and the curatorial space* (2019), Judith Winter writes about the notions of 'keeping things alive' and 'resisting containment' in the context of the engagement of both curators and artists with materials. One understanding of the curator stems from the impulse to mediate or contextualise the lived world, while another quite different understanding is related to the act of curing, "as a way to allow things to transform, grow or take on a new life" (Winter 2019). For the artist, material flows – released and unbound – speak of life as unpredictable, an exploration of decay and renewal (ibid.).

Indeed, there seems to be a connection between the making of things (including exhibitions) and 'making alive'. Now museum objects, the artworks from the *Making Connections* exhibit, similar to the artefacts recovered from HMS *Pandora*'s wreck that inspired their creation or movement into a museum in Townsville, Australia, will be preserved and continue to exist, leaving potential for the making of connections and creation of other stories.

Figure 50. Tokainiua Devatine, installing his artwork at the Museum of Tropical Queensland in Townsville at the end of July 2019. Photograph by the author. Image courtesy of the Queensland Museum Network.

Figure 51. Artist Firmin Timau photographing drawings of the fishing tackle from the *Pandora* collection at an arts and crafts fair in Pape'ete in January 2018.

Firmin Timau was, like many interlocutors, especially interested in the fishhooks recovered from *Pandora*'s wreck and asked to take a picture of my drawings for the incorporation of the depicted models in future artworks.

CONCLUSION

THE MOVEMENT OF THINGS

Tracing the movements of the Polynesian artefacts excavated from the wreck of HMS *Pandora* helped to attend to (their) stories of different kinds. Apart from the artefacts' creation through the movements of materials and hands, their acquisition by the European visitors were equally crucial and defining, as the so-called 'artificial curiosities' were brought on board *Pandora* and became part of her last, fateful journey. Of course, the crew's travels across the Pacific Ocean had been caused by yet another series of movements and events: the voyage of the *Bounty*, and most significantly, the mutiny that ended in the ship's unlawful seizure.

At the beginning of this thesis, the story of *Pandora* and the Polynesian objects' acquisition through exchange, gift giving, theft and confiscation was explored. For the discussion, the ship's logbook and accounts of Captain Edward Edwards and the ship's surgeon, George Hamilton, were helpful. Yet, their descriptions of the objects involved, or their collection, were not detailed and unfortunately none of the information provided could be directly connected to any of the artefacts recovered from the wreck. Although contemporaneous writings and journeys (most notably those of Captain James Cook) enabled comparisons and further speculations about the nature of the encounters and exchanges, parts of this history of the Polynesian artefacts from *Pandora* – and what came before their moments of collection – are so fragmentary that they may remain a mystery forever. With the eventual sinking of ship, not only materials, but also certain knowledge and stories were lost.

While other eighteenth-century ships made their way back to England and caused the circulation of the Oceanic 'curiosities' they had carried with them, *Pandora*'s line of travel abruptly came to a halt on the Outer Great Barrier Reef. Now taking a vertical direction, she sank to the bottom of the ocean and remained underwater for 186 years and, with her physical movements across space reconfigured, HMS *Pandora* became a dot on the map. This, however, did not entail a complete stop of movement, as I have pointed out in Chapter ◑.

Exposed to the ocean's constant wave motion, the wreck and its content did not cease to change. As for the Polynesian objects, in particular, the materials they were made of were

crucial in determining their continued existence as well as their ability to move out of the water and into the museum. Some objects, or parts of objects, such as fibre cords disintegrated completely and, unlike the 'artificial curiosities' (or their components) made from stone and shell, the objects made from wood were more severely affected by the time underwater, as the long exposure to the saltwater caused a degradation of the material's cell wall components and altered their physical appearance.

For these objects, the removal from the water was a potentially dangerous one: exposed to the air untreated, the wood's weakened cell walls were prone to collapse, resulting in further, unwanted movements of the material in the form of shrinkage, distortion and cracking. For this reason, great care was applied during the excavation process and the preservation of the state of the recovered items became a priority. Conservation treatment, as has been demonstrated, was an important part of their transformation into museum objects. In the case of the Polynesian artefacts made from wood, their entire internal structure was completely transformed through this intervention, during which the material was reinforced with Polyethylene Glycol to replace the bound water. Through this process, their ability to move through time and across space has been significantly altered – generally, a characteristic that is shared among museum objects, which are often confined to climate-controlled exhibition spaces and storage rooms. Indeed, only a few selected objects within the *Pandora* collection have ever left the museum since they entered it and, while their 'life spans' may have been prolonged, their movement to other places, at least in their physical form, is regularly blocked. As has been noted in the introduction, museum objects – precisely due to their preserved physicality, which is extended through conservation and control – may suggest a promise of stability and function as material embodiments and authentic representations of a specific place, time, people, or culture (Knowles 2013, 229). The artefacts appear to have transcended time and place and almost seem to be 'frozen in time' or 'stuck'. This, of course, varies greatly from the time of their creation, use in Polynesia and eventual exchange, in which they took on very different roles.

Like other things, the Polynesian artefacts from HMS *Pandora* are – despite their physicality – constantly becoming, as they shift from one state to another. Recontextualisations, which may occur consecutively and simultaneously, are therefore equally important to look at, as the movement of things is not always or purely of a physical nature. Within the scope of this thesis,

the objects have, most notably, been discussed as part of Oceanic people's lives in the eighteenth century, as 'artificial curiosities' to the European visitors, as objects of exchange and as artefacts that were excavated and included in an Australian museum. Incorporated into the museum's Maritime Archaeology section, the *Pandora* collection's ability to tell us something about the past was brought to the fore. My research, in contrast, was just as much interested in finding further contextual information about the Polynesian artefacts in their past roles as in learning about the connections that they have and can establish in the present. Following James Clifford, I understood museum collections as "travelers, crossers – some strongly 'diasporic' with powerful, still very meaningful, ties elsewhere" (1997, 213) and was eager to talk to people in Oceania about the artefacts from HMS *Pandora*. Yet, I was not quite as optimistic as Amiria Henare, who argued that the mobility of museum objects across space is "restricted precisely *in order to enhance their ability to move through time* (2005, 9; emphasis in the original) and that they may, in the future, continue to travel the world to generate and perpetuate social ties. To this day, none of the Polynesian artefacts within the *Pandora* collection, which had been excavated between 1977 and 1999, have returned to Polynesia.

Conversely, while I did not doubt that there is great potential in the continuous existence of museum objects to "attract scholars, descendants, artists, curators and other people who come to study them, draw inspiration from their forms, conserve their substance and observe them on display" (Henare 2005, 9), I felt uncertain about the likelihood and frequency of people travelling all the way from Polynesia to Townsville to visit the *Pandora* collection at the Museum of Tropical Queensland. And yet, I would, over the course of my PhD project, see Tahitian artist Tokainiua Devatine make this journey. The trip had been preceded by my own move to French Polynesia, with digital versions of the Polynesian artefacts from HMS *Pandora* in hand, allowing them to travel.

Relocating to Tahiti facilitated the exchange of knowledge about the artefacts with people in French Polynesia and enabled a different and closer look at the objects, although often through the lens of things that looked just *like them*. Attuned to the materials, forms and shapes present in the collection, I was drawn to the objects that reminded me of the artefacts from HMS *Pandora* – and pounders, adzes, fishhooks, bonito lures and Tahitian mourner's costumes were certainly visible in one form or another, especially within contemporary art creation. This movement into the realm of art has been described throughout the thesis – but particularly in

Chapter ○ through an engagement with shell fishhooks – and was crucial in deciding to shift my focus from mapping to making.

As has been demonstrated, mapping was used as a method to approach the materials recovered from *Pandora*'s wreck by the maritime archaeologists, who worked on the collection prior to the start of my project. At the beginning of my research, my thoughts were similarly occupied with maps and mapping things out, such as the stories about HMS *Pandora* that I hoped to find. Undoubtedly, mapping is closely connected to movement, as a moving in – and knowing of – the world is drawn and translated into a projection that is hopefully read and understood by others. In this sense, it is, like many of the movements described in this thesis, both an act of tracing and trace-making.

Chapter ○ further unravelled fishing as a form of knowing the world. The making of the fishing tackle needed to catch the staple food, depended on a deep knowledge of the environment and the materials that it provided to the people on the islands. The mother of pearl used for the fabrication of the tackle was chosen carefully and its usage was influenced by the fish species one wanted to attract as well as the waters one fished in. Most of the hooks and lures in use were therefore highly specialised and could travel great distances across space and time, if successful. Lures to catch bonito, which consisted of a shank made from mother of pearl and a hook attached to the shank with the help of plant fibres, were an example of this specialisation and success, as the design is prevalent across Oceania and can still be found to this day. The relatively high number of bonito lure components present within the *Pandora* collection led me to follow their traces. Encountering similar lures during my stay in Tahiti sparked my curiosity, because they were a striking embodiment of both continuity and change. The overall design of the lures had remained the same and was comparable to the ones collected in the eighteenth century. More interestingly, however, the hooks were made from metal and the different components were held together with nylon cords, while the shanks were still crafted from mother of pearl.

Gaining a better understanding of the importance of continuous acts of making, therefore, also led to a much closer look at the choice of materials involved in these processes. Quite fittingly, in each chapter of this thesis, particular materials could be moved into focus and neatly combined with discussions of the major object groups present in the *Pandora* collection. Indeed, the physical features of the materials the artefacts were crafted from were crucial for

their survival, or decay, during the wreck's 186 years underwater and continue to play an important role, as different materials facilitate different kinds of movement. Within the museum sphere, objects made from stone, for example, are generally considered less fragile and may move greater distances or be exhibited for longer periods of time.

At the beginning of my research, I spent a lot of time with the material presences within the *Pandora* collection, which influenced how I perceived the world around me and the things I was drawn to. In discussions with my colleagues, I often stated that certain objects and shapes had 'become very big', while others had 'become small' and moved into the background. The danger, of course, is not paying attention to what is equally important: the absences within the collection and the stories they had to tell.

With the sinking of the ship and the wreck's long time underwater, plant fibres deteriorated and left other components, which they once tied together, to be excavated as individual, loose items. Because plant fibres were not found in direct association with the Polynesian artefacts, it took me some time to reach an understanding of the great importance of plant fibres and actually *see* them. Moving my own hands and learning how to make my own cords from coconut fibre was a good start. As has been demonstrated in Chapter ⓵, the joining of objects was generally accomplished with the help of cords made from various plant fibres, which were therefore of great importance in all aspects of everyday life in pre-contact Polynesia. In addition, the mere acts of plaiting and braiding were understood to be a means for the transmission of knowledge to the younger generations, creating a line of knowledge, or cord, that extended with and through time.

