

The Heterogeneity of Small Sculptures on Easter Island before 1886

Received 4 October 1979

THOR HEYERDAHL

EASTER ISLAND ART has a unique reputation for its sophisticated originality but also for its repetitious monotony. An ethnologist, art student, or dealer is expected to recognize any sculpture in stone or wood from Easter Island and identify it by its proper Rapanui name as a *moai kavakava*, *moai papa*, *rei miro*, *tahonga*, *ua*, and so on. It therefore came as a great surprise to the scientific world when Lavachery (1939), during the Franco-Belgian Expedition to Easter Island in 1934, discovered such a quantity of heterogeneous petroglyphs all over the barren landscape that he, as the only archaeologist of the expedition, devoted all his fieldwork to the study and registration of this so far totally overlooked aspect of Easter Island art.

It follows that Lavachery would be among the first to come to Oslo to inspect the nearly 1000 stone carvings obtained from various families on the island by the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition shortly before departure in 1956. How many of them were ancient, and, if new, what did they reflect of local motifs and old traditions? Perhaps Lavachery was better prepared than anyone else for this new explosion of Easter Island art. His findings two decades earlier of an exuberance of art motifs nonexistent on the island except where they were carved on immovable rock was to him a forewarning that the secretive and superstitious population might have carried into security all such portable objects as would have been stolen or destroyed if left about. The homogeneity of the monumental statues and the heterogeneity of the petroglyphs had nothing in common except that they could not be removed, and there was a gap between them difficult to explain (Lavachery 1965, 1976).

Thor Heyerdahl organized and led the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island and the eastern Pacific in 1955 and 1966. He is a member of the Norwegian Academy of Sciences and Chairman of the Board of the Kon-Tiki Museum in Oslo.

Overwhelmed by the seemingly inexplicable variety and quantity of lava sculptures partly emerging from long-time hiding and partly freshly carved, the author subsequently visited the 64 museums and private collections throughout the world known to possess art objects from Easter Island acquired before the period of commercialization. The rich harvest was described and illustrated in a monograph together with extracts from observations and statements with bearing on the topic published by earlier visitors, the importance of which had hitherto not been apparent (Heyerdahl 1976).

There is, in fact, ample historic evidence that Easter Island art was extremely diversified in the period before commercialization, and one can follow the trend that gradually led observers to the contrary impression. It may be said that one legendary and two historic persons must share the blame for this misconception: the immigrant hero-king Tuu-ko-ihu, the Tahitian Bishop Tepano Jaussen, and the Tahitian sheep ranger Alexander P. Salmon.

Undoubtedly the most popular and best known Easter Island wood carving is the *moai kavakava*, produced in all sizes and endless quantities from pre-European times until the present. Its original popularity was based on the tradition that it was intended to immortalize a physical type that would otherwise be forgotten. The still undistorted traditions prior to 1868 recalled Tuu-ko-ihu as an immigrant king who came from the west, from the direction of Polynesia, and found the large statues already present. Seeing the dying survivors of another people hiding in the Puna Pau topknot quarries, he carved the first *moai kavakava* as a long-eared, hook-nosed, goatee-bearded, and emaciated portrait figure lest this people should be forgotten. So much for tradition. It is certain that, along with this belief, growing generations went on slavishly copying a common prototype until the first splendid examples fell into the hands of Captain Cook's party in 1774. Appreciated by the Englishmen and described by them in their widely read travelogues, the *moai kavakava* and a few constantly repeated figures of a similar character soon became famous in the outside world as fashionable collector's items. The first missionaries ordered all pagan wood carvings burned. Bishop Jaussen, however, requested all that were not yet destroyed be sent to him in Tahiti; shortly after, Salmon stimulated commercial mass production.

The first attempt to understand and systematize Easter Island art was made by Jaussen, who never personally visited the island but led the local mission from Tahiti, where he also had close contact with the many Easter Islanders transferred to French Oceania in the earliest period of acculturation. Apart from the written tablets, or *kohau rongo-rongo*, which the Bishop probably saved from oblivion, he classed the Rapanui wood carvings into five types: *ua* (anthropomorphic club), *ao* and *rapa* (large and small dance paddles), *reimiro* (boat-shaped pectoral), *tahonga* (ball-shaped pectoral), and *moai* (human statuette). In subsequent years, Métraux (1940:249-263) added only the *moai aringa* (double-headed image) to this list of classifications. Jaussen quotes residents in Tahiti stating that these wooden objects served as insignia of learned men, and some were carried by the singers during solemn festivals.

In addition to these five forms of wood carvings, the Bishop illustrates two stone sculptures. One, a monumental *moai* with its superimposed topknot, is so unlike any statue on Easter Island that it is clearly drawn from verbal description by others. The second, however, is a typical *moai maea*, or household image of stone, to which the Bishop makes only a brief reference in the text. It represents an elongated animal resembling a *moko* with a rat's head carved in high relief over a vaulted stone, and is so typical for the class of stone

sculpture never carried about in public that one may assume the drawing to be made from an actual specimen, possibly by one of the Bishop's local informants. Apart from this drawing, Jaussen makes no reference to the house images, nor were any included in his private collection later sent to the Congrégation des Sacrés-Coeurs in Europe. Due to his well-known interest, Jaussen received photographs of the selection of small stone carvings brought to Chile by the Gana expedition in 1870, but none of these were of the type illustrated in the Bishop's drawing (Jaussen 1893:8–12).

Although the Bishop's informants in Tahiti, for lack of better information, deceived him in their bogus attempts to read the tablets, the little they knew about the use of these and other wood carvings was probably genuine. Brother Eugène Eyraud, the first missionary to arrive and the first foreigner to settle ashore on Easter Island, wrote in a letter to his congregation (Eyraud 1864:54): "I have occasionally seen the natives taking these statues, lifting them into the air, making some gestures, and accompanying all of it with a sort of dance and an unimpressive song. What do they mean by that? I believe they do not know much about it. They do quite simply what they have seen their fathers do, without giving it any further thought. If you ask them what it means, they answer you as about their games, that such is the custom of the country."

Corroborative evidence from other observers indicate that all *moai* carved from wood functioned in songs and dances. Geiseler (1883:44) observed: "During the singing, a carved figure representing a woman is usually moved by the leader of the choir, also on one leg in time with the dance." The Easter Islanders themselves distinguish between four types of wooden *moai*: the emaciated and long-eared male *moai kavakava* (image with ribs), the well-fed male with pierced but not elongated earlobes known as *moai tangata* (image of mankind), the flat-bodied and often hermaphrodite female *moai papa* (image of earth, probably earth mother), and the *moai tangata-manu* (image of man-bird) which is a man with a bird's head. Some specimens of the latter leave no doubt that it is a human being wearing a bird mask, as the face is shown beneath the beak, and hands with fingers are shown on the chest in addition to the false wings on the back.

The claim of the present islanders that the large, double-bladed *ao* paddles were carried as a sort of badges of rank at ceremonial occasions is borne out by a rare drawing by Julien Viaud from 1872, where feather-crowned spectators carry them like staffs at a nightly fire dance in front of the *ahu* statues (*Harper's Weekly*, 26 April 1873; reproduced in Heyerdahl 1976:Fig. 4). The strikingly similar but much smaller double-bladed *rapa* paddle probably had a similar function. Its minute size, which precludes use for propulsion, is most likely due to the acute shortage of timber on Easter Island.

The function of the anthropomorphic wooden *moko*, a mythical reptile with dorsal crest, ferocious snout, but human upper face, is less clear. Métraux (1940:169) lists the *moko* as a short-handled club and cites informants who claimed it was stuck by its tail into the ground inside the door of the reed houses for defense and to stop intruders from entering. If this is correct, the defense must be assumed to have been of a magical nature, as most *moko* examined by the writer are curved and have a tapering tail very unsuitable for a good grip.

Clearly originally designed as fighting weapons were the long-handled *ua* club and the short-handled *paoa* club with Janus-head on the butt end, although they became less serviceable in actual fighting during the late wars or the Huri-moai period when missiles with sharp *mataa*, or obsidian heads, were mass produced.

The two remaining types of standardized wood carvings have perforation holes for sus-

pension cords, a trait, however, they share with many of the wooden *moai*. The *rei-miro*, a flat, crescent-shaped pectoral usually with the profile of a long-bearded face at either end, has sometimes been translated as 'wooden' pectoral, but *miro* is one of the several Rapanui words for 'ship'; to specify that one kind of pectoral is carved from wood when they all are seems meaningless. Young (1904:31), who obtained a number of recently carved reproductions in 1888, was informed that this same pectoral was formerly also known as *rei marama* (moon pectoral), and his specimens were "reproductions of similar objects which were hidden in caves after the introduction of Christianity . . . worn as breastplates on ceremonial occasions."

