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ISSN 1040-1385  Georgia Lee
Little Ice Age: Some Speculations for Rapanui
Grant McCall 65

The Long and Short of it: Some Thoughts on the Meaning of the Names hanau eepe and hanau momoko in Rapa Nui Tradition
Emily Ross Mulloy 71

Rapanui or Rapa Nui?
Steven Roger Fischer 73

Roggeveen and Bouman: An Inventory on all the Narratives
Herbert von Saher 77

Easter Island Excavations: Summary Report 1993
Christopher M. Stevenson 83

Reviews and Publications 86

Easter Island Foundation News 89

News and Notes 89

Letters to the Editor 91
Little Ice Age: Some Speculations for Rapanui

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The purpose of this note is to stimulate discussion by offering some connections that I see between my work as a social anthropologist and those archaeologists and geomorphologists working on climate change, more specifically that very recent and special period known as the "Little Ice Age".

My argument is that the great Polynesian sweep into the Pacific and subsequent settlement was atrophied by the Little Ice Age, in much the same way that extensive voyaging and conquest by the Vikings met a similar end in the Northern Hemisphere. Whilst the navigation argument is broadly based on the abandonment of marginal settlements, the specific example is taken from Rapanui, the world's most remote continuously inhabited place.

The term, "Little Ice Age" was introduced in physical geography by Mathes (1939). Roughly, it commences in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and culminates somewhere between the mid-sixteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries (Grove 1988:1).

Mid-Holocene conditions were very mild and favorable to human development and expansion. The great movements of Amerindians through the Americas, the civilizing circum-Mediterranean Islamic empires (from the seventh century) and Polynesians in the Pacific (Kirch and Green 1986) that spread dominant lifeways over extensive land and water masses came out of that bountiful period in the first millennium of our era.

In the Pacific, settlement of Austronesian peoples moved slowly through Melanesia, passing Papua New Guinea 6000 BP, Kanaky (New Caledonia) 4000 BP, with Fiji, Samoa and Tonga being 3500 BP, 3200 BP and 3000 BP respectively. In contrast, the much more dispersed Eastern Polynesian settlement took place all within the first millennium of our era (Terrell 1986). Howe's (1984:14) summary map is essentially the same as my own (1980:Endpaper) abstracting effort. The general picture is well-accepted.

Were it the case that Amerindians succeeded in launching themselves into the Pacific, as Heyerdahl (1952;1993) has tried to persuade us for over four decades, the first millennium's good weather would have permitted them a propitious time for such experiments by a people so land-bound.

Whilst "...the dates assigned to it [the Little Ice Age] are not always identical, being influenced by the locational experience of individual workers and the volume and accuracy of the evidence available to them," there is a consistency, a 'coherence', observed (Grove 1988:4). Although data outside Europe is scanty, and most of Grove's (1988) central text is devoted to glaciers in Iceland and Europe, the Little Ice Age seems to have been worldwide.

The strongest southern hemisphere evidence for the characteristic dry of the Little Ice Age is from conditions at Quelccaya, in Peru, where weather conditions from 1720 to 1860 give evidence of drought and contrast to the wet period (highest in the last 1,000 years) between 1500 and 1720 (Grove 1988:272). Grove (ibid.) concludes the chapter, which included some Papua New Guinea data, by stating that:

"The Little Ice Age thus stands out in the Quelccaya record as an important climatic event which evidently affected this part of the southern hemisphere as clearly as the northern hemisphere" [she quotes Thompson, et al, 1986].

Non-tropical glaciers, in South America, New Zealand and the Sub-Antarctic islands demonstrate similar features of recent advance and, then, retreat and lead Grove (1988:355) to conclude:

"Glaciers on every continent have expanded in the last few centuries; the Little Ice Age was a global phenomenon."

In the concluding chapter on consequences, Grove sums up the results for human society of the temperature fluctuations of 1 or 2 °C of the Little Ice Age. An increase in storminess around AD 1200 generally is accepted as a consequence (1988:380), along with surges, coastal transport of
sand and abnormally high tides all prevailed which, whilst they impacted on the European historic community, would have been devastating on Polynesian islands. Not only was the characteristic inland dwelling of Polynesians (subsequently shifted to the coast by trading Europeans) a protection against war, it served also as protection against the Little Ice Age sea elements.

The road that connected the ancient communities of Rarotonga, in the Cook Islands, for example, runs some kilometers inland from the coast (Bellwood 1978). Along with moving their populations to the coast, around the European-designed port (see Ralston 1977), the missionaries, traders and, eventually, colonial administrators required their communities to nucleate in villages and towns. Polynesian settlement before the coming of the outsiders was in dispersed hamlets.

Sea resources suffered during the Little Ice Age of northern Europe, notably the failure of the cod fishery in the seventeenth century. Birds and migratory fish would have altered their range during this cold fluctuation. This, in turn, would have affected the food chain, of which human populations are always a part (Grove 1988:392).

The effects of the Little Ice Age would be more devastating in marginal areas than "more fortunately placed societies" (Grove 1988:394).

Grove (1988:400-2) is not a monist in explanation, but argues that climate change and the resulting "stress" must be taken into account with other factors, such as disease and invasion in the explanation of the Norse colonies of Greenland.

Moving to the southern hemisphere, Parkinson (1990:221) examines "...whether or not a Little Ice Age signal is present in the historic records of sea ice in the Southern Ocean", tying it to accounts from the expeditions by Cook, Bellingshausen, Ross and Wilkes. Her data are inconclusive, with one exception, not showing Little Ice Age traits, but she concludes that perhaps sea-ice or deep sea cores might be more revealing than her evidence (ibid:224).

There is no direct proof in the literature for the Little Ice Age having had an impact in Polynesia, but based upon what happened elsewhere, some impacts may be inferred. These inferences help to explain and fill in the complex picture of the original exploration and settlement of the Pacific Islands, and how Polynesians first appeared to European navigators.

There are at least four impacts on Polynesian islands and their populations that one can imagine from the Little Ice Age.

Firstly, any thought of colonization of the Americas, where the Polynesians would have landed, would have been abandoned. True, Polynesian landings on American shores would have featured something they were not used to in their explorations: the presence of other humans. Whether these encounters were friendly or not and how many times they took place is difficult to estimate.

But, at least one encounter was friendly: when Polynesians learned about *kumara* (sweet potato) and how to look after it. This might have taken several months to see the growth cycle of the plant. A war encounter or anything other than friendly relations, would not have imparted this knowledge, which the islanders took back to their homes. The "problem of the sweet potato" and its undeniable American origins has been the strongest evidence for the contact for some time (Dixon 1932) and continues to puzzle subsequent researchers (e.g., Yen 1960, 1974). This evidence for such a contact is entirely inferential, as there is no tangible evidence. Recent osteological examinations (Gill et al. 1993; Chapman 1993) and somewhat earlier current and sailing research (de Velde 1987) is very suggestive that some sort of contact must have happened, but until hard evidence is found, we are lacking details.

A second effect was that conflict probably increased in the islands after the onset of the Little Ice Age, owing to the population growth, and difficulty with continuing the traditional method of solving disputes: moving on or sending out colonies. The decline in sailing conditions would have restricted trade and made continuous contact in the region, including for purposes of trade, more difficult.

A third result would have been the abandonment of marginal areas or the "mystery islands" (Irwin 1992:176-80) that had taken up excess population in the past. The areas in Polynesia that were abandoned were marginal settled areas, such as Pitcairn, Necker in the Hawaiian chain and other smaller places, such as those in the Phoenix and Line Groups (Terrell 1986:90-3). With the Little Ice
Age, settlements were forced back on the larger more resource-rich islands, where settlement became crowded. Radio carbon dates for these abandonment's "...point shakily towards the middle of the second millennium AD (Irwin 1992:180), corresponding very well to the Little Ice Age period.

Finally, the Little Ice Age, with its colder and drier conditions would have diminished local resource bases, both terrestrial and marine. This would have put stress on societies and their ecosystems which would have become over-exploited.

The full European thrust into the Pacific Islands from the seventeenth century onwards comes at the end of the Little Ice Age and Polynesians were eager to escape their crowded lands and continue their migration, which they had been prevented from doing in the centuries before due to the climate shift.

Howe (1984:100-2) in his section on "Islanders and overseas travel" notes how very early on in the contact, pre-colonial situation, Pacific Islanders showed "...considerable eagerness to sail on ships as crews or laborers for distant lands or just as tourists". This eagerness for contact had as the unintended consequence the great population devastations of the 19th century, when tens of thousands of Pacific Islanders perished from European diseases (see McArthur 1967; Rallu 1990).

For a time, until recently, the population problem in Polynesia that had built up during the restricted times of the Little Ice Age was solved, much as it had been in Medieval Europe, by mass death. As Newbury (1980:32) writes:

"At the most conservative estimate the population of Tahiti, Mo'orea and the outliers had declined from about thirty-five thousand at the time of Wallis and Cook to something like nine or ten thousand for the two principle islands by 1800."

The oral traditions of vicious warfare collected and perhaps embellished by eager missionaries to Polynesia in the late 18th and early 19th centuries reflect this recent history of warfare, which derived from the factors I mentioned above. Mangaia's history, as recounted by Gill (1894) is an example, but there are many others. Early European settlers often saw their colonization as having a peaceful influence on the naturally fractious natives (see Howe 1984).

Research into Polynesian voyaging (e.g. Irwin 1992) does not take into account the possible effects of the Little Ice Age. This is even less the case when considering the social and cultural history of particular places in Polynesia, such as Rapanui.

Rapanui, as the people of Easter Island call their land, themselves and their language, is located in the South Pacific at 27°08' S latitude and 109°26' W longitude. Politically, Rapanui is a province of Chile, which lies 3747 km to the east; the nearest inhabited island is lonely Pitcairn at 2250 km to the west. A full summary of the characteristics of Rapanui may be found in Flenley et al (1991:85).

John Flenley has been studying the palynology of Rapanui for over a decade and, with Paul Bahn (1992) written the most comprehensive, new book on Rapanui. Whilst Fischer's (1993) is an impressive compilation, being a series of expert articles on a wide range of pertinent topics, Bahn and Flenley's purpose is more synthetic and, it must be said, intended for a wider and very non-specialist audience.

Flenley et al (1990:109) specifically makes no attempt to "{...infer climates of the past 1500 years during which human impact has affected the pollen record"}. Not surprisingly, this results in no mention of the Little Ice Age. He does note the ecological differentiation between Rano Aroi and Rano Raraku, the former being a rather sensitive site" (ibid:110). However, his data does show deforestation during the human activity period, with a date of 500 BP, bringing it into the Little Ice Age span (ibid:112). The "hypothetical model to indicate the possible course of ecological events on Easter Island" (ibid:113; also Bahn and Flenley 1992:212) makes no mention of climate change, other than one derived form the consequences of human activity.