Absences can have just as much effect on people's lives as material presences and may be just as productive, especially when people experience feelings of longing. Questions about repatriation, which is a highly political and sensitive issue, have certainly been posed concerning specific objects that have been removed from the islands in the past and are today held in museums outside of French Polynesia. Interestingly, if there were any concerns about a potential return of the artefacts from HMS *Pandora*, these were never raised directly with me. My interlocutors were instead satisfied with receiving as many photographs of the artefacts as possible and a digital catalogue was requested; ultimately, rather than the objects themselves, people seemed more interested in the stories and knowledge that these traces of the past could possibly convey.

The objects at the heart of Chapter ⓘ were several loose items made from shell and coconut husks, including some of the smallest artefacts in the *Pandora* collection: shell slivers cut from mother of pearl. As has been unravelled by the MTQ's researchers, these objects were very likely once part of the chest apron of a Tahitian mourner's costume, which were among the most elaborate objects to be removed from Oceania since the first Europeans started to traverse the region. Considering the punitive mission of *Pandora*'s crew, the idea of such a costume on board the ship fascinated many interlocutors in Tahiti. Yet, explanations for the acquisition of this costume remain speculative and is one of the voyage's mysteries that may never be solved, due to the lack of remaining traces, including many parts of the costume itself, such as the parts crafted from barkcloth and the plant fibre cords that held together its various components.

Rosemary Joyce reminds us that "the thing itself is *part* of what interests us" (2015, 185), consequently preferring the term 'trace' as an alternative to the words 'data' or 'evidence', which she considers problematic. Traces of both presences and absences certainly cannot tell us everything; and yet they can tell us *some* things and become catalysts for movement. In Chapter ◒, I took a closer look at Polynesian objects made from stone, which have gained particular importance as traces of bygone times. Thanks to the durability of the material, they appear as constants or landmarks for the inhabitants of the islands and provide chronological and geographical information. As such, they are of interest to researchers and people in Polynesia alike, as they are valued for their potential to tell us something about the past. The objects are tangible links to the ancestors and to a time before the arrival of Europeans in the region changed the material cultures and life on the islands. *Marae*, for example, still stand today, despite drastic processes of change, and have gained new meaning and importance as such landmarks and connectors. They have become subject to excavation and restoration, as well as appreciation, and once again play a crucial role in the movements of people and things. Although traces may remain silent about certain things, I have argued that they continue to move people and inspire them – to research, to voyage, to dance, to create and to make. Stone pounders, for instance, were not only featured in Hitireva's dance performance on the *marae* 'Ārahurahu. I came across pounders with very similar shapes to those within the *Pandora* collection many times during my time in French Polynesia. Made from stone in various sizes, they could be found at markets and arts and crafts fairs, their shape was equally visible and

present, printed on flags, dollar bills, T-shirts and *pāreu*. I would see necklaces with miniature pounders or fishhooks as pendants, as certain shapes have become emblematic and are frequently reproduced, especially as part of the islands' flourishing art scene. Many types of objects I had become familiar with through my engagement with the *Pandora* collection had found their way into the realm of art, both in the form of reproductions and incorporated into other contemporary creations. It became clear that many people in French Polynesia, including artists, connected to the past: in dialogue with their ancestors, they not only engage with similar objects and materials, but actively make, create and work with them. Through these acts of making, it can be argued, the cord is preserved.

Having learned about the importance of continuous creation during my time in French Polynesia, I decided to take an alternative approach, which focused on the creation of new stories rather than the investigation of past events. The Polynesian artefacts from HMS *Pandora* can be classified based on their physical attributes or their roles as exchange objects, as they have been collected and have made their way on board a European vessel, but there are limitations to our ability to reconstruct the past, especially in the case of *Pandora*'s history. Considering the new stories that instead can be told with the help of these artefacts, I decided to work towards the realisation of a small exhibition, which had been a rough idea and part of discussions in Tahiti since an earlier stage of my research. In late July 2019, the *Making Connections* display was set up at the Museum of Tropical Queensland; I have described the entire process in Chapter 7. Over the course of this project, the *Pandora* collection facilitated new movements and creations – of objects, ties, and stories. Although their own range of physical movement was not expanded through the exhibition, I hoped that visitors to the museum might look at the objects from HMS *Pandora* differently and that meaningful connections to French Polynesia were made.

Since the end of the display, Tokai's art installation as well as the necklaces and other objects I had bought in Tahiti have entered the collections of the Museum of Tropical Queensland. As such, they may be understood as tangible links that connect the *Pandora* collection and Polynesia across space and time. Tokai often spoke about contemporary creation as an extension of his ancestors' voyages and not only looked at the past or the present, but the future as well. In this light, making and creating is also about leaving traces for the following generations to orientate themselves and find their way.

In a very similar manner, I have the hope that I am not only leaving a mark with this thesis, but that others will continue researching the *Pandora* collection and will make new traces. Despite the comparatively small number of Polynesian artefacts recovered from *Pandora*'s wreck and the difficulties that come with a shipwreck collection, there are always more questions and things to explore. For instance, there are objects categorised as Polynesian material culture within the collection, which I was unable to mention here or take a closer look at. Among them are three stunning shell 'trumpets', adornments and even a few artefacts that remain completely unidentified. *Pandora*'s crew further visited many other Oceanic islands, to which the artefacts could be connected in the present. Ideally, Polynesians themselves will find interest in researching and engaging with the collection, because it is indeed very important to see what "the people of Oceania say about these materials, these objects today" (personal comment, Tokainiua Devatine; Chapter 7).

As my PhD project and related research is coming to an end, I wish to reflect on another comment made by Tokai during one of our interviews. As mentioned in the previous chapter about the *Making Connections* exhibition, Tokai contemplated the relationship between French Polynesia's heritage and contemporary art with the help of a tree metaphor. As the past continuously acts on the world, the old and the new seem to have formed a symbiosis: cultural heritage inspires contemporary practice and creation, while the latter keeps the former 'alive'. What new creations can the *Pandora* collection be part of to 'stay alive'? As I have stated in the introduction, museum objects have to be put in motion to be able to generate and gather stories. If this does not happen, will the objects become like the 'dead wood' of the tree, which has not been nourished?

This thesis has been both a homage to and critique of museums. Moreover, it is a love letter to this collection of artefacts, which led me onto unknown paths and made me find rather unexpected, yet incredibly inspiring stories – a collection, which allowed me to move through places I never imagined I would see and introduced me to fascinating people as well as the traces they have left and continue to leave in this world. Lastly, the engagement with the artefacts encouraged me to deepen my thoughts on how we think and write about objects, and how we research them. Following the great footsteps of Appadurai (1986, 5) and the many other thinkers and writers that moved this field of research and the discipline of anthropology,

my approach towards the *Pandora* collection was characterised by the tracing of their manifold movements through time and across space.

Working with the concept of movement and making it a distinct focus and feature of both my theory and method proved effective, as it leaves room for the many ways in which things move (us). Taking a closer look at the different movements of the Polynesian artefacts from HMS *Pandora* opened up discussions about a variety of themes, including the relationship of the present with the past and the future, mapping and making, the importance of materials, as well as the effects of both presences and absences. I learned more about the objects within the context of eighteenth-century cross-cultural encounters and exchanges, which were characterised by the contrasting cosmologies and values of the Polynesian inhabitants of the islands and the European visitors. I tried to follow their traces as close as possible to their moments of fabrication and speculated about their uses and meanings within ancient Tahitian society. Even from very small and seemingly mundane things, such as the shank of a bonito lure, one can learn about ways of being, knowing, seeing and creating. Or, as Tokai put it, there is a whole universe behind each object, waiting to be unravelled and explored.

Ultimately, this thesis explored the relationships between people and museum objects, as well as the role that old artefacts – especially within museums – hold today. I found that absences can bring forward new creations, innovations and strategies that tie the past, present and future together. While confined to one place, museum objects, including the Polynesian artefacts recovered from *Pandora*'s wreck, are still able to connect to far-away places. Even if they remain silent about certain things, they can move people and inspire them, highlighting the importance of acts of making as well as their potential to form connections and to always generate new stories. Perhaps this is precisely where their agency lies, facilitated through their materiality and continued existence: in their ability to move us apart or closer together.

Figure 52. Coconut fibre cord depicted in Figure 38.

REFERENCES

Alivizatou, Marilena. 2012. *Intangible Heritage and the Museum: New Perspectives on Cultural Preservation*. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.

Alevêque, Guillaume. 2018. "Remnants of the 'Wallis Maro 'Ura' (Tahitian Feathered Girdle): History and Historiography." *The Journal of Pacific History* 53, no. 1:1–24.

Allan, John. 1995. "Artifacts at Exeter City Museums from Bligh's Second Voyage to Tahiti." *Pacific Arts* 11/12 (July):43–47.

Anell, Bengt. 1955. *Contribution to the History of Fishing in the Southern Seas*. Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensia IX. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri AB.

Appadurai, Arjun. 1986. "Introduction: commodities and the politics of value." In *The social life of things: Commodities in cultural perspective*, edited by Arjun Appadurai, 3–63. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Babadzan, Alain. 2003. "The Gods Stripped Bare." In *Clothing the Pacific*, edited by Chloë Colchester, 25–50. Oxford, New York: Berg.

Babadzan, Alain. 1981. "Les dépouilles des dieux: Essai sur la symbolique de certaines effigies polynésiennes." *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 1:8–39.

Ballard, Chris. 2014a. "Oceanic Historicities." *Contemporary Pacific* 26, no. 1:96–124.

Ballard, Chris. 2014b. "Technologies of transmission." Comment on Lemonnier, Pierre. 2012. Mundane objects: Materiality and non-verbal communication. *Hau: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 4, no. 1:511–515.

Banks, Joseph. 1769. *The Endeavour Journal of Sir Joseph Banks*, 1768-1771.

Barnes, Shawn S., and Terry L. Hunt. 2005. "Sāmoa's pre-contact connections in West Polynesia and beyond." *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 114, no. 3:227–266.