Completely different is the second type of standardized pectoral, the wooden *tahonga*, a ball-shaped, almost pear-shaped ornament that usually has a double human head, sometimes only one, or even a bird's head, projecting from its upper, rounder, end. Like the previously mentioned type, the *tahonga* also invariably has perforations for a suspension string near the upper end. The present-day islanders are convinced that either of these two common forms of pectoral served as paraphernalia identifying royalty.

One thing all these typologically identifiable wood carvings have in common is that they were brought forth in the open and worn or carried as badges or accessories at public performances. This does not mean that they were representative of Easter Island's range of three-dimensional art, or that these few motifs through their repetition suffice to demonstrate a lack of freedom and individualism in local productiveness. A perusal of historic records and available material shows that it is in fact the unbounded variety in style and motif of the numerically dominant aberrant and unconformable sculptures in wood and stone that typifies Easter Island art, although their very heterogeneity, combined with their obscure confinement to homes and hiding places, has left them less exposed to immediate attention.

The exquisitely carved and polished *moai* brought back by Cook's expedition as the first examples of portable Easter Island art gained popularity through time since additional specimens were to be obtained, but what impressed his companions most, to judge from their reports, was the carving of an individual human hand of almost natural size. It was assumed to be the hand of a woman dancer with long nails and fingers gracefully bent upward in a performance. No similar wood carving has subsequently been collected on Easter Island, and this specimen, now in the British Museum (Cat. no. E-P 32), cannot be fitted into the named categories but represents the aberrant series thus represented in European collections as early as any *moai*.

When lay brother Eyraud settled ashore in the first attempt to convert the pagan community to Christianity, he wrote to his congregation: "In all the houses many statuettes are seen, about thirty centimeters long, representing male figures, fishes, birds, etc. They are undoubtedly idols, but I have not noticed that they have been attributed any kinds of honors." Also in every house he found tablets or sticks covered with "figures of animals unknown on the island, which the natives trace by means of sharp stones."

Obviously, the fishes and birds, as well as the animals unknown on the island fall into the aberrant group of motifs. Father Sebastian Englert, the first missionary to settle on the island since Eyraud and his companions attempted the first unsuccessful establishment of a resident mission, posed a pertinent question: "What has happened to the great number of tablets which Brother Eyraud still saw in 1864? . . . Eyraud saw numerous tablets in the houses when the epoch of wars had just ended. What has happened to these tablets? It is difficult to understand how they have disappeared. The most probable explanation is

that they have been safeguarded in secret caves. . . . The secret caves served for hiding objects of value and of a sacred character, like the tablets.”

A passus in one of Eyraud’s letters (1948:133) tends to support this suspicion:

The time of *Mataverí* approached, and there was some agitation. Torometi above all became increasingly distrustful. He requested from me the rest of my effects, “to hide them,” he said, “as they were planning to steal from us.” As these people always distrust each other mutually, and with good reason, they are always on guard to defend and hide the little they possess. The hiding places were indeed abundant. The entire island is perforated by deep caves, some natural and others artificial, which communicate with the outside only through a very narrow opening. A few stones suffice to close and conceal the opening. The entire population of the island could, at a moment’s notice, disappear by hiding in these subterranean places. There it was that Torometi insisted on placing and safeguarding the rest of my belongings.

The extraordinary ability of the Easter Islanders to steal and hide has been put on record by every visitor to the island since the time of discovery. Ferdon (1958:144–149) seems to be the first to realize that what he termed “steal trading” was an integral part of community life on Easter Island. He shows that the practical need for secret caves continues:

It is, in fact, the only manner of control, for, as described, any available object is an insecure one as far as its owner is concerned. Since secret caves or caches may be accidentally found by another, they are guarded by dangerous personal spirits called *akuaku* who have the power to disable or kill any trespasser. . . . the need for some secret and spiritually protected “warehouse” is a functional necessity for the personal preservation of family heirlooms and capital assets—and the amassing of capital assets, usually in the form of goods, does exist as part of the cultural complex. That such caves have not been revealed, and normally will not be revealed without tremendous pressure, or until acculturation is far advanced and a cash economy has been fully accepted, is logical. The secret cave in Easter Island culture represents the one secure place for whatever kind of property an islander wishes to keep, so that if its location were once revealed and an intruder should fail to be persecuted by the guardian spirit, the one security system that is untouchable might well be broken. With its downfall, the accumulation of anything, whether it be regarded as wealth or not, would be impossible under a continued existence of the steal trading system.

Roggeveen (1908:11–12), on his one-day visit of discovery in 1722, recorded that the natives, openly and without embarrassment, tried to carry away everything they could lay their hands on, even to stealing the seamen’s hats off their heads. Agüera (1908:98–99), who came with Gonzales when the island was independently rediscovered from Peru in 1770, wrote: “. . . they are so fond of taking other people’s property that what one man obtains another will take from him, and he yields it without feeling aggrieved; the most he will do is to resist a little, then he loosens his hold of it and they remain friends . . . and I believe they conceal as much as they can get possession of below the ground, for we never saw afterwards any of the things we gave them.”

When Cook (1777:279) arrived as the next visitor in 1774, he wrote: “It was with some

difficulty we could keep the hats on our heads; but hardly possible to keep anything in our pockets, nor even what themselves had sold us; for they would watch every opportunity to snatch it from us, so that we sometimes bought the same thing two or three times over, and after all did not get it." Both he (1777:289) and his companion Forster (1777: 570-571) noticed a peculiar disproportion in the number of the sexes, and suspected women and children to have escaped into underground hiding places. They actually discovered islanders disappearing underground through narrow holes among piles of lava boulders, and Forster suspected that these communicated with natural caverns: "We should have been glad to have ascertained this circumstance, but the natives always denied us admittance into these places."

In the period between Gonzalez' visit in 1770 and Cook's arrival in 1774, one more of the periodic Huri-moai wars had evidently raged on the barren island and decimated the population. The Englishmen found the plantations abandoned and the islanders reduced to such poverty and distress that Forster (1777:vol. 1, 580-581) commented on the fact that it was only their urgent needs that "prompted them to expose to sale several articles which perhaps they would not have parted with so easily under other circumstances." In fact, neither the early Dutch, nor even the previous Spaniards who had remained ashore for six days, had been shown any portable art, although the Englishmen were now offered a variety of paraphernalia and wooden figurines in no way restricted to the classifiable types. Other than the elegant dancer's hand which so much impressed the visitors, at least three other aberrant carvings are associated with Cook's party. One is a stout and stubby male figurine seated in a squatting position with both hands held behind above the rectum; the burly face has a goatee and inlaid eyes, but the broad nose is not aquiline and the ears are not elongated but round and excessively flaring. Its early British Museum catalogue number directly precedes that of the wooden hand and thus confirms its origin (E-P 31; Heyerdahl 1976:Pls. 86, 87). The British Museum catalogue entry also preceding this image (E-P 30; Heyerdahl 1976:Pl. 125*b*) represents a curved fish with a bulging protrusion on the concave, ventral side; the oval tail fin is grooved, the eyes carved as circular incisions surrounded by ever larger eccentric circles covering the entire head; there are double suspension holes near the neck and a large hole by the tail. Although marked as a subsequent donation by Cumming, the provenience from Cook's voyage is argued by the catalogue number and by the additional fact that a strikingly similar curved fish with the same ventral protrusion and all the same characteristic features, although artistically more elaborated, is found in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin and there registered as collected by Forster during Cook's voyage (Cat. no. VI 236*a*; Heyerdahl 1976:Pl. 125*a*).

The small carved images had again vanished from the surface, although the women had emerged, when the French came next, twelve years later, under La Pérouse. An illustration by their artist shows the visitors engaged in measuring the tall stone statues and flirting with the women, while natives were busy stealing their hats and pulling handkerchiefs out of their pockets. La Pérouse (1798, vol. 1:321-322) now states: "We all entered into those caverns in which Mr. Forster and some officers of Captain Cook had first supposed the women might have been concealed. They are subterraneous dwelling-places, of the same form as others which I shall describe hereafter, and in which we found small faggots, the largest not exceeding five feet in length, and six inches in diameter."

There was no poverty to prompt the islanders to show a single carving to the visitors this time, and it seems evident that these were now kept in the real hiding places, whereas

the French were shown only unworked material stored in the type of underground dwellings seen also by the early Spaniards (Agüera 1908:102).