In general, fluctuation characterizes the climate of Rapanui (Flenley 1990:113), which is in accord with the rainfall and temperature data from this century that I analyzed some time ago (McCall 1977:23-4, 287-290). Rainfall data in particular was very divergent, not only over time, but at any one time on different parts of the island. The article summarizes:

"We are left with the hypothesis that human activity is directly or indirectly responsible for the present depauperation (reference omitted). The evidence supports this hypothesis, in two main ways.
Firstly, the depauperation takes place entirely during the period within which people are known to have lived on the island. Secondly, the changes that take place—destruction of Forest, burning, introduction of aliens—are exactly those that we regularly associate with human activity elsewhere. (Flenley et al 1990:114).

When Bahn and Flenley (1992:94) discuss cultivation of the island, based upon early European accounts, they note the fluctuations, which are consistent with my summations of periods of wet and dry mentioned above.

They prefer to locate the degradation of Rapanui firmly in deforestation, "and particularly the disappearance of the palm". (Bahn and Flenley 1992:172). "The palm" is the recently identified (by Flenley) *Jubaea* and the authors attribute its extinction to human agency; in a word, over-exploitation, which fits the environmental theme of their book. The thrust of their argument (ibid:208-10) is transparent in the concluding chapter's title: The island that self-destructed* and the Epilogue, "The lesson of Easter Island". In summary, their theme is as follows:

"We consider that Easter Island was a microcosm which provides a model for the whole planet. Like the Earth, Easter Island was an isolated system. The people there believed that they were the only survivors on Earth, all other land having sunk beneath the sea. They carried out for us the experiment of permitting unrestricted population growth, profligate use of resources, destruction of the environment and boundless confidence in their religion to take care of the future " (Bahn and Flenley 1992:212-3).

As the authors do not take the Little Ice Age into account, it blinds them to the significance of some of their dates. Frequently, the genealogically derived date for the end of the megalithic Rapanui culture at AD 1680 crops up, which is right in the middle of the Little Ice Age. At one point, they (Bahn and Flenley 1992:180) quote dates from obsidian sources showing an increase in use from AD 1300 to 1650; again, significant Little Ice Age dates.

My conclusions then, are that there may be merit in researchers being more sensitive to the Little Ice Age period, not for deterministic reasons, but to assist in explanation of social and cultural development. Rapanui as an extreme case was not abandoned by its people, but continued to develop, although not in ways they could have predicted, owing to the effects of climate change (See also McCall 1979). It is probably true that there was considerable population growth and that the resources of Rapanui were exploited. But, what brought the island's culture to severe transformative disaster was an unpredictable and unexpected dramatic climate shift, that of the Little Ice Age, unbalancing any attempts that the Islanders might have tried to save themselves.

Sealed on their singular world, they toppled one cultural form and developed a newer one, the Orongo and its worship of the coming of spring being the most notable innovation. Given that their cultural change was induced by a severe and unexpected climatic change, it is not surprising that the new ceremonial to replace the *moai* and *ahu* building should be more economical of time and center around the state of the climate. Well might the suffering Little Ice Age Rapanui being concerned with the climate that had so abruptly turned on them! Or so it might seem.

My urging of the case for the "Little Ice Age" does not discount the innovative research by Flenley and his colleagues. Among with that of Sergio Rapu and Sonia Haoa's discovery of the eyes of the *moai* (Veach Noble 1978), Flenley's careful sifting of the evidence provides us with a picture (and a palm!) that forever changes how we understand the prehistory of Rapanui.

Given Rapanui's precarious position, both geographically and ecologically, one might wish also to put into discussion possible "El Niño" shifts, also not considered by researchers on Rapanui.

If anything, my urging further complexity in the relation between climate and human culture on Rapanui development, is supportive of Flenley, but with a different emphasis. Humans on Rapanui preceded on the basis of a stable ecosystem and continued to exploit their part of the planet in that belief. They could not have known that the earth on which we live is a dynamic and ever-changing system and it was that ignorance that brought about their downfall. Just as our ancient ancestors believed that they could influence the elements through magic and ritual, contemporary humans imagine that when they use hair spray or purchase another refrigerator that they are affecting the...
world of which they are a small part. Ancient Ra­
apanui were likely as arrogantly human as we con­
tinue to be today.

Taking into account climatic change, by cyclical,
such as annual variation, and more long term, such
as the Little Ice Age, gives a new meaning to Karl
Marx's classic phrase about human action in the
world (quoted in Giddens 1984:xxi):
"Men [let us immediately say human beings] make history, but not in circumstances of their
own choosing."

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The Long and Short of it: Some Thoughts on the Meaning of the Names hanau eepe and hanau momoko in Rapanui Tradition

Emily Ross Mulloy, Laramie, Wyoming

For some 100 years, most popular and even some scientific writers on Easter Island have used the terms "long ears" and "short ears" as if they were literal translations of the Rapanui hanau eepe and hanau momoko.

Father Sebastian Englert (1970:93) disagreed with this interpretation and consistently defined the two terms as "fat or heavy-set people" and "thin, slender people" respectively. He added that the group called hanau eepe also had elongated earlobes, and that the word epe (meaning earlobe) might have become confused with eepe (meaning fat). Thomas Barthel (1978:280-281) follows Englert's translation; and the linguist Robert Weber (personal communication) stated that, whatever else they may mean, the words hanau eepe and hanau momoko do not mean Long Ears and Short Ears.

Sebastian Englert was a highly skilled linguist with knowledge of more than a dozen languages, so perhaps he did not feel it necessary to spell out his argument in detail: it was so obvious to him he merely stated his interpretation and let it go at that. Consequently, for the lay person, and even for a good many non-linguists among the scientific community, it has been customary to ignore Englert's definitions in favor of the popular "long ears-short ears" interpretation.

First, a short lesson in the understanding of foreign words and phrases. Suppose we are learning Spanish and are told that the phrases:

- caballo blanco = white horse
- caballo negro = black horse

but are not told which word in Spanish equals which word in English. Obviously, the word caballo is common to both expressions, as is the word horse. Thus we may assume that caballo = horse. Thus by elimination, blanco must equal white and negro must equal black. Easy?

Applying the same reasoning to the Rapanui phrases hanau eepe and hanau momoko, one would expect that if:

hanau eepe = long ears
hanau momoko = short ears

then hanau must equal ears since it is the word common to both expressions in Rapanui, while ears is common to both in English. Similarly, eepe or epe, with which it is said to have been confused, must equal long; and momoko or moko (which is a possible variant) must equal short.

Unfortunately for this very logical conclusion, none of the above is correct.

Hanau is one of the words which occurs in most if not all Polynesian languages in a similar or identical form. (Samoan, Tongan, Tahitian fanau; Maori whanau; Rarotongan anau; etc.) In all of these related languages its meaning is birth, to give birth. By extension it may also be defined as offspring, descent group, family group, descendants, family, race, people.

Thus the word which is common to both expressions does not have anything to do with ears, or earlobes. The word epe does mean earlobe but it does not occur at all in the expression which is said to mean 'short ears." According to Englert (1948:427), eepe is a word meaning bulky, corpulent, fat, massive, robust, thick, voluminous. Fuentes (1960) also records it as a verb, to have rolls of fat about the body, or to fatten so as to form rolls of fat.

Momoko is related to the word moko meaning lizard, which also occurs widely in Polynesian languages. Complete or partial reduplication of syllables is a common feature in Polynesian languages, and generally has an effect of forming a plural, showing repetitive action, or simply emphasizing the term employed. According to Englert, momoko means something shaped like a lizard; by extension, anything with a pointed, slender shape.

There is no question that Roggeveen, Cook, and other early explorers saw persons on the island with earlobes which had been elongated by inserting increasingly larger objects. Such elongation continued until they were long enough to loop over the top of the ear when the individual was en-
engaged in some activity where long lobes might cause a problem. In some cases the ears were described as having an ornament of shell, bone or other material inserted; in other cases they were unadorned.

All of these voyages took place after the famous battle, in which all of the Hanau Eepe were supposed to have been exterminated; or all but one, Ororoina, who left descendants from his marriage with a woman of the Hanau Momoko. Thus it would appear that the style of enlarging the earlobes had been adopted and was continued by the victorious Hanau Momoko.

Since earlobe length is not a genetic trait, it seems unlikely that the term hanau, with its association with the birth process, would have been used to describe a trait which was certainly the result of deliberate deformation as a person grew, or that individuals with this trait would be considered members of a separate race.

On the other hand, body type often is hereditary, though certainly lifestyle can also affect it (Shapiro 1993:64). In many Polynesian societies, large size in both stature and weight was a mark of high rank, and considered to be an attribute of the ariki (ali'i) or high chief. Birdsell (1992) notes that "it seems evident that preferential mating has been practiced to breed up chiefly lineages characterized by impressive size." Tonga is one of the most salient examples. The king, royal family, and nobility appear to be almost an alien group from the common members of the population, being not only much taller and generally much more obese but also having fairer skin. On the other hand, among some Polynesian groups, thin and small people were scorned. In some societies there is still a trace of this attitude.

Obesity was a sign of high rank, or more likely today, the sign of having power or money enough to command respect, having more than enough to eat, enough to share with one's dependents and one's group, while fair skin showed that one did not need to be out working in the hot sun. In general, thinness is not a mark of beauty in Polynesia. The expression "you can't be too rich or too thin" would be ludicrous to a Polynesian. [1]

If the Hanau Eepe actually were not a separate race or invaders from a different direction but a ruling class who induced the working class, Hanau Momoko, to produce food to support more and more grandiose projects of ahu building and moai production and transport while the land was being progressively deforested and overused, it is no wonder that the Hanau Momoko, scorned as skinny little lizards, eventually revolted and overthrew their overweight masters. The legend of how the moai carvers failed to save food for a certain sorceress and how she retaliated by causing all the moai to fall may be a metaphor for the food shortages caused by the overemphasis on statue carving to the detriment of food production.

Even the story of the umu of the Hanau Eepe may fit into this interpretation. Perhaps those juicy rolls of fat became just too tempting to the hardworking and hungry Hanau Momoko.