Basu, Paul. 2013. “Material Culture: Ancestries and Trajectories in Material Culture Studies.” *Handbook of Sociocultural Anthropology*, 370–390.

Beaglehole, J. C. 1974. *The Life of Captain James Cook*. London: The Hakluyt Society.

Beasley, Harry G. 1928. *Fish hooks*. Pacific Island Records. London: Seeley, Service & Co.

Bell, Joshua A. 2017. “A Bundle of Relations: Collections, Collecting, and Communities.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 46:241–59.

Bell, Joshua A., and Haidy Geismar. 2009. “Materialising Oceania: New ethnographies of things in Melanesia and Polynesia.” *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 20:3–27.

Beltrame, Tiziana Nicoletta, and Christine Jungen. 2013. “Cataloguer, indexer, encoder. Ou comment les données prennent vie.” *Revue d'anthropologie des connaissances* 7, no. 4:747–759.

Bender, Barbara. 2006. “Place and Landscape.” In *Handbook of Material Culture*, edited by Christopher Tilley, Webb Keane, Susanne Küchler, Michael Rowlands & Patricia Spyer, 303–314. SAGE Publications.

Bille, Mikkel and Frida Hastrup and Tim Flohr Sørensen. 2010. *An Anthropology of Absence. Materializations of Transcendence and Loss*. New York, Heidelberg, London: Springer.

Boast, Robin. 2011. “Neocolonial collaboration: Museum as Contact Zone Revisited.” *Museum Anthropology* 34, no. 1:56–70.

Bolton, Lissant. 1997. “A Place Containing Many Places: Museums and the Use of Objects to Represent Place in Melanesia.” *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 8, no. 1:18–34.

Bolton, Lissant. 2009. “Brushed with fame: Museological investments in the Cook voyage collections.” In *Discovering Cook's Collections*, edited by Michelle Hetherington and Howard Morphy, 78–91. Canberra: National Museum of Australia Press.

Bougainville, Louis Antoine de. 1967. *A Voyage Round the World. Performed by Order of His Most Christian Majesty, in the Years 1766, 1767, 1768, and 1769*. Translated from French by Johann Reinhold Forster. Amsterdam: N. Israel; New York: Da Capo Press; London: Frank Cass & CY LTD.

Bowker, Geoffrey C., and Susan Leigh Star. 1999. *Sorting Things Out: Classification and Its Consequences*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Bradley, Richard. 1997. *Rock Art and the Prehistory of Atlantic Europe: Signing the Land*. London: Routledge.

Brumfiel, Elizabeth M. 2003. "It's A Material World: History, Artifacts, and Anthropology." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 32:205–223.

Burley, David, Kevan Edinborough, Marshall Weisler, and Jian-xin Zhao. 2015. "Bayesian Modeling and Chronological Precision for Polynesian Settlement of Tonga." *PLoS ONE* 10, no. 3:e0120795.

Byrne, Sarah, Anne Clarke, Rodney Harrison, and Robin Torrence. 2011. "Networks, Agents and Objects: Frameworks for Unpacking Museum Collections." In *Unpacking the Collection. Networks of Material and Social Agency in the Museum*, edited by Sarah Byrne, Anne Clarke, Rodney Harrison, and Robin Torrence, 3–26. New York, Heidelberg, London: Springer.

Campbell, Janet. 1997. "Eighteenth century wooden clubs from HMS Pandora: a preliminary analysis." *Bulletin of the Australian Institute for Maritime Archaeology* 21, no. 1&2:1–8.

Campbell, Janet, and Peter Gesner. 2000. "Illustrated catalogue of artefacts from the HMS Pandora wrecksite excavations 1977–1995." *Memoirs of the Queensland Museum | Culture* 2, no. 1:53–159.

Carreau, Lucie. 2018. "Curiosity, revolution, science and art: Pacific collections and French museums." In *Pacific Presences – Volume 1: Oceanic Art and European Museums*, edited by Lucie Carreau, Alison Clark, Alana Jelinek, Erna Lilje and Nicholas Thomas, 81–123.

Cauchois, Hinanui. 2013. *Tressage – Objets, matières et gestes d'hier et d'aujourd'hui*. Pape'ete: Au Vent des Îles.

Chanock, Martin. 1985. *Law, Custom and Social Order: The Colonial Experience in Malawi and Zambia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chapman, Margaret D. 1987. “Women's fishing in Oceania.” *Human Ecology* 15, no. 3:267–288.

Chua, Liana, and Amiria Salmond. 2012. “Artefacts in Anthropology.” *The SAGE Handbook of Social Anthropology* 2:101–114.

Churchill, William. 1917. *Club Types of Nuclear Polynesia*. Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Churchwood, Clerk Maxwell. 1959. *Tongan Dictionary*. Nuku'alofa: Government Printing Press.

Cleghorn, Paul L. 1984. "An historical review of Polynesian stone adze studies." *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 93, no. 4:399–421.

Clifford, James. 1997. *Routes: Travel and translation in the late twentieth century*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Colchester, Chloë. 2003. *Clothing the Pacific*. Oxford, New York: Berg.

Coleman, Ronald A. 1988. “The currency of cultural change and 18th century Pacific exploration.” *The Bulletin of the Australian Institute for Maritime Archaeology* 12, no. 1:41–50.

Collerson, Kenneth D., and Marshall I. Weisler. 2007. "Stone Adze Compositions and the Extent of Ancient Polynesian Voyaging and Trade." *Science* 317, no. 5846:1907–1911.

Conte, Eric. 1981. "Observations sur la fabrication actuelle des penu à Tahiti." *Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Océaniennes* 18, no. 215:857–872.

Coote, Jeremy and Jeremy Uden. 2013. “The Rediscovery of a Society Islands Tamau, or Headdress of Human Hair, in the “Cook-Voyage” Forster Collection at the Pitt Rivers Museum — and a Possible Provenance.” *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 122, no. 3:233–255.

Craig, Robert D. 2004. *Handbook of Polynesian Mythology*. Santa Barbara, Denver, Oxford: ABC-CLIO.

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

D'Arcy, Paul. 2006. *The People of the Sea. Environment, Identity and History in Oceania*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Dark, Philip J.C. 2002. "Persistence, change and meaning in Pacific art: A retrospective view with an eye towards the future." In *Pacific art: persistence, change and meaning,* edited by Anita Herle, Nick Stanley, Karen Stevenson, and Robert L. Welsch, 13–39. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Dening, Greg. 1989. *The Bounty: An Ethnographic History*. Melbourne: Melbourne University History Monograph Series.

Dening, Greg. 1992. *Mr Bligh's Bad Language. Passion, Power and Theatre on the Bounty*. Cambridge University Press.

DeSilvey, Caitlin. 2006. "Observed Decay: Telling Stories with Mutable Things." *Journal of Material Culture* 11, no. 3:318–338.

De Vere Bailey, B. A. 1947. "Notes on Oceanian War Clubs." *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 56, no. 1:3–17.

Di Piazza, Anne and Erik Pearthree. 2007. "A New Reading of Tupaia's Chart." *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 116, no. 3:321–340.

Donaldson, Emily C. 2018. "Place, Destabilized: Ambivalent Heritage, Community and Colonialism in the Marquesas Islands." *Oceania* 88, no. 1:69–89.

Duff, Roger. 1945. "A Revised Typology of (Southern) New Zealand Adzes." *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 54:147–159.

Duff, Roger. 1959. “Neolithic Adzes of Eastern Polynesia.” In Anthropology in the South Seas, edited by J. D. Freeman and W. R. Geddes. New Plymouth, New Zealand.

Eckstein, Lars, and Anja Schwarz. 2019. “The Making of Tupaia’s Map: A Story of the Extent and Mastery of Polynesian Navigation, Competing Systems of Wayfinding on James Cook’s Endeavour, and the Invention of an Ingenious Cartographic System.” *The Journal of Pacific History* 54, no. 1:1–95.

Edwards, Edward. 1915. “Captain Edwards’ Reports.” In *Voyage of HMS "Pandora",* 27–89. London: Francis Edwards.

Ellis, William. 1831. *Polynesian Researches, During a Residence of Nearly Eight Years in the Society and Sandwich Islands – Volume 1*. London: Fisher, Son & Jackson.

Elsner, John, and Roger Cardinal. 1994. “Introduction.” In *The Cultures of Collecting*, edited by John Elsner and Roger Cardinal, 1–6. London: Reaktion Books.

Emory, Kenneth P. 1968. "East Polynesian relationships as revealed through adzes." In *Prehistoric culture in Oceania*, edited by Ichiro Yawata and Yosihiko H. Sinoto, 151–169. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

Emory, Kenneth P. 1975. *Material culture of the Tuamotu Archipelago.* Pacific Anthropological Records 22. Honolulu: Department of Anthropology, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum.

Emory, Kenneth P. 1988. “The Societies.” In *French Polynesia. A Book of Selected Readings*, edited by Nancy J. Pollock and Ron Crocombe, 32–57. The Institute of Pacific Studies of the University of the South Pacific.

Fabian, Johannes. 1983. *Time and the Other. How Anthropology Makes its Object*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Fallowfield, Tom. 2001. “Polynesian fishing implements from the wreck of HMS 'Pandora': A technological and contextual study.” *Bulletin of the Australian Institute for Maritime Archaeology*, 25:5–28.

Ferdon, Edwin N. 1981. *Early Tahiti As The Explorers Saw It 1767–1797*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.

Figueroa, Gonzalo, and Eduardo Sanchez. 1965. "Adzes from certain islands of eastern Polynesia." In *Reports of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island and the East Pacific – Volume 2*, edited by Thor Heyerdahl and Edwin N. Ferdon, 169–254. Monographs of the School of American Research and the Kon-Tiki Museum.

Finney, Ben, 1998. "Nautical cartography and traditional navigation in Oceania." In *The History of Cartography. Cartography in the Traditional African, American, Arctic, Australian, and Pacific Societies*, edited by D. Woodward and G. Malcolm Lewis, 443–494. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Flexner, James L. 2016. "Archaeology and Ethnographic Collections: Disentangling Provenance, Provenience, and Context in Vanuatu Assemblages." *Museum Worlds* 4, no. 1:167–180.

Fontijn, David R. 2013. "Epilogue: Cultural biographies and itineraries of things: Second thoughts." In *Mobility, Meaning and Transformations of Things: shifting contexts of material culture through time and space*, edited by Hans Peter Hahn and Hadas Weiss, 183–195. Oxford and Oakville: Oxbow Books.