After the French, no more visits were made to Easter Island until the Russians arrived under Lisjanskij in 1804. Again, wooden figurines were offered for barter, and the very fine collection of Easter Island carvings which was transferred from the Admiralty Museum to the Ethnographic Institute in Leningrad in 1826 is generally considered to date from this visit, since the brief attempt at trading by the subsequent Russians under von Kotzebue in 1816 resulted in the visitors being driven away by stone throwing. Two of the figurines brought back by the Russians do not belong to the classifiable types: one was a male statuette with face and neck flattened from the sides, bulging eyes, no goatee beard or pendant earlobes; the other was a remarkably long and extremely thin figure stooping in an even arch, and flattened from the sides to the extent that, when seen from the front, the huge circular eyes stand out as prominent disks on either side, hiding the small ears. Raised concentric rings around the eyes continue upward to the apex, becoming hair on the crest-shaped head; the nose is sharp and straight; and the mouth is carved to arch in a grin from ear to ear, giving a most bizarre expression to this unique carving (Cat. nos. 736-203, 736-205; Heyerdahl 1976:Pls. 63a, 64, 66).

A tumultuous period for the Easter Islanders followed, with continued internal wars and raids from outsiders. An American whaling schooner that called in about 1822 carried away some women whom they later threw into the sea, while an islander was shot for mere entertainment. Beechey (1831:vol. 1, 43-50) was therefore given a mixed reception in 1825, and merely mentions some "idols" thrown into his boats for barter as a chief in a cloak and headdress of feathers came hurrying from some huts attended by men with "short clubs," probably *paoa*. Petit-Thouars (1841:vol. 2, 222-234) never managed to get ashore when he arrived in 1838, but natives visited his ship on *totoro* reed floats. He stated that from one he obtained a wood carving representing two human heads joined at their back and with inlaid eyes; probably the specimen that reached the Peabody Museum in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1851 (Cat. no. E-5307; Heyerdahl 1976:Pl. 97a). Shortly afterward, in 1860, an aberrant *moai kavakava* with two heads side by side facing in the same direction was brought to La Rochelle in France by the naval surgeon Dr. Gilles, and is now in Museum Lafaille (Heyerdahl 1976:Pls. 100, 102a). The assumption that double-headed figures were first collected by Geiseler in 1882 (Métraux 1940:257) is therefore erroneous.

During the first half of the last century, a number of most remarkable Easter Island art objects showing both weird imagination and considerable artistic ingenuity left the island. Some reached Hawaii, probably through the activities of Captain Alexander Adams, who sailed from Hawaii to Easter Island in 1806. Though he was personally unable to land, he had contacts with the captain of the slave vessel *Nancy* of New London, who had just then carried away 22 Easter Islanders. The very few known examples of stuffed *tapa* figurines from Easter Island were probably brought from the island simultaneously by some of these early slave raiders. One of these masterly manufactured figures, now in the Belfast Museum, Northern Ireland (Heyerdahl 1976:Pl. 21), was obtained in Hawaii before 1838; two other closely related specimens were probably carried directly to the *Nancy's* home port in New London together with two *tapa* animal heads and a strange Easter Island wood carving of a sea bird in a swimming position with a long upturned neck terminating in a human head. These latter specimens were all part of the old Boston

Museum collection until transferred to the Peabody Museum in 1899 (Cat. nos. 53542, 53543, 53593; Heyerdahl 1976:Pls. 16–23, 123b).

No other *tapa* figurines but these three human figures and two animal heads are preserved from Easter Island, although, to judge from the neat work and great expertness with which they had been manufactured, others undoubtedly existed. The form of the three seated human figures was determined by an ingenious inner skeleton of thin twigs held in position by stays and bindings of threads from twisted *hau* bark. Rolls and bundles of *totoro* reed were stuffed in to give the correct shape to the tight-fitting and coherent skin of *tapa* cloth which was finished with applied eyes, teeth, and fingernails. A polychrome variety of tattoo motifs were painted on. The two *tapa* animal heads that served as headwear had every aspect of representing spotted felines with gaping mouth and a round snout applied to the blunt head.

Aguëra (1908:95) and other 18th-century visitors saw huge stuffed *tapa* figures about 4 yards in length raised during ceremonies, but none of these is preserved.

Also acquired in Hawaii by Admiral Bleacher, who had failed to land on Easter Island in 1825 when he made a brief call offshore together with Beechey, was an exceptional wooden figurine of a man with his well-groomed head turned to the left side, now in the Smithsonian Institution in Washington (Cat. no. 315748; Heyerdahl 1976: Pl. 80a).

Probably one of the most bizarre and imaginative carvings from Easter Island is a composite wooden figure that once belonged to the old Brown University Collection in Rhode Island, to which nothing was added after 1840. This sculpture, now in the Peabody Museum at Harvard (Dodge 1959:18–26; Heyerdahl 1976:Pl. 121), is carved from the endemic Easter Island *toromiro* wood, and the main figure represents a hermaphrodite with penis and female breasts, yet with its back carved like the crest of a *moko* terminating in a bird's tassel. Instead of a proper head, this figure carries on top of its neck the truncated lower body of another, smaller female figure. The latter hangs crouching upside down, with its flexed legs in front, in such a way that its huge vulva with extended clitoris becomes a sort of gaping mouth with tongue for the main figure, and its round feet seem to be the bulging eyes. An additional, and still larger, vulva forms the apex of the composition, appearing as a crown or headwear on the main figure.

At the same early period, an aberrant, short-eared variety of a *moai kavakava*, worm-eaten and eroded from age, found its way to New Zealand. This large-eyed and small-eared male, with a nose so extremely long that it leaves space only for a small transverse groove substituting for the usual grinning mouth, was obtained by the Wilkes expedition in 1838–1842, and is now in the Smithsonian Institution (Cat. no. 3823; Heyerdahl 1976:Pl. 61b).

It has escaped the attention of investigators that the first known example of *rongo-rongo* script to have been seen by any outsiders also reached New Zealand in this early period. It has always been assumed that the first *rongo-rongo* signs were seen by Brother Eyraud when he settled ashore in 1864. However, a *rei miro* inscribed with a continuous row of *rongo-rongo* signs was found in the hands of Te Rangihaiata at Waikanae on New Zealand as early as March 1851, when it was presented to Sir George Grey. The piece is now in the British Museum (Cat. no. 9295; Heyerdahl 1976:40, 46a).

When the Spanish slaving schooner *Esperanza* was stranded at Caicos in the Bahamas in 1841, two large-headed, small-bodied Easter Island images were found on board, one female with a turtle carved in relief on top of the head and one male carved in a stooping position with paw-shaped feet. The slaves were rescued and their carvings, which do not

conform with the standardized types yet are undisputably of Easter Island workmanship, became part of the local G. J. Gibbs Collection until recently purchased by the American Museum of Natural History (Cat. nos. S-5315, S-6316; Heyerdahl 1976:Pl. 81).

Two of the most grotesque and aberrant Easter Island wood carvings reached Germany in the same early premissionary period and were donated by Dr. Karl Andree to the Übersee-Museum in Bremen in 1855 (Cat. nos. D.318, D.319; Heyerdahl 1976:Pls. 104, 118a). One is a flat male figure intentionally carved to appear hideous with distorted limbs, crooked neck and body, bearded face pulled in a horrible grimace, and a big boil appearing at the back of the head. The other is a seated male with a colossal, zoomorphic head and lower face drawn out into a long snout; the exaggerated pendant penis is larger and longer than the legs, one hand is holding a big ball, and the other is flexed to the right shoulder.

It is unknown whether the nearly 1000 Easter Islanders carried away from their homes during the joint Peruvian slave raid in 1862 brought any of their sculptures with them. However, two remarkable Easter Island specimens discovered archaeologically in Peru are usually accredited to them, as it otherwise would imply pre-European exchange between the island and the mainland. One of these two highly aberrant figurines, found through digging on one of the Chincha Islands off Paracas on the central coast of Peru, was presented to the British Museum by A. W. Franks in 1872. Special research carried out by Maude, Valderrama, and McCall has recently shown that none of the Easter Islanders ever worked on the Chincha Islands. It should then be borne in mind that the Paracas area was a main center of aboriginal Peruvian navigation, abounding in archaeological *guara* and other evidence of extensive maritime activity. The Chincha discovery (Cat. no. 8700; Heyerdahl 1976:Pls. 109b, 110, 111) is a wooden image of an extremely grotesque, zoomorphic male with colossal head turned up and sideways; the upper face is human with the customary shell- and obsidian-inlaid eyes, but the lower face is the long snout of a mammal with huge open mouth, tongue, and lips covered with transverse incision lines. The rear of the neck has a small projection perforated for a suspension string.