[1] Unfortunately the traditional social approval of obesity, combined with today's lifestyle of readily available, high calorie junk food and lowered physical activity, create health problems for a number of Polynesian groups. Native Hawaiians have a higher rate of deaths from heart disease, diabetes, and cancer than any other ethnic group in the United States. More than 65% are obese. "Hawaiians were never fat, apart from the royalty," a doctor now treating them is quoted in Newsweek (Shapiro 1993:64). "I have 300-pound patients by the dozen, I have patients in the 500-pound range."
It was not without mild amusement—and concern, too—that I read Grant McCall’s rather sneaky way to revive the Rapa Nui or Rapanui debate (RNJ 7:29-30). Here he reiterated that Maori place names in Aotearoa (New Zealand) "are rendered with noun and adjective joined" (ibid., p.30), as I had already pointed out for a large number of Polynesian -nui names in my earlier article "Rapanui is Rapa Nui is Rapa-nui is Rapa-Nui is..." (RNJ 5:42). In that article I also demonstrated how the spelling Rapanui revealed a frequency of historical usage that was twice as great as the frequency of Rapa Nui, Rapa-nui, or Rapa-Nui. Rapanui, I argued then, would be the only acceptable Polynesian form of the name at the end of the 20th century.

But there's the rub. Do we even want Easter Island to bear a Polynesian name at the end of the 20th century? Certainly those who cling to their Pascua and Easter calques of the name wouldn't seem to want this. But it is my firm conviction that it is high time we finally discard Isla de Pascua, Easter Island, Ile de Paques, Osterinsel, and all the rest of these Roggeveen legacies once and for all. And it's time we agree among ourselves whether we want Polynesian Rapanui or Chilean Rapa Nui as the name of the island.

Unhappily, the "castellano solution" that the RNJ has chosen in way of compromise—Rapa Nui for the island, and Rapanui for its indigenous inhabitants and their language, as the Spanish language dictates—only exacerbates the controversy. We need a final decision, one way or the other.

If we choose to write Rapanui, we shall be aligning the island with the rest of Polynesia, certainly. But a step toward one direction means a step away from another. The Chilean government, which endorses the spelling Rapa Nui, could see Rapanui as an intentional challenge, or even interpret the "new" (actually old) spelling as an illicit evocation of autonomy or independence. Other Chileans could feel insulted by Rapanui, too, since this Polynesian spelling would psychologically distance the ame from Rapa Nui, their castellano perogative.

Others might raise the question of the wasteful cost of changing the name Rapa Nui to Rapanui on all official signs and letterheads. Chilean teachers, for one, could also argue that Rapanui would contradict the Rapa Nui spelling that they've been instructing their pupils for years, which might undermine their authority.

If we choose, then, to write Chilean Rapa Nui, we'll never cease to hear the equally justified arguments of the "Rapanuitists." For the spelling Rapa Nui was, historically speaking, never as important as Rapanui. Rapa Nui also represents a foreign South American spelling of the name for an island that was only recently (1888) colonized from one country of that continent. The spelling Rapa Nui psychologically dissociates a Polynesian people from their ancient patrimony, since most Polynesian islands use the -nui suffix contiguously in place names. For those Rapanui who are Chileans first, this would of course pose no problem. But those who see their home as a Polynesian island would also like its name to be written the Polynesian way: Rapanui.

Historical necessity forces us, here and now, to make a choice. For it is people—us—who establish such conventions. Is the island Rapanui/Rapa Nui Polynesian or Chilean? According to the race of its dominant population, it is clearly Polynesian; according to the passport they hold, Chilean. In view of its history, it is Polynesian; in view of its dénouement, Chilean. Geography would tell us that it is obviously Polynesian; geopolitics reminds us if it is firmly Chilean. Perhaps most importantly, the name Rapanui itself is Polynesian. But Polynesia has no army.

Which brings us right back to square one.

As editor of an academic journal for Polynesian philology and linguistics, I personally endorse the adoption of Rapanui as the name and spelling of the island, its people, and their language. Further I discourage the exclusive or predominant use of Isla de Pascua, Easter Island, and all the other translations, since I regard these to be superannuated foreign intrusions. Perhaps the best argument
The following is the above text translated by Steven Fischer into the Rapanui language, for our Rapanui readers.

Hai hakareka, hai tataku takoa, ana 'i tai o ai a au i te ki 'o Grant McCall: '[ko te] ara kapu'a mo hakaora haka'ou a au i te ki tatake 'o Rapa Nui, 'o Rapanui' (RNJ 7:29-30). 'I te tā era, 'i ako ai ia haka'ou i te me e nei: te ingoa kōna 'o te vānanga Maori i Aotearoa (Nueva Zelanda) 'he hakaú 'iku piri 'ā te papai 'o te ki me e [Ao-] haki i ha'aki [-tearoa]' (i'i, p.30). 'A'aku takoa 'i hakatike'a ai i te me e era ma me'erahi te ingoa polinesia hai -nui, 'i to'oku tā: "Rapanui is Rapa Nui is Rapa-nui is Rapa-Nui is..." (RNJ 5:42). 'I te papa'i era, 'i hakatike'a ai a au takoa: te tā ko Rapanui ku hakaonga ā, 'i te tu'aihanga ā, 'i te mahani te rua 'o te tā ko Rapa Nui, ko Rapa-nui, ko Rapa-Nui. Te tā ko Rapanui, pehe 'i hakamaramarama ai a au era, ko te tā rivariva nō 'o te ingoa polinesia 'i te 'oti 'o te 20 rauhanga. Ana ko te 'āti. Ku hanga 'ā a tātou he ai ki a Isla de Pascua 'etahi ingoa polinesia 'i te 'oti 'o te 20 rauhanga? Ko te me e parautia te tatake e here here ana ki te ingoa ha'aaura'ao ko Pascua, ko Easter, 'ina kai hanga ki te ingoa polinesia. Ana he te hakarongo hiohio 'o oku: ko te ra 'a rivariva mo hoa i te ingoa Pascua, Easter Island, Ille de Pâques, Osterinsel, i ananake te tokanga 'o tou toenga era 'o Roggeveen. Tako: ko te ra 'a rivariva mo vae e tātou ana ku hanga 'ā a tātou ki te tā Rapanui polinesia o ki te tā Rapa Nui tire pehe te ingoa 'o te motu. Ko te me e ta'ehakarongo 'i vae ai te Rapa Nui Journal i te "vaenga castellano"-ko Rapa Nui mo te motu, ko Rapanui mo te ngangata polinesia, mo tōtātou vānanga, pehe e hakaunga ana e te vānanga castellano. Te vaenga nei, ko te haka 'ati 'ō te tatake. Ku hanga 'ā a tātou ki 'etahi hakatitika ā... mo te rivariva, mo te rakerake. Ana ki a tātou, ku hanga 'ā a tātou mo papa'i i te tā ko Rapanui, e here ana rō a tātou i te motu Rapanui ki te motu ta'atoa 'o polinesia, ku tano ā. Ana: te ohonga ki 'uta, ko te ohonga mai te tā. He te me e nei: te 'ao tire he vae i te tā ko Rapa Nui; he tike'a i te tā ko Rapanui peaha i 'etahi pu'a haka'aringa; he mana'u i te tā "ho'ou" (parautila: tu'ai) peaha i 'etahi rangi hanohano mo te autonômia, mo te hokototahi-hanga. Tetahi hoki ngangata tire he mana'u peaha i te va'avā i te tā ko Rapanui, 'o te aha tou ū polinesia era ka hakaroroa i te ingoa ('i roto 'i te puoko) mai Rapa Nui, tōrā'ua 'ao castellano. E ui ana rō peaha tetahi hoki ngangata tire i te moni hoahoa mo huri i te tā ko Rapa Nui ko Rapanui i runga i 'i te pou, 'i te papa'i 'ao ananake. Te tangata hāpi tire, pehe me e era, ka tatake ana rō he ta'ehakarongo e te tā ko Rapanui i te tā ko Rapa Nui 'i hakama'eha ana 'ā e rā'ua ki te ngā pokī, me'erahi te tu'ā: ka keri rō peaha i tōrā'ua 'ao.

Ana he vae a tātou era mo papa'i i te tā tire ko Rapa Nui, 'ina e kō 'oti e tātou mo ngaroa i te tatake takoa ha'aki 'o te ngangata 'o te tā polinesia ko Rapanui. Te tā ko Rapa Nui, 'ina kai nui 'i te tu'aihanga ā; he nui te tā nō ko Rapanui 'i te tu'aihanga ā. Te tā ko Rapa Nui, he tako te sa sudamerico hiva mo te ingoa 'o te motu ku haka'a'a ā iho no (1888) mai 'etahi kāinga 'i te hēnua era. Te tā ko Rapa Nui he hakaroroa, 'i roto 'i te puoko 'o te ngangata, i te tangata polinesia mai te patrimonia matamu a to'ona; 'i me'erahi te motu polinesia, he mahani te vānanga 'oti-nui te hātia i te ingoa kōna. Mo tou ngangata Rapanui era, 'i tōrā'ua mana'ua e ngangata tire rā e, 'ina he 'āti. Ana mo tou Rapanui era he tīke'a ana i tōtātou hēnua pehe 'etahi motu polinesia, ka hanga ana rō e tātou ki tā i tōtātou ingoa i te huru polinesia: Rapanui. Ko te hanga 'o te tu'aihanga ā he hanga ana i a tātou--i te kōna nei, 'i te rā a nei--mo vae e tātou. 'O te aha ko te ngangata--ko tātou--he hakatū'u i tou huru era. Hoki he polinesia, he tire e te motu Rapanui/Rapa Nui? 'I te hanau 'o te tangata me'erahi, parautia 'a he polinesia; 'i te pasaporte, he tire. Ki tīke'a 'o te matamua 'a, he polinesia; ki tīke'a 'o te vīhavihahanga, he tire. E kī rō ki a tātou e te
geografía, ko te me`e ma`e ha he polinesia; e kī rō te geopolítica, ko te me`e hiohi o he tire. Peaha he te me`e nui, ko `etahi ingoa polinesia te ingoa Rapanui. Ana: `ina he vaehau te polinesia.

`I hoki ai a `atou ki te ha`amata.

Pehe tangata hakahetu `o `etahi revista mo te filología, mo te lingüística `o polinesia, he kī a au, `i to`oku mana`u, mo te ha`ati`a `o te `at ko Rapanui pehe te ingoa, pehe te tā `o te motu, `o ta`ana nga-gata, `o tōtātoro vānanga. Tiua`a, he ha`umani a au i te mahani nō, i te mahani me`erahi, `o te ingoa ko Isla de Pascua, ko Easter Island, ko tetahi hoki ha`aa`ura`a: `o te aha he tike`a a `atou `i tou ingoa hiva era i te toketoke mate. Te kura `o te kihanga e kī ana rō mo te papa`i `o te tā ko Rapanui nō, mo ha`umani i te papa`i `o te ingoa "Pascua" me`erahi, peaha ko te me`e nei: `i te `oti `o te 20 rauhanga, `i take`a ai te ngangata huru `o tōtātoro motu i tōrā`ua tapa`o, ku `ara `ā e `atou ananake takoa ki tōtātoro patrimonia polinesia rivariva kē.