Forster, George [Georg]. 2000. *A Voyage Round the World*. Edited by Nicholas Thomas and Oliver Berghof, Volume 1. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Foucault, Michel. 1986. "Of Other Spaces." *Diacritics* 16, no. 1: 22–27. Translated from French by Jay Miskowiec. The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Garanger, José. 1967. *Pilons polynésiens*. Muséum national d'histoire naturelle.

Gascoigne, John. 2007. *Captain Cook: voyager between worlds*. Hambledon Press.

Geismar, Haidy. 2013. *Treasured Possessions: Indigenous Interventions into Cultural and Intellectual Property*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Gell, Alfred. 1993. *Wrapping in Images. Tattooing in Polynesia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Gell, Alfred. 1996. „Vogel's Net: Traps as Artworks and Artworks as Traps." *Journal of Material Culture* 1, no. 1:15–38.

Gell, Alfred. 1998. *Art and agency: an anthropological theory*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Gérard, Bertrand. 1974. "Origine traditionnelle et rôle social des marae aux îles de la Société." *Cahiers ORSTOM : Série Sciences Humaines* 11, no. 3/4:211–226.

Gesner, Peter. 1998. "George Hamilton's Account of HMS *Pandora*." In *A Voyage Round the World in His Majesty's Frigate Pandora*, edited by George Hamilton and Peter Gesner, 13–37. Hordern House, for the Australian National Maritime Museum.

Gesner, Peter. 2000a. *Pandora: An archaeological perspective*. Brisbane: Queensland Museum.

Gesner, Peter. 2000b. "HMS Pandora Project – A Report on Stage 1: Five Seasons of Excavation." *Memoirs of the Queensland Museum | Culture* 2, no. 1:1–52.

Gesner, Peter. 2016. "Pandora Project Stage 2: four more seasons of excavation at the Pandora historic shipwreck." *Memoirs of the Queensland Museum | Culture* 9.

Glowczewski, Barbara, Rosita Henry, and Ton Otto. 2013. "Relations and Products: Dilemmas of Reciprocity in Fieldwork." *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 14, no. 2:113–125.

Gosden, Christopher. 1994. *Social Being and Time*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Gosden, Chris, and Chantal Knowles. 2001. *Collecting Colonialism. Material Culture and Colonial Change*. Oxford: Berg.

Graeber, David. 2001. *Toward An Anthropological Theory of Value. The False Coin of Our Own Dreams*. New York: Palgrave.

Guiot, Hélène. 2001. "La construction navale polynésienne traditionnelle. Dimension Culturelle d'un Processus Technique." *Techniques & Culture. Revue semestrielle d'anthropologie des techniques* 35-36:445–478.

Hamilton, George. 1915 [1793]. “A Voyage Round the World.” In *Voyage of HMS "Pandora",* 91–172. London: Francis Edwards.

Hamilton, Donny L. 1999. *Methods of Conserving Archaeological Material from Underwater Sites*. Conservation of Archaeological Resources. Department of Anthropology, Texas A&M University.

Hahn, Hans Peter. 2005. *Materielle Kultur. Eine Einführung*. Berlin: Reimer.

Hahn, Hans Peter, and Hadas Weiss. 2013. “Introduction: Biographies, travels and itineraries of things.” In *Mobility, Meaning and Transformations of Things: shifting contexts of material culture through time and space*, edited by Hans Peter Hahn and Hadas Weiss, 1–14. Oxford and Oakville: Oxbow Books.

Hau'ofa, Epeli. 1994. “Our Sea of Islands.” In *A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands*, edited by Eric Waddell, Vijay Naidu, and Epeli Hau'ofa, 2–18. Suva: School of Social and Economic Development, The University of the South Pacific.

Hau'ofa, Epeli. 2008. “Pasts to Remember.” In *We Are the Ocean: Selected Works*, 60–79. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Hauser-Schäublin, Brigitta. 1998. “Exchanged Value: The Winding Paths of the Objects – Die verschlungenen Pfade der Objekte.” In *James Cook: Gifts and Treasures from the South Seas: The Cook/Forster Collection, Göttingen*, edited by Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin and Gundolf Krüger, 11–29. Munich, New York: Prestel.

Henare, Amiria. 2003. “Artefacts in theory: anthropology and material culture.” *Cambridge Anthropology* 23, no. 2:54–64.

Henare, Amiria. 2005. *Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Henderson, Graeme. 1979. Report to the Department of Home Affairs & Environment on the April 1979 Expedition to establish the Identity and Archaeological Potential of the Pandora wreck. *Report – Department of Maritime Archaeology, Western Australian Museum 12*.

Henderson, Graeme. 1980. “Three Early Post Australian Settlement Shipwreck Sites: HMS Pandora (1791), the Sydney Cove (1797) and a site near North West Cape.” *The Great Circle* 2, no. 1:24–41. Australian Association for Maritime History.

Henderson, Graeme, David Lyon and Ian MacLeod. 1983. “HMS Pandora: Lost and Found.” *Archaeology* 36, no. 1 (January/February):28–35. Archaeological Institute of America.

Henry, Teuira. 1928. “Ancient Tahiti.” *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 48.*

Henry, Teuira. 1962. *Tahiti aux temps anciens*. Publications de la Société des Océanistes 1. Paris: Musée de l’Homme.

Henry, Rosita. 2015. “Double Displacement: Indigenous Australians and Artefacts of the Wet Tropics.” *Anthropological Forum* 25, no. 4.

Henry, Rosita, Ton Otto, and Michael Wood. 2013. “Ethnographic artifacts and value transformations.” *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 3, no. 2:33–51.

Herda, Phyllis, and Billie Lythberg. 2014. “Featherwork and Divine Chieftainship in Tonga.” *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 123, no. 3 (September):277–300.

Hermann, Aymeric. 2016. "Production et échange des lames d’herminette en pierre en Polynésie centrale: Les dynamiques technoéconomiques dans l’île de Tubuai (archipel des Australes)." *Séances de la Société préhistorique française* 7:205–221.

Hiro, Henri. 2004. *Pehepehe i ta'u nunaa: Message poétique*. Pape'ete: Haere Po.

Hīroa, Te Rangi [Peter Henry Buck]. 1930. Samoan Material Culture. *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin* 75. Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

Hīroa, Te Rangi [Peter H. Buck]. 1943. “The Feather Cloak of Tahiti.” *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 52, no. 1:12-15.

Hīroa, Te Rangi [Peter H. Buck]. 1945. “An Introduction to Polynesian Anthropology.” *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin* 187. Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

Hirsch, Eric. 1995. “Introduction. Landscape: Between Place and Space.” In *The Anthropology of Landscape. Perspectives on Place and Space*, edited by Eric Hirsch and Michael O’Hanlon, 1–30. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hogg, Alan G., L. Keith Fifield, Chris S. M. Turney, Jonathan G. Palmer, Rex Galbraith, and Mike G. K. Baillie. 2006. “Dating ancient wood by high-sensitivity liquid scintillation counting and accelerator mass spectrometry – Pushing the boundaries.” *Quaternary Geochronology* 1:241–248.

Holloway, Lewis and Phil Hubbard. 2001. *People and Place. The extraordinary geographies of everyday life*. Pearson Education Limited.

Hooper, Steven. 2006. *Pacific Encounters: Art & Divinity in Polynesia, 1760-1860*. Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts. University of East Anglia, Norwich. London: The British Museum Press.

Hoskins, Janet. 2006. “Agency, biography and objects.” *Handbook of material culture* 1:74–84.

Illidge, Peter. 2002. “The Tahitian Mourner’s Costume: A description of use, composition and relevant artefacts from HMS Pandora.” *Bulletin of the Australasian Institute for Maritime Archaeology* 26:65–74.

Ingold, Tim. 2007a. “Materials against materiality.” *Archaeological Dialogues* 14, no. 1:1–16.

Ingold, Tim. 2007b. *Lines: A brief history*. London, New York: Routledge.

Ingold, Tim. 2011. *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description*. London, New York: Routledge.

Ingold, Tim. 2013. *Making: Anthropology, archaeology, art and architecture*. London, New York: Routledge.

Ingold, Tim. 2016. “On human correspondence.” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 23: 9–27.

Jacobs, Karen. 2011. *Collecting Kamoro: Objects, Encounters and Representation on the southwest coast of Papua (Western New Guinea)*. Leiden: Sidestone Press and National Museum of Ethnology.

Jeudy-Ballini, Monique, and Bernard Juillerat. 2002. “The Social Life of Objects.” In *People and Things: Social Mediations in Oceania*, edited by Monique Jeudy-Ballini and Bernard Juillerat, 3–25. Durham: Carolina Academic Press.

Jolly, Margaret. 2016. “Moving Objects: Reflections on Oceanic Collections.” *The Contemporary Pacific* 28, no. 2:281–314.

Joyce, Rosemary A. 2015. "Transforming Archaeology, Transforming Materiality." *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 26, no. 1:181–191.

Joyce, Rosemary A., and Susan D. Gillespie. 2015. “Making Things out of Objects That Move.” In *Things in Motion: Object Itineraries in Anthropological Practice*, edited by Rosemary A. Joyce and Susan D. Gillespie, 3–20. Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press.

Kaeppler, Adrienne L. 1978. “Artificial curiosities”. An exposition of native manufactures collected on the three Pacific voyages of Captain James Cook, R. N. at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

Kaeppler, Adrienne L. 1978. “Exchange Patterns in Goods and Spouses: Fiji, Tonga and Samoa.” *Mankind* 11:246–252.

Kaeppler, Adrienne L. 1998. “Tonga – Entry into Complex Hierarchies.” In *James Cook: Gifts and Treasures from the South Seas: The Cook/Forster Collection, Göttingen*, edited by Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin and Gundolf Krüger, 195–220. Munich, New York: Prestel.

Kaeppler, Adrienne L. 2008. *The Pacific Arts of Polynesia and Micronesia*. Oxford University Press.

Kahn, Miriam. 2004. “Placing Tahitian Identities: Rooted in Land and Enmeshed in Representations.” In *Globalization and Culture Change in the Pacific Islands*, edited by Victoria S. Lockwood. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall.

Kahn, Miriam. 2011. *Tahiti Beyond the Postcard: Power, Place, and Everyday Life*. University of Washington Press.