The other and no less remarkable discovery in Peru was made together with aboriginal pottery and bronze artifacts among burial goods in the ancient Chimú navigation center on the north coast, and was donated in 1886 to Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico Luigi Pigorini in Rome by two officers of the Italian Navy (Cat. no. 32571; Heyerdahl 1976:Pls. 89b, 90). The figure is that of a woman with facial features beautifully carved as on a *moai papa* with the customary eye inlay, but the body is not flat, and the woman is seated in a squatting position with her hands placed above the vulva, which in this case is carved to be pendant below the rest of the figure and even below the feet. A natural cavity running up through the wood is made to coincide with the rectum, and the torso itself is transversally perforated behind the elbows as for a suspension string. The hair is wound in an elegant topknot, and a large cup-shaped depression, probably of magical function, is scooped out in the forehead.

It was two years after the disastrous Peruvian slave raid that lay brother Eyraud arrived, in 1864. After a stay of nine months, all his property had been carried away into hiding; he was even stripped of the clothes and shoes he was wearing when a schooner making a casual call enabled him to escape. Father Roussel was with him when he courageously returned in 1866, and shortly thereafter they were joined by two more French missionaries, Father Zumbohm and Brother Escolan. They baptized the savage population and moved them together from all over the island into new wooden houses at Hangaroa. Not one

written tablet or carved image followed the families into their new homes, and the three missionaries who had not been with Eyraud on his previous visit did not even realize that such objects existed on the island. In contrast to this fact is the statement from one of the Easter Islanders transferred to Tahiti, who told Bishop Jaussen (1893:12) that his compatriots now lit their kitchen fires with their ancestral *rongo-rongo* tablets. The natives who remained on the island later told paymaster W. J. Thomson (1889:514) that "the missionaries had ordered all that could be found to be burned, with a view of destroying the ancient records, and getting rid of everything that would have a tendency to attach them to their heathenism."

The real explanation is probably that Eyraud's attitude during his previous nine months' sojourn had sufficed to make the prudent population bring their pagan heirlooms into safety before they were discovered and destroyed by the otherwise benevolent missionaries who now came and gave all of the residents new houses. In fact, Bishop Jaussen (1893:12-17) recorded how surprised the other missionaries were when a tablet was unexpectedly stumbled upon by Father Zumbohm, who brought it as a gift to him in Tahiti: ". . . the surprise of his friend Father Gaspard Zumbohm shows that Brother Eugène Eyraud had not shown a single tablet to the other missionaries on Easter Island, where he died on August 20, 1868."

Zumbohm (1880:232-233), in a letter to his congregation, admits that he had been perfectly ignorant of the very existence of *rongo-rongo* until during an excursion a boy showed him a weathered fragment of a written tablet which he found on a cliff, and seeing the missionary's excitement, a native next day fetched from hiding a well-preserved specimen in exchange for a piece of cloth. Zumbohm was subsequently shown a still larger and finer specimen, but while the barter was going on the piece suddenly vanished, and the owner said it had been burned.

The Bishop was so excited at receiving the one tablet which Zumbohm saved, which was rolled up in braids of human hair, that he admitted: "At the first opportunity I begged Father Roussel to gather together for me what he could find of these tablets, which from now on are useless to the natives." Roussel and his missionary companions now naturally had the greatest difficulties in obtaining from the natives pagan objects which supposedly were already burned. The few objects Roussel was able to assemble he obtained through the intercession of secular visitors, and he was well aware of the fact that in time of trouble the population was accustomed "to place all valuable objects in caches" (Roussel 1869:423). Even the Bishop began to realize this: ". . . if others are to be discovered in the future, it would be in old stone houses, or in the caves" (Jaussen n.d.).

In 1868, precisely when Father Roussel had been urged by the Bishop to secure tablets, a Norwegian merchant captain, Petter Arup, called at Easter Island. He obtained a fine collection of ancient images and other carvings from the local population, among them also a written tablet. When Roussel learned what the captain had obtained, he became so excited that Arup presented him with the tablet, which then went to the Bishop in Tahiti, whereas the images, a beautiful *ua* club, a double-bladed *ao* paddle, and various other carvings went to Oslo (Nielsen 1907).

With the aid of foreign visitors, the missionaries were in the end able to secure for the Bishop a total of five written tablets and a small collection of about half a dozen other wood carvings, mostly insignia of rank. This was but a fraction of the carvings of obvious antiquity that were still to emerge from hiding and leave the island with secular visitors. The finest of the carvings secured for the Mission, now in the headquarters of the Congrè-

gation des Sacrés-Coeurs in Rome, is a beautifully executed and polished human head from *toromiro* wood, carved partly as a cranium, yet with inlaid eyes, nose, and goatee beard. The cranial effect is obtained by the exposed zygomatic bone, the open hole representing *foramen magnum*, a complete absence of ears, hair, or lips; when viewed from below, the head behind the fleshless mandible opens directly into the mouth cavity (Cat. no.402; Heyerdahl 1976:Pl. 96b).

The carvings brought by Arup to the Ethnographic Museum in Oslo included many sculptures which did not fit into the Bishop's classification. Among these were a beautifully carved wooden chiton realistic in every detail and perforated, with its suspension string attached; an equally realistic fish head also carved as a pendant; a most remarkable figure carved from a crooked stick to represent a man with large head, long beard, twisted neck, and stunted legs (the beard, which protrudes beneath a small goatee, becomes the long beak of a very realistic bird when viewed in profile); and a curious pendant carved into the shape of a jar with neck and stopper, decorated with the incision of a turtle on the side (Cat. nos. 2442, 2435, 2436, 2438, 21828, 2445; Heyerdahl 1976:Pls. 52d, 53, 54, 113, 115d, 126c, 129b). A worm-eaten pendant shaped like a jar with stopper, almost identical to Arup's specimen in every detail but for the lack of the turtle incision, later reached the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh (Cat. no. 1950232; Heyerdahl 1976:52c).

No sooner had Captain Arup left when the English battleship *Topaze* arrived the same year. The ship's surgeon, J. L. Palmer (1870a:111, 1870b: 180) was shown a wide variety of wooden effigies still in the hands of the Easter Islanders. During the visit of the battleship, some of the islanders quite simply had their figurines wrapped in *tapa* and tucked away into niches; some even had them openly suspended in their wrapping from the ridgepoles of native huts. Palmer recorded seeing some wooden images of great antiquity, whereas others seemed to be only a few months old. Other than human figurines, he saw what he terms very odd and grotesque effigies carved to represent shark forms, lizards, a man with a tucan's bill in place of a nose, distorted fowls, as well as nondescript images. In spite of the clerics awakened interest, none of these was shown to the missionaries, yet Palmer remarked that "from their decay, these must have been of extreme age." He copied four zoomorphic creatures he saw incised on the heads of some of the statuettes: one was a monster with human face, extended earlobes, a long, flowing beard, and extremely long hair undulating to form the striped body of a whale or fish terminating in a forked tail, three of which were swimming together; a second was a squatting animal resembling a frog with stylized human head, probably the animal the early Gonzalez expedition saw tattooed on the young people, "the figure of a small animal resembling a toad, or frog, which they call cogé" (Agüera 1908:98). The third was a similar squatting creature, but with starfishes instead of head and hands, and a short tail; the fourth was an apparent quadruped with round head and forked tail.

The marvelous polished stone fishhooks, which rightly have been described as the apogee of stone carving art in the Pacific, were also brought out of the caches and shown to Palmer as the first foreigner. A number of these splendid basalt carvings, which the historic population has been unable to duplicate, have subsequently emerged from time to time (Heyerdahl 1961:416-426, 485; 1976:52, Pl. 15f), but they were so much treasured by the islanders that the specimens shown to Palmer went back into hiding.

Also unavailable for barter were the small sacred stone sculptures that no one so far had been able to collect, although one had clearly been shown to Jaussen or to the person who

provided him with the line drawing of the winged lizard on the vaulted base. Palmer (Heyerdahl and Ferdon 1961:287) was the first to record that small stone figurines also existed and that, unlike the wood carvings, these were not brought forth in public but retained in hiding. He learned that these small images had short ears, in marked contrast to the large *ahu* statues. Only two years would pass, however, before even the secret of their existence should be shared with the outside world.