`O te aha he Rapanui te ngangata. `I te `oti ki ha`aki a `atou i tōtātoro motu i te ingoa, i te tā takoa: Ko Rapanui.
In Volume 7(3) of RNJ for September, we carried a report by Steven Roger Fischer about the "Dreaming Moai" on the island of Texel, Holland. The stone statue was carved by Rapanui artist, Bene Aukara Tuki Paté. The photograph shows the statue in front of the Scholari gallery; to the right of the moai is Ana Maria Arredondo giving a speech to the guests, huddled beneath umbrellas. (Photo: Steven R. Fischer).
Roggeveen and Bouman: An Inventory of all the Narratives

Herbert von Sahe
Holland

Motto: En al klinkt het soms wat raar, Wat gedrukt staat dar is waar.  
[And though it may sound odd, What has been printed is the truth].
Jacob Cats, 17th Century Dutch National poet, famous for his moralistic rhymes

INTRODUCTION

It has become clear to me from the discussions at the Rapa Nui Rendezvous in Laramie, Wyoming in August, as well as from the article printed in the September issue of RNJ, that a most lamentable confusion still exists concerning the narratives of the discovery of Easter Island in April 1722. Only the language barrier permits this ambiguity to continue. With this in mind, I have decided to make an inventory of all the narratives on this voyage, tell something of their history, and give evaluations by others and comments by myself.

Before we can start with the inventory I must first repeat a bit of history. In my first article on Roggeveen’s journey in RNJ 4(3):35,45, I explained that Roggeveen was practically arrested upon his arrival in Batavia in July 1722, that the ships under his command and his journal were confiscated and he was sent back to Holland as a prisoner. This was done by the V.O.c. (the Dutch United East India Company) because Roggeveen had allegedly violated their charter by entering waters West of the island of New Guinea.

Of Roggeveen’s confiscated Journal, two copies were made by the V.O.C. in Batavia. The original was sent to the Amsterdam Chamber of the V.O.C. and one copy was kept in the archive in Batavia. Neither of these documents have ever been seen again. The other copy was sent to the Zeeland Chamber of the V.O.C. in Roggeveen’s hometown of Middleburg, where it disappeared. I shall return to this later.

INVENTORY AND HISTORY

Following in sequence, an inventory can be made of the narratives:

1) The first to be printed was an anonymous publication called Kort en Nauwkeurig Verhall van de Reize door 3 Schepen in ’t jaar 1721 gedaan, printed in two different editions in Amsterdam in 1727. The full title takes almost an entire page; it is usually abbreviated to Kort en Nauwkeurig Verhall (Short and Accurate Narrative). Short it certainly is; it is more a pamphlet than a book, containing only 15 pages—two of them on Easter Island.

The story begins by telling that the author, hidden behind the initials T.d.H., met a sailor in Amsterdam who told him the "true" story about Roggeveen’s journey in his own words" and that he "related from a small letter from his pocket on which he had made notes from time to time." It is clear already that this is no journal, and its unreliability is evident. On page 7, it says that Easter Island was discovered on April 6th (the correct date was April 5th), a mistake endlessly repeated later. In this first publication the story of the "giants" already comes up: that Rapanui men were twelve feet high, the women "only" ten feet, etc. The short text is interspersed with moralistic little poems about the hardships on this unsuccessful trip; I find them rather endearing:

"...You bring nothing back, but must be content
With an empty purse, that's why I say:
Farewell Southland, farewell, you cannot charm me,
I do not seek those treasures, that mislead so many"

and then the poet asks from whom he can borrow wings to fly to heaven and rest there in peace.

This is perhaps the most authentic part of the entire pamphlet.

2) The second anonymous publication appeared in 1728, its title: Tweejaarige Reysse door de Straat Magellanes en rondom de Wereld ter nader Ontdekkinge der onbekende Zuydlanden, Dordrecht, 1728. The title already contains a blatant mistake because Roggeveen did not sail through the Straits of Magellan but rounded Cape Horn. There were also later editions of this book in 1758, 1764 and 1774, so obviously it was in demand.

The introduction of this "Two Years' Journey" is a bit on the same line as the earlier pamphlet; the edi-
tor (1728:3) states: "The narratives that follow were handed over to me and prepared by me for printing; I have elaborated when indicated with short historical descriptions of the countries, regions and peoples visited, as collected by the most trustworthy authors on these regions. And because extraordinary matters hardly find belief in this century, amongst which the stories about the giants, as seen by my travelers, and might therefore lightly be discarded as trivial nonsense, it will become clear to you from the descriptions by men whose judgment has always been respected that in those countries people of such an exceptional length have been found in more than one region."

The difficulty with this book is that one never knows when the narrating sailor is giving his own impressions or the editor is interrupting with his "descriptions" that demonstrate his erudition because they show that he has indeed read many books on these subjects.

The narrator (ibid.:41,44) says that he has always had an insatiable appetite for traveling and that the coming departure of Roggeveen's fleet gave him a unique opportunity to satisfy his desire. So he joined the West Indies Company as a sailor. He states: "On the 6th day of this month (the same mistake!) we discovered an island hitherto unknown." "As soon as we had anchored..." (compare with Behrens who wrote, "We could not anchor that day"), "we sighted a nice little sloop of a very strange shape, completely sewn together from pieces of wood, hardly more than half a foot long. This sloop was manned by one man alone, a giant of 12 feet long who tried in vain to escape..." Then he repeats word for word the text from the Short and Accurate Narrative on how the sailors could pass between the legs of the giants without bowing their heads. This is certainly plagiarized from the earlier publication.

The sailor (ibid.:44,51-2) gives some interesting eye-witness accounts: "these men had their bodies painted with a red or dark brown color and the women with a scarlet color" and a description of a banana is given: it is characterized as a "fig" and its leaves were used to protect man from the sun and rain and that Adam and Ever had already used such "fig leaves" for cover. As for the statues, he notes "Two stones of a size that surpasses belief serve them as gods. One stone was exceedingly large and lay on the earth, on top of this one there was another stone of such size and height that seven of our men with outstretched arms could hardly embrace it." And, "It seemed impossible to us that these stones could have been moved, however strong the inhabitants were, and placed on top of the other." The names of the gods were "Taurico" and "Dago" (also mentioned in the Short and Accurate Narrative). "For these idols the savages had deep respect and they venerated them with great esteem, principally by dancing, jumping, jubilation and the clapping of hands in the way, as we read it in the Bible, that the children of Israel honored the Golden Calf (ibid.:54).

It is rewarding to follow the editor (ibid.:44), when he takes over again from the sailor's narrative for, evidently realizing that he is stretching things a bit in regard to the giants, he adds: "I do not doubt that most people that read about this voyage will not believe me and will consider this story about the giants an invention...but I will prove this in the next chapter."

The following chapter cites the Bible as proof, mentioning Og, the King of Bazan, Goliath and the children of Enak (in whose eyes the Israelites were like locusts). Then comes stories of giants in other regions, mainly Patagonia: "I would not be surprised if someone...might think that these giants might possibly be descendants of the Kanaanites, who venerated amongst their gods an idol named Dagon. Their bodies were outsized, but they were driven out of the country by Joshua. But it is more probable that these [giants] belong to the family of the Patagonians...who were driven by a storm in their tiny sloops from the mainland to this island." [Well, here we have from one of the very first visitors Heyerdahl's thesis presented more than 200 years 'avant la lettre']. "But if these Patagonians are not themselves descendants of those old Kanaanites and inhabitants of Phoenicia, who, flying from Joshua from the Mediterranean and driven by a storm across the great ocean to the beaches of South America and from there to the nearest (sic) islands, I do not believe that anyone will reject that off hand or accept it as the full truth." (ibid.:54).

An illustration from the Two Years' Voyage has
been reproduced in Easter Island Studies, edited by S.R. Fischer (1993:73); it is indeed the earliest illustration ever published about Easter Island.

While on the subject of giants–without wishing anyone to believe these stories—I must draw attention to the journal of Captain Felipe Gonzalez who visited Easter Island in 1770. He states (Corney 1908:99) that the men were very tall: "...there were two whom out of curiosity we measured, one of 6 feet 5 inches and the other 6 feet 6½ inches, all their limbs being of proportionate measures." One cannot deny that at least these two Rapanui men were exceptionally tall even by today's standards.

3) Nader Onderzoek en Bericht van zijne Reyse naar de Zuid-Landen by C.F. Behrens was first published in Amsterdam in 1732; later German editions appeared in 1737 and 1739 and a French edition also in 1739 (Sharp 1970:17). Behrens at least had had a better education than the two anonymous sailors but he was too much like Baron von Münchhausen: exaggerating his own role in all events. He was an adventurer, born in 1701 in the Duchy of Mecklenburg (Germany), and came to the Netherlands to try his luck. He joined the West Indies Company's fleet as a member of the small military group that Roggeveen had on board to conquer Southland. Behrens claims that he was the "commander" of this group and the first to set foot on Easter Island. Het Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen (The Scientific Society of Zealand) checked Behrens' claims; it appears he joined the fleet as a soldier and was later promoted to corporal. However, a sergeant and a lieutenant were above him in rank (Annual Report, Middelburg 1911:50). Behrens had no knowledge of navigation whatsoever.

Behrens' German edition was translated into English by Corney (1908) and added as Appendix I to the 1903 (pp.131-7) edition of the Hakluyt Society on the Voyage of Don Felipe Gonzalez to Easter Island in 1770-1771. I studied the French edition of 1739 and found there are marked differences between the two (my page numbers refer to the French edition). Some of Behrens' (1793:121-3) remarks compare to points already mentioned from the other books: "The island was discovered on the 6th of April;" and on the subject of a naked fisherman coming on board, he states that "...his body was completely painted with all sorts of figures." As for size, he notes that "He was rather tall, strong and robust." That is not exactly a giant. Behrens also observes that islanders had tattoos in the form of birds, a point not noted by others. He remarks that "They made fires at the foot of their statues and made offerings and prayers there to their idols." More quotations will follow in another context.

4) One of the first English translations of the anonymous accounts was by John Hamilton Moore, in A New and Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels, London, 1778 [see article in RNJ, Vol.7 (3)].

This then is the material by which Roggeveen's journey had to be judged between the years 1727 and 1838. No wonder that no one could figure out exactly what had happened on that trip. After publication of the reports on the Pacific voyages of La Perouse and Captain Cook, students began to compare them to find out the exact geographical location of the islands that had been discovered and to compare their names. This was not easy; Roggeveen had a habit of baptizing islands by trivial names that related to incidents during his visits. The name Easter Island itself is an example, but he also created Dirty Island, Harmful Island (where they lost the Afrikaansche Galey), Traitors Island, Flies Island, Refreshment Island, Dawn and Dusk, etc. Sailors from other nations had given more exalted names to the same islands (they seldom inquired as to what the natives called them). The question was to find out which island was which.