Kahn, Jennifer G., John Sinton, Peter R. Mills, and Steven P. Lundblad. 2013. "X-ray fluorescence analysis and intra-island exchange in the Society Island archipelago (Central Eastern Polynesia)." *Journal of Archaeological Science* 40, no. 2:1194–1202.

Kapuni-Reynolds, Halena. 2015. *Curating Ali'i Collections: Responsibility, Sensibility, and Contextualization in Hawai'i-based Museums*. A Thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts at the University of Denver.

Kapuni-Reynolds, Halena. 2018. "Voyaging through the Oceanic Collection at the Denver Museum of Nature & Science." *Denver Museum Of Nature & Science Annals* 7.

Knowles, Chantal. 2013. "Artifacts in Waiting: Altered Agency of Museum Objects." In *Reassembling the Collection: Ethnographic Museums and Indigenous Agency*, edited by Rodney Harrison, Sarah Byrne, and Anne Clarke, 229–257. Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press.

Köhler, Inken, Ulrike Rehr, and Gundolf Krüger. 1998. "Catalogue: Tonga." In *James Cook. Gifts and Treasures from the South Seas. The Cook/Forster Collection, Göttingen*, edited by Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin and Gundolf Krüger, 307–323. Munich, New York: Prestel.

Kopytoff, Igor. 1986. "The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process." In *The social life of things: Commodities in cultural perspective*, edited by Arjun Appadurai, 64–91. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Krüger, Gundolf. 1998. "Tahiti and the Society Islands – An Archipelago as Seen in the Light of European Yearnings." In *James Cook. Gifts and Treasures from the South Seas. The Cook/Forster Collection, Göttingen*, edited by Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin and Gundolf Krüger, 141–171. Munich, New York: Prestel.

Küchler, Susanne. 1999. "Binding in the Pacific: Between Loops and Knots." *Oceania* 69, no. 3:145–156.

Küchler, Susanne and Graeme Were. 2005. *Pacific Pattern*. London: Thames & Hudson.

Largeaud-Ortega, Sylvie (ed.). 2018. *The Bounty from the Beach: Cross-Cultural and Cross-Disciplinary Essays*. Canberra: ANU Press.

Latour, Bruno. 2007. *Eine neue Soziologie für eine neue Gesellschaft. Einführung in die Akteur-Netzwerk-Theorie*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.

Lavondès, Anne. 1971. *Le polynésien et la mer. Catalogue d'une exposition: objets du musée de Papeete*. Pape'ete: Société des Etudes Océaniennes; ORSTOM.

Lavondès, Anne. 1976. *La culture matérielle en Polynésie et les collections du Musée de Tahiti et des Îles*. Thèse de troisième cycle en ethnologie soutenue en 1973 à l'Université René Descartes – Paris V – Sciences Humaines Sorbonne. ORSTOM.

Lemonnier, Pierre. 2012. *Mundane Objects: Materiality and Non-Verbal Communication*. Taylor & Francis Group.

Lidchi, Henrietta. 1997. "The Poetics and the Politics of Exhibiting Other Cultures." In *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, edited by Stuart Hall, 151–208. London: SAGE.

Linton, Ralph. 1923. "Material culture of Marquesas Islands." *Memoirs of Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum* 8, no. 5:263–471.

Malinowski, Bronisław. 1922. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*: *An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Malinowski, Bronisław. 1935. *Coral Gardens and Their Magic*. London: Allen and Unwin.

Mallon, Sean, and Grace Hutton. 2013. "Collecting, exhibiting and engaging with East Polynesia at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa." *Tuhinga* 24:105–138.

Mann, Alison. 2001. *When an object becomes the subject. A critical reappraisal of the documentation and classification system used to order objects excavated from the wreck of HMS Pandora*. Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of

Bachelor of Arts (Honours) in the School of Anthropology, Archaeology and Sociology at James Cook University.

Marcus, George E. 1995. “Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24:95–117.

Maric, Tamara. 2016. "From the valley to the shore: A hypothesis of the spatial evolution of ceremonial centres on Tahiti and Ra'iatea, Society Islands." *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 125, no. 3:239–262.

Mauss, Marcel. 1924. “Essai sur le don: Forme et raison de l’échange dans les sociétés archaïques.” *L’Année Sociologique* 1:7–29.

Meskell, Lynn. 2010. “An Anthropology of Absence: Commentary.” In *An Anthropology of Absence. Materializations of Transcendence and Loss*, edited by Mikkel Bille, Frida Hastrup and Tim Flohr Sørensen, 207–213. New York, Dordrecht, Heidelberg, London: Springer.

Meyer, Morgan. 2012. “Placing and tracing absence: A material culture of the immaterial.” *Journal of Material Culture* 17, no. 1:103–110.

Miller, Daniel. 2005. “Materiality: an introduction.” In *Materiality*, edited by Daniel Miller, 1–50. Durham: Duke University Press.

Mills, Andy. 2003. *Works of the tufunga: form, structure, pattern and iconography in Tongan clubs of the 18th and 19th centuries*. Unpublished MA dissertation. Sainsbury Research Unit, University of East Anglia.

Mills, Andy. 2009. “'Akau Tau: Contextualising Tongan War-Clubs.” *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 118, no. 1 (March):7–45.

Mills, Andy. 2018. “Cultural Currents – Tongan and Fijian sculpture.” In *Pacific Presences – Volume 3: Collecting in the South Sea. The Voyage of Bruni d’Entrecasteaux 1791–1794*, edited by Bronwen Douglas, Fanny Wonu Veys, and Billie Lythberg, 243–254. Leiden: Sidestone Press.

Molle, Guillaume, and Aymeric Hermann. 2018. “Pitcairn before the mutineers: Revisiting the isolation of a Polynesian Island.” In *The Bounty from the beach: Cross-cultural and cross-disciplinary essays*, edited by Sylvie Largeaud-Ortega, 67–93. Canberra: Australian National University Press.

Morphy, Howard. 1989. “From dull to brilliant: the aesthetics of spiritual power among the Yolngu.” *Man* 34, no. 1: 21–40.

Morphy, Howard, and Michelle Hetherington. 2009. “Introduction: Encountering Cook's collections.” In *Discovering Cook's Collections*, edited by Michelle Hetherington and Howard Morphy, 1–9. National Museum of Australia Press.

Mu-Liepmann, Véronique, and Lucie Milledrogues. 2008. *Sculpture: Des oeuvres anciennes aux créations contemporaines. Arts et artisanats de Polynésie française*. Pape'ete: Au Vent des Îles.

Musée de Tahiti et des Îles. 2000. *Natira'a: Le tressage, un lien entre passé & présent*.

Musée de Tahiti et des Îles. 2001. *Les collections du Musée de Tahiti et des Îles*.

Murphy, Keith M. 2018. “Art, Design, and Ethical Forms of Ethnographic Intervention.” In *Between Matter and Method: Encounters in Anthropology and Art*, edited by Gretchen Bakke and Marina Peterson, 97–116. London, Oxford, New York, New Delhi, Sydney: Bloomsbury Academic.

Myers, Fred R. 2002. *Painting culture: the making of an aboriginal high art*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Newbury, Colin. 1980. *Tahiti Nui. Change and Survival in French Polynesia 1767–1945*. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawai'i.

Newell, Jennifer. 2010. *Trading Nature: Tahitians, Europeans and Ecological Exchange*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Newell, Jenny. 2009. “The Treasures in the Storeroom: Society Islands collections in World Museums.” Paper presented at the 11th Pacific Science Inter-congress, Pape'ete, Tahiti.

Nordhoff, Charles. 1930. “Notes on the off-shore fishing of the Society Islands.” *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 39.2, no. 154:137–173.

Oliver, Douglas. 1974. *Ancient Tahitian Society*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.

Oliver, Douglas. 1988. *Return to Tahiti. Bligh’s Second Breadfruit Voyage*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Orliac, Michel. 1986. “Outils et techniques avant l’arrivée du métal.” In *La vie quotidienne dans la Polynésie d’autrefois*, edited by Anne Lavondès, 9–24. Volume 5 of the *Encyclopédie de la Polynésie,* edited by Christian Gleizal. C. Gleizal / Multipress.

Ostapkowicz, Joanna, Rick J. Schulting, Ryan Wheeler, Lee Newsom, Fiona Brock, Ian Bull, and Christophe Snoeck. 2017. “East-central Florida pre-Columbian wood sculpture: Radiocarbon dating, wood identification and strontium isotope studies.” *Journal of Archaeological Science* 13:595–608.

Otto, Ton, and Rane Willerslev. 2013. “Introduction: “Value as theory”. Comparison, cultural critique, and guerilla ethnographic theory.” *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 3, no. 1:1–20.

Otto, Ton, and Dianna Hardy. 2016. “Transforming Artefacts into Digital Heritage: Developing interactive databases for use by Aboriginal communities.” *Memoirs of the Queensland Museum | Culture* 10:117–132.

Paini, Anna, and Elisabetta Gnecchi-Ruscone. 2017. “Introduction: Tides of Innovation in Oceania.” In *Tides of Innovation in Oceania: Value, materiality and place*, edited by Elisabetta Gnecchi-Ruscone and Anna Paini, 9–34. ANU Press.

Parkinson, Sydney. 1773. *A Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas*.

Pearce, Susan M. 1995. *On Collecting. An investigation into collecting in the European tradition*. London and New York: Routledge.

Phelps, Steven. 1976. *Art and Artefacts of the Pacific, Africa and the Americas: The James Hooper Collection*. London: Hutchinson.

Plischke, Hans. 1931. "Tahitische Trauergewänder." *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen – Philologisch-historische Klasse* XXIV.

Pratt, Mary Louise. 1992. *Imperial eyes: Travel writing and transculturation*. Routledge.

Price, Christine. 1979. *Made in the South Pacific. Arts of the Sea People*. New York: E. P. Dutton.

Raj, Kapil. 2000. "18th-Century pacific voyages of discovery, "big science", and the shaping of an European scientific and technological culture". *History and Technology* 17, no. 2:79–98.

Rankin, Jonathan R., and Francis L. Collins. 2017. "Enclosing difference and disruption: assemblage, heterotopia and the cruise ship." *Social & Cultural Geography* 18, no. 2:224–244.

Rawson, Geoffrey. 1963. *Pandora's Last Voyage*. London: Longmans, Green and Co Ltd.

Reinman, Fred M. 1967. "Fishing: An aspect of oceanic economy: An archaeological approach." *Fieldiana. Anthropology* 56, no. 2:95–208.