In 1870, the Chilean corvette *O'Higgins* arrived under the command of I. L. Gana. With him was a young cadet, Policarpo Toro, who years later was to come back and annex the hitherto unclaimed island for Chile. During this initial visit, three ancient *rongo-rongo* tablets reappeared, and left the island for Chile under the noses of the missionaries together with some remarkable images of various types. The most unusual among the wood carvings was a magnificent pendant carved as a cowrie shell, now preserved in Museo Nacional de Historia Natural in Santiago, Chile (Cat. no. 5507; Heyerdahl 1976:Pl. 128). The stone carvings, due to their relative crudity as compared with the polished wooden dance figurines, never created much sensation and remained in obscurity in the storage rooms of the museum. Bishop Jaussen was to learn of their existence, however, as photographs of all these stone images were sent to him and subsequently obtained from him by the Swedish anthropologist Hjalmar Stolpe in Tahiti in 1884 (Heyerdahl 1976:50).

These stone carvings included two round but slightly flattened human heads, one with the facial features carved in relief on the broad side, the other on the narrow side. The former has deep eye concavities inlaid with black obsidian disks; the latter has the same deep eye sockets but the inlays are lost. If these stone heads had become as widely known as the wooden *moai*, it would probably have been realized long ago that the overthrown *ahu* statues with their correspondingly deep eye concavities formerly had had inlays, a fact only recently rediscovered by the modern Easter Islanders themselves. The stone heads brought forth from hiding during Gana's visit have nothing but the inlaid eyes in common with the large *ahu* busts; they have short ears or no ears at all, the nose is carved flat and broad in relief and splits upward into curved eyebrows. Both have a marked goatee beard, and in one sculpture this goatee adjoins a full beard running up the cheeks. The broad head has a marked cup-shaped depression pecked into the left cheek and a vulva symbol incised on the forehead; the narrow head has incision lines for hair and a marked little topknot. Whereas all Middle Period *ahu* statues are carved from the yellowish grey Rano Raraku tuff, these small house images are carved from the white tuff found at the peninsula of Poike and rubbed with oil.

Three of the small house images obtained by the Gana expedition are stone plaques with images in high relief; as such, they are related to the lizardlike figure illustrated in line drawing by Jaussen. Two are elongated stone plaques, each with a human figure standing out in high relief. One represents a man with long pendant arms and stunted legs, shown *en face* with a cup-shaped depression in the center of the stomach; his topknot, goatee beard, and facial features are outlined in low relief. The other is a woman in the same pose with a cup-shaped depression for a vulva. Her stunted legs are shorter than her nose, her facial features are more marked, and her body and face are covered by several vulva symbols. She differs from the male figure in having ears and central depressions in the almond-shaped eyes. The third stone plaque is filled with two figures in high relief: one is a crouching bird-man in profile, with a huge vulva symbol incised on its seat and with the elbow resting on the knee, the hand under the long beak. In front of the bird-man is a smaller human being crouching in precisely the same manner but upside down, with a

head turned upward and shaped precisely like an egg. A flat nose is barely indicated in profile and a cup-shaped depression takes the place of the eye, while a much larger concavity of the same magical sort is pecked into the plaque behind the bird-man.

Of a completely different character is a strange three-dimensional sculpture, also obtained by the Gana expedition, that is carved from extremely hard and heavy vesicular basalt. This image represents two faces with large bulging eyes looking in opposite directions and joined at the back of the head to one common neck carved as a large, rounded peg. A figure from the same material, almost identical to this Gana specimen but with a triple instead of a double head, was found in the ruins of a *hare moa* during our visit in 1955. Related both in material and facial features was another image collected by Gana in 1870, where a single head with the same sort of mask is extended with a long neck at the back of the skull to assume a phallic appearance. Sharing the head with the penis is a small person carved in relief to ride in a crouching position with arms and legs clasping around the cylindrical shaft. A similar specimen, less phallic in appearance, subsequently reached Mr. E. Edwards in Santiago, Chile and was also reportedly found among stone ruins.

The two most remarkable stone figurines brought back by the Gana expedition were subsequently lost, probably due to their smaller size and higher artistic standards, which could compare well with those of the polished wood carvings. One was a little flat pendant of almost classic design, representing a highly stylized gaping head in profile, with teeth and tongue shown; a large, circular, cup-shaped eye forms the center of the carving, around which eyebrows and braided hair curve in elegant lines. This piece is only known from a fine drawing appearing in the University of Chile *Annals* from 1873. The other piece, also a stone pendant but somewhat larger, consists of two kneeling human figures joined at their backs. They have bulging abdomens, large heads, spiral-shaped ears, convex eyes, blunt noses, and a suspension string running through a hole between their necks. Similarly published with the rest of the Gana specimens in 1873, a good photograph was obtained by Prof. O. Wilhelm in Concepción before this sculpture disappeared from the museum (Cat. nos. 5521, 5516, 5520, 5518, 5517, 5515, 5519; Heyerdahl 1976: Pls. 148-151, 162-163, 164a, 165c, 170, 171a, 181, 215c).

In 1870, the year of Gana's visit, Dutroux-Bornier arrived from Tahiti to settle ashore with the missionaries in the first attempt at commercially exploiting Easter Island. Hoping to have the island for himself and his sheep range, he stirred up the natives into another of their civil wars, burnt down their houses, and finally compelled the two remaining missionaries to leave the island together with a considerable number of the converts. The missionaries left in 1871. Three months after their departure the Russian corvette *Vitjazj* called only for two hours, but crew members were able to obtain another old *rongo-rongo* tablet and some fine old pieces of Easter Island wood carving now in the Leningrad museum. They also were presented with one of the Bishop's tablets. From Dutroux-Bornier they learned that only 230 natives were now left on Easter Island. A few years later, this remaining population murdered both Dutroux-Bornier and his Rapanui wife. They also wanted to kill his two young daughters, but the children disappeared completely with the help of an old native who hid them in his secret cave until the rage of the search party had calmed down; then he brought them forth as imperceptibly as he had made them disappear (Thomson 1889:473; Knoche 1925:176-177).

In 1872, while Dutroux-Bornier still ruled the island alone, the French warship *La Flore* came for a visit and reported that the population had reverted to paganism. Julian Viaud (alias Pierre Loti) made a pencil drawing on the spot which shows two small stone

busts now openly set up as door posts on either side of the entrance to a primitive reed hut (Heyerdahl 1976:Fig. 10). The members of this French expedition brought back a number of images and other carvings from wood and stone, some of which are now in Rochefort and in La Rochelle. One of the stone images is a mere head with protruding forehead and marked features, which can stand on a stout truncated neck (Rochefort n.n.; Heyerdahl 1976:Pl. 153*b*); the other is a bust with the arms held at the base of a peg-shaped body. Both have features totally unlike the large *ahu* statues, but both have deep circular depressions in the eyes from which inlays are clearly lost. The material in the head is chocolate-colored, fine-grained tuff, whereas the bust (La Rochelle n.n.; Heyerdahl 1976:Pl. 157*d*) is carved from a brownish grey vesicular lava. Most remarkable among the wood carvings is a piece to which the author has had no access, but which was published and illustrated by Stephen-Chauvet (1946:Pls. 114, 115). It represents a legless bird with a huge human head, and this variety of a reversed bird-man has its large eyes displaced to give room for a peculiar disk-shaped protruberance at the root of the nose.

In 1877, another French warship, the *Seignelay*, visited the island, and from the articles written by a passenger on board (Pinart 1878*a*, 1878*b*), we learn that the now-savage population was reduced to a total of 111, of which a mere 26 were women, and there was not one European left. In the Museum für Völkerkunde, Leipzig, is a sculpture duly recorded as collected by the visitors with the *Seignelay*, and reported in 1881 by Schmeltz and Krause (1881: 236). This is again a unique piece carved from a twisted branch of *toromiro* wood into a figure with zoomorphic head and human body. The ears and the muzzle with the mouth are those of a mammal, whereas the nose which forks into eyebrows curving above the inlaid eyes are human. The big head is turned upward and twisted to the left, the extremely long and slim torso is bent in an arch in the other direction and the twist continues down past an erect penis to the stunted legs, separated by grooves except for the feet, which are joined as a disk. The long, thin arms are separated from the body with one hand on the stomach and one across the lumbar region (Cat. no. Po 436; Heyerdahl 1976:Pl. 112).

The Germans now sent an expedition to conduct proper ethnographic studies on Easter Island. At the request of Professor Bastian of the Kaiserliches Museum, Commander Geiseler visited the island with the *Hyäne* in 1882 with the direct objective of studying the customs of the people. To the good fortune of the Germans, the Tahitian-born Alexander P. Salmon (alias Tati) had just arrived to succeed the murdered Dutroux-Bornier. Salmon was on very friendly terms with the few remaining islanders, most of whom were now working in Tahiti and Mangareva, and he was able to converse freely with them partly because he had studied their Rapanui tongue with their compatriots living in Tahiti, and partly because the few islanders now left locally had been trained in Tahitian by the missionaries who, during their years on the island, had introduced the Gospel and rites as translated for use in French Oceania. With Salmon's aid, Geiseler obtained the first detailed information on the small sculptures. As to the former introduction of Christianity, Geiseler (1883:31-32, 131) says, "hardly any memory of it was preserved. . . . It was thus noticed that an old Easter Islander made the sign of the cross each time he was offered food on board, but at the same time he had the greatest faith in both his wooden and stone images, to which he paid honors."