In 1798 a French scholar made an effort in this direction: C.P. Claret Fleurieu wrote Voyage autour du Monde pendant les Annees 1790, 1791, et 1792 par Etienne Marchand...auquel on a joint un Examen Critique du Voyage de Roggeween, Paris 1798-1800. This consists of four tremendous and beautiful tomes with valuable maps included. But it is no wonder that Fleurieu was frustrated by the contradictions in the narratives which were available at that time. His 'critical examination' becomes prejudiced against Roggeveen. He writes (Fleurieu 1798:275) about: "...the obscurity, up the present impenetrable, that reigns in the relations of the voyage of this admiral" and, further on, "There is no one who presents to the geographer less exact determinations and less proper bases to serve as a foundation for his work." His conclusion: "The Dutch narratives inspire little confidence." Quite so: Roggeveen has
not spoken yet.

Some of Fleurieu's statements require comment: he takes note of the "giants" in the Dutch narratives (ibid.:278) and states, "The giants mentioned... could well be these colossal statues found all over the island." That remark shows some logic, only the anonymous narratives clearly relate to living persons. Fleurieu adds to the confusion himself in his efforts at geography. Zero meridian over the Greenwich Observatory in England had not yet been universally accepted l thus the French worked with zero meridian over Paris and the Dutch with the Teide, the snow capped volcano on Tenerife in the Canary Islands. Fleurieu can't figure out all these different meridians, particularly because Behrens indicates a different location. Then he comes up with a brilliant solution: Behrens, being German, must have worked with zero meridian from his "native city of Mecklenburg" (ibid.:286). In fact, there has never been a city of Mecklenburg; Behrens was born in Rostock, in the Duchy of Mecklenberg. Sharp (1970:16) repeats this mistake. Fleurieu (1798-1800:287) also gives Roggeveen bad marks because the anonymous narratives indicate the day of the discovery of Easter Island as the 6th of April and, in looking at the calendar, he has found that Easter Day in 1722 was on the 5th. He considers this an inaccuracy on the part of Roggeveen.

Fleurieu mentions another book on Roggeveen's voyage by John Harris, published in 1764 (first edition probably published in 1745) in which the editor states that this narrative was supplied by the officer who commanded the troops on the Admiral's ship, but whose name is not mentioned. Behrens served on the Admiral's ship and I suspect him to have supplied the manuscript for translation into English. Fleurieu does not mention the title, but its date of publication is prior to that of John Hamilton Moore.

All this shows the harm done to the reputation of Jacob Roggeveen by the absence of his own journal, which made any serious study of his voyage virtually impossible. People in the Dutch province of Zealand were upset by the harsh criticisms made by Fleurieu and tried to rehabilitate Roggeveen's reputation by writing a pamphlet with this in mind. However, they had little to go on.

Historians knew that a copy of Roggeveen's own journal had been sent to Middelburg on 30 November 1722 because a letter existed that advised of the arrival of that document. A search was begun and then, in 1836 (114 years later!), someone opened a file concerning Surinam and out came Roggeveen's journal. It had been misfiled. More details can be found about all this in Andrew Sharp (1970).

5. In 1838, the Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen published Dagverhaal der Ontdekking- reis van Mr. Jacob Roggeveen in de jaren 1721 en 1722, Middelburg. This was Roggeveen's own journal, the only authentic source. From that moment on, one had no longer to rely on the apocryphal fantasies published before. But for many years no one outside the Netherlands paid attention to this most important publication.

This is the moment to revert to the day of the discovery of Easter Island. The anonymous accounts as well as Behrens mention 6 April, Roggeveen himself offers the solution. He writes in his journal that in the evening of the 5th, the Afrikaansche Galey (the smallest and fastest ship, always sailing ahead and used for reconnaissance) "...headed into the wind in order to wait for us, giving a signal of seeing land...we asked what she had seen, whereupon it was answered that they had seen very distinctly ahead to starboard a low flat island...." "Here upon it was found fitting...to let drift so as to wait for the coming of the day. This being thus decided, we gave to Captain Bouman l who was astern l the relevant information and to the land the name of Paasch Eiland because it was discovered and found by us on Easter Day." Roggeveen's question, "We asked what she had seen..." makes it absolutely clear that only the Afrikaansche Galey was near enough to the coast for its crew to see the island; those on the other ships, including Roggeveen himself, only saw the island the following day, the 6th. This entry also makes it clear that Roggeveen baptized the island before dusk on the 5th, even before he had seen it himself. Fischer, in Easter Island Studies (1993:63) quotes both me and Behrens, saying that the naming took place upon departure, the 10th of April. The quotes are correct, but Roggeveen's entry in his journal of April 5th proves that both Bouman and Behrens were wrong. It is possible they only heard of the name on the 10th. The first English translation of the sec-
tion in Roggeveen's own journal that concerns Easter Island was published in Corney, 1908.

6. In February 1910 when F.E. Baron Mulert started to edit Roggeveen's journal for publication in the series, Linschoten Vereeniging, he missed the journal of Captain Cornelis Bouman of the Tienhoven, the second ship in Roggeveen's fleet. The board of the Linschoten Vereeniging sent a circular to its members to look for it and, before the month was out, a copy appeared, found among some family papers. It was again the Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen that was the first to publish it in its annual report on the year 1911: *Scheepsjournaal gehouden op het schip Tienhoven tijdens de Ontdekingsreis van Mr. Jacob Roggeveen, 1721-1722*, edited by F.E. Baron Mulert. In his introduction, Mulert (1911:58) expresses the opinion that in seamanship, Bouman even surpassed Roggeveen; the exactitude of his indications and his nautical details were considered of the greatest importance. This is without doubt the second most important journal.

7. In the 1811 edition of the Linschoten Vereeniging edited by Baron Mulert, *De Reis van Mr. Jacob Roggeveen*, the full text of both journals of Roggeveen and Bouman were published with many notes and comments added. (Only the daily meteorological reports were omitted). This edition must be considered as the standard work on this voyage.

8. In 1970 an excellent translation in English by Andrew Sharp, *The Journal of Jacob Roggeveen* was published by Clarendon Press, Oxford. This not only contains Roggeveen's own journal, but includes notes whenever Bouman or Behrens have something significant to add. So much for the inventory.

**Evaluation**

It was only after its first publication in 1838 that investigators began comparing Roggeveen's own journal with the stories that had been published a century earlier. Those who did, came to the following conclusions:

1. The first to comment on the old sources after the discovery of Roggeveen's journal was the Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen in their 1838 publication of *Dagverhaal*: "It is clear how little one can trust the stories of those two authors." They then give fifteen pages of corrections on the route taken; the geographical position of Easter Island; the 'big battle' in the North Sea against five pirate ships (as described by Behrens--Roggeveen only mentions seeing five ships in the distance); and the incorrect map included in the booklet, etc.

2. Prof. Dr. C.E. Meinicke from Dresden was the first investigator outside the Netherlands to take note of Roggeveen's journal; he made a detailed study of Roggeveen's navigation, observing that the anonymous narratives are no journals at all, but all from memory after the sailors had returned: "...both writers are...equally unreliable and untrustworthy. In short, it is beyond doubt that nothing can be done with these sources." (Meinicke 1874:4-5).

3. Bolton Glanvill Corney (1908:XXII) writes in his introduction to the Hakluyt Society edition, *Tweejarige Reis*; the writer, whose identity has never been revealed but who appears to have been one of the persons embarked in the expedition, brought notoriety--if not ridicule--upon himself, and some discredit upon the whole undertaking, by the fanciful and palpable fictions with which he interspersed his father illiterate narration."

4. In 1908 the journal of Captain Bouman of the Tienhoven was found and published. It fully corroborates Roggeveen's own journal.

5. The Linschoten Vereeniging published in 1911 the texts of both Roggeveen and Bouman for comparison, with corrections and notes; it is edited by Mulert.

6. To my knowledge, the most recent comparison between Roggeveen's journal and the old accounts is by Sharp (1970). He (ibid.:14-15) notes, "Before 1836 the main sources of knowledge of Roggeveen's voyage had been published accounts of a markedly corrupt and misleading character."

In short, all investigators that I have been able to find dissociated themselves from the old sources after comparing them to Roggeveen's and Bouman's journals. For those who might not find this convincing enough, I give a few textual comparisons on two subjects, the landscape and female behavior on Easter Island in 1722:
"These stone statues caused us great surprise: because we could not understand how it was possible these people, who are devoid of heavy and thick wood, to make any machine...could erect these statues of more than ten feet high" (Roggeveen, 10 April; quoted from Mulert 1911:121).

However, Behrens (1739:138) states that "The whole [island] is cultivated and well kept, it is full of woods and forests."

In regard to women, Roggeveen (Mulert 1911:123) states "It is also very remarkable that we saw no more than 2 or 3 old women, that wore a dress from the waist down to the knees, and another cloth draped over the shoulder but in such a way that the drooping skins of their breasts were exposed. But young women and daughters did not appear so that one has to believe that jealousy must have induced the men to hide these women in a remote part of the island." In contrast, Behrens (1739:133-4) notes "The islanders showed their women to the landed sailors and made it clear that they were 'available' to the sailors. The women sat themselves amidst the sailors, and undressed smiling as if they were tempting them with different gestures. Others, who had remained in their houses, called and gestured them to come in."

I think that this comparison makes the problem sufficiently clear; what is one to believe and what not? The reader must make that decision himself. This does not mean that all the old accounts are lies, but with such unreliable sources one has to be extremely careful.

If we now, with all this information at hand, look again at the article presented in the previous issue of RNJ (Vol.7, No.3:54-6), we see that John Hamilton Moore's 1778 account came from the earlier Dutch publications; we cannot blame Moore for his inaccuracies, published fifty years before Roggeveen's journal saw the light of day. However, in RNJ, Moore's book is introduced as providing new details concerning Easter Island archaeology and ethnology--"of great interest for all experts...."

How a rehash of the old fantasies can be considered as a contribution to the history of Easter Island is difficult to understand and impossible to justify.
In October and November of 1993 Earthwatch volunteers participated in the excavation of three archaeological sites within the vicinity of Maunga Tari, a parasitic cindercone located in the central part of the island. These excavations were part of a long term research project directed toward acquiring an understanding of the prehistoric settlement system and how it was transformed over time in response to changing environmental and socio-political conditions. The specific issues addressed by the current excavations include the identification of the upland crops, the technologies used in their production and processing, the temporal period of site use, and the type of ritual activity associated with the site complex.