Revolon, Sandra. 2018. "Iridescence as Affordance: On Artefacts and Light Interference in the Renewal of Life Among the Owa (Eastern Solomon Islands)." *Oceania* 88, no. 1:31–40.

Richards, Michelle. 2019. "Realising the potential of portable XRF for the geochemical classification of volcanic rock types." *Journal of Archaeological Science* 105:31–45.

Rolett, Barry V. 2002. "Voyaging and interaction in ancient East Polynesia." *Asian Perspectives* 41, no. 2:182–194.

Rozina, L. G. 1978. "The James Cook Collection in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Leningrad." In *Cook Voyage Artifacts in Leningrad, Berne, and Florence Museums*, edited by Adrienne Kaeppler, 3–17. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

Salmond, Anne. 2009. *Aphrodite's Island. The European Discovery of Tahiti*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.

Sansi, Roger. 2015. *Art, Anthropology and the Gift*. London, New York: Bloomsbury.

Schneider, Arnd and Christopher Wright. 2013. “Ways of Working.” In *Anthropology and Art Practice*, edited by Arnd Schneider and Christopher Wright, 1–24. London, New Delhi, New York, Sydney: Bloomsbury Academic.

Schorch, Philipp. 2013. “Contact zones, third spaces, and the act of interpretation.” Museum & Society 11, no. 1:68–81.

Shipton, Ceri, Marshall Weisler, Chris Jacomb, Chris Clarkson, and Richard Walter. 2016. "A morphometric reassessment of Roger Duff's Polynesian adze typology." *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 6:361–375.

Shove, Elizabeth, Matthew Watson, Martin Hand and Jack Ingram. 2007. *The Design of Everyday Life*. Oxford: Berg

Silverman, Raymond A. 2015. “Introduction: Museum as process.” In *Museum as Process. Translating Local and Global Knowledges*, edited by Raymond A. Silverman, 1–18. London, New York: Routledge.

Skinner, Henry D. 1938. “Maori Adzes, Axes, Chisels and Gouges from the Murihiku Region, New Zealand.” In *Proceedings of the 3rd Congress of Prehistorians of the Far East*, edited by F. N. Chasen and M. W. F. Tweedie, 141–172.

Skinner, Henry D. 1940. “The Classification of Greywacke and Nephrite Adzes from Murihiku, N.Z.” *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 52, no. 2:65–85.

Snead, James E. 2009. “Trails of Tradition: Movement, Meaning, and Place.” In *Landscapes of Movement: Trails, Paths, and Roads in Anthropological Perspective*, edited by James E. Snead, Clark L. Erickson, and J. Andrew Darling, 42–60. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Snoep, Nanette. 2020. “Suggestions for a Post-Museum.” In *Across Anthropology: Troubling Colonial Legacies, Museums, and the Curatorial*, edited by Margareta von Oswald and Jonas Tinius, 324–335. Leuven University Press.

St Cartmail, Keith. 1997. *The Art of Tonga: Ko e Ngaahi ʻAati ʻo Tonga*. Craftsman House.

Steiner, Christopher B. 2001. “Rights of Passage: On the Liminal Identity of Art in the Border Zone.” In *The Empire of Things: Regimes of Value and Material Culture*, edited by Fred R. Myers, 207–231. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

Stevenson, Karen and Steven Hooper. 2007. “Tahitian fau – Unveiling an enigma.” *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 116, no. 2:181–211.

Stewart, Pamela J. and Andrew Strathern. 2003. *Landscape, Memory and History. Anthropological Perspectives*. Anthropology, Culture and Society. Pluto Press.

Stevenson, Karen. 1993. "The Museum as a Research Tool: A Tahitian Example." In *Artistic Heritage in a Changing Pacific*, edited by Philip J.C. Dark and Roger G. Rose, 74–83. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Tamburini, Diego and Caroline R. Cartwright and Julie Adams. 2020. “The scientific study of the materials used to create the Tahitian mourner’s costume in the British Museum collection.” *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 42: 263–269.

Tamisari, Franca. 2005. “The Responsibility of Performance: The Interweaving Of Politics And Aesthetics In Intercultural Contexts.” *Visual Anthropology Review* 21, no. 1 & 2:47–62.

Thomas, Nicholas. 1991. *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Thomas, Nicholas. 1997. “Introduction: Tupaia’s Map.” In *In Oceania: Visions, Artifacts, Histories*, 3–20. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Thomas, Nicholas. 1998. “Foreword.” In *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*, by Alfred Gell, vii–xiii. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Thomas, Nicholas. 2003. *Cook. The Extraordinary Voyages of Captain James Cook*. New York: Walker & Company.

Thomas, Nicholas. 2018. “Introduction: Presence and Absence.” In *Pacific Presences – Volume 1: Oceanic Art and European Museums*, edited by Lucie Carreau, Alison Clark, Alana Jelinek, Erna Lilje, and Nicholas Thomas, 13–35.

Thomson, Basil. 1915. “Introduction and notes.” In *Voyage of HMS "Pandora",* 1–25. London: Francis Edwards.

Tilley, Christopher. 2006. “Introduction: Identity, Place, Landscape and Heritage.” *Journal of Material Culture* 11, no. 1/2:7–32.

Tinius, Jonas and Sharon Macdonald. 2019. “The recursivity of the curatorial.” In *The Anthropologist as Curator*, edited by Roger Sansi, 35–58. London, New York, Oxford, New Delhi, Sydney: Bloomsbury Academic.

Turnbull, David. 1991. *Mapping the World in the Mind: An Investigation of the Unwritten Knowledge of Micronesian Navigators*. Geelong: Deakin University Press.

Turnbull, David. 2000a. “(En)-countering knowledge traditions. The story of Cook and Tupaia.” *Humanities Research* 1: 55–76.

Turnbull, David. 2000b. *Masons, Tricksters and Cartographers: Comparative Studies in the Sociology of Scientific and Indigenous Knowledge*. CRC Press LLC.

Turnbull, Paul. 2009. “The chief mourner's costume. Religion and political change in the Society Islands, 1768-73.” In *Discovering Cook's Collections*, edited by Michelle Hetherington and Howard Morphy, 41–57. Canberra: National Museum of Australia Press.

Turner, Hannah. 2016. “The computerization of material culture catalogues: Objects and infrastructure in the Smithsonian Institution’s Department of Anthropology.” *Museum Anthropology* 39, no. 2:163–177.

Weener, Frans-Karel. 2007. Tongan Club Iconography: An Attempt to Unravel Visual Metaphors Through Myth. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 116, no. 4 (December):451–461.

Were, Graeme. 2013. “On the materials of mats: thinking through design in a Melanesian society.” *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 19, no. 3:581–599.

Were, Graeme. 2015. “Digital heritage in a Melanesian context: authenticity, integrity and ancestrality from the other side of the digital divide.” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 21, no. 2:153–165.

Were, Graeme. 2019. *How Materials Matter. Design, Innovation and Materiality in the Pacific*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn.

Wilson, James. 1799. *A Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, Performed in the Years 1796, 1797, 1798, in the Ship Duff, Commanded by Captain James Wilson*. London: T. Chapman.

Wilson, Meredith and Bruno David. 2002. “Introduction.” In *Inscribed Landscapes: Marking and Making Place*, edited by Bruno David and Meredith Wilson, 1–10. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Winter, Judith. 2019. "Coming together differently: art, anthropology and the curatorial space." In *The Anthropologist as Curator*, edited by Roger Sansi, 115–132. London, New York, Oxford, New Delhi, Sydney: Bloomsbury Academic.

Wood, A. H. 1932. *History and Geography of Tonga*. Nuku'alofa: C. S. Summers.

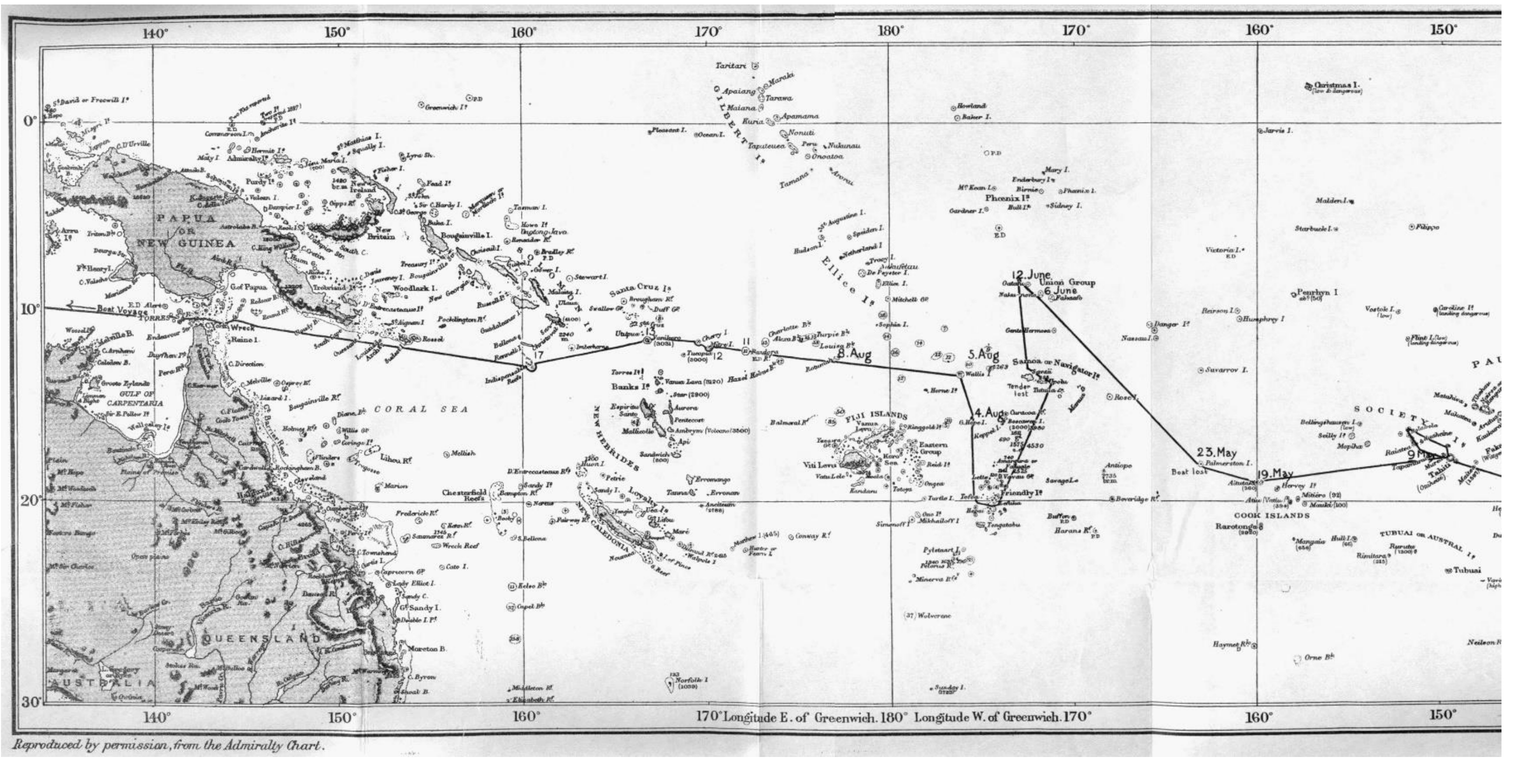
Young, Michael W. 2000. “The careless collector: Malinowski and the antiquarians.” In *Hunting the gatherers: ethnographic collectors, agents and agency in Melanesia, 1870s-1930s*, edited by Michael O'Hanlon and Robert L. Welsch, 181–202. Oxford, New York: Berghahn.