We learn that the two main gods were the non-Polynesian Makemake and Haua, and these received first-fruit offerings, but otherwise no attention except through the various small wooden images, of which there were still many left on the island. The natives were

most unwilling to dispose of them, as they were carried about in the honor of Makemake at certain feasts. Geiseler recorded that the collective name for all wooden figures, whether representing human beings or animals, was *moai toromiro*, as opposed to *moai maea*, the stone images. The latter belonged to another class of sculptures, and had a different function: "The stone idols are now often merely from two to three feet tall and very crudely carved. In the majority of cases it is sufficient to carve a head with a face, and only these heads are brought into the dwellings. These images always remain in the huts, and are a kind of family image, of which each family possesses at least one, whereas the wooden images were brought along to the feasts."

In front of some huts Geiseler saw a type of stone statuette about 3 feet tall and carrying proportionate topknots of red tuff. He also refers to a double-faced image of white tuff. One type, he says, carved from red tuff and with its mouth painted white, is "nearly always used by women."

With Salmon's help, Geiseler succeeded in obtaining some samples of both *moai toromiro* and *moai maea*, which were distributed to various imperial museums throughout Germany. Noteworthy among the *moai toromiro* is an extremely eroded figure of a stooping male with bulging eyes, small ears, no goatee, and the arms curved toward the back, where there is a bird's tail-tassel; another image is a loaf-shaped head with short neck, no ears, facial features carved in relief, and an oval depression scooped out on the left side of the forehead; there are also a pendant carved as a fish head and several twisted sticks carved to represent eels. In all likelihood, some of the crescent-shaped pectorals carved like fishes that reached German museums at an early date also came back with this same expedition, although this fact cannot be ascertained (Cat. nos. Cologne 40586, Dresden 18367, 18365, 18414, 18369; Heyerdahl 1976: Pls. 92, 93, 95a, 126b, 127c, e). Among the *moai maea* is an oval stone mask carved in high relief on a piece of whitish tuff, the entire face densely covered by numerous incised vulva symbols. Ears are not carved, the eyes are almond shaped with central depressions, the nose narrow, and the mouth area strongly damaged. There is a conical depression on the forehead between the eyebrows, and on either side of the nose is a cup-shaped depression (Dresden 18427; Heyerdahl 1976:Pl. 155b). Another stone head, now in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna, is carved from reddish tuff into an oval mask with a peg-shaped neck. Ears are again absent, the long slim nose branches into curved eyebrows and is raised in relief like the mouth, whereas the eyes are only slightly convex without pupils (Cat. no. 20.055; Heyerdahl 1976:Pl. 156e). A further specimen has the peg-shaped neck extended to become a full torso with arms down the sides and hands flexed in front at the base, in clear imitation of the large Middle Period monuments. That the unfinished, blind statues in the Rano Raraku quarries had served as model is apparent from the fact that the face is completely eyeless. Ears are not indicated, however, and the mouth is carved as a long transverse groove. The material is reddish scoria partly covered with white paint (Berlin VI 4937; Heyerdahl 1976:Pl. 157a). Undoubtedly the most remarkable piece collected by Geiseler's expedition is a large and heavy weatherworn boulder of very hard basalt, now in the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde in Dresden. It is carved into a mythical creature perhaps related to the froglike animal recorded by the early Spaniards. The head is human but emerges directly from the bulky body like a mask with no neck, and it is turned to face straight upward. Erosion of the hard rock has left traces of a raised human nose and lips, the eyes are carved as large, deep concavities, and the lower face is extended into a very long and broad full beard. The bulky, zoomorphic body has no arms, but instead the long hind legs are

stretched forward from either side of a short and stumpy tail, reaching the chest area below the face, where they terminate in three fingers and a thumb carved as extremely long and curved claws. A pronounced feature is a deep, cup-shaped depression centrally placed on the back. The monster was evidently well known on Easter Island prior to its removal in 1882, as Paymaster Weisser brought the sculpture to Germany accompanied with a tag stating that the islanders considered this carving to be as old as the oldest statue on the island (Cat. no. 18426; Heyerdahl 1976:Pls. 172, 173).

A peculiar combination of two Easter Island wood carvings attached to either end of the same string of *hau* (*hibiscus*) bark was donated to the Völkerkunde Museum in Berlin by the German consul in Valparaiso in 1883, thus possibly coming from the Geiseler expedition the previous year. On one end of the string is a *tahonga* ball with traces of gnawing from island rats; on the other end is attached still one more variety of the hybrids between man and bird, both pieces carved from *toromiro* wood. The very long and flattish body of the figure is that of a bird, almost seallike, but with long, thin, and pointed wings stretched back almost to the split tail. The neck and head is human, the face has a long nose projecting from the head like a beak, but with the alae marked, and this together with the projecting lips of a human mouth, deepset eyes, and small ears combine to leave the impression of a caricature of a person, though this was hardly the intention of the artist (Cat. no. VI 4875; Heyerdahl 1976; Pls. 105, 106).

On the basis of the great number of Easter Island carvings which circulated in Europe at this time, the German ethnologist R. Andree (1899: 389–390) wrote:

Objects from Easter Island are readily recognized among other figures from the Pacific area by their peculiar style, particularly one class which may be described as directly grotesque, and which is striking due to the distorted body position and a mixture of animal and human forms. A vivid imagination among the local aborigines, which is utterly independent and in no sense due to outside influence, has here produced figures which, as to boldness in interpretation, may compare well with the hybrids of animal and human forms of the ancient Egyptians or American Indians. Birds, lizards, and fishes were included in compositions with human beings. The composite figures thus obtained, and others more common, in proper human form although distorted, were used as small house idols. Some were termed *Moi Toromiro*, wooden idols, to distinguish them from those carved from stone, called *Moi Maië*. These small idols served the natives in their veneration of the great main god *Máke-Máke*. They were kept wrapped up in fibres or small bags, and were only brought forth and hung on the owners at the feasts for the god, when the latter was offered bananas, fish, and eggs. They were considered the most effective mediators between the realms of men and gods, and probably had even other functions not known to us, which decided their shape and general appearance.

This impression of diversity and weird imagination, which at this time made Easter Island art stand out in marked contrast to the stereotype carvings elsewhere in Polynesia, was soon to change when commercial mass production began, but not until still another and not less important expedition had conducted thorough investigations on the island. Salmon was still alone with the Easter Islanders and once more became the aid of the visitors when the U.S. *Mohican* arrived in 1886, and Paymaster W. J. Thomson benefitted from his good relations with the remaining population. Thomson (1889:569, 470, 498)

found the people “superstitious to an extent that was extraordinary, and they were constantly under the dread from demons and supernatural beings.” He recorded that:

Deified spirits were believed to be constantly wandering about the earth and to have more or less influence over human affairs. . . . Gnomes, ghouls, and goblins were believed to inhabit inaccessible caves and niches in the rock and to have the power of prowling about after dark. The small wooden and stone images known as “household gods” were made to represent certain spirits and belong to a different order from the gods, though accredited with many of the same attributes. They occupied a prominent place in every dwelling and were regarded as the medium through which communications might be made with the spirits, but were never worshipped.

Thomson was still in time to record the significant distinction between the purposes of the large statues and the household figurines: “The [*ahu*] images were designed as effigies of distinguished persons and intended as monuments to perpetuate their memory. They were never regarded as idols, and were not venerated or worshipped in any manner. The natives had their tutelary genii, gods, and goddesses, but they were represented by small wooden or stone idols, which bore no relation to the images that ornament the burial platforms.”

Apart from some specimens of the small sculptures in wood and stone, which were now once more openly displayed in the absence of the missionaries, Thomson also obtained two more of the old written tablets. His party was even conducted to a large number of interesting caves, but all shown to them were abandoned and bore evidence of having been used as dwellings and as burial places. He says: “It is reported that small images, inscribed tablets, and other objects of interest have been hidden away in such caves and finally lost through land-slides.” The party paid particular attention to the many caves at Tama point, and Thomson recorded: “No doubt there are caves in this vicinity with contracted entrances that have been covered by loose rocks and intentionally concealed. One such cavern was found by accident. It contained a small image about 3 feet high, carved out of a hard grey rock. It was a splendid specimen of the work and could be easily removed to the boat-landing at Tongariki.”