Previous excavations in 1989 and 1992 focused on the excavation of a small isolated house (10-241) and a larger house pavement (10-244) located just below the crater rim. Site 10-241 produced evidence for extensive plant processing during the 15th and 16th centuries while Site 10-244 was interpreted to represent a chiefly residence with later rebuilding and reuse as a domestic settlement occupied until the middle 1600’s. A variety of other site types within the area were present and three sites were selected for investigation during this field season (Figure 1).

Site 10-242
Site 10-242 consisted of a large number of simple circles formed by a single course of stone surrounded by a wall of larger basalt fragments (Figure 1). Because the tall grass had obscured the ground surface, the perimeter of the enclosure could not be accurately located. However, a set of 9 adjacent planting circles were found within the enclosure and the vegetation removed to expose them. The perimeter of the circles consisted of small basalt stones placed end to end. A few of the stones showed indications of shaping on the upper and interior surfaces. All but one of the circles were more than 50% complete and ranged between 90 cm and 150 cm in interior diameter.

The circles were positioned in three parallel alignments which were oriented in a northwest-southeast direction. The circles were staggered in relation to the two closest alignments so that each circle was offset from its lateral neighbors. No other archaeological features were found between the existing circles.

A total of twenty-four, 2 m² test units were excavated in a checker board pattern across the 24 m x 8 m project area. In addition, each of the circles was cross-sectioned to determine if root casts or cultural remains were preserved within the interior. The excavations revealed that the soil within each circle had been thoroughly mixed in the past, as evidenced by a soil profile containing interspersed soil types. Typically present within the center of the soil profile was a area of stained soil with a diameter of approximately 25 cm and a depth of 20 cm. Basin shaped in base morphology, the bottom of the feature was usually defined by a thin layer of red, burned soil and associated carbon staining. Below this lens the soil was very soft and contained vertical and radiating root casts with an average diameter of 8 mm. These root casts normally extended to bedrock which was encountered at a depth of around 50 cm.

Unfortunately, the type of plant represented by the root casts could not be identified on the basis of shape alone. However, the presence of reddened earth and carbon stained soil within each circle suggested that the plants had burned. It is possible that the carbonized fragments recovered from the soil flotation process will result in the identification of the plant types grown within the circles.

Site 10-243
Site 10-243 was a low alignment of stone which ran across the exterior slope of Maunga Tari for a distance of approximately 60 m. The stones were 25 - 40 cm in diameter and had been placed end to end. At several locations the alignment had been disturbed and small portions were missing.

Three, 1 m x 2 m excavation units were placed perpendicular to the alignment. The soil profiles
within each unit were virtually identical. The top 4 cm consisted of a light red granular colluvium underlain by a yellow-brown B-horizon which was uniform in color and texture to the interface with the red-orange subsoil.

Within the soil profiles of each test unit a small basin shaped channel feature was observed. The fill of the channel was a light brown to grey-brown in color. The surface of the feature occurred at the base of the colluvium and had been excavated into the B-horizon. This feature was interpreted to represent a water control structure which collected surface runoff for diversion into a field or reservoir area. However, no surface indications of these latter features were present. Obsidian fragments from within the channel fill may provide an approximate terminal date for the use of the canal.

Site 10-246

Site 10-246 was a small ahu located on the eastern rim the Maunga Tari crater. It consisted of a low, eroded mound of fill with a height of approximately 40 cm above the surrounding ground level. Surface remains consisted of several short alignments in original position and high densities of small beach pebbles. Minor amounts of obsidian were also present on top of the structure.

Two alignments of test units were placed across the mound in the form of a cross to investigate the ahu architecture and a centrally located cist. In each unit at least half of the area was excavated to subsoil or bedrock to reveal the soil profile along each axis of the structure.

The excavations revealed that the ahu was a small platform with a E-W length of 5.2 m and a N-S width of 4.2 m. It was rectangular in shape and possibly had subrounded corners. The original height would have been approximately 50-60 cm and no lateral wings were present. A small cist containing burned bone fragments was contained within the limits of the platform and located to the rear in a central position. The dimensions of the cist were 150 cm x 65 cm.

A large fragment of Rano Raraku tuff found within the surface layer of platform fill suggested that a statue had once been present and later destroyed. Located on the eastern margin of the mound and completely buried within the fill was a red scoria topknot. Oval in shape, it was 55 cm x 50 cm in diameter and 40 cm high. It had only suffered minor damage prior to its intentional burial in a pit. If we estimate that the topknot constituted 20% of the total height of the entire figure, then it is proposed that the moai was 1.6 m in height with a total height of 2 m for the statue and topknot together.

Based upon the platform dimensions and orientation of the cist it is likely that the moai faced the crater interior of Maunga Tari. Along the front of the ahu, however, there was no indication of a ramp or pavement. It is likely though, that the surface of the platform was paved using a combination of flat basalt fragments, several larger sea stones (poro), and large quantities of beach pebbles.

Excavation of the cist revealed the presence of high bone fragment densities within a matrix of carbon stained soil. However, there was no evidence for direct burning within the cist. The soil from approximately 80% of the feature was removed and was floated to remove the cultural remains. An inspection of the remains indicated the majority of the fragments consisted of human bone with cranial fragments, teeth, long bone fragments, and ribs. It is likely that multiple individuals were present. Bones from chicken were also present but evidence for fish and rat were rare. Two small obsidian discs from perishable image figures were also recovered and were thought to represent eyes. These items and the non-human bone are interpreted to represent offerings burned with the individuals.

Surrounding the central cist were other subsurface earthen pits. One of the isolated pits was determined to be approximately 85 cm long and 35 cm wide. Based upon the soil profile, it appeared that the pit was dug through the platform fill and into the lower B-horizon. Small quantities of burned bone had been deposited and the pit re-filled, incorporating small amounts of basalt fill and sea pebbles within the yellow-brown matrix. The current interpretation is that these secondary deposits of human remains were interred after the original use of the ahu as an altar had ceased since the pits were excavated through the fill of the platform.

This short report represents a summary of the field observations. A detailed report of the excavations and laboratory analysis is currently in preparation.
Figure 1. The Maunga Tari Project Area with prehistoric site locations (after Christino et al. 1981) Scale 1:5 m

Reviewed by Steven R. Fischer, Ph.D.
Meersburg, Germany

It is amazing: Did you know that five Easter Islands could fit into Greater Moscow?

Irina Fedorova of St. Petersburg, Russia, has been studying and publishing about Rapanui for over 30 years. Russia's foremost Rapanui scholar (she has never been to the island), she is perhaps best known as an expert on the island's language, rongorongo, and artistic creations. She is also the author of two important earlier books about Rapanui (Fedorova 1978, 1988; cf. Fischer 1991). Her latest tome, Ostrov Paskhi, presents a wealth of information that is excellently documented, showing that its author commands all secondary literature on the subject up to 1992; Bahn and Flenley's book is quoted, and the Rapa Nui Journal (unfortunately localized in Chile, p.9) and Rongorongo Studies are both quoted. Through the production is perhaps not up to Western standards (paper, illustrations, binding), the front cover is refreshingly novel--a half-profile watercolor of ahu Naunau on a white background.

The seven-page "Introduction" comprises an in-depth geographical, geological, natural scientific, and social treatise on the island that makes full use of Rapanui vocabulary in Cyrillic transcription. (After all, Fedorova compiled the only Rapanui-Russian, Russian-Rapanui dictionary [Fedorova 1988:104-241].) I have found nothing of such compact comprehensiveness in any other single Slavic essay about the island.

Whereupon follow the twelve chapters: "Legendary History of Polynesian Settlement"; "Life and Customs of the Rapanui"; "Social Structure of the Rapanui from the End of the 18th to the Beginning of the 19th Centuries"; "Religious-Mythological Thought of the Inhabitants of Easter Island, and Its Ritualistic Realization"; "Origin and Features of Rapanui Tattooing"; "Reflections and Mythological Conceptions in Rapanui Creative Art"; "Meaning and Function of the Plaited Images"; "The Monumental Sculpture of Easter Island"; "Rapanui Myths and Legends and their Rapport with Pan-Polynesian Folklore"; "The Pauta'uta'u Songs"; "Rapanui Place Names as Evidence for Natural Conditions, History, Ethnology, and Folklore"; and "The Rapanui Language as Ethnogenetical Source of Information." These are followed by a short, four-page conclusion and an exhaustive bibliography that is divided first into Russian (in Cyrillic) then into other (in Latin script) citations.

Irina Fedorova is clearly at the forefront of Slavic research on Rapanui. Convinced of the exclusively Polynesian origin of the Rapanui people, who probably arrived from the Marquesas Islands in the first few centuries A.D., she takes pains to counter the "American origin" hypothesis with a wealth of citations that one only rarely finds from Slavic scholars of the Pacific, and argues her case forcibly. (One must appreciate that the "American origin" hypothesis has never been favored by Slavic scholars). Through making full use of the corpus of Rapanui settlement legends, about which she is one of the world's leading experts, she warns us at the same time that these cannot be understood as historical reality, and she qualifies them, rightly in my opinion, as important tools primarily "for the study of various aspects of the material and spiritual culture of the Rapanui" (p.48).

With great detail, she describes the Rapanui in their larger Polynesian context, and overwhelms the reader with information on all aspects of Rapanui history and culture. If anything, Ostrov Paskhi is the long-overdue Slavic response to Métraux's 1940 classic Ethnology of Easter Island, though Fedorova emphasizes the artistic and oral-literary elaborations of the island's 18th and 19th century culture, as her title announces. A priceless addendum for those studying Rapanui legends is the highly detailed, subdivided "Index of Motifs and Subjects of Easter Island Folklore" (pp.213-23), with full bibliographical references to each.

I have only minor criticisms. Neither the glottal stop nor vowel length is marked in the Rapanui words; as a linguist, Fedorova should know better and finally accept international conventions. A few...
names sometimes fail to acknowledge standard spellings: e.g., Tanga Roa (p.196) instead of Tangaroa (p.91); Tukuihu (p.212) instead of Tu'u ko lho (but Tuu, p.93); and Otuu (p.95) from the Tu'u tribe. But these are only minor inconsistencies and archaic spellings. I'm very glad to see the nasal velar written here as ng (e.g., Hangaroa, p.234), consistent with general, but no means exclusive, Polynesian convention. The name Rapanui is given in the book in an archaic hyphenized form as "Rapa-Nui".

The book is a significant contribution to Rapanui scholarship by a respected scientist who commands the field in her language area: I know of none better in the Slavic language. Irina Federova deserves the congratulations of all her international colleagues, who would do well to at last to acquaint themselves with their Russian counterparts. Perhaps Ostrov Paskhi will topple those last Cold War walls in our field, freeing it for that long-overdue open exchange of ideas.