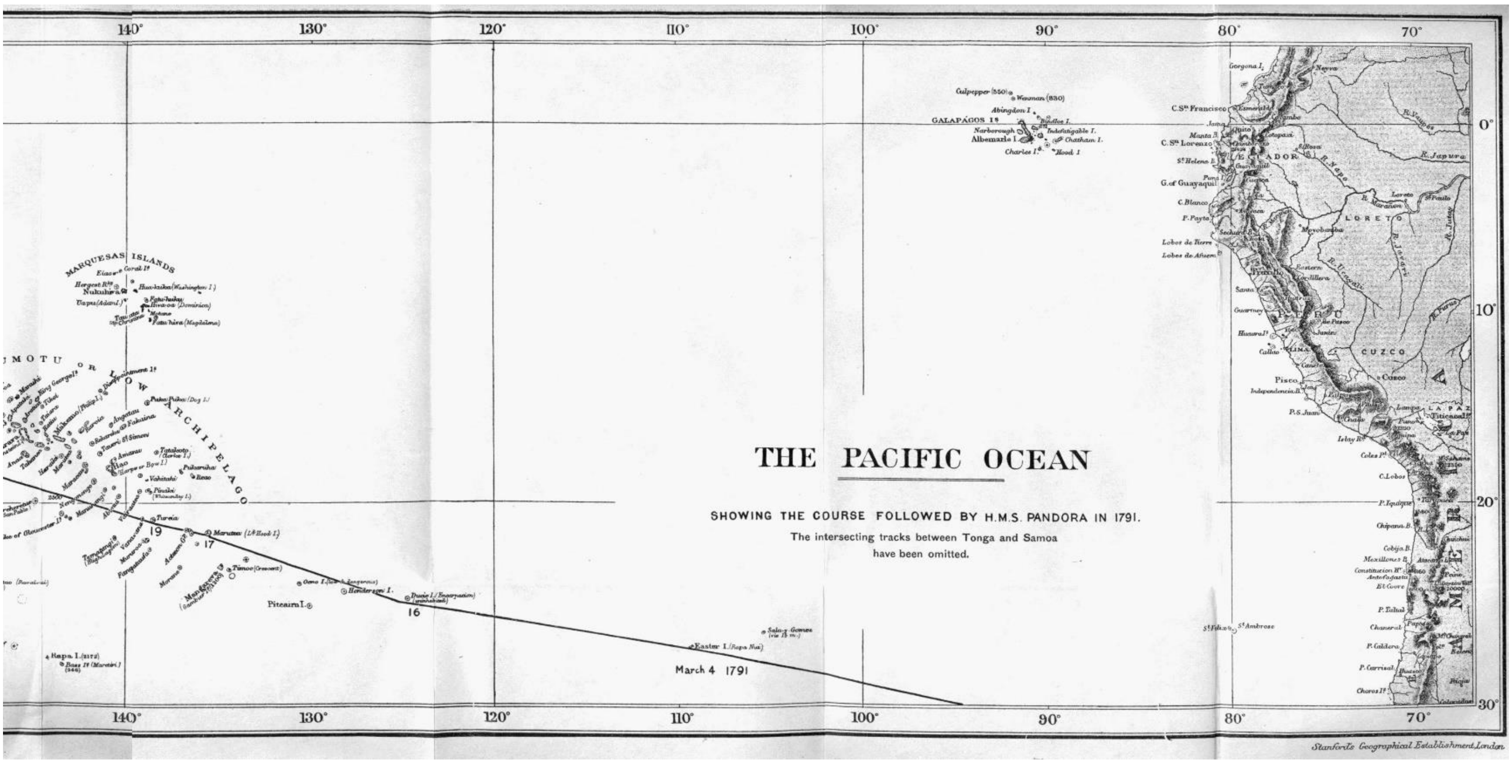
This page has been intentionally left blank.

APPENDIX A:

MAP OF HMS *PANDORA*'S MOVEMENTS IN OCEANIA (1791)

Figure 53. Map of HMS *Pandora*'s voyage through Oceania in 1791. From *Voyage of HMS "Pandora"* by Edward Edwards, George Hamilton and Basil Thomson, London: Francis Edwards. No known copyright restrictions.




THE PACIFIC OCEAN
SHOWING THE COURSE FOLLOWED BY H.M.S. PANDORA IN 1791.
The intersecting tracks between Tonga and Samoa
have been omitted.
March 4 1791
MARQUESAS ISLANDS
LOW ARCHIPELAGO
GALAPAGOS IS
Pitcairn I.
Easter I.
Stanford's Geographical Establishment, London.

APPENDIX B:

LIST OF POLYNESIAN ARTEFACTS FROM HMS *PANDORA*

The information below – incl. the shell species identification by Thora Whitehead (Queensland Museum), for example – was largely retrieved from the two available catalogues of the HMS *Pandora* collection (Campbell and Gesner 2000, Gesner 2016), but has been revised by the author.

WOODEN CLUBS

1	MA1351	X = 15.2, Y = 8.3	L 40 cm	
2	MA1394	X = 15.2, Y = 8.3	L 87 cm	
3	MA1395.1	X = 15.3, Y = 8.2	L 60.5 cm	
4	MA1395.2		L 66 cm	
5	MA4743	89	L 106.5 cm	
6	MA4809	87	L 97 cm	
7	MA4810	87	L 100 cm	
8	MA4821		L 100 cm	
9	MA4822	89	L 107 cm	
10	MA4852	89	L 132.5 cm	
11	MA6567	90	L 8.3 cm	[fragment]
12	MA7853.1	166	L 23 cm	[fragment]
13	MA7946	164		
14	MA7947	164	L 19.5 cm	[fragment]
15	MA7970	109	L 18/10.5 cm	[2 fragments]

STONE POUNDERS

1	MA1143	X = 15.9, Y = 5.5	H 15.8 cm
2	MA4138		H 11.5 cm
3	MA4724	87	H 17.2 cm
4	MA7954	92	H 15 cm
5	MA8220	185	H 18 cm

STONE ADZE BLADES

1	MA1123	X = 15.3, Y = 6.7	L 25.5 cm
2	MA1159		L 24 cm
3	MA1186	X = 15.7, Y = 7.7	L 19.7 cm
4	MA1311	X = 15.7, Y = 8.6	L 14 cm

5	MA1387	X = 15.3, Y = 8.2	L 17.9 cm	
6	MA1563	X = 15.9, Y = 9.4	L 11.2 cm	
7	MA4506	89	L 24.2 cm	
8	MA4520	87	L 15.4 cm	
9	MA4521	88	L 14 cm	
10	MA4618	87	L 11.3 cm	
11	MA4762	89	L 12.4 cm	
12	MA4812	88	L 10.5 cm	
13	MA4876	87	L 18.5 cm	
14	MA4910	89	L 11.7 cm	
15	MA4927		L 28 cm	
16	MA6273		L 4.3 cm	
17	MA7638	91	L 28 cm	
18	MA7721	92	L 22.3 cm	
19	MA7799	92	L 7.3 cm	
20	MA7857	92		
21	MA8134	94	L 18.5 cm	
22	MA8189	183	L 13.8 cm	
23	MA8236		L 19.5 cm	
24	MA8270	185	L 19 cm	
25	MA8519	107	L 8 cm	[broken]
26	MA8914		L 13.5 cm	

FISHHOOKS

1	MA1435		L 7.8 cm	shell (*Pinctada m.*)
2	MA4101	X = 16.0, Y = 9.9	L 6 cm	coconut
3	MA4547	90	L 10.5 cm	bone
4	MA4587	89	L 16 cm	
5	MA4588	87		wood
6	MA4632	89	L 4.8 cm	bone
7	MA4785	87	L 4.2 cm	shell (*Pinctada m.*)
8	MA6284	88	L 3.6 cm	shell
9	MA6494	90	L 6.2 cm	shell
10	MA8006	92	L 4.5 cm	shell
11	MA8565	109	L 6,5 cm	wood
12	MA8595	111	L 4.5 cm	shell
13	MA8721	90	L 29 cm	wood, plant fibre[97]

[97] Please note that the list of Polynesian artefacts from HMS *Pandora* features only two objects found with remnants of plant fibres attached to them; these are fishhook MA8721 and unidentified object MA8728.

TWO-COMPONENT BONITO LURES (SHELL HOOKS)

1	MA6375	88	L 4 cm	
2	MA4744	89?	L 4.5 cm	

TWO-COMPONENT BONITO LURES (SHELL SHANKS)

1	MA157		L 3.7 cm	[fragment]
2	MA1509	X = 16.5, Y = 8.0	L 3.6 cm	[fragment]
3	MA1723	X = 14.5, Y = 9.7	L 7.8 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
4	MA1730	X = 14.6, Y = 9.5	L 11 cm	
5	MA4072	X = 15.0, Y = 9.7	L 9.5 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
6	MA4113	X = 15.7, Y = 9.7	L 8.4 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
7	MA4162	Sph	L 8.8 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
8	MA4546	88	L 8.4 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
9	MA4563		L 5.6 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
10	MA4580	87	L 9.3 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
11	MA4593	Sph	L 9.2 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
12	MA4613.1	89	L 3.8 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
13	MA4613.2	89	L 7.5 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
14	MA4613.3	87	L 7.4 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
15	MA4646	89	L 7.5 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
16	MA4709	89	L 7.7 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
17	MA4736	87	L 8 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
18	MA4757	89	L 7.7 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
19	MA4779	87	L 9.3 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
20	MA6336	90	L 9 cm	
21	MA6387	90	L 8.1 cm	
22	MA6633	90	L 6.8 cm	
23	MA7678	92	L 9.3 cm	
24	MA7711	92	L 5.8 cm	[fragment]
25	MA7719.1	92	L 4.8 cm	[fragment]
26	MA7719.2	92	L 5 cm	[fragment]
27	MA7983	92	L 5.3 cm	[fragment]
28	MA7985	90	L 8.9 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
29	MA8023.1	90	L 6 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
30	MA8023.2	90	L 3.1 cm	[2 fragments]
31	MA8023.3	Sph	L 3.1 cm	[fragment]
32	MA8025	91	L 6.5 cm	
33	MA8098	185	L 6.9 cm	
34	MA8146	94	L 8.6 cm	
35	MA8180	185	L 8.9 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
36	MA8194	185	L 8.9 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
37	MA8232		L 9 cm	
38	MA8504		L 7.8 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
39	MA8598	203	L 6.6 cm	
40	MA8653	90	L 7 cm	
41	MA8692	107	L 9 cm	

42	MA8730	109	L 8.5 cm	
43	MA8754		L 7 cm	

THREE-COMPONENT BONITO LURES (SHELL FACING PLATES)

1	MA762		L 11.4 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
2	MA1550.2		L 12.7 cm	
3	MA1550.3		L 12 cm	
4	MA1567	X = 15.2, Y = 10.8	L 14.8 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
5	MA4813	88	L 12.2 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
6	MA6287	90	L 14.5 cm	
7	MA7901	92	L 11.6 cm	
8	MA8237	91	L 12 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
9	MA8537	111	L 9 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
10	MA8769	166	L 10.9 cm	

THREE-COMPONENT BONITO LURES (BONE SHANKS)

1	MA21	Sph	L 15.4 cm
2	MA690	X = 12.1, Y = 10.3	L 15.2 cm
3	MA1550.1	X = 14.4, Y = 10.0	L 11.8 cm
4	MA4091	X = 15.1, Y = 9.8	L 14.5 cm
5	MA4548	89	
6	MA6641	90	L 14 cm
7	MA7867	92	L 14 cm
8	MA8221	185	L 18 cm
9	MA8275	185	L 14.5 cm

TAHITIAN MOURNER'S COSTUME (COCONUT HUSK COMPONENTS)

1	MA4123	X = 15.2, Y = 9.6	L 2.4 cm	
2	MA4143	Sph	L 2 cm	
3	MA4529	89	L 1.7 cm (smallest), L 3 cm (largest)	11 items
4	MA4554	90	L 2.5 cm (smallest), L 3.5 cm (largest)	4 items
5	MA4568	89	L 3.1 cm (smallest), L 3.4 cm (largest)	3 items
6	MA4571	89	L 1.8 cm (smallest), L 3.7 cm (largest)	12 items
7	MA4584	89	L 2.3 cm	
8	MA4595		L 4 cm, L 4.5 cm	2 items
9	MA4680	89	L 2.8 cm	
10	MA6203	87	L 2.7 cm	

TAHITIAN MOURNER'S COSTUME (PEARL SHELL SLIVERS)

Please note that some of these objects are broken.

1	MA668	X = 10.5, Y = 10.5	L 2.8 cm	*Pinctada* species
2	MA1182	X = 13.4, Y = 9.4	L 2.1 cm	*Pinctada* species
3	MA1755		L 3.3 cm	*Pinctada* species
4	MA6326	109	L 1.7 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
5	MA6374	88	L 2.2 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
6	MA6383.1	90	L 3.3 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
7	MA6383.2	90	L 0.9 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
8	MA6383.3	90	L 2.1 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
9	MA6383.4	90	L 2.1 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
10	MA6383.5	90	L 1.6 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
11	MA6424.1	90	L 2.5 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
12	MA6424.2	90		*Pinctada margaritifera*
13	MA6502.1	90	L 2.2 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
14	MA6502.2	90	L 1.6 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
15	MA6548	90	L 2.5 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
16	MA6561			*Pinctada* species
17	MA7904		L 1.6 cm	*Pinctada* species

TAHITIAN MOURNER'S COSTUME (SHELL COMPONENTS)

1	MA4528	89	L 5.9 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
2	MA4532	89	L 10.5 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
3	MA4729.1	87	L 12.9 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
4	MA4729.2	87Sph	L 13.6 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
5	MA4729.3	87Sph	L 13.5 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
6	MA4738	87	L 12.5 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
7	MA4799	88	L 7.2 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
8	MA4808	90	L 12.4 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
9	MA4850	87	L 6.8 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
10	MA6230	89	L 10.3 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
11	MA6237	87	L 5.6 cm	*Pinctada* species
12	MA6436	90	L 7.5 cm	*Pinctada* species
13	MA7685	90	L 15.5 cm	*Pinctada* species

ADORNMENT

1	MA1722	X = 14.4, Y = 9.6	D 11.2 cm	*Trochus niloticus;* bracelet
2	MA4679	89	L 4.6 cm	bone; ornament or pendant
3	MA7734	90Sph	D 10.2 cm	shell; bracelet
4	MA8225	165	D 9.5 cm	shell; bracelet (fragment)
5	MA8558		L 9 cm	shell; bracelet (fragment)

CONCH SHELLS

1	MA1740	X = 16.4, Y = 9.0	L 36 cm	*Charonia tritonis*
2	MA8176		L 33 cm	Note: two holes
3	MA8604	204	L 36 cm	Note: two holes

OCTOPUS LURES (SHELL COMPONENTS)

1	MA736		L 7.2 cm	*Cypraea tigris*
2	MA778	X = 31.5, Y = 7.3	L 6.5 cm	*Cypraea* species
3	MA1396.2		L 5.1 cm	*Cypraea tigris*
4	MA4564	89	L 4.7 cm	*Cypraea tigris*
5	MA4590	87	L 7.2 cm	*Cypraea tigris*
6	MA4898	89	L 7.4 cm	*Cypraea tigris*
7	MA6208	88	L 3.6 cm	*Cypraea tigris*
8	MA6235	87	L 5.5 cm	*Cypraea tigris*
9	MA6249	90	L 4.3 cm	*Cypraea tigris*
10	MA7764	92	L 7 cm	*Cypraea tigris*
11	MA7829	181	L 5.2 cm	*Cypraea tigris*
12	MA7913	181	L 7 cm	*Cypraea tigris*
13	MA8018	90	L 6.3 cm	*Cypraea tigris*

OCTOPUS LURES (STONE WEIGHTS)

1	MA4665	89	L 9.3 cm
2	MA7706	92	L 8.3 cm
3	MA8046	92	L 8 cm
4	MA8279	183	L 9.2 cm

SHELL (ADZE?) BLADES OR SCRAPING IMPLEMENTS

1	MA1161	X = 15.5, Y = 7.8	L 8.2 cm	*Tridacna maxima*
2	MA1699	X = 14.4, Y = 10.4	L 14 cm	*Tridacna maxima*
3	MA8144	185	L 8.5 cm	*Tridacna maxima*
4	MA8230	185	L 9.8 cm	*Tridacna maxima*

MODIFIED SHELLS

Please note that many of these objects are broken/chipped and that some of these shells might have been adornments.

1	MA776	X = 31.5, Y = 7.3	L 5.8 cm	*Cypraea maculifera*
2	MA777.1	X = 31.5, Y = 7.3	L 8.1 cm	*Cypraea maculifera*
3	MA1069		L 4.9 cm	
4	MA1388		L 6 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
5	MA1396.1		L 9.8 cm	
6	MA1609		D 3.5 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
7	MA1724	X = 14.5, Y = 9.7	D 3.4 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
8	MA1780		L 3.5 cm	*Lopha cristagalli*
9	MA4067	X = 15.3, Y = 10.4	D 3.9 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
10	MA4503		D 17 cm	
11	MA4579.1	87	L 9.2 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
12	MA4579.2		L 6 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera* [2 fragments]
13	MA4753	87	L 7 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
14	MA4788	87	L 6 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
15	MA4825	87	L 3.3 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
16	MA4870	87		
17	MA6212.1	88	L 4.3 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
18	MA6212.2	88?	L 2.7 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
19	MA6589	90	D 9.1 cm	adornment?
20	MA7746	92	L 3 cm	
21	MA7752.1	92	L 2.1 cm	
22	MA7752.2	92?	L 2.1 cm	
23	MA7820.1	94	L 3.5 cm	
24	MA7852		D 15.5 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera* adornment?
25	MA8191.1		L 7 cm	*Pinctada margaritifera*
26	MA8191.2		L 7.3 cm	
27	MA8248		L 4.8 cm	
28	MA8589		L 8.5 cm	adornment?
29	MA8622	110	L 11 cm	adornment?

OTHER / UNKNOWN

1	MA86	X = 19.1, Y = 10.1	L 24.8 cm	wood
2	MA1121	X = 15.2, Y = 7.9	L 13.3 cm	bone
3	MA4103		L 1.2 cm	shark tooth
4	MA4141	Sph		coconut
5	MA4605	89	L 15.6 cm	bone
6	MA4664		L 7.2 cm	
7	MA4695	87	L 4.8 cm	bone
8	MA4784	88	L 6.4 cm	
9	MA4789		L 5 cm	
10	MA4792	88		

11	MA4853	89	L 111 cm	wood, *Casuarina equisetifolia* Note: found in association with wooden clubs
12	MA4869	87	L 6.7 cm, 4.4 cm, 4 cm	coconut [3 fragments]
13	MA4946	Sph	L 4.2 cm	bone
14	MA6422		L 1.2 cm	shark tooth
15	MA6630		L 10 cm	
16	MA7681.1	91	L 7.2 cm	coconut
17	MA7681.2	91	L 7.3 cm	wood
18	MA8673	206	L 17 cm	wood
19	MA8674.1			wood
20	MA8728	90	L 13.4 cm	wood, plant fibre