The final destiny of this piece is not known, and it was never illustrated. Most of Thomson’s collection was brought back to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, but the statue does not appear on an old photograph of Thomson’s pieces (Smithsonian 33810, presented to the writer by H. Lavachery). A dominant feature in this photograph, among several wooden figurines, paddles, clubs, feather crowns, and adzes, is a large stone head broken off at the neck. To judge from the picture, this statue must have been about twice the size of the image found by Thomson’s party in the closed cave. The most remarkable detail that clearly appears from the photograph is that the head has perfectly circular eyes inlaid with black obsidian disks. It is thus the largest Easter Island image so far known with the eye inlay intact. There is otherwise no similarity to the Middle Period monumental statues. The face is flat and broad since the head is rounded square, the ears are small, the nose straight and flat, the mouth tiny. The neck fracture is obviously the result of violence, and since this almost certainly was not committed by the collectors, it may be assumed that the head is either one of the great many fragments of Early Period monuments scattered about on the island, some of which were dragged away to be hidden in caves, or also a truly exceptionally large example of a *moai maea* (Heyerdahl 1976:Pl.

156*i*). Also noteworthy is a typical *moai maea* in Thomson's collection, which he terms a "spirit stone" (*aku-aku*), which represents a hunchback monster with a flat face emerging like a grotesque mask directly from the shapeless body. The flat, broad nose with flaring alae branches upward into eyebrows that continue like huge goggles all around plain, oval eyes. The lips are raised in relief, and so is a goatee beard down the chin. Crude ears are indicated; stunted arms run from shoulders to chest, and the rest of the heavy boulder is unworked (Cat. no. 128.773*a*; Heyerdahl 1976: Pls. 168, 169).

The great interest in Easter Island carvings demonstrated by the two successive research parties of Geiseler and Thomson did not fail to impress the intrepid sheep ranger Salmon, who perceived a new way of economic gains for himself and the poor islanders. It had clearly been the fine, polished *toromiro* carvings that had most impressed the visitors, and among them far less the grotesque and distorted figures that followed no norm than the aesthetically more appealing "portrait" figures, such as the *moai kavakava*, *moai papa*, and *moai tangata*. From the first visit of Captain Cook on, it was no doubt the *moai kavakava* that had caused the most sensation due to its marked character, firm lines, and masterly execution. Salmon naturally stimulated production of the types that were in greatest demand, and thus it happened that the common types publicly worn in feasts honoring Makemake started to increase in vast quantities, whereas the intentionally grotesque and commonly artistically inferior household carvings continued their obscure service in the native homes, gradually disappearing into caves as clandestine objects when acculturation proceeded.

The year 1888 marked a turning point in the history of Easter Island. This year Policarpo Toro, a cadet under Gana in 1870 but now a captain, returned and officially annexed the unclaimed island to Chile. A flow of recently produced wood carvings now went back to Chile. Since they were carved from the same wood and by the same men who had produced the former pieces, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between commercial and religious objects from this short period of transgression while the old carvers were still alive, except in cases with a definite patina or extra smoothness from proper wear, especially in the holes for the suspension strings. Generally speaking, however, freshness in carving, a marked decline in workmanship, the use of imported wood due to the exhaustion of the endemic *toromiro*, and the modification or omission of the male genitalia make it possible in most cases to separate imitations from functional pieces. Nevertheless, authentic specimens, even of written tablets, continued to emerge from hiding even after the visit of the *Mohican* in 1886.

The scope of this survey, however, is restricted to art objects documented to have left the island before 1886. A few such old pieces not clearly identified with any specific expedition are equally representative of the heterogeneity of the local art in this period.

In the British Museum is a bizarre, zoomorphic figure of a goatee-bearded male with lost eye inlay that has a ribbed body with long fins and a lower section curving to the rear like a long, thick tail. It was bought by the museum from Mr. Wareham in 1866 and is thought to have been collected by Forster during Cook's voyage. Another old piece in the same museum has the bearded face of a man with bulging eyes on a realistic bird's body with wings and tail; it is unknown how this piece left the island, but the catalogue number corresponds with those from Cook's expedition. The museum also has an aberrant figure of a man with a hat, acquired in 1828 (Cat. nos. c.c. 1979, E-P 27, H. Cumming 6; Heyerdahl 1976:Pls. 115, 116, 77*a*).

The Peabody Museum, Salem, has an extremely fine Easter Island wood carving obtained before 1870 representing a four-legged animal with no tail. The stylized decor of the large round eyes, ears, muzzle, and four limbs of the crouching mammal is among the finest achievements in Easter Island art. A second, closely related, and probably equally old and masterly carved piece has a clearly feline head, a bird-man's tassel on the back, and a tailless rump carved like human buttocks, but the history of this piece is lost. Only its close relationship to the former specimen and its presence in the same museum indicate that the provenience is the same and the work was most likely executed by the same sculptor (Cat. nos. E-25404, E-13896; Heyerdahl 1976: 142, 143).

Greatly inferior in workmanship and artistic value, but a good example of how many aberrant Easter Island carvings of the *moai maea* class might have been lost by differing from the expected "norms," is a crude and damaged stone head in the University of Pennsylvania Museum (Cat. no. 18056; Heyerdahl 1976:Pl. 156*d*). The head, with a pointed neck as base, is carved from ochre-colored, vesicular Easter Island lava. The one remaining eye is bulging with a central concavity, the nose is long and aquiline, a drooping moustache takes the place of the mouth, and ears are lacking. Together with authentic Easter Island wood carvings, this stone head was donated to the museum when it was founded in 1891, but was separated from the rest of the collection and tucked away on a shelf in the basement. When discovered and recognized for what it was by the writer in 1972, two notes were found added to its original catalogue entry: The first was by the noted authority on Easter Island speech, W. Churchill, who on consultation had questioned the very Easter Island provenience of this piece; the second was by the authority on Easter Island culture, A. Métraux, who had examined the carving in 1938 and confirmed that it was "undoubtedly from Easter Island." Yet Métraux does not mention this stone head in his monograph of 1940, where he bypasses the *moai maea* with a few words and says that they "cannot be regarded as a normal expression of the local art" (Métraux 1940: 298-300). Renewed efforts by the museum director to identify the provenience of this stone head resulted in the discovery of the original packing notes of Mr. C. D. Voy dating from his Pacific voyage of about 1874-1875, where he lists this head as an "old specimen from Easter Island" (F. Rainey, personal communication, October 27, 1972).

Probably dating from the same period but purchased in Hamburg in 1881 is the wooden figurine of a stubby, aberrant male differing from the normal *moai* types, now in the Völkerkunde Museum in Dresden (Cat. no. 18361; Heyerdahl 1976:Pl. 63*b*). Three other unusual wood carvings reached three different European museums in 1886: One was a most peculiar monster with stunted arms, huge abdomen, and deformed body narrowing into a single leg; the head, flattened from behind, has an expressive face with outstanding, undeformed but enormous ears, and a prominent feature is a big, cup-shaped depression on top. This carving was purchased in Paris that year by the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden, Holland (Cat. no. 547.N3; Heyerdahl 1976:Pls. 108, 109*a*). Another piece purchased in Hamburg that same year by the Völkerkunde Museum in Vienna is a beautiful and most realistic wood carving of an octopus with inlaid eyes (Cat. no. 22868; Heyerdahl 1976:Pl. 129*a*); the third piece, a gift from the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle to the Musée de l'Homme in Paris, is a carving of two human heads with bulging cheeks, both bent to face up with apex in opposite direction and united at the neck by a handlelike projection (Cat. no. 86.III.I; Heyerdahl 1976:Pl. 98*a*).