REFERENCES


PUBLICATIONS


Crawford, Peter. 1993. Nomads of the Wind: A Natural History of Polynesia. BBC Books, Woodlands, 80 Wood Lane, London W12 0TT, England. ISBN 0 563 36707 5. Hardcover, quality production, 8x10 size; price £18.99. 264 pages plus glossary and bibliography. Maps, color photographs throughout. This book was written to accompany the television series of the same name; it explores the natural history, wildlife, and the people who inhabit this ocean world, and will be reviewed in an upcoming issue.


Basically a 'photo-essay' format, there is a final section by Catherine and Michel Orliac that deals with the settlement and prehistory of the island. This book contains some breath-taking photographs. Watch for an in-depth review in our next issue.


Included are two papers on Easter Island: "The
of photogrammetry, laser scan and computer-assisted drafting in the analysis of Easter Island statuary," by J.A. Van Tilburg; and "The Easter Island prehistoric sequence and developments in its settlement pattern," by P. Vargas.

This volume can be purchased from the New Zealand Archaeological Association Publications, Auckland Museum, Private Bag 92018, Auckland, N.Z. Cost is NZ $35; orders will be invoiced.


L’Echo de Rapa Nui, No. 24, for Octobre 1993. Clos du Parc 6, Braine L’Alleud, Belgium.

Les Mystères Résolus de l’île de Pâques. Cercle d’Études sur l’île de Pâques et la Polynésie. Éditions STEP. First published in 1982 and titled Nouveau regard sur l’île de Pâques (Moana), this revised book has contributions by 26 authors and a preface by Jean Dausslet. Available soon. For further information, write: Cercle d’études sur l’île de Pâques, 6-297 Parc de Petit Bourg, 91000 Evry, France.

Pacific News Bulletin, Vol.8(9) for September and Vol.8(10) for October 1993. P.O. Box 489, Petersham NSW 2049, Australia.


Included in this issue are the following papers: "Tahitian Phonology: Missionary perceptions, 1801-1802" by Jack H. Ward; "The Rapanui Language as a Source of Ethnohistorical Information" by Irina K. Fedorova; plus reviews of recent publications.


The latest edition of South Pacific Handbook contains 800 pages and is a one-volume reference to Tahiti-Polynesia, Cook Islands, Pitcairn, Easter Island, Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, Vanuatu, Solomons, New Caledonia, etc. The soft-cover book is fully indexed and includes maps and drawings, and both black and white and color photographs. Readers might assume that RNJ is being paid off for giving glowing reviews to Stanley’s guide books. Would that it were so.


Tok Blong SPPF, No.44 for August 1993. Canada. A complimentary copy of this Quarterly can be had by writing to SPPF, 415-620 View St., Victoria BC, Canada V8W 1J6.


This publication is Wallin’s doctoral thesis; it analyses ceremonial stone structures in the Society Islands, examines the research of others, and discusses the problems of variation and change over time. An attempt is made to interpret the meanings behind the marae by relating the archaeological data to the ethnohistorical sources. This publication will be reviewed in a future issue of RNJ.
It was with a mixture of understanding and sadness that the EIF received the resignation of its President, Joan Seaver Kurze. Joan has served brilliantly from the beginning and has devoted much of the last five years to the Foundation. But now she has other interests, most of all her husband of two years, Dr. Ted Kurze, and she feels it’s time to move on.

We are pleased to announce that the search for a new president ended most successfully with the appointment of Barbara B. Hinton of Houston, Texas. A true rapanuiphile, Barbara comes to the Foundation with much experience in heading up charitable causes and publicity. The membership of the EIF has welcomed her most warmly, and looks forward to stimulating new leadership.

And from the new President comes the following: "I am delighted to be helping the Easter Island Foundation move forward in establishing the William Mulloy Library on the island. I hope my enthusiasm and experiences can be instrumental in focusing the efforts of the Foundation, and in expanding its outreach and opportunities."  

Barbara B. Hinton, Houston, Texas

The Easter Island Foundation/Fundación Rapa Nui takes great pleasure in announcing that the William Mulloy Library is open and available to all individuals interested in Easter Island and related topics. The librarian, Betty Haoa Rapahango, will be happy to assist you in locating books, magazines, and other materials. All materials are on reserve; however, a photocopier is available with a modest per page charge. The Library is located on the main floor of the Museo Sociedad Fonck, Calle 4 Norte at Calle 1 Oriente, Viña del Mar, Chile. Tel: 56 (32) 68 67 53.

The Library is open from Tuesday through Friday, 2:30-5:30 p.m., or by special appointment. For more information, contact Dr. William Liller, Casilla 437, Viña del Mar, Chile. Tel.: 56 (32) 83 26 21.

The EIF proudly announces that their most recent publication is now in press: The Ancient Solar Observatories of Rapa Nui: The Archaeoastronomy of Easter Island by William Liller. This fascinating exploration of the island’s solar observatories is based on the early research by the late archaeologist, William Mulloy. Over 30 illustrations, index and glossary. All proceeds benefit the Easter Island Foundation. The Ancient Solar Observatories of Rapa Nui will be available from the Easter Island Foundation, 666 Dead Cat Alley, Woodland, CA 95695. Price: $13.50 plus shipping/handling.

**NEWS AND NOTES**

**What's New in Polynesia**

**Suva, Fiji:** The University of the South Pacific Bulletin announces an important find of prehistoric Lapita pottery on the island of Totoya, in the southern Lau group, southeast of Fiji. The research team, aside from eight USP students, included Dr. Paddy Nunn, USP; Anthony Cole, Massey University; and Dr. Jeffrey Clark, University of North Dakota. The Totoya expedition was a multi-disciplinary project to study relationships between human society and the environment. Studies included settlement patterns, a palynology study (analysis of pollens), and sea level changes. Clark will be carbon dating some of the pottery sherds, which bear the distinctive bands of geometric patterns, typical of Lapita ware.

**• Suva will also be the location of the VIII Pacific Science Inter-Congress in 1997, "The Islands in the Pacific-Century."**

**• Cook Islands:** The Minister of Education, Ngereteina Puna, states that for permanent residency, one should know how to speak the indigenous Cook Islands Maori language. It is now a requirement for holders of senior positions in the government; if they can't speak it, they don't get the job. (Pacific News Bulletin 8(8):14.)

**• Kiribati:** A Japanese space experiment, due for next March, involves an orbital re-entry experiment, OREX. A vehicle launched from Japan will travel into space and return, dropping into the Pacific some 500 km from Christmas Island. The rocket will sink and stay at the bottom. Kiribati officials fear that, as it will be carrying chemicals,
these may harm the marine life around Christmas Island. (Pacific News Bulletin 8(9):10.

WHAT'S NEW IN HANGAROA
• El Mercurio (Valparaíso) for 3 October features a large photograph of the trash left on Rapanui by the Hollywood makers of the movie, Rapa Nui. The caption states that the filmmakers promised to remove all the resulting garbage but have not done so.
• The Armada transport ship Aquiles is bringing a moai to the mainland town of Limache (located twenty miles east of Viña del Mar, Chile). The statue was sent as a gift by Alcalde Alberto Hotus to Alcalde Rigoberto Calderón of Limache. However, this statue is one of the replicas used in the Costner film: it weights 300 kilos and is 9.2 feet tall. For now it will be erected in front of the town hall in Limache; its permanent home will be a future Rapanui enclave to be constructed on some agricultural land. [This sounds like one way to dispose of all those plastic statues! Give them away!]
• A trail has been made at Rano Raraku with 'keho' stones; it leads from the entrance to the kneeling statue, Tukuturi, and then back to the main concentration of moai.
• A complex of 25 manavai is being constructed at Mataveri for native plants, and a new bathroom at Anakena is nearly completed.
• Heavy rains have caused three more houses at Orongo to collapse, as well as a section of the seawall at Ahu Vai Uri and the hare moa at Tahai. The lower seawall at Ahu Tautira is eroding and concern has been expressed for its stability.
• A theft of bags of cement destined for the island kindergarten was foiled and three Rapanui men jailed, one for stealing the bags, one for buying stolen goods, and a third for 'complicity.'
• The paving of Policarpo Toro is proceeding; approximately one-half of the street is now complete. Paved streets have changed the appearance of the village; no longer are vehicles followed by great clouds of dust, and rain storms no longer erode major barrancas in the roads. The new outdoor marketplace on Policarpo Toro is finished, and construction on the new Banco del Estado building is underway. This highly futuristic domed and arched structure is a startling addition to the village.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS
• El Mercurio (Valparaíso) reported that twenty university students from the Universidad Marítima returned from Rapa Nui on the Armada transport ship, Aquiles. These students of architecture and commercial engineering visited the island so that they might better incorporate "the conscience of the Oceanic reality of our nation [Chile]." One can only hope the purpose of their visit was not to design a bigger and better monumental lighthouse!
• Chile's president Aylwin signed a new Indigenous Peoples Law, thus fulfilling a 1989 election promise. For the first time there is now legal recognition that Chile is an ethnically plural society. The law recognizes the existence of six distinct ethnic groups; among them are Rapanui. The law sets up a Development Fund to be incorporated into the national budget which will assist development and living conditions of indigenous groups. Other provisions include the recognition and protection of native lands, and the respect and support for indigenous cultures and languages.
• A supply ship bound for the island on 1 December carried a cargo of animals including 12 cows, 3 horses and 250 goats. Among the horses is one of fine blood and it may be the precursor to the establishment on the island of a race course. The horse is valued at US $2650.
With regard to the news about Tongariki (RNJ 7(3):62), which mentions that the two statues replaced on the ahu have been cemented to their pedestals: "...an unfortunate choice as cement prevents the rainwater from escaping from the bases of the statues....", the following observation should be made. This is true if a pure Portland cement mortar (i.e., traditional cement mortar) was used. However, a mortar mix containing cement with lime was used, this could be adequate. Not having complete information regarding the mixture that was used in this case, it is hard to determine whether it was appropriate or not.

The composition of the mortar has to be adapted to the material where it is used. It is important that the final porosity of the mortar be similar to that of the stone of the statue. If some Portland cement is included in the mix, it should be alkali-free cement. The aggregate used in the mix should not contain soluble salts, the lime should be high-calcium, and sea water should not be employed in the preparation of the mix.

Dr. A. Elena Charola, World Monuments Fund, New York

On the one hand and on the other.

The Laramie conference was, on the one hand, one of those expensive, well organized and pleasant meetings but, on the other, also one of the usual frustrating "vanity fairs" where everyone knows everything better than everyone else, and few people care to listen, let alone appreciate what others might have to say. It was one of those events where one cannot help realizing that the relatively small community of those who are dealing with Rapa Nui, one way or another, is as mixed as any other. Besides humble, nice and friendly people with a good sense of humor and stimulating ideas on a variety of topics, there were arrogant, bumptious, sated characters with, alas, neither culture nor breeding nor manners talking nothing but hot air.

On the one hand, Carlyle Smith rightfully complained that the publications of the participants in the Norwegian Expedition are so overshadowed by those of Mr. Heyerdahl's, with which they are not or not necessarily in agreement, that they are hardly taken into account. On the other hand, it is not only the younger generations' but also his own generation's habit to ignore the work of those who have been publishing ever since and who are, as far as their age, expertise and the quality of their work are concerned, just as good as the older authors and far from being the negligible little pipsqueaks as which they are far too often treated. But obviously, there are on the one hand people who do most of the original work now, and on the other hand those who are mostly throwing their weight around. On the one hand, there are those who unfortunately do not read anything but English and know hardly anything about other parts of Polynesia, let alone Oceania or even Austronesia, a serious defect which they turn, in self-defense, into a virtue, and on the other, there are those who work in half a dozen or more languages and whose scholarly horizon includes the whole area but who play but a marginal role, if any at all. Thus, it happens, as it did at Laramie, that while some colleagues presented their papers hoping for a good debate, others, who for many years have refused to enter into this debate because of their lacking command of a particular language, preferred to hide away drinking champagne in closed circles. Incompetence in foreign languages cannot be an excuse for not being up to date in the field of one's own choice!

On our arrival from Laramie, we were awaited by Vol. 7(2) of Rapa Nui Journal. On the one hand, we were pleased to have it and to read, for example the contribution of Robert R. Koll's criticizing Thor Heyerdahl's way of handling sources and instrumentalising them at convenience in favor of his own theories. On the other hand, this is just one more example of how self-sufficient writers are and how little they care about what others are producing. It surely is to be lamented, as Heide Margaret Esen-Baur actually did in Laramie, that most English speaking colleagues do not read foreign languages, a fact, which, on the one head, is unacceptable as a stubborn excuse in scholarship but which, on the other, cannot easily be remedied. The reality, however, is far worse, because besides being unable to read foreign languages in order to
update their knowledge and information they also abstain from reading English publications in foreign scholarly periodicals. This is what happened in the case of Mr. Koll. Apparently he does not know my paper, "The ethnological significance of material representations of felines from Easter Island and the Marquesas," read at the first Easter Island Congress held on Easter Island in 1984, at which Mr. Koll was a participant, and published in English in the Berlin Journal called Baessler-Archiv, N.F.32, 1984; pp. 145-157, which deals with exactly the same questionable way of handling sources by Heyerdahl as criticized by Koll. Mr. Heyerdahl neither attended the session in which I presented my paper nor did he publicly react to it. Nevertheless, I was told that he read and disliked it. His policy of ignoring justified criticisms of his methods and theories is not an example of wisdom for those who are of good will but believe in the adequacy of their criticism. On page 4 of her 1992 book, The Rock Art of Easter Island, Georgia Lee, another participant of the 1984 Congress, concurs with Mr. Koll in criticizing Heyerdahl, but also does not mention my rather detailed article. But neither lack of information nor lack of loyalty to one's colleagues can possibly called prerequisites to fine scholarship. The request to be taken into account is not a matter of vanity, but the question arises, how scholarly progress is supposed to be attained, if investigators who are active in the same field ignore or disregard each others' publications. We call for an extension of knowledge, the widening of mental horizon and a strengthening of the individual ego. All this would enable everyone to accept justified criticism and adequately react to it instead of constantly feeling offended!

To end on a positive and uncontroversial note, we wish to point out that we thoroughly enjoyed the hospitality and cheerful spirit of those in charge of the organization of the conference. Thanks to them and to Charley Love as a superb tour guide through Yellowstone National Park, Laramie and Wyoming will be unforgettable.

Annette Bierbach and Horst Cain, Germany.

Correction

We regret that, in our last issue, RNJ 7(3), in Paul Bahn's excellent review of the Laramie meetings, "Rapa Nui Rendezvous: A personal view", three lines of text were accidentally eaten by our computer. Please note the following corrections, which are underlined:

Page 45, paragraph 2: "According to the official tally, about 170 people attended. It was a great pity that so few Old World specialists could make it."

Page 46, column 2, paragraph 3: "... and in some respects that was only right and fitting—it's probably fair to say that almost everyone was there, ultimately, because of Heyerdahl's having captured our imagination with Kon-Tiki...."

Page 47, paragraph 1: "When he finally turned to Tucume we were shown no picture of the site or the excavations; and even the much trumpeted clay bas-relief was presented by a single slide showing that seemed to be a squatting curvilinear anthropomorph...."

Remember Tarawa

There are no moai in Tarawa. Maybe not even a small monument to Captain Bryon, who discovered the islands in 1764, nor to Hiram Bingham, one of the men from Honolulu who founded a mission in Abaiang, another of the Gilbert Islands, during the 1850s.

This Hiram Bingham was the son of one of the American Congregationalists that were sent as the first Protestant missionaries to Hawai'i in 1819. He adapted the Hawaiian language to writing and he published Elementary Lessons in Hawaiian in 1852 and, with other authors, considered the elementary written Hawaiian good enough to translate the Bible into it. He died in 1869, but his son followed in his footsteps, reducing the language of the Gilbert Islands to writing and, yes, translated the Bible into it. He retired to Honolulu in 1864 and in 1875 he had a son whom he called Hiram.

This last Hiram Bingham became the famous archaeologist, but he didn't (to my knowledge) translate the Bible. He wrote several books on his area of expertise as well as on the Monroe Doctrine. I haven't seen any reference to Bingham visiting Easter Island after discovering Vitcos and Machu Pichu in 1911-12 but, who knows, maybe he subscribed to some theories that became better known later.

In Tarara there are no moai. Nor could any other monument have survived the man-made "tsunami"
of November 1943 when the US Marines arrived to capture the islands from the Japanese. Tarawa is a small atoll, 7.7 sq. miles, that became a British Protectorate in 1892 and was included in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands colony in 1915. It was still strategically important when occupied by the Japanese in December 1941. The Colony Headquarters were moved there from Ocean Island during World War II and an airstrip was in use at the nearby south western islet of Betio (no airport was later built that might be suitable for the spaceship Columbia).

The Japanese forces in Tarawa surrendered or died when the "tsunami" occurred and the surviving US Marines used the islands as a base to attack the Marshall Islands, where Bikini atoll became the site for other experiments from 1946 through 1958. When the British colony became independent several decades later, there were government offices, a hospital and leper station, and coconut and palm trees although the soil is poor and, according to the encyclopedia, yields only taro.

Nowadays in Tarawa, the hospital is under the Ministry of Health, Family Planning and Social Welfare of the Republic of Kiribati. There is also an Indigenous Post Secondary Educational Institution with Divisions of Martial arts, Commercial School, Junior and Senior College. But other symbols of modern development seem yet to be absent from Tarawa.

That is the case at least for the school that, according to its director, Waitea Ataria, is not as well funded as similar institutions are if they are situated in today’s Japan or United States. Thus, Waitea Ataria is asking for support to help his school in Tarara, Kiribati.

Some 120 years after Hiram Bingham translated the Bible, a century after Britain established the Protectorate, fifty years after Tarara played a key role in World War II, Waitea Ataria writes: "We are searching for qualified teachers...to uplift the teaching in our poor school. We just don’t know any right person or place to contact on our requests. Our local staff is not capable to operate Level 5 next year 1994.

Our committees also need funds from associations, or societies or churches for our poor school...to improve the campus, classrooms, teachers’ houses...Could you please assist us on that?"

And his letter ends: "Our school will begin on February 7th, 1994".

To offer your help, or for more information, please write to:

Mr. Waitea Ataria, Director
The Indigenous Post Secondary Educational Institution; PO Box 306, Bikenibeu, Tarawa Island, Republic of Kiribati.

Ruben V. Gianzone, New York

The Institute of Archaeology Publications (UCLA) is offering Monumenta Archaeologica 17, The Rock Art of Easter Island: Symbols of Power, Prayers to the Gods by Georgia Lee and the Journal of New World Archaeology, 7:1 (contains a collection of papers on Rapanui, originally published in 1986) as a set, both for $35. This price is good only through January 15, 1994. Send Check/Money Order payable to UC Regents, in US funds on a US bank. California sales tax: 7.25%, Postage/handling $3.50 +$1 for each additional book. Please allow 8 weeks for delivery. Send order to:

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[Paul Bahn, The Journal of the Polynesian Society]

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The Easter Island Foundation/Fundación Rapa Nui came into existence in 1989. The goals of this non-profit organization are to construct a well-built, climate-controlled building on Easter Island to house and preserve the Mulloy Library, named for the late anthropologist, William Mulloy, who devoted much of his life to the island and the islanders. The Foundation has the active support of the Sociedad de Amigos de Isla de Pascua and the Dirección de Bibliotecas, Archivos y Museos.

The nucleus of the collection is Mulloy's own private library and collection of field notes, slides and photographs. Other private collections have already been donated to the Mulloy Library. In addition to audio and visual material, the Library will house new books and journals for use by future investigators. It will have state-of-the-art equipment including a copy machine and computer/word processors. As of 1993, a temporary Library (with a Rapanui librarian) is functioning in Viña del Mar while the island facility is under development.

The Mulloy Library will be an active and vital Polynesian research and information center for visiting scholars and interested lay persons and will be located next to the island's Sebastian Englert Museum.

In addition to the Library itself, the Foundation also donates books for Rapanui students studying in continental Chile and will, in the future, provide scholarships for qualified Rapanui students to continue their education.

The Foundation's primary goal is to establish an endowment to ensure the continuous operation of the Library. Contributions from concerned individuals will allow the Foundation to reach its goals, stimulate future investigations, and attract scholars from all over the world. We are actively seeking corporate memberships, gifts of specific library equipment, and sponsorship for other Foundation projects. All gifts are tax-deductible. For more information on donations, please contact Barbara Hinton at (713) 864-7593, FAX: (713) 864-1552.

The Foundation also sponsors a publication series. All proceeds benefit the Foundation. Current titles in this series are:

- Easter Island: The Ceremonial Center of Orongo by Alan Drake, with illustrations by Georgia Lee
- The Ancient Solar Observatories of Rapa Nui: The Archaeoastronomy of Easter Island by William Liller

Pending titles: The Woodcarving Tradition of Easter Island by Joan Seaver Kurze; The Rongorongo Tablets of Easter Island by Alan Drake; and the EIF Occasional Papers, edited by Georgia Lee and Alan Drake.

Easter Island Foundation/Fundación Rapa Nui
666 Dead Cat Alley, Woodland, CA 95695

South American contact: William Liller, Casilla 437
Viña del Mar, Chile