Some remarkable carvings probably originated from the early whaling vessels or slave

traders, as they formed part of the early Boston Collection until transferred to the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University. These include a figure with a huge head, tiny ears, a heart-shaped face with sagging pouches, and prominent eyebrows surrounding the inlaid eyes, linked by a long neck to a minute body with ribs, stumps as arms, and a sort of handlelike grip extending from the chest down. Another is a mixture of man and animal in a swimming position, the bearded head turned upward, the long ribbed body and hind legs stretched out, but the extremely long front limbs bent at several joints like the legs of a praying mantis and finally turned down free and at right angles to the neck. A further piece is a realistic dolphin with inlaid eyes giving birth to a man who emerges from beneath the abdomen with the strongly bearded head first. Most realistic is a wooden cock's head with a prominent comb and inlaid eyes; puzzling is a crouching quadruped reminiscent of the feline figurines in Salem, but with suspension string attached and a deep and narrow groove along the ventral side that ends as a tube with outlet through the mouth of the mammal, probably an instrument for ceremonial fire making. A small stone carving from fine-grained, light brown lava, covered with red ochre mixed with oil is truly unique. Its most striking feature is the vaguely raised and almond-shaped eyes with circular depressions: the right eye still with a whitish stone disk inlaid, which has its central area painted black; the left with its inlay lost and exposing a bottom scooped out with a blunt tool, probably an obsidian chip. The goatee-bearded face is turned nose upward; the pursed lips are crossed by grooves resembling stitches on a mummy's lips, a feature noted on some statues; the ribbed body has a bulging abdomen, stunted legs with no feet, and male genitalia (Cat. nos. 53594, 53602, 53610, 53607, 53605, 53591; Heyerdahl 1976:Pls. 107, 118*b*, 124*b*, 135*a*, 144*a*, 160-161).

Certainly carved for local functions also are some heterogeneous Easter Island carvings in wood and stone sent by Salmon to his partner Brander in Tahiti, subsequently ending up in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Honolulu (K. P. Emory, personal communication). This collection includes a pendant with its twisted suspension cord attached and carved to represent a realistic human foot swollen with elephantiasis; the eroded and mutilated fragment of a headless figure visibly attacked by worms and rats but clearly aberrant due to its bulging abdomen and the remainder of the thighs placed one to curve in front of the other; an equally eroded pendant carved as a conch; and the fragments of two wooden birds that also show signs of having been burned. A device clearly related to the feline object with grooved ventral side in the Salem collection, and also representing an animal where the groove ends as a tunnel in either end, is here given a clearly phallic form as well. Both devices are carved from *hau*, the wood used for fire rubbing, and the Honolulu specimen is accompanied by a rubbing stick of the same material, which precisely fits the slot and shows sign of use, having the shape of a long, slim human leg. Noteworthy also is a cock's head carved from heavy and dense grey basalt, with comb, double wattles, and eyes as raised rings; a flattish animal head of vesicular, greyish red lava with one side badly eroded but in remaining outlines as well as in the eyes so similar to the previous piece that it might be assumed that what now appears as a snout is the weathered base of a broken beak. Completely different is an animal head carved from hard vesicular basalt of a dark grey color; whereas the two aforesaid heads are flattened from the sides, this one is short, wide, and flattened from the top, resembling the head of a frog with bulging eyes and transverse mouth, but a large V-shaped groove on the ventral side seems to represent the gill openings of a fish. Two whales are sculptured by modifying the sur-

faces of two extremely hard volcanic "bombs" and adding eyes and mouth. One also has two small nostrils; the other has a large perforation, obviously for a strong cord near the blunt tail end. Whether these two latter pieces also came from Brander is not ascertained, only that they came from Easter Island and that one was marked *moai atua* god stone (Cat. nos. B.4553, B.3572a, B.3571, B.3572, B.3572.4, B.3574, C.4154, B.3547, B.3495, 6354, B.3554; Heyerdahl 1976:Pls. 95c, 96a, 127a, 135b, 144b, 175b, d, e, 176a, b).

In conclusion, a survey of carvings in wood and stone known to have left Easter Island before the initiation of commercial mass production clearly shows a quantitative dominance of heterogeneous sculptures. Contrary to previous assumptions, it can safely be concluded that diversity rather than conformity typifies the aboriginal local art.

REFERENCES

AGÜERA Y INFANZO, F. A. DE

- 1908 *Journal of the Principal Occurrences during the voyage of the Frigate Santa Rosalia . . . in the year 1770*. Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, no. 13. Cambridge.

ANDREE, R.

- 1899 Ein Moi Toromiro (Hausgötze) von der Osterinsel. *Globus* 76(24).

BEECHY, F. W.

- 1831 *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Bering's Strait*. Philadelphia.

COOK, J.

- 1777 *Second Voyage Towards the South Pole and Round the World, . . . 1772-75*. 2 vols. London.

DODGE, E. S.

- 1959 An unusual Easter Island carving. *Journal of Austronesian Studies* 1(3):18-26.

ENGLERT, FA. S.

- 1948 *La Tierra de Hotu Matu'a. Historia, Etnología y Lengua de Isla de Pasqua*. Padre Las Casas, Chile: Imprenta y edit. "San Francisco."

EYRAUD, E.

- 1864 Lettre au T. R. P. Supérieur général de la Congrégation des Sacrés-Coeurs de Jésus et de Marie. Valparaiso, December 1864. *Ann. Asso. Propagation de la Foi* 38:52-71, 124-138.

FERDON, E. N., JR.

- 1958 Easter Island exchange systems. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 14:136-151.

FORSTER, G.

- 1777 *A Voyage Round the World, in His Britannic Majesty's Sloop Resolution . . .* 2 vols. London.

GEISELER, KAPITÄNLIEUTENANT

- 1883 *Die Oster-Insel. Eine Stätte prähistorischer Kultur in der Südsee*. Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn.

HEYERDAHL, T.

- 1961 Surface artifacts. In *Reports on the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island and the East Pacific*. Vol. I: *Archaeology of Easter Island*, edited by Thor Heyerdahl and Edwin N. Ferdon,

Jr. School of American Research and Museum of New Mexico Monograph 24, Part I. Stockholm: Forum Publishing House; Chicago: Rand McNally.

1976 *The Art of Easter Island*. London and New York: Doubleday.

JAUSSEN, T.

1893 *L'Île de Pâques. Historique—Ecriture et Répertoire des signes des tablettes ou bois d'Hibiscus Inteligents*. Paris.

n. d. Unpublished ms. Congrégation des Sacrés-Coeurs, Rome.

KNOCHE, W.

1925 *Die Osterinsel. Eine Zusammenfassung der Chilenischen Osterinsel-expedition des Jahres 1911*. Concepción.

LA PÉROUSE, J. F. G. DE

1798 *A Voyage Round the World Performed in the Years 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788*. . . . 2 vols. London.

LAVACHERY, H.

1939 *Les Petroglyphes de l'Île de Pâques*. 2 vols. Antwerp.

1965 Thor Heyerdahl et le Pacifique. *JSO* 21 (21):151-159.

1976 Foreword to *The Art of Easter Island*, by Thor Heyerdahl. New York: Doubleday.

MÉTRAUX, A.

1940 *Ethnology of Easter Island*. Bernice P. B. Bishop Museum Bulletin 160. Honolulu.

NIELSEN, Y.

1907 *Historisk Oversikt over Universitetets Etnografiske Samlinger, 1857-1907*. Catalogue, University of Oslo.

PALMER, J. L.

1870a A visit to Easter Island, or Rapa Nui, in 1868. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 40:108-119.

1870b A visit to Easter Island, or Rapa Nui, in 1868. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 40:167-181.

PETIT-THOUARS, A. DU

1841 *Voyage autour du monde sur la frégate 'La Venus' 1836-1839*. 4 vols. Paris.

PINART, A.

1878a Voyage au l'Île de Pâques. *Le Tour du Monde*. Vol. 36, pp. 225-240. Paris.

1878b Exploration de l'Île de Pâques. *Bull. Soc. Géogr.* (6th series) 16:193-213.

ROGGEVEEN, M. J.

1908 *Extract from the Official Log of the Voyage of Mynheer Jacob Roggeveen*. . . . Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, no. 13. Cambridge.

ROUSSEL, H.

1926 Île de Pâques. Notice par le R. P. Hippolyte Roussel, SS.CC., Apotre de l'Île de Pâques. *Annales des Sacrés-Coeurs* 305:355-360; 307:423-430; 308:462-466; 309:495-499. Paris.

SCHMELTZ, J. D. E., and R. KRAUSE

1881 *Die Etnografisch-Antropologische Abteilung des Museum Godeffroy in Hamburg*. Hamburg.

STEPHEN-CHAUVET

1946 *La Isla de Pascua y sus Misterios*. Santiago de Chile.

THOMSON, W. J.

1889 *Te Pito te Henua, or Easter Island*. Report of the U.S. National Museum for the Year Ending June 30, 1889. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

YOUNG, J. L.

1904 *Remarks on Phallic Stones from Rapanui*. Bernice P. Bishop Museum Occasional Papers 2, no. 25. Honolulu.

ZUMBOHM, G.

1879- Lettres du R. P. Gaspard Zumbohm au directeur des Annales sur la mission de l'Île de Pâques.

1880 *Annales de la Congrégation des Sacrés-Coeurs de Jésus et Marie* 5(46):660-667; 6(50):117-131; 6(52):231-242; 6(54):377-